

**A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Late  
Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Treatise:  
*Tārik Zamādra Gondar (The History of the Land of Gondar)***

**A dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities at the Universität Hamburg,  
for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Äthiopistik  
By  
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From Ethiopia**

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Date of the defence : 12 November 2021

## Declaration on Oath

Here by I declare on oath that I have written this dissertation by my own and I have not used other than acknowledged resources and aids

Sisay Sahile Beyene

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Sisay Sahile Beyene', written over a horizontal line.

Hamburg, June 2021

## Dedication

In memory of my father, the late *ʾAto* Sahile Beyene Engdashet (*Bābbāya*), (1921–2011)



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ይትባረከ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ አባቶቻችን። (Blessed be Lord, the God of Our Fathers.)

## List of abbreviation

AM	‘Amata Məhrat (designating Ethiopian Calendar)
BCE	Before Common Era
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CE	Common Era
Cp	Compare
EAe	<i>Encyclopaedia Aethiopica</i>
MS/MSS	Manuscript/Manuscripts

**Biblical Abbreviations<sup>1</sup>****1. Old Testament**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Book</b>
Amos	Amos
1 Chron.	1 Chronicles
2 Chron.	2 Chronicles
Dan.	Daniel
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Eccles.	Ecclesiastes
Esther	Esther
Exod.	Exodus
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Ezra	Ezra
Gen.	Genesis
Hab.	Habakkuk
Hag.	Haggai
Hosea	Hosea
Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Job	Job
Joel	Joel
Jon.	Jonah
Josh.	Joshua
Judg.	Judges
1 Kings	1 Kings
2 Kings	2 Kings
Lam.	Lamentations
Lev.	Leviticus
Mal.	Malachi
Mic.	Micah
Nah.	Nahum
Neh	Nehemiah
Num.	Numbers
Obad.	Obadiah
Prov.	Proverbs
Ps.	Psalms

<sup>1</sup> These abbreviations for the books of the Bible are adopted for this dissertation from *The Chicago Manual of Style: The Essential Guide for Writers, Editors, and Publishers*, 17th edn, 2017, section 10.44–10.48, pp. 556–600. (Source : <https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/book/ed17/frontmatter/toc.html>).

Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam.	1 Samuel
2 Sam.	2 Samuel
Song of Sol.	Song of Solomon (Songs of Songs)
Zech.	Zephaniah
Zeph.	Zechariah

## 2. New Testament

### Abbreviations

Acts  
 Apoc.  
 Col.  
 1 Cor.  
 2 Cor.  
 Eph.  
 Gal.  
 Heb.  
 James  
 John  
 1 John  
 2 John  
 3 John  
 Jude  
 Luke  
 Mark  
 Matt.  
 1 Pet.  
 2 Pet.  
 Philem.  
 Phil.  
 Rev.  
 Rom.  
 1 Thess.  
 2 Thess.  
 1 Tim.  
 2 Tim.  
 Titus

### Book

Acts of the Apostles  
 Apocalypse (Revelation)  
 Colossians  
 1 Corinthians  
 2 Corinthians  
 Ephesians  
 Galatians  
 Hebrews  
 James  
 John  
 1 John (Epistle)  
 2 John (Epistle)  
 3 John (Epistle)  
 Jude  
 Luke  
 Mark  
 Matthew  
 1 Peter  
 2 Peter  
 Philemon  
 Philippians  
 Revelation  
 Romans  
 1 Thessalonians  
 2 Thessalonians  
 1 Timothy  
 2 Timothy  
 Titus

Note on the Transliteration

The transliteration is that adopted in the Beta Maṣāḥəft project standard.

a. Vowels

Sound	Symbol	Pronunciation	
		Amharic examples	Transliteration
አ	a	አሐዱ	'Aḥadu
ኡ	u	ሉል	Lul
ኢ	i	ኢዮር	'Iyyor
አ	ā	ሌዋዊ	Ləwāwi
ኤ	e	ቤዛ	Bezā
እ	ə	እግዚእ	'Īgzi'ə
አ	o	ዎሜጋ	'Omegā

b. Consonants

ሀ	h	ሀገር	hagar
ለ	l	ለምድ	lamd
ሐ	ḥ	ሐመር	ḥamar
መ	m	መንገድ	mangad
ሠ	ś	ንጉሥ	nəguś
ረ	r	ረበበ	rabbaba
ሰ	s	ሰማይ	samāy
ሸ	š	ሸኘ	šaṣṣā
ቀ	q	ቀለም	qalam
በ	b	በቀላ	baqalā
ተ	t	ተስፋ	tasfā
ቸ	č	ቸርነት	čarənat
ካ	ḥ	ካይል	ḥayl
ነ	n	ነገድ	nagada
ኘ	ñ	ዳኘ	dāñña
አ	'	አበሞ	'abamo
ከ	k	ከበረ	kabbara
ኸ	ḵ	ኸዚያ	ḵaziyā
ወ	w	ወገን	wagan
ዐ	'	ዐወቀ	'awwaqa
ዘ	z	ዘመን	zaman
ዠ	ž	አንገረበበ	'anžābbaba
የ	y	ይሁዳ	yihudi
ደ	d	ደስታ	dasətā
ጀ	ğ	ጀግና	ğagenā
ገ	g	ገሰገሰ	gasagasa
ጠ	t	ጠቢብ	ṭabib
ጨ	ç	ጮራ	çorā
ጰ	p	ጰራቅሊጦስ	pāraqliṭos
ጸ	š	ጸሎት	šalot
ፀ	š	ፀሐይ	šahay
ፈ	f	ፈላስፋ	falāsfā
ፐ	p	ፐስታ	postā
ቄ	q <sup>w</sup>	ቄያ	q <sup>w</sup> āyā
ካ	ḥ <sup>w</sup>	ካላ	yah <sup>w</sup> ālā

ከ  
ገ

k<sup>w</sup>  
g<sup>w</sup>

ከላ  
ገገ

k<sup>w</sup>annana  
g<sup>w</sup>āg<sup>w</sup>ā

## Chapter One: Historical and historiographical overview

### 1.1. The Ethiopian Christian kingdom and its attitude toward mobility and capital-city

The origin of the Ethiopian monarchy is traditionally traced back to Aksumite period. The rise of the kingdom of Aksum seems a clear attestation for the development of state structure and organized political framework in the country from the first century up to the seventh century. 'Aksum was a prominent city in the kingdom, and was a center of politics, religion, and culture for several centuries. During the seventh century, the power of the Aksumite kings deteriorated; they lost their dominancy over the Red Sea coast and failed to control local upheavals. Finally, in the tenth century, revolts traditionally attributed to Queen G<sup>w</sup>adit<sup>2</sup> ('Ēsāto) led to the destruction of the Christian kingdom.<sup>3</sup> An almost one-millennium old political and cultural dominancy of 'Aksum came to an end and the city fell into ruins; however, it remained a model for next royal seats founded in the later centuries. After the fall of Aksum, the 'Agaw descendants assumed the power and established the so-called Zāg<sup>w</sup>e dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Following this, the political center of the new dynasty was established in Lāstā, south of 'Aksum. At some point, the new dynasty created a capital known as 'Adafā.<sup>5</sup> Like 'Aksum, 'Adafā was a center of both politics and religion until the fall of the dynasty at the end of the thirteenth century. Little is known about this city and no detail has been unveiled so far; therefore, its past remains hazy in the face of history. However, the rock-hewn churches carved successively by the Zāg<sup>w</sup>e kings and by their successors nearby are still standing. These churches were a religious center of the dynasty and remained a pilgrimage site thereafter. Currently, this place is known as Lālibalā, the name of one of the late Zāg<sup>w</sup>e kings to whom many of the rock-hewn churches are attributed to.<sup>6</sup> When the Zāg<sup>w</sup>e dynasty came to an end, the power shifted to the so-called Solomonic family. Yəkunno 'Amlāk (r.1270–1285), the first king of the newly rising dynasty assumed the power and according to tradition reestablished the Solomonic dynasty. Then the royal seat moved to the central highlands of Šawā, but no permanent capital appeared in the region. Unlike the Aksumite and Zāg<sup>w</sup>e period, this era is known for having roving capitals. In the entire medieval period, no permanent city had been founded that equalled neither Aksum nor 'Adafā, the present day Lālibalā. Yet, it does not mean that the medieval kings of Ethiopia have never established royal cities, but all were short lived for several factors.<sup>7</sup> Relatively stable royal settlements of the period were the rainy season encampments that last for few months. Once the rainy season passes, the king resumes the usual activities such as military or traveling to collect tributes throughout the kingdom. The foundation of Dabra Bərḥān by King Zar'a Yā'qob (r.1434–1468) was a remarkable time for his effort to establish a permanent settlement but it ceased soon after his death and the old

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<sup>2</sup> Also read as G<sup>w</sup>adit

<sup>3</sup> See Sergew Hable Selassie 1972

<sup>4</sup> Considering the traditional lineage of the 'Aksumite kings which is related to the biblical king of Israel, Solomon, only the 'Aksumite were later considered as the legitimate heir of the Solomonic dynasty. Due to this, the Zāg<sup>w</sup>e dynasty kings had been labeled as usurpers who assumed the power with no legitimacy to claim it. This narrative has dominated the perspectives of many historians, who came to deny the relationship between the Solomonic and the Zāg<sup>w</sup>e dynasty. Perhaps, the case is related to the cultural difference between the northern Ethiopian Semitic inhabitants and the Cushitic 'Agaw. Unlike the previous scholarly views, the French historian Derat (2010, 2018) came up with a new synthesis that challenges the established approach on the subject. Based on the textual witness of the period, Derat argued that regardless of the ethnic difference, Zāg<sup>w</sup>e dynasty kings were legitimate heirs of the Aksumite period who kept maintaining the old practice of the Aksumite kings in the royal court and the church.

<sup>5</sup> See Phillipson 2012, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> See Derat 2010.

<sup>7</sup> For the history and nature of the moving royal court tradition and its continuity see Horvath 1969.

tradition resumed once again<sup>8</sup>. Due to this, the medieval king of the Solomonic family had no permanent political and cultural center.

A century before the foundation of Gondar in 1630s, the Christian kingdom faced a critical challenge from the Imam of Harar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī also known as Grāñ. This young and powerful Imam ruined the domination of the Christian kings over the Muslim sultanate of Harar during the reign of King Ləbna Dəngəl (r.1508–1540) and later declared a holy war against the Christian kingdom.<sup>9</sup> At that time, the Christian king was not strong enough to resist his confrontation. In the earlier battles Grāñ defeated the renowned military generals of the Christian kingdom, then marched to fight the king. It was the decisive battle in which the king lost the war and superiority of Grāñ over the Christian dominion was declared. Then, the king retreated to Təgrāy and Grāñ kept on chasing him. On the course of his expedition Grāñ continued looting and destroying churches and Christian settlements in the conquered districts<sup>10</sup>. The king died there in Təgrāy, and his son Galāwdewos succeeded him. Twelve years after the defeat of Ləbna Dəngəl, in 1541 four hundred well-armed Portuguese soldiers arrived at the coast of Red Sea to help the Christian monarchy<sup>11</sup>. Soon after, they joined the army of Galāwdewos and fought against Grāñ to reclaim the lost empire. After two years of war, Grāñ was defeated and killed in Waynā Dagā, east of Lake Ṭānā and his army dispersed. The fifteen years of Grāñ's dominancy was over and Galāwdewos restored the Christian kingdom and established the political center in Waḡ, south of Šawā with an intention to cease the nomadic tradition.<sup>12</sup> But the maintained peace and stability did not last for so long. The successor of Grāñ reorganized his army and declared a war of vengeance and killed the king on the battle. Then, his brother Minās (r.1559–1663) came to power and relocated the political center towards the north-western part of the country around Lake Ṭānā. It seems a security measure to minimize the risk from the frequent military expedition of the Muslim forces. Due to this the nomadic tradition continued. When Šarša Dəngəl (r.1563–1597) came to power the kingdom had another additional challenge, the overwhelming Oromo migration. Thus, he moved to the mountainous and strategic place in search of security and established his political center in Gubā'e where he would have built a fortified palace complex.<sup>13</sup> Gubā'e remain a stable center of politics and commerce until the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Following the

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<sup>8</sup> See Pankhurst 1982, pp. 35–40.

<sup>9</sup> Since the fourteenth century until the mid-sixteenth the weak Muslim sultanates had been paying tributes to the Christian kings. Grāñ ended this dominancy and strengthen his power and expanded his network with Turks and declared the Holy war and devastated country, see Tadesse Tamrat 1972, pp. 297–302.

<sup>10</sup> See 'Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī', *EAE*, I (2003), 155a–158a (F.-C. Muth).

<sup>11</sup> Few years before the invasion of Grāñ, the Portuguese Embassy was in Ethiopia with an intention to strengthen political ties between the two Christian monarchies. By the time, Queen 'Ēleni sent a letter to the Portuguese king seeking military assistance. See Martínez d'Alòs-Moner 2015, pp. 10, 22, 25–29, Merid Wolde Aregay 1971, p. 116–117.

<sup>12</sup> See Solomon Gebreyes Beyene 2016, p. 206.

<sup>13</sup> See Pankhurst 1982, pp. 94–100. The fortified palace complex of King Šarša Dəngəl in Gubā'e (located south of 'Īnfraz town) is mentioned in his chronicle. It is believed to have been built in the early 1570s. The *katamā* was still active in the later days during the reign of Susənyos and the following Gondarine kings, see Conti Rossini 1907, p. 117; Pereira 1892, p. 97; Guidi 1903, p. 61; Basset 1882, p. 63. The oral tradition attributed the ruined structure to King Šarša Dəngəl; however contemporary scholars argued that the ruined palace had been built in the later period decades after the death of King Šarša Dəngəl. The proponent of this idea said that using lime mortar for the construction of monumental buildings was introduced in the early seventeenth century. Therefore, the existing palace structure in Gubā'e is a latter construction, see Berry 2004, pp. 17–19; Ramos 2018a, pp. 28–30.

<sup>14</sup> According to the *Short Chronicle*, the royal court was once relocated to 'Aybā and moved back to Gubā'e after the end of the rainy season, see Conti Rossini 1907, p. 137; Basset 1882, p. 25. Even in the earlier period 'Aybā seems to have been important strategic place in which the Queen Sabla Wangel a widow of King Ləbna Dəngəl

death of Śarṣa Dəngəl the country went to a period of anarchism due to the lack of a legitimate heir to the throne. The deceased king had no son to succeed him; therefore, the warlords began to elevate someone among the close relatives of the king in favor of their own interest. Subsequently, the next decade became a time of bloody war between contenders of the throne and their supporters.<sup>15</sup> Zadəngəl (r.1603–1604) and Yā‘əqob (r.1597–1603 and 1605–1607) had come to power in this period and both fell in a battle defending their authority from the rivalries.<sup>16</sup> These short-lived kings had also found their own royal towns or *madinā* that are Wandəgge and Qogā respectively. Both were found in the vicinity of Lake Tana and in closer distance to ‘Īnfərəz<sup>17</sup> Then ‘Aṣe Susənyos (r.1607–1632) assumed the throne. The first ten years of his reign were a hectic period of military expedition and dedicated to consolidating the power. As a result, he was not able to establish a stable political center, but he was spending the rainy season in Gubā’e and Qogā interchangeably until he established a new *madinā* in Danqaz around 1618.<sup>18</sup> The flourishing of the new royal seat decreased the importance, the former centers Gubā’e and Qogā; nevertheless, they were not completely abandoned and continued to serve as a provincial palace in the later period with considerable economic significance.<sup>19</sup>

In 1618 Susənyos established his royal seat on Danqaz. Again, this period, more than a time of comfort and stability, was rather the beginning of another political and social disorder as the king showed interest to convert his religion to Catholicism. Afterwards, the king abandoned the Orthodox religion for Catholicism and made the new one a state religion that ignited another phase led by the Orthodox Church clergymen and their followers.<sup>20</sup> Though the stability of the country was deteriorating as the result of the uprisings throughout the kingdom, that did not halt the king to build magnificent palaces and churches in his principal city Danqaz, and other places such as ‘Azazo and Gorgorā. These construction projects of luxury palace complexes, gardens and cathedrals were built with close consultancy of the Jesuits and technical assistance of the Indian and Egyptian masons and carpenters. The principal palace in Danqaz, the garden palace in ‘Azazo, and another beachside palace in Gorgorā were constructed in less than a decade. The appearance of the churches built in the royal seat and other important quarters are inherited from the Goa architecture which was a symbolic manifestation of the dominancy of the Catholics in Ethiopian kingdom.<sup>21</sup> Having these luxury palaces Susənyos was operating the government task in Danqaz and spent his holidays in the garden palace of ‘Azazo and the Lake Ṭanā shore. It was a new trend in the country to have functionally different palaces for different purposes; but it also created an opportunity for several towns to emerge simultaneously in close distance. At the beginning of the 1630s the social resistance against the conversion of the kings reached to the point of no return. The entire

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(r.1508–1540) was settled during the Grāñ war, so that it was the *katamā* of the Queen for some time before the end of the war, see Pankhurst 1982, pp. 100–101.

<sup>15</sup> Merid Wolde Aregay 1971, pp. 350–352.

<sup>16</sup> See ‘Zādəngəl’, *E Ae*, V (2014), 103b–104a (L. Cohen); ‘Ya‘əqob’, *E Ae*, V (2014), 6a–7a (L. Cohen).

<sup>17</sup> Pankhurst 1982, p. 101, Pankhurst 1990, p. 105.

<sup>18</sup> Pereira 1892.

<sup>19</sup> Pankhurst 1990, p. 101.

<sup>20</sup> About ten years before the foundation of Gondar civil war broke out between the king who was officially converted from Orthodox Christianity to Catholicism and declared the later to be a state religion. Following this, the metropolitan of the church died on the battlefield. Since then, the Orthodox church had lost its previous status and the followers forced to conversion. As a result, the civil war spread throughout the country and costed thousands of lives on both sides. At last, the king officially abdicated in favor of his son who restored the status of the Orthodox church and expelled the Catholics. Then, during the reign of Fāsīladas, the first Coptic metropolitan after the civil war was appointed.

<sup>21</sup> In this period the Jesuits have tried to influence the royal court and the local tradition in many aspects, see Cohen 2009; Pennec and Toubkis 2004; Fasil Giorgis 2004; Pankhurst 2004.



kingdom was shocked by the civil war costings thousands of lives throughout the country. Having seen this, Susənyos officially reinstated Orthodox Christianity to its previous status, abdicated in favor of his son Fāsīladas, and ceased his political activities in 1632. Three months later Susənyos died and was buried in his favorite garden palace and church compound, 'Azazo.<sup>22</sup>

In the first few years of his reign King Fāsīladas (r.1632–1667) led several military expeditions to pacify the country. According to the so-called *Short Chronicle* he spent only the first rainy season in Danqaz and never returned thereafter. In fact, his staying away from Danqaz was probably related with the military campaigns as it is stated in the *Short Chronicle*.<sup>23</sup> However, the decision to relocate the capital city to Gondar seems to have had another implication. To understand that it requires examining the series of decisions carried out by the king. The first decision he took after assuming the power was to evict the Jesuits from the country. By the time, the Jesuits were blamed for misleading Susənyos, having him converted to the Catholic faith and instigating the bloody war against those who resisted to convert their faith.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the intention of abandoning Danqaz seems to have been intentional political decision carried out to eliminate the memory of the Jesuits after their expulsion. The history of the relocation of the royal court to Gondar is consistently mentioned in association with the arrival of 'Abuna Mārḳos, the first metropolitan who came to Ethiopia after the restoration of the Orthodox faith. The *Short Chronicle* described it as follows, saying 'ወ-እቲ፡ ጊዜ፡ መጽአ፡ አቡነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ወገብረ፡ መዲናሁ፡ በጎንደር፡፡' ('This time 'Abuna Mārḳos came, and he (Fāsīladas) made his *madinā* in Gondar').<sup>25</sup> This approach is adopted by regional *tārika nagaśts* and remains a standard approach in relation to the foundation of Gondar which speaks louder about the reason behind. The historical note copied in the *Gadla Takla Hāymānot* manuscript of 'Azazo Takla Hāymānot confirmed this argument. The note describes the discomfort of the clergymen of 'Azazo Takla Hāymānot to reuse the confiscated Jesuit church for the newly founded Orthodox church built at the same place. It reads,

አብአዋ፡ ለታቦተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ (ማርያም፡) ውስተ፡ መቅደሰሙ፡ ለሰብአ፡ ሮም፡ ዘሐነጹ፡ ሎቲ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወቀደሳ፡ እጨጌ፡ በትረ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ለይአቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን[፡፡] ወእምድኅረ፡ ብዙኅ፡ መዋዕል፡ ተማከሩ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወእጨጌ፡ ወካህናተ፡ ደበረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ወይቢሉ፡ እትንበር፡ በመቅደሰ፡ ሮማውያን፡ ዳእሙ፡ ንሕንጽ፡ ላቲ፡ ካልእ፡ መቅደስ፡ ዘትነበር፡ ውስጥ፡ ወድኅረ፡ ሐነጹ፡ አብአዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ዝነቲ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወሀለወት፡ በዝ፡ እስከ፡ ይእዜ፡<sup>26</sup>

They have entered the *tābot*-altar (dedicated to) Our Lady (Mary) into the sanctuary of the people of Rome which they built for the *tābot*-altar of Jesus, and 'Āččage Batra Giyorgis had the church consecrated. After several days, the king, and the 'āččage, and the clergy of Dabra Libānos have discussion and said, 'Let it (the *tābot*) not remain in the sanctuary of the Romans, rather let us build another sanctuary for it, in which it resides; after they built, they have it entered to this sanctuary in which it remains until now'.

On one hand, this event seems a tentative from the royal court and the Church to uproot the memory of the Jesuits from the mind of people. On the other hand, it was a revenge against the Jesuits who reconsecrated the Orthodox churches for their own service during the reign of

<sup>22</sup> See Tellez 1710, pp. 243–244; Basset 1882, p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> In the second and the third years of his reign Fāsīladas had waged war in different places and spend the rainy season in Libo and Dobit respectively. In the fourth year of his reign he declared the relocation of the capital and the importance of Danqaz began to decline thereafter, see Perruchon 1897, pp. 361–363

<sup>24</sup> The last chapter of the Chronicle of Susənyos which was composed after the death of the king blamed the Jesuits for misleading Susənyos. Although it is hard to confirm it, it also incorporates the apology of the king for all the crisis that occurred during his reign and his last pronouncement to reinstate the Orthodox faith as a state religion, see Pereira 1892, pp. 334–335; Guidi 1893, pp. 597–598.

<sup>25</sup> Basset 1882, p. 30; Perruchon 1897, p. 363

<sup>26</sup> A few folia of this manuscript are digitized by Shumet Sishagn between January and July 1988.

Susənyos.<sup>27</sup> The diligence of Fāsīladas (r.1632–1667) the son and successor of Susənyos, to erect several new churches and his generosity to commission the reconstruction of the ruined churches does not seem purely religious.<sup>28</sup> Rather, it was a politically initiated strategy to consolidate his power and maximize the public support. If Fāsīladas's decision was only in search of a place with enough resource to accommodate many settlers 'Azazo would have been the best candidate. At that time, 'Azazo had well-built palace and garden, having a big market in a close distance<sup>29</sup> and it was situated in the intersection point of the caravan route that links the country to the present-day Sudan and as far as the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, the decision of Fāsīladas to establish a new royal seat seems strongly attached with religious motives: associating the foundation of Gondar with the arrival 'Abuna Mārḡos is one of the manifestations of this link. Some scholars associate the emergence of Gondar with the pre-existing market of Addis 'Alam in the southern outskirts of Gondar, but it had never been as important as it was during the Gondarine period. Rather, what improved the importance of this marketplace was the relocation of the royal seat to Gondar.<sup>30</sup>

Above all it is worth to mention the precondition 'Abuna Mārḡos stated before his arrival to Ethiopia. He clearly said to King Fāsīladas, 'He cannot live or jointly act in the same kingdom with the roman Patriarch, and the (Catholic) fathers.<sup>31</sup> It was only after that Fāsīladas aggressively took all the necessary steps to get the Jesuits out of the country before the arrival of the metropolitan. Most probably the idea of relocating the royal court to another place that has never been attached to the Jesuits seems to fulfil the precondition of the Metropolitan. Perhaps, the construction of a new palace complex at the bank of the Qahā river in the western periphery of Gondar was the leading step.<sup>32</sup> When the royal seat was officially relocated to Gondar in 1636, Fāsīladas offered the former Jesuits possessions in 'Azazo to the clergy of Dabra Libānos and built a new church that belonged to the Orthodox church on the site. This place remained under the dominion of the 'əḳḳage, the abbot of Dabra Libānos until the decline of Gondar in the mid 1860s. Most probably, Fāsīladas' effort to build several churches in the new capital could be subjected to similar motive, to show his intimacy to the Orthodox Church. Moreover, the diplomatic ties he insisted to establish with the Ottoman from Turkey and with Yemen might support the view of Fāsīladas. Regardless of his hostility against the Jesuits, he was certainly captivated by their amazing skills of architecture and construction. The palace complexes, the pavilion, and the bridges he built in Gondar are an adaptation of the Jesuit's works in Danqaz, 'Azazo, Gorgorā, and other sites of that time. Nevertheless, the identity of the masons and carpenters who erected all these structures in Gondar is still a debatable issue due to the lack of written documents from the period.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> After his conversion to the Catholic faith King Susənyos had rebuilt the old church of Tānā Qirḡos and reconsecrated it with the altar of Jesus. Other regional *Tārika nagašt* also tell the reconsecration of numbers of Orthodox churches by integrated campaign of the Jesuits and King Susənyos, see Pereira 1892, p. 231.

<sup>28</sup> Fāsīladas has followed the same strategy with his father to reconstruct old churches, commission the foundation of the new one in Gondar and Lake Ṭānā and supporting the members of the royal family participating in similar activity, see Perruchon 1897, pp. 366, 368; Wion 2004; Martínez d'Alòs-Moner and Sisay Sahile 2016.

<sup>29</sup> Pereira 1892, pp. 297–298.

<sup>30</sup> See Huntingford 1989, p. xxvii.

<sup>31</sup> Ludolf 1682, p. 364; Tellez 1710, p. 245.

<sup>32</sup> Huntingford suspected that this palaces complex with swimming pool was built around 1634. See Huntingford 1989, p. 184.

<sup>33</sup> See Fasil Giorgis 2004, pp. 30–36; Pankhurst 2004, pp. 3–15; Ramos 2018a, pp. 25–41; Ranasinghe 2001.

The relocation of the two important religious figures, the *ʾəččage*<sup>34</sup> and the metropolitan, to Gondar elevated the political and religious importance of the new royal seat. Besides, the foundation of numbers of churches transformed Gondar into a center of religious education and excellence.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, the flourishing of several religion-based quarters in the city came up with another opportunity to the newly established city. Mainly the Muslims, the Beta ʼĪsrāʼels and the Qəmānt are among the earliest settlers who established their quarters adjacent to the city. In the first three decades, despite the presence of the segregated quarters, a mixed settlements pattern used to appear in some parts of the city until 1670s.<sup>36</sup> Following this, Gondar began to benefit from this religiously and ethnically different settlers who had various skills and expertise such as blacksmith, masons, carpenters, merchants and so on. Erecting royal apartments and numerous churches in Gondar would have hardly been possible without these artisans. Likewise, the Muslim settlers also were the chief merchants of the kingdom responsible for caravan trade as well as the messengers that linked the Gondarine monarchy to the foreign countries. Moreover, the presence of the Muslim population with the nearby caravan road transformed Gondar into an important trade hub and enabled the monarch to collect taxes.<sup>37</sup>

Gondar was flourishing and its importance was growing; yet its fate was uncertain until the succeeding kings decided to stay therein. When Fāsiladas died in 1667 his son Yoḥannəs I (r.1667–1682) succeeded him. It was a fortune for Gondar that he did not insist to move away the royal court. Moreover, he built his own chancery and an archive in the royal compound adjacent to his father's palace and a church for the royal cemetery outside the city. He seems to have been engaged with maintaining his father's legacy and undertaking complementary activities. In doing so he insured the persistence of Gondar during the fifteen years of his reign. Nonetheless he also built another provincial palace in Yibābā, in Goḡḡām.<sup>38</sup> Its status was in line with Aringo.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, this castle built in Bagemədr has served as a summer capital for so long, as well as a venue for religious debates and a camp to summon the army during military expeditions. Thus, the importance of Gondar kept on growing over time.

When ʾIyyāsu I (r.1682–1706) came to power, Gondar was almost half a century old city with a growing political economic dominancy. Like his father, ʾIyyāsu I also kept on ruling from Gondar. In fact, he built palaces and royal churches in Gondar as well as a provincial palace at the eastern shore of Lake Tānā; yet the most important role he played in his reign was the land grant he offered to the churches and the amendment of the tax policy. These activities had transformed the city's importance and ensured its continuity. In his regnal period, there were more than a dozen of churches in Gondar having hundreds of clergymen excluding juniors, *dabtarās*, and novices<sup>40</sup>. The generous distribution of land made life easy for

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<sup>34</sup> The *ʾəččage* is the head of the abbot of Dabra Libānos monastery located in Šawā. It was founded at the beginning of the fourteenth century by *ʾAbuna* Takla Hāymānot. It was one of the most important monasteries until the mid-sixteenth. The monastery was devastated by Grāñ Aḥmad and later by the Oromo migration. In the following period the monastery was not established in the previous form as the risk factor got escalated. The last possible solution was taken a while before the foundation of Gondar. The office of the *ʾƏččage* was shifted to the royal court. Soon after the foundation of Gondar, the monastic community was settled in ʾAzazo. Since then, it remains until the decay of Gondar in the mid-nineteenth century. It was only after this period that the monastic community reclaimed the original site in the second half of the nineteenth century, see 'Dābrā Libanos', *E Ae*, II (2005), 25b–28a (M.-L. Derat).

<sup>35</sup> See Takla Šādəq Makʷəriyā 1960, pp. 361–362.

<sup>36</sup> See Guidi 1903, p. 9; Quirin 1998.

<sup>37</sup> Solomon Addis Getahun 1997.

<sup>38</sup> 'Yəbaba', *E Ae*, V (2014), 38a–39a (L. Berry).

<sup>39</sup> 'Aringo', *E Ae*, I (2003), 335ab (R. Pankhurst).

<sup>40</sup> Conti Rossini 1942, pp. 74–81.

clergymen and helped the proliferation of traditional schools. In relation to this, there is a saying circulating amongst oral historians of the city ‘ፋሲል፡ የተከለሰው፡ ኢየሁዳ፡ የደለደለው፡።’ (‘What Fāsīl founded, ’Iyyāsu made it firm’). In return, Gondar gained a reputation as a center of excellence; later, revision of religious texts and the transformation of the painting art took place in those schools. On the other hand, the amendments on the tax regulation also had a considerable effect on economy.<sup>41</sup> In the reign of ’Iyyāsu I, Gondar was at the climax of its flourishing and domination. The description of the French physician Charles Poncet shows that in 1800 Gondar was already a densely populated city with magnificent palaces, active marketplace and about one hundred churches.<sup>42</sup> But the death of ’Iyyāsu had a long-lasting impact on the Gondarine period. As the king was dethroned, he was later assassinated in 1706 by his successor but under the close control of the court attendants and the royal family members. The next fifteen years after the death of ’Iyyāsu was a period of political havoc and the kings who came one after the other were short-lived. Basically, center of the ongoing conspiracy and conflict was a growing competition between the two religious factions *Qabāt* and *Ṣaggā*. The political elites and noblemen were divided based on their favorite factions and struggling to elevate the royal princes in support of their ideology. Following this, Gondar turned to be the arena of conflict where the winning party enjoy the religious dominancy and political supremacy and the losers were subjected to exile and death. Because of this, disorder grew, and the bloodshed continued until the rise of Bakāffā in 1721. In this period, Gondar shows little progress if it is compared with the previous decades of its development except the foundation of few churches enjoyed by the politically favored and dominating religious faction.

Bakāffā (r.1721–1730) came to the throne supported by the elites who supposed to be favoured in his reign. Yet, after enthronement, Bakāffā focused on consolidating his power. Soon after, the power and dominancy of the warlords declined and Bakāffā secured absolute control of power and resumed the interrupted political practice.<sup>43</sup> He led military expeditions to the peripheral regions, visited the regional capitals of his predecessors Fāsīladas, Yoḥannēs I and ’Iyyāsu I, and revitalized the construction of royal buildings in Gondar as well as the foundation of royal churches. In his reign the kingdom was in relative stability and life in the royal capital seems to have been peaceful. Bakāffā had taken all possible measures against the challenging powers. He attained the intended goal to ensure peace and security, but he was

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<sup>41</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 195–196.

<sup>42</sup> As far as the number of churches in Gondar is concerned, Poncet’s report is difficult to understand as he did not mention any detail except the chapels in the royal compound. According to the oral tradition, Gondar is mentioned as ‘the city of forty-four churches’, and this list of churches includes lately founded churches. Therefore, if the number of churches in Poncet’s report is correct, perhaps the list of the so-called ‘forty-four churches’ could be a lately invented and a selective short list of churches in the city and its vicinity. Additionally, the presence of various lists of the so-called ‘forty-four churches’ of Gondar makes retracing number of churches in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Gondar confusing, see Poncet 1709, pp. 35–37; Martínez d’Alòs-Moner and Sisay Sahile 2016.

<sup>43</sup> Since the death of ’Iyyāsu I (r.1682–1706) until Bakāffā became king Gondar was instable, the power struggle and conspiracy among the power elites was in climax. Subsequently, the formal way the court procedures and records were written seems to have been interrupted. As a result, Bakāffā had tried to meet important persons who had been active in the royal court in this chaotic period with an intention to understand the tradition and keep the preceding practice. The Chronicle of ’Iyyāsu II reported one of the meetings Bakāffā had with ‘*Aqābe sa ’āt* Diyosqoros who was in office during this chaotic period. It says, ‘ወበውአቱ፡ ጊዜ፡ ተሰለሎ፡ ነገር፡ ፫ነገሥት፡ አለ፡ ነግሡ፡ እምቅድሜሁ፡ ዘውአቶሙ፡ ቴዎፍሎስ፡ ወየሰጦስ፡ ወዳዊት፡ በዘመነ፡ አለ፡ እሰሙ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት፡ ውአቱ፡ ወነገር፡ ተሎ፡ እሰሙ፡ ወሥርዓቶሙ፡ ወእምዛ፡ ወፅአ፡ ኅዝ፡ ዘየጎድር፡ ቦቱ፡።’ (‘And at that time, he [Bakāffā] asked him [‘*Aqābe sa ’āt* Diyosqoros] about the three kings who reigned before him, those are Tewoflos, Yostos, and Dāwit, because he was the ‘*aqābe sa ’āt* during their reign. And he (‘*Aqābe sa ’āt* Diyosqoros) told him their laws and orders’), see Guidi 1910, pp. 24–25.

labelled ‘bloody handed tyrant’.<sup>44</sup> Though Bakāffā was successful to win his enemies and consolidated his power, the conspiracy against him had continued throughout his reign. Besides the power struggle, Gondar had secured its flourishing during Bakāffā’s reign. By then, Gondar was a century-old cosmopolitan royal seat, and an economic and cultural center. The chronicler of Bakāffā described the status of the city at that time saying ‘ተንሥኦ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ነገሥት፡ በካፋ፡ እምትዕይንቱ፡ ጎንደር፡ ርእሰ፡ አህጉራት፡ ዘኢይትጋጣእ፡ ባቲ፡ ኩሉ፡ መፍቅድ።’<sup>45</sup> (‘The King of Kings Bakāffā departed from his city Gondar, the prominent among all (*rə’asa’ahgurāt*), in which everything is available for all desires’). Yet, the reign of Bakāffā was short and the anarchism and clan-oriented politics took over after his death. Bakāffā’s reigning period can be considered the last one when Gondar had a powerful king on the throne. The following period marks the beginning of the decline of the Gondarine period and the rise of aristocracy that ushered the *zamana masāfant* (the ‘Era of princes’).

When Bakāffā died his seven-year-old boy was coronated and his mother Məntəwwāb became the power regent; her kinsmen shared the rest of the important offices to secure absolute control of power under her family. But Məntəwwāb’s power began to face challenges straightway. A failed coup d’état<sup>46</sup> had been attempted and the disobedience of regional lords continued thereafter; however, Məntəwwāb and her family tried to get the consent of regional lords through marriage.<sup>47</sup> Yet, it did not come up with the intended goal rather it gave another opportunity and legitimacy to the rising anarchism. The main tasks of the monarchy, that are, leading military expeditions and collecting tributes, became the duty of the warlords. The young king and his mother remained confined in the royal compound in Gondar. A little while later, the queen built another royal palace and church in the outskirts of the city to stay away from Gondar where conflict broke out frequently and staying in Gondar was less secure for her family. Soon after the construction of the palace, the queen had tried to shift the royal seat to Qwəsqwām,<sup>48</sup> the new royal palace. Moreover, a new marketplace was officially inaugurated in the same place. As a newly flourishing quarter, it was named ‘Lā’əlāy Gondar’ or ‘the upper Gondar’.<sup>49</sup> Most probably, this name was coined to show the dominancy of the new palace over the old one in Gondar. Besides, Məntəwwāb pronounced a royal decree to terminate the market in Gondar for the benefit of the new one.<sup>50</sup> Simply, the queen mother was attempting to shift the political and economic center to the new palace site. Unfortunately, it was suspended after the people of Gondar resisted it. Then, the former status of Gondar resumed as political center even though Məntəwwāb preferred to stay therein in most of her lifetime. Nevertheless, when the relocation of the city became an inevitable fact, Məntəwwāb built a palace complex in the royal compound of Gondar known as Qwāraññoč gənb (‘The palace of the Qwāra people’) for her service. At this time, the royal compound had already several royal apartments and castles

<sup>44</sup> The Scottish traveller James Bruce who visited Gondar in the early 1770s described Bakāffā’s reign as the bloodiest time ever in the history of Gondarine kings. By the time he visited Gondar, which is almost four decades after the death of Bakāffā, the trauma of that period was still there; see Bruce 1790, pp. 595–607.

<sup>45</sup> See Guidi 1903, pp. 296–297.

<sup>46</sup> This incident took several days to control, and it would have been impossible without the arrival and intervention of *Dağgāzmačč* Waraññā of Goğgām. It was only after his arrival the rebels left the place compound in which the royal family and dignitaries were encircled and defended themselves; see Guidi 1910, pp. 51–73.

<sup>47</sup> Crummey 2000, pp. 97–99.

<sup>48</sup> The new palace of Məntəwwāb is named after the church built in the same compound, Qwəsqwām. It is a place in Egypt where the holy family lived for three years. Symbolically, it may represent the flight of Məntəwwāb and her son for security purpose like that of the holy family.

<sup>49</sup> See Guidi 1910, p. 49.

<sup>50</sup> See Guidi 1910, p. 221; Solomon Addis 2006, p. 9.

built by her predecessors;<sup>51</sup> but nonetheless Məntəwwāb erected her own to declare the symbolic dominancy of her aristocratic family.

Məntəwwāb stay empowered for more than forty years as regent for her son 'Iyyāsu (r.1730–1755) and her grandson 'Iyyo'as (r.1755–1769). Since the late 1750s her influence was declining, the warlords she relied on were getting older and some of them had died. The power vacuum was clear for the old queen. Being aware of that, she invited the rising powerful warlord of Təgrāy, Rās Mikā'el Səhul to Gondar. He was an ideal candidate to take the position of *rās bitwaddad*, the office next to the king in the royal court, and it was the office held by Məntəwwāb's brothers since she assumed the power. This mighty warlord was successful in his military campaigns and became a right hand of the queen. In a meanwhile, he assassinated 'Iyyo'as and enthroned a puppet king on the throne and the period known as *zamana masāfənt* started thereafter. Apparently Məntəwwāb was too old and weak to control the disorder and pushed from the politics. With the Məntəwwāb's period, the cultural influence, economic strength, and political importance of Gondar began to decline. The Solomonic family was pushed out of the political dominancy; and the power struggle was among the warlords who wanted to be king makers. Gradually several warlords appeared in the provinces and the country was led to disintegration due to the lack of strong power in the political center. Like the Solomonic family, the political importance of Gondar also declined as many regional capitals proliferated; despite all this, the symbolic importance of Gondar was never challenged.

Few European travellers and missionaries had visited the city, while it was amid the chaotic *zamana masāfənt*. One among these visitors, the Swiss born protestant missionary Samuel Gobat visited Gondar in the 1830s and described Gondar comparing it with the narration in Bruce's account saying, 'Gondar had been much reduced since Bruce's day, sixty years previous, when it contained sixty thousand inhabitants. It now numbered barely twenty thousand; but it was still the capital of Abyssinia, with its poor old king living in a hut beneath the shadow of the ancient palace, without a court, and destitute of the least influence. It, however, continued to be the center of ecclesiastical authority, and the headquarters of the 'əççage, the head of all the monks, and, in the absence of a bishop in the land, the chief of the whole Abyssinian Church'.<sup>52</sup>

As Gobat described, in the first half of the nineteenth century the inhabitants of Gondar were reduced in number but retained still considerable size of population. Usually, the city dwellers increased in stable conditions and time of peace. Otherwise, it shows significant reduction as many of them travelled with military warlords. Besides, because of the rising warlords in different regions small towns were emerging as their seat. Dabra Tābor, south of Gondar and near the old provincial palace site 'Aringo, was one of those towns emerged in the same condition at the same time. Nevertheless, the presence of the 'əççage and the metropolitan as well as the puppet kings of the period preserved Gondar's symbolic importance.

Similarly, the other British missionar Coffin reported the decay of Gondar in the first decade of the nineteenth century; but skipped the apparent condition of Gondar except his metaphorically stated impressions. Unlike Gobat, Coffin described Gondar saying 'the king's house, called Itsa Gamb, (King's tower), stood in the middle of upon a height, and looked more like a Portuguese church than a royal palace. The king doesn't live in it at present, nor has he

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<sup>51</sup> Masqal gəmb ('Building of Cross') and Həddis bet ('New house') are palaces mentioned in the chronicle of Məntəwwāb, her son 'Iyyāsu I and her grandson 'Iyyo'as. As these names does not appear in the previous chronicle, it is most likely built in her period; see Guidi 1910, pp. 165, 195.

<sup>52</sup> See Gobat 1834, p. 114 (my translation).

for many years past; the doors are all broken down, and the whole is very much out of repair'.<sup>53</sup> Despite the deterioration of the Gondar and the rise of regional capitals, Coffin reported that the city was still important. The importance of Gondar relied on the presence of the two important religious figures, the 'əččage and the metropolitan as well as the 'Forty-four' churches built by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century kings and nobles. Most of them had their own lands throughout the kingdom that had been offered by the founding fathers. It was a means of survival for the clergymen serving in these churches.<sup>54</sup> During Coffin's visit, ecclesiastical land tenure was the main means of subsistence from which clergy earn a living; besides, it contributed to Gondar's economic stability. Following this, in the nineteenth century, significant portion of the inhabitants were clergymen (*dabtarā*). On the other hand, the distinguished status of asylum of the 'əččage *bet* ('House of 'əččage') to host criminals and immigrants as a protected place of refuge also maintained the importance of the city while it was declining in terms of political importance. Simultaneously, Coffin did not deny the fact that Gondar was at the verge of decaying. Half among the so-called forty-four churches of Gondar had fallen and there was difficulty to mobilize the society to restore the churches. The city was under successive attacks and the kings were impoverished so that they were unable to sponsor the restoration of either churches or palaces as in the previous manner. Moreover, the inhabitants of the city had been victims of warlords, who had been conquering the city to declare their supremacy over other regional lords. As a result of this, the city faced series of attacks and had been sacked frequently and forced the kings and lords to retreat to the monasteries of Lake Ṭānā in search of asylum.<sup>55</sup>

The decline of Gondar continued until the mid-nineteenth century when the rise of *Dağgāzmač* Kāsā, the later Tewodros II (r.1855–1868) revitalized the political importance of Gondar. Following the coronation of Tewodros II in 1855, the *zamana masāfənt* was over and Gondar remained the official seat of the mighty king. Yet, the next eleven years were full of dispute, controversy, and instability. The legitimacy of the king was not long lasting. He introduced new policies that cut the strong tie between the Church and the state, and the country was again subject to regional conflict and violence. At last, in 1866 he plundered the treasures of Gondar, both from the palace and the church, burnt the city and transferred the royal seat to Dabra Tābor.<sup>56</sup> At last, a quarter millennium of political, cultural, and economic dominance of Gondar was over.

This panorama helps to understand what has been termed in Ethiopian studies as the so-called 'Gondarine period' between the 1630s and 1760s.<sup>57</sup> This period stands between two important historical events that are the reestablishment of the orthodoxy and the foundation of Gondar in 1636 and the decline of the monarchy in the late 1760s. During this time, the country was relatively in a stable political situation in which the new royal seat Gondar flourished as a center of culture, religion, and commerce. The monumental architecture and painting art flourished in Gondar is known as 'Gondarine architecture' and 'Gondarine art'. The establishment of Gondar in the aftermath of successive wars and its persistence for long period, fostered the creation and development of art, architecture, literature, and other related disciplines. Most of these achievements dominated the arena of the traditional religious

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<sup>53</sup> See Pearce 1831, p. 234).

<sup>54</sup> See Crummey 2000.

<sup>55</sup> Pearce 1831, pp. 135–137, 332–333; Fusella 1959, p. 39.

<sup>56</sup> Fusella 1959, p. 38; Conti Rossini 1925, pp. 457–458.

<sup>57</sup> This range of time falls between the creation of a strong central government in Gondar around 1630s and the beginning of the decline of the central government in 1760s that was followed by the period of anarchy known as *zamana masāfənt* in which the country was divided into pieces ruled by regional warlords; see 'Gondarine kingdom', *EAE*, II (2005), 845b–848b (D. Crummey).

education and art for long time. In the following section I discuss the historiographic tradition of the Gondarine period. Like that of the art of painting, religious education, palaeography, and architecture, the historiographic tradition had evolved in many ways.

## 1.2. The historiographical traditions of the Gondarine Period: royal and regional voices

The aim of this section is to show that, beyond the classical and well-known tradition of the so-called ‘long’ and ‘short’ chronicles, the Gondarine period developed various historiographical trends, or at least literary forms, that were, in some ways, written to leave a trace of historical events. Indeed, the historiographic tradition was developed with different approaches in which different parts of the society recorded history in their own ways.

### 1.2.1. The royal chronicles: *zenā* or *tarik*?

In the pre-Gondarine as well as the in the Gondarine period, the main instrument of recording history was composing royal chronicles dedicated to the major kings. Chronicle is a well-established tradition in Ethiopian royal court at least from the fourteenth century onwards. During the Gondarine period, the previous tradition evolves in terms of content, consistency, and chronology of historical events.<sup>58</sup> The Gondarine chronicles were indeed firmly chronologically structured, almost as annals of the kings. Important events were recorded, and the final version used to be approved by the king himself. Such chronicles had been written for five Gondarine kings:<sup>59</sup> Yohannes, 'Iyyāsu I, Bakāffā, 'Iyyāsu II and 'Iyyo'as. However, for the kings of the later period a general chronicle was composed, so that the tradition had been in effect, although Gondar had been a declining city in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Many syntheses have been written about the chronicles and it would be too long to deal here with this important corpus of historical writing mainly dedicated to the lives and actions of the Christian kings.<sup>60</sup>

The chronicle of Susānyos was composed by Məhərəkā Dəngəl, 'Azzāz Takla Šəllāse also known as Ṭino, and an anonymous chronicler who wrote the last chapters is the first proper chronicle, extending the annalistic system already observed in Šarša Dəngel's chronicle. Perhaps, it is due to the output of the cultural exchange with the Jesuits in the royal court of Susānyos. Indeed, the Jesuits translated Gə'əz texts into Portuguese. Particularly Paes' translation of the first fifty chapters of the chronicle of Susānyos and the hagiography of 'Abuna Takla Hāymānot could not be possible without Ṭinos's help. Although there is no clear and detailed evidence about the writing techniques adopted by the Ethiopian chroniclers, the influence could be from both sides. Perhaps, the practice of using Gregorian calendar in the

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<sup>58</sup> See 'Ethiopian historiography', *EAE*, III (2007), 40–45 (S. Chernetsov and Red.).

<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately, the chronicle of King Fāsiladas is not discovered; what is known so far is the so-called *Short Chronicle*. In fact, some scholars believed that his chronicle was not lost at some point in the past. Rather, the chronicle writing was interrupted in his time for unexplained reasons; see 'Fasilādās', *EAE*, II (2005), 499b–502b (E. van Donzel). Concerning this, the chronicle of his father King Susānyos mentioned a critical point that is worth attending about Fāsiladas' intention to have his history recorded. It says 'ወኢኅኅደግ፡ ጽሒፈ፡ ነገሩ፡ ለራስ፡ ሆሳል፡ ከርስቶስ፡ ዘኅደግናሃ፡ ቅድመ፡ በእነተ፡ ዘከለአነ፡ ምኅላፈ፡ ጽሒፈ፡ ዜናው፡ ለአቤተኅን፡ ፋሲለደስ፡ ሠናየ፡ ዜና።' ('and we shall not quit writing the history of Rās Šə'əla Krəstos what we have suspended earlier as he (Fāsiladas) prohibited us writing good news (history) about him'), Pereira 1892, p. 359. This happened when Fāsiladas was a crown prince as well as the most important figure in the court. Perhaps, he was not interested to have his history recorded like his father after assuming the power.

<sup>60</sup> See Bausi 2019. [Much more to be cited here: for example, works by Manfred Kropp: Kropp, Manfred 1989. *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däggəzmač Haylu: Entstehung und handschriftliche Überlieferung des Werks*, Heidelberger orientalische Studien, 13 (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1989)]



chronicle of Susānyos could be one of the influences that can be easily recognized in the text.<sup>61</sup> The influence of this outstanding work of the chroniclers of Susānyos could have been taken as a template by the next generation as the influence of the chronicle of Susānyos is noticeable on the later works.

The sequence of the narratives from the beginning to the end of the period as well as chronological arrangements have a lot in common. For instance, the chronicle of Susānyos begins with the following phrase that tailed the incipit: ‘ንጽሕፍ፡ ዜናሁ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ኃዖል፡ መዋኢ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ሱስንዮስ፡’<sup>62</sup> (‘We will write the history of the powerful and mighty king, King of kings Susānyos’), which was adopted by the later chroniclers but with little modification. The next chronicle that appears after Susānyos adopted the incipit in the following way: ‘ንጭጥን፡ ጽሒፈ፡ ዜናሁ፡ ... ለክቡር፡ ወዓቢይ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ አእላፍ፡ ሰገድ፡ ወበጸጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘተሰምዮ፡ በስመ፡ ዮሐንስ፡’ (‘We are beginning to write the history of... the honored and great King of kings ’A’lāf Sagad, and who by the grace of God is called by the name of John’). Similarly, the chronicle of ’Iyyāsu I,<sup>63</sup> and ’Iyyāsu II<sup>64</sup> employed the same phrase as a standard introductory formula; but it was not the only lesson the later chroniclers learned from the chronicle of Susānyos. The first chapter of the chronicle is dedicated to his childhood period and is preceded by a dream that his mother saw before he was conceived. Following that, his annals were compiled chronologically. This kind of narrative is attested by the chronicle of Bakāffā and his son ’Iyyāsu II along with his mother Māntāwwāb. This tradition could have been developed to increase the acceptance or to legitimize the enthronement of the king and to confront the resistance. Perhaps the decline of the power of kings, the failure to attack expanding enemies and at the same time failing to maintain the control of territories led to the emergence of a powerful Messianic king who should have restored the historic dominancy of the monarch and destroy the enemies. Thus, the Gondarine kings, at least in the chronicle, claimed that they are due to the divine power. In one of the last proper chronicles of the Gondarine period, the genealogy of ’Ītege Māntāwwāb is registered in addition to the prophecy, and the dream seen by her family members and herself to legitimize her power. This historical occurrence has influenced the contemporary and the later historical records. As a result, historical facts and the mythical narration commonly appeared together in the chronicles. The mythical introductions of the later chronicles are important to understand the political ideology, legitimacy, and power struggle of the period as well as the creativity and development of the writers.

The chroniclers frequently claimed that the purpose of the text is to register and transfer history and legal documents to the next generation; however, there are two different terms, *Zenā* and *Nagar*, to state the nature of the narrative.<sup>65</sup> Actually, the main point I want to discuss is the use of specific terms in the chronicles. Apparently, most of the proper chroniclers of the

<sup>61</sup> In the chronicle of Susānyos, the date of the coronation ceremony of the king is registered in three different calendars: the Coptic, ‘Amata ’Ēgzi’ (‘the year of the Lord’), the Roman (‘Gregorian calendar’), see Pereira 1892, p. 58. Similarly, in the 76th chapter of the chronicle, the Gregorian calendar was exclusively used. It seems, the official calendar had been changed after the king converted his religion to Catholicism, see Pereira 1892, pp. 286–287.

<sup>62</sup> Pereira 1892, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> ንጭጥን፡ ጽሒፈ፡ ዜናሁ፡ ለንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ አዲያም፡ ሰገድ፡ ወበጸጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘተሰምዮ፡ በስመ፡ መስፍን፡ ኢያሱ፡ (‘we begin to write the history of king of kings ’Adiyām Saggad, in the grace of God called in the name of the prince ’Iyyāsu’); Guidi 1903, p. 59.

<sup>64</sup> ንጽሕፍ፡ ዜናሁ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ አዲያም፡ ሰገድ፡ ዘተሰምዮ፡ በጸጋ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወለንግሥት፡ ብርሃን፡ ሞገሳ፡ ዘተሰምዮት፡ በጸጋ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ወለተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ (‘We are going to write the history of the king ’Adiyām Saggad who was named ’Iyyāsu in the grace of baptism, and our queen Bārhan Mogasā named Walatta Giyorgis in the grace of baptism’), see Guidi 1910, p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Usually, the two terms are used interchangeably. In the Gondarine textual tradition, however, the two terms are used in different contexts.

Gondarine kings begins with ‘ንጽሕፍ፡ ዜናሁ፡...’<sup>66</sup> (‘we are writing the history of...’) or ‘ንጭጥን፡ ጽሑፈ፡ ዜናሁ፡’ (‘we are beginning to write the history of...’) or modified phrases. Subsequently, the chronicles of Gondarine kings composed from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the mid-eighteenth followed this approach.

The later chronicle composed for the successive puppet kings and the dominant warlords in the *zamana maśāfānt* employed only a single but specific term *tārik* (‘history’) consistently. When the Gondarine period was at its apex, the king appointed two scribes in the office of *Ṣahāfe Tə`əzāz*<sup>67</sup> in charge of writing the chronicle. Usually, these scribes were obliged to attend the royal court and to accompany the king during the military campaigns, to witness every activity. Then they very carefully and selectively wrote the history; sometimes they mentioned the source of the information and swore to confirm the truthfulness of the story, particularly if they felt the narration was exaggerated. For instance, when `Azzāz Takla Śəllāse wrote about one of the successful military campaigns of Susənyos and the joy after the victory, he concluded his narration saying ‘ርእኩ፡ ዘንተ፡ በዓይንዮ፡ ወጸሐፍክዎ፡ እምአመ፡ ኮነ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ነገር፡ በቪአውራሃ፡ ወለእመ፡ ሐሰውኩሰ፡ ይኩኑ፡ ብየ፡ ሰማዕተ፡ ኩሉ፡ መኳንንት፡ ወዓቢይተ፡ መንግሥት፡...’<sup>68</sup> (‘I have seen this with my eyes and have written it in the third month after it came to pass; but if I have lied, let all the nobility and great men of the kingdom be witnesses...’). But `Azzāz Takla Śəllāse was not the only one who mentioned sources of information or the intention of writing specific stories in the chronicle. Also, `Azzāz Sinodā, the chronicler of `Iyyāsu I and Bakāffā, asserted about the story that occurred in Gondar while he was not there. He was convinced it was important to record and introduced the story saying ‘እጽሕፍ፡ ዜና፡ ካልእ፡ ዘኮነ፡ በጎንደር፡ ዘከመ፡ አጠየቁን፡ ወአይድዑኒ፡ እለ፡ ርእየ፡ ወሰምዑ፡ እሰመ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዜና፡ ይጸሐፍ፡ በበዘመኑ፡ እመኒ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ወእመኒ፡ ንኡሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእኩ፡ በመጽሐፈ፡ ኦሪት፡ ወመጽሐፈ፡ ነገሥት፡ ወበኩሉ፡ ዜናሆሙ፡ ለነገሥት፡...’<sup>69</sup> (‘I am writing another story that has happened in Gondar, as those who have seen and heard clearly informed us; as every history was recorded in each own time, either great or modest, as we saw in the book of the Octateuch, in the Book of Kings<sup>70</sup> and in all the history of kings’). Preceded by the rationale of the writing, he recorded all the story and concluded the chapter ‘ናሁ፡ ጸሐፍኩ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘርእኩ፡ ወሰማዕኩ፡ ወኩሉ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ ለተግሣጸ፡ ኩሉ፡ ወበቀላይተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ውእቱ፡...’<sup>71</sup> (‘Now I wrote all what I have seen and heard, as everything was written for the instruction and benefit of all...’). Nevertheless, the scribe was not the sole authority who decided the content of the chronicle. As it is attested in the chronicle, the king and court attendants had a significant role on contents and narratives. Sometimes, the king commanded the scribe to write a portion of decree, land tenure grant, and other important documents in the chronicle, to perpetuate the value of the document. Similarly, the ceremony of reading the newly accomplished chapter in the court where the king and his advisors attended, seems to have been less elaborated, but an important part of the development of the chronicle writing tradition in Gondar.<sup>72</sup> Based on the systematic inquiry of the chronicles of Gondarine kings we can understand that the successive chroniclers promoted to the office of *ṣahāfe tə`əzāz* (‘scribe of order’) had been attentively reading and examining the preceding chronicles in the royal archive in order to acquire knowledge. The archive and its accessibility helped the *ṣahāfe tə`əzāz* to be selective in terms of recording historical occurrences and to

<sup>66</sup> Pereira 1892, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> See Guidi 1903, p. 145.

<sup>68</sup> Pereira 1892, p. 208.

<sup>69</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 263–264, in this title the scribe wants to refer the royal chronicles of Ethiopian kings and perhaps including other chronicles of foreign kings.

<sup>70</sup> Here the writer specifically refers to the Books of Kings (and Chronicles) in the Old Testament.

<sup>71</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 266–267.

<sup>72</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 306; Pereira 1892, pp. 286–287.

avoid redundancies.<sup>73</sup> Otherwise, the chronicler mentioned the title of the text or the work where the reader can find further evidence.<sup>74</sup>

The institutionalized tradition of chronicle writing continued until the end of 1760s. Then, as the power of the kings started being challenged by warlords, the *in situ* hierarchical position of the kings and the office were challenged, and the office of the *ṣahāfe tə'əzāz* was one of them. When the power of the monarch started, the chronicler began to patronize the dominant warlord more than the king, except in ceremonial cases. Simply, the king was a puppet enthroned to legitimize the power of the regional warlord. Immediately, competing warlords rose from different districts and began to fight each other to control Gondar, to put their own puppet to legitimize their power. Subsequently, the country fell into a total chaos, the monarch and the hierarchical offices in the royal court were not far from purely nominal figures. By then, the office of *ṣahāfe tə'əzāz* had declined and at last the responsibility of recording the general history of the period fell in the hand of a few individuals in the circle of the clergy. Those scribes tried to compose a kind of collective record in which more than fifteen puppet kings were enthroned, but under the shadow of powerful warlords, who were the real king makers of the period.<sup>75</sup> Thus, the proper tradition was interrupted. One of the anonymous scribes of the early eighteenth century described the situation saying ‘ሐጻት፡ ታሪክ፡ ነገሥት፡ ሕጻታሰ፡ በእንተ፡ አልቦ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘይፈትሕ፡ ወዘየአሥር፡ ዘይሠይም፡ ወዘይሥዕር፡ በእንተዝ፡ ሐፀት፡ ኢትሕዝኑ፡ ብዩ፡ ዘትሬእይዋ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ታሪክ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘያሌብወኒ፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በትዕይንት፡ ወበካልዕ፡ ብሔር። ኣነኒ፡ ሀለውኩ፡ በካልእ፡ ሀገር።’<sup>76</sup> (‘The history of the king is defective (now) and the reason of this deficiency is that there was no *nəguś* who had power to lose or to bind to appoint or dismiss; on this account there is a deficiency. Men must not be angered with me about this history, there was no one to give me information as to what occurred in the habitation in other lands. In fact, I was in another part of the country’). Taking this attestation into account, the chronicle writing tradition collapsed with the decline of the monarch; however, these scribes left us a significant document that shades light over the period.

Apart from the inconsistency of writing historical records, the burden of compiling historical texts and an attempt to reproduce the lost documents was in the hand of noblemen. The historical project of *Dağğāzmāč* Goššu was that to collect and compile the historical accounts of the last Gondarine kings following the destruction of the main archive at the beginning of the *zamana masāfənt*. The entire historical records that had been collected, copied, and composed until the reign of King Takla Hāymānot II (r.1769–1777) was completely lost. Following this, *Dağğāzmāč* Goššu took the initiative to recover the lost historical documents. Then he put an extraordinary effort to collect surviving copies of the chronicles of the last Gondarine kings from the families of the noblemen, former scribes as well as archives of different monasteries where the copies were found.<sup>77</sup> Besides, due to the continuity of the tradition, writing historical accounts and recording important historical events as well as the history of religious fathers and other scholars had been recorded in the later periods.

When Amharic took over the role of Gə‘əz as a literary device, the translation works and composing historical records were recorded in a new form, particularly in the eighteenth century and onwards. Some of the works of this period are found in the collection of Carlo

<sup>73</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 145–146, 292–293.

<sup>74</sup> Pereira 1892, p. 3; Guidi 1903, p. 61.

<sup>75</sup> Cp. Blundell 1922, p. 192.

<sup>76</sup> Blundell 1922, p. 478.

<sup>77</sup> Blundell 1922, p. 19.

Conti Rossini and Marcel Griaule in Europe, in addition to the texts circulating in Gondar and the surrounding areas till the present day.

### 1.2.2. The *Short Chronicles*

The version of the chronicles known as ‘Short Chronicle’ is the other historiographic work which was well spread in the Gondarine period. Yet, the later one has many variances as it was composed by various scribes, whether from the monastic milieu or close from the royal court. It contains the brief history of kings from the remote past to contemporary period of the scribe.<sup>78</sup> The *Short Chronicle*, which is chronologically arranged and mentions important historical events, gives a glimpse of all the Gondarine kings, filling the gaps of the Long Chronicles.<sup>79</sup> The original text is believed to have been composed during the reign of Bakāffā. Perhaps, its steadfast diffusion could be due to its brief content of history of kings from the late thirteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century including the chronology of earlier kings. In the following period, the text diffused to several places and edited according to the interest of the monasteries and churches as well as royal dignitaries. Although, different recensions of this text contain various historical notes, the general content and chronological order is similar.<sup>80</sup> Among this, the *Tārika nagašt* found in several churches and monasteries are composed based on the *Short Chronicle*. But these *Tārika nagašt* had their own unique approaches as the local issues were the nucleus of their historical narrations; for this reason, I called these texts ‘local *Tārika nagašt*’. The content and the approach of this text is discussed below.

### 1.2.3. The local *Tārika nagašt*

The churches and local scholars had their own means of recording history and preparing historiographic works. The *Tārika nagašt* is the institutional historiographic work that belongs to privileged churches in which the history of successive kings appeared in a summarized form. It is not limited only to the lives of kings, but also includes the history of the religious figures, the history of the place as well as land grant documents.

Though the name *Tārika nagašt* had been used to refer to the proper chronicles or the *Short Chronicle*, it was simultaneously used to refer to another type of historical compilation, perhaps due to the similarity of the genre it deals with. It was produced in various intellectual milieus, mainly in a church or monastic context and seems to have emerged in the Gondarine period. If it mainly incorporates narrations from the *Short Chronicle*, it adds also other texts, whether from the existing literature, whether by creating additional historical narrations. Unlike the chroniclers, the authors of the *Tārika nagašt* were free to incorporate legendary narratives and other local oral stories. As well, they built their text freely. Some of them begin with the narrative from the legendary Queen of Ethiopia ‘Azeb or Sābā and some other begin later. In addition, its decentralized feature causes huge variation among the *Tārika nagašt* of different localities. But it does not mean that these texts have nothing in common. Despite the considerable differences of content and detail descriptions, the scribes respect the popular historical facts recorded in other literary works. These works were composed from different perspective and focused on either to a specific place or person; but they had a considerable

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<sup>78</sup> The history of this texts has been under study since the early twentieth century. Ignazio Guidi, André Caquot, and Manfred Kropp have done groundbreaking work on the topic, see Guidi 1932; A. Caquot 1957; Kropp 1986; Kropp 1981; Kropp 1982; Kropp 1989; Kropp 1990.

<sup>79</sup> Manfred Kropp asserted that the *Short Chronicle* is independent of the official chronicle and reliable historical source; see Kropp 1986, p. 359.

<sup>80</sup> Some of these texts are edited and translated into several European languages and published by Basset 1882; Perruchon 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899; Béguinot 1901; Guidi 1893; Conti Rossini 1917; Foti 1941; Dombrowski 1983; and Kropp 1981, 1982, 1989.

resemblance in terms of content and narration. Perhaps, it occurred due to the similarities of sources they referred to, as sharing manuscripts and other materials was common among scholars and scribes.

We must mention the curiosity of church scholars on the history and historical events. Due to their initiative, many local *Tārika nagašt* had been developed in churches and monasteries. In most of the churches where this compiled historical text was composed, the history of the church or the monastery were the central point of the story. Additionally, it could contain land charters, contracts, list of the abbots of the monastery, list of kings, list of metropolitans and list of *’əççages*. Sometimes, these *Tārika nagašt* include rare historical events that occurred in the royal court but that were not registered in the royal chronicle.

The original feature of these regional *Tārika nagašt* is the incorporation of church history and the locality. Based on the structure, content, and language of literature they are divided into three categories.

*Local historical traditions from Wāššā ’Əndəryās and Dabra Mag<sup>w</sup>inā*

The first category is that of the *Tārika nagašt* of Wāššā ’Əndəryās<sup>81</sup> and Dabra Mag<sup>w</sup>inā.<sup>82</sup> In both manuscripts, the text is written in Gə’əz, and the history begins from the time of the Creation that mentioned important historical figures in the church history and religious assemblies of the early church followed by the list of Ethiopian kings. The *Tārika nagašt* of Wāššā ’Əndəryās begins the detail historical narration from the reign of King Šarša Dəngəl (r.1563–1597) and it ends after putting few lines on the first two years of the reign of ’Iyyāsu I. This historical content is organized in accordance with the style of the so-called *Short Chronicle*, comparing with the versions published by Perruchon<sup>83</sup> and Basset.<sup>84</sup> The content is compressed, and lengthy descriptions are omitted. On the other hand, additional descriptions of historical events and notes on the important figures in the aristocratic families are incorporated in the reading. Possibly, it is due to the importance of those people in the region where the manuscript was compiled. The *Tārika nagašt* of Dabra Mag<sup>w</sup>inā is also compiled in a similar way. Based on the palaeography and the paintings as well as the modern and imported inks used in the paintings and decorations this manuscript seems a very recent copy. The content of the text begins with the Creation of Adam followed by his descendants up to the establishment of Ethiopian monarchy. But when it reaches to the Gondarine period, the history is recorded without being divided annually like in the *Short Chronicle*. Rather, it is presented altogether from the beginning to the end; but the history of every king begins with rubricated lines. Some historical contents seem to have been extracted from several different sources. For instance, the history of ’Iyyāsu I is copied from his chronicle and his hagiography. It seems probable that ’Iyyāsu’s history is so much developed in this manuscript because the monastic community of Dabra Mag<sup>w</sup>inā had an honored status during his reign. On the contrary, the history of his son and successor Takla Hāymanot is demonized as he had killed his father to seize the royal power. Besides, the copyist tried to interpolate additional stories on the existing narrations and updated the content with later events. Due to this, some parts of the work seem

<sup>81</sup> This document is written on a parchment quire that has three columns. At some point it was detached from its original binding and put together with the psalter that was written in different hand and script. The psalter is written in G<sup>w</sup>əlh script and the *Tārika nagašt* in late eighteenth and nineteenth century script. This part of the manuscript was digitized by Donald Crummey and Shumet Sishagn in 1988, while both were collecting data on the Gondarine period land grants. But their focus was only on the information and the necessary information about the manuscripts seems ignored, see Shumet Sishagne 1988, p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> Similarly, I have accessed only to the pictures of this manuscript. The pictures were taken without any scale that enable to decipher the codicological feature of the manuscript.

<sup>83</sup> Perruchon 1899, pp. 166–176.

<sup>84</sup> Basset 1882, pp. 9–95.

more a historical reconstruction of the past than a simple copy of an existing work. Another distinctive feature of this *Tārika nagašt* is its narration of the history of Emperor Tewodros II (r.1855–1868). Two separate chapters are dedicated to the history and miracle of this king, the latter being dedicated to his last moments in Maqdalā where he died. Although the chronicle of Tewodros is originally written in Amharic,<sup>85</sup> the description in this *Tārika nagašt* is fully in Gəʿəz composed in accordance with the form of the so-called *Short Chronicle*. The historical content seems undifferentiated from other existing narrations except his genealogy and the language.

If these two *Tārika nagašt* were composed in Gəʿəz following the *Short Chronicles*, yet both have selectively modified the history of the king whom they favor, respectively King ʾIyyāsu I and Emperor Tewodros II. The case of King ʾIyyāsu could be related to the religious faction he was favoring, and the monastery endorsed in the past. Thus, the monastery should show support for this king who favored their religious faction in the royal court. But the case of King Tewodros seems related to his place of origin. He was born in Qʷārā and raised in Dambiyā<sup>86</sup> where this monastery is located. Perhaps, the author is biased due to the origin of the king or could be the result of the patronization of the king in the second half of the nineteenth century.

#### *The two Tārika nagašt of Zurāmbā*

In this genre, a different approach is witnessed by the two *Tārika nagašt* of Zurāmbā monastery. The first *Tārika nagašt* of this monastery is a manuscript codex that consists of 144 folia in which the text is written in two columns per folium having twenty lines in average.<sup>87</sup> The colophon clearly states that the date of production was in the late nineteenth century, during the reign of Emperor Yoḥannəs IV (r.1871–1889). This manuscript is usually known as *Tārika nagašt* but it is a composite text that contains various stories having different genre and written in two languages; but the longest parts of the text are about the history of Ethiopian kings and the church. Unlike the other *Tārika nagašt* it begins with declaring the restoration of the order of the government in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Śarśa Dəngəl. It is followed by the genealogy of Ethiopian kings from Adam to Mənilək I and the later kings. The reason for preceding the renewal of the court order seems related with the Śarśa Dəngəl's role to reestablish Zurāmbā monastery, although the text dates the original foundation of the church back to the fifth century by King Gabra Masqal. The history of the kings continued to the decline of ʾAksumite dynasty and the rise of the Zāgʷe dynasty. The later period is described in condensed sentence that mention only the total period of their domination. Then it begins the common way the author follows to record the story from the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty in the thirteenth century and it continues to the reign of King Yāʿəqob (r.1597–1603 and 1605–1607). All this is written in Gəʿəz. Suddenly, the language switches to Amharic. The remaining history of King Yāʿəqob and his successors to the end of the *zamana maśāfənt* is written in Amharic. Although the quires are correctly arranged the narrative tells the belongingness of the narratives to two different texts. The remaining part of the text contains the foundation of the monastery, list of the abbots, inventories, list of kings, list of the metropolitans, list of the abbots of the monastery of Dabra Libānos, the land charter of

<sup>85</sup> The official chronicle of Tewodros II is written by *Dabtarā* Zanab which is edited and translated by Enno Littmann; see Littmann 1902. The remaining two accounts are written by ʾAlaqā Walda Maryām and another anonymous writer; see Mondon-Vidailhet 1904; Fusella 1959. The latter two were composed sometime after the death of Tewodros II; however both are usually considered as chronicles.

<sup>86</sup> A locality situated to the northern part of Lake Tana. In the early seventeenth century the territory of Dambiyā seems to have been extended to ʾAzazo. The chronicle of Susənyos mentioned ʾAzazo as locality from the land of Dambiyā; Pereira 1892, p. 258.

<sup>87</sup> EMMML 7619; uncatalogued.

'Aksum,<sup>88</sup> the *Šər'āta Mangəšt*, court procedures that shall be followed in the court, and the history of the Gala. Also, the author incorporated the list of patriarchs of the Coptic church of Egypt<sup>89</sup> and the list of the successors of prophet Mohammad in Mecca.<sup>90</sup> In this *Tārika nagašt* various historical documents about different periods and places and from various sources are compiled altogether, putting at the center of some of them, the history of the monastery itself.

Then this text was used by another scribe who compiled a relatively shorter text about the history of the monastery and the history of the monarchy. This lately compiled *Tārika nagašt* of Zurāmba is known as 'Ya-Mamhər Hərui' ('That of Mamhər Hərui') by the name of its author. It was written during the reign of Emperor Mənilək II (r.1889–1913) on paper. The scribe organized the text in two different parts in which the first contains 'ታሪክ፡ ነገራ፡ ወዜና፡ ሥርዓታ፡ ለጽርሐ፡ አርያም፡' ('The history and order of the Šərḥa 'Aryām'<sup>91</sup>) and the second 'ጽሑፈ፡ ታሪክ፡ ዘመንግሥተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡' ('Writing of the history of the government of Ethiopia'). Unlike its source, the second *Tārika nagašt* is fully written in Gə'əz although there is no additional history or information included in it.<sup>92</sup>

The four *Tārika nagašt* mentioned above show the efforts of the local copyists to customize the general history of the country to a local context. In so doing, the focus of the story is switched from the monarch to a local church or a monastery. The later *Tārika nagašts*, however, include further narrations and introduce Amharic as a written language. This shows the evolution of the historiographic works in terms of content, context, and language as well as the diversity of sources.

#### *The Tārika nagašt of Māhdara Māryām*

The last work that shows the changing features of the local historiography is the *Tārika nagašt* of Māhdara Māryām located in South Gondar administrative zone. Like any other texts of the period, the *tārik nagašt* begins with: 'ንጽሐፍ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ታሪክ፡ ዘመንግደረ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘገብሩ፡ ላቲ፡ ነገሥተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ' ('We write the book of history of Māhdara Māryām and the deeds of the kings of Ethiopia to her'). Except the incipit, the remaining history is written in Amharic. This text is organized according to a modern way as it is divided into several chapters. Although, the author tries to emphasize the history of the church at the beginning of the text by describing the land charter and other gifts by the successive monarchs, the following parts are all about the general history of the monarchy and the Ethiopian church. The history founders of several monasteries, the rise of Aḥmad Grāñ, the abbots of the monastery of Dabra Libānos, and the Gondarine period as well as other established narrations are recorded in different chapters dedicated to these specific points. The distinctive feature of this manuscript is its sources. In fact, the local sources are not mentioned but at least three volumes of European scholars such as Wallis Budge and William Isenberg have been used. Two unnamed volumes of Budge's work are mentioned in the description of the war between King Ləbna Dəngəl (r.1508–1540) and Ahmad Grāñ. Isenberg's work *Grammar of the Amharic Language*<sup>93</sup> is also referred in

<sup>88</sup> As the monastery of Zurambā claims that it is one of the earliest churches in the country, the founding myth of the monastery is associated with the sixth century King Gabra Masqal, the evangelisator 'Abuna 'Aragāwi also known as Zamikā'el, and Saint Yared. Perhaps, it could be also due to a monastic network both churches belong.

<sup>89</sup> This list seems to have been copied from a record for the early seventeenth century because it says 'አባ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ዘሀሎ፡ ይእዜ፡' ('Abbā Gabrə'el who is (in office) by now'). The list of the following Alexandrian pops corresponds to the other records except the homeoteleuton errors occurred during the copying process.

<sup>90</sup> This list begins with prophet Mohammad ends in the ninetieth successor of the prophet named Sayfadin. Also, it gives period when the last person was in the position which is 741 *Hiḡḡirā* (i.e. AD 1280). Perhaps, the original list was prepared in the thirteenth century.

<sup>91</sup> Šərḥa 'Aryām is a name of Zurāmbā monastery.

<sup>92</sup> This manuscript is not digitized.

<sup>93</sup> See Isenberg 1842.

relation to the sixteenth century 'Iḥḥage' ʾĪnbāqom and his contribution on translating religious works from Arabic sources to Gə'əz.

The organization of this text and the new approach of using the works of foreign scholars is a new practice into the local historiographic works.

#### 1.2.4. The language shift from Gə'əz to Amharic

This corpus reveals a transition of the written language from Gə'əz to Amharic. The initiative of employing Amharic for literature was already attested at the beginning of the Gondarine period and the language that was used for composing the royal chronicles was highly influenced by Amharic and sometimes referred to as Amharicised Gə'əz. The Amharic *Tārika nagašt* composed in the nineteenth (possibly also twentieth) century are a living testimony of the transition of the historiographic tradition of the time. The transition of the language of literature had its own consequences. As Gə'əz is a language exclusively practiced among the church scholars and it demands a strong education to have a good proficiency, original textual works were left for reputed scholars. For instance, the chroniclers were recruited among well-educated clergymen; and some of them were at the same time heads of royal churches. But the advancement of Amharic allowed numerous writers to write local history and anecdotes.

At the beginning, like that of the chronicles and other literary works, *Tārika nagašt* were composed in Gə'əz. Little by little, Amharic was introduced, first to write only a portion of the text, in addition to land tenure document. Indeed, even before the royal court established Amharic as language of the court during the reign of Tewodros, the scribes of the *Tārika nagašt* had already begun to translate from Gə'əz or compose historical texts in Amharic. In the late eighteenth- until early twentieth-century, dozens of Amharic *Tārika nagašts* were composed, copied, and partly translated from Gə'əz. Though recent, this practice was easily accepted by scribes. From the second half of the nineteenth century to the early-twentieth century many *Tārika nagašts* had been composed regardless of the period that each of the text covered.

The emerging tradition of writing these historical documents in Amharic ushered the decentralization in writing history from the local point of view and the general history of the country that appeared in later decades of the twentieth century. The fundamental differences of the local *Tārika nagašt* lies on the particular focus on a certain monastery or church the manuscript belongs to.

To show this progressive tradition, I have selected five *Tārika nagašt* in four different monasteries around Gondar, namely Wāššā ʾĪndəryās, Dabra Mag<sup>w</sup>inā, Zurāmbā and Māhdara Māryām. Most of, if not all, these monasteries claim a considerable and strong relation with the royal court of Gondar. The motive behind composing the *Tārika nagašts* seems to enhance their historical significance in addition to keeping the history for the next generations. Therefore, in the following paragraphs I will describe the historical development of the *Tārika nagašt* tradition, the content and progressive approach towards replacing the language of literature to Amharic between the eighteenth and the twentieth century.

#### *Andəmta*

In the eighteenth century, the religious scholars of Gondar have formulated and established the so-called *tāč bet ʾandəmtā* ('*tāč bet* school of exegesis and interpretation') that modified the former version and employed Amharic for translation of the Gə'əz verses, historical descriptions, and theological arguments. Apparently, it was introduced to remote monasteries and peripheral regions and remained the dominant school of exegesis ever since.



### *Regional Hagiographies*

Composing hagiographic work for foreign and local saints is an ancient literary tradition in Christian Ethiopia. Although the criteria and the process of the canonization seem blurred, many Ethiopian Christians are venerated as saints. Many of these locally venerated saints are evangelists, founders of monastic orders, martyrs, and hermits. Among these religious figures, only some of them are known throughout the country and the rest are known in specific localities. Locally venerated saints of the Gondarine period were so due to their resistance against the Jesuit intervention in the early seventeenth century. Among them, Walatta Pētros, 'Ēḥeta Krastos, and 'Abuna Harā are of the few who have been widely known and venerated soon after their death. They are venerated in the Lake Ṭānā region where they were actively struggling against the Jesuits. They have survived that chaotic period and remained in the Lake Ṭānā monasteries as hermits after the Jesuits left the country.

These historical figures are known for organizing and assisting the resistance until the Jesuits lost their position in the royal court and at last left the country at the beginning of the 1630s. The canonization of the leaders of resistance happened between the second half the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century soon after they died. The first step accomplished in this process seems to have been to organize the hagiographic work by their disciples who witnessed their lives. The canonization and establishing the monasteries and churches in their names followed in the next decades. These hagiographic works are pieces of historical narratives that enable the following generations to understand the period. Due to this, the hagiographies of these saints seem a complementary historical source to have a full image of the period and of the network of the local resistance groups. Nevertheless, the hagiographies have their own limitation on describing the facts as they focus on the religious dedication and spiritual achievements of the saint. Regardless of this, they are important historical documents recorded by witnesses of the period for which very little local historical documents are available.

Another historical biographical text of the same period is the one of *Mamhār Walda Tənsā'* of the monastery of Dabra Ḥalib. This monk is not as widely known as the venerated saints. But he is known in his monastery for his role to defend the Orthodox faith and his commemoration is incorporated in the local Synaxarion. According to this long entry, *Mamhār Walda Tənsā'* had been defending his faith against the pro-Jesuit priests of the monastery and later migrated to the northern part of the county that was relatively free. Then, he was active in reconverting former orthodox Christian fellows and had a role in bringing a new metropolitan from Egypt. Due to his role on the resistance and the restrengthening of the Orthodox church the monastery has venerated him as saint.<sup>94</sup>

The last well-known work in the same genre would be the hagiography of 'Iyyāsu I (r.1682–1698) whose veneration was held due to his sorrowful end. When 'Iyyāsu was in power he was a supporter of the Ṣaggā faction. In the religious debates throughout his reign the Ṣaggā faction had been the champion. On the other hand, the followers of the rival sect were suffering the opposition of the Qəbāt faction. The nobilities who were supporters of the Qəbāt sect organized a successful dethronement with his son Takla Hāymānot and removed 'Iyyāsu from the throne. Few months later, 'Iyyāsu was assassinated by the order of his son and successor while he was under custody in Lake Ṭānā. Two years later, the assassins were killed in public following the death of Takla Hāymānot. Praising 'Iyyāsu as saint began to rise thereafter. The veneration of 'Iyyāsu was carried out by the prominent church scholars of the

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<sup>94</sup> Shumet Sishagne 1988, p. 4.

Şaggā faction. Unlike the other local saints 'Iyyāsu's veneration was limited in the royal court and in the churches that had been centers of the Şaggā faction.

Although the intention of the hagiographic works is only for religious purposes and composed in accordance with the established tradition it was based on historical facts. The sociopolitical and religious circumstances of the period recorded in these works are attested by other witnesses. Thus, in the process of composing the hagiographic works, historical knowledge of the time seems the main input of the work besides having detail information about the venerated person. In some specific cases, the hagiographic works give further information about the situation that had never been addressed in the chronicles or other sources emanates from the royal court. Therefore, hagiographic literatures of the Gondarine period could be taken as a historical works compiled from different perspective.

#### 1.2.5. Archival documents of the religious institutions

The establishment of the royal library and archive in Gondar was one of the remarkable achievements of the period. Legal documents such as royal decrees and minutes, chronicles and other documents were among the collection in the archive.

These documents contain the history of the foundation of the church, the lands offered, and sometimes the list of scholars assigned to serve; the *Maşḥafa 'Aksum*<sup>95</sup> and *Zenā Dabra Libānos*<sup>96</sup> are the best examples of this genre. Many of the monasteries and churches founded by the Gondarine kings have similar documents that describe the establishment of the church and declare the right of the church over the land provided by the monarch (*gult*). Most of the time, these documents are very concise but, in some cases, they contain re large texts.

The foundation charter is a short document in most cases, but there are also exceptions for which the history is recorded at length. The best example of this kind is the *Zenā Nārgā*.<sup>97</sup> This long monastic chronicle is written in Gə'əz and contains the history of the church from the beginning of the construction to the consecration. Plus, the list of properties and land offered by the founding King 'Iyyāsu II and his mother Məntəwwāb. The content and the style of the narration have considerable similarity with the foundation charter of Dabra Şaḥay Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>ām of Gondar; perhaps both are works of a single author as the narrative structure and styles are similar. Both included a mythical narration about the site selection and the construction work as well as the gifts offered to the church, and a list of assigned clergymen for the service. Yet, in the last part of *Zenā Nārgā* there are additional notes written in Amharic added sometime in the later period. It is a sum of short legal documents related with land tenure, inventories of properties, and newly offered manuscripts, which is a common practice of the period.

The other type of the foundation charter is what is reported in the royal chronicles. 'Addabābāy Takla Hāymānot, Dabra Bərḥān Śəllāse, Rufā'el and Dabra Şaḥay Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>ām, are some of the royal churches whose consecrations is reported in the chronicles of 'Iyyāsu I, Bakāffā and 'Iyyāsu II respectively.<sup>98</sup> Yet, these churches have another version of history that includes further historical information and periodic inventory of the property of the churches. The land charters of Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>ām, Dabra Bərḥān Śəllāse, and 'Addabābāy Takla Hāymānot contain a brief history of the foundation of the churches that includes the list of clergymen assigned for church service that seems to have been produced in this regard. Similarly, the later

<sup>95</sup> See Conti Rossini 1909.

<sup>96</sup> See Turaiev 1902.

<sup>97</sup> See Guidi 1905, pp. 237–267.

<sup>98</sup> See Guidi 1903, pp. 63, 168–169, 307; Guidi 1910, pp. 89–109.

churches founded in the late eighteenth century while Gondar was declining are mentioned in the so-called *Short Chronicle*. Yet, a detailed description about the consecration of the churches and the lands bestowed to the clergy is missing. However, it is important to remind that not all churches founded in the Gondarine period are mentioned in the chronicle. Yet, for many of the churches were compiled documents that contain the foundation charter and other notes related to the properties they owned, the list of the clergymen and inventories of their properties held in the following periods. Therefore, these specific documents are records of historical events of the Gondarine period although they mainly focus on the churches and the clerics.

Nevertheless, the recent works of the same genre composed in the nineteenth- and early-twentieth century seem an attempt to fix the history of the churches in written form. The leading factor to produce such historical notes in the churches could be related with the decline of Gondar and its destruction, in which historical records were either burnt or lost for other reasons. Thus, such works began to appear in the course of time to recover the losses. The most recent of these works were copied in the blank folia of old manuscripts or on paper notebook. These documents contain lists of lands and other properties of the churches and usually known as *Mazgab* ('record'), *Śarit* ('land charter'), or *Tārik* ('history'). The source of these compilations seems earlier textual sources and the oral tradition.

In the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth century the historiography of the foundation of churches was transferred to a new chapter. In this period, particularly from the later nineteenth century onwards, history of churches and monasteries fully composed in Amharic began to appear. In earlier period, Gə'əz was the main language of literature in all aspects until the eighteenth century, however Amharic was still used in the *'andəmtā*-exegesis tradition and for other religious texts. It had also been used in many ways such as land sales, letters, inventories and in other day-to-day activities. Besides, regional lords and clergies of the period had already been using letters written in Amharic in their correspondence. Although a foreign missionary had already translated the Bible into Amharic, there had been no equivalent work accomplished in Ethiopia.<sup>99</sup> The royal chronicle Emperor Tewodros II (r.1855–1868) is a complete historiographical work composed in Amharic. Other historical accounts of Tewodros were also composed in Amharic a decade after his death.<sup>100</sup> Amharic was already used in many ways since the eighteenth century; therefore, using it to compose the royal chronicle shows its complete dominance over the old working language of the royal court, Gə'əz. Even though the reason behind the language shift is not clearly stated in the chronicle of Tewodros, indirect sources unveil that he was much interested in Amharic as it was understandable by the public.<sup>101</sup> Afterwards, writing historiographic works in Amharic was widely spread. Composing history of monasteries and churches, legends, and translation of the *Tārika nagast* was carried out in different places. Some of these works are a compilation of translated Gə'əz works and oral tradition. In a way, it was a continuation of the tradition of writing history. It has been practiced in Gondar and the surroundings as far as the Lake Ṭānā region until recently.

#### 1.2.6. Commemorative works

The main historiographic work in the royal court of Gondar was the chronicle writing, which is a continuation of the old tradition except for the new approach introduced in the Gondarine period. Likewise, many religious texts had been copied, translated, and distributed

<sup>99</sup> The Amharic version of the Holy Bible was completed around 1818. The Gospel was published in 1824 and followed by the New Testament in 1829. After a decade the complete Amharic version of the Holy Bible was published in 1840. Thousands of copies were distributed in Ethiopia in the mid-nineteenth century. See 'Abu Rumi', *E Ae*, I (2003), 53b–54b (M. Kleiner); Amsalu Aklilu 1990; Veitch 1860, p. 27.

<sup>100</sup> See 'Traditional historical writing in Amharic', *E Ae*, I (2003), 240a–242a (T. L. Kane and D. Nosnitsin).

<sup>101</sup> See Amsalu Aklilu 1990, pp. 146–152.

throughout the country. In addition to the two main categories of literary works, another new tradition, a secular but commemorative text, was introduced at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the composition of the commemorative texts and secular narratives was a new practice in the Gondarine period. Moreover, in the late Gondarine period the tradition of recording history seems diffused among the church scholars and the nobility. In the previous period, recording history was the duty of the chroniclers and the royal court was responsible to ensure the continuity of the tradition as well as for documentation of the preceding works. Since the mid-eighteenth century the role of the royal court on record keeping has begun to be shared by the royal family. *Daḡḡāzmāč* Gošu's effort to collect the chronicles of Gondarine kings from private collections of the former court attendants, monasteries, and churches to compile a copy of the surviving texts was a step as a symbolic accomplishment that shows the power shift from the kings to powerful lords in the late-eighteenth century.<sup>102</sup> At that point, moreover, the interest of the nobility to own the copy of local historical records seems growing. For example, when William Coffin visited Gondar around 1818, he saw a local history owned by anonymous persons of Gondar from which he quoted a few paragraphs in his publication.<sup>103</sup> Even though his focus was on the political, cultural, and religious situations and did not describe the entire content of the text, it is plausible to think that keeping a local history in individual's collection was an established custom. Following this shift of responsibility of recording history, the church began to record the history of important figures by their own. When Gondarine kings were in full authority and power, the history of the metropolitans and other important figures from the church and the nobility used to be briefly recorded in the chronicle. Apart from this, writing the autobiography of an individual either from the church or the nobility was not common. But in the nineteenth century, when the tradition of recording history was diffused among scholars, the biography, with 'Abuna Salamā,<sup>104</sup> came into existence. This account of the metropolitan is composed in the form of the annals of the previous kings recorded chronologically and the language of literature employed to write the history. This account is written in Gə'əz while Amharic was already established as a language of literature in the royal court. Perhaps, it could be a resistance against the growing importance of Amharic in the society and its dominion in the contemporary literary works.<sup>105</sup> Regardless of the scribe's inclination to follow the preceding format and language, the work was prepared to remember the outstanding role the metropolitan played in the consolidation of the Church and his firm stand to protect it. As a result, he was imprisoned and at last died while he was imprisoned. Therefore, this biographical literature seems to have been composed to give credit for the metropolitan's role. Also, in the rest of the society, composing commemorative poems and texts in one's own interest was growing. One among the late nineteenth century eulogia, a work of anonymous church scholar of Gondar composed after the destruction of the city is one

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<sup>102</sup> Blundell 1922, p. 19.

<sup>103</sup> Pearce 1831, pp. 255–256.

<sup>104</sup> Also known as Salāmā III, the 107th metropolitan of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, from 1841 to 1868, see 'Sälama', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 489b–490b (D. Crummey).

<sup>105</sup> Crummey and Getatchew Haile 2004, pp. 5–40.

of the examples that shows the popularizing of this tradition.<sup>106</sup> It was a *mawaddās*<sup>107</sup> that has been circulating to show the rise and fall of Gondar. Since the end of the nineteenth century onwards, similar commemorative works and eulogies on the city and reputed scholars were already established tradition.

Nevertheless, this kind of practice seem to have been started by *Ṣahāfe tǝʾəzāz* Sinodā. He was a royal historiographer during the reign of ʾIyyāsu I and Bakāffā. His career began as a clergyman of Dabra Bǝrhān Sǝllāse, a royal church in Gondar. At some point he seems to have been recruited as the private teacher of the children of the King through which he became familiar in the royal court and paved the way to assume a position in the office of the *ṣahāfe tǝʾəzāz* (‘writer of order’) in the following years. When he wrote his first contribution in the chronicle of ʾIyyāsu, he described himself as follows ‘ወጄእምላእካነ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሲኖዳ፡ ንዑሰ፡ አእምሮ፡ ዘልሙድ፡ በቤተ፡ መንግሥት፡ ወጸሐፌ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ታሪክ።’<sup>108</sup> (‘one among the clergy of Dabra Bǝrhān, Sinodā, the man of little knowledge, familiar in the royal court and writer of this history’). Although he did not mention his role on instructing the children of the king, his successor in office Kǝnfa Mikāʾel described his roles chronologically. Sinodā’s priesthood came first, then is followed by the two positions he attained later, first as a private teacher of the children of the king and ultimately as chronicler; but the time when he achieved these statuses is not stated.<sup>109</sup> Perhaps he became familiar in the royal court around the last decade of the seventeenth century. While he was active in the royal court, he had the opportunity to follow the last military expedition of King ʾIyyāsu I to the land of Gibe in February 1704. At this time, the official chroniclers and other dignitaries were not allowed to accompany the king; rather the king told them to stay behind praying for the king. But Sinodā was fortunated enough to get permission to follow the king and witnessed the expedition reported in his writing. Soon after the end of the expedition, Sinodā wrote his witness of the military expedition and that was the first work that introduced him. But his new carrier was interrupted following the dethronement and assassination of King ʾIyyāsu in 1706. In the next fifteen years, Sinodā was unable to continue his work in the royal court. Rather, his service seems to have been limited in the church. When Bakāffā came to power in 1721, Sinodā was handpicked by the king to write his chronicle due to his previous experience on the post. Sinodā has reported the reason he assumed the office of the *ṣahāfe tǝʾəzāz* saying, ‘እስከዝ፡ አብጻሕኩ፡ ጽሐፊ፡ ዜናሁ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ በካፋ፡ ጎበ፡ አዘዘኒ፡ እምቅድመ፡ የሀበኒ፡ ህሊመተ፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ በከመ፡ ጸሐፍኩ፡ ዜናሁ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ኢያሱ አቡሁ። ዘኮነ፡ በምድረ ጊቤ፡ እንዘ፡ ንዑሰ፡ ዓቅም፡ አነ፡ እስመ፡ ተለውከዎ፡ እምጥንቱ፡ እስከ፡ ተፍጻሜቱ።’<sup>110</sup> (‘I have written the chronicle of Bakāffā until this part before he appointed be the office of *ṣahāfe tǝʾəzāz* as I wrote the history of his father King ʾIyysāu that happened in the land of Gibe because I the man of little knowledge has followed him from the beginning to the end’). While Sinodā was in the office of the *ṣahāfe tǝʾəzāz* he tried to introduce a new literary works of a different genre. One of these works is mentioned by himself in the chronicle of Bakāffā. It was composed following

<sup>106</sup> This specific *Qəne* is translated into English and published by Munro-Hay in 2002. In fact, he mentioned the work of Jean Doresse as a source where he found the *qəne* but it was wrongly attributed to Kǝfla Yoḥannes, the famous scholar of the Gondarine period who is supposed to have lived between the late-seventeenth century and the early-eighteenth century, according to the oral history told in Gondar. But Jean Doresse traced the period when Kǝfla Yoḥannes lived to the mid-nineteenth century, see Munro-Hay 2002, p. 114. Nevertheless, other documents witnessed the ownership of this *qəne* to another scholar named ʾAʾmǝro, who was serving in Baʾātā church in Gondar and was taken captive by the Mahdists in the late 1880s. Few years later, a messenger brought this nostalgic *qəne* from Sudan to Gondar; apparently the clergymen of Gondar learned the forceful conversion of ʾAʾmǝro to Islam.

<sup>107</sup> It is a type of *qəne*-hymns that is employed during the celebration of the Sunday office, and it is sung in ʾarārāy mode, see ‘Māwāddās’, *EAE*, III (2007), 876a-b (Habtemichael Kidane).

<sup>108</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 246.

<sup>109</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 313–314.

<sup>110</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 283.

the death of Maryāmawit, the concubine of ʾIyyāsu I and mother of Bakāffā. Having seen the grief of the king on the loss of his mother, Sinodā composed the ደርሰተ፡ መርሥዔ፡ ሐዘን፡<sup>111</sup> ('The book (that helps) to combat the grief') in less than two months of time and presented it to the King Bakāffā soon after the fortieth day memorial of the deceased Maryāmawit. In return the king rewarded him a gold bracelet. As the title indicates, the intention of Sinodā seems to have been to compose a sort of eulogy in which the king can have a memory of his mother. Little is known about the other works of Sinodā, but his disciple Kənfā Mikāʾel succeeded him in office after his death to continue writing the chronicle of Bakāffā in which he mentioned some of the works of Sinodā but without telling the date of composition and purposes of the texts. Yet, he simply listed some of the widely known works while reporting his death saying ሲኖዳ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ካህን፡ መምህረ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወጸሐፊ፡ ታሪክ፡ ዘጊቤ፡ ወጃዊ፡ ወላስታ፡ ወውኣቱ፡ ዘጸሐፊ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው፡ ዘበጽሐ፡ ውስተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዓለም፡ ወኣዲ፡ ደረሰ፡ መዝሙር፡ ሐፄ፡ ኢየሱ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ሐዲስ፡<sup>112</sup> ('Azāz Sinodā the great priest, teacher of the children of the King, the writer of the history of Gibe, Ḡāwi, and Lastā died; he also wrote the book of Grammar that reaches to every corner of the world. Moreover, he wrote *Psalter of Ḥaḍe ʾIyyāsu, the new martyr*'). The intention of Kənfā Mikāʾel does not seem to list all his works but to mention only the widely known in the kingdom. If it were, he could have mentioned *The book (that helps) to combat the grief* but it was skipped in the list. But he emphasized on the two works: the Gəʾəz grammar and the *Psalter of Ḥaḍe ʾIyyāsu, the new martyr*. Possibly, the grammar might have been widely circulated for obvious reasons in the traditional school. But most of his works except the royal chronicle seems lost or known under different names. For instance, the *Psalter of Ḥaḍe ʾIyyāsu* has been confused with a hagiographic text ገድለ፡ ኢየሱ (Gadla ʾIyyāsu). Although the texts are not discovered so far, it is possible to make an inquiry to draw a conclusion about the genre of the text. As the name indicates, *Psalter of Ḥaḍe ʾIyyāsu, the new martyr* is composed according to the hymnological tradition of the church to praise ʾIyyāsu I. In fact, ʾIyyāsu was already venerated as martyr in 1708 as soon as his brother Tewoflos was elevated to the throne. To fulfil the requirements for the veneration, his brother commissioned the *Gadla ʾIyyāsu*. In his history, the covenant, the miracles he performed, and hymn are incorporated according to the hagiographic tradition. Following this, the two texts are different and belong to different genres. Therefore, *Gadla ʾIyyāsu* and *Psalter of Ḥaḍe ʾIyyāsu, the new martyr* are two different works in different genres; and the later one composed during the reign of Bakāffā; in which Sinodā was close enough to the king to offer this second present.

Besides this, oral information circulating in the contemporary clergymen indicates the existence of some other works by Sinodā. This assertion is supported by a list of works attributed to Sinodā. According to the oral knowledge and a fragment of information collected and published by the local church scholar ʾAlaqā ʾElyās Nābiya Ləʾul and Kaffyālew Marāḥi, *Ṣahāfe tā ʾəzāz* Sinodā is believed to have been a historian, prophet, and well reputed *qəne* scholar of the time. Due to these qualities, the traditional church scholar believes that Sinodā has predicted the decline and revival of Gondar as well as the plague and famine ahead.

A third source about the works attributed to Sinodā is a list of eleven different works copied in a manuscript of the *Maṣḥafa Qerāllōs* kept in Dabər Takla Hāymānot church in Balasā.<sup>113</sup> The list that contains the following works are recorded under a title *Dərsata Sinodā* ('works of Sinodā') that are:

ካሪ፡ ምጽኣት፡ (Nagara Məṣʾat, 'On the coming (of Christ)')<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 285.

<sup>112</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 313–314.

<sup>113</sup> See ʾElyās Nābiyya Ləʾul (ʾAlaqā) and Kaffyālew Marāḥi (Qasis) 1992, pp. 155–157.

<sup>114</sup> The genre of this text is most probably religious, based on its title.

ራእዮ፡ ሲኖዳ፡ (*Rā`āya Sinodā*, ‘Revelation of Sinodā’)<sup>115</sup>  
 መርሰኤ፡ ኃዘን፡ (*Marsə`e ḥāzan*, ‘To combat the grief’)  
 መንግሥተ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወበካፋ፡ (*Mangəsta`Iyyāsu waBakāffā*, ‘The government of`Iyyāsu and Bakāffā’)  
 ትዕይንተ፡ ጎንደር፡ (*Tə`ayənta Gondar*, ‘The city of Gondar’)  
 ተፍጻሜተ፡ መንግሥት፡ (*Tafṣāmeta Mangəst*, ‘The end of the government’)  
 ምዝባሬ፡ ቤተ፡ መንግሥት፡ (*Məzbāre beta mangəst*, ‘The destruction of the royal palace’)  
 ምዝባሬ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ (*Məzbāre beta maqdas*, ‘The destruction of the temple’)  
 ምሳሌ፡ መምህራን፡ (*Məssāle mamhərān*, ‘Proverbs of the teachers’)  
 ቅትለተ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወካህን፡ (*Qətlata nabiy wakahən*, ‘The death of the prophet and the priest’)  
 ማኅለቅተ፡ ዘመን፡ (*Māhlaqta zaman*, ‘The end of the era’)

This list contains some well-known works of Sinodā such as the chronicle of`Iyyāsu and Bakāffā. Besides, for unexplained reasons two of his works, the Grammar of Gə`əz language and *Psalter of Ḥaṣe`Iyyāsu the new martyr* are not incorporated in this list. In addition, the chronicle of`Iyyāsu and Bakāffā is mentioned as a single literary work and appeared in the title *Mangəsta`Iyyāsu waBakāffā*. Identifying the same work under different names has been a common practice among scribes. For instance, the chronicle of`Iyyāsu I which is housed in the national library of Ethiopia is known by the Amharic title of *Yaṣe`Iyyāsu`Adyām Saggad tārik* (‘History of`Adyām Saggad`Aṣe`Iyyāsu’).<sup>116</sup>

The very importance of this list is the presence of a work under the title *Tə`ayənta Gondar* (‘The city of Gondar’).<sup>117</sup> It seems to have been a book on the history of Gondar. It could be one of the earliest works on the history of Gondar and, if Sinodā was its author, it would have been composed while Gondar was on its apex. Could it be the core of what will become later the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*? Was it made of oral testimonies? Did it share some common points with the corpus of the *Short Chronicles*? or with the historical texts that Sinodā wrote for the royal court? These questions will remain unanswered for the time being but shows that Gondar as a town was as soon as the first half of the eighteenth century the topic for a text, most probably historical.

### 1.3. Oral literature in Gondarine period

The presence of oral literature attributed to the pre-Gondarine settlers known as Wayna Sayne and other similar narratives shows the importance of the tradition since a long time before the emergence of Gondar as a royal seat. Yet, the earlier oral traditions are specific to certain localities and churches in city that predate the later settlements;<sup>118</sup> the circulation of the stories is still limited around those localities. In the later period, however, the content and context of the oral tradition is gradually dominated by the history of the Gondarine kings and other important historical figures of that period. This oral tradition remembers several historical happenings that are not found in written sources.

<sup>115</sup> This text is most probably not a work from *Ṣahāfe tə`əzāz Sinodā* but a well-known religious text attributed to an Egyptian monk who wrote many other works. This work is referred by the fifteenth century Ethiopian writer`Abbā Giyorgis zaGasəççā; see Amsalu Tefera 2019, pp. 250–251, 593.

<sup>116</sup> See ‘Sinoda’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 668a–669a (S. Chernetsov and D. Noslitsin). Also *Dabtarā`Assagaḳañ* states that the multiplicity titles given to a same work results of various understandings of the text from church scholars in different places; see Conti Rossini 1925, p. 463.

<sup>117</sup> In the early 1970s the municipality of Gondar city was publishing a municipal herald in the same title. Perhaps, this title could have been chosen due to this historical work.

<sup>118</sup> See Garimā Täffara 1974, pp. 2, 3, 6.

The influence of the oral literature in the Gondarine period began to dominate the literary tradition, particularly the chronicle writing, in the mid-eighteenth century. Although there were few attempts to incorporate oral traditions in the earlier decades,<sup>119</sup> the chronicle writing was mainly dependent on referring previous literature, witnesses of a certain event, and observation of the writer himself. In the 1730s, when Məntəwwāb became the regent of her son Iyyāsu II, the oral literature had been elevated and used as a complementary source to compose the chronicle. At that time, the oral tradition might have been a means of keeping and transferring memory of the past to the future generation. Yet, the way it was used in the chronicle of the Məntəwwāb and her son Iyyāsu II was to legitimize the succession to the deceased king Bakāffā. The chronicle has a long introduction compiled based on the oral tradition that appears as a brief history of the ancestors, prophecy told by local saints and vision (ራእይ) of Məntəwwāb's family and herself. Considerable portion of this chronicle is the genealogy of the royal family and summary of predecessor kings but there are new narratives that are not recorded in the previous chronicles. Perhaps, the history of King Minās (r.1559–1563), who is believed to be the great grandfather of Məntəwwāb. This genealogy is deliberately incorporated to show the royal ascendants of Məntəwwāb and to legitimize her position as regent of her Son 'Iyyāsu by King Bakāffā. A brief history of Minās is recorded in the *Short Chronicle* but without any details. The scribe of Məntəwwāb's chronicle incorporated his imaginary version of the funeral of the king and the *qəne* performed during the burial. Perhaps, the *qəne* could survive orally following the tradition of rehearsing *qəne* composed in such important historical events. Similarly, the family history and genealogy also survive orally except in the case of the royal family following the fact that Məntəwwāb's family was not among the elevated political elites before the eighteenth century; the family history and her genealogy from the line of Minās certainly survived orally although it does not appear in such detail in the *Short Chronicle*.

The story included in the chronicle of Məntəwwāb could be a variant that had been circulated among the scholars or the royal family. This and other legendary introductory narratives were incorporated in the chronicle. Some of the stories recorded as dreams or visions of Məntəwwāb and her family are still circulating in Gondar today as oral history. The best example is the narration in the chronicle that appeared as the prophecy of Walatta Pētros<sup>120</sup> spoken in the house of the great grandfather of Məntəwwāb. According to the chronicler, Walatta Pētros had prophesied the rise of a king in the family, and the scribe declared the fulfilment of that prophecy in the enthronement of Məntəwwāb and her son 'Iyyāsu II. Besides, the scribe adopted the narrative of the hagiography of Walatta Pētros for the family life of Məntəwwāb and her birth. In both texts, the hagiography of Walatta Pētros and the chronicle of Məntəwwāb and 'Iyyāsu II, a common metaphorical expression is used to describe both central figures of the narration as divinely chosen for the position they own. However, the metaphorical expression seems older than both historical figures; specially, if the similar narrative among hagiographic texts is considered.<sup>121</sup> However, referring to the chronicle of

<sup>119</sup> Məhərkā Dəngəl, one of the chroniclers of Susənyos, incorporated oral tradition in the introduction of the chronicle, see Pereira 1892, pp. 3–7.

<sup>120</sup> Walatta Pētros (1594–1644) was one of the aristocratic family of the period who led the resistance against the Jesuit missionaries who convinced King Susənyos to convert his religion to Catholicism. As a supporter of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, she joined the resistance group and fought until the king abdicated to his son and restored the Orthodox Church to its previous status. Then she established her monastic community and led it until her death, see 'Wälättä Pētros', *EAE*, IV (2010), 1086b–1088a (L. Cohen).

<sup>121</sup> The hagiographic texts are subjected to a certain standard to construct the life of the saints. Due to this, there are considerable similarities of the narratives which is interchangeably used for different saints, see Mersha Alehegne 2015. Perhaps, similar narratives in the hagiography of Walatta Pētros and the chronicle of Məntəwwāb and her son 'Iyyāsu II could be derived from earlier oral tradition of textual sources of similar genre.



Məntəwwāb, a part of the introductory narrative is certainly derived from the hagiography of Walatta Pētros, as the saint appears as patron saint of the queen's family in the chronicle.

According to the hagiography, a certain monk saw a dream and told to the father of Walatta Pētros saying, 'I have seen a bright sun settling in the womb of your wife'. Then he interpreted the dream as that their daughter will be religious and influential both in the church and the government. Traditionally, in these kinds of narratives, metaphorically, the sun represents a very influential figure; in this case, Walatta Pētros.<sup>122</sup> The same metaphor is used in the chronicle for Məntəwwāb, and the later period oral historians used the expression to narrate the birth of the later kings. Based on the narrative structure, it is plausible to argue that this expression had a well-established background in the local tradition. As a matter of fact, the hagiography of Walatta Pētros was written in 1673–1674 and the chronicle of Məntəwwāb in the 1730s.<sup>123</sup> Though the influence of the hagiography of Walatta Pētros on the construction of the story in the chronicle is undeniable, the oral literature might predate both texts.<sup>124</sup>

In addition, comparing both texts help to know the birth and growth of oral tradition in the Gondarine period. According to the hagiography, Walatta Pētros refused the king's request to change her religion; subsequently, she was exiled to the peripheral region as punishment.<sup>125</sup> A detail of her journey does not appear in the text, but the chronicler takes this advantage to add the oral history that talks about Walatta Pētros' visit to the ancestors of Məntəwwāb and continues with other new narratives to glorify the saint. Therefore, in this period, using the information gap to incorporate oral history or introduce innovations in written texts was under practice. Similar practice may have been reflected in other historiographic or hagiographic literatures of the time. But what makes this practice different from the previous approach is that it had an explicit political intention to strengthen the political affiliation between the origin of Məntəwwāb, the Qwāra clan and the power elites of Goḡḡām. The latter was also known for favouring the *Qəbāt* faction which was also favoured during the period Məntəwwāb had a full control of power. Thus, this innovative history was compiled to show the joint effort of the Qwāra family and the Goḡḡām power elites which was the backbone of the Məntəwwāb's reign. On top of it, many of the monasteries established in the name of Walatta Pētros are in Goḡḡām which is also considered one of the centres of the *Qəbāt* faction. Considering these elements, the rationale behind focusing on the hagiography of Walatta Pētros and exploiting the information gap for the innovative writing could have been taken as an opportunity to show the bond and common religious interest between the Qwāra and Goḡḡām elite as well as legitimizing the power of Məntəwwāb.

Also, other similar works with visible influence of oral literature came to light around the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* and *Dərsāna 'Urā'el* are texts in which the postdiction or writing the past events in the form of prophecy of historical occurrences and the rise and fall of medieval period kings as divine intervention have been used. The later one tried to give a firm background to the life of Saint Yāred who is supposed to have lived in the sixth century and is known for his musical works, and his visit in the Lake Tānā region in which some of the monasteries claimed him as their founder. Besides, it contains the rise and fall of successive medieval kings of Ethiopia whose centre was Šawā. Considering the narrative structure of the text and its content, the date of composition of the text seems between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Also, *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* contains oral literature concerning the decline of Šawa, the rise and fall of Gondar, and the return of the

<sup>122</sup> See Conti Rossini and Jaeger 1954, pp. 5–6.

<sup>123</sup> Also see Bosc-Tiessé 2006.

<sup>124</sup> 'Wälättä Pētros', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 1086b–1088a (L. Cohen).

<sup>125</sup> Conti Rossini and Jaeger 1954, pp. 47–48.

monarchy to the Šawā highlands. Some parts are identical with what is told in Gondar,<sup>126</sup> except the portion that tells about the return of the monarchy to Šawā.<sup>127</sup> Regardless of the variation among these texts, the main theme of the narrative belongs to oral tradition that assets the fall and rise of the Šawā royal family. Perhaps, the oral tradition could have been established in the clergy, due to the existence of apocalyptic narratives common in the church; then it circulated in the wider public as established history of the past with the prediction of the future. This oral tradition has influenced lately composed historical texts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Gondar, Šawa, and Goğgām.<sup>128</sup> In fact, it is hardly possible to identify the exact source of oral literatures that had been circulating in the Gondarine period. But the appearance of similar narratives in the hagiographic tradition and historical texts of the period like the *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* and *Dərsāna 'Urā'el* provides clues to the existence of the oral tradition previous to all texts.

On the other hand, the population in Gondar had its own way to keep the memory of the past and transfer it to the following generations. The nature of the stories established in this form is closer to a myth than to a proper history. Various stories were already established and had been circulation both orally and in textual format. As of the interest of the localities or churches, in the oral tradition, favoured kings, nobilities and other important historical figures are remembered either as saints or just persons and the rivals as wicked and contemptible.<sup>129</sup> Even though the circulation of such specific stories is limited in among the localities, in some cases it appeared as the only source of historical information but as a fading memory in the community. The best example of this kind is the dispute between the monks and King Fāsiladas held in the late 1650s.<sup>130</sup> According to the oral tradition, it was due to the incest taboo the king committed: his engagement with two sisters. The monastic community of the monastery of Mag<sup>w</sup>inā led the protest and many of them were killed by the order of the king. Little is known about this incident in which monastic leaders paid their lives, what is known so far about this incident is the brief record in the abridged chronicle of Fāsiladas;<sup>131</sup> however, it seems to have been circulating on oral basis and remained a continuing part of the oral tradition. For instance, the French physician Charles Poncet, who visited the royal court of Gondar in the late 1690s, had asked about this situation. The informants told him that seven thousand priests were killed during the reign of Fāsiladas.<sup>132</sup> As the oral transmission is exposed to corruption, in the end of the twentieth century the number of victims rose to nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine and the victims appeared as the combination of monks, Christian fellows and Muslims. Possibly, the change behind the number of victims could be figurative but the change behind the identity of the victims seems an intentional modification, to include the mass and promote the riotousness of the Christian religion as the story diffused to the wider public.<sup>133</sup>

The oral tradition had remained as one of the main sources of historical information among the public; and it continued until the mid-twentieth century with some updates of late

<sup>126</sup> According to the chronicle of Emperor Mənilək II, the *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* was discovered sometime in the 1870s at Zəwāy, south Ethiopia. It might have diffused throughout the country in the later decades and therefore was known in Gondar, see Gabra Šəllāse Walda Aragāy 1959, p. 97.

<sup>127</sup> *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* 1982 A.M., 105-145. In this text, the portion that describes the fall of Šawā in the hand of the enemies and the retreat of the monarchy to Gondar as well as the re-establishment of Šawā as a seat of the Government seems a lately added text.

<sup>128</sup> See Šərgəw Galāw 2008, 215.

<sup>129</sup> See Pearce 1831, pp. 256–257.

<sup>130</sup> See Pankhurst 1982, p. 121.

<sup>131</sup> See Perruchon 1897, p. 368.

<sup>132</sup> Poncet 1709, p. 57. variant narratives of this incident have been circulating to these days in Gondar. For this specific incident and other related stories see Ramos 2018b.

<sup>133</sup> For the elaborated version of this story see Ramos 2018a, p. 39; Ramos 2018b, pp. 180–182, 186–195.

historical events. The content and depth of the oral literature varies from one storyteller to the other; yet all of them are confident enough to claim that their own version is the correct one. Every single church in Gondar as well as the non-Christian religious groups have their own oral literature that magnified their role in the Gondarine period. The Qəmānt, Beta ʿĒsrāʿel or the Ethiopian Jews, and the Muslims of Gondar have a well-established oral literature like that of the Christian community.<sup>134</sup> Unfortunately, only a single version of those oral literatures mixed with written sources, has become the authentic version since the mid-twentieth century, after Takla Ṣādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā published his volume on the Gondarine period kings.<sup>135</sup>

#### 1.4. Change and continuity in oral tradition and written documents in the history of Gondar

Following the growth of its importance, several different stories began to proliferate from different social groups living in Gondar. Even though the extant transcribed stories are mostly from the Christian community particularly among the group of clergy and attendants of the royal court, other religious groups also have their own version of oral tradition concerning the establishment of the city and their role in it.

In the early Gondarine period, the circulation of the oral tradition seems limited to people of similar social group or status, due to the presence of eyewitnesses of several occasions. Yet, even at earlier period, variant narratives of the same story began to appear. The change of the contents in the narrations are deliberately committed for several factors. The edition and deletion of the contents of orally transmitted history had occurred as early as the birth of the narratives; and this practice is attested in several local and rarely in foreign sources. However, the significant variations of the oral tradition reflected on the controversial political measures and private life of the monarch. In the oral tradition that has been circulating in Gondar, many of them are subjected to a kind of censorship in which the addition, deletion or variant narratives are treated to fit the interest of the informants. To show this change and continuity I would like to show some of the oral traditions recorded by foreign travellers who visited Gondar from the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.

##### 1.4.1. The oral tradition from the seventeenth to nineteenth century

The French physician Charles Poncet who visited the royal court in the 1690s has reported about a deadly conflict occurred between King Fāsiladas and a certain monastic community Mag<sup>w</sup>inā. Although this incident is briefly recorded in the *Short Chronicle*, it does not give any detail except mentioning the reason of the conflict, whereabouts, and names of the monastic leaders. But Poncet's account contains further information about the place of the execution and the total number of executed monks. Referring the informant, Poncet stated that 7000 priests were thrown from cliff of mount Balbau, most probably Limālimo.<sup>136</sup> However, the transcribed oral traditions of the later period replaced the place of execution for Gondar and raised the number of victims either to 7777 or 9999. Most probably, these numerical figures stand for innumerable values but the variation of the place of execution seems a reflection of another interest. As a result, none of the existing oral traditions remembers Limālimo;<sup>137</sup> it is exclusively associated with Gondar and the content narrative is enhanced with additional elements in the following period.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>134</sup> See Ramos 2018b.

<sup>135</sup> Takla Ṣādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā 1960.

<sup>136</sup> Poncet 1709, p. 57.

<sup>137</sup> A chain of mountains located about 100 kilometers north of Gondar.

<sup>138</sup> Pollera also collected the same story with little variance in the end of 1920s and published it in 1936. Although the number of executed monks are not mentioned, the oral tradition contains important elements of the story, see Pollera 1936, pp. 94–95.

The other source of the oral tradition about Gondarine period that had been circulating in the eighteenth century is recorded in the account of the Scottish traveller James Bruce who visited Gondar in early 1770s. During his stay, he collected both written historical records and the oral tradition that had been circulating at that time. Unlike Poncet, the oral tradition he collected included the history of the recent past political figures and the exiting royal family in addition to the early Gondarine kings. Some of the stories that are worth to be mentioned here are the history of the late king Bakāffā and his concubine Queen Məntəwwāb who was still active in the political arena of the Gondarine kingdom. In this account, particularly in the oral tradition the late King Bakāffā appeared as controversial figure and so did Məntəwwāb. Even though Məntəwwāb was still alive, and her history is already chronicled in elaborated manner, orally circulating variant narrative about her rise to power appeared dominating. Considering the contact Bruce had in Gondar, his informants are probably from the royal court and those close the royal elites. Thus, the oral tradition he collected is somehow authentic and widely accepted version. But contentwise, both sources reflected two different paths of Məntəwwāb's rise to power. The first one is what is recorded in her own chronicle composed after she became a power regent of her son 'Iyyāsu II. Shortly, it says, King Bakāffā requested his royal attendants to find a wife for him and Məntəwwāb was chosen for her beauty and brought to the royal court and became Bakāffā's wife.<sup>139</sup> But the other one Bruce heard in Gondar is completely different.<sup>140</sup> Perhaps, considering his closeness to the royal court, his informant could be Məntəwwāb herself. If that is so, how could significantly variant stories appear simultaneously? In this case, if Bruce's informant was Məntəwwāb or another court attendant as an authenticated version, the history in the chronicle is a mere fabrication to elevate her origin and status, as exaggeration is a common feature of such writings. However, the existence of such conflicting narrations about the same historical figure does not seem a coincidence. Rather, it is due to a deliberate modification to elevate the status of such a political figure to secure political interest. Regardless of the reason behind, the simultaneous existence of such variant narratives speaks how the orality was used as a dynamic tool of influence.

The last oral tradition collected about Gondar was conducted by William Coffin, a protestant missionary from England. He visited Gondar in 1810s, by then Gondar was decaying and had lost its previous importance by far. The castles and churches built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were scrambled. On top of his observation of the declining city he has mentioned an important historical text that was already circulating in written form. This text is a collection of the oral history of the Gondarine kings among which he selected one anecdote about Bakāffā, translated into English and published in the travel account of Nathaniel Pearce in 1830.<sup>141</sup> Although he did not mention the language the text is composed, it is most likely

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<sup>139</sup> Bakāffā's chronicle does not mention neither this arranged marriage nor the name Məntəwwāb.

<sup>140</sup> This story is all about the marriage of King Bakāffā and Məntəwwāb. Before the death of Bakāffā, her name was never mentioned in the chronicle of the deceased king. Her history was written after she became the powerful regent of her son 'Iyyāsu II, who succeeded his father. According to the chronicle, the story begins with Bakāffā's order to his court attendants to find him a beautiful woman from the family of the nobility. Following his order, the court attendants began their search. At the end, they found Məntəwwāb, who appeared the only woman who fulfilled all the requirements. Then according to the tradition, the king sends delegates to inform the family and brings Məntəwwāb to Gondar. When she reached in Gondar, she was welcomed by the king, dined with him and conceived her son 'Iyyāsu; see Guidi 1910, pp. 21–22. On the other hand, according to Bruce the story begins in Qwārā when the king was in a secret visit to the province. Unfortunately, he was infected by malaria and got sick. By then he was hosted by the noble family of Qwārā, Məntəwwāb's family. By then, he saw her and was captivated by her beauty. When he returned to Gondar after his recovery, he sent his messengers to bring her to the royal court and married her, see Bruce 1790, pp. 595–598.

<sup>141</sup> Pearce 1831.

Amharic<sup>142</sup> as variant narration of the same story appears only in this language.<sup>143</sup> The anecdote he translated is about the cruelty of king Bakāffā which appears as a legend than memory of the historic past.<sup>144</sup> Coffin's account shows the ongoing practice of transcribing oral tradition in Gondar. Perhaps this tradition emerges as the chronicle writing tradition was declining as the power of the kings declined and unable to maintain the old tradition.

To sum up, the accounts of Poncet and Bruce as well as the report of Coffin convey the appearance of oral tradition since the early Gondarine period. Whatever the motive behind each anecdote, it attests the transmission of the old stories and creation of new oral stories throughout the entire period. Starting from the late eighteenth century, Gondar began to decline, the city became a centre of conflict, the old palaces and churches became older and partly ruined. The only thing left behind was the nostalgia of the glorious past. Perhaps, the value of the oral tradition elevated at this time and pushed the scribes to write the surviving oral tradition. On the contrary, the competition among the churches to depict themselves as historically important entities, the creation, modification, and diffusion of variant narratives began to grow.

#### 1.4.2. The oral tradition in the late nineteenth and the twentieth century

For many reasons, the surviving oral tradition and the transcribed portion are a late works of the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century. The oral tradition we read from the travellers' account is either completely forgotten or appeared in a variant form. This could be due to the successive destruction of Gondar in 1866 by Emperor Tewodros II (r.1855–1868)<sup>145</sup> and the Mahdists also known as Dervishes in 1888.<sup>146</sup> Unlike the previous disasters that destroyed parts of the city, these two destructions left Gondar only with ruined palace compounds and churches. The historical documents, other important manuscripts, and the riches of the city looted, the inhabitants taken as prisoners and the lucky ones immigrated to other places to rescue their lives.<sup>147</sup> As a result, the surviving existing oral traditions and the transcribed versions seem to have been collected from the survivors. Nevertheless, this movement inspired other peripheral monasteries and churches to compose their own version of stories that include the persisted old anecdotes. Because of this, the narrative seems distorted, and it is hardly possible to identify the earliest version from the later, as the transcribed version appeared very recently. This variation can be entertained in any form of oral tradition, either transcribed or not; since contamination, deletion and addition are common as the witnesses vary. But the problem began to appear when modern scholars started to incorporate the oral tradition.

The very beginning of the influence of the oral tradition on the modern historiographic works is the mid of the 1940s. In the year Takla Ṣādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā published a book on Ethiopian history. It was the one of the volumes of Ethiopian History followed by another three volumes. The second volume of this series covers the Ethiopian history from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century; in which the Gondarine period is extensively addressed. The author employed several sources of local origin and the works of foreign scholars.<sup>148</sup> Critical

<sup>142</sup> Coffin reported that he read the anecdote recorded in the local language; but the language is not identified. Though, at that time Gə'əz was a language of literature, Amharic was growing and replacing the role of Gə'əz. Thus, the anecdotes could have been written down in Amharic.

<sup>143</sup> See The Critical Text § 67.

<sup>144</sup> Pearce 1831, pp. 255–256

<sup>145</sup> Mondon-Vidailhet 1904, pp. 39–40.

<sup>146</sup> See 'Mahdists', *E Ae*, III (2007), 657b–659a (H. Erlich).

<sup>147</sup> Conti Rossini 1925, pp. 465–466.

<sup>148</sup> See 'Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkwəriya', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 842b–843b (E. Wolk).

editions of the chronicles of Gondarine kings, the so-called *Short Chronicle*, letters, travellers' accounts, and other documents are taken in consideration. In the other hand, he employed the transcribed oral tradition treated as sources of information, although he did not deny the question of its credibility. Yet, unlike the other references, the whereabouts of the collections of oral traditions or the transcribed version he accessed is not mentioned for unknown reason. Even though the credibility of the oral sources is ambiguous, his works left considerable impact, particularly on the preceding version of the oral tradition.<sup>149</sup> As the royal chronicles are scarce in Gondar and published critical editions are less known by the mass, readers are dependent on the work of Takla Ṣadəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā and related works by other authors. Apparently, a new modified version is circulating, in which a perpetual cycle between the oral literature and published works has been established.

### 1.5. The Genesis of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*

Before the compiled version of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* came to light in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, there were plenty of oral stories told and anecdotes circulating in Gondar. Since the emergence of Gondar as a royal seat until the mid-nineteenth century, this tradition was under practice. Different localities and religious factions enjoyed their own variant versions of the oral tradition. From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, the monarchy began to decline, and the regional lords became challenging to central government. Following this, the country plunged into a vicious circle of war between warlords. This bloody power struggle encountered the stability and importance of Gondar as the new power center began to flourish; however, Gondar persisted in its symbolic importance throughout this period. Above all the two successive destructions of the city in the nineteenth century were worst ever in the history of the city. The first one occurred in 1866 at the order of King Tewodros II, who plundered and burnt the city afterwards. Moreover, the king's declaration to move the capital to Dabra Tābor officially deprived Gondar of its symbolic dominancy.<sup>150</sup> Two decades later the Mahdists usually known as the Dervishes invaded Gondar, slaughtered the people, burnt the city, ruined churches, and palaces, and plundered the riches that were rescued from the previous destruction and burnt the city.<sup>151</sup> Subsequently, Gondar lost all it had, and it remains hardly possible to recuperate all the losses thereafter. In the following decades, Gondar was simply a pile of ashes and ruins of old monumental structures. The literary works composed when Gondar was on the apex had been either looted or burnt with the city. In memory of the past and the irrecoverable loss of the city, some of the church scholars composed brief Gə'əz *qəne* as eulogies in honuor of old Gondar and the social life in it. These eulogies are sufficient indication to understand how that destruction affected the city and its inhabitants. Apparently, the people seem to have been suffering the trauma of the successive destructions and living in the nostalgia of the glorious past. The appearance of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* seems the result of this historical incidents.

Most probably, the anecdotes incorporated in the texts had been collected at some point between the aftermath of the second destruction and death of Emperor Mənilək II (r.1889–1913). At that time, a new royal capital had been already established in the heart of Ṣawa and the political status of Gondar was reduced as that of a provincial capital. In the newly established capital 'Addis 'Ababā and the entire Ṣawā, a literary work that exalts the return of the monarch to the new capital was circulating. These texts are homilies dedicated to the archangels Rāgu'el and 'Urā'el, who are considered as the guardians of the Ṣawā monarchy.

<sup>149</sup> Ramos 2018a, p. 28.

<sup>150</sup> Mondon-Vidailhet 1904, pp. 39–40.

<sup>151</sup> Getatchew Haile 2000, p. 268.

These homilies contains historical narratives about the medieval kings who ruled from the highlands of Šawā, and a prophecy about the future of the kingdom.<sup>152</sup> On the other hand, *Dərsāna Rāgu`el* contains a prophecy about the retreat of the monarchy to Gondar due to the rising of Islamic sultanates in the Eastern part of the country.<sup>153</sup> According to this prophecy, the restoration of the Šawā kingdom was expected to happen two hundred fifty years after the invasion of Aḥmad Grāñ in 1520s; this time coincides with the period that the kingdom of Šawā was independent and strengthening. Following this, when Emperor Mənilək found 'Addis 'Ababā in 1878 it was considered as the fulfilment of the prophecy after two hundred fifty years.<sup>154</sup> Therefore, the wider circulation of the text is certainly to enhance the legitimacy of the new capital city. However, it seems to have been challenging to the people of Gondar if they had been expecting the return of the monarch. Therefore, the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* states the foundation of Gondar because of divine intervention for which God sent his angel and conceded the city's existence for ever. Yet, unlike the *Dərsāna Rāgu`el*, the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* never mentions the angel by name; and it could be the manifestation of the dispute between the two parties.

In addition, the survivors of the two destructions, particularly the church scholars, were composing *qəne* in honour of Gondar. Apart from their poetic approach, the points mentioned in the *qənes* were very similar to the image of the city reflected in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Therefore, most probably, the intention of the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is subjected to the following three reasons:

- 1) Ensure the continuity of the history of Gondar and its glorious past;
- 2) Describe the former appearance and function of the royal compound and the royal churches of Gondar;
- 3) Legitimize the rise and fall of Gondar from religious perspective.

At the beginning, the effort of the author seems intended to write only the myth of the foundation of Gondar and describe the ruined buildings in the royal compound. The incorporation of the history of the later kings looks an afterthought of the author. Then, having collected the oral tradition, the author completed the history of the glorious period of Gondar, from the reign of the founder King Fāsīladas (1632–1667) to Takla Giyorgis I (r.1772–1777), who is believed to have been the last king able to exercise full power. The later kings who assumed the symbolic throne after the year 1777 are not incorporated in the text.<sup>155</sup> Then, other additional anecdotes about anonymous figures but that had been widely circulated in Gondar were incorporated in the text. Yet, every copy of this text has its own features that show the intention of several copyists to exclude specific portions, but all contain the history of the city until the year 1777. Similarly, other copyists tried to update the content by incorporating family history, *qənəs*, and contemporary history of the early-twentieth century. As the text is written in Amharic, it was easy for the copyist to insert missed anecdotes and make corrections. Despite

<sup>152</sup> Anon. 1982A.M., pp. 118–119.

<sup>153</sup> This portion of the text seems a later addition in the late-eighteenth century, when the power of the monarchy declined, and regional lords began to dominate. Apparently, Šawā was already independent from the central government. Perhaps these texts were composed to legitimize the shift of the power to the central highlands of Šawā. As the other contemporary literary works, this text also explains about the dreams and prophecies.

<sup>154</sup> André Caquot 1957, p. 92.

<sup>155</sup> The so-called *Zamana məsafənt* started after Takla Giyorgis I was removed from the power in 1777, see 'Zāmānā məsafənt', *E Ae*, V (2014), 122b–129a (S. Dege).

all this, the text in the existing form has been circulating in Gondar as the most respected document among the clergy and the nobility thereafter.

### 1.6. Scholarly Studies of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*

This text exists in exemplars, hosted in libraries in France and Italy, and still preserved in Gondar. The first is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, in the collection of Marcel Griaule;<sup>156</sup> another one is in Rome, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e corsiniana, Conti Rossini fund. Yet, the text has been made known since Griaule's collection was catalogued in 1954 by Stefan Strelcyn. Again in 1976, Strelcyn published a catalogue of Conti Rossini's collection.<sup>157</sup> In both catalogues, he put a brief description of the text and dating of the manuscripts. Apart from this, no inquiry has been done and no attempt to study the text exists. The only important progress made is the digitization of the manuscripts in both libraries. Recently, Lorenza Mazzei discovered another copy of the text in the collection of the Archivio Provinciale dei Cappuccini Lombardi. In 2015 she published an article in which she included the dating of the manuscript, her opinion about the uniqueness of the text, and a recommendation for further inquiry. Apart from these brief descriptions, no research has been conducted so far.<sup>158</sup>

However, the ethnographic work of Alberto Pollera published in 1936 seems the leading work related to the portion of the stories narrated and collected in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. Basically, his work is a compilation of history, legends, and fables that had been circulating in and around Gondar and published with descriptive reports of the historical sites he visited during the data collection period in 1929. Despite his interest and focus on collecting the oral tradition, he also paid attention to inspect related texts, including the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. In fact, he did not give any title for the text but simply described it as pseudo-chronicle composed of transcribed oral tradition.<sup>159</sup> Even though he was pessimistic about the nature of the text, he did not totally ignore it; a significant portion was considered for the publication, but selectively. The portions directly quoted from the text read the same as the narratives in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*; and that is far beyond a coincidence. This work introduced the portions of *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*, if not all, to foreign scholars. Since then, it has been referred by publications that consider the myth of foundation of Gondar and the monumental architectures of the city.<sup>160</sup> Thereafter, no one has attempted to revise this work or conduct further inquiry on the original text.

After decades of silence, in 2010 a Portuguese anthropologist, Manuel João Ramos published a work on the Ethiopian history in which the early Gondarine period is well addressed.<sup>161</sup> It is a detailed ethnographic work on the memory of the Gondarine period, with reference to the Jesuit interference and the post-Jesuit age of the early Gondarine period. Due to this, he did not cover the entire history of the Gondarine period as Pollera did. Yet, the main contribution of this work is the comparative analysis of the oral tradition wherein several parallel oral traditions are compared one against the other and again with Pollera's work. The English edition of this work was published recently with additional notes and explanations. Again, another related article was published by the same author that inquires the oral histories

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<sup>156</sup> Strelcyn 1954, p. 191.

<sup>157</sup> Strelcyn 1976, p. 302.

<sup>158</sup> Mazzei 2015, pp. 38–39.

<sup>159</sup> 'Lo stesso fenomeno, del resto, ho riscontrato nelle pseudo-cronache che qualche debterà conserva; non scritte da contemporanei, ma raccolte dalla tradizione orale a distanza di qualche generazione, per il bisogno di riepilogare in qualche modo il passato', see Pollera 1936, p. 59.

<sup>160</sup> Monti Della Corte 1938.

<sup>161</sup> Ramos 2010. The English edition of this work was published in 2018, see Ramos 2018b.



on the building of the palaces in Gondar.<sup>162</sup> Like in the previous work, he incorporated several other legends circulating in the non-Christian settlers of the old Gondar. In doing so, he tried to fill that gap that had been always noted on the pro-Christian legends, in which he argued the parallel legends in the Muslim and Qəmānt inhabitants of Gondar, in addition to his analytical statements on the symbolic meaning of the oral stories originated in different groups as well as the gradual changes noticed so far.<sup>163</sup>

Likewise, Takla Şādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā<sup>164</sup> also published similar anecdotes without mentioning the sources of the oral tradition incorporated in his work. Some of the stories were unknown before yet, it is difficult to trace the sources. But some portions of the oral tradition he incorporated in his publication are translated from Pollera's work, Bruce's account and Griaule's collection housed in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Likewise, Ghiorghis Mellese, a historian graduated from 'Addis 'Ababā University, wrote on a specific phase of the Gondarine period, with reference to the oral tradition. He wrote his BA thesis on the history of 'Ētege Məntəwwāb, the widow of Bakāffā and the queen mother of 'Iyyāsu II (r.1730–1755), wherein the oral tradition of that specific period is examined accordingly.<sup>165</sup> In addition, in his descriptive research on the historical places, palaces and churches of Gondar, he used related oral tradition on the identification of the sites as it appeared in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.<sup>166</sup> Aside from this, no research has been conducted on the oral tradition. But in the mid-1970s Garimā Tāffara, a local historian from Gondar, wrote a long article on the foundation of Gondar and its glorious past and published in the monthly municipal journal of the city, *Tə'yənta Gondar*.<sup>167</sup> This article was a leading work by a local historian that attempted to describe the foundation of the city, the construction of the places, churches, and traditional schools. Like the other works, this article has many shared elements with the oral stories published in preceding works of other scholars.

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<sup>162</sup> Ramos 2018a.

<sup>163</sup> Ramos 2018b.

<sup>164</sup> Takla Şādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā 1960.

<sup>165</sup> Ghiorghis Mellese 1976.

<sup>166</sup> Ghiorghis Mellese 1969.

<sup>167</sup> Garimā Tāffara 1974.

## Chapter Two: Manuscripts, tradition, content, and context of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*

### 2.1. Description of the manuscripts

In this critical edition five manuscripts are employed. Three of them are parchment codices and one is on paper. The fifth witness MS G<sup>2</sup> is hypothetically reconstructed based on the corrections applied on MS G by a different hand, and it is presupposed by a note that declares the existence of another manuscript.<sup>168</sup>

#### 2.1.1. G = MS Paris, BnF, Éth. 616 (= Griaule 308)<sup>169</sup>

This manuscript is one of the codices collected by Marcel Griaule during the Dakar Djibouti Mission in 1932; currently, it is housed at BnF (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France). It contains the history of Gondar from its foundation during the reign of King Fāsīladas (r.1632–1667) to the first decade of the twentieth century<sup>170</sup> and the list of kings from King Fāsīladas to Emperor Mənilək II (r.1889–1913) including the warlords of the *Zamana Masāfənt* ('Era of princes'). Among the four manuscript witnesses collected for this critical edition, this codex is rich in content, and it is the last updated version so far. This copy was completed on 5 September 1932 in Gondar by 'Alaqā Yoḥannəs of Lədatā church.<sup>171</sup> The palaeography of this manuscript belongs to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; however, it contains several unique syllabograms that have variation against the contemporary standard form. Based on the systematic comparison and dating against the other witnesses, this codex is the earliest copy known so far of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*.

The dimension of this codex is 120mm × 160mm and consisting of 94 parchment folia protected by a blank bifolium at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript. It has the original binding from the place of production in Ethiopia. It is made of wooden boards on which tooled leather is applied that covers half of the wooden board to strengthen the spine.

The quire structure is not consistent: six of the eleven quires are composed of four bifolia; of the remaining five, four quires are composed of five bifolia and the last one is consisting of three bifolia.

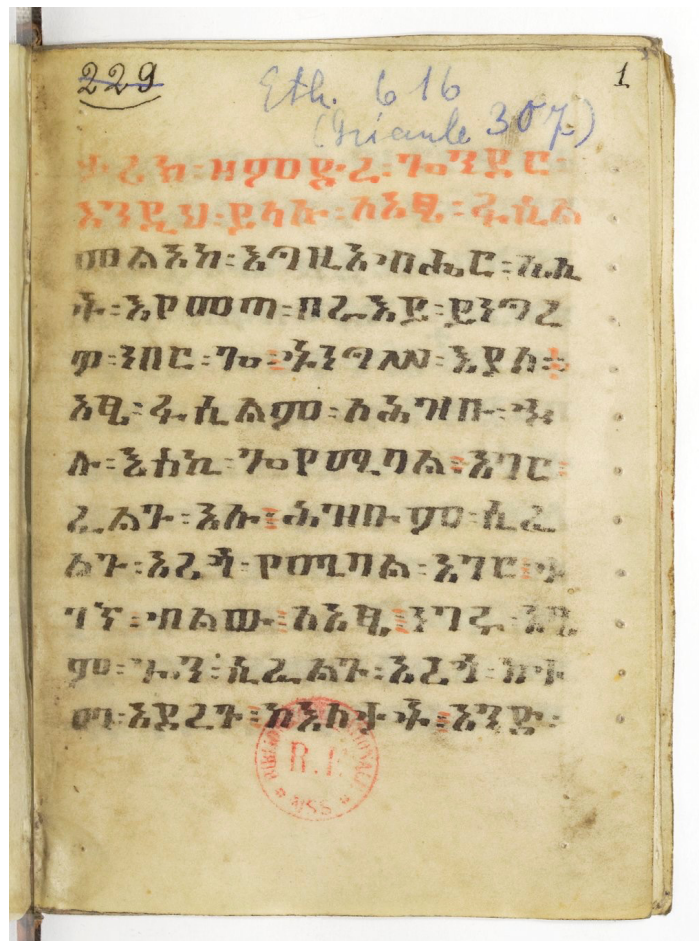
The quality of the parchments is good, except the correctional works in the last two quires in which four folia (f. 86, f. 89, f. 91, and f. 92) are stitched during the phase of the parchment making. The parchment is folded and arranged hair-to-hair side and shelf-to-shelf side. The column and the writing space in it are defined by blind-ruled lines, the pricking holes that guided the ruling are quite visible. The text is written on a single column having twelve lines in average.

<sup>168</sup> See Paris, BnF, Éth. 616 (= Griaule 308), f.82r.

<sup>169</sup> The old acquisition number of the codex is 229, Strelcyn 1954, p. 191.

<sup>170</sup> The last part of the text seems to have been compiled during the reign of Empress Zawditu (r.1916–1930).

<sup>171</sup> Even though 'Alaqā Yoḥannəs is mentioned as the only scribe in the catalogue, I have proved that another scribe has participated in the copying process. Yet it is hardly possible to identify which handwriting belongs to 'Alaqā Yoḥannəs and which to the other scribe. See also Griaule et al. 2015, pp. 637–1126.



Black and red color inks are used for the writing. The entire text is written in black ink except the holy names and the incipit that are rubricated. This manuscript is written in legible handwriting in which at least two scribes were involved in the copying process. The first scribe wrote from f. 1r to f. 56r and from f. 84r to f. 94v. The hand of second scribe appears in between the beginning of f. 56v and the end of f. 83v; then the first scribe carried out the task until the end of the text.

2.1.2. A = MS Milan, Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Lombardi (= APCL 191 E 001), ff. 43r-59v<sup>172</sup>

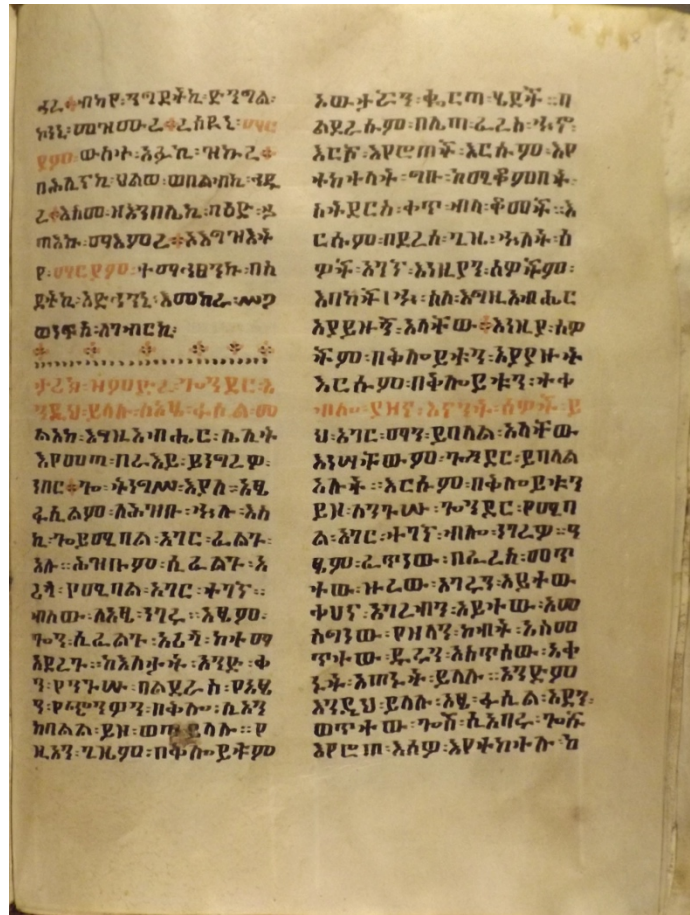
According to the description by Lorenza Mazzei, the dimension of this parchment codex is 220mm × 300mm, written on two columns and copied only in one hand; it is bound with wooden board.

This codex contains three different texts copied one after the other. The *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* is copied in the last two quires, the first one consists of four bifolia and the second of six bifolia for a total of eventeen folia of the manuscript following *Māhleta Şage* ('Song of the flower') and *Saqoqāwa Dəngəl* ('Lamentation of the Virgin'). Based on the palaeography, it is dated to the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century.<sup>173</sup> Following the fact that the

<sup>172</sup> This manuscript is recently discovered by Lorenza Mazzei, and it has only been studied from art history perspective, see Mazzei 2015.

<sup>173</sup> In this case using palaeography does not seem the appropriate approach. As for me, the text was copied sometime in the first half of the twentieth century.

text is copied in the last seventeen folia, the scribe had taken effective economic measures to have the full copy of the text in the available space. Each page in the second quire has twenty-seven lines (50r–59v) and in each folium of the first quire there are twenty-six lines except ff. 43rv and ff. 47 that have thirty-nine lines that were applied to create sufficient space for the text.



It is a recently discovered witness, and it is not yet catalogued so far. It is the shortest text of all the witness. The late Gondarine period history that comprises the history of the *Zamana masāfənt* and other anecdotes available in other witness are purposely omitted in this copy. It is written in legible handwriting very similar with one of the handwritings in MS G. The orthography, palaeography, rubricated words, lacunas, punctuation, and the archaic words used in both manuscripts are indistinguishable. As the similarities of the two copies requires further analysis, I will discuss the shared features as follows.

The palaeography of MS A and MS G (that is, the hand of the scribe who copied the text from f. 1r to f. 56r and again from f. 84r to f. 94v) are indistinguishable up to the smaller details. The only major difference between the palaeography of the two texts is the size of the scripts, which appears to have been determined by the availability of parchment. Unfortunately, none of these manuscript witness contains either a colophon or names of the scribes. However, the copyist of MS G can be identified thanks to the availability of detailed information taken by the collector of the manuscript concerning the time, place, and the copyist. In the case of MS A, there are no sufficient details on the production of the manuscript and its original owner. Following this, it is hardly possible to identify with absolute certainty the copyist and the place of production. Nevertheless, the striking similarities of the palaeography between MS G and

MS A lead to a plausible hypothesis to retrace the origin of the manuscript to the place where MS G was copied. The palaeographic and orthographic feature of the text shared by the two manuscripts clearly shows that MS A could have been copied by the same scribe. To show this striking similarity, samples with descriptive notes are presented as follows.

The similarity begins with the calligraphy of the syllabograms of the *fidal* (Ethiopic or Gəʿəz alphabet); execution of the vertical strokes and the vowel markers of the syllabograms have resemblances. For instance, in both copies the *fidal* ኀ (h<sup>w</sup>ə) is often used instead of the second order h, such as ሁ (hu) and ሐ (hu). In fact, in the Amharic writings these three syllabograms are used interchangeably and this graphic variance has almost no effect on the meaning in the literature. But in similar cases the other two manuscript witnesses, MS C and MS H, used ሁ (hu) much more often than the other syllabograms that are homonyms.



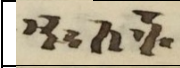
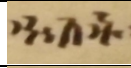
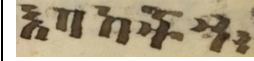
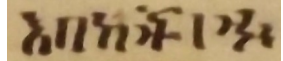
MS G	MS A
	
	
	

Table 1. calligraphic similarity between MSS A and G.

As is presented in the above table, the frequent use of ኀ (h<sup>w</sup>ə) instead of the other variants and the palaeographic details are beyond similarity.

There is also considerable resemblance in the orthography. Due to the language dialect of the scribe, both labial and palatal sounds found in the middle of words are omitted. For instance, instead of አሪንጎ ('Aringo) or አንጎረብ ('Angarab), the copyist omits the *n* sound and writes አሪጎ ('Ari(g)go) and አንጎብ ('A(g)garab) respectively. Likewise, instead of ግንቡ (Gənbu) he wrote ግቡ (Gə(b)bu); these kinds of orthographic practices occurred so often in both copies. Likewise, the vowel markers in regular syllabograms and labiovelar sound markers are matching. Selected samples are presented in the following table that shows the orthographic and palaeographic similarities in both manuscripts.


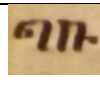
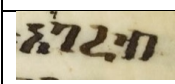
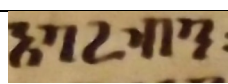
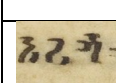
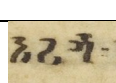
MS G	MS A
	
	
	

Table 2.

These palaeographic resemblances are extended to sharing a specific labiovelar syllabogram that has different graphic representation. In Gəʿəz language, the syllabograms that represent labiovelars are few in number and have defined shapes. Even though the Amharic language adopted all the Gəʿəz syllabograms, it was not enough to represent other sounds that exist in Amharic. Due to this, the Amharic has, additional labialized syllabograms introduced; basically, by modifying the existing ones. The modified syllabograms, that represent labialized sounds, have a horizontal stroke on the top or bottom of the existing script. Yet, until recent

past there had been no definite or standard syllabogram to represent some of these labialized sounds. Consequently, there were several alternative but different approaches to represent a single sound. Among those alternatives, the first one was executed by choosing the second, the fourth or the seventh order of a non-labialized syllabogram to which the labialized sound corresponds to and put a horizontal stroke on the top or at the bottom. The second approach in effect was using two regular syllabograms whose combined reading corresponds to the labialized sound. Subsequently, the Amharic labialized had a lack of consistency in terms of graphic representation. This inconsistency is visible in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* manuscripts. All the manuscript copies applied their own approach, but MSS G and A had introduced a single new character that represents the labiovelar sound  $s^wā$ , that is: ሷ; which is less familiar with reference to the date of composition of the text. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ሷ ( $s^wā$ ) was already known and widely used; in some cases, scribes preferred to use ሰጥ ( $suwā$ ) interchangeably, as the reading gives similar sound. The copyists of MSS G and A introduced another character similar with the seventh order of ሸ ( $śa$ ), which is ሸ ( $śo$ ) instead of ሷ ( $s^wā$ ) or ሰጥ ( $suwā$ ). The intention of the scribe seems that of applying the same rule that is applicable in many cases of Amharic labialized, writing the main syllabogram and putting a horizontal stroke on top as a sound marker. Likewise, the same technique is applied for other labiovelars in the two copies, MSS A and G.



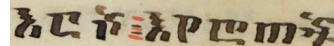
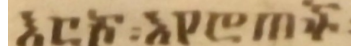










MS G	MS A
	
	
	

Table 3. the unique labialized characters shared in both MSS A and G.

As it is shown in the above table, the manuscript witnesses used identical character to represent a sound which is usually represented by either ሷ ( $s^wā$ ) or ሰጥ ( $suwā$ ). As a result, the readers were confused and there were complete changes of the meaning of the reading. For instance, the reading እርሻ፡ እየሮጠች which is presented in the second row of the table 3, literally means ‘while the yeast is running’ but the scribe wants to say, ‘while she is running’. Yet, the copyist or copyists of the two witness regularly applied the sound markers on the top of the syllabogram for characters that represent labialized sounds. The same principle is also applied for the other characters like the one shown in the last row of the above table. In addition, the curves, horizontal and vertical strokes of the regular syllabograms and vowel markers, have closer resemblance. Perhaps, orthographic similarities could be due to the common ancestor both witnesses were copied from; but the likeness of the appearances of the scripts leads to another conclusion. Possibly, this kind of details shared in common by the two manuscripts can be taken as an evidence to argue that both copies are a work of a single scribe. For the sake of comparison, I have presented few samples from both copies in the following table.

MS G	MS A
	
	
	
	

ገጽ	ገጽ
ገጽ 3	ገጽ 3

Table 4. similarities of vowel markers.

If the palaeographic features of the manuscript are considered, the dating would not be earlier than the first half of the twentieth century; perhaps it is a little while before or after MS G. As Mazzei noted it, this manuscript was under the acquisition of the Capuchin Lombardi Missionaries in Eritrea, but the earlier history of the manuscript before it arrived there remains unknown.

In addition, MS A has another significant variation against MS G. It contains a colophon at the end of the narration. It appears as a part of the story and reads

ይህን፡ ታሪክም፡ ብለህ፡ ነበርኛ፡ ከመማር፡ ከማወቅ፡ የተነሣ፡ በቃል፡ ያለ፡ ይረሳል፡ በመጣ፡ ያለ፡ ይወሳል፡ ብሎ፡ ፈጻሚ፡ መንግሥት፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ነው፡ አስጥፎት፡ የሞተ፡ በዘመኑ፡ ኋላ፡ ለሚነግሥ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ይህን፡ የጎንደርን፡ ታሪክ፡ እያየ፡ እየተመለከተ፡ ደስ፡ እንዲለው፡ ብሎ፡ ጀምሮ፡ ያስፈጸመን፡ አምላክ፡ ክብር፡ ምስጋና፡ ይሁነው፡ ብሎ፡ ተናገረ፡ ሊቃውንቱም፡ ቁመው፡ ጸሎተ፡ ማኅበር፡ ደግመው፡ ሰገዱለት።<sup>174</sup>

He was wise because he was educated and knowledgeable; knowing that what is oral will be ignored and what is written will be remembered, *Faşṣāme mangəšt* Takla Giyorgis had this book written for the future king anticipating that he will be delighted while reading it. Then he said, ‘May God be praised, who helps us to begin and finish it’. Then the clergy stood and prayed together and prostrated before him.

Most probably, the scribe deliberately wrote this colophon to increase the credibility of the text and omitted the historical narrative that follows the reign of Takla Giyorgis I to support his assertion.<sup>175</sup> Thus, it is most likely a pseudo colophon added to claim the existence of the texts back to the late eighteenth century. This kind of practice seems to have had a firm background in the textual tradition of Ethiopia in which forged documents had been used as historical evidence to claim seniority and related status.<sup>176</sup> Therefore, the purpose of this pseudo colophon could have been added for similar reason because the scribe has clearly said that the text is a transcription of the oral tradition.

### 2.1.3. C = MS Rome, Biblioteca della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Conti Rossini 125. II, ff. 1r–13v

This manuscript is part of the Conti Rossini collection.<sup>177</sup> It is copied on sheets of paper printed with lines. The size of the paper is 310mm × 210mm and each folium has thirty-one lines except the first folium that has thirty-two lines<sup>178</sup> exclusively. Among the fifteen folia, the last two folia are left blank. Originally, it had neither pagination nor foliation. The existing

<sup>174</sup> See Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Lombardi (= APCL 191 E 001), f. 59v.

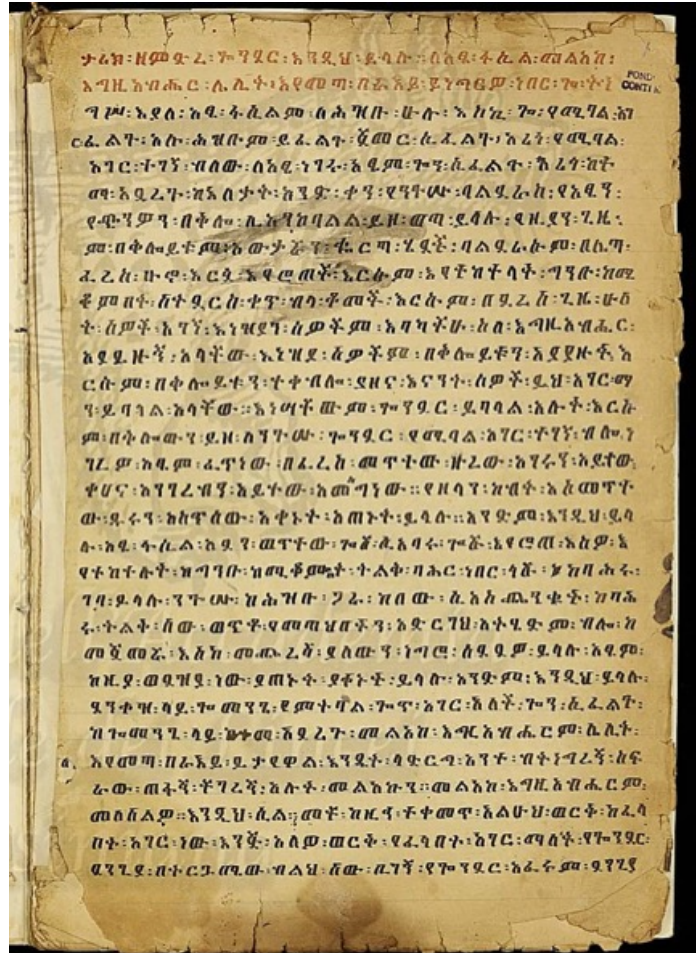
<sup>175</sup> Takla Giyorgis had his own chronicler. In fact, the chronicle of Gondarine kings enthroned after the death of King ‘Iyyo’ as in 1769 is compiled with the history of the succeeding kings. Following the escalated tension and power struggle in the royal court of Gondar, many of the kings of this period were enthroned and deposed more than once. Takla Giyorgis himself was deposed and returned to his position about six times. The scribe seems to have not been aware of the presence of the chronicle. However, the scribe himself mentioned it is a ‘dictated oral story’, though he claims the dating to the earlier period. Besides, it is important to remind that the nickname *faṣṣāme mangəšt* was coined by the later scholars.

<sup>176</sup> For further detail of the forgery practice see Hummel 2016; Habtamu Mengistie Tegegne 2016.

<sup>177</sup> It refers to the different types of documentary collections of Carlo Conti Rossini that entered the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei after his death.

<sup>178</sup> In Gondar this type of sheet of paper is usually known as ‘*Arab luk*’ (‘Arabian sheet of paper’). Maybe the name is coined in relation to the importing routes.

one was made by Conti Rossini in Arabic numerals. For some reason, this manuscript has no binding; it is simply filed with other documents such as transcribed local history, prayers, letters, inventory of books, anecdotes, list of kings written in Gəʿəz, Amharic, Təgrəñā as well as a portion of a homily of archangel Raguel transliterated with Latin characters by the collector. The manuscript seems exhaustively used before reaching the collector; subsequently, the first and the last two leaves are relatively damaged.<sup>179</sup> The orthography of the text is closer to the contemporary standard format.






This witness is written in legible handwriting, almost similar to the late twentieth century orthography of Amharic language and the contemporary palaeography except few scribal variations due to the presence of ligatures and archaic punctuation marks in it. Most probably, it could be the result of the copyist's acquaintance with preceding works in the church. However, the dating of the manuscript by Strelcyn was not correct. The palaeography and the codicological aspects of the manuscript could have been helpful. Unfortunately, Strelcyn's assumption is incorrect due to the point of reference he relied on. He dated the manuscript based on the name Manan, which is mentioned in the last part of the text. The story in the text is about the early-nineteenth century Manan of aristocratic family, the mother of the last warlord of the *zamana masāfənt*, Rās 'Ali. Yet, Strelcyn wrongly associates it with another Manan, the wife of Emperor Hjäyla Səlläse I (r.1930–1974). As a result, he dated the manuscript to the twentieth century. Yet, although, the reference is wrong, the dating of the manuscript could not be earlier than the first half of the twentieth century.

<sup>179</sup> Strelcyn 1976, p. 302.



The previous owner of the manuscript, 'Alaqā Ḥawāz, was one of the clergies of Gondar serving as the head of Gəmgā Bet Māryām church since 1933 AM (1940/1941) to 1974 AM (1982).<sup>180</sup> Thus, the manuscript was accessed by the collector between 1940 and 1949. However, this dating works only for the transportation of the manuscript from Gondar to the destination, because before 1940 Ḥawāz had never been the 'Alaqā of the mentioned church and after 1949 Conti Rossini was not alive. Yet, 'Alaqā Ḥawāz may have owned the manuscript a little earlier than 1940.

Besides, this manuscript has some unique palaeographic features that are common in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century such as the graphemes ሻ, ረ and  from the labialized,  and ረ from the ligatures as well as  which is an old form of the sixth order of ገ (ጸ). However the scribes seem to have been confused on using ሻ and ረ properly. Though ሻ is a short form of ረፆ (*r'ā*); the scribe used ሻ instead of ሻ; most probably the mistake is due to the graphic similarity of the two syllabograms and to the rare practice of using ሻ in the later days. Apart from this, this manuscript attests alternative ways to mark words that were supposed to be rubricated, but written in black ink. In this case, the scribe put red dots over those words.

#### 2.1.4. H = MS Gondar, Private collection of 'Ato Ḥayle Bayyana

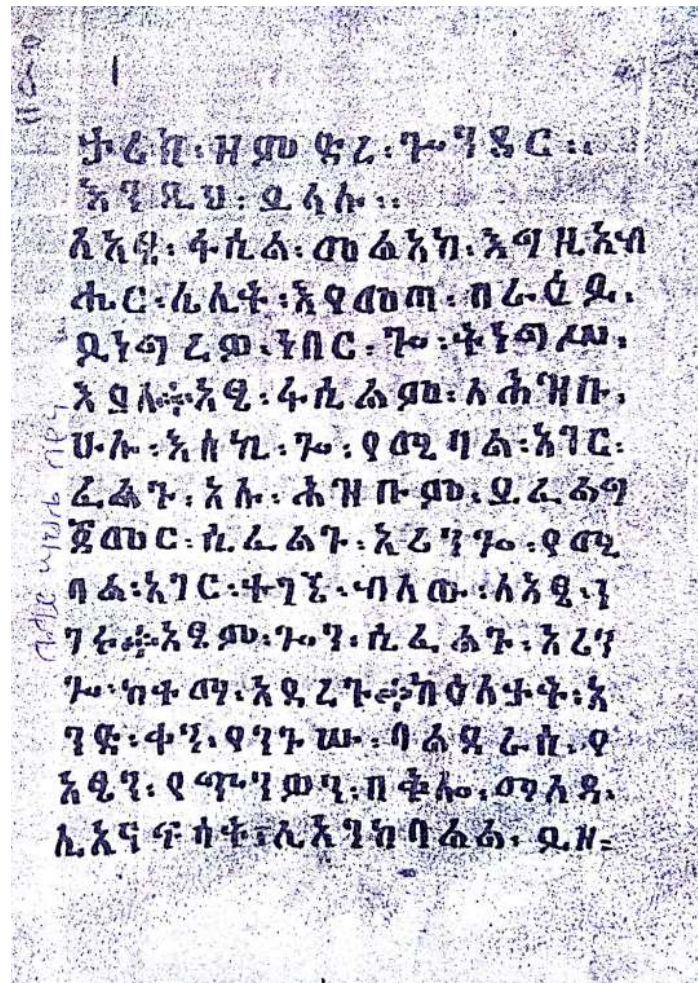
This manuscript is a parchment codex that contains a collection of historical notes and *qəne* in addition to the main text. It belongs to a personal collection of 'Ato Ḥayle Bayyana, who is a descendent of one of the older families of Gondar.<sup>181</sup> I had borrowed this manuscript in 2005 to have a digital photocopy for my own personal use. Recently, when I started to study the text, I have tried to access the manuscript from his heirs, but all my effort was in vain. The protectorate of the property of 'Ato Ḥayle told me, the manuscript has been lost soon after the death of 'Ato Ḥayle. For this reason, I cannot provide the codicological description of the manuscript. The following description is carried out based on the photocopy of the manuscript and the memory I have in mind.

This manuscript consists of thirteen quires in which each quire contains a pair of bifolia in average. The handwriting is legible and both orthography and palaeography follows the contemporary standard except some minor variations. The number of lines in the manuscript doesn't show consistency; depending on the quires the number of lines varies between eleven and sixteen. The pagination was made by another hand (my own handwriting) on the photocopy. The Gə'əz *qənes* copied in the last quires are eulogies on the commemoration of King 'Iyyāsu I (r.1882–1706), the destruction of Gondar in the late 1880s and other memorable works of the church scholars. In the very last part, the brief history of 'Alaqā Ḥawāz

<sup>180</sup> According to his son and my informant 'Abbā Mazmur Ḥawāz, 'Alaqā Ḥawāz was born in 1897 AM and died in 1974 AM. He was appointed as the 'Alaqā of Gəmgā Bet Māryām church in 1933 AM.

<sup>181</sup> 'Ato Ḥayle Bayyana was born in 1910 AM in Gondar and died in 1998 AM. I have accessed the manuscript a year before his death and have made a photocopy of the entire text.

Hāyly<sup>182</sup> and *Mamhər* Bayyana Ḥngədāšat,<sup>183</sup> who are the relatives of the owner of the manuscript, 'Ato Hāyle Bayyana.



This manuscript seems the most recent copy among the existing witnesses. Obviously, the palaeography tells us it is a twentieth century copy. Yet, this approach doesn't help to know in which decade of the century the text was copied. However, the historical notes recorded in the last quire of the manuscript could be taken as an indirect source for the dating. This historical note is a short biography of two Gondarine clergymen, 'Alaqā 'Ḥngədāwarq Hāyly and *Mamhər* Bayyana, with a eulogy composed in honor of them. The latter is the father of the owner of the manuscript who died in 1935 AM. Possibly, the history of these two clergymen was added after the copying of the main text was carried out. Following the biography, the scribe, *Marigetā* Gabra Səllāse wrote this poem in which the children of *Mamhər* Bayyana is mentioned. Based on this, it is possible to speculate the dating of manuscript. It seems to have been copied sometime after the death of *Mamhər* Bayyana in 1935 AM. Another source tells

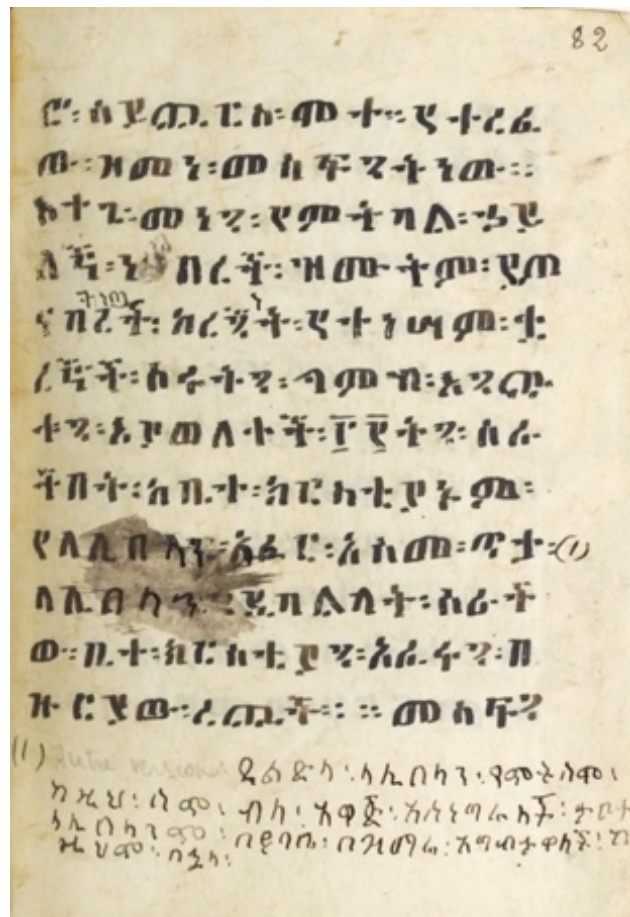
<sup>182</sup> 'Alaqā 'Ḥngədāwarq Hāyly was a famous church scholar of Gondar who was teaching *qəne* and exegesis of the Old and New testaments until his death in 1906 AM; also, he served as the 'Alaqā of Ewostātewos and Madhāne'Ālam churches in Gondar respectively. Takla Šādəq Mak'əriyā et al. 1980, pp. 242–243. He was the uncle of *Mamhər* Bayyana.

<sup>183</sup> Both are late nineteenth century and early twentieth century clergymen of Gondar. *Mamhər* Bayyane is the father of the owner of this manuscript who was the 'Alaqā of Madhāne'ālam churches in early twentieth century. According to the note written in the manuscript, he passed away in 1935 AM at the age of eighty-two.

that the family of *Mamhār* Bayyana commissioned a copy of *Gəbra Həmāmāt* ('Lectionary of the Holy Week') that was offered to Madhāne 'Ālam church in Gondar.

The *Gəbra Həmāmāt* manuscript was copied by the same scribe in 1958 AM.<sup>184</sup> Perhaps, the scribe copied both manuscripts at the same time one after the other. But before reaching to that conclusion it is very important to decipher the information in the Gə'əz poem composed in honor of the deceased *Mamhār* Bayyana that mentioned the family members. In this poem, all the sons of *Mamhār* Bayyana except the one who died a little earlier named Takle. Thus, based on the triangulation of this data, the dating of the manuscript lies on the late 1960s. This manuscript witness shares many variants and has errors in common with MS C. Both witnesses seem to have been copied from the same model. Since it is the latest copy, the scribe followed the standard twentieth-century palaeography and the rubricated words appear respecting the tradition. The only different feature of this manuscript witness is the use of Arabic numerals to replace the Gə'əz numerals, but in few cases only.

2.1.5. G<sup>2</sup> = MS the text of which is hypothesized and reconstructed



This witness is not preserved physically. It is a hypothetically reconstructed text based on the notes by a second hand in MS G. These notes are copied from another manuscript that was used for the correctional work in MS G. This text is identified as '*Autre version*'<sup>185</sup> by the person who was in charge of checking the text and doing the corrections. The minor scribal

<sup>184</sup> See Six 1999, pp. 245–246.

<sup>185</sup> Paris, BnF, Éth. 616 (= Griaule 308) f. 82r.

mistakes, phrases, and additional stories are copied on the lower margin of MS G, but by a different hand who used a different pen. To identify that, I have done further inquiries on the notes collected by members of the Dakar-Djibouti Mission. Based on this, the correctional works on the text seems to have been carried out by *Qes Kāsā*, a scribe and painter who was assisting the mission during their expedition in Gondar and the surroundings,<sup>186</sup> who was assisting the mission in Gondar. The mission's report doesn't give any detailed information about this. Even though there is no further detail about this manuscript, the correctional notes on MS G are sufficient to learn its contents. The corrections carried out based on MS G begin on f. 2r and continue to f. 83v, where orthographic variations are corrected, and different readings are inserted. It means that MS G<sup>2</sup> is a complete text, perhaps, a copy from the early twentieth century. Based on the contents and orthographic variants, this witness corresponds to the text in MSS C and H.

## 2.2. Textual tradition of the text

The *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* is a relatively recent text that was certainly written between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Consequently, it is difficult to treat this text like other historiographic works, such as the royal chronicles that have a long literary tradition and appear in several different recensions. Thus, this text needs a different approach to explain its textual tradition. As described in the first chapter, most of the stories had been orally circulating for so long before the transcription appeared. During this stage, several different oral traditions were compiled together in the memory of the city and the kings. The enrichment of the oral tradition with various complementary narratives continued until it appeared in the text form in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. A while before the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* was composed in the text form, there seems to have been an initial document that served as a starting point to compile the text in the present form.

In the very beginning of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* itself a very recent historical event is described in the form of prophecy. This specific historical event tells about the Dervish invasion and the destruction of the city in 1888. Perhaps, the text was spontaneously composed with an intention to recover the lost historical documents and to reason out this devastating attack. The text reads:

ከዚህም፡ በኋላ፡ ለአፄ፡ ሲታየዎ፡ የነበረ፡ ያደግ፡ ሰው፡ እንደ፡ ፀሐይ፡ እያበራ፡ ወጥቶ፡ ከአፄ፡ ጋራ፡ ተነጋገረ፡ በፊት፡ እንደ፡ ነገረዎ፡ አድርጎ፡ ለኋላ፡ ልጆች፡ ትንቢት፡ ነገረዎ፡ ከዚህ፡ ከከተማህ፡ ከዚህ፡ የበለጠ፡ የሚፈሰ፡ ደም፡ አለ፡ በአረማውያን፡ እጅ፡ ወይመጽኡ፡ በምዕራብ፡ ወይመሰሉ፡ ከመ፡ ቋቆ፡ ወይበልዑ፡ ከለባት፡ ወበሀጋይ፡ ወበከረምት፡ እያለ፡ ነገረዎ።<sup>187</sup>

Hereafter, that virtuous man who was revealing to the *'aṣe* came out shining like the sun and spoke to him. Like the previous time, he told a prophecy for the later generation saying, 'There will be another bloody time much worse than this one, in the hand of the nonbelievers coming from the west, look like a crow, eat dogs in the dry season and the rainy one'.

Considering the location of Sudan which is to the west of Gondar and their religion mentioned as *'aramāwi* ('nonbeliever'), there are the obvious identity markers of the Dervishes who destroyed the city. The author used his literary creativity to describe this incident in the form of a prophecy. This prophecy was traced back to the reign of King Fāsīladas. This alarming prophecy was considered a reminder to the coming generation to know about the death of innocent people and the total destruction of the city. This narrative had been orally circulating in Gondar shortly after the destruction of the city in 1888. After a while, another

<sup>186</sup> Griaule et al. 2015, p. 806.

<sup>187</sup> The Critical Text § 14.

scribe wrote his witness with illustrations<sup>188</sup> in the traditional style of painting. The author of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* might have used this text or the oral version as an input to reconstruct the history of the city. In fact, there could have been another factor for the composition of this text, but the destruction of the city by the Dervishes seems to have been the main reason.

To explain the textual tradition, it is important to know the date of composition of the text. As the MS G attests, two different families of the text were already circulating in the beginning of the 1930s. A little earlier before, the Italian anthropologist Alberto Pollera had accessed the same text in 1929 and translated a significant portion of it for his publication.<sup>189</sup> Roughly, the date of composition of the text could be between the end of the 1880s and the 1920s.

### 2.2.1. The early stage and the development of the text

Based on the evidence traced in the text, some historical narratives in the text predated the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. Perhaps, these units had been already transcribed or they were circulating orally.<sup>190</sup> When the first author began compiling the documents, the focus seems to be on the writing of the legendary foundation of the city by King Fāsiladas. Keeping this in mind, the author wrote the myth of the foundation of Gondar, the history of the foundation of the early royal churches and the citadel; and closed it with mentioning the number of the royal gates of the palace compound. The next part that dealt with the history of kings from Yoḥannēs I (r.1667–1682) and his successors to the beginning of the *zamana maśāfānt* ('Era of princes') since the 1780s seems an afterthought, perhaps added by another author. As of the first author, the second one wrote the history of successive kings who reigned between 1667 and the 1780s and completed the narration with further description of the royal compound and its gates. In between, the history of Fāsiladas that was forgotten in the first part was inserted by the later author in the following part. In general, the revision of the content and incorporation of the history of the later kings as well as important historical figures shows the gradual development of the text over time and that it was completed in the beginning of the twentieth century or a little earlier.<sup>191</sup>

MS G seems the first complete form of the history of the text. Later on, about four anecdotes were added in the last part of this recension but as a separate text. It was however, reproduced by the later copyists as a unit of the main text. MS H and MS C belong to the later recension. Yet, the scribe who copied this archetype of MS H and MS C had carried out further tasks to modify archaic Amharic words and incorporate complementary historical descriptions in some parts.

In the 1930s, when the Dakar-Djibouti Mission arrived at Gondar, both recensions were already circulating in the Gondar, particularly among the clergies. The Mission was hosted by

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<sup>188</sup> Éthiopien 619 (Griaule 311), ff. 20v–22r. This manuscript is the collection of miracles, transcribed dreams and other anecdotes. It was written and illustrated by 'Alaqa Naggā, the head of Gabriel church in Gondar. Referring to the recipes from the MDD (Mission Dakar-Djibouti) Strelcyn catalogued and described it as a work of 'Alaqa Naggā. But nobody knows whether it is an original text composed by 'Alaqa Naggā nor whether it is a copy from an existing manuscript composed earlier.

<sup>189</sup> See Pollera 1936, pp. 87–112, 123–134.

<sup>190</sup> See Bruce 1790; Pearce 1831; Plowden 1868; these travellers have incorporated a minimum of one anecdote and the status of Gondar during their visit.

<sup>191</sup> Concerning the origin and purpose of this text Pollera stated that, 'Lo stesso fenomeno del resto ho riscontrato nelle pseudo-cronache che qualche debterà conserva; non scritte da contemporanei, ma raccolte dalla tradizione orale a distanza di qualche generazione, per il bisogno di riepilogare in qualche modo il passato', Pollera 1936, p. 59.

the then Italian consulate office in Gondar located in the western outskirts of the city very close to Lədatā church where Griaule met 'Alaqā Yoḥannəs and ordered the copy of the manuscript G.<sup>192</sup> 'Alaqā Yoḥannəs' Manuscript has a variation as the content is updated with a brief historical note on the last four kings—Emperor Tewodros II (r.1855–1868), King Takla Giyorgis II (r.1868–1871), Emperor Yoḥannəs IV (r.1871–1889) and Emperor Mənilək II (r.1889–1913).

Since the aftermath of the destruction of Gondar in 1888 until the early 1930s the text had passed through several stages to appear in the existing form. The series of revisions carried out by the scribes seems to have been related with the content and the language. In addition, due to the genre of the text, it was highly exposed for the interest of the scribes to include extra anecdotes or oral traditions by their own. The language of the literature is another factor that contributed for the lexical variations in addition to the content. As the text is written in Amharic, which is the most widely spoken language in Gondar, it was easy for the scribes to substitute words and make corrections as well as to incorporate further additions. In contrast, Gə'əz descriptions in the text appeared consistently with minimum variation in all witnesses. Perhaps, it shows the simplicity to correct literary works composed in spoken language.

### 2.2.2. Circulation of the text

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the text seems to have been circulating among the clergies of Gondar. As Pollera described, this text was usually owned by the church scholars, even though he did not provide any further information about the criteria for the acquisition of the manuscript. The ordinary inhabitants of the city might not be aware of the existence of the text, or they were less interested, as it requires basic knowledge of reading to understand its content. Due to this, most likely the owners of the copy of this text were the church scholars and their families. Thus, the circulation was limited among this group. In addition, acquiring this text seems to have been a prestige and an evidence of nobility background; because of this the owners never allow a free circulation in the wider society to respect the interest of this class of religious elites who also claim royal blood.<sup>193</sup>

Besides, in such a period when no digital or even print technology was known and having a copy from traditional copyists required a significant amount of money, could be another factor that limited the circulation of the text. Moreover, the nature of the text itself seems another significant factor that determined the circulation of the text. The genre of the text is historical; if it were religious, it could have been better circulated into several archives. Its circulation was limited among church scholars interested in the history of the city. The whereabouts of the existing manuscript witness speaks about the nature of the circulation of the text in the first half of the twentieth century. For instance, the oldest witness among the existing manuscripts, MS G, was copied by 'Alaqā Yoḥannəs from Lədatā Church, and MS A was also copied from the same source, most probably by the same scribe. The third witness MS C was also copied by 'Alaqā Ḥawāz of Gəmgā Bet Māryām church. The fourth manuscript witness that I found belongs to the family of a clergy in Madḥāne' Ālam church. Similarly, I discovered

<sup>192</sup> Griaule et al. 2015.

<sup>193</sup> Significant portion of the information Pollera collected from one of his informants, 'Ato Merid (Mar'əd) who claim a royal bloodline corresponds to the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Somehow, it indicates that the circulation of the text seems limited on the family of such social group and the clergies as well; see Pollera 1936, p. 32.

another copy but distorted and incomplete<sup>194</sup> from a personal collection of 'Abuna Ēndəryās.<sup>195</sup> I have tried my best to access the full text, but all my effort was in vain. The last surviving copy discovered so far is from Malāku 'Ēzazaw. He was a *Liqa diyāqon* ('Archdeacon') in Madhāne' Ālam church.<sup>196</sup>

Considering the identity of the owners of the manuscript it is plausible to argue that the circulation of the text was limited among the prominent church scholars and *bālābbāt* ('a man of notable family background') of Gondar. In the early cases, the rationale behind the circulation seems to have been to safeguard the history of the city before it is forgotten. In the later cases, the owners of the manuscripts might have different reasons such as learning the history or as a sign of prestige, or in some cases, as a historical witness of the foundation of churches. For instance, the text contains an extremely long description about the founding of Lədatā church and its founder King Yostos (r.1711–1716). Thus, for 'Alaqā Yoḥannəs it is a complementary source of the history of the church he belongs to. In other cases, it could be due to the curiosity to know the history of the city.

### 2.2.3. Indirect tradition of the text

Understanding the indirect textual tradition of the text is helpful to learn its influence on the later works. Since the beginning of the circulation of the text, in the early twentieth century, it was referred as a historical source by both foreign scholars and local writers. The first foreign scholar to refer to the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* and translated significant part of it was an Italian military, colonial administrator, and anthropologist, Alberto Pollera. In 1929 he visited Gondar and stayed sometime visiting monumental buildings of Gondar, collecting fables, legends about the magic and sorcery, several cultural practices, and the oral history exhaustively. Six years later in 1936, the compilation was published with further description and evaluation under the title *Storie Leggende e Favole del Paese dei Negus*. In this work, the narratives are divided into three important categories: the legends, his observation of the monumental buildings, and the oral history. The latter is supported by alternative written sources and descriptions of monumental buildings in and around Gondar.<sup>197</sup> Yet, he clearly stated his impression on the existing transcribed oral tradition and its relevance saying:

Ritornai in seguito più volte in quei luoghi, non per l'interesse di quelle rovine, ma perchè incontrandovi i suddetti Principi o qualche vecchio debterà, la visita mi dava l'occasione di raccogliere episodi tramandati dalla tradizione; i quali spesso hanno fatto dimenticare la successione vera di avvenimenti anche importanti, che la tradizione orale ha trascurato di tramandare perchè meno interessanti per la conversazione spicciola, ignorante ed allegra, nei ritrovi giornalieri delle generazioni successive.

Lo stesso fenomeno del resto ho riscontrato nelle pseudo-cronache che qualche debterà conserva; non scritte da contemporanei, ma raccolte dalla tradizione orale a distanza di qualche generazione, per il bisogno di riepilogare in qualche modo il passato.

L'abitudine di sbrigar tutto verbalmente, quella di considerare i fatti non nelle loro cause e conseguenze vicine e lontane, ma solo negli effetti materiali del momento, quella di affidar tutto alla memoria, l'analfabetismo quasi generale, hanno impedito una qualsiasi esatta cronistoria, se se ne eccettua l'annotazione incompleta e succinta di qualche data eccezionale da parte di rari conventi senza che se ne accenni affatto alle cause.

<sup>194</sup> In this text, the copyist incorporated his own impression about the history of Gondar. In addition, the pre-Gondarine period history and the geographical description of Gondar is incorporated based on published local sources.

<sup>195</sup> Before he was ordained as archbishop, he was in Gondar for few decades as a student and later as a teacher in the traditional school. At that time, he is known by the name 'Abbā Gʷahā Şəbāḥ 'Ayyālnah. On his copy he wrote the later name to declare the ownership of the manuscript. Currently, he is chairman of the assembly of scholars in the patriarchate office in 'Addis 'Ababā.

<sup>196</sup> It is a photocopy of MS H.

<sup>197</sup> Pollera 1936, p. 53.

Così del passato la tradizione ha obliato la sostanza per riportare solo qualche aneddoto non essenziale, o introducendovi elementi estranei di favola per abbellire il discorso o per la pretesa di dare con quelli gloria o vituperio ai protagonisti.

Questo modo ingenuo di bistrattare la storia mi apparve chiaro ad ogni racconto, tanto da sembrarmi di qualche interesse raccogliere alcune di tali tradizioni popolari che possono in qualche guisa giovare alla maggior comprensione del caratteristico ambiente etiopico, tutto forme e superficialità, come se si trattasse di gente che viva perennemente in un sogno senza guardare la realtà che la circonda.<sup>198</sup>

(I returned to those places several times afterwards, not because of the interest of those ruins, but because meeting the above mentioned Princes or some old *dabtarās*, the visit gave me the opportunity to collect episodes handed down by tradition; which often made me forget the real succession of events, even important ones, that oral tradition has neglected to pass on because they were less interesting for the small, ignorant and cheerful conversation in the daily gatherings of the following generations.

I have found the same phenomenon in the pseudo-chronicle that some of the *dabtarās* have preserved; not written by contemporaries, but collected by the oral tradition after a few generations, because of the need to summarize the past in some way.

The habit of doing everything verbally, that of considering the facts not in their causes and consequences near and far, but only in the material effects of the moment, that of entrusting everything to memory, the almost general illiteracy, have prevented any exact chronology, except for the incomplete and succinct annotation of some exceptional date by rare convents without mentioning the causes at all.

Thus, in the past, the tradition has forsaken the substance to report only a few non-essential anecdotes, or by introducing extraneous elements of fable to embellish the discourse or for the pretension to give glory or vicissitudes to the protagonists.

This naive way of mistreating the story became clear to me in every story, so much so that it seemed to me of some interest to collect some of these popular traditions that can in some way help to better understand the characteristic Ethiopian environment, all forms and superficiality, as if they were people who live perpetually in a dream without looking at the reality that surrounds them.<sup>199</sup>)

However, he clearly stated his opinion on the significant part of the text which has been translated and incorporated into several chapters of his book. In fact, the transcribed text was not the only source of information; he also collected many other oral stories handed down only orally,<sup>200</sup> speculative traditional paintings, photographs of ruined castles. Thus, in the chapters he dealt with the history of Gondar and Gondarine kings, he directly quoted some parts of the text from the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. The manuscript witness he referred seems a complete text as most of the historical contents are included. To justify this, I quote two important passages from the book, that was taken from the manuscript witnesses he got in Gondar.

In quel momento uscì miracolosamente dal lago un vecchio eremita d'aspetto venerando, bianco come il marmo, colla barba lunga fino ai piedi, splendente come il sole, maestoso come il leone, il quale con voce di Angelo prese a dirgli: 'Iddio ti ha guidato; questo è il luogo preannunziato dall'Angelo e designato per la nuova capitale del regno; si chiama Gondar, che vuol dire paradiso di Esra e di Enoc; qui dove io mi trovo in piedi, su questo stagno non contaminato fino ad oggi da piede umano, farai costruire un castello. Tutti quelli che verranno qui, godranno il regno dei cieli, anche se non saranno battezzati, ed io ti proteggerò fino al termine della vita'. Intanto il numeroso seguito aveva raggiunto il Negus sulle rive di quello stagno, ed il vegliardo dopo aver benedetto colla sua croce il Negus e le sue truppe, nuovamente scomparve.<sup>201</sup>

At that moment, a miraculously old hermit of venerable appearance, as white as the marble, beard long to the feet, shining like the sun, majestic like the lion, which with an Angel's voice came to him and said, 'God has guided you. This is the place foretold by the Angel and appointed for the new capital of the kingdom; it is called Gondar, which means, Esra's and Enoc's paradise; here where I am standing, on this pond not contaminated to this day by human foot, you're gonna do your make build a castle. Everyone who comes here, will enjoy the kingdom of heaven, even if they are not baptized, and I will protect you

<sup>198</sup> Pollera 1936, pp. 59–60.

<sup>199</sup> Translated with [www.DeepL.com/Translator](http://www.DeepL.com/Translator) (free version) (revised).

<sup>200</sup> Pollera 1936, p. 91.

<sup>201</sup> Pollera 1936, p. 89. Translated with [www.DeepL.com/Translator](http://www.DeepL.com/Translator) (Free version) (revised).



until the end of the life'. Meanwhile the numerous followers had reached the Nəgus on the banks of that pond, and the old man after having blessed with his cross the Nəgus and his troops, disappeared again.<sup>202</sup>

Therefore, to differentiate the pre-existing written oral tradition from others still verbally circulating seems systematically categorized. But, in some cases, it is very difficult to distinguish oral collected information from the pre-existing written document, as it is presented in a similar format in the text.

Yet, many of the readings translated from the transcribed oral tradition that Pollera called 'Pseudo cronache'<sup>203</sup> corresponds to the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Throughout his work, significant portions of the so-called 'pseudo chronicle' corresponds to the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. However, due to the lack of clear statements or descriptive notes, it is hardly possible to comprehend the general content of the text and determine its family. Nevertheless, based on the quotations in Pollera's work, the manuscript he accessed seems as lengthy as the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is. As it is attested by MS G<sup>2</sup>, one of the earliest versions of the texts, the last paragraph in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* reads,

የግንቡ፡ ሥራም፡ ታቹ፡ መሠረቱ፡ በደንጊያ፡ ብቻ፡ አይደለም፡ ወርቅ፡ ጨምረው፡ ደልድለውብታል፡ በምሥራቅም፡ በምዕራብም፡ በሰሜንም፡ በደቡብም፡ በየገጹ፡ ሁሉ፡ ወርቅ፡ ቀብረውብታል፡ ለግንቡ፡ መፍርህ፡ ወመደንግጽ፡ ይሆነዋል፡ ብለው።

(‘The foundation and groundwork of the palace structure is not only stone, but they also added a mixture of gold within it. They also buried gold in the east, west, north and south; they buried gold to make it frightening and bewildering.’).

The following reading quoted in Pollera's work is very similar except minor variation.

Quando Fasil iniziò le fondazioni del castello, vi fece murar dentro una grande quantità di verghe d'oro, mischiate colle pietre, e nelle quattro direzioni fece pure murare quattro *gombò* pieni d'oro perchè i castelli fossero più solidi ed incutessero spavento alla gente e agli spiriti maligni.<sup>204</sup>

When Fasil began the foundations of the castle, he had a great quantity of golden rods mixed with stones, and in the four directions he also had four golden branches walled up so that the castles would be stronger and would frighten people and evil spirits.<sup>205</sup>

In this work, many of the readings show minor variation even though it has the same content and similar flow. For example, the list of the twelve gates of the royal compound in this work is a reproduction of the list in *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.<sup>206</sup> Perhaps, the variation in Pollera's work might have occurred during the translation process.

Another related work had been carried out by another Italian scholar, Augusto Monti Della Corte, a few years later,<sup>207</sup> during the colonial period. He studied the monumental architectures in Gondar and the surroundings. Even though his main target was conducting archaeological survey of the palaces and other structures, he used the oral tradition to enrich the description of the ruined palaces, churches, and other structures. Yet mostly he relied on Pollera's work<sup>208</sup> although he collected additional information in person. He mentioned the later sources as 'oral tradition', but its description has resemblance with the *Tārik Zamədra*

<sup>202</sup> Translated with [www.DeepL.com/Translator](http://www.DeepL.com/Translator) (Free version) (revised).

<sup>203</sup> See Pollera 1936, p. 59.

<sup>204</sup> Pollera 1936, p. 56.

<sup>205</sup> Translated with [www.DeepL.com/Translator](http://www.DeepL.com/Translator) (Free version).

<sup>206</sup> See Pollera 1936, p. 53.

<sup>207</sup> See Monti Della Corte 1938.

<sup>208</sup> See Monti Della Corte 1938, pp. 9, 20, 22.

*Gondar*. But he paraphrased the information in his work, and he never quoted the oral information directly. Following this, comparing it against the reading of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* is not significant. However, the description of the palaces, the twelve gates of the royal compound and other structures are influenced by Pollera's work and the oral tradition except his professional explanation and comments on the ruined royal structures.

Ethiopian historians began to study the local history in the modern perspective in the 1940s. Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā is one among the pioneers of writing the local history with a modern approach. One of his earliest publications dealt with the country's history from the sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century, and in it he addressed the Gondarine period in detail. Like other scholars, he carefully consulted both foreign and local sources. The royal chronicles and travellers' accounts are the main sources he referred extensively to enrich his work. The oral tradition was also referred on the same level as written sources to fill the gaps but with critical evaluation of the content and its validity. Concerning this, he said that ከታሪክ ነገሥቱም ከውጪ አገር ጽሑፍም በቃል ከሚነገረውም አዋጥቼ ይኸን መጽሐፍ በዋናው ቋንቋችን ባማርኛ ጽፌ ለአዝዘብ ለማቅረብ አሰብሁ።<sup>209</sup> ('I have planned to compile this book based on the information collected from *Tārika nagašt*, works of foreigners, and the oral tradition to publish it in our main language Amharic'). The oral traditions employed in this work are collected from local informants, and transcribed versions hosted in foreign archives and libraries. The contents of the oral traditions he quoted are closely related to the narration in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. Yet, he never mentioned a specific whereabouts of the source of the oral traditions he quoted. It is therefore hardly possible to determine the source he used. Nevertheless, considering his knowledge of the works of scholars of Ethiopian studies in Europe and the catalogues of Ethiopian manuscripts housed in different libraries and archives indicated, he could have had an opportunity to consult the manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale de France where MS G is housed.<sup>210</sup>

If that is the case, he may have consulted MS. G, the narratives quoted in his work have resemblance. But, in many cases, the author replaced archaic words with contemporary terms and explained vague descriptions. Apart from this modification, the stories are the same, the narratives structures and the flow have considerable resemblance. In addition, he has a specific anecdote from the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*, that speaks about the history of a famous church scholar of the eighteenth-century Gondar named Kəfla Yoḥannəs, who is quoted in his work.<sup>211</sup> For instance, the following story is one of the readings that corresponds to the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. It tells about the extraordinary kindness of King Yoḥännəs I (r.1667–1682).

አንድ፡ ቀን፡ ግብር፡ ገብቶ፡ ከባለቤታቸውና፡ ከንስሐ፡ አባታቸው፡ ጋር፡ ተቀምጠው፡ የተጠበሰ፡ ዓሣ፡ ከማዕዳ፡ ቀርቦ፡ ሳለ፡ የባለቤታቸውንና፡ የንስሐ፡ አባታቸውን፡ መፈለግ፡ አውቀው፡ ሦስታችን፡ እውነት፡ ብንናገር፡ ይህ፡ የተጠበሰ፡ ዓሣ፡ በአያውነት፡ ተነሥቶ፡ እባሕሩ፡ ውስጥ፡ ይገባ፡ ብለው፡ ተናገሩ። ከዚህ፡ በኋላ፡ አቴጌዬቱ፡ ቄሱን፡ አግብቼ፡ ብኖር፡ እወዳለሁ፡ አሉ፡ ቄሱም፡ እቴጌን፡ አግብቼ፡ ብቀመጥ፡ እወዳለሁ፡ አሉ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ግን፡ ይችን፡ ከንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ንቄ፡ ብመንን፡ እወዳለሁ፡ ብለው፡ ሦስቱም፡ እውነተኛውን፡ የየምኞታቸውን፡ ተናግረው፡ ሲጨርሱ፡ የተጠበሰው፡ ዓሣ፡ ተነሥቶ፡ ዘሎ፡ እባሕር፡ ገባ።<sup>212</sup>

One day, when the king was in the banquet with his wife and father confessor, fried fish was prepared for the banquet. Then knowing that his wife and the father confessor are in a secrete relationship, he (the king) said 'if three of us speak the truth this fried fish will come to life and go to the lake'. Then the queen said,

<sup>209</sup> Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā 1960, p. 13; a little while before Takla Šādəq published this work, he was appointed as the first secretary of Ethiopia Embassy on Paris. It could have been a good opportunity to visit the Bibliothèque nationale de France; see 'Täklä Šadəq Mäk<sup>w</sup>əriya', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 842b–843b (E. Wolk).

<sup>210</sup> Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā 1960, pp. 5–8.

<sup>211</sup> Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā 1960, pp. 295–296.

<sup>212</sup> Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā 1960, pp. 177–278. This story is identical with the story written in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. See the Critical text § 26.

‘I would like to marry the priest (father confessor) and live with him’. The priest also said, ‘I would like to marry the queen and live with her’. Then the king said, ‘I would like to leave this unworthy world and go to a monastery for ascetic life’. After three of them spoke the truth, the roasted fish came to life and went to the lake.

The oral tradition quoted in his work had been already published by European travellers and Ethiopian scholars of the early twentieth century. Also, transcribed oral traditions housed in libraries and archives were already catalogued and known among scholars. The author was aware of these collections and publications of travellers and scholars. Due to this, he might have consulted a wide range of sources available for him. In addition, he had an opportunity to visit several archives and to collect published historiographic works. Yet, in the case of all the oral tradition he never followed the standard approach to list the sources as he did for published references. Due to this obscurity, I have done this analysis based on comparing the readings in his book against the previous works in which the stories are fully presented.<sup>213</sup>

Between the late 1960s and mid-1970s the leading local historian of Gondar Garimā Tāffara had shown interest to compile the oral tradition of the historical sites in the city. Garimā Tāffara has played a significant role to reintroduce the oral tradition into the wider society. He published his works in the city’s municipal herald in successive issues. In this work, the pre-existing oral tradition were articulated to fit the standard of the newspaper and the readers. The language, the flow and articulation of the stories show the effort of the author to modify the text without changing the content.

እፄ ፋሲል ከዕለታት አንድ ቀን በጎመንጌ ቤተመንግሥቱ ሆኖ ከቶ ይህች “ጎ” የምትባል ሐገር ገነተ ዕዝራ ወሐኖስ እየተባለች የምትጠራው የገነት አካል ትሆን? እያለ በዕለተ ሰንበት ግብር ደፍኖ እያዘነና እየተከዘ ደንቀዘ ላይ ሆኖ ወደ ምዕራብ ሲመለከት አንበሳ ሲያገሳ ስለሰማ ወታደሮቹ አንበሳውን እንዲከታተሉ አዘዘ። ወታደሮቹም የተሰጠውን ንጉሣዊ ትእዛዝ ተቀብለው አንበሳውን ሲከታተሉ አንበሳው ፊት ለፊት እየሸሸ እንሰ እየተከተሉት ጎንደር ላይ ሲደርሱ ትልቁ ቤተ መንግሥት (ፋሲል ግንብ) ከታነፀበት ላይ ተሰወረባቸው<sup>214</sup>

One day, ‘Aṣe Fāsīl was in his palace at Gomange; he was thinking (about the foretold city) and said, ‘Is the so-called “Go” which is called the garden of ‘Ezrā and Henok, could it be a part of heaven?’. That Sunday he didn’t give the royal banquet. While he was looking towards the west of Danqaz he heard a roar of lion and ordered the soldiers to chase it. Having received the royal order, the soldiers began chasing the lion; when they reached in Gondar the lion disappeared at the spot where the magnificent palace (of Fāsīl) was built in the later period.

Nevertheless, the readings that corresponds to the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* are referred only in the case of the myth of foundation of the city. The remaining historical descriptions are discussed based on other sources. Regardless of the differences in content and selected themes in different works, the influence of the oral tradition continued for half a century with no interruption.

### 2.3. Organization and chronology of the stories

The *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* is organized in a similar form to the so-called *Short Chronicle* that offers the genealogy of the kings, along with a brief history of each king of the Solomonic monarchs. The *Short Chronicle* that was compiled during the Gondarine period incorporates the accounts of earlier kings starting from the fourteenth century. However, the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* begins with the reign of ‘Aṣe Fāsīladas and continues the narrative to the early twentieth century. Since the focus of the story is on the royal city of Gondar, the text

<sup>213</sup> The author has referred many other sources of local traditions such as the works of Takla ‘Iyyasus Wāqgīrā, James Bruce, other sources like the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. Similarly, some stories published in the *Grammatica della lingua Amārica* of Afevork G. J. are also directly quoted by Takla Šādāq Makwəriyā, see also Afevork 1905.

<sup>214</sup> Garimā Tāffara 1974, pp. 3, 6.

is more devoted to the description of the construction of the monumental buildings in the city. In a broad sense, the history of the Gondarine kings is chronologically correct. But the author never mentioned the years of enthronements of kings or when a certain historical event took place. The possible reason for skipping the years might have had to do with the lack of trustworthy documents or the avoidance of the potential mistakes. Above all, the source of information that the author extensively used could be additional factor. Perhaps that is the reason the author begins the text saying, ታሪክ፡ ዘምድረ፡ ጎንደር፡ እንዲህ፡ ይላሉ። ('The history of the land of Gondar as they tell it'). Thus, the role of the author seems to be only that of transcribing collected oral information circulating at that time.

The entire text is composed as a single story, without dividing it into chapters. I think that the author has followed this style, since the history of most of the kings begins with the phrase ወነግሠ፡ ('he became king') which is followed by the name of the enthroned king. This is the key terms by which the author introduces the beginning of the history of the following king. In other cases, when he refers to a certain historical period, he names it ዘመን፡ ('era').

The entire text is divided into four parts contextually. The first and the largest part covers the period from the reign of 'Aṣe Fāsilads (r.1636–1667) to that of 'Aṣe Takla Giyorgis (r.1772–1777), which describes the foundation of Gondar, the development of the city and the proliferation of traditional schools. This part recounts also several civil and administrative accomplishments, military expeditions, and religious commitments.

The second part of the text recounts the decline of Gondar in the late eighteenth century and during the period of the *zamana maśāfānt* ('Era of princes'). However, in this part which is considered a history of the city's failure and destruction, the author devotes himself to a general description of this period. Subsequently, the existing brief description of the period focuses on the violent princes of the time and the general feature of the power structure of the period which is presented without regard to the chronological order of events. The author then moved to the next part, which is focused on description of the royal compound and the two royal gates that were used by the monarchy and military elites of the Gondarine period. Considering that, all twelve gates of the royal compound, their names, location, and functions are described in reference to the nearby churches and public spaces to give precise location of each gate. Up to this part of the text, the chronology and organization of the narrative is coherent and chronological. Technically, the author seems convinced to end the compilation of this text with such description, since the introduction begins with the construction of the palace. Based on the length and focus of the description, the author seems less interested to write historical events in the late eighteenth-century Gondar. And the text ends with three additional anecdotes. The anecdotes seem to have been added after the completion of the entire text.

But because of the established tradition of recording historical events, each of the manuscript witness has its own additional anecdotes written after the main text. For instance, the copyist of MS G supplemented the existing text with an updated list of kings beginning with Fāsiladas, and with the recent history of Gondar in the reign of Tewodros II, Takla Giyorgis, Yoḥannəs IV, and Mənilək II. Similarly, *qānes* composed by legendary Gondarine church scholars and family history of the owner are included in MS H. In all cases, however, the additional stories appeared either in a new added folium or after punctuation marks that defines the end of the main text and the beginning of the new additions.

#### 2.4. The General framework of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*

The author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* framed the composition of the text based on three important themes. The fist and a major part of the text deals with the history of the city

starting from the reign of King Fāsīladas to *Faṣṣāme mangəšt* Takla Giyorgis I (r.1777–1784). The foundation of Gondar as a political, religious, and cultural center is described in relation to successive kings who ruled during this period. Although the period after Takla Giyorgis I is incorporated into the text, it contains only very brief and general historical facts to illustrate the heart-breaking deeds of the warlords in Gondar. Thus, the text focuses on the reigns of kings between the mentioned period, during which the kingdom was relatively strong and led by powerful kings who could rule without difficulties that would challenge their power and authority. Due to this, the author is mainly devoted to deal with the history of the Gondarine kings who ruled from the early seventeenth century to the last decades of the eighteenth century, recounting their personalities, the main achievements of the kings to the development of the city (building monuments and churches), and the most important historical events of that period.

It also recounts exclusively the history of the construction of royal compound designated as *gənb* ('building') and other monumental buildings in Gondar, which have been built during the reign of King Fāsīladas and in the following period. Above all, it provides a valuable historical information about how and by whom the castles of Fāsīladas were built. Indeed, the craftsmen who built the castle of Susənyos and churches are reported in the chronicle. They are mentioned by country of origin and by name as the Egyptian, Indian, and other foreigners (referred to as *Romāwəyān*, 'Romans'), or *farang* craftsmen.<sup>215</sup> Similarly, chronicles of the successor kings of Fāsīladas mentioned chief craftsmen of the period.<sup>216</sup> Unfortunately, there is no chronicle of King Fāsīladas, at least, it is not discovered so far.<sup>217</sup> Due to this, it is hardly possible to confirm either the involvement of foreigners craftsmen or not; thus, the identity of the castle builders of his period remains a point of discussion.<sup>218</sup> But the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* clearly mentions the identity and whereabouts of the castle builders of King Fāsīladas. The builders are referred to as dark-skinned Portuguese.<sup>219</sup> In so doing, he shows the local's opinion about the builders of the palaces of King Fāsīladas.

The history of the following kings is chronologically ordered and mentions remarkable achievements of everyone of them. However, only few kings are remembered in long passages. At last, the author concluded the text by listing the so-called twelve gates of the royal compound and describing their historic functions. He located all the gates with reference to the nearby churches and notable places. Originally, the texts ended at this point. The anecdotes that appear following this list are later additions.

#### 2.4.1. The rise and fall of Gondar

One of the features of the Medieval Ethiopian royal politics was the lack of a stable royal capital; the royal court was wandering from one place to the other. The roving capital tradition continued after the political center was shifted from the central highland of Ethiopia to the Northwest of the country particularly to the Lake Ṭānā vicinity until the foundation of

<sup>215</sup> See Pereira 1892, pp. 289–290.

<sup>216</sup> See Guidi 1903, p. 62; Guidi 1910, p. 91.

<sup>217</sup> The only surviving historical evidence concerning this issue is the report of the Yemenite *Qādī* al-Haymi, who visited the royal court Gondar only two decades after its foundation. His report states the participation of Indian craftsmen in the construction of the palace saying, 'the builder of the edifice was an Indian, and the characteristic of his design corresponds to the method of his country', see Munro-Hay 2002, p. 79.

<sup>218</sup> Ramos has extensively discussed this issue based on local and foreign and local sources, see Ramos 2018a.

<sup>219</sup> Perhaps, this indicates the presence of Indians from the Portuguese colony of the time, see the Critical Text, § 6. Concerning this, Ramos (2018) argued that it could be a lately absorbed interpretation of the mid-nineteenth century travellers of western origin to the local oral tradition, Ramos 2018a, p. 28; also see Ranasinghe 2001, pp. 240–243.

Gondar in mid 1630s, that became a permanent capital afterwards.<sup>220</sup> Yet before the emergence of Gondar as royal capital some short-lived political centers were established nearby the shore of Lake Ṭānā. The creation of these successive royal seats was in search of resource, security, and a strategic military camp.<sup>221</sup> Yet, regardless of this historical fact the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* begins the narration with a legendary prophecy about the appropriate place to build a stable capital for the kingdom. Only the first *fidal* of the name of a place name which begins with ‘ṛ’ (‘g<sup>w</sup>a’) was known. The text claims that the prophecy had been frequently told to the king by the angel of God. Every time the king changed his capital with an intention to discover the foretold city, the angel continued telling the prophecy ‘G<sup>w</sup>a ṭanaggās’ and the quest continued.<sup>222</sup> Following this, most of the pre-Gondarine royal capitals are presented as failed attempts in the journey of discovering the foretold capital.<sup>223</sup> However, the author of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* had selectively mentioned only a few of the pre-Gondarine capitals that have the *fidal* ‘ṛ’ (‘G<sup>w</sup>a’, phonetically equivalent to ‘Go’) either in the beginning or at the end of their names respectively. For instance, historical records show that there had been at least seven short-lived royal capitals established in the lake Ṭānā region before the emergence of Gondar.<sup>224</sup> Among these cities only Ḥnfērāz and Danqaz had served for a relatively long period; the other settlements such as Ḥyebā, Qogā, and Wandəgge remained short-lived settlements that were abandoned soon after the foundation.<sup>225</sup> On the other hand, ḤAzazo and Gorgorā were religious centers and alternative provincial palaces after the principal royal settlement Danqaz.<sup>226</sup>

Despite the presence of such royal settlements the author of *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* mentioned only Danqaz and ḤAringo as the only predecessor cities in the text. Although the latter was founded after Gondar had already emerged as a capital city, it wrongly appears as one of the pre-Gondarine royal settlements. This might have occurred due to the lack of knowledge or an innovation of the author to include the names of the settlements that have the *Go* sound at the beginning or the end. As the author follows the prophecy *G<sup>w</sup>a Ṭanaggās*, Danqaz and ḤAringo (also spelt ḤAring<sup>w</sup>a) are the only royal seats of the period mentioned exclusively. In fact, the *fidal* sign *g<sup>w</sup>a* mentioned in the prophecy does not exist in the name Danqaz; however, the author has customized it to fit the context of the literature by mentioning the specific name of the place, Gommange, where the royal palace of Danqaz was built on. Although the author of *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* selectively mentioned only two royal settlements, other variants of the oral story in Gondar include the other pre-Gondarine royal settlements to enrich the narrative. Yet, similar approaches have been used to customize the name of the palace to keep the coherence and rhyme of the story telling. For instance, Gorgorā, Gommange (Danqaz), Goḡḡām, and ḤAringo, Guzārā (Ḥnfērāz).<sup>227</sup> The first three places are

<sup>220</sup> Huntingford 1989, p. 184.

<sup>221</sup> Horvath 1969, pp. 216–219.

<sup>222</sup> ‘Quando Fasil Sali sul trono di suo padre, che si era fatto cattolico gettando il paese in una tremenda guerra civile, il primo suo atto fu di ripristinare integralmente la fede alessandrina, e di cacciare via il Patriarca ed i missionari cattolici che avevano dominato sotto il regno precedente. Per questo atto Iddio gli concesse di scoprire la località il cui nome, contenente la lettera G, era stata inutilmente preannunciata dall’Angelo a Susinios come futura sede gloriosa della nuova capitale del Regno’, Pollera 1936, p. 88. Similarly, the oral story told in Danqaz associated the origin of the prophecy to Susənyos. See Ramos 2018b, p. 141.

<sup>223</sup> See Ramos 2018, pp. 172–174; Wion also argued that presenting a prophecy in the royal chronicle and the oral tradition was a practice to legitimize power in late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. Many of these prophecies collected in the royal seats of the period have considerable similarity of contents, some are variants of the preceding narratives. See Wion 2012, pp. 185–188, 264.

<sup>224</sup> See Pankhurst 1982, pp. 94–112.

<sup>225</sup> See Pankhurst 1982, pp. 100–101.

<sup>226</sup> Martínez d’Alòs-Moner 2015, p. 129.

<sup>227</sup> Ramos 2018b, pp. 135–137.

mentioned due to the reason that all begin with the *fidal Go* or *G<sup>wa</sup>* and the last two names have similar sound at the beginning and the end of the names.

The reason behind mentioning the list of names of pre-Gondarine capitals could have been to show the wandering tradition in a way that fits the prophecy.<sup>228</sup> Presenting the story in this way seems convincing for the contemporary audiences in terms of respecting the tradition from the political and religious points of view. After stating this background, the author immersed in a history attested by credited sources such as the royal chronicles. But it could have been also composed with an anticipation to defend another version of the oral story whose origin is traced to the central highlands of Šawā. As it is mentioned in the above parts, the author of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* claimed that the preceding royal settlements had been a failed attempt to find the foretold place Gondar. Perhaps, that was an approach to omit a controversial historical occurrence of the first three decades of the seventeenth century,<sup>229</sup> and, moreover, to reject a similar prophecy in the *Dərsāna Rāgu`el*. Like the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*, the *Dərsāna Rāgu`el* was based on historical sources and contains a prophecy about the return of the monarch to the central highlands of Šawā. However, the intention shows that the *Dərsāna Rāgu`el* was composed in the time when the Šawā political elites were emerging as autonomous political powers since the eighteenth century. The part of the *Dərsāna Rāgu`el* that prophesizes the return of the monarch seems to have emerged in this political context and the emerging interest of controlling the entire country. Yet, this ambition was fulfilled in the late nineteenth century when Emperor Mənilək II came to power. The chronicler of Emperor Mənilək II had mentioned this text as authenticated prophecy told by the divinely beings<sup>230</sup> in a way that consider Gondar nothing but a peripheral place of refuge for the royal family.

While composing the text, the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* tried to defend the narrative by asserting a continuous guidance and intervention of the divine beings during and after the foundation of Gondar. In doing so, the coming of the monarch to Gondar appeared the result of the guidance of the divine power more than a retreat from challenging incidents in the mid-sixteenth century Šawā during the invasion of Aḥmad Grāñ. Due to this approach, if not the political, the religious status of Gondar was elevated and compared with the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>231</sup>

Although the foundation of this historical narrative is constructed based on the legend, the text contains historical information about the emergence of Gondar. It tells about the history of the successive kings, the monumental architectures and the churches founded during that period. However, the course of the development and growth of Gondar as a center of politics, culture, education, and economy is directly and indirectly addressed in association with the will and intervention of the divine power. Yet this approach is dominantly applied for the early period of Gondar and the history of its founder King Fāsīladas.

The following stories focused on describing the history and virtue of the succeeding Gondarine kings. To strengthen the reputation and status of Gondar, the religious contribution of kings, assisted by saints and the angels intervening in the royal court appeared the central

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<sup>228</sup> The other reason could be related with a systematic deletion of the historical incidents that deprived the monarch from controlling the central highlands of Šawā. Thus, the retreat of the royal court to the Northwest of the country demands another rationale, which is the fictitious version of searching the foretold city.

<sup>229</sup> The text never mentioned the Grāñ war, the Oromo migration, and the dominancy of the Catholics in the royal court of King Susənyos. These three important historical events seem to have been deliberately omitted as it shows the weaknesses of the monarch in terms of military strength and religious commitments. If it were addressed many of the kings may not be rewarded the sainthood status granted in the text.

<sup>230</sup> Gabra Šəllāse Walda Aragāy 1959, pp. 32–33, 97.

<sup>231</sup> Ramos 2018b, p. 143.

theme of the narrative. Yet, the political achievements of the kings attested by credible sources are included but shrouded by legends. However, the author of *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* attributed the emergence and development of Gondar to the first three kings who ruled from Gondar, that are Fāsīladas, Yoḥannəs I and ʾIyyāsu I. Particularly, the history of ʾIyyāsu narrated at length due to his remarkable accomplishments in founding royal churches, establishing traditional church schools, and laying the firm foundation for both clergies and nobilities of the Gondarine period.<sup>232</sup> But the reign of this king was concluded with a tragic end. The king was dethroned and succeeded by his son and later assassinated as the nobilities suspected him as a potential danger for the new king.<sup>233</sup> Rethinking this historical event, the author considers this period as the beginning of the decline of Gondar and supported it with a poem composed to mourn him, ‘ፈረስ፡ ፈረስ፡ ግንባችን፡ በእድላችን’ (‘Woe is us! Our palace is ravaged’). The author described this lamentation as a prophecy told for the future of Gondar, although it is a post-diction of the remote past. However, the author’s understanding to retrace the decline of the Gondarine period after the death of ʾIyyāsu seems not far from the reality, although the next few kings tried to restore and maintain the strength and domination of the monarchy as it was before. Yet, the political intrigue and bloody power struggle among the elites continued in the following decades in which the development and influence of Gondar was restrained by far.<sup>234</sup> Due to this, the history of kings who came to power after the death of ʾIyyāsu I is addressed with a simple descriptive approach relatively free from legends and divine intervention to the exception of King Yoṣṥos. Thus, the political era that followed the death of ʾIyyāsu I is described as a period of conflict, instability, and moral decline. The kings who came to power at this chaotic period were short-lived and unable to perform achievements like their ancestors. However, the efforts of some of the kings to adorn the city and strengthen the power of the monarch amid the political instability is considered.<sup>235</sup> Eventually, the prolonged instability ushered the *zamana maśāfənt*.<sup>236</sup> The author described this period in few lines with disappointment and jumped to tell other stories that are not directly related to the monarchs. In the last part of the text, the total destruction of the city in the second half of the nineteenth century that turned Gondar into a pile of ashes is clearly reported.

In general, the rise of Gondar is indicated with the presence of the citadel that became the permanent seat of the monarch after some time and the churches that emerged as a center of excellence. Similarly, the decline of the city and its fall are also stated in particular reference to those palace structures and churches.

#### 2.4.2. Important historical figures in the historic Gondar

As I have stated in the previous parts, the central theme of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* is the monarchs as well as the palaces and churches built during that period. This is the

<sup>232</sup> ʾIyyāsu’s achievements on establishing churches and traditional schools, and land grants to clerics and nobilities is recorded in contemporary documents; see Guidi 1903, pp. 168–169; Conti Rossini 1942, pp. 74–82; ‘Iyasu I’, *EAE*, III (2007), 249b–251a (C. Bosc-Tiessé).

<sup>233</sup> See Basset 1882, pp. 59–60; Berry 1976, p. 32.

<sup>234</sup> Since the death of ʾIyyāsu the bloody competition to assume the power continued among the warlords who wanted to install their favorites from the children of the Kings. This competition was shrouded with religious discourse and regionalism. Following this, until Məntəwwāb and her family dominated the royal court no king among the successors of ʾIyyāsu I ruled for a single decade. All of them were either assassinated or poisoned after few years of reign. See Berry 1976, pp. 30–56.

<sup>235</sup> Bakāffā is considered as the relatively stronger king who came to power after fifteen years of political instability occurred since the death of his father ʾIyyāsu I. He tried to re-strengthen the power of the king over the growing autonomous regional lords, reinstate interrupted court traditions, as well as handling the religious dispute that was very active by the time. See ‘Bākaffā’, *EAE*, I (2003), 449b–450a (D. Crummey); Guidi 1903, p. 293; Guidi 1910, pp. 24–25.

<sup>236</sup> See Shiferaw Bekele 2004.



conventional approach of telling centuries-old history of the city based on the two inseparable and complementary elements, the monarch, and the palace structures.<sup>237</sup> Additional narratives are inserted to broaden the content and to support every discourse although the story varies from place to place due to the variants of additional stories that exalt a certain church or place. However, the general content of all versions seems similar as it selectively organizes and ignores the pre-Gondarine period history of the locality and focuses on the history of churches founded during and after the emergence of Gondar. Even though there are extended narrations on the existing one, the circulation is limited in specific churches or localities except legendary figures whose history is worth to be mentioned everywhere regardless of their affiliation to a certain church or locality. Following this, some church scholars, famous *'azmāris* and other social figures are mentioned along with the history of the city. At least three prominent scholars are mentioned as the most important historical figures in the history of the city: 'Abamo, Dənqo Mārḳos and Kəfla Yoḥannes respectively. They seem to have had irreplaceable role on establishing the traditional church school in the Gondarine period, which is a credible witness from a clergyman about the history of the scholars. What is mentioned in the text supports this argument.

For instance, 'Abamo is remembered for rescuing the lost wisdom of the *'Abušāker* and re-establishing a school to share his knowledge in the city of Gondar. In the other way, the text indicated that the mid-sixteenth century war of Aḥmad Grāñ had destroyed centres of excellences, disrupted the system, and endangered the wisdom. Yet, there is no further source that attested the life of 'Abamo. However, the so-called *Short Chronicle* of Yoḥannəs I mentions the death of one 'Abamo in 1678. He was a court officer with the title of *'aqābe sa 'at*;<sup>238</sup> but the *Short Chronicle* does not contain any further detail about his competence in *'Abušāker*, so it could well be a homonym. Moreover, the main chronicle of Yoḥannəs I mentions an *'aqābe sa 'āt* named 'Abādir.<sup>239</sup> Thus, the name 'Abamo in the *Short Chronicle* could be a scribal mistake. However, we have to keep in mind that the scribes of the chronicles were using more than one name for an individual. For instance, the famous *'Aqābe sa 'āt* 'Abrānyos was also known as 'Abbā Gāmḳā.<sup>240</sup> Likewise, 'Abeto Qəlāž,<sup>241</sup> the son of Yoḥannəs I, was also mentioned with the name 'Abeto 'Isāyiyās and the later King 'Iyyo'as was named *Ləḡ Wāyo*<sup>242</sup> until his coronation.

The other scholars who appeared in this text are the late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century church figures Dənqo Mārḳos<sup>243</sup> and Kəfla Yoḥannəs.<sup>244</sup> They were among the clergy of Dabra Bərḥān Šəllāse church, the royal church that hosted reputed scholars at the time. Although the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* remembers them for their wits and odd behaviours, their exceptional scholastic achievement is also considered. In the churches of Gondar, they are remembered for their unequalled knowledge and contribution in *qəne* and the *tāčč bet* school

<sup>237</sup> The inseparable feature of the church and state in the history of Ethiopia seems a very old tradition since the advent of Christianity in the country until the pre-Gondarine period. In this context, the Gondarine period is a continuity of the old tradition. Therefore, merging the two institution the church and the state in the historical narration is not a newly introduced practice emerged in Gondar. See Sergew Hable Selassie 1972; Tadesse Tamrat 1972.

<sup>238</sup> Basset 1882, p. 34.

<sup>239</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 35.

<sup>240</sup> Basset 1882, p. 52.

<sup>241</sup> Basset 1882, p. 43.

<sup>242</sup> Guidi 1910, p. 165.

<sup>243</sup> His *qənes* are still recited in the *qəne* schools as standard to teach the art of composing *qəne* for students. See Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā et al. 1980, p. 450.

<sup>244</sup> Besides his extraordinary skill of composing *qəne* he is also known as the founder of the *tāčč bet* *'andəmtā*-exegesis. See Mersha Alehegne 2011, pp. 8–9; Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā et al. 1980, p. 444.

of *'andāmtā*-exegesis. Moreover, a collection of *qāne* attributed to these scholars has been circulating in the traditional schools since for long ago. Among these, some of the *qāne* are related to the life and death of 'Iyyāsu I and the deeds of other kings.<sup>245</sup> If these points are taken into consideration, the reason for mentioning such prominent scholars of the time could be to emphasize the role of the church scholars in the historic past. Besides writing the life in the royal court, the author remembered the fellow clergymen as a witness for their contributions.

#### 2.4.3. Unforgettable memory of the old Gondar

The historical narratives incorporated in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* are selectively organised. This selection shows the importance of Gondar through historical figures and events that took place in the city. In addition, these selected stories have the technical function in the text to link the previous narration with the following parts. These stories are of all kinds: disasters, violent disturbances occurred in the city, military expeditions, power struggle among the elites and other stories that have nothing to do with neither the church nor the royal court of Gondar.

Based on the chronology, the first events mentioned in the text are the famine and the violence of the monarch against the monks held in 1650s. Although the chronological order is distorted, and the narratives is presented in the form of legend, written sources of the period have testified most of its narrations. Yet, the intention of the author of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* does not seem to report the consequence of the epidemic or the violence in the newly established royal city. But it was used to reason-out the founding of the churches as a remedial solution for the epidemic. The violence of the monarch and the massacre of the monks is mentioned for similar reason. Concerning the later incident, the oral tradition and several anecdotes say the conflict between the king and the monks erupted after the monks excommunicated the king for engaging unidentified two sisters. Following this, thousands of monks appeared in Gondar to express their anger, and the king pronounced the elimination of the monks in the public square. Yet, there is lack of consistency in the oral tradition concerning the cause of this massacre that varies according to the informants.<sup>246</sup> However, this incident is not far from the truth, but the existing written sources never give the complete details. For example, the French physician Charles Poncet included this incident and the massacre of the monks by the order of King Fāsīladas.<sup>247</sup> As he arrived at Gondar four decades after the event, he might have collected the story from witnesses of the time, but his account did not include where and why it happened. Likewise, the *Short Chronicle* also vaguely mentioned the death of monks for the same reason the oral tradition claims. It says, ‘ወበው-እቲ፡ ዘመን፡ ተቀትሉ፡ መካከላት፡ እለ፡ አባ፡ ኅርያቆስ፡ በእንተ፡ ነገር፡ ጄቲ፡ አኃት፡።’<sup>248</sup> (‘In that year, the monks from 'Abba Hēryāqos and others were killed following because of the affair of two sisters’).<sup>249</sup> This short description has

<sup>245</sup> See Guidi 1900, pp. 477–478.

<sup>246</sup> There is a variant concerning the cause of this incident. It says, the king had married two ladies who came from a foreign country in order to strengthen the network between the Roman Catholic Church and the Ethiopian monarch. One of these ladies was for the last king Susənyos and the other one for Fāsīladas. But when they reached Gondar Susənyos had already passed away. Then Fāsīladas took both ladies for himself. The monks accused the king of taking his father's wife and Fāsīladas defended it saying, ‘Susənyos did not see her and never married her; therefore, I can take her for myself’. But the monks publicly accused him of incest taboo. See Ramos 2018b, pp. 154–159. The other one which is incorporated in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* says that Fāsīladas was married with two sisters at once without mentioning their origin. See The Critical Text §§ 10–13.

<sup>247</sup> Poncet 1709, p. 57.

<sup>248</sup> Perruchon 1897, p. 368.

<sup>249</sup> According to the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*, King Fāsīladas had married with two sisters which is an incest taboo. He was requested to stop this immoral practice that had never been accepted in the tradition. The king resisted the questions raised by the monks and in the march of time the monks started to rebuke the king in public, which

also omitted the reason that triggered the killing of the monks. Unlikely, the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* comprehends that the conflict started and ended with the death of thousands of monks.<sup>250</sup> Although such details are included in the oral tradition and its transcribed versions, the main intention is to enhance the spiritual status of the city and the construction of bridges. As of the oral tradition, the city was sanctified by the blood of the monks, and it was the reason behind the construction of several bridges over the rivers as a means of dissolving the king's sin. Due to this, this event remains memorable for so long.

The other unforgettable memories recorded in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* are widely associated with King 'Iyyāsu I. In this case, the author mentioned the first two visits of the king to the church of 'Aksum Şəyon and Dabra Libānos monastery of Şawā. But the author mentioned these historical journeys as background for the royal churches founded in Gondar in which the king's visit to 'Aksum Şəyon is linked with the founding of Dabra Bərḥān Şəllāse and Dabra Libānos monastery with 'Addabābāy Takla Hāymānot. The author argued that the church of Dabra Bərḥān Şəllāse was built to bring the Arc of the Covenant to Gondar, but it was not successful. Subsequently, the king dedicated it to the Holy Trinity and made it the most powerful church in the kingdom. Similarly, he claimed that 'Addabābāy Takla Hāymānot church was built to translate the relic bone of 'Abuna Takla Hāymānot, the founder and the first abbot of Dabra Libānos.<sup>251</sup> Having said this, the author of the text claims that the new royal churches of Gondar are legal successors of the two historical churches that had strong connection to the royal court of Ethiopia. Although the status claimed by the author are not attested by other sources, the king's visit to 'Aksum and Dabra Libānos monasteries are recorded in the long chronicle. Therefore, the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* reconstructed the history based on recorded facts and mixed it with the legendary narratives to reason-out the foundation of the royal churches of Gondar.

Some of the Sənnār military expeditions of 'Iyyāsu I are among the few of their kind recorded in the text. Although it is not attested in the chronicle, he is exalted for conquering the remote people of Sənnār and returning to Gondar with victory.<sup>252</sup> Subsequently, the king celebrated the victory in Gondar and offered gifts to the clergy. This narrative is inserted to depict the king as a victorious military leader. Conversely, the author shows how misfortune and failures also persisted in the memory of the society, among which the military expedition of King 'Iyyāsu to Gwədru, his dethronement and death are narrated at length. In this part the author described the fact that the king had lost the war due to the successful resistance of the Gwədru people and returned home.<sup>253</sup> But the author asserted that the result of the Gwədru military expedition was the factor that pushed the king to renounce his power. It is one of the mysterious events in the history of the royal court of Gondar. There are various accounts concerning this specific occasion; and the significant variation among those written sources make the issue complicated. Most of the documents concerning this event were written in the

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prompted the massacre. There is a similar narrative associated with King 'Amda Şəyon; perhaps this could also be a replica of the history back in the fourteenth century. See Getatchew Haile 2018, p. 113.

<sup>250</sup> There is no consensus concerning the number of eliminated monks: some sources say 7777 and others 9999. But both sources seem referring to a symbolic figure that represents a maximum amount.

<sup>251</sup> This event is reported in both the long and abbreviated chronicles of 'Iyyāsu. The previous one gives a detailed description about the king's visit to Dabra Libānos in which he saw the grave of Takla Hāymānot. But there is no attestation for the translation of his relic bone to Gondar. See Basset 1882, p. 50; Guidi 1903, pp. 199–200.

<sup>252</sup> According to the chronicle, 'Iyyāsu had never led an expedition to Sənnār but he had led one beyond the river Marab which is close to this area, but there is no further detail. See Guidi 1910, pp. 158–161. However, 'Iyyāsu II has led an expedition to Sənnār and lost the battle and retreated. Thus, the author mentioned the name to glorify 'Iyyāsu I as a warrior king or confused the history of the later king with the previous one. See Guidi 1910, pp. 113–116.

<sup>253</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 210–214.

later period, so that it is difficult to figure out the real situation. However, one of the narratives reported in the so-called *Short Chronicle* dominated the discourse that addressed the case as *coup d'état* including the failed attempt of 'Iyyāsu to reclaim the power. On the other hand, the hagiography of 'Iyyāsu presented the story from a different perspective. Yet, the lack of elaborated source like that of the long chronicle which was interrupted a while before the dethronement of 'Iyyāsu made this event hazy in the face of history. Therefore, it remains open for interpolation of new narratives. The author of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* chose one of these versions that associates the ending of 'Iyyāsu's reign with the disappointing result of the Gwədru war and the assassination of 'Iyyāsu that happened few months after his dethronement is commemorated in the text. But the detailed description in the *Tāirk Zamdāra Gondar* is just one of the variant narratives.

## 2.5. Features of the Narrative

The *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* is not a pure historiographic work that tried to reconstruct the historic past based on available resources. Rather it is a literary work in which different narrative styles appear together but with a considerable influence of the oral tradition. Perhaps, the chronological order of the kings, their military and administrative achievements made it a document that attempted to record historical facts. However, the textual composition was not free from the interest of the author who was biased in terms of exaggerating the role of his favorite kings and belittled or ignored the role of the other kings. Though intentional deletion of history and exaggeration is a common way in Ethiopian historiography, this author followed similar approach to spiritualize the life of his favorite kings and demonize the life of the others. Even though the text is a transcribed oral tradition, the author has compiled it following the preexisting literary tradition. The hagiographic literature and the *Tārika Nagašt* seems the main works that influenced the author. Besides, he also wrote the recent historical events in the form of report based on his personal experience.

### 2.5.1. Hagiographic narratives

In the Gondarine period, the copying of the existing hagiographic works and the writing of new hagiographies for newly venerated saints had been part of the literary and devotional activities. Those works had been used in the church service. Due to this, chroniclers and historians of that time and the later period had strong link with the hagiographic literature. As a result, the perspective of those literatures had influenced newly composed works of the same genre and other historical records. As a clergyman and a local historian, the author of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* seems to have been influenced by the numerous hagiographic works in circulation in the Ethiopian culture. Nevertheless, this approach is applied selectively in the reconstruction of the history of the early Gondarine kings of the seventeenth century such as Fāsiladas, Yoḥannəs I, and 'Iyyāsu I. From the later period only Yostos and Takla Hāymānot I appeared as saintly kings, although the latter is briefly remembered as a righteous who renounced his power.<sup>254</sup>

In the Gondarine period tradition of the chronicle writing, comparing the king with biblical prophets or martyrs and saints of the Christian church was common.<sup>255</sup> Apart from this no king was venerated as saint except 'Iyyāsu I, for whom a hagiography was composed.

<sup>254</sup> Takla Hāymānot II who is widely known as *mannāne mangəšt* ('renouncer of the kingship') is the only King who renounced his power and went to Wāldəbbā monastery where he died. See Blundell 1922, p. 88; Kropp 2018, pp. 280–282.

<sup>255</sup> The long chronicles of Susnənyos, Yoḥannəs I, 'Iyyasu I and Bakāffā begins with comparing the king with a saint, prophet, or martyr who was called by the same name; see Pereira 1892, pp. 1–2; Guidi 1903, pp. 3, 59, 271–272.

Excessive appreciation of the king compared with saints remains literary *tópos* and is reflected in the historiographic works of the later day. Although the chroniclers were not free from this influence, they show considerable reservation which is missed in the later day historical documents composed from the late eighteenth century and afterwards. The chronicler of Yoḥannēs I describes the personality of the king as follows ‘ዝንቱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወልደ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዓለም፡ ሰገድ፡ [. . .] ወኮነ፡ ሠናየ፡ በቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወበቅድመ፡ ሰብእ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ያፈቅር፡ ነዳያነ፡ ወምስኪናነ፡ ዕቤራተ፡ ወእጻለ ፡ ማውታ። ይበኪ፡ ምስለ፡ እለ፡ ይበክዩ፡ ወይትፌሣኦት፡ እለ፡ ምስለ፡ ይትፌሥሑ።’<sup>256</sup> (‘This king is righteous, the son of ‘Ālam Saggad [...] he has become pleasing before God and before man; He loves the poor and needy, widows and orphans; he wept with those who wept and rejoiced with those who rejoice’). Yet, this kind of statements seem to have been in common use to exalt the kindness of the king but not to elevate his status to sainthood while the king is still alive. Even the later chronicles never mentioned him as a venerated saint. In comparison, the author of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* followed a different approach to incorporate the deeds and miracles performed by the saintly kings in similar styles as hagiographies. Asserting the role of King Fāsīladas in the foundation of Gondar through magnifying the frequent contact with ascetic, angels, as well as the divine guidance revealed to the king in his dream is composed with the same intention. According to Tadesse Tamrat the hagiographic literatures of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church comprise four different elements that are the life of the saint or a martyr, the pact (*kidān*) given by God, miracles performed by the saint, and *malkə* (‘Image’).<sup>257</sup> These elements exist in most of the hagiographies in complete form. Apart from the length of the narration incorporated in the history of the mentioned kings, the first three elements are present. In the part of the history of Fāsīladas’ divine guidance to choose the appropriate place for the royal court and frequent revelation of the angels and saintly beings have covered significant place in the narration. In association with several historical events, the author tells the manifestation of angels and ascetic persons to the king in which he received blessings and remedial solutions for natural disasters. Apart from the revelation of angel of God in the king’s dream, seven successive manifestations are reported in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. At last, for his obedience and repentance, the king had received a pact guarantying the persistence of his royal city. This common feature is observed in hagiographies of saints who founded their monastic community. As these texts commonly indicate, one of the pacts the saints received from God is to have their abode blessed so that it became a place of pilgrimage in the following period. For instance, Dabra Libānos of ‘*Abuna Takla Hāymānot*<sup>258</sup> and Gwāngwīt of Krəstos Šamrā<sup>259</sup> are few of the abodes of monastic leaders that got a reputation of holiness in similar procedure.

The history of King Yoḥannēs I, ‘Iyyāsu I and Takla Hāymānot II also appears in similar format but with a certain variation from the previous approach. In the preceding, King Fāsīladas’ history was presented in relation to the foundation of Gondar. But in the case of the three kings, the narration focused on their commitment to the religious life. Although there is no historical attestation for his veneration, King Yoḥannēs is clearly presented both in the text and the oral tradition as the enlightened saintly person and miracle performer; besides he is more widely known as *Šādəqu* Yoḥannēs than ‘*Aše* Yoḥannēs.<sup>260</sup> Several miraculous events related to this king are incorporated in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* among which most of them are still remembered by the oral storytellers to date. Yet, none of the miracles or related event

<sup>256</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 3.

<sup>257</sup> Tadesse Tamrat 1972, p. 3.

<sup>258</sup> Anon. 1989A.M., pp. 193–195.

<sup>259</sup> Anon. 1992A.M., pp. 154–155.

<sup>260</sup> Referring this King as *Šādəq* is a not lately developed tradition. Rather, it seems related to his personality before assuming the power. He is referred with the same title in the introductory part of his chronicle and continued throughout his reign as well as after his death; see Guidi 1903, pp. 3, 255.

was recorded in the official chronicle. Apart from this, the last part of his life in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is completely different from his history in the chronicle. The chronicle stated that King Yoḥannəs died after a few weeks of sickness in Gondar and buried in the royal cemetery in Ṭadā.<sup>261</sup> In contradiction with this, the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* said that the King had renounced his power and left the world for monastic life. The author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* asserted these fictitious stories for which the narrative style is adopted from the hagiographic tradition.

In the history of King 'Iyyāsu, the author incorporated several events that are recorded in the chronicle. But these events are enriched with additional narratives that indicate the holiness of the king and his deeds. Particularly the king's visit to the church of 'Aksum Şəyon and the monastery of Dabra Libānos in Şawā are supplemented with miracles happened during the visit and afterwards. Having said this, the text asserts that 'Iyyāsu's reign was concluded in his own will to renounce the power and left the royal court for hermitage. According to the *Short Chronicle*, 'Iyyāsu has left his power after the royal court official enthroned his surviving oldest son Takla Hāymanot. The text emphasises 'Iyyāsu's effort to reclaim his power, although it was in vain.<sup>262</sup> It was after this time he retreated to the monasteries in an island of Lake Ṭānā. Without denying the king's refuge in the Lake Ṭānā monasteries, the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* stated that 'Iyyāsu was chased by the soldiers from the other side of the Lake and killed in Məşrāhā, the monastery located in the northwest island of the Lake and buried there.<sup>263</sup> It was his last place of refuge, and his body was buried therein. This event was a point of concern for several years. After the death of Takla Hāymanot both a hagiography and a *Mazmur* ('Psalter')<sup>264</sup> were composed in honour of 'Iyyāsu, in which the death of 'Iyyāsu is addressed at length.<sup>265</sup> The hagiography stated that few hours before the assassination 'Iyyāsu was in solitary prayer and he never had any companion at all. They found him alone and killed him; but transporting his body and the burial were organized by the monks. For unknown reasons, the author of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* never mentioned any of the narratives and the pact mentioned in the hagiography of 'Iyyāsu I.

A unique narrative in this genre is the history of King Yoştoş (r.1711–1716), one of the early eighteenth-century short-reigned Gondarine kings, enthroned during a period of political instability. He was not a legitimate descendant to kingship, so his ascension to the throne was achieved through his political manipulation, having served in various offices of the royal court during the late period of King 'Iyyāsu I (r.1682–1706) and the reign of Tewoflos (r.1708–1711).<sup>266</sup> Therefore, historians of the Gondarine period considered him an illegitimate heir to the throne. Although his reign was short, his name survives through one of his legacies—he built a church in honour of Lədatā ('Her nativity', of Mary, the Mother of God'). Although he was not the only king to build a royal church,<sup>267</sup> unlike his predecessor and successor kings, the name of this king is inseparable from the church in which he appeared as a saintly person. In this text the history of this king is written in the form of hagiography in which miracles and a pact are incorporated besides the historical facts.

<sup>261</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 61–62.

<sup>262</sup> See Basset 1882, pp. 57–58; 'Iyasu I', *EAE*, III (2007), 249b–251a (C. Bosc-Tiessé).

<sup>263</sup> The abbreviated chronicles say, 'Iyyāsu I was killed in Çaklā Manzo and buried in Məşrāhā. Basset 1882, pp. 57–58.

<sup>264</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 313–314.

<sup>265</sup> See Conti Rossini 1942.

<sup>266</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 257; Basset 1882, pp. 64, 67.

<sup>267</sup> See Martínez d'Alòs-Moner and Sisay Sahile 2016.

Nevertheless, the author stated the background of the history of Yostos on the early days of his coronation and speaks loudly about his generosity for the churches and inhabitants of Gondar. It says, Yostos gave all the wealth that was accumulated in the royal treasury. This narration is followed by the spiritual deeds and religious commitments of Yostos which is filled with miraculous events. As his history is mixed with the history of the foundation of Lədatā church, most of the miracles are registered as they happened in this church. The pseudo testimony of the author begins with the life of Yostos before assuming the power. Although he was of royal family in his maternal line, he had no legitimacy to assume the power due to the tradition that legitimates only those who have a paternal one; therefore, he was not among the children of royal family confined in the royal prison named Waḥni 'Ambā. Rather, he had achieved important military titles such as *baḡərwand*, *daḡḡāzmač* and *rās* successively as loyal court attendant. Unlikely, the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* claims Yostos was in the royal prison where his affiliation with the Virgin Mary was established.<sup>268</sup> When he assumed the power, he kept visiting the church of 'Aroge Lədatā situated outside of Gondar where he met priests who were bringing the *tābot* of Lədatā to have it consecrated by the hand of the metropolitan. When those priests showed consent to remain in Gondar, Yostos rushed to search a place where the new church would be erected. After selecting the place, the construction was immediately launched. When the construction reached to the final phase the king changed his mind to rebuild it with lime mortar and demolished the completed mud walls.<sup>269</sup> While the new lime mortar building was in progress it faced a structural failure for which the king had *subā'e* ('solitude prayer') in seeking of divine intervention. Then the angel of God descended from heaven, revealed to the king, and made the correction for the failed structure. This kind of religiously oriented description of events is common in the hagiographic texts, but hardly used in the royal chronicles of the Gondarine period. But this text used similar expressions that indicate the divine assistance during the construction of Fāsīladas's palace. The source of these description is obviously the hagiographic texts composed prior to the Gondarine period such as *Gadla Lālibalā* in which the participation of the angels in the carving of the monolithic churches is stated.<sup>270</sup> Although it is not a long text, there is a brief reading that has similar content in the *Dərsāna Gabrə'el* ('A homily in honor of the archangel Gabriel') in which the help of the archangel in the construction of an unnamed church is registered as one of the miracles.<sup>271</sup>

When the church was completed, the consecration was held during the annual celebration of the epiphany. While the *tābot* was heading to the church the Virgin appeared to the king. The same evening while the king was praying in the new church, once again the Virgin appeared to the king. The author reported the event as follows:

ወመጽአት፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ በከመ፡ ልማዳ፡ ምስለ፡ አዕላፍ፡ መላእክት፡ እንዘ፡ ይጸውራ፡ ማካኤል፡ መልአክ፡ በከነፊሁ፡  
ወኮነት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ብርሃተ፡ እምፀሐይ። ወወርኅ፡ ወከዋክብት፡ ከመ፡ ወርቃ፡ ኔሳን፡ ወመልዓ፡ መዓዛ፡ ሠናይ፡ ከኸሎ፡ ቤተ፡  
ክርስቲያን፡ ወተፈሥሐ፡ መቃብራት፡ በመዓዛሃ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን።<sup>272</sup>

Our Lady, the Mother of God came as usual with heavenly hosts as the Archangel Michael carrying her aloft; and the church became as bright as the sun, and as the moon and stars of the month of *Nesān*. A pleasant aroma filled the whole church. The graves rejoiced the pleasant smell of the church.

<sup>268</sup> To whom the church in Waḥni 'Ambā was dedicated to is unknown.

<sup>269</sup> The two successive constructions are recorded in one of the recensions of the *Short Chronicle*. See Kropp 1981, p. 142.

<sup>270</sup> See Perruchon 1892, pp. 55–61.

<sup>271</sup> Anon. 1950A.M., pp. 36–37.

<sup>272</sup> See The Critical text § 57.

This reading is followed by the conversation the king had with the Virgin and concluded with the blessing and the pact he received as well as a foretold prophecy about his death. It says:

ወወሀቦ፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ሚካኤል፡ ለዮስጦስ፡ ኅሩይ፡ ኅብስተ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ወጽዋዓ፡ ወይን፡ ማኅየዌ፡ በአፉሁ፡ ለመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወባረከቶ፡ ወአዕኩተቶ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ወሰአመት፡ ርእሶ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ለዮስጦስ፡ ኅሩይ፡ በጽሐ፡ ዘመንከ፡ ወይትነሥኡ፡ አግብርተ፡ ቤትከ፡ ወይመትሩ፡ አደዊከ፡ ወአገሪከ፡ ወይከውን፡ ደምከ፡ ከመ፡ ደመ፡ ሰማዕት፡ መዋዕያን፡ ወይወርዱ፡ ፫አክሊላት፡ ዲባ፡ ርእስከ፡ ወይትጓድኡ፡ አክናፈ፡ መላእክት፡ ኅብ፡ ዘተክዕወ፡ ደምከ፡ ወአነ፡ እመጽአ፡ ምስለ፡ ሊቅዮ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወአነሥኡ፡ ለነፍስከ፡ ወአቀውማ፡ ቅድመ፡ ወልድዮ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ወይሁባ፡ ወልድዮ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ሰማያዊተ፡ ወእምድኅረ፡ ተናገረት፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ተሠወረት፡ ወዓርገት፡ ምስለ፡ ከሎሙ፡ መላእክት፡ ኅብ፡ መካና፡<sup>273</sup>

For the chosen Yostos, the Archangel Michael gave him the heavenly bread and the life-giving wine in the consent of the Holy Spirit. Our Lady, the Holy Virgin, blessed and glorified him, and kissed his head. Then, she said to the beloved Yostos, ‘Your end has come, your household servants will stand against you. They will cut your arms and legs. Your blood will spill as a blood of a victorious martyr. Three crowns will come down (from heaven) to your head; the wings of the heavenly hosts will stretch over the poured-out blood, and I will come with my (beloved) Michael the archangel and take your soul and put it before my heavenly son, and he will reward it the kingdom of heaven’. Having said this, Our Lady Mary disappeared and ascended with all the angelic hosts to heaven.

Above all, the last part of the narration that describes the death of the king strengthened the argument. It says, ‘ወእምድኅረዝ፡ መጽአት፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ምስለ፡ አዕላፍ፡ መላእክት፡ ወወረዱ፡ ፫አክሊላት፡ ዲባ፡ ርእሱ፡ ለዮስጦስ፡ ወነሥኡት፡ ነፍሱ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ወተቀበለዋ፡ መላእክት፡ ወአብዕዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነተ፡ ትፍሥሕት፡ ዘለዓለም፡’<sup>274</sup> (‘Afterwards, Our Lady Mary came down with the host of angels and three crowns descended (from heaven) upon Yostos’ head. Our Lady Mary took his soul and the angelic hosts received and took it into the everlasting joy of heaven’). Such an unfair measure was taken against Yostos because his royal bloodline was matrilineal, so that, they believed, he had no legitimacy to assume the power. Although the structure of the narrative is organized based on historical facts attested with credible sources such as different recessions of the abbreviated chronicle, the detail content of the descriptions is adopted from the hagiographic texts. For instance, there are almost identical narrations in the hagiographies of Krastos Šamrā and Takla Hāymanot. The hagiography of Krastos Šamrā claims that this saint was visited by the heavenly host before her death. It reads, ‘ወእምድኅረ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ ዓመት፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለወት፡ በባሕረ፡ ጳና፡ እምነ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሠምራ፡ መጽአ፡ ኅቤሃ፡ እግዚእ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለዘኪሮቱ፡ ይደሉ፡ ሰጊድ፡ ወምስሌሁ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወገብርኤል፡ ወሩፋኤል፡ ወእሙ፡ ማርያም፡’<sup>275</sup> (‘After three years of the presence of our mother Krastos Šamrā in the Lake Tānā Lord Jesus Christ, may prostration be to his name, came to her with Archangels Michel, Gabriel, Rafael and his mother Mary’). This reading is followed by blessings and pact that are common part of the reading of similar texts. Again, concerning the death of this saint, the hagiography says, ‘ወአብጽሕዋ፡ መላእክት፡ ውስተ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ወበህዮ፡ ሰገደት፡ ለክብረ፡ ጳባኦት’<sup>276</sup> (‘The angels take her (soul) to heavenly Jerusalem and there she prostrated to the throne of God’). To show that this tradition is well established in the hagiographic texts I quote similar readings from the hagiography of Takla Hāymānot on the arrival of the heavenly host to receive his soul. It reads, ‘ወእንዘ፡ ሀሎ፡ በዘከመዝ፡ ግብር፡ መጽአ፡ ኅቤሁ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘለዘከሮቱ፡ ሰጊድ፡ ወምስሌሁ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ለዘከረ፡ ሰማ፡ ይደሉ፡ ሰጊድ፡ ፲ወጁቱ ነቢያት፡ ፲ወጁቱ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ወብዙኃን፡ ሐራ፡ ሰማይ፡ [...] ወፅአት፡ ነፍሱ፡ እምሥጋሁ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወተመጠዋ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወሰዓማ፡’<sup>277</sup> (‘while he was in such dedication, Our Lord Jesus Christ, may prostration be to his name, came to him with him Our Lady Mary, may prostration be to her name, the fifteen prophets, the twelve apostles and plenty of heavenly hosts [...] and

<sup>273</sup> See The Critical text § 59.

<sup>274</sup> See The Critical text § 62.

<sup>275</sup> Anon. 1992A.M., pp. 150–151

<sup>276</sup> Anon. 1992A.M., p. 158

<sup>277</sup> Anon. 1989A.M., pp. 192–194



his soul left the body of our father Takla Hāymānot; and our Lord Jesus Christ received and kissed her’). A comparison between the readings of these hagiographies and the history of King Yostos in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* shows that they have a lot in common. Therefore, it can be taken also as a hagiographic text.

In general, it is possible to say that the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* is influenced by the hagiographic literature. One of the reasons for this influence is the background of the author; also, it could be due to his acquaintance with similar literary works. As I have mentioned in previous parts, the author has referred written historical sources and religious works. Yet, this influence is reflected on a few of the kings among which the history of Yostos fulfils all the criteria that shall be fulfilled in hagiographic works. In the other cases, similar influence is observed in some of the readings in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* through which the author showed his respect as the saintly reputation of Gondarine kings. On the other hand, the hagiographic texts of the Gondarine period is believed to have been compiled based on preceding works of the same genre.<sup>278</sup> Considering this, the stories narrated with considerable resemblance of hagiographic literature could have been compiled based on the aforementioned works and other texts available to the author.

### 2.5.2. Historical events in the royal court: Banquets, Judgments, and ceremonies at the royal court: Imagined ceremonies?

The picturesque narrative of events in the royal court is one of the author’s concern. The royal reception, royal banquet, court procedures, and the order of the coronation ceremony are described vaguely. It could be due to the lack of detailed information in the oral tradition or the absence of literary sources. The author thus created what seems to be imaginary descriptions. Some of the readings from the texts reveal this probable reconstruction of the events in the royal court. The first event mentioned in the text is the royal banquet held in Danqaz to celebrate the discovery of Gondar, then followed another banquet held to welcome the Portuguese construction workers.<sup>279</sup> It reads:

አፄም፡ ፻፹፭፡ ፻፹፭፡ ሙከት፡ ፪፻፹፱፡ አውራ፡ የወይን፡ ጠጅ፡ የማር፡ ጠጅ፡ አንድ፡ ውሀ፡ ይፍሰስ፡ ብለው፡ አዘው፡ ጌቶን፡ ነጋሪት፡ እየተመታ፡ ሌሊትና፡ ቀን፡ ተዘፈነ፡ በደንቀዝ፡ ከተማ፡ ጐንደርን፡ የተባረከችውን፡ የተቀደሰችውን፡ አገሬን፡ አገኘች፡ እያሉ። ከዚህም፡ በኋላ፡ ወደ፡ ባሕር፡ አገር፡ ከፈረንጆች፡ ፻፹፱፡ አስጭነው፡ ሰደዱ። ተሎ፡ ብላችኑ፡ ብልህ፡ ብልህ፡ ሰው፡ ግንብ፡ የሚሰራ፡ ሰደዱልኝ፡ ብለው፡ ላኩ። [...] ፈረንጆችም፡ ፻፹፱፡ ተቀብለው፡ ፳፻፲፱፡ የሚባሉ፡ ሰራተኞች፡ ሰደዱ። ሰዎቹም፡ ከባሕር፡ የመጡት፡ መልካቸው፡ ጥቁር፡ ነው። አፄም፡ እነዚያን፡ ሰዎች፡ በተቀበሉ፡ ጊዜ፡ ብዙ፡ ደስታ፡ ሆነ።<sup>280</sup>

And the king ordered to slaughter ten thousand gelded steer, ten thousand billy goats, twenty thousand rams fattened for slaughter, and he ordered to serve wine and mead as plenty as water; and celebrated the joy for seven days and nights, beating the *nagārit* (royal drums) and singing in the camp of Danqaz, saying, ‘I have found Gondar, my blessed and sanctified land’. Then he sent thirty thousand ounces of gold abroad and requested wise craftsmen capable of building palaces [...] After receiving thirty thousand ounces of gold, they sent him five hundred builders name *Bartakis*. These people who came from abroad are dark skinned. There was remarkable celebration following the arrival of those people.

This description evokes the two Portuguese military and religious missions that arrived in Ethiopia in the 1540s and later 1600s respectively. The first one was the Portuguese military convoy that arrived in Ethiopia to strengthen the military power of King Galāwdewos who was fighting against the Muslims’ invasion led by Aḥmad Grāñ in 1540s. This military force had four hundred musketeers who were led by Cristóvão da Gama.<sup>281</sup> Again, at the beginning of

<sup>278</sup> See ‘Hagiography’, *EAE*, II (2005), 969a–972a (D. Nosnitsin).

<sup>279</sup> This narrative seems reconstructed based on the memory of the Portuguese soldiers who came to assist King Galāwdewos in the mid-fifteenth century and a contemporary cultural practice in the feudal culture.

<sup>280</sup> See Critical Text § 5.

<sup>281</sup> ‘Gama, Christóvão da’, *EAE*, II (2005), 662b–664b (A. Martínez d’Alòs-Moner).

the early seventeenth century the Jesuit missionaries brought members who had craftsmanship and Indian masons with them.<sup>282</sup> These craftsmen built several palaces for King Susnəyos and churches in religious centers of the mission.<sup>283</sup> According to the chronicle of Susənyos, the team of craftsmen had been Europeans referred as *Romāwi*, Egyptian and Ethiopians as well;<sup>284</sup> although the palaces, bridges and churches built in this period are attributed to the foreigners. However, during the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1636, the European craftsmen left the country. Perhaps, the Indians and Egyptian craftsmen have remained in the country while the rest were forced to leave. Thus, the master masons and carpenters who built the palaces of Fāsīladas referred as dark-skinned Portuguese could have been the Indian who remained in the country after the Jesuits' expulsion.<sup>285</sup>

Nevertheless, the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* confused the information about different groups who arrived in Ethiopia in different periods. Possibly, this could be an intentional measure to delete historical fact. Although the author did not express his intention, it could be due to the enmity that occurred during the Jesuits' success to have King Susənyos converted to Catholic faith and convinced him to pronounce the new faith as a state religion in a place of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Therefore, in order to delete the Jesuits presence and contribution in the construction of monumental structure in Ethiopia, the arrival of the Lusophone craftsmen is deliberately associated with the period of King Fāsīladas or the memory of the Jesuits has already been forgotten.<sup>286</sup>

Apart from the various reasons why banquets were held, the descriptions are almost identical, numbering the amount of cattle slaughtered and beverages prepared as well as the people invited to attend. This is the case for the royal banquets held during the coronation of new kings, the wedding of the royal family members or the consecration of churches such as 'Addabābāy Takla Hāymānot of 'Iyyāsu I<sup>287</sup> and Lədatā of Yostos.<sup>288</sup> But the ceremonial custom and order in the royal banquet are never mentioned. Comparing these descriptions with the way royal banquets are described in the royal chronicles, shows major differences. The author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* wrote it based on his contemporary tradition. Therefore, the vagueness of this description might be because of the lack of references about the royal banquets of the Gondarine period.

The other historical events described in the text are focused on different activities in the royal court. The counselors of the king appear with different titles such as *bālam<sup>w</sup>āl*, *mamākərt* and *mak<sup>w</sup>ānənt*. Their number, seats in the royal court, major activities and the court events they have participated in at different periods are mentioned. Although the narration has no detailed explanations, the minimum information incorporated in the text is worth of attention. The first mention of these groups of counselors is related to a sudden illness of King Fāsīladas: 'ወተንሥኡ፡ ደንጊዖሙ፡ ጁወገባለጧሎቸ፡ ፲ወጂበየማኑ፡ ፲ወጂበፀጋሙ፡ አንሥአዎ፡ ለፋሲደለስ፡ ወውሃዘ፡ አንብዑ፡ ከሙ፡ ማየ፡ ከረዎት፡'<sup>289</sup> ('his twenty-four advisors, twelve of the right and twelve of the left startled and rose from their seats and rose him up and tears flew like rain during the winter season'). The

<sup>282</sup> Pereira 1892, pp. 309–311.

<sup>283</sup> See Martínez d'Alòs-Moner 2015, pp. 238–259.

<sup>284</sup> Pereira 1892, pp. 289–291.

<sup>285</sup> See Ranasinghe 2001.

<sup>286</sup> See Ramos 2018a, pp. 1–25.

<sup>287</sup> See Critical Text § 30.

<sup>288</sup> See Critical Text § 56.

<sup>289</sup> See Critical Text § 15.

intention of the author is to show that the king always had caretakers; and their number is deliberately associated to the twenty-four elders mentioned in the Book of Revelation.<sup>290</sup>

In the chapter that describes the deeds of Yoḥannəs I, there is a story recorded to show the impartiality in the judgement that says: ‘አንድ፡ ቀን፡ ልጅዎ፡ የንጉሡ፡ የድሀ፡ ልጅ፡ ገደለና፡ መጥታ፡ ከርስዎ፡ ከንጉሡ፡ የሞተው፡ አሽከር፡ እናት፡ አቤት፡ አቤት፡ ብላ፡ ጮኸች፡ ምነው፡ ምን፡ ትነሻል፡ አልቀት። ልጅን፡ ልጅዎ፡ ገደለብኝ፡ አለች። አዳም፡ ሰሙና፡ በሉ፡ ፍረዱ፡ አሉ። መኳንንቱም፡ ፈረደነ፡ አሉ።’<sup>291</sup> (‘One day the King’s son killed a son of a poor widow; his mother came to the king to appeal to the king. The king asked her, “What happened to you?”, and she answered, “Your son killed mine”. Having heard this, the king transferred the case to the judges, they reported the verdict’). The *mak<sup>w</sup>ānənt* mentioned in this reading are judges; the judges, however, could also be *liqāwənt*. Above all the judges had their own title in the royal court that are *’azzaž* and *wambar*.<sup>292</sup> This vague approach of referring the court attendants continued until the end of the text. For instance, Bakāffā appeared as the only king who gathered his advisors seeking solution for every problem he faced. But, like the other court issues mentioned above, the description remains vague. No title of the officials nor their roles are considered; rather the author preferred to mention them as *mamākərt* and *mak<sup>w</sup>ānənt*.

In the royal court tradition of the Gondarine period, the king usually gathered his counsellors while planning a military expedition, arranging a meeting for religious debates, to pass judgement on criminals, to welcome foreign guests and for other important tasks in which they should attend accordingly. However, there was no fixed number of attendants although there is a list of hierarchy in the so-called *Məṣḥāfa nagara wag* (‘the book of custom and order (in the royal court)’). Yet, the flexibility of the number of attendants is indicated in the chronicles of Susənyos, Yoḥannes I, ’Iyyāsu I and Bakāffā. For instance, the chronicle of Susənyos gives important indications concerning the number of attendants described. When the author described the palace of Susənyos in Danqaz he mentioned the room used as a royal counselling office that was not able to host more than twenty attendants.<sup>293</sup> Having this in mind, it is also important to see one of the pronouncements of the king in which only seventeen dignitaries attended to confirm it. Likewise, King Yoḥannes I,<sup>294</sup> ’Iyyāsu I<sup>295</sup> and Bakāffā<sup>296</sup> had types of assemblies in the royal court gathered to advise the king in various issues. In some of these assemblies, all the *mak<sup>w</sup>ānənt*, *liqāwənt*, *’azzāžoč* and other military and civil authorities attended, but in other cases only *liqāwənt*, *mak<sup>w</sup>ānənt* and *’azzāžoč* attended for counselling; in addition, there are cases where only the *liqāwənt* or *mak<sup>w</sup>ānənt* were not allowed to attend the meeting. Nevertheless, the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* used the terms *bālam<sup>w</sup>āl*, *mak<sup>w</sup>ānənt*, and *mamākərt* interchangeably to refer to the advisors in the royal court, although the status and duty of each group is different.

In the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* the description of events in the royal court is imprecise and important titles of attendants, manners and ceremonial orders are omitted. Only general terms like *sarāwit* (‘army’), *mamākərt* and *mak<sup>w</sup>ānənt* for the high-ranking officials are used. In most specific cases, the only title mentioned is *dağğāzmāč* and as far as military units are concerned: *gāššā-ğāgre* (‘shield bearer’) and *sayf-ğāgre* (‘sword bearer’).

<sup>290</sup> Rev. 5:8.

<sup>291</sup> See Critical Text § 22.

<sup>292</sup> Pereira 1892, p. 298.

<sup>293</sup> See Pereira 1892, pp. 286–288, 312.

<sup>294</sup> See Guidi 1903, pp. 5–6, 10.

<sup>295</sup> See Guidi 1903, pp. 83, 120, 142–144, 195.

<sup>296</sup> See Guidi 1903, p. 303.

Stereotyped expressions are frequently used when the author describes the inauguration of churches and royal banquets. Most probably, he was using formulas used by the oral tradition to describe such events. Perhaps the quantified expenses and gifts mentioned in relation to the banquet could be a traditional way to express the abundance in the royal court and to exalt the king. Apart from this, the other descriptions from the court ceremony do not match with neither the chronicle nor the accounts of travellers who visited the royal court in the Gondarine period.<sup>297</sup> The narratives concerning the court seem to be an imaginary reconstruction based on the surviving elements and memories of old practices. In fact, some sources of the period show that the court procedures were secrets and updated every now and then.<sup>298</sup> In some case, the hierarchy and court procedures led to controversy and needed to be solved by the monarch. Thus, except for the general framework of the court traditions, its details were less explicit for outsiders. Thus, the credibility of the narration of the court life is questionable and the question of the sources of the author(s) of the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* remains, as well as their distance from the events they narrate.

### 2.5.3. The Voice of the Unheard

In the general narrative of the history of Gondar, the royal family, the clergy, the palace compound, churches, and the nobility are the main figures. This seems related to two important factors. Firstly, the Gondarine identity rose under the shadow of the kings of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century kings and the emergence of Gondar as a center of culture and education. Following this, churches, different quarters of the city, place names and public squares are associated with the glorious past. Besides, many of the churches that were founded by the kings are nucleuses of stable settlements. As a result, specific stories associated to a particular village that commemorate their founding fathers, whether kings or princes, and the center of the settlements pattern are at a village level. The duplication of this pattern across the city boosted the competition between churches. This approach did not favor the emergence of an historical written narration that could give a voice to the various members of the society. Thus, the general image of the city life is simply the sum of diversified oral stories collected throughout the different quarters of the city.<sup>299</sup>

The second reason for this silence of the simple people in the royal chronicles and the *Short Chronicle* could be related to the background of the historiographers and scribes. All of them were religious clerics and intellectuals; and were *de facto* strongly attached to the royal court.<sup>300</sup> Due to this, they were influenced by religious texts, and this is observable in their works. Again, at a latter period, local historians seem influenced by the works of their predecessors and more inclined to write the history of the monarchs and elites than the history of the commons. However, the latter developed a way to entertain their own version of history in oral traditions or stories that emerge as tales. Unlike the old approach, the later tradition mixes all accessible versions of the stories. The anecdotes gathered in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* seem to have been produced by different social groups, from the laity and popular classes. For instance, the stories such as the witty 'azmāri of Queen Məntəwwāb,<sup>301</sup> the female robbers in the market,<sup>302</sup> handicap beggars,<sup>303</sup> the butcher and the wise scribe-*dabtarā*<sup>304</sup> are part of the memory of the secular life in the old Gondar. All these anecdotes indicate the

<sup>297</sup> See Arrowsmith-Brown 1991, pp. 76–79, 164–167; Pankhurst 1990, p. 117.

<sup>298</sup> See Guidi 1903, p. 292.

<sup>299</sup> Muluken Fikadie et al. 2018, p. 110

<sup>300</sup> Takla Šādəq Mak'əriyā 1960, pp. 361–364

<sup>301</sup> See Critical Text § 101.

<sup>302</sup> See Critical Text § 85.

<sup>303</sup> See Critical Text § 86.

<sup>304</sup> See Critical Text § 75–80.

wisdom of the ordinary subjects to challenge the political and religious elites and assert the smartness of one social group over the other. Whatever the rationales behind the origin of the stories, it helps to rethink the urban life of the old Gondar and how it was related to the royal court.

## 2.6. Date and purpose of the composition of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*

The date of composition of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is between the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The range of time the author covered, the reflection of the author on the contemporary political situation, the stories composed in the form of prophecy are important elements of the text that helps to estimate the date of composition. During the composition of the text, the author started the narration from the reign of King Fāsīladas, the founder of the city, up to the puppet kings of the *zamana maśāfənt*. In the *zamana maśāfənt* more than fourteen puppet kings were installed on the throne: among them only 'Aše Dəmetros (r.1799–1800, 1800–1801), 'Aše 'Əg'wāla Şəyon (r.1801–1818) and 'Aše Sāhla Dəngəl (r.1832–1840, 1841–1842, 1845–1850, 1851–1855) are mentioned in the text. This section exists in all manuscript witness except MS A. This indicates that the date of composition of the text is sometimes after the end of the so-called *Zamana maśāfənt*, which was officially concluded when Emperor Tewodros' was crowned in 1855. This story is itself presented as a memory than a report of witnesses. Therefore, the date of composition was sometime later. In order to determine the period, it is worth to see additional readings in the text. While describing the plot to kill Yostos and replace Dāwit III on the throne, the author used a phrase that indicated the period he composed the text. It says, 'የወትሮም፡ መንግሥት፡ እንደ፡ ዛሬም፡ አይደለምና፡ ንጉሡ፡ ሳይሞት፡ የንጉሡ፡ ልጅ፡ አይነግሥም፡' <sup>305</sup> ('Because the government of the former period was not like today's, the son of the king could not reign before the king died'). What is referred as 'the government of the former time' is the period before the *zamana maśāfənt*; because in the later period it was common to depose the king and replace him by the new one. Since the text is composed after the *zamana maśāfənt*, it is necessary to pay attention to the political situation of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In this period, the only king who assumed the power before the death of his predecessor was Emperor Yoḥannəs IV. His predecessor Takla Giyorgis II surrendered on the battle, was imprisoned, and died sometime after Yoḥannəs IV declared his rulership over the country. The text could not be composed at the same time but the author seems recalling his memory while composing the text. Thus, at least some parts may have existed in the mid-1870s. The other political situation which is closely related to interpret this description could be the coronation of Zawditu as *Nəgəsta Nagəstāt* ('Queen of the Kings') while the legitimate heir to the throne of Mənilək II, Ləḡ 'Iyyāsu was alive. It happened a few years after the death of Mənilək II in 1916.

The other two statement in the text that indicate the date of composition are the prophecies told about the Mahdist invasion and the destruction of Gondar. The first prophecy does not mention the Mahdist, rather it says, 'ወይመጽኡ፡ በምዕራብ፡ ወይመስሉ፡ ከመ፡ ቋ፡ ወይበልዑ፡ ከለባት፡' ('And they will come from the West, and they will look like crows, and eat dogs'), which is a stereotype expression to indicate strangers. Before the Mahdist did in 1888, no foreign enemy had invaded Gondar and killed the people.

The destruction of the palaces is the other point addressed in the text. Although some of the royal apartments and palaces were old and abandoned in the first half of the nineteenth century, the compound was still the seat of puppet kings. It remained in the same status until Emperor Tewodros II declared the transfer of the royal court to Dabra Tābor and destroyed the city in 1866. Before Tewodros destroyed the city, he had taken several measures against the

<sup>305</sup> See Critical Text § 61.

people. Particularly, in the last few years of his reign, the brutality of the king reached to the maximum level in which many towns were destroyed, churches plundered and burnt, and people killed in masses. Three years before the destruction of Gondar, the people of the city were evacuated to rescue their lives. After learning the situation in Gondar, *Dabtarā* 'Assaggākañ wrote his reaction in the letter he sent to the French traveller d'Abbadie, saying,

በጎንደር፡ በደምቢያ፡ አንድ፡ ቤት፡ አይገኝም፡ ሰውም፡ ሁሉ፡ በረታብና፡ በደዌ፡ አለቀ። የተሰደዱትንም፡ ሁሉ፡ በያገሩ፡ እንዳይቀበላቸው፡ ቢቀበላቸውም፡ እንዲወረስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ አዋጅ፡ ነገሩ። ስለዚህ፡ ደምቢያና፡ የጎንደር፡ ጥፋት፡ የኢየሩሳሌም፡ ጥፋት፡ ይመስላል። ሌሊትም፡ አየው፡ ይጠፋሉ። ካገው፡ ምድር፡ እስከ፡ ወገራ፡ ጀእርሻ፡ አይታይም። አሌ፡ ለኪ፡ ጎንደር፡ አሌ፡ ለኪ፡ ደምቢያ።<sup>306</sup>

There is no household in Gondar and Dambiyā, and all the people died of hunger and disease. The king declared denial of assistance for those who immigrated (from their land) and anyone who hosted immigrants would be deprived from their property. Because of this, the destruction of Dambiyā and Gondar is comparable to the destruction of Jerusalem. People are evacuating by night. There is no cultivation from 'Agaw Mədr to Wagarā. Woe to you, Gondar! Woe to you, Dambiyā!

Yet, the worst days were yet to come. At that time, the fate of Gondar was like the other towns and localities that had been suffering the ruthlessness of the king.<sup>307</sup> The agony of the people continued for years; at the end, he led a devastating campaign to Gondar. Then the people were imprisoned and taken to Dabra Tābor. He plundered the treasures of the churches and destroyed the remains. Gondar, the cultural and political center of the kingdom of the last two and half centuries was put on fire. The remarkable monumental architectures built by successive Gondarine kings, and the entire city was turned into pile of ashes. *'Alaqā* Walda Māryām witnessed the devastation a decade after the death of the king.

ደብረ፡ ታቦርንም፡ ሐዲስ፡ ጎንደር፡ በሉ፡ ብለው፡ ዓዋጅ፡ ነገሩ፡ ስለ፡ ምን፡ ቢሉ፡ ጎንደርን፡ ከበጌምድር፡ አስቀድመው፡ ዘረፉት፡ ከአፄ፡ ፋሲል፡ ዠምር፡ የነገሥታት፡ ከተማ፡ ነበረ፡ [...] ደግሞም፡ በየደብሩ፡ ያለ፡ የቤተክርስቲያን፡ ዕቃ፡ ሁሉ፡ በላዩም፡ ላይ፡ የነበረ፡ መስቀል፡ እያወረደ፡ የቀሩትንም፡ ተለይቶ፡ ዕቃ፡ ግምጃ፡ ሁሉ፡ የወርቅ፡ ምልክት፡ ነበረው፡ የደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ፪መረዋ፡ ትንሽና፡ ትልቅ፡ ሲመትቱት፡ ከሩቅ፡ የሚሰማ፡ ከየደብሩ፡ የተገኘው፡ መጽሐፍ ፱፻፷፩ ፡ ይህንን፡ ሁሉ፡ ደብረ፡ ታቦር፡ አወጡት። በዚህ፡ ጊዜ፡ ጎንደርን፡ አጥፍተው፡ ማነን፡ ከተማ፡ ያደርጋሉ፡ እንዳይባል፡ ስለዚህ፡ ጎንደር፡ ደብረ፡ ታቦር፡ ይሁን፡ አሉ።<sup>308</sup>

He pronounced a proclamation that says, ‘Let you say “Dabra Tābor is the new Gondar”’. If someone asks the reason, it is because he looted Gondar before Bagemədr, it was a royal city since *'Aṣe* Fāsīl then he took properties of the churches, dismounted crosses from the tops of churches, especially in Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>ām, garments adorned with golden brocades, two giant bells of Dabra Bərhān audible to distant places, and 961 manuscripts<sup>309</sup> collected from all the churches were taken to Dabra Tābor.

*Dabtarā* 'Assaggākañ also reported the situation of Gondar in the aftermath of the destruction. He compared the devastation of Gondar with the destruction of Jerusalem. The city is abandoned and there was nothing except few of the churches that were spared for unexplained reason.

ከዚህ፡ በኋላ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ ጎንደር፡ አቃጠለው። ያቡንና፡ የእጩጌ፡ ቤት፡ አልቀረም። ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያንም፡ ሁሉ፡ ተቃጠለ። አቦራና፡ በዓታ፡ አደባባይ፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ እምቢ፡ ብለው፡ ቀሩ። ሰው፡ ሁሉ፡ ግን፡ በተአምራት፡ ቀሩ፡ ይላል። አዘዘና፡ ልደታ፡ መጥምቅ፡ የሐንስ፡ ቀሩትንም፡ ቅህ፡ ኢየሱስን፡ አላቃጠሉዋቸውም፡ በንጉሥ፡ ፈቃድ፡ ቀሩ። ሰውም፡ በጎንደር፡ የለም። አውራ፡ ብቻ፡ ይውልበታል። እንደ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ በናቡከደነፆር፡ ጊዜ፡ ሆነች፡ ጎንደር፡ ነጋዴውንም፡ ሁሉ፡ ዘረፉት፡ አሰሩት። ደብረ፡ ታቦር፡ አዲስ፡ ጎንደር፡ ይባል፡ ብለው፡ አዋጅ፡ ነገሩ። ከተማ፡ ደብረ፡ ታቦር፡ ሆነ።<sup>310</sup>

<sup>306</sup> Conti Rossini 1925, p. 450.  
<sup>307</sup> Conti Rossini 1925, pp. 451–452.  
<sup>308</sup> Mondon-Vidailhet 1904, pp. 39–40.  
<sup>309</sup> According to *Dabtarā* 'Assaggākañ the number of manuscripts looted from Gondar would be 5,500, see Conti Rossini 1925, p. 465.  
<sup>310</sup> Conti Rossini 1925, pp. 457–458.

Hereafter *Nəgus'* Tewodros burnt Gondar. The abodes of the metropolitan and the 'əččage were not spared. All the churches are burnt. 'Aborā, Ba'ātā and 'Addabābāy Takla Hāymānot survived but the people said it is due to the miracle (of God). 'Azazo,<sup>311</sup> Lədatā,<sup>312</sup> Yoḥannəs Maṭməq,<sup>313</sup> Qwəsqwām and Qahā 'Iyyāsus were left by the order of the king. No one is living in Gondar, only the beasts enjoyed it. Gondar became like Jerusalem in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. He looted the merchants and declared Dabra Tābor is the new Gondar (the new royal capital). Dabra Tābor became the new capital.

As a result, Gondar lost its scholars and historical references to witness its glories past. Centuries old historical collections, precious documents and treasures were lost; the inhabitants drifted away from their homeland, and the destruction remains irrecoverable in all aspects.

Twenty-two years later, before the trauma of the first destruction faded away from the memory of the people, in 1888, again Gondar fell in the hand of Sudanese Mahdists and faced another phase of destruction and mass murder.<sup>314</sup> Historical churches that were spared during the first destruction were plundered and devastated. Unlike the first destruction, the later was carried out by the adversaries of the Christian religion; because of this, it was very painful for the church scholars. An official letter sent from the clergy of Gondar to Emperor Yoḥannəs IV (r.1871–1889) clearly shows the disappointment of the people of Gondar. It read 'አግዚአብሔር አሕዛብ ውስተር ርስትክ ወአርኮሱ ጽርሐ መቅደስክ ወረሰይዎ ለጎንደር ከመ ልገተ ዓቃቤ ቀምሕ'<sup>315</sup> ('O Lord, the infidels have invaded your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple, they have reduced Gondar to rubble'). Similarly, eulogies and memory of the calamity had been circulating in the textual format. The following two *Gə'əz qəne* are believed to have been composed by anonymous *dabtarās* soon after the destruction of city. They show how nostalgic the composers were and how they tried to spare the memory of the past like that of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.

#### *Qəne 1.*

ሰናይተ፡ ሱሪሬ፡ ጎንደር፡ ተሥፋ፡ ነዳዮን፡ ወተሥፋ፡ መኳንንት፡፡  
 ጎንደር፡ እንበለ፡ መስፈርት፡ ወአቅም፡፡  
 ፈጻሚተ፡ ጻሕቅ፡ ርኅርኅተ፡ ልብ፡ ወእም፡፡  
 እንተ፡ በውስቴታ፡ ኢሀሎ፡ ሕማም፡፡  
 ጎንደር፡ ጥዕምተ፡ ስም፡፡  
 መካነ፡ ተደላ፡ ጎንደር፡ ወመካነ፡ መብልዕ፡ ጥዕም፡፡  
 ጎንደር፡ ቤተ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወቤተ፡ በካፋ፡ ግሩም፡፡  
 ጎንደር፡ ዘትህንጎ፡ ለሀገረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ምድረ፡ ሳሌም፡፡  
 መአድምተ፡ ትኩን፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡፡  
 እፎኑም፡ ተመዘበረት፡ እንበለ፡ ፍዳሀ፡ ከመ፡ ሰዶም፡፡<sup>316</sup>

The well-built Gondar hope of the poor and the nobles,  
 beyond measures and scales.  
 The fulfiller of desires, kindhearted and mother,  
 There is no pain in her.  
 Gondar, of the lovely name,  
 The land of joy and the place of pleasure,  
 Gondar, the house of 'Iyyāsu and the Majestic Bakāffā,  
 Gondar outshined the city of David, the land of Salem  
 Let it remain splendor forever.

<sup>311</sup> Here the author mentioned the whereabouts of the church but its name. It is 'Azazo Takla Hāymānot which was also known as *Dāgmit* ('the second') Dabra Libānos.

<sup>312</sup> Church of the nativity of the Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ.

<sup>313</sup> Church of John the Baptist.

<sup>314</sup> Bahru Zewde 1991, p. 59.

<sup>315</sup> Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>riyā 1989. This reading is a modified version of Psalm 79:1, composed by Asaph when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians in the sixth century BCE. The intention of the writer was to express the calamities in comparison with similar historical occurrences of the historic Jerusalem.

<sup>316</sup> Gondar, private collection of 'Ato Hāyle Bayyana.

Why was it destroyed like Sodom having done no wrong?

A translation of this *qəne* is given by Jean Doresse and attributed to Kəfla Yoḥannəs, the famous *dabtarā* of Dabra Bərḥān Šəllāse.<sup>317</sup> But Kəfla Yoḥannəs died before the destruction of Gondar. The oral tradition in Gondar attributed this *qəne* to *Dabtarā* 'A'məro, a clergyman from Ba'atā church in Gondar. According to this oral tradition he was taken to Sudan by the Mahdists and forced to convert to Islam. A few years later he sent this *qəne* to Gondar where it circulated among the *dabtarā*.

*Qəne 2.*

ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ጎንደር፡ መካነ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ወሐረገ፡ ወይን፡ ጎንደር፡ ጎበ፡ ሙሐዘ፡ ማይ፡ ዘበቆለት።  
 አመ፡ በካፋ፡ ሀጋይ፡ ወአመ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ክረምት።  
 ጎንደር፡ ቤተ፡ ጸሎት፡ እስመ፡ በውስቴታ፡ ተወልደ፡ ማኅሌት።  
 መካነ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ጎንደር፡ ወመካነ፡ ሙብልዕ፡ ጥዕምት።  
 ጎንደር፡ ቤተ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወመካነ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዳዊት።  
 ጎንደር፡ መካነ፡ ተድላ፡ ዘየአውድዋ፡ መላእክት።  
 እስመ፡ ዝርዋን፡ ንኅነ፡ ካሕናቲሃ፡ ጠባብት።  
 ጎንደር፡ ናስተማስለኪ፡ በኢየሩሳሌም፡ ሰማያዊት።<sup>318</sup>

Jerusalem is Gondar, the land of happiness and the wine tree grown on the fertile land,  
 At the time of Bakāffā the sunny season and 'Iyyāsu the rainy one  
 Gondar the house of prayer, because in her hymns were born  
 Gondar the land of happiness and the land of tasty cuisines  
 Gondar the house 'Iyyāsu and the land of King Dāwit  
 Gondar the place of joy protected by angels  
 Because we the learned clergymen are in exile  
 Gondar, we imagine you in the likeness of the heavenly Jerusalem.

Aside from praising the glorious past of the city, the message of the *qəne* is stated in the last phrases of both *qənes*. The first *qəne* concluded with 'እድኑመ፡ ተመዝበረት፡ እንበለ፡ ፍዳሀ፡ ከመ፡ ሰዶም።' ('Why was it destroyed like Sodom having done no wrong?'). The composer questioned the reason of the total destruction of the city. In the second *qəne*, the composer mourned the clergymen of the churches of Gondar saying, 'እስመ፡ ዝርዋን፡ ንኅነ፡ ካሕናቲሃ፡ ጠባብት።' ('Because we the wise clergymen are dispersed'). Hence, the successive destruction of the city had insisted the *dabtarā* to record the devastation in *qəne*.

Similarly, scribes were writing the surviving memories about the historic Gondar and their witness about the destruction. For instance, in one of the manuscripts from the Griaule collection, the destruction of Gondar is reported with illustrative painting as a fulfilled prophecy. The author recorded two different dreams narrated by anonymous individuals in which the Mahdists are represented as black crows<sup>319</sup> and swarm of black ants coming from the West, which means from Sudan.

<sup>317</sup> Munro-Hay 2002, p. 114.

<sup>318</sup> Gondar, private collection of 'Ato Hāyle Bayyana.

<sup>319</sup> The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* also used a similar term in Gə'əz in referring to the Mahdists. ወይመጽኡ፡ በምዕራብ፡ ወይመስሉ፡ ከመ፡ ቋ፡ ወይበልዑ፡ ከላባት፡ በሀጋይ፡ ወበክረምት። See Critical Text § 14.





Source: MS Paris BnF Éth. 619 (= Griaule 311), ff. 20v–21r.

Considering the points discussed above, that are historical narratives incorporated in the text, there is evidence that the date of composition of the text is after the second destruction of the city. Besides, it is important to mention that this text was accessed by Alberto Pollera in 1929. It means, the text was already under circulation in the 1920s. Therefore, most probably the date of composition of the text in the existing form is between the second destruction of the city in 1888 and 1920s. The main target seems to rescue the surviving memory of the glorious past of Gondar and describe its heritages like other works of the same genre compiled in the same period.

Moreover, the content of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* indicates the presence of additional political factors. The other purpose of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is to challenge the emerging rhetoric in the new capital 'Addis 'Ababā. Since Emperor Tewodros II declared the transfer of the royal court in 1866, his successors chose their homeland as a political center. Due to this, Dabra Tābor, Maqdalā, and Maqale emerged one after the other as political centers. When Emperor Mənilək II (r.1889–1913) assumed the power and transferred the capital to 'Addis 'Ababā, the text named *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* emerged as an important historical source. *Şahāfe tə'əzāz* Gabra Šəllāse, the chronicler of Mənilək II asserted that the date of composition of the *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* was the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>320</sup> Besides, he referred it extensively while writing about the return of the monarch to Šawā in the chronicle. The text was used as an ideological tool to legitimize the status of the newly emerging political center. The aim of this text is to assert the royal lineage of the Šawā nobilities on the one hand, and to promote the return of the monarch back to Šawā on the other hand.

<sup>320</sup> Even though *Şahāfe tə'əzāz* Gabra Šəllāse dated the composition of the text back to the mid-sixteenth century, the historical palaces and occurrence mentioned in the text are from the later period. Perhaps, the *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* could be an earlier text but the text that contains the fall of King Ləbna Dəngəl, the Aḥmad Grāñ war, and the Oromo migration could also be compiled in the later period and inserted into the pre-existing text. In terms of content and narrative style, this part of the *Dərsāna Rāgu'el* seems to be a secondary insertion. Generally, the text seems to have been composed sometime in the eighteenth century, when the nobility and warlords of Šawā began to strengthen their power and expand their dominion, see Gabra Šəllāse Walda Aragāy 1959.

The *Dərsāna Rāgu 'el* also describes Gondar as being the land of the Šānqəllā<sup>321</sup> and the temporary political center or place of refuge for those who migrated from Šawā. This narrative could have been very offensive for the Gondarine elites. To legitimize the emerging political center ruined the identity of Gondar in trying to undermine the last three centuries of cultural, religious and political dominancy. Following this, a new text that glorifies Gondar and challenges the discourse of the Šawā elites has seemed necessary. Yet, the authors of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* took the narrative from the *Dərsāna Rāgu 'el* and continued the Gondarine version of the same prophecy but without mentioning the archangel Rāgu 'el, the patron saint of Šawā.<sup>322</sup> The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* claims furthermore that the wandering of the late sixteenth century kings was in search of the chosen city Gondar.

Therefore, competing against the circulation of the new thesis of the *Dərsāna Ragu 'el* to legitimize the new royal capital 'Addis 'Ababā could have been the other cause for the composition of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.

## 2.7. Authorship of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*

The author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is not mentioned in any of the manuscript witnesses. Three hypotheses could be made to explain why the name of the main author has been hidden. The first one could be because of the type of sources of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Many of the stories are collected from oral traditions that were independently circulating. Thus, the scribe may not want to claim the credit for this collective form of history. A second hypothesis would be that his name might have been deliberately omitted by the later copyists for unexplained reasons. But a third hypothesis is that, if the text was intentionally a counter response to the *Dərsāna Rāgu 'el* and the discourse of the political elites of Šawā, it should appear anonymously for the sake of security. Nonetheless, most of the texts in Ethiopian culture were written and copied without any mention of any author, so the anonymity of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is at the end not so surprising.

But the content and composition of the text give a hint about the identity of its author. The content, language and style indicate that the author had a good proficiency of Gə'əz and Amharic as well as a notion of Oromo language. Moreover, he has a good knowledge of biblical scriptures and other Gə'əz texts. He is therefore a learned man.

In addition, the dialect is the Gondar dialect, as specific terms exclusive to this area appear in the text. The Gondar dialect has phonological, morphological, and lexical variations in comparison for instance with the today standardised 'Addis 'Ababā dialect.<sup>323</sup> For instance, throughout the text the first-person plural marker ነ (*na*) is used instead of ን (*n*).<sup>324</sup> Likewise, specific Gondarine terms such as ካራ (*kārrā* 'knife') instead of ቢላወ (*billāwā*), መስሪያ (a table

<sup>321</sup> The author of the *Dərsāna Rāgu 'el* described the Northwest part of the country in which Gondar is located as the land of the Šānqəllā (currently they are known as Benišāngul). Geographically the Šānqəllā dominion is in the western part of Ethiopia and very far from Gondar. According to Tadesse Tamrat, the north-western part of Ethiopia was under dominion of the Falāšā (Beta 'Ēsrā 'el) until the fourteenth century and then since the time of King 'Amda Šəyon the annexation process of this part of the country to the Christian kingdom took place. Since then, Christianization had continued, and evangelical mission of the church had been expanding on the conquered lands, see Tadesse Tamrat 1972, pp. 196–201. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Gondar region was under the Christian dominion. Most probably, the author of the *Dərsāna Rāgu 'el* deliberately used this term to denote the people as infidel and based on this to elevate the dominancy of Šawā over Gondar. Thus, the text could have been a politically motivated work shrouded by religion for the sake of increasing its acceptance among elites and subjects.

<sup>322</sup> See André Caquot 1957.

<sup>323</sup> The 'Addis 'Ababā dialect is considered as a standard dialect for Amharic. Zelealem Leyew 2007.

<sup>324</sup> Anbessa Tefera 2013, pp. 257–263.

set to serve guests) instead of ገበታ ('*gabatā*'). Also, አሸከር ('*aškar*') refers in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* to a young boy or to a household servant, when in the standard dialect only the later meaning is known.

The religious affiliation of the author can be perceived as he exalted the kings who were defenders of the Tawāhədo faction. For example, the histories of Kings 'Iyyāsu, Bakāffā and Yostos are recorded at length. Conversely, the kings who supported the *Qəbāt* theological position such as Tewoflos, Dāwit III, 'Iyyāsu II and Queen Məntewwāb are briefly evoked and appear as demonized personalities. Therefore, the author who compiled the anecdotes and prepared the text was one affiliated with one of the churches of the Tawāhədo faction.

To summarize, he was a learned cleric from Gondar, close to the Tawāhədo faction.

## 2.8. Sources of text composition

As mentioned in the first chapter, consulting several sources was a common tradition in the production of new texts. The author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* has followed similar approach and consulted both written and oral sources as well as the eyewitnesses for a history of the later period on the one hand, and ruins of monumental buildings to speculate their functions on the other hand. Some of these sources are described as follows.

### 2.8.1. Literary works

The author has consulted religious texts such as the Bible, '*andəmtā*-exegesis texts, *Dərsāna Rāgu 'el*, oral traditions, hagiographic texts, and the *Short Chronicle*. Nonetheless, the author has mentioned neither the title of the referred texts nor sources of the quoted readings except the biblical quotations for which technical terms are used as indication of the sources in accordance with the '*andəmtā*-exegesis tradition. Perhaps, the author deliberately skipped mentioning the title of the religious text because most of them are widely known among the church scholars of the period. Therefore, I have tried to identify the sources he referred based on the content of the reading the author directly quoted from Gə'əz sources and others translated to Amharic.

#### 2.8.1.1. Chronicles

In many cases Ethiopian scribes used the *Short Chronicles* as a source of history. The local *tārika nagašts* are composed in accordance with the chronicles. However, the core of the newly composed text is augmented with the local history of the monastery or the church that owned the newly composed text.<sup>325</sup> The author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* has followed the same process including the chronological order of the kings. Except the presence of indirect indications in the text, none of these sources are mentioned by name. But the historical events described in the text exist only in the *Short Chronicle* which is a proof for the intertextuality. It could also be orally collected from someone who read the *Short Chronicle*.

Anyway, the history of the first two kings, Fāsīladas and Yoḥannəs I, in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* are not tributary to the *Short Chronicle*. It is only from the history of 'Iyyāsu onwards that considerable events are taken from the *Short Chronicles*. Therefore, I will show some readings in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* that correspond to the chronicles. For example, both the abbreviated and the long chronicles of 'Iyyāsu I reported the King's visit to 'Aksum. The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* translated the summary of this reading from Gə'əz to Amharic, inserted a new description that fits his interest and incorporated it in his work. The chronicles

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<sup>325</sup> See Chapter one.

reported this visit as the most remarkable event in which 'Iyyāsu saw Tābota Şəyon (the *tābot* of Şəyon).<sup>326</sup> The report in the chronicle reads:

ቦአ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወአዘዘ፡ ካህናተ፡ ያምጽእዋ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወደርእይዎ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ወአምጽአ፡ ሎቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ትሄሉ፡ ውስተ፡ ውሳኔ፡ ሣፁን፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ጌአቁላፋት፡ ወጌአቁላፋት፡ ሀለዎን፡ ዘበበገጸተሆን፡ ወበበመዓርጊሆን፡ ለለባሕተቶን፡ ጌመራኑት፡ እለ፡ ኢያኃብራ፡ ግዕዘ፡ አሐቲ፡ ምስለ፡ አሐቲ፡ ዳአሙ፡ ይትሌለያ፡ ግብረ፡ ርኅወተ፡ አቁላፋት፡ ዘበደታሆን፡ ወአምጽአ፡ ሎቱ፡ መራኑተ፡ ወወጠኑ፡ ካህናት፡ አርኅወተ፡ ቁልፍ፡ አሐቲ፡ በአሐቲ፡ መርሆ፡ ወአርኃው፡ እሎንተ፡ አቁላፋት፡ ዘዘከርናሆን፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ዘበ፡ ዝገጸ፡ እኒዘሙ፡ እምቀዳሚት፡ ወካልኢት፡ ወሣልሲት፡ ወራብዒት፡ ወኃምሲት፡ ወሳድሲት፡ ወበጽሑ፡ እስከ፡ ሳብዒት፡ ቁልፍ፡ ወፃመወ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ለአርኅዎታ፡ ወኢተክህሎሙ፡ ወስእኑ፡ አርኅዎታ፡ ወሶበ፡ ተስእኖሙ፡ አብጽሕዋ፡ ኅበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወተርኅዎት፡ ሶቤሃ፡ ለሊሃ፡ ወደንገጸ፡ ወአንከሩ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ርእዩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ።<sup>327</sup>

The king entered the sanctuary and commanded the priests to bring Tābota Şəyon and show it to him. They brought it to him locked up in the middle of a chest with seven locks; each lock had a special key, the model of which was in no way the same as the other; on the contrary, the way of opening the locks was different for each one. They brought the keys to him, and the priests began to open each lock with its own key; they opened the locks mentioned earlier in this page, first opening the first and then the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth. And when they came to the seventh lock, they went to great pains to open it, but they could not open it, and brought the closed case of the seventh lock to the king, and the lock opened by itself; and all who saw this miracle were astonished and amazed.

Unlike the chronicler, the author of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* picked important elements and created his own narrative that elevates the status of Dabra Bərḥān Šəllāse of Gondar:

ደብረ፡ ብርሃንን፡ የሰሩ፡ አክሱም፡ ጽዮንን፡ ሊያመጡ፡ ነው፡ ሕንጻውም፡ ሲጨረስ፡ ወደ፡ ትግሬ፡ ተሻገሩ። አክሱም፡ ገቡ፡ ደግ፡ ደግ፡ መነኮሳት፡ እየመረጡ፡ ቢያገቡ፡ የማይሆን፡ ሆነ። ኋላም፡ ራሱም፡ ገቡ፡ ሲገቡ፡ ከታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ አፄ፡ ኢያሱ፡ እርሷን፡ ሊአወጡ፡ ሲገቡ፡ ዓይንዎ፡ ይሰወራል፡ ሲወጡ፡ ዓይንዎ፡ ይበራል፡ እንዲህ፡ እያሉ፡ ጌጊዜ፡ ተመላልሰዋል። በሰባተኛው፡ ግን፡ የማይሆን፡ ቢሆን፡ እንዲያውስ፡ ለሥላሴ፡ መስገድ፡ ትቸ፡ ወደ፡ አንቸ፡ ምን፡ አመጣኝ፡ አንቸም፡ ለሥላሴ፡ ገብሪ፡ ብለው፡ የደብረ፡ ብርሃንን፡ ደብተሩ፡ አያል፡ ሰሩባት። አያል፡ ዕቃም፡ ወሰዱባት።

He built the (church) of Dabra Bərḥān to bring (Tābota Şəyon of) 'Aksum Şəyon. When the construction was over, he travelled to Təgre. He entered 'Aksum; (then) he chose righteous monks and let them into the sanctuary to take out (Tābota Şəyon) but it was in vain. Afterwards, he himself entered (into the sanctuary). When he entered to take out Tābota Şəyon he became sightless, and when he left his sight was restored. He repeated it seven times, but it was in vain. Then having said 'Why did I prefer to prostrate to you instead of doing it to Holy Trinity? Let you pay tribute to the Holy Trinity', appointed the *dabtarās* of Dabra Bərḥān over ('Aksum) and took many of its property.

Both narratives focused on the exceptional event in which the king was in the presence of Tābota Şəyon. The *tābot* is indeed accessed by only selected individuals among the clergy that are its guardians. Certainly, important points of this narrative were extracted from the chronicle and modified to fit the interest of the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.

A similar feature is reflected in other passages in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Some are related to the personal behaviour of the king, others to military strategies or detailed narratives of the court, such as the military strategy of 'Iyyāsu I.

The chronicle of 'Iyyāsu I states that the king had a technique to spy his opponents before waging war. Usually, he had a strategy to conduct surveillance on the stronghold of the enemies with the likeness of an ordinary man or a soldier. The Short Chronicle described the king's spying an insurrection of the Gällā (Oromo) as follows: 'ሐረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳሞት፡ ተሠዊሮ፡ ወመተመሲሎ፡ ፩ሐራዊ፡ ሰበ፡ ሰምዓ፡ ምጽአተ፡ ጋላ፡ ወኅጢአ፡ ጋላ፡ ቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ ጐንደር።'<sup>328</sup> ('King 'Iyyāsu went to Dāmot in secret in the look of a soldier having heard the coming of the Gällā but he didn't

<sup>326</sup> According to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church the *Tābota Şəyon* is believed to be the ark of the covenant given to Moses during the period of the exodus.

<sup>327</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 151–152.

<sup>328</sup> Basset 1882, p. 46; Guidi 1903, pp. 186–219.

find the Gällā and returned to Gondar’). The author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* adopted this expression but created his own version of the history of the Gwədrū war.<sup>329</sup>

Likewise, in the history of King Yostos, what is described about the foundation of Lədatā church has striking similarities against the readings in the *Short Chronicle*. In the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* it goes: ‘በፊት፡ በጭቃ፡ ሰርተው፡ ጨረሱ፡ [. . .] መልሰው፡ አፍርሰው፡ ሠራዊቱን፡ ይዘው፡ ኖራ፡ ለቀማ፡ ሄዱ፡ አንድ፡ ጊዜ፡ በሰራዊቱ፡ የመጣው፡ ኖራ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያንቱን፡ አስጨርሶ፡ ለሌላም፡ ተረፈ፡ ይላሉ፡’<sup>330</sup> (‘they say, at the beginning he completed (the church) with mud mortar [. . .] then he demolished it and went to collect *norā*-limestone with the army. The *norā*-limestone that was brought by the army was enough till the finishing work and the leftover was sufficient for other (construction)’). The *Short Chronicle* describes this event briefly saying, ‘ወበ፫ዓመት፡ በዘመን፡ ማርቆስ፡ አዘዘ፡ ይንስትዋ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ ተፈጸመት፡ ቀዳሚ፡ እስመ፡ ተሐንጸት፡ በፅቡር፡ ወካዕበ፡ አዘዘ፡ ይሕንፅዋ፡ በኖራ፡’<sup>331</sup> (‘In the third year (of his reign), in the year of the evangelist Mark, he (the king) ordered to demolish the first church that had been built with mud, and again pass an order to rebuild it with *norā*-lime mortar’). The main difference between the two texts is in the language used as well as in supplementary information given by the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.

The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* addressed the controversial death of Yostos at length. For this part, the author followed a different approach and wrote the story in the form of a hagiographic text. In doing so, the author relied on his creativity to build the king’s image as a saintly character. But important historical events are taken from the chronicles, such as the death of the king. The statement in the *Short Chronicle* reads, ‘ወአመ፡ ፲ወ፫ ለየካቲት፡ በዕለተ፡ ረቡዕ፡ ሞተ፡ የስጦስ፡ ምክንያተ፡ ሞቱሰ፡ እንዳሊ፡ የአምር፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እመኒ፡ መተርዎ፡ እግሮ፡ አው፡ ሐንቅዎ፡ እመኒ፡ ሞተ፡ በደቄሁ፡’<sup>332</sup> (‘On the 13th of (the month of) Yakkāit (‘February’), on the day of Wednesday, Yostos died. But the reason for his death is unknown, only God knows either they cut his leg off, or strangled him, or died due to his sickness’). In the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*, the same reading appears with preceding information to explain the event: ‘አዲ፡ የስጦስም፡ ባርያ፡ አሠልጥነው፡ ነበር፡ ሁሉም፡ የሥላሴ፡ ፍጥረት፡ ነው፡ ብለው፡ እነዚያ፡ ባሮችም፡ የባርያ፡ ደግየለውምና፡ . . .ንጉሣቸውን፡ በሻሽ፡ አንቀው፡ በሰላ፡ ካራ፡ እግራቸውን፡ እጃቸውን፡ ቈራርጠው፡ ገደሏቸው፡’<sup>333</sup> (‘Believing that all (human) are the creation of the (Holy) Trinity, ላሴ Yostos had empowered slaves. However, because there is no kindness in the hearts of the slaves, they strangled him with *šāš*,<sup>334</sup> cut his arms and legs off with sharp knives and killed their own king’). Due to the controversy of the cause of the death of Yostos, the chronicler gave no confirmation rather he reported it as rumour. But the later text tried to reason out the death and confirmed the rumour in all possible ways.

The other approach that the author followed is selecting favourable narratives from the chronicles when there are multiple descriptions about a single historical event. The narratives on the rise of Məntəwwāb is one of the best examples. Like the chronicle of the preceding kings, Məntəwwāb’s story begins with prophecies and dreams attributed to local saints and her family. In addition, there are other prophecies and narratives on how Məntəwwāb became Bakāffā’s consort<sup>335</sup> and eventually elevation to the core of the political arena. The prophecy

<sup>329</sup> See The Critical Text § 33.

<sup>330</sup> See The Critical Text § 48.

<sup>331</sup> Kropp 1981, p. 142.

<sup>332</sup> Basset 1882, p. 70. In this statement the chronicle was not certain about the rumour; yet the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is certain about and elaborated the narrative with additional explanations.

<sup>333</sup> See The Critical Text § 62.

<sup>334</sup> Gaze, tulle, kerchief of this cloth worn on the head, see Kane 1990, p. 627.

<sup>335</sup> The chronicle of ላyyasu II described how the marriage between Bakāffā and Məntəwwāb was arranged. But it seems to have been an innovation or rewriting of the history of Məntəwwāb considering her current political influence. Bruce himself did not mention this version, rather he reported another variant. See Bruce 1790, pp. 597–599.

of Saint Walatta Petros,<sup>336</sup> the dream of *Wayzaro* Yolyānā, the dream of Məntəwwāb<sup>337</sup> herself and her brother *Rās Walda Ləʿul*<sup>338</sup> are reported in the chronicle. Among these variant narratives, for unexplained reasons the author chose ‘ራእይ፡ በእንተ፡ ወይዘሮ፡ የጊዮር፡’<sup>339</sup> (‘about the vision of *Wayzaro* Yolyānā’) and augmented it with other narrative circulating in the church.<sup>340</sup> The result is what is described in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.

Historical information extracted or directly copied from the chronicles are presented as shown above. In many cases, the way historically attested narratives presented in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* are reported seems due to the fluidity of oral and written history. The distortion of the stories could be the result of the sources he accessed. Some seems orally transmitted written history and others written oral tradition.

#### 2.8.1.2. Oral tradition, anecdotes, and other notes

Many historical records have been produced by local historians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most of these historical documents are originally written in Amharic including Gəʿəz verses and quotations inserted within. Some of these documents contain the history of the Christian kingdom from the distant past to the recent period. The others focus on short period or reigns of specific rulers; and the rest are local history focused on a certain church or historical figures as well as list of metropolitans and abbots of monasteries.

One of these written oral traditions was copied in 1929 for the first mission led by Marcel Griaule in Goğgām.<sup>341</sup> In the introduction, the text claims that it is a *Maṣḥafa tārik* (‘The book of history’). It begins with the genealogy of Ethiopian kings from the day of creation until the late sixteenth century for which the author relied on the Bible and chronicles as the main sources of information. Oral traditions are also incorporated. The narratives have striking similarities with the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*; although there is no evidence that conveys the relationship between these sources and the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Comparing the readings found in both records helps to understand the common origin of the historical narratives of the contemporary literary works of the same genre. I have selected a couple of readings that attest the similarity of the sources of both works.

The first reading I selected for this purpose is an event at the royal court of King ‘Amda Şəyon (r.1314–1344) recorded in the *Maṣḥafa tārik*, to be compared with a similar reading but attributed to King Yohānnəs I in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Also, it has to be noticed that a variant narrative is attested in Harar which is attributed to the sixteenth-century sultan of the region.<sup>342</sup>

<sup>336</sup> Guidi 1910, pp. 15–18

<sup>337</sup> Guidi 1910, pp. 19–20

<sup>338</sup> Guidi 1910, p. 20

<sup>339</sup> Guidi 1910, 18–19. *Wayzaro* Yolyāna is the grandmother of *Queen* Məntəwwāb, who was active during the period the Məntəwwāb’s family established their domination in the royal court of Gondar. See ‘Niqlawos’, *EAE*, III (2007), 1191a–b (A. Wion); ‘Ἐνκοϋϋε’, *EAE*, II (2005), 306b–307a (S. B. Chernetsov).

<sup>340</sup> See Ghiorghis Mellesse 1976, pp. 12–13. The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* attributed this narrative to the monastery of Maḥbara Şəllāse, but Ghiorghis Mellesse argued that it is from Ṭāra Gadām. The latter mentioned a written source hosted in the monastery.

<sup>341</sup> This work is under the acquisition of Bibliothèque nationale de France under the Griaule’s collection; Paris, BnF, Éth. 596 (= Griaule 288). Strelcyn dated it to the early twentieth century (Strelcyn 1954, p. 179). However, his dating might not refer the date of the composition of the text, rather the existing copy.

<sup>342</sup> See ‘Nūr b. Muğāhid’, *EAE*, III (2007), 1209b–1210b (F.-C. Muth).

የአምደ፡ ጽዮን፡ ልጅ፡ ደሃ፡ ገደለ። ንጉሡ፡ ፍርድ፡ ይብቃ፡ አለ፡ መኳንንቱ፡ ግን፡ የንጉሡ፡ ልጅ፡ ድሃ፡ ቢገል፡ ሞት፡ የለበትም፡ ኢያሉ፡ ፈረዳ። ንጉሡ፡ ግን፡ ድሃ፡ የፈጣሪ፡ ነው፡ እንጅ፡ ለኔ፡ ማን፡ ሰጠኝ፡ ብሎ፡ ይሞት፡ ቢቃ፡ ፈረደ፡ ግደሉ፡ አለ። የንጉሡን፡ ልጅ፡ ማን፡ ይገላል፡ ብሎ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ቢፈራ፡ የአግዚአብሔርን፡ ድሃ፡ ደሙን፡ እምከፍል፡ እኔ፡ ነኝ፡ ብሎ፡ ልጁን፡ ገደለ።<sup>343</sup>

The son of (King) 'Amda Şəyon killed a poor (man). The king said, 'Let justice be obtained!' but the *mak'ānānt* rendered a judgement saying, 'The prince shall not be subjected to capital punishment though he kills a poor man'. However, the king said, 'The poor are of the creator, they are not mine (my properties)' then sentenced him to death; but the army was afraid of the execution. Then the king said, 'I will avenge the blood of the poor', and executed his son.

No other written source witnessed that either this event happened in the royal court of kings of the medieval period or in the later Gondarine period. Perhaps, the tradition emerged during the formation of the original oral tradition, that promotes talion law and its approval in the royal court as a representation of a supremacy of rule of law. Originally, it might have referred to an anonymous legendary king who disqualified the judgement given by the court attendants and he himself pronounced irrevocable sentence against his own son. However, in the march of time, such narratives remain as formula to exalt the impartial king. Yet, it shows the literary contest between regional writers to attribute the story to their own favourite kings. The following similar reading is from the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* that praises King Yoḥannəs I (r.1667–1682) for his genuine respect for his subject and obtaining justice. In fact, the later text has some description that expands the narrative but that does not change the content and flow of the story.

አንድ፡ ቀን፡ ልጅዎ፡ የንጉሡ፡ የድሀ፡ ልጅ፡ ገደለና፡ [ . . . ] አፄም፡ ሰሙና፡ በሉ፡ ፍረዳ፡ አሉ። መኳንንቱም፡ ፈረድነ፡ አሉ። ምን፡ ብላችሁ፡ ፈረዳችኑ፡ አሉ፡ የነፍስ፡ ዋጋ፡ ይከፈላት፡ አሉ፡ የንጉሥ፡ ልጅ፡ መሞት፡ አይገባውም፡ ብለው። አፄም፡ ፍርዱን፡ ሰሙና፡ በል፡ አስኪና፡ ብለው፡ ልጅዎን፡ አፋን፡ ስመው፡ እንዴት፡ የድሀ፡ ልጅ፡ እንደሞተ፡ ይቅር፡ የንጉሥ፡ ልጅ፡ እየገደለ፡ ይሂድ፡ ይባላል፡ ብለው፡ በሉ፡ አውርዳችሁ፡ ግደሉ፡ ብለው፡ ልጅዎን፡ አስደበደቡ፡ ይላሉ።

One day the son of the king killed the son of a poor family. [...] Having heard that, the king sends the case to the court and the judges said, 'We have rendered a judgement'. The king said, 'What did you pronounce?' They answered, 'Let him pay her a blood money considering that the prince shall not be subjected to death sentence'. Having heard the judgement, the king called his son, kissed him on his mouth and executed him.

The other story shared between both manuscripts is a plot to avenge the blood of an assassinated king. In the *Maṣḥafa tārik*, this story is attributed to King Galāwdewos (r.1540–1559) who was killed in a battle against Nūr b. Muḡāhid, Sultan of Harar (r.1551–1567)<sup>344</sup> and the successor of Aḥmad Grāñ. Sometime later, two of his nephews infiltrated the court of Muḥammad Nūr as servants and avenged the blood of their uncle Galāwdewos. In the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* the same narrative is attributed to King 'Iyyāsu who was assassinated by the order of his son successor; but the story appears longer due to the modification applied on it. In the *Maṣḥafa tārik* it reads 'ከዚህ፡ በኋላ፡ ያጽናፍ፡ ሰገድ፡ የእኅቱ፡ ልጅ፡ ጭቱ፡ ለኑር፡ መሐመድ፡ አድረው፡ እቃ፡ ቤት፡ ሁነው፡ አደጉ፡ ኋላም፡ ገደሉት። ያጉታቸውን፡ ደም፡ መለሱ።'<sup>345</sup> ('Hereafter, the nephews of 'Aṣnāf Saggad<sup>346</sup> (King Galāwdewos) take service for Maḥamad Nur<sup>347</sup> and lived there as guardians of treasury house. Then they killed him and avenged the blood of their uncle'). In the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* it is narrated as follows:

<sup>343</sup> Éth. 596 (= Griaule 288) f. 61r.

<sup>344</sup> See Basset 1882, p. 22; 'Galāwdewos', *EAE*, II (2005), 656a–657b (M. Kleiner); Solomon Gebreyes Beyene 2016, pp. 167–168.

<sup>345</sup> Éth. 596 (= Griaule 288) ff.70v–71r.

<sup>346</sup> The regnal name of King Galāwdewos (r.1540–1559).

<sup>347</sup> It refers to Nūr b. Muḡāhid ruler of Hārar from 1551–1567.

የአፄ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ጎረቤት፡ አሸከሮች፡ ጋሚአቸውን፡ ተላጭተው፡ ገቡ፡ ከርጉም፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ምንድሮች፡ ናችኑ፡ አላቸው፡ እነሱም፡ መለሱ፡ እኔ፡ የወጥ፡ ቤት፡ አለቃ፡ ነኝ፡ እኔ፡ ጋሻ፡ ጃግሬ፡ ነኝ፡ የአባትህ፡ አለ፡ በሉ፡ አንተም፡ ጋሻየን፡ ያዝ፡ አንቸም፡ የወጥ፡ ቤት፡ አለቃ፡ ጎረቤት፡ አለ፡ ሊገለጥ፡ አንደመጡ፡ አላወቀም።

Two servants of 'Aṣe 'Iyyāsu changed their look and took service for *rəgum* Takla Hāymānot. He asked them, 'Who are you?' and they answered (referring to the woman), 'I am the chief of the kitchen (of your father), and the other said, 'I am shield bearer of your father'. Then he (Takla Hāymānot) said (referring to the man) 'Be my shield bearer' and you (referring to the woman) 'Be the master of the kitchen'.

In general, the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* has been aware of the availability of documents that can be used as a template for his work or close to people who has knowledge of this stories. Although the sources are not mentioned, some of the stories he wrote are a systematic duplication of existing records.

This kind of borrowed narratives schemes are frequently observed in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. The similarity between the praying procedure of Məntəwwāb in the passages of the *Ta'amməra Māryām* ('Miracles of Mary') manuscript of 'Ambā Māryām located near of 'Ĕnfəraz as a well as a mural painting of 'Addabābāy 'Iyyasus<sup>348</sup> and the same practice of King Yostos in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is an evidence for this duplication of existing narratives. The text in the *Ta'amməra Māryām* reads,

ወአሐቲ፡ ጸሎት፡ ጸለየት፡ ወሰዓለት፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ቀዋማ፡ ማዕከለ፡ ማይ፡ ምሉእ፡ ብርት፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለወት፡ በደብረ፡ ቁስቋም፡ ወትቤ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይንበር፡ ላዕለ፡ አራትየ፡ ባዕድ፡ ብእሲ፡ ሀብኒ፡ ኪዳነ [ . . . ] ወእምዝ፡ ወጽኦ፡ ቃል፡ እምይእቲ፡ ሥዕል፡ [እንዘ ይብል]፡ አአመትየ፡ ወፍቅርትየ፡ ወለተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ በከመ፡ አንቲ፡ አስመርከኒ፡ በኩሉ፡ ግብር፡ ዘይትከሀለኒ፡ ወአነሂ፡ እሁብኪ፡ ወአፌጽም፡ ስእለተ፡ ልብኪ፡ በኩሉ ጊዜ፡ ወአግቅብ፡ አራተ፡ <ለ>ደቂቅኪ፡ ለትውልድ፡ ትውልድ፡ ወአጸንዕ፡ መንግሥቶሙ፡ እስከ፡ አልቀተ፡ ዓለም።<sup>349</sup>

A prayer our Queen Walatta Giyorgis<sup>350</sup> prayed standing in the middle of a wash basin full of water at Dabra Q'wəsəsq'wām, and she said, 'O my Lady saint, twofold virgin Mary the mother of God, give a *kidān* so that a stranger may not seat on my throne' [...] and then a word came out of that painting (of Mary that says), 'O my servant and my beloved Walatta Giyorgis, as you mesmerize me in all your deed I am able to give and fulfil the desire of your heart, I will keep the throne for your children for generations and I will consolidate their government until the end of the world'.

This story is found in a *Ta'amməra Māryām* manuscript in 'Ambā Māryām monastery near 'Ĕnfəraz.<sup>351</sup> Monti Della Corte also published the depiction of Məntəwwāb in the mural painting of 'Addabābāy 'Iyyāsu Church<sup>352</sup> in Gondar that shows the Queen praying according to this narrative<sup>353</sup>.

The modified version attributed to King Yostos in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* reads:

ንጉሡም፡ በቁመትዎ፡ ልክ፡ ያሰሩት፡ የብረት፡ ጋን፡ ነበረ፡ በዚያ፡ ውሃ፡ መሉና፡ ከጋኑም፡ ገብተው፡ ቁመው፡ ኮሱ፡ በጉንጭዎ፡ ይዘው፡ ፯ቀን፡ ጸለዩ፡ ይላሉ። በ፯ተኛው፡ ቀን፡ መልአኩ፡ መጣና፡ ዓምደ፡ ወርቁን፡ አቅንቶ፡ ነእ፡ ዓዕ፡ የሰጠሰ፡ ወባዕ፡ ቤተክ፡ ወጽኦ፡ ስምክ፡ ወእሙን፡ ቃልክ፡ ወአይወዕዕ፡ ምስፍና፡ ወምልክና፡ እምአባልክ፡ ለትውልድ፡ ትውልድ፡ ወለዘርኡ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ ብሎ፡ እጅምን፡ ይዞ፡ አወጣዎ፡ ይላሉ። [ . . . ] ከቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ገቡ፡ ከዚያ፡ ከብረት፡ ጋን፡ ገቡ፡ ኮሱ፡ በጉንጭዎ፡ ያዙና፡ አፄ፡ ያሳልዋት፡ በአንባዎ፡ ሥዕል፡ ማርያም፡ ነበረች፡ ስሚንም፡ ያሚሏት፡ መመኪያዬ፡ ይሏት፡ ነበረ፡ ከፊቷ፡ ላይ፡ ያለቅሱ፡ ይልዩ፡ ጀመር፡ ያለቅሱ፡ ይጸልዩ፡ ጀመር፡ ወመጽአት፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ በከመ፡ ልማዳ፡

<sup>348</sup> This mural painting was destroyed when the church was rebuilt in the 1970s. The only surviving photograph was taken by Monti Della Corte the 1930s, see Monti Della Corte 1938, pp. 44–45.  
<sup>349</sup> Ghiorghis Mellesse 1976, p. 39  
<sup>350</sup> Baptismal name of Queen Məntəwwāb. See 'Bərhan Mogäsa', *EAE*, I (2003), 534a–535a (L. B. Berry).  
<sup>351</sup> Ghiorghis Mellesse 1976, pp. 39–40.  
<sup>352</sup> This church was demolished and replaced with a new one in the mid 1970s.  
<sup>353</sup> Monti Della Corte 1938, pp. 44–45



They say, the king had an iron pot as tall as his height, he filled it with water and immersed into it; also, he kept (leaves of) *koso* (tree) in his mouth and stayed therein for seven days in prayer. On the seventh day, the angel came down and pushed the column back into its original position and said, ‘Come out Yostos! enter into your house, your name is written, and your words are trustworthy. The power and lordship (*malkännā waməšfännā*) shall not depart from your line, nor lawgiver from descendants forever’, then the angel held his hand and took him out (of the iron pot). [...] Reaching to the church he entered into the iron pot and kept (leaves of) *koso* (tree) in his mouth and began his lamentation and prayer before the depiction of Mary; he calls it *mamakiyāya* (‘my pride’), which he has it painted in his own tears. And then Our Lady, the mother of God came as usual.

Like the previous readings, this praying belongs to another historical figure of the Gondarine period, but it has been duplicated, modified with additional narratives, and attributed to Yostos. This practice shows the strong inclination to duplicate existing narratives more than to carry out creative work. Also, it proves, there was a very dynamic circulation of narratives, and the exchange and feedbacks between written documents and orality was extremely important. The *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* reflects therefore this creation and circulation of narrative patterns transmitting the history, places, and characters. The plasticity of certain patterns allows them to be used and reused in a multiplicity of contexts. History tends then to be closer to folktales than to a scrupulous narration of the past.

### 2.8.2. Oral information, archaeological information (based on the ruins of the palaces in the royal compound), and eyewitness accounts

The oral tradition and other information the author referred are identified in the text by the phrases employed to refer to the sources. These words and phrases are frequently used on the history of the Gondarine period from the 1630s to the mid-nineteenth century. But the frequency of employing these phrases decrease when the narrative comes to a relatively closer period. It means the history of the remote past had been reconstructed based on several sources among which orally collected information were very essential, although the narrative structure is influenced by literary sources. In this context, the most frequently used word is ይላሉ: (*yälällu*, ‘they say’). For instance, the text begins with a sentence that incorporates this word ‘ታሪክ: ዘምድረ: ጐንደር: እንዲህ: ይላሉ:’ (‘The *History of the Land of Gondar* as they say it’) which is a statement that declare the sources of information.<sup>354</sup> Having said this, the author wrote variants of the myth of foundation of the city that are listed one after the other separated by a technical term, እንድም: እንዲህ: ይላሉ: (‘and other more say as follows’). This word is used in the traditional *’andāmtā*-exegesis to present alternative explanations for a single reading. Similarly, historical events that happened sometime during the reign of one of the kings are listed one after the other separated with another phrase ደግሞ: እንዲህ: ይላሉ: (‘also they said this’) followed by the story. In case of textual reference or well-known saying the author used እንዳለ: (‘as he said’, singular) or እንዲሉ: (‘as they say’, plural) adopted from the *’andāmtā*-exegesis. The latter words are used exclusively in particular reference to biblical texts or quotations.

Whenever the writer is certain about the narrative, he never used this kind of phrases. For example,

<sup>354</sup> Texts composed in the same period as the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* introduce the title and source of information at the beginning of the text. For instance, ‘መጽሐፈ: ታሪክ: ጌአምላክ: በሚሆን: በአብ: በወልድ: በመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ስም: አምነን: የነሥታትን: የትውልዳቸውን: ታሪክ: እንጽፋለን’ (‘Believing in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit we begin writing the genealogy of the kings’). It is an introductory statement for a historical narrative compiled from written and oral sources. See Strelcyn 1954, p. 179. Likewise, the documents transcribed from oral tradition are introduced in such kind of statements ‘በዝየ: ንጌልቅ: እድሜ: መንግሥቶች: ለነሥተ: ዛሬ : በከመ: ለማዕነ: አማዕምራነ: ሕግ: (‘In this we count the reign of the kings of the Zāg<sup>we</sup> as we heard from the teachers of the law’). See Strelcyn 1976, p. 307.

ከዚህም፡ በኋላ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ልጁ፡ ነገሡ፡ ደግ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ነበረ፡ ይላሉ፡ በዓታንም፡ አሳምሮ፡ ሰራ፡ ፫፻፪፡ ብተራ፡ ተክለ፡ በሬት፡ ለተሰሩት፡ ደብሮችም፡ ብዙ፡ መሬት፡ ሠጠ፡ የመሥዋዕት፡ እያለ<sup>355</sup>፡ ዘንድ፡ ሰንደለትም፡ ይላሉ፡ መንግሥቱንም፡ ጥሎ፡ መንኖ፡ ሂዶዋል፡ ከብቃት፡ የተነሣ፡ የሞተም፡ ዋልድባ፡ ገብቶ፡ ነው<sup>356</sup>።

Then, his son Takla Hāymanot became king. They say, he was a good king. He built the church of Ba‘ātā marvellously and appointed three hundred *dabtarās*. For the churches that were founded in the former time, he endowed lands calling them *yamaśwā‘t*. They say, a serpent had prostrated to him. Because of his righteousnes, he renounced the power for ascetic life and died in Wāldəbbā.

This reading shows how the author classified the information systematically and wrote it referring the sources. Three different sources compose this description: the list of kings, the chronicle, and oral information. Information that belongs to last category are concluded with the word *yəllāllu* (‘they say’). The above quotations clearly show the author’s selective use of the term to indicate stories that are not supported by written sources. This principle is accordingly applied throughout the text except the history of the later period and other narratives considered as known facts. Most probably it is due to the presence of eyewitness of the recent past who shared their memories with the author of the text.

In one of the manuscript witnesses of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* the history of the last four kings Tewodros II (r.1855–1868), Takla Giyorgis II (r.1868–1872), Yoḥannəs IV (r.1872–1889) and Mənilək II (1889–1913) has been added. Each of these reigns has been appraised in regard to their respective fairness to the people and their rehabilitation of Gondar after the successive devastations. Moreover, the emotion of the informant makes this part distinct from the previous one that are memories of the past. The author expressed his disappointment on Emperors Tēwodros II and Yoḥannəs IV on the one hand and his sympathy to Emperor Takla Giyorgis II and Mənilək II on the other hand. For instance, the author was unable to write the history of Emperor Mənilək II in the preceding way, rather he jumped to mourn his death saying, ‘ከዚህም፡ በኋላ፡ ምን፡ ይልክ፡ ነገሡ፡ የዚህ፡ ዓለም፡ ፀሐይ፡ የዚህ፡ ዓለም፡ ደስታ፡ የዚህ፡ ዓለም፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ከዚህ፡ ቀደምም፡ እንደዚህ፡ ያለም፡ አልነገሡ፡ እንግዲህም፡ አይነግሥ።’ (‘Hereafter Mənilək became king, the sun of this world, the happiness of this world, the joy of this world. No king was like him in the past nor will be in the future’).

Site observation of the ruined palaces and churches in the city was considered during the composition of the text. In doing so, the author tried to describe the historic function of the scrambled buildings and dating the construction period by attributing the palace one of the kings. Similarly, among the royal churches of Gondar he made a rough inventory based on their historical significance. Yet, the main focus of the author seems to have been the structures in the royal compound. Moreover, identifying and locating the scrambled royal gates and reintroducing their names was the outcome of survey of the site. However, this list of gates and their functions does not correspond to the description of gates in the royal chronicle of ‘Iyyāsu II and ‘Iyyo’as<sup>357</sup> in which about eight gates are mentioned. But the list in the *Tārik Zamədra*

<sup>355</sup> The founding of Ba‘ātā by Takla Hāymānot and the land grants he endowed the churches are recorded in numerous manuscripts hosted in different churches in Gondar. See Crummey 2000, pp. 145–152; Kropp 2018.

<sup>356</sup> ንጉሥኒ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ሐረ፡ ዋልድባ፡ ወአብደረ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያዊተ። ወጸልዓ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ምድራዊተ፡ ወበእንተዝ፡ አብደረ፡ ይሐር፡ ዋልድባ፡ ወሐረ፡ ዋልድባ። [...] ወተቀብረ፡ በዋልድባ፡ ጎበ፡ ወለጠ፡ ስም፡ ወተሰምየ፡ ባቲ፡ አባ፡ ተክለሃይማኖት፡ ዘዋልድባ፡ ወእምድኅረዝ፡ ተሰምዓ፡ ዜና፡ ሞቱ። (‘King Takla Hāymānot went to Wāldəbbā, he preferred the heavenly kingdom. He hated the earthly kingship, for this reason he preferred to go to Wāldəbbā and went to Wāldəbbā [...] he was buried in Wāldəbbā where he changed his name to ‘Abbā Takla Hāymānot of Wāldəbbā. And then was heard the news of his death’). Blundell 1922, p. 88.

<sup>357</sup> See Guidi 1910, pp. 57–67.

*Gondar* rise this number to twelve, although there is no historical attestation to support this.<sup>358</sup> Perhaps, it could be a recent tradition developed based on religious motives of associating this number with the apostles of Jesus Christ and the tribes of Israel.<sup>359</sup>

## 2.9. The language and literary genre of the text

This text is composed in Amharic, and it is one of the new historiographic works of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Prior to this period, Gə‘əz had been a literary device both in the church and the state until the first half of the nineteenth century. However, since the late seventeenth century, the influence of Amharic was getting stronger, and it began to play a complementary role within the Gə‘əz literature. When Emperor Tewodros II came to power, he changed the court language to Amharic, in which his royal chronicle was composed. Yet, Amharic was not sophisticated enough in the realm of the literature to articulate everything like that of its predecessor Gə‘əz. The influence of Gə‘əz on the literary works of this period was still very strong. Perhaps, this stage could be taken as a transitional period of the Amharic literature. This feature is visible in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. The author of *Tārik Zamādra Godnar* frequently switched the language to Gə‘əz for sacred readings, messages received from spiritual beings, blessings, and curses. Perhaps, in the case of biblical verses, the reason could be the lack of the Amharic Bible<sup>360</sup> or the greater prestige of Gə‘əz. However, the Gə‘əz verses inserted in the text have a technical reason, comparative description of historical events and as a summary of described story. For instance, ‘ወተሰብሐ: ገዱ: ለሙሴ: እንዳለ: ፊትዎ: እንደ: ፀሐይ: በራ: ይላል:’ (‘as it (the Bible) says “and the face of Moses became radiant”, likewise his face was bright’) is quoted to express the happiness of the king after the discovery of Gondar. Likewise, other verses are often quoted for comparative descriptions in different aspects.

The other reason the Gə‘əz verses are quoted could be to summarize lengthy description. In some cases, the previous approach which is the comparing of events in the royal court against the biblical history is applied as well. For example, ‘በከንቱ: ፃመወ: ዔሳው:’ (‘Esau’s effort was in vain’) is quoted to summarise the futile effort of the king. In the other cases, the verse is used without the features mentioned above. For instance, the state of sexual aroused woman is stated with a reported speech ‘ወእንቀልቀለ: አዕፅምትዮ: ወተሀውከ: ልብዮ:’<sup>361</sup> (‘My bones tremble and my heart is in deep anguish’). The context of the reading in the Bible is completely different from the event it represented in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. The other Biblical verse quoted in the readings appeared as it is described above.

In addition, Amharic poems and proverbial sayings are incorporated for the same reason that the Gə‘əz verses are used for. ‘አፈሰሁት: ደሜን: የአባቴን: የወንድሜን:’ (‘I avenge the blood of my father and my brother’) summarizes the kings measure against the assassins of Iyyāsu I and Takla Hāymānot I.<sup>362</sup> Likewise, short Amharic poems composed for the remembrances of battles, kings, and other issues like that of the following two poems are incorporated.

<sup>358</sup> The widely known list of the gates of the royal compound is dominated by the list in the *Tārika Zamādra Gondar*. For further information see Monti Della Corte 1938, pp. 12–13; Ghiorghis Mellesse 1969, pp. 167–168; Munro-Hay 2002, pp. 118–120.

<sup>359</sup> This could be due to the tradition of associating this numbers with the twelve tribes of Israel and the apostles of Jesus Christ; see Pereira 1892, pp. 311–312.

<sup>360</sup> The Amharic translation of the New Testament was widely distributed in the country during the reign of Emperor Tewodros. But the translation was not welcomed by the conservative clergymen. Perhaps, this could be the reason for quoting the Gə‘əz version of the New and Old Testament within the new Amharic literary texts.

<sup>361</sup> Jer. 23: 9. The verse reads ‘ተቀጥቀጠኒ: ልብዮ: በላዕሊዮ: ወእንቀልቀለ: ኩሉ: አዕፅምትዮ:’ and it is modified to fit the story narrated in the text.

<sup>362</sup> According to the *Short Chronicle*, King Tewoflos publicly hanged the assassins of his two predecessors Iyyāsu I and Takla Hāymānot I; see Basset 1882, pp. 63–67.

ከዚያም፡ ንጉሥ፡ ከዚያም፡ ንጉሥ፡ የሰጠሰ፡ ንጉሥ፡  
ወርቅ፡ ይዘራል፡ እንደ፡ ገብሰ።

Yostos the most preferable than other kings;  
He recklessly spilled gold like barley.

ንጉሥ፡ በካፋ፡  
ዝናሙ፡ ከፍካፋ፡  
እህሉ፡ ሆነ፡ በገደፋ።

The king is Bakāffā,  
the rain is drizzle,  
and the harvest become plentiful.

Apart from the Amharic and Gə‘əz traditions he also tried to introduce Oromo words and the way the Oromo speakers pronounced Amharic words. The royal chronicles used similar approaches. However, in the early cases only the translation appears and in the later chronicles it is directly quoted. The following reading from the chronicle of ʾIyyāsu I and Bakāffā are of the first type; for instance, ‘ወደየ፡ ፍርሃት፡ ውስተ፡ ልበ፡ ጋላ። ወገብ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ በልሳነ፡ ብሔሩ፡ ዝንቱሰ፡ ኢኮነ፡ ሰብአ፡ ለባሴ፡ ሥጋ፡ አምላክ፡ ሰብአ፡ ተመሰለ፡ ወወረደ፡ ኅቤነ።’<sup>363</sup> (‘fear entered into the heart of the Gällā. And he retreated saying in the language of his own ‘This is not a man of flesh but God in the likeness of man and descends to us.’). A similar report is recorded in the chronicle of Bakāffā that says, ‘ወይቤልዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ በቃለ፡ ጃዊ፡ መሐረነ፡ አንጉሥ፡ እሰመ፡ ንሕነ፡ አግብርተክ፡ ወአግብርተ፡ አቡክ።’<sup>364</sup> (‘They said to the king in the language of Gāwi, “Oh king have mercy on us, we are your servants and servants of your father”’). In the latter historical document of the *zamana masāfānt* a phrase in the Agaw language is incorporated in the text, which is ‘ወአመ፡ ርእይዎ፡ ለደጃዝማች፡ ዘውዴ፡ አገዎች፡ ተበሀሉ፡ ዘውዴ፡ ይንቱጓ፡ ከሥቲ፡ ይንቱጓ፡ ገዳ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ገጹ፡ ይንቱጓ፡ ብሂል፡ በነገረ፡ አገው፡ መጽአ፡ ብሂል።’<sup>365</sup> (‘When the Agaw saw *Dağğāzmač* Zawde, they exclaimed ‘*Zawde yāntug<sup>wā</sup>, kəsti yāntug<sup>wā</sup>*’ and retreated from him. In the language of Agaw, *yāntug<sup>wā</sup>* means “he has come”’). In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the chroniclers wrote the translations of phrases spoken in a different language. Later in the nineteenth century, transcriptions of the phrases spoken in other languages began to appear. The later practice is reflected in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*. While reporting the conversation between King ʾIyyāsu I and the Oromo man, the later addressed the king as lord for which the author used the Oromo word ጎፍታ (*gooftaa*) instead of the Amharic term.

Similarly, the author wrote news announced by the Oromo chamber servant. While declaring the death of King Bakāffā saying, ‘በካፋ፡ ገማች።’ (‘Bakāffā has been stinking’). The correct statement would be በካፋ፡ ገማ፡, although it does not make a difference in the English translation. Perhaps, using the Amharic verbs according to the masculine and feminine subjects could have been difficult for the Oromo living in Gondar at that time. Moreover, the attempts to switch the language from Amharic to the other local languages clearly shows that the presence of the Oromo in the Gondarine period was not compromised by the author.

<sup>363</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 214.

<sup>364</sup> Guidi 1903, p. 278.

<sup>365</sup> Blundell 1922, p. 189.

## Chapter Three: Language, Orthography and Dialect

### 3.1. Language

#### 3.1.1. The use of Amharic

The emergence of Amharic as a language of literature is relatively a recent phenomenon. It has been only one and half a century since it began to dominate the realm of Ethiopian literature. In the preceding period, the realm of Ethiopian literature was dominated by Gə‘əz. Amharic as a literary language began to emerge around the early fourteenth century. However, the only surviving witness of the Amharic literature of this period are the patriotic poems composed in honour of King ‘Amda Şəyon, Yəshaq, and Zar’a Yā‘əqob and Galāwdewos.<sup>366</sup> The presence of these texts composed between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century shows the uninterrupted progress of Amharic as a language of literature both in the court and in the society at large.<sup>367</sup> In the later period, written Amharic was practiced for the registration of legal documents such as land grants and other related issues in the kingdom.<sup>368</sup>

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the arrival of the Catholic missionaries to Ethiopia and their attempt to expand their phase in the local language ushered the next development stage of the Amharic writing in general. The language that was still behind Gə‘əz in many qualities and that had a limited role in the literature had the opportunity to serve as a medium of religious teaching. The Catholics missionaries have translated some texts into Amharic to reach the locals in at least one of their languages.<sup>369</sup> This attempt to reach the people in this *lingua franca* was an effective strategy for the mission; and a golden opportunity for the further development of the Amharic writing.<sup>370</sup> Moreover, this approach initiated the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to revise its language policy. Previously, the only language of literature was Gə‘əz which was not a spoken language anymore. Due to this, it was hardly understood by the mass as it demands a great deal of competency. Thus, resources composed in this language were exclusively for the educated elites. Eventually, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church began to translate selected Gə‘əz works to Amharic. Also, new works were composed to defend the church and challenge the contending doctrine of the Catholic church and teachings. Subsequently, the quality and capability of Amharic literature emerged as the result of the competing interest betwixt these churches.<sup>371</sup> In the following decades, several other Amharic texts were composed; furthermore, in the *‘andəmtā*-exegesis of the scriptures was carried over in Amharic together with the Gə‘əz readings.<sup>372</sup>

#### 3.1.2. Use of Amharic in historiography

The situation in the royal court was also similar with what was going on in the church. As it is mentioned in the chronicle of Susənyos (r.1607–1632), Amharic was the court language of the period. Using Amharic as court language predated this period although the royal annals were still composed in Gə‘əz.<sup>373</sup> Nonetheless, in the preceding period, there was an attempt to

<sup>366</sup> See Richter 1997, pp. 543–545.

<sup>367</sup> See Girma Awgichew Demeke 2009.

<sup>368</sup> Haddis Gebre-Meskel 1992, pp. 53–68.

<sup>369</sup> ‘Amharic Literature’, *EAE*, I (2003), 238a–240a (D. Nosnitsin).

<sup>370</sup> Martínez d’Alòs-Moner 2015, p. 129.

<sup>371</sup> See Cowley 1974, pp. 597–607; Getatchew Haile and Misrak Amare 1991.

<sup>372</sup> Mersha Alehegne 2011, pp. 8–12.

<sup>373</sup> ‘ወላመቱሰ፡ ከዊነ፡ ርእሰ፡ ወጎላ፡ እምታሕተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ዘበልሳነ፡ ዓረብ፡ ይሰመይ፡ ወዚር፡ ወበልሳነን ዘአምጋራ፡ ብእት፡ ወደድ፡’ (‘But his position was being a head below the rulership (of the king) which is called in the language of the Arab *Wazir*, and in our language of the *‘Amhārā Bəḥət Waddad*’), see Pereira 1892, p. 159. In this reading, the chronicler is referring to Amharic; if it were Gə‘əz he would not mention it as the language of the *‘Amhārā*. Therefore, this could be considered as an indication on the role of Amharic in the royal court of King Susənyos.

adapt a distinct element of the Amharic grammar which had probably existed in the writing tradition as well. The best example to show this inclination is the chronicle of Yoḥannəs I (r.1667–1682) where the Amharic *'Antutā* appears,<sup>374</sup> a way of addressing a person of honour in a third person singular pronoun which was adapted from Amharic.<sup>375</sup> Throughout this chronicle, the king is addressed in the *'Antutā* ('you') form, which indicates the reversal influence of Amharic over Gə'əz or it can be perceived as the effect of the chronicler's mother tongue; in this case Amharic. According to the chronicler, this honorary form was used against the pre-existing principle of Gə'əz grammar in which no honorary form like this one exists. Yet, it was applied to show respect for the king and remained in effect until the death of the king. A little while before the death of the king, this newly adapted Amharic *'Antutā* was interrupted and the chronicler resumed the old tradition.<sup>376</sup> Although this influence did not persist for so long, it has left the impression of the Amharic form. But it does not mean that the influence of Amharic writing is completely interrupted thereafter. Rather, the royal chroniclers of the following period showed interest to incorporate short descriptions, sayings, and other statements of secular themes in the royal annals. From the late seventeenth century onwards, war songs, lamentations, poems, and other short descriptions appeared in Amharic.<sup>377</sup> Similarly, translated Amharic sayings and songs were also incorporated.<sup>378</sup> As of the mid-eighteenth century, the royal chronicles started to host Amharic descriptions contents which shows the emerging use of Amharic in the royal historiography.<sup>379</sup>

Additionally, aside from the historiographic and religious works, fragments of several records of this period such as the land charters,<sup>380</sup> business deals, property transfer and other documentary texts were fully recorded in Amharic.<sup>381</sup> In general, all this indicates how the literary purpose of Amharic was widespread to the lower level by far. Also, it implies the growing influence of Amharic in contemporary Gə'əz writing tradition. In general, this period could be considered as a transitional period in which Amharic emerges as language of literature besides Gə'əz.

As of the first half of the nineteenth century, Amharic takes over the roles of Gə'əz in the royal court, mainly for the purpose of diplomatic correspondences. But it was not completely free from the influence of Gə'əz. The Amharic letters and other texts of this time have insertions in Gə'əz and the introductory statements have Gə'əz wording in many cases, which is a typical feature of this period.<sup>382</sup> When Emperor Tewodros II (r.1855–1868) assumed the power, the court language was officially changed to Amharic. His chronicle was composed in

<sup>374</sup> Guidi 1903, pp. 3–53.

<sup>375</sup> This honorary form had been in use both in spoken and written Amharic decades before Yoḥannəs I became king. See Ludolf 1698a.

<sup>376</sup> In the last part of the chronicle, the author said, 'አምጋላዜሰ፡ ኃዲገነ፡ ብሂለ፡ አንቱታ፡ ዘኢተረክበ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ታሪኩም፡ ለነገሥተ፡ አሰራኤል፡ ቀዳማውያን፡ ወደኃራውያን፡ ዘነበረ፡ ዲበ፡ መንበሮም፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ አላላ፡ ሰገድ፡ ንጽሕፍ፡ ከመ፡ ጥንት፡ አንተ፡ ብሂለነ፡ ወአንተ፡ በከመ፡ ረከብነ፡ በመጽሐፈ፡ ታሪኩም፡ ለነገሥተ፡ አሰራኤል፡ አለዘከርናሆም፡ ቅድመ፡ እኒዘነ፡ አመጽሐፈ፡ ታሪክ፡ ዘመኖም፡ ለዳዊት፡ ወሰሎሞን፡ አሰከ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ታሪክ፡ ዘመኑ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ አላላ፡ ሰገድ፡' ('From now on, we stop addressing in *'antutā* (a third person singular honorary form adopted from Amharic) which is not found in the book of the history of the earlier kings of 'Esrā'el and the later, on whose throne 'A'elāf Saggad sat down, we write as it was, saying *'anta* (second person singular in Amharic) as we find it in the book of the history of the kings of 'Esrā'el whom we mentioned before, from the book of history of reigns of Dāwit and Salomon to the history of this king 'A'lāf Saggad'); see Guidi 1903, pp. 53–54.

<sup>377</sup> See Guidi 1910, pp. 68, 172, 209.

<sup>378</sup> See Guidi 1903, pp. 186, 162.

<sup>379</sup> See 'Amharic Literature', *EAE*, I (2003), 238a–240a (D. Nosnitsin).

<sup>380</sup> Amharic words surface in the earliest land charters we have, since the thirteenth century.

<sup>381</sup> See Crummey 2000; see Haddis Gebre-Meskel 1992, pp. 53–68.

<sup>382</sup> See Amsalu Aklilu 1990, pp. 145–148.

the new court language without incorporating the previous features.<sup>383</sup> Afterwards, the development of Amharic continued to function independently in the royal court, in the church as well as for several other purposes. In relation to the latter point, one of the most important steps was the emergence of writing regional history by local historians. The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* was composed at the turn of this century with similar intention.

### 3.1.3. Use of Amharic in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*

Even though the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* was composed at the end of the nineteenth century, it is significantly in accordance with the literary style of the period. One of the distinctive features of the Amharic literature of this period is using a third person singular pronoun honorary form *ʾərswo*<sup>384</sup> (‘you’). This pronoun is frequently used to address the kings. For instance, ‘አፄ፡ ፋሲለ፡ አደን፡ ወጥተው፡ ጎሽ፡ ሲአባሩ፡ ጎሹ፡ እየሮጠ፡ አሰደ፡ እየተከተሉት፡’<sup>385</sup> (‘*Aṣe Fāsīl* went for hunting, while he was chasing a buffalo, the buffalo was running, and he was following it’). The underlined word *ʾə(r)swo* is third person singular pronoun honorary form applied to address respect person, whereas *ʾantu* denotes a lesser degree and *ʾanta* (for masculine) and *ʾanči* (for feminine) are for the remaining cases.<sup>386</sup> In this respect, third person plural form of that time but not honorary form, is used as: ‘ይህ፡ አገር፡ ማን፡ ይባላል፡ አላቸው። እነሆቸውም፡ ጎንደር፡ ይባላል፡ አሉት።’<sup>387</sup> (‘He said to them: “What is this place called?”, and they answered: “It is named Gondar”’). The underlined word in the Amharic reading *ʾanna(r)sāččaw* designates the third person plural pronoun. Currently, the function of *ʾərsəwo* is changed to a second person singular honorary form for respected individuals.<sup>388</sup> Likewise the third person plural pronoun *ʾənnarsāččaw* is replaced by *ʾənnarsu*. Although these pronouns are known as the feature of the nineteenth century Amharic and was in effect until the first few decades of the next century, its existence precedes this period. Ludolf has already described the third person singular honorary form in his work published at the end of the seventeenth century. Also, the third person plural appears in the same work with a little variation as *ʾərsāččo*.<sup>389</sup>

Moreover, the introductory phrase, the prophecy in which the narrative is established on, biblical quotes and verses, as well as the beginning of the history of every king begins with *Gəʾəz* phrases. All these are the common features aside from extended *Gəʾəz* narratives composed exceptionally. In addition, despite the presence of equivalent Amharic words, the *Gəʾəz* terms are preferably used. For example, *ድንጋግ* (‘a state of being shocked’), *መዓር* (‘honey’), *ብእሴ*፡ *እግዚአብሔር* (‘a man of God’), *ሐንካሳን* (‘disabled’), *እሩቅ*፡ *ብእሴ* (‘ordinary person’), and other words appear in their *Gəʾəz* form. Yet, this approach is not consistent, rather the Amharic variants can be used interchangeably. Along with this, *Gəʾəz* phrases are inserted in between long Amharic phrases. In many cases, *Gəʾəz* has a complementary nature to emphasize the event. But there are readings in which the *Gəʾəz* phrases are contextually less significant. For instance, ‘ብካፋ፡ ቁጡ፡ ነውና፡ እንደ፡ አንበሳ፡ እንደ፡ ኑበር፡ እንደ፡ ዝሆንም፡ ነውና፡ ከመ፡ ከሉ፡ አራዊት፡’<sup>390</sup> (‘as Bakāffā is ill-tampered like lion, like leopard, and like elephant, like all beasts’);

<sup>383</sup> See Amsalu Aklilu 1990, p. 149.

<sup>384</sup> In the text, the variant *ʾəsəwo* appears frequently. It is due to the assimilation of the ‘r’ sound in the word.

<sup>385</sup> See The Critical Text § 2.

<sup>386</sup> Concerning this, Isenberg and Kane say, *ʾantu* (‘you’), second person singular honorary form was in use for a lesser degree of honour and *ʾərswo* (you, third person singular honorary form) for the highest. See Isenberg 1842, p. 43; Kane 1990, p. 1221; Ludolf 1661, pp. 43, 58.

<sup>387</sup> See The Critical Text § 1.

<sup>388</sup> See Isenberg 1842, pp. 43–44; Girma A. Demeke 2017.

<sup>389</sup> See Ludolf 1698a, pp. 41–43.

<sup>390</sup> See The Critical Text § 64. Similar expression is used in the royal chronicle that say: ነደ፡ ከመ፡ እሳት፡ ወጥሳ፡ ከመ፡ አንበሳ (‘Burned like fire and roared like lion’), see Blundell 1922, p. 22.

the underlined phrase could have been omitted or replaced with an Amharic phrase. Nonetheless, the author used to gain prestige through frequent use of Gə'əz phrases or because he is passionate about the language.

To sum up, the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* has more features that are closer to the nineteenth century Amharic literary style. Perhaps it is due to two factors. One factor could be the relocation of the capital city from Gondar. In the previous period, Gondar was a political, cultural, and educational center of the country, the standard dialect and approach used to be that of Gondar. After the relocation of the capital, particularly when 'Addis 'Ababā started to emerge, Gondar became a remote peripheral town far apart from the center that overtook its position. Following this, acquiring the newly developing forms of the Amharic literature seems to have been hardly possible. Thus, while the new political center was enjoying the updated style, Gondar remained with the old one. The second reason could be the time the transition of such literary style takes. The emergence of a new literary style and the death of the preceding one does not occur overnight. Rather it takes considerable time as a period of transition in which both styles coexist for some time until the recent overwhelm it. At best the case of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is a mix of both factors. Therefore, the literary style the author of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* followed does not make it older than it actually is. Rather it shows how Gondar was completely detached from the political and cultural dynamics including the literature.

### 3.2. Orthography

When Amharic was used as a written language, it adopted the preexisting Gə'əz *fidal* (script) and 'ahaz ('numerals'). In the march of time, several additional new characters were introduced to designate different sounds that do not exist in Gə'əz. Some of these characters began to appear in the Zāg'we dynasty while Amharic writing was in early stage of development.<sup>391</sup> Further characters were innovated to represent labialized and palatalized sounds. These additional characters were made by modifying the existing syllabograms. Many of these syllabograms have been in use since Amharic began to appear in written form around the fourteenth century, even though the characters have passed through various types of modifications in their shapes.<sup>392</sup> The inconsistent appearance of these syllabograms is different from the palaeographic dynamics attributed to different periods. Rather, it was due to the successive modification occurred to denote exclusive Amharic sounds. As the result of this unceasing process, the inconsistency in shape of these labialized and palatalized syllabograms has continued until the first few decades of the twentieth century; the existing standard has become dominant after the printing technology introduced to Ethiopia. Since the existing copies of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* are from the early-twentieth century, all of them are subjected to the orthographic features mentioned above and the inconsistency peculiarity of the characters with labialized as well as palatalized ligatures is reflected in it. In the following part, I will discuss the orthographic features of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.

The exchange of homophone syllabograms that are *u/ʾ/ħ* (*ha/hə/ħa*), *ʾ/ʾ* (*ša/sa*), *ʾ/θ* (*ša/ša*), and *ħ/θ* ('a/a'), is one of the other orthographic features of this text. Yet, this orthographic merging has appeared in the oldest Ge'ez manuscripts known as the 'Abbā Garimā Gospel which is dated to the fourth/seventh century CE. The only piece of writing in which the etymological spelling was respected are the Aksumite inscriptions. The rest of the other textual works of the earlier period including the 'Abbā Garima Gospel, which was copied in the later Aksumite period lacks, to some extent, etymological spelling; so that, it is subjected

<sup>391</sup> Girma Awgichew Demeke 2009, p. 252.

<sup>392</sup> See Haddis Gebre-Meskel 1992, pp. 53–68; Girma Awgichew Demeke 2009, p. 245.



to this and other inconsistencies.<sup>393</sup> And this discrepancy, to various degrees, remains a common practice in Gə‘əz texts. When Amharic emerged as a language of literature, it adopted the practices already in place for Gə‘əz, and assumed this feature along with other elements. Therefore, the normalization of the syllabograms in the Amharic texts including the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* are in continuity with the earlier tradition. However, the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* violates the conventional Gə‘əz orthographic tradition in addition to the etymological spelling mentioned above. Here are some of them with the normalized words in *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* with the correct etymological spelling based on Leslau’s *Concise Dictionary of Gə‘əz*: ህልም (*həlm*) instead of ሕልም: (*həlm*, ‘dream’), ሀብር: (*həbr*) instead of ሕብር: (*həbr*, ‘appearance’), አምደ ወርቅ: (*amda warq*) instead of ዐምደ: ወርቅ: (‘*amda warq*, ‘column’), ዕፁብ (‘*əṣub*) instead ዕጹብ: (‘*əṣub*, ‘astonishing’), ሀዳፊ: ነፍስ: (*haddāfe nafs*) instead of ኅዳፊ: ነፍስ: (*haddāfe nafs*, ‘pilot of soul’), ይሄይሄስ (*yəheyyəs*) instead of ይኑይሄስ: (*yəheyyəs*, ‘he is better’), ሀባኔ (*həbbāne*) instead of ኅባኔ: (*həbbāne*, ‘headcloth worn by priests’), and ዕብን (‘*əbn*) instead of ኅብን: (‘*əbn*, ‘stone’).<sup>394</sup> Yet, this discrepancy is not only for Gə‘əz words but many Amharic words are freely spelled in different ways due the presence of the homophone syllabograms.

The other distinct features observed exclusively in two of the manuscript witnesses (MS A and MS G) are other than the exchange of homophone syllabograms. In these manuscripts, the labiovelar ኅ (*h<sup>w</sup>ə*) is used extensively. In comparison, these manuscripts are older than other copies. Thus, the existence of this labiovelar does not seem to be a private decision of the copyist nor a coincidence. Rather, both copyists seem to have been loyal to the archetype text. Otherwise, they could easily change this syllabogram for other frequently used homophone since Amharic is a spoken language and easy to make correction when it is necessary. Some of these occurrences cannot be justified with etymological spelling as it significantly varies from the Gə‘əz verbs except as the common exchange of homophone syllabograms. Probably, it could be a transmission from the earlier Amharic forms. In order to make it clear, I have presented some of the readings from the text, such as አለኝ: (‘I am’), ኅሉ: (‘all’), ኅሉት: (‘two’), አልነካችኝ: (‘I will never touch (you)’), አውቃለኝ: (‘I know’), እንዴት: አደርጋለኝ: (‘What can I do?’), ምንድርሮች: ናችኝ: (‘What are you’). Different orders of the syllabogram ኅ (*ha*) are also applied in several cases such as እኅድ: (‘Sunday’), ኅዱ: (‘they went’), and ከቆምኑበት: (‘where I am standing’). This peculiar feature is less likely to happen in both manuscripts parallelly due to the individual decisions of the copyists; rather, it is the result of their loyalty to the original form of the text, which appears according to the archaic Amharic orthography. Earlier works attests the commonality of this approach in the seventeenth century. Amharic texts composed around this period such as *Təmhərta Hāymānot* (‘The teaching of faith’),<sup>395</sup> and in the works of the German scholar Hiob Ludolf, the *Lexicon Linguae Amharicae*<sup>396</sup> and *Grammatica Linguae Amharicae*,<sup>397</sup> indicate the preceding existence of this form centuries ago. Similar occurrences also appeared in later documents but very rarely.<sup>398</sup> Since this feature had been in constant practice in the past, its existence in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* seems a retention of the old style more than a recent innovation to be attributed to the scribes. The later copies of the text did not maintain it, and all these specific syllabograms are replaced by ሁ (*hu*) that denotes similar sound.

The presence of various labialized and palatalized ligatures that denote identical sounds is the additional feature of the orthography. Most of these labialized and palatalized graphemes

<sup>393</sup> Bausi 2016, pp. 58, 71, 76, 80.

<sup>394</sup> The meaning of each word presented are in particular reference to the readings in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*.

<sup>395</sup> See Girma Awgichew Demeke 2009, pp. 307–314; see also Cowley 1983.

<sup>396</sup> See Ludolf 1698a, pp. 4, 5, 6, 7, 59.

<sup>397</sup> See Ludolf 1698b, pp. 51, 53, 55, 61.

<sup>398</sup> Blundell 1922, p. 150.

are shared by all manuscript witnesses and some of them by a minimum of two manuscript witnesses. They are derived from the *syllabograms* መ (*ma*), ረ (*ra*), ሰ (*sa*), and ጩ (*ça*). Currently, there exists only one labialized form for each of these syllabograms and the palatalized ligatures are not in use anymore after the standardized scripts emerged as the result of the printing technology. However, when the textual production was dependent on manual labor of scribes there seems to be no standard for labialized, particularly for those exclusively denoting Amharic sounds. Perhaps, it was due to insignificance of the script for Gə‘əz orthography that it lacked consistent shape. Following this, in the early Amharic texts the possibility to find more than one labialized script that represents a single sound is common. That is the case in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. For instance, there are four different labialized interchangeably used characters which represent the sound ማ (*m<sup>w</sup>ā*). In the late seventeenth century it used to be ማ.<sup>399</sup> But in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* there are two additional characters consisting of the two different consonant መ (*ma*) and ሞ (*mo*) plus a horizontal line as sound marker on top that denote the same sound the former characters represent. There was also one more script that was in use for the same purpose in the mid-nineteenth century, which is ሞ (*mā*) with horizontal bar lined at the bottom.<sup>400</sup> In this case, at least four of the seven orders of መ (*ma*) with a little modification were used to denote a single labialized sound. However, Ludolf also described all the scripts used in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* as a set of syllabograms with their seven orders representing seven different sounds. This set of syllabograms are all the seven orders of ‘መ’ with horizontal stroke on top.<sup>401</sup> Although it needs further discussion, Ludolf’s description of this palatalized ligature seems reasonable. One of this is used in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*, which is the third order of this syllabogram ማ (*m<sup>iy</sup>ā*)<sup>402</sup> that represents in a single character ማ (*mī*) plus ያ (*yā*). In Many cases ማያ (*mīyā*) and ማ (*m<sup>iy</sup>ā*) are interchangeably used to represent the same sound; but in later time, the sound is presumably shorter because each syllabogram designates a single sound. For instance መቆማ<sup>403</sup> (*Maq<sup>w</sup>ām<sup>iy</sup>ā*) instead of መቆማያ (*Maq<sup>w</sup>āmiyā* ‘Prayer stick’) and የማያውቁትን<sup>404</sup> (*yamm<sup>iy</sup>āwqutən*) instead of የማያውቁትን (*yammīyāwqutən*, ‘What they know’ or ‘those who know it’). Like the other labialized legatures, it had been constantly replacing ማያ (*mīyā*) until the first few decades of the twentieth century.<sup>405</sup> Further study is required to understand its correct purpose.

Likewise, labialized syllabograms derived from ረ (*ra*) also appear in the text. Actually, ረ (*r<sup>w</sup>ā*) is the most widely used labialized. In addition, ረ (*ru*) with a horizontal stroke at the bottom had been an interchangeably used character. The sign was dropped recently and ረ (*r<sup>w</sup>ā*) remains in use. But while these various characters were in use, ረ (*r<sup>w</sup>ā*) had been confused with

<sup>399</sup> If Guidi transcription is loyal to the manuscript, ማ (*m<sup>w</sup>ā*) was a conventional script to represent the labiovelar sound in the Gondarine period. Both in the chronicle of ‘Iyysāu I and Bakāffā two Amharic words ማያሁ: (*M<sup>w</sup>āyāhu*, ‘his profession’) and በዓለ: ማል: (*Ba‘āla M<sup>w</sup>āl*, ‘favourite (person of the king)’) respectively; see Guidi 1903, pp. 97, 193.

<sup>400</sup> See Isenberg 1842, p. 4.

<sup>401</sup> See Ludolf 1698a, p. 3.

<sup>402</sup> Since there is no standard transcription for this kind of ligatures, I have used the superscript to indicate the mixed sounds it represents.

<sup>403</sup> See MS BnF, Éth. 616 (Griaule 318), f. 84v.

<sup>404</sup> See MS BnF, Éth. 596 (Griaule 288), f. 81r.

<sup>405</sup> See Cohen 1936. This kind of palatalized that have *sālās* (‘third order’) sound have existed since the seventeenth century. An Amharic *mawaddās* (‘praise poem’) dated between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century indicated the practice in which similar palatalized syllabograms were in use but many of them are already forgotten in the later period. In this *mawaddās* there is a word ሺለቅስ:(*s<sup>iy</sup>ālaqs*) which used to be read as ሺለቅስ: (*sīyālaqs*, ‘while he is crying’) in the contemporary Amharic. It follows the same principle to create the labiovelar ሺ that replaced ሺያ. See Amsalu Tefera 2019, p. 323.

another ligature which expressed the palatalized, that is ṣ̣ (r<sup>iy</sup>ā).<sup>406</sup> However, the proper function of the latter ligature is attested in several manuscripts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>407</sup> For instance, the scribes used to spell እናሯ<sup>408</sup> (ʿ*Annār<sup>iy</sup>ā*) for እናሯ (ʿ*Annāriyā*) or እናሯ (ʿ*Annārāyā*), ባሯ<sup>409</sup> (*bar<sup>iy</sup>ā*) instead of ባሯ (bāriyā, ‘slave’) or ባሯ (barāyā), ማደሯ<sup>410</sup> (*mādar<sup>iy</sup>ā*) for ማደሯ (mādariyā, ‘a place to spend the night’) and so on. Although it has been widely accepted and consistently used in Amharic texts, some scribes seem to have confused the correct sounds of these two different characters. In some cases, both were being used interchangeably. Three manuscript witnesses of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* (MS G, MS C, and MS A) show inconsistency in using ṣ̣ and ṣ̣̣. The latter (MS A) tried to minimize a frequent use of this confusing characters, so that it replaced ṣ̣ by ሯ (riyā) and ṣ̣̣ by ሯ፱ (rəwā). Yet, this confusion was not the only problem faced by the copyists of the four manuscript witnesses. It had been a shared mistake done by scribes of different localities or regions. Some of the additional manuscripts I have referred for the sake of comparison strengthen this remark. These manuscripts are housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éth. 599 (= Griaule 231) and Éth. 596 (= Griaule 288); they are originally from Goḡḡām and ʿAddis ʿAbabā respectively. Regardless of the place of the production, both have done the same mistakes found in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Moreover, Kidāna Wald Kəfle has expressed his concern on these confusing characters and recommended the elimination of ṣ̣ and the constant use of ሯ instead.<sup>411</sup> But he never addressed the other labialized or palatalized ligatures with the same concern. Conversely, Tasammā Habta Mikāʿel Gəṣəw, another contemporary scholar, also mentioned the existence of about eleven palatalized ligatures having the *śālās* sound (‘third order sound’) and their function without presenting their shapes.<sup>412</sup> Therefore, the mistakes occurred in the manuscript witnesses of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* have nothing to do with the place of production of the manuscript, rather they had been common phenomena throughout the current scribal practices of the period, throughout the country.

The last archaic palatalized ligature appeared in two of the manuscript witnesses (MS A and MS G) is ṣ̣̣ and very rarely ṣ̣̣̣. These symbols designate the same sound denoted by ṣ̣̣ (S<sup>w</sup>ā). If the later form also appeared in these manuscripts, the syllabogram ṣ̣̣̣ has never been frequently used. This kind of labialized syllabogram could be due to the established practice of putting a horizontal bar on top of the syllabogram. But the unexpected result of the later character became a duplication of another syllabogram ṣ̣̣ (śo). Putting a horizontal bar on top of the syllabogram could be the retention of the earlier tradition. For instance, an Amharic *mawaddəs qəne* composed between the sixteenth and seventeenth century, most probably copied at the same time, used ṣ̣̣̣<sup>413</sup> to denote the labialized (s<sup>w</sup>ā). Thus, most probably, this kind of peculiarities are due to the earlier practices more than to scribal mistakes occurred due to the lack of accurate knowledge of every character and the sound it represents.

<sup>406</sup> It is also a mix of *ri* and *yā* sounds but that should be read together, therefore the correct transcription would be r<sup>iy</sup>ā, not riyā.

<sup>407</sup> See Cohen 1936; Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1926, p. 15.

<sup>408</sup> See MS BnF, Éth. 599 (= Griaule 231), ff. 87v, 91r.

<sup>409</sup> MS BnF, Éth. 596 (Griaule 288), ff. 21v, 32v.

<sup>410</sup> MS BnF, Éth. 599 (Griaule 231), ff. 87v, 18r.

<sup>411</sup> Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1926, p. 15.

<sup>412</sup> See Tasammā Habta Mikāʿel Gəṣəw 1951 AM.

<sup>413</sup> In the present day this letter represents a different sound, ś<sup>w</sup>ā, that is another labiovelar; and ṣ̣̣̣ (śo) represents the seventh order syllabogram of ṣ̣̣ (śa). For the old designation of this labiovelar see Amsalu Tefera 2019, p. 323.

### 3.3. Dialect and lexical approaches

Amharic is a widely spoken language in Ethiopia and its native speakers are about thirty percent of the entire population of the country.<sup>414</sup> The native speakers live in different and geographically scattered provinces, mainly in Gondar, Goğgām, Wallo, and Šawā.<sup>415</sup> In each of these regions, Amharic is spoken in local dialects. These dialects have their own distinct features in comparison to one against the others. Likewise, all have significant variation against the so-called standard dialect spoken in 'Addis 'Ababā. The latter is used by higher government officials, in schools, and the media as well. The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* was composed in Gondar; so, the influence of the local dialect is expected. Therefore, I will describe the phonological, morphological, and lexical peculiarities of the Gondar dialect which is the language of the literature of the text accordingly. The variation is compared exclusively against the 'Addis 'Ababā dialect.

#### 3.3.1. Phonological Peculiarities

##### 3.3.1.1. Maintained Laryngeal Vowel ḥ ('A)

One of the phonological features of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is the conservation of the laryngeal vowel 'a. This feature is attested by all the witnesses. I have presented some of these readings in the following table with the transliteration and its equivalent in the standard 'Addis 'Ababā dialect.

Reading from the text	'Addis 'Ababā dialect
ሲአሰጨንቁት: ( <i>Si'āsčannəqut</i> , 'while he was distressing him')	ሲያሰጨንቁት ( <i>siyāsčanneequt</i> )
አቀጣው: አሉኑ: ('əqatāwə 'allah'wə, 'I will punish him')	አቀጣዋሉ: ('əqatāwəllahu)
ሊአንኮባልል: ( <i>li'ankobālləl</i> , 'to take someone for walk')	ሊያንኮባልል: ( <i>liyānkoballel</i> )
አሆንህ: አሉኑ: ('əhonəhə 'allah'wə, 'I will be (your)')	አሆንህሉ: ('əhonəhəllahu)
ሊአልቅ: ( <i>li'aləq</i> , 'It (is) about to end')	ሊያልቅ: ( <i>liyāləq</i> )
ገዝቸህ: አሉኑ: ( <i>Gazzəččahə 'allah'wə</i> , 'I excommunicate you')	ገዝቸህሉ: ( <i>gazzəččahallahu</i> )
ደርሶአለኛ: ( <i>darso'allānā</i> , 'because it reaches')	ደርሶልኛ: ( <i>dars'ālənna</i> )
እበልጣችሁ: አሉሁ: ('əbalṭāččəhu 'allahu', 'I excell you')	እበልጣችኋሉሁ: ('əbalṭāččəh'āllahu)

As presented in the above table, the phonetic peculiarities are observed in the underlined words. These words are longer as they preserve the laryngeal vowels and divide the word into two as it contained two different verbs. This peculiarity is not only present in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*, rather the texts composed around the same period share the same

<sup>414</sup> Zitouni 2014, p. 5.

<sup>415</sup> The Šawā dialect is known as the Manz dialect which is a specific region in Šawā province. A comparative research conducted to identify the differences among these dialects shows that the Wallo and Manz dialects shared many more features with the 'Addis 'Ababā dialect more than the Goğgām dialect. See Habte Mariam Marcos 1973.

feature. For instance, similar occurrence is observed in *Maṣḥafa Ĉawātā of Dabtarā Zanab*.<sup>416</sup> Thus it is a common orthographic practice in the development of the Amharic writings.

### 3.3.1.2. Assimilated Consonant ነ (*Na*)

The other phonological peculiarity is the assimilation of ነ (*n*) sounds. Some of the assimilated ነ (*n*) sounds are listed as follows.

The word as it reads in the text	The correct reading	Meaning
ፈረጅ: ( <i>faraḡḡ</i> )	ፈረንጅ: ( <i>faranḡ</i> )	foreigner
አገት: (‘ <i>aggat</i> )	አንገት: (‘ <i>angat</i> )	neck
ዳረጎት: (‘ <i>dāragg<sup>w</sup>at</i> )	ዳረንጎት: (‘ <i>dārang<sup>w</sup>at</i> )	benefaction
ግቡ: ( <i>gəbbu</i> )	ግንቡ: ( <i>gənbu</i> )	the building
እካ: (‘ <i>akkā</i> )	እንካ: (‘ <i>ankā</i> )	take
አሪጎ: (‘ <i>arigg<sup>w</sup>a</i> )	አሪንጎ: (‘ <i>aring<sup>w</sup>a</i> )	a placename
ሸብራ: ( <i>šabbārā</i> )	ሸንብራ: ( <i>šənbārā</i> )	checkpea
ወበር: ( <i>Wabbar</i> )	ወንበር: ( <i>wanbar</i> )	chair
ሸብቆ: ( <i>šabbaqo</i> )	ሸንብቆ: ( <i>šanbaqqo</i> )	bamboo
ተከለኛ: ( <i>takk<sup>w</sup>alaññā</i> )	ተንከለኛ: ( <i>tank<sup>w</sup>alaññā</i> )	malicious
ወበዴ: ( <i>wabbade</i> )	ወንበዴ: ( <i>wanbade</i> )	bandit or robber
ከብል: ( <i>kəbbəl</i> )	ከንብል: ( <i>kənbəl</i> )	poured out
ድቆ: ( <i>dəqqo</i> )	ድንቆ: ( <i>dənqo</i> )	person’s name

The existence of these and other assimilated *n* sounds in the text make the case beyond a scribal mistake. Rather it seems to have been a common practice which is not related to the regional dialect of the language. Probably, it is related to the *n* sound which is swallowed by the other sounds and resulted in this kind of transcription.

### 3.3.1.3. Initial Prothetic እ (‘*ʾ*)

Initial prothetic እ (‘*ʾ*) is the other phonological feature of the Gondar dialect. To some extent, it also exists in the Goḡḡām dialect, perhaps due to the geographical proximity of the regions.<sup>417</sup> Adding this initial prothesis is a common practice in the present-day Amharic speakers, even in English loanwords such as እስፖርት (‘*əsport*, ‘sport’) instead of the direct transcription ስፖርት (*sport*) or እስክሪፕት (‘*əscript*, ‘script’) instead of transcribing as ስክሪፕት (*script*). In spoken Amharic it is common in many places including the ‘Addis ‘Ababā dialect. But the written practice is guided in accordance with the ‘Addis ‘Ababā dialect that applies the correct transcription. Some of the extracted readings in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* are listed as follows with the correct orthography in Gə‘əz. እራስ: (‘*arās*, ‘head’) instead of ራስ (*rās*), እርኅራኄ: (‘*arəhrāhe*, ‘clemency’) instead of ርኅራኄ: (*rəhrāhe*), እረፍት:<sup>418</sup> (‘*arəft*, ‘rest’) instead of ረፍት (*raft*), እርጉም: (‘*arḡum*, ‘cursed’) instead of ርጉም: (*rəḡum*), እረገፈ: (‘*eraggafa*, ‘it falls to

<sup>416</sup> See MS BnF, Éth. 599 (Griaule 231). This manuscript was copied around 1904/5 (1897 A. M.). Either this feature is inherited from the original copy or not, it does not make a difference, as the gist of the argument is the commonality of this feature at that time.

<sup>417</sup> Mengistu Tadesse 2018, p. 101.

<sup>418</sup> This could be the influence of Gə‘əz. For further information see Leslau 1989, p. 173.

the ground') instead of ረገፈ: (*raggafa*), እሳር:<sup>419</sup> ('*āsār*, 'grass') instead of ሳር: (*sār*), እነው:<sup>420</sup> ('*annaw*, 'is it') instead of ነው: (*naw*[n]), and እሴት ('*aset*, 'female') instead of ሴት (*set*).<sup>421</sup>

### 3.3.1.4. Interchangeable Use of ጠ (*T*) and ጸ (*S*) or ፀ (*Ṣ*)

According to Anbessa Teferra, exchanging *ṣ* or *ṣ̣* for *t* is a typical dialect of the rural Gondar.<sup>422</sup> Replacing *ṣ* and *ṣ̣* sounds by *t* frequently occurs in the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*, probably, due to the influence of the spoken dialect. Otherwise, the *dabtarās* learned all these terms in Gə'əz and it could not happen if they were strict to respect the Gə'əz tradition. For instance, የጠና: (*yaṭannā*, 'strengthened'), መነጠር: (*manaṭṭar*, 'glass' or 'monocular'), ድምጠዎን : (*dəmṭawon*, 'your voice'), and አጤ ('*ate*, 'emperor' or 'king of kings') are words inherited from the Gə'əz root verbs, ጸነፀ: (*ṣan 'a*), ነጸረ: (*naṣṣara*, 'to see'), መነጸር (*manaṣṣar*), ድምፅ (*dəmṣ*, 'sound'). Thus, if the original form of the words were respected, all the words mentioned above would constantly appear as የጸና: (*yaṣannā*), መነጸር: (*manaṣṣar*), ድምፀዎን: (*dəmṣawon*), and አፂ: ('*aṣe*) respectively.<sup>423</sup> Yet, the first form which is influenced by the local dialect appears more frequently than the latter form.

There are also other cases where the ጠ (*t*) sound in Amharic words is changed for ጸ (*ṣ*) or ፀ (*ṣ̣*). For instance, the Amharic word ጠጅ: (*taḡḡ*, 'mead') interchangeably appears as ጸጅ: (*ṣaḡḡ*) or ፀጅ: (*ṣ̣aḡḡ*). Yet, it is not a Gə'əz word, rather an Amharic word for which the correct transcription is the first one. Perhaps, the interchangeable use of ጠ (*t*) and ጸ (*ṣ*) or ፀ (*ṣ̣*) in Gə'əz words and the reciprocal approach in the Amharic words could be the result of the spoken Amharic dialect and the inclination of the scribes towards Gə'əz textual tradition, that is a hypercorrectism.

Besides, there are words and phrases subject to vowel elision such as ደንጊያ: (*dangiyā*, 'stone') for ደንጋያ: (*dangay*), ተል: ተሎ: (*tal talo*, 'quickly'), for ቶሎ: ቶሎ: (*tolo tolo*) ማለዳ: (*māldā*, 'early morning') for ማለዳ: (*māladā*) appear in the text. This kind of vowel elision is considered as the feature of the Gondar dialect as well.<sup>424</sup>

## 3.3.2. Morphological Peculiarities

In this section, I will treat the morphological features of the text. All the readings in the text do not belong to the regional dialect variation. Rather, some are due to the influence of Gə'əz, in turn due to the educational background of the scribes which is the traditional church school. The remaining morphemes are archaic Amharic forms that appear in the text but rarely.

### 3.3.2.1. Substituting the First-Person Plural Ending (Verbal and Pronominal) ን (-*N*) by ነ (-*Na*)

Substituting the first-person plural marker ን (-*n*) by ነ (-*na*) is another feature of the Gondar dialect.<sup>425</sup> May be, its exclusive persistence in this region could be the main reason for such a conclusion. This feature is seemingly adopted from the grammar of Gə'əz. For instance, መጣከ: (*maṭṭāna*, 'we came') from Gə'əz መጸእከ: (*maṣā'əna*) that has identical meaning; and

<sup>419</sup> The correct transcription of this word in Gə'əz is ሳር: (*sār*, 'herb, grass, vegetation') see Leslau 1989, p. 53. So that, the Amharic form in the Gondar dialect እሳር: ('*āsār*') seems a methathesis of the Gə'əz word apart from the graphic variance.

<sup>420</sup> It is a question form also known as ነውን? (*nawənə?*, 'Is it?').

<sup>421</sup> The last two words are not of Gə'əz so that the orthography is compared with the standard 'Addis 'Ababā dialect.

<sup>422</sup> Anbessa Teferra 2013, p. 258.

<sup>423</sup> For the Gə'əz lexicons see Leslau 1989.

<sup>424</sup> Anbessa Teferra 2013, p. 259.

<sup>425</sup> Anbessa Teferra 2013, p. 260.

መጣብነ፡ (*maṭṭābanna*, ‘it come to us’) from መጽኦ፡ ብነ፡ (*maṣ’a banna*). However, this feature is also reflected in other cases such as ምን፡ ተስኖነ፡ (*mən tasənonna*, ‘nothing is impossible to us’), ጠፋነ፡ (*taffānna*, ‘we lost it’), ይሰጡነ፡ (*yəstunna*, ‘let them give us’), ብላኸነ፡ (*bəlakanna*, ‘you said to us’), አቅርብልነ፡ (*‘aqṛəballanna*, ‘bring it near to us’). Therefore, it is more likely a linguistic feature of the local dialect of Amharic. To change all these words to the standard dialect is substituting the plural marker ነ (*-na*) by ን (*-n*).

### 3.3.2.2. The Substitution of the Preposition ከ (*Ka*) by ተ (*Ta*) and ኸ (*Ka*)

Substituting the prefix ከ (*‘ka’*) which is a preposition and serves as conjunction by ተ (*‘ta’*) and ኸ (*‘ka’*) is another peculiar feature to be attributed to the Gondar dialect so far, particularly in the rural Gondar. Although the scribe tried to avoid this form, it appears in the text to a certain extent. The readings are presented in comparison with the ’Addis ’Ababā dialect as follows: ተዚያ፡ (*tazziyā*, ‘then’) instead of ከዚያ፡ (*kazziya*), እስተሰራ፡ (*‘əstissarrā*, ‘until it is done’), ኸበግ፡ (*kabag*, ‘from the sheep’) instead of ከበግ፡ (*kabag*).

The remaining miscellaneous morphological elements are rarely used, but they are listed here below, as it helps to identify the origin of the text. The following two sentences followed by the ’Addis ’Ababā dialect are exclusive to the Gondar area. The words used in the sentence construction አራሴን፡ ላጨኝ፡ (*‘ərāsen lāççañ*, ‘shave my head’) instead of ፀጉሬን፡ ላጨኝ፡ (*ṣaguren lāççañ*, ‘shave my hear’), አራስዋን፡ የተሰራች፡ (*‘ərāswān yatasarrāčč*, ‘whose head is done’) instead of ፀጉሯን፡ የተሰራች፡ (*ṣagurwān yatasarrāčč*, ‘whose hair is done’).

### 3.3.3. Lexical Peculiarities

In this section, I have presented some of the lexical items from the text that are exclusively used in Gondar with their equivalent words in the ’Addis ’Ababā dialect. In addition, the archaic words are listed with their English translations in accordance with the context of the text.

<u>Gondar</u>	<u>’Addis ’Ababā</u>	<u>meaning</u>
ጫንቃ፡ ( <i>čānqā</i> )	ጀርባ፡ ( <i>ğarbā</i> )	back
ገንቦ፡ ( <i>ganbo</i> )	እንስራ፡ ( <i>‘ənsərā</i> )	clay pot
ላክልሽ፡ ( <i>lakkələš</i> )	ልጩምርልሽ፡ ( <i>ləçammərəlləš</i> )	may I give you more?
አሽከር፡ <sup>426</sup> ( <i>‘aškar</i> )	ልጅ፡ ( <i>leğ</i> )	boy
አይሸሸግም፡ ( <i>‘ayššašṣagəm</i> )	አይደበቅም፡ ( <i>‘aydabbaqəm</i> )	it shall not be hidden
አውዴ፡ <sup>427</sup> ( <i>‘awde</i> )	ዚሪ፡ ( <i>z‘ārī</i> )	wanderer
ብያ፡ <sup>428</sup> ( <i>bəyyā</i> )	እንዴ፡ ( <i>‘ənde</i> )	is it?
ወትሮ፡ <sup>429</sup> ( <i>watro</i> )	ድሮ፡ ( <i>dəro</i> )	long ago
አያል፡ ( <i>‘ayyāl</i> )	ብዙ፡ ( <i>bəzu</i> )	plenty or many
ብረት፡ ( <i>bərat</i> )	ጠበንጃ፡ ( <i>tabanğā</i> )	rifle
መሥሪያ፡ ( <i>maśriyā</i> )	ገበታ፡ ( <i>gabatā</i> )	a table ready to host dinners
መብል፡ ( <i>mabəl</i> )	ምግብ፡ ( <i>məgəb</i> )	food

<sup>426</sup> It refers to the house servant. The additional meaning it has in Gondar dialect seems a latter phenomenon.

<sup>427</sup> Perhaps it is derived from the Gə‘əz ዖደ (*‘oda*, ‘to go around’). See Leslau 1989, p. 177.

<sup>428</sup> Exclamation of surprise. The equivalent term in the standard ’Addis ’Ababā dialect is እንዴ (*‘ənde!* ‘How!’). In Gondar አነው or ነው is used instead. ብያ፡ (*bəyyā*), the latter is exclusive to the Səmen region in Gondar.

<sup>429</sup> It is corresponding with the Gə‘əz word ወትሮ፡ (*watr*, ‘uninterrupted time interval’) but the lately coined meaning for ወትሮ፡ (*watəro*) seems out of this context. See Leslau 1989, p. 163; Kane 1990, pp. 1537–1538.

The words listed below are archaic words used in the text, some of them are found in the royal chronicles of the Gondarine period kings. In the later time until the first few decades of the twentieth century the words were still used by the Gondar people.

መልካካም: (*malkākām*) plural of መልካም: (*malkām*, ‘good’).

አልጋ: (*’algā*) it refers to bed, but in the former time it also referred to the throne.

ዘገር: (*zagar*) a spear carried by the king.

አፋ: (*’afā*) a ceremonial knife the king put on his waist.

ቅሬ: (*qəre*) one of the service units in the royal court who perform song during the coronation.

ዳታን:<sup>430</sup> (*dātān*) a washing bowl.

በቀላ: (*baqqalā*) robe of a state; also means a military dress.<sup>431</sup>

ዳባ: (*dābbā*) monk’s mantel of yellow leather.<sup>432</sup>

መንገኒቅ: (*manganiq*) rifle.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>430</sup> In contemporary Wallo dialect it refers to a plate. See Mengistu Tadesse 2018, p. 140.

<sup>431</sup> See Kane 1990, p. 907; Guidi 1903, pp. 253, 298.

<sup>432</sup> See Kane 1990, p. 1773.

<sup>433</sup> It is a loanword from Arabic and exists both in Gə‘əz and Amharic, see Kane 1990, p. 282.



## Chapter Four: Critical Edition of *Tārik Zamādra Gondar*

### 4.1. Methodology

#### 4.1.1. Concept of the Critical Edition

Critical edition is a systematic reconstruction of the archetype text, if not the original, based on understanding of the relationship among surviving copies of the same text. Philological practice in the sense of editing textual works based on surviving witness is dated back to the classical period.<sup>434</sup> However, the scientific approach on contemporary practices emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, with the work of the German philologist Karl Lachmann (1793–1851).<sup>435</sup> He is credited with laying the foundation of the modern critical edition method. The main idea he proposed for a critical edition is to identify the kinship and genealogy based on the errors the different witnesses shared in common, i.e. the conjunctive errors. Based on this, the witnesses are grouped into families from which results the stemma. Following these steps, one can reconstruct the archetype text. This method is applied to a critical edition of a text that has more than one witnesses. Although this method is considered as a preferable approach for a critical edition, it was challenged by Joseph Bédier (1864–1938), who criticized Lachmann’s approach and advocated the so-called best manuscript edition as an alternative. The later favours the selection of the best manuscript among available witnesses and performing the emendation to avoid transmitted mistakes. However, in the later period, the Italian philologist Giorgio Pasquali revised and transformed the Lachmannian approach.<sup>436</sup> This approach is known as neo-Lachmannian method and it considers also variant readings in the textual witnesses, more than only considering the errors, and introduces several other criteria which can be used to understand difficult and contaminated textual traditions. Besides, it requires a detailed study of the textual tradition of each witness, which can vary for different traditions. Having done this, the kinship among witnesses can be identified and indicated in a stemma. The goal of this approach is to enable the reconstruction of a text as close as possible to the archetype text from which the available witnesses derive. Yet, it does not consider the critical edition of the text as final and postulates an accurate reconstruction of the original, rather it is ‘seen as a scientifically based working hypothesis, not as an absolute entity.’<sup>437</sup>

The *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* is composed in Amharic language and has four witnesses that are used in this research. Its date of composition is relatively recent, and the text has minimal variations of readings among the available witnesses except emendations in the later copies. But graphic variances and independent scribal errors occurred during the copying process exist in all witnesses. Therefore, applying the neo-Lachmannian method that considers available variant readings, the textual history, and the manuscript tradition to come up with the genealogical tree of witnesses with the historical witnesses in addition to the founding principles of the Lachmannian approach is considered appropriate. Applying this method helps to identify the relationship among the witnesses based on variant readings, considering the textual tradition, to establish the family tree of the witness based on the conjunctive errors, that is the *stemma codicum*, and to reconstruct the archetype text from which the surviving copies have descended from. This method is applied to the critical editions of Ethiopic texts of different genres, amongst which the work of Italian philologist Paolo Marrassini on *Gadla*

<sup>434</sup> See Roelli and Macé 2015, p. 76.

<sup>435</sup> Trovato 2014, p. 50.

<sup>436</sup> Trovato 2014, pp. 71–75.

<sup>437</sup> See Roelli and Macé 2015, p. 136.

*Yohannās Məsrāqāwi* is worth to be mentioned as a pioneer work.<sup>438</sup> Following him, other philologists made several editions of religious and historical texts in the same method. The critical edition of the *Chronicle of Galāwdewos*, the history of the mid-sixteenth century king of Ethiopia conducted in the same method, clearly shows the benefit of this method for the edition of such historical texts.<sup>439</sup> Thus, considering the similarities genre and the language as well as the literary tradition both texts are composed in, I have applied the same method for the critical edition of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*.

#### 4.1.2. Method of the Critical Edition

The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* has not been studied so far or fully translated into another language, except selected parts translated into Italian by Alberto Pollera and published with other ethnographic accounts collected in Gondar and the surrounding. Thus, this work is the first attempt to edit the text based on available witnesses and to translate it into English. Since the critical edition is the main task of this research, the neo-Lachmannian method is applied, in consideration of the opportunity to carry out an edition on a multiple-witness text. Five manuscripts are used among which three belongs to institutional libraries in Europe: one is housed in Bibliothèque nationale de France (Collection Griaule), one in Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (Fondo Conti Rossini). The third one is kept in Milano, Archivio Provinciale dei Cappuccini Lombardi e della Biblioteca Franciscana. The fourth manuscript comes from the private collection of 'Ato Hāyle Bayyana, in Ethiopia. The fifth witness hypothetically reconstructed based on fragments of readings found on the lower margin of Griaule's codex as correction.

All the manuscripts are listed as follows.

1. A, MS Milano, APCL (=191 E 001), ff. 43r–59v<sup>440</sup>
2. C, MS Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (= Conti Rossini 125. II.), ff. 1r–13v<sup>441</sup>
3. G, MS Paris, BnF, Éth. 616 (= Griaule 308), ff. 1r–94v<sup>442</sup>
4. G<sup>2</sup>, MS Griaule<sup>2</sup>
5. H, MS Gondar, Private collection of 'Ato Hāyle Bayyana, ff. 1r–81v.

#### 4.2. Collation

In a text-critical edition, comparing the contents and detail variations among the textual witnesses is possible by collation, which is the task.<sup>443</sup> Thus, in order to do that, I have selected MS G as a reference text and conducted manual collation. The main reason why I have chosen this manuscript as a reference text is the following. It is the oldest of all copies with clearly legible handwriting, it is well preserved, and it contains all the text available in the rest of the other witnesses. It is therefore the most complete version. Before starting the collation, I have transcribed every word and punctuation marks in the text vertically downwards and prepared a

<sup>438</sup> See Marrassini 1981; 'Marrassini, Paolo', *E Ae*, V (2014), 416a–418a (A. Bausi).

<sup>439</sup> Solomon Gebreyes Beyene 2016.

<sup>440</sup> Mazzei 2015, pp. 38–42.

<sup>441</sup> Strelcyn 1976, p. 302.

<sup>442</sup> Strelcyn 1954, p. 191.

<sup>443</sup> Bausi et al. 2015, pp. 332–333.

table that has three columns to report the variants from the other manuscripts.<sup>444</sup> On top of each column the sigla that represent the witnesses are written. In so doing the graphic variants, emendation errors and the variant readings are recorded with different pens having different colours. As I have mentioned, there is also the hypothetically reconstructed text based on the correctional work on MS G. This correctional work was done in different hand and different pen and the person who was responsible for the collection of this manuscript mentioned this manuscript as ‘*autre version*’. But the correction was conducted by another scribe who was helping the collectors, named Kāsā.<sup>445</sup> The correctional work was conducted in the same place Gondar where MS G was copied. Yet, since the correction was done selectively, this version is not a complete text, and it has been hardly possible to find it in Gondar. Thus, every correction inserted in MS G in a different hand is incorporated in parenthesis besides the reference text. The following picture shows how the manual collation was conducted.

The image shows a handwritten collation table with four columns labeled G, H, C, and A. Each column contains a list of words or phrases in a non-Latin script, with corresponding symbols or characters in the adjacent columns. The table is annotated with various colored markings, including red and green ink, and includes handwritten notes in the margins. A note on the left side reads "But the correctional work was done by Kāsā. Kappā." and another note at the bottom left reads "But the correctional work was done by Kāsā. Kappā.".

### 4.3. Grouping the Manuscripts

After conducting the collation, the manuscripts can be grouped into two distinct families based on the shared innovations that are found in CHG<sup>2</sup> and in GA. The variances registered in the collation are mainly omission, addition, emendation, and orthographic features. Some of them are listed as follows.

<sup>444</sup> The fourth manuscript witness represented by the siglum A was found after I had started doing the collation. When I have got the digital copy, I did the collection against the readings in the other manuscript witnesses and wrote the variants on the available space in the right corner of the table as one can observe in the above picture.

<sup>445</sup> See Griaule et al. 2015.

## HCG<sup>2</sup> family

MS H and MS C have a lot of shared variant readings, including certain conjunctive errors. These conjunctive errors and variant readings occurred during the process of emendation, omission, misreading, and substitution of archaic words for more contemporary words that can be more easily understood by the readers. However, as Amharic is a spoken language, the effect of the errors does not make significant variation of the meaning in many cases. The conjunctive errors found in this manuscript family are listed below.

1. 48: 12–14 ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያንቲቱም፡ ከቆመችው፡ ላይ፡ ትልቅ፡ ባሕር፡ ነበረ፡ ባሕሩን፡ ደልድለው፡ ነው፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ የሰሩ። (‘and there was a pond in the place where the church was erected; it is having drained the water that he built the church’). In the MS A and MS G this sentence is written in the masculine form and the underlined phrase reads ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያንቲቱም፡ ከቆመው፡ in which the church is also addressed in masculine form. However, MS C and MS H changed it to feminine but in the following reading it appears in masculine form as the AG manuscript family read. Thus, this is considered as an error as it appears only in this family although it is a result of the emendation work. In many literatures the church is referred as mother and therefore addressed in feminine form, but the text refers to the building and not to the institution; thus, referring to it in feminine form is not relevant.

2. 73:6 ፲መድፍ፡ ፪ሺሕ፡ ብረት፡ ፫ሺሕ፡ ፈረስ፡ ፪፻፺፱፡ ፻፷፯፡ ብዙ፡ ድንኳን፡ ብዙ፡ ምንጣፍ፡ ብዙ፡ መስሪያ፡ ፪ያንበሳ፡ ለማዳ፡ ይህን፡ አርገው፡ ሰጡት፡ (‘The king offered him ten cannons, two thousand muskets, three thousand horses, two hundred *gambōññā* (‘people who carry pots filled with drink’), one hundred servants, plenty of tents, plenty of carpets, plenty of *masriyā* and two domesticated lions’). In MS G and MS A, this word reads መስሪያ፡ (*masriyā*) which is an archaic term referring to a complete meal prepared for a couple of guests dining together. Yet, in MS C and MS H it is changed for መሳሪያ፡ (*masāriyā* ‘rifle’). In fact, the king also offered rifles, but it is mentioned at the beginning of the sentence next to the word መድፍ፡ (‘cannon’) as ብረት፡ (*bərat*, ‘iron’ or ‘rifle’). Therefore, it is an error, most probably occurred due to the later emendation though it distorts the meaning.

3. 74:1–3 አንድ፡ ቀን፡ ደግሞ፡ ከበግ፡ አንገት፡ ድቁስና፡ ካራ፡ አድርጎ፡ ሰደደ፡ ያበግም፡ ሲዞር፡ ሲዞር፡ ከአንድ፡ ደብተራ፡ ቤት፡ ደረሰ። Again, another day, he [the king] tied a knife and a pack of *dəqqus* on the neck of a ram and left it free. That ram was rambling around (the city) and reached to the abode of a *dabtarā*). The CH family reads ሲሰር፡ ሲሰር፡ (‘to copulate again and again’) instead of ሲዞር፡ ሲዞር፡ (wandering around), that has nothing to do with the context, so that the reading in AG family is correct.

4. 75:8–9 የደብተራው፡ ሚስትም፡ ምን፡ ይዘሻል፡ ብላ፡ ጠየቀችት፡ (‘The wife of the *dabtarā* asked her, “What do you have?”’). In the AG manuscript family, the underlined word ሚስትም፡ (‘wife’) appears as ሴትም፡ (‘woman’) which refers to a woman who belongs to the *dabtarā* but the relation between them is not clear. In the Gondar area this term is particularly used to refer either to concubines or maids, and not legally accepted wives.

5. 96: 10–12 የላሊበላን፡ አፈር፡ አስመጥታ፡ ደልድላ፡ ላሊበላን፡ የምትስም፡ ከዚህ፡ ሳም፡ ብላ፡ አዋጅ፡ አስነግራለች፡ ታቦተ፡ ላሊበላንም፡ በይባቤ፡ በዝማሬ፡ አግብታዋለች፡ (‘Having brought soil from Lālibalā, levelled it (on the church) and declared “Everyone who pilgrims to Lālibalā shall do it here” and had the *tābot* of Lālibalā consecrated with praise and chanting’). The underlined sentence has two important variations against the reading in MS G and MS A. Firstly, the construction of this church is associated with the decline of Gondar and the deliberated destruction of the royal palaces in the royal compound of Gondar and the construction of this church with the materials collected from the dilapidated palaces. Yet the CH family revised this part and gave it a positive meaning, as የላሊበላን፡ አፈር፡ አስመጥታ፡ ላሊበላን፡ [አ]ንዲባልላት፡ በሰራችው፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አፈሩን፡ በዙሪያው፡ ረጨች። (‘Having brought soil from Lālibalā, sprinkled it all around the church

she built, so that it will be named Lālibalā’). The second point that is worth to be addressed is the word both families applied concerning the soil brought from Lālibalā. The AG family used the word ረጨኝ፣ (‘sprinkled’) and the CHG<sup>2</sup> family used ደልድላ፣ (‘levelled the ground’). The latter claims that the amount of the soil brought from Lalibalā is bulky and enough to level the ground while the GA family asserts that the soil was a small amount that was simply sprinkled for its symbolic significance. Considering the distance from Gondar to Lālibalā and the period in which no means of transporting a bulk of soil was available ረጨኝ፣ (‘sprinkled’) is the right reading that fits the context.

6. 92:3 በፊት፡ ለተሰሩት፡ ደብሮችም፡ ብዙ፡ መሬት፡ ሠጠ፡ (‘Also, he endowed additional land (*mare*) for churches founded in the earlier period.’). Although this is the correct reading, the CH manuscript family reads ደብተሮችም፡ (‘clergymen’).

7. 94:3–4 ዘመኑም፡ ረኃብ፡ ነበር፡ ድርጎ፡ ድርጎ፡ ጎመን፡ ቅርድድ፡ በብር፡ <በብር፡> ይሸመት፡ ነበር። (‘It was a time of famine, a chopped cabbage (enough for one meal) had been purchased by one *barr*’). The underlined ድርጎ፡ ድርጎ፡ appeared as an adjective that indicates amount of the cabbage sold for one Maria Theresa thaler. However, the latter, which is the thaler mentioned as ብር፡ (silver) should be doubled in the sentence to specify the amount of currency paid for the cabbage. But the AG family omitted it, and CH family omitted ድርጎ፡; because of this the meaning of the sentence is distorted. Therefore, the reading is emended.

## GA Family

In the third chapter of this paper where I have described the manuscripts, I have mentioned the orthographic and palaeographic similarities in MS G and MS A. Even though the latter deliberately omitted the last part of the text that talks about the history of the *zamana maśāfānt* and abbreviated some of the readings, it has significant similarities with MS G. In the following part, I will discuss the conjunctive errors shared by both manuscripts.

MS G and MS A have therefore little variance in the first half of the text and considerable variance in the second half, as the latter shortened the descriptions and inserted a pseudo colophon that dates the origin of the text back to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Apart from this, all the readings are identical and shares conjunctive errors, which shows that both manuscripts belong to the same family. Some of these errors are described as follows.

1. 5:5–11 ያን፡ ጊዜም፡ አንድ፡ ሰው፡ እንደ፡ አምደ፡ ወርቅ፡ ቁሞ፡ መጠኑ፡ መጠነ፡ መልአክ፡ ጉኖ፡ ጽሕም፡ ዘይወርድ፡ ዲበ፡ ህባኔ፡ መልበሱ፡ እንዳለ፡ ወይመስል፡ ህብሩ፡ ከመ፡ ጎብረ፡ በረድ፡ ወራእዩ፡ ከመ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወግርማሁ፡ ከመ፡ አንበሳ፡ ወቃሉ፡ ከመ፡ ድምፀ፡ መልአክ፡ በታየ፡ ጊዜ፡ ሠራዊቱም፡ እንደ፡ ቅጠል፡ እረገፈ፡ በድንጋዜ። (‘At that moment, when a man standing as a pillar in the size of an angel, his beard went down to the skirt of his garment as it (the book) says, his colour like the colour of the snow, his face like that of the sun, and his grace like a lion, and his voice like that of an angel revealed, the soldiers fell to the ground with fear’). In the GA manuscript family, the underlined word ጎብረ፡ በረድ፡ appeared as ዕብነ፡ በረድ፡ (‘marble’). However, this reading is adopted from the biblical verses.<sup>446</sup> In these verses, such appearances are compared with snow, lightening, or the sun appears, but not as marble.

2. 30:6–12 አለቃውንም፡ ቁስ፡ አፄ፡ አሰኝተው፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያኑን፡ አደባባይ፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ይባል፡ ብለው፡ አገቡት፡ ዕለቱም፡ ዕለተ፡ እሁድ፡ ቀኑም፡ በግንቦት፡ በ፲፪ቀን፡ ነው። (‘He (the king) named the title of the *’alaqā* (of the church) *qes ’aše* and the church *’Addabābāy ’Iyyasus*. The day was Sunday, and the day was on the 12th of (the month of) *Gənbət*’). This reading deals with the day and date of the foundation of *’Addabābāy Takla Hāymānot*, one of the royal churches of Gondar. The CH manuscript family described both the day and the date correctly. However, AG

<sup>446</sup> Cp Matt. 28:3; Dan. 7:9.

manuscript family omitted the underlined phrase that tells in which day the church was consecrated. Following this, the meaning is distorted in this family. It reads *ዕለቱም፡ በግንቦት፡ በ፲፪ቀን፡ ነው፡* ('the day was in the 12th of (the month of) Gənbot').

3. 30:10 *ዕውራን፡ በርተዋል፡* ('Blinds restored sight'). This is one of the miracles believed to have happened during the consecration of the church of 'Addabābāy Takla Hāymānot. However, due to a similar phrase frequently used by the author to describe the shining face of the person, the AG manuscript family added incorrect comparative phrase in this description that changes the context. It reads *ዕውራን፡ እንደ፡ ፀሐይ፡ በርተዋል፡* ('Blinds have shined like the sun').

4. 39:6 *ምጥረሀ፡ ገብተው፡ መጣፍ፡ ሲመለከቱ፡ ደረሰ፡* ('He (King Takla 'Iyyāsu) arrived soon after he (King 'Iyyasu) entered Məṭrahā and (he was) reading the scriptures'). The AG manuscript family has changed the underlined word for *ሲገጣፍ፡* a term that is used in referring to scholars who teaches the Bible. Due to this, the meaning of the sentence is changed although it seems a minor emendation. Even though King 'Iyyāsu has passed through the traditional school to acquire knowledge, no historical sources confirmed that he was a scholar able to teach the scriptures. Plus, the context of the reading is not related to education.

### Evidence for an Archetype

When the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* was composed, Amharic was the *lingua franca* of the country so the tendency of the scribes to copy each word correctly was high. However, there are errors in all manuscript witnesses that enable to trace their family. But to argue that all the witnesses descend from one archetype is not easy. Despite all the limits that minimize the chance of committing errors during the copying process, there are archetype errors that prove all the manuscripts witness are from a single archetype. The conjunctive errors are described below.

1) 5:3–5 *ያን፡ ጊዜም፡ ባሕሩም፡ እንደ፡ <ባሕረ፡> ኤርትራ፡ ተከፈለ፡ ተነዋወጠ፡ ምድርም፡ አንቀጠቀጠች፡* ('At that time, the pond was divided like <the sea of> Eritrea and shocked, and the earth trembled.'). In this sentence the emended word is omitted in all manuscript witnesses; without this word the meaning is somehow distorted although the story is known in the Bible. The other word that appears confusing in this sentence is the word *አንቀጠቀጠች* ('cause to tremble'). In this case, the author is influenced by the Gə'əz verb *አድለቅለቀት* that has the same meaning. This reading appears in three of the manuscript witnesses except MS H that reads *ተንቀጠቀጠች፡* ('(she) was shocked') as is recently used. However, since this is a feature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Amharic, I keep the existing reading.

2) 29:13 *ይዘውም፡ ገብተው፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እስኪሰሩ፡ በግምጃ፡ በድንኳን፡ አርገው፡ በወንበር፡ [በክብር፡] አስቀመጡት፡* ('Then he took it and entered (to the palace) and put it in a silk tent, on a chair in honour.' In all witnesses the emended word appears in adjective form and in the wrong places i.e. behind the noun it modifies and reads *በወንበር፡ በክበረ፡* The phrase still makes a sense, although it is not grammatically correct and distort the meaning. But, in the previous tradition having chair itself was a sign of honour. In addition, if the intention of the author was to designate the 'honour of respect' it could have been *በክበረ፡ ወንበር፡* ('marvelous chair'). Therefore, the emendation is important to correct the reading to maintain the original reading.

3) 37:7–10 *ቴዎፍሎስን፡ ይወዱ፡ ነበርና፡ ወርቅ፡ አፋ፡ ሾተል፡ አስታጥቀው፡ ልብስ፡ መግገሥት፡ አልብሰው፡ አርአያ፡ አሳይተው፡ ወደ፡ ምጥረሐ፡ ገቡ፡<sup>447</sup>* ('Because he loved Tewoflos, he armed him with *warq 'afā šotal*, dressed him the robe of government and showing him example he (King 'Iyyāsu) went to Məṭrahā'). In this sentence, the underlined phrases refer to a ceremonial sword the king holds. But, due to lack of historical sources, the author could not use two different words that

<sup>447</sup> The Critical Text § 37.

refer to two different weapons as the name of one single ceremonial sword. It would have been correct if it had appeared as ወርቅ፡ አፋ፡ ('golden dagger') or ወርቅ፡ ሾተል፡ ('golden sword'). But this mistake does not belong to the original text. Rather it was added by a later copyist, although it is shared by all manuscript witnesses. The evidence is there in the text, it reads, ወዲያውም፡ በአፋው፡ አንገቱን፡ አለው። ('Immediately he stabbed him by his 'afā ('dagger')). Since አፋ፡ ('afā) and ሾተል፡ (*šotal*) are two different weapons, one of them should be removed to avoid the redundancy. The previous reading seems to be an emendation by a later copyist, who based his decision without having any historical reference that is supported by the royal court ceremony and tradition. Therefore, the word ሾተል፡ is removed to correct the reading based on the historical sources.

4) 48:10–11 እርሱም፡ መለሰ፡ ስራው፡ ስራው፡ መልካም፡ [ነበር፡] ግን፡ እርሱምም፡ በጭቃ፡ እኛም፡ በጭቃ፡ ሆነ፡ አለዎ። ('He answered, "The construction is good, but you did it in mud mortar as we did"'). In this sentence there are two errors. The first one is the duplication of the word ስራው፡ which is never used in this form like other words that should be duplicated or appear twice to show repeated activities or time. Yet, it appears in this incorrect form in all manuscript witness. Nonetheless, one occurrence of these words is removed in the edition. Besides, the amended word, the verb ነበር፡ ('was') is missing between the first and the second phrases. This verb should have been placed before the conjunction ግን፡ ('but'). However, the verb is missed, and another conjunction that has similar meaning appeared, i.e. ነገር፡ ግን፡ ('but'), that has never appeared in the text in this form with the exception this case. Perhaps, the latter form might have appeared while the scribe of the archetype copied ነበር፡ as ነገር፡; as it makes a sentence with the following word ግን፡, all the later copyists kept it as it appears even though it distorted structure of the sentence. As both ግን፡ and ነገር፡ ግን፡ have the same meaning and are alternatively used conjunctions, it remains as it is in all witnesses. Therefore, it is emended to correct the structure of the sentence.

5) 81:12–13 እነዚያ፡ መሠርያን፡ ደብተሮች፡ ዕፁ፡ መሠውርን፡ በድንጋዬ፡ ጣሉት፡ ታጥቀው፡ ቁመው፡ እየበሉ፡ ተገኙ፡ ስለ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ [ከብር፡] ('Those magician *dabtarā* dropped the 'əṣa maśawər in fear and appeared properly dressed (according to the dressing code) and still standing to show respect for the government and dining (together with the king)'). This underlined word is corrupted in both manuscript families. The GA manuscript family reads መንበር፡ ('throne') and the CH manuscript family reads ማክበር፡ ('the act of respecting') which is the infinitive of ከበረ፡ (in Amharic) አክበረ (in Gə'əz). Yet, the word መንበር፡ is used repeatedly in this text but in a different meaning such as ከመንበረ፡ ዳዊት፡<sup>448</sup> ('The throne of Dāwit'); if the intention of the author was referring to the throne, he could have made it መንበረ፡ መንግሥት፡ ('seat of the government' or 'throne'). The AG manuscript family corrupted the word for some reason, which could be the similar graphic appearance of the words; but it could also be due to a misreading or a lacuna in the manuscript where the AG family was copied from. The CH family seems closer to the correct reading although the form of the verb is mistaken. Thus, the word is emended accordingly.

6) 50:4 ባባትዎ፡ የደጃች፡ ድብለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ልጅ፡ ነዎ፡ ('In his father's side, he is the son of *Dağğāč* Dəbla 'Iyyasus'). This underlined word is a name of a seventeenth-century nobleman. Although the correct way of writing his name is ድል፡ በኢየሱስ፡ and its meaning 'victory in Christ', however, the seventeenth and eighteenth-century scribes wrote it ድልበ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ that gives a different meaning, 'fattened for Christ'; yet no one knows if it was made intentionally or not.<sup>449</sup> If not it can be considered as a common feature of spelling it in that time. The copyists

<sup>448</sup> See The Critical Text § 43, 81.

<sup>449</sup> Changing the names to distort its meaning was practiced in the seventeenth century and the later Gondarine period. For instance, when the chronicler of Susānyos reported the religious debate between the representatives of the *Tawāhədo*-unionist and *Qəbāt*-unctionist in which the latter was considered as a winner, the name of one

of both manuscript families have maintained this error as it is to be loyal for what is written. Otherwise, they could correct it as ድልበ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ if not ድል፡ በኢየሱስ፡ Thus, this is taken as a conjunctive error attested by all the witnesses that shows their common origin. But it could also have been in the original and simply inherited through the archetype as related features are attested in contemporary texts.<sup>450</sup>

7) 60:7–10 ንጉሡን፡ ተከትለው፡ የመጡ፡ ጅት፡ ሰዎች፡ ናቸው፡ እነዚያም፡ የተማሩ፡ ናቸው፡ ጅቱ፡ ሁሉ፡ ከጅቱ፡ ቆመ፡ ብእሲ፡ ተጠግተው፡ ቁመው፡ ዳዊት፡ እየደገሙ፡ እያለቀሱ፡ አድረዋል፡ (‘Five men came accompanying the king; they all were learned. Five of them stood lean on the five chanting chambers of the church and spent the whole night reading the psalter in tears’). In all manuscript witnesses the underlined word is ቆመ፡ ብእሲ፡, which refers to a section of the church in which the *dabtarās* chant. In one hand, it is worth to remember that there is one ቆመ፡ ብእሲ፡ in the church, not five. On the other hand, in the Ethiopian orthodox church tradition male and female attendants pray in separated sections since both are not allowed to stand together. Thus, it is not important to mention this section by name as it is known by default. In addition, the author of this text is a clergyman so he could not commit such a mistake. Therefore, if the author’s intention was to refer to the building structure, they lean on the correct word ዓምደ፡ ወርቅ፡ (‘column’). Yet, this does not seem the case, rather the distortion is due to the insertion of the underlined number ጅቱ፡ (‘the five’). Removing this insertion gives the correct reading with ambiguity and therefore it reads ንጉሡን፡ ተከትለው፡ የመጡ፡ ጅት፡ ሰዎች፡ ናቸው፡ እነዚያም፡ የተማሩ፡ ናቸው፡ ጅቱ፡ ሁሉ፡ ከቆመ፡ ብእሲ፡ ተጠግተው፡ ቁመው፡ ዳዊት፡ እየደገሙ፡ እያለቀሱ፡ አድረዋል፡ (‘Five men came accompanying the king; they all were learned. Five of them stood lean on the chanting chamber of the church and spent the whole night reading the psalter in tears’).

8) 101:8–9 ከጎጃም፡ ከዓምደ፡ ወርቅ፡ የመጣሁ፡ ሊቅ፡ ነኝ፡ (‘I am a scholar who came from Goḡḡām, (specifically) from ‘Amda Warq’). This description stands in the history of Queen Məntəwwāb, who was one of the prominent supporters of the *Qəbāṭ* faction.<sup>451</sup> In the Gondarine period, Goḡḡām was the place where the *Qəbāṭ* faction was strong and Dabra Warq, not ‘Amda Warq, was one of its centres. Besides, there is no place named ‘Amda Warq in Goḡḡām province. Since the association between the *Qəbāṭ* faction and Goḡḡām is a well-known historical fact, the author could not commit such a mistake. Perhaps the copyist committed this mistake due to the presence of the word ዓምደ፡ ወርቅ፡ in several places in the text and the similarity of both words. Thus, instead of the correct reading ደብረ፡ ወርቅ፡ the copyist of the archetype text committed this mistake. Perhaps, the original manuscript could have been damaged and only a single character ‘ደ’ survived from the word. The copyist of the archetype manuscript wrongly inserted the preceding two characters ዓም and the word appeared ዓምደ፡ ወርቅ፡ which is the existing reading.

#### 4.4. The Stemma Codicum

The manuscripts are grouped into two families based on the conjunctive errors and variant readings they shared. MS G, MS C, and MS A have been copied in the 1930s while MS H is a more recent copy than all other witnesses. Yet, the various readings and the errors show that the divergences occurred sometime before the 1930s. However, due to the lack of information about the copyists and about the dates of production of each manuscript, as well as about their indirect sources, it is hard to evaluate the exact date of production of the *Tārik*

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of the representatives of the *Tawāḥədo* faction ከፍለ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ is deliberately changed to ከፋሌ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ to show his wrong teaching. In the first form, the meaning of the name is ‘Given for Christ’ and the later ‘Who divides Christ’, see Pereira 1892, p. 239.

<sup>450</sup> See MS Paris, BnF, Éth. 616 (= Griaule 308), f. 81r, in this manuscript the name ሉብን፡ ድንግል፡ (Ləbna Dəngəl) is spelled ንብለ፡ ድንግል (Nəbla Dəngəl). Perhaps this feature could have been a common spelling of the time.

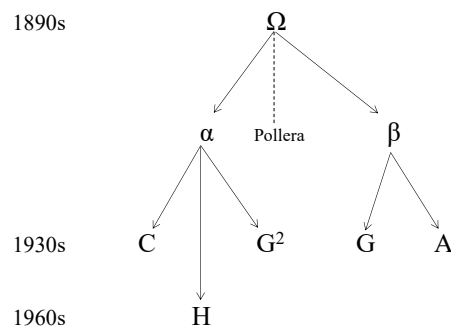
<sup>451</sup> For further information on the strong religious attachment between Goḡḡām and Məntəwwāb’s origin Qwārā see Guidi 1910, pp. 16–17; Wion 2018.



*Zamādra Gondar*. Nevertheless, since the text itself indicated that the date of composition of the text is in the late nineteenth century, the date of the sub-archetype texts laid in between the 1890s and the 1930s.

Likewise, although the existence of MS G<sup>2</sup> is only indirectly attested by the reading of a second hand in another manuscript, its date of production remains unknown since no detail is recorded by the scribe who compared it with MS G and includes the variant readings within it. Yet, since MS G<sup>2</sup> contains peculiar readings found only in MS C and MS H, it belongs to the same family.

To sum up, the conjunctive errors proved that MS G and MS A belongs to the same family and MS C, MS H, and MS G<sup>2</sup> to another family. The two families are represented by the Greek letters  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . In the previous chapter I have also mentioned a manuscript that was used by Alberto Pollera. This author translated some parts of the text selectively and published only the translation in Italian without the Amharic text. The translated readings tell that a significant portion are shared by all families. It proves that Pollera had consulted this text, but it is hard to conduct further enquiry to reach to a strong convincing conclusion. Therefore, the manuscript Pollera referred to in his book is indicated by a broken line in a stemma as a different family, since there is no detailed information about this manuscript. Considering all the mentioned points, the stemma is presented as follows.



#### 4.5. Notes on the Presentation of the Critical Text and the Critical Apparatus

To establish this edition, I have considered variant readings collected from all manuscript witnesses. These variants are examined from different angles, such as: Amharic and Gə‘əz grammar, for significant portions of the reading are composed in Gə‘əz; dialects of the Amharic language as the feature of Amharic varies from the time of the composition of the first text (end of the nineteenth c.) and the dates of the copies (c.1930); orthography; and historical perspectives. Readings that are peculiar and specific to the time of the writing have been kept as they were since the edition is an attempt to reconstruct a text closer to the archetype text, not to modify it in accordance with the modern Amharic. In consideration of the mentioned points, the AG manuscript family is the family which generally delivers more correct readings. Nevertheless, errors that occurred in this manuscript family are corrected based on readings in the other family that maintained a better reading. The following sentences are some of the incorrect readings in the AG manuscript family against correct readings in CHG<sup>2</sup> family.

1) 20:5–6 ወእንቀልቀለ፡ ልብዮ፡ ወተሀውከ፡ አዕፅዎትዮ፡ (‘and my heart trembled, and my bones were disturbed’). This reading is from the AG manuscript family. Although it is a direct quote from the Bible, the Book of Jeremiah, it is distorted. The CH family reads as it appeared in the Gə‘əz

version which is ወአንቀልቀለ፡ አዕፅምትየ፡ ወተሀውከ፡ ልብየ፡ (‘and my bones trembled, and my heart was disturbed’). Therefore, the text is corrected by the latter reading.

2) 45:8–9 ከዚያም፡ ነገሥ፡ ከዚያም፡ ነገሥ፡ የሰጠሰ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወርቅ፡ ይዘራል፡ እንደ፡ ገብሥ። (‘He ruled there and there, king Yostos, who disperses gold like barley’). This is a poem composed to praise King Yostos as it appears in GA manuscript family. The content of the poem has a difference with the entire narration of the king’s life in the text. Because the first stanza of the poem claims that his kingship is a result of successive efforts to dominate different regions. Yet, the text itself states that he assumed the power at once and began to reign the kingdom like his predecessors, which is also attested the same way in other historical accounts. In the CHG<sup>2</sup> manuscript family the first stanza of the poem is completely different although it maintains the second stanza. It reads ‘ንጉሥ፡ ወጣ፡ ንጉሥም፡ አየነ፡ የሰጠሰ፡ ወርቅን፡ ዘራው፡ እንደ፡ ገብሥ።’ (‘The king has risen, and we have seen king Yostos, who dispersed gold like the barley!’). Considering the Gondarine tradition and songs performed during the coronation ceremony, the second reading from CHG<sup>2</sup> is selected for the edition as it is closer in content with ceremonial poems of songs of the Gondarine period.<sup>452</sup>

3) 47:20 ኢይከልአ፡ ለፍቅር፡ ርሕቀተ፡ ሀገር፡ (‘It cannot extinguish love, long distance’). This is another quotation of the Bible but appeared in distorted form in GA manuscript family. The CHG<sup>2</sup> family maintains the correct reading ርሕቀተ፡ ሀገር፡ ኢይከልአ፡ ለፍቅር፡ (‘long distance cannot extinguish love’). Therefore, the text is corrected according to the reading in the latter manuscript family.

4) 57:8–9 ወምስለ፡ ፪ቱ፡ መላእክት፡ እደቂሆሙ፡ ሰይፍ፡ በሊህ፡ ዘነበልባል፡ እደቂሆሙ፡ (‘And with the two angels whose hand are sharpened swords of the flame (of fire)’). In this sentence, which is a reading in MSS AGH, the underlined word lacks a preposition. Due to this, the meaning is distorted. Only MS H has the correct reading with the preposition ዘበእደቂሆሙ፡ (‘in their hands’) in which the sentence reads ወምስለ፡ ፪ቱ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘበእደቂሆሙ፡ ሰይፍ፡ በሊህ፡ ዘነበልባል፡ (‘And with the two angels who drew sharpened swords of the flame (fire) in their hands’). It is how similar narrations in the Bible reads.<sup>453</sup> Therefore, the text is corrected by the reading in MS H.

5) 92:4–5 መንግሥቱንም፡ ጥሎ፡ [ ] ፡ ሂደዋል፡ (‘He has abandoned his government and gone’). This reading from AG manuscript family omitted a very important word that clearly shows the reason of person to abandon his kingship. Following this the meaning is slightly distorted. The CHG<sup>2</sup> family reads it with the word that is missed in other manuscript family መንግሥቱንም፡ ጥሎ፡ መንኖ፡ ሂደዋል፡ (‘He renounced the power for an ascetic life’). Thus, the correction is done based on the latter reading.

6) 101:20–21 እቴጌ፡ ምንትቀብም፡ ተረቱ። በመጣምር፡ የተጨነቀችውን፡ በቅሎ፡ ሰጡት፡ ለዝያ፡ አዝማሪ። (‘And Ḫtege Məntəwwāb lost the bet; and she paid him a mule loaded with saddle’). The above sentence is a reading from the AG family. The copyist of this family seems confused with the correct word that appears in the CHG<sup>2</sup> family. As a result of this the meaning is distorted. The copyist of the CHG<sup>2</sup> seems familiar with the expression በመጣምር፡ የተጨነቀችውን፡; if the copyist has no acquaintance with this expression, he might understand it as ‘stressed or loaded with the saddle’ as it happened in the above case. However, locally in Gondar region, it meant ‘heavily adorned’ as it reads in the CHG<sup>2</sup> family, i.e. እቴጌ፡ ምንትቀብም፡ ተረቱ። በመጣምር፡ የተጨነቀችውን፡ በቅሎ፡ ሰጡት፡ ለዝያ፡ አዝማሪ። (‘And Ḫtege Məntəwwāb lost the bet; and she paid him a mule heavily adorned with ornamented saddle’). Thus, text is corrected by the latter reading.

On the other hand, the CHG<sup>2</sup> manuscript family has undergone a further reduction and additional narratives were inserted in. In addition, peculiar words belonging to the Gondar dialect are replaced by recent terms used throughout the country. In this case, considering the

<sup>452</sup> አሁን፡ ወፃ፡ ጀምበር፡ ተሸሸነ፡ ነበር። (‘The sun rises now, that was hidden!’) Basset 1882, p. 29; for further similar poem of coronation songs see also Guidi 1910, p. 41.

<sup>453</sup> See Num. 22:23, 31.

dialect of the place of origin of the text, the readings are corrected preserving the readings of the GA manuscript family.

Very few readings appeared grammatically incorrect, and for those ones I have proposed my own emendations. Some of them are already mentioned in the above parts where the conjunctive errors are discussed.

In general, each variant readings and punctuation marks are presented in the critical apparatus. I have used a positive apparatus which is viable to show the place of each variant readings and punctuation as well as provide an easily understandable edition. Since I have used the Critical Text Editor software, which is designed for such a specific task, the critical apparatus is presented in accordance with its automatic layout. I have opted for presenting the variant readings and punctuations separately but on the same page. Besides, the software minimizes the possible mistakes such are redundancy of the same reading and keep everything in order as well. Therefore, variant readings, lacunae (lac), omissions (om.), additions (add.), transpositions (tra.) and postpositions (post.) are presented in the critical apparatus in the abbreviated form.



1 ታሪክ፡ ዘምድረ፡ ጎንደር፡ እንዲህ፡ ይላሉ። ለአዌ፡ ፋሲል፡ መልአስ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሌሊት፡ እየመጣ፡ በራእይ፡ ይነግረዎ፡ ነበር፡ ጎ፡ ትነግሥ፡ እያለ። አዌ፡ ፋሲልም፡ ለሕዝቡ፡ ጉሉ፡ እስኪ፡ ጎ፡ የሚባል፡ አገር፡ ፈልጉ፡ አሉ። ሕዝቡም፡ ሲፈልጉ፡ አሪ፡ የሚባል፡ አገር፡ ተገኘ፡ ብለው፡ ለአዌ፡ ነገሩ። አዌም፡ ጎን፡ ሲፈልጉ፡ አሪ፡ ከተማ፡ አደረጉ። ከእሊታት፡ አንድ፡ ቀን፡ የንጉሡ፡ ባልደራስ፡ የአዌን፡ የጭንዎን፡ በቅሎ፡ ሊአንከባልል፡ ይዞ፡ ወጣ፡ ይላሉ። የዚአን፡ ጊዜም፡ በቅሎይቱም፡ አውታሯን፡ ቈርጣ፡ ሄደች። ባልደራሱም፡ በሌጣ፡ ፈረስ፡ ጉኖ፡ እርሷ፡ እየሮጠች፡ እርሱም፡ እየተከተላት፡ ግንቡ፡ ከሚቆምበት፡ ስትደርስ፡ ቀጥ፡ ብላ፡ ቆመች። እርሱም፡ በደረሰ፡ ጊዜ፡ ጉለት፡ ሰዎች፡ አገኘ፡ እነዚያን፡ ሰዎችም፡ እባካችሁ፡ ስለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አያያዙኝ፡ አላቸው፡ እነዚያ፡ ሰዎችም፡ በቅሎይቱን፡ አያያዙት። እርሱም፡ በቅሎይቱን፡ ተቀብሎ፡ ያዘና፡ እናንት፡ ሰዎች፡ ይህ፡ አገር፡ ማን፡ ይባላል፡ አላቸው። እነሆቸውም፡ ጎንደር፡ ይባላል፡ አሉት።

2 እርሱም፡ በቅሎውን፡ ይዞ፡ ለንጉሡ፡ ጎንደር፡ የሚባል፡ አገር፡ ተገኘ፡ ብሎ፡ ነገረዎ። ዓዌም፡ ፈጥነው፡ በፈረስ፡ መጥተው፡ ዙረው፡ አገሩን፡ አይተው፡ ቀሀና፡ አንገረብን፡ አይተው፡ አመስግነው፡ የዘላን፡ ከብት፡ አስመጥተው፡ ዱሩን፡ አስጥሰው፡ አቀኑት፡ አጠኑት፡ ይላሉ። አንድም፡

ACGH 1,1 ታሪክ፡] A43<sup>ab</sup>; C1<sup>r</sup>; G1<sup>r</sup>; H1<sup>r</sup> 7 አንድ፡] G1<sup>v</sup> 8 ይዞ፡] H1<sup>v</sup> 9 በቅሎይቱም፡] A43<sup>ab</sup> 13 እባካችሁ፡] G2<sup>r</sup> 16 ጎንደር፡] ጎንደር፡] H2<sup>r</sup> 2,3 አገሩን፡] አገሩን፡] G2<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 1,4 ጉሉ፡] AG; ሁሉ፡] CH | ጎ፡ የሚባል፡] CGH; ጎይሚባል፡] A 5 ሕዝቡም፡] AG; ይፈልጣ፡] ጀመር፡] add. C; ይፈልጉ፡] ጀመር፡] add. H | አሪ፡] ACG; አሪንጎ፡] H | ተገኘ፡] ACG; ተገኝ፡] H | ብለው፡] ACH; ብለው፡] G 6 አሪ፡] ACG; አሪንጎ፡] H 8 በቅሎ፡] ACG; ማለፍ፡] ሊአናፍሳት፡] add. H ሊአንከባልል፡] CG; ሊአንከባልል፡] AH | የዚአን፡] AG; የዚያን፡] CH 9 በቅሎይቱም፡] ACG; በቅሎይቱ፡] H | ቈርጣ፡] AC; ቀርጣ፡] G; ቆርጣ፡] H 10 ጉኖ፡] AG; ሁኖ፡] CH | እርሷ፡] CH; እርሾ፡] AG | እርሱም፡] ACG; ርሱም፡] H 11 እየተከተላት፡] ACG; እየተከታተላት፡] H | ግንቡ፡] CH; ግቡ፡] AG 12 እርሱም፡] ACG; ባልደራሱም፡] H | ጉለት፡] AG; ሁለት፡] CH አገኘ፡] ACG; አገኝ፡] H | እነዚያን፡] AGH; እነዚያን፡] C 13 እባካችሁ፡] AG; እባካችሁ፡] CH | ስለ፡] እግዚአብሔር፡] ACG; ስለእግዚአብሔር፡] H 14 እነዚያ፡] AGH; እነዚያ፡] C 15 እናንት፡] ACG; እናንተ፡] H 16 እነሆቸውም፡] ACG; እነርሳቸውም፡] H 2,1 በቅሎውን፡] CGH በቅሎይቱን፡] A 2 ተገኘ፡] ACG; ተገኝ፡] H 3 አንገረብን፡] CG<sup>r</sup>H; አገረብን፡] AG

PUNCTUATION | 1,1 ጎንደር፡] ACG; ። H | ይላሉ፡] CH; ፣ GH 3 ነበር፡] CGH; ። A | እያለ፡] AG; ፣ CH 4 አሉ፡] A; ፣ CGH 6 ነገሩ፡] AH; ፣ CG አደረጉ፡] AH; ፣ CG 8 ይላሉ፡] AH; ፣ CG 9 ሄደች፡] AH; ፣ CG 12 ቆመች፡] A; ፣ CGH 14 አላቸው፡] A; ፣ CGH | አያያዙት፡] H; ፣ ACG 16 አላቸው፡] C; ፣ AGH 17 አሉት፡] AH; ፣ CG 2,2 ነገረዎ፡] AH; ፣ CG 4 አመስግነው፡] AGH; ። C 5 ይላሉ፡] ACG; ፣ H

እንዲህ፡ ይላሉ፡ አፄ፡ ፋሲል፡ አደን፡ ወጥተው፡ ጎሽ፡ ሲአባሩ፡ ጎሹ፡ እየሮጠ፡ እስዎ፡ እየተከተሉት፡ ከግንቡ፡ ከሚቆ ምባት፡ ትልቅ፡ ባሕር፡ ነበር፡ ጎሹ፡ ከባሕሩ፡ ገባ፡ ይላሉ። ጎሹ፡ ከሕዝቡ፡ ጋራ፡ ከበው፡ ሲአስጨንቁት፡ ከባሕሩ፡ ትልቅ፡ ሰው፡ ወጥቶ፡ የመጣህበትን፡ አድርገው፡ አትኔድም፡ ብሎ፡ ከመጀመርያ፡ እስከ፡ መጨረሻ፡ ያለውን፡ ነግሮ፡ ሰደደዎ፡ ይላሉ። አፄም፡ ከዚያ፡ ወደዚያ፡ ነው፡ ያጠኑት፡ ያቀኑት፡ ይላሉ። አንድም፡ እንዲህ፡ ይላሉ፡ ደንቀዝ፡ ላይ፡ ጎመንጌ፡ የምትባል፡ ጎጥ፡ አገር፡ አለች፡ ጎን፡ ሲፈልጉ፡ ከጎመንጌ፡ ላይ፡ ከተማ፡ አደረጉ። መልአከ፡ እግዚአብሔርም፡ ሌሊት፡ እየመጣ፡ በራእይ፡ ይታየዋል፡ እንዴት፡ ላድርግ፡ አንተ፡ ብትነግረኝ፡ ስፍራው፡ ጠፋኝ፡ ቸገረኝ፡ አሉት፡ መል አከን።

3 መልአከ፡ እግዚአብሔርም፡ መለሰልዎ፡ እንዲህ፡ ሲል፡ መቸ፡ ከዚህ፡ ተቀመጥ፡ አልኑህ፡ ወርቅ፡ ከፈላበት፡ አገር፡ ነው፡ እንጅ፡ አለዎ። ወርቅ፡ የፈላበት፡ አገር፡ ማለት፡ የጎንደር፡ ደንጊያ፡ በትርጓሜው፡ ብልህ፡ ሰው፡ ቢገኝ፡ የጎንደር፡ አፈሩም፡ ደንጊያውም፡ ወርቅ፡ ነው፡ ሲል፡ ነው፡ አላቸው፡ መልአከ። ብንን፡ ብለው፡ ቢነቁ፡ አፄ፡ ህልም፡ ሆነብዎ። አጥብቀው፡ እጅግ፡ አዘኑ፡ ተከዙ፡ አለቀሱ። ይህ፡ የጎንደር፡ ነገር፡ ሀለሙ፡ ህልሙ፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘረከቡ፡ እንዳለ፡ ኅኖ፡ ሊቀር፡ ነው፡ እኔ፡ ባልታደል፡ የታደለ፡ ያገኝሽ፡ ይሆናል፡ ከምድርስ፡ አጣኑሽ፡ ጎንደር፡ ማለት፡ በትርጓሜው፡ ለኔ፡ ባይገለጥልኝ፡

ACGH 7 ከግንቡ፡] ከግንቡ፡ A43<sup>va</sup> 9 ጋራ፡] H2<sup>v</sup> | ከባሕሩ፡] ከባሕሩ፡ G3<sup>r</sup> 16 ሌሊት፡] G3<sup>v</sup> 17 ቸገረኝ፡] ቸገረኝ፡ H3<sup>r</sup> 3,5 አፈሩም፡] G4<sup>r</sup> ደንጊያውም፡] ደንጊያውም፡ C1<sup>v</sup> 6 ብንን፡] ብንን፡ A43<sup>vb</sup> 8 ሊቀር፡] ሊቀር፡ H3<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 6 ጎሽ፡] ACG; ጎሹ፡ H 7 ሲአባሩ፡] ACG; ሲአባሩ፡ H እስዎ፡] ACG; እርስዎ፡ H | እየተከተሉት፡] ACH; እየተከተሉ፡ G | ከግንቡ፡] CGH; ከግቡ፡ AG 8 ጎሹ፡] AGH; ጎሹ፡ C 9 ጋራ፡] ACG; ጋር፡ H 11 ከመጀመርያ፡] AG; ከመጀመሩ፡ C; ከመጀመሯያ፡ H 12 ወደዚያ፡] AGH; ወደዚያ፡ C | ወደዚያ፡ ነው፡] ACH; ወደዚአነው፡ G 13 አንድም፡] ACH; አንድም፡ add. G 15 እግዚአብሔርም፡] CGH; እግዚአብሔር፡ A 16 በራእይ፡] ACG; om. H | ይታየዋል፡] C; ይተየዋል፡ AG; ይታየዎታል፡ H 3,1 መለሰልዎ፡] ACG; መለሰልዎ፡ H 2 አልኑህ፡] CGH; አልኑህ፡ A 3 የጎንደር፡] ACG; ጎንደር፡ H 5 ደንጊያውም፡] ACH; ደንጊያም፡ G አላቸው፡] CGH; om. AG 8 እንዳለ፡] ACG; እንዳለው፡ H | ኅኖ፡] CG; ኅኖ፡ A; ሆኖ፡ H 9 ያገኝሽ፡] ACG; ያገኝሺ፡ H | ከምድርስ፡] AG; ከምድር፡ CH 10 አጣኑሽ፡] ACG; አጣሁሺ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 6 ይላሉ፡] ACG; # C 7 እየሮጠ፡] ACG; ̄ H 8 ነበር፡] CGH; # A | ይላሉ፡] AH; ፣ CG 12 ይላሉ፡] AH; ፣ CG 13 ይላሉ፡] AH; ፣ CG ይላሉ፡] ACG; # H 15 አደረጉ፡] AGH; ፣ C 17 ጠፋኝ፡] CGH; ̄ A 3,1 መለሰልዎ፡] AH; # CG | ሲል፡] ACG; ፣ H 3 አለዎ፡] A; # CGH 4 በትርጓሜው፡] CGH; # A 5 አላቸው፡] ACG; # H 6 መልአከ፡] AG; ፣ CH | ሆነብዎ፡] ACG; ፣ H 7 አለቀሱ፡] AGH; ፣ C 8 ነገር፡] ACG; # H

ፍቼ ፣ ገተ ፣ እዝራ ፣ ወሄኖክ ፣ ማለት ፣ እነው ፣ እያሉ ፣ አለቀሱ ፣ እንኳን ፣ መልአከ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ የተናገረው ፣ ሰው ፣ እንኳ ፣ የተናገረው ፣ አይቀርም ፣ ነበር ። ትንቢት ፣ ይቀድሞ ፣ ለነገር ፣ እንዳለ ፣ እያሉ ። ግብርም ፣ ደፍነው ፣ ዋሉ ፣ ይላሉ ። እለቱም ፣ እለተ ፣ እጉድ ፣ ነበር ፣ ይላሉ ።

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4 አዪም ፣ ጊዜ ፣ ሸሰዓት ፣ ሲሆን ፣ ደንቀዝ ፣ ዘልቀው ፣ ካፋፋ ፣ ጉነው ፣ በመነጻር ፣ ወደምእራብ ፣ አገር ፣ ሲመለከቱ ፣ አንበሳ ፣ እንደ ፣ መልካም ፣ ነጋሪት ፣ በትልቅ ፣ ቃል ፣ ሲጮህ ፣ ሰሙና ፣ አሽከሮቻቸውን ፣ ሰደዱ ። አሽከሮችም ፣ የአንበሳውን ፣ ድምጽ ፣ እየሰሙ ፣ እስከ ፣ ሁኑ ፣ እንሰሳ ፣ ደረሱ ። ከዚያም ፣ ሰፍራ ፣ ሁለት ፣ ሶስት ፣ ቤት ፣ ቁም ፣ አገኙ ፣ ሰዎችንም ፣ ጠየቁ ፣ ማን ፣ ይባላል ፣ ይህ ፣ አገር ፣ አሉ ። እነዚያም ፣ ጎንደር ፣ ይባላል ፣ አሉ ። አሽከሮችም ፣ የአገሩን ፣ ስም ፣ ጠየቁና ፣ ከፍ ፣ ብለው ፣ ወጥተው ፣ አንበሳውንም ፣ ግንቡ ፣ ከሚቆምበት ፣ ጉኖ ፣ ሲጮህ ፣ አገኙት ፣ ባሕሩንም ፣ አዩ ። ተመልሰውም ፣ እየተራወጡ ፣ ጎደው ፣ ለአዪ ፣ ፋሲል ፣ ነገሩ ። አንበሳውን ፣ አይተን ፣ ጎንደር ፣ የሚባል ፣ አገር ፣ አግኝተን ፣ መጣኑ ፣ የምስራች ፣ አሉ ። አዪም ፣ በሰሙ ፣ ጊዜ ። ወተሰብሐ ፣ ገጹ ፣ ለሙሴ ፣ እንዳለ ፣ ፊትዎ ፣ እንደ ፣ ፀሐይ ፣ በራ ፣ ይላል ። ፈጥነውም ፣ በፈረስ ፣ ጉነው ፣ ገሠገሡ ። ሰራዊቱም ፣ እየተራወጠ ፣ ተከተለ ።

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5 አዪም ፣ በደረሱ ፣ ጊዜ ፣ አንበሳው ፣ ከብት ፣ ጥሎ ፣ ሲበላ ፣ አገኙት ። በቀኝ ፣ በግራ ፣ አካበቡና ፣ ትሰዱት ፣ አላችጉ ፣ ባሉ ።

ACGH 11 እዝራ ፣] G4<sup>v</sup> 4,2 ወደምእራብ ፣] ወደምእራብ ፣ H4<sup>r</sup> 3 እንደ ፣] G5<sup>r</sup> 5 እየሰሙ ፣] A44<sup>ra</sup> 8 ብለው ፣] G5<sup>v</sup> 10 ባሕሩንም ፣] ባሕሩንም ፣ H4<sup>v</sup> 15 ሰራዊቱም ፣] G6<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 11 እነው ፣] ACG; ነው ፣ H 12 እንኳ ፣] ACG; እንኳን ፣ H 15 እጉድ ፣] CGH; እጉድ ፣ A 4,1 ጊዜ ፣] ACG; ጊዜው ፣ H | ሸሰዓት ፣] ACH; ሁኑ ሰአት ፣ G 2 ጉነው ፣] CG; ጉነው ፣ A; ሆነው ፣ H | ወደምእራብ ፣] ; AGH; ወደ ፣ ምእራብ ፣ C 3 እንደ ፣ መልካም ፣] ACG; እንደመልካም ፣ H 4 አሽከሮቻቸውን ፣] ACG; አሽከሮቻቸውን H | አሽከሮችም ፣] ACG; አሽከሮቻቸውም ፣ H 5 ሁኑ ፣ እንሰሳ ፣] AGH; ሸእንሰሳ ፣ C | ከዚያም ፣] AG; ከዚያም ፣ CH 6 ሁለት ፣] CH; ጉለት ፣ AG | ሶስት ፣] CGH; ፫ት ፣ A | ቁም ፣] ACG; ቁመው ፣ H 7 እነዚያም ፣] AG; om. CH 8 አሽከሮችም ፣] ACG; አሽከሮችም ፣ H | የአገሩን ፣] G; የሀገሩን ፣ CH; የገሩን ፣ A 9 ግንቡ ፣] CH; ግቡ ፣ AG | ጉኖ ፣] AG; ሁኖ ፣ C; ሆኖ ፣ H 10 ባሕሩንም ፣] AGH; ባባሕሩንም ፣ C ተመልሰውም ፣] AG; ተመልሰው ፣ CH 12 መጣኑ ፣] AG; መጣን ፣ CH 13 ለሙሴ ፣] CGH; ለሙ ፣ A | ፊትዎ ፣] AC; ፊትዎ ፣ GH 14 እንደ ፣ ፀሐይ ፣] ACH; እንደፀሐይ ፣ G | ይላል ።] ACG; ይላሉ ፣ H | ጉነው ፣] AG; ሁነው ፣ CH 5,2 ትሰዱት ፣ አላችጉ ፣] ACG; ትሰዱታላችሁ ፣ H | አላችጉ ፣] AG; አላችሁ ፣ C

PUNCTUATION | 11 አለቀሱ ፣] ACG; ። H 13 ነበር ።] ACG; H 14 እያሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH | ይላሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH 15 ይላሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH 4,2 ሲመለከቱ ፣] H; ። ACG 5 ደረሱ ።] AGH; ፣ C 7 ይባላል ፣] ACG; ። H | አሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH 8 አሉ ።] A; ፣ CH; ፫ G | ብለው ፣] ACH; ። G 10 አገኙት ፣] ACH; ። G አዩ ።] AG; ፣ CH 11 ነገሩ ።] AG; ፣ CH 14 ይላል ።] AG; ፣ CH 15 ገሠገሡ ።] GH; ፣ AC | ተከተለ ።] AG; ፣ CH 5,2 አገኙት ።] ACG; ፣ H

ጊዜ ፡ አንበሳው ፡ ዘለለና ፡ ከባሕሩ ፡ ገባ ። ያን ፡ ጊዜም ፡ ባሕሩም ፡  
 እንደ ፡ <ባሕረ ፡> ኤርትራ ፡ ተከፈለ ፡ ተነዋወጠ ፡ ምድርም ፡ ተን  
 ቀጠቀጠች ። ወተሀውከት ፡ ኩላ ፡ ሀገር ፡ እንዳለ ። ያን ፡ ጊዜም ፡ 5  
 አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡ እንደ ፡ አምደ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ቁሞ ፡ መጠኑ ፡ መጠኑ ፡  
 መልአክ ፡ ጎሮ ፡ ጽሕሙ ፡ ዘይወርድ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ሀባኔ ፡ መልበሱ ፡  
 እንዳለ ፡ ወይመስል ፡ ሀብሩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጎብረ ፡ በረድ ፡ ወራእዩ ፡  
 ከመ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወግርግሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ወቃሉ ፡ ከመ ፡ ድምፀ ፡  
 መልአክ ፡ በታዩ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ሠራዊቱም ፡ እንደ ፡ ቅጠል ፡ እረገፈ ፡ 10  
 በድንጋዬ ። አዬ ፡ ብቻዎን ፡ ቁመው ፡ ሲቀሩ ፡ እሱም ፡ አለዎ ፡  
 10 እኔ ፡ ከቆምኩበት ፡ ላይ ፡ ግንቡን ፡ አቁም ፡ የእግዚአብሔር ፡  
 ፈቃድም ፡ ደርሶልሁል ። ከዚህ ፡ ስፍራ ፡ ላይ ፡ በአንተ ፡ በንጉሡ ፡  
 እጅ ፡ እንኳን ፡ የተጠመቀ ፡ ያልተጠመቀም ፡ መንግሥተ ፡  
 ሰማያት ፡ ይገባል ። እኔም ፡ እነብር ፡ ቤተክ ፡ ለዓለም ። ወእት 15  
 ከደን ፡ በጽላሎተ ፡ ክነፊክ ፡ እንዳለ ፡ እሆንህ ፡ አለጉ ፡ ብሎ ፡  
 እንደ ፡ ቅጠል ፡ የወደቀውን ፡ ሠራዊቱን ፡ አንሥቶ ፡ ንጉሡን ፡  
 በመስቀሉ ፡ ባርኮ ፡ ቀድሶ ፡ ከመጀመርያ ፡ እስከ ፡ መጨረሻ ፡  
 ያለውን ፡ የሚሆነውን ፡ ጎሮ ፡ ነገር ፡ ተናግሮ ፡ ተሠወረ ።

6 አዬም ፡ ወደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ መውጫ ፡ ፊትዎን ፡ መልሰው ፡  
 ሶስት ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ሰገዱ ። ስብሐት ፡ ለአብ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለወልድ ፡  
 20 ስብሐት ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እያሉ ። ንጉሡም ፡ የልብዎ ፡  
 ደረሰና ፡ ወደደንቀዝ ፡ ተሎ ፡ ወጡና ፡ በሉ ፡ ተሎ ፡ አዋጅ ፡

ACGH 5,3 ከባሕሩ ፡] ከባሕሩ ፡ H5<sup>r</sup> 6 መጠኑ ፡] G6<sup>v</sup> 10 ሠራዊቱም ፡] A44<sup>ab</sup>  
 እንደ ፡] H5<sup>v</sup> 13 ደርሶልሁል ።] ደርሶልሁል ። G7<sup>r</sup> 14 ያልተጠመቀም ፡] C2<sup>r</sup>  
 17 አንሥቶ ፡] አንሥቶ ፡ H6<sup>r</sup> 19 ያለውን ፡] ያለውን ፡ G7<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 3 ያን ፡ ጊዜም ፡] ACG; ያንጊዜም ፡ H | ጊዜም ፡] ACH; ጊዜም ፡ G  
 4 እንደ ፡] ACG; om. H | <ባሕረ ፡>] con.; om. ACGH | ተንቀጠቀጠች ።] H;  
 አንቀጠቀጠች ።] ACG 5 ኩላ ፡] ACG; ኩላ ፡ H | ኩላ ፡ ሀገር ፡] ACG; ኩላሀገር ፡  
 H 6 አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡] ACH; አንደሰው ፡ G 7 ጎሮ ፡] AG; ሆኖ ፡ CH 8 ጎብረ ፡] ACH;  
 ፀብኑ ፡ AG 10 መልአክ ፡] ACG; ሆኖ ፡ add. H | ሠራዊቱም ፡] ACG;  
 ሠራዊቱ ፡ H | እንደ ፡] ACG; እንደ ፡ add. H | እረገፈ ፡] AG; ረገፈ ፡ C; እረገፉ ፡  
 H 11 ብቻዎን ፡] AGH; ብቻውዎን ፡ C 12 እኔ ፡] AG; እኔም ፡ CH  
 ከቆምኩበት ፡] ACG; ከቆምኩበት ፡ H | ግንቡን ፡] CG; ግቡን ፡ AG; ግምቡን ፡  
 H | አቁም ፡] ACH; አቀሩም ፡ G 13 ፈቃድም ፡] ACG; ፈቃድ ፡ H 14 እንኳን ፡] ACG;  
 ስንኳን ፡ H | ያልተጠመቀም ፡] ACG; የአልተጠመቀም ፡ H 16 እሆንህ ፡  
 አለጉ ፡] ACG; እሆንሃሉ ፡ H | አለጉ ፡] AG; አሉ ፡ C 18 በመስቀሉ ፡] ACG;  
 በመስቀል ፡ H | ከመጀመርያ ፡] AGH; ከመጀመሩ ፡ C 19 ጎሮ ፡] AG; ሆሉ ፡  
 CH | ተሠወረ ።] ACG; ይላሉ ። add. H 6,1 ወደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡] ACG; ወደፀሐይ ፡ H  
 ፊትዎን ፡] ACH; ፊትዎን ፡ G 2 ሶስት ፡ ...ሰገዱ ።] AG; om. CH 4 ወደደንቀዝ ፡] ACG;  
 ወደ ፡ ደንቀዝ ፡ C | ተሎ ፡] ACG; ቶሎ ፡ H | ተሎ ፡] ACG; ቶሎ ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 3 ጊዜ ፡] ACG; ፤ H | ገባ ።] CGH; ፣ A 5 እንዳለ ።] G; ፤ A; ፣  
 CH 8 እንዳለ ፡] CGH; ። A | በረድ ፡] ACG; ። H 9 ፀሐይ ፡] ACG; ። H  
 10 መልአክ ፡] AGH; ። C | ጊዜ ፡] ACG; ። H | እረገፈ ፡] ACG; ፤ H  
 11 በድንጋዬ ።] AG; ፣ CH | ሲቀሩ ፡] CH; ። A; ፤ G 13 ደርሶልሁል ።] ACH;  
 ፣ G 16 ክነፊክ ፡] C; ። AGH 17 አንሥቶ ፡] CH; ። AG 18 ቀድሶ ፡] CH; ።  
 AG 19 ነገር ፡] ACH; ። G 6,2 ሰገዱ ።] AG; ፣ CH 3 እያሉ ።] ACG; ፣ H  
 4 ደረሰና ፡] AGH; ። C



ንገሩ ፡ ሠራዊቱ ፡ እስከ ፡ ጌቀን ፡ ይግባ ፡ ብላችኑ ፡ እስከ ፡ ጌቀን ፡ 5  
 ያልገባ ፡ እቀጣው ፡ አለኑ ፡ ብላችኑ ። አዋጅም ፡ በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
 ሠራዊቱ ፡ ደረሰ ። አፄም ፡ ፻፻ፋሪዳ ፡ ፻፻ፋፋፋ ፡ ሙክት ፡  
 ፪፻፻፲፱፡ አውራ ፡ የወይን ፡ ጠጅ ፡ የማር ፡ ጠጅ ፡ እንደ ፡ ውሀ ፡  
 ይፍሰስ ፡ ብለው ፡ አዘው ፡ ጌቀን ፡ ነጋሪት ፡ እየተመታ ፡ ሌሊትና ፡  
 ቀን ፡ ተዘፈነ ፡ በደንቀዝ ፡ ከተማ ። ጎንደርን ፡ የተባረከችውን ፡ 10  
 የተቀደሰችውን ፡ አገራን ፡ አገኘች ፡ እያሉ ። ከዚያም ፡ በኋላ ፡  
 ወደ ፡ ባሕር ፡ አገር ፡ ከፈረንጆች ፡ ፫፻፻ወርቅ ፡ አስጭነው ፡  
 ሰደዱ ። ተሎ ፡ ብላችኑ ፡ ብልህ ፡ ብልህ ፡ ሰው ፡ ግንብ ፡  
 10 የሚሰራ ፡ ሰደዱልኝ ፡ ብለው ፡ ላኩ ። ከዚያ ፡ በኋላ ፡ የዘላን ፡  
 ከብት ፡ አስነድተው ፡ አፄ ፡ ወደ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ወረዱ ። ዱሩንም ፡ 15  
 በከብት ፡ አስጣሱት ። ፈረንጆችም ፡ ፫፻፻ወርቅ ፡ ተቀብለው ፡  
 ጅጅብርትኪስ ፡ የሚባሉ ፡ ሰራተኞች ፡ ሰደዱ ። ሰዎቹም ፡ ከባሕር ፡  
 የመጡት ፡ መልካቸው ፡ ጥቁር ፡ ነው ። አፄም ፡ እነዚያን ፡  
 ሰዎች ፡ በተቀበሉ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ደስታ ፡ ሆነ ።

7 ወዲያውም ፡ ስራ ፡ ተጀመረ ። ስራ ፡ ሲጀመር ፡ በመጀ  
 መርያ ፡ ፫ዝቅ ፡ ዝቅ ፡ ያሉ ፡ እንቀላል ፡ ግንብ ፡ አሰሩ ፡ ፪ለቱ ፡  
 የሴቶቻቸው ፡ መቀመጫ ፡ አንዱ ፡ የንጉሡ ፡ አደረጉ ። ወደ ፡  
 ምሥራቅ ፡ ሲአይ ፡ ለሕዝቡ ፡ አዳራሽ ፡ መገኛ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ እንደ ፡  
 20 ሃውልት ፡ እንደ ፡ ሃውልት ፡ እያደረጉ ፡ አስቁመው ፡ ክረምት ፡ 5

ACGH 6,6 ብላችኑ ።] G8<sup>r</sup>; H6<sup>v</sup> 12 ፫፻፻ወርቅ ፣] ፫፻፻ወርቅ ፣ G8<sup>v</sup> 13 ግንብ ፣]  
 ግንብ ፣ H7<sup>r</sup> 14 ከዚያ ፣] ከዚያ ፣ A44<sup>va</sup> 18 እነዚያን ፣] እነዚያን ፣ G9<sup>r</sup>  
 7,1 በመጀመርያ ፣] H7<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 6 እቀጣው ፡ አለኑ ፣] AG; እቀጣዋለሁ ፡ CH | ብላችኑ ።] AG;  
 ንገሩ ፡ አሉ ፡ add. CH | አዋጅም ፣] ACG; አዋጁን ፡ H 7 ፻፻ፋሪዳ ፣] AC;  
 ፻፻ፋሪዳ ፡ G; እልፍ ፡ ፍሪዳ ፡ H | ፻፻ፋፋፋ ፣] ACG; ሁለት ፡ መቶ ፡ የፍፋል ፡ H  
 8 ፪፻፻፲፱፣] ACG; እልፍ ፡ ፻፻፲፱፣] H 9 አዘው ፣] CGH; አዘዙ ። A | ጌቀን ፣] AG;  
 ጌት ፡ ቀን ፡ H 11 አገኘች ፣] ACG; አገኘች ፡ H 12 ወደ ፡ ...12 ባሕር ፣] AG;  
 ወደባሕር ፡ CH | ፫፻፻ወርቅ ፣] ACG; ፻፻ወርቅ ፡ H 13 ተሎ ፣] ACG; ቶሎ ፡  
 H | ብላችኑ ፣] AG; ብላችሁ ፡ CH | ግንብ ፣] C; ግብ ፡ AG; ግንምብ ፡ H  
 14 ላኩ ።] ACH; om. G | ከዚያ ፣] AG; ከዝያ ፡ C; ከዚህ ፡ H 15 ወደ ፡ ጎንደር ፣] ACG;  
 ወደጎንደር ፡ H | ዱሩንም ፣] ACG; ዱሩን ፡ H 16 ፫፻፻ወርቅ ፣] ACG;  
 ፫፻፻ ፡ ሰሰት ፡ ዕልፍ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ H 17 ጅጅብርትኪስ ፣] ACG; ጅጅብርትኪስ ፡ H  
 የሚባሉ ፣] ACG; የተባሉ ፡ H | ሰዎቹም ፣] CGH ሰዎችም ፡ A 18 እነዚያን ፣] AGH;  
 እነዚያን ፡ C 19 በተቀበሉ ፣] ACGH; በተበሉ ፡ G 7,1 ወዲያውም ፣] ACH;  
 ወዲያም ፡ G | በመጀመርያ ፣] AG; በመጀመሩ ፡ C; በመጀመሪያ ፡ H  
 2 ፫ዝቅ ፣] ACG; ፫ት ፡ ዝቅ ፡ H | ግንብ ፣] CH; ግብ ፡ AG | ፪ለቱ ፣] ACG;  
 የሁለቱ ፡ H 3 የሴቶቻቸው ፣] ACG; ሴቶቻቸው ፡ H 4 አዳራሽ ፣] ACG;  
 አዳራሽ ፡ H | መገኛ ፣] ACG; መገናኛ ፡ H | ደግሞ ፣] ACG; ዳግም ፡ H  
 እንደ ፣] ACG; አንድ ፡ H 5 አስቁመው ፣] ACG; አስመቀጡ ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 5 ንገሩ ፣] ACG; ። H | ብላችኑ ፣] CG; ። AH 6 ብላችኑ ።] AG;  
 ፣ CH 8 አውራ ፣] CGH; ። A 10 ተዘፈነ ፣] ACG; ። H | ከተማ ።] ACG;  
 ፣ H 13 ሰደዱ ።] ACG; ፣ H 14 ሰደዱልኝ ፣] CGH; ። A | በኋላ ፣] CGH; ፤ A  
 15 ወረዱ ።] AGH; ፣ C 16 አስጣሱት ።] AG; ፣ CH 19 ሆነ ።] AGH; ፣ C  
 7,1 ተጀመረ ።] G; ፣ ACH 2 አሰሩ ፣] ACH; ። G 3 የንጉሡ ፣] CGH; ። A  
 ወደ ፣] CG; ። AH 4 ሲአይ ፣] CH; ። AG 5 አስቁመው ፣] ACG; ። H

ሲሆን ፡ ማቅ ፡ እያለበት ፡ በጋ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ ግምጃ ፡ እያለበት ፡  
 አዳራሽ ፡ ይገኙ ፡ ነበር ፡ ግንቡ ፡ እስተሰራ ፡ ድረስ ። ግንቡም ፡  
 ሲጀመር ፡ መናገሻው ፡ በሽታ ፡ ተነስቶ ፡ አስቸገረ ። ሠራዊቱም ፡  
 ሊአልቅ ፡ ሆነ ። አዲም ፡ ተጨነቁና ፡ የአለቅሱ ፡ ጀመር ።  
 ያበፊት ፡ ያዩት ፡ ደግ ፡ ሰው ፡ ተገለጠልዎ ፡ ይላሉ ፡ አይዞህ ፡ 10  
 አታልቅስ ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ሚካኤልን ፡ ስራ ፡ አለዎ ። ታቦተ ፡ ሚካ  
 ኤልን ፡ በሰሩ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ በሽታውም ፡ ጸጥ ፡ አለ ። ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲ  
 ያኑም ፡ ፊት ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ተባለ ። ዳግመኛም ፡ አንበሳና ፡ ነብር ፡  
 ተነሥቶ ፡ ሕዝቡን ፡ ቢአስቸግር ፡ ያደግሰው ፡ ተገልጦ ፡ አቦን ፡  
 10 ታቦት ፡ ስራ ፡ አለዎ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑም ፡ ፊት ፡ አቦ ፡ ተባለ ፡ 15  
 አውሬውም ፡ ጠፋ ።

8 ኋላ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ የሚሰራውን ፡ ግንብ ፡ መብረቅ ፡ እየ  
 መታው ፡ እለት ፡ እለት ፡ እየፈረሰ ፡ አስቸገረዎ ፡ ንጉሠ-ም ፡  
 ግብር ፡ ደፍነው ፡ ከሰው ፡ ተከልክለው ፡ ይጸልዩ ፡ ጀመር ። ያመ  
 ልአክ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ደግ ፡ ሰው ፡ ተገልጦ ፡ አይዞህ ፡ ኢይደ  
 ንግፅ ፡ ልብክ ፡ ተግግግ ፡ ለመዓት ፡ ወድጎረ ፡ ታስተፌሥሐክ ፡ 5  
 ነው ። በል ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ኢየሱስና ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ማርያምን ፡ ቀኝና ፡  
 ግራ ፡ አድርገህ ፡ ስራ ፡ አለዎ ። አዲም ፡ ተነሡና ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ኢየሱ  
 ስንና ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ማርያምን ፡ ቀኝና ፡ ግራ ፡ አድርገው ፡ ተከሉ ።  
 20 ከዚያ ፡ በኋላ ፡ መሠረቱም ፡ እየጠና ፡ እየቀና ፡ ሄደ ፡ ንጉሠ-ም ፡

ACGH 6 ግምጃ ፡] G9<sup>v</sup> 9 ሊአልቅ ፡] H8<sup>v</sup> 13 ተባለ ።] G10<sup>v</sup> 16 ጠፋ ።] A44<sup>v</sup>  
 8,1 ደግሞ ፡] C2<sup>v</sup>; ደግሞ ፡ H8<sup>v</sup> 4 ተገልጦ ፡] G10<sup>v</sup> 7 ግራ ፡] H9<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 7 አዳራሽ ፡] CG; አዳራሺ ፡ H; om. A | ግንቡ ፡] C; ግቡ ፡ AG;  
 ግምቡ ፡ H | እስተሰራ ፡] ACG; እስከሚሠራ ፡ H | ግንቡም ፡] C; ግቡም ፡ AG;  
 ግንቡ ፡ H 8 በሽታ ፡] ACG; በሺታ ፡ H | አስቸገረ ።] AGH; አስጀገረ ፡ C  
 9 የአለቅሱ ፡] AG; ያለቅሱ ፡ CH 10 ተገለጠልዎ ፡] ACG; ተገልጦልዎ ፡ H  
 11 ሚካኤልን ፡] AG; ሚካኤል ፡ CH | ስራ ፡] ACG; አለህ ፡ H 12 በሽታውም ፡] ACG;  
 በሺታውም ፡ H 14 ያደግሰው ፡] AG; ያደግ ፡ ሰው ፡ CH  
 8,1 የሚሰራውን ፡] CGH; የሚሰራው ፡ A | ግንብ ፡] CH; ግብ ፡ AG  
 2 አስቸገረዎ ፡] AGH; አሽቸገረዎ ፡ C 3 ያመልአክ ፡] CG; ያመለክ ፡ A; ያ ፡  
 መልአክ ፡ H 4 አይዞህ ፡] ACG; ኢይደግፅ ፡ ልብክ ፡ ዝም ፡ ብለህ ፡ ታቦተ ፡  
 ኢየሱስን ፡ ሥራ ፡ add. H 5 ልብክ ፡] AGH; ልበክ ፡ C | ለመዓት ፡] ACG;  
 ለለዓመት ፡ H 6 በል ፡] AC; om. CH | ታቦተ ፡] CGH; om. A | ታቦተ ፡  
 ኢየሱስና ፡] AG; ከአደባባይ ፡ add. CG<sup>v</sup>H | ኢየሱስና ፡] AG; ኢየሱስ ፡ CH  
 ታቦተ ፡ ማርያምን ፡] AG; ዘግምጃ ፡ ቤት ፡ add. CG<sup>v</sup>H | ማርያምን ፡] G;  
 ማርያም ፡ CH; [...]ን ፡ lac. (rub.) A 7 ኢየሱስንና ፡] CH; [...]ና ፡ lac. (rub.) AG  
 8 ማርያምን ፡] CH; [...] lac. (rub.) AG 9 ከዚያ ፡] ACG; ከዚህ ፡ H  
 መሠረቱም ፡] ACG; የግንቡ ፡ ሥራ ፡ H | እየጠና ፡] AG; እየጸና ፡ CH | እየቀና ፡] AGH;  
 እየጠና ፡ C

PUNCTUATION | 6 እያለበት ፡] CH; ። AG | እያለበት ፡] ACG; ። H 7 ነበር ፡] CGH;  
 ። A | ድረስ ።] AGH; ፡ C 8 መናገሻው ፡] ACH; ። G | አስቸገረ ።] AG;  
 ፡ CH; 9 ሆነ ።] AGH; ፡ C | ጀመር ።] ACG; ፡ H 10 ይላሉ ፡] CGH; ። A  
 11 አለዎ ።] AG; ፡ CH 12 አለ ።] AG; ፡ CH 13 ተባለ ።] ACH; ፡ G  
 15 አለዎ ፡] ACG; ። H | ተባለ ፡] CGH; ። A 16 ጠፋ ።] AG; ፡ CH  
 8,2 አስቸገረዎ ፡] CGH; ። A 3 ጀመር ።] ACG; ፡ H 5 ልብክ ፡] ACH; ። G  
 6 ነው ።] AGH; ፡ C 7 አለዎ ።] AH; ፡ C; ፤ G 8 ተከሉ ።] GH; AC 9 ሄደ ፡] ACG;  
 ። H

ደስ ፡ አለዎ ፡ ማለዳ ፡ ማለዳ ፡ ሲያዩት ፡ አንድ ፡ አንድ ፡ ጋት ፡ 10  
እያደገ ፡ ያድር ፡ ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ። መልአክ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እየ  
ረዳዎ ፡ ነው ፡ ይላሉ ።

9 የንጉሡ ፡ ምግብም ፡ የርግብ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ያፈቅሩ ፡ ነበር ፡  
ይላሉ ። ቁመተዎም ፡ የንጉሡ ፡ በቀስተደመናው ፡ ልክ ፡ ነው ።  
ግንቡም ፡ ከተፈጸመ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ ሌሊት ፡ ሽህ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡  
ጃግሬ ፡ በምሥራቅ ፡ ሽህ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡ ጃግሬ ፡ በምእራብ ፡ ሽህ ፡  
ሰይፍ ፡ ጃግሬ ፡ በሰሜን ፡ ሽህ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡ ጃግሬ ፡ በደቡብ ፡ 5  
ቁሞበት ፡ ያድራል ፡ ይላሉ ፡ ከግንቡ ። ፋናውም ፡ ከመናገሻው ፡  
10 ላይ ፡ የተተከለው ፡ መብራት ፡ እስከ ፡ ጎጃም ፡ ሲታይ ፡ ያድር ፡  
ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ። ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑም ፡ የሰሩት ፡ ጌነው ።

10 አጥብቀው ፡ ዘማዊ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ይላሉ ፡ ንጉሡ ። ከዘማዌ ፡  
ብዛት ፡ የተነሣ ፡ ከሰራ ፡ ቤቱ ፡ ፫፻ፈጅ ፡ ወለዱ ፡ ይላሉ ። የሰራ ፡  
ቤት ፡ ልጅ ፡ ሁኖ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ሳይታወቅ ፡ እንዳለ ፡ ቀረ ፡ ይላሉ ።  
ሁለቱንም ፡ እታማቾች ፡ አግብተው ፡ ሲኖሩ ፡ ነበር ፡ አፄ ።  
ከተከዜ ፡ ከባሕር ፡ አሸዋ ፡ አንድ ፡ የወደቀ ፡ ቅጠል ፡ የሚበላ ፡ 5  
መነኩሴ ፡ አንዱን ፡ ወንድሙን ፡ ጊድ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ አለው ፡  
ጊደህ ፡ ግን ፡ የንጉሡን ፡ የንስሐ ፡ አባት ፡ ገዝተው ። አንተ ፡

ACGH 10 አንድ ፡<sup>2]</sup> G11<sup>r</sup> 9,2 ይላሉ ።] H9<sup>v</sup> 6 ቁሞበት ፡] ቁሞበት ፡ G11<sup>v</sup>  
8 ክርስቲያኑም ፡] H10<sup>r</sup> | ጌነው ።] A45<sup>ra</sup> 10,3 ይላሉ ።] G12<sup>r</sup> 7 ግን ፡] H10<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 10 ሲያዩት ፡] ACG; ሲአዩት ፡ H | አንድ ፡<sup>2]</sup> ACG; ክንድ ፡ H  
11 እያደገ ፡] ACH; እየአደገ ፡ G 9,1 የንጉሡ ፡] ACG; ንጉሡም ፡ H  
ምግብም ፡] ACG; ምግብ ፡ H 2 ቁመተዎም ፡] AG; ቁመትዎም ፡ C;  
ቀሙታቸውም ፡ | በቀስተደመናው ፡] AGH; በቀስተ ፡ ደመናው ፡ C  
3 ግንቡም ፡] CH; ግቡም ፡ AG | ሽህ ፡] ACG; ሽህ ፡ H | ሰይፍ ፡] ACG;  
ባለሰይፍ ፡ H; 4 ጃግሬ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; ጋሻጃግሬ ፡ H | ሽህ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; ሽህ ፡ H  
ሰይፍ ፡] ACG; ባለሰይፍ ፡ H | ጃግሬ ፡<sup>2]</sup> ACG; ጋሻጃግሬ ፡ H | ሽህ ፡<sup>2]</sup> ACG;  
ሽህ ፡ H 5 ሰይፍ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; ባለሰይፍ ፡ H; ጃ ፡ add. H; om. G | ጃግሬ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG;  
ጋሻጃግሬ ፡ H; om. G | ሽህ ፡] ACG; ሽህ ፡ H | ሰይፍ ፡<sup>2]</sup> ACG<sup>2</sup>; ባለሰይፍ ፡ H;  
om. G | ጃግሬ ፡<sup>2]</sup> ACG<sup>2</sup>; ጋሻጃግሬ ፡ H; om. G 6 ከግንቡ ።] CH; ከግቡ ። AG  
ከግንቡ ። ...ከመናገሻው ፡] ACG; ከግንቡ ። ፋናውም ፡ ከመናገሻው ፡ tra. H  
7 ጎጃም ፡] AGH; ጎጃም ፡ C 8 ክርስቲያኑም ፡] ACG; ክርስቲያኑ ፡ H | የሰሩት ፡] ACG;  
የሰሩት ፡ H | ጌነው ።] ACG; ጌት ፡ ነው ፡ H 10,1 ከዘማዌ ፡] AG;  
ከዘማዌነት ፡ C; ከዘማዌነታቸው ፡ H 2 ፫፻ፈጅ ፡] ACG; ፯፻ፈጅ ፡ H 3 ሁኖ ፡] ACG;  
AG; ሁኖ ፡ CH 4 እታማቾች ፡] AG; እትማማቾች ፡ C; እጎትማቾች ፡ H  
6 ወንድሙን ፡] ACH; ወንዱሙን ፡ G | ጊድ ፡ ጎንደር ፡] ACG; ጎንደር ፡ ሂድ ፡  
tra. H | አለው ፡] ACG; እኖ ፡ add. H

PUNCTUATION | 11 ይላሉ ።] AH; ፡ CG 12 ይላሉ ።] AG; ፡ CH 9,2 ይላሉ ።] A;  
፡ CH; ፫ G | ነው ።] AG; ፡ CH 5 በሰሜን ፡] ACH; ። G 6 ይላሉ ፡] ACG; ።  
H | ከግንቡ ።] AG; ፡ CH 8 ጌነው ።] ። A; ፡ CH; ፫ G 10,1 ይላሉ ፡] CGH; ።  
A | ንጉሡ ።] G; ፡ ACH 2 ይላሉ ።] A; ፡ CH; ፫ G 3 ይላሉ ።] AGH; ፡ C  
4 ነበር ፡] ACG; ። H | አፄ ።] A; ፡ CH; ፫ G 6 መነኩሴ ፡] CH; ። G; ነበር ።  
add. A | አለው ፡] CHG; ። A 7 ገዝተው ።] AG; ፡ CH

ተቀምጠህ ፡ ነው ፡ ብያ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ያለ ፡ ስራ ፡ መሰራቱ ፡ ብለህ ፡  
ያንተንም ፡ ቃል ፡ የኔንም ፡ ቃል ፡ አሳድርበት ።

11 ያም ፡ መልእክተኛ ፡ እየገሠገሠ ፡ መጣና ፡ ከንጉሡ ፡  
አባት ፡ አድሮ ፡ ማልዶ ፡ ሲነጋ ፡ በል ፡ አባቴም ፡ ገዝቶህል ፡  
እኔም ፡ ገዝቸህ ፡ አለኝ ፡ አለው ። ሰይፍ ፡ ብያ ፡ ፈርተህ ፡ ነው ፡  
አለው ። እርሱም ፡ መለሰ ፡ ምላጭ ፡ አወጣና ፡ በል ፡ እንካ ፡  
እራሴን ፡ ላጨኝ ፡ ወደፊት ፡ አለ ። ያም ፡ ምላጩን ፡ ተቀብሎ ፡ 5  
ሲላጨው ፡ አውቆ ፡ ሸንተፍ ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ሲቆርጠው ፡ ስቅጥጥ ፡  
ብሎ ፡ ደነገጠ ። እርሱም ፡ ይህን ፡ ይዘህ ፡ እነው ፡ ንጉሡን ፡ የም  
10 ትገዝት ፡ አለ ። እርሱም ፡ በል ፡ በፊት ፡ ጨርሰኝ ፡ አለና ፡  
ደሙን ፡ አብሶ ፡ ቆቡን ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ከግንቡ ፡ ከንጉሡ ፡ ገብቶ ፡  
ገዝቸህ ፡ አለኝ ፡ ፍታ ፡ አለ ። 10

12 ንጉሡም ፡ ሰሙና ፡ ይህ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ አበደ ፡ ንሳ ፡ ከአደ  
ባባይ ፡ አውጥታችኑ ፡ አንገቱን ፡ በሰይፍ ፡ በሉት ፡ አሉ ።  
አዲም ፡ በተናገሩ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እየገጠተቱ ፡ አወጡና ፡ አንገቱን ፡  
በሰይፍ ፡ ቆረጡት ። ይህም ፡ በተሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ ድንቅ ፡  
ሆነና ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ ለሰማዲሁ ፡ እንዳለ ፡ ሆነ ። ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ በሞ  
5 ጊናም ፡ ያለ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ በዋልድባም ፡ ያለ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ በማ

ACGH 11,1 መልእክተኛ ፡] መልእክተኛ ፡ G12<sup>v</sup> 5 ላጨኝ ፡] ላጨኝ ፡ H11<sup>r</sup>  
7 እርሱም ፡] እርሱም ፡ G13<sup>r</sup> 8 አለ ።] A45<sup>rb</sup> 12,1 ንሳ ፡] H11<sup>v</sup> 3 አንገቱን ፡] G13<sup>v</sup> 4 ዕውቀት ፡] ስ[...]ዲሁ ፡ C3<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 8 ብያ ፡] ACG; om. H 9 አሳድርበት ።] ACG; አለው ። add. H  
11,1 እየገሠገሠ ፡] CGH; እየ ፡ ገሠገሠ ፡ A | ከንጉሡ ፡] ACG; የንስሐ ፡ add. H  
2 ማልዶ ፡] AG; ማለዳ ፡ CH 3 ገዝቸህ ፡ አለኝ ፡] AG; ገዝቸህህ ፡ CH  
4 መለሰ ፡] ACG; መለስ ፡ H; ብሎ ፡ add. H | አወጣና ፡] CGH; አመጣና ፡ A  
5 እራሴን ፡] CG; ራሴን ፡ AH 6 አድርጎ ፡] AG; አድርጎ ፡ CH | ስቅጥጥ ፡] AG;  
ስቅጥጥ ፡ CH 7 ይህን ፡] CGH; ይህን ፡ add A | ይዘህ ፡ እነው ፡] CG; ይዘህነው ፡  
A | እነው ፡] CG; ነው ፡ AH | የምትገዝት ፡] A; የምትገዝትበት ፡ CGH;  
የምትገዝ ፡ G 9 ከግንቡ ፡] C; ከግቡ ፡ AG; om. H | ገብቶ ፡] ACG; ሂዶ ፡ H  
10 ገዝቸህ ፡ አለኝ ፡] AG; ገዝቸህህ ፡ CH | አለኝ ፡] AG; አለው ፡ add. C; አለ ፡  
add. H | አለ ።] ACG; አለው ። H 12,1 ይህ ፡] ACG; አይህን ፡ H | አበደ ፡ ንሳ ፡] ACG;  
lac. H 2 አውጥታችኑ ፡] AG; አውጥታችሁ ፡ CH | አሉ ።] ACG;  
አሉም ። H 3 አዲም ፡] ACG; አዲ ፡ H | በተናገሩ ፡] ACG; በተናገሩም ፡ H  
4 ቆረጡት ።] CG; ቆረጡት ። AH; ጅኛም ፡ ደግሞ ፡ add. H | ይህም ፡] ACG;  
ይህ ፡ H 5 ዕውቀት ፡...5 እንዳለ ፡] AG; ስ [lac.]ዲሁ ፡ እንዳለ ፡ C; እንዲሁ ፡  
እንዳለ ፡ H | ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡] A; om. CGH | በሞጊናም ፡] AG; በሞጊና ፡ CH  
6 በዋልድባም ፡] AG; በዋልድባ ፡ C; ዋልድባ ፡ H | በዋልድባም ፡...7 መነኩሴ ፡] AG;  
በማሕበረ ፡ ሥላሴም ፡ ያለ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ በዋልድባም ፡ ያለ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ tra.  
CH | ያለ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡] AC; ያለመነኩሴ ፡ H | መነኩሴ ፡] AH; በማኅበረ ፡  
ሥላሴም ፡ ያለ ፡ መነኩሴ ። add. C; om. G

PUNCTUATION | 8 ብለህ ፡] ACG; ። H 9 አሳድርበት ።] AG; ፡ CH  
11,3 አለው ።] AH; ፡ CG 4 አለው ።] ACG; ፡ H 5 አለ ።] ACG; ፡ H  
7 ደነገጠ ።] AH; ፡ CH 8 አለ ።] AGH; ፡ C | አለና ፡] ACG; ። H 10 አለ ።] CGH;  
፤ A 12,2 አሉ ።] AGH; ፡ C 5 ሆነና ፡] ACG; ። H | እንዳለ ፡] AH; ። CG;  
6 መነኩሴ ፡] CGH; ። A | ያለ ፡] ACH; ። G

ሕበረ ፡ ሥላሴም ፡ ያለ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ በገዳሙ ፡ ጉሉ ፡ ያለ ፡  
እየመጣ ፡ አንገት ፡ አንገቱን ፡ እንደ ፡ <ወልደ ፡> ዘካርያስ ፡ እንደ ፡  
ዮሐንስ ፡ ይሰጥ ፡ ጀመረ ። ገበሬውም ፡ ጅረፋን ፡ እየጠቀለለ ፡  
እስላሙም ፡ ሸማ ፡ እቃውን ፡ እየጣለ ፡ አንገቱን ፡ ሰጠ ። አክ  
ሊላተ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ መላእክተ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ሲወርዱ ፡ እያየ ። ሰራ  
ዊቱም ፡ ይህን ፡ ነገር ፡ አየና ፡ እኔ ፡ እቀድም ፡ እኔ ፡ እቀድም ፡  
እያለ ፡ አለቀ ።

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13 ንጉሡም ፡ ጽርሐ ፡ አርያም ፡ ተገልጦ ፡ መላእክተ ፡  
ብርሃን ፡ አክሊላተ ፡ ብርሃንን ፡ ይዘው ፡ ሲወርዱ ፡ ሲወጡ ፡ አን  
ገቱን ፡ ለሰጠ ፡ ጉሉ ፡ አዩና ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጉሉን ፡ ለመን  
ግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ አድሎታልና ፡ ብለው ፡ በለው ፡ አሉ ፡ እርጎ  
ራኔም ፡ አላደረጉ ፡ ንጉሡ ። መነኩሳቱ ፡ ብቻ ፡ ያለቁት ፡ ፱ሺህ ፡  
ከ፱፻፺፱ነው ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ መሃይምናን ፡ ወዘእንበለ ፡ አረማውያን ።  
በደሙ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ተቀደሰት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እንዳለ ።  
ጎንደር ፡ በፊትም ፡ እንደ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ የተመረጠች ፡ ናት ፡  
ኋላም ፡ በነዚያ ፡ ጉሉ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ደም ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ተባረከች ፡  
ተቀደሰች ፡ ይላሉ ።

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14 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ለአፄ ፡ ሲታየዎ ፡ የነበረ ፡ ያደግ ፡ ሰው ፡  
እንደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ እያበራ ፡ ወጥቶ ፡ ከአፄ ፡ ጋራ ፡ ተነጋገረ ። በፊት ፡

ACGH 8 ዘካርያስ ፡] H12፣ 10 እቃውን ፡] G14፣ 13,3 ጉሉ ፡] H12፣  
4 አድሎታልና ፡] አድሎታልና ፡] G14፣ 5 ያለቁት ፡] ያለቁት ፡] A45፣  
9 ቅዱሳን ፡] ቅዱሳን ፡] H13፣ | ተባረከች ፡] ተባረከች ፡] G15፣

VARIANTS | 7 ሥላሴም ፡] ሥላሴ ፡] CH | መነኩሴ ፡] AG; om. AG | ጉሉ ፡] AG;  
ሁሉ ፡] CH | ያለ ፡] AG; መነኩሴ ፡] add. H 8 <ወልደ ፡>] con. ; om. ACGH  
9 ይሰጥ ፡] CGH; ነበር ፡] add. A | ጀመረ ።] ACG; ጀመር ።] H | ገበሬውም ፡] ACG;  
ገበሬው ፡] H | ጅረፋን ፡] ACG; ጅራፋን ፡] H 10 እስላሙም ፡] ACG;  
እስላሙም ፡] H | እየጣለ ፡] ACG; እየጠቀለለ ፡] H | አንገቱን ፡] ACG; አገቱን ፡] H  
12 እቀድም ፡] CH; ቀድም ፡] AG | እቀድም ፡] CGH; ቀድም ፡] A  
13,2 ብርሃንን ፡] ACG; ብርሃን ፡] H | ሲወርዱ ፡] ሲወጡ ፡] ACG; ሲወጡ ፡] ACG;  
ሲወርዱ ፡] tra. H 3 ለሰጠ ፡] AG; ለሰጠው ፡] C; ለሰጡ ፡] H | ጉሉ ፡] AG; ሁሉ ፡] CH |  
አዩና ፡] ACG; አዩና ፡] H | ጉሉን ፡] AG; ሁሉን ፡] CH | ለመንግሥተ ፡] ACG;  
በመንግሥተ ፡] H 4 አድሎታልና ፡] ACG; አድሎታልና ፡] H  
ብለው ፡] ACG; ሰጡ ፡] add. H | በለው ፡] አሉ ፡] ACG; om. H | እርጎራኔም ፡] ACG;  
ርጎራኔም ፡] H 5 አላደረጉ ፡] ACG; ስለአደረጉ ።] H | መነኩሳቱ ፡] ACG;  
መነኩሳቱ ፡] H | ፱ሺህ ፡] ACG; ፱ኝ ፡] ሺህ ፡] H 6 ከ፱፻፺፱ነው ፡] ACG; ከ፱፻፺፱ነው ፡] C;  
ከ፱፻፺፱ ፡] ነው ፡] H | መሃይምናን ፡] ACH; መሃይምናን ፡] G 9 በነዚያ ፡] AGH;  
በነዚያ ፡] C | ጉሉ ፡] AG; ሁሉ ፡] C; om. H | ተባረከች ፡] ተቀደሰች ፡] ACG;  
ተቀደሰች ፡] ተባረከች ፡] tra. CH 14,1 የነበረ ፡] CGH; የነበር ፡] A 2 ወጥቶ ፡] ACG;  
መጥቶ ፡] H | ጋራ ፡] ACG; ጋር ፡] H | ተነጋገረ ።] ACG; ተናገረ ።] H

PUNCTUATION | 7 ያለ ፡] CH; ።] AG 9 ጀመረ ።] ACG; ፡] H | እየጠቀለለ ፡] CH;  
።] AG 10 እየጣለ ፡] CH; ።] AG | ሰጠ ።] AGH; ፡] C 11 እያየ ።] AGH; ፡] C  
12 አዩና ፡] CGH; ።] A 13 አለቀ ።] AGH; ፡] C 13,3 አዩና ፡] CGH; ።] A  
5 አላደረጉ ፡] C; ።] AGH | ንጉሡ ።] CG; ፤] A; ፡] H 6 ከ፱፻፺፱ነው ፡] C; ።] AH;  
፤] G | መሃይምናን ፡] ACH; ።] G | አረማውያን ።] AG; ፡] CH 7 እንዳለ ።] AGH;  
፡] C 8 ናት ፡] CGH; ፤] A 10 ይላሉ ።] AGH; ፡] C 14,2 ተነጋገረ ።] AGH; ፡] C

እንደ ፡ ነገረዎ ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ለኋላ ፡ ልጆች ፡ ትንቢት ፡ ነገረዎ ።  
 ከዚህ ፡ ከከተማህ ፡ ከዚህ ፡ የበለጠ ፡ የሚፈስ ፡ ደም ፡ አለ ፡ በአረማ  
 ውያን ፡ እጅ ፡ ወይመጽኡ ፡ በምዕራብ ፡ ወይመስሉ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቋዕ ፡ 5  
 ወይበልዑ ፡ ከለባት ፡ ወበሀጋይ ፡ ወበክረምት ። እያለ ፡ ነገረዎ ።  
 እኔም ፡ እረፍቴ ፡ ደርሶአለና ፡ ከአደባባይ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ደጀሰላም ፡  
 ወደምሥራቅ ፡ ሲል ፡ እንድትቀብረኝ ፡ ስትቀብረኝ ፡ ግን ፡ እጅን ፡  
 እንደ ፡ ሥዕለ ፡ ስቅለት ፡ ዘርግተህ ፡ ከጎዳናው ፡ ላይ ፡ ቅበረኝ ። 10  
 ምሕላም ፡ ሕዝቡ ፡ ሲማለሉ ፡ ከአጠገቤ ፡ አይራቁ ። አንተም ፡  
 ኢይወጽእ ፡ ምልክና ፡ ወምስፍና ፡ እምአባሉ ፡ ለይሁዳ ፡ እንዳለ ፡  
 10 ዘርህ ፡ የተባረከ ፡ የተቀደሰ ፡ ይሁን ፡ ብሎ ፡ ከአፄ ፡ ጋራ ፡ ሲነ  
 ጋገር ፡ እንደ ፡ ተቀመጠ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጄሰዓት ፡ በዕለተ ፡  
 ዓርብ ።

15 ድኅሪተ ፡ ወድቀ ፡ አፄ ፡ ፋሲል ። ወተንሥኡ ፡ ደን  
 ጊዎሙ ፡ ጅወፀባለሚሎች ፡ ፲ወጀበየማኑ ፡ ፲ወጀበፀጋሙ ፡ አን  
 ሥእዎ ፡ ለፋሲደለስ ፡ ወውኅዘ ፡ አንብዑ ፡ ከመ ፡ ማየ ፡ ክረምት ።  
 ወእንዘ ፡ ይበኪ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሠራዊቱ ፡ አልጸቁ ፡ ለግንዘተ ፡  
 ሥጋሁ ፡ ፲፱መነኩሳት ። እንደ ፡ ምን ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ደረሱ ፡ 5  
 ቢሉ ፡ ከከዊነ ፡ እሳት ፡ ያልደረሱ ፡ ከአምስቱ ፡ መአርጋት ፡  
 የደረሱ ፡ ናቸው ፡ ዕረፍቱን ፡ አውቀውት ፡ ነው ፡ የመጡ ። ወገ  
 ነዘዎ ፡ ፲ወ፱ቅዱሳን ፡ ወቀበርዎ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ዘአዘዘ ፡ በከመ ፡ ቃሉ ፡  
 20 ጽሑፍ ፡ በይባቤ ፡ ወበማኅሌት ። መቃብሩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሥዕለ ፡  
 ሥቅለት ። መቃብር ፡ ሲወርድ ፡ ግን ፡ አዕላፍ ፡ መላእክት ፡ 10

ACGH 14,5 ወይመጽኡ ፡] ወይመጽኡ ፡ H13<sup>v</sup> 6 ወበሀጋይ ፡] ወበሀጋይ ፡ G15<sup>v</sup>  
 10 ከአጠገቤ ፡] H14<sup>r</sup> 12 የተባረከ ፡] የተባረከ ፡ G16<sup>r</sup> 13 ጄሰዓት ፡] A45<sup>vb</sup>  
 15,3 ለፋሲደለስ ፡] H14<sup>v</sup> 5 ሥጋሁ ፡] G16<sup>v</sup> 8 በከመ ፡] በከመ ፡ H15<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 3 እንደ ፡ ነገረዎ ፡] ACG; እንደነገረዎ ፡ H | አድርጎ ፡] ACG;  
 አድርጎ ፡ H | ለኋላ ፡] ACG; በኋላ ፡ H | ትንቢት ፡] ACG; ተናገረ ፡ add. H  
 ነገረዎ ።] ACG; ነገርዎ ። H 5 ከመ ፡ ቋዕ ፡] ACH; ከመቋዕ ፡ G 6 ከለባት ፡] CG;  
 ከለባተ ፡ AH | ወበክረምት ።] CGH; ይመጽኡ ። add. A | ነገረዎ ።] AGH;  
 ነገርዎ ፡ C 7 ደርሶአለና ፡] AG; ደርሷልና ፡ CH | ኢየሱስ ፡] AC; om. CH  
 ደጀሰላም ፡] ACG; ደጊሰላም ፡ H 8 ወደምሥራቅ ፡] AGH; ወደ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ C  
 ስትቀብረኝ ፡] ACG; ስትቀብረኝም ፡ H | እጅን ፡] ACG; እጄን ፡ H 9 እንደ ፡  
 ሥዕለ ፡] ACG; እንደሥዕለ ፡ H 10 ሕዝቡ ፡] AGH; ሕዝቡም ፡ C 12 ጋራ ፡] ACG;  
 ጋር ፡ H 13 እንደ ፡ ተቀመጠ ፡] AG; እንደተቀመጠ ፡ CH  
 15,2 ጅወፀባለሚሎች ፡] H; ጅወፀባለሚሎች ፡ AG; ጅወፀባለሚሎች ፡ C  
 ፲ወጀበየማኑ ፡] ACG; ፲ወጀቱ ፡ በየማኑ ፡ G 4 ለግንዘተ ፡] ACG; ለግንተ ፡ H  
 5 እንደ ፡ ምን ፡] ACG; እንደምን ፡ H 6 ከአምስቱ ፡] ACG; ካምስቱ ፡ A

PUNCTUATION | 3 ነገረዎ ።] ACG; ፡ H 4 አለ ፡] CG; ። AH 5 እጅ ፡] ACG; ።  
 H | በምዕራብ ፡] CH; ። AG 6 ወበክረምት ።] ACG; ፡ H | ነገረዎ ።] AGH; ፡ C  
 7 ደርሶአለና ፡] CH; ። AG 8 እንድትቀብረኝ ፡] CGH; ። A 9 ቅበረኝ ።] AH;  
 ፡C; ፤ G 10 አይራቁ ።] GH; ፤ A; ፡ C 12 ይሁን ፡] CGH; ። A  
 13 ተቀመጠ ፡] CGH; ። A | ጄሰዓት ፡] CGH; ። A 14 ዓርብ ።] ACG; ፡ H  
 15,1 ፋሲል ፡] ACG; ፡ H 2 ጅወፀባለሚሎች ፡] ACG; ። H | ፲ወጀበየማኑ ፡] ACG;  
 ። H 4 ሠራዊቱ ፡] ACG; ። H 5 ሥጋሁ ፡] CH; ። A; ፤ G  
 ፲፱መነኩሳት ።] AGH; ፡ C 8 ፲ወ፱ቅዱሳን ፡] CGH; ። A 9 ጽሑፍ ፡] CH; ።  
 AG | ወበማኅሌት ።] AGH; ፡ C 10 ሥቅለት ።] AGH; ፡ C

በገሃድ ፡ ረበው ፡ ቁመው ፡ ታዩ ፡ ከመቃብሩ ። ወረደ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ጎበ ፡ መቃብሩ ።

16 አዲም ፡ ከዚያ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ሱባኤ ፡ ይዘው ፡ ያለቅሱ ፡ ጀመር ፡ እንዴት ፡ ልጉን ፡ ይህ ፡ ጉሉ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ በኔ ፡ እጅ ፡ ጠፍቶ ፡ እያሉ ። ኋላ ፡ ግን ፡ አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡ ተገለጠልዎ ። ከስራ ፡ ቤትህ ፡ አንዲት ፡ ሴት ፡ አለች ፡ እርሷ ፡ ናት ፡ የምታድንህ ፡ አለዎ ። እስዎም ፡ መለሱ ፡ ስንቱን ፡ ሥራ ፡ ቤት ፡ አውቃለጉ ፡ እንዴት ፡ አደርጋለጉ ፡ አሉ ። እርሱም ፡ አለዎ ፡ ውሀ ፡ ስታመጣ ፡ ታገኛት ፡ አለህ ፡ ፲ገንቦ ፡ ውሀ ፡ መላልሳ ፡ ታመጣለች ፡ ሌላው ፡ ግን ፡ ጅት ፡ ነው ፡ የሚአመጣ ፡ አለዎ ።

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17 እሰዎ ፡ በአንገረብ ፡ መውረጃ ፡ አንድ ፡ አሽከር ፡ ማለዳ ፡ አስቀመጡ ፡ ያአሽከርም ፡ ሲመለከት ፡ ፱ኙን ፡ አግብታ ፡ አስረኛውን ፡ ይዛ ፡ ስትሄድ ፡ የምትገባበትን ፡ ቤት ፡ አይቶ ፡ ለአዲ ፡ ነገረዎ ። አዲም ፡ አሽከሩን ፡ አስከትለው ፡ ሂደው ፡ ደንጊያ ፡ ተሸክመው ፡ ወደቁ ፡ እርሷም ፡ ደንግጣ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ሆይ ፡ በእንተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ምንድር ፡ ነው ፡ ከኔ ፡ ከባርያህ ፡ ምን ፡ ቁም ፡ ነገር ፡ ልታገኝ ፡ ነው ፡ አለቻቸው ። ንጉሡም ፡ ምን ፡ ብሰራ ፡ እድን ፡ አለጉ ፡ በእንተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ንገሪኝ ፡ አሉ ።

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ACGH 11 በገሃድ ፡] G17፣ 16,1 ከዚያ ፡] ከዚያ ፡ C3ᵛ 3 እያሉ ።] H15ᵛ 6 እንዴት ፡] G17ᵛ 7 አለህ ፡] አለህ ፡ A46ᵛᵃ 17,1 በአንገረብ ፡] H16ᶜ 4 ነገረዎ ።] ነገረዎ ። G18ᶜ 7 ምን ፡] ምን ፡ H16ᵛ

VARIANTS | 16,1 አዲም ፡] ACG; አዲ ፡ H | ከዚያ ፡] AGH; ከዚያ ፡ C 2 ልጉን ፡] AG; ልሁን ፡ CH | ጉሉ ፡] AG; ሁሉ ፡ CH | በኔ ፡ እጅ ፡] AG; በጀ ፡ C; በጃ ፡ H 3 ተገለጠልዎ ።] ACG; ተገለጠለዎ ፡ H 4 ሴት ፡] AGH; እሴት ፡ C | እርሷ ፡ ናት ፡] H; እስዎናት ፡ A; እርሷናት ፡ C; እርሷናት ፡ G | የምታድንህ ፡] ACG; የምታድንህ ፡ H 5 እስዎም ፡] ACG; እርሰዎም ፡ H | ሥራ ፡ ቤት ፡] CG; ሥራቤት ፡ A; ሥራዩ ፡ ቤት ፡ H | አውቃለጉ ፡] AG; አውቃለሁ ፡ C; አውቀዋለሁ ፡ H 6 እንዴት ፡] ACG; እንዴትስ ፡ H | አደርጋለጉ ፡] AG; አደርጋለሁ ፡ CH ውሀ ፡] ACG; ዋሐ ፡ H 7 ታገኛት ፡ ...7 አለህ ፡] AG; ታገኛታለህ ፡ CH | ፲ገንቦ ፡] ACG; ፲ር ፡ ገንቦ ፡ H | ውሀ ፡] ACG; ዋሐ ፡ H 8 ጅት ፡] AGH; ጅ ፡ C | ነው ፡] AGH; om. C | የሚአመጣ ፡] ACG; የሚያመጣ ፡ H 17,1 እሰዎ ፡] ACG; እርሰዎም ፡ H | በአንገረብ ፡] ACG; በአንገበረው ፡ H | አሽከር ፡] ACG; አሺከር ፡ H | ማለዳ ፡] ACG; om. H 2 ያአሽከርም ፡] G; ያሽከርም ፡ A; ያ ፡ አሽከርም ፡ C; ያምአሺከርም ፡ H | አስረኛውን ፡] ACG; ፲ኛውን ፡ H; ለማምጣት ፡ ገንቦ ፡ add. H 3 ስትሄድ ፡] ACG; ስትሔድና ፡ H; ስትመለስ ፡ ጠብቆ ፡ add. H | የምትገባበትን ፡] ACH; የምትገባበትን ፡ G 4 አሽከሩን ፡] ACG; አሺከሩን ፡ H | ሂደው ፡] ACG; om. H 5 ወደቁ ፡] ACG; ወደቁባት ፡ H | እርሷም ፡] CH; እርሾም ፡ AG 6 ምን ፡ ...7 አለቻቸው ።] CGᵛH; om. AG | ቁም ፡ ነገር ፡] CGᵛ; ቁምነገር ፡ H 8 እድን ፡ ...8 አለጉ ፡] AG; እድናለሁ ፡ CH

PUNCTUATION | 16,2 ጀመር ፡] C; ። AGH 3 እያሉ ።] G; ፤ A; ፡ CH ተገለጠልዎ ።] AGH; ፡ C 5 አለዎ ።] AGH; ፡ C | አውቃለጉ ፡] ACG; ። H 6 አሉ ።] AG; ፡ CH 7 አለህ ፡] CGH; ። A | ታመጣለች ፡] ACG; ። H 8 አለዎ ።] AG; ፡ CH 17,4 ነገረዎ ።] AGH; ፡ C 5 ወደቁ ፡] CG; ፤ A; ። H; 6 ከባርያህ ፡] CH; ። AG 7 አለቻቸው ።] CGH; ፡ A

18 በል ፡ እንግዲህ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ አድርግ ፡ ከትልቅ ፡ ከትልቅ ፡  
 ወንዝ ፡ ድልድይ ፡ ስራ ፡ ድልድዩንም ፡ ሰርተህ ፡ ስታበቃ ፡  
 አዋጅ ፡ ንገር ። ሕዝቡም ፡ በዚያ ፡ ላይ ፡ ሲሄድ ፡ የፋሲልን ፡  
 ነፍስ ፡ ይማር ፡ እያለ ፡ ይሻገር ፡ በርሱ ፡ ነው ፡ የምትድን ፡  
 አለችዎ ። ቀን ፡ ቀን ፡ ከንጉሡ ፡ ስራ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ አንገረብ ፡ 5  
 ከባሕር ፡ ታድር ፡ ነበር ። ጅገንቦ ፡ ውሀ ፡ ለነዳያን ፡ ዕለት ፡ ዕለት ፡  
 ታደርግ ፡ ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ። አዲም ፡ ይህን ፡ ሰምተው ፡ ጁድልድይ ፡  
 ሰሩ ፡ በየወንዙ ፡ ሰርተውም ፡ ሲጨርሱ ፡ አዋጅ ፡ ነገሩ ፡ የፋ  
 ሲልን ፡ ነፍሱን ፡ ይማር ፡ እያልህ ፡ ተሻገር ፡ አሉ ። የግንቡ ፡ በሩ ፡  
 10 ፤፪ነው ፡ ይላሉ ። 10

19 ወአዕረፈ ፡ ፋሲል ፡ ወነግሠ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡  
 ስራውም ፡ ከባሕታዊ ፡ ጉለት ፡ እጅ ፡ ያመጣል ፡ ይላሉ ። በመን  
 ግሥት ፡ ተቀምጦ ፡ ሰሌን ፡ ሰርቶ ፡ ነው ፡ የሚበላ ፡ የነበር ።  
 ከገብያ ፡ ያነን ፡ ሰሌን ፡ ወስዳ ፡ የምትሸጥ ፡ ድሀ ፡ መበለት ፡ ናት ፡  
 ቀረጥ ፡ እንዲቀረጥ ። 5

20 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ በእለተ ፡ እኑድ ፡ ቄሱ ፡ ከቤቱ ፡ ተኝቶ ፡  
 ሳለ ፡ ምሽቱ ፡ መንፈሳዊ ፡ ጋኔን ፡ ተነሣባት ፡ እንገናኝ ፡ እንደሆን ፡

ACGH 18,2 ስታበቃ ፡] ስታበቃ ፡G18<sup>v</sup> 6 ከባሕር ፡] H17<sup>r</sup> 8 አዋጅ ፡] G19<sup>r</sup>  
 10 ይላሉ ።] ይላሉ ። A47<sup>b</sup> 19,2 ያመጣል ፡] ያመጣል ፡ H17<sup>v</sup> 20,1 አንድ ፡]  
 G19<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 18,1 እንግዲህ ፡] AG; እንግዲህ ፡ CH | ከትልቅ ፡] AGH; ከትልቅ ፡  
 add. C 2 ወንዝ ፡] ላይ ፡ add. H | ስታበቃ ፡] ACH; ስትበቃ ፡ H 3 በዚያ ፡] AG;  
 በዝያ ፡ C; om. H | ላይ ፡] ACG; om. H | የፋሲልን ፡] AGH; የፋሲል ፡ C  
 4 ነው ፡] AGH; om. C 5 አለችዎ ።] ACG; አለታቸው ፡ H | ሌሊት ፡] CGH;  
 ግን ፡ add. A 6 ጅገንቦ ፡] CG; ጅገቦ ፡ A; ጅ ፡ ገንቦ ፡ H | ዕለት ፡ ዕለት ፡] AH;  
 ለለት ፡ ለለት ፡ CG 7 ይህን ፡] ACG; lac.ህን ፡ H | ጁድልድይ ፡] ACG;  
 ጁት ፡ ድልድይ ፡ H 8 ሰርተውም ፡] ACG; ሠርተው ፡ H | የፋሲልን ፡] ACH;  
 የፋሲልን ፡ G | የፋሲልን ፡ ...ይማር ፡] CH; ነፍሱን ፡ ይማር ፡ የፋሲልን ፡ tra. AG  
 9 እያልህ ፡] ACG; እያልክ ፡ H | የግንቡ ፡] C; የግቡ ፡ AG; የግምንቡ ፡ H | በሩ ፡] CH;  
 በሩም ፡ AG 10 ፤፪ነው ፡] ACG; ፤፪ት ፡ ነው ፡ H 19,1 ወአዕረፈ ፡] ACG;  
 ወአረፈ ፡ H | ጸድቅ ፡] ACG; ንጉሥ ፡ H | ጸድቅ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡] AG; ዮሐንስ ፡  
 ጸድቅ ፡ tra. CH; የአዲ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ መንግሥት ። add. H 2 ጉለት ፡  
 እጅ ፡] AG; ጅእጅ ፡ C; ሀለት ፡ H | በመንግሥት ፡] ACG; በመንግሥትነት ፡ H  
 3 ተቀምጦ ፡] AG; ሳለ ፡ add. CH 4 ከገብያ ፡] AG; ከገበያ ፡ C; ገበያ ፡ H  
 ከገብያ ፡ ...4 ወስዳ ፡] ACG; ያነን ፡ ወስዳ ፡ ገበያ ፡ tra. H | ሰሌን ፡] ACG; om. H  
 የምትሸጥ ፡] ACG; የምትሸጥ ፡ H | ድሀ ፡] ACG; ደሀ ፡ H | ናት ፡] ACG;  
 ምክንያቱም ፡ ሰሌኑ ፡ add. H 5 እንዲቀረጥ ።] ACG; በማለት ፡ ነው ፡ ይላሉ ።  
 ከዚያን ፡ ዘመን ፡ ከዕለታት ፡ add. H 20,1 በእለተ ፡] ACG; ሰንበት ፡ add. H  
 ቄሱ ፡] ACG; አንድ ፡ ቄስ ፡ H 2 ምሽቱ ፡] ACG; ምሺቱ ፡ H | መንፈሳዊ ፡]  
 ACG; መንፈሳዊት ፡ H | እንደሆን ፡] AG; እንደሆነ ፡ CH

PUNCTUATION | 18,3 ንገር ።] AGH; ፡ C 5 አለችዎ ።] ACG; ፡ H 6 ነበር ።] A;  
 ፡ AGH 8 ሰሩ ፡] AG; ። CH | በየወንዙ ፡] CGH; ። A 9 አሉ ።] AGH; ፡ C  
 10 ይላሉ ።] ACG; ፡ H 19,1 ፋሲል ፡] ። ። A; ። C; ። G; ፡ H | ጸድቅ ፡] ACG;  
 ። H 2 ይላሉ ።] AGH; ፤ C 4 ናት ፡] ACG; ። H 20,2 ሳለ ፡] ACG; ።  
 H | ተነሣባት ፡] CGH; ። A



እንገናኝ፣ በቀረው፣ እንደሆነ፣ ነገ፣ አልውልም፣ አለች። ምነው፣ እቴ፣ በእለተ፣ ሰንበት፣ ምን፣ አገኘሽ፣ አላት። አይሆንም፣ ብላ፣ መለሰች። ወእንቀልቀለ፣ አዕፅምትየ፣ ወተሀውከ፣ ልብየ፣ አለች። ምነው፣ ፈጣሪየ፣ እለተ፣ እሁድን፣ እለተ፣ እኪት፣ አደረግሁብኝ፣ ብሎ፣ ፈቃድዋን፣ ፈጸመ፣ ይላሉ። ከዚያ፣ በኋላ፣ ተነሥቶ፣ ወደ፣ ቤተ፣ ክርስቲያን፣ ሄደ። ባልንጀራውንም፣ አገኘ፣ ኃጢአቱንም፣ ነገረው። በል፣ የዛሬን፣ ግባልኝ፣ ከሰይፈ፣ እላት፣ አድነኝ፣ አለው። ያሰውም፣ ኃጢአቱን፣ ቢነግረው፣ ከሰይፈ፣ መላእክት፣ ይውደቅ፣ ብሎ፣ አይሆንም፣ አለው። ይህን፣ ቁመው፣ ኅሉቱ፣ ሲከራከሩ፣ ከቤተ፣ መቅደስ፣ ንጉሡ፣ ደረሱ፣ ይላሉ።

21 ይህን፣ ነገር፣ በጸጋ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ሲያዩ፣ አድረው፣ ከቤተ፣ ክርስቲያኑ፣ ደጀሰላም፣ ሲደርሱ፣ የራስዎን፣ ፀጉር፣ የተሰራውን፣ እንደ፣ አክሊል፣ አንሥተው፣ አስቀመጡት፣ ይላሉ። ያነን፣ አይሆንም፣ ያለውን፣ ቄስ፣ አንገቱን፣ በሰይፍ፣ ቢቀሉት፣ እንደ፣ ወልደ፣ ዘካርያስ፣ አንገቱ፣ ለብቻ፣ ተለያይቶ፣ ወደቀ፣ ይላሉ። እሰዎም፣ ገባሬ፣ ሠናይ፣ ኅነው፣ ቀደሱ። ፍሬ፣ ቅዳሴም፣ ግሩምን፣ አግብተው፣ ቀደሱ፣ ከሀዳፌ፣ ነፍሱ፣ አሌዕለክ፣ ሲሉ፣ አንገቱን፣ ከሰውነቱ፣ አገናኙት፣ ብለው፣ ከዚያ፣ ላይ፣ ቁመው፣ አሌዕለክ፣ ሲሉ፣ ያሰው፣ አፈፍ፣ ብሎ፣ ተነሣ፣ ይላሉ። ኋላም፣ ቀድሰው፣ ከወጡ፣ በኋላ፣ ወደ፣ ቤትዎ፣ ሲኔዱ፣ ያን፣ የራስዎን፣ ፀጉር፣ አንሥተው፣ ከራስዎ፣ ቢሰቅሉት፣ እንደ፣ ነበረ፣ ሆነ፣ ይላሉ።

ACGH 3 በቀረው፣ ] H18<sup>r</sup> 7 እኪት፣ ] G20<sup>r</sup> 10 ግባልኝ፣ ] H18<sup>v</sup> 12 ሲከራከሩ፣ ] G20<sup>v</sup> 21,1 ይህን፣ ] C4<sup>r</sup> 3 አንሥተው፣ ] አንሥተው፣ H19<sup>r</sup> 4 ይላሉ። ] A46<sup>va</sup> 6 ይላሉ። ] ይላሉ። ] G21<sup>r</sup> 9 ቁመው፣ ] H19<sup>v</sup> 11 ቢሰቅሉት፣ ] ቢሰቅሉት፣ ] G21<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 3 እንደሆነ፣ ] ACG; እንደሆነ፣ H | አልውልም፣ ] CH; አሉልም፣ AG 4 እቴ፣ ] AG; እህቴ፣ CH | አገኘሽ፣ ] ACG; አገኘሺ፣ H 5 ወእንቀልቀለ፣ ... ልብየ፣ ] CH; ወእንቀልቀለ፣ ልብየ፣ ወተሀውከ፣ አእፅምትየ፣ tra.AG 6 ፈጣሪየ፣ ] ACG; ፈጣሪዬ፣ H 7 አደረግሁብኝ፣ ] AG; አደረክብኝ፣ C; አደረክብን፣ H 8 ከዚያ፣ ] AGH; ከዚያ፣ C | ወደ፣ ቤተ፣ ] ACG; ወደቤተ፣ H ባልንጀራውንም፣ ] GH; ባልጀራውንም፣ AC 9 አገኘ፣ ] ACG; አገኜ፣ H 10 ኃጢአቱን፣ ] ACG; ኃጢአቱንም፣ H 12 ይህን፣ ] ACG; ይህነን፣ H ኅሉቱ፣ ] AG; ሁለቱ፣ CH 21,1 ሲያዩ፣ ] ACG; ሲአዩ፣ H 2 ደጀሰላም፣ ] AG; ደጀ፣ ሰላም፣ C; ደጀላም፣ H | የራስዎን፣ ] AGH; የራስዎ፣ C | ፀጉር፣ ] AGH; ፀጉር፣ C 3 የተሰራውን፣ ] ACG; ፀጉር፣ add. H | እንደ፣ አክሊል፣ ] ACG; እንደአክሊል፣ H 5 ቢቀሉት፣ ] ACH; ቢቀሊት፣ G | እንደ፣ ወልደ፣ ] ACG; እንደወልደ፣ H 6 እሰዎም፣ ] ACG; እርስዎም፣ H | ኅነው፣ ] ACG; ሆነው፣ H 9 አሌዕለክ፣ ] ACG; አሌዕለ፣ H | ያሰው፣ ] ACG; om. H 10 ወደ፣ ቤትዎ፣ ] CG; ወደቤትዎ፣ A; ወደቤተዎ፣ H 11 ሲኔዱ፣ ] AGH; ሲሆዱ፣ C | ያን፣ ] AG; ያነን፣ CH | ፀጉር፣ ] AGH; ፀጉር፣ C 12 እንደ፣ ነበረ፣ ] ACG; እንደነበረ፣ H

PUNCTUATION | 4 አላት። ] GH; ፣ AC 5 መለሰች። ] GH; ፤ A; ፣ C 7 ይላሉ። ] AGH; ፣ C 9 አገኘ፣ ] ACG; ። H | ነገረው። ] AG; ፣ CH 13 መቅደስ፣ ] ACH; ። G | ይላሉ። ] AH; ፣ CG 21,4 ይላሉ። ] ACG; ፣ H 6 ይላሉ። ] AG; ፣ CH 7 ቀደሱ፣ ] CG; ። AH 12 ይላሉ። ] ACH; ፤ G

22 ደግሞ ፡ አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ልጅዎ ፡ የንጉሡ ፡ የድሀ ፡ ልጅ ፡  
 ገደለና ፡ መጥታ ፡ ከርስዎ ፡ ከንጉሡ ፡ የሞተው ፡ አሽከር ፡ እናት ፡  
 አቤት ፡ አቤት ፡ ብላ ፡ ጮኸች ፡ ምነው ፡ ምን ፡ ጉነሻል ፡  
 አልዋት ። ልጅን ፡ ልጅዎ ፡ ገደለብኝ ፡ አለች ። አዳም ፡ ሰሙና ፡  
 በሉ ፡ ፍረዱ ፡ አሉ ። መኳንንቱም ፡ ፈረድነ ፡ አሉ ። ምን ፡ 5  
 ብላችሁ ፡ ፈረዳችኑ ፡ አሉ ፡ የነፍስ ፡ ዋጋ ፡ ይክፈላት ፡ አሉ ፡  
 የንጉሥ ፡ ልጅ ፡ መሞት ፡ አይገባውም ፡ ብለው ። አዳም ፡  
 ፍርዱን ፡ ሰሙና ፡ በል ፡ እስኪና ፡ ብለው ፡ ልጅዎን ፡ አፉን ፡  
 ሰመው ፡ እንዴት ፡ የድሀ ፡ ልጅ ፡ እንደሞተ ፡ ይቅር ፡ የንጉሥ ፡  
 10 ልጅ ፡ እየገደለ ፡ ይሂድ ፡ ይባላል ፡ ብለው ፡ በሉ ፡ አውርዳችሁ ፡ 10  
 ግደሉ ፡ ብለው ፡ ልጅዎን ፡ አስደበደቡ ፡ ይላሉ ። ዕለቱም ፡  
 እለተ ፡ ዓርብ ፡ ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ። ወኢተራጎርጎ ፡ አብርሃም ፡  
 በሞተ ፡ ይስሐቅ ፡ እንዳለ ፡ ንጉሡም ፡ ልብዎ ፡ አልደነገጠም ፡  
 ይላሉ ።

23 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ከግንቡ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ኑረው ፡ አዳ ፡  
 ወደ ፡ ጠዳ ፡ ሲጓዙ ፡ ፈንጠር ፡ ሲደርሱ ፡ አንዲት ፡ ለመታጨድ ፡  
 የደረሰች ፡ የድሀ ፡ እርሻ ፡ ገብሰ ፡ አገኙ ። ሰዓቱን ፡ ያን ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
 ቢመለከቱት ፡ ታላቅ ፡ ዝናም ፡ ከበረድ ፡ ጋራ ፡ የታዘዘበት ፡

ACGH 22,3 ብላ ፡] H20<sup>r</sup> 6 አሉ ፡<sup>1</sup>] G22<sup>r</sup> 8 በል ፡] H20<sup>v</sup> 12 ይላሉ ።] ይላሉ ።  
 G22<sup>v</sup> 13 አልደነገጠም ፡] አልደነገጠም ፡ A46<sup>vb</sup> 23,1 ደግሞ ፡] H21<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 22,1 ደግሞ ፡] ACG; ዳግም ፡ H | ልጅዎ ፡] ACG; ልጅዎ ፡ H  
 ልጅዎ ፡ የንጉሡ ፡] AG; የንጉሡ ፡ ልጅዎ ፡ tra. CH | የድሀ ፡] ACG; የደኃ ፡ H  
 2 መጥታ ፡] ACG; የንጉሡ ፡ ልጅ ፡ ልጅን ፡ ገደለ ፡ ብላ ፡ add. H | መጥታ ፡ ...  
 እናት ፡] ACG; እናቱ ፡ መጥታ ፡ የንጉሡ ፡ ልጅ ፡ ልጅን ፡ ገደለ ፡ ብላ ፡ ለንጉሡ ፡  
 tra. H | ከርስዎ ፡] ACG; om. H | ከንጉሡ ፡] ACG; ለንጉሡ ፡ H | የሞተው ፡ ...  
 እናት ፡] ACG; እናቱ ፡ H 3 ጮኸች ፡] ACG; ንጉሡም ፡ add. H | ምን ፡  
 ጉነሻል ፡] AGH; ምንሁሻል ፡ C | ጉነሻል ፡] AG; ሆነሻል ፡ H 5 መኳንንቱም ፡]  
 AGH; መኳንንቱም ፡ C | አሉ ፡<sup>2</sup>] ACG; አዳም ፡ ፍርዱን ፡ ሰሙና ፡ add. H  
 ምን ፡ ብላችሁ ፡] CGH; ምንብላችኑ ፡ A 6 ፈረዳችኑ ፡] AG; ፈረዳችሁ ፡ CH  
 አሉ ፡<sup>1</sup>] ACG; ብለው ፡ መኳንንቱን ፡ ጠየቁ ፡ መኳንንቱም ፡ H | ይክፈላት ፡]  
 ACG; ይክፈላት ፡ H; ብለናል ፡ add. H 7 አይገባውም ፡] CH; አይገባም ፡ AG  
 8 እስኪና ፡] ACG; እእስኪና ፡ H | ልጅዎን ፡ አፉን ፡] CH; አፉን ፡ ልጅዎን ፡ tra.  
 AG 9 እንደሞተ ፡] CGH; እንደ ፡ ሞተ ፡ A 10 እየገደለ ፡] CG; እንደ ፡ ገደለ ፡ A;  
 እንደገደለ ፡ H | ይሂድ ፡] ACH; ይህድ ፡ G | አውርዳችሁ ፡] CGH;  
 አውርዳችኑ ፡ A 12 ይላሉ ።] AG; om. CH 13 ይስሐቅ ፡] ACG; ወልዱ ፡ H  
 ንጉሡም ፡] CG; የንጉሥ ፡ A; ንጉሥም ፡ H | ልብዎ ፡] CH; ልብም ፡ A; ልብ ፡ G  
 23,1 ከግንቡ ፡] CH; ከግቡ ፡ AG 2 ወደ ፡ ጠዳ ፡] ACG; ወደጠዳ ፡ H | ሲጓዙ ፡]  
 CGH; ሲጎዱ ፡ A | አንዲት ፡] ACG; አንድ ፡ H | ለመታጨድ ፡ ...3 የደረሰች ፡]  
 CH; የደረሰ ፡ ለመታጨድ ፡ tra. AG 3 የደረሰች ፡] A; የደረሰ ፡ CH; የደረሰት ፡ G  
 የድሀ ፡] ACG; የደኃ ፡ H 4 ጋራ ፡] ACG; om. H

PUNCTUATION | 22,1 ቀን ፡] AGH; ። C 3 ጮኸች ፡] CG; ። AH | ምነው ፡]  
 CGH; ። A 4 አልዋት ።] AG; ፣ CH | አለች ።] AGH; ፣ C 5 አሉ ።<sup>2</sup>] AG; ፣  
 CH 6 አሉ ።<sup>2</sup>] ACG; ። H 9 ይቅር ፡] CH; ። AG 11 ይላሉ ።] AGH; ፣ C  
 12 ነበር ፡] AG; ። CH | ይላሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH 13 እንዳለ ፡] CG; ። AH  
 14 ይላሉ ።] AGH; ፣ C 23,3 አገኙ ።] AG; ፣ CH

ጉኖ ፡ አዩና ፡ ተሎ ፡ ብለው ፡ ከደበሩ ፡ ተቀምጠው ፡ በሉ ፡ 5  
 እስኪ ፡ እጨዱ ፡ ብለው ፡ አሳጭደው ፡ አስከምረው ፡ የዚያን ፡  
 ድሀ ፡ እርሻ ፡ ጌዱ ፡ ይላሉ ። አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡ ከሕዝቡ ፡ ተለይቶ ፡  
 ቁሞ ፡ ቀረ ፡ ይላሉ ። እርሱም ፡ የቀረበት ፡ ምክንያት ፡ የንጉሡን ፡  
 ደግነት ፡ የሚሰማ ፡ ነውና ፡ ነገሩን ፡ ሊኦይ ፡ ነው ፡ የቀረ ። ወዲ  
 ውያም ፡ ያህያ ፡ ሰከውና ፡ የምታሕል ፡ ደመና ፡ መጥታ ፡ ፀሐ 10  
 ይቱን ፡ ብትጋርዳት ፡ ዝናምና ፡ በረድ ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ወርዶ ፡  
 ያገሩን ፡ አዝመራ ፡ አጠፋው ፡ ይላሉ ።

24 ያድሀ ፡ ዝናሙ ፡ ትግ ፡ ሲል ፡ ሌላ ፡ አዝመራ ፡ የለ  
 10 ውምና ፡ እየተላቀሰ ፡ ከልጆቹ ፡ ጋራ ፡ ከርሻው ፡ ጌደ ፡ ይላሉ ።  
 በደረሰ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ያች ፡ ገብስ ፡ ታጭዳ ፡ ተከምራ ፡ አገኛት ፡ እንደማ  
 ግኘቱ ፡ ደስ ፡ አለውና ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ግራ ፡ ሆነበትና ፡ እንደ ፡ ግንድ ፡  
 ዝም ፡ ብሎ ፡ ቁሞ ፡ ፈዘዘ ። ያትእምርቱን ፡ ሊኦይ ፡ የቀረ ፡ ሰው ፡ 5  
 አይዘህ ፡ አትደንግጥ ፡ ንጉሡ ፡ ነው ፡ ይህን ፡ ያደረገ ፡ ብሎ ፡  
 ነግሮት ፡ ጌደ ።

25 ደግሞ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ አለ ፡ አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡ ለንጉሡ ፡  
 ምንው ፡ እንደሰዎ ፡ ያለ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ከዝንጀሮ ፡ ጉላት ፡ እጅ ፡  
 የምትከፋ ፡ አግብተው ፡ ይኖራሉ ፡ አለ ፡ ሊኦይ ፡ በሰይጣን ፡  
 አድሮ ። እርሱም ፡ መለሱ ፡ ብትከፋ ፡ ብትከፋ ፡ ከገሃነመ ፡  
 20 እሳትን ፡ ትከፋለች ፡ አሉት ። 5

26 ደግሞም ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ይላሉ ፡ እቴጌ ፡ ሰብለ ፡ ወንጌል ፡  
 የንጉሡ ፡ ምሽት ፡ የንስሐ ፡ አባታቸውን ፡ ለመዱ ፡ ይላሉ ።  
 አዲም ፡ ይህን ፡ ነገር ፡ አውቀው ፡ ተቀምጠው ፡ ሳለ ፡ ዓሣ ፡

ACGH 5 ተሎ ፡] ተሎ ፡ G23<sup>r</sup> 7 ሰው ፡] ሰው ፡ H21<sup>v</sup> 10 ፀሐይቱን ፡] G23<sup>v</sup>  
 24,2 ጌደ ፡] ጌደ ፡ H22<sup>r</sup> 5 ሊኦይ ፡] G24<sup>r</sup> 25,2 እንደሰዎ ፡] እንደሰዎ ፡ C4<sup>v</sup>  
 ንጉሥ ፡] ንጉሥ ፡ A47<sup>ra</sup> 3 አግብተው ፡] H22<sup>v</sup> 26,1 እንዲህ ፡] እንዲህ ፡ G24<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 5 ጉኖ ፡] AG; ሁኖ ፡ C; ሆኖ ፡ H | ከደበሩ ፡] AG; ከደብሩ ፡ CH  
 6 እስኪ ፡...6 እጨዱ ፡] ACG; እስኪጭዱ ፡ H 7 ድሀ ፡] ACG; ድኃ ፡ H  
 ከሕዝቡ ፡] ACH; ከኸዝቡ ፡ G 9 ወዲውያም ፡] ACH; ወዲያም ፡ G 11 ዝናምና ፡] ACG;  
 ዝናም ፡ H 12 ያገሩን ፡] ACG; የሀገሩን ፡ H 24,1 ያድሀ ፡] ACG; ያሰው ፡  
 H; ግን ፡ add. H | ትግ ፡] ACG; ተግ ፡ H 2 ከልጆቹ ፡ ጋራ ፡] AG; ከነ ፡ ልጆቹ ፡  
 C; ከነልጆቹ ፡ H 3 በደረሰ ፡] AG; በደረሰም ፡ CH | ያች ፡] AG; ያችም ፡ CH  
 4 ሆነበትና ፡] ACG; ሆኖበት ፡ H 5 ቁሞ ፡] ACG; ቆሞ ፡ H | ፈዘዘ ።] ይላሉ ፡ add.  
 A | ያትእምርቱን ፡] CG; ያተአምራቱን ፡ AH | ሊኦይ ፡] ACH; ላይ ፡ G  
 የቀረ ፡] ACG; የቀረው ፡ H 25,2 እንደሰዎ ፡] G; እንደ ፡ እስዎ ፡ A; እንርሰዎ ፡ C;  
 እንደርሰዎ ፡ H | ከዝንጀሮ ፡] CGH; ከዝጀሮ ፡ A | ጉላት ፡] AG; ሁለት ፡ CH  
 3 ሊኦይ ፡] AGH; ሊኦይት ፡ C 5 እሳትን ፡] ACG; እሳት ፡ H | አሉት ።] ACG;  
 om. H 26,1 እቴጌ ፡] ACG; ፅቴዬ ፡ H 2 ምሽት ፡] ACG; ሚስት ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 8 ይላሉ ።] AH; ፡ CG 9 የቀረ ።] AG; ፡ CH 12 ይላሉ ።] AGH;  
 ፡ C 24,2 ይላሉ ።] AH; ፡ CG 3 አገኛት ፡] AC; ። GH 5 ፈዘዘ ።] AG; ፡ CH  
 7 ጌደ ።] ACH; ፤ G 25,4 አድሮ ።] CGH; ፡ A 5 አሉት ።] ACG; ፡ H  
 26,1 ይላሉ ፡] CGH; ። A 2 ይላሉ ።] CGH; ፡ A

ተሠርቶ፣ ቀረበ፣ ግብር፣ በአንድ፣ ነው፣ ቪስቴ፣ የሚበሉ። አዪ፣ አነሡና፣ አሁን፣ የውነት፣ ብንናገር፣ ይህ፣ አሣ፣ ተነሥቶ፣ 5  
 በሄደ፣ አሉ። እቴየና፣ የንስሐ፣ አባትዎ፣ ፈርተው፣ ዝም፣ አሉ። ንጉሡም፣ አትፍሩኝ፣ እኔም፣ አልነካችኑ፣ ብለው፣ ማለላቸው፣ እነርሱም፣ ተናገሩ፣ በአንድ፣ ቃል፣ እርሰዎ፣ አርፈውልን፣ ፍቅራችንን፣ ብንጨርስ፣ አሉ። አዪም፣ ተናገሩ፣ እኔም፣ ይህን፣ ዓለም፣ ለናንተ፣ ትቸላችሁ፣ ብሄድ፣ እፈልጋለሁ፣ ያሉ፣ ጊዜ፣ አሣው፣ ተነሥቶ፣ አገሩን፣ ገባ። ንጉሡም፣ መንግሥትዎን፣ ዙረውም፣ አላዩት፣ አልተመለሱበት። ሎጥ፣ አገሩን፣ ዙሮ፣ እንዳላዩ። 10

27 ወነግሠ፣ ኢያሱ፣ ወልዱ፣ ለዮሐንስ፣ ደግ፣ ንጉሥ፣ ነበር፣ ይላሉ። ደብረ፣ ብርሃንን፣ የሰሩ፣ አክሱም፣ ጽዮንን፣ ሊያመጡ፣ ነው፣ ሕንጻውም፣ ሲጨረስ፣ ወደ፣ ትግሬ፣ ተሻገሩ። አክሱም፣ ገቡ፣ ደግ፣ ደግ፣ መነኮሳት፣ እየመረጡ፣ ቢያገቡ፣ የማይሆን፣ ሆነ። ኋላም፣ ራስዎ፣ ገቡ፣ ሲገቡ፣ ከታቦተ፣ ጽዮን፣ አዪ፣ ኢያሱ፣ እርሷን፣ ሊአወጡ፣ ሲገቡ፣ ዓይንዎ፣ ይሰወራል፣ ሲወጡ፣ ዓይንዎ፣ ይበራል፣ እንዲህ፣ እያሉ፣ ጂጊዜ፣ ተመላልሰዋል። በሰባተኛው፣ ግን፣ የማይሆን፣ ቢሆን፣ እንዲያውስ፣ ለሥላሴ፣ መስገድ፣ ትቸ፣ ወደ፣ አንች፣ ምን፣ አመጣኝ፣ 5

ACGH 5 የውነት፣] H23<sup>r</sup> 7 እኔም፣] እ|ኔም፣ G25<sup>r</sup> 11 አገሩን፣] H23<sup>v</sup> 13 እንዳላዩ፣] G25<sup>v</sup> 27,5 ሲገቡ፣] ሲገቡ፣ A47<sup>ob</sup> 6 ሊአወጡ፣] ሊአወጡ፣ H24<sup>r</sup> 7 ዓይንዎ፣] G26<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 4 ግብር፣...የሚበሉ።] ACG; ግብር፣ 3ቴ፣ በአንድ፣ ነው፣ ግብር፣ የሚበሉ፣ ነበርና። tra. H | ነው፣] ACG; ግብር፣ add. H | ቪስቴ፣] G; ቪቴ፣ A; ቪ C; 3ቴ፣ H | የሚበሉ።] ACG; ነበርና፣ add. H 6 በሄደ፣] AG; ነበር፣ add. CH እቴየና፣] GH; እቴና፣ A; እቴዩና፣ C 7 አልነካችኑ፣] AG; አልነካችሁም፣ CH 8 ማለላቸው፣] CGH; ማለላችው፣ A | እርሰዎ፣] AGH; እርሰዎ፣ C 9 ፍቅራችንን፣] AG; ፍቅራችን፣ CH 10 ለናንተ፣] GH; ለላንት፣ A; ለናንት፣ C ትቸላችሁ፣] CGH; ትቸላችኑ፣ A; አለሁ፣ add. H 11 ያሉ፣] ACG; ባሉ፣ H አሣው፣] CGH; አሣውም፣ A 12 መንግሥትዎን፣] CH; መንግሥተዎን፣ AG አልተመለሱበት።] ACG; አልተመለሱበትም፣ H 13 እንዳላዩ።] ACG; እንዳላዩ፣ H 27,1 ወነግሠ፣... ለዮሐንስ፣] AG; ወነግሠ፣ ኢያሱ፣ ንጉሥ፣ C; om. H 2 ብርሃንን፣] AG; ብርሃን፣ CH | የሰሩ፣] ACG; om. H | አክሱም፣] CGH; አክሱም፣ A 3 ሊያመጡ፣] AG; ሊአወጡ፣ CH | ነው፣] AG; ይላሉ፣ add. CH 4 አክሱም፣] ACH; ክክሱም፣ G | መነኮሳት፣] ACG; መነኮሳት፣ H | ቢያገቡ፣] CGH; ቢአገቡ፣ A 5 ራስዎ፣] CG; እራስዎ፣ A; እርሰዎ፣ G | ሲገቡ፣] ACG; ሲገቡም፣ H 6 ኢያሱ፣] ACG; እያሉ፣ H | እርሷን፣] CH; ታቦተቴን፣ A; እርሾን፣ G | ሊአወጡ፣] AC; ሊያወጡ፣ G; ሲያወጡ፣ H | ሲገቡ፣] AC; om. G; ሲያወጡ፣ H 7 ዓይንዎ፣] CH; ግን፣ A; om. G 8 በሰባተኛው፣ ግን፣] G; በጂግን፣ A; በጂተኛው፣ ግን፣ C; በጂኛው፣ ግን፣ H | እንዲያውስ፣] CG; እንዲአውስ፣ A; እንዲግያውስ፣ H 9 ትቸ፣] ACG; ትቹ፣ H | ወደ፣ አንች፣] CG; ወደአንች፣ A; ወደአንቺ፣ H

PUNCTUATION | 4 ቀረበ፣] CGH; ፣ A | የሚበሉ።] A; ፣ CGH 6 አሉ።] ACG; ፤ H 7 አሉ።] AH; ፣ CG 8 ቃል፣] ACG; ፣ H 9 አሉ።] AGH; ፣ C 11 ገባ።] AGH; ፣ C 12 አልተመለሱበት።] AG; ፣ CH 13 እንዳላዩ።] GH; ። ። A; ☒ C 27,2 ይላሉ።] AH; ፣ CG 3 ተሻገሩ።] AG; ፣ CH 4 ገቡ፣] AH; ። CG 5 ሆነ።] AGH; ፣ C 7 ይበራል፣] ACG; ። H

አንችም ፡ ለሥላሴ ፡ ገብሪ ፡ ብለው ፡ የደብረ ፡ ብርሃንን ፡ 10  
ደብተራ ፡ አያል ፡ ሰሩባት ። አያል ፡ ዕቃም ፡ ወሰዱባት ።

28 ከትግሬ ፡ ተመልሰውም ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ሲገቡ ፡ ለታቦተ ፡  
ጽዮን ፡ የሰሩትን ፡ ለሥላሴ ፡ አደረጉ ። ደብተራውንም ፡ ሲሰሩ ፡  
መልካካሙን ፡ እያዩ ፡ ነው ፡ የሰሩ ፡ መልክ ፡ ክፉ ፡ የሆነ ፡ አል  
ሰሩም ። አንድ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ድቆ ፡ ማርቆ ፡ የሚባል ፡ ነበር ፡ ሊቅ ፡  
ነው ። ምሽቱን ፡ እስኪ ፡ መስታያት ፡ ስጭኝ ፡ አላት ፡ መልኩን ፡ 5  
በመስታያት ፡ አይቶ ፡ አፄ ፡ ፍርድዎ ፡ ነው ፡ አለ ፡ ከጣጣና ፡  
ከዝንጀሮ ፡ ሁለት ፡ እጅ ፡ እናመጣለን ፡ አለ ። አፄም ፡ ይህን ፡  
10 በሰሙ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እስኪ ፡ አምጡት ፡ ብለው ፡ አይተው ፡ ስቀው ፡  
ሰሩት ፡ ይላሉ ።

29 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ መሬት ፡ የተደላደለ ፡ በኢያሱ ፡ ነው ።  
ዳግመኛም ፡ ወደ ፡ ሸዋ ፡ ጌዳ ፡ የአቡነ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖትን ፡  
ዓፅም ፡ ሊአመጡ ። ከዚያም ፡ በብዙ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ በጭንቅ ፡  
አገኙት ፡ ይዘውም ፡ ተመለሱ ፡ ጠዳ ፡ ላይ ፡ ሲደርሱ ፡ በመነጠር ፡  
ቢመለከቱ ፡ ፊት ፡ አቦ ፡ ላይ ፡ አስከሬን ፡ ሲወጣ ፡ አዩና ፡ ተሎ ፡ 5  
ብለው ፡ ፈረሰኛ ፡ ሰደዱ ፡ እኔ ፡ ሳልመጣ ፡ አትቅበሩት ፡ ብለው ።  
ፈረሰኛም ፡ ተሎ ፡ ደረሰና ፡ ነገረ ፡ እስዎም ፡ ፈጥነው ፡ ደርሰው ፡  
የአባታችንን ፡ ዓፅም ፡ ከአስከሬኑ ፡ ላይ ፡ ቢአስቀምጡት ፡  
20 ያምውት ፡ ተነሣ ። ዓፄም ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለአብ ፡ ስብሐት ፡  
ለወልድ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ብለው ፡ ፫ጊዜ ፡ 10  
ሰጧደው ፡ አማን ፡ በአማን ፡ የአቡነ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ዓፅም ፡  
ደረሰኝ ፡ አሉ ። ይዘውም ፡ ገብተው ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እስ

ACGH 28,1 ለታቦተ ፡] ለታቦተ ፡ H24<sup>v</sup> 2 የሰሩትን ፡] G26<sup>v</sup> 7 እጅ ፡] H25<sup>r</sup>  
8 አምጡት ፡] አምጡት ፡ G27<sup>r</sup> 29,4 ሲደርሱ ፡] A47<sup>va</sup> 5 ሲወጣ ፡] H25<sup>v</sup>  
6 ፈረሰኛ ፡] ፈረሰኛ ፡ G27<sup>v</sup> | ሰደዱ ፡] C5<sup>r</sup> 11 በአማን ፡] በአማን ፡ H26<sup>r</sup>  
12 ይዘውም ፡] ይዘውም ፡ G28<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 10 አንችም ፡] ACG; አንቺም ፡ H 11 ዕቃም ፡] AG; ዕቃ ፡ CH  
28,3 መልካካሙን ፡] A; ፡ መልካም ፡ መልካሙን ፡ CH; መልከመልካሙን ፡ H  
መልክ ፡ ክፉ ፡] ACH; መልከክፉ ፡ G 4 ድቆ ፡ ማርቆ ፡] ACG; ድቆማርቆ ፡ H  
5 ምሽቱን ፡] ACG; ምሺቱን ፡ H; ከዕለታት ፡ አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ add. CH  
መስታያት ፡] AG; መስታይት ፡ CH 6 በመስታያት ፡] AG; በመስታይት ፡ CH  
ፍርድዎ ፡] AC; ፍርደዎ ፡ GH | ነው ፡] ACG; om. H 29,2 ወደ ፡ ሸዋ ፡] ACG;  
ወደሸዋ ፡ H 3 ሊአመጡ ።] ACH; ሊያመጡ ፡ G | ጥበብ ፡] CGH; ጥበብብ ፡ A  
5 ላይ ፡] AG; om. CH | ተሎ ፡] ACG; ቶሎ ፡ H 7 ፈረሰኛም ፡] ACG;  
ፈረሰኛውም ፡ H | ተሎ ፡] ACG; ቶሎ ፡ H | ነገረ ፡] ACG; ተናገረ ፡ H  
እስዎም ፡] AG; እርሰዎም ፡ C; እርሳቸውም ፡ H | ደርሰው ፡] AG; ደረሱ ፡ CH;  
ደርሰውም ፡ add. CH 8 የአባታችንን ፡] CGH; የአባታቸውንን ፡ A; የተክለ ፡  
ሃይማኖት ፡ add. H 11 ዓፅም ፡] ACG; ነው ፡ add. H 12 ክርስቲያን ፡] ACH;  
ክስቲያን ፡ G | እስኪሰሩ ፡] ACG<sup>H</sup>; እስኪሩ ፡ G

PUNCTUATION | 11 ሰሩባት ።] AG; ፡ CH 28,3 የሰሩ ፡] CGH; ። A  
አልሰሩም ።] ACG; ፡ H 6 አለ ፡] CG; ። AH 7 አለ ።] AGH; ፡ C 29,1 ነው ።] A;  
CGH 3 ሊአመጡ ።] AH; ፡ CG 4 አገኙት ፡] ACG; ። H | ሲደርሱ ፡] CGH;  
። A 6 ብለው ።] H; ፫ A; ፡ CG 7 ነገረ ፡] CG; ። AH 9 ተነሣ ።] AGH;  
፫ C 12 አሉ ።] A; ፡ CGH

ኪሰሩ ፡ በግምጃ ፡ በድንኳን ፡ አርገው ፡ በወንበር ፡ በ[ክብር ፡ ]  
አስቀመጡት ። ወበምሩም ፡ ጽጌ ፡ ረዳ ፡ አበበ ። ያን ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
ይላሉ ።

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30 ፈጥነውም ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑን ፡ ሰርተው ፡ ታቦቱን ፡  
አርገው ፡ አገቡት ፡ ሲአገቡትም ፡ አዋጅ ፡ ነግረው ፡ ነው ።  
ዕውራን ፡ ሐንካሳን ፡ ሕሙማን ፡ አረማውያን ፡ ተሰብሰቡ ፡  
ብለው ፡ ፲፫ፍሪዳ ፡ ጅሽሕ ፡ የበግ ፡ ሙክት ፡ ጅሽሕ ፡ ከጅጅዮፍየል ፡  
ሙክት ፡ አርገው ፡ ጠጅ ፡ የወይን ፡ ጸጅ ፡ እንደ ፡ ውሀ ፡ ይፍሰስ ፡  
ብለው ፡ በይባቤ ፡ በማገሌት ፡ አገቡት ። አለቃውንም ፡ ቄስ ፡  
አፄ ፡ አሰኝተው ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑን ፡ አደባባይ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ተክለ ፡  
ሃይማኖት ፡ ይባል ፡ ብለው ፡ አገቡት ፡ ዕለቱም ፡ ዕለተ ፡ እሁድ ፡  
ቀኑም ፡ ግንቦት ፡ ፲፪ቀን ፡ ነው ። ተዋሕዶ ፡ ሃይማኖትም ፡ የጸና ፡  
በኢያሱ ፡ ነው ። የዚያን ፡ ቀን ፡ የተሰበሰቡ ፡ ዕውራን ፡ በርተዋል ፡  
ሐንካሳንም ፡ እንደ ፡ ፈረሰኛ ፡ ሩጠዋል ፡ ሕሙማን ፡ ድነዋል ።  
አረማውያን ፡ አምነዋል ።

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31 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ወደ ፡ ስናር ፡ ዘመቻ ፡ ጌዱ ፡ ስና  
ርንም ፡ ወጉት ። ከወጉትም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ፳፻፲፩ረስ ፡ የሰዎን ፡ አኑረ  
ውበት ፡ ተመለሱ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ሲገቡም ፡ የተፅዕኖ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ነው ፡

ACGH 30,3 ተሰብሰቡ ፡ ] ተሰብሰቡ ፡ H26<sup>v</sup> 4 ከጅጅዮፍየል ፡ ] G28<sup>v</sup> 9 ግንቦት ፡ ]  
H27<sup>r</sup> 11 ሐንካሳንም ፡ ] G29<sup>r</sup> 31,2 ከወጉትም ፡ ] A47<sup>vb</sup>

VARIANTS | 13 በግምጃ ፡ ] CH; በግጃ ፡ G<sup>2</sup>; om.AG | አርገው ፡ ] ACG; አድርገው ፡  
H | በወንበር ፡ ] C; በወበር ፡ AG; በወምበር ፡ H | በ[ክብር ፡ ]] con.; በከበረ ፡ ACGH  
14 ወበምሩም ፡ ] CH; ወበሩም ፡ AG 30,1 ፈጥነውም ፡ ] ACG; ፈጥነውም ፡ H  
ክርስቲያኑን ፡ ] ACG; ክርስቲያኑን ፡ H | ታቦቱን ፡ ] ACG; ታቦት ፡ H  
2 አርገው ፡ ] ACG; አድርገው ፡ H | አገቡት ፡ ] ACG; አገቡት ፡ add. H  
4 ፲፫ፍሪዳ ፡ ] ACG; ፪፪ሁለት ፡ ፍሪዳ ፡ H | ጅሽሕ ፡ ] ACG; ጅድ ፡ ሺህ ፡ H  
ጅሽሕ ፡ ] ACG; ጅድ ፡ ሺህ ፡ H | ከጅጅዮፍየል ፡ ] ACG; ከ፳፻፲፩፡ ] H  
5 አርገው ፡ ] AG; የማር ፡ add. CH | ጠጅ ፡ ] GH; ጠጅ ፡ A; ጸጅ ፡ C | ጸጅ ፡ ] AG;  
ጠጅ ፡ CH 6 አለቃውንም ፡ ] CH; አለቃውን ፡ AG 7 ክርስቲያኑን ፡ ] ACG;  
ክርስቲያኑንም ፡ H | አቡነ ፡ ] ACG; om. H 8 አገቡት ፡ ] ACG; አሰገቡት ፡ H  
ዕለተ ፡ ... ቀኑም ፡ ] CH; om. AG 9 ግንቦት ፡ ፲፪ቀን ፡ ] H; በግንቦት ፡ በ፲፪ቀን ፡  
ACG; | ተዋሕዶ ፡ ] AGH; ተዋሕዶም ፡ C | ሃይማኖትም ፡ ] AG; ሃይማኖት ፡ CH  
10 የዚያን ፡ ] ACG; በዚያን ፡ H | ዕውራን ፡ ] CH; እንደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ add. AG  
11 ሐንካሳንም ፡ ] A; ሐንካሳን ፡ CGH | እንደ ፡ ፈረሰኛ ፡ ] ACG; እንደፈረሰኛ ፡ H  
ሩጠዋል ፡ ] ACG; እሩጠዋል ፡ H | ሕሙማን ፡ ] ACG; ሕሙን ፡ H 31,1 ወደ ፡  
ስናር ፡ ] ACG; ወደስናር ፡ H 2 ከወጉትም ፡ ... አኑረውበት ፡ ] ACG; om. H  
የሰዎን ፡ ] AG; የርስዎን ፡ C | አኑረውበት ፡ ] AG; መጡ ፡ add. CH 3 ተመለሱ ፡ ]  
AG; ተመልሰውም ፡ CH | ሲገቡም ፡ ] AG; ገቡ ፡ የገቡም ፡ CH | ዕለት ፡ ] CH;  
ለት ፡ AG

PUNCTUATION | 14 አስቀመጡት ። ] GH; ፻ A; ፡ C | አበበ ። ] AH; ፡ CG  
15 ይላሉ ። ] AG; ፡ CH 30,2 አገቡት ፡ ] ACG; ። H | ነው ። ] AH; ፡ CG  
4 ሙክት ፡ ] CGH; ። ። A 5 አርገው ፡ ] CGH; ። A 6 አገቡት ። ] AH; ፡ CG  
9 ነው ። ] AGH; ፡ C 10 ነው ። ] A; ፡ CGH | በርተዋል ፡ ] CGH; ። A  
11 ሩጠዋል ፡ ] ACG; ። H | ድነዋል ። ] ACG; ፡ H 12 አምነዋል ። ] AG; ፡ CH  
31,2 ወጉት ። ] AG; ፡ CH 3 ተመለሱ ፡ ] CGH; ፻ A | ነው ፡ ] ACG; ። H

የገቡ ። ደብተራውም ፡ ሲረግጥ ፡ ተፅዕኖ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ፈረሱ ፡  
 በሰላም ፡ ቦአ ፡ ኢያሱ ፡ እያለ ፡ ተቀበለም ፡ ይላሉ ። ለረገጠውም ፡ 5  
 ደብተራ ፡ ወቄት ፡ ወቄት ፡ ወርቅ ፡ አደሉት ፡ ይላሉ ። ደብተ  
 ራውም ፡ ጎሉ ፡ በበዓለጃሳ ፡ ከቤቱ ፡ አይቀመጥም ፡ ነበር ፡ ከአዜ ፡  
 ጋራ ፡ ተቀምጦ ፡ ከመብላት ፡ ከመጠጣት ፡ በቀር ፡ ሿቀን ፡  
 ሲፈጸም ፡ ወደ ፡ ቤት ፡ ይጎዳል ፡ ይላሉ ።

32 አቡሻክር ፡ ግን ፡ በፋሲል ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ነው ፡ የተገኘ ፡ ሊቃው  
 ንቱን ፡ ቢጠይቁ ፡ አዜ ፡ ፋሲል ፡ ጠፋ ፡ ይላሉ ። በሉ ፡ ብለው ፡  
 በዚያም ፡ በዚያም ፡ በየገዳማቱ ፡ በየሀገሩ ፡ ሰው ፡ ሰደዱ ።  
 10 በጎጃም ፡ የሄደው ፡ አንዱ ፡ መልክተኛ ፡ አንድ ፡ ሊቅ ፡ አበሞ ፡  
 የሚባል ፡ አቡሻክር ፡ አዋቂ ፡ አግኝቶ ፡ ይዞ ፡ ገባ ። አዜም ፡ ደስ ፡ 5  
 አለም ። ቢጠይቁት ፡ ታውቅን ፡ አለህ ፡ ብለው ፡ ምን ፡ ተሰኘን ፡  
 አለም ። ወዲውያም ፡ ከግር ፡ እስከ ፡ ራሱ ፡ ሸለሙና ፡ በል ፡ እን  
 ግዲህ ፡ አስተምርልኝ ፡ አሉት ። የለት ፡ የለት ፡ ዳረገቡቱን ፡  
 ወቄት ፡ ወቄት ፡ ወርቅ ፡ አዘዙለት ። አስተምሮ ፡ ሲሔድ ፡  
 አገሩን ፡ ሿወቄት ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ሰጡት ። አበሞ ፡ አፋን ፡ ጠቅሞ ፡ 10  
 ወርቁን ፡ ለቅሞ ፡ አገሩን ፡ ሄደ ፡ ይላሉ ።

33 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ አዜ ፡ ኢያሱ ፡ ወደ ፡ ጉድሩ ፡ ዘመቻ ፡  
 ሄዱ ፡ ከዚያም ፡ አልቀናዎም ። ፈረስዎም ፡ ተማረከ ። እሰዎ ፡

ACGH 4 ሲረግጥ ፣] ሲረግጥ ፣ H27<sup>v</sup> 5 ይላሉ ።] G29<sup>v</sup> 32,1 ግን ፣] H28<sup>r</sup>  
 3 በዚያም ፣2] በዚያም ፣ G30<sup>r</sup> 5 አግኝቶ ፣] H28<sup>r</sup> 6 ታውቅን ፣] H28<sup>v</sup> 9 ወቄት ፣]  
 ወቄት ፣ G30<sup>v</sup> 11 ይላሉ ።] H29<sup>r</sup> 33,2 ተማረከ ።] ተማረከ ። C5<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 4 የገቡ ።] ACG; om. H 6 ወቄት ፣2] ACG; om. H 7 ጎሉ ፡] AG;  
 ጎሁ ፣ C; ሁሉ ፣ H | በበዓለጃሳ ፡ ከቤቱ ፣] H; በበዓለ ፡ ሿከቤት ፡ AG; በበዓለ ፡  
 ሿከቤቱ ፣ C 8 ጋራ ፣] AGH; ጋር ፣ C | ከመብላት ፣] AG; ሲበላ ፣ CH  
 ከመጠጣት ፣] AG; ሲጠጣ ፣ CH | በቀር ፣] AG; ይውል ፡ ነበር ፣ CH | ሿቀን ፣] AG;  
 በዓለ ፡ ሿው ፣ C; በዓለ ፡ ሿሳው ፣ H 9 ወደ ፡ ቤት ፣] ACG; ወደቤት ፣ H  
 32,1 አቡሻክር ፣] ACG; ከቡሽ ፡ ክራር ፣ H; አዋቂ ፡ ይዞ ፡ ገባ ፣ አዜ ፡ ግን ፣ add. H  
 የተገኘ ፣] ACG; የተገኘ ፣ H | ሊቃውንቱን ፣] AG; ሊቃውንቱ ፣ CH 2 አዜ ፣] AG;  
 በአዜ ፣ CH 3 በዚያም ፡ በዚያም ፣] AGH; በገዳም ፡ በገዳ ፣ C | በዚያም ፣2] ACG;  
 ቢጠይቁ ፣ add. H | በየሀገሩ ፣] CGH; በየ ፡ ሀገሩ ፣ A | ሰው ፣] ACG; om. H  
 4 አንዱ ፣] ACG; አንድ ፣ H | መልክተኛ ፣] ACG; መልዕክተኛ ፣ H | አበሞ ፣] ACG;  
 አበም ፣ H 6 ቢጠይቁት ፡ ...ብለው ፣] AG; ታውቅናለህ ፡ ብለው ፣  
 ቢጠይቁት ፣ tra. CH 7 ወዲውያም ፣] ACH; ወዲያም ፣ G | ከግር ፣] AGH;  
 ከአግር ፣ C | እንግዲህ ፣] CH; እንግዲህ ፣ AG 8 ዳረገቡቱን ፣] AG; ዳረገቡት ፣ CH  
 9 ወቄት ፣] ACG; om. H 10 አገሩን ፣] ACG; ወደ ፡ አገሩ ፡ ሲመለስ ፣ H  
 11 አገሩን ፡ ሄደ ፣] AH; ሄደ ፡ አገሩን ፣ CG | ይላሉ ።] CGH; ይህ ፡ የአዜ ፡ ፋሲል ፡  
 ዘተረስክ ፡ ነው ። add. A 33,1 ወደ ፡ ጉድሩ ፣] ACG; ወደጉድሩ ፣ H | ጉድሩ ፣] ACH;  
 ጉድሩ ፣ G 2 ሄዱ ፣] ACG; ዘመቱ ፣ H | እሰዎ ፣] ACG; እርስዎ ፣ H

PUNCTUATION | 4 የገቡ ።] ACG; ፣ H | ፈረሱ ፣] AGH; ። C 5 ኢያሱ ፣] AGH;  
 ። C | ይላሉ ።] AH; ፣ CG 6 ይላሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH 8 በቀር ፣] CG; ። AH  
 9 ይላሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH 32,2 ይላሉ ።] AGH; ፣ C 3 ሰደዱ ።] ACG; ፣ H  
 5 ገባ ።] AH; ፣ CG 6 አለም ።] A; ፣ CG; ፤ H 7 አለም ።] AH; ፣ CG  
 8 አሉት ።] AG; ፣ CH 9 አዘዙለት ።] A; ፣ CGH 10 ሰጡት ።] AG; ፣ CH  
 ጠቅሞ ፣] AH; ። CG 11 ለቅሞ ፣] AGH; ። C 33,2 ሄዱ ፣] CGH; ። A  
 አልቀናዎም ።] AG; ፣ CH

ግን ፡ ሠራዊቱን ፡ ፊቱን ፡ አዙረው ፡ አስፍረው ፡ ብቻዎን ፡  
 ፈረሱ ፡ ካለበት ፡ ሄዱ ። ፈረሱም ፡ የለመደውን ፡ አጥቶ ፡ እየተ  
 ጨነቀ ፡ አገኙት ፡ ድምጠዎን ፡ በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ይጮህ ፡ ጀመረ ። 5  
 እርስዎም ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ ተመስለው ፡ ነው ፡ የሄዱ ፡ እየለሙኑ ።  
 ያጋላ ፡ የማረከውም ፡ ይግቡ ፡ ብሎ ፡ አገባቸው ። እሰዎም ፡  
 ፈረሱን ፡ አዩና ፡ ምን ፡ ሁኖ ፡ ይጨነቃል ፡ አሉ ። ያጋላም ፡  
 እሳር ፡ ብንሰጠው ፡ ውሀ ፡ ብንሰጠው ፡ እንቢ ፡ አለ ፡ ብልሐቱ ፡  
 ጠፋነ ፡ አለዎ ። አዲም ፡ እንዲህ ፡ አሉ ፡ የመኪንንት ፡ ፈረስ ፡ 10  
 እንደሆን ፡ ፍልጥ ፡ ቢሰጡት ፡ ጸጅ ፡ ቢሰጡት ፡ ያደርግ ፡ እንጅ ፡  
 ይሆናል ፡ አሉ ። እርሱም ፡ ይህን ፡ ሰማና ፡ እርጥቡን ፡ ወይራ ፡  
 እያስፈለጠ ፡ አቀረበለት ፡ ጠጁንም ፡ በገበታ ፡ ሰጠው ። ፈረሱም ፡  
 ፍልጡን ፡ ቈርጥሞ ፡ ጸጁን ፡ ደርግሞ ፡ ይደነክር ፡ ገባ ።

34 ያጋላም ፡ ደስ ፡ አለውና ፡ እባክህ ፡ አባቴ ፡ ዋልልኝ ፡  
 እደርልኝ ፡ አለዎ ። አዲም ፡ እሽ ፡ ብለው ፡ ጠጅዎን ፡ እየጠጡ ፡  
 ቸቀን ፡ ዋሉ ፡ አደሩና ፡ በቺኛው ፡ ቀን ፡ ፈረስኮ ፡ ቢያሹት ፡  
 ይወዳል ፡ እስኪ ፡ አውጣው ፡ አሉት ። እርሱም ፡ ቃልዎን ፡  
 ሰምቶ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ መጣምር ፡ ከራሽቸውን ፡ ጭኖ ፡ አወጣና ፡ ናልሰቀ 5  
 ልብህ ፡ ቢለው ፡ ፈረሱ ፡ ሽቅብ ፡ እየዘለለ ፡ አስቸገረ ። አዲም ፡  
 ዝም ፡ ብለው ፡ ቈዩና ፡ እስኪ ፡ ለኔ ፡ ሰጠኝ ፡ ቀድሞ ፡ አውቅ ፡  
 ነበር ፡ አሉት ። ያሞኝ ፡ ጋላም ፡ ዛብ ፡ ለቀቅ ፡ አደረገልዎ ። 20

ACGH 3 አስፍረው ፡] አስፍረው ፡ A48<sup>m</sup> 4 ፈረሱም ፡] G31<sup>r</sup> 5 ጀመረ ።] H29<sup>v</sup>  
 10 ፈረስ ፡] ፈረስ ፡ G31<sup>v</sup> 12 እርጥቡን ፡] H30<sup>r</sup> 34,2 እየጠጡ ፡] እየጠጡ ፡ A48<sup>pb</sup>  
 3 አደሩና ፡] አደሩና ፡ G32<sup>r</sup> 5 ናልሰቀልብህ ፡] ናልሰቀልብህ ፡ H30<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 4 ካለበት ፡] ACG; ከአለበት ፡ H 5 ድምጠዎን ፡] AGH; ድምጥዎን ፡  
 C | ጀመረ ።] ACG; ጀመር ። H 6 መነኩሴ ፡] ACH; መነኩሴ ፡ G  
 ተመስለው ፡] ACG; መስለው ፡ H | እየለሙኑ ።] CGH; እየ ፡ ለሙኑ ። A  
 7 ያጋላ ፡] ACG; ጋላ ፡ H | አገባቸው ።] ACG; እያገባቸው ። H | እሰዎም ፡] ACG;  
 om. H 8 ፈረሱን ፡] ACG; ፈረሱም ፡ H | አዩና ፡] ACG; አዩና ፡ H  
 ሁኖ ፡] ACG; ሆኖ ፡ H 9 እንቢ ፡] CG; እቢ ፡ AG; እምቢ ፡ H 10 አለዎ ።] CH;  
 አለ ። AG 11 እንደሆን ፡] ACG; እንደሆነ ፡ H | ቢሰጡት ፡] ACG; ይበላል ፡ add.  
 H | ጸጅ ፡] ACG; ጠጅ ፡ H | ያደርግ ፡ እንጅ ፡] ACG; ይጠጣል ፡ H 12 ሰማና ፡] ACH;  
 ሰመና ፡ G 13 ጠጁንም ፡] AG; ጠጁን ፡ CH 14 ቈርጥሞ ፡] ACG;  
 ቆርጥሞ ፡ H | ጸጁን ፡] ACG; ጠጁን ፡ H | ገባ ።] AG; ጀመር ። CH  
 34,1 አባቴ ፡] AG; ጎፍታ ፡ CG<sup>H</sup> 2 እሽ ፡] ACG; እሺ H | እየጠጡ ፡] ACH;  
 እየ ፡ ጠጡ ፡ G 3 አደሩና ፡] AG; አደሩ ፡ CH | በቺኛው ፡] CH; በቺስኛው ፡ AG  
 ፈረስኮ ፡] CG; ፈረስኮ ፡ A; ፈረስ ፡ H | ቢያሹት ፡] CGH; ቢአሹት ፡ A  
 4 ቃልዎን ፡] ACG; ቃለዎን ፡ H 5 ከራሽቸውን ፡] ACG; ከርቻቸውን ፡ H  
 ናልሰቀልብህ ፡] AG; ና ፡ ልሰቀልብህ ፡ C; ናልሰቀልህ ፡ H 6 ሽቅብ ፡] ACG;  
 ሺቅብ ፡ H | አስቸገረ ።] ACG; አሺገረ ። H 7 ቈዩና ፡] ACG; ቆዩና ፡ H  
 8 ያሞኝ ፡] ACG; ያ ፡ ሞኝ ፡ H | አደረገልዎ ።] ACG; አደረገለዎ ። H

PUNCTUATION | 5 ጀመረ ።] AGH; ፡ C 6 እየለሙኑ ።] AG; ፡ CH  
 7 አገባቸው ።] A; ፡ CGH 8 አሉ ።] ACG; ፡ H 10 አለዎ ።] AG; ፡ CH  
 አሉ ፡] CGH; ። A 12 አሉ ።] AH; ፡ C; ፣ G 13 ሰጠው ።] AGH; ፡ C  
 34,2 አለዎ ።] AH; ፡ CG 4 አሉት ።] G; ፤ A; ፡ CH 7 ቈዩና ፡] CH; ። AG  
 8 አደረገልዎ ።] AH; ፡ CG



35 እርስዎም ፡ ዛብና ፡ ጣትዎ ፡ በተገናኙ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እንደ ፡  
 ዘንግ ፡ ተወርውረው ፡ ክትት ፡ አሉበት ። ወዲያና ፡ ወዲህ ፡ አዘዋ  
 ወሩት ። ጋላ ፡ ሞኘም ፡ ይህ ፡ አማራ ፡ ብልህ ፡ ነው ፡ እያለ ፡  
 ይስቅ ፡ ጀመረ ፡ ፈረሱም ፡ በተዋዛ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
 ቢነኩት ፡ እንደ ፡ አሞራ ፡ ይዞ ፡ በረረ ። ያጋላም ፡ በሳቀው ፡ ልክ ፡  
 አየአየና ፡ በፈረሰ ፡ እየሆነ ፡ እሪ ፡ እየተባባለ ፡ እየተጫጫኸ ፡ ተከ  
 ተለዎ ። ጩኸቱን ፡ በስተግንባር ፡ የሰማ ፡ ሰው ፡ አዳንም ፡ አካ  
 በበዎ ። ንጉሡም ፡ ዛብ ፡ አዙረው ፡ መንገድ ፡ ሰብረው ፡  
 ገሠገሡ ፡ ከክፉ ፡ ስፍራ ፡ ደረሱ ፡ ስፍራውም ፡ ገደል ፡ ነው ።  
 ጋላውም ፡ ተከትሎ ፡ ደረሰ ።

36 አዳም ፡ ጨነቀዎና ፡ አየ ፡ ዙቤል ፡ ታስገድልኝን ፡  
 ብለው ፡ ፈረሱን ፡ በአለንጋ ፡ ቢሉት ፡ ፈረሱም ፡ ከወዲያ ፡  
 ተነሥቶ ፡ ከወደዚህ ፡ አፋፍ ፡ እንደ ፡ አሞራ ፡ ዘለለ ። አንጨ  
 ፋውም ፡ ተቈረጠ ። ያጋላ ፡ አሻግሮ ፡ አይቶ ፡ ፈረሱን ፡ አመ  
 ስግኖ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ያለ ፡ ቅጠል ፡ ቅባው ፡ አለዎ ። ቅጠሉንም ፡  
 ቆርጠው ፡ ቢቀቡት ፡ ደሙ ፡ አቆመ ። አዳም ፡ ተናገሩ ፡  
 አትማኝ ፡ ጉድሩ ፡ ባይመቸኝ ፡ ምድሩ ፡ ብለው ፡ ተናግረው ፡  
 ፈረሱን ፡ ይዘው ፡ ከሰራዊቱ ፡ ጋራ ፡ ተገናኙ ። ሕዝቡም ፡  
 አደነቀ ።

ACGH 35,1 ጊዜ ፣] G32<sup>v</sup> 4 ጀመረ ፣] ጀመረ ፣ H31<sup>r</sup> 8 ንጉሡም ፣] ንጉሡም ፣  
 G33<sup>r</sup> 9 ደረሱ ፣] ደረሱ ፣ A48<sup>va</sup> | ስፍራውም ፣] ስፍራውም ፣ H31<sup>v</sup>  
 36,4 አመስግኖ ፣] አመስግኖ ፣ H32<sup>r</sup> 5 እንዲህ ፣] እንዲህ ፣ G33<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 35,1 እርስዎም ፣] CH; እስዎም ፣ AG | ጣትዎ ፣] AGH; እጣትዎ ፣ C  
 በተገናኙ ፣] A; በተገናኘ ፣ CG; በተገናኘ ፣ H | እንደ ፣...2 ዘንግ ፣] AGH;  
 እንዘንግ ፣ C 2 አዘዋወሩት ።] CG; አዛወሩት ፣ A; አዛጠናት ፣ H 3 ሞኘም ፣] G;  
 ሞኘም ፣ CH; ሞኘም ፣ A 4 ይስቅ ፣] AC; መሳቅ H | አንድ ፣ ጊዜ ፣] AC;  
 አንድ ፣ ጊዜ ፣ G; om. H 5 ያጋላም ፣] AC; ያ ፣ ጋላም ፣ H | በሳቀው ፣] AC;  
 በሳቀ ፣ H 6 አየአየና ፣] G; አየ ፣ አየና ፣ AC; አየና ፣ H | እየሆነ ፣] AC; እየ ፣ ሆነ ፣  
 G; እንደሆነ ፣ H | እየተጫጫኸ ፣] H; እየተጮ ፣ጮኸ ፣ A; የተጫ ፣ጫጫኸ ፣ C;  
 የተጫ ፣ጫጫኸ ፣ G 7 ጩኸቱን ፣] AC; ጩኸቱንም ፣ H | በስተግንባር ፣] CH;  
 በስተግንባር ፣ AG 36,1 አየ ፣] AGH; አዩ ፣ C | ዙቤል ፣] AC; ዙብል ፣ H  
 ታስገድልኝን ፣] CG; ታስገድልኝ ፣ AH 2 በአለንጋ ፣] AH; ባለንጋ ፣ CG  
 ከወዲያ ፣ ተነሥቶ ፣] AG; ከወዲያ ፣ አፋፍ ፣ ተነሥቶ ፣ C; ከወዲያ ፣ ተነሥቶ ፣  
 ከወዲያ ፣ አፋፍ ፣ ተነሥቶ ፣ H 3 እንደ ፣ አሞራ ፣] AC; እንደአሞራ ፣ H  
 አንጨፋውም ፣] AC; እንጨፋውም ፣ H 4 ተቈረጠ ።] AC; ተቆረጠ ። H  
 ያጋላ ፣] AC; ያጋላም ፣ H | አይቶ ፣] AG; እንዳይሄድም ፣ ገደል ፣ ሆነበት ፣ add.  
 CGH | ፈረሱን ፣] AG; om. CH 5 እንዲህ ፣] ACH; አንዲህ ፣ G 6 ቆርጠው ፣] AC;  
 CGH; ቆርጠው ፣ A 7 ጉድሩ ፣] ACH; ጉድሩ ፣ G | ተናግረው ፣] CGH;  
 ተናገሩ ፣ A 8 ፈረሱን ፣] CGH; ፈረሱም ፣ A | ጋራ ፣] AG; ጋር ፣ CH

PUNCTUATION | 35,2 አሉበት ።] A; ፣ CGH | አዘዋወሩት ።] A; ፣ CGH  
 5 በረረ ።] A; ፣ CGH 6 ተከተለዎ ።] A; ፣ CGH 7 አካበዎ ።] A; ፣ CGH  
 9 ነው ።] G; ፣ ACH 10 ደረሰ ።] G; ፣ ACH 36,3 ዘለለ ።] AG; ፣ CH  
 5 አለዎ ።] AC; ፣ H 6 አቆመ ።] AC; ፣ H 7 ተናግረው ፣] GH; ። AC  
 8 ተገናኙ ።] A; ፣ CGH 9 አደነቀ ።] A; ፣ CGH

37 ጎንደርም፡ ተመልሰው፡ ገቡ፡ የጎንደር፡ ሰውም፡  
 እልል፡ አለ። ፈረሱ፡ ዙቤልም፡ ያን፡ ጊዜ፡ ታሞ፡ ሞተ።  
 ንጉሡም፡ አዝነው፡ ተክዘው፡ ቀበሩት፡ ፋሲለደስ፡ ሜዳ፡ ከመቃ  
 ብሩም፡ ግንብ፡ ሰሩለት። ወዲያውም፡ እንግዲህ፡ ይህ፡ ዓለም፡  
 ምን፡ ይሆነኛል፡ ሲሉ፡ ሰራዊቱን፡ ግባ፡ ብለው፡ ቴዎፍሎስን፡  
 ይወዱ፡ ነበርና፡ ወርቅ፡ አፋ፡ [] አስታጥቀው፡ ልብሰ፡ መን  
 ግሥት፡ አልብሰው፡ አርአያ፡ አሳይተው፡ ወደ፡ ምጥረሐ፡  
 ገቡ።

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38 ከዚህም፡ በኋላ፡ ቴዎፍሎስን፡ ሕዝቡ፡ ከአልጋ፡ አስ  
 ቀመጠ፡ አራያ፡ አይቶአልና። ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ኃይለኛ፡  
 ነበር፡ ፈረስ፡ ሲጋልብም፡ ፈረሱን፡ አጋጩን፡ በልጋም፡  
 ቢለው፡ አጋጩ፡ ወልቆ፡ ወደቀ። ኋላ፡ ግን፡ ፈረስ፡ በጭኑ፡  
 ይገታ፡ ነበር፡ ጠርቀቅ፡ አርጎ። ከኃይልም፡ ብዛት፡ የተነሣ፡  
 ቴዎፍሎስን፡ ዓይኑን፡ በጥፊ፡ ብሎ፡ ከአልጋ፡ አውርዶ፡  
 እርሱ፡ ነገሠ፡ ይላሉ። አዪ፡ ኢያሱም፡ ይህን፡ በሰሙ፡ ጊዜ፡  
 ያስቀመጡት፡ ቀርቶ፡ እንዲህ፡ ሆነ፡ ብለው፡ በደንገል፡ በር፡  
 ዘልቀው፡ ጦር፡ ማከማቸት፡ ጀመሩ።

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39 ይህን፡ ነገር፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ሰማና፡ ይህ፡  
 ሽማግሌ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ትቶ፡ የሄደውን፡ አልጋ፡ ሊፈልግ፡ መጣ፡  
 ብሎ፡ ወደ፡ ደንገል፡ በር፡ ገሠገሠ። ንጉሡም፡ ጦር፡ ደረሰ፡

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ACGH 37,2 ዙቤልም፡] ዙቤልም፡ G34<sup>r</sup> 3 አዝነው፡] H32<sup>v</sup> 4 ይህ፡] C6<sup>r</sup>  
 5 ቴዎፍሎስን፡] ቴዎፍሎስን፡ A48<sup>vb</sup> 7 አርአያ፡] አርአያ፡ G34<sup>v</sup>  
 38,1 ቴዎፍሎስን፡] ቴዎፍሎስን፡ H33<sup>r</sup> 5 ከኃይልም፡] G35<sup>r</sup> 8 እንዲህ፡] H33<sup>v</sup>  
 39,2 የሄደውን፡] የሄደውን፡ G35<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 37,1 ሰውም፡] AG; ሊቅ፡ እስከ፡ ደቂቅ፡ add. CG<sup>H</sup> 2 ዙቤልም፡] ACG; ዙቤልም፡ H 3 ተክዘው፡] AG; አንተማ፡ ብትኖር፡ ታኩራኝ፡ ነበር፡ እያሉ፡ እያለቀሱ፡ add. CG<sup>H</sup> | ቀበሩት፡... ሜዳ፡] AG; ፋሲለደስ፡ ከሜዳው፡ ላይ፡ ቀበሩት። tra. C; ፋሲለደስ፡ ከሜዳው፡ ቀበሩት፡ tra. H | ሜዳ፡] AG; ከሜዳው፡ ላይ፡ C; ከሜዳው፡ H | ከመቃብሩም፡] AG; ላይ፡ add. CH 4 ግንብ፡] CH; ግብ፡] AG | ሰሩለት።] AG; ሰሩበት። CH | ወዲያውም፡] ACH; ወዲያም፡] G | እንግዲህ፡] CH; እንግዲህ፡] AG 5 ምን፡] AGH; om. C ይሆነኛል፡] CGH; ይሆናል፡] A 6 ወርቅ፡] CGH; የወርቅ፡] A | [] con; ሾተል፡] add. ACGH 7 አርአያ፡] CH; አራያ፡] AG | ወደ፡ ምጥረሐ፡] CG; ወደምጥረሐ፡] AH 38,1 ሕዝቡ፡] AG; om. CH | አስቀመጠ፡] ACG; አስቀመጡ፡] H 2 አራያ፡] ACG; አራአያ፡] H | አይቶአልና።] AG; አይቷአል። CH 3 ፈረሱን፡] ACG; ረሱን፡] H | አጋጩን፡] ACG; om. H 4 አጋጩ፡] ACG; አገጩ፡] H 5 አርጎ።] ACG; አድርጎ። H | ከኃይልም፡] CG; ከኃይል፡] A; ከኃይሉ፡] 6 ቴዎፍሎስን፡] CGH; ቴዎሎስን፡] A 7 ነገሠ፡] ACG; እንደነገሠ፡] H; ይታወቃል፡] add. H 8 ያስቀመጡት፡] ACG; ያስቀመጡት፡] H | እንዲህ፡] AGH; እንዲህን፡] C 39,2 ንጉሥ፡] ACH; ንጉሡ፡] G 3 ወደ፡ ደንገል፡] ACG; ወደደንገል፡] H | ንጉሡም፡] ACG; ንጉሥም፡] H

PUNCTUATION | 37,1 ገቡ፡] H; ፡] ACG 2 አለ።] H; ፡] ACG | ሞተ።] AG; ፡] CH 4 ሰሩለት።] AG; ፡] CH 8 ገቡ።] AG; ፡] CH 38,2 አይቶአልና።] ACG; ፡] H 4 ወደቀ።] ACG; ፡] H 5 አርጎ።] ACG; ፡] H | የተነሣ፡] AGH; ።] C 39,1 ሰማና፡] AGH; ።] C 3 ገሠገሠ።] CG; ፤] AH

ሲሉዎ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወደብ፡ ለወደብ፡ አርገው፡ በታንኳ፡ ገሠገሡ።  
 እርሱም፡ በደንቢያ፡ አርጎ፡ ዳር፡ ለዳር፡ አርጎ፡ በፍርቃ፡ ዙሮ፡ 5  
 ምጥረሀ፡ ገብተው፡ መጣ፡ ሲመለከቱ፡ ደረሰ፡ ይላሉ።  
 የነፍጥ፡ አረርም፡ እንደ፡ በረዶ፡ እየዘነመ፡ ሕዝቡ፡ የሚአልቅ፡  
 ቢሆን፡ አፄ፡ አፈ፡ ብለው፡ ቁመው፡ ምነው፡ እነአልመት፡  
 እነደርመን፡ እንዴት፡ አድርጌ፡ አሳድጌአችሁ፡ አልነበረም፡  
 እኔን፡ ተመልክታችሁ፡ አተኩሱም፡ ብለው፡ ምልክት፡ መከ 10  
 ዳምን፡ ከግንባርዎ፡ አርገው፡ ቆሙ፡ ያን፡ ጊዜ፡ አያይዘው፡  
 ቢተኩሱ፡ አረሩ፡ በግንባርዎ፡ ገባ። ንጉሡም፡ አረፉ።

10 40 እርሱም፡ አባቱን፡ ገሎ፡ ተመለሰ፡ ስሙም፡ ርጉም፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ተባለ። ካህናቱም፡ የኢያሱን፡ አስከሬን፡ እያዩ፡ እየተላቀሱ፡ ለተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወልዱ፡ ወለውለደ፡ ወሉዱ፡ ይደምሰስ፡ አሉ።

41 ከዚህም፡ በኋላ፡ የአፄ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ጉላት፡ አሸከሮች፡ ጋሚአቸውን፡ ተላጭተው፡ ገቡ፡ ከርጉም፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት። ምንድሮች፡ ናችሁ፡ አላቸው። እነሱም፡ መለሱ፡ እኔ፡ የወጥ፡ ቤት፡ አለቃ፡ ነኝ፡ እኔ፡ ጋሻ፡ ጃግሬ፡ ነኝ፡ የአባትህ፡ አሉ።

ACGH 4 ሲሉዎ፡] ሲሉዎ፡ A49<sup>a</sup> 7 የነፍጥ፡] የነፍጥ፡ H34<sup>f</sup> | የሚአልቅ፡] የሚአልቅ፡ G36<sup>f</sup> 40,1 አባቱን፡] አባቱን፡ G36<sup>v</sup> 2 ሃይማኖት፡] H34<sup>v</sup> 41,1 አሸከሮች፡] A49<sup>b</sup> 2 ሃይማኖት፡] ሃይማኖት፡ G37<sup>e</sup> 4 ቤት፡] H35<sup>f</sup>

VARIANTS | 4 ሲሉዎ፡] AG; ባለዎ፡ CH | አርገው፡] ACG; አርድገው፡ H 5 በደንቢያ፡] CH; በደቢያ፡ AG | አርጎ፡] AG; አድርጎ፡ C; አድርጎ፡ H አርጎ፡] AG; om. CH 6 ምጥረሀ፡] CG; ምጥርሐ፡ AH | ሲመለከቱ፡] CH; ሲነግሩ፡ AG; 7 እንደ፡ በረዶ፡] ACG; እንደበረዶ፡ H | እየዘነመ፡] CGH; እያዘነመ፡ A | የሚአልቅ፡] ACG; የሚያልቅ፡ H 8 እነአልመት፡] ACG; እነ፡ አልፍት፡ H 9 እነደርመን፡] AG; እነ፡ ደርመን፡ CH | አድርጌ፡] ACH; አርጌ፡ G | አሳድጌአችሁ፡] ACG; አሳድጌያችሁ፡ H 10 አተኩሱም፡] AG; አትተኩሱም፡ C; አትተኩሱም፡ H | ምልክት፡] AG; om. CH | መከዳምን፡] AG; መከዳውን፡ CH 11 ከግንባርዎ፡] C; ከግባርዎ፡ AG; ከግንባረዎ፡ H አርገው፡] AG; አድርገው፡ CH 12 ቢተኩሱ፡] ACG; ቢተኩሱ፡ H በግንባርዎ፡] C; በግባርዎ፡ AG; በግምባረዎ፡ H | ንጉሡም፡] ACG; ንጉሥም፡ H 40,1 ርጉም፡] AGH; እርጉም፡ C 3 እያዩ፡] AG; ፈረሰ፡ ፈረሰ፡ ግንባችን፡ በእድላችን፡ እያሉ፡ የትንቢት፡ እልቅሶ add. CG<sup>H</sup> | ለተክለ፡] ACG; ተክለ፡ H 41,1 ጉላት፡] AG; ሁለት፡ CH | አሸከሮች፡] ACG; አሺከሮች፡ H 2 ጋሚአቸውን፡] ACG; ጋሚያቸውን፡ H | ገቡ፡... ሃይማኖት፡] ACG; ከርጉም፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ገቡ፡ tra. H 3 ምንድሮች፡] CG; ምንድር፡ A; ምንድኖች፡ H | ናችሁ፡] AG; ናችሁ፡ CH 4 ጋሻ፡ ጃግሬ፡] ACG; ጋሻጃግሬ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 6 ይላሉ፡] ACG; ፤ H 8 ቢሆን፡] H; ። ACG | ቁመው፡] H; ። ACG 10 ምልክት፡] CGH; ። A 12 ገባ፡] AC; ፣ GH | አረፉ፡] AG; ፣ CH 40,1 ተመለሰ፡] CG; ። AH 2 ተባለ፡] AGH; ፣ C 3 እየተላቀሱ፡] ACH; ። G 4 አሉ፡] ACG; ፣ H 41,1 አሸከሮች፡] CGH; ። A 2 ሃይማኖት፡] ACG; ፣ H 3 አላቸው፡] A; ፣ CGH | መለሱ፡] CH; ። AG 4 ነኝ፡] CH; ። AG | አሉ፡] AG; CH

በሉ ፡ አንተም ፡ ጋሻየን ፡ ያዝ ። አንችም ፡ የወጥ ፡ ቤት ፡ አለቃ ፡ 5  
ጉኝ ፡ አለ ፡ ሊገሉት ፡ እንደመጡ ፡ አላወቀም ።

42 እርሱም ፡ ጋሻውን ፡ ተቀበለና ፡ ያች ፡ ሴትም ፡ የወጥ ፡  
ቤት ፡ አለቃ ፡ ሆነችና ፡ የጌታቸውን ፡ ብድር ፡ ሊመልሱ ፡  
ሲጠበቡ ፡ ከአለታት ፡ አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ እርጉም ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡  
አደን ፡ ወጣ ፡ ከጎጥ ፡ ላይ ፡ ተቀመጠ ፡ ጫንቃውን ፡ ለፀሐይ ፡  
ሰጠ ። መነፀር ፡ ተክሎ ፡ ሠራዊቱን ፡ ሲመለከት ፡ ንጉሡ ፡ ያጋሻ ፡ 5  
ጃግሬ ፡ የንጉሡን ፡ ዘገር ፡ ጦር ፡ እንደ ፡ ያዘ ፡ ቁም ፡ በስተኋላ ፡  
ጫንቃውን ፡ አስማምቶ ፡ ሰነጠቀው ። ወዲያውም ፡ በአፋው ፡  
10 አንገቱን ፡ አለው ።

43 ያጋሻ ፡ ጃግሬም ፡ እንደ ፡ አሞራ ፡ እየበረረ ፡ ሄደና ፡  
ለቴዎፍሎስ ፡ ነገረ ። ቴዎፍሎስም ፡ ይህን ፡ በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እንደ ፡  
አንበሳ ፡ ጮኸና ፡ እንደ ፡ ፈረስ ፡ አሸካካና ፡ እንደ ፡ እንበሳ ፡  
ዘለለና ፡ እንደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ በራና ፡ እንደ ፡ እሳት ፡ በወርቅ ፡ ግምጃ ፡  
ተንቀለቀለና ፡ እንደ ፡ ዘግባ ፡ ከቁመት ፡ ላይ ፡ ቁመት ፡ ጨመረና ፡ 5  
ፍጹም ፡ አባቱን ፡ ኢያሱን ፡ አማን ፡ በአማን ፡ መሰለና ፡ ከመ  
ንበረ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ተቀመጠና ፡ በሉ ፡ አዋጅ ፡ ንገሩ ፡ ግባ ፡ በለው ፡  
ሥጋ ፡ እንደ ፡ ጎመን ፡ እንጀራ ፡ እንደ ፡ ቅጠል ፤ የማር ፡ ጸጅ ፡

ACGH 42,2 የጌታቸውን ፣] የጌታቸውን ፣ G37<sup>v</sup> 4 ጫንቃውን ፣] ጫንቃውን ፣  
H35<sup>v</sup> 7 አስማምቶ ፣] አስማምቶ ፣ G38<sup>r</sup> 43,3 ጮኸና ፣] ጮኸና ፣ A49<sup>va</sup>  
እንበሳ ፣] እንበሳ ፣ H36<sup>r</sup> 4 በወርቅ ፣] C6<sup>v</sup> 5 እንደ ፣] እንደ ፣ G38<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 5 ጋሻየን ፡ ያዝ ።] ACG; ጋሻ ፡ ጃግሬ ፡ H | የወጥ ፣] CH; ወጥ ፡ AG  
6 ጉኝ ፣] AG; ሁኝ ፡ C; ሁኑ ፡ H | አለ ፣] ACG; አላቸው ፡ H | ሊገሉት ፣] ACG;  
ሊገድሉት ፡ H | እንደመጡ ፣] ACH; እንደ ፡ መጡ ፡ G 42,1 ያች ፣] AH; ይች ፡  
CG | ሴትም ፣] CGH; እሴትም ፡ A 3 ሲጠበቡ ፣] ACG; ሲጠባበቁ ፡ H  
እርጉም ፣] ACG; ርጉም ፡ H 4 ላይ ፣] AG; ወጣና ፡ add. CH 5 ሰጠ ።] ACG;  
ሰጥቶ ፡ H | ተክሎ ፣] ACG; ሠራዊት ፡ add. H | ንጉሡ ፣] ACG; የንጉሡ ፡ H  
ያጋሻ ፣] ACG; የጋሻ ፡ H 6 እንደ ፡ ያዘ ፣] ACG; እንደያዘ ፡ H 7 ወዲያውም ፣] ACH;  
ወዲያም ፡ G 43,1 እንደ ፡ አሞራ ፣] ACG; እንደአሞራ ፡ H | እየበረረ ፣] ACH;  
እየ ፡ በረረ ፡ G 2 ነገረ ።] ACG; ነገረው ። H 3 አሸካካና ፣] ACG; እያሸካካ ፡ H |  
እንበሳ ፣] C; እበሳ ፡ AG; አንበሳ ፡ H 4 እንደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፣] ACG; እንደፀሐይ ፡ H |  
በራና ፣] ACG; በረና ፡ H 5 ጨመረና ፣] ACH; ጨመረና ፡ G 7 ግባ ፡ በለው ፣] CG;  
አለ ፡ አዋጅም ፡ ተነገረ ፣ add. A; በዱር ፡ በገደል ፡ ያለህ ፡ ግባ ፡ ተብሎ ፡ add. H  
8 ጎመን ፣] ACG; ጎመን ፡ H | እንደ ፡<sup>2</sup>...9 ቅጠል ፤] ACG; እንደቅጠል ፡ H | ጸጅ ፣] ACG; ጠጅ ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 5 ያዝ ።] ACG; ፡ H 6 አላወቀም ።] ። AH; ፡ C; ፤ G  
42,2 ሆነችና ፣] CH; ። AG 3 ሲጠበቡ ፣] CH; ፣ A; ። G 4 ወጣ ፣] CH; ። AG  
5 ሰጠ ።] AG; ፡ CH | ንጉሡ ፣] CH; ። AG 7 ሰነጠቀው ።] AG; ፡ CH  
8 አለው ።] ACG; ፡ H 43,2 ነገረ ።] AGH; ፡ C 3 ጮኸና ፣] CH; ። AG  
አሸካካና ፣] ACH; ። G 4 ዘለለና ፣] CH; ። AG | በራና ፣] CH; ፤ AG  
5 ተንቀለቀለና ፣] CH; ፤ A; ። G | ጨመረና ፣] CH; ። AG 6 መሰለና ፣] CH; ።  
AG 7 ተቀመጠና ፣] H; ። ACG 8 ቅጠል ፤] AG; ፡ CH

የወይን ፡ ጸጅ ፡ እንደ ፡ ውሃ ፡ ይሁን ፡ ብላችሁ ። ስትዘፍኑም ፡  
አፈሰሁት ፡ ደሜን ፡ የአባቴን ፡ የወንድሜን ፡ እያላችሁ ፡ ዝፈኑ ፡  
አለ ። ዘጠና ፡ ዘጠኝ ፡ ቅሬ ፡ ነበር ፡ የዘፋኝ ፡ አለቃ ። ሕዝቡም ፡  
ተሰብስቦ ፡ ካሁኑም ፡ እየወረበ ፡ ፺፱ቅሬውም ፡ እየዘፈነ ፡ ከግንቡ ፡  
ግብን ፡ ሌሊትና ፡ መዓልት ፡ ተድላ ፡ ሆነ ፡ ይላሉ ። ንጉሡ ፡ ቴዎ  
ፍሎስም ፡ ደግ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ለሕዝቡም ፡ የተሰማሙ ። ።

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44 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ዮስጦስ ፡ ነገሠ ፡ ደግ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነበር ፡  
ለሰውም ፡ ለክርስቶስም ፡ የተመቸ ፡ ይላሉ ። በነገሠ ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
ከግንቡ ፡ የተከማቸውን ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ምንድር ፡ ነው ፡ ይህ ፡ ወርቅ ፡  
እንደ ፡ ሽንብራ ፡ ምርት ፡ ተከምሮ ፡ ያለ ፡ ብለው ፡ ጠየቁ ፡  
ንጉሡ ። ግንብ ፡ ጠባቆችም ፡ መለሱ ። በዓመት ፡ በዓመት ፡  
በከፋ ፡ በጉድሩ ፡ በስናር ፡ በንጉሡ ፡ በዳታኑ ፡ መታጠቢያ ፡ ፲፪ ፡  
፲፪ እየተሰፈረ ፡ ወርቁ ፡ ይገባል ። ይህ ፡ የአልጋ ፡ መጠበቂያ ፡  
የቤተ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ነው ፡ የክፉ ፡ ቀን ፡ ብለው ፡ ነገሩዎ ፡ ለአፄ ።  
ዓፄም ፡ መለሱ ፡ በወርቅን ፡ ይመለክቡታል ፡ እንደ ፡ ጣዖት ።  
ወይስ ፡ እንደ ፡ ነዌ ፡ እንደ ፡ ኪራም ፡ መሆናችን ፡ ነው ። አባቶቻችን ፡

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ACGH 9 ብላችሁ ።] H36<sup>v</sup> 10 ደሜን ፡] G39<sup>f</sup> 14 የተሰማሙ ።] G39<sup>v</sup>  
44,1 ነገሠ ፡] H37<sup>e</sup> | ነበር ፡] A49<sup>vb</sup> 6 በስናር ፡] G40<sup>f</sup> 7 ይገባል ።] H37<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 9 የወይን ፡] CGH; የወን ፡ A | ጸጅ ፡] ACG; ጠጅ ፡ H | እንደ ፡ ...  
ብላችሁ ።] CH; ይሁን ፡ እንደ ፡ ውሃ ፡ ብላችሁ ። tra. G; እንደ ፡ ውሃ ፡ ፈሰሰ ።  
A 10 አፈሰሁት ፡] A; አፈሰኩት ፡ C; አፈሰኩት ፡ G; አፈሰሰኩት ፡ H | ደሜን ፡] AG;  
አፈሰኩት ፡ ደሜን ፡ add. C; አፈሰሰኩት ፡ ደሜን ፡ H 11 ዘጠና ፡ ...ቅሬ ፡] CGH;  
፺፱ቅሬ ፡ A 12 ካሁኑም ፡] AG; ተሰብስቦ ፡ add. CH | ፺፱ቅሬውም ፡] ACG;  
ዘጠና ፡ ዘጠኝ ፡ ቅሬውም ፡ H | እየዘፈነ ፡] ACH; እየ ፡ ዘፈነ ፡ G | ከግንቡ ፡] CH;  
ከግቡ ፡ AG 13 ሌሊትና ፡] ACG; ሌትና ፡ H | መዓልት ፡] ACG; ቀን ፡ H  
ተድላ ፡] ACG; ደስታ ፡ add. H | ንጉሡ ፡] AGH; ንጉሡም ፡ C; አፄ ፡ add. CH  
14 የተሰማሙ ።] ACG; ናቸው ። add. H 44,1 ከዚህም ፡ ...ነገሠ ፡] AG; ወነገሠ ፡  
ዮስጦስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ CH; ነገሠ ፡ add. C 2 የተመቸ ፡] AG; ነበር ፡ add. CH  
3 ከግንቡ ፡] CH; ከግንቡ ፡ AG 4 ሽንብራ ፡] C; ሽብራ ፡ AG; ሽምብራ ፡ H  
5 ንጉሡ ።] ACG; የንጉሡ ፡ H | ግንብ ፡] CH; ግብ ፡ AG | በዓመት ፡] CH;  
አመት ፡ AG 6 በከፋ ፡] ACG; በካፋ ፡ H | በጉድሩ ፡] ACG; በጉድሩ ፡ H  
በስናር ፡] AG; በቋራ ፡ በሚገዛው ፡ አገር ፡ ሁሉ add. CG<sup>2</sup> ሁሉ ፡ add. CG<sup>2</sup>; om. H  
በንጉሡ ፡] AG; om. CH | በዳታኑ ፡] ACG; በጣታቸው ፡ H | መታጠቢያ ፡] AGH;  
መታጠቢያ ፡ C | ፲፪ ፡ ...እየተሰፈረ ፡] C; ፲፪ እየተሰፈረ ፡ AG;  
አሥራሁለት ፡ አሥራሁለት ፡ እየተሰፈረ ፡ H 7 ይህ ፡ ...8 ቀን ፡] AG; ይህ ፡  
የቤተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ የአልጋ ፡ መጠበቂያ ፡ የክፉ ፡ ቀን ፡ ነው ፡ tra. CH  
8 መንግሥት ፡] AG; መንግሥቱ ፡ CH | ነገሩዎ ፡] ACG; ነገሩአቸው ፡ H  
ነገሩዎ ፡ ለአፄ ።] AG; ለአፄ ፡ ነገሩዎ ። tra. CH 9 በወርቅን ፡] AG; ወርቅን ፡ CH  
ይመለክቡታል ፡] CGH; ይመለክ ፡ በብል ፡ A | ጣዖት ።] ACH; ነው ፡ add. G  
10 ወይስ ፡] ACG; ወ H | እንደ ፡] om. H | አባቶቻችን ፡] ACG; አባቶች ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 9 ብላችሁ ።] AG; ፡ CH 10 የወንድሜን ፡] ACG; ። H  
11 አለ ።] AG; ፡ CH 12 እየዘፈነ ፡] CH; ። AG 13 ይላሉ ።] AGH; ፡ C  
14 ነበሩ ፡] CH; ። AG | የተሰማሙ ። ።] AG; ። ። ። C; ። H 44,5 ንጉሡ ።] CG;  
፡ AH | መለሱ ።] CG; ፡ AH 7 ይገባል ።] CG; ፡ AH 8 ለአፄ ።] AGH; ፡ C  
9 ጣዖት ።] ACG; ፡ H

ነገሥታቱም ፡ አጥፍተዋል ፡ አሉና ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ጫማ ፡ እንዳደረጉ ፡  
በእግርዎ ፡ ከፎት ፡ ከፈሉት ፡ ይላሉ ።

45 በሉ ፡ ብለው ፡ አንዱን ፡ እጅ ፡ ለአብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ሰጡ ፡ አንዱን ፡ እጅ ፡ ለሰራዊትዎ ፡ ሰጡ ። አንዱን ፡ እጅ ፡ በል ፡ የጎንደር ፡ ሰው ፡ ሴት ፡ ሆነ ፡ ወንድ ፡ ሆነ ፡ አሸከር ፡ ሆነ ፡ አንድ ፡ አይቅር ፡ ብለው ፡ አሰብሰበው ፡ ወርቁን ፡ በብዙ ፡ ሸማ ፡ አሸክመው ፡ ለድኃው ፡ ለሕዝቡ ፡ ዘሩት ፡ ከሜዳ ፡ ላይ ። 5  
ሰውም ፡ ፲ወቂት ፡ የለቀመ ፡ አለ ። ፭ወቂት ፡ ፫ወቂት ፡ ፪ወቂት ፡ የለቀመ ፡ አለ ፡ እንደ ፡ እድሉ ። ድኃውም ፡ ወርቁን ፡ ለቅሞ ፡ ሲጨርስ ፡ ይዘፍን ፡ ጀመረ ። ንጉሥ ፡ ወጣ ፡ ንጉሥም ፡ አየነ ፡ የሰጠሰ ። ወርቁን ፡ ዘራው ፡ እንደ ፡ ገብሰ ። እያለ ፡ ዘፈነ ፡ ከተማውም ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ከዚህ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ነው ፡ ከተማው ፡ የቀና ፡ የጠና ፡ በፊት ፡ ድሀ ፡ ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ። 10

46 ልደታንም ፡ ሲሰሩ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ነው ። ከወህኒ ፡ ቤት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኒቱ ፡ ልደታ ፡ ናት ። የነገሥታቱ ፡ ልጆች ፡ ልደታን ፡ ይወዳሉ ። በዚያ ፡ ልማድ ፡ አፄ ፡ አርዌጌ ፡ ልደታን ፡ ማለዳ ፡ ማለዳ ፡ በፈረስ ፡ እየተመላለሱ ፡ ይስሙ ፡ ነበር ። ከሸዋ ፡ 5  
ጂቀሳውስት ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ልደታን ፡ ይዘው ፡ መጥተው ፡ ከአቡን ፡ አስባርከው ፡ አርዌጌ ፡ ልደታ ፡ አደሩ ። በበነገው ፡ ታቦቲቱን ፡

ACGH 11 አጥፍተዋል ፣] አጥፍተዋል ፣ G40<sup>v</sup> 45,2 እጅ ፣] እጅ ፣ A50<sup>ra</sup> 3 አሸከር ፣] H38<sup>f</sup> 5 አሸክመው ፣] G41<sup>f</sup> 10 ከዚህ ፣] ከዚህ ፣] G41<sup>v</sup> | ከተማው ፣] ከተማው ፣ H38<sup>v</sup> 46,3 ይወዳሉ ።] ይወዳሉ ። A50<sup>rb</sup> 5 ጂቀሳውስት ፣] G42<sup>f</sup>

VARIANTS | 12 በእግርዎ ፣] AC; በእግረዎ ፣ G; በእግራቸው ፣ H | ከፎት ፣] ACG; ከሰሰት ፡ 45,1 ብለው ፣] ACG; om. H | እጅ ፣] CGH; እጅ ፣ A 2 እጅ ፣] CGH; እጅ ፣ A | ለሰራዊትዎ ፣] ACG; ለሠራዊታቸው ፣ H 3 በል ፣] ACG; om. H የጎንደር ፣] ACG; ለጎንደር ፣ H | ሰው ፣] ACG; ሕዝብ ፣ H; ሰጡ ፡ add. H ሴት ፣] ACG; ሴትም ፣ H | ሆነ ፣] ACG; om. H | አሸከር ፣] ACG; አሸከርም ፣ H 4 አሰብሰበው ፣] AGH; አሰብሰው ፣ C 5 ሸማ ፣] ACG; ሸማ ፣ H | ለድኃው ፣] ACG; ለድኃው ፣ H 6 አለ ።] ACG; እንደ ፡ እድሉ ፡ add. H | ፭ወቂት ፣] ACG; አንድ ፡ ወቂት ፣ H 7 ድኃውም ፣] CGH; ድኃም ፣ A 8 ጀመረ ።] ACG; ጀመር ። H | ንጉሥ ፡ ...9 ገብሰ ።] CH; ከዚያም ፡ ነገሥ ፡ ከዚያም ፡ ነገሥ ፡ የሰጠሰ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ይዘራል ፡ እንደ ፡ ገብሥ ። AG 9 ከተማውም ፡ ...10 ጎንደር ፣] ACG; ጎንደር ፡ ከተማውም ፡ tra. H 10 የቀና ፡ የጠና ፣] CGH; የጠና ፡ የቀና ፡ tra. A; ይላሉ ። add. H 11 የጠና ፣] ACG; om. H | ድሀ ፣] AGH; ድኃ ፣ C | ይላሉ ።] ACG; om. H 46,3 በዚያ ፣] AGH; በዚያ ፣ C | አርዌጌ ፣] G; አርዌጌ ፣ A; አርዎጌ ፣ C; አርጌ ፣ H 4 ከሸዋ ፣] CG; በሸዋ ፣ H; ከመንዝ ፡ አገሩ ፡ add. A 6 አርዌጌ ፣] G; አርዌጌ ፣ A; አርዎጌ ፣ ; አርጌ ፣ H | በበነገው ፣] AG; በበነጋው ፣ CH

PUNCTUATION | 12 ይላሉ ።] ACG; ፣ H 45,2 ሰጡ ፣] CGH; ። A | ሰጡ ።] ACG; ፣ H 4 አሰብሰበው ፣] H; ። ACG 5 ላይ ።] AG; ፣ CH 6 ሰውም ፣] AGH; ። C | አለ ።] AG; ፣ CH 7 እድሉ ።] A; ፣ CGH 8 ሲጨርስ ፣] ACH; ። G 10 ጎንደር ፣] AGH; ። C | ዘፈነ ፣] ACG; ። H 11 ነበር ፣] CGH; ። A ይላሉ ።] CG<sup>2</sup>; ፣ AH 46,1 ነው ።] AG; ፣ CH 2 ናት ።] ACG; ፣ H 3 ይወዳሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH 4 ነበር ።] AGH; ፣ C 6 አደሩ ።] A; ፣ CGH

ይዘው ፡ እንነሣ ፡ ቢሉ ፡ ታቦቲቱ ፡ አልነሣም ፡ አለች ። እነዚያ ፡  
ቀሳውስትም ፡ በኃጢአተ ፡ መኑ ፡ እያሉ ፡ ሲላቀሱ ፡ ሰነበቱ ።  
ኋላም ፡ ጠየቁ ፡ የአዲን ፡ መመላለስ ። ሰዎችም ፡ መለሱላቸው ።  
አዲ ፡ ልደታን ፡ ይወዳሉ ፡ ብለው ።

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47 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ አዲ ፡ እጅ ፡ ነሥተው ፡ ሲወጡ ፡  
እነዚያ ፡ ቀሳውስት ፡ ታጥቀው ፡ ቆሙ ። ምን ፡ ሁኖችሁ ፡ ነው ፡  
አሉ ፡ ንጉሡ ። እነዚያም ፡ መለሱ ፡ ከመጀመርያው ፡ እስከ ፡  
መጨረሻው ፡ ፈቃድዋ ፡ ካልሆነ ፡ ስፍራ ፡ ይሰጡነ ፡ አሉ ።  
አዲም ፡ ደስ ፡ አለዎና ፡ ርሕቀተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ኢይከልአ ፡ ለፍቅር ፡  
በእግሬ ፡ ሳልመጣ ፡ በእግርሽ ፡ መጣሽልኝ ፡ ብለው ፡ ያፍኑ ፡  
ረከበት ፡ ላቲ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መግዕቅቅኒ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ታኅብር ፡ ዕጉሊሃ ፡ ምሥ  
ዋዒከ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ኃያላን ፡ አሉና ፡ በሉ ፡ ቆዩ ፡ አሉ  
አቸው ፡ እነዚያን ፡ ቀሳውስት ። ወዲያውም ፡ ፈጥነው ፡ ተመለሱ ፡  
አገርም ፡ ዙረው ፡ አዩ ፡ ከተራራ ፡ እግር ፡ ከምእራብ ፡ ወደ ፡  
ምሥራቅ ፡ ውሃዋ ፡ የምትፈስ ፡ መልካም ፡ ስፍራ ፡ አገኙ ። ውሃ  
ይቱም ፡ የምትፈሰው ፡ እንደ ፡ ማየ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ልሄም ፡ ያለች ፡ ናት ፡  
ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑም ፡ ከቆመው ፡ ላይ ፡ ትልቅ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ነበረ ፡  
ባሕሩን ፡ ደልድለው ፡ ነው ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑን ፡ የሰሩ ።

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48 በፊት ፡ በጭቃ ፡ ሰርተው ፡ ጨረሱ ፡ ከመዋቅር ፡  
ሲደርሱ ፡ አንዱን ፡ ባለሟል ፡ ጎንደሮች ፡ ጊዮርጊስን ፡ የሰ

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ACGH 10 ይወዳሉ ፡] ይወዳሉ ፡ G42<sup>v</sup> 47,1 ከዚህም ፡] ከዚህም ፡ C7<sup>r</sup>  
2 ቀሳውስት ፡] H39<sup>r</sup> 6 በእግርሽ ፡] በእግርሽ ፡ G43<sup>r</sup> | ብለው ፡] ብለው ፡ A50<sup>va</sup>  
8 አሉአቸው ፡] H39<sup>v</sup> 11 አገኙ ።] G43<sup>v</sup> 48,2 ባለሟል ፡] H40<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 7 እነዚያ ፡] AGH; እነዚያ ፡ C 8 ቀሳውስትም ፡...47,2 ቀሳውስት ፡] AG; om. H | በኃጢአተ ፡...10 ብለው ።] AG; om. H | ሲላቀሱ ፡] A; ሲአለቅሱ ፡ C; ሲያለቅሱ ፡ G 47,1 ከዚህም ፡...2 ቀሳውስት ፡] AG; om. H 2 እነዚያ ፡] AG; እነዚያ ፡ C | ሁኖችሁ ፡] ACH; ኅኅኖችሁ ፡ G 3 ንጉሡ ።] AG; አዲ ። CH | እነዚያም ፡] AGH; እነዚያም ፡ C | ከመጀመርያው ፡] AG; ከመጀመርያ ፡ CH | እስከ ፡ መጨረሻው ፡] AG; እስከመጨረሻው ፡ H; ያለውን ፡ አስረድተው ፡ add. H 4 ፈቃድዋ ፡] AG; ፈቃደዎ ፡ 5 ርሕቀተ ፡...ለፍቅር ፡] CH; ኢይከልአ ፡ ለፍቅር ፡ ርሕቀተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ AG; | ሀገር ፡] CGH; ብለው ፡ add. A 6 በእግርሽ ፡] AG; በእግርሽ ፡ H; | መጣሽልኝ ፡] AG; መጣሽልኝ ፡ H 9 እነዚያን ፡] AGH; እነዚያን ፡ C | ወዲያውም ፡] GH; ወዲያም ፡ A; ወደያውም ፡ C 10 ወደ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡] AG; ወደምሥራቅ ፡ H 11 ስፍራ ፡] AG; አገኙ ፡ add. CGH | አገኙ ።] CGH; om. AG 12 እንደ ፡ ማየ ፡] AG; እንደማየ ፡ H | ቤተ ፡ ልሄም ፡] ACH; ቤተልሄም ፡ G | ያለች ፡ ናት ፡] CH; ያለች ፡ ናት ፡ AG 13 ክርስቲያኑም ፡] AG; ክርስቲያኑም ፡ CH | ከቆመው ፡] AG; ከቆመችው ፡ CH 48,1 በፊት ፡] CGH; በፊትም ፡ A | ጨረሱ ፡] AG; ጨርሰው ፡ CH | ከመዋቅር ፡] AG; ከመዋቅሩ ፡ H 2 ባለሟል ፡] CH; ባለሟል ፡ AG | ጊዮርጊስን ፡] CH; ጊዮርጊስ ፡ AG | የሰሩውን ፡] AG; ሰው ፡ add. CH

PUNCTUATION | 7 አለች ።] AG; ፡ H 8 ሰነበቱ ።] AG; ፡ C 9 መመላለስ ።] AG; ፡ C | መለሱላቸው ።] AG; ፡ C 10 ብለው ።] AG; 47,2 ቆሙ ።] AG; ፡ CH 4 አሉ ።] G, ፤ A; ፡ CH 5 አለዎና ፡] AG; ። H | ሀገር ፡] AGH; ። C 7 ቤተ ፡] ACH; ። G 8 ኃያላን ፡] CH; ። AG 9 ቀሳውስት ።] AG; ፡ CH 10 አዩ ፡] AG; ። H 13 ነበረ ፡] CG; ። A; ፤ H 14 የሰሩ ።] AH; ፡ C; ፤ G

ራውን፡ ስራችነን፡ አመሰገን፡ ብለው፡ ጠየቁት፡ ንጉሡ፡ ።  
 እርሱም፡ መለሰ፡ [] ስራው፡ መልካም፡ ነገር፡ ግን፡ እርሰዎም፡  
 በጭቃ፡ እኛም፡ በጭቃ፡ ሆነ፡ አለዎ፡ ። ይህን፡ ነገር፡ ሰሙና፡ 5  
 አፄ፡ መልሰው፡ አፍርሰው፡ ሠራዊቱን፡ ይዘው፡ ኖራ፡ ለቀማ፡  
 ሄዱ፡ ። አንድ፡ ጊዜ፡ በሰራዊቱ፡ የመጣው፡ ኖራ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያ  
 ኒቱን፡ አስጨርሶ፡ ለሌላም፡ ተረፈ፡ ይላሉ፡ ። የሰራዊቱም፡  
 ብዛት፡ በዚህ፡ ይታወቃል፡ ። ከነገሡት፡ ነገሥታትም፡ የዮስ  
 ጦስን፡ የሚያህል፡ ሠራዊት፡ አልነበረም፡ ይላሉ፡ ። 10

49 ስራውንም፡ ሲሰሩ፡ የምሥራቁ፡ ዓምደ፡ ወርቅ፡  
 10 ዘመም፡ አለ፡ ። ንጉሡም፡ በቁመትዎ፡ ልክ፡ ያሰሩት፡ የብረት፡  
 ጋን፡ ነበረ፡ በዚያ፡ ውሃ፡ መሉና፡ ከጋኑም፡ ገብተው፡ ቁመው፡  
 ኮሶ፡ በጉንጭዎ፡ ይዘው፡ ጌቀን፡ ጸለዩ፡ ይላሉ፡ ። በጌተኛው፡  
 ቀን፡ መልአኩ፡ መጣና፡ ዓምደ፡ ወርቁን፡ አቅንቶ፡ ነአ፡ 9፡ 5  
 የሰጠሰ፡ ወባ፡ ቤተክ፡ ወጽሑ፡ ስምክ፡ ወእሙን፡ ቃልክ፡ ።  
 ወኢይወፊ፡ ምስፍና፡ ወምልክና፡ እምአባልክ፡ ለትውልደ፡  
 ትውልድ፡ ወለዘርኡ፡ እስክ፡ ለዓለም፡ ብሎ፡ እጅዎን፡ ይዞ፡  
 አወጣዎ፡ ይላሉ፡ ።

50 እርሰዎም፡ እንደ፡ ፀሐይ፡ እያበሩ፡ ወጡ፡ ። ወይመስል፡  
 መልክኡ፡ ከመ፡ ሕብረ፡ መላእክት፡ ። እንደ፡ ሉል፡ እንደ፡  
 20 ወርቅ፡ ያነጸበርቅ፡ ነበር፡ መልክዎ፡ የሰጠሰ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ። መል  
 ክዎም፡ የጠራ፡ ባባታቸው፡ የደጃች፡ ድብለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ልጅ፡

ACGH 3 አመሰገን፡] አመሰገን፡ G44<sup>r</sup> 6 መልሰው፡] መልሰው፡ A50<sup>b</sup>  
 8 ተረፈ፡] ተረፈ፡ ; G44<sup>r</sup>; H40<sup>v</sup> 49,3 ቁመው፡] G45<sup>r</sup> 5 ነአ፡] ነአ፡ H41<sup>r</sup>  
 8 ለዓለም፡] ለዓለም፡ A51<sup>ra</sup> 9 ይላሉ፡] G45<sup>v</sup> 50,4 የደጃች፡] H41<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 3 አመሰገን፡] ACG; አሉት፡ add. H | ንጉሡ፡] AG; አፄ፡ CH  
 4 [] con; ስራው፡ add. ACGH | መልካም፡] AG; ነበር፡ add. CH 5 ይህን፡...  
 አፄ፡] ACG; አፄም፡ ይህን፡ ነገር፡ ሰሙና፡ tra. H 6 አፄ፡] ACG; አፄም፡ H  
 7 በሰራዊቱ፡] ACG; ብዛት፡ add. H | ክርስቲያኒቱን፡] ACG; ክርስቲያኑን፡ H  
 8 የሰራዊቱም፡] A; የሠራዊትዎም፡ C; የሰራዊቱ፡ G; የሠራዊትዎም፡ H  
 9 የዮስጦስን፡] ACG; የርስዎን፡ H 10 የሚያህል፡] G; የሚአህል፡ A; ያህል፡ CH  
 49,2 በቁመትዎ፡] AC; በቁመተዎ፡ GH | የብረት፡] CGH; የብርት፡ A  
 4 በጉንጭዎ፡] AG; በጉንጭዎ፡ C; በጉንጨዎ፡ H | በጌተኛው፡] ACG;  
 በጌኛው፡ H 5 9፡] ACG; ነአ፡ H 8 ብሎ፡] ACG; መልአኩ፡ add. H  
 እጅዎን፡] ACG; እጅዎን፡ H 50,1 እርሰዎም፡] CH; እሰዎም፡ A; እርሰዎ፡ G  
 እያበሩ፡] AGH; እየበሩ፡ C | ወጡ፡] AG; ይላሉ፡ ። add. CH 2 ሉል፡] ACG;  
 ልዑል፡ H 3 ያነጸበርቅ፡] ACH; ያነጸበርቀ፡ G | መልክዎም፡] ACG; መልክዎ፡  
 H 4 የጠራ፡] CGH; ነው፡ ። add. A | ባባታቸው፡] CG; ባባታቸዎ፡ A;  
 በአባታቸው፡ H | የደጃች፡] ACG; የደጃዝማች፡ H | ድብለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡] ACG;  
 ድብለየሱስ፡ H | ኢየሱስ፡] ACG; የሱስ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 48,3 ንጉሡ፡] AGH; ፡ C 4 መልካም፡] CGH; ። A  
 እርሰዎም፡] ACH; ። G 5 አለዎ፡] AGH; ፡ C 7 ሄዱ፡] A; ፡ CGH  
 8 ይላሉ፡] AG; ፡ CH 9 ይታወቃል፡] AGH; ፡ C 10 ይላሉ፡] AGH; ፡ C  
 49,2 አለ፡] AG; ፡ CH 4 ይላሉ፡] AH; ፡ CG 6 ስምክ፡] CGH; ። A  
 ቃልክ፡] ACG; ፡ G 7 እምአባልክ፡] CH; ። AG 8 ለዓለም፡] CH; ። AG  
 9 ይላሉ፡] AH; ፡ CG 50,1 ወጡ፡] ACH; ፡ G 2 መላእክት፡] ACG; ፡ H  
 3 መልክዎ፡] ACG; ። H | ንጉሥ፡] AG; ፡ CH



ነዎ ፡ ትግሬ ። የትግሬ ፡ መልክ ፡ ጥሩ ፡ ነው ። በናትዎ ፡ የጸድቁ ፡ 5  
የሐንሰ ፡ የልጅ ፡ ልጅ ፡ ነዎ ፡ የወይዘሮ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡  
ልጅ ፡ የኢያሱ ፡ የእህት ፡ ልጅ ፡ ነዎ ።

51 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ የቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑ ፡ ስራ ፡ ሲፈጸም ፡  
መልካም ፡ መልካም ፡ ፪፻፲፱-ብተራ ፡ ሐዲስና ፡ ብሉይ ፡ ያወቀ ፡  
መርጠው ፡ ሰሩበት ። ብሉይና ፡ ሐዲስ ፡ ያወቀ ፡ ዕውርና ፡  
አንካሳ ፡ ቢመጣ ፡ ግን ፡ ከለከሉት ። ደብረን ፡ ያውካል ፡ ብለው ።  
እነዚያን ፡ ታቦቲቱን ፡ ይዘው ፡ የመጡትን ፡ ፯ቀሳውስት ፡ 5  
ታቦቲቱ ፡ በነሣቸው ፡ እጅ ፡ ትሁን ፡ የውስጥ ፡ ሰው ፡ አርገው ፡  
ሰርተዋቸዋል ። ስማቸውም ፡ መዘሮች ፡ ይባላሉ ።

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52 ታቦቲቱንም ፡ ሲአገቡ ፡ አዋጅ ፡ ወደፊት ፡ ነገሩ ። መል  
ካካም ፡ ሽህር ፡ ከብት ፡ ከባላገርም ፡ ከዘላንም ፡ ያለህ ፡ አግባ ፡  
ወርቁን ፡ በተገመገመ ፡ እስጥአለሁ ፡ አሉ ። በበለሳ ፡ በቋሊሣ ፡  
በስሜን ፡ በወገራ ፡ የፍየል ፡ የበግ ፡ አውራ ፡ አግባ ፡ አሉ ። ወል  
ቃይት ፡ ጠገዴ ፡ ሸግ ፡ አግባ ፡ አሉ ። የቃሮዳን ፡ ወይን ፡ አግባ ፡ 5  
አሉ ። የአገው ፡ ማር ፡ ይግባ ፡ አሉ ። የአቸፈር ፡ ጌሾ ፡ ይግባ ፡

ACGH 6 የሐንሰ ፡] G46<sup>r</sup> 51,4 ግን ፡] A51<sup>ib</sup> | ያውካል ፡] ያውካል ፡ G46<sup>v</sup>  
5 የመጡትን ፡] የመጡትን ፡ C7<sup>v</sup> | ፯ቀሳውስት ፡] H42<sup>r</sup> 52,3 ወርቁን ፡]  
ወርቁን ፡ G47<sup>r</sup> 6 አሉ ።<sup>2]</sup> H42<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 5 ትግሬ ።] CGH; በፊትም ፡ ባባታቸው ፡ አገር ፡ በአል ፡ ጋዳ ፡  
የሰጠሰ ፡ ተብለው ፡ ነበር ፡ ሳይነግሱ ። add. A | በናትዎ ፡] AC; የናትዎ ፡ H  
6 የልጅ ፡] CGH; የልጅ ፡ A | የወይዘሮ ፡] AC; om. H | ወለተ ፡] AC; የወለተ ፡  
H | ሐዋርያት ፡] CGH; lac. A 7 የእህት ፡] AC; የህት ፡ H 51,2 ፪፻፲፱-ብተራ ፡]  
AC; ፻፲፱-ብተራ ፡ H 3 ሰሩበት ።] AC; እ ፡ add. H | ብሉይና ፡] AG; ብሉይ ፡  
CH | ብሉይና ፡ ...4 ከለከሉት ።] G; ዕውርና ፡ አንካሳ ፡ ቢመጣ ፡ ግን ፡ ብሉይና ፡  
ሐዲስ ፡ ያወቀ ፡ ከለከሉት ። tra. A; ብሉይ ፡ ሐዲስ ፡ ያወቀ ፡ ዕውርና ፡ አንካሳ ፡  
ግን ፡ ቢመጣ ፡ ከለከሉት ፡ tra. C; ብሉይ ፡ ሐዲስ ፡ ያወቀ ፡ አንካሳ ፡ ዕውር ፡  
ግን ፡ ቢመጣ ፡ ከለከሉት ፡ tra. H | ዕውርና ፡] AC; ዕውር ፡ H 4 አንካሳ ፡] AC;  
አንካሳ ፡ H | ደብረን ፡] AC; ደብሩን ፡ H 5 እነዚያን ፡] AGH; እነዚያን ፡ C  
6 በነሣቸው ፡] AC; በነሱ ፡ H | ትሁን ፡] AG; አሉ ፡ add. CH 7 መዘሮች ፡]  
AC; መዘሮች ፡ H | ይባላሉ ።] AG; ይባላል ፡ CH 52,1 ታቦቲቱንም ፡] CGH;  
ታቦቲቱንም ፡ A | ሲአገቡ ፡] AC; ሲአስገቡ ፡ H | አዋጅ ፡ ወደፊት ፡] AC;  
ወደፊት ፡ አዋጅ ፡ tra. H | ወደፊት ፡] AGH; ወደ ፡ ፊት ፡ C | መልካካም ፡] AC;  
መልካካም ፡ H 2 ሽህር ፡] AC; ሽህር ፡ H | ከብት ፡] AG; ከብት ፡ C; ከከብት ፡  
H 3 ወርቁን ፡] AG; ወርቁ ፡ CH | እስጥአለሁ ፡] AG; እስጥ ፡ አለሁ ፡ C;  
እስጥአለሁ ፡ H 4 የፍየል ፡] AC; የዋሊያ ፡ H 5 አሉ ።<sup>1]</sup> AC; አሉ ። H  
የቃሮዳን ፡] AC; ሰው ፡ add. H 6 የአገው ፡ ...7 አሉ ።] AG; የአቸፈር ፡ ጌሾ ፡  
ይግባ ፡ አሉ ። የደንቢያ ፡ ጤፍና ፡ በርበሬ ፡ ይግባ ፡ አሉ ፡ የአገው ፡ ማር ፡ ይግባ ፡  
tra. CH | ይግባ ፡<sup>1]</sup> AC; ይግባ ፡ H | አሉ ።<sup>1]</sup> AG; om. CH | ይግባ ፡<sup>2]</sup> AC;  
አግባ ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 5 ትግሬ ።] AG; ፡ CH | ነው ።] AG; ፡ CH 6 ነዎ ፡] AC; ። H  
7 ነዎ ።] AG; ፡ CH 51,1 ሲፈጸም ፡] H; ። CG; ፫ A 3 ሰሩበት ።] G; ፫ A; ፡  
CH 4 ከለከሉት ።] AG; ፡ CH 7 ሰርተዋቸዋል ።] AC; ፡ H | ይባላሉ ።] AG;  
፡ CH 52,1 ነገሩ ።] AH; ፡ CG 3 አሉ ።] AC; ፡ H 4 አግባ ፡] ACH; ። G  
አሉ ።] AH; ፡ C; ፫ G 5 አሉ ።<sup>1]</sup> AGH; ፡ C 6 አሉ ።<sup>2]</sup> AH; ፡ C; ፫ G  
አሉ ።<sup>1]</sup> A; ፡ CH; ፫ G;

አሉ ። የደንቢያ ፣ ነጭ ፣ ጤፍና ፣ በርበሬ ፣ ይግባ ፣ አሉ ። ፈላሻ ፣  
 ጋን ፣ አግባ ፣ አሉ ። ወደ ፣ ምስር ፣ ከብዙ ፣ ወርቅ ፣ ጋር ፣ ሰው ፣  
 ሰደው ፣ ብዙ ፣ ጥሩ ፣ ጥሩ ፣ ዕቃ ፣ አስመጡ ። ከጎጃም ፣ ብዙ ፣  
 ፈረስ ፣ ብዙ ፣ በቅሎ ፣ አስመጥተው ፣ ወደ ፣ አባታቸው ፣ አገር ፣  
 ትግሬ ፣ ሰደዱና ፣ ፈረሱ ፣ ለመኳንንቱ ፣ በቅሎው ፣ ለወይዘሩ ፣  
 ለደስታ ፣ ለተድላ ፣ ታቦቲቱ ፣ ስትገባ ፣ ለማየት ፣ አስመጡ ።

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53 ይህን ፣ አዘጋጅተው ፣ ሲያበቁ ፣ የጥምቀት ፣ ለት ፣  
 ታቦተ ፣ ልደታን ፣ አገቡ ፣ ነጋሪት ፣ እየተመታ ፣ መድፍ ፣ እየተ  
 ተከሰ ፣ በይባቤ ፣ በማጎሌት ። የትግሬ ፣ መኳንንት ፣ ወይዘሩ ፣  
 በአገራቸው ፣ ዘፈን ፣ እየዘፈኑ ፣ ተከቤ ፣ ወዲህ ፣ ያለ ፣ በአማራ ፣  
 ዘፈን ፣ እየዘፈኑ ፣ ነው ፣ ያገቡ ፣ ታቦቲቱን ፣ ከቀሳውስቱ ፣ ከለ  
 በሱት ፣ በስተኋላ ፣ እንደ ፣ ፀሐይ ፣ የምታበራ ፣ ልጅዋን ፣ በደ  
 ረትዋ ፣ ይዛ ፣ ቀኝና ፣ ግራ ፣ ሁለት ፣ ሰዎች ፣ ፈረንጅ ፣ የመሰሉ ፣  
 ሰይፍ ፣ ሰይፍ ፣ መዘው ፣ እየተከተሉአት ፣ አዩ ። ንጉሡም ፣  
 ፈጥነው ፣ ታቦቲቱን ፣ ልትነካናት ፣ ብለው ፣ ከበቅሎ ፣ ወረዱና ፣  
 ዘውድ ፣ እንዳደረጉ ፣ በወርቅ ፣ ዘንግ ፣ እርስዋን ፣ ሊመቱ ፣ ቀረብ ፣  
 አሉ ። ያን ፣ ጊዜ ፣ እርስዋም ፣ እነዚያ ፣ ሰዎችም ፣ እልም ፣ አሉ ።

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ACGH 8 ወደ ፣] G47<sup>v</sup> 11 በቅሎው ፣] በቅሎው ፣] A51<sup>va</sup> 53,1 የጥምቀት ፣]  
 G48<sup>r</sup>; የጥምቀት ፣] H43<sup>r</sup> 5 ያገቡ ፣] የጥምቀት ፣] H43<sup>v</sup> 6 በደረትዋ ፣] በደረትዋ ፣]  
 G48<sup>v</sup> 11 አሉ ፣] G49<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 7 የደንቢያ ፣] CH; የደቢያ ፣ AG | ነጭ ፣] AG; om. CH | ይግባ ፣]  
 ACG; ያግባ ፣ H 8 አግባ ፣] ACG; ያግባ ፣ H | ወደ ፣ ምስር ፣] ACG; ወደምስር ፣]  
 H | ጋር ፣] AGH; ጋራ ፣ C 9 አስመጡ ።] ACG; ካስመጡ ፣ በኋላ ፣ H 10 ወደ ፣  
 አባታቸው ፣] ACG; ወደአባታቸው ፣ H 11 ለመኳንንቱ ፣] ACG; ለመኳንንት ፣] H  
 12 ለደስታ ፣ ... 12 ለተድላ ፣] ACG; ለተድላ ፣ ለደስታ ፣ tra. H 53,1 ሲያበቁ ፣]  
 AG; ሲአበቁ ፣ CH | ለት ፣] AG; እለት ፣ CH 2 አገቡ ፣] AG; ይህውም ፣  
 ለባሕታዊ ፣ እመቤታችን ፣ የነገረችው ፣ እንዲታወቅ ፣ የጎዳር ፣ ጽዮን ፣ አክሱም ፣  
 የጥምቀት ፣ ልደታ ፣ የአስተርእዮ ፣ ማጎደረ ፣ ማርያም ። እገኛለሁ ፣ ብላ ፣  
 ነግራው ፣ ነበር ፣ ይላሉ ። ኋላም ፣ add. CGH 3 መኳንንት ፣] ACG;  
 መኳንንትና ፣ H 4 ተከቤ ፣] AGH; ተከቤ ፣ C 5 ያገቡ ፣] AGH; ልደታን ። add.  
 C | ታቦቲቱን ፣] ACG; ልደታን ፣ add. H | ከቀሳውስቱ ፣] AG; ቀሳውስት ፣ CH  
 ከቀሳውስቱ ፣ ከለበሱት ፣] AG; ከለበሱት ፣ ቀሳውስት ፣ tra. CH 6 በደረትዋ ፣]  
 ACG; በደረቷ ፣ H 7 ሁለት ፣] ACH; ጎሳት ፣ G 8 እየተከተሉአት ፣] AG;  
 እየተከተሏት ፣ CH | አዩ ።] AGH; አዩ ። add. C | ንጉሡም ፣] ACG; አዩም ፣ H  
 9 ታቦቲቱን ፣] ACG; ታቦቲቱ ፣ H | ልትነካናት ፣] AG; ልትነካናት ፣ ናት ፣ C;  
 ልትነካ ፣ ናት(ነካናት) ፣ H | ከበቅሎ ፣] ACG; ወርደው ፣ add. H 10 እንዳደረጉ ፣]  
 ACG; እንደ ፣ አደረጉ ፣ H | እርስዋን ፣] ACG; ራሷን ፣ H 11 እርስዋም ፣] ACG;  
 እርሷም ፣ H | እነዚያ ፣] AG; እነዚያ ፣ C | እነዚያ ፣ ... አሉ ፣] ACG; om. H

PUNCTUATION | 7 አሉ ።] ACG; ፣ H | አሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH 9 አስመጡ ።] AG;  
 ፣ CH 11 ለወይዘሩ ፣] CGH; ። A 12 አስመጡ ።] ACG; ፣ H  
 53,3 በማጎሌት ።] ACG; ፣ H 4 እየዘፈኑ ፣] CH; ። AG 5 ዘፈን ፣] ACH; ። G  
 7 ይዛ ፣] CH; ። AG 11 አሉ ።] ACG; ፣ H | አሉ ፣] CG; ። A

54 **ንጉሡም ፡ ተመልሰው ፡ ደንግጠው ፡ አፍረው ፡**  
**ከበቅሎ ፡ ክትት ፡ አሉ ። አሁንም ፡ ደግሞ ፡ እንደ ፡ ፊተኛው ፡**  
**ሁና ፡ ታዩኝዎ ። ይህኝ ፡ ሰው ፡ ታቦቴን ፡ ልትገሥ ፡ ፈክራ ፡**  
**ዘምራ ፡ የመጣኝ ፡ ናት ፡ ብለው ፡ ዱብ ፡ አሉና ፡ ወረዱ ።**  
**አጎንም ፡ በወርቅ ፡ ዘንግ ፡ ሊመቱ ፡ ቀረቡ ። እርስዎም ፡** 5  
**ተመልሳ ፡ ጠፋኝ ። ንጉሡም ፡ ተመልሰው ፡ ከበቅሎ ፡ ወጡና ፡**  
**ምን ፡ አገኘኝ ፡ ዛሬ ፡ ዓይኔን ፡ ዞረብኝ ፡ ብለው ። እምተናግሮ ፡**  
**ይሄይስ ፡ አርምሞ ፡ እንዳለ ፡ ዝም ፡ አሉ ። ሕዝቡም ፡ እሩቅ ፡**  
**ብእሲ ፡ ነውና ፡ አዪ ፡ ከደስታ ፡ ብዛት ፡ የተነሣ ፡ ይወጣሉ ፡ ይወ**  
**ርዳሉ ፡ አለ ።** 10

55 **ሶስተኛም ፡ ታቦቲቱ ፡ ከጀደሰላም ፡ ስትደርስ ፡ ያኝ ፡**  
**ሰው ፡ ልጅዋን ፡ እንዳቀፈች ፡ ቀኝ ፡ እጅዋን ፡ ከታቦቲቱ ፡ ላይ ፡**  
**ጣል ፡ ስታደርግ ፡ አዩ ። ይህኝ ፡ ሰው ፡ ሳታመልጠኝ ፡ እኔ ፡ ልቅ**  
**ደማት ፡ አሉና ፡ ፈክረው ፡ ሰይፍ ፡ መዘው ፡ ቀኝ ፡ እጅዋን ፡**  
**ቈርጠው ፡ ሊጥሉ ፡ ቀረብ ፡ አሉ ፡ በቅሎ ፡ አሠግረው ።** 5  
**አሁንም ፡ ተመልሳ ፡ ተሠወረኝ ። አዪም ፡ ይህኝ ፡ ሴት ፡**  
**ድካሜን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ የእርዳ ፡ እጥበት ፡ አደረገኛቸው ፡ በፅፅ ፡**  
**መሰውር ፡ መጥታ ። በከንቱ ፡ ዓመወ ፡ ዔሳው ፡ ያለው ፡ ከኔ ፡**  
**ደረሰ ፡ አሉና ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እንባዎን ፡ ክንብል ፡ አርገው ፡**  
**በመሐረም ፡ ፊተዎን ፡ ጠርገው ፡ ታቦቲቱን ፡ አግብተው ፡ ወጡ ።** 10

ACGH 54,1 አፍረው ፡] አፍረው ፡ A51<sup>vb</sup> 6 ንጉሡም ፡] ንጉሡም ፡ G49<sup>v</sup>; H44<sup>r</sup>  
 55,2 ሰው ፡] G50<sup>r</sup> 4 አሉና ፡] H44<sup>v</sup> | እጅዋን ፡] A52<sup>ra</sup> 7 ሁሉ ፡] C8<sup>r</sup> | የእርዳ ፡] G50<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 54,1 ንጉሡም ፡...5 እርስዎም ፡] ACG; om. H | ንጉሡም ፡...6  
 ንጉሡም ፡] ACG; om. H 2 አሁንም ፡] AC; አጎንም ፡ G | እንደ ፡ ፊተኛው ፡] AG;  
 እንደፊተኛው ፡ C 3 ሁና ፡] AC; ጎና ፡ G | ታቦቴን ፡] AG; ታቦቴን ፡ C  
 ልትገሥ ፡] AG; ልታረክስ ፡ add. C 5 አጎንም ፡] AG; አሁንም ፡ C | እርስዎም ፡] AG;  
 እርሷም ፡ C 6 ንጉሡም ፡] CH; ንጉሥም ፡ A; ንጉሥም ፡ G 7 አገኘኝ ፡] AC;  
 አገኘኝ ፡ G; አገኘኝ ፡ H | ዛሬ ፡...7 ዞረብኝ ፡] ACG; ዓይኔን ፡ ዞረብኝ ፡  
 ዛሬ ፡ tra. H 8 እንዳለ ፡] ACG; ብለው ፡ እንዳሉ ፡ H 9 ነውና ፡] ACH; ነው ፡  
 እና ፡ G | ይወጣሉ ፡] ACH; ይወጣ ፡ አሉ ፡ G 10 አለ ።] ACG; አሉ ። H  
 55,1 ሶስተኛም ፡] ACG; ፫ኛም ፡ H | ታቦቲቱ ፡] ACG; ታቦቲቱን ፡ H  
 ከጀደሰላም ፡] ACH; ከጀሰላም ፡ G 2 ልጅዋን ፡] ACG; ልጇን ፡ H | እንዳቀፈች ፡] ACG;  
 እንደታቀፈች ፡ H | እጅዋን ፡] ACG; እጇን ፡ H 4 እጅዋን ፡] ACG;  
 እጇን ፡ H 5 ቈርጠው ፡] ACG; ቆርጠው ፡ H | ቀረብ ፡] ACG; ቀረቡ ፡ H  
 አሉ ፡] ACG; ይላሉ ፡ H | አሠግረው ።] ACG; ቢሄዱ ፡ add. H 6 አሁንም ፡] ACH;  
 አጎንም ፡ G | ተመልሳ ፡] ACG; መልሣ ፡ H 7 ሁሉ ፡] CH; ጎሉ ፡ AG  
 የእርዳ ፡] ACG; የአርአያ ፡ H | እጥበት ፡] ACG; om. H 8 በከንቱ ፡...8 ዔሳው ፡] ACG,  
 [...]ሳው ፡ lac. H 9 ክንብል ፡] CH; ክንብል ፡ AG 10 ፊተዎን ፡] AGH;  
 ፊትዎን ፡ C

PUNCTUATION | 54,1 ተመልሰው ፡] AC; ፤ G 2 አሉ ።] CG; ፤ A 3 ታዩኝዎ ።] AG;  
 ፡ C 4 ወረዱ ።] AG; ፡ C 5 ቀረቡ ።] AG; ፡ C 6 ጠፋኝ ።] AG; ፡ CH  
 ንጉሡም ፡] ACH; ። G 8 አሉ ።] G; ፤ A; ፡ CH 10 አለ ።] CGH; ፤ A  
 55,3 አዩ ።] AH; ፡ CG 4 አሉና ፡] ACH; ። G 5 አሠግረው ።] AG; ፡ CH  
 6 ተሠወረኝ ።] CGH; ፡ A 7 አደረገኛቸው ፡] CH; ። AG 8 መጥታ ።] AG; ፡ CH  
 10 ወጡ ።] AGH; ፡ C

56 ወደ ፡ ግንቡ ፡ ሠራዊቱን ፡ አስከትለው ፡ ሄዱ ። ግንቡም ፡  
 የቻለውን ፡ ያህል ፡ ቻለ ፡ የተረፈውንም ፡ ሰው ፡ ከቅሐ ፡ አንስቶ ፡  
 እስከ ፡ አንገረብ ፡ የቆመውን ፡ ፍሪዳ ፡ እየ ፡ ደጅህ ፡ እያረደህ ፡  
 ብላ ፡ ባርኬልህ ፡ አለሁ ። ጠጅን ፡ ግን ፡ እየመጣህ ፡ ጠጣ ፡ አሉ ።  
 ያነን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ተድላ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ እንኳንስ ፡ ጠጅና ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ከጥሩ ፡  
 ውሃ ፡ ተለይተው ፡ ዋሉ ። ጊዜ ፡ ሰርክ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ ጥቂት ፡ እራ-  
 ስዎን ፡ ሁነው ፡ በፋና ፡ ወደ ፡ ልደታ ፡ ወረዱ ። ከቤተ ፡ ክርስ-  
 ቲያን ፡ ገቡ ፡ ከዚያ ፡ ከብረት ፡ ጋን ፡ ገቡ ፡ ኮሶ ፡ በጉንጭዎ ፡  
 ያዙና ፡ ያለቅሱ ፡ ይጸልዩ ፡ ጀመር ።

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57 ወመጽአት ፡ እግዝእትነ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ወላዲተ ፡ አምላክ ፡  
 በከመ ፡ ልማዳ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አዕላፍ ፡ መላእክት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጸውራ ፡  
 ሚካኤል ፡ መልአክ ፡ በክነፊሁ ፡ ወኮነት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡  
 ብርሀተ ፡ እምፀሐይ ። ወወርኅ ፡ ወከዋክብት ፡ ከመ ፡ ወርኃ ፡  
 ኔሳን ፡ ወመልዓ ፡ መዓዛ ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ።  
 ወተፈሥሐ ፡ መቃብራት ፡ በመዓዛሃ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ።  
 ወትቤሎ ፡ እግዝእትነ ፡ ማርያም ፡ አላእክዩ ፡ የሰጠስ ፡ ኢይደ  
 ንግጽ ፡ ልብከ ፡ መዓልተ ፡ መጸእኩ ፡ በአምሳለ ፡ ብእሲት ፡  
 ወምስለ ፡ ፪ቱ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ዘበእደዊሆሙ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡ በሊህ ፡ ዘነበ

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ACGH 56,1 ግንቡም ፣] ግንቡም ፣ H45፣ 2 ከቅሐ ፣] G51፣ 7 ወደ ፣] A52፣  
 8 ገቡ ፣] ገቡ ፣] G51፣ | ጋን ፣] H45፣ 57,3 ሚካኤል ፣] H46፣ 5 ኩሎ ፣] ኩሎ ፣  
 G52፣

VARIANTS | 56,1 ወደ ፡ ግንቡ ፣] ACG; ወደግንቡ ፣ H | ግንቡ ፣] CH; ግቡ ፣ AG  
 ግንቡም ፣] CH; ግቡንም ፣ AG 2 ከቅሐ ፣] ACG; ከቅሐ ፣ H 3 እየ ፡ ደጅህ ፣] CG;  
 እየደጅህ ፣ A; እየደጅህ ፣ H 4 ባርኬልህ ፡ አለሁ ።] ACG; ባርኬልህላሁ ፣ H; አሉ ።  
 add. A | ጠጅን ፣] ACG; ጠጅን ፣ H | ግን ፣] ACG; om. H 5 ሁሉ ፣] CH; ጉሉ ፣  
 AG | ተድላ ፣] ACG; ደስታ ፣ add. H 6 ዋሉ ።...ሲሆን ፣] ACG; om. H  
 እራስዎን ፣] ACG; ራስዎን ፣ H 7 ሁነው ፣] AC; ጉነው ፣ G; ሆነው ፣ H 8 ገቡ ፣]  
 AG; ገብተው ፣ CH; የብረት ፡ ጋን ፡ ነበረዎ ፡ ይላሉ ፣ add. CG፣H | ከዚያ ፣] AGH;  
 ከዚያ ፣ C | ከብረት ፣] CGH; ከብርት ፣ A | ጋን ፣] ACG; ጋኑ ፣ H | ኮሶ ፣] ACG;  
 ኩሶ ፣ H | በጉንጭዎ ፣] ACG; በጉንጨዎ ፣ H 9 ያዙና ፣] AG; አዪ ፡ ያሳልዋት ፡  
 በእንሳዎ ፡ ሥዕለ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ነበረች ፡ ስሟንም ፡ ያሟሏት ፡ መመኪያዬ ፡ ይሏት ፡  
 ነበረ ፡ ከፊቷ ፡ ላይ ፡ ያለቅሱ ፡ ይልዩ ፡ ጀመር ፡ add. CG፣H | ጀመር ።] AG;  
 በዚያውም ፡ ላይ ፡ ጎዘን ፡ ሰንብቶብዎ ፡ ነበርና ፡ ትንሽ ፡ እንቅልፍ ፡ መጣብዎ ፡  
 ይላሉ ፡ በዚህም ፡ ጊዜ ፡ add. CG፣H 57,1 ወመጽአት ፣] ACG; ወመጽአትነ ፡ H  
 ማርያም ፣] CG፣H; [...] lac. (rub.) A; om. G | ወላዲተ ፡ አምላክ ፣] AG; om. CH  
 3 ሚካኤል ፣] CGH; lac. A | መልአክ ፣] AG; om. CH 5 ኔሳን ፣] AG; ኔሳን ፡ CH  
 ክርስቲያን ።] ACG; ክርስቲያን ፡ H 6 በመዓዛሃ ፡ ...ክርስቲያን ።] ACG; om. H  
 7 ማርያም ፣] CG፣; lac. AG; om. H | አላእክዩ ፣] ACG; om. H | የሰጠስ ፣] ACG;  
 አየሰጠስ ፡ H | ኢይደንግጽ ፣] ACG; ኢይደንግጽክ ፡ H 9 ፪ቱ ፡ መላእክት ፣] AG;  
 ፪መላእክት ፡ CH | ዘበእደዊሆሙ ፣] H;እደዊሆሙ ፡ ACG;

PUNCTUATION | 56,1 ሄዱ ።] AG; ፣ CH 2 ቻለ ፣] CGH; ። A 4 አለሁ ።] AG; ፣  
 CH | አሉ ።] AGH; ፣ C 5 እንኳንስ ፣] CGH; ። A 6 ዋሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH  
 7 ወረዱ ።] AG; ፣ CH 8 ገቡ ፣] AGH; ፤ C 9 ጀመር ።] CG; ፤ A; ፣ H  
 57,2 ልማዳ ፣] ACH; ። G 3 በክነፊሁ ፣] AC; ። GH 5 ኔሳን ፣] ACH; ፤ G  
 ክርስቲያን ።] AG; ፣ CH 6 መቃብራት ፣] ACG; ። H | ክርስቲያን ።] AG; ፣  
 CH 8 ልብከ ፣] CH; ። AG | ብእሲት ፣] C; ። AG; ፤ H 9 ዘነበልባል ፣] CH; ።  
 AG

ልባል ፡ ወይመስል ፡ ህብሮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነደ ፡ እሳት ፡ ከመ ፡ ንት  
 ፈላሕ ፡ ኩልነ ። ወአንተ ፡ ተንሣእከ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ከመ ፡ ታሰተኝ  
 ፍረኒ ፡ በሕለተ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ፪ኤ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ወሃልስ ፡ በሰይፈ ፡ ዚአከ ፡  
 ዘይመትር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዕደ ፡ ወአንሰተ ፡ እዕሩገ ፡ ወሕጻናተ ። ወተቈ  
 ጣዕከ ፡ በነፍስከ ፡ ወአዕይንቲከ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ አፍላጋት ፡ ወአስተማ  
 ሰልከኒ ፡ በአምሳለ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ዘዘመወተ ፡ በዝ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ከመ ፡  
 ዘረኩሰት ፡ ጽላተ ፡ ኪዳን ። ወሐመይከኒ ፡ በዕፀ ፡ መሰውር ፡ ዘይ  
 ገብሩ ፡ መሰርያን ።

58 ወኢተናገረ ፡ ቃለ ፡ አፉከ ፡ ለኩሎ ፡ ሰብእ ። ወኢተደ  
 መርከ ፡ እምዝንቱ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ጥኡም ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጸግቡ ፡ ርኑባን ፡  
 ወይትፌሥሑ ፡ ነዳያን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይውሕዝ ፡ ወይን ፡ በአፈ ፡ መኳ  
 ንንት ፡ ወመሳፍንት ፡ ካህናት ፡ ወሊቃናት ፡ ወዲያቆናት ፡ ዕድ ፡  
 ወአንሰት ፡ አዕሩግ ፡ ወሕፃናት ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ ዘይሴሰዩ ፡ በዝ ፡  
 ዓለም ። ናሁ ፡ መጻእኩ ፡ ጎቤከ ፡ ከመ ፡ እቂድስ ፡ ነፍስከ ፡  
 ወሥጋከ ። ወአነግሥሙ ፡ ለዘርአ ፡ አቡከ ፡ ለትውልደ ፡  
 ትውልድ ። በዘሐነጽከ ፡ መርጡልዩ ፡ በአንብዕ ፡ ወሰቆቃው ፡  
 ወገዓር ፡ በአንሰሰዎ ፡ መዓልተ ፡ ወሌሊተ ፡ በጸም ፡ ወበጸሎት ፡  
 በስኢል ፡ ወበሰጊድ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ እክል ፡ ወማይ ፡ በሰቀ ፡ ብሩር ፡  
 ወወርቅ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘይመስል ፡ አፉሁ ፡ ልሳነ ፡ አሥዋክ ። አፉከ ፡  
 ዘነሥአ ፡ መሪረ ፡ ስቴ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ስቴ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ። ወበ  
 ዘኮነ ፡ ቅናትከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሦክ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ቅናትከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቅናተ ፡  
 መላእክት ። ወትቤሎ ፡ እግዝእትነ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ለሚካኤል ፡

ACGH 11 ኩልነ ።] H46<sup>v</sup> | ተንሣእከ ፡] ተንሣእከ ፡ G52<sup>v</sup> 13 ዘይመትር ፡] ዘይመትር ፡ A52<sup>va</sup> 17 መሰርያን ።] መሰርያን ። G53<sup>f</sup> 58,3 ወይትፌሥሑ ፡] H47<sup>r</sup> 6 እቂድስ ፡] G53<sup>v</sup> 8 በአንብዕ ፡] በአንብዕ ፡ A52<sup>vb</sup> 10 ወበሰጊድ ፡] H47<sup>v</sup> 13 ቅናትከ ፡] G54<sup>f</sup>

VARIANTS | 10 እሳት ፡] ACG; ሰይፍ ፡ በሊህ ፡ ዘነበልባል ፡ add. H | ንትፈላሕ ፡] ACH; ንትፈላ ፡ 12 ፪ኤ ፡ ...12 ጊዜ ፡] ACG; ፪ተ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ H | ወሃልስ ፡] ACG; ወሥልስ ፡ H 13 ወተቈጣዕከ ፡] ACG; ወተቈጣዕ ፡ H 14 በነፍስከ ፡] ACG; በነፍስከኒ ፡ H | ወአዕይንቲከ ፡] AG; ወአዕይንቲከኒ ፡ C; om. H 15 በአምሳለ ፡] ACG; ከመ ፡ H 16 ዘረኩሰት ፡] ACG; ዘአርኩሰት ፡ H 58,6 እቂድስ ፡] CGH; እቀድስ ፡ A 7 ወአነግሥሙ ፡] ACG; ወአነግሥሙ ፡ H 10 በሰቀ ፡] ACG; በመንዮ ፡ H 11 ዘይመስል ፡ ...11 ልሳነ ፡] A; om. CGH 12 ይኩን ፡] CH; ስቴሁ ፡ add. AG 13 ቅናትከ ፡] AH; ቅንዓተከ ፡ C; ቅንእትከ ፡ G | ቅናተ ፡] AH; ቅንዓተ ፡ C; ቅንእተ ፡ G 14 እግዝእትነ ፡] ACG; ቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ add. H | ማርያም ፡] CGH; lac. (rub.) AG | ለሚካኤል ፡] CGH; lac. (rub.) A

PUNCTUATION | 10 እሳት ፡] ACH; ። G 11 ኩልነ ።] AG; ፣ CH 13 ወሕጻናተ ።] AH; ፣ C; ፫ G 14 በነፍስከ ፡] CH; ። AG | አፍላጋት ፡] CH; ። A; ፫ G 15 ዓለም ፡] CGH; ። A 16 ኪዳን ።] ACG; ፣ H | መሰውር ፡] CGH; ። A 17 መሰርያን ።] ACG; ፣ H 58,1 ሰብእ ።] ACG; ፣ H 2 ጥኡም ፡] CG; ፫ A; ። H 3 ነዳያን ፡] CGH; ። A 4 ወመሳፍንት ፡] CH; ። AG 5 ወአንሰት ፡] CGH; ። A | ወሕፃናት ፡] CH; ። AG 6 ዓለም ።] AGH; ፣ C 7 ወሥጋከ ።] AG; ፣ CH አቡከ ፡] CGH; ፫ A 8 ትውልድ ።] AG; ፣ CH | መርጡልዩ ፡] ACH; ። G 9 በአንሰሰዎ ፡] CGH; ። A | ወበጸሎት ፡] CGH; ። A 11 አሥዋክ ።] AG; ፣ CH 12 ቅዱስ ።] AGH; ፣ C 13 ሦክ ፡] CH; ። AG 14 መላእክት ።] AGH; ፣ C

መልአክ ፡ ባርኮ ፡ ወቀድሶ ፡ ለዮስጦስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወአልክፎ ፡ እም 15  
ዝንቱ ፡ ኅብስት ፡ ወእምዝንቱ ፡ ጽዋዕ ፡ ህየንተ ፡ ዘሐረመ ፡ እክለ ፡  
ወማየ ፡ በፍቅረ ፡ ዚአየ ፡ ወበዘክብርት ፡ ጽላተ ፡ ኪዳንየ ፡ ወበዘ  
ሐነጸ ፡ መርጡልየ ፡ በእምሳለ ፡ ኢሩሳሌም ፡ ሰማያዊት ።

59 ወወሀቦ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ለዮስጦስ ፡  
ኅሩይ ፡ ኅብስት ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ ወጽዋዕ ፡ ወይን ፡ ማኅየዌ ፡ በአፉሁ ፡  
ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ። ወባረከቶ ፡ ወአዕኩተቶ ፡ እግዝእትነ ፡  
ቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ ወሰአመት ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ ለዮስጦስ ፡  
ኅሩይ ። በጽሐ ፡ ዘመንክ ፡ ወይትነሥኡ ፡ አግብርተ ፡ ቤትክ ፡ 5  
10 ወይመትሩ ፡ እደዊክ ፡ ወእገሪክ ፡ ወይከውን ፡ ደምክ ፡ ከመ ፡ ደመ ፡  
ሰማዕት ፡ መዋዕያን ። ወይወርዱ ፡ ቪአክሊላት ፡ ዲበ ፡ ርእስክ ፡  
ወይትንድኡ ፡ አክናፈ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ኅበ ፡ ዘተክዕወ ፡ ደምክ ።  
ወአነ ፡ እመጽእ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሊቅየ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ወእነሥኡ ፡ ለነፍስክ ፡  
ወአቀውማ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ወልድየ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ ወይሁባ ፡ ወልድየ ፡ 10  
15 ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ሰማያዊት ። ወእምድኅረ ፡ ተናገረት ፡ እግዝእትነ ፡  
ማርያም ፡ ተሠወረት ፡ ወዓርገት ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ መላእክት ፡  
ኅበ ፡ መካና ።

60 ንጉሡን ፡ ተከትለው ፡ የመጡ ፡ ጅት ፡ ሰዎች ፡ ናቸው ፡  
እነዚያም ፡ የተማሩ ፡ ናቸው ፡ ጅቱ ፡ ሁሉ ፡ [] ከቆመ ፡ ብእሲ ፡  
20 ተጠግተው ፡ ቁመው ፡ ዳዊት ፡ እየደገሙ ፡ እያለቀሱ ፡ አድ  
ረዋል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ በማን ፡ ተቈጥተው ፡ ይሆን ፡ እያሉ ። ሲነጋም ፡

ACGH 15 ለዮስጦስ ፡] ለዮስጦስ ፡ C8<sup>v</sup> 18 መርጡልየ ፡] መርጡልየ ፡ H48<sup>r</sup>  
ሰማያዊት ፡] G54<sup>v</sup> 59,2 ወጽዋዕ ፡] A53<sup>ra</sup> 6 እደዊክ ፡] እደዊክ ፡ H48<sup>v</sup> | ደመ ፡]  
ደመ ፡ G55<sup>r</sup> 11 እግዝእትነ ፡] እግዝእትነ ፡ H49<sup>r</sup> 12 ወዓርገት ፡] ወዓርገት ፡ G55<sup>v</sup>  
60,2 ሁሉ ፡] A53<sup>rb</sup>

VARIANTS | 15 ለዮስጦስ ፡] CGH; lac. (rub.) A 59,1 ሚካኤል ፡] CGH; lac. (rub.)  
A | ለዮስጦስ ፡] CG; lac. (rub.) A; ለንጉሥ ፡ የስጦስ ፡ H 2 ሰማያዊ ፡] AGH;  
ሰማያዊ ፡ C 4 ድንግል ፡] AG; ማርያም ፡ add. C; ማርያም ፡ ወላዲተ ፡ አምላክ ፡  
add. H 9 ሊቅየ ፡] ACCG; መላእክትየ ፡ H | ሚካኤል ፡] CGH; lac. A  
10 ወልድየ ፡] ACG; ወለወድየ ፡ H 11 ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ...11 ሰማያዊት ፡] AGH;  
ሰማያዊት ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ። tra. C | ሰማያዊት ፡] CH; ሰማያዊት ። AG  
እግዝእትነ ፡] ACG; ቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ add. H 12 ማርያም ፡] CG<sup>rh</sup>; [...] lac.  
AG; ወላዲተ ፡ አምላክ ፡ add. H 60,1 ንጉሡን ፡] CGH; ንጉሡን ፡ A | የመጡ ፡]  
CH; om. AG | የመጡ ፡ ...ሰዎች ፡] H; ጅት ፡ ሰዎች ፡ የመጡ ፡ tra. C | ናቸው ፡]  
om. CH 2 እነዚያም ፡] AGH; እነዚያም ፡ C | ጅቱ ፡ ሁሉ ፡] C; ጅኑሉ ፡ AG;  
ጅሁሉ ፡ H | [] con; ከጅቱ ፡ add. ACGH 3 እያለቀሱ ፡] AG; om. CH  
4 ተቈጥተው ፡] ACG; ተቆጥተው ፡ H | እያሉ ።] AG; አድረዋል ። add. C

PUNCTUATION | 16 ጽዋዕ ፡] CH; ። A; ¶ G 17 ዚአየ ፡] CGH; ። A  
18 ሰማያዊት ፡] A; ፣ CH; ¶ G 59,2 ኅሩይ ፡] CH; ። AG 3 ቅዱስ ።] AGH; ፣  
C 4 ድንግል ፡] CGH; ። A | ርእሶ ፡] AH; ። CG 5 ኅሩይ ።] AG; ፣ CH  
ቤትክ ፡] CH; ። AG 6 ወእገሪክ ፡] CGH; ። A 7 መዋዕያን ።] AG; ፣ CH  
ርእስክ ፡] ACH; ። G 8 ደምክ ።] AGH; ፣ C 9 ለነፍስክ ፡] CH; ። AG  
10 ሰማያዊ ፡] ACH; ። G 13 መካና ።] ACG; ፣ H 60,4 እያሉ ።] AG; ፣ CH

የተማሩ ፡ ናቸውና ፡ አንድነት ፡ በትልቅ ፡ ቃል ፡ ነግሃ ፡ ተዘከረነ ፡ 5  
 ወነጽር ፡ ዲበ ፡ ቅኔነ ፡ ወኢትርኃቅ ፡ እምኔነ ፡ ርጉቀ ፡ መዓት ፡  
 ወብዙኃ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ እስመ ፡ መሐሪ ፡ አንተ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አንጉሠ ፡  
 ሰላም ፡ ወፍቅር ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አምላክነ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ሀበነ ፡ ከመ ፡  
 ንሐር ፡ ወንዕቱ ፡ በሰላም ፡ እያሉ ፡ ሲናገሩ ፡ አዜ ፡ ከቤተ ፡  
 መቅደስ ፡ ወጡ ፡ ሲወጡም ፡ ጌታ ፡ በደብረ ፡ ታቦር ፡ እንደ ፡ 10  
 ተለወጠ ፡ እስምም ፡ እንደ ፡ ቀትር ፡ እሳት ፡ ፊተዎ ፡ እየተንቀ  
 ለቀለ ፡ ወጡ ፡ እነዚያ ፡ ሰዎችም ፡ ወደቁ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡ ጃግሮች ፡ ወአን  
 ሥአሙ ፡ የሰጠስ ፡ ለደቂቁ ፡ በዳጎና ፡ ወበሰላም ፡ ወተፈሥሐ ፡  
 ደቂቁ ፡ በርእየተ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ወሐሩ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መን  
 ግሥት ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ተድላ ፡ ወፍግዓ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘየዓቢ ፡ እምጥምቀት ፡ 15  
 ወአልበሰሙ ፡ የሰጠስ ፡ ለዘተለው ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ልብሰ ፡ ወርቅ ፡  
 ቀይህ ፡ ዘያንጸበርቅ ፡ ምስብዒተ ፡ እምፀሐይ ፡ ወከዋክብት ፡ ።

61 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ አዜ ፡ ያሁሉ ፡ ተድላ ፡ ሲሆን ፡  
 ኅብስት ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ ወጽዋዓ ፡ ወይን ፡ ማኅየዊ ፡ ከአፍዎ ፡ ገብቶ ፡  
 አለና ፡ እህል ፡ ውሀ ፡ አልተጠረጠሩም ፡ እስከ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ዕረፍተዎ ፡  
 የተቀበሉት ፡ ኅብስት ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ በእደ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ መልአክ ፡  
 ወበአፋሃ ፡ ለእግዝእትነ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ለለዕለቱ ፡ ወወርጉ ፡ ። እን  
 ግዲህ ፡ ትንቢት ፡ ይቀድሞ ፡ ለነገር ፡ ነውና ፡ ያ ፡ እመቤታችን ፡ 5

ACGH 5 ተዘከረነ ፡] ተዘከረነ ፡ H49<sup>v</sup> 6 ዲበ ፡] G56<sup>r</sup> 11 እየተንቀለቀለ ፡]  
 እየተንቀለቀለ ፡ G56<sup>v</sup> 12 ጃግሮች ፡] ጃግሮች ፡ H50<sup>r</sup> 16 ለዘተለው ፡] ለዘተለው ፡  
 A53<sup>va</sup> 61,1 ከዚህም ፡] ከዚህም ፡ G57<sup>r</sup> 2 ወጽዋዓ ፡] ወጽዋዓ ፡ H50<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 5 በትልቅ ፡] AG; በኅብስት ፡ CH 7 ምሕረት ፡] ወብዙኃ ፡ ምሕረት ፡  
 ወብዙኃ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ወጸድቅ ፡ ። add. H 8 ወፍቅር ፡... አምላክነ ፡] om. H  
 ሰላም ፡] ACG; ሰላምክ ፡ H 10 እንደ ፡ ተለወጠ ፡] ACG; እንደተለወጠ ፡ H  
 11 እስምም ፡] ACG; እርሰምም ፡ H | እንደ ፡ ቀትር ፡] ACG; እንደቀትር ፡ H  
 ፊተዎ ፡] AGH; ፊትዎ ፡ C | እየተንቀለቀለ ፡] ACH; ፊተዎ ፡ add. G 12 እነዚያ ፡]  
 CG; እነዚያ ፡ AH | ሰዎችም ፡] A; ሰዎች ፡ CGH 13 በዳጎና ፡] ACH; በደህና ፡ G  
 14 ወሐሩ ፡] ACG; ወሐረ ፡ H 17 ምስብዒተ ፡] ACH; ምስብዒተ ፡ G  
 61,1 ከዚህም ፡] ACG; ከዚህ ፡ H | በኋላ ፡] ACH; በኋላ ፡ G | አዜ ፡] ACH; አጽዮ ፡  
 G | ያሁሉ ፡] GH; ያሁሉ ፡ A; ያ ፡ ሁሉ ፡ C | ተድላ ፡] ACG; ደስታ ፡ add. H  
 2 ሰማያዊ ፡] ACG; ሰማያዊ ፡ H | ወይን ፡] ACG; ወይን ፡ add. H | ማኅየዊ ፡]  
 ACG; ማኅየዊ ፡ H | ከአፍዎ ፡] CH; ካፍዎ ፡ AG | ገብቶ ፡ አለና ፡] A; ገብቷልና ፡  
 CH; ገብቶለና ፡ G 3 እህል ፡ ውሀ ፡] CH; እህልና ፡ ውሀ ፡ AG  
 አልተጠረጠሩም ፡] CG; አልቀመሱም ፡ A; አልጠረጠሩም ፡ H | ዕረፍተዎ ፡] GH;  
 እረፍትዎ ፡ AC 5 ወበአፋሃ ፡] ACG; ወበአፋሃ ፡ H | ለእግዝእትነ ፡] ACG;  
 ቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ add. H | ማርያም ፡] CG<sup>H</sup>; lac. AG | ለለዕለቱ ፡] AH; ለለ ፡  
 ዕለቱ ፡ C; ለእለ ፡ ዕለቱ ፡ G | እንግዲህ ፡...7 እንዳይቀር ፡] CGH; እመቤታችን ፡  
 የተናገረችው ፡ አይቀርምና ፡ ትንቢት ፡ ይቀድሞ ፡ ለነገር ፡ ነው ፡ ። tra. A  
 6 ነውና ፡] CG; ነው ፡ ። A; om. H | ያ ፡] om. AH | እመቤታችን ፡] ACH;  
 እመቤታችን ፡ G

PUNCTUATION | 5 ቃል ፡] ACG; ፡ ። H 6 ቅኔነ ፡] CGH; ፡ ። A | እምኔነ ፡] C; ።  
 AGH 7 እግዚአ ፡] AGH; ፡ C 8 ወፍቅር ፡] CH; ። AG 9 በሰላም ፡] CH; ።  
 AG | ሲናገሩ ፡] C; ። AGH 12 ወጡ ፡] CGH; ፤ A 13 ወበሰላም ፡] AG; ፡ CH  
 14 ለንጉሥ ፡] CG; ። AH | መንግሥት ፡] CGH; ። A 15 እምጥምቀት ፡] CG; ።  
 AH 17 ወከዋክብት ፡] AGH; ፡ C 61,3 አልተጠረጠሩም ፡] CGH; ። A  
 4 መልአክ ፡] AGH; ፡ C 5 ወወርጉ ፡] AGH; ፡ C 6 ነውና ፡] CGH; ። A

የተናገረችው ፡ ነገር ፡ እንዳይቀር ፡ ቅንዓት ፡ በልበ ፡ ዳዊት ፡  
 አደረ ፡ እርሱም ፡ የነበረ ፡ ከወኅኒ ፡ ቤት ፡ ነው ፡ የወትሮም ፡ መን  
 ግሥት ፡ እንደ ፡ ዛሬም ፡ አይደለምና ፡ ንጉሡ ፡ ሳይሞት ፡  
 የንጉሡ ፡ ልጅ ፡ አይነግሥም ። እሱ ፡ ግን ፡ ቢቸግረው ፡ ለአዬ ፡  
 የሰጠሰ ፡ ባሮች ፡ ሽህ ፡ ወቄት ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ሰደደ ፡ ንጉሣችሁን ፡  
 ግደሉልኝ ፡ ብሎ ።

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62 አዬ ፡ የሰጠሰም ፡ ባርያ ፡ አሠልጥነው ፡ ነበር ፡ ሁሉም ፡  
 የሥላሴ ፡ ፍጥረት ፡ ነው ፡ ብለው ። እነዚያ ፡ ባሮችም ፡ የባርያ ፡  
 ደግ ፡ የለውምና ፡ ወርቁን ፡ ተቀብለው ፡ ሲያበቁ ፡ ንጉሣቸውን ፡  
 በሻሽ ፡ አንቀው ፡ በሰላ ፡ ካራ ፡ እግራቸውን ፡ እጃቸውን ፡ ቈራ  
 ርጠው ፡ ገደሏቸው ። ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ መጽአት ፡ እግዝእትነ ፡  
 ማርያም ፡ ምስለ ፡ አዕላፍ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ወወረዱ ፡ ፫አክሊላት ፡  
 ዲበ ፡ ርእሱ ፡ ለየሰጠሰ ። ወነሥአት ፡ ነፍሱ ፡ እግዝእትነ ፡  
 ማርያም ፡ ወተቀበልዋ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ወአብዕዋ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገነተ ፡  
 ትፍሥሕት ፡ ዘለዓለም ። ይህ ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ግፍ ፡ የተደረገ ፡ በአዬ ፡  
 የሰጠሰ ፡ የሴት ፡ ልጅ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ አይገባውም ፡ ተብሎ ፡  
 ነው ።

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ACGH 7 እንዳይቀር ፡] G57<sup>v</sup> 8 እርሱም ፡] እርሱም ፡ H51<sup>r</sup> 12 ግደሉልኝ ፡] ግደሉልኝ ፡ A53<sup>vb</sup> 62,2 ፍጥረት ፡] C9<sup>r</sup> | ባሮችም ፡] ባሮችም ፡ G58<sup>r</sup> | የባርያ ፡] H51<sup>v</sup> 8 ወአብዕዋ ፡] G58<sup>v</sup> 9 ትፍሥሕት ፡] H52<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 7 የተናገረችው ፡] ACH; ተናገረች ፡ G | ነገር ፡] CGH; om. A  
 እንዳይቀር ፡] CH; አይቀርምና ፡ A; እንዳ ፡ ይቀር ፡ G; ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ add. A  
 ቅንዓት ፡] CGH; ቅናት ፡ A 8 አደረ ፡] CGH; ይላሉ ። add. A | እርሱም ፡] CGH;  
 እሱም ፡ A | እርሱም ፡ ...ነው ፡] CGH; እሱም ፡ ወደ ፡ ወህኒ ፡ ቤት ፡ ነበር ። tra.  
 A | የነበረ ፡] C; ነበር ፡ A; ነበረ ፡ G; የነበር ፡ H | ከወኅኒ ፡] CGH; ወደ ፡ ወህኒ ፡ A  
 ነው ፡] CGH; om. A | የወትሮም ፡] CGH; የወትሮ ፡ A 9 እንደ ፡ ... አይደለምና ፡] CGH;  
 om. A | ንጉሡ ፡] CGH; አንዱ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ A | ሳይሞት ፡] CGH; ሲሞት ፡  
 A; ያይሞት ፡ G; ተመክሮ ፡ add. A 10 የንጉሡ ፡] CGH; የአንዱ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ A  
 አይነግሥም ።] CH; ነው ፡ የሚነግሥ ፡ A; አይነ ፡ ግሥም ፡ G | ቢቸግረው ፡] ACH;  
 ቢቸ ። ግረዎ ፡ G 11 ሽህ ፡] CG; ሽህ ፡ H | ሽህ ፡ ወቄት ፡] CGH; ሽወቄት ፡  
 A | ወቄት ፡] ACH; ወጨት ፡ G | ንጉሣችሁን ፡] ACH; ንጉሣችሁ ፡ G  
 12 ግደሉልኝ ፡] ACG; ግደሉት ፡ H 62,1 አዬ ፡] ACH; አጽየ ፡ G | ባርያ ፡] ACG;  
 ባሯያ ፡ H | ሁሉም ፡] CGH; ጎሉም ፡ A 2 ብለው ።] A; እያሉ ፡ CH; በሉ ፡ G  
 እነዚያ ፡] AGH; እነዝያ ፡ C 3 ሲያበቁ ፡] A; ሲበቁ ፡ G; om. CH 4 በሻሽ ፡] ACG;  
 በሻሽ ፡ H | እግራቸውን ፡] ACH; እግራ ፡ ቸውን ፡ G | እጃቸውን ፡] ACH;  
 እጅቸውን ፡ G | ቈራርጠው ፡] CG; ቈርጠው ፡ A; ቆርጠው ፡ H 5 እግዝእትነ ፡] ACG;  
 ቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ add. H 6 ማርያም ፡] CGH; lac. AG; ምጽአት ፡ add.  
 G 7 ነፍሱ ፡] ACG; ነፍሶ ፡ H 8 ማርያም ፡] CGH; lac. AG | ወተቀበልዋ ፡] ACG;  
 ወተቀበልዋ ፡ H | ወአብዕዋ ፡] ACG; ወአብዕዎ ፡ H 9 ትፍሥሕት ፡] ACH;  
 ትፍሥ ፡ ሕት ፡ G | ሁሉ ፡] GH; ጎሉ ፡ A; ይሁሉ ፡ C 10 አይገባውም ፡] CH;  
 አይገባም ፡ A; አይገባው ፡ G

PUNCTUATION | 8 አደረ ፡] CG; ። AH 10 አይነግሥም ።] AH; ፣ CG 12 ብሎ ።] AH;  
 ፣ CG 62,2 ብለው ።] A; ፣ CGH 6 መላእክት ፡] CGH; ። A 7 ለየሰጠሰ ።] AH;  
 ፣ CG 9 ዘለዓለም ።] A; ፣ CGH 10 የሰጠሰ ፡] ACG; ። H 11 ነው ።] GH;  
 ። ። A; ፣ C



63 ወእምድጎረ ፡ ዕረፍቱ ፡ ለዮስጦስ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ዘፋኝ ፡  
 ዳዊት ። መንግሥቱም ፡ ጅዓመት ፡ ነው ፡ ያነንም ፡ ዘመኑን ፡  
 ጅቱን ፡ ዓመት ፡ በዘፈን ፡ በስካር ፡ በዝማዌ ፡ ጨረሰው ። ደባል ፡  
 ግንብ ፡ ላይ ፡ ቪጀሴት ፡ ቪጀወንድ ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ተኙ ፡ ብሎ ፡  
 ያስተኛል ፡ ተራውን ፡ ለነዚያ ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ልበስ ፡ ያለብሳቸዋል ። 5  
 እስቲ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ አድርጉ ፡ ይላቸዋል ፡ እነዚያ ፡ ሰዎችም ፡  
 አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ያላቸውን ፡ ያደርጋሉ ፡ እሱም ፡ ቁሞ ፡ እያየ ፡  
 ዕገሊት ፡ መልካም ፡ ታረጋለች ፡ እገሌም ፡ መልካም ፡ ያረጋል ፡  
 ይላል ። እሱም ፡ ፈንታውን ፡ ያረጋል ፡ እንደ ፡ ሕዝቡ ። ቀን ፡  
 10 ሲሰራ ፡ የዋለው ፡ ሌሊት ፡ ተኝቶ ፡ ያድራል ፡ የሌሊቱ ፡ ቀን ፡ 10  
 ይተኛል ፡ ያውም ፡ እየተዘፈነ ፡ ጠጁም ፡ እንደ ፡ ማየ ፡ አይሳ ፡  
 እየፈሰሰ ፡ ዘመኑን ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ባለ ፡ ጨረሰ ።

64 ወነግሠ ፡ በካፋ ፡ በነገሠ ፡ ጊዜም ፡ ያጼ ፡ ዮስጦስን ፡  
 ሞት ፡ ሰማ ፡ ወንድሙ ፡ በባሮች ፡ እጅ ፡ መሞታቸውን ፡ በሰማ ፡  
 ጊዜ ፡ በካፋ ፡ ቁጡ ፡ ነውና ፡ እንደ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ እንደ ፡ ነብር ፡  
 እንደ ፡ ዝሆንም ፡ ነውና ፡ ከመ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አራዊት ፡ ኮነ ፡ ከመ ፡

ACGH 63,2 ነው ፡] A54<sup>ጣ</sup> 5 ሁሉ ፡] ሁሉ ፡] G59<sup>፣</sup> H52<sup>፣</sup> 12 እንዲህ ፡] እንዲህ ፡  
 G59<sup>፣</sup> | ጨረሰ ።] H53<sup>፣</sup> 64,3 እንደ ፡] እንደ ፡] A54<sup>ጣ</sup>

VARIANTS | 63,1 ነግሠ ፡] AG; ወነግሠ ፡ CH 2 መንግሥቱም ፡] AH; መንግሥቱ ፡  
 CG | ጅዓመት ፡ ነው ፡] ACH; ጅዓመትው ፡ G | ያነንም ፡] AG; ያኑም ፡ CH  
 ዘመኑን ፡] AG; ዘመኑም ፡ CH 3 ጅቱን ፡] AC; ጅቱ ፡ G; አምስት ፡ H | በስካር ፡]   
 ACGH; በካር ፡ G | በዝማዌ ፡] ACG; በዝማዌነት ፡ H 4 ግንብ ፡] CH; ግብ ፡ AG  
 ቪጀወንድ ፡] ACG; ሶስት ፡ መቶ ፡ ወንድ ፡ H | አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡] AH; ጅጊዜ ፡ C;  
 ጅንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ G 5 ለነዚያ ፡ ሁሉ ፡] H; ለነዚያ ፡ ጎሉ ፡ A; ለነዚያ ፡ ሁሉ ፡ C;  
 ለነዚያጎሉ ፡ G | ልበስ ፡ ያለብሳቸዋል ።] H; ያለብሳቸዋል ፡ ልበስ ፡ tra. ACG  
 6 እስቲ ፡] CH; በሉ ፡ A; እሲች ፡ G | እነዚያ ፡] CG; እነዚያ ፡ AH 7 አንድ ፡  
 ጊዜ ፡] CH; ጅንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ G; om. A | ያላቸውን ፡] AH; ያላቸውንም ፡ CG  
 እያየ ፡] ACG; ያያል ፡ H 8 ታረጋለች ፡] CG; ታደረጋለች ፡ AH | እገሌም ፡] CH;  
 እገሌም ፡ AG | ያረጋል ፡] CG; ያደርጋል ፡ AH 9 ይላል ።] A; እያለ ፡ CH; om.  
 G | እሱም ፡] ACG; እርሱም ፡ H | ፈንታውን ፡] ACH; ፈታውን ፡ G  
 10 የዋለው ፡] A; የዋለ ፡ CG; ይውላል ፡ H | ተኝቶ ፡ ያድራል ፡] CGH; ይተኛል ።  
 A 11 እየተዘፈነ ፡] CGH; ነው ። add. A | እንደ ፡] ACH; እደ ፡ G 12 እየፈሰሰ ፡]   
 CGH; ነው ። add. A 64,1 በካፋ ፡] ACG; በካፋ ፡ add. H | ጊዜም ፡] CG; ጊዜም ፡  
 A; ጊዜ ፡ H | ዮስጦስን ፡] CGH; ዮስጦስ ፡ A 2 ሞት ፡] CGH; om. A | ሰማ ፡]   
 ACG; በሰማ ፡ H; ጊዜ ፡ add. H; om. A | ወንድሙ ፡] CH; የወንድሙ ፡ G; om. A  
 እጅ ፡] ACH; እጅ ፡ G | መሞታቸውን ፡] ACG; add. H | በሰማ ፡...3 ጊዜ ፡] H;  
 ሰማና ፡ add. A; om. CG; አጼ ፡ ዮስጦስ ። add. CG 3 እንደ ፡ አንበሳ ፡] ACH;  
 እንደአንበሳነውና ፡ G | እንደ ፡ ነብር ፡] ACH; እንደነብርነውና ፡ G | እንደ ፡?...4  
 ነውና ፡] CGH; እንደ ፡ ዝሆንም ፡ እንደ ፡ ነብርም ፡ ነውና ፡ tra. A  
 4 እንደ ፡ ዝሆንም ፡] A; እንደዝሆንም ፡ C; እንደ ፡ ዝሆንም ፡ H; እንደዝሆንም ፡ G  
 አራዊት ፡] CGH; ተመሰለ ፡ add. A | ኮነ ፡...አንበሳ ፡] CGH; om. A

PUNCTUATION | 63,1 ለዮስጦስ ፡] ACH; ። ። ። G 2 ነው ፡] CGH; ። A  
 3 ጨረሰው ።] H; ፡ ACG 5 ተራውን ፡] CGH; ። A | ያለብሳቸዋል ።] A; ፡  
 CGH 7 ያደርጋሉ ፡] CGH; ። A 9 ይላል ።] A; ፡ CGH | ያረጋል ፡] ACG; ።  
 H | ሕዝቡ ።] AC; ፡ GH 11 ይተኛል ፡] CGH; ። A 12 ጨረሰ ።] CH; ። ። AG  
 64,1 በካፋ ፡] ACG; ። H

አንበሳ፣ እንዴት፣ የኔን፣ ወንድም፣ ባርያ፣ ይገለጻል፣ ብሎ፣ 5  
 ጥቁር፣ በሰይፍ፣ አለቀ፣ ባርያውን፣ እየመሰለው፣ ሰውም፣  
 ሲታረድ፣ ደሙ፣ ከግንቡ፣ አንስቶ፣ እስከ፣ ቀሐ፣ ደረሰ፣  
 ይላሉ። ይህም፣ አሠት፣ እንዳይደለ፣ አንገት፣ ላንገት፣ እየተቁ  
 ላለፈ፣ ከግንቡ፣ አንስቶ፣ እስከ፣ ቀሐ፣ ወድቋልና፣ የታረደው፣  
 ሰው። ዘመኑም፣ መልካም፣ ነበር። 7 ጉሡ፣ በካፋ፣ ዝናሙ፣ 10  
 ከፍካፋ፣ እህሉ፣ ሆነ፣ በገደፋ።

65 ጉሡ፣ ቁጡ፣ ነው፣ ሴት፣ አምጡ፣ ይላል፣ ቢያመጡ  
 ለትም፣ አንድ፣ ቀን፣ አሳድሮ፣ ከአዘቅት፣ ይሰዳታል። እየለቱ፣  
 10 የምትመጣውን፣ ሴት። አንዲቱ፣ ሴት፣ ግን፣ እግዚአብሔር፣  
 ሲያወጣት፣ በሚገናኛት፣ ጊዜ፣ ቀሚሱን፣ አወጣለሁ፣ ቢል፣  
 የንጉሥ፣ ገላ፣ መቸ፣ ይነካል፣ ብላ፣ ቀሚሱን፣ ሳታስወልቅ፣ 5  
 ተገናኝታ፣ በደህና፣ ሄደች። ገላውንም፣ ሳይታገም፣ አያድርም፣  
 ነበር፣ አጋሚውንም፣ ከአዘቅት፣ ነው፣ የሚሰደው፣ የነበር።  
 አንድ፣ ሰው፣ ግን፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ሲያወጣው፣ ቀሚሱን፣

ACGH 7 አንስቶ፣] አንስቶ፣ G60<sup>r</sup> | ቀሐ፣] H53<sup>v</sup> 65,3 የምትመጣውን፣] G60<sup>v</sup>  
 አንዲቱ፣] H54<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 5 እንዴት፣...7 ይላሉ።] CGH; በሉ፣ ጥቁር፣ ጥቁር፣ የመሰለውን፣  
 ሰው፣ ሁሉ፣ በለው፣ ብሎ፣ ፈጅቶታል። ደሙም፣ ከግንቡ፣ ያነሣ፣ እስከ፣ ቅሐ፣  
 ደርሶአ፣ አል፣ ይላሉ። እንዴት፣ የኔ፣ ወንድም፣ በባሮች፣ እጅ፣ ይሞታል፣  
 ብሎ። tra. A | የኔን፣] CGH; የኔ፣ A | ባርያ፣] CGH; በባሮች፣ እጅ፣ A  
 ይገለጻል፣] CGH; ይሞታል፣ ብሎ፣ A; 6 ጥቁር፣...6 እየመሰለው፣] G; add.፣  
 ዘር፣ CGH; በሉ፣ ጥቁር፣ ጥቁር፣ የመሰለውን፣ ሰው፣ ሁሉ፣ በለው፣  
 ብሎ፣ ፈጅቶታል። A | ሰውም፣ ሲታረድ፣] CGH; om. A 7 ደሙ፣] CGH;  
 ደሙም፣ A | ከግንቡ፣] CH; ከግቡ፣ G | አንስቶ፣] CGH; ያነሣ፣ A | ቀሐ፣] H;  
 ቅሐ፣ ACG | ደረሰ፣] CG; ደርሶ፣ አለ፣ A; ድረስ፣ ወረደ፣ H 8 ይህም፣...9  
 ሰው፣] CGH; om. A | አሠት፣] CG; ሐሰት፣ H; አይደለም፣ add. H | ላንገት፣] CH;  
 ላንት፣ G | እየተቁላለፈ፣] CG; እየተቆላለፈ፣ H 9 ከግንቡ፣] CH; ከግቡ፣  
 G | ቀሐ፣] H; ቅሐ፣ CG | ወድቋልና፣] CH; ወድቆልና፣ G 10 ዘመኑም፣] CGH;  
 የሱ፣ መንግሥት፣ add. A | መልካም፣] CGH; ዘመን፣ add. A | ዝናሙ፣] ACH;  
 ዝናቡ፣ G 11 ሆነ፣] ACG; ኮነ፣ H | በገደፋ፣] CGH; ይላሉ። add. A  
 65,1 ጉሡ፣...ነው፣] CH; ጉሡቁጡነው፣ G; om. A | ነው፣] CG; ነበር፣ H  
 ሴት፣] A; እሴት፣ CGH | አምጡ፣ ይላል፣] CGH; om. A | ቢያመጡለትም፣] CGH;  
 ቢአመጡለትም፣ A 2 አንድ፣] AH; ጅድ፣ C; ጅንድ፣ G | ከአዘቅት፣] CGH;  
 አዘቅት፣ A | እየለቱ፣] CG; እየለቱ፣ H | እየለቱ፣...3 ሴት።] CGH; om.  
 A 3 አንዲቱ፣] CGH; አንዲት፣ A 4 ሲያወጣት፣] CG; ሲአወጣት፣ AH  
 ቀሚሱን፣] ACG; ቀሚሱ፣ H | ቢል፣] ACG; ሲል፣ H 5 መቸ፣] ACG; መቼ፣  
 H | ሳታስወልቅ፣] CGH; ሳታሰልቅ፣ A 6 በደህና፣] ACH; በዳህና፣ G | ሄደች።] ACH;  
 ሄደች። G | ገላውንም፣] ACG; ገላውም፣ H | አያድርም፣] CGH;  
 አያድር፣ A 7 ከአዘቅት፣ ነው፣] A; ከአዘቅትነው፣ G | ነው፣] om. CH  
 የሚሰደው፣] ACG; ይሰደው፣ H | የነበር።] A; ነበር፣ CGH 8 አንድ፣...8 ግን፣] AH;  
 ጅዱ፣ ሰው፣ ግን፣ C; አንደሰውግን፣ G | ሲያወጣው፣] CG; ሲአወጣው፣ H;  
 om. AG | ቀሚሱን፣] CH; ቀሚሹን፣ G; om. A

PUNCTUATION | 5 ብሎ፣] CGH; # A 8 ይላሉ።] H; ፣ ACG 10 ሰው።] H; ፣  
 ACG | ነበር።] ACH; ፣ G 11 ከፍካፋ፣] ACG; # H | በገደፋ።] ACG; ፣ H  
 65,2 ይሰዳታል።] AH; ፣ CG 3 ሴት።] H; ፣ ACG 7 የነበር።] A; ፣ ACG

አወልቃለሁ ፡ ቢል ፡ የንጉሥ ፡ ገላ ፡ መቸ ፡ ይታያል ፡ ብሎ ፡  
በዋገምቱ ፡ ልክ ፡ ቀሚሱን ፡ ቀዶ ፡ ገላውን ፡ ሳያይ ፡ ንጉሡን ፡  
አገመና ፡ ቤቱን ፡ በሰላም ፡ ሄደ ። የተኛትን ፡ ሴት ፡ ያገመውን ፡  
ወንድ ፡ ከአዘቅት ፡ መስደዱ ፡ እንዳይናገሩበት ፡ ነው ። የገላው ፡  
ሸካራነትም ፡ እንደ ፡ አባ ፡ ጨጓሬ ፡ የሚከሰኩስ ፡ ነው ።

10

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66 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ሕዝቡን ፡ ሊአስጨንቅ ፡ በጎ-  
ንደር ፡ ከተማ ፡ አንዲት ፡ ሴት ፡ ፈልጎ ፡ ደም ፡ ሁና ፡ የጠራች ፡  
ኮሶ ፡ ጠጥታ ፡ የሻረች ፡ ገላዋን ፡ የታጠበች ፡ ልብሷን ፡ ያሳጠበች ፡  
እራስዋን ፡ የተሰራች ፡ ይህን ፡ በአንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ሁና ፡ የተገኘች ፡  
አምጡልኝ ፡ በተቀረ ፡ እፈጃችሁ ፡ አለሁ ፡ አለ ። ቃሉም ፡ የተ-  
ነገረ ፡ በነግህ ፡ ነው ፡ ሕዝቡም ፡ ተጨነቀና ፡ ከነግህ ፡ አንስቶ ፡  
እስከ ፡ ፮ሰዓት ፡ ከተማውን ፡ ቢበረብረው ፡ ሠራዊቱ ፡ በእግዚአ-  
ብሔር ፡ ቸርነት ፡ አገኙለት ፡ ወስደውም ፡ ሰጡት ። ሕዝቡም ፡  
ከሞት ፡ ዳኑ ።

5

67 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ደግሞ ፡ አዳራሽ ፡ ተገኝቶ ፡ ሳለ ፡ አንድ ፡  
መዘዞ ፡ የቀሚሱን ፡ የወርቁን ፡ ቁልፍ ፡ አንዲቱን ፡ ቁርጠ ፡  
ዋጠና ፡ ጠጅ ፡ ይጠጣ ፡ ጀመር ። ንጉሡም ፡ አሻግሮ ፡ አየውና ፡

ACGH 9 መቸ ፣] G61<sup>r</sup> 10 ልክ ፣] ልክ ፣ A54<sup>va</sup> 11 ሄደ ።] H54<sup>v</sup> 66,3 ኮሶ ፣] C9<sup>v</sup> | ገላዋን ፣] ገላዋን ፣ G61<sup>v</sup> 5 የተነገረ ፣] የተነገረ ፣ H55<sup>r</sup> 67,1 አንድ ፣] G62<sup>r</sup> 3ጀመር ።] ጀመር ። A54<sup>vb</sup>

VARIANTS | 9 አወልቃለሁ ፡ ...9 ቢል ፣] CGH; om. A | መቸ ፣] ACH; መቸ ፡ G  
10 ሳያይ ፣] CGH; ሳያሳይ ፡ A | ንጉሡን ፣] ACH; የንጉሡን ፡ G 11 ቤቱን ፣] CGH; om. A | ሄደ ።] ACH; ሸደ ፡ G | የተኛትን ፣] CH; የተኛት ፡ G; om. A  
ሴት ፣] HG; እሴት ፡ C; om. A | ያገመውን ፣] CG; የአገመውን ፡ H; om. A  
12 ወንድ ፣] CGH; om. A | መስደዱ ፣] CGH; መስዱ ፡ A 13 ሸካራነትም ፣] H;  
ሸካርነትም ፡ ACG | እንደ ፡ ...ጨጓሬ ፣] C; እንዳባ ፡ ጨጓሬ ፡ A; እንዳባ ።  
ጨጓሬ ፡ G; እንደ ፡ አባጫጓሬ ፡ H | የሚከሰኩስ ፡ ነው ።] H; ነው ፡ የከሰኩስ ።  
A; ነው ፡ የሚከሰኩሰው ። C; የከሰኩሰ ፡ ነው ። G 66,1 ደግሞ ፣] ACG; om. H  
ሊአስጨንቅ ፣] CH; ሊአስጨንቁ ፡ A; ሊያስጨንቅ ፡ G | በጎንደር ፡ ...2 ከተማ ፣] CGH; om. A 2 ከተማ ፣] CH; ከታማ ፡ G | ሴት ፣] AH; እሴት ፡ C; ዕሜች ፡ G  
ሴት ፡ ፈልጎ ፣] ACH; ፈልጎ ፡ ሴት ፡ G 3 ኮሶ ፣] ACG; ኮሶ ፡ H | የሻረች ፣] CGH; የሻራች ፡ A 4 እራስዋን ፣] AG; እራሷን ፡ C; ራሷን ፡ H | በአንድ ፡ ቀን ፣] ACH; በአንድቀን ፡ G | ሁና ፣] ACG; አጠቃላ ፡ H | የተገኘች ፣] ACG<sup>2</sup>; የገኘች ፡ G; የተገኘች ፡ H 5 እፈጃችሁ ፡ አለሁ ፣] A; እፈጃችሁአለሁ ፡ CH; እፈጃችሁ ፡ አለሁ ፡ G | አለ ።] CGH; አሉ ። A | የተነገረ ፣] A; የተናገረ ፡ CGH  
6 ሕዝቡም ፣] ACH; ሕዝቡ ፡ G | ተጨነቀና ፣] ACG; ተጨነቁና ፡ H  
7 ቢበረብረው ፣] ACG; በርብረው ፡ H 8 አገኙለት ፣] ACH; አገኙ ፡ ለት ፡ G  
ሕዝቡም ፣] H; ሕዝቡም ፡ ACG 67,1 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፣] ACH; አንድቀን ፡ G  
አዳራሽ ፣] AC; አደራሽ ፡ G; አዳራሺ ፡ H 2 መዘዞ ፣] AC; መዘዞ ፡ G; ሰው ፡ H  
የቀሚሱን ፣] ACG; የንጉሡን ፡ ቀሚሱ ፡ H | የወርቁን ፣] CGH; የርቁን ፡ A  
ቁልፍ ፣] AC; ቁል ፡ G; ቀልፍ ፡ H | አንዲቱን ፣] A; ሿዲቱን ፡ C; ሿንዲቱን ፡ G;  
መዞ ፡ add. H | ቁርጠ ፣] AG; ቆርጠ ፡ CH 3 አየውና ፣] CGH; አዩና ፡ A

PUNCTUATION | 11 ሄደ ።] A; ACG 12 ነው ።] AH; ፣ CG 66,5 አምጡልኝ ፣] CGH ። A 8 አገኙለት ፣] CG; ። AH | ሰጡት ።] AH; ፣ CG 67,3 ጀመር ።] A; ፣ CGH

ና፡ ብሎ፡ ጠራው፡ ለምንድር፡ ነው፡ ቁልፉን፡ ቁርጠህ፡  
 የዋጥህ፡ አለው። እሱም፡ ተናገረ፡ እህል፡ አልቀመስኩምና፡ 5  
 ስለ፡ እህል፡ ቢሆነኝ፡ ብየ፡ ነው፡ ቁልፊቱን፡ መዋጤ። ከሆዴ፡  
 ትልቅ፡ ወስፋት፡ አለ፡ ይህንን፡ ከቀመሰ፡ በኋላ፡ ቢጠጡ፡  
 ጤና፡ ይሆናል፡ በቀረው፡ ደዌ፡ ይሆናል፡ ብየ፡ ነው፡ አለ።  
 በካፋ፡ ቁራጥ፡ ነውና፡ ይህንን፡ ሰምቶ፡ በሉ፡ ሆዱን፡ በካራ፡  
 ቅደዱት፡ አለ። ሆዱም፡ ተቀደደ፡ ያወስፋትም፡ ቁልፉን፡ እንደ 10  
 ጎራረሰ፡ ተገኘ፡ ያሰውም፡ ባፍ፡ ይጠፉ፡ በለፈለፉ፡ ሆነበት።

68 አንድ፡ ቀን፡ ደግሞ፡ በካፋ፡ ሰከረና፡ የሚወደውን፡  
 ባለሟሉን፡ በሉ፡ ከአዘቅት፡ ጣሉት፡ ብሎ፡ ሰደደው። ኋላ፡  
 ግን፡ ሰካሩ፡ ሲአልፍለት፡ እስኪ፡ ያነን፡ ሰው፡ ጥሩት፡ አለ፡  
 ሰዎቹም፡ መለሱለት፡ እሱንም፡ ከአዘቅት፡ ጣሉት፡ ብለኸነ፡  
 ጥለነውም፡ አሉት። እሱም፡ ይህን፡ ሰምቶ፡ ደነገጠና፡ ምን፡ 5  
 ያለ፡ ክፉ፡ ስራ፡ ሰራሁ፡ አለ። በሉ፡ እንግዲህ፡ ሹም፡ ይሾም፡  
 አለ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ሲበላ፡ ሲጠጣ፡ በቃህ፡ የሚል። ከዚህ፡ በኋላ፡  
 አቃቤ፡ ሰዓት፡ የሚባል፡ ሹም፡ ተሾመ፡ ያሹም፡ ቁም፡ አይቶ፡  
 ተው፡ ሲለው፡ ይተው፡ ጀመረ፡ በካፋ፡ ከሰካር፡ ዳነ።

ACGH 4 ነው፡፤] H55<sup>v</sup> 9 ቁራጥ፡፤] ቁራጥ፡ G62<sup>v</sup> 10 እንደጎራረሰ፡፤] እንደጎራረሰ፡ H56<sup>f</sup> 68,5 ጥለነውም፡፤] ጥለነውም፡ G63<sup>f</sup> | ደነገጠና፡፤] ደነገጠና፡ A55<sup>ra</sup> 6 ይሾም፡፤] H56<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 4 ና፡፡...4 ብሎ፡፤] CH; ናብለው፡፡ A; ናብሎ፡፡ G | ጠራው፡፤] CGH; ጠሩት፡፡ A ለምንድር፡፡ ነው፡፤] ACG; የወርቅ፡፡ add. H | ቁልፉን፡፤] AG; ቀላልፉን፡፡ H; om. C ቁርጠህ፡፤] H; om. ACG 5 እሱም፡፤] ACG; እርሱም፡፡ H | አልቀመስኩምና፡፤] AGH; አልቀመስኩምና፡፡ C 6 ስለ፡ እህል፡፤] CH; ሥለህል፡፡ AG | ቢሆነኝ፡፤] CH; ቢጎነኝ፡፡ AG | ብየ፡፡ ነው፡፤] ACH; ብየነው፡፡ G | ቁልፊቱን፡፤] AC; ቁልፊቱ፡፡ G; ቀላልፉን፡፡ H | ከሆዴ፡፤] H; ከሆድ፡፡ ACG 7 ይህንን፡፤] A; ይህን፡፡ CH; ይኸነን፡፡ G | ከቀመሰ፡፤] A; ከቀመሱ፡፡ C; ቀመሱ፡፡ G; ካቀመሱ፡፡ H 8 ብየ፡፡ ነው፡፤] ACH; ብየነው፡፡ G | አለ።፤] ACH; om. G 9 ቁራጥ፡፤] AC; ቁራት፡፡ G; ቁራጥ፡፡ H በካራ፡፤] ACH; በካሯ፡፡ G 10 ሆዱም፡፤] ACH; ጎዱም፡፡ G | ቁልፉን፡፤] ACG; ቀላልፉን፡፡ H | እንደጎራረሰ፡፤] ACG; እደጎራረሰ፡፡ H 11 ሆነበት።፤] ACH; ጎነበት።፡ G 68,1 አንድ፡፡ ቀን፡፤] ACH; አንድቀን፡፡ 2 ባለሟሉን፡፤] ACH, ባለሟሉን G ጣሉት፡፤] H; ጣሉ፡፡ ACG | ኋላ፡፡...3 ግን፡፤] CH; ኋላግን፡፡ AG 3 ሲአልፍለት፡፤] ACH; ሲአልፍለት፡፡ G | እስኪ፡፡...ሰው፡፤] AC; እሲ፡፡ ያነንሰው፡፡ G; እስኪያነን፡፡ ሰው፡፡ H 4 ሰዎቹም፡፤] CH; ሰዎቹም፡፡ AG | እሱንም፡፤] ACG; እሱን፡፡ ግን፡፡ H ጣሉት፡፤] H; ጣሉ፡፡ ACG | ብለኸነ፡፤] CGH; ብለህነ፡፡ A 5 ጥለነውም፡፤] G; ጥለነው፡፡ A; ጥለነው፡፡ የለም፡፡ CH | እሱም፡፤] ACG; እርሱም፡፡ H | ደነገጠና፡፤] AH; ደነጠና፡፡ C; ደገጠና፡፡ G | ምን፡፡...6 ያለ፡፤] CH; ምንያለ፡፡ AG 6 ስራ፡፤] CH; om. AG | ሰራሁ፡፤] ACH; ሰራሁ፡፡ G | እንግዲህ፡፤] CH; እንግዲህ፡፡ AG | ሹም፡፤] ACH; ሱም፡፡ G 7 ሲጠጣ፡፤] AGH; om. H | የሚል።፤] ACG; የሚ።፡ G ከዚህ፡፤] AGH; ከዚጎም፡፡ C 8 ሹም፡፤] AG; om. CH | ተሾመ፡፤] AG; ተሹሟል፡፡ CH | ያሹም፡፤] AG; ያውም፡፡ ሹም፡፡ C; ያም፡፡ የተሾመው፡፡ ሹም፡፡ H 9 ጀመረ፡፤] ACG; ጀመር፡፡ H | በካፋ፡፤] AGH; በካፋ፡፡ C | ዳነ።፤] CGH; በካፋ፡፡ add. A

PUNCTUATION | 5 አለው።፤] AH; ፡፡ CG 6 መዋጤ።፤] AH; ፡፡ CG 8 አለ።፤] ACH; ፡፡ G 10 አለ።፤] AH; ፡፡ CG 11 ሆነበት።፤] A; ፡፡ CGH 68,2 ሰደደው።፤] H; ፡፡ ACG 4 መለሱለት፡፤] CGH; ። A 5 አሉት።፤] AH; ፡፡ CG 6 አለ።፤] H; ፡፡ ACG 7 የሚል።፤] A; ፡፡ CGH 8 ተሾመ፡፤] ACG; ። H 9 ዳነ።፤] AGH; ፡፡ C

69 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ደግሞ ፡ በገብያው ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ሲሄድ ፡  
 ንጉሠ ፡ የንጉሡን ፡ ፈረስ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ መጣምር ፡ የተጫነውን ፡  
 ፩ድ ፡ በጋማች ፡ የንጉሡን ፡ ፈረስ ፡ ሸጥልኝ ፡ አለ ፡ ንጉሡም ፡  
 ዝም ፡ አለና ፡ እስኪ ፡ ይህን ፡ ሰው ፡ መግቢያውን ፡ አይታችሁት ፡  
 ኑ ፡ ብሎ ፡ ሰደደ ። በበነገው ፡ አስጠራው ፡ በል ፡ አንተ ፡ ሰው ፡ 5  
 ይህን ፡ ፈረስ ፡ እንካ ፡ ግዛው ፡ አለው ። እሱም ፡ መለሰ ፡ አሁንም ፡  
 ባልንጀሮቹ ፡ ወዴት ፡ አሉ ፡ አለ ። ንጉሡም ፡ ምነው ፡ ባልንጀ  
 ሮችህ ፡ እለ ፡ ማናቸው ፡ አጠራቸውም ፡ አለው ። በጋማቹም ፡  
 መለሰ ፡ ባልንጀሮቹማ ፡ እነብቅል ፡ እነ ጌሾ ፡ እነ ፡ አትኳር ፡  
 እነ ፡ ወይራ ፡ ቅርፍት ፡ እነ ፡ ሸንብቆ ፡ ስር ፡ እነዚህ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ 10  
 ትላንት ፡ የነበሩ ፡ ባልንጀሮቹ ፡ አሁን ፡ ግን ፡ ወዴት ፡ አገኛቸው ፡  
 አለሁኝ ፡ ጥለውኝ ፡ ሄዱ ፡ ብሎ ፡ ተናገረ ። ንጉሡም ፡ ይህንን ፡  
 ነገር ፡ ሰምቶ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ሣቅ ፡ ሣቀና ፡ ከዋርካ ፡ በታች ፡ ያለን ፡  
 ሰው ፡ ከኩለቀን ፡ በኋላ ፡ ምስክር ፡ አትጥሩት ፡ ቢናገራችሁም ፡  
 አትመልሱለት ፡ ቢወራረድም ፡ ነጣ ፡ ብየዋልሁ ፡ ብሎ ፡ አዋጀ ፡ 15  
 ነገረለት ።

ACGH 69,3 ፈረስ ፡] ፈረስ ፡ G63<sup>v</sup> 6 ይህን ፡] ይህን ፡ H57<sup>r</sup> 10 እነዚህ ፡] G64<sup>r</sup>  
 11 ትላንት ፡] ትላንት ፡ A55<sup>ob</sup> 13 ሣቀና ፡] ሣቀና ፡ H57<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 69,1 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡] AH; ፩ድ ፡ ቀን ፡ C; ፩ንድቀን ፡ G | በገብያው ፡] ACG; በገብያው ፡ H | አድርጎ ፡] ACG; አድርጎ ፡ H | ሲሄድ ፡] ACH; ሲሸድ ፡ G 2 መጣምር ፡] ACGH; መጣም ፡ G | የተጫነውን ፡] ACH; የተጫነውን ፡ G 3 ፩ድ ፡] CH; om. AG | በጋማች ፡] ACH; በጋማቸ ፡ G | የንጉሡን ፡ ፈረስ ፡] AG; ባለ ፡ ፈረስ ፡ CH | ሸጥልኝ ፡] ACG; ሸጥልኝ ፡ H 4 ዝም ፡ አለና ፡] CG; እሹ ፡ አለ ፡ A; ዝም ፡ አለ ፡ H; om. G | እስኪ ፡] CH; እስኪ ፡ G | እስኪ ፡ ...5 ሰደደ ።] CGH; በሉ ፡ ቤቱን ፡ እዩ ፡ አለ ። A | ይህን ፡ ሰው ፡] CH; ይሸሰው ፡ G መግቢያውን ፡] CH; መግቢውን ፡ G | አይታችሁት ፡ ...5 ኑ ፡] CH; አታችሁት ፡ G; አታችሁት ፡ ኑ ፡ G 5 በበነገው ፡] AG; በበነጋው ፡ CH | በል ፡ ...ሰው ፡] AC; በልአንተሰው ፡ G; በል ፡ አንተሰው ፡ 6 ይህን ፡] AH; ይህንን ፡ C; ይህንን ፡ G እንካ ፡] A; እካ ፡ G; om. CH 7 ባልንጀሮቹ ፡] CGH; ባልጀሮቹ ፡ A | ወዴት ፡ አሉ ፡] CH; የሉ ፡ A; ወታሉ ፡ G | ንጉሡም ፡ ...8 አለው ።] CH; ምነው ፡ ባልንጀሮችህን ፡ አጠራቸውም ፡ አለ ፡ ንጉሡም ፡ tra. AGG<sup>2</sup> | ባልንጀሮችህ ፡] CH; ባልንጀሮችህን ፡ AG 8 እለ ፡ ማናቸው ፡] CG; እለማን ፡ ናቸው ፡ H; om. AG | አጠራቸውም ፡] CG; አትጠራም ፡ A; አትጠራቸውምን ፡ H | አለው ።] CH; አለ ። AG 9 መለሰ ፡] CH; ተናገረ ፡ AG | ባልንጀሮቹማ ፡] CH; ባልጀሮቹማ ፡ AG | እነ ፡ ጌሾ ፡] ACH; እነገሾ ፡ G | እነ ፡ አትኳር ፡] H; እነ ፡ አትኳር ፡ AC; እነአትኳር ፡ G 10 እነ ፡ ወይራ ፡] ACH; እነ ፡ ወይራ ፡ G | ሸንብቆ ፡] CH; ሸብቆ ፡ AG | እነዚህ ፡] CH; እነ ፡ ዚህ ፡ AG | ነበሩ ፡ ...11 ባልንጀሮቹ ፡] AG; ሁሉ ፡ ባልንጀሮቹ ፡ ናቸው ፡ ነበሩ ፡ CH 11 አገኛቸው ፡ አለሁኝ ፡] A; አገኛቸዋለሁኝ ፡ CH; አገኛቸውአለሁኝ ፡ G; እነሱ ፡ add. CH 12 ሄዱ ፡] ACH; ሽዱ ፡ G | ይህንን ፡] CH; ይህን ፡ A; ይሸነን ፡ G 13 ብዙ ፡] ACH; በሣቅ ፡ G | ሣቅ ፡] ACH; ሣሣቀ ፡ G | ሣቀና ፡] H; ሣቀ ፡ ና ፡ A; ሳሳቀና ፡ C; ሣሣቀ ፡ ና ፡ G | ያለን ፡ ሰው ፡] ACH; ያለንሰው ፡ G 14 ከኩለቀን ፡] AG; ከኩሌታ ፡ ቀን ፡ C; ከኩል ፡ ቀን ፡ H ምስክር ፡] AH; ምስክርም ፡ CG 15 ቢወራረድም ፡] AG; ዳኝነት ፡ add. CG<sup>2</sup>; add ዳኝነት ፡ እንዳይከፍል ፡ H | ብየዋልሁ ፡] ACH; ቢየዋልሁ ፡ G

PUNCTUATION | 69,5 ሰደደ ።] GH; ፡ AC 6 አለው ።] GH; ፡ AC 7 አለ ።] AH; ፡ CG 8 አለው ።] AH; ፡ CG 12 ተናገረ ።] AGH; ፡ C 13 ሣቀና ፡] CGH; ። A 15 አትመልሱለት ፡] ACG; ። H 16 ነገረለት ።] CGH; ፡ A

70 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ከግንቡ ፡ ሆኖ ፡ አልፎ ፡ የሚሄደውን ፡ ሰው ፡ ሲመለከት ፡ አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡ በሰጋር ፡ በቅሎ ፡ ሁኖ ፡ መርገፍ ፡ ድርብ ፡ ለብሶ ፡ ጅኦኸከሮች ፡ ሰይፍ ፡ የያዙ ፡ አስከትሎ ፡ ሲሄድ ፡ አየና ፡ እኛ ፡ የማናውቀው ፡ የወዴት ፡ ሰው ፡ ነው ፡ እስኪ ፡ ጥሩት ፡ አለ ። ሰውየውም ፡ ተጠርቶ ፡ መጣ ። 5  
አንተ ፡ እኛ ፡ የማናውቅህ ፡ የወዴት ፡ ሰው ፡ ነህ ፡ አለው ። ሙያህስ ፡ ምንድር ፡ ነው ፡ አለው ። እሱም ፡ መለሰ ፡ ሙያዬ ፡ ማጋባት ፡ ነው ፡ አለ ። ንጉሡም ፡ ማጋባት ፡ ማለት ፡ ምንድር ፡ ነው ፡ ብሎ ፡ ጠየቀው ፡ እሱም ፡ መለሰለት ፡ ሰዎች ፡ ልጅ ፡ 10  
ሊድሩ ፡ ሲሉ ፡ ለኔ ፡ መጥተው ፡ ይነግሩኛል ፡ ከወንድ ፡ ወገንም ፡ 10  
ከሴት ፡ ወገንም ፡ እኔ ፡ ሂጅ ፡ አጫለሁ ፡ የካህንን ፡ ከካህን ፡ የነጋዴውን ፡ ከነጋዴ ፡ የአራሹን ፡ ከአራሽ ፡ የአንጠረኛውን ፡ ከአንጠረኛ ፡ የሰፊውን ፡ ከሰፊ ፡ የወታደሩን ፡ ከወታደር ፡ አድርጌ ፡ አጋባለሁኝ ። እየወገን ፡ እየወገኑ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ሁኖ ፡ ሲገኝ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጸድቆ ፡ ይቀራል ። እኔ ፡ ያጋባሁትም ፡ ሰው ፡ አይፋታም ፡ ከግራ ፡ 15  
ከቀኙ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ እቀበላለሁ ፡ ትዳሬ ፡ ይህ ፡ ነው ፡ ብሎ ፡ ለንጉሡ ፡ ተናገረ ።

71 ያጤ ፡ በካፋ ፡ እጎት ፡ ትልቅ ፡ ሁኖ ፡ ወንድ ፡ ያለፋት ፡ ተቀምጣ ፡ ነበር ፡ ሰውም ፡ እንዳይናገር ፡ ፈርቶ ፡ ከአዘቅት ፡ ይሰ

ACGH 70,2 ሰው ፡<sup>1]</sup> G64<sup>v</sup> 3 ለብሶ ፡<sup>1]</sup> C10<sup>f</sup> 6 አንተ ፡<sup>1]</sup> H58<sup>f</sup> 8 ምንድር ፡<sup>1]</sup> G65<sup>f</sup> 10 ለኔ ፡<sup>1]</sup> A55<sup>va</sup> 15 ያጋባሁትም ፡<sup>1]</sup> G65<sup>v</sup> | አይፋታም ፡<sup>1]</sup> H58<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 70,1 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; አንድቀን ፡ G | ከግንቡ ፡<sup>1]</sup> CH; ከግቡ ፡ AG; ላይ ፡ add. CH | ሆኖ ፡<sup>1]</sup> AGH; ሁኖ ፡ C | የሚሄደውን ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; የሚኸደውን ፡ G 2 አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; አንድሰው ፡ G | ሁኖ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; ሆኖ ፡ G 3 ጅኦኸከሮች ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; አምስት ፡ አኸከሮች ፡ H 4 ሲሄድ ፡<sup>1]</sup> AC; ሲኸድ ፡ GH | የወዴት ፡ ... ነው ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; የወድየትው ፡ G; ብሎ ፡ ጠየቀ ። add. A 5 ሰውየውም ፡<sup>1]</sup> CG; ሰውየው ፡ AH 6 የወዴት ፡ ... ነህ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; የወድየትሰውነህ ፡ G | አለው ።<sup>1]</sup> AG; om. CH 7 ሙያህስ ፡<sup>1]</sup> CH; ውሎታህስ ፡ A; ሚያህስ ፡ G | ምንድር ፡ ነው ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; ምንድርነው ፡ G | እሱም ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; እርሱም ፡ H | እሱም ፡ ...9 እሱም ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; om. H | ሙያዬ ፡<sup>1]</sup> C; ውሎታየስ ፡ A; ማያየ ፡ ማ ፡ G 8 ማጋባት ፡ ...8 ነው ፡<sup>1]</sup> AC; ማጋባትነው ፡ G | አለ ።<sup>1]</sup> AG; አለው ፡ C | ማጋባት ፡<sup>1]</sup> AC; ባጋት ፡ G 9 ልጅ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; om. G 10 ሊድሩ ፡ ሲሉ ፡<sup>1]</sup> AG; ሲድሩ ፡ CG<sup>H</sup> | ለኔ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; om. G | ይነግሩኛል ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; ይግሩኛል ፡ G 12 ከነጋዴ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; ለነጋዴ ፡ G የአራሹን ፡<sup>1]</sup> AH; ያራሹን ፡ C; የራሹን ፡ G | ከአራሽ ፡<sup>1]</sup> A; ካራሽ ፡ CG; ካራሺ ፡ H | የአንጠረኛውን ፡<sup>1]</sup> C; የአንጥረኛውን ፡ AH; ያጠረኛውን ፡ G | ከአንጠረኛ ፡<sup>1]</sup> CH; ከአንጥረኛ ፡ AG 14 አጋባለሁኝ ።<sup>1]</sup> CG; አጋባው ፡ አለሁኝ ። A; አጋባለሁ ፡ C | እየወገን ፡ እየወገኑ ፡<sup>1]</sup> AC; እየወገኑ ፡ እየወገኑ ፡ G; እየወገኑ ፡ H | ሁኖ ፡<sup>1]</sup> AGH; ሆኖ ፡ C | ሲገኝ ፡<sup>1]</sup> CG<sup>H</sup>; ሲጋባ ፡ A; ሲገ ፡ G | ጊዜ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; ጋብቻ ፡ add. H 16 ከቀኙ ፡<sup>1]</sup> AGH; ከቀኙም ፡ C | ይህ ፡ ነው ፡<sup>1]</sup> CGH; ይህን ፡ A | ብሎ ፡ ... ተናገረ ።<sup>1]</sup> G; ብሎ ፡ ነገረው ፡ ለንጉሡ ።<sup>1]</sup> C; ብሎ ፡ ነገረው ። H; አለ ። 71,1 ያጤ ፡<sup>1]</sup> CG; አፄ ፡ A; ንጉሡ ፡ አፄ ፡ H | በካፋ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; በላይ ፡ H | እጎት ፡ ትልቅ ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACG; ትልቅ ፡ እጎት ፡ tra. H

PUNCTUATION | 70,1 ቀን ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; ። G 5 አለ ።<sup>1]</sup> H; ፣ ACG | መጣ ።<sup>1]</sup> AC; ፣ GH 6 አለው ።<sup>1]</sup> A; ፣ CGH 7 አለው ።<sup>1]</sup> AH; ፣ CG 8 አለ ።<sup>1]</sup> A; ፣ CGH 11 ከካህን ፡<sup>1]</sup> ACH; ። G 13 ከሰፊ ፡<sup>1]</sup> CGH; ፣ A | ከወታደር ፡<sup>1]</sup> CH; ። AG 15 ይቀራል ።<sup>1]</sup> AH; ፣ CG 17 ተናገረ ።<sup>1]</sup> AGH; ፣ C

ደናል ፡ ብሎ ። የዚህን ፡ ቃል ፡ ከሰማ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ግን ፡ በካፋ ፡ በል ፡  
 እስኪ ፡ ለእኅቴ ፡ ባል ፡ ፈልግላት ፡ አለ ። ያሰውም ፡ እሽ ፡ ብሎ ፡  
 እጅ ፡ ነሥቶ ፡ ወጣ ፡ ወደ ፡ ቤገምድር ፡ ገሠገሰ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ታቦር ፡ 5  
 ደረሰ ። ደጃዝማች ፡ እሽቴ ፡ የቤገምድሩ ፡ ገዢ ፡ አዳራሽ ፡  
 ተገኝቶ ፡ ሳለ ፡ ያሰው ፡ ገብቶ ፡ ቆመና ፡ ተነሣ ፡ ታጠቅ ፡ በካፋ ፡  
 ንጉሡ ፡ እንታቸውን ፡ ሰጥቸህለሁ ፡ ብለውሃል ፡ ብሎ ፡ አለው ።  
 እሱም ፡ ይህንን ፡ ሰማና ፡ ከአልጋው ፡ ወረደና ፡ ፫ጊዜ ፡ መሬት ፡  
 ሳመና ፡ አዋጅ ፡ ነገረ ። ሰብአ ፡ ቤገምድርን ፡ ግባ ፡ አለ ፡ አስከ 10  
 ተተና ፡ መጣ ፡ ሰማይና ፡ ምድር ፡ እያደበለቀ ። ምንዝሮ ፡ ላይ ፡  
 ሲደርስ ፡ ንጉሡ ፡ በመነጠር ፡ አየና ፡ በካፋ ፡ ምን ፡ ያላሰብነው ፡  
 ጦር ፡ መጣብን ፡ ብሎ ፡ ከተማይቱ ፡ ተነዋወጠች ።

72 ያየተላከ ፡ ሰውም ፡ ጦሩን ፡ ከዚህ ፡ ስፈሩ ፡ ብሎ ፡  
 አስፍሮ ፡ ወደ ፡ ንጉሡ ፡ እየገሠገሠ ፡ መጣ ። ገብቶ ፡ ሰገደ ፡  
 ከንጉሡ ፡ እነሆ ፡ የተላከሁትን ፡ አደረግሁኝ ፡ አለ ። የቤገም  
 ድሩን ፡ ገዢ ፡ ደጃዝማች ፡ ይገባ ፡ መጣሁ ፡ ምንዝሮ ፡ አስፍራ

ACGH 71,6 እሽቴ ፣] እሽቴ ፣ G66<sup>f</sup>; H59<sup>f</sup> 9 እሱም ፣] እሱም ፣ A55<sup>vb</sup>  
 12 ያላሰብነው ፣] G66<sup>v</sup> 13 መጣብን ፣] መጣብን ፣ H59<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 3 ብሎ ።] A; om. CGH | የዚህን ፣] CGH; ይህን ፣ A | ከሰማ ፣] AG;  
 በሰማ ፣ CH; ጊዜ ፡ እያለ ፡ ይኖር ፡ ነበር ፡ የዚህን ፡ ሰው ፡ ቃል ፡ ከሰማ ፡ add.  
 CGH | በካፋ ፣] ACG; om. H 4 ለእኅቴ ፣] ACG; ለሁቴ ፣ H | እሽ ፣] ACG; እሺ ፣  
 H 5 ወደ ፡ ቤገምድር ፣] AC; ወደቤገምድር ፣ G; ወደቤገምድር ፣ H | ደብረ ፡  
 ታቦር ፣] ACH; ደብረታቦር ፣ G 6 ደጃዝማች ፣] CH; ደጃች ፣ AG | እሽቴ ፣] A;  
 እሹቴን ፣ CH; እሽትየ ፣ G | የቤገምድሩ ፣] ACH; የባገምድሩ ፣ G | ገዢ ፣] AG;  
 ገዥ ፣ CH | አዳራሽ ፣] ACG; አዳራሺ ፣ H 7 ተገኝቶ ፣] ACG; ተገቶ ፣ G; ሆኖ ፣  
 H | ገብቶ ፣] ACG; ተገኝቶ ፡ ከአዳራሹ ፣ H | ተነሣ ፡ ታጠቅ ፣] A; ተነሰ ፡ ታጠቅ ፣  
 CH; ተነሳታጠቅ ፣ G | በካፋ ፣] ACG; አፄ ፡ በካፋ ፣ H 8 ሰጥቸህለሁ ፣] CG;  
 ሰጥቸህለሁ ፣ H | ሰጥቸህለሁ ፡ ብለውሃል ፣] CGH; ሰጥተውሃል ፡ 9 እሱም ፣] ACG;  
 እርሱም ፣ H | ይህንን ፣] ACG; ይህን ፣ H | ወረደና ፣] CGH; ወርዶ ፣ A  
 ፫ጊዜ ፡ መሬት ፣] CGH; ፫መሬት ፣ A 10 ሳመና ፣] CGH; ሰሞ ፣ A | ሰብአ ፡  
 ቤገምድርን ፣] C; ሰብአ ፡ ቤገምድር ፣ A; ሰብአ ፡ በገምድርን ፣ G; ሰባ ፡  
 ቤገምድር ፣ H 11 እያደበለቀ ።] ACH; እያደበለቀ ። G | ምንዝሮ ፡ ...ሲደርስ ፣] ACH;  
 ምንዝሮላይሲደርስ ፣ G 12 ንጉሡ ፣] CGH; ንጉሡ ፡ በካፋ ፣ A | በካፋ ፣] ACG;  
 om. H 13 መጣብን ፣] AC; መጡብን ፣ G; መጣ ፡ ብን ፣ H 72,1 ያየተላከ ፣] AG;  
 ያ ፡ የተላከ ፣ C; ያየተላከው ፣ H 2 አስፍሮ ፣] ACGH; አስሮ ፣ G | ወደ ፡  
 ንጉሡ ፣] AC; ወደንጉሡ ፣ GH | እየገሠገሠ ፣] ACH; እየገሠጠ ፣ G | ገብቶ ፡ ...  
 ከንጉሡ ፣] ACG; ከንጉሡ ፡ ገብቶ ፡ እጅነሣ ፣ tra. H | ሰገደ ፣] ACG; እጅነሣ ፣ H  
 3 እነሆ ፣] AH; እንሆ ፣ CG | የተላከሁትን ፣] CG; የተላከሁት ፣ A; የታዘዘኩትን ፣  
 H | አደረግሁኝ ፣] CG; አድርጌ ፡ መጣሁ ፣ A; ፈጸምኩኝ ፣ H 4 ገዢ ፣] ACG;  
 om. H | ደጃዝማች ፣] CHG; om. AG | ይገባ ፡ መጣሁ ፣] C; ይገባ ፡ መጣሁ ፣ A;  
 ይጀ ፡ መጣሁ ፣ G; አመጣሁ ፣ H | አስፍራዋለሁ ፣] AH; አስፈርሁኝ ፣ CG

PUNCTUATION | 71,3 ብሎ ።] AG; CH 4 አለ ።] AGH; ፣ C 5 ወጣ ፣] ACG; ። H  
 6 ደረሰ ።] AGH; ፣ C 7 ቆመና ፣] ACG; ። H 8 አለው ።] AGH; ፣ C  
 10 ነገረ ።] AH; ፣ CG | አለ ፣] CGH; ። A 11 መጣ ፣] ACG; ። H  
 እያደበለቀ ።] AH; ፣ CG 13 ተነዋወጠች ።] AH; ፣ CG 72,2 መጣ ።] AH; ፣ CG  
 3 አለ ።] AH; ፣ CG

ዋለሁ ፡ ነገ ፡ ሊገባ ፡ ነው ፡ እስዎ ፡ ይሰናዱ ፡ አለ ። ንጉሡ ፡ 5  
 ይህንን ፡ በሰሙ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ደስታ ፡ አደረጉ ፡ ያንን ፡ ሰውም ፡  
 ከእግር ፡ እስከ ፡ ራሱ ፡ በወርቅ ፡ በብር ፡ ሸለሙት ። የዚያን ፡  
 ቀን ፡ ሌሊትም ፡ በፀገጽ ፡ የታለበው ፡ መድፍ ፡ ሲተከሙ ፡ አደረ ።  
 የከተማው ፡ ሰው ፡ እልል ፡ እያለ ፡ ሲዘፈን ፡ አደረ ።

73 በበነገውም ፡ ደጃዝማች ፡ እሸቴ ፡ ነጋሪቱን ፡ እያስመታ ፡  
 የቤገምድር ፡ ጦር ፡ ግንድ ፡ አመድ ፡ ሁኖ ፡ ገባ ። የገንደር ፡  
 ሰውም ፡ ሊቅ ፡ እስከ ፡ ደቂቅ ፡ ወጣ ። ንጉሡም ፡ እሱን ፡ ባዩት ፡  
 ጊዜ ፡ መልክመልካም ፡ ነበርና ፡ አጥብቆ ፡ ደስ ፡ አላቸው ፡  
 10 ከግንቡ ፡ ገብቶ ፡ ሰገደ ፡ ከክቡር ፡ ስፍራ ፡ አስቀመጡት ፡ ብዙ ፡ 5  
 ተድላ ፡ ሆነ ። ፲መድፍ ፡ ፪ሽሕ ፡ ብረት ፡ ፫ሽሕ ፡ ፈረስ ፡  
 ፪፻ገንቦኛ ፡ ፻ቋሚ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ድንኳን ፡ ብዙ ፡ ምንጣፍ ፡ ብዙ ፡  
 መስሯ ፡ ፪ያንበሳ ፡ ለማዳ ፡ ይህን ፡ አርገው ፡ ሰጡት ፡ እሷም ፡  
 ሥዕለ ፡ ማርያም ፡ መስላ ፡ ወጣች ፡ እንደ ፡ ጨረቃና ፡ እንደ ፡

ACGH 72,7 በወርቅ ፡] በወርቅ ፡ G67<sup>r</sup> | የዚያን ፡] የዚያን ፡ H60<sup>r</sup> 9 እያለ ፡] A56<sup>ra</sup> 73,5 ከክቡር ፡] H60<sup>v</sup> | አስቀመጡት ፡] G67<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 5 ነገ ፡ ሊገባ ፡] CH; ነገሊገባ ፡ AG | እስዎ ፡] AC; እስዎ ፡ G; እርስዎ ፡ H | ንጉሡ ፡] ACG; ንጉሡም ፡ H 6 በሰሙ ፡] A; በሰማ ፡ CH; በሰሙ ፡ G አደረጉ ፡] CG; ሆነ ፡ A; አደረገ ፡ H 7 ከእግር ፡] A; ከእግሩ ፡ CH; ከግሩ ፡ G በወርቅ ፡ በብር ፡] CGH; om. A | በወርቅ ፡... ሸለሙት ።] H; ሸለሙት ፡ በወርቅ ፡ በብር ። tra. CG | በብር ፡] CG<sup>2</sup>H; በብ ፡ G | ሸለሙት ።] ACH; ሸለሙ ። G የዚያን ፡ ቀን ፡] CH; የዛን ፡ ቀን ፡ A; የዛንቀን ፡ G | የዚያን ፡... ሌሊትም ፡] CGH; ሌሊት ፡ የዛን ፡ ቀን ፡ tra. A 8 ሌሊትም ፡] CG; ሌሊት ፡ AH | በፀገጽ ፡] ACG; በፀት ፡ ገጽ ፡ H | የታለበው ፡] CGH; የተለገመው ፡ A 9 ሲዘፈን ፡] ACG; ሲዘፍን ፡ H 73,1 በበነገውም ፡] AG; በበነጋውም ፡ CH | ደጃዝማች ፡] CH; ደጃች ፡ A; ደጃዝች ፡ G | እሸቴ ፡] AC; እሹቴ ፡ GH | ነጋሪቱን ፡] ACH; ነጋሪቱን ፡ G | እያስመታ ፡] ACG; እይስመታ ፡ H 2 የቤገምድር ፡] A; የቤገምድርን ፡] CH; የቤገምድር ፡ G | ግንድ ፡ አመድ ፡] ACH; ግንዳመድ ፡ G ሁኖ ፡] CGH; ጉኖ ፡ A | ገባ ።] A; om. CG; መጣ ፡ H 3 ሊቅ ፡] ACG; ከሊቅ ፡ H | ወጣ ።] ACH; ወጦ ፡ G | ባዩት ፡] ACG; በአዩት ፡ H 4 መልክመልካም ፡] AG; መልክ ፡ መልካም ፡ CH | ነበርና ፡] ACH; ነበረና ፡ G | ደስ ፡ አላቸው ፡] ACH; ደሳላቸው ፡ G; እሱም ፡ add. A 5 ከግንቡ ፡] CH; ከግቡ ፡ A; ከግምቡ ፡ G ከክቡር ፡] ACG; በክብር ፡ H 6 ተድላ ፡] ACG; ደስታ ፡ add. H | ሆነ ።] CH; ጎነ ፡ AG; ፪ት ፡ ሽ ፡ add. G | ፲መድፍ ፡] ACG; አሥር ፡ መድፍ ፡ H | ፪ሽሕ ፡ ብረት ፡] AC; ፪ሽብረት ፡ G; ሁለት ፡ ሺህ ፡ ብረት ፡ H | ፫ሽሕ ፡ ፈረስ ፡] C; ፫፻ፈረስ ፡ A; ሶስት ፡ ሺህ ፡ ፈረስ ፡ H 7 ፪፻ገንቦኛ ፡] C; ፪፻ገቦኛ ፡ AG; ሁለት ፡ መቶ ፡ ገምቦኛ ፡ H | ፻ቋሚ ፡] AC; ፻ቆሚ ፡ G; መቶ ፡ ቋሚ ፡ H | ድንኳን ፡] CH; ድኳን ፡ AG | ምንጣፍ ፡] ACH; ምንጣ ፡ G 8 መስሯ ፡] A; መሳሪያ ፡ CH; መሽሯ ፡ G | ፪ያንበሳ ፡] CG; ሁለት ፡ የአንበሳ ፡ H | ፪ያንበሳ ፡...8 ይህን ፡] CGH; om. A | አርገው ፡] ACG; አድርገው ፡ H 9 ሥዕለ ፡] CGH; om. A | ማርያም ፡] CG; lac. A; ማርያምን ፡ H | እንደ ፡<sup>1</sup>... ፀሐይ ፡] AG; እንደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ እንደ ፡ ጨረቃ ፡ tra. CH

PUNCTUATION | 5 አለ ።] A; ፡ CGH 7 ሸለሙት ።] AGH; ፡ C 8 አደረ ።] AH; ፡ CG 9 አደረ ።] AH; ፡ CG 73,2 ገባ ።] A; ፡ CGH 3 ወጣ ።] AH; ፡ CG 4 አላቸው ፡] CGH; ። A 5 አስቀመጡት ፡] ACG; ። H 8 ሰጡት ፡] ACG; ። H



ፀሐይ ፡ እያበራች ፡ የተከተሏትም ፡ ከዋክብተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ መስለው ፡ 10  
ሄዱ ፡ አገሩን ፡ ገባ ።

74 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ከበግ ፡ አንገት ፡ ድቁስና ፡ ካሯ ፡  
አድርጎ ፡ ሰደደ ፡ ያበግም ፡ ሲዞር ፡ ሲዞር ፡ ከአንድ ፡ ደብተራ ፡  
ቤት ፡ ደረሰ ። ያደብተራም ፡ በካፋ ፡ ሲጠግብ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ከበግ ፡  
አንገት ፡ ድቁስና ፡ ካሯ ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ሰደደ ፡ አለና ፡ ደጃን ፡ ዘግቶ ፡  
የንጉሡን ፡ በግ ፡ አርዶ ፡ በላ ። ኋላ ፡ ግን ፡ ዛሬስ ፡ ሥትጠግብ ፡ 5  
ጊዜ ፡ እንዲህን ፡ አደረግህ ፡ ብሎ ፡ በሰደደኸው ፡ ካሯና ፡ ድቁስ ፡  
ከመከምሁት ፡ ብሎ ፡ ጥፎ ፡ ቀጭን ፡ አሸዋ ፡ ላይ ፡ ጣለ ።  
10 በካፋ ፡ ይህን ፡ በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ አልጋ ፡ ሊሰበር ፡ ኅግነ ፡ ቁጡ ፡  
ነውና ። በሉ ፡ ግመል ፡ አምጡ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ እንደተጫነች ፡ አለ ፡  
እንዳዘዘውም ፡ አደረጉ ፡ ከተማውንም ፡ ተጭና ፡ ትዞር ፡ 10  
ጀመረች ፡ ግመሊቱ ። ሰው ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ፈርቶ ፡ ጥሬ ፡ ያፈሰላታል ፡  
ስትል ፡ ስትል ፡ ከዝያ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ቤት ፡ ደረሰች ። እሱም ፡

ACGH 10 የተከተሏትም ፡] የተከተሏትም ፡ C10<sup>v</sup> 11 አገሩን ፡] H61<sup>r</sup>  
74,2 ያበግም ፡] G68<sup>r</sup> | ሲዞር ፡] ሲዞር ፡ A56<sup>rb</sup> 6 እንዲህን ፡] H61<sup>v</sup> 9 በሉ ፡] G68<sup>v</sup> 11 ጥሬ ፡] H62<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 10 የተከተሏትም ፡] ACH; የተከተሉትም ፡ G 11 ሄዱ ፡] CH; ሄደች ፡  
A; ኸደች ፡ G; እርሱም ፡ በደሀና ፡ add. H 74,1 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡] AH; ጅቀን ፡ C;  
ጅንደቀን ፡ G | ደግሞ ፡] ACG; ንጉሡ ፡ add. H | ከበግ ፡] ACH; ኸበግ ፡ G  
አንገት ፡] ACG<sup>H</sup>; አገት ፡ G<sup>2</sup> | ድቁስና ፡] ACG; ድቀሳና ፡ H | ካሯ ፡] G; ካራ ፡  
ACH 2 አድርጎ ፡] ACG; አድርጎ ፡ H | ሰደደ ፡] CGH; ሰደዱ ፡ A | ያበግም ፡] ACG;  
እየዞረ ፡ add. H | ሲዞር ፡ ሲዞር ፡] AG; ሲሰር ፡ ሲሰር ፡ CH  
3 ያደብተራም ፡] AGH; ያደብተራም ፡ C 4 አንገት ፡] CH; አገት ፡ AG  
ድቁስና ፡] ACG; ድቀሳና ፡ H | ካሯ ፡] G; ካራ ፡ ACH | አድርጎ ፡] ACG;  
አድርጎ ፡ H | ሰደደ ፡] ACH; ሰደድ ፡ G 5 የንጉሡን ፡] ACH; የንጉሡ ፡ G  
የንጉሡን ፡ በግ ፡] ACH; በጉን ፡ የንጉሡ ፡ tra. G | በግ ፡] ACH; በጉን ፡ G  
ዛሬስ ፡] ACG; በካፋ ፡ add. H 6 በሰደደኸው ፡] ACG; በሰደደኸው ፡ H | ካሯና ፡] ACH;  
ካራና ፡] ACH | ድቁስ ፡] ACG; በጉን ፡ add. H 7 ከመከምሁት ፡] AG;  
ከመከምሁት ፡ CH | ጥፎ ፡] ACG; ጥፎ ፡ ወረቀቱን ፡ H | ቀጭን ፡] ACG; lac.  
H | አሸዋ ፡ ላይ ፡] ACH; አሸዋላይ ፡ G 8 ይህን ፡] ACH; ይኸን ፡ G | ጊዜ ፡] ACG;  
ተቆጣ ፡ add. H | አልጋ ፡] AG; አልጋው ፡ CH | ኅግነ ፡] AG; ሆነ ፡ C;  
ደረሰ ፡ H | ቁጡ ፡ ነውና ።] ACH; ቁጡ ፡ ነውና ፡ G 9 በሉ ፡] ACG; ወ ፡ H  
ግመል ፡] ACG; ግመል ፡ H | ግመል ፡...እንደተጫነች ፡] ACG; ግመል ፡ ወርቅ ፡  
እንደተጫነች ፡ አምጡ ፡ tra. H | እንደተጫነች ፡] ACH; እንደተጫነች ፡ G  
10 እንዳዘዘውም ፡] ACG; እንደዚያም ፡ H | ከተማውንም ፡] ACG; ከተማውን ፡ H  
ከተማውንም ፡...ግመሊቱ ።] ACG; ግመሊቱ ፡ ወርቁን ፡ ተጭና ፡ ከተማውን ፡  
ትዞር ፡ ጀመረች ፡ tra. H 11 ሁሉ ፡] CGH; ኅሉ ፡ A 12 ከዝያ ፡] CG; ከዚያ ፡  
AH | እሱም ፡] ACG; እርሱም ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 11 ሄዱ ፡] CG; ። AH | ገባ ።] GH; ። ። A; ፡ C 74,3 ደረሰ ።] A;  
A; ፡ CGH 5 በላ ።] AH; ፡ CG 7 ጣለ ።] AH; ፡ CG 8 ኅግነ ፡] CGH; ። A  
9 ነውና ።] H; ፡ ACG | አለ ፡] ACG; ። H 11 ግመሊቱ ።] A; ፡ CGH  
12 ደረሰች ።] H; ፡ ACG

ደጃን ፡ ዘጋና ፡ ግመሊቱን ፡ አረደና ፡ ከሪቁ ፡ ከተተ ፡ ሥጋዋንም ፡  
ወርቁንም ፡ አኖረ ። ይህ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ምንኛ ፡ ጠገበ ፡ አለዎ [ ። ]

75 ሕዝቡ ፡ ለንጉሡ ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ያች ፡ ግመል ፡ ጠፋች ፡ አሉ ፡  
ንጉሡ ፡ በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እንደ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ሆነ ። በሉ ፡ መኳንንት ፡  
ምክሩ ፡ አለ ፡ መኳንንቱም ፡ መከሩ ፡ ጨርቅ ፡ የለበሰች ፡ ድሃ ፡  
ሴት ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ባገልግል ፡ ይዛ ፡ ይህን ፡ ወርቅ ፡ የሚቀበለኝ ፡  
የግመል ፡ ሥጋ ፡ የሚሰጠኝ ፡ ልጅ ፡ ታሞብኝ ፡ እያለች ፡ ትዙር ፡ 5  
እሱን ፡ ታገኘዋለች ፡ ብለው ፡ መከሩ ። ያች ፡ ሴትም ፡ ወርቅ ፡  
በአገልግል ፡ ይዛ ፡ ትዙር ፡ ጀመረች ። ስትል ፡ ስትል ፡ ከዝያ ፡  
ደብተራ ፡ ቤት ፡ ደረሰች ። የደብተራው ፡ ሴትም ፡ ምን ፡ ይዘሻል ፡  
ብላ ፡ ጠየቀችት ፡ እሷም ፡ መለሰች ፡ ይህንን ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ተቀብሎ ፡  
የግመል ፡ ሥጋ ፡ የሚሰጠኝ ፡ አለች ። ያች ፡ ሴትም ፡ ወርቁን ፡ 10  
ተቀበለችና ፡ የግመሊቱን ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ቈርጣ ፡ ሰጥታ ፡ ሸኘችት ፡  
ሴት ፡ ያየው ፡ ምሥጢር ፡ አይሸሸግምና ። ይዛ ፡ ስትወጣም ፡  
ያደብተራ ፡ ደረሰ ፡ እናቴ ፡ ምን ፡ ይዘሻል ፡ አላት ፡ እሷም ፡  
ይህን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ነገረችው ። እሱም ፡ ያዘነ ፡ መሰለና ፡ ነይ ፡ እናቴ ፡

ACGH 75,2 በሰማ ፣] G69<sup>f</sup> | መኳንንት ፣] A56<sup>va</sup> 3 የለበሰች ፣] የለበሰች ፣ H62<sup>v</sup>  
9 ጠየቀችት ፣] ጠየቀችት ፣ G69<sup>v</sup> 10 ወርቁን ፣] ወርቁን ፣ H63<sup>f</sup>

VARIANTS | 13 ከሪቁ ፣] CGH; ከሪቅ ፣ A | ከሪቁ ፣...አኖረ ።] CGH; ወርቁ ፣  
አኖረ ፣ ሥጋዋን ፣ ከሪቅ ፣ ከተተ ። tra. A | ሥጋዋንም ፣] CH; ሥጋዋን ፣ AG  
14 ወርቁንም ፣] CGH; ወርቁን ፣ A | ይህ ፣...አለዎ [ ።]] CGH; om. A | ጠገበ ፣] CG;  
ጠገብ ፣ H; | አለዎ [ ።]] H; om. CG 75,1 ለንጉሡ ፣] CGH; ለንጉሥ ፣ A  
ያች ፣] AG; ያችም ፣ CH | ያች ፣ ግመል ፣] ACH; ያችግመል ፣ G 2 እንደ ፣  
አንበሳ ፣] ACH; እንዳንበሳ ፣ G 3 መኳንንቱም ፣] ACH; መኳንንት ፣ G | ድሃ ፣] ACG;  
om. H 4 ሴት ፣] AGH; እሴት ፣ C | ይህን ፣...6 ታገኘዋለች ፣] ACG;  
የግመል ፣ ሥጋ ፣ በወርቅ ፣ የሚለውጥ ፣ እያለች ፣ ትዙር ፣ H 5 ልጅ ፣] AC;  
ልጊጄ ፣ G | ታሞብኝ ፣] AC; ቷመብኝ ፣ G 6 ብለው ፣] ACG; ተብሎ ፣ H  
መከሩ ።] ACG; ተመክሮ ፣ H | ሴትም ፣] A; እሴት ፣ C; ሴት ፣ GH; | ወርቅ ፣] AG;  
om. CH 7 በአገልግል ፣] CG; ባገልግል ፣ A; om. H | ይዛ ፣] om. H | ከዝያ ፣] CG;  
ከዚያ ፣ AH 8 የደብተራው ፣ ሴትም ፣] ACH; የደብተራው-ሴትም ፣ G  
ሴትም ፣] G; እሴትም ፣ A; ምሽትም ፣ C; ሚስትም ፣ H | ምን ፣ ይዘሻል ፣] ACH;  
ምንዘሻል ፣ G 9 ጠየቀችት ፣] CGH; ጠየቀች ፣ A; ጠየቀኛት ፣ G | እሷም ፣] ACG;  
እርሷም ፣ H | መለሰች ፣] AC; መለሸች ፣ G; ጠየቀች ፣ H | ተቀብሎ ፣] ACGH;  
ተብሎ ፣ G 10 የግመል ፣] ACG; የገመል ፣ H | የሚሰጠኝ ፣] ACH; የሚሰ ፣ ጠኝ ፣ G  
11 የግመሊቱን ፣] ACH; የግመሊቱን ፣ G | ቈርጣ ፣] ACG; ቆርጣ ፣ H | ሰጥታ ፣] CH;  
ሰጠችት ፣ A; om. G | ሸኘችት ፣] CG; ሸኜችት ፣ H; ሸጠኛች ፣ G 12 ሴት ፣] CG;  
እሴት ፣ AH | ያየው ፣] ACG; የያዘው ፣ H 13 ያደብተራ ፣] H; እሱ ፣ ደብተራው ፣ AG;  
ያ ፣ ደብተራው ፣ C | ምን ፣ ይዘሻል ፣] AH; ምንይዘሻል ፣ C; ምንዘሻል ፣ G 14 ይህን ፣ ሁሉ ፣] CG;  
ይህን ፣ ጎሉ ፣ A; ምሥጢሩን ፣ H | ነገረችው ።] CH; ነገረች ፣ AG | እሱም ፣] ACG;  
om. H | ያዘነ ፣] ACG; ያዘና ፣ H | መሰለና ፣] ACG; መለሰና ፣ H | ነይ ፣ እናቴ ፣] AH;  
ነይናቴ ፣ AC

PUNCTUATION | 14 አኖረ ።] AGH; ፣ C | አለዎ [ ።]] ፣ ACGH 75,1 አሉ ፣] CGH;  
፣ A 2 ሆነ ።] AH; ፣ CG 3 መከሩ ፣] ACG; ። H 4 የሚቀበለኝ ፣] CGH; ። A 6 መከሩ ።] A;  
፣ CGH 7 ጀመረች ።] AH; ፣ CG 8 ደረሰች ።] ACH; ፣ G 10 አለች ።] AH; ፣ CG 11 ሸኘችት ፣] CGH;  
፣ A 12 አይሸሸግምና ።] A; ፣ CGH 13 ደረሰ ፣] CG; ። AH | አላት ፣] CGH; ፣ A 14 ነገረችው ።] A;  
፣ CGH

**ላክልሽ ፡ አላት ፡ ወደቤት ፡ አገባት ፡ ጉሮሮዋን ፡ አንቆ ፡ አረዳት ፡ 15  
ከግመሊቱ ፡ ጨመራት ፡ ከሪቁ ፡ ጉድጓድ ፡ አገባት ።**

76 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ መኳንንቱ ፡ ለበካፋ ፡ ነገሩ ። ያች ፡  
የላክናት ፡ ሴት ፡ አሰር ፡ ፍሊጋዋ ፡ ጠፋ ፡ አሉ ፡ ንጉሠ-ም ፡  
ተቁጣና ፡ በሉ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ አውጡ ፡ አለ ። ከዋርካው ፡ አንስ  
ታችሁ ፡ እስከ ፡ ጉፋያ ፡ ማስጫ ፡ በገውዳናው ፡ ወርቁን ፡ ዝሩት ፡  
አለ ። ይህን ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ያነሣህ ፡ እቀጣህለሁ ፡ ብሎ ፡ አዋጅ ፡ 5  
ነገረ ። በካፋም ፡ ከመናገሻው ፡ ላይ ፡ ተቀምጦ ፡ ሲመለከት ፡  
ዋለ ። የሰማው ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ግን ፡ ፈርቶ ፡ ዳር ፡ ለዳር ፡ ሲሄድ ፡ ዋለ ።  
10 ያደብተራ ፡ ግን ፡ ይህንን ፡ ሰማና ፡ ከጫማው ፡ ሰሙን ፡ አልፍቶ ፡  
አጣበቀ ፡ በጫማው ፡ ልክ ፡ እያነሳ ፡ ይመላለስ ፡ ጀመረ ፡ ወዲያና ፡  
ወዲህ ። አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ሸማ ፡ ለብሶ ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ መርገፍ ፡ 10  
ድርብ ፡ ለብሶ ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጋቢ ፡ ለብሶ ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
ድራቶ ፡ ለብሶ ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ማቅ ፡ ለብሶ ፡ ወርቁን ፡ እየተ  
ረገጠ ፡ ሲለቅም ፡ ዋለ ።

77 ንጉሠ-ም ፡ እንግዲህስ ፡ መሸ ፡ በሉ ፡ ወርቁን ፡ ለቅ  
ማችሁ ፡ አምጡ ፡ አለ ፡ ለቃሞች ፡ ቢሄዱ ፡ አንድ ፡ ወርቅ ፡

ACGH 15 ጉሮሮዋን ፡] A56<sup>vb</sup> 16 ከሪቁ ፡] ከሪቁ ፡] G70<sup>f</sup> 76,1 ከዚህም ፡] H63<sup>v</sup>  
7 የሰማው ፡] H64<sup>f</sup>; የሰማው ፡] H64<sup>f</sup> | ለዳር ፡] G70<sup>v</sup> 12 ድራቶ ፡] A57<sup>ra</sup>  
77,1 ንጉሠ-ም ፡] H64<sup>v</sup> 2 ለቃሞች ፡] ለቃሞች ፡] C11<sup>f</sup>; ለቃሞች ፡] G71<sup>f</sup>

VARIANTS | 15 ላክልሽ ፡] ACG; ላክልሽ ፡] H | ወደቤት ፡] CG; ወደ ፡] ሴት ፡] A;  
ወደቤትም ፡] H | ጉሮሮዋን ፡] AC; ጉረሮዋን ፡] H; ጉሮሮዋን ፡] G | አንቆ ፡] ACH;  
om. G | አረዳት ፡] AG; አርዶ ፡] CH 16 ከግመሊቱ ፡] ACG; ከግመሊቱ ፡] H;  
ሥጋ ፡] add. H 76,1 ከዚህም ፡] ACG; ከዚህ ፡] H 2 አሰር ፡] ACG; om. H | ጠፋ ፡] AG;  
እንደ ፡] ጠፋች ፡] ቀረች ፡] CH | አሉ ፡] AG; አሉት ፡] CH 3 ተቁጣና ፡] AC;  
ተቁጣና ፡] G; ተቆጣና ፡] H | በሉ ፡] HG; በሉ ፡] AC | በሉ ፡] ወርቅ ፡] ACH;  
በሉ-ወርቅ ፡] G | አውጡ ፡] ACG; አምጡ ፡] H 4 ወርቁን ፡] CGH; om. A  
5 ይህን ፡] ...5 ወርቅ ፡] ACH; ይህወርቅ ፡] G | እቀጣህለሁ ፡] CH; እቀጣህ ፡] አለሁ ፡  
A; እቀጣህለሁ ፡] G 6 በካፋም ፡] H; በካፋ ፡] ACG | ከመናገሻው ፡] ACG;  
ከመናገሻው ፡] H | ከመናገሻው ፡] ላይ ፡] ACH; ከመናገሻው-ላይ ፡] G 7 ፈርቶ ፡] ACH;  
ሲሄድ ፡] G | ፈርቶ ፡] ... ዋለ ።] H; tra. ሲሄድ ፡] ዋለ ፡] ዳር ፡] ለዳር ፡] ፈርቶ ።  
ACG 8 ያደብተራ ፡] ACG; ያነ ፡] ደብተራ ፡] H | ከጫማው ፡] CH; ከጫማ ፡] A;  
ከጫማው ፡] G | ሰሙን ፡] ACG; ሣሙና ፡] H | አልፍቶ ፡] AG; om. CH  
9 አጣበቀ ፡] A; አጣበቆ ፡] CH; አጠበቀ ፡] G | በጫማው ፡] ACH; በጫማው ፡] G  
እያነሳ ፡] CH; om. AG | ይመላለስ ፡] ACH; ይመለልስም ፡] G 10 ለብሶ ፡] CGH;  
ለብሾ ፡] | አንድ ፡] ... ለብሶ ፡] 2] ACG; om. H | መርገፍ ፡] AG; om. C 11 ለብሶ ፡] 2]  
G; ለብሾ ፡] A; om. C | ለብሶ ፡] 1] GH; ለብሾ ፡] A; om. C 12 ለብሶ ፡] 2] GH; ለብሾ ፡]  
A; om. C | ለብሶ ፡] G; ለብሾ ፡] A; እየለበሰ ፡] CH; ሰሙን ፡] በቀባው ፡] ጫማ ፡] add.  
H | ወርቁን ፡] ACG; lac.(eras.) H 77,1 ንጉሠ-ም ፡] AG; መለሰ ፡] add. C; ምሼት ፡]  
ሊሆን ፡] ሲል ፡] add. H | እንግዲህስ ፡] CGH; እንግዲህስ ፡] A | መሸ ፡] በሉ ፡] ACG;  
om. H 2 አለ ፡] AG; om. C; ብሎ ፡] አዘዘ ፡] H | ለቃሞች ፡] ACG; ለቃሞች ፡] H

PUNCTUATION | 16 ጨመራት ፡] CGH; ። A | አገባት ።] AH; ፣ CG 76,1 ነገሩ ።] H;  
፣ ACG 2 አሉ ፡] ACG; ። H 3 አለ ።] A; ፣ CGH 5 አለ ።] H; ፣ ACG 6 ነገረ ።] H;  
፣ ACG 7 ዋለ ።] A; ፣ CGH | ፈርቶ ፡] ። AGH 9 ጀመረ ፡] ACG; ። H 10 ወዲህ ።] A;  
፣ CGH | ለብሶ ፡] ACH; ። G 13 ዋለ ።] AGH; ፤ C 77,2 አለ ፡] CGH; ። A

የሚነሳ ፡ አጥተው ፡ ተመለሱ ። በካፋም ፡ ይህንን ፡ በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
 እንደ ፡ ግሥላ ፡ ሲታነቅ ፡ አደረ ፡ ግብርም ፡ ደፍኖ ፡ አደረ ። ከተ  
 ማውንም ፡ ሊያጠፋ ፡ ተነሳ ፡ መማክርቱ ፡ ግን ፡ ጃንሆይ ፡ 5  
 አትቁጣ ፡ አሁን ፡ በጥበብ ፡ እንይዘዋለን ፡ አሉ ። በሉ ፡ ከሆነማ ፡  
 ምንከፋ ፡ አለ ፡ በል ፡ አዋጅ ፡ ንገር ፡ አሉት ፡ የጎንደር ፡ ካህን ፡  
 ይህን ፡ ቀን ፡ የቀረ ፡ ቁራርጨ ፡ ለውሻ ፡ እሰጠዋለሁ ፡ በል ፡  
 አሉት ። የማር ፡ ጠጅ ፡ የወይን ፡ ጠጅ ፡ እንደ ፡ ውሃ ፡ ይፍሰስ ፡  
 ሥጋ ፡ እንደ ፡ ጎመን ፡ ይሁን ፡ ብለው ፡ መከሩ ። ያተንኩለኛ ፡ 10  
 ሲሰክር ፡ ይለፈልፋል ፡ ያንጊዜ ፡ ይገኛል ። ጠባቂ ፡ ጠባቂ ፡ አቁ  
 ምበት ፡ ዝም ፡ ብሎ ፡ የሚሰማ ፡ የቤት ፡ አሽከር ፤ ምልክት ፡ የተ  
 ናገረ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጆሮውን ፡ ይቁረጠው ፡ ሰውም ፡ ከግምቡ ፡ ሲበላ ፡  
 ሲጠጣ ፡ እንደዋለ ፡ ይደር ፡ አሉ ።

78 በካፋም ፡ የተመከረው ፡ ምክር ፡ መልካም ፡ ነው ፡ አለ ።  
 መብሉ ፡ መጠጡም ፡ ተዘጋጀ ፡ የጎንደር ፡ ደብተራም ፡ በቀኑ ፡  
 ቀን ፡ ተለቅሞ ፡ ከግንቡ ፡ ገባ ፡ ሲበላ ፡ ሲጠጣ ፡ ዋለ ፡ እንደዋለ ፡

ACGH 7 የጎንደር ፡] የጎንደር ፡ H65<sup>r</sup> 9 የማር ፡] G71<sup>v</sup> 11 ይለፈልፋል ፡] A57<sup>rb</sup> 12 አሽከር ፤] H65<sup>v</sup> 78,2 የጎንደር ፡] G72<sup>r</sup>

ቢሄዱ ፡] ACH; ቢኸዱ ፡ G | አንድ ፡] ACH; ጅንድ ፡ G | ወርቅ ፡] ACG; አጡ ፡  
 add. H

3 ይህንን ፡] AC; ይኸንን ፡ G; ይህን ፡ H 4 እንደ ፡...4 ግሥላ ፡] ACG; እንደግሥላ ፡  
 H | አደረ ፡] ACG; እራት ፡ እንዳይበላ ፡ add. H 5 ሊያጠፋ ፡] ACG; ሊአጠፋ ፡ H  
 6 አትቁጣ ፡] A; አትቆጣ ፡ CH; አትቁጣ ፡ G; ወርቅ ፡ የወሰደውን ፡ ሰው ፡ add. H  
 አሉ ።] ACG; አሉት ። H | ከሆነማ ፡] ACH; ከጎንደር ፡ G 7 ምንከፋ ፡] ACG;  
 ምን ፡ ከፋ ፡ H | በል ፡] ACG; om. H; መማክርቱም ፡ add. H | ንገር ፡] ACG;  
 ንገርልን ፡ H | ካህን ፡] AG; የሆንህ ፡ add. C; የሆንህክ ፡ add. H 8 ይህን ፡] CGH;  
 ይህንን ፡ A | የቀረ ፡] AG; የቀረህ ፡ CH | ቁራርጨ ፡] ACG; ቆራርጨ ፡ H  
 እሰጠዋለሁ ፡] ACG; እሰጥላለሁ ፡ H 9 አሉት ።] ACG; ግብር ፡ ይዘጋጅ ፡ add. H  
 10 ሥጋ ፡] ACG; ሥጋም ፡ H | እንደ ፡ ጎመን ፡] ACG; እንደጎመን ፡ H  
 መከሩ ።] ACG; መከሩና ። H | ያተንኩለኛ ፡] A; ያንን ፡ ተንኩለኛ ፡ CG; ያንን ፡  
 ተኩለኛ ፡ G; ወርቁን ፡ የወሰደው ፡ ተንኩለኛ ፡ H 11 ሲሰክር ፡] ACG; ያንጊዜ ፡  
 add. CH | ያንጊዜ ፡] AG; ያን ፡ ጊዜ ፡ C; በዚያን ፡ ጊዜ ፡ H | ጠባቂ ፡] AG; om.  
 C; ዘበኛ ፡ H | አቁምበት ፡] ACG; ይቁምበት ። H 12 ዝም ፡...13 ጊዜ ፡] ACG;  
 ተንኩለኛው ፡ ሰክሮ ፡ ሲለፈልፍ ፡ የቆመው ፡ ዘበኛ ፡ የቤት ፡ አሽከር ፡  
 የተናገረውን ፡ ሰው ፡ ለመለየት ፡ እንዲቻል ፡ ምልክት ፡ ያድርግበት ።  
 ምልክቱም ፡ tra. H 13 ጊዜ ፡] AG; ግራ ፡ add. CG<sup>h</sup> | ጆሮውን ፡] AGH;  
 ጆሮውን ፡ C | ይቁረጠው ፡] CG; ይቀረጠው ፡ AH; የተጠራው ፡ add. H  
 ከግምቡ ፡] G; ከግቡ ፡ A; አይውጣ ፡ C; እንዳይወጣ ፡ H 14 እንደዋለ ፡] ACG;  
 በአለው ፡ add. H 78,1 በካፋም ፡] ACH; በካፋም ፡ G | አለ ።] AC; አሉ ። G;  
 አለና ። H 2 መብሉ ፡] ACG; መብሉም ፡ H | ተዘጋጀ ፡] ACH; ተዘጋገር ፡ G  
 3 ከግንቡ ፡] CH; ከግቡ ፡ A; ከግምቡ ፡ H; ውስጥ ፡ add. H | እንደዋለ ፡] A;  
 እንዳለ ፡ CGH

PUNCTUATION | 3 ተመለሱ ።] AGH; ፡ C 4 አደረ ።] A; ፡ CGH 5 ተነሳ ፡] AG;  
 ACG; ። H 6 አሉ ።] AH; ፡ CG 7 አለ ፡] CGH; ፤ A | አሉት ፡] ACG; ። H  
 9 አሉት ።] AH; ፡ CG | ይፍሰስ ፡] ACG; ። H 11 ይለፈልፋል ፡] CGH; ። A  
 ይገኛል ።] H; ፡ ACG | አቁምበት ፡] AC; ። GH 12 አሽከር ፤] A; ፡ CGH  
 14 አሉ ።] AGH; ፡ C 78,1 አለ ።] AG; ፡ CH 2 ተዘጋጀ ፡] CGH; ፤ A 3 ገባ ፡] CGH;  
 ። A

አደረ ፡ አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡ ሳይወጣ ። ሌሊት ፡ ያተንከላለኛ ፡  
 ደብተራ ፡ ከባልንጀራው ፡ ጋራ ፡ ጨዋታ ፡ ጀመረ ። እናንተን ፡ 5  
 ሁሉ ፡ በሚያ ፡ እኔ ፡ እበልጣችሁ ፡ አለሁ ፡ አለ ። ያባልንጀራው ፡  
 በምን ፡ ትበልጠናለህ ፡ አለው ። እሱም ፡ መለሰለት ፡ በካፋን ፡  
 የማስጨንቅ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ አርጌ ፡ አኔ ፡ አይደለሁም ፡ አለ ። ይህንን ፡  
 ነገር ፡ የቤት ፡ አሽከር ፡ በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጀሮውን ፡ ቁረጠና ፡ የም  
 ስራች ፡ ብሎ ፡ ከንጉሡ ፡ ፊት ፡ ጀሮውን ፡ ጣለለት ። 10

79 በካፋም ፡ ልብስ ፡ መንግሥቱን ፡ አደረገና ፡ ዘውዱን ፡  
 ደፋና ፡ ነጋሪት ፡ እያስመታ ፡ መድፍ ፡ እያስተከሰ ፡ [ከ]ግንቡ ፡  
 ሲፈክር ፡ አደረ ፡ ያነን ፡ ተንከላለኛ ፡ በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ቸርነት ፡  
 አገኘሁት ፡ እያለ ። ያተንከላለኛ ፡ ደብተራም ፡ ትንሽ ፡ እንቅልፍ ፡  
 ተኝቶ ፡ ተነሣ ፡ ሰካሩ ፡ ካለፈ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ጀሮውን ፡ ዳሶ ፡ ቢያይ ፡ 5  
 ተቆርጦ ፡ አገኘው ። ይኸ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዛሬ ፡ አገኘኝ ፡ አለና ፡  
 ካሯውን ፡ ይዞ ፡ ቀሰብሎ ፡ ተነሣና ፡ ሰክሮ ፡ የወደቀውን ፡

ACGH 5 ከባልንጀራው ፡] ከባልንጀራው ፡ H66<sup>f</sup> 9 ቁረጠና ፡] ቁረጠና ፡ G72<sup>v</sup>  
 10 ጣለለት ።] A57<sup>va</sup> 79,1 በካፋም ፡] H66<sup>v</sup> 6 ዛሬ ፡] G73<sup>f</sup>

VARIANTS | 4 አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡] ACH; አንድሰው ፡ G | ያተንከላለኛ ፡] A; ያ ፡  
 ተንከላለኛ ፡ C; ያተከላለኛ ፡ G; ያነ ፡ ወርቁን ፡ ለቅሞ ፡ የወሰደው ፡ ተንከላለኛ ፡ H  
 5 ከባልንጀራው ፡] CH; ከባልጀራው ፡ AG | ጋራ ፡] ACG; ጋር ፡ H 6 በሚያ ፡] A;  
 በሙያ ፡ C; በሚያ ፡ G; በሞያ ፡ H | እኔ ፡] om. H | እበልጣችሁ ፡ አለሁ ፡] A;  
 እበልጣችኋለሁ ፡ CH; በልጣች ፡ ኋለሁ ፡ G | ያባልንጀራው ፡] G; ያባልጀራው ፡  
 AG; ያባልንጀራውም ፡ CH 7 ትበልጠናለህ ፡] CG; ትበልጠነ ፡ አለህ ፡ A;  
 ትበልጠኛለህ ፡ H | እሱም ፡] ACG; እርሱም ፡ H 8 የማስጨንቅ ፡] A;  
 እማስጨንቀው ፡ C; ፅማስጨንቅ ፡ G; የማስጨንቀው ፡ H | አርጌ ፡] ACG;  
 አድርጌ ፡ H | አይደለሁም ፡] ACG; አይደለሁምን ፡ H | ይህንን ፡] ACG; ይህን ፡  
 H 9 አሽከር ፡] ACG; አሺከር ፡ H; ቁሞ ፡ ሲአዳምጥ ፡ add. H | ጊዜ ፡] ACG;  
 የደብተራውን ፡ ግራ ፡ add. H | ጀሮውን ፡] AGH; ጀሮውን ፡ C | ቁረጠና ፡] ACG;  
 ቆረጠና ፡ H 10 ፊት ፡] ACG; የቆረጠውን ፡ add. H | ጀሮውን ፡] AG;  
 ጀሮውን ፡ C; ጀሮ ፡ H | ጣለለት ።] ACH; ጠለለት ። G 79,1 አደረገና ፡] ACG;  
 ለበሰና ፡ H 2 መድፍ ፡] AG; መንገዲቅ ፡ add. C; ሲፈክር ፡ H; | [ከ]ግንቡ ፡...3  
 ሲፈክር ፡] AG; om. CH 3 አደረ ፡] ACG; አደራ ፡ H | አደረ ፡...4 እያለ ።] AG;  
 አደረ ፡ ያነን ፡ ተንከላለኛ ፡ በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ቸርነት ፡ አገኘሁት ፡ እያለ ፡  
 ሲፈክር ፡ tra. H | ተንከላለኛ ፡] AC; ተከለኛ ፡ G; ተንከላለኛ ፡ H 4 ያተንከላለኛ ፡] A;  
 ያ ፡ ተንከላለኛ ፡ C; ያተከላለኛ ፡ G; ተንከላለኛው ፡ H | ደብተራም ፡] ACG;  
 ደብተራ ፡ H | ትንሽ ፡] ACG; ትንሺ ፡ H | እንቅልፍ ፡] ACH; እቅልፍ ፡ G  
 5 ተነሣ ፡] ACG; ቢነሣ ፡ H | ካለፈ ፡] ACH; ሐለፈ ፡ G | በኋላ ፡] H; በኋላም ፡  
 ACG | ጀሮውን ፡...ቢያይ ፡] ACG; om. H | ቢያይ ፡] ACG; ግራ ፡ ጀሮው ፡ add.  
 CG; ጀሮው ፡ add. H 6 ተቆርጦ ፡] AG; ተቆርጦ ፡ CH | ይኸ ፡] CG; ይህ ፡ AH  
 ዛሬ ፡] CH; om. AG | አገኘኝ ፡] ACG; አገኜኝ ፡ H 7 ካሯውን ፡] G; ካራውን ፡ A;  
 ሰንጠውን ፡ CH | ተነሣና ፡] CH; ተነሣ ፡ AG

PUNCTUATION | 4 አደረ ፡] CG; ። AH | ሳይወጣ ።] A; ፡ CGH 5 ጀመረ ።] A; ፡  
 CGH 6 አለ ።] AH; ፡ CG 7 አለው ።] AH; ፡ CG 8 አለ ።] AH; ፡ CG  
 10 ጣለለት ።] CGH; ፤ A 79,4 አገኘሁት ፡] ACG; ። H | እያለ ።] A; ፡ CGH  
 6 አገኘው ።] H; ፡ ACG

ደብተራ ፡ ሑሉ ፡ እንደሱ ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ጆሮ ፡ ጆሮውን ፡ ቁረ  
ጠውና ፡ ተመልሶ ፡ ከሌላ ፡ ስፍራ ፡ ተኛ ፡

80 በነጋ ፡ ጊዜም ፡ በካፋ ፡ ውጣ ፡ በለው ፡ አለ ። ያሑሉ ፡  
ደብተራ ፡ ቢወጣ ፡ ሙላው ፡ ጆሮ ፡ ቆራጣ ፡ ብቻ ፡ ሁኖ ፡  
አገኘው ። ይኸን ፡ በካፋ ፡ ቢሰማ ፡ በፊት ፡ አዘነ ፡ ኋላ ፡ ግን ፡  
የዝያን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ጆሮውን ፡ አይቶ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ሣቅ ፡  
ሣቀና ፡ አልነካም ፡ ብሎ ፡ በኪዳነ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ማለ[ ።] እኔ ፡ 5  
ተቸነፍኩ ፡ ንገረኝ ፡ አልነካም ፡ እሸልምሐላሁ ፡ አለ ።  
ንጉሡም ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ምሕረትን ፡ ካሉ ፡ ሰው ፡ አይነኩም ፡ ነበርና ፡  
10 ያተንከላለኛ ፡ ሰውም ፡ እኔ ፡ ነኝ ፡ አለ ። እሱንም ፡ እጅግ ፡ አድ  
ንቀው ፡ ሸለሙት ። በሱ ፡ ተንከላል ፡ ጆሮውን ፡ ለተቁረጠው ፡  
ሁሉ ፡ 11፤ወቄት ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ካሳ ፡ ይሁንህ ፡ ብለው ፡ ሰጡት ። 10

81 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ግብር ፡ ሲያገቡ ፡ ጀለት ፡  
ተንከላለኞች ፡ ደብተሮች ፡ በፅፀ ፡ መሰውር ፡ ገብተው ፡ ከንጉሡ ፡

ACGH 8 ጆሮውን ፡] ጆሮውን ፡ H67<sup>r</sup> 80,5 ሣቀና ፡] H67<sup>v</sup> | ምሕረት ፡]  
ምሕረት ፡ G73<sup>v</sup> 6 ንገረኝ ፡] A57<sup>vb</sup> 81,2 ገብተው ፡] ገብተው ፡ G74<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 8 አድርጎ ፡] AG; ግራ ፡ ግራ ፡ add. CG<sup>3</sup>H | ጆሮ ፡] AG; om. CG<sup>3</sup>H  
ጆሮውን ፡] ACG; ጆሮውን ፡ C | ቁረጠውና ፡] H; ቁረጠው ፡ AG; ቆረጠው ፡ C  
9 ከሌላ ፡] CGH; ከሌላ ፡ A 80,1 በነጋ ፡ ጊዜም ፡] CG; ሲነጋም ፡ A; ግን ፡ በነጋ ፡  
ጊዜም ፡ H | በካፋ ፡] AC; በከፋ ፡ GH; ደብተራውን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ add. H | ውጣ ፡  
በለው ፡] CH; ውጣበለው ፡ A; ውጣበል ፡ G | ያሑሉ ፡ ...2 ደብተራ ፡] ACG;  
በግብጥው ፡ ውስጥ ፡ የዋለው ፡ ያደረው ፡ ደብተራ ፡ H 2 ቢወጣ ፡] CH;  
ቢወጣም ፡ AG | ሙላው ፡] CG<sup>2</sup>; በሙሉ ፡ H; om. AG | ጆሮ ፡] AGG<sup>2</sup>; ጆሮ ፡ C;  
ጆሮው ፡ H | ቆራጣ ፡] CG<sup>3</sup>H; ቆራጣ ፡ AG | ብቻ ፡ ...3 አገኘው ።] CG<sup>3</sup>H; ሆነ ፡  
A; ጎሳ ፡ G | ሁኖ ፡] CG<sup>2</sup>; ሆኖ ፡ H 3 አገኘው ።] CG<sup>2</sup>; አገኘው ፡ H | ይኸን ፡] G;  
ይህን ፡ A; ይኸንን ፡ C; ይህንን ፡ H | በካፋ ፡] ACG; በአየና ፡ H | ቢሰማ ፡] C;  
ቢሰማም ፡ AG; በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ H | በፊት ፡] ACG; በመጀመሪያ ፡ H | ኋላ ፡ ግን ፡] ACH;  
ኋላግን ፡ G 4 የዝያን ፡] CG; የዚያን ፡ AH | ጆሮውን ፡] AG; ጆሮውን ፡ C;  
ጆሮ ፡ H; የተቆረጠውን ፡ add. H 5 ሣቀና ፡] ACG; ተንከላለኛውን ፡ ደብተራ ፡ add.  
H | አልነካም ፡] CG<sup>3</sup>H; አልካም ፡ AG | ብሎ ፡] ACG; እምልልህ ፡ አለሁ ፡  
አለ ፡ add. H | በኪዳነ ፡ ...6 አለ ።] ACG; om. H 6 ተቸነፍኩ ፡] CG;  
ተቸነፍኩኝ ፡ A | አልነካም ፡] ACG<sup>2</sup>; አልካም ፡ G | እሸልምሐላሁ ፡] CG;  
እሸልምሐ ፡ አለሁ ፡ A | አለ ።] AC; om. G 7 ንጉሡም ፡] CH; ንጉሥም ፡ AG  
ካሉ ፡] CGH; ካለ ፡ A | ሰው ፡ ...ነበርና ፡] CGH; አይነኩም ፡ ነበር ፡ ሰው ፡ tra. A  
አይነኩም ፡] CG<sup>3</sup>H; አይነካም ፡ A; አነኩም ፡ G | ነበርና ፡] CGH; ነበር ፡ A  
8 ያተንከላለኛ ፡] AG<sup>2</sup>; ያ ፡ ተንከላለኛ ፡ C; ያተከላለኛ ፡ G; ያተንከላለኛ ፡ H | እኔ ፡  
ነኝ ፡] ACH; እኔነኝ ፡ G | እሱንም ፡] ACG; እርሱንም ፡ H | እጅግ ፡] ACG<sup>3</sup>H;  
እጅ ፡ G 9 ሸለሙት ።] ACG; በሱ ፡ add. A | ተንከላል ፡] CG<sup>2</sup>; ተከላል ፡ G;  
ተንከል ፡ H; om. A | ጆሮውን ፡] AG; ጆሮውን ፡ C; የ ፡ ጆሮውን ፡ H 10 ሁሉ ፡] CH;  
ሰው ፡ A; om. G | 11፤ወቄት ፡] AC; 11፤ወጨት ፡ G; 11፤አሥር ፡ ወቄት ፡ H  
ካሳ ፡ ...ሰጡት ።] AGH; ሰጡት ፡ ካሳ ፡ ይሁንህ ፡ ብለው ። tra. C | ይሁንህ ፡] CH;  
ይሁነው ፡ A; ይሑንኸ ፡ G 81,1 ከዚህም ፡] ACG; ከዚህ ፡ H | ሲያገቡ ፡] AG;  
ሲያገቡ ፡ CH | ጀለት ፡] AG; ጀት ፡ C; ሁለት ፡ H 2 ተንከላለኞች ፡] AC;  
ተከላለኞች ፡ G; ተንከላለኞች ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 80,1 አለ ።] A; ፡ CGH 3 አገኘው ።] A; ፡ CGH 5 ማለ[ ።] ] ፡  
ACGH 6 አለ ።] A; ፡ CGH 8 አለ ።] AH; ፡ CG 9 ሸለሙት ።] AGH; ፡ C  
10 ሰጡት ።] CG; ። ። A; ፡ H

ጋራ ፡ የሚበሉ ፡ ነበር ። ይህን ፡ ነገርም ፡ ነገረ ፡ ሰሪ ፡ ነገረባቸው ፡  
 በካፋም ፡ ይህን ፡ ነገር ፡ ሰማና ፡ ማልዶ ፡ ጀነፍጠኛ ፡ አስተኛ ፡  
 ከመንበረ ፡ ዳዊቱ ፡ እግር ። እንዳይታዩ ፡ ምንጣፍ ፡ ከደናቸው ፡ 5  
 ግብር ፡ ሲገባ ፡ ግን ፡ የቤት ፡ ሰው ፡ እንዳትመቱ ፡ አድርጋችሁ ፡  
 አያይዛችሁ ፡ ተኩሱ ፡ አላቸው ። ጊዜ ፡ ድራሽ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ ግብር ፡  
 ሲገባ ፡ አሽከሮችንም ፡ ማልዶ ፡ ነገራቸው ፡ ግብር ፡ አግብታችሁ ፡  
 አትቁሙ ፡ አላቸው ። እነዚያም ፡ አሽከሮች ፡ ግብር ፡ አግብተው ፡  
 ወጥተው ፡ ቆሙ ። እነዚያ ፡ ነፍጠኞችም ፡ መሬት ፡ ለመሬት ፡ 10  
 አያይዘው ፡ ተኩሱ ። እነዚያ ፡ መሠርያን ፡ ደብተሮች ፡ ዕፀ ፡  
 መሠውርን ፡ በድንጋጫ ፡ ጣሉት ፡ ታጥቀው ፡ ቁመው ፡ እየበሉ ፡  
 ተገኙ ፡ ስለ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ [ክብር ።]

82 በካፋም ፡ አየና ፡ ታጥቃችሁ ፡ ቁማችሁ ፡ ስለ ፡ በላችሁ ፡  
 ምሯችሁ ፡ አለሁ ፡ ተቀምጣችሁ ፡ በልታችሁ ፡ ቢሆን ፡ እቀ  
 ጣችሁ ፡ ነበር ። በሉ ፡ እንግዲህ ፡ ግን ፡ ጥበባችሁን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ አስተ  
 ምሩኝ ፡ አለ ፡ አጤ ፡ በካፋ ። እነዚያ ፡ ጠብብትም ፡ እስኪ ፡

ACGH 3 ነገረባቸው ፡] H68<sup>r</sup> 4 ማልዶ ፡] ማልዶ ፡ C11<sup>v</sup> 7 ድራሽ ፡] ድራሽ ፡  
 A58<sup>ra</sup> 9 አትቁሙ ፡] አትቁሙ ፡ G74<sup>v</sup> 10 ነፍጠኞችም ፡] ነፍጠኞችም ፡ H68<sup>v</sup>  
 82,2 በልታችሁ ፡] G75<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 3 ጋራ ፡] ACG; ጋር ፡ H | ይህን ፡] ACG; ይህንንም ፡ H | ነገርም ፡] ACG; ነገር ፡ H; ለንጉሡ ፡ add. H | ነገረባቸው ፡] CGH; ነገራቸው ፡ A  
 4 በካፋም ፡] ACG; አጫ ፡ በካፋም ፡ H | ሰማና ፡] AG; ሰሙና ፡ CH | ማልዶ ፡] G;  
 ማለዳ ፡ A; ማልደው ፡ CH | ጀነፍጠኛ ፡] CG; ጀለት ፡ ነፍጠኛ ፡ A; ጀት ፡ ነፍጠኛ ፡  
 H; ዙብ ፡ add. CH | አስተኛ ፡] AG; አስተኙ ፡ CH 5 እግር ።] ACG; ስር ፡ H  
 ምንጣፍ ፡] H; ምንጣፋ ፡ ACG | ከደናቸው ፡] ACG; ከደናቸው ፡ H 6 ሲገባ ፡  
 ግን ፡] ACH; ሲገባግን ፡ G | የቤት ፡ ሰው ፡] ACH; ሲገባግን ፡ G 7 አላቸው ።] H;  
 om. ACG | ጊዜ ፡ ...9 አላቸው ።] ACG; ሌሎችንም ፡ የቤት ፡ አሽከሮች ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
 ድራሽ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ ግብር ፡ አስገብታችሁ ፡ ከአዳራሹ ፡ እንዳትቆሙ ፡ ብሎ ፡  
 ማልዶ ፡ ነገራቸው ። tra. H | ድራሽ ፡] AC; ድራሽ ፡ GH | ሲሆን ፡] ACH;  
 ሲገቡን ፡ G | ግብር ፡ ...8 ሲገባ ፡] om. H 8 አሽከሮችንም ፡] ACG; ሌሎችንም ፡  
 የቤት ፡ አሽከሮች ፡ H | ማልዶ ፡] CH; ማለዳ ፡ A; ማለዶ ፡ G | አግብታችሁ ፡] ACG;  
 አስገብታችሁ ፡ H 9 አትቁሙ ፡] ACG; ከአዳራሹ ፡ እንዳትቆሙ ፡ H  
 አላቸው ።] C; ብሎ ፡ H; om. AG | እነዚያም ፡] GC; እነዚያም ፡ AH  
 አሽከሮች ፡] ACG; አሽከሮች ፡ H | አግብተው ፡] ACG; አስገብተው ፡ H  
 10 ቆሙ ።] AG; ሄዱ ። CH | እነዚያ ፡] CG; እነዚያም ፡ CH 11 ተኩሱ ።] ACG;  
 ቢተኩሱ ፡ H | እነዚያ ፡] ACG; እነዚያ ፡ H 12 ታጥቀው ፡ ...13 ተገኙ ፡] CH;  
 ቁመው ፡ ተገኙ ፡ ታጥቀው ፡ እየበሉ ፡ tra. AG | ቁመው ፡ ...13 ተገኙ ፡] C;  
 እየበሉ ፡ ተገኙ ፡ ቁመው ፡ tra. H 13 [ክብር ።]] con; ማክበር ።] C; om. AG;  
 መንበር ። H 82,1 ታጥቃችሁ ፡ ቁማችሁ ፡] CH; ቁማችሁ ፡ ታጥቃችሁ ፡ tra. AG  
 2 ምሯችሁ ፡] ACG; ምራያችሁ ፡ H | አለሁ ፡] AG; አለ ፡ add. CH | ቢሆን ፡] AG;  
 ግን ፡ add. H 3 በሉ ፡] AGH; በሉ ፡ C | እንግዲህ ፡] CGእንግዲህ ፡ A;  
 ከእንግዲህ ፡ H | አስተምሩኝ ፡] ACH; አስተ ፡ ምሩኝ ፡ G 4 አለ ፡] A; አሉ ፡ CH;  
 አላቸው ፡ H | አጤ ፡] AG; አጫ ፡ CH | እነዚያ ፡] CG; እነዚያ ፡ AH

PUNCTUATION | 81,3 ነበር ።] AH; ፡ CG 5 እግር ።] A; ፡ CGH | ከደናቸው ፡] ACG;  
 ፡ H 7 አላቸው ።] AGH; ፡ C 8 ሲገባ ፡] CGH; ። A 10 ቆሙ ።] AGH;  
 ፡ C 11 ተኩሱ ።] AG; ፡ CH 12 ጣሉት ፡] ACG; ። H 82,2 አለሁ ፡] GH; ።  
 AC 4 በካፋ ።] AH; ፡ CG

ቡብርት ፡ ውሀ ፡ አቅርብልነ ፡ አሉ ። ጎጉሠም ፡ አቀረበላቸው ፡ 5  
 አዕዋፍ ፡ ሆኑ ፡ ከብርቱ ፡ ውሀ ፡ ቀመሱና ፡ ወደ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወጡ ፡  
 ትእምርት ፡ ሊያሳዩ ፡ አንዱ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ስሙ ፡ መንክር ፡ ይባል ፡  
 ነበር ። ከሰማይ ፡ ሲደርስ ፡ መንክርስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በአ  
 ርያሙ ፡ አለ ። አንዱ ፡ ግሩም ፡ ይባላል ፡ ግሩም ፡ እምግሩማን ፡  
 አለ ፡ ይህን ፡ ተናግረው ፡ ወደ ፡ መሬት ፡ ወረዱ ። ተመልሰውም ፡ 10  
 ሰዎች ፡ ሆኑ ፡ በካፋም ፡ አደነቀ ። ጥበቡን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ለአጤ ፡ በካፋ ፡  
 አስተማሩ ፡ በካፋም ፡ ጋኔን ፡ መሳብ ፡ ተማረ ። ጋኔኑም ፡ ወለት ፡  
 ትነግሥ ፡ እያለ ፡ ይነግረው ፡ ጀመረ ። አንድም ፡ ሴት ፡ የጨረሰ ፡  
 10 ሴት ፡ ልትነግሥብኝ ፡ ነው ፡ ብሎ ፡ ነው ።

83 ምንትዋብም ፡ አመጣጥዋ ፡ ከቋራ ፡ ነው ፡ የማኅበረ ፡  
 ሥላሴ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ እናትዋን ፡ ይህችን ፡ ልጅሽን ፡ ወደ ፡  
 ጎንደር ፡ ውሰኛት ፡ በብልትዋ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ሲወጣ ፡ አይቻለሁ ፡  
 አላት ። እናትዋም ፡ ምንትዋብን ፡ ይዛ ፡ ወደ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ መጣች ። 5  
 በአደባባይ ፡ ስታልፍ ፡ በካፋ ፡ አያት ፡ ጥሩ ፡ መልክ ፡ መልካም ፡

ACGH 5 አቀረበላቸው ፡] H69<sup>r</sup> 7 ሊያሳዩ ፡] A58<sup>rb</sup> 8 እግዚአብሔር ፡]   
 እግዚአብሔር ፡] G75<sup>v</sup> 13 ይነግረው ፡] H69<sup>v</sup> 83,2 መነኩሴ ፡] G76<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 5 አቅርብልነ ፡] AG; አስቀርብልነ ፡ C; አስቀርብልን ፡ H | አሉ ።]   
 ACG; አሉት ።] H | ጎጉሠም ፡] CH; ጎጉሥም ፡ A; ጎጉሥ ፡ G | አቀረበላቸው ፡]   
 ACG; አስቀረበላቸው ፡] H 6 ሆኑ ፡] ACH; ጎኑ ፡] G | ወደ ፡ ሰማይ ፡] CH;   
 ወደሰማይ ፡] AG 7 ሊያሳዩ ፡] ACG; ሊአሳዩ ፡] H | አንዱ ፡ ...ነበር ።] AH; አንዱ ፡   
 ስሙ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ መንክር ፡ ይባል ፡ ነበር ፡] C; ጀደብተራ ፡ መንክር ፡ ይባል ፡   
 ነበር ፡ ስሙ ።] G 8 መንክርስ ፡] ACG; መንክር ፡] H 9 አለ ።] A; አለና ፡] CGH   
 አንዱ ፡ ...አለ ፡] A; om. CGH 10 ይህን ፡ ...10 ተናግረው ፡] A; ተመጸድቆ ፡   
 ተናግሮ ፡] CGH | ወደ ፡ መሬት ፡] C; ወደመሬት ፡] AGH | ወረዱ ።] A; ወረደ ፡   
 CGH | ተመልሰውም ፡ ...11 አደነቀ ።] A; በካፋም ፡ አደነቀ ፡ ተመልሰውም ፡   
 ሰዎች ፡ ሆኑ ፡] CGH 11 ሆኑ ፡] ACH; ጎኑ ፡] G | ጥበቡን ፡] ACH; ጥበቡ ፡] G   
 ሁሉ ፡] CGH; ጎሉ ፡] A | ለአጤ ፡] AG; ለአጤ ፡] CH 12 አስተማሩ ፡] CGH;   
 አስተማሩት ፡] A | ተማረ ።] AG; ተማሩ ፡] C; ጀመሩ ፡] H 13 ይነግረው ፡] A;   
 ይነግራቸው ፡] CGH | ጀመረ ።] ACG; ነበር ።] H | የጨረሰ ፡] A; የጨረሱ ፡] CGH   
 14 ሴት ፡] CGH; ሴቲቱ ፡] A | ልትነግሥብኝ ፡] ACG<sup>H</sup>; ልትነግሥብኝ ፡] G   
 ልትነግሥብኝ ፡ ነው ፡] ACH; ልትነግሥብኝነው ፡] G | ነው ፡] CGH; om. A   
 ብሎ ፡] A; ብለው ፡] CGH | ነው ።] ACG; ይላሉ ።] add. H 83,1 ምንትዋብም ፡]   
 CGH; ምንትዋም ፡] A | አመጣጥዋ ፡] CGH; የመጣች ፡] A 2 እናትዋን ፡] ACG;   
 ለናትዋ ፡] | ልጅሽን ፡] ACG; ልጅሺን ፡] H | ወደ ፡ ጎንደር ፡] C; ወደጎንደር ፡   
 AGH 3 ውሰኛት ፡] CGH; ብሎ ፡ ነገራት ፡] add. A | በብልትዋ ፡] ACG; በብልቷ ፡   
 H | አይቻለሁ ፡] ACH; አይቸ ፡ አለሁ ፡] G 4 ወደ ፡ ጎንደር ፡] C; ወደጎንደር ፡   
 AGH 5 መልክ ፡ መልካም ፡] CH; መልካም ፡] A; መልክመካም ፡] G

PUNCTUATION | 5 አሉ ።] AH; ፡] CG 6 ሆኑ ፡] ACG; ።] H | ከብርቱ ፡] CGH; ።   
 A | ወጡ ፡] CG ።; AH 8 ነበር ።] AGH; ፡] C 10 ወረዱ ።] AH; ፡] CG   
 11 አደነቀ ።] A; ፡] CGH 12 አስተማሩ ፡] CH; ።] A | ፤] G | ተማረ ።] AGH; ፡] C   
 13 ጀመረ ።] AGH; ፡] C 14 ነው ።] AGH; ፡] C 83,4 አላት ።] AGH; ፡] C   
 መጣች ።] A; ፡] CGH 5 አያት ፡] ACG; ።] H



ነበረች ፡ ወደዚህ ፡ እስኪ ፡ አቅርባት ፡ አለ ፡ አይቶም ፡ ደስ ፡ አለው ። የወገራ ፡ ሰው ፡ ባለሟል ፡ ነበረው ፡ አስጠርቶ ፡ አመጣው ፡ በል ፡ ይህችን ፡ ሕፃን ፡ በማርና ፡ በወተት ፡ አሳድገህ ፡ አምጣልኝ ፡ አለው ። ወደ ፡ ደጋ ፡ አገር ፡ መስደዱ ፡ ደጋ ፡ አገር ፡ ባለ ፡ ጤና ፡ ነው ፡ ብሎ ፡ ነው ፡ እንዳትሞትበት ።

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84 ያሰውም ፡ ወሰዳት ፡ ማርና ፡ ወተት ፡ እያጠጣ ፡ አስቀ መጣት ። ፪ዓመት ፡ ኖረች ፡ በካፋም ፡ እረሳት ፡ ፪ዓመት ፡ ከሆናት ፡ በኋላ ፡ ትዝ ፡ አለችው ፡ ያነን ፡ ሰው ፡ ጥሩት ፡ አለ ፡ ያሰውም ፡ መጣ ። ንጉሠ-ም ፡ ምነው ፡ ሰው ፡ ሰጥተንህ ፡ አልነ በረም ፡ አለው ። እሱም ፡ አሁንስ ፡ ምን ፡ አጠፋሁ ፡ አለ ፡ ምነው ፡ ያችን ፡ ሰው ፡ ሳታመጣልኝ ፡ አለው ፡ ሳታዘኝ ፡ ብዩ ፡ ነው ፡ አለ ። እሱም ፡ በል ፡ ገሥግሠህ ፡ ተሎ ፡ ይዘህና ፡ አለው ። እሱም ፡ ተሎ ፡ ይዞ ፡ ደረሰ ፡ በጥንቃቄ ፡ አኑሮ ፡ ነበርና ፡ እርሷም ፡ ብርሃት ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ሁና ፡ መጣች ፡ ንጉሠ-ም ፡ አመሰገነ ።

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ACGH 6 እስኪ ፡] A58v<sup>a</sup> 8 አመጣው ፡] አመጣው ፡ H70<sup>r</sup> 9 አምጣልኝ ፡] G76<sup>v</sup> 84,6 ሳታመጣልኝ ፡] ሳታመጣልኝ ፡ G77<sup>r</sup>; ሳታመጣልኝ ፡ H70<sup>v</sup> 9 መጣች ፡] C12<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 6 ነበረች ፡] ACG; ነበረችና ፡ H | ወደዚህ ፡] AGH; ወደ ፡ ዚህ ፡ C አቅርባት ፡] AG; አቅርቧት ፡ CH | አለ ፡] AG; አሉ ፡ CH; አፄ ፡ በካፋ ፡ add. H አይቶም ፡] AG; አይተውም ፡ CH | ደስ ፡ አለው ።] A; ደስአለው ። G; ደስ ፡ አለም ፡ C; ደስ ፡ አላችው ። H 7 የወገራ ፡] AG; ፩የወገራ ፡ C; አንድ ፡ የወገራ ፡ H ነበረው ፡] AG; ነበራችው ፡ CH | አስጠርቶ ፡] AG; አስጠርተው ፡ CH 8 አመጣው ፡] AG; አምጥተው ፡ C; አስመጡና ፡ H | ይህችን ፡] ACH; ይኸችን ፡ G 9 አምጣልኝ ፡] CG<sup>H</sup>; አኑር ፡ A; om. G | አለው ፡] AG; አሉት ። CH; እሱም ፡ ይሺ ፡ ብሎ ፡ ይዞ ፡ ሄደ ። add. CH | ደጋ ፡<sup>1</sup>] ACG; ደን ፡ H መስደዱ ፡] AG; መስደዳችው ፡ CG<sup>H</sup> | ደጋ ፡<sup>2</sup>] ACG; ደን ፡ H 10 ባለ ፡ ጤና ፡] CGH; ባለጤና ፡ A | ጤና ፡ ነው ፡] ACH; ጤናነው ፡ G | ብሎ ፡] AG; ብለው ፡ CH | እንዳትሞትበት ።] AG; እንዳትሞ ። CH; ብለው ፡ ነው ፡ add. H 84,1 ወሰዳት ፡] ACG; ወሰዳትና ፡ H 2 ፪ዓመት ፡<sup>1</sup>] A; ፪ት ፡ ዓመት ፡ CH; ፪ ፡ አመት ፡ G | በካፋም ፡] ACG; አፄ ፡ በካፋም ፡ H | እረሳት ፡] ACG; አረሳት ፡ H ፪ዓመት ፡<sup>2</sup>] ACG; ሁለት ፡ ዓመት ፡ H 3 አለችው ፡] ACH; አለቺው ፡ G | አለ ፡] AGH; አሉ ፡ C 4 ሰጥተንህ ፡] CH; ሰጥችህ ፡ A; ሰጥተንህ ፡ G; | አልነበረም ፡] AC; አለበረም ፡ G; አልነበረምን ፡ H 5 አለው ።] AG; አሉት ። CH | እሱም ፡] A; om. CGH | አለ ፡] CH; om. AG 6 ያችን ፡] ACG; ይችን ፡ H | ሳታመጣልኝ ፡] ACH; ሳተመጣልኝ ፡ G | አለው ፡] AG; አሉት ፡ CH | ሳታዘኝ ፡] AG; ሳታዘኝ ፡ CH ብዩ ፡ ነው ፡] AH; ብዬ ፡ ነው ፡ C; ብዩነው ፡ G | አለ ።] ACH; አለው ፡ G 7 እሱም ፡] AG; እሳችውም ፡ CH | በል ፡] CGH; om. A | ገሥግሠህ ፡] ACG; ሂደህ ፡ add. H | ተሎ ፡<sup>1</sup>] CG; om. A; በቶሎ ፡ H | ይዘህና ፡] G; ይዘህ ፡ ና ፡ AC; አምጣልኝ ፡ H | አለው ።] AG; አሉት ። CH | እሱም ፡] ACG; እርሱም ፡ H 8 ተሎ ፡<sup>2</sup>] ACG; ቶሎ ፡ H | አኑሮ ፡] ACG; አኑሮአት ፡ H | ነበርና ፡] H; ነበር ፡ ACG

PUNCTUATION | 6 አለ ፡] CGH; ። A 7 አለው ።] AGH; ፣ C 9 አለው ።] AH; ፣ CG 10 እንዳትሞትበት ።] AG; ፣ CH 84,1 አስቀመጣት ።] AH; ፣ CG 3 አለችው ፡] ACG; ። H 4 መጣ ።] AH; ፣ CG 5 አለው ።] AH; ፣ CG አጠፋሁ ፡] CGH; ። A 6 አለው ፡] CGH; ። A | አለ ።] AH; ፣ CG 7 እሱም ፡] ACH; ፣ G | አለው ።] AH; ፣ CG 8 ደረሰ ፡] ACG; ። H | ነበርና ፡] ACH; ። G 9 መጣች ፡] ACG; ። H | አመሰገነ ።] AH; ፣ CG

ወድያውም ፡ ሕንጻ ፡ ገሥ ፡ ቢደርስባት ፡ ኢያሱን ፡ ወለደች ። 10  
መጻሕፍት ፡ ሁሉ ፡ በሱ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ነው ፡ የተዘጋጁ ፡ የተጻፉ ።

85 ደግሞ ፡ የቅሬት ፡ አለቃ ፡ የጎንደሪቱ ፡ አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡  
ገብያውን ፡ አዘረፈችው ፡ እንዴት ፡ አድርጋ ፡ ቢሉ ፡ የብል  
ትዋን ፡ ጠጉር ፡ አሳደገች ፡ በጠጉሩ ፡ ልክ ፡ ሃጎል ፡ አንጠለጠለች ፡  
ባልንጀሮችዋን ፡ ሰበሰበች ፡ ዕራቁቷን ፡ ጣለች ፡ ድልገብያ ፡  
ሲሆን ፡ ቅዳሜ ፡ ቀን ፡ ገባች ። ሰውም ፡ እሷን ፡ አያለሁ ፡ እያለ ፡ 5  
እቃውን ፡ እየጣለ ፡ ሄደ ፡ ዘጠና ፡ ዘጠኝ ፡ ባልንጀሮችዋም ፡ ገብ  
ያውን ፡ ዘረፉት ።

10 86 ደግሞ ፡ በ፬ት ፡ እግራቸው ፡ ተጎንብሰው ፡ የሚኸዱ ፡  
ሰዎች ፡ ነበሩ ። ሰዎቹም ፡ ሴቶች ፡ ናቸው ፡ ቅዳሜ ፡ ቀን ፡ ሲሆን ፡  
ከገብያ ፡ ይገባሉ ፡ ጨው ፡ ይለምናሉ ፡ እንቢ ፡ ያላቸው ፡ እን  
ደሆን ፡ ያነን ፡ ሰው ፡ እጅ ፡ እጃቸውን ፡ ከርከሱመው ፡ እንደ ፡

ACGH 10 ወድያውም ፡] ወ|ድያውም ፡ A58<sup>vb</sup> 85,2 አዘረፈችው ፡] G77<sup>v</sup>  
3 አሳደገች ፡] አ|ሳደገች ፡ H71<sup>r</sup> 86,2 ሲሆን ፡] G78<sup>r</sup> 3 ይለምናሉ ፡] ይለ|ምናሉ ፡  
H71<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 10 ወድያውም ፡] CGH; ወዲያም ፡ A 11 በሱ ፡...የተዘጋጁ ፡] AG;  
የተዘጋጁ ፡ በሱ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ነው ፡ tra. CH | የተዘጋጁ ፡] CGH; የተዘጋጀ ፡ A  
የተጻፉ ።] G; የተጻፈ ። A; om. CH 85,1 ደግሞ ፡] AC; ዳግም ፡ H; በሱ ፡ ዘመን ፡  
add. CH | ደግሞ ፡ ...7 ዘረፉት ።] CGH; om. A | የቅሬት ፡] G; የቅሬታ ፡ C;  
የትግሬይቱ ፡ H 2 ገብያውን ፡] CG; ገባያውን ፡ H | አዘረፈችው ፡] CH;  
አዘረፈቱ ፡ G | የብልትዋን ፡] G; የብልቷን ፡ CH 3 ጠጉር ፡] CG; ጠጉር ፡ H  
አሳደገች ፡] G; አሳደገችና ፡ CH | በጠጉሩ ፡] GH; በጠጉሩ ፡ C | ሃጎል ፡] G;  
ሃጎል ፡ CH 4 ባልንጀሮችዋን ፡] G; ባልንጀሮቿን ፡ C; ባልንጀሮቷን ፡ H  
ዕራቁቷን ፡ ጣለች ፡] G; እራቁቷን ፡ ጥላ ፡ C; ልብሷን ፡ ጥላ ፡ እራቁቷን ፡ H  
ዕራቁቷን ፡...5 ገባች ።] G; ቅዳሜ ፡ ድል ፡ ገባያ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ እራቁቷን ፡ ጥላ ፡  
ገባች ። tra. C; ቅዳሜ ፡ ገባያ ፡ ድል ፡ ገባያ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ ልብሷን ፡ ጥላ ፡ እራቁቷን ፡  
ገባች ። tra. H | ድልገብያ ፡] G; ድል ፡ ገባያ ፡ C; ድል ፡ ገባያ ፡ H 5 ቅዳሜ ፡  
ቀን ፡] G; ቅዳሜ ፡ C; ቅዳሜ ፡ ገባያ ፡ H | ሰውም ፡] CG; ገባይተኛው ፡ H  
ሰውም ፡...እያለ ፡] CG; እሷን ፡ አያለሁ ፡ እያለ ፡ ገባይተኛው ፡ tra. H | እሷን ፡] CG;  
እርሷን ፡ H | እያለ ፡] CH; ሲል ፡ G 6 ሄደ ፡] CH; ኸደ ፡ G  
ባልንጀሮችዋም ፡] G; ባልንጀሮቿም ፡ C; ባልንጀሮቿ ፡ H | ገብያውን ፡] CG;  
ገባያውን ፡ H; በሙሉ ፡ add. H 86,1 ደግሞ ፡] CG; ዳግም ፡ H; ባልንጀሮቷ ፡ add.  
H | ደግሞ ፡ ...6 ይባላሉ ።] CGG<sup>3</sup>H; om. A | በ፬ት ፡ እግራቸው ፡] CH;  
፬ትእግራቸው ፡ G; ማለት ፡ በጃቸውና ፡ በእግራቸው ፡ add. H | ተጎንብሰው ፡] CGH;  
ተጎንብሰው ፡ G | የሚኸዱ ፡] G; የሚሄዱ ፡ CH 2 ሰዎች ፡] CH; ሰዎች ፡  
G | ሰዎቹም ፡] C; ሰዎቹም ፡ G; እነርሱም ፡ H | ቀን ፡] ድል ፡ ገባያ ፡ add. H  
3 ከገብያ ፡] G; ገባያ ፡ C; ገባያ ፡ H | እንቢ ፡] C; እቢ ፡ G; እምቢ ፡ H | ያላቸው ፡] CG;  
ያሏቸው ፡ H | እንደሆን ፡] C; እንደጎን ፡ G; እንደሆነ ፡ H 4 እጃቸውን ፡] CG;  
እጅ ፡ ቸውን ፡ G | ከርከሱመው ፡] H; ከርከሱመው ፡ CG | እንደ ፡ ቁማጣ ፡] C;  
እንደ ፡ ቆማጣ ፡ G; እንደቆማጣ ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 10 ወለደች ።] GH; ፡ AC 11 የተጻፉ ።] AG; ፡ CH  
85,4 ሰበሰበች ፡] CG; ። H 5 ገባች ።] GH; ፡ C 6 ሄደ ፡] CG; ። H 86,2 ነበሩ ።] H;  
፡ CG

ቈማጣ፡ የርጉማን፡ ይደበድቡታል፡ ያወቀ፡ ግን፡ ይሰጣቸዋል፡ 5  
ስማቸው፡ እነ፡ እሙ፡ እሙ፡ ይባላሉ።

87 ደግሞ፡ የቀድሞ፡ ሹም፡ ሲሻር፡ የንጉሥ፡ አንድ፡  
አሽከር፡ ተልኮ፡ ሂዶ፡ በጥፊ፡ መትቶ፡ ከአልጋ፡ ጉትቶ፡  
አውርዶ፡ ይጥለው፡ ነበር፡ ሌላ፡ ሹም፡ ሹሞ፡ ይመጣ፡ ነበር፡  
ይላሉ። በዚያ፡ ልማድም፡ የንጉሥ፡ አሽከር፡ የንደርታውን፡  
ሹም፡ ሽሮ፡ ሊመጣ፡ ተልኮ፡ ሂዶ። ሲሂድም፡ በቀሎ፡ የም 5  
ትባል፡ የወርቅ፡ ለምድ፡ አለች፡ እርሷን፡ ይዞ፡ ነው፡ የሚሂድ።  
ከመንደር፡ ሲደርስ፡ ለብሷት፡ ይቀመጣል። ሰውም፡ የንጉሥ፡  
10 አሽከር፡ መጣ፡ ብሎ፡ በማር፡ በወተት፡ ያሳድረዋል። እንዲህ፡  
እያለ፡ እንደርታ፡ ደረሰ። የንደርታው፡ ሹምም፡ ጠጅ፡  
እያጠጣ፡ ሥጋ፡ ጥሎ፡ እያበላ፡ ከአልጋ፡ ተቀምጦ፡ ሳለ፡ ያመል 10  
ክተኛ፡ ደረሰ። የወርቅ፡ ለምዱን፡ ለበሰና፡ ገባ፡ ፫ጊዜ፡ በጥፊ፡  
መታው፡ ጉትቶም፡ ጣለው፡ ሌላ፡ ሹም፡ ሹሞ፡ መጣ።

88 ያን፡ ጊዜ፡ ይህንን፡ ግፍ፡ አየና፡ ከተከዜ፡ በረሀ፡  
የወደቀ፡ መነኩሴ፡ የበካፋ፡ ዘመን፡ ይበቃዋል፡ አለ። በካፋም፡  
ያን፡ ጊዜ፡ ከግንቡ፡ ጋኔን፡ ሲሰብ፡ ጋኔኑ፡ መትቶ፡ ጣለው፡

ACGH 87,4 ልማድም፣] ልማድም፣ G78<sup>v</sup> 5 የምትባል፣] የምትባል፣ H72<sup>r</sup>  
10 ሳለ፣] ሳለ፣ G79<sup>r</sup> 12 ሹም፣] ሹም፣ H72<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 5 የርጉማን፣] CH; የጉማን፣ G; እንደ፣ add. G | ያወቀ፣] CG;  
ያወቃቸው፣ H | ግን፣] CG; ሰው፣ H | ይሰጣቸዋል፣] GH; ይሰጧቸዋል፣ C  
6 እሙ፣] እነ፣ add. H | ይባላሉ።] CG<sup>r</sup>H; om. G 87,1 ደግሞ፣...12 መጣ።] CGH;  
በካፋም፣ ደግሞ፣ አንድ፣ ቀን፣ አሽከር፣ ልኮ፣ የእንደርታውን፣ ሹም፣  
በጥፊ፣ መትቶ፣ እገሌን፣ ሱመህ፣ ና፣ ብሎ፣ አዘዘ፣ ያአሽከርም፣ ሂዶ፣  
የታዘዘውን፣ አደረገ። A | የቀድሞ፣ ሹም፣] CH; የቀድሞሹም፣ G 2 አሽከር፣] CG;  
አሽከር፣ H | መትቶ፣] CH; በትቶ፣ G | ከአልጋ፣] CH; ካልጋ፣ G  
ጉትቶ፣] H; ጉቶ፣ CG 3 ሌላ፣ ሹም፣] CH; ሌላሹም፣ G | ሹሞ፣] CH; ሽሞ፣  
G 4 በዚያ፣] lac. G; om. CH | ልማድም፣] G; ሲሂድም፣ CH | የንጉሥ፣] G;  
የንጉሠ፣ CH | አሽከር፣] C; አሽር፣ G; አሽከር፣ H 5 ሽሮ፣] CG; ሽሮ፣ H  
ሂዶ።] CH; ሽደ፣ G | ሲሂድም፣] CH; ሲሽድም፣ G 6 የሚሂድ።] CH;  
የሚሽድ። G 8 አሽከር፣] CG; አሽከር፣ H | ያሳድረዋል።] CGH; ያሳድገዋል፣  
G 9 ደረሰ።] በደረሰም፣ ጊዜ፣ add. CH | የንደርታው፣] G; የንደርታውም፣ C;  
ያንደርቃውም፣ H | ሹምም፣] G; ሹም፣ CH; አዳራሽ፣ አርጎ፣ add. CH  
ጠጅ፣...10 ተቀምጦ፣] G; ከአልጋ፣ ተቀምጦ፣ ሥጋ፣ እያበላ፣ ጠጅ፣ እያጠጣ፣  
tra. CH 10 ጥሎ፣] om. CH | ያመልክተኛ፣] om. CH 12 ጉትቶም፣] H;  
ጉቶም፣ CG | ሌላ፣ ሹም፣] CH; ሌላሹ፣ G 88,1 ያን፣...አየና፣] CGH; ያሰው፣  
በጥፊ፣ ተመትቶ፣ ከአልጋ፣ በወደቀ፣ ጊዜ፣ A 2 መነኩሴ፣] ACH; መነኩሴ፣ G  
ይበቃዋል፣] CGH; በቃ፣ A | በካፋም፣...4 አደረ።] A; በካፋም፣ ያን፣ ጊዜ፣  
ጋኔን፣ ሲሰብ፣ ጋኔኑ፣ መትቶ፣ ጣለው። ያየና፣ ጋኔን። ከግንቡ፣ ላይ፣ ፫ቀን፣  
አደረ። tra. CH; በካፋም፣ ጋኔን፣ ሲሰብ፣ ያን፣ ጊዜ፣ ጋኔኑ፣ መትቶ፣ ጣለው፣  
ከግንቡ፣ ያየና፣ ጋኔን። ፫ቀን፣ አደረ። tra. G 3 ከግንቡ፣] C; ከግቡ፣ AG;  
ከግምቡ፣ H | መትቶ፣] ACH; በትቶ፣ G | ጣለው፣] CGH; ደም፣ ተፍቶ፣  
ወደቀ። add. A

PUNCTUATION | 6 ይባላሉ።] GH; ፣ C 87,3 ነበር፣] CG; ። H 5 ሂዶ።] H; ፣  
CG 6 የሚሂድ።] H; ፣ CG 7 ይቀመጣል።] H; ፣ CG 9 ደረሰ።] H; ፣ CG  
11 ደረሰ።] H; ፣ CG 12 መጣ።] G; ፣ CH 88,3 ጣለው፣] AG; ። CH

ያየሩ ፡ ጋኔን ፡ ቩቀን ፡ አደረ ። አጋፋሪውም ፡ ባርያ ፡ ነበረ ፡ ሰይፉን ፡ እንደመዘዘ ፡ ቁሞ ፡ አደረ ፡ ዋለ ። በቩኛው ፡ ቀን ፡ 5  
 ያባርያ ፡ ገብቶ ፡ ቢያይ ፡ በካፋ ፡ ደም ፡ ተፍቶ ፡ ከመናገሻው ፡ ላይ ፡ ወድቆ ፡ ተገኘ ። ባርያውም ፡ ገብቶ ፡ አይቶ ፡ ወጣና ፡ ለሠ  
 ራዊቱ ፡ በካፋ ፡ ገማች ፡ ብሎ ፡ ነገረ ።

89 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ወለት ፡ ትነግሥ ፡ ያለው ፡ ደረሰ ፡ ምን  
 ትዋብ ፡ ነገሠች ፡ ከልጅዋ ፡ ጋራ ፡ ዘመንዋም ፡ ማርና ፡ ወተት ፡  
 ይፈስበት ፡ ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ።

90 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ደብተራውን ፡ ጠርታ ፡ ይወደኛል ፡ ብላ ፡  
 ገመን ፡ አበላችው ፡ ደብተራው ፡ ቀረና ። አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡ ደግሞ ፡  
 መርገፍ ፡ ድርቧን ፡ አኑራ ፡ ቁማ ፡ ቀሚስዋን ፡ ብቻ ፡ ለብሳ ፡  
 ስታሳልፍለት ፡ ዋለች ፡ ወጥ ፡ እያወጣች ። ደብተራውም ፡ ወጥቶ ፡  
 ሲሄድ ፡ ዛሬስ ፡ እስከ ፡ ደረትዎ ፡ ጥለው ፡ አበሉኑ ፡ አላት ። ደብ  
 ተራው ፡ እጅግ ፡ የጠገበ ፡ ነበር ፡ በምንትዋብ ፡ ጊዜ ። እርሷም ፡ 5

ACGH 88,6 ቢያይ ፡] ቢያይ ፡ G79<sup>v</sup> 7 ተገኘ ።] ተገኘ ። A59<sup>ra</sup> | ባርያውም ፡] ባርያውም ፡ H73<sup>r</sup> 90,3 አኑራ ፡] G80<sup>f</sup> 4 እያወጣች ።] እያወጣች ። H73<sup>v</sup> 5 ሲሄድ ፡] C12<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 4 አጋፋሪውም ፡] AH; አጋፋሪም ፡ CG | ባርያ ፡ ነበረ ፡] C; ባርያ ፡ ነበር ፡ A; ባርያነበረ ፡ G; ባሯያ ፡ ነበረ ፡ H 5 እንደመዘዘ ፡] CGH; መዞ ፡ A ቁሞ ፡] CGH; እንደቆመ ፡ A | አደረ ፡ ዋለ ።] CGH; ዋለ ፡ አደረ ፡ A | በቩኛው ፡ ቀን ፡] CH; በሰስተኛው ፡ ቀን ፡ A; በቩኛቀን ፡ G 6 ያባርያ ፡] GH; ያ ፡ ባርያ ፡ C; om. A | ገብቶ ፡ ቢያይ ፡] CH; ቢያይ ፡ ገብቶ ፡ tra. G; ሊያይ ፡ ወጣ ፡ A በካፋ ፡] CG; በካፋን ፡ A; om. H | በካፋ ፡ ...7 ተገኘ ።] G; ከግንቡ ፡ ከመናገሻው ፡ ሊያይ ፡ ወጣ ፡ በካፋን ፡ ወድቆ ፡ አገኘው ፡ ደም ፡ ተፍቶ ። tra. A; በካፋ ፡ ደም ፡ ተፍተው ፡ ወድቀው ፡ ከመናገሻው ፡ ላይ ፡ ወድቀው ፡ ተገኙ ። tra. C; ደም ፡ ተፍቶ ፡ ሙቶ ፡ ወድቆ ፡ አየው ፡ ከመናገሻው ፡ ላይ ፡ ተገኝ ። tra. H ተፍቶ ፡] AGH; ተፍተው ፡ C; ሙቶ ፡ add. H | ከመናገሻው ፡ ላይ ፡] CGH; ከመናገሻው ፡ ከግቡ ፡ A 7 ወድቆ ፡] AGH; ወድቀው ፡ C; አየው ፡ add. H ተገኘ ።] G; አገኘው ፡ A; ተገኙ ፡ C; ተገኝ ፡ H | ባርያውም ፡] CH; አጋፋሪውም ፡ A; ባርያው ፡ G; | ገብቶ ፡] CH; om. AG; | አይቶ ፡] CGH; om. A | ወጣና ፡] ACG; መጣና ፡ H 8 በካፋ ፡ ...ብሎ ፡] CGH; om. A | ነገረ ።] CGH; ተናገረ ። A; ሠራዊቱም ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ፈረሰ ። ። add. A 89,1 ከዚህም ፡] AC; ከጊህም ፡ G; ከዚህ ፡ H | ደረሰ ፡] ወነግሠት ፡ add. C; ወነግሠት ፡ ምንትዋብ ፡ add. H 2 ነገሠች ፡] AGH; om. C | ከልጅዋ ፡] AG; ከልጅ ፡ CH | ዘመንዋም ፡] AG; በዘመናም ፡ C; በዘመንዋም ፡ H 3 ይፈስበት ፡] A; ይፈስ ፡ CGH 90,1 አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡] CH; አንድቀን ፡ G | አንድ ፡ ...5 አላት ።] CGH; om. A 3 ድርቧን ፡] CH; ድርቦን ፡ G | ቀሚስዋን ፡] C; ከሚስዋን ፡ G; ቀሚሷን ፡ H | ቀሚስዋን ፡ ብቻ ፡] ብቻ ፡ ቀሚስዋን ፡ tra. CGH | ብቻ ፡] G; ብቻዋን ፡ CH 4 ስታሳልፍለት ፡] CG; ስታሳልፍለት ፡ H 5 ሲሄድ ፡] CH; ሲኸድ ፡ G | ደረትዎ ፡] CH; ደረተዎ ፡ G ደብተራው ፡] CGH; ካህንም ፡ A | ደብተራው ፡ ...6 ነበር ፡] CGH; ካህንም ፡ እጅግ ፡ አድርጋ ፡ አጥግባ ፡ ነበረች ፡ ይላሉ ። A

PUNCTUATION | 4 አደረ ።] AH; ፡ CG | ነበረ ፡] ACG; ። H 5 ዋለ ።] A; ፡ CGH 7 ተገኘ ።] ACH; ፡ G 8 ነገረ ።] AGH; ፡ C 89,1 ደረሰ ፡] ACG; ። H 2 ነገሠች ፡] CG; ። AH 3 ይላሉ ።] AGH; ፡ C 90,2 አበላችው ፡] CG; ። H ቀረና ።] G; ፡ CH 3 አኑራ ፡] CH; ። G 4 እያወጣች ።] G; ፡ CH 5 አላት ።] H; ፡ CG 6 ጊዜ ።] H; ፡ CG

ዝሙተኛ ፡ ነበረች ፡ ይላሉ ። ቀስቋምን ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኒቱን ፡  
በወርቅና ፡ በዕንቀሥ ፡ አሳምራ ፡ ሰራች ። ደግሞ ፡ የሷን ፡ ቤት ፡  
ግንቢቱን ፡ ሰርታ ፡ ስትጨርስ ፡ ስምዎን ፡ ሽህ ፡ ወቄት ፡ አለቻት ።

91 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ቈራጣ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ነገሠ ፡ ዘመኑም ፡  
አጭር ፡ ነው ፡ ፩ወር ፡ ነው ፡ ይላሉ ።

92 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ልጁ ፡ ነገሠ ፡ ደግ ፡  
ንጉሥ ፡ ነበረ ፡ ይላሉ ። [በ]ዓታንም ፡ አሳምሮ ፡ ሰራ ።  
፫፻፩ደብተራ ፡ ተክለ ። በፊት ፡ ለተሰሩት ፡ ደብሮችም ፡ ብዙ ፡  
መሬት ፡ ሠጠ ፡ የመሥዋዕት ፡ እያለ ፡ ዘንዶ ፡ ሰገደለትም ፡  
ይላሉ ። መንግሥቱንም ፡ ጥሎ ፡ መንኖ ፡ ሂደዋል ፡ ከብቃት ፡  
የተነሣ ፡ የሞተም ፡ ዋልድባ ፡ ገብቶ ፡ ነው ።

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93 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ነገሠ ፡ እሱም ፡ ያረጀ ፡  
የወደቀ ፡ ነበር ። በነገሠ ፡ ጊዜም ፡ ከበቅሎ ፡ ውጣ ፡ ቢሉት ፡ የበቅ  
ሎይቱ ፡ ጆሮ ፡ አየና ፡ ቀንድዋ ፡ ይወጋኛል ፡ አለ ። ሕዝቡ ፡  
ሣቀበት ። እሱም ፡ ሲኖር ፡ የነበረ ፡ ከልጅነት ፡ አንስቶ ፡ እስከ ፡  
እርጅና ፡ ከወገኒ ፡ ቤት ፡ ነው ፡ የበቅሎ ፡ መልክ ፡ አለማወቁ ፡

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ACGH 91,1 በኋላ ፣] በ|ኋላ ፣ G80<sup>v</sup> 92,1 ከዚህም ፣] H74<sup>f</sup> 4 ዘንዶ ፣] A59<sup>b</sup>  
93,1 በኋላ ፣] G81<sup>f</sup> 2 የበቅሎይቱ ፣] የበቅሎይቱ ፣ H74<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 7 ነበረች ፣] GH; ነበር ፣ C | ቀስቋምን ፣] CH; ቀስቋምን ፣ G  
ክርስቲያኒቱን ፣] CG; ክርስቲያን ፣ H 8 ደግሞ ፣...ቤት ፣] CH; የሷን ፣ ቤት ፣  
ደግሞ ፣ tra. G 9 ግንቢቱን ፣] C; ግብቱን ፣ G; ግንቡን ፣ H | ስትጨርስ ፣] CH;  
ስት ፣ ጨርስ ፣ G | ስምዎን ፣...አለቻት ።] H; ሽህ ፣ ወቄት ፣ አለቻት ፣ ስምዎን ።  
tra. CG | ሽህ ፣] CG; ሽህ ፣ H | ወቄት ፣] CH; ወጨት ፣ G | አለቻት ።] CH;  
አለቻ ፣ G 91,1 ከዚህም ፣] ACG; ከዚህ ፣ H | ዮሐንስ ፣] የሚባል ፣ ሰው ፣ add.  
CH | ዘመኑም ፣] CH; ዘመኑ ፣ G 92,1 ከዚህም ፣] ACG; ከዚ ፣ H | ተክለ ፣...  
ልጁ ፣] CGH; ልጁ ፣ ተክለ ፣ ሃይማኖት ፣ tra. A 2 ንጉሥ ፣] ACG<sup>H</sup>; ንጉ ፣ G  
[በ]ዓታንም ፣] CH; ባታንም ፣ AG 3 ደብሮችም ፣] AG; ደብተሮችም ፣ CH  
ብዙ ፣ መሬት ፣] ACH; ብዙ-መሬት ፣ G 4 የመሥዋዕት ፣] ACG; የመሥዋዕትም ፣  
C; የመሥዋ[... ፣] lac. (eras.) H; ብዙ ፣ መሬት ፣ ሠጠ ፣ add. C | እያለ ፣] AG; om.  
C; lac.(eras.) H | ዘንዶ ፣] G; ዘንዶም ፣ ACH | ሰገደለትም ፣] G; ሰግደለታል ፣ A;  
ሰግደለት ፣ ነበር ፣ CH 5 ይላሉ ።] CGH; om. A | መንግሥቱንም ፣] ACH;  
መንግሥቱም ፣ G | መንኖ ፣] CH; om. AG | ሂደዋል ፣] G; ሂደአል ፣ A; ሂደል ፣  
CH 6 ገብቶ ፣] ACG; om. H | ገብቶ ፣ ነው ።] AC; ገብቶነው ። G 93,1 በኋላ ፣]  
ACGH; om. H; አረጋጊ ፣ add. CG<sup>H</sup> | እሱም ፣] ACG; om. H 2 የወደቀ ፣] AG;  
ነው ፣ CH | ነበር ።] AG; የነበረ ፣ CH | ከበቅሎ ፣] ACH; ከበቁሎ ፣ G  
የበቅሎይቱ ፣] ACH; የበቁሎይቱ ፣ G 3 ጆሮ ፣ አየና ፣] ACH; ጆሮአየና ፣ G  
ቀንድዋ ፣] A; ቀንደ ፣ CH; ቀንዶ ፣ G 5 የበቅሎ ፣] ACH; የበቁሎ ፣ G

PUNCTUATION | 7 ይላሉ ።] H; ፣ CG 8 ሰራች ።] H; ፣ CG 9 አለቻት ።] GH; ፣  
C 91,2 ይላሉ ።] ። GH; ፤ C; ፤ ። ። A 92,1 ነገሠ ፣] ACG; ። H 2 ይላሉ ።] AH;  
፣ CG | ሰራ ።] AH; ፣ CG 3 ተክለ ።] AH; ፣ CG 4 ሰገደለትም ፣] CGH; ።  
A 5 ይላሉ ።] GH; ፣ AC 6 ነው ።] G; ። ። A; ፣ CH 93,2 ነበር ።] H; ፤ A; ፣  
CG 3 አለ ።] AH; ፣ CG 4 ሣቀበት ።] AH; ፣ CG 5 ነው ፣] CG; ። AH

በዚህ ፡ ነው ። ንጉሠ-ም ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ነበረ ። ዘመኑም ፡ አጭር ፡ ነው ፡ ጀአመት ፡ ነው ።

94 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ፈጻሜ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ተክለ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ነገሠ ፡ እሱም ፡ የተማረ ፡ ነበር ፡ ፹፩መጽሐፍ ፡ የጨረሰ ፡ ዘመኑም ፡ ረኃብ ፡ ነበር ፡ ድርጎ ፡ ድርጎ ፡ ጎመን ፡ ቅርድድ ፡ በብር ፡ ይሸመት ፡ ነበር ። ካህናቱም ፡ ምነው ፡ ቢሞትልን ፡ እያሉ ፡ ሲያሙ ፡ አወቀና ፡ ምነው ፡ የምትጠሉኝ ፡ አላቸው ፡ ትምህርቻችሁን ፡ ባውቅላችሁ ፡ ክፉ ፡ ነው ፡ አለ ። ደብረ ፡ ምጥማቅን ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኒቱን ፡ ጀምሮ ፡ ሳይጨርስ ፡ ሞተ ።

5

10 95 የተረፈው ፡ ዘመነ ፡ መሣፍንት ፡ ነው ።

96 ወነግሠት ፡ መነን ፡ መነን ፡ የምትባል ፡ ኃይለኛ ፡ ነበረች ፡ ዝሙትም ፡ የጠናባት ፡ ነበረች ፡ ይላሉ ፡ ከረኝነትም ፡ የተነሣ ፡

ACGH 6 ነው ።] H75<sup>r</sup> 94,1 መንግሥት ፡] መንግሥት ፡G81<sup>v</sup> 4 ካህናቱም ፡] ካህናቱም ፡ A59<sup>va</sup> 5 የምትጠሉኝ ፡] የምትጠሉኝ ፡ H75<sup>v</sup> 7 ጀምሮ ፡] ጀምሮ ፡ G82<sup>r</sup> | ሞተ ።] here ends A

VARIANTS | 6 በዚህ ፡ ነው ።] ACH; በዚህነው ። G; በሱም ፡ ዘመን ፡ ላይ ፡ ቤት ፡ ታች ፡ ቤት ፡ የሚአሰኝ ፡ ዋርካ ፡ ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ። ያነን ፡ ዋርካ ፡ ሱርያል ፡ የሚባል ፡ መልአክ ፡ ከፀት ፡ ሰነጠቀው ፡ ኋላም ፡ መማማያ ፡ ሁኖ ፡ እንደዚሁ ፡ ሱርያል ፡ ይሰንጥቀኝ ፡ እያለ ፡ ይማማልበት ፡ ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ፡ add. CG<sup>H</sup> | ንጉሠ-ም ፡] ACH; ንጉሠ- ፡ G | ነበረ ።] CGH; ነበር ። A | ዘመኑም ፡] CH; ዘመኑ ፡ AG | አጭር ፡] ACH; አጨር ፡ G | 7 ጀአመት ፡] AG; ጀአመት ፡ A; ጀት ፡ ዓመት ፡ H | 94,1 በኋላ ፡] ACH; በጎላ ፡ G | ፈጻሜ ፡] ACG; ፍጻሜ ፡ H | ተክለ ፡ ...2 ነገሠ ፡] ACH; ነገሠ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ tra. G | 2 ነገሠ ፡] CGH; ተባለ ፡ A | እሱም ፡] CG; እርሱም ፡ H; om. A | ነበር ፡] ACG; ነበረ ፡ H | ፹፩መጽሐፍ ፡] CG; መጣፍ ፡ A; ሰማንያ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ H | 3 ዘመኑም ፡] CH; ዘመኑ ፡ AG | ረኃብ ፡] ACH; ረኃብ ፡ G | ድርጎ ፡] ACG; ድርጎ ፡ H | ድርጎ ፡] AG; om. CH | ቅርድድ ፡] ACG; ተቀርድዶ ፡ H | 4 በብር ፡] CGH; በአንድ ፡ ብር ፡ A | ይሸመት ፡] G; ሲሸመት ፡ A; ይሸመት ፡ C; ይሸጥ ፡ H | ነበር ።] CGH; ይላሉ ። add. A | ቢሞትልን ፡] ACG; ቢሞትልን ፡ H | 5 ሲያሙ ፡] ACG; ሲአሙ ፡ H | አላቸው ፡] ቢከፋኑ ፡ አሉት ፡ add. CG<sup>H</sup> | ትምህርቻችሁን ፡] H; ትምህርቻችሁን ፡ A; ትእምርቻችሁን ፡ CG | 6 ክፉ ፡ ነው ፡] CH; ክፉነው ፡ AG | አለ ።] om. G; ዓቢያ ፡ እግዚእንም ፡ በራስ ፡ ቢትወደድ ፡ ገብሬ ፡ እጅ ፡ አስተክለ ፡ add. CG<sup>H</sup> | 7 ሞተ ።] ይህን ፡ ታሪክም ፡ ብልህ ፡ ነበርና ፡ ከመማር ፡ ከማወቅ ፡ የተነሣ ፡ በቃል ፡ ያለ ፡ ይረሳል ፡ በመጣፍ ፡ ያለ ፡ ይወሳል ፡ ብሎ ፡ ብሎ ፡ ፈጻሜ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ተክለ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ነው ፡ አስጥፎት ፡ የሞተ ፡ በዘመኑ ። ኋላ ፡ ለሚነገሥ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ይህን ፡ የጎንደርን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ እያየ ፡ እየተመለከተ ፡ ደስ ፡ እንዲለው ፡ ብሎ ። ጀምሮ ፡ ያስፈጸመን ፡ አምላክ ፡ ክብር ፡ ምስጋና ፡ ይሁነው ፡ ብሎ ፡ ተናገረ ። ሊቃውንቱም ፡ ቁመው ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ ማኅበር ፡ ደግመው ፡ ሰገዱለት ። ። add. A | 96,1 ወነግሠት ፡ መነን ፡] CH; om. G | መነን ፡] H; om. C; እቴጌ ፡ መነን ፡ G | 2 የጠናባት ፡ ነበረች ፡] CH; የጠናባት ፡ G; ይጠናባት ፡ ነበረች ፡ G<sup>3</sup>; | ይላሉ ፡] CH; om. G | ከረኝነትም ፡] CH; ከረኝነት ፡ G<sup>3</sup>; ከረኝነት ፡ G | የተነሣ ፡] CH; የተነሣም ፡ G

PUNCTUATION | 6 ነው ።] AH; ፡ CG | ነበረ ።] AH; ፡ CG | 7 ነው ።] AHG; ፫ C | 94,2 ነገሠ ፡] CGH; ። A | 3 ነበር ፡] ACH; ። C | 4 ነበር ።] CGH; ፡ A | 6 አለ ።] AH; ፡ CG | 95,1 ነው ።] GH; ፡ C | 96,1 ነበረች ፡] GH; ። C

ቋረኞች ፡ የሠሩትን ፡ ግምብ ፡ እንጨቱን ፡ እያወለቀች ፡ ቪጂትን ፡  
 ሰራችበት ፡ ከቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያንም ፡ የላሊበላን ፡ አፈር ፡ አስ  
 መጥታ ፡ ላሊበላን ፡ ንዲባልላት ፡ ሰራችው ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ 5  
 አፈሩን ፡ በዙሪያው ፡ ረጨች ። ።

97 መሳፍንትም ፡ ሲገዙ ፡ የነገሥታቱን ፡ ልጆች ፡ ከግብ ፡  
 እያስቀመጡ ፡ ነው ፡ እናጤ ፡ ኃሉ ፡ እናጤ ፡ ሣህሉ ፡ እናጤ ፡  
 ዲሙን ፡ የነገሥታቱን ፡ ልጆች ።

98 የግንቡ ፡ ሥራም ፡ ታቹ ፡ መሠረቱ ፡ በደንጊያ ፡ ብቻ ፡  
 አይደለም ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ጨምረው ፡ ደልድለውበታል ፡ በምሥራቅም ፡  
 10 በምዕራብም ፡ በሰሜንም ፡ በደቡብም ፡ በየገጹ ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ወርቅ ፡  
 ቀብረውበታል ፡ ለግንቡ ፡ መፍርህ ፡ ወመደንግጽ ፡ ይሆነዋል ፡  
 ብለው ፡ 5

99 የግንቡም ፡ መግቢያ ፡ ፲፪ነው ፡ በምሕላው ፡ ቀስተ ፡  
 ደመና ፡ የንጉሡ ፡ መግቢያ ፡ ነው ። ቀጥሎ ፡ በሩፋኤል ፡ ያለው ፡  
 ተዝካሮ ፡ በር ፡ ይባላል ። ቀጥሎ ፡ ያለው ፡ የተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡  
 ቀስተ ፡ ደመና ፡ የእቴጌ ፡ መግቢያ ፡ ነው ። ቀጥሎ ፡ ያለው ፡  
 ቀስተ ፡ ደመና ፡ የአዛዥ ፡ ጠቋሬ ፡ መግቢያ ፡ ነው ። በልፍኝ ፡ 5  
 ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ያለው ፡ በር ፡ የዋግሽሞች ፡ ነው ። በአጣጣሚ ፡  
 ቅዱስ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ያለው ፡ ዕቃ ፡ ቤት ፡ በር ፡ ይባላል ። ከዝያ ፡

CGH 96,4 ሰራችበት ፡] ሰራችበት ፡ H76፣ 97,1 መሳፍንትም ፡] መሳፍንትም ፡  
 G82፣ 3 ዲሙን ፡] C13፣ 98,3 በምዕራብም ፡] በምዕራብም ፡ H76፣  
 4 ወመደንግጽ ፡] G83፣ 99,6 በር ፡] H77፣

VARIANTS | 3 የሠሩትን ፡] CH; ሰሩትን ፡ G | ግምብ ፡] GH; ግንቡን ፡ C  
 እያወለቀች ፡] G; እያወለቀች ፡ CH | ቪጂትን ፡] G; ሠለስቱ ፡ ምዕትን ፡ C;  
 ሠለስቱ ፡ ምዕትን ፡ H 4 ሰራችበት ፡] CG; ይላሉ ፡ add. H | ከቤተ ፡] CG; om. H  
 5 ላሊበላን ፡...6 ።] CH; ደልድላ ፡ ላሊበላን ፡ የምትስም ፡ ከዚህ ፡ ሳም ፡ ብላ ፡  
 አዋጅ ፡ አስነግራለች ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ላሊበላንም ፡ በይባቤ ፡ በዝማሬ ፡ አግብታዋለች ፡  
 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ CGH 97,1 የነገሥታቱን ፡] CH; የነገሥታቱ ፡ ን ፡ G | ልጆች ፡] CH;  
 ልጆች ፡ G 2 እናጤ ፡] CG; እነ ፡ አፄ ፡ H | እናጤ ፡] G; እነ ፡ አፄ ፡ CH  
 እናጤ ፡] 3...3 ዲሙን ፡] C; እነ ፡ አፄ ፡ ዲሙን ፡ H; የሚባሉትን ፡ G 3 ልጆች ።] CH;  
 ልጅ ። C 98,1 የግንቡ ፡] H; የግንቡም ፡ C; የግንቡ ፡ G | ሥራም ፡] G;  
 ሥራ ፡ CH | በደንጊያ ፡] C; በደንጊያ ፡ G; በድኝ ፡ G; ደንጋይ ፡ H  
 2 አይደለም ፡] C; አይደለ ፡ G; አይለም ፡ H | ደልድለውበታል ፡] CH;  
 ደልድለውታል ፡ G 3 በሰሜንም ፡] CH; በሰሜን ፡ G | በደቡብም ፡] CG;  
 በደቡብ ፡ H 4 ለግንቡ ፡] CH; ለግቡ ፡ G | ይሆነዋል ፡] CH; ይኑነዋል ፡ G  
 5 ብለው ፡] CG; ብሎ ፡ H 99,1 የግንቡም ፡] CH; የግቡ ፡ G | መግቢያ ፡] CH;  
 መግቢያ ፡ G | ቀስተ ፡...2 ደመና ፡] CH; ቀስተደመና ፡ G 2 መግቢያ ፡] CH;  
 መግቢያ ፡ G 4 የእቴጌ ፡] CH; የጅቴጌ ፡ G | መግቢያ ፡] CH; መግቢያ ፡ G  
 5 የአዛዥ ፡] CH; የአዛዥ ፡ G | ጠቋሬ ፡] H; የጠቋሬ ፡ CG | መግቢያ ፡ ነው ።] CH;  
 መግቢያው ። G 6 የዋግሽሞች ፡] CG; የዋግሽሞች ፡ H 7 ዕቃ ፡ ቤት ፡] H;  
 ዕቃቤት ፡ CG | ከዝያ ፡] CH; እዝያ ፡ G; ደግሞ ፡ add. G

PUNCTUATION | 6 ረጨች ። ።] G 97,3 ልጆች ።] H; ። ። ። C; ። ። G  
 98,2 አይደለም ፡] CG; ። H 4 ቀብረውበታል ፡] CG; ። H 99,4 ነው ።] GH; ፡ C  
 7 ይባላል ።] GH; ፡ C

ቀጥሎ ፡ ያለው ፡ እራስ ፡ ገበያ ፡ ይባላል ፡ የሰሜንኞች ፡ በር ፡  
 ነው ። ከዝያ ፡ ቀጥሎ ፡ ያለው ፡ ርግብ ፡ በር ፡ ይባላል ። ከዝያ ፡  
 ቀጥሎ ፡ ያለው ፡ የቀጭን ፡ አሸዋው ፡ በር ፡ የወልቃይቶች ፡ ነው ። 10  
 ከዝያ ፡ ደሞ ፡ ቀጥሎ ፡ ያለው ፡ ቀስተ ፡ ደመና ፡ የወይዘሮ ፡  
 እንከዮ ፡ ነው ። ከዝያ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ቀጥሎ ፡ ያለው ፡ የግምጃ ፡ ቤት ፡  
 በር ፡ ነው ። ከዝያ ፡ ደሞ ፡ ቀጥሎ ፡ ያለው ፡ በወልደ ፡ ነገድኃይ ፡  
 ዮሐንስ ፡ የቋረኞች ፡ ነው ። የግንቡ ፡ ፲፪በር ፡ የሚባለው ፡ ይህ ፡  
 ነው ። 15

100 ክፍለ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ የሚባል ፡ ሊቅ ፡ ነበር ፡ ተንከላኛ ፡  
 ነበር ፡ ይላሉ ። ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ሲገባ ፡ በዓውደ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ዳባ ፡  
 ለብሶ ፡ ይገባል ፡ ያነንም ፡ ጥላትና ፡ ቅቤ ፡ ቀብቶ ፡ የሰውን ፡  
 ሁሉ ፡ ልብስ ፡ ያበላሻል ። ካህናቱ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ጨርቅ ፡ ለብሰው ፡  
 ሲገቡ ፡ እርሱ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ መርገፍ ፡ ድርብ ፡ ለብሶ ፡ አብቦ ፡  
 ይገባል ። 5

101 የእቴጌ ፡ ምንትዋብ ፡ አዝማሪ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ከእቴጌ ፡ ጋራ ፡  
 ተወራረደና ፡ የቀሩትም ፡ ለት ፡ ከገግጃም ፡ ከ<ደብረ> ፡ ወርቅ ፡  
 የመጣሁ ፡ ሊቅ ፡ ነኝ ፡ ብሎ ፡ በዋዜማው ፡ አሰወርቶ ፡ አደረ ።  
 በበነገው ፡ ከፍ ፡ አድርጎ ፡ እንደ ፡ ገግጃም ፡ አጠማጠም ፡ እስከ ፡  
 ዓይኑ ፡ ቅንድብ ፡ ጠመጠመና ፡ መርገፍ ፡ ድርቡን ፡ አደረገና ፡ 5  
 በርኖሱን ፡ አረገና ፡ ጸናጽል ፡ መቋሚያ ፡ አስያዘና ፡ ከማህል ፡

CGH 8 ቀጥሎ ፡] G83<sup>v</sup> 13 ነው ።] H77<sup>v</sup> 15 ነው ።] G84<sup>r</sup> 101,1 የእቴጌ ፡] H78<sup>r</sup> 2 ከገግጃም ፡] G84<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 8 ያለው ፡ ... ይባላል ፡] CG; om. H | ገበያ ፡] C; ገብያ ፡ G 9 ከዝያ ፡] CG; ከዚያ ፡ H; ደግሞ ፡ add. G | ይባላል ።] CG; ነው ፡ የሚባል ። H | ከዝያ ፡] C; ከዝያደሞ ፡ G; ከዚያ ፡ H 10 የቀጭን ፡] G; ቀጭን ፡ CH | አሸዋው ፡] G; አሸዋ ፡ CH; ይባላል ፡ add. CH | በር ፡] G; om. CH | የወልቃይቶች ፡] CH; የወልቃይቶች ፡ G 11 ከዝያ ፡ ...11 ደሞ ፡] G; om. CH | ቀስተ ፡ ደመና ፡] C; ቀስተደመና ፡ GH | የወይዘሮ ፡] CG; የወይ ፡ H 12 እንከዮ ፡ ...12 ነው ።] C; እኩዮነው ። G; እንኪዮ ፡ H; 11 ፡ add. H | ከዝያ ፡ ደግሞ ፡] G; om. CH የግምጃ ፡ ቤት ፡] CH; የግምጃቤት ፡ G 13 በር ፡ ...13 ነው ።] CH; በርነው ። G; 12 ፡ add. H | ከዝያ ፡ ደሞ ፡] G; om. CH | በወልደ ፡ ...ዮሐንስ ፡] G; om. CH; በዋርካው ፡ add. CG<sup>h</sup> 14 የግንቡ ፡] CH; የግቡ ፡ G | ፲፪በር ፡] CG; በር ፡ ፲፪ት ፡ tra. H | የሚባለው ፡] CG; ነው ፡ የሚባል ፡ H 100,1 ክፍለ ፡] CG; ተክለ ፡ H ነበር ፡] CG; ነበረ ፡ H 2 ሲገባ ፡ ... ዓመት ፡] CG; በዓውደ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ሲገባ ፡ H 4 ሁሉ ፡] CH; ጎሉ ፡ G 5 ድርብ ፡] CG; om. H 6 ይገባል ።] CG; ይላሉ ። add. H 101,1 የእቴጌ ፡] CH; የእቴጌ ፡ G | ደግሞ ፡] CG; ዳግም ፡ H | ከእቴጌ ፡] C; ከእቴጌ ፡ G; ከዕቴጌይቱ ፡ H | ጋራ ፡] G; ጋር ፡ CH 2 የቀሩትም ፡] GH; የቀሩትም ፡ C | ለት ፡] CG; ዕለት ፡ H | ከ<ደብረ> ፡] con.; ዓምደ ፡ CGH 3 አደረ ።] CG; አደረና ፡ H 4 በበነገው ፡] G; በበነጋው ፡ CH | አድርጎ ፡] C; አርጎ ፡ G; አድርጎ ፡ H 6 በርኖሱን ፡ አረገና ፡] CG; om. H | መቋሚያ ፡] CH; መቋሚያ ፡ G | ከማህል ፡] G; መሐከል ፡ CH

PUNCTUATION | 10 ነው ።] GH; ፡ C 12 ነው ።] CG; ፡ H 13 ነው ።] CG; ፡ H 14 ነው ።] H; ፡ CG 15 ነው ።] CH; ። ። ። G 100,2 ይላሉ ።] CG; ፡ H 3 ይገባል ፡] CG; ። H 5 ሲገቡ ፡] CH; ። G 6 ይገባል ።] GH; ፤ C 101,3 አደረ ።] G; ፡ CH 6 አረገና ፡] CH; ። G | አስያዘና ፡] CH; ። G



ገብቶ፡ ተገጨረ። ደባትሩም፡ በክብር፡ ዓዩት። እርሱም፡  
 ኩታውን፡ ከአፍንጫው፡ ላይ፡ አርጎ፡ ሲቁነን፡ ዋለ። የቅኔ፡  
 መቀኛው፡ ሲደርስ፡ ሊቃውንቱ፡ ተማከሩ። እቴየ፡ ምንትዋብ፡  
 ከውስጥ፡ ሆነው፡ እያዩ፡ ይስቃሉ። መልካም፡ ድምፀ፡ 10  
 መልካም፡ መርጠው፡ አቀረቡለት። እርሱም፡ እናንት፡ ሳላችሁ፡  
 አይሆንም፡ ብሎ፡ ተጓደደ። ካህናቱም፡ እርስዎን፡ ያህል፡ ሊቅ፡  
 መጥቶ፡ ለርሱም፡ ነው፡ የሚገባ፡ አሉ። እርሱም፡ እሽ፡ ብሎ፡  
 እጅ፡ ነሣና፡ ለተመራው፡ እነዝያ፡ እንደሚያደርጉት፡ ቀስ፡  
 ብሎ፡ በጆሮው፡ አማርያም፡ በል፡ አለው። ካህናቱም፡ ይህን፡ 15  
 ሰምተው፡ በዚህ፡ ሲስቁ፡ እረ፡ ቆዩ፡ ይበል፡ ሳላሰኛችሁ፡  
 አለና፡ እለምንሻለሁ፡ ባርያሽን፡ አንድ፡ ጊዜ፡ ስሚኝ፡ አለ።  
 ደብተራውም፡ አንድ፡ ጊዜ፡ አያይዞ፡ ሲያወካ፡ እርሱም፡ መጠ  
 ምጠሚያውን፡ ወረወረና፡ ወጥቶ፡ ሮጠ። እቴየ፡ ምንትዋብም፡  
 ተረቱ። በመጣምር፡ የተጨነቀችውን፡ በቅሎ፡ ሰጡት፡ ለዝያ፡ 20  
 አዝማሪ። ። ።

CGH 8 ኩታውን፡] H78<sup>v</sup> 9 ምንትዋብ፡] G85<sup>r</sup> 14 እነዝያ፡] H79<sup>r</sup>  
 15 ካህናቱም፡] ካህናቱም፡ G85<sup>v</sup> 18 እርሱም፡] እርሱም፡ C13<sup>v</sup>  
 20 በመጣምር፡] H79<sup>v</sup> 21 አዝማሪ።] G86<sup>r</sup>

VARIANTS | 8 ኩታውን፡] G; om. CH | ከአፍንጫው፡] H; ከአፍንጫው፡ CG  
 አርጎ፡] CG; አርጎ፡ H | ሲቁነን፡] G; ሲቆነን፡ CH | የቅኔ፡] H; የቅኔም፡ CG  
 9 ሊቃውንቱ፡] CH; ሊቃውንቱም፡ G | እቴየ፡] CG; ዕቴጌ፡ H | ምንትዋብ፡] H;  
 ምንትዋብም፡ CG 10 ሆነው፡] H; ጎነው፡ CG | ይስቃሉ።] CG;  
 ሊቃውንቱ፡ add. H | መልካም፡] CG; om. H 11 መርጠው፡] CG; ቅኔ፡  
 የሚቀበል፡ add. H | እናንት፡] CG; እናንተ፡ H | ሳላችሁ፡] H; ሳላችሁ፡ CG  
 13 እርሱም፡] CG; እሱም፡ H | እሽ፡] CG; እሺ፡ H 14 እጅ፡...14 ነሣና፡] CG;  
 እጅነሣና፡ H | ለተመራው፡] CG; ለተማረው፡ H | እነዝያ፡] CG; እነዚያ፡ H;  
 ሊቃውንቶች፡ add. H | እንደሚያደርጉት፡] H; እንደሚያ፡ ደርጉት፡ CG  
 15 በጆሮው፡] GH; በጆሮው፡ C 16 እረ፡ ቆዩ፡] C; እረቆዩ፡ G; ሻረ፡ ቆዩ፡ H  
 ይበል፡] CH; ይበሉ፡ G | ሳላሰኛችሁ፡] CH; አላሰኛችሁ፡ G 17 እለምንሻለሁ፡] CH;  
 እለምንሽ፡ አላሁ፡ G | ባርያሽን፡] G; ባሯሽን፡ C; ባርያሺን፡ H | አንድ፡] CH;  
 አንድ፡ G | ጊዜ፡] CH; ግዜ፡ G 18 ደብተራውም፡] H; ደብተራም፡ CG  
 አንድ፡] CH; አንድ፡ G | ጊዜ፡] CH; ግዜ፡ G | አያይዞ፡] CG; በሳቅ፡ add. H  
 19 እቴየ፡] G; እቴጌ፡ CH 20 በመጣምር፡] CH; መጣምር፡ G  
 የተጨነቀችውን፡] CH; የተጨነቀችውን፡ G | ሰጡት፡...አዝማሪ።] CG; ለዝያ፡  
 አዝማሪአቸው፡ ሰጡት፡ tra. H | ለዝያ፡] CG; ለዚያ፡ H 21 አዝማሪ።] CG;  
 አዝማሪአቸው፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 7 ተገጨረ።] GH; ፡ C | ዓዩት።] GH; ፡ C 8 ዋለ።] GH; ፤ C  
 9 ሲደርስ፡] CH; ። G | ተማከሩ።] GH; ፡ C 11 አቀረቡለት።] G; ፤ C; ፡ H  
 12 ተጓደደ።] G; ፡ CH 13 አሉ።] GH; ፡ C 14 ነሣና፡] H; ። G; ፤ C  
 15 አለው።] GH; ፡ C 16 ሲስቁ፡] CH; ። G 17 አለና፡] CH; ። G | አለ።] GH;  
 ፡ C 18 ሲያወካ፡] C; ። GH 19 ሮጠ።] GH; ፡ C 20 ተረቱ።] GH; ፡ C  
 21 አዝማሪ።] H; ። ። C; ። ። ። G

102 አንዱ ፡ አዝማሪ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ የጎንደር ፡ ካህን ፡ ሁሉ ፡  
 እየዞረ ፡ ጠራ ፡ ቤቴን ፡ አይታችሁት ፡ አታውቁ ፡ እኔ ፡ ከቤ  
 ታችሁ ፡ ሁልጊዜ ፡ እየበላሁ ፡ እየጠጣሁ ፡ እያለ ። ካሁም ፡  
 እውነት ፡ መሰለውና ፡ ተሰብስቦ ፡ ገባ ። ቤቴም ፡ መረባ ፡ ነው ፡  
 ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ይመስላል ። ተሰብስቦ ፡ ከገባ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ቤቴን ፡ 5  
 የኋሊት ፡ በባሕር ፡ ቀላል ፡ ቁልፎ ፡ ዙሪቱን ፡ ሄደ ። ካሁም ፡  
 እንደተዘጋ ፡ ዋለ ፡ እስከ ፡ ጁቀን ፡ ያሰነብተነ ፡ ይሆን ፡ እያለ ፡  
 እኩሉ ፡ ያለቅሳል ፡ እኩሉ ፡ ግን ፡ ይስቃል ። እንዲህ ፡ እያለ ፡  
 ፀሐይ ፡ ገባ ። ፀሐይ ፡ ሲገባ ፡ ቀላልፉን ፡ ከፈተና ፡ ወፈሰሰሙ ፡  
 ካህናት ፡ አላችሁን ፡ አላቸው ። እነዚያም ፡ እኔ ፡ እወጣ ፡ እኔ ፡ 10  
 እወጣ ፡ ሲሉ ፡ ከደጃፉ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ሰው ፡ ተላለቀ ፡ ይላሉ ።

103 ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ቴዎድሮስ ፡ ንጉሥ ። ቴዎ  
 ድሮስ ፡ ከናታቸው ፡ ማኅፀን ፡ የተፈጠሩለት ፡ የናታቸው ፡  
 ማኅፀን ፡ እንደ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ነገዳ ፡ ሁኖ ፡ ጮኸ ፡ እናቲቱም ፡ ደን  
 ግጠው ፡ ተነሡ ፡ ወንድሃውም ፡ ደንግጠው ፡ ተነሡ ። ምን ፡  
 አገኘሽ ፡ እቴ ፡ አሉ ፡ እኔ ፡ ምን ፡ አውቃለሁ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ሆኖ ፡ 5  
 ሲጮህ ፡ ሰማሁ ፡ እንጂ ፡ አሉ ። የበረቱ ፡ ከብትም ፡ ደንግጠ ፡  
 በረሀ ፡ ገባ ፡ ዓመፃ ፡ ሀለየ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ምስካቡ ፡ እንዳለ ። ተወ

CGH 102,5 ይመስላል ።] H80<sup>r</sup> 6 ቀላልፍ ፡] G86<sup>v</sup> 10 እነዚያም ፡] እነዚያም ፡  
 H80<sup>v</sup> 11 ይላሉ ።] here end CH; G87<sup>r</sup> 103,7 ገባ ፡] G87<sup>v</sup>

VARIANTS | 102,1 አንዱ ፡...ደግሞ ፡] H; አንዱ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ አዝማሪ ፡ tra. CG  
 ሁሉ ፡] CH; ጎሳሉ ፡ G 2 እየዞረ ፡] H; እየ ፡ ዞረ ፡ CG | እየዞረ ፡...3 እያለ ።] CG;  
 ቤቴን ፡ አይታችሁት ፡ አታውቁ ፡ እኔ ፡ ሁልጊዜ ፡ ከቤታችሁ ፡ እየበላሁ ፡  
 እየጠጣሁ ፡ እስኪ ፡ ቤቴን ፡ እየልኝ ፡ እያለ ፡ እየዞረ ፡ የጎንደርን ፡ ሊቃውንት ፡  
 በሙሉ ፡ ጠራው ። tra. H | ጠራ ፡] CG; ጠራው ፡ H 3 ሁልጊዜ ፡] H; ሁለ ፡ ግዜ ፡  
 C; ጎሳ ፡ ግዜ ፡ G | እየበላሁ ፡] CH; እየ ፡ በላጎ ፡ G | እየጠጣሁ ፡] CG; እስኪ ፡  
 ቤቴን ፡ እየልኝ ፡ add. H | እያለ ።] CG; የጎንደርን ፡ ሊቃውንት ፡ በሙሉ ፡ add.  
 H | ካሁም ፡] CG; ካህናቱም ፡ H | ካሁም ፡...5 ይመስላል ።] CG; ካህናቱም ፡  
 እውነት ፡ መሰላቸውና ፡ የሠራው ፡ ቤት ፡ ትልቅ ፡ መረባ ፡ ነበረው ፡ ቤተ ፡  
 ክርስቲያን ፡ ይመስላል ፡ ጠርቶናል ፡ ቤቴን ፡ እንደለት ፡ ብለው ፡ ጥሪውን ፡  
 አክብረው ፡ ተሰብስበው ፡ ገቡ ። tra. H 4 መሰለውና ፡] CG; መሰላቸውና ፡ H;  
 ተሰብስቦ ፡] CG; ተሰብስበው ፡ H | ገባ ።] CG; ገቡ ፡ H | ቤቴም ፡] CG;  
 የሠራው ፡ ቤት ፡ H | መረባ ፡] CG; ትልቅ ፡ መረባ ፡ H | ነው ፡] CG; ነበረው ፡ H  
 5 ይመስላል ።] CG; ጠርቶናል ፡ ቤቴን ፡ እንደለት ፡ ብለው ፡ ጥሪውን ፡  
 አክብረው ፡ add. H | ተሰብስቦ ፡] CG; ካህናቱም ፡ ጠቅልሎ ፡ H 6 የኋሊት ፡...6  
 ቁልፎ ፡] GH; የኋሊት ፡ ቁልፎ ፡ በባሕር ፡ ቀላልፍ ፡ tra. C | ቀላልፍ ፡] GH;  
 ቁልፍ ፡ C | ቁልፎ ፡] G; ቆልፎ ፡ CH; አዝማሪው ፡ add. H | ዙሪቱን ፡ ሄደ ።] CH;  
 ሄደ ፡ ዙሪቱን ። tra. G 7 እንደተዘጋ ፡] CH; እንደ ፡ ተዘጋ ፡ G | ጁቀን ፡] CG;  
 ድረስ ፡ add. H | ያሰነብተነ ፡] G; ያሰነብተን ፡ C; ይሰንብት ፡ H 8 ግን ፡] G; om.  
 CH 9 ሲገባ ፡] CG; አዝማሪው ፡ መጣና ፡ add. H | ከፈተና ፡] CH; ከፈተነ ፡ G  
 ወፈሰሰሙ ፡] CG; om. H 10 እነዚያም ፡] CG; እነዚያም ፡ H | እወጣ ፡] CH; om.  
 G 11 ሲሉ ፡] CG; በመሺቀዳደም ፡ ከሕዝቡ ፡ ብዛት ፡ የተነሣ ፡ H

PUNCTUATION | 102,1 ሁሉ ፡] CH; ። G 2 አታውቁ ፡] GH; ። C 4 ገባ ።] CG; ፡  
 H 5 ይመስላል ።] CG; ፡ H | በኋላ ፡] CH; ። G 6 ሄደ ።] GH; ፡ C  
 8 ያለቅሳል ፡] CH; ። G | ይስቃል ።] GH; ፡ C 9 ገባ ።] GH; ፡ C  
 10 አላቸው ።] GH; ፡ C

ልደው ፡ ክርስትና ፡ ሲነሱም ፡ የበቃ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ ቁሞ ፡ አየና ፡  
ይ ፡ ሰው ፡ ሳይወለድ ፡ የሞተ ፡ መልካም ፡ ብሎ ፡ ተናገረ ።

104 ከአደገ ፡ በኋላም ፡ በፊት ፡ እቴየ ፡ መነን ፡ ድልአ  
ደረገ ። ቀጥለውም ፡ ጉራባላይ ፡ ፯ት ፡ ደጃዝማች ፡ መቱ ፡ ቀጥ  
ለውም ፡ አገወችን ፡ መቱ ። ቀጥለውም ፡ ደጃች ፡ ውቤን ፡ መቱ ፡  
ወይቤ ፡ ተፈጸመ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ እንዳለ ። ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ጎንደር ፡  
ከግቡ ፡ ገብተው ፡ ነገሡ ፡ አድለቅለቀት ፡ ምድር ፡ ወተሀውከት ፡ 5  
ኢየሩሳሌም ። ፊተዎም ፡ እንደ ፡ እሳተ ፡ ገሞራ ፡ እየተፋጀ ፡  
ለሕዝቡ ፡ አስቸገረ ። በፊት ፡ ደኸና ፡ ነበሩ ፡ መልካም ፡ አራያ ፡  
10 አሳይተው ፡ ነበር ፡ ቆርቤ ፡ አለሁና ፡ ቁረቡ ፡ አሉ ፡ ኋላ ፡ ግን ፡  
አፍርሽ ፡ አለሁና ፡ አፍርሱ ፡ አሉ ። ወኃደረ ፡ መንፈሰ ፡ ጋኔን ፡  
ውሰተ ፡ ልቡና ፡ የበአለ ፡ አልጋ ፡ ልጅ ፡ ወንድ ፡ ልጅ ፡ እለት ፡ 10  
ተወልዶ ፡ በሰሙ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ገሥግሠው ፡ ሂደው ፡ ከናቱ ፡ ነጥቀው ፡  
ከደንጊያ ፡ ላይ ፡ ያፈርጡ ፡ ጀመሩ ። ሰውንም ፡ እየሰበሰቡ ፡ ከግ  
ድግዳ ፡ ቤት ፡ አግብተው ፡ በእሳት ፡ ያቃጥሉ ፡ ጀመር ፡ እንኳን ፡  
ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ በድጋንዔ ፡ ስትሸበር ፡ ታድር ፡ አለች ፡  
ሕዝቡም ፡ የሚደርሱበት ፡ ጨነቀው ። ወአነግሥ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ 15  
መደልወ ፡ በእንጉት ፡ ኃጢአተ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ያለው ፡ ደረሰበትና ።

105 ሸዋንም ፡ የከፈቱ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ የሸዋ ፡ ሰው ፡ እዋጋለሁ ፡  
20 ብሎ ፡ ገጠማቸው ፡ ድል ፡ አርገው ፡ ሲአበቁ ፡ የተማረከውን ፡  
ሰው ፡ ፪ሁለት ፡ እጁን ፡ ቆርጠው ፡ በገመድ ፡ ከአንገቱ ፡ እየ  
አሰሩ ፡ ሰደዱት ። የሸዋ ፡ ሰውም ፡ አንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ፈረሰ ፡ የአረ  
ገዘች ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ሴትም ፡ በድንጋዔ ፡ ከኸድዋ ፡ ያለ ፡ እየወጣ ፡ 5  
ወደቀ ። የሸዋ ፡ ንጉሥም ፡ በድንጋዔ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ቴዎድሮስ ፡  
ደረሰን ፡ ሰምቶ ። ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ የንጉሡን ፡ ልጅ ፡ ምንይ  
ልክን ፡ ይዘው ፡ ወደ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ተመለሱ ፡ ከጎንደርም ፡ ግብር ፡  
ጣለበት ፡ ሕዝቡንም ፡ በርሀብ ፡ ፈጁት ፡ የደንብያ ፡ ሰውም ፡  
ታሰሮ ፡ ታሰሮ ፡ አለቀ ። 10

106 ይህን ፡ አርገው ፡ ወደ ፡ ደብረታቦር ፡ ተመለሱ ፡ ከደብረ  
30 ታቦር ፡ አያል ፡ ቀን ፡ ተቀምጠው ፡ ኖሩ ፡ አርብ ፡ ቀን ፡ ወደ ፡  
ማታ ፡ ከደብረ ፡ ታቦር ፡ ተነስተው ፡ ቅዳሜ ፡ ድል ፡ ገበያ ፡  
ሲሆን ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ደረሱ ፡ አራቱን ፡ ገጥ ፡ አገር ፡ በአንድቀን ፡  
ዘረፉት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑን ፡ ጎሉ ፡ አቃጠሉት ፡ ጎንደር ፡ 5  
እሳተ ፡ ገሞራ ፡ ዘመጣት ፡ የፋሲል ፡ የኢያሱ ፡ ከተማ ፡ ተመዘ  
በረች ፡ ተማረከች ። ከእሳትም ፡ የተረፈውን ፡ ታቦቱን ፡ እቃውን ፡  
ሰውን ፡ ይዘው ፡ ደብረ ፡ ታቦር ፡ ገቡ ፡ ሰውንም ፡ ከአገር ፡  
መሩት ። ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ እብድ ፡ ናቸውና ፡ በል ፡ ተነሳ ፡  
ብለው ፡ ሰውን ፡ ጎሉን ፡ ይዘው ፡ ያሰሩትን ፡ አሰረው ፡ ያልታሰረ  
10 ውንም ፡ ይዘው ፡ መቅደላ ፡ ገብተው ፡ ተቀመጡ ።

G 104,4 ኩሉ ፡] G88<sup>r</sup> 10 ልጅ ፡] G88<sup>v</sup> 16 ደረሰበትና ።] ደረሰበትና ። G89<sup>r</sup>  
105,7 በኋላ ፡] በኋላ ፡ G89<sup>v</sup> 106,4 ደረሱ ፡] G90<sup>r</sup> 10 ጎሉን ፡] ጎሉን ፡ G90<sup>v</sup>

107 የጎንደር ሰውም ፡ ብልህ ፡ ነውና ፡ ወደ ፡ እንግሊዝ ፡  
 አገር ፡ ላከ ። እንዴት ፡ እናንተ ፡ እያላችሁ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ አምሳለ ፡  
 ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ናት ፡ እሳት ፡ ስትቃጠል ፡ ሰው ፡ ሲቃጠል ፡ ኢት  
 የጵያ ፡ ስትጠፋ ፡ ዝም ፡ ብላችሁ ፡ አያችሁን ፡ ብለው ፡ ላኩ ።  
 እንግሊዞችም ፡ ይህን ፡ ቃል ፡ በሰሙ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ አንድ ፡ ቀን ፡  
 ሳይውሉ ፡ ሳያድሩ ፡ ጫን ፡ ብለው ፡ ገሥግሠው ፡ መጥተው ፡  
 ድምጻቸው ፡ ሳይሰማ ፡ መቅደላ ፡ ላይ ፡ ቴዎድሮስን ፡ ገድለው ፡  
 አይዞላችሁ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ደስ ፡ ይበላችኑ ። አገራችሁን ፡ ግቡ ፡  
 ብለው ፡ እንግሊዞች ፡ ወደ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ተመለሱ ። የጎንደር ፡  
 ሰውም ፡ ከሞት ፡ የተረፈ ፡ ወደ ፡ አገሩ ፡ ገባ ።

108 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ መንፈሳዊ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ እግዚአ  
 ብሔር ፡ ነገሠ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ለሕዝብ ፡ የተሰማማ ፡  
 አገሩም ፡ ጥጋብ ፡ ሆነ ፡ አውዴ ፡ ወበዴ ፡ ጠፋ ። የጎንደር ፡ ሰው ፡  
 የሆንህ ፡ ግባ ፡ ብለው ፡ አዋጅ ፡ አገሩ ፡ የጎንደር ፡ ሰው ፡ ከሞት ፡  
 የተረፈ ፡ ገባ ፡ ለአድባራት ፡ ኅሉ ፡ ግምጃውን ፡ እቃውን ፡ አሰና  
 ድተው ፡ ሰጡ ። አይጡ ፡ እባቡ ፡ አስቸገረን ፡ ብለው ፡ ቢነግ  
 ሯቸው ፡ ለንጉሡ ፡ ጎጃም ፡ አስልከው ፡ አስመጥተው ፡ በቅ  
 ርጫት ፡ ድመት ፡ ለአርባ ፡ አራቱ ፡ ሴትና ፡ ወንድ ፡ ሁለት ፡  
 ሁለት ፡ አደሉት ፡ እባቡም ፡ አይጡም ፡ ጠፋ ። ለተአረዘው ፡  
 ለተቸገረው ፡ ኅሉ ፡ ልብሱን ፡ ቀለቡን ፡ ሰጡት ።

109 ሰውም ፡ በከፋነ ፡ ልክ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወጣልነ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነገ  
 ሠልነ ፡ ብሎ ፡ ደስ ፡ አለው ፡ ንጉሥም ፡ አንድ ፡ ወታደር ፡ የደ  
 ረሰህ ፡ እቀጣለሁ ፡ አሉ ። መዓር ፡ ወተትም ፡ እንደ ፡ ዝናም ፡  
 ዘነመ ፡ እህልም ፡ እንደ ፡ አፈር ፡ ሆነ ፡ ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ሰው ፡  
 ደስታውን ፡ ሳይጠግበው ፡ አጼ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ወደ ፡ ትግሬ ፡  
 ተሻገሩ ። ከትግሮች ፡ ጋር ፡ ጦርነት ፡ አደረጉ ፡ እርስዎ ፡ ድል ፡  
 ሆኑ ። ይህንም ፡ የጎንደር ፡ ሰው ፡ በሰማ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ አንድነት ፡  
 እንደ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ነዌ ፡ ተፋጀ ፡ ተላቀሰ ፡ ያየለመድነው ፡ መከራ ፡  
 ተመልሶ ፡ መጣ ፡ አለ ።

110 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ትግሬ ፡ ላይ ፡ አጼ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ነገሠ ፡  
 ወደ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ተገዘው ፡ መጡ ፡ አባጫራ ፡ ከተማ ፡ አደረጉ ።  
 እርሳቸው ፡ መንፈሳዊ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ካህንም ፡ እወዳለሁ ፡ ይላሉ ። ሠራ  
 ዊታቸው ፡ ግን ፡ ከቴዎድሮስ ፡ የከፋ ፡ ሆነ ፡ ጎንደርም ፡ እንደ ፡  
 ወትሮው ፡ በወታደር ፡ ተመዘበረች ፡ መዓልተ ፡ ይመስል ፡ መን  
 ፈሳዌ ፡ ወሌሊት ፡ ይጸዓን ፡ በአርዌ ፡ ሆነ ። ሕዝቡም ፡ ደስ ፡  
 ሳይለው ፡ ጎጃምን ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ተሻግረው ፡ አጥፍተው ፡ አብያተ ፡  
 ክርስቲያኑን ፡ ኅሉ ፡ እንዳይደለ ፡ አርገው ፡ መተማ ፡ ሞቱ ። ።

111 ከዚህም ፡ በኋላ ፡ ምን ፡ ይልክ ፡ ነገሠ ፡ የዚህ ፡ ዓለም ፡  
 ፀሐይ ፡ የዚህ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ደስታ ፡ የዚህ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ፍሥሐ ፡ ከዚህ ፡

G 107,5 ቀን ፡] ቀን ፡ G91<sup>r</sup> 108,1 እግዚአብሔር ፡] እግዚአብሔር ፡ G91<sup>v</sup>  
 7 አስመጥተው ፡] አስመጥተው ፡ G92<sup>r</sup> 109,4 ሆነ ፡] ሆነ ፡ G92<sup>v</sup> 110,2 መጡ ፡] መጡ ፡ G93<sup>r</sup> 8 ሞቱ ።] G93<sup>v</sup>

ቀደምም ፡ እንደዚህ ፡ ያለ ፡ ያለም ፡ አልነገሠ ፡ እንግዲህም ፡ አይ  
 ነግሥ ። ዘመኑም ፡ ዘመነ ፡ ተድላ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ ፍሥሐ ፡ ዘመነ ፡  
 ፍግዓ ፡ ሞትም ፡ ለምን ፡ ይልክ ፡ አይገባም ፡ ነበር ፡ ሰው ፡ መሆን ፡ 5  
 አለንጅ ። ወአዕረፈ ፡ በክብር ፡ ወበሰላም ፡ በሰብሐት ፡ ወበውዳሴ ፡  
 ፀሐየ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ምንይልክ ።

112 ፋሲለደስ ፡ ፴፯ ። ዮሐንስ ፡ ፲፮ ። ኢያሱ ፡ ፳፬ ። ተክለሃ  
 ይማኖት ፡ ፪ ። ቴዎፍሎስ ፡ ፫ ። ዮሰጦስ ፡ ፬ ። ዳዊት ፡ ፭ ። በካፋ ፡  
 ፱ ። ኢያሱ ፡ ፳፭ ። ኢዮአስ ፡ ፲፬ ። ዮሐንስ ፡ ፭ ፡ ወርኅ ። ተክለሃይ  
 ማኖት ፡ ፯ዓመት ፡ ከ፯ወርኅ ። ሰሎሞን ፡ ፪ዓመት ። ተክለ ፡ ጊዮ  
 10 ርጊስ ፡ ፬ዓመት ። ። ወእምዝ ፡ ተመይጠት ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ለዘኢይ 5  
 ደልዎሙ ፡ ወንድ ፡ ወሰን ፡ ፬ [ ። ] በቀቱ ፡ ፬ [ ። ] አድገህና ፡ ካሳ ፡  
 ፬ [ ። ] ታላቅ ፡ ዓሊጅ [ ። ] አሊጋዝ ፡ ፯፡< ። > አስራትና ፡ ወልደ ፡  
 ገብርኤል ፡ ፱< ። > ጉግሣ ፡ ፳< ። > ይማም ፡ ማርዬ ፡ ፯< ። > ዶሪ ፡  
 ፯< ። > አሊ ፡ ፳፪< ። > ቴዎድሮስ ፡ ፲፭< ። > ተክለ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡  
 ፫ዓመት ፡ ከ፫ወርኅ [ ። ] ዮሐንስ ፡ ፲፯ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ተ፫ወርኅ ። ስለ ፡ 10  
 መንቅብተ ፡ መንበር ፡ አጼ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ወአጼ ፡ ንሉ ፡ ወአጼ ፡  
 ሣህሉ ። ምን [ ፡ ] ይልክ ። ፵፭ ።

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G 111,7 ምንይልክ ።] G94፣ 112,12 ፵፭ ።] G

## Chapter Six: Translation

[1] The history of the land of Gondar, as they tell it. The angel of God, after having come at night spoke in a dream to 'Aṣe<sup>454</sup> Fāsil<sup>455</sup> saying 'G<sup>w</sup>a tənaggəs<sup>456</sup>'. 'Aṣe Fāsil ordered his subjects to find a place named G<sup>w</sup>a. The subjects told the king that a place, named 'Aringo<sup>457</sup> has been found. Then the king made his *katamā*<sup>458</sup> ('capital') in 'Aringo as he was in search of G<sup>w</sup>a. They say, once upon a time, the royal chief of the stables (*yanəguś bāldarās*) took out the King's private mule for a walk. At some point, the mule escaped. The *bāldarās*<sup>459</sup> followed the running mule by a horse that was not saddled. When it reached to the point where the castle would be erected the mule stopped. When he reached, he met two people and said to them, 'For the sake of God, please help me to capture the mule'. They helped him to capture the mule. Then he asked them, 'What is the name of this place?', and they answered, 'It is named Gondar'.<sup>460</sup>

[2] Having kept the mule, he returned and told the King that the place named Gondar had been discovered. Immediately the king rode horseback (to Gondar) and visited 'Angarab<sup>461</sup> and

<sup>454</sup> 'Aṣe', *E Ae*, I (2003), 364b–365b (D. Nosnitsin).

<sup>455</sup> A short form of the name Fāsiladas. Usually, the public knew him in this name other than the proper name Fāsiladas. See 'Fāsilādās', *E Ae*, II (2005), 499b–502b (E. van Donzel).

<sup>456</sup> There is a phonetic connection between the *-go* of 'Aringo and the *g<sup>w</sup>a*, which are pronounced exactly in the same way. Due to this both characters are interchangeably used as they pronounced the same way. It is the reason that, the oral tradition mentions place names that begins or end with this sound. The phrase *G<sup>w</sup>a tənaggəs* is also translated as 'G<sup>w</sup>a shall reign' or 'you shall reign from (a place named) G<sup>w</sup>a. The latter is a widely accepted interpretation of the statement. This legend is reported by Pollera with his own reflection on variant narration comparing against written sources, see Pollera 1936, p. 88.

<sup>457</sup> It is situated 45 kilometers to the east of Lake Tānā. It had been one of the prominent royal settlements since its establishment during the reign of King Fāsiladas (r.1632–1667). Although 'Aringo emerged as a provincial capital after the founding of Gondar, the author of this text claims its existence proceeds Gondar. See Pankhurst 1982, pp. 139–140; 'Aringo', *E Ae*, I (2003), 335ab (R. Pankhurst).

<sup>458</sup> A permanent garrison camp, see Kane 1990, p. 1428.

<sup>459</sup> A person in charge of the horses and mules in the royal court or in the broader sense the cavalry of the royal army. See 'Baldāras', *E Ae*, I (2003), 457b–458a (D. Nosnitsin).

<sup>460</sup> It emerged in the 1630s as the political, cultural, and economic capital of the country. Then, it had been serving as a major political center for the next two hundred thirty years. As 'Aṣe Tewodros relocated the capital to Maqdalā in 1866, Gondar became a provincial town. 'Gondār', *E Ae*, II (2005), 838a–848a (L. B. Berry et al.). The etymology of the name Gondar is not certainly deciphered so far. Yet, there are several hypotheses established based on the oral tradition. The first hypothesis says the name Gondar is a combination of two Qəmānt and 'Agaw words G<sup>w</sup>āng and Dārā respectively that literally meant 'between two rivers. Similarly, the other hypothesis asserts, it is a combination of the Agaw and Amharic words G<sup>w</sup>āng and Dar; that means, 'edge of ditch'. The last one says, the name Gondar is coined from an Amharic phrase 'በጎንጎ: እደር:' (let one resides beside [the other]), see Solomon Addis 2006, p. 2. The recent explanation of the etymology of the name ጎንጎር: ('Gondar') is stated by Kidāna Wald Kəfle; he interpreted the name Gondar as 'ጎንጎ: ሀገር:' (*G<sup>w</sup>ənda hagar*, 'the main [land] of the country'), see Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, p. 323. This interpretation is coined based on the historical background of the city. Therefore, it doesn't help to understand the correct etymological origin of the name. However, it helps to understand the other etymological explanations that are established based on the nature of the landscape where the city is established and based on linguistic hypothetical assumptions that focused on the language of the Cushitic tribes living in the surroundings of Gondar. However, like the last description of Kidāna Wald Kəfle, also the others have their own limitations.

<sup>461</sup> There are two rivers sharing the same name. The first one is very large, that rises in Wagarā, north of Gondar; and flows towards the west and joins the Atbara River, a tributary of Blue Nile. The other one is smaller, and it also rises few kilometers north of Gondar, flows southwards along the eastern part the city and joins Magaç river which flows to Lake Tānā. For so long it used to be the source of water for residents of the city in the dry season. See 'Angäräb', *E Ae*, I (2003), 264a-b (Mulatu Wubneh).

Qahā<sup>462</sup> and rejoiced. Then he brought the nomads' cattle, trampled the bushes, and had pacified the place, they say. Again, they say, 'Aṣe Fāsil went for hunting, while chasing a buffalo, he reached to a pond where there was on the place where the castle would erect and the buffalo dive into the pond. They say, there was a pond in the place where the palace would be erected. Then, the king encircled it with his companions and kept chasing the buffalo. Then a magnificent person came out of the pond and said to King, 'Why do not you do the task you come for and leave'. Having said that, he told him everything from the beginning to the end and let him go. It was after that, the King pacified and developed it. Again, they say, there is a hilly place in Danqaz<sup>463</sup>, where the king settled while he was searching for G<sup>wa</sup>. The angel of God kept coming at night in his dream and told him (about the place named G<sup>wa</sup>). Then the king answered to the angel: 'Although you told me, I worried because I cannot find the place, what shall I do?'

[3] And the angel of God answered to him: 'I didn't tell you to settle here, rather in a palace where there is plenty of gold'. The interpretation is, with wise craftsmen the stone and soil of Gondar have a golden value. When the king woke up, it was in his dream. He sorrowed, deeply grieved, and shed tears and said, 'The quest of Gondar became hopeless as the book says, "They dreamed but they owned nothing"<sup>464</sup>. Although I failed to find it a lucky one might do. He said, 'I failed to find it on Earth; perhaps the meaning is not clear for me, it could mean the heaven of 'Ezrā and Henok?<sup>465</sup> Let alone the word of the angel of God, even a prophecy of man would happen.' In that day, he did not provide the banquet;<sup>466</sup> and the day was Sunday.

[4] At nine o'clock<sup>467</sup> in the afternoon the king went up to the hill in Danqaz, while seeing through the *manaṣər* ('monocular') to westward of the vicinity, he heard a lion roaring as loud as a magnificent drum (*nagārit*)<sup>468</sup> and send his servants. Following the roaring lion, the

<sup>462</sup> A river that flows alongside the western part of the Gondar; and joins with 'Angarab few kilometers south of the city. The bath of King Fāsiladas and Dabra Ṣaḥay Q<sup>wə</sup>ṣq<sup>wām</sup> church was established near this river in the mid-eighteenth century. Also, it has been serving as a spot to celebrate the annual celebration of the Epiphany. Historically, it is also known to define the religion based segregated settlement pronounced by King Yoḥānnəs I (r.1667–1682). The non-Christian quarters such as Falāṣā Bet and 'Eslām Bet are situated near this river. See Perruchon 1899, p. 168; 'Fālaṣa Bet', *EAE*, II (2005), 484b–485b (R. Pankhurst); Guidi 1903, p. 171.

<sup>463</sup> It is located about 35 km Southeast of Gondar. It was established as principal place of residence of King Susənyos in between 1617 and 1618. It has lost its prominence soon after the death of its founder in 1632. See Pankhurst 1982, pp. 107–110; 'Dänqäz', *EAE*, II (2005), 92a–93a (R. Pankhurst).

<sup>464</sup> It corresponds with the verse in the book of ecclesiastic in the Old Testament, that says 'Much dreaming and many words are meaningless.' But the verse is not quoted directly, see Eccl. 5:7.

<sup>465</sup> They are biblical prophets of the Old Testament period. Henok is the seventh generation from Adam who is believed to have been taken to heaven by God. Gen. 5:19–22. Again, 'Ezrā was active during the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem after the Jewish exile return from exile in Babylon. See Ezr. 3:1–13. The intention of the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* seems to be to compare Gondar with both heavenly Jerusalem and the historical Jerusalem.

<sup>466</sup> Preparing a banquet seems to have been a customary tradition in the royal court. But, if the king did not provide the banquet, it means he is in a serious trouble, see Conti Rossini 1925, p. 468; Kropp 1988.

<sup>467</sup> The local time in Ethiopia is divided into two that counts from the daybreak to sun set called *qan* ('day') and from Sunset to the daybreak called *lelit* ('night'). Each of these parts of the twenty-four hours are divided into two parts. The *qan* consists of twelve hours that start at the daybreak and ends in the evening. Likewise, the night-time starts at the evening and ends at the daybreak. Thus, nine o'clock in the afternoon means 3 p.m. in the standard time.

<sup>468</sup> A kettledrum that has bowl shape. It was used both in the royal court and the church. It has been also used by other religious communities like the Beta 'Esrā'el and Muslims. But the size, the material it is made of, as well as the number one should keep determines the power and hierarchy of the officer in the royal court. In the Gondarine *Dəb 'anbasā* ('bear lion') was famous royal kettledrum that was beaten in the royal court to announce decree or order. In other occasion, it was used to declare the beginning of war in during military expeditions, see Basset 1882, p. 43; Pereira 1892, p. 117; 'Nägarit', III (2007), 1104a–1106b (C. T. Kimberlin), Wion et al. 2016.

servants reached to 'Arbā'tu 'Īnsāsā.<sup>469</sup> At that spot they found a couple of scattered houses and asked the inhabitants saying, 'What is the name of this place?' and they answered, 'It is Gondar'. After asking the name of the place they walked to the plateau.<sup>470</sup> They got the lion roaring near the pond where the palace would be erected. They hurried to return (to Danqaz) and told the king saying, 'Good news! we have seen the lion, found a place named Gondar and we came back'. when he heard that, his face shone like the sun, as it (the Bible) says, 'The face of Moses shone<sup>471</sup>'. Then he mounted on his horse and hurried (to the place) and the army rushed behind him.

[5] When the king reached there, he found the lion eating venison. They encircled the lion in all direction and said to the army 'do not allow it to escape!'. Then, the lion dived into the pond. Straightaway, the pond was divided into parts like the Eritrean Sea<sup>472</sup> (Red Sea) and shocked and the land trembled. As the (Bible) says, 'The entire land trembled with fear'.<sup>473</sup> At that moment, a man standing as a pillar, in the size of an angel, his beard went down to the skirt of his garment<sup>474</sup> as it is said as it (the book) says; his face as white as snow and his appearance in the likeness of the sun; his grace like a lion, and his voice like that of an angel has revealed. When he revealed the army fell to the ground with fear like leaves, only the king was still standing; then he said to the king, 'Build your palace where I am standing right now, the will of God has come to pass for you. Because of the holiness of this place, either those who would baptize on your hand and the infidels (unbaptized) will enter the kingdom of heaven.<sup>475</sup> And I will be in your house and protect you forever as it (the book) says, 'Hide me under the shadow of your wings.<sup>476</sup>' Having said this, he raised up the fallen soldiers, blessed the king, and told everything that is yet to come, and vanished from their sight.<sup>477</sup>

[6] Afterward the king turned his face to the east and bowed three times, saying 'Praise be to God the Father, Praise be to the Son, and Praise be to the Holy Spirit'<sup>478</sup>. Because the king had got what he was seeking, he hurried to Danqaz and pronounced a call (*awāḡ*)<sup>479</sup> to summon the army saying, 'Let the army gather in seven days, anyone who will deny the proclamation will be punished.' The army was gathered accordingly. The king slaughtered ten thousand steers, ten thousand gelded goats, twenty thousand gelded ram and passed an order saying, 'Let wine and mead flow like water'; then there were seven joyful days of song and beating the *nagārit* in Danqaz, every day and every night; declaring that 'I have discovered the holy and blessed land of Gondar'. Afterwards, the king sent three thousand ounces of gold abroad to the foreigners with a message that says, 'Send me skilled craftsmen able to build a palace'. Then, he went to Gondar with the cattle of the nomads and cleared the site. Having accepted the gold,

<sup>469</sup> One of the oldest churches in Gondar that existed before the city emerged as political center of the kingdom during the reign of King Fāsīladas (r.1632–1667). It is situated one kilometer South East of the royal compound, see Monti Della Corte 1938, p. 99.

<sup>470</sup> Gondar is situated on the plateau, encircled with the two rivers 'Angarab and Qahā.

<sup>471</sup> Exod. 34:29-30.

<sup>472</sup> Ps. 135:13.

<sup>473</sup> Jer. 8:16; Ps. 81:5.

<sup>474</sup> Ps. 133:2.

<sup>475</sup> Cp. This blessing of the hermit seems one of the consistent element that has no variance, Cp.Pollera 1936, p. 92.

<sup>476</sup> Ps.17: 8.

<sup>477</sup> Pollera mentioned only this version of the myth of *foundation of Gondar.*, Cp.Pollera 1936, pp. 88–89.

<sup>478</sup> 2 Cor. 1:3.

<sup>479</sup> It derived from the Gə'əz verb ለደ (*'oda*) that means 'encircle' or 'make round'. 'Awāḡ refers to publicly announced royal decrees or proclamations distributed throughout the dominion. It is also used in the same context in the present-day Ethiopia. See Dastā Takla Wald 1969, pp. 110–111; 'Awaḡ', *EAE*, I (2003), 400a–400b (J. Mantel-Niećko).



the foreigners sent five hundred craftsmen named *Bärtakis*.<sup>480</sup> Those craftsmen who came from abroad were dark-skinned. When the king welcomed these people, there was plenty of joy.<sup>481</sup>

[7] The construction began soon after. At the beginning, he ordered the construction of three medium-sized ‘*ʾInqʷəlāl Gənb*<sup>482</sup>; two for his concubines and one for the king himself. Towards the west (of the palace) he ordered to erect stone pillars to pitch tent during meeting with the crowd. He had had a meeting in this place pitching a tent made of *māq*<sup>483</sup> during the rainy season and another tent made of *gəmgā*-silk fabric in the dry season until the construction was completed. When the construction of the main palace underway, deadly epidemic<sup>484</sup> broke out and endangered the life of the army. The king was worried and began praying with broken heart. Then, an ascetic person revealed to the king and said to him, ‘Take courage, do not cry, build a church dedicated to Mikāʾel (the archangel Michael)’. By the time he built the church of Mikāʾel the epidemic vanished, and the church was named *Fit Mikāʾel*<sup>485</sup>. Again, pride of lions and a leap of leopards threatened the people, then the same righteous man revealed to the king and told him to build the church dedicated to ‘*Abbo*<sup>486</sup> and the church was named *Fit ‘Abbo*<sup>487</sup>, then the beasts vanished.<sup>488</sup>

[8] Later on, the ongoing construction was challenged by successive lightning strikes that scrambled the daily progress. The king was worried; he suspended the royal banquet and began praying in solitude. The usual righteous person, the messenger of God, revealed to him and said, ‘Take courage, you shall not be frustrated, be patient in wrath (of God), so that, it will comfort you ahead; just build churches dedicated to Mary<sup>489</sup> and Jesus<sup>490</sup> in the right and left

<sup>480</sup> It refers to the Portuguese. This terminology is clearly different from the earlier form used to address the Portuguese. The mid-sixteenth century Ethiopian sources referred them as ብርትጎል (‘Bärtəgʷāl’) or ብርትጎን (‘Bärtəgʷān’) and foreign sources *Burtukan*. Perhaps the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* was influenced by the nineteenth-century European travellers to adopt the term ‘Bärtəkiz’ that is very close to the English term ‘Portuguese’ but with considerable influence of the traditional approach. See Solomon Gebreyes Beyene 2016, pp. 114, 135; ‘Luso-Ethiopians’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 182ab (A. Martínez d’Alòs-Moner); Ramos 2018a, pp. 38–39.

<sup>481</sup> In Pollera’s work, this story is mixed with the introductory narration in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Plus, in his version, there is a mention of Portuguese who were already living in the kingdom in addition to the invited guestworkers, Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 89–90.

<sup>482</sup> Egg-shaped building or a tower with a cupola on top of it. Due the building structure resemblance to the eggshell it is named ‘*ʾinqʷəlāl gənb* (‘egg building’).

<sup>483</sup> A kind of black and very coarse woollen cloth made in Abyssinia, see Isenberg 1841, p. 28.

<sup>484</sup> The *Short Chronicle* of Fāsīladas mentioned two nationwide famines occurred in the twenty-first and thirty-fourth years of his reign which correspond to the years 1653 and 1666 respectively. It also contains important information about undiagnosed epidemics in this period, see Perruchon 1897, pp. 368–372.

<sup>485</sup> It means ‘Mikāʾel of the front gate’. This name was coined due to the location of the church which is in front of the principal gate of the royal compound even if in a distance. It is situated about one kilometer in front of the principal gate of the royal compound named *fit barr* (‘front gate’) or *Ĝāntakkal barr*. The parallel reading is found in Polleras work, Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 92.

<sup>486</sup> It refers to an honorary term to address elders. It also refers to ‘*Abuna* Gabra Manfas Qəddus, see Dastā Takla Wald 1969, p. 72.

<sup>487</sup> The church dedicated to Egyptian origin saint ‘*Abuna* Gabra Manfas Qəddus that is situated against the principal gate of the royal compound. The saint is believed to have a rule over wild beasts. See ‘Gäbrä Mānfās Qəddus’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 619b–622a (P. Marrassini).

<sup>488</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 92.

<sup>489</sup> Also known as Gəmgā Bet Māryām] (‘Mary of the house of treasury’); the name refers to the location of the church in the royal compound which is adjacent to the royal house of treasury.

<sup>490</sup> ‘*Addabābāy* ‘Iyyasus (‘Jesus of the public square’). This church is built on the public square (‘*Addabābāy*) in front of the royal compound.

side (of the palace)'; and the king built the churches dedicated to Jesus and Mary<sup>491</sup> in both sides of the palace. Since then, the foundation of the palace consolidated and got stronger, and the king was pleased. When the king visited the construction every morning, the palace had been growing (a height of) a handbreadth<sup>492</sup> taller, and it was due to the assistance of the angel of God, they say.<sup>493</sup>

[9] They say, the king's favorite food was pigeons. The height of the king was exactly as the height of the arch<sup>494</sup>. After the palace had been built, one thousand sword bearers (squires) in the East, one thousand sword bearers (squires) in the west, one thousand sword bearers (squires) in the north and one thousand sword bearers (squires) in the South were guarding it throughout the night. As they say, in the evening, the torchlight casted on the top the palace was visible from (a long distance such as) Goḡḡām<sup>495</sup>. He founded seven churches.

[10] They say, the king was adulterous; because of this he begot three hundred children from his maids.<sup>496</sup> Because they are children of maids, all of them remained unknown. He was also married with two sisters and was living with both at once. A monk living by the side of river *Takkaze*<sup>497</sup> whose daily food was fallen leaves said to his fellow monk, 'Go to Gondar and meet

<sup>491</sup> Several sources indicated that the altar-*tābot* dedicated to Jesus and Mary had always been a part of the royal court. Later on, when Gondar became a permanent royal residence with places complexes, these wandering altar *tābots* rested in the church built according to their settlement position during the nomadic period of the royal court.

<sup>492</sup> The text used an archaic Amharic word ጋት (*gāt*) that refers to a traditional unit of length that counts one sixth of the arm length and equivalent to a handbreadth. Dastā Takla Wald 1969, p. 322.

<sup>493</sup> The history of the foundation of the two churches appeared with little variation in Polleras work, Pollera 1936, pp. 92–93.

<sup>494</sup> In the text, it is named ቀስተ፡ ደመና፡ (*qasta damanā*, 'rainbow'); it also refers to arch of a building structure. Most of the openings of the palace are arches but it is hardly possible to know to which of the arches the author is referring to.

<sup>495</sup> A historical region located south of Lake Tānā and encircled by the natural course of the river 'Abbāy ('Blue Nile') that defines its territory. See 'Goḡḡam', *E Ae*, II (2005), 825a–828b (D. Nosnitsin).

<sup>496</sup> The text says, 'ከሥራ፡ ቤተ፡ ፫፻ ልጅ፡ ወለዱ ይለሉ።' 'He begot three hundred children from the house of the work'; ሥራ፡ ቤት፡ ('the house of work') is one of the very important units in the palace in which the members are responsible to fetch water, prepare food and drink for the royal banquet and other related activities. Most probably, this unit is organized with women for the daily routine in the kitchen and beverages and men for other supportive works such as slaughtering animals and chopping firewood. But in a broad sense this unit also could have been established with several subunits responsible for specific tasks. Despite all these, as the chronicle mainly focuses on the life of the king these kinds of units had no chance to be a part of the narration. Perhaps, in the eyes of the chronicles they don't deserve to be a part of the most respected historical account in which successive kings are the center of attraction. Similarly, one born from such low-class family might have not been considered as a legitimate heir of the throne or never had the opportunity to enjoy the ascribed status claimed based on the genealogy. Nevertheless, in the chronicle of 'Iyyāsu II and Məntəwwāb, this unit of maids in the royal court was named ይተ፡ አግሮድ (*yāte 'agrod*, 'maids of the queen') which is mentioned together with the *darabbā bet*. The latter is the name of another unit of servants in the royal court, see Guidi 1910, p. 41; Perruchon 1897, pp. 362–363.

<sup>497</sup> One of the major rivers in Ethiopia that flows from its source in the central highlands near Mount Qaččən to Sudan where it meets Atbara, a tributary of the river Nile. In the previous periods, it has been a geographical landmark that demarcated the borders between Gondar and Wallo provinces in the east and with Tigrāy in the north-west direction. Numbers of monasteries are established near the course of this river among which the Wāldəbbā monasteries are situated in the current border of Gondar and Təgrāy regions. In this text, the author seems to refer to this area where many other monasteries are situated, see 'Tākkāze', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 823b–825a (A. Ritler and Red.). Concerning the children of King Fāsīladas, Pollera mentioned the same number and the problem they caused. The later might be the reflection of his informant, Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 91–92.

the father-confessor of the king (*'yanəguś yanəshā 'abbāt'*)<sup>498</sup> and ask him why the king behave without rules while he is there? and excommunicate on behalf of me and your power'.<sup>499</sup>

[11] That messenger rushed to Gondar and spent the night in the house of the father-confessor of the king. He woke up early in the morning and said, 'My father has excommunicated you and so do I.' The father-confessor answered, 'Are you afraid to die?' Then, the hermit monk takes out a blade (in his pocket) and asked the father-confessor, 'Before all, shave my head please'. The father-confessor received the blade and began to shave him. While shaving the monk's head the father-confessor deliberately pierced his skin and the monk reacted spontaneously. Having seen his reaction, the father confessor said, 'How could you excommunicate the king with such a worthless courage?' Again, the monk said, 'Just finish shaving my head.' Then, the monk cleaned his wound, wore his monastic cap, and went into the palace and said to the king, 'Dissolve the marriage (with the two sisters)' and pronounced the excommunication.<sup>500</sup>

[12] Having listened that, the king said, 'This monk has lost his mind, take him to the *'addabābāy* ('the public square') and decapitate him!' When the king had said this, they dragged him out and decapitated him. This news spread throughout the country and triggered turbulence, as it (he book) says, 'astonishing for listeners.' Consequently, monks dwelling in Moginā,<sup>501</sup> monks dwelling in Wāldəbbā<sup>502</sup>, monks dwelling in Māḥbara Šəllāse<sup>503</sup> and in all other monasteries came (to Gondar) to die (in honour of the religion) and died in martyrdom<sup>504</sup>,

<sup>498</sup> The Amharic translation of the Gə'əz term *'aba nəssəḥa* (Father of penance) also known as *'aba nəfəs* ('soul's father'). However, there had been specific title called *qes ḥaṣe* that was given to the father-confessor of the king. See 'Näfs Abbat', *E Ae*, III (2007), 1097b–1099a (E. Fritsch).

<sup>499</sup> In Pollera's version the whereabouts of the Hermit is Mag<sup>w</sup>inā, which is the same with the *Short Chronicle*, Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 93–94.

<sup>500</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 94.

<sup>501</sup> A Monastery in *'Alafā waradā* in Central Gondar Zone. This monastic community of this monastery had been active in successive religious debates as a defender of the Tawāḥədo faction in the Gondarine period. Yet, in the early Gondarine period, during the reign of King Fāsīladas, the monastery was attacked by the king and significant members of the community were killed ወበው-አቱ፡ ዘመን፡ ኮነ፡ ጥፍሩተ፡ መገናና፡ ወሞቱ፡ መካከላት፡ በዙሃን፡ ወአቡነ፡ አምኃ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወኮነ፡ ሰማዕታተ፡ ('In this year, Mag<sup>w</sup>inā has been plundered and large number of monks were killed and *'Abuna 'Amḥā Giyorgis* became martyr'), see Perruchon 1897, p. 369; 'Mäg<sup>w</sup>ina', *E Ae*, III (2007), 644a–645a (A. Wion).

<sup>502</sup> The monastery located in the north-west of the country to the south of Takkaze river. Hagiographic documents and the local tradition assert the founding of the monastery dated back to the fifteenth century, since then it is known as hermitage with strong monastic tradition. The chronicle of Susənyos described the monastic life saying 'ወበጸሐ፡ ምድረ፡ ዋልድባ፡ በህየ፡ ተራከበ፡ ምስለ፡ ባሕታውያን፡ ወግኑሣን፡ መካከላት፡ አለይነብሩ፡ በጽግዌ' ('And arrived in the land of Wāldəbbā. There he met with the hermits and secluded monks who lives in asceticism (within the monastic community)'). 'Iyyāsu I (r.1662–1706) also visited the monastery on his way to 'Aksum. The monastery had strong connection with the royal court of Gondar and their delegates used to participate in the religious debates of the time, see Pereira 1892, p. 123; Guidi 1903, p. 158; 'Waldəbba', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 1112b–1114a (D. Nonsnitsin).

<sup>503</sup> A monastery located in west Gondar zone near the Ethio-Sudan border. It is believed to have exist much earlier before the Gondarine period. According to the oral tradition, the monastery was almost abandoned until it was re-established around the mid seventeenth century by a monk named *'Abbā 'Aməda Šəllāse*. He was believed to have healed King Susənyos from illness. Following this, Fāsīladas rewarded him a permission to re-establish the monastery and gave him land grants and many more promises. 'Maḥbärä Šəllase', *E Ae*, III (2007), 653a–654a (J. Persoon).

<sup>504</sup> According to the French physician Charles Poncet, who visited Gondar at the end of the seventeenth century, an eyewitness who made observations and collected local histories from the royal court, about 7000 monks were killed by King Fāsīladas following the escalating tension between the king and the monastic communities. See Poncet 1709, p. 57. Pollera's version does not include the other monasteries in the story, Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 94.

like that of Zachariah<sup>505</sup> and John<sup>506</sup> the Baptist. Having seen the angels of light and crowns of light descending from heaven, the farmers threw their lash and the Muslims their looms and rushed to die to get the heavenly rewards. After having seen this, the army also rushed and died.<sup>507</sup>

[13] The king looked up and saw the heaven opened, and angels of light descending and ascending with crowns of light for all those who are decapitated. Then, thinking that all the souls of the beheaded people are rewarded with the kingdom of heaven, he never showed clemency to stop the killing and spare lives. Excluding the ordinary fellows and infidels, nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine monks were killed. As it (the Scripture) says, ‘The Church is sanctified by his (Jesus Christ) honoured blood’; likewise, even if Gondar was already a chosen place like Jerusalem, it was also sanctified and hallowed by the blood of those saints.’

[14] Hereafter, the righteous who often revealed himself to the king came shining like sun and spoke to the king. As he usually did, he prophesied the future for the benefit of the coming generations. He said, ‘A massacre, much worse than the recent one, is yet to come. The pagans (*’aramāwyañ*<sup>508</sup>) who are coming from the west, who look like crow, eat dogs throughout the year will spill the blood of innocents in this city. Moreover, he said, ‘I am close to death; when I die, bury my body in the western side of the compound of *’Addabābāy ’Iyyasus*; for the funeral, let my hands be starched in the likeness of the Holy Cross. And the people shall not be far from my tomb for the public prayer. And for you, ‘As it (the book) says, the scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor lawgiver from descendants<sup>509</sup>, let your descendants be blessed and sanctified.’ Having said this, he died as he sat on the chair. The day was Friday at noon.<sup>510</sup>

[15] *’Aše Fāsil* fell over backwards. His twenty-four advisors, twelve of the right and twelve of the left, startled and rose from their sits and picked him; he wept, and his tears were like rain. While the king was mourning with the army, ninety-nine monks wrapped his body. If one wonders how they arrived at once, they knew about his death because they had achieved the fifth rank of holiness but not yet the last one which is transforming to fire.<sup>511</sup> The ninety-nine saints wrapped his body and buried it, according to his word, with praise and spiritual songs. During the burial, tens of thousands of angels<sup>512</sup> revealed and light descended to his grave.<sup>513</sup>

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Nevertheless, the root cause of the turmoil and the king’s aggressive measure against the monks is not clearly discussed except speculative descriptions enriched the story afterwards. However, this figure shows variation as the informants differs. Recently collected oral traditions raise this figure to 7777 or 9999. The intention of the alter storytellers could be showing the extent of the incident than a real statistical figure. Ramos 2018a, p. 31.

<sup>505</sup> Matt. 23:35.

<sup>506</sup> Matt. 14:10.

<sup>507</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 94–95.

<sup>508</sup> *’arami*, pl. *’aramāwyañ*, refers a non-believers or followers of traditional religion, see ‘Religion(s)’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 360a–361b (S. A. Frantsuzoff).

Kidāna Wald Kəfla also defined it as follows ‘አረመኔ፡ አሕዛብ፡ በአራት፡ በወንጌል፡ የማያምን፡፡’ (‘Gentiles who do not believe neither in Old Testament nor in New Testament’), see Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, p. 241.

<sup>509</sup> Gen. 49:10.

<sup>510</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 93.

<sup>511</sup> According to *’Aragāwi Manfasāwi*, one of *Maṣāḥḥa Manakosāt* there are several ranks of holiness achieved one after the other. The source of the description used in *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is the following phrase from the book *’Aragāwi Manfasāwi*: አንደምን፡ አንድ፡ ጊዜ፡ ደረሰ፡ ቢሉ፡ ከከዊን፡ እሳት፡ ያልደረሰ፡ ከአምስቱ፡ መዓርጋት፡ የደረሰ፡ ናቸው፡፡ see Anon. 1982A.M., p. 128.

<sup>512</sup> አእላፍ፡[መላእክት፡] tens of thousands (of angels). See Ps.119:72; Ps. 84:10.

<sup>513</sup> ጻድቃን፡ በሚሞቱበት፡ ጊዜ፡ ዐምደ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሁና፡ የምታበራላቸው፡ ይህች፡ ናት፡፡ (‘It is that shines as a pillar of light when the righteous (people) die’), see Anon. 1982A.M., p. 344. In addition, similar event was recorded in the history on

[16] The king went for a spiritual retreat (*subā'e*)<sup>514</sup> mourning and praying, saying: 'I have killed all these people in my own hand. What shall I do?'. Later, someone revealed to him and said, 'there is a woman in the *sarā bet* ('house of work'), and she will save you.' The king answered, 'How do I know all the maids in the house of work? How can I recognize her?' He [the righteous man] said, 'You will recognize her when she brings water. Unlike the other maids she brings ten pots of water, but the rest bring only five.'<sup>515</sup>

[17] In the morning, the king assigned a male servant to watch over the road to 'Angarab. The male servant identified her; after she brought nine pots of water and return with the last one, he followed and saw her abode and reported to the king. Then the king went to her abode accompanied with the male servant and fell to the ground before her. She was startled and said, 'Oh king! For God's sake, should you then seek a worthy thing from your slave? and the king said, 'What shall I do to be saved? For God's sake, tell me?'

[18] She said to him, 'Do like this, built bridges across the mighty rivers. When you finish that, announce a proclamation for the people to say, 'May God save Fasil's soul' while crossing the rivers over the bridges. That will save you.' Every day she works in the palace and every night she (immersed herself) in the 'Angarab river (and pray). Every day she gave five pots of water for the beggars. Following her advice, the king built seven bridges across several rivers and announced a proclamation saying, 'Anyone crossing the rivers over the bridge shall say 'May Fasil's soul be saved.'<sup>516</sup> The doors of the royal compound are twelve.<sup>517</sup>

[19] Fāsil died and Yoḥānnəs<sup>518</sup> the righteous became king. His endeavor to lead spiritual life was twice that of a hermit. Even though he was a king, he was making mats from palm leaves to cover the expenses of his daily consumption. A poor widow took the mat to the market to sale and pay the tax as well.<sup>519</sup>

[20] One day, in the day of Sunday, a priest was asleep at home. At that night, an evil spirit infected his wife and she said to him, 'Let us have sexual intercourse otherwise I will leave you at the daybreak'. He answered, 'Why? What happened to you in the day of the Sabbath my dear? She answered, 'I cannot! my bones trembled, and my heart enraged<sup>520</sup>'. He said, 'Oh my Lord! why do you turn the day of Sunday to the day of wickedness?' then he fulfilled her desire. Then, he went to the church and met his colleague and told him his failure; and said to him, 'Please replace me in today's church service and rescue me from the Divine punishment'.<sup>521</sup>

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the grave of one of the nineteenth-century metropolitans of the Ethiopian church 'Abuna Yosāb. Few days after his burial light descended to his grave, it is recorded that a miracle happened as a sign of his righteousness. See Blundell 1922, p. 190. The same expression is used in the hagiography of the eighteenth-century monk 'Abuna Bəstāwros, that says 'ወወረደ፡ ብርሃን፡ ውስተ፡ መቃብሩ፡ ለብላሲ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አቡነ፡ ብስጣዎርስ፡' ('and a light descended to the grave of the man of God, our father Bəstāwros'), see Amsalu Tefera 2010, p. 19.

<sup>514</sup> A minimum of a week period of prayer in solitude very often as an act of penance, see Dastā Takla Wald 1969, p. 1157.

<sup>515</sup> In pollera's version this story is elongated and encompasses additional elements, cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 95–97.

<sup>516</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 96–97.

<sup>517</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 53.

<sup>518</sup> Yoḥānnəs (r.1667–1682) was son and successor of King Fāsiladas. He was also known with his nicknames Ṣādəq Yoḥānnəs ('Yoḥānnəs the just') and *Dagu* Yoḥānnəs (Yoḥānnəs the righteous). See 'Yoḥānnəs I', *EAE*, V (2014), 69a–70b (L. B. Berry); Takla Ṣādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā 1960, pp. 277–279.

<sup>519</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 110.

<sup>520</sup> Jer. 23:9.

<sup>521</sup> The text said 'ሰይፈ፡ እሳት፡' that literarily mean the sword of fire which seems a formula to indicate divine punishment against those who violet the laws.

However, his friend denied his request and exposed him to the Divine punishment. While they were arguing, the king arrived at the church.

[21] The same night, the King had seen everything [the fall of the priest] due to the grace of God. When he [the King] reached to the portico<sup>522</sup> of the church, he took off his coiffured hair as a crown and put it aside. When the priest who refused his colleague's request was beheaded, his head separated from his body like that of the son of Zechariah<sup>523</sup> (John the Baptist). Then the king celebrated the mass in the place of the *Gabāre Šannāy*.<sup>524</sup> He celebrated the Mass with *Gərum*<sup>525</sup> at the end; when he read the *Ḥādāfe Nafəs* ('Pilot of the soul'), [explain this] he ordered them [the people] to put the dead man's body and head together, standing by the side of the dead body, he said, 'I exalt you [God]'. Immediately the dead man came back to life. When the Mass was over and the king left the church, he picked up the hair and placed it on his head, and it remained as it was.<sup>526</sup>

[22] Again, one day, the son of the king murdered a son of a poor widow; his mother came to appeal to the king. The king asked her, 'What happened to you?' and she answered, 'Your son killed mine'. Having heard this, the king transferred the case to the judges, and they reported the verdict. The king asked the judges saying, 'What is the sentence you pronounced?' Considering the law that declares 'the prince shall not be subjected to capital punishment', the judges answered, 'Let him pay her the blood money.' After hearing the verdict, the king called his son, kissed his mouth, and said, 'Why the murder of the son of the poor remains unavenged? why is the prince favored before the court?'. Then the king called his son, kissed his mouth, and sentenced him to death and delivered him to the executioners to carry out the order immediately. It was on Friday; as the book says 'Abraham was determined to sacrifice his son Isaac<sup>527</sup>'; similarly, the king never showed clemency (to spare his son's life).<sup>528</sup>

[23] In another day, after staying in the royal palace of Gondar, the king was travelling to Ṭaddā<sup>529</sup>. When he reached Fanṭar<sup>530</sup> he saw a small farmland that belongs to a poor farmer, covered with barley ripen for harvest. Knowing that in the grace of God that heavy rain was coming, he camped in the nearby church, ordered his army to collect it. He stayed in the church until it was completely mowed and piled up; and then he continued his journey. A man among the army remained there because he was the witness of the good deeds of the king; he was eager to see what would happen next. Suddenly, the sun disappeared behind a cloud with as size of a hoof of a donkey<sup>531</sup>, and heavy and stormy rain burst out. The harvest of that locality was destroyed.

<sup>522</sup> The entrance of the church compound. Most of Gondarine Churches are encircled by a fence made of stone structure about three meters tall and their entrance is defined with a one-story building in which the entrance is the ground floor. The upper floor is usually used as a storeroom.]

<sup>523</sup> Matt. 14:8-10, Mar. 6:24-28.

<sup>524</sup> A priest who serves the Mass, see Kane 1990, p. 550.

<sup>525</sup> This is the incipit of the ቅዳሴ፡ ዘሠለስተ፡ ምዕተ፡ (*Qəddāse zaŠalastu Mə'ət* ('Anaphora of the three hundred eighteen Nicene Fathers'), see Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 126.

<sup>526</sup> Pollera's version of this story has little variation, cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 110–111.

<sup>527</sup> Gen. 22:10.

<sup>528</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 111.

<sup>529</sup> A small town located twenty kilometers to the south of Gondar. It was one of the stops where the kings used to settle when the kings mobilize the army from and to Gondar. At the same place King Yohannes I had founded a church dedicated to 'Ēgzi' abher 'Ab ('God the Father') which was a royal cemetery. See Perruchon 1899, p. 176; Basset 1882, p. 35.

<sup>530</sup> A small village located about 10 km to the south of Gondar.

<sup>531</sup> A similar expression appears in the *'andəmtā* of the Wəddāse Māryam that says 'መጠነ፡ ሰብአ፡ ብእሲ፡ የምታህል፡ ደመና፡' (a cloud with a size of a man), see Anon. 1915A.M., p. 77.

[24] [They say] When the rain was about to end, the poor man went with his children crying, because that was the only harvest the farmer had. When he reached to the field, he found it mowed and piled; he was delighted that his crop was saved but confused and he remained dumbfounded. The man who witnesses the king's righteousness said to him, 'Do not be shocked, the king has done all these' and moved away.

[25] A man who was possessed by evil spirit tempted the king, saying 'How a mighty King like you can be engaged with a woman twice uglier than a baboon?' The king answered to him, 'Do you think she is worse than the everlasting fire of hell?'

[26] 'Ītege<sup>532</sup> Sabla Wangel<sup>533</sup>, the queen had secretly established love affair with their father-confessor. The king had never reacted although he knew their affair. Usually, three of them attend a banquet together, and fish was served. Suddenly, the king said, 'If we all confess what we have in mind, this fish will return to life.' Both the father confessor and the queen were shocked and remained silent. The king said: 'Do not be afraid of me! I will never punish you!' and swore an oath. Both speak their mind at once saying, 'If you die, we would be happy to enjoy our relationship.' Then the king said, 'As for me, I would love to leave this world for you as well.' Right after the king spoke, the fish came back to life and entered the water. Hereafter, the king renounced his power and never claimed it ever since, as Lot never looked backward.<sup>534</sup>

[27] 'Iyyāsu<sup>535</sup> the son of Yoḥānnəs became king, he was very kind, they say. He built (the church) Dabra Bərḥān (Śəllāse)<sup>536</sup> with an intention to bring 'Aksum Şəyon.<sup>537</sup> When the building was completed, he went to Təgre and entered 'Aksum. Then he chose righteous monks and have entered them into the sanctuary (to bring out the *tābot*) but it was in vain. At last, 'Aşe 'Iyyāsu, the king himself entered. When he entered to bring out *Tābota Şəyon* ('the altar tablet of Şəyon') he lost his sight and when he went out his sight was restored. He repeatedly tried it seven times. But at the seventh trial, he realized that it was impossible and said, 'For that matter, why would I stop to adore Śəllāse (the Holy Trinity), and what brings me to you! and let you ('Aksum Şəyon) pay tribute to Dabra Bərhan Śəllāse.' Subsequently, he appointed the *dabtarā* of Dabra Bərhan Śəllāse over 'Aksum Şəyon and took considerable treasures from her ('Aksum Şəyon)].<sup>538</sup>

<sup>532</sup> A title provided for the coronated spouse of the King and in some cases for the queen mothers who were appointed as power regent in the royal court. See 'Ītege', *EAE*, II (2005), 392b (H. Rubinkowska).

<sup>533</sup> The wife of King Yoḥānnəs I, see Guidi 1903, p. 7. Pollera's version of this story is elongated and has significant variation, cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 111–113.

<sup>534</sup> See Gen. 19:15-6.

<sup>535</sup> 'Iyyāsu I (r.1682–1706) is the son successor of King Yoḥānnəs and the grandson of King Fāsīladas who founded Gondar. In the chronological order 'Iyyasu I is the third king crowned after the foundation of Gondar.

<sup>536</sup> This church is situated in the outskirts of the city about two kilometers north-east of the royal compound. It was founded by King 'Iyyāsu I in the years 1694 and dedicated of the Holy Trinity. The name Dabra Bərḥān refers the title of the church that literally mean 'The Mount of Light'. See 'Däbrä Bərhan Śəllāse', *EAE*, II (2005), 12b–14b (R. Pankhurst and E. Balicka-Witakowska); Guidi 1903, pp. 168–169.

<sup>537</sup> It is considered to be the original Ark of the Covenant, see Kane 1990, p. 976.

<sup>538</sup> King 'Iyyāsu's visit to 'Aksum and the Arch of the Covenant or Şəyon in the church is described in the chronicle. The detail of the report in the chronicle does not correspond to the narration in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. the chronicle says, ሐረ: ውስተ: አክሱም: ወቀርቦ: ቀርባኝ: በዕለተ: እሁድ: ወበሳኒታ: ቦአ: ውስተ: መቅደስ: ወአርታዋ: በእዲሁ: ለታቦተ: ጽዮን: ሰባ: ተሰእኛሙ: አርጎዋታ: ለካህናቲሃ: በብዙኅ: መራኅት: ወተመደጠ፤ እምአክሱም: ('he went to 'Aksum take the Holy Communion on the day of Sunday, in the next morning he entered to the sanctuary and open the *Tābota Şəyon* in his hand because the priests were not able to do it in several keys and returned from 'Aksum'), see Basset

[28] After returning from Təgre<sup>539</sup> and entered to Gondar, he consecrated the church, that was built for *Tābota Şayon* and made the dedication for Šəllāse (‘Trinity’). When he appointed the *dabtarā*, he chose only those who were handsome, he never appointed bad looking *dabtarā*. There was a *dabtarā* named Də[n]qo Mārqos.<sup>540</sup> He asked his wife to give him a mirror; having looked at his face in the mirror, he said, ‘*Aşe* is right! My face has two folds of resemblance to that of ape and monkey’. When the king heard that, he summoned him, having saw him, laughed, and appointed him. They say that the land was allotted (*marēt yatadalāddala*)<sup>541</sup> during the reign of ʾIyyāsu.

[29] Again, he went to Šawā to bring the bones of ʾAbuna Takla Haymānot. He found it with a lot of effort and wisdom; and then returned with it (the bones). When he reached Taddā, he looked through his *manaşər* (monocular) and saw a funeral ceremony in ʾAbbo<sup>542</sup>, and he sent horse rider (to deliver a message the funeral ceremony attendants) saying: ‘Do not proceed to the burial before my arrival.’ The horse rider delivered the message, and subsequently the king arrived. As he put the bones of our father (Takla Hāymānot<sup>543</sup>) on the corpse, the dead man came to life. The king said, ‘Glory to the Father, Glory to the Son, Glory to the Holy Spirit’, and bowed down three times, worshiped (the Lord), and said ‘Very truly! I received the relics of the bones of Our Father Takla Hāymānot.’ Then he took and entered (into the palace) and put it in a silk tent, on a chair, in honour. At that time the (wood of the) chair blossomed.

[30] Soon after, he built a church<sup>544</sup> and consecrated it with the *tābot*. For the day of the consecration, he announced a proclamation (*ʾawağ*) for blinds, lames, those who are afflicted with several diseases and infidels to gather; and slaughtered ten thousand oxen, five thousand rams, five thousand and five hundred fatten goats. He also passed an order saying, ‘Let *tağğ* and wine be (prepared) as water’ and it was consecrated with *māhlet*-song and *yəbbābe*-jubilation. He (the king) named the title of the ʾalaqā (of the church) *Qes ʾAşe*<sup>545</sup> and the church ʾAddabābāy ʾIyyasus. The day was Sunday, and the day was on the 12<sup>th</sup> of (the month of) Gənbot.<sup>546</sup> The *tawāhədo*<sup>547</sup> faith had strengthened during the reign of ʾIyyāsu. In that day, the

1882, p. 38. It also witnessed that, while King ʾIyyāsu I was in ʾAksum he revised the existing land charter and endowed additional plots of land for the church. However, there is no source that confirms the plundering of ʾAksum Şayon church by the King ʾIyyāsu as it is described in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. See Guidi 1903, pp. 151–152; Wion 2015, pp. 259–281.

<sup>539</sup> Historically, this name refers to the geographical place located to the East of river Takkaze. See Isenberg 1841, p. 100.

<sup>540</sup> Although all the manuscript witnesses of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* read the name of this person Dəqqo Mārqo, which is an assimilated form of Dənqo Mōrḡos as it is attested by earlier sources; see Guidi 1900, pp. 478–479.

<sup>541</sup> Distribution of the land for the churches, the nobility and the people.

<sup>542</sup> According to the oral tradition it is one of the first churches in Gondar founded by King Fāsīladas, it is located two kilometers south of the royal compound.

<sup>543</sup> ወበ ፲፱፻ ዓመተ፡ መገገሥቱ፡ [...] ወእምዞ፡ ሐረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ መቃብረ፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወርእዮ፡ ተነሥተተ፡ በእደ፡ ግራኝ፡ ጎዘነ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ተመደጠ፡ እምዞመቻ፡ ህልቃ፡ ወባሕ፡ ይባባ፡ (‘In the seventeenth year of his reign [...] thereafter the King went to Dabra Libānos, the burial place of ʾAbuna Takla Hāymānot and saw its destruction by the hand of Grāñ; the king was sad and returned from the campaign and entered Yəbābā’), see Basset 1882, p. 50.

<sup>544</sup> This church was founded at the beginning of the reign of ʾIyyasus I. The chronicle reported this event as follows ‘በ፳፻ ዓመተ፡ መገገሥቱ፡ ... ወእመ፡ ሸለጎዳር፡ በዕለተ፡ እሐድ፡ አንገሠ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ታቦተ፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ውስተ፡ ሰቀላሁ፡ ለግራዝማቸ፡ ጥቁራ፡’ (‘In the first year of his reign in the thirtieth of (the month of) Hədār, King ʾIyyasus consecrated the church of Takla Hāymānot in the house of *Grāzmāč* Təḡure.’), see Guidi 1903, p. 63; Basset 1882, p. 35.

<sup>545</sup> The ʾAşe’s priest, who crowns him, blesses his table, acts as his father confessor. See ‘Nāfs Abbat’, *EAE*, III (2007), 1097b–1099a (E. Fritsch); Kane 1990, p. 753.

<sup>546</sup> According to the hagiography of Takla Hāymānot, 12<sup>th</sup> of the month of Gənbot is the day of translation of the relic bones of Takla Hāymānot for original burial place to the existing one. See ‘Täklä Haymanot’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 831a–834b (D. Nosnitsin).

<sup>547</sup> A religious dogma asserting the union of divinity and nature of Christ in the incarnation. See ‘Tāwāhədo’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 873b–875b (Tedros Abraha).



blind received sight, the lame walked, those who had various sickness healed, and infidels believed.

[31] Then he waged a military expedition to Sənnār and conquered it. After the conquest, he left fifty thousand horses of his own (of the royal cavalry) in Sənnār and returned home. He entered Gondar on the annual celebration of *Taşə'ino*.<sup>548</sup> The *dabtarā* chanted in honour of the king saying, 'Mounted on his horse, 'Iyyāsu entered in peace.' He gave to those *dabtarā* who praised him an ounce of gold each. During the time of the *Ba'āla Hāmsā*<sup>549</sup>, all the *dabtarā* spent the fifty days with the king enjoying the food and drink [in the palace], instead of staying at home. All they went home only after the end of the *Ba'āla Hāmsā*.

[32] (The Comput of) Abušakər<sup>550</sup> was revived during the reign of Fāsīl<sup>551</sup>; at this time, he asked the scholars and they reported that [the knowledge] has been lost. Then he sent messengers towards every corner of the country and the monasteries. The messenger who went to Goḡḡām found someone named 'Abamo deeply versed in 'Abušakər and he brought him [to the royal court]. The king was delighted and asked him ('Abamo): 'Do you know Abušakər?' He answered to the king: 'Nothing is impossible for me<sup>552</sup>'. After the conversation, the king adorned him from feet to head with presents and ordered him to teach; and he allotted an ounce of gold as daily allowance (*dārangot*) for his expenses. Later, when he went back to his homeland, the king rewarded him with fifty ounces of gold. Due to this, the people say, 'Living in silence, 'Abamo collected the gold and went back homeward.'

[33] After this, 'Aše 'Iyyāsu waged military expedition to Gwədrū<sup>553</sup> but it was inauspicious, moreover, his horse was taken captive. Despite all this, he let the army to camp into the opposite direction. Then, he went without any companion into the place where the horse was in solitary confinement. He found the horse in trouble as he did not get the (food and drink) he get used to. As soon as it (the horse) heard his voice, it began neighing. The king went there pretending to be a monk and begging (for daily subsistence). The Gällā who captured the horse let him enter in his house. Having seen the horse, (the king) asked, 'Why is it under stress?' That Gällā answered, 'We gave it grass and water, but it refused; and we are worried, and yet we do not know what to do.' The king said, 'If the horse belongs to a nobleman, it might eat chopped wood and drink *taḡḡ*.' Having heard the advice, he offered the horse chopped olive woods and *taḡḡ* in a wooden bowl. Munching the chopped [olive tree] wood and gulping down the *taḡḡ*, the horse began to leap.

[34] That Gällā was delighted and asked, '*Goftā*<sup>554</sup>, please stay with me some more days.' The king accepted his request and stayed three days and three nights, enjoying the *taḡḡ*. In the third

<sup>548</sup> Palm Sunday. The author seems to have used this term to refer to the arrival of Jesus Christ to Jerusalem mounted on colt. Mark. 11:7.

<sup>549</sup> Pentecost, the fifty-days period from Easter Sunday to the Feast of the Paraclete, see Dastā Takla Wald 1969, p. 1284; Kane 1990, p. 2248.

<sup>550</sup> Abušak(h)ər Abu Šakər is name under which is transmitted a computus for fixed and movable feasts and for making astronomical calculations; it comes from Ar. Abū šākər, see Kane 1990, p. 1189; 'Abušakər', *EAE*, I (2003), 56b–57b (S. Uhlig).

<sup>551</sup> Perhaps the knowledge of Abu Šakər was lost during the devastating attack of the Aḥmad Grañ in the mid sixteenth century in which many churches were destroyed, people killed, and the rest flee to save their lives. The reign of Fāsīladas seems a period of reestablishing what was lost and engendered to extinction in the devastation happened decades ago.

<sup>552</sup> The text put is in plural form 'Nothing is impossible for us.'

<sup>553</sup> Locality in the former Wallagā province, Western part of Ethiopia.

<sup>554</sup> An Oromo word literally meaning 'Lord'. In the Gondarine period, somehow there was a tradition to insert some non-Gə'əz or Amharic words in the narrations. For instance, the chronicler of 'Iyyāsu stated one of the

day, the king advised him saying, ‘Horse loves gait in the meadow, please take it outside.’ Having heard his suggestion, he (the Gällā) loaded up it with a saddle ornamented with gold and take it outside and tried to ride it but the horse started leaping up and have become hostile. Having seen that, the king said to him ‘I used to ride horse, would you mind giving me a chance please?’ and that foolish Gällā handed over the reins to him.

[35] As he grabbed the reins, he mounted on the horse swiftly; then moved the horse back and forth. (Having seen that) the foolish Gällā said, ‘This Amhara is wise’ and began laughing. When the horse had enough warmed up, he [the King] whipped it, then the horse galloped. Having seen that he was escaping, the laughter of the Gällā turned to crying. Then yelling for help from the people ahead, he keeps following the king by horse. The people who heard his cry in the opposite direction pursued and encircled the King. Then, he [the king] turned the horse to the other direction and made a detour and reached to a very dangerous cliff. The Gällā caught him.

[36] The king was in distress and said ‘Oh Zobel!<sup>555</sup> Do you want to have me killed?’ and he whipped the horse. Immediately, the horse jumped from one side of the cliff to the other side. Accidentally, the horse’s *’ančufā*<sup>556</sup> was cut off. Having seen that, (and realizing that it is

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events as follows, [...] አንዝ ፡ ይብል፡ ጋላ፡ በልሳነ፡ ብሔሩ፡ (‘the Gällā said in his language’), see Guidi 1903, pp. 214–215. Similar expressions that refer to languages of different ethnic groups such as Gāwi and ‘Agaw are recorded in the royal chronicles of the same period, see Guidi 1903, p. 278; Conti Rossini 1917, p. 22.

<sup>555</sup> Also known as Zobel or Zobil. It is a legendary horse attributed to several kings according to various oral sources. The British traveller Henry Stern’s account is the earliest one to mention this royal horse. The oral tradition of that period attributed the horse to King Fāsīladas. This story is usually associated with a Gondarine period building situated adjacent to the so-called Fāsīladas bath near the Qahā river. This structure is considered as a mausoleum built in honour of Zobel. See Stern 1862, pp. 208–209. However, the oral story lacks consistency for unknown reason. Due to this, the oral tradition collected in the early-twentieth century attributed the horse to King Yoḥannəs I, the son successor of King Fāsīladas. Yet, this source asserts that ‘Iyyāsu, the son of Yoḥannəs owned Zobel, his father horse after rescuing it from the battle where Yoḥannəs lost the war and retreated to spare his life. Yet, this oral story stated the death of the horse on the way back to Gondar due to exhaustion. See Ramos 2018b, p. 162. On the other hand, the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* which had been widely circulating in the 1930s attributed the horse to King ‘Iyyāsu I which corresponds to the previous source. But the variation lies in the period the horse was in service. This source asserts that ‘Iyyāsu had this legendary horse during the G<sup>w</sup>ədru military expedition held a while before the end of his reign, even though his chronicle named the horse G<sup>w</sup>ambal; see Guidi 1903, p. 253. All these variant oral traditions had some elements shared in common. Firstly, the name of the horse is called Zobel and it is remembered in association with a military expedition to Sənnār. The second point about the death of the horse due to exhaustion and the mausoleum built in honour of the outstanding quality of Zobel near the Qahā river that saved the history of the horse unlike any other horse of the Gondarine period. Nevertheless, the innovation of alternative oral story has been in effect until the late twentieth century. Referring to this source, Ghiorghis Mellesse said that Zobel was the horse of ‘Iyyasu II. What makes this claim common with the mentioned oral witness is the place where the king led the military expedition, that is, Sənnār. But this version does not claim the death of the horse and the construction of a mausoleum in its honour. See Ghiorghis Mellesse 1976, p. 29. Although *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* several oral traditions attribute this legendary horse to their favorite king no horse was known in this name in the Gondarine period in particular reference to Kings Fāsīladas, Yoḥannəs I, ‘Iyyāsu I or ‘Iyyāsu II. The chronicles give different information about royal horses of the period in which a few of them are such as Raḡāl of Susənyos, G<sup>w</sup>ambal of ‘Iyyāsu I, Yəbsā of Bakāffā, Sāldā of ‘Iyyāsu II, and Lolā of ‘Iyyo’as. Yet, there is no horse named Zobel mentioned in the chronicles of Gondarine kings, see Pereira 1892, p. 322; Guidi 1903, pp. 253, 276; Guidi 1910, pp. 109, 168.

<sup>556</sup> A loanword from the Oromo language which means ‘saliva’ or ‘spittle, see Leus and Salvadori 2006, p. 309; the other alternative meaning is ‘dung’, ‘filth’, or ‘lordure form the stomach of a slaughtered animal’. See Tilahun Gamta 1989, p. 30. Nathaniel Pearce also mentioned a similar Amharic word i.e., *Archufa* referring to the shoulder blade of an animal, see Pearce 1831, p. 228.

Despite the existence of the word in Oromo lexicon the exact contextual meaning is not clear. Maybe it had closer meaning that corresponds to its meaning in Oromo language; otherwise, the term is vague. In reference to its

impossible to cross), he (the Gällā) appreciated the horse and told the king to apply a certain herb on the wound. The king applied the herb on the wound, and the bleeding stopped. Then the king said, ‘Do not slander me Gʷədru, since the land has been inconvenient (to win the battle).’ Then, having the horse he met the army, and the people admired.

[37] He returned and entered Gondar; the people of Gondar welcomed him with shouting of joy. Thereupon, Zobəl, the horse was sick and died. The king buried it in Fāsīladas Medā<sup>557</sup> with mourning and lamentation and built a mausoleum over the grave. Soon after, he decided to renounce his power; then he summoned the army to abdicate in favor of Tewoflos<sup>558</sup> whom he loved very much. He fastened an ‘afā (dagger of gold) on his waist, had him dress the robe of government and showed him how to do, then he (‘Iyyāsu) went to Məṭrāḥa.<sup>559</sup>

[38] Due to the reason that Tewoflos had been shown how to do, the people enthroned him. Takla Hāymānot was very strong and violent. Once while riding the horse, he stuck it down the chin and its jaw fell to the ground. In the later days, he was a vigorous horseman capable of impeding a [galloping] horse only with his thighs. Because of his vehemence, he slapped Tewoflos on his eye and threw (him) away from the throne and enthroned himself. When ‘Aṣe ‘Iyyāsu heard that, he said, ‘Why is the one I put on throne deposed and such a violence happened?’ and then he began to summon an army around Dangal Barr.<sup>560</sup>

[39] Having heard this, Takla Hāymānot said, ‘Does this old king desire to reclaim the throne<sup>561</sup> (‘algā) he has left?’ and he marched to Dangal Barr<sup>562</sup>. As soon as the king learned of the arrival of the army (of Takla Hāymānot) he fled by boat (tānkʷā).<sup>563</sup> Takla Hāymānot kept following his footsteps. He went to Dambiyā and marched along the shore (of Lake Ṭānā), passed by Fərqā<sup>564</sup> and arrived to Məṭrāḥa. They said that ‘Iyyāsu was reading a book (to the audience). They said that the bullets [Takla Hāymānot’s armfire] were falling like hailstones and ‘Iyyāsu was anxious about the life of the innocents. Therefore, he rose up and said, ‘‘Īlmat, Darman<sup>565</sup> and their companions! Did not I raise you with comfort? Do not you fight following

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meaning in the Oromo language, perhaps the author wants to say that the horse is critically wounded on the neck or somewhere on his belly.

<sup>557</sup> An open space adjacent to the so-called Fāsīladas bath situated in the bank of the Qahā river.

<sup>558</sup> The son of King Yoḥannəs I and the successor of his nephew King Takla Hāymānot who reigned in the years 1708–1711.

<sup>559</sup> The Gə‘əz sources spell it Məṣərāḥ or Məṣrāḥā. It is an island in the north-western part of Lake Ṭānā, and it used to be a royal mausoleum since the last quarter of the seventeenth century until the first half of the nineteenth century. See Conti Rossini 1942, pp. 91–93.

<sup>560</sup> Located in the south-western shore of Lake Tanā. According to the *Short Chronicle*, before he was dethroned by the nobilities and his son Takla Hāymānot enthronement, ‘Iyyāsu was in Bārakantā to mourn his concubine the late Qəddāste. While he was in Bārakantā which is in a close distance to Dangal Barr he heard that the nobilities had enthroned Takla Hāymānot; subsequently he mobilized his army around this area to fight his son successor. But ‘Iyyāsu was seek so that he decided to retreat while he reached Dangal Berr; see Basset 1882, p. 57.

<sup>561</sup> An Amharic term that refers to the throne or a power assumed by the king or regional lords. However, specific terms such as *Manbara Dāwit* or *Manbara Mangəšt* refers to the throne of the monarch only, see Guidi 1903, p. 5, 181; Guidi 1910, p. 29.

<sup>562</sup> A small town situated in the west of Lake Tana; ‘Iyyāsu’s attempt to mobilize his army to this place is also mentioned in the *Short Chronicle*. According to the *Short Chronicle* ‘Iyyāsu’s was sick and unable to lead the war; Basset 1882, pp. 57–58.

<sup>563</sup> Boat made of large, long reeds lashed together, see Kane 1990, p. 982.

<sup>564</sup> Also known as Fərqā berr located in the north-eastern shore of Lake Ṭānā, the area between the two tributary rivers *Waynarab* and *Danguri*. It is frequently mentioned in the chronicles; the place seems one of the spots of the royal itinerary. See Blundell 1922, p. 11.

<sup>565</sup> These two persons are very close relative of ‘Iyyāsu’s concubines Malakotāwit. She played a significant role in the dethronement and assassination of ‘Iyyāsu I and to secure the power on the hand of her son Takla Hāymānot.

my order?’ Saying this, he elevated his couch as a sign [of the king]; right away they shot him, the bullet pierced his forehead, and the king died.<sup>566</sup>

[40] After killing his father, he returned (to Gondar) and was nicknamed *rægum* (‘cursed’)<sup>567</sup> Takla Hāymānot. The clergy [in the monastery] mourned before the corpse of ʾIyyāsu and uttered an imprecation: ‘Let the children of Takla Hāymānot, and his generation be cut off’<sup>568</sup>.

[41] Then, two house servants (a man and a woman) of ʾIyyāsu shaved their tonsure,<sup>569</sup> and went to *rægum* (‘cursed’) Takla Hāymānot. He asked them, ‘What are you?’ and they answered (one after the other), ‘I was shield bearer of your father’ the man said; and the woman said, ‘I was the chief cook of the palace during the reign of your father’. He reinstated them to their former position, without knowing that the intention of their return was to take a revenge against him.

[42] After assuming their former positions, they kept a close watch on him. In one of those days, *rægum* Takla Hāymānot went for hunting, and sit upon a hill, face away to the sun. When he was looking at the army, that shield bearer had the lance (named) *zagar*<sup>570</sup> on his hand and stood behind the king accordingly. Suddenly, he stabbed the king and knifed him on the neck<sup>571</sup>.

[43] The shield bearer hurried to Tewoflos<sup>572</sup> and told him (the death of king Takla Hāymānot). When Tewoflos heard the news, he roared like a lion, neighed like a horse, jumped with joy like a young calf, shone like the sun, dressed a cloth gleaming with gold and blazing like fire, became graceful and charismatic like the tree of Cedar<sup>573</sup>, bore a resemblance to his father

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Although ʾIyyāsu was successfully deprived from his power, ʾĪlmat and Darman were assigned to lead the assassination of ʾIyyāsu as he was considered as a possible threat for the government of Takla Hāymānot. See Berry 1976, pp. 32–34; ‘Mäläkotawit’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 690a.b (S. Chernetsov).

<sup>566</sup> The chronicle of ʾIyyāsu was already interrupted before his dethronement. But there are other sources that give a picture of the last days of ʾIyyāsu such as the *Short Chronicle* and the hagiography. The *Short Chronicle* confirms ʾIyyāsu’s attempt to reclaim his power, but it was in vain. Following the failure of the attempt, ʾIyyāsu retreated to Daq island and later moved to Čaqlā Manz, another provincial palace on the eastern shore of the lake. Few months later he was killed in the same place. Nevertheless, the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* gives a different information about ʾIyyāsu’s retreat to another place, Məsrāhā, which is not mentioned in the other sources. Moreover, it mentioned the war held in Mətrāhā in which ʾIyyāsu was defeated, killed and buried; see Basset 1882, pp. 57–60; Conti Rossini 1942, pp. 88–95. In general, the death of ʾIyyāsu still seems an unsolved mystery until the present day. Although there are sources that witness the incident like the *Gadla ʾIyyāsu*, it is hard to trust this religiously inspired work as a historical attestation due to the motive and nature of the record.

<sup>567</sup> Takla Hāymānot has this nickname after the death of ʾIyyāsu. This nickname survived in the oral tradition.

<sup>568</sup> Ps. 109:13. It is a formula used for excommunication.

<sup>569</sup> Shaving hair is a common cultural practice in Ethiopia to express sadness and mourning when a beloved one dies.

<sup>570</sup> Long lance formerly carried by the monarch. Dastā Takla Wald 1969, p. 482; Kane 1990, p. 1677.

<sup>571</sup> According to the *Short Chronicle* of King Takla Hāymānot was killed in ʾAgaw Mədr while he was hunting. The shield bearer of the king was killed with him, although the author of *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* accused him for assassinating his master; see Basset 1882, p. 63; Perhaps, the *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* reconstructed the history based on the oral tradition and emphasized on the traditional practice to avenge the blood of the deceased family member.

<sup>572</sup> A son of Yoħannəs I and brother of ʾI and I who reigned from 1708 to 1711.

<sup>573</sup> With a certain degree of variation this kind of similar expressions were used in the chronicles of ʾIyyāsu and Bakāffā; taking this into consideration this phrase seems used as a formula to describe the king’s appearance in a specific condition, see Guidi 1903, pp. 210–211, 232–233, 280.

’Iyyāsu<sup>574</sup>, sat on the throne of David<sup>575</sup> and announced a proclamation, ‘Tell him to come in!’<sup>576</sup>

The proclamation was pronounced; and he set order saying, ‘Let meat be served as cabbage, and *anḡarā* as leaves, *taḡḡ* and wine be as water’. He ordered the crowd to sing a song saying, ‘I avenged my father’s blood and my brother’s.’<sup>577</sup> There were ninety-nine *qāre*<sup>578</sup> who were master of singers (‘*yazafāñ ’alaqā*’). In the presence of all the people, the clergy with their chants (‘*mahlet*’) and the ninety-nine *qāre* with their songs (‘*zafan*’), they spent forty days and forty nights of joy [in a row] at the royal palace. Tewoflos was a good king esteemed by the people.

[44] Hereafter, Yostos<sup>579</sup> became king. He was a good Christian and a man of comfort for the people. When he began to reign, he saw the gold amassed in the palace, and asked ‘Why is this gold piled up like stacks of grain?’ The guardians of the palace answered to the king, ‘Annually, Kafā<sup>580</sup>, Gwədrū, and Sənnār<sup>581</sup> pay tribute measured twelve *dāttān*<sup>582</sup>, the king’s washing bowl. It is a treasury of the government reserved for hard times.’ Again, the king said ‘Is it an idol? are we going to be like Hiram<sup>583</sup> and Nun<sup>584</sup>? my forefathers, the predecessor kings made mistakes’. Having said this, he divided the gold into three parts by his foot, as he was wearing golden shoes.

[45] Then he gave one third of it to the churches and one third to the army. For the remaining, he pronounced a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Gondar, men and women, servants and

<sup>574</sup> In fact, King Tewoflos is the son of King Yoḥānnəs I and brother of King ’Iyyāsu I; but the author of *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* had confusion on the genealogy of the royal family.

<sup>575</sup> Ethiopian royal throne name of the Solomonic dynasty, see Kane 1990, p. 1035. In many of the chronicles, the Davidic descent of the kings is emphasized in different ways. For instance the chronicle of Susnəyos referred to his rulership as ‘መንግሥት፡ እስራኤላዊ፡ ዳዊታዊ፡ ወሰሎሞናዊ’ (‘Government Israelite, Davidic and Solomonic’); and therefore the throne is usually mentioned as throne of David, see Pereira 1892, p. 274; Guidi 1903, pp. 5, 52, 181, 184. In some case, the royal family traced the genealogy as far as Solomon David as well as Adam, see Guidi 1910, pp. 3–10.

<sup>576</sup> A formula for calling public gathering or the army to the royal court. If this call is pronounced during the enthronement of a new king, the proclamation invites rebels who have been fighting with the previous king. See Dastā Takla Wald 1969, p. 216.

<sup>577</sup> It is a traditional song performed after avenging someone’s blood.

<sup>578</sup> Kane described this word ‘dissolute woman (divorced or widowed) who lives alone, who sells her favors, dances, signs or work in an establishment where alcoholic drinks are sold; badly brought up child, scamp, rogue, rascal, knaves; city slicker; talkative, person who always speak first’, see Kane 1990, p. 717. Nevertheless, the context in the reading refers to a group of people who occasionally perform ceremonial songs in the royal court as it is mentioned in the *Short Chronicle* of King Fāsīladas that says ‘ወተቀበልዎ፡ ሰብእ፡ ቅሬ፡ ወደረባ፡ ቤት፡ እንዘ፡ ይዘፍኑ’ (‘And the people of *qāre* and the house of the *darabā* welcomed him with songs’); see Perruchon 1897, p. 362.

<sup>579</sup> King Yostos (r.1711–1716) is a grandson of Yoḥānnəs I who was active in the royal court since the last decade of the seventeenth century. After the death of ’Iyyāsu he became a prominent figure in the royal court and at last he succeeded King Tewoflos. His enthronement was controversial and considered as illegitimate as his royal blood is retraced from the daughter of Yoḥānnəs I, ’Amlākāwit. However, the tradition allows only the offspring of the sons of the king as a legitimate heir of the throne. The offspring of the daughters seem traditionally deprived from this right. Yostos’s enthronement might have been controversial due to this tradition; see Basset 1882, p. 67; Guidi 1903, pp. 257–258; Berry 1976, p. 37.

<sup>580</sup> One of provinces located in the southwestern part of Ethiopia.

<sup>581</sup> A place located to the southeastern part Sudan. Some of the Gondarine kings waged war to this area. The last military expedition to this area was held during the reign of King ’Iyyasu II. Guidi 1910, 113–116.

<sup>582</sup> Serving tray, small plate held beneath the diner’s hands to catch the water spilled when he washes his hands. See Kane 1990, p. 1790.

<sup>583</sup> 2 Chron. 8:18, 9:2.

<sup>584</sup> In the Gospel of Luke there is a rich man mentioned in the parable of Christ. Although this person in anonymous in the Gospel, the *’andəmtā*-exegesis interprets that the person is named Nuh (Am. *Nawe*). See Luk. 16:19–30.

all others to gather on the 'Addabābāy. Then he transported the gold to the 'Addabābāy and dispersed it all over the open space. Among the crowd, there were people who collected ten ounces of gold, some five ounces, others three ounces and two ounces according to their respective luck. After collecting the gold, the poor people sang a song saying:

‘The king has risen, and we have seen king Yostos;  
who disperse gold like the barley (seeds)!’

Then after, the city of Gondar became developed and prospered; previously it was poor.

[46] This is how he (Yostos) founded Lədatā.<sup>585</sup> The church in the *Wahni Bet*<sup>586</sup> is Lədatā. The children of the kings are fond of Lədatā. Due to this tradition, every morning, the king used to visit 'Aroge Lədatā<sup>587</sup> on horseback. (One day) Seven priests came from Šawā with an altar-*tābot*. After having the altar-*tābot* consecrated by the hand of the metropolitan, they spent that night in 'Aroge Lədatā.<sup>588</sup> The next morning, they set out to continue their journey (to Šawā) but the *tābot* refused.<sup>589</sup> Those priests spent some days on mourning, saying, ‘On the account of whose sin?’ Then they asked about the daily visit of the king, and the dwellers in the locality answered, ‘The king loves Lədatā.’

[47] Then, [in the morning] when the king left the church after prayer, they stood before him to get his attention. The king asked them, ‘What happened to you all?’ and they told him everything that happened and said, ‘If not, give us a place’. The king was delighted and said, ‘Long distance cannot extinguish love!<sup>590</sup> You come to me before I do!’ and again said, ‘Even the sparrow has found a home, and swallow a nest for herself, where it may have her young a place near your altar, Lord Almighty, My King and my God.’<sup>591</sup> Then he told those priests to stay in the same place. Soon after, he returned (to Gondar), surveyed the surroundings, and he got a pleasant place in which the water flows from west to east; the water that flows nearby is like the spring of Bethlehem<sup>592</sup>; and there was a pond in the place where the church is erected; having drained the water that he built the church.

[48] Before the existing one, he had already built the church with stone and mud mortar. When it reached to the roof work, he asked a certain *Bālam*<sup>593</sup> who supported the construction of Gondaročč Giyorgis<sup>594</sup> saying, ‘How do you see this construction work?’ and he answered,

<sup>585</sup> A church dedicated to the nativity of Saint Mary the virgin located in the western periphery of the city across Qahā river.

<sup>586</sup> Historically known as *Wahni* 'Ambā or 'Ambā *Wahni*. It was a royal prison during the Gondarine period where the descendants of the royal family were imprisoned. See further details below; see also 'Wāhni Amba', *EAE*, IV (2010), 1076a–1077b (L. B. Berry).

<sup>587</sup> This church is one of the sixteen pre-Gondarine churches built before the emergence of Gondar as a seat of the monarch and it is located towards the north-east of the Gondar. Monti Della Corte 1938, p. 100; Martínez d'Alòs-Moner and Sisay Sahile 2016.

<sup>588</sup> Located about 20 kilometers southeast of Gondar, see Martínez d'Alòs-Moner and Sisay Sahile 2016, p. 50.

<sup>589</sup> It is believed that the altar-*tābot* has a divine power to perform miracles. Thus, according to the local tradition, happening of such miracles is common.

<sup>590</sup> It is a verse adopted from the song of songs of Solomon: 'ማይ፡ ብዙኅ፡ ኢይክል፡ አጥፍኦታ፡ ለፍቅር፡' ('Much water cannot extinguish love') see Song of Sol. 8:7.

<sup>591</sup> Ps. 84:3.

<sup>592</sup> *Wəddāse Māryam* 'andəmtā mentioned the brook that flows besides Ledatā church in comparison with a spring near the city of David in Jerusalem. The 'andəmtā reads 'አንድም፡ ማየ፡ ሕይወትነት፡ ያለው፡ ነውና፡ አንድ፡ ልደታ፡ ውሀ' ('again, it (the spring in the city of David) is a water of life as the spring of Lədatā'). See Anon. 1915A.M., p. 113.

<sup>593</sup> A favourite of the monarch or a high-ranking notable, see Kane 1990, p. 1476.

<sup>594</sup> The local tradition asserts that this church is one among the pre/Gondarine period churches of Gondar, see Martínez d'Alòs-Moner and Sisay Sahile 2016.

‘The construction is good, but you are building it with mud mortar as we did.<sup>595</sup>’ Having heard this, he dismantled the building and went with his army to bring *norā*-lime<sup>596</sup> for the construction of the new church building. The *norā*-lime that was brought at once by the army was sufficient to complete the church building. They say, ‘The leftover was enough for another building’. This is an evidence for the size of his army; and no king among his predecessors had larger army than Yostos’s.

[49] While the building was underway, one of the columns of the eastern part leaned to the ground. They say, the king had an iron pot as tall as his height, he filled it with water and immersed himself into it; also, he kept (leaves of) *koso*<sup>597</sup> in his mouth and stayed therein for seven days in prayer.<sup>598</sup> In the seventh day, the angel came down and pushed the column into the original position and said, ‘Come out Yostos! enter into your house, your name is written (in the book of life?) and your words are trustworthy. The kingship (*malkənā waməsfənā*) shall not depart from your line, nor lawgiver from descendants forever’.<sup>599</sup> Then, the angel held his hand and took him out (of the iron pot).

[50] As he came out, his appearance was like the sun. He looked like one of the angels.<sup>600</sup> His face was glaring like pearl and gold. He was handsome because he was the son of *Dağgāč*<sup>601</sup> Dəbla ’Iyyasus<sup>602</sup> of Təgre, and the Təgre are good looking. Also, in his mother’s line, he is the grandson of (King) Yoḥānnəs, the son of Walatta Ḥawāryāt, a niece of ’Iyyāsu.<sup>603</sup>

[51] Then after, when the construction work was completed, he appointed one hundred and fifty learned *dabtarās*,<sup>604</sup> who studied the Old and the New Testament. However, he was not

<sup>595</sup> The Gondarine period kings preferred to build churches and palaces with stone and lime mortar. This tradition continued for more than one and half century. In this time range, the nobility and the subjects were not allowed to use this specific construction material to erect their churches. Somehow, it was reserved only for the royal family. This discourse strengthens the fact that even the nobility hardly used the same material to construct churches. In the other hand, the king shall use prestigious materials to build royal churches to show the status difference between the king and the nobility.

<sup>596</sup> ወበ፫ዓመት፡ በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ አዘዘ፡ ይንጦትዋ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ ተፈጸመት፡ ቀዳሚ፡ እሰመ፡ ተሐንጸት፡ በፅቡር፡ ወካዕበ፡ አዘዘ፡ ይሕንጽዋ፡ በኖራ። (‘In the third year, in the year of (the evangelist) Mark, he pass an order to demolish the church that was built previously, because it was constructed of mud-mortar. Again, he ordered to build it with lime mortar’). Kropp 1981, p. 142.

<sup>597</sup> Scientific name *Hagenia abyssinica*; a traditional medicine to cure tapeworm, it was compounded from the flower of this plant. The tree, the medicine compounded, and tapeworm are known as *koso* in Amharic. See ‘Koso’, *EAE*, III (2007), 432b–4433 (Zemedede Asfaw).

<sup>598</sup> Immersing oneself in a water, keeping a bitter leaf of *koso* tree and secluded prayer seems an attribute of a dedicated religious king or saintly person. This feature is described associated to different historical figures in this text. If one searches for more evidence, it seems a widely spread tradition in Gondarine period. For example, Queen Məntəwwāb, the regent of ’Iyyāsu II, has a similar story; and in some churches, there are her depictions that show the queen’s prayer in a pot filled with cold water, as it is described in the history of Yostos. See Ghiorghis Mellesse 1976, p. 39; Monti Della Corte 1938, pp. 44–45.

<sup>599</sup> Gen. 49:10.

<sup>600</sup> It a paraphrased expression from the book of Judges in the Old Testament, ‘he looked like an angel of God, very awesome’, Judg. 13:6.

<sup>601</sup> The short form of the title *Dağgāzmāč*, one of the highest military ranks in the royal court. See ‘Dāğgāzmač’, *EAE*, II (2005), 62a–63a (Bairu Tafla).

<sup>602</sup> A metathesis of ድል፡ በኢየሱስ፡ (‘Del ba’Iyyasus’).

<sup>603</sup> Yostos was son of Walatta Ḥawāryat, grandson of ’Amlākāwit, a daughter of King Yoḥānnəs I. The intention of the author seems to emphasize this genealogy. See ‘Yostos’, *EAE*, V (2014), 97a–98b (D. Crummey).

<sup>604</sup> The number of the *dabtarās* assigned for the church services shows variation against the figure mentioned in the *Short Chronicle*. The *Short Chronicle* stated that only one hundred and five *dabtarās* were assigned. “ወሠርዓ፡ ካህናተ፡ መዘምራት፡ ፪ተወፎተ፡ እለ፡ የአምሩ፡ መዘምራት፡ ከመ፡ ያሬድ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ከመ፡ ቁርሎስ፡” (‘he appointed one hundred and five priests and chanters, who knew the hymn like Yāred and interpretation of the books like (Saint) Cyril (of the early Christian church)’), see Kropp 1981, p. 142.

willing to accept the request of blind and handicapped *dabtarās*, because he anticipated that they might disturb the church. Likewise, he assigned those seven priests who brought the *tābot*, as guardian of the ‘saint of saints’.<sup>605</sup> Their name was *mazaroč*.<sup>606</sup>

[52] Before the consecration of the church, he pronounced the following *’awāḡ*: ‘Anyone among peasants and pastoralists, who has fattened heifer shall bring it [to the palace]; I will pay you the amount it costs in gold.’ (Again) he said: ‘Let Balasā, Q<sup>w</sup>ālissā, Səmen, and Wagarā bring Billy goats and ram as tribute<sup>607</sup>; let Walqāyət and Ṭagade bring *šammā*<sup>608</sup>; let Qārodā bring grapes; let the honey from *’Agaw* be brought in. Let the hops (‘gešo’) of *’Ačafar* be collected; let the white *tef* and red pepper of Dambiyā be collected. Let the Falāšā bring *gān*-clay pot.’ Then he sent messengers to *Məsr* (Egypt) with plenty of gold and imported loads of beautiful goods. In addition, he sent his servants and have brought horses and mules from Goḡḡām and sent them to Təgre, the homeland of his father. The horses were for the noblemen and mules for the ladies. And they all came to attend the joyful day of the consecration of the church.

[53] After having prepared all these, the church of Lədatā was consecrated in the day [of the celebration] of Epiphany and it was celebrated with jubilation and canticles<sup>609</sup>; with the load of voice of the *nagārit*-drum and firing of cannon. The nobilities and ladies of Təgre performed songs in their own language<sup>610</sup>; and other people who were from the southern side of river Takkaze<sup>611</sup> performed Amharic songs. At that moment, the king saw a very beautiful woman behind the priests who encircled the *tābot*. She carried her son on her chest and accompanied by two persons who looked like Faranḡ<sup>612</sup> and drew their swords. Then, the King anticipated

<sup>605</sup> The author used a phrase *Yawəst saw*, ‘people of the innermost (part of the church)’, that designates their power and duty in the established new royal church.

<sup>606</sup> The people from a locality named *Mazar* or *Mazaro*, perhaps it could be a variant of *Mazazo* a locality in Šawā province. In Gondar, there is a specific place named *Mazəwočč* situated five hundred meters to the north-west of the royal compound that is believed to have the settlement of these people.

<sup>607</sup> The highlands of Balasā and Q<sup>w</sup>ālissa located south-east of Gondar as well as the mountainous regions Səmen and Wagarā located north of Gondar seems to have been paying their tributes in cattle.

<sup>608</sup> The lowlands of Walqāyīt and Ṭagade which located to north-west of Gondar are known for cotton production were also paying tributes in *Šammā*, a cotton cloth that had been serving as currency in the Gondarine period, see Guidi 1903, p. 13.

<sup>609</sup> ‘በይባቢ፡ በግሥት፡’ it is a formula to describe the procession of the entire ceremony accordingly.

<sup>610</sup> *Təgrəññā* is the language of the Tigre people of northern Ethiopia and the highlands of the present-day Eritrea, see Kane 1990, pp. 998–999.

<sup>611</sup> Until 1991, Takkaze was a natural boundary that defined the border between Gondar and Tigre provinces. In the Gondarine period Walqāyət was an autonomous region ruled under its own chief appointed by the monarch. Up until 1991 the region towards the north of Takkaze had been referred to as Təgre and south of the river Walqāyət, Səmen, Wagarā, and Ṭagade. In this text the intension of the author seems to assert the cultural variations between peoples settled in both sides of river Takkaze.

<sup>612</sup> This kind of comparative description seems a recent tradition, common in the nineteenth century and later on. For example, in one of the battles of Dambiyā in which *Daḡḡāzmāč* Kənfu won the battle a certain *’Azmarī* (‘traditional music performer’) composed the following poem የከንፋ፡ ጎራዴ፡ ጥቁር፡ የነበረ። እየቀላ ሄደ ተርክ ዘየመሰለ። (‘the sword of Kənfu was dark (colored); it is getting brighter like Turkish (people)’) to appreciate the bravery of this warlord. See Fusella 1959, p. 1. The common way of describing bright skin or face of individuals was in comparison with the celestial bodies such as the moon, the stars, and the sun. For instance, in the *malkə* (‘image’) of saints which are composed in several units devoted to each part of the body of the saint or angel. One of these units is composed in honour of the face (ለገጽከ, ‘*laḡaṣəka*’), the brightness of this part of the body is compared against the sun or the stars. For instance, in the መልክ፡ ማርያም፡ (Malkə ‘a Māryām, ‘the image of Mary (Mother of God)’) the praise to her face is composed as follows, ‘ሰላም፡ ለገጽከ፡ ዘጥቀ፡ ይልሂ፡ እምሥነ፡ ከዋክብት፡ ወወርህ፡ ወእምስነ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ሙብርሂ፡...’ (‘Praise to your face that amuses much, which is brighter than the stars, the moon, and the sun). Hāyla Mikā’el Takla ’Iyyāsus n.d., p. 484. This expression had been in effect until the eighteenth century as it is attested in the hagiography of *’Abuna* Hārā Dəngəl. In this text the face of *’Abuna* Hārā Dəngəl is described as



that she was going to touch the *tābot*, he dismounted from the mule and approached to beat her with his golden stick before she did. Suddenly, the woman and her companions disappeared.

[54] The King was shocked and embarrassed, and then he mounted on the mule. Again, she appeared to him in the same way. Then he said, ‘This woman came with an intention to desecrate the *tābot*’.<sup>613</sup> Having said this, immediately, he dismounted from the mule and got closer to beat her with his golden stick. Yet, she disappeared for the second time. Again, the King mounted on the mule and said, ‘What happened to me? am I seeing a mirage?’, and remained silent; as it is said, ‘silence is better than speaking’, but the people are outrageous and said, ‘Due to excess happiness, the king have become restless.’

[55] For the third time, when the *tābot* reached to the gateway of church, he saw that woman carrying her child on her chest and laying her hand on the *tābot*. Then he said: ‘Let me beat her before she escapes’ and drew his sword and went forward to cut her right hand, but once again she disappeared. The King said, ‘This woman came with *’asha masawwər*<sup>614</sup> and turn all my effort to nothing. As it (Bible) says, ‘Esau’s effort was in vain’<sup>615</sup>, the same thing happened to me. Having said this, he [was emotional and] poured out tears; then he cleaned his tears and left the church when the ceremony was over.

[56] He returned to the palace followed by the army. (For the feast prepared in honour of the consecration of the church) the palace hosted as many guests as it could host. For the remaining [guests], the King pronounced that, ‘There are steers prepared for the feast in the place between ’Angarab and Qahā, here is my blessing, I allowed you to slaughter and enjoy it; [if you want] to drink *tağğ*, come to the palace.’ Although it was a day of joy, he neither ate meat nor drank *tağğ*; moreover, he abstained from pure water. In the evening, he went down to Lədatā with few of his servants and torchbearers. Reaching to the church he entered into the big iron pot and kept the leaves of *koso* in his mouth<sup>616</sup>, and began his lamentation and prayer.

[57] Our Lady, the Mother of God came as usual with heavenly hosts as the Archangel Michael carrying her aloft; and the church became as bright as the sun, and as the moon and stars of the

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follows: ሰላም: ለገጽክ: እምዕንቁ: ባሕርይ: ዘይበርህ...ሐራ: ድንግል: ፀሐይ: ንጉሠ: ከዋክብት: ወወርሃ: [...] (‘Praise to your face that shines like that of the jewel... Ḥarā Dəngəl the Sun, king of the stars and the moon [...]). Yet, in the nineteenth century a comparative description of angels against the face of European seems to have emerged. See Anon. 1997A.M., p. 159.

<sup>613</sup> ‘ፈክራ: ዘምራ:’ (*fakkərā zammərā*) (‘singing a song of war’) it is a formula to show the dedication and commitment of a certain person to kill his enemy or do something against someone. In the exegesis of the Psalter the historical event in which Samuel killed Agag is interpreted as: ‘ሳምኤልም:... አገግን: ፈክሮ: ዘምሮ: ገድሎታል:’ (‘and Samuel... killed Agag after singing a song of war’). The phrase recalls the Biblical story of Samuel; however, different authors also used this phrase in different contexts but only to show the decision of a person to fulfil his will against the enemy. Therefore, it is a kind of formula widely known and of course used under similar occasions. See Stoffregen-Pedersen 1995, pp. 106–107.

<sup>614</sup> A plant credited with producing invisibility or causing unconsciousness, see Kane 1990, p. 570.

<sup>615</sup> Gen. 27:30-38. It is not a direct quote rather a paraphrased story from the Bible.

<sup>616</sup> Self-infliction such as immersing oneself into the water and keeping leaves of *koso* (bitter leaves of the *koso* tree) in mouth during prayer time seems the apex of dedication for the prayer. In the tradition, it is believed that such prayers are easily reaches to God and the response is very fast. There is similar narrative in the history of the famous slave of King Fāsīladas who was known as an ascetic woman in the oral tradition of Gondar. Ramos, 2018 Additionally, there is a depiction of Queen Məntəwwāb, the power regent of ’Iyyāsu II and ’Iyyo’as praying in the same fashion to show her commitment to the religious life. See Monti Della Corte 1938, pp. 44–45; Ghiorghis Mellesse 1976, p. 39; Ramos 2018b, p. 176.

month of *Nesān*<sup>617</sup>. A pleasant aroma filled the church. The graves rejoiced the pleasant smell of the church. (And) Our Lady Mary said, ‘Oh Yostos my servant! Do not be terrified. During the day, I came in the likeness of a woman and with the two angels who drew swords of fire [in their hands] and their appearance (was like) the flame of fire, so that we all share the joy. First, you arose to disgrace me by your scepter, you attempted it two times; and later by your sword that cut all, men and women, the elderly and children. The anger burned you and your tears became like the rivers of waters; you compared me with a wicked one in this world, and as she desecrated the *tābot*; and you blamed me for *’əša masawwər* that the magicians use.

[58] You did not open your mouth to tell it for no one. While those hungry people satisfied from that delicious meat and the poor were rejoicing; when the wine flows in the mouth of the nobles and judges, the clergy, scholars and the deacons, men and women, the elderly, and children, and when everybody got nourished in this world/occasion; nonetheless, you never joined them. Now I came to you to bless your soul and your body. I will choose a king from the descendants of your father for the generation of generation. Since you have built my temple, with shading tears, lamentation, and clamor; and with frequent visit in the day and at night, and with temperance and prayer, with requesting your demand in prayer and prostration, in abstinence of food and water, wearing a rough cloth that looks like the edge of thorn. For your mouth that kept the bitter drink, let it be spiritual drink, as your belt is as of thorn, let it be like that of the angels. Then Our Lady Mary said to the Archangel Michael, ‘Bless and praise King Yostos, and give him from this bread and drink, since he is in abstinence of food and water because he loves me and my honorable *tābot* of my covenant, and because he built my church in the likeness of the heavenly Jerusalem’.

[59] For the chosen Yostos, the Archangel Michael gave him the heavenly bread and the life-giving wine in the consent of the Holy Spirit. Our Lady, the Holy Virgin, blessed and glorified him, and kissed his head. Then, she said to the beloved Yostos, ‘Your end has come, your household servants will stand against you. They will cut your arms and legs.<sup>618</sup> Your blood will spill as a blood of a victorious martyr. Three crowns will come down [from heaven] to your head; the wings of the heavenly hosts will stretch over the poured-out blood, and I will come with my archangel Michael and take your soul and put it before my heavenly son, and he will reward it the kingdom of heaven.’ Having said this, Our Lady Mary disappeared and ascended with all the angelic hosts to heaven.

[60] There were five men who came (to the church) following the king. All of them were well educated; all of them stood in the men chamber of the church and spent the entire night in mourning and reading the Psalter, saying, ‘Who made the king sick?’ Early in the morning, all together in a magnificent voice, they said, ‘It is daybreak, remember us and look towards our service, do not stay far from us<sup>619</sup>, Our Lord, slow to anger, abounding in love and gracious. Oh! The King of peace and love<sup>620</sup>, Our Lord and God, turn to us and have mercy on us so that we can go home in peace.’ While they were saying this together, the king came out of the

<sup>617</sup> The first month of the year of the Hebraic Calendar (Es. 8, 9). This expression is commonly used in the exegesis of *Wəddāse Māryām*, where it says *ወአጽደለ፡ ገጻ፡ እምብርሃን፡ ፀሐይ፡ ዘወርቃ፡ ኔሳን፡* (‘her face shone brighter than the sun of the month of Nisan’), see Anon. 1915 A.M., p. 165.

<sup>618</sup> The death of Yostos seems to have been mysterious. The author of the *Short Chronicle* wrote this rumor but with reservation as he was not able to get confirmation. *ወአመ፡ ፲ወ፫ ለየካቲት፡ በዕለተ፡ ረቡዕ፡ ሞተ፡ ዮሴፍ፡ ምክንያተ፡ ሞቱሰ፡ እንዳሊ፡ የአምር፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አመኒ፡ መተርፎ፡ አግር፡ አው ሐነቅዎ፡ አመኒ፡ ሞተ፡ በደዌሁ፡።* (‘and in 13<sup>th</sup> of (the month of) Yakkātit Yostos died. The reason of his death is unknown by only God knows, either they cut his leg or strangled him, or he died in his own sickness’), see Basset 1882, p. 70.

<sup>619</sup> Ps. 71:12. In the psalter, the subject is in singular form, but in this text the possessive adjective is modified to plural.

<sup>620</sup> Ps. 86:15-16. The possessive adjectives of the verse are changed from the singular to the plural form.

*maqdas*.<sup>621</sup> His face was radiant like that of Jesus during the transfiguration.<sup>622</sup> Those men and the shield bearers fell to the ground and Yostos rose them up safely. His servants were delighted to see the face of the King and went altogether to the palace, and there were joy and pleasure more than the day of the Epiphany; the king adorned his companions with red garment embroidered with golden threads that glittered seven-times brighter than the sun and the stars.

[61] Hereafter, the king neither ate nor drank (anything) because he had received heavenly bread and life-giving drink from the hands of the Archangel Michael in the ordinance of Our Lady Mary for every day and every month.<sup>623</sup> As prophecies made before the fulfillment; and for the sake of the fulfillment of the prophecy that was once made by Our Lady, it shall come to pass. For this reason, the heart of Dāwit<sup>624</sup> was filled with jealousy. At that time, he was in Waḥni Bet, and he hurried to take the power; thus, he sent one thousand ounces of gold and a message to the household servants of Yostos saying, ‘Kill your king in favor of me’. The old system of the government was not like that of today<sup>625</sup>; the successor should not be enthroned while the king was alive.

[62] Believing that all (human) are the creation of the (Holy) Trinity, Ḑše Yostos had empowered slaves. However, because there is no kindness in the hearts of the slaves, they received the gold and strangled him with *šās*<sup>626</sup>, cut his arms and legs with sharp knives and killed their own king. Afterwards, Our Lady Mary came down with the host of angels and three crowns descended (from heaven) upon Yostos’ head. Our Lady Mary took his soul and the angelic hosts received and took it into the everlasting joy of heaven. Such an unfair measure was taken against Yostos because his royal bloodline was matrilineal, so that, they believed, he had no legitimacy to assume the power.<sup>627</sup>

<sup>621</sup> The innermost chamber of the church.

<sup>622</sup> Matt. 17:2; Mar. 9:2; Luk. 9:29.

<sup>623</sup> Despite the fact that Lədatā church was founded in the third year of his reign, and he died in the fifth year. Concerning the foundation of the church, the *Short Chronicle* says ወበ: ቫ ዓመተ: መንግሥቱ: [...] ወኃገዮ: በጉንደር: እንዘ: የሐንፅ: ቤተ: ክርስቲያን: ልደታ: (‘In the third year of his reign, he spent the rainy season in Gondar in order to build the church of Lədatā’). Two years after that, the chronicle recorded some historical events and later in the fifth year he recorded the sudden and the fatal illness of the king saying ‘ወበኃምሳይ: ዓመት: ወንጌላዊ: የሐንፅ: እንዘ: ይሰዕም: ንጉሥ: የሰጦስ: ቤተ: ክርስቲያን: አባ: እንጦንስ: አመ: ፳ወ፪ ለጥር: ደወየ: ደዌ: ፅኑዓ: ወወፅዓ: ፍጡነ: ወሰበ: ፀንዓ: ቡቱ: ሕማም: ... ወአመ ፲ወቺ: ለየካቲት: በዕለተ: ረቡዕ: ሞተ: የሰጦስ:’ (‘In the fifth year (of his reign), in the year of the evangelist John, while king Yostos was visiting the church of Ḑbbā Ḑntonəs, on the 22nd of ፐጥጥ (31st of January) he became seriously sick and left the place quickly since the sickness got very fatal [...] on the 13 of Yakkātīt (21st of February), Wednesday, Yostos passed away’); see Basset 1882, pp. 68–70. Nevertheless, the author of the text mixed the founding of the church and the death of King Yostos together.

<sup>624</sup> The son of Ḑyyāsu I and the successor of Yostos.

<sup>625</sup> It is a comparison between the old system that never allowed a succession of a king before he died; but this tradition seems to have been disrespected in the later days. During the era of the *zamana masāfənt* (‘the era of princes’) dethroning one king and replacing the new one was a common practice until Ḑše Tewodros came to power. Therefore, at least this part of this text might have been composed sometime in the first half of the nineteenth century before the end of the *zamana masāfənt*. See Conti Rossini 1917.

<sup>626</sup> Guaze, tulle, kerchief of this cloth worn on the head, see Kane 1990, p. 627.

<sup>627</sup> ወንግሥ: ራስ: የሰጦስ: በኃይል: እንዘ: ኢደልዎ: መንግሥት: እስመ: ውኣቱ: ወልደ: ደጃዝማች: ድልበ: ኢየሱስ: ወወልዳ: ለዌዘር: ወለተ: ሐዋርያት: ወለተ: ዌዘር: አምላካዊት: ወለተ: የሐንፅ: (‘Then Rās Yostos became king by force, though the royalty did not belong to him. In fact, he was the son of the *Daḡḡāzmāč* Dəlba Ḑyyasus and Princess Walatta Ḑawāryāt, daughter of Princess Ḑamlākāwit, daughter of (king) Yoḥannəs’); see Basset 1882, p. 67. In the Gondarine period tradition, the power used to transfer based on the patriarchal lineage of the successor. Those who are a part of the royal family in their mother line were not legitimate to assume power. Following this, all the Gondarine kings who reigned before the *zamana masāfənt* were subjected to this rule except Yostos, who violated it. Soon after his death, both in historical accounts and in the oral tradition he was labeled usurper. Most probably, the author of this text had opportunities to consult both sources and record the two different narrations in the text due to his analytical

[63] After the death of Yostos, Dawit became king. His reign was for five years; and he spent those five years in carousing, drunkenness, and sexual immorality. In *Dabbāl Gənb*<sup>628</sup>, he used to order three hundred men and three hundred women to lie down in pairs and spread clothes over them; and command them to perform sexual intercourses and they do as they are ordered to do, at once. While observing their performance he says, ‘This man is performs good, this woman also performs good’. Then he also slept with whom he wanted, like that of the people. All those who are busy in the daytime sleep at night and those of the night (shift) sleep in the daytime; it was carousing and the *tağǧ* was flowing as the (the water of) deluge<sup>629</sup>, he spent his time in such (disgusting) manner.<sup>630</sup>

[64] Bakāffā became king. When he began to reign, he heard of the death of his brother, *’Aše* Yostos, as he was assassinated by the hand of his servants. Bakāffā was ill-tempered like a tiger, an elephant, and all the other beasts. He became like a lion, he said, ‘How a slave could kill my brother?’ Thinking that all black are slaves, he put all of them to the sword. They say, during this massacre, the blood ran from the palace to the river Qahā. This is not false, because the dead bodies were lying one over the other, from the palace to Qahā as well. His reign was a period of abundance. ‘The king is Bakāffā, the rain is drizzling, and the harvest became abundant’.<sup>631</sup>

[65] The king was quick-tempered; every day he demanded a woman (to satisfy his sexual desire); simultaneously, however, after quenching his sexual desire, he threw her to the cesspool<sup>632</sup>; and it was his daily routine. Surprisingly, a certain woman survived [for the following reason]. When he was taking off his robe, she said to him, ‘It is not appropriate to touch the naked body of the king’. For this reason, he slept with her as he was dressed and she went home safely. He also used to have a daily basis cupping treatment, similarly, he usually threw the therapist to the cesspool. However, a certain therapist survived miraculously. When

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description of the death of Yostos. Two different *Short Chronicle* edited by Basset in 1882 and Kropp in 1981 contains the history of Yostos. The later does not mention anything related to the illegitimacy of the power of Yostos but the former gave emphasis about the illegitimacy. Considering this significant variation, the authors of both documents might have been influenced by different sources in which the intension of the writers and inclination to selected kings is reflected in the text.

<sup>628</sup> One of the palace buildings in the royal enclosure of Gondar. The local oral tradition attributed this palace to King Dawit III (r.1616–1621). However, the *šar’ata dabbāl*, the annual feast repapered in the *dabbāl bet* (‘house of dabbāl’) in the royal compound existed in early Gondarine period, see Guidi 1903, pp. 194, 223.

<sup>629</sup> The comparative description of events is asserted in the text. For instance, describing the abundance of food and drink is usually described in the phrase *ሥጋ፡ እንደ ፡ጎመን፡ እንጀራ፡ እንደ፡ ቅጠል፡* (‘meat as plenty as a cabbage and *’angārā* as plenty as leaves’) and for the drink *የወይን፡ ጠጅ፡ የማር፡ ጠጅ፡ እንደ፡ ውሃ፡* (‘wine and *tağǧ* (‘mead’) as abundant as water) but in this case he compared the abundance of *tağǧ* in the banquet of Dāwit III with the deluge to express the sinfulness of the king.

<sup>630</sup> Somehow, the author of the texts seems less interested in the history of Dāwit III and very biased. As the author is a fan of Yostos he emphasized the drawbacks or the dark side of the life of Dāwit III. However, as his predecessors, Dāwit also found churches and a residence in the royal compound. Nevertheless, selection and deletion of historical narrations were regularly applied based on the intention of the writer.

<sup>631</sup> It is a widely known saying in Gondar. In the early twentieth century similar sayings were spoken on the fate of the people in the reign of *Ləǧ’Iyāsu*, Empress Zawditu and *Rās* Tafari the later *Ḥayla Śəllāse* respectively. The saying *በእያሱ፡ ዳቦ፡ ጎራሱ፡* ‘*Iyyāsu* bread is a mattress’) anticipated the abundance of bread in the reign of *’Iyyāsu*. The gist of the saying *በዘውዲቱ፡ ሬሳ፡ ጎሎቱ፡* (‘In (reign of) Zawditu drag corpse’) emphasises deadly incidents during the reign of Zawditu. The last one of these sayings targeted *Rās* Tafari (see above) saying *በተፈሪ፡ የለም፡ ፍርፋሪ፡* (‘In (the reign of) Tafari, there will be no food’). I collected this information in Gondar from my informant *’Emmāhoy Tenā*.

<sup>632</sup> This is a kind of pit filled with liquid wastes of the palace in which the king sends prisoners to kill in different way. In this text this way of punishment is mentioned twice. Perhaps, it might be a lately established narration after finding an old cistern in the nearby of the castle of *Fāsīladas*. In other oral narratives, it was not Bakāffā who killed many anonymous women after satisfying his sexual desires, but it was King *Fāsīladas*. See Ramos 2018b.

the king started to take off his robe for the treatment, the therapist said to the king, ‘The body of the king shall remain covered’ and tearing the king’s robe, he prepared a hole enough for cupping and gave the treatment without seeing his body and went home safely. The reason why he threw the woman he slept with, and the therapist was to keep [the nature of his skin] the secret. His skin was very rough like that of a hairy caterpillar.<sup>633</sup>

[66] Again one day, with an intention to distress his subjects, he said, ‘Bring me a woman who fulfills the following criteria: who is in a period right after her menstruation, cured from *koso*, who took shower at the same day, whose clothes are washed, and her hair done. Bring me this woman who fulfills all these in the same day! otherwise I will kill you all’. He pronounced the order at dawn, all the people (of the city) were distressed, and the army searched the entire city carefully from dawn to noon; on God’s will they found a woman and gave him, and the people were saved.

[67] Again, one of these days, when he [the king] was attending the royal banquet, he saw a certain *Mazazo*<sup>634</sup> cutting a golden button from his clock and swallowed it. Then he continued to drink *taḡḡ*. The king saw him from the distance and called him and asked, ‘Why did you cut and swallowed the button?’ He answered, ‘I did not eat anything, there is a big worm in my stomach, if I drink after meal, I feel healthy, otherwise it is causes illness. That is the reason I swallowed the buttons in place of food.’ Having heard this, the cruel Bakāffā ordered (his sword bearers) to open his belly with a knife; his stomach was cut and opened, and they found the worm swallowing the golden button.<sup>635</sup> The saying, ‘A chatter accuses himself and dies’<sup>636</sup> happened to this person.

[68] Again, in the other day, Bakāffā was drunk and ordered his guards to throw down his favorite courtier to the cesspool.<sup>637</sup> Later, when he got sobered, he asked the servants to call the courtier; and they answered, ‘you ordered us to throw him down into the cesspool and we did that accordingly.’ Having heard this, he said, ‘What bad deed have I done?’ Then, he said, ‘Let an officer be appointed who stop the king (from excess food and drink). Then after, an officer, the so-called ‘*Aqābe Sa ‘āt*<sup>638</sup> was appointed. That officer start seeing him, the king starts to quit (excess consumption of food and drink) whenever he told him to stop and Bakāffā was saved from being drunk.

<sup>633</sup> Shortly appears in pollera’s version, cp. Pollera 1936, p. 177.

<sup>634</sup> Chief of a small district but inferior in rank to a *Daḡḡāzmāč* or a person from *Mazazo* in Šawā province, see Kane 1990, p. 314.

<sup>635</sup> The report of the British traveller Nathaniel Pearce, who incorporated the notes of Coffin, another traveller who visited Gondar in the first half of the nineteenth century, witnessed the presence of a variant narration of this story in Gondar. This recorded history tells that the person who was killed by Bakāffā was Turkish in origin and in duty of the construction project in the palace compound. See Pearce 1831, pp. 255–256.

<sup>636</sup> It is a proverb expressing the fact that talking without limit or being a chatter is always followed by miserable consequence.

<sup>637</sup> The royal prison in the palace compound is described as follows by Sinodā, the chronicler of Bakāffā: ንጉሥህ፡ አንበሮ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ሞቅሕ፡ ኅብ፡ ሀሎ፡ ብካይ፡ ወሐቅየ ፡ ስነን። (‘the King put him in a prison where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth’). The author of *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* exaggerated the event but it is not far from the truth, see Guidi 1903, p. 316. Obviously, this narration was stated based on the parable in the Bible that describes the fate of the sinners after the judgement day, see Matt. 8:12.

<sup>638</sup> The origin of this office is dated back to the thirteenth century, and it was in effect since then. However, the author claimed that this office is as recent as the Bakāffā’s period. Despite this fallacy, in the later days, the role of the ‘*Aqābe Sa ‘at* (or ‘keeper of the hour’) seems to include controlling the safety of the king’s daily meal in order to protect the king from any attempt of poisoning. In the Gondarine period there had been several attempts to poison kings and royal dignitaries. See ‘*Aqabe Sä ‘at*’, *EAE*, I (2003), 292b–293a (S. Kaplan).

[69] Again on another day, when the king was passing through the market, a certain drunk butcher-man asked to buy the king's private horse adorned with golden saddle. At that time, the king did not respond to him rather he sent his guards to follow the person and see where he lived. On the next morning he sent for him and had him brought into the palace. Then the king said, 'Now you can buy the horse.' The man answered, 'Now I am alone, my friends are not with me.' The king said 'Who are your friends? Why do not you call them?' The butcher-man answered, 'My friends are hops, malt, the bark of olive tree, the root of bamboo tree, these are my friends who were with me yesterday, now they left me alone. Where can I find them?'<sup>639</sup> Having heard this, the king laughed heartily and pronounced a proclamation in favor of him saying 'Do not call him to witness among the residents of kaWārka Batačč<sup>640</sup> after the midday; let no one responses his offensive words, (if he plays bet) let him be free of paying the betting money.'<sup>641</sup>

[70] In the other day, he was on the tower of the palace and looking towards the street, he saw someone mounted on a comfortable mule, well-dressed in *margaf-dərrəb*<sup>642</sup>, and accompanied by five sword bearers; then he said, 'Who is this strange person whom we do not know?' The king sent and summoned him and asked 'where are you from, stranger? And what do you do for living?' The man answered, 'I am matchmaker.' The king asked again 'what do you mean by that?' again he answered, 'When people planned to give in marriage, they usually ask me to find a good mate. And I propose a proper match either for the man or for the woman. I match the priest to the priest, the merchant to the merchant, the farmer to the farmer, the blacksmith to the blacksmith, the tailor to the tailor, and the soldier to the soldier; if the marriage is established between families having the same status, then it remains stable; a marriage that I have arranged is long lasting, in return I receive gold from both families. This is what I do for living.'

[71] There was an unmarried sister of 'Aše Bakāffā, but no one tried to discuss it with the king because everyone was afraid of his deadly punishment. After the conversation with this person Bakāffā said to him, 'Find a spouse to my sister.' The person received the order, prostrated before the king, and left the palace. Immediately, he went to Baggemədr and arrived to Dabra Tābor. While *Dağgāzmāč* 'Əsate, the governor of Baggemədr was in his reception hall in Dabra Tābor, this man went into the hall and said to the governor, 'Hurry up and get ready! King Bakāffā said that I gave you my sister (to be your wife)'. Having heard this, the governor dismounted from his *algā* ('throne'), kissed the ground three times, and pronounced an 'awāğ to the people of Baggemədr and summoned his army, then marched to Gondar. Due to the

<sup>639</sup> The names of ingredients the butcher-man named are important to prepare a local beer called *tallā*. The butcher-man mentioned as his friends to confess about his state of drunkenness while met the king accidentally.

<sup>640</sup> Literally, it means that 'an area below the *Wārka*' which refers to the quarter of the city situated in front of the principal gate of the castle compound or Fit Barr. It was the most populated part of Gondar in which one could find the market, and was adjacent to the 'Əslām Bet, Turkočč Mandar. Following this, this part of the city was always crowded for transaction, commercial local beer sellers, and butcher houses. See Arrowsmith-Brown 1991, pp. 199–200, 215.

<sup>641</sup> The text implies that this *wārka* (sycamore) tree was a landmark that divide the city into two different parts named Kawārka Balāy ('above the *wārka*') and Kawārka Batačč ('below the *wārka*'). This text emphasizes on the social status of the residents of Kawārka Batačč which was dominated by commoners and poor daily laborers. However, Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>wəriyā</sup> attributed this story to 'Iyyāsu I. See Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>wəriyā</sup> 1960, pp. 304–305.

<sup>642</sup> *Margaf-dərrəb* ornamented cloth is one of the traditional clothes occasionally dressed by the high-ranking court attendants, church scholars, noblemen and other respected individuals, who had the right to dress these garments. Used in compound form, it is a formula to describe the person's considerable social status, see Dastā Takla Wald 1969, p. 1131; Kane 1990, p. 424.

immensity of his army, heaven and earth reeled and rocked.<sup>643</sup> When he arrived at Mənzəro<sup>644</sup>, the king looked at the marching army with his *manaşər* ('monocular') and said, 'what an unexpected army is coming!' and the entire city fell in distressed.

[72] The matchmaker settled the army (of *Dağğāzmāč* 'Ĕšate) in the outskirts of the city and rushed to the king. He entered to the palace and prostrated before the king and said, 'I have done what I was ordered to do; I brought *Dağğāzmāč*, the governor of Baggemədr and I have settled him at Mənzəro. He will enter (into the city) by tomorrow; therefore, let you get prepared'. Having heard this, the king rejoiced greatly; and rewarded that man (the matchmaker) with gold and silver.<sup>645</sup> At the same night the cannons cocked in all direction fired and the people of the city spent the night with joyful songs.

[73] In the morning, *Dağğāzmāč* 'Ĕšate entered to the city led by the drum beaters and accompanied by the massive army of Baggemədr. The people of Gondar made a great reception. The king was delighted to see him as he was so handsome. He entered to the palace and prostrated before the king, and the king gave him a respected seat; and there was joy and cheerfulness in the feast. The king offered him ten cannons, two thousand muskets, three thousand horses, two hundred *gamboññā*<sup>646</sup>, one hundred servants, plenty of tents, plenty of *masəriyā*, and two domesticated lions. The bride appeared with a likeness of the depiction of Mary (the Mother of Jesus Christ), and shining like that of the moon and the sun, and her companions with the likeness of stars; and he [*Dağğāzmāč* 'Ĕšate] returned homeward and arrived there.

[74] Again, another day<sup>647</sup>, he [the king] tied a knife and a pack of *dəqqus*<sup>648</sup> on the neck of a ram and left it free. That ram was wandering around throughout the city and reached to the abode of a *dabtarā*. The *dabtarā* said, 'This haughty king, Bakaffā has left a ram with knife and *dəqqus* tied up on his neck', (and) having said this, he closed the door, slaughtered the ram, and enjoyed the mutton. Later, he wrote a letter to the king that says, 'Now you became haughty and do like this, I have enjoyed with the knife and *dəqqus* you sent with' and left the letter on Qaččən Ašawā<sup>649</sup>. When Bakaffā heard this, he became furious as he is ill-tempered. Then he (the king) ordered his servants saying, 'Bring a camel loaded with a sack of gold', and they did as they were told to do so. The loaded camel start wandering throughout the city. The suspicious people offered grains to the camel, at some point the camel arrived at the abode of the *dabtarā*. Again, he closed the door, killed the camel, and threw down into the *riq*<sup>650</sup> and kept the gold and the flesh. Then, he said, 'The arrogance of the king is limitless.'

[75] The people told the king that the camel has been missing; when the king heard that, he was burned with anger like a lion. Then he requested the court councilors to give him advice

<sup>643</sup> 2 Sam. 22:8

<sup>644</sup> A small village situated south of Gondar next to 'Azazo.

<sup>645</sup> This sentence can be translated in two different ways, due to the ambiguous word ሸለሙት (*šallamut*, 'adorned him' or 'rewarded him'). Based on the context of the story, it is to say that the king adorned him with cloths embroidered with gold and silver. It was common to offer such rare garments for favorable court attendants. On the other hand, it can be translated as 'the king reward him' gold and silver for his effectiveness.

<sup>646</sup> Servant whose task it is to transport the crock containing *tallā* or *tağğ* for the monarch when on campaign; see Kane 1990, p. 1911.

<sup>647</sup> This story is expanded in Pollera's version and has significant variation. Plus the crafty *dabtarā* is mentioned by name 'Alaqā Mankər, cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 123–126.

<sup>648</sup> Dry trituated *barbarre* ('pepper') powder mixed with salt and spices to be used in seasoning *wat*-sauce; pulverized linseed (not mixed with water): pounded, trituated, pulverized, finely ground, see Kane 1990, p. 1767.

<sup>649</sup> This is an archaic word that refers the 'addabābāy ('public gathering place'); arena, see Ludolf 1698b, p. 6.

<sup>650</sup> Underground grain store or pit dug inside a house and plastered with mud and cow dung. See Kane 1990, p. 385.

and they shared their advice saying, ‘Let an ill-dressed poor woman take a basket full of gold, and wander in the city asking people ‘I want to change this basket full of gold for camel’s meat that I need [to prepare medicine] for my sick son’. Let her continue her search until she finds him, and she certainly will find him.’ Following their advice, she began to wander in search of the *dabtarā*. At some point she reached the house of the *dabtarā*. His wife asked her ‘what do you have in your basket?’<sup>651</sup> and the poor woman answered, ‘I am searching for a person who wants to exchange this gold for a piece of camel’s meat.’ Then the *dabtarā*’s wife took the gold and gave her some pieces of the meat; because a secret exposed to woman is spoiled.<sup>652</sup> When she was about to depart, he (the *dabtarā*) came back home, he met the poor woman and asked her, ‘What do you have in your basket?’. Then she told him everything, then he pretended as if his heart is touched and said, ‘Please get into my house and let me give you more.’ He let her into the house and knifed on the neck and killed her; and threw the corpse down to the pit where parts of the camel were kept.<sup>653</sup>

[76] Then the counselors reported that the woman was missing, and her trace was not found. The king was annoyed and said, ‘Take out gold and spread it along the main road, starting from the Wārka to Gufāyyā Māsəççā.<sup>654</sup> Then he pronounced an order, ‘Anyone who attempted to pick up the gold will be punished.’ Bakāffā had spent the whole day on the terrace of the palace overlooking it. All those who heard (the pronouncement) was afraid and walked on the sideway. But, when the *dabtarā* learned this, he applied a layer of wax under his shoes and repeatedly passed by that road and collected the gold. In each of his trip he camouflaged himself with different dressing. At the beginning he dressed a *šamā*<sup>655</sup>, in the next a *margaf-dərrəb*, later a *gābi*<sup>656</sup>, after that a *dərritto*<sup>657</sup> and at last *māq*<sup>658</sup> and collected the gold resting on his feet so that it remained stuck with the wax.<sup>659</sup>

[77] In the evening, the king said to the servants, ‘It has become dusk, go and collect the gold’. The servants went but they could not find anything and returned empty handed. When Bakāffā learned that he was as furious as a panther and suspended the banquet of that that night. He decided to sack the city. Then the counselors said, ‘Please calm down Your Majesty, we will catch him skillfully’. He answered, ‘If that so, that is fine.’ After the king showed consent to their proposal, the counselors said to the king please pronounce a call saying, ‘Any one of the clergymen of Gondar who does not come at this day, I will cut him into pieces and give it dogs’. And they recommend, ‘Let mead and wine flow like water, and meat like cabbage.’ And they said, ‘When that crafty *dabtarā* gets drunk he will talk about all sort of things, at that time let the house servants cut his ear to identify him; and let all of them enjoy the food and drink and stay there until the next morning’.<sup>660</sup>

[78] You have imparted a good plot, said Bakāffā. The food and drink were prepared. At the day of the invitation all the *dabtarās* of the churches of Gondar gathered at the palace

<sup>651</sup> It is a common introductory phrase to start a conversation in the market. Then the conversation continues until the transaction takes place. This tradition has been continued until the present-day Gondar in the open-air market.

<sup>652</sup> This saying is not the part of the story rather the authors’ reaction to the deeds of the *dabtarā*’s wife, because she was convinced to expose the secret of her husband for the sake of gold/riches.

<sup>653</sup> This story is also expanded in Pollera’s version but it does not have significant difference, cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 126–128.

<sup>654</sup> This is an old road paved from the principal gate of the royal compound and the market.

<sup>655</sup> a garment made of cotton fabrics.

<sup>656</sup> A thick cotton cloth with multiple layers of fabrics dressed in the cold weather or used like a blanket.

<sup>657</sup> Worn-out cloth.

<sup>658</sup> Woolen cloth.

<sup>659</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 127–128.

<sup>660</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 129.



accordingly and spent the entire day enjoying the food and drink. The feast continued throughout the night; no one was allowed to leave. At midnight, the crafty *dabtarā* got into conversation with his friend and said, ‘I excel you all in my knowledge and practice’ and his friend answered, ‘What makes you excellent than we are?’ and the *dabtarā* continued, ‘I am the one who put Bakāffā into such extent of anxiety.’ One of the chambermaids listened this conversation and (later when the *dabtarā* sleeps) he cut his ear and laid it before the king, after congratulated him.<sup>661</sup>

[79] And Bakāffā wore his regnal vestments and wore the crown on. Having beaten the *nagārit*, firing cannon, the night has passed while singing war song (*fukkarā*<sup>662</sup>) in the palace saying, ‘I have got that crafty man in the kindness of God’. After a short sleep, the crafty *dabtarā* woke up and he was sobered. When he touched his ear, he saw it was cut, and he understood that he was trapped. Then he said, ‘This king has found me’ and kept his knife and moved slowly to all the *dabtarās* who were drunk and fall into deep sleep and cut their ears. Afterwards he slept in another place.<sup>663</sup>

[80] In the morning, Bakāffā said, ‘Tell him to come out!’<sup>664</sup> All those *dabtarās* came out, but all of them had clipped ear. When Bakāffā heard this, his heart was touched but later when he saw clipped ears of all the *dabtarās* he laughed for a while; and gave swore (to the crafty *dabtarā*) in the name of Kidāna Məhrat<sup>665</sup> and said, ‘I excel me, expose yourself, I will never punish you rather I will give you rewards.’ Because the king never punishes once he swore in the name of Kidāna Məhrat, then the crafty *dabtarā* exposed himself. The king admired and adorned him (with gifts). For all the *dabtarās* whose ears were clipped by the crafty *dabtarā*, the king offered them ten ounces of gold per head as compensation.<sup>666</sup>

[81] Then after two crafty *dabtarās*-magicians came to the banquet by ‘*əṣa masawwər* (‘a plant that produce invisibility’) and dined with the King. At some point, someone disclosed their secret to the king. Having heard this, Bakāffā called two musketeers and hide them under his the *manbara Dāwit* (throne) and covered them with carpets; and gave them an order saying, ‘When the banquet is ready make successive gunfire but watch out that you do not shot attendants.’ When the time came to pass and the banquet was ready, he told the servants to leave the hall after preparing the banquet, and they did as he ordered them. Then the musketeers made successive gunfire. Being terrified, those magicians dropped the ‘*əṣa masawwər* and became visible. They were found properly dressed in honour of the government, still standing and dining (with the King).<sup>667</sup>

[82] Having seen that, Bakāffā said, ‘I show compassion towards you for the reason that you show respect, otherwise I would have punished you. However, I want you to teach me all your wisdom hereafter.’ Those magicians asked him to bring them a bowl of water and the King did so. Both took a sip of water from the bowl, transformed into birds and flew up to the sky; it was to show the level of their magic. When one of these *dabtarās* named Mankər reached the

<sup>661</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 129–130.

<sup>662</sup> To boast of one’s martial prowess and exploits (only, done in a stylized manner, speaking loudly and in a staccato fashion at banquets or certain social gatherings), see Kane 1990, p. 2328.

<sup>663</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 130.

<sup>664</sup> A formula for to pronounce an outdoor meeting.

<sup>665</sup> The Covenant of Mary.

<sup>666</sup> Pollera 1936, pp. 130–131.

<sup>667</sup> This story is expanded in Pollera’s version and has different elements, cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 132–133.

sky, he said, *Mankərəssa ʿġzi ʿabher ba ʿaryāmu* (‘Marvelous is God in his glory’)<sup>668</sup>; the other one named *Gərūm*<sup>669</sup> said, *Gərūm ʿəmgərūmān* (‘Marvelous of the marvelous’). Having said this, both came down to the ground and retransformed to human; and *Bakāffā* was utterly amazed. They taught *Bakāffā* all their wisdom, and *Bakāffā* began to conjure up evil spirits; and the demon began to tell him saying, ‘A woman will rise to power and reign’. As a result of, this he killed many of them as he was jealous of his own power.<sup>670</sup>

[83] Originally *Məntəwwāb* is from *Qwārā*. Once a hermit monk of *Māḥbara Šəllāse* (monastery) said to her mother ‘I have seen the sun rising from the womb of your daughter; thus, take her to Gondar.’ And her mother brought her to Gondar and her extraordinary beauty attracted *Bakāffā* from the distance; straightaway he summoned her, and he had a close look to her and cherished her beauty. He sent her to his courier, a man from *Wagarā*, and said to him, ‘Raise this young lady with honey and milk and bring her back’<sup>671</sup> The reason for sending her to the highland is the fact that the highland is a healthier place to live, and therefore she could survive.<sup>672</sup>

[84] The courtier took her with him and provided her a life of comfort. Two years passed, (and) *Bakāffā* had forgotten about her. Later, he remembered about her and sent to the courtier. The king said to him, ‘Have not I given you someone for safekeeping?’ and he [the courtier] answered, ‘What is my fault afterwards?’ the king said, ‘Why did you forget to bring that young lady for me?’ and the courtier answered, ‘I have been waiting for your order’. At last] the king said, ‘Bring me the young lady as quickly as possible!’ Right away, he brought her, and she appeared as bright as the sun because he had been providing her care and comfort; and the king was grateful. Soon after he slept with her, and she conceived and gave birth to *ʿIyyāsu*.<sup>673</sup> Manuscripts were massively produced during his reign.<sup>674</sup>

[85] Again, the chief of the *qəres*<sup>675</sup> of Gondar have the market robbed. If they asked how, she grew up her pubic hair and hanged seashells correspondingly. At last, she gathered her friends; when the market was in full swing, she stripped herself of her cloths and entered the market stark naked. And the people rushed towards her dropping their belongings. And her ninety-nine friends robbed the market.

<sup>668</sup> This statement is intentionally constructed with according to the *samənnā* (literal meaning in the statement) *warq* (hidden meaning in the statement) tradition in which the sentence is constructed to give two different meanings. In this phrase the meaning is concentrated in the word *mankər* which is the name of the *dabtarā*. Thus, the literal meaning of the statement is ‘Marvelous is God in his glory’ and the hidden meaning in it compares *dabtarā* Mankər against God and said ‘Mankər is God in his glory’.

<sup>669</sup> This sentence is constructed in a similar approach as the previous one, in which the double meaning is concentrated in the word *gərūm* which means marvelous and at the same time the name of the other *dabtarā*. Thus, the meaning of this sentence could also be translated ‘Gərūm is the beyond the marvelous.’

<sup>670</sup> In Pollera’s version the story is expanded but with little variation but *dabtarā* Mankər is the only character mentioned, the other *dabtarā* does not appear, cp. Pollera 1936, p. 133.

<sup>671</sup> This narration seems confused the childhood period of *ʿIyyāsu* II. Once his father *Bakāffā* sent him to *Šire*, with an intention to protect his future son successor to keep him out of the reach of his enemies and he stayed there, not so long after that, the king have him back to Gondar with his mother until he succeeded his father at the age of seven, see Guidi 1910, pp. 22–23.

<sup>672</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, p. 176.

<sup>673</sup> King *ʿIyyāsu* II (r.1730–1755).

<sup>674</sup> Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 177–178.

<sup>675</sup> Dissolute woman (divorced or widowed) who lives alone, who sells her favors, dances, sings or works in an establishment where alcoholic drinks are sold; badly brought up child, scamp, rogues, rascal, knave; city slicker; talkative, person who always speaks first, see Kane 1990, p. 717.

[86] Again there were crippled people who moved bended to the ground in four limbs.<sup>676</sup> They were all female. Every Saturday they entered the market and beg for salt. If anyone refused their request, they punch the person in the way a leper does. But those who know them provide (something). They were named *'amu 'amu*.

[87] They say, back in the past, when a chief (*'šum'*) was about to be dismissed (from his office), a king's messenger sent to the place, slap his face, dragged him from the *'algā* ('throne') to the ground<sup>677</sup>, appointed a new chief and returned home. Based on this tradition, the courtier of the king was sent to declare the dismissal of the chief of 'Ēndartā.<sup>678</sup> During travel, he took a golden robe named *baqalā*.<sup>679</sup> When he approached a certain village, he put on the cloak and sat. And the people hosted him with honey and milk.<sup>680</sup> Following the same procedure (throughout his journey), he arrived to 'Ēndartā. While the chief of 'Ēndartā was inviting his guests with abundance of meat and *taǧǧ* in his banquet hall, that messenger arrived. Having put on the golden robe, he entered, slapped the chief three times on his face and dragged him to the ground; and then appointed a new chief and returned.

[88] At that time, having seen this, a hermit dwelling in the barren land of Takkaze said, 'Let Bakāffā's reign come to an end.' At that time, Bakāffā was conjuring up the demon in the palace, the demon infected him. Then Bakāffā bled copiously and fell to the ground. Three days passed. The chambermaid was a slave, he stayed there three days and three nights unsheathing his sword. In the third day, the chambermaid slave entered the chamber and found Bakāffā flecked with blood and laid on the ground. Having seen that, he went out to the army and said 'Bakāffā stink!'<sup>681</sup>

[89] Eventually, the prophecy<sup>682</sup> that says, 'A woman will reign' was fulfilled; and Məntəwwāb became queen with her son (Iyyāsu II<sup>683</sup>); her reign was a period of abundance.

[90] One day, having invited the *dabtarā* she served them cabbage, anticipating they would love her, and the *dabtarā* stunk. Again, in the other day, she invited them, put off her robes and served them (as one of the servants) ladling out *waṭ*-sauce for the *dabtarā* (to show her respect) until the banquet was over. When the *dabtarās* left (the banquet hall) they said, 'Today, you piled up the food and drink to the height of your chest.' During the reign of Məntəwwāb, the *dabtarā* were favored and respected. They say, she was lustful. She founded the church of

<sup>676</sup> It seems it is the history of some people suffering leprosy.

<sup>677</sup> A symbolic expression of dismissal from the office.

<sup>678</sup> Town in southeast of Tigray region, Ethiopia.

<sup>679</sup> Robes of state made of silk (usually red) and embroidered with flowers and vines or military dress, see Kane 1990, p. 907.

<sup>680</sup> Which stands for great hospitality.

<sup>681</sup> In the text it was writing incorrectly, it says 'Bakāffā *Gammačč'* instead of 'Bakāffā *Gammā'*. Grammatically the later one is correct for masculine subject, but the writer deliberately used the feminine verb to be for masculine subject to show the usual confusion of the non-Amharic speakers. Cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 134, 179–180.

<sup>682</sup> This prophecy and its consequences is narrated in Pollera's version at length, cp. Pollera 1936, pp. 179–180.

<sup>683</sup> When he came to power, he was a seven-year-old young boy who was not matured enough to assume the power. However, he was the only legitimate heir of Bakāffā by his concubine Məntwāw. According to his chronicle, his mother was assigned as power regent of the young king. His mother continued to be the influential figure in the Gondarine period even though the young boy was mature enough after few years. Both of them shared the power for twenty-five years. Then 'Iyyāsu II died; once again his son 'Iyyo'as assumed the power at the very young age and the influence of Məntwāw continued as regent for the next fifteen years. In 1769 King 'Iyyo'as was killed by *Rās Mikā'el* of Təgrāy, the prominent political figure of the period. Then *Rās Mikā'el* installed a new puppet king and began to rule the country. It was the beginning of the so-called *zamana masāfənt*, a chaotic political period that lasted for the next eight decades.

Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>ām that was adorned with gold and precious stones. Also, she built her own palace and named it Šəh Waqet.<sup>684</sup>

[91] Then, Q<sup>w</sup>arātā Yoḥānnəs<sup>685</sup> became king. His reign was short; they say, it was five months.

[92] Then, his son Takla Hāymānot<sup>686</sup> became king and he was kindhearted. He founded the church of Ba'atā ('Saint Mary's entry to the temple') marvelously and appointed three hundred *dabtarās*. Also, he endowed additional land (*mareṭ*) called *yamaśwā'ət*<sup>687</sup> to the churches founded before (he came to power). They say, 'A serpent had prostrated for him.' At last, because of his righteousness, he renounced the power for an ascetic life and died in Wāldəbbā.<sup>688</sup>

[93] Then, Solomon<sup>689</sup> became king, he was very old and incompetent. At the day of his coronation, when he was told to mount on the mule, he said, 'It would gore me!' The crowd laughed at him. It is because he had been living in Wahni ('Ambā) since his childhood, therefore he did not know what a mule looks like. The King was spiritual. His reign was short; it was only two years.

[94] Then, *Faṣṣāme mangəšt* ('ender of the government') Takla Giyorgis<sup>690</sup> became king. He was educated, he studied the entire eighty-one books (*samānya 'aḥadu maṣāḥəfi*)<sup>691</sup>. However, his reign was a period of famine in which a bunch of cabbage was sold for one birr.<sup>692</sup> He learned that the clergymen were saying, 'Let his reign come to an end'. Then he summoned them and asked saying, 'Why do you hate me? I have learned what you have also learned; do you have a problem with that?' He began to build the church of Dabra Məṭmāq and died before the completion.

[95] The rest is the *Zamana masāfənt* ('era of the princes').<sup>693</sup>

<sup>684</sup> Literally mean one thousand ounces of gold.

<sup>685</sup> Q<sup>w</sup>arātā ('amputated') is his nickname given after his hand was amputated. He also known as 'ዘዋሕድ፡ እዲሁ፡' literally mean 'the single handed'.

<sup>686</sup> Takla Hāymānot II (r.1769–1777), also known as *Mannāne Mangəšt* ('renouncer of the government'). Although the number of the clergymen is not incorporated in the land charter of the time, he endowed extensive amount of land enough for hundreds of *dabtarās*. Perhaps the author of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* might have saw written sources, see Kropp 2018. However, he was active on land grant following the old tradition. See 'Täklä Haymanot II', *EAE*, IV (2010), 835a–836b (D. Crummey).

<sup>687</sup> A plot of land allotted for the expense of the eucharist.

<sup>688</sup> The so-called *Short Chronicle* witnessed this historical event and gives further detail about his life in the monastery. He had been dedicated to the hermit life until his death. See Blundell 1922, p. 88.

<sup>689</sup> r. 1770–1772.

<sup>690</sup> Takla Giyorgis I (r.1779–1784) In these years he tried to strengthen his power and control the kingdom, but the dominance of warlords was growing and hindered the accomplishment of his desire. Then he was dethroned and exiled, for several times. The last one he assumed the throne was in 1800. See Conti Rossini 1917; Munro-Hay 2002, p. 365.

<sup>691</sup> Means 'eighty-one books' which is the sum of the canonical books of the Holy Bible and other canonical books. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church accepts and give equivalent credits to the additional fifteen canonical in addition to the Old and the New Testament. The number of eighty-one is reached in different ways and which actually are the canonical books is a matter of controversy.

<sup>692</sup> Most probably it is referring to the Maria Theresa thaler, which had already been introduced in the royal city of Gondar a few decades before. See Pankhurst 1968, p. 468. It could be also the writer's imagination who lived in the late nineteenth century, when the Maria Theresa thaler was the main medium of exchange in the country.

<sup>693</sup> The chaotic and politically instable period between 1769 to 1855. You should shortly explain why it is called like that.

[96] Manan became queen. They say, she was aggressive and lustful. Because of the lack of ethics, she took the wooden beams of the palace of the Q<sup>w</sup>āraññoč<sup>694</sup> and reused it for the construction of Śalastu Mə'ət,<sup>695</sup> and she has brought soil from Lālibalā and sprinkled it throughout the church and to have it changed the name (of the church) to Lālibalā.

[97] When warlords were ruling, they had been enthroning the descendants of the kings (as puppet) such as 'Ate G<sup>w</sup>ālu<sup>696</sup>, 'Ate Śāhlu<sup>697</sup>, 'Ate Dimu<sup>698</sup> and other children of kings.

[98] The foundation and groundwork of the palace structure is not only stone, but they (the kings) also added a mixture of gold within it. They also buried gold in the east, the west, the north and south (of the palace), to make it frightening and bewildering.

[99] The castle compound has twelve entrances. The *qasta dammanā* (arch) by the public prayer space is the entrance of the king. The next entrance situated in the direction of Rufā'el (church) is Tazkāro called Barr. The next which is the bridge connects Takla Hāymānot (with the royal compound) is the entrance of the 'Ētege. The next bridge is the entrance of 'Azāž Ṭaq<sup>w</sup>āre. The gate near St George church is the entrance of the *Wāgšums*.<sup>699</sup> (The gate) adjacent to 'Aṭṭāṭami Mikā'el is called 'Ēqā Bet Barr. Next to that, is Rās Gabayā which is the entrance of Səmenaññoč<sup>700</sup> (the people of Səmen). Next to that, is called Rəgəb Barr. The next the Qaččən 'Ašawā Barr is that of the Walqāyitoč.<sup>701</sup> The bridge next to that is that of Wayzaro 'Ēnkoya. Next to that, is Gəmgā Bet Barr. The next gate situated opposite to Walda Nag<sup>w</sup>adg<sup>w</sup>ād Yoḥannəs (church) is the entrance of the Q<sup>w</sup>āraññoč.<sup>702</sup> This is (the list of) the so-called twelve gates of the royal compound.

[100] There was a well reputed but anomalous scholar named Kəfla Yoḥannəs.<sup>703</sup> When he came to the church for annual celebrations, he wore a *dābbā*<sup>704</sup> waxed with a mix of butter and lamp-black and defaced the clothes of the clergymen. When the clergymen dressed ordinary garments, he appeared well dressed in *margaf-dərrəb*.<sup>705</sup>

<sup>694</sup> It is a place where the family of Məntewwāb belongs to. This family began to control important offices in the royal court since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Following the death of Bakāffā they became more dominant than ever before. Məntewwāb became queen mother and the regent of the young king and her brothers Walda Lə'ul became Rās Bitwaddad, the apex of the power in the royal court but below the king. Since then, until the successive death of Rās Walda Lə'ul and Rās Bitwaddad the Q<sup>w</sup>āra family remained influential for a period not shorter than half a century.

<sup>695</sup> According to the *Short Chronicle*, 'Ase Tewoflos (r.1708–1711), was the king who founded this church. Perhaps, she sponsored the restoration work sometime in the nineteenth century. A different oral tradition in Gondar also mentioned the church dedicated to Lālibalā that built about a kilometer to the north-east of the palace compound.

<sup>696</sup> 'Ēgwala Śəyon (r.1801–1818).

<sup>697</sup> An abbreviated form of Śāhla Dəngəl, a puppet king of the *Zamana masāfənt*. He was enthroned and dethroned four times between 1831–1855. See 'Śāhla Dəngəl', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 464a–465a (D. Crumme).

<sup>698</sup> A abbreviated form of Dəmetros, the other puppet king of the *zamana masāfənt*. It was in 1799 he was crowned but his reign was interrupted several times. See 'Dəmetros', *E Ae*, II (2005), 129b (L. B. Berry).

<sup>699</sup> Lords of Lastā region.

<sup>700</sup> Səmen refers to the region below Takkaze river and above Wagarā.

<sup>701</sup> Walqāyət.

<sup>702</sup> It refers to the political elites of the eighteenth century for which the family of Queen Məntewwāb was a core of this party.

<sup>703</sup> This story seems lately added part of the text. It is not directly related with the history of Gondar like the other stories.

<sup>704</sup> Monk's mantle of yellow leather; Kane 1990, p. 173.

<sup>705</sup> The finest sort of Abyssinian robes being embroidered with a broad silk border. Isenberg 1841, p. 23.

[101] The 'azmāri of 'Ītege Məntəwwāb bet with her. At the eve of the annual celebration of Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>ām he spread a rumor as if he is a scholar from [Dabra] Warq. The next day, he wrapped his turban as the *dabtarās* of Gogggām do, he wore *margaf-dərrəb* and *barnos*; then accompanied by a servant who carried the sistrum, he entered into the church and proudly sat among the *dabtarās*. And the *dabtarās* showed respect to him. And he covered his mouth and nose<sup>706</sup> with his toga and stayed boasting. When the time reached to compose *qəne*,<sup>707</sup> the *dabtarās* discussed and gave him the chance<sup>708</sup> to compose an original *qəne*. [At that moment] 'Ītege Məntəwwāb was looking at the situation from inside (the church).<sup>709</sup> The clergymen chose a *dabtarā* who has a remarkable voice and brought to him. But he [the 'azmāri] refused the invitation saying, 'I do not deserve the chance since you all are here.' The *dabtarās* said, 'We have you, the remarkable scholar; so, you deserve it.' Then he agreed, saluted (the scholars) and then according to the tradition he whispered to the *dabtarā* (who was assigned to sing following the verses of the *qəne* and gave him the first phrase) saying, 'Say O Mary!'<sup>710</sup> hearing this the clergies laughed at him, and he said, 'Wait! you will appreciate me (at the end)' and continued saying 'I, your slave beseech you; listen to me once'. All the *dabtarās* laughed at loud, then he threw his headband and ran away. And 'Ītege Məntəwwāb lost the bet; and she paid him a mule heavily adorned with ornamented saddle.

[102] One day, a certain 'azmāri went to the house of every clergy of Gondar door to door and invited them saying 'You all hosted me in your houses, and I have been enjoying the food and drink you offered occasionally, and now this is my turn so that you all are invited'. The clergy took it seriously and went to his house. His house was a *marabbā*<sup>711</sup> that looks like a church. When the clergy fully entered the house, he locked it behind with padlock and left them therein. The clergy stayed locked inside; some of them said, 'Would he leave us here for a week?' Some of them were crying, and the rest laughing, and they stayed therein until dusk. That evening he unlocked it and said, 'Are you still here silly priests?', then many people died at the gate while rushing to leave.

[103] Then, Tewodros became king. When Tewodros was conceived, a roar like thunder was heard for his mother's womb. The mother suddenly woke up, being terrified with the sound and the man (his father) did so. The man asked, 'What happened to you my dear?' and she answered, 'I do not know but I have heard this strange sound as you did'. The cattle in the corral were also terrified and ran away; as it (the book) said, 'He planned violence while he was in his resting place'<sup>712</sup>. After he was born, the baptism was taking place in the church, an ascetic person saw him and said, 'Those who died before the birth of this child are lucky'.

[104] As he grew up, he defeated Manan, which is the beginning of his victory. Then he defeated seven *Dağgāzmāč* in the battle of Gurrāmbā and then conquered the 'Agaw. At last, he defeated *Dağgāč* Wube, as it (the book) said, 'It is finished'<sup>713</sup>. Afterwards, he entered

<sup>706</sup> It is a traditional style of dressing on public to show one's status

<sup>707</sup> This is church ceremony in which the *Dabtarā* compose *qəne* and chant, the *qəne* shall be original and that must be composed by one of the *Dabtarās* at the spot.

<sup>708</sup> To give someone the chance to compose *qəne* is a sign of respect.

<sup>709</sup> The oral tradition on this church asserts Queen Məntəwwāb had her own reserved section in the church, to the right side of the *Qəne Māhlet* ('the chanting section in the church') deliberately prepared during the construction of the church.

<sup>710</sup> Usually, the *qəne* does not begin with this phrase, that's why the scholars laughed at him.

<sup>711</sup> It is used to describe the architecture of the house. The context seems to be for the traditional round house, but big and protected with fences.

<sup>712</sup> Ps. 34:4.

<sup>713</sup> Joh. 19:30.

Gondar and was crowned in the palace. ‘The earth trembled<sup>714</sup> and Jerusalem was in an uproar<sup>715</sup>’. He was very aggressive, for this reason all the people fell into frustration. At the beginning of his reign, he was good, and he had an exemplary personality; he pronounced an order saying, ‘I have received the Holy Communion, therefore let everyone do the same.’ Later, he said, ‘I have ceased it, and let everyone cease.’ The demon entered his heart. When he learned that a baby-boy was born from the house of the nobility, he moved there, snatched the baby away from the mother and threw it down to the rock. Moreover, he began to summon and burn people locked in wooden houses. Not only Ethiopia, but also Jerusalem was entirely shocked and terrorized; and the people were in distress, but they had no refuge. What is said, ‘I will raise a hypocrite king, because of the sin of the people’<sup>716</sup>, fulfilled up on them.

[105] When he conquered Šawā, the people of Šawā tried to resist him but it was in vain, and he defeated them; then he cut both arms of all the surrenders and tied them on their necks and left them. Consequently, the army of Šawā was dissolved; hearing this terrifying news a pregnant woman aborted. Moreover, learning of the conquest and arrival of Tewodros, the king of Šawā became anxious and died. Then after, he captured the son of the king (of Šawā) and returned to Gondar. He imposed heavy taxes on Gondar and exposed the people to die of hunger; and most people of Dambyā were imprisoned.

[106] Having done this, he returned to Dabra Tābor and stayed there for a long time. (One day), on Friday afternoon, he left Dabra Tābor and arrived at Gondar on Saturday, while the market was in full swing. He looted the entire city in the same day and burnt all the churches; Gondar turned into fire. The city of Fāsīl and ’Iyyāsu was plundered and looted. The *tābot*, treasures and the people that survive from the destructive fire were taken to Dabra Tābor. He settled the people there. After this, because of his ill-tempered nature, he summoned the people, the chained and the unchained, and took them and entered Maqdalā and settled there.

[107] As the people of Gondar are wise, they sent (message) to England saying, ‘In spite of your presence, the city of Gondar, the second Jerusalem (the image of Jerusalem) is set on fire and the people burned, and Ethiopia has been destructed, why did you prefer silence? As soon as the English people heard this, they mobilized the army and rushed to Maqdalā silently, killed Tewodros, congratulated the people of Gondar, freed the prisoners, and went back to their country. Then, the survivors of Gondar returned homeward.

[108] Hereafter, the spiritual king, the man of God, Takla Giyorgis<sup>717</sup> became king. He was a man of comfort for the people. His reign was a period of abundance throughout the country, it was a time of peace and security. He pronounced a call for the people of Gondar saying, ‘Let all the people of Gondar return (to the city)’. Following his call, survivors returned home. For all churches, he offered vestments and receptacles for the host (other materials used in the service). When they (the priests) complained to king saying, ‘Mice and snake are making trouble’, he brought cats from Goḡḡām and entrusted a couple of cats to each of the forty-four churches, then the snakes and mice disappeared. He provided food and clothing for those who were in demand.

[109] The people were delighted and said, ‘After such a worst time, a bright day has come for us, and a kind king has risen. He warned the soldiers to restrain from any attempt to deprive people from their property. It is the period of full abundance; milk and honey were like rain,

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<sup>714</sup> Ps. 18:7.

<sup>715</sup> Act. 21:31.

<sup>716</sup> Job. 34:27 (*’Andəmtā*).

<sup>717</sup> King Takla Giyorgis II (r.1868–1872).

and harvest was as abundant as soil. Before the people had enough of the pleasure, 'Aṣe Takla Giyorgis crossed over to Təgre. He fought against the Təgrāyans and he was defeated. When the people of Gondar heard this, they mourned as the people of Nineveh<sup>718</sup>, and said, 'The time of tribulation is coming back.'

[110] Then, 'Aṣe Yoḥannəs<sup>719</sup> was crowned in Təgre; he came to Gondar and made his encampment on 'Ambā Ćārā ('Mount Ćārā'). He was a spiritual person and says, 'I like priests.' Nevertheless, his army got worse than the army of Tewodros. As a result, Gondar was again plundered by the soldiers. It became (as the book says) 'During the day he seems spiritual and at night conjures up demon.' No one was happy in his presence; then he marched to Goḡḡām and plundered it, and dishonored churches; and he died in Matammā.

[111] Then Mənyələk<sup>720</sup> became king, the sun of this world, the happiness of this world, and the joy of this world. There was no one like him among his predecessors and no one will be in the future. His reign was the period of joy, happiness, and pleasure. He does not deserve death, but there is a fact of being human. Let him rest in honour and peace, in glory and praise, the sun of the world Mənyələk.

[112] Fāsiladas (reigned) 36 (years)<sup>721</sup>. Yoḥannəs (reigned)<sup>722</sup> 16 (years). 'Iyyāsu (reigned)<sup>723</sup> 24 (years). Takla Hāymanot (reigned)<sup>724</sup> 2 (years). Tewoflos (reigned)<sup>725</sup> 3 (years). Yoṣtoš (reigned)<sup>726</sup> 4 (years). Dāwit (III) (reigned)<sup>727</sup> 5 (years). Bakāffā (reigned)<sup>728</sup> 9 (years). 'Iyyāsu (II) (reigned)<sup>729</sup> 25 (years). 'Iyyo'as (reigned)<sup>730</sup> 14 (years). Yoḥannəs (II) (reigned)<sup>731</sup> 5 months. Takla Hāymanot (II) (reigned)<sup>732</sup> 7 years and 7 months. Solomon (reigned)<sup>733</sup> 2 years. Takla Giyorgis I (reigned)<sup>734</sup> 4 years. Hereafter the power was passed to the hands of the usurpers<sup>735</sup>. Wand Wasan (ruled) 4 (years). Baqatu (ruled) 4 (years). 'Adgah and Kāsā (ruled) 4 (years). 'Ali the senior, (ruled) 5 (years). 'Aligāz (ruled) 7 (years). 'Asrāt and Walda Gabrə'el (ruled) 9 (years). Gugsā (ruled) 20 (years). Yəmām Mārye (ruled) 7 (years). Dori (ruled) 6 (years). 'Ali (ruled) 22 (years). Tewodros (reigned)<sup>736</sup> 15 (years). Takla Giyorgis (II) (reigned)<sup>737</sup> 3 years and 3 months. Yoḥānnəs (IV) (reigned) 17 years. Puppet kings (keepers of

<sup>718</sup> Jon. 3:5-9.

<sup>719</sup> 'Aṣe Yoḥannəs IV (r.1872–1889).

<sup>720</sup> A variant of the name Mənilək.

<sup>721</sup> (r.1632–1667).

<sup>722</sup> (r.1667–1682).

<sup>723</sup> (r.1682–1706).

<sup>724</sup> (r.1706–1708).

<sup>725</sup> (r.1708–1711).

<sup>726</sup> (r.1711–1716).

<sup>727</sup> (r.1716–1721).

<sup>728</sup> (r.1721–1730).

<sup>729</sup> (r.1730–1755).

<sup>730</sup> (r.1755–1769).

<sup>731</sup> Reigned only for five months of the year 1769.

<sup>732</sup> (r.1769–1777).

<sup>733</sup> (r.1777–1779).

<sup>734</sup> (r.1779–1784). He was enthroned dethroned and enthroned about times after his first coronation. The last time he was enthroned was in 1800.

<sup>735</sup> According to the local story tellers the *zamana masāfənt* began after the dethronement of King Takla Hāymānot II in 1784. Following this, the regional lords controlled the central power for the next 69 years between 1784 to 1855.

<sup>736</sup> The rise of 'Aṣe Tewodros ended the era of *zamana masāfənt* and the restoration of the absolute monarch was declared.

<sup>737</sup> (r.1868–1872).



the throne), 'Aṣe Yoḥānnəs<sup>738</sup>, and 'Aṣe Gwālu<sup>739</sup>, and 'Aṣe Šāhlu<sup>740</sup>. Mənyələk [reigned] 45<sup>741</sup> [years].

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<sup>738</sup> One of the last puppet kings of the *zamana masāfənt* enthroned in 1840 and dethroned in the following year. Then he was enthroned for the second time in 1842 and stayed on the throne until 1845. In 1850 he came back to the throne and dismissed in 1851.

<sup>739</sup> The short form of the name 'Ἐgwāla Şəyon (r.1801–1818).

<sup>740</sup> Šāhəla Dəngəl, one of the last puppet kings of the *zamana masāfənt*. The first time he assume the throne was in 1832 and stayed until 1840; then he was deposed and again enthroned several times until 1855. Munro-Hay 2002, p. 365.

<sup>741</sup> Mənilək II reigns as Emperor of Ethiopia Iyfrom 1889 to 1913, but this list considers his rulership as a king of Šawā before he became Emperor.

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## Dissertation Summary

The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* or History of the Land of Gondar is an historical compendium written in Amharic, in the city of Gondar (Ethiopia) at the end of the nineteenth century or at the beginning of the twentieth century, after the various destructions and looting that the town had suffered. It narrates the history of Gondar, of its kings and nobles and of its clergy from the foundation of the city in the 1630s up to the reign of Mənilək II (1889–1913). Most of the episodes copied in this collection are known through other historiographic corpora. This complex intertextuality is studied in depth in the dissertation in order to understand the specificities of writing the Long Royal Chronicles, the *Short Chronicles* and the regional *Tārika nagašt*. The role of oral traditions in the circulation of the narrative elements and patterns is also evaluated. This comparative study leads to precise hypothesis about the milieus of production of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*: religious, most probably pro-Šaggā, Gondarine. In particular, the most recent collection of stories and anecdotes shows that the intellectual who composed the text took position against the rising influence of the Šawān clergy and the intellectuals surrounding King Mənilək II and building up the history of the Ethiopian nation with a Šawān perspective. It was therefore critical to strengthen the history of Gondar, weakened by the geopolitical movement toward east and south and by the destruction of its archives and libraries.

This text has been circulating among the religious elites and the *bālābbātočč* (nobles) of Gondar since the early twentieth century. However, only a small part of this text has been known since the 1930s due to the ethnographic work of the Italian Anthropologist Alberto Pollera, who collected several oral traditions in Gondar including the anecdotes in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* that was translated into Italian and published in 1936. Yet, this work never mentions the source specifically, although the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* remains the major source of information for the scholars who studied the history and culture of the Gondarine period. Similarly, Takla Šādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā, an Ethiopian historian, seems familiar with this text and incorporated few anecdotes in his work published in the 1940s. Both works have been widely referred by foreign and Ethiopian historians for the reconstruction of the history of Gondar. Yet, the main source both scholars referred to seems to have been forgotten for almost a century. It is this source which this PhD dissertation brings now to light.

The *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* is known through four physical manuscripts housed in archives and private collections in Ethiopia, France, and Italy, as well as one additional witness. The dissertation provides a critically reconstructed text, which is edited, translated, and annotated for the first time. A reconstructive genealogical method is applied to determine the relationship of the available manuscript witnesses and establish the *stemma codicum* based on the errors and variant readings shared in common. The critical edition is laid out with critical text, variant readings, and punctuation, using the Classical Text Editor, a computer software designed for producing critically edited texts.

Besides, the language, content, structure, and organization of the text is studied; and all the relevant issues are addressed in the introductory chapters. Hence, the relationship between the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* and other historical texts of the Gondarine period such as the Short Chronicle, the Long Chronicle, regional *Tārika nagašt*, monastic chronicles are analyzed. Also, peculiar palaeographic and orthographic features as well as regional dialectal forms reflected in the text are taken into consideration and discussed accordingly.

The critical text is translated into English and annotated. In the annotation, local place names are located, historical figures of the royal court and the clergy also briefly addressed. Moreover, the literary sources referred by the author of the text are presented with the readings

that appears from the sources such as Bible, hagiographic texts, works of the *'andəmtā* exegesis, and contemporary works of oral traditions as well as historiographic works of the Gondarine period. Oral traditions that had been circulating between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries as reported by European travellers are also used to show the circulation of some of the anecdotes much before the compilation of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Parallel readings from the works of Pollera and of later local and foreign scholars are indicated to show the nature and the evolution of the oral tradition over time.

To sum up, the PhD dissertation offers a thorough analysis of the language and palaeography used in the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*. Amharic, the Ethiopian vernacular, was still rarely written at the end of the nineteenth century, and regionalisms and historical features still need a thorough scientific attention. This text allows the identification of precise regional patterns such as social structure and organization, religion, and politics of the time.

The critical edition, translation, annotation, and analysis of the *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* open the curtain on the historiographic tradition of the Gondarine society at the aftermath of the successive destructions and at the eve of its modernization.

## Zusammenfassung der Dissertation

Die *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* oder Geschichte des Landes Gondar ist ein historisches Kompendium, geschrieben auf Amharisch, in der Stadt Gondar (Äthiopien) am Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts oder zu Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, nach den verschiedenen Zerstörungen und Plünderungen, die die Stadt erlitten hatte. Sie erzählt die Geschichte Gondars, seiner Könige und Adligen und seines Klerus von der Gründung der Stadt in den 1630er Jahren bis zur Herrschaft von Mənilək II (1889–1913). Die meisten der in dieser Sammlung kopierten Episoden sind auch durch andere historiographische Korpora bekannt. Diese komplexe Intertextualität wird in der Dissertation eingehend untersucht, um die Besonderheiten des Schreibens der *Langen Königlichen Chronik*, der *Kurzchronik* und der regionalen *Tārika nagašt* zu verstehen. Die Rolle der mündlichen Überlieferung bei der Zirkulation der narrativen Elemente und Muster wird ebenfalls bewertet. Diese vergleichende Studie führt zu präzisen Hypothesen über die Milieus der Produktion der *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*: religiös, höchstwahrscheinlich pro-*Şaggā*, Gondarinisch. Insbesondere die jüngste Sammlung von Geschichten und Anekdoten zeigt, dass der Intellektuelle, der den Text verfasste, Position gegen den steigenden Einfluss des *Şawā*-Klerus und der Intellektuellen um König Mənilək II. bezog, welche die Geschichte der äthiopischen Nation mit einer *Şawān*-Perspektive aufbaute. Es war daher von entscheidender Bedeutung, die Geschichte von Gondar zu stärken, die durch die geopolitische Bewegung nach Osten und Süden und durch die Zerstörung der Archive und Bibliotheken geschwächt war.

Dieser Text ist seit dem frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert unter den religiösen Eliten und den *bālābbātočč* (Adligen) von Gondar im Umlauf. Allerdings ist bislang nur ein kleiner Teil dieses Textes seit den 1930er Jahren durch die ethnographische Arbeit des italienischen Anthropologen Alberto Pollera bekannt, der mehrere mündliche Überlieferungen in Gondar sammelte, darunter die Anekdoten aus der *Tārik Zamədra Gondar*, welche er ins Italienische übersetzt und 1936 veröffentlichte. Dennoch wird die Quelle in diesem Werk nie ausdrücklich erwähnt, obwohl die *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* die wichtigste Informationsquelle für die Gelehrten bleibt, die die Geschichte und Kultur der gondarinischen Zeit studiert haben. In ähnlicher Weise scheint Takla Şādəq Mak<sup>w</sup>əriyā, ein äthiopischer Historiker, mit diesem Text vertraut gewesen zu sein, das er einige Anekdoten in sein in den 1940er Jahren veröffentlichtes Werk aufgenommen hat. Beide Werke wurden von ausländischen und äthiopischen Historikern häufig für die Rekonstruktion der Geschichte von Gondar herangezogen. Doch die Hauptquelle, auf die sich beide Gelehrten bezogen, scheint seit fast einem Jahrhundert in Vergessenheit geraten zu sein. Es ist diese Quelle, die diese Dissertation nun ans Licht bringt.

Die *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* ist durch vier handschriftliche Manuskripte bekannt, die sich in Archiven und Privatsammlungen in Äthiopien, Frankreich und Italien befinden, sowie durch einen zusätzlichen Zeugen. Die Dissertation bietet einen kritisch rekonstruierten Text, der zum ersten Mal ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert wird. Eine rekonstruktive genealogische Methode wird angewandt, um die Beziehung der verfügbaren handschriftlichen Zeugen zu bestimmen und das *Stemma codicum* auf der Grundlage der gemeinsamen Fehler und abweichenden Lesarten zu ermitteln. Die kritische Edition wird mit kritischem Text, abweichenden Lesarten und Interpunktion unter Verwendung des Classical Text Editor, einer Computersoftware, die für die Erstellung kritisch edierter Texte entwickelt wurde, angelegt.

Außerdem werden die Sprache, der Inhalt, die Struktur und die Organisation des Textes untersucht; und alle relevanten Fragen werden in den einleitenden Kapiteln angesprochen. So wird die Beziehung zwischen der *Tārik Zamədra Gondar* und anderen historischen Texten der gondarinischen Periode wie der *Kurzen Chronik*, der *Langen Chronik*, regionalen *Tārika*

*nagašt*, und Klosterchroniken analysiert. Auch paläographische und orthographische Besonderheiten sowie regionale dialektale Formen, die sich im Text widerspiegeln, werden berücksichtigt und entsprechend diskutiert.

Der kritische Text wird ins Englische übersetzt und annotiert. In der Annotation werden lokale Ortsnamen verortet, historische Figuren des königlichen Hofes und des Klerus ebenfalls kurz angesprochen. Darüber hinaus werden die literarischen Quellen, auf die sich der Autor des Textes bezieht, mit den Lesarten vorgestellt, die aus den Quellen wie Bibel, hagiographische Texte, Werke der *'andamtā*-Exegese und zeitgenössische Werke der mündlichen Überlieferung sowie historiographische Werke der gondarinischen Zeit hervorgehen. Mündliche Überlieferungen, wie sie vom siebzehnten bis neunzehnten Jahrhundert von europäischen Reisenden aufgezeichnet wurden, werden ebenfalls herangezogen, um die Zirkulation einiger der Anekdoten lange vor der Kompilation der *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* zu zeigen. Parallele Lesarten aus den Werken Polleras und späterer lokaler und ausländischer Gelehrter werden angegeben, um die Natur und die Entwicklung der mündlichen Überlieferung im Laufe der Zeit zu zeigen.

Zusammenfassend bietet die Dissertation eine gründliche Analyse der in der *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* verwendeten Sprache und Paläographie. Amharisch, die äthiopische Volkssprache, war Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts noch kaum schriftlich fixiert, und Regionalismen und historische Besonderheiten bedürfen noch einer gründlichen wissenschaftlichen Aufmerksamkeit. Dieser Text ermöglicht die Identifizierung präziser regionaler Muster wie Sozialstruktur und -organisation, Religion und Politik der damaligen Zeit.

Die kritische Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentierung und Analyse der *Tārik Zamādra Gondar* öffnet den Vorhang für die historiographische Tradition der gondarinischen Gesellschaft nach den aufeinanderfolgenden Zerstörungen und am Vorabend ihrer Modernisierung.