The ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection of textual units’:
tradition and documentation

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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.

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List of Abbreviations

BL    British Library
BnF   Bibliothèque nationale de France
c.    century
cf.   confer
CE    Common Era
EC    Ethiopian Calendar
e.g.  *exempli gratia*
EMML  Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library
fols. *folia*
fol.   *folium*
HMML  Hill Museum & Monastic Library
i.e.  *id est*
Id.   idem
MS    manuscript
MSS   manuscripts
Orient.   Oriental
r      recto
v      verso

Biblical Abbreviations

1 Cor  1 Corinthians
Ezek.  Ezekiel
Daniel.  Book of Daniel
Jn.    Gospel of John
1 Jn.  1 John
Mt.    Gospel of Matthew
Ps.    Psalms
Rev.   Revelation
Rom.   Romans
Table 1. Transliteration from Ethiopic

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I apply transliteration principles as set for the Beta mašḥošt project, see https://betamasheft.eu/Guidelines/?id=transliteration-principles
Chapter 0. Introduction

The present thesis² is a complex study of twenty-three manuscripts³ containing the basic ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ consisting of fourteen textual units. The ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ is a working title which is used in this thesis for what is often referred to as the Gadla Lālibalā, which has been considered the main source about the life and deeds of King Lālibalā as a saint. King Lālibalā is considered a saint along with other kings of the so-called Zāgwe dynasty, who ruled in the twelfth-thirteenth century CE, who is given credit for the construction of the renowned rock-hewn churches in the city of Lālibalā, named after the king. The term Gadl, lit. ‘Combat’, defines a text written according to the hagiographic genre, which, with its own rules and conventions, reveals at the same time the author’s own ideas. Therefore, hagiographical texts are excellent witnesses to the history of thoughts, mentality, and practices. The only scholarly yet partial edition of the Gadla Lālibalā was carried out by the French philologist Jules Perruchon in 1892. Later, in 1972, polish scholar Stanisław Kur published his complementing partial edition of the Gadla Lālibalā.⁴

0.1. The title

How and why did I decide to adopt the working title ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’⁵ instead of the commonly used title Gadla Lālibalā? When I started to work on the Gadla Lālibalā I did not call into question its uniformity as a literary work. Having realized that the Gadla Lālibalā is not a homogeneous work but consists actually of at least two parts, I changed the title from the Gadla Lālibalā to the ‘Gadl and Miracles of Lālibalā’.⁶ Later it became clear that some of the ‘Miracles’ are rather episodes from Saint Lālibalā’s life, rather than genuine miracles. Thus, I again changed the title from the ‘Gadl and Miracles of Lālibalā’ to ‘Hagiography of Lālibalā’, distinguishing eight textual units within it. At a still later stage, I photographed another manuscript for my corpus in Dabra Ṣayon  ’Abuna  ’Abraham, Garˇalˇata, Tegr˘ay, which resulted in a reconsideration of my previous view. This manuscript palaeographically appears to be the oldest or one of the oldest manuscripts of my corpus. The arrangement of its textual units, after reconstruction of the folio

² My PhD-Project has been funded by SFB 950, Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa, Universität Hamburg and by TraCES: From Translation to Creation: Changes in Ethiopic Style and Lexicon from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, supported by the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007 – 2013), ERC grant agreement no. 322849, also based at the Universität Hamburg.

³ The number of manuscripts considered in this research is actually much higher. The number 23 counts only fully photographed manuscripts containing all fourteen textual units, excluding those that contain only some of them.

⁴ See Kur 1972. More explicitly on the available editions see Derat 2006, as well as further in this thesis.

⁵ Note that the initially the suggested title was ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection of fourteen textual units’, but it is somehow too heavy, that is why I decided to shorten it.

⁶ This hypothesis was presented during the 19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held in Warsaw from August 24th to 28th 2015.
order, follows the arrangement of other manuscripts of the corpus, but with one important exception: namely, there are two production units, each one, as I assume, having its own set of textual units. The first production unit contains what was previously commonly considered as an introduction to the *Gadla Lālibalā*, while the second one contains the *Gadla Lālibalā* proper, named the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ in my thesis, with the seven remaining textual units. This indicates that the allegedly introductory part to the *Gadla Lālibalā* can actually be considered as an independent unit. I decided to call the content of the first production unit the ‘Hymno-homiliary about Lālibalā’. But it was still difficult to say whether the ‘Hymno-homiliary about Lālibalā’ was one composition or a compilation of different textual units, though I preferred the second option. At this point I had some doubts about how to proceed because, despite all my research, I did not find an attestation of the ‘Hymno-homiliary about Lālibalā’ in any other form, be it the whole text or part of it, that would allow me to distinguish different textual units within it.

In the presentation and analysis of the various texts clustering around Lālibalā, I have found it useful to introduce the concept of a ‘textual unit’. A textual unit is a well-defined, clearly delimited piece of text within a larger text (the ‘macro-text’). It should have clear marks of internal coherence and unity as a piece of text — physical (particular page layout, *mise en texte*, *mise en livre*), stylistic/linguistic, and/or thematic (content). It should be demarcated by a clear break vis-à-vis the preceding and following text within the macro-text; this break is prototypically (but not necessarily) a physical blank space on the manuscript. And it typically will show independent circulation, i.e. the capability of existing apart from its macro-text and also appearing in other, different macro-texts, potentially surrounded by other, different textual units.7

A textual unit’s independent circulation represents a particular kind of intertextuality, that is, the phenomenon whereby two different macro-texts may evoke each other, show dependency on one another, and exhibit partial identity with each other — a clear sign that the writer of one macro-text, while composing his text, also had another, different text in the back of his mind. The intertextual nature of a textual unit is particularly clear, since a textual unit represents a ‘free-floating’ piece of text that has its own quasi-independent existence and may be used and reused in multiple macro-texts. At the same time a ‘textual unit’ is already an intertext as it itself incorporates other texts as well. Looking at the multiple manuscripts at my disposal, and based on the above principles, I identified fourteen textual units that comprise the basic ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ (or macro-text, often labelled as the *Gadla Lālibalā*). I will briefly present these units below.

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7 Depending on its content, a textual unit may or may not qualify as a distinct ‘work’, but I will not address this issue here.
0.2. The content of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

The content of the collection is difficult to capture in a single definition. For the sake of clarity I have introduced working titles for each textual unit, trying to capture one of the main messages of the unit. The first six textual units (according to the commonly repeated sequence in the manuscripts) are not very informative on Saint Lālibalā.

The first textual unit, ‘Preamble’, is what one might expect as the prelude of a gadl in Gǝʿz hagiography, which commonly begins with a rhymed piece on the creation of the world; in the case of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ the preamble displays a word-for-word identity with the preamble of the ‘Life of Krǝstos Samrā’ (see Chapter Five), which in a way proves its generic and non-specific quality.

The second textual unit, ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’, firstly narrates poetically the life of Jesus Christ; it contains some similarities with or allusions to the ‘Homily of Epiphanius of Crete’ (see Chapter Five). It follows up with references to the fire and the rope of salvation, ending with poetic lines in praise of Saint Lālibalā’s virtues, always illustrated with quotations from the New Testament.

The third textual unit, ‘Teaching about Saints’, praises Saint Lālibalā’s virtues, but also introduces general considerations about sainthood and the Last Judgement. The text is revolving around 1 Cor. 15:41, Rom. 8:17, Acts 14:22, Ps. 62:12, Rev. 5:5, 3:21. The second half of this unit focuses on quotations from Mt 25:35-45. This textual unit, along with the three following ones (i.e. 3–6), do not appear in Perruchon’s edition.

The fourth textual unit, ‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’, consists mostly of quotations, a considerable number of lines from Ps. 119 but also Ezek. 44:7, Rev. 21:23, Jn. 3:20-21, 1 Cor. 11:1, 1 Jn. 2:6. Each of these quotations is then explicitly related to Lālibalā. In ‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ we find an occurrence of his regnal name, Gabra Masql. It is noteworthy also that the presence or absence of the actual name Lālibalā (at least explicitly, i.e. written as እላለባ) varies from manuscript to manuscript; this needs further critical investigation based on a critically reconstructed text.

The fifth textual unit, ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’, again celebrates Saint Lālibalā’s virtues, as does the sixth textual unit, ‘Praise for Lālibalā’. Both texts frequently have a phrase like ‘As it says in Scripture’ references to the Scriptures, though I have not yet identified all of them.
The sixth textual unit, ‘Praise for Lālibalā’, is a texture of various hymns/chants that are interwoven at different levels.

The seventh and largest textual unit is the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ proper. The life starts with an introduction in which the author warns those who might find his narration tedious that by neglecting the narration they will delight Satan. The text is in general rich with various moralistic reflections. If we try to follow the ‘factual’ thread of the narration, the summary will be as follows: Lālibalā is born in Roḥa to the rich and noble family of Zān Śǝyyum. At the moment of Lālibalā’s birth he is said to have been surrounded by a swarm of bees, which are interpreted as the king’s soldiers, revealing the child’s royal destiny. The name ‘Lālibalā’ is said to mean ‘a bee knew that this child is great’. The child grew up, attaining excellence in every way. His destiny did not remain a secret: Lālibalā’s brother Ḥarbāy, who was king at that time, having heard the prophecy, began to worry that Lālibalā ‘will take and usurp his kingdom without the will of God’, and everyone around him, loving their king, started to worry as well. However, here the author comments that ‘taking of a kingdom cannot occur without God’s will. And when God’s will comes, it does not fail to be accomplished’. This legitimization of Lālibalā’s kingship can be considered one of the main themes of the narrative. In the meantime the entire court started to mock Lālibalā. One of the women, ‘a sister of Lālibalā, born from the same father’, went even further: She decided to poison him, adding poison to the beer she offered Lālibalā. However, the first to taste the poisoned beer was a deacon who died, then a dog that licked the deacon’s vomit and also died. Having seen the death of the deacon and the dog, Lālibalā felt guilty and, instead of taking revenge on his sister, decided to drink the cup of death that had been prepared for him ‘for the sake of love’. The effect of the poison was, however, the opposite: instead of killing Lālibalā it healed him from a worm that was disturbing him. When God saw Lālibalā’s goodness, his readiness to die for the sake of love, He sent an angel, who raised him by stages up to the seventh heaven, passing first through the firmament, which terrified Lālibalā. In the seventh heaven God revealed to Lālibalā the sanctuaries of the Heavenly Jerusalem and said that there were sanctuaries hidden in the heart of the earth for Lālibalā to reveal. Further, God established a covenant with Lālibalā, promising to reward all those who will venerate these sanctuaries. After that God anointed Lālibalā with the oil of kingship.

8 See also Derat 2018, 216-218.
9 The concept of firmament is based on the ‘Ascension of Isaiah’.
Then, on the third day the angel returned Lālibalā’s soul to his body, which had been wrapped and prepared for burial. When Lālibalā awoke, those in charge of his funeral started to question what had happened to him, but Lālibalā decided to keep everything secret for the sake of peace. His relatives and people at the court continued to mock him about his kingship. When the mockery became unbearable, he decided to flee into the desert.

Lālibalā began to live like a hermit in the wilderness. One day the same angel who had raised Lālibalā to the heavens appeared to him and announced that he was about to meet a pure female soul whom he was meant to marry. After making some objections whether it was appropriate or not after all the tortures that were revealed to Lālibalā in the firmament, he agreed to get married.

From the next day on Masqal Kǝbrā started to come and bring Lālibalā food. Then Masqal Kǝbrā told her father about her fiancé Lālibalā. Her father had her bring Lālibalā and after investigating the circumstances and discussing the case with his wife, Masqal Kǝbrā’s father and mother gave their daughter to Lālibalā as his wife. After marriage the ‘two of them lived, yoked to God in love and humility, in the house of the girl’s father.’ Yet the devil found people whom he possessed and made them go to the king to bring false charges against Lālibalā, saying: ‘Behold, Lālibalā took a girl who was engaged to another man. He made her his wife! Do not be silent on this, O king! If you remain silent, he will rule over all people!’.

As the king was already sensitive over Lālibalā’s pretensions to the throne, he ordered his men to deliver up Lālibalā. After a trial the king ordered them to beat Lālibalā with a rope, while he went into the church to receive Holy communion. The king’s soldiers continued to beat Lālibalā as long as the king was inside the church until he came out, found his order too severe and ordered the beating to be stopped. However, he found Lālibalā unharmed, for the angel had protected him from the beatings.

Afterwards Lālibalā returned to his wife, who consoled him with her tenderness and wisdom. Later they decided to go back to the desert, feeling safer there than among people. And again people from the king’s army were sent to search for Lālibalā and Masqal Kǝbrä in all cities and in all deserts and in all places in order to kill them. But the angel came and took them ‘into the land of the East, the land of the beginning of Ethiopia’s Christianity’, where they were to stay until the moment came to go to Jerusalem. After a few days the angel (Gabriel) came after Lālibalā, but brought Michael to take care of Masqal Kǝbrä; the angel introduced Masqal Kǝbrä into a community of women to guard her. As for Gabriel and Lālibalā, on their way to Jerusalem they visited a patriarch, who received Lālibalā with great honour as the future king of Ethiopia. The patriarch washed Lālibalā’s feet, and the water with which his feet were washed became a remedy
for people’s sickness. In Jerusalem the angel had Lālibalā visit all the places of Jesus’s earthly life. The visit culminated with a night vision, in which Jesus, accompanied by His disciples and Holy Mary, unveiled the rest of the mysteries of His life and established with Lālibalā another covenant, this time promising rewards and salvation to those who do good deeds for the sake of Lālibalā and promising Lālibalā himself a godly life after his death. In this vision Jesus also warns those who might doubt the truthfulness of Lālibalā’s virtues and future rewards, saying that by rejecting Lālibalā they reject Him. Jesus repeats the order to build sanctuaries and, recalling that Lālibalā had already been anointed with the oil of kingship, this time He gives Lālibalā a regnal name, Gabra Masqal. After Lālibalā awakened they continued visiting holy places. Then they returned to Ethiopia where they reached the place where Masqal Kǝbrā was waiting for her husband, ‘the oldest Christian land among the lands of Ethiopia’. After that they continued their way back together. At that time Jesus appeared in a night vision to King Ḥarbāy, revealing to him His will concerning the throne. Ḥarbāy comprehended the vision and despite all the distress at the court, ordered his courtiers to accompany him in order to meet Lālibalā with great honour appropriate for a king. Ḥarbāy, repenting of his wrongdoing against Lālibalā, went on foot to meet his brother. Ḥarbāy offered an apology, and they reconciled. Returning to the palace, the king carried out Lālibalā’s enthronement according to the law. The king took the scissors and cut Lālibalā’s hair and installed him on the royal throne. And the herald proclaimed: ‘Lālibalā reigns according to the will of God’. And his brother ordered all the people to serve Lālibalā and give him all that was appropriate for the king. And Ḥarbāy gave his brother the regnal name Gabra Masqal, as the Lord had named him before enthroning him on the royal throne. After becoming king, Lālibalā continued his asceticism until the end of his days.

The eighth textual unit, ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’, along with other textual units that follow, is entitled in some manuscripts as a miracle. This and the following textual units (i.e. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) are present in Perruchon’s edition. In this short episode we learn that one day, when King Lālibalā was about to eat, three brothers came and begged him for food. As Lālibalā had the habit of eating only three morsels, he gave one morsel apiece to each of the three brothers and remained with nothing for himself. When Lālibalā’s servant wanted to give him some bread moistened with vegetables, the king refused, saying that it would nullify his charity. And then he ordered his servant to give the three brothers other food and beverage and, in case they needed it, also clothing. But when the servant went out, he saw the three brothers ascending into heaven, for they were angels that came to Gabra Masqal in order to prove his virtue. For his love for strangers, King Lālibalā and his seed were blessed with the blessing of Abraham.
The ninth textual unit is ‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’. In this short episode we learn that once on the day of bringing tribute to King Lālibalā, there was a group of people bearing honey for the king. As it was the time of heavy rain and river was full, they were sitting on the bank, being afraid to cross. Yet, the delay was significant and, fearing to incur the king’s disgrace even more, they risked crossing the river. During the crossing, the current of the river carried away the pots of honey, the people barely managing to escape with their lives. They informed their chiefs what had happened, who, in turn, informed the king. However, Lālibalā, being a wise king, instead of expressing displeasure, to everyone’s relief reacted with a smile and a joke. When the flood passed, the pots were found intact and delivered to the king; this miracle was ascribed to the king’s prayer.

The tenth textual unit is ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’. From this episode we learn that once, offering food to his army, Lālibalā left his tent dressed like a beggar and joined the beggars to receive the bread of poverty distributed by his own order. Despite the disguise, one of the troubadours recognised the king and started to sing a song about a king who went around with beggars like a poor wretch. This made Lālibalā return to his tent, as he wanted to keep his righteousness secret.

The eleventh textual unit is ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’. Here we learn that there was a revolt against the king. Lālibalā sent his son to settle the conflict. The son tried to address the rebel with a word of peace, but received in response a word of insult. The next morning the son of the rebel, who was in charge of an army, challenged the son of Lālibalā to a duel, during which Lālibalā’s son killed his rival. When the son of the rebel died, his army was shattered and Lālibalā’s son surrounded them and caught the rebellious father. The rebel was tied up and brought to King Lālibalā, who decided to pardon him. However, the rebel, instead of praising the king’s mercy, started to mock him, saying he was crazy for letting him go free. God’s judgement was quick: the rebel died, pierced by the branch of a tree on his way back.

The twelfth textual unit is ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’; this and the following texts seem more like miracles. We learn that there was a rich woman who blasphemously started to eat human flesh. And she defamed and vilified King Lālibalā. A morsel of flesh got stuck in her throat, choking her. She invoked Lālibalā, repented of her transgression and was saved.
The thirteenth textual unit is ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’. This time it is a man who was defaming King Lālibalā, although his wife tried to stop him. As a consequence, the man became blind.

The fourteenth and last textual unit is ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’. This text is very popular and frequently quoted. Here we learn how King Lālibalā built the churches and then asked to ‘return the kingdom to Israel’. At the end Lālibalā fell ill and passed away on the twelfth of the month of Haziran (EC).

0.3. The corpus of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

Too little can be said (or rather speculated) on the question of the pre-collection history, while in the fourteenth century at the latest all fourteen textual units were presumably arranged into the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. Three manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ — MS DabṢey-001, MS Kǝbrān 31 and MS BL Orient. 719 — are datable to the fourteenth/fifteenth century, they all belong to the earliest layer (recension?) reached so far. Although the origin of these manuscripts remains unknown, its critical philological examination, recension, demonstrates that none of these three manuscripts could have served as an antigraph, as a Vorlage for another, for they all contain disjunctive errors. The colophons contained in MSS DabṢey-001 and Kǝbrān 31 allow us to associate these manuscripts with their current places of preservation, the monastery of Dabra Ṣayon Abuna ʾAbrēham, and the monastery of Kǝbrān respectively, distant both from each other and from the modern centre of the saint’s veneration, the town of Lālibalā. Both of these manuscripts were donated by the clergy, which might mean that King Lālibalā was already commonly recognized as a saint by that time. The origin and further itinerary of MS BL Orient. 719 prior to Gondar is obscure, see further in this chapter.

To my knowledge, ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ has so far been attested in thirty-seven manuscripts. Of these, twenty-three manuscripts that are kept in Ethiopia, France, Italy and the United Kingdom were available to me for the present research.

Table 1. Corpus of the manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelf-mark</th>
<th>Siglum</th>
<th>Place of preservation</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>DabṢey-001</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Dabra Ṣayon Abuna ʾAbraham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Abbadie 139</td>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>EMML 6931</td>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>Beta Golgota, Lālibalā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The size of the manuscripts ranges between 175 mm × 145 mm and 355 mm × 275 mm.\(^\text{10}\) The binding was considered to a very limited extent in this study. Nevertheless, with the exception of MS Ethiopic 4,\(^\text{11}\) the majority of the manuscripts can be described as having a ‘true’ binding:\(^\text{12}\)

\(^{10}\) I do not have the measurements for all manuscripts, only for some.

\(^{11}\) See Valieva 2017.
almost every codex containing the collection is bound to two wooden boards covered with finely tooled stamped leather and lined with flowered cloth.

Most often, the texts are written in two columns, with some exceptions for the text-block layout and the three-column layout. The main body is inscribed in carbon-black ink, with red ink being used for *mise en texte*. The texts were composed in Gǝʿz, and transmitted in typical Gǝʿz script, *fidal*, with some palaeographic variations.

0.4. Date and author of ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

A relevant question for studying the collection is who an author of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā collection*’ could be and when it was composed. In Ethiopia I have encountered two original hypotheses concerning the authorship of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā collection*’ (or only the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ proper), both agreeing that the text was written down by people who were close to King Lālibalā, i.e. thirteenth century. The first hypothesis,13 already discussed by Marie-Laure Derat, is attested in MS EMML 1614=IES 5446 in the form of a colophon to the text in Gǝʿz and Amharic. This hypothesis seems to interpret a certain Krǝstos Ḫarayo mentioned at the end of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ as the author of the text. The colophon provides further details, saying that Krastos Ḫarayo served at the church of Śarzenā Mikäʾel before he was invited by King Lālibalā to his court. MS EMML 1614=IES 5446 is signed by Gabra Masqal Tasfāyye of Gannata Māryām, while the content of this manuscript is a compilation of various texts in Gǝʿz and Amharic. This led Derat to suggest that Gabra Masqal Tasfāyye’s compilation simply incorporated another text authored by Krastos Ḫarayo of Śarzenā Mikäʾel.

The second hypothesis comes from *ʾAfa mamḥar* ʾAllabbāččaw Ḫratta, who told me during my interview in 2014 that he had read a text which attributed the authorship of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā collection*’ (or only the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ proper) to Gǝbron, the brother of Queen Masqal Kǝbrā (Lālibalā’s queen), who was appointed as *liqa pāппāsat* of Ethiopia and therefore can be identified with Ḫirun, mentioned in the History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria.14 As yet, no written source confirming *ʾAllabbāččaw Ḫratta*’s information has been found — which for the moment leaves his suggestion simply as a hypothesis.

Less radical and more cautious scholarship has established the first half of the fifteenth century as the probable period of writing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’.15 One of the main elements for

12 Note that in the Beta Masāḥǝft project, under ‘binding: true’ is meant ‘the original binding’. In this way the binding of some of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā collection*’ manuscripts is ‘false’: it is either broken or has been newly bound in Ethiopia. For this see the description at betamasheft.eu.
13 See EAe III, 479; Derat 2006, 568; Derat 2016, 116-119.
14 See Derat 2018, 151-153
15 See the summary in Derat 2006 and further Derat 2018, 193.
proposing this date was an assumption that MS BL Orient. 719, dated to the fifteenth century, is the only witness of the text from that period. Thanks to a re-evaluation of Hammerschmidt’s dating of MS Kǝbrān 31, instead of the seventeenth century to the fifteenth century, we have another manuscript in a different area, coming from the fifteenth century. Lastly, MS DabŞey-001, which was found in Tigray, is palaeographically datable to the fourteenth/fifteenth century. Thus, for the moment we have three manuscripts transmitting the text with disjunctive errors, coming from three geographically distant places, all datable to approximately the fourteenth/fifteenth century. Further, on the basis of the main hypothesis of this thesis, arguing against homogeneous content of the corpus (the ‘Multi-Unit Hypothesis’) but rather for the constitution of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ of textual units by the fifteenth century at the latest, this hypothesis presupposes some transmission history of the individual textual units even before their earliest attestation in the form of a collection. This means that the individual textual units should be even older than the fifteenth century. Yet, for the moment, since no solid arguments have been proposed for dating of the individual textual units, the question of individual dating remains open.

0.4.1. Authorship

The question of how many authors contributed a piece of writing to the creation the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ has theretofore barely been addressed and can only be seriously discussed when a complete critical edition becomes available. The main point to be made is that different textual units within the collection—namely, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’—present different justifications for Lālibalā’s kingship. In her contribution on this topic, Derat, in describing the content of the collection, does not raise this question, but talks about ‘the hagiograph’ or ‘a scholar’. She suggests that:

‘In all probability, the Life of Saint Lālibalā was composed by a scholar, who came from the region of Lālibalā’s churches or close to this milieu. […] This text marks one of the stages in the development of the cult of Saint Lālibalā. It signals as well a non-questioning attitude toward the then-current historiography which asserted that the Zāgwe were not Israelis. The idea is completely assimilated. However, the author manipulates skilfully this idea, showing that Lālibalā has received his power from God and that at the end of his reign he is ready to return this power. The text, thus, defends the idea that Lālibalā was not a usurper but a king chosen by God, anointed and acting as a saint.

16 Derat 2018, 218-2020: ‘l'hagiographe’. Here and further on, if not otherwise specified, the translation is mine.
17 Id., 220: ‘un lettré’.
18 The name ‘Zāgwe’ given to Lālibalā’s dynasty later; and is often used by scholars inside and outside Ethiopia.
19 Reference to ‘Israelites’ or the ‘Solomonic dynasty’ implies an ideology arguing that the only legitimate rulers of Ethiopia are those who can trace their genealogy back to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.
Thus, the *Life of King Lālibalā* gave a response to the anti-Zāgwe historiography; and perhaps conveys a message to the rulers who called themselves Israelites, presenting them King Lālibalā as a model.20

This is an accurate image of the author and his motivations — so long as one considers the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ to have been written by one and the same author. That said, in what follows I will argue that there is actually good reason to recognize here two somewhat different portraits of Lālibalā; and hence arguably two authors.

The Lālibalā of the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ is indeed depicted as somebody who humbled himself and his family and was willing to restore the so-called ‘Solomonic dynasty’, considering himself and his own lineage as a not legitimate one. This attitude can be indeed understood in the context of the anti-Zāgwe historiography. In post-1270 Ethiopian literature, there have been roughly two uneasily coexistent discourses: on the one hand to brand King Lālibalā a usurper, on the other to reconcile him and his family with the ‘Solomonic dynasty’, invoking a parallel lineage going back to King Solomon. The ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ has often been quoted in the literature as a justification of the (il)legitimacy of King Lālibalā.21

When we turn to the Lālibalā of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, nothing hints at such an anti-Zāgwe historiography. To the contrary, one of the strong motifs of the narration seems rather to be the legitimization of Lālibalā’s enthronement within his own dynasty. Thus we read that when the first rumours about Lālibalā’s future royal destiny reached his brother Ḥarbāy, who was king at that time, he became very much concerned, ‘thinking that Lālibalā will take away and usurp his kingdom without the will of God’.22 To the king’s concern the author comments that ‘taking the kingdom away cannot be without the will of God. And when God’s will comes, it cannot fail to be accomplished.’ Further in the text we read that when God anoints Lālibalā in the seventh heaven with the oil of kingship, Lālibalā receives this honour with humility and seeks to reject it—but he does not argue that he cannot become a king because of his ‘non-Israelite’ origin. Rather, his argument is different and has nothing to do with genealogy: he modestly talks about

20 Derat 2018, 220: ‘Selon toute vraisemblance, la Vie de saint Lālibalā est rédigée par un lettré issu de la région des églises de Lālibalā ou proche de ce milieu. […] Ce texte marque une étape dans le développement du culte en l’honneur du saint Lālibalā. Il signale aussi de l’absence de mise en question de l’historiographie du moment qui déclare que les Zagwe n’étaient pas des Israélites. L’idée est totalement assimilée. Toutefois, l’apographe manipule cette idée habilement en montrant que Lālibalā a reçu son pouvoir de Dieu et qu’à la fin de son règne, il est prêt à restituer ce pouvoir. Le texte défend donc l’idée que Lālibalā n’était pas un usurpateur, mais un roi élu de Dieu, oint, et se comportant comme un saint.

Par conséquent, la Vie du roi Lālibalā apporte une réponse à l’historiographie anti-Zāgwe et fait peut-être aussi passer un message aux souverains qui se disent Israélites, en leur donnant le roi Lālibalā pour modèle.’

21 Id., 151.

22 Perruchon 1892, 15.
his imperfection and unworthiness for this great honour, to which God replies that He has found
him good enough and that he should not dare to disobey. Thus, the rhetoric around Lālibalā’s
enthronement employed here does not evoke another heir or another dynasty.

In the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, Lālibalā’s ‘modest’ discourse is also apparent in a different way. It
is sometimes said that Lālibalā was enthroned exclusively to construct the churches; the tradition
has repeated this many times indeed. But Lālibalā accepts this glorious task, too, with modesty.
For, when he meets his brother King Ḥarbāy to receive his throne, Lālibalā addresses Ḥarbāy
humbly: ‘Not for the sake of the glory of the world did He tell me to sit on your throne but for
the sake of the churches that are to be revealed by the hands of your servant, the sinner.’ And King
Ḥarbāy replies: ‘I know it, O my brother, may the Lord of Hosts and the King of Israel protect
your throne with justice, as He protected the throne of David, His servant and Solomon, his son.’
Note that, rhetorically, this would have been a perfect moment to invoke the real ‘Solomonic
dynasty’, and a proponent of the anti-Zāgwe historiography would surely have done so — but
nothing is said. (Whether the author of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ chose to ignore the anti-Zāgwe
historiography or whether he simply did not know it remains an open question.)

Thus, on the basis of two quite different positions regarding the anti-Zāgwe
historiography, one can argue that there must have been (at least) two authors, representing two
different points of view, each of whom contributed a piece of writing to the ‘Gadla Lālibalā
collection’.

0.5. Veneration of Lālibalā
Why should a secular king, Lālibalā, deserve to be venerated as a saint? The author(s) of the
‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ listed various virtues of Lālibalā, while employing literary tropes.
Accordingly, the author of the ‘Praise of Lālibalā’ (a textual unit not found in Perruchon23)
compares his protagonist to a prophet, apostle, righteous man and martyr:

51 He is a prophet, for he knew what would happen before it happened.
52 He is an apostle, for he became a preacher of salvation to those who did not believe and taught
them to believe in the name of the Trinity, and he converted numerous non-Christians to
Christianity and he baptized them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.
54 He is a righteous man, for with a stick of hardship he chastised the limbs of his body.
55 He is a martyr, for all through his life he was punished by beating, and wrongly persecuted
from city to city, while he was guilty of nothing.

23Perruchon 1892.
Further, the author uses anaphora, starting each verse with የኳርዎ ‘they blessed him’. These ‘they’ are the great, the aged, children, orphans, the rich and poor, naked, hungry and thirsty, hermits.

60 The great blessed him, for he was their glory.
61 The aged blessed him, for he was the support of their old age.
62 Children blessed him, for he brought them up...
63 Orphans blessed him, for he nurtured them and consoled them in their sorrow...
68 The rich blessed him, for he enriched them. And there was nothing that was taken from them by violence, he would take nothing but what they themselves gave him...
69 The poor blessed him, for he became for them an asylum and helped them in all their concerns...
70 The naked blessed him, for he covered their nakedness.
71 The hungry blessed him, for he fed them.
73 The thirsty blessed him, for he quenched their thirst with his fine and delicious drink.
74 Hermits blessed him, for he became for them a helper and guardian in everything.

Lālibalā was also a king, so the author needs to give us details on this matter too. In the following lines the author presents Lālibalā as someone who did not abuse or exploit his position doing so in a secret way without boasting:

99 For while a king, Lālibalā did not eat royal food, as is appropriate for a king...
108 Lālibalā, while having slaves and maids and power over the entire nation, over which God appointed him to reign below Him, did not compel the slaves to serve according to the law of slaves, nor the maids to serve according to the law of maids’ service, but he regarded slaves as his own children who had come from his loins...
110 And he loved his maids as if they were his daughters.
111 Lālibalā did not wear fine clothing, (though) being a king, and he did not boast of not wearing it.

One can argue that Lālibalā is portrayed here as anyone but a king. This is arguable if we were to accept that, stereotypically, a king cannot be generous and humble; but still, if we consider what
the author of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ narrates about Lālibalā, we find a protagonist whom God made an invincible king\(^2\) to whom He says:

313 I will subjugate to you every enemy who will surround you. And if there is someone who would rise up against you, he will not be able to stand before you.
314 I will set fear in the heart of all those who are rebellious to you. Know that you will make the people of your kingdom free from all injustice and wrong-doing.

One of the most uncommon aspects of the protagonist in the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ is the fact of a saint getting married. The author anticipates the reader’s surprise, introducing the following dialogue between the Archangel Gabriel and Lālibalā:

364 ‘Tell me, will it be a sin for you, O man of God, to take a wife? There is no lessening of reward because of her, for it is not for the sake of earthly love, but for the sake of children.’
365 But [Lālibalā] objected to the angel of God concerning this matter, saying: ‘It is not appropriate for me to take a wife’.
366 Then the angel asked him: ‘Is it possible for you to neglect God’s command? Or can you bring children alone, those who are in your loins.

What we read further is a love story between two saints, Lālibalā and his wife Masqal Kǝbrā, which is an extremely rare theme in Gǝ̀z hagiography.

One can argue that the author(s) tried to form a universal image of a saint-king, rooted in the Holy Scriptures, taking into consideration existing types of sainthood but feeling free not to reproduce them literally. This all provides clues to why Lālibalā’s image can serve as a model for Christians and why the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ has been considered worthy of transmission in multiple copies down to the present day. But it does not inform us as to when and why the texts were composed, in particular whether their composition provided an impulse for Lālibalā’s veneration or rather came as its consequence, as part of its developing process.

Various dynamics have been proposed for the emergence of a saint’s veneration in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Antonella Brita argues that written Lives are crucial for establishing the liturgical commemoration of a saint as well as their inclusion in larger collections for a wider cult:

\(^{24}\)Note that King Lālibalā literary presents himself as ‘invincible’ in the land donations CCR 6 and CCR 7, found in the archive of Ham, see Conti Rossini 1901, 186-192 and Derat 2018, 49-59 and 115.
'Veneration becomes legitimized when the Life and the miracles worked by the saint are written down, usually at the initiative of the monastic community founded (or claimed to have been founded) by the saint. This process takes place at a local level and it is hardly possible that these saints are venerated in a wider territory if their Lives are not included in larger collections of hagiographic texts circulating in the whole country.'

Denis Nosnitsin, on the other hand, argues that a large hagiographic work need not necessarily mark the initial stage in the process of creating a liturgical commemoration:

"The composition of the large hagiographical works required very good literary skills. Were such texts necessarily the first to be composed? On the contrary, the composition of liturgical chants seems to have been a less challenging task. As we can see in the examples of the chants for 'abba Yohanni from DS II, [a fragment from Dabra Šah] the composer completed the task using the minimum of lexical and stylistic means, for which he needed to know only the "essence" of the story about the saint, or just a few remarkable events or miracles from the legend. After the chants were created and embedded into the liturgical cycle, they could be easily modified; they could be revised, merged with other chants or cancelled, or extended with the material from other chants and narrative hagiographical works dedicated to the same saint or other saints, other works of the Ethiopic literature, or even oral legends."

When it comes to the veneration of saint kings, these dynamics can be different in another way, as saint kings do not found a monastery and the essence of their story is already well-known nationwide. Paolo Marrassini argues that 'the royal sanctity could find a good ground on which to establish itself just in some kind of 'sacral' preexisting conception.' Alessandro Bausi, reflecting on the sanctification of kings, associates the institution of commemoration (tazkār) with acts of donation and/or foundation of churches. King Lālibalā indeed appears to have been a founder of churches and a donor. Along these lines, a note found in the archive of the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos za-Ham, a monastery that was endowed with lands by King Lālibalā, is particularly interesting. It is attested only once, immediately below document n. 12. It reads as follows:

\[...
\]

25Brita 2020, 277.
26Nosnitsin 2018, 310.
27Marrassini 1990, 187; in the same sense also Bausi 2013, 171-173.
28See Bausi 2013, 180-182.
30See Conti Rossini 1901, 197. Note by 'Āqqābe sa'āt 'Asfaḥa, n. 13 according to Conti Rossini's numeration.
31Id., 198-199.
32Id., 190, 196.
And I, āqqābe saʿāt ṢAsfḥa and the sons of the monastery, being together and in agreement, have instituted that the tazkār (commemoration) of those who donated their wealth to Saint Matāʿ be celebrated, be it books, fields, cattle, cloth, whether it is much or little that they donated, their commemoration shall be celebrated with the wealth of the church, from now forever and ever, amen.  

Āqqābē Saʿāt ṢAsfḥa is said to have been active during the reign of King ṬƏdǝm Raʿad, who was enthroned in 1299. The writing of this note is damaged and is difficult to read, yet from what remains this note seems to be contemporary with Āqqābē Saʿāt ṢAsfḥa. Based on these considerations, one can assume that King Lālibalā’s commemoration was established in the monastery of Dabra Libānos of Ham, together with commemorations for other donors, at the beginning of the fourteenth century at the latest. Although this cannot explain the cult around King Lālibalā, for no other monastery donor attained a saint’s fame as Lālibalā did, it can be regarded as one of the impulses for the king’s sanctification or as documentation of his sanctification at the monastery of Ham, which was accompanied by hagiographic writings.

Further, Claire Bosc-Tiessè in her article and further in her book proposes an interesting hypothesis concerning the manbara tābot of the church of Goldotā (DSG 05) in Lālibalā, the church, where, according to the tradition, was buried Saint Lālibalā. This manbara tābot bears two following inscriptions:

Patient king Lālibalā, saint of the Lord [...].

and

This translation is adapted with the help of Orin Gensler from the one done by Merid Wolde Aregay, discovered by Marie-Laure Derat in the archive of Roger Schneider.

Basset 1882, Derat 2010.

See also Derat 2018, 214.

Bosc-Tiessè 2010.


Bosc-Tiessè 2010, 74-85.

Id., 84.

Analysing the inscriptions, Bosc-Tiessè notes that contrary to other inscriptions on *manbara tābot* of the churches of the place, ‘Lālibalā and his wife Masqal Kebrā are referred to as saints and not as sponsors of the object’.

Which suggests that they were officially already recognised as saints by the moment the inscriptions were done, which would mean to date the *manbara tābot* to the fifteenth century. Yet, there is another element, which suggests slightly different interpretation and an earlier dating: Bosc-Tiessè further notes, despite the lacunae, we can notice that the inscription does not contain any request for intercession. On the other hand, interpreting *አ肆ሮ ከ/ሮ ከ/ሮ ከ ከ የመ/ጆ ይበ ምበ/አበ* as ‘May he receive his part of reward from the Father’ she points to ‘an allusion to the eternal reward requested for the deceased’ that ‘evokes the formulas of prayer for the dead citing the supplications for the deceased said by the priest during the divine office’. She then concludes:

The little that the inscription says supposes that this *manbara tābot* was made rather for the commemoration of Lālibalā and Masqal Kebrā, [...] than as an object testifying to a worship addressed to them. This *manbara tābot* could therefore be an attestation - one of the first? - of their holiness but perhaps not yet of a worship that would be rendered to them because we would then ask for their intercession.

To conclude, the ‘note by *‘aqqābē sa’āt ʾAsfǝḥā* attested in the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos za-Ham together with the inscriptions on the *manbara tābot* of the church of Goldotā (DSG 05) in Lālibalā brings new evidence on how veneration of a king might have been transformed into...
veneration of a saint’, the process that necessarily differs from what was described by Brita and Nosnitsin but partially corresponds to what was suggested by Marrassini and Bausi.

0.5.1. Historical data on King Lālibālā

King Lālibālā definitely ruled over Ethiopia around 1225 CE. In the documents King Lālibālā presents himself as the ‘son of Morārā, son of Zānsayum, son of ʾĀsdā’. There is no evidence saying where Lālibālā was appointed to the throne or what was his place of origin. He was married to Masqal Kabrā, ‘lady of Biḥat’. Masqal Kabrā apparently had a very strong position as queen and played an important role, for she appears, in the royal donation by her husband, King Lālibālā, as (apparently) the first queen ever to be mentioned in a royal donation. Marie-Laure Derat suggests that Masqal Kabrā may actually have brought the royal power to the hands of Lālibālā through her lineage.

King Lālibālā is credited by the tradition with the construction of an ensemble of rock-hewn churches, replicas of the heavenly churches. The present-day church complex in Lālibālā town comprises twelve churches, ‘although this figure differs according to the traditions and periods.’

Concerning the role of King Lālibālā regarding the churches of Lālibālā town, Marie-Laure Derat, based on a comprehensive study of all the evidence now available, concludes that for the moment we still cannot be certain about which churches were definitely founded by King Lālibālā and which were founded at some other time:

King Lālibālā thus played an important role with regard to the churches of this famous site. His presence and his interest in this ensemble can be seen in land donations and in the building of many altars which he consecrated, apparently with a preference for Mary (three altars are dedicated to her, in the church of Madḥane ‘Alam, the church of Golgoṭā and the church of Giorgis). Yet, for the moment, it remains impossible to point out exactly which churches which were founded by this king and which originated at other times.

So far, no precise role can be decisively attributed to this place within the Christian Kingdom at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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51 The historical figure of King Lālibālā is not part of my current research. Here I just present a concise summary based mainly on the book by Marie-Laure Derat, see Derat 2018.
52 It should be mentioned that although the spelling ‘Lālibālā’ is the one attested in the later tradition, the large majority of the earlier tradition attests the spelling ‘Lālibālā’, that should be restored, to indicate the king as opposed to the city (from Bausi 2018, 7).
53 Derat 2018, 148.
54 Id., 148.
55 Id., 148-150.
56 Id., 151.
57 Derat 2011: ‘bien que ce chiffre diffère selon les traditions et les époques’. Note that according to the Homily of Lālibālā, he built not ten but twelve churches.
58 See Derat 2018, 163-168.
59 Id., 168: ‘Le roi Lālibālā joua donc un rôle important vis-à-vis des églises de ce fameux site. Sa présence et son intérêt pour cet ensemble sont marqués par des donations de terre et la fabrication de nombreux autels...’
0.5.2. Post-Lālibalā dynamics

Some authors have found it important to stress that King Lālibalā belonged to the so-called Zāgwe dynasty, which sometime after 1270 were dubbed usurpers, as being of ‘non-Israelite’ origin. Yet the Ethiopian Orthodox Church nonetheless venerates King Lālibalā. Various ideas have been proposed on how to reconcile these two seemingly opposing dynamics.60 Derat’s analysis shows that the two concepts, that of a holy dynasty and that of a dynasty of usurpers, were later constructed by different actors.61 Derat further argues that at a given moment the new anti-Zāgwe historiographical discourse was assimilated even by those who venerated Lālibalā. This is what we see in the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’.62 Further, one can see that from a certain moment on, Saint Lālibalā was accepted as a saint, and requests for his intercession in the Heavenly Kingdom were sought on behalf of the ruling ‘Solomonic’ elite, on behalf of the regional Lāstā opposition at the end of the seventeenth century63 and on behalf of ‘pro-Rome’ Christians in the middle of the twentieth century. In this regard a recent initiative of the community of Lālibalā shows a very interesting turn. In the twenty-first century, now that the issue of legitimacy of a monarch has lost its immediate importance, the question of Lālibalā’s legitimacy and the two contradictory discourses have received new attention and a new solution: the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ has undergone a revision and the lines where King Lālibalā is said to beg for the return of his kingdom to Israel are no longer to be found in it.64

0.6. Lālibalā town as a centre for Saint Lālibalā’s commemoration

The research shows that all known manuscripts containing Saint King Lālibalā’s hagiography prior to the end of the seventeenth century in all likelihood have a different origin than Lāstā (where Lālibalā town is located). Ever since Wright’s description,65 MS BL Orient. 719 has been considered to have been donated by bade Zarʾā Yaʾaqob to the church of Golgotā in Lālibalā town, on the basis of the donation note found on fols. 163r. However, critical study of this manuscript reveals many problems with this assumption. Notably, the donation note was written

qu’il fit consacrer, avec une préférence semblable-t-il pour les dédicaces à Marie (trois autels lui sont dédiés dans l’église du Sauveur du Monde, l’église de Golgotā, et celle de Georges). Mais, pour l’heure, il est encore impossible de pointer avec exactitude les églises qui ont été fondées par ce souverain et celles qui l’ont été à d’autres moments.’; Derat 2018, 190: ‘aucune certitude ne se dégage concernant la fonction que ce site revêtait dans le dispositif du royaume chrétien au début du XIIe siècle’.

60 Literature on this topic, e.g. Marrassini 1990; Marrassini 1994; Gervers 2003.
62 Id., 213-220.
64 I will discuss this further in chapter one.
65 See Wright 1870, 601.
by a different hand than the body of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, which calls into question its authenticity: the donation note is rather a pseudo-donation note.

In fact, one can identify at least five hands within the codex: Hand number 1: main body of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

Hand number 2: supplication on fols. 162vb-163r; condemnation not on fol. 3v

Hand number 3: pseudo-‘Zarʾā Yāʾeqob donation note’ on fol. 163

Hand number 4: name of Zarʾā Yāʾeqob on fol. 163vb
Hand number 5 (of the nineteenth c.): missing portion of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ on fol. 2rab-2vab

I will discuss these now in greater detail. The hand of the pseudo-'Zarʾā Yāʾeqob donation note' is hand number three; it is different from the hand of the main body of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. The main body of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ (in hand number one) is followed by a supplication on fols. 162vb-163r, written in a hand which could be identified with the hand of the condemnation note on fol. 3v; this is hand number two. Note that fol. 3rv belongs to the second production unit, which was added later in time, not clear exactly when. Blank folia of the second production unit were used in 1840 to restore the missing portion of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, i.e. the second production unit was used for the ‘restoration’ later than this unit was actually inserted.

Thus, the pseudo-Zarʾā Yāʾeqob donation note’ appearing on fol. 163r was added later than the second production unit and later than the condemnation note on fol. 3v. This condemnation note says that a certain ʾabbāʾ Amḥa commissioned or copied (causative is erased) this book and donated it to a certain place of Golgotā (not to a church!). A closer look at fol. 163v shows us that the name of ḥade Ṭewodros was inserted to an added text on fol. 163vb later by a different unskilled hand, the hand number four. The pseudo-‘Zarʾā Yāʾeqob donation note’ appearing on fol. 163r also says that the book was donated to a certain place of Golgotā. The fifth hand is very close to the hand that is attested in the (different) MS BL Orient. 718; this hand restored the missing portion of ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ on fol. 2rab-2vab. This allows us to suggest that ḥade Tewodros brought MS BL Orient. 719 to Madḥane ʾAlam of Magdala, together with MS BL Orient. 718 from Gondar. This hypothesis is also supported by the textual evidence (see chapter three). In summary, there is very little evidence to associate ḥade Zarʾā Yāʾeqob personally with MS BL Orient. 719, nor this manuscript with Beta Golgotā of Lālibalā town. To establish this relationship of ‘the manuscript-the church-the king’, one would have to find other evidence than that provided by the manuscript.
There are other elements allowing to argue that King Lālibalā’s veneration was established in Lālibalā town by the sixteenth century at the latest, as attested by a Portuguese missionary Francisco Álvares.

0.7. Literature overview on Saint King Lālibalā’s hagiography

So far, I have not been able to find any written documents commenting on the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ produced by Ethiopian scholars before the twentieth century. Therefore, the history of thought can be traced only by means of manuscripts containing the texts. In my thesis I will try to demonstrate what little I have been able to learn about the individuals participating in the manuscript production up to the twentieth century.

Starting from the twentieth century two important Ethiopian scholars should be named: First, Gabra Masqal Tasfaye has compiled various sources as ከድለ፡ ነገሥታተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ወንግሡ፡ በምድረ፡ ሮሐ፡ / ‘Life of Ethiopian kings who ruled in Roha land’ which is known from his autograph, MS EMML 1614=IES 5446. The second scholar is Afa mamhør Allababáččaw ይ.TRATTA, who contributed to ከድለ ንድስስ እለበላ / ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ edition; I briefly discuss his contribution in Chapter Three.

In Europe the study of Saint King Lālibalā’s hagiography was begun by Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704). In 1681 in his Historia Æthiopica L. II, cap. V, Ludolf edited with a Latin translation a short hymn for Saint King Lālibalā, encomium or salām, originally taken, according to Ludolf, from the Ethiopian Synaxarion. The same encomium served for Ludolf as a source for his Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum. August Dillmann identified the manuscript used by Ludolf as a source for his Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum.

Soon after Ludolf, in 1695 the Bollandists showed interest in Saint Lālibalā. Thus, in Acta Sanctorum, juin, T. I, on the 6th of June, among those lives that were omitted or replaced. It remains unclear whether the Bollandists had access to any other hagiographic sources beyond what had been edited by Ludolf.

66 See Derat 2018, 190-194 and Heldman 1995, who argued that the association of the tomb of Lālibalā with the church of Beta Golgotā of Lālibalā town happened in the fifteenth century. One of their arguments was MS BL Orient. 719, which does not disqualify their hypothesis but calls for its rearticulating.

67 See Derat 2016.

68 See Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā 2007.

69 See also Perruchon 1892, XL=XLII.

70 Ludolf 1699.

71 Dillmann 1848, 36-37.

72 Henschen et al. 1695, 616.
In 1837 Giuseppe Sapeto visited Eritrea and in 1857 his *Viaggio e missione cattolica fra i Mensâ, i Bogos e gli Habab*, con un cenno geografico e storico dell'Abissinia appeared, which included two different *Sankassār* (=Synaxarion) readings for Saint Lālibālā. 73

In the 1840s Johann Ludwig Krapf, another important collector of Ethiopian literary sources, held a copying workshop, in which he commissioned a copy of the ‘Life of Lālibālā’. 74 In all likelihood, this manuscript was used by August Dillmann for his *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, published in 1865. 75

Around the same time as Krapf, Antoine d’Abbadie was in Ethiopia and commissioned (apparently in Gondar) a copy of the ‘Life of Lālibālā’. 76 In 1859 d’Abbadie published a short catalogue where he noted the ‘Life of Lālibālā’77 of his private collection.

In 1870 William Wright published a catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts acquired for the British Museum which now became part of the British Library Collection. In his catalogue Wright provided a basic description of two manuscripts containing the ‘Acts of Lālibālā’, MS BL Orient. 718 and MS BL Orient. 719. 78

Probably alerted by Wright’s catalogue, Jules Perruchon came to London in the hopes of finding something enlightening for Ethiopian history. He was disappointed by the ‘Acts of Lālibālā’ that he found. Yet, Perruchon copied at least some parts of the text from MS BL Orient. 718. In 1892 his excerpts appeared under the title *Vie de Lālibālā roi d’Éthiopie*. 79

In 1893 Theodor Nöldeke wrote his immediate review of the *Vie de Lālibālā roi d’Éthiopie*. 80

In 1902 Boris Turaev published his study of hagiographic sources, where he shortly discussed *Vie de Lālibālā roi d’Éthiopie*. Turaev translated the description of the church construction into

74 See Valieva 2017.
75 Id., 197.
76 Id.
77 See Abbadie 1859, 154-155.
78 See Wright 1870, 601.
79 See Perruchon 1892.
80 See Nöldeke 1893.
Russian, which, according to him, was the only important part of this source. 81 According to the Multi-Unit Hypothesis, the importance is given to the 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā'.

In 1906 appeared the Sankassār readings for the month of Sane by Ignazio Guidi. Among the entries for this month is one for Lālibalā on the 12th of Sane (EC). 82

In 1912 Chaîne published a catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts, donated to the Bibliothèque national de France by d'Abbadie. Chaîne again described the MS BnF d'Abbadie 139. 83

In 1914 Conti Rossini made a slightly better description of the MS BnF d'Abbadie 139, previously described by d'Abbadie and Chaîne. 84

Further, Antonio Mordini apparently acquired a copy of the 'Vita di Lālibalā', 85 which was then purchased by the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma.

Around the same time, Enrico Cerulli acquired two manuscripts, MSS BAV Cerulli 37, 178 and 223, which were catalogued by Osvaldo Raineri and contain the 'Atti di Lālibalā', 'Miracoli di Lālibalā', 'Salam a Lālibalā', and 'Atti di Masqal Kebra'. 86

Again in 1946, Cerulli noted the existence of a paper manuscript containing 'La Vita di Lālibalā' in the collection of the India Office. This appears to be the same manuscript used by Dillmann, MS Ethiopian 4. 87 In 1968 in his Storia della letteratura etiopica, Cerulli included his Italian translation of a part from the 'Atti di Lālibalā' and from the 'Atti di Masqal Kebra'. 88

In 1967 Richard Pankhurst translated into English some excerpts from the Vie de Lālibalā roi d'Éthiopie and presented them as the 'Chronicle of Lalibela' in his 'The Ethiopian Royal Chronicles'. 89

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81 See Turaev 1902, 75.
82 See Guidi 1906, see Chapter One.
83 See Chaîne 1912, 87.
84 See Conti Rossini 1914, 51.
85 Gianfrancesco Lusini is in charge of preparing a catalogue of Mordini manuscripts.
88 See Cerulli 1968, 87-89.
89 Pankhurst 1967. This became a basis for the analysis by Maimire Mennasemay, 'Chronicles of Lalibela, Gibbonism, and Ethiopian Studies', available at the Academia page of the author. The original article was modified and
In 1973 Ernst Hammerschmidt published a catalogue of the manuscripts he photographed during his mission to Lake Ṭānā, among which was MS Kəbrān 31, another manuscript containing *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*.90

Stanislaw Kur studied MS BAV Cerulli 178, which, according to the at-that-time unpublished inventory contained ‘Gli Atti di Masqal Kəbrā’ and realised that it contains partially the same text as had been edited by Perruchon, partially recovers what was omitted by Perruchon. Kur decided not to publish the entire text, but only those parts omitted by Perruchon.91 In the 1970s the EMML project began. The project photographed at least ten manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ and several thousands of other hagiographic texts. Ten catalogues were published. Most of the actual manuscripts, which were photographed almost fifty years ago, are today physically difficult or impossible to access.

In the meanwhile, Joseph Tubiana wrote an inspiring article on the ‘Preamble’. In this article Tubiana discussed the rhyme of the composition.92

In 1999 Basil Lourié wrote an article, based on what was edited by Perruchon and Kur, where he develops an idea of three Jerusalems, an interpretation of the churches of Lālibalā in the light of his life.93

In 2006 Marie-Laure Derat published an article on the ‘Acts of Lālibalā’, where she discussed a still unedited part of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and the Ascension of Isaiah as a model for Lālibalā’s ascension.94 This and many aspects discussed in this article remain relevant still.

In 2011 Derat and Claire Bosc-Tiessè published an article, ‘Acts of Writing and Authority in Begwena and Lasta between the 15th and 18th century: A Regional Administration comes to light’95, where they discuss, among others, some manuscripts of my corpus and which had a direct impact on the present work.


91See Kur 1972.
93See Lourié 1999.
94See Derat 2006, 567.
95Bosc-Tiessè and Derat 2011.
In 2014 published an article where she discusses the possibility of a scriptorium in Lästä, to which some of the manuscripts of my corpus would belong.96

In 2016 my short article on MS BL Orient. 718, ‘The Portrait of a Queen’ appeared.97

In 2017 Derat published her edition of the ‘Homily of Lālibala’,98 where she provided an updated list of the manuscripts containing ‘Gadla Lālibala collection’, as well as an important note on the work done by Gabra Masqal Tasfāyye.


In 2018 a monograph appeared, L’énigme d’une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d’Éthiopie du XIe au XIIIe siècle, by Derat, which I already quoted several times in this introduction.100


In 2019 Clair Bosc-Tiessé presented her habilitation monograph, Aux fins et confins d’une histoire de l’art Éthiopien / Afrique XIIIe – XVIIIe – XXIe siècles, where in the second part of the book she discusses the representation of saint kings of Lālibala’s dynasty, its relationship with the text and historical context.102

0.8. Research’s methodology

The present thesis is a logical continuation of the project that I began in Moscow under the supervision of Father Oleg Davidenkov, which was initially conceived of as ‘Gadla Lālibala: an

96 Bosc-Tiessè 2014.
97 See Valieva 2016.
98 See Derat 2016.
100 See Derat 2018.
101 See Frantsouzoff 2019. For some reasons the author decided to go back directly to Perruchon’s edition, neglecting all the problems of the edition and all related recent studies.
102 Bosc-Tiessè 2019. I have received the pdf in December 2020, so in its written form it had less impact on my work than it should, however, my way of writing the present work was still very much influenced by the discussions we had with Claire, as well as all the articles she wrote, though I refer to only some of them.
ideal image of a king’ but then was transformed into the ‘Characteristic features of the image of an Ethiopian king on the basis of the Gadla Lālibalā’. The present research has been conducted within the framework of the GraKo, Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures under the supervision of Marie-Laure Derat and Alessandro Bausi. This project was initially planned to be a ‘Critical edition of the Gadla Lālibalā’,¹⁰³ and ended as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection: tradition and documentation’. With this project I have been studying manuscripts, their contents and their usages. Having in mind ultimately the preparation of a critical edition, I have been focusing on those manuscripts that primarily contain the ‘Life of Lālibalā’; all the rest is rather a by-product of the research. In 2017 I participated in an archaeological mission in Lālibalā, in which I was invited to participate in all discussions concerning the history of the place. In my work I will refer to published works; but readers should keep in mind that many of the hypotheses in this thesis were born during these discussions, and the intellectual authorship of some important points should be shared with the research-team.

The following are authors outside Ethiopian Studies, who work on hagiographic sources and whose works were instructive and inspiring:


One of the main tools for the present research in terms of manuscriptology was the Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: an Introduction. Many of my research questions emerged from my participation in the work of the Ritual-group at Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures and especially as a result of lively discussions with Antonella Brita and later Jonas Karlsson.

The work consists of an introduction, chapters 1-8, two appendices and two editions:

In the Chapter One I will discuss the dossier of Lālibalā. It is the first attempt to make an overview of textual units concerning Lālibalā that have become known to date.

¹⁰³ This project was announced at the ICES 17 in Warsaw, 2015.
After familiarising the reader with the textual units, in Chapter Two I will present the description of the manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’.

In Chapter Three I will discuss the transmission of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ and present the stemma codicum. In my opinion, this chapter is not only crucial for the reconstruction of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, but sheds light on many aspects of the history of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. It provides a frame for different phenomena related to the texts, their physical articulation, and their geographical distribution.

In Chapter Four I will discuss the editions of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, prepared by the scholars of Lālibalā town.

In Chapter Five I will discuss my methodology and my arguments for the Multi-Unit Hypothesis of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’.

In Chapter Six I will discuss the veneration of Lālibalā and the actual use of the manuscripts in the communities.

Chapter Seven is a prolegomenon to the critical edition.

Chapter Eight concludes the results of the thesis.

Appendix One contains the step by step description of my experience of digital collation with CollateX.104

Appendix Two contains the description of MS BL Orient. 718, for which I used the Beta Maṣāḥf research environment.

Edition One contains my critical edition of the first and partially the second textual units of ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ itself with a parallel translation into English. The edition and translation are prepared with the help of Classical Text Editor.105

104 See https://collatex.net/
105 See http://cte.oeaw.ac.at/
Edition Two contains my edition of *Malkə'ə Lālibalā*, attested only in MS UNESCO 2.85.

0.9. My Presentations and Publications Related to the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’: tradition and documentation

My first presentation on the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ as a PhD student took place during the 19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held in Warsaw from August 24th to 28th 2015. In this presentation I discussed the work done by Perruchon and introduced the idea to distinguish within the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ at least two parts, Gadl and Miracles.

My next presentation on the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ took place at the first bilateral Naples-Hamburg Workshop ‘Ethiopian Philology: The State of the Art and What to Do’ at the University of Naples ‘L’Orientale’, held from March 9th to 11th 2016. In this presentation I discussed ‘Il Discorso sul Monte Coscam Attribuito a Teofilo d’Alessandria nella Versione Etiopica’106 as one of the sources for the ‘Life of Lālibalā’.

I held my last presentation on the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ during the 20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held in Mekelle from October 1st to 5th 2018. In this presentation I have introduced the Multi-Unit Hypothesis of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ and consequently my editorial policy.

106 See Conti Rossini 1912.
Chapter One. Lālibalā’s hagiographic dossier

In this chapter, I will provide an overview of the textual units related to Saint Lālibalā in Ga’z (not in Amharic) or transmitted together with the basic ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ collection. I will divide all textual units into three groups: (i) fourteen textual units that belong to the basic ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ collection; (ii) other textual units transmitted together with group (i); (iii) textual units that have not been attested together with group but mention Saint Lālibalā (i).

To begin the investigation of an Ethiopian literary text, ለAklila በምርሃን ዋልዳ ጒርጉስ’s 107 ስርሃ የበቡና (‘The Guide of Wisdom’) 108 serves as a good starting point. His book is a concise survey of indigenous Ethiopian scholarly history and provides an inventory of literary works in Ga’z and Amharic. In a chapter about Gadlät / Vitae, ለAklila በምርሃን ዋልዳ ጒርጉስ mentions on p. 80 ‘Gadla Lālibalā ከኞጉስ’ / ‘The Life of King Lālibalā’ (ያስሳት ታስቂ ሳንቲ), and on p. 79 ‘Gadla Masqal ኪብራ የታ-ለበላል’ / ‘The Life of Masqal ኪብራ from Lālibalā’ (ያስሳት ከልገል ሳንቲ. ከሆን ከጉጠ). Further, in a section about malḵa 109 (መልክሱ, lit. ‘image’), on p. 87, ለAklila በምርሃን ዋልዳ ጒርጉስ mentions ‘Malka’ा Lālibalā’ (መልክሱ ታስቂ). One can very plausibly suppose that by ‘Gadla Lālibalā ከኞጉስ’ , Aklila በምርሃን ዋልዳ ጒርጉስ means what is commonly known as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’, that is (according to the terminology used in this thesis) either the basic ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ collection or only the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ proper. A closer look at the various manuscripts labelled as ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ shows that their contents are only partially the same. That is why one has to stipulate what is to count as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’. Moreover, at times cataloguers have mislabelled ‘ሆስረካ የታ-ለበላል’ / ‘The Homily of Lālibalā’ (ERQ’A ወሚን) 110 as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’. Therefore, with less probability, behind the ‘Gadla Lālibalā ከኞጉስ’ Aklila በምርሃን ዋልዳ ጒርጉስ could conceivably mean instead the ‘ሆስረካ የታ-ለበላል’ / ‘The Homily of Lālibalā’ (ERQ’A ወሚን). When it comes to the ‘Gadla Masqal ኪብራ የታ-ለበላል’ and the ‘Malka’ा Lālibalā’, the overview below will suggest several possible identifications for each.

To date, the recently published book ‘Gadla በድርስነ የታ-ለበላል’ 111 can be considered the richest collection of Saint King Lālibalā’s hagiography. It was prepared by the scholars of Dabra Sabakā Guba’e of Lālibalā town. As sources for this edition, they used several manuscripts and liturgical objects. As is common in Ethiopia, scribes have now started to copy new manuscripts

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108 Walda Qirqos 1951.
109 I do not know any equivalent for the term malḵa in English; ‘Image’ as a literary genre does not exist in English. Therefore, I leave the term malḵa without translating it. It is a poetic genre that presents and discusses the saint’s body parts one by one, stanza by stanza, each with theological and metaphorical interpretation.
110 See Derat 2016. Note that Sergew Hable Sellasie refers to it as ‘ወንስ ሳንቲ’ / ‘Story of Lālibalā’ (ERQ’A ወሚን), see Sergew Hable Selassie 1972.
from this printed book. I myself have seen one manuscript copied from this printed book in the
monastery of Dabra Libānos, although I cannot state whether all textual units contained in the
printed book were copied into the manuscript or not. Anyway, this book marks an important
turn in the textual transmission of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ collection.

My initial concern was to find attestations in the manuscripts for all the textual units that
are printed as ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā 2007’. I have indeed found in manuscripts attestations of all
hagiographic textual units in Gǝʿz published in ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā 2007’, apart from the
prayer112 attributed to King Lālibalā, which is known only as an inscription on the manbara tābot
of the church of Golgotā in Lālibalā town.113 It is important to note that the Dabra Sabakā Gubā’
e scholars intentionally introduced changes into some textual units.114 During my study, I have
come across many other textual units that either are attested together with the ‘Gadla Lālibalā
collection’ or touch on the figure of Lālibalā.

This overview has the following objectives:
1) to introduce the rich hagiographic tradition related to King Lālibalā as a saint, meaning the
‘Gadla Lālibalā’ collection’ and other textual units transmitted together with it as well as those that
have been attested separately and as such have an independent history of textual transmission.

The overview points out that the hagiographic tradition – or better, traditions – related to Saint Lā
libalā have been neither limited to the Lāstā region, where Lālibalā town is located, nor to any
particular century. On the contrary, they seem to be the product of an ongoing process of
composition and copying which started long before the fifteenth century and which has involved
many different individuals throughout the country.
2) to identify textual units that often appear under the label ‘Gadla Lālibalā’. As it appears, a
number of textual units that were not introduced by Perruchon or Kur also belong under the
umbrella of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’.

3) to provide a first acquaintance with the idea of distinguishing separate textual units within the
‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. This distinguishing of textual units is the main hypothesis of this thesis.
It will be discussed in more detail in chapter four, after other important elements supporting this
hypothesis have been introduced.

112 Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā 2007, 179-182. This prayer was edited by Gigar Tesfaye, see Tesfaye and Pirenne
1984, 115-119.
113 But see Bosc-Tiessé 2010.
114 I will introduce more information on the ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā 2007’ as well as on ‘Gadla Qǝddus L
ālibalā 2010’ editions in Chapter Four.
1.1. ‘The Gadla Lālibalā collection’

This chapter is directly related to the next chapter, where I discuss the manuscripts of the corpus. Here I will introduce my identification of the textual units that often appear under the label ‘Gadla Lālibalā’.

1.1.1. Preamble

The first textual unit, ‘Preamble’, is what one might expect as the prelude of a gadl in Gəz hagiography, which commonly begins with a rhymed piece on the creation of the world; in the case of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ the preamble displays a word-for-word identity with the preamble of the ‘Life of Krǝstos Samrā’\textsuperscript{115} (see chapter five), which in a way proves its generic and non-specific quality.\textsuperscript{116}

‘Preamble’ is attested in the following twenty-four manuscripts:\textsuperscript{117} DabŠy-001 fols. 1ra-7ra; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 1ra-4rb; EMML 6931 fols. 3ra-7ra; EMML 6921 fols. 1ra-7rb; EMML 6964 fols. 2ra-7rb; EMML 7051 = NL 46 fols. 3ra-9ra; EMML 6770 (material loss: the beginning is missing) fols. 1ra-4rb; EMML 2836 fols. 3ra-7va; EMML 6451 fols. 2ra-7va; EMML 8942 fols. 2ra-6rb; MotGiorg-001 fols. 42ra-45rb; BL Ms. Ethiopian 4 fols. 1r-6v; Kǝbrǝn 31 fols. 1ra-4vb; BetLib-001 fols. 25ra-27vb; BetEman-001 fols. 1ra-7ra; BetMarq-001 fols. 3ra-8rb; MasKa-003 fols. 1ra-6va; NazMa-001 fols. 1ra-6ra; BL Orient. 719 fols. 2ra-10va; BL Orient. 718 fols. 1ra-5vb; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 1ra-6vb; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 1ra-5vb; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 5ra-10va; EMIP 1908_HazenCodex.

‘Preamble’ corresponds to ‘Introduction’ / ‘Discours d’introduction. - Invocation à la Trinité. -Éloge de Lālibalā’ in Perruchon’s Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie.\textsuperscript{118} The same textual unit corresponds to መቅድም / ‘Preamble’ in Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’.\textsuperscript{119}

Incipit 1. አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡፩፡አምላክ፡ሥላሴ፡ዋሕድ፡ዕሩይ፡ዘኢይሰደቅ፡ታሉት፡ዘኢይነፍድ፡ዘሀሎ፡እምቅድም፡እምክዋኔሁ፡እንዘ፡ אניትበዐድ።
2. ይምግጻዌሁ፡እንዘ፡ኢየሐጹስ፡ወኢይፈደፍድ።
3. በዐንስረ፡ዓለም፡ዘኢይትገመር፡ወኢይትኤለድ።
4. ማእታ፡ወልድ፡እምአብ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡እምወልድ፡
The second textual unit, 'Jesus and His redeeming fire', firstly narrates poetically the life of Jesus Christ; it contains some similarities with or allusions to the 'Homily of Epiphanius of Crete' (see chapter five). It follows up with references to the fire and the rope of salvation, ending with poetic lines in praise of Saint Lalibala's virtues, always illustrated with quotations from the New Testament.

'Jesus and His redeeming fire' is attested in the following twenty-four manuscripts: DabSy-001 fols. 7ra-9vb; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 4rb-5vb; EMML 6931 fols. 7ra-8vb; EMML 6921 fols. 7rb-10ra; EMML 6964 fols. 7rb-9vb; EMML 7051 = NL 46 fols. 9ra-11rb; EMML 6770 fols. 4rb-7va; EMML 2836 fols. 7va-9vb; EMML 6451 fols. 7va-9vb; EMML 8942 fols. 6rb-8ra; MotGiorg-001 fols. 45vb-47rb; BL Ms. Ethiopic 4 fols. 6v-9v; Kǝbrǝn 31 (material loss: ending is missing) fols. 5ra-7vb; BetLib-001 fols. 28ra-29rb; BetEman-001 fols. 7ra-9rb; BetMarq-001 fols. 8rb-10va; MasKa-003 fols. 6va-9rb; NazMa-001 fols. 6ra-8ra; BL Orient. 719, fols. 10va-13vb; BL Orient. 718 fols. 6ra-8vb; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 6v-9v; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 5va-7vb; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 10va-12vb; EMIP 1908_HazenCodex.

'Jesus and His redeeming fire' corresponds to Perruchon's 'Vie de Lalibala roi d'Éthiopie, Seconde introduction' (text), 72-76 (trans). In dealing with Perruchon’s edition I note two subtitles, one for the text and the other for the translation, only if they differ.

Incipient 1. 'First, I thank God' in the first edition of 'Gadla Qǝddus Lalibala', and to 'About his death' in the second edition.

120 See Weischer 1979.
121 Perruchon 1892, 7-10 (text), 72-76 (trans).
122 In dealing with Perruchon’s edition I note two subtitles, one for the text and the other for the translation, only if they differ.
1.1.3. Teaching about Saints

The third textual unit, 'Teaching about Saints', praises Saint Lalibala's virtues, but also introduces general considerations about sainthood and the Last Judgement. The text is revolving around 1 Cor. 15:41, Rom. 8:17, Acts 14:22, Ps. 62:12, Rev. 5:5, 3:21. The second half of this unit focuses on quotations from Mt 25:35-45. This textual unit, along with the three following ones (i.e. 3–6), do not appear in Perruchon's edition.

'Teaching about Saints' is attested in the following twenty-four manuscripts: DabṢǝy-001 fols. 9 vb-14va; BnF d'Abbadie 139 fols. 5vb-8vb; EMML 6931 fols. 8vb-11vb; EMML 6921 fols. 10ra-15ra; EMML 6964 fols. 9vb-13vb; EMML 7051 = NL 46 fols. 11rb-15rb; EMML 6770 fols. 7va-9ra; EMML 2836 fols. 9vb-13va; EMML 6451 fols. 9vb-13vb; EMML 8942 fols. 8ra-11rb; MotGior-001 fols. 47rb-50rb; BL Ms. Ethiopic 4 fols. 9v-14v; Kabràn 31 (material loss: the beginning is missing) fols. 7vb-10va; BetLib-001 fols. 29rb-31vb; BetEman-001 fols. 9rb-12vb; BetMarq-001 fols. 10va-14rb; MasKa-003 fols. 9rb-13rb; NazMa-001 fols. 8ra-11vb; BL Orient. 719 fols. 13vb-19rb; BL Orient. 718 fols. 8vb-12rb; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 9rb-13rb; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 7vb-11ra; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 12v-16va; EMIP 1908_HazenCodex.

'Jesus and His redeeming fire' §§ 1-9 corresponds to Perruchon's Vie de Lalibala roi d'Ethiopie, the end of the 'Seconde introduction'125/ 'Deuxième discours: résumé de la vie du Christ'. 'Jesus and His redeeming fire' partially corresponds to ለፋፋፋ፡ እኔፋፋፎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ 'First, I thank God' and to the end of ከፋፋፋ፡ እኔፋፎ፡ 'And again he received the glory' in the first edition of 'Gadla Qǝddus Lalibala' and partially to ከፋፎ፡ እኔፋፎ፡ 'About his death' in the second edition and to ከፋፎ፡ እኔፋፎ፡ 'About his death' in the second edition.126

124 From here on, text reconstruction and translation are in progress.
125 Perruchon 1892, 10 (text), 76 (trans).
1.1.4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem

The fourth textual unit, ‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’, consists mostly of quotations, a considerable number of lines from Ps. 119 but also Ezek. 44:7, Rev. 21:23, Jn. 3:20-21, 1 Cor. 11:1, 1 Jn. 2:6. Each of these quotations is then explicitly related to Lālibalā. In ‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ we find an occurrence of his regnal name, Gabra Masqal. It is noteworthy also that the presence or absence of the actual name Lālibalā (at least explicitly, i.e. written as ቈላሊበላ) varies from manuscript to manuscript; this needs further critical investigation based on a critically reconstructed text.

‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ is attested in the following twenty-four manuscripts: DabŠay-001 fols. 14va-19va; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 8va-11vb; EMML 6931 fols. 11vb-15rb; EMML 6921 fols. 15ra-20vb; EMML 6964 fols. 13vb-19ra; EMML 7051 = NL 46 fols. 15rb-18vb; EMML 6770 (split unit) fols. 9ra-10va and continues on fols. 34rb-37rb; EMML 2836 fols. 13va-18rb (fols. 17v-18r are missing from the reproduction); EMML 6451 (split unit) fols. 13vb-15va and continues on fols. 41va-44va; EMML 8942 fols. 11rb-15rb; MotGiorg-001 fols. 50rb-53vb; BL Ms. Ethiopic 4 (split unit) fols. 14v-17r and continues on fols. 50v-54v; Kabrān 31 (material lost: the end is missing) fols. 10va-14vb; BetLib-001 fols. 31vb-34vb; BetEman-001 fols. 12vb-17ra; BetMarq-001 fols. 14rb-18vb; MasKa-003 fols. 13rb-20ra; NazMa-001 fols. 11vb-16ra; BL Orient. 719 fols. 19rb-26rb; BL Orient. 718 fols. 12rb-17va; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 13rb-18rb; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 11ra-15rb; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 16va-21rb; EMIP 1908_HazenCodex.

‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ is absent in Perruchon’s *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*. It corresponds to ወንታች፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ቀውእቱ፡ ዋምኔሆሙ፡ ዋምኔለ፡ ረሮ፡ ወስተ፡ ዆ም፡ አርዌ፡ ዋወይኀሥሥ፡ ዆ስከ፡ ይእዜ፡ ለኀተ፡ ለእንተ ዕረፍቱ / ‘About his death’ in the second edition.

127

127 Published by Gadla Qoddis Lālibalā 2007, 19-24; 2010, 334-347.
1.1.5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of Gospel

The fifth textual unit, ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’, again celebrates Saint Lālibalā’s virtues, as does the sixth textual unit, ‘Praise for Lālibalā’. Both texts frequently have a phrase like ‘As it says in Scripture’ references to the Scriptures, though I have not yet identified all of them.

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ is attested in the following twenty-four manuscripts: DabṢǝy-001 fols. 19va-23va; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 11vb-14rb; EMML 6931 fols. 15rb-18ra; EMML 6921 fols. 20vb-25va; EMML 6964 fols. 19ra-23rb; EMML 6451 fols. 44va-47vb; EMML 8942 fols. 15rb-18va; EmIP 1908_HazenCodex.

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ is absent in Perruchon’s Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie. It corresponds to መንግስት፡ የእክንፋ ከብእሲ፡ ከከቱሪ፡ የጋወንኑ፡ የሚልእልተ፡ ከወርጉም፡ ላይፋ፡ ከእምኔ፡ የእምአመ፡ የተወልደ፡ ከእምከርሠ፡ የጥምቀት፡ ከኢተግሆː፡ የእምቃለ፡ ከመጻሕፍት፡ የውእቱ፡ የእስትንፋሰ፡ የመለኮት።

Explicit (Supplication) 53. ከእምው፡ ከእምኔ፡ የእምአመ፡ የተወልደ፡ ከእምከርሠ፡ የጥምቀት፡ ከኢተግሆː፡ የእምቃለ፡ ከመጻሕፍት፡ የውእቱ፡ የእስትንፋሰ፡ የመለኮት።

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1.1.6. Praise for Lālibalā

The sixth textual unit, ‘Praise for Lālibalā’, is a texture of various hymns/chants that are interwoven at different levels.

‘Praise for Lālibalā’ is attested in the following twenty-four manuscripts: DabṢay-001 fols. 23va-36vb; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 14rb-21va; EMML 6931 fols. 18ra-25vb; EMML 6921 fols. 25va-39rb; EMML 6964 fols. 23rb-34vb; EMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 21va-28rb; EMML 6770 (split unit) fols. 40vb-42va and continues on fols. 10va-19ra; EMML 2836 fols. 22ra-33vb; EMML 6451 (split unit) fols. 47vb-49va and continues on fols. 15va-25ra; EMML 8942 fols. 18va-27va; MotGiorg-001 fols. 56va-65ra; BL Ms. Ethiopic 4 (split unit) fols. 59v-61v and continues on fols. 17r-29r; Kǝbrǝn 31 fols. 18va-27rb; BetLib-001 fols. 37rb-44rb; BetEman-001 fols. 20vb-23vb (end of the photographed material); BetMarq-001 fols. 22rb-31vb; MasKa-003 fols. 24ra-35rb; NazMa-001 fols. 19va-28va; BL Orient. 719 fols. 32ra-47va; BL Orient. 718 fols. 21va-33va; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 22rb-33va; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 18va-27vb; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 23ra-35vb; EMIP 1908_HazenCodex.

‘Praise for Lālibalā’ is absent in Perruchon’s Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie. It corresponds to መበዝ፡ ካዕበ፡ ካዕበ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ላይ;

And because of this all again Lālibalā and to ለሚመጠነኬ ይደል ላዓሌ፡ ላይ;

How much praise is appropriate in ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ of the first edition and to ለበእንተ ትጋሁ ወትሩፋቲሁ ላይ;

‘About his diligence and his virtues’ of the second edition.129

Incipit 1. መበዝ፡ ካዕበ፡ ካዕበ፡ ካዕበ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ላይ;

Explicit (Supplication) 125. መበዝ፡ ላይ;

126. መበዝ፡ ላይ;

127. መበዝ፡ ላይ;

1.1.7. Life of Lālibalā

The seventh and largest textual unit is the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ proper.\(^{130}\) The life starts with an introduction in which the author warns those who might find his narration tedious that by neglecting the narration they will delight Satan. The text is in general rich with various moralistic reflections.

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’ is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts: DabŞay-001 fols. 37ra-117rb; BN d’Abbadie 139 fols. 21va-71vb; EMML 6931 fols. 26ra-78ra; EMML 6921 fols. 39rb-131vb; EMML 6964 fols. 34vb-115ra; EMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 28rb-92ra; EMML 6770 fols. 19ra-98ra (excluding ffols. 34rb-42va); EMML 2836 fols. 33vb-110va; EMML 6451 fols. 25rb-100rb (excluding fols. 41va-49va); EMML 8942 fols. 27vb-89vb; MotGior-001 fols. 65ra-126rb; Ms Ethiopic 4 fols. 29r-140v (excluding ffols. 50v-61v); Kǝbrǝn 31 fols. 27rb-84vb; BetLib-001 fols. 44vb-90vb; BetMarq-001 fols. 31vb-92ra (excluding fols. 71rb-72ra); MasKa-003 fols. 35rb-110vb; NazMa-001 fols. 28va-86rb; BL Orient. 719, fols. 47va-143vb; BL Orient. 718 fols. 33vb-115rb; Parm. 3852 fols. 33vb-118vb; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 27vb-94ra; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 35vb-108rb.

With some changes, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ is published by Dabra Sabakā Gubāe, ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ 2007 and 2010. Partially edited by Perruchon as Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie. and partially (complementing Perruchon’s work) edited by Kur.\(^{131}\)

Incipit: የትመየጥኬ፡ኀበ፡ጥቡአት፡ገድሉ፡ለዝንቱ፡ዕፍረት፡ምዑዝ፡ከመ፡ኢየምሰሎ፡ዝንጋዔ፡ለልበ፡አብድ፡ለዘኢያፈቅር፡ውዳሴሆም፡ለጻድቃን።

Explicit: ቈከመዝ፡ነበረ፡በኵሉ፡መዋዕለ፡ሕይወቱ፡እምአመ፡ነግሠ፡እስከ፡አመ፡ፈለሰ።

I have identified some manuscripts that contain narrative units from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ often as part of other collections. Each of such narrative units is a semantic unit and hence I have introduced a working title for each. To make these narrative units from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ identifiable, I will provide the first and last lines of these excerpts, which become incipit and explicit of these excerpts.

Thus, MS EMML 6592 contains two excerpts from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ as part of a seventeen-folium compilation that is entitled on the same fol. 1ra as ‘ya-Lālibalā tārik’ / ‘The History of Lālibalā’ (የላሊባላ ታሪክ) and as ‘ya- Lālibalā gadl’ / The ‘Life of Lālibalā’ (የላሊበላ ገድል). Both excerpts, together with other texts, are compiled in one text. The first excerpt starts

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\(^{130}\) See also Derat 2018, 216-218.

with passages on how God shows Lālibalā ten monolithic churches, appoints him to the reign and gives Lālibalā kidân about the churches. It ends up with the passages on how Lālibalā comes back to the earth.’

Incipit (fol. 1ra) እኔው፡ እን፣ መሆኑ፣ መሂኔን፣ ዘድራ፣ ያት፣ ይምህር፣ ፈስብ፣ እርርዮ፣ አብያተ፣ በላዕለ፣ ይካራን፣ የአርአዮ፣ አብያተ፣ ዐሠርተ።

 Explicit (fol. 4rb) ከሆኔን፣ እፋለት፣ ዊኝትን፣ ወንጹሆ፣ ሥጋ፣ እስመ፣ ናሁ፣ ረከብከኒ፣ ወይእዜኒ፡ ደፈሣሕ፡ ኦጽሩየ፡ ልብ፡ ወንጹሐ፡ ሥጋ፡ እስመ፡ ናሁ፡ ረከብከኒ፣ ወከመዝ፡ እትራከቦሙ፤ ለኵሎሙ፤ እለ፡ የኃሥሡኒ።

The first excerpt continues with the second that starts with passages on how Jesus appears to Lālibalā in Jerusalem and continues till the end of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’.

Incipit (fol. 4rb) መቃሉ፣ ከስፋኑ፣ ከስፋኑ፣ እንተ፡ ወድነገፀ፡ ወደነገፀ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ እኁሁ። ወገሠፆ፡ ብዙኃ፡ በከመ፡ ገሠጾ፡ ዕንባቆም፡ ያሕሠም፡ ላዕለ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ እኁሁ፡ አመ፡ ዴገኖ።

Explicit (fol. 9vb) ወእንበይነ፡ መንግሥትከ፡ ፈቃድከ፡ ለይኩን። ለዘፈቀድከ፡ ሀብ፡ ምንት፡ ዘበቍዜኒ፡ ላይክን። ዘበምድር፡ ያድኅነነ፡ ለኵልነ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን።

MS EMML 7050=NT 47, eighteenth/nineteenth century, containing the collection of different textual or/and narrative units, on fol. 148ra contains an excerpt on the ‘Vision of Jesus Christ to Ḥarbāy, ordering to give the throne to Lālibalā’: 

Incipit (fol. 148ra): ወእምዝ፡ መጽአ፡ ኀቤሁ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኀበ፡ ነጋሢ፡ በሌሊት፡ ትርእዮ፡ ወደነገፀ፡ ያየዉሳም፣ በእንተ፡ ዘአሕሠመ፡ በላዕለ፡ ላሊበላ፡ እኁሁ። ወገሠፆ፡ ብዙኃ፡ በከመ፡ ገሠጾ፡ ዕንባቆም፡ ያሕሠም፡ ላዕለ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ እኁሁ፡ አመ፡ ዴገኖ።

Explicit fol. 142vb: መንግሥተ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ያድኅነነ፡ ለኵልነ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ክርስቲያን።

MS EMIP 1908_HazenCodex135, twentieth century, containing divergent material, on fol. 52va-52vb contains an excerpt from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ on ‘How Lālibalā grew up’: 

Incipit fol. 52va: መሆኑ፡ እጋዊ፣ [empty space for rubrication] እን፣ እትራቅፋ፣ እን፣ እምላክ መርካት፣ አብያተ፣ መሂኔን፣ ዘድራ፣ ያት፣ ይምህር፣ ፈስብ፣ እርርዮ፣ አብያተ፣ በላዕለ፣ ይካራን፣ የአርአዮ፣ አብያተ፣ ዐሠርተ።

133 Cf. Perruchon 1892, 40.
134 These passages were omitted by Perruchon and not recovered by Kur.
135 MS EMIP 1908_HazenCodex contains fully six previous textual units and it is clear that they were the main interest of the scholar, not the ‘Life of Lālibalā’.
136 Cf. Perruchon 1892, 14.
Explicit fol. 52vb:

The text contains a series of words in Ge'ez, which are not immediately translatable due to their complexity.

137 Cf. Perruchon 1892, 14.

Beginning of the ‘Life of Lālibālā’ on fol. 54r-54v:

Incipit fol. 54r, line 12: የተመየጥኬ፡ ኀበ፡ ጥንNSMutable፡ ገድሉ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ዕፍረቱ፡ ምዑዝ፡ ከመ፡ ይምሰሎ፡ ዝንጋኤ፡ ለልበ፡ አብድ፡ ለዘ፡ ኢያፈቅር፡ ውዳሴሆሙ፡ ለጻድቃን።

Explicit fol. 54v:

The text contains a continuation of the Ge'ez text, similar to the previous page.

Supplication:

The supplication is written in Ge'ez, with elements in the Middle Coptic script.

And another excerpt on fol. 54v, line 26, the ‘How Lālibālā fulfilled an order from the Gospel concerning loving his next’:

Incipit, fol. 54v, line 26 – Explicit: የተመየጥኬ፡ ኀበ፡ ጥን退市ኬ፡ ገድሉ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ዕፍረቱ፡ ምዑዝ፡ ከመ፡ ይምሰሎ፡ ዝንጋኤ፡ ለልበ፡ አብድ፡ ለዘ፡ ኢያፈቅር፡ ውዳሴሆሙ፡ ለጻድቃን።

MS EMML 7500, eighteenth century, preserved in the church of Golgotā, containing mainly ደርስና ግብርኤል / Dērāsa Gābraʾel (‘Homily of Gābraʾel’), on fol. 108rb-108vb contains an excerpt from the ‘Life of Lālibālā’, which can be entitled as ‘How Saint Lālibālā went to Jerusalem,
accompanied by the Archangel Gäbraʾel,\textsuperscript{139} in the manuscript entitled as ለቅዱስ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ድካሞ፡ ወብካዮ። ለላሊበላ፡ ጾሮ፡ በአክናካሁ፡ ወአብጽሖ፡ ኢየሩሳለም።

Incipit, fol. 108rb: ለቅዱስ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ድካሞ፡ ወብካዮ። ለላሊበላ፡ ጾሮ፡ በአክናካሁ፡ ወአብጽሖ፡ ኢየሩሳለም።

Supplication: እተታ፡ ወርከ፡ እትሬ፡ ወለያ getMenuInflater፡ ወንጂ፡ ወወሩ። ለላሊበላ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ ገብርኤል፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ወምስለ፡ ጸሐፋሑ።

Explicit fol. 108vb: ለቅዱስ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ኢየሩሳለም።

Supplication: እተታ፡ ወርከ፡ እትሬ፡ ወለያ倬ን፡ ወንጂ፡ ወወሩ። ለላሊበላ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ ገብርኤል፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ወምስለ፡ ጸሐፋሑ።

1.1.8. Three men visit King Lālibalā

The eighth textual unit, 'Three men visit King Lālibalā', along with other textual units that follow, is entitled in some manuscripts as a miracle. This and the following textual units (i.e. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) are present in Perruchon’s edition. In this short episode we learn that one day, when King Lālibalā was about to eat, three brothers came and begged him for food. As Lālibalā had the habit of eating only three morsels, he gave one morsel apiece to each of the three brothers and remained with nothing for himself. When Lālibalā’s servant wanted to give him some bread moistened with vegetables, the king refused, saying that it would nullify his charity. And then he ordered his servant to give the three brothers other food and beverage and, in case they needed it, also clothing. But when the servant went out, he saw the three brothers ascending into heaven, for they were angels that came to Gabra Masqal in order to prove his virtue. For his love for strangers, King Lālibalā and his seed were blessed with the blessing of Abraham.

'Three men visit King Lālibalā' is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts: DabŠ ǝy-001 fols. 117rb-118vb; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 71vb-72vb; EMML 6931 fols. 79ra-80ra; EMML 6921 fols. 131vb-133va; EMML 6964 fols. 115ra-116vb; EMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 92ra-92vb; EMML 6770 fols. 98ra-99va; EMML 2836 fols. 110va-112ra; EMML 6451 fols. 100rb-101va; EMML 8942 fols. 89vb-90vb; MotGiorg-001 fols. 126rb-127va; Ms Ethiopian 4 fols. 140v-142v; Ka brān 31 fols. 84vb-85vb; BetLib-001 fols. 91ra-92r; BetMarq-001 fols. 92ra-93rb; MasKa-003 fols. 110vb-112ra; NazMa-001 fols. 86vb-87vb; BL Orient. 719, fols. 143vb-145va; BL Orient. 718 fols.

\textsuperscript{139} Exactly in the taken passage there is a clear allusion in the text to the apocryphe ‘Flight into Egypt’, see chapter four.

\textsuperscript{140} Cf. Kur 1972, 389-391.

\textsuperscript{141} The narration of the miracle ends with the arrival to Jerusalem, while in the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ at this moment they reach the Patriarch.
"Three men visit King Lālibalā" (not distinguished by title) was edited by Perruchon as Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Ethiopie. The same textual unit corresponds to the first of ላሊበላ ሲክርስ / 'Miracles of Saint Lālibalā' in Gadla Qeddus Lālibalā of the first edition and to ላሊበላ ገድል / 'First miracle' of the second edition.

Incipit: ወእምዝ፡ ኮነ፡ አሐተ፡ ዕለተ፡ እንዘ፡ ይፈቅድ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ከመ፡ ይደረር፡ መጽኡ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ አኃው፡ ቅሩበ፡ ጽርሐ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ኀበ፡ ይረፍቅ፡ ውእቱ።

Explicit: ወእግዚእነሂ፡ ይሔውጾሙ፡ ወይትአነገድ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤቶሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ያፈቅሩ፡ ነግደ። በከመ፡ ቀንጎደ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤቱ፡ ለአብርሃም። ወይባርኮሙ፡ በከመ፡ ባረኮ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወለዘርኡ። ወበከመ፡ ባረኮ፡ ሊገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ዝንቱኬ፡ ውእቱ፡ መንክራቲሁ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ዝተሠረ፡ ክበደ፡ ጽሙና፡ ወክበደ። ላሊበላ፡ ይለወጽ፡ ዝንተ፡ ውእቱ፡ መንክራቲሁ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ዝተሠረ፡ ክበደ፡ ጽሙና፡ ወክበደ። እስመ፡ ኢበልاوي፡ በመዋዕለ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ሠለስተ፡ አፍ እምት። ወኢሰትየ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ አሐቲ፡ ጽዋዕ።

"Three men visit King Lālibalā" comes immediately after the excerpt from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ in MS EMML 6592 fols. 9vb-10rb. MS EMML 6592 contains a 16-folia compilation, entitled የላሊባላ ታሪክ / 'The History of Lālibalā' የላሊበላ ገድል / 'The Life of Lālibalā'. Moreover, ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ is attested together with other textual units about Saint King Lālibalā in the collection contained in MS NT 47 fols. 141r-142r. Independently, ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ is attested in MS EMML 7515, nineteenth century, fol. 159rv. In MS EMML 7237, ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ is contained on fol. 2ravb, which belongs to a different unit of production.

In some manuscripts, this textual unit appears as simple continuation of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. This is the case of BL Orient. 718, which apparently influenced Perruchon’s perception. Indeed, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ ends with the introduction of the severe fasting that Lālibalā imposed upon himself, while ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ continues the same topic. Moreover, stylistically the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ seem to be very close. Although one can argue that the above-mentioned examples of an independent circulation are applicable to a narrative unit as well, ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ fits rather a definition of a

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142 Perruchon 1892, 44-46 (text), 110-112 (trans.)
143 Here I note titles that are found in MS EMML 6931 and therefore being modern, reflect the idea of the editorial team. Textual units 8-14 in MS EMML 6931 begin with an inscription, which I discuss in chapter four. The same inscriptions are preserved in the edition, just being extended with a modern title.
145 Perruchon 1892, 44.
textual unit and therefore I distinguish it from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, even if it was written by the same author.

1.1.9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out
The ninth textual unit is ‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’. In this short episode we learn that once on the day of bringing tribute to King Lālibalā, there was a group of people bearing honey for the king. As it was the time of heavy rain and the river was full, they were sitting on the bank, afraid to cross. Yet, the delay was significant and, fearing to incur the king’s disgrace even more, they risked crossing the river. During the crossing, the current of the river carried away the pots of honey, the people barely managing to escape with their lives. They informed their chiefs of what had happened, who, in turn, informed the king. However, Lālibalā, being a wise king, instead of expressing displeasure, to everyone’s relief reacted with a smile and a joke. When the flood passed, the pots were found intact and delivered to the king; this miracle was ascribed to the king’s prayer.

‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’ is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts: DabŠay-001 fols. 118vb-121va; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 72vb-74va; EMMML 6931 fols. 80ra-82ra; EMMML 6921 fols. 133va-136vb; EMMML 6964 fols. 116vb-119va; EMMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 92vb-94rb; EMMML 6770 fols. 99va-102rb; EMMML 2836 fols. 112ra-115ra; EMMML 6451 fols. 101va-103va; EMMML 8942 fols. 90vb-93ra; MotGior-001 fols. 127va-129vb; Ms Ethiopic 4 fols. 142v-146r; Kaβrân 31 fols. 85vb-88ra; BetLib-001 fols. 92ra-94ra; BetMarq-001 fols. 93rb-95va; MasKa-003 fols. 112ra-114va; NazMa-001 fols. 87vb-89vb; BL Orient. 719, fols. 145va-148vb; BL Orient. 718 fols. 116vb-119ra; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 120r-123ra; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 95va-98ra; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 110ra-112va.

‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’ corresponds to Perruchon’s: ‘Miracle en faveur de Lālibalā’.146 The same textual unit corresponds to the fourth of ከክርስ ሙስ የለባል / ‘Miracles of Saint Lālibalā’ in ‘Gadla Qoddus Lālibalā’ of the first edition and to ከክርስ ዋ / ‘Fourth miracle’ of the second edition.147

‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’ is also attested in a different collection of textual units about Saint King Lālibalā, contained in MS NT 47 fols. 145ra-147ra.

146 Perruchon 1892, 46-49 (text), 112-115 (trans.).
1.1.10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper

The tenth textual unit is ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’. From this episode we learn that once, offering food to his army, Lālibalā left his tent dressed like a beggar and joined the beggars to receive the bread of poverty distributed by his own order. Despite the disguise, one of the troubadours recognised the king and started to sing a song about a king who went around with beggars like a poor wretch. This made Lālibalā return to his tent, as he wanted to keep his righteousness secret.

‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts:

DabṢǝy-001 fols. 121va-123ra; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 74vb-75vb; EMML 6931 fols. 82ra-83rb; EMML 6921 fols. 136vb-138va; EMML 6964 fols. 119va-120vb; EMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 94rb-95ra; EMML 6770 fols. 102rb-104ra; EMML 2836 fols. 115rb-117ra; EMML 6451 fols. 103va-104vb; EMML 8942 fols. 93ra-94rb; MotGiorg-001 fols. 129vb-131ra; Ms Ethiopic 4 fols. 146r-148r; Kǝbrǝn 31 fols. 88ra-89ra; BetLib-001 fols. 94ra-95ra; BetMarq-001 fols. 95va-97rb; MasKǝn-003 fols. 114va-115vb; NazMa-001 fols. 89vb-90vb; BL Orient. 719, fols. 148vb-150va; BL Orient. 718 fols. 119vb-120va; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 123ra-124vb; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 98ra-99va; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 112va-114rb.

‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ corresponds to Perruchon’s: ‘Humilité de Lālibalā’.¹⁵⁰ The same textual unit corresponds to the third of ‘†አለምነር ትእዛኛ ወሊበላ’/‘Miracles of Saint Lālibalā’ of the first edition of ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ and to ‘†አለምነር ያ’/‘Third miracle’ of the second edition.¹⁵¹

‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ is also attested in a different collection of textual units about Saint King Lālibalā contained in MS NT 47 fols. 142r-143ra.

¹⁴⁸ Perruchon 1892, 46.
¹⁴⁹ Id., 49.
¹⁵⁰ Id., 49-51 (text), 115-117 (trans.).
¹⁵² Perruchon 1892, 49.
1.1.11. Lālibalā and a rebel

The eleventh textual unit is ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’. Here we learn that there was a revolt against the king. Lālibalā sent his son to settle the conflict. The son tried to address the rebel with a word of peace, but received in response a word of insult. The next morning the son of the rebel, who was in charge of an army, challenged the son of Lālibalā to a duel, during which Lālibalā’s son killed his rival. When the son of the rebel died, his army was shattered and Lālibalā’s son surrounded them and caught the rebellious father. The rebel was tied up and brought to King Lālibalā, who decided to pardon him. However, the rebel, instead of praising the king’s mercy, started to mock him, saying he was crazy for letting him go free. God’s judgement was quick: the rebel died, pierced by the branch of a tree on his way back.

‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts: DabṢay-001 (displaced folium order) fols. 123ra-124vb and continues on fols. 131ra; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 75vb-77rb; EMML 6931 fols. 83rb-85ra; EMML 6921 fols. 138va-141va; EMML 6964 fols. 121ra-123rb; EMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 95ra-97ra; EMML 6770 fols. 104ra-106va; EMML 2836 fols. 117ra-119va; EMML 6451 fols. 104vb-106vb; EMML 6964 fols. 121ra-123rb; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 75vb-77rb; EMML 6931 fols. 83rb-85ra; EMML 6921 fols. 138va-141va; EMML 6964 fols. 121ra-123rb; EMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 95ra-97ra; EMML 6770 fols. 104ra-106va; EMML 2836 fols. 117ra-119va; EMML 6451 fols. 104vb-106vb; EMML 8942 fols. 94rb-96ra; MotGiorg-001 fols. 131ra-132vb; Ms Ethiopic 4 fols. 148r-151v; Kobrān 31 fols. 89ra-91vb; BetLib-001 fols. 95ra-97ra; BetMarq-001 fols. 97rb-99rb; MasKa-003 fols. 115vb-118vb; NazMa-001 fols. 91ra-92vb; BL Orient. 719, fols. 150va-153rb; BL Orient. 718, fols. 120va-122va; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 124vb-127ra; BAV Cerulli37 fols. 99va-101vb; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 114rb-116va.

‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ corresponds to Perruchon: ‘Lālibalā fait la guerre à un rebelle.-Miracles de Lālibalā’ / ‘Un chef tributaire de Lālibalā se révolte contre lui. Miracles de Lālibalā’; although the last few lines were omitted by Perruchon and the translation ends earlier than the edited text. The same textual unit corresponds to the fifth of ብሸም፡ች ቅዱስ በልበላ / ‘Miracles of Saint Lālibalā’ in ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ of the first edition and to ብሸም፡ች ይ / ‘Fifth miracle’ of the second edition.

‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ is also attested in a different collection of textual units about Saint King Lālibalā contained in MS NT 47 fols. 143rb-145ra.

153 Perruchon 1892, 50-51.
154 Id., 51-53 (text), 117-119 (tr.).
'Lālibalā and a rebel' is close to the episode edited by Conti Rossini, where he notes that 'the episode with some variations recurs in the 'Acts of Lālibalā'. They probably have a common Vorlage that was realised in two different ways. 'Lālibalā and a rebel' preserves the quotative particle -ኣ, which does not appear elsewhere in the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' but comes regularly in the 'Life of Naʾakweto Laʾāb'.

1.1.12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman

The twelfth textual unit is 'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman'; this and the following texts seem more like miracles. We learn that there was a rich woman who blasphemously started to eat human flesh. And she defamed and vilified King Lālibalā. A morsel of flesh got stuck in her throat, choking her. She invoked Lālibalā, repented of her transgression and was saved.

'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman' is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts of HagLal: DabṢǝy-001 fol. 131ra-131va; BnF d'Abbadie 139 fol. 77rb-77va; EMML 6931 fol. 85rab; EMML 6921 fol. 141va-142ra; EMML 6964 fol. 123rb-123vb; EMML 7051=NL 46 fol. 97rab; EMML 6770 fols. 106va-107ra; EMML 2836 fols. 119va-120ra; EMML 6451 fols. 106va-107ra; EMML 8942 fol. 96rab; EMML 7051=NL 46 fol. 97rab; EMML 6770 fols. 106va-107ra; EMML 2836 fols. 119va-120ra; EMML 6451 fols. 106va-107ra; EMML 8942 fol. 96rab; MotGior-001 fols 132vb-133rb; Ms Ethiopic 4 fols. 151v-152r; Kābrān 31 fols. 91vb-92ra; BetLib-001 fol. 97ra-97rb; BetMarq-001 fol. 99rb-99vb; MasKa-003 fols. 118vb-119rb; NazMa-001 fols. 92vb-93rb; BL Orient. 719, fol. 153rb-153vb; BL Orient. 718, fol. 122va-122vb; BP Parm. 3852 fol. 127ra-127va; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 101vb-102rb; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 116va-117ra.

'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman' corresponds to a portion of text included in Perruchon’s: 'Lālibalā fait la guerre à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lālibalā’ / 'Un chef tributaire de Lālibalā se révolte contre lui. Miracles de Lālibalā’. The same textual unit corresponds to the sixth of ṯאליበላ WT የትወስ እላወ እምአህጉራተ፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ እመዋዕል፡ ወሀሎ፡ ውስተ፡ አሐቲ፡ ሀገር፡ እምአህጉራተ፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብሮ፡ መስቀል፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብሮ፡ መስቀል፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብሮ፡ መስቀል፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብሮ፡ መስቀል፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብሮ፡ መስቀል፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብሮ፡ መስቀል፡ መንግስቱ፡ እማረጉዕለገን፡ ዋወድ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብሮ፡ መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለገንː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለገንː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለገንː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለገንː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘዓለዎː ለገብሮː መስቀልː መንግስቱː እማረጉዕለጌː ዋወድː ኮነː በአሐዱː ዓላዊː ዘificaciones del documento como texto natural.
Incipit: መእእኔ፡ ታለተ፡ ዘአርአየ፡ መንክራቲሁ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ እፈቅድ፡ እንግርክሙ። ወሀለወት፡ ሥጋ፡ እንስሳ፡ አኃዘት፡ ትብላዕ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወብእሲታዊ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ትዴረር፡ ወትበልዕ፡ ሥጋ፡ ዲቡእኒ፡ ዘበሐሜት።

Explicit: መእእኔ፡ ታለተ፡ ዘአርአየ፡ መንክራቲሁ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ እፈቅድ፡ እንግርክሙ። ወሀለወት፡ ሥጋ፡ እንስሳ፡ አኃዘት፡ ትብላዕ፡ ሥጋ፡ ዲቡእስ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ትዴረር፡ ወትበልዕ፡ ሥጋ፡ ዲቡእኒ፡ ዘበሐሜት።

1.1.13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind

The thirteenth textual unit is ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’. This time it is a man who was defaming King Lālibalā, although his wife tried to stop him. As a consequence, the man became blind.

‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’ is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts: DabṢǝy-001 (displaced folium order) fol. 131vab and continues on fol. 125rb; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 77va-78rb; EMML 6931 fols. 85rb-86ra; EMML 6921 fols. 142ra-143rb; EMML 6964 fols. 123vb-124vb; EMML 7051=NL 46 fol. 97rb-97va; EMML 6770 fols. 107ra-108rb; EMML 2836 fols. 120ra-121ra; EMML 6451 fol. 107ra-107vb; EMML 8942 fols. 96va-97rb; MotGiorg-001 fols. 133rb-134ra; Ms Ethiopian 4 fols. 152r-153v; Kabrān 31 fols. 92ra-93ra; BetLib-001 fols. 97va-98ra; BetMarq-001 fols. 99vb-100vb; MasKa-003 fols. 119rb-120rb; NazMa-001 fols. 93rb-94ra; BL Orient. 719, fols. 153vb-155ra; BL Orient. 718, fols. 122vb-123vb; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 127va-128va; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 102rb-103rb; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 117ra-118ra.


‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’ is also attested in a different collection of textual units about Lālibalā contained in MS NT 47 fols. 147ra-148ra.

Incipit: መእእኔ፡ ታለተ፡ ዘአርአየ፡ መንክራቲሁ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ እፈቅድ፡ እንግርክሙ። ወሀለወት፡ ሥጋ፡ እንስሳ፡ አኃዘት፡ ትብላዕ፡ ሥጋ፡ ዲቡእስ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ትዴረር፡ ወትበልዕ፡ ሥጋ፡ ዲቡእኒ፡ ዘበሐሜት።

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162 Perruchon 1892, 53.
163 Id., 54.
164 Id., 54-55 (text), 120-121 (trans.).
166 Perruchon 1892, 54.
1.1.14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā

The fourteenth and last textual unit is ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’. This text is very popular and is frequently quoted. Here we learn how King Lālibalā built the churches and then asked to ‘return the kingdom to Israel’. At the end Lālibalā fell ill and passed away on the twelfth of the month of Haziran (EC).

‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts: DabSoy-001 fols. 125rb-130va; BNF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 78rb-82vb; EMML 6931 fols. 86ra-89vb and 98ra-98vb; EMML 6921 fols. 143rb-151va; EMML 6964 fols. 124vb-131vb; EMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 97va-102rb; EMML 6770 fols. 108rb-116rb; EMML 2836 fols. 121ra-128ra; EMML 6451 fols. 107vb-113rb; EMML 8942 fols. 97rb-102va; MotGiorg-001 fols. 134ra-139vb; MS Ethiopic 4 fols. 153v-162v; Kǝbran 31 fols. 93ra-98rb; BetLib-001 fols. 98ra-102v; BetMarq-001 fols. 100vb-107va; MasKa-003 fols. 120rb-128vb; NazMa-001 (partial) fols. 94ra-97rb; BL Orient. 719, fols. 155ra-162vb; BL Orient. 718, fols. 123vb-130va; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 128va-135va; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 103rb-110ra; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 118ra-124vb.

‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ is attested on fols. 10rb-13vb of MS EMML 6592, containing a short version of ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection of textual units’.

‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ corresponds to Perruchon’s: ‘Construction des églises monolithes; leur description’ and ‘Lālibalā ne veut pas que son fils lui succède; mort de Lālibalā’. In ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ is revised (there is no longer any trace of ‘Lālibalā does not want his son to succeed him’ anymore) and split into two parts. The beginning comes immediately after the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, "ወሁ መንግስቦች እንደ ላይና ከወቅት / ‘How he began to build the churches’ in the second edition and partially as an ending part of ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ §§ 16-29 of the first edition and §§ 6-21 and "ወሁ መንግስቦች ከ, ላይና ከወቅት / ‘How he Gave him the kidān on the day of his (eternal) rest’ of the second edition.171

167 Perruchon 1892, 55.
168 ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ abruptly in EMML 6931, the Vorlage for MS NazMa-001, another unit of production was inserted, splitting ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā into two parts. Although close, this insertion does not exactly match an ending point of ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ in MS NazMa-001.
169 Perruchon 1892, 55-64 (text), 121-129 (trans.).
170 ‘Lālibalā ne veut pas que son fils lui succède’.
1.1.15. The ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. PS

The discussion of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ shows that there are textual units that have an independent circulation from this collection. These are

‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ (1.1.8.),
‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’ (1.1.9.),
‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ (1.1.10.),
‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ (1.1.11.),
‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’ (1.1.13).

That is why I have no doubt concerning the independence of these textual units. The above-mentioned textual units, along with ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’ (1.1.12.) have a common structure. They begin with a kind of ‘one day’ and end with a supplication. In Perruchon’s edition this common structure was disregarded, for he apparently tried to smooth out the divergent content. Thus he at times omits the supplication, considering it as not informative and chooses different ways to translate the formulaic beginning.

There are some manuscripts containing some textual units or narrative units, which are dubious.

Although I am convinced about the heterogeneous content of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, at this point I am not completely sure about the number of the textual units in general. For now I define the beginning of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ as it is attested in MS DabŞay-001.

As I proceed, it will become clear that I have tried to consider all hagiographic texts about Lālibalā, and none of them correspond to:

‘Preamble’ (1.1.1.),
‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ (1.1.2.),
‘Teaching about Saints’ (1.1.3.),
‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ (1.1.4.),
‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ (1.1.5.),

172 Perruchon 1892, 55.
173 Id., 63.
and ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ (1.1.6.).

For now I tend to consider MS DabṢay-001 and EMIP 1908_HazenCodex as an attestation of all these textual units together. Yet, ‘Preamble’ of the collection under the discussion has a clear relation to Preamble of the ‘Life of Krəstos Samrā’\textsuperscript{174}. Again, Perruchon felt no compunctions in leaving out:
‘Teaching about Saints’ (1.1.3.),
‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ (1.1.4.),
‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ (1.1.5.),
and ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ (1.1.6.) completely, while Dabra Sabakā Gubā’e of Lālibalā town felt free in changing the sequence of the textual units into:
‘Praise for Lālibalā’ (1.1.6.),
‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ (1.1.2.),
‘Teaching about Saints’ (1.1.3.),
‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ (1.1.4.),
‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ (1.1.5.) in the second edition.
‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ (1.1.2.),
‘Teaching about Saints’ (1.1.3.),
‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ (1.1.4.), and
‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ (1.1.5.) remain ‘chained’ so far, i.e. they are presented, moved, omitted, but all together, as a block. Therefore, their status as potentially independent units remains highly hypothetical, whose logic will be explained in chapter four. I still think that it is possible to pin down an independent circulation for each of these textual units; but these textual units need not necessarily be specifically about Lālibalā, for he is mentioned by name only in passing. I am puzzled for now where to look for their possible attestations as it is not easy to define the genre of these compositions. Conceivably, these textual units might belong to a different literary tradition\textsuperscript{175}, but this can only be studied in a proper way after the critical edition is completed.

\textsuperscript{174} Cerulli, 1956, 1-3.
\textsuperscript{175} In Alessandro Bausi’s review of Marie-Laure Derat’s book, in his ‘The enigma of a medieval Ethiopian dynasty of saints and usurpers’ in \textit{Oriantische Literaturzeitung} 2018, p. 13, he notes that ‘if the institutional and political gap between the Zāg’ē and the following dynasty might have been overestimated, from the point of view of the textual heritage there were dramatic changes’.
1.2. Other textual units transmitted together with the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

There are textual units that are attested together with the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ and appear under the label ‘Gadla Lālibalā’. However, these textual units were introduced to the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ later, and we can identify the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ with or without them; hence for the sake of avoiding confusion I will treat them as textual units only.

The textual units 1.2.1.-1.2.15 have mostly been edited as distinct from ‘Gadla Lālibalā’, and as having their own individual history of transmission. Only in some manuscripts do they constitute part of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’.

Since my focus is on manuscripts containing the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, the list that I provide here for other textual units is not complete. I have tried to consider all manuscripts photographed by EMML and made available at HMML that contain the hagiography of Lālibalā, as indicated by the catalogers. Many new findings have become possible thanks to the unpublished ‘List of Lāstā manuscripts, produced by Claire Bosc-Tiessé and Marie-Laure Derat (dated July 13, 2016) which they kindly made available to me. When it comes to the Sankassä, in addition to manuscripts from Lāstā, I have made a survey of the manuscripts photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe project. Some manuscripts were indicated to me by my colleagues, which I will note in each case.

1.2.1. Life of Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab

The ‘Life of Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab’ narrates the life and deeds of King Lālibalā’s nephew, godchild and successor, Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab. The text was edited by Carlo Conti Rossini on the basis of two manuscripts. In all likehood, the text was written down not before the sixteenth century. Many other manuscripts emerged since Conti Rossini’s edition. In my corpus of manuscripts, the ‘Life of Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab’ is contained in MotGiorg-001 fols. 2ra-36vb.

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176 Originally this section included other textual units as well, even if they had nothing to do with Lālibalā. Denis Nosnitsin has rightly noted that it is confusing, therefore this section was revised and only those textual units that mention Lālibalā remain.

177 Ted Erho indicated to me some uncatalogued manuscripts during my stay at HMML. I thank him sincerely.

178 ‘Liste des manuscrits du Lāstā réalisée par Claire Bosc-Tiessé et Marie-Laure Derat (en date du 13 juillet 2016)’.


180 Conti Rossini 1943.
1.2.2. Miracles of Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab

‘Miracles of Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab’, a title that is attested in MS MotGior-g-001, the first textual unit, titled as ‘The first miracle of blessed Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab’ narrates an episode about Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab as a child and about Lālibalā. The textual unit did not receive any distinct title, being edited by Carlo Conti Rossini under ‘The Life of Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab’.183 In my corpus of manuscripts, ‘Miracles of Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab’ are contained in MS MotGior-g-001 fols. 37ra-38ra.

The first miracle:

Incipit:

Ex

Explicit:

1.2.3. Malkəʾa Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab

‘Malkəʾa Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab’,186 malkəʾa 118 in Chaîne’s liste, mentions Lālibalā in passim and is therefore included here, attested in MS MotGior-g-001 fols. 39-40va.

Incipit (fol. 39ra):

181 Conti Rossini 1943, 113.
182 Id., 170.
183 Id.
184 Id., 70-171.
185 Id., 172-173.
186 Chaîne 1913, 198: 118.
1.2.4. Sǝnkǝssār reading for Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab and salām

The Sǝnkǝssār reading for Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab is a short note stating that King Lālibalā’s nephew, Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab, passed away on the third of እልወር (EC). It is attested together with salām in MS MotGiorg-001 fols. 40vb-41ra as follows:

አምጣነ፡ አቅረብኩ፡ ለከ፡ አምኃ፡ ውዳሴ፡ ንስቲተ። ለዕበይከ፡ ልዑል፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ መሥዋዕተ። ነአኵቶ፡ ለአብ፡ ኢታስትት፡ ፍሬ፡ ከናፍርየ፡ ዘንተ። ለነዳይ፡ ዘእንበЛЕሁ፡ ከመ፡ አልብየ፡ ይስሪተ። አኮኑ፡ ተአምር፡ ወትጤቅ፡ አንተ።

1.2.5. Version of the ‘Life of Masqal Kǝbrā’ known in Lālibalā town and in Madabāy Tābor

Kur’s edition of the ‘Life of Masqal Kǝbrā’ based on MS BAV Cerulli 178, which is indeed part of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ (1.1.7.) extended through the Trinitarian formula and an inscription-type title on fol. 1r:

Trinitarian formula: ቅዱስ፡ አምላክ፡ ናሁ፡ ወጠንኩ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ከሳመ፡ ወወረፋ昇ፋ፡ ወጠ’une፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወጠ’une፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወጠ’une፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወጠ’une፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወጠ’un in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts. This would be absurd, for it would mean to repeat one portion of the textual units twice within a manuscript. However, there is a much more interesting version of the text about
the queen, which shows much independence from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’; this is the version of the ‘Life of Masqal Kǝbrā’ known in Lālibalā town and in Madabāy Tābor.188

In addition to the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, the ‘Life of Masqal Kǝbrā’ is attested in BetLib-001, fols. 2va-21rb, MasKa-003, fols. 132ra-134rb.

Incipit (fol. 132ra):

This version, although at times very close to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, shows much more independence from the version edited by Kur and therefore deserves an individual attention. While I have not studied this text in depth, it is worthy to note that this text contains the passage about the ascension of Saint Queen Masqal Kǝbrā to the heavens where she saw the church to build a replica of on earth.

1.2.6. Gabra Manfas Qǝddus and Lālibalā

‘Gabra Manfas Qǝddus and Lālibalā’,189 as edited in ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’, is attested in the following manuscripts of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’: EMML 6931 fols. 90r-97vb; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 136-137va; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 125va-127va. The text contained in the manuscripts corresponds to the same miracle as is found in the collection, classified as the ‘Miracles in life’190 of Gabra Manfas Qǝddus, edited by Paolo Marrassini.191 However, the redaction in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts better corresponds to the text of the ‘shorter redaction, coming from a unique archetype’,192 that is indicated in the apparatus of the printed edition with the siglum ‘A’ (‘All manuscripts of this redaction are indicated in apparatus, if agreeing with one another, with

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188 This version of Gadlā Masqal Kǝbrā seems to be the version edited and translated into Amharic by Nuhamn Wakjra for her master’s thesis, supervised by Daniel Aseffa. As Nuhamn told me, she went to Sǝre and made there a hand-written copy, which she then used for her work. From my interviews in Sǝre town in 2016, I know that the Sǝre version of Gadlā Masqal Kǝbrā was copied from the manuscript preserved in the church of Masqal Kǝbrā in her monastery in Madabāy Tābor. I intended to give Nuhamn my photos, both in order for her to check any mistakes possibly introduced in copying and for me to make sure that we were talking about the same text. However, so far I have not had a chance to compare the actual text edited by Nuhamn.


190 Id.: ‘Miracoli in vita’.


192 Id.: ‘[…] redazione più ridotta, proveniente da unico archetipo’.
the siglum ‘A’). In addition to the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ corpus of manuscripts, ‘Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā’ is contained in MS EMML 7052 fols. 94rb-100ra

Incipit እስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እሙንቱ፡ ቀደሙኒ። አኀዙ፡ ይንግሩ፡ ዝክረ፡ ስምከ፡ ዘይሤኒ። ከመ፡ እጽሐፍ፡ በበመትልው፡ ሊተኒ፡ ረትዐኒ።

Explicit (fol. 127va) በምኵኑ። ዘኢያተረፈ፡ ልብሰ፡ ለበድኑ፡ ከማከ፡ መኑ። ለእግርከ፡ እስከ፡ አሣእኑ። እንዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ በሥልጣኑ፡ ምግባር፡ ላሊበላ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጻማከ፡ ፍተ፡ ገድልከ፡ ንስቲተ፡ ፉተ፡ ለእምትራፈ፡ ውዱሰ፡ 

1.2.7. Malkəʾa Lālibalā as edited in ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’

‘Malkəʾa Lālibalā as edited in “Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā”’ is attested in the following manuscripts of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’: MS BAV Cerulli 37 (ends with a supplication), fols. 110ra-113vb; NazMa-001 fols. 98rb-101ra; EMML 7051 fols. 102va-105vb. Independently from the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, this textual unit is attested in MS Chester Beatty 919 (not foliated), MS EMML 659 fols. 94v-97r; MS EMML 1548 fols. 2r-16v; MS EMML 4116, fols. 37rb-41vb; MS EMML 6251 fols. 30v-32v.

Incipit: እስመ፡ ብዙኃን፡ አኀው፡ እለ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ቀደሙኒ። አኀዙ፡ ይንግሩ፡ ዝክረ፡ ስምከ፡ ዘይሤኒ። ከመ፡ እጽሐፍ፡ በበመትልው፡ ሊተኒ፡ ረትዐኒ።

Explicit: እምትራፈ፡ ገድልከ፡ ንስቲተ፡ ፉተ፡ ጻማከ፡ እዜኑ። ውዱሰ፡ ምግባር፡ ላሊበላ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጻማከ፡ ንዋወከ፡ ለእግርከ፡ እስከ፡ አሣእኑ። እንዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ በሥልጣኑ፡ ለእምትራፈ፡ ገድልከ፡ ንስቲተ፡ ፉተ፡ ጻማከ፡ እዜኑ። ውዱሰ፡ ምግባር:

193 Marrassini 2003: ‘Tutti i mss. di questa redazione sono indicati in apparato, se in accordo tra loro, con la sigla “A”.
194 Id., 311-312.
196 Malkəʾa Lālibalā and Hymn for Lālibalā of MS TGM-001 has been catalogued together as ‘Salām a Lālibalā’.
197 See Cerulli 1965.
198 See Macomber 1976, 410-413.
199 See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 47.
200 See Getatchew Haile 1993, 47.
201 Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā 2007, 196.
202 Id., 198.
1.2.8 Salāmta as edited in ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’

‘Salāmtā’ as edited in “Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā” is attested in MS NazMa-001 fols. 101ra-102rb and MS BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 113vb-114ra as a continuation of Malkə’a Lālibalā, while MS EMML 7051 does not contain it. Independently from the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ collection, ‘Salāmta as edited in “Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā”’ is attested in MS Chester Beatty 919; MS EMML 659, fols. 97r-97v; MS EMML 1548 fols. 22r-23v (noted as hymn to Lālibalā); MS EMML 4139 fols. 22r-23r (noted as hymn salām in the catalogue); MS EMML 6251 fols. 32vb-33rb; MS EMML 7319 fols. 18vb-19rb; MS EMML 1391 fols. 40vb-42rb (noted as greeting to Lālibalā with an incipit); MS IES 1016 fols. 22r-23r.

Alone, not as a continuation of ‘Malkə’a Lālibalā’, ‘Salāmta as edited in “Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā”’ with a slightly different beginning (ዝክረ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ጻድቅ፡ መንፈስ፡ ሊሊበላ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ታንጌል። የእንተ፡ ሲድእ። ልእንቲ፡ ሊሊበላ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ታንጌል።) is attested in MS TGM -001 from ʿƎmba Täkula Däbrä Gännat Mika’el, fifteenth /sixteenth century, as an additio (in a seventeenth-century hand) to the Four Gospels; it reads as follows:

203 Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā 2007, 200.
204 See Cerulli 1965.
205 See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 47. The cataloguers identified one hymn, while I distinguish them according to ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ and evidence for independent circulation. The noted incipit is different from the incipits noted in the catalogue for other manuscripts containing the same hymn, which might be confusing.
206 See Getatchew Haile 1993, 54-55.
207 See Macomber 1979, 456-457.
208 The description of the manuscript is not yet available, but there are some notes on it in the report, see https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare/missions/pdf/report2014-pt1.pdf, p. 35, fig. 58.
209 This text with some variants is said to be contained in one of the Gospel manuscripts of Turaev’s collection. Turaev edited and translated the hymn in Turaev 1912, 59-61.
The report of the EthioSPaRe mission\textsuperscript{211} provides interesting details about the church 'Imba Tâkula Mika'el:

On the right side (of the church), there are some burials in the small caves, partly enclosed by stone walls; on the other, left side, hidden under the rock, there is a community house which hides a rock-hewn structure, which might have been used as a church in the past; the local people say that it was a 'house of the monks'. [...] Local tradition tells that the church was founded in the time of 'King Gäbrä Mäsqäl', before the time of Zä-Mika'el 'Arägawi of Däbrä Dammo. St. Libanos/Mäṭ stayed in the area; many monks and hermits used to live around the church in the past. The local monastic community disappeared long ago, but the institution is still considered gädam. [...] The church seems to be indeed an old foundation. Two processional iron crosses of a typical pre-15th cent. form are preserved in the sacristy.\textsuperscript{212}

It is not to exclude that the founder of the church, King Gabra Masqal, was Saint Lālibalā. This would correspond to one of the numerous traditions saying that the king ended his life as a hermit.

1. 2. 9. Nagś of Lālibalā as edited in in ‘Gadla Qoddus Lālibalā’

‘Nagś [Hymn] of Lālibalā as edited in “Gadla Qoddus Lālibalā”\textsuperscript{213} is attested in MS NazMa-001 fols. 101rb-101va. In addition to the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscript, ‘Nagś of Lālibalā as edited in “Gadla Qoddus Lālibalā”’ is attested in MS EMML 1548 fols. 16v-22r,\textsuperscript{214} MS IES 1016 fols. 16v-22r.

\textsuperscript{210} I thank Denis Nosnitsin for pointing out to me this addition. The text is quoted from MS TGM-001, it differs slightly from manuscript to manuscript.


\textsuperscript{212} Conti Rossini 1943.


\textsuperscript{214} See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 47.
The same portion of this hymn\textsuperscript{215} is attested in MS EMML 2206 fols. 87va-88ra and MS EMML 2285 fols. 49vb-50ra (noted as the collection of greetings to the Saints called "\textgreek{E}gzi\textgreek{a}b\textgreek{h}er nag\textgreek{s}a, for both manuscripts),\textsuperscript{216} minus one passage – in MS EMML 2509 (noted as the collection of greetings to the Saints called "\textgreek{E}gzi\textgreek{a}b\textgreek{h}er nag\textgreek{s}a),\textsuperscript{217} one stanza – in MS EMML 4428 fol. 189v (noted as hymn to Lālibalā and indicated with its incipit).\textsuperscript{218}

\textsuperscript{215} It may be the original form as well; more research is required.
\textsuperscript{216} See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, 313 and 358.
\textsuperscript{217} See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, 3.
\textsuperscript{218} See Getatchew Haile 1993, 146-147.
\textsuperscript{219} \textit{Deux colophons de la Vie de Lālibalā}, see Derat 2016, 106-114.
\textsuperscript{220} \textit{Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā}, 2007, 172-173; 2010, 376.
\textsuperscript{221} Id., 108.

\textit{Finding in Beta Māryām'}

As part of the '\textit{Gadla Lālibalā} collection', a unit called 'Finding in Beta Māryām’ has been attested in the following: MSS: EMML 6964 fols. 132ra-132va; Cerulli 223 fols. 124va-125ra; 6592, fols. 13vb-14ra; MasKa-003 fols. 128vb-129rb; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 135va-136rb.

The ‘Finding in Beta Māryām’ was edited by Derat under ‘Two colophons of the Life of Lālibalā\textsuperscript{219} on the basis of MS Cerulli 223 fols. 124v-125r and MS EMML 6964 fols. 132r-133r. The same textual unit has been published in ‘\textit{Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā}’ as \textit{\textgreek{F}eqā}. n.4 \textit{Haqeqah} / ‘Sanctification of the churches’ and \textit{\textgreek{F}eqā}. n.7 / ‘The Commemoration of the saints.'\textsuperscript{220}

\textsuperscript{222} Id., 108.
Marie-Laure Derat interprets this text as a colophon and she takes ከትታ፡ እምወሬጭ፡ ከ ‘this work’ as referring to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, 223 እውምወሬጭ፡ እምወሬጭ፡ as ‘in the library’ and ከትታ፡ / ‘they carved’. 224 She notes the following:

The use of the verb ከትታ : is quite strange in this sentence and can only be understood if one places oneself in the context of the site of Lālibalā, entirely carved out of the rock. It is thus perhaps an allusion here to a reserve or library dug in the rock. 225

Denis Nostinsin, 226 reviewing this thesis, 227 proposed a slightly different interpretation, which brings a new perspective. It reads as follows:

We found this book (cp. M.-L. ‘work’),228 from, (not like M.-L. ‘dans’ = ‘in’) the treasury of the books that inscribed the ancestors, in Beta Maryam and we wrote (=copied) it so that it would not be forgotten.

The difference: not that ‘they inscribed in Beta Maryam’, but ‘we found in Beta Maryam’.

This is what he comments on the verb ከትታ : ‘inscribed’ and on ከትታ፡ እምወሬጭ፡ : ‘this book’:

I think ‘inscribed’ is a poetic/metaphorical for ‘write’, even though it is a bit strange in this context. Maybe this refers somehow to the property of the script. There are also some other words that are used in the same way. The word maṣḥaf is polysemic and may mean both ‘manuscript’ and ‘literary work, text’. I also think that the phrase ከትታ፡ እምወሬጭ፡ እውምወሬጭ፡ as ‘this book, one among the books that the ancestors wrote’

1.2.11. ‘A note on the dating as attested in MS EMML 6931’

MS EMML 6931 and MS Naz-Mar fol. 86va

Incipit: እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ላሊበላ፡ [space] አኃዘ ፡ ይሕንፅ፡ መቅድሰ፡ በ፲ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ላሊበላ፡ [space] አኃዘ ፡ ይሕንፅ፡ መቅድሰ፡ በ፲ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ : 

Explicit: ከተሮጋ ፡ እቁጭ፡ እማጫም፡ : 

1.2.12. Antiphons for Lālibalā as attested in MS EMML 6931

MS EMML 6931 on fols. 99ra-100ra contains the only so far known attestation of the ‘Antiphons for Lālibalā’. Each antiphon is preceeded by the indication of its type or hallelujah numbers. There is musical notation (malakkat and bet signs). There is a colophon of the text on fol. 100rb, which tells us that the antiphons were composed during the days of prince Zenā Gabr-ǝʾel by Walda

223 Derat 2016, 106.
224 Id.: ‘avaient taillée’
225 Id., 109, n. 33: ‘L’emploi du verb ላሊበላ፡ est assez étrange dans cette phrase et ne peut se comprendre que si l’on se replace dans le contexte du site de Lālibalā, entièrement taillé dans le rocher. Il est donc peut-être fait allusion ici à une réserve ou bibliothèque creusée dans la roche.’
226 I quote Nosnitsin’s text, I introduced only a few stilistical changes.
227 In the submitted version of the thesis I had my own interpretation of this colophon, interpreting the verb ከትታ as an idea that there was something incised on the wall, like an inscription. My interpretation was rightly criticized, that is why it is dismissed.
228 Derat 2016: ‘ouvrage’.
229 I thank Jonas Karlsson who had patience to explain to me what he learnt about antiphons himself and who helped in introducing some system to this part.
Gabra Manfas Qoddus, while the scribe’s name was Fasilidas Qalamsis. One of these antiphons is also attested in MS EMML 286, in the antiphonary for the year.\textsuperscript{230} The colophon reads as follows:


The text of antiphons reads as follows:\textsuperscript{231}

\textbf{(fol. 99ra) Wazema (‘Vespers’), sung at the beginning of Vespers\textsuperscript{232}}


\textbf{still wazema} (in 5), with stanzas of five lines, used in accompanying psalm


\textbf{in (5), with stanzas of five lines, used in accompanying psalm}


\textbf{(Benedictus) with Daniel 3:52-6 at Vespers and Lauds}


\textbf{(fol. 100rb) Πρωμενη chant portion ‘Type II A’ according to Shelemay et al., usually preceded by one or more repetitions of the word ‘alleluya’ sung to standard melismas}

\textsuperscript{230} Macomber 1975, 298.

\textsuperscript{231} Those indications that are not clear for me I left without any comment.

\textsuperscript{232} For this and further see Shelemay et al. 1993, 76-78.

\textsuperscript{233} I try to reproduce the text as faithfully as possible, but introduce no critics, for there are stages which I do not know whether they contain errors or I just do not understand.
አርያም - (Highest Heaven) can precede mazmur or abun
አርያ - (Our Father), sung at the beginning of Lauds and the Little Hours on weekdays
ለመንፈስ - (Quoniam in aeternum), sung at Lauds, preceded by the refrain of Ps 135 (136):
Quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius

Quoniam in aeternum, sung at Lauds, preceded by the refrain of Ps 135 (136): Quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius

mazmur (‘Psalm’), sung at the beginning of Sunday Matins (Mawaddēs)

mazmur (‘Deus meus’) sung with Ps 62 (63) at Matins and Ps 21 (22) at Lenten Sext

 mode

mazmur (named for its mode), sung at the beginning of Lauds ( lacking)

mazmur (‘Of Nunc (dittimus)’) sung with Luke 2:29-32 at Lauds

mazmur (‘Quoniam in aeternum’), sung at Lauds, preceded by the refrain of Ps 135 (136): Quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius
ይትባረክ፡ (Benedictus) with Daniel 3:52-6 at Vespers and Lauds

የትባረክ፡ (Benedictus) with Daniel 3:52-6 at Vespers and Lauds

አዋር ከማተኑ፡ ከሳምየኪ፡ ደብረ፡ ሳኃ፡ ዶማየኑ፡ ዋቡለኪ፡ ዋከዋክቡት፡ ቀህትዊሃ።

የትባረክ፡ (Benedictus) with Daniel 3:52-6 at Vespers and Lauds

ዘይባር ሪንተ፡ ዓትመስል፡ ተመታ፡ ይበታ። ተርስቲያን፡ ባሊበላ፡ የንጉሥ፡ እንተ𫖯ስን ይታቅያለ፡ ባለእብን፡ ምስቀል፡ የንጉሥ።

ሰብሐተ፡ ህንፋ፡ የአይ፡ የእቲ፡ ዜቲ፡ ደበተ፡ ባለእብን፡ ያሳወሩ፡ ያጪወንጉጆፋ፡ ይህወንጉጆፋ፡ ያሳሎሚን፡ ይውህል፡ ያወእንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ ይብዙኃ፡ ይሰተዓፀቡ፡ ይወንጉሠ፡ ይሁዳ፡ ያስወንጉሠፋ፡ ያርስታ፡ ያወስምፋ፡ ይዘሐነፅዋ፡ ያውስና።

ሰላም (Peace) sung at the end of each office

አዋም የሆː ይርሳፋ እንወም ይወርስ ይቅወስ ይጋወ ይውስና። ይስስ ይከራከራ ይወስ ይንወርስ ይምስሌ ይሰጋክፈፆ ያለአብ፡ የልወስፋ፡ የዘክርፋ።

ዝማሬ (Psalmody), communion chant sung at Mass (collected in a book called Zommore)

አዋም ይወርስ ይሆː ይበርሃም ይበርእሰ፡ ይዘአልቦቱ፡ ያሙስና።

1.2.13. Second preamble as attested in MS BetMarq-001

"The second preamble as attested in MS BetMarq-001" on fols. 71rb-72ra is very close to 'Preamble' (see 1.1.1.).

Incipt (fol. 71rb) እውው፡ ይምስና። ይወርስ ይሆː ይበርሃም ይበርእሰ፡ ይዘአልቦቱ፡ ያሙስና።

Explicit (fol. 72ra) እውው፡ ይምስና። ይወርስ ይሆː ያሙስና።
The second preamble as attested in MS BetMarq-001 is introduced into the body of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, but mentions Lālibalā only in supplication:

\[\text{ወምስለ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ኅቡረ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ᆬአሁ፡ ከመ፡ ንረሰ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። አሜን።።}\]

‘The second Preamble’ is followed by the following formulaic expression, which is uncommon of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’:

(fol. 72rab) \[\text{ንግባዕኬ፡ ኀበ፡ ነገረ፡ ገድሉ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ትሩፌ፡ ምግባር፡ ላሊበላ፡}\]

1.2.14. *Hymn(s) for Lālibalā of MS EMML 8942*

MS EMML 8942 on fols. 102va-104vb contains the following hymn for Lālibalā of which the end is unreadable:

Incipit (fol. 102vab) \[\text{እንበለ፡ ሰዋቅ፡ ለሰማይ፡ አንተ፡ ረሰይኮ፡ ስቁለ፤ ወዘሰፋህካ፤ ለምድር፡ እንበለ፡ ብኅሥሥ፡ መትከለ፤ ከመ፡ በለብዎ፡ እትናገር፡ ዘገብረ፡ መስቀልከ፡ ገድለ፡ ሰንል፡ ውስተ፡ ዗ብየ፡ ዘጥበቡ፣ ፈደለ፤ ከመ፡ ለሙሴ፡ ነቢይ፡ በልቡ፡ ተሰለ፤ ሰላም፡ ለልደትከ፡ ዘአክበርዎ፡ ኃይላት፤ ቨኅና፡ ይንታ፡ እምሳለ፡ ብዙኃን፡ አንህብት፤}\n
1.2.15. *The Sənkəssār reading of MS FBM-003 and DSM-005 = Salām*

MS NazMa-001 fol. 101va contains a hymn, discussed among the Sənkəssār readings, see 1.2.10. below.

1.3. Textual units attested separately from the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

Further, there are textual units pertaining to Lālibalā that I found only in those manuscripts that do not contain the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. They are not part of my corpus and will be mentioned only in this chapter. I will first introduce those textual units that were edited together as ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ (1.3.1 and 1.3.2).

1.3.1. ‘Homily of Lālibalā’

The ‘Homily of Lālibalā’, commonly known as transmitted together with Dorsāna ʿUrāʾel was edited by Derat.234 ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ is at times identified as the Gadla Lālibalā (presumably the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’), which is the case of MS EMML 7783.235 In the first edition of Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ was presented as a chapter of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’,236 while in the second edition this text is edited separately and noted as እምድርሳነ ዑራኤል፡ / ‘From Dorsāna ʿUrāʾel’.237

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234 Derat 2016, 120-124 (text), 125-128.
235 Id., 103.
236 See Gadla qəddus Lālibalā 2007, chapter 27, 118-122.
237 See Gadla qəddus Lālibalā 2010, chapter 41, 364-375.
1.3.2. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a child

‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a child’ is attested together with the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ and was edited as such by Derat. In addition to the manuscripts noted by Derat, ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a child’ is attested in MS EMML 7783. In ‘Gadla Qaddus Lālibalā’ this text is presented as the ‘Second miracle’ of Lālibalā in both editions.

1.3.3. Malkə’a Lālibalā of UNESCO 2.85

‘Malkə’a Lālibalā’ as attested in MS UNESCO 2.85 is the only known attestation of this hymn. MS UNESCO 2.85 is a parchment codex, datable to the sixteenth century, containing different hymns. Apparently, Lālibalā is the only Ethiopian saint included into the collection of the

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238 Derat 2016, 120.
239 Id., 124.
240 Id., 124-125 (text), 128-129 (trans.).
242 Derat 2016, 124.
243 Id., 125.
244 I thank Ted Erho for indicating me this manuscript in September 2016, during our stay in HMML.
'universal' saints. As it seems to be a composite manuscript, consisting of at least three parts, it requires more research before any conclusion can be drawn. In the last stanzas, this hymn praises Saint Lālibalā for returning / the Kingdom of Israel'/.

Incipit (fol. 90vb):

 Explicit (fol. 93va):

1.3.4. Malko’a Yomrahanna Krestos, Lālibalā and Na’akkwato La’ab

'Malko’a Yomrahanna Krestos, Lālibalā and Na’akkwato La’ab' is known to me as attested in MS EMMML 4139 fols. 23r-29r and MS EMIP_UNESCO_10 DimmaQ ddусGiorgisChurchGojjam_069 fols. 3rb-5rb.

Incipit (fol. 23r):

 Explicit (fol. 5rb):

245 Antonella Brita suggests an interesting hypothesis concerning the collection of already internationally recognized saints ('la loro associazione, nello stesso manoscritto, con testi già noti da tempo avrà probabilmente avuto il fine di facilitarne e incrementarne la circolazione').

246 The complete text is available as Appendix.

247 See Getatchew Haile 1993, 54.
1.3.5. Miracle of Gabra Māryām, Lālibalā, Naʾakkweto Laʾab and Yəmrəḥanna Krestos

‘ Miracle of Gabra Māryām, Lālibalā, Naʾakkweto Laʾab and Yəmrəḥanna Krestos’ is known to me as attested in MS EMML 6591 fol. 20v-21r

Inscription (fol. 20v): ለገብረ፡ ወላሊበላ፡ ነአኵቶ፡ ለአብ፡ ወይምርሃ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላሊበላ፡ ወይምርሃ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወነአኵቶ፡ ለአብ፡ በደብረ፡ ሮሐ፡ ወተበሃሉ፡ በበይኵቲሆሙ፡ ወተካየዱ፡ እንዘ፡ ወቦአ፡ ሀገረነ፡ በእግረ፡ ፀብእ”; እመሂ፡ ንጉሥ”; ወእመሂ”; መሳፍንት”; ጻድቃን፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላሊበላ፡ ወይምርሃ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወነአኵቶ፡ ለአብ;

Supplication: ፀንም፡ ለተፃብዖ፡ ወኢለገቢረ፡ ኃይል፡ ዐበረከቶሙ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወቃለስ፡ ወላሊበላ፡ ወይምርሃ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወነአኵቶ፡ ለአብ;

Incipit: ወኮነ፡ በ፩ዕለት፡ ገብሩ፡ ጉባዔ፡ ወቲሆሙ፡ ነገሥት፡ ጻድቃን፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላሊበላ፡ ወይምርሃ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወነአኵቶ፡ ለአብ;

Explicit (fol. 21r): ወከመዝ፡ መሐላ፡ ወኪዳነ፡ አቀሙ፡ ወሖሩ፡ በበብሔሮሙ፡ ወአተው፡ ጸሎቶሙ፡ ወበረከቶሙ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወምስለ፡ ወልደ፡ ማንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወምስለ፡ መምህርነ፡ ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወምስለ፡ መሳፍንነ፡ ብርሃነ፡ መስቀል፡ ለዓለመ僖;

Supplication: ወአተው፡ ᄍሎቱም፡ ወበረከቶሙ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወምስለ፡ ወልደ;

The Sǝnkǝssār readings

According to our current state of knowledge, the so-called ‘first redaction’ of the Sǝnkǝssār does not contain any mentions of Saint King Lālibalā. When it comes to the so-called ‘second redaction’, manuscripts attest at least six versions of readings for Saint King Lālibalā: five readings seem to be related to each other, while the reading (1) attested in MS DW 03, the earliest so-far attested manuscript of the ‘second redaction’, appears to be an independent composition.250

248 I thank Ted Erho for indicating me this index.
250 Dorothea Reule is currently studying this manuscript. According to her current findings, the Sǝnkǝssǝr contained in MS DW 03 ‘is different from all other witnesses known of the second recension. It can be counted to the second recension because it contains the commemorations which were added then,
1.3.7. The Sǝnkǝssār reading of MS DW 03=UNESCO 12.3=EMIPMM0064

MS DW 03 is a parchment codex approx. 24 cm in height and 20 cm in width. It contains the Sǝnk assār for the entire year, written in two columns, of 212 fols. The manuscript was photographed in Dabra Warq, however, ‘was probably originally the local Sǝnkassār of Dabra Bizan’. The same Sǝnkassār reading ‘on the twelfth of June of the Sǝnkassār of Bizan’ was edited by Giuseppe Sapeto. The manuscript is datable palaeographically to the first half of the sixteenth century.

Dabra Warq monastery, lit. ‘Mount of Gold’, located in eastern Goǧǧām, became an important centre for the ʾEwostätéans and through its doctrine has been closely related to the Dabra Bizan monastery, probably ‘Monastery [Mount] of Byzantium’, which is located in today’s Eritrea, some 25 km east of Asmara. MS DW 03 contains a hymn (Salām) on fol. 212rb for the monks of Dabra Bizan, which is an evidence to link its origin to Dabra Bizan.

The Dabra Bizan monastery was founded by the monk Filǝǝ, a leader of the monastic movement known as daqiqa ʾEwostätewos […]. During the last decade of the fourteenth century the community suffered from repression, culminating after the resolution of a council summoned in April 1400 by ʾaș Dāwit II in the arrest of Filǝpp os and his internment on the island of Ḥayq, within the monastery of Dabra ʾIstifanos. A few years later, by 1403 or 1404, the same Emperor allowed the Sabbath celebration, i.e. the observance of rest on both Saturday and Sunday.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Francisco Alvarez visited the Dabra Bizan monastery. According to his report, in 1520, its territory still nominally was part of the Solomonic Kingdom. Moreover, the monks of Dabra Bizan were playing also a political role as ‘ambassadors’ of the Solomonids.

The supplications mention a certain ʾAbuna Gabra Māryām. In all likelihood he can be identified with ʾAbuna Gabra Māryām, the sixth ʾAbuna of Dabra Bizān according to a list by but the single commemorations are much shorter and (as can be seen in the example of Lālibalā) can be different from those of the standard second recension’.

251 Susanne Hummel was the first to notice how extraordinary this manuscript is. She signalled this manuscript to Dorothea Reule, who is studying the translated version of the Ethiopian Sǝnkassār. Steve Delamarter made it available for the research. Dorothea Reule, who also made a provisional description of the manuscript, drew my attention to the reading for Lālibalā. From my side I thank sincerely Susanne Hummel, Steve Delamarter and Dorothea Reule for this interesting finding.


253 See Sapeto 1857, 425-426, XIV.


256 Lusini 1993, 16.

257 Beckingham and Huntingford 1961.
Roger Schneider, based on different documents.\textsuperscript{258} Abuna Gabra Māryām died, according to the list, in 1525/26, terminus non-post quem for a manuscript production. Therefore, the description provided by Alvarez can be true for the environment in which the manuscript was commissioned.

Among the readings for the fifth day of Ḥazīrān, i.e. the twelfth day of Sāne,\textsuperscript{259} on fol. 154ra it contains a short reading for Saint King Lālibalā and his wife, Saint Queen Masqal Kābrā. The text at present is known only from this manuscript and it is not currently clear whether it was composed for the occasion of this particular manuscript or copied from an already existing antigraph. The text reads as follows:

\textbf{Inscription (fol. 153vb):} አመ፡ ያለኃዚራን፡ በዕብራውያን፡ ለበግብጽ፡ ለበኢትዮጵያ፡ አመ፡ ያወ፪፡ ወስኔ፡ 

\textbf{Incipit (fol. 154ra):} ኦተዝካሩ፡ ወላሊበላ፡ ወብእስቱ፡ መስቀል፡ እብራ፡ ዘሐነጸ፡ ያአብያተ፡ እስራኤል፡ የዘርአ፡ ከሮሃ፡ ወኅንጻቶንሂ፡ ዓእንበላ፡ ዋፅ፡ ዋማይ፡ ወሶበ፡ ወጸሞን፡ ይቤ፡ እግብእ፡ እግዚኦ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ወረርአ፡ እስራኤል፡ የንሕነሰ፡ ወነወልደኪ፡ ዯግባእ፡ መንግሥት፡ ወዛምደ፡ እስራኤል፡ 

\textbf{Explicit (fol. 154ra):} መዋዕለ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ይወመታ። 

\textbf{Supplication (fol. 154ra):} ጋሎቶም፡ ወበረከቶም፡ ያሀሉ፡ ሤስለ፡ አቡነ፡ ግብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ዉበኳል፡ ጊዜ። 

Incipit: And the commemoration of Lālibalā and his wife, Masqal Kābrā, who (Lālibalā) built 10 churches in the land of Warwar whose name is Rohā, and their construction (is) without wood or water.\textsuperscript{260}

And when he finished them, he said, ‘Bring back, o Lord, the Kingdom to the Seed of Israel, because we have become kings by transgressing the law.’ And God told him, ‘It will not be restored during your days, but during the days of your son the kingdom will return to the family of Israel.’\textsuperscript{261}

\textbf{Explicit:} And the period of his kingdom was fifty years.\textsuperscript{262}

\textsuperscript{258} See Schneider 1978, 138-139.
\textsuperscript{259} For the date of Saint King Lālibalā’s commemoration, see Chapter Six.
\textsuperscript{260} Cf. Sapeto 1857, 425-426, ‘É pure oggi la commemorazione di S. Lālibalā Re e di sua moglie Masqal-Kabra, che fabbricò le 10 chiese nel paese di Warwar chiamata Rohā’.
\textsuperscript{261} Id., 426, ‘E la fabbrica fu senza legno e senza acqua, e dopo averla finite disse: io restituirò il regno alla schiatta d’Israele, che noi abbiamo regnato contro le regole della legge; e Iddio gli disse, esso non ritornerà dal tuo tempo; ma in quello di tuo figlio il regno ritornà alla dinastia d’Israele’.
\textsuperscript{262} Id., 1857: ‘e la durata del suo regno fu di 40 anni.’
Supplication: May their prayers and their blessings be with ʿAbuna Gabra Māryām forever, Amen.

The reading for Saint King Lālibālā expresses clearly pro-ruling position. The text neither shows any particular knowledge about Saint King Lālibālā or the church ensemble, nor does it expresses any particular devotion to him. As it became common in the pro-Solomonic discourse, according to this text, King Lālibālā deserves to be commemorated for two reasons:

- Construction of the churches in Rohā without wood or water. The expression የንጻታይን ከ። በናይ። ‘their construction without wood or water’ appears in many other texts about how Saint King Lālibālā built his churches.

- His prayer for the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty. The more common expression is ከምፉ። እና。

There is a prayer attributed to King Lālibālā which is inscribed on the manbara tābot of the church of Golgotā in Lālibālā town.263 Gigar Tesfaye says that this manbara tābot seems indeed to be from Lālibālā’s time and his authorship is acceptable.264 In the explicit of this prayer, we find the expression የሸንበተ። የሸንበታንከ። ('Saturday of your Saturdays'),265 which indicates that Lālibālā calls God the Sabbath. As we read in the incipit to the prayer, የሸንበተ። የሸንበታንከ። refers to የሸንበተ። እርስታን። ('Sunday, lit. Saturday of christians')266 that means to Sunday, not Saturday. In view of this fact, it seems surprising that King Lālibālā was commemorated among the ʾEwostātean community who adhered to observing both Saturday and Sunday.267 Thus, the question emerges whether Lālibala’s commemoration among the ‘Ewostatewos’ followers of Dabra Bizan were genuinely devoted to Saint King Lālibalā or whether their devotion was driven from the outside.

1.3.8. The Sankassār reading of MS EMML 2054

Fols. 1r-245r MS EMML 2054 contains the Sankassār for the entire year. According to Colin, MS EMML 2054 is the oldest known witness of the ‘new recension’. MS EMML 2054 from the Dabra Ḥayq ʾAṣṭifānos monastery268 is dated to 1581, which is considered a terminus ante quem for this recension.269 Apparently, MS EMML 2054 originated in the scriptorium of Ḥayq ʾAṣṭifā

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263 See Gigar Tesfaye 1987, 114.
264 Id., 107-108.
267 See for example Taddesse Tamrat 1972, 207.
268 Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, 67-68.
269 See Colin 1988, 308.
On fols. 189vb-190ra, the manuscript contains a short ‘Vita of Saint King Libalā’. The text is the same as edited by Guidi, only without a hymn at the end, Salām. The same Sǝnkǝssār reading was edited by Giuseppe Sapeto ‘from the Sǝnkǝssār of Tzalot’.272

Incipit (fol. 189vb):

 Explicit (fol. 190ra):

Supplication:

1.3.9. The Sǝnkǝssār reading edited by Guidi

‘The Sǝnkǝssār reading edited by Guidi’273 appears to be best known and seems to enjoy a widespread diffusion. This salām became first known in Europe through Hiob Ludolf’s Historia.

This recension apparently was issued by the monks of Dabra Libānos and became widespread. Among twenty-nine manuscripts photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe project,274 twenty-five contain the same reading. As was mentioned above, the only difference from the reading in MS EMML 2054 is the presence of a Salām-hymn at the end.

Incipit:

Explicit:

Supplication:

Salām:

270 See Colin 1988, 309.
271 See Sapeto 1857, 426-428.
272 Id., 428: ‘dal Senkessar di Tzalot’.
273 See Guidi 1906, 600-602.
1.3.10. The Šǝnkǝssār reading of MS FBM-003 and DSM-005 = Salām

According to Colin, the short hymns, salāms were added into the texts contained in MS EMML 2054.275 However, at least two manuscripts attest salām as the Šǝnkǝssār reading without a short Vita. Thus, this shortest Šǝnkǝssār reading is attested in two manuscripts, photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe project,276 MS FBM-003 fol. 86r;277 MS DSM-005 fol. 119;278 MS EMML 2125 fols. 105vb-106ra (noted as the collection of greetings to the Saints called 'Igzi'ahber nagsa (Arke)),279 EMML 5165 fol. 72vb; MS EMML 7518 fol. 111rb-111va.

## MS FBM-003

 דול.Enabled

## MS DSM-005

溶解

This hymn is attested in one of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts, MS NazMa-001 fol. 101va.

### The Šǝnkǝssār reading of MS EMML 7506

MS EMML 7506 containing the Šǝnkǝssār280 is said to be donated by liqa kāhmāt Zenā Gābra281 el to Beta Māryām of Lālibalā town. This manuscript begins for the twelfth of Sane with the text contained in MS EMML 2054, but then, instead of proceeding with the above mentioned Salām, introduces a different Salām commemorating the entire Lālibalā’s holy family.

### Incipit (fol. 123vb):

## MS EMML 7506

溶解

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279 See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, 231.
280 This manuscript has not been catalogued, for my study I used a working list prepared by Marie-Laure Derat and Claire Bosc-Tiessé. Their work for my research cannot be overestimated.
281 The donation of the Šǝnkǝssār among six other manuscripts to Beta Māryām is noted in MS EMML 7506, fol.200v.


1.3.12. The Sǝnkǝssär reading of MS AMM-008 and MS AP-015

MS AMM-008 dated to 1917/1918\(^\text{282}\) and MS AP-015 dated to 1974-1976\(^\text{283}\) contain the Sǝnkǝssär reading edited by Guidi, which is extended through an addition of the same excerpt from the ‘Life of Lǝlibal’. The text looks as follows:

\[

Incipit of the excerpt (fols. 123vb-124ra):

\[

Explicit:

\[

\[


Apart from this hybrid case which contains an actual excerpt from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, as it was already noted in the literature for the text edited by Guidi, the Sankassār readings for Saint King Lālibalā recall traditions different from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. Additionally, there are manuscripts that for the twelfth of Sane just mention the commemoration of Saint King Lālibalā among other saints for this day (e.g. MS EMML 953, twentieth century).

1.4. Conclusion for chapter one

The hagiographic dossier of Saint Lālibalā is rich. It is impossible to say whether it is exceptionally rich or it is common for other saints as well. Thinking about virtues ascribed to Saint Lālibalā, we see that some textual units indeed praise Lālibalā for bringing back the ‘House of Israel’ (‘Malkaša Lālibalā of UNESCO 2.85’, ‘The Sankassār reading of MS DW 03=UNESCO 12.3=EMIPMM00641, ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’), others portray him as one of the saint kings among other saint kings (‘Miracle of Gabra Māryām, Lālibalā, Na’akkwəto Lə’ab and Yəmrəḥanna Krestos’, ‘Malkaša Yəmrəḥanna Krestos, Lālibalā and Na’akkwəto Lə’ab’), some textual units portray Lālibalā as a monastic man, some praise him as a martyr (or witness), some hymns praise him as someone whose sainthood is superior to all ranks. It is not clear to me in many cases whether one hagiographic tradition considered the other. Only once all the textual units are edited, one can study different traditions in comparative perspective and analyse various post-mortem transformations of a historically attested figure.

The reason why I think we have to consider a complete hagiographic dossier as possible can be illustrated with the example of MS BL Orient. 718. In terms of text, the codex contains only the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, while one of the miniatures, miniature on fol. 39, illustrates a narrative form of the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’. I did not find an attestation of the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ together with the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ (that is why it belongs to subgroup three in the chapter). It was introduced in ‘Gadla Qaddus Lālibalā’, but this happened first in the second millennium. Marie-Laure Derat dates the composition of the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ to the end of the nineteenth century, while MS BL Orient. 718 is dated to the first half of the eighteenth century. This means that the story contained in the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ was circulating already in the 1840s, probably orally. Whichever modus it had, it contaminated the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’.

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284 See e.g. Pankhurst 2006, 54.
285 What one can do, and as Marie-Laure Derat did in her book, is to analyse what might be a precondition proved by history for further veneration of King Lālibalā, see Derat 2018.
286 See the complete description of the manuscript in Appendix.
287 ‘Contamination’ does not have any negative connotation here, it is used as a technical term to say that one tradition is slightly influenced by another.
There are two parallel processes that we can witness: adding other textual units to the 'Life of Lālibalā' and hence extending it and taking short excerpts (narrative units) from the 'Life of Lālibalā' and adding them to other collections and hence extending other collections.

If we consider the dating of the manuscripts containing the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' manuscripts so far known, we find a gap of about two centuries: there is no manuscript in my corpus containing the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' datable or dated to the end of fifteenth-end of the seventeenth centuries. Although, the overview of other texts does not explain this gap, it proves that hagiographic veneration of Saint King Lālibalā did not cease during these centuries entirely. In the opposite, quite a few hagiographic textual units about Saint King Lālibalā were probably composed during these two centuries or at least copied.

The arrangement of textual units in different codices can be one of the keys for conceptualizing the development of liturgical commemoration of Saint King Lālibalā as well as for understanding the liturgical usage of different hagiographic textual units, and this leads us to the following chapter.
Chapter Two. The ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts

In this chapter, I will provide minimal basic information on twenty-three manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, focusing on their content. I will use the titles that I have introduced in chapter one. The current state of the manuscripts’ description in progress can be viewed online at http://betamasheft.eu/ by looking up the manuscript IDs. As it turned out, the description of a single manuscript can cover up to 22 pages (excluding the encoding of the text itself), which could potentially come to more than 500 pages altogether. For this reason, only one description will be presented as an example in Appendix Two. 288

In this description, I limit myself to the content in Gǝʿz and disregard the content in Amharic. I also do not specify here supplications, condemnation notes, colophons etc. For those textual units that were not discussed in chapter one—as not belonging to Lālibalā’s dossier—I will provide more information.

1. MS DabṢoy-001 289

Parchment codex of 131 folios, 250 mm in height, 175 mm in width
Date (evidence: palaeography): fourteenth/fifteenth century
Currently in Ethiopia, Təgrây, monastery of Dabra Ṣǝyon
UniProd 1
1. Preamble fols. 1ra-7ra
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7ra-9vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9 vb-14va
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 14va-19va
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 19va-23va
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 23va-36vb
UniProd 2
1. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 37ra-117rb
2. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 117ra-118vb
3. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 118vb-121va
4. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 121va-123ra
5. Lālibalā and a rebel (distorted folio order: the end is replaced, see below) fols. 123ra-124vb

288 See also in Liuzzo 2019, 26.
289 See Derat 2016, 103, note 7.
6. How a man defamed Lālibālā and became blind (distorted folio order: the beginning is replaced, see below) fols. 125rab

7. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibālā fols. 125rb-130va

8. Lālibālā and a rebel (distorted folio order: the beginning see above) fols. 131ra

9. How a prayer to Lālibālā saved a rich woman fols. 131ra-131va

10. How a man defamed Lālibālā and became blind (distorted folio order: the end see above) fols. 131va-vb.

2. MS BnF d’Abbadie 139290

Parchment codex, 82 folios, 240 mm in height and 180 mm in width
Date (evidence: history): first half of the nineteenth century
Currently in France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Origin (evidence: history): Ethiopia, Gondar

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-4rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 4rb-5vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 5vb-8vb
4. Lālibālā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 8va-11vb
5. Lālibālā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 11vb-14rb
6. Praise for Lālibālā fols. 14rb-21va
7. The Life of Lālibālā fols. 21va-71vb
8. Three men visit King Lālibālā fols. 71vb-72vb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 72vb-74va
10. How Lālibālā became like a pauper fols. 74vb-75vb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 75vb-77rb
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 77rb-77va
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 77va-78rb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 78rb-82vb

3. MS EMML 6931291

Parchment codex, 127 folios, 280 mm x 260 mm
Date (evidence: history): seventeenth/eighteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta Golgotā

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290 See Abbadie 1859, 154-155; Chaîne 1912, 87; Conti Rossini 1914, 51, 00; Derat 2016, 103, note 7.

UniProd 1

1. Antiphons for Naʼakkwo To Laʼab fol. 1vab
   The first antiphon is introduced as a ምልጣን / məltān,292 which may indicate the type of antiphon. Further antiphons lack indications of their type, but spaces have been left, presumably for rubrication of the names for further types of antiphons and hallelujah numbers. There is a musical notation (malakket and bet signs). Here as a kind of incipit and explicit I provide the text of the first and the last antiphons:

   (fol. 1va) ምልጣን፡ ዘይምርሃ። ነያ፡ ጽርሃራ፡ እንንወ፡ ሣረርካ፡ በእድ፡ እስመ፡ ዓይነ፡ ታአውድ፡ ኵሉ፡ ዴብለከ፡ ዘይወፅእ፡ ወዘይወርድ፡ አማን፡ ይምርሃነ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ፈቃድ።
   (fol. 1vb) አስመ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ኖላዊ፡ ዳዕሙ፡ ይመውት፡ በደመ፡ ስምዕ፡ ሄኖክ፡ አረጋዊ፡ ወምስለ፡ ኤልያስ፡ ቲስብያዊ፡ ኮሬባዊ፡ አመ፡ ይከውን፡ ድልቅልቅ፡ በበብሔሩ፡ ይነግሥ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ሐሳዊ።

2. Preamble fol. 3ra-7ra
3. Jesus and His redeeming fire fol. 7ra-8vb
4. Teaching about Saints fol. 8vb-11vb
5. Lālibā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fol. 11vb-15rb
6. Lālibā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fol. 15rb-18ra
7. Praise for Lālibā fol. 18ra-25vb
8. The Life of Lālibā fol. 26ra-78ra
9. A note on the dating as attested in MS EMML 6931 fol. 78vab
10. Three men visit King Lālibā fol. 79ra-80ra
11. How the river swallowed Lālibā’s honey and then spit it out fol. 80ra-82ra
12. How Lālibā became like a pauper fol. 82ra-83rb
13. Lālibā and a rebel fol. 83rb-85ra
14. How a prayer to Lālibā saved a rich woman fol. 85rab
15. How a man defamed Lālibā and became blind fol. 85rb-86ra
16. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibā fol. 86ra-89vb and 98ra-98vb (there is no folio displaced; folios 90r-97vb belong to UniProd 2 and simply split the text, see below).
17. Antiphons for Lālibā as attested in MS EMML 6931 fol. 99ra-100ra
18. The Life of Yemerana Krestos fol. 101-127va

‘The Life of Yemerana Krustos’ was edited by Paolo Marrassini.293

292 Shelemay et al. 1993, 78.
Incipit: ከሠሆ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አቡ፡ ዘእምቅዳመ፡ ዓለም፡ ህላዌሁ፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ ዘኢየኀልቅ፡ ልዑል፡ በልዕልናሁ፡ ስቡሕ፡ በስብሐቲሁ፡ ለወልድ፡ ብርሃኑ፡ ወዋካሁ፡ ወለመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሳዳሉ፡ ወሠራኄሁ፤

Explicit: ይምርሃነ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ብጹዕ፡ ዘአሥመሮ፡ በኂሩቱ፡ ይክፍለነ፡ ውስተ፡ ርስቱ፡ ከመː ዓለም፡ አሜን። ይትመክዐብ፡ ዕሴቱ፡ ወለኃጥእ፡ ይስረይ፡ ኀጢአቱ፡ ወፀዳለ፡ ሸራኄሁ፡ ውስተː ልብነ። ለያኅቱ፤ ለዓለመː ዓለምː አሜን።

UniProd 2
Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā fols. 90r-97vb

4. MS EMML 6921
Parchment codex, 157 folios
Date (evidence: supplication): 1684-85
Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta Māryām
1. Preamble fols. 1ra-7rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7rb-10ra
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 10ra-15ra
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 15ra-20vb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 20vb-25va
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 25va-39rb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 39rb-131vb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 131vb-133va
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 133va-136vb
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 136vb-138va
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 138va-141va
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 141va-142ra
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 142ra-143rb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 143rb-151va
15. Prayer by Philoxenus of Mabbug fols. 152ra-157vb

294 Marrassini 1995, 23. Here I provide incipit and explicit of the edited text, which is the same in the listed manuscripts.
295 Id., 61.
Incipit (fol. 152ra): እሴብሐ儦፡ ኦእግዚእየ፡ ወአምላኪየ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ምስለ፡ አቡከ፡ ኄር፡ ቈመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ። በስብሐተ፡ ማር፡ ፈለስኪኖስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ዘሀገረ፡ ምንቡጋር፨ (sic!)

Explicit (fol. 157vb): ወአድኅነኒ፡ እምነ፡ ፀብዕ፡ ወፄዋዌ፤ ወእምነ፡ ፋርሃት፡ ወድንጋፄ፡ ወእምነ፡ ኵሉ፡ ብSessionFactory፡ እኩያት፡ እሉ፡ የኀዝኑ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወየኃረተምዋ፡ ለነፍስ:

5. MS EMML 6964

Parchment codex, 157 folios
Date (evidence: supplication): 1694-95
Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibālā, Beta Giorgis
1. Preamble fols. 2ra-7rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7rb-9vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9vb-13vb
4. Lālibālā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 13vb-19ra
5. Lālibālā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 19ra-23rb
6. Praise for Lālibālā fols. 23rb-34vb
7. The Life of Lālibālā fols. 34vb-115ra
8. Three men visit King Lālibālā fols. 115ra-116vb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibālā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 116vb-119va
10. How Lālibālā became like a pauper fols. 119va-120vb
11. Lālibālā and a rebel fols. 121ra-123rb
12. How a prayer to Lālibālā saved a rich woman fols. 123rb-123vb
13. How a man defamed Lālibālā and became blind fols. 123vb-124vb
14. Story about the virtuous Deeds of Lālibālā fols. 124vb-131vb

6. MS EMML 7051 = NL 46

Parchment codex, 105 folios
Date (evidence: palaeography): twentieth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Lāstā, Beta Naʾakkwāto Lāʼab
1. Preamble fols. 3ra-9ra
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 9ra-11rb

298 See Derat 2016, 103, note 7.
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 11rb-15rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 15rb-18vb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 18vb-21va
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 21va-28rb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 28rb-92ra
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fol. 92ra-92vb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 92vb-94rb
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 94rb-95ra
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 95ra-97ra
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 97rab
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fol 97rb-97va
14. Story about the virtuous Deeds of Lālibalā fols. 97va-102rb
15. Malka’a Lālibalā fols. 102va-105vb.

7. MS EMML 6770299

Parchment codex, 116 folios, 175 mm x 145mm
Date (evidence: palaeography): nineteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Šawā, Dabra Libānos
1. Preamble (incomplete: due to material loss the beginning is missing) fols. 1ra-4rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 4rb-7va
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 7va-9ra
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (split into two, see below for the ending part) fols. 9ra-10va
5. Praise for Lālibalā (split into two, see below for the beginning part) fols. 10va-19ra
6. The ‘Life of Lālibalā’ (split into two, see below for the ending part) fols. 19ra-34rb
7. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (the ending part, see above for the beginning part) fols. 34rb-37rb
8. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 37rb-40vb
9. Praise for Lālibalā (the beginning part, see above for the ending part) fols. 40vb-42va
10. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, see above for the beginning part) fols. 42va-98ra
11. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 98ra-99va
12. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 99va-102rb
13. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 102rb-104ra
14. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 104ra-106va

299 See Valieva 2017, 196.
15. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 106va-107ra
16. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 107ra-108rb

8. MS EMML 2836
Parchment codex, 128 folios, 225mm x 190mm
Date (evidence: catalogue): eighteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Ḥarr ʾAmbā, Mašāqo Šollāse
1. Preamble fols. 3ra-7va
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7va-9vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9vb-13va
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 13va-18rb (fols. 17v-18r are missing from the reproduction)
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 18rb-22ra
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 22ra-33vb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 33vb-110va
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 110va-112ra
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 112ra-115ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 115rb-117ra
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 117ra-119va
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 119va-120ra
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 120ra-121ra

9. MS EMML 6451
Reproduction of EMML 6451, seems to cover either several manuscripts or several UniProds. In the following description I consider only UniProd 1.
Parchment codex, 115 folios, 235mm x 170mm
Date (evidence: reproduction record): nineteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Šawā, ʾAdā waradā, near Nāzret town, Qofitu Lālibalā
1. Preamble fols. 2ra-7va

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300 See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, 185; Derat 2016, 103, note 7.
301 See Valieva 2017, 196.
302 I thank the NALE employees who helped me to identify this place. I was told that Qoitu in Oromo means rock-hewn. May be this place is mentioned in Futuh-al-Habashat tr Basset, p. 112.
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7va-9vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9vb-13vb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (split into two, see below for the ending part) fols. 13vb-15va
5. Praise for Lālibalā (split into two, see below for the beginning part) fols. 15va-25ra
6. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, see below for the ending part) fols. 25rb-41va
7. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (the ending part, see above for the beginning part) fols. 41va-44va
8. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 44va-47vb
9. Praise for Lālibalā (the beginning part, see above for the ending part) fols. 47vb-49va
10. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, see above for the beginning part) fols. 49va-100rb
11. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 100rb-101va
12. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 101va-103va
13. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 103va-104vb
14. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 104vb-106vb
15. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 106va-107ra
16. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 107ra-107vb
17. Story about the virtuous Deeds of Lālibalā fols. 107vb-113rb
18. Antiphons for Jesus as attested in MS EMML 6451 fols. 113vb-115rb.

The antiphons seem to lack indications of their type. There is musical notation (melakket and bet signs). Here as a kind of incipit and explicit, I provide the text of the first and the last antiphons:

(fol. 113vb) የእግዚእነ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ ከመ፡ ዘአክበሮሙ፡ ለኦሪት፡ ወለነቢያት፡ በወንጌል፡ መንግሥት፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ አሜን፡ ወአሜን፡ ᥂እለክሙ፡ እስከ፡ አመ፡ የኀልፍ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፡ የውጣ፡ እንተ፡ አሐቲ፡ ሕርመታ፡ ወአሐቲ፡ ቀርፀታ፡ ኢተኀልፍ፡ እም፡ ኦሪት፡ ወእም፡ ነቢያት፡ እስከ፡ ሶበ፡ ኵሉ፡ ይትገበር፡ ወይከውን፡ ይቤ፡ ወአዘር፡ እብለክሙ፡ እስከ፡ አመ፡ የኀልፍ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፡ የውጣ፡ እንተ:

(fol. 115rb) እንዘ፡ ይወርድ፡ ጊጉዮ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ርዕየ፡ በላዕሌሁ፡ ሥነ፡ መለኮቱ፡ ወትቤ፡ ሲኦል፡ አይ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዝእም፡ የውያን፡ ይብሩ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዝእም፡ የውያን፡ ይብሩ፡ ዝንት፡ ዝእም፡ የውያን:

10. MS EMML 8942
Parchment codex, 104 folios
Date (evidence: supplication): first half of the eighteenth century

303 See Derat 2016, 103, note 7.
Provenance: Ethiopia, Gondar region, Fārtā, Mangāst ወል缩afari መርያም ደምስ
1. Preamble fols. 2ra-6rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6rb-8ra
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 8ra-11rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 11rb-15rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 15rb-18va
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 18va-27va
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 27vb-89vb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 89vb-90vb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 90vb-93ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 93ra-94rb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 94rb-96ra
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 96rab
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 96va-97rb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 97rb-102va
15. Lālibalā as attested in MS EMML 8942 fols. 102va-104vb.

11. MotGiorg-001
Parchment codex, 175 folios
Date (evidence: supplication): end of the eighteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, East Gojjam, Moṭā Giorgis
1. The life of Takla Ḥaymanot (incomplete) fol. 1rab
   It is the beginning of the so-called Dabra Libanos recension of the ‘Life of Takla Ḥaymanot’ edited by Ernst Alfred Wallis Budge.
2. The Life of Naʾakwǝto Laʾab fols. 2ra-36vb.

305 See ‘Täklä Haymanot’, IV (2010), 831a–834b (D. Nosnitsin)
306 See Budge 1906.
307 Conti Rossini 1943.
3. Miracles of Na’akkwato La’ab fols. 37ra-38va

4. The death of Naṣḥt Maryam, wife of Na’akkwato La’ab fol. 38vab

5. Malka’a Na’akkwato La’ab312 fols. 39-40va

6. Hymn for Na’akkwato La’ab as attested in MS MotGior-001 fol.40vab

7. The Sankassār reading for Na’akkwato La’ab and Salām fols. 40vb-41ra
8. Preamble fols. 42ra-45rb
10. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 45vb-47rb
11. Teaching about Saints fols. 47rb-50rb
12. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 50rb-53vb
13. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 53vb-56va
14. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 56va-65ra
15. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 65ra-126rb
16. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 126rb-127va
17. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 127va-129vb
18. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 129vb-131ra
19. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 131ra-132vb
20. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 132vb-133rb
21. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 133rb-134ra
22. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 134ra-139vb
23.ʾAsmāt fol. 139vab
24. Testimony of Abraham fols. 141ra-150rb

Testimony of Abraham=’Das äthiopische Testament Abrahams (ʾ NSF አብርሃም) Rezension I’.313

Incipit: 2 ኢፋውት፡ ፍልሰቶሙ፡ ወፀዓቶሙ፡ ለአበው፡ አብርሃም፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ወያዕቆብ።
3 ኢስ፡ አንከ፡ ፀዓቱ፡ ለአብርሃም፡ ወፍልሰቱ፡ ዓለም፡ አመ፡ ዳወ፰፡ ለነሐሲ፡ ወይስሐቅኒ፡ ዓዲ፡ አመ፡ ዳወ፰፡ ለነሐሱ፡ ወያዕቆብ፡ አመ፡ ዳወ፰፡ እምዝንቱ፡ ወርኅ፡ ወዕርገቶሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማያት፡ በስብሐት፡ ወክብር። 314

Explicit: 14 መስላችበት፡ አስመː ያና፡ አቡላː አግዐዘክሙ፡ ወለክሙ፡ ዓዲ፡ ይደሉ፡ ላዕሌክሙː ከመː ትግበሩː ምግባረː አግዓወያን፡ አምː ይmutationsː ለክሙː ግዕዛነː
25. Testimony of Isaac fols. 150va-160rb
Testimony of Isaac='Das äthiopische Testament Isaaks' (Rezension I).

Incipit: 2 ስንቱ፡ ያርፍቱ፡ ለአብ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ዘተሰመየ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወፍልሰቱ፡ እምሥጋሁ፡ አመ፡ ምወ፰፡ ዕለት፡ የሆኔ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ ይከድን፡ ለኵልነ፡ አሜን።

Explicit: 7 ስንቱ፡ ዋይደሉ፡ ያስብሎ፡ ወክብር፡ ወውዳሴ፡ ወስግደት፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማሕየዊ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን። ወአሜን፡ ለይኩን፡ ለይኩን።

26. ʾAsmāt fol. 160rb

 Explicit: 8 ስንቱ፡ ዋይደሉ፡ ያስብሎ፡ ወክብር፡ ወውዳሴ፡ ወስግደት፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማሕየዊ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን። ወአሜን፡ ለይኩን፡ ለይኩን።

27. Testimony of Jacob (incomplete) fols. 160va-167rb
Testimony of Jacob='Das äthiopische Testament Jakobs' (Rezension I). Here the text is not complete, it is probable that pictures are missing.

Incipit: 2 ስንቱ፡ ያርፍቱ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ዘተሰመየ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወፍልሰቱ፡ እምሥጋሁ፡ አመ፡ ምወ፰፡ ዕለት፡ የሆኔ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ ይከድን፡ ለኵሉ፡ አሜን።

Explicit: 8 ስንቱ፡ ዋይደሉ፡ ያስብሎ፡ ወክብር፡ ወውዳሴ፡ ወስግደት፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማሕየዊ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን። ወአሜን፡ ለይኩን፡ ለይኩን።

28. The Homily on Abraham and Sarah in Egypt by Saint Ephrem of Syria fols. 167va-175vb.

315 Heide 2012, 127.
316 Id., 127.
317 Id., 139.
318 Heide 2000, 166-167.
319 Id., 166-167.
320 Id., 168.
321 Id., 191.
Incipit (fol. 167va): ወርሃም እና ትቅሮ እና ትካ እና በእንተ አብርሃም አበ አበው አርከ እግዚአብሔር ወበእንተ ወራሂ እንዘ እንዘም ምድረ ግብፅ።

Explicit (fol. 175vab): ወወሀቡም እምሠርጐ ወአልባሰ ወምዕንቊ ውእተ ጊዜ ወፅኡ እብርሃም ወሳራ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአብሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖም ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአብሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአብሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአብሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአብሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴብሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴブሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴブሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴブሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡረ እንዘ እሙንቱ ይትፌሥሑ ወይወብሉ ወይሴブሑ ለእግዚአブሔር ዘተወክፈ ጸሎቶሙ ዘፈነወ ኃይሎ ወአድኃኖሙ ወአኞ ወአጋርሃ ወሳራ ልላጆ ወአጋርሃ እምድረ ግብፅ። ወመልኡ ኅቡmere
Date (evidence: palaeography): fourteenth/fifteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Kǝbrǝn Gabrǝʾel

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-4vb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire (material loss: ending is missing) fols. 5ra-7vb
3. Teaching about Saints (material loss: the beginning is missing) fols. 7vb-10va
4. Lǝlibalǝ enters Heavenly Jerusalem (material loss: the end is missing) fols. 10va-14vb
5. Lǝlibalǝ accomplishes the Word of the Gospel (material loss: the beginning is missing) fols. 15ra-18va
6. Praise for Lǝlibalǝ fols. 18va-27rb
7. The Life of Lǝlibalǝ fols. 27rb-84vb
8. Three men visit King Lǝlibalǝ fols. 84vb-85vb
9. How the river swallowed Lǝlibalǝ’ s honey and then spit it out fols. 85vb-88ra
10. How Lǝlibalǝ became like a pauper fols. 88ra-89ra
11. Lǝlibalǝ and a rebel fols. 89ra-91vb
12. How a prayer to Lǝlibalǝ saved a rich woman fols. 91vb-92ra
13. How a man defamed Lǝlibalǝ and became blind fols. 92ra-93ra

14. MS BetLib-001

Parchment codex, 132 folios

Date (evidence: supplication): end of the nineteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Lǝlibalǝ, Beta Libǝnos

1. A narration about the seven days of Creation or Pseudo-‘Miracles of blessed Lǝlibalǝ and Saint Masqal Kǝbrǝ’ fols. 1ra-2va

The text is based on the Book of Genesis, circulates in different forms in Ethiopian literature. Here it is entitled as ‘Miracles of blessed Lǝlibalǝ and Saint Masqal Kǝbrǝ’. The form of the narration discussed below shows a minor difference, which is why I assign an individual double-working title to it.325

Trinitarian formula: እ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ወጋስ፡ ወምልክ፡ / ‘Miracles of blessed Lǝlibalǝ and Saint Masqal Kǝbrǝ’.

Incipit: መስቀል፡ ለቅድስት፡ ወብጽዕት፡ ክብራ፡ / ‘Miracles of blessed Lǝlibalǝ and Saint Masqal Kǝbrǝ’.

325 I thank Sophia Dege-Müller for advising me about this textual unit.
Explicit: እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘፈቀደ፡ ይገብር፡ ወዘሐለየ፡ ይፌጽም፡ ወዘየአምር፡ እምቅድመ፡ ሕሊና፡ ወዘከመዝ፡ አምላክ፡ ይደልዎ፡ ክብር፡ ወስብሐት። ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።።

2. Version the ‘Life of Masqal Kābrā’ known in Lālibalā and in Madabāy Tābor fols. 2va-21rb
3. Miracles of Saint and Blessed Masqal Kābrā fols. 21rb-22rb
Two ‘Miracles of Saint and Blessed Masqal Kābrā’ were edited by Kur together with the Acts of Masqal Kābrā.327

Miracle One
Incipit: መንግሥት፡ ይፈት፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ዳሞት፡ ኀበ፡ ተዝካረ፡ መስቀል፡ ክብራ፡ ወይቤ፡ ለሊሁ፡ በቃሉ፡ እንዘ፡ አሐውር፡ በፍኖት፡ ርኢኩ፡ ሰብአ፡ ብዙኃነ፡ በምሥያጥ፡ ህየ፡ ወአንከርኩ፡ በይነ፡ ብዝኆሙ፡ ወሰባሕክዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።

Explicit: መንግሥት፡ ይፈት፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ዳሞት፡ ኀበ=: ተዝካረ፡ መስቀል፡ ክብራ፡ ወበህየ፡ ትረክብ፡ ካህነ፡ ወይብልዎ፡ ተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ውእቱ፡ ይናዝዘከ፡ በእንተዝ፡ አኃሥሥከ፡ ኦቅዱስ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። በአማን፡ ዘኢይትሔሰው፡ ቃልከ። ወይትባረክ፡ ብስሙ፡ ለአምላክነ፡ 328

Miracle Two
Incipit: መንግሥት፡ ይፈት፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ዳሞት፡ ኀበ=: ተዝካረ፡ መስቀል፡ ክብራ፡ ወበህየ፡ ትረክብ፡ ካህነ፡ ወይብልዎ፡ ተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ውእቱ፡ ይናዝዘከ፡ በእንተዝ፡ አኃሥሥከ፡ ኦቅዱስ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። በአማን፡ ዘኢይትሔሰው፡ ቃልከ። ወይትባረክ፡ ብስሙ፡ ለአምላክነ፡ 328

4. Preamble fols. 25ra-27vb
5. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 28ra-29rb
6. Teaching about Saints fols. 29rb-31vb
7. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 31vb-34vb
8. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 35ra-37rb
9. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 37rb-44rb
10. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 44rb-90rb
11. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 91ra-92r
12. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 92ra-94ra

326 As attested in MS MasKa-003 fols. 131ra-131vb.
327 Kur 1972, 403-404.
328 Id., 403.
329 Id., 404.
330 Id.
331 Id.
13. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 94ra-95ra
14. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 95ra-97ra
15. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 97ra-97rb
16. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 97va-98ra
17. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 98ra-102v
18. The Life of Yemerḥanna Krestos \(^{332}\) fols. 103ra-130r
19. Mālekṣ’a Libānos \(^{333}\) fols. 130v-132vb

\[\text{Incipit:} \text{አክርስትስ፡ ዘተወለድከ፡ እምድንግል፤ መድኀኒተ፡ ነፍሶሙ፡ ትኩን፡ ለሕዝበ፡ ሙስና፡ ወሀጕል፡ ወስሳከ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ገብርከ፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወንጌል፡ ባርክፋ፡ በየማንከ፡ ወበእዴከ፡ መስቀል። \]

\[\text{Explicit:} ወጉት፡ እን፡ ምርጉም፡ ምርጉም፡ ወጉት፡ ምርጉም፡ ወጉት፡ ምርጉም፡ ወጉት፡ ምርጉም፡ ወጉት፡ ምርጉም፡ ወጉት፡ ምርጉም፡ \]

15. MS BetEman-001 \(^{336}\)
Parchment codex
Date (evidence: palaeography): eighteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta Ḥamānu’el
1. Preamble fols. 1ra-7ra
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7ra-9rb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9rb-12vb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 12vb-17ra
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 17ra-20vb
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 20vb-23vb (end of the photographed material).

16. MS BetMarq-001
Parchment codex, 109 folios
Date (evidence: palaeography): seventeenth/eighteenth century
Provenance: Ethiopia., Lālibalā, Beta Mārqorewos
1. Preamble. fols. 3ra-8rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 8rb-10va

\(^{332}\) See MS EMML 6931 earlier in this chapter and further Marrassini 1995.
\(^{333}\) Edited by Alessandro Bausi as \textit{La \textquoteleft Vita\textquoteright e I \textquoteleft Miracoli di Libānos}, see Bausi 2003, 121-124.
\(^{334}\) Bausi 2003, 121.
\(^{335}\) Id., 124.
\(^{336}\) I have photographed this manuscript only partially. For now I have decided not to encode its record.
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 10va-14rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 14rb-18vb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 18vb-22rb
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 22rb-31vb
7. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, for the ending part see below) fols. 31vb-71ra
8. Second Preamble MS BetMarq-001 fols. 71rb-72ra
9. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, for the beginning part see above) fols. 72ra-92ra
10. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 92ra-93rb
11. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 93rb-95va
12. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 95va-97rb
13. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 97rb-99rb
14. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 99rb-99vb
15. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 99vb-100vb
16. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 100vb-107va

Incipit (fol. 108ra):

 Explicit (fol. 109ra):

17. MS MasKa-003
Parchment codex, 146 folios
Date (evidence: colophon): first half of the twentieth century
Provenance: Ethiopia, Madabāy Tābor, Beta Ṭasqal Kābrā
1. Preamble fols. 1ra-6va
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6va-9rb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9rb-13rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 13rb-20ra
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 20ra-24ra
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 24ra-35rb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 35rb-110vb

337 According to Chaîne: ‘Salām 170, Dimanche, sabbat des chrétiens’.
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 110vb-112ra
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 112ra-114va
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 114va-115vb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 115vb-118vb
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 118vb-119rb
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 119rb-120rb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 120rb-128vb
15. Finding in Beta Māryām fols. 128vb-129rb
16. A narration about the seven days of Creation or Pseudo-‘Miracles of blessed Lālibalā and Saint Masqal Kābrā’ fol. 131ra-131vb
17. Version the ‘Life of Masqal Kābrā’ known in Lālibalā and in Madabāy Tābor fols. 132ra-134rb
18. Miracles of Saint and Blessed Masqal Kābrā fol. 145vb-146vb.

18. MS NazMa-001
Parchment codex, 102 folios
Date (evidence: colophon): 1988
Provenance: Ethiopia, Māryām Nāzret
1. Preamble fols. 1ra-6ra
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6ra-8ra
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 8ra-11vb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 11vb-16ra
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 16ra-19rb
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 19va-28va
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 28va-86rb
8. A note on the dating as attested in MS EMML 6931 fol. 86va
9. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 86vb-87vb
10. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 87vb-89vb
11. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 89vb-90vb
12. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 91ra-92vb
13. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 92vb-93rb
14. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 93rb-94ra
15. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā (incomplete) fols. 94ra-97rb

338 See MS BetLib-001 earlier in this chapter.
339 See MS BetLib-001 earlier in this chapter.
16. A narration about the seven days of Creation or Pseudo-‘Miracles of blessed Lālibalā and Saint Masqal Kābrā341 fols. 97rb-98ra
17. Malkə’a Lālibalā fols. 98rb-101ra
18. ‘Nāgš of Lālibalā as edited in ‘Gadla Qāddus Lālibalā’ fols. 101rb-101va
19. Salām fol. 101va
20. Hymns fol. 101vab
21. Salāmtā as edited in ‘Gadla Qāddus Lālibalā’ fol. 102rab

19. MS BL Orient. 719342
Parchment codex, 163 folios, 229 mm in height and 178 cm in width
Date UniProd 1 (evidence: palaeography): fourteenth/fifteenth century
Date UniProd 2 (evidence: palaeography): nineteenth century
Currently in London, British Library
Provenance: from Gondar to Maqdālā, from Maqdālā to the British Library
UniProd 2
1. Preamble (restoration of UniProd 1) fols. 1ra-2vb
UniProd 1
1. Preamble (following text of UniProd 2) fols. 4ra-10va
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 10va-13vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 13vb-19rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 19rb-26rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 26va-32ra
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 32ra-47va
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 47va-143vb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 143vb-145va
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 145va-148vb
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 148vb-150va
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 150va-153rb
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 153rb-153vb
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind man fols. 153vb-155ra

20. MS BL Orient. 718343
Parchment codex, 130 folios, 335mm in height and 275 mm in width
Date (evidence: miniature): 1840s
Provenance: from Gondar to Maqdālā, from Maqdālā to the British Library
Origin: Gondar
1. Preamble fols. 1ra-5vb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6ra-8vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 8vb-12rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 12rb-17va
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 17va-21va
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 21va-33va
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 33vb-115rb
miniature እምዝመ፡ የጆለቤ፡ ቡሉን፡ እባሇ፡ ዓ፡ሄያ፡ fol. 38r
miniature ኢትወለ፡ ከምረːኝ፡ ከእይ፡ እምወጥ፡ fol. 39v
miniature ይወ፡ ከማኲ፡ የማማፋ፡ የምታፎ፡ እባሇ፡ fol. 76r
miniature ከወሩ፡ የምታፎ፡ የምታፎ፡ እባሇ፡ fol. 76v
miniature ከወሩ፡ የማማፋ፡ የማማፋ፡ የምታፎ፡ እባሇ፡ fol. 99v
miniature የማማፋ፡ የማማፋ፡ የማማፋ፡ / እምዝመ፡ የምታፎ፡ ዯላኲ፡ እምወጥ፡ fol. 100r
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 115rb-116vb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 116vb-119ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 119vb-120va
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 120va-122va
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 122va-122vb
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 122vb-123vb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 123vb-130va.
miniature እመሄ፡ እባሇ፡ fol. 126r
miniature እመኳ፡ የማማፋ፡ ዯላኲ፡ fol. 127v

21. BP MS Parm. 3852
Parchment manuscript, 137 folios, 210 mm in height, 155mm in width
Date (evidence: colophon): 1939-1940
Currently in Italy, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma
1. Preamble fols. 1ra-6vb

343 See Wright 1870, 601; Derat 2016, 102, note 7; Valieva 2016.
344 Gianfrancesco Lusini is preparing a catalogue of Ethiopic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma.
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6vb-9rb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9rb-13rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 13rb-18rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 18rb-22rb
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 22rb-33va
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 33vb-118vb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 118va-120rb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 120rb-123ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 123ra-124vb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 124vb-127ra
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 127ra-127va
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 127va-128va
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 128va-135va
15. Finding in Beta Māryām fols. 135va-136rb

22. MS BAV Cerulli 37\textsuperscript{345}

Parchment codex, 114 folios, 155mm for 225mm.

Date (evidence: catalogue): nineteenth century

Currently in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-5vb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 5va-7vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 7vb-11ra
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 11ra-15rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 15rb-18va
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 18va-27vb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 27vb-94ra
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 94ra-95rb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 95va-98ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 98ra-99va
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 99va-101vb

\textsuperscript{345} Using the methodology of \textit{La Syntaxe du Codex} (see Andrist et al. 2013), I have suggested that there are two UniProds within this manuscript. When I went to BAV in July 2018, I checked the manuscript. In fact there are two manuscripts which were just put together into one box, perhaps by the librarians; they are neither bound nor do they have anything in common. That is why I describe only the manuscript containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, see Liuzzo 2019, 215 n. 79. Cf. Raineri 1998, 39.
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 101vb-102rb
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 102rb-103rb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 103rb-110ra
15. Malko’ä Lālibalā fols. 110ra-113vb
16. Hymn for Lālibalā as attested in MS TGM-001 fols. 113vb-114ra.

23. MS BAV Cerulli 223³⁴⁶
Parchment codex, 164 folios, 275mm x 200 mm
Date (evidence: supplication): twentieth century
Currently in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
1. Preamble fols. 5ra-10va
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 10va-12vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 12vb-16va
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 16va-21rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 21rb-23ra
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 23ra-35vb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 35vb-108rb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 108va-110ra
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 110ra-112va
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 112va-114rb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 114rb-116va
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 116va-117ra
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 117ra-118ra
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 118ra-124vb
15. Finding in Beta Māryām fols. 124va-125ra
16. Gabra Manfas Qddus and Lālibalā fols. 125va-127va
17. The Life of Yemerḥanna Krestos fols. 129r-164r.

Chapter Three. Transmission of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

The corpus of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts does not include the autograph, i.e. the text that was written down by the author of the text himself, or ideograph, i.e. the text that has been written by a copyist under the control of the author. Hence, all that we are dealing with regarding the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ in terms of the text witnesses or in terms of the content of a manuscript are products of textual transmission over the course of history. My corpus includes manuscripts that range from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries. Up to now no hypothesis has been suggested on the transmission of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. Therefore, one needs to scroll back through the transmitted texts, identifying added, omitted passages or texts as well as corrupted or elaborated passages, aiming to reconstruct an archetype from which all surviving witnesses derive, or in any case to understand how the text was transmitted. The comparison of the reconstructed archetype with the texts contained in the manuscripts can give us an idea of what happened to a given manuscript or to its Vorlage. In this regard establishing, if possible, a stemma codicum is a very good tool that visualizes the scientific hypothesis designed by the scholar in order to explain the relationship between the extant witnesses. The stemmatic method and the resulting stemma codicum proposes an explanation based on limited evidence as a starting point for further investigation. Each hypothesis must be verifiable, which is often very difficult for critically edited texts due to the amount of work required. Hopefully, with the introduction of collating tools it will be easier to check, to criticise and therefore to improve the quality of the scholarly editions. At this stage, usage of collating tools does not offer any advantage in terms of time. To collate texts, whether manually or automatically, remains a very time-consuming task.

For my PhD project, I was asked by Alessandro Bausi to make a collation of the manuscripts, not manually but using computerized collating tools. I was testing three programs known to me, Juxta,347 Critical Text Editor348 and CollateX.349 The first requirement was to transcribe as many witnesses as possible into a digital format, as efficiently as could be managed. This was by far the most time-consuming stage of the project. Since Transkribus350 was not yet in use then, I was transcribing the text contained in my manuscripts manually, using Microsoft Word. In transcribing the texts, it is important to note that in case one wants to use CollateX on the computer, all characters/signs used in ‘dot language’ must be avoided, otherwise the program will...
not work.\textsuperscript{351} I chose to work with Microsoft Word because it was the most familiar to me and I wanted to have an easy start. While rendering manuscript text into digital form, I made some simple tests:

For Juxta I tested its online version: I have collated two portions of text, three and more portions of text and two files containing the complete transcriptions. Fig. 1 is an illustration of the collation of two witnesses, EMML 6931 (Ea) and EMML 6921 (Eb) with Juxta commons. Each variation in text is marked with blue color. Fig. 1 is an illustration of the collation of two witnesses, EMML 6931 (Ea) and EMML 6921 (Eb) with Juxta commons. Each variation in text is marked with blue color.

Fig. 1. Juxta commons: Ea vs Eb

\textsuperscript{351} Here one should say that after the completion of my work CollateX was integrated into the Beta research environment, which made its use for Ethiopic texts much easier. Another option that I consider after learning how to use XML, is to begin with XML, not with Microsoft Word. XML allows one to consider all layers of information for encoding and getting as many ‘clean’ texts as someone wants, which would reflect different layers attested and which is then easy to process. With Microsoft Word one will either have a ‘dirty text’ (the more detailed transcription, the ‘dirtier’) which is difficult to process or have to decide which layer might be disregarded, on which costs to simplify the transcription.
From what I can judge based on my brief experience with Juxta, this application works very well for comparison of two witnesses. I know that the project of Steve Delamarter and Daniel Assefa\textsuperscript{352} has successfully used this program to compare transcriptions of one and the same witness made by different people independently. This makes it possible to recognize new readings introduced by the transcribers. One can apply the same technique for comparison of an already-established critical edition and a newly found text witness. One can also use Juxta for collation of two witnesses. Whenever one has two texts to compare, Juxta is good and the visualization is clear. It is important to note that Juxta can malfunction and ‘freeze’ with longer texts, so it is better to break down the text into shorter portions and work with them individually.

Juxta seems to be easy to use and does not require any specific knowledge. Nevertheless, when it comes to a larger number of witnesses, the results of the Juxta collation can be confusing and even unreadable. Two different applications, Juxta and CollateX, each require a different version of Java Runtime Environment (JRE), which is difficult to arrange for one computer, that is why I limited myself to the online version of Juxta.

Classical Text Editor (CTE) can also carry out a collation. I made the same test with CTE: I collated two witnesses in digital form, EMML 6931 (Ea) and EMML 6921 (Eb), using CTE. I first imported one file and then collated it with another file by choosing: import-collate. CTE collates witnesses and puts variants directly in the apparatus, which reduces the amount of work to be done. The only serious drawback of collaboration with CTE is that it requires a base-text which must be chosen arbitrarily, and I find it difficult to control the results of such a collation. With my limited experience, I find it problematic to use this kind of collation for creating a stemma codicum. However, once the stemma is proposed, one probably can use this collating function to create an apparatus. I was introducing all variants manually, because I wanted to cross-check my stemma directly with the photographic images as I did not want to be completely at the mercy of my own transcription and any mistakes it might involve.

After some experiments I decided for CollateX.\textsuperscript{353} Before I got some results, I performed literally thousands of experiments, which then allowed me to propose the stemma codicum to be given below. The step-by-step description of my experience can be found in Appendix 4. The CollateX makes it possible to use a ‘baseless’ comparison method to produce a collated text; none of the witnesses is assigned greater significance than any other. Once a stemma hypothesis is created, the editor can use the same script to step back through the variants again and to collate witnesses in all combinations. For someone who does not aim to produce a critical edition, it is a

\textsuperscript{352} We discussed it with Daniel Assefa during my stay in Addis Ababa in October 2017.

\textsuperscript{353} See https://collatex.net/.
perfect program to analyze the transmission of the text, to get a visual picture of different processes, for example to figure out which witness was used for correcting another witness. What also makes this program promising is the idea that in case a new witness is found, it can be collated either with a critical text or with any other witness in each combination: geographically close, temporally close, visually close etc. There are some disadvantages I faced which are described in the Appendix; however, judging from what Dorothea Reule now comments on using an online Beta masāḥaft CollateX function, it seems much advanced in respect to my best offline results and can be safely recommended.

In what follows I propose my hypothesis for the history of the textual transmission of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, which I postulate, applying Neo-Lachmannian method, based on the collation performed with CollateX.

The following twenty-six manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ (except Eg and Eh) and here listed according to the alphabetical order of their sigla, were available for my study:

1. A, MS DabŠoy-001, Monastery of Dabra Šoyon, fourteenth/fifteenth century
2. Ab, MS BnF d’Abbadie 139, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nineteenth century
3. Ea, MS EMML 6931, seventeenth / eighteenth century
4. Eb, MS EMML 6921, seventeenth / eighteenth century
5. Ec, MS EMML 6964, seventeenth / eighteenth century
6. Ed, MS EMML 7051 = NL 46, twentieth century
7. Ec, MS EMML 6770, nineteenth century
8. Ef, MS EMML 2836, eighteenth century
9. Eg, MS EMML 6592, 1942 (excluded from the reconstruction)
10. Eh, MS EMML 1614, twentieth century (excluded from the reconstruction)
11. Ei, MS EMML 6951, nineteenth century
12. Ej, MS EMML 8942, first half of the eighteenth century
13. J, MS BL Ms. Ethiopic 4, Indian Office collection, 1840s
14. G, MS MotGiorg-001, eighteenth century
15. K, MS Kābrān 31, fourteenth/fifteenth century
16. La, MS BetLib-001, end of the nineteenth century

354 I learnt about the method through reading various books and editions. The concrete application of the method, I learnt from Alessandro Bausi directly as well as from with my colleagues, much from Hirutie Ermias and Daria Elagina. Among the books that I found useful and stimulating are Timpanaro 1985, Timpanaro 2016 and Trovato 2014.

355 For codicological description and details for dating of MSS see chapter two.
3.1. Recensio

Trying to identify conjunctive errors, I considered that each witness containing the ‘Gadla Lālībalā collection’ would have one antigraph containing the ‘Gadla Lālībalā collection’, not that a copyist had different antigraphs for each textual unit. I did not find any contradicting evidence. Therefore, I postulate a common subarchetype based on conjunctive errors, supported by polygenetic errors, even if attested only in one or some textual units, for the entire ‘Gadla Lālībalā collection’. To my knowledge, Perruchon did not introduce any conjectures in his edition, that is why there is no need to consider the edition separately from Ob (Perr. = Ob). All variants in Ob, which are errors according to the stemma, Perruchon kept as they appear in Ob (Ob = Perr.). I will refer to different textual units of the ‘Gadla Lālībalā collection’ with the sigla, introduced in chapter one.

Initially I based my hypothesis for the stemma codicum on the complete collation of the ‘Gadla Lālībalā collection’. I have already tested it for the reconstruction of the ‘Preamble’ and ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ and this hypothesis seems to be approved by ‘noise’\textsuperscript{356} as well. At this point, for the sake of clarity and verifiability, I have decided, whenever possible, to illustrate my hypothesis with the examples from the edited ‘Preamble’ and ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’. By definition, conjunctive errors for one group of witnesses serve as disjunctive errors for another group, that is why I do not state it additionally.

My proposed stemma codicum has five branches, which I will introduce branch after branch, disregarding an alphabetic order, with complex branches presented from the lowest known level up to their root, although it is less common.

\textsuperscript{356} Trovato highlighted the importance of polygenetic errors, ‘noise’, see Trovato 2014, 109-116.
1. Witness A did not serve as a Vorlage for any of the available witnesses, for it has separative errors (such as innovations, omissions also by homeoteleuton, that are difficult to correct once they have happened).

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 26 […] ብእኩ፡ ሥነ፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡ ርትዕት። ወበእንተ፡ ሥነ፡ ትዕግሥቱ፡ ታውስተ፡ ጸንወ፡ […]

‘Preamble’ §26 […] because of the beauty of his orthodox faith. And because of the beauty of his endurance in the combat […]

Omission of ብእኩ፡ ሥነ፡ ትዕግሥቱ፡ ታውስተ፡ ጸንወ፡ A, fol. 1vb

Full passage: cet.

As I found separative errors and did not identify any conjunctive error with A, for the reconstruction it constitutes its own branch.

2. Ed did not serve as a Vorlage for any of the available witnesses, for it contains numerous separative errors, mainly omissions.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 34 […] ዘእንበለ፡ ዐቅም። § 35 ዘእንበለ፡ ዐቅም፡ ወይሰትዩ፡ ለቃለ፡ ወንጌል።

‘Preamble’ §34. […] without measure.

§ 35. Because those who eat and drink without measure, they deny the word of Gospel.

Homeoteleuton of ብእኩ፡ ሥነ፡ ትዕግሥቱ፡ ታውስተ፡ ጸንወ፡ Ed, fol. 5ra

Full passage: cet.

Since I did not find any conjunctive errors with other witnesses, Ed constitutes its own branch in the stemma. Due to numerous changes, Ed might be considered as a version of the ‘Gadla Lalibala collection’.

3. Branch of the subarchetype κ

a) Ee did not serve as a Vorlage of any of the available witnesses, for it contains separative errors.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 42 […]እያስመ፡ እለ፡ ይበልዑ፡ ወይሰትዩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዐቅም፡ ወይስታንዎ፡ ለቃለ፡ ወንጌል።

‘Preamble’ §42 […]where our God abides, sea of mercy […]
Merged variant ላስር፡ Ee, fol. 1rb
Correct reading ላስር፡ በመንESAὁ : cet.
b) Ei did not serve as a Vorderlage for any of the available witnesses, for it contains separative errors.
E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 50 [...] ደብረ፡ ወርቅ፡ ይስመ፡ በከመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ይትዐቀብ፡ የስተ፡ እስከሬን፡ [...]  
E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 50 [...] a mount of gold because as gold is kept in a treasury [...]  
Hom. እስመ፡ በከመ፡ ወርቅ፡ Ei, fol. 5rb

c) In all likelihood, Dillmann used witness J for the Lexicon. Witness J did not serve as a Vorderlage for any of the available witnesses (considering its history, probably for non existing witness), for it contains separative errors.
E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ § 4 [...] እንዘ፡ ይስመ፡ ይጼዐር፡ በአርዑተ፡ በቅኔሁ፡ ወልሰይጣን፡ [...]  
E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ § 4 [...] suffering under the yoke of Satan’s servitude [...]  

Variant reading SuccessListener: J, f. 7r
SuccessListener : cet. (-EjKVa); SuccessListener : EjVa; SuccessListener : K

d) There is a big textual transposition in Ee, Ei, J which were grouped under the sigla ShMSS, all originated from Šawā. The manuscripts of this group are marked by a transposition of a portion of text as opposed to the ‘rest’ of the tradition, which follows the normal thread of the narration. It is enough to postulate a common subarchetype for EeEiJ. Transposition occurs in the middle of the page, what excludes the possibility of the codicological transposition within these preserved MSS.
Thus, we find:

‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ splitted: Ee fols. 9ra-10va and continues on fols. 34rb-37rb, Ei fols. 13vb-15va and continues on fols. 41va-44va, J (split unit) fols. 14v-17r and continues on fols. 50v-54v;

357 See Dillmann 1865, x-xi, see Valieva 2017, 197.
358 See Valieva 2017, 196.
‘Lālibala accomplishes the Word of God’, integrated into the ‘Life of Lālibala’: Ee fols. 37rb-40vb, Ei fols. 44va-47vb, J fols. 54v-59v;

‘Praise for Lālibala’ splitted: Ee fols. 40vb-42va and continues on fols. 10va-19ra, Ei fols. 47vb-49va and continues on fols. 15va-25ra, J fols. 59v-61v and continues on fols. 17r-29r.

ShMSS is marked by many conjunctive and polygenetic errors as well, which also offer some ideas about the relationship of the witnesses within the group. However, at this point I am not ready to propose any hypothesis on this point.

e) K did not serve as a Vorlage for any of the available witnesses, for it contains separative errors.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ §36 ኋወይትፈጸም፡ ታዕሌሆሙ፡ ዝክለ፡ ፈንብይ፡ […]

‘Preamble’ §36 And on them will be fulfilled the word of the Prophet […]

Variant reading ኋወይትፈጸም፡ K, f. 2rb (‘on you’)
Correct reading ኋወይትፈጸም፡ cet (– αEiGK); ኋወይትፈጸም፡ αEiG; ኋወይትፈአም፡ Ld

Variant reading ኋወይትፈአም፡ I, f. 6rb, K, fols. 3vb; ኋወይትአም፡ Ee, fols. 6rb (‘announce’)
Correct reading ኋወይትአም፡ cet (-La); ኋወይትአም፡ I La, fols. 27rb

Thus, I postulate a common ancestor for Ee, Ei, J and K, i.e. subarchetype κ in the stemma.
4. Branch of the subarchetype ε

a) Lb did not serve as a Vorlage for any of the available witnesses, for it contains separative errors.

E.g. 'Preamble' § 45 […] እምነገረ፡ ፅርፈት፡ እምነቢበ፡ ቐመፃ፡ ወሐሰት፡ […]

‘Preamble’ § 45 […] from blasphemous speech, from unjust and false talk[…]

Omm. እርፋት፡ እምነቢበ፡ Lb, fol. 3vb
Full passage: cet.

b) Va did not serve as a Vorlage for any of the available witnesses, for it contains separative errors.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ §8 ወለእሳትኒ፡ ዝሰፍሖ፡ በአየረ፡ ፈፋስ፡ […]

‘Preamble’ §8 And Who stretched out the fire on the air of the wind […]

Variant reading ነፍሖ፡ Va, fol. 1rb ('blew')
Correct reading ነስፍሖ፡ cet. (ζVa); ነስፍሐ፡ ζ

c) Lb shares conjunctive errors with Va.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 49 […] እርፋት፡ እምነበ፡ […]

‘Preamble’ § 49 […] A breastplate of power […]
In addition, Lb has identical physical articulation as Va. Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Lb and Va, subarchetype η in the stemma.

\[ \eta \]

17th - 18th Lb

20th Va

d) Ej shares conjunctive errors with Lb and Va.

E.g. 'Jesus and His redeeming fire' § 15 [...] \( \text{variants} : \text{cet.} \) [...]  

'Jesus and His redeeming fire' § 15 [...] raised up the paralysed [...] 

Variant reading \( \text{variants} : \text{Ej, fol. 6vb, Lb, fol. 8ra, Va, fol. 6rb ('made solid')} \)
Correct reading \( \text{variants} : \text{cet.} \)

For now, I postulate a common ancestor for Ej, Lb, Va, subarchetype ζ in the stemma.

E.g. 'Preamble' § 8 \( \text{variants} : \text{G, fol. 42ra ('fire')} \)
Correct reading \( \text{variants} : \text{cet. (-OaII); ἐφέθη : OaII} \)

f) G shares conjunctive errors with Ej, Lb and Va.

E.g. 'Preamble' § 4 \( \text{variants} : \text{G, fol. 42ra ('fire')} \)
Correct reading \( \text{variants} : \text{cet. (-OaII); ἐφέθη : OaII} \)

'Preamble' § 4 In Whom the Son is neither separated from the Father nor the Holy Spirit from the Son.
Variant reading ἀληθινοὶ τοι: λῃστὴν τοι: Ej, f. 2ra, G, f. 42ra, Lb, f. 1ra, Va, f. 1ra (‘And the Son from the Father’)

Correct reading ἔμωλὖν: cet. (-EdLd); om. EdLd

Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Ej, G, Lb, Va, subarchetype ι in the stemma.

g) Ef did not serve as a Vorlage for any of the available witnesses, for it contains separative errors.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 60 […] እምአጽናፈ፡ ምድር፡ […]

e) G did not serve as a Vorlage for any of the available witnesses, for it contains separative errors.
E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 60 […] እምአጽናፈ፡ ምድር፡ […]

‘Preamble’ § 60 From the ends of the earth […]

Variant reading ፉ፡ Ef, fol. 6va (‘world’)
Correct reading እምር፡ cet. (-La); om. La

h) Ef shares some conjunctive errors with እ.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §2 […] ዘወለደ፡ ኀጢአተ፡ እማሕፀኑ፡ ዘምሉእ፡ ሕምዘ፡ ዘይቀትል።

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §2 […] who begat sin from his womb that was filled with poison which kills.

Variant reading እምከርሡ፡ Ef, fol. 7vb, Ej, fol. 6va, G, fol. 46ra, Lb, fol. 7va, Va, fol. 5vb (‘womb’)
Correct reading እማሕፀኑ፡ cet. (-EdEi); om. Ed; እምሕፀኑ፡ Ei

Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Ef and እ, subarchetype ε in the stemma. ε constitutes one branch and for the reconstruction will count as one.
4. Branch of the subarchetype $\delta$

a) P is a *codex descriptus* from Ec, see below.

b) M is a *codex descriptus* from Ec, see below.

c) Vb is a *codex descriptus* from Ec, see below.

d) Eg attests only narrative units that seem to be copied from Ec. However, since it does not attest the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ proper (it does not attest neither ‘Preamble’, nor ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ etc.), I eliminated it from the reconstruction.

e) Ec shares conjunctive errors with M, P and Vb.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 40: መፓለ፡ ካዕበ፡ እለ፡ ያበውእዋ፡ ለአንቀጽ፡ ሀጕል፡ ምስለ፡ እለ፡ አቅደምነ፡ ነጊረ፡ ምስለ፡ ሥሡዓን።

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 40: These are, again, those who enter the gate of destruction together with those of whom we spoke previously, with the gluttons.

Variant reading ኪሃባ፡ p.c. Ec, fol. 3vb, M fol.3ra, P, fol. 3rb, Vb, fol. 7rb

Correct reading ምስለ፡ እለ፡ cet.

Since M, P and Vb:

- share errors of Ec common for $\gamma$ and $\delta$;
- share at times contaminations in Ec with Ea (for both levels are preserved and the copyist has to make choice);
- have wrong corrections (as in the example) which might be contaminations with another tradition which has not been attested in the corpus;

I regard them as the *codici descripti* from Ec and eliminate them from the reconstruction.

Considering the number of textual units in Ec, I presuppose that Eg was copied from Ec, but this hypothesis needs to be verified. Since Eg is incomplete, I can verify it only when respected parts of the textual units will have been reconstructed.
f) The *recensio* demonstrates that only one from the 26 available witnesses of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ derives directly from Ea, witness N, i.e. a *codex descriptus*. The most illustrative example is the following:

On fol. 78va, immediately after the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, Ea contains another textual unit, a ‘note on the dating’, which was composed for Ea.359 In Ea it reads as follows:

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’, explicit fol. 78rb:

\[
\text{ወከመዝ፡ ነበረ፡ በኵሉ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወቱ፡ እምአመ፡ ነግሠ፡ ዛስጠ፡ አመ፡ ፈለሰ።}
\]

BetLal, incipit fol. 78va:

\[
\text{እምአመ፡ ነግሠ፡ ዛሲሊ፡ ይሕንፅ፡ መቅደስ፡ በ፲ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡}
\]

In N, this ‘note on the dating’ seems to be realised as a continuation of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and reads as follows:

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’, explicit fol. 86rb:

\[
\text{ወከመዝ፡ ነበረ፡ በኵሉ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወቱ፡ እምአመ፡ ነግሠ፡ ዛስጠ፡ አመ፡ ፈለሰ።}
\]

Addition N fols. 86rb-va:

\[
\text{እምዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ኃላፊ፡ ምንተኒ፡ ኢጥዕመ፡ ጥዑመ፡ መባልዕተ።}
\]

BetLal, incipit fol. 86va:

\[
\text{እምአመ፡ ነግሠ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ይሕንፅ፡ መቅደስ፡ በ፲ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡}
\]

Therefore, N is eliminated from the reconstruction as a *codex descriptus*.

359 See chapter one.
g) Ea served as a Vorlage for ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibālā’, it is one of the two most authoritative witnesses of the ‘Gadla Lālibālā collection’ within the Lālibālā churches (and thus, de facto, within the entire country). According to one of the traditions, all other copies derive from Ea. Ea contains separative errors, which disclaim it as a Vorlage for other witnesses.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §30 [...] እስመ፡ ፈጻሚያነ፡ ቃለ፡ ወንጌል፡ [...] Variant reading ለጻሚያነ፡ Ea, fol. 8va Correct reading ለጻሚያነ፡ cet.

h) Parallel to the tradition claiming that Ea is the Original and all copies go back to Ea, another tradition says that on the contrary, the Original is Eb. With all limitations due to the small number of images, I consider Lc to be a codex descriptus of Eb. From what can be seen, Lc shares all errors of α, but also polygenetic errors in Eb. Apart from possible relation to Lc, in my corpus there is no witnesses deriving from Eb.

i) Ea shares conjunctive errors with Eb.
E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §3 ኦፋፋጹ፡ ካኳፋታ፡ ካላፋ፡ እፋፋሥ፡ [...] ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §3 And this sin of his, growing fast [...]
Variant reading መፈለጉ፡ Ea, fol. 7rb, Eb, fol. 7vb
Contaminated reading መፈለጉ፡ {ሀገራሱ፡} s.l. Ec fol. 7vb
Correct reading መፈለጉ፡ ብር ችት

Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Ea and Eb, subarchetype α in the stemma.

Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Ea and Eb, subarchetype α in the stemma.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §12 ከ፣፣ሹ延 : ከተማሮ : ከማስ : ከጂጌ : ከማስጽ : ከማስoperands : ከማስ operands

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §12 The one who washed the world in the waters of the Deluge was baptised in the Jordan.
Variant reading \( \text{_variant reading} \) Ec, fol. 8ra

Contaminated reading \( \text{contaminated reading} \) s.l. Ea, fol. 7va

Correct reading \( \text{correct reading} \) cet.

Another example is ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §19 \( \text{Jesus and His redeeming fire} \) cet.

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §19 He stood to the right of a servant. He was bound like a criminal.

Variant reading \( \text{variant reading} \) p.c. Ea, fol. 7vb

Contaminated reading \( \text{contaminated reading} \) s.l. Ec, fol. 8rb

Correct reading \( \text{correct reading} \) cet.

k) Subarchetype \( \alpha \) shares conjunctive errors with Ec (although most of which seem to be contaminations with Ea).

E.g. the ‘Life of Lalibala’ §1

Variant reading \( \text{variant reading} \) cet.

Correct reading \( \text{correct reading} \) cet.

Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Ea, Eb and Ec, subarchetype \( \beta \) in the stemma.
l) Witness Ab and Ob are codices descripti from Oa-OaII. Sigla OaII is introduced for the second production unit dated to the nineteenth century, while the first production unit (Oa) is datable to fourteenth/fifteenth centuries. Witnesses Ab and Ob share conjunctive errors with both units (Oa and OaII), which probably means that the restoration of Oa (introduction of OaII) took place before Ab and Ob were copied. Since OaII and Ob seem to be written by the same hand, I suggest that the copyist first restored Oa, introducing OaII and then copied Ob from Oa-OaII. Antoine d’Abbadie did not write anything about his copy in his diary. Knowing that d’Abbadie did commission some manuscripts in Gondar, we may assume that his ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ copy comes from the same city and probably even from the same scriptorium as Ob.

E.g. for OaII: ‘Preamble’ § 6 የምድር፡ በልቡና፡ የኢይትሃየድ።

‘Preamble’ § 6 Who founded the Earth with a wisdom that cannot be taken away.

361 For more details, see Chapter Two.
E.g. for Oa: ‘Preamble’ §45 [...] አንብዕ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ትግሃት። አልጕሞ፡ ልሳን፡ እምነገረ፡ ጽርፈት፡ [...]

This passage is originally correct in Oa fol. 6va, it reads አንብዕ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ትግሃት።. Later, another hand introduced a variant reading for አንብዕ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ትግሃት። under the line, subscriptum አንብዕ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ትእግሃት፨. Since it is less common to have subscriptum instead of above the line corrections, supra lineam, the copyists of Ab and Ob must have interpreted አንብዕ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ትእግሃት፨ as supra lineam and copied as follows:

[...] አንብዕ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ትግሃት፡ እምነገረ፡ ጽርፈት፡ [...]

Introduction of ትእግሃት፡ for ትግሃት፡ in Oa must have resulted during the collation with another witness. It might be a contamination with Sh MSS or Ed, for they contain ትእግሃት፡ as a variant reading.

Since I have Oa-OaII at my disposal, I eliminate Ab and Ob from the reconstruction as codices descripti.

m) Subarchetype β shares conjunctive errors with Oa.
E.g. ‘Praise for Lalibala’ § 17: እና ከለይ ከእር ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ

Variant reading ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ: Ea, fol. 19rb, Eb fol. 27va, Ec, fol. 24vb, p.c. Oa fol. 34 rb
Correct reading ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ: cet.

Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Ea, Eb, Ec and Oa, subarchetype γ in the stemma.

n) La did not serve as a Vorlage for any of the available witnesses, for it contains separative errors.
E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 51-52 [...] ክትሑት፡ ወጽምው፡ ዘይርዕድ፡ እምወልየ።
52 ወእግዚእ፡ ነቢይኒ፡ ይቤ፡ ተመሀሩ፡ እምኔየ፡ እስመ፡ የዋህ፡ አነ፡ ወትሑት፡ ልብየ፡ [...]

‘Preamble’ § 51 [...] and the humble and the ascetic, who tremble at my word?’
52 And the Lord of the Prophet says, ‘Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble is my heart [...]’

Hom. ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ: ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ ከለይ: La, fol. 26vb
La shares conjunctive errors with Ld.

E.g. 'Preamble' § 7 ከወወርሃ ከእራይ፡ ከእራይ፡ ከእራይ፡ ከእራይ፡ ከእራይ፡ ከእራይ፡ ከእራይ፡ ከእራይ:

‘Preamble’ § 7 Who established the heavens on the air of the burning fire.

Variant reading ከእራይ፡ ከእራይ፡ La, f. 25ra, Ld, fol. 3rb
Correct reading ከእራይ፡ cet.

Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for La and Ld, subarchetype ζ in the stemma.

o) Ld was used as a Vorlage for Eh. Apart from Eh, Ld did not serve as a Vorlage for La, for it contains errors that are not in La. Eh was copied from Ld, as it is noted in Ld, fol. 109r. Eh belongs to the secondary tradition and excluded from the reconstruction.

q) Subarchetype γ shares several polygenetic errors with ζ.

E.g. ‘Praise for Lālibā’ § 17 ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ፡ ከወወወለጠ:

Variant reading ከወወወለጠ፡ Ea, fol. 19rab, Eb, fol. 27va, Ec, fol. 24vb, La, fol. 38rb, Ld, fol. 23vb, Oa, fol. 34rb
Correct reading ከወወወለጠ፡ cet.
Therefore, for now I postulate a common ancestor for $\gamma$ and $\zeta$, subarchetype $\delta$ in the *stemma*. Subarchetype $\delta$ constitutes one branch.
Summary

Of twenty-six available witnesses, eight witnesses are eliminated from the reconstruction: Ab, Eg, Eh, Lc, M, N, Ob, P.

The remainder fall into five branches:
If we add evidence about contamination with dotted line, the *stemma*[^2][^62] looks like the following:

3.2. Paracontent and the stemma

Pamela Gehrke in the introduction to her book, *Saints and Scribes: Medieval Hagiography in Its Manuscript Context*, writes the following:

In their effort to reach a medieval author’s original writings, textual critics have regarded the scribe as an impediment. The editor would prefer him to be transparent, leaving no trace of his own ideology, taste, knowledge, or skill. If the scribe is intelligent, he annoys the scholar by making conscious emendations, while the blunders of a less gifted copyist arouse contempt even though they can be useful in establishing stemmata. When the focus of literary study shifts away from the histories of individual works, however, the scribe appears in a different aspect. He was as much a member of his society and a transmitter of his culture as any author, and his creation is as much a historical artefact of the works he transmits.^[63]

As it is known in Manuscriptology, certain elements related to the text are a matter of a decision. Once *stemma* is proposed, we can apply its results for paracontextual analysis of the corpus, aiming to identify those paracontextual elements that can go back to one model (or *Vorlage*), to a

[^2]: I want to thank Margarita Akseshina who happened to be my guest at the moment of writing this part and helped to draw me the Stemma (I). Further I want to thank Pietro Liuzzo who was very much engaged in my work and helped me to draw an improved *stemma* once again.

certain milieu of the manuscript production (scriptorium) or they reflect consideration of a given copyist.

Here I want to offer two case studies which illustrate why, when studying a manuscript, one has to consider both levels, textual and paratextual and also that all results of the paratextual analysis might be in danger if no one has drawn a stemma first. The first example is witnesses Lb and Va. As it was discussed before, they derive from a common subarchetype η. Although only one third of Lb became available, if we consider the paratextual level of two witnesses, we will see that it is also almost identical. Both start with the monthly reading for Ḥamle, which is also the same for A and Ej. In addition, both witnesses contain the same supplications at the same point in the text, not found in other witnesses. As important evidence on the reading practice, paratextual elements are included into the third apparatus of the edition.

The second example is more complex. Two codices descripti from Ec, Vb and P contain paratextual elements, namely inscriptiones, that are not attested in Ec but in Ea. As I have described above, Ea and Ec are contaminated. The detailed analysis of the inscriptiones can be found in chapter five, where it becomes clear that one can find a conjunctive error on the paratextual level as well and consequently propose a stemma. The same inscription is attested in M, also a codex descriptus from Ec, though it does not share the same conjunctive error for paratexts as P and Vb. In this case, however, we will have two stemmas, one for the reconstruction (left) and another one for the study of paratextual elements (right), which are not the same. It allows us to think that at a certain point someone decided to make a model based on two witnesses, where textual level from Ec was extended through a paratextual level from Ea.
Chapter Four. The ‘Gadla qǝddus Lālibalā’ edition

As was noted in Chapter One, the recently published book, the ‘Gadla qǝddus Lālibalā’ edition, is the richest collection of Saint King Lālibalā’s hagiography. It was prepared by the scholars of Dabra Sabakā Gubā’e of Lālibalā town based on different sources, one of which was confirmed to be MS EMML 6931. This book was authorized as an improved version and as such is read aloud in the churches of Lālibalā town. Being easily available, this printed book is reaching all corners of Ethiopia: one will find it treated as a manuscript in the churches of Lālibalā town (people kiss it as if they were kissing the manuscript), in the hands of a monk in a hidden monastery of Tǝgrǝy or in the hands of a scholar in Addis Ababa. The edition appeared three times already, though I only have access to two of them. As stated in the introduction to the second edition, it is a re-print of the same book in a pocket format. I am not aware which sources were employed for this edition apart from MS EMML 6931; it is neither specified by the editors, nor inquired by me. I have limited myself to the issues related to the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ and will introduce here what I learnt from several interviews conducted in Lālibalā town in 2014 and 2017.

4.1. The sources for the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

Afa mamhor Allabbāččaw Ǝrratta took a manuscript from the church of Golgotā (I have identified this manuscript as MS EMML 6931) to his home (it was before the UNESCO resettlement and he was living five-minutes walking distance from the church) in order to copy it. His copy is done on paper with a pen, the text is written in two columns: in one Allabbāččaw Ǝrratta copied the original text and in the other one he began his Amharic translation. Being aged and having problems with his eyes, Allabbāččaw Ǝrratta did not finish the Amharic translation. It was accomplished by other scholars, namely by mamhor Yăred Mǝsgǝnāw, marigetā Sammān Samara, mat ake səḥhat Abağga Daššalañ, marigetā Yăred Yaswaław and marigetā Balay.

Although I do not know the exact sources used by the editors for ‘Gadla qǝddus Lālibalā’, I was able to identify most of the textual units. In Chapter One I have discussed all textual units included in the ‘Gadla qǝddus Lālibalā’ that are known to me from the manuscripts. Here I introduce those textual units of ‘Gadla qǝddus Lālibalā’ that are known to me from the inscriptions only:

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365 Id., 3.
The first ‘Inscription on manbara tābot of Beta Golgotā’ was edited by Gigar Tesfaye.\textsuperscript{366} In ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibāla’ this inscription appears as በመስተብቍዕ ዘቅዱስ ላሊበላ ንጉሥ በእንተ ሰንበተ ክርስቲያን ቅድስት.\textsuperscript{367}

Incipit: መስመ አበ (sic!) መዓንቀሳ ሲነጫእ እግዚአብሔር አምላክነ እዌድስ አነ ለሰንበተ ክርስቲያን.

Explicit: አኅን ወለከ ሥልጣን ወለከ መንግሥት ወለከ ምሕረት በሰማይ ወበምድር ብውህ እንተ ትቀትል ወትሐዩ ታነዲ ወታብዕል ወአልቦቱ ዘኢይትከሐል ውስተ ዝንቱ እምቅድመ ዓለም ወእስከ ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን.

The second ‘Inscription on manbara tābot of Beta Giorgis’ was edited by Gigar Tesfaye as well.\textsuperscript{370} In ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibāla’ this inscription appears as በመስተብቍዕ ዘቅዱስ ላሊበላ ወእስከ ለዓለመ ዓለም.

Incipit: ዘርያም ወላዲት አምላክ እመ ሰማዕት ወእህተ መላእክት እንተ ሐሰስዋ ወ嶷ወ ዘብዙ ወዳሴ.

Explicit: ወገራውሆ እለ ያውድእ ፍሬ መሥዋዕተ በስምየ ይኩኑ ቡሩካነ ወአጸወይን እንተ ያቀርቡ እምኔሁ ቡርክተ ወይትባረኩ ኵሎሙ እለ ይገብሩ ተዝካርየ ለዓለም ዓለም።

4.2. Concordance of ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibāla’ with identified textual units

The sequence of the textual arrangement is one of the parameters I use in my thesis for postulating textual units. In this section I want to show that the sequence of the textual units in the edition does not always follow the sequence of the textual units in the manuscript. Moreover, the sequence of the textual units in the edition appeared in 2010 differs from the one of 2007.

The concordance of the ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibāla’ edition with the identified textual units can be seen in the following tables. I will refer to the textual units (TU) from the ‘Gadla Lālibāla’ edition:

\textsuperscript{366} See Gigar Tesfaye 1987, 114-126. For the ‘state of the art’ concerning the altars in the churches of Lālibāla see the catalogue prepared by Claire Bosc-Tiessé, Bosc-Tiessé 2010. For the historical analysis of this inscription see Derat 2018, 154-155.


\textsuperscript{368} Id., 116.

\textsuperscript{370} Id., 77.

\textsuperscript{371} Gadla Qəddus Lālibāla 2007, 182; 2010, 422.

\textsuperscript{372} Gigar Tesfaye 1987, 77.

\textsuperscript{373} Id.
collection’ with the numbers they appear below, in the sequence they are arranged in MS EMML 6931 (Ea):

1. Preamble, Ea fols. 3ra-7ra
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire, Ea fols. 7ra-8vb
3. Teaching about Saints, Ea fols. 8vb-11vb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem, Ea fols. 11vb-15rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of Gospel, Ea fols. 15rb-18ra
6. Praise for Lālibalā, Ea fols. 18ra-25vb
7. Life of Lālibalā, Ea fols. 26ra-78ra
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā, Ea fols. 79ra-80ra
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out, Ea fols. 80ra-82ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper, Ea fols. 82rb-85ra
11. Lālibalā and a rebel, Ea fols. 83rb-85ra
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman, Ea fol. 85rab
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind, Ea fols. 85rb-86ra
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā, Ea fols. 86ra-89va

Other textual units (TU) that are not part of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ will also receive a number:

15. Homily of Lālibalā, commonly known as transmitted together with Dorsāna ‘Urā’el374
16. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a child, commonly transmitted with the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’375
17. Gabra Manfas Qāddus and Lālibalā376
18. Finding in Beta Māryām377
19. Inscription on manbara tābot of Beta Golgotā
20. Inscription on manbara tābot of Beta Giorgis
21. Malka’a Lālibalā as edited in ‘Gadla Qāddus Lālibalā’
22. Nagś [Hymn] of Lālibalā as edited in ‘Gadla Qāddus Lālibalā’
23. Salāmtā as edited in ‘Gadla Qāddus Lālibalā’

375 Id., 124-125 (text), 128-129 (trans.).
In the last right column, I will indicate the correspondence to the edited text by Perruchon (Perr.) or Kur, for they were my initial sources for the identification of the content of ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’.

Table 1. Concordance of ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’ (GQL) edition of 2007 with the identified textual units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pages, GQL 2007</th>
<th>Marking (on a page)</th>
<th>TU</th>
<th>Perr./Kur</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>ወንወር እስከ (Introduction)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>ወንወር እስከ (Preamble)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Perr. 1-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ (chapter one)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11-14 § 13 in GQL corresp. Perr. 7-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ (16-29)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19-24</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ (1-15)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-31</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ (16-29)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29 § § 17-31 in GQL corresp. Perr. 62-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-36</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ እilihעክ</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>37-45</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ</td>
<td>6 (cont.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>46-47</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ እilihעክ</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
<td>48 corresp. Perr. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49-52</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
<td>50 (§ 6-52) in GQL corresp. Perr. 15-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52-57</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ እilihעክ</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
<td>53-54 (§ 13), 55 (§ 20)-56 (§ 22), 57 (§ § 31-34) in GQL corresp. Perr. 17-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>58-62</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ እilihעክ</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
<td>58-59 (§ 9) in GQL corresp. Perr 20-21</td>
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<tr>
<td>63-64</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ እilihעክ</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-68</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ እilihעክ</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
<td>65 (§ 1-3) in GQL corresp. Perr. 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>69-70</td>
<td>ገፋ ዘ እilihעክ</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
<td>69 (§ 1-3) in GQL corresp. Perr. 21-22</td>
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<td>Section</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>71-74</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>84 (§§ 85-90) in GQL corresp. Perr. 22</td>
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<td>76-88</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>93 (§ 15-94) in GQL corresp. Perr. 22-24</td>
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<td>89-91</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>Perr. 24-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>92-94</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>97.99 (§ 22), 100-101 in GQL corresp. Perr. 26-31</td>
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<td>95-96</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>102-106 corresp. Perr. 31-35</td>
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<tr>
<td>107-109</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>115-117 (§ 11) in GQL corresp. Perr. 12-14</td>
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<tr>
<td>110-114</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>118-122</td>
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<td>123-127</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>Kur 389-392</td>
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<tr>
<td>128-134</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>Kur 392-396</td>
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<tr>
<td>135-140</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>Kur 396-400</td>
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<tr>
<td>141-148</td>
<td>፲፭ (cont.)</td>
<td>144 (§ 14)-145 (§ 24), 146 (§ 30)-147 (§ 39) in GQL corresp. Perr.</td>
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<td>Page Range</td>
<td>Content</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>38-41, while 141-144 (§ 13), 145 (§ 25)-146 (§ 30), 147 (§ 39)-148 in GQL corresp. Perr. 400-403</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
<td>Perr. 41-44</td>
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<td>149-151</td>
<td>ይግራፍ ጸ፪ን (§ 13)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Perr. 55-61</td>
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<td>152-157</td>
<td>ይግራፍ ጸ፫ን (§ 30)</td>
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<td>Perr. 44-46</td>
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<td>158-159</td>
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<td>159-160</td>
<td>ይግራፍ ጸ፭ን</td>
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<td>162-165</td>
<td>ይግራፍ ጸ፯ን</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Per. 51-53</td>
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<td>ይግራፍ ጸቁን (§ 41-44)</td>
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<td>ይግራፍ ጸቁን (§ 45-46)</td>
<td>18 (cont.)</td>
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<td>175-176</td>
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<td>177-178</td>
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<td>183-194</td>
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<td>ይግራፍ ጸቁን</td>
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<td>194-195</td>
<td>ይግራፍ ጸቁን</td>
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<td>196-198</td>
<td>ይግራፍ ጸቁን</td>
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<td>198-199</td>
<td>ይግራፍ ጸቁን</td>
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Table 2. Concordance of GQL edition of 2010 with the identified textual units

<table>
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<th>Pages in GQL 2010</th>
<th>Marking (on a page)</th>
<th>Correspondance</th>
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<td>1-19</td>
<td>መግለጫ (Introduction); መቅድም (Preamble)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-23</td>
<td>የላስታ 378 የእር መንግሥት ከንጉሥ ካሃ የመጣ የመጣ ስለመሆኑ</td>
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<td>24-37</td>
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<td>46-49</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>50-61</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>62-71</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>72-75</td>
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<td>76-83</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>84-89</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>90-91</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>92-97</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>98-99</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>100-119</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>120-129</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>130-135</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>136-141</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>142-145</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>146-149</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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<td>150-159</td>
<td>7 (cont.)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

378 Note that የዛጉወ in the first edition was changed into የላስታ.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Page Range</th>
<th>Text Content</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>160-169</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>170-175</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>176-179</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>180-187</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>188-199</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>200-209</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>210-215</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>216-231</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>232-239</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>240-249</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>250-255</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>256-263</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>264-271</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>272-283</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>284-303</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>304-307</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>308-309</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>310-315</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>316-325</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>326-333</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>334-347</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>357-359</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<td>360-363</td>
<td>የሚከራከር ውስጥ ያስፋ ያለበት እና የላስፈልጉ ዳሄ የሚከራከር ይገባሉ</td>
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<tr>
<td>364-375</td>
<td>&quot;he s. b. 99...&quot;</td>
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<td>376/377</td>
<td>&quot;he s. b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>376/377</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>378-383</td>
<td>&quot;he s. b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>384-387</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>388/389</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>390-393</td>
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<td>406/407</td>
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<td>408-411</td>
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<td>412-417</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;he s. b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>423-446</td>
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<td>446</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>446-452</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>453-458</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>459</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<td>460-461</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>461</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>462-464</td>
<td>&quot;he b. 100...&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one compares the description of the manuscript with this table, one will see that there are textual units in MS EMML 6931 which are not in the edition and vice versa there are textual units in ‘Gadla Qeddus Lālibalā’ which are not in MS EMML 6931.

If we compare the two editions, one of 2007 and another of 2010, we will see that the two books have the same content in Gǝ[z. Yet, the two books are different in terms of *mise en texte*, *mise en page* and *mise en livre*, which seem to reflect their different intended purposes of use: the

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379 The same table as on page 418 of the same book.
first book was meant for and is used in the churches, while the second book is meant rather for private usage.

The difference can be seen in the table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mise en page</em></td>
<td>two columns</td>
<td>text-block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mise en text</em></td>
<td>the initial lines of the textual units are rubricated</td>
<td>introduced ‘Trinitarian formula’ and titles are written in red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mise en livre</em></td>
<td>Sequence of the textual unit is close to the manuscript</td>
<td>free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indication for monthly readings</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we disregard *mise en livre*, the content of the ‘Gadla Lälībalā collection’ edited as ‘Gadla Qɔddus Lälībalā’ in Gaʿz is close to the manuscript in most cases. However, there is one crucial change: ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lälībalā’ edited by Dabra sabakā gubāʾe as part of ‘Gadla Qɔddus Lälībalā’ in 2007 and in 2010 does contain a single word concerning the heir; ‘Gadla Qɔddus Lälībalā’ does not even have a hint towards the question of legitimacy. No saint-usurper problem. However, in 2014, first together with Allabbāćaw Ǝratta and then with mariget ǝ Balây we have compared the edition and its *Vorlage* and proved that there is this saint-usurper problem, which editors of ‘Gadla Qɔddus Lälībalā’ recognized as such and revised the text. According to the opinion of the editors, it must be a false addition. The problem is so big that Lälibalā’s authority aims to restrict an access to the actual manuscripts380 and instead to read an improved edition. In the Amharic text which deals with Lälibalā genealogy from Solomon, titled as ይዛጉየ ነገሥታት ሥርወ መንግሥት ከንጉሥ ሰሎሞን ዘር ሲያያዝ የመጣ ስለመሆኑ,381 we read:

380 One of the reasons for this is the work of the Tourism Office, which recognizes manuscripts as cultural heritage and tends to prohibit the usage of the manuscripts in the churches and instead to keep them carefully in the treasury.


382 Id., 178; 2010, 22.
Be that as it may, those like Saint Lālibalā, as stated above, their lineage comes from Solomon as well. But, some deceitful brothers, disregarding and ignoring the historical and the religious books, they’ve changed the truth with lies, the virtuous with sin; and thinking they pleased political rivals, they say, write, and mislead some claiming that Zagwe leaders have no lineage with the Solomonic and that they took the seat by force as well as other things that displeases God and humans.383

Yet all but one384 manuscript of my corpus contains the passages concerning the heir and the ‘restoration of the Solomonic dynasty’. The idea to distinguish different textual units within the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ is partially rooted in the content of the ‘Gadla Qaddus Lālibalā’ book, which (with Perruchon) provided my first access to the Lālibalā material: indeed, by reading the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ (whether in ‘Gadla Qaddus Lālibalā’ or in manuscripts) one will see that for the author of this textual unit Saint Lālibalā was undoubtedly a legitimate king. The whole narration points to the idea of legitimizing the enthroning of Lālibalā as king. Having accepted this, one may well have problems with those passages concerning the ‘restoration’ of the Solomonic dynasty. By the time I had gone through all the manuscripts (seeking textual support for the passages in ‘Gadla Qaddus Lālibalā’), I had made up my mind that there must be at least two authors. I have found different pieces of evidence for this hypothesis, which I present in this thesis.

‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ was edited by Perruchon and I will use his edition as a reference to explain what has been done by the editors. If we consider the first edition, ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ is divided in the following narrative units:

1. It begins in chapter 33, its incipit corresponds to the incipit of the textual unit. It agrees with its Vorlage (EMML 6931 fol. 86ra) and with the text edited by Perruchon:

Incipit እኔሇ፡ እኔሇ፡ እንግርወ፡ ወከመ፡ ለእላንቱ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ ለእላንቱ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ እምልበ፡ ለእላንቱ፡ ወሣጥያቲሆንሰ፡ (sic!) የዓቢ፡ ፃማ፡ ቅጽራቲሆን። 385

Explicit እኔሇ፡ እኔሇ፡ እንግርወ፡ ወከመ፡ ለእላንቱ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ እምልበ፡ ለእላንቱ፡ ወሣጥያቲሆንሰ፡ (sic!) የዓቢ፡ ፃማ፡ ቅጽራቲሆን። 386

Chapter 33 of ‘Gadla Qaddus Lālibalā’ ends with a supplication only which then proceeds with chapter 34 containing ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’. In order to find in ‘Gadla Qaddus Lālibalā’ the text that follows immediately after in MS EMML 6931 fol. 89va and in Perruchon387 one has

383 I thank Hewan Semon Marye for her authoritative translation.
384 MS NazMar-001 does not contain these passages, for it stops earlier.
385 Perruchon 1892, 55.
386 Id., 61.
387 Id.
to jump to chapter four § 16. Thus, the second narrative unit from the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ begins and ends as follows:

In 'Gadla Qeddus Lālibalā' the last subordinative clause ends without being finished, here begins the omission or the 'improvement' of the text. The lines omitted are best known from La vie du Lalibela, roi d’Etiopie, I quote them as they are in MS EMML 6931, the Vorlage for ‘Gadla Qeddus Lālibalā’, one can easily find these passages in Perruchon’s edition, it has an appropriate title ‘Lālibalā ne veut pas que son fils lui succède; mort de Lālibalā’. Thus, the omitted passages in ‘Gadla Qeddus Lālibalā’, in its Vorlage, in MS EMML 6931 fol. 89vab, contain the famous speech by King Lālibalā in which he humiliates himself and his lineage. It reads as follows:

The translation made by Perruchon for the portion, which is almost indentical to the portion above, reads as follows:

[…] He did not want to keep the charge of royalty any longer, nor to pass it on to his son. But he said: ‘May God resume these royal functions and return them (to the house) of Israel, for it is to them that He said: It is for you that I created all the nations, and he also swore in these terms: Do not despise the people of Jacob; do not despise the people of Israel, because I have chosen them from among all the peoples. And the prophet said, God has sworn to David by his righteousness, and He will not repent; He said to him: I will place your seed on your throne.’ Now may God return this kingdom

Perruchon 1892, 61.
Israel; may it henceforth remain at the house of Israel; that they occupy the throne; may the mighty God not keep the kingship any longer for me and my family [...].

After this omission, ‘Gadla Q̱ddus Ḻālibalā’ § 17 on, its Vorlage MS EMML 6931 f. 89vb and Perruchon come to an agreement again. ‘Gadla Q̱ddus Ḻālibalā’ proceeds with the direct speech by Ḻālibalā, which, however, appears unmarked as such due to the omission, while MS EMML 6931 and Perruchon duly continue:

\[
\text{ወናሁ፡ አንሰ፡ ፈጺምኩ፡ መልእክትየ፡ ዘበእንቲአሃ፡ ሤመኒ፡ ሢመተ፡ መንግሥት። እንዘ፡ ለሊሁ፡ ይገብር፡ በእደ፡ መላእክቲሁ። ከመዝ፡ ይቤ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ እስመ፡ ኢያፈቅር፡ ወመተ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ፈጺሞ፡ መልእክቶ፡ ወመጽዊቶ፡ ኵሎ፡ ጥሪቶ። እስከ፡ ኢይተርፍ፡ አሣዕነ፡ ዲበ፡ ይገር።
\]

‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Ḻālibalā’ follows with no omission and all duly end with the expected explicit:

\[
\text{Explicit: ለካእኩ፡ ለክሙ፡ ኦፍቁራንየ፡ ንስቲተ፡ ዜና፡ እምትሩፋቲሁ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ከመ፡ ይተፈሣ፡ ልብክሙ፡}
\]

To sum up, despite the fact that this speech by Saint Ḻālibalā is indeed surprising in the ‘Gadla Ḻālibalā collection’, evidence in the manuscripts as well as grammar problems: abrupted subordinative clause, absence of introduction of the direct speech, all these leads us to conclude that these passages must be there where they are.

4.3. Conclusion for chapter four

The analysis of ‘Gadla Q̱ddus Ḻālibalā’ editions that appeared in 2007 and in 2010, reveals a creative and critical approach in preparation of the printed editions in respect to the manuscript(s) and inscriptions Vorlage: new material was integrated, (and partially as a consequence) the sequence and the text were changed. If we compare two editions, the level of freedom and

\[389\] Perruchon 1892, 127-128: […] il ne voulut pas conserver plus longtemps la charge de la royauté, ni la transmettre à son fils. Mais il dit : « Que Dieu reprenne ces fonctions royales et les fasse revenir (à la maison) d’Israël, car c’est à elle qu’il a dit: C’est pour vous que j’ai créé toutes les nations, et il a aussi juré en ces termes: Ne méprisez pas le peuple de Jacob ; ne dédaignez pas le peuple d’Israël, parce que je l’ai choisi parmi tous les peuples. Et le prophète dit: Dieu a juré à David par sa justice, et il ne s’en repentira point; il lui a dit: Je placerai ta postérité sur ton trône. Maintenant donc que Dieu fasse retourner ce royaume à la maison d’Israël; qu’il reste désormais à la maison d’Israël ; qu’elle occupe le trône; que le Dieu puissant ne conserve pas la royauté plus longtemps à moi et à ma famille […]

\[390\] Id., 62.

\[391\] Id., 63.
creativity is even higher in the second edition in respect to the manuscript(s) and inscriptions Vorlage and to the first edition. What is crucial for our definition of the textual units, we see that arrangement of the textual units differs and that other textual units were introduced between the textual units or integrated into the textual unit (like the 'Homily of Lalibala' became part of the 'Life of Lalibala').
Chapter Five. Logical and physical articulation of the textual units

In this chapter, I develop the arguments for the hypothesis (which for clarity I will refer to as the Multi-Unit Hypothesis) that what has often been referred to as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ is a collection of apparently fourteen textual units, introduced already in chapter one with individual working titles and which I will refer to as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection, since the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ / ‘Life of Lālibalā’ is always an integral part of the collection. In this chapter I will discuss labels/titles, titles in manuscripts, supplications, mise en texte and mise en page as evidence of the scribe’s thought, and mise en livre in the editions as evidence of the editor’s thought, and, finally, philological features of some textual units. Although none of the features in itself is criterial, in their accordance and abundance, these features lend support to the Multi-Unit Hypothesis concerning the diverse nature of the book’s contents.

As it was stated in the introduction, a textual unit is a well-defined, clearly delimited piece of text within a larger text (the ‘macro-text’). It should have clear marks of internal coherence and unity as a piece of text — physical (particular page layout, mise en texte, mise en livre), stylistic/linguistic, and/or thematic (content). It should be demarcated by a clear break vis-à-vis the preceding and following text within the macro-text; this break is prototypically (but not necessarily) a physical blank space on the manuscript. And it typically will show independent circulation, i.e. the capability of existing apart from its macro-text and also appearing in other, different macro-texts, potentially surrounded by other, different textual units.392

A textual unit’s independent circulation represents a particular kind of intertextuality, that is, the phenomenon whereby two different macro-texts may evoke each other, show dependency on one another, and exhibit partial identity with each other — a clear sign that the writer of one macro-text, while composing his text, also had another, different text in the back of his mind. The intertextual nature of a textual unit is particularly clear, since a textual unit represents a ‘free-floating’ piece of text that has its own quasi-independent existence and may be used and reused in multiple macro-texts. At the same time a ‘textual unit’ is already an intertext as it itself incorporates other texts as well. As I will demonstrate below, all the parameters which I have tried to apply appear at times problematic. Therefore, although one cannot deny that under the label ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ we find a variety of textual units (partially different from manuscript to manuscript), the precise number of such textual units remains conjectural.

392 Depending on its content, a textual unit may or may not qualify as a distinct ‘work’, but I will not address this issue here.
5.1. Titles

As already discussed in chapter one, in the twenty-six manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, one can count up to forty textual units, transmitted in different combinations with the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. In what follows, whenever it is possible to link a title to a precise textual unit, I will do so. This is the case of inscriptiones or titles in the margins. However, if there is no possibility of linking a title to a precise textual unit, I will leave the question open, as the title might or might not refer to the complete book as it is.

5.1.1. Labels / titles

By the word ‘label’ here, I mean a short way to designate a book, used by the community and by scholars, under which the book becomes generally known. As such, ‘label’ corresponds to the concept of title as well. ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ seems to be a commonly accepted label for the manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. This label was given as a title to all manuscripts of the corpus photographed by the Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilm Library (EMML). The Ethiopian Tourism office, again, uses ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ or its Amharic equivalent in their records.

Before manuscripts received recognition as a sort of museum object, there was a tradition of writing an inventory list of the church property on a blank leaf of a Gospel manuscript. However, it appears problematic to draw from this any conclusion concerning the book in question. First, only some inventory lists have been studied. From what is known, the majority of the inventory lists do not mention Lālibalā. Second, I have no information concerning the existence of inventory lists, in the form of a manuscript from a church outside Lālibalā town, where the book in question has been preserved. Consequently, we do not have information from many churches concerning the way to refer to the book in question. Below I will discuss four inventory lists from churches of Lālibalā town that preserve the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’.

Marie-Laure Derat and Claire Bosc-Tiessé have prepared a list of uncatalogued manuscripts from the churches of Lālibalā and environs that have been photographed by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML). Following this list, I went through the microfilms of these manuscripts and found four inventory lists — one from Beta Māryām of Lālibalā, one from Beta Gabrāʾel of Lālibalā and two from Beta Madḥāne ‘Alam of Lālibalā — mentioning books about Lālibalā. Apparently, none of the lists predates the end of the seventeenth century. \[393\] The first two lists mention Ḫe : ṢhCAF / ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ and the

\[393\] I have decided not to provide any preliminary information on content and date of these manuscripts, because with regard to content I cannot be more precise on what is generally available and I do not have a separate date for the inventory lists.
I suggest that the ḫliyya : ḫliyya / ‘Gadla Lālībālā’ recorded in MS EMML 7069, fol. 164r from Beta Māryām of Lālībālā might refer to MS EMML 6921. Further, MSS EMML 6954, fol. 3v and EMML 7239, fol. 125v from Beta Gabrāʾel of Lālībālā might refer to MS AM-LL-IV-28, displayed today at the museum in Lālībālā town. Finally, what is recorded as ḫliyya : ḫliyya / ‘ya-Lālībālā, ya-Yāmrāḥanna, ya-Nāʾ ākkwāto Lā’ab’ in MSS EMML 6912, fol. 193v and EMML 7232 fol. 162 from Beta Madḥane ʿĀlam of Lālībālā might refer to MS AM-LL-001-IV-036; in this last case the ‘Gadla Lālībālā’ has been copied together with gadlāt of two other kings.

There are three considerations that allow me to link the labels with the books:

○ First, we know that, today, ‘Gadla Lālībālā’ serves as a designation for all four manuscripts. This invites speculation that this might have been the case in the past as well.

○ Second, both an exemplar of the book and a note in the inventory list are stored in the same church.

○ Third, among the manuscripts I photographed at these three churches, I did not find either the ‘Homily of Lālībālā’,394 or any other books that the inventory lists could conceivably have meant by the term ‘Gadla Lālībālā’.

Further, the recently published books (2007, 2010) prepared by the community of Lālībālā,395 including texts from at least two books with two different commonly known designations, the ‘Gadla Lālībālā’ and ‘Dārsāna ʿUrāʾel’,396 have been entitled as the ‘Gadla Qeddus Lālībālā’. However, the diverse content of the ‘Gadla Qeddus Lālībālā’ has been divided into chapters, each with a title of its own, and chapter 26 of the book that appeared in 2010 (but not in 2007) is entitled as the ‘Ka-Dārsāna ʿUrāʾel’.397

During my inquiry in 2017 in Lālībālā town, I came across two designations that seemed to be particularly common: for texts in the form of a manuscript, the designation ‘Gadla Lālībālā’; and for texts in the form of a printed book, the designations ‘Gadl’ and the ‘Miracles’ of Lālībālā’. Yet, we know that the printed book is based mostly on the texts contained in MS EMML 6931, that is the ‘Gadla Lālībālā’. Thus, even considering some details that are discussed in chapter One, in fact, we have a number of textual units that are once labeled as the ‘Gadla Lālībālā’ and another

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394 See Chapter One.
395 See Chapter One.
396 See Derat 2016.
397 See Gadla Qeddus Lālībālā 2010, 364.
time as the ‘Gadl’ and the ‘Miracles’ of Lālībalā or the ‘Gadl’ and Miracles of Lālībalā’. The local scholars of Lālībalā town seem to differentiate between the ‘Gadl’ and the ‘Miracles’ of Lālībalā within the manuscripts as well. Here it is important to note that these same scholars also produced the printed edition; therefore, the printed edition reflects their view on this point as well.

Outside Ethiopia, seemingly the first mention of the ‘Gadla Lālībalā’ (termed ‘Gadela Lalibela’)398 goes back to Dillmann and apparently refers to MS BL Ms Ethiopic 4, presently in the British Library.399 Perruchon published excerpts from MS BL Orient. 718 entitled as ‘Vie de Lalibala, roi d’Éthiopie’. Although Perruchon introduced subtitles in his ‘Vie de Lalibala, roi d’Éthiopie’, apparently he himself and the scholars after him viewed it as one literary work. Thus, as it happened, the scholars would say ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ or an equivalent title in other languages and often be referring thereby to the ‘Vie de Lalibala, roi d’Éthiopie’. Still, it remains unclear whether Cerulli distinguished between the textual units ‘Gadl’ and the ‘Miracles’ of Lālībalā, which other scholars have referred to together as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’. In writing about ‘Acts of Lālibalā’400 in his ‘History of the Ethiopian literature’,401 Cerulli says no word about the ‘Miracles’.402 For MSS BAV Cerulli 37 and Cerulli 223, Cerulli indicates as content the ‘Acts of Lalibala’ and ‘Miracles of Lalibala’;403 but in the case of MS BL Ms Ethiopic 4, Cerulli notes just the ‘Acts of Lalibala’ for the same content.404

Thus, even prior to opening the manuscript, we are already faced with two general approaches to defining the content of the book in question: as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’, or as the ‘Gadl’ and ‘Miracles’ of Lālibalā.

5.1.2. Titles in manuscript tradition

Titles in Ethiopic manuscript tradition deserve a study of their own, as Paola Buzi has done for the Coptic tradition. Her book, the “Titles and authors in the Coptic tradition”405 has served as a methodological reference for my study. Having learnt much from Antonella Brita’s case study of the manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Samā’tāt’,406 I will here undertake a case study of the book ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ and use it as support for my Multi-Unit Hypothesis. I use the same

398 Dillmann 1955, XI.
399 See Valieva 2017.
401 Id.: ‘Storia della letteratura etiopica’.
402 Id.: ‘Miracoli’.
403 See Raineri 2004, 39 and 178-179: ‘Atti di Lalibala’ and ‘Miracoli di Lalibala’. Note that under Cerulli 37 were put two manuscripts; fols. 115-116 belong to a different unit of circulation and are not bound to the manuscript in question. See chapter Two.
405 Buzi 2005: ‘Titoli e autori nella tradizione copta’.
terminology as was used by Buzi in her book,407 which is the working terminology in the Beta maṣḥaft project. 408 What are the titles that one can find in the manuscripts?

i. Incipits as titles

By the incipit, I mean the opening words of the textual unit proper, used as a means of reference to it. Thus, I was not able to identify any written titles, different from the incipit in MS BnF d’ Abbadié 139, MS EMML 6921, MS EMML 7051=NL 46, MS EMML 2836, MS EMML 6451, MS Kebrân 31 and MS MasKa-003.

For the moment, I do not know whether any of the textual units of the collection had been referred to by its incipit before the twenty-first century. Coming to the twenty-first century we shall talk about the printed edition ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ prepared by Dabra Sabakā Gubā e,409 which I introduced in chapter one. Here, the አጠሬታ ኢክሱት / ‘Table of contents’ of the first edition of the ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ refers to the textual units 2-6 by their incipits, splitting ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ into two portions. The titles read as follows:

2. አቀድም አእኩቶቶ ለእግዚአብሔር = ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’

3. አማራን ከርጋ ቻርድ = ‘Teaching about Saints’

4. ወዐዲ ነሣ ክብረ = ‘Teaching about Saints’

5. ወንቱ ገብሮ መስቀል = ‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’

6. ወንቱስ ብእሲ ክቡር = ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’

7. በእንተ ዳዕ እይኳጤ / ‘Concerning his virtues’

This system of reference by incipit is not common in editorial practice today. Yet, this system of reference has been attested for other textual units in Ethiopian tradition in the past. E.g. Giyorgis of Saglā in his Maṣḥafa Maṣṭir refers to some works with incipits. In MS EMML 6931, used by Dabra Sabakā Gubā e for their ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ edition, all the above-mentioned incipits appear rubricated.410

Then, in the second edition of the ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’411 the reference system was changed from using incipits to the common system ያለ ዳዕ / ‘Concerning X’. Thus, in አጠሬታ ኢክሱት / ‘Table of contents’ of the second edition of the ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’, instead of their respective incipits, the above-mentioned textual units 2, 3 and 4 appear under the titles ያለ ዳዕ / ‘Concerning his rest’ and 5, 6 appear under the titles ያለ ዳዕ ሙትሮት / ‘Concerning his virtues’.  

407 See Buzi 2005; the same terminology was adopted by Brita in her research.
408 http://betamasheft.eu/.
409 Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā 2007.
410 I consider rubrication as one of the concomitant markers of the actual beginning of a new textual unit.
411 It is important to mention አጠሬታ ኢክሱት of the first edition refers to the chapters of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ proper, see chapter one.
Hence, since incipit as titles in the table of contents for the first edition of the ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibal’, which we find almost regularly rubricated in the manuscripts, do not reflect the modern editorial practice and as such were even changed in the second edition, we can assume that the first edition of the ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibal’ reflects an incipit-reference system, as was used in former times.412

ii. Subscriptio (plural subscriptiones)

By the subscriptio, I mean a title occurring at the end of a work. Subscriptiones are attested in MS DabṢǝy-001, MS EMML 6964, MS EMML 6770, MS BetMarq-001, MS BL Orient. 719 and MS BP Parm. 3852.

The first two cases, MS DabṢǝy-001, MS BL Orient. 719 are problematic. The notes at the end that contain titles often seem to be later additions. Thus, MS DabṢǝy-001 on fol. 131va-b (image below) contains a supplication that has a reference to the book as መጽሐፈ፡ ቦርሱ፡ ብንክሩ፡ / ‘Book of the admirable life’. Although according to the photos taken in 2017 the book contains one more folio with a text after this note, namely fol. 133r-v, if we reconstruct the correct sequence of folios, fol. 133 should logically come between f. 126 and fol. 127, so that the note now comes logically at the end of the book.

412 See below.
MS DabŠey-001 on fol. 131vab\textsuperscript{413} \textit{መጽሐፈ፡ ገድሉ፡ መንክር፡} / ‘Book of the admirable life’.

MS BL Orient. 719 on fol. 163r (image below) contains a later addition, ‘donation note’,\textsuperscript{414} which contains a title. It occurs at the end of the work and therefore is to be categorized as a \textit{subscriptio}. Here, the title is given as \textit{መጽሐፈ፡ ገdıﻟ፡ ላሊበላ׃} / ‘Book of the Life of Lālibalā’.

MS BL Orient. 719, fol. 163r

The following are all straightforward cases of \textit{suscriptiones}:

MS EMML 6964 on fol. 132 vab contains a colophon where the book is referred to as \textit{መጽሐፈ፡ ገዳል፡ ላሊበላ׃} / ‘Book of the Life of Gabra Masqal’.

MS EMML 6770 on fol. 116va contain a colophon where the book is referred to as \textit{ገdıﻟ፡ ወሊበላ׃} / ‘Life of Lālibalā’.

MS BetMarq-001 (Image below) has a note by Gabra Masqal Tāsāyye on the last folio, in which he refers to the content of the book as \textit{ገdıﻟ׃} / ‘Life’.

\textsuperscript{413} The hand to the right belongs to Hagos Abbra, while the hand to the left belongs to Orin Gensler. I thank them heartfully for sharing this experience, without them my mission would not have been accomplished successfully.

\textsuperscript{414} See Wright 1870, 601.
Finally, MS BP Parm. 3852 on fol. 137vab (Image below) is expanded with a supplication that contains the title መጽሐፈ፡ ግድሉ፡ ሳእት፡ መስቀል፡ / ‘Book of Life of Gabra Masqal’; since this occurs at the end of the work, it is to be categorized as a subscriptio.

iii. Inscriptio (plural inscriptiones)

By inscriptio I mean a title occurring at the beginning of a textual / narrative unit. Inscriptio-type titles are attested in MS EMML 6931, MS BetLib-001, MS MasKa-003, MS NazMa-001, MS BP Parm. 3852,415 MS BAV Cerulli 37 and MS BAV Cerulli 223.

The earliest known attestation of an inscriptio goes back to MS EMML 6931. In its first occurrence, the title proper is preceded by a Trinitarian formula and followed by a supplication. Thus, on fol. 79ra, which is the beginning of a new quire, the inscriptio begins the column and reads as follows:

Trinitarian formula: ከወወልድ፡ ወመንፈ፡ ወወልድ። አምላክ።

Title: ዋአምሪሁ፡ ሳእት፡ መስቀል፡ ንጉሥ።

Supplication: ሲሎት፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ውይቀቦ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወርስ፡ ወሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ውይቀ።

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415 See Valieva (forthcoming).
As is common, red ink is employed for laying out the initial page; the colour scheme is then adjusted to the structure: three lines in red/two in black/two in red/one in black/two in red, occurring in both columns. Only the initial title is expanded with a Trinitarian formula and starts with a new quire-folio-column. All following inscriptiones simply continue the same column.

The inscriptio is followed by “Three men visit King Lālibalā”

The second inscriptio, on fol. 80ra, is expanded with a supplication. It reads as follows:

Title: ነበር : ለእግዚአንፋ። ዮሱስ። ክርስ። ለእግዚአንፋ።

Supplication: ወሰን፡ እን lzl : ወሱል። ወሱል። ወሱል። ክርስ። ለእግዚአንፋ።

Here, the scribe writes in red ink only the first lines and the name of the king in the supplication.

The second inscriptio is followed by ‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’.

The third inscriptio, on fol. 82ra, reads as follows:

Title: ነበር : ለእግዚአንፋ። ዮሱስ። ክርስ። ለእግዚአንፋ።

Supplication: አለ : (sic!) ወሱል። ወሱል። ወሱል። ክርስ። ለእግዚአንፋ።

Where ነበር ወሱል። ወሱል። ክርስ። is written by a later hand, the same hand added ነበር ወሱል። ወሱል። on fol. 86r in the upper margin. Apparently, in this case, the first scribe left a space for the attribute of the king, which is variable. Then, the scribe who was adding the notes for monthly readings filled in the space left between the lines. The third inscriptio is followed by ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’.

The fourth inscriptio, on fol. 83rb, reads as follows:

Title: ነበር : ለእግዚአንፋ። ዮሱስ። ክርስ። ለእግዚአንፋ።

Supplication: አለ : ወሱል። ወሱል። ወሱል። ክርስ። ለእግዚአንፋ።

The fourth inscriptio is followed by ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’.
The fifth *inscriptio*, on fol. 85ra, reads as follows:

**Title:** ከአምርህ፡ ወለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ወንጉሥ፡ ወፍቁሩ፡ ወለኢየሱስ፡ ዋስቶስ

*(sic!)*

**Supplication:** ሱሎቱ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ወዕቦ፡ *(sic!)* ወለንጉሥነ፡ ክርሎስ፡ አሜን።

The fifth *incipit* followed by ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’.

The sixth *inscriptio*, on fol. 85rb, reads as follows:

**Title:** ከአምርህ፡ ወለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ወንጉሥ፡ ወፍቁሩ፡ ወለእግዚእነ። ወመድኃኒነ፡ ወመለስ፡ ዋስቶስ።

**Supplication:** ሱሎቱ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ወዕቀቦ፡ *(s.l.)* ወለንጉሥነ፡ ክርሎስ፡ አሜን።

The sixth *inscriptio* is followed by ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’.

The seventh *inscriptio*, on fol. 86ra, reads as follows:

**Title:** ከአምርሁ፡ ወለያብነ፡ ወብር፡ መን፡ ወቅዱ፡ ወስራ፡ ወለኢየሱስ። ወምስለ፡ ወሐፊሁ። ወልደ፡ ወክለ፡ ወሃይማኖት። ወለዓለመ፡ ወለም፡ አሜን።

The seventh *inscriptio* is followed by ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’.

The analysis shows that the same title ከአምርህ፡ ወለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ወንጉሥ፡ / ‘Miracles of King Gabra Masqal’ is repeated seven times, sometimes with attributes for the word ወንጉሥ፡ / ‘king’, as e.g. in the second *inscriptio*, ከአምርህ፡ ወለእግዚእነ። ወመድኃኒነ፡ ወመለስ። ዋስቶስ። / ‘beloved of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’. Its initial occurrence is preceded by the Trinitarian formula. After the title there always comes a (slightly variable) supplication.

MS EMML 6931 consists of more than one production unit. The production unit containing the ‘Gabra Manfas Q̄addus and Lālibalā’, which begins on fol. 90r, has the same type of *inscriptio* as those just given, only with different names, ከአምርህ፡ ወለአብነ፡ ወብ፡ መን፡ ወቅዱ፡ ወስራ፡ ወለኢየሱስ። ወምስለ፡ ወሐፊሁ። ወልደ፡ ወክለ፡ ወሃይማኖት። ወለዓለመ፡ ወለምOMEM="" />

MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 (P) share a common ancestor. These two manuscripts are identical in terms of *inscriptiones*, so I will discuss them in parallel. Both manuscripts attest the same kind of *inscriptio* as we find in MS EMML 6931 (Ea). The first *inscriptio* in MS BAV Cerulli 223 on fol. 108va comes on a new page, while in MS BP Parm. 3852 it comes on fol. 118va after the dotted line, which splits the page in two. In both manuscripts, as in
MS EMML 6931, the titles are expanded with a Trinitarian formula and a supplication. The only difference from MS EMML 6931 is the absence of names in the supplication, which continues to be the case in all further supplications in both manuscripts.

The second inscriptio, on fol. 110ra in MS BAV Cerulli 223 and on fol. 120rb in MS BP Parm. 3852, is the same as in MS EMML 6931, expanded with the same supplication; only እብለ ከመለየ፡ / ‘let it protect him’ is changed into ከለ፡ / ‘let it be’, while the space for names was left empty.

An interesting case is the third inscriptio, found on fol. 112vab in MS BAV Cerulli 223 and on fol. 123rab in MS BP Parm. 3852. Here, the supplication is the same as in the two previous inscriptiones, while the inscriptio becomes እምምእ ከእካ፡ ከባር፡ ወጠስ፡ ከወጤን፡ ከመልከት፡ ከማContains the formula / ‘Miracles of King Gabra Masqal, which is read on the 12th of Miyāzyā’. What happened? Apparently, the introduction of indication for the monthly reading by a later hand in MS EMML 6931 became part of the title, through further addition of a relative verbal form ከሚያዝያ / ‘which is read’ (or ‘to be read’). In MS BP Parm. 3852 in the upper margin of the same page there is an indication for monthly reading, ከሚያዝያ, added by a later hand. Generally, the indications for monthly readings in MS BP Parm. 3852 match the indications for monthly readings in MS EMML 6931, while MS BAV Cerulli 223 does not contain any indications for monthly readings.

The inscriptiones in MS BAV Cerulli 223 on fol. 114rb / MS BP Parm. 3852 on fol. 124vb; MS BAV Cerulli 223 on fol. 116va / MS BP Parm. 3852 on fol. 127ra; MS BAV Cerulli 223 on fol. 117ra / MS BP Parm. 3852 on fol. 127va; and MS BAV Cerulli 223 on fol. 118ra / MS BP Parm. 3852 on fol. 128va all repeat the second inscriptio (just given above).

We find the same kind of inscriptio in MS BAV Cerulli 223 on fol. 125va / MS BP Parm. 3852 on fol. 136 for another text, ‘Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā’. The first attestation of the text ‘Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā’ as part of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ also goes back to MS EMML 6931, where, as already mentioned, this text belongs to a different production unit which was added later, the two then becoming physically one codex.

Stemmatically, MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 belong to the same branch. Since the inscriptio in both manuscripts contains a shared conjunctive innovation, ከሚያዝያ / ‘which is (to be) read’, I postulate a common subarchetype for the inscriptiones in MS BAV Cerulli 223 and MS BP Parm. 3852, which in this case would correspond to the same subarchetype as for the textual witnesses themselves. We further see that MS BAV Cerulli 223 and MS BP Parm. 3852 share the same inscriptiones as MS EMML 6931. However, the main textual bodies of MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 (P) have no close relationship with MS EMML 6931 (Ea),
since they (Ea on the one hand, and Vb and P on the other) belong to two different branches. In
the inscriptiones of Vb and P we have one conjunctive error, namely an indication for a monthly
reading in the third title in both manuscripts introduced through መርጥነበብ፡. This can only be
interpreted as an insertion into MS EMML 6931 (Ea), which lacks this word. Therefore, I
postulate that the inscriptiones in MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 (P)
derived/were copied from MS EMML 6931 (Ea).

The working hypothesis (Stemma below) for the transmission of content is then the
following: MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 (P) constitute a patchwork from at
least two manuscripts, MS EMML 6931 (Ea) and MS EMML 6964 (Ec): fifteen textual units were
copied from Ec into 0 together with the ‘Finding in Beta Māryām’, while the inscriptiones,
probably together with the ‘Gabra Manfas Qāddus and Lālibalā’, were copied from Ea.

MS NazMa-001 is a codex descriptus from MS EMML 6931 and therefore, on fols. 86vb, 87vb,
89vb, 91ra, 92vb, 93rb, 94ra, it repeats the seven inscriptiones of its Vorlage. After fifteen textual
units, it continues with the following textual unit,416 entitled, according to the same model, as
ተአምሪሆሙ፡ለብፁዕ፡ላሊበላ፡ወለቅድስት፡መስቀል፡ክብራ፡/ ‘Miracles of Blessed Lālibalā and
Saint Masqal Kābrā’, expanded with a supplication, fol. 97rb, image below.

416 See Chapter One.
MS BetLib-001 attests the same kind of *inscriptio* as we find in MS EMML 6931. The first title is expanded with a supplication. Thus, on fol. 91ra, which is the beginning of a new quire, the inscriptio begins the column and reads as follows:

**Title:** ተአምሪሁ፡ ወገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ከጉሥ፡ ክሎ።

**Supplication:** ለውበረከቱ፡ የስለ፡ ፈቁሩ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ወምስለ፡ ጸሐፊİM

Written in red ink here are the first two lines, then the names in the supplication, then the incipit, which begins in the middle of the line. The same is mirrored left, only the half-line beginning of the incipit remains without a partner in the left column. Only the first titles are expanded with a Trinitarian formula and start with a new quire-folio-column. All the ensuing *inscriptiones* simply continue the same column.

The second *inscriptio* begins in the middle of the column and of the line on fol. 92ra. It is distinguished from the above text by a dotted punctual line. It reads as follows:

**Title:** ተአምሪሁ፡ ወገብሩ፡ መስቀል፡ ከጉሥ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ክለመ፡ ወይቀበነ፡ ለኵልነ፡ እለ፡ ተወከል፡ በኪዳኑ፡

**Supplication:** ለውበረከቱ፡ የስለ፡ ፈቁሩ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ወምስለ:

The third *inscriptio* on fol. 94ra repeats the first *inscriptio* of the manuscript. The fourth (fol. 95ra), fifth (fol. 96va), sixth (fol. 97ra) and seventh (fol. 97va) *inscriptiones* repeat the first *inscriptio*, only the attribute of the king is omitted and a space is left. The seventh *inscriptio* is short, not expanded with a supplication.

MS Cerulli 37 contain the same type of *inscriptiones*, but only for five of the seven textual units, not for the ‘Three men visit King Lâlibalā’ and not for the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lâlibalā’. These *inscriptiones* (expanded with a supplication) can be found on fols. 95rb, 98ra, 99va, 101vb, 102ra.
MS MasKa-003 on fol. 146vb contains *inscriptiones* for only one textual unit, written according to the same model: ወአምሃ፡ለቅድስት፡ወብፅዕት፡መስቀል፡ክብራ፤ / ‘Miracles of Saint and Blessed Masqal Kabrā’ expanded with a supplication.

The different kind of collection contained in MS NT 47 has slightly different *inscriptiones* for the same textual units, ወአምሃ፡ለብፅዕ፡ላሊበላ፡ንጉሠ፡ኢትዮጵያː / ‘Miracles of Blessed Libalā, King of Ethiopia’ expanded with a supplication.

Conclusion for inscriptiones

The earliest attestation of the *inscriptiones* for the seven textual units known as the ‘Miracles of Gabra Masqal’ goes back to MS EMML 6931 (Ea). These *inscriptiones* do not belong to the *Vorlage* of this manuscript, since they are not attested in MS EMML 6921 (Eb), which shares the same subarchetype as MS EMML 6931. Already in MS EMML 6931, the *inscriptiones* belong to the first unit of production and of circulation. MS NazMa-001 (N) is a *codex descriptus* from MS EMML 6931 and there is no reason to consider its *inscriptiones* as a separate project. MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 (P) are *codices descripti* from MS EMML 6964 (Ec), while their *inscriptiones* go back to MS EMML 6931. Two other manuscripts, MS BAV Cerulli 31 (Va) and MS BetLib-001 (La), belong to two different branches stemmatically, there is no proof to say that their *inscriptiones* were copied from MS EMML 6931. From my fieldwork I know that MS EMML 6931 is considered in Lālibalā town to be an original, from which all the other manuscripts were then copied. Thus, taking into consideration the status of MS EMML 6931 within the community, it we can suggest that this kind of *inscriptio*, i.e. ‘Miracles of Gabra Masqal’ expanded with a supplication, goes back to one manuscript.

Why were these *inscriptiones* introduced into MS EMML 6931? Today from the community’s description we know that, each 12th day of the month, MS EMML 6931 is taken out from Beta Golgotā to be read aloud as part of the commemoration of Saint King Lālibalā. The procedure, according to the priests, is the following: to read a preamble, the monthly reading from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and one miracle. Thus, these *inscriptiones* help to identify the beginning of a ‘miracle’ and therefore, have a functional meaning for the veneration of Saint Lālibalā.417

The same manuscript, MS EMML 6931, contains the only known attestation of the antiphons for Saint Lālibalā.418 Additionally, we know from ‘Gadla Zenā Gabrāʾel’ that Zenā Gabrāʾel was responsible for consecration of a tābot for Saint Lālibalā at Beta Golgotā of Lālibalā town. Plausibly we can associate together these three factors, that is consecration of the tābot, composition of the antiphons and introduction of the *inscriptiones*, which all seem to have

417 For more details and questions see Chapter Seven.
418 See Chapter One.
happened at the time of Zenā Gabraʾel and were all meant for Beta Golgotā, which became a centre for the liturgical veneration of Saint Lālibalā.

There is a clear evidence that Saint Lālibalā’s veneration in Lālibalā town existed long before the activities of Zenā Gabraʾel.419 May be at this point we can talk about revival or further development of the liturgical veneration of Saint Lālibalā in Beta Golgotā.420 The introduction of the inscriptiones is one of the important elements here. These inscriptiones do not tell us much about the original understanding of the content, since they were introduced at a later stage. However, they prove that at that moment these seven textual units were identified as individual units. Moreover, as we can see from the inscriptiones, textual units that in the vast majority of the manuscripts follow the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ were at times realised as miracles with a tendency to join other textual units, realised as miracles as well and articulated in the same way. As the inquiry on labels or generic titles shows, the scholarly community of Lālibalā as well as Cerulli indicated the presence of the ‘Miracles’ of Lālibalā, while the rest did not. In all likelihood, Cerulli was deciding how to define the content, relying on the presence of inscriptiones in MSS BAV Cerulli 37 and Cerulli 223 and their absence in MS BL Ms Ethiopic 4. Again, the scholarly community of Lālibalā for the ‘Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā’ project chose MS EMML 6931, which also contains inscriptiones.

iv. Titles in margins

MS MotGiorg-001 contain titles in the margins, added by a secondary hand, sometimes in the upper margin, sometimes between the lines if there is space. These titles are ascribed to the same textual units as the inscriptiones, 9-14. Thus, on fol. 126r in the upper margin it reads אָנָה : בָּרָא : מְלַבָּב : הָא / ‘Miracle One’. This might refer to ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’.

Next, on fol. 127va between the lines it reads as בָּרָא : מְלַבָּב : הָא / ‘Second Miracle of Lālibalā’, referring to ‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’, image below:

419 See Derat 2018 with further literature.
420 See Bosc-Tiessè 2019, 167-169.
Again between the lines of fol. 129vb, we have ድቱ፡ተአምሪሁ፡ / ‘Third Miracle’, this might refer to ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’, image below:

On fol. 131ra, again between the lines, ድቱ፡ተአምሪሁ፡ / ‘Fourth Miracle’, which might refer to ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’, image below:

And then still within the same textual unit, on fol. 132r in the upper margin, ድቱ፡ተአምሪሁ፡ / ‘Fifth miracle’, image below:

Thus, here ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ is split into two miracles.
Next, both in the upper margin, on fol. 132v we find እት፡ ከለምሪሁ / ‘Sixth Miracle’, referring to ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’, image below:
And on fol. 135r, የት፡ ፈጭጯሥ፡ / ‘Seventh Miracle’, referring to ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’, image below:

Here again as with the inscriptiones we see that the last textual unit, ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ remains unmarked. Therefore, we have again seven ‘Miracles’ where one textual unit is split into two and one textual unit is unmarked.

MS BL Ms Ethiopic 4, commissioned by Johannes Krapf, has the title የጭለ፡ ወሊበላ፡ / ‘Life of Lālibalā’ in the upper margin on fol. 1r. In this case, the presence of the title in the upper margin of the first folio must be interpreted as reflecting the wish of the German commissioner. Next, MS EMML 6592, whose content is a compilation of excerpts from textual unit 8, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, textual unit 9, ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’, and textual unit 15, ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ and of the ‘Finding in Beta Māryām’, in the upper margin of f. 1r attests three inscriptiones: የጭለ፡ / ‘Life’ (in Gǝz), ወሊበላ፡ የጭለ፡ / ‘Life of Lālibalā’ (in Amharic) and ወሊበላ ገድለ፡ / ‘History of Lālibalā’, as a designation of the content. In the entire corpus, this is one of only two attestations of the title in the upper margin on the first folio, which is a quite modern layout feature.

In light of the inscriptiones, it is worth mentioning that MS EMML 6964 on fol. 119v has a marginal note, which reads as የጭለ፡ ወሊበላ፡ / ‘Virtues of Miyāzyā’. This note might be interpreted as a reference to ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’, which here is assigned to be read in the month of Miyāzyā, as it is in MS EMML 6931, MS BP Parm. 3852 and MS BAV Cerulli 223.

5.1.3. Conclusion for titles in manuscript tradition
The overview of the four title types attested in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts shows that:

• Not much can be said about incipit-type titles prior to the twentieth century;
• Subscriptio-type titles fit the concept of labels;
• Titles in margins, if attested once, fit the concept of labels; titles in margins, if attested more than once, fit the concept of inscriptio;
• *Inscriptio*-type titles do not reflect the content but have rather a functional meaning, for there is difference between a miracle and a *gadl* for the liturgical celebration. Yet, difference in assigned function does not tell us whether we should treat a portion of the related text as a narrative unit or as a textual unit. Nevertheless, a presence of an *inscription* can be used as a first hint towards a textual unit. As it appears in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collectio’ manuscripts, all *inscriptio*-type titles will refer to one identified textual unit but not all textual units have an *inscriptio*-type title. The correlation can be seen in the following table, in which the first horizontal line lists manuscripts (by sigla) containing the *incriptio*-type titles (symbol +), while the first vertical column lists textual units indicated with their titles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TU</th>
<th>Va</th>
<th>Vb</th>
<th>Ea</th>
<th>La</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three men visit King Lālibalā</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Lālibalā became like a pauper</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lālibalā and a rebel</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we have a look at the position of the manuscripts marked with a circle in the *stemma*, we see that the inscription-type titles do not belong to a single branch only, but seem to reflect a broader tradition:
5.2. Supplications

Under the term ‘supplication’ I mean a portion of text which is usually and typically a plea for intercession on the part of a saint before God (for an author, scribe, commissioner, their relatives etc., ‘empty space’); occasionally it is a direct plea to God.

Supplications are often treated as paratexts by scholars. It is indeed often an optional portion of the text revealing much more creativity than any other part of the text. The type or form of a supplication can be copied or invented and as such copied further or disregarded.

An interesting example is a supplication introduced in MS EMML 6931 fol. 3vab. It follows §24 of ‘Preamble’, which reads as follows:

§ 24 ለአሕጻ፡ መስተቃርን፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ዲያብሎስ።

The supplication reads as follows:

 Ashe፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ለላሊበላ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዝዕቀቦ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ቄርሎስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ᎚ሉፋ፡ ሕማም፡ በጥዒና፡ ሥጋ፡ ወነፍስ፨ ንጉሥ፡ ዝዕለ፡ ድካም፡ በጽናዕ፡ ከመ፡ አድማስ፤ ንጉሥ፡ ዝዕለ፡ ተሀወኮ፡ በዛኅን፡ ወመርስ፤ ንጉሥ፡ ዝዕለ፡ ይመልክ፡ ኵሎ፡ ዓለመ፡ ኀበ፡ ያበርህ፡ ብርሃነ፡ ኦርያሬስ፨

Here line breaks have been introduced to make the rhyme visible. As can be seen, every line ends with a letter expressing the sound 's'. This also holds true for the last lines of ‘Preamble’, and it is possible that this was what provided the idea for the rhyme. Notice also that one line ends with
the name of the then-contemporary king, ከርሎስ፡, which, however, still conforms to the rhyming pattern. Let us now look at the other manuscripts where variants of the same supplication are preserved.

In MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) fols 5vb-6ra, a similar supplication appears, but with a few additional lines. In the way how I have introduced the line breaks here, one can see that the supplication follows the rhyme of the previous passages ending with ለስላሴ፡, everything here is rhymed with the sound 's', which makes it very 'original'. However, if we try to apply the stemmatic approach and see the behaviour of this supplication, it becomes clear that MS EMML 6931 is its earliest attestation. Moreover, it is rhymed with እንጉሥ፡ ከርሎስ፡, in other manuscripts containing this supplication it does not sound 'original' anymore:

In MS BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 5vb-6ra we read the same as above discussed supplication, but extended:

\[
\text{አከታክ፣ ከርሎስ፡ ለስላሴ፡ እንጉሥ፤ የወስድናታ-html ELEMENT/
\]

Notice here that although the rhyme in 'ስ / s' has been maintained almost everywhere, the name of the king has been updated to ከርሎስ፡ ለስላሴ፡, which does not end in 's' and thus does not follow the pattern anymore.

In MS BP Parm 3852 fol. 2rab we find again:
Again, the name of the king ሃማኔል : disrupts the rhyming pattern in -s.

MS NazMa-001 fol. 1va has again:

If my main *stemma* is correct, the stemma for this supplication is the same as the stemma for *inscriptiones*-type titles. The *Vorlage* for the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ in the case of Vb and P is Ec, but for *inscription*-type titles and the supplication discussed above it is Ea. N, in its entirety, is a *codex descriptus* from Ea. Therefore, if all hypotheses are verified, one can perhaps speak of a model project, where different manuscripts were used as *Vorlage* for different parts of the text. Another scenario would be that the scribe copied the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ from Ec and recovered the rest from his memory.
I have presented this example to demonstrate how tricky the supplications can be; one has to apply *stemma* to study them. Only by thinking systematically can one discuss the innovative work of a copyist, which is the case of the above discussed supplication in MS EMML 6931.

Thus, the critical analysis of the supplications in the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts shows that some of the supplications go back to the archetype of the corpus. The overview of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ textual units in chapter one shows that in some cases the actual explicit of the textual unit (meaning its stable part which can help to identify its end) is the supplication. In some cases the supplication belongs to the integral part of the textual unit, but varies slightly from manuscript to manuscript and as such cannot be defined as a proper explicit, despite its ending position and regular occurrence. We have not so far found any good way to distinguish two types of supplications in the catalogue description, namely an integral and optional; it is not something that can be done based just on one or two manuscripts and therefore was not doable for the cataloguers. For now, we agreed that the nature of a supplication should remain undefined in the catalogue. Like this, an explicit (type: supplication) does not tell us whether it is integral or optional. Editing the text, however, I distinguish between two types of supplications: an integral supplication belongs to the critical text, while optional belongs to the apparatus for editions. Further, although it is a very tricky argument, I decided that if a supplication is attested in all the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts, I count it as a full stop to breathe and to think what it marks, an end of a portion of something or an end of a textual unit.

The correlation of the presence of the supplication and an explicit of the textual unit can be seen in the following table, where in the first column I list fourteen textual units and in the second column, I define the correlation between an explicit and a supplication. In the table, just ‘supplication’ means that explicit and supplication are identical; ‘plus Explicit (supplication)’ means that there is a supplication, but I distinguish it from an explicit, because it seems to vary (often just number of lines) from manuscript to manuscript; finally, an empty cell means that there is no supplication at all at the end of the textual unit.
From the table we see that ‘Teaching about Saints’ and Life of Lālibalā have no integral supplication. The supplications of ‘Preamble’, ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’, ‘Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem’, ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel’, ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ remain almost the same throughout the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts, they seem to be at times not recognized as such and are therefore followed by additional, more typical supplications. From what I can see now, personal names appear only rarely in these supplications.

The supplications of ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’, ‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’, ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’, ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’, ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’, ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’ and Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā behave like typical supplications. They are always present, but differ slightly from one manuscript to another, and they often contain names.

I consider the presence of a supplication in all the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts as one of concomitant markers. Supplications are directly related to the following parameter,
which I consider, *mise en texte, mise en page* for the content of a supplication is often articulated in the particular way, which makes it visible.

5.3. *Mise en texte* and *mise en page*

The concepts of *mise en texte* and *mise en page* in this study come from the notion that the ‘role of the scribes was not confined to the physical embodiment of the verbal text; it also involved shaping its visual disposition, which in turn affected its verbal perception and reception, and allowed the reader to navigate within it easily.’

Further, that ‘the visual presentation of texts in manuscript books was not an autonomous interpretative or purely artistic act on the part of the scribe and the painter; there were other factors and conventions — material, social, economic, aesthetic, and scholarly — dictating text configuration or at least affecting it’.

In the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts I have made use of the following major features as criteria for delimiting the physical articulation of the content. I chose features which appeared more systematically. These features are: spacing, compound punctuation, paragraphing and subdividing, the use of colours, punctuation marks, repetition of ꞌ, dotted line, cross etc.

All these elements in various combinations seem to establish chromatic hierarchies. I have tried to evaluate the presence of these elements on the basis of *stemma*, aiming to distinguish between (a) what the scribe was copying from what he saw, (b) elements that the scribe himself added to articulate the text because he was critical, innovative, careless or because there were other conventions, and (c) (a special sub-case of (b)) elements that the scribe added in order to mark the end of the quire and the beginning of the quire, the added elements thus having a codicological function. For now, I see no other way to discuss the physical articulation than purely descriptively.

Thinking about the schema, I initially chose to distinguish two types of articulation: the ‘logical articulation’ as defined by the content, and then what is articulated by any markers as the ‘physical articulation’. This decision aims to keep two levels separate, without imposing any hypothesis about the content upon the evidence that is present in the manuscripts. This decision, however, was revised, for it gives an impression of two contents in one manuscript, which is conceptually wrong. Moreover, there is no way to explain what is articulated without introducing my idea about the content. These problems brought me to a different decision, which I am following now:

I merged the two descriptions into one and have introduced the concept of the articulated unit. Sometimes this may correspond to a textual unit, but it can also be a physically articulated sub-unit within the limits of a textual unit. It causes no confusion, if an articulated unit fits within

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421 Maniaci 2015, 84.
422 Id.
the limits of a textual unit. The question was how to proceed if the textual unit is shorter than an articulated unit? For now, I have found no better way to handle these cases than to have an incipit of an articulated unit alone, with no closing explicit, adding a note to say where the articulated unit ends.

In this way, the ‘logical articulation’ has priority over the ‘physical articulation’, but still there is an option, I hope, while still allowing one to see what is articulated and by which means. Each time when a supplication was introduced, it is articulated. Since there is no reference work on how to interpret *mise en texte* and *mise en page*, in my description, I merge two hypotheses and I use one to support the other: I have introduced my Multi-Unit Hypothesis about the content and then tried to see whether it is somehow supported visually by the physical articulation. It was one of the important parameters for me to distinguish the first six textual units. However, I somehow neglected the articulation of what I define as the ‘Life of Lālibalā’.

Once one has a clear idea of what the logical content is, it becomes possible to study the individual way that a given scribe put the text on the pages, always considering the antigraph, which might have had these features already.

5.4. Syntaxe du codex: MS Dab§p-001

MS Dab§p-001, presently preserved in Dabra §p on `Abuna `Abrahām Church, is the oldest manuscript of the corpus, palaeographically datable to the fourteenth century. Two hands appear to be attested throughout the codex: while quires 1-5 were written mostly by ‘Hand 1’, the text on quires 5-11 seems to be written by a different ‘Hand 2’, while quires 12-17 attest both hands. ‘Hand 1’ might be characterised by straight downstrokes, rectangular ‘feet’ without any decoration; if we assume that the colophon on fol. 131va-b belongs to the manuscript and was written by ‘Hand 1’ (as appears to be the case visually), then we know that this hand belongs to the scribe Māksimos. Our Māksimos evidently learned to write during the first half of the fourteenth century, since his hand shows a clear tendency to the archaic way of writing. Yet, the word እግዚአብሔር/ ‘Lord’ is written as one word and no ancient punctuation is attested. ‘Hand 2’ is more modern compared to ‘Hand 1’. In the writing of ‘Hand 2’, the downstrokes are slightly bent and directed to the right, and the feet have hairlines. The shapes are more soft, more rounded than in ‘Hand 1’.

Although all of MS Dab§p-001 belongs to a single milieu and got its present shape apparently within not more than 50 years this manuscript is particularly distinctive in terms of its

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423 I thank Antonella Brita and Denis Nosnitsin for helping me to formulate my opinion concerning the hands attested. I thank Denis Nosnitsin for helping me to define the characteristic features. Of course, the responsibility for any mistakes is mine, since both scholars saw only what I showed them and confirmed that ‘it seems to be like that’.
Codicology and can be used as additional evidence to support the Multi-Unit Hypothesis about the history of the collection. The analysis of this codex was made according to the methodology described by Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart and Marilena Maniaci in their ‘La syntaxe du codex: Essai de codicologie structurale’ (henceforth ‘La Syntaxe’). ‘La Syntaxe’ offers a methodology for how to work with a medieval book, which can be formulated in the following steps:

1. Look for all discontinuities, that is, places where the physical format of the text changes in some significant way.
2. Write all discontinuities in a table
3. Analyse the table

Multiple concomitant discontinuities (two or more) within a codex allow us to identify candidates for Production and Circulation Units. Here ‘a Production Unit [UniProd] is defined as the set of codices or parts of codices which are the result of the same act of production. The act of production is the totality of operations, limited in space and time, which create one or more objects or parts of objects. In our case, this means one or more codices or parts of codices’.

Further, ‘Circulation Unit (UniCirc) is defined as the sum of parts which make up a codex at a particular point in time. It can be the same as a UniProd and/or be the result of a transformation’.

After noting all main discontinuities (Chapter 3 of the Syntaxe) of the codex, I have written them out in a table. I have considered only those discontinuities that appear concomitantly ‘i.d. those which are found in the same place of the codex in several categories’. The ‘categorical units’-marked in the table are abbreviated as follows:
- ‘Regulatiry in the quires’ (Quires)
- ‘Quire signature’ (Signatures)
- ‘Unity of content’ (Content)

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424 Andrist et al. 2013. ‘La Syntaxe’ is going to be translated into English; however, as the English version is not available yet, I rely on and use the French terminology.
425 Of course, this method relies on previous studies, as discussed in chapter one in Andrist et al. 2013.
426 Andrist et al. 2013, 59: ‘une unité de production [UniProd] se définit comme l’ensemble des codex ou des parties de codex qui sont le résultat d’un même acte de production. L’acte de production est l’ensemble des opérations, délimitées dans le temps et dans l’espace, qui créent un ou plusieurs objets ou parties d’objet, dans notre cas un ou plusieurs codex ou parties de codex.’
427 Andrist et al. 2013, 59.
428 Id., 111: ‘c’est-à-dire celles qui se trouvent au même endroit du codex dans plusieurs catégories’.
429 Id., 113: unités catégorielles’.
430 Id., 89-91: ‘Unités de cahiers’ (UniCah).
431 Id., 100-104: ‘Unités de marques de succession’ (UniMarq).
432 Id., 104-108: ‘Unités de contenu’ (UniCont).
‘Layout and ruling type’ (Layout).

Each horizontal line in the table corresponds to one quire. The first column indicates the number of the quire in the present-day codex of MS Dabṣǝy-001. The other four columns indicate discontinuities of the four different types. In an entry such as ‘/Q1’, the two-letter abbreviation (e.g. ‘Q’) indicates the type of discontinuity, the number indicates whether the discontinuity is the first, second, etc. discontinuity of this type, and the slash indicates the location of the discontinuity on the page: when the slash comes before the number (e.g. /Q1), the discontinuity occurs at the beginning of the page; when it comes after the number (e.g. Q1/), the discontinuity occurs at the end of the page. Within the table, the abbreviations are re-abbreviated as follows: Q = Quires, S= Signatures, C = Conten, L = Layout.

Presence of four concomitant discontinuities at the beginning of a quire: MS Dabṣǝy-001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>quires</th>
<th>Quires</th>
<th>Signatures</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Layout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>/Q1</td>
<td>/C1</td>
<td>/L1</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Q1/</td>
<td>/S1</td>
<td>C1/</td>
<td>L1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>/Q2</td>
<td>/C2</td>
<td>/L2</td>
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<td>11.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1/</td>
<td>L2/</td>
<td></td>
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<td>13.</td>
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<td>/L3</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

433 Andrist et al. 2013, 92-95: ‘Unités de mise en page’ (UniMep).
434 Id., 112.
The table tells us that MS DabSay-001 is a codex of 17 quires. The first discontinuity to observe is in the number of leaves in the quires: quire 5 is a binion, while the rest are quaternions.

The second discontinuity to observe is in the signature of the quires: immediately after the binion: quires 6-12 are marked with Ethiopic numerals as 1-2-3-4-5-6-7.

According to my Multi-Unit Hypothesis which understands the content as a collection of textual units, quires 1-5 (where quire 5 is the binion) contain seven complete textual units. The first page of the first quire is laid out as an initial page. Next, quire 6 begins with the new textual unit, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, which continues on fol. 85r. The first page of quire 6 (paginated as quire 1), which corresponds to the beginning of the textual unit, is laid out as an initial page. Then, fol. 85r, the first page of quire 13 is again laid out as an initial page. It contains another portion of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, marked as a reading for Sane.

To explain these concomitant discontinuities, can suggest three alternative hypotheses:

a) We suppose that quires 1-5 = UniProd a; 6-12 = UniProd b; 13-18 = UniProd c.
Either UniProd b was UniCirc b as it is, or the codex experienced transformation according to Model D2 ‘partial destruction’, where it lost its original (different) ending. At a later stage, UniProd a and UniProd c were added to UniProd a according to Model 4 ‘codex union’. UniProd a and UniProd c are connected by mention of the scribe Māksimos. Possibly UniProd a and UniProd c were added to UniProd b because UniProd b was not perceived as complete.

b) We suppose (as in (a)) that quires 1-5 = UniProd a; 6-12 = UniProd b; 13-18 = UniProd c.
A second possibility is that UniProd c was UniCirc c as it is, or the codex experienced transformation according to Model D2 ‘partial destruction’, where it lost its original beginning. Later, UniProd b was added to UniProd c to complete a manuscript that had lost its first part. The possibility that UniProd c was originally the beginning of its own codex is unlikely, given the absence of the Trinitarian formula. But it is possible that it is the relic of a manuscript where all the monthly readings had the grandiose articulation that we find at the beginning of UniProd c. Then, after UniProd b had been added to complement it, at a still later stage UniProd a was added. At

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436 Id., 66-67: ‘union de codex’.
437 Id., 68-70.
one point in time, there was thus a UniCirc consisting of UniProd b and UniProd c, which would explain the quire numbering whereby quire 6 is paginated as ‘1’.

c) We suppose that quires 1-5 = UniProd a; 6-18 = UniProd b.

UniProd b was UniCirc b, which originally consisted of two volumes; this would explain its particular layout and why there is a seeming break between two quires. The reason why there were two volumes (or parts?), with quires 13-18 set apart, might have been that it contains the reading for the month of Sane, where (at least in modern times) the main liturgical celebration of Lālibalā is found. Seen this way, UniCirc b contained eight textual units, starting with the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. Then UniProd a, which was UniCirc a, was added to this, possibly at the same time as UniProd b and UniProd c were bound together, transformation model A4 ‘Codex union’.\(^{438}\)

Conclusion

Hypotheses a and b are less likely, since they involve too many changes for an assumed time span of only fifty years. Therefore, I am in favour of the third hypothesis. If we consider observed discontinuities, it becomes clear that the ‘major’ discontinuity occurs at the end of quire 5, which, in my opinion, confirms that textual units 1-6 had, even if only potentially, their own life. It would be an ideal chance to document the development of the collection, namely to register the point at which the first six textual units were added to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. However, as was discussed in chapter three, none of the known manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ depend on MS DabŠay-001. Therefore, I would posit that MS DabŠay-001 registers the existence of two models of the collection at a certain point of history: one containing six textual units (UniCirc b), one containing eight textual units (in its latest shape).

5.5. Sequence

A principle stated by Alessandro Bausi says that a work ‘only refers to fixed contents and a precise sequence’.\(^{439}\) In chapter one I have argued that what appears as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ does not fit the definition of a work, for its content is not fixed. If we consider the sequence of what I have defined as the basic collection, the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, its sequence in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts quite precise, apart from the position of those textual units that follow the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, there are we find the ‘guest’ textual units in between. According to my understanding of the collection, starting from a certain moment in history, ‘Preamble’ was conceptualised as a Preamble for the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, while the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of

\(^{438}\) Andrist et al. 2013, 66: ‘union de codex’.

\(^{439}\) Bausi 2010, 34, n.3.
Lālibalā' was conceptualised as an ending part. This is what made the scribes copy the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' in the sequence we find in the manuscripts.

Here I want to discuss to what extent the modern editors have respected the sequence of the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection'. The sequence of the fourteen textual units in the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' manuscripts is always the same, namely:

the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' MSS: 'Preamble' – 'Jesus and His redeeming' – 'Teaching about Saints' – 'Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem' – 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel' – 'Praise for Lālibalā' – 'Life of Lālibalā' – 'Three men visit King Lālibalā' – 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out' – 'How Lālibalā became like a pauper' – 'Lālibalā and a rebel' – 'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman' – 'How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind' – 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā'.

When it comes to the editors, who apparently enjoyed more freedom, we see that Perruchon has left out four consecutive textual units completely, namely 'Teaching about Saints' – 'Jesus and His redeeming' – 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel' – 'Praise for Lālibalā'. Thus:

Perruchon: 'Preamble' – 'Jesus and His redeeming' – 'Life of Lālibalā' – 'Three men visit King Lālibalā' – 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out' – 'How Lālibalā became like a pauper' – 'Lālibalā and a rebel' – 'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman' – 'How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind' – 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā'.

The scholars of Lālibalā who prepared 'Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā' of 2007 remained relatively close to the manuscript, but still split 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā' in two and re-positioned these two pieces: one portion was positioned after 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel', the other at the end of 'Life of Lālibalā'. Additionally, 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out' and 'How Lālibalā became like a pauper' have been switched. Thus, we have:

'Gadla Qǝddus Lālibalā' of 2007: 'Preamble' – [ ] – 'Jesus and His redeeming' – 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel' – 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā' (half) – 'Praise for Lālibalā' – 'Life of Lālibalā' – 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā' (half) – 'Three men visit King Lālibalā' – 'How Lālibalā became like a pauper' – 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out' – 'Lālibalā and a rebel' – 'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman' – 'How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind' ['Teaching about Saints' omitted].

Re-editing ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ in 2010, the scholars of Lālibalā introduced further changes in the sequence:

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel’ – ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ (half) – ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ – ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ – ‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’ – ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ – ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’– ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’.

MS EMML 6592 ‘Life of Lālibalā’ – ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’.

We see that the editors did not feel constrained to adhere to the precise sequence, although ‘Teaching about Saints’ – ‘Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem’ – ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel’ do always follow in sequence, as well as ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ – ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’– ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’. But the above-stated overall ordering of ‘Preamble’ – ‘Life of Lālibalā’ – ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ seems to be respected.

5.6. Philological features

Here I will discuss some philological features that I consider supportive for my Multi-Unit Hypothesis.

5.6.1. ‘Preamble’

As I discussed briefly in chapter one, ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ contradicts the entire message of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ supports the ‘Solomonic’ ideology, denigrating Lālibalā and his lineage as Ethiopian rulers, whereas the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ legitimizes the reign of Lālibalā and as such it fits the concept of a chronicle. A lot has been written on this contradiction in an attempt to explain this discrepancy. Here I will contribute to this discussion by arguing that we are dealing with two textual units coming from two different authors from two different milieus. Since ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ has an independent circulation, my explanation seems to be reasonable. Thus, the ‘unhappy’ end (‘Story
about the virtuous deeds of Lālibā). Now I will argue that the beginning or the Introduction (Preamble in my thesis) is not necessarily part of the Gadla Lālibā collection either. Arguably it, too, has an independent circulation.

‘Preamble’ is mostly familiar, since it was completely edited by Perruchon as an Introduction. However, so far no one has noted that its text is almost identical with the Preamble to the Acts of Krōstos Samrā. The Preamble contains some passages that are not in the Preamble to the Acts of Krōstos Samrā; but everything that is in the Preamble to the Acts of Krōstos Samrā finds a correspondence in ‘Preamble’. In the following table I present selected passages from two Preambles more or less parallelly, with an underline I marked what is almost identical, with a dotted underline what is transposed and what is different is unmarked, with a wavy underline I mark what differs in gender. I use my edited text as PreLal and the text edited by Enrico Cerulli for the Acts of Krōstos Samrā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected passages from ‘Preamble’</th>
<th>‘Acts of Krōstos Samrā’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ryhmed with ዋ)</td>
<td>(ryhmed with ዤ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 1 ዓለ፡ እና፡ ወስፋኝ፡ ወመንፋ እው፡ ዋ፡ እምላኝ፡ ያሉ፡ ዐለ፡ ወመንፋ እው፡ ዋ፡ እምላኝ፡ ያሉ፡</td>
<td>ዓለ፡ እና፡ ወስፋኝ፡ ወመንፋ እው፡ ዋ፡ እምላኝ፡ ያሉ፡</td>
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<tr>
<td>ዋ፡ እምላኝ፡ ያሉ፡</td>
<td>ዋ፡ እምላኝ፡ ያሉ፡</td>
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<tr>
<td>§ 5 ዉለ፡ ወስፋኝ፡ እው፡ ዋ፡ እምላኝ፡ ያሉ፡</td>
<td>ዉለ፡ ወስፋኝ፡ እው፡ ዋ፡ እምላኝ፡ ያሉ፡</td>
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<td>ወስፋኝ፡ እው፡ ዋ፡</td>
<td>ወስፋኝ፡ እው፡ ዋ፡</td>
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<tr>
<td>§ 6 ዋ ወስፋኝ፡ ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ዋ ወስፋኝ፡ ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 10 ወስፋኝ፡ ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ወስፋኝoldem ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 13 ወስፋኝ፡ ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ወስፋኝ፡ ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ወመንፋ እው׃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 19 ወስፋኝ罟፡ ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ወስፋኝ罟፡ ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ወመንፋ እው׃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 20 ወስፋኝ罟׃ ወመንፋ እው፡</td>
<td>ወስፋኝ罟׃ ወመንፋ እው׃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ወመንፋ እው׃</td>
<td>ወመንፋ እው׃</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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440 See Perruchon 1892, 1-7.
441 ‘Atti di Krōstos Samrā’.
442 See Cerulli 1956, 1-3.
443 For the original text see Cerulli, E., ed., 1956. Atti di Krestos Samrā, 1-3.
Until now there is no clear reference to King Lālibalā in ‘Preamble’, apart from a hint to a saints’ kingship (አንጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለብእሲ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ ካርብ፡ ወርኡስ፡ ወእያስ፡ ወውዱስ።)

In what follows after above quoted ryhmed passages, there is a clear allusion to the Book of Henok, which is interpolated with a commented quotation from NT, linked to saint Lālibalā. If we neglect those passages that allude us to the Book of Henok, but instead jump directly to the passages §45, we will find again some parallelism with the ‘Acts of Krǝstos Samrā’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lālibalā</th>
<th>‘Acts of Krǝstos Samrā’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§45 ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለእንከት፡ ወውዱስ፡ ወዓር ካርብ፡ ወእያስ፡ ወውዱስ።</td>
<td>ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለእንከት፡ ወውዱስ፡ ወዓር ካርብ፡ ወእያስ፡ ወውዱስ።</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§46 ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለእንከት፡ ወውዱስ፡</td>
<td>ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለእንከት፡ ወውዱስ፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§47 [ ] ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለእንከት፡ ወውዱስː</td>
<td>ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለእንከት፡ ወውዱስː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§48 [ ] ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለእንከትː</td>
<td>ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለ፡ ለእንከትː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§49 ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለː ለእንከትː</td>
<td>ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለː ለእንከትː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§50 ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለː ለእንከትː</td>
<td>ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለː ለእንከትː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§51 ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለː ለእንከትː</td>
<td>ነጭም እነግር፡ ሂገለː ለእንከትː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§62</td>
<td>ወውሔራት፡ ወንጉት፡ ዆ላገ፡ ውሬት፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§63</td>
<td>ወውሔራት፡ ወንጉት፡ ዆ላገ፡ ውሬት፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§64</td>
<td>ወውሔራት፡ ወንጉት፡ ዆ላገ፡ ውሬት፡</td>
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<tr>
<td>§65</td>
<td>ወውሔራት፡ ወንጉት፡ ዆ላገ፡ ውሬት፡</td>
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<tr>
<td>§66</td>
<td>ወውሔራት፡ ወንጉት፡ ዆ላገ፡ ውሬት፡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§67</td>
<td>ወውሔራት፡ ወንጉት፡ ዆ላገː ውሬትː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of the two prologues shows, the prologue of the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ is shorter and differs in gender (but not always).

This striking parallelism can mean either of the following:

1) The ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ strictly depends on ‘Preamble’ (this hypothesis cannot be excluded, see also Chapter Six).

2) The ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ and ‘Preamble’ depend on a common model

Even if indeed the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ depends on ‘Preamble’ (and they do not both depend on a common model), absence of any specific details about Lālibalā suggests that a pre-existing Vorlage was slightly elaborated for Lālibalā.

As is commonly known, a prologue is a mandatory part of any gadl. The current reading practice of gadlāt begins each reading with a prologue: thus, prologue and the reading for June, prologue and the reading for July, prologue and the reading for August, etc. As we can see from the table in 4.5 Mise en livre, all editors have kept ‘Preamble’ on the first page of the edition. However, what I identify as the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ has three kinds of prologues of its own. For now, to define the beginning of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, I rely upon the codicological evidence from MS DabŞay-001, which marks what I define as the first folio of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ as quire number one. One should think critically about the real beginning of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ further anyway, since it is not rare for the author or the scribe to insert external textual or narrative units at the beginning of his own work. An example from the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts is ‘A narration about the seven days of Creation or Pseudo- ‘Miracles of blessed Lālibalā and Saint Masqal Kəbrā’ which has a wide circulation; it is attested as the ‘Prologue’ and once entitled as a miracle.

Between ‘Preamble’ and the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ come five other textual units which are related to Saint Lālibalā only through the mention of his name, and even this is not regular throughout the manuscripts. I will be able to say more on this topic when I will have the edited text. This argues that ‘Preamble’ was not written specifically for the ‘Life of Lālibalā’; otherwise, it
should have been placed right at the beginning of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, as indeed it is in Perruchon’s edition and in the second edition of ‘Gadla Qaddus Lālibalā’. Both replaced the ‘Prologue’ which originally stood right before the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, the with ‘Preamble’ which is about 30 folia before its beginning.

5.6.2. Jesus and His redeeming fire
The second textual unit of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ is ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’. The latter starts with an account of those events in the life of Jesus the Saviour which are important for the salvation of mankind. This textual unit shows some parallelism with the ‘Homily of Epiphanius of Crete’ Weischer, writing about the style of Epiphaneus, notes the following characteristic:

The logical connection is not always evident; mostly the subjects of the individual sentences change quickly, which disturbs the train of thought; often there are only Greek participles throughout entire passages; one looks in vain for a verbum finitum. This bad style of language used by Epiphany also shines through in the Ethiopian translation. There, too, we find, for example, only gerundive forms throughout several sentence sequences that represent the Greek participles - especially in the older manuscripts. These stylistic observations can be verified in the homily edited below.445

Indeed, the Gaʾz version of ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ attests an astonishing number of Gerundive forms, which led me to look back at the Greek Vorlage. Despite the number of Gerundives in ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’, the Subject is always the same, Jesus, and the style has a simple beauty. The author knew exactly how to use the Gerundive; indeed, ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ could be used as a chrestomathic example for learners.

5.6.3. Lālibalā and a rebel
In his introduction to the ‘Life of Naʾakkwato Laʾab’ Conti Rossini writes the following:

The episode with some variations also occurs in the ‘Acts of Lālibalā’. A king, [Lālibalā’s] vassal, and lord of a country eight days’ march from Roḥa, rebels; Lālibalā sends his son against him, who in singular intent kills the rebel’s son, captures the rebel himself who fled with his army, and hands him over to the king; Lālibalā forgives the rebel and grants him freedom, but the rebel goes away mocking him, full of pride, and dies of a trivial accident, as in our text: the ‘Acts of Lālibalā’ does not say the name of the evil king nor his country nor of the prince who wins him.447

446 Id.: ‘Der logische Zusammenhang ist nicht immer ersichtlich; meistens wechseln die Subjekte der einzelnen Sätze schnell, was die Gedankenfolge stört; oft stehen ganze Passagen hindurch nur griechische Partizipien, man sucht vergeblich nach einem Verbum finitum. Dieser schlechte Sprachstil des Epiphanios schimmert auch noch in der äthiopischen Übersetzung durch. Auch dort finden wir z.B. mehrere Satzfolgen hindurch nur Gerundiformen, die die griechischen Partizipa repräsentieren - vor allem in den älteren Handschriften. Diese stilistischen Beobachtungen sind schon allein an der im folgenden edierten Homilie zu verifizieren.’
447 Conti Rossini 1943, 107-108: ‘L’ episodio con alcune variante ricorre anche negli Atti di Lalibala. Un re, vassallo di questo, e signore d’ un paese ad otto giornate di marcia da Roḥa, si ribella; Lalibala invia contro lui suo figlio,
Conti Rossini considered the ‘Acts of Lalibala’ (‘Gli Atti di Lalibala’) as one work. When looking at it from the point of view of the ‘Gadla Lalibala collection’, we see that the episode described by Conti Rossini corresponds to one textual unit of the ‘Gadla Lalibala collection’, namely ‘Lalibala and a rebel’. The ‘Life of Na’akkwato La’ab’ is dated to a later period than ‘Lalibala and a rebel’, yet the description of this episode, which is considered historical, is more detailed in the ‘Life of Na’akkwato La’ab’, as Conti Rossini noted, than in ‘Lalibala and a rebel’. Further, ‘Lalibala and a rebel’ attests the frequent presence of the quotative particle -ኣ, which is used to mark direct speech and only there. In the ‘Life of Na’akkwato La’ab’ the quotative particle -ኣ is attested throughout the text. Common content and common grammar-pattern, namely the quotative particle -ኣ, make me think that either one text depends on the other, or both texts go back to another textual unit. Apart from ‘Lalibala and a rebel’, none of the textual units of shows any similarity with the ‘Life of Na’akkwato La’ab’, which gives some reference to the ‘Life of Lalibala’:

Therefore, if the ‘Life of Na’akkwato La’ab’ was all written by one person, then this person had some familiarity with the ‘Life of Lalibala’, at least an idea of its existence. However, since the narration of this episode in the ‘Life of Na’akkwato La’ab’ contains more details that scholars consider historical than ‘Lalibala and a rebel’ does, ‘Lalibala and a rebel’ cannot be the source for the ‘Life of Na’akkwato La’ab’, dated to the fifteenth century by Conti Rossini and I have not revised this date if it is correct, it will mean that the ‘Life of Na’akkwato La’ab’ comes at least one century later than the ‘Gadla Lalibala collection’ and cannot be a source for ‘Lalibala and a rebel’. Therefore, in all likelihood both versions derive from a common Vorlage, which had the quotative particle -ኣ in it.

5.7. Conclusion

As noted in the introduction, none of the parameters that I have discussed in this chapter is absolute. The proposed identification of the textual units, though (I believe) well-founded, remains very much intuitive. Once again, although one cannot deny that under the label ‘Gadla Lalibala’

che in singolare tenzione uccide il figlio del ribelle, cattura il ribelle stesso che col suo esercito si è dato alla fuga, e lo consegna al re; Lalibala perdona il ribelle e gli concede la liberta, ma il ribelle se ne va deridendolo, pieno d’orgoglio, e muore di un banale accidente, come nel nostro testo: gli Atti di Lalibala non dicono i nome ne del re malvagio ne del suo paese ne del principe che lo vince.’

448 Conti Rossini 1943, 143-146.
449 See Dillmann 1857, §162.
450 Conti Rossini 1943, 116.
we find a variety of textual units (partially differing from manuscript to manuscript), their number remains uncertain.

In this chapter I have discussed labels/titles, supplications, *mise en texte* and *mise en page* as evidence of the scribe’s thought; *mise en livre* in the editions as evidence of the editor’s thought; and finally, philological features of some textual units. I have discussed only some of the features, just to demonstrate that the general idea – to achieve a better understanding of the intellectual content of the manuscripts – seems to work. All the parameters for my definition of a textual unit are displayed in the following table. The table is specifically for MS Dabṣay-001.

The ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TU</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Supplications</th>
<th>Mise en texte</th>
<th>Sequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Preamble</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jesus and His redeeming fire</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Teaching about Saints</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Praise for Lālibalā</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MS Dabṣay-001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The Life of Lālibalā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Three men visit King Lālibalā</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spat it out</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Lālibalā and a rebel</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have tried to be critical and to introduce all the problems and ambiguities that I have noticed. However, there is one good thing to say: I have tried to observe all these parameters, while writing chapter one and identifying other textual units transmitted together with the ‘*Gadla*
Lālibalā collection’ for which we have much more evidence for considering them as textual units, because they are ‘fresh’ accretions to the collection. For most of the textual units it worked. Therefore, taking into consideration mutual processes – introduction of other textual units into the collection and extracting parts of it, initiating its circulation as narrative units, plus the lack of evidence about the independent circulation of something in an unexpected form, since most of the manuscripts are known to us by labels, I think it is reasonable to consider all these parameters.

Now the question of dating. The earliest known attestation of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ is MS DabṢay-001, datable to the fourteenth century; therefore, all textual units must have been composed by that time. It might be thought that the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ could not have been written earlier than King Lālibalā’s death, therefore definitely after 1225 CE. But in view of the Multi-Unit Hypothesis, the reasoning is fallacious. In my opinion, the first six textual units could easily have been written earlier and then adjusted to apply specifically to Saint Lālibalā, in most cases by simple insertion of his name. This must remain an open question. For ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ a terminus non ante quem of 1270 can be given, for it was written after the ‘restoration of the Solomonic dynasty’.
Chapter Six. Commemoration of Saint King Lalibala: Tradition and significance of the Life of Lalibala in the religious community

This chapter results mostly from observations and interviews made during three field trips to Ethiopia (2014-2017), as well as from my stay in the Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library.\(^{451}\) This all allowed me to make a sketch of a very rich and complex tradition, in which HagLal often plays a crucial role, since it provides people with knowledge about the saint king as well as enables the community to perform different kinds of religious services. The present chapter is an attempt to link manuscript culture to its usage, actual or potential, within the communities.

Research on the manuscript geography and local traditions indicates that the hagiographic ‘realm’ of Saint King Lalibala corresponds roughly to the historical one\(^ {452}\) in terms of provinces, according to the country division before the 1995 constitution. One can find manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lalibala collection’ in Wallo, Bagemdǝ, Tǝgǝr, Eritrean highlands,\(^ {453}\) Šawǝ and Goggǝm.\(^ {454}\)

6.1. ‘The Life of Lalibala’: commemoration (ትዝካር) of Saint Lalibala from the text

There are many different hagiographic compositions written for Saint Lalibala. It is still an open question whether the ‘Life of Lalibala’ or the gadlǝ in general actually count as parts of the liturgical service. It is not necessarily the case that a community devoted to a saint owns a book containing his/her gadl. Obviously, the community can perform a liturgical service for the saint without having his/her gadl. A book containing a gadl is not a required minimum for the liturgical commemoration; a book containing a gadl can be considered rather a maximum for the commemoration of a saint.

The ‘Life of Lalibala’ is the earliest known written attestation of the commemoration of Saint Lalibala, and it provides necessary information and directions for his commemoration. In

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\(^{452}\) See Derat 2010.

\(^{453}\) Giuseppe Sapeto edited a Sǝnkǝssǝ reading for King Lalibala and Queen Masqal Kǝbrǝ from Dabra Bizan, dated to the first half of the sixteenth century, see Chapter One 1.3.7.

\(^{454}\) Goggǝm was not part of the Christian kingdom before hadǝ Amdǝ Sayon, see Taddesse Tamrat 1972, 132-145. The tradition maintaining that Lalibala got his education in Goggǝm apparently emerged when Goggǝm became an important centre for education. The only known manuscript from Goggǝm that contains the Life of Lalibala is MS MotGior-1, dated to the eighteenth century, commissioned by hadǝ Takla Giyorgis and kept in the church of Motǝ Giyorgis.
the following, I discuss three important points: (i) the day of the death, (ii) topographic coordinates for the tomb and (iii) the pact (kidăn) in light of new evidence. For the discussion I will take into account manuscripts that contain:

- ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, specifying which textual unit contains what
- Sankassār
- ‘Homily (Dorsān) of Lālibalā’
- ‘Gabra Manfas Qoddus and Lālibalā’
- Daggawā, the most important Ethiopian collection of liturgical chants, arranged according to the liturgical calendar.
- Masbāfe Gassāwē, ‘Book of Exposition’, a perpetual liturgical calendar and a lectionary

### 6.1.1. The day of death or the day of commemoration

a) 12 days (per year)

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’ does not contain the day of his death but rather contains directions to commemorate Saint Lālibalā every month, altogether 12 days (per year). In the second Kidān given to Lālibalā on the way back from Jerusalem we read (Jesus is speaking):

\[
\text{ወዘይገብር፡ ተዝካረከ፡ በኵሉ፡ አውራኃ፡ ዓመት፡ ዓሠርተ፡ ወክልኤተ፡ ዕለታተ፡ ይኩን፡ ከመ፡ ዘይገብር፡ ተዝካርየ፡ ለለሰሙን፡ ፶ ወ ፪ ዕለታተ፡ እምነ፡ ዓመት፡ ተዝካረ፡ ትንሣኤየ፡ እንበለ፡ ካልዓን፡ ተዝካረ፡ ቸንብእትየ። \]

The one who will celebrate your tǝzkār all months of the year, twelve days, let it be as if he celebrate My tǝzkār every week, fifty-two days of the year, tǝzkār of My Resurrection without [celebrating] other tǝzkārs of My incarnation.

Two recent manuscripts containing the Sankassār, photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe project, contain the same passage on the monthly commemoration; these are MS AMM-008, Dabra Madḥanit Madḥane ‘Alam ‘Addigrāt (from 1917 to 1918) fols. 94 rb-95v and MS AP-015, c

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455 See Derat 2016.
459 Cf. Kur 1972, 414: ‘Celui qui fera ta commémoration, tous les mois de l’année, douze jours, qu’il soit comme s’il faisait ma commémoration, toutes les semaines, cinquante-deux jours de l’année, la commémoration de ma résurrection et la commémoration de mon incarnation sans (faire) les autres (commémorations).’
461 I worked with manuscripts containing the Sankassār photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe project and Sankassār manuscripts from Lālibalā town, photographed by EMML and available at HMML.
Addaqāḥārsi Makāna Hywat Ṭḥāqīps (1975-1976)⁴⁶³ fols. 104 ra-105vb. In addition to the common entry for Saint Lālibalā, both manuscripts include a portion of text from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. The passage on the monthly commemoration from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ quoted above reads as follows in the Šǝnkǝssār manuscripts MS AMM-008, fol.94v and AP-015, fol.104c:

\[
ወኵሉ፡ ኣውራኃ፡ ዓመታት፡ ዲወ፪ ዓመታት፡ ዲወ፪ ዓመታት፡ ዲወ፪ ዓመታት፡ 
\]

And every month of the years, twelve years.

The change from ቀመት (days) to ሀመት (years) is a significant alteration, for it changes the direction for commemoration. Reworded in this way, it suggests commemorating Lālibalā each month for twelve years.

b) On the twelfth of ኣወጆ

According to the ‘Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ Saint Lālibalā passed away on the twelfth of ኣወጆ, which is his Dies Natalis. According to the counting system used in the Šǝnkǝssār of MS DW 03,⁴⁶⁴ fol. 156va, the twelfth of ኣወጆ corresponds to the nineteenth of ሁጆ. However, at present, it is impossible to know exactly what the author of the text meant by the twelfth of ኣወጆ. Before the sixteenth century there is no other date related to Saint King Lālibalā’s veneration but this twelfth of ኣወጆ.

c) On the twelfth of ሁጆ

Starting from the sixteenth century the twelfth of ሁጆ seems to be the generally accepted date for Saint King Lālibalā’s veneration. Apparently, at this time Saint King Lālibalā and his wife, Saint Masqal Kabrā, were commemorated together on the same day. In all known books containing the Šǝnkǝssār datable to the sixteenth century, if they indicate a day for Saint King Lālibalā’s veneration, it is on the twelfth of ሁጆ. The above-mentioned MS DW 03 on fol. 154ra, for the fifth day of ኣወጆ, i.e. twelfth day of ሁጆ, contains a short reading for Saint King Lālibalā and his wife, Saint Masqal Kabrā.

---


The Doggoawi, according to our knowledge, does not contain specific antiphons for Ḥāliba. However, MS EMML 2542 of the Doggoawi from Ankobar Giorgis, dated to the sixteenth century, contains on fols. 1v-3v a calendar which mentions the commemoration of Saint Lālibalā and Masqal Kābrā, his wife, on the twelfth of Sane. Regarding the commemoration of Saint Masqal Kābrā on the same day as Saint Lālibalā, it is interesting to note another manuscript that contains the Sankassār, MS EMML 7506, which was donated by liqa kāhānāt Zenā Gābro el to Bēta Māryām of Lālibalā town. This manuscript, in addition to the common text for Lālibalā, edited by Guidi, instead of proceeding with the common hymn, on fol. 124 contains a different hymn for Saint Lālibalā that also includes Masqal Kābrā. The hymn reads as follows:

\[
\text{Salam to your sanctuary that Lord preferred over the sanctuary of King Solomon and from the first tabernacle; together with your son Yatbārak, with your wife Masqal Kābrā rescue us, your children, from numerous temptations and afflictions, Lālibalā, the one of the heavenly hosts.}
\]

Other books containing the liturgical calendar for the saints, the Sankassār and Masbāfa Gassāwe, also suggest commemorating Saint Lālibalā on the twelfth of Sane.

The ‘Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’, in its turn, contains the information about the date of Lālibalā’s death, Dies Natalis, the twelfth of Hazirān, i.e. twelfth of Sane. The text edition reads as follows:

\[
\text{He found rest on the twelfth of Hazirān.}
\]

\[
\text{or}
\]

\[
\text{He found rest on the twelfth of Hazirān, i.e. of Sane.}
\]

---

466 The donation of the Sankassār to Beta Māryām together with six other manuscripts is noted in MS 7506, fol. 200v. On liqa kāhānāt Zenā Gābro el see further in section 4.2.
467 See Guidi 1906, 602; the same in Ludolf 1681, L. II, cap. V.
468 See Guidi 1906, 602.
469 Ṣalām.
470 I have not found this hymn in any other manuscript.
471 ‘Hazirān est le nom d’un mois syrien, qui correspond au mois de juin’ (Perruchon 1892, 128, n. 1).
472 Perruchon 1892, 63.
d) On the twelfth of Tāhsās

Another interesting hagiographic text for Saint Lālibalā is the Homily (Dǝrsān) dedicated to him that was edited by Derat on the basis of three manuscripts, namely MS EMML 54, MS EMML 79, dated to the late nineteenth century and photographed in the church of Rāguʾel, ʿIn ṭoṭo, Addis Ababa, and MS EMML 327, dated to the twentieth century, photographed as part of a private library. According to the text in MSS EMML 54 and EMML 79, Lālibalā died on the twelfth of Tāhsās. 477

All this happened on the twelfth of Tāhsās, day of the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. On this day our king rested in peace of the Lord. 479

Derat evaluates the twelfth of Tāhsās as textual variant for the twelfth of Sane found in MS EMML 327. This can be interpreted either as a simple error in the manuscript or as the reflection of a tradition to commemorate the saint on the twelfth of Tāhsās.

The twelfth of Sane, like the twelfth of Tāhsās, is also the day to commemorate the Archangel Michael. We know that the Coptic calendar had established monthly commemorations for the Archangel Michael on the twelfth day of every month, and this is already attested in the first redaction of the Sǝnkǝssār, translated into Gǝʾz in the fourteenth century. For now, it is impossible to say whether the monthly commemoration of Lālibalā on the twelfth day of the month was added to the existing feast for the Archangel Michael or it developed independently. 482

So far, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ seems to be the earliest registered attestation of the indigenous tradition of the monthly commemoration in Ethiopia.

473 See Derat 2016.
474 See Macomber 1975, 57-58.
475 Id., 83.
476 Id., 29-30
477 See Derat 2016, 105.
478 Id., 124.
479 Id., 128: ‘Tout cela eut lieu le 12 de Tāhsās, jour de la fête de saint Michel, chef des anges. Et en ce jour notre roi se reposa dans la paix du Seigneur.’
480 Id., 124, 175 in apparatus.
481 Checked by Dorothea Reule.
482 I thank Alin Suciu and Emmanuel Fritsch very much for helping me to define the limits of our knowledge.
e) On the twenty-ninth of Tāḥsās

There are communities devoted to Lālibalā that see a problem in the overlapping of two significant feasts, the commemoration of the Archangel Michael and that of Saint Lālibalā. Some have even decided to change the date for Lālibalā’s commemoration. Thus, instead of commemorating him on the twelfth day of Tāḥsās, the community of Nāzre(t) Māryām commemorates Lālibalā each twenty-ninth day of each month, which is considered to be Lālibalā’s birthday. The community of ʾAdādī Māryām commemorates Lālibalā on the twenty-ninth of Tāḥsās (twenty-eighth during the year of Yoḥānnas). The ‘Life of Lālibalā’ does not contain this date, i.e. the date of birth, but the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ does. According to the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’, he was born on the twenty-ninth of Tāḥsās, the same day as the Ethiopian Church celebrates the Nativity of Jesus.483 The text reads as follows:

\[
\text{ april } : \text{ hoon } : \text{ ac } : \text{ a } : \text{ t } \text{ m } \text{ am } : \text{ bi } : \text{ ak } : \text{ g } \text{ na } : \text{ lam } : \text{ lam } : 484
\]

He was born through the union of flesh, on the twenty-ninth of Tāḥsās. His birthday was on the same day as the feast of Our Lord.485

Here again, commemoration of Lālibalā on the twenty-ninth overlaps with another significant feast, Madḥāne Ṣ Alam, which is also commemorated on the twenty-ninth day of each month.

d) Around the fifth of Maggābit

Another hagiographic composition related to Lālibalā is ‘Gabra Manfas Qaddus and Lālibalā’. This textual unit narrates the last activities of Lālibalā together with Gabra Manfas Qaddus before Lālibalā’s death. Here we learn that both saints were in Zaqwallā, where they also met ʾAbbā Garimā and ʾAbbā Gubā.486 When it was time for Lālibalā to pass away, Gabra Manfas Qaddus and Lālibalā went to Warwar, where Lālibalā died.487 According to this text, it appears that Lālibalā died around the fifth of Maggābit.488 I will quote the entire passage below, where I discuss the tomb of Lālibalā.

---

483 See Marrassini 1981, LXIII.
484 Derat 2016, 121.
485 Id., 126: ‘Il fut mis au monde par une union charnelle le 29 du mois de Tāḥsās. Sa naissance eut lieu le même jour que la fête de Notre Seigneur’.
486 See Marrassini 2003, IX, also Brita 2010.
487 The main text of ‘Miracolo IV. Lālibalā’ ends with Lālibalā’s death. The text of these passages is to be found in the critical apparatus.
488 See Marrassini 2003, 319.
6.1.2. Traces of the date in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts

If we consider paratextual information (marginalia or interlinea), often introduced by a later hand, we will find notes in some manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts suggesting that it should be read in a certain month/on the twelfth day of a certain month or on a certain day of the week.

Without going into detail, I want to note that one can find a manuscript containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ in a church which is reported not to have a tābot for Saint Lālibalā, but where we do find indications for monthly readings. This indicates that the monthly commemoration of the saint can or cannot be connected to a tābot and/or that monthly commemoration of the saint can or cannot be marked in the manuscripts with specific indications. Even in the presence of a tābot, in some cases the tābot cannot be considered as obligatory for commemoration, but rather as an option. This probably depends on the number of tābots preserved in the given church. There are manuscripts that contain eleven or twelve indications for monthly readings, excluding, starting or ending with the month of Sane. From interviews we know that if a church preserves a tābot for a saint, it is common on the annual day of commemoration to read his or her entire gadl. This can explain why some of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts attest eleven and not twelve indications for monthly readings, with the month of Sane excluded. The same logic can work in a different direction: if a manuscript attests twelve indications for monthly readings, this might imply that there is no tradition to read the entire ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts on the annual day of commemoration, from which we can deduce that either the church does not preserve a tābot for the saint or the presence of a tābot for the saint does not dictate the way of commemoration. If the indication names only a month, we cannot deduce on which exact day the reading takes place. If the day of the month is indicated, it is always the twelfth. The relationship between monthly readings and textual units still needs to be analyzed. The function of the indications for daily readings remains unclear to me.

6.1.2. Summary for the date

To sum up, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ provides no commemoration dates, but suggests commemoration of Saint Lālibalā each month, twelve times per year. In some of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts we find traces of a twelvefold commemoration. (I consider the absence of Sane as positive evidence for an annual commemoration as well). The ‘Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ gives the day of his death, originally the twelfth of Ḥazirān and which was interpreted later as the twelfth of Sane. The Sankassār, Maṣḥāfa Gassāwe and the calendar in Doggwā all agree on commemorating Saint Lālibalā on the twelfth of Sane, which seems to be the commonly accepted date. In a few of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts, we find explicit
indication for monthly commemoration on the twelfth day, while others attest only the name of
the month. Considering that we do not know what was originally meant by the twelfth of Hazinā
n, it is difficult to say when the twelfth of Sane became the accepted day of Lālibalā’s
commemoration. Even in Lālibalā town today there is a certain degree of uncertainty as to which
day to reserve for Saint Lālibalā. Pilgrims coming to Lālibalā town around the twelfth of Sane say
they come to celebrate the annual commemoration of the Archangel Michael, not of Saint Lālibalā.
If we try to compare how many people come to Lālibalā town on the twelfth of Sane and on the
twenty-eighth of Tāhsās, we see that more people come on the twenty-eighth of Tāhsās, but they
come to celebrate the Nativity of Jesus Christ. Other dates, the twelfth of Tāhsās, twenty-ninth of
Tāhsās, the fifth of Maggābit, seem just to reflect this freedom of choice and conceptualization. To
add more confusion, I should mention that when I asked the locals of Lālibalā town what is so
important about the twelfth of Sane, I was told that it is actually the gabayā (market) which makes
this day so special.

6.2. Tomb of Lālibalā

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’ invites the faithful to visit the tomb of Lālibalā, which today is believed to
be in the church of Golgota. The text reads:

The one who will run to your church in the morning, let it be as if he runs to my sepulcher  in the morning.
And the one who will embrace your tomb where will be buried your body, let it be as if he embraces my
tomb where was buried my body.

And again:

And this day:

489 First mentioned by Francisco Alvarez, see Derat 2018, 191-192.
490 On this see Derat 2018, 190-193.
491 Kur 1972, 395.
492 Cf. Kur 1972, 414. ‘Celui qui entrera dans ton sanctuaire deviendra comme s’il entrait dans mon sépulcre.
Celui qui vénérait ta tombe où a été enterré ton corps, qu’il soit comme s’il vénérait ma tombe où a été enterré mon
corps’.
493 Id., 396.
I will institute my angels to guard your sepulcher, so that they bless all those who want to be blessed by your bones. And everyone who bows to your tomb, he shall not say ‘I did not bow’ to sepulcher where my body remained for three days and three nights.494

When it comes to the location of the tomb of Lālibalā, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ does not provide any topographic information. Another hagiographic composition related to Lālibalā, already mentioned above, is ‘Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā’. Here we read that the angels took Lālibalā’s body and buried it in the place commanded by God.

And they hear a word saying ‘Jerusalem shall be his burying place’.

The words ‘His tomb shall be in Jerusalem’ could refer to Jerusalem in today’s Israel, or to Lālibalā town (which is also sometimes interpreted as Jerusalem), or to the heavenly Jerusalem.

6.1.3. Kidān

Kidān is one of the characteristic features of the Ethiopian gadlōt. In this context the word hₐₐₐ: (kidōn) ‘testament, covenant, pact’ designates a promise given to a saint by Jesus Christ for the benefit of those who will commemorate the saint and keep his memory alive. If the gadl includes a kidōn, it often comes at the end of the gadl, when the saint approaches his/her death.496 Sometimes a gadl includes two kidōns; in this case the second kidōn is often given to the saint to support him in situations of extraordinary difficulty.497 The kidān invites listeners to participate in the promises; it gives various recommendations and instructions on how to commemorate the saint in a fitting way, and it also describes different blessings for those who follow the suggestions listed in the kidōn.

In its merged form, the ‘Gadla Lālabalā collection’ appears to be the richest for the kidān. It contains three kidōns. The editors of ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’498 draw much attention in their introduction to the threefold kidān given to Saint Lālibalā. In doing this, they point out the special place of Saint Lālibalā among other saints. This special place of Lālibalā among other saints. This special place of Lālibalā is fully expressed in the ‘Life of Lālabalā’ itself, although it contains only two kidāns. The text stresses that Saint Lālibalā

494 Cf. Kur 1972, 415: ‘Je ferai que mes anges garderont ton sépulcre, pour qu’ils bénissent tous ceux qui voudront être bénis par tes os. Chacun qui se prosternera sur ton sépulcre, qu’il ne dise pas qu’il ne s’est pas prosterné au sépulcre où a été ma chair trois jours et trois nuits.’
495 Marrassini 2003, 319.
496 See Kur 1984.
497 Id., 125.
498 See Chapter Four.
received his *kidān* under special conditions for a special purpose: not in the face of death, but ‘at the beginning of the matured life’. The text reads as follows:

And as for the other righteous who have given themselves to me with all their heart, I will give them the pact according to their merit when the completion of their departure arrives. As for you, I gave you the pact in your life, before the completion of your departure from this world. It is not the time of your migration, because you must live many days on earth, from now until I visit you at the time of your migration with a beautiful vocation without pain.

Perruchon’s edition contains only one of the *kidāns*, from the ‘Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’. Consisting of just a few lines, this *kidān* is the shortest in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’. At the time when Perruchon was preparing his edition, the hagiographic genre of the *gadl* had not yet been much studied, and nothing had been written about the *kidān* as one of its characteristic features. Perruchon translates the part of the text containing the *kidān* as if it were just a response of Jesus to Lālibalā’s prayers, translating the word ‘kidān’ as ‘promise’. Therefore, Perruchon’s translation sounds misleading in this regard.

In turn, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ contains two *kidāns*. Both *kidāns* are given to Saint Lālibalā, the first one about the churches that he was told to build and the second one about the veneration of the king himself. The first *kidān* is given to Saint Lālibalā in the seventh heaven; it remains unedited. The second *kidān* Lālibalā receives after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the way back to Ethiopia; it was edited by Kur.

6.2. Liturgical commemoration of Lālibalā and the ‘Life of Lālibalā’

It is not clear whether the *gadlāt* are part of the liturgical service or not. In his study of liturgical texts, Habtemichael Kidâne lists the *gadlāt* among the extrabiblical texts, but he does not specify

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499 Kur 1972, 326

500 Id., text 394-397, tr. 414-417.

501 I thank Hiruie Ermias, Emmanuel Fritsch, Leonard Bahr, Antonella Brita and Jonas Karlsson for helping me to formulate my questions and answers. I also thank the many Ethiopian priests who kindly shared this information with me, though undoubtedly wondering about the purpose of my questions.
at which point of the service their reading takes place. In this section I will discuss the liturgical commemoration of Saint Lalibalā and the place of the ‘Life of Lalibalā’ in it. For the discussion I will refer to the following books: Mashāfa Gass̱owe, Ma ʿarrāf, Dagguwā, Sankassār, Antiphons for Lalibalā, the ‘Life of Lalibalā’ and ‘Gadla Zenā Gabrāʾel’.

Two books that give guidelines for the celebration of the Divine Office, the ṁdār (Maʿarrāf) and ṣḥaw : ṭābā : (Mashāfa Gass̱awe), at least on first glance say nothing about the gadlōt. The Maʿarrāf is a book of liturgical chants which provides the common of the Divine Office of the Ethiopian Church. According to Getatchew Haile, it dates from the nineteenth century, but among the manuscripts used by Shelemay et al. in their study on Ethiopian liturgical chants there are Maʿarrāf manuscripts dated to the sixteenth century. Among other things, it gives the directions for the services. The Maʿarrāf only gives indications which texts have to be chanted or read. The exact texts that should be read on a particular day have to be found in other books. Among others, the Maʿarrāf studied by Velat indicates the place within the Service when the Sankassār is to be read. Velat’s edition does not give any hint as to when or whether a gadl or miracles of a saint should be read.

Another book of importance for the structuring of liturgical life of the Church is the Mashāfa Gass̱owe, which in its present form includes both a lectionary and a liturgical calendar. There are indications that the lists of saints found in the Mashāfa Gass̱owe are ‘older and relatively independent of the Synaxaries’. The Mashāfa Gass̱owe says on which day a certain saint is to be commemorated, but does not provide any directions for the hagiographic readings.

Given this absence of precise indications for the reading of gadlōt, many different flexible practices have developed. They are conditioned by many factors: (i) which saint the community venerates, (ii) whether it is a monastic community, a church in a city or in a village, (iii) whether it is an important pilgrimage place, (iv) what kind of books the community has, etc.

Different practices of commemorating a saint can be observed in Ethiopia today. This provides an idea of the variety of different liturgical or non-liturgical celebrations, often shaped by the conditions in which the community happens to live. Very often, a certain tradition of commemorating a saint is reflected in the manuscript containing his/her life. Through the comparison of common practices in their variety today and the reflection of this or that practice in a given manuscript, we can try to make hypothesis about the past.

503 See Kidane 1998, 231-234.
506 See Shelemay et al. 1993, 74.
Some characteristics can be drawn for the services or their parts that employ the gadlāt:

- they can be performed anywhere, most often outside the church;\(^{508}\)
- they can be read by any churchman;\(^{509}\)
- their performance is guided by less strict rules: during the reading listeners are allowed to sit, one can join in at any time and go at any time.

Here I want to discuss the liturgical service of Saint Lālibalā, the role of the manuscripts containing his hagiography in the service and the impact of these manuscripts on it.

*Mashōfa Gassōwe* in its present common form indicates the commemoration of Saint Michael, ṬAfonyos and Lālibalā for the twelfth of *Sane*. However, manuscripts containing the *Mashōfe Gassōwe* listed in the article by Emmanuel Fritsch\(^{510}\) have no such indication for Saint Lālibalā.\(^{511}\)

In the same article, Fritsch writes:

> Any commemoration is solemnly celebrated only at churches which possess the corresponding tābot.\(^{512}\)

Thus, if the church contains a tābot dedicated to Saint Lālibalā, the community can decide to have the liturgical service of Lālibalā’s commemoration. To perform this service, the priest of the church follows the directions in the *Mashōfa Gassōwe* and the *Māʾerāf*. The *Mashōfa Gassōwe*, serving as a liturgical calendar, can suggest commemorating a certain saint on a certain day, but still a given community always makes the choice. Therefore, the most important book for performing the liturgical service for the feast of Saint Lālibalā is the *Māʾerāf*.

The *Māʾerāf* gives indications which texts have to be chanted or read. The exact texts that should be read on a particular day must be found in other books, commonly in the *Daggīwā* and the *Sonkassār*. The *Daggīwā* to our knowledge does not contain any texts composed for Saint Lālibalā. In this case, as I was informed during my field research in Šere, the common solution for the liturgy is to chant the antiphons for saints or kings, inserting Saint Lālibalā’s name. As for the *Sonkassār*, to my knowledge, the first redaction does not include an entry for Saint Lālibalā; when it comes to the so-called ‘second redaction’, this question still requires study. From my inquiries into various *Sonkassārs*, starting from the sixteenth century on the *Sonkassār* contains the reading for Saint Lālibalā, of which I counted at least six types of the *Sonkassār* readings in chapter one.

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508 The church regulation says that the gadl cannot be read inside the church if the Divine Office was or is going to be served. Instead, the miracles can be read inside the church in any case.

509 According to my observation, it is very often performed by young members of the church and then the more professional readers will correct them.

510 Fritsch 2001, 82-83.

511 Some of the listed MSS do not include *Sane*.

512 Fritsch 2001, 64.
Apart from the versions that are extended with an excerpt from the Life of Lălibală (see chapter One), other versions of the Sonkassār reading differ from what we read in the ‘Life of Lălibală’.

Although the Daggwō does not include any antiphons composed for Saint Lălibală, this does not mean that there are no liturgical hymns composed for Saint Lălibală at all. MS EMML 6931 of Beta Golgotā, along with the ‘Gadla Lălibală collection’ on fols. 99r-100r, contains antiphons needed for the service. Comparison of the antiphons for Lălibală with the generic antiphons for the king found in Maṣḥafa Daggwō proves that these texts were specially composed just for Lălibală. The content of the antiphons depends on the hagiographic texts and apparently on the oral tradition around the saint. The antiphons are full of geographic coordinates; they link the saint king entirely to Lălibală town. As mentioned in chapter Four when discussing MS EMML 6931, we can talk about revival or establishment of the liturgical commemoration of Saint Lălibală in Beta Golgotā at the time of Zenā Gabraʾel, when a tābot for Saint Lălibală was sanctified for Beta Golgotā.513 Since that time, Beta Golgotā of Lălibală has apparently been celebrating a unique service for Saint Lălibală. As said above, the antiphons are chanted according to the directions found in the Maʾәrāf.

Today these chants will be chanted for the liturgical celebration on the twelfth of Sane and for the monthly commemoration of Lălibală. Thousands of pilgrims come from all over the country to commemorate the Archangel Michael and Lălibală on the twelfth of Sane. During these days, many people sleep outside, under the sky. Different parralel activities are arranged for the pilgrims. Some can enter the church and attend the liturgy.

As I have said above, the chants are performed without the MS EMML 6931. This manuscript is taken away for another service. Independent from the services in the churches, starting from the eleventh of Sane, different readers successively read from the ‘Life of Lălibală’ on the hill of Golgotā. Reading (የንባብ ኣገልግሎት) is performed by those who can read Gǝz, from the lowerst to the highest ordained members of the church. The reading is interrupted only to give a sermon on significant passages in the text. It lasts for two days until the entire text has been read out. In this way, people from all over the country, including those who have just heard of Lălibală’s fame, become familiar with his life and his virtues.

The MS EMML 6931 is divided into 11 parts for 11 months. The monthly readings in the manuscript exclude the month of Sane, when the annual feast takes place and the entire text is read out. I was told that for the monthly commemoration they first read the introduction, then a marked part of the text for the particular month and then one of the miracles. This structure is not clearly reflected in the manuscript: the monthly reading is indicated starting from fol. 18r.

Probably fols. 3r-18v are considered an introduction. However, the miracles are parts assigned as the monthly readings as well.

At a certain point in Lālibalā town exclusively, the reading of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ was introduced into the everyday reading service before the kidān. The manuscript to be read is placed on the `atronos in front of the altar (አትሮስስ እት እት) and lighted with a candle for reading. The amount of text is rather arbitrary—up to two pages. This can be seen as part of Gaʿz class, for there are professionals and beginners, constantly corrected by the former ones. After reading, everyone who is present will kiss the book and it will be placed together on the floor with other books to be read. When all readings are finished, all books are taken away back to the altar. From my observation, no difference is made between manuscripts and printed editions: all books are wrapped in cloth, all are read in the same way and then kissed by the believers. Yet, according to the rules (ሑርሷርርት), if the liturgy is to be served in the church, one is nor supposed to read any gadl inside the church but only privately ከሆሳ, in the reading house ደስት እት or in the store room ከልጆች እት. This is what I was told by priest Hiruie Ermias (if I understood him correctly), but this regulation was never mentioned to me during my inquiries.

6.3. Other places where veneration of Lālibalā can be traced/attested

Lālibalā town is indeed a centre for the veneration of Saint Lālibalā today, but there is no evidence that it had the same privileged position prior to the end of the eighteenth century. There are other churches or monasteries where the veneration of Saint Lālibalā flourishes. Here I want to discuss two places where we find the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ collection’ manuscripts datable to the fourteenth/fifteenth century, i.e. the earliest attestations, but where today there is no longer much devotion of Saint Lālibalā; the manuscripts have rather become items of a museum.

6.3.1. Dabra ṢǝyonʾAbunaʾAbraham, Garʿältā, Ṭagrāy

Ṭagrāy, historically part of the Axumite kingdom, has the longest Christian tradition in Ethiopia. There are hundreds of churches and no study includes them all. Many monks chose predominantly the mountainous Garʿältā, one of Ṭagrāy’s districts, as a place to live. Therefore, Garʿältā has a high number of rock-hewn churches. Dabra ṢǝyonʾAbunaʾAbraham is one of the rock-hewn churches in Garʿältā, presently out of use; its manuscript collection has been closed up in a metal bookcase.ʾAbunaʾAbraham was the founder of the monastery of Dabra Ṣǝyon, active in the second part of the fourteenth and the first part of the fifteenth century. The Life of

'Abuna 'Abrahām, written soon after his death and known from several manuscripts starting from the fifteenth century,\(^{516}\) remains unpublished.\(^{517}\)

Dabra Sayon 'Abuna 'Abrahām church possesses the oldest known manuscript containing the Life of Lālibalā. As it happens, the text is unknown in today's local community. When we came to the monastery in November 2017, the church-keeper was not even sure whether they had any manuscript of the 'Life of Lālibalā’ among their treasures.\(^{518}\) The priest was friendly and showed us a marawōh, a liturgical fan with 36 figures, marked with legends.\(^{519}\) It is one of nine liturgical fans found in Ethiopia. Today it is kept as a treasure by the priest, but even in previous times its role seems to be obscure. The priest called it a 'painting'. Based on stylistic elements, it can be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century. Local tradition dates its execution to ḥade Zar‘ā Yā‘aqob’s time. The priest of the church told me that one of the saints represented on the fan was considered to be Saint Lālibalā, though he was not able to identify which one. Unfortunately, not all of the legends are readable, but at least some legends survive, e.g. Saint Mary with archangels Gabriel and Michael, apostles and holy fathers.\(^{520}\) From all the legends that I was able to read, the only possible suggestion for identifying Saint Lālibalā, also known under his regnal name as King Gabra Masqal (twelfth to the left from Saint Mary); this is rather unlikely,\(^{521}\) but still this attribution is possible. The colophon in this copy of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ reads that 'Abuna Fūre Māḥbar\(^ {522}\) commissioned this manuscript for ‘this monastery’ and a certain Maksimos\(^ {523}\) copied it. It is not implausible to suggest that this copy originated in the monastery of 'Abuna 'Abrahām, since the art historians say that:

The ceiling and uppermost parts of the walls are covered in tracery, the patterns of some of which are specific to manuscripts, which demonstrates that Abheram’s community had a scriptorium and practiced handcrafts.\(^ {524}\)

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\(^{517}\) For the short summery see Lepage and Mercier 2005, 146-159.

\(^{518}\) Though it sometimes happens, in this case it was not a polite way to send us away.


\(^{520}\) I thank Claire Bosc-Tiessé, who gave me images of this marawōh and discussed it with me.

\(^{521}\) Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke indicates two fathers Gabra Masqal at least, see Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke 1975, 74.

\(^{522}\) Palaeographic analysis suggest that the copy of the text goes back to the end of the fourteenth/beginning of the fifteenth century. Though the time of 'Abuna Fūre Māḥbar is close to this, we know that ḥade Zar‘ā Yā‘aqob had a good relationship with the monastery when Abuna 'Abrahām was alive and we have not found any mention of the monastery in this regard for a later period.

\(^{523}\) Thus far, our database has only one Maksimos, ‘aqqābe sa’āt, known from the Gospel Book of Dabra Ma‘r. There is no reason to think that this aqqābe sa’āt was copying MSS; sources are silent regarding MSS copied by him. Moreover, there is no title for our Maksimos in the manuscript in question.

\(^{524}\) Lepage and Mercier 2005, 150.
All these elements imply that the initiative to commission the book came from the internal needs of the church, as likely as not based on a previously existing devotion and has been read later for the monthly feasts of Saint King Lālibālā. Another observation that deserves attention in connection to King Lālibālā is that there is 'a copy of an Aksumite timber frame sketched into the exterior face of the cliff, which is unusual in Tigray, and bears witness to the influence of the art of the Lasta region.'

The manuscript of the 'Life of Lālibālā' has indications for the monthly readings for the entire year, starting with the month of Ḥamle and ending with the month of Sāne. The rather unskilled hand that added these marks for monthly readings is different from the hand of the main text. The orthography of these additions for monthly readings probably reflects the spoken variety.

Today monthly readings are commonly read on monthly commemoration of the saint if the church has a tābot dedicated to the saint. Probably, monthly readings in the manuscript served for the same purpose in the past—they were read for the monthly commemoration of Saint Lālibālā.

I was not able to trace any particular hagiographic tradition that would associate Saint King Lālibālā with the church of 'Abuna 'Abrahām. However, all the elements from the manuscript as well as the presence of the manuscript itself, and the tradition at least to an assumed presence of an icon of Saint Lālibālā, suggest that there has been an established veneration of Saint Lālibālā at least for a certain period in the church of 'Abuna 'Abrahām.

6.3.2. Lake Ṭānā

Lake Ṭānā is the largest lake in Ethiopia and the source of the Blue Nile. Its coasts shelter many monasteries going back to the thirteenth century when the evangelization of this area began. As it appears, the museum of Kābrān Gābroadī, located on a small island, houses the second-oldest manuscript containing the 'Life of Lālibālā' of my current corpus, MS Kebrān 31 = Ṭānāsee 31, palaeographically datable to the first half of the fifteenth century. But why should this ancient manuscript of the 'Life of Lālibālā' be found in a peripheral region for Lālibālā? According to the Life of Zayōḥannās, written in the first half of the sixteenth century, Zayōḥannās founded the church of Kābrān Gābroadī in the first half of the fourteenth century and organized a monastic community there. The colophon of MS Kebrān 31, fol. 98r, reads that 'Emma mēnet (i.e. abbess)

525 Lepage and Mercier 2005, 146.
526 Today, Dabra Ṣeyon 'Abuna 'Abrahām is a very popular tourist site. Even though the church servants stated that we were very unusual visitors, I had a time slot exactly in between two tourist groups, and as soon as a helicopter brought VIP tourists, my work was immediately stopped.
527 See Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 51.
528 See Cerulli’s introduction to the translation in Schneider 1972, IX.
Sārā donated this manuscript for the place of [the place name is erased]. Female monastic communities around Lake Ṭānā are known starting from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The evidence for Lālibalā’s veneration can be found in two hagiographic texts of two nuns, Saint Zenā Māryām and Saint Kṛastos Samrā. They both lived in monastic communities around Lake Ṭānā: Zenā Māryām lived in the late fourteenth, Kṛastos Samrā in the mid-fifteenth century. According to Cerulli, their lives were composed in the fifteenth century. Therefore, these texts can hint at the veneration of Saint Lālibalā among nuns in the fourteenth century and serve as witnesses for the veneration of Lālibalā in the fifteenth century. The rhymed introduction to the *Life of Kṛastos Samrā* is very close to the corresponding part of the *Life of Lālibalā*, although the texts rhyme differently. We can speculate that the reading of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ stimulated the author of the *Life of Kṛastos Samrā* to write a similar, though different text.

The donated manuscript of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, the devotion of Saint Kṛastos Samrā to Saint Lālibalā, and the importance given to Saint Lālibalā in the ‘Life of Zenā Māryām’, all suggest that the veneration of the king was flourishing or at least present during the fifteenth century. On the contrary, no other manuscripts of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ have been registered in this area from a later period; no other hagiographic texts of the saints who lived around Lake Ṭānā indicate devotion to Saint Lālibalā. One can think that the veneration of Lālibalā in this area soon decreased or disappeared. However, as Bosc-Tiessè noted,

> We can note that in the collection of the Christian museum of the Vatican library among the eight altar stones (tābot), acquired in 1908 in the region of lake Ṭānā, there is a tābot with multiple dedications, including Lālibalā and Yemreḥānna Krestos […]. The spelling of the inscriptions suggests that tābot in white stone predates the sixteenth century […].

Besides, there is an archaeological site on the east of Lake Ṭānā with a cave known as Lālibalā. Possibly this is one of the numerous caves whose construction is attributed to Saint King Lālibalā.
by the tradition. However, one should never exclude the possibility that the cave name Lālibalā refers to the place name Lālibalā, and not to the person.
Chapter Seven. Introduction to the critical edition

In this chapter I will discuss some editorial decisions that were made for the edition.

7.1. Division of the text, titles, layout, reference system

As has been previously discussed, the idea of distinguishing between different textual units reflects the existence of various divisions attested in the manuscripts. Ideally, an individual textual unit corresponds to one original division of the content of the ‘Gadla Lālībalā collection’. I have decided to follow this reconstructed division of the content, and to make the distinction between the textual units clear in my representation.

There is no attestation of original titles (distinct from the incipits) in the manuscripts. For this reason, in order to provide myself and the reader with easy reference to a particular textual unit of the collection, working titles were introduced for each textual unit in Chapter One, and I am going to keep these titles for the edition. The first textual unit is edited as the ‘Preamble’; the second textual unit is edited as ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ etc.

The layout of the edition is completely my own and has nothing to do with how the text actually appears in the manuscripts. The layout of the edition aims to highlight certain textual peculiarities, be it rhyme or particular rhetoric, which are immediately recognized as such by Ethiopian traditional scholars and are reflected in the traditional intonation, while for an outsider this might be less apparent. Accordingly, I have divided the textual units into smaller paragraphs, which are then numbered. I used the division into paragraphs made for the first edition of the ‘Gadla qoddus Lālībalā’ as a starting point, but it went through lots of changes. Each passage will be numbered in the same way in the Ethiopic text and in the English translation. At the beginning of each new textual unit the numbering restarts. The edition preserves the sequence of the textual units attested by the majority of the manuscripts of the corpus.

The ‘Preamble’ was edited in full by Perruchon as the ‘Introduction’ and I note it in the following way in the apparatus of witnesses:


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540 When we come to the ‘Life of Lālībalā’, Perruchon has edited only selected parts, while Kur’s edition is meant to complement Perruchon’s lacunae. Here marginal indications to both Perruchon’s and Kur’s editions are needed and will be applied.
The second textual unit, the ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’, was edited by Perruchon partially, though without any omissions. Since my present edition covers even less than Perruchon did, I just indicate the correspondence of the paragraphs to the pages of Perruchon’s edition:

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §§ 1-26 corresponds to Perr: ‘Seconde introduction’, pp. 7-9 (text), ‘Deuxième discours: résumé de la vie du Christ’, pp. 72-74 (tr.).


7.2. The value of the edition

In the edition I neither discuss variant readings from Perruchon’s edition, nor his translation. As I have discussed in chapter three, Perruchon used MS BL Orient. 718 and did not introduce any conscious changes to the text. MS BL Orient. 718 is a codex descriptus from MS Orient. 719. The scribe of MS BL Orient. 718 introduced some additional mistakes to his copy. Even if Perruchon’s copy perfectly corresponds to MS BL Orient. 718,\(^{541}\) in terms of the critical reconstruction, the edition does not provide any evidence and therefore, has to be eliminated.

Since MS BL Orient. 718 was eliminated as codex descriptus from MS BL Orient. 719 (under sigla Oa and OaII), the qualitative improvement of the present edition is not apparent. To justify my decision to edit the text already known from Perruchon’s edition, I will present here one example, where the text contained in MS BL Orient. 718 and further in Perruchon’s edition is deviant from the reconstructed text:

The text contained in Perr: ‘Introduction’, p. 1 reads as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ዘኢየሰደቅ፡ ዋاهرة።
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ዕሩይ፡ ታሉት፡ ዘኢየነድدافع፡}
\end{align*}
\]

Au nom du Père, du Fils et du Saint-Esprit, un seul Dieu, en trois personnes qui ne se confondent pas en une seule, égales et formant une union indissoluble.

While my edition reads as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{§1. ኢናኬው፡ ኢናኬ፡ መሆኔ። መሆኔ። ሥሉስ፡ ዋاهرة። ዘኢየሰደቅ፡ ዋاهرة።}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ዕሩይ፡ ታሉት፡ ዘኢየነድدافع፡}
\end{align*}
\]

§1. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God, One Equal Trinity, Indivisible Trinity, Who does not come to an end.

\(^{541}\) I did not collate the edition, only the Vorlage.
The decision to translate the text into English is also not without an importance. Apart from the fact that English translation nowadays makes the text available for non-French readers, even French readers could profit from my English translation.\textsuperscript{542} I will present two examples where the Goʾz text of Perruchon and mine are identical, which I had however difficulties to understand and for which Perruchon’s translation was not helpful:

1) Preamble § 11. \textit{አሸንስክለ፡ አክናፈ፡ ከመ፡ አክናፈ፡ ኪሩቤል፡ ከመ፡ ይትመሠጥ፡ በትን፡ ኀበ፡ መንበረ፡ መለኮት። ከመ፡ ይኅበር፡ ሰብሖ፡ ምስለ፡ ሱራፌል ።

Perruchon translates as following:
Qui a créé ses anges de [purs] esprits et ses messagers comme des flames (?).\textsuperscript{543}

While my translation reads as follows:

Preamble § 11. Who constituted His angels as spirit(s) and those who minister to Him as icon(s) of flame.

2) Preamble § 47. \textit{ከመ፡ አክናፈ፡ ከመ፡ አክናፈ፡ ኪሩቤል፡ ከመ፡ ይትመሠጥ፡ በትን፡ ኀበ፡ መንበረ፡ መለኮት። ከመ፡ ይኅበር፡ ሰብሖ፡ ምስለ፡ ሱራፌል ።

Perruchon translates as follows:
Il attacha des ailes à sa pensée, à l’instar des chérubins, afin de pouvoir, grâce à elles, s’élever jusqu’à la demeure de la divinité, pour s’associer aux séraphins entonant des louanges.\textsuperscript{544}

While my translation reads as follows:

Preamble § 47. Who made the sign of the cross over the wings of his mind like the wings of the Cherubim to be carried off by them to the throne of divinity, to join in praising together with the Seraphim.

The present thesis should be seen as a preparation for the critical edition of the fourteen textual units. The importance of the new complete edition was highlighted by Marie-Laure Derat in her article in 2003, where she notes how much Perruchon actually omitted.\textsuperscript{545}

If Perruchon’s edition can be criticised for its incompleteness, the ‘Gadla qaddus Lālibālā’ edition can be criticised for its ‘over-completeness’, meaning, as it is discussed in chapter one,

\textsuperscript{542} I thank Orin Gensler, who has enthusiastically helped me to improve my translation.
\textsuperscript{543} Perruchon 1892, tr. 66.
\textsuperscript{544} Id., tr. 69.
\textsuperscript{545} See Derat 2003.
\textsuperscript{546} Gadla Qaddus Lālibālā 2007.
that other textual units were introduced simply as chapters. Since MS EMML 6931 was used as a Vorlage for ‘Gadla qddus Lālibala’,\(^{547}\) I noted only manuscript readings (under siglum Ea), without reporting what is in the edition. The critically edited text seems to have advantages over the edition by Dabra sabakā gubā'ē. I will give one example from ‘Gadla qddus Lālibala’ for the text in Gǝz and one example to encourage Amharic readers to read the translation critically:

1) Preamble § 7. አማይኒ፡ ዘአንበራ፡ በአየረ፡ እሳት፡ ዘይነድድ።
Who established the heavens on the air of the burning fire.

While ‘Gadla qddus Lālibala’ and ‘Preamble’ reads this passage as follows:

1. አማይኒ፡ ዘአንበራ፡ በአየረ፡ እሳት፡ ዘይነድድ።
In Amharic as follows:
1. የከንም በሚነድ እሳት ጠቃር ላይ ያስቀመጣት።
The shapes of ኦ and ኦ are at times very similar and can be easily confused.

2) The second example is to illustrate a passage which is complicated in Gǝz and had troubled the person who has translated this passage into Amharic:

Preamble § 26. ደብረ፡ ወርቅ፡ ንብሎ፡ በእንተ፡ ሥነ፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡ ርትዕት። ወ በእንተ፡ ሥነ፡ ይትዕግሥቱ፡ በውስተ፡ ገድል፡ እንዘ፡ ይጽህቅ፡ ለፈጽሞ፡ ቃለ፡ ወንጌል።
§ 27. እስመ፡ ይሰምዖ፡ ለቀርነ፡ መድኀኒት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ብስራተ፡ እስራኤል፡ ሐዲሳን፡ ዘደምፀ፡ እምልሳነ፡ በግዑ፡ እንዘ፡ ይትነፋኅ፡ በቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በአፈ፡ ካህን።
§ 28. ቆጆ። ቃለ፡ ከመዝ፡ ይብል፡ በትዕግሥትክሙ፡ ታጠርይዋ፡ ለነፍስክሙ።

Preamble § 26. We call him a mount of gold because of the beauty of his orthodox faith. And because of the beauty of his patience in the struggle, while striving to fulfill the word of the Gospel.
§ 27. Because he hears the horn of salvation, which is the announcement of the New Israel, which resounded from the tongue of the Lamb while being blown in the church by the mouth of the priest.
§ 28. And the sound of the word says like this, ‘By your patience you will gain your souls.

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\(^{547}\) As I discuss in Chapter Four, apart from MS EMML 6931 other manuscripts were used, but not for textual units that I am editing, it is MS EMML 6931.
‘Gadla qaddus Lălibâlă’ እናት / ‘Preamble’ divides (!) and reads these passages as follows:

6. ደብረ፡ ወርኩ፡ ንብሎ፡ በእንተ፡ ሥነ፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡ ርትዕት።
7. ቈበእንተ፡ ሥነ፡ ትዕግሥቱ፡ በውስተ፡ ገድል፡ እንዘ፡ ይጽህቅ፡ ለፈጽሞ፡ ቃለ፡ ወንጌል።
8. ምድምፀ፡ ቃሉ፡ ከመዝ፡ ይብል፡ በትዕግሥትክሙ፡ ታጠርይዋ፡ ለነፍስክሙ።

In Amharic:

6. «የወርቅ ተራራና ይልነው ስለቀናች ሀይማኖቱና በገድል ውስጥ ሳለ ስለመታገሱ ነው።
7. ይስርታና ቃል ለመፈጸም ነቅቶ ተግቶ የመድኀኒትነትን አዋጅ ሰምቶ ይኸውም፡ በጥምቀት ለታደሱ ለማእመናን የምሥራች ብሎ ከበግዕ ክርስቶስ አንደበት የተነሣ በካህናት አንደበት በቤተ ክርስቲያን የተሰማ የቃሉም ᵉምፅ እንደዚህ ይላል።
8. ምድምፀ፡ ቃሉ፡ ከመዝ፡ ይብል፡ በትዕግሥትክሙ፡ ታጠርይዋ፡ ለነፍስክሙ።

It is clear that what is meant to be a translation from Gǝz in this case is an interpretation. The Amharic interpretation in its turn appears difficult even for a native Amharic speaker and might be only interpreted in English but is difficult to translate due to the ambiguity of the subject of the verbs ሥነፋኅ, ክርስቲያን and ሲልኡ.548 As I do not want to impose my interpretation of the text in Amharic, I will not offer any interpretation, but consider that the idea of ምድምፀ፡ ቃሉ፡ ከመዝ፡ ይብል፡ በትዕግሥትክሙ፡ ታጠርይዋ፡ ለነፍስክሙ። ቭልት፣ ታድኗት አላችሁ።

7.3. Sigla

Of twenty-six manuscripts, I have used seventeen manuscripts for the edition. I refer to these manuscripts with the following sigla.549

1. A, MS DabṢay-001, Monastery of Dabra ማመያን, fourteenth/fifteenth century
2. Ea, MS EMML 6931, seventeenth/eighteenth century
3. Eb, MS EMML 6921, seventeenth/eighteenth century
4. Ec, MS EMML 6964, 1694-1695
5. Ed, MS EMML 7051 = NL 46, twentieth century
6. Ee, MS EMML 6770, nineteenth century

548 I thank Hewan Semon Marye for making this experiment with me.
549 The same as introduced in chapter two.
7. Ef, MS EMML 2836, eighteenth century
8. Ei, MS EMML 6451, nineteenth century
9. Ej, MS EMML 8942, first half of the eighteenth century
10. J, MS BL Ms. Ethiopic 4, Indian Office collection, 1840s
11. G, MS MotGiorg-001, eighteenth century
12. K, MS Kəbrān 31, fourteenth/fifteenth century
13. La, MS BetLib-001 = MS B7-IV.15, end of the nineteenth century
14. Lb, MS BetEman-001 = B9-IV.35, eighteenth century
15. Ld, MS BetMarq-001 = AM_LL_IV5_26, seventeenth/eighteenth century
16. Oa-OaII, MS BL Orient. 719, British Library, fourteenth/fifteenth century (Oa), nineteenth century (OaII)
17. Va, MS BAV Cerulli 37, twentieth century

7.4. Apparatuses

For the edition I am using the Classical Text Editor, CTE which makes it possible to deal with a complex mise en page. I have introduced six apparatuses.

7.4.1. The apparatus criticus

I am using a positive critical apparatus (App. 1 (crit.)) for the textual variants. This means that all the variants are explicitly listed, not just the witnesses to the variants; first come the positive attestations of the variant chosen for the edition, and then the other variants.

Although I have tried to write readings exactly as they are found in the manuscripts, I generally disregard mere orthographic variants. In particular, if a variant reading is found in more than one witness (thereby forming a group reading), orthographic variants within the group are disregarded. Here I generally keep the first variant recorded during the process of encoding (essentially a random choice).

The same is true for signs of punctuation. I have tried to keep all signs of punctuation together with the individual variant readings, but this becomes meaningless if a group reading is involved. Here I ignore differences in punctuation just as I ignore differences in orthography.

Following tradition, Latin has been chosen as the language of the editor in the apparatus. The following abbreviations have been used:
Add. = addidit = added

CTE is the word-processor for critical editions, commentaries and parallel texts that allows to have several notes and apparatuses. See http://cte.oeaw.ac.at/.
For ease of reference, the following diagram indicates my proposed stemma for the manuscripts. As discussed in chapter two, MSS Ab, Lc, M, N, Ob, P, Vb have been eliminated from the edition as being codices descripti, as will be clear from inspection of the stemma. In the apparatus criticus, group readings (labeled with lower-case Greek letters) will appear under their appropriate group siglum. Dotted line indicates contaminations.
Discussion of the stemma:

(α) Readings shared by Ea and Eb appear as α. Note that if e.g. Ea and Eb have two readings both of which are different and vary from the critical reading, which is shared by more than 50% of witnesses, I group Ea and Eb as (- α). I do this for the sake of economy and also to make the transmission of the text more apparent. It helps to determine the relationships between witnesses of a given textual unit.

(β) Readings shared by Ea, Eb and Ec appear as β.

(γ) Readings shared by Ea, Eb, Ec and Oa appear as γ. I distinguish between OaII and Oa (as two production units).

(δ) Readings shared by La and Ld appear as ζ. Whatever ζ shares with is marked as δ.

(η) Readings shared by Lb and Va appear as η.

(ς) If the same reading in η is also shared by Ej, it appears under ι.

(ι) If the same reading in ι is shared by G as well, it appears as ι. The group ι has particular prominence and probably deserves to be called 'a version'.

(ε) If Ef join ι, then together they appear as ε.

(Sh.MSS) MSS Ee, Ei and J have already appeared as a ‘Sawānic’ tradition with siglum Sh. MSS Ee is lacking the beginning; images of Ei are at times unreadable; and for J, I have had to use my own on-site transcription, as it was not feasible to take a photo. ShMSS is a prominent group. Less evident is the relation of Sh.MSS with K; their shared readings appear as κ.

Readings shared by more than 50% of witnesses will appear under the sigla ‘cet.’

As is common, the manuscripts contain corrections.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 39. Ṣወይፈልስ፡ ጸጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምሥሡዓነ፡ ከርሥ፡ ኀበ፡ እለ፡ ያፈቅሩ፡ Ṣጋም። The scribe of Ej miswrote the last Ṣጋም። as Ṣጋም፡ and then he himself, or a reader, corrected it s.l. to Ṣጋም፡:

In this case I will consider Ṣጋም፡ as a variant, but rather also say that Ej contains the critical reading Ṣጋም፡ Therefore, I mark the fact of a s.l. correction, but do not count it as an actual variant reading and record it as follows:

叁ጋም፡ (叁ጋም፡ s.l. Ej), cet. (- α ShMSS); Ṣጋም፡ α ShMSS

Other types of corrections arose due to contamination with other witnesses.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeemong fire’ § 3. Ṣወይእቲ፡ ልሂቃ፡ ፍጡነ፡ ኮነቶ፡ ቀኖተ፡ ወለዘርኡ። The scribe of Ec wrote correctly Ṣወይእቲ፡, while at a later stage someone collated Ec with Ea and ‘corrected’ s.l. Ṣወይእቲː to the critically wrong reading Ṣወይእዜኒ፡ In this case I say that Ec attests the correct reading Ṣወይእቲː and report on the contamination in the following way:
A general rule can be formulated as follows:
If a 'correction' in a manuscript is written in such a way that the critical version is also visible and readable (due to either a supralinear or a sublinear or a marginal 'correction'), this will not be counted in the apparatus as a variant reading. However, each transformation (correction or contamination) is noted after the lemma, as in the above-mentioned examples. Instead of counting ṛṣ. as β reading, I identify it as α reading, for originally Ec had the correct ṛṣ. , while ṛṣ. comes as a correction from Ea:

In the apparatus I am using references to lemmata based upon the division of the text into paragraphs. If a variant reading of a witness has already been described (e.g. it is contained in a larger omission which has already been registered in the apparatus), this witness will be noted first, directly after the lemma, as (- siglum), before the positive evidence is presented. This means that for this lemma, this witness will be disregarded, as having already been described.

7.4.2. Apparatus for punctuation
I am using a separate apparatus for punctuation signs (App. 2 (punct.),) which I have aimed to make as exhaustive as possible. As I am trying to abstract away from the prevalent editorial convention of automatically rendering № as English full stop or № as comma or semicolon, and instead to think what else they really might have meant. If we were to follow the prevalent convention, we would have to assume that there are (as the apparatus for punctuation demonstrates) dozens of meaningless punctuation signs scattered throughout the manuscripts. I have had to make choices about what punctuation marks should appear in the critical edition. My choice may not always have been the best one.

For the reconstruction of punctuation I have tried to follow a method: I mean to apply strictly the rule of stemmatic majority, without any preconceptions about what the 'expected' or 'correct' punctuation ought to be. In fact, this stemmatic approach does not seem to bring any dramatic changes to our understanding of the punctuation signs; in all cases where the rule of stemmatic majority does yield an unambiguous answer, a reconstructed № does seem to correspond to the English full stop, semicolon or comma. In cases where the stemma gives no definitive answer (i.e. 50-50 cases), I have decided to follow this logic and again render № with a full stop in my edition. In any event, the punctuation apparatus provides full information for those who may want to study the problem in fuller detail.
7.4.3. Apparatus for paratextual elements
I am using an apparatus for paratextual elements (App. 3 (addit.)) to note all additions found in a
given manuscript in comparison corresponding to the edited text. Some are physically visible on
the manuscript as being additions; some are not, and emerge only through comparison of multiple
manuscripts. As they are additions by definition, I note only their position, whether in the margin
or interlinearly within the textual body.

7.4.4. Apparatus for quotations and allusions
(App. 4. (font.))

7.4.5. Apparatus for folio breaks
Because of the large number of witnesses, instead of indicating folia recto/verso and columns
recto/verso in the margins, I have a separate apparatus for folio breaks (App. 5 (test.)). As is usual,
each time I indicate only the beginning of the column (inc.), and not the end. Thus, the following
string in the relevant apparatus means that column b on f. 5v in Lb begins with word እእ።:

ってしまった▌ Lb 5vb

Whenever a word is split across two columns, I give the word twice and mark the position of the
split with |. Thus, the following indication means that column a on f. 8r in Lb begins with letter ል▌:

・ጭፋፋ▌ Lb 8ra

If a split word between two columns is a variant reading, I write the variant reading:

አስፋፋፋአስፋፋአስፋፋ ▌ ▌ Oa 8va
Chapter Eight. Conclusion

This research aimed to trace traditions via written artefacts and document living traditions of King Lālibalā's posthumous history. King Lālibalā ruled in the twelfth-thirteenth century CE in Ethiopia. He is credited for the construction of the renowned rock-hewn churches in the city of Lālibalā, named after him. These rock-hewn churches are the strongest holders of the memory about the king. The earliest known hagiographic texts about the king-saint, the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, are attested materially in the manuscripts datable to the fourteenth/fifteenth century, which makes seven centuries of reviving interest for Saint King Lālibalā’s image.

Some parts of the text were further employed by Ethiopian and non-Ethiopian historians for reconstructing history. However, some of the works were used for my quest for traditions, namely ኣንጋል ከገሥታተ፡ የኢትዮጵያ በምድረ፡ የሮሐ / ‘Life of Ethiopian kings who ruled in Roḥa land’, known from his autograph, MS EMML 1614=IES 5446 by Gabra Masqal Tasfāyye and ኣንጋል፡ ሕወስ፡ ብናሊበላ / ‘Life of Saint Lālibalā’, by Afǝ mambil ወለበቀዎቹ ወጞጣት et al., that appeared three times in Ethiopia.

In Europe some parts of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ were edited by Jules Perruchon Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie and complemented by Stanislaw Kur based on MS BAV Cerulli.

The original idea was to work on the critical edition, for two available editions, complement each other in a way that the sentence starts in one edition and ends up in another; the edition of excerpts by Perruchon is based on one manuscript, whereas today at least twenty-three manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ are available – twelve manuscripts during this study only; the edition by Kur, aiming to cover the lacunae left by Perruchon’s edition, is based on a manuscript containing only excerpts from the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ and does not cover all the lacunae. There was no critical analysis of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ transmission. Both scholars seem to understand the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ as a homogeneous text that simply recounts the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and omitted several textual units completely.

In this work I adopted a working title, the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, which is a generic title for the content of the manuscripts, containing the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and labelled as the Gadla Lālibalā. The working title is based on my Multi-Unit Hypothesis and reflects the idea to identify fourteen textual units, originated from different milieus. Presumably the texts of the collection count more than one author but are attested commonly together starting from the fourteenth/fifteenth century.
In present study I combined various approaches: classical philology (that aims to reconstruct the lost archetype) and ‘new’ philology (that argues that each and every witness deserves due attention), history and anthropology, codicology, liturgical studies and digital humanities. On the research process: carrying in my pocket a set of ‘anthropological’ questions concerning the community during my field missions helped in dealing with refusals to see manuscripts. It kept my mind busy and finally brought different perspectives to the research. In addition, the set of historical questions that I was not able to answer helped me to orient myself more to the history of thoughts.

While working on the question on the transmission of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, I realised the necessity (or better elements speaking in favour of diversity) to define what is transmitted. Once I decided to segment the text of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, I assumed the responsibility of this step, for we know that it is very difficult to unsee what was once seen: once I introduce the segmentation, it will be difficult to come back to uniformity and homogeneity. This led me to an articulation of a new methodology allowing me to postulate a textual unit:

A portion of a text is a textual unit, if found:

✓ attested in some of the manuscripts with a particular mise en texte
✓ with its own title
✓ with a supplication
✓ circulated as part of a different collection
✓ attested with various mise en livre

A textual unit does not have to meet all of these criteria, but it must meet at least two of them. For the moment a textual unit is my bedrock.

Based on the corpus of manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, I terminate with a well-defined and applicable concept of what a textual unit is.

The innovative methodology allows me to argue that what was previously considred as Gadla Lālibalā is a composite of multiple textual units revolving around Lālibalā, partially independent of each other and occurring in different combinations in different manuscripts. The units are articulated on both a logical and a physical basis. Each unit has a textual life of its own (potentially different date of composition, author, provenience), and may be transmitted separately apart from the others. This general approach provides a solution to what has seemed a paradox: most parts of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ honour and praise Lālibalā, but one textual unit (having a strongly Solomonic ideology) shows Lālibalā humbling himself and renouncing his kingship.
Digital collation of twenty-three witnesses allowed to postulate a *stemma codicum*, which serves for the critical edition as well as for studying various phenomena attested in the manuscripts, such as an introduction of ‘titles’ in MS EMML 6931.

The analysis of the textual and paratextual evidence attested in manuscripts in parallel with observations in the churches and interviews with clergy helps us to document various practices around liturgical veneration of Saint Lālibalā and presumable saints in general.

The main task of this research, a critical edition has not yet been achieved but has been started: the initiated edition is based on seventy textual witnesses and aims to reflect an understanding of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ as a collection.

There are two parallel processes that we can witness: adding other textual units to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and hence extending it and taking short excerpts (narrative units) from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and adding them to other collections and hence extending other collections.

If we consider the dating of the manuscripts containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts so far known, we find a gap of about two centuries: there is no manuscript in my corpus containing the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ datable or dated to the end of fifteenth and of the seventeenth centuries. Although, the overview of other texts does not explain this gap, it proves that hagiographic veneration of Saint King Lālibalā did not cease during these centuries entirely. In the opposite, quite a few hagiographic textual units about Saint King Lālibalā were probably composed during these two centuries or at least copied. Therefore, for better understanding of the unceasing interest for Saint King Lālibalā other textual units must be critically edited as well.
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Appendix One: the step by step description of my experience of digital collation with CollateX

- CollateX is a software designed to
  read multiple (≥ 2) versions of a text, splitting each version into parts (tokens) to be compared;
  identify similarities of and differences between the versions (including moved / transposed segments) by aligning tokens;
  output the alignment results in a variety of formats for further processing;
  support the production of a critical apparatus or the stemmatical analysis of a text’s genesis.552

The CollateX allows to use a ‘baseless’ comparison method to produce a collated text. None of the witnesses is assigned greater significance than the other. Once a stemma hypothesis is created, the editor could use the same script to step back through the variants again and to collate witnesses in all combinations. For somebody, who does not aim to produce a critical edition, it is a perfect program to analyze the transmission of the text, to get visual picture of different processes, for example to get an idea which witness was used for correcting another witness.

The first requirement was to transcribe as many witnesses as possible into a digital format, as efficiently as could be managed. This is by far the most time-consuming stage of the project. I have made transcription simply with Microsoft Word. Transcribing the texts, important to note, that in case one wants to use CollateX, all characters/signs used in dot and svg languages must be avoided, otherwise the program will not work. On the one hand, it is good to decide whether all minor points are significant for the work or not—one can normalize text while transcribing it (for example if you have different characters for the same sound), because it can confuse the program. Here, in my opinion, still better to have an exact transcription and then play with it as you want.

Then I have converted my files into txt. The Life of Lālibalā is a long text and CollateX program cannot operate it, that is why I have divided my txt files equally into short txt files containing short parts. On the Desktop I have created a folder which I called ‘CollateX’. Within this folder I have:
folder ‘collate-master’, which contains different algorithms of the program.
folder ‘Input’ for all my witnesses. For each witness I have created a folder and gave each folder a name which corresponds to the sigla, Ea, Eb etc. Within these folders for witnesses I have saved all my txt-files.
folder ‘Results’ for all my results (output) in –dot format. Within the folder ‘Results’ I have another folder which I called ‘SVG’, here I save all results in –svg format.

552 https://collatex.net/
CollateX program has command line interface. To find it click Start, in the Search or Run line, type cmd (short for command), and press Enter. Fig. 1 demonstrates my command for collation. I command the program to perform a collation using the algorythm collatex-tools-1.7.1.jar. I command it to give me results of the collation written in -dot language (-f, format) and to save the results (-o, output) under the name ‘Hewan’.dot in my folder for the results. For the collation I command to take three portions of the text of three witnesses, Ea, Eb and A.

Fig. 1 demonstrates a successful experiment. However, making the first attempt to use this program for Ethiopic texts, I have faced some challenges. After learning how to use the command line interface and make an automatic collation, with an output in dot (graph description) language, I did not get any results with my files in Ethiopic script. The file always had a mistake. Next step was to learn dot language to be able to correct automatically produced file. However, the program still was indicating mistakes in the dot file. Finally, it was detected that it is due to invisible characters, which appear while processing files with Ethiopic Script, encoded into UTF-8, which was automatically changed into UTF-8-BOM. With the Notepad++ program, I was encoding my files back into UTF-8, cleaning them from these invisible characters that prevented the program to work.

Then with graphviz-2.38 program, I created svg-file (Scalable Vector Graphics, a vector graphics file format). For this I opened again a command line. I prefer to have two command lines for two algorithms, one to work with collatex-tools-1.7.1.jar. and another for graphviz-2.38 program. Fig. 4 illustrates my command for creating svf-file. I command the program to change
the format of my file Hewan.dot into Hewan.svg, using the algorithm dot. I command it to save it in my special folder ‘SVG’ for svg-files.

Fig. 2.

At this stage, the task was to find a program for visualization, which would support Ethiopic Script. Inkscape 0.91 was found.

Another point, important for the Ethiopic texts, is punctuation. Punctuation is important for understanding the text and therefore should be kept and reported in the apparatus. For a programme a word with a punctuation mark is not a word with a punctuation mark but simply a different token. I introduced ± before each punctuation mark to make the program treat a punctuation mark as a single token, separately from the word. Like this the program does not split two identical words with or without a punctuation mark into two different tokens.

I must say that I did not find a way to make CollateX to tolerate graphical variants. I kept graphical variants for the transcription since they can be interesting for a different kind of research and since the aim of the transcription to be incoded tends to be as faithful to the manuscript as possible, does not presuppose any emendation or change. On the other hand, graphic variants do not provide us any information for the stemma and won’t be included into the apparatus. Thus, in order to simplify the work and to make the visualization of variants clear for my eyes, I thought to replace them እ for እ, አ, ኣ for አ, ኣ, አ for አ, ኣ, ኣ, እ for እ, ኣ, ኣ, but these changes became destructive, so I decided to leave them as they are.

What also makes this program promising is the idea that in case a new witness is found, it can be collated either with a critical text or with any other witness in each combination: geographically close, timely close, visually close etc.
Codicological Information

Identifier: BL Oriental 718
Alternative Identifier: Wright cat. CCXCV
Alternative Identifier: Wright cat. 295
Collection: Oriental
Repository: British Library
Date: 1837-1839
Keywords: Christian Literature, Hagiography, Miracle

Form of support: Parchment Codex
Extent: 130 leaf 8 blank leaf 19 quire A+17+B
Leaf Dimension: Height 335mm Width 275mm
Outer Dimension: Height 336mm Width 276mm
Binding: true
b1: Two boards covered with reddish-brown tooled leather.
Material: leather
Other: Blind tooled ornament on the reddish-brown leather cover.
Layout: Columns: 2, Written lines: 21
Collation: Quires are numbered with Ethiopic numerals on the top left corner recto and (if written), on the top right corner verso. Number ⍷, simply decorated, also in the middle of the upper margin of f. 9r. (f. 9r) 8 (ff. 1r-8v) ⍷ (f. 9r) and (f. 16v) 8 (ff. 9r-16v) ⍷ (f. 17r) and (f. 24v) 8 (ff. 17r-24v) ⍷ (f. 25r) and (f.

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PDF generated form the app on 2019-01-18T14:07:45.052+01:00
Hand h1 (Ethiopic)
careful, clear hand
Black, red used to lay out initial pages, punctuation and Nomina sacra

Contents

ms_i1: ↗'The 'Gadla Lālibalā' collection of texts: type A' (ff. 1r-130vb)
ms_i1.1: ↗Preamble (ff. 1ra-5vb)
Incipit: (f. 1ra)አበስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አምላክ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ዋሕድ፨ ዕሩይ፡ ታሉት፡ ዋኢይነፍድ፤ ዘሀሎ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ክዋኒሁ፡ እንዘ፡ ኢየሐፅፅ፡ወኢይፈደፍ፨ በአናስረ፡ ጀልም፡ ዋΞእትዔለል፨ ወΞእትፈለጥ፡ ወልድ፡ እምአቡሁ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ እምወልድ፨ እንዘ፡ ይከውን፡ ፈጸሜ፡ ኃይለ፡ ቃል፡ በአስተታልዎ፨ በሰላመ፡ ዚአሁ፡ አሜን፨ ምስለ፡ ፍቅርቱ፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወምስለ፡ ወልዳ፡ መስፍን፡ ኃይለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨
Supplication: (ff. 5va-5vb)ሰአሉ፡ ሊተ፡ ከመ፡ የሀበኒ፡ ልሳነ፡ ጥበብ፡ ከመ፡ እስመ፡ ዝእንብብ፨ እስመ፡ አነ፡ ሕፀ፡ ልብ፡ እስከ፡ ይእዜ፡ ኢገሠሥኩ፡ ምእዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ለዘእትናገር፡ በእንቲአሁ፡ እስመ፡ ነዋህ፡ ነገሩ፡ ወልጐት፡ እስሥተተ፡ ምሥጢሩ፨ ወባሕቱ፡ እነግረክሙ፡ በሐሳበ፡ ክህልኩ፡ እንዘ፡ እትአመን፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎትክሙ፨ ወበጸሎቱ፡ ለዝንት፡ ብእሲ፡ ኮከበ፡ ክብር፡ ጽባሐዊ፡ ወየኃይድ፡ ብርሃኑ፡ እምብርሃነ፡ ካልአን፡ ከዋክብት፨ እንዘ፡ አብ፡ ይረድእ፡ ሇአሬን፡ በለብዎ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ወልድ፡ ያጸንዕ፡ በአስተሰናእዎ፨ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይስት፡ ይከውን፡ ፈጽمه፡ ኃይለ፡ ቃል፡ በአስተታልዎ፨ በሰላመ፡ ዚአሁ፡ አሜን፨ ምስለ፡ ፍቅርቱ፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወምስለ፡ ወልዳ፡ መስፍን፡ ኃይለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

ms_i1.2: ↗Soteriology (ff. 6ra-9vb)
Incipit: (f. 6ra)አቀድም፡ አእኵቶቶ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ወልዱ፡ ወቃሉ፡ ለአብ፡ ዘበሕፅነ፡ አቡሁ፡ ሠረፀ፡ ፍሬ፡ ወስሐት፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሥራይ፡ ዘወረድ፡ እምሰማያት፡ ከመ፡ ይደይ፡ ርጢኖ፡ ዲበ፡ አለ፡ ቈስሉ፡ በንስከተ፡ አርዌ፡ አስዋር፡ ወአልህምተ፨ ኦተቡዕ፡ ወአዕኑስ፡ ፈኒዎ፡ Text contained on f.1r, line 1 up to f.5vb, line 21 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 1, line 1 up to page 7, line 18 ('Introduction'). In this description by counting lines I disregard any extra notes or punctuation in the manuscript and titles in Perruchon's edition. The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Sane. The first folio recto is layouted with red inks. It ends with supplication on f.5vb and marked with a cross.

ms_i1.2: ↗Soteriology (ff. 6ra-9vb)
Incipit: (f. 6ra)አቀድም፡ አእኵቶቶ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ወልዱ፡ ወቃሉ፡ ለአብ፡ ዘበሕፅነ፡ አቡሁ፡ ሠረፀ፡ ፍሬ፡ ወስሐት፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሥራይ፡ ዘወረድ፡ እምሰማያት፡ ከመ፡ ይደይ፡ ርጢኖ፡ ዲበ፡ አለ፡ ቈስሉ፡ በንስከተ፡ አርዌ፡ አስዋር፡ ወአልህምተ፨ ኦተቡዕ፡ ወአዕኑስ፡ ፈኒዎ፡
no title provided has a different articulation in the present manuscript: having the same incipit on f. 6ra, it will end with a following explicit and incipit of a portion, which goes further into SaintsLal end ends with the same explicit as JerusLal.

ms_i1.2.1: (ff. 6ra-8va)

**Incipit:** (f. 6ra)አቀድም፡ አእኵቶቶ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ እርስቶስ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ወልዱ፡ ወቃሉ፡ ለአብ፡ ዘበሕፅነ፡ አቡሁ፡ ሠረፀ፡ ፆሬ፡ ዟብሐት፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሥራይ፡ ዘወረደ፡ እምሰማያት፡ ከመ፡ ይደይ፡ ርጢኖ፡ ዲበ፡ ዋለ፡ በንስከተ፡ አርዌ፡ አስዋር፡ ወአልህምተ፨ ኦተቡዕ፡ ወአዕኑስ፡ ፈኒዎ፡ መንፈሰ፡ ኀበ፡ ነቢያቲሁ፡ ዘያጌብሮሙ፡ ከመ፡ ይበልዎ፡ እግዚኦ፡ አጽንን፡ ወማያቲከ፡ ወረድ፨ አንሥእ፡ ኃይለከ፡ ወነዓ፡ አድኅነነ፨

**Explicit:** (f. 8va)ፍሬ፡ ተመርትኒ፡ ካልእ፡ አርአያሁ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ፡ ወጣዕመ፡ ወፍሬ፡ መልጰጶንሂ፡ ካልእ፡ አርአያሁ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ፨ ወፍሬ፡ ዕንጐታትሂ፡ ካልዕ፡ አርአያሁ፡ ወአምሳሊሁሙ፨

text contained on f.6ra, line 1 up to f.8va, line 15 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 7, line 19 up to page 10, line 25 (‘Seconde Introduction’). It starts on the new page and new line, lines 1,2,5,6 are written with red inks. The end is marked with three ⨯ and dotted line.

ms_i1.2.2: (ff. 8va-17va)

**Incipit:** (ff. 8va-8vb)ወደማሁኬ፡ ዝንቱኒ፡ ብእሴ፡ አምላክ፡ ወሊበላ፡ እንዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ዘተመሰለ፡ ወሰሌ፨ እንዘ፡ እግዚአ፡ ነባርያን፡ ዘተመሰለ፡ ነባሬ፨ እንዘ፡ እግዚአ፡ መኳንንት፡ ተመሰለ፡ ተኰናኔ፨

ms_i1.3: Teaching about the Saints (ff. 9vb-12rb)

**Incipit:** (ff. 9vb-10ra)ወዓዲ፡ ነሥአ፡ ክብረ፡ እምኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘየዓቢ፡ እምክብረ፡ ካልአኒሁ፨ እስመ፡ ብዙኅ፡ ፆታ፡ ክብሮሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ በከመ፡ አርአየ፡ ታውሎስ፡ ወነገረ፡ በምሳሌ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ካልእ፡ ክብሩ፡ ለፀሐይ፡ ወካልእ፡ ክብሩ፡ ወረርኅ፡ ወካልእ፡ ክብሮሙ፡ ለከዋክብት፨ ወኮከብ፡ እምኮከብ፡ ይኄይስ፡ ክብሩ፨ ወይበውኡ፡ ኀበ፡ ሀለወ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ምስለ፡ በግዑ፡ ወምስለ፡ መንፈሱ፨

SaintsLal is not articulated in the present manuscript.

ms_i1.4: Lālibalā entered Heavenly Jerusalem (ff. 12rb-17va)
Incipit: (ff. 12rb-12va) ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ውእቱ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ኢየሩሳለም፡ ሰማያዊት፡ አግዓዚት፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘኢየኃልፍ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ቈላፍ፡ ዘኢተገزار፡ ቍልፈተ፡ ልቡ፡ በመጥባሕተ፡ አገርለት፡ ዘንትሰ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ ዘተገزار፡ ቍልፈተ፡ ነፍስቱ፡ በመጥባሕት፡ ውእቱ፡ ሰማያዊት፨

Explicit: (ff. 17ra-17vb) እመሥገቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽጉበ፡ ደም፡ አርዌ፡ ይእዜ፡ ነፍሳተ፡ ከመ፡ የኃጥ፡ እንዘ፡ ይጥሕር፡ ከመ፡ አንበሳ፡ ወኢያርመመ፡ እምአዳም፡ እስከ፡ ዮም፨ ፋሕለ፡ ጥሕረቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ይፈቅድ፡ ከመ፡ ለወል፡ ላዕሌነ፨

ms_i1.4.1: (ff. 8va-17va)

Supplication: (ff. 17rb-17va) ለዘውእቱ፡ እስትንፋሰ፡ መለኮት፨ ውእቱ፡ ናዝራዊያነ፨ እስመ፡ ሰምዓነ፡ እንዘ፡ ናውግዞ፡ መይጠነ፡ ምሥራቅ፡ በዕለተ፡ ለበስናሁ፡ ለመርዓዊ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ብእሲ፡ ሐዲስ፡ ወወስዐ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ እንዘ፡ የአስታወስ፡ እስመ፡ ሸምዓነ፡ እንዘ፡ ናውግዞ፡ መይጠነ፡ ይጻእን፨ ፕ ይህ የActiveSheet እና የአስታወስ ይህ እስመ፡ እስመ፡ ሸምዓነ፡ እንዘ፡ ናውግዞ፡ መይጠነ፡ ይጻእን፨ ውእቱ፡ ናዝራዊያነ፨ እስመ፡ ሸምዓነ፡ እንዘ፡ ናውግዞ፡ መይጠነ፡ ይጻእን፨ ውእቱ፡ ናዝራዊያነ፨ እስመ፡ ሸምዓነ፡ እንዘ:

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by "Amen" and the beginning of the following text written with red inks.

As it was noted, an explicit of JerusLal corresponds to the articulated explicit.

ms_i1.5: ሲለንኒ፡ የሀበነ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሰይፈ፡ ርድኤት፡ በከመ፡ ወሀቦ፡ ለላሊበላ፡ ሰይፈ፡ መዊዕ፡ ከመ፡ ይውቂ፡ ክሣዶ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ አርዌ፡ ርጉም፡ ወይረስየነ፡ ለነኒ፡ ከመ፡ ናውቂ፡ ክሣዶ፡ በከመ፡ አውቀዮ፡ ውእቱ፡ ውወጡ፡ ናዝራዊያነ፨ ሰምዓነ፡ እንዘ፡ ናውግዞ፡ መይጠነ፡ ይጻእን፨ ውእቱ፡ ናዝራዊያነ፨ እስመ፡ ሸምዓነ:

In the present manuscript GospelLal is divided into two portions with a supplication. Having the same articulated incipit as GospelLal, it has another internal explicit and internal incipit, which will end with the same articulated explicit, as of GospelLal.

Explicit: (f. 18vb) እስከ፡ አመ፡ ይሠሃለነ፨

Supplication: (f. 18vb) ለዘውእቱ፡ እስትንፋሰ፡ መለኮት፨ ውእቱ፡ ናዝራዊያነ፨ እስመ፡ ሸምዓነ፡ እንዘ:

First two lines are written with red inks. The text ends with a supplication note.

Incipit: (f. 19ra) ወወስዐ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ እንዘ:

Explicit: (ff. 19rb-20ra) ወወስዐ፡ ዲያብሎስ:

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The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Ḥāmle. The text starts on the new page and new line, first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

**Incipit:** (f. 20ra) ምንታ፡ ሁለት፡ አካለ፡ ከለት፡ ከላለ፡ ከለት፡ ከለት;

**Supplication:** (ff. 33ra-33va) ወለነኒ፡ አሥራተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ይንሥአነ፡ ምክሀ፡ ኵልነ፡ በፍዕ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ከመ፡ ንባእ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ኀበ፡ ቦአ፡ ላሊሁ፨ ወከመ፡ ንርፍቅ፡ ኀበ፡ ውእቱ፡ ከመ፡ ንሳተፎ፡ በፍሥሐሁ፨ ወከመ፡ ንደለው፡ በተድላሁ፨ ወከመ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ መርዓ፡ ሐዳስ፨ ዘኢይበውእ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ዘኢለብሰ፡ ልብሰ፡ ግብካብ፡ መርዓ፡ ወዘኢተሠርገወ፡ በብርሃነ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወአመ፡ ይሠራዕ፡ ማዕደ፡ ወዘው፣ ክርዳደ፡ አርዮሙ፡ እማእከለ፡ ስርናይ፨ ወየዓስርዎሙ፡ በበከላስስቲሆሙ፡ ለአንድዶሙ፡ ወለእለ፡ ይፈልጥዎሙ፡ ለኃጥአን፡ ወእሉ፡ ይሌልይዎሙ፡ ለጸዋጋን፡ እማእከሎሙ፡ ወያቁመነ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ቅድመ፡ ገጽ፡ በግዑ፡ ኃቢኦ፡ በጽላሎተ፡ ከመ፡ ኢየቀረቡ፡ ኀበን፡ መላእክተ፡ ብርጉ፡ ወለይሱ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ መርዓ፡ ሐዳስ፨ ዘኢይበውእ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ዘ泖ልኅና፡ እመከራ፡ ወረፋ፡ የብቁን፨ እምኔሁ፡ ይመግበነ፡ ሐቂፎ፡ በየማነ፡ እዴሁ፨ወያድኅና፡ እመከራ፡ ወኔ፡ ወነፍስ፨ ለአመተ፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወይዕቀባ፡ ለወለታ፡ ኂሩተ፡ ወረፋ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

Incipit and explicit of WuddaseLal in the manuscript corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit, with more articulated portion in between and which I articulate with internal incipits and explicits.

**ms_i1.6.1:** (ff. 21va-23vb) 

**Incipit:** (f. 21va) ምንታ፡ ካዕበ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ወምክሐ፡ ኵሉ፡ ሁድያሚሃ፡ ተመሰሎሙ፡ ለትጉሃነ፡ ሰማይ፨

**Explicit:** (f. 23vb) ወላልበላኒ፡ አፍቀረ፡ አጥባቲሃ፡ ለዘሐፀነት፡ እስመ፡ ይጥዕሞ፡ አጥባቲሃ፡ እምወይን፡ ወአፈዋቲሃኒ፡ ይምዕዝ፡ እምኵሉ፡ ዕፍረታት፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ወሎሚን፡ በውስተ፡ መኃልየ፡ መኃልይ፡ አዳም፡ አጥባትኪ፡ እምወን፨

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space

**ms_i1.6.2:** (ff. 23vab-31rb)

**Incipit:** (ff. 23vb-24ra) ወላልበላኒ፡ አፍቀረ፡ አጥባቲሃ፡ ለዘሐፀነት፡ እስመ፡ ይጥዕሞ፡ አጥባቲሃ፡ እምወይን፡ ወአፈዋቲሃኒ፡ ይምዕዝ፡ እምኵሉ፡ ዕፍረታት፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ወሎሚን፡ በውስተ፡ መኃልየ፡ መኃልይ፡ አዳም፡ አጥባትኪ፡ እምወን፨

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The text marked with three kinds of ፨

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ms_i1.6.3: (ff. 31rb-32va)

**Incipit:** (f. 31rb) ቈበእንተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ኢጥዕመ፡ ግሙራ፡ ወኤምፍግዕቶሙ፡ ለኃጥአን፡ ወኢእምአልባሰ፡ ቀጠንት፡ ወኢእማዕድ፡ ጥዕማት፨ እንዘ፡ ወሴፎ፡ በሊዓ፡ እማዕደ፡ ሕይወት፨

**Explicit:** (ff. 32rb-32va) ቃላት፡ ወበፍቅረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ተወርዎ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ዝኅዙኃ፡ ገድል፡ ተወካፌ፡ ምንዳቤ፡ ሥጋ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሥሉጠ፡ ዕፀ፡ ሕይወት፨ በከመ፨ ይቤ፡ ቴዎጎልው፨ ወልደ፡ ነጐድጓድ፨ ብፁዓን፡ ዴለ፡ ያነጌሑ፡ አልባሲሆሙ፨ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሥልጣኖሙ፡ ላዕለ፡ ዕፀ፡ ሕይወት፨ ላዕለ፡ ዕፀ፡ ሕይወት፨ አመ፡ ይሰደዱ፡ ወይወፅኡ፡ አፍአ፡ ሐምስቱ፡ አክላብ፡ እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ መሠርያን፡ ወዘማውያን፡ ወቀታልያን፡ ወእለ፡ ያጣዕው፡ ወኵሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ያፈቅሩ፡ ግብረ፡ ላዕለ፨ ወእሉ፡ አመ፡ ይወፅኡ፡ እምከብካበ፡ መርዓ፡ መንገለ፡ አፍአ፨

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks on the new line.

ms_i1.6.4: (ff. 32va-33ra)

**Incipit:** (f. 32va) ቈውእቱሰ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ይበውእ፡ ተቀዊዖ፡ በቃለ፡ መርዓዊ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ዝይብል፡ ንዑ፡ ኀቤየ፡ ቡሩካኑ፡ ለአቡየ፡ ትረሱ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ዘአስተዳለወ፡ ወክሙ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይትፈጠር፡ ዓለም፨

**Explicit:** (f. 33ra) ወሶቤሃ፡ ይትፌሣሕ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ምስለ፡ አጋንንቲሁ፡ ውስመ፡ በሀብለ፡ ሀኬት፡ አሲሮ፡ አውፅኦም፡ ወይኤምኅ፡ አብ፡ ወልዶ፡ ፍቁሮ፨ ወይተልዎሙ፡ ኀበ፡ ሖሩ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሜሃው፡ ግብረ፡ ላዕለ፨ ወእሉ፡ አመ፡ ይወፅኡ፡ እምከብካበ፡ መርዓ፡ መንገለ፡ አፍአ፨

Supplication: (ff. 34va-35ra) ያድኅነነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እመክፈልቶሙ፡ ለእሉ፨ ወያጽሕቅ፡ ልበነ፡ ለሰሚዓ፡ ቃላቲሁ፡ ወለገቢረ፡ ትእዛዝን፡ ወይረስየነ፡ ድልዋነ፡ ከመ፨ ውስተ፡ ቤቱ፨ ወከመ፨ ንጻመድ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደሱ፡ በኵሉ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወትነ፨ ወያርእየነ፡ በዘኖሠምሮ፡ ሎቱ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለዝንት፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ወይዕቀባ፡ ለአመተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ንግሥትነ፨ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ለ zwarte፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Naḥāse. The text starts in the new column and new line, lines 1, 2, 5, 6 are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with dotted line.

ms_i1.7: Life of Lālibalā (ff. 33vb-115rb)

**Incipit:** (f. 33vb) ዊትመየጥኬ፡ ኀበ፡ ጥንተ፡ ገድሉ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ዕፍረቱ፡ ምዑዝ፡ ከመ፡ ወንምሰሎ፡ ዝንጋዔ፡ ለልበ፡ አብድ፡ ለዘኢያፈቅር፡ ውዳሴሆሙ፡ ለጻድቃን፡

**Explicit:** (f. 115rb) ወከመዝ፡ ነበረ፡ በኵሉ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወቱ፡ እምአመ፡ ነግሠ፡ ዆ስከ፡ አመ፡ ፈለሰ።

Incipit of VitLal corresponds to the articulated incipit, while explicit of VitLal is not articulated in this manuscript. VitLal has been divided into portions, which I present in a descriptive way, presenting articulated incipit and explicit. I have introduced subtitles that will hopefully help to have a better idea what is articulated.

ms_i1.7.1: (ff. 33vb-35ra)

**Incipit:** (f. 33vb) ዊትመየጥኬ፡ ኀበ፡ ጥንተ፡ ገድሉ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ዕፍረቱ፡ ምዑዝ፡ ከመ፡ ወንምሰሎ፡ ዝንጋዔ፡ ለልበ፡ አብድ፡ ለዘኢያፈቅር፡ ውዳሴሆሙ፡ ለጻድቃን፡

**Explicit:** (ff. 34vb-34vb) ቀጠንት፡ ወኢእምአልባሰ፡ ቀጠንት፡ ወアイእማዕድ፡ ጥዕማት፨ እንዘ፡ ወሴፎ፡ በሊዓ፡ እማዕደ፡ ሕይወት፨ ላዕለ፡ ዕፀ፡ ሕይወት፨ ላዕለ፡ ዕፀ፡ ሕይወት፨ አመ፡ ይሰደዱ፡ ወይወፅኡ፡ አፍአ፡ ሐምስቱ፡ አክላብ፡ እሉː እሙንቱ፡ መሠርያን፡ ወዘማውያን፡ ወቀታልያን፡ ወእለ፡ ያጣዕው፡ ወኵሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ያፈቅሩ፡ ግብረ፡ ላዕለ፨ ወእሉ፡ አመ፡ ይወፅኡ፡ እምከብካበ፡ መርዓ፡ መንገለ፡ አፍአ፨

Supplication: (ff. 34vb-35ra) ያድኅነነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እመክፈልት፡ ለእሉ፨ ወያጽሕቅ፡ ልበነ፡ ለሰሚዓ፡ ቃላቲሁ፡ ወለገቢረ፡ ትእዛዝን፨ ወይረስየነ፡ ድልዋነ፡ ከመ፨ ውስተ፡ ቤቱ፨ ወከመ፨ ንጻመድ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደሱ፡ በኵሉ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወትነ፨ ወያርእየነ፡ በዘኖሠምሮ፡ ሎቱ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ወይዕቀባ፡ ለአመተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ንግሥትነ፨ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ለ zwarte፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

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ms_i1.7.2: (ff. 35ra-35vb)

**Incipit:** (f. 35ra)ሸምዑኬ፡ ኦፍቁራንየ፡ እለ፡ ተኃሥሡ፡ በረከተ፡ ጸጋሁ፡ ለጻድቅ፡ ለፍቅረ፡ ወሊበላ፡ ከመ፡ ትርወዩ፡ እምነቅዓ፡ ገድሉ፡ ጥዑም፨

**Explicit:** (f. 35va)እንዘ፡ ታከብርዎ፡ ከመ፡ መላእክት፨ ወከመ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወሐዋርያት፨ ወከመ፡ ጻድቃን፡ ወሰማዕት፡ ወከመ፡ ደናግል፡ ወመነኮሳት፨ እስመ፡ ውእቱኒ፡ ኢሐፀ፡ እምኔሆሙ፨

**Supplication:** (ff. 35va-35vb)ܾሎቱ፡ ወስእለቱ፡ ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤቱ፡ ወበረከተ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ አመተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወምስለ፡ ወለታ፡ ኂሩተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወምስለ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ ዝየ፡ እለ፡ ሀለውክሙ፡ ውሉደ፡ ወንተ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ዝየ፡ እለ፡ ሀለውክሙ፨ እምርኁቅ፡ ወእምቅሩብ፨ እንዘ፡ ትትአመኑ፡ በጽላሎተ፡ ከመ፡ ወውእቱኒ፡ ኢይርኃቅ፡ እምኔክሙ፨ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

The text contained on f.35ra, line 3 up to f.35vb, line 7 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 11, line 1 up to line 22 (‘L’auteur commence a raconter la vie de Lalibala’). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with dotted line.

ms_i1.7.3: How Lālibalā was born in Roḥā. (ff. 35vb-37rb)

**Incipit:** (f. 35vb)ወሀለወት፡ አሐቲ፡ ሀገር፡ እምአህጉራተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ እንተ፡ ወስእለቱ፨ ልሕ቏፡ እንዘ፡ የሐፅኖ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወያጸንዖ፡ በኃይል፡ ወበጥበብ፡ ወበምክር፡ ወበግርማ፡ መንክር፨ ወኵለንታሁኒ፡ ኢዳም፡ ውእቱ፨

**Explicit:** (f. 37rb)አላ፡ መላእክት፡ እሙንቱ፡ እለ፡ ተመሰሉ፡ አንህብተ፡ እንዘ፡ ዯኤምሩ፡ ንግሦ፨ ወጸቃውዓተ፡ ምግባር፡ ዘይትቀዳሕ፡ እምኔሁ፨ እስመ፡ ሀለዎ፡ ወስእለት፡ ዘንተ፡ ኵሎ፡ ትንቢታተ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዋስእለት፡ ቀዳሜ፡ መንክራት፡ ዘኮነ፡ በላዕለ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ዘተቀብዓ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሲስተ፡ ቈናዝዓ፡ ድማሁ፡ ከመ፡ ሶምሶን፡ ቃዴ፡ እስራኤል፡ እስመ፡ ናዝራዊሁ፡ ወእምዝ፡ ልሕ቏፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዋስእለት፡ ፍወፗ፨ ጽድቅ፨

The text contained on f.35vb, line 8 up to f.37rb, line 19 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 12, line 1 up to page 13 line 21 (‘Naissance de Lalibala’). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is marked with three ⬤.

ms_i1.7.4: How Lālibalā grew up in a beautiful man. (ff. 37rb-39rb)

**Incipit:** (ff. 37rb-37va) ወእምዝ፡ ልሕ቏፡ እንዘ፡ የሐፅኖ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወያጸንዖ፡ በኃይል፡ ወበጥበብ፡ ወበምክር፡ ወበግርማ፡ መንክር፨ ወኵለንታሁኒ፡ ኢዳም፡ ውእቱ፨

**Explicit:** (ff. 39ra-39rb) ወይቤሉ፡ ሀለዎ፡ ይኩን፡ ንጉሠ፡ አመ፡ ልሕ቏፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዋስእለት፡ ወይባርከመ፡ ለኵልነ፡ ውሉደ፡ ወንተ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዋስእለት፡ ወይባርከመ፡ ለኵልነ፡ ናዝራዊሁ፡ ወእምዝ፡ ልሕ቏፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዋስእለት፡ ፍወፗ፨ ጽድቅ፨

**Supplication:** (f. 39rb) ጸሎቱ፡ ወስእለቱ፨ ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤቱ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ዝንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወምስለ፡ ወለታ፡ ኂሩተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወይባርከመ፡ ለኵልነ፡ ውሉደ፡ ወንተ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዋስእለት፡ ፍወፗ፨ ጽድቅ፨

The text contained on f.37rb, line 20 up to f.38vb, line 11 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 13, line 22 up to page 14, line 24 (‘Portrait de Lalibala’). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ⬤ and with dotted line.

ms_i1.7.5: Lālibalā voluntarily embraces the death for the love of the others. (ff. 40ra-45va)
The text contained on f.41ra, line 19 up to f.44va, 7 line is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 15, line 1 up to page 18 line 23 (‘Le frère de Lalibala cherche à le faire mourir’). The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Maskaram. The text starts on the new page and new line, lines 1, 2, 5, 6 are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

**ms_i1.7.6: Lālibalā became like Jesus Christ. Ascension to the heavens.** (ff. 45va-65ra)

_Incipit:_ (ff. 45va) ወላሊበላኒ፡ አማን፡ ተመሰሎ፡ ለመድኃኒ፡ ኵሉ፡ ዓለም፡ እስመ፡ በፈቃዱ፡ ሰትየ፡ ጽዋዓ፡ ሞት፡ በእንተ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ካልኡ፡ እስመ፡ ተፋቅሮሰ፡ ፍጹም፡ ሕግ፡ ውእቱ፨

_Explicit:_ (f. 65ra) የእፈቅድ፡ ከመ፡ ይርአዉ፡ ስብሐትየ፡ ዘወሀብከኒ፨ ዘሀሎ፡ ምስሌከ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይትፈጠር፡ ዓለም፨ እስመ፡ አነሂ፡ አፍቀርክዎሙ፡ በከመ፡ አንተ፡ አፍቀርከኒ፨

The text contained on f.45va, line 14 up to f.46ra, line 14 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 18, line 24 up to page 19, line 13. The text contained on f.47ra, line 13 up to f.48vb, line 3 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 19, line 14 up to page 21, line 11 (‘Lalibala est ravi dans les cieux’). The text contained on f.53ra, line 1 up to f.53rb, line 3 is to be found in Perruchon's edition page 21, line 12 up to line 20. The text contained on f.56ra, line 3 up to f.56ra, line 16 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 21, line 21 up to page 22, line 1. The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Ṭǝqǝmt is applicable to the text that follows. The end is defined by the left space.

**ms_i1.7.7: Lālibalā is in the heavens.** (ff. 65rb-65vb)

_Incipit:_ (f. 65rb) ወእምዝ፡ እነግረክም፡ ካልአኒ፡ ነከራ፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በላዕለ፡ ብፁዕ፡ በቍዔት፡ ወዝንቱሰ፡ ዘእከሥት፡ ለክሙ፡ ይእዜ፡ በቍዔት፡ ወእቱ፡ ለነፍሳቲክሙ፨

_Explicit:_ (f. 65vb) የእፈቅድ፡ ከመ፡ ይርአዉ፡ ስብﺤእታዉ፡ ዘወሀብከኒ፨ ዘሀሎ፡ ምስሊፉ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይትፈጠር፡ ዓለም፨ እስመ፡ አነሂ፡ አፍቀርክዎሙ፡ በከመ፡ አንተ፡ አፍቀርከኒ፨

The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of ከልል. The end is marked with three ፈ.

**ms_i1.7.8: Lālibalā is in the heavens.** (ff. 65vb-68rb)

_Incipit:_ (f. 65vb) ወእምዝ፡ እነግረክም፡ ካልአани፡ ነከራ፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በላዕለ፡ ብፁዕ፡ በቍዔት፡ ወዝንቱሰ፡ ዘእከሥት፡ ለክሙ፡ ይእዜ፡ በቍዔት፡ ወእቱ፡ ለነፍሳቲክሙ፨

_Explicit:_ (f. 68rb) የእፈቅድ፡ ከመ፡ ይርአዉ፡ ስብሐትየ፡ ዘወሀብከኒ፨ ዘሠፉ፡ እንተ፡ ምስሌከ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይትፈጠር፡ ዓለም፨ እስመ፡ አነሂ፡ አፍቀርክዎሙ፡ በከመ፡ አንተ፡ አፍቀርከኒ፨

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The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

**ms_i1.7.9:** How God showed Lalibala ten monolithic churches. (ff. 68rb-68va)

*Incipit:* (f. 68rb) ብሂሎ፡ አርአዮ፡ አብያተ፡ ዓቢያተ፡ ዘእምአሐቲ፡ ያቡን፡ ወኊልቆንሰ፡ ለእማንቱ፡ አብያተ፡ ዘእርአዮ፡ ይጨፋፋ፡ እማንቱ፨

*Explicit:* (f. 68va) ወቡ፡ እምኔሆን፡ ዘኅብረ፡ ብወለ፡ ክቦ፡ ኅበሪሆን። ወቡ፡ እምኔሆን፡ ዝዓቢይ፡ ኑኃ፡ ግደሚሆን። ለአሐቲ፡ እምአሐቲ፡ የዓቢ፡ ዓዲ፡ ኑኃ፡ ሥሮን፨

The text contained on f.68rb, line 8 up to f.68va, line 20 is to be found in Perruchon's edition page 22, line 2 up to line 13 ('Dieu montre à Lalibala les dix églises monolithes du ciel'). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is marked with three Ⲧ.

**ms_i1.7.10:**

*Incipit:* (f. 68vb) ኵሎ፡ እምድኅረ፡ አርአዮ፡ ለላሊበላ፡ ዝኩ፡ እግዚአ፡ ṃይል፡ ዘይነብር፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ስፉሕ፡ ዘኅብረ፡ በረድ። ዘሀሎ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ዌእሶሙ፡ ለ፬ቱ፡ እንስሳ፡ እለ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ኪሩባውያን፨

*Explicit:* (f. 69va) ወተናገርክዎ፡ ገጹ፡ በገጽ፡ ከመ፡ ዘይትናገር፡ ብእሲ፡ ምስለ፡ ቢጹ። እስከ፡ ተሰብሐ፡ ኅብረ፡ ገጹ፡ እምነጽሮ፡ ምዕዛርየ፨

The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of ጊላስ. The text starts in a new column new line, first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

**ms_i1.7.11:**

*Incipit:* (ff. 69vb-70ra) ኵሉ፡ ዘይበጽሕ፡ ውስተ፡ ማኅፈዳት፡ ዘሀለወከ፡ ትሕንጾን፡ በውስተታን። እንዘ፡ ይትአመን፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎትከ፡ ወይዜክረከ፡ በክቡስ፡ ወይብለከ፡ መሐረኒ፡ እግዚኦ፡ ወተሠሃለኒ።

*Explicit:* (ff. 70rb-70va) ወከመዝ፡ እትአኰት፡ ወእሴባሕ፡ እምእለ፡ ይኔጽሩ፡ ማኅፈዳተ፡ መቅደስየ፡ ዘሀለዋ፡ ያስተርእያ፡ ዲበ፡ ምድር፡ እምአሐቲ፡ ደኵሕ። ወአነሂ፡ ናሁ፡ ኑውም፡ ምስሌከ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ዮም፡ በዛቲ፨

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks on the new line.

**ms_i1.7.12:**

*Incipit:* (f. 70va-71vb) እምኞታ፡ እርእዮ፡ ኃይል፡ ወርእዮ፡ ይቤ፡ ፈቃድከ፡ ለይኩን፡ እግዚኦ፡ ወአኖ፡ ፈቃደ፡ ዚአየ፡ ወባሕቱ፡ ለይርድአኒ፡ ዃይልከ፡ እስመ፡ ፅቡስ፡ አነ።

*Explicit:* (f. 71va-72ra) ወከመዝ፡ እትአኰት፡ ወእሴባሕ፡ እምእለ፡ ይኔጽሩ፡ ማኅፈዳተ፡ መቅደስየ፡ ዘሀለዋ፡ ያስተርእያ፡ ዲበ፡ ምድር፡ እምአሐቲ፡ ደኵሕ። ወአነሂ፡ ናሁ፡ ኑውም፡ ምስሌከ፡ ኪዳነ፨

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks on the new line.

**ms_i1.7.13:**

*Incipit:* (ff. 71vb-74ra) ወባሕቱ፡ በምክንያተ፡ ተልእኮ፡ በእንቲአሆን፡ ትሰመይ፡ አንተ፡ ገባሪሆን፡ ወአርአዮ፡ ካዕበ፡ ሐፃውንተ፡ በዘቦቶን፡ ይትገበር፡ አርአያሆን፡ ለአሐቲ፡ እምአሐቲ፡ ደኵሕ።

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Explicit: (f. 74ra) ወአነ፡ ይለዲ፡ ውስተ፡ ፍርሃተ፡ ውስተ፡ ውስተ፡ የዓልውከ። ወዑቅ፡ አንተሂ፡ ከመ፡ ታዕትት፡ እምሕዝበ፡ መንግሥትከ፡ ኵሎፋ፡ ዓመፃ፡ ወግፍዓ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines, i.e. lines 16, 17 of the column, as well as lines 20, 21 are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.14: (ff. 74ra-75ra)

Incipit: (f. 74ra) ወአነተ፡ ከመ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ሰሚዖ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ወሊበላ፡ ወገደ፡ ወዲቆ፡ በገጹ፡ በቅድመ፡ እግዚአ፡ ኃያላን፡ ወይቤ፡ እግዚአ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ምንትኑ፡ ከመ፡ ከመ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ዲበ፡ ሕዝብከ፡ ዘአልብየ፡ አእምሮ።

Explicit: (f. 75ra) ወዘንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡ ለዝኩ፡ መልአክ፡ ለዘአዕረጎ፡ እምድር፡ ይቤሎ፡ ይብል፡ ናሁ፡ ረሰይኩከ፡ ወሤምኩከ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩን፡ ዓቃቢሁ፡ በኵሉ፡ መዋዕሊሁ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.15: (ff. 75ra-75vb)

Incipit: (f. 75ra) ወይቤሎ፡ ካዕበ፡ ለብፁዕ፡ ወለቅዱስ፡ ወሊበላ፡ ወአንተሂ፡ ይታትክወ፡ በይነ፡ መንግሥት፡ እስመ፡ ከመ፡ ወእንተ፡ ክብር፡ ኃላፊ፡ ዘእሠይመከ።

Explicit: (ff. 75vb-75vb) ነበረ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓፀደ፡ ወውስተ፡ አብያተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ከመ፡ ኤርምያስፋ፡ ነቢይ፡ ዘርእየ፡ ምስጢራተ፡ ዳገራት፡ ዓቃቢሁ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ተመስሎቱ፡ ሰብአ፡ ወጊቡ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ተመስሎቱ፡ ሰብአ።

The text contained on f.75ra, line 9 up to f.75vb, line 5 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 22, line 14 up to page 23, line 15 ('Lalibala reçoit l’ordre de construire des églises semblables; son retour sur la terre', continues in the following unit). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks.

ms_i1.7.16: Having seen the mysteries of the heaven and being appointed to the thrown, on the third day Lalibala comes back to the earth. (ff. 75vb-77ra)

Incipit: (f. 75vb) ወላሊበላሰ፡ ነቅሐ፡ እምስካቡ፡ ከመ፡ ዘጽሕወ፡ እምወይንፋ ወአብርሃ፡ ገጹ፡ ከመ፡ ፀሐይ፡ እምነ፡ ራዕያት፡ ዘርእየ፡ ወእምነ፡ ስብሐቲሁኒ፡ ወእግዚአብሔርፋ

Explicit: (f. 77ra) ወካልኡን፡ ይቤ፡ አፍቅሩ፡ ቢጸክሙ፡ እስመ፡ ተፋቅሮ፡ ይደመሰሶን፡ ለኵሎን፡ ኃጣውእፋ አማንኬ፡ ተፈፅመ፡ ቃለ፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ዘይቤ፡ በላዕለ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ወሊበላ፡ ፈርየሂ፡ ወተመክዓበፋ

The text contained on f.75vb, line 6 up to f.77ra, line 8 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 23, line 15 up to page 24, line 3 ('Lalibala reçoit l’ordre de construire des églises semblables; son retour sur la terre', continues in the following unit). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks.

ms_i1.7.17: (ff. 77ra-78rb)

Incipit: (f. 77ra) ወላሊበላሰ፡ ነቅሐ፡ እምስካቡ፡ ከመ፡ ዘጽሕወ፡ እምወይንፋ ወአብርሃ፡ ገጹ፡ ከመ፡ ፀሐይ፡ እምነ፡ ራዕያት፡ ዘርእየ፡ ወእምነ፡ ስብハウス፡ ወእግዚአብሔርፋ

Explicit: (ff. 78ra-78rb) ወካልኡን፡ ይቤ፡ አፍቅሩ፡ ቢጸክሙ፡ እስመ፡ ተፋቅሮ፡ ይደመሰሶን፡ ለኵሎን፡ ኃጣውእፋ አማንኬ፡ ተፈፅመ፡ ቃለ፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ዘይቤ፡ በላዕለ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ወሊበላ፡ ፈርየሂ፡ ወተመክዓበፋ
Supplication: \[(f. 78rb)\] The text contained on f.77ra, line 8 up to f.78rb, line 21 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 24, line 3 up to page 25, line 21 ('Lalibala reçoit l'ordre de construire des églises semblables; son retour sur la terre'). First two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ⍺. ms_i1.7.18: Lalibala runs away to the desert. (ff. 78va-79vb) Incipit: \[(f. 78va)\] Explicit: \[(f. 79vb)\] Supplication: \[(f. 79vb)\] The text contained on f.78va, line 1 up to f.79vb, line 20 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 25, line 22 up to page 27, line 17 ('Lalibala se retire au désert'). The text starts on the new page and new line, first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ⍺ and a dotted line. ms_i1.7.19: Lalibala marries Masqal Kǝbrā. He is blamed for marrying an engaged woman, but helped by an angel he escapes the punishment. (ff. 80ra-86ra) Incipit: \[(f. 80ra)\] Explicit: \[(f. 85vb)\] Supplication: \[(ff. 85vb-86ra)\] The text contained on f.80ra, line 1 up to f.86ra, line 17 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 27, line 18 up to page 35, line 16 ('Mariage de Lalibala; son frère le fait venir pour l'en punir'). The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Ṭǝrr. The text starts on the new page and new line, lines 1, 2, 5, 6 are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with a dotted line. ms_i1.7.20: Lalibala runs away to the desert with Masqal Kǝbrā. (ff. 86ra-87rb) Incipit: \[(ff. 86ra-86rb)\] Supplication: \[(ff. 86ra-87rb)\] The text contained on f.86ra, line 1 up to f.87rb, line 21 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 24, line 3 up to page 25, line 21 ('Lalibala reçoit l'ordre de construire des églises semblables; son retour sur la terre'). First two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ⍺.
Explicit: (f. 87rv)አመ፡ ሖረ፡ በትእዛዘ፡ ዚአከ፡ ወበትእዛዘ፡ መምህሩ፡ ከመ፡ በመንጦላዕተ፡ ሣህልከ። እንዘ፡ ትሴስዮ፡ ንዋመ፡ ሠናየ፡ ዘ ዘተ፡ ዓመተ።

Supplication: (f. 87rv)ወለነኒ፡ በዘፈቀድከ፡ ትክል፡ አጽንዖተነ። ወለከ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

The text contained on f.86ra, line 18 up to f.86va, line 10 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 35, line 17 up to page 36, line 6 (‘Lalibala retourne au désert avec sa femme’). The text starts on the new line and first line, i.e. line 18, as well as line 20 are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Yakkātit is applicable to the text that follows. It ends with a supplication note. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.21: After their prayers for food, Lālibalā and Masqal Kǝbrā find partridges which they eat. (f. 87rb-87vb)

Incipit: (ff. 87rv-87va)ወእምዝ፡ ሶበ፡ ፈጸሙ፡ ጸሎቶሙ፡ አንሶሰወት፡ መስቀል፡ ውስተ፡ ውሣጤ፡ በዓት፡ ወረከበት፡ በህየ፡ ጴርድክሴ፡ ዓቢወ፡ ወዜነወቶ፡ ልምታ።

Explicit: (f. 87va)ወወድቀ፡ ማእከለ፡ ቴዓይኒሆሙ። ወዓውደ፡ ደባትሪሆሙ፡ በልዑ፡ ወጸግቡ፡ ጥቀ። ወኢያሕታእኮሙ፡ እምዘ፡ ፈቀዱ።

Supplication: (ff. 87va-87vb)ወለነኒ፡ ኢኅጣእከነ፡ ለአግብርቲከ፡ እለ፡ ስዱዳን፡ ወውእተ፡ ዖፈ፡ ተሴስዮሙ;br.delivery://betaBetaMasheft.BLorient718

The text contained on f.87rb, line 16 up to f.87va, line 8 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 36, line 7 up to line 11. The text starts on the new page and new line, three line, namely lines 17, 19 and 21 are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.22: Lālibalā and Masqal Kǝbrā live in a cave, like Prophet Isaiah and other prophets. They run further to the east from the persecution. Archangel Gābrǝ’el announces to the family that Lālibalā will make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. (ff. 87vb-90ra)

Incipit: (f. 87vb)ወእምዝ፡ ነበሩ፡ ክልኤሆሙ፡ እምይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ ውስተ፡ ᭃእቲ፡ በዓት፡ ኀበ፡ በጽሑ፡ በይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ እንዘ፡ ይሴሰዩ፡ ዘአቅረበ፡ ሎሙ፡ መንፈስ፡ ᕱዱስ፡ እምአቃቂራተ፡ ገዳም፡ እንዘ፡ ይትሜሰልዎ፡ ለመክብበ፡ ነቢያት፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ወለካልአኒሁኒ፡ ነቢያት፡ ዘነበሩ፡ ወምስለ፡ ወለታ፡ ኂሩተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ለዓለመ፡ አሜን፨

Explicit: (f. 90ra)ላሊበላሰ፡ ወመስቅል፡ ክብራ፡ ነበሩ፡ ህየ፡ በተጸምዶ፡ ዓቢይ፡ በጾም፡ ወበጸሎት፡ በቀዊም፡ ወበሰጊድ፡ መጠነ፡ ነበሩ፡ ውስተ፡ ᭃእቲː ብሔር፡ ኅቡረ።

Supplication: (f. 90ra)ጸሎቶሙ፡ ወበረከቶሙ;br.delivery://betaBetaMasheft.BLorient718

The text contained on f.87vb, line 8 up to line 16 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 36, line 7 up to line 11. The text contained on f.88ra, line 4 up to f.88rb, line 1 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition page 36, line 15 up to line 22. The text contained on f.88vb, line 1 up to f.89ra, line 7 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 36, line 23 up to page 37, line 8. The text contained on f.89rb, line 7 up to f.89va,
line 12 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 37, line 9 up to line 19 ('L’ange Gabriel annonce à Masqal Kebrā le prochain départ de Lalibala pour Jérusalem'). The text contained on f.89vb, line 2 up to line 21 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 37, line 20 up to page 38, line 4. The text starts on the new line, first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.23: (ff. 90ra-95va)
Incipit: (f. 90ra) አወእምዝ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ኅዳጥ፡ መዋዕል፡ አስተርአዮሙ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ኃቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ወይቤሎም፡ ሰላም፡ ለክሙ፡ ኦአግብርተ፡ እግዚአብሔሩ።
Explicit: (f. 95va) መርዔትከ፡ ወርትዕት፡ ሃይማኖትከ፡ ኢታሰስል፡ እምልቦም፡ ለእለ፡ የአምኑ፡ ብከ። ለከ፡ ይደሉ፡ እግዚኦ፡ ስብሐት፡ በጽዮን። ወለከ፡ ይትፌኖ፡ ጸሎት፡ በኢየሩሳሌም። ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Maggābit is applicable to the text that follows. The end is marked with three ፨.

ms_i1.7.24: (ff. 95va-96vb)
Incipit: (f. 95va) ለደምና፡ ወኵሉ፡ ሌሊተ፡ በብርሃነ፡ እሳት። ውእቱ፡ ለይሞራህከ፡ ወይሠርሕ፡ ወይብርህ፡ ፍኖተከ፡ ወይትወከፍ፡ ወንግደተከ።
Explicit: (f. 96vb) ትሬኢ፡ ሕሊና፡ ልብየ፡ ግበር፡ ሊተ። ወዘከመ፡ ወአምር፡ ፈቃደ፡ ስእለትየ። ፈጽም፡ ሊተ፡ በኂሩትከ፡ ኦእግዚእየ።
Supplication: (f. 100vb) ወርአን፡ ሣህለከ፡ ወምሕረተከ፡ ወዕለ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ አመትከ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.25: (ff. 96vb-100vb)
Incipit: (ff. 100vb) ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአ፡ ኵሉ፡ ናሃ፡ አንሰ፡ እብለከ፡ ሒኢይሔሱ፡ ቃልየ፡ ወኢይዔምፅ፡ ኪዳንየ። ምስለ፡ ዓሠርቱ፡ ወክልኤቱ፡ ኢርዳእየ፡ ይኩን፡ ማኀደርከ፡ ወምስሌሆሙ፡ ይኩን፡ መክፈትከ፡ በኵሉ፡ ክብር፡ ወዘይትአመንሂ፡ በأشيሎትከ።
Explicit: (f. 104rb) ወለከሰ፡ ፃማከሂ፡ ዘተወከፍከ፡ ወኪዳንከሂ፡ ዘአቀምኩ፡ ለከ፡ ይእቲ፡ ወልክዕት። ውስተ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ሰማያዊት። ወጽሕፈታሰ፡ አኮ፡ በማየ፡ ሕመት፡ አላ፡ በደመ፡ ሕግ፡ ወኪዳን፡ በዘቦቱ፡ ይቀሸፍ፡ አስማተ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ቀዱሳን:

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked by a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.26: (ff. 100vb-104rb)
Incipit: (ff. 104vb) ወወንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡ ፈነዎ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ እንዘː ይቴክዝ፡ በእንተː ተፈልጦቱː እስመː መአድምː ውእቱː ወለባልː በቃሉኒː ወበምግባሩኒː ወራእዩኒː ፈሡሕː ወግሩም።
Explicit: (f. 100vb) ወዘከመ፡ ትሬኢː ሕሊናː ልበየː ግበርː ሊተ። ወዘከመː ወአምርː ፈቃደː ስእለትየ። ፈጽምː ሊተː በኂሩትከː ኦእግዚእየ።

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Supplication: (f. 104rb)ከማሁ፡ አቅም፡ ኪዳነከ፡ ለንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ አመትከ፡ አሜን።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines, namely lines 12, 13, as well as lines 16, 17 are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Miyāzyā is applicable to the text that follows. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.7.27: (ff. 104va-105rb)
Incipit: (f. 104va)ወዘንተ፡ ሶበ፡ ይቤሎ፡ አኃዜ፡ ኵሉ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘይነብር፡ ላዕለ፡ ጎረገላ፡ ኪሩቤል፡ ሰገደ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ወአእኰቶ-Men ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል። አአኵተከ፡ እግዚኦ፡ እስመ፡ ተወከፍከኒ።
Explicit: (f. 105rb) ወአንሰ፡ ወኢአሐተ፡ ቅሥፈታተ፡ ኢፆርኩ፡ ጥቀ፡ ዘከመ፡ ፆሩ፡ ወአእኰት። ወባሕቱ፡ አርአይከ፡ ምሕረተከ፡ በላዕሌየ፡ The text starts on the new page, new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text on the new line, written with red inks.

ms_i1.7.28: (ff. 105rb-107rb)
Incipit: (f. 105rb)ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለብፁዕ፡ ወለቅዱስ፡ ላሊበላ፡ አማን፡ አማን፡ እብለከ፡ እምእሉ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ዘከርኮሙ፡ ኢየሐፅፅ፡ ብዕሤትከ፡ በኀቤየ፡ ወይእዜኒ፡ አፅምዕ፡ በልባዌ፡ ዘእነግረከ፡ አነ።
Explicit: (ff. 107ra-107rb) እስመ፡ ብዙኃት፡ ነፍሳት፡ እለ፡ ይድኅና፡ በውስቴቶን፡ ወአሚኖን፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎትከ፡ ወተጸዊኖን፡ በትንብልና፡ ዚአከ። ወአነሂ፡ ኢያሴስል፡ Ṭጋየ፡ ወምሕረትየ፡ እምኔሆን። ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤትየ፡ ኢያአትት፡ እምውስተ፡ ለእለ፨ አብያቲሆን። ወርስቶን፡ ምስሌ፡ ርስትከ።
Supplication: (f. 107rb)ወለዛቲኒ፡ ንግሥት፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ዘሐነጸት፡ ሕንጻ፡ ይኩን፡ ማኅደራ፡ ምስሊከ፨ እመኒ፡ እድ፡ ይእመኒ፡ አንስት፡ ይኩን፡ ምስሌከ፡ ወምስለ፡ ማኅደሮሙ፡ ለእለ፨ ያለም፡ ዓለም።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.29: (ff. 107rb-108vb)
Incipit: (f. 107rb)ወዘንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡ ባረኮ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ወዓርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሬእዮ፡ ላሊበላ፡ በከመ፡ ርእይዎ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ምስለ፡ እሙ፡ አመ፡ ዓርገ፡ ፄዊዎ፡ ፄዋ፡ The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.7.30: (ff. 108vb-116vb)
Incipit: (f. 108vb)ወዘንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡ ባረኮ። እግዚእነ፡ ወዓርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሬእዮ፡ ላሊበላ፡ በከመ፡ ርእይዎ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ምስለ፡ እሙ፡ አመ፡ ዓርገ፡ ፄዊዎ፡ ፄዋ፡ The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note.
ms_i1.8: King Lalibalā and the three Angels (ff. 115rb-116vb)

**Incipit:** (f. 115rb) ወእምዝ፡ ኮነ፡ አሐተ፡ ዕለተ፡ እንዘ፡ ይፈቅድ፡ ላሊበላ፡ ከመ፡ ይደረር፡ መጽኡ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ አኃው፡ ቅሩበ፡ ጽርሐ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ኀበ፡ ይረፍቅ፡ ዐእቱ።

**Explicit:** (ff. 116rb-116va) ወእግዚእነሂ፡ ይሔውጾሙ፡ ወይትአነገድ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤቶሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ያፈቅሩ፡ ነግደ። በከመ፡ ተአንገደ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤቱ፡ ለአብርሃም። በከመ፡ ባረኮ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወለዘርኡ። ወበከመ፡ ባረኮ፡ ለገቡሩ፡ መስቀል፡ ትኡን። ውእቱ፡ መንክራቲሁ፡ ለገቡሩ፡ መስቀል፡ ዘፆረ፡ ክበደ፡ ጽሙና፡ ወክበደ፡ ጽምዕ። እስመ፡ ኢበልዓ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ሠለሥቱ፡ አፍዕምት። ወኢሰትየ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ አሐቲ፡ ጽዋዕ።

**Supplication:** (ff. 116va-116vb) ጸሎቱ፡ ወስእለቱ፡ ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤቱ፡ ወአሶተ፡ ሽጋሹ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌ፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወምስለ፡ ውሉድ፡ ኃይለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ჈ይለ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወልደ僖፡ ማርያም፡ ወምስለ፡ አዋልዲሃ፡ ወለተ፡ ማርያም፡ ብእሸሌ፡ ፀዋሬ፡ ግብሮ፡ ወምስለ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ነጋድያን፡ እለ፡ መጽኡ፡ እንዘ፡ ይትአመኑ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ብእሸ፡ ፀዋሬ፡ ግብሮ፡ ወምስለ፡ ዘበንግሥ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለይኩን፡ ለነ፡ ተንባሌ፡ በቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እዘኪሮ፡ ኪዳኖ፡ ዘወሀቦ፡ እግዚኡ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ኵሉ፡ ዘጌሠ፡ ውስተ፡ መርጡልከ፨ ወተቀብዓ፡ እምፀበለ፡ ዝኅርከ፨ ይኩን፡ መክፈልቱ፡ ምስለከ፨ ወይረሲ፡ መክፈልተነ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ በከመ፡ ኪዳኑ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፨

The text contained on f.109vb, line 20 up to f.111va, line 2 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 38, line 5 up to page 40, line 5 ('Retour de Lalibala en Ethiopie'). The text contained on f.111vb, line 15 up to f.113ra, line 5 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 40, line 6 up to page 41, line 21 ('Réconcilation de Lalibala avec son frère qui lui cède le trône'). The text contained on f.113rb, line 12 up to f.116va, line 13 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 41, line 22 up to page 46, line 4. The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ፨. This is the only case, when logical articulation contradicts physical articulation: 'The King Lalibalā and the three Angels' is not marked as a separate unit.

ms_i1.9: How the river swallowed Lalibalā's honey and then spit it out (ff. 116vb-119ra)

**Incipit:** (f. 116vb) ወኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ እመዋዕልኣ፡ እንዘ፡ ያመጽኡ፡ ለገቡሩ፡ መስቀል፡ ሽባሹ፡ ለነጋሢ፡ ዘከመ፡ ይደልዎ፡ ለንጉሥ። ከመ፡ የሀቡ፡ ወያወፍዩ፡ ግብሮሙ፡ ዘይረክቦሙ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ብዙኃ፡ መቃጽወ፡ እለ፡ ምሉዓን፡ መዓረ፤ ወፀዊሮሙ፡ በጽሑ፡ ይበ፡ ሐይቀ፡ ፈለግ፡ ዘይወርድ፡ በኃይል፡

The text contained on f.109vb, line 20 up to f.111va, line 2 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 38, line 5 up to page 40, line 5 ('Retour de Lalibala en Ethiopie'). The text contained on f.111vb, line 15 up to f.113ra, line 5 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 40, line 6 up to page 41, line 21 ('Réconcilation de Lalibala avec son frère qui lui cède le trône'). The text contained on f.113rb, line 12 up to f.116va, line 13 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 41, line 22 up to page 46, line 4. The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ፨. This is the only case, when logical articulation contradicts physical articulation: 'The King Lalibalā and the three Angels' is not marked as a separate unit.
Explicit: (f. 119ra)በከመ፡ ዓቀቦ፡ ለዮናስ፡ በውስተ፡ ከርሠ፡ አንበሪ። ወከማሁ፡ መዓር። በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለላሊበላ፡ ወእልጠነ፡ እምውእቱ፡ ማዕደ፡ መርዓ፡ ወላሳሃታት፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ወሩእየሂ፡ ደይን። በእደ፡ መርዓ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ፡ በየማነ፡ ምስሌአ። ወለነኒ፡ ይሡቀነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንተኰነን። በግርምት፡ ወዕፅብት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ፡ በየማነ፡ ምስሌአ። ወለነኒ፡ ይሡቀነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንተኰነን። በግርምት፡ ወዕፅብት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ፡ በየማነ፡ ምስሌአ። ወለነኒ፡ ይሡቀነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንተኰነን። በግርምት፡ ወዕፅብት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ፡ በየማነ፡ ምስሌአ። ወለነኒ፡ ይሡቀነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንተኰነን። በግርምት፡ ወዕፅብት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ;

Supplication: (ff. 119ra-119rb)ቀረቡት፡ ሡስእለቱ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤቱ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወምስለ፡ ወልዳ፡ መስፍን፡ ኃይለ፡ ወ蚓ሄ፡ ወለታ፡ ኂሩተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ አሜን። ወለነኒ፡ ይሡቀነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንተኰነን። በግርምት፡ ወዕፅብት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ፡ በየማነ፡ ምስሌአ። ወለነኒ፡ ይሡቀነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንተኰነን። በግርምት፡ ወዕፅብት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ;

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir2 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit. The text contained on f.116vb, line 9 up to f.119ra, line 12 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 46, line 5 up to page 49, line 7 (‘Miracle en faveur de Lalibala’). The text starts on the new line, first two lines, namely 9, 10, as well as lines 13, 14 are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Gǝnbot is applicable to the text that follows. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.10: /How Lalibala became like a poor person (ff. 119vb-120va)

Incipit: (f. 119vb)ካዕበ፡ በአሐዱ፡ ዕለት፡ እመዋዕል፡ ተርእየ፡ መንክር፡ ትሕትና፡ በላዕለ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ እንዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘተመሰለ፡ ነዳየ፡ ወእልጠነ፡ እምውእቱ፡ ማዕደ፡ መርዓ፡ ወማእንተዝ፡ ሞተ፡ እስመ፡ ጸዓለነ። ርእዩኬ፡ ኦፍቁራንየ፡ ዘከመዝ፡ ረድኤቱ፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ወራእየሂ፡ ዘርእየ፡ እንዘ፤ ርኁቀ። እስመ፡ በከመ፡ ይሬኢ፡ አምላኮሙ፡ ይሬእዩ፡ መምለክያኒሁ። እስመ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘላዕሌሆም፡ ይከሥት፡ ሎሙ፡ ኵሎ፡ ኅቡአተ። 

Explicit: (f. 120rb)ውይርሐነ፡ ውስተ፡ ብርሃን። ወይክድነነ፡ በመንጦላዕተ፡ ስእለቱ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንተኰነን። በግርምት፡ ወዕፅብት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ;

Supplication: (ff. 120rb-120va) QSወለነኒ፡ ኢይፍልጠነ፡ እምውእቱ፡ ማዕደ፡ መርዓ፡ ወማእንተ зай፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ወራእየሂ፡ ዘርእየ፡ እንዘ፤ ርኁቀ። እስመ፡ በከመ፡ ይሬኢ፡ አምላኮሙ፡ ይሬእዩ፡ መምለክያኒሁ። እስመ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘላዕሌሆም፡ ይከሥት። ሎሙ፡ ኵሎ፡ ኅቡአተ። 

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir3 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit. The text contained on f.119rb, line 6 up to f.120va, line 9 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 49, line 8 up to page 51, line 6 (‘Humilité de Lalibala’). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.11: /Lalibala and a rebel (ff. 120va-122va)

Incipit: (f. 120va)ወዓዲ፡ ኮነ፡ በአሐዱ፡ እመዋዕል። ወሀሎ፡ ውስተ፡ አሐቲ፡ ሀገር፡ እምላህጉራተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ አሐዱ፡ ዓላዊ፡ ዘዓለዎ፡ ለገብረል መስキレイል፡ ንጉሠ፡ መሲሐውያን፡ 

Explicit: (f. 122rb)ውይርሐነ፡ ውስተ፡ ብርሃን። ወይክድነነ፡ በመንጦላዕተ፡ ስእለቱ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንተኰነን። በግርምት፡ ወዕፅብት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ደይን። ከመ፡ ንቁም፡ ምስሌሁ;

Supplication: (ff. 122rb-122va) QSወለነኒ፡ ኢይፍልጠነ፡ እምውእቱ፡ ማዕደ፡ መርዓ፡ ወማእንተ зай፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለገብraf:/
à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lalibala', continues in the following unit). It ends with a supplication note. The end is defined by the left space.

**ms_i1.12: ↗How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman (ff. 122va-122vb)**

*Incipit: (f. 120va)ወአሐተኒ፡ ዕለተ፡ ዘአርአየ፡ መንክራቲሁспеш Bartholomew: ለቀም፡ ለቀም፡ ለቀም፡ እንግርብጉ። ወሀለወት፡ አሐቲ፡ ብእሲት፡ ብዕልት። ወእንዘ፡ ትዴረር፡ ቈትበልዕ፡ ሥጋ፡ እንስሳ፡ አኃዘት፡ ትብላዕ፡ ሥጋ፡ ሰብእኒ፡ ዘበ呼ばት።*

*Explicit: (f. 122vb) ወዘንተ፡ ሶበ፡ ትቤ፡ ወፅአ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምታረ፡ ሥጋ፡ ምስለ፡ ደመ፡ ጕርዔሃ፡ ወወድቀ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር።*

*Supplication: (f. )ጸሎቱ፡ ወስእለቱ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወኢልማ፡ ረድኤቱ፡ ይሕንቆ፡ ከለምውን፤ አፋን።*

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir5 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit.

**ms_i1.13: ↗How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a man (ff. 122vb-123vb)**

*Incipit: (ff. 122va-123ra) ወካዕበ፡ አሐተ፡ ዕለተ፡ ኣኃዘ፡ ይጽርፍ፡ ሎቱ፡ ህሕዱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ለላሊበላ፡ እንዘ፡ የሐምዮ። ወብእሲቱሰ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ተቤሎ፡ ገትጽርፍ፡ ላዕለ፡ ግብረ፡ ፋርስክሑር፡ ወመሲሐ፡ ፋርስክሑር፡ ወእቱ፡ ዓዲ።*

*Explicit: (f. 123va) ያድኅነነኬ፡ ፋርስክሑር፡ እስመ፡ እምዘ፡ ከመዝ፡ ልማድ፡ እስመ፡ ጳውሎስኒ፡ ይሜህረነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንርግም፡ እስከ፡ ለሰይጣን፡ አኮ፡ ኃዚኖ፡ ዘይሜህር፡ ከመዝ፡ አላ፡ ከመ፡ ኢንልክር፡ ጥቀ፡ ለመርገም፡ በልሳንነ፡ ፜መ፡ ኢንድኃጽ፡ ለዕለ፡ እኁነ።*

*Supplication: (ff. 123va-123vb)ንትማኅፀንኬ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ፜መ፡ ያዑሮ፡ ለሰይጣን፡ ዘያስሮተ፡ ወይህፋ፡ ከመ፡ ንጽርፍ፡ ፜መ፡ ያዑሮ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወይስለ፡ ወልዳ_gemäint: ኢየሱስ፡ ወይባርገን፡ ለኵልነ፡ አሜን፤*

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir6 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit. The text contained on f.122va, line 5 up to f.122vb, line 10 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 53, line 23 up to page 54, line 8 ('Lalibala fait la guerre à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lalibala', continues in the following unit). The text begins on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication. The end is defined by the left space. The text contained on f.122vb, line 15 up to f.123va, line 13 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 54, line 9 up to page 55, line 10 ('Lalibala fait la guerre à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lalibala'). The text begins on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note.

**ms_i1.14: ↗Story about virtuous Deeds of Lālibalā (ff. 123vb-130va)**

*Incipit: (f. 123vb) ስምዑኬ፡ ኦፍቁራንየ፡ እንግርክሙ፡ ዘከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ግብረ፡ ፀአቶን፡ ለእላንቱ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ እምልበ፡ ምድር።*

*Explicit: (f. 130rb) ናሁኬ፡ ለካእኩ፡ ለክሙ፡ ኦፍቁራንየ፡ ንስቲተ፡ ዜና፡ የርስክሑር፡ ዝርሩፋቲሮ፡ ለገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ከመ፡ ይትፈሣሇ፡ ልብክሙ:

*Supplication: (ff. 130rb-130va)ወይኩነነ፡ ለኵልነ፡ እለ፡ ተጋባእነ፡ ዝየ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ጊራ፡ ምክህ፡ ለርእስነ። ወጽዳለ፡ ሱራሔ፡ ለገጽነ። ወኵሕለ፡ ለእደዊነ። ወሕልቀተ፡ ፍቅር፡ ለአፃብኢነ። ለእንግድዓነ፤ ወአውቃፈ፡ ምሕረት፡ ለእደዊነ። ወሕልቀተ፡ ፍቅር፡ ለአፃብኢነ። ለእንግድዓነ፤ ወአውቃፈ፡ ምሕረት፡ ለእደዊነ። ወሕልቀተ፡ ፍቅር፡ ለአፃብኢነ። ለእንግድዓነ፤ ወአውቃፈ፡ ምሕረት፡ ለእደዊነ። ወሕልቀተ፡ ፍቅር፡ ለአፃብアイነ። ለእንግድዓነ፤ ወአውቃፈ፡ ምሕረት፡ ለእደዊነ። ወሕልቀተ፡ ፍቅር፡ ለአፃብアイነ። ለእንግድዓነ፤ ወአውቃፈ፡ ምሕረት።*

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Abstract incipit and explicit of HagVirt corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit.

Supplication:  (f. 130vb)ለዘፈሐፎ፡ ወለዘአጽሐፎ፨ ለዘአንበቦ፡ ወለዘተርጐሞ፡ ወለዘሰምዓ፡ ቃላቲሁ፡ ኅቡረ፡ ይምሐሮሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት። ወጡሎታ፡ ሊማርያም፡ ወዲተ፡ አምላክ። ወበትንብልናሆሙ፡ ለሚካኤል፡ ወገብርኤል፡ ወበጡሎተ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወሐዋርያት፡ ወበጡሎተ፡ ጻድቃን፡ ወሰማዕት። ወበጡሎተ፡ ኃይለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላአዋልዲሃ፡ ወለተ፡ ማርያም፡ ኂሩተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ሊማለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

The text contained on f.123vb, line 3 up to f.130vb, line 18 is to be found in Perruchon’s edition on page 55, line 11 up to 64, line 11 (‘Construction des églises monolithes; leur description’. and ‘Lalibala ne veut pas que son fils lui succède; mort de Lalibala’). The text begins on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. It is the last page containing the text in Ethiopic, its end is marked with three dotted lines, interchanged with three ፨ two times below two columns.

Decorations

The manuscript is the only illustrated copy of this text. It contains ten miniatures that occupies eight pages, either a whole page (six miniatures) or half-page (four miniatures) and, as was common in the 19th century, either bearing a title in Gǝ‛z or in Amharic. The scribe and the painter must have thought very carefully about the project because the passages selected for painting narrate a specific story about Saint King Lālibalā. Most of the illustrations depict significant symbolic episodes of Lālibalā’s life until he became king. All the miniatures originally belonged to one and the same codex, so it is likely that a scribe and a painter worked on the manuscript together and almost simultaneously. Most of the miniatures reflect occurrences in Lālibalā’s life that are mentioned in the text.

d1  (f. 38r) Full-page miniature

How Saint Lālibalā was born in the town of Roḥa

d2  (f. 39v) Full-page miniature

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How he granted his son to the poor

See

d3 (f. 76r) Full-page miniature

How he received the Pact from his Creator

d4 (f. 76v) two half-page miniatures describing the same moment

How Saint Lâlibalâ died

d5 (f. 99v) Full-page miniature

How Saint Lâlibalâ met the Patriarch

d6 (f. 100r) Half-page miniature

How (the) Patriarch washed his feet

d7 (f. 100r) Half-page miniature

To cite this resource please import embedded metadata from the web page to your reference system or use the following: THIS IS AN UNPUBLISHED DRAFT UNDER REVISION. PLEASE DO NOT USE THIS WORK AS REFERENCE UNTIL IT IS COMPLETED.

How Queen Manan committed herself to [God’s] care

d8 (f. 126r) Full-page miniature

Lālibāla’s building’


d9 (f. 127v) Full-page miniature

As he built the Beta Māryām


Additions

a1 Ownership Note (f. 1r) The note states that the manuscript belongs to the church of Madḥāne ʿAlam.

e1 European seal

Presented by the Secretary of State for India 1868-08 (f. 1r)

e2 European note

Acts of Lalibala, King of Lasta> (f. viv)

e3 Monthly reading (f. 1r)

e4 Monthly reading (f. 19r)
Monthly reading (f. 33v)

Monthly reading (f. 40r)

Monthly reading (f. 45v)

Monthly reading (f. 65r)

Monthly reading (f. 68v)

Monthly reading (f. 80r)

Monthly reading (f. 86r)

Monthly reading (f. 90r)

Monthly reading (f. 100v)

Monthly reading (f. 116v)
Revisions of the data

- Dorothea Reule Validated on 15.1.2019
- Nafisa Valieva updated the file according to the last mode! on 14.1.2019
- Eugenia Sokolinski corrected collection name on 26.10.2018
- Nafisa Valieva encoded new item "the Poetry of Lalibala" on 24.5.2018
- Nafisa Valieva encoded Perruchon's edition on 10.4.2018
- Nafisa Valieva started to introduce information on each page and line edited by Perruchon on 9.4.2018
- Nafisa Valieva finished on 29.3.2018
- Nafisa Valieva encoded metadata, considering that it make sense on 28.3.2018
- Nafisa Valieva Started encoding metadata on 27.3.2018
- Pietro Maria Liuzzo encoded with regex the main structure of the word file provided by Nafisa Valieva (cb, pb, div[@subtype='folio']) on 17.7.2017
- Nafisa Valieva started encoding metadata on 13.7.2017
- Nafisa Valieva Created entity on 18.5.2017
- Pietro Maria Liuzzo Pietro had badly advised Nafisa on where to but the link to the images and has fixed it after checking the guidelines as he should have done from the very begining on 17.4.2017
Preamble

1. እአባ; ወወልድ; ወመንፍስ; ቀብስ; ወሚልክ; ወስላሴ; ዋሕድ;
   የሆይ; ዋኢይሰደቅ; ተሉት; ዋኢይነፍድ; ዋሀሎ; ይምቅድም; ይምክዋኔሁ;
   ይንዘ; ዋኢየሐጽጽ; ወኢይፈደፍድ።
2. ይምግጻዌሁ; ይንዘ; ዋኢየሐጽፋ; ወኀለነት፣ ወኢይትጰር; ወኢይትኤለድ።
3. ዋኢይትፈለጥ; ወልድ; ይምአብ; ወመንፍስ; ቀብስ; ይምወልድ;
   ወበአሐቲ; ይስማይኒ; ዋለመ; ይበቃለ; ይጽዋዕ; ይምኀበ; ዋኢሀሎ;
   ወአሐቲ; ይስማይኒ; ዋለእሳትኒ; ዋሰፍሖ; ዋነፋስ;
4. ዋለእሳትኒ; ዋለወለስ; ዋለእሳት; ዋእንብለ; ዋእኹሥ; ዋእድ።
5. ዋለእሳትኒ; ዋለወለስ; ዋለእሳት; ዋእንብለ; ዋእኹሥ; ዋእድ።

1. እአባ; ወወልድ; ወመንፍስ; ቀብስ; ወሚልክ; ወስላሴ; ዋሕድ;
   የሆይ; ዋኢይሰደቅ; ተሉት; ዋኢይነፍድ; ዋሀሎ; ይምቅድም; ይምክዋኔሁ;
   ይንዘ; ዋኢየሐጽፋ; ወኀለነት፣ ዋኢይትጰር; ዋለምድር; ወልቡና; ዋኢይትሀየድ።
6. ዋሚይኒ; ዋለእሳት; ዋለእሳት; ዋእንበለ; ዋእኹሥ; ዋእድ።
7. ዋለእሳትኒ; ዋለወለስ; ዋለእሳት; ዋእንብለ; ዋእኹሥ; ዋእድ።
8. ዋለእሳትኒ; ዋለወለስ; ዋለእሳታ; ዋእንበለ; ዋእኹሥ; ዋእደ።

1. እአባ; ወወልድ; ወመንፍስ; ቀብስ; ወሚልክ; ወስላሴ; ዋሕድ;
   የሆይ; ዋኢይሰደቅ; ተሉት; ዋኢይነፍድ; ዋሀሎ; ይምቅድም; ይምክዋኔሁ;
   ይንዘ; ዋኢየሐጽፋ; ወኀለነት፣ ዋኢይትጰር; ወኀለነት፣ ዋለምድር; ወልቡና; ዋኢይትሀየድ።

Preamble

1. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, O ne G od, O ne Equal 
   Trinity, 
   Indivisible Trinity, Who does not come to an end, 
   Who existed from the beginning, without being altered from its essence,
2. Without diminishing or increasing from its Person,
3. Who is not encompassed by nor assembled from the [four] corners of the world,
4. In Whom the Son is neither separated from the Father nor the Holy Spirit from 
   the Son.
5. Who brought forth the world from nonexistence through a word of invocation, by 
   one plan and one will.
6. Who founded the Earth with a wisdom that cannot be taken away.
7. Who established the heavens on the air of the burning fire.
8. And Who stretched out the fire on the air of the wind without touching by hand.

Numbes for OT and NT are given according to New Revised Standard Version 
Catholic Edition.


Preamble §§1-69 corresponds to 'Introduction', p. 1-7 (text), 'Discours d'introduc- 
ion. - Invocation a la Trinité. -Éloge de Lalibala, p. 65-72. (tr.), Perruchon, J., ed., 
1892. Vie de Lalibala roi d'Ethiopie: Texte éthiopien publié d’après un manuscrit des 
Musée Britannique et traduction française avec un résumé de l'histoire des Zagüés et 
la description des églises monolithes de Lalibala, tr. J. Perruchon (Paris: Ernest 
Leroux, 1892).
9 And Who extended the wind upon the chariot of the darkness without foundation or base.
10 Who, having congealed the water, set it up as the heavens and suspended it as an arch without a prop or a pillar.
11 Who constituted H is angels as spirit(s) and those who minister to Him as icon(s) of flame.
12 Who turns aside the lightning flashes and who fortifies the thunder.
13 Who breaks off hailstones from the belly of clouds to fall as small pieces.
14 Who rebukes the thunder and disperses the mist as ashes.
15 H is heavenly sphere is of flame and H is chariot causes shaking.
16 Who quieted the wave(s) of the sea and calms the tempest.
17 Whose dominion does not pass away from generation to generation
18 And Whose authority will not be overthrown throughout (all) the races.
19 The beginning of Whose days is uncountable and the extension of Whose being is not limited.

---

And Who extended the wind upon the chariot of the darkness without foundation or base.
Who, having congealed the water, set it up as the heavens and suspended it as an arch without a prop or a pillar.
Who constituted His angels as spirit(s) and those who minister to Him as icon(s) of flame.
Who turns aside the lightning flashes and who fortifies the thunder.
Who breaks off hailstones from the belly of clouds to fall as small pieces.
Who rebukes the thunder and disperses the mist as ashes.
H is heavenly sphere is of flame and H is chariot causes shaking.
Who quieted the wave(s) of the sea and calms the tempest.
Whose dominion does not pass away from generation to generation
And Whose authority will not be overthrown throughout (all) the races.
The beginning of Whose days is uncountable and the extension of Whose being is not limited.
20 Who created Adam so that He could be made manifest.
And while praising and bowing down to such a Lord
21 I will tell the story of the struggle and affliction of a man, blessed and holy,
honoured and chieftain, extolled and praised.
22 Clad in purity untouched by filth,
Bearer of poverty with majesty;
23 Who does not go by the wrong way,
24 Who was not struck by the arrows of the Adversary, who is the devil.
25 Mount of gold and mount of silver;
Mount of pearl and mount of sapphire,
Hill of galbanum and hill of wondrous incense.
26 We call him a mount of gold because of the beauty of his orthodox faith. And
because of the beauty of his patient in the struggle, while striving to fulfill the
word of the Gospel.

Who created Adam so that He could be made manifest.
And while praising and bowing down to such a Lord
I will tell the story of the struggle and affliction of a man, blessed and holy,
honoured and chieftain, extolled and praised.
Clad in purity untouched by filth,
Bearer of poverty with majesty;
Who does not go by the wrong way,
Who was not struck by the arrows of the Adversary, who is the devil.
Mount of gold and mount of silver;
Mount of pearl and mount of sapphire,
Hill of galbanum and hill of wondrous incense.
We call him a mount of gold because of the beauty of his orthodox faith. And
because of the beauty of his patient in the struggle, while striving to fulfill the
word of the Gospel.
Because he hears the horn of salvation, which is the announcement of the New Israel(s), which resounded from the tongue of the Lamb while being blown in the church by the mouth of the priest.

And the sound of the word says like this, ‘By your patient you will gain your souls.’

And furthermore it says, ‘Enter through the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the road is broad that leads and brings one in to destruction.

For the gate is extremely narrow and very tight, and strait is its road that leads and brings one in to life, and there are few who enter it.’

And as for the wide gate, it says that there are many who enter through it.

Who are those who have entered through the gate of destruction? And who are those again who will enter through it afterwards? For neither of these two ways has been bolted shut until now, one which is of death and one of life.

Those who enter the gate of destruction, they are those who walked in the ways of souls.'
35 Because those who eat and drink without measure, they deny the word of the Gospel, which says, ‘Do not make your hearts heavy with eating and drinking.’

36 And on them will be fulfilled the word of the Prophet, which says, ‘Woe to those who go early in the morning to the tavern and who spend the day drinking and whom wine inflames.’

37 And again, the word of the Bridegroom drives them out of the house of feasting, saying ‘Woe to them who are satiated now, for they will be hungry.’

38 Because they rejected the word that teaches toil, which says, ‘Work for the food that is for eternal life, which the Son of Man will give you, but not for the food that is transitory.’

39 And the grace of Lord passes away from those of gluttonous bellies to those who long for toil. As the birthright of Esau, lover of food, passed over to Jacob, citadel of toil.

App. 4 (font.) 35.2, 36.1 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ...; νῦν ὄρκῳ μὴ... Cf. Matthew 21:34 36.1 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ... 2

App. 5 (test.) 35.1, 37.1 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ... νῦν ὄρκῳ μὴ... Cf. Isaiah 5:11 37.2 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ... τὸ ὄρκῳ μὴ... Cf. Luke 6:25 38.1 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ... 3 ἀρπαγμ. Cf. John 6:27

App. 4 (font.) 35.2 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ... νῦν ὄρκῳ μὴ... Cf. Matthew 21:34 36.1 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ... 2 ὄρκῳ μὴ... Cf. Isaiah 5:11 37.2 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ... τὸ ὄρκῳ μὴ... Cf. Luke 6:25 38.1 λὰ ὄρκῳ μὴ... 3 ἀρπαγμ. Cf. John 6:27
40 These are, again, those who enter the gate of destruction together with those of whom we spoke previously, with the gluttons: adulterers, liars, heretics, thieves, fighters, robbers, deceivers, mockers, arrogant ones, magicians, and who believe in astrology, in the word of men and the word of women, who says, ‘We know what is coming and we discern what will be’.

41 For those who are like them, the way of destruction is their way, death is their end and Sheol is their consummation. This is the meaning of the wide gate which leads to death.

42 Do not think, my beloved ones, when you hear about the gate of destruction and Sheol is their consummation. This is the meaning of the wide gate which leads to death.

For those who are like them, the way of destruction is their way, death is their end and Sheol is their consummation. This is the meaning of the wide gate which leads to death.
43 The one who is lost does not ascend into heaven; for if one, who was appointed an
Archangel fell from heaven when he had a thought of destruction, how can a man
of destruction ascend into heaven?

44 And those who have entered the narrow gate are those who bore the Cross of
Christ and followed Him.

45 Bearing H is Cross means fasting with thanksgiving, love with mildness which is
with humility and poverty, tears with diligence, keeping one’s tongue from
blasphemous speech, from unjust and false talk, devoid of temporal affairs which
lead to death.

46 Purifying (his) flesh from adultery, wandering in the desert in a goat-skin and
mantle and shutting himself in a cave. And purifying (his) heart from the thought
of sin and being mindful remembrance of a death at all times.

47 To enter this gate he was strengthened, being guided by the saints who had come
before him, and he did enter, this glorious man, whose name is Lalibala, who was
given the name Gabra M asqal at the time of his anointment as king, and who made
the sign of the cross over the wings of his mind like the wings of the Cherubim to
be carried off by them to the throne of divinity, to join in praising together with
the Seraphim.

48 Because he accepted all the torments of which we spoke earlier, being immersed
in the sea of patience. Because starving is impossible without patience. And thirsting
is impossible without patience. Being bereft or being pregnant of the Lord [i.e.
by God's will], and accomplishing all the words of the Gospel is impossible without
patience.

49 For this reason he wore a tunic of patience and a breastplate of power so as to
overpower all the hardships of the struggle.

50 We call this man a mount of gold because as gold is kept in a treasury being closed
in a coffer, so too the treasury of the heart of the blessed Lālibalā was for him a
storehouse of the word of the Gospel. And the word of the Gospel is true gold which does not contain any falseness, which dwell in the heart of this perfect man, who reached the measure of the limits of Christ.

51 For his humility was like a coffer, because by the rope of humility is led the neck of the heart of the righteous. Because without humility it is impossible to please the Lord, as the Prophet exclaimed, receiver of a coal from the tongs of the Seraphim, saying, 'Thus says the Lord: Upon whom shall I look if not upon the meek and the humble and the ascetic, who tremble at my word?'

52 And the Lord of the Prophet says, 'Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble is my heart, and you will find rest for your souls.'

53 We compare him to the mount of silver and mount of sapphire, because of the word of justice which comes out from mouth, eloquence whose language is seasoned with the salt of divinity.

54 We call him mount of pearl because of the purity of his flesh, because he acquired purity like the angels.
55 And made the pearl of his purity to sparkle seven times more than the Moon, the Sun and Orion and Mazzaroth. Because he hearkens to the Apostle, when he says, 'Purify your hearts, and purify your hands.'

56 And again there came out of the mouth of Paul, saying like this, 'Let there be no one among you who is a fornicator or impure person.'

57 And further he says, 'And he who destroys God's temple, God will destroy him.'

58 And moreover, Lālibala swallowed a seed of the word from the grapes of prophecy of the blessed David, which says, 'I have not desired sacrifice and offerings. Purify your flesh for Me. I take no delight in sin offerings.'

59 And having observed all this, he hid himself in a pure guiver, in order that the venom of the serpent, whose venom stupefies whatever it besprinkles, should not...

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App. 4 (font.) 55,1 ἵππος ἀλοίπου ... 2 ὀργάνον τοῦ ἑρμήνευματος Cf. Book of Henok
2 Λunate ... 3 ὀργάνον τοῦ Cf. James 4:8 56,1 Λαὸς ... 2 ὀργάνον τοῦ Cf. Ephesians 5:5 57,1 ὀργάνον ... 2 ὀργάνον τοῦ Cf. Corinthians 3:17 58,2 ὀργάνον τοῦ ... 3 ὀργάνον τοῦ Cf. Ps. 51:16-17

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App. 5 (test.) 55,1 ἵππος ἀλοίπου ... 3 ὀργάνον πρὸς ὁμολόγησιν Cf. Book of Henok 2 Λunate ... 3 ὀργάνον τοῦ Cf. Ephesians 5:5 57,1 ὀργάνον ... 2 ὀργάνον τοῦ Cf. Corinthians 3:17 58,2 ὀργάνον πρὸς ὁμολόγησιν ... 3 ὀργάνον τοῦ Cf. Ps. 51:16-17
دواም: የወለቀነዓት፡ ይህ ቤት የልወእን ማንጋ

A pp. 1 (crit.) እንወቅም። የጻድቃን። የልወእን ማንጋ

A pp. 2 (punct.) እንወቅም። የታይምዕዝ፡ ይህ ቤት የልወእን ማንጋ

سطح اللغة: አማርኛ

reach him. That is why he fled from the sweet pleasure of this world that grows into sin. So that he shall be called a great treasure, which is collected in the treasury of the house of the Highest. As Solomon says, ‘A pure man is a precious treasure.’

60 He is called the hill of myrrh and the hill of incense because of the fragrance of his virtue, the aroma of whose scent perfumes all ends of the world. As the Scripture says, ‘From the ends of the earth we have heard the mention of hope of a saint’.

61 And behold, the fragrance of his arima causes people and nations, officers and nobles, great ones and prefects to run after (it), the sweetness of whose aroma has not dried up until now. As the Scripture says, ‘We run after the fragrance of your aroma.’

62 And the aroma of this blessed man is not like the aroma of the priesthood of Aaron which is from the perfume of flowers, of myrrh, or spice, nor it is from

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App. 4 (font.) 61,3 ἡμω[ν]... ἄρω-κ... | Cf. Song of Songs, 1:4

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App. 5 (test.) 3 ἡμω[ν]... [Ej, 5rb | ἡμω[ν]... [Ee, 3ra | ἡμω[ν]... [Ei, 6rb | ἡμω[ν]... [Ei, 6va | ἡμω[ν]... [Ei, 6ra | ἡμω[ν]... [Ei, 5v; ἡμω[ν]... [Oa, 9ra | ἡμω[ν]... [A, 5vb, Ea, 6rb | ἡμω[ν]... [G, 45ra | ἡμω[ν]... [Ee, 4rb | ἡμω[ν]... [Ee, 4ra | ἡμω[ν]... [Ei, 6va | ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 6ra | ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 7rb | ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 7v; ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 7ra | ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 7ra | ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 7v; ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 7v; ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 7v; ἡμω[ν]... [Lb, 7v;
62 ወወሮ፡ ከምከመ፡ በከመ፡ ይላ፡ ይው፡ የሄት፡ ከሆቱ፡ እስጭ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ:

63 ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ:

64 ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ:

A pp. 1 (crit.) 62.1 ወወሮ፡ ወወሮ:

63 ወወሮ:

64 ወወሮ:

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spice or cinnamon or from olive ointment. Rather, his aroma is from the perfume of the Gospel and is not from a tree.

63 And the citadel of his tabernacle is not like the tabernacle of Moses, because that tabernacle of Moses was the model and pattern for the coming new tabernacle which is the Church, and especially for the citadel building which was built by Lalibela’s hand, the house of the wedding of the Lamb, which was not built in any other place, nowhere, as far as the Sun can be seen. And we will tell you later all about their construction, how the construction of their buildings was. But first, we want to tell you about the deeds of their builder, how his origin was and how his end was. And therefore we ask the one who makes the fools wise to open for us.
let him ask the giver God, Who gives generously to all. And let him ask trusting and without doubting and it shall be given to him. And you, my beloved ones, people of pride, who are renowned as new Israelites, who eat from a wonderful sacrifice whose carcass does not produce worms, which is not from the quail(s), that became worm and came out from the nostrils of those who ate them. And you who drink the water of life from the mount of mystery, which is not from the mount of Horeb whose water issued forth due to contention between God and His Prophet

Pray for me that He may give me a well-instructed tongue, that I know what to say, because I am of limited understanding, for until now I have not touched (even) a corner of the account of the story, which I am going to talk about. Because the account is long and the revelation of its mystery is profound.

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67 ወባሕቱ፡

እነግረክሙ፡

በሐሳበ፡

ክህልኩ፡

እንዘ፡

እትአመን፡

በኀይለ፡

ጸሎትክሙ፡ ወበጸሎቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ኮከበ፡ ክብር፡ ጽባሐዊ፡ ዘይሀይድ፡
ብርሃኑ፡ ብርሃነ፡ ካልኣን፡ ከዋክብት።
68 እንዘ፡ አብ፡ ይረድእ፡ ለወጢን፡ በለብዎ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ወልድ፡ ያጸንዕ፡ በአስተሰ

ናእዎ። ወመንፈስ፡ in hatmony እንዘ፡ ይከውን፡ ፈጻሜ፡ ኀይለ፡ ቃል፡ በአስተ
ታልዎ፡ በሰላመ፡ ዚአሁ፡ አሜን።

Jesus and His redeeming fire

Soterology
1 አቀድም፡ አእኵቶቶ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡

ዘውእቱ፡ ወልዱ፡ ወቃሉ፡ ለአብ፡ ዘበሕፅነ፡ አቡሁ፡ ሠረጸ፡ ፍሬ፡ ስብሐት፡

App. 1 (crit.)67,1 እነግረክሙ፡] cet. (-J); ወእነግረክሙ፡ J | በሐሳበ፡ … 2 ጸሎትክሙ፡]
cet. (-Ed); ዘከሠተ፡ ሊተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ Ed | በሐሳበ፡] cet. (-JLa); በሐሳብ፡ J; በኀበ፡
La
| ክህልኩ፡] cet. (-K); ከልሑ፡ K
|
እንዘ፡ እትአመን፡] cet. (-La); om. La
በኀይለ፡ … 2 ጸሎትክሙ፡] cet. (-ι); በጸሎትክሙ፡ ι 2 ጸሎትክሙ፡] cet. (-EiJ); om. EiJ
| ወበጸሎቱ፡] cet. (-EcEi); ወበኃይለ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ Ec; ጸሎቱ፡ Ei | ብእሲ፡] cet. (-Ed);
om. Ed | ጽባሐዊ፡] cet. (-Ed); ጽዱል፡ Ed | ዘይሀይድ፡] cet. (-ηEf); ዘይሐይድዋ፡ η;
ዘሐይድ፡ Ef 3 ብርሃነ፡] {እም}ብርሃነ፡ marg. Oa; cet. (-ζEdJOa); om. Ed; ዘእምብርሃነ፡
J; እምብርሃነ፡ ζ | ካልኣን፡] cet. (-ηEd); transp. post ከዋክብት፡ η; እምካልአን፡ Ed
68,1 ይረድእ፡] cet. (-La); ይወርድአ፡ La | ወእንዘ፡ ወልድ፡] cet. (-Ef); ወወልድ፡ Ef
ወእንዘ፡] cet. (-A); እንዘ፡ A | በአስተሰናእዎ።] cet. (-AEiJ); በተሰናንእዎ፡ A; ወያረግዕ፡
add. Ei; ወያጸግዕ፡ add. J
2 ወመንፈስ፡] cet. (-EiJ); ወዘመንፈስ፡ EiJ | እንዘ፡
ይከውን፡] cet. (-EdEiJ); om. EdEiJ | ፈጻሜ፡] cet. (-EdLd); እንዘ፡ ይፌጽም፡ Ed;
ፍጻሜ፡ Ld | ኀይለ፡] cet. (-EjKLa); om. EjK; transp. post ቃለ፡ La | ቃል፡]
cet. (-La); ቃለ፡ La
|
በአስተታልዎ፡] (በ{አ}ስተታልዎ፡ Ed), cet. (-ζEdEiGJ);
በአስተዳልዎ፡ ζEi; ዘአስተሳልዎ፡ G; ዘአስተዳለዎ፡ J 3 በሰላመ፡ ዚአሁ፡] cet. (-Ec); om.
Ec | በሰላመ፡] (በሰላ፡{መ} s.l. A), cet. (-AEbEiJ); በስመ፡ EbJ; ወበስመ፡ Ei | ዚአሁ፡]
cet. (-AEb); እግዚአብሔር፡ A; ሥላሴሁ፡ Eb | አሜን።] ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ La
2. Soteriology 1,1 አቀድም፡] cet. (- K); አቅድም፡ K | አእኵቶቶ፡] (አእኵቶ{ቶ}፡ s.l.
Ei), cet. (- G); እኵቶቶ፡ G | በእንተ፡ እግዚእነ፡] cet. (- GLb); በእግዚእነ፡ AGLb
ኢየሱስ፡] (ኢየ{ሱ}ስ፡ s.l. Ei), cet. 2 ዘውእቱ፡] cet. (- Ei); ዝውእቱ፡ Ei | ዘበሕፅነ፡]
cet. (- αG); ዘባሕቲቱ፡ α; ዘበሕነ፡ G | ሠረጸ፡] cet. (- K); transp. post. ስብሐት፡ K
ስብሐት፡] cet. (- EiJ); ወስብሐት፡ add. A; ሕይወት፡ EiJ
App. 2 (punct.) 67,1 ክህልኩ፡] ። J
2 ጸሎትክሙ፡] ። αEfLa | ክብር፡] ። J
3 ካልኣን፡] ። η | ከዋክብት።] ። αEdEfEjJOa; ፤ Ei
68,1 ለወጢን፡] ። GJ
በለብዎ፡] ። EaEcEdEiJLb; ፤ Eb
|
ያጸንዕ፡] ። J
|
በአስተሰናእዎ።] ።
cet. (-AEbEeEfEiKLaOaOaII);፤ EbEi;
2 ፈጻሜ፡] ። J | ቃል፡] ። J | በአስተ
ታልዎ፡] ። ς;።።። Ea 3 አሜን።] ። EfEiEjGJKLd; ። ። AEbEd; punctual line,
(end of the folium)


But I will tell you to the degree that I am able, believing in the power of your prayers and prayers of this man, the glorious morning star, whose light outshines the light of (all) other stars.

While the Father helps to begin with intelligence and the Son strengthens (it) in harmony with it, and while the Holy Spirit thereupon becomes the perfection of the power of the word by H is peace. Amen.

Jesus and His redeeming fire

I shall begin by thanking God for Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the Son and the Word of the Father, Who in the womb of the Father came forth as a fruit of praise,
2 ይገንታለ፡ ያለታለ፡ ገራማታናት፡ ለስራይ፡ ወለአድባር办实事:

3 ወለአድባር办实事:

4 ወለአድባር办实事:

5 ወለአድባር办实事:
a physician, Who descended from the heavens to cast H is balm upon those who
are wounded by the bites of beasts, oxen and cows, male and female, sending the
Spirit to his Prophets, Who makes them say to Him, ‘O Lord, incline your heavens
and descend, raise up your power and come redeem us. Lord of Powers, restore us.
Touch the mountains and they will smoke’. What is this touching of mountains
and their smoking? Even they smoke, they vanish.

2 Satan and his devils are called mountains because of their utter arrogance. Because
first Satan became a mountain of arrogance, having conceived in torment, who
begat sin from his womb that was filled with poison which kills.

3 And this sin of his, growing fast, became a scourge for A dam and his seed.

4 And that is why the Creator, when he saw H is creation suffering under the yoke
of Satan’s servitude, descended, (yet) without divesting himself of H is throne.

5 The one whom the heaven of heavens cannot encompass spent nine months in the
womb of a woman, being born without opening the gate of H er Virginity.

\[
\text{And that is why the Creator, when he saw His creation suffering under the yoke of Satan’s servitude, descended, (yet) without divesting himself of His throne.}
\]
6 The one who is concealed in tabernacles of light was swaddled in rags.
7 The one who rests in the chamber of the highest heaven slept in a stable.
8 The one who does not eat the meat of a cow nor drink the blood of goat, sucked the breast of milk.
9 The one who is borne on the wings of the wind was dandled on the knees.
10 The Ancient of Days grew old little by little.
11 The one whom myriads upon myriads ministered to, (himself) ministered like a servant.
12 The one Who washed the world in the waters of the Deluge was baptised in the Jordan.
13 40 days and 40 nights fasted in the desert, then He became hungry.
14 He was tempted by the Devil and taught the Gospel of the Kingdom.
15 He healed the sick, opened the eyes of the blind, raised up the paralysed. He made the lame to run. He loosed the twisted. He made smooth the scabby. He purified the leprous. He made the deaf hear and the dumb speak.
16 The one Who had clouds as the dust under His feet, trod the earth.
The one Who would ride on the Cherubim, rode on a donkey.

And He showed utter humility and accepted (all) sufferings of the flesh.

He stood to the right of a servant. He was bound like a criminal.

He was slapped in the face by the hand of a servant. His head was beaten with a stick of cane.

And He was hung on the Cross, He was nailed by His feet and hands.

And He drank gall mixed with myrrh.

And bowing His head He accomplished (H is) dying. And His side was pierced, from which frowed two streams of life.

And He was shrouded in fine linen cloth. And He was buried in a tomb. And it was closed with the stone of the Seal of the Jews.

And He spent three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. And He was raised from the dead and He raised the dead.

He ascended into the heavens and He is sitting on the right hand of the Majesty, Who is the Father, and He intercedes for us.
Edition Two: ‘Malkəʾa Lālibalā of UNESCO 2.85’

1. Salutation to your birth in a pure marriage, wise Lālibalā, you appeared like a shining star. We, evangelic people, appeal by your birth that you protect us from the wolf and the hyena.

2. Salutation to your birth that the spirit of wisdom encompassed in the likeness of bright bees. Blessed Lālibalā, pillar for the hosts of the faith, we, children of the church, appeal by your birth never to be destroyed by the tempest.

3. Salutation to the hair of your head, wet from the oil of the Gospel, Lālibalā, pillar of faith,

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553 I thank Ted Erho for indicating me this hymn and Hiruei Ermias and Orin Gensler for helping me with its translation.
who fulfilled the Law of Christ, the Benefactor of delight.

We appeal by your hair to be our crown,
allow us to trample the lion and wolf.

4. Salutation to the top of your head, which is surrounded by beauty,
(like) a crown of light.
Blessed Lālibalā, horn of the Gospel of the Kingdom,
salvation is fitting for the top of your head,
your fame was heard everywhere.

5. Salutation to your lovely face,
very beautiful, Lālibalā, who is chosen
(and) adorned by the love of Mary.
I, the poor, appeal by your lovely face,
allow me to conquer the wicked beast.

6. Salutation to your eyelashes, which did not sleep, a slumber of sloth,
Lālibalā, you, who were a pedestal for the church.
Who is like you in excellence of struggle and toil?!
I appeal by your eyelashes to seal my eyelashes,
so that the Devil, the beast of contention, may never come near them.
7. Salutation to your eyes, which did not regard worldly desires.
Blessed Lālibalā, host of the Lord,
I appeal by your eyes that temptation may not overcome me,
and crown me with a diadem of victory.

8. Salutation to your ears that heard the hymns of Michael
in the heart of the spirit, while listening;
it reached the Kingdom of the uppermost Heaven.
I appeal by your ears, Lālibalā, be my helper
before the Most High, being a witness.

9. Salutation to your cheeks, red as pomegranates
and delightful as wine.
Chosen Lālibalā, pure wine of the Holy Spirit,
I, despised man, appeal by your cheeks
that your supplication shall be for me a ford away from Judgement.

10. Salutation to your lips; let them speak:
Chosen Lālibalā, pure wine of the Holy Spirit,
I, despised man, appeal by your lips
that your supplication shall be for me a ford away from Judgement.
10. Salutation to your nostrils, which smell clearly of the evangelic perfume, Lālibalā, who bore the yoke of the Holy Spirit. We appeal by your nostrils, take care of us and bring us past the snares of Sheol.

11. Salutation to your lips, rosy as a red flower, which did not say vain words of transgression; Blessed Lālibalā whose deeds are as fragrant as myrrh; you, who built the temple of the wonder of Ascension (Christ), bring my ship in to port of peace.

12. Salutation to your teeth which did not become dirty because of the sour grapes of sin and were not defiled, Blessed Lālibalā, son of the church. The town of Roḥa bids you ‘Welcome!’ because it belongs to you and you are its grace.

13. Salutation to your lips, rosy as a red flower, which did not say vain words of transgression; Blessed Lālibalā whose deeds are as fragrant as myrrh; you, who built the temple of the wonder of Ascension (Christ), bring my ship in to port of peace.

12. Salutation to the opening of your mouth, that pours out praise. Be a guide for us on the path of righteousness.

13. Salutation to your teeth which did not become dirty because of the sour grapes of sin and were not defiled, Blessed Lālibalā, son of the church. The town of Roḥa bids you ‘Welcome!’ because it belongs to you and you are its grace.
14. Salutation to your tongue which prayed, asking for the return of the kingdom of Israel.
Blessed Lālibalā, radiant star of faith,
We appeal by your tongue, which (is) a gushing river of praise, to save us from the corrupted beast.

15. Salutation to your throat which did not drink the wine of stupefaction, Being satisfied with water from Paradise.
Lālibalā, you made grains of the Holy Spirit (to be) nourishment;
I appeal by your throat, be my refuge
And pass me over the abyss of fire.

16. Salutation to your beard, like the beard of Aaron, Behold it is good and beautiful.
Blessed Lālibalā, firm pillar of the church,
I, your weak son, appeal by your beard, protect me from all suffering.

17. Salutation to your voice, you called to me: Do not cry:
Let us pray:
Your voice: Your beard: Your tongue: Your throat: Your head: Your heart:
Your voice: Your beard: Your head: Your heart: Your tongue:
Your voice: Your beard: Your head: Your heart: Your tongue:
17. Salutation to your neck, which, through great diligence, 
Is adorned with a necklace of the light of righteousness.
Pure Lālibalā as a (?) gold, 
we, evangelic disciples, appeal by your neck, 
that you protect us from the devil and calamity.

18. Salutation to your shoulder(s) which did not bear the burden of sin, 
lamp of Ḥa town.
Blessed Lālibalā, girded by a rope of faith. 
We, evangelic flock, appeal by your shoulder, 
that you pass us over the second death.

19. Salutation to your back, clothed in the light of Divinity, 
while offering there the pure sacrifice of the Lord in Ḥa town. 
I appeal by your back, fill me with joy, 
Visit me every time, while saying ‘Greetings!’

20. Salutation to your bosom, which 
Embtaced the Gospel, 
while preaching the Word.
Lālibalā, who became a reservoir of the milk of the Gospel.
I appeal by your bosom, that I may not be lost,
make me obtain a portion of the righteous.

21. Salutation to your hands which were not lazy in building
the House of the Creator without earth or wood.
Your covenant, engraved on every one of the tablets of heaven.
Blessed Lālibalā, blossom of heavenly wisdom.
I appeal by your hands (to be protected) from falling and slipping down.

22. Salutation to your palms, which hold the scepter of Victory.
Blessed Lālibalā;
by them the altar of the Lord was built.
I, your sinful servant, appeal by your palms
to protect me from temptation and enmity.

23. Salutation to your fingers which built a sanctuary
(and) ten churches.
Lālibalā, you who were the seat of heavenly wisdom,
your holy fingers that were full of shining splendour
bless me all day long.
24. ለልባም፡ እለን፡ የቀረባት፡ ያለ፡ ለተወክፋ፡ የጥብጣቤ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ግድልከ፡ በከመ፡ ያወት። ለላሊበላ፡ በምዑዝ፡ ይእምነ፡ የስሒን፡ ይወከርቤ። የተማኅፀንኩ፡ በገበዋቲከ፡ ለኵነኒ፡ ለዐቃቤ፡ የተማኅፀንኩ፡ ይእምነ፡ ይወከርቤ። ያስለርቢ፡ ይእምኵሉ፡ ይእምኵሉ፡ ያንዳቤ፨

24. Salutation to your ribs which received whipping, as says the book of your struggle. Läl̈libalā, more fragrant than incense and myrrh. I appeal by your ribs, be my protector, and save me from all torment.

25. ለልባም፡ እለን፡ የትምፋ፡ ያለ፡ ለለወድደ፡ የአምላክ፡ ያወልፈ። ለላሊበላ፡ ይመልአክ፡ ይአክናፈ፡ ያሚካኤል፡ ያዘተዐፅፈ። የተማኅፀንኩ፡ ይእምነ፡ ይወከርቤ። ያስለርቢ፡ ይእምኵሉ፡ ያንዳበ፨

25. Salutation to your mind, which was ever wounded by the arrow of the Son of God’s love. Angel Läl̈libalā, who clothed himself in the wings of Michael. I appeal by your mind, be my guide, granting me the sword of victory.

26. ለልባም፡ እለን፡ የታላያት፡ ያለፋም፡ ያለ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለ፡ ይእምነ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለፋም፡ ያለ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለፋም፡ ያለ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለፋም፡ ያለ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለፋም፡ ያለ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለፋም፡ ያለ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፆበ፨

26. Salutation to your heart which was not concerned in thinking of the world, while observing the commandment(s). When he drank poison, by the power of God, at that moment he was filled with a Mighty Spirit. Blessed Läl̈libalā, who was named a shining star.

27. ለልባም፡ እለን፡ የታላያት፡ ያለፋም፡ ያለ፡ ያትምፋ፡ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፋም׃ ያለፆበ፨

27. Salutation to your heart which was not concerned in thinking of the world, while observing the commandment(s). When he drank poison, by the power of God, at that moment he was filled with a Mighty Spirit. Blessed Läl̈libalā, who was named a shining star.
27. Salutation to your stomach, like the horn of a tablet, in which wheat of the bright Spirit was poured.
Blessed Lālibalā, more fragrant than a rose,
I appeal by your stomach (to be protected) on the Day of Judgement and Retribution when a mother cannot save her son.

28. Salutation to your girded loins, which were a horn of the Holy Spirit.
Lālibalā, chosen one, who conquered Satan,
I appeal by your loins, speak to me soon, saying ‘My beloved, I am your helper’.

29. Salutation to your legs that are set like golden pillars on a silver throne.
Blessed Lālibalā, who is a spring of the milk of the Gospel.
I, despised slave, appeal by your legs, that you save me from the midday devil.
30. Salutation to your knees which readied themselves for prostration, while following the commands of righteousness.
Blessed Lālibalā, root of the church,
Behold I, your son, appeal by your knees, and inscribe my name onto the column of gold.

31. Salutation to your feet which ran along the street of wisdom, while observing the windows of the law.
Blessed Lālibalā, blossom of the church,
I appeal by your feet that injustice should not touch me.
Say to me, your servant, ‘You are my portion in lot’.

32. Salutation to your toes, which walked without shaking, through the doorposts of heavenly wisdom.
Chosen Lālibalā, you are an angel/messenger for Roḥa town.
I appeal by your fingers, embellish me with splendour, carry me off as booty from the hand of Satan.

33. I salute your anointed sandals, which are iron and copper, whose interpretation is the Gospel and the Torah.
I appeal by your sandals (to be saved) from the sting of death,
Blessed Lālibalā, olive tree of Paradise.

34. Salutation to your stature, whose interpretation is like a palm tree,
who ascended on the wings of Gabriel.
Ten churches praise him.
Behold I, your servant, appeal by your stature.
Blessed Lālibalā, who is in harmony with Christ.

35. Salutation over salutation to your entire image,
to your soul and flesh, each in its turn,
to your bones and blood, which were sanctified with holy oil.
To your eyebrows and your sinews, which are more fragrant than storax.
Lālibalā, my father, inflamed with love of Mary, you are a horn
which sounds in the garden of righteousness.

36. I offer salutation, salutation to Lālibalā,
Who returned the Kingdom of Israel.
Naod, the anointed one, burning in love,
When he [Na‘od] calls upon him [Lālibalā], lifting up his voice,
He says ‘yes’, whatever he asks him.
Summary

The central goal (and hopefully achievement) of this dissertation is to break apart and articulate, for the first time, the large mass of material about King Lālibalā that has generally been subsumed and 'leveled' under the monolithic label 'Gadla Lālibalā', which has been considered the main source about the life and deeds of King Lālibalā as a saint. King Lālibalā is considered a saint along with other kings of the so-called Zagwe dynasty, who ruled in the twelfth-thirteenth century ce, who is given credit for the construction of the renowned rock-hewn churches in the city of Lālibalā, named after the king.

As a careful study of twenty-three manuscripts shows, Gadla Lālibalā is anything but a homogeneous text that simply recounts the life of Lālibalā. Rather, it is a composite of multiple textual units revolving around Lālibalā, partially independent of each other and occurring in different combinations in different manuscripts. The units are articulated on both a logical and a physical basis. Each unit has a textual life of its own (potentially different date of composition, author, provenience), and may be transmitted separately apart from the others. The basic textual units include (inter alia) the 'Life of Lālibalā' proper, 'Jesus and His redeeming fire', 'Praise for Lālibalā', various miracles, numerous separate episodes in his life, etc. I distinguish between this 'basic' dossier of fourteen units closely linked to Lālibalā and which usually occur together (I call this ensemble the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection'), and some further units which may sometimes occur together with the basic Lālibalā dossier — on such topics as Naʾakkwǝto Laʾab, Masqal Kǝbrā (Lālibalā's queen), malkǝ', antiphons, hymns, etc. This general approach provides a solution to what has seemed a paradox: most parts of the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' honour and praise Lālibalā, but one textual unit (having a strongly Solomonic ideology) shows Lālibalā humbling himself and renouncing his kingship.

Additionally, the dissertation proposes a stemma codicum for the basic 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' dossier, and presents a partial critical edition for two of the fourteen basic textual units. A notable feature here is the use of computer software to prepare the basic collation of the manuscripts. Also addressed is the use of the 'Life of Lālibalā' for the liturgical commemoration.
Zusammenfassung


List of Publications

