

The Ethiopian Homily on the Ark of the Covenant

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The Ethiopian Homily on the Ark of the Covenant

Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of
Dərsanä Şəyon

By

Amsalu Tefera



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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

To my father, the late Rev. Tefera Alemu



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Foreword

In this volume Amsalu Tefera offers the critical edition, translation and commentary, preceded by an informative introduction, of a Gəʿəz (Classical Ethiopic) text, the *Homily on the Ark of the Covenant*, together with two related texts—the *Miracles of Mary Zion* and the *Effigy of Zion*—that well illustrate three of the most representative and vital genres of the Christian Ethiopian literary tradition.

The edited texts have an intrinsic interest, since the elaboration on the Ark of the Covenant is of great significance for the much debated question of the spread and impact of the Jewish heritage on Christian Ethiopia. The three texts contribute to enrich the corpus of traditions known so far and stimulate further debates. Under this respect, the *Homily* complements what is found in the *Kəbrä Nəgäšt* and adds many elements of detail on the way the ideological construction of Ethiopia as the ‘Chosen Country’ and as the true *Verus Israel* gradually emerged.¹

Besides the interest of the contents, there are two other points which I would like to mention shortly here.

The first is the scholarly impact of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*,² as is also testified by its large use in the present volume. The *Encyclopaedia* has become an indispensable reference tool in Ethiopian Studies and related fields, provides a comprehensive overview and a reliable introduction to all main topics, and will certainly keep on helping improve the state of the art in the field in the coming years.

The second question is one of method, that is crucial and must be duly underlined. The three Gəʿəz texts presented in this book, most of all the *Homily*, are critically edited according to the Neo-Lachmannian (that is, text-critical reconstructive) methodology. This trend was initiated in Ethiopian Studies a few decades ago by Paolo Marrassini (1942–2013),³ with the intention of apply-

1 For nothing more than a first introduction to the crucial topics, see the bibliography and some of the essays collected in Alessandro Bausi (ed.), *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian*, lii–liii and 121–186 (section ‘The ‘Judaic Component’’) (Variorum, The Worlds of Eastern Christianity (300–1500) 4, Farnham, Surrey 2012).

2 Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 1 (A–C) (Wiesbaden 2003); vol. 2 (D–Ha) (2005); vol. 3 (He–N) (2007); in cooperation with Alessandro Bausi (ed.), vol. 4 (O–X) (2010); A. Bausi in cooperation with S. Uhlig (ed.), vol. 5 (Y–Z, *Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index*) (2014).

3 For a short biographical sketch and the list of his publications, cf. now Alessandro Bausi, ‘In

ing a 'normal' way of dealing with Ethiopic texts and text editions. Following in the steps of proposals conceived as early as by Marrassini, in consultation with Taddesse Tamrat (1935–2013), and myself, it is the special merit of two colleagues of Addis Ababa University, namely Baye Yimam and Shiferaw Bekele, to have understood the potential and the importance of the philological approach for a refounding of academic scholarship on Ethiopian texts (from both the Christian and the Islamic tradition), and also Ethiopian Studies in general, within the framework of a more solid and reliable methodology.

The result was the establishment at Addis Ababa University of MA and PhD programmes in Philology, respectively in 2004 and 2007, where Marrassini, together with other colleagues in the course of time (among whom Orin Gensler deserves to be particularly mentioned here), passionately taught courses and tutored dozens of students, still during the last difficult years of his life, at times provided with no other means than his intelligence, his word, and his indefatigable dedication and great knowledge.

Among the early students of the Addis Ababa University Philology programmes figured Amsalu Tefera. He was actually the first one who successfully defended his PhD dissertation at Addis Ababa University, in 2011,⁴ and he is finding now his own way in Ethiopian Studies as a staff member at the same university. What is published in this volume is a revised version of his PhD dissertation.

To preface this work is therefore a motif of particular satisfaction for me, as a pupil of Paolo Marrassini and as a member of the editorial board of the series of Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity. But it is even more a motif of hope for the future of Ethiopian philological studies.

Prof. Dr. Alessandro Bausi
Hamburg, January 2015

memoriam Paolo Marrassini (1942–2013)', and 'Bibliography of Paolo Marrassini', in Alessandro Bausi, Alessandro Gori and Gianfrancesco Lusini (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini*, xxvii–xlv (Wiesbaden 2014), slightly corrected and updated reprint from *Aethiopica* 16 (2013): 200–212.

- 4 Dərsanä Şəyon: *Philological Inquiries, Textual Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*. A dissertation submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Philology. Supervisors: Prof. Paolo Marrassini; Prof. Baye Yimam. February 2011.

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I have no words to adequately express my gratitude to my wife Alemtsehay and my children Kidus and Tsion for their love, support and great patience.

Glossary

- Adiaphoric variant** (from Greek *adiáphoros* 'indifferent') is any variant which is of no use in establishing a *stemma* (because banal, polygenetic, etc.).
- ʾAmätä Məhrät** lit. 'Year of Mercy'; the year after the Birth of Christ, as expressed in the Ethiopian Calendar (EC).
- Apparatus Criticus** also called 'Critical Apparatus'; an apparatus which shows, for each page, all the variant readings found on that page in all the various subfamilies and text witnesses.
- Archetype** the hypothetical manuscript from which all attested manuscripts of the text derive.
- Arke** a collection of short hymns at the end of the lives of saints.
- Ars critica** art and methodology of Textual Criticism.
- Bipartite stemma** a family tree or *stemma* in which every branching node has two branches. (cf. *Stemma Codicum*).
- Codex** sheets of papyrus or vellum folded and sewn together; the forerunner of the modern book.
- Codex optimus** the 'best' codex.
- Codex unicus** a text which is attested only in a single witness.
- Codicology** the study of the physical layout, handwriting page and makeup of a codex.
- Collation** careful comparison of manuscripts and compilation of a list of their differences.
- Colophon** an end note of a manuscript, usually presenting facts relating to its production.
- Composite text** a manuscript which contains two or more codicological units.
- Conflated readings** two readings that have been combined.
- Conjunctive error** an error appearing in two or more manuscripts which is so serious and so unusual as to make it impossible to suppose that it arose more than once. Cf. 'shared innovation'.
- Corrupted reading** a reading that departs from the original text due to a copyist's mistake or alteration.
- Darsan** an exegetical or homiletic text written by an ecclesiastical interpreter.
- Dittography** reduplication of a syllable, word, or longer unit (antonym of haplography).
- Editio princeps** first printed edition (of a given text).
- Eliminatio codicum descriptorum** elimination of derivative manuscripts.
- emendatio** 'emendation'; an attempt to reconstruct an original reading that has not survived in any of the extant witnesses. It is the final stage in preparing a critical edition.
- examinatio** 'examination' of the witnesses isolated by the *recensio*.

- ʿaqa bet* lit. ‘storehouse’; in the Axumite tradition it is a title given to the guardian of the Ark of the Covenant.
- Facsimile** an exact copy or reproduction of something such as a document, a coin, or somebody’s handwriting.
- Fission** incorrect splitting of one word into two.
- Folio** leaf of the manuscript (comprising two pages, recto and verso).
- Fusion** two words incorrectly joined as one word.
- Gädl* a Ge’ez term which literally means ‘combat’ or ‘struggle’, and by extension ‘hagiography’. The equivalent Latin term is ‘Vita’. It refers to a book which contains the biography and miracles of a saint (cf. ‘Hagiography’).
- Hagiography** literary genre about the life and legends of a saint (cf. *Gädl*).
- Haplography** incorrect omission of one of two identical letters, syllables, word, etc. that occur in sequence; writing once what ought to be written twice (antonym of ‘dittography’).
- Homoioarchton** a copying error involving loss of text when the copyist’s eye ‘jumps’ from a sequence of letters to an identical or similar sequence of letters at the beginning of two words or phrases typically on two successive lines.
- Homoioteleuton** a copying error involving loss of text when the copyist’s eye ‘jumps’ from a sequence of letters to an identical or similar sequence of letters at the end of two words or phrases typically on two successive lines.
- Homophony** words which are identical in sound but different in meaning.
- Infixation** matters which have been inserted into a codicological unit so as to create an enlarged codicological unit.
- Internal evidence** evidence relevant to a text-critical judgment which is derived from within the text in question.
- lectio difficilior* ‘the harder reading’.
- lectio facilior* ‘easier reading’.
- Mälkä* lit. ‘effigy’, ‘image’, ‘resemblance’, ‘likeness’ etc. A poetical category of the EOTC, praising the body parts of a holy person.
- Mäzämmär* ‘singer’ in the EOTC.
- Metathesis** cf. transposition.
- Monomerous** a codex which contains only a single codicological unit.
- Nəburä əd* title of the head of the Axumite Cathedral.
- Orbis Aethiopicus* general term for Ethiopian Studies.
- Paleography** the study of ancient scripts, especially their form and development.
- Polygenetic error** an error which can easily occur multiple times independently in various textual witnesses. It has no importance for establishing a *stemma*.
- Recensio* ‘Recension’, a general examination and evaluation of the evidence of the textual witnesses.
- Recentiores* more recent witnesses.
- Recto** the side of a folio which is read first (antonym of *Verso*).
- Septuagint (LXX)** the oldest Greek version of Old Testament.

- Shared innovation a variation or 'error' shared among different textual witnesses. Cf. 'Conjunctive error'.
- (sic) 'thus' or 'so', used within brackets to indicate that what precedes it was written intentionally or was copied verbatim from the original, even if it appears to be a mistake.
- Sigla* a brief identifying 'code' or label given to the manuscript(s).
- Stemma Codicum* a genealogical tree showing the relationship of the surviving witnesses based on their common innovation(s). Cf. Stemmatology.
- Stemmatology also called 'Stemmatics', is a rigorous approach to textual criticism, involving the building of a (not necessarily rooted) stemma.
- Suti* a piece of cloth that serves to cover a codex, mostly on top of a wooden board and leather cover.
- Täs'attu* lit. 'nine'; a mark of the Ethiopic punctuation system, which consist of nine dots (typically five dots in red and four in black).
- Tä'ammər* 'miracle'.
- Text critic someone who examines the variations between manuscripts and versions in order to determine the most plausible original reading of a text.
- Text transmission the process by which a text is transmitted over the years through repeated copying.
- Textual family a group of manuscripts that are genetically related by virtue of being copies stemming from the same (original or intermediate) manuscript.
- Textual witness any manuscript which contains a given text.
- Textus Receptus* lit. 'received text'; a standard form of the text, widely available.
- Theonym name of God.
- Toponym place name.
- Transposition a copying error involving an exchange in the position of two or (rarely) more letters within a word, or an exchange of two words or of two multi-word sequences.
- usus scribendi* the stylistic and linguistic habits of the author.
- Variant reading any difference between two or more textual witnesses of the same text.
- Verso the side of a folio which is read second (antonym of *recto*).
- Vorlage* the manuscript or text from which a scribe copied and/or translated a text.
- Zena 'news'.

Introduction

Writing and literature in Ge'ez arose mainly in the milieu of the Ethiopian clergy, who lived in monasteries and at the court of the emperor and of powerful noblemen; here literature satisfied the demands of the patrons, who protected and supported the authors and copyists as well as paid for writing materials. Although the existence of secular subjects among the manuscript material is not deniable, religious matters predominate. Translations of the Holy Bible, hagiographies of saints, homiletic writings, royal chronicles and accounts of wars, liturgical and hymnological works, philosophical and juridical writings, theological and ecclesiastical books, magical scrolls¹ etc. are common types of the Ethiopic literary heritage. The earliest Ethiopic literature consisted primarily of translations from Greek and Arabic. But later especially after the medieval era, indigenous writings multiplied exuberantly. Giyorgis of Gasəčča (d. EC *Hamle* 7, 1417 = AD July 1, 1425), Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob (r. 1434–1468), Arkä Šəllus (flourished during the reign of Bā'ədä Maryam (1468–1478)), Ǝčäge Ǝnbaqom (d. ca. 1560) and *abba* Baḥrəy (flourished during the time of Šārša Dəngəl (1563–1597)) are prominent Ethiopian authors. Medieval Ethiopian literature is particularly rich in hagiographies, which constitute the largest group of sources for medieval Ethiopian history and above all cultural history.² But there is also a huge amount of exegetical and homiletic literature.

Relatively speaking, hagiographies, though not sufficiently so, have been much more studied than homilies. *Dərsanä Šəyon*, 'Homily [in honor] of Zion' (henceforth DŠ), one among the ancient texts of Ethiopia, has not yet been studied so far. DŠ glorifies and venerates the Ark of the Covenant (henceforth AC) and has close similarity to *Kəbrä Nəgəšt* 'Dignity of Kings' (henceforth KN). Both KN and DŠ are prime sources on the coming of the Ark of the Covenant to Ethiopia. Thus, the account in KN is the base for the ideology and the Ark story in Ethiopia.

DŠ is read on the 21st of the month of *Kanun* (November). It is not easy to determine the date of its composition, but the oldest known manuscript is dated to the 15th cent. AD. Hence we can assume the original must have been composed in the 14th cent. AD or earlier. We read in the text that the author was an illiterate shepherd of goats and sheep.

¹ Cf. Getatchew 2005b: 736–741.

² Cf. Kaplan 1984: 1–14; Marrassini 1982: 1–10, here p. 3.

DŞ speaks about various matters. As a Christian theological text, it commences with a doxology of the Holy Trinity. It glorifies the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Incarnation is also discussed broadly in the text. DŞ is one of the best sources on Mariology, the glory and symbols of St. Mary. The text frequently uses the epithet Zion for St. Mary and the Ark of the Covenant. It praises Zion Mary for Her miraculous deeds and wonders.

We find allegorical descriptions of the Virgin from DŞ as the Celestial Zion, the Ark of the Law, habitation of the Lord, the country of the great King, Bride of Lebanon, Zion the gate of Paradise, the golden ship, our Mother Zion, holder of the dew of divinity, etc. Besides, the text preserves praises, prodigies and miracles performed by St. Mary.

There are also other topics DŞ deals with: a detailed narration of how the Lord bestowed the two Tablets of the Law to Moses; the theological interpretation of the Ark (*Tabot*), Tablets of the Law (*Şəllat*), and the equivalent NT hermeneutical qualities; OT and Judaic episodes presented in NT and Ethiopian Christian versions; mighty deeds and astonishing miracles of the Ark of the Covenant; the construction of the Temple of Solomon and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, the concealment of the Ark of the Covenant, etc. Much space will be given in the present book to various matters related to the content, theme, textual values and biblical allusions in DŞ.

The book is organized in two major sections. The first section presents general subjects related to DŞ, such as *Tabot* traditions in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwähädo* Church (henceforth EOTC), traditions on Zion and Axum, discussions and analysis are included. The second section presents the critical edition and translation of DŞ and related texts dedicated to Zion: *Zena Şəyon* 'News of Zion', *Tä'ammərə Şəyon* 'Miracle of Zion' and *Mälkə'a Şəyon* 'Effigy of Zion'.

Objective

The general aim of this work is the textual reconstruction and translation of DŞ, based on Neo-Lachmannian editorial methodology. More specifically, the following goals can be detailed:

- 1) To establish the *stemma codicum* through the analysis of the text transmission, by consulting the catalogues, obtaining the available versions of DŞ from different archives and localities, and collating them.
- 2) To reconstruct the text which is supposed to be the nearest to the original text of DŞ or to its archetype and provide by the required *ars critica* a critical

edition and an annotated translation, with the texts of the ‘Miracles of Zion’ and ‘Effigy of Zion’ appended.

- 3) To ascertain the text arrangement of DṢ in contrast to KN and *Dərsanä Maryam* ‘Homiliary on Mary’.
- 4) To discuss Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwähädo* Church teachings and popular traditions on DṢ and related subjects such as Ark of the Covenant, Zion, Axum, Axumite coronation, etc. in the Ethiopian context.

Scope

The edition contained in this book is based on ten DṢ manuscripts, collected from different monasteries and archives. The collection covers: Axum Zion Cathedral [1 MS], Ṭana monasteries (Däbrä Maryam [1 MS] and Ṭana Qirqos [2 texts: 1 unpublished MS and 1 published text]), Baḥər Dar (Kota Maryam [1 MS]), Fogära Bābbäks Däbrä Gännät Maryam [1 MS], Däbrä Tabor (Dära) Šəme Maryam [1 MS], Addis Ababa, ʾEntotṭo St. Mary Church [1 MS], and Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency (NALA) [2 MSS]. Most of the manuscripts are microfilm copies (obtained from the National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), AA; Berlin State Library, Germany; and St. John’s University, Collegeville, MN, USA)). Four of ten are texts (not digital copies). The time span covered by the collected manuscripts ranges from the 15th to the 20th cent. AD.

Fidäl Symbols and Transliteration

1 *Consonants*

ሀ h	ረ r	ተ t	አ ’	ዠ ṣ	ጠ ṭ	ፈ f
ለ l	ሰ s	ቸ ṭ	ከ k	የ y	ጨ ṭ	ፐ p
ሐ ḥ	ሸ š	ገ ḡ	ኸ ḵ	ደ d	ጸ ṣ	ቁ q ^w
መ m	ቀ q	ነ n	ወ w	ጀ ḡ	ጸ ṣ	ኸ ḵ ^w
ሠ ṣ	በ b	ኸ ḵ	ዐ ’	ገ g	ፐ ḍ	ኸ k ^w
			ዘ z			ገ g ^w

2 *Vowels*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ä	u	i	a	e	ə or no vowel	o
ᵐ = bä	ᵑ = bu	ᵒ = bi	ᵑ = ba	ᵒ = be	ᵑ = bə, b	ᵒ = bo

3 *Numerals*

ᵀ	ᵁ	ᵂ	ᵃ	ᵄ	ᵅ	ᵆ	ᵇ	ᵈ	ᵉ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ᵁ	ᵂ	ᵃ	ᵄ	ᵅ	ᵆ	ᵇ	ᵈ	ᵉ	ᵁᵂ
20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	1000

Signs

The following symbols are used in the apparatus:

- [§] indicates section.
- < indicates a derivation from.
- * indicates a hypothetical word.
- [|] (bar) is applied in order to separate numbers between variants in the critical apparatus.
- ⌈ ⌋ (half brackets) are used to indicate the starting and ending of variants consisting of more than one word.
- [] (square brackets) are used to indicate restorations in cases of physical damage or corrupted texts.
- † ... † Greek *obelós* (sing.), *obelói* (pl.) ‘cross’ also called *Crux desperationis*—is applied in the case of irremediable corruptions where no restoration can be proposed.

In the translated text, () or [] is used with words which are not in the Gəʿəz text but are necessary in the translation.

Abbreviations³

AC	Ark of the Covenant.
add.	<i>addit, addunt</i> , ‘it adds, they add’.
BL	London, British Library.
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
ca.	<i>circa</i> ‘about’.
cent.	century.
ch/s.	chapter/s.
col.	column.
comp.	compiler.
cf.	compare.
DAE	Deutsche Aksum-Expedition.
des.	<i>desinit</i> ‘it ends’.
DM	<i>Dərsanä Maryam</i> ‘Homily [on the honor] of Mary’.
DŞ	<i>Dərsanä Şəyon</i> ‘Homily [on the honor] of Zion’.
EC	Ethiopian Calendar.
ed.	editor/s, edition.
EOTC	Ethiopian Orthodox <i>Täwəhədo</i> Church.
f./ff.	folio/folia.
HMML	Hill Museum & Manuscript Library.
ill.	illegible.
inc.	<i>incipit</i> ‘it begins’.
KJV	King James Version.
KN	<i>Kəbrä Nəgəšt</i> ‘Dignity of Kings’.
LXX	Septuagint.
MA	<i>Məşhafä Axum, Liber Axumae</i> , ‘Book of Axum’.
Mhr.	<i>Mämhər</i> ‘teacher’.
MS/S	Manuscript/s.
NALA	Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency.
n.d.	no date is given.
n.p.	no printing detail is given.
NT	New Testament.
om.	<i>omittit, omittunt</i> ‘it omits, they omit’.
Or.	Oriental.
OT	Old Testament.
PN	personal name/s.

³ Biblical abbreviations are not included here.

pub.	publisher.
r.	<i>recto</i> .
rep.	'repeated'.
RSV	Revised Standard Version.
(sic)	to indicate that the preceding word is correctly quoted though erroneous.
s.l.	<i>supra lineam</i> 'written above'.
St.	Saint.
trans.	translator/translation.
v.	<i>verso</i> .
YHWH	Yahweh.

SECTION 1

Background and Analysis

∴

Tabot in the Ethiopian Tradition¹

1 *Tabot* in EOTC

The presence of a *tabot* is obligatory in every Church of the EOTC. Nöldeke (1910: 37, 42) says that the term *tabot* (ታቦት) is considered to have been borrowed into Ethiopic from Jewish Aramaic (*tēbūtā/tēbōtā*). To the contrary, Rodinson (1960: 64–68) argues that it was borrowed from Arabic. ‘In Ethiopic’ states Heldman (2010: 802), ‘the term has two meanings, referring both to the altar tablet or slab that rests upon the altar chest (መንበረ፡ ታቦት); occasionally, it may designate also the altar chest itself. In the Ethiopic Bible, it refers both to the OT Ark of Noah and the Ark of the Covenant in which the Tablets of Law were placed.’²

The *tabot* is the case containing the *ṣallat* (ጽላት, singular *ṣalle* ጽሌ) ‘slab, tablet’. *Məśwā* (ምሥዋዕ) is used in reference to the altar as focal point of the Liturgy; in principle it is a fixed altar, whereas the *tabot* is a mobile one. *Ṣalle* is a tablet of wooden or marble substance,⁴ on which the name of the Lord and the dedicated saint’s name are engraved. It is in the likeness of the two Tablets put in the Ark of the Covenant.

The *Mäṣḥafä Senodos* prescribes the presence of two altars (ክልኤቱ፡ ምሥዋዕ) in every church: one which is portable, like the stone of children of the Israel

1 About the tradition of *tabot* (tablet) in other churches, cf. Raes (1951: 59–70) and Gorgoryos (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 95). Libän Makonnän (2000/2001 [EC 1993]: 83) states that altar in the Coptic Church is made from clay or stone in quadrilateral form. A *tabot* with a cross model is engraved over it and the name of the Lord saying ‘ALPHA and OMEGA’ is inscribed on it. Finally, the Greek acronym of Lord Jesus: IH XP YC OC, is written in the periphery of the *tabot*.

2 See also Dillmann 1865: 560; Leslau 1987: 570.

3 Cf. the statement of Ayalew Tamiru (1961/1962 [EC 1953]: 87) on this issue: ጽሌ ማለት በግእዝ የነጠላነት፣ ጽላት የብዛት ስም ነው፤ ነገር ግን በልማድ እንደ አንድ ገፍ ይነገራል፡፡ እንዲሁም በጽላት እና በታቦት መካከል የሁኔታና የአነጋገር ልዩነት ሲኖር ልማደኛው ሰው ‘ታቦተ ጽዮን ጽላተ ሙሴ ናት’ በማለት ሲናገር ይሰማል። ‘ṣalle in Gə‘əz is a singular and *ṣallat* is a plural noun; but it is traditionally used as a singular. Even though there is a contextual and lexical difference between *ṣallat* and *tabot*, some [lit. ordinary people] say ‘*Tabotä Ṣayon* is *ṣallatä Muse*’.

4 The *ṣalle* is made of stone or a hard wood such as sycamore, although there are records of royal *tabotat* made of gold. Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 253; Basset 1882: 313; Getatchew 1988: 16, 2006: 62; Agostinos Tedla 1994: 131–157; Libän 2000/2001 [EC 1993]: 19; Pankhurst 1987–1988: 28–32.

that was carried from place to place in the wilderness, and another that is not removed from its place.⁵ In fact, many churches possess more than one *tabot*; only one of them, however, is the main *tabot* and this gives the church its name and the annual feast of the *tabot* is celebrated accordingly.⁶

According to the canon of the EOTC, the presence of a *tabot*⁷ is obligatory in every Church.⁸ No sacrifice can be offered without a *tabot*.⁹ Only a bishop¹⁰ can consecrate a *tabot*.¹¹ There is a ritual of the consecration of the *tabot*¹² in the EOTC. It is one of the most exotic elements of Ethiopian ecclesiastical practice—a phenomenon exclusive to Ethiopia, a unique ritual object central to all church services. Märḥa Krəstos (2002/2003 [EC 1995]: 15), referring to the song of St. Yared from the *Dəggʷa*, notes about the glory and power of *tabot*: ወአንቲኒ፡ ታቦት፡ እምኅበኒ፡ መጻእኪ፡ ውኅበኒ፡ ተሐውራ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ኩኒ። ‘And

5 Cf. Bausi 1995: 300 (text); Guidi 1897: 16; Paulos Tzadua 1968: 11.

6 See Fritsch 2001: 388; also Heldman 2010: 802–803. For general description of *tabot*, cf. Heyer 1971: 39–45.

7 ‘The *tabot* is a symbol of the grave of Christ’ (Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 253). ‘The *tabot* itself is a mystery’, Munro-Hay (2006: 27) citing C.H. Walker (1933: 95) who in turn cites an Amhara informant.

8 Cf. Hyatt 1928: 121–122.

9 ‘It is the *tabot* that is consecrated, rather than the church itself’ (Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 252, Munro-Hay 2006: 28). According to EOTC canon, however, the Church also must be consecrated. If not, it is impossible to consider it as a Church, it will simply be an ordinary house. There is a special prayer and solemn for the dedication of a church and consecration of a *tabot*.

10 An archimandrite (ቆሞስ፡) can also consecrate a church; however, a *tabot* can only consecrated by a bishop. Cf. Sergew (1989: 162–164).

11 Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 545) discuss the form of the prayer for the consecration of a new church and *tabot*, and a desecrated one. If the *tabot* is touched by a lay person or by a non-Christian, then it must be reconsecrated by a bishop. For the consecration prayer cf. EMMML 4399—Getatchew 1993a: 135–136, EMMML 4410—Getatchew 1993a: 140; *Fəṭḥa Nägāst* chapter 1 (edition of Guidi 1897: 17), Märsä’e Hazän (1945/1946 [EC 1938]: 355), Sergew (1989: 162–164), Mekarios et al. (1996, 63 (text), 67 (translation)). St. *abuna* Täklä Haymanot (1215–1313), who was elected as bishop of Ethiopia by the council of Ethiopian scholars and association of clergies (because Egyptian bishops were not able to come to Ethiopia for political reasons and due to Islamic influence), was popular in his miracles and wonders. He traveled to evangelize Ethiopians in all corners. As a result he was given the title ሐዲስ፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ፡ ‘New Apostle [and] light of Ethiopia’. As a bishop, he consecrated *tabots* and ordained priests & deacons. For a detailed account, cf. Tadesse 1972: 160–205; Hjeruy 1921: 114–117, 144–145.

12 Cf. EMMML 1206, ff. 167^v–171^r (cf. Getatchew 1979: 172–179, here 174–175), also Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 543–548, here 545.

you tabot, [let you] be a medicine wherever you come from and wherever you go'.¹³ Kefyalew Merahi (1997: 14) says: 'The tabot is the most holy object of the Ethiopian church. Its sanctity, function and centrality in the ritual of the Ethiopian church is the same as that of the Ark in ancient Israel'. Aymro Wondmagegnehu and Motovu (1970: 46, 48) state regarding the consecration of the *tabot*:

It is the *tabot* which gives sanctity to the church in which it is placed ... The consecration of a church is a solemn and impressive ceremony with rites symbolic of the sacred uses to which the edifice is dedicated ... The *tabot*, or Ark, previously consecrated by the Patriarch, is installed with grandeur and is the chief feature of the ceremony.¹⁴

Munro-Hay (2006: 28) identifies *tabot* with Ark: 'The tabot identified with the Ark, is hedged about in the same way with mystery, hidden in the holiest part of the churches, always wrapped in concealing veils, never seen by a layman's eye. Should profane persons approach it, it must be reconsecrated'.

The *tabot* is dedicated in the name of Holy Trinity, St. Mary, Angels, Apostles, Martyrs, Right men, etc. The EOTC strongly teaches that worship must be attributed and every prayer should be addressed solely to the Lord God. More than one *tabot* can be deposited in the same parish church. In the chronicle of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob we read his order to every church to have not one single *tabot* in a church, but two or more. The following proclamation is quoted from Munro-Hay (2006: 36) in turn cited from Perruchon (1893: 81): 'One must not put only one tabot into the churches, but two or several, and that among them must be one consecrated to Mary'. Munro-Hay analyses the allegory behind the proclamation of the King as: '... And Mary, of course, in whose womb once dwelt the New Law, Christ, was identified with the Ark of the Covenant that had contained the Old (Mosaic) Law in the form of the Ten Commandments'.

The *ṣälle* bears an engraving of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ with the images of the Holy Virgin Mary and St. John the disciple, are standing on the right and left sides of the cross respectively; and the divine names of the Lord inscribed thereon, signifying the Incarnation of the Word of God in the

13 Cf. EMMI 1206, f. 170^v, *Melṭān* (cf. Getatchew 1979: 175). It is also stated in KN ch. 54 (cf. Bezold 1905: 59–61 text, 47–49 trans.).

14 Cf. Hyatt 1928: 121–122; Pankhurst 1987–1988: 29.

Womb of St. Mary.¹⁵ The term *tabot* usually is used to express both the *tabot* proper and the *ṣälle*. Mekarios¹⁶ et al. (1996: 61 text, 65 trans.) testify this fact as follows:

ታቦት እግዚአብሔር በደብረ ሲና ዐሠርቱ ቃላትን በላዩ ጽፎ ለሙሴ ለሰጠው ጽላት ማደሪያ ነው። በቤተክርስቲያናችን ግን ታቦቱ ጽላት እየተባለ ይጠራል። ይህም አዳሪውን በማደሪያው ለመጥራት ነው። ታቦቱ የጽላቱ ማደሪያ ማኖሪያ ብቻ ሳይሆን የእግዚአብሔር መገለጫ ነው።

Tabot is the repository of the *ṣallat* on which the Ten Commandments were written and given to Moses by the Lord on Mount Sinai. However, in our Church the tabot is called the *ṣallat*.¹⁷ And this is to call the dweller by the repository. The tabot is not only the dwelling [and] repository of the *ṣallat*, but also the manifestation of the Lord.

Translation, mine¹⁸

Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 340) mention that *tabot* is used to describe a stone altar tablet as well as the chest in which the tablet is kept, which must also have contributed to the identification of Tablet and Ark. A stone tablet can be called a *tabot*, and the Ark is also called *tabot*.¹⁹ Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 543) on the other hand, consider the word *tabot*, which was spelled by Alvares as *tabuto* (sic), to have meant primarily ‘ark’, ‘chest’. Ullendorff (1956: 233) on his part suggests its derivation: ‘*tabot* is derived from the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic ‘*tebuta*’ (*tebota*) which in turn is a derivation from the Hebrew *tebah*’.²⁰

With regard to the type of material for engraving the *tabot*, Hiob Ludolf (1691: 556) states:

ፔካ ፀዐዳ ዘውእቱ ማርመሩ፤ ኤጲሞስሂ ከማሁ። ኤጲሜድር እብነ በረድ ውእቱ፤ ዘሀሎ በኢትዮጵያ፤ እስመ ይከውን ጽላት ዘይነብር ላዕለ መንበር።

15 Cf. Ermyas 1997: 51.

16 The book translates *tabot* as ‘Ark of the Covenant’ and *ṣallat* as ‘Holy Plate’.

17 Munro-Hay (2006: 31–35) opposes such identification, using the term ‘confusion’.

18 The book also contains an English translation. However, I find some variation in the terminologies.

19 ‘A *tabot*—alternatively referred to as a *ṣallat*, a tablet representing the *ṣallatä ḥagg*, the tablet(s) of the Law of Moses—is kept in the altar table or stand called *mānbärä tabot*, in the *māqdäs*, the sanctuary or Holy of Holies of every Ethiopian church’ (Munro-Hay 2006: 28).

20 Cf. Hancock, 1992: 129, 533.

*Peka*²¹ is white which is marble; As for *Epemos*²² it is like it; *Epemedr*²³ is marble which is found in Ethiopia, for it become the Tablet (*Şallat*) which sits upon the Altar.

Text, LUDOLF 1691: 556; translation, mine

The EOTC teaches that both the Ark and the Tablet symbolize the Holy Mother and Christ Jesus respectively (Ermyas Kebede 1997: 51). The Anaphora of Mary says that St. Mary is ጽላት፡ ዘመሰሌ፡፡ '[Mary is] the Tablet of Moses'.²⁴

By the early 20th cent., a few *tabot* had been acquired by European museums in various ways. According to Heldman (2010: 803), 'these form the basis of the following description of carved designs that typically decorate the recto face of *tabot*, dating from the early 16th cent. to the 18th cent. All *tabotat* are inscribed with the names of the saints to whom they are dedicated. A majority of these wood and stone *tabotat* ... are carved with cruciform designs similarly to those of the exterior panels of bilateral pendant diptychs of the same period.²⁵ ... Several early 16th-cent. *tabotat* are carved with a large cross that divides the panel into four parts, following the style of the painted design found on the exterior of a 15th-cent. triptych attributed to Fære Şəyon'.²⁶

The *şalle* is square or rectangular in shape, small enough to be carried by a single priest,²⁷ and often decorated with crosses or interwoven patterns. On religious occasions the *tabot* will be covered in costly cloths and carried around with singing, *şəbsäba* 'rhythmical movement of the clergy' and *čəbčäba* 'clapping', the beating of prayer sticks, the rattling of sistra, and the sounding of other musical instruments. We read in the Bible (2 Sam. 6) of a similar practice

21 It is 'white marble', derived from Greek *phouka*, transcription of Heb. *pūk* 'black paint' (Leslau 1987: 413).

22 Leslau (1987: 35) explains this term as 'priestly garment made of two pieces joined on the shoulder'. He also gives the etymology: from Greek *epōmis*, translation of Hebrew: *epōd*.

23 This also meant 'marble' (cf. Leslau 1987: 35).

24 Cf. Daoud 1954: 107; Grohmann 1919: 279.

25 See also Grierson 1993: 244, no. 102, fig. 33.

26 Cf. Heldman 1994: 37, fig. 10.

27 This contrasts with the size of the biblical Ark of the Covenant, which was carried by four Levites. Alvares on the other hand, states that four priests carried the *tabot*. His statement which is taken from Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 323–324) goes as follows: 'The altar stone or stones of all the churches are treated with much reverence on the way, and are carried only by mass priests, and always four priests go with each stone, and four others to take turns with them; they carry these stones as if on a stretcher raised on their shoulders, and covered with rich cloths of brocade and silk'.

of venerating the Ark.²⁸ *Mänbär*²⁹ is the wooden box-like chest where the *tabot* (with the *ṣälle/ṣallat*) is kept. As Ludolf said, the *tabot* is placed on the *mänbär* 'seat' or 'throne'. This term, according to Nöldeke (quoted from Ullendorff 1956: 235), is the *minbar* or *mimbar* of the mosque and is an Ethiopic loan-word in Arabic. Underneath, it has a case called *kärsä ḥamär*.³⁰

During the liturgy, the *tabot* is placed, always wrapped, on the *mänbärä tabot*. The chalice (blood) and the paten (bread) are then placed on the *tabot*, and the liturgy is celebrated over it. In this way the bread and the wine that represent Christ's flesh and blood are directly connected to Christ, the consecrated *tabot* being linked through the anointing by its bishop or patriarch with the apostle Mark, founder of the See of Alexandria, and disciple of Christ Himself.³¹ The ceremony takes place veiled from the view of the people, only the priests and serving deacons being present in the sanctuary.

We can distinguish two types of altars in the EOTC.³² The first is the Lalibäla type (legged cubic or box-like), clearly labeled on inscribed examples as *tabotat*. They are small enough to be easily portable. These small, cubic, carved wooden *mänbärä tabotat* with legs are quite rare.³³ Munro-Hay (2006: 31) suggests possible reasons why such *mänbärä tabotat* were used: 'Possibly these 'cubic altars' were specifically designed as portable altars, or perhaps they were placed on a larger altar, either as the consecrated *tabot* on which the paten and chalice stood, or to receive a *ṣallat* for this purpose. Nowadays they have lost their function as altars, and are used as miscellaneous church furniture'. After the

28 Cf. Ullendorff 1968: 93; Pankhurst 1987–1988: 29–30.

29 Also called *Mänbärä tabot* 'altar'. According to Fritsch (2010: 804) '*Mänbärä tabot* is the so-called 'altar chest', which together with *Tabot/Ṣallat* i.e. the altar tablet, can cover the notion of altar (ጥንተ ጥል)'. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 253), on the other hand present the Ethiopic usage as 'The chest in which the slab is kept, known as the *mänbärä Tabot*, would seem to correspond more accurately to an Ark, and the slab itself would be the equivalent of the Tablets'. For a brief historical survey on *Mänbärä tabot*, cf. Fritsch 2010: 804–807.

30 Lit. 'womb of the ship', cf. Fritsch 2010: 805.

31 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 28.

32 Fritsch (2010: 804–806) lists various stages of *mänbärä tabotat* in Ethiopia. He says that the Lalibäla type is in the second stage and preceded by the oldest types of Gundufu Maryam near Aṣbi and in Dəgum; also in East-Təgray churches such as Zarema Giyorgis, Agobo Qirqos, Däbrä Sälam Mika'el. They were small, rather carefully crafted, adorned with carvings and angle ornaments, had four legs ensconced into holes.

33 They are known from Lalibäla, Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church near Lalibäla, Zoz Amba, a church in Bäläsa, and Maryam Aba'o church near Dära, Təgray, though surely there must be others elsewhere as well (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 31 and 230, note 3).

establishment of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270, the following period witnessed a greater variety in *mānbärä tabot* form and decoration.³⁴ The second type, the usual *mānbärä tabotat* in use today, is much taller and bigger, a sort of stand or cupboard with shelves for storing the *tabot* and various liturgical books and instruments, with pillared and domed canopies on top, and coverings of drapery. This type was usual by Alvares' time in the 1520s, and is still in use. Fritsch (2010: 805) mentions that the *mānbärä tabot* of Gunda Gunde (in the late 15th cent.) preserves paintings. He also remarks that the *mānbärä tabot* of Ašätān Maryam and Guya Abunä Täklä Haymanot are made of wrought iron.

The *mānbärä tabot* is covered with a ceremonial cloth, and its three windows³⁵ are covered with curtains. The fourth side³⁶ should be fitted with the picture of ምስለ፡ ፍቅር፡ ወልዳ፡ '[St. Mary] with Her Beloved Son'.

2 When Did the *Tabot* Originate in EOTC Tradition?

Based on the narration of KN, the EOTC strongly claims that the Ark of the Covenant came to Axum during the time of Mənilək I.³⁷ After the advent of Christ, the service of the *tabot* continued, but a new form was given to the OT usage of the Ark.³⁸ Munro-Hay (2006: 47) explains about NT application of *tabot* in Ethiopia that 'The *tabotat* in all the churches of Ethiopia are merely images of this single tablet [*ṣəllatä Muse*] with the difference that *tabotat* are NT versions, created with Christian symbolism'. Ayalew Tamiru (1977/1978 [EC 1970]: 198–199) states what the EOTC believes regarding the use of *tabot* and why the Church maintains it:

... ኢትዮጵያ በቀዳማዊ ምኒልክ ዘመነ መንግሥት ለሕገ ልቡና አጋዥ ሕገ መጽሐፍን ለእምነቷ ምስክር ታቦተ ጽዮንን ሕግን የሚያስተምሩ ካህናት ሌዋውያንን አግኝታ በቤተ መንግሥቷ ጎን ቤተ ክህነቷን አቋቋመች። ... ጽላትና ወንጌል በአንድነት የእግዚአብሔርን አምልኮት በኢትዮጵያ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ሲመሰክሩ እንዲኖሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ሊቃውንት በስምምነት አጽንተዋል። ይኸውም በሙሉ ዓለም የነበረችው አንዲት ቤተ ክርስቲያን

34 Cf. Fritsch 2010: 805.

35 Southern, northern and eastern sides.

36 Western side.

37 The reign of Mənilək I is considered to have been ca. 982–957 BC (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 232, note 23; Budge 1928: 204). The supposed resting place of the Ark of the Covenant, Axum, however, had not been found in the time of Solomon (cf. Cornuke 2005: 246 and Hancock 1992: 150).

38 Cf. Pedersen 2000: 215.

ስትሠራበት የነበረ ለመሆኑ በፍትሐ ነገሥት በአንቀጽ ቀዳማዊ ውሳኔ በጉባዔ ጸንቶ ይገኛል።
 ቤተ ክርስቲያን ተከፍላ ከአንድነት ወደ ሁለትነት ከደረሰችበት ጊዜ ወዲህ ግን አብያተ
 ክርስቲያናት ጽላትን ትተዋል ይባላል። የኢትዮጵያ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ብቻ የመጀመሪያውን
 ዓላማ ሳትለውጥ እስከ ዛሬ ትሠራበታለች።

... Ethiopia received the Law of Book for the help of Law of Conscience [lit. heart], Ark of Zion³⁹ for the testimony of her Faith, [and also] Levite-priests for the teaching of the Law, during the reign of Mənilək I [and] established its house of priesthood beside to its Palace ... Ethiopian scholars confirmed in harmony that the Tablet and the Gospel testify together to the worship of the Lord in the church of Ethiopia. And this was in the One Church, in the whole world; and this is found in the first chapter of *Fəṭha Nəgäśt*.⁴⁰ However, since the time that the church was divided into two from one, it is said that [other] churches have abandoned the Tablet. Without altering the original objective, only the Ethiopian Church (still) observes it until today.

Translation, mine

Modern scholars hesitate to accept this view. They say ‘There is no evidence for the use of *tabot* in Aksumite times’ (Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 254).⁴¹ However, evidence does exist, state the above authors, for the use of wooden altar slabs in other Oriental Churches. The description goes as follows:

The Syrian Orthodox and Coptic churches both used wooden altar slabs or portable⁴² consecrated altars at an early date. It is still Coptic practice to set a consecrated altar board into the top of the altar. Known as the *maqṭ*, this is a rectangular panel placed in a special slot on the surface of

39 It is stated that the Ark of the Covenant in the time of Alvares and Emperor Iyasu I had seven bolts (cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 543, Guidi 1961: 151 (*text*), Munro-Hay 2006: 136).

40 *Fəṭha Nəgäśt*, ‘The Law of the kings’ chapter one, about the Church and related matters. The *Fəṭha Nəgäśt* comprises 51 chapters divided into two sections: spiritual and secular. The first 22 chapters belong to the spiritual section and the last 29 chapters contain secular matters. Cf. Guidi 1897: 14–16 and Paulos Tzadua 1968.

41 However, on the next page of the same source, the authors assume the probability of such a practice during the Axumite period (cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 255).

42 The Ethiopian *tabots*, on the other hand, are not portable. Of course, the *tabot* is carried on the head during ceremonial processions and hagiographies occasionally mention that monks who founded monasteries had *tabotat* in their baggage.

the altar as a substitute reliquary. It is usually decorated with a cross and in the four squares formed by the arms of the cross Greek letters form an abbreviation of the divine name: 'Jesus Christ Son of God'. While it only occupies a small area of the whole surface of the altar, the *maqṭ* is the most important element. The paten and the chalice will be placed on it when the liturgy is celebrated. If a properly consecrated altar is not available, the *maqṭ* itself can be used to celebrate the liturgy.

GRIERSON and MUNRO-HAY 1999: 254

According to Munro-Hay (2006: 29), the *tabot* developed out of the Coptic church's use of the altar board called a *maqṭa* probably in the period of increasing isolation even from Egypt after the consolidation of Islamic states largely cut Ethiopia off from the Christian world. He continues: 'In Egypt, this consecrated board is set into the altar and serves the same purpose as the *tabot*: the chalice and the paten for the wine and bread of the Eucharist are placed upon it. The use of the altar board must have been perfectly acceptable to the Egyptian bishops who succeeded as heads of the church in Ethiopia over the centuries, since they consecrated the *tabotat*'.

Gorgoryos (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 95) states that other Oriental and Byzantine Orthodox churches have the same tradition of using *tabot* for offering the Holy Communion. Rodinson (1964: 243) in his review of Ullendorff affirms that the Ethiopian *tabot* is similar to that of the Orient, especially the Coptic one. He says: 'The Ethiopian object is strictly analogous to the Christian altar table. This takes forms in the East which, in the Coptic Church in particular, are very close to that of the Ethiopian *tabot*'. Since the EOTC was under the Coptic Patriarchate until 1959 it is obvious that it would share various ritual practices and canons with the Coptic Church. Hence there is no reason to assume that Axumite liturgical practice would have deviated from that of Alexandria.⁴³

The *tabot* is popularly envisaged nowadays as a replica or representation of the Ark of the Covenant—or, perhaps, more strictly, of the tablets of the Law—at Axum.⁴⁴ This sort of symbolism means that there are many thousands of *tabots*, since every church has at least one. 'The supreme model of the *tabot*' writes Munro-Hay (2006: 29), 'remains the mysterious relic at Aksum, somehow supposed to be both the Ark and the Tablets of the Law. All others are considered to be replicas of this one'. Here it is fitting to quote the concluding sentence of Hancock (1992: 514) as to why Ethiopians make multiple *tabots*:

43 This idea is also substantiated by Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 255).

44 Cf. Brown 1964: 11.

‘For the Ethiopians know that if you want to hide a tree you must place it in a forest. And what else are the replicas that they venerate in twenty thousand⁴⁵ churches if not a veritable forest of signs?’

The Ethiopian Church commentary (Tinsae Publishing Agency 2006/2007 [EC 1999]: 153) to the Book of Exodus (chapter 25:9)⁴⁶ states how the Lord ordered Moses to make the Ark:

ወግበር፡ ታቦተ፡ ዘመርጡል፡ እምዕዕ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ፡ ዘካዕበ፡ እመት፡ ወመንፈቀ፡ እመት፡ ኑኃ፡ /ኑኑ፡/ እመት፡ ወመንፈቀ፡ እመት፡ ራኅባ፡ /ራኅቡ፡/ እመት፡ ወመንፈቀ፡ እመት፡ ቆማ፡ /ቆሙ፡/ ... ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፡ ቁመቷ፤ ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፡ ወርዷ፤ ሁለት ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፡ አቆልቋዩዋ፤ የሚሆን፡ ከማይነቅዝ፡ ሸምሸርሰጢን፡ ከሚባል፡ ዕንጨት፡ ቁርጠህ፡ ታቦትን፡ ሥራልኝ፡ አለው። አንድም፡ ዕዕ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ፡ ይላል፤ ከዚያም፡ ራኅባ፡ ባለው፡ ጽፍሐ፡ /ጽሑፍ፡/ ይላል፤ ሸምሸርሰጢን፡ የሚባል፡ የማይነቅዘውን፡ ዕንጨት፡ ቁርጠህ፡ አቆልቋዩዋ፤ ሁለት፡ ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፤ ወርዷ፡ ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፤ ቁመቷ፡ ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፡ የሚሆን፡ ታቦትን፡ ሥራልኝ፡ አለው። ዘመርጡል፡ ዘመን፡ ዘስምዕ፡ ዘሕግ፡ ዘሥርዓት፡ ዘርስት፡ ዘምዕዋድ፡ ዘዑደት (sic)። ዘመርጡል፡ አላት፡ ሰቀልኛ፡ ናትና፤ ዘመን፡ አላት፡ በዘመነ፡ ሙሴ፡ ተሠርታለችና፤ ዘስምዕ፡ አላት፡ አምልኮቱ፡ ይመስርባታልና። (sic) ጸንቶባት፡ ይኖራልና፤ ዘሕግ፡ ዘሥርዓት፡ አላት፡ ሕጉ፡ ተነግሮባታል፡ ሥርዓቱ፡ ተፈጽሞባታልና፤ ዘርስት፡ አላት፡ ምድረ፡ ርስት፡ ገብተውባታልና፡ /ምድረ፡ ርስትን፡ ወርሰውባታልና፡/፤ ዘምዕዋድ፡ አላት፡ ከብበዋት፡ ይሠፍራሉና፤ ዘዑደት፡ አላት፡ ይዘዋት፡ ይዞራሉና።

‘... And make the Ark of the Tabernacle from acacia wood; two cubits and a half its length, a cubit and a half its breadth, ... a cubit and a half its height; He told him (Moses) ‘make me an Ark cutting acacia wood (lit. ‘unspoiled wood’), called *Šāmsärsäṭin*,⁴⁷ its size shall be a cubit and a half its height, a cubit and a half its breadth, two cubits and a half its length’. *Andām*⁴⁸ it says unspoiled wood. Then, it says *ṣəḥḥa* (*ṣəḥhu*) instead of

45 The EOTC claims currently there are more than thirty thousand churches and one thousand monasteries in the country.

46 In other versions verse 10 (Exod. 25:10).

47 Also called ‘Shittim wood’, an incorruptible acacia (cf. Charles Léon Souvay, ‘Ark’, in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 1913, online edition: http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_%281913%29/Ark_17/01/2015).

48 **አንድም**: *andām* ‘and (there is) one (who says)’ is the common terminology for giving alternative views on the same verse/phrase. Some schools of Biblical commentary use **ቦ**: ‘bo’ ‘there is (also)’ to convey the same meaning. The *andām* contains three strands: the Ge‘ez text (*zär* or *nəbab*), its Amharic translation (*zäybe*), and the commentary proper (*tərgʷame* or *ḥatäta*). Böll (1994: 597) suggests a fourth possibility called *mässale* ‘example’ to the above three strands of *andāmta*. (For a detailed analysis on the subject, cf. Cowley

raḥba.⁴⁹ He said to him that '[After] Cutting the unspoiled wood called *Šāmšärsäṭin*, make Me an Ark in the [following] size: her length two cubits and a half, its height a cubit and a half, its breadth a cubit and a half'. [He said] '*zāmārtul*' of the Tabernacle', *zāzāmān* 'of the time', *zāsəm* 'of the testimony', *zähəgg* 'of the Law', *zäsər'at* 'of the Ordinance', *zärəst* 'of the inheritance', *zāmə'wad* 'of the periphery', *zä'udät* 'of the procession'. He said *zāmārtul* for she is rectangular [in size]; He said *zāzāmān* for she is built up in the time of Moses; He said *zāsəm* for His worship will be declared [and] will dwell forever inside her; He said *zähəgg*, *zäsər'at* for His Law is being proclaimed [and] His ordinance is being performed inside her; He said *zärəst* for they entered into the Land of Inheritance through her; He said *zāmə'wad* for they shall settle in encamping her; He said *zä'udät* for they shall proceed by carrying her'.

Translation, mine

The Ark of the Covenant is expressed by various terms in the Bible: 'The Ark of Testimony' (Exod. 25: 22; 26:33, 30:26), 'The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord' (Num. 10:33; Deut. 10:8), 'The Ark of the Covenant' (Josh. 3:6), 'The Ark of God' (1Sam. 3:3), 'The Ark of the Lord' (1Sam. 4:6).⁵⁰ Among these, the expression 'Ark of the Covenant' (abbreviated as AC) has become most familiar in English. The chest was 2.5 cubits in length and 1.5 cubits in breadth and height.⁵¹ There is an allegorical interpretation of the size of the *tabot*, according to the commentary tradition of the EOTC (1932/1933 [EC 1925]: 123–126):⁵² 2.5 cubits in length signifies the time from Adam to Noah (2256 years), at the end of which the semblance of the Virgin, the Ark of Noah, appeared; 1.5 cubits in breadth indicates the time from Noah to Moses (1600 years), in whose time the Ark of the Covenant, the image of the Virgin Mary was given; and 1.5 cubits in height

1983; 3 ff.; Säyfa Šəllase 2007: 174–209; 2011: 13–25; 2011: 27–54). Cowley (1971a: 9–20, here pp. 17–18) lists 13 methods of interpretation used in the *andəmta*.

49 Both words (*ṣəḥḥa* and *raḥba*) have the same meaning 'her breadth' (cf. Leslau 1987: 466, 548).

50 Also termed in Ethiopic: ቅዱስ: ሕግ: 'Ark of the Law'.

51 The Bible gives its dimensions in cubits. We do not know exactly how long the cubit used by the Hebrews was. If we use the ancient Egyptian value of 524 mm used in the pyramids, then in modern units the Ark would have been about 130 × 80 × 80 cms, about the size of a modern chest freezer. Peake's Commentary of the Bible (Black and Rowley 1962: 234) suggests its equivalent size in feet: 3¾ by 2¼ by 2¼ feet. Some give the equivalent size of the Ark of the Covenant as 45 × 27 × 27 inches (cf. Cross 2005: 211).

52 Cf. Commentary of ውዳሴ: ማርያም: ስላሳተ: ክርስቲያን: 'Praise of Mary on Sundays'.

signifies the time from Moses to St. Mary (1600 years), at the end of which the true Ark of the Lord, Virgin Mary, was born.

With regard to the resemblance of the Ark to the Purity of Virgin Mary, *Mäṣḥafä Məstir*⁵³ states:

እምቅድመ፡ የሀብ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሙሴ፡ አራተ፡ በጽላተ፡ ሰማይ፡ አዘዞ፡ ለሙሴ፡
ከመ፡ ያስተዳሉ፡ ላቲ፡ ታቦተ፡ ለሙዳያ፡ ከማሁ፡ አስተዳለዋ፡ ለድንግል፡ ከመ፡ ትኩን፡
ስርጉተ፡ በቅድስና፡ ወበንጽሕ።

The Lord, before giving the Law in the Heavenly Tablet to Moses, commanded Moses to prepare the Ark for Her receptacle. In the same manner, He prepared the Virgin to be adorned in Sanctity and Purity.

Translation, mine

3 The Ethiopian Claim for Possession of the Ark

The account of *Kəbrä Nägästä* (KN) on the coming of the Ark of the Covenant is the basis of the Ethiopian claim for possession of the Ark. KN states that Mənilək and the young children of Israel duly departed from the Holy Land, but before doing so they are said to have purloined the Ark of the Covenant, which they carried with them to Ethiopia as they ‘could not live without it’.⁵⁴ Towards the end of KN,⁵⁵ the superiority of Ethiopia is stated by the fathers, as well as by Gregory the Illuminator, asserting that the Ark of the Covenant will remain in Ethiopia until the second coming of Christ. KN ch. 113 says that the Ethiopian kings have become glorious and great due to the Ark of Zion, as the kings of Rome became glorious by the nails [of the Cross] that Helena made into a bridle, which is called the vanquisher of the enemy of Rome.⁵⁶

Mary Zion of Axum is unique by virtue of its claim to preserve the original Ark of the Covenant. The annual feast of *Ḥədar* Zion, also called *Däbrä Şəyon*,⁵⁷ is colorfully celebrated at Axum. According to the teaching of the EOTC, it was on *Ḥədar* 21 that the Ark of the Covenant came to Ethiopia. Numerous pilgrims

53 Edited by Yaqob Beyene 1990: 373.

54 Cf. Pankhurst 1987–1988: 28.

55 KN chs. 113–116. Other Ethiopian illuminated manuscripts also present this tradition. Raineri (2008) presents 66 plates on the Solomon-Sheba legend including the transportation of the AC to Axum.

56 Cf. Bowersock 2008: 383–393; Marrassini 2007: 365; Amsalu Tefera 2009.

57 Fritsch and Zanetti 2003: 671.

and tourists come and many Ethiopians from the Diaspora attend the feast. The church rituals, the Yaredic hymns (*Mahlet*) in the newly built Church and Fasil's church, the reading⁵⁸ of *Dərsanä Šəyon* in front of *Īnda Šəllat*, and the devotion of the faithful are truly remarkable.

Several researchers from different disciplines dedicated their time to exploring and studying the Ark of the Covenant. The following pages briefly present prominent figures of the last 800 years and their accounts.

1) **Abū Šālih** al-Armanī, geographer and writer (13th cent. AD), an Armenian Christian living in Egypt, is the first person to state clearly that the Ark of the Covenant was in Ethiopia.⁵⁹ He states:

The Abyssinians possess the Ark of the Covenant, in which are the two tablets of stone, inscribed by the finger of God with the commandments which [He] ordained for the children of Israel. The Ark of the Covenant is placed upon the altar, but is not so wide as the altar; it is as high as the knee of a man, and is overlaid with gold; and upon its lid there are crosses of gold; and there are five precious stones upon it, one at each of the four corners, and one in the middle. The liturgy is celebrated upon the Ark four times in the year, within the palace of the king; and a canopy is spread over it when it is taken out from [its own] church to the church which is in the palace of the king.⁶⁰

This sounds exactly like the sort of procession still seen regularly at church festivals in Ethiopia today, when the *tabot* is carried out from a church. Munro-Hay (2003: 340), commenting on this claim, remarks that 'No reliable evidence testifies to the existence of this object in Aksumite times and the first mention of a claim to the AC in Ethiopia occurs in Abū Šālih's work (in 13th cent.)'.

2) **Francisco Alvares** was the chaplain of the first Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia from 1520–1526. His book, entitled 'The Prester John of the Indies: A True Relation of the Lands of Prester John, being the narrative of the Portuguese

58 For the photo depicting the reading ceremony of DŠ at Axum, cf. figure 5.

59 He adds, however, that it was lodged in the Ethiopian royal city, which was then Adāfa (Lalibāla) in Lasta, not Axum in Tigray (Munro-Hay 2006: 75–76).

60 Evetts 1895: 287, see also Ullendorff 1968: 26; Pankhurst 1987–1988: 29; Hancock 1992: 128. But current researchers doubt the authorship of Abū Šālih to the famous description of 'The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries' (cf. Franz-Christoph Muth 2003: 54–55).

Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520' was translated and edited by Beckingham and Huntingford in two volumes.⁶¹ The book is universally regarded by scholars as being 'of great interest ... incomparably detailed [and] a very important source for Ethiopian history'.⁶² Alvares describes the old church at Axum with altar stone from Mount Zion.⁶³ He travelled across Ethiopia, recorded references to the Queen of Sheba as an Ethiopian sovereign, Makədda.⁶⁴ He also states the restriction of laymen (both men and women) to the outer part of the church in his time: 'Neither women nor laymen go into the enclosure of this church, and they do not go in to receive the communion ...'.⁶⁵

3) **Šihābaddīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdalqādir**, nicknamed **Arab-Faqih**, noted in his book *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*⁶⁶ that Emperor Ləbnä Dəngəl marched to Axum with his nobles and troops during the invasion of Ethiopia mounted by Imam Ahmad (Garañ). Then, 'The king [Ləbnä Dəngəl] ordered 'the great idol' to be brought from the church of Axum', says Arab-Faqih. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 283) describe the account: 'It was apparently a white stone encrusted with gold, so large that it could not be carried through the door of the church. A hole the size of the idol had to be opened, and 400 men were needed to carry it. They took 'the idol' to the country of Shire, where it was stored in a fortress'.

4) **Manoel de Almeida** was a Jesuit missionary to Ethiopia in the 17th century. Describing his account, Munro-Hay (2006: 118) says: 'It is now, for the first time that the Jesuits begin specifically to cite the Ethiopian claim for material possession of the Ark of the Covenant'. In a Jesuit annual letter from Ethiopia for March 1626–1627, Manoel records some comments about the Ark in his time. He says:

A casket that they call *tabot* of Sion [Zion], that is to say Ark of the Covenant brought from Mount Sion; and they are so devoted to this that

61 Alvares' book, first published as *Ho Prester João das Índias*, in Lisbon in 1540, was translated into Spanish as *Historia de las cosas de Ethiopia* in 1557, in Antwerp; another Spanish version appeared in Toledo in 1588, and there was also a Zaragoza edition in 1561. The French version was published in Antwerp in 1558.

62 Beckingham and Huntingford 1958: 11–12, Hancock 1992: 118.

63 Munro-Hay 2006: 267, 102.

64 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 20.

65 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1958: 161.

66 Cf. Paulitschke 1898, here pp. 354–355; cf. also Basset 1897.

all the altar stones they call *tabot*. And in the principal churches the altars were as all the churches had in ancient times, made in the form of boxes.⁶⁷

This casket, *Tabotä Şayon*, was in Almeida's opinion, the thing from which all other *tabotat* derived their name. He asserts that Emperor Susneyos, at the time of his coronation at this church, was insistent that he be allowed to look inside the *tabot*; but the *dabtaras* did not permit it. Later, some zealous priests, 'obstinate in their errors', seeing that the Catholic faith was gaining, took the *tabot* and other precious things and fled, hiding them until the persecutions passed. The Catholics meanwhile removed the *mānbärä tabot*, the tabernacle of the church, which they sent to the Jesuit centre at Maigoga (Mai G'wag'wa) or Fremona ('Adwa) so that it might not be replaced, and installed an altar to their own specifications.

5) **Alfonso Mendes and Balthazar Telles.**⁶⁸—Telles wrote long after the Catholics had been driven from Ethiopia. He cited a note, differing from all previous accounts, written about 1655 by Patriarch Mendes on the theme of the mysterious tablet at Axum. 'For Mendes', states Munro-Hay (2006: 122), 'the sacred relic is not of stone as Alvares and Shihab al-Din had suggested. Nor did the patriarch agree with the accounts of two of his own Jesuit colleagues who had been with him in Ethiopia'.

Telles⁶⁹ argues that the Ethiopian Ark was made of wood, not of stone. The following paragraph is cited from the English translation of his book:

A similar tale, which the Ethiopian historians recount and which is widely believed among them, is that one of the Tablets of the Law is the altar stone of the church of Aksum, which was in the past the capital of Ethiopia

67 Quoted from Munro-Hay 2006: 118. See also Beckingham and Huntingford (1954).

68 Telles was another Portuguese Jesuit ecclesiastic, who had not, however, been in Ethiopia. He wrote a book on *Historia general de Ethiopia a alta*, published in 1660. An English edition followed in 1710 as *The travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London. However I could not access this book.

69 Hancock (1992: 458) mentions Telles's testimony on the presence of Jews in Ethiopia since early times. Hancock in turn cites S. Mendelssohn and says 'There were always Jews in Ethiopia, from the beginning', wrote the Portuguese Jesuit Balthazar Tellez in the seventeenth century. In this judgement he was, I suspect, far closer to the truth than those modern scholars who ascribe a relatively late date to the arrival of Judaism—and who seem to be completely blind to all the evidence that runs contrary to their own prejudices'.

and the Seat of the Patriarchate; they say that even today this persists; and further, that it is a tablet and of a very precious wood. However, if it were one of the Tablets of the Law, which were in the Ark of the Covenant, it could not be of wood, because the Tablets which God gave to Moses, whether the first or the second, were tablets of stone. Hence it is obviously a complete fiction to assert that there were tablets of wood in the Ark and that one of them is in Aksum.⁷⁰

6) **James Bruce.**—In the 1770s, the Scottish traveller James Bruce came to Ethiopia, where he lived for several years, interesting himself in all aspects of Ethiopian life, history and legend. Hancock suggests that the purpose of the coming of Bruce to Ethiopia was no more than a masquerade. Hancock⁷¹ suggests that as a freemason, and therefore member of a body that possessed some of the secrets of the Knights Templar, Bruce's real aim in coming to Ethiopia was to seek out the Ark that the Templars had discovered there during Lalibäla's time. Munro-Hay (2006: 144) argues against Hancock's suggestion and remarks that: 'All in all, the evidence presented to suggest that Bruce was in Ethiopia primarily to observe the Ark is strikingly feeble'. Hancock says that Bruce did not in fact regard the Ethiopian tradition of Mənilək, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba as a 'fabulous legend'. Hancock (1992: 180) states his conclusion on Bruce's travel to Ethiopia: 'To find the source of the Nile did not stand up to close scrutiny and bore all the hallmarks of a 'cover story' intended to veil the real object of his quest. Moreover, his evasiveness on the subject of the Ark itself was most peculiar and really only made sense if he had indeed had a special interest in it—an interest that he had wanted to keep it secret'. Furthermore, Bruce attended the *Ṭəmḳāt* ceremonies on 18 and 19 January 1770 at Axum and, as Hancock (1992: 238) imagines, he did so in order to get as close as possible to the Ark of the Covenant.

Bruce took back precious Ethiopic manuscripts: two copies of *Kəbrä Nəgäšt*, the Book of Henok⁷² and two principal documents of Iyasu's life⁷³ to Europe. Then he gave the manuscripts to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Bruce claimed that when he was in Ethiopia King Täklä Haymanot II (1769–1777) told him concerning the Ark that 'Whatever this might be it was destroyed, with the church itself, by Mahomet (sic) Gragh, though pretended

70 Cited from Munro-Hay 2006: 122.

71 Cf. Hancock 1992: 179.

72 Both items from the imperial repository at Gondär.

73 The full chronicle of Iyasu and the abbreviated one.

falsely to subsist there still'.⁷⁴ The king may perhaps have told him so, but it seems unlikely to have been true.

7) **Yohānnəs Tovmacean**⁷⁵ and **R.P. Dimotheos**—These two Armenians, who lived a century apart, claim to have actually seen the Ark, or rather the tablet of the Law contained in it. The Armenian merchant Tovmacean saw the relic in 1764, when he went to look at the church in 'Saba', his name for Axum. The following narration by Tovmacean on the great Ethiopian relic is cited from Munro-Hay (2006: 142).

There was also a large and ancient Abyssinian church where they said a piece of the stone tablet of the Ten Commandments carried by Moses had been preserved, and they took Tovmacean and Bijo (his companion) into the church, and showed him a closed altar said to contain this tablet of the Ten Commandments, but they refrained from opening it. However, on the insistence of Bijo, who claimed that he was a relative of the King, they very hesitatingly obliged. They took out a parcel wrapped in cloth, and began ceremoniously to unwrap it. There was a packet wrapped in another parcel of velvet, and it was not until they had removed a hundred such wrappings that they at last took out a piece of stone with a few incomplete letters on it, and, kneeling, they made the sign of the Cross, and kissed the stone, after which the object was again wrapped up, and put back into the altar which was then closed. This was a great relic—if it was indeed a piece of the tablet of the Ten Commandments which God gave to Moses.

However, Munro-Hay is skeptical about the account of Tovmacean's visit to the original Ark of the Covenant. He says, 'The stone Tovmacean saw could have been a fragment of an old inscription, or possibly an old (broken?) *tabot*, still treated with reverence'.

Dimotheos was a legate from the Armenian Patriarch to Emperor Tewodros. As such, he had heard that there was supposed to be a holy relic of importance

74 Quoted from Munro-Hay 2006: 145.

75 Tovmacean was born in Constantinople in 1717 and was taken by his father to Venice in 1732 and enrolled in the Armenian monastery there. Pankhurst (1982: 79) states about him that he subsequently became a merchant and travelled widely selling jewels. He brought jewels to Ethiopia to sell to the imperial family. Munro-Hay (2006: 141) reports that 'He was discouraged to find that in return for his gifts to the Empress Məntəwwab and her grandson Iyo'as, he got nothing more than some animals and chickens, and a house in the palace compound bare of anything save one small carpet'.

in the church. He also adds a new twist, that the stone was supposed to be the tablet of the Ten Commandments brought by Mənilək, but that it had also been taken back to Jerusalem to be authenticated by Jesus Himself. His account is quoted from Munro-Hay (2006: 147) as follows:

In Abyssinia they have very great veneration for a certain tablet in stone, which is called the Tablet of the Ten Commandments, and which the people of the land believe to be the same that the Lord gave to the prophet Moses, which, according to them, was brought there from Jerusalem during the reign of Minilik, first king of Ethiopia. At the time of Jesus Christ, they say a certain individual called Ezekiel, a pious and inspired man, took this Tablet with him to Jerusalem, and presenting himself to Jesus Christ, said to him: 'What is your advice about the divine commandments written on this tablet? Should they be accepted or not?' Then Jesus, without opening His mouth, took the Tablet in His Hands, and wrote on the other side in letters of gold. 'Accept everything which is written here'. Since then this Tablet has been regarded as having been written by God Himself.

Modern scholars tend to be skeptical of this claim as well. Hancock (1992: 124–125) reported the conversation of Sergew Hable Sellasie and Pankhurst as follows: 'What Dimotheos had seen', explained Sergew to Hancock 'is not the original Tabot of Moses'. Sergew continues 'To satisfy his wish the priests showed him a substitute—not the real one ... Here in Ethiopia it is normal for each church to have more than one Tabot ...' To a similar inquiry of Hancock's, Richard Pankhurst replied 'They wouldn't show such a sacred thing to any outsider. Besides, I have read Dimotheos's book and it's full of mistakes and misapprehensions'.

8) **Gerhard Rohlfs**—In 1881, the German envoy Rohlfs questioned the *nəburä ad* of Axum about the Ark, and whether it had been left undamaged by the Muslims' onslaught when the church was burnt in the 1530s. Rohlfs was assured that it was still in the church; not an ordinary copy, such as one could find in the Holy of Holies, but built into the church wall and accessible only by means of a secret door. Neither the clergy, Emperor, *Īčäge* nor even the *abun* could see it; they would not be able to bear the sight of it. Only the guardian and his successors were permitted to see it: 'So it [is] as thousands of years ago', declared the *nəburä ad* 'and so will it be until the last days'.⁷⁶

76 Cf. Rohlfs 1883, Munro-Hay 2006: 150.

9) In 1700, **C.J. Poncet**,⁷⁷ physician (for a time) to Iyasu I, passed through Axum in transit to Gondär. He described the church of Maryam Şəyon briefly, but provided no useful information about it.

10) **Theodore Vestal**—A recent claim of seeing the ‘Ark’ is given by Vestal.⁷⁸ He was an Armenian, working in Ethiopia in 1965. While in Axum, he paid a visit to the church of Maryam Şəyon. While standing outside the church, without any request from him, he was brought a fair-sized (estimated ca. 60 cm. long × 45 cm. wide × 35 cm. tall), dark-coloured, wooden chest. The priests explained to him that it was the Ark of the Covenant. However, what he was shown may have been a normal *tabot*.

11) **Graham Hancock** has exerted much effort to determine the fate of the Ark. His voluminous and well-known book *The Sign and the Seal* has greatly popularized the Ethiopian claim. Munro-Hay (2006: 157) states: ‘Graham Hancock’s popularisation of Aksum and its church has encouraged more visitors, some specifically intent on asking awkward questions about the Ark of the Covenant’. Cornuke (2005: 224) speaking of the indifference of the Axumite monks also comments on Hancock as follows:

Their indifference is limitless. I think they hope that the world doesn’t believe them because they want to be left alone. But westerners want answers. We want proof, and we demand an accounting for their claim that they have the Ark. They never promoted the idea in the first place; Graham Hancock and I, as well as many other people, have done that.

Hancock went extensively to Ethiopia in quest of the Ark of the Covenant. He interviewed the guardian of the Ark and other church officials about the presence of the AC in Axum. He also travelled to Tana Qirqos Monastery and Lake Zəway Däbrä Şəyon monastery. He recorded and discussed all the responses related to the AC in his book.

His book commences with an interview he had with the then-guardian of the Ark of the Covenant, *abba* Gäbrä Mika’el, at Axum. He asked: ‘I have heard of an Ethiopian tradition that the Ark of the Covenant is kept here ... in this chapel. I have also heard that you are the guardian of the Ark. Are these things

⁷⁷ Quoted in William Foster 1949.

⁷⁸ Personal interview of Munro-Hay with Theodore Vestal at the XIII International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held at Kyoto, Japan, 1997 (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 150).

true?' The monk said 'They are true'. Hancock was not satisfied with such a short answer and added: 'But in other countries nobody believes these stories. Few knew about your traditions anyway, but those who do say that they are false'. Then the guardian responded to him: 'People may believe what they wish. People may say what they wish. Nevertheless we do possess the sacred Tabot, that is to say the Ark of the Covenant, and I am its guardian'. The guardian monk then related a similar story to that of KN and said that the Ark was brought by King Mənilək I directly to Axum. 'Are you telling me that this legend is literally true?' asked Hancock. 'It is not a legend. It is history' the monk replied. 'How can you be so sure of that?' asked Hancock again. Finally the monk responded 'Because I am the guardian. I know the nature of the object that has been placed in my care'. For Hancock, the dialogue was bizarre and difficult to accept.⁷⁹

After intensive reading, discussion with different authorities and research, Hancock revisited Axum, intending to meet the *nəburä əd* to get permission to see the Ark. But he was told that the *nəburä əd* was out of Axum for administrative reasons. So he was unable to see the Ark. The deputy head of the Cathedral was not in a position to grant his request.⁸⁰

While doing his research in Ethiopia in the 1980s, Hancock went to Ṭana Qirqos with Prof. Pankhurst and found strange archaic traditions. He is certain that the Ark of the Covenant had first been brought there before being taken to Axum.⁸¹ He had a discussion with Mhr. Fəśśəḥa, a senior monk in the monastery. The monk replied to Hancock's question as to how the Ark of the Covenant had come to be in this island monastery. He says: 'The Ark was here. But it is not here any longer. It has been taken to Axum'. Hancock asked the monk for further explanation: 'Then back to Axum! When? When did they take it?' Mhr. Fəśśəḥa then said: 'The Ark was taken to Axum one thousand and six hundred years ago, in the time of 'Ezana. It was not taken back. It was simply taken there, and it has stayed there ever since'. He summarized Ṭana's tradition that the Ark was brought by Menelik I and his companions. But they did not bring it directly to Ethiopia. Instead they went to Egypt. Then they followed the Nile and afterwards its tributary Təkkäze until they reached Ethiopia. In this way they came to Ṭana, to its eastern shore, and they chose this island, now called Ṭana Qirqos, as the resting place for the Ark. The Ark, according to Ṭana

79 Cf. Hancock 1992: 3–6.

80 Cf. Hancock 1992: 510–512.

81 Cf. Hancock 1992: 211 ff., 235.

tradition, stayed there for eight hundred years.⁸² But it has never come back to that island, says Mhr. Fəśśəḥa. Hancock (1992: 216) also noted that there is still a large bowl called Gomer found in Ṭana Qirqos, in which the sacrificial blood was first collected.

In Zəway Hancock met *abba* Gäbrä Krəstos, a senior monk, and inquired 'How was the Ark of the Covenant abducted by Mənilək to Ethiopia?' The monk replied with the story in the KN. Hancock (1992: 227–228) then asked how the Ark was brought to Zəway which is geographically very far from Axum. Then the monk replied 'At the time of Gudīt the Ark was brought here from Axum ... Gudīt was a devil. She burned many churches in Təgray and in other regions of Ethiopia. It was a time of great fighting, great danger. Our forefathers were very much afraid that she would capture the Ark. So they brought it out of Axum and they carried it to Zwai where they knew that it would be safe. They travelled only by night, hiding by day in forests and in caves. They were very much afraid, I tell you! But in this way they evaded her soldiers and they brought the Ark to Zwai and to this island'. The monk also said that the Ark remained at Zəway for seventy-two years and then was returned to Axum.

12) **Robert Cornuke**, the American explorer and legend chaser, has published a book *Relic Quest*. He applies various means and tries to study about the Ark of the Covenant. His views and assumptions are similar to those of Graham Hancock's, though the approach is different. He acknowledges the work of Hancock as follows:

Hancock's six hundred-page book traces the Ark of the Covenant from Solomon's Temple to Ethiopia. The Ethiopians claim that they still have it. The book's numbing details make it hard to read, but the author's unique investigative journalism pulled me along, and I came to appreciate his exhaustive work.

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'Could the Ark of the Covenant actually be in modern Ethiopia?' Cornuke asks, and continues:

82 Hancock (1992: 214) calculated the supposed date of the coming of the Ark to Ṭana as follows: if the Ark stayed at Ṭana for 800 years and if it was moved to Axum during the time of 'Ezana ca. 330 AD, then the Ark was brought to Ethiopia, Ṭana Qirqos in BC 470.

At first I dismissed the idea, yet as I waded deeper into *The Sign and the Seal*, my investigative mind softened to the amazing ideas Hancock proposed. A body of historical evidence emerged from his years of relentless research in Ethiopia, which seemed to cut a swath through layers of muddled traditions. His arguments gave some historical credibility to the idea that the holy box is in Ethiopia today.⁸³

In most cases, Cornuke drew his deductions in support of the Biblical analysis. In this case, he differs from Hancock, as he himself asserts: ‘Hancock is a noted journalist and investigator but he is far from being a biblical scholar’ (Cornuke 2005: 144). Cornuke is convinced that the last known reference to the Ark’s presence in the Temple was during Hezekiah’s reign. He asserts his views: ‘The Bible doesn’t explicitly say that the Ark was in the Temple. Hezekiah went up to the Temple and prayed this prayer before the Lord: ‘O Lord, God of Israel, you are enthroned between the mighty Cherubim! You alone are God of all the kingdoms of the earth’.⁸⁴ He continues, because the Bible declares that ‘the Lord dwells between the Cherubim’, and Hezekiah was praying to the Lord, whose manifested presence appeared above the Ark, it can be deduced that the Ark was then residing in the Temple (around 701 BC). However, the Ark was missing from the Temple prior to Josiah’s reign.⁸⁵ We know this because Josiah spoke to his priests and said, ‘Put the Holy Ark in the house which Solomon the son of David, king of Israel, built. It shall no longer be a burden on your shoulders. Now serve the Lord your God and His people Israel’.⁸⁶ Regarding the time of disappearance of AC from the Temple, Cornuke says: ‘It is clear that only two Kings reigned between Hezekiah and Josiah: viz: Manasseh (687–642 BC) and Amon (642–640 BC)’.⁸⁷

Cornuke traveled to Jerusalem, Cairo and Ethiopia (Axum and Tana Qirqos thrice).⁸⁸ In Jerusalem he asked the *Fälaša* priests, who told him the story of the AC journey: ‘For two hundred years, the Ark was in Egypt before continuing south to T’ana Kirkos Island. After another eight hundred years, the Ark was

83 Cornuke 2005: 145.

84 2 Kings 19:15.

85 Similarly D§ [§§ 112–113] affirms the presence of the Ark of the Covenant in Jerusalem until the destruction of the first Temple. According to the text the AC was concealed when the Chaldeans came bent on destruction.

86 2 Chron. 35:3.

87 Cornuke 2005: 199.

88 First in 1998, then in 2000 and finally in 2001. He also went to *Daga İstifanos* (founded by *abba* Hirutä Amlak in EC 1268) on his second trip (cf. Cornuke 2005: 208f.).

moved from T'ana Kirkos to Aksum by the Ethiopian king 'Ezana, and it remains there to this day'.⁸⁹ Then he met the Jewish social anthropologist, Dr. Shalva Weil at the Research Institute for Innovation and Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Weil describes 'The Ethiopian *Fālaša* Jews as modern descendants of OT Hebrews who travelled to Egypt centuries ago. After settling in Egypt for a time, they made their way south through Nubia (southern Egypt and northern Sudan) and eventually occupied northern Ethiopia'. When Cornuke asked her about the possibility that the Ark of the Covenant was taken by these Jews and was now resting at the chapel at Axum, she smiled, drew a deep breath, and said 'There is a very strong conviction that the Ethiopian Christians possess the Ark'.⁹⁰

Cornuke (2005: 202) analyzes the Biblical account in Chronicles⁹¹ and considers the narrations of the Egyptian Pharaoh Neco which relates that the Ark was moved to Egypt. The verse 'The God of Israel is with me ...' gives a clue for the removal of the Ark to Egypt before the time of Josiah. It is possible to assume that during Josiah's reign, the Ark and the Mercy Seat were in Neco's care. Subsequently Cornuke went to Cairo to search the AC and reached at the Elephantine Island in Egypt. He met Atif Hanna, of the Institute of Cairo Coptic Studies, and asked Hanna whether the AC came to Egypt or not. Then he explained to him:

The Ark of the Covenant moved from Jerusalem at the time of King Manasseh and came to Elephantine Island. Yes, the Ark of the Covenant remained here for some time at the Jewish Temple. In the third century before Christ, some of the Jewish Community moved south to Abyssinia or Ethiopia, and the Ark of the Covenant is, until now, in that area.⁹²

The Elephantine Hebrews clearly thought that YHWH resided physically in their temple. A number of Papyri speak of YHWH as 'dwelling' there.⁹³ *Jerusalem Report* (May 21, 1992) also asserts the presence of the Ark at Aswan. Cornuke (2005: 204) affirms that 'And if such a temple was built to house the Ark, it helped to explain the Ark's disappearance from Jerusalem in the early-to-mid-600s BC and why it didn't arrive in Ethiopia until approximately 470 BC'. One

89 Cf. Cornuke 2005: 197.

90 Cornuke 2005: 197.

91 Cf. 2 Chron. 35:20–27.

92 Cited from Cornuke 2005: 203–204.

93 Cf. Porten 1968: 109, 152.

can assume differently, but Cornuke (2005: 204–205) imagines ‘Had the Levites taken the Ark to Elephantine Island and placed it in a replica temple built especially to house it? And when Egyptian goodwill crumbled two hundred years later, did they then proceed south to Ethiopia and hide the Ark on T’ana Kirkos?’.

Cornuke is strongly convinced of the removal of the Ark from Jerusalem (6th–7th century BC). His research and analysis leads him to suppose the Ark first was housed in Elephantine in the Jewish temple there. Hanna confirms the existence of the Jewish temple in Elephantine. He says: ‘In 525 BC, a Persian king invaded Egypt and destroyed many Egyptian temples, but he did not touch a stone on the Jewish temple at Elephantine. The invader’s name was Cambyses, and his father was Cyrus the Great, the king who ordered that building begin on the Second Temple in Jerusalem. The Ark was never mentioned in the Bible again, because it came here to the Jewish temple at Elephantine.’⁹⁴ He also explains how this temple was built. The Jewish refugees constructed a temple whose dimensions and appearance—exterior pillars, gateways of stone, roof of cedar wood—were modeled precisely after Solomon’s Temple. ‘Papyrus records indicate that the Hebrews performed ritual animal sacrifices at the Elephantine temple just as in Jerusalem, including the all-important sacrifice of a lamb during Passover’ adds Dr. Hanna. The Elephantine temple of YHWH was destroyed in 410 BC, within sixty years of the date that legend says the Ark arrived in Ethiopia (around 470 BC). Hence Cornuke traveled extensively to Axum and Tana in pursuit of the Ark tradition. We will examine his account in two parts.

12.1) Axum Zion: Cornuke went to Axum twice in the hope of seeing the Ark with his own eyes. However, he was not allowed. Instead he proceeded with his quest by means of interviews and in-depth discussion with the concerned bodies. In his first visit, when he interviewed the *nəburä əd* of Axum, he got the reply ‘We are entrusted with guarding the Ark of the Covenant. It is our sacred mission to conceal its powers and protect its holiness’.

In his second visit he met a man named Haile, who was curator of the Museum of Axum. Haile promised him that he could enter to St. Mary’s chapel and obtain a detailed description of the various objects in the treasury there.⁹⁵ A year later, in his third trip to Axum, Cornuke also met Haile at Yeha Hotel. After greetings, Haile pulled him aside and whispered, ‘I have seen it. I have

94 Quoted from Cornuke 2005: 205.

95 Cornuke 2005: 207–208.

seen the Ark'. This was good news for Cornuke, though he was reluctant to believe it for the moment. He raised different questions to Haile as to how he could enter to the chapel and see the Ark. The following narration is abridged from their discussion.⁹⁶

Haile stated that he was accompanied by two monks. He described the Ark, its general size and appearance, closely matching the biblical description of a wooden box, covered with gold, its shape and dimensions well within known specifications. Cornuke asked Haile about the real presence of the Cherubim and he states 'The angels [Cherubim] had the faces of men, with their bodies stationed over the Ark'. Cornuke was very eager and asked 'What did the wings look like, Haile?' Then Haile began sketching on note pad the angels facing each other. They appeared with heads bowed, facing the top of the gold box. Haile then drew wings that resembled feathery arms, reverently extended to overshadow the Ark. Cornuke, with his friend, David Halbrook, asked him: 'Haile are you sure this is what the wings looked like?' 'Yes', he answered. Then without prompting, he added, 'As you can see, the wings could be where someone might sit. The mercy seat is a type of chair'.

Haile also said that he and the two monks had entered the church of the Ark for the official task of cataloguing some of the thousands of historical books, crosses, crowns, paintings, and manuscripts stored in the chapel's treasury basement. He explained that they had entered into the Most Holy Place, where in the darkness they could barely see a large stone chamber sitting on top of a stone pedestal, like a mausoleum vault, approximately five feet long and four feet high. The top of the structure was gabled, like the roof of a house. Then Halbrook asked Haile: 'Where was the Guardian? Isn't he the only one who ever sees the holy relic? How did you and these monks get past the guardian into the inner sanctum?' He responded with authority: 'We are allowed because of my appointment as a government official of the museum. Once a year I am obliged to inventory all the items in the church treasury'. 'Okay, Haile', sighed Cornuke and asked 'Once you entered the inner sanctuary, what did you do? What happened?' he replied 'It was very dark. One of the monks and I walked over and began to open up the stone vault housing the Ark. It was very heavy and hard to move. Once we slid it from its position, we noticed that there was a silver box inside, an ornate hand-engraved lining that surrounded and protected the Ark. We saw the Ark then ... and then we must have fallen down, for when I opened my eyes, we all lay on the floor. We lay there, unable to move.

96 Cf. Cornuke 2005: 217–224.

We had to be carried out by some monks'. This is Haile's account of what they had seen inside *Ānda Šallat*.⁹⁷

12.2) **Ṭana Qirqos**:⁹⁸ Visiting Ṭana, Cornuke became confident that the Ark had come to Ethiopia through Tanis, in Egypt, then following the Nile reached Ṭana and stayed there for eight hundred years before it was moved to Axum. He says that Judaism was practiced at the island monastery. He discusses important Judaic sacrificial materials, which signify that Ṭana Qirqos was the safe haven of the AC. He saw the following sacrifice elements:⁹⁹

Blood Altar—He says 'in both shape and size, the columns resembled the stone masseboth set up on high places in the earliest phases of the Hebrew religion. These ritual altars had served for sacrificial offering ceremonies much as Abba described'. He inquired of the monk, 'Where did the Ark sit?' The monk replied to him, 'The Ark sat here, on this ledge, so that the blood could also be sprinkled on the Tabernacle at the time of the sacrifice. This tradition has passed through the centuries'.

The socket hole—Cornuke also saw the socket hole for pitching and erecting the Tabernacle. He states that, 'It was hidden beneath centuries of decayed organic matter, where workers could have anchored a tent pole ... This is the place where the Tabernacle of the Ark had once stood'.

Gomer—According to the tradition of Ṭana, the ancient Hebrews who brought the Ark to the Lake called it a 'Gomer', a large basin, broad and shallow, approximately two feet wide and no more than a couple of inches deep. 'They used it', he mentions, 'up on the cliffs to collect the blood used in the ritual sacrifices. The priest would stir the blood in the basin to keep it from getting thick'.

Metal stand—The monk told Cornuke that there had once been a sturdy stand to hold the bronze bowl but had long since collapsed from metal fatigue and extreme age. It was used to scatter blood. It was an instrument for blood sacrifice.

Meat Forks and Almond Buds—This object, asserts Cornuke, is another Hebrew sacrificial implement used to burn sacrifices over ritual fires. He attempts to correlate it with the OT description on the subject: 'Heavily rusted and showing signs of wear similar to the basin and stand, the implement's long

97 Cornuke continues questioning Haile. The whole story is included in his book (2005: 220–221).

98 Cornuke (2005: 173) says that he had a better chance to visit Ṭana Qirqos and he discusses the account in much better detail than Graham Hancock did.

99 Cf. Cornuke 2005: 185–191.

double prongs met at a horizontal bridge at the top, crowned by the image of a budding almond flower, based on Ex. 25:33–36, 37: 19–22’.

Cornuke, based on what he was told by the monks and having seen the materials with his own eyes, became convinced of the truth of the Ṭana tradition. He remarks on the vessels:

These implements possibly shared a Hebrew origin, and the monks on T’ana Kirkos had neither the resources nor the technology to forge metal. Someone had obviously brought them here ... Each of these vessels and components appeared much like those described in Scripture; each made an arguable case for T’ana Kirkos as an ancient Hebrew haven; and each suggested at least the possibility that this might have been a resting place for the Ark of the Covenant.¹⁰⁰

13) **Helmut Ziegbert**—A German Archaeological team led by Ziegbert announced in 2008 that the Altar of the Ark of the Covenant and Palace of Queen of Sheba is discovered after nine years of excavation and research. The news is reported on May 7, 2008.¹⁰¹

14) **Giuseppe Claudio Infranca**—Unlike the above explorers of the Ark and visitors to Axum, the Italian architect, Prof. Infranca,¹⁰² claims to have entered the Sanctuary of Axum and seen the Ark of the Covenant with his own eyes. He also took a picture of the Ark. His assignment as an architect to renovate the church enabled him to establish a good rapport with the priests, allegedly giving him the chance to see the Ark. Moreover, he argues that the AC is situated in the old (Fasil’s) church, but not in the new chapel. This was aired on Italian TV—*Canale 5*, dated 19th April, 2010.¹⁰³ The following explanation is from Prof. Infranca:

100 Cf. Cornuke, 2005: 190, 192.

101 Cf. [<http://www.ethiopianreporter.com/news>] (18/05/2008); [<http://www.addisadmass.com/news>] (11/05/2008); [<http://www.ethioblog/news>] (08/05/2008); [<http://www.bloomberg.com:Germany>] (08/05/2008).

102 Three Italian Professors were in Axum since 1991 for research. Their names and titles are: **Vincenzo Francaviglia**, direttore del CNR per le tecnologie applicate ai Beni culturali, **Giuseppe Claudio Infranca** dell’Università di Reggio Calabria e architetto **Paolo Alberto Rossi** del Politecnico di Milano. Prof. **Infranca** has written a book on the Ark of the Covenant entitled *L’Arca dell’Alleanza: il Tabernacolo di Dio*, but I was unable to get a copy.

103 I have received a copy of the film ‘TG5 speciale’, recorded and donated by W/o Hanna, from Bari, Italy, May 2010.

... Ma un giovane chierico aprì la tenda e noi potemmo vedere una cassa di legno scuro, lunga un metro e alta sessanta centimetri, con il tetto a doppio spiovente ... 'But a certain young man opened the curtain, and we could see a dark wooden box, one meter long and 60 cm high with a round roof'.

Translation, mine

Infranca proposes that the route the Ark took to Axum was through Palmyra (Syria), Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea. This goes against Graham Hancock's¹⁰⁴ and Robert Cornuke's¹⁰⁵ proposals. Infranca's account of the visit of the AC, however, seems improbable. What he might have seen in Fasil's Sanctuary is the normal *mānbärä tabot*, which anyone could see during the church service.¹⁰⁶

15) **The Patriarch and the President of Ethiopia**—The Church of St. Mary Zion at Axum allegedly houses the original Ark of the Covenant. It is supposed to be the safe sanctuary for the AC, chosen by God as the 'New Jerusalem'. For this reason, the former Patriarch of the EOTC, His Holiness *abunä* Pāwlos, remarks that '... Ethiopia might be poor, at least as the West would see it, but its people had laid up treasures of a spiritual kind that the West would need.'¹⁰⁷ In an interview with BBC-2, filmed in 1999, the journalist asks the Patriarch: 'Could the existence of the Ark of the Covenant in Axum be proven?' Then, the Patriarch responds: 'No, faith does not go well with scientific proof. We do not doubt it, that it is here, in our place. We don't have to prove it to anyone. You want to believe, it is your privilege. If you do not want to believe, it's your own privilege again ... It is here and we believe it'.¹⁰⁸ In 2009, *abunä* Pāwlos gave a press release about the actual presence of the Ark of the Covenant at Axum (in which he also mentions that he himself had seen the Ark with his own eyes), dated June 26, 2009, Rome.¹⁰⁹

104 Jerusalem → Elephantine (Egypt) → Meroe (Sudan) → Ṭana Qirqos → Axum.

105 Jerusalem → Tanis (Egypt) → Ṭana Qirqos → Axum.

106 I, the researcher, for instance, attended the Holy Mass in the church on Dec. 4, 2010, Saturday morning, and could see the *mānbärä tabot*, though from the *Qəddāst* (not inside the Holy of Holies). Unlike other churches of the EOTC, the curtain of the sanctuary is kept closed during the entire Mass except at the time of Holy Communion, for a few seconds only. My informant, Mhr. Solomon, explained me that it is opened during the night service for the prayer of incense. (Interviewed on 04/12/2010).

107 Quoted from Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 349.

108 Quoted from Munro-Hay 2006: 39.

109 Cf. [<http://forum.panorama.it/f31/larca-dellalleanza-in-italia-non-si-sa-mai-niente-comes>]

Robert Cornuke and his team, at the final phase of their research, were welcomed by the then Ethiopian president Dr. Negaso Gidada at the National Palace. He asked the president about the presence of AC at Axum. Cornuke introduced himself to the president: 'Mr. President, my name is Bob Cornuke. I have spent the past seven years researching the Ark of the Covenant in Aksum'. At the mention of the Ark, the president's eyes lit up and he said: 'Ah, have you had the opportunity to meet the Guardian of the Ark?' 'Yes, sir', Cornuke replied. 'I have met with the Guardian'. He continued 'Mr. President, forgive me for being so bold, but may I ask—do you believe that the Ark lies in Aksum?' The president nodded and smiled. 'I know it is—or should I say, I believe it is'. He continued 'How would you know that?' The president smiled and replied: 'I have ways of knowing. After all, I am the President'. Cornuke took this comment home to the United States.¹¹⁰ He presents the Ethiopian claim of the presence of the Ark of the Covenant as follows:

Ethiopians claim this humble structure holds the greatest secret in history. From the lowest peasant to the highest public official, all Ethiopians insist that the Ark of the Covenant rests securely within Saint Mary of Zion's fortified inner sanctum. No one else on earth makes such a claim.¹¹¹

4 Wanderings of the Ark in Ethiopia

We read in the Bible¹¹² of wanderings, capture, exile and miracles in Israel connected with the Ark of the Covenant. KN plainly says that the ultimate voyage of the Ark was during the time of Solomon, brought from Jerusalem to Ethiopia by Mənilək I. This was the will of God in substituting the 'old' Israel by the 'new'. Hence, the Ark of the Covenant went from her 'original' home-Jerusalem to her 'new' home—*Däbrä Makadda*, i.e. Axum.¹¹³

-mai-t14070/] (27/06/2009); [http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Abune_Paulos] (17/01/2015).

110 Cf. Cornuke 2005: 224–226.

111 Cited in Cornuke 2005: 152.

112 Cf. Josh. chapters 3–8; Judges 20:27–28; 1Sam. chapters 3–7; 2Sam. chapters 6–7 and 15; 2Kings chapters 2–3, 6:19, 8:1–21; 1Chron. chapters 13, 15–17, 22:19, 28:2 and 18; 2Chron. chapters 1:4, 5:2 and 7, 6:11 and 41, 8:11, 35:3.

113 KN ch. 84 says that *Däbrä Makadda*, which is named after the name of the queen, is the city of the government. About the travel of the AC, cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 177–180, Amsalu Tefera 2011a: 48–51.

According to oral tradition, there were three additional occasions involving a flight of the Ark of the Covenant in Ethiopia: i) it was kept at *Yəḥa* for a certain period before it was taken to Axum; ii) the flight to *Zəway* Island to escape the persecution by Gudit; and iii) the flight to *Ṭana* (some say to *Tabr*) during the time of Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508–1540) to escape Imam Aḥmäd's persecution.¹¹⁴ But we do not have authoritative corroborative evidence for these traditions. There are four Ethiopic texts which preserve the Zion cycles.¹¹⁵ The texts are:

1. *Kəbrä Nəgäšt* 'Dignity of Kings'—edited by Bezold 1905;
2. *Tä'ammärä Maryam* 'Miracle of Mary'—Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project 601, a 20th cent. manuscript that contains 377 miracles, amongst 19 are devoted to the cycles of Zion, recently cataloged by Melaku et al. 2011;
3. Miracle of Mary stated in *Dərsanä Šəyon*—EMML 8823 (ff. 20^r–30^r). It states the travel of the Ark from Jerusalem to Axum through Mənilək I, and how Mənilək built the first temple at Axum and why *Hədar* 21 is colorfully celebrated at Axum;
4. *Liber Axumae* 'Book of Axum', edited and translated by Conti Rossini 1909–1910.

These texts focus on the transportation of the Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem to *Däbrä Makadda* and the flight of the Ark to different parts of Ethiopia to help Ethiopian kings to expand their territories and to escape persecution in different times.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 177.

¹¹⁵ 'Cycles of Zion' refers to the transportation of the Ark of the Covenant from the 'old' Jerusalem to the 'new' and its wanderings in Ethiopia. Cf. Amsalu Tefera, 'Cycles of Zion in Ethiopic Texts' (forthcoming).

Traditions on Zion and Axum

Dərsanä Šəyon (DŞ) is a text which contains various matters. As a *Dərsan*, it basically glorifies and presents exegesis on the Ark of the Covenant. There are also some topics which the text deals with directly and there are a few subjects which are discussed in relation with DŞ for wider perspectives. Different traditions on ‘Zion’ exist in Ethiopian textual traditions, how royal coronation took place at Axum and list of Ethiopian monarchs who reigned in front of the Ark of Zion. With the regard to these, the important text known as *Liber Axumae* will be discussed in this chapter.

1 Zion

The term **ጳጵን**: (‘Zion’) is a Semitic word.¹ Roberts (1973: 329–344) narrates the Davidic origin of Zion and he argues the tradition of Zion was established during the time of David but not in pre-Israel cult.² It is associated with different toponyms, including Mount Sinai.³ The Lord ordered Moses to ascend the Mount, and then He gave him the two Tablets.⁴ It was there that Moses delivered the Ark of the Covenant. The following *Tä’ammärä Šəyon* of DŞ (EMML 8823)⁵ states the fact as follows:

ስምዑ: እነግረከሙ: ሕዝበ: ክርስቲያን: ጥንተ: ሙላዳ: ለጽዮን: ፀወንነ: አመ: ጾመ:
ሙሴ: ሿ: መዓልተ: ወሿ: ሌሊተ: በደብረ: ሲና። ወሀቦ: እግዚአብሔር: ጽላት: (sic)
ዘዕብን: ዘበውስቲታ: ጽሑፍ: ዓሠርቱ: ቃላት:

1 Cf. Dillmann 1865: 1300, Leslau 1987: 566. Its ultimate etymology, however, is uncertain. For a brief note on this subject, cf. Kaplan 2014: 189–191.

2 Maier 2008: 1–2 gives the distinction between Zion and Jerusalem and says that sometimes Zion denotes the space of the temple precinct, often called *Mount Zion*, while Jerusalem mainly refers to the city as a political entity. ‘In recent analysis’, Maier quotes Corinna Körting, ‘the meaning of Zion and Jerusalem are distinctive although they sometimes overlap’. Maier also writes that Jerusalem is mentioned 660 times in the Hebrew Bible, whereas the name Zion is used only in poetic texts and occurs 154 times.

3 Also called Mt. Horeb (Deut. 4:10, 5:2). Mt. Sinai is the place where Lord God bestowed His Law to His people through Moses (Exod. 19:16). For a general survey and various arguments on the location of Mount Sinai, cf. Cornuke 2005: 23–80.

4 Exod. 19:2–25.

5 EMML 8823 is described in the next chapter and abbreviated as [F].

Listen, I will tell you O! Christian People. The beginning of the generation of Zion, our shelter, [is] at the time when Moses was fasting for forty days and forty nights on Mount of Sinai. The Lord gave him a Tablet of stone inside which the Ten Words are inscribed.

F. 20^{va}

When we talk about the Ark of the Covenant, indeed, we have to begin from Sinai for it is a place of immense importance.⁶ There we can find the bush, the flame, the Tablets, Moses and Lord God. For this reason, it is full of allegories. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 263–264) summarize the Ethiopian commentary tradition as follows:

Moses saw Mary at Mount Sinai in the tree that burned without being consumed by fire. The tree was Mary, who carried the fire of Divinity within her body and was not burned by heat. When God gave Moses the Tablet of the Law on which the Ten Commandments were written, and told him to make a golden Ark in which he could place the Tablet, the Ark was the image of Mary, and the Tablet the image of her womb. The Ten Commandments written on the tablets were the image of her Son, who is the Word of the Father.

St. Mary, according to the above allegory, is foreshadowed in the Old Testament. She is called the True Zion. Munro-Hay (2006: 47), after collecting the tradition at Axum on Zion, states ‘Zion represents many things, according to the *dabtarat* and priests of Aksum—St. Mary, shelter, the land of Ethiopia, the land of King David’. We can add some more representations as well.

1.1 *Various Applications of Zion*

The word Zion occurs over 150 times in the Bible. The following notes list the different meanings given to the term Zion in the Bible and in the Ethiopian context.

6 Yet there is no history of Jewish devotion to the site. It was never a goal of pilgrimage, and the Bible contains no indication that it was ever part of Israelite cult. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 13) add the following: ‘The fire and cloud from which God appears on Sinai remain the signs of his presence, but the mountain itself survives as little more than a memory of the wanderings in the wilderness. When God chooses a holy mountain, it is Zion rather than Sinai’.

1) **The hill** where King David founded his city Jerusalem⁷ (ca. 1000 BC) is known as Zion. Originally Zion was the name of the ancient Jebusite fortress in the city of Jerusalem. Then King David captured the fortress and made it his city. Hence the Holy Bible calls Zion ‘the city of David’.⁸

David brought the Ark of the Covenant to this new city from Qiryat Ye’arim,⁹ built and installed in a new tabernacle and fortified the city.¹⁰ Later, his son and successor Solomon expanded the city and built the Temple.¹¹ The site of the original repository of the Ark of the Covenant, and in the view of most present-day scholars of the temple, the hill of Zion became the centre of the political and cultural life of the ancient Hebrews. Scholars propose different suggestions on the location of the hill. Some said it is in the south-western part of Jerusalem, others in the north-western and still others claim it is in the north-eastern. Paton (1907: 327–333) states various arguments on the location and he claims that Zion is the name of the entire eastern ridge. The Bible calls the hill or the Mount ‘Holy Hill of Zion’ (Ps. 2:6); the ‘Mountain of His Holiness’ (Ps. 48:1); ‘the place of the name of the Lord of hosts’ (Isa. 18:7); ‘the city of the Lord’ and ‘Zion the Holy one of Israel’ (Isa. 60:14); ‘my Holy Mountain’ (Joel 2:1); ‘Zion—the Temple hill’ (Josephus, quoted in Paton 1907: 331). On the other hand, **ደብረ ጽዮን**: ‘Mount Zion’ is one of the central elements in the Ethiopian version of the millenarian doctrine.¹²

Zion, as the holy mountain of God, refers also to St. Mary, for she is also considered the ‘True Mountain of God’,¹³ and His eternal house. He has chosen to live there where the Ark and the Temple stand. The classic proclamation in which the Davidic Covenant is inextricably bound together is Psalm 132.¹⁴

7 The Holy City is called **አየሩሳሌም**: (Ge‘ez), *yerûšālaïm* (Heb.), *Al Quds* (Arb.).

8 Cf. 1 Kings 8:1; 1 Chron. 11:5; 2 Chron. 5:2.

9 West of Jerusalem and a holy place of the time.

10 David reigned forty years: at Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months; and at Jerusalem he reigned over all Israel and Judah thirty-three years (cf. 2 Sam. 5:4–5).

11 The Temple of Solomon (ca. 980 BC) was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BC.

12 Cf. Getatchew 2005a: 43–44.

13 Also in St. Ephraim’s Mariology: **ወለቱክ፡ ዘወረደ፡ ኅቢክ፡ እ፡ ደብረ፡ ነባቢት፡ በትሕትና፡** ‘As for Him who, descended to you, O Mount who speaks in modesty’ (*Praise of Mary*, ‘of Tuesday’).

14 **እስመ፡ ኅረያ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወአብደራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩና፡ ማኅደሮ፡ ዛቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምዕራፍየ፡ ለዓለም፡** ‘For God has chosen Zion and He desired Her to be His dwelling. ‘She is My resting place forever’ (Ps. 132:13).

2) **Whole of Jerusalem**—The whole of Jerusalem and Palestine are designated Zion, ‘Daughter of Zion’ referred to the Jewish people.¹⁵ Paton (1907: 331) lists a number of biblical passages on Zion and daughters of Zion indicating the whole of Jerusalem. Some are: Ps. 9:14; Isa. 1:27; 3:16; 10:24; 29:8; 33:5; Jer. 4:31; Lam. 1:6; 2:1, 8, 18; 4:22; Joel 2:23; Zech. 9:13, etc.¹⁶ After the fall of Judea, Zion became the symbol of the hope that the Jewish homeland in Palestine eventually would be restored.

3) **The Heavenly Jerusalem**—In the New Testament ‘Zion’ denotes the Heavenly city and God’s spiritual kingdom: ‘You have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem’ (Heb. 12:22; cf. Rev. 14:1). In Christian theology Christ is considered as the Cornerstone of Zion.¹⁷

4) **St. Mary**—The frequent application of the term ‘Zion’ in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwähädo* Church¹⁸ is to St. Mary,¹⁹ the Mother of God.²⁰ KN ch. 1²¹ gives Her the title **ዳግማዊት ጽዮን**: ‘the Second Zion’ and Her Son Jesus **ዳግማዊ አዳም**: ‘the Second Adam’. The Ark of the Covenant that contained the Law was seen as a forerunner of the Ark that held the New Law in the person of Christ. The Ethiopic Book of *Qälemāntos* says:

ወጽዮንሂ፡ አምሳለ፡ እምየ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ እንተ፡ በውስቴታ፡ ያነበሩ፡ ቃለ፡
አብ፡ ወፈነወኒ፡ ጎቤሃ፡ ለድንግል፡ እምየ፡ ወለበሥኩ፡ ሥጋ፡ እምኔሃ፡ በውስቴታ፡ አነ፡
ውእቱ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን።

And as for Zion She is the likeness of My Mother the Virgin Saint, inside whom they will put the Word of the Father; and He sent Me to the Virgin, My Mother and I was made flesh from Her. I am the Church inside Her.

Text, BAUSI 1992, f. 72^{rb-c}; translation, mine

15 Cf. Maier 2008.

16 See also Mtt. 21:5 and Jn. 12:15 from the NT.

17 Cf. 1 Pet. 2:6; cf. also Isa. 28:16.

18 Also in the rest of Christendom.

19 Ark and Mary are synonymous in DŞ.

20 According to Ps. 87:5: ‘And of Zion it shall be said, “This one and that one were born in her” for the Most High Himself will establish her’. The Ge’ez version has a different connotation: **እምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ይብል፡ ሰብእ፡ ወብእሲ፡ ተወልደ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ልዑል፡ ሣረራ።** It implies that Zion Mary is the bearer of Lord Jesus Christ. Cf. Ge’ez commentary of Psalms (published by Täsfä 1989/1990 [EC 1982]: 431–432).

21 Cf. Bezold 1905: 1–2; Budge 1922: 2.

The Heavenly Zion and the True Ark of the Lord are the epithets given to St. Mary in DŞ and KN. The Prayer of commencement²² presents Mary as the True Zion. The text goes:

በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አሐዱ፡ አምላክ፡ በቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ እንዘ፡
አአምን፡ ወእትመሐፀን፡ እክሕደክ፡ ሰይጣን፡ በቅድመ፡ ዛቲ፡ እምየ፡ ቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡
ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ስምዕየ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም።

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, One God. I believe in and beseech the Holy Trinity, I deny the Devil, before my mother the holy Church, Mary Zion, who is my testimony forever and ever.

Translation, mine

According to the teaching of the EOTC, God gave Mary to Moses as the Tablet of the Covenant and called Her ‘Zion’. She is the savior of Israel, greater than all the prophets, apostles, saints, and martyrs. She has the covenant of Mercy, which is the greatest of all covenants. Regarding Her purity, Mary is called ‘the second Tabernacle’ and ‘the Holy of Holies’ in which the Ark of the Covenant had been placed.²³ Kefyalew Merahi (1997: 10–11) in like manner identifies Zion with St. Mary. He says: ‘Zion means the house of God. In the Old Testament, Zion was the city of King David, which was mount Zion. And it was the symbol of our Lady Mary and its second meaning is the house of God (church)’.

St. Mary, in Christian theology, is equated to the New Covenant. Just as the New Covenant surpasses the Old, so the new Ark of the Covenant (St. Mary) is superior to the old. The old Ark contained the word of God written on stone tablets, but the new Ark contained the Incarnate Word of God.²⁴

There are several direct parallels between the Old Testament accounts of the Ark and the account of Mary in the Gospel of Luke:

- 1. The words of Exod. 40:34–38, referring to the cloud of the Lord’s presence ‘covering’ the tent of the Ark, are echoed in Gabriel’s words to Mary in Lk 1:35: ‘... The power of the Most High will cover you with its shadow’.
- 2. David greets the Ark in fearful awe with the words ‘How shall the ark of the Lord come to me?’ (2 Sam. 6:9); Elizabeth greets Mary with the words, ‘Who am I that the mother of my Lord should come to me?’ (Lk. 1:43).

22 Known as አእትብ፡ ገጽየ፡ ወክላንታየ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መስቀል። ‘I bless my face and all my whole body with a sign of the Cross’.

23 Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 263.

24 Cf. [http://www.answers.com/topic/typology-theology] 17/01/2015.

- 3. In 2 Sam. 6:10–12 the Ark is sent to the hill country of Judea and stays at the household of Obedom for three months; similarly, Mary journeys to Elizabeth's house and stays there three months (Lk. 1:56).
- 4. Just as David danced in the presence of the Ark (2 Sam. 6:14), the babe in Elizabeth's womb (John the Baptist) dances for Mary's womb (Lord Jesus) (Lk. 1:41).

Additionally, in Revelation, St. John, immediately after seeing the Ark in heaven, sees the woman 'clothed with the sun' who bears the Child who will rule the world (Rev. 11:19–12:5).

This teaching is found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. A sermon attributed to St. Athanasius²⁵ addresses the Blessed Virgin thus: 'O Ark of the new covenant, clad on all sides with purity in place of gold; the one in whom is found the golden vase with its true manna that is the flesh in which lies the God-head'. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus writes: 'Let us chant the melody that has been taught us by the inspired harp of David, and say, 'Arise, O Lord, into thy rest; thou, and the ark of thy sanctuary'. For the Holy Virgin is in truth an ark, wrought with gold both within and without, that has received the whole treasury of the sanctuary'.²⁶ Moreover, the feast of the Ark of the Covenant held on *Hədar* 21 shows that St. Mary is the True Ark, which substitutes for the Old Ark of the Covenant. Ermyas Kebede (2004/2005 [EC 1997]: 364) points out:

ኅዳር ጽዮን ተብላ በኅዳር ፳፩ ቀን መከበርዋ እውነተኛዋ ታቦተ ጽዮን እርሷ ቅድስት ድንግል ማርያም መኾኗን ለማመልከት ብቻ ሳይሆን አማካኝነቷ ቤተ መቅደስም እርሷው መኾኗን አረጋግጦ ለማሳመን ነው።

The reason behind her celebration on *Hədar* 21 [Nov. 30] as *Hədar Şəyon* is not only to show that She, the Holy Virgin Mary, is the True Ark of Zion; but also to confirm and approve that She is the True Sanctuary.

Translation, mine

If one asks why *Hədar* 21 is colourfully celebrated at Axum, according to MS [F]²⁷ (f. 24^r), there are two reasons: the first is the restoration of the Ark to its tent from captivity among the Philistines; and the other is commemoration of

²⁵ Homily on the Annunciation to the Holy Virgin Mary.

²⁶ Cf. *Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, where one of the titles by which Mary is addressed is 'Ark of the Covenant' ([<http://www.answers.com/topic/typology-theology>] 17/01/2015).

²⁷ I.e. EMMML 8823.

the time that the Ark came to the land of Axum. The text states the situation as follows:

ወበዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለኅዳር፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ተመይጦታ፡ እምነበ፡ ጊወውዋ፡ ኀበ፡
ቤታ። ወዳግም፡ ምጽአታ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም። ወበእንተዝ፡ ያብዕሉ፡ ላቲ፡ በዓለ፡
ዓቢየ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለለወርኹ። ወፈድፋደሰ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለኅዳር። ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡
በሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡ እስከ፡ ይትወለድ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እምቅድስት፡ ድንግል። ወሶበ፡ ተወልደሂ፡
ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ምስለ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ነበሩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያእምሩ፡ ልደቶ፡ ለክርስቶስ።

In this day, 21st of *Hədar*, it was her first return from captivity to her home; and it is her second coming to the land of Axum. Therefore, [it is praiseworthy] to celebrate the great feast to Her every 21st day of the month, exceedingly on *Hədar* 21. She lived in the [order of] Law until Christ was born of the Holy Virgin. When He was born, they [Ethiopians?] were living with her priests without knowing the birth of Christ.

5) **The Christian Empire of Ethiopia**—The Ethiopian Church clearly links Axum and Ethiopia to Zion. ‘Ethiopians have traditionally referred to their country as ‘Second Zion’, remarks Ullendorff (1989: preface), and continues: ‘... and to themselves as the heirs of Jerusalem and ancient Israel’. Paulos (1988: 11) also notes that ‘Axum is considered a holy place and second Jerusalem’. Due to the glory of Axum, which in turn emanated from the greatness of Zion, the Kingdom of Ethiopia is called the ‘Kingdom of Zion’. *Mäṣḥafä Axum* (hence MA)²⁸ confirms this:

በእንተ፡ ዕበያሰ፡ ወፍድፋደ፡ ክብራ፡ ይሰመዩ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ነገሥታት፡ ነገሥተ፡ አክሱም፡
ወጳጳሳትሂ፡ እለ፡ ወጽኡ፡ እምግብጽ፡ ይሰመዩ፡ ጳጳሳተ፡ አክሱም።

Due to its greatness and exceeding glory all kings will be named ‘Kings of Axum’ and as for the bishops who came [lit. ‘went out’] from Egypt, they will [also] be called ‘Bishops of Axum’.

Text, CONTI ROSSINI 1909b: 72; translation, mine

In the royal chronicles, Zion is meant the Christian Empire of Ethiopia. Tadesse (1972: 249–250) states: ‘Siyon, a term figuratively applied to St. Mary, is also used in reference to the kingdom as a symbol of the special identity of Christian Ethiopia, surrounded by a hostile Muslim and pagan world in north-

28 For brief discussion on MA cf. pp. 79–80 of this book.

east Africa'. He continues 'As the repository of the Ark of the Covenant, also called Şiyon, the ancient city of Aksum was the focal point of this tradition and its tribal ramification'.

The first application of the term²⁹ to a regnal name is Yagba Şəyon (1285–1294),³⁰ while the second and the famous king, who attached Zion to his name is 'Amdä Şəyon (1314–1344).³¹ In the chronicle of 'Amdä Şəyon,³² Zion is called 'the spouse of heaven'.³³ But the most substantial evidence of the Solomonid fascination with Zion, and with the complex associations of Axum, the Ark of the Covenant, Solomonid descent, and the Virgin Mary, can be found a century after 'Amdä Şəyon, during the reign of Zär'a Ya'əqob.³⁴ Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 223) say:

At this time 'Zion' was employed as a name for the kingdom, and the expression 'Church of Zion' was included among the honorifics of the king in the *Mamluk* chancellery records. The designation might refer to the Ethiopian kingdom in general.

Munro-Hay (2006: 168), similarly says "'Seyon' may be the term which was used to denote the Habesha Kingdom, the phrase 'church of Seyon' is included among the king's titles by Mamluk officials in Egypt'. *Liber Axumae* also calls the kings of Ethiopia the 'kings of Zion'. The text reads:

29 Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 260) say that the use of Zion as a regnal name was not clearly known by the Zag'we Kings, but that it became clear after the establishment of the Solomonid kingdom. (See also Munro-Hay 2006: 14.)

30 Cf. Taye 1921/1922 [EC 1914]: 60, Həruy 1928/1929 [EC 1921]: 61, Heldman 1993a: 72, Nosnitsin 2014.

31 Heldman (1993a: 72) records other names attached with Zion (in medieval times) as 'One of the wives of the emperor Dawit was named Seyon Mogasa (grace of Zion); the most gifted of all Ethiopian painters took the name Fere Seyon (Fruit of Zion) when he became a monk; and several holymen of the monastery of St. Stephen at Hayq were named Gabra Seyon (Servant of Zion)'. A complete and exhaustive list of Ethiopian Kings is still wanting. The first European to publish lists of the Ethiopian kings was Balthasar Telles (17 cent. AD) and the next was James Bruce. Henry Salt (1809–1810) also compiled a list, which is almost the same as Bruce (cf. Budge 1928: 204–205). See now Bausi 2014.

32 For the edited chronicle, cf. Marrassini 1993; also Kropp 1994 and Huntingford 1965

33 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 47, 233 note 31.

34 Zär'a Ya'əqob went to Axum Zion for coronation, 'for the greatness of Zion'. King Dawit, the father of Zär'a Ya'əqob, was himself devoted to St. Mary. But the son was still more devoted and decreed issue that 'Every church was required to have a *tabot* dedicated to Mary, and the people were required to prostrate themselves whenever her name was mentioned' (cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay, 1999: 261–262).

ፈጸመ፡ ሕገ፡ ወሐደሰ፡ መንበረ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለነገሥተ፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ኩሎን፡
አህጉር፡ ትምክሕተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዓለም፡ ወትርሲቶሙ፡ ለነገሥት።

[Emperor Šāršä Dəngäl] Completed the law and renewed the throne of State of the Kings of Zion [which is] the mother of all countries, pride of all the world and adornment of kings.

Text, CONTI ROSSINI 1909b: 67; Translation, mine

Fiaccadori (2007:1164) asserts that the head of the Solomonid state became first and foremost *nəguṣä Šəyon*, as is evident, for example in the coronation rituals, with all relevant symbolic implications for the Ethiopian monarchy.

6) **Axum Zion Church**³⁵—The Ark of the Covenant, as KN states, rests at Maryam Šəyon Chapel, according to the EOTC. By the transfer of this object from Jerusalem to Axum, the transfer of royalty from Israel to Ethiopia, instituted by God, was affirmed, and by the Ark's physical presence at Axum the primacy of the Ethiopian sovereign over the other kings of the earth was established for all to understand.³⁶ The Chapel of the Ark is also called *ጅንደር* 'House of the Tablet' and *ጅንደር* Maryam, 'the House of Mary'. It is located approximately in the centre of the city, at a distance of about four km from the main hills.³⁷

According to Alvares:³⁸ 'In this town of Aquaxumo [Axum], where she [Queen Candace] became Christian she built a very noble church, the first there was in Ethiopia: it is named St. Mary of Syon [sic]'. As Munro-Hay puts it 'Alvares actually discusses the name of the church, and the attribution to Zion'. Axum is considered as the 'Origin' for Law and Church orders. See the following quotation from *Gädlä Libanos zä-Mäṭā*:

ወዝንቲኒ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይመስለከሙ፡ ሐሰተ፡ ሀለው፡ ታሪክ፡ በክክሉም፡ በከመ፡ ተብህለ፡
ሕግ፡ ዘወጽኦ፡ እምጽዮን³⁹፡ ወቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም።

35 It is clear that the Israelites are people of the Old Covenant, while the Christians belong to the New Covenant. This is explained in Ethiopic terms: እስራኤል፡ ዘሥጋ፡ 'Israelites of the flesh', እስራኤል፡ ዘነፍስ፡ 'Israelites of the Spirit', i.e. 'Christians' particularly Ethiopians, for the claim that they possess the Ark of the Covenant. Hence Axum is referred to as the 'New Zion' and the Ark is named ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ 'Ark of Zion' and ጽላተ፡ ሙሴ፡ 'Tablet of Moses'.

36 Cf. Marrassini 2007: 364; Conti Rossini 1909b: 95.

37 Cf. Fattovich 2003: 180.

38 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 151.

39 Basically a Biblical quotation 'For out of Zion shall go forth the law' (cf. Isa. 2:3); here Zion

And this does not seem you false [that] there is story at Axum that says ‘the Law which comes out of Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem’.

Text, BAUSI 2003: 61; translation, mine

In like manner, it is mentioned in the chronicle of Iyasu I:

ወእምዝ፡ መከረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ከመ፡ ይሑር፡ ብሔረ፡ አክሱም፡ ወይብጻሕ፡ ህየ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩
ለኅዳር፡ ዘይትገበር፡ ቦቱ፡ በዓለ፡ ጽዮን፡ ከመ፡ ይፈጽም፡ ሕገ፡ መንግሥት፡ በልማደ፡
ነገሥት፡ አበዊሁ፡ ዘነበሩ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ እንዘ፡ ይፈጽሙ፡ ህየ፡ ሕገ፡ መንግሥት፡ እስመ፡
ይእቲ፡ መካነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘእምኔሃ፡ ይወጽእ፡ ሕግ፡ ወበከመ፡ ተብህለ፡ እስመ፡ ሕግ፡
ይወጽእ፡ እምጽዮን፡ ወቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም።

And after this, the King decided to go to the land of Axum, and to reach there on 21st of *Hədar*, when the feast of Zion is held, in order to fulfill the royal law, [as] in the custom of his royal fathers who lived before [him], that they would fulfill that [same] royal law for this is the land of Zion. The law comes out of her. And as it is said ‘For out of Zion shall come forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem’.

Text, GUIDI 1960–1961: vol. 1: 11; translation, mine

MA describes ‘Our Mother Şəyon, the *gäbāz* of Axum’ in technical terms: depth of foundations, thickness of walls, heights of vaults, number of columns, shutters, ‘wheels’ (round headed windows?), arches, 3,815 ‘monkey heads’, 91 gargoyles.⁴⁰ This suggests that the church resembled the classic ‘monkey-head style’ of building seen also on the Axumite Stelae.

As the repository of the Ark of the Covenant, Axum Zion⁴¹ is called **ርእሰ፡ አድባራት፡ ወገዳማት፡** ‘Head of Churches and Monasteries’. The administrator is given the title **ንቡረ፡ እድ፡** *nəburä əd*, lit. ‘consecrated’. Leslau (1987: 384) defines

signifies Axum. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 279) say that ‘The Bible tells us that the Law comes out of Zion. Therefore, the only law comes out of Aksum’. Similarly, Munro-Hay (2006: 47) remarks that ‘... And Zion is now at Aksum, in the chapel of the Tablet of Moses’.

⁴⁰ Conti Rossini 1909b: 7.

⁴¹ The term Zion, in some cases, does not imply always the Ark of the Covenant at Axum, but also any other church/*tabot*, notes Munro-Hay (2006: 82, 93, 167–168). The ‘*tabot* of Şəyon’, and the church of Däbrä Şəyon, attributed to Zagwē times by the 15th cent. AD *Gädlä Nä’akkwəto-Lä’ab*, offers more encouraging evidence. The title **ቁሰ፡ ገበዝ፡ ጽዮን፡** [sic] ‘*qaysa gabaz Seyon*’, in copies of Lalibäla’s land grants, confirms the authentic use of ‘Şəyon’ in Ethiopian records from Zagwē times (Munro-Hay 2006: 167, 184).

the office as: 'By the hands being placed on the head'. According to Hyatt (1928: 51) the *nəburä əd* is the person who is third in ecclesiastical importance and can be described as chief administrator. The origin of this office is unknown. Nosnitsin (2007: 1161) relates the origin to *abunä* Ya'əqob. His statement goes as follows:

According to both the early 16th cent. version of the Acts of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot and the monastic genealogies the title was established by the 14th cent. *abunä* Ya'əqob who sent twelve *māmhəran*, including their head *abunä* Filəpos of Šāwa as missionaries to southern Ethiopia, to found new monasteries and evangelize the local population. Since Ya'əqob could not consecrate them bishops, he made them *nəburanä əd*.

Nosnitsin also writes that the office of *nəburä əd* in Axum seems to be ancient. The famous *Nəburä əd* of Axum, whom KN cites as its translator, is *nəburä əd* Yəšhaq (ca. AD 1321). Bruce (1790: 476) reports that the office of *Nəburä əd* in Axum belongs to the descendants of Azaria, who came to Ethiopia with Mənilək I.

In earlier times,⁴² the *Nəburä əd* exercised extensive powers, controlling vast estates of fiefs and possessing great privileges in the court. He was allowed to sit in the presence of the emperor, while almost everyone else was forced to

42 The title *Nəburä əd* also meant 'civil governor of Axum'. Because of the historical and symbolic importance of this city, the rules of precedence promulgated in 1689 (by Iyasu the Great, and confirmed in 1724 by Bākaffa) ranked the *Nəburä əd* ahead of all of the provincial governors (cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 560). Although a civil title granted by the Emperor, it was usually bestowed on a clergyman due to Axum's status as the holiest site of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church within the country. *Däggəzmač* Gäbrä Šəllase, *Ras* Šəyum, *Däggəzmač* Gərmay, *Šumtänben* Gäbrä Mädhən, for instance, were appointed as the 76th, 77th, 78th, and 79th (respectively) *Nəburanä əd* of Axum (cf. Girma Elyas 1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 90). Local tradition, on the other hand, lists 63 *Nəburanä əd* of Axum from the 15th cent. until EC 1967 (cf. also Sergew 1989, vol. 5:31). Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 281) state that the title was also given to abbots of other monasteries: 'During the early years of the Solomonid dynasty, there were many of them in Ethiopia, especially as the abbots of great monasteries'. For instance *abba* Ephraim was appointed as *Nəburä əd* of *Mädära* and Tənsə'a Mädhən was *Nəburä əd* of *Bänkol* (cf. Conti Rossini, 1909b: 32, 38; 1910: 38, 45). Giyorgis of Säglä was appointed by *aše* Dawit II as *Nəburä əd* of *Däbrä Dammo* (Taddesse 1972: 223; Nosnitsin 2007: 1161). The title is also given to the administrator of Addis Alem St. Mary's Church, instituted by Emperor Mənilək II (cf. Ullendorff 1960: 109). Formerly the title was also given to abbots of Tana Qirqos. For a detailed discussion of the topic, cf. Nosnitsin (2007: 1161–1162).

stand.⁴³ He could be a monk or a priest. The guardian of the Ark,⁴⁴ on the other hand, is solely a monk. The guardian is named: **ዐቀብተ፡ ገበዝ**: ‘guardian [lit. ‘guardians’] of the Church’; **ዕቃ፡ ቤት**: lit. ‘store house’; **አግኝ**: ‘the one who burns incense’; **ቤት፡ ጠባቂ**: ‘guardian of the house’. MA, for instance, mentions **ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጽጉዓ፡ ማርያም**: ‘guardian of the house Šən‘a Maryam’ during the reign of Emperor Bä‘ädä Maryam; **ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጽጉዕ፡ ማርያም**: ‘guardian of the house Šən‘ənä Maryam’ and **ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌታ፡ ይስሐቅ**: ‘guardian of the house Geta Yəšhaq’ during the time of Ləbnä Dəngəl.⁴⁵ Through the ages, the guardian devotes his whole life to the AC in worshipful solitude inside **እንዳ፡ ጽላት**: ‘House of the Tablet’. He never leaves the small fenced chapel of St. Mary of Zion Church until he is carried away for his funeral. Cornuke (2005: 152, 157) adds ‘He would die having already spoken the name of the next Guardian’. Then he will be succeeded by another monk who is appointed by the special council of Axum under the chairmanship of the *qesä gäbäz* or provost.⁴⁶ From time to time a nominee for the guardianship might be reluctant to take up the heavy task and would even flee to the mountains. If so, monks would be sent after him. They brought him back; but sometimes he would again attempt to escape. He might have to be chained at the chapel for many months before he fully accepted his responsibility.⁴⁷

The designation ‘cathedral’ was used for the St. Mary of Zion church particularly in the 20th century to magnify its importance. Because Frumentius, the first bishop was titled ‘bishop of the Axumites’ and his successors were called ‘metropolitans of Axum’, we may assume that their Episcopal seat would indeed have been at the chief church there. But in later days, Axum lost its place as the Episcopal seat.⁴⁸ Regarding the foundation of the Axumite church on the tomb of Ityopis the grandson of Noah, Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 521) say:

43 Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 281.

44 For a detailed account on the guardian of the Ark, see Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 275–277; Munro-Hay 2006: 101.

45 Cf. Conti Rossini 1909b: 28, 32, 33, 35–38, 41.

46 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 42–47.

47 Cf. Hancock 1992: 498–499. Mhr. Solomon, my informant in both trips to Axum (Sep. 2008 and Dec. 2010), also confirmed this fact.

48 First at Adäfa/Lalibäla dwelling in tents; later at Gondär the bishops dwelt in the Abun Bet, suburb of the capital. After the foundation of Addis Ababa as the capital of the country, it became the seat of the bishops and is currently the residence of the Patriarch. In remembering the importance of Axum, the Holy Synod of the EOTC decided in EC 1989 (AD 1996/1997) to add an epithet **ሊቀ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ዘእክሱም**: ‘Archbishop of Axum’ to the Patriarch, His Holiness *Abunä* Pāwlos. Church Law of EOTC (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 9), article 14, sub

This is the beginning of the foundation of Our Mother Şəyon the Cathedral of Aksum. First, it was built at Mäzbər⁴⁹ where is the tomb of Ityopis son of Kuesa⁵⁰ son of Kam, and it remained there for a long time.

MA also asserts:

ከመዝአ፡ ጥንተ፡ ሡራራሃ፡ ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ገበዘ፡ አክሱም። ቀዲሙ፡ ተሣረረት፡ በመዝብር፡ ጎበ፡ ሀሎ፡ መቃብሪሁ፡ ለኢትዮጲስ፡ ወልደ፡ ኩሳ፡ ወልደ፡ ካም። ... ወካዕበ፡ ሀሎ፡ መቃብሪሁ፡ ለኢትዮጲስ፡ አቡሆሙ፡ ለኢትዮጵያዊያን [sic]፡ ወልደ፡ ወልዱ፡ ለካም፡ ዘስማ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ጎበ፡ መዝብር፡ ምድረ፡ መላኬ፡ አክሱም።

Original foundation of our mother Zion, the Cathedral of Axum, is like this: first it was founded on Mäzbər where was the tomb of Ityopis, the son of Kusa, the son of Kam ... And again there is the tomb of Ityopis, father of the Ethiopians the son of Kam's son, whose name is 'Ethiopia' in Mäzbər, the land of the governor of Axum.

Text, CONTI ROSSINI 1909b: 3, 6; translation, mine⁵¹

Similarly Aklilu (1977/1978 [EC 1970]: 188) remarks:

የኢትዮጵያ ትውልድ ከነገደ ካምና ሴም የተያያዘ ነው። ካም ኩሽን ኩሽ ኢትዮጲስን ወለደ። በኢትዮጲስ ኢትዮጵያ ተባለች። የታቦተ ጽዮንም ምክራብ መጀመሪያ በኢትዮጲስ መቃብር ላይ ተሠራ። በዘመነ አበው በዘመነ መሳፍንት፤ በዘመነ ነገሥትና በዘመነ ካህናት የሥልጣኔ ሥራቱና ምልክቱ በጀመሪያ የተገለጠ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ነው።

The genesis of Ethiopia is connected to the tribes of Kam and Sem. Kam begat Cush, Cush begat Ityopis.⁵² [The country] was named Ethiopia after

article 1, proclaims that the Patriarch of Ethiopia shall be given the title ብፁዕ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ አቡነ፡ እገሌ፡ ፓትርያርክ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ፡ ወእጩ፡ ዘመንበረ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት። 'His Holiness *Abunä* so and so Patriarch of Ethiopia and *፤፻፩፡ ዓፄ* of the See of Täklä Haymanot'. This epithet ወእጩ፡ ዘመንበረ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ *፤፻፩፡ ዓፄ* of the See of Täklä Haymanot', was already in use by the first Ethiopian Patriarch, His Holiness the late *Abunä* Basləyos (1959). The *፤፻፩፡ ዓፄ* was influential in the former Ethiopian government (cf. Hyatt 1928: 50–51). For the power of the *፤፻፩፡ ዓፄ* prior to 1950, cf. Brown 1964: 10.

49 Mäzbər 'ruin'.

50 Cush, the son of Ham (cf. Gen. 10:6).

51 Monneret de Villard (1938: 7) repeats the tradition, referring to KN.

52 *Ityopis* is not mentioned in Genesis: 'The sons of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabteca' (Gen. 10:7).

Ityōpis. And the synagogue of the Ark of Šəyon was first built on the tomb of Ityōpis. In the time of the Fathers, Judges, Kings and Priests the order and sign of civilization was first revealed in Ethiopia.

Translation, mine

MA and the tradition say that the first Christian church at Axum was built by the twin brothers Abrəha and Ašbəha ca. AD 330. Alvares⁵³ mentions this church: ‘... A very noble church, the first there was in Ethiopia: it is named St. Mary of Seyon’. Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 151–152) note that this church was very large; it had five aisles of good width and great length, vaulted above, and all painted. Below, the Body of the church is well worked with handsome cut stone; it has seven chapels, all with their altars well ornamented. It has a choir after our fashion, except that it is low, and they reach the vaulted roof with their heads; and the choir is also over the vault, and they do not use it.

The *Maryam Šəyon* church has been associated with the 6th-century church of the Apostles on Mount Zion. Getatchew Haile (2007: 810) describes how Mary is equated with Zion: ‘In as much as Zion is the image of the Church and the dwelling of God, Mary is the image of the Church of Zion and of Jerusalem as well’. Heldman (1993b: 118–119) presents the traditional claim about the foundation of the Cathedral, that the Axumite church is modeled after that of Jerusalem. According to Munro-Hay (2006: 160), most probably the church was built at the Axumite capital long after the conversion of King ‘Ezana. He quotes the Roman church chronicler Rufinus about the labors of Frumentius: ‘Christian peoples and churches have been created in the parts of India [Ethiopia], and the priesthood has begun’.

The Church is said to have been destroyed by Yodit Gudit. Həruy Wäldä Šəllase (1928/1929 [EC 1921]: 46) transmits the tradition that she had two names: Yodit and Aster. Due to her cruel deeds and destruction the people changed the name Yodit to *Gudit* ‘blemish’ and Aster into *Isato* ‘fire’.⁵⁴ She was the wife of the governor of the district of Bugna. Gädlä Eləyas⁵⁵ states her that she was the queen of Sayənt.⁵⁶ Tradition says that Yodit was a Jewess, but this is not verified. Budge (1928) asserts that she was certainly no Christian, but a pagan

53 Cited in Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 151).

54 Getatchew (2009a: 132) says that the name *Isato* could have come from Əslantäne, the name tradition gives to the mother of Motäläme of Damot.

55 Published by Getatchew (2011).

56 Getatchew 2011: 113 (text), 132 (trans.); cf. Getatchew 2009a: 132.

and she was from the tribe of Agaw 'Queen of the sons of the Haghwiyah'.⁵⁷ Her story exists in several versions. She is generally said to have been a resident of Axum, perhaps a member of the royal family reduced to prostitution.⁵⁸ According to Bruce (1790, vol. 2: 452 ff.), who is considered as a disseminator of her legend, Gudit set out to destroy Christianity and eliminate the Solomonic line. He adds that she massacred the royal house and established a Jewish dynasty that ruled Ethiopia for many generations. Guidi claims that she was the queen of 'Banū l-Yahudiya' and also identifies her as Jewish, as did Basset (1882: 227) and Rathjens (1921: 18–24). Although Conti Rossini (1928: 285–289) demonstrated that significant reasons exist for rejecting the queen's alleged Jewishness, authors have continued to describe her as a *'Fälaša'* or 'Betä ʾĪsrāʾel' queen. Conti Rossini claims that the queen was probably of Damot (Sidama) origin, which has been echoed by several scholars in recent years.⁵⁹ Fiacca-dori (1992), on the other hand, after reviewing some Ethiopic and Arabic sources, states that she is rather likely to have ruled over and come from the Sidama area of Bale. Internal sources related to Gudit are limited. Kaplan (1992: 45) presents the powerful non-Christian queen as reported by external sources and quotes from the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* as follows:

The king of al-Habesh sent to the king of Nubia, a youth whose name was Girgis (George), and made known to him how the Lord had chastened him, he and the inhabitants of his land. It was that a woman, a queen of Bani al-Hamwiyah had revolted against him and against his country.

Some contemporary sources of Gudit state that she killed the king, who was titled *Haḍani* and ruled for many years. Ibn Ḥawqal (AD 943–977), in a reference that would appear to date these important events somewhat earlier, notes:

The country of the *habasha* has been ruled by a woman for many years now: she killed the king of *habasha* titled *Haḍani*. Until today she rules with complete independence over her own country and the frontier areas of the territory of the *Haḍani* in the southern part of [the country of] the *habasha*.⁶⁰

57 Cf. Budge 1928: 213–214, also 279.

58 Cf. Kaplan 2005: 376.

59 From well-documented southern traditions, it is known that female rulers existed in the Sidama region. For a detailed account cf. Kaplan 1992: 45–46.

60 Cited from Kaplan 1992: 45.

Bruce also reports the tradition and states that Gudit's intention was to extirpate the Solomonic line and her primary adversary was the *haḍani*. However, Kaplan (1992: 46–47) is not convinced by his statement. Anbäsa Wəḍəm (EC 882–902 [AD 889/890–909/910]),⁶¹ according to tradition, rebuilt the church of Axum which had been destroyed by Gudit.⁶² Again it was destroyed by Aḥmed Grañ in AD 1535. Alvares, the first European to document the Ethiopian version of the legend of the Queen of Sheba and the birth of her son Mənilək, writes that the Ark was still to be found in the Holy of Holies of this ancient church. It is from Alvares that we know the plan of the former Cathedral of Axum Zion before the destruction of Ahmed Grañ.⁶³

Later, a much larger church was reconstructed on part of the ruins through the generosity of Emperor Fasilädäs⁶⁴ and the empress-mother, Wäld Sä'ala, and was consecrated in 1655 in the presence of Princess Yodit, Fasilädäs' daughter.⁶⁵ 'Later', states Munro-Hay (2006: 155) 'and perhaps resulting in the classical Gondarine form we see today, Iyasu II, visiting Aksum in 1750, ordered restoration work on the church'.

The New Cathedral of Axum Zion⁶⁶ was built by Emperor Ḥaylä Śəllase in 1965. The building was designed by the firm Doxiadis Associates, established by Constantinos Doxiadis (1913–1975), an internationally known Greek architect. When it was inaugurated in 1965 it was reported to be the third-largest concrete dome in the world.⁶⁷ The Ark Chapel⁶⁸ was built by the Empror's wife Mänän. This building dates back to the 1950s, when it was designed by the Italian architect Arturo Mezzedimi, who also designed the projects for the City Hall and the ECA-Africa Hall in Addis Ababa. It is said that he was invited by Empress Mänän to create a more suitable location for the Ark. Previously the Ark was kept in a small building in the area where the modern bell-tower now stands.⁶⁹

61 Cf. Taye 1921/1922 [EC 1914]: 59.

62 Cf. Ḥəruy (1921: 47). Munro-Hay (2006: 165) states that 'We have no proof, even, that these buildings were religious in purpose'. On the other hand, he mentions different church buildings by Śārşä Dəngəl, restored by Fasilädäs, Iyasu II and others. He also assumes that there were at least six building periods.

63 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 150; Chiari 2009: 108, 112.

64 Cf. Hancock 1992: 21, 123.

65 Cf. figure 2 (in the appendix).

66 Cf. figure 3 (in the appendix).

67 Reported in Ethiopian Herald (cf. Teshome 1965: 1) on Feb. 7, 1965; cf. also Chiari 2009: 125.

68 Cf. figure 4 (in the appendix).

69 Interview with Nəburä əd Bälay, on Dec. 6, 2010. See also Chiari 2009: 122.

Alvares⁷⁰ lists the clergy and important officials of Axum church in his time as follows:

In this church there are 150 Debeteres [sic], that is canons, and as many monks. These two heads reside in the palaces which are within the great enclosure and circuit of the church; and the Nebrete [sic] of canons lodges at the right hand, and he is the principal one, and the more respected. He has jurisdiction over the canons and the laity of all this country: and the Nebrete [sic] of the monks only hears and rules the monks. Both use kettledrums and trumpets.

The following major church officials are functioning at Axum: *nəburä əd*, *afä Nəburä əd*,⁷¹ four *märigetoč*,⁷² *‘aynä maḥbär*,⁷³ *qesä gäbäz*,⁷⁴ *afä gäbäz*,⁷⁵ and *liqä diyaqon*.⁷⁶ Currently the clergy number 350 (200 priests and deacons serving in the temple and 150 *däbtäras* ‘cantors’ singing at the *qəne maḥlet*).⁷⁷

1.2 ‘No One is Allowed’

The ancient Axumite tradition stipulates that no one except the guardian monk is allowed to see the Ark of the Covenant. According to the tradition of Axum, there is a special council⁷⁸ which secretly gives instruction and inspection with respect to anything related to the Ark of the Covenant. For instance, if there is a need to move the Ark from its Chapel (due to war, destruction, etc.), then the council will secretly arrange the flight and will place it safely. Restoring the Ark to its Axumite Chapel after peace has been secured is also the task of this special council. It is forbidden for external visitors or to other clergy of Axum to see or touch the Ark of the Covenant. Many have wished to do so, but it was impossible.⁷⁹ For instance, Emperor Tewodros wanted to see the Ark of

70 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 160.

71 Lit. ‘Spokesperson of the *Nəburä əd*’.

72 Two scholars on the right and two on the left side.

73 Lit. ‘Eye of the congregation’.

74 ‘treasurer’.

75 Lit. ‘Spokesperson of the treasurer’.

76 ‘arch-deacon’.

77 These priests and clergy men serve all the churches in Axum city (viz. *ፎና* *Arba’ətu* *ፎና* *ፎና*, *ፎና* *Iyasus*, *ፎና* *Libanos*, *ፎና* *Mika’el*, *ፎና* *Yared* and the two Zion churches in the main compound), turn by turn. Interview with *Nəburä əd* Bäläy, on Sept. 23, 2008.

78 Called: *ፌዴራል ጠባቂዎች ማኅበር*, elected from the clergy and elderly people. This tradition of election continues from generation to generation.

79 There are a few deacons who serve holy water to the faithful. The informants (*Nəburä əd*

the Covenant at Axum but he could not do it. The EOTC attributes this to God who did not judge him worthy.⁸⁰

Only one King, among all the Ethiopian Kings, is said to have entered into the Chapel of the Ark and consecrated the Liturgy. He is Adyam Säggäd Iyasu (Iyasu I, 1682–1706).⁸¹ The following is cited from the chronicle of Iyasu I:

... ወተቀበልዎ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ካህናት፡ እለ፡ ሀለዉ፡ ውስተ፡ አክሱም፡ በክብር፡ ወበማኅሌት፡ ወዝማሬ፡ ወተጽእነ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዲበ፡ ፈረስ፡ ወኩሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ተለዉ፡ ተፅዕኑ፡ ዲበ፡ አፍራስ፡ ወበጽሑ፡ ምስለ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እስከ፡ ደጀ፡ ሰላም፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ዘታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወቦአ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ዘታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወተሳለመ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ወነበረ፡ ዲበ፡ ዝፋን [sic]፡ በልማደ፡ ነገሥት፡ አበዊሁ፡ እለ፡ ነበሩ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ዲበ፡ ውእቱ፡ መንበር፡ ዘዝፋን [sic]፡ ለቢሶ፡ ልብስ፡ ዲባግ፡ ዘኢይትዓወቅ፡ ኅብሩ፡ ወዘየሐይድ፡ ዓይነ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ልብስ፡ መንግሥት፡ ክቡር፡ ዘለብስ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ዳዊት፡ አቡሁ፡ አመ፡ ተቀበላ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ቤተ፡ አቢዳራ፡ ንግባዕኬ፡ ኅበ፡ ጥንተ፡ ነገርን፡ ወአምጽኡ፡ ካህናት፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ታሪክ፡ ዘነገሥት፡ አበዊሁ፡ ወእንበቡ፡ ሎቱ፡ ቅድሜሁ፡ እስከ፡ ጊዜ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ቍርባን፡ ወበጊዜ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ቍርባን፡ ቦአ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወተመጠወ፡ ቍርባን፡ እም፡ እደ፡ ካህናት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወደሙ፡ ክቡር፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ አምላክ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወምድር፡ ወመድኅነ፡ ዓለም፡ ወእምድኅረ፡ ተመጠወ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ቍርባን፡ በዕለተ፡ እሑድ፡ ሰንበት፡ አመ፡ ፯፡ ለየካቲት፡ ዓተወ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽርሕ፡ ዘሀለወት፡ ቅርብተ፡ ጥቃ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወገብረ፡ ምሳሐ፡ ለካህናት፡ ወኮነ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ፍሥሐ።

ወአመ፡ ፰፡ ለየካቲት፡ በዕለተ፡ ሠኑይ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ በዓተ፡ ጾመ፡ ነነዌ፡ ቦአ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወአዘዘ፡ ካህናተ፡ ያምጽእዋ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወያርእይ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ወአምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ትሄሉ፡ ውስተ፡ ውሳጤ፡ ሣፁን፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ፯፡ አቍላፋት፡ ወለ፯፡ አቍላፋት፡ ሀሎን፡ ዘበበገጸቲሆን፡ ወበበመዓርጊሆን፡ ለለባሕቲቶን፡ ፯፡ መራኹት፡ እለ፡ ኢየሁዕራ፡ ግዕዝ፡ አሐቲ፡ ምስለ፡ አሐቲ፡ ዳእሙ፡ ይትሌለያ፡ ግብረ፡ ርኅወተ፡ አቍላፋት፡ ዘበዖታሆን፡ ወአምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ መራኹተ፡ ወወጠኑ፡ ካህናት፡ አርኅተ፡ ቍልፍ፡ አሐቲ፡ በአሐቲ፡ መርሆ፡ ወአርኃዉ፡ እሎንተ፡ አቍላፋት፡ ዘዘከርናሆን፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ኅበ፡ ዝገጽ፡ እኒዘሙ፡ እምቀዳሚት፡ ወካልእት፡ ወሣልሲት፡ ወራብዒት፡ ወኃምሲት፡ ወሳድሲት፡ ወበጽሑ፡ እስከ፡ ሳብዒት፡ ቍልፍ፡ ወፃመዉ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ለአርኅዖታ፡ ወኢተክህሎሙ፡ ወስእኑ፡ አርኅዖታ፡ ወሶበ፡ ተስእኖሙ፡ አብጽሕዋ፡ ኅበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ተርኅወት፡ ሶቢሃ፡ ለሊሃ፡ ወደንገፁ፡ ወአንከሩ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ርእዩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ፡ ዝንቱስ፡ ዘኮነ፡ በሥምረተ፡ አምላክ፡ ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ኃደረ፡ ሳዕሌሃ፡

Bälay and Mhr. Solomon) explained to me that these deacons are allowed to enter up to the outer side of the Chapel (to the curtain), but not inside the inner *sancta sanctorum* of Ēnda Šəlat. Only the guardian has the right of access to enter and serve the Ark (on Dec. 6, 2010).

80 Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 289.

81 Cf. Guidi 1960–1961: 151–152, Munro-Hay 2006: 14, 135.

ሶባ፡ ርእየ፡ ንጽሐ፡ ልቡናሁ፡ ወስነ፡ ርትዕት፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ለሊሁ፡ ለእመ፡
ብክመ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ መጠነ፡ ኅጡተ፡ ሰናፔ፡ ወትብልዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ደብር፡ ፍልስ፡
ወይፈልስ፡ ወለእመ፡ ትብልዋ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ሰግላ፡ ተመልሐ፡ እምሥርወኪ፡ ወተተከሊ፡
ውስተ፡ ባሕር፡ ይከውን፡ በከመ፡ ነበብክመ፡ ወአሜሃ፡ ርእያ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወነጸራ፡
ንጉሥ፡ ገጸ፡ በገጽ፡ ወተናገራ፡ አፈ፡ በአፍ፡ በከመ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ነጸራ፡ ዕዝራ፡ ወተናገራ፡
ወበህየ፡ ዜነወቶ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወመዐደቶ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ሠናይተ፡ ምክረ፡ ወጥበበ፡ በዘቦመ፡
ይሜግብ፡ ዓለመ፡ ምድራዊ፡ ወበዘቦመ፡ ይወርስ፡ ዓለመ፡ ሰማያዊ፡

... And all the priests who were at Axum received him [King Iyasu] honorably in canticle and song. The king mounted the horse and all who followed him mounted horses; and they reached up to *däggä sälam*, which is the gate of the Ark of Zion, together with the king. The king, having entered the sanctuary of the Ark of Zion kissed it and seated himself on the throne, according to the custom of the kings his fathers, who seated themselves formerly on this throne seat; he was dressed in a brocade robe of unknown and wonderful colors, which was the glorious royal vestment which formerly dressed David his father, when he received the Ark of Zion at the house of Abidara. Let us return to the matter we were speaking of. And the priests brought the book of the story of the kings his fathers, and read it to him, in his presence until the time of the Holy Liturgy. At the time of Holy Liturgy the king entered the Holy of Holies and received Communion, which is Holy Flesh and Honorable Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Lord of heavens and earth, Savior of the World, from the hands of the priests. After the king had received communion, on Sunday 7th *Yäkkatit*, he went to the chamber close to the sanctuary; he offered a feast to the clergy and there was great joy.

On Monday 8th of *Yäkkatit*, which is the beginning, the fast of Nineveh, the king entered the sanctuary and ordered the priests to bring the Ark of Zion and show it to him. They brought it to him, enclosed within a coffer which has seven locks. And the seven locks had their own keys distinct in their countenance and position, whose form were in no way alike one to the other. The method of opening them was in each case different. They brought the keys to him and the priests began to open each lock with its own key. And they opened those locks that we mentioned earlier, beginning with the first, and the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth. They came to the seventh lock and they made great efforts to open it, but they did not succeed and could not open it. When it was impossible for them [to open it] they took it to the king and the lock opened of itself. All who saw this miracle were astonished and amazed. This occurred by the will of the God of the Ark of Zion, who dwelt upon

it, when He saw the purity of the spirit of the King and the excellence of his orthodox faith, as He Himself said: 'If you have faith like a grain of mustard, say to that mountain: arise, and it will arise; and if you say to this sycamore, be uprooted and transplanted in the sea, it will come to pass as you have said'. Then the king beheld and looked upon the Ark of Zion, and spoke to it face to face, as formerly Ezra saw and spoke to it. And there Zion [i.e. the Ark] imparted to the king good advice and wisdom to govern the earthly world and to inherit the heavenly world.

Text, GUIDI 1961: 151–152; translation, mine⁸²

The abbreviated chronicle (Basset 1882) limits itself to describing Iyasu's arrival at Axum, and his receiving of communion on Sunday. The next day 'He penetrated into the Sanctuary and opened with his own hand the Ark of Zion, something which the priests could only do with numerous keys'.⁸³ The *Šər'atä Šəyon* 'Ordinance of Zion'⁸⁴ describes the situation as follows: መቐደስ፡ ወአርኃዋ፡ በአደሁ፡ ሊታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰበ፡ ተስእኖሙ፡ ለካህናቲሃ፡ 'On the morrow, he [Iyasu] entered to the Sanctuary. He opened the Ark of the Covenant by his hand when it was impossible for the priests'.⁸⁵

Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 1) commence their book and say 'In the sixth month of the Year of Creation 7191,⁸⁶ the emperor Iyasu rode through the hills of northern Abyssinia toward the holy city of Aksum. Honored as 'the royal

82 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 136.

83 Quoted from Munro-Hay 2006: 137.

84 NL 821, f. 133.

85 Budge (1922: viii–ix) presents a similar tradition of the Egyptian kings. His statement goes: 'We know from the inscriptions that the Ark of Amen was provided with doors that were kept bolted and sealed. On certain occasions the king had the right to break these seals and unbolt the doors, and look upon the face of the god. Thus, after his conquest of Egypt, the Nubian king Piānkhi went to visit Rā in his sanctuary near Heliopolis. He was received by the Kherḥeb priest, who prayed that ... Piānkhi ascended the steps leading to the ark of Rā and stood there alone. He broke the seal, drew the bolts, threw open the doors and looked upon the face of Rā ... In this way Piānkhi was recognized by Rā as the king of all Egypt ...'.

86 The date 7191 year of Creation seems erroneous. The edited chronicle of the Emperor by Guidi (1961: 151) writes that he partook of the Holy Communion on *Yäkkatit* 7 (Sunday), and on the morrow *Yäkkatit* 8, which was Monday, the King entered the Holy of Holies and ordered the priests to bring him *Tabotä Šəyon* and the key opened by itself. But *Yäkkatit* 8 falls on Monday in the year EC 1683 [= AD 1691]. This year is accepted also by Munro-Hay (2006: 135). The year 1683 (1691) is the equivalent of the Year of Creation 7183 (1683 + 5500) and not 7191.

throne of the kings of Zion, the mother of all lands, pride of the entire universe, and jewel of kings', the city was so ancient that no one could remember how or when it had been built'. On another page of the book, the authors give the same account of King Iyasu the Great: 'Emperor Iyasu enters the sanctuary at Aksum and commands the priests to bring the Ark of the Covenant to him, the chronicle reports the events that follow as a miracle. The Ark is sealed with seven locks, and the priests open these one after the other. They only succeed with six, however. The seventh cannot be moved, and when they finally decide to carry the Ark unopened into the presence of the emperor, the Ark releases the seventh seal and reveals itself to Iyasu of its own will'.⁸⁷

Various visitors to Axum requested to see the AC. Nevertheless, the Axumite priests were thoroughly committed to the tradition and said 'No one'. We can see the insistence of Dimotheos, as an example. Himself and his party asked *däggazmač* Kasa Mərça to order the priests of Axum to let them see the AC. The priests of Axum Zion replied 'As per the tradition, it is not possible to venerate the AC except one monk'. Dimotheos then complained to the Axumite priests and said that 'Traditions should be respected, of course, but theirs was simply astonishing. It prevented Christians from honoring such a sacred object'. He continued his argument and told the priests that 'Which was the more worthy of veneration, the Tablet or the Cross?' After some discussion, the priests agreed that the holy Cross was the greater. Dimotheos then asked 'Why, if the Cross was not hidden but exhibited everywhere, should anyone be prevented from touching and venerating this Tablet written by the hand of God himself?' Dimotheos added that the secrecy and concealment surrounding this Tablet simply added to doubts about its authenticity.⁸⁸

Not only King Iyasu but also St. Yared entered into the presence of the Ark. From the Vita of St. Yared, we read that he entered the Sanctuary and praised the Ark of the Covenant.⁸⁹ Then he touched the Ark with his two hands. The text goes as follows:

ወሶቢሃ፡ ቦአ፡ ያሬድ፡ ውስተ፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ገበዘ፡
አክሱም፡ ወአንበረ፡ ፪፡ እደዊሁ፡ ውስተ፡ ርእሰ፡ ታቦት፡ ወከልሐ፡ በልዑል፡ ቃል፡
እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ቅድስት፡ ወብፅዕት፡ ስብሕት፡ ወቡርካት፡ ክብርት፡ ወልዕልት፡ አንቀጻ፡
ብርሃን፡ መዓርገ፡ ሕይወት፤ እስከ፡ ተፍጻሚቱ።

87 Quoted from Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 336.

88 Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 288–289.

89 Yared first sang what he learned from the Seraphim and descended to the Axumite cathedral at 3:00 o'clock before the Ark (cf. Conti Rossini 1904: 10).

And at that time Yared entered to the Ark of the Law of the Lord, which is the cathedral of Axum. He laid his two hands on the Tabot. He acclaimed in a loud voice saying ‘[You are] Holy and blessed, praised and glorified, honored and exalted, the gate of light and ascent of life’; until the end.

Text, CONTI ROSSINI 1904: 12; translation, mine⁹⁰

From the Ethiopic sources we see that only these two personalities, St. Yared (from his hagiography) and Emperor Iyasu Adyam Säggäd (from his chronicle), are the only were enabled to see and praise the Ark of the Covenant at Axum.

1.3 *Feast of Zion*

The feast of *Hədar Šəyon* is held at Axum annually on *Hədar* 21 (November 30).⁹¹ The celebration is colorful and a huge crowd of pilgrims from every corner of the country turns up for the occasion.⁹² It celebrates the arrival of the Ark of the Covenant in Axum as well as the dedication of the church of *Maryam Šəyon* by Frumentius. Miracle of *Šəyon* (MS EMM 8823) states:

ወበዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለኅዳር፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ተመደጦታ፡ እም፡ ኀበ፡ ጌወውዋ፡
ኀበ፡ ቤታ፡ ወዳግም፡ ምጽአታ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም፡ ወበእንተዝ፡ ያብዕሉ፡ ላቲ፡
በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለለወርኹ፡ ወፈድፋደሰ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለኅዳር፡ ወነበረት፡
ህየ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡ እስከ፡ ይትወለድ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እም፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ወሶበ፡
ተወልደሂ፡ ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ምስለ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ነበሩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያእምሩ፡ ልደቶ፡
ለክርስቶስ፡ ወእምዝ፡ መጽአ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ እምብሔረ፡ ግብፅ፡ ኀበ፡ አክሱም፡
ወደቤሎሙ፡ ለካህናተ፡ ጽዮን፡ በምንት፡ ሕግ፡ ሀለውካሙ፡ ወደቤልዎ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡
ወደቤሎሙ፡ ኢያእመርካሙኑ፡ ከመ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ተስፋ፡ አቡን፡ አዳም፡ ወኪዳነ፡
አብርሃም፡ ወመሐላሁ፡ ለዳዊት።

⁹⁰ Cf. Grohmann 1919: 22–23.

⁹¹ *Täammärä Maryam* states 33 Marian feasts yearly (cf. Perruchon: 1893: 75–76). Munro-Hay (2006: 169) writes that ‘King Zara Yaqob, Sayfa Arad’s grandson, imposed over thirty new feasts for Mary on the Ethiopian church, and greatly encouraged her worship’. The major feasts are *Nähase* 7—*Šənsäta* ‘her conception’ in the womb of Ann, her Mother; *Gənbət* 1—*Ləädäta* ‘her nativity’; *Tahšaś* 3—*Bä’ata* ‘her entrance’ to the Temple; *Yäkkatit* 16—*Kidanä Məhrät* ‘her delivery of the Covenant of Mercy’ from Her Son; *Tərr* 21—*‘Eräfta* ‘her departure’; *Nähase* 16—*Fəlsäta* ‘her Assumption’. The feast of *Hədar Šəyon* nevertheless, is not mentioned. We cannot find any note on the feast of *Hədar Šəyon* in the Ethiopian Synaxarium. The feast of Zion on Nov. 30, therefore, is based on DŞ.

⁹² There are numerous pilgrims who come from the Diaspora for the *Šəyon* feast.

Therefore, [it is praiseworthy] to celebrate the great feast to her every 21st day of the month. She lived in the [order of] Law until Christ was born from the Holy Virgin. While He was born, they were living with her priests without knowing the birth of Christ. Then, *abba* Sālāma came from the country of Egypt to Axum. And he said to the priests of Zion ‘By which Law are you [still ruled]?’ They replied ‘In the Law [Old Testament]’. He said to them ‘Do not you know that the hope of our father Adam, the covenant of Abraham and the promise of David have been fulfilled’.

Nəburä əd Ermyas Kebede⁹³ (2004/2005 [EC 1997]: 364) states that the feast of Zion is also called *Täzkarä Maryam*:

ጌታችን፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስና፡ እመቤታችን፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ዓሥሩ፡ የእግዚአብሔር፡ ቃላት፡ በተጻፉባቸው፡ ጽላትና፡ እነርሱን፡ በያዘችው፡ ታቦት፡ አድረው፡ የኖሩባትና፡ ኪዳነ፡ ሙሴ፡ የምትባለው፡ ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ የምትዘከርበት፡ በዓል፡ ጎዳር፡ ጽዮን፡ ወይም፡ ተዝካረ፡ ማርያም፡ ተብሎ፡ በጎዳር፡ ፳፩፡ ቀን፡ ይከበራል።

The feast of the Ark of the Covenant, also called the Covenant of Moses, in which Our Lord Jesus Christ and Our Lady Virgin Mary reside and on which the Ten Commandments of the Lord, were written, is celebrated on Hədar 21⁹⁴ and is referred to as Hədar Şəyon or *täzkarä Maryam*, ‘commemoration of Mary’.

Translation, mine

Dərsanä Şəyon is intended to be read on this feast. According to *nəburä əd Bälāy*,⁹⁵ ‘DŞ must be read for seven days until the feast of Zion. If someone

93 According to Girma Elyas (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 90) this Ermyas was the 86th *Nəburä əd* of Axum.

94 I.e. Nov. 30.

95 *Nəburä əd Bälāy*, according to the list of Girma Elyas (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 90), is the 90th *Nəburä əd* counting from Azaryas, the first High priest of Zion. However, the list seems not exhaustive. It states only nine High priests until the time of King ‘Amdä Şəyon (1314–1344) and the title *Nəburä əd* starts with Mika’el. Yet, the famous *Nəburä əd* Yəshəaq, in whose time KN was translated, is not included in the list; nor is *Nəburä əd* Gäbrä Mika’el during the time of Zär’a Ya’əqob (cf. Cerulli 1943: 117). At the time of the interview, eight *Nəburanä əd* of Axum had succeeded *Nəburä əd Bälāy* (he served for 14 years, EC 1978–1992). The following are his successors: (1) *Nəburä əd* Gäbrä Waḥəd (later ordained as Bishop *abunä* Mäqaryos) → (2) *Nəburä əd* Tātāmqa → (3) *Nəburä əd* Elyas → (4) *Nəburä əd* *abba*

seeks the blessings of Zion and wants to read it at any time, however, he will be permitted'.⁹⁶ Mhr. Solomon, on the other hand explains, 'Since the appointment of the current *Ἐqa bet* (Abba Gäbrä Mäsqäl),⁹⁷ it is being read daily, for he has much devotion to Zion'. The following colophon, nevertheless, confirms that DṢ must be read on the 21st of *Ḥadar*. The quotation is from the critical edition of DṢ in [§ 136]:

ተፈጸመ፡ ዝኾኑ፡ ድርሳን፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ በወርቅ፡ ካኑን፡ አመ፡ ፳፬፡ ለወርቅ፡ ጎዳር፡
በሰላሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ አሜን። ወበረድኤተ፡ ወልድ፡ አሜን። ወበሥግረተ፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ መንፈስ ቅዱስ፡ ጰራቅሊጦስ፡ አሜን።

The homily, which is read in the month of *Kanun* on the 21st of the month of *Ḥadar*, is [now] completed, by the peace of the Lord the Father, Amen; and with the help of the Son, Amen; and by the will of the Lord the Holy Spirit, Paraclete, Amen.

Munro-Hay (2006: 233, note 34) takes note of the service of *Ṣayon* at Axum from the translation of the chronicle of Mənilək II by Guébré Sellassié. Munro-Kay gives the note: 'On the evening of Hedar Seyon, Psalm 137:1, is sung, and Matthew 23:34–36, is read. Acts 7:44–47, is also read. Early next day Psalm 132:13–14, is sung; Matthew 5:17–20, is read and during the mass Psalm 139:19–21 is sung and Matthew 12:27–28 is read. The mass is *Kedase Maryam*. The key verse of the day is Psalm 87:5–6. 'Yes, of Zion it will be said, "This one and that one were born in her", and the Most High himself establishes her. The Lord will count as He registers the peoples: this one was born there'.

Zäkkaryas → (5) *Nəburä əd Täsfay* → (6) *Nəburä əd Yoḥannəs* (who was in his office during my first visit of Axum in 2008) → (7) *Nəburä əd Gäbrä Maryam* → (8) *Nəburä əd Gäbrä Ḥəy-wät* (the current head of the Church). (Interview with *Nəburä əd Elyas Abrəha* (on Nov. 27, 2010, at his office in Addis Ababa)), *Nəburä əd Bälay* (on Dec. 6, 2010, in front of the new Cathedral, Axum).

96 I have attended the DṢ reading ceremony for four consecutive days after the annual feast of Zion (on Dec. 4–7, 2010).

97 *Ἐqa bet abba* Gäbrä Mäsqäl (originally not from Axum but from the Amhara region) was elected by the church community three years back when the then *Ἐqa bet abba* Täklä Maryam was seriously ill. *abba* Täklä Maryam recovered after medical treatment, but the *maḥbär* decided to let *abba* Gäbrä Mäsqäl continue the guardianship of the Ark. (Interview with Mhr. Solomon, dated 07/12/2010). *Ἐqa bet* Gäbrä Mäsqäl himself stated that he is provisional guardian of the Ark, until *Ἐqa bet abba* Täklä Maryam replaces him (interview on Sept. 25, 2008).

Daggʷa,⁹⁸ the hymnody of St. Yared on *Hədar Şayon*, preserves a long praise which lauds Mary-Zion. It gives various interpretations of the Ark-Zion-Mary symbolism. Furthermore, *Mäşhafä Gəşşawe*⁹⁹ orders Ps. 48:12 to be sung at dawn on the day of Zion's feast. The following *arke* is cited from *Mälkə'a Maryam*, a chant on Mary Zion, on *Hədar* 21:¹⁰⁰

ለላም፡ ለመከየድኪ፡ እለ፡ ረከቦን፡ መከራ።
 እምፍርሃተ፡ ቀተልት፡ ሐራ፡ እንበለ፡ አግዕን፡ አመ፡ ሐራ።
 ግርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ቃለ፡ ጽድቅ፡ መንፈቅ፡ ዕሥራ።
 ዕጎላት፡ እምዕጎሊሆን፡ እለ፡ ኪያኪ፡ አፍቀራ።
 አፍቀርኩኪ፡ አፍቅርኒ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ለግሙራ።

Salutation to your footstool[s], which received temptations;
 From the killing of the soldier, when they went without shoes;
 Mary Zion, Tabot of the word of righteous, half of twenty;¹⁰¹
 As the cows (lit. 'calves') loved you more than their calves;¹⁰²
 I love you [and] let you love me completely from now.

Text, TÄSFA 1970/1971 [EC 1963]: 16; translation, mine

2 Axum

We have rich sources on Axum and Axumite civilization,¹⁰³ and different archaeologists, historians and philologists have contributed greatly to our knowledge. This book is not intended to give a detailed account of the history of Axum. Only a few points related to DŞ are presented here.¹⁰⁴

98 Cf. EMMML 2542, a late 16th cent. Antiphonary for the Year [*Daggʷa*], ff. 5^r–131^v, here ff. 22^r–42^v. Getatchew and Macomber 1983: 23–24 state that the sections of this *Daggʷa* correspond with the printed *Daggʷa* (1966/1967 [EC 1959]) and the Five Modes of Chants printed in 1972/1973 [EC 1965], although they note that there is a textual difference between them.

99 Cf. Täsfa 1991/1992 [EC 1983]: 31.

100 There are also various chants.

101 Half of twenty is 'ten'. Hence, it implies the Ten Commandments inscribed on the Tablet of the Ark.

102 The Bible states how the Ark of the Covenant was carried on a cart to the house of King David. The Bible says that the cart was carried on [two] oxen (cf. 2 Sam. 6:1–6). The above *Mälkə'a*, on the other hand, calls them calves.

103 Cowley (1971b: 25, note 20) mentions of *Kebäbä Aksum*, a text that preserves a history of Axum. The text is described as 'Of Āše Gäbrä Mäsqäl'.

104 For the chronology of Axum, cf. Fattovich 2003: 181–182 and Munro-Hay 1991.

Conti Rossini (1938: 786) derives the word Axum from a Semitic word *Aksum* which he says signifies *hortus viridis et densis herbis impletus* 'a green garden full of dense grass'. Sergew (1972: 68) collects various etymologies for the name Axum. He writes that the word Aksum is partially Agaw in origin. *Ak* or *Aku* means 'water', whereas the suffix *sum* is Semitic and means 'chief'. If it is so, Axum means 'chief's water', which is confirmed by the existence of *may šum* in the city.¹⁰⁵ Tradition, on the other hand, gives the etymology of Axum from the name of a king called Axumawi,¹⁰⁶ who is otherwise unattested.

Axum was a center for trade and caravan routes to Egypt and Meroe. Access to sea trade with the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean helped Axum become an international trading power. Adulis, the Axumite seaport, was crowded with traders from Egypt, Arabia, Persia, India and the Roman Empire. Ayele Bekery,¹⁰⁷ referring to archeological evidence, remarks the following about Axum:

Empress *Makeda*, the legendary woman ruler, ruled from Aksum. The Ark of the Covenant is housed in Aksum. The Prophet Mohammed sent his followers to Aksum to avoid religious persecution. Some of the most powerful rulers, who established diplomatic relations with Rome (AD 274), Alexandria and Meroe. Persians and other significant powers of the period had also contacts with Aksum.

Hence, it is clear that Axum was one of the leading powers of classical times. Axumite kings were victorious and popular in the surrounding area. The reign of Kaleb and his conquest of South Arabia on behalf of the Christian world mark the apex of Axumite power, prestige, and international fame. Although his successors soon lost control of South Arabia to one of their own generals, many Ethiopian traditions view the middle of the sixth century as a prosperous period that saw important developments in the evolution of both church and state.¹⁰⁸

This powerful kingdom, however, declined ca. 8th cent. AD due to the rise of Islam. Muslim invaders destroyed Adulis in AD 710 which cut Axum off from the major ports of both the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. As a result, the Axumite kingdom declined as an international political power and lost its

105 Cf. Tubiana, 1953: 48; also Monneret 1938: 7. See now Marrassini 2014a: 14–15.

106 Out of eight king lists by Conti Rossini (1909a: 19), the second list (B) says the name አ፲ሰግደ፡፡

107 Cf. [<http://www.theriseofaksum.com>] (20/04/2009).

108 Cf. Kaplan 1992: 41.

identity. Merid Wolde Aregay (1988: 162) on the other hand states that the cause for the decline of Axumite power was the Beja migration. He writes 'The spread of Islam along the Ethiopian coast was not the cause but the consequence of the retraction of Aksumite presence from these areas. Scholars of the Aksumite period attribute a very important role to the Beja migration in causing the decline of Aksumite trade'. Similarly, Kaplan (1992: 41) remarks on the decline of the Axumite kingdom and the consequences:

Between 702 and 715, the Arabs eliminated the Aksumite fleet and destroyed Adulis. This change in trading patterns, which left Aksum isolated and landlocked, was a major blow to the economic basis of Aksumite power ... In the north the Beja, a powerful pastoralist people, gained control of much of the coastal plain which today comprises Eritrea. To the West, areas beyond the Takkaze river, which had long been conquered and incorporated into the kingdom, regained their independence and cut off the Aksumites from the main goldbearing districts.

Nevertheless, the decline of Axum did not immediately result in either the disappearance of its kings or the decline of Christian influence in the highlands of Ethiopia. Numerous traditions indicate that from the seventh century onward the center of gravity of the Christian kingdom moved southward. In the ninth century there were military campaigns, church building, and evangelization as far south as the Amhara region.¹⁰⁹

The four centuries after the fall of Axum are commonly termed the Post-Axumite period (8th–12th cent. AD), which terminated with the advent of the Zagwe dynasty in about AD 1137.¹¹⁰ After that Axum was no longer used as the name of the Ethiopian people. *Ḥabaš* remained, as usual, the Arab name for the people, and the country was called *Ḥabaša*.¹¹¹

2.1 *Coronation at Axum*¹¹²

Axumite coronation was one of the important royal ceremonies of the Ethiopian monarchs. It was not a ceremony in which a crown was placed on the

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Kaplan 1992: 42.

¹¹⁰ Budge (1933: xlii) gives the Zagwe period as (AD 914–1268); for brief discussion of the Zagwe dynasty, see Kaplan 1984: 19–22.

¹¹¹ Cf. Munro-Hay 1991: 82.

¹¹² For a brief but comprehensive note on the subject, refer to Munro-Hay 2004: 177–201; Rich. Pankhurst 2003: 802–804.

king's head, but instead a consecration or introduction into kingship.¹¹³ Orlowska (2006: 13)¹¹⁴ mentions that at Axum coronation was not decisive for enthronement. She says 'Only five out of fifty-eight Solomonid emperors who reigned between 1270 and 1855 went to Axum for the coronation'. If we add Kasa Mərča's coronation which was performed in 1872, the number will become six. These few Solomonid Kings had the tradition of going to Axum and performing their coronation.¹¹⁵ The Gondarine emperors after Iyo'as (1755–1769) stopped going to Axum for the coronation, limiting themselves to a modest ceremony at Gondär. The Zagwe Kings were crowned in the churches of the Archangel Michael and Giyorgis (at Roha), not in Axum Zion, as stated by Abū Šālih.¹¹⁶ Abū Šālih also mentions that their royal coronation was followed by robing; no overtones relating to Zion are recorded.¹¹⁷ In describing the ritual coronation of Emperor Susneyos (1607–1632) Paez writes that 'Sometimes the kings are crowned in the Garangaredaz church in the kingdom of Amhara'. But he continues 'They believe it a greater honor to be crowned at Axum, as this had been the seat of the Queen Sheba and her son Mənilək. In fact, they would rather delay the ceremony than perform it elsewhere'.¹¹⁸

The best description of the Axumite ceremony of royal coronation is to be found in MS BL Or. 817, ff. 11^b–12.¹¹⁹ General features of the coronation ceremony are as follows:

113 Cf. Munro-Hay 2004: 177.

114 Dr. Izabela Orlowska, my former colleague at the Philology Program, Addis Ababa University, generously gave me a copy of the third chapter of her PhD dissertation. I am very grateful to her. Page numbers of Orlowska (quoted in this book) refer to the third chapter of her thesis.

115 In KN chs. 39 and 92 legendary anointing ceremonies are described briefly for Mənilək I. The first of this is supposed to have taken place in Jerusalem, in front of the Ark in the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Solomon, and the second in Ethiopia at the capital Däbrä Makadda presided over by Azarias, son of the high priest Zadok. The origin of these mythical ceremonies is clearly the ritual used for Solomon himself, at Gihon, by Zadok, as described in 1 Kings 1:33–40.

116 See Evetts 1895: 286–287, Munro-Hay 2004: 178, Munro-Hay 2006: 90.

117 We can mention one incident of the reflection of KN on the Zagwe coronation. Munro-Hay (2006: 90, 241, note 63) refers Marrassini's *Gadla Yemrehanna Krestos* (1995: 69) and remarks: 'Perhaps we can see a reflection of the KN in an incident mentioned in Yimrehana Krestos's Life just before the account of his enthronement'. See also Munro-Hay 2004: 178.

118 Quoted from Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 267.

119 Cf. Taddesse 1972: 248, note 3.

- 1) The priests and deacons will receive the king with golden crosses, the silver censer and various parasols (umbrellas), will chant the hymn of Yared 'May you be blessed, O King of Israel';
- 2) 'Daughters of Zion' will wait at the milestone to the east of the great church, called 'Cutting the Cord';
- 3) The King will arrive at Axum—in front of Zion, the Ark of the Covenant;
- 4) Two old women will stand together with the 'Daughters of Zion' and will ask the king his name and his family;
- 5) Then, the king will pronounce 'I am the son of David, the son of Əbnä Həkim'. They will question him again and he will declare his ancestors until his own father, his predecessor.
- 6) The women will cry aloud 'Truly you are the King of Zion, the son of David, the son of Solomon';
- 7) The priests will chant on one side and the 'Daughters of Zion' on the other side;
- 8) Finally, the King will enter the court of the house of the heavenly Zion. Then all the people will shout, 'Long live the King of Zion!' and began to beat drums, blow trumpets and fire their guns;
- 9) The King will cast a great quantity of gold on the ground.
- 10) The king will sit on the 'Seat of David', which is dragged in precious fabrics.

It is clear that some Emperors may have deviated from this to follow their own arrangements. Nevertheless, the general outline of the coronation ceremony is similar.¹²⁰

The following kings were crowned at Axum Zion:

- 1) **Zär'a Ya'əqob** (1434–1468)—In 1436, two years after he became King of Ethiopia in Shoa, Zär'a Ya'əqob traveled to Axum and underwent the customary rites of coronation in the ancient city.¹²¹ Some say that Zär'a Ya'əqob was

¹²⁰ For a detailed description of the coronation, refer to Munro-Hay 1991: 130–133, Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 261–274, Munro-Hay 2006: 89–95. On the other hand, Kefyalew (2010/2011 [EC 2003]: 288–290) records the tradition about የአራቱ መናብርተ ጽዮን አለቆች: 'The four heads of the Seat of Zion'. According to him, the coronation of every Ethiopian king must be performed by four heads of monasteries. They are: ንቡረ: እጽ: (*nəburä əd*) of Axum (in crowning the King); በትረያርክ: (*bätrəyarək*) of Tədbabä Maryam (in girding the King's waist); ርእሰ: ርእሰ: (*rə'əsä rə'usan*) of Mäṛṭulä Maryam (in conferring the king's vest) and ሊቀ: ካህናት: (*liqä kahnat*) of Tana Qirqos (in anointing the King). He adds that the coronation ceremony will last for forty days.

¹²¹ Cf. Tadesse 1972: 248, Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 261, Munro-Hay 2006: 267.

the founder of such a coronation. MA states that Zär'a Ya'eqob revived the tradition. Munro-Hay (1991: 130) states his role: 'Zär'a Ya'eqob is the first king who is known to have resurrected the ancient coronation ceremony at Aksum'. So he cannot be considered as the founder of such a coronation, but a restorer. Kobishchanov 1979: 202 says that the legendary King Gäbrä Mäsqäl was the founder. He remarks:

Zara Yaqob resumed the coronation of the emperors in Axum and tried to restore its archaic ritual, the founding of which is ascribed to the legendary Axumite king Gebre Mesqel.

Hence, we can be clear that the coronation was considered an earlier Axumite tradition.¹²²

2) **Bä'ädä Maryam** (1468–1478)—Son and successor of Zär'a Ya'eqob, Bä'ädä Maryam was also crowned in front of Zion at Axum.¹²³ Kobishchanov (1979: 202) says about his coronation: 'When Emperor Baeda Maryam came to Axum for the coronation he found out about the old rite'. He quotes his chronicle¹²⁴ as follows:

And the King [Bä'ädä Maryam] went into 'the house of vow-taking'. To him were led a buffalo and a lion according to the ancient custom in order that he strike them with his hand. But our king Baeda Maryam refused to strike them and ordered another to kill the buffalo but to let the lion¹²⁵ live, as did his father [Zär'a Ya'eqob] in [that same] town of Axum when he carried out the rite of vow-taking.

The chronicler of Bä'ädä Maryam mentions that when the emperor was at Axum a special stone was shown to him on which the ancient kings sat in

¹²² Cf. Perruchon 1893: 49–52, 83.

¹²³ Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 266) say that Bä'ädä Maryam was not crowned in the ancient city of Axum, but rather summoned the people of Axum to his coronation. Additionally, they state that, in spite of the efforts of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob to revive the ancient coronation rites in Axum, very few of the medieval kings actually went there for their tonsuring. Munro-Hay (2004) also omits Bä'ädä Maryam's coronation.

¹²⁴ Cf. Perruchon 1893: 175, Turaev 1936: 104.

¹²⁵ This kind of keeping wild animals in the palace (such as lions, buffalos, leopards, snakes etc.) had been common since Axumite times. The reason is to show the election of the king by all, even by wild beasts (Kobishchanov 1979: 202–203).

state in the council of the nobles. Twelve kingly generations, descendants of the ancient Axumite nobility, were arranged on twelve stones to the right and to the left of the king and the metropolitan. In 1520 Alvares also noted these twelve stones.¹²⁶

3) **Šāršä Dəngəl** (1563–1597)—He was the first Gondarine King.¹²⁷ His chronicle¹²⁸ states that he was crowned at Axum in 1563, although Munro-Hay (2006: 14) instead dates his coronation to 1579. The ritual was celebrated with a magnificent display, and the chronicler provides a fairly detailed account of it. He begins by telling us that the emperor sent a message to the priests of Axum, announcing that he was coming to celebrate the ceremonies of royalty before his mother Zion, the Ark of the God of Israel, as his fathers David and Solomon had done. When he arrived, he went to the church of Zion and the priests, deacons and *däbtäras* welcomed him warmly. They chanted for him the hymn of Yared: ‘May may be blessed, O King of Israel’. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 267) describe his coronation.

Having proclaimed his lineage, he raised his sword and cut the cord that the maidens held. Then the two old women cried aloud, ‘Truly, truly you are the king of Zion, son of David, the son of Solomon!’ Then the priests of Zion began on chant in one side and the Daughters of Zion on the other side.

4) **Susneyos** (1607–1632)¹²⁹—According to Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 267) Susneyos was the third king to undergo the ceremony at Axum. The Spaniard Paez records his coronation and notes:

126 The text goes: ‘Again, there are at Aksum twelve stones, each with its color. The first is the stone of Kaleb; the second is the stone of Māya Bazo; the third is the stone of Nāḥso; the fourth is the stone of Mäzbär; the fifth is the stone of Aksum; the sixth is the stone of the resting-place (or, of the tomb); the seventh is the stone of Wagra Samarat; the eighth is the stone of Māya Kuakueḥ; the ninth is the Šēwa berānā; the tenth is the stone of Rom; the eleventh is the black stele; the twelfth is the white stele’ (cited from Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, vol. 2: 522–523).

127 The Gondarine period extends from Šāršä Dəngəl (1563–1597) to Täklä Giyorgis (1779–1784).

128 Composed by Wäldä Haymanot.

129 The Chronicle of Susneyos states that his reign lasted 28 years (cf. Pereira 1892: 335). Hence, his time must have been either (1604–1632) or (1607–1635). With regard to the composers of his chronicle, Ferenc (1985: 280–281) writes that ‘It is the work of the three persons connected with the court, namely, Məhərka Dəngəl, Täklä Səllase called ʾTino, of Oromo descent, and an anonymous who continued the work after ʾTino’s death’.

When Susneyos reached the place where the priests were waiting for him, two girls were holding a twisted rope by its ends. They asked the king who he was, and he replied that he was the king. The girls told him that he was not the king. He turned away and walked five or six steps, and then came back to them. The girls repeated the question, and asked whose king he was. He replied that he was the king of Israel, but the girls told him that he was not their king. He turned away again. When the girls asked him for a third time, he took hold of his sword and cut the rope, telling them that he was the king of Zion. The girls then proclaimed that he was in truth the king of Zion and should enter the city. All the people shouted, 'Long live the king of Zion!' and began to beat drums, blow trumpets, and fire their guns.¹³⁰

The coronation of Emperor Susneyos was accompanied by great pageantry, the King arriving with some 25,000 army, riding a richly caparisoned steed, himself garbed in crimson damask with a golden chain around his neck.¹³¹

5) **Iyasu I** (1682–1706)—The great-grandson of Susneyos, Iyasu Adyam Säggäd, exercised a power over the priests of Zion, entering in person into the sanctuary in 1691 to see the *tabotä* Şəyon itself, as his chronicle states.¹³²

6) **Yohannəs IV** (1872–1889)—The former Kasa Mərça, later Yohannəs IV, was the last king to be crowned at Axum Zion; he is usually considered as a post-Solomonid king.¹³³ His chronicle tells us that he was devoted to Zion. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 268) say:

When he was ill, he 'put his hopes in his mother Zion'. His counselors prayed 'to God and to Our Lady Mary of Zion, the Ark of Law', and when he was cured, 'the singers of Zion, and the others, men and women, the old and the young, glorified Our Lady of Zion, for he was called the King of Zion'.¹³⁴

Referring to the unpublished chronicle of Yohannəs IV, Orlowska (2006: 19–20) writes about his coronation that:

130 Quoted from Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 267–268.

131 Cf. Pereira: 1892; Munro-Hay 1991: 130.

132 For a detailed account of his royal coronation related to the Ark of Zion, see Munro-Hay 2006: 135–138.

133 Cf. Munro-Hay 2004: 177.

134 See also Munro-Hay (2003: 183–185) and Munro-Hay (2006: 15).

The Debre Birhan Sillasē chroniclers tell us that ‘the throne [*mānbär*], robe [*ləbsä māngəšt*], belt [*qənat*] and his shoes were of gold and silver’. They paint a very vivid picture of the crown, an important symbol and one of the key tools of enthronement. It was made of pure gold, decorated with diamonds that ‘shone like lighting’. Having put on the ‘clothes of government’ Yohannis began singing for Tsiyon, which we are led to believe was to imitate the custom of David who ‘sang in front of the Ark’ ... At the coronation he received a golden crown-like headdress (*ras wärq*). Interestingly, this head decoration was the same as the one assigned for the *nəburä əd* of Axum.

He performed the usual rite at Axum. Accompanied by the bishops and clergy, *abunä* Atnatewos completed the coronation prayer. The *abun* took the horn with the ‘oil of the kingdom’¹³⁵ and poured it over Yoḥannəs’ head. In this way Yoḥannəs IV took the title ‘King of Kings of Ethiopia and King of Zion’.

2.2 *Ethiopian Royal Titles (Classical and Medieval Times)*

A brief discussion of Ethiopian royal titles can be useful for a wider outlook. Hence this section is intended to present the most famous royal titles from Axumite times until Yoḥannəs IV. Inscriptions play a crucial role for the reconstruction of Axumite history, especially to retrieve information about the Axumite rulers. Kobishchanov¹³⁶ describes the title of the king in the time of Axumites. He states:

The title ‘King of Axum’ or ‘King of the Axumites’ was the basic title of the Axumite kings in all the periods. The latter form is usual in Greek¹³⁷ and Sabaean texts throughout the Axumite period.¹³⁸

At the end of the 2nd cent. AD the title ‘King of Kings’ was used as the highest title of the most powerful eastern monarchs¹³⁹ with whom Axum developed commercial and other relations. On the other hand, some assume that Sem-

¹³⁵ i.e. *Qəb’a Mangəšt*.

¹³⁶ Fiaccadori (2007: 1163) also discusses this.

¹³⁷ *Basileüs tôn Axomeítōn*, *Basileüs tôn Axomítōn*.

¹³⁸ Cf. Kobishchanov 1979: 193–196. But for all royal Axumite inscriptions see now also Marassini 2014a, pp. 170–171 for the royal Axumite titles in particular.

¹³⁹ Northern India, the Persian empire, Armenia, Palmyra.

bruthes¹⁴⁰ is the first Axumite ‘king of kings’. Among the Axumite rulers, we know clearly the titles of ‘Ezana,¹⁴¹ Kaleb and WʿZB.

1) ‘Ezana’s titles as given on his pagan Greek inscription¹⁴² are: ‘Aeizanas, king of¹⁴³ the Aksumites, the Himyarites, Raeidan, the Ethiopians,¹⁴⁴ the Sabaeans, Silei (Salhen), Tiyyamo,¹⁴⁵ the Beja and Kasou, King of Kings, son of the unconquered Ares’. The Epigraphic South Arabian version¹⁴⁶ presents the order as follows: Aksum, Himyar, Raydan, Habashat, Saba, Salhen, Tsiyamo, Kasu¹⁴⁷ and the Beja,¹⁴⁸ while the Geʿez version¹⁴⁹ reads Aksum, Himyar, Kasu, Saba, Habashat, Raydan, Salhen, Siyamo, Beja; both of these add the phrase ‘King of Kings, son of the unconquered Maḥrem’. Munro-Hay suggests that the general outline of the majority of the inscriptional titularies seems to prescribe Axum, Arabia and Africa.¹⁵⁰ In other inscriptions of ‘Ezana’s he gives his affiliation to ʿĪllä ‘Amida and the title *Bisi Halen* or *Alene*,¹⁵¹ and mentions that he is the son of Ares/Maḥrem¹⁵² or, in the case of his Christian inscription, ‘the servant of Christ’ (DAE vol. 4: no. 11).¹⁵³ Sergew (1972: 123), referring to the unpublished

140 After the Roman-Persian war of AD 296–297.

141 We also read the same title ‘king’ of Abrəḥa and Aṣbəḥa in MA as: ‘Abrəḥa and Aṣbəḥa kings of Axum’, and Gäbrä Mäsqäl also uses the title ‘king’ (cf. Conti Rossini 1909b: 18, 19).

142 DAE vol. 4: no. 4.

143 This is a *nota genitivi*. For a detailed treatment of *nota genitivi Zä-* in Epigraphic Geʿez, cf. Bulakh 2009: 393–419, here pp. 403 and 412–416.

144 Rendered as ‘Habeshat’ in the other inscriptions.

145 It is reported that Šəyamo was in the titlature of ‘Ezana, Kaleb ʿĪllä Asbaha and WʿZB. Cf. Frantsouzoff 2010b: 645 on ‘Šəyamo’. Weninger (2010: 79–80) argues that ʾ (š) was an affricate in Axumite Geʿez and not a sibilant. Referring to the inscriptions, he states that the toponym Šəyamo (*RIÉ* no. 188:3; *RIÉ* no. 189:3; spelled Šəym in *RIÉ* nos. 185 I:2, II:2; *RIÉ* no. 185bis I:2; *RIÉ* no. 186:3; *RIÉ* no. 191:10; *RIÉ* no. 192:6) is spelled *Tiamō* in Greek (*RIÉ* no. 270:4; *RIÉ* no. 270bis:3; *RIÉ* no. 271:9). There can hardly be any doubt that τ represents the occlusive element of the affricate. So the probability that /š/ was a glottalized alveolar affricate [ʔs] is very high.

146 DAE vol. 4: no. 6.

147 Munro-Hay (1991: 129) assumes that the Kasu are Cushites or Meroites. For Kobishchanov (1979: 194) this refers to the Meroitic Kingdom.

148 The Beja are the tribes of the Red Sea hills.

149 DAE vol. 4: no. 7.

150 Cf. Munro-Hay (1991: 127, 184).

151 Bowersock (2008: 384) states that *bəʿəsəyā ḥalen* is also found on ‘Ezana’s coins (in vocalized Geʿez).

152 The Greek version of the inscription reads ‘Ares’ while the Ethiopic says ‘Maḥrem’.

153 Cf. Schneider 1974: 770.

chronicle¹⁵⁴ with the royal title of ‘Ezana, says that Tazena was his throne name. The text goes:

ኤዛና፡ ወስመ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ታዜና፡ ወውእቱ፡ ሖረ፡ ሀገረ፡ ምሥራቅ፡ ወተጻብዓ፡ ምስሉ፡
ህንድ፡ ሞሶሙ፡ ወቀተሎሙ፡ ወማኅረክ፡ ሰብአሙ፡ ወንዋዮሙ፡ እስከ፡ ረሰዮሙ፡
ዘይጸብሑ፡ ሎቱ፡ ጸባሕተ።

‘Ezana whose throne name [is] Tazena. And he went to the country of the east and fought with India. He conquered and killed them; and he captured their men and properties until he compelled them to pay tributes to him.

Text, SERGEW 1972: 123; translation, mine

Fiaccadori (2007: 1163) asserts that the title *nəguśä nəgäšt* is found in the vocalized inscription of ‘Ezana, in which it refers either to him or to rulers subjected to him. Fiaccadori also states that *RIÉ* no. 185 *mlk mlkn* is a ‘Pseudo-Sabaic’ form of *nəguśä nəgäšt* with an Ethiopicized plural ending.

2) Kaleb’s inscription gives the protocol ‘Kaleb ʾĪllä Ašbəḥa, son of Tazena, Bisi Lazen, king of Aksum, Ḥimyar, Dū Raydān, Saba, Salḥen, the High Country and Yamanat, the Coastal Plain, Ḥaḍramawt, and all their Arabs, the Beja, Noba,¹⁵⁵ Kasu, Šəyamo, DRBT ... and the land of AṬFY (?), servant of Christ’.¹⁵⁶ Bausi (2007: 1121) quotes the epigraphic titular of Kaleb as: KLB/ʾL ʾŠBH WLD TZN/BʾS LZN; here ʾL ʾŠBH is the personal name of the king and WLD TZN is his patronymic name.

3) WʾZB gives his title in his inscription as: ‘Son of ʾĪllä Ašbəḥa, Bisi Ḥadefan’¹⁵⁷ and ‘Servant of Christ’. He also uses the epitaph ‘King of Axum and Dū Raydān’¹⁵⁸ and Saba and Salḥen and Beja and Kasu and Šiamo¹⁵⁹ and Waitag (?),

154 Property of *qesä gäbäz* Täklä Haymanot of Axum, page (folio?) 54.

155 Noba may be the people of the Nubian Kingdom.

156 Cf. Schneider 1973: 385–389. See also Kobishchanov 1979: 194; Munro-Hay 1991: 127–128.

157 Andrea Manzo (1995: 74) proposes the reading of this title of WʾZB as BʾS ḤDQN instead of ḤDFN.

158 During the time of Kaleb and his son WʾZB, the use of the term Raydān reflects the submission of the Ḥimyarite kingdom to Axum after the defeat of the Jewish king Dū Nuwās. Abraha (an Ethiopian who ruled over the Ḥimyarite) also adopted the very long titular including Dū Raydān; (cf. Frantsouzoff 2010a: 340).

159 Munro-Hay 1991: 128 reads it as ‘Tsiyamo’. Probably it indicates the present location between Lake Tana and Lake Ḥayq (Kobishchanov 1979: 223).

the slave of Christ'.¹⁶⁰ Munro-Hay (1991: 128) adds Ḥimyar, Kāsu, and WYTG as royal titles of WʿZB.

The titular protocol of an Axumite king thus consisted of several separate elements: the personal name, the *ʿĪllä*-name, the *Bisi*-name, a human or divine filiation, certain epithets, and then the enumeration of territories. The personal name is often, in the case of the Christian kings, a biblical name. The name preceded by *ʿĪllä*-, meaning 'he who ...', is an epithet, probably employed after the king's accession or coronation as his regnal title or throne name. Conti Rossini (1909a: 34–37) gives a list of about 16 Axumite royal names with *ʿĪllä*.¹⁶¹ The *Bisi*-element, meaning 'man of ...', may refer to a clan division in the royal family, or possibly to a military regiment with which he was especially connected.¹⁶² On the other hand, Munro-Hay (1991: 128) refers to François de Blois on the title 'Bisi-' in the Axumite period and suggests that the clan system in ancient Axum was maternal, so that each successive ruler bore his mother's clan-name. These clans were also the basis of the military organization, hence the coincidence of certain *Bisi*-names with certain regimental names. Bausi (2007: 1121) states that it probably shows a 'matronymic' or 'matrilinear clanic' name. Conti Rossini (1909a: 31) gives the name of Bazen as ብኢሌ፡ ባዜን፡.

Royal titles were also used by the Zagʿwe kings,¹⁶³ though not as elaborate as those of the Axumites. Ḥərūy Wäldä Šəllase (1928/1929 [EC 1921]: 50) says that Zagʿwe is the throne name of King Märä Täklä Haymanot (919/920–932/933),¹⁶⁴ who was the founder of the dynasty. The most famous and saintly king of the Zagʿwe dynasty, Lalibäla (late 12th–early 13th cent. AD), had two throne names: *Gäbrä Mäsqäl* 'servant of the Cross' and *Bəʿasi Azzal* 'the strong man'.¹⁶⁵ Munro-

160 Cf. Kobishchanov 1979: 194; Schneider 1974: 777–778, 780.

161 Kaleb's name 'ʿĪllä Ašbəḥa', for instance, means 'He who brought forth the dawn' (cf. Munro-Hay 1991: 128).

162 The *Bisi*-title is not given for all kings, but is attested from Endybis to WʿZB, a period of over two hundred and fifty years, and later for Lalibäla (cf. Munro-Hay 1991: 128).

163 Ḥərūy (1921) transmits the tradition how power was transferred from Axum (which was in the Solomonid line since Mənilək I) to Zagʿwe. Märä Täklä Haymanot took it illegitimately from Dəlnäʿad. The new dynasty was called Zagʿwe (allegedly composed from two Geʿez words: *zä* + *agʿəyāyā* 'the one who causes a flight') and they ruled Ethiopia for 11 generations and 333 years (Ḥərūy 1921: 47–51). Budge (1928: 214) records the tradition that the Zagʿwe kings were eleven (however, Judith/Gudit is not in the list) and the dynasty lasted for a period of 354 years (cf. also Budge 1933: xlii). Basset (1882: 9), on the other hand, writes that 11 kings reigned over 350 years. See also Perruchon on Lalibäla, 1892: 4–5; Taye 1921/1922 [EC 1914]: 59. But see now Fiaccadori 2014.

164 Ḥərūy gives his time as (EC 912–925).

165 The title *Bəʿasi*— 'man of'—is the Axumite type and *azzal* has the meaning 'strong', 'brave',

Hay (1991: 129) mentions him as ‘Lalibela son of Shanuda’, namely ‘Lalibäla son of the Lion’.

Gädlä Lalibäla gives the coronation and royal name of Lalibäla as follows:

ወነሥኦ፡ ንጉሥ፡ መላጼ፡ በእዴሁ፡ ወቀረጸ፡ ሥዕርቶ፡ ለላሊበላ። ወአንበሮ፡ ዲበ፡
መንበረ፡ መንግሥት፡ ወአዶደ [sic]፡ ዓዋደ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ነግሠ፡ ላሊበላ፡ በፈቃድ፡
እግዚአብሔር። ... ወስመዮ፡ እኑሁ፡ ስመ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ በስመ፡
ስመዮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይንበር፡ ዲበ፡ መንበረ፡ መንግሥት።

And the king took a blade in his hand and shaved Lalibela's hair. And he seated him on the royal throne and the herald sent him around while saying ‘[Behold] Lalibela reigns by the will of the Lord’ ... And his brother named him with the royal name Gäbrä Mäsqäl as the Lord named him before he sat upon the royal throne.

Text, PERRUCHON 1892: 43–44; translation, mine

Another Zagwe king Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, followed the same tradition. His *Gädlä* states that will be David his throne name:

ወዘንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡ መድኅኒነ፡ ቀብኦ፡ ቅብኦ፡ መንግሥት፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት። ወስመዮ፡
ስመ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ይኩን፡ ስመ፡ መንግሥትከ፡ ዳዊት፡ በስመ፡ ዳዊት፡
ምዕመንየ፡ ዘስመ፡ ልብየ።

After saying this, Our Savior anointed him with royal ointment with His Holy hands saying ‘Let your throne name be David, as David is my faithful lone just like My Heart’.

Text, MARRASSINI 1995: 31; translation, mine

According to Həruy Wäldä Šəllase (1928/1929 [EC 1921]: 60) and Taye (1921/1922 [EC 1914]: 59), the last Zagwe king and son of Lalibäla, Yəṭbaräk (1234/1235–1252/1253)¹⁶⁶ was named Əlmäknun.¹⁶⁷

‘courageous’, etc. (for the etymology of *azzal*, refer to Leslau 1987: 52). Bausi (2007: 1122) also states that the *bəʾəsi*-element reappears in the early 13th cent. feudal deeds of *aše* Lalibäla, who is styled as *bəʾəsi ʾazal* in two documents of the Golden Gospel of Däbrä Libanos. He also says that the *bəʾəsi ʾazal* epithet was later used by the chronicler for ‘Amdä Šəyon (cf. Marrassini 1993: 46 f.; Kropp 1994: 48 text, 52 trans.). For a brief note on ‘Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite names’ cf. Bausi 2007: 1120–1122.

¹⁶⁶ EC 1237–1245. But ca. AD 1240(?)–1268 according to Marrassini 2014b.

¹⁶⁷ But the king list as given by Bruce makes Nəʾakkwəto Läʾab the last Zagwe king and puts Yəṭbaräk prior to Lalibäla (cf. Budge 1928: 218).

The **Solomonid** kings are known by their coronation ritual, which the Axumites did not have. On the contrary, the later royals exploited the religious and historical prestige of Axum Zion by making it their ceremonial coronation site.

We know that ‘Amdä Şəyon was named Gäbrä Mäsqäl.¹⁶⁸ We also read from Basset (1882: 12) that Nañ was used as the royal name during the time of the successors of King Dawit (1380–1412).¹⁶⁹ The third son of Dawit—Täklä Maryam, who reigned for four years—was given the throne name Həzb Nañ.¹⁷⁰ The first son and successor of Həzb Nañ was Šärwe Iyäsus. His throne name was Məhərka Nañ. ‘Amdä Iyäsus, the second son of Həzb Nañ, was given the name Bädäl Nañ.

The title ‘King of Kings’, already in use since Axumite times,¹⁷¹ continued in the middle ages and in modern times until the end of the Solomonid dynasty in 1974. Fiacadori (2007: 1164) mentions that the title *nəgušä nəgästä zä’ityop’ya* (‘king of kings of Ethiopia’) was interchangeable with the simpler *nəgušä ityop’ya* (‘king of Ethiopia’) and especially later *aše* and *yähabäša nəguš* during the Era of the Princes.

As an Ethiopian royal tradition, Emperors must undergo the rite of taking a second royal or throne name after their coronation which was performed in the presence of Axumite elders. Evidently, the rite of vow-taking was performed to complete the ceremony.¹⁷² It consisted of the emperor pulling out one of the three small lots with royal names marked on them, taking the name thus chosen.¹⁷³ Significantly, all three of these royal names belonged to legendary monarchs of the Axumite period: Gäbrä Mäsqäl, to whom the establishment of the rite is attributed; Dawit (who is also Mənilək), the son of Solomon; and Qwäştäntinos (Constantine), whose reign was especially prolonged. Let us read the chronicle:

ወአምጽኡ፡ ዕፃ፡ ቩ፡ በከመ፡ ሕጎሙ፡ በዘይሰምይ፡ ስመ፡ መንግሥት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ገብረ፡
መስቀል፡ ወዳዊት፡ ወቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ ወወጽኡ፡ ዕፃ፡ አሜሃ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ስሙ [sic]፡
ዳዊት፡ ወሰመይ፡ እንበይነዝ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ በእደ፡ ማርያም፡ ዳዊት፡

168 Cf. Perruchon 1889: 279.

169 Taddesse (1972: 220, note 2) states that Dawit’s children were born of different women.

170 The first kings’ list of Conti Rossini (1909a: 16) gives this name with different variants during the Axumite period: ሕዝብ፡ ይኒ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ናኘ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ናኘ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ናይ፡.

171 Cf. Kobishchanov 1979: 195.

172 Participation in the rite of vow-taking was the privilege of 12 lawyers, the descendants of the Axumite tribal aristocracy. At other rites of coronation, two or three of the king’s attendants could also attend (cf. Kobishchanov 1979: 203; Perruchon 1893: 145; Turaev 1936: 89, 103, 104).

173 The three names are: Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Dawit and Qwäştäntinos.

And they brought three lots according to their law, in order to give the throne name: who are Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Dawit and Q^wästäntinos. And the lot was drawn that time, that his name should be Dawit. And therefore they gave the name Dawit to King Bā'ädä Maryam.

Text, PERRUCHON 1893: 124; translation, mine

The Solomonid kings also used these three royal names. In some cases, they used double throne names.¹⁷⁴ Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob, for instance, is named Q^wästäntinos. He calls himself **ኣነ፡ ዘርዓ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወስመ፡ መንግሥትዮ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ፡** 'I, King Zär'a Ya'eqob, son of David, and my throne name is Q^wästäntinos'.¹⁷⁵ Medieval Ethiopian kings added *Säggäd* to their throne names¹⁷⁶ in addition to their baptismal name of an explicitly Christian nature, a so-called regnal name, the **ስመ፡ መንግሥት፡**, which emphasized their worldly competence. Kleiner (2004: 53–73), in his article on 'Säggäd', rejects Kropp's view (1988)¹⁷⁷ and claims that *Säggäd* is an apocopated form of *säggädä* 'prostrate oneself, show submission'. Täklä Šadäq (1960/1961 [EC 1953]: 86–87) mentions that Bā'ädä Maryam chose from three lots of wood inscribed with possible names: he selected from among Dawit, Gäbrä Mäsqäl and Q^wästäntinos.¹⁷⁸ MA states royal names of Ləbnä Dəngəl as: **ኣነ፡ ወናግ፡ ሰገድ፡ ወስመ፡ መንግሥትዮ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡** 'I Wānag¹⁷⁹ Säggäd, and my throne name is Ləbnä Dəngəl'. He also used King of Kings Dawit as his second throne name.¹⁸⁰ King Gälawdewos was named Aṣnaf Säggäd;¹⁸¹ he himself states that Gälawdewos is his baptismal name.¹⁸² Minas, who ruled for four years (1559–1563), took Admas Säggäd as his royal name. Šāršä Dəngəl (1563–1597) succeeded Minas with Mäläk Säggäd as his royal name. Šəlṭan Säggäd was Susneyos' royal name (1604–1632) and his son Fasil (1632–1667) was named 'Alām Säggäd. A'əlaf Säggäd was the

174 Ləbnä Dəngəl, Bäkaffa and Iyasu II, for instance, had double royal names. Täklä Haymanot I (1706–1708) had three royal names.

175 Conti Rossini 1909b: 25, 26, 78.

176 From Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508–1540) to Ǝgwälä Šəyon or G'walu (1801–1811). An exception is *aše* Na'od's throne name, Anbäsa Bädär 'A lion against the enemy' (cf. Kleiner 2007: 1122). Täklä Šadäq (1960/1961 [EC 1953]: 86–87), on the other hand, mentions that such a title was used from the time of Zär'a Ya'eqob until the time of Täfšametä Mängəst Täklä Giyorgis.

177 Kropp (1988), following Ludolf (1681), translates the term *Säggäd* as 'venerated'.

178 See also Munro-Hay 2004: 181.

179 Wānag means 'lion' (Basset 1882: 13, Budge 1928: 325).

180 Cf. Conti Rossini 1909b: 29–42.

181 Cf. Basset 1882: 18.

182 Conti Rossini 1909b: 42–43.

‘Church of Axum’. Monneret de Villard (1938: 21–31, here p. 21) states about the Axumite Cathedral of St. Mary as *Madre di tutte le Chiese d’Abissinia* ‘Mother of all churches of Ethiopia’.

MA commences with the epithet: ከመዝክ፡ ጥንተ፡ ሡራረሃ፡ ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ገበዘ፡ እክሱም፡ ‘The origin of the foundation of Our Mother Zion, Cathedral of Axum, is like this’ (text, Conti Rossini 1909b: 3).¹⁸⁷ Lusini (2005: 95), referring to Littmann and Krencker (1906: 3) and Lensi (1937), asserts that Axum is the mother of the Ethiopian towns—both because of its antiquity and because of the presence in Axum of the main sanctuary of the Ethiopian Christianity, the *Gäbäzä Axum*. He also says that the reconstruction of the Cathedral of Axum can be assigned an old date, probably to the years of Kaleb. The title *Gäbäz*, as attested from the inscription of Kaleb, appears in royal names. The common examples are: ሸለä Gäbäz (successor of Kaleb)¹⁸⁸ and Tärda’ Gäbäz.¹⁸⁹

4 *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* (MA)

Mäṣḥafä Aksum ‘Book of Axum’ (also called *Liber Axumae*) is one of the most renown texts of Ethiopian historiography. It is believed that MA was written before the destruction of the old Maryam Šəyon church in 1535, perhaps in the later 15th century AD.¹⁹⁰ However, Munro-Hay argues, ‘Many documents in surviving copies are much later’.¹⁹¹ He also mentions its importance: the ‘Book of Axum’ is one of the three books discussing Axum Zion before the destruction by Aḥmed Grañ. The other two sources are ‘Prester John of the Indies’ by Francisco Alvares and the Arabic *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, a chronicle of Aḥmed Grañ’s virtual conquest of Ethiopia. The earliest attestable date for a tiny part of MA (the description of the church) comes from the early 17th century, when Péro Paez translated it.

Munro-Hay (2006: 102) says that the book sometimes is found as an appendix and a supplement attached to copies of the KN, whereas according to Lusini (2003: 185) MA is a composite work together with KN.¹⁹² Munro-Hay (2006: 243,

187 For his French translation of the sentence, cf. Conti Rossini (1910: 3).

188 Lusini (2005: 96, here note 18) gives the dates as follows: Kaleb (ca. 510–530), ሸለä Gäbäz (ca. 530–534), W’ZB/Gäbrä Mäsqäl (ca. 534–548).

189 According to Conti Rossini (1921–1923: 374–375) *Tärda’ Gäbäz* is a feminine name.

190 Lusini (2003: 185) assumes that date for the first section of the work is during the time of aṣe Zär’a Ya’eqob (1434–1468).

191 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 100.

192 He presents MS Paris, BnF, d’Abbadie 97, as an example.

note 86) notes that some scholars¹⁹³ refer to the whole of the *Kəbrä Nəgäšt* as *Mäṣḥafä Aksum*, but Conti Rossini employed the term *Liber Axumae* only for three separate sections, distinct from the narrative of the KN.

MA is arranged in three parts:¹⁹⁴

- 1) A description of the city with details about the church (including information about the historical topography of Axum and some of the stelae; an architectural description of the church; lists of services and offerings from various individuals);
- 2) Copies of land grants to the church (containing 103 historical and legal texts);
- 3) A number of supplementary historical and legal documents (14 miscellaneous historical and legal texts).

It was edited¹⁹⁵ and translated by Conti Rossini (text, 1909b and translation, 1910), and Alvares included part of MA in his second book.¹⁹⁶ Bausi (2006b) published an index to the book based on *Liber Axumae* of Conti Rossini.

193 viz. Paez, Bruce and Dillmann.

194 Cf. Lusini 2003: 185.

195 Based on five manuscripts.

196 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 521–525.

Discussion and Analysis

This chapter presents the analysis of DŞ in two subsections: first philological issues, then linguistic findings.

1 Philological Issues

In one sense ‘Philology’ means ‘Textual Criticism’.¹ Philological findings basically rely on processing linguistic documents. Emphasizing this Bausi (2010: 142) remarks that this processing is the specific feature of Philology and is accomplished at the highest level by text editing, i.e. by textual criticism.² It takes into consideration the entire body of evidence pertaining to the text, not just stemmatical, or codicological and paleographical evidence; but also historical, linguistic, literary, religious, institutional, social, etc. This section (1.1) deals with major philological aspects of DŞ. We begin with description of the manuscripts, followed by textual arrangement and analysis of DŞ, concluding with the stemmatical findings and the family tree.

1.1 *Description of the Manuscripts*³

Ten witnesses (manuscripts) of DŞ were collected for this research project.⁴ The siglum assigned to each manuscript was basically given by taking the initial letter of the parish church or province where it was found. For a few of manuscripts the code was given arbitrarily. In this section, the physical description, content, *incipit* and peculiar features of all the manuscripts will be analyzed.

1 Cf. Bausi 2006a and 2008.

2 Bausi in turn quotes Humboldt 1836: 202.

3 Brief description of the consulted manuscripts and philological analysis of DŞ is published by the author (Amsalu Tefera 2011b: 141–166). Cf. also Amsalu Tefera 2014a: 304–305, Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

4 There is seemingly one more manuscript, but it is mislabeled. The paper list for EMMML 7320 entitles the text DŞ, but it is actually a Miracle of Mary, not DŞ.

1.1.1 A = Axum⁵

Place: Axum, Treasury (*ʿəqa bet*) of Axum Zion, under the Ark chapel (*Ṣəllat bet*).—Size: 365 (height) × 280 (width) mm.—Columns: three.—Language: Gəʿəz.—Material: vellum, bound in stamped leather, covered with leather and *suti* cloth.—Folios: viii+172+vihi.—Number of lines: 22.—Date: EC 1925 (= AD 1932/1933).

Inc.: በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፩፡ አምላክ፡ በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡
ወቤቃ፡ ወአካዕ፡ ዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምስጢር፡ ኅቡዕ፡ በታዕካ፡ ሰማይ፡ ልኩዕ፡
ዘኢይትአመር፡ ክዋኔሁ፡ በኅሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ዘኢይትወቀር፡ በጉድበ፡
ዕልዋን፡ ወዘኢይትመዋዕ፡ ለጸብእ፡ ጌርጌላሁ፡ ለንጳስ፡ ወደብተራሁ፡ ሥሩዕ፡ ...

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit One God. In the name of Kəsbəʿel, Beqa and of Akaʿ. This is a hidden secret which is fastened to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels or of men, which is not hewn by the axe of the wicked, and is not defeated in war. His wheel is a [guiding] lamp and His tabernacle is [well] ordered ...

Varia: A round stamp containing the name of *nəburä ad Arägay* appears on the first and last folios. **Special features:** The manuscript divides the proper name **ኢሎፍሊ፡** ‘Philistines’ into two words: **ኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡** [§ 46] (twice) and **ለኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡** [§ 47]. Interestingly, this reflects the correct division of the underlying Greek term *alló-phyloi* ‘(of) another tribe, foreign’ which is used for ‘Philistines’ in the Septuagint.

1.1.2 B = ፤ንተጥጥ

Place: Addis Ababa, ፤ንተጥጥ St. Mary Church. I got a photocopy from Tesfaye Yihune, Addis Ababa.—Size: 200 × 300 mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Bilingual; Geʿez (first column) and Amharic translation (second column).—Material: paper.—Folios: 231, page numbers are written on the photocopy (461 pages).—Number of lines: 29–30 per each page.—Date: not dated, but we can assume 20th cent. AD.

Inc.: በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፩አምላክ፡ በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡
ወቤቃ፡ ወአካዕ፡ ዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምስጢር፡ ኅቡዕ፡ በታዕካ፡ ሰማይ፡ ልኩዕ፡ ዘኢይትአመር፡

5 N.B. This is not the only version of DṢ at Axum. It is however, the only one that I had access to.

(sic) ክዋኔሁ፡ በኅሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ዘኢይትወቀር፡ በጉድበ፡ ዕልዋን፡
ወዘኢይትመዋዕ፡ ለጸብእ፡ ...

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit One God. In the name of Kəsbə'el, Beqa and of Aka'. This is a hidden secret which is fastened to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels or of men, which is not hewn by the axe of the wicked, and is not defeated in war ...

Special features: [B] often writes out the ending $-(t)u$, $-(t)\ddot{a}$ when giving numbers;⁶ similarly $\bar{e}h$ for ክልኤ፡ 'two' and $\bar{x}l$ for ዕሥራ፡ 'twenty'. E.g.: $\bar{e}h$ ፡ [§ 3] $\bar{i}h$ ፡ [§ 15], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ [§ 18] $\bar{i}h$ ፡ ወለለፍዱ፡ ጽወፍተ፡ $\bar{u}h$ ፡ (twice) [§ 19], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ (twice) [§ 20], $\bar{x}w\bar{u}h$ ፡ ወ $\bar{i}h$ ፡ ወ $\bar{x}h$ ፡ $\bar{y}t$ ፡ ወፍወፍተ፡ [§ 21], $\bar{i}t$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ (twice) [§ 29], ዕልፈ፡ ወጽደተ፡ [§ 32], $\bar{i}h$ ወፍተ፡ [§ 36], $\bar{u}t$ ፡ $\bar{y}t$ ፡ [§ 45], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ [§ 55], $\bar{x}t$ ፡ [§ 61], $\bar{x}h$ ፡ [§ 66], ወ $\bar{i}h$ ፡ [§ 69], $\bar{x}h$ ፡ ወፍዱ፡ ወፍተ፡ ወ $\bar{i}h$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ $\bar{x}l$ ፡ ዕልፈ፡ ወፍዱ፡ [§ 72], $\bar{x}h$ ፡ $\bar{y}t$ ፡ [§ 75], በ $\bar{x}h$ ፡ [§ 80], በፍተ፡ [§ 86], $\bar{y}t$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ ጽወፍተ፡ $\bar{x}l$ ፡ [§ 87], $\bar{e}t$ ፡ $\bar{i}h$ ፡ (twice) ወፍተ፡ (thrice) [§ 88], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ [§ 88], ወፍኤ፡ [§ 89], $\bar{e}t$ ፡ [§ 90], $\bar{i}h$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ [§ 91], $\bar{y}t$ ፡ ለ $\bar{i}h$ ፡ [§ 92], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ (twice) [§ 94], ወፍኤ፡ (twice) [§ 95], ወ $\bar{i}h$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ (twice), $\bar{i}h$ ፡ $\bar{u}h$ ፡ (twice) [§ 97], $\bar{i}h$ ፡ [§ 98], $\bar{x}l$ ፡ ጽራኤል፡ [§ 101], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ [§ 102], $\bar{e}t$ ፡ $\bar{y}t$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ [§ 104], $\bar{u}t$ ፡ $\bar{y}t$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ $\bar{y}t$ ፡ [§ 110], $\bar{u}t$ ፡ $\bar{y}t$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ [§ 111], $\bar{u}h$ ፡ [§ 113], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ [§ 114], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ [§ 117], $\bar{e}h$ ፡ [§ 118], $\bar{i}h$ ፡ በፍኤ፡ [§ 127], ወፍተ፡ [§ 132], $\bar{x}h$ ፡ ወፍተ፡ [§ 133], በፍኤ፡ [§ 135].

1.1.3 C = NL 273

Place: Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), in the manuscripts section. Though this manuscript is not found in the inventory list of the Agency (*Catalogue* 1969/1970 [EC 1962]), it is included in the card catalogue.—Size: 140 × 100 mm.—Column: one.—Language: Ge'ez.—Material: vellum, wooden cover with three layers of *suti* cloth.—Folios: vi+51+vi.⁷—Number of lines: 14 lines.—Scribe: Wäldä Mäsqäl; owner of the manuscript: *abba* Ġärom Gäbrä Muse.—Date: 15th cent. AD.⁸

Inc.: በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡ [ወ]ቢቃ፡ ወአካዕ፡ ዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምሥጢር፡ ኅቡዕ፡ በታዕካ፡
ሰማያት፡ ልኩዕ፡ ዘኢይኤመር፡ ክዋኔሁ፡ በሕሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ዘኢይትወቀር፡

⁶ The printed text [P] follows the same style.

⁷ The NALA description in the card catalogue says 78 ff.

⁸ From a paleographic point of view, MS [C] is grouped under Uhlig's period III—the rounded script (mid 15th–mid-16th century AD). For general features of Ethiopic scripts of this period, see Uhlig 1990: 55–70; 1988.

በጉድበ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ወኢይትመዋዕ፡ ለፀብዕ፡ ጌርጌላሁ፡ ለንጳስ፡ ወደባትሪሁ፡ ሥሩዕ፡
ወመብረቀ፡ (sic) ዓውዱ፡ ወአፍራሲሁኒ፡ አርባዕ። ...

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit One God. In the name of Kəsbəʾel, Beqa and of Akaʿ. This is a hidden secret which is fastened to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels or of men, which is not hewn by the axe of the wicked, and is not defeated in war. His wheel is a [guiding] lamp and His tabernacle is [well] ordered ... The lightning is around and as for His horses [they] are four ...

Special features: Different subsections are labeled with the name of Moses (f. 1^r); of Joshua (f. 7^r); of Samuel (f. 12^r); of David (f. 21^r); of Solomon (f. 24); of Zechariah (f. 38^r). [C] Uses the plural form of the adjective ኢሎፍላውያን፡ for Philistines.⁹ All the other manuscripts, however, have the singular form (ኢሎፍሊ፡). For the two sons of the priest Eli (1Sam. 1:3), who in Hebrew are Hofni and Pinhas, the name ‘Hofni’ is usually rendered in Gəʿəz as አፍኒን፡ (with an extra -n); but this non-etymological -n is absent in MS [C]. Thus አፍኒ፡ ወፊንሐስ፡ instead of አፍኒን፡ ወፊንሐስ፡ in [§ 50]. It uses the spelling አቢደራ፡ [§ 79] (three times) instead of አቢዳራ፡ in the other manuscripts.

From an orthographic point of view, there is little difference between ን (nə) and ገ (gä) in the entire manuscript. ረ (rä) and ፈ (fä) are written in the form of triangle, pointed to the left side. ደ (dä) has a long head. ደ (dä) and የ (yä) are written in a more rounded way towards their head. ገ (gä) and ነ (nä) have a long tail. ኀ (ha) and ደ (dä) have a long head in the 4th order. The sublinear diacritical marks of 6th order of ሠ (sä), ሙ (mä) and the 7th order of ወ (wä) are small and pointed towards the left. In the 7th order of ቀ (qä), the vertical bar is connected to the ring at the mid-center, not towards the left of the ring. In the name እግዚአብሔር፡ gä sadəs (ግ) and zä saləs (ዚ) are written with a ligature in most cases.¹⁰

1.1.4 D = NL 630

Place: Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency (NALA). It comprises both *Tarikä Nägäšt* and *Dərsanä Šəyon* in one volume. Pages are numbered continuously from 1–127, but not starting from the first folio, so that it is possible to refer to it either by page numbers or by folios. Like the previous MS

⁹ Cf. [§ 46] (twice), [§ 47], [§ 48] and [§ 52].

¹⁰ Cf. Dillmann 1907: 22.

[C], this manuscript is not found in the inventory list of the Agency, and not in the card catalogue either.¹¹ It is found in the printed list of NALA.¹²—Size: 200×300mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Gəʿəz.—Material: vellum, bound with stamped leather.—Folios: 68 (ff. 4^r–40^r *Tarikä Nägäst*; ff. 41^r–59^v *Dərsanä Şayon*; ff. 59^v–64^r *Zena Şayon*).—Number of lines: 20–23.—Scribe: two names are mentioned: Wäldä Rufaʿel and Qes Gälaw Biyadgəlləññ Zä-Gondär. Wäldä Rufaʿel would probably be the first copyist, Qes Gälaw the re-copier of DŞ in the National Library.—Date: EC 1977 (= AD 1984/1985).

Inc.: (of *Zena Şayon*)¹³ ዓፄ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ዜና፡ ዕበያ፡ ወክብራ፡ ወውዳሴሃ፡ ወንግዳ፡
ለጽዮን፡ እንዘ፡ እብል፡ መኑ፡ ይክል፡ ይትናገር፡ ክብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሙሴ፡
በ(59^{va})ደብረ፡ ሲና፡ ገብራ፡ በስብሐት፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወአርአዮ፡ ክሎ፡
ምሳሌያተ፡ ሰማያዊተ፡ ...

Once again, I will write the news of the greatness, honor, praise and majesty of Zion, saying ‘Who shall be able to speak the honor of the Tabernacle, that Moses made on Mount (59^{va}) Sinai?’ He made Her in praise as the Lord had told him, and He had shown him all the heavenly parables ...

1.1.5 F = EMMML 8823¹⁴

Place: Fogära, near Däbrä Tabor, Bäbbäks, Däbrä Gännät St. Mary Church.—Size: 182×225mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Geʿez.—Material: vellum, wooden boards.—Folios: 30+vii (ff. 1^{ra}–20^{rb} DŞ; ff. 20^{va}–30^{rb} *Täʾamməra Maryam*).—Number of lines: 18.—Scribe: Wäldä Gäbräʿel.—Date: 19th cent. AD.

Inc. (of *Täʾamməra Maryam*): ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ግርያም፡ ቅድስት፡
ድንግል፡ ወላፂተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ... ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡
አሜን፡ ስምዑ፡ እነግረክሙ፡ ሕዝቡ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ጥንተ፡ ሙላዳ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ፀወንነ፡ አመ፡
ጸመ፡ ሙሴ፡ ጃ፡ መዓልተ፡ ወጃ፡ ሌሊተ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና፡ (f. 20^{va}) ...

Miracle of our Lady Virgin Saint Mary, Mother of God; May Her prayer and blessings be with ... forever and ever Amen. Listen, I will tell you, O

11 The card catalogue contains only the first 617 items.

12 Which contains 825 manuscripts.

13 The *incipit* of DŞ in all families is similar to the above manuscripts (A, B and C). Therefore, in our descriptions of the manuscripts below, we shall give the *inc.* of the attached *News of Zion*, *Miracles of Zion* and *Effigy of Zion*.

14 EMMML copy of this document is found at St. John's University, Collegeville, MN.

Christian people. The beginning of the genealogy of Zion, our refuge, [is] at the time when Moses fasted for forty days and forty nights at Mount Sinai ...

Special feature: It divides the name ፍሬ: ምናጦስ: ‘Frumentius’ (ff. 27^{va}, 27^{vb}, 28^{va}, 28^{vb} (twice)), which is normally considered as one word: ፍሬምናጦስ።

1.1.6 K = EMMML 8429¹⁵

Place: Baḥər Dar, Kota Maryam,¹⁶ St. Mary Church (in the island of Däqq).—Size: 202 × 210 mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Ge‘ez.—Material: vellum, leather cover.—Folios: 21 (ff. 1^r–18^r DŞ; 18^r–21^v *Zena Şayon*).—Number of lines: 18.—Scribe: Wäldä Dawit, commissioned by Zäwäldä Maryam.—Date: 17th cent. AD.

Inc. (of *Zena Şayon*): ዓፄ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ዜና፡ ዕበያ፡ ወክብራ፡ ወውዳሴ፡ ንግግ፡
ለታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ ጽዮን፡ እንዘ፡ እብል፡ ሙኑ፡ ይክል፡ ይትናገር፡
ክብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ዘገብራ፡ ሙሴ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና፡ ገብራ፡ በስብሐት፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ ወአርአዮ፡ ኩሎ፡ ምሳልያተ፡ ሰማያዊተ። ...

Once again, I will write the news of the greatness, honor and praise of the majesty of the Ark of the God of Israel, Zion, saying ‘Who shall be able to speak the honor of the Tabernacle, that Moses made on Mount Sinai?’ He made Her in praise as the Lord had told him, and He had shown him all the heavenly parables ...

Special features: It applies¹⁷ the form አንቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ‘you [fem.] are’ instead of the customary አንቲ፡ ውእቱ፡. (ደ) *dä* is triangular towards the head; *lä* (ለ) terminates in a pointed top. The diagonal downstroke of ረ and ፈ is curved. It employs nine¹⁸ dots or pellets to end sentences instead of four dots, symbolizes the nine annual feasts of Our Lord.¹⁹

15 Some folios from the microfilm are darkened and difficult to read. The microfilm starts from f. 1^v.

16 Kota Mariam was founded in the 2nd half of the 16 cent. AD (cf. Di Salvo 1999: 78–80, 140, 148).

17 F. 18^{vb}—twice.

18 My computer font only had a punctuation symbol with seven dots (፡) but not nine dots; for convenience, this symbol is used in the present work.

19 Cf. Kidanä Wäld (1955/1956 [EC 1948]: 44); Abäbaw Yəgzaw (2007/2008 [EC 1999]: 55–56); Sergew (1987–1988: 14) presumes that nine dots also could serve as a closing sign for the chapter and in some cases they may have the role of a full stop.

1.1.7 P = Printed Ṭana Text

Publisher: Ṭana Qirqos Communal Monastery. The source manuscript (or manuscripts) is not mentioned.—Columns: two.—Language: Ge'ez (1st col.) and Amharic (2nd col.).—Material: paper.—Pages: 286 pp. It has four major sections: (pp. 1–28 DŞ; pp. 28–264 KN; pp. 265–280 *Tä'ammärä Şəyon*; pp. 281–286 *Mälkə'a Şəyon*). Date: *Hədar* EC 1998 (Nov. AD 2005).

1.1.7.1 Dərsanä Şəyon (pp. 1–264).

The title *Dərsanä Şəyon* is given for both DŞ (pp. 1–28) and KN (pp. 28–264).—Division: the text is divided into seven days (from Monday to Sunday) and seventy-five Chapters.—Language: Ge'ez and Amharic.

1.1.7.2 Tä'ammärä Şəyon Maryam (pp. 265–280).

Total: 8 miracles. Language: Ge'ez and Amharic.

Inc.: ተአምረሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ሰማያዊት። ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን። ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። በእንተ፡ አምልኮ፡ ጣዖት፡ ስምዑ፡ ንንግርክሙ፡ ከልክሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን። ...

Miracle of Zion our Celestial Mother. May Her prayer and blessings be with Christian people, forever and ever, Amen. About idol worship: All you Christian people listen so that we tell you ...

1.1.7.3 Mälkə'a Şəyon (pp. 281–286).

Language: only Ge'ez.—Part: 53 *Arkes*.

Inc.: መልክአ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወላጇተ፡ አምላክ። ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምኪ፡ እንተ፡ ይጸዋዕ፡ በወትር፤ በአፈ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ በጊዜ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወክብር፤ ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ንግሥተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፤ እለ፡ ይክህዱ፡ ድንግልናኪ፡ ውሉደ፡ ኩነኔ፡ ወፃዕር፤ ይጥፍኡ፡ ወይማስኑ፡ እምኸሉ፡ ሀገር። ...

Effigy of Zion, Holy of Holies, Mother of God. Salutation to the memory of Your name, which is invoked continually by the mouth of angels and men at the time of praise and glory; our Mother Zion, the Queen of heaven and earth. Those who deny Your Virginity (are) sons of damnation and torment; Let them be extinguished and be destroyed from every country ...

Special features: (Similar to B) the endings—(t)u and -(t)ä are spelled out in numbers, for example: ፩ዱ፡ [§ 3] ፲ቱ፡ [§ 15], ፪ቱ፡ [§ 18] ፲ቱ፡ ወለለ፩ዱ፡ ፳ወ፳ቱ፡ ፬ቱ፡

(twice) [§ 19], ፩ዱ: (twice) [§ 20], ጽወፃቱ: ወገቱ: ወጊቱ: የተ: ወፎወፎቱ: [§ 21], ገተ: ወፎተ: BP (twice) [§ 29], ዕለፈ: ወጽዮተ: [§ 32], ገቱወፎቱ: [§ 36], ፃተ: የተ: [§ 45], ፪ኤ: [§ 55], ጌተ: [§ 61], ፭ቱ: [§ 66], ወገቱ: [§ 69], ፭ቱ: ወ፩ዱ: ወፎቱ: ወፍቱ: ወፃቱ: ወ፭ቱ: [§ 70], ፭ተ: ዕለፈ: ወፎዳ: [§ 72], ጌቱ: ፃ: [§ 75], በጌቱ: [§ 80], በፃቱ: [§ 86], ሣዓ: ወጽራ: ጽወፎቱ: ጽራ: [§ 87], ፪ተ: ገቱ: (twice) ወፎቱ: (thrice) ፩ዱ: [§ 88], ወ፪ኤ: [§ 89], ፪ተ: [§ 90], ገቱ: ወፎቱ: [§ 91], ሣዓ: ለገቱ: [§ 92], ፪ቱ: (twice) [§ 94], ወ፪ኤ: (twice) [§ 95], ወገቱ: ወፎቱ: (twice), ገቱ: ፃቱ: (twice) [§ 97], ገቱ: [§ 98], ጽራ: [§ 101], ፪ኤ: [§ 102], ፪ተ: ፃፈ: ወፎተ: [§ 104], ፃተ: የተ: ወጽራ: ሣዓ: [§ 110], ፃተ: የተ: ወጽራ: [§ 111], ፃቱ: [§ 113], ፩ዱ: [§ 114], ፩ዱ: [§ 117], ፩ዱ: [§ 118], ገቱ: በ፪ኤ: [§ 127], ወ፪ቱ: [§ 132], ጌቱ: ወ፪ቱ: [§ 133], በ፪ኤ: [§ 135].—In some cases, Biblical references are given (chapter and verses) for the related quotations.²⁰

1.1.8 Q = EMMML 8713²¹

Place: Däbrä Tabor, Dära, Ṭana Qirqos.—Size: 260 × 285 mm.—Columns: three.—Language: Ge'ez.—Material: vellum.—Folios: 133+ii (DṢ is only ff. 1^r–8^v).—Number of lines: 25.—Date: 18th cent. AD.

Special feature: Full stop is nine dots in the form of a cross (*).

1.1.9 S = EMMML 8979²²

Place: Däbrä Tabor, Dära, Šəme Maryam.—Size: 200 × 290 mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Ge'ez (Amharic in colophon).—Material: vellum.—Folio: 155+vi: *Dərsan Zenaha läMaryam bāwārḥa Mäggabit* 29 (ff. 1^{ra}–10^{rb}); *Mäṣḥafä Lədatä läMaryam* (ff. 11^{ra}–20^{rb}); *Mənbab zäSäne* 21 (ff. 20^{rb}–30^{vb}); *Mäṣḥafä 'Eräfta läMaryam* (ff. 30^{vb}–62^{vb}); *Wəddase zī'aha* ('the story of Her Death and Assumption') (ff. 62^{vb}–89^{ra}); *Dərsan Zenaha läMaryam bāwārḥa Nəḥase* 16 (ff. 89^{ra}–109^{vb}); *Mənbab zäQwəsṣwam* (ff. 109^{vb}–125^{ra}); *Dərsan Zäbä'ata* (ff. 125^{ra}–130^{vb}); *Dərsan ZäQəddəst Maryam Dəngəl—Mənbab amä* 21 *läṬərr* (ff. 130^{vb}–136^{ra}); *Dərsanä Šəyon* (ff. 137^{ra}–146^{rb}); *Mäṣḥafä Kidana lä'Əgzə'tənä Maryam* (ff. 146^{va}–152^{ra}); *Nägär bā'əntä Kidana lä'Əgzə'tənä Maryam* (ff. 152^{rb}–154^{ra}); list of Šəme Maryam Church administrators (154^{rb}–155^{rb}).—Number of lines: 26–31.—Scribe: Wäldä Maryam, copied for Sənqe.—Date: EC 1884 (AD 1891/1892).

²⁰ Cf. [§ 35] (Ps. 47:12), [§ 39] (Ps. 131:13).

²¹ This manuscript also contains other texts, which are called *Dərsanä Maryam*; of these, DṢ is only ff. 1^r–8^v. I was unable to get a copy of the remainder of the manuscript.

²² It includes other Marian texts, and properly should be entitled *Dərsanä Maryam*.

Inc.: በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውዳሴ፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ላቲ፡ ወዜነዋ፡ መልአክ፡ በጥይቅና፡ ለቅድስት፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ድርሳን፡ ዜናሃ፡ ለማርያም፡ በወርቃ፡ መጋቢት፡ አመ፡ ፳፬፡ መጽአ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ማዕተበ፡ መስቀል፡ ...

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the praise which the angel carefully composed to her and announced to her, the Holy Mother of God, the *Därsan Zenaha* ('Homily of Her annunciation') of St. Mary on the 29th of the month of *Mäggabit*, the angel who has the sign of the cross came ...

Colophon: (f. 136^{ra}) ይህን፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ስንቁ፡ በገንዘቡ፡ አስጥፏል፡ ለሽሜ፡ ማርያም፡ ከብቱንም፡ ጥፋት፡ ልማት፡ ቢያገኘኝ፡ ለሽሜ፡ «ማርያም» ሰጥቶ፡ አለሁ፡ ብሏል። ይህን፡ ሲያጽፍ፡ በምኒልክ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ሣህሉ፡ ግዛት፡ በቁስ፡ እንግዳ፡ ባድገህ፡ ደስታ፡ ግብዝና፡ እማኞች፡ ፈንታ፡ ኪዳኑ፡ አቶ፡ ረዳ፡ በለጠ፡ ኃይሉ፡ በጅሮንድ፡ እንግዳ፡ ሲሰጡም፡ በማኝ፡ ተፈጥመው፡ ነው። (f. 136^{rb}) እሉ፡ ንዋይያተ፡ (sic) ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘመሀባ፡ ለሽሜ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘበትርጓሜሃ፡ ደብረ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ገብረ፡ ዚአሃ፡ መምህር፡ ጎብሉ፡ ፫፡ መስቀል፡ አ፩፡ (sic) ቃጭል፡ ፩፡ የቁም፡ አትሮንስ፡ ፩፡ ድርሳን፡ ሩፋኤል፡²³ ድርሳን፡ ማርያም፡ ነገረ፡ ማርያም፡ ተአምረ፡ ማርያም፡ ግብረ፡ ሕማማት፡ ሲኖዶስ፡ ፬፡ ወንጌል፡ ገድለ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ፪፡ ሐዲሳት፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ቂደር፡ ጸሎተ፡ ዕጣን፡ ከሎሙኪ፡ ፲፯።

Sənqe caused this book to be written by his own money [and] donated to Šəme Maryam [together with] his cattle, [saying] whether I face good or evil.²⁴ He caused this to be written in the reign of Mənilək, in the leadership of *alāqa* Sahlu, [and] *gəbzənnā* 'guardianship' of *qes* Əngəda Badgeh Dästa. Witnesses: Fänta Kidanu, *ato* Rädä Bälläṭä Ḥaylu, *bägrond* Əngəda and he donated in the presence of witnesses. These church vessels were donated to Šəme Maryam, whose meaning is Däbrä Fəssəha, its [the church's] servant *māmhar* Hablu [donated]: 3 crosses, 1 bell, 1 standing pulpit, 1 *Dərsanä Rufa'el*, *Dərsanä Maryam*, *Nägärä Maryam*, *Tü'ammärä Maryam*, *Gəbrä Həməmat*, *Sinodos*, the four Gospels, *Gädlä Ḥawaryat*, 2 New Testaments, *Book of Qedär*, [book of] *Prayer of incense*, in total 17.

Special features: It uses ፳፮: for እስራኤል: 'Israel'²⁵ (cf. [§ 25], [§ 27], [§ 28], [§ 45], [§ 46] (twice), [§ 50] (twice), [§ 51], [§ 53], [§ 54], [§ 59], [§ 60], [§ 62]

²³ ገብርኤል: erased.

²⁴ Lit. 'construction' or 'destruction'.

²⁵ We also saw this a little in MS B [§ 101].

(twice), [§ 63], [§ 66], [§ 67], [§ 71], [§ 75], [§ 76], [§ 80], [§ 83], [§ 101], [§ 103] (twice), [§ 105] etc.).—The mark for full stop (•) has the form of nine dots in a cross (⋈), as the above manuscripts [K] and [Q]. The letters 𐌲 and 𐌳 are triangular in form. The 7th order vowel marker of 𐌺 is rounded and the vertical bar is fixed at the middle of the ring. The letter 𐌰 has an unusually small head at the top.

1.1.10 T = Ṭānāsee 72²⁶

Place: Ṭana, Däbrä Maryam.—Size: 160×155 mm.²⁷—Columns: two.—Language: Ge'ez.—Material: vellum.—Folio: 219 (it includes various marian readings, such as: *Zä-Qʷəsṣqʷam*, *Zä-ṣəyon* (ff. 25^r–42^v), *zä-Bäʾata*, *zä-Astärʾəyo*, *zä-Kidanä Məhrät*, *bäʾantä zäzenäwa Gäbrəʾel* (on *Mäggabit* 29), *zena ṣənsäta wälädäta*, *zä-ḥənsätä* or *Qəddase beta*, *zena ʾərgäta* or *Fəlsäta läʾəgzəʾtənä wäzenahu lä-Gigar*).—Number of lines: 20.—Scribe: Awalədä Nəgəst.—Date: 16th cent. AD.²⁸

Inc. (reading on *Zä-ṣəyon*, ff. 25^r–42^v): 𐌒𐌰𐌽: 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: (sic) 𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰: (sic) 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: ...

In the name of Kəsəbʾel, Beqa and of Akaʿ. This is a hidden secret which is fastened to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels ...

Special features: It divides the morpheme 𐌰 from the following words, which is not common in Ge'ez: 𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰: [§ 41]; 𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰: [§ 42].²⁹ It employs nine dots in every sentence instead of four dots. The writing in this manuscript is broad and heavy. Uniquely, the loop in the seventh vowel of 𐌰: and 𐌰: has a very short/zero neck. The fifth vowel order is in most cases written as an open loop, which is frequent feature of mid-15th/mid 16th cent. scripts.³⁰ The

26 The microfilm was brought from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. I would like to thank Prof. Marrassini for facilitating its acquisition. The description of this manuscript is given by Hammerschmidt (1977: 77–82). This manuscript is also given the shelfmark 'Dabra Märyām 14', by Hammerschmidt.

27 A size 24×20.5×11 cm is also given (cf. Hammerschmidt 1977: 77).

28 From a paleographic point of view, this manuscript is grouped under Uhlig's period III. Cf. Uhlig 1990: 55–70; 1988.

29 We already saw this when 𐌰 takes an enclitic: MS [A] 𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰: ; and the printed text [P] 𐌰𐌰𐌰: 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰: .

30 Cf. Uhlig 1990: 61; also 1988.

sixth order gä (᠑ᠦ) extends downward from the upper horizontal stroke. The diagonal downstroke of ᠯᠡ and ᠯᠢ is curved.

1.2 Textual Arrangements of Dᠰ

The author of Dᠰ styles himself in the text [§ 99] as a shepherd of goat and sheep. His name and place of origin are not mentioned. Out of ten witnesses, two ([C] and [T]) are the earliest copies, written in the 15th cent. and 16th cent. AD respectively.

Dᠰ, as attested in the three manuscripts, was composed as a separate text. Later, it was compiled together with *Darsanā Maryam* (DM) ‘Homily [in honor] of Mary’. On the other hand, three witnesses put Dᠰ together with *Kəbrä Nəgäšt* ‘Dignity of Kings’ (KN) as one text. The ten manuscripts thus show several arrangements. The situation can be summarized as follows (the Greek sigla refer to their stemmatic position, for which see below):

- Ωαε [D] (*Tarikä Nəgäšt*³¹ + Dᠰ) NALA, NL 630 (EC 1977 = AD 1984/1985).
- Ωαε [K] (Dᠰ) Baḥar Dar, Kota Maryam, EMLL 8429 (17th cent. AD).
- Ωαγ [S] (DM) Däbrä Tabor, Dära, Šəme Maryam, EMLL 8979 (19th cent. AD).
- Ωαγφλ [C] (Dᠰ) NALA, NL 273 (15th cent. AD).
- Ωαγφλ [F] (Dᠰ) Bäbbäks Däbrä Gännät St. Mary Church, EMLL 8823 (19th cent. AD).
- Ωαγφλ [Q] (DM) Ṭana manuscript, EMLL 8713 (18th cent. AD).
- Ωαγφλ [T] (DM) Däbrä Maryam, Ṭänäsee 72 (16th cent. AD).
- Ωβ [A] (Dᠰ + KN) Axum (EC 1925 = AD 1932/1933).
- Ωβδ [B] (Dᠰ + KN) Äntotṭo (20th cent. AD).
- Ωβδ [P] (Dᠰ + KN) Printed text, Ṭana Qirqos Communal Monastery (EC 1998 = AD Nov. 2005).

The issue of which texts are bound together with Dᠰ is of no importance for establishing the *stemma codicum* of Dᠰ itself. However, it is interesting as an issue in its own right. We can categorize the text arrangement of Dᠰ into four as follows in approximately chronological order:

- 1) Initially, Dᠰ was composed separately as attested in NL 273 [C], EMLL 8429 [K] and EMLL 8823 [F]. Note that [C] and [K] are among the oldest manuscripts.

31 *Tarikä Nəgäšt* lit. ‘History of Kings’.

- 2) DŞ was compiled together with other Marian texts to form DM. This is attested in three manuscripts: [S] + [Q] + [T] = S + ξ. One of these ([T]) is quite old.
- 3) Due to similarity of the content of KN and DŞ, the two came to be considered together as a single text: DŞ ‘proper’ as an introduction and KN as the body. This is clear in sub-archetype $\beta = A + B + P = (A+\delta)$. These are among the most recent versions.
- 4) The codex NL 630 [D] contains *Tarikä Nägäšt* (ff. 1^{ra}–40^{vb}) and DŞ (ff. 41^{ra}–59^{va}) in one volume.

Let us examine these four types of DŞ arrangement.

1.2.1 DŞ ‘proper’

DŞ ‘proper’ is an independent text about the story and glory of the Ark of the Covenant. It preserves biblical accounts of the Ark. However, it makes no mention of the visit of Queen of Sheba to Solomon and the coming of the Ark to Axum.³² It does not mention the Ethiopian claim on the Ark. It extends only up to the destruction of the First Temple. The text plainly states that the Ark was present in Jerusalem until the destruction of the first Temple. It mentions the concealment of the Ark with the two Tablets when the Chaldeans devastated the country. It also tells us that the temple vessels were captured. The text goes:

ወእዘዞ፡ ለንጉሠ፡ ባቢሎን፡ ወአመዝበርዋ፡ ለሀገሮሙ፡ ከለዳውያን፡ ወአንሐልዋ፡ ለሕንጻ፡ መቅደሱ፡ ዘሰሎሞን፡ ወታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ተጎብአት፡ ወኢረከብዋ፡ ወጽላትኒ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ፲፡ ቃላት፡ በከርሣ፡ ወተጺወወት፡ ሀገር፡ ኩለንታሃ፡ ወንዋየ፡ ብርትኒ፡ ዘቅድስት፡ ተጺወወዱ።

And He commanded the king of Babylon and the Chaldeans devastated their country and destroyed the Temple of Solomon. However, the Celestial and Holy Ark of Zion remained concealed and they could not find Her. The Tablet together with the Ten Commandments [were] in Her womb. The whole country was captured and as for the holy bronze vessels, they were [also] captured.

DŞ §§ 112–113

32 *Zena Şəyon* ‘News of Zion’, a text preserved in sub-family ε [D+K] closely depends on the narration of KN. Miracle of Zion in MS [F] (EMML 8823) presents a detailed account how Moses delivered the Ark from the hands of the Lord and its coming to Axum by Mənilək I. These versions are basis for the Ethiopian claim on the Ark of the Covenant, which DŞ ‘proper’ limits itself.

Hence, the scope of DṢ ‘proper’ is more limited than KN and the Ethiopian claim concerning the Ark of the Covenant. As we read from the colophon³³ of subfamily [β]³⁴ and the attached miracle of Zion in EMM 8823 [F], the Ark is deposited at Axum. It also states that a cathedral for the Ark at Axum was constructed by the order of the Lord during the time of the brother kings Abrəha and Aṣbəha. The text goes:

ስምዑ: እንግርክሙ: ኦ: ሕዝበ: ክርስቲያን: ... እለ: ትናፍቁ: ወትብሉ: ኢሀለወት: ጽላት: ዘሙሴ: በምድረ: አክሱም: ዓባይ: ሀገር: ማኅደረ: እግዚአብሔር: ዳግሚት: ኢየሩሳሌም: ፀወነ: ኩሉ: ዓለም: ሰሚኦክሙ: እምዓላውያን: ሃይማኖት: አእምሩ: ወለብወ: ዘገብረ: እግዚአብሔር: ተአምረ: ወመንክረ: በመንግሥተ: አብርሐ: ወአጽብሐ: ነገሥታተ: አክሱም: እንዘ: ጳጳስነ: አቡነ: ሰላማ: ከሣቴ: ብርሃን: ... ወዚና: ምጽአታ: ለእምነ: ጽዮን: እምኢየሩሳሌም: ሀሎ: ጽሑፍ: ውስተ: ታሪክ: ነገሥት: ወአመ: ፲ሩ: ወ፫: ዓመተ: መንግሥቶሙ: ለአብርሐ: ወአጽብሐ: መጽአ: ጥምቀተ: ክርስትና: ውስተ: ኢትዮጵያ: በምድረ: አክሱም: ... ወወረደ: ሎሙ: እግዚእነ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: ሎቱ: ስብሐት: ውስተ: ይእቲ: ደብር: ዘትሰመይ: መከየደ: እግዚእነ: ... ወይቤሎሙ: እግዚእነ: ለአብርሐ: ወአጽብሐ: ናሁ: ሰማዕት: ጸሎተክሙ: ወስእለተክሙ: ሕንጹ: ቤተ: መቅደስ: በሰማ: ለእምየ: ማርያም: ገበዘ: አክሱም: ውስተ: ማዕከላ: ለዛቲ: ባሕር: በአምሳለ: ኢየሩሳሌም: ሰማያዊት:

Listen to what I tell you O Christian people ... Those of you who doubt [the existence of the AC at Axum] by giving heed to the rebels against faith and who say ‘The Ark of Moses is not found in the Land of Axum, the great city’, which is the dwelling of the Lord, the second Jerusalem and refuge of all the world, let you know and understand the miracle and wonder that the Lord did during the reign of Abrəha and Aṣbəha, the kings of Axum while Sälama, the revealer of light, was our bishop ... As for the story of the coming of our Mother Zion from Jerusalem, it is written in the history of the kings [that] during the thirteenth year of reign of Abrəha and Aṣbəha, Christian baptism came to Ethiopia in the land of Axum ... Subsequently, Our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, descended to them on this mount, which is named Mäkäyädä ʿĒgzi’ənä³⁵ ... And Our Lord said to Abrəha and Aṣbəha, ‘Behold, I have heard your prayer and supplications. Hence, you may build a temple in the name of My Mother Mary, the cathedral of Axum, in the center of this sea, in the image of the celestial Jerusalem.’³⁶

33 Cf. Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

34 I.e. Axum MS [A], ʿEnṭotṭo MS [B] and published text [P].

35 Lit. ‘the footstool of Our Lord’.

36 For the full text, see Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

Four manuscripts (D, K,³⁷ F and P), which do not include DM, nevertheless later added some miracles and *Zena Şayon* and/or *Mälkə'a Şayon*. These additions are not found in the majority of the families (and notably not in the oldest MS [C]) and thus cannot be considered as part of DŞ 'proper'. DŞ 'proper' glorifies the Ark of the Covenant. It symbolizes St. Mary with the heavenly Zion and metaphorically uses the term Zion to signify the Virgin Mary. The present edition presents the DŞ 'proper', which is narrated, critically edited and translated into English with annotations. The sections are divided and paragraphs are numbered. Each section is subdivided into verses in order to make all references to the text easy and clear.

1.2.2 DM Arrangement

The title *Dərsanä Maryam* (DM) refers to various compendia made of different Marian works. It does not refer exclusively to any one text, but conventionally indicates a number of homiletic, hagiographic or apocalyptic works sharing the veneration of the Virgin Mary. One version of DM was recently translated into Amharic by *Māmhar Täsfa Mika'el Takkälä* and published by *Maḥbärä Qəddusan* in 2010/2011 [EC 2003]. The book is divided into 18 chapters (232 pages) and it commences with 'DŞ proper'. It also contains an introductory note on general features of the *Dərsan* and significance of the book.

The three manuscripts which I have grouped under DM amongst the DŞ manuscripts, namely [S]+[Q]+[T], preserve the following daily lections: *Dərsan Zenaha läMaryam bāwārḥa Mäggabit 29*; *Mäṣḥafä Ləddäta läMaryam*; *Mənbab zäSäne 21*,³⁸ *Mäṣḥafä 'Əräfta läMaryam*,³⁹ *Wəddase zī'aha* (the story of Her Death and Assumption); *Dərsan Zenaha läMaryam bāwārḥa Nəḥase 16*; *Mənbab zäQ'əsqa'am*; *Dərsan Zäbä'ata*; *Dərsan ZäQəddəst Maryam Dəngəl*, *Mənbab amä 21 läTərr*; *Dərsanä Şayon*,⁴⁰ *Mäṣḥafä Kidana lä'Əgzə'tənä Maryam*; *Nägär bā'əntä Kidana lä'Əgzə'tənä Maryam*. Manuscript [T] presents these Marian texts but gives their titles as: *ZäQ'əsqa'am*, *Zäşayon*, *Zä'astär'əyo*, *Zäkidanä Məḥrät*, *Zena şənsäta wäləddäta*, *Zəḥənsätä/Qəddase beta*, *Zena 'Ərgäta/Fəlsäta lä'Əgzə'tənä wäzenahu läGigar*, etc.

37 [D] and [K] form a family called ε.

38 The author is Basil of Caesarea (cf. Heldman 1993a: 92).

39 John the Evangelist is the author of this homily (cf. Heldman 1993a: 92).

40 As I said earlier, DŞ is read on *Ḥədar 21*. *Nägärä Maryam* also preserves short homilies on *Ḥədar 21*, but different from DŞ. EMM 2044, for instance, contains different homilies to St. Mary and the short homily on *Ḥədar 21* is dedicated to the Ark of Zion (ff. 149^{rv}). See also ff. 62^v–64^v of this text (cf. Getatchew and Macomber 1982: 27–41, here p. 39).

1.2.3 KN Arrangement

In the witnesses which show the ‘KN arrangement’, DŞ and KN are merged and have become one text. These include three out of the ten manuscripts of DŞ: Axum manuscript [A], Enṭotṭo manuscript [B] and the printed text [P]. The arrangement systematically combines the two texts and produces one bigger text, with DŞ as an introduction and KN as the main body. As it is evidenced from other families, the DŞ ‘Proper’ ends with the words: ተፈጸመ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ድርሳን፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ በወርቃ፡ ካነን፡ አመ፡ ጳወጁ፡ ለወርቃ፡ ኅዳር፡ ... ‘The homily which is read on the month of *Kanun* on the twenty first of the month of *Hədar* is [now] completed ...’. These three manuscripts [A, B and P],⁴¹ deliberately omit the concluding phrase with ተፈጸመ፡ ‘completed’ and continue directly with the opening text of KN: በአኩቴቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ አኃዜ፡ ኩሉ፡ ወበወልዱ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ኩሉ፡ ኮነ፡ ... ‘In Praising the Lord the Father Sustainer of all, and His Son Jesus Christ, in Whom everything came into being ...’. This is a clear indication of direct editorial intervention.

1.2.4 Unique Arrangement

We have only one manuscript under this category, NL 630 [D]. It comprises *Tarikä Nägäst* (ff. 1^{ra}–40^{vb}) and DŞ (ff. 41^{ra}–59^{va}) in one volume.

1.3 Textual Analysis of DŞ

1.3.1 Content

DŞ speaks about various matters. As a Christian theological text, it commences with doxology of the Holy Trinity. It glorifies the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Incarnation is also discussed broadly in the text. DŞ is one of the many sources on Mariology. It primarily tells of the glory and symbols of St. Mary. The text frequently uses the epithet Zion for St. Mary and the Ark of the Covenant. It praises Zion Mary for her miraculous deeds and wonders.⁴²

We find allegorical descriptions of the Virgin in DŞ as: the Celestial Zion, the Ark of the Law, the Pure Virgin, habitation of the Lord, the country of the great King, Bride of Lebanon, Zion the gate of Paradise, the golden ship, our Mother Zion, holder of the dew of divinity, etc. The text also presents praises, prodigies and miracles performed by St. Mary.

There are also other topics that DŞ talks about. Some are: detailed narration on how the Lord bestowed the two Tablets of the Law to Moses; theological

⁴¹ These manuscripts form a separate family: $\beta = \delta [B + P] + A$.

⁴² For a detailed note on Mariology in the EOTC, cf. Amsalu Tefera 2012: 71–95.

interpretation of the Ark (*Tabot*), Tablets of Law (*Ṣallat*),⁴³ and their equivalent NT hermeneutical qualities; OT and Judaic episodes presented in their NT and Ethiopian Christian version; mighty deeds and astonishing miracles of the Ark of the Covenant; the construction of the Temple of Solomon and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, the concealment of the Ark of the Covenant, and many other topics are discussed in DṢ.

1.3.2 Theme

DṢ deals with the mighty deeds of the Ark of the Covenant in the time of the OT (until the destruction of the First Temple). Accordingly, the story of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon, the coming of the Ark of the Covenant to Axum etc. do not appear in the text. Thus, we can assume that the text was composed in such a way as to give particular reverence to the Ark of the Covenant by elaborating its veneration from biblical sources, limiting its scope as compared with KN. It illustrates the resemblance of the Ark to St. Mary and vice versa. Hence, throughout the text we can read 'Virgin Mary did so and so', during the time of OT. And in some cases, it says 'the Ark of the Covenant did such and such miracles while Jews were in slavery'. Moreover, it shows the mighty deeds of God for the Israelites by the means of the Ark of the Covenant. Finally, the text magnifies the exegetical and hermeneutical features of the celestial Zion.

1.3.3 Values of DṢ

DṢ is popular in the EOTC. By contrast, less attention is given to it by foreign scholars. In the Church at Axum, reading of DṢ in former days had a special ritual, being read in the inner 6th chapel of the temple. Currently the reading is outside the temple, with umbrella and without shoes.⁴⁴ DṢ has various significances. Some are listed below.

1.3.3.1 Historical Value

The Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church at Axum is the only church in the world which still claims to possess the Ark of the Covenant. This notion is based on KN. The claim of the Ethiopian Kings as the successors of the Solomonic line is based on the coming of the Ark of the Covenant,⁴⁵ which is the nucleus of

43 Sing. ጽሌ: Ṣälle, pl. ጽላት: Ṣallat 'tablet, tablet of the Law, tablet of metal, stone, beam' (cf. Leslau 1987: 554).

44 Cf. figure 5 (in the appendix), DṢ reading ceremony in front of the Ark Chapel.

45 For KN, the base is the birth of Mənilək I from Solomon, the Israelite King and Sheba, the Ethiopian Queen. The coming of the Ark is the testimony of God's will as the Ethiopians

both texts (DŞ and KN). It presents Ethiopia as the second Israel and stresses the historical ties between the two peoples.

If we accept the narration of KN on the coming of the Ark to Ethiopia, it is more than three thousand years⁴⁶ now since the AC was transported to Axum. It was on the basis of this assumption that EOTC celebrated the commemorative festivity in EC 2000 (AD 2007/2008).⁴⁷

1.3.3.2 *Cultural Value*

The glorification and adoration of Zion is a strong source of confidence for Ethiopian Christians. The AC is a special privilege for Ethiopians [Axumites] and an expression of the will of God. DŞ makes a strong symbolic connection of the Ark with the Virgin St. Mary, to the extent that they are synonymous. The theological assessment and hermeneutical presentation of DŞ are of a high standard. It is a fundamental source for Mariology and related dogmatic teachings of the EOTC.

The feast of *Ḥadar Şəyon* at Axum is colorfully celebrated annually. There is a high level of public participation and showing the sentiment of unity of the people. DŞ is considered to have medical value. Women who cannot bear a child flock to the yard of the Ark chapel and carry DŞ under the guidance of the *ʿəqa bet* monk. As a result, they will be able to conceive.⁴⁸ Cornuke (2005: 155) notes the following miracle that the Ark of Zion still performs at Axum and the devotion of the laity: 'They [women] come here every day to pray', Birani (sic), the informant responds to Cornuke; 'They are not allowed to go inside the church. It is a holy site. Most of these women are here because they cannot conceive a child, so they pray to the Ark of the Covenant to give them a child. If a woman becomes pregnant after praying in front of the Church, she gives her first-born son to the hermitage as a gift'.

1.4 *Biblical Allusions in DŞ*

DŞ follows the general literary style of Ethiopian hagiographic and homiletic texts. KN and Holy Bible are its basic literary sources. KN (chs. 10, 17, 42, 46, 103, 104, 113, 114, 117) narrates about the Ark of the Covenant, which DŞ also cites (in some instances partially). Quotations from the Bible on the Ark of

are considered the chosen people. It has been stated that KN shares some features with the chronicle of the wars of King 'Amdä Şəyon I (cf. Ferenc 1985: 264).

46 I.e. from the time of King Solomon (1000 BC) until now.

47 A colorful celebration of the feast at national level was planned by the Patriarchate, but for reasons unknown, it did not materialize.

48 Interview with *Nəburä əd Bälay*, dated December 6, 2010.

the Covenant are mentioned in the text, in many cases with elaboration and commentary. However, DŞ does not take passages directly from the Bible. It may omit many lines or sometimes whole chapters on the same issue. In some cases, it does cite biblical verses literally. The following excerpts present some Biblical sources of DŞ.

Exodus chapters 24–25; 31–38.⁴⁹

ወወሀብክዎሙ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጥበበ፡ ወአእምሮ፡ እቁመ፡ ከመ፡ ይግበሩ፡ ኩሎ፡ ግብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ መርጡል፡ ወታቦተ፡ ዘህርመቱ፡ ወተቅዋመ፡ ማኅቶት፡ ወምሕዋጽ፡ ዘላዕሌሃ፡ ይነብር፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ መርጡል።

I gave them the Holy Spirit, wisdom and full knowledge in order that they can perform every action for the Tabernacle, the Holy Ark, the candlestick, the window (observatory) which is placed over it inside the Tabernacle.

§ 17

ወገብሩ፡ ምስሃለ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡ ኀበ፡ ትነብር፡ ታቦተ፡ ቅድሳቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። ወ፩፡ ኪሩብ፡ ፩፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽንፈ፡ ምስሐል። ወ፩፡ ውስተ፡ ጽንፍ፡ ወይጼልሉ፡ በክነፊሆሙ። ወሰብኡ፡ ማኅተዊሃ፡ ዘወርቅ።

They made the cover over Her where the Ark of holiness of the Lord was standing. And two Cherubim: one Cherub at (one) margin of the cover and the other at (the other) margin.⁵⁰ They shaded (it) with their wings [i.e. the Mercy Seat]. Seven are Her golden lamps.⁵¹

§ 20

Joshua chapters 3–6.

ወማይኒ፡ ቆመ፡ ወኢክህለ፡ ወሪደ፡ እስከ፡ የዓድዉ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ እስራኤል። ወማይኒ፡ ምሉእ፡ እስከ፡ ድንጋጊሁ። ወካህናት፡ እንዘ፡ ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ቆሙ፡ ከመ፡ ዘየብስ፡ ርሱያነ።

49 This means that in [§§ 17–18] quotes appear from Exod. 24–25 and 31–38. Only one or two such quotes are given here.

50 Cf. 'And he made two Cherubim of hammered gold; on the two ends of the mercy seat he made them, one cherub on the one end, and one cherub on the other end; of one piece with the mercy seat he made the cherubim on its two ends'. (RSV, Exod. 37:7–8.)

51 Cf. Exod. 37:23.

As for the water it stood still, and was not able to come down until all the Israelites had crossed. (And [at that season] the water was [normally] full to its bank.) And the priests were standing (fully) dressed as if they were dry.⁵²

§ 28

ወእምዝ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ፲ወ፪፡ አዕባነ፡ እም፡ ኀበ፡ ቆመ፡ አእጋሪሆሙ፡ ለካህናት፡ በኑልቄ፡ ፲ወ፪፡ ነገደ፡ እስራኤል። ወእምድኅረ፡ ዓደዉ፡ ኩሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ወጽኡ፡ ካህናት፡ እለ፡ ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን። ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡ ባሕር፡ ኮነ፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ወምሉእ፡ ውእቱ፡ እስከ፡ ድንጋጌሁ።

And afterwards, they took up twelve stones from where the feet of the priests were standing, one for each of the twelve tribes of Israel.⁵³ After all the people had crossed, the priests who were carrying Zion departed. Then, the River Jordan became full to its banks as before.

§ 29

1 Samuel chapters 4–7.

ወተምአሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለእስራኤል፡ ወአውደቆሙ፡ ቅድመ፡ ኢሎፍሊ። ወሞቱ፡ በውስተ፡ ፀብእ፡ ፵፪፡ ብእሲ፡ በገዳም። ወዘተርፉ፡ እስራኤል፡ ነትኡ፡ ወቦኡ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ። ወይቤሉ፡ በበይነ፡ ምንት፡ ውስተ፡ እደሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ አግብአነ፡ እግዚአብሔር።

The Lord became angry at the Israelites and made them fall before the Philistines and four hundred men died during the battle in the desert.⁵⁴ And those of the Israelites who escaped returned to their country and said ‘For what reason did the Lord deliver us into the hands of the Philistines?’

§ 46

ወተምዕዓ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን። ወቀሰፎሙ፡ ዓቢየ፡ መቅሰፍተ፡ ለሰብአ፡ አዛጦን፡ ወለደወሎሙ። ወእምዝ፡ ካዕበ፡ ሶበ፡ ጌሱ፡ በጽባሕ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ዳጎን፡ ወረከብዎ፡ ውዱቀ፡ በገጹ፡ ታሕተ፡ እግራ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ንግሥትነ። ወርእሱ፡ ምቱር፡ ወእደዊሁ፡ ፪፡ ወእራጋቲሁ፡ ውዱቃት፡ ኀበ፡ መድረክ። ወአልቦ፡ ዘተርፈ፡ እምኒሁ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ማዕከሉ።

52 Cf. Josh. 3:14–17.

53 Cf. Josh. 4:8 f.

54 Cf. 1 Sam. 4:2.

And the Lord became angry against them over Zion and He made a great punishment against the people of Azaton and their territory. And when they went early in the morning into the house of Dagon again, they found him fallen on his face at the foot of Zion, our Queen. His head was cut off, his two hands and his palms were fallen on the doorway. Nothing remained of him except his middle part.⁵⁵

§55

2 Samuel chapters 6–7.

ወነሥእዋ፡ እምህየ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወወሰድዋ፡ እንዘ፡ ይጹልል፡ ላዕሌሃ፡ ኪሩብ፡ ወዎዛሰ፡ ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ይመርህ፡ ቅድሜሃ፡ ወዳዊትሰ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወኸሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ ቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንዚራ፡ ወየአነዝሩ፡ በኃይል፡ ወየሐልዩ፡ በጸናጽል፡ ወበናብሊስ፡ ወበመሰንቆ፡ ወበጽሑ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓውደ፡ እክል፡

They brought Zion from there and took Her while the Cherub was hovering over Her. And Uzza, the son of Aminadab,⁵⁶ was leading Her. And King David and all the Israelites were chanting before the Lord with lyres, playing the lyre with vigor. And they were singing with sistrum, harp and fiddle.⁵⁷ They arrived at the threshing floor.

§76

ወዎዛሰ፡ አልዓለ፡ እዴሁ፡ ከመ፡ የአኃዛ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወነጽሑ፡ ላሕም፡ ለዎዛ፡ ወሞተ፡ በጊዜሃ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘፈቀደ፡ የአኃዛ፡ ለታቦት፡ በኢድልወቱ፡

And Uzza raised his hand in order to take hold of Zion. And the ox threw Uzza [to the ground] and he died at that time, for he wanted to take hold of the Ark, which was not allowed.⁵⁸

§77

1 Kings Chapters 4–9.

ወከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ግብረቱ፡ መድምም፡ ወዕፁብ፡ ለሰሚዕ፡ ወበእመት፡ ፵፯፡ ኑጉ፡ ወ፳፡ በእመት፡ ርኅቡ፡ ፳፬፡ ላዕሉ፡ ወኤላም፡ ቅድመ፡ መቅደሱ፡ ፳፡ በእመት፡ ወሐኒጾቶ፡ ለቤት፡ ፈጸመ፡ ወገብረ፡ መሳክወ፡ ኅቡአተ፡ ወገብረ፡ እምዳቤር፡ እስከ፡ ቅድስተ፡

55 Cf. 1 Sam. 5:3–5.

56 Cf. 2 Sam. 6:4.

57 Cf. 2 Sam 6:5; 1 Chron. 13:8.

58 Cf. 2 Sam 6:6–8; 1 Chron. 13:9–11.

ቅዱሳን፡ ግ፡ በእመት፡ ጽርሑ፡ ወማዕከለ፡ ቤቱ፡ እንተ፡ ውስጥ፡ ከመ፡ ትንበር፡ ታቦተ፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽዮን።

Its construction was like this, astonishing and marvelous to hear: its length was forty cubits, its width was twenty cubits, its height twenty-five,⁵⁹ and the porch in front of the sanctuary was twenty cubits. He finished building the Temple [lit. house] and he made hidden windows, and he made its inner chamber forty cubits from the sanctuary to the Holy of Holies, within the interior of the house so that Zion, the Ark of the Lord, could reside there.⁶⁰

§ 87

1 Chronicles chapters 13–17.

ወሰበ፡ ሰምዐ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ሖረ፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽኣ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡
አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ በትፍሥሕት። ወነሥኣ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኃን፡
ሕዝብ፡ በጌ፡ መሠናቀው።

And when King David heard this matter, he went to bring up Zion, the Ark of the God of Israel to Her country with happiness. He brought Zion accompanied by a multitude of people [playing] seven fiddles.⁶¹

§ 80

ወሰሚዖ፡ ዘንተ፡ ወይቤ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ ለይኩን። ወሰሎሞንኒ፡ ወልደ፡ ዚኣየ፡ ውእቱ። ወኅደን፡
ሐኒጾታ። ወታቦት፡ ነበረት፡ በሥርዓተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ነቢይ።

Hearing this, he said ‘Let it be His will for Solomon is my own son’. Then he left off building it, and the Ark continued to abide according to the law of Moses the prophet.⁶²

§ 85

2 Chronicles chapters 3–8.

ወገብረ፡ ፪፡ ኪሩብ፡ መልዕልቱሃ፡ ለጽዮን። ፲፡ በእመት፡ ቆሙ፡ ወ፮፡ ክንፉ፡ ለ፩፡
ኪሩብ። ወለካልዑኒ፡ ከማሁ። ፲፡ በእመት፡ ማዕከሎሙ፡ ኅበ፡ ይትረከብ፡ ክነፊሆሙ።

59 Cf. 1 Kings 6:2 ‘... And thirty cubits high’ (RSV).

60 Cf. 1 Kings 6:1–3; 2 Chron. 3:3–5.

61 Cf. 1 Chron. 15:28.

62 Cf. 1 Chron. 17:1–15.

ወ፪፡ ዕሩያን፡ ወ፩፡ ግብረቶሙ፡ ለ፪። ወይጼልሉ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ታቦት፡ በክነፊሆሙ፡
ዘወርቅ፡ በአፍኣ።

He made two Cherubim over Zion. The height of the first Cherub was ten cubits and his wings were five. And as for the second, it was the same. Ten cubits was between them until their wings met. And the two were equal; the construction of both was the same. And they made a covering over the Ark with their golden wings on the exterior.⁶³

§ 88

ወከመዝ፡ ፈጸመ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ሐኒጸ፡ ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምድጎረ፡ ፳፡ ዓመት።

In this way Solomon completed the building of the Temple of the Lord after a period of twenty⁶⁴ years.

§ 101

4Ezra (*ʾEzra Sutuʾel*) chapters 3–8.

ወይቤ፡ ፩፡ እምነቢያት፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ዕዝራ፡ ኣመ፡ ፴፡ ዓመት፡ እምዘ፡ ወድቀት፡ ሀገርነ፡
እንዘ፡ ሀለውኩ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ባቢሎን። ወጻእኩ፡ ገዳመ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ኦርፋድ። ወጸምኩ፡
ሰቡኣ፡ መዋዕለ፡ እክለ፡ ኢበላዕኩ፡ ወኢሰተይኩ፡ ወይነ። ወሥጋኒ፡ ኢጥዕምኩ፡ ግሙራ፡
ዘእንበለ፡ ፍሬ፡ ዕፅ፡ ባሕቲቱ።

One amongst the prophets named Ezra⁶⁵ said ‘In the thirtieth year after the fall of our country, when I was in the country of Babylon, I went out to the wilderness named Arfad⁶⁶ and I fasted for seven days. I ate no food and I did not drink wine. I did not taste meat at all but only the fruit of trees’.

§ 114

ወጸለይኩ፡ ጎበ፡ ልዑል። ወእቤ፡ እግዚእ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ዘሰማዕኩሙ፡ ለአበዊነ፡ በገዳም፡
በምድረ፡ በድው፡ ወወሀብኩሙ፡ ሕገከ። ዘንተ፡ ወዘይመስሎ፡ ጸለይኩ።

63 Cf. 2 Chron. 3:10–13.

64 Seven years for the Temple (1 Kings 6:38) and thirteen years for his palace (1 Kings 7:1). Totally twenty years for construction (2 Chron. 8:1–2).

65 Cf. 4 Ezra 3:1 ff. (Ethiopic እዝራ፡ ሱቱኤል፡ *ʾEzra Sutuʾel* 1:1 ff.).

66 Cf. 4 Ezra 9:26.

And I prayed to the Highest and said ‘O Lord, my Lord, who heard our fathers in the wilderness and the desert and You gave them Your Law’. I prayed this and the like.

§115

Zechariah chapter 4:2 ff.

ወዘንተ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ዘካርያስ፡ ነቢይ፡ በሳምን፡ ወርህ፡ በአምሳሊሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡
ቅድስት፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪።

‘And this I have seen’ said the Prophet Zechariah⁶⁷ in the eighth month, ‘the image of Holy Zion who is our Lady Mary, the twofold Virgin’.

§132

1.5 Stemma Codicum

As already stated in the introductory chapter of this book, I have used the Neo-Lachmannian⁶⁸ methodology for the critical edition. In this section, I will discuss the ‘archetype errors’ committed by all families of D \S , followed by ‘sub-archetype errors’ which are used for establishing subfamilies. Finally I will present the *stemma codicum* ‘family tree’, which also shows the dates of all ten manuscripts.

1.5.1 Archetype Errors

¹ [§13]

ABDFKQST say: አእሚሮ፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለማርያም፡. Obviously the text is not complete. Whereas [C] contains: አእሚሮ፡ ከመ፡ የኃድር፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለማርያም፡. [P], on the other hand, says: አእሚሮ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሰብአ፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለማርያም፡. We can assume that the reading in the archetype was somehow problematic. The reading in the large majority of the families (eight witnesses) lacks a verb and the syntax is incoherent. Both the readings of [C] and [P] are acceptable, but there is no way to decide between them; either one, or a third possibil-

⁶⁷ Cf. Zech. 4:2 ff.

⁶⁸ ‘Neo-Lachmannian methodology’ is the revised version of the ‘Lachmannian’ method, which is named after Karl Lachmann (1793–1851). According to Marrassini (2009: 28), the most important criterion proposed by Lachmann is the elimination of the criterion of the *codex optimus* ‘the best codex’ or ‘base manuscript’. For a brief survey of textual edition in Classical and Ethiopic texts, cf. Marrassini 2009: 25–68, Bausi 2010: 142–144, Amsalu Tefera 2011a: 142–148.

ity, could be the original reading. So we can reconstruct the reading as follows: **አእግረኛ፡ ት...ት ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለማርያም።**

2 [§16]

The most common reading says **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውራ፡** ADKQT. On the other hand, BP have **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውራ፡**. [C] for its part says **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውዕ፡**. [S] has the reading **ለባስልኤል፡ ዛውራ፡**. [F] says **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውራ፡**. All the families have corrupted the reading. The obscure name (**ዘውራ/ዘውራ/ዘውዕ/ዛውራ/ዘውራ**) is the archetypal error. Thus we propose the reading: **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውት...ት፡**.⁶⁹

3 [§44]

In this section, we find the following errors of the families. ABS read **ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ብርሃን።** DFKQT, for their part, give the reading **ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ብሩሃን።** [P] has the text **ለጽዮን፡ እም፡ ዘብርሃን።** On the other hand, [C] avoids the obscure reading and says: **ለጽዮን፡ እምነ።** Therefore, we understand that the reading was not clear from the origin or archetype. All the families, as a result, propose various readings in an attempt to give sense. We can propose the reconstruction **ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ት...ት።**

4 [§69]

This section presents another error committed by all the families. ABP [β] read **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጉላት፡ ቤተ።** Another subfamily, SCFQT [γ], has the reading **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጉሊሆን፡ ቤተ።** Still another subbranch family DK [ε] has the reading: **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጉሊሆሙ፡ ቤተ።** Thus, we can assume that the reading in the original text must have been obscure or contaminated, which can be considered as a common ancestral error. All the families attempt to give their own solution.

In order to make the text more coherent, we can adopt the preposition **ውስተ፡** from the corresponding passage of KN ch. 61,⁷⁰ which says: **ወይክልኡ፡ እጉላቲሆሙ፡ ወይዕጽዉ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤት።** Finally we can reconstruct the reading as: **ወአፀዉ፡ ዕጉላተ፡ [ውስተ፡] ቤት።** All the manuscripts have changed the text in some way.

5 [§70]

In a list of five cities, all the families ABP [β] and CDFKQST [α] have the reading: **ወተለውዋ፡ ፭፡ መሣፍንት፡ ዘኢሎፍሊ፡ ወ፩፡ ዘአዛጦን፡ ወ፪፡ ዘጌት፡ ወ፫፡ ዘኦራር፡ ወ፬፡ ዘጋዛ፡ ወ፭፡ አናጹተ፡ ዘወርቅ።** They all fail to give a 5th city-name after the numeral '5', jumping directly to the next words of the Bible text, 'the golden

69 Dillmann (1853: 161) gives the reading **ለቤሴላኤል፡ ዘኡራ፡**.

70 Cf. Bezold 1905: 72 text.

mice' (1Sam. 6:17–18). The fact that the text of DŞ mentions 'the golden mice' argues that this is meant to be a quote from the Bible. The Bible text does have a 5th city and goes as follows: **ዘአዛጦን፡ አሐቲ፡ ወዘጊት፡ አሐቲ፡ ወዘአቃሮን፡ አሐቲ፡ ወዘጋዛ፡ አሐቲ፡ ወዘአስቀሎና፡ አሐቲ፡**. Therefore, we can reconstruct the reading with the city **አስቀሎና፡** (Ashkelon).

6 [§71]

The following sentence has a problem and does not give sense as it stands: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጐላተ፡ ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።** say ACDFKQT. [B] has the reading: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጐላተ፡ ውእተ፡ ጊዜ** (sic)። **ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።**. On the other hand, [P] adds a long phrase to the obscure text and says: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጐላተ፡ ሦዑ፡ ወአቅረቡ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በህየ፡ ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።** [S] appears with another possibility: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጐላተ፡ ቆሙ፡ ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።**. The situation goes: [P] gives its own individual solution while [B] and [S] give the solution partially. We can then deduce that they commit an archetype mistake. Consequently, we can propose the reading as follows: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጐላተ፡ ቶ...ቶ ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።**.

7 [§72]

All the families show different readings. The majority of the witnesses [ACD-KQT] say: **ወአመርገብዋ፡ መልዕልቴሃ።**. Others [BP] have the reading **ወአመርአውዋ፡ መልዕልቴሃ።** On the one hand, [F] and [S] maintain **ወአንበርዋ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡** and **ወአመ፡ ገብርዋ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡** respectively. The sentence makes no sense. The verbal form is different across the families. Thus an archetypal mistake must be assumed. So, we can reconstruct the reading as follows: **ወአመ ቶ...ቶ መልዕልቴሃ።**.

8 [§88]

ADFK have the text: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ. ቤቱ።**. [B] says **ወእንተ፡ ውስጥኒ፡ አትከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ. ቤቱ።**. [C] adds a phrase and keeps the reading: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጥ፡ በህልቀት፡ አትከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ. ቤቱስ።**. [QT] present **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ. ቤቱ።**. [P] has the reading: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጥኒ፡ ተከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ. ቤቱ።**. On the other hand, [S] has a shorter and less clear reading: **ወወበውስጣኒ፡ አትከለ፡ ወለጸፍጸፈ.፡**. We can see from the above sentences that all the families have omitted the object. Hence, the sentence lacks sense. [P] changes the verb to **ተከለ፡** but the object is still wanting. So we can propose reconstruction of the text as: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከለ፡ ቶ...ቶ ወለጸፍጸፈ. ቤቱ።**.

9 [§97]

Most families commit the following error: **ወመንኩራኩረ፡ ፬፡ መታክፍቲሆሙ።**. The accusative is without a verb, yeilding a corrupted reading. The text of [P]:

ወገብረ፡ መንኲራኸረ፡ ለ፬ቱ፡ መታከፍቲሆሙ። is better than the others. But it is probably a later correction, for none of the other families preserve it. We can assume that the error was present as a contamination in the original source. Hence, we can propose the reading: ወቱ...ቱ መንኲራኸረ፡ ቱ...ቱ ፬፡ መታከፍቲሆሙ።.

10 [§107]

Here again, all families apparently commit an archetypal error. They keep the reading: ወከማሁ፡ ኦ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ስማዕ፡ ስእለትየ፡ ወአንተኒ፡ ለእመ፡ ሖርከ፡ በሕግየ።. It is probably a corrupted text, since the speaker changes abruptly halfway through. Some families and individual manuscripts add a phrase between ስእለትየ፡ and ወአንተኒ፡ and give their own personal solution independently: ይቤ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ [BP]; ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ [F]; ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ [Q]; ለኃጥእ፡ ገብርከ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ [K]. Not all of these elendations seem relevant; the speaker has to change, and with an addition like ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ it does not change. We can reconstruct the reading: ወከማሁ፡ ኦ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ስማዕ፡ ስእለትየ፡ ቱ...ቱ ወአንተኒ፡ ለእመ፡ ሖርከ፡ በሕግየ። with the understanding that the speaker changes.

11 [§127]

In this section, we discuss the various readings of the following text in all the families. ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ዘአንስቲያሆን፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም። is found in ABDQST. [K] is the same except for the trivial spelling variation ዘአንስቲአሆን፡. Though they differ slightly, [C] and [F] preserve similar text than the other families: ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ዘአንስት፡ ቲኦሳን፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለማት። [C]; ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ዘአንስት፡ ቲያሶን፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም። [F]. [P] tries to avoid the difficult reading and simply says: ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም።. The reconstruction, therefore, can be proposed as ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ዘአቱ...ቱን፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም።. One can imagine a partial solution as follows: an older reading ዘአንስቲያሆን፡ was written as ዘአንስቲያሶን፡ which was then misread as ዘአንስቲያሶን፡ which was wrongly reanalyzed as ዘአንስት፡ ቲያሶን፡.

1.5.2 Sub-Archetype Errors

The *stemma* which is established by the witnesses of *Darsanä Şəyon* is a bipartite⁷¹ one. The branches are given the name [α] and [β]. We shall see both families and establish inferior families under them.

71 A *stemma* branching into two primarily sub-archetypes, against tripartite (forked) stemmas or more.

1.5.2.1 *Sub-Archetype* $[\alpha] = \gamma + \varepsilon$

1.5.2.1.1 *Sub-Archetype* $[\gamma] = S + \varphi [\lambda + \xi]$

This sub-archetype is established after the following common error which is preserved by SCFQT that occurred in [§ 69]. The text goes: **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጉሊሆን፡ ቤተ።** against the reading of **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጉላት፡ ቤተ።** by [ABP]; and **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጉሊሆሙ፡ ቤተ።** by [DK]. Thus, the archetype is designated as: $\gamma (S + \varphi [\lambda \{C + F\} + \xi \{Q + T\}])$.

1.5.2.1.2 *Sub-Archetype* $[\varepsilon] = [D] + [K]$

We have two conjunctive innovations to group [D] and [K] in one family that appear in sections 120 and 137.

[§ 120] DK say **እስመ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ፈተዉ፡ እለ፡ ደክሙ፡ ወዝንቱ፡ ውእቱ፡ ነገሩ፡ ዛቲ፡ ብእሲት።**; whereas the reconstructed text reads: **እስመ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ተኃዝን፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወዝንቱ፡ ውእቱ፡ ነገሩ፡ ዛቲ፡ ብእሲት፡.**

[§ 137] DK has the reading **ከመ፡ ታድሳኖ፡ ዓይነ፡ ሞት፡** against the majority reconstructed text **ከመ፡ ታድሳኖ፡ እም፡ እደ፡ ሞት፡.**

We can state the relation of [D] and [K] under the same family as $\varepsilon = (D + K)$.

1.5.2.1.3 *Inferior Family* $[\varphi] = [\lambda (C+F)] + [\xi (Q + T)]$

FQT(A) share the same errors in [§ 12] and [§ 84]. They allow us to group them in one inferior family $[\varphi]$. Let us see the evidences:

[§ 12] FQT(K)(A) has the reading **ወግሉፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ቀሰሊሁ።** against the sub-family **ዕ ወግሉፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ቀጸሊሁ።**. The reconstructed text, on the other hand, reconstructed on the basis of MSS C, D, S which belong to three different subfamilies, gives the reading: **ወግሉፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽሌሁ።**

[§ 84] FQT preserve the reading **ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ናታን፡**, whereas the reconstructed text keeps the text **ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዳዊት፡ በአፈ፡ ናታን፡** which agrees with 1 Chron. 17:3.

1.5.2.1.4 *Inferior Family* $[\lambda]$

We have two witnesses [C] and [F] to be grouped under this family $[\lambda]$ based on [§ 127]. Both have the strange reading: **ዘአንስት፡ ቲኦሳን/ቲያሶን።** against **ዘአንስቲያሆን፡** by ABDSξ and **ዘአንስቲአሆን፡** by [K]; where [P] omits it. We have already seen this problem under the ‘archetypal error’ of all the families. Here

[C] and [F] constitute an inferior family [λ] by virtue of sharing the common error; this can be designated as: $\lambda = C + F$.

1.5.2.1.5 Inferior Family [ξ]

[Q] and [T] constitute a family based on a shared innovation in [§88]. They both have the passage: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትካለ።** against the reading: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትካለ፡** by AB λ ϵ ; **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትካለ፡** (sic) by S. The text is reconstructed as **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትካለ፡** ቶ...ቶ. Hence, we can represent their kinship as: $\xi = Q + T$.

1.5.2.2 Sub-Archetype [β]

This archetype is composed of three witnesses [A], [B] and [P], which in turn constitute two subfamilies $\beta = \delta$ [BP] + [A]. It is attested by both external and internal evidence. From the external viewpoint, we can observe the text arrangement of ABP: all three of them contain D \S ‘proper’ along with KN, including news, miracles and effigies of D \S , at the end, dividing the whole text reading into seven days of the week, etc.; none of the other manuscripts do this. This argues for classifying them under a single family. From the internal evidence, we can find the following common conjunctive innovations.

1.5.2.2.1 Sub-Archetype [δ] = [B] + [P]

For the inferior family [δ], we can present plenty of evidence. The following list contains only the significant shared innovations of [B] and [P].

[§76] BP read **ወአልአዛርስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡** whereas the reconstructed text says **ወዖዛስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡**. The biblical context (2Sam. 6:3) makes it clear that the second is correct; the BP scribe(s) confused this with the reading of 1Sam. 7:1.

[§98] BP **ወዘእንቢለከ፡** which is morphologically wrong and makes no sense. Other families preserve the reading **ወዘይቢለከ፡**.

[§102] The reconstructed text in this section reads: **ወየሐልዩ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡**. But BP say **ይሔልዩ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡** which is a correct word but makes little sense in context.

Hence, based on the above evidence, we can postulate a subfamily: $\delta = B + P$.

1.5.2.2.2 Sub-Archetype $\beta = [\delta] + [A]$

We have various grounds grouping δ (BP) + A into one subfamily. Let us examine them as follows:

[§ 32] The reconstructed text says: ንግሥትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወእምነ።. This family, on the other hand, has ማርያም፡ ወአእምነት፡ A; እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ወአእምነት፡ B; እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወአእምነት፡ P. There are two significant differences here: the name ማርያም፡ and the longer forms ወአእምነት፡ and ወአእምነት፡.

[§ 61] ABP say ወእምዝ፡ ፈንወዋ፡ ለጽዮን።, against the reconstructed text: ፈንወዋ፡ ለጽዮን።. The verb 'send' here is both preceded and followed by an imperative (jussive), hence it should be an imperative itself: ፈንወዋ፡.

[§ 78] ABP have the reading: ወጸለየ፡ ኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላኩ፡ ወይቤ፡, whereas the reconstructed majority text says: ወይቤ፡ ዳዊት፡ እፈርህ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡.

[§ 133] ABP have the reading መጋትዊሃኒ፡ ሺ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ ... ወ፪፡ አእጹቀ፡ ዘይት።. [ABP] omitted the sentence እማንቱ፡ እለ፡ ተሐንጸ፡ በአምላላ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ዘላዕሉ፡ ወመሣውሪሃ፡ ሺ፡ ሥዩማን፡ ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡. This sentence is an integral part of the text. It is very important and is not an added, secondary explanation. However, [ABP] all commit the same *homoioteleuton*, jumping from አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ to ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡. This argues for grouping them in one subfamily.

Thus $\beta = (\delta [B + P]) + A$.

1.5.2.2.3 Cross-Contamination [T ... A]

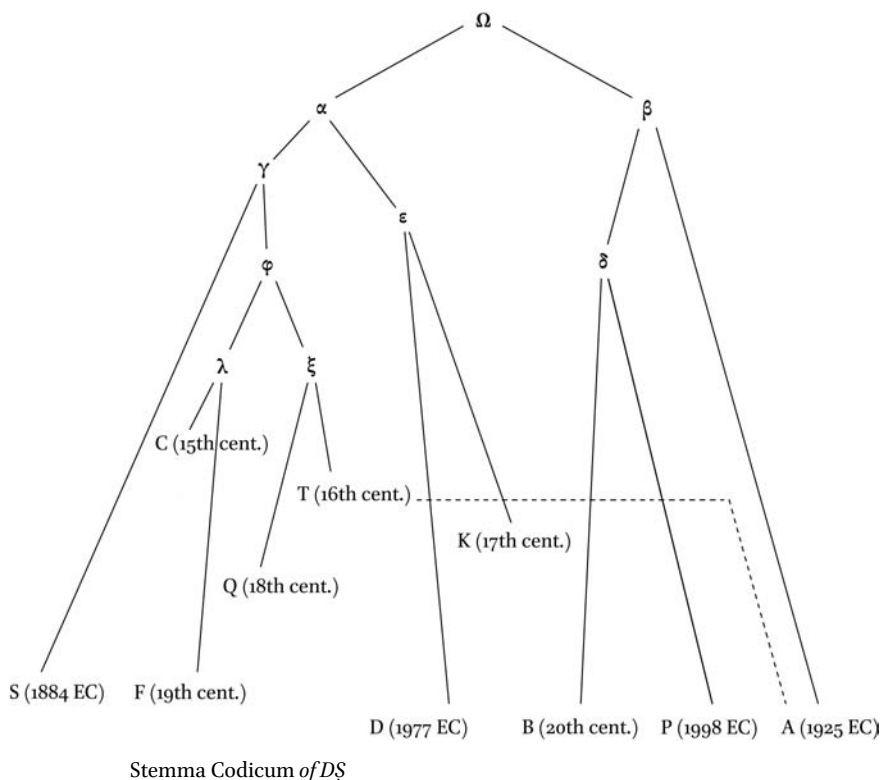
We have one case of cross-contamination. It occurs in [§ 29] between [A] and [T]. They both say: ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡ ሀገር፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ። against the reconstructed majority reading: ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡ ባሕር፡ ኮነ፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ።. This is unlikely to be banal, polygenetic error: it makes no sense to say that 'the country of Jordan became full to its limit'. Thus, we can represent their cross-affinity by a broken line as [T ... A].

The entire family can be summarized as follows:

- 1) $DK = \varepsilon$; $CF = \lambda$; $QT = \xi$; $\lambda + \xi = \varphi$; $S + \varphi = \gamma$; $\varepsilon + \gamma = \alpha$
- 2) $BP = \delta$; $A + \delta = \beta$
- 3) $\alpha + \beta = \Omega$

We can represent the kinship of innovations attested in all the D \S families by the following *stemma codicum*, first as a formula and then as a tree:

$$\Omega (\alpha [\gamma \{S + \varphi ((\lambda [[C + F]] + \xi [[Q + T]]))\} + \varepsilon \{D + K\}] + \beta [\delta \{B + P\} + A])$$



2 Linguistic Analysis

This section discusses linguistic issues discovered in the various families of *D*5. Some of these issues are polygenetic and some are conjunctive problems. Polygenetic errors are of no fundamental importance for establishing the *stemma*. Though weak, some of them may strengthen the affinity between the families. Note that the correct reading and its equivalent translation are generally not included in this section. If one needs to check the reconstructed text and translation, s/he is referred to the critical edition: Text (chapter four) and Translation (chapter five) of *D*5 in reference to the section [§].

2.1 *Adiaphoric Variants*

In the critical edition of *D*5, there are several forms of variations which are attested. Many of them, however, are minor variations, which can easily occur multiple times in different manuscripts independently and as such, are not significant for determining the *stemma* of the manuscripts. Such variants are

called polygenetic and adiphoric. Variants which do contribute to the stemma are called conjunctive. True conjunctive errors are rare;⁷² on the other hand, polygenetic errors are frequent. They are however insignificant to decide the family. There are adiphoric⁷³ variants of different kinds, including: characteristic readings, transpositions, banalization,⁷⁴ *homoiteleuta*⁷⁵ etc. The following two tables show two of these adiphoric features as attested in the families of D \S : transposition and banal erros.

2.1.1 Transposition

The following is a list of transpositions of words, phrases and sentences. The meaning is not affected by the switch. For comparison, the reconstructed meaning is also given in the table.

TABLE 1 *Transposition*

Section	Reconstructed text	Transposition	Family / MS(S)
§ 5	ዘከማሃ፡ ዘይትዔረያ፡	ዘይትዔረያ፡ ዘከማሃ፡	δ
§ 9	ውስቴታ፡ አጋድር፡	አጋድር፡ ውስቴታ፡	δ
§ 10	እግዚእ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	እግዚአብሔር፡ እግዚእ፡	ADδ
§ 11	ተናግሮ፡ ዘንተ፡	– ዘንተ፡ ተናገሮ፡	Dδ
		– ዘንተ፡ ተናግሮ፡	F
§ 16	ካፅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	እግዚአብሔር፡ ካፅበ፡	C
§ 26	ዘይትማሰላ፡ አልቦ፡	አልቦ፡ ዘይትማሰላ፡	C
§ 26	በስብሐት፡ ብዙኅ፡	በብዙኅ፡ ስብሐት፡	C
§ 28	ከሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡	እስራኤል፡ ከሎሙ፡	F
§ 30	ቀዳቅያ፡ ወርኅ፡	ወርኅ፡ ቀዳቅያ፡	F
§ 32	አንስተ፡ ወእደወ፡	እደወ፡ ወአንስተ፡	CS
§ 34	ወከመዝ፡ ነበረት፡	ወነበረት፡ ከመዝ፡	C
§ 39	ወኢወርኅ፡ ወኢከዋክብት፡ ወኢፀሐይ፡	ኢፀሐይ፡ ወኢወርኅ፡	δ
§ 45	እም፡ ግብጽ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡	ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡ እም፡ ግብጽ፡	S

72 For more information, see Maas 1958: 42–49.

73 From Greek *adiáphoros* ‘indifferent’. Every variant which does not contribute to defining the stemma called ‘adiaphoric’.

74 If two forms having the same meaning appear in equivalent places in different manuscripts, we speak of banalization.

75 A Greek term which means ‘[jump] from the same ending to the same ending’.

TABLE 1 *Transposition* (cont.)

Section	Reconstructed text	Transposition	Family / MS(S)
§ 46	ውስተ፡ እደሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ አግብአነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	አግብአነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውስተ፡ እደሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍላውያን፡	C
§ 47	ዘኃልቁ፡ ደቂቁ፡	— ለደቂቁ፡ ዘኃልቁ፡ — ለደቂቁ፡ ኃልቁ፡	C ε
§ 55	ላዕሌሆሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	እግዚአብሔር፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡	βS
§ 56	እደሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እደሁ፡	F
§ 59	ወኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ሁከት፡ ጥቀ፡	ዓቢይ፡ ሁከት፡ ጥቀ፡ ኮነ፡	F
§ 60	ትንበር፡ ውስተ፡ መካና፡	ውስተ፡ መካና፡ ትንበር፡	F
§ 61	ወዓርገ፡ ጽርሐ፡ ሀገር፡ እስከ፡ ሰማይ	ወዓርገ፡ እስከ፡ ሰማይ፡ ጽራኃ፡ ሀገር፡	F
§ 63	ወለሰብአ፡ መቅስም፡ ወለሰብአ፡ ሥራይ፡	ወለሰብአ፡ ሥራይ፡ ወለሰብአ፡ መቅስም፡	δ
§ 64	ዓቢየ፡ ቅንዓተ፡	ቅንዓተ፡ ዓቢየ፡	F
§§ 66, 72	ኃምስቱ፡ መሣፍንት፡	መሣፍንት፡ ጅ፡	C
§ 73	ሰብእ፡ እለ፡ ተርፉ፡	እለ፡ ተርፉ፡ ሰብእ፡	S
§ 74	ወመጽኡ፡ ወተቀበልዋ፡	ወተቀበልዋ፡ ወመጽኡ፡	S
§ 75	ወነሥአሙ፡ ዳዊት፡	ዳዊት፡ ወነሥአሙ፡	F
§ 75	እምነበ፡ ሀለወት፡ ጽዮን፡	ለጽዮን፡ እምነበ፡ ሀለወት፡	CS
§ 76	ላዕሌሃ፡ ኪሩብ፡	ኪሩብ፡ ላዕሌሃ፡	S
§ 78	አንተ፡ ውስቴታ፡	ውስቴታ፡ አንተ፡	S
§ 84	ዘተሐንጽ፡ ሊተ፡ ቤተ፡	ዘተሐንጽ፡ ቤተ፡ ሊተ፡	F
§ 85	ፈቃዱ፡ ለይኩን፡	ለይኩን፡ ፈቃዱ፡	S
§ 86	ወታቦት፡ ነበረት፡	ወነበረት፡ ታቦት፡	C
§ 86	ሣረሮ፡ ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሣረሮ፡	S
§ 87	ወበእመት፡ ሟ፡ ኑኑ፡	— ሟ፡ በእመት፡ ኑኑ፡ — በእመት፡ ሟ፡ ኑኑ፡	C S
§ 92	ዘያገምር፡ ሟ፡ በመስፈርተ፡ ከአስ፡	— ዘያገምር፡ በመስፈርተ፡ ከአስ፡ ሟ፡ — ዘያገምር፡ በመስፈርተ፡ ከአስ፡ ሟዓ፡	A δ
§ 93	እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡	— እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ — ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ — እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡	A δ C
§ 94	ኪሩብ፡ ፪፡	፪፡ ኪሩብ፡	λ
§ 98	ቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡	ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት፡	β
§ 100	ወኪራምኒ፡ ከመ፡ አቡሁ፡ ጠቢብ	ወኪራምኒ፡ ጠቢብ፡ ከመ፡ አቡሁ፡	CS

Section	Reconstructed text	Transposition	Family / MS(S)
§ 103	ወገብረ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ንጉሥኒ፡ ወኸሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	ወገብሩ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ንጉሥኒ፡ ወኸሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡	C
§ 114	እክለ፡ ኢበላዕኩ፡	ኢበላዕኩ፡ እክለ፡	δ
§ 114	ወኢሰተይኩ፡ ወይነ፡	ወወይነ፡ ኢሰተይኩ፡	C
§ 116	ምንተ፡ ኮንኪ፡ ንግርኒ፡	ንግርኒ፡ ምንተ፡ ኮንኪ፡	C
§ 117	ተኃዝኒ፡ በእንተ፡ ፩፡ ወልድኪ፡	በእንተ፡ ፩፡ ወልድ፡ ተኃዝኒ፡	C
§ 119	ዘመጸእከ፡ ኀቢየ፡ ቀዲሙ፡	ዘመጸእከ፡ ቀዲሙ፡ ኀቢየ፡	S
§ 120	ወይቤለኒ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ፡	ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡	β
§ 121	ዘወለደቶ፡ ወልዳ፡	ወልዳ፡ ዘወለደቶ፡	S
§ 122	ብዙኀ፡ በእንቲአሃ፡	በእንቲአሃ፡ ብዙኃ፡	C
§ 125	ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡	ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡	C
§ 126	ፀሐየ፡ ወወርኃ፡ ወከዋክብተ፡	ወወርኃ፡ ፀሐየ፡ ወከዋክብተ፡	F
§ 128	ሀገር፡ ሐዳስ፡	ሐዳስ፡ ሀገር፡	S
§ 129	ሰማዕታት፡ ወጻድቃን፡	ጻድቃን፡ ወሰማዕታት፡	C
§ 129	ቀሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ እድ፡ ወአንስት፡	– ዲያቆናት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡ እድ፡ ወአንስት፡	β
		– እድ፡ ወአንስት፡ ዲያቆናት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡	C
§ 131	በየማና፡ ወበፀጋማ፡	በፀጋማ፡ ወበየማና፡	C
§ 134	ክርታስ፡ ወቀለመ፡	ቀለመ፡ ወክርታስ፡	C

2.1.2 Banal Error⁷⁶

In the course of copying a manuscript, scribes may (often unconsciously) substitute for a word (or expression) a different, synonymous or near-synonymous word (expression). The change may involve a difference in vocabulary, grammar, spelling or any combination of these. Banal errors can easily recur independently, and as such are categorized under polygenetic errors. Let us examine some attested banal errors in DṢ families and manuscripts.

⁷⁶ 'Banal', in this section, is used to describe readings that are synonymous or involve only a slight change of meaning.

TABLE 2 *Banalization*

Section	Reconstructed text	Banal error	Type of error/ change ⁷⁷	Family/ MS(S)
§ 8	በመንገል፡ ሠርቅ፡	በመንገል፡ ምሥራቅ፡	Voc.	D
§ 8	ምጽአታ፡	ምጽአተ፡ ዚአሃ፡	Gr.	C
§ 9	ክበዲሃ፡	ክበዳ፡	Gr.	C
§ 14	በአጻብአ፡ መለኮት፡	በአጻብዒሁ፡ ለመለኮት፡	Gr.	A
		በአጻብአሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	Voc.	δ
§ 15	ዕብራይስጢ፡	ዕብራይስጥ፡	Spell.	DS
§ 18	ትእዛዞ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	ትእዛዞሙ፡ (sic)		
		ለእግዚአብሔር፡	Gr.	δ
		ትእዛዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	Gr.	D
§ 27	አገትዋ፡	አደውዋ፡	Voc.	δ
§ 28	ኸሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡	ኸሎሙ፡ ደቂቁ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	δ
		ኸሎሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	C
		እስራኤል፡ ኸሎሙ	Gr.	F
		ኸሎሙ፡ ጽኑል፡	Spell.	S
§ 29	ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡	ወዮርዳኖስሂ፡	Gr.	P
§ 31	ዘይከውን፡ ለቤተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	ዘይከውን፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡	Voc.	S
§ 32	ንግዝትነ፡	እግዝእትነ፡	Voc.	δ
§ 33	ጋይኒ፡	ጋይሂ፡	Gr.	λQS
§ 35	ተሐልዩ፡	ትሴብሐ፡	Voc.	δ
§ 35	ቅዱሳን፡ ወትጉሃን፡	ትጉሃን፡ መላእክት፡	Voc.	C
§ 42	ይሳለምዋ፡	ይሳምዋ፡	Voc.	D
§ 46	ወቦኡ፡	ወገብኡ፡	Voc.	C
§ 46	ሀገሮሙ፡	ብሔሮሙ፡	Voc.	C
§ 47	ምስለ፡ ኪሩብ	ሥዕለ፡ ኪሩቤል፡	Voc.	δ
§ 48	አመንሰውዋ፡	አማሰንዋ፡	Voc.	C
§ 51	እደ፡ አምላክነ፡	እደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	Voc.	C
§ 53	በእስራኤል፡	ላዕለ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	F
§ 57	ታቦቱ፡ ለአምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡	ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለአምላክ፡		
		እስራኤል፡	Voc.	δ
		ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡	Gr.	C
		ታቦቱ፡ ለአምላክነ፡	Gr. & Voc.	S
§ 57	ዲቤነ፡	ላዕሌነ፡	Voc.	λ

77 Gr. = 'Gramatical error or change'; Spell. = 'spelling error or change'; Voc. = 'vocabulary'.

Section	Reconstructed text	Banal error	Type of error/ change	Family/ MS(S)
§ 60	ትንበር፡ ውስተ፡ መካና፡	ትእቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡	Voc.	C
§ 61	ዲበ፡	ላዕለ፡	Voc.	δ
§ 61	ወምውታንሂ፡	— ወሙታን፡	Gr.	δ
		— ወሙታንሂ፡	Gr.	CS
§ 62	ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክን፡	ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	C
		ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ ፳ኤል፡	Voc.	S
§ 62	ቁርናንዓተ፡	ቁርናንዓተ፡	Voc.	δK
		ቁርናንዓት፡	Voc.	C
		ቁርናናተ፡	Voc.	DF
		ቁርናንዓተ፡	Voc.	S
§ 63	ወውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡	ወውእተ፡ አሚረ፡	Voc.	δ
§ 64	ሀገራ፡	መካና፡	Voc.	C
§ 71	ታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘአምላክ፡ እስራኤል	ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	C
		ታቦት፡ ዘአምላክ፡ ፳ኤል፡	Voc.	S
§ 74	ወግር፡	ደብር፡	Voc.	C
§ 76	ወዳዊትሰ፡	ወዳዊትኒ፡	Gr.	C
§ 79 (trice)	ለአቢዳራ፡	ለአቢደራ፡	Spell.	C
§ 80	ሕዝብ፡	ሰብእ፡	Voc.	S
§ 82	ወለቱ፡ ለሳዖል፡	ወለተ፡ ሳዖል፡	Gr.	FS
§ 86	ደቂቀ፡ ከራም፡	ደቀ፡ ከራም፡	Voc.	CS
§ 86	ወደቂቀ፡ ዚአሁ፡	ደቀ፡ ዚአሁ፡	Voc.	C
§ 87	እም፡ ዳቤር፡	እምነ፡ ዳቤር፡	Gr.	C
§ 95	ወዕፀ፡ ጳውቂና፡	ወዕፀወ፡ ጳውቂና፡	Gr.	δC
§ 97	መዓዝኒሃ፡	መንገሌሃ፡	Voc.	C
§ 99	ወምግባርየኒ፡	ወበምግባርየሰ፡	Gr.	C
§ 100	ንትመየጥኬ፡	ንግባእኬ፡	Voc.	β
§ 101	ለታቦት፡	ለታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡	Voc.	C
§ 101	በመትሕተ፡	መትሕተ፡	Gr.	λ
§ 111	ወለነቢያትሰ፡	ወለነቢያትኒ፡	Gr.	δC
§ 116	ላዕለ፡	ዲበ፡	Voc.	S
§ 117	፩፡ ወልድየ፡	ዋሕድ፡ ወልድየ፡	Spell.	S
§ 117	ወአንቲሰ፡	ወአንቲኒ፡	Gr.	S
§ 118	ወኢትኔጽርያኑ፡	ኢትሬኢዬኒ፡	Voc. & Gr.	C
§ 118	መኃትዊን፡	ማኅቶትን፡	Gr.	S
§ 119	ተከዘ፡	ደንገፀ፡	Voc.	δ

TABLE 2 *Banalization* (cont.)

Section	Reconstructed text	Banal error	Type of error/ change	Family/ MS(S)
§§ 119, 123	ዑራኤል፡	ኡሩኤል፡	Spell.	C
		ኡርኤል፡	Spell.	FS
§ 122	ማኃልያቲሃ፡	መኃልያቲሃ፡	Spell.	δFS
		ማኃልያሃ፡	Spell.	C
§§ 131, 133	መኃትዊሃ፡	ማኃትዊሃ፡	Spell.	δλ
		መሃትዊትሃ፡ (sic)	Spell. & Gr.	S
		ማኃትዊሃኒ፡	Gr.	δ
§ 132	ወፍካሬሁሰ፡	ወፍካሬሁኒ፡	Gr.	C
§ 138	ክርስቲያን፡	ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን	Voc.	F
		ክርስቶሳውያን፡	Voc.	S

2.1.3 Omission

Omission is a frequent phenomenon in the course of transmitting texts. Sometimes the omission occurs when the eye of the copyist jumps from a word (or phrase) to the identical word (or phrase) occurring in the next line/s, paragraph or even page. This is termed *homoioteleuton*.⁷⁸ Omissions of all kinds are grouped under polygenetic errors and cannot be useful in showing the shared family features. As we have said repeatedly, they can strengthen the kinship, though it is a weak parameter. The following list shows omissions of readings that appear in some families or manuscript(s) which affect the meaning of the text as it stands.

- [§ 38] ሎቱ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እስመ፡ ኃረያ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወአብደራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩሻ፡ ማኅደሮ። om. Q.
- [§ 52] አምላኮሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ አምላክነ፡ ዳጎን። om. C.
- [§ 68] ወሶበ፡ ከብደ፡ እዴሁ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ ፈነዎሙ፡ ፈርዖን። om. C.
- [§ 73] ወእምድኅረ፡ ገብረት፡ ዘንተ፡ ይቤሉ፡ ሰብአ፡ ሳሚስ፡ ምንተ፡ ንግበር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን። om. β.
- [§ 75] ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። om. S.
- [§ 76] ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ይመርህ። om. F.

78 This 'jumping' phenomenon can occur at the beginning, at the end, or in the middle of a line; and at the beginning, at the end, or in the middle of a sentence.

- [§ 78] ወበእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወይቤ፡ ዳዊት፡ እፈርህ፡ እግዚአ፡ እግዚአብሔር። om. F.
- [§ 80] ወሶበ፡ ሰምዐ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ሖረ፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽአ፡ ለጽዮን። om. C.
- [§ 80] ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ በትፍሥሕት፡ ወነሥአ፡ ለጽዮን። om. λ.
- [§ 87] ወገብረ፡ መሳክወ፡ ጎቡአተ። om. δ.
- [§ 95] ንጽሐ፡ ሥጋሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም። om. δ.
- [§ 99] አንሰ፡ ኢተምህርኩ፡ መጻሕፍተ። om. C.
- [§ 119] ወአቀመኒ፡ ርቱዓ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ om. δ.
- [§ 129] ወከማሁ፡ አ፡ ጽዮን፡ ንግሢ፡ ላዕለ። om. C.
- [§ 130] ወከማሁ፡ አስተፍሥሒዮ፡ ለገብርኪ፡ ቷ...ቷ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። om. δCD.
- [§ 132] ለጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ እግዝእትነ። om. S.
- [§ 133] እማንቱ፡ እለ፡ ተሐንጻ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ዘላዕሉ፡ ወመሣውሪሃ፡ ፯፡ ሥዩማን፡ ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። om. β.
- [§ 137] ዘይትአመን፡ ኪያሃ፡ እንበለ፡ ነቲግ፡ ከመ፡ ታድሳኖ፡ እም፡ እደ፡ ሞት፡ ጸዋግ፡ ምስለ፡ ቷ...ቷ በደርግ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። om. δ.
- [§ 138] ወምስለ፡ ጸሐፊሁ፡ ምስኪን፡ ዘኃጢአቱ፡ አጥኘን። om. ε.
- [§ 139] ወኒጋዩ፡ ወጸአፊ፡ ስምዮ፡ ጎበ፡ ዓምደ፡ ብርሃን። om. D.
- [§ 139] ጎጡአ፡ አእምሮ፡ ወኪን። om. DFξ.
- [§ 139] ኃጥእ፡ ወምኑን፡ ጎጡአ፡ አእምሮ፡ ወኪን። ወምስለ፡ ኩልነ፡ ሰማዕያን፡ ለዓለመ። om. D.

2.2 Vowel Spelling: -i- Alternating with -ə-

In Gəʿəz, spelling alternation can occur between -əy and -iy, especially (but not only) in the plural of words ending in -awi;⁷⁹ that is, -awīyan ~ -awəyan and -awīyan ~ -awəyat. Examples in DṢ are:

- [§ 13] [T] እስራኤላዊያን፡ ~ እስራኤላውያን፡ .
- [§ 26] [K] ኢሰማያዊያን፡ ወኢምድራዊያን፡ ~ ኢሰማያውያን፡ ወኢምድራውያን፡ .
- [§ 58] [ε] and [§ 59] [K] ጌታዊያን፡ ~ ጌታውያን፡ .
- [§ 126] [A] አበዊየ፡ ~ አበውየ፡ .

Slightly different is the alternation ፈኒዎታ፡ ~ ፈንዎታ፡ by [A] in [§ 67 twice], discussed by Lambdin (1978: 134) with regard to the infinitive of III-weak verbs (verbs with final root *w* or *y*).

2.3 Number

There are many cases in Gəʿəz where one word may have two alternate plurals: sometimes two different broken plurals, sometimes a broken plural and a

79 Cf. Lambdin 1978: 12.

sound plural, sometimes a doubly marked plural. In the following list (Table 3), we see broken plurals and plural of plurals alternating in various families of the text.

TABLE 3 *Number*

Section	Reconstructed text	Alternative plural	Family / MS(S)
§ 29	አዕጋሪሆሙ፡	እገሪሆሙ፡	δD
§ 34	ለነገሥታት፡	ለነገሥት፡	PS
§§ 46–48, 63	ለኢሎፍሊ፡	ለኢሎፍላውያን፡ ⁸⁰	CS
§§ 68, 69, 71	ዕጉላተ፡	– ዕጉላት፡	BS
		– ዕጓላተ፡	λDT(twice each)
		– በዕጉሊሆን፡	λξS
		– በዕጉሊሆሙ፡	ε
§ 68	ወዕጉሊሆን፡	– ወዕጓሊሆን፡	C
		– ወዕጓላቲሆን፡	F
		– ለዕጓላት፡	λT
§ 68	ለዕጉላት፡	ለዕጓላት፡	λT
§ 69	ዕጉላት፡	– ዕጉልት፡	δCS
		– ዕጓላት፡	F
		– ደቂቃ፡ (sic)	P
§ 86, 133	ደቂቃ፡	– ደቂቃ፡	C(twice)DS
		– ደቂቃ፡ (sic)	P
§ 101	ሊቃናተ፡	ሊቃነ፡	F
§ 116	ስጡጥ፡	ስጡጣት፡	F
§ 129	ሰማዕታት፡	ሰማዕት፡	F

2.4 *Metathesis*

Metathesis is evident in Ge'ez; common examples are the verbs *näsäkä/näkäsä* 'he bites'⁸¹ *däqha/qädha* 'he dedicates, consecrates'.⁸² Some families or manuscripts of DṢ show metathesis in the word መቅድስ፡ ~ መድቅስ፡.

80 In most cases [C] uses the plural form of ለኢሎፍላውያን፡ 'Philistines'.

81 See Moscati 1964: 63. However, *näkäsä* 'he bites' is an Amharism according to Leslau (1987: 397).

82 Cf. Dillmann 1865: 460, 1098; Leslau 1987: 139, 420.

TABLE 4 *Metathesis*

Section	Reconstructed text	Metathesis	Family/MS(S)
§ 81	ለመድቅሐ፡ ዚአሃ፡	ለመቅድሐ፡ ዚአሃ፡	DFST
§ 104	መቅድሐ፡ ሕንጻሁ፡	– ወለመድቅሐ፡ ሕንጻሃ፡ – መድቅሐ፡ ሕንጻሁ፡	C Q
§ 104	ለመቅድሐ፡ ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር።	ለመድቅሐ፡ ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	δCQ
§ 126	በአስተርከቦ፡ ስብሐት፡	በአስተብርኮ፡ ስብሐት፡	δ

2.5 *Word Separation*

In some families of DṢ, we observe that words with the particle *ሁ*- and other words (especially foreign words) are separated into two words.⁸³ Table 5 shows these cases.

2.6 *Other Linguistic Features*

There are also other linguistic features in the families and subfamilies or manuscripts of DṢ. Let us examine the following.

TABLE 5 *Word Separation*

Section	Reconstructed text	Word separation	Family/MS(S)
§ 41	ለዘኮነቶ፡	ለዘ፡ ኮነቶ፡	T
§ 42	ለዘቀደሳ፡	ለዘ፡ ቀደሳ፡	T
§ 46 (twice)	ኢሎፍሊ፡	ኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡	A
§ 47	ለኢሎፍሊ፡	ለኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡	A
§ 92	ኪጥሮገውሎስ፡	– ኪጥሮ፡ ገውሎስ፡ – ኪጥሮ፡ ጋውሎስ፡ (twice)	A C
§ 111	ናቡከደነጾር፡	– ናቡ፡ ከደነ፡ ጾር፡ (sic) – ናቡከደነ፡ ሶር፡	A DF
§ 114	እምዘ፡ ወድቀት፡	እምዘወድቀት፡ ⁸⁴	δS

83 Furthermore, [F] has the reading of the name ፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡ ‘Frumentius’ in (ff. 27^{va}, 27^{vb}, 28^{va}, 28^{vb} (twice)), which is usually considered as one name ፍሬምናጦስ።.

84 In this case I have reconstructed the separated form.

2.6.1 Deletion

We can see deletion in some witnesses of DṢ. The usual Ethiopic form of the name **አፍኒን፡ ወፊንሐስ፡** is shortened to **አፍኒ፡ ፊንሐስ፡** in K [§ 47] and **አፍኒ፡ ወፊንሐስ፡** in DṢ [§ 47] and C [§ 50]. The last radical of the name **አፍኒን፡** and the conjunction **ወ-** between the two names are deleted.

2.6.2 Labialization (Orthography)

There is labialization of **-l-** in the following manuscripts against the rest of the families: [P] gives the reading **ድሎትየ፡** in [§ 6], against **ድልወትየ፡**. [Q] in [§ 77] also has the reading **በኢድሎቱ፡** against **በኢድልወቱ፡**. Similarly, in [§ 114], **-l-** is labialized due to the succeeding vowel **-u-** [**> -w-**], which then gets deleted. The majority of the families have the verb **ሀሎኩ፡**, against **ሀለወኩ፡** by [Fεξ] in [§ 116]. Ge'ez of course readily allows such a feature. Finally, in [§§ 131–132], we notice that [A] has the reading **ተጽመ፡** instead of **ተጽዋመ፡** seen in the rest of the families.

2.6.3 Insertion of Phonetic Glide

MS [C] has the reading **ጌታያውያን፡** 'the Geta-ites' in [§ 58] and **ጌቴያውያን፡** in [§ 59]. It inserts the phonetic glide **-ያ-** [**ya**] in the text against the original reading **ጌታውያን፡**. This may be due to the anticipation of **-y-** by the copyist; as a result, a phonetic glide is inserted.

2.6.4 Feminine Marker

The feminine marker in Ethiopic, as in Semitic in general, is **-t**. There are also some cases where a feminine noun uses no **-t**. **ድንግል፡** 'virgin', for instance, can be used for both masculine and feminine. Nevertheless, some witnesses (AB and KT) in DṢ give the feminine form as **ድንግልት፡** in [§ 135].

2.6.5 Punctuation

Ethiopic manuscripts preserve various kinds of punctuation marks. They have been carefully registered in this edition.⁸⁵ There are some peculiar punctuation marks attested in some DṢ families and manuscripts. We can find much more unusual punctuation marks in manuscripts written prior to the 13th or 14th cent. AD. Among the ten witnesses, [K], [Q], [S] and [T] preserve the old form of full stop [*****] as instead of four dots [**#**].

85 Cf. Dillmann 1907: 33; Marrassini 1992: 513–520; Bausi 2008: 36.

SECTION 2

Text Edition and Translation

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Critical Edition

ዘጽዮን*

(1) ¹ገበስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፩፡ አምላክ¹። ²በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡ ወቤቃ²፡ ወአካዕ³። ³ዝውእቱ፡ ምስጢር⁴፡ ኅቡእ፡ ዘታዕካ⁵፡ ሰማይ⁶፡ ልኩዕ። ⁴ዘኢይትአመር⁷፡ ክዋኔሁ፡ በሕሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ። ⁵ዘኢይትወቀር⁸፡ በጉድበ⁹፡ ዕልዋን፡ ወዘኢይትመዋእ¹⁰፡ ለፀብእ። ⁶ጌርጌላሁ¹¹፡ ለንጳስ¹²፡ ወደብተራሁ¹³፡ ሥሩዕ። (2) ¹መብረቅ¹፡ አውዱ፡ ወአፍራሲሁኒ²፡ ፪³። ²ሰብሐቲሁ፡ ብዙኅ፡ በአፈ፡ ትጉሃን፡ ምሉእ። ³ዘሀሎ፡ እምቅ[Al^{ra}]ድ[D41^{ra}]መ፡ ዓለማት⁴፡ ወሰማ[F1^{ra}]ይኒ⁵፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይጣዕጣዕ። ⁴ገባሬ፡ መላእክት፡ በመንፈስ፡ አፉሁ፡ [C1^r] «እም፡ ፪⁶፡ ጠባይዕ። ⁵ዘፈጠ[T25^{rb}]ሮ፡ ለአዳም፡ ዘበአርአያሁ⁷፡ ወአምሳሊሁ⁸፡ ዘየማነ⁹፡ እዴሁ፡ ጽኑእ። (3) ¹ዘአስተናበረ፡ «ዓለማተ፡ ወአዝማናተ¹፡ እስከ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ በማኅተመ²፡ ሰብእ³። ²ጥበበ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ብዙኅ⁴፡ በነጊር፡ ዘኢይትዌዳእ። [B1^r] ³፩⁵፡ አምላክ፡ ወ፩⁶፡ እግዚእ፡ «አብ፡ ወ[Q1^{ra}]ወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ⁷፡ ዘኢይሰደቅ፡ «ዘእም፡ ፩⁸፡ ነቅዕ። ⁴ሎቱ፡ ይደሉ፡ ሰብሐት፡ [Al^{rb}] በአፈ፡ ኹሉ፡ ፍጥረት። ⁵ወበል[D41^{rb}]ሳን⁹፡ ጸዩ፡ ወላዕ[S137^{ra}]ላዕ¹⁰፡ «ለዓለመ፡ ዓ[F1^{rb}]ለም፡ አሜን¹¹።

(4) ¹እኪልሕ፡ ወአክር¹፡ እሴብሕ፡ ወእዜምር፡ ለክብረ፡ በዓላ፡ [C1^v] በተቅዋመ²፡ ማኅቶት፡ ዘወርቅ፡ እግዝእትን³፡ ንጽሕት፡ ወብርህት፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት⁴፡ ታቦተ⁵፡ ሕግ፡ ዘበአማ[T25^{va}]ን፡ ዘይሴብሕዋ⁶፡ ሰማያውያን፡ ወምድራውያን። (5) ¹አልቦ፡ «ዘከማሃ፡ ዘይትዔረያ¹፡ [P1] «በስን፡ ወበላሕይ²፡ በክብር፡ ወበዕበይ³፡ ዘእንበለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ባሕቲቱ። (6) ¹ወሶቦ፡ [Al^r]፡ አንሶሰወ፡ አእጋረ¹፡ ሕሊናዩ፡ ውስተ፡ አዕጻዲሃ²፡ ተፈላጊሕት፡ እንዘ፡ እብል፡ አነብብ³፡ ወእተረጉም⁴፡ እንበለ፡ ድልወት⁵። ²በቀ[F1^{va}]ዳሚ⁶፡ ገብረ፡ [D41^{va}] እግዚአብሔር፡ ሰማየ⁷፡ ወምድርኒ⁸፡ [B1^v] «ሀለወት፡ እምትካት⁹። [C2^r]

1 Consulted (ABCDPQST [§§1–4]), (ABCDFKPQST [§§4–135]) | * ዘሰኑይ፡ AB | ዘመሴ፡ C | not mentioned DFS | ድርሳነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘሰኑይ፡ P. ¹ በስመ፡ ... አምላክ፡] om. C | ² ቤቃ፡ C | ³ ወአካዕ፡ T | ⁴ om. S | ⁵ በታዕካ፡ BP | ⁶ ሰማያት፡ C | ⁷ ዘኢይተአመር፡ B; ኢይኤመር፡ C; ዘኢይትአምር፡ P | ⁸ ዘኢይወቅር፡ D | ⁹ በጉድብ፡ D | ¹⁰ ወኢይትመዋዕ፡ CP; ወዘኢትመዋዕ፡ S | ¹¹ ጌልጌላሁ፡ F | ¹² ለንጳስ፡ BD | ¹³ ወደብተራሁ፡ D. ² ¹መብረቀ፡ ፩; ወ' S | ² አፍራሲሁ፡ ፩; ወአፍራሲሁ፡ F | ³ ፪ቱ፡ ፩QS; አርባዕ፡ C | ⁴ ዓለም፡ C | ⁵ በሰማይኒ፡ ፩; ወሰማየ፡ S | ⁶ እምነ፡ ፪፡ ፪FS; እምነ፡ ፪ቱ፡ ፩; | ⁷ ዘበአርያሁ፡ D; በአርአያሁ፡ ፩CS | ⁸ ወበአምሳሊሁ፡ ፩CDS | ⁹ በየማነ፡ CS. ³ ¹አዝማናተ፡ ወአመታተ፡ C | ² በማኅተመ፡ AF፤ | ³ ሰብእ፡ F | ⁴ ብዙኅ፡ C | ⁵ ፩ዱ፡ P | ⁶ ፩ዱ፡ ፩ | ⁷ ሥሉስ፡ C; om. P | ⁸ እም፡ አሕዱ፡ ፩C | ⁹ ወበልሳንዩ፡ C | ¹⁰ ወበላዕላዕ፡ D; om. ፩ | ¹¹ ለዓለም፡ ዓለዓለም፡ (sic) F. ⁴ ¹ወእነግር፡ C | ² ለተቅዋመ፡ ፩፩DS | ³ ወመድኃኒትነ፡ add. C | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ starts to be consulted hereafter K | ⁶ ወይሴብሕዋ፡ F; ዘይሴብሕዋ፡ P. ⁵ ¹ይይትዔረያ፡ ዘከማሃ፡ ፩; ወይይትኤረያ፡ C | ² በሥነ፡ ላሕይ፡ S | ³ ወዕበይ፡ F. ⁶ ¹አግረ፡ CP | ² አዕጻዲሃ፡ S | ³አንብብ፡ A; ወአንብብ፡ C; እነብብ፡ P | ⁴ ወእትመረጉዝ፡ F | ⁵ ድሎትዩ፡ P | ⁶ በቀዳሜ፡ B | ⁷ ወምድረ፡ add. D | ⁸ ወምድረ፡ ፩S; ወምድርስ፡ እ | ⁹ om. AB, ወካዕበ፡ ሀለ' P.

(7) ^{1a} ወአተሉ¹፡ ካዕበ፡ ^aወእቤ²፡ ደብረ³፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘአፍቀረ፡ ሐነጽ⁴፡ መቅ[Q1^{rb}]ደሶ፡ በአርያም። ²ወሣረራ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ዘለዓለም። ³ምድር⁵፡ ህሉት⁶፡ ይእቲ፡ እ[K1^{va}]ምቅድመ፡ ዓለም። (8) ¹ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ እንተ፡ ይ[T25^{vb}]እቲ፡ ማኅደረመ¹፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ዘትነግሥ²፡ ለዓለ[A1^{va}]መ፡ ዓለም³። ²ምስለ፡ እሊአሃ፡ ወብርሃነ፡ በግዑ፡ እንዘ⁴፡ ያበርህ፡ ላቲ⁵። ³ደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ሀለወት፡ በመንገል፡ ሠርቅ⁶፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ በገባ፡ [F1^{vb}] መስዕ⁷። (9) ¹ሀገሩ፡ ለ[S137^{rb}]ንጉሥ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘይጸንሑ¹፡ ምጽአታ²፡ ጻድቃን፡ ወሰማ[D41^{vb}]ዕት³፡ ዘተካፈሉ፡ ክበዲሃ⁴። ²ወእግዚ[C2^v]አብሔር፡ ለጽሁፍ፡ ኩሎ⁵፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ይኩን። ³ኃረያ፡ ለጽዮን⁶፡ ወሣረራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩሩ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ⁴ወይቤ፡ ለውስቴታ፡ አኃድር⁷፡ እስመ፡ ሠመርክዋ⁸፡ ወኃረይክዋ።

(10) ¹አማን¹፡ አእሚሮ²፡ ለእግዚእ፡ እ[K1^{vb}]ግዚአብሔር³፡ በከ[A1^{vb}]መ፡ ሣረራ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምቀዳሚት⁴፡ ወአመ⁵፡ አውጽአሙ፡ ለሕዝ[T26^{ra}]ቡ፡ እምግብረ፡ ግንፋል፡ ወእምቤተ፡ ቅንየት⁶። [B2^r] ²ወይቤሎ⁷፡ ለሙሴ፡ ገብሩ፡ [F2^{ra}] ወነቢዩ፡ አመ፡ ዓ[Q1^{re}]ርገ⁸፡ ውስተ፡ ደብረ፡ ሲና፡ ቁመኒ፡ ዝየ። (11) ¹አልቦ¹፡ ዘዓርገ²፡ ምስሌኮ³። ²ወአልቦ፡ ዘይሄሉ⁴፡ ው[C3^r]ስተ፡ ርእሰ⁵፡ ደብረ፡ ዘእንበሌከ። ³ወፍታሕ⁶፡ አሣዕኒከ፡ እም[D42^{ra}]እገሪከ፡ እስመ⁷፡ ምድር፡ ጎበ፡ ትቀውም⁸፡ ቅድስት፡ ይእቲ። [P2] ⁴ወሶበ፡ ፈጸመ፡ ለተናግሮ፡ ዘንተ⁹፡ ወዘይመስሎ፡ ወሀቦ¹⁰፡ ለጽላተ፡ ዘትእካዝ¹¹፡ ውስ[A1^{vc}]ተ፡ እዴሁ። ⁵ወጽሑፋት፡ እንተ፡ ፪ሆን¹²፡ ገበዋቲሁ፡ እንተ¹³፡ ለፌ¹⁴፡ ለእንተ፡ ለፌኒ¹⁵። [K2^{ra}] (12) ¹ወጽሕፈቶንሂ¹፡ ጽሕፈተ²፡ እግዚአብሔር³፡ ውእቱ። ²ወግሉፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽሑሁ⁴፡ ስመ⁵፡ እግዚአብ[F2^{rb}]ሔር፡ የውጣ፡ ወልደ፡ [T26^{rb}] እግዚ[S137^{va}]አብሔር፡ ውእቱ፡ በምስጢር። ³ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሙሴ⁶፡ [C3^v] ወሀብኩ⁷፡ ዘንተ፡ ጽላተ፡ ዘኪዳን። ⁴እስመ፡ በዝንቱ፡ ነገር፡ አቀውም፡ ኪዳንየ⁸፡ ዘምስለ⁹፡ ኩሎሙ፡ እስራኤል¹⁰። (13) [D42^{rb}] ¹ወዘንተ¹፡ ሶበ²፡ ይቤሎ³፡ ለሙሴ⁴፡ [B2^v] አእሚሮ⁵፡ [A2^{ra}] ተ...ተ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ⁶፡ ለማርያም⁷፡ እ[Q1^{va}]ንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘኪዳን። ²ወከመ⁸፡ ድድኃት፡ ባቲ⁹፡ ምዕመናን፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ እስራኤልላውያን¹⁰።

⁷ አተሉ፡ C | ² _{a-a} ጽዮን፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ነቢይ፡ P | ³ በደብረ፡ B | ⁴ ወሐነጽ፡ AKFξ | ⁵ om. C; ምድርኒ፡ S | ⁶ ድሉት፡ ወህሉት፡ C. ⁸ ማኅበረመ፡ Fξ | ² ዘይነግሥ፡ S | ³ ለዓለም፡ BF; አሚን፡ add. D | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ ላዕሌሃ፡ C | ⁶ ምሥራቅ፡ D; መንገል፡ ምስራቅ፡ SK | ⁷ እንተ፡ በገባ፡ መስዕ፡ ፩; እንተ፡ ገባ፡ መስዕ፡ C; እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ መስዕ፡ D. ⁹ ዘይጸይሑ፡ A; ይጸንሑ፡ F; ዘይጽንሑ፡ DB; ይእቲ፡ C | ² ምጽአተ፡ ዚአሃ፡ C | ³ መዋዕያን፡ add. C | ⁴ ክበዳ፡ C | ⁵ ኩሎ፡ AP; ዘየ፡ εFT | ⁶ ለጽን፡ (sic.) D | ⁷ አኃድር፡ ውስቴታ፡ ፩ | ⁸ om. βD. ¹⁰ om. C | ² ወ' C; om. ፩ | ³ እግዚአብሔር፡ እግዚእ፡ βD | ⁴ እምቅድመ፡ ዓለማት፡ C | ⁵ አመ፡ ፩ | ⁶ ቅድያት፡ C | ⁷ እግዚአብሔር፡ add. C | ⁸ om. C. ¹¹ ወ' ፩ | ² ዘየዓርገ፡ Cε | ³ ምስሌከ፡ AKξ | ⁴ ምስሌከ፡ add. S | ⁵ om. S | ⁶ ፍታሕ፡ C | ⁷ ዘትከይዳ፡ add. ፩ | ⁸ om. A; ትቀውም፡ S | ⁹ ዘንተ፡ ተናገሮ፡ ፩D; ዘንተ፡ ተናግሮ፡ F | ¹⁰ ወሀቦ፡ S | ¹¹ ጽላተ፡ ትእካዝ፡ C | ¹² ክልኤሆን፡ F | ¹³ om. T | ¹⁴ ለፌኒ፡ γ | ¹⁵ ለፌ፡ ፩; om. F. ¹² ወጽሕፈቶን፡ ፩ | ² በአዳብአ፡ C | ³ እግዚእ፡ ' εFξ | ⁴ ቁጸሊሁ፡ ፩; ቁሰሊሁ፡ AFKξ | ⁵ እስመ A | ⁶ ለሙሴ፡ ገብሩ፡ ወነቢዩ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ add. C and correcting it. It may be a *homoiteleton* from [§10] | ⁷ አ C | ⁸ ምስሌከ፡ add. C | ⁹ ምስሌ-ዕ፡ A; ምስሌከ፡ ወምስለ፡ C; ምስለ፡ F | ¹⁰ ሰብአ' F. ¹³ om. S | ² om. C; ወ'S | ³ ዘይቤሎ፡ C | ⁴ ሙሴ፡ add. P; ለሙሴ፡ add. Q; ዘንተ፡ ለሙሴ፡ S | ⁵ ከመ፡ የኃድር፡ add. C; እግዚእን፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሰብአ፡ add. P | ⁶ ለእግዚእትን፡ add. C | ⁷ ማርያም፡ C; ለጽዮን፡ εS | ⁸ ከመ፡ C | ⁹ ኩሎሙ፡ add. C | ¹⁰ 'ዊያን፡ T.

(14) ${}_1$ ወእንዘ፡ ሀሎ፡ ሙሴ፡ ቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር^[K2^{rb}]፡ ወተመጠወ¹፡ በእደዊሁ²፡ ዘንተ፡ ጽላተ፡ ዘተጠብ^[C4^r]ጠ^[F2^{va}]በ፡ 'በቀለመ፡ እሳት³፡ 'በአጻብአ፡ መለኮት⁴፡ (15) ${}_1$ ወጽሕፈቱሂ¹፡ ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ በነገረ፡ ዕብራይስጥ^[T26^{va}]ጢ²፡ ወበፊደላት³፡ ሄኖክ፡ ዘተምህረ፡ ${}_2$ ወኖኅያቲሁ⁴፡ ወነገራቲሁ⁵፡ 'ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ⁶፡ ${}_3$ ሃት፡ ዘአሐቲ፡ ኅ^[A2^{rb}]ርመቱ⁸፡ ወአኃቲ፡ ቅርጾቹ⁹፡ ${}_4$ ዘይቀልሎ፡ ኅልፈተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወ^[D42^{va}]ምድር።

(16) ${}_1$ ወይቤሎ¹፡ 'ካዕበ፡ እግዚአብሔር²፡ ለሙሴ፡ ወመላእክዎሙ፡ ጥበበ፡ ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውቱ...ቱ³፡ ወልደ፡ ሦር፡ ዘእምይሁዳ⁴፡ ወለኤልያብ⁵፡ ዘአክስምካ⁶፡ ዘእምሕዝብ⁷፡ ዳን።

(17) ${}_1$ ወወሀብክዎሙ፡ 'መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጥ^[F2^{vb}]በበ፡ ወአ^[K2^{va}]እምሮ¹፡ እቁመ²፡ ${}_3$ ዘ^[B3^r]ከ^[S137^{vb}]መ፡ ይግ^[C4^v]በሩ፡ ኩሎ³፡ ግብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ መርጡል⁴፡ ${}_a$ ወታቦተ⁵፡ ዘሀር^[Q1^{vb}]መቱ⁶፡ ${}_b$ ወተቅዎመ፡ ማኅቶት፡ ወምሕዋጽ⁷፡ ዘላዕሌሃ፡ ${}_b$ ይነብር⁸፡ ${}_c$ ^[A2^{rc}]ወ^[T26^{vb}]ስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ ${}_a$ መርጡል⁹፡ ${}_c$ ^[P3] (18) ${}_1$ ወተአዚዞ፡ ሙሴ፡ ወነሢአ¹፡ ውእተ፡ ጽላተ፡ ወወረደ²፡ እምደብረ፡ ሲና፡ ${}_2$ ወገብአ፡ ኅበ፡ ሕዝብ³፤ ወነገሮሙ፡ 'ትእዛዞ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር⁴፡ ${}_3$ ወለእሉሂ⁵፡ ${}_c$ ^[D42^{vb}] '፪፡ ጠቢባን⁶፡ አዘዘሙ፡ ይግበሩ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ደብተራ፡ ${}_4$ ወገብርዋ፡ በዘኢተሀለየ⁷፡ በልበ፡ እጓለ፡ እመሕያው።

(19) ${}_1$ ቱ...ቱ ${}_1$ ፡ አዕጻዳት²፡ ወለለ፩³፡ ጸድፍ፡ ኑኑ፡ ጽወ፩⁵፡ በእመት፡ ${}_2$ ወገ^[C5^r]ብሩ፡ መንጦላዕተ⁶፡ ወራሳቡኒ⁷፡ ${}_8$ ፡ በእመት፡ ${}_3$ ወገብሩ⁹፡ መንጦላዕ^[D42^{vb}]ተ፡ ደብተ^[F3^{ra}]ጢ¹⁰፡ ደርከኖ¹¹፡ ወዘሕብረ፡ ከ^[A2^{va}]ብድ¹²፡ 'ወሥዕለ፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውስቱቱ¹³፡ ቱ...ቱ¹⁴ ${}_8$ ¹⁵፡ አዕማድ¹⁶።

(20) ${}_1$ ወገብሩ¹፡ ምስሃለ፡ መልዕልቱሃ፡ ኅበ፡ ትነብር፡ ${}_a$ ታቦ^[T27^{ra}]ተ²፡ ቅድሳቱ³፡ ለእግዚአብሔር⁴፡ ${}_b$ ^[B3^v] ${}_2$ ወ፪፡ ኪሩብ፡ 'ውስተ፡ ${}_5$ ፡ ኪሩብ⁶፡ ውስተ፡ ጽንፈ⁷፡ ምስሐል፡ ${}_3$ ወ፩⁸፡ ውስተ⁹፡ ጽንፍ¹⁰፡ ${}_4$ ወይጼልሎ፡ በክነፊሆሙ፡ ${}_5$ ወስብአ¹¹፡ ማኅተዊሃ¹²፡ ዘወርቅ።

14¹ ተመጠወ፡ CS | ² እም፡ እደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ C | ³ om. C | ⁴ በአጻብአሁ፡ ለመለኮት፡ A፡ በአጻብአሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ፩. 15¹ ወጽፈቱሂ፡ (sic) D | ² ዕብራይስጥ፡ DS | ³ ወበፊደላት፡ F | ⁴ ወበኖኅያቲሁ፡ C፡ ኖኅያቲሁ፡ P | ⁵ ወነገሩኒ፡ C | ⁶ ዝውእቱ፡ S | ⁷ ፲ቱ፡ ፩ | ⁸ ኅርመታ፡ S፡ ክረምታ፡ T | ⁹ ቅርጾታ፡ S. 16¹ ወይቤ. F | ² እግ' ካዕበ፡ C | ³ ዘውሬ፡ ላደ፤ ዘውሬ፡ ፩፡ ዘውዕ፡ C፡ ዘውሬ፡ F፡ ዛውሬ፡ S | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ ወለኤልያብ፡ F | ⁶ ዘአክስምካ፡ ፩፡ ዘአክሲምካ፡ C | ⁷ እምሕዝብ፡ C. 17¹ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱሳዊ፡ 'B፡ ጥበበ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ 'C፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ 'FS፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱሳዊ፡ 'P፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ 'T | ² እቁም፡ ε | ³ om. S | ⁴ መርጡር፡ (sic) S | ⁵ ወታቦት፡ ABዋ፤ ወታቦታት፡ P | ⁶ ዘሀርመት፡ ፩C፡ በሀርመቱ፡ S | ⁷ ወምዕዋድ፡ ፩፡ ወምዕዋድ፡ S | ⁸ ${}_b$ -b 'ወምዕዋድ፡ ዘላዕሌሃ፡ ይነብር፡ ፩፡ ወምሕዋድ፡ ዘላዕሌሃ፡ ወተቅዎመ፡ ማኅቶት፡ ይነብር፡ C | ⁹ ${}_a$ -a om. F. It is an *homoiteleton* from መርጡል፡ to መርጡል። 18¹ om. C | ² ወረደ፡ ፩ዋ፤ ዘወረደ፡ S | ³ ሕዝቡ፡ S | ⁴ ትእዛዞሙ፡ (sic) ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ፩፡ ትእዛዞ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ D | ⁵ ወለእሉ፡ CS | ⁶ ፪ቱ፡ ጠቢባን፡ ፩፡ ጠቢባን፡ ፪፡ S | ⁷ ዘኢተሀለየ፡ ፩. 19¹ ፲፡ ቱ፡ ፩፡ በ፲፡ C | ² -9- s.l. D፡ አዕጻዳተ፡ S | ³ ወለለ፩ዱ፡ ፩፡ ወለእለ፡ ፩፡ D | ⁴ አዕጻድ፡ C፡ om. D | ⁵ ጽወ፩ተ፡ B፡ ጽወ፩ቱ፡ P | ⁶ om. C፡ ' ደብተራ፡ add. F፡ መንጦአተ፡ (sic) S | ⁷ ወርሳቡኒ፡ ፩፤ ⁸ ፪ቱ፡ ፩፡ ርብኅ፡ D | ⁹ ወገብረ፡ ፩ | ¹⁰ om. C | ¹¹ ዘደርከኖ፡ C | ¹² ከብድ፡ (sic) A፡ ከብድ፡ D፡ መረገድ፡ S | ¹³ ወሠአሉ፡ ውስቱቱ፡ ኪሩብ፡ C፡ ወሥዕሉ፡ 'D፡ ወሥዕሉ፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውእቱ፡ F፡ ውስቱቱ፡ (sic) P፡ ወሥዕሉ፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውስቱቱ፡ (sic) T | ¹⁴ ውስተ፡ C | ¹⁵ ፪ቱ፡ ፩ | ¹⁶ አዕማድ፡ DT. 20¹ ወገብሩ፡ add. D | ² om. B፡ ታቦት፡ D | ³ ቅድስቱ፡ D | ⁴ ${}_a$ -a ታቦት፡ ትነብር፡ ቅድስቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ S | ⁵ ፩፡ CS፡ ውስተ፡ ፩ዱ፡ ፩ | ⁶ om. C | ⁷ om. D፡ ፩፡ K | ⁸ ፩ዱ፡ ፩፡ ወ፪፡ Q | ⁹ om. Q | ¹⁰ ጽንፍ፡ P | ¹¹ ሰብአ፡ F | ¹² ማኅተዊሃ፡ FS፤፤፤

(21) ₁ወኸሎ¹: ዘተገብ[D_{43^{ra}}]ረ²: ለግብረ³: ቅድሳት⁴: ምር[Q_{1^{ve}}]ቀ: ንጹሐ⁵: ዘያበውኡ⁶: ወኮነ⁷: ጉላቋሁ: ፳ወ፱⁸: መካልይ⁹: ወ፯፻ወ፴¹⁰: ሰቅል: በሰቅለ: [S_{138^{ra}}] ቅዱሳን¹¹: ₂ወብሩርኒ: ፻¹²: መካ[C_{5^v}]ልይ¹³: ም፲ወ፯[_{A2^{vb}}]፻ወ፸ወ፩¹⁴: ሰቅል: ገብ[F_{3^{rb}}]ርዎ¹⁵: አርእስተ¹⁶: አዕማድ: ወለበጥዋ¹⁷: ወ[K_{3^{ra}}]አሰርገውዋ።

(22) ₁ወተፈጸመ: ግብረ¹: ደብተራ: መርጡል²: ₂ወግብረታሰ³: ስመ: እንግር⁴: በበአሐቲ: ስእንኩ: ፈክሮታ⁵: በከመ: ይቤ: ጳውሎስ: ወኢይ[T_{27^{rb}}]ትከሐል⁶: ይትናገርዎ⁷: በበገጹ።

(23) ₁ወእምዝ: ተናገሮ: እግዚአብሔር¹: ለሙሴ: ወይቤሎ²: አመ: ርእሰ: ሠርቅ: ምዳሚ: ት[B_{4^r}]ክላ³: ለደብተራ: መርጡል። ₂ወአንብረ⁴: ለታቦትዮ: እንተ: ውስጥ⁵: ምስ[D_{43^{rb}}]ሐል: ጎበ: [A_{2^{ve}}] ምዴልሉ: ኪሩቤል⁶: [P₄] (24) ₁ወለመጽሐፈ¹: ትእዛዝ²: እንተ³: ይእቲ⁴: ጽላት: ዘሕግ: አንብ[C_{6^v}]ራ: ውስተ: ከር[F_{3^{va}}]ሣ: ለታቦት። ₂ወበህዮ: እትኤመር⁵: ለከ⁶: በስብሐትዮ⁷: ₃ወገብረ⁸: ከማሁ: ወአንበረ⁹: [K_{3^{rb}}] ለታቦት: ውሣጤ: ደብተራ። ₄ወጽላትኒ¹⁰: ውስተ: ከርሣ: ለታቦት¹¹።

(25) ₁ወሰወራ: በ[Q_{2^{ra}}]መንጥላዕት: ዘጎብረ¹: ከብድ: በከመ²: አዘዞ³: እግዚአብሔር። ወተመልአ[T_{27^{va}}]ት: ደብተራ: ስ[S_{138^{rb}}]ብሐተ: እግዚአብሔር። ₂ወዓምደ⁴: ደመና⁵: መልእላቱ⁶: ኸሎ⁷: መዓልተ። ₃ወብር[A_{3^{ra}}]ሃነ: እሳት: ሌሊተ⁸: ቅድመ: ኸሎሙ: እስራኤል⁹: (26) ₁ወታቦትሰ¹: ንጽሕት: ይእቲ: ስእንከትነ: ማርያም²: ስይትማሰላ: አልቦ³: ኢስ[C_{6^v}][F_{3^{vb}}]ማያውያን⁴: ወኢምድራ[D_{43^{va}}]ውያን⁵: ₂ወጽላትኒ: ቃለ: እግዚአብሔር: ውእቱ: ዘኃደረ: ው[B_{4^v}]ስተ: ከርሣ: ወተሰብአ: እምነ⁶: ₃ወነበረት⁷: ከመዝ⁸: ታቦተ: ሕጉ: ለእግዚአብሔር: እንተ: ይእቲ: ጽዮን⁹: [K_{3^{va}}] ሰማያዊት: ስስብሐት: ብዙጎ¹⁰: ዘኢይትነገር: እስከ¹¹: አዕረፈ: ሙሴ።

(27) ₁ወእምዝ: ሶበ: ወጽኡ: እስራኤል¹: አመ: አገ[A_{3^{rb}}]ትዋ²: ለኢያሪኮ: ወቦኡ: [T_{27^{vb}}] ካህናት: ውስተ: ዮርዳኖስ: እንዘ: ይጸውርዋ: ለጽዮን: ወቆሙ:

21¹ om. B; ወኸሎ: CPS | ² ዘገብረ: C | ³ በግብረ: ስ | ⁴ ቅድሳን: S | ⁵ ምርቅ: ንጹሐ: ስ; ዓሥራተ add. C; ምርቅ: ንጹሐ: F | ⁶ ዘያበውኡ: A | ⁷ መካነ: D | ⁸ ፳ወ፱ቱ: ስ | ⁹ መካልዮ: C; መካል: (sic) D | ¹⁰ ፳ወ፯: S | ¹¹ ወአሐዱ: መካልይ: መጠኑ: ፲ቱ: ወ፯ቱ: ፻ት: ፳ወ፫: ውእቱ። add. P | ¹² ፻ት: ስ; ፫: S | ¹³ መካልዮ: C | ¹⁴ ወ፲ቱ: ወ፯ቱ: ፻ት: ወ፸ወ፩ቱ: ስ; ፲ወ፯፻፸ወ፩: F | ¹⁵ ገብርዋ: S | ¹⁶ ለአርእስተ: C | ¹⁷ ወለበጥዋ: λDS. 22¹ ግብረተ: C | ² om. C | ³ ወግብረትሰ: (sic) C | ⁴ እነግር: C | ⁵ ፈክሮቶ: C; ተናገሮ: ወፈክሮታ: S | ⁶ ኢይትከሐል: S | ⁷ ይንግርዎ: ሃ. 23¹ Ill. S | ² om. ስ | ³ ትካላ: A; ምርሃ: ትካል: C; ትካላ: ፻; ትካላ: F | ⁴ ወአንበራ: C | ⁵ ውስተ: እ; ውስጠ: ስQ | ⁶ ይጽልል: 'A; ' ኪሩብ: CK፤ ይጽልሎ: ' D; ይጽልል: ኪሩብ: F. 24¹ መጽሐፈ: A; ወመጽሐፈ: ስ | ² ትእዛዝ: (sic) P | ³ om. D | ⁴ om. ስ | ⁵ እትአመር: A; እትአመን: ስ; እንትኤመር: (sic) D | ⁶ om. ስ | ⁷ ለስብሐትዮ: ስ | ⁸ ወነበረ: C; ወነበረ: ፍ | ⁹ ወአንብረ: ፍ | ¹⁰ ወጽላትኒ: ፻Q | ¹¹ ወአም: (sic) በህዮ: እትኤመር: ለከ: በስብሐትዮ: ወነበረ: ከማሁ: ወአንብረ: ለታቦት: ውሣጤ: ደብተራ: ወጽላትኒ: ውስተ: ከርሣ: ለታቦት። rep. S. 25¹ ዘጎብረ: CK | ² ዘከመ: ስ; ወከመ: D | ³ አዘዞ: F | ⁴ ወዓውደ: S | ⁵ መና: S | ⁶ መልእላቱሁ: C; መልእላቱሃ: (sic) K | ⁷ ኸሎ: add. C | ⁸ ምርሃ: ' ስK; ' እሳተ: ' C; ብርሃነ: እሳት F; ' መሌሊተ: (sic) S | ⁹ ፳ኤል: S. 26¹ ወታቦት: AB; ወታቦት: ዘተብህለት: P | ² ጽዮን: C; ማርያም: om. S | ³ አልቦ: ዘይትማሰላ: C | ⁴ 'ዊያን: K | ⁵ ወምድራውያን: ስ; 'ዊያን: K | ⁶ om. A | ⁷ ወነበረ: C | ⁸ om. C | ⁹ ill. T | ¹⁰ ብብዙጎ: ስብሐት: C | ¹¹ አመ: add. C. 27¹ አመ: ቆመ: ኢያሱ: ውስተ: እስራኤል: C; ' ፳ኤል: S | ² አንትዎ: ለ፻፭; አደውዋ: ስ.

ማእከለ፡ ባሕር። (28) ₁ወማይኒ፡ ቆመ፡ ወኢክህለ፡ ወ[F4^{ra}]ረ[C7^r]ደ¹፡ እስከ፡ የዓድዉ²፡
 'ኩሎሙ፡ እስራ[Q2^{rb}]ኤል³። ₂ወማይኒ፡ ምሉእ፡ እስከ⁴፡ ድንጋጌሁ⁵። ₃ወካህናት⁶፡ እንዘ⁷፡
 ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ቆሙ⁸፡ _aከመ⁹፡ ዘየብስ¹⁰፡ ርሱያን¹¹። [D43^{vb}] (29) ₁ወእምዝ፡
_aነሥኡ¹፡ ₁፡ ፲ወ፪²፡ አዕባን³፡ እም⁴፡ ኀበ፡ ቆመ⁵፡ አእጋሪሆሙ⁶፡ ለካህናት⁷፡ በጉልቄ፡
 ፲ወ፪⁸፡ ነገደ፡ እስራኤል። ₂ወእምድኅረ፡ ዓደዉ፡ ኩሉ⁹፡ ሕዝብ፡ [A3^{rc}] ወጽኡ¹⁰፡
 ካህናት፡ [K3^{vb}] እለ፡ ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን። ₃ወየ[Si38^{va}]ርዳኖስኒ¹¹፡ ባሕር¹²፡ ኮነ¹³፡ ከመ፡
 ቀዳሚ፡ 'ወምሉእ፡ ውእቱ፡ እስከ፡ ድንጋጌሁ¹⁴። [B5^r]

(30) ₁ወዘንተ፡ [T28^{ra}] ዘገብረት¹፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ [P5] አመ፡ ፲²፡ ለወርሃ፡
 ዕብራል[C7^v][F4^{rb}]ዮስ³፡ ዝውእቱ፡ _aቀዳቅያ⁴፡ _aወርሃ⁵። ₂ወገብሩ⁶፡ ስብሐተ፡ ዓቢየ፡
 ኩሎሙ⁷፡ ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወእእኩትዋ፡ ለእግዝእትነ⁸፡ _bእስከ፡ በጽ[D44^{ra}]ሑ⁹፡
_bኢያሪኮ¹⁰።

(31) ₁ወዖደታ¹፡ 'ለጥቅመ፡ ኢያሪኮ²፡ ታቦተ³፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር⁴፡ ምስለ፡
 'ካህናት፡ ወኩሎ[A3^{va}]ሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል⁵፡ በዓቢይ፡ ውውእ። ₂ወወድቀ፡ አረፋቲሃ፡
 በጊዜሃ። ₃ወአውአይዋ፡ ለሀገር፡ በእ[Q2^{rc}]ሳት⁶፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘአትረፋ⁷፡ ውስቱታ⁸። [K4^{ra}]
 ዘእንበለ፡ ንዋየ፡ ወርቅ⁹፡ ዘይከውን፡ 'ለቤተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር¹⁰። ₄ገብረት፡ ኃይላተ¹¹፡
 ዓቢያተ¹²፡ እስከ፡ [C8^r] አሕለቀ[T28^{rb}]ቶሙ¹³፡ [F4^{va}] ለሰብአ፡ ኢያሪኮ፡ ወለእንስሳሆሙ።
 (32) ₁ወበሰብአ¹፡ ጋይሂ²፡ ገብረት³፡ ኃይለ⁴፡ ብዙኃ⁵፡ ንግሥትነ⁶፡ ጽዮን⁷፡ ወእምነ⁸።
₂ወአቅተለት፡ [D44^{rb}] ኩሎ፡ ሰብአ፡ 'ወ[A3^{vb}]አንስተ፡ ወእደወ⁹፡ ዘይከውኑ¹⁰፡
 ፪ወ[B5^v]፳፻¹¹፡ እለ¹²፡ ኩሎሙ¹³፡ ሰብአ፡ ጋይ። (33) ₁ወአውአየት፡ ሀገረኒ፡ በእሳት።
₂ወኮት፡ ሐመደ²። ₃ወረሰየቶሙ³፡ ከመ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ዘይነብር፡ ውስቱቶሙ⁴፡ እስከ፡ ዮም፡

28¹ ወሪዶ፡ ፩ | ² ዓደዉ፡ ፩ | ³ ኩሎሙ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡ ፩፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል፡ C፡ እስራኤል፡ ኩሎሙ፡ F፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ፳ኤል፡ S | ⁴ om. ፩፡ ወማይኒ፡' ደኒ | ⁵ ድንጋጌሁ፡ ፩ | ⁶ ወካህናት፡ C፡ ካህናት፡ Q፡ om. S | ⁷ እለ፡ C፡ ወ' S | ⁸ ወቆሙ፡ F | ⁹ om. S | ¹⁰ ዘየብስ፡ A፡ የብስ፡ ፩፡ በየብስ፡ ፩፡ የብስ፡ S | ¹¹ ርሱያን ይዋ. 29¹ _{a-a} ከመ፡ [28] ... ነሥኡ፡ [29] om. F | ² ፲ተ፡ ወ፪ተ፡ ፩ | ³ አዕባን፡ C | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ om. D፡ ቆሙ፡ S | ⁶ አእጋሪሆሙ፡ ፩D | ⁷ ካህናት፡ F | ⁸ ፲ተ፡ ወ፪ተ፡ ፩ | ⁹ ኩሎሙ፡ C | ¹⁰ ወመጽኡ፡ F | ¹¹ ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡ P | ¹² ሀገር፡ A፡ ሀገረ፡T፡ ሖረ፡ S፤፤ om. Q | ¹³ om. βελST | ¹⁴ ኮነ፡ ምሉእ፡' ፩. 30¹ ገብረት፡ S | ² ፲ተ፡ ፩ | ³ ሰብራልዮስ፡ ፩፡ አብርልዮስ፡ C፡ አብርልዮስ፡ F | ⁴ originally in the text (but later corrected) and in the Amharic translation ቀዳቅያ፡ later correction and s.l. ቀዳማይ፡ B፡ ቀዳማይ፡ (sic) in the text and ቀዳማይ፡ in the translation P. ቀዳማዊ፡ C | ⁵ _{a-a} ወርሃ፡ ቀዳቅያ፡ F | ⁶ ገብሩ፡ P | ⁷ ኩሎ፡ A፡ ወኩሎሙ፡ C | ⁸ ማርያም፡ add. B፡ ጽዮን፡ add. C፡ ለጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ፡ add. D፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ add. P | ⁹ በጽሐት፡ C | ¹⁰ _{b-b} እስከ፡ በጽሐ፡ A፡ om. ፩. 31¹ ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ add. A. 32¹ ወሰብአ፡ AFKT፡ በሰብአ፡ D፡ ወለሰብአ፡ S | ² ኃሣ፡ ፩፡ ill. K | ³ ገብረ፡ S | ⁴ ዐቢየ፡ add. C፡ om. S | ⁵ om. ፩F | ⁶ እግዝእትነ፡ ፩፡ ንግሥነ፡ (sic) D | ⁷ ማርያም፡ AB፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ P | ⁸ ወእእምነት፡ A፡ ወእእመነት፡ ፩፡ እምነ፡ እS | ⁹ እደወ፡ ወአንስተ፡ CS፡ አንስተ፡ ወእደወ፡ F | ¹⁰ ዘይከውን፡ AB፤፤ | ¹¹ ዕልል፡ ወ፳፻ተ፡ ፩፡ ፪ወ-፳፻፡ Q | ¹² ወእለ፡ B፡ om. P | ¹³ ወለኩሎሙ፡ P. 33¹ ሀገርኒ፡ CKT፡ ሀገረ፡ S | ² ወኮነት፡' B፡ ወኮነ፡ ሕሙደ፡ C፡ ወገብረት፡' P | ³ ወረሰየቶ፡ C | ⁴ ውስቱቱ፡ C

ወእስከ፡ ዛቲ፡ ሰዓት⁵። ⁴ወለንጉሠ፡ ጋይኒ⁶፡ አዘዘት⁷፡ ይስቅልዎ፡ ውስተ⁸፡ ዕፀ፡ ዘግባ፡ እስመ፡ ኃይለ፡ እግዚ^[K4^{rb}]አብሔር፡ የሐውር፡ ምስሌ^[S138^{vb}]ሃ። ⁵ወመላእክት፡ ^[C8^v]ይጸ^[F4^{vb}]ይሑ⁹፡ ፍናዊሃ። (34) ¹፣ወከመዝ፡ ነበረት¹፡ ብዙኃ፡ ዓመታተ²፡ ^[T28^{va}]፣እንዘ፡ ታጠፍአመ³፡ ^[A3^{vc}]ለነገሥታት⁴፡ ብዙኃ^[D44^{va}]ን፡ ወእኩያን⁵። ^[Q2^{va}]²ወለሀገርኒ⁶፡ ጎበ፡ ኢተጸውዓ፡ ስመ⁷፡ ፈጣሪሃ፡ ትደመስስ⁸።

(35) ¹ወይእዜኒ፡ አበውየ፡ ወአኃውየ፡ ዕግትዋ¹፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወሕቀፍዋ፡ ለክብረ²፡ በዓላ፡ እንዘ፡ ተሐልዩ³። ^[P6]²ወይእቲሰ፡ ሥርጉት፡ ፣በሥነ፡ ስብሐት⁴። ³ትትሌዓል⁵፡ እምስማያት፡ ወትከብር⁶፡ ፣እምኸሎሙ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወትጉሃን⁷። ⁴ወሀገሪቱ፡ ለአማኑኤል⁸፡ አምላክነ። ⁵ጽዮን፡ እምነ⁹፡ ሙካፋ¹⁰፡ ለጠለ¹¹፡ መለኮ^[F5^{ra}]ት። ^[C9^r] ^[A4^{ra}] (36) ¹መርዓተ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ዘት^[K4^{va}]መስል¹፡ አ^[B6^r]ትሮንስ²፡ ዘአባ³፡ ሮብአም፡ አመ፡ ነግሠ⁴፡ ዘበቀርነ⁵፡ ግ^[D44^{vb}]ብርናት⁶፡ ዘተስእሉ⁷፡ ^[T28^{vb}]ዲቤሃ፡ ፤ወ፪⁸፡ አናብስት፡ ግሩማን⁹። (37) ¹፣አይ፡ ክብር¹፡ ዘተውህበ፡ ላቲ። ፣ወአይ፡ ጸጋ²፡ እምነበ፡ አቡሃ፡ ለብርሃን።

(38) ¹ታቦተ፡ ሕግነ፡ ጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ¹፡ ዘተሣረረት፡ እምቅድመ፡ ዓለማት²፡ በሕሊና፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፤ ወበሥምረተ³፡ ወልድ፡ ዋሕድ፤ ወሀብተ⁴፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጳራቅሊጠስ፤ ²፣ዕሩያን፡ ^[A4^{rb}]ንግሥ⁵፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ማ^[S139^{ra}]ኅደር⁶፡ ለቡቱ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እስ^[F5^{rb}]መ፡ ኃረያ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጽ^[C9^v]ዮን፡ ወአብደራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ለማኅደር⁷። ^{3b}ዝየ፡ ^[D45^{ra}]አ^[Q2^{vb}]ኃድ^[K4^{vb}]ር፡ እስመ፡ ኃረይክዋ። ⁴ወዛቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምዕራፍየ፡ ^[T29^{ra}]ለዓለም⁸።

(39) ¹በአማንኬ¹፡ ኃረያ²፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወአፍቀራ³፡ ወአነጸ⁴፡ መቅደሶ፡ በአርያም⁵፡ ወዘልፈ፡ ፣ይሔውጸ፡ ምስለ፡ መላእክቲሁ⁶። ²ወኢይትአጸዉ፡ አናቅጺሃ⁷፡ መዓልተ፡ ወሌሊተ። ^[B6^v]³ወእለ፡ ይሔልዉ⁸፡ ውስቴታ⁹፡ ^[A4^{re}]ኢይርነቡ፡ ወኢይጸምኡ¹⁰፡ ወኢይቴክዘ¹¹፡ ወኢይበክዩ¹²። ⁴ወአልቦ፡ ጎዘን፡ ውስቴታ¹³፡ ዘእንበለ¹⁴፡ ፍስሐ፡ ወሐሴት¹⁵። ⁵አልቦ¹⁶፡ ዋዕይ፡ ወቅር¹⁷። ⁶ኢ^[C10^r]^[F5^{va}]መዓልት¹⁸፡ ወኢሌሊት¹⁹፡ ለወኢወርኅ፡ ወኢከዋክብት²⁰፡ ለወኢፀሐይ²¹፡ ዘያበርህ²²፡ ውስቴታ።

33⁵ ዕለት፡ CQ | ⁶ ጋይኒ፡ λQS, ill. K | ⁷ አዘዘ፡ A | ⁸ ላዕለ፡ F | ⁹ የሐውሩ፡ ወይጸንሑ፡ C. 34¹ ወነበረት፡ ከመዝ፡ C | ² ዓመተ፡ S | ³ እስከ፡ ያዕጥያመ፡ (sic) D | ⁴ ለነገሥት፡ PS | ⁵ እኩያን፡ CQ | ⁶ ወሀገርኒ፡ S | ⁷ ስማ፡ ወ' C; ከመ፡ ADFξ | ⁸ ትደመስስ፡ λAK; ትደመስሰሙ፡ ፩; ተደምስሰት፡ S. 35¹ ዕቅፍዋ፡ (sic) B | ² አክበረ፡ C | ³ ትሔልዩ፡ A; ትሌብሔ፡ ፩; ተሐልይ፡ D | ⁴ ይእቲ፡ በስብሐት፡ C; መዝ፡ ፵፮—፲፪ add. P | ⁵ ወ' F | ⁶ ወትትከበር፡ εTF | ⁷ ትጉሃን፡ መላእክት፡ C | ⁸ ለንጉሥ፡ add. C; om. F | ⁹ om. ፩ | ¹⁰ ሙቃፋ፡ A; ምሕቃፋ፡ ፩ | ¹¹ ለንጥረ፡ B. 36¹ ዘተመስለት፡ C; ዘትካት፡ D; ዘትመስል፡ rep. F; ዘተመስለ፡ S | ² አትሮንስ፡ rep. F | ³ አቦ፡ C; ዘአባ፡ εξF | ⁴ ነግሥ፡ S | ⁵ ቀርነ፡ C; ለቀርነ፡ S | ⁶ ነጌ፡ C | ⁷ ዘተሰቅሉ፡ S | ⁸ ዘተሰቅሉ፡ S | ⁹ om. ፩. 37¹ ኢይከብር፡ A; ግብር፡ D | ² om. ፩; ዘወረደ፡ add. ε. 38¹ ሰማያዊት፡ add. ፩ | ² ዓለማተ፡ C | ³ በሥምረተ፡ C | ⁴ ወበሀብተ፡ Pξ | ⁵ መንግሥት፡ ፩; ጎንጉሥ፡ CT | ⁶ ማኅደር፡ S | ⁷ _{a-a} om. Q | ⁸ _{b-b} ሣቲ፡ 'AD; ወይቤ፡ 'ሣቲ፡ 'C; ሣቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምዕራፍየ፡ ለዓለም፡ ዝየ፡ አኃድር፡ እስመ፡ ኃረይክዋ፡ ፩. 39¹ አማንኬ፡ D; በአማንኬ፡ (sic) S | ² እግዚአብሔር፡ add. DS | ³ አብደራ፡ 'C | ⁴ ሐነጸ፡ C | ⁵ መዝ፡ ፻፴፩፡ ፲፫ add. P | ⁶ ይሔውጽዋ፡ መላእክት፡ C | ⁷ አናቅጺኪ፡ D | ⁸ ይላሕዉ፡ S | ⁹ ውስቴታ፡ (sic) C | ¹⁰ ወኢይጸምዉ፡ ኢይጸምዉ፡ (sic) C | ¹¹ om. S | ¹² ኢይ- s.l. B | ¹³ አልቦ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ኢዋት፡ C | ¹⁴ ወኢይትፈቀድ፡ '፩ | ¹⁵ ወሐዘን፡ D | ¹⁶ om. B; ውስቴታ፡ C; ወ'፡ FPS | ¹⁷ ኢቁር፡ C | ¹⁸ ኢመዓልተ፡ λT | ¹⁹ ወኢሌሊተ፡ λT | ²⁰ om. ፩ | ²¹ _{a-a} ኢፀሐይ፡ ወኢወርኅ፡ ፩; ኢወርኅ፡ 'ተ፡ 'C; 'ኢፀሐየ፡ DQ; 'ኅ፡ 'ተ፡ 'የ፡ FT; ኢወርኅ፡ 'ኢፀሐይ፡ KS | ²² ዘየበርህ፡ (sic) C.

(40) ${}_1$ ወኢትፈቅድ¹: ውስቴታ²: ምን[D45^{rb}]ተኒ³: [K5^{ra}] ፣ ዘታሕተ: ሰማይ⁴: ዘእንበለ: ፣እሉ: ቅዱሳን⁵: እለ⁶: አንጽሑ: [P7] አጽ[T29^{rb}]ፎሙ: በደመ: በግዑ: እለ: ተሣየዋዋ: በግማ: ገድሎሙ: (41) ${}_1$ ወእሉ: እሙንቱ: እለ: ይጸውሩ: ፀበ[A4^{va}]ርተ: ${}_2$ ወይዘምሩ¹: በከመ: ሰብሐ²: ሙሴ: ፣ገብረ: እግዚአብሔር³: በማሳሌተ: በግዑ: ቀዊሞሙ⁴: በመርሳባ⁵: ወበኩ[Q2^{vc}]ሉ: ፍናዊሃ: ${}_3$ ወይብሉ⁶: ሃሌ: ሉያ: ዘአልዓ[F5^{vb}]ላ⁷: ለጽዮን: እምኩሉ⁸: ዓለማት: ${}_4$ ሃሌ: ሉያ: ለዘኮነቶ⁹: ማገደረ: ስ[C10^v]ብሐቲሁ¹⁰: (42) ${}_1$ ሃሌ: ሉያ: ለዘቀደሳ¹: ለሰንበት²: ወአንጽሐ³: ከመ: ይሳለምዋ⁴: ኩሎ[B7^r]ሙ⁵: መላእክት⁶: ወሊቃነ: መላ[K5^{rb}]እክት: አጋእዝት: ፣ወ[Si39^{rb}]ሥልጣናት: [D45^{va}] ኃይላት⁷: ወመናብርት: ወመኳንንት: ኪሩ[A4^{vb}]ቤል: ወሱራፌል: ${}_2$ ወይ[T29^{va}]ሰግዱ⁸: መድረክ⁹: ኃዋሳዊሃ: ግጽው¹⁰: ${}_3$ ወውእቱኒ¹¹: ይሔውጸ¹²: ፣ምስለ: ኃይላቱ¹³: እንተ¹⁴: ዘልፈ¹⁵: ወያበርህ¹⁶: ላቲ: ፣ለዓለመ: ዓለም¹⁷: በብርሃነ: መለኮቱ¹⁸: ዘኢየሳርብ: (43) ${}_1$ ቦ¹: ዘትት[F6^{ra}]ሜሰል²: ፣ቦጎበ: ገነተ: አቅማሕ³: ወፍሬሃ⁴: ብዙህ: ወምዑዝ: እምኩሉ: አፈዋት: ${}_2$ ወቦ⁵: ዘት[C11^r]ትሜሰል: ፣ሀገረ: ትፍስሕት⁶: ${}_3$ ወቦ: በጎበ⁷: ዘትትሜሰል: ታዕካ: ${}_4$ ንጉሥ⁸: ${}_4$ ወቦ⁹: ዘትትሜሰል: ታቦተ: ወጽላተ¹⁰: ዘምስለ¹¹: ፲¹²: [A4^{vc}] ቃላት: ዘሀለወ¹³: በከርሣ: (44) ${}_1$ ወይእቲባ¹: ዘይፈትዉ²: ይርአይዋ³: ቅዱሳን⁴: ብ[Q3^{ra}]ፁዓን⁵: [K5^{va}] ኩሎሙ⁶: [D45^{vb}] እለ: ይቀውሙ: ውስቴታ⁷: ወይሔልዩ⁸: በስብሐታ⁹: ${}_2$ ብፁዕ¹⁰: ብእሲ: [T29^{vb}] ዘኮነቶ: እመ¹¹: ፣አመ: ነገደ¹²: ወተወክፈቶ¹³: ከመ: የአምሳ¹⁴: ዴዴሃ: [B7^v] በከመ¹⁵: ፣ደቤ: ነቢይ¹⁶: [C11^v] ብፁዓን: ኩ[F6^{rb}]ሎሙ: እለ: ይነብሩ¹⁷: ፣ዲበ: ምድር¹⁸: ለዓለመ¹⁹: ዓለም²⁰: ይሴብሐኩ²¹: ${}_3$ በአማን: ይሴብሐክ²²: ለእግዚአብሔር: ከዋክብቲሃ²³: ለጽዮን: እምነ²⁴: ቷ...ቷ²⁵: [A5^{ra}]

40¹ ወኢይትፈቅድ: ፅ; ወትፈቅድ: D; om. S | ² om. BSλ | ³ om. β; ዘሎሉ: add. C; ወኢምንትኒ: S | ⁴ ወኢምንትኒ: add. AC; ወምድር: ወኢምንትኒ: add. ፅ; መትሕተ: 'C; ፣ሰማያት: D | ⁵ om. C | ⁶ ወ' D. 41¹ om. ፅ | ² ሰብሐተ: β | ³ om. C | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ በመርሳባ: Q; መርሳባ: S | ⁶ ወይዘሉ: ፅ | ⁷ ለዘአልዓላ: C; ዘዓልዓላ: F | ⁸ እምኩሎን: β | ⁹ ለዘኮነት: ፅCS; ዘኮነቶ: F; ለዘ: ኮነቶ: T | ¹⁰ ለ' C. 42¹ ለዘቀደሳት: (sic) B; ለዘአንጽሐ: ወቀደሳ: C; ለዘ: ቀደሳ: (sic) T | ² om. ፅC; ለጽዮን S | ³ om. C; ወአንጽሐ: Q | ⁴ ለጽዮን: add. ፅ; ይሳምዋ: D | ⁵ om. F | ⁶ ወኃይላት: P | ⁷ ወኃይላት: ሥልጣናት: β | ⁸ ይሰግዱ: C | ⁹ ታሕተ: 'C | ¹⁰ om. ፅ; ግጽወ: ST | ¹¹ om. ፅ; ወውእቱ: C | ¹² ወሔጸ: B; እንዘ: ዘልፈ: 'C; ወይሔውጸ: P | ¹³ ኃይላቲሃ: ፅ; om. C; ኃይላቲኒ: F; ዘልፈ: ኃይላት: ST | ¹⁴ om. F | ¹⁵ ይሔውጸ: C | ¹⁶ ያበርህ: C | ¹⁷ ለዓለም: ፅ | ¹⁸ ሰብሐቲሁ: C. 43¹ om. ፅ | ² ጎበ: ዘይትሜሰል: C; በዘትትሜሰል: F | ³ በገነተ: 'ፅ; ገነተ: አቅማ: C | ⁴ ወፍሬሃ: (sic) A; ፍሬሃ: C | ⁵ ቦ: ፅ; ጎበ add. C | ⁶ ወተድላ: add. ፅ; መርዓተ: ሥርጉት: C | ⁷ ጎበ: C; om. P | ⁸ _{a-a} om. Be (*homoioarchton* from ወቦ: to ወቦ:); 'ዘንጉሥ: C | ⁹ ጎበ: add. C | ¹⁰ ጽላት: C | ¹¹ ዘምስል: C | ¹² ፲ቱ: ፅ | ¹³ ዘሀለወከ: A; ዘሀለወ: እፎT. 44¹ ጽርሐ: ቅድሳቱ: ለአማኑኤል: አምላክነ: ላቲ: add. C; ወለይቲስ: (sic) F | ² ዘይፈትዋ: C; ዘይፈትወዋ: ፎFQS | ³ ወይሬእይዋ: C; om. S | ⁴ ኩሎሙ: 'C | ⁵ ኩሎሙ: 'C | ⁶ ወ' D | ⁷ om. S | ⁸ ወየሐልዩ: C; ወይዴልዩ: S | ⁹ በስብሐቲሁ: λ; በስብሐት: D; በስብሐታቱ: K; ለስብሐተ: እግዚአብሔር: S | ¹⁰ om. C | ¹¹ እሙ: C; እም: F | ¹² ወ' ጎቤሃ: C; አመ: ለነገድ: S | ¹³ ወተወክፈ: Q | ¹⁴ ዘየአምሳ: A; ዘአምሳ: ፅ | ¹⁵ ከመ: S | ¹⁶ om. S | ¹⁷ ይነብሩ: S | ¹⁸ ውስተ: ቤትከ: ፅC | ¹⁹ ወ' ፅC | ²⁰ ። A | ²¹ ። A | ²² ወ' FQS | ²³ ኩሎሙ' S | ²⁴ እም: P | ²⁵ ብርሃን ABS; om. C; ብሩሃን: ፎፂF; ዘብርሃን: P.

(45) $_1$ ንግባእኪ፡ ጎበ፡ ጎዳገ¹፡ ነገር²፡ ዘጽኑሕ፡ ለነ³፡ በእንተ፡ ዜናሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ዘገብረት፡ ተአምረ፡ ወመንክረ⁴፡ አመ፡ ኮነ⁵፡ ፬፻⁶፡ ዓመተ⁷፡ እምአመ፡ ወጽኡ፡ $_a$ እምግብጽ፡ ደቂቀ፡ $_a$ እስራኤል⁸፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ትንቢቱ፡ [P8] ለሳ[K5^{vb}]ሙኤል፡ [Si39^{va}] አመ፡ ልህቀ፡ ኤሊ፡ ወደቂቁ⁹፡ ካህናት፡ እሙንቱ¹⁰፡ እኩያነ፡ ኮኑ፡ $_2$ ወ[D46^{ra}]ሐሩ፡ በ[T30^{ra}]ፍኖት¹¹፡ እኪት፡ ቅ[C12^r]ድመ¹²፡ እግዚአብሔር። (46) $_1$ ወተም[F6^{va}]አመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለእስራኤል¹፡ ወአውደቆሙ፡ ቅድመ፡ ኢሎፍሊ²። $_2$ ወሞቱ፡ በ[Q3^{rb}]ውስተ፡ ፀብእ፡ ፵፻፡ ብእሲ³፡ በገዳ[A5^{rb}]ም⁴። $_3$ ወዘተርፉ፡ እስራኤል⁵፡ ነትኡ፡ ወቦኡ⁶፡ ውስተ⁷፡ ሀገሮሙ⁸። $_4$ ወይቤሉ፡ በበይነ⁹፡ ምንት፡ $_b$ ው[B8^r]ስተ፡ እደሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ¹⁰፡ አግብአነ፡ $_b$ እግዚአብሔር¹¹። (47) $_1$ ወኢያእመሩ፡ ከመ፡ በእንተ፡ ኃጢአቱ፡ ለኤሊ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ምግባሮሙ¹፡ እኪት፡ ዘኃልቁ፡ ደቂቁ²። $_2$ ወእምዝ፡ ካዕበ³፡ ነሥዕዋ፡ ለታቦ[K6^{ra}]ተ፡ አምላክነ⁴፡ ም[C12^v]ስሌሆሙ፡ $_c$ ምስለ⁵፡ $_c$ ኪሩብ⁶። $_3$ ወደቂቀ፡ ኤሊኒ⁷፡ ፪⁸፡ ካ[F6^{vb}]ህናት፡ ለአፍኒን፡ ወፊንሐስ⁹፡ ሐሩ¹⁰፡ ከመ፡ [T30^{rb}] ይጽብእዎሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ¹¹፡ [D46^{rb}][A5^{rc}]። $_4$ ወውዑ¹²፡ በትእይንት¹³፡ ሶበ¹⁴፡ በጽሐት፡ ጽዮን፡ ጎቤሆሙ¹⁵። (48) $_1$ ወሶበ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ኢሎፍሊ¹፡ ፈርሐ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ አሌ፡ ለነ፡ ለኤሊ፡ ለነ²፡ እስመ፡ መጽኡ³፡ ጎቤነ፡ ምስለ⁴፡ አምላክሙ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ዕብራውያን፡ ከመ፡ ያጥፍዑን። $_2$ አሌ፡ ለነ፡ ለኤሊ፡ ለነ⁵፡ መኑ፡ ያድጎነን፡ እምእሉ፡ ለእሊ፡ አመንሰውዋ⁶፡ ለግብጽ⁷፡ በብዙጎ፡ መቅሠፍት⁸።

(49) $_1$ ወእደ¹፡ እግዚአብሔርስ²፡ ኮነ፡ ም[C13^r]ስለ፡ [Q3^{rc}] ኢሎፍሊ፡ ከመ፡ ይገባዕ³፡ [Si39^{vb}] ሎሙ፡ ለዘበእንተ⁴፡ [F7^{ra}] ኃጢአቶሙ፡ ለኤሊ። [K6^{rb}] $_2$ ወለደቂቁ⁵፡ ካህናት፡ እለ⁶፡ አርኩስዋ፡ ለ[A5^{va}]መሥዋዕተ፡ አምላ[B8^v]ክን፡ ወበእንተ⁷፡ ዘአጎሰሙ፡ [D46^{va}] ላዕለ፡ ጽዮን። [T30^{va}] (50) $_1$ ወእምዝ፡ ገብሩ፡ ፀብዓ¹፡ እስራኤል²፡ ምስለ፡ ኢሎፍሊ። $_2$ ወተቀትሉ³፡ $_a$ እስራኤል፡ በእደሂሆሙ፡ $_a$ ሊኢሎፍሊ⁴። $_3$ ወኮነ፡ ጎልቄሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ሞቱ፡ $_b$ በይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ ፫፻፡ $_b$ ብእሲ⁵። $_4$ ወሞቱ፡ ለአፍኒን፡ ወፊንሐስ⁶። $_5$ ወነሥእዋ፡ ለታቦት፡ ወዴውዋ፡ ኢሎፍሊ።

45¹ ኃደግነ፡ F; ጎዳገ፡ (sic) S | ² om. S | ³ ለነን፡ S | ⁴ ወመንረ፡ (sic) S | ⁵ om. C | ⁶ ፱ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ ፩; om. S | ⁷ ዓመት፡ እS; ዓመታተ፡ K | ⁸ _{a-a} ' ጽኤል፡ AD; ደቂቀ፡ ጽኤል፡ እምግብጽ፡ S | ⁹ ወደቂቁ፡ D | ¹⁰ om. C | ¹¹ በፍኖተ፡ T | ¹² በ' C. 46¹ ለደቂቁ፡ ' እ; ለጽኤል፡ S | ² ኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡ A; ኢሎፍላውያን፡ C | ³ ብእሲ፡ B; ሰብእ፡ S | ⁴ ገዳም፡ ε; ዘገዳም F | ⁵ ጽኤል፡ S | ⁶ ወገብኡ፡ C | ⁷ om. CS | ⁸ ብሔሮሙ፡ C | ⁹ በይነ፡ F | ¹⁰ ለኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡ A; ለኢሎፍላውያን፡ CS | ¹¹ _{b-b} አግብአነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውስተ፡ እደሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍላውያን፡ C. 47¹ ምግባሩ፡ ፩ | ² ለደቂቁ፡ ዘኃልቁ፡ C; ለደቂቁ፡ ኃልቁ፡ ε; ኃልቁ፡ ' S | ³ ካዕበ፡ add D; om. F | ⁴ አምላክ፡ C | ⁵ om. T | ⁶ _{c-c} ሥዕለ፡ ኪሩቤል፡ ፩; ' ኪሩባ፡ (sic) C; ' ኪሩቤል፡ F | ⁷ ኤሊ፡ ፩ | ⁸ ፪ቱ፡ ፩ | ⁹ ያፍኒ፡ ' C; አፍኒ፡ ፊንሐስ፡ K; አፍኒ፡ ወፊንሐስ፡ D፤ | ¹⁰ ምስሌሆሙ፡ add. C | ¹¹ ለኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡ A; ለኢሎፍላውያን፡ C | ¹² ወውዑ፡ C | ¹³ ትእይንት፡ APSe፤; ትዕይንት፡ B | ¹⁴ እስመ፡ S | ¹⁵ ፯(sic) add. T. 48¹ ኢሎፍላውያን፡ C | ² om. βC; አነ፡ (sic) F | ³ መጽኡ፡ C; om. D | ⁴ እስመ፡ D | ⁵ om. CD; አሊ፡ (sic) ' F | ⁶ 'አግሰንዋ፡ C; እስመ፡ ' P; 'መንሰውዋ፡ S | ⁷ ግብጽ፡ B | ⁸ መቅሠፍተ፡ S. 49¹ ውእደ፡ P | ² እግዚአብሔር፡ FS | ³ ይፀባዕ፡ C; ይእእ፡ F | ⁴ በእንተ፡ C | ⁵ ወለደቂቁ፡ D | ⁶ om. F | ⁷ በእንተ፡ C. 50¹ ላዕለ፡ add. F | ² ጽኤል፡ S | ³ ወቀተሉ፡ S | ⁴ _{a-a} በእደሂሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ β; በእደሂሆሙ፡ እስራኤል፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ Fe፤; በእደሂሆሙ፡ ጽኤል፡ ኢሎፍሊ፡ S | ⁵ _{b-b} ፫፻፡ ብእሲ፡ በይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ AFe፤; ' ፫ቱ፡ ፫፻፡ ፩; ፫፻፡ ብእሲ፡ በዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ C; ፫፻፡ በይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ S | ⁶ አፍኒ፡ ወፊንሐስ፡ C.

(51) ₁ወርጸ፡ [P9] ፫፩፡ ብእሲ፡ እምነ፡ ቀትል¹። ₂ወቦአ፡ ኅበ²፡ ኤሊ³፡ ወዜነዎ⁴፡ ከመ፡
 ኃልቁ፡ እ[C13^v]ስራኤል፡ ወዘከመ፡ ሞቱ፡ [F7^{rb}] ውሉዱ፡ ወዘከመ፡ ነሥእዋ፡ ለጸዮን⁵።
₃ወስሚዎ፡ ኤ[A5^{vb}]ሊ፡ ካህን፡ ከመ⁶፡ ተጼወወት፡ ታቦ[K6^{va}]ት፡ ወዘከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ከሎ⁷፡
 ወድቀ፡ ድኅሪተ፡ እመንበሩ፡ [D46^{vb}] ወሞተ⁸። ₄፫ወእደ፡ አምላክነ⁹፡ ተጽእነ፡ ላዕሌሁ።
 (52) ₁ወእምዝ፡ ነሥእዋ፡ ለታቦት፡ ኢሎፍሊ¹። ₂ወአብእ[T30^{vb}]ዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ²፡ ዳጎን፡
 ለአምላኮሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ [Q3^{va}] አምላክነ፡ ለዳጎን³፡ ፫ይኒይስ፡ እምኩሉ⁴።
 (53) ₁ስምዑ፡ እንከ¹፡ እንግርክሙ²፡ ፅቡስ³፡ ኃይልየ፡ ፫ወላዕላዕ፡ ልሳንየ⁴፡
 ፫ወት[B9^r]ሑት፡ ልብየ⁵፡ እምኩሉ⁶፡ አኃው⁷፡ ₂ዘገብረት⁸፡ ፫ይለ፡ ብዙኃ⁹፡ ወተአምረ¹⁰፡
 ወመድምመ፡ [F7^{va}] በእስራኤ[A5^{vc}]ል¹¹፡ ወ[C14^r]ኢሎፍሊ¹²። (54) ₁ወሶበ፡ አማሰኑ¹፡
 ካህናት²፡ ሕገ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አሕለቀቶሙ³፡ [S140^{ra}] ለእስራኤል⁴፡ በከሩናት⁵።
₂ወ[K6^{vb}]ካዕበ፡ ሶበ፡ አብዕዎ⁶፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ዳ[D47^{ra}]ጎን፡ ልወጌሱ፡ ሰብአ፡ አዛጦን፡
 ህየ⁷፡ ወረከብዎ⁸፡ ለዳጎን⁹፡ ውዱቀ¹⁰፡ በገጹ፡ ቅድመ፡ ታቦት። ₃ወአንሥእም¹¹፡
 ፍጡነ፡ ወአቀምዎ¹²፡ ውስተ፡ መካኑ፡ በክብር¹³። (55) ₁ወተምዕዓ¹፡ ፫ላዕሊ[T31^{ra}]ሆሙ፡
 እግዚአብሔር²፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን። ₂ወቀሰፎሙ፡ ፫ዓቢየ፡ መቅሰፍተ³፡ ለሰብአ፡ አዛጦን፡
 ወለደወሎሙ። ₃ወእም[A6^{ra}]ዝ፡ ካዕበ⁴፡ [F7^{vb}] ሶበ፡ ጌሱ፡ በጽባሕ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ⁵፡ ዳጎን፡
 ወረከብዎ⁶፡ ውዱቀ⁷፡ በገጹ⁸፡ [C14^v] ታሕተ፡ እግራ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ንግሥትነ። ₄ወርእሱ፡
 ምቱር፡ ወእደዊሁ⁹፡ ፪¹⁰፡ ወእራኃቲሁ¹¹፡ ውዱ[Q3^{vb}]ቃት፡ ኅበ፡ መድረክ¹²። [K7^{ra}]
₅ወአልቦ፡ ዘተርፈ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ማዕከሉ። [D47^{rb}] (56) ₁ወእንበይነ፡ ዝንቱ፡
 ተአምር¹፡ [B9^v] ዕፁብ²፡ ኮነ፡ ሁከት፡ ብዙኅ፡ ወገዓር፡ ወሰቆቃው፡ ፫ዲበ፡ ገንውቱ፡
 ለዳጎን³። [P10] ₂ወኢዓርጉ⁴፡ ከመ፡ ይሁዑ፡ ሎቱ፡ በከመ፡ ልማዶሙ። ₃ወኮነ፡
 አውያት⁵፡ [T31^{rb}] ወናእክ⁶። ₄ወከብደት፡ [A6^{rb}] ፫እዴሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር⁷፡ ላዕለ፡ ሰብአ፡
 አዛጦን። [F8^{ra}]

51¹ 'ዱ፡' ፩፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ C | ² ኅቢሁ፡ εFS | ³ om. εFS | ⁴ ለኤሊ፡ add. D | ⁵ _{c-c} ከመ፡ ሞቱ፡ ውሉዱ፡
 ወዘከመ፡ ነሥእዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወኃልቁ፡ እስራኤል። ፩፡ ከመ፡ ኃልቁ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወዘከመ፡ ነሥእዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡
 እግዝእትነ። C፡ ከመ፡ ኃልቁ፡ ፳ኤል፡ ወዘከመ፡ ሞቱ፡ ውሉዱ፡ ወነሥእዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ S | ⁶ ዘከመ፡ S |
⁷ om. C፡ ፫ይኒይ፡ ከሎ፡ S | ⁸ ኤሊ፡ add. D | ⁹ እደወ፡' AD፡ እደ፡' ፩፡ እደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ C፡ እድወ፡'
 KS፤. 52¹ om. β፡ ኢሎፍላከሙ፡ C | ² om. ፩፡ አምላክሙ፡ S | ³ _{d-d} om. C | ⁴ ይኒይዓ፡ ለጽዮን፡
 C፡ ይኒይሰነ፡' S. 53¹ S.l. A፡ ካዕበ፡ C፡ om. F | ² እንግረክሙ፡ ፩ | ³ ፅቡሰ፡ AB፤ እንዘ፡ ፅቡሰ፡ አነ፡
 C፡ ፅቡዕ፡ D | ⁴ ወላዕላዕ፡ ልሳን፡ C፡ ወላዕላይ፡' F፡ ላዕላዕ፡ ' P፡ ወልዕላዕ፡' T | ⁵ om. C፡ ወስሑት፡ ' S |
⁶ እምኩሎሙ፡ C | ⁷ አኃውየ፡ C | ⁸ ወገብረት፡ C | ⁹ om. C | ¹⁰ ተአምረ፡ C፡ ብዙኃ፡ add. A፤ ወመንክረ፡
 add. ε፡ ዓቢየ፡ add. F | ¹¹ ላዕለ፡ እስራኤል፡ F፡ በ፳ኤል፡ S | ¹² ወበኢሎፍሊ፡ C፡ ፫. 54¹ ወአማሰኑ፡ C፡
 ስምዑ፡ አማሰኑ S | ² om. C | ³ አሕለቀቶሙ፡ C፡ አሕለቆሙ፡ S | ⁴ ፳ኤል፡ S፡ om. T | ⁵ በኩይናት፡ D |
⁶ ኢሎፍሊ፡ add. C | ⁷ ወህየ፡ D፡ om. S | ⁸ ረከብዎ፡ C | ⁹ _{a-a} om. ፩ | ¹⁰ ወድቀ፡ ፩፡ ውዱቅ፡ CD |
¹¹ ወነሥእዋ፡ C፡ ወአንሥእዋ፡ T | ¹² በክብር፡ add. F፡ ወአቀምዋ፡ T | ¹³ om. C. 55¹ ወተምዕ፡ ፩CD፡
 ወተሰምዕ፡ S | ² እግዚአብሔር፡ ላዕሊሆሙ፡ βS፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ C | ³ በመቅሰፍት፡ ዓቢይ፡ F | ⁴ ነሥእ፡ S |
⁵ om. C | ⁶ ወረከዎ፡ (sic) D፡ ረከብዎ፡ S | ⁷ ውዱቅ፡ C | ⁸ om. F | ⁹ ወእደዊሁኒ፡ C | ¹⁰ ፪ኤ፡ ፩፡ ፪ቱ፡
 ምቱራት፡ add. C | ¹¹ ወእራኃቲ፡ C | ¹² መድረክ፡ ፫ኅት፡ add. C. 56¹ ትሠምር፡ ፩ | ² ወዕፁብ፡ D |
³ በዲበ፡ ገንቱ፡' C፡' ወዳጎን፡ S | ⁴ ወኢዓርጉ፡ A፡ ወዓርጉ፡ S | ⁵ ላላውያት፡ (sic) ብዙኅ፡ C | ⁶ ወእክነ፡
 εT | ⁷ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እዴሁ፡ F.

(57) _{1a} ወአምጽአ፡ በውስተ፡ አሕ[C15^r]ማር፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡ _a አናጽተ¹፡ ዘያማስኑ፡ ከሎ፡ ₂ ወኮነ፡ ዓቢይ²፡ መቅሠፍት³፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ሀገር፡ ₃ ወእንዘ፡ ይብሉ⁴፡ ከልሑ፡ ወአውየዉ፡ ወይቤሉ⁵፡ ኢትንበር፡ ኅቤነ⁶፡ ፣ታቦቱ፡ ለአምላክ፡ እስራኤል⁷፡ እስመ፡ ፣ጸንዓ፡ [K7^{rb}] እዴሃ⁸፡ ዲቤነ⁹፡ ወ[S140^{rb}]ዲበ፡ ዳንን፡ አምላክነ፡ (58) ₁ ወ[D47^{va}]እምዝ፡ ለአኩ፡ ወአስተጋብእዎሙ¹፡ ለመሣፍንተ²፡ ኢሎፍሊ፡ ኅቤሆሙ³፡ ₂ ወይቤልዎሙ፡ [A6^{rc}] ምንተ፡ ንሬስያ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ₃ ወይቤልዎሙ፡ ጠቢባን⁴፡ ጌታውያን⁵፡ ትፍልስ፡ [T31^{va}] እምኅቤነ⁶፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ₄ ወአፍለስዋ፡ [F8^{rb}] ለጽዮን⁷፡

(59) ₁ ወእምዝ¹፡ እም[Q3^{vc}]ድኅረ²፡ አፍለስዋ፡ [C15^v] ለጽዮን³፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ _a ወኮነ⁴፡ ዓቢይ⁵፡ ሁከት⁶፡ _a ጥቀ⁷፡ ₂ ወቀሰፎሙ⁸፡ ለሰብአ፡ ይእቲ⁹፡ ሀገር፡ ለዓቢይ¹⁰፡ ወለንዑስ፡ ለእድ፡ [B10^r] ወለአንስት፡ ₃ ወገብሩ፡ ሎቱ¹¹፡ ሰብአ፡ ጌታውያን¹²፡ አርአያ¹³፡ ኅብ¹⁴፡ እለ¹⁵፡ ተቀሥፉ፡ ₄ ወፈነውዋ፡ ለታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል¹⁶፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ አስቀሎና፡ [K7^{va}]

(60) ₁ ወእ[D47^{vb}]ምዝ፡ ሰ[A6^{va}]በ፡ አብእዋ¹፡ ወይቤሉ²፡ በምንት፡ ግብር፡ ወበምንት፡ ነገር፡ ወለምንት³፡ አግባእክሙ⁴፡ [C16^r] ኅቤነ፡ ጽዮን⁵፡ ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል⁶፡ ከመ፡ ትቅትለነ፡ _a ምስለ፡ ሕዝብነ፡ ወምስለ፡ [F8^{va}] አንስቲያን⁸፡ ወው[T31^{vb}]ሉድነ፡ ወከሉ፡ _a እንስሳነ⁹፡ ₂ ወእምዝ¹⁰፡ ለአኩ፡ ወአስተጋብእዎሙ፡ ለመሣፍንተ¹¹፡ ኢሎፍሊ¹²፡ ወይቤልዎሙ¹³፡ ፈንውዋ¹⁴፡ ለጽዮን፡ ፣ትንበር፡ ውስተ፡ መካና¹⁵፡

(61) _{1a} ፈንውዋ¹፡ _a ለጽዮን²፡ ትንግሥ³፡ ዲበ⁴፡ ሕዝባ፡ ወኢትቅትለነ፡ በሞት፡ መሪር፡ ₂ እስመ፡ ኮነ፡ [P11] ዓቢይ፡ መቅ[A6^{vb}]ሠፍት፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ ጥቀ፡ [B10^v] ሰበ፡ ቦአት፡ ጽዮን፡ [S140^{va}] ኅቤሆ[C16^v]ሙ፡ ₃ ሕያዋንሂ፡ ወ[Q4^{ra}]ምውታንሂ⁵፡ ተ[K7^{vb}]ቀ[D48^{ra}]ሥፉ፡ _{4b} ወዓርገ⁶፡ ጽርሐ⁷፡ ሀገር፡ እስከ፡ _b ሰማይ⁸፡ ₅ ወአውጽእዋ⁹፡ ለጽዮን፡ ውስተ፡ ገዳም፡

57¹ _{a-a} 'ሐመር፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡ አናቅጹተ፡ (sic) B; ' ወበውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ አናጸተ፡ (sic) C; ወአምጽአ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡ አናጸተ፡ በውስተ፡ አሕማር፡ F; 'ሐመር፡' P; ወአምጽአ፡ በውስተ፡ አህጉሮሙ፡ አናጸተ፡ S | ² ዓቢየ፡ ፎ; መካናተ፡ ወዓቢየ፡ add. S | ³ መቅሠፍተ፡ S፤ | ⁴ om. S | ⁵ ወይቤሉ፡ DP; om. F | ⁶ om. F; በሀገርነ፡ S | ⁷ ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለአምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ ፩; ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ C; ታቦቱ፡ ለአምላክነ፡ S | ⁸ om. C; ' እዴሃ፡ F | ⁹ ላዕሌነ፡ እዴሃ፡ S | ¹⁰ አስተጋብእዎሙ፡ ፩ | ¹¹ መሣፍንተ፡ P | ¹² om. C | ¹³ ጠቢባን፡ (sic) D | ¹⁴ ጌታውያን፡ ፩; ጌታውያን፡ C; ጌታውያን፡ E | ¹⁵ ኅቤነ፡ C | ¹⁶ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ add. S. 59¹ om. ፩CD | ² ወእምድኅረ፡ ፩CD | ³ ወመጽአ፡ እዴሃ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ add. C | ⁴ ኮነ፡ S | ⁵ ዓቢየ፡ ፤ | ⁶ ሁከት፡ ፤ | ⁷ _{a-a} ዓቢይ፡ ሁከት፡ ጥቀ፡ ኮነ፡ F | ⁸ መቀሠፍተ፡ (sic) F | ⁹ ውእቱ፡ C; ዛቲ፡ S | ¹⁰ om. C | ¹¹ ላቲ፡ ፩ | ¹² ቢታውያን፡ ፩; ጌቱያውያን፡ C; ጌታውያን፡ K | ¹³ በአርአያ፡ C; ምስለ፡' S | ¹⁴ om. ፩ | ¹⁵ om. D | ¹⁶ ጽዮን፡ add. C; ጽኢል፡ S. 60¹ ለጽዮን፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ አስቀሎና፡ ወጸርሔ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ሰብአ፡ አስቀሎና፡ add. C | ² ወይቤሉ፡ P; ይቤሉ፡ S | ³ ለምንት፡ ፩; om. S | ⁴ አግባእክዋ፡ S | ⁵ ለጽዮንሂ፡ C; ለጽዮን፡ DS | ⁶ ጽኢል፡ S | ⁷ ትቅትለነ፡ ፩ | ⁸ አንስቲያን፡ D; አንስቲያን፡ F | ⁹ _{a-a} ምስለ፡ ሕዝብነ፡ ወደቂቅነ፡ ወአንስቲያን፡ ወከሉ፡ እንስሳነ፡ S | ¹⁰ om. P | ¹¹ ለመኳንንተ፡ A; ለመሣፍንት፡ ወለመኳንንተ፡ ፩; om. F | ¹² ለ' F | ¹³ ምንተ፡ ንሬስያ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወይቤልዎሙ፡ add. ፩ | ¹⁴ ፈንውዋ፡ T | ¹⁵ ከመ፡' ፩; ትእቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ C; ውስተ፡ መካና፡ ትንበር፡ F. 61¹ ወእምዝ፡ ፈንውዋ፡ ፩ | ² _{a-a} ' ውስተ፡ መካና፡ ትንበር፡ F; om. S | ³ ወትንግሥ፡ FS | ⁴ ላዕሌ፡ ፩ | ⁵ ወምውታን፡ AF; ወምውታን፡ ፩; ወምውታንሂ፡ CS | ⁶ ወዓርገ፡ QS | ⁷ ጽራሕ፡ K; ጽራሕ፡ FT | ⁸ _{b-b} ወዓርገ፡ እስከ፡ ሰማይ፡ ጽራሕ፡ ሀገር፡ F | ⁹ ወአውጽእዋ፡ ፩

ወነበረት፡ ህየ¹⁰፡ ፩¹¹፡ አውራጋ¹²፡ ወነበረት¹³፡ ባህቲታ። (62) ¹፡ ወኮነት፡ ደጋሪት፡ [F8^{vb}]
ዘተአኪ፡ እምቀዳሚት¹፡ ²ወሰበ²፡ ተሰደት፡ ገዳመ³፡ ርታ[T32^{ra}]ቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
ኢምላክን⁴፡ አውጽአት⁵፡ ምድሮሙ፡ አናጹተ⁶፡ በከመ⁷፡ አውጽአት፡ ምድረ፡ ግብጽ፡
ቈርናነዓተ⁸፡ በእንተ፡ ጸአተ፡ እስ[A6^{ve}]ራኤል⁹፡ ^{3d}ወከማሁ¹⁰፡ አውጽአት፡ ^dምድሮሙ¹¹፡
በእንቲአሃ¹²፡ ለጽዮን።

(63) ¹ወው[C17^r]እተ¹፡ ጊዜ²፡ ጸውእዎሙ፡ ኢሎፍሊ³፡ ወሰብአ⁴፡ አስቀሎና⁵፡
ለማርያ⁶፡ ^eወለሰብአ፡ መቅስም⁷፡ ወለሰብአ፡ ^eሥራይ⁸። [K8^{ra}] ²ወይቤ[D48^{rb}]ልዎሙ፡
ምንተ፡ ንሬስያ⁹፡ ለጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ አምላክ¹⁰፡ እስራኤል¹¹፡ ³እስኩ፡ አይድኡነ፡ ወእስኩ¹²፡
ም[F9^{ra}]ክሩነ¹³፡ ዘንገብር፡ በእንቲአሃ¹⁴። [B11^r] ⁴ወበምንት፡ ግብር፡ ንሬንዋ¹⁵፡ ውስተ፡
ሀገ[T32^{rb}]ራ¹⁶፡ ቶንበር፡ ወውስተ¹⁷፡ ^fመካና¹⁸። (64) ¹ወአይድእዎሙ፡ መሠርያን፡
ቀኒያ[A7^{ra}]ሙ፡ ፡፻ቢየ፡ ቅንዓተ¹፡ ^gበእንተ፡ ዳጎን²፡ አምላ[Q4^{rb}]ኮሙ³፡ ²ወይቤልዎሙ፡
ጽዮን⁴፡ ትእቱ⁵፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ⁶፡ ጎበ⁷፡ ሕዝባ። ³አኩ፡ ዘንፈ[C17^v]ንዋ⁸፡ ዕራቃ፡ ወአኩ፡
ባሕቲታ። ⁴አላ⁹፡ ፈንዎታሰ¹⁰፡ ይኩን፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኅ¹¹፡ ሞፃ¹²። (65) ¹ወይቤልዎሙ፡
፡ሰብእ፡ ለማርያ¹፡ አይ²፡ ሞፃ³፡ ዘይደልዋ⁴፡ ወምንተ⁵፡ ንዋየ⁶፡ [Si40^{vb}] ዘናተሉ፡ [D48^{va}]
ላቲ። ²ወን[K8^{rb}]ሕነሰ⁷፡ በምንትኒ⁸፡ ኢንፈርህ፡ ወበምንትኒ⁹፡ ኢነሐዝ¹⁰፡ በእንተ፡
ንዋይ¹¹፡ ዘሞፃሃ¹²። [F9^{rb}] ³ነሐዝንሰ¹³፡ ፈድፋደ¹⁴፡ በእንተ፡ ብዙኅ¹⁵፡ ስቃይ¹⁶፡ [A7^{rb}]
ዘ[T32^{va}]በጽሐተነ¹⁷፡ በእንቲአሃ¹⁸፡ ፡ወእም፡ ጎቢሃ¹⁹።

(66) ¹ወይቤልዎሙ፡ መሠርያን፡ ሀብዋ፡ ሞጻሃ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘአጋዝክምዋ¹፡
ወጸውውክምዋ፡ ²ወኢትፈንወዋ፡ ዕራቃ፡ ከመ²፡ ትሠሃልከሙ³፡ ³ወሞፃሃኒ⁴፡ ከመዝ፡
ለይኩ[Ci8^r]ን፡ በጉልቄ፡ ፡ንምስቱ፡ መሣፍንት⁵፡ ዘኢሎፍሊ⁶፡ [P12] በከመ⁷፡

61¹⁰ በህየ፡ ፩ | ¹¹ ፩ተ፡ ፩ | ¹² አወርጋ፡ F | ¹³ om. C፩. 62¹ ወኮነት፡ ደጋሪተ፡ ጊጋዮሙ፡ ዘየአኪ፡
እምቀዳሚት፡ C; ወኮነት፡ ደጋሪት፡ እምቀዳሚ፡ ተአኪ፡ F; ወኮነት፡ ደጋሪታ፡ ተአኪ፡ እምቀዳሚ፡ S | ² ሰባ፡
S | ³ ገዳም፡ A | ⁴ ርታ ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ C; ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጽኤል፡ S | ⁵ ወአውጽአት፡ AKF፤
⁶ አናጹት፡ C | ⁷ ዘከመ፡ ፩ | ⁸ ቈርናነዓተ፡ ፩K; ቈርናነዓት፡ C; ቈርናነተ፡ DF; ቈርናነዓተ፡ S | ⁹ ጽኤል፡ S |
¹⁰ ከማሁ፡ C | ¹¹ d-d om. ፩ | ¹² በእንቲአሃ፡ (sic) F. 63¹ ውእተ፡ C; ወውእቱ፡ D | ² አሚረ፡ ፩ |
³ ኢሎፍላውያን፡ S | ⁴ ለሰብአ፡ CS; ወለሰብአ፡ D | ⁵ አስቃሎና፡ T | ⁶ ወለሰብአ፡ ማርያን፡ C | ⁷ ቀስም፡
C; መቅስም፡ F; መቅልም፡ S | ⁸ ሥራይ፡ መቅስም፡ ፩ | ⁹ ንሬስያ፡ C | ¹⁰ አምላክ፡ (sic) P | ¹¹ ጽኤል፡
S | ¹² om. S | ¹³ ወአመክሩነ፡ C; ምክረ፡ S | ¹⁴ በእንቲአሃ፡ F | ¹⁵ ንፈንዋ፡ CDT | ¹⁶ ሀገር፡ ፩ | ¹⁷ om.
እ; ውስተ፡ S | ¹⁸ ef om. ፩; ትንበር፡ በመካና፡ C. 64¹ ቅንዓተ፡ ዓቢየ፡ F; ዓቢየ፡ C | ² om. C | ³
gg om. ፩ | ⁴ ለጽዮን፡ C | ⁵ ተአቱ፡ ፩ | ⁶ መካና፡ C | ⁷ ወውስተ፡ S | ⁸ ዘንፈንዋ፡ ፩F; ዘትፈንወዋ፡ C;
ወአኩ፡ ዘትትፈንወዋ፡ S | ⁹ om. C | ¹⁰ ፈንዎትሰ፡ S | ¹¹ ብዙኅ፡ C | ¹² ሙፃኣ፡ C; ፃፃ፡ add. D; አመፃ፡
S. 65¹ ሰብአ፡ ሰማርያ፡ B; ሰብአ፡ ሰማርያን፡ F; ሰብአ፡ ማርያን፡ S | ² ዓባይ፡ D | ³ ሙፃሃ፡ C | ⁴ ይደልዎ፡
C; ዘይደልዎ፡ DS | ⁵ ወምንት፡ ፩S | ⁶ ንዋየ፡ C; ንዋይ፡ ፩S | ⁷ ንሕነሰ፡ S | ⁸ ምንተ፡ S | ⁹ om. S | ¹⁰
ወኢነሐዝን፡ S | ¹¹ ንዋየ፡ C; በንዋይ፡ F | ¹² ዘሙፃሃ፡ C | ¹³ ነሐዝሰ፡ (sic) D; ዳእሙ፡ ነሐዝን፡ F | ¹⁴ om.
S | ¹⁵ ጥፍአተ፡ ንዋይ፡ D; ንዋይ፡ KQS | ¹⁶ ስቃይ፡ C; ወ' D | ¹⁷ ዘበጽሐን፡ ፩; ዘይበጽሐን፡ C | ¹⁸ om. C |
¹⁹ ወመጽአ፡ ብነ፡ ፩; ጎቢሃ፡ C; ወእም፡ አሜሃ፡ ፣; ዘእም፡ ጎቢሃ፡ F. 66¹ ዘአጋዝክምዋ፡ C | ² om. F |
³ ተሠሃልከሙ፡ BC; ትሠሃልከሙ፡ DPS | ⁴ ወሙፃሃኒ፡ C; ወሞፃሃን፡ D | ⁵ ፩፡ A; ፩ቱ፡ ፩; መሣፍንት፡ ፩፡
C; አምስቱ፡ D | ⁶ ጉልቄ፡ ነፍስከሙ፡ ይኩን፡ add. (s.l.) B | ⁷ ወከመ፡ D

አማሰነት⁸፡ ለምድርክ[B11^v]ሙ⁹፡ ፈኒዋ፡ አናጹተ።⁴ ወላቲኒ¹⁰፡ ሀብዋ¹¹፡ አናጹተ¹²፡
ዘወርቅ፡ ብዙኃ¹³፡ ወሰብሐም፡ [D48^{vb}] ለአምላ[K8^{va}]ከ፡ እስራኤል¹⁴፡ ከመ¹⁵፡ ያሰሰል¹⁶፡
እዴሁ፡ እምላሳላክሙ¹⁷፡ ወእምላሳላ¹⁸፡ [Q4^{rc}][F9^{va}] አማ[A7^{rc}]ልክቲክሙ¹⁹። (67)
ደመረገሥ፡ ሰብእ¹፡ አርመመ²፡ ወኢፈቀዱ፡ ፈንዎታ³፡ ለጽዮን።² ወይቤልዎሙ፡ ካሰበ፡
ለም[T32^{vb}]ንት⁴፡ ታከብዱ፡ ልበክሙ⁵፡ በከመ⁶፡ ከብደ፡ ልቦሙ፡ ለሰብእ፡ ግብጽ፡ በእንተ፡
ፈንዎቶሙ⁷፡ ለደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል⁸። (68) 1a ወሰበ፡ ከብደ፡ እዴሁ፡ ላሳሌሆሙ፡ ፈንዎሙ¹፡
aፈርዎን²፡ ወወጽኡ³።² ወአንትሙኒ፡ ፈንዎሙ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወሥ[C18^v]ርዑ⁴፡ ላቲ⁵፡ ሠረገላተ፡
ሐዳሳተ⁶።³ ወአምጽኡ⁷፡ ፪⁸፡ ዕጉላተ⁹፡ [D49^{ra}] ለእ፡ ተበኩራ¹⁰።⁴ ወዕጉሊሆን¹¹፡
ዶንብረ¹²፡ [S141^{ra}] ውስተ፡ ቤት።⁵ ወእሎ[A7^{va}]ንተ[K8^{vb}]ኒ¹³፡ ሠረገላተ¹⁴፡ አንብ[F9^{vb}]ፋ፡
መልዕልቴሆን¹⁵፡ ለዕጉላት¹⁶።⁶ ወለታቦትኒ፡ አንብርዋ¹⁷፡ ውስተ¹⁸፡ ሠረገላ፡ ወዝክተኒ፡
ንዋየ፡ ወርቅ¹⁹፡ አትልዉ²⁰፡ ላቲ፡ [B12^r] በድኅሬሃ²¹።

(69) 1 ወኢትግብሩ¹፡ ላቲ²፡ ቤርስክታን³፡ በገባሃ፡ ወፈንዎሙ⁴፡ [T33^{ra}] ትእቱ፡
ውስተ፡ ሀገራ።² ወእምዝ⁵፡ ገብሩ፡ በከመ፡ አዘዝዎሙ⁶።³ ወነሥኡ⁷፡ ፪⁸፡ ዕጉላተ⁹፡
እለ፡ ተበኩራ።⁴ ወአፀዉ¹⁰፡ ዕጉላ[C19^r]ተ¹¹፡ [ውስተ]¹²፡ ቤት¹³።⁵ ወአ[Q4^{va}]ምጽኡ¹⁴፡
ሠረገላ¹⁵፡ ወአንበርዎን¹⁶፡ ላሰለ¹⁷፡ ዕጉላት¹⁸።⁶ ወዲቤሆን¹⁹፡ አንበርዋ²⁰፡ ለጽዮን፡
ታቦተ፡ [A7^{vb}] ሕግነ።^{7a} ወ፲²¹፡ ቃላት፡ aበክ[D49^{rb}]ር[F10^{ra}]ሣ²²። (70) 1 ወአምጽኡ፡
አርጋበ፡ ወአናጹተ።² አትለዉ¹፡ በድኅሬሃ²፡ ወአርትዑ³፡ ሐዊረ፡ ለዕጉ[K9^{ra}]ላት፡ ፍኖተ⁴፡
ኢለየማን፡ ወኢለፀጋም።[P13] 3 ወተለውዋ⁵፡ ፭⁶፡ መሣፍንት፡ ዘኢሎፍሊ⁷፡ ወ፪⁸፡ ዘአዛገን⁹፡
ወ፪¹⁰፡ ዘጌት¹¹፡ ወ፫¹²፡ ዘአቅርንት¹³፡ ወ፬¹⁴፡ ዘጋዛ¹⁵፡ ወ፭¹⁶፡ [ዘአስቀሎና፡]¹⁷ 4 ቲ...ቲ

66⁸ አማሰነት፡ FS | ⁹ ምድርክሙ፡ β | ¹⁰ ወላይእቲኒ፡ F; ላይእቲኒ፡ P | ¹¹ ወሀብዋ፡ F | ¹² አናጹታ፡ C; አናጹተተ፡ (sic) D; አናጹታተ፡ F፤ አጽናተ፡ (sic) S | ¹³ ብዙኃተ፡ S | ¹⁴ ጽኤል፡ S | ¹⁵ s.l. F | ¹⁶ ያሰሰል፡ A፤ | ¹⁷ om. C ላሳሌክሙ፡ S | ¹⁸ እምላሳላ፡ C | ¹⁹ አማልክቲ፡ C. 67¹ ዘንተ፡ add. C | ² ወአርመመ፡ C | ³ ፈኒዎታ፡ A | ⁴ ለምንታ፡ (sic) D | ⁵ ለበክሙ፡ (sic) A | ⁶ ወከመ፡ S | ⁷ ፈኒዎቶሙ፡ A | ⁸ ለእስራኤል፡ እ; ጽኤል፡ S. 68¹ ፈንዎሙ፡ εF | ² a-a om. C | ³ እስራኤል፡ add. C | ⁴ ወሥዑ፡ (sic) D; ወሥርዑ፡ CS | ⁵ om. S | ⁶ ሐዲስ፡ C; ሐዲስ፡ ε፤ ሐዲሳተ፡ F | ⁷ ላቲ፡ add. C | ⁸ ፪ተ፡ ፩; ክልኤተ፡ F | ⁹ ዕጻላተ፡ λDT | ¹⁰ እስተበኩራተ፡ (sic) C | ¹¹ ወዕጉሊሆን፡ C; ወዕጻላቲሆን፡ F | ¹² ዶንብረ፡ A; ዶንብረ፡ C; ዶደበረ፡ (sic) S | ¹³ ወእሎንትኒ፡ A; ወውእቲኒ፡ CK; ወውእተኒ፡ D፤ ወውእቶን፡ F; ወውእቶሙኒ፡ S | ¹⁴ ሠረገላ፡ C | ¹⁵ መልዕልቲሆን፡ (sic) A | ¹⁶ ለዕጻላት፡ λT | ¹⁷ አንበርዋ፡ AQε | ¹⁸ መልዕልተ፡ S | ¹⁹ ዘምጽሃ፡ add. C | ²⁰ አትልውዋ፡ P አትለዉ፡ S | ²¹ ድኅሬሃ፡ A; om. ፩. 69¹ ወግበሩ፡ ፩; ወኢይግበሩ፡ S | ² ባቲ፡ ε | ³ ቤርስክታን፡ AKT; ቤርስክታን፡ B; ቤርስክታን፡ C; ቤርስክተን፡ (sic) D; ቤርስክታን፡ P | ⁴ ወፈንዎሙ፡ DS | ⁵ ሰብ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ዘንተ፡ add. C | ⁶ አዘዝዎ፡ S | ⁷ ነሥኡ፡ S | ⁸ ፪ተ፡ ፩; ክልኤተ፡ F | ⁹ ዕጻላተ፡ λεT | ¹⁰ ወአፀውዕ፡ (sic) F | ¹¹ በዕጉላት፡ β; በዕጉሊሆን፡ φ; በዕጉሊሆሙ፡ ε | ¹² om. αβ | ¹³ ቤተ፡ αβ | ¹⁴ ላቲ፡ add β | ¹⁵ ሠረገላተ፡ λ | ¹⁶ ወአንበሩ፡ CS; ወአንብርዎን፡ T | ¹⁷ ለእሉ፡ ፩ | ¹⁸ ዕጉልት፡ ፩CS; ዕጻላት፡ F | ¹⁹ ወዲቤሃ፡ ASε፤ om. ፩; ወዲቤሁ፡ C | ²⁰ አንብርዋ፡ A; ወአንበርዋ፡ ፩; om. S | ²¹ ወ፲ቱ፡ ፩ | ²² a-a om. S. 70¹ ወአትለዉ፡ A; ወአትልዉ፡ C፩; አትልዉ፡ FQ | ² ድኅሬሃ፡ S | ³ ወአርትዕ፡ ፩; ወርትዑ፡ C; ወአርትው፡ F | ⁴ ፍኖተ፡ ዕጉላት፡ A; እንዘ፡ ዶብላ፡ add. B; ዕጉልት፡ ፍኖተ፡ CS; ወኢተግህሁ፡ add. C; ዕጉላት (sic) ፡ ፍኖተ፡ F; እንዘ፡ ኢይብላ፡ add. P | ⁵ ወተለውዋ (sic) C | ⁶ ፭ቱ፡ ፩ | ⁷ ዘኤሎ⁷ C | ⁸ ወ፪ቱ፡ ፩; ፪። C | ⁹ ወዘአዛገን፡ C | ¹⁰ ወ፪ቱ፡ ፩; ፪፡ C; ወክልኤ፡ F | ¹¹ ወዘጌት፡ C | ¹² ወ፫ቱ፡ ፩; ፫፡ C; ወ፭ (sic) F; ወ፪ (sic) S | ¹³ ዘአቃሮን፡ s.l. B; ወአቃሮና፡ C | ¹⁴ ወ፬ቱ፡ ፩; ፬፡ C | ¹⁵ ወዘጋዛ፡ C; ዘጋዛ፡ F | ¹⁶ ወ፭ቱ፡ ፩; ፭፡ C; ወአምስቱ፡ D; ወኅምስቱ፡ F | ¹⁷ om. αβ

አናጽተ¹⁸፡ ዘወርቅ፡ በኅልቄ፡ ከሎን¹⁹፡ [T33^{rb}] አህጉሪሆሙ²⁰፡ 5 ወሐሩ፡ እስከ፡ በጽሑ²¹፡ ሳሚስ²²፡ ወጊዜ፡ ማዕረር፡ ውእቱ፡ አ[C19^v]ሜ[B12^v]ሃ፡

(71) 1 ወሰብአ፡ ሳሚስ፡ የዓጽዱ፡ ሥርናየ፡ [A7^{vc}] 2_a ወሰብ፡ _aርእይዋ²፡ ለጽዮን፡ ተፈሥሑ፡ ወተሐሠዩ፡ ወተቀበልዋ፡ [F10^{rb}] ወአንበርዋ፡ ምስለ፡ ሠረገላ፡ ውስተ፡ ገራህት፡ 3 ወዘቤተ³፡ ሳሚስ⁴፡ ሰ[D49^{va}]ብእ⁵፡ ዘተቀበልዋ፡ ገብሩ፡ መሥዋዕተ⁶፡ በህየ⁷፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ 4 ልዑቅ፡ ጊዜ⁸፡ ዕጉላተ⁹፡ ቷ...ቷ¹⁰፡ [S141^{rb}] 5 ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት፡ 6 ወ[K9^{rb}]እምህየ¹¹፡ ተቀበልዋ¹²፡ ካህናት፡ [Q4^{vb}] ለጽዮን፡ ሥታታ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘአምላክ፡ እስራኤል¹³፡ (72) 1 ወአቷ...ቷዋ¹፡ መልዕልቴ[T33^{va}]ሃ²፡ ወንዋየ፡ ወርቅኒ፡ አትለወ³፡ ላቲ፡ 2 ወርእዮሙ፡ ዘንተ⁴፡ ሹ፡ መሣፍንት⁵፡ ም[C20^r]ስለ፡ [A8^{ra}] ሠራዊቶሙ፡ ተመይጡ፡ ውስተ⁶፡ አስቀሎና⁷፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ አምሰጥናሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወሃደግናሃ፡ 3 ወአሜሃ፡ ሶበ፡ ርእይዋ፡ [F10^{va}] ለጽዮን፡ ወኢተቀበልዋ⁸፡ ደቂቀ፡ ኢኮንዩ፡ ምስለ፡ ሰብአ፡ ሳሚስ፡ 4 ወ[D49^{vb}]ቀተለት፡ እምኤሆሙ፡ ሹ፡ ወደ፡ ብእሴ⁹፡ [B13^r] (73) 1 ወለሀወ፡ ሰብአ፡ እለ፡ ተርፉ¹፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ ወተብቀለነ²፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡ 2_a ወእምድኅረ፡ ገብረት፡ ዘንተ³፡ ይቤሉ⁴፡ ሰ[K9^{va}]ብአ፡ ሳሚስ፡ ምንተ፡ ንግበር፡ በእንተ፡ _aጽዮን⁵፡ 3 ወበአይ⁶፡ መካን፡ ናንብራ⁷፡ [C20^v] 4 ወፈንወ፡ ላእካነ፡ ኀበ፡ እለ⁹፡ ይነብሩ፡ ቀርያ[T33^{vb}]ታርም¹⁰፡ 5 እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ አግባእዋ¹¹፡ ለጽዮ[A8^{rb}]ንእ¹²፡ ታቦትእ¹³፡ ኢሎፍሊእ¹⁴፡ ንዑአ፡ ተቀበልዋአ፡ ኀበክሙ[F10^{vb}]እ¹⁵፡

(74) 1 ወሰሚዖሙ¹፡ ዘንተ፡ ተፈሥሑ፡ _aወመጽኡ²፡ _aወተ[Q4^{vc}]ቀበልዋ³፡ [P14] ወወሰድዋ⁴፡ ቤተ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ዘሀሎ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ወግ[D50^{ra}]ር⁵፡ 2 ወአሜሃ፡ ቀደስዋ፡ ወወሀብዋ⁶፡ ለአልዓዛር⁷፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀባ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ካህነ⁸፡ 3 ወነበረት፡ ከመዝ፡ ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕለ፡ እስከ፡ የአ[S141^{va}]ክል⁹፡ ፳¹⁰፡ ዓመተ¹¹፡

(75) 1 ወእምዝ፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ዳዊት¹፡ አመ፡ [C21^r] ቀተሎሙ²፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ ሹ፡ ወነ[K9^{vb}]ሥአሙ፡ ዳዊት³፡ ለከሎሙ፡ [A8^{rc}] ወራዙተ⁴፡ እስራኤል⁵፡ መጠነ፡ ፯⁶፡ 2 ወተንሥአ⁸፡ ወሐረ፡ ከመ፡ ያም[T34^{ra}]ጽእዋ⁹፡ [F11^{ra}] ሹ፡ እምኀበ፡ ሀለወት፡ ጽዮን¹⁰፡

70¹⁸ አናጽተኒ፡ C | ¹⁹ om. C; ከሎ፡ T | ²⁰ አህጉሪሆን፡ ፩ | ²¹ ቤት፡ B; ቤተ፡ C | ²² ሳሚስ፡ B; ሳሚዕ፡ C; ሳምሳ፡ P. 71¹ ሶበ፡ C | ² _{a-a} S.L. A | ³ ዘቤተ፡ C; ወዘሰብአ፡ S | ⁴ ሳሚስ፡ D; ሳሚስስ፡ F | ⁵ ወሰብእስ፡ C | ⁶ መሥዋተ፡ S | ⁷ om. S | ⁸ እልክተ፡ C | ⁹ ዕጉላት፡ BS; ዕጉላተ፡ C | ¹⁰ ውእት፡ ጊዜ፡ B; ሦዑ፡ ወአቅረቡ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በህየ፡ ውእት፡ ጊዜ፡ P; ቆሙ፡ S | ¹¹ ወበህየ፡ β | ¹² om. S | ¹³ ታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ C; ታቦት፡ ዘአምላክ፡ ፳ኤል፡ S. 72¹ ወአመርገብዋ፡ AC፤፭; ወአመርዓውዋ፡ ፩; ወአንበርዋ፡ F; ወአመ፡ ገብርዋ፡ S | ² መልዕልቲሃ፡ F | ³ አእተዉ፡ ፩; አትልዉ፡ F; አቅለዉ፡ S | ⁴ እልክቱ፡ C; om. S | ⁵ ፭ቱ፡ ፩; መሣፍንት፡ ፭፡ C | ⁶ ምስለ፡ D | ⁷ አጽቀሎና፡ F | ⁸ ኢተቀበልዋ፡ β | ⁹ ብእሴ፡ ACD; ፭ተ፡ ዕልፈ፡ ወፎዓ፡ ፩; ፭፭፡ ፩; ፭፭፡ ብእሴ፡ S. 73¹ እለ፡ ተርፉ፡ ሰብአ፡ S | ² ተቀበለነ፡ ፩; ተቀበለነ፡ C; ተቀበለነ፡ F | ³ om. F | ⁴ ይደሉ፡ T; ይብሉ፡ S | ⁵ _{a-a} om. β | ⁶ ወአይ፡ ፩፤፭ | ⁷ ናንብራ፡ β | ⁸ ወፈንወ፡ K | ⁹ om. ፩; s.l. D | ¹⁰ ቀርያቴም፡ C; ቀርያታም፡ FQS; ቀርያተርም፡ T | ¹¹ አግብእዋ፡ εFS | ¹² ለጽዮን፡ S | ¹³ ታቦትነአ፡ C; ታቦተአ፡ P | ¹⁴ om. S | ¹⁵ ኀበክሙ፡ S. 74¹ ወሰሚዖ፡ D | ² መጽኡ፡ C | ³ _{a-a} ወተቀበልዋ፡ ወመጽኡ፡ S | ⁴ ውስተ፡ add. F | ⁵ ደብር፡ C | ⁶ ወመሀብዎ፡ ፩S; om. C | ⁷ ካህነ፡ add. C; ለአላዛር፡ D | ⁸ ካህነ፡ (sic) C | ⁹ ይእክል፡ A | ¹⁰ ፩፡ C | ¹¹ ዓመት፡ ACS. 75¹ om. D | ² ቀተሎ፡ β | ³ ዳዊት፡ ወነሥአሙ፡ F; ወነሥአሙ፡ C | ⁴ ወራዙት፡ C | ⁵ ፳ኤል፡ S | ⁶ ዘየአክል፡ ፩ C ወ F | ⁷ ፯ቱ፡ ፭፡ ፩ | ⁸ om. C | ⁹ ያምጽአ፡ C; ያውጽእዋ፡ F | ¹⁰ ለጽዮን፡ እምኀበ፡ ሀለወት፡ CS

ፖቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚ[Bi3^v]አብሔር¹¹፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ³ወእንተ¹²፡ እምኅቢሃ¹³፡ ተሰምየ፡ እግዚአ፡ ኃይል።

(76) ¹ወነሥእዋ፡ እምህየ¹፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወወሰድዋ፡ እንዘ፡ ይጹልል፡ ፊላሴሃ፡ ኪሩብ²። [D50^{rb}] ²ወዋዛሰ³፡ ፊልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ይመርህ⁴፡ ቅድሚሃ⁵። ³ወዳዊትሰ⁶፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወክሎሙ⁷፡ እስራኤል⁸፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ ቅድመ⁹፡ እግዚአብ[C21^v]ሔር፡ [Q5^{ra}] በእንዚራ፡ ወየአነዝሩ¹⁰፡ በኃይል። ⁴ወየሐልዩ¹¹፡ በጸናጽ[A8^{va}]ል፡ ወበናብሊስ፡ ወበመሰንቆ¹²። ⁵ወበ[K10^{ra}]ጽሑ¹³፡ ውስተ፡ ዓውደ፡ እክል።

(77) ¹ወዋዛሰ¹፡ አልዓለ፡ እደሁ፡ ከመ፡ የአኃዛ፡ ለጽዮን። ²ወነጽሐ²፡ [T34^{rb}] ላሕም³፡ [F11^{rb}] ለዋዛ⁴። ³ወሞተ፡ በጊዜሃ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘፈቀደ፡ የአኃዛ፡ ለታቦት⁵፡ በኢድልወቱ⁶። (78) ¹ወተከዘ፡ ዳዊት፡ በእንተ፡ ሞቱ፡ ለዋዛ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ጽዮን። ²ወይቤ፡ ዳዊት፡ እፈርህ²፡ እግዚአ³፡ ³እግዚአብሔር⁴፡ በእንተ⁵፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦት⁶፡ [D50^{va}]ዘተኃድር፡ ፊላሴሃ፡ ውስቱታ⁷። ³እፎ⁸፡ ትበውእ፡ ኅቢየ፡ እንዘ፡ መጠነዝ፡ ኃይል፡ ይተልዋ። [C22^r][B14^r] ⁴ወአይቱ⁹፡ እወስዳ፡ ወበአይቱ¹⁰፡ ተኃድ[A8^{vb}]ር። [S141^{vb}]

(79) ¹ወዘንተ፡ ብሔሎ፡ አብአ፡ ለጽዮን¹፡ ውስተ፡ ቤቱ²፡ ለአቢዳራ³፡ ዘጊት። ²ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡ ፫⁴፡ አውራኃ። ³ወእምዝ፡ ተባረከት⁵፡ ቤቱ፡ ለአቢዳራ⁶፡ ፊላሴሃ፡ በ[K10^{rb}]በአታ፡ ለጽዮን⁷፡ ፊላሴሃ፡ ለእ[T34^{va}]ወዘአብሔር⁸። [P15] ⁴ወዜነውዎ፡ ለዳዊት፡ ከመ⁹፡ [F11^{va}] ተባረከ¹⁰፡ ቤቱ¹¹፡ ለእ[Q5^{rb}]ቢዳራ¹²፡ ወክሎ¹³፡ ዘህሎ፡ ኅቢህ¹⁴፡ ፊላሴሃ፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን¹⁵። (80) ^{1a}ወሶብ¹፡ ሰምዐ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ሐረ²፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽአ³፡ ለጽዮን⁴፡ ^bታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስ[D50^{vb}]ራኤል⁵፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ⁶፡ በትፍሥሕ[A8^{vc}]ት። ²ወነሥእ፡ ^bለጽዮን⁷፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ሕዝብ⁸፡ [C22^v] በ፯⁹፡ መሠናቅወ¹⁰። ³ወዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ¹¹፡ የአነዝር፡ በእንዚራ¹²፡ ፊላሴሃ፡ ይቀድም፡ ወይቤ¹³፡ አንሰ፡ ተሰየምኩ፡ ንጉሥ¹⁴፡ በጽዮን፡ በደብረ፡ መቅደሱ፡ ከመ፡ እንግር፡ ትእዛዙ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።

(81) ¹ወወሰድዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ በውውዓ፡ [K10^{va}] ወበቃለ፡ ቀርን። [B14^v] ²ወአንበርዋ፡ ውስተ፡ መ[T34^{vb}]ካና፡ ወውስተ፡ ውሣጤ፡ [F11^{vb}] ደብተራ፡ መርጡል¹፡ ዘተከላ²፡ ዳዊት³። ³ወአብላ⁴፡ መሥዋዕተ⁵፡ ለእግዚአብሔር⁶። [A9^{ra}] ⁴ወጠብሐ፡ መ[D51^{ra}]ሥዋዕተ⁷፡

75¹¹ om. S | ¹² እንተ፡ C | ¹³ በላሴሃ፡ C. 76¹ om. C | ² ክንፈ፡ ኪ' C; ኪሩብ፡ ላሴሃ፡ S | ³ ወአልዓዛርስ፡ ፩; ወዋዛ፡ C; ወአዛሰ፡ F | ⁴ om. F | ⁵ om. ፩ F | ⁶ ወዳዊትኒ፡ C; ወዳዊት፡ F; ዳዊትሰ፡ Q | ⁷ ወክሎ፡ β | ⁸ ጽኤል፡ S | ⁹ በቅድመ፡ C | ¹⁰ ወበመሰንቆ፡ ፩; የአነዝሩ፡ C | ¹¹ ወይሔልዩ፡ β | ¹² በኃይል፡ add. ፩; ወበመሰንቆ (sic) D | ¹³ ወበጽሐ፡ D. 77¹ ወዋዛ፡ C; ዋዛሰ፡ F | ² ወነጽሐ፡ C | ³ ላሕመ፡ C | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ om. C | ⁶ በኢድሎቱ፡ Q. 78¹ ወኢተከዘ፡ T | ² om. C | ³ እግዚእ፡ እ' C | ⁴ ወአደላ፡ ኅብ' እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ወይቤ፡ β; om. F | ⁵ ወበእንተ፡ FK | ⁶ ተቦትከ፡ (sic) F; ታቦትነ፡ S | ⁷ እንተ፡ ፩; ውስቱታ፡ አንተ፡ S | ⁸ ወእፎ፡ ፩S | ⁹ አይቱ፡ C | ¹⁰ ወበአይ፡ ቤት፡ C. 79¹ om. β | ² om. S | ³ ለአቢደራ፡ C | ⁴ ፫ተ፡ ፩ | ⁵ ተባረከ፡ C | ⁶ ለአቢደራ፡ C | ⁷ ወክሎ፡ ዘህሎ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽዮን፡ C | ⁸ ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ B; በትእዛዝ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ CP; በትእዛዙ፡ F; ወበትእዛዙ፡ S | ⁹ ዘከመ፡ C | ¹⁰ ተባረከት፡ እS | ¹¹ om. F | ¹² ለአቢደራ፡ C | ¹³ ወክሎ፡ D | ¹⁴ ኅቢሃ፡ C | ¹⁵ በዓታ፡ ለጽዮን፡ β; om. S. 80¹ ወሶቢሃ፡ F | ² ወሐረ፡ ፩; ፈቀደ፡ S | ³ ኢ፡ D | ⁴ ወአደላ፡ S | ⁵ ሀገሩ፡ C | ⁶ ወነሥእዋ፡ ለጽ' C; om. F | ⁸ ሰብእ፡ S | ⁹ በ፯ቱ፡ ፩; ወይሠነቅዉ፡ ወበ፯፡ C | ¹⁰ እለ፡ ይሠነቅዉ፡ add. D; ይሠነቅዉ፡ add. FK፤ | ¹¹ om. F | ¹² om. F | ¹³ ይብል፡ β; ይቀውም፡ D | ¹⁴ በላሴሃሙ፡ add. ፩C. 81¹ om. C | ² ዘተከለ፡ (sic) C; ዘተከለ፡ D | ³ om. C | ⁴ ዳዊት፡ add. ፩ | ⁵ መሥዋዕቱ፡ D | ⁶ om. S | ⁷ አልሕምተ፡ βC; om. S

ወአግግ፡⁸ ለመድቅሐ⁹፡ ዚአሃ፡ (82) ₁ወብእሲቱ¹፡ ለዳዊት²፡ «ወለቱ፡ ለሳዖል³፡ «ቀኒዓ፡ ቅንዓተ⁴፡ ሶበ፡ C[C₂₃^r]እየቶ፡ እንዘ፡ ይዘፍን፡ በእንተ፡[Q₅^{rc}] ጽዮን⁵፡ ₂«ወመነነቶ፡ በልባ⁶፡ ወትቤ፡ እምይእዜሰ፡ ኢይከውነኒ⁷፡ ምትየ፡ እንዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘርእያሁ⁸፡ «አ[S₁₄₂^{ra}]ዋልደ፡ ሀገር⁹፡ እንዘ¹⁰፡ ይዘፍን፡ ₃በእንተዝ¹¹፡ ተአጽወ¹²፡ ማኅፀና፡ ₄ወኮነት፡ መካነ፡ ወዋተት፡ ዘእንበለ¹³፡ ፍሬ፡ [F₁₂^{ra}]

(83) ₁ወዝኒ፡ «ኃይል፡ ዘኮነ፡ ዘጽዮን¹፡ [K₁₀^{vb}] ቅድስት፡ ወእንዘ፡ ሀለወት፡ ው[Ag^{rb}]ስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ ₂ወ[T₃₅^{ra}]ፈቀደ²፡ ዳዊት፡ ይሕንጽ፡ ማኅደረ³፡ ቤተ፡ አምላክ⁴፡ እስራኤል⁵፡ ወለታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ [D₅₁^{rb}] ጽዮን⁶፡ (84) ₁ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዳዊት¹፡ በአፈ²፡ ናታን፡ ነቢይ³፡ አኮ⁴፡ [C₂₃^v] ዘተሐንጽ፡ «ሊተ፡ ቤተ⁵፡ ₂አላ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወልድከ⁶፡ ዘይነግሥ፡ እምድኅሬከ፡ ₃ወአቀውም፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ኪዳንየ⁷፡ ₄ወምሕረትየኒ⁸፡ ኢይርሕቅ፡ እም[B₁₅^r]ኔሁ፡ ₅ለእመ⁹፡ አበሰ¹⁰፡ አበሳ¹¹፡ እጌስጽ፡ በበትረ፡ ውሉድ፡ [S₁₄₂^{rb}]

(85) ₁ወሰሚዖ፡ ዘንተ፡ ወይቤ¹፡ «ፈቃዱ፡ [F₁₂^{rb}] ለይኩን²፡ ₂ወሰሎሞንኒ³፡ ወልደ⁴፡ «ዚአየ፡ ውእ[Ag^{rc}]ቱ⁵፡ ₃ወኅደገ፡ ሐኒጾታ⁶፡ ₄«ወታቦት፡ [P₁₆] ነበረት⁷፡ በሥር[K₁₁^{ra}]ዓተ⁸፡ [Q₅^{va}] ሙሴ፡ ነቢይ፡ (86) ₁ወእምዝ፡ በ፱¹፡ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ በካልእ፡ [T₃₅^{rb}] ወርኅ፡ «ወዝውእቱ፡ [C₂₄^r] ወርኃ፡ ማይዮስ²፡ አ[D₅₁^{va}]ዘዘ³፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽኡ፡ ዕብነ፡ «ዓቢየ፡ ወክቡራተ⁴፡ ₂ወአምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ ንጉሥ፡ ₃ወወቀርዎ፡ ደቂቀ⁵፡ ኪራም፡ ወደቂቀ⁶፡ ዚአሁ፡ ₄ወበራብፊ⁷፡ ዓም⁸፡ «ሣረሮ፡ ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር⁹፡ በወርኃ፡ ኔሳን¹⁰፡ (87) ₁ወከመዝ፡ ውእቱ¹፡ ግብረቱ፡ መድምም፡ [Ag^{va}] ወፅፁብ²፡ ለሰሚዖ³፡ _{2a}ወበ[F₁₂^{va}]እመት፡ ሟ፡ ሕኅተ⁴፡ ወ፳⁵፡ በእመት፡ ርገብ⁶፡ ፳ወ፳⁷፡ ላዕሉ⁸፡ ወኤላም፡ ቅድመ⁹፡ መቅደሱ¹⁰፡ ፳¹¹፡ በእመት፡ [B₁₅^v] ₃ወሐኒጾቶ¹²፡ ለቤት¹³፡ ፈጸመ¹⁴፡ ₄«ወገብረ፡ መሳከወ፡ ጎቡ[K₁₁^{rb}]አተ¹⁵፡ ₅ወገብረ፡ እምዳቤር¹⁶፡ [C₂₄^v] እስከ¹⁷፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ሟ፡ በእመ[D₅₁^{rb}]ት፡ ጽርሑ፡ ₆ወማዕከለ፡ ቤቱ¹⁸፡ እንተ፡ ውስጥ¹⁹፡ [T₃₅^{va}] ከመ፡ ትንበር²⁰፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽዮን።

81^s ወአግብአ፡ S | ⁹ ለመቅድሐ፡ DFST. 82^l ወብእሲቱሰ፡ C | ² ሜልኮል፡ add. δ | ³ ወለተ፡ ሳዖል፡ FS | ⁴ ቀንዓት፡ C | ⁵ om. S | ⁶ መነነቶ፡ በልባ፡ βS; ወወደየቶ፡ ውስተ፡ ልባ፡ C | ⁷ ኢኮነ፡ C; ኢይኮነኒ፡ F | ⁸ እንዘ፡ 'A; እስመ፡ 'δ | ⁹ om. C | ¹⁰ ሶበ፡ C | ¹¹ ወበእንተዝ፡ Dλ | ¹² ተፀጽው፡ (sic) B | ¹³ እንበለ፡ C. 83^l ዘኮነ፡ ዘጽዮን፡ δ; ኃይል፡ ዘኮነ፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡ C; ዘኮነ፡ ኃይል፡ ዘጽዮን፡ S | ² ፈቀደ፡ S | ³ om. C | ⁴ አምላክ፡ P | ⁵ ዘእስራኤል፡ P; ጽኤል፡ S | ⁶ ለጽዮን፡ C. 84^l om. βS, | ² በእደ፡ βይ; በእንተ፡ Fξ | ³ ለዳዊት፡ 'S | ⁴ አንተ፡ add. CS | ⁵ ቤተ፡ ሊተ፡ F | ⁶ ውሉድከ፡ δ | ⁷ ኪዳነ፡ F | ⁸ ወምሕረትየ፡ F | ⁹ ወለእመ፡ δC | ¹⁰ አመ፡ 'F | ¹¹ om. δC; አብሶ፡ S. 85^l ይቤ፡ S | ² om. δ; ፈቃዱ፡ (sic) 'C; ለይኩን፡ ፈቃዱ፡ S | ³ ሰሎሞን፡ BF; ሰሎሞንኒ፡ P | ⁴ ወልድየ፡ C | ⁵ om. C | ⁶ ሐኒጾ፡ C | ⁷ ወታቦትኒ፡ 'β; ወነበረት፡ ታቦት፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ C | ⁸ በሥርዓት፡ C. 86^l በ፱ቱ፡ δ | ² ዝውእቱ፡ ሜኪያ፡ (sic) ዝውእቱ፡ ወርኃ፡ ማርልዮስ፡ add. C | ³ ወእዘዘ፡ C | ⁴ 'ወክቡረ፡ δFS; ክቡራተ፡ ወዓቢያተ፡ C | ⁵ ደቀ፡ CS | ⁶ ደቀ፡ C | ⁷ ወበራብሰ፡ F | ⁸ ምም፡ S | ⁹ ለቤተ፡ እግ'ሣረሮ፡ S | ¹⁰ ኒሶን፡ C; አሳን፡ P; ኒሳን፡ S. 87^l ኮነት፡ S | ² om. C | ³ ወሰሚዖ፡ A | ⁴ _{a-a} 'ሟዓ፡ ኑኑ፡ δ; ሟ፡ በእመት፡ ኑኑ፡ C; በእመት፡ 'S | ⁵ ጽ፡ A; ወ፳ራ፡ δ; ወ፳፡ S | ⁶ ራጎቡ፡ β | ⁷ ፳ወ፳ቱ፡ δ; ወ፳ወ፳፡ T | ⁸ om. F; በእመት፡ S; ለእሉ፡ T | ⁹ om. C | ¹⁰ ቅዱሱ፡ C | ¹¹ ፳ራ፡ δ; ወ፳፡ C | ¹² ወሐኒጾታ፡ β; ወሐነጽ፡ C; ወአመ፡ ፈጸመ፡ ሐኒጾ፡ add. F | ¹³ ለቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ δ; ቤቶ፡ C; ቤት፡ F; om. S | ¹⁴ ወፈጸመ፡ C | ¹⁵ om. δ; 'ጎቡአ፡ C; ገብረ፡ 'F | ¹⁶ እምነ፡ ዳቤር፡ C | ¹⁷ om. F | ¹⁸ ቤት፡ S | ¹⁹ ውስጡ፡ K | ²⁰ ህየ፡ add. C.

(88) ${}_1$ ወገብረ፡ \bar{e}^1 ፡ ኪሩብ²፡ መልዕልቴሃ³፡ ለጽዮን። ${}_2\bar{i}^4$ ፡ በእመት፡ ቆሙ፡ ወፎ⁵፡ ክንፉ፡ ለ፩⁶፡ ኪሩብ። [Q^{5vb}] ${}_3$ ወለካልዑኒ፡ ከ[Ag^{vb}]ማሁ። ${}_4\bar{i}^7$ ፡ በእመት፡ ማዕከሎሙ፡ ጎበ፡ ይትረከብ⁸፡ ክነፊሆ[F^{12vb}]ሙ። ${}_5$ ወፎ⁹፡ ዕሩያን፡ ወ፩¹⁰፡ ግብረቶሙ፡ ለ፪¹¹። ${}_6$ ወይጼልሉ¹²፡ መልዕልተ፡ ታቦት፡ በክነፊሆሙ¹³፡ ዘወርቅ፡ በአፍአ¹⁴። ${}_7$ ወእንተ¹⁵፡ [C^{25r}] ውስጣኒ¹⁶፡ አትከለ¹⁷፡ ተ...ተ ። (89) ${}_1$ ወለጽፍጸፈ¹፡ ቤቱ²፡ በወርቅ³፡ ቀፈሎ⁴። ${}_2$ ወመዓፁተኒ⁵፡ ገብረ፡ እምዕፀወ፡ ጳውቂና። ${}_3$ ወሕዋራቴሃኒ⁶፡ ራብዕ⁷፡ ወ[D^{52ra}]፪⁸፡ ማዕፁቴሃ⁹፡ ለአሐቲ¹⁰፡ [K^{11va}] ጥጎት። ${}_4$ ወለካልእታ፡ ከማሁ¹¹። ${}_5$ ወመንጠዋልኢሆን¹²፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ው[B^{16r}]ዱዳት¹³። [A^{9vc}] (90) ${}_1$ ወዓዲ፡ ገብ[T^{35vb}]ረ፡ መንጠላዕተ፡ ለዓፀደ¹፡ ኤላም፡ ዘቅድስተ²፡ ቅዱሳን። ${}_2$ ወአቀመ፡ ፪³፡ አዕማደ፡ ዘኤላም፡ ፡ ዘውስተ፡ መቅደስ⁴። ${}_3$ ወለ፩⁵፡ ሰመዮ፡ ያ[F^{13ra}]ቁም፡ [S^{142va}][P¹⁷] ወለካልኢ⁶፡ ሰመዮ⁷፡ በለዝ። ${}_4$ ወውስተ፡ አርእስተ⁸፡ አዕማድ፡ [C^{25v}] ገብረ⁹፡ ጽጌያተ፡ ዘበርብዕ¹⁰፡ በእመት። (91) ${}_1$ ወገብረ፡ ባሕረ፡ በህየ። ${}_2$ ወመታግራትኒ¹፡ ባቲ²፡ ፲ወ፪³፡ አልሕምት⁴። መትሕታ⁵፡ እለ፡ ይኔጽሩ⁶፡ በበ፫⁷፡ መስዓ፡ ፡ ወባሕረ፡ ወአዜበ፡ ወጽባሐ⁸። ${}_3$ ወዘባናቲሆሙ፡ [Q^{5vc}] መንገለ⁹፡ አረፍት። ${}_4$ ወይእቲ፡ ባሕር፡ እም[D^{52rb}][A^{10ra}]ላዕሌሆሙ። ${}_5$ ወሚኮትኒ¹⁰፡ ፲¹¹፡ ዘብርት። ${}_6$ ወማዕከሉኒ¹²፡ አናብስት፡ ወአል[K^{11vb}]ሕምት፡ ወኪሩብ። ${}_7$ ወተ...ተመንከራኩረ¹³፡ ተ...ተ፪¹⁴፡ መታክፍቲሆሙ፡ አ[T^{36ra}]ናብስትኒ¹⁵፡ ወበቀልትኒ። (92) ${}_1$ ወገብረ¹፡ መስፈርተኒ²፡ ዘብርት³፡ ፲⁴፡ [B^{16v}] ዘስሙ፡ ኪጥሮገውሎስ⁵፡ ዘ[F^{13rb}]ያገምር⁶፡ ፡ ሻ፡ በመ[C^{26r}]ስፈርተ፡ ክአስ⁷ ${}_2$ ወለለ፩፡ ኮጥሚኮት፡ ፩፡ ሳኪጥሮስ⁸። ${}_3$ ወከማሁ⁹፡ ለ፲¹⁰፡ ሚኮት¹¹። ${}_4$ ወአንበሮን¹²፡ እምገቦ፡ ቤት፡ ዘፀጋም። ${}_5$ ወባሕርስ¹³፡

88¹ \bar{e} ተ፡ δ | ² ኪሩብ፡ B; ሥዕላተ፡ P; ኪሩቤልሃ፡ S | ³ ወመልዕልቴሃ፡ C | ⁴ ፲ቱ፡ δ ; ወ፲፡ F | ⁵ ወኃምስ፡ δ | ⁶ ለ፩ዱ፡ δ | ⁷ ፲ቱ፡ δ ; ወይከውን፡ add. C | ⁸ ይትረከብ፡ λ | ⁹ ወ፪ቱ፡ δ ; ወ፪ሆሙ፡ C; \bar{e} ፡ F | ¹⁰ ፩ዱ፡ δ | ¹¹ ለ፪ቱ፡ δ | ¹² ወይጼልሉ፡ AFK ξ | ¹³ በአክናፊሆሙ፡ C; ወክነፊሆሙ፡ F | ¹⁴ በአፍአኒ፡ δ ; በአፍአሃ፡ S | ¹⁵ om. S | ¹⁶ ውስጥ፡ δ ; ውስጥ፡ በህልቀት፡ add. C; ወወበውስጣኒ፡ (sic) S | ¹⁷ አትከላ፡ ξ ; አትከላ፡ (sic) S; ተከለ፡ P. 89¹ ወጽፍጸፈ፡ δ | ² ቤቱስ፡ C; om. S | ³ ወርቅ፡ Ae ξ | ⁴ ቀፈሎ፡ δ ; አቅፈሎ፡ C | ⁵ ወመዓፁትኒ፡ AF; ወለመፁታኒ፡ C; ወመዓፁታኒ፡ S | ⁶ ወኃዋራቴሃኒ፡ ε Q; ወአዋርያቴሃኒ፡ T | ⁷ ራብዕ፡ C | ⁸ ወ፪ኤ፡ δ ; ወ፪ቱ፡ CD | ⁹ መዓፁቴሃ፡ δ S; መዓፁታ፡ C | ¹⁰ ለአሐቲሁ፡ F | ¹¹ ወከማሁ፡ K | ¹² ወመንጠላዕልኢሆን፡ (sic) A; ወመንጠላውኢሆን፡ δ ; ወመንጠዋልኢሃ፡ C; መንጠዋልኢሆን፡ F | ¹³ እስከ፡ ምድረ፡ ኮን፡ add. C. 90¹ ዘዓፀደ፡ δ | ² ዘቅድስት፡ C | ³ \bar{e} ተ፡ δ | ⁴ om. δ ; በውስተ፡ C | ⁵ ወለ፩ዱ፡ δ ; ለ፩ዱ፡ CQ | ⁶ ለካልኢኒ፡ F | ⁷ om. F | ⁸ om. C | ⁹ ወገብረ፡ F | ¹⁰ ዘበርዕ፡ δ C; ዘበራብዕ፡ FT; ዘበራብዕ፡ Q; ዘበ፪፡ S. 91¹ ወመጣግራትኒ፡ δ ; መታገርተኒ፡ C | ² ላቲ፡ C; ባሕቱ፡ F | ³ ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ δ | ⁴ አልሕምተ፡ C | ⁵ መታሕተ፡ C; መትሕታት፡ D; መትሕተ፡ S ξ | ⁶ ይኔጽሩ፡ C | ⁷ በበ፪፡ δ | ⁸ ወአዜበ፡ ምስራቀ፡ ወምዕራብ፡ ባሕረ፡ ወጽባሐ፡ add. C; ወበሕቱ፡ (sic) F | ⁹ ውስተ፡ F | ¹⁰ ወሚኮፍትኒ፡ β ; ወሚኮፍትኒ፡ C; ወሚኮፍቲሆሙ፡ S | ¹¹ ዐሠርቱ፡ δ | ¹² ወማዕከሎሙ፡ ሀለ። add. δ ; ወማዕከሎን፡ C | ¹³ ወንኮራኩር፡ (sic) C; ወገብረ፡ መንከራኩረ፡ P | ¹⁴ \bar{e} ቱ፡ B; ለ፪ቱ፡ P | ¹⁵ አናብስት፡ F; ወአናብስት፡ S. 92¹ ወዓቢረ፡ F | ² መስፈርተ፡ CS; መስፈርትኒ፡ F | ³ ብርትኒ፡ C | ⁴ ዐሠርቱ፡ δ ; \bar{e} ፡ D | ⁵ ኪጥሮ፡ ገውሎስ፡ A; ኪጥሮገውሎስ፡ T; ኪጥሮ፡ ጋውሎስ፡ C; ኪጥሮገውሎስ፡ F; ኪጥሮገውሎስ፡ KQ; ኪጥሮገውሎስ፡ (sic) S | ⁶ om. S | ⁷ በመስፈርተ፡ ክአስ፡ ሻ፡ A; በመስፈርተ፡ ክአስ፡ ሻዓ፡ δ ; ክጥሩሳ፡ F | ⁸ ሳኪጥሮስ፡ A; om. δ ; ወለ፩፡ ሚክፍት፡ ወለኪጥሮ፡ ጋውሎስ፡ C; ኮጥሚኮሱ፡ S | ⁹ ከማሁ፡ C | ¹⁰ ለ፲ቱ፡ δ ; \bar{e} ፲፡ (sic) F | ¹¹ ሚክፍት፡ C; ሚክፍት፡ S | ¹² ወአንበሮን፡ S | ¹³ ባሕርስ፡ β

መንገል፡ የማን¹⁴፡ ጽባሐዊ¹⁵፡ በገቦ፡ አዜብ። (93) ₁ወከመዝ¹፡ ገብረ²፡ ሰሎሞ^[A10^{rb}]ን፡
ንጉሥ፡ መቅደስ፡ በዘተውህቦ³፡ ጥበብ⁴፡ ሰ^[D52^{va}]ማያት⁵። ₂ወኢይምሰልከ⁶፡ እስኩ⁷፡
ከመዝ⁸፡ ግብረታ፡ ለታእካ፡ ሰማያት⁹፡ ጎበ፡ ትነብር፡ ጽዮን¹⁰፡ ቅድስት፡ ገንተ፡
ይእቲ¹¹፡ _aእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም¹²፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ _aበ፪¹³። ₃ወው^[K12^{ra}]እቱ¹⁴፡
ገብረ¹⁵፡ በአስተማሰሎ፡ በከመ¹⁶፡ ተውህቦ¹⁷፡ ^[T36^{rb}]ጥበብ¹⁸፡ ሰማይ¹⁹። ^[S142^{vb}]
(94) ₁ወትርንጫ^[C26^v]ሁሰ፡ ከመዝ፡ ^[Q6^{ra}]ው^[F13^{va}]እቱ። ₂ኪሩብ፡ ፪²፡ አምሳለ³፡
፪⁴፡ ድንግልናሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ በከመ፡ ይቤላ⁵፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አክናፊሃኒ፡ ፪⁶።
₃ወ^[A10^{rc}]በቀልትኒ፡ ዓራተ፡ ሕማሙ፡ ለ^[B17^r]በግዕ⁷፡ ዘውእቱ⁸፡ መስቀል። ^[D52^{vb}] (95)
₁ወጸፍጸፈ፡ ቤትኒ¹፡ ዘተቀፍለ²፡ በወርቅ፡ ^[P18]ገንጽሐ፡ ሥጋሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም³።
₂ወ፪⁴፡ ማዕፁቲሃ⁵፡ ለአሐቲ⁶፡ ጥላት⁷፡ ዘይቤለከ⁸፡ ኦሪት⁹፡ ዘምስለ፡ ወንጌል። ₃ወዕፁ¹⁰፡
ጳውቂና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ እሙንቱ፡ እለ፡ ተሠይሙ¹¹፡ አናቅጸ¹²፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። ₄ወ፪¹³፡
አዕማድ¹⁴፡ ^[C27^r]ጲጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ እሙንቱ። ₅ወጽጌያት፡ ዘአርዕስቲ^[F13^{vb}]ሆሙ¹⁵፡
ሃይማኖት፡ ^[K12^{rb}]ቅድ^[T36^{va}]ስት።

(96) ₁ወባሕርኒ¹፡ ዘሀለወት፡ እምገቦ²፡ ቤት³፡ ዘየማን፡ ጽባሐዊ፡ ^[A10^{va}]ዘመንገለ፡
አዜብ⁴፡ ጥምቀት፡ ይእቲ⁵፡ ዘሰበከ⁶፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ^[D53^{ra}]ኃጢአት። ₂ወመታግሪሃ⁷፡
ካህናት፡ እሙንቱ⁸። ₃ወጽጌያት፡ ዘበቀልት⁹፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዘእለ¹⁰፡ ተጠምቁ፡ ወሥርዓታ¹¹፡
ለጥምቀት። ^[Q6^{rb}] (97) ₁ወ፲ወ፪¹፡ አልህምት²፡ ዘሀለወ፡ ጎቤሃ፡ ለባሕር³፡ ፲ወ፪⁴፡
ሐዋርያት፡ ዘሰበኩ፡ መስዓ፡ ወባሕረ⁵፡ ጽ^[C27^v]ባሐ⁶፡ ወአዜብ⁷። ^[B17^v] ₂ወ፲⁸፡ ሚኮት⁹፡
ድሩጋን¹⁰፡ ከመ፡ ማዕገት¹¹፡ ፲¹²፡ ቃላት¹³፡ ውእቱ¹⁴። ₃ወዘማዕከሉሰ¹⁵፡ አናብስት፡
ግሩማ^[F14^{ra}]ን¹⁶፡ ነቢያት፡ እሙንቱ¹⁷። ^[A10^{vb}] ₄ወአ^[S143^{ra}]ልሕምትኒ¹⁸፡ ሐዋርያት፡
እሙንቱ፡ በከመ፡ ንቤ፡ ቀዳሚ¹⁹። ₅ወመንኮ^[T36^{vb}]ራኩረ፡ ሠረገላት፡ ዘ^[K12^{va}]፪²⁰፡

92¹⁴ የማን፡ ፩ | ¹⁵ ጽባሐዊ፡ AK; ጽባሕ፡ ፩. 93¹ ከመዝ፡ C; ወከመ፡ D | ² om. C | ³ ዘተውህቦ፡ F; ዘተውህቦ፡ Q | ⁴ እም፡ ፩; ጥበብ፡ QS | ⁵ ሰማያዊ፡ S | ⁶ ወኢይም፡ ሰልከ፡ (sic) F; ወኢይምሰል፡ T | ⁷ om. CD; እስኩ፡ F | ⁸ om. β | ⁹ ሰማይ፡ S | ¹⁰ እምነ፡ add. C | ¹¹ om. ፩ | ¹² ማርያ፡ S | ¹³ _{a-a} እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ A; ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ፩; እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡ C | ¹⁴ ወውእቱስ፡ C; አላ፡ የዓቢ፡ እምተናገርነ፡ ወውእቱ፡ add. P | ¹⁵ om. T | ¹⁶ ከመ፡ FQ | ¹⁷ ተውህቦ፡ T | ¹⁸ om. C | ¹⁹ እምሰማይ፡ C. 94¹ ወትርንጫሁ፡ ፩S | ² ፪ቱ፡ ፩; ፪፡ ኪሩብ፡ λ | ³ በአምሳለ፡ P | ⁴ ፪ቱ፡ B; ፪ቱ፡ P; om. S | ⁵ ይቤ፡ S | ⁶ ፪ቱ፡ ፩; ራዕ፡ ዮሐ. ፲፪፡ ፲፬ add. P | ⁷ ለበግዑ፡ C | ⁸ ዝውእቱ፡ C. 95¹ ቤት፡ ፩; ቤቱኒ፡ S | ² ዘተቀፈለ፡ ፩D; በዘተከፈለ፡ C | ³ om. ፩; ጽዮን፡ C | ⁴ ወ፪ኤ፡ ፩ | ⁵ መዓፁቲሃ፡ ፩C; ማዕፁቲሃ፡ F; አዕፁቲሃ፡ S | ⁶ om. βC; በአሐቲ፡ KT | ⁷ ለጥላት፡ βC | ⁸ om. β | ⁹ ኦሪትኒ፡ C | ¹⁰ ወዕፁ፡ ፩C | ¹¹ ውስተ፡ add. λDS | ¹² አንቀጽ፡ CD | ¹³ ወ፪ኤ፡ ፩; ፪፡ F | ¹⁴ አልሕምት፡ ትኩላን፡ C; አዕማዕድ፡ (sic) D | ¹⁵ አርዕስቲሆሙ፡ S. 96¹ ባሕርኒ፡ F | ² ዝሃ፡ C; በገቦ፡ F | ³ ዘየማን፡ add. D | ⁴ ጽባሐዊ፡ ፩ | ⁵ om. ፩S | ⁶ ዘሰበከ፡ ፩ | ⁷ ወመኒ፡ A; ወመሣግሪሃኒ፡ ፩ | ⁸ ዘይቤብሕዎ፡ ለጥምቀት፡ add. C | ⁹ ዘበቁለት፡ C; ዘበቀለት፡ S | ¹⁰ ሶ፡ እለ፡ C; እለ፡ S | ¹¹ ሥርዓታ፡ C; ወሥርታ፡ (sic) S. 97¹ ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ ፩; ፲ወ፪፡ F | ² om. C | ³ ባሕር፡ D | ⁴ ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ ፩ | ⁵ ወአዜብ፡ C | ⁶ ባሕረ፡ C; ወጽባሐ፡ F | ⁷ ወጽባሐ፡ C | ⁸ ፫ቱ፡ ፩ | ⁹ ሚኮኖት፡ ፩S; ሜክኖትኒ፡ C; ሚኮስት፡ F | ¹⁰ ድሩካን፡ ፩; ድሩጋት፡ C; ድርጋን፡ S | ¹¹ ማዕገተ፡ C; ማዕኮት፡ F; ማዕነት፡ S | ¹² ፲ቱ፡ ፩ | ¹³ ቀላት፡ (sic) F | ¹⁴ om. ፩ | ¹⁵ ወማዕከሉስ፡ ፩; ወዘማዕከሉ፡ S | ¹⁶ om. C | ¹⁷ እሙንት፡ (sic) P | ¹⁸ ወአልሕምት፡ C | ¹⁹ ቀዳሚ፡ F; ንቀደሚ፡ (sic) S | ²⁰ ዘ፪ቱ፡ ፩; ፪፡ C; ዘእ፪፡ (sic) T

መታከፍቲሆሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ፱²¹፡ መዓዘኒሃ²²፡ በአምሳለ፡ ፱²³፡ እንስሳ²⁴፡ እ_[D53^{rb}]፡²⁵፡ ይጸውሩ፡ መንበሮ፡ ለአምላክ²⁶፡ (98) ₁መመስፈርት²⁷፡ ፲²፡ ዘስሙ፡ ኪጥሮጋውሎስ³፡ ዘያገምሮ⁴፡ ፵፡ በመስፈርት⁵፡ ኩኢስ፡ ዝውእቱ⁶፡ ኦሪት፡ ₂ወዘይቤለከ⁷፡ ፵፡ ኩኢስ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ትንቢቶሙ⁸፡ [C28^r] ለነቢያት፡ እስከ⁹፡ ሄኖክ¹⁰፡ ₃ወከመዝ¹¹፡ ውእቱ¹²፡ ሥርዓተ¹³፡ መቅደሱ¹⁴፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ በሥርዓተ፡ [A10^{vc}] ጥፋድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን¹⁵፡ ይትፌጸም¹⁶፡ [P19]

(99) ₁ወከመዝ፡ ጸሐፍኩ፡ [F14^{rb}] ለክሙ፡ በአምጣነ¹፡ ክሂሎትየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ፍቅረ²፡ ዚአነ³፡ ለጽዮን⁴፡ [B18^r] ₂ወባሕቱ፡ ገለጸ[Q6^{re}]መ፡ ክህልኩ⁵፡ እም[T37^{ra}]ተርጉምኩ⁶፡ ኩሎ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ መቅደሱ⁷፡ ለሰሎ[K12^{vb}]ሞን⁸፡ ₃፡⁹አ[D54^{va}]ንሰ፡ ኢተምህርኩ፡ መጸሕፍተ¹⁰፡ በከመ¹⁰፡ ጳውሎስ፡ እምነበ¹¹፡ ገማልያል፡ ₄አንሰ፡ ኖላዌ¹²፡ አባግፅ¹³፡ ወአጣሌ¹⁴፡ ₅ወንቡስ፡ እምኩሎሙ፡ አጋው¹⁵፡ ₆ወምግባርየኒ¹⁶፡ ዘጋጢአት፡ ነዊነ፡ ከመ፡ አርዘ፡ ሊባ[Al1^{ra}]ኖስ፡

(100) ₁ንትመየጥኪ¹፡ ጎበ²፡ [C28^v] ዜና³፡ ነገር⁴፡ ዘጽኑሕ⁵፡ ለነ፡ በእንተ⁶፡ መቅደስ⁷፡ ዘሐነጸ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት⁸፡ እንዘ፡ ይረድኦ፡ ኪራም፡ ወልደ⁹፡ መበለት፡ እምነገደ¹⁰፡ ንፍ[S143^{rb}]ታሌም¹¹፡ [F14^{va}] ₂ወአቡሁኒ፡ ነህቤ፡ ብርት¹²፡ ወኪንያ¹³፡ ፍጹም፡ ₃ወኪራምኒ፡ ገመ፡ አቡሁ፡ ጠቢ(D53^{vb})ብ¹⁴፡ (101) ₁ወከመዝ¹፡ ፈጸመ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ [T37^{rb}] ሐኒጸ²፡ ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምድኅረ፡ ፳³፡ ዓመት፡ ₂ወአስተጋብአሙ፡ ለ[K13^{ra}]ኩሎሙ⁴፡ ሊቃናተ⁵፡ እስራኤል⁶፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽእዋ፡ ለታቦት፡ እምሀገ[Al1^{rb}]ረ፡ ዳዊት፡ በወርጋ⁷፡ እትሚን⁸፡ ₃ወካህናት⁹፡ ጽርዋ፡ [C29^r] ለታቦት¹⁰፡ ₄ወደብተራኒ¹¹፡ [Q6^{va}] ዘነበረት፡ ውስ[B18^v]ቱታ¹²፡ ₅ወኩሎ¹³፡ ንዋየ፡ ግበረሃ¹⁴፡ ለቅድስት¹⁵፡

(102) ₁አብእዋ¹፡ ካህናት፡ ውስተ፡ መካነ²፡ ንጉሥ³፡ ₂ወኩሎሙ⁴፡ ሠራዊቱ⁵፡ እለ⁶፡ ይተልውዋ⁷፡ ወየሐልዩ⁸፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ አተወ[F14^{vb}]ት፡ ጽዮን፡ ውስተ፡ መካና፡ ₃ወአንበርዋ⁹፡ ው[D54^{ra}]ስተ፡ ዳቤር¹⁰፡ በመትሕተ¹¹፡ ክነፊሆሙ፡ ለኪሩብ¹²፡ ₄ወአልቦ፡

97²¹ ፱ቱ፡ ፩ | ²² መዓዘኒሃ፡ ፩D; መንገሌሃ፡ C; መዓዘኒሃ፡ F | ²³ ፱ ፩ | ²⁴ እሙንቱ፡ add. C | ²⁵ እንዘ፡ D | ²⁶ ለአምላክነ፡ CDS. 98¹ መመስፈርተ፡ ብርት፡ C | ² ፲ቱ፡ ፩; ፩፡ እ | ³ ኪጥሮጋውሎስ፡ T | ⁴ ዘያገምሮ፡ ፩ | ⁵ በመስፈርት፡ CD | ⁶ ዘውእቱ፡ F፩፭ | ⁷ ወዘእንቢለከ፡ ፩ | ⁸ ትንቢት፡ F | ⁹ ወእስከ፡ ለ፭፻ | ¹⁰ ኢሮስ፡ S | ¹¹ ከመዝ፡ S | ¹² om. ፩ | ¹³ ሥርዓቱ፡ C | ¹⁴ om. C | ¹⁵ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት፡ ፩ | ¹⁶ ይትፌጸም፡ AC; ትትፌጸም፡ ፩; ጸ፡ s.l. F. 99¹ በከመ፡ C | ² ፍቅራ፡ S | ³ ዚአየ፡ A, ለማርያም፡ S | ⁴ ጽዮን፡ S | ⁵ om. C | ⁶ ወእምተርጉምኩ፡ B; ወእመተርጉምኩ፡ (sic) P | ⁷ መቅደሱ፡ AB; መቅደሱ፡ C; መቅደሱ፡ P | ⁸ ሰሎሞን፡ AB; ዘሰሎሞን፡ P | ⁹ om. C | ¹⁰ ከመ፡ S; 'ተምህረ፡ C | ¹¹ ጎበ፡ S | ¹² ኖላዊ፡ እ፭P | ¹³ om. C | ¹⁴ አጣሌ፡ C; ወአጣሌ፡ FS፻; ወአባሊ፡ P | ¹⁵ አጋውየ፡ አላ፡ በምሕረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ add. P | ¹⁶ ወበምግባርየኒ፡ C; ምግባርየኒ፡ P. 100¹ ንግባእኪ፡ ፩; ካዕበ፡ add. እ | ² ካዕበ፡ በእንተ፡ C; om. F | ³ ዜናሃ፡ F | ⁴ ለነገር፡ F | ⁵ ዘጽኑ፡ P | ⁶ በቤተ፡ S | ⁷ መቅደሳ፡ C | ⁸ ንጉሥ፡ add. F | ⁹ om. C | ¹⁰ ዘእም፡ ፩ | ¹¹ ብንያም፡ C | ¹² ወርቅ፡ ፩ | ¹³ ወኪንያ፡ F | ¹⁴ ጠቢብ፡ ከመ፡ አቡሁ፡ CS. 101¹ ወእምዝ፡ C | ² ሐነጸ፡ B | ³ ፳፩፡ ፩ | ⁴ om. S | ⁵ ሊቃነ፡ F | ⁶ ፳፩ኤል፡ B; ፳ኤል፡ S | ⁷ በሀገረ፡ F | ⁸ አታሚን፡ C | ⁹ ወካህናት፡ C | ¹⁰ ለታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ C | ¹¹ ወለደብተራኒ፡ S | ¹² ውስቱቱ፡ C; ዘውስቱታ፡ T | ¹³ ወኩሎን፡ C | ¹⁴ ግብራ፡ P | ¹⁵ ለቅድሳት፡ A; ዘቅድስት፡ CDT; ዘቅድሳት፡ KQ. 102¹ ወአብእዋ፡ ፩CS | ² መካና፡ C | ³ ወንጉሥኒ፡ C | ⁴ ወኩሎ፡ D; ወኩሎ፡ ፭FK | ⁵ ሠራዊት፡ C | ⁶ om. ፩; እንዘ፡ C | ⁷ ይተልውዋ፡ S | ⁸ ይሔልዩ፡ ፩ | ⁹ አንበርዋ፡ D | ¹⁰ ዳቤር፡ A | ¹¹ በታሕተ፡ ፩; መትሕተ፡ እ | ¹² ለኪሩቤል፡ ፩C; ኪሩቤ፡ S

ውስተ፡ ከርሳ፡ ለታቦት፡ ዘእንበለ¹³፡ ፪¹⁴፡ ጽላት፡ ዘተመጠው፡ ሙሴ፡ [T37^{va}][A11^{re}]
እምእደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በኮራብ¹⁵፡ (103) ₁ወተከድነት፡ ቤት¹፡ ስብሐተ²፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ [C29^v] ₂ወተፈሥሐ፡ [K13^{rb}] ሰሎሞን፡ ንጉሥ³፡ [P20] ወይቤ፡ ይትባረክ፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል⁴፡ ₃ዮም⁵፡ ዘነበበ፡ በአፉሁ⁶፡ ወፈጸመ⁷፡ በእደዊሁ፡
₄ወገብረ⁸፡ መሥዋዕተ⁹፡ _aንጉሥኒ፡ ወኸሎሙ፡ እስራኤል¹⁰፡ _aእግዚአብሔር¹¹፡ (104)
₁ወገብረ¹፡ ሰሎሞን²፡ በዓለ³፡ በይ[Si43^{va}]እቲ፡ [F15^{ra}] ዕለት፡ ወጠብሐ⁴፡ መቅድሐ⁵፡
ሕንጻሁ⁶፡ ዘጽዮን⁷፡ ፪፻፱ወ፳፻⁸፡ አልሕምተ⁹፡ ወ[D54^{rb}]፲፻¹⁰፡ አባግዓ፡ ለመቅድሐ¹¹፡
ቤተ፡ [A11^{va}] እግዚአብሔር [B19^r]፡ (105) ₁ወገብ[Q6^{vb}]ሩ፡ ኩሎሙ¹፡ እስራኤል²፡
_aበዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ ምስለ፡ ንጉሥ፡ _aወማኅ[C30^r]በር³፡ ሰቡአ⁴፡ መዋዕለ⁵፡ በትፍስሕ[T37^{vb}]ት፡
ወበሐሴት፡ ₂ወአመ፡ ሰሙን⁶፡ ዕለት፡ አተዉ፡ ሕዝብ⁷፡ ውስተ፡ አብያቲሆሙ፡

(106) ₁ወአስተርአዮ¹፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለ[K13^{va}]ሰሎሞን፡ ₂ወይቤሎ፡ ሰማዕት፡
ጸሎተከ²፡ ወስእለተከ³፡ ₃ወገበርኩ⁴፡ ለክ፡ ዘፈቀድክ፡ ₄ወቀደስክም፡ ለዝንቱ⁵፡
ቤት⁶፡ ዘሐነጽኩ⁷፡ በእዴክ፡ ₅ወየሃሎ፡ ስምየ፡ ውስቴታ⁸፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ [F15^{rb}]
ቱ...ቱ _{6a}ወከማሁ፡ አ⁹፡ እግዚ[A11^{vb}]አብሔር፡ ሰማዕ¹⁰፡ _aስእለትየ¹¹፡ (107) ቱ...ቱ¹
₁ወአንተኒ፡ ለእመ፡ ሐ[D54^{va}]ርክ፡ በሕግየ፡ በከመ፡ ሐረ፡ ዳዊት፡ አቡክ፡ ₂ወአቀውም²፡
መንግሥተከ³፡ ለዓለም⁴፡ [C30^v] ₃ወለእመ፡ ጎደግሙ፡ ሕግየ፡ ዘወሀብክም⁵፡ ለቀላሌዮ⁶፡
₄ወገባእክመ⁷፡ ውስተ፡ አማልክት፡ ₅ወሰገድክመ⁸፡ ሎሙ⁹፡ [T38^{ra}] እደመስሰክሙ፡
እምገጸ፡ ምድር፡ (108) ₁ወዘንተኒ¹፡ ቤተ²፡ ዘተቀደሰ³፡ በስ[B19^v]ምየ⁴፡ እደመስሰ⁵፡
₂ወእገድ፡ ₆እምቅድመ፡ ገጽየ፡ ₃ወለጽ[Q6^{vb}]ዮንሰ⁷፡ ቅድ[K13^{vb}]ስት፡ ዘሐነጽክዋ፡
፣በእ[A11^{re}]ዴየ፡ ወሣረርክዋ⁸፡ እራሱ⁹፡ ማኅደረ፡ ስብሐትየ¹⁰፡ በመልዕልተ¹¹፡ ሰማያት¹²፡
₄ወይ[Si43^{vb}]ትወሀውሁ¹³፡ መላእ[F15^{va}]ክት፡ በዓውዳ¹⁴፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ [D54^{vb}] ፣ሃሌ፡

102¹³ እንበለ፡ C | ¹⁴ ፪ኤ፡ ፆC | ¹⁵ በኩ' ፊ. 103¹ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ፆS | ² በስብሐተ፡ S | ³ om. F |
⁴ ፳ኤል፡ S | ⁵ om. ፆ | ⁶ አፉሁ፡ AC | ⁷ ፈጸመ፡ C | ⁸ ወገብሩ፡ C | ⁹ መሥዋዕት፡ D | ¹⁰ ፳ኤል፡ S | ¹¹
_{a-a} ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ንጉሥኒ፡ ወኸሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡ C. 104¹ ገብረ፡ AK፤ | ² ለእግዚአብሔር፡ add. S |
³ ዓቢይ፡ C; om. S | ⁴ ' ለእግዚአብሔር፡ C | ⁵ መቃድሐ፡ B; ወለመድቅሐ፡ C; ለመቃድሐ፡ P; መድቅሐ፡
Q | ⁶ ሕንጻሃ፡ ፆC | ⁷ ለጽዮን፡ ፆCS | ⁸ ፪፻፱ወ፳፻፡ A; ፪ተ፡ ፱ፈ፡ ወ፪ተ፡ ፆ | ⁹ አልሕምት፡ C | ¹⁰ ወ፪ተ፡ ፪ተ፡
ፆ; ፲ወ፪፡ C; ፲፱፡ DQ; ፲ወ፪፡ F | ¹¹ ለመድቅሐ፡ ፆCQ; ለምቅዳሐ፡ K. 105¹ ደቂቀ፡ add. ፆ | ² ፳ኤል፡
S | ³ _{a-a} ' ወማኅበረ፡ A; ምስለ፡ በዓለ፡ በዓቢይ፡ ማኅበር፡ C; ምስለ፡ ንጉሥ፡ በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ ወማኅበረ፡ FS፤ |
⁴ ሰብአ፡ C | ⁵ ወመዋዕለ፡ B | ⁶ ሰቡሐ፡ A; ሳብእ፡ ፆ; ሰሙን፡ add. C | ⁷ om. ፆ. 106¹ ወአስተርአዮሙ፡
C; ወአስተርአዮ፡ K | ² ጸሎትክ፡ AC | ³ ወስእለትክ፡ AC | ⁴ ወገበርክ፡ C | ⁵ ለውእቱ፡ S | ⁶ ቤተ፡ F |
⁷ ዘተሐንጸት፡ C | ⁸ በውስቴታ፡ ፆS; om. C | ⁹ ኣነ፡ S | ¹⁰ ሰማዕት፡ ፆ; om. ε | ¹¹ _{a-a} om. C; ' ጸሎትየ፡
ወስእለትየ፡ F; ' እስምዕ፡ ስእለተክ፡ S. 107¹ om. ACDST; ይቤ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ፆ; ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡
F; ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ Q; ለኃጉእ፡ ገብርክ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ s.l. K | ² አቀውም፡
ፆS; ወአቀውም፡ D | ³ መንግሥትክ፡ B; መንግሥተ፡ S | ⁴ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ BC | ⁵ ዘወሀብክዋ፡ ለሙሴ፡ C |
⁶ ቀላሌዮ፡ C | ⁷ ወአግባእክሙ፡ C | ⁸ ወሰገድሙ፡ (sic) D | ⁹ om. S. 108¹ ወዘንተ፡ ፆ | ² ዘይቤ፡ C |
³ ዘቀደሰ፡ A; ዘቀደስኩ፡ ፆC; ዘኢተቀደሰ፡ F; ዘቀደስክሙ፡ S | ⁴ ለሰምየ፡ C | ⁵ እገድ፡ C; እደምስሶ፡ Fe፤ |
⁶ om. CP | ⁷ ወለጽዮን፡ ፆ | ⁸ om. S | ⁹ እራሱይዋ፡ D | ¹⁰ ስብሐቲሁ፡ C | ¹¹ በመልዕል፡ ፆ; መልዕልተ፡ F |
¹² om. ፆ | ¹³ ወይትሀውሁ፡ S | ¹⁴ በዓውድ፡ S

ሉያ¹⁵፡ በኩሉ፡ ፍናዊሃ¹⁶። (109) ₁ወከመዝ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ወሀብ፡ ማዕከተ²፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ ንጉ[C_{31r}]³፡ እግዚእ³፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ ማኅደረ፡ ስብሐቲሁ። [P₂₁] ₂ወነበረት፡ ከመዝ፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ውስተ፡ ሕንጻሁ፡ ለሰሎሞን። (110) ₁ወሰሎሞንኒ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ፵¹፡ ዓመ[A_{12ra}]²ተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ሰከበ፡ በከመ²፡ [T_{38rb}] አበዊሁ³። ₂ወተቀብረ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ⁴፡ ዳዊት፡ አቡሁ።

(111) ₁ወእምድኅረ፡ ብዙኅ፡ ዓመት¹፡ አመ፡ ኮነ፡ ፬፻፳²፡ ዓ[K_{14ra}]³መተ³፡ እምዘተሐንፀት፡ ሀገረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት⁴፡ በመንግ[F_{15vb}]⁵ሥተ፡ ናቡከደነጾር⁵፡ ንጉሥ⁶፡ ዘባቢሎን፡ [D_{55ra}] አለ[B_{20r}]⁷፡ ሕዝብ⁸፡ ሕገ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ₂ወኮነ⁹፡ እኩያን¹⁰፡ በቅድሜሁ። ₃ወአምለኩ፡ ባዕዳን¹¹፡ [C_{31v}] አማልክተ¹²። ₄ወለነቢያትሰ¹³፡ ኢሰምዑ፡ ቃ[Q_{7ra}]¹⁴ሎሙ። (112) ₁ወተምዐ¹፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእ[A_{12rb}]²ንተ²፡ ዝንቱ³፡ ላዕሌሆሙ⁴። ₂ወአዘዘ⁵፡ ለንጉሥ⁶፡ ባቢሎን⁷። ₃ወአመዝበርዋ⁸፡ ለሀገርሙ⁹፡ ከለዳውያን¹⁰። ₄ወአንሐልዋ¹¹፡ ለሕንጻ¹²፡ መቅደሱ¹³፡ ዘሰሎሞን¹⁴። ₅ወታቦተ¹⁵፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት¹⁶፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ተኅብአት፡ ወኢረከብዋ። [T_{38va}] ₆ወጽላትኒ፡ ዘምስለ¹⁷፡ ፲¹⁸፡ ቃላት፡ በከርሣ።

(113) ₁ወተጸወወት¹፡ ሀገር፡ ኩለንታሃ²። ₂ወንዋየ፡ ብርትኒ³፡ [F_{16ra}] ዘቅድስት⁴፡ ተጽወ[K_{14rb}]⁵። ₃ወነቢያትኒ⁶፡ ፬⁷፡ [S_{144ra}] ኤርምያስ፡ ወሕዝ[D_{55rb}]⁸ቅኤል⁸፡ ወዳንኤል፡ ወእዝራ፡ [C_{32r}] ተጽወዉ። [A_{12rc}] ₄በከይዋ⁹፡ ወአስቆቀው¹⁰፡ ለጽዮን።

(114) ₁ወደቤ፡ ፩¹፡ እምነቢያት፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ዕዝራ²፡ ፡ አመ፡ ፴፡ ዓመት³፡ እምዘ፡ ወድቀት⁴፡ ሀገርነ⁵፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለውኩ⁶፡ ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ⁷፡ ባቢሎን⁸። [B_{20v}] ₂ወጸእኩ⁹፡ ገዳመ¹⁰፡ ዘስሙ፡ አርፋድ¹¹። ₃ወጸምኩ¹²፡ ሰቡአ፡ መዋዕለ። ₄፡ እክለ፡ ኢበላዕኩ¹³፡ ፡ ወኢስተይኩ፡ ወይነ¹⁴። ₅ወሥጋኒ¹⁵፡ ኢጥዕምኩ፡ ግሙራ¹⁶፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፍሬ፡ ዕፅ፡ ባሕቲቱ¹⁷። (115) ₁ወጸለይ[Q_{7rb}]¹⁸ኩ፡ ኅበ፡ ልዑል። ₂ወእቤ¹፡ እግዚአ²፡ [A_{12va}] እግዚእየ³፡ ዘ[T_{38vb}]⁴ሰማዕኩሙ⁴፡ ለአበዊን⁵፡ በገዳም⁶፡ በምድረ⁷፡ [F_{16rb}] በድው። ₃ወወሀብኩሙ፡ [P₂₂]

108¹⁵ om. C | ¹⁶ ለጽዮን፡ add. C. 109¹ om. C | ² ኮተ፡ DF | ³ om. CD; እግዚእ፡ F; እግዚእነ፡ K. 110¹ ፵፩፡ ፩ | ² ከመ፡ β; ምስለ፡ C | ³ አቡሁ፡ CD | ⁴ መቃብረ፡ F. 111¹ ዓመታት፡ C | ² ፬ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ ወ፳ራ፡ ፩ | ³ ዓመት፡ εBCS | ⁴ om. F | ⁵ ናቡ፡ ከደነ፡ ጻር፡ (sic) A; ናቡከደነ፡ ሦር፡ DF; ናቡከደነ፡ ሦር፡ (sic) P | ⁶ om. ελξS | ⁷ ወዓለዉ፡ F; ዓለዉ፡ K; ሀለዉ፡ T | ⁸ om. S | ⁹ ወኮነ፡ S | ¹⁰ እኩያን፡ C | ¹¹ በእደ፡ (sic) C; ባእደ፡ D | ¹² አማልክት፡ C | ¹³ ወለነቢያትኒ፡ ፩C. 112¹ ወተምዐዐ፡ D | ² om. ፩ | ³ ዘንተ፡ ፩ | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ ወአዘዘ፡ C; ወአዘዛ፡ D | ⁶ ንጉሥ፡ C; ለንጉሥ፡ S | ⁷ ሰሎሞን፡ C; om. S | ⁸ ምዕከብራ፡ S | ⁹ ለሀገሪተ፡ እስራኤል፡ ጽዮን፡ add. C | ¹⁰ ከለድዋ፡ (sic) Q | ¹¹ አንሐልዋ፡ ε; ወአሐልዋ፡ (sic) S | ¹² ለሕንጻን፡ C | ¹³ መቅደሱሙ፡ βεξ; ለመቅደሱሙ፡ C | ¹⁴ ለሰሎሞን፡ እS | ¹⁵ ወለታቦትኒ፡ C | ¹⁶ om. C | ¹⁷ om. ፩ | ¹⁸ ፲ተ፡ ፩. 113¹ ወጸወወት፡ C | ² ኩለንታሁ፡ A | ³ ወርቅኒ፡ ፩ | ⁴ ዘቅድሳት፡ S | ⁵ ተጽወወት፡ ሀገር፡ add. C; ተጽወወት፡ DS; ተጽወወት፡ FT | ⁶ ወለነቢያትኒ፡ FT | ⁷ ፬ተ፡ ፩S; om. C | ⁸ ወሕዝቅደስ፡ F | ⁹ ወአሜን፡ C; ወበከይዋ፡ ፩ | ¹⁰ ወሰቂቀውዋ፡ C. 114¹ ፩ዱ፡ ፩ | ² om. S | ³ ፴፡ አም፡ C; አመ፡ አመ፡ D; አመ፡ ፵፡ KPSξ | ⁴ ወደቀት፡ A | ⁵ ሀገር፡ DS | ⁶ ሀሎኩ፡ ፩S | ⁷ om. S | ⁸ በባቢሎን፡ S | ⁹ ወጸእኩ፡ C | ¹⁰ ውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ F፩; ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ባቢሎን፡ add. S | ¹¹ አልፋድ፡ C | ¹² በህየ፡ C | ¹³ ኢበላዕኩ፡ እክለ፡ ፩ | ¹⁴ ወወይነ፡ ኢስተይኩ፡ C | ¹⁵ ወሥጋ፡ C | ¹⁶ ለግሙራ፡ C | ¹⁷ ባሕቲታ፡ ፩. 115¹ ወደቤ፡ AB | ² om. D | ³ እግዚእ፡ A; እግዚእ፡ ፩ | ⁴ ዘሰማዕኩሙ፡ (sic) D | ⁵ om. Q | ⁶ om. F | ⁷ ወምድረ፡ C

ሕንድ⁸፡ ፋዘንተ⁹፡ ወዘይመስ[C32^v]ሎ¹⁰፡ ጸለይኩ፡ [K14^{va}] (116) ¹ወሶቢሃ¹፡ ርኢኩ፡ [D55^{va}]
በአዕይንትየ፡ ብእሲተ²፡ እመንገለ፡ የማን፡ ትበኪ³፡ ወትላሁ⁴፡ ወትኪልሕ፡ በዓቢይ፡
ቃል⁵፡ ²፣ ወሕምምት፡ ጥቀ⁶፡ ³ወአልባሲሃ⁷፡ ስጡጥ⁸፡ ወሐመድ⁹፡ ዲበ፡ ርእሳ፡
⁴ወእቢላ¹⁰፡ ምንት¹¹፡ ያበክየኪ¹²፡ ⁵ወትቢለኒ¹³፡ ጎድጎኒ፡ እብኪ¹⁴፡ ላዕለ¹⁵፡ ርዕስየ፡
⁶ወእቢላ፡ ፣ ም[A12^{vb}]ንተ፡ ኮንኪ፡ ንግርኒ¹⁶፡ ⁷ወትቢለኒ¹⁷፡ መካን፡ እነ፡ እምትካት፡ ሸኒንዘ፡
ሀሎኩ¹⁸፡ ምስለ፡ ብእሲ፡ ፴¹⁹፡ ዓመተ²⁰፡ ፣ ወእጼሊ፡ ጎበ፡ ልዑል²¹፡ ⁹፣ ወእምድጎረ፡ ፴፡
ዓመት²²፡ [S144^{rb}] ሰምዓኒ²³፡ እግዚእ²⁴፡ ለአመቱ፡ [B21^r] ¹⁰ወርእየ፡ ሕማም[T39^{ra}]የ፡
¹¹ወመሀበኒ፡ ፩²⁵፡ ወልደ፡ [C33^r] ወተፈሣሕኩ፡ ቦቱ²⁶፡ ¹²ወሶበ፡ ልህ[D55^{vb}]ቀ፡ አእተውኩ፡
ሎቱ፡ ብእሲተ²⁷፤ [F16^{va}] ወገ[K14^{vb}]በርኩ፡ ከብካበ²⁸፡ ¹³ወሶበ፡ ቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽርሐ፡
ወድቀ፡ ወሞተ፡ [A12^{vc}]

(117) ¹ወበከይኩ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ወመጸእኩ¹፡ [Q7^{rc}] ባሕቲትየ፡ ውስተዝ²፡ ፣ መካን፡ ወገዳም³፡
ወኢይበልዕ፡ እክለ፡ ²እላሁ⁴፡ በእንተ፡ ፩⁵፡ ወልድየ፡ ³ወአውሣእክዋ፡ ወእቢላ፡ በአማን፡
ኮን⁶፡ ኃዘንኪ፡ እስመ፡ ንሕነኒ⁷፡ ልሕዋን⁸፡ ወጎዙናን፡ ⁴ወአንቲስ⁹፡ ^aተኃዝኒ፡ በእንተ፡
፩¹⁰፡ ^aወልድኪ¹¹፡ ⁵ተሰአሊያ፡ ለምድር፡ ወትነግረኪ¹²፡ ⁶ወእቢላ፡ ኢትግበሪ¹³፡ ዘንተ፡
(118) [C33^v] ¹ወኢትጽርያኑ¹፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም²፡ ²ተነሥተ³፡ መቅደስነ፡ ³ወ[T39^{rb}]ተሥዕረ፡
መዝ[A13^{ra}]መርነ፡ ⁴ወአርመመ⁴፡ ስብሐ[D56^{ra}]ቲነ⁵፡ ⁵ወወድቀ⁶፡ ትምህርትነ⁷፡ [F16^{vb}]
⁶ወጠፍአ፡ መኃትዊን⁸፡ ⁷ወተጼ[B21^v]ወወ፡ ካህናቲነ፡ ⁸ወእምዙሉ፡ ዘ[K15^{ra}]የዓቢ⁹፡
ተኃትመት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወጎለፈ¹⁰፡ ክብራ፡ ⁹ወአንቲስ፡ ፣ ንግፊ፡ ላሃኪ¹¹፡ በእንተ፡ ፩¹²፡
ወልድኪ፡ ¹⁰ወዘንተ፡ እንዘ፡ እትናገራ¹³፡ በርሃ፡ ገጸ፡ ከመ¹⁴፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወከመ፡ ርእየተ፡
መብረቅ¹⁵፡ ¹¹ወፈራህኩ፡ ቀሪቦታ፡ ወደንገፀኒ፡ ል[S144^{va}]ብየ¹⁶፡ [Pp. 23] (119) ¹ወሶበ፡
ርኢክዋ¹፡ ኢኮነት፡ ብእሲተ²፡ ²አላ፡ ከመ³፡ [C34^r] ሀገር፡ ሕንጽት፡ መሠረ[A13^{rb}]ታ⁴፡
ዓቢይ፡ ወስፍሕት⁵፡ ጥቀ፡ ³ወጸ[Q7^{va}]ራሕኩ⁶፡ ወእቤ፡ አይ[T39^{va}]ቱ፡ ሀሎከ፡ ዑራኤል⁷፡

115⁸ ሕን፡ C | ⁹ ወዘንተ፡ CS | ¹⁰ ዘይመስሎ፡ C; om. S. 116¹ ወሶበ፡ ፩; እወሶቢሃ፡ (sic) S | ² ብእሲት፡ B | ³ ወትበኪ፡ ፩ | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ om. P | ⁶ om. F; ወሕምም፡ (sic) ' S | ⁷ ወአልባሲሃ፡ ፩C | ⁸ om. C; ስጡዕ፡ D; ስጡጣት፡ F | ⁹ ወሐመድ፡ ፩FS; ሐመድ፡ C | ¹⁰ ወእቢ፡ βK; ወሶበ፡ እቢላ፡ C | ¹¹ ለምንት፡ C | ¹² ትበከይ፡ C | ¹³ ወትቢ፡ FS | ¹⁴ እበኪ፡ S | ¹⁵ ዲበ፡ S | ¹⁶ ንግርኒ፡ ምንተ፡ ኮንኪ፡ C; ዘኮንኪ፡ ንግርኒ፡ F | ¹⁷ ወትለኒ፡ (sic) S | ¹⁸ ሀለውኩ፡ Feξ | ¹⁹ ፵፡ CPSξ | ²⁰ ነበርኩ፡ add. C | ²¹ om. F; እጼሊ፡ ' P | ²² om. F; ' ፵፡ KPSξ | ²³ ሰምዓ፡ C | ²⁴ እግዚአብሔር፡ ፩C; om. S | ²⁵ om. ፩ | ²⁶ om. ፩ | ²⁷ ቱ፡ F | ²⁸ ከብኒባ፡ (sic) A. 117¹ ወወጸእኩ፡ ፩ | ² ውስተዛ፡ C | ³ መካን፡ ገዳም፡ ADξ; ገዳም፡ C; መካን፡ ዘገዳም፡ F; መካን፡ ገዳም፡ K; ገዳም፡ S | ⁴ እንዘ፡ ሀሎኩ፡ C; ወእላሁ፡ FS | ⁵ ፩ዱ፡ ፩; om. C; ዋሕድ፡ S | ⁶ om. D | ⁷ ንሕነ፡ ከፍልነ፡ add. C | ⁸ ሕልዋን፡ D | ⁹ ወአንቲኒ፡ S | ¹⁰ ፩ዱ፡ ፩; om. F | ¹¹ በእንተ፡ ፩፡ ወልድ፡ ተኃዝኒ፡ C | ¹² እስኩ፡ ለምድር፡ ወኢትንግርኪ፡ add. C | ¹³ ኢትግበሪ፡ add. B. 118¹ ኢትፊኢዬኒ፡ C | ² እስኩ፡ ኮነት፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ add. C | ³ ተነሥተት፡ (sic) C; ከመ፡ ተነስተ፡ FS | ⁴ አርመመ፡ S | ⁵ ስብሐቲሁ፡ D; ስብሐቲሁነ፡ (sic) F | ⁶ ወወድቀት፡ F | ⁷ ምክህነ፡ እS | ⁸ ማጎተዊነ፡ ፩; ማጎተትነ፡ S | ⁹ ዘተዓቢ፡ P | ¹⁰ ወጎለፈት፡ Feξ | ¹¹ ንግሪ፡ ላህየኪ፡ A | ¹² ፩ዱ፡ ፩ | ¹³ ይትናገራ፡ AD; ይትናገራ፡ ግብተ፡ C | ¹⁴ እም፡ S | ¹⁵ ርግብ፡ ዘመብረቅ፡ ኮነ፡ ርእየታ፡ add. C | ¹⁶ ልየ፡ (sic) D. 119¹ ርእክዋ፡ D | ² ብእሲት፡ A፩ | ³ om. ፩ | ⁴ ወመሠረታ፡ ፩F; መሠረታቲሃ፡ C | ⁵ ወስፍሐት፡ S | ⁶ ወጸራሕ፡ ሶቢሃ፡ C | ⁷ ኡራኤል፡ C; ኡርኤል፡ F

መልአክ፡ ^aዘመ[F17^{ra}]ጸእከ፡ ፡^rኅቢየ፡ ቀዲመ፡⁸፡ ⁴ወበጊዜሃ፡ መጽአ፡ ኅቢየ⁹፡ እንዘ¹⁰፡
እስከብ¹¹፡ ከመ፡ ^aበድ[D56^{rb}]ጎ¹²፡ ⁵ወአኃዘኒ፡ በየማኑ¹³፡ ወአንሥአኒ¹⁴፤ ፡^rወአቀመኒ፡ ርቱዓ፡
⁶ወይቤለኒ¹⁵፡ በእንተ፡ ምንት፡ ፡^rደንገጽከ፡ ⁷ወለምንት¹⁶፡ ተከዘ¹⁷፡ [K15^{rb}] ልብከ።

(120) ¹ወእቤሎ፡ ፈራህኩ፡ ሶበ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ²ወባሕቱ፡ ዮጊ፡ ንግሮ፡ ለገብርከ¹።
³ወፍካሬሁ²፡ ለዝንቱ³፤ ፡^rወይቤለኒ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ⁴፡ [B22^r][A13^{rc}] ፡^rእስመ፡ ከሠተ⁵፡
ለከ፡ ልዑል፡ ሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ጽድቀከ⁶፡ [C34^v] እስመ፡ ብዙኃ⁷፡ ተኃዝን⁸፡ በእንተ⁹፡
ጽዮን¹⁰። ^{4b}ወዝንቱ¹¹፡ ውእቱ¹²፡ ^bነገሩ¹³፡ ⁵ዛቲ¹⁴፡ ብእሲት፡ ዘርኢከ¹⁵፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡
ሀገ[F17^{rb}]ረ፡ ሕንጽተ¹⁶፡ ጽዮን፡ ይእቲ፡ እንተ¹⁷፡ በየማኑ¹⁸፡ ል[T39^{vb}]ዑል፡ ወትንብር፡
ለዓለም። (121) ¹ወዘኒ¹፡ ዘትቤለከ²፡ መካነ፡ ኮንኩ፡ ፴³፡ ዓመተ፡ ነበ [D56^{va}]ረት⁴፡
ዓለም⁵፡ እንዘ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘያበውእ፡ ቀሩርባነ፡ ²ወእምድኅረ፡ ፴⁶፡ ዓመት⁷፡ ሐነጸ፡ ሰሎሞን፡
መቅደስ⁸። ³፡^rወቀደስ፡ ወቦአ⁹፡ ወአብአ፡ ቀሩ[A13^{va}]ርባነ¹⁰፡ ውእቱ፡ ፡^rዘወለደቶ፡ ወልዳ¹¹።
⁴ወዘንተኒ¹²፡ ዘት[Q7^{vb}]ቤለከ¹³፡ [K15^{va}] አመ¹⁴፡ ቦአ¹⁵፡ ውስተ፡ [S144^{vb}] ጽርሑ፡ ወድቀ፡
ወሞተ። ⁵ወረከበኒ፡ ኃዘን፡ [C35^r] ድቀታ¹⁶፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም፡ ውእቱ። (122) ¹ወዘንተ¹፡
ዘአርአየከ²፡ በእንተ፡ ኃዘንከ፡ ፡^rወሕማመ፡ ልብከ፡ በእንተ³፡ ጽዮን። ²ዘ[F17^{va}]አርአየከ⁴፡
ብርሃነ፡ ስብሐቲሃ፡ ወሥነ⁵፡ ተድላሃ⁶። ³ወአንተሰ፡ ኢትፍራህ፡ ወኢ[B22^v]ትደንግ፡
⁴ነጽር፡ [D56^{vb}] ብርሃና፡ ወጽንዓ⁸፡ ጽድቃ⁹። [T40^{ra}] ⁵ወአምጣነ¹⁰፡ ትክል፡ ሰሚዓ፡
ስማዕ¹¹፡ በእዝንከ¹²፡ ማኅልዶቲሃ¹³፡ እስመ¹⁴፡ ኃዘንከ¹⁵፡ ፡^rብዙሃ፡ በ[A13^{vb}]እንቲአሃ¹⁶።
(123) ¹፡^rወይቤለኒ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ¹፡ ዑራኤል²፡ ተፈሣህኩ³፡ ወተሐሠዶኩ፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡
ዘሀለወት፡ ሕንጽተ⁴፡ በየማኑ፡ እዴሁ፡ ለልዑል⁵፡ ይቤ⁶፡ ዕዝራ⁷። [P24]

119⁸ ቀዲመ፡ ኅቢየ፡ S | ⁹ om. T | ¹⁰ om. AQ | ¹¹ እስብከ፡ (sic) ፊS | ¹² ^{a-a} ኅቢየ፡ እንዘ፡ እስብከ፡ (sic) ከመ፡ በድን፡ ቀዲመ፡ ወበጊዜሃ፡ መጽአ፡ ኅቢየ፡ B፡ ኅቢየ፡ እንዘ፡ እስብከ፡ (sic) ወኮንኩ፡ ከመ፡ በድን፡ ደንገጽየ፡ ወወደቁ፡ ወበጊዜሃ፡ መጽአ፡ ኅቢየ፡ P | ¹³ የማንየ፡ C | ¹⁴ አንሥአኒ፡ C | ¹⁵ om. ፊ | ¹⁶ om. C | ¹⁷ ደንገ፡ ፊ. 120¹ ወይቤለኒ፡ መልአክ፡ add. ፊ | ² ፍካሬሁ፡ ፊለ | ³ om. F | ⁴ ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ A፡ ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ መልአክ፡ ፊ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ F | ⁵ om. ፊ፡ ፡^r ከሠቶ፡ ይጀ | ⁶ ሥነ፡ ጽድቀከ፡ C | ⁷ ብዙኃን፡ ፊጀፊS | ⁸ om. ፊጀፊS፡ ፈተፊ፡ እለ፡ ደክሙ፡ ε | ⁹ በእንተዝ፡ ፊጀፊ | ¹⁰ om. ፊጀፊS | ¹¹ እለ፡ ደክሙ፡ ፡^r add. ፊ | ¹² om. C | ¹³ ^{a-a} ወዝንቱ፡ C፡ ፡^r ነገራ፡ F፡ ዝንቱ፡ ነገሩ፡ ውእቱ፡ S | ¹⁴ ለዛቲ፡ F፡ ፡^r ይእቲ፡ add. S | ¹⁵ om. AQ፡ እንተ፡ ርኢከ፡ C | ¹⁶ ዘተሐንጸት፡ C፡ ሕንጽት፡ KQ | ¹⁷ om. C | ¹⁸ በየማኑ፡ ፊS. 121¹ ወዝኒ፡ C | ² ትቤለከ፡ ፊ፡ ዘትብለከ፡ F | ³ ፶፡ ዓመተ፡ ወእስከ፡ ፶፻፡ ዓመተ፡ add. C፡ ፶፡ KQ፡ ፶፻፡ S | ⁴ ነበረ፡ C | ⁵ ዓለመ፡ B | ⁶ ፶፻፡ KSጀ | ⁷ ዓመተ፡ ACKጀ | ⁸ መቅደስ፡ B፡ መቅደስ፡ C | ⁹ ወቀደሳ፡ ፡^r ፊ፡ om. CS | ¹⁰ መቅደስ፡ S | ¹¹ ፡^r ወልድ፡ C፡ ወልዳ፡ ዘወለደቶ፡ S | ¹² ወዝንቱኒ፡ C፡ ወዝንተ፡ F | ¹³ ዘትቤለኒ፡ S | ¹⁴ ከመ፡ S | ¹⁵ ወልድየ፡ ፊ | ¹⁶ ድቀታ፡ (sic) CS፡ ድቀት፡ D፡ በእንተ፡ ፡^r F. 122¹ om. DS | ² ዘርአየከ፡ A፡ ዘርኢከ፡ B፡ እንዘ፡ ትራኢ፡ P | ³ om. C | ⁴ ዘርአየከ፡ A፡ ኢርኢከ፡ C፡ ዘአርአየከ፡ P፡ ብርሃነ፡ (sic) S | ⁵ om. F | ⁶ ወተድላሃ፡ F | ⁷ ወኢተደንግጽ፡ (sic) P፡ ወኢደንግ፡ S | ⁸ በጽንዓ፡ ፊ | ⁹ ንድቃ፡ C | ¹⁰ አምጣነ፡ D | ¹¹ ሰሚዕ፡ S | ¹² ለእዝንከ፡ C | ¹³ መኃልዶቲሃ፡ ፊፊS፡ ማኅልዶሃ፡ C | ¹⁴ እመ፡ S | ¹⁵ አንተ፡ ፡^r C | ¹⁶ በእንቲአሃ፡ ብዙኃ፡ C. 123¹ ወሶበ፡ ይቤለኒ፡ ፊC | ² ኡሩኤል፡ C፡ ኡርኤል፡ S | ³ መልአክ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ፡^r add. ፊ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ፡^r add. C፡ መልአክ፡ ፡^r add. S | ⁴ ሕንጽት፡ ፊC | ⁵ በልዑል፡ F፡ ልዑል፡ S | ⁶ ኅብ፡ B፡ ይብል፡ P | ⁷ ዘተሰምየ፡ ሱቱኤል፡ add. C.

(124) ¹ወከመ[C35^v]ዝ¹፡ ውእቱ²፡ ህላዌሃ³፡ ወግብ[K15^{vb}]ረታኒ⁴፡ በኦርአያ፡ ሰማይ፡
²መሠረታቲሃኒ⁵፡ በዕንቁ፡ ሰንፔር፡ ወበከርከዴን፡ ወበአጳርግ[F17^{vb}]ዮን⁶፡ ወበሶፎር፡
 ግብርት⁷፡ መራህብቲሃ⁸፡ ዘቢረሌ⁹፡ ³ወይሴብሉ፡ መላእ[D57^{ra}]ክት¹⁰፡ ፕሊቃነ፡
 መላእክት¹¹፡ በዓውዳ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ ፕሌ፡ ሉያ¹²፡ ስብሐት፡ [T40^{rb}] ለእግዚአብሔር¹³፡
 ዘአል[Q7^{vc}]አላ፡ ለጽ[A13^{vc}]ዮን፡ እምኹሉ፡ ዓለማት።

(125) ¹ወአነሂ፡ እብል፡ ከማሆሙ፡ ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ ስብሐት¹፡ ለማኅደረ፡ በግዑ፡ ንጽሕት²።
²ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ [S145^{ra}] ፕሊቃነ፡ እምነ³፡ ሥርጉት፡ በስብሐት። [B23^r] ³ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡
 ለዘኢትፈቅድ⁴፡ ፀሐየ⁵፡ ለአብርሃታ⁶። ⁴ወብርሃነ፡ በግዑ፡ ያዋ[C36^r]ኪ⁷፡ ውስቴታ⁸።

(126) ¹ወይእዜኒ፡ ፕሊቃነ፡ [ወ]አጋውየ¹፡ ንትጋባዕ፡ ከመ፡ ናልዕ[F18^{ra}]ል²፡ በዓለ፡
 መ[K16^{ra}]ንፈላዊተ፡ በዕጣን፡ ወበቀርባን³፡ በአስተርክባ⁴፡ ስብሐት፡ ለእግዚእትነ⁵፡ እንተ፡
 ይእቲ፡ [A14^{ra}] አትር[D57^{rb}]ንሰ፡ መለኮት። ²ደብተራሁ⁶፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሰማየ⁷፡
 ወምድረ፡ ፀሐየ፡ ወወርኃ⁸፡ ወከዋክ[T40^{va}]ብተ፡ ዘፈተዋ፡ እምኹሉ።

(127) ¹ወይቤ፡ ዝየ፡ አጋድር፡ እስመ፡ ኃረይክዋ፡ ወሣረርክዋ። ²ንዑ፡ ንሕሊ¹፡
 ወንዘምር²፡ ለንግሥተ³፡ ንግሥ[C36^v]ታት⁴፡ ዘአቲ...ቲን⁵፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክህ፡ ለኹሉ፡
 ዓለም⁶፡ ፕሊቃነ፡ በኹሉ፡ ዓለም⁷። ³እንተ⁸፡ በላዕሌሃ⁹፡ ተሰብሐ¹⁰፡ ወልድ፡ ዋሕድ፡
 ዘስውር፡ [F18^{rb}] እ[Q8^{ra}]ምሰብእ፡ ወእመላእክት። ⁴ንዑ፡ ንትፈላዊት፡ ወን[A14^{rb}]ትኃህይ¹¹፡
 ወንዘምር፡ በበዓለ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም¹²። ⁵ታብተ፡ ሕግ¹³፡ ዘበአ[D57^{va}]ማን፡
 ዘሀለወ¹⁴፡ [K16^{rb}]በከርሣ¹⁵፡ ፲¹⁶፡ ቃ[B23^v]ላት፡ ዘተጽሕፋ¹⁷፡ በ፪¹⁸፡ ጽላት¹⁹፡ በአጻብዒሁ፡
 ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባዖት።

(128) ¹ንዑ፡ ንትጋባዕ፡ ውስተ፡ መርህባ፡ ወንሰብሕ፡ ምስለ፡ ሕዝባ፡ ወንበል፡
 ተፈላዊት፡ እስመ፡ [T40^{vb}] ይ[C37^r]ቤሉኒ፡ [S145^{rb}] ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ነሐውር።
²ወቆማ¹፡ እገሪን²፡ ውስተ፡ አዕፃድኪ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም። [P25] ³ኢየሩሳሌም³፡ ሕንጽት፡
 ከመ፡ ሀ[A14^{rc}]ገር። ⁴እስመ⁴፡ ይእቲ፡ ርስቶሙ⁵፡ ለቅዱሳን። [F18^{va}] ⁵ፕሀገር፡ ሐዳስ⁶፡
 ዘይሴፈውዋ፡ ለምጽአት⁷፡ ቅዱሳን⁸፡ እለ፡ አንጽሑ፡ ነፍሶሙ⁹፡ ዘትንግሥ፡ [D57^{vb}]

124¹ ወከመ፡ δ | ² om. δF | ³ ህላዌሃ፡ S | ⁴ ወግብረታ፡ δC; ወግብረታቲሃኒ፡ D | ⁵ om. C; ወመሠረታቲሃ፡ F; ወመሠረታኒ፡ S; ወመሠታቲሃኒ፡ (sic) T | ⁶ ወበኦርግዮን፡ A; ወበአጳርግዮን፡ δDS | ⁷ ግብረተ፡ A; ግብረታ፡ δ; ግብር፡ ግብርት፡ F | ⁸ ወመርህየኒ፡ C | ⁹ ዘብረሌ፡ δ; ዘብረሌ፡ D | ¹⁰ om. β | ¹¹ om. βDF | ¹² om. D | ¹³ በሰ፡ (sic) add. S. 125¹ om. C; ለእግዚአብሔር፡ add. F | ² ሕንጽት፡ FKST | ³ ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ C; ጽዮን፡ S | ⁴ በዘኢትፈቅድ፡ C; ዘኢትፈቅድ፡ FS | ⁵ ፀሐይ፡ F | ⁶ ወወርኃ፡ add. C; ለአብርሃ፡ F | ⁷ ዘያዋኪ፡ C; ያወኪ፡ D | ⁸ በውስቴታ፡ δC. 126¹ ሃየ፡ አሐውየ፡ A | ² ናብዕል፡ δD | ³ ወቀርባን፡ CS | ⁴ በአስተርክባ፡ δ; ወበአስተርክባ፡ C | ⁵ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ add. C; ማርያም፡ add. F | ⁶ ወደብተራሁ፡ S | ⁷ ሰማያተ፡ C | ⁸ ወወርኃ፡ ፀሐየ፡ F. 127¹ ነሐሊ፡ δ; ንሐሊ፡ C; ንሐሊ፡ F | ² ወንዘምር፡ δF | ³ ለመንግሥተ፡ F | ⁴ ነገሥታት፡ δ | ⁵ ዘአንስቲያሆን፡ ABDSE; ዘአንስት፡ ቲአሳን፡ C; ዘአንስተ፡ ቲያሶን፡ F; ዘአንስቲአሆን፡ K; om. P | ⁶ ዓለማት፡ C | ⁷ om. δC; እንተ፡ በኹሉ፡ S | ⁸ om. CS | ⁹ om. S | ¹⁰ ተመርዓው፡ ቃል፡ C; ይሴባሕ፡ S | ¹¹ ባቲ፡ add. β | ¹² ድንግል፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጽዮን፡ add. C; ጽዮን፡ S | ¹³ ሕግ፡ C | ¹⁴ ዘሀለወ፡ AFEX; ሀለወ፡ CS | ¹⁵ በውስቴታ፡ δ | ¹⁶ ፲ቱ፡ δC | ¹⁷ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ AFEξ; ዘተጽሕፋ፡ δ | ¹⁸ በ፪ኤ፡ δQ; om. C; በበ፪፡ D | ¹⁹ om. δC. 128¹ ወቆማን፡ C | ² om. C | ³ om. C | ⁴ እንተ፡ C | ⁵ ርእየቶሙ፡ C | ⁶ ሐዳስ፡ ሀገር፡ S | ⁷ ለምጽአተ፡ B | ⁸ ልዑላን፡ add. C | ⁹ አልባሲሆሙ፡ C

ሎመ¹⁰: ለዓለመ: ዓለም። (129) _{1a} ወከማሁ: አ¹: ጽዮን: ንግሢ²: _a ላዕለ³: ኢየሩሳሌም: ቅድስት: እንተ: በላዕሉ: አግዐዚት። ₂ መርዐተ: በግዑ: ዘበአማን: ዘይጸንሕዋ⁴: [K16^{va}] መሐይምናን⁵: [Q8^{rb}] ዘውእቶሙ: _b ሰማዕታት⁶: _b ወጸድቃን⁷: ነቢያት: ወሐዋርያት: _c ቀ[C37^v] ሳውስት: ወዲያቆናት: እድ: _c ወአንስት⁸: ወኸሎሙ⁹: [A14^{va}] ሕጻናት¹⁰: እለ: አሥመርዎ: ለልዑል: በጸማ¹¹: ገ[T41^{ra}] ድሎ[B24^r] መ¹²።

(130) ₁ ወለነኒ: ይክፍለነ¹: ኪያሃ²: ምስ[Fi8^{vb}] ሌሆሙ: አመ: ትነግሥ: ጽዮን: አርያማዊት: መቅደስ። ₂ ንትፈሣሕ³: በከብካብ⁴: ሐዳስ⁵: ለዓለ[D58^{ra}] መ: ዓለም። _{3d} ወከማሁ: አስተፍሥሒ⁶: ለገብርኪ⁷: ቷPNቷ⁸ ለዓለመ: _d ዓለም⁹: አሚን¹⁰። (131) ₁ ወካዕበ: ስምዑኒ¹: እንግርክመ²: ዘይቤ: ነቢይ: በእንተ: ዜናሃ: ለጽዮን³: ሰማያዊት። ₂ በካልእ: ወርሃ⁴: [S145^{va}] ዓመተ⁵: መንግሥቱ: ለዳ[A14^{vb}] ርዮስ: ንጉሥ: ኮነ: [K16^{vb}] ቃለ: እግዚአብሔር: ኅቢየ። ₃ ሰሳምን: ወርሃ⁶: መጽአ⁷: ኅቢየ⁸: መልአክ። ₄ ወአንሥአኒ⁹: ከ[C38^r] መዝ: እምንዋም¹⁰። ₅ ወርኢኩ: ተቅዋመ¹¹: ማ[Fi9^{ra}] ጎቶት¹²: _፯¹³: መ[T41^{rb}] ኃትዊሃ¹⁴: ወ_፯¹⁵: መሳውሪሃ: በዘይሴፈው[Q8^{rc}] ዋ¹⁶። ₆ ወ_፪¹⁷: ዘይት: ሰማያ: ወበፀጋማ¹⁸። (132) ₁ ወዘንተ: ርኢኩ: ዘይቤ: ዘካርያስ: ነቢይ: በሳምን: ወርሃ: በአምሳሊሃ¹: ሰጽዮን: ቅድስት: [D58^{rb}] እንተ: ይእቲ: እግዝእትነ²: ሰማያም: ድንግል³: [P26] በ_፪⁴: ₂ ወፍካሬሠ[A14^{vc}] ሰ⁵: ከመዝ: ውእቱ፤ ተቅዋመ⁶: ማጎቶት⁷: ዘወርቅ⁸: እግዝእትነ: ማርያም⁹: ይእቲ: ጽዮን: ታቦተ: ሕግ¹⁰: ዘኪዳን¹¹: [B24^v] እለ: ተጋባእነ: ዮም: በበዓለ: ዘአሃ።

(133) ₁ ወመኃ[C38^v] ትዊሃኒ¹: [K17^{ra}] _፯²: አብያተ³: ክርስቲያናት: _a እማንቱ: እለ⁴: ተሐንጸ: በአምሳለ: ኢየሩሳሌም: ዘላዕሉ። ₂ ወመ[T41^{va}] ሣው[Fi9^{rb}] ሪሃ⁵: _፯: ሥዩማን⁶: ዘቤተ⁷: _a ክርስቲያን⁸: ₃ ወ_፪⁹: አዕጼቀ¹⁰: ዘይት: እሉ: እሙንቱ: ደቂቀ¹¹: ጽላት¹²።

128¹⁰ om. βS. 129¹ om. DF | ² ትንግሥ: F; ንግሢ: S | ³ _{a-a} om. C | ⁴ ዘይጸንሕዎ: C | ⁵ om. C | ⁶ ሰማዕት: F | ⁷ _{b-b} ጸድቃን: ወሰማዕታት: C | ⁸ _{c-c} ዲያቆናት: ወቀሳውስት: β; እድ: ወአንስት: ዲያቆናት: ወቀሳውስት: C | ⁹ om. CQ | ¹⁰ ወሕጻናት: C; om. Q | ¹¹ om. S | ¹² ገድል: P; በገድሎሙ: S. 130¹ ይ- s.l. F | ² om. C | ³ ከመ: ተፈሣሕ: C; om. S | ⁴ በከብ(sic) S | ⁵ ሐዳስ: β; ወፈድቶደስ: ለኃጥእ: ወለጊጉይ: ጽኑስ: add. C; ንትፈሣሕ: add. S | ⁶ አስተፍሥሒያ: Q | ⁷ ለነፍስ: ኃጥእ: ገብርኪ: Q; ለኃጥእ: ገብርኪ: S; ለአመትኪ: T | ⁸ ወልደ: ጊዮርጊስ: (ወምስለ: አመታ: ወለተ: ጸድቅ: s.l.) A; ኅጥእ: ዘወልደ: ማርያም: K; ዘወልደ: ማርያም: Q; ሀብለ ... ወምስለ: ከሎሙ: ሕዝበ: ክርስቲያን: S; አዋልደ: ንግሥት: T | ⁹ _{d-d} om. βCD | ¹⁰ om. βCDS. 131¹ ስምዑ: C | ² እነግረከመ: C | ³ om. C | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ እም: ዓመተ: β; ዓዋተ: (sic) D; በዓመተ: S | ⁶ ወሳምን: A; ወበሳምን: ወርሃ: B | ⁷ ወመጽአ: ASEξ | ⁸ om. D | ⁹ አንሥአኒ: C | ¹⁰ እምንዋምየ: S | ¹¹ ተቋመ: A | ¹² ዘወርቅ: add. C | ¹³ _፯ቱ: βF; _፯: C; _፯: D | ¹⁴ ማጎተዊሃ: ፩እ; መሃትዊትሃ: (sic) S | ¹⁵ ወ_፯ቱ: βF; ወ_፯: D | ¹⁶ በዘይሴወር: (s.l.), but originally በዘይሴፈውዋ: B; በዘይሴወርዋ: C; በዘይሴውዋ: (sic) F; በዘይሴውዋ: P | ¹⁷ ወ_፪ቱ: β | ¹⁸ በፀጋማ: ወበየማና: C. 132¹ ወአምሳሊሃ: β | ² om. S | ³ om. F; ለማርያም: S | ⁴ om. β | ⁵ ወበፍካሬሠስ: A; ወፍካሬሠኒ: C | ⁶ ተቋመ: A | ⁷ om. C | ⁸ om. S | ⁹ ጽዮን: C | ¹⁰ ዘበአማን: C | ¹¹ ታቦት: C. 133¹ ማኃትዊሃኒ: β; መሃትዊሃኒ: C | ² _፯ቱ: β | ³ አብያት: D | ⁴ om. F | ⁵ መሣውሪሃ: F | ⁶ ሥዩማን: C | ⁷ ቤተ: C | ⁸ _{a-a} om. β (an *homoiteleton* from አብያተ: ክርስቲያናት: to ቤተ: ክርስቲያን:) | ⁹ ወ_፪ቱ: β | ¹⁰ አዕጼቱሃ: C | ¹¹ ደቀ: D; ደቂቃ: (sic) P | ¹² ጠላት: (sic) C |

ፋወኩሎሙ¹³፡ ነቢያት¹⁴፡ ወደስዋ¹⁵፡ ወአስተብፅዕዋ¹⁶፡ ለጽ[^{D58va}]ዮን፡ ሐመረ¹⁷፡ ወርቅ¹⁸።
 5 ወአነሂ፡ እቤ፡ ዘእንበለ¹⁹፡ ሕሳዌ፡ 6 ሰባ፡ እሄሊ፡ በልብየ፡ ወእወድሳ²⁰፡ ያድለቀልቅ²¹፡
 በው[^{A15ra}]ስተ²²፡ [^{C39r}] ጉርኤየ²³፡ ከመ፡ ጽሕርት²⁴። 7 ወይወኢ²⁵፡ አባላትየ²⁶። (134)
 1 ወለእመ¹፡ ረከብኩ፡ ፡ ክርታሰ፡ ወቀለመ²፡ በኩ[^{Q8va}]ሎን³፡ መዋዕልየ⁴፡ እስከ⁵፡ [^{S145vb}]
 እስክብ፡ ከመ፡ አበውየ፡ እንዘ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ እም⁶፡ ኢክህልኩ፡ ፈጽሞ፡ ውዳሴሃ፡ ለንግሥተ፡
 ሰማያ[^{K17rb}]ት⁷፡ ወምድር፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ [^{F19va}] ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ እምነ⁸።
 (135) 1 ወባሕቱ፡ ዘንተ¹፡ ንስቲተ²፡ ጸሐ[^{T41vb}]ፍኩ፡ ፡ ለክሙ፡ በከመ፡ ክህልኩ³፡ ከመ፡
 ትስምእም⁴፡ ወ[^{D58vb}]ትትናዘዙ⁵፡ ቦቱ፡ ፡ በበዓላ፡ ለእግዝእትነ⁶፡ ቅ[^{A15rb}]ድ[^{B25r}]ስት⁷፡
 ድንግል⁸፡ በ፪⁹፡ 6 ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ሰማያዊት፡ 6 ጽዮን¹⁰። [^{C39v}]

(136) 1 ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ዝንቱ¹፡ ድርሳን፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ በወርኃ፡ ካኑን፡ አመ፡ ፳ ወ፩፡ ለወርኃ፡
 ጎዳር፡ በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኣብ፡ አሜን። 2 ወበረድኤተ፡ ወልድ፡ አሜን። 3 ወበሥምረተ፡
 እግዚአብሔር፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጰራቅሊጦስ²፡ አሜን። [^{F19vb}] [P27]

(137) 1 በረከተ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤታ¹፡ ወፍቅረ፡ ዚአሃ፡ ለሣቲ፡ [^{K17va}] እምነ፡
 ጽዮን፡ ታ[^{A15rc}]ቦተ፡ ሕግ፤ እንተ፡ ይ[^{D59ra}]እቲ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ትምክህተ፡ [^{T42ra}]
 ሕጻናት፡ ወአዕሩግ፤ የሀሉ፡ PN²። [^{Q8vb}] 2a ዘይትአመን³፡ ኪያሃ፡ እንበለ፡ ነቲግ፤ ከመ፡
 ታድሃ⁴፡ እምእደ፡ ሞት⁵፡ ጸዋግ፤ ምስለ⁶፡ ቷ...ቷ⁷ በደርግ፤ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ a አሜን⁸።

(138) 1 ለዘአስተሐመዋ¹፡ ወተርገጦ[^{S146ra}]ሞ²፡ ለዘኒ፡ ጸሐፎ፡ ወአጽሐፎ³፡ ለዝንቱ፡
 ድርሳን። 2 እግዚአብሔር፡ ይምሐሮሙ⁴፡ በዕለተ፡ ደይን። 3 ምስ[^{A15va}]ለ፡ ኩሎ[^{F20ra}]ሙ፡
 ውሉደ፡ ጥምቀት⁵፡ ክርስቲያን⁶። 4 ዘኮነ፡ ትውክልቶሙ፡ በጽዮን። [^{B25v}][^{A15vb}]
 5b/z ወእምነቶሙ፡ በሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ብሉያነ፡ [^{D59rb}] ዘመን። 6 ፡ ሰብአ፡ ከማነ⁷፡
 ዘእንበለ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ባሕቲታ፡ ለብርሃን፡ ዘእምብርሃን። 7d/z ወምስለ⁸፡ [^{K17vb}] ጸሐፊሁ⁹፡

133¹³ ኩሎሙ፡ D | ¹⁴ ወሐዋርያት፡ add. C | ¹⁵ om. δC | ¹⁶ አስተብፅዕዋ፡ ወይርድዕዋ፡ add. C | ¹⁷ ሐመር፡
 A | ¹⁸ om. A | ¹⁹ እንበለ፡ CQS | ²⁰ ወእዋድሳ፡ ADF; ወእዋድስ፡ δ | ²¹ ዘያድለቀልቅ፡ δ | ²² om. CS |
²³ ill. C | ²⁴ ጽርሕት፡ (sic) δ; ፍልሐተ፡ ' C | ²⁵ ይው፡ (sic) C; om. F | ²⁶ ባላትየ፡ (sic) C; በውስተ፡
 F; አባልየ፡ S. 134¹ ወለእመስ፡ C | ² ቀለመ፡ ወክርታሰ፡ C | ³ በኩሉ፡ C | ⁴ መዋዕላትየ፡ β; መዋዕለ፡
 ሕይወትየ፡ C | ⁵ om. λ | ⁶ እመ፡ C | ⁷ ሰማይ፡ S | ⁸ ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ንግሥትነ፡ C. 135¹ om. C |
² ዘንስቲት፡ C | ³ om. C | ⁴ ትሰምእም፡ δ | ⁵ ወከመ፡ ትትናዘዘም፡ C | ⁶ በበዓለ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ C | ⁷ om.
 C | ⁸ ወድንግልት፡ AB; om. C; ወድንግል፡ P; ድንግልት፡ KT | ⁹ በ፪ኤ፡ δ; om. C | ¹⁰ b-b ወጸሎታ፡ (sic)
 ወበረከታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ገብራ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወምስለ፡ አመታ፡ ወለተ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። add.
 A (s.l.); ማርያም፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ለዓለመ፡ (C.39^v) ዓለም፡ አሜን። ዘጸሐፎ፡ ለሣቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡
 ወልደ፡ መስቀል፡ ለዓ. ዓለ. አሜን (C.41^r)። add. C. 136 C is not consulted hereafter.—¹ om. β |
² om. S. 137¹ ረድኤተ፡ A | ² ምስለ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ገብራ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወምስለ፡ አመታ፡ ወለተ፡ ጻድቅ፡
 (s.l.) A; ምስለ፡ ኩልነ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። δ; om. D; ምስለ፡ ገብራ፡ ለጽዮን፡ (sic)
 F; ምስለ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ገብራ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ K; ምስለ፡ ነፍስ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ Q; ምስሌነ፡ አሜን፡
 S; ምስለ፡ አመታ፡ አዋልደ፡ ንግሥት፡ T | ³ ለዘይትአመነ፡ F | ⁴ ታድሃ⁴ሞ፡ F; ታድሃነነ፡ S | ⁵ ዓይነ፡ ሞት፡
 ε | ⁶ ወምስለ፡ F | ⁷ አበዊሁ፡ A; አከማዲሁ፡ ε; ጽዮን፡ F; ጸሐፊሁ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ S; ጸሐፊሁ፡ ξ | ⁸ a-a
 om. δ. 138¹ ለዘአስተሐተሞ፡ P | ² ወለዘተርገጦም፡ δS | ³ ወለዘአጽሐፎ፡ B; ወለዘአጽሐፎ፡ ወለዘሰምዐ፡ P |
⁴ ይምሐሮ፡ β | ⁵ አክሱም፡ AB | ⁶ ሕዝበ፡ ' F; ክርስቶሳውያን፡ S | ⁷ ill. K | ⁸ z-z om. FSξ | ⁹ ወልደ፡
 ገብርኤል፡ add. F

ምስኪን፡ ዘኃጢአቱ¹⁰፡ _dአጥናን¹¹፡ _gወምስለ¹²፡ ደቂቃ፡ ለዛቲ፡ መካን፡ _gወኅቡረ፡
ያስምዖመ፡ [T41^{rb}] ቃለ፡ ምሕረቱ፡ አምላክ፡ በበዓላ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ለዓለመ፡
ዓለም፡ አሜን¹³፡ [D59^{va}][P28]

(139) _{1r}እ¹፡ እምየ፡ ጽዮን፤ ፍድዩ²፡ _rዘዚአየ፡ ኃጣውእ³፡ _gወጌጋየ፡ ₂ወጸሐፊ⁴፡ ስምየ⁵፡
ኅበ፡ ዓምደ፡ _gብርሃን⁶፡ _{3r}ለገብርኪ⁷፡ PN⁸ _kኃጥእ፡ ወምኑን⁹፡ ₄ኅጡአ፡ አእምሮ፡
ወኪን¹⁰፡ _{5r}ወምስለ¹¹፡ ኩልነ፡ _bሰማዕያን¹²፤ _kለዓለመ¹³፡ ዓለም፡ _fአሜን¹⁴፡ [B25^v][T41^{va}]
_pወአሜን¹⁵፤ ለይኩን፡ _pለይኩን¹⁶፡ [F20^{rb}] [K18^{ra}][Q8^{vc}][S145^{vb}].

138¹⁰ ወኃጢአቱ፡ F | ¹¹ _{d-d} om. ε | ¹² ምስለ፡ ኩሎመ፡ ε | ¹³ om. S. 139¹ om. S | ² ሥረዩ፡ ε |
³ ኃጢአትየ፡ D; ' ኃጣውእ፡ K | ⁴ ወጸሐፊ፡ (sic) F | ⁵ om. F | ⁶ _{g-g} om. D | ⁷ ለአመትኪ፡ T | ⁸ om.
D; ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ K; ill. S; አዋልደ፡ ንግሥት፡ T | ⁹ om. D; ኃጥእት፡ ወምንንት፡ T | ¹⁰ om. DFξ |
¹¹ _{r-r} ጽዮን፡ F; ምስለ፡ ፀሓፊሁ፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ add. K | ¹² _{b-b} om. β | ¹³ _{k-k} om. D | ¹⁴ _{f-f} om. Q | ¹⁵
om. K | ¹⁶ _{p-p} om. β; 'ለይን፡ (sic) D.

Annotated Translation

Of Zion¹

(1) In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit One God. In the name of *Kəsbəʾel*, *Beqa* and of *Aka*.² This is a hidden secret which is fastened³ to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels or of men, which is not hewn by the axe of the wicked, and is not defeated in war.⁴ His wheel is a [guiding] lamp and His tabernacle is [well] ordered.

(2) The lightning is His domain and as for His horses [they] are four. His glory is great and full in the mouth of the vigilant. He who existed before the epochs and [similarly] for heaven before it was established. Creator of angels

- 1 Some witnesses [A & B] say **ዘሠኑይ**: ‘of Monday’; one version [C] says **ዘሙሴ**: ‘of Moses’; some [D, F & S] omit the title. The Printed version [P] says **ድርሳነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘሰኑይ**: ‘Homily of Zion, on Monday’; and the other families keep the title **ዘጽዮን**: ‘of Zion’.
- 2 *Dərsanä Mikaʾel* (published by Täśfa, 1964/1965 [EC 1957]) lists 17 theonyms (names of the Lord), including the above three. The text goes like this: **አካዕ፡ ክስብኤል፡ ቤቃ፡ ጼቃ፡ ሴቃ፡ አልፋ፡ ወያ፡ ቤጣ፡ የውጣ፡ ዮድ፡ አህያ፡ ሸራህያ፡ ኤልሻዳይ፡ ጸባዖት፡ አዶናይ፡ ዐማኑኤል፡ እልሙክነን፡ ወእሎንተ፡ አስማተ፡ ጸሐፈ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ወበእሉ፡ አስማት፡ ወድቀ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ተዐጺፎ፡ ጽልመተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ከማሁ፡ እውድቆሙ፡ ለፀርየ፡ ወለጸላእትየ፡ ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡** ‘*Aka*, *Kəsbəʾel*, *Beqa*, *Şeqa*, *Seqa*, *Alfa*, *wäʾO*, *Bəta*, *Yäwta*, *Yod*, *Ahya*, *Šārahya*, *Elšaday*, *Šäbaʾot*, *Adonay*, *Amanuʾel*, *İlmäknun* ‘hidden’ (cf. Leslau 1987: 340). Our Lord Jesus Christ inscribed these names to St. Michael the archangel. And by these names the Devil fell down together with his army wrapped: the darkness of night. In the same way, let you cause my adversaries and enemies to fall forever and ever amen’. (Text, *Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, published by Täśfa 1964/1965 [EC 1957]: 31–32; translation, mine.) Grébaut (1935: 45) gives the text and French translation based on *Dərsanä Mikaʾel* of MS Griaule no. 61. He notes that all the above names (he lists 16 names) are mysterious names [of God revealed on] the fall of Devil. According to DŞ, we can assume that **ክስብኤል**: signifies the Father, **ቤቃ**: the Son, and **አካዕ**: the Holy Spirit. However, the meaning is totally unclear. Sirgew Gelaw (2006: 126) suggests that **አካዕ**: is the name of God [the name which is recited during solemn service, public prayer], taken from the Greek **አካይዖ**.
- 3 Sections [§§1–3] are praises of the Lord composed in the form of *arke*, in rhythm. The translation, however, is in prose.
- 4 ‘Who is not defeated in war’ is the old title of the Ethiopian Kings. It is already found in ‘Ezana’s inscriptions at Axum, *DAE* vol. 4: nos. 4, 6, 7, and later in Axum *DAE* vol. 4: nos. 8, 9, 10. Cf. *DAE* vol. 4: 4–17, Amsalu Aklilu (1983/1984 [EC 1976]: 11–24), Huntingford (1989: 1), Munro-Hay (1991: 127, 187), Sergew (1972: 69).

by the breath of His mouth from the two elements,⁵ who created Adam in His image and likeness, whose right hand is strong. (3) He who arranged the epochs and ages until the end, by the seal of man. His wisdom is great and cannot be exhausted in speech. [He is] One God and one Lord, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, indivisible and from a single source. He deserves praise by the mouth of all creatures and by the stammering and stuttering tongue, forever and ever, Amen.

(4) I cry aloud and wonder; I praise and sing in celebration of Her feast by the golden lamp stand. Our Lady, pure and bright, the celestial Zion, the true Ark of the Law, whom celestial and terrestrial beings praise. (5) None can be equated to Her in beauty and splendor, in honor and greatness except only the Lord. (6) When the feet of my mind went around in Her courtyards, I rejoiced and said 'I will read and interpret even though I am unworthy. In the beginning God created the heaven. And the earth was existed from old age'.

(7) And again I will proceed and say 'He who loved the mountain of Zion built His sanctuary on the heights. And He established Her forever on earth. She is the earth existed before the world'. (8) The celestial Zion, in whom the saints reside, who reigns forever and ever, together with those of Her, while the light of His Lamb is shining for Her. Mount of Zion situated towards the east, by the side of which is southeast. (9) The city⁶ of the great king, for whose coming righteous men and saints, those who shared Her wealth, were waiting. And the Lord⁷ knows all without exception.⁸ He chose Zion and founded Her to be his dwelling and said 'I will dwell in Her for I was well pleased in Her and chose Her'. (10) Truly, the Lord God having known that He founded Zion from the beginning when He caused the exodus of His people from making bricks and from the house of bondage, He said to Moses, His servant and prophet, when he was ascending to Mount Sinai 'Stand there for me. (11) There is no one who ascended with you and there is no one who is present at the mountain top except you. And take off your sandals from your feet, for the ground where you are standing is Holy'.⁹ After He finished saying this and the like, He gave him the Tablets of the Law in his hand, which are inscribed on both sides: on this side and on that side. (12) As for their writing, it was the writing of the

5 Theologically, angels are considered to be created from the two elements, viz. fire and wind (cf. Ps. 103:4). The reading of [C] is considered here as the true and authentic one, against the rest of the manuscripts.

6 Cf. Ps. 48:2 and 8; 87:3.

7 In this book, 'Lord' is used for the Ge'ez እግዚአብሔር: and 'God' for አምላክ:.

8 Lit. 'without it exists'.

9 With reference to the Burning Bush, cf. Exod. 3:5.

Lord. The name of the Lord *Iota*¹⁰ which allegorically means ‘Son of God’, was engraved on the Tablet.¹¹ And the Lord said to Moses ‘I have given you this tablet of covenant, by which I will establish My covenant with all Israelites’. (13) When He said this to Moses having known ት...ት in the womb of Mary who is Zion, Ark of Law, of the covenant, in order that the faithful who are Israelites could be saved by Her. (14) When Moses was before the Lord, he received this Tablet in his hand which was made skillfully in ink of fire by the fingers of the divinity. (15) The inscription was as follows: according to the Hebrew language and in the letters¹² of Enoch which he was taught. Its words and its spaces¹³ were like this: the Ten Commandments, which are one letter and one stroke, as compared with which it would be easier for Heaven and earth to pass away.

(16) And again the Lord said to Moses ‘I filled with wisdom Bas’el¹⁴ of Uri, son of Hur of [the tribe of] Judah, and Elyab¹⁵ [son] of *Ahisamach*, of the people of Dan. (17) I gave them the Holy Spirit, wisdom and full knowledge in order for them to perform every action for the Tabernacle, the sacred Ark, the candlestick, and the observation window which is above it inside the Tabernacle’.

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- 10 የዑጣ: ‘Iota’ is the name given to Jesus (derived from the initial letter of His Greek name *Iēsous*). Dillmann (cf. 1865: 1076) cites the following quotation in reference to His name: ቀዳሜ: ስሙ: ለኢየሱስ: የዑጣ: በጉልቁ: ፲: (cf. Platt 1834: 60). Similarly Leslau (1987: 628) states that it also implies the Ten Commandments and mentions that ‘the Greek letter [ι] has the form of the Ge’ez numeral ፲ ‘ten’’. *Mäṣḥafä Bərhan* also discusses the ‘Iota’ as the fulfillment of the Ten Commandments, thus the Virgin Mary, whose womb held the Lord of all including the Law, corresponds to the stone Tablets on which God wrote His Law (cf. Conti Rossini and Ricci 1964–1965; Isaac 1973: 116–125; Paulos Yohannes 1988: 104–105).
- 11 Cf. ‘... And He wrote upon the tablets the words of the covenant, the Ten Commandments’ (Exod. 34:28) and ‘And He wrote on the tablets, as at the first writing, the Ten Commandments which the Lord gave to us’ (Deut. 10:4). Hebrew and Septuagint have ‘you’, Gə‘əz has ‘us’.
- 12 Gə‘əz *fidälat*.
- 13 ጥጥጥ, the blank spaces between letters (from ‘door’). Cf. Kane 1990, vol. 1: 1.
- 14 The wisdom of Bas’el and Elyab is popular in Ethiopian Biblical and hagiographical traditions. *Gädlä Libanos*, for instance, equates the holiness and greatness of Libanos with the two craftsmen. The text goes as follows: በሙኑ: ናስተማስሎ: ለአቡነ: ብንተ: ዓይን። በኤልያብነ: ወበባስልኤል: ጠቢባን። ወሚመ: በኢያሱኑ: መስፍን: ዘአቀመ: ፀሐየ: በገባዖን። ‘To whom shall we compare our father [Libanos], the apple of the eye? To Elyab and to Bas’el the craftsmen, or to Joshua the Judge, who stopped the sun at Gibeon’ (cf. Josh. 10:12–13). Bas’el (Hebrew *Beṣal’el*) means ‘in the shadow of God’.
- 15 The Gə‘əz text (following the Septuagint) has confused the two names Eliab and Oholiab. In the Hebrew Bible the craftsman is ‘Oholiab son of Ahisamakh’ (Exod. 31:6); this name means ‘father’s tent’ (Eliab is a different person).

(18) Then Moses having received the order and having taken that Tablet, descended from Mount Sinai. He returned to the people and told them about the Law of the Lord and ordered those two wise men¹⁶ to carry out the ordinance of the Tabernacle. And they prepared Her in a way that was never (before) conceived of by the heart of man.¹⁷ (19) 𐤓...𐤓 Ten curtains, for each end, whose height was twenty-eight cubits. And made a curtain and its width was four cubits. They made the curtain of the tabernacle of violet purple and the color of liver; and an image of the Cherub¹⁸ inside 𐤓...𐤓 four columns.¹⁹

(20) They made the Mercy Seat over Her where the Ark of holiness of the Lord was standing. And two Cherubim:²⁰ one Cherub at one margin of the Mercy Seat and the other at the other margin.²¹ They were protecting (it) with their wings. Seven are Her golden lamps.²² (21) And everything that was made for the construction of the sanctuary was pure gold which they brought. Its number was twenty-nine talents and seven hundred and thirty shekels, according to the shekel of the sanctuary.²³ And as for the silver, it was a hundred

16 Basl'el and Elyab.

17 Exod. 36:8–10.

18 Cherub (sing.), Cherubim (pl.) is a winged celestial being which appears in the Bible in several different guises: Guardian of Eden (Gen. 3:24), the parable of relating the downfall of the king of Tyre (Ezk. 28:13ff.), a personified wind which the Lord rides upon (2Sam. 22:11, Ps. 18:11), its figure appropriated for cultic symbolism. According to the *New Bible Dictionary* (Carson et al. 1997: 112) 'Cherubim were the traditional guardians of holy places in the Ancient Near East'. Moreover, as mentioned in DŠ text, two wooden images of Cherubim overlaid with gold, facing one another on the two ends of the covering above the Ark in the Tabernacle, form the throne of God with their outstretched wings (Exod. 25:18–20; 37:7–9). They are the counterparts of the two huge cherubim found in the Holy of Holies (*devir*) of Solomon's Temple. This role of the cherubim is alluded to in several biblical passages where God is spoken of as 'He who sits [enthroned] upon the cherubim' (1Sam. 4:4, 2Sam. 6:2, 2Kings 19:15, Isa. 37:16, Ps. 80:2, 99:1). For further discussion and etymology on the subject, cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 5 (1972): 397–401.

19 Exod. 36:8–9.

20 Here, the majority of the families commit an error by anticipating the preposition 𐤎𐤎𐤕𐤕: 'in', from the following phrase: 𐤎𐤎𐤕𐤕: 𐤅𐤕𐤕𐤕: 𐤎𐤎𐤕𐤕: 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. On the other hand, [C] and [S] reflect the original reading (cf. Dillmann 1853: 165).

21 Cf. Exod. 37:7–8, which goes: 'And he made two Cherubim of hammered gold; on the two ends of the mercy seat he made them, one cherub on the one end, and one cherub on the other end; of one piece with the mercy seat he made the cherubim on its two ends' (RSV).

22 Exod. 37:23.

23 Exod. 38:24.

talents and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels, (with which) they made capitals for the columns and overlaid and adorned Her.²⁴

(22) And the work of the tabernacle was completed. And as for the making of Her, I am unable to expound on it in every detail, as St. Paul said, 'It is impossible to speak of it in detail'.²⁵ (23) After this, the Lord spoke to Moses and said to him 'On the first [day] of the first month, set up the tabernacle and put my Ark inside the Mercy Seat where the Cherubim are protecting [it]. (24) And as for the book of the Commandments, which is the Tablet of the Law, deposit it in the womb of the Ark. In that place I will be revealed to you in My glory'.²⁶ In the same way, he placed the Ark inside the tabernacle, and the tablet in the womb of the Ark.

(25) And he covered Her with a curtain, which was the color of liver, as the Lord had commanded him. Then the tabernacle was filled with the glory of Lord. A column of cloud was over Her all the day, and the light of fire by night, before all the Israelites.²⁷

(26) And as for the pure Ark, she is our Lady Mary, whom there is none equal to Her, neither of celestial no of terrestrials begins. And the tablet is the word of the Lord, who dwelt in Her womb, and was incarnated from Her. The Ark of the Law of the Lord, who is the celestial Zion, remained thus in great glory which could not be told until Moses had died. (27) After this, when the Israelites were going out and when they were marching around Jericho,²⁸ the priests entered the Jordan (River) whilst carrying Zion and they stood in the middle of the river. (28) As for the water it stood still, and was not able to come down until all the Israelites had crossed. And [at that season] the water was [normally] full to its banks, the priests carrying Zion stood as if it were dry ground, (fully) dressed.²⁹ (29) Then they took twelve stones from where the feet of the priests were standing, according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel.³⁰ After all the people had crossed, the priests carrying Zion departed. Then, the River Jordan became full to its banks as before.³¹ (30) And what the celestial Zion

24 Exod. 38:28.

25 Heb. 9:5.

26 Exod. 40:1 ff.

27 Exod. 13:21–22.

28 The account here is chronologically confused. The Israelites could not besiege Jericho until they had first crossed the Jordan.

29 Josh. 3:14–17.

30 Josh. 4:8 ff.

31 Josh. 4:18.

performed was on the 10th [day] of the month of *Ἐβραῖος*,³² which is the month *Qādaqya*.³³ All the children of Israel gave great praise and they glorified Our Lady, until they reached Jericho.

(31) The Ark of the Law of the Lord went around the wall[s] of Jericho together with the priests and all the Israelites with a great shout. And then its walls fell down. They burnt the city with fire and left nothing inside it except the golden vessels which were to be for the house of the Lord.³⁴ And She did great prodigies until She destroyed the people of Jericho and their cattle.³⁵

(32) And also the people of Gay,³⁶ Zion our Queen and Mother did great prodigies against them. And she killed all people, women and men, who were twelve thousand; these were all of the people of Gay. (33) And also the city, she burnt with fire and they became ashes. She made them such that no one could live in them³⁷ until this day and this moment. She ordered the king of Gay to be

32 **ወርሃ፡ ዕብራ-ልዮስ፡** is not found in the Jewish calendar. This is an adaptation of the Latin month *Aprilis* 'April'. The first month of the Jewish calendar is the month of *Nisan* (also that of the Babylonian), the Ge'ez **ወርሃ፡ ኔሳን፡** or Amharic **ጧጊዝያ፡** (April 9–May 8), in the spring, when Passover occurs.

33 Some families [δC] say **ቀዳማዊ፡ ወርሃ፡** 'the first month'. Nevertheless, most of the families retain the reading **ወርሃ፡ ቀዳቅያ፡** 'month *qādaqya*', which may be a derivation of the Coptic month. However, the Bible says that this act was performed on the tenth day of the first month (cf. Josh. 4:19).

34 Josh. 6:24.

35 Josh. 6:21.

36 Cf. Josh. 8:25. The name 'Gay' is the Septuagint's rendition of Hebrew 'Ay; the Hebrew 'ayn becomes Γ (gamma) or Ø (zero) in Greek. On the other hand, there is the name of a province in South Gondär, Ethiopia, called *Gayənt* **ጋይንት፡**. Traditionally its etymology comes from ***ጋይ፡ ናት፡** lit. 'This is Gay'. The legend attributes that a certain queen named it due to its resemblance to the Biblical *Gay*—the land of Joshua (Jos. 8:1). It is clear that there are various place names in South Gondär and other parts of Ethiopia named after Israelite places, such as **ቤተልሔም፡** *Betälhem* (South Gondär), **ኤፍራታ፡** *Efrata* (South Gondär), **ደብረ፡ ታቦር፡** *Däbrä Tabor* (South Gondär), **ናዝሬት፡** *Nazret* (East Shoa, also in South Tägray) where it was a seat of the Ethiopian Bishops for a long period, several of whom were buried there (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 80), **ጋሳ፡ ቀስቋም፡** *Gaza Q'asq'wam* (South Gondär, cf. Kefyalew (2010/2011 [EC 2003]: 237)), **ደብረ፡ ዘይት፡** *Däbrä Zäyt* (East Shoa), **ደብረ፡ ሲና፡** *Däbrä Sina* (North Shoa), **ገሊላ፡** *Gälila* (in *Yäfat*, North Shoa). There is also **ሀገረ፡ ማርያም፡** *Haḡära Maryam* (in Awasa-Dilla route, South Ethiopia, also in North Shoa) etc. Spencer (1972: 68) lists six provinces adjacent districts of *Tädbabä Maryam*. Her statement goes as follows: 'The names of most of the adjacent districts are taken from the Bible: names like Palestine, Jerusalem, Jericho, Hebron, Galilee, and Bethany'.

37 MS [C] has: '... and it became ashes. She made it such that no one could live in it until ...'.

hanged on a cedar tree,³⁸ for the power of the Lord went with Her and angels paved Her road. (34) In this way, She continued many years to destroy many wicked kings. And any city where the name of the Creator was not invoked, it would be destroyed. (35) And now my fathers and brothers, encircle Zion and embrace the glory of Her feast while chanting. As for Her, She is adorned in the beauty of praise. She is more exalted than the heavens and She is more glorious than all the saints and the vigilant ones.³⁹ Zion, the country of Immanuel, Our God. O Zion our mother, holder of dew of the divinity.

(36) The bride of Lebanon,⁴⁰ who is like the throne of the father of Rehoboam⁴¹ when he reigned over the horn of bondage, on which twelve fearsome lions were depicted. (37) What kind of honor is given to Her, and what kind of grace from the Father of the Light?

(38) The Ark of our Law, Zion, our Lady, who was established before the world, in the mind of God, the Father, and by the favor of [His] only Son, and by the gift of the Holy Spirit, the *Paraclete*, [who are] co-equal in sovereignty, to be His dwelling, as the scripture says 'For the Lord has chosen Zion and He has given precedence to Her to be His dwelling. I will dwell here for I have chosen Her and this is My resting place forever'.⁴²

(39) Truly He chose and loved Zion and built His sanctuary in the Highest. And He watches over Her always with His angels. Her gates are not closed day or night. Those who abide within Her do not hunger, thirst, grieve nor weep. There is no sorrow within Her, only joy and gladness. There is no burning or coldness, no day or night, no moon, stars or sun which gives light within Her.

(40) and she does not desire within Her anything under Heaven, nothing other than those saints who purified their garments with the Blood of the Lamb, who acquired⁴³ Her by the effort of their struggle. (41) Those are they who carry palm branches. They sing (praises) as Moses, the servant of the Lord, praised in the canticle of the Lamb, while they stand in Her courts and in all Her paths, saying 'Hallelujah, He who elevated Zion above all worlds; Hallelujah for Her who became the dwelling of His praise'.

(42) 'Hallelujah for Him one who sanctified the Sabbath and purified Her in order that all the angels, archangels, lords⁴⁴ dominions, powers, thrones,

38 Josh. 8:29.

39 Leslau (1987: 571) says 'also referring to angels', which is surely the sense here.

40 Cf. Song 4:8.

41 I.e. King Solomon (cf. 1 Kings 11:43).

42 Ps. 132:13–14.

43 Lit. 'bought'.

44 Ge'ez አጋለዝቶ: plural of አግዚእ: (Leslau 1987: 210).

tribunals, Cherubim, and Seraphim might greet Her'. They worship in the threshold of Her gates and He watches over Her with His might always and He illuminates her forever and ever with His light of Divinity which never sets. (43) Sometimes she is like an orchard whose fruits are many and more fragrant than all perfumes. Sometimes she is like the city of happiness. There are also times when she looks like the palace of a king. And sometimes she looks like the Ark and the Tablet with the Ten Commandments which are in Her womb. (44) As for Her, She is the one that the saints wish to see. Blessed are all those who stand within Her and sing Her praises. Blessed is the man for whom She became a mother when He was travelling and whom She received when He kissed Her door, as the prophet said 'Blessed are all those who live on earth [and] let them praise you forever and ever'. Truly, the stars of Zion our mother ♁...♁ are praising the Lord.

(45) Let us come back to the remaining matter which awaits us, concerning the story of Zion, who did miracles and wonders four hundred years after the children of Israel went out of Egypt, in the time of the prophesy of Samuel. When Eli because old, his sons who were priests were wicked and walked in the path of evil before the Lord. (46) The Lord was angered at the Israelites and made them fall before the Philistines and four thousand men died in battle in the desert.⁴⁵ The surviving Israelites escaped and entered to their country and said 'For what reason did the Lord make us to be given into the hands of the Philistines?' (47) They did not know it was due to the sins of Eli and his sons' evil deeds (that they perished). After this, they took the Ark of our God together with the image of the Cherub. And the two priests, the sons of Eli, Afnin and Finhas, went to fight the Philistines. Then they cried out in the encampment when Zion reached them. (48) When the Philistines heard (this), they became afraid and said 'Woe to us! Woe to us! For all the Hebrews have come with their God to wipe us out. Woe to us! Woe to us! Who shall save us from those who smote Egypt with many calamities?'⁴⁶ (49) But the hand of the Lord was with the Philistines to make war on them because of the sins of Eli and of his sons, the priests, who had made the sacrifice of our God unclean; and because they abused Zion.

(50) After that, the Israelites fought against the Philistines and the Israelites were killed at the hands of the Philistines. The number of those who died on that day was 30,000 men.⁴⁷ Afnin and Finhas also died. And the Philistines

45 Cf. 1Sam. 4:2.

46 1Sam. 4:5-7.

47 1Sam. 4:10 ff.

took and captured the Ark. (51) A certain man from the battlefield ran to Eli, and he entered and told him that the Israelites had been destroyed and that his sons had died, and that they [Philistines] had carried off Zion. And Eli the priest, after hearing that the Ark was captured and everything that had happened, fell over backwards from his chair and died; for the hand of our God was heavy upon him.⁴⁸ (52) Then the Philistines took the Ark and brought Her to the house of Dagon,⁴⁹ their god, proclaiming ‘Dagon, our god is stronger than all’. (53) So, listen that I may speak to you, I who am weak in power, of stammering tongue and humble heart more than all [my] brothers, about the many prodigies, miracles and wonders that She performed upon Israel and the Philistines. (54) When the priests corrupted the Law of the Lord, she caused Israel to perish by the spear. Further, when they brought Her into the house of Dagon, the people of Azaṭon⁵⁰ got up in the morning and found Dagon there fallen on his face before the Ark.⁵¹ They immediately raised him up and stood him up in his place in honor.

(55) And the Lord became angry against them over Zion and He punished the people of Azaṭon and their territory with a great punishment. And when again in the morning they went into the house of Dagon, they found him fallen on his face at the feet of Zion, our Queen. His head was cut off, his two hands and his palms were fallen on the doorway. Nothing remained of him except his trunk.⁵²

(56) On account of this astonishing miracle, there was much agitation, moaning and lamentation among the priests of Dagon. And they did not go up to sacrifice to him as was their custom. There was lamentation and wailing, and the hand of the Lord was heavy upon the people of Azaṭon. (57) And He brought [an infestation] to their country, (namely) mice in boats, which destroyed all. There was a terrible calamity which happened to this country. And they were shouting [and lamenting] by saying ‘Let the Ark of the God of Israel not remain with us, for Her hand is severe upon us and upon Dagon, our god’.

48 1 Sam. 4:16–18.

49 1 Sam. 5:2.

50 In the Hebrew Bible this city is ‘Ashdod’ (cf. 1 Sam. 5:1). Here the Gəʾəz name of the city, ‘Azaṭon’, is given, taken over from the Septuagint ‘Azōton’.

51 Here it is worth mentioning the *Wazema Qəne* of Gāmoraw, the famous *Qəne* scholar, delivered at the yearly feast of *Ḥədar Šəyon*: ዳንን፡ ተቃላሲ፡ አመ፡ ተቃለሳ፡ ለጽዮን፡ / ዘእንበለ፡ ኢየሐምር፡ ግብራ፤ / ሰማየ፡ አብጺሓ፡ አልሐሰቶ፡ ምድራ።, lit. translation ‘The contentious Dagon, when he contended with Zion without discerning Her power, She [Zion] raised (him) to the sky and then made him like Her earth’.

52 1 Sam. 5:3–5.

(58) Hence, they sent to the lords of Philistines and assembled them and said to them, ‘What shall we do with Zion?’ Then the wise men, people of Get, said: ‘Let the Ark of the Lord be removed from us’. And they sent away Zion.⁵³ (59) And then after they sent away Zion to the city,⁵⁴ there was great shouting. He punished the people of that country: adult and child, man and woman. The people of Get made an image for those who were punished⁵⁵ and they sent the Ark of the God of Israel to the city of Asqälona. (60) When they took Her [into Asqälona], they said ‘By what deed, by what matter and why did you leave Zion, the Ark of God of Israel, to us, for Her to kill us together with our people, our wives, our children and all our cattle?’ Then, they sent for the lords of the Philistines and gathered them. They said to them ‘Send away Zion so that She should dwell in to Her [own] place. (61) Let you send Zion to reign over Her [own] people and let Her not kill us with a bitter death’. For there was great punishment indeed in the country when Zion entered to them. Both the living and the dead were punished. The wailing of the city ascended unto heaven. Then they brought forth Zion to the desert and she dwelt there for seven months and She remained alone. (62) The end was worse than the beginning. When the Ark of the Lord our God sent out to the desert, their country was infested by mice as the land of Egypt had suffered with frogs during the Exodus of Israel.⁵⁶ Likewise, their land was infested because of Zion.

(63) During this time, the Philistines and people of Asqälona called the soothsayers and magicians and conjurers. They asked them, ‘What shall we do with Zion, the Ark of the God of Israel? Please tell us and advise us what to do with Her and in what manner we should send Her to Her country and Her place so that She should stay (there)’. (64) And the magicians, very zealous for Dagon their god, told them ‘Let Zion return to Her country and to Her people. And let us not send Her back alone and empty-handed but let Her sending be (accompanied) with much compensation’. (65) And the people said to the magicians ‘What is the compensation⁵⁷ that She deserves? And what objects shall we cause to follow Her? As for us, we what have no fear nor sorrow at all

53 1Sam. 5:11.

54 The text doesn’t say which city (ሀገር:). The Hebrew Bible reports that the Ark was sent from Ashdod (አሳዳድ:) to Gat (ገት:) to ‘Eqrone (አቃር:) back to Israel.

55 The text is unclear. An image of what? Is the image intended to relieve the punishment? (Possibly cf. Numbers 21:8–9?) Is it the same as the images of mice and swellings which were sent as compensation to the Israelites? (1 Sam. 6:5).

56 Cf. Exod. 8:1–6.

57 The Ethiopic ምጽ: is translated as ‘compensation’ and ‘guilt offering’ in this paper. So that we use them interchangeably.

about the objects of Her compensation. As for us, what we are deeply sorrowful about is the affliction that befell us because of Her and from Her'. (66) Then the magicians said 'Let compensation be offered because you seized and captured Her. And do not return Her empty in order that She may be gracious to you. And let Her compensations be according to the number of the five lords of the Philistines. As she devastated your land by sending mice, then you must give many golden mice. And you must praise the God of Israel in order that He remove His hand from upon you and from upon your gods'.⁵⁸

(67) However, when the people heard (this) they kept silent and were not willing to return Zion. Hence, they [the]⁵⁹ declared to them again 'Why should you harden your hearts as the Egyptians hardened their hearts against the release of the children of Israel?' (68) When His hand was hardened over them, Pharaoh then sent them away and they departed. In the same way, you should return Zion and make Her new carts. Let you bring two cows, which have first-born. Let their calves remain at home. Then put those carts upon the cows⁶⁰ and place the Ark in the carts. And make follow those golden objects after Her.⁶¹ (69) 'Do not⁶² make Her a box into Her side, but you just dispatch Her in order to return Her to Her country'. And then they did as they ordered them. And they took two cows which had first-born and they shut up the house with their calves [inside].⁶³ They brought a cart[s] and they placed them upon the cows. Then they put Zion, the Ark of our Law, upon them, with the Ten Commandments in Her interior. (70) Moreover, they brought doves and mice and had them follow after Her. The cows went straight in the path, [without deviating] either to the right or to the left. And the five lords of the Philistines followed Her: the first of Azaṭon, the second of Get, the third of Aqaron,⁶⁴ the fourth of Gaza and the fifth of [Asqālona]⁶⁵ 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤕 [They brought five] golden

58 1 Sam. 6:4–5.

59 The magicians.

60 A picture of a cow drawing a cart appears in MS [D], NALA 630, f. 43^v.

61 Cf. 1 Sam. 6:6–9.

62 In context this does not seem to make good sense. Two manuscripts ([B] and [P]) have 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤕, where the verb is positive, not negative; this agrees with the Septuagint and the Hebrew bible.

63 All DṢ families have different readings in this sentence. The reading however, is reconstructed after consulting the corresponding KN passage from Bezold 1905: 72a.

64 1 Sam. 6:17 lists the five cities of Philistines as: Ashdod (for Gəʿəz *Azaṭon*), Gaza (same), Ashkelon (for *Asqālona*), Gath [for *Get*] and 'Eqrone (for *Aqaron* or *Aqrənt*).

65 This fifth city is omitted by all the families. We can reconstruct the passage by referring to the Bible (1 Sam 6:18).

mice according to their number of all their cities. And they proceeded until they reached [Betä] Samis. And that time was the harvest season.

(71) The people of [Betä] Samis were reaping wheat. When they saw Zion, they rejoiced and exulted, and they welcomed and positioned Her together with the cart in the field. And the people of Betä Samis, those who welcomed Her, made a sacrifice there to the Lord, at that time. The cows, at that time †...†.⁶⁶ At this moment, great praise was done. And from there the priests welcomed Zion, the Ark of the Law of the God of Israel. (72) And they †...†⁶⁷ over Her; and as for the golden objects, they caused them to accompany Her. Upon seeing this, the five lords, with their troops, returned to Asqälonä saying 'We have freed ourselves of Zion and have abandoned Her'. And at that time, when the sons of Ikonäyu⁶⁸ together with the people of [Betä] Samis looked upon Zion, they did not welcome Her; and She killed fifty thousand and seventy people.⁶⁹

(73) Those who remained wept and said 'The Lord has punished us because of Zion'. After She did that, the people of [Betä] Samis, said that 'What shall we do with Zion and in which place should we put Her?' Then, they sent messengers to those who live at Qaryat-(ye)arim⁷⁰ saying 'The Philistines have returned Zion the Ark. Come, welcome Her among you'.⁷¹ (74) Hearing this, they rejoiced, came, welcomed Her and brought Her to the house of Aminadab,⁷² which was on the hill. At that time, they sanctified Her and gave Her to Al'azar⁷³ to guard Zion and to become a priest. In this manner She lived a long time, for about⁷⁴ twenty years.⁷⁵

(75) During the reign of David, when he fought the Philistines, David took all the youth of Israel, whose number is seventy thousand.⁷⁶ He arose and went

66 Only the printed text [P] contains a reading which makes full this incomplete sentence. The majority of the families omit it and the rest of the manuscripts maintain an incomplete phrase. It may be a common archetype error for only [P] preserves the original reading, or it may be a later correction.

67 The reading from all families is not clear.

68 The Septuagint mentions *Iechoniou* in 1 Sam. 6:19; this name is absent in the Hebrew text. The Gə'əz አ.ኮንዮ: follows the Septuagint.

69 The Hebrew text says literally: 'seventy men, fifty thousand men' (1 Sam. 6:19).

70 Septuagint *Kariathiarim*; English 'Cariathiarim' (cf. 1 Sam. 6:21).

71 1 Sam. 6:21; 7:1.

72 Septuagint 'Aminadab', Hebrew 'Abinadab' (1 Sam. 7:1).

73 Septuagint *Eleazar*; Hebrew El'azar; son of Aminadab/Abinadab (cf. 1 Sam. 7:1).

74 Lit. 'until'.

75 Cf. 1 Sam. 7:1 ff.

76 The Bible says 'thirty thousand', cf. 2 Sam. 6:1.

to bring Zion, the Ark of the Law of the Lord from where She was living to the house of Aminadab, for which He is called the Lord of power. (76) They brought Zion from there and took Her while a Cherub was hovering over Her. And 'Oza,⁷⁷ the son of Aminadab, was leading Her while King David and all the Israelites were singing before the Lord with the lyre. They were playing with vigor and were singing with sistrum, bell and fiddle.⁷⁸ They arrived at the threshing floor. (77) 'Oza raised his hand in order to take hold of Zion. And the cow threw 'Oza to the ground and he died at that time because he wanted to take hold of the Ark, which was not allowed.⁷⁹ (78) And David grieved for the death of 'Oza and for Zion. David prayed⁸⁰ 'O Lord God, I am afraid because of Zion, your Ark, whom you dwell. How could She enter to me, with such a power following Her? Where shall I take Her and where shall She dwell?'⁸¹

(79) After saying this, he brought Zion to the household of Abidara,⁸² the Gittite and She remained there for three months.⁸³ Consequently, the house of Abidara was blessed by the entrance of Zion, by the command of the Lord. They told David that the household of Abidara and all that belonged to him was blessed because of Zion. (80) Hearing this matter, King David went to bring up Zion, the Ark of the God of Israel, to Her country with happiness.⁸⁴ He brought Zion accompanied by a multitude of people [playing] with seven fiddles.⁸⁵ And King David, was playing the lyre and leading [the multitude] saying 'I have been made a king of Zion in the mountain of His sanctuary to declare the command of the Lord'.⁸⁶ (81) And they brought Zion in with clamor and the sound of trumpets. They put Her in Her place in the inner side of the tabernacle, where David had established Her. And he offered a sacrifice to the Lord. He sacrificed

77 Septuagint *Oza*, Hebrew 'Uzza, cf. 2 Sam. 6:3.

78 2 Sam 6: 5; 1 Chron. 13:8.

79 Cf. 2 Sam 6:6–8; 1 Chron. 13:9–11.

80 Lit. 'said'.

81 This prayer is not found in the Bible. The Hebrew and the RSV say 'And David was afraid of the Lord that day, and he said 'How can the Ark of the Lord come to me?'' (2 Sam. 6:9; 1 Chron. 13:12).

82 The Hebrew text has the name Obededom (2 Sam. 6:10). The Septuagint says *Abeddara*, which is similar the Ethiopic text.

83 2 Sam. 6:11; 1 Chron. 13:13–14.

84 1 Chron. 15:25.

85 1 Chron. 15:28.

86 Ps. 2:6. The Hebrew, however, has 'I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill'.

cows⁸⁷ and sheep for Her dedication. (82) And the wife of David, the daughter of Saul, having been envious of him when he was dancing to Zion, despised him in her heart and said: 'From now on, he will not be my husband, for he is a king whom the girls of the city have seen dancing'. Consequently, her womb was closed and she became barren and she died without [bearing] fruit.⁸⁸

(83) This prodigy of Zion was done when Zion was living in the tabernacle. Hence, David wished to build a temple to the God of Israel and for the Ark of His Law, Zion. (84) And the Lord said to David by the mouth of Nathan the prophet,⁸⁹ 'You are not going to build a temple for me, but your son, Solomon, who will reign after you [shall do so]. I will establish my covenant with him and as for my mercy, it will not be far from him. If he commits a sin, then I will chastise him with the rod of children'.⁹⁰ (85) Hearing this, he [David] said 'Let it be His will; for Solomon is my own son'. Then he left off building it and the Ark continued to dwell according to the Law of Moses the prophet.⁹¹

(86) During the fourth year of the reign of Solomon,⁹² the son of David, during the second month, which is *Mayīyos*,⁹³ he ordered them to bring the large and precious stones. Then they brought it to King Solomon, and the sons of Kiram and his (Solomon's) own sons hewed it. In the fourth year, he built the house of the Lord, in the month of *Nisan*. (87) Its construction is like this: astonishing and marvelous to hear. Its length is forty cubits, its width is twenty cubits, its height is twenty-five;⁹⁴ and the porch in front of the sanctuary is twenty cubits. He finished constructing the building and he made hidden windows. And he made an inner chamber (deep) inside in the middle of the house, [measuring] forty cubits from the sanctuary to the holy of holies, so that

87 Lit. 'sacrifice'.

88 2 Sam. 6:16–23; 1 Chron. 15:29.

89 1 Chron. 17:3–4.

90 Cf. 2 Sam. 7:14. The Hebrew is somewhat different: 'I will chastise him with the rod of men and with the stroke of the sons of Adam'. The Septuagint and the Gə'əz Bible agree with the Hebrew.

91 2 Sam. 7:1–17; 1 Chron. 17:1–15.

92 In the four hundred and eightieth year after the people of Israel came out the land of Egypt (cf. 1 Kings 6:1).

93 This month is similar with the English May, from Latin *Maius*. The Hebrew Bible gives the month as *Ziv*, the second month (1 Kings 6:1, 6:37), equivalent to *Iyar*, the Babylonian *Ayaru*, which has the Gregorian equivalent of 'April–May'. It has 29 days.

94 Cf. 1 Kings 6:2. The difference in the measurements is unexplained.

Zion, the Ark of the Lord, could dwell there.⁹⁵ (88) He made two Cherubim above Zion. The height of the first Cherub was ten cubits; one of his wings was five [cubits], and the second was the same. Ten cubits were between them until their wings met. And the two were equal, and the nature of both was the same. They covered the Ark with their golden wings outside.⁹⁶ As for Her interior, he caused to construct 𐤔...𐤔. (89) And the pavement of his house he inlaid with gold. As for the door-leaves he made them from pine wood and as for its columns (colonnades?) they were four⁹⁷ and there were two door-leaves in one doorway and the same for the other.⁹⁸ Their golden curtains were fitted one to another.⁹⁹

(90) Furthermore, he made curtain[s] for the enclosure of the porch of the Holy of Holies. He erected two columns on the porch which is in the Sanctuary. He named the first Yaquṁ and the second Bālāz.¹⁰⁰ And on the capitals of the pillars he made flowers which were four cubits. (91) He made a 'sea'¹⁰¹ there. He made the pole, which has twelve ornamented oxen under Her;¹⁰² [which are] looking in groups of three, towards the North,¹⁰³ West, South and East; and their hinder parts were towards the wall.¹⁰⁴ The sea was set on the top of them. As for the pedestals,¹⁰⁵ they were ten of bronze, and in between, there were lions, oxen and Cherub(im). And 𐤔...𐤔 four wheels 𐤔...𐤔 [on] their shoulders [there

95 Cf. 1 Kings 6:19.

96 1 Kings 6:23–27; 2 Chron 3:10–13.

97 The reconstructed text has 𐤔𐤍𐤔: 'fourth'. Why is there an ordinal number here?

98 1 Kings 6:34.

99 This entire description is evidently based on 1 Kings 6; but it is not consistent.

100 Hebrew *Yakhin* and *Bo'az* (cf. 1 Kings 7:21). This same text also occurs in the Hebrew Bible in 2 Chron. 3:17, but here the Septuagint (and the Gə'əz) transcribe these two names instead of translating them.

101 Cf. 1 Kings 7:23. The 'sea' (Hebrew *yam*) was a very large basin in the temple court. According to 2 Chron. 4:6 the 'sea' was used for water for the priests' ablutions, but, standing over seven feet high, it must have been very inconvenient for this purpose. It had probably some symbolic significance, as is suggested by analogous features in sanctuaries elsewhere in the ancient Near East. For further discussion of this issue, cf. Gray 1970: 189–190.

102 Cf. 1 Kings 7:25.

103 Gə'əz 𐤍𐤈𐤔: is translated by Leslau (1987: 362) as 'north, north wind, southwest wind, southeast'. In context, 'north' makes most sense and agrees with the Hebrew.

104 The Hebrew text says that their hinder parts were 'to the house', which is understood to mean 'facing inward'. This seems to disagree with DṢ.

105 The Hebrew word for 'stands, pedestals' is *məḵōnōt*, which the Septuagint translates exactly. Five of DṢ manuscripts have 𐤍𐤕𐤔: , which I follow here.

were] lions and palm trees.¹⁰⁶ (92) And he made ten lavers of bronze, named *ketrogawlos*,¹⁰⁷ each laver holding forty *baths*.¹⁰⁸ Each [laver measured four cubits, with one pedestal for each laver]; and similarly for (all) ten pedestals.¹⁰⁹ And he put them on the left side of the house. And as for the sea, it was on the right, eastward, towards the south.

(93) In this way, King Solomon made the temple according to the heavenly wisdom which he was given. Please do not think that this was like the construction of the palace of heaven where Holy Zion, who is our Holy Lady Mary dwells. [Rather,] he made it in [this] likeness according to the heavenly wisdom he was given.

(94) As for its interpretation, it is like this: the two Cherubim are the twofold virginity of our Lady Mary, as John says about Her: 'Her wings are two'.¹¹⁰ And the palm trees are the bed of the passion of the Lamb, who is the Cross. (95) The pavement of the Temple, covered with gold is the purity of the flesh of our Lady Mary. The two door-leaves of the one doorway of which he is speaking to you are the Law with the Gospel. The pinewood is the bishops who are appointed as the doors of the Church. The two pillars are Peter and Paul. The flowers of their capitals are the holy Faith. (96) As for the 'sea' which is within the house, on the right, eastward, towards the South is Baptism about which John preached for the remission of sin.¹¹¹ The poles are the priests. The flowers of the palm trees are the faith of those who are baptized and the ritual of Baptism.

(97) The twelve oxen which are with the sea are the twelve Apostles, who preached in the North, West, East and South. The ten united pedestals just like border are like the border of the Ten Commandments. The awesome lions which are in the middle are the prophets. The oxen are the apostles as we said earlier. The wheels of the carts with four shoulders in the four corners¹¹² are images of the four beasts¹¹³ who bear the throne of God. (98) The ten lavers

¹⁰⁶ Cf. 1 Kings 7:36.

¹⁰⁷ Greek *chytrókalos* (in Septuagint the inflected form in 3 Kings 7:24 [= 1 Kings 7:38] is *chytrókalous*), which means 'laver, pot, basin, jar; also a kind of measure' (cf. Leslau 1987: 299).

¹⁰⁸ A *bath* is a Hebrew unit of measure.

¹⁰⁹ The translation in square brackets follows the Bible (1 Kings 7:38). The Gǝʿəz text of DṢ here is too corrupt to interpret.

¹¹⁰ Rev. 12:14.

¹¹¹ John 1:29.

¹¹² Cf. 1 Kings 7:30. The Hebrew, Septuagint and the Gǝʿəz Bible do not mention 'carts' here.

¹¹³ The four Living Creatures.

named *ketrogawlos*, holding forty *baths*, this is the Law. The forty lavers, of which he is speaking to you, are the prophetic scriptures of the Prophets until Enoch. And in the same way the ritual of the temple of Solomon is being perfected in the ritual of the Holy Church.

(99) I have written to you according to my ability because of [my] love for Her, Zion. If I only could, if I can, I would have interpreted all the rituals of the temple of Solomon. As for me, I did not learn scriptures like Paul from Gemaliel.¹¹⁴ I am a shepherd of sheep and goats and I am the least among all the brothers, and my sinful deed is as large as a Lebanese cedar.

(100) Let us come back to the matter which awaits us, about the temple which Solomon, the son of David, constructed, helped by Hiram, son of a widow, from the tribe of Naphtalim. As for his [Hiram's] father, he was a bronze smith and an excellent craftsman.¹¹⁵ And Hiram was skilled like his father.

(101) In this way Solomon completed the building of the Temple of the Lord in a period of twenty¹¹⁶ years. And he gathered all the elders of Israel to bring the Ark from the city of David, in the month of *Ētmin*.¹¹⁷ And the priests transported the Ark, and also the tabernacle in which She was residing and all the ritual vessels of the Sanctuary. (102) The priests brought Her into the place of the king. All the troops who were following Her were praising, saying 'Zion has returned to Her place'. They seated Her in the Sanctuary, under the wings of the Cherub(im). There was nothing on the inside¹¹⁸ of the Ark except the two tablets that Moses received from the hand of the Lord at Horeb.¹¹⁹ (103) The Temple was covered with the glory of the Lord. King Solomon rejoiced and said 'Let the Lord God of Israel be blessed. Today is [the day] that He has spoken with His mouth and completed with His hands'. The King and all the Israelites offered a sacrifice to the Lord. (104) And Solomon made a feast on this day and he slaughtered twenty-two thousand oxen and a thousand of sheep¹²⁰ (for) the

¹¹⁴ Acts 22:3.

¹¹⁵ Cf. 1 Kings 7:13–14.

¹¹⁶ Seven years for the Temple (1 Kings 6:38) and thirteen years for his palace (1 Kings 7:1), in total twenty years for construction (2 Chron. 8:1–2).

¹¹⁷ Hebrew *Ethanīm*. This is the seventh month in the Bible (cf. 1 Kings 8:2, 2 Chron. 5:3), equivalent to *Tishri*.

¹¹⁸ Gəʿəz *hčḥ* : , lit. 'belly'; surely an allusion to the womb of Mary.

¹¹⁹ 1 Kings 8:9, 2 Chron. 5:10.

¹²⁰ '... Sacrifice twenty two thousand oxen and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep' (1 Kings 8:63, 2 Chron. 7:5).

consecration of the building of Zion and for the consecration of the house of the Lord. (105) All the Israelites celebrated the great feast with the King and with the congregation for seven days with joy and happiness. Then after eight days the people returned to their homes.

(106) The Lord revealed Himself to Solomon and said to him 'I have heard your prayer and; then I did what you desired and I sanctified this Temple which you built by your hand, and My name will be in it forever and ever'. †...† 'And similarly, O Lord, hear my entreaty'. (107) †...† 'As for you, if you walk in My Law as did your father David, I will establish your kingdom forever. But if you abandon My Law which I gave to My servant and turn back to the idols and worship them, then I will obliterate you from the face of the earth'. (108) And also, I will obliterate and cast away this Temple which has been sanctified in My name, from before My face. And for the Holy Zion, which I built and established by My hand, I will make Her the dwelling of My praise in the highest heavens.¹²¹ And the angels will rejoice in splendor in Her courts saying 'Hallelujah' in all Her ways. (109) And similarly saying, 'The Lord God gave a promise to King Solomon regarding Holy Zion, the dwelling of His praise'. In this way, Zion, the true Ark of Law, dwelt in the building of Solomon. (110) Then Solomon, slept with his fathers after reigning for forty years. And he was buried in the city of David, his father.¹²²

(111) After many years, about four hundred and twenty years after the holy city of Zion was built, during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the people violated the Law of the Lord. They became wicked before Him, and they worshiped foreign gods. As for the words of the prophets, they did not observe them. (112) And the Lord was angry towards them due to this. And He commanded the king of Babylon and the Chaldeans¹²³ devastated their country and destroyed the Temple of Solomon. However, the Celestial and Holy Ark of Zion remained concealed and they could not find Her. The Tablet together with the Ten Commandments [were] in Her womb. (113) The whole country was captured and as for the holy bronze vessels, they were [also] captured. The four prophets: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Ezra were captured. They wept and lamented for Zion.

¹²¹ 1 Kings 9:3–7, 2 Chron. 7:12–18.

¹²² 'And Rehoboam, his son reigned in his stead' (cf. 1 Kings 11:43, 2 Chron. 9:31).

¹²³ Chaldeans are ancient Semitic people who lived in Chaldea in southern Babylonia, where they were the dominant ethnic group during the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

(114) One amongst the prophet named Ezra¹²⁴ said: In the thirtieth year¹²⁵ after the destruction of our city, when I was in the country of Babylon,¹²⁶ I went out to the wilderness named Arfad¹²⁷ and I fasted for seven days. I did not eat and I did not drink wine. I did not taste meat absolutely but only the fruit of a tree. (115) I prayed to the highest and said ‘O my Lord, who heard our fathers in the wilderness and desert and gave them your Law’. I prayed this and the like. (116) Then I saw with my eyes a woman on my right, who was weeping, mourning and wailing in a loud voice. She was suffering very much. Her clothes were torn and there were ashes on her head. Then I said to her ‘What makes you weep?’ And she replied to me ‘Leave me alone, and let me weep for myself’. Then, I asked her ‘What happened to you? Tell me’. And she said to me ‘I was barren for a long time, although I was with [my] husband for thirty years. And I prayed to the Most High, and after thirty years the Lord heard me, His handmaiden. He saw my sorrow and gave me one son. I was happy with him. When he reached manhood, I got him a wife and I prepared a wedding feast. But when he entered the [bridal] chamber, he fell down and died. (117) I

124 Cf. 4 Ezra 3:1 ff. (Ethiopic አዝራ፡ ሱቱኤል፡ *Ezra Sutu'el* 1:1 ff.). Shutt (1984: 927–931) discusses the different books of Ezra. The following note is a summary from his article: *1 Esdras* (Greek translation of a different recension of the Hebrew, based on 2 Chron. 35–36), also called *2 Ezra* (or *Esdras*) in the Latin Bible. *2 Esdras* is a completely independent work, identified in the Latin Bible as *4 Ezra* (or *Esdras*), and in the modern editions follows *3 Ezra*. The central part of the book (chapters 3–14) is preserved not only in Latin, but also in not less than seven Oriental versions; most scholars regard these chapters (3–14) as the original core written by a Jew in either Hebrew or Aramaic about the end of the first century AD, to which were added subsequently chapters 1–2 as an introduction and chapters 15–16 as a conclusion.

125 This gives us a clue to the date of composition of 4 Ezra. According to most scholars, the original Jewish document known today as 4 Ezra was composed about AD 100. This opinion rests upon a more or less plausible interpretation of the sentence ‘In the thirtieth year after the destruction of our city’. Although this purports to be in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BC, this statement is arguably intended to allude cryptically to the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in AD 70 (cf. Metzger 1983: 520).

126 With regard to the provenance of 4 Ezra, some scholars believe that it was written in Rome, which is what the book may mean by ‘Babylon’. Nevertheless, the Semitic ‘coloration’ of the work rather suggests Palestine as the place of writing and publication of the Hebrew original (cf. Metzger 1983: 520).

127 Cf. 4 Ezra 9:26. Arfad is presented by Metzger (1983: 545, note j) as ‘Ardat’. He also gives different variants in his footnote: ‘Arpad’ in the Syriac and Ethiopic versions; and ‘Ar dab’ in Armenian.

wept very much and I came to this desert place alone. I did not eat food but I mourned for my only son, I replied to her and said 'Your sorrow is done truly. We are also mourners and sorrowful, but you are sorrowful about your only son. Ask the earth and it will tell you'. I said to her 'Do not do like this'. (118) Do you not see Jerusalem? Our Temple has been destroyed and our song has been abolished, our glory has been silenced and our teaching has fallen. Our lamps have been put out and our priests have been taken captive. The greatest [loss] of all, Zion has been sealed and Her glory passed away. So let you shake off your grief about your only son'. And as I was saying this to her, her face lit up like the sun and like the appearance of lightning. I was afraid to approach her and my heart was terrified.

(119) When I looked at Her, She was not a woman, but like a city which was built up; its foundation was great and was very wide.¹²⁸ Then I cried out and said 'Where are you, Uriel, the angel, who came to me previously?' Then he came to me that time while I was like the dead sleeping. He held me in his right [hand], raised me up and caused me to stand upright and said to me 'why are you dismayed and why is your heart heavy?' (120) I replied to him 'When I saw this I become terrified. Only tell the interpretation of this to your servant'. He said to me 'Listen and I will tell you; for the Most High revealed [this] to you when He saw your righteousness, because you are deeply¹²⁹ sorrowful about Zion. And this is the matter. This woman whom you saw as a built-up city is Zion, who is at the right [hand] of the Most High, where she will be seated forever'.¹³⁰

(121) And what She said to you, 'I was barren for thirty years': the world existed [for a long time] while there was no one who offered a sacrifice. And after 3000 years Solomon built the Temple. He sanctified [it], entered and

128 *Qälementos* also briefly presents a vision similar to this one, as follows: ወእገራሂ፡ ርእዮ፡ ከመ፡ እንተ፡ ብእሲት፡ ትክዝት፡ ወኅዝነት፡ እንዘ፡ ትበኪ፡ በእንተ፡ ደቂቃ፡ ወሶበ፡ ርእዮ፡ ኢኮነት፡ ብእሲተ፡ አላ፡ ሀገር፡ መንፈሳዊት፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ መኃትዊሃ፡ ወመላውሪሃ፡ ዘዲሲሃ፡ አዕጹቂሃ፡ ዘይት፡ ዘእምየማና፡ ወእምፀጋማ። 'Anche Ezra la vide, come una donna triste e afflitta, piangeva per i suoi figli. Quando la vide, non era una donna, ma una città spirituale, la santa Sion. Le sue lampade e i suoi vasi che sono in essa, sono rami d'ulivo, dalla sua destra e dalla sua sinistra' (cf. Bausi 1992, text f. 60^{rb}; translation p. 106).

129 This phrase is attested only in MS [C]. It is substantiated by 4 Ezra 9:39.

130 Personification of Zion is a repeated phenomenon throughout the text of DṢ. In this instance we see Zion as mother of all. We can also read in 4 Ezra 10:7. This type of personification of 4 Ezra and that of DṢ is also attested in Pauline theology as 'But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother' (Gal. 4:26). For a general overview on this context, cf. Metzger 1983: 522.

offered a sacrifice, the son whom She bore. What She said to you ‘He fell down and died when he entered the [bridal] chamber, and I mourned’, is the fall of Jerusalem. (122) And what He showed you because of your pain and the sorrow in your heart over Zion—what He showed you was the light of Her praise and the beauty of Her dignity. As for you, do not be fear and do not be dismayed. Look to Her light and the strength of Her righteousness. And as best you can hear, listen with your ear to Her songs, for your sorrow is great about Her. (123) And [when] Uriel told me this matter, I rejoiced was glad over Zion, which was built by the right hand of the Most High, said Ezra.¹³¹ (124) Her essence is like this; and as for Her constitution, it is in the image of heaven. As for Her foundation, it is made of pearls of sapphire, Kärkäden,¹³² with Aporgyon¹³³ and Sapphire,¹³⁴ and Her courts are of beryl. Angels and archangels were glorifying all around Her, saying ‘Hallelujah, praise be to the Lord who elevated Zion over all the world’.

(125) As for me, like them I said ‘Hallelujah, praise be to the pure dwelling of His Lamb. Hallelujah to Zion our Mother, adorned with praise. Hallelujah for the one who does not need the Sun to illuminate Her, and the light of His Lamb is shining inside Her’. (126) And now, my fathers [and] brothers, let us gather together to raise up a spiritual feast with incense and with offerings in devotional¹³⁵ praise for Our Lady, who is the throne of Divinity, tabernacle of the Lord who created heaven and earth, sun, moon and stars, who loved Her above all else. (127) And He said ‘Here I will dwell for I have chosen and established Her’.¹³⁶ Come, let us celebrate and sing to the Queen of Queens ቶ...ቶ,¹³⁷ who became the pride of all the world, who is in the entire world, through whom the Only Son was glorified, who is hidden from men and angels. Come, rejoice, delight and sing in the feast of Our Lady Mary, the true Ark of the Law, in whose womb are the Ten Commandments inscribed on the two tablets

131 Here MS [C] adds ‘Ezra who is also called Sutu’el’ (Ethiopic *Ezra Sutu’el* 1:1, 4 Ezra 3:1). The other manuscripts do not preserve it. The Ethiopic Sutu’el is ‘Salathiel’, which is the Greek *Salathiēl*, Hebrew *She’altiel*, the father of Zerubbabel (Ezra 3:2, Neh. 12:1; cf. Metzger 1983: 528).

132 Leslau (1987: 291) defines *Kärkäden* as either ‘Jasper’ or ‘kind of wood’. Compare also Greek *Khalkēdón* ‘chalcedony’.

133 Precious stone, cf. Dillmann (1865: 806).

134 Sanper, sofor ‘sapphire’ (cf. Leslau 1987: 489, 507).

135 ‘Devotion’ አስተርከቦ: is attested in the majority of the families against አስተብርኮ: ‘genuflection’ of [Ḍ]. Cf. Leslau 1987: 105 and 469.

136 Cf. Ps. 132:13–14.

137 Here, all the families show variant readings.

by the finger of the Lord of Hosts. (128) Come, let us gather in Her courts and praise [Her] together with Her people saying: 'I was glad when they said to me 'Let us go to the house of the Lord!' Our feet have stood within your courts, O Jerusalem! As for Jerusalem, she is built as a city'.¹³⁸ For she is the inheritance of the saints, the new city, where saints look forward to Her coming, those who have cleansed themselves, over whom She will reign forever and forever.

(129) In the same manner, o Zion, may You reign over Holy Jerusalem, in which She is the liberator in the highest. The True Bride of the Lamb, whom the faithful are awaiting, who are the martyrs and the righteous, prophets and apostles, priests and deacons, men and women, and all children, who pleased the Most High with the toil of their struggle.

(130) And let Him bestow Her also to us, together with them, when Zion, the celestial Temple shall reign. Let us rejoice in a new wedding forever and ever. In the same way, let you gladden your servant [PN]¹³⁹ for eternity, Amen. (131) And again, listen to me so that I can tell you what the prophet said about the story of celestial Zion. 'During the second [year]¹⁴⁰ in the reign of King Darius¹⁴¹ the word of the Lord came to me. In the eighth month, an angel came to me and raised me up from sleep like this. Then, I saw a lamp-stand with seven lamps and seven covers¹⁴² in which they place their hope in Her,¹⁴³ with two olive trees to Her right and Her left'. (132) 'In the eighth month, I saw the twofold Virgin, our Lady Mary in the image of Holy Zion' said the Prophet Zechariah.¹⁴⁴

138 Cf. Ps. 122:1–3. The Hebrew text reads 'Jerusalem, built as a city which was all (solidly) bound together'.

139 Half of the families give here the names of those who commissioned the manuscript. [K] and [Q] have the name Zāwāldā Mariam, [A] says Wāldā Giyorgis and Wālāttā Šadāq, [T] has Awalādā Nəgəšt, while [S] says Hablā (sic). The format [PN] for 'personal name' is already applied in Marrassini (2003) in his critical edition of *Gädlä Gäbrä Münfäs Qəddus*. He applies the Italian abbreviation NP = *nome di persona* 'Personal name'.

140 The bible (Zechariah 1:1) says 'the second year'. DŞ adds the word ወርሃ: 'month' (thus: 'the second month year') which makes no sense and contradicts 'the eighth month' below. Only MS [C] does not add ወርሃ:.

141 King Darius (558?–486 BC), the Achaemenids was king of Persia (522–486 BC); also called 'Darius the Great'.

142 Gəʿəz መሳውር: is translated here as 'covers', but (spelled መሳውር:) it can also mean 'funnel'. This would fit the Hebrew *Mušaḳot* 'pipes (for oil)' much better (Zechariah 4:2).

143 The translation 'in which they place their hope in Her', reflecting the Gəʿəz በዘይሌሊውዋ:, is hard to understand. The alternative reading በዘይሌወርዋ: (attested in MS [C]) makes much better sense: 'with which they cover Her'.

144 Zechariah 4:2 ff. For a detailed treatment of the Hymn of Zechariah on Zion, cf. Grohmann 1919: 195–200 and Paulos 1988: 88–89.

As for its explanation, it is like this: the golden pedestal is our Lady Mary who is Zion, the Ark of the Law of the Covenant, for whose feast day we have gathered today. (133) As for Her lamps, they are the seven churches,¹⁴⁵ built in the image of Jerusalem in the highest. And Her covers are the seven governors of the church. And the two olive trees are children of the Ark. All the prophets praised and gave thanks to Zion, the golden ship.¹⁴⁶ As for myself, I shall speak without lies. When I ponder in my heart and praise Her, there is a turbulence in my throat like a caldron, and the member of my body burn.

(134) If I found paper and ink to write, in all my life until I sleep like my fathers I would not be able to complete the praise of Queen of heavens and earth, our Mother, who is Our Lady Mary. (135) So, I will only write you a little, according to my ability, so that you may hear and be confirmed by it on the feast of our Lady Saint Mary, the twofold Virgin, Mother of God, the celestial Zion.¹⁴⁷ (136) The homily, which is read in the month of *Kanun*¹⁴⁸ on the twenty—first of the

145 Cf. Revelation 1:20.

146 Ship has various allegories in Ethiopian Hermeneutics. According to the book of *Sä'atat* (cf. Täsfa 1996/1997 [EC 1989]: 122) Lord Jesus is described as ሐመርነ፡ ዘኢይቀርቦ፡ ሞገድ፡ ‘Our Ship whom the tempest does not approach’. The *Epistle of Clement* mentions the Church as a Ship. Bausi (1992: 26) states it with other related elements in the introductory part of his translation of *Qälementos*: ‘La Chiesa è come una nave; Cristo è il nocchiero; la gerarchia ecclesiastica corrisponde all’equipaggio; il mare è il mondo, e le tempeste i suoi pericoli; la nave conduce nel porto di salvezza’, ‘The Church is like a Ship; Christ is its helmsman; the church hierarchy corresponds to its crew; the sea is the world, and the storm is its dangers; the ship leads to the port of Salvation’ (translation, mine). Similarly, ‘Ethiopian *Didascalia*’ (edited by Pell Platt 1834 and later by Harden 1920) reads: እስመ፡ ዲያቆናትስ፡ ከመ፡ ነዋትያት፡ ወቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ከመ፡ ሐመር፡ ‘For the deacons are like the sailors, and the church like a ship’ (trans. by Harden 1920: 74, quoted from Bausi 1992: 27). KN ch. 113 describes St. Mary as the Port of Salvation. For discussion of the Ark of the Church, cf. Bausi, on *navis ecclesiae* (1992: 24–32). Early Christians also used an anchor in the catacombs and in the cemeteries as a symbol of the hope in the promise of the future life, cf. Baruffa n.d. 9; Nicolai et al. 2002: 70, 150; cf. also Getachew Meressa 2010: 61–71.

147 The reading of MS [C] finishes here.

148 *Kanun* (also *känun*) is a Syriac month; also Christian Arabic—*Kanun*—in the expression ‘first *Kanun* = December, second *Kanun* January’ (cf. Leslau 1987: 288; Getachew 2000/2001 [EC 1993]: 120). But the Ethiopic usage of the term is apparently extended here to *Ḥedar* (November), or we can imagine that 21st of *Ḥedar* sometimes, every four years, will be exactly the 1st day of December, and the rest in every 29/30 of November. On the other hand, Hammerschmidt (1977: 78) states that putting the two months as one is erroneous. His text goes as follows: ‘Die Gleichsetzung dürfte ein Irrtum sein, da der 21. Ḥedar überhaupt erst (und allein) in einem Johannesjahr des Zeitraumes von 1900 bis 2100 AD auf den 1. Känün al-awwal (= 1. Dezember greg.) fällt’.

month of *Hədar*,¹⁴⁹ is [now] completed, by the peace of the Lord the Father, Amen; and with the help of the Son, Amen; and by the will of the Lord the Holy Spirit, the Advocate,¹⁵⁰ Amen.

(137) May the blessings of Her prayer and the gift of Her help and Her love, our Mother Zion, the Ark of the Law, who is our Lady Mary, the glory of children and elders, be with [PN],¹⁵¹ who believes in Her unceasingly, in order to save him from the hand of wicked death, together with [PN]¹⁵² ቶ...ቶ together forever and ever Amen.¹⁵³

(138) For the one who commissioned and interpreted this homily, and for him who wrote it and caused it to be written, may the Lord grant them mercy on the Day of Judgment, together with all Christian children of baptism, whose confidence is in Zion, and whose faith is in the Holy Trinity, ancient of days. [He is] Man like us, but without sin, Light from the Light. And together with its poor scribe, whose sin is great, and together with the children of this place. And may God let them all hear His word of mercy, on the feast day of our Lady Mary, forever and ever, Amen.

(139) O Zion my mother, pay back my own sins and trespasses. And write my name in a column of light,¹⁵⁴ Your sinful and despised servant [PN]¹⁵⁵ devoid

149 DŞ ‘proper’ [136] and miracle of DŞ in [F], f. 24^r. state why *Hədar* 21 is celebrated. The text goes as follows: መበዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ አመ፡ ጳውጮ፡ ለኅዳር፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ተመደጦታ፡ እምነበ፡ ጊወውዋ፡ ኀበ፡ ቤታ፡ ወዳግም፡ ምጽአታ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድር፡ አክሱም፡ ወበእንተዝ፡ ያብዕሉ፡ ላቲ፡ በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ አመ፡ ጳውጮ፡ ለለወርኑ፡ ወፈድፋደሰ፡ አመ፡ ጳውጮ፡ ለኅዳር፡ ‘On this day, 21st of *Hədar*, it was her first return from captivity to her home; and it is her second coming to the land of Axum. Therefore, [it is praiseworthy] to celebrate the great feast to Her every 21st day of the month, and especially on *Hədar* 21’.

150 Lit. ‘Paraqlitos’.

151 Here some families of the manuscripts list the name of the scribe and the commissioner.

152 Some manuscripts [SḪ] say ‘the scribe’, some [ε] ‘his relatives’, two witnesses [A and F] ‘his fathers’ and ‘Zion’ respectively.

153 These lines are composed in verse as in the form of *arke* or *sālam*.

154 ‘Column of light’ is a common theme in the Ethiopian hagiographical tradition. This is the state of eternal life and holiness. When St. Mary was speaking to St. Ephrem, it was in ‘column of light’ and ‘curtain of light’ (cf. *Commentary of Praise of Mary*, published by the EOTC 1932/1933 [EC 1925]). When St. Bəṣṭawros was praying, the sky was opened and the column of light was established (cf. Amsalu Tefera 2006: f. 22^r, p. 58 (text), p. 84 (trans.), Amsalu Tefera 2010: 13, p. 7 (text), p. 23 (trans.)). *Gädlä Abrəha* and *Aṣḃəḥa* states that a column of light suddenly arose when Lord Jesus appeared, collected some soil and poured it out where the city of Axum now stands, drying up the marsh; (quoted from Chiari, 2009: 108). For the general trend of Ethiopian saints in the column of light, cf. Marrassini 1981: xcvi.

155 The name of the commissioner(s) is mentioned in some families (K and T).

of understanding and skill, and together with all of us the hearers, forever and ever, Amen and Amen; let it be, let it be.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Here the majority of the families (S, ε, ξ, λ = α) complete the DŞ ‘proper’. On the other hand, sub-archetype β (δ and A) continues with KN ‘proper’ saying: በአኩሪቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ አኃዜ፡ ኾሉ። ወበወልዱ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ኾሉ፡ ኮነ፡ ወዘእንበሌሁስ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘኮነ። ወበመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘይወጽእ፡ እምአብ። For discussion and comparative study of DŞ and KN, cf. Amsalu Tefera 2009 and Amsalu Tefera 2014a.

News, Miracles and Effigies of Zion

This chapter contains *Zena Šayon* (the story of the Ark), *Tä'ammärä Šayon* (miracles performed by Zion) and *Mälkə'a Šayon* (effigy of Zion). *Zena Šayon*, the story and glory of Zion which is preserved in [D] and [K], presents various Mary-Zion similitudes. The texts state that the veneration and glory of Zion Mary is incomparable whether by the celestials or terrestrials. Different miracles performed by Zion are presented in [F] and [P]. The story of how the Ark of the Covenant was given to Moses at Mt. Sinai and how it was venerated and safeguarded by Israelite religious figures (Judges and Kings), then how it reached Ethiopia, is discussed by [F]. This text also presents many OT episodes as the miraculous acts of Zion. The printed text [P] lists eight miracles, including the popular ‘coffee story’. It basically propagates the mighty deeds of the Ark and the ethical teachings of Christianity. We find the effigies of Zion (*Mälkə'a Šayon*) on the final pages of [P]. Every text with translation will be presented successively. As MSS [A], [B] and [P] form a separate family [β], they have in common a long colophon.¹

1 *Zena Šayon* ‘News of Zion’—NL 630 [D] and EMM 8429 [K]²

1.1 *Text*

ዓፄ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ዜና፡ ዕብያ፡ ወክብራ፡ ወውዳሴ፡ ወንግሣ፡ ለጽዮን³፡ እንዘ፡ እብል⁴፡ መኑ፡
ይክል፡ ይትናገር፡ ክብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ዘገብረ⁵፡ ሙሴ፡ በ(D59^{va})ደብ(K18^{ra})ረ፡ ሲና፡
ገብራ፡ በስብሐት፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወክርአዮ፡ ኩሎ፡ ምሳሌያተ፡ ሰማያዊት፡
ኦሮን፡ ወደቂቁ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ተልዕኩ⁶፡ ውስቴታ፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልዕልት፡ ወጽላት፡ ሰማያዊት፡
አስተማሰልዋ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም⁷፡ በደብተራ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ውስቴታ፡

1 Cf. Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

2 Texts [D] and [K] share many things in common; hence they form a family [ε]. They contain the *Zena Šayon* ‘News of Zion’ which I presented here.

3 ለታቦተ፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ adds K.

4 ይብል፡ D.

5 ዘገብራ፡ K.

6 ተልዕከ፡ D.

7 ድንግል፡ adds K.

በእንተዝ፡ ዘበአማን፡ በስብሐተ፡ ትንቢት፡ ተናገሩ፡ በእንቲአኪ፡ በምግባራት፡ ክቡራት⁸፡ እስመ፡ ሀገሩ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ዐቢይ⁹፡ አንቲ፡ ኦ፡ ቅድስት፡ ጽዮን፡ ንሕነኒ፡ ንስእል፡ ወናስተበቁዕ፡ ጎቤኪ፡ ከመ፡ ንርከብ፡ (D59^{vb}) ምሕረተ፡ በስእለትኪ፡ በጎብ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ (K18^{rb}) ሰብእ፡ መኑ፡ ይትናገር፡ ክብረ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ኦ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ደብተራ፡ «ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡¹⁰፡ ዘሙሴ፡ ርእሰ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወረሰየ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ሰማዕታተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽላተ፡ ኪዳን፡ ወትእዛዛት¹¹፡ ወተጽሕፋ¹²፡ ውስቴቶሙ፡ ፲፡ ቃላት፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ ስሙ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወውእቱ፡ በየውጣ፡ ዘከመ፡ ይቤ፡ በመጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ተሰብአ፡ እምኔኪ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ውላጤ፡ ወወለድኪየ፡ ወአንጽሐነ፡ እምኃጣውኢነ፡ በእንተዝ፡ ኹሉ፡ ነፍሰ፡ ደቂቀ፡ (D60^{ra}) ጄኤል¹³፡ አምጽኡ፡ አምኃ¹⁴፡ ለደብተራ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወርቀ፡ ወብሩረ፡ ወዕብነ፡ ዘ(K18^{va})በአማን፡ ሜላተ፡ ወሐረ¹⁵፡ ገብሩ፡ ታቦተ፡ እምዕዕ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ፡ ወልቡጥ፡ በአፍአ፡ ወበውስጥ¹⁶፡ አንቲ¹⁷፡ ይእቲ፡ ኦ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ ልቡጥ፡ በስብሐተ፡ መለኮት፡ በአፍአ፡ ወበውሳጢ¹⁸፡ እስመ፡ አግባዕኪ¹⁹፡ ሕዝበ፡ ብዙኃነ፡ ለወልድኪ፡ አምላክ፡ በንጽሕናኪ፡ አንቲ፡ ታቦተ፡ ኪዳን፡ ኦ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ ፍጽምት፡ ዘአግበርዋ፡ እምዕዕ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ፡ ልቡጥ፡ በወርቅ፡ እምአፍአ፡ ወውስጥ፡ እግ(D60^{rb})ዚአብሔር፡ መድኃኒነ፡ ሶበ፡ ተሰብአ፡ እምኔኪ፡ በብሔትና፡ ዘኢይትነገር፡ ባቲ፤ በፈቃዱ፡ ዕሩይ፡ ምስሌነ፡ በከመ፡ ሰብእ፡ [ወ]ዕሩይ፡ ምስለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በባሕ(K18^{vb})ርየ፡ መለኮቱ፡ ፩፡ መለኮት፡ ተሰብአ፡ በከመ፡ ህላዌሁ፡ በእንተዝ፡ ፪፡ ኪሩቤል፡ እምወርቅ፡ ገብርዎሙ፡ ይጸልሉ፡ ላዕለ፡ ምሥዋዕ፡ በክነፊሆሙ፡ ኹሎ፡ ጊዜ፡ ላዕለ፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ውስተ፡ ዳግም፡ ደብተራ፡ ወካዕበ፡ አንቲ፡ ኦ፡ ማርያም፡ ፪አዕላፋት፡ ወትእልፊተ²⁰፡ አዕላፋት፡ ይጸልሉኪ፡ ወትረ፡ ወይሴብሔ፡ ለ(D60^{va})ፈጣሪሆሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ውእቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሥኪ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ነሥአ፡ አምሳሊነ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ውላጤ፡ አፉሆሙ፡ ለጠቢባን፡ መተርጉማን፡ ይትናገሩ፡ በእንተ፡ ክብርኪ፡ ኦ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ አስተማሰሉኪ፡ በምሥዋዕ፡ ዘይጸልሉ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ኪሩቤል፡ ዘውእቱ፡ (K19^{ra}) በከመ፡ ትርጓሜሁ፡ ዘይጸውዑ፡ መካነ፡ ጎድገተ፡ አበሳ፡ ወኃጣውኢነ፡ ለኪ፡ ይደሉ፡ ከመ፡ ንጸውዕ፡ ስመኪ፡ መሶበ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘመና፡ ጎቦዕ፡ ውስቴቱ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ረሰየ²¹፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ ስምዕ፡ ለደ(D60^{vb})ቂቀ፡ ጄኤል²²፡ በእንተ፡ ዘአክበሮሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና፡ አንቲ፡ ካዕበ፡

8 ክብርት፡ DK.

9 om. D.

10 ቅድስት፡ ቅድስት፡ D.

11 ወትእዛዛት፡ D.

12 ዙተጽሕፋ፡ K.

13 እስራኤል፡ K.

14 om. D.

15 ወሐረረ፡ DK.

16 ወውስጥ፡ K.

17 እንተ፡ D.

18 ወውሳጢ፡ K.

19 አግባኪ፡ D.

20 ወትእልተ፡ D.

21 ረሰየ፡ add D.

22 ጄራኤል፡ D.

እ፡ ማርያም፡ ጸርኪ፡ በውስተ²³፡ ከርሥኪ፡ መና፡ ልቡና፡ ዘወጽእ፡ እምአብ፡ ወወለድኪዮ፡
 ዘእንበለ፡ ደነስ፡ ወወሀበነ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወደሞ፡ ክቡረ፡ ወእሕየወነ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡
 በመሶበ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘእንበርዎሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ አስተማሰሉኪ፡ እ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘነበረ፡
 ውስቴትኪ፡ መና፡ ጎቡዕ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ኢየሱስ(19^{rb})ስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ጎብስተ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዘበልዐ፡
 ሥጋሁ፡ ወሰትየ፡ ደ(D61^{ra})ሞ²⁴፡ ይትፈግሕ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ኩሉ፡ ሠራዊት፡ ዘመልዕልት፡
 ኢይክሉ፡ ይመስሉ፡ ኪያኪ፡ እ፡ ተቅዋም፡ ዘወርቅ፡ እስመ፡ ጸርኪ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘበአማን፡
 ለይእቲ፡ ገብርዋ፡ እምወርቅ፡ ጽሩይ²⁵፡ ወእንበርዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ ወገብርዋ²⁶፡ እምእደ፡
 ሰብእ፡ ወይወድዩ፡ ቅብዓ፡ ውስተ፡ መሐትዊሃ፡ መዓልተ፡ ወሌሊተ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ከርሥኪስ፡
 እ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ አብርሃ፡ ለኩሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘይመጽእ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡
 ፀሐየ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወወለድኪዮ፡ ወአንጽሐነ፡ እ(D61^{rb})ምኃጣውኢነ፡ ስብሐትኪ፡ ይትሌዓል፡
 እ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግ(19^{va})ል፡ ወይፈደፍድ፡ እምተቅዋም²⁷፡ ዘወርቅ፡ እንተ፡ ጸረት፡ ፯፡
 መሐትዋት፡ ዘገብሩ፡ ምቅዋማቲሃ፡ ወእጽናፈሃ፡ እምወርቅ፡ ህንደኪ፡ ክቡር፡ ወብርሃና፡
 ያበርጎ፡ መዓልተ፡ ወሌሊተ፡ ወምሉዕ፡ ቅብዕ፡ ውስተ፡ መሃትዊሃ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ጽርዓት፡
 በአማን፡ አንቲ፡ እ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ተቅዋም፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ብርሃን፡ መለኮት፡ ዘምሉዕ፡
 ውስቴትኪ፡ ፀዳለ፡ ቅዱስ²⁸፡ አብርሃ፡ ላዕሌነ፡ ለእለ፡ ንነብር፡ ውስተ፡ ጽልመት፡ ወጽላሎተ፡
 (D61^{va}) ሞት፡ አማን፡ በአማን፡ ኢይኤብስ፡ በምንትኒ፡ ለእመ፡ ሰመይኩኪ²⁹፡ ማዕጠንተ፡
 ወርቅ³⁰፡ እስመ፡ ባቲ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ማዕጠንት፡ ጎሩይ፡ በቅድመ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ከመ፡
 ያእትት፡ እ(K19^{vb})ግዚአብሔር፡ ኃጣውአ፡ ሰብእ፡ እምጎበ፡ ቊርባናት፡ ወጼና፡ ማዕጠንታት፡
 ወአንቲ፡ እ፡ ማርያም፡ ካዕበ፡ ጸርኪ፡ በከርሥኪ፡ ዘኢያስተርኢ፡ ቃለ፡ አብ፡ ዘአዕረገ፡
 ርእሶ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ውክፍተ፡ ዲበ፡ ዕፀ፡ መስቀል፡ በእንተ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ዘመድነ፡ ሠናይኪ፡
 መዓዛኪ፡ እ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ (D61^{vb}) ወይፈደፍድ፡ እምኩሉ፡ ጼና፡ ስሐን፡ እስመ፡
 ኮንኪ³¹፡ በአማን፡ ማዕጠንት፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ወጸርኪ፡ ዕፍረተ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ኢየሱስ፡
 ክርስቶስ፡ መርዓዊ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዪና፡ መዓዛሁ፡ መልዓ፡ ውስተ፡ ኩሉ፡ መካን፡
 ወራዙት፡ ነሥኡ³²፡ ዪና፡ ሠናያተ፡ እሎንቱ፡ ደናግል፡ ዘአፍቀራ፡ ንጽሕና፡ ኮና፡ ለኪ፡
 እ(K20^{ra})ዋልደ፡ እ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ቷ...ቷ በስነ፡ ትሩፋቲሆሙ፡ በበትረ፡ አሮን፡ እንተ፡
 ሠረዕት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ተክል፡ ወኢሠቀይዋ፡ ማየ፡ ወውእቱ³³፡ ተመሰልኪ፡ እ፡ ወላዲተ፡
 ክርስቶስ፡ አምላክነ፡ ዘበአማን፡ (D62^{ra}) እንዘ፡ አንቲ³⁴፡ ድንግልት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዘርዓ፡ ብእሲ፡

23 በእንተ፡ D.

24 ደሙ፡ D.

25 ጎሩይ፡ DK.

26 ገብርዋ፡ K.

27 እምተቅዋም፡ D.

28 ቅዱስ፡ K.

29 ሰመይኩኪ፡ D.

30 ዘው፡ D.

31 om. D.

32 'አ፡ D.

33 ዘውእቱ፡ K.

34 om. D.

መጽአ፡ ወአድኅነነ፡ ተሠመይኪ፡ ፍቅርተ፡ አ፡ ቅድስት፡ ማርያም፡ እስመ፡ ኮንኪ፡ ዳግሚተ፡ ደብተራ፡ እንተ፡ ለቅድሳት፡ ዘአንበሩ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ዕፀ፡ አሮን፡ ወጽጌ፡ ንጽሕት፡ ዘለዕጣን፡ ወልብስኪ፡ ንጽሕና³⁵፡ ዘአፍአ፡ ወውስጥ፡ አ፡ ጽዮን፡ ደብተራ፡ ቅድስት፡ ማኅደሮም፡ ለጸድቃን፡ ሠራዊተ፡ ልዑላን፡ ይሴብሐኪ³⁶፡ በኢጽርዓት፡ ተሠመይኪ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ (K20^{rb}) ድንግል፡ ጽጌ፡ ቅድሳት፡ ዘለዕጣን፡ ዘፀገየት፡ ወሠረፀት፡ እምሥርወ፡ ሊቃውንት፡ ወነቢያት፡ ወከመ፡ በ(D62^{rb})ትረ፡ አሮን፡ ካህን፡ ዘሠረፀት፡ ወጸረት፡ ፍሬ፡ እስመ፡ ወለድኪ፡ ቃለ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዘርዓ፡ ብእሲ፡ ወኢማሰነ፡ ድንግልናኪ፡ ይእዜሰ፡ እለ፡ አመነ፡ ከመ፡ አንቲ፡ እሙ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘወለድኪዮ፡ ወነበርኪ³⁷፡ ድንግልተ³⁸፡ ወነአምን፡ ካዕበ፡ እስመ፡ ለኪ፡ ይደሉ፡ ትስአሊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ አ፡ ምልዕተ፡ ጸጋ፡ እስመ፡ ረከብኪ፡ ሞገሰ፡ በቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ፈድፋደ፡ እምሊቃውንት፡ ወነቢያት፡ ወካዕበ፡ በዘይደሉ፡ ሰአሊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ እስመ፡ ክብርኪ፡ ይፈደፍድ፡ እምሱራፌ(K20^{va})ል፡ ወካዕበ፡ አንቲ፡ (D62^{va}) አ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ በአማን፡ መስተብቅላት³⁹፡ ለኹልነ፡ ሰአሊ፡ በእንቲአየ⁴⁰፡ ቅድመ፡ ወለድኪ፡ ፍቅር፡ ከመ፡ ያጽንአኒ፡ በርትዕት፡ ሃይማኖት⁴¹፡ ወይጸግወኒ፡ ስርየተ፡ ኃጢአት⁴²፡ ወለኹሎም፡ እለ፡ ይትአመኑ፡ ኪያኪ፡ ወይገብሩ፡ ተዝካረኪ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡

ኹሎም፡ አዕላፊ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡⁴³ ወኹሉ፡ ስም፡ ዘይሠመይ፡ ኢይበጽሑ፡ ኀበ፡ ብፅዓንኪ፡ አ፡ ዑፅፍት፡ በስብሐተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባዖት፡ ወጸዳልኪ፡ ይበርህ፡ እምፀሐይ፡ ምዕልፊተ፡ ወክብርኪ፡ ይፈደ(D62^{vb})ፍድ፡ እምኪሩቤል፡ ወሱ(K20^{vb})ራፌል፡ እለ፡ ፩፡ ክነፊሆም፡ ያንዘፈዝፉ፡ ላዕሌኪ፡ በሐሴት፡ ስብሐትኪ፡ ይትሌዓል፡ ጥቀ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ወክብርኪ፡ እምድር፡ ወእምእለ፡ የሐድሩ፡ ውስቴታ፡ አንቲ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ተንከተም፡ ዘትበጽሕ፡ እስከ፡ ሰማይ፡ ለበስኪ፡ ትፍሥሕተ፡ አ፡ ወለተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወከደንኪዮ⁴⁴፡ ለአዳም፡ ልብስ፡ ጸጋ፡ ወአግባዕኪዮ፡ ዳግመ፡ ኀበ፡ ገነተ፡ ትፍሥሕት፡ ደብተራ፡ ይእቲ፡ በአማን፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ ዘአንበሩ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ሰማዕታተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ደነስ፡ ልቡጥ፡ በወርቅ፡ እምኹ(D63^{ra})ለሄ፡ ገበዋቲሁ፡ ለምሥዋዕ፡ ኪሩባዊ፡ መሶበ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘመና፡ ኀቡዕ፡ ውስቴቱ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ቃ(21^{ra})ለ⁴⁵፡ አብ፡ ወጽአ፡ በሥጋ፡ እምኔኪ፡ ተቅዋመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘትፀውር፡ ብርሃነ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘውእቱ⁴⁶፡ ብርሃነ፡ ዓለም፡⁴⁷ ዘኢይቀርቦ፡ ጽልመት፡ ወማዕጠንተ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘትጸውር፡ ፍሕመ፡ እሳት፡ ወዕጣን፡ ኀሩይ፡ ውስቴታ፡ በትር፡ ዘጽጌ፡ ዘጸረት፡ ፍሬ፡ ወጽጌ፡ ንጽሕት፡ ለዘፅፍረት፡ እሎንቱ፡ ኹሎም፡ አመሩነ፡ ወሊዶተኪ፡ አ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡

35 ንጽሕኪ፡ D.

36 ይሴብኪ፡ D.

37 ዘነበርኪ፡ D.

38 'ል፡ D.

39 'ዓት፡ D.

40 ሊተ፡ ለኃጥእ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ add K.

41 om. D.

42 ኃጣውኢነ D.

43 መላክት፡ K.

44 ወከደንኪ፡ K.

45 ቃል፡ D.

46 ዝውእቱ፡ K.

47 ።D.

መንከረ፡ (D63^{rb}) ወመድምመ፡ አሰርጎከ፡ ነፍሳቲነ፡ ኦ፡ ሙሴ፡ ነቢይ፡ በክብረ፡ ደብተራ፡ ዘአሠርጎከ፡ ቀዳሚተ፡ ገብራ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ሥርየት፡ ለደቂቀ፡ ፳ኤል⁴⁸፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ከሎ፡ ምሳሌያተ፡ ዘአርአዮ፡ ሎቱ፡ ሙኑ፡ ይክል፡ ይትና(K21^{rb})ገር፡ ክብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ዘአሠርገዋ፡ ሙሴ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወሶበ፡ ርእዩ፡ መምሕራን፡ ክቡራን፡ [ዘጸሐፉ፡] መጻሕፍተ፡⁴⁹ አንከሩ፡ ጥቀ፡ ወኅለዩ፡ በልቦሙ፡ ወተርጐሙ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሠመይዋ፡ ለእግዚእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ወለተ፡ ኢያ(D63^{va})ቁም፡ ወሐና፡ ደብተራ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባዖት፡ ወአስተማሰሉ፡ ታቦተ፡ በድንግል፡ ወወርቀ፡ ኅሩየ፡ በድንግልናሃ፡ ወምሥዋዓ፡ በድንግልናሃ፡ ወኪሩቤል፡ በስብሐት፡ ይጼልል፡ ላዕሌሃ፡ መሶበ፡ ወርቅኒ፡ በድንግል፡ ጎመር⁵⁰፡ ወመና፡ በመድኃኒ፡ ወተቅዋም፡ ዘወርቅ፡ በቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወ፯፡ መሐትው⁵¹፡ ላዕለ፡ ፯፡ ሠራዊት፡ ወማዕጠንተ፡ ወርቅ፡ በድንግል፡ ወዕጣ(K21^{va})ነ፡ በአማኑኤል፡ ወበትረ፡ አሮን፡ በዕፀ፡ መስቀል፡ ዘተሰቅለ⁵²፡ ቦቱ፡ ፍቅር፡ ጽጌ፡ ማኅፀና፡(D63^{vb}) ወማዕደ፡ ምሥዋዕ፡ በማኅፀና፤ ወኅበስተ፡ ቅርባን፡ በሥጋሁ፡ ወሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ በእግዚእነ፡ ሠዋዒ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘሦዓ፡ ርእሶ፡ በእንተ፡ ኃጣውኢነ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ውክፍተ፡ በዲበ፡ መስቀል፡ ወተወክፎ፡ ኅቤሁ፡ ጌር፡ በጎልጎታ፡ በጊዜ፡ ሠርክ፡ አርሐው፡ አንቀጾ፡ ገነት፡ ወሜጦ፡ ለአዳም፡ ኅበ፡ መንበሩ፡ ዳግመ፡ ምዕረ፡ እምኅበ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ አእመርነ፡ ቅርባነ፡ ለሥርየተ፡ ኃጣውኢነ፡ በረከታ፡ ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤታ፡ ወዋገሰ፡ ስማ፡ ወምሕረተ፡ ፍቅር፡ ወልዳ፡ (D64^{ra}) የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ (K21^{vb}) ፣ጸሐፌሃ፡ ወልደ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ ወምስለ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ሰማዕያን፡ ወአንባብያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ድርሳነ፡ ጽዮን፡ በ1977^{ዓ.ም.} ወጸሐፊሁኒ፡ ቄስ፡ ገላው፡ ቢያድግልኝ፡ ዘጎንደር⁵³፡ (D64^{rb})

1.2 Translation

Once again, I will write the news of the greatness, honor, praise and majesty of Zion saying ‘Who shall be able to speak the honor of the Tabernacle that Moses made on Mount (D59^{va}) (K18^{ra}) Sinai?’ He made her in praise as the Lord told him, and He showed him all the heavenly parables. Aaron, his sons and himself [Moses] were serving inside her in the example of the above and the celestial tablets. They compared her to our Lady Mary in the [True] Tabernacle inside which the Lord truly is. Therefore, they speak truly about you with praise of prophecy, glorious in Your deeds, for you are the city of the great King, O Holy Zion! For us, let us seek and entreat You in order that we may receive (D59^{vb}) mercy by Your entreaty from the Beloved of (K18^{rb}) mankind. Who shall speak your honor, O our Lady Mary Zion, the holy Tabernacle, the holy of holies of Moses the head of the prophets? He placed the Tablets of the

48 እስራኤል፡ K.

49 ሄD.

50 ኅዋር፡ K.

51 መሐትው፡ D.

52 ዘተቅለ፡ D.

53 ገብራ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ወምስለ፡ ከሎሙ፡። K.

Covenant 'Martyrs of the Lord' inside her. And on them were inscribed the Ten Commandments which are the name[s] of Jesus Christ. And He is in Iota,⁵⁴ as it says in the Holy Scriptures 'He was incarnated from You without change. And You gave Him birth, and He purified us from our sins'. Therefore, every one of the children (D60^{ra}) of Israel brought a gift of gold, silver and precious⁵⁵ stones; (K18^{va}) purple and silk for the Tabernacle of the Lord. They made the Ark from incorruptable wood; and it was overlaid outside and inside. O Virgin Mary, You [too] are overlaid by the praise of Divinity outside and inside; for You brought many people to Your Son God, in Your Purity. O Perfect Virgin Mary, You [are] the Ark of the Covenant, made of incorruptible wood, overlaid with gold outside and inside. When the Lord our Savior (D60^{rb}) was incarnated from you with inexpressible power, by His own will He was equal with us as a man, and equal to the Lord in His Divine (K18^{vb}) nature. He was incarnated as one Divinity in His essence. Two Cherubim made of gold give shelter over the sacrifice with their wings continually, over the Holy of Holies inside the second Tabernacle. Once more, You O Mary! ten thousands and thousands of thousands [angels] are hovering over You continually; they were praising their Creator (D60^{va}) while He was [still] in Your womb. He took our image without change. The mouths of wise interpreters speak about Your glory. O Mary Zion, they compared You to an altar with Cherubim hovering over it. This is (K19^{ra}) according to the interpretation [that] they call the place: 'remission of our transgressions and sins'. It is fitting that we invoke Your name, (You) the golden basket with the Manna hidden in it. And he placed it ‡...‡ inside the Tabernacle as a testimony to the children (D60^{vb}) of Israel regarding what the Lord God had honored them with on Mt. Sinai. And again, O Mary, You bore the Manna inside Your womb, intelligence which went forth from the Father; and You gave birth to Him without impurity; and He gave us His Holy Flesh and Glorious Blood; and He gave us eternal life. O Mary Zion, they compared You with the golden basket which they put inside the Tabernacle. What was inside You was the hidden Manna, Jesus (K19^{rb}) Christ, the Bread of Life. Whoever eats His Flesh and drinks His Blood (D61^{ra}) shall rejoice forever. All the celestial hosts could not be compare You, O golden stand, for You bear the True Light. They made Her from pure gold; and they put Her inside the Tabernacle and they made her by hand. They put oil in Her lamp both day and night. Mary Zion, the one who [was present] inside Your womb gives light to all men, who come into the world.

54 The Greek letter *iota*, which is the first letter of *lēsous* 'Jesus', looks like the Gə'əz numeral for 'ten'. Hence the association between *iota*, Jesus and the Ten Commandments (cf. Leslau 1987: 628).

55 Lit. 'true'.

For He is the Sun of justice and You bore Him; and He purified us from our sins (D61^{rb}). Your glory is enormous, O Virgin Mary (K19^{va}), and greater than the golden stand which bears the seven lamps. They made its foundations and borders from the precious gold of Candace. Its light shines both day and night; and the oil in Her lamp is always full. O Mary Zion, truly You are the golden stand, the Divine Light, full of holy radiance within You. He has made the light shine over us we who dwell in darkness and the shadow (D61^{va}) of death. Truly and truly I do not sin in anyway if I call You the 'golden censer', for what is within it is the chosen censer in front of the Temple, so that the Lord (K19^{vb}) may take away the sins of mankind by the offerings and the aroma of censers. And, You O, Mary, bore the invisible Word of the Father in Your womb, who offered Himself on the cross as the accepted sacrifice for the salvation of our race. How beautiful is Your aroma, O Virgin Mary, (D61^{vb}) and it surpasses all the fragrance of frank incense, for truly You are the golden censer. And You bore the heavenly perfume who is Jesus Christ, the heavenly bridegroom, whose fragrant aroma truly fills everywhere. Youth received the beautiful fragrance. Those virgins who loved purity become daughters (K20^{ra}) to You, O Mary Zion †...‡ with the beauty of their virtue; with the rod of Aaron, which budded without being planted and watered.⁵⁶ And this is what You are truly compared to O Mother of Christ our God, (D62^{ra}) for although a Virgin without the seed of a man, He came [from You] and saved us. You are called the beloved, O St. Mary, for You became the second Tabernacle, inside which they put the rod of Aaron, for sanctification; and You are the pure flower for the incense. And Your garment is pure outside and inside, O Zion the Holy Tabernacle, the dwelling of righteous men. The host of the exalted praise You unceasingly. O Virgin (K20^{rb}) Mary, You are called the flower of sanctity for the incense which blossoms and buds from the root of scholars and prophets, like the rod (D62^{rb}) of Aaron the priest which budded and bore fruit. For You bore the Word without the seed of a man, and Your virginity was not corrupted. Behold now we believe that You are the Mother of the Lord, who gave Him birth and (yet), remained Virgin. Again we believe that it is fitting that You pray for us, O You full of grace, for You received grace before the Lord which exceeds [that of] the scholars and prophets. Again, pray for us as it is fitting, for Your glory exceeds that of the Seraphim (K20^{va}). Again, You (D62^{va}) O Mary Zion, You are the true intercessor for all of us. Pray for me before Your beloved Son that He should make me firm in Orthodox [faith] and let Him grant to me remission of [my] sins, and to all who have faith in You (Zion) and perform Your commemoration, forever and ever.

56 Cf. Num. 17:20–33.

All the thousands of angels and archangels, and all the name(s) which can be given, cannot reach Your blessedness, O (You) dressed in the glory of the Lord of Hosts. Your radiance shines more than the sun; and Your glory exceeds (D62^{vb}) that of the Cherubim and the Seraphim (K20^{vb}), whose six wings are spread over You in joy. Your splendor is much higher than the heavens and Your glory than the earth and those who are in it. Truly, You are the bridge which reaches heaven. O Daughter of Zion, You were clothed in joy and You covered Adam [with] the garment of grace and brought him again to the Paradise of joy. Truly Zion Mary is the Tabernacle, in whom they placed the martyrs of righteous; and She is the Ark without impurity, overlaid with gold (D63^{ra}) on every side, as the sacrificial altar of which is of the Cherubim; the golden basket in which the Manna is hidden. This Word (K21^{ra}) of the Father went forth in flesh from You, the golden stand bearing the Light which is truly the eternal Light to which darkness cannot approach, [You are] the golden censer which bears the coals of fire and the chosen incense, in which is the flowering rod which bore the fruit and the pure flower for perfume. O our Lady Mary, all these demonstrate to us Your life-giving power.⁵⁷

O Moses the prophet, you adorned our souls with wonderful (D63^{rb}) and marvelous things by the glory of the tabernacle, which you had adorned before. He made Her the abode of forgiveness for the children of Israel, as the Lord had told him through all the parables that he showed to him. Who can speak (K21^{rb}) of the glory of the tabernacle that Moses the prophet adorned? When honorable teachers, [those who wrote] the books, saw, they marveled very much and they pondered in their hearts; and they made exegesis by the Holy Spirit. They named our Lady Mary, daughter of Joachim (D63^{va}) and Hanna, the 'True Tabernacle of Lord of the hosts'. They compared the Ark with the Virgin, the chosen gold and the sacrifice with Her Virginity. And Cherubim hover in praise over her. As for the golden basket, [they compared it] with the Virgin; Gomär⁵⁸ and the Manna with our Savior; the golden stand with the Church; the seven lamps over the seven hosts and the golden censer with the Virgin; the incense (K21^{va}) with Immanuel; the rod of Aaron with the Cross on which was crucified the Beloved, the flower of her womb; (D63^{vb}) the banquet of sacrifice with Her womb; and the bread of the Eucharist with His Flesh. And the high priest with our Lord, the true Sacrificer, who offered Himself the sacrifice on behalf of our sins; the accepted Sacrifice on the Cross. And [His] kind [Father]

57 Lit. 'Your birth's giving'.

58 *Gomär* is a kind of measure; transcription of Greek *gomor* going back to Hebrew 'omer 'a measure of grain' (cf. Leslau 1987: 195).

received Him on Golgotha at dusk. He opened the gate of the Paradise and He restored Adam to His throne for a second time. From Zion Mary, we came to know the Eucharist for the remission of our sins. Let Her blessings and the wealth of Her help and the grace of Her name and the mercy of Her beloved Son (D64^{ra}) be with the [lit. her] scribe Wäldä Rufa'el, (K21^{vb}) and with all hearers and readers forever and ever, Amen. Dərsanä Şəyon was completed in EC 1977 [= AD 1984/1985]. The scribe is priest Gälaw Biyadgləññ of Gondär. (D64^{rb}).

2 *Tä'ammärä Şəyon* 'Miracles of Zion'—EMML 8823 [F]

2.1 *Text*

ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ ስምዑ፡ እነግረከሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ጥንተ፡ ሙላዳ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ፀወንነ፡ አመ፡ ጸመ፡ ሙሴ፡ ጃ፡ መዓልተ፡ ወጃ፡ ሌሊተ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና፡ ወሀሀ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽላት፡ ዘዕብን፡ ዘበውስቱታ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ዓሠርቱ፡ ቃላት፡ ዘይቤ፡ አነ፡ ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክክ፡ ዘአውጸዕኩክ፡ እምድረ፡ ግብጽ፡ እምነ፡ ምቅናይ(20^{va})ክ፡ ቀዳሜ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢታምልኩ፡ ካልአ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘእንበሌየ፡ ካልዕ፡ ትዕዛዝ፡ ኢትግበር ለክ፡ አምላክ፡ ከመ፡ ዘበውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ በላዕሉ፡ ወከመ፡ ዘበውስተ፡ ምድር፡ በታሕቱ፡ ወኢውስተ፡ ማይ⁵⁹፡ በታሕቱሃ፡ ለምድር፡ ወኢትስግድ፡ ሎሙ፡ ወኢታምልኩሙ፤ እስመ፡ አነ፡ ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክክ፡ አምላክ፡ ቀናዒ፡ ዘእፈዲ፡ ኃጢአተ፡ አብ፡ ለውሉድ፡ እስከ፡ ሣልስ፡ ወራብእ፡ ትውልድ፡ ለእለ፡ ይጸልኩኒ፡ ወ[እ]ገብር፡ ምሕረተ፡ እስከ፡ ፲፪፡ ትውልድ፡ ለእለ፡ ያፈቅ(20^{vb})ኑኒ፡ ወየዓቅቡ፡ ትእዛዝየ፡ ሣልሰ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትምሐል፡ ስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ[h]፡ በሐሰት፡ እስመ፡ ኢያነጽሕ⁶⁰፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዘይነሥእ፡ ስም፡ በሐሰት፡ ራብዕ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ተዘከር፡ ዕለተ፡ ሰንበት፡ አጽድቆታ፡ ሰዱሰ፡ ዕለታተ፡ ግበር፡ ተግባረክ፡ ወኸሎ፡ ትእዛዘክ፡ ወዕለተ፡ ሰንበተ (sic)፡ ሰንበቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክክ፡ ኢትግበር፡ ባቲ፡ ወኢምንተኒ፡ ግብረ፤ ኢአንስት፡ ወኢወልድክ፡ ወኢወለትክ፡ ወኢአመትክ፡ ወኢብእራይክ⁶¹፡ ወኢአድግክ፡ ወኢእንስሳክ፡ ወኢ(21^{ra})ገብርክ፡ ወኢፈላሲ፡ ዘይነብር፡ ኅቤክ፡ እስመ፡ በሰዱስ፡ [ዕለታት፡] ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሰማየ፡ ወምድረ፡ ወባሕረ፡ ወኸሎ፡ ዘውስቱቶሙ፡ ወአዕረፈ፡ አመ፡ ሳብዕት፡ ለዕት (sic)፡ ወበይነዝ፡ ባረካ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዕለት፡ ሳብዕተ፡ ወአጽደቃ፡ ኃምሰ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ አክብር፡ አባክ፡ ወእመክ፡ ወይኩንክ፡ ጽድቀ፡ ወያኑኅ፡ መዋዕሊክ፡ በዲበ፡ ምድር፡ ዘወሀበክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሳድሰ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትቅትል፡ ሳብዕ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትዘመ፡ ሳምን፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትስርቅ፡ ታስዕ፡ ትዕዛዝ፡ ኢትስማዕ፡ ላዕለ፡ ቢጽ(21^{rb})ክ፡ ሰምዓ (sic)፡ በሐሰት፡ ዓሥር፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትፍቱ፡ ብእሲተ፡ ካልዕ፡ ኢቤቶ፡ ወኢገራህቶ፡ ወኢገብሮ፡ ወኢአመቶ፡ ወኢላህም፡ ወኢብዕራይሁ፡ ወኢኸሎ፡ ዘውስተ፡ እንስሳሁ፡ ዘጥረከየ፡ (sic)

59 ሰማይ፡ F.

60 ኢያነጽሕ፡ F.

61 ወኢብራይክ፡ F.

አጥርዮ፡ ቢጽከ። ዘንተ፡ ጸሐፈ፡ እግዚእን፡ በእዴሁ፡ ወኸሉ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል፡ ይፈኡ፡ ቃለ፡ ብርሃን፡ ለዘለንጳስ፡ ወቃለ፡ ዘመጥቅዕ፡ ወደብሩ፡ ይጠይስ። ወፈሪሆሙ፡ ኸሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ቆሙ፡ ርጉቀ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚእን፡ ለሙሴ፡ ዛቲ፡ ሕግ፡ ትኩንክ፡ ሕገ፡ ወረድኤተ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ ለከ፡ ወለእሊአክ፡ ወተመጢዎ፡ (21^{va}) ሙሴ፡ ውእተ፡ ጽላተ፡ ዘሕግ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሙሴ፡ እምዝ፡ ሑር፡ አበሱ፡ ሕዝብከ። ወሶበ፡ ሑረ፡ ረከቦሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰግዱ፡ ለግልፎ። ወደንገጸ፡ ሙሴ። ወወድቀ፡ እምእዴሁ፡ ወተሰብረ፡ ዝኹ፡ ጽላተ፡ ሕግ። ወበከየ፡ ሙሴ፡ ወሑረ፡ ኀበ፡ ደብረ፡ ሲና፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘወሀብከኒ፡ ጽላተ፡ ሕግ፡ ተሠብረ። ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ግበር፡ በአርአያሁ፡ ጽላተ፡ ሕግ፡ እምዕፅ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ። ወገብረ፡ ሙሴ፡ በከመ፡ አዘዞ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ወእምዝ፡ ገብረ፡ ደብ(21^{vb})ተራ፡ ወአንጦልአ፡ መንጦላዕተ። ወአንበራ፡ በማዕከለ፡ ተዓይኒሁ።

ወሶበ፡ ሞተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ተመጠዋ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወሑረ፡ ኀበ፡ ገባዖን፡ ወበጽሐ፡ ኀበ፡ ዮርዳኖስ። ወተከፍለ፡ ሎቱ፡ ኀበ፡ ፲፬፻፪፡ ከመ ይኩን፡ ትእምርተ፡ ለዘይመጽእ፡ ትውልድ። ወዖሩ፡ ዓሠርተ፡ ወክልኤተ፡ ተ...ቲ ። ወሑሩ፡ ኀበ፡ ገባዖን፡ ወዖድዋ፡ ለኢያሪት፡ ሠለስተ፡ ጊዜ። ወኮነ፡ ቅጽራ፡ ከመ፡ ሰምዕ። ወገዬ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ወአሕለቆሙ፡ ኢያሱ። ወሶበ፡ ዓርበ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ተርፉ፡ ንስቲተ። ወአምሐላ፡ ለፀሐይ፡ ወቆመት፡ ወአኅ(22^{ra})ለቆሙ። ወፈትሐ፡ ለፀሐይ፡ ወገብአት፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወረሰያ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡ ለኢያሪት። ወሐነጸ፡ ጽርሐ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ማዕከለ፡ ተዓይኒሁ። ወተከለ፡ ዕብን፡ በቅድሜሃ፡ ፩ተ፡ በየማነ (sic)፡ ወ፩ተ፡ በጸጋማ፡ ተከለ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም። ወነበረት፡ በህየ፡ በእደ፡ መሣፍንት፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ ፈንሐስ፡ ኸኢስ፡ ኅቶልያ፡ ኤግሎም፡ ንጉሠ፡ ሞአብ፡ ናዖድ⁶²፡ ሲሚጊር፡ ኢያሲስ⁶³፡ ንጉሠ፡ ከነዓን፡ ወሲሳራ፡ መልአክ፡ ኃይሉ። ዲቦራ፡ ኩነነቶሙ፡ ተ...ቲ ዚብሔል፡ ወስልማና፡ ነገሥተ⁶⁴፡ ምድያም። ቀነይዎሙ፡ ጊዴዎን፡ አቤሜሌክ፡ ቶላ፡ ኢያዕር⁶⁵። ነ(22^{rb})ገሥተ፡ ፍልስጥኤም ተ...ቲ ። ወድቀ፡ አዋን፡ ቀነይዎሙ፡ ዮፍታሔ፡ ሐሴቦን፡ ኤሎም፡ ሎቦን፡ ነገሥተ፡ ፍልስጥኤም፡ ኢሎፍላውያን። ቀነይዎሙ፡ ሶምሶን፡ ተ...ቲ⁶⁶ ። ሳሙኤል፡ ተ...ቲ ሳኦል፡ ፵፡ ዓመተ፡ ነግሠ። ወእምዝ፡ ነግሠ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሠ፡ እስራኤል። ወዚዋውያን፡ ኢሎፍላውያን፡ ወወሰድዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ። ወበህየ፡ አውረደት፡ ቦሙ፡ መቅሠፍተ፡ ብዙታ፡ ወአጎለቀቶሙ። ወእለ፡ ተርፉ፡ ተማከሩ፡ በበይናቲሆሙ። ወፈንውዋ፡ ፅዒኖሙ፡ በአልህምት፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኅ፡ አል(22^{va})ኅምት፡ ወቦአት፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ በኃይለ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ። ወሶበ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወሌዋውያን፡ ተመጠውዋ፡ እንዘ፡ ይዜምሩ። ወአብእዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ አቢዳራ። ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡ ንስቲተ፡ መዋዕለ። ወእምዝ፡ አብእዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤታ፡ በይባቤ፡ ወቃለ፡ ቀርን። ወነበረት፡ እስከ፡ ነግሠ፡ ሰሎሞን። ወውእተ፡ አሚረ፡ ወወረደት፡ እምአክሱም፡ ንግሥተ፡ አዜብ፡ ኀበ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ከመ፡ ትርአይ፡ ጥበቢሁ። ወሶበ፡ በጽሐት፡ ህየ፡ ተራከባ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወፀንሰት፡ ንግሥተ፡ አዜብ። ወእምዝ፡ (22^{vb}) ተመይጠት፡ ኀበ፡ ሀገራ፡ አክሱም፡ ወወሰደት፡ ወልደ፡ ተባዕተ። ወሶበ፡ ወርዘው፡ ፈነወቶ፡ ኀበ፡ አቡሁ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ [ወ]ተፈሥሐ፡ ጥቀ። ወርእይዎ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡ ሰመይዎ፡ በልሳኖሙ፡ ምኒልክ፡ እስመ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ብሂል፡ አርአያ፡

62 ነአድ፡ F.

63 ኢያሚን፡ F.

64 ቱንሥተ(sic)፡ F.

65 ኢያኤል፡ F.

66 ሚካ፡ ኤሪ፡ F.

አቡሁ። ወይቤልዎ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ ፈንዎ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሩ፡ እስመ፡ አንተ፡ ወወልድክ፡ መሰልክሙነ፡ አሐደ። ወይቤ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ በኸሮየ። አንትሙ፡ ሀብዎ፡ በኸረክሙ፡ ወዓሌ፡ ወይሑር፡ ብሔሮ። ወወሀብዎ፡ (23^{ra}) በኸሮሙ። ወሰሎሞንሂ፡ ወሀብ፡ ፵ወ፱፡ ባዓለ፡ ሕግ፡ ምስለ፡ ታቦተ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወአንገሦ፡ ወእምዝ፡ ወልደ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወነሥእ⁶⁷፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወአንበሮ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ኀበ፡ መንበረ፡ ጽዮን። ወአልበሰ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቷ...ቷ ወለጽዮንሂ፡ አልባሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያእምሮ፡ ሰብእ። ወዎራ፡ በርእሱ፡ ወመጽአ፡ ምስለ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ኀበ፡ አክሱም፡ ወኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ነፋስ፡ ወአንሀለ፡ አብያቲሁ፡ ወተዓይኒሁ፡ ለሰሎሞን። ወይቤሎሙ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ለካህና(23^{rb})ት፡ እስኩ፡ ርእይዎ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕግነ። ወርእዮሙ፡ ሀለወት፡ ይቤልዎ። ወጸንዓ፡ ነፋስ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ካዕበ፡ ሀለወትኑ፡ ጽዮን፡ በመንበራ። ወይቤልዎ፡ እወ፡ ሀለወት። ወሶበ፡ ጸንዓ፡ ነፋስ፡ ዓውሎ፡ ተምዓ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ቅልዑ፡ አልባሲሃ፡ ወኢረከብዎ። ወነገርዎ፡ ለሰሎሞን። ወካዕበ፡ ተምዓ፡ ጥቀ። ወፈነወ፡ ኩሎ፡ ሐራሁ፡ ወሠራዊቶ፡ ከመ፡ ይሚጥዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምኀበ፡ ምኒልክ። ወምኒልክሂ፡ ወሠራዊቱ፡ እንዘ፡ የሐውሩ፡ እምፍኖቶሙ፡ ቷ...ቷ ለሰሎ(23^{va})ሞን፡ አድባራት፡ ወዕፀዋት፡ እምፍኖታት። ኩሎ፡ ጐጻጐጸ፡ ፍኖት፡ ኮነ፡ ርቱዓ፡ እምቅድሜሆሙ፡ ወበጽሑ፡ ኀበ፡ ባሕር፡ ፀዊሮሙ፡ ጽዮን። ወተከፍለት፡ ሎሙ። ወዓደውዋ፡ በእግር፡ ከመ፡ የብስ። እስመ፡ እምይወጽእ፡ ሕግ፡ ወዚወ፡ ተክህኖ፡ ኃይል፡ ወመዊዕ፡ ወእንላ፡ ማ[ውታ፡] ቷ...ቷ አንበሳሂ፡ ለእመ፡ ኢበልዐ፡ ዕፀ፡ መዊዕ፡ አልቦቱ፡ ኃይል፡ ወመዊዕ። ከማሁኒ፡ ካህናት፡ ወነሥታት፡ ለእመ፡ ኢተባረኩ፡ እምጽዮን፡ አልበሙ፡ ዚወ፡ ተክህኖ፡ ለካህናት፡ ወአልበሙ፡ ኃ(23^{vb})ይል፡ ወመዊዕ፡ ለነሥታት። ወእምዝ፡ ተጋብአት፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ዛቲ፡ ባሕር። ወሶቤሃ፡ በጽሑ፡ ሠራዊተ፡ ሰሎሞን። ወሶበ፡ ርእይዎ፡ ነደ፡ አማዑቶሙ፡ ወውእየ፡ ልቦሙ፡ ወወድቁ፡ በገጽሙ። ወአንገርገሩ፡ ዲበ፡ ምድር። ወተመይጡ፡ እንዘ፡ ይበክዩ። ወምኒልክሂ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ዕብነ፡ ሐኪም፡ ወሠራዊቱ፡ በጽሑ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም፡ ፀዊሮሙ፡ ጽዮንሃ፡ ታቦተ፡ አምላክ። ወገብሩ፡ በህየ፡ ትዕይንተ፡ ወአንበርዋ፡ በማዕከሎሙ። ወሐነፁ፡ ላቲ፡ ጽርሐ፡ ሠናየ፡ ወሥርግወ። ወበዛቲ፡ ዕ(24^{ra})ለት፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለኀዳር፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ተመይጦታ፡ እምኀበ፡ ዚወውዋ፡ ኀበ፡ ቤታ። ወዳግም፡ ምጽአታ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም። ወበእንተዝ፡ ያብዕሉ፡ ላቲ፡ በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለለወርኑ። ወፈድፋደሰ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለኀዳር። ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡ እስከ፡ ይትወለድ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እምቅድስት፡ ድንግል። ወሶበ፡ ተወልደሂ፡ ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ምስለ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ነበሩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያእምሩ፡ ልደቶ፡ ለክርስቶስ።

ወእምዝ፡ መጽአ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ እምብሔረ፡ ግብፅ፡ ኀበ፡ አክሱም። ወይቤ(24^{rb})ሎሙ፡ ለካህናተ፡ ጽዮን፡ በምንት፡ ሕግ፡ ሀለውክሙ። ወይቤልዎ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት። ወይቤሎሙ፡ ኢያእመርክሙኑ፡ ከመ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ተስፋ፡ አቡነ፡ አዳም፡ ወኪዳነ፡ አብርሃም፡ ወመሐላሁ፡ ለዳዊት። ወዘከመ፡ ኃለፈት፡ ሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡ ወበከመ፡ ቆመ፡ ሕገ፡ ወንጌል፡ ብስራታዊ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም። ወዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ጸጋ፡ በዲበ፡ ጸጋ። ወዘከመ፡ ዓልዓላ፡ ለእሙ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ እምዖታ፡ ሰብእ፡ ወመላእክት። ወዘከመ፡ ሰገዱ፡ ተዓይነ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ላቲ። ለክብረ፡ ንግሣ፡ ዘከመ፡ ተገብረ፡ ሠማ(24^{va})ይ፡ ወምድር። ወዘከመ፡ ተፈጥሩ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ በእንቲአሃ። ወዘከመ፡ ተሰምየት፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕገክሙ፡ በስማ፡ በአምላለ፡ ስም⁶⁸፡ ዘይሜስልዎ፡

67 'አ፡ F.

68 ስምዕ፡ F.

በወርቅ፡ ጽዮን፡ ብሂል፡ ማርያም፡ ብሂል፡ ፀወን፡ ብሂል። ወዘከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ሰብእ፡ ከማነ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ባሕቲታ። ወእምድኅረ፡ ኮነ፡ ሰብአ፡ ጥዩቀ፡ አምላክ፡ ፍጹም፡ ውእቱ። ወዘከመ፡ ሐረየ፡ ፲ወ፪ተ፡ ወሰመዮሙ፡ ሐዋርያተ። ወዘከመ፡ ሰመየ፡ ፲ወ፪ተ። ወዘከመ፡ ነበራ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ፴ወ፮፡ (24^{vb}) አንስት፡ እንዘ፡ ይትለአካሁ። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤሎሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ሑሩ፡ ወመሀሩ፡ ኩሉ፡ አሕዛብ። ወዘከመ፡ ነገሮሙ፡ ለ፲ወ፪፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ሰሞ፡ ኅቡአ፡ ከመ፡ ይማውእሙ⁶⁹፡ ለሰይጣናት፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ኢያሂ፡ ሱራሂ፡ ድማሄል፡ አቅባዲር፡ ምናቴር፡ አናንኤል፡ ኬንያ፡ ግዮን፡ ሴቃ፡ ጼቃ፡ ሰተናዊ፡ ኢያኤል። አማኑኤል፡ ፩፡ ረዳኤ፡ አፍራኤል፡ ማርዮን፡ ምናቴር፡ ኢልኤል፡ ኤል፡ አኮ፡ ኤሎሄ፡ ሂጣ፡ ሂዳ፡ አውያያ፡ (25^{ra}) ጸባዖት፡ አፍ፡ አፍያኪሮ፡ ላሂ፡ ላሂ፡ ላሂ። መስተድዮስ፡ አፉር፡ አፉር፡ አፉር፡ አፍርዮን፡ አፍናታ፡ ላሃን፡ ላሃን፡ ላሃን፡ ሱራኤል፡ ወአልቦ፡ ባዕድ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘእንበሌሁ፡ በሰማይ፡ በላዕሉ፡ ወበምድር፡ በታሕቱ። ፩፡ ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ጸባዖት፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅዱስ። ዘኢይመውት፡ እምዝ፡ ዳግም፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። ዘከመ፡ ነበረ፡ ፴ወ፫ተ፡ ዓመተ፡ ወ፫ተ፡ አውርታ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ እንዘ፡ ያንሶሱ፡ ምስሌ(25^{rb})ነ፡ ወዘከመ፡ መሐረ፡ ሕገ፡ ወንጌል፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ነሥሑ፡ እስመ፡ ቀርበት፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፤ ወዘከመ፡ አዘዘ፡ ፮ተ፡ ቃላተ፡ ወንጌል፡ ርኅብኩ፡ ወአብላዕክሙኒ። ጸማዕኩ፡ ወአስተይክሙኒ። ነግደ፡ ኮንኩ፡ ወተወከፍክሙኒ፡ ወአኅደርክሙኒ። አረቁ፡ ወአልበስክሙኒ። ደወይኩ፡ ወሐወጽክሙኒ። ተሞቃህኩ፡ ወመጸእክሙ፡ ኅቢየ፡ ወነበብክሙኒ። ወዘከመዝ፡ መሐረ፡ አሚነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፫፡ (25^{va}) አካላት፡ ወ፩፡ መለኮት፡ ወ፩፡ መንግሥት። ዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ልብስ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ዘያነጽሕ፡ ኃጢአተነ። ወዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወደሞ፡ ከመ፡ ንብላዕ፡ ወንስተይ፡ በንጹሕ፡ ዘያስተላጽቀነ፡ ምስሌሁ። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ መራኅተ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ዘአሠርክሙ፡ በምድር፡ ይኩን፡ እሠራ፡ በሰማያት፡ ወዘከመ፡ ፈታሕክሙ፡ በምድር፡ ይኩን፡ ፍቱሐ፡ በሰማያት። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ረሰየነ፡ መዋርስቲሁ። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ሰመየነ፡ አጋወ፡ ምስሌ(25^{vb})ሁ። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ሰቀልዎ፡ አይሁድ፡ ወተንሥአ፡ እሙታን፡ አመ፡ ሣልስት፡ ዕለት። ወበ፵፡ ዕለት፡ ዓርገ፡ ሰማያት። ወእምዝ፡ በ፲፡ ዕለት፡ ፈነወ፡ ለነ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ። ወካዕብ፡ ይመጽእ፡ ለኩንኖ፡ ሕያዋን፡ ወሙታን። ወዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ መስቀሉ፡ ክቡረ፡ መግረሬ፡ ፀርነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይቅረቡ፡ ኅቢነ፡ ሠራዊተ፡ ዲያብሎስ። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ዪወወ፡ ሙታን፡ በደሙ። ወዘከመ፡ አግዓዘነ፡ እምግብርናቲሁ፡ ለዲያብሎስ። ወዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ወንጌል፡ ዘያበስር፡ ተስፋ፡ መንግ(26^{ra})ሥተ፡ ሰማያት። ወበከመ፡ መሀረ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ትምህርታተ። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ዕቀቡ፡ ቃልየ፡ ወጽንዑ፡ ትእዛዝየ። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ንዑ፡ ባኡ፡ እንተ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ጸባብ። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤለነ፡ ለእመ፡ ኢያፈድፈድክሙ፡ በሕግ፡ ጸዲቅ (sic)፡ ቷ...ቷ ፈድፋደ፡ እምጸሐፍት፡ ወፈሪሳውያን፡ ኢትበውእዋ፡ ለመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ኢመጸእኩ፡ እስከሮሙ፡ ለአረት፡ ወለነቢያት፡ አላ፡ ዳእሙ፡ ከመ፡ እፈጽሞሙ።

ዘንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ኢሰማዕክሙኑ፡ ወይቤልዎ፡ ኢሰማዕነ፡ ወኢያእመርነ። (26^{rb}) ወይቤሎሙ፡ ነገርኩክሙ፡ ኢተአምኑሁ። ወይቤልዎ፡ እወ፡ ነአምን፡ ለእመ፡ ነገሩነ፡ ተስፋ፡ አቡነ፡ አዳም፡ ዘይቤሎ፡ እትወለድ፡ እምወለትክ፡ ወአድኅክ⁷⁰፡ ውስተ፡ መርህብክ፡ ወእትቤዘወክ፡

69 ይማዕዎሙ፡ F.

70 ወአድኅክ፡ F.

በመስቀል። ወለአብርሃምኒ፡ አቡነ፡ ዘይቤሎ፡ እሬስየከ፡ አባሆሙ፡ ለብዙኃን፡ አሕዛብ። በዘርእከ፡ ይትባረኩ፡ ከሎሙ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ምድር። ወሙሴሂ፡ ይቤ፡ ነቢያ፡ ያነሥእ፡ ለክሙ፡ ዘከማየ፡ እምአኃዊክሙ። ዘኢትሰምዖ፡ (26^{va}) ለውእቱ፡ ነቢያ፡ ትሜሮ፡ እምሕዝባ፡ ወዳዊትኒ፡ ይቤ፡ እስመ፡ ጎረያ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጽዮን። ወአብደራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩሻ፡ ማኅደሮ። ዛቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምዕራፍየ፡ ለዓለም። ወትቀውም፡ ንግሥት፡ በየማንክ፡ በአልባስ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዑፅፍት፡ ወጉብርት። ኢሳይያስኒ፡ ይቤ፡ ናሁ፡ ድንግል፡ ትፀንስ። ወትወልድ፡ ወልደ፡ ወትሰምዮ፡ ስሞ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ያድኅኖሙ፡ ለሕዝቡ፡ እምጎጢአቶሙ። ወዳንኤልኒ፡ ይቤ፡ ትት(26^{vb})ሐነፅ⁷¹፡ (sic) መቅደስ፡ እስከ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ንጉሥ። ወሚክያስኒ⁷²፡ ይቤ፡ አንቲኒ፡ ቤተልሔም፡ ምድረ፡ ኤፍራታ፡ ኢትቴሐቲ፡ እምነገሥተ፡ ይሁዳ፡ እስመ፡ እምኔኪ፡ ይወፅእ፡ ንጉሥ። ዘይርዕዮሙ⁷³፡ ለሕዝብየ፡ እስራኤል። ለእመ፡ በጽሐ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ከሉ፡ ቃላተ፡ ኦሪት፡ ወነቢያት፡ አጥምቀነ፡ ይቤልዎ። ወተፈሥሐ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ። ወፈርሃ፡ ከመ፡ ያጥምቆሙ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ መባሕተ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት። ወይቤሎሙ፡ አ(27^{ra})ሐውር፡ ጎበ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ወእነግሮ። ወውእቱ፡ ዘፈነዎ፡ ያጠምቀክሙ። ወይቤልዎ፡ በከመ፡ ፈቀድከ። ወሐረ፡ ጎበ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ወሢም፡ ጳጳስ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ሰላማ። ወፈነዎ፡ ጎበ፡ ብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ። ወይቤሎ፡ ሔር፡ መሀርሙ፡ ወአጥምቆሙ፡ ወረሰዮሙ፡ ቀሳውስተ፡ ወዲያቆናተ። ወእምዝ፡ ተመይጦ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ ወአጥምቆሙ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ክርስትና። ወረሰዮሙ፡ ቀሳውስተ፡ ወዲያቆናተ። ወተፈሥሐ፡ ዓቢየ፡ ፍ(27^{rb})ሥሐ። ወምክንያተ፡ ምጽአቱስ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዜናሁ። መጽአ፡ አሐዱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እምፀርዕ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ሜሮጵዮስ⁷⁴፡ (sic) ሊቀጠብት፡ ይፈቅድ፡ ይርአያ፡ ለብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ። ወምስሌሁ፡ ክልኤቱ፡ ደቂቅ፡ ዘእምአዝማዲሁ፡ ስሙ፡ ለ፩፡ ፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡ (sic) ወለካልዑ፡ አድስዮስ። ወቦ፡ እለ፡ ይሰምይዎ፡ ሲድራኮስ። ወበጽሐ፡ በሐመር፡ ሐይቀ፡ ብሔረ፡ ግብጽ፡ አግዓዚ። ወርእየ፡ ከሉ፡ ሠናያተ፡ ዘፈተወት፡ ልቡ። ወእንዘ፡ ይፈቅድ፡ ል(27^{va})ቡ፡ ይትመየጥ፡ ብሔሮ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ፀር፡ ወቀተልዎ፡ ምስለ፡ ከሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ምስሌሁ። ወተርፉ፡ ፪፡ ደቂቅ፡ ንዑሳን። ወዚወውዎሙ⁷⁵፡ ሰብአ፡ ሀገር። ወመሀርዎሙ፡ ግብረ፡ ዘተቃትሎ። ወወስድዎሙ፡ አምኃ፡ ለንጉሠ፡ አክሱም፡ ዘስሙ፡ አልዓዳ (sic)። ወሢሞ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ለአድስዮስ፡ መጋቤ፡ ቤተ፡ ቃጢን (sic)። ወለፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሕግ፡ ወጸሐፈ፡ አክሱም። ወእምድኅረ፡ ጎዳጥ፡ መዋዕል፡ አዕረፈ፡ ን(27^{vb})ጉሥ፡ ወሐደገ፡ እንለ፡ ንዑስ፡ ምስለ፡ እሙ። ወነግሡ፡ እለ፡ አዝንግ። ወነበሩ፡ አድስዮስ⁷⁶፡ ወፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡ እንዘ፡ የሐፅንዎ፡ ለሕፃን፡ ወይሜሀርዎ፡ ሃይማኖተ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ በበንስቲት። ወሐነፁ፡ ሎቱ፡ ምጽላየ፡ ወአስተጋብኡ፡ ጎቤሁ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሜሀርዎሙ፡ መዝሙረ፡ ወማኅሌተ። ወሶበ፡ አብጽሐ፡ ዝከ፡ ዓቅመ፡ ውርዛዌ፡ ቷ...ቷ⁷⁷ ሀገሮሙ፡ ወአድስዮስስ፡ [ሐረ፡] ብሔ(28^{ra})ሮ፡ ጢሮስ⁷⁸፡ ከመ፡ ይርአይ፡ ወላድያኒሁ። ወፍሬ፡ ምናጦስኒ፡ በጽሐ፡ እስክንድርያ፡ ጎበ፡ ሊቀ፡

71 ትሐንፅ፡ F.

72 ወሚልክያስኒ፡ F.

73 ዘይርእዮሙ፡ F.

74 ሜሮፀጵዮስ፡ F.

75 ወዚወውዎሙ፡ F.

76 ሰድስዮስ፡ F.

77 ሰአልዎ፡ ከመ፡ ይፈንዎሙ፡ F.

78 ጢሮስ፡ F.

ጳጳሳት፡ ዘስሙ፡ አትናቴዎስ፡ ወረከቦ፡ በሐዲስ፡ ሢመቱ፡ ወዜነዎ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘበጽሐ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ፡ ለብሔረ፡ አግኦዚ፡ ወዘከመ፡ አምኑ፡ በክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ እንዘ፡ አልቦሙ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ወእምዝ፡ ሢሞ፡ አትናቴዎስ፡ ለፍሬ፡ ምናጠስ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ጳጳስ፡ ለብሔረ፡ አግኦዚ፡ ዘብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵ(28^{rb})ያ፡ ወፈነዎ፡ ምስለ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ክብር፡ ወበጽሐ፡ ብሔረ፡ አግኦዚ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ አክሱም፡ ፀዊሮ፡ ወንጌለ፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፰፡ ለታኅሣሥ፡ አመ፡ መንግሥተ፡ አብርሃ፡ ወአጽብሐ፡ ወስበከ፡ በሰላመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ ቷ...ቷ ወኩሎ፡ አድያሚሃ፡ ወበእንተዝ፡ ተሰምየ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ ወአእመኖሙ⁷⁹፡ 「በስመ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ⁸⁰፡ ለሰብአ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ወእምነቶሙስ፡ እምልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በ፬፻፴፡ ዓመ(28^{va})ት፡ ወእምዝ፡ አዕረፈ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፮፡ ለሐምሌ፡ በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወይደልወነ፡ ንግበር፡ ተዝካሮ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ ወመምህርነ፡ ኪዳን፡ ጽኑዕ፡ ተውህቦ፡ ሎቱ፡ እምኅበ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወእምእግዝእትነ⁸¹፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘይገብሮ፡ ተዝካሮ፡ ወዘይጼውእ፡ ስሞ፡ ወዘይጽሕፍ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ገድሎ፡ ኢይሬእያ፡ ለደይን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡

ወእምድኅረዝ፡ (28^{vb}) መጽሐ፡ ኅበ፡ ምድረ፡ አግኦዚ፡ ፱፡ ቅዱሳን፡ እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ አባ፡ ጳንጠሌዎን፡ ወአባ፡ ዘሚካኤል፡ ዘውእቱ፡ አረጋዊ፡ እምሀገረ፡ እስክንድርያ፡ አባ፡ ሊቃኖስ፡ ዘቀስጥንጥንያ፡ ወአባ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ዘቆስያ፡ ወአባ፡ ጉባ፡ ዘእምቂልቅያ፡ ወአባ፡ ጽሕማ፡ እምአንጾኪያ፡ ወአባ፡ አፍጼ፡ እምእስያ፡ ወአባ፡ መጣዕ፡ እምሮምያ፡ ወአባ፡ ሶጽ፡ እምቂሳርያ፡ ከመ፡ ይስቅይዋ፡ በማየ፡ ትምህርቶሙ፡ ለገነተ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ ወስቀይዋ፡ ወአባ፡ ዘ(29^{fa})ሚካኤል፡ ዘውእቱ፡ አረጋዊ፡ አመንኮሶ፡ አባ፡ (sic) ክርስቶስ፡ ቤዛ፡ ወአባ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ቤዛ፡ ወለደ፡ (sic) ለአባ፡ መስቀል፡ ሞአ፡ ወለአባ፡ ዮሐኒ፡ ወአባ ዮሐኒ፡ ወለደ፡ ለአባ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ፡ በቀሚስ፡ ወበቅናት⁸²፡ ወኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ፡ ወለደ፡ ለአባ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በቀሚስ፡ ወበቅንዓት፡ ከማሁ፡ አባ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወሂኦ፡ እምሐይቅ፡ ዓርገ፡ ደብረ፡ ዳሞ፡ ወነሥአ፡ ቆብአ፡ ወአስኪማ፡ በእደ፡ አባ፡ ዮሐኒ፡ ወእምድኅረ፡ ነሥአ፡ ቆብአ፡ ወአስኪማ፡ ወረደ፡ (29^{rb}) ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ፫፡ ጊዜ፡ በ፩፡ ሐጋይ፡ ቷ...ቷ፡ ወረከበ፡ ምውተ፡ በፍኖት፡ ወአነሥአ፡ በ፲ወ፪፡ ዓመት፡ ወተመይጦ፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም፡ እንዘ፡ ይተልዎ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘአንሥአ፡ ወአልበሶ፡ አልባሰ፡ ምንኩስና፡ ወስመዮ፡ አርአየነ፡ ጸጋሁ፡ ወበጽሐ፡ ምድረ፡ ትግሬ፡ ወበህየ፡ ወለደ፡ ለወስጣቴዎስ (sic)፡ እሙ፡ ወአባ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት (sic)፡ ወአባ፡ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ፡ ወለደ፡ ለአባ፡ ዳንኤል፡ ወለብዙኃን፡ ደቂቅ፡ ወአባ፡ ዳንኤል፡ ወለደ፡ ለአባ፡ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ (sic)፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ እኅወ፡ እሙ፡ (29^{va}) ወአባ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ሖረ፡ ኅበ፡ ሐይቅ፡ ወተራከቦ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ፡ አ፡ ወልድየ፡ ኩነኒ፡ አበ፡ ወወሀቦ፡ ቆብአ፡ ወአስኪማ፡ ወኮኖ፡ አበ፡ ወእምድኅረዝ፡ ሖረ፡ ምድረ፡ ሸዋ፡ ወመሀረ፡ በህየ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ወአእመነ፡ በስመ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወገብረ፡ ተአምረ፡ ወመንክረ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ዘኢይትኃለቁ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ኩሎ፡ ኮነ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ለፀወነ፡ ዓለም፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡

79 ወአእመኖሙ፡ F.

80 በስመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ F.

81 ወእግዝእትነ፡ F.

82 ወበቅንዓት፡ F.

ድንግል፡ በክልኤ፡ (29^{vb}) ማርያም፡ ጥዕምተ፡ ስም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፤ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡
ወምሕረቱ፡ ለፍቀር፡ ወልዳ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፤ ወአሜን፡ ለይኩን፡
ለይኩን።

አ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ፀወነ፡ ብዙኃን፡ አእላፍ፤

ረድኤቶሙ፡ አንቲ፡ ለእለ፡ ውስተ፡ ባሕር፡ ወጸድፍ፤

ርድእኒ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወዲቅ፡ ወአንሥእኒ፡ በክንፍ፤

እስመ፡ አነ፡ ገብርኪ፡ አፈቅረኪ፡ እምውሳጤ፡ ልብየ፡ ወአኮ፡ በአፍ፤ (30^{ra})

ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (30^{rb})

2.2 Translation

Miracle⁸³ of our Lady Virgin Saint Mary, Mother of God; May Her prayer and blessings be with ... forever and ever Amen. Listen, I will tell you, O Christian people. The beginning of the genealogy of Zion, our refuge, [is] at the time when Moses fasted for forty days and forty nights at Mount Sinai. The Lord had given him the stone Tablet[s], on which the Ten Commandments were inscribed, which say: 'I am the Lord your God, whom I brought you from the land of Egypt, out of the place of your bondage'. (20^{va}). First commandment—'Do not worship other gods except Me'. Second commandment—'Do not make any god like that which is in the heaven above or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, requiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me, but doing mercy to the thousandth generation of those who love me (20^{vb}) and keep my commandment[s]'. Third commandment—'Do not swear falsely by the name of the Lord, your God; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who takes His name falsely'. Fourth commandment—'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days you shall labor, and do your work and all you are commanded; but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God; in it you shall not do any work [you] or a woman,⁸⁴ or your son, or your daughter, or your maidservant, or your ox, or your ass, or your cattle, or (21^{ra}) your manservant, or the sojourner who is with you. For in six [days] the Lord made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all that is in them, and He rested on the seventh day; therefore, the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it'. Fifth commandment—'Honor your father and your mother and let it be a pious deed for you, that He may lengthen your days in the land which the

83 For general bibliography and brief note on the *Tä'ammärä Maryam* 'miracle of Mary', cf. Balicka-Witakowska and Bausi 2010: 789–793.

84 The Gə'əz has አንስት፡ '(a) woman'. Perhaps this is a corruption of አንተ፡ 'you', which is found instead in the Hebrew and the LXX.

Lord your God gives you'. Sixth commandment—'You shall not kill'. Seventh commandment—'You shall not commit adultery'. Eighth commandment—'You shall not steal'. Ninth commandment—'You shall not bear false witness against your (21^{rb}) neighbor'. Tenth commandment 'You shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or his house, or his plough, or his manservant, or his maid servant, or his cow, or his ox, or anything of the cattle that your neighbor possesses'. Our Lord inscribed this with His hand. And all the people of Israel saw the sound of the light, which is the torch⁸⁵ and the sound of the trumpet; and smoke was coming from the mountain. All people were standing at distance out of fear. And Our Lord said to Moses 'Let this Law be the Law and a help to you forever, for you and your followers'. And Moses received (21^{va}) the Tablet[s] of the Law. The Lord said to Moses 'Let you go, from here⁸⁶ for your people have sinned'. When he went, he found them worshipping an idol. Then Moses was dismayed; and the Tablet(s) of the Law fell down from his hand and broke. And Moses wept and went (back) to Mount Sinai and said to the Lord, 'The Tablet[s] of the Law that You gave me is broken'. Then the Lord replied to him, 'Make it its image the Tablet[s] of the Law from incorruptible wood'.⁸⁷ And Moses did as the Lord had commanded him. And he made a tabernacle (21^{vb}) and stretched out the curtain. He put Her in the middle of his camp.

When Moses died, Joshua received Zion and went to Gibeon and reached the Jordan. And it [i.e. the land] was divided into twelve in order to be a sign for future generations. Then they took up twelve †...†.⁸⁸ They went to Gibeon⁸⁹ and they encircled Jericho three times. Its walls became like wax; the people fled and Joshua destroyed them. At sunset, a few remained. He conjured the sun and it stood still, and he destroyed them (22^{ra}). Then he released the sun and the sun was restored. And he made his camp at Jericho. He constructed a chamber for Zion in the middle of his camp. He planted a stone before Her, seven on Her right and seven on Her left he planted, forever. She lived there

85 The Bible text (Exod. 20:15 in Hebrew, Exod. 20:18 in LXX) reads 'They saw [i.e. perceived] the sounds and the torches [i.e. lightning] and the sound of the shofar (trumpet)'. The text here is evidently a corruption; 'the sound of the light' makes no sense. The following word **ⲕⲏⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ** is grammatically bizarre.

86 I.e., go down from Mount Sinai and return to the Israelites.

87 I.e., acacia wood. There is some confusion here. The new Tablets were of stone like the old ones (Exod. 34:1); it was the Ark that was made of acacia wood (Hebrew *šittim*), cf. for example Exod. 25:10.

88 This is not a complete sentence.

89 **ⲓⲛⲓⲃⲉⲟⲛ** (Ethiopic), *Gib'on* (Hebrew), *Gabbōn* (LXX). A city in the time of Joshua (Josh. 9:17); Solomon offered a sacrifice there (1 Kings 3:4).

at the hand of the judges:⁹⁰ Phinhas, K^we'is,⁹¹ Gotolya,⁹² Eglon the king of Moab,⁹³ Ehud,⁹⁴ Simiger,⁹⁵ Yabin—king of Canaan⁹⁶ and Sisera commander of his army.⁹⁷ Deborah⁹⁸ judged them †...† Zebah and Zalmunna—the kings of Midian.⁹⁹ Gideon,¹⁰⁰ Abimelech,¹⁰¹ Tola,¹⁰² Yair¹⁰³ (22^{rb}) ruled them. Kings of Philistines †...†. Amon fell down. Yaphtah,¹⁰⁴ Heshbon,¹⁰⁵ Elon,¹⁰⁶ Lubon—Philistines, kings of Philistines ruled them. Samson,¹⁰⁷ Micah,¹⁰⁸ †...† ruled them. Samuel †...†. Saul reigned for forty years over Israel.¹⁰⁹ Then David, reigned as king of Israel. And the Philistines captured [Her] and took Her to their city. There, She brought down upon them many calamities and she destroyed them. And those who remained (alive) took counsel with each other. Then they sent Her (back), loading (Her) on oxen towards Her city, with many oxen (22^{va}). She entered Her city by the power of Holy Spirit. When David and the Levites heard, they welcomed Her with singing. They brought Her into the

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- 90 Judges, in Israelite history, were unelected, non hereditary leaders, before the formation of the centralized government (ca. 1200–1050 BC). Several of the people in the following list were not judges, but enemies of Israel whom the judges fought against.
- 91 The name K^we'is doesnot appear in the Bible. Perhaps it can be equated to Kushan-Rish'ataim, king of Aram, who was defeated by Gotolya/Othniel (Judg. 3:8).
- 92 Son of Kenaz (cf. Judg. 3:9). In Hebrew he is 'Othni'el, in LXX *Gothoniēl*; the Gā'əz 𐤒𐤕𐤁𐤓 is a corruption of the LXX.
- 93 Judg. 3:12.
- 94 Son of Gera, the Benjaminite, a left-handed man. Cf. Judg. 3:15.
- 95 The son of Anath, who killed 600 of the Philistines with an oxgoad (ploughshare). Cf. Judg. 3:31.
- 96 Cf. Judg. 4:2.
- 97 He was the commander of the army of Yabin. Cf. Judg. 4:2.
- 98 Cf. Judg. 4:4.
- 99 Cf. Judg. 8:5.
- 100 Gideon is also called 'Jurubbaal' (Judg. 7:1). He was a great judge in the history of Israel. It is written that '... And the land had rest forty years in the days of Gideon'. Cf. Judg. 8:28.
- 101 Abimelech is the son of Gideon. Gideon had many wives and seventy sons (cf. Judg. 8:30–31).
- 102 Tola was the successor of Abimelech, and he was the son of Puah, son of Dodo, a man of Issachar (cf. Judg. 10:1).
- 103 Yair the Gileadite rose after Tola (Judg. 10:3).
- 104 Yaphtah the Gileadite was a mighty warrior although the son of a harlot (cf. Judg. 11:1 ff.).
- 105 Sihon king of the Amorites, king of Heshbon (Judg. 11:19).
- 106 Cf. Judg. 12:11.
- 107 Cf. Judg. 13:24–16:31.
- 108 Cf. Judg. 17:1 ff.
- 109 I cannot find this in the Bible. Eli and David ruled for 40 years (1 Sam 4:18; 2 Sam. 5:4).

house of Abidara.¹¹⁰ She stayed there for a short period. Then, they brought Her (own) to Her house in jubilation and the sound of the trumpet. She stayed [there] until Solomon became king. At that time, the Queen of the South went down from Axum to King Solomon so that she might see his wisdom. When she arrived there, Solomon slept with Her and the Queen of the South conceived. Then (22^{vb}) she returned to her country Axum and she bore a male child. When he grew up, she sent him to his father Solomon, and he rejoiced very much. And seeing him, his [Solomon] compatriots named him 'Mənilək' in their tongue, which means 'likeness of his father'. Then the compatriots of Solomon said to him 'Let you send him to his country, for you and your son seem to us one'. And Solomon said 'As he is my first-born, let you give him your first-born as retainers and let him go to his country'. And they gave (23^{ra}) him their first-born. As for Solomon, he gave him forty-four learned men of the Law together with the Ark of Michael and he made him a king. Then, the son of the high priest entered the Temple and carried off Zion, and placed the Ark of St. Michael upon the altar of Zion [in Her place]. And he dressed Zion 𐩦...𐩦 as for Zion, the garments of St. Michael so that no one would know. He put Her upon his head and came to Axum with Mənilək. There was a might wind and it laid waste the houses and the camp of Solomon. Then Solomon said to the priests (23^{rb}), 'Let you see Zion, the Ark of our Law'. They looked and said 'She is there'. The wind become strong and he said to them again, 'Is Zion present upon Her altar?' They replied 'Yes, She is there'. Then, when the tempest got stronger, Solomon was angered and he said to them, 'Let you uncover Her garments'. And they did not find Her. Then they told Solomon and again he was angered very much. He sent all his troops and his army to bring back Zion from Mənilək. As for Mənilək and his army as they were going their way 𐩦...𐩦 (23^{va}) [whereas] Solomon had mountains and trees [rather than] roads. All the rough places of the road became level before them; and they reached the sea carrying Zion. Then it was divided for them. And they crossed it on foot as if it were dry.¹¹¹ For if the Law had come forth, and the salt of priesthood, power and victory and the orphan 𐩦...𐩦. As for the lion, if he has not eaten the plant of victory, then he will not have power and victory. In the same manner, priests and kings will not have the salt of priesthood for priests, and will not have power (23^{vb}) and victory for kings, unless they are blessed by Zion. Afterwards, the sea returned to the way it was before.

110 Cf. 2 Sam. 6:10–11. The Hebrew text has Obededom; the LXX has instead *Abeddara*, which the Gə'əz follows.

111 The next few lines, which discontinuously interrupt the narrative, appear to have originally been a marginal comment which was later incorporated into the main text. The narrative continues with 'Afterwards, the sea returned ...'.

And then the army of Solomon arrived. When they saw Her, their bowels were inflamed and their hearts burned, and they fell down on their faces and rolled around on the earth. And they turned back weeping. As for Mənilək who was 'son of the wise' and his army, they arrived at Axum carrying Zion, the Ark of God. And they made a camp there, and placed Her in their midst. And they built Her a beautiful decorated chamber. That day, (24^{ra}) the 21st of *Ḥədar*, was Her first return from captivity to Her home; and it is Her second coming to the land of Axum. Therefore, they celebrate a great feast to Her on the 21st day of every month, and especially on *Ḥədar* 21. She lived according to the law of Torah until Christ was born of the Holy Virgin. When He was born, they lived with Her priests for a long time without knowing the birth of Christ.

Then, *abba* Sälama came from the country of Egypt to Axum. And he (24^{rb}) said to the priests of Zion, 'According to which law are you [ruled]?' They replied 'The law of the Torah [Old Testament]'. He said to them, 'Do you not know that the hope of our father Adam, the covenant of Abraham and the promise of David have been fulfilled? The law has passed and the Law of the Gospel, of good tidings has arisen [in its stead]; and He has given us grace upon grace.¹¹² He elevated His Mother our Lady Mary from the ranks of the angels and mankind; the hosts of angels and men have bowed down to Her; Heaven (24^{va}) and earth were made for the glory of Her majesty; angeles and men were created for Her; your Ark of Law was named by the name which they likened to gold: Zion, meaning Mary meaning 'protection'; He became man like us only without sin. After He became man, He was [still] precisely perfect God. He chose the Twelve and named them 'Apostles'; He named the Twelve. There were thirty-six (24^{vb}) women who were helping Him; He said to His disciples 'Go and preach to all the nations'; He told his twelve disciples His hidden, name which vanquishes the demons, saying: 'Yahi, Surahi, Dimahel, Aqbadir, Minater, Anan'el, Kenya, Giyon, Seqa, Şeqa, Sätānawi, Iya'el, Amanu'el, aḥadu¹¹³ Rāda'e, Afra'el, Maryon, Mənatur, Il'el, El, Ako, Elohe, Hiṭa, Hida, Awyaya, (25^{ra}) Şāba'ot, Af, Afyakiro, Lahi, Lahi, Lahi, Mästädəyos, Afur, Afur, Afur, Afryon, Afnata, Lahan, Lahan, Lahan, Surafel; and there is no other God except Him in the heavens above and in the earth below. The Lord Jesus Christ, (Lord) of Hosts is one, Holy, Holy, Holy; He will not die a second time forever and ever; He lived for thirty three years and three months on earth walking among (25^{rb}) us; He taught the law of the Gospel saying: 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand'; He commanded the Six Words of the Gospel: 'I was hungry and you

112 John 1:16.

113 I.e. 'one'.

gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed Me and gave Me lodging, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you came and talked to Me';¹¹⁴ He taught us the faith in the Holy Trinity Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three in (25^{va}) person and one in Divinity and in sovereignty; He gave us the garment of baptism, which cleanses (us) of our sins; He gave us His Flesh and Blood, in order that we eat and drink in purity so that we may be united to Him; He gave us the Key to the Kingdom of Heaven saying 'Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loosen on earth shall be loosened in heaven';¹¹⁵ He made us His inheritors; He named us brethren with (25^{vb})Him; the Jews crucified Him and He rose from the dead on the third day, and on the fortieth day He ascended to heaven; and He sent us the Holy Spirit on the tenth day, and He will come to judge the living and the dead; He gave us His glorious Cross, the vanquisher of our enemy, so that the army of the Devil may not approach us; He captured the dead in His blood; He set us free from the dominion of the Devil; He gave us the Gospel, which tells the good news of hope in the kingdom of (26^{ra}) Heaven and He taught all these teachings. He said, 'Keep My Words and be steadfast in My commandments'; He said, 'Come and enter the narrow gate; He said to us, 'Unless you surpass ‡...‡ in justice the Scribes and the Pharisees, then you will not enter the kingdom of Heaven'; He said, 'I have not come to abolish the Law and the Prophets but rather to fulfill them''.¹¹⁶

[He asked them], 'Have not you heard all this?' They said 'We have not heard and we have not known'. (26^{rb}) He said to them, 'I told you, [but] do you not believe it'. And they replied to him, 'Yes, we do believe if they speak to us of the hope of our father Adam, saying, 'I [Jesus] will be born of your [i.e. Adam] daughter and I will creep into your plain, and I will redeem you by My Cross'. As for our father Abraham, it says 'I will make you father for many people and by your seed all peoples of the earth will be blessed'.¹¹⁷ And Moses says, 'He will raise up for you a prophet like me among your brothers'.¹¹⁸ Whoever does not hearken (26^{va}) to that prophet, she shall uproot him from Her people'. As for David, it says 'For the Lord has chosen Zion; and He has preferred Her for His habitation. She is My resting place for ever'.¹¹⁹ At your right hand stands the

¹¹⁴ Cf. Mtt. 25:35–36.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Mtt. 16:19.

¹¹⁶ Mtt. 5:17.

¹¹⁷ Gen. 17:5.

¹¹⁸ Deut. 18:15.

¹¹⁹ Ps. 132:13–14.

Queen clothed in garments of gold, multicolored'. As for Isaiah it says: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive; and bear a Son; and shall call His name Jesus¹²⁰ for He will save His people from their sins'. As for Daniel, it says: 'The Temple will be built (26^{vb}) up until Christ the King'. As for Micah, it says: 'O Bethlehem, land of Ephratah, you shall not be lower than the kings of Judah; from you shall come forth the King who will shepherd my people Israel'.¹²¹ Then they told him [*abba Sälama*], 'If all these the words of the Torah and the prophets have been fulfilled, then let you baptize us'. And our father Sälama rejoiced. However, he was afraid to baptize them without the permission of the Archbishop. Then, he told (27^{ra}) them, 'I will go to the Archbishop¹²² and tell him. Then the one whom he will send will baptize you'. They replied to him, 'As you like'. Then he went to the Archbishop, and he [the Archbishop] ordained our father Sälama a bishop. He sent him to the land of Ethiopia and he said to him, 'Go [and] teach them and baptize them, and ordain¹²³ them priests and deacons'. Then our father Sälama returned and baptized them with the baptism of Christianity and he ordained them priests and deacons. They rejoiced with a great joy (27^{rb}). And the circumstances of his first coming were like this: A certain man named Meropeyos, the master of the wise, came from Greece wishing to see the land of Ethiopia. And with him there were two boys of his kinsfolk. The name of the first was Fremēnaṭos¹²⁴ and the other's was Adəsəyos, and there were some who named him Sidrakos. Then he [Meropeyos] reached the shores of the land of Egypt, the freemen, by ship. He saw all the good things that his heart was seeking for. When he wanted (27^{va}) to return to his country, enemies rose up against him and killed him together with all who were with him. The two young boys were spared. Then the people of the country captured them and taught them the art of fighting. They brought them as a gift to the king of Axum, named Al-Ada.¹²⁵ The King appointed Adəsəyos as steward of the house of Qäṭṭin,¹²⁶ and Fremēnaṭos as guardian of the law and scribe of Axum. After a short period of time, the king (27^{vb}) died, leaving [his] young son with his mother. And ʾĪllä-Azguag reigned.¹²⁷ Adəsəyos and Frumentius brought up the

120 Cf. Isa. 7:14. The Bible text has Immanuel not Jesus.

121 Cf. Micah 5:1.

122 I.e. Athanasius, the Coptic Archbishop.

123 Lit. 'appoint'.

124 The text divides his name into two words: ፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡.

125 According to the Ethiopian sources, the king was named አልአጫዳ፡ Al'ameda, the father of 'Ezana.

126 Qäṭṭin, 'servant, resident servant, domestic' (cf. Leslau 1987: 453).

127 The verb 'reigned' is in the plural.

child and taught him, little by little, the faith of Christ, praise be to Him. They built a chapel for him and gathered children around him to teach them psalms and hymns. When he grew up and reached adulthood, ተ...ታ their country. Then, Adəsəyos [went to] (28^{ra}) his country Tyre to see his parents. As for Frumentius, he reached Alexandria, to Athanasius the archbishop. He found him newly appointed in office; and he told him everything that had happened to him and about the faith of the land of the freemen;¹²⁸ that they believed in Christ, praise be to Him, but that they had no bishops nor priests nor deacons. Consequently, Athanasius ordained Frumentius bishop for the land of Ethiopia, the freemen (28^{rb}), and he sent him (forth) with great honor. And he reached the land of the freemen, which is Axum, bearing the Gospel on the 18th of *Tahsas*¹²⁹ during the reign of Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa. And he preached with the peace of Christ, praise be to Him forever. ተ...ታ and all its surroundings. For this reason he was named *abba* Sälama and he converted the people of Ethiopia in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. As for their faith, [it was introduced] 430¹³⁰ years after the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ (28^{va}). Then our father died on the twenty-sixth of *Hamle*,¹³¹ in the peace of the Lord. Therefore, it is fitting for us to celebrate his commemoration for he is our father and teacher Sälama. A firm covenant was bestowed upon him from our Lord Jesus Christ and from our Lady Virgin St. Mary, the Mother of God. He who celebrates his commemoration and who calls upon his name and who writes the book of his struggle shall not see damnation forever and ever.

After that (28^{vb}), the Nine Saints came to the land of the freemen. These are *abba* Pänṭälewön, *abba* Zämika'el who was Arägawi from the land of Alexandria, *abba* Liqanos of Constantinople, *abba* Yəm'ata of Qosya, *abba* Guba from Qilqya (Cilicia), *abba* Şəḥma from Antioch, *abba* Afşe from Asia, *abba* Mäṭa' from Rome, and *abba* Oş from Caesarea, in order to water the garden of our father Sälama with the water of their teaching, and they watered it. And *abba* Zämika'el (29^{ra}) who was Arägawi ordained *abba* Krəstos Beza a monk; and *abba* Krəstos Beza begot¹³² *abba* Mäsqäl Mo'a and *abba* Yoḥanni; and *abba* Yoḥanni begot *abba* Iyäsus Mo'a in garb and girdle; and Iyäsus Mo'a begot *abba* Täklä Haymanot in garb and girdle. In the same manner, *abba* Täklä Haymanot after going out from Ḥayq ascended to Däbrä Dammo, and he received monas-

128 ብሔረ፡ አግኣዚ፡ i.e. Ethiopians.

129 Twenty-seventh of December.

130 This is far removed from the time of Frumentius (one century after him). It should be corrected to AD 330/340.

131 I.e. second of August.

132 'Begot' is used here in a spiritual sense, not a biological one.

tic cap and cloak from the hand of *abba* Yohanni. After receiving the monastic cap and cloak, he went down to (29^{rb}) Jerusalem thrice, once in summer ቶ...ቶ. And he met a certain dead [man] on the road and raised him up after twelve years.¹³³ Then he returned from Jerusalem, with the man who had been raised (from the dead) following him. Then he invested him with the garb of monasticism and named him ‘Ar’ayännä Šäggahu’.¹³⁴ He reached the land of Tigre and there he begot the mother of Ewošatewos, and *abba* Täklä Haymanot (sic); and *abba* Ewošatewos begot *abba* Danə’el and many children. And *abba* Danə’el begot Abba Ewošatewos for he is the brother of his mother (29^{va}). Then *abba* Täklä Haymanot went Ḥayq and met Iyäsus Mo’a and Iyäsus Mo’a said to him ‘O my son, let you be a father to me’. He gave him a monastic cap and cloak and he was a father to him. Subsequently, he went to the land of Šäwa and taught there many. He converted [many] to the belief in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. He did many miracles and wonders, which cannot be counted. All this was done by the power of the prayer of the refuge of the world, our Lady St. Mary, the twofold (29^{vb}) Virgin, of the sweet name, the Mother of God. Let Her prayer and blessings, and the mercy of Her beloved Son, be with Forever and ever, amen and amen, let it be, let it be.

O our Lady Mary, the refuge of many thousands;
 You are the helper of those who are in the sea and the abyss;
 Let You help me in the time of falling and made me raised by (Your) wing;
 For I, Your servant ... love You from the bottom of my heart, not (merely) by mouth (30^{ra}); forever and ever, Amen (30^{rb}).

3 [P]—Published Text

3.1 Tā’ammərä Šəyon Maryam ‘Miracles of Mary Zion’

3.1.1 Text

ተአምረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡¹³⁵

፩፡ ተአምር፡

፩ ተአምረሃ¹³⁶፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

¹³³ The man had been dead for 12 years.

¹³⁴ Lit. ‘He showed us His grace’.

¹³⁵ There are eight miracles of Zion listed in this printed text (pp. 265–280). I followed the paragraph numbers as they are given in the printed text. In the printed text, words are separated only by a space, not by a ‘colon’ :. Sentences are separated by four dots#.

¹³⁶ ተአምረሃ፡ P.

፪. በእንተ፡ አምልኮ፡ ጣዖት፤ ስምዑ፡ ንንግርክሙ፡ ኩልክሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን። ወኩሉ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለተግሣፀ፡ ዚአነ፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ [ሮሜ፡] ፲፭፥፱። ወሀሎ፡ ፩ዱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እምደቂቀ፡ አዳም፡ ዘስሙ፡ ሴሩህ። ወተወልደ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለሴሩህ፡ ወልድ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ብኑ። ተወጥነ፡ አምልኮ፡ ጣኦት። ወኅበ፡ መቃብሩሂ፡ በቆለት፡ ዕፅ፡ እኪት¹³⁷፡ ሰይጣናዊት፡ ዘታሥዕር፡ ጸመ። ወናሁ፡ ዘርዐ፡ ፀራዊ፡ እንዘ፡ ያመጽእ፡ እምኅበ፡ ሀለወት። ማቴ. ፲፫፥፳፰።

፫. ወስመ፡ ብኑ፡ ተብህለት፡ ቡነ። ወሀለዉ፡ ዕፅ፡ ሠናይ፡ ወዕፅ፡ እኩይ፡ እምዘተፈጥሩ፡ በዕለተ፡ ሠሉስ¹³⁸፡ በከመ፡ ይብል፡ ወንጌለ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ዕፅ፡ ሠናይ፡ ሠናየ፡ ወዕፅ፡ እኩይ፡ እኩየ፡ ይፈሪ። ፯፥፲፪።

፬. ወበእንተዝ፡ ኮነት፡ መሥዋዕቶሙ፡ ለደቂቀ፡ እስማኤላውያን። ወትበጽሕ፡ እስከ፡ ነቢዮሙ፡ መሐመድ፡ ወሊቆሙ፡ ለተንባላት። ወተንባላትሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይሰውኡ፡ ዘእንበሌሃ። ወእስከ፡ ይእዜሂ፡ እንዘ፡ ታስሕት፡ ሰብአ፡ ወታስዕር፡ ጸመ፡ ወበዓለ፡ በብሂለ፡ ኡዝነ፡ ሕማመ፡ ርእሰነ። ወያስህቶሙ፡ ሰይጣነ፡ ዛር፡ ዘኅዱር፡ ላዕሌሆሙ። ወእምዝ፡ ይትሐጉል፡ ቊርባን፡ ወየሐልፍ፡ ጊዜ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ በይነ፡ ሰትዮቶሙ፡ በጊዜ፡ ነግህ።

፭. ወስምዑሂ፡ ሀሎ፡ በትርጓሜ፡ ምሳሌያተ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወይብል፡ እኩይ፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ጽእለቱ፡ ይገብር፡ እኩየ። ፲፫፥፲። ወናሁ፡ ኀዲነነ፡ ጽእለተ፡ እመ፡ ኃደጣነ፡ ሰትየ፡ ምንት፡ የሐፀፀነ። ወለእመ፡ ሰተይነ፡ ምንት፡ ይበቅላን። ወይቤ፡ ትርጓሜ፡ ወንጌለ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ወዮሐንስ፡ ምሉዓ፡ መንፈስ፡ ወኢዘያስክር፡ ኢሰትየ። ሉቃ ፩፥፲፫። ወንህነሰ፡ ነሣእነ፡ ጸጋ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በ፵፡ ዕለት፡ በበይነ፡ ምንት፡ ይከው[ን፡] ሥጋነ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ሰይጣነ፡ ዘር።

፮. ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ሰማያዊት፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪፡ ተአምር፤

፩. ተአምሪሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኩልነ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን። ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 265).

፪. ወስምዑ¹³⁹፡ ካዕበ፡ ንንግርክሙ፡ ነገር፡ ዘያጸንእ፡ አእምሮ፡ ወያጠይቅ፡ ልቡና። ወ፩ዱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘስሙ፡ መሐመድ፡ መምህረ፡ ተንባላት። ወእምብዝኃ፡ ክሕደቱ፡ ይውዕል፡ ምስለ፡ ኢጋንንት። ወበአሐቲ፡ ዕለት፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰግድ፡ ተእኅዘ፡ በፅኑዕ፡ ሕማመ፡ ፍልፀት፡ ዘርእስ፡ ዘኡዝቶ፡ እምንእሱ። ወእንዘ፡ ይዲዕር፡¹⁴⁰ በዝንቱ፡ ሕማመ፡ ርዕስ፡ ወእምዕለታት፡ በአሐቲ፡ ዕለት፡ መጽአ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ከመ፡ ያስሕቶ፡ በትምይንት። ወይቤሎ፡ ምንተ፡ ኮንከ፡ መሐመድ፡ ፍቅርየ። ወዘይከውን፡¹⁴¹ ቦቱ፡ ሕማመ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡¹⁴² ዲያብሎስ፡ ውእቱ።

137 እኩይ፡ P.

138 ሰ፡ P.

139 'ኡ፡ P.

140 ይዲአር፡ P.

141 'ኒ፡ P.

142 ላሊሁ፡ P.

፫. ወአውሥኦ፡ መሐመድ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ሀለወኒ፡ ሕማመ፡ ርዕስ። በዝንቱ፡ ሕማም፡ እዚረ¹⁴³። ወይቤሎ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ለመሐመድ፡ ለእመ፡ ነገርኩከ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ርእስከ፡ ትፌጽምኑ፡ ጻሕቀ፡ ልብየ። ወይቤሎ፡ መሐመድ፡ እወ፡ እስምዕ፡ ለእመ፡ አሕዮከኒ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘትቤለኒ፡ እገብር።

፬. ወእምዝ፡ አምጽኦ፡ ሎቱ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ፫ተ፡ ዕፅዋተ፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ ዕፅ፡ ጌት፡ ዕፅ፡ ኩስራ፡ ወዕፅ፡ ሰጥራጢስ። ወሀበ፡ ለመሐመድ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ንሣእ፡ ዘንተ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ዕፅ፡ ኩስራ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ቡን፡ ለእመ፡ ሰተይከ፡ እምኔሃ፡ ተሃዩ፡ ፍጡን፡ እምሕማመ፡ ርእስከ፡ ወትከውን፡ መስዋዕተ፡ ውስተ፡ ፣መካ፡ መዲና¹⁴⁴፡ ለትውልደ፡ ትውልድ። ወአርአዮ፡ ኩሎ፡ ምግባረ፡ ርኩስ።

፭. ወቀለወ፡ መሐመድ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዕፅ፡ ኩስራ¹⁴⁵። ዕፅ፡ ኩስራ፡ ብሒል፡ ርኩስ፡ ውእቱ። ወአርሰነ፡ ብርተ፡ ሐሂን። ወይቤሎ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ግበር፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልክእየ። ወቀለወ፡ መሐመድ። ወአስተማሲሎ፡ ከመ፡ ፍሕም፡ ጸሊም። ወይቤሎ፡ ካዕበ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ለእመ፡ ኢገበርከ፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልክእየ፡ ኢትሠምር፡ ለመስዋዕት። ወኩሎ፡ ዘይቤሎ፡ ገብረ፡ ወሰትየ፡ እምኔሃ፡ መሐመድ፡ ወኅይወ፡ እምሕማመ፡ ፍልፀት፡ ለንስቲት፡ ሰዓት። ወጸኒሆ፡ ይትነሣእ፡ ቦቱ፡ ሕማመ፡ ርእሱ፡ በበሰዓት።

፮. ኦ፡ ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ጸሎትኪ፡ ወበረከትኪ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኩልነ፡ ውሉደ¹⁴⁶፡ ጥምቀት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። አሜን።

፪ (sic)፡ ተአምር፤

፩. ተአምሪሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኩልነ፡ ውሉደ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪. ወሶበ፡ ይሰውዕስ፡ መሐመድ፡ ዕፅ፡ ኩስራ፡ ወይሰግድ፡ ይመጽእ፡ ሶቤሃ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ኅቤሁ፡ እምብዝኅ፡ ፍቅረ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘይትበሃል፡ ፍርቃን፡ ዘይትረከብ፡ ምዕራፍ፡ ፳ወ፳ቱ፡ ዲሒፍሰ¹⁴⁷፡ ጽሐፎ¹⁴⁸። ወባሕቱ፡ ከመ፡ ኢያንብብዎ፡ ሕፅሮ። ወሶበ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ለመሐመድ፡ መሀርሙ¹⁴⁹፡ ለአብያዲከ፡ ተንባላት፡ ከመ፡ ኢያንብብዎ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ። (P. 266).

፫. ወዘንተ፡ ትዕዛዘ፡ አጽኒአሙ፡ ተንባላት፡ ይጽሕፍዎ። ከመ፡ ኢያንብብዎ፡ የሐጽርዎ፡ አውደ። ወዘንተ፡ ትእዛዘ፡ ተአዲዎ፡ ዘአንበበ፡ ወዘተርኅመ፡ ይትረገም፡ አሥራዉ¹⁵⁰፡ ይትበተክ፡ አእፅምቲሁ፡ ይሰበር፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ይህበጥ፡ ወልሳኑ፡ ይትመተር፡ ወዐይኑ፡ ይዑር።

፬. ወዘንተ፡ ብሂለከ፡ አውግዝ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ለመሐመድ፡ ወእምዝ፡ አውገዞመ፡ መሐመድ፡ ለአዝማዲሁ፡ መተንብላን። ወዘሃፀርሰ፡ ጽሕፈቱ፡ ይብል፡ ሻውዚን፡ ነፋሕነ፡ ወረምሃ፡ ላቲ፡ አህሰነት፡ ኢናበሐ። ወዝንቱ፡ ብሒል፡ በዘአጽንአት፡ ድንግልና፡ በመሪማ፡

143 እዚአር፡ P.

144 መካመዲና፡ P.

145 ኩ፡ P.

146 ወለደ፡ P.

147 ዲሕፈሰ፡ P.

148 ጽሐፎ፡ P.

149 መሐ' P.

150 'ው፡ P.

አላሆች፡ አሐዱ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ይወርድ፡ ወይትወለድ። ወሰደቀት፡ በከሊማቲ፡ ረቢሃ፡ በሃት፡ ነቢ። ዝንቱ፡ ብሔል፡ ተወልደ፡ ዘእንበለ፡¹⁵¹ ታእምር፡ ብእሴ፡ ወለደት።

፩. አላህ፡ ብሂል፡ አምላክ፡ አላሆች፡ ብሂል፡ ሥላሴ፡ እምጥንቱ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ አካላት። ወተንበላትሰ፡ ይብሉ፡ በፍርቃን፡ እንጅሎሙ፡ (ወንጌሎሙ)፡ እምሠለስቱ¹⁵²፡ አካላት፡ አሐዱ፡ አካል፡ እምሰማያት፡ ወረደ። ወተወልደ፡ እምድንግል። ዘይብልሰሰ፡ ተ...ተ፡ የሐጽርዎ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይትሃበሉ፡ ሕገ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ወውግዘተ፡ መሐመድ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይህል፡ አምላክ፡ ኢወረደ፡ ወኢተወልደ፡ ይብሉ፡ ወለባዕዳንሰ፡ ይሜህሩ።

፪. ወዕፅዋትሂ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ ዕፅ፡ ጌት፡ ወዕፅ፡ ኩስራ፡ ወዕፅ፡ ስጥራጢስ፡ እመ፡ ተፈልጠ፡ ስሞሙ፡ ወመልክአሙ፡ ወግብሮሙሰ፡ አሐዱ። እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ መስዋዕቱ፡ ወቁርባን፡ ለመሐመድ፡ ውስተ፡ መካ፡ መዲና። ወዝኩሉ፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በምድረ፡ ግብፅ፡ ውእቱ።

፫. ወምክንያተ፡ ምጽአቶሙሰ፡ ኅበ፡ ምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ንገግረክሙ። አቦል፡ [ወ]ቶና፡ [ወ]በረካ፡ ዘተምህሩ፡ እምአዝማደ፡ መሐመድ፡ አምጽእምሙ¹⁵³፡ ለሠለስቱ፡ ዕፅዋት፡ በእንተ፡ ዘነበሩ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰውኡ። ወእንዘ፡ ይትማሐሉ¹⁵⁴፡ መጽኡ፡ ኅበ፡ ምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ከመ፡ ያስሕቱ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ወይመይጥሞሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ። ወመጽኡ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ ፭ቱ፡ መተንብላን፡ እምግብፅ፡ ለነጊድ፡ ኅበ፡ ምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ እሂዞሙ፡ ሠለስተ፡ ዕፅዋተ፡ ዕፅ¹⁵⁵፡ ጌት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ጫት፡ ዕፅ¹⁵⁶፡ ኩስራ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ቡን፡ ዕፅ፡ ስጥራጢስ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ጥንባሆ። እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ቁርባኖሙ፡ ለአምራዎን (sic)፡ ወለመሐመዳዊያን።

፬. ወለክርስቲያንሰ፡ ኢይደልዎሙ፡ በሊኦቶሙ፡ ወሰትዮ[ቶ]ሙ፡ ለእሉ፡ ዕፅዋት። ወዘበልዑ፡ ወዘሰትዮ፡ ይከውን፡ ኩነኔሁሙ (sic)፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢተጠምቁ፡ ወንብረቶሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ገሐነም። ወይቤ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ አዳምሰ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ልሁክቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። በአምሳሊሁ፡ ተፈጥረ፡ መቅድመ፡ ኩሉ፡ ፍጥረት። ስህተ፡ በበሊዓ፡ ዕፅ። ወጽኦ፡ ወተሰደ፡ እምገነት። ወበእንተዝ፡ እብለክሙ፡ አጋውየ¹⁵⁷፡ ኢትስሃቱ፡ በእሉ፡ ዕፅዋት። ለእመ፡ ተደለውክሙ፡ ለበሊኦቶሙ፡ ወለሰትዮቶሙ (sic)፡ ኢትሑሩ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወኢትደለዉ፡ ኅበ፡ ቁርባን፡ ከመ፡ ኢታርኩሉ፡ ቤቶ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።

፭. ኦ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ ሰማያዊት፡ እቀብን፡ ለኩልነ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 267).

፬. ተአምር፤

በእንተ፡ ተአምር፡ ዘተገብረት፡ ላዕለ፡ ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፤

፩. ተአምረሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

¹⁵¹ 'በበለ (sic)፡ P.

¹⁵² እምሰ' P.

¹⁵³ ወ' P.

¹⁵⁴ ይትመሐሉ፡ P.

¹⁵⁵ ወዕፅ፡ P.

¹⁵⁶ ዕፅ፡ P.

¹⁵⁷ አህ' P.

፪. ዛቲ፡ ተአምር፡ ዘገብረት፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለ፩ዱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ፍቁረ፡ ዚአሃ፡ ወፍቁረ፡ ወልዳ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ።

፫. ወሀለወት፡ ውስተ፡ ጽርሐ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ አሐቲ፡ ታቦት፡ ዘሥርዕት፡ በስማ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘአንበርዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ክርስ፡ ሣፁን፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይቀድስዋ።

፬. ወእምዝ፡ ረከብዋ፡ ወዒኣ፡ እምውሣጢ፡ ሣፁን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ይትረጎው፡ መንሠገ፡ ማኅተመ፡ ሣፁን፡ ነቢራ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ሜላት፡ ዘሐረር።

፭. ወርእዮሙ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዐቀብተ፡ ቤተ፡ መዛግብተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ደንገፁ፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ወሐሩ፡ በጉጉዓ። ወነገርዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘኮነ፡ በእንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ታቦት።

፮. ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንጉሥ፡ አምጽኡኬ፡ ወአርእዩኒ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ታቦተ፡ ዘነገርከሙኒ፡ ዕበያቲሃ። ወአምጽእዎ።

፯. ወሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ሥና፡ ለታቦት፡ አንከረ፡ ወተፈሥሐ፡ ወግብተ፡ በጊዜሃ፡ ፈነዋ፡ ጎበ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ምስለ፡ ሊቃነ፡ ካህናት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ብዙኃን፡ ከመ፡ ይቀድሳ። (P. 268).

፰. ወተቀደስት፡ ይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ለአብ፡ ክቡር፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳስት (sic)፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ።

፱. ወአእተውዋ፡ በክብር፡ ወበስብሐት፡ ወበማኅሌት፡ ብዙኃን።

፲. ወነገርዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ብጽሐታ፡ ለታቦት። ወሶቤሃ፡ ወጽኦ፡ ለቀበላሃ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ በብዙኃን፡ ይባቤ፡ በአንፍሐ፡ አቅርንት፡ ወብዕዛ፡ ወናብሊስ፡ ወበቃለ፡ መሰናቁት፡ ወአርጋኖን፡ ወዝብጠተ፡ ከበሮ።

፲፩. ወአሠነየ፡ ላቲ፡ ማኅደረ። ወተከለ፡ ሐይመተ፡ ጸሊመ፡ ዘኅብረ፡ ኳኳ። ወአብኣ፡ ህየ፡ ከመ፡ ትኅድር።

፲፪. ወአመ፡ ኮነ፡ ሳኒታ፡ ዕለት፡ ተረክበት፡ ይእቲ፡ ሐይመት፡ ጸላም፡ ከዊና፡ ዕዕዱተ፡ ከመ፡ ዘበረድ።

፲፫. ወነገርዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ።

፲፬. ወወሀበ፡ አምኃ፡ ብዙኅ (sic)፡ ዘይትፈቀድ፡ ለሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን።

፲፭. ወዓዲ፡ ዐቀመ፡ ላቲ፡ እለ፡ ይነፍሑ፡ አቅርንተ፡ ብዙኃን፡ አግብርተ።

፲፮. ወዓዲ፡ ሠርዐ፡ ላቲ፡ ካህናተ፡ ወዲያቆናተ፡ እለ፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ በበጊዜሁ፡ ሌሊተ፡ ወመዓልተ።

፲፯. ዘንተ፡ ኩሎ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ገብረ፡ ወፈጸመ፡ ላቲ፡ ውእቱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ፍቅሩ፡ ዚአሃ፡ ወጠኑ፡ በበሥርዓቶሙ፡ አግብርትኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይነፍሑ፡ አቅርንተ፡ ወካህናትኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይኅልዩ፡ ማኅሌታተ፡ በትዕግልት፡ ወበትዕቢት፡ ወበዛውዐ፡ ነገር፡ ወበአብዝኖ፡ ሰሐቅ፡ በከመ፡ ገብሩ፡ ልማደ፡ ውስተ፡ ካልኣት፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት። (P. 269).

፲፰. ወበጊዜሃ፡ ተምዐት፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን።

፲፱. ቦ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ እለ፡ ተዐፅወ፡ ጉርዔሆሙ፡ ወቦ፡ እለ፡ ሐመ፡ ርእሶሙ፡ ወቦ፡ እለ፡ ደወዩ፡ አማዑተ፡ ክርሦሙ።

፳. ወኮኑ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ሕሙማነ፡ በዘዚአሁ፡ ደዌ።

፳፩. ወለንጉሥኒ፡ አስተርእየቶ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ኢታቅርብ፡ ጎቤየ፡ እሎንተ፡ ዕቡያነ፡ ወዝሁራነ፡ እስመ፡ ኢአደመኒ፡ ማኅሌቶሙ፡ ወስብሐቲሆሙ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ አቡየ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወቅብዐ፡ ኃጥአንሰ፡ ኢይትቀባዕ፡ ርእስየ።

፳፪ ወዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ እምድሳረ፡ ሰምዐ፡ እምአፈ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ አዘዘሙ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይባኡ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓፀደ፡ ይእቲ፡ መካን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ካህናት፡ ለጊዜ፡ አዕርጎ፡ ቍርባን።

፳፫ ወአቅረባ፡ ኅቢሁ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን። ወበጊዜ፡ ረከቦ፡ ትካዝ፡ ወኃዘን፡ ይጼሊ፡ ኃቢሃ፡ ወይረክብ፡ በከመ፡ ሐለየ፡ ወበከመ፡ ተመነየ።

፳፬ ወሰመየ፡ ስማ፡ ባሕታዊት፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም።

፳፭ ወሀለወት፡ ይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ ውስተ፡ ዓፀደ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እስከ፡ ዛቲ፡ ዕለት።

፳፮ ወነገሥታትሂ፡ እንዘ፡ ይዌስኩ፡ ላቲ፡ ዕቦየ፡ ወክብረ፡ በበዘመኖሙ።

፳፯ ወአልቦ፡ ዘይበወእ፡ ወዘይቀርብ፡ ኅቢሃ፡ እስከ፡ ዮም፡ ዘቦ፡ ጥልቀተ፡ ጌጋይ፡ ወነውረ፡ ሕሊና። (P. 270).

፳፰ ወእለሂ፡ ይቀርቡ፡ በድፍረት፡ ወበኅፍረተ፡ [ገጸ፡] ሰብእ፡ ይወድቁ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ደዌ፡ እስከ፡ ይብሉ፡ ወይ፡ ለነ፡ ወአሌ፡ ለነ።

፳፱ ወይቤሉ፡ ረከበተነ፡ ዛቲ፡ መቅሠፍት፡ በድፍረትነ፡ እንዘ፡ ነአምር፡ ወንጌይቅ፡ ዘበፍርሀተ፡ ገፀ፡ ሰብእ፡ ተኅገውልነ።

፴ ስምዑኪ፡ ኣ፡ ማኅበራሂሃ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት።

፴፩ ኢትረስዩ፡ ልማደ፡ በዊእ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ንጽሕ፡ ወኅዛቤ፡ እስመ፡ ሀለዉ፡ ትጉሃን፡ ወንጹሐን፡ መላእክት፡ ዘየዐቅብዋ፡ ወትረ።

፴፪ ወይትቤቀሉ፡ ላቲ፡ ለኹሉ፡ ዘይቀርብ፡ ኅቢሃ፡ በርስሐተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ እስመ፡ ወሀባ፡ ኪዳነ፡ መርዓዊሃ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ እመቦ፡ ስዑብ፡ ወዘኢኮነ፡ ንጹሐ፡ ይትገኅሥ።

፴፫ ወአኮ፡ በስዕበተ፡ ምስካብ፡ ባሕቲቱ፡ ዘአዘዘ፡ ተግኅሦ፡ እምቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኣላ፡ ዳዕሙ፡ ሐማዩኒ፡ ወቀታሊኒ።

፴፬ ወኹሉ፡ ዘአንበረ፡ ቂመ፡ ወበቀለ፡ ውስተ፡ ልቡ፡ ኢይባእ፡ እስመ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ጌጋይ፡ ውእቱ።

፴፭ ወለክሙኒ፡ እለ፡ ዝየ፡ ሀለውክሙ፡ ለሰሚዐ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ እመ፡ እግዚእክሙ፡ ዕድ፡ ወአንስት፡ አእሩግ፡ ወሕጻናት፡ ዘበአስማቲክሙ፡ ይደይ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ፍርሐተ፡ ዚአሁ፡ በውስተ፡ ሥጋክሙ።

፴፮ ወመዓልተ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስሌክሙ፡ ወሌሊተ፡ ይኩን፡ ማዕከሌክሙ። (P. 271).

፴፯ በእንተ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወደሙ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ማርያም፡ እሙ፡ ይስረይ፡ ለክሙ፡ አበሳክሙ፡ ወኃጣዊእክሙ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፩፡ ተአምር፤

በእንተ፡ መንክር፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ፩ዱ፡ ንጉሥ፤

፩ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ትንብልናሃ፡ ወአስተብቅሶታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪ ስምዑኪ፡ መንክረ፡ ወመድምመ፡ ዕቦየ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለአሐዱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ፍቁረ፡ ዚአሃ፡ ወፍቁረ፡ ወልዳ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ።

፫ ወውእቱስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እምብዝኅ፡ ኣፍቅሮቱ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ሐነፀ፡ ላቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በስማ፡ ለቡርክት፡ ወንጽሕት፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ወአሠርገዋ፡ በወርቅ፡ ወበብሩ (sic)፡ ወበልብሰ፡ ሜላት፡ ክቡር።

፬ ወሢመ፡ ላቲ፡ ዓዲ፡ ብዙኃነ፡ ካህናት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ እለ፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ሌሊት፡ ወመዐልተ፡ በአንብቦ፡ መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወበማኅሌት፡ ያፌድ፡ ወበሰዓታት፡ ብፁዕ፡ ጊዮርጊስ።

፭ ወእምብዝኅ፡ ንዋየ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘወሀበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይብውእ፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘኢየአምሮ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወዘኢየአምርዎ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። (P. 272).

፮ ወኢይትፈለጡ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ሌሊት፡ ወመዓልተ፡ እንዘ፡ የዐቅብዋ፡ በበዕብፊቶሙ።

፯ ወአሐተ፡ ዕለተ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለዉ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ ካህናት፡ በኑኅ፡ ሌሊት፡ ነዊሞሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ውሳጤ፡ ቅጽራ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አሐዱ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ሐለመ፡ ሕልመ፡ ሌሊት፡ ወተክዕወ፡ ዘርእ፡ ሥጋ፡ ውስተ፡ ምስካቡ።

፰ ወእንዘ፡ ሀሎ፡ ንውመ፡ ማዕከለ፡ አብያጺሁ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘሐለመ፡ መሠጦ፡ እምቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እንዘ፡ ኢየአምር፡ ላሊሁ (sic)፡ ወኢአብያጺሁ፡ ወአውፅአ፡ ኪያሁ፡ መልአክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያንቅሖ፡ እምንዋሙ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘሐለመ። ወአኖሞ፡ አውጂኦ፡ አፍኦ፡ እምቅጽረ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን።

፱ ወአእተቶ፡ ርኑቀ፡ እምውስተ፡ ቅጽራ፡ መጠነ፡ ፹፡ እመት። ወኅደረ፡ በህየ፡ እስከ፡ ይጸብሕ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያንሳሕስሕ፡ እምንዋሙ።

፲ ወሶበ፡ ነቅሖ፡ በጊዜ፡ ጽባሕ፡ ርእየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ላዕለ፡ ወታሕተ። ወኢያእመረ፡ ዘረከቦ፡ ወዘአውፅአ፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ መካን።

፲፩ ወእለሂ፡ ኖሙ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ተሓመዩ፡ በበይናቲሆሙ፡ ወተበሃሉ፡ አይቴኑ፡ ሖረ፡ ዝኹ፡ ካልአነ፡ በኑኅ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ናኢምር፡ ንሕነ፡ ኅዲኅ፡ ዐቂቦ፡ ታቦተ፡ ንጉሥ።

፲፪ ወውእቱሰ፡ ብእሲ፡ ነቂሖ፡ እምስካቡ፡ ጸውዖሙ፡ ለአብያጺሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ርእየ፡ ኅበ፡ ኅደርኩ፡ አነ። ወኢያእመርኩ፡ ዘአውፅአኒ፡ እምውሳጤ፡ ቅጽር። ወዘፈለጠኒ፡ እማእከሌክሙ። (P. 273).

፲፫ ወተሰጠውዎ፡ አብያጺሁ፡ ወይቤልዎ፡ ምንተኑ፡ ዘረከበክ፡ እምግብረ፡ እከያት፡ በውስተ፡ ምስካብክ።

፲፬ ወይቤሎሙ፡ እስመ፡ ሐለምኩ፡ በንዋምየ፡ ወአመ፡ ጊዜ፡ ሐለምኩሰ፡ ኢተዐውቀኒ፡ ወባሕቱ፡ ሶባ፡ ነቃሕኩ፡ እምንዋምየ፡ ኅበ፡ አስከበኒ፡ ዝኹ፡ ዘፈለጠኒ፡ እምኔክሙ፡ ይእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ረከብኩ፡ ትእምርተ፡ ሕልም፡ በውስተ፡ አባልየ።

፲፭ ወሶበ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገሮ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ አኃዝዎ፡ ወወሰድዎ፡ ኅበ፡ ሊቀ፡¹⁵⁸ ካህናት።

፲፮ ወተስእሎ፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ወነገሮ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘክመ፡ ኮነ።

፲፯ ወእምዝ፡ ወሰዶ፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ወአቀሞ፡ ቅድመ፡ ዓውደ፡ ንጉሥ። ወዜነዎሙ፡ ለመማክርተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ከመ፡ ያይድዕዎ፡ ለንጉሥ።

፲፰ ወሰሚዎ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ አንከረ፡ ወአስተዓፀበ።

፲፱ ወአእከታ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ በእንተ፡ ዘነብረት፡ ሎቱ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ።

፳ ወበጊዜሃ፡ ወጽአ፡ ቃለ፡ ዓዋዲ፡ እምነበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወእምነበ፡ ጳጳስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ እመቦ፡ እምቀሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ወመነኩሳት፡ ወእመሂ፡ እምሕዝባውያን፡ ዘቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓፀዳ፡ ለቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በውስተ፡ ኰለሄ፡ አህጉሪነ፡ ጎበ፡ አኩነነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ ርሑስ፡ ውእቱ፡ በሕልመ፡ ሌሊት፡ ይኩን፡ ውጉዘ፡ በቃለ፡ አበዊነ፡ ሐዋርያት። (P. 274).

፳፩ ወእምቅድመ፡ አሜሃሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘነበረ፡ ዘይትዐቀብ፡ በዊአ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘየአምሮ፡ ለሕልመ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ እምዮም፡ ሶበ፡ አስተርአየ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ በላዕለ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ብእሲ።

፳፪ ወእምድኅረ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ነገር፡ ሓሩ፡ ንጉሥኒ፡ ወጳጳስኒ፡ ጎበረ፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ ተሐንፀት፡ በስማ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ወሦዑ፡ መሥዋዕተ።

፳፫ ወወሀቡ፡ አምኃ፡ ብዙኅ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘገብረት፡ ሎሙ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ፡ በመዋዕሊሆሙ። ወአፈድፈዱ፡ መልእክታ።

፳፬ ትንብልናሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፳፭ ስምዑኬ፡ አ፡ ማኅበረ፡ ወንጌል፡ በቃለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ልሳነ፡ ዕፍረት፡ ወኰሉ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ ለተግሣፀ፡ ዚአነ፡ ተጽሕፈ።

፳፮ ወይእዜኒ፡ እብለክሙ፡ አ፡ አበውየ፡ ወአኅውየ፡ ማኅበረ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት።

፳፯ ለዝንቱስ፡ ብእሲ፡ እንበለ፡ አእምሮ፡ ሶበ፡ ረስሐ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ በሕልመ፡ ሌሊት፡ አግኝም፡ መልአክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እስከ፡ ኮነ፡ ፹፡ በእመት።

፳፰ ወለዘሰ፡ ቦአ፡ በድፍረት፡ ሚመጠነ፡ ይረክቦ፡ መዓት፡ ወመቅሠፍት።

፳፱ ወፈድፋደሰ፡ ለካህናት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ወለመነኩሳት፡ እለ፡ ኮንዎ፡ ምዕመናነ፡ ወቅሩባነ፡ ለእግዚአ፡ መናፍስት። (P. 275).

፴ ወባሕቱሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ንጹሕ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኃጢአት።

፴፩ ወመኑ፡ ጳድቅ፡ ዘይትወለድ፡ እምአንስት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዛቲ፡ ድንግል፡ ንጽሕት፡ ወቡርክት፡ ወውድስት፡ በአፈ፡ ሰብእ፡ ወመላእክት።

፴፪ ወለክሙኒ፡ እለ፡ ተጋባእክሙ፡ ዝየ፡ ለሰሚዐ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅድስት፡ ባላሂተ፡ ትኩንክሙ፡ እመሥገርተ፡ ሞት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፳፡ ተአምር፤

በእንተ፡ ዐቃቤ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘአኃዞ፡ ትክቶ፤

፩ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪ ወሀለወት፡ አሐቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ ተሐንፀት፡ በስማ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ ወብዙኅ፡ ተአምር፡ ወመንክር፡ ዘይትዝበር፡ በውስቱታ።

፫ ወሃሎ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዐቃቤ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ መዓልተ፡ ወሌሊተ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ይጠቅዕ፡ መጥቅዕ፡ በኰሉ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወያርኑ፡ ጎዋኅዊሃ።

፬ ወአሐተ፡ ዕለተ፡ ረከቦ፡ ድቀተ፡ ሥጋ፡ ምስለ፡ አንስት፡ እምድኅረ፡ ድራር፡ በጊዜ፡ ምሴት።

፭ ወእምዝ፡ ሐዊሮ፡ ኖመ፡ በከመ፡ ልማዱ፡ ውስተ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት። (P. 276).

፳ ወሰበ፡ ኮነ፡ መንፈቀ፡ ሌሊት፡ ተንሥኦ፡ በከመ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ዘልማድ፡ ወኣብርሀ፡ ማኅቶተ። ወረሰዓ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ኃጢአት፡ እንተ፡ ገብራ፡ ጊዜ፡ ምሴት፡ ወቦኦ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ፀዊሮ፡ መራኅተ።

፳ ወእምቅድመ፡ ይሳለም፡ አዕማዲሃ፡ ወራግዛቲሃ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ይቤ፡ ለሊሁ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዐቃቤ፡ አንቀጽ፡ መጽአ፡ ኀቤየ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘየዐቅባ፡ ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወለከፈኒ፡ በጽንፈ፡ በትሩ፡ እንተ፡ ገቦየ።

፳ ወይቤለኒ፡ ፃእ፡ ፍጡነ፡ አንተ፡ ርሱሕ፡ እስመ፡ በእንተ፡ ኢያእምሮትክ፡ አእተትኩ፡ መዓትየ፡ እምላዕሌክ፡ ሶበሰ፡ ቦእክ፡ በድፍረትክ፡ እምሠጠቁክ፡ ለ፪ኤ፡ ክፍል፡ ወዘንተ፡ ይቤለኒ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘየዐቅባ፡ ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር።

፳ ይቤ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘከመ፡ ረከቦ፡ ወበጊዜ፡ ተምዐኒ፡ መልአክ፡ በጽሐ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ደዌ፡ ወአኃዘኒ፡ ደመ፡ ትክቶ፡ አንስት።

፳ ወነበረ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እንዘ፡ የዐውድ፡ አህጉራተ፡ ወአዕፃዓተ፡ ወምሥያጣተ፡ ወይነግር፡ ለኩሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ርእዩኪ፡ ዘከመ፡ ረሰየተኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ ማርያም፡ ሶበ፡ ቦእኩ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ዚአሃ፡ በርስሐት።

፳ ወነበረ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ በዘከመዝ፡ ደዌ፡ እስከ፡ ዕለተ፡ ሞቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ኢይየብስ፡ ወኢይነጽፍ፡ ደመ፡ ትክቶ፡ አንስት፡ እምውስተ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ኢየኅበር፡ ምስለ፡ ሰብእ፡ ኢበጸሎት፡ ወኢበመሥዋዕት፡ በመብልዕ፡ ወኢበመስቱ። (P. 277).

፳ ወዝንቱ፡ ኩሉ፡ ምናኔ፡ ወኃግር፡ ወተሰዶ፡ እማእከለ፡ ጉባኤ፡ መሀይምናን፡ ዘረከቦ፡ በዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ረሲዕ፡ ዘረሰዓ፡ ኃጢአቱ¹⁵⁹። ሚመጠነ፡ ይረከቦ፡ ምንዳቤ፡ ወመቅሠፍት፡ ለዘቦኦ፡ በድፍረት፡ ወበትዕቢት፡ ውስተ፡ ዛቲ፡ እምነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እስመ፡ አባሉ፡ ይእቲ፡ ለዘተሰብኦ፡ እምቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን።

፳ ትንብልናሃ፡ ለእግእነትነ፡ ማርያም፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፯፡ ተአምር፤

በእንተ፡ ፩ዱ፡ መኰንን፡ ዘሐረ፡ ውስተ፡ ጸብኦ፡ ዕልዋን፤

፩ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪ ወሀሎ፡ ፩ዱ፡ መኰንን፡ መልአክ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ለንጉሥ። ወሐረ፡ ውስተ፡ ፀብዐ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ሥምረተ፡ ሕሊናሁ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወኅየልዎ፡ እሉ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ለዝኩ፡ መኰንን።

፫ ወሀለወት፡ ምስለ፡ ውእቱ፡ መኰንን፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ እስመ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ሎቱ፡ እምአበዊሁ፡ ሶበ፡ ጊዜ፡ ሐረ፡ ውስተ፡ ፀብዕ፡ ኢየኅድግ፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም።

፬ ወካህናትኒ፡ ሥሩዓን፡ ሎቱ፡ ምስለ፡ ይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ እለ፡ ይተልውዎ፡ ለውእቱ፡ መኰንን። (P. 278).

፭ ወአሜሃሰ፡ ዕለት፡ ሶበ፡ ሐረ፡ ውስተ፡ ፀብዕ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ በትዕይርተ፡ ልቡ። አውገቦ፡ ዕለት፡ እኪት፡ ሞዕዎ፡ እሉ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ለውእቱ፡ መኰንን፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ወለታቦትኒ፡ ፂወውዋ፡ አረሚ።

፮ ወሶበ፡ ርእያ፡ ፩ዱ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ለእሉ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ዘኣኅዞ፡ መሥገርተ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ለይእቲ፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ ይቤሎሙ፡ ለኣብያጺሁ፡ እኩያን፡ ርእይዋ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ሰሌዳ፡ መምለኪሆሙ፡ ለክርስቲያን።

፯ ወዘንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡ ተንሥኦ፡ በመዓተ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ወነበረ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡ ለታቦት፡ ውእቱ፡ ዕልው።

፰ ወበጊዜሃ፡ ሰጠቀቶ፡ ወሠፀረቶ፡ ለክልኤ፡ ክፍል፡ ወኮነ፡ ኩለንታሁ፡ ከመ፡ ዘኣብሰልም፡ ሥጋ፡ ውስተ፡ መቅዱተ፡ ብርት፡ ርሱን።

፱ ወሶበ፡ ርእዩ፡ እሉ፡ አረሚ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምራቲሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ ቦ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ እለ፡ አመኑ፡ ወቦ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ እለ፡ ጐዩ፡ ኢይነጽርዋ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ታቦት።

፲ ወእምድኅረ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ነገር፡ ሜጥዋ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ማርያም፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ በክብር፡ ወበስብሐት።

፲፩ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ ለጽዮን፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፰፡ ተአምር፤

፩ ታምሪሃ (sic)፡ ለጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌ፡ ኩልነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 279)

፪ ወሀሎ፡ አሐዱ፡ ዲያቆን፡ ዘይትመሐፀን፡ ወዘይትቀነይ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ እንዘ፡ የሐውር፡ በበወርኑ። ወበአሐዱ፡ እመዋዕል፡ ውእቱ፡ ዲያቆን፡ በፀብኦ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ሐመ፡ በእኩይ፡ ሕማም። አእዳዊሁ፡ ወእእጋሪሁ፡ ወክሳዱ፡ ተሰብሩ። ወኹሉ፡ ህዋሳቲሁ፡ ተሌለዩ። ወሥእነ፡ አንሳስሆ (sic)።

፫ ወእንዘ፡ ይፅዕር፡ መጽኢት፡ ኅበ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዲያቆን፡ ጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ምስሌ፡ ወልዳ፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ እንዘ፡ ታተሉ፡ መላእክተ፡ ወቅዱሳነ። ወበእደዊሃ፡ ክቡራት፡ ቀብኢቶ፡ በቅብዕ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ዘመዓዛሁ፡ ጥዑም። ወትቤሎ፡ በስእለትየ፡ ወበምሕረተ፡ ፍቁር፡ ወልድየ፡ ትድኅን።

፬ ወፍቁር፡ ወልዳ፡ ፣ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም¹⁶⁰፡ ገሠሠ፡ ሕዋሳቲሁ፡ በሰሊክ፡ ዘያስተፌሥሕ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዘተገብረ፡ ለከ፡ በምክንያተ፡ እምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ እስመ፡ አልቦ፡ ድኅነት¹⁶¹፡ ዘእንበለ፡ እግዝእትነ። ወነገሮ፡ ካዕበ፡ ዘየዐቢ¹⁶²፡ ምስጢረ።

፭ ወጽዮንሂ፡ እግዝእትነ¹⁶³፡ ነገረቶ፡ ብዘኅ (sic)፡ ምስጢረ። ወተሠወረት፡ እምኔሁ። ወውእቱ፡ ዲያቆን፡ ኮነ፡ ሕያወ፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢሐመ፡ ምንተ፡ እስመ፡ አድኅነቶ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም።

፮ ወውእቱ፡ ዲያቆን (sic)፡ ሐዲኅ፡ ንብረተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ መነነ፡ ወሐረየ፡ ተቀንዮ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘእግዝእትነ።

፯ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌ፡ ዘሰማዕነ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 280)

160 መድኃኔዓለም፡ P.

161 ድህ' P.

162 'አ' P.

163 እግዝትነ፡ P.

3.1.2 Translation

Miracles of Mary Zion

First Miracle

1. Miracle of Zion our Celestial Mother. May Her prayer and blessings be with Christian people, forever and ever, Amen.

2. About idol worship: All you Christian people, listen so that we tell you. All scripture was written for our instruction.¹⁶⁴ There was a certain man amongst the sons of Adam, named Seroh.¹⁶⁵ And a son named Bənu¹⁶⁶ was born to Seroh, [and] idol worship began. And a devilish evil tree¹⁶⁷ grew up from his tomb, which causes violation of fasting. Behold an enemy has sown [this] by bringing it from where it was found (Mtt. 13:28).

3. And the name of Bənu has been called Bunä.¹⁶⁸ There were good trees and bad trees which were created on Tuesday, as the Gospel of Matthew says ‘A good tree bears good fruit and a bad tree bears a bad fruit’ (Mtt. 7:12).¹⁶⁹

4. Therefore, it became the sacrifice of the children of the Ishmaelites, reaching (even) until their prophet Mohammed [who is] master of the Moslems. As for the Moslems, they have no other sacrifice except it. Until now, it has deceived men and made them violate fasts and festivals, saying ‘We have headache’. The *Zar*¹⁷⁰ Satan which dwells over them leads them astray. And the Holy Communion would be ruined and the time of Liturgy would pass into the morrow while they were drinking.

164 Cf. Rm. 15:4.

165 He is named ‘Serug’ in the Hebrew Bible, *Serouch* in the LXX. He is the son of Re’u (cf. Gen. 11:20).

166 According to the description of Genesis, the son of Serug (Seroh) is Nahor (cf. Gen. 11:22).

167 The text fails to observe verb-noun/adjective agreement: መታብሩሂ፡ በቆለት፡ ዕፅ፡ እኩይ፡ ሰይጣናዊት፡. The underlined adjective disagrees with the preceding verb (በቆለት፡) and the succeeding adjective (ሰይጣናዊት፡). It should be እኩት፡.

168 Here an Amharic etymology of the word ቡና፡ ‘coffee’ is given. On the other hand, the English name coffee is supposed to be derived from Kāfa, a region in southwestern Ethiopia. Mekete (2003: 763–764) discusses various arguments on the origins of coffee. There are four coffee species and all originated in Africa, he remarks. These are: *Coffea arabica* (believed to have originated in the south-western forests of Ethiopia), *Coffea robusta* (believed to have originated in Uganda), *Coffea liberica* (believed to have originated in Liberia) and *Coffea esliaca* (believed to have originated in Southern Sudan). The coffee bush is supposed to be indigenous to Ethiopia; historians testify that the coffee plant was first discovered growing wild in the Kāfa region. It also grows wild in southern Arabia. Culturally, coffee plays an important role in Ethiopian society. Rita Pankhurst (2003: 764–765) gives a detailed presentation on the subject.

169 But the verse is from Mtt. 7:17.

170 *Zar* is a pagan devilish spirit.

5. There is testimony to it the commentary to the Proverbs of Solomon saying, 'An evil man with, insolence will do evil' (Prov. 13:10).¹⁷¹ Having abandoned insolence, if we abandoned drinking how would it diminish us? And if we drink what shall it benefit us? The commentary¹⁷² of the Gospel of Luke says, 'John will be filled with the [Holy] Spirit and he shall drink no strong drink' (Lk. 1:13).¹⁷³ As for us, we receive the grace of the Holy Spirit on the fortieth day;¹⁷⁴ then why should our flesh be the dwelling of the Satan *Zar*?

6. May the prayer and blessings of our Mother the Celestial Zion be with all Christian people forever and ever, Amen.

Second Miracle

1. The miracle of Saint Zion our Mother the Celestial. Let Her prayer and blessings be with all of us Christian people, forever and ever, Amen. (P. 265.)

2. Listen again so that we tell you a thing that shall strengthen the intellect make certain the understang. [There was] A certain man named Mohammed, master of the Moslems. Out of his great denial, he lived together with demons. One day while he was worshipping he was seized with a severe headache, which he had had ever since his childhood. While he was suffering from this headache, one day the devil came to him in order to lead him astray by trickery. And he said to him 'My beloved Mohammed, what happened to you?' However, the pain that was upon him was [really] the devil himself.

3. Mohammed replied to him, 'I have a headache and am suffering due to this pain'. Then the devil said to Mohammed, 'If I tell you the medicine for your head[ache], will you carry out the desire of my heart?' Mohammed said to him, 'Yes, I will obey. If you heal me then I will do everything you have told me'.

4. Then the devil brought forth to him three plants, which were the plant of *Get*,¹⁷⁵ the plant of *Kusra*¹⁷⁶ and the plant of *Sätraṭis*.¹⁷⁷ He gave them to Mohammed and said, 'Take this medicine—the plant of *Kusra* which is *Bun*.

171 Actually Prov. 13:11. This does not correspond to the Hebrew Bible.

172 This is not a commentary on Luke. It is Luke itself.

173 Actually Lk. 1:15.

174 Boys are baptized when they are 40 days old.

175 This is the Amharic ጸጥጥ: *ṣat* (Arabic *qāt*, *ḡāt*, Oromo *jimaa*, Latin *catha edulis*). It is a flowering evergreen shrub native to East Africa and Southern Arabia, more specifically to Yemen, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Madagascar, and Tanzania. For a brief note on *ṣat*, cf. Ezekiel 2003: 697–698.

176 This is ቡና: *bunna*, 'coffee'.

177 It is the Amharic ታታቢ: *tənbaho* 'Tobacco'. It seems to have been little known in Ethiopia prior to the 19th century (cf. Pankhurst 2010: 967–968).

If you drink of it, you will recover quickly from your headache. And it will be a sacrifice in Mecca [and] Medina from generation to generation'. And he showed him all abominable deeds.

5. And Mohammed roasted this *kusra*—plant, that is to say, 'abominable'.¹⁷⁸ He then heated copper of iron and the devil said to him, 'Do [it] in the likeness of my image'. Then Mohammed roasted and made it like black charcoal. Again the devil said to him, 'Unless you do [it] in the likeness of my image, then the sacrifice won't be favored'. He did everything he said to him and Mohammed drank from it. He recovered from the pain of his headache for a short time. After waiting (a while), his headache reappeared periodically.

6. O Celestial Zion our Mother, let your prayer and blessings be with us all the children of baptism forever and ever, Amen.

Third¹⁷⁹ Miracle

1. The miracle of Saint Zion our Saintly Mother the Celestial. Let Her prayer and blessings be with all of us children of baptism, forever and ever, Amen.

2. When Mohammed was sacrificing the *kusra* plant and worshipping, the devil came to him at that time, because of the great love for the book called *Farqan*,¹⁸⁰ where in chapter 28th is found 'As for writing, write it; but bracket it, so they will not recite it'.¹⁸¹ Then the devil said to Mohammed 'Teach it to your Moslem colleagues, so that they will not recite what is written'. (P. 266.)

3. Then the Moslems, having established and written this command, then put brackets around it in order that [others] should not recite it. He who does recite and interpret this command, thus transgressing it, may he be cursed, may his roots torn out, may his bones will be broken, may his flesh swell up, may his tongue be cutoff, and may his eye go blind.

4. The devil said to Mohammed, 'In saying this, you pronounce an anathema'. Then Mohammed anathematized his Moslem relatives. The bracketed writing means: '*Šawzin nāfahnā wārāmha lati ahsānāt inabāha*'.¹⁸² This means,

178 The Gə'əz word **ḥr-ḥ**: 'abominable' has the same consonants as **hr-ḥ**:, but in a different order.

179 The text says 'second miracle'.

180 Arabic *Furqān*, i.e. the Qur'ān.

181 I do not know where such a verse actually appears in the Qur'ān, if at all. It does not seem to appear in Sura 28 (Al-Qiṣaṣ).

182 Although very distorted, this Qur'anic verse and the one which follows are taken from Sūrat al-Taḥrīm (Excommunication), Sur. 66:12. The transliteration (of the Arabic text) and its equivalent English translation are as: *Wa-maryama bnata 'Imrāna llatī 'aḥṣanat farġahā fa-nafaḥnā fīhi min rūhinā wa-ṣaddaḡat bi-kalimāti rabbihā wa-kutubihī wa-kānat*

'Mary,¹⁸³ the one who was firm in (Her) virginity'. One among the *Allahoč*¹⁸⁴ will descend and will be born [from Her]. *Wä-sädäqät bä-kälimati räbiha bähät näbi*. This is to mean 'He was born without Her knowing a man'.

5. *Allah* means 'God'; *Allahoč* [lit. 'gods'] means 'Trinity': three persons from the beginning. However the Moslems say in *Färqan*¹⁸⁵ which is their *Injil*¹⁸⁶ 'One person among the three persons descended from heaven and was born of the Virgin'. Saying it ቶ...ቶ, they bracketed it in order not to present a challenge to the law of the devil and not to transgress the anathema of Mohammed. [Instead they] say that, 'God did not descend and was not born', and (this) they also teach to other (people).

6. As for the three plants: the plant of *Get*, the plant of *Kusra* and the plant of *Sätraṭis*, although their name and appearance are different, their effect is the same. They are sacrifices and offerings to Mohammed in Mecca [and] Medina. Every thing that was done in the land of Egypt.¹⁸⁷

7. We will tell you the reason for the coming of *Abol*[,] *Tona* [and] *Bäräka*¹⁸⁸ to the land of Ethiopia. Those who were instructed by the relatives of Mohammed brought these three plants which they used¹⁸⁹ in sacrificing. And swearing an oath to each other, they came to the land of Ethiopia to lead the people astray

min al-qānitīna. Here is an English translation of the Qur'ān: 'Mary, the daughter of Imran, who guarded her chastity, and into whose (womb) We breathed of Our Spirit, who testified to the words of her Lord, and His Scriptures, and was one of the obedient' (Sur. 66:12; quoted from MidEastweb, cf. [<http://www.mideastweb.org>] 24/07/2010).

183 Instead of the usual ግርዖን: the Gə'əz text has መረግ: .

184 According to the Amharic translation of the text *Allahoč* means Trinity.

185 I.e. Qur'ān.

186 I.e. Gospel.

187 Rita Pankhurst (2003: 764–765) remarks how *čat* and coffee were used in Ethiopia: 'Because of its stimulant properties, coffee, often in association with *čat*, was used by Muslim mystics as early as the 15th century. It plays an important role in traditional Oromo rites and spirit possession rituals and is taken in some Ethiopian monasteries to stave off sleep during prayers. However, in *Šäwa* in the early 19th century, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church opposed coffee drinking by the laity, on the grounds that it was a Muslim or 'pagan' custom'.

188 These three Amharic terms refer to the three successive brewing of coffee from the same coffee-grounds. Probably their etymology is from the Arabic *awwal* 'first', *itnayn* 'second' and *baraka* 'blessing'. Rita Pankhurst (2003: 765) says on the third step of coffee that 'The meaning of the latter [*baraka*] 'blessing', suggests that the ceremony had a religious element'. She also assumes that the derivation of the three brewings and the method of preparation in *ğäbäna* 'pot' signifies that the procedure was borrowed from Arabia.

189 The Gə'əz text says ጠፋ: , which, means 'sat' or 'were'; I have translated according to the context.

and to change their faith. And five Moslems came with them from Egypt to the land of Ethiopia for trade with the three plants: the plant of *Get* which is *Çat*, the plant of *Kusra* which is Bun, [and] the plant of *Sätraṭis* which is tobacco. These are offerings of the Amorites¹⁹⁰ and Mohammedans.

8. As for the Christians, it is not fitting for them to eat and drink of these plants. Those who eat and drink of them, their punishment will be like those who have not been baptized, and their habitation will be in Gehenna.¹⁹¹ The Book says that 'Adam, the first creature of the Lord, was created in His image¹⁹² before all creatures';¹⁹³ he went astray by eating the plant and was expelled from Paradise'. Therefore, I say to you my brothers, do not be led astray through these plants. If you are preparing to eat and drink them, do not enter a church and do not [partake] of the Holy Communion in order not to contaminate the house of the Lord.

9. O Holy Zion the Celestial, safeguard all of us Christians forever and ever, Amen. (P. 267.)

Fourth Miracle

About the miracle performed upon the Ark of Zion

1. The miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary Zion, the Mother of God. Let Her prayer and blessings be with us forever and ever, Amen.

190 The Amorites were an ancient tribe of Canaanites who inhabited the country northeast of the Jordan River as far as Mount Hermon. In the 13th cent. BC, they defeated Moabites, crossed the Jordan, conquered the Hittites and overran Canaan to the sea. Their power was very strong at the beginning but later weakened by the Hebrews at the time of Joshua (cf. Jos. 9–10). They are mentioned as the ancestor of the Hebrews 'Thus says the Lord God to Jerusalem: Your origin and your birth are of the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite' (cf. Ezek. 16:3). It is also mentioned that they were idol worshippers and did not obey the Lord. As a result Sihon, the Amorite king, was killed (Ps. 136:19).

191 Initially, Gehenna (Gk. *gēenna* lit. 'The valley of Hinnom') was the name of the valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem (Jos. 15:8, 18:16). Because some of the Israelites were supposed to have sacrificed their children to Moloch there, the valley came to be regarded as a place of abomination (cf. 2 Kings 16:3, 21:6, 23:10–12). In a later period, it was made a refuse dump and perpetual fires were maintained there to prevent pestilence. Thus, in the New Testament, Gehenna became synonymous with hell. It used for the final place of torment for the wicked after the Last Judgment (Mtt. 5:29, 10:28, 18:9, Jos 3:6). (Cf. Cross 2005: 1107.)

192 Gen. 1:26.

193 Adam was not the 'first creature', according to Genesis (1:25–26); he was created after animals. The author probably means 'the first human creature' as is common in Ethiopian tradition.

2. This miracle that our Lady Mary Zion did was performed during the reign of a certain king, who loved Her and Her Son Jesus Christ.

3. There was in his royal palace an Ark which was prepared in the name of Our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary Zion. They placed Her inside a chest before Her consecration.

4. They found Her withdrawn from the chest, with the lock of the seal of the chest unopened, sitting on purple silk.

5. Seeing this, the guards of the king's treasury were very dismayed. They went in haste and told the king all that had happened concerning this Ark.

6. The king said to them, 'Bring and show me Her, the Ark about whose greatness you have told me'. And they brought Her.

7. When he saw the magnificence of the Ark, he marveled and rejoiced. And he sent Her quickly to the bishop together with the high priests, priests and many deacons, in order to consecrate Her. (P. 268.)

8. Then this Ark was consecrated by the hand of the honorable father, the Ethiopian archbishop.

9. And they brought Her in with honor, praise and much singing.

10. They told the king that the Ark was approaching. Then, he went out to welcome the Ark with much exaltation, blowing of horns, flute, bell, and with the sound of fiddle and harp and the beating of drums.

11. He adorned a dwelling for Her. He pitched a black tent raven—colored, and brought Her in for Her to dwell there.

12. On the morrow, this black tent was found white like snow.

13. Then they told the King this miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary Zion, Mother of God.

14. And he gave many offerings which were needed for the church ritual.

15. Subsequently, he assigned for Her many servants to blow the horns.

16. Moreover, he dressed for Her priests and deacons to serve in turn night and day.

17. After the king who loved Her had finished doing all this for Her, then the servants began blowing the horns, and the priests began singing praises disrespectfully and arrogantly, with idle talk and much laughter, as they were accustomed to do in other churches. (P. 269.)

18. And immediately our Lady Mary Zion grew angry at them.

19. There were among them some whose throats were blocked, there were some whose heads ached and there were some who were sick in their belly.

20. Everyone was suffering from his own sickness.

21. Then she appeared to the king and said to him: 'Let these boastful and conceited ones not approach me, for their singing and glorification I do not

like. As my father David says 'May my head never be anointed (with) the oil of the sinner'.¹⁹⁴

22. After hearing this matter from the mouth of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary, he ordered that none of them should enter the enclosure of that place except for pure priests at the time of the offering of the sacrifice.

23. He brought this Ark of Zion near to him. When sorrow and grief came upon him, he would pray to Her and receive according to what he thought and desired.

24. Then he named her '*Baḥtawit Šəyon Maryam*'.¹⁹⁵

25. This Ark is found in the king's palace to this day.

26. And the kings too, augment magnificence and honor to Her, each in his own period.

27. No one having the stain of sin and a tarnished mind may enter and approach Her until today. (P. 270.)

28. As for those approach boldly and shamelessly before men, they will fall into severe sickness, until they say 'Woe to us, woe to us'.

29. And they will say 'This punishment has befallen us due to our boldness, although we knew and were perfectly aware that we will be destroyed because of the fear of man'.¹⁹⁶

30. Listen now, O! Community of the Holy Church.

31. Do not get into the habit of entering a church without purity and confession, for there are watchful and pure Angels who are guarding it continually.

32. They will take vengeance on Her behalf against anyone who approaches Her with the pollution of sin; for He gave Her a covenant, Her heavenly bridegroom saying, 'If there is anyone who is defiled and who is not pure, let him withdraw'.

33. It is not due to defilement of the bed alone that He commanded withdrawal from the church, but also slanderers and murderers.

34. And anyone who has rancor and vengeance in his heart shall not enter, for this is a great sin.

35. As for those of you who are present here to hear the miracle of our Lady, Mother of your Lord, Mary, men and women, adults and children, according to your names,¹⁹⁷ let the Lord put the fear of Him into your flesh.

194 Ps. 141:5. That is not what Hebrew of Ps. 141:5 says: 'Let the righteous strike me in kindness, and let him reboke me; it shall be as oil for my head, let not my head refuse it'. But the Gə'əz and the Septuagint are different from the Hebrew.

195 Lit. 'Zion Mary the hermit'.

196 This is a faithful translation, but the sense is obscure; the text may be corrupt.

197 I.e., one by one.

36. And let Him be with you by day let Him be amongst you at night. (P. 271.)

37. And for His Flesh and His Blood, and for the sake of His Mother Mary, let Him forgive you your trespasses and your sins forever and ever, Amen.

Fifth Miracle

About the wonder, performed during the time of a certain king

1. The miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary Zion, Mother of God. Let Her intercession and beseeching be with us forever and ever, Amen.

2. Now listen to the wonder and marvel of the great miracle of our Lady Mary, which was performed during the time of a certain king, who was beloved of Her and beloved of Her Son our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

3. This king, out of his great love for Her, built a church for Her in the name of the Blessed, Pure, Mary Zion, the Mother of God. He adorned Her with gold, silver and with precious clothes of purple.

4. Moreover, he appointed for Her many priests and deacons, serving in Her night and day in reciting the Psalms of David, the Cantilation of Yared and the Horologium of the blessed George.

5. Due to the great number of church vessels that the king gave to the Ark of Zion Mary, no one could enter this church without the consent of the king and the children of the church. (P. 272.)

6. Her priests did not separate during the night and day time, watching Her in their own turn.

7. One day when the priests were guarding, they fell asleep during the long inside the church compound; and one of them dreamed a dream of the night and poured out in his bed the seed of the body.

8. And when the one who had dreamed¹⁹⁸ was asleep amongst his companions, an angel of the Lord abducted that man from the church without himself or his companions realizing it, took him out, without awakening him from his sleep, that man who had dreamed, and laid him down sleep to after taking him outside the church compound.

9. He removed him far away from the compound to at a distance of eighty cubits. He spent the night there until the dawn without moving from his sleep.

10. When the man awoke in the morning, he looked and down. But he did not realize what had happened to him or who had taken him out to that place.

11. Also those who slept with him disparaged (him) one to another and said 'Where did he go during the long night without our knowing, abandoning the guarding of the Ark of the king?'

198 'dreamed a wet dream'.

12. And the man, having awakened from his bed, called his companions. He said to them, 'Look where I spent the night! And I do not know took me out from inside the compound and who separated me from you'. (P. 273.)

13. And his companions replied and said to him, 'What bad thing happened to you in your bed?'

14. Then he replied to them, 'I dreamed in my sleep. During the time I was dreaming, I was not aware (of it). When I woke up from my sleep where the one who separated me from you had laid me down, it was then that I found the sign of the dream¹⁹⁹ on my organ'.

15. When they heard this speech of that man, they seized him and took him to the high priest.

16. The high priest questioned that man and he told him all what happened.

17. Then the high priest took him and had him stand before the tribunal of the king. And he reported to the advisors of the king so that they might tell it to the king.

18. When the king heard that matter, he marveled and was amazed.

19. He glorified our Lady, the twofold Virgin Saint, Mary, for having performed for him that miracle in his time.

20. And immediately the word of a herald went forth from the king and the bishop saying, 'If there is anyone, whether of the priests, deacons, monks or of the laity, who shall enter the precincts of the holy church(es) of all our territories country that the Lord gave us to rule, and has a wet dream in the night, let him be excommunicated according to the word of our fathers the Apostles'. (P. 274.)

21. Before that time, no one took any (special) care when entering a church. And it is only since the day on which the miracle of our Lady Zion Mary was revealed concerning this man that anyone has made any reform to [the sin of] a dream of night.

22. After this thing, the king and the bishop went together to this church, which was built in the name of Our Lady, the twofold Virgin Saint Mary, Mother of God, and they offered a sacrifice.

23. They offered many gifts for having performed for them that miracle, in their time, and they increased serving Her.

24. Let the intercession of Zion be with us forever and ever, Amen.

25. O the community of the Gospel, listen now to the word of the Orthodox Faith, as the sweet -tongued St. Paul says 'Whatever was written [in former days] was written for our instruction'.²⁰⁰

199 I.e., semen.

200 Rm. 15:4.

26. And now, O my fathers and brothers the community of the holy Church, I tell you.

27. Because this man, even though unknowingly, polluted his flesh in a dream of the night, the Angel of the Lord removed him as far as eighty cubits.

28. How great will be the rage and punishment that one will receive if he enters boldly.

29. And particularly priests, deacons and monks, for they are faithful and nearer to the Lord of the Spirits.²⁰¹ (P. 275.)

30. But there is no one so pure that he is without sin.

31. Who is righteous among those born of woman, except this Virgin, Pure, Blessed and praised by the mouths of men and angels?

32. As for you who have gathered here to hear the miracle of our Lady Saint Mary, let Her be to you a savior from the trap of death forever and ever, Amen.

Sixth Miracle

About the guardian of the Church, who had menses

1. The miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. Let Her prayer and blessings be with us forever and ever, Amen.

2. There was a church built in the name of our Lady Zion Mary, and many were the miracles and wonders that were performed in it.

3. There was a man guarding the gate of the church day and night. Always he was ringing a bell and was opening its doors.

4. One day, he had an event of the flesh²⁰² with a woman after dinner in the evening.

5. Then he went and fell asleep inside the gate of the holy church as was his custom. (P. 276.)

6. And when it was midnight he got up, according to the customary rule, and put on the lamp. But he forgot the sin that he had done in the evening. He entered the church carrying the keys.

7. Before he kissed²⁰³ the columns and doorposts of the church, the guardian of the gate himself said, 'An Angel who was guarding the house of the Lord came to me and touched me with the tip of his staff on my side'.

²⁰¹ 'Lord of the Spirits' is a common expression for God in the *Book of Enoch* (cf. Hk. 38:2, edition by Knibb 1978).

²⁰² Presumably a euphemism for sex.

²⁰³ According to Dillmann (1864: 322) and Leslau (1987: 499) ተሳለሙ means 'greet each other'. However, in this context, we interpret it as 'kissing (i.e. greeting) the church'.

8. 'And he said to me, 'You defiled one! Get out quickly, it is (only) due to your ignorance that I have withdrawn my anger from you. But if you had entered boldly, I would have split you in two parts'. This is what the Angel that guards the church of the Lord said to me'.

9. This man told how it happened to him: 'This sickness befell me, and the menses of women came upon me, at the time that the Angel was angry with me'.

10. That man went wandering over cities, the courtyards and marketplaces, speaking to all the people saying, 'So then, see what my Lady Mary did to me, when I entered Her church in defilement'.

11. That man lived with this disease until the day of his death; the menses of women did not dry up and stop flowing from his flesh, and he did not associate with people, neither in prayer nor in sacrifice, food nor drink. (P. 277.)

12. And all this rejection, disgrace and ostracism from amidst the congregation of the faithful which befell him in this world was because of his forgetting his sin. How much more torment and affliction would befall a man who, with boldness and pride enters into this holy church, our Mother, for She is an [integral] part of the One who was Incarnated from the Holy twofold Virgin Zion Mary.

13. Let the intercession of our Lady Mary be with us, forever and ever, Amen.

Seventh Miracle

About a nobleman who went to war against rebels²⁰⁴

1. The miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. Let Her prayer and blessings be with us forever and ever, Amen.

2. There was a nobleman who was serving as a commander of the royal army.²⁰⁵ And he went to war against rebels without the king's consent, and these rebels defeated this nobleman.

3. The Ark of our Lady Zion Mary was with this nobleman, as it was a tradition with him since his fathers that he never left behind the Ark of our Lady Mary when he to war.

4. And priests were appointed for him together with this Ark, and they followed this nobleman. (P. 278.)

204 The Gə'əz 𐩣𐩣𐩪𐩪: has the connotation of both 'rebels' and 'heretics', i.e. religious rebels.

205 Dillmann (1864: 48–49) gives further meanings for 𐩣𐩣𐩪𐩪: in 𐩣𐩣𐩪𐩪: 𐩶𐩪𐩣: *satrapēs* 'satrap', *éparchos* 'prefect', *anthýpatos* 'governor', *hegemôn* 'counselor', which are attested in Judith 5:2 and Daniel (in Aramaic) 3:2. However, in this text we only maintain 'commander of the royal army'.

5. On that very day when he went to war without the king's permission in the arrogance of his heart, an evil day came upon him [and] these rebels defeated the nobleman together with his army. As for the Ark, the heathens captured it.

6. And when one of these rebels, whom Satan had taken in his trap, saw this Ark of our Lady Zion Mary, he said to his wicked companions: 'Look at this tablet of the cult of the Christians'.

7. Saying this he stood up with diabolic anger. And this rebel sat down upon the Ark.

8. And immediately, she cleaved him and split him in two parts; and all of him became like cooked meat in a red-hot bronze caldron.

9. When these heathens saw this miracle of our Lady Zion Mary, there were some among them who believed and some among them who fled so as not to look upon that Ark.

10. After this thing, they surrendered the Ark of Mary to Her country with honor and praise.

11. Let the prayer and blessings of Zion be with us forever and ever, Amen.

Eighth Miracle

1. The miracle of Zion, our Lady Mary. Let Her prayer and blessings be with us all forever and ever, Amen. (P. 279.)

2. There was a deacon who was charged with serving the church of our Lady Mary Zion, going (there) every month. One day, this deacon was attacked by Satan and fell sick with an evil sickness. His hands, feet and neck were broken. All parts of his body were disjointed and he was unable to move.²⁰⁶

3. While he was suffering, our Lady Mary came to that deacon with Her Son, Savior of the World, the angels and saints following Her. And with Her honorable hands She anointed him with heavenly oil whose aroma is sweet. And She said to him, 'You shall be saved by my entreaty and by the mercy of My beloved Son'.

4. Then Her Beloved Son, Savior of the World, touched the parts of his body with balsam which gladdens. And He said to him, 'This which was done for you is because of My Mother, for there is no salvation except our Lady'. And furthermore besides he told him a great mystery.

5. And as for our Lady Zion, She told him many mysteries. Then She disappeared from him. And this deacon became healed as if he had never fallen sick with anything, for Zion Mary saved him.

206 The Gə'əz text has አንሳህ፡; which is a corruption; it apparently represents አንሳሕሳ: 'the act of moving', but also resembles አንሶህ: 'to move, walk' (cf. Leslau 1987: 494, 517).

6. And this deacon, abandoning the life of this world, renounced (it) and chose to serve the church of our Lady.

7. Let Her prayer and blessings be with those of us who heard this miracles of Zion forever and ever, Amen. (P. 280.)

3.2 Mälkə'a Şəyon 'Effigy of Zion'

I have made very small conjectural changes to the printed text of the 'Effigy' as found in [P].

3.2.1 Text

መልክአ፡ ጽዮን²⁰⁷፡

መልክአ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፤

፩ ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምኪ፡ እንተ፡ ይጼዋዕ፡ በወትር፤

በአፈ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ በጊዜ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወክብር፤

ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ንግሥተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፤

እለ፡ ይክህዱ፡ ድንግልናኪ፡ ውሉደ፡ ኩነኔ²⁰⁸፡ ወፃዕር፤

ይጥፍኡ፡ ወይማስኑ፡ እምኩሉ²⁰⁹፡ ሀገር።

፪ ሰላም፡ ለስዕርተ፡ ርእሰኪ፡ በዕንቁ፡ ሰንፔር፡ ሰማያዊ፤

ዘተሰርገወ፡ ናሁ፡ በቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ዘሌዊ፤

መድኃኒተ፡ ዓለም፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሰማያዊ፤

አድንጎኒ (sic)፡ በእንተ፡ ስምኪ፡ እምነ፡ ሕማም፡ ግብታዊ፤

ዘአልብዩ፡ ጥፂና፡ እስመ፡ አንሰ፡ እደዊ።

፫ ሰላም፡ ለርዕሰኪ፡ ክሉለ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወመብረቅ፤

ወክሉለ፡ ኮከብ፡ ወወርሃ፡ ዘያንፀባርቅ፡ እምርኅቅ²¹⁰፤

እመ፡ መለኮት፡ ጽዮን፡ ባላሂት፡ ፡እምነ፡ ፃዕቅ²¹¹፤

ለእለ²¹²፡ ንሴፎ፡ ት[ን]ብልናኪ፡ ወእለ፡ ነአምን፡ አሚነ፡ ጽድቅ፤

እምዓለመ²¹³፡ ሥጋ፡ ሰውርኒ፡ ወእም፡ ፍቅረ፡ ብሩር፡ ወወርቅ።

207 Cf. pp. 281–286 of the printed text.

208 ኩ' P.

209 እም፡ ኩሉ፡ P.

210 'ሁቅ፡ P.

211 እምነፃህቅ፡ P.

212 ለዕለ፡ P.

213 እም፡ ዓለመ፡ P.

፬ ሰላም፡ ለገጽኪ²¹⁴፡ ከመ፡ ነበልባላዊ፡ እሳት፤
ለእለ፡ ይክህዱ፡ ስመኪ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ምሕረት፤
ትንቢተ፡ ነቢያት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወእንተ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ስብከት፤
ተስፋሆሙ፡ ለሕዝበ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ወተስፋ፡ ኩሉ፡ ፍጥረት፤
ወናዛዚተ፡ ሐዘን፡ አንቲ፡ ዘፀውአኪ፡ በጸሎት።

፭ ሰላም፡ ለቀራንብትኪ፡ እምላዕለ²¹⁵፡ አዕይንት²¹⁶፡ ፪ቱ፤
ወፅጉባነ፡ መንፈስ፡ እሙንቱ፤
ስንቀ²¹⁷፡ ርሀባን፡ ጽዮን፡ ንግሥተ፡ ላዕሉ፡ ወታሕቱ፤
ቃለ፡ ኪዳንኪ፡ ለዓምደ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሕይወቱ፤
አምጣነ፡ ውእቱ፡ ሕይወተ፡ ኩልነ፡ ወነአምን፡ ቦቱ።

፮ ሰላም፡ ለአዕይንትኪ፡ ምሥጢረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ እለ፡ ነጻራ፤
አምጣነ፡ አስትየኪ፡ መልአክ፡ ጽዋእ²¹⁸፡ ሕይወት፡ ከመ፡ ዕዝራ፤
እመ፡ ልዕልና፡ ጽዮን፡ ለሙሴ፡ ደብተራ፤
ሠውርኒ፡ እምነ፡ መቅሰፍት፡ ወእምነ፡ ብዙኅ፡ መከራ፤
ወመዓተ፡ ሄሮድስ፡ እምክህደት፡ አምጣነ፡ ይመጽዕ፡ ግሙራ።

፯ ሰላም፡ ለእኣዛንኪ፡ ስሙዓነ፡ ስብሐት፡ ምንትው፤
እምቃለ፡ መልአክ፡ ገብርኤል፡ እምነ፡ ሰማይ፡ ፍንው፤
እመ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወእመ፡ አበው፤
ዕቀብኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ በኩሉ፡ ፍናው፤
እስመ፡ አንሰ፡ አአውድ፡ በአውግር፡ ወበድው።

፰ ሰላም፡ ለመላትህኪ፡ ምሕዋረ²¹⁹፡ አንብዕ፡ እንግዳ፤
እንዘ፡ ትስእሊ²²⁰፡ ወልደኪ፡ በእንተ፡ ዚአነ፡ ዕዳ፤
አፍጣኒተ፡ ረድዔት፡ ጽዮን፡ ባላሂተ፡ አዳም፡ ፣እምነ፡ ፍዳ²²¹፤
ሰአሊ፡ ለኩልነ፡ በእንተ፡ ስደትኪ፡ እምይሁዳ፤
ወኢታርዕዪነ፡ እምነ፡ ለሲኦል፡ መንገዳ። (P. 281)

214 ለገፀኪ፡ P.

215 'እ'፡ P.

216 አእ'፡ P.

217 ሥ'፡ P.

218 ጽውአ፡ P.

219 ምህ' P.

220 'ዕሊ፡ P.

221 እምነፍዳ፡ P.

፱ ሰላም፡ ለአእናፍኪ፡ ፀገብተ፡ መዓዛ፡ ዘወልድ፤
 እለ፡ ያምዕዙ፡ ወትረ፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላዕክት፡ ዘነድ፤
 ፫እመ፡ ዚአነ²²²፡ ጽዮን፡ ወጽዮን፡ ፫እመ፡ ዋሕድ²²³፤
 ንስዕለኪ፡ በአንብዓ፡ ሐዘን፡ ወሰጊድ፤
 ወያስተብፅኡኪ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ነፑሉ፡ ትውልድ።

፲ ሰላም፡ ለከናፍርኪ፡ ዘነደ፡ መለኮት፡ ሰዓመ፤
 ወእለ፡ ያዘንሙ፡ ለነ፡ ስዕለተ፡ ፈጣሪ፡ ዘናመ (sic)፤
 ኪደንኪ (sic)፡ ጽዮን፡ እንተ፡ ያድኅን፡ ዓለመ፤
 ኦድኅንኒ፡ እመንሱት፡ ገብረ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ደክታመ፤
 ወሥርወ፡ መንሱት፡ ትዕቢት፡ እስመ፡ ላዕሌዬ (sic)፡ ተሰይመ።

፲፩ ሰላም፡ ለአፉኪ፡ ኅብስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ዘተመገበ፤
 በዕደ፡ ፋትኤል፡ መልአክ፡ ዘይፀውር፡ መሶበ፤
 ወሀብኒ፡ ጽዮን፡ ውዳሴ፡ ዘአከ (sic)፡ አስበ፤
 ረሥዬ፡ ለእንቲአየ፡ ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ሀሊበ፤
 በይነ፡ ዘአነ (sic)፡ ኢይክል፡ ጽምአ²²⁴፡ ማይ፡ ወረኅበ²²⁵።

፲፪ ሰላም፡ ለአስናንኪ፡ አምሳላተ፡ ወርኅ፡ ወኮከብ፤
 ወይትማሰሉ፡ በመልክእ፡ ፫ከመ፡ ፀአዳ²²⁶፡ ሀሊብ፤
 ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ አምላክ፡ ወጽዮን፡ መራዓቱ (sic)፡ ለአብ፤
 አብእኒ፡ እግዝእትዮ²²⁷፡ ኅበ፡ ዘዚአኪ፡ ምክራብ፤
 ወእሴ፡ ስመኪ፡ ምስለ፡ ዘዚአኪ፡ ሕዝብ።

፲፫ ሰላም፡ ለልሳንኪ፡ እምነ፡ መዓር፡ ጥዑም፤
 ለዘይሰምዖ፡ በእዝን፡ በጊዜ፡ ጸሎት፡ ወጾም፤
 አቀራረተ፡ አበሳ፡ ወኃጢአት፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፤
 እስመ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ላዕሌዬ፡ አፅራረ፡ ፍቅር፡ ወሰላም፤
 ወሀብኒ፡ ፍቅረ፡ እምፍቅረ፡ ዚአኪ፡ እም።

²²² እመዚአነ፡ P.

²²³ እመዋሕድ፡ P.

²²⁴ ፀማ፡ P.

²²⁵ 'ሀበ፡ P.

²²⁶ ከመፀአዳ፡ P.

²²⁷ 'ዚ' P.

፲፬ ሰላም፡ ለቃልኪ፡ ቃለ፡ ርህራሔ፡ ወሣህል፤
 አስምእነ፡ ለኩልነ፡ ውሉደ፡ ወንጌል፤
 ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ መለኮት፡ ወጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ነበልባል፤
 አድኅንነ፡ እመብርሃን፡ እምነ፡ ሙስና፡ ወሀጉል፤
 እለ፡ ያመጽኡ፡ አፅራረ፡ አሚን፡ በዛቲ፡ መዋዕል።

፲፭ ሰላም፡ ለእስትንፋስኪ²²⁸፡ እስትንፋስ (sic)፡ ሕይወት፡ ወፈውስ፤
 ለእለ፡ የአምኑ፡ ልበ፡ በኪዳንኪ፡ ቅዱስ፤
 ጽዮን፡ እምየ፡ በዘመነ፡ ካህድ፡ ወባእስ²²⁹፤
 ኪያየ፡ ረስዬኒ²³⁰፡ ፣ከመ፡ ፍቁርኪ²³¹፡ ዮሐንስ፤
 ወአሚን፡ ወልድኪ፡ ወዘዘካኪ (sic)፡ እዜኑ፡ ቅድመ፡ ንጉሥ።

፲፮ ሰላም፡ ለጉርዔኪ፡ በጽምአ፡ ማይ፡ ዘተአስረ፤
 በስደተ፡ ግብፅ፡ ዮሴፍ፡ አመ፡ ምስሌኪ፡ ሖረ፤
 ከመ፡ አስተ[ይ]ኪዮ፡ ለያሬድ፡ ዘስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ዘመረ፤
 አስትይኒ፡ በርኅራኄኪ²³²፡ ጽውኡ፡ ልቡና፡ ሥዉረ²³³፤
 ወሠውረ፡ በደብርኪ፡ [ለ]ዓምደ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሥሙረ።

፲፯ ሰላም፡ ለከሳድኪ፡ ዘይደልዎ፡ አኩቴት²³⁴፤
 ወይፀንን፡ ወትረ፡ ለስግደት፡ ወለጸሎት፤
 ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ወእመ፡ ፈጣሪ፡ ፀባዖት፤
 ሰአሊ፡ በእንቲአየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ፍጥረት፤
 ወወልድኪ፡ አምላክ፡ ሣህል፡ ወምሕረት።

፲፰ ሰላም፡ ለመትከፍትኪ፡ በልዕልና፡ ዘተሰርገወ፤
 በልብስ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወወርቅ፡ ዘፃእደወ፤
 በምክንያተ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ አንቀጸ፡ ገነት፡ ተርህወ፤
 አርህዊ፡ ልቡናየ፡ በአንቀፀ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ዘተአፅወ፤
 እስመ፡ ህሊናየ፡ እምነ፡ ድካም፡ ከመ፡ ሰምዕ፡ ተመስወ። (P. 282)

228 ለዕ' P.

229 'ዕ' P.

230 'ይ' P.

231 ከመፍቁርኪ፡ P.

232 'ርህራዔ'፡ P.

233 'ው' P.

234 አኮ' P.

፲፱ ሰላም፡ ለዘባንኪ፡ ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ አትሮንሱ፤
 እስራኤል፡ እምግብፅ፡ ወእምገፀ፡ ፈርዖን፡ አመ፡ ፈለሱ፤
 ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ወኢየሱ፤
 ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ድንግል፡ ፡ለዓምደ፡ ብርሃን²³⁵፡ ሞገሱ፤
 ፡ወእለ፡ ይትዌከሉ²³⁶፡ ስመኪ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወረሱ።

፳ ሰላም፡ ለእንግድዓኪ፡ ለብርሃነ፡ ዓለም፡ ተቋሙ፤
 ሰማየ፡ ሰማያት፡ ጽዮን፡ ለዓማኑኦል (sic)፡ እሙ፤
 ንዒ፡ ይቤሉኪ፡ ሰማዕታተ፡ ወልድ፡ አመ፡ ደክሙ፤
 ምስለ፡ ብርሃናኤል፡ ላእክኪ፡ ቀታሌ፡ አጋንንት፡ ፡እለ፡ ተረግሙ²³⁷፤
 እስመ፡ ብርሃናኤል፡ ያበርህ፡ ለዘፀልመ፡ ቦሙ።

፳፩ ሰላም፡ ለሕጽንኪ²³⁸፡ ደብረ፡ እግዚአ፡ ክሉ፡ ዓለም፤
 ወንመስለኪ፡ ንህነ፡ በጽርሐ፡ አርያም፤
 ንግሥተ፡ አርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ አጋንንተ፡ ሲኦል፡ ወገሀነም፤
 ይዘረወ፡ በስምኪ፡ መብረቀ፡ ሐጋይ፡ ወከርም፤
 ወዘተወከለ፡ በዚአኪ፡ አጋንንተ፡ ያሰጥም።

፳፪ ሰላም፡ ለአእዳውኪ፡ ሠረገላሁ፡ ለወልድ፤
 እምነ፡ ሀገር፡ ለሀገር፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰደድ፤
 ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ኃይለ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዋሕድ፤
 ፡ከመ፡ ፍቅረ²³⁹፡ ወልድኪ፡ ረዓየ፡ ምስጢር፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወልደ፡ ነገድኃድ²⁴⁰፤
 ረሥዬኒ²⁴¹፡ ይቤለኪ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ተልሚድ።

፳፫ ሰላም፡ ለመዛርእኪ፡ ፀዋሬ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ምሥጢር፤
 ዘይሰመይ፡ ናሁ፡ ፡መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም²⁴²፡ ክቡር፤
 ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ መንበር፤
 አድ[ጎ]ንኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ እምክሉ፡ አጽራር፤
 እስመ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ ጎልዋን²⁴³፡ ሲኦል፡ ወሀገር።

²³⁵ ለአምደብርሃን፡ P.

²³⁶ ወእለይትዌከሉ፡ P.

²³⁷ እለተረግሙ፡ P.

²³⁸ ለህፅ' P.

²³⁹ ከመፍቁረ፡ P.

²⁴⁰ ነጎ' P.

²⁴¹ 'ይ' P.

²⁴² መድኃኔዓለም፡ P.

²⁴³ ሕ' P.

፳፬ ሰላም፡ ለኰርናዕኪ፡ ግሩም፡ ወመድምም፤
 ፀዋሬ፡ ዘኢይትከሀል፡ ወልድ፡ በዘሰብእ፡ አቅም፤
 ደብረ፡ ነበልባል፡ ጽዮን፡ ወደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ አዳም፤
 እቀብኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ እምነ፡ መስቴማ፡ ርጉም፤
 ወዝንቱ፡ ያወርድ፡ ኅበ፡ እዚሁ፡ ዘኢይነውም።

፳፭ ሰላም፡ ለእመታትኪ፡ እለ፡ ኢየአርፉ፡ «እምነ፡ ፈትል²⁴⁴፤
 በቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ከዊኖሙ፡ ምስለ፡ ፍሱሕ፡ ገብርኤል፤
 ማኅቶተ²⁴⁵፡ ዓለም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲት፡ ወድንግል፤
 አንቲ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኃይለ፡ ነገሥታት፡ በጊዜ፡ ቀትል፤
 ወአንቲ፡ እሙ፡ ለካህናት፡ አክሊል።

፳፮ ሰላም፡ ለእራኃትኪ፡ ውሁባነ፡ መና፡ ወጽዋዕ፤
 እምነ፡ ሕሊና፡ ወልብ፡ ለዘይስእለኪ²⁴⁶፡ ሰብእ፤
 ጽዮን፡ ባላሂት፡ እምነ፡ ረሀብ፡ ፅኑዕ፤
 «ከመ፡ ያድኅነን²⁴⁷፡ እምነ፡ ረሀብ፡ ወፅምዕ፤
 ሰአሊ፡ ኅበ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ወሀቤ፡ መና፡ ኅቡዕ²⁴⁸።

፳፯ ሰላም፡ ለአፃብዕኪ፡ አምሳላተ፡ ቃላት፡ ፲ቱ፤
 እምብርሃነ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ያበርሁ፡ አፃብአ፡ ዚአኪ፡ እሙንቱ፤
 ምስጢረ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወለኤርምያስ፡ ትንቢቱ፤
 አንብርኒ፡ ምስለ፡ ዕዝራ፡ እስከ፡ የሐልፍ፡ መዓቱ፤
 ለወልድኪ፡ «መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም²⁴⁹፡ እግዚአ፡ ላዕሉ፡ ወታሕቱ።

፳፰ ሰላም፡ «ለአጽፋረ፡ እዴኪ²⁵⁰፡ እምነ፡ ከዋክብት፡ ዘያፀድሉ፤
 ወሠይፈ፡ ነበልባል፡ እሙንቱ፡ ለአጋንንተ፡ ሲኦል፡ ኰሉ፤
 ንግሥተ፡ መላእክት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወንግሥተ፡ ታሕቱ²⁵¹፡ ወላዕሉ፤
 ሶበ፡ መጽአ፡ ለተፃብአ፡ ሳጥናኤል፡ በኃይሉ፤
 «እለ፡ ይትአመኑ²⁵²፡ በስምኪ፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ይቅትሉ። (P. 283)

244 እምነፈትል፡ P.

245 ማህ' P.

246 ለዘይስእለኪ፡ P.

247 ከመያድኅነን፡ P.

248 ህ' P.

249 መድኃኔዓለም፡ P.

250 ለአጽፋረዕዴኪ፡ P.

251 'ህ' P.

252 እለይትአመኑ፡ P.

፳፱ ሰላም፡ ለአጥባቅኪ፡ ሙሐዘ፡ ሀሊብ፡ ዘድንግልና፤
 አንቲ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዕፀ፡ ምልክአም፡ ዘደብረ፡ ሲና፤
 ማዕሰረ²⁵³፡ አጋንንት፡ ስምኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወለተ፡ ሐና፤
 ወተአሥረ፡ በስምኪ፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ሳጥና፤
 ይትቀጠቀጥ፡ በኃይልኪ፡ ወኢይረክብ፡ ጥዲና።

፴ ሰላም፡ ለገቦኪ፡ ሠቀ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ዘአጠቀ፤
 እንተ፡ ይመስል፡ መብረቀ፤
 ወስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ይከውነኒ፡ ሥንቀ²⁵⁴፤
 ሰብ፡ ሰምዐ²⁵⁵፡ ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ እንተ፡ ይሰማዕ፡ ርሑቅ²⁵⁶፤
 ዲያብሎስ፡ ደንጊዖ፡ በእደ²⁵⁷፡ ብርሃናኤል፡ ወድቀ።

፴፩ ሰላም፡ ለከርሥኪ፡ እምነ፡ ዓለማት፡ ዘከብረ፤
 የዐቢ²⁵⁸፡ ወይትሌዓል፡ እስመ፡ ዘኢይፀወር፡ ዖረ፤
 እመ፡ ማኅየዊ²⁵⁹፡ ጽዮን፡ ንዌድሰኪ፡ ወትረ፤
 ዘይሰመይ፡ በስምኪ፡ ታቦተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ዘተገብረ፤
 ማኅደረ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ዳጎን፡ ቀጥቀጠ፡ ወሰበረ።

፴፪ ሰላም፡ ለልብኪ፡ ምሉአ፡ ርህራሄ፡ ወምሕረት፤
 ምስለ፡ ሰጊድ፡ ወጸሎት፤
 ለዘጸልመ፡ ቦቱ፡ ጽዮን፡ ብርሃነ፡ ሌሊት፤
 አብራሂ፡ ልቡናየ፡ በዘመነ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ ወሰማኒት፤
 እስመ፡ ይበዝኑ፡ አፅራርኪ፡ ወአፅራረ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ጸባዖት።

፴፫ ሰላም፡ ለኵልያትኪ፡ ፣እለ፡ ያጤይሱ²⁶⁰፡ ሠናያተ፤
 ዘይከውን፡ ለኃጥአን፡ ምሕረተ፡ ወሕይወተ፤
 ነቅዓ፡ መድኃኒት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወሀብኒ፡ መድኃኒተ፤
 እስመ፡ ይከውን፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ዘተከብተ፤
 እምነ፡ ከሀድያን፡ ወዕቡያን²⁶¹፡ ወእለ፡ ገብሩ፡ ኃጢአተ።

253 ማሰዕረ(sic)፡ P.

254 ስ' P.

255 'አ፡ P.

256 'ሁ' P.

257 'ዕ' P.

258 'አ' P.

259 'ህ' P.

260 እለያጤይሱ፡ P.

261 ወእ' P.

፴፬ ሰላም፡ ለሕሊናኪ፡ ምሕረተ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ዘይሔሊ፤
 እንተ፡ በንስሐ፡ ተመይጠ፡ ስመ፡ ጳውሊ²⁶²፤
 ጽዮን፡ ድንግል፡ ኅበ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ሰአሊ፤
 ወአድኅንኒ፡ በርህራሄኪ፡ እምዲያብሎስ፡ ቀታሊ፤
 እስመ፡ ድኩም፡ አነ፡ ዘዚአኪ፡ ወአሊ።

፴፭ ሰላም፡ ለአማዑትኪ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘገብሮ፤
 ወእምነ፡ ኩሉ፡ አክበሮ፤
 ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም²⁶³፡ ማኅደሮ²⁶⁴፤
 ዘፀውአ፡ ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ወዘገብሮ፡ ተዝካሮ፤
 ክሳዶ፡ ለዲያብሎስ፡ በሠይፈ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ መተሮ።

፴፮ ሰላም፡ ለንዋየ፡ ውስጥኪ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ልምሉም፤
 ወዘያጠፍዕ፡ ናሁ፡ መንፈስ፡ ድካም፡ ወሕማም፤
 ማርያም፡ እምየ፡ ደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወሰላም፤
 አጥፍኢ፡ ወዘርዝሪ፡ ምክረ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ኢግሩም፤
 እስመ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ መከረ፡ ያጥፍአኒ፡ እምንዋም።

፴፯ ሰላም፡ ለሕንብርትኪ፡ ማዕከለ፡ ከርሥ፡ ዘሀለወ፤
 ክቡር፡ ወልዑል፡ ወበልብስ፡ ሰማይ፡ ተሰርገወ፤
 አግአዚት፡ ጽዮን፡ በክህደት፡ ዘተደወወ፤
 አግብዒ፡ መንገሌኪ፡ ሃይማኖቶ፡ እስከ፡ ለበወ፤
 ወመንገሌሁ፡ ፈንዊ፡ ገብርኤልሃ፡ ዘተፈነወ።

፴፰ ሰላም፡ ለማሕፀንኪ²⁶⁵፡ ማኅደረ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፤
 ዘተክለለ፡ ናሁ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፤
 ጽዮን፡ ማኅደረ²⁶⁶፡ አምላክ (sic)፡ ወጽዮን፡ ማኅደረ²⁶⁷፡ ንጉሥ፤
 ይዌድሱኪ፡ መላእክት፡ እንዘ፡ ይቀውሙ፡ በመርስ፤
 እስመ፡ ድንግል፡ ማኅደረ²⁶⁸፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወተስላስ። (P. 284)

262 ከመጳውሊ፡ P.

263 ለመድኃኔዓለም፡ P.

264 'ህ' P.

265 'ህ' P.

266 'ህ' P.

267 'ህ' P.

268 'ህ' P.

፴፱ ሰላም፡ ለሐቋኪ²⁶⁹፡ ከመ፡ ብርተ፡ ሐፂን፡ ዘፀንኦ፤
 ወያስተአፅብ፡ ሰብኦ፤
 ጽዮን፡ ስምኪ²⁷⁰፡ ያረዊ፡ ጽምኦ፤
 ወያፀግብ፡ ከዊኖ፡ ኅብስተ፡ ሕይወት፡ ለዘበልኦ፤
 ወዕቀቢዮ፡ ለዘደረሰ፡ ዘዚኦኪ፡ መልክኦ።

፵ ሰላም፡ ለአቁያፅኪ፡ ህልያነ፡ ፀጋም፡ ወየማን፤
 ወልቡሳነ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወማዕስ፡ ምሉኦ፡ መንፈስ፡ ውብርሃን፤
 አልህቅኒ፡ እምየ፡ ደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ጽዮን፤
 ኦጥብብኒ፡ በርህራሄኪ፡ እምነ፡ ኩሉ፡ ጠቢባን፤
 ወአቁምኒ፡ ምስለ፡ ጻድቃን፡ በደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡ መካን።

፵፩ ሰላም፡ ለአብራክኪ፡ ዘአስተብረካ፡ በመቅደስ፤
 ለአብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፤
 አንቀፀ፡ ገነት፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፤
 አድሃንኒ፡ እማየ፡ ሙስና፡ ወእምነ፡ መቅሰፍት፡ ወተፅናስ፤
 ወአንሰ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ድኩመ²⁷¹፡ አእምሮ፡ ወንዑስ።

፵፪ ሰላም፡ ለአእጋርኪ፡ ተወካፌ፡ እቅፍት²⁷²፡ ወአስዋከ፡ ግብፅ፤
 እንዘ፡ የሐውሩ፡ በረዊፅ፤
 ሠረገላ፡ ኤልያስ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወትንቢተ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞፅ፤
 ባልህኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ እምኸናተ፡ ፀላፒ፡ ወሐፅ፤
 እስመ፡ ኢይክል፡ አንሰ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ድንጉፅ።

፵፫ ሰላም፡ ለሰኮናኪ፡ ቀዳሴ፡ ሐቅለ፡ ግብፅ፡ ወቃዴስ፤
 እምነ፡ ጣዖታት፡ ዘአእባን፡ ወማኅደረ²⁷³፡ ሰይጣን፡ ርኹስ²⁷⁴፤
 ኢትመንንኒ፡ ጽዮን፡ በርእሰ²⁷⁵፡ ባሕታዊ፡ መነኰስ²⁷⁶፤
 ዘይሰመይ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወእንተ፡ የሐውር፡ በመንፈስ፤
 ወዘሐነፀ፡ በስምኪ፡ ሕንፃ፡ ቤት፡ ወተስላስ።

269 'ቈ' P.

270 'መ' P.

271 'ኩ' P.

272 'ሕ' P.

273 'ህ' P.

274 'ኩ' P.

275 'ዕ' P.

276 'ኮ' P.

፴፬ ሰላም፡ ለመከየድኪ፡ ሱቱፋነ፡ ሥቃይ፡ ወፃግ፤
 ወለአፃብእ፡ ዘእግርኪ፡ እምነ፡ ፍኖት፡ ዘደክማ፤
 ጽዮን፡ ባሕታዊት፡ ሰዋስወ፡ ራማ፤
 አእርቅኒ፡ አራቅትየ፡ ምስለ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ፌማ፤
 ወአንቲ፡ ተአምራ፡ ለነፍስየ፡ ድካማ።

፴፭ ሰላም፡ ለአጽፋረ፡ እግርኪ፡ ብርሃናተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፤
 አመ፡ የሐውራ፡ ለስደት፡ እምነ፡ ሀገር፡ ለሀገር፤
 ሰዋስወ፡ ነፍሳት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወጽዮን፡ ሐመር፤
 አዕርግኒ²⁷⁷፡ መንገለ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወአእድውኒ፡ እምባሕር፤
 ከመ፡ ኢያውእየኒ፡ ባሕረ፡ እሳት፡ እምነ፡ ዘዚአየ፡ ግብር።

፴፮ ሰላም፡ ለቆምኪ፡ አምሳለ፡ ሐመልማል፡ ዘሙሴ፤
 ዘይደልዎ፡ ውዳሴ፤
 ስዕለተ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ያጸድቅ፡ አባሴ፤
 ወስአሊ፡ በእንቲአየ፡ በጎበ፡ ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፤
 እስመ፡ ኃጢአትየ፡ የዐቢ²⁷⁸፡ እምኃጥአቱ (sic)፡ ለምናሴ።

፴፯ ሰላም፡ ለመልክእኪ፡ አምሳለ፡ ነበልባል፡ ዘማህቶት፤
 እንተ፡ ያበርህ፡ በሌሊት፤
 ጽዮን፡ መንበረ፡ ጸባዖት፡ ወጽዮን፡ መንበረ፡ መለኮት፤
 ኪሩቤል፡ ወሱራፌል፡ ይዌድሱኪ፡ በልሳናት፤
 ምስለ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወገብርኤል፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ ወኃይላት።

፴፰ ሰላም፡ ለፀአተ፡ ነፍስኪ፡ ባላሒተ፡ ነፍሳት፡ እምደይን፤
 ወእም፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ርጉም፡ ወተአዛዚሁ፡ ሰይጣን፤
 ጽዮን፡ ኃይልኪ፡ ያጠፍዕ፡ ወያማስን፤
 አጋንንተ፡ ሲኦል²⁷⁹፡ አፅራረ፡ ሰብእ፡ ምስለ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ምኑን፤
 ያሰጥም፡ በኃይልኪ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ገዳምደ፡ ብርሃን²⁸⁰። (P. 285)

277 አእ' P.

278 የአቢ፡ P.

279 'ዎ' P.

280 አምደብርሃን፡ P.

፶፱ ሰላም፡ እብል፡ በድነ፡ ሥጋኪ፡ ከመ፡ ከልበኒ፡ ምዑዝ፤
 ወልምላሜሁ፡ ይሢኒ፡ ከመ፡ ዘሊባኖስ፡ አርዝ፤
 «እመ፡ አምላክ²⁸¹፡ ጽዮን፡ «ስመ፡ ዚአኪ²⁸²፡ ሐዋዝ፤
 ሰድኒ፡ መንገለ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወኅብስተ፡ ገነት፡ ኅቡዝ፤
 ወአነ፡ ለወልድኪ፡ ወለዘዚአኪ፡ እዙዝ።

፺ ሰላም፡ ለግንዘተ፡ ሥጋኪ፡ በልብስ፡ ብርሃን፡ ግልቡብ፤
 እንተ፡ ይመስል፡ ብርሃኑ፡ አምሳለ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወኩከብ²⁸³፤
 ጽዮን፡ አንቲ፡ ትዕግሥተ፡ አብርሃም፡ ወኢዮብ፤
 ሰውርኒ፡ እምነ፡ ዓለም፡ እንተ፡ ታወርድ፡ ውስተ፡ ግብ፤
 ወንተልወኪ፡ በስደት፡ በሐዲግ (sic)፡ እም፡ ወአብ።

፺፩ ሰላም፡ ለመቃብሪኪ (sic)፡ ማኅደረ፡ ሠለስቱ²⁸⁴፡ ዕለት፤
 ወለፍልሰትኪ፡ ሰላም፡ ወዘዚአኪ፡ ዕርገት፤
 ተስፋ፡ መላእክት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወተስፋ፡ ዕደው፡ ወአንስት፤
 ይልህሱ፡ ፀበለ፡ እግርኪ፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ ወነገሥታት፤
 እስመ፡ አንቲ፡ እመ፡ አምላክ፡ ወላዕለ፡ ኩሉ፡ ፍጥረት።

፺፪ በእሉ፡ ሰ[ን]በታትኪ፡ ንስእለኪ፡ ድንግል፤
 ፀሐየ፡ ፀሐያት፡ እምነ፡ ወእመ፡ ምሕረት፡ ወሣህል፤
 ወንዌድሰኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ልዑል፤
 ለዘተሰምየ፡ በስምኪ፡ ገብረ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ወተክል፤
 ኢታብዒ፡ ንግሥትየ፡ ውስተ፡ ገሐነም፡ ወሲኦል።
 ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ አዶናይ፤
 ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፤
 ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ለባሕታዊያን (sic)፡ ሲሣይ፤
 ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ኃይለ፡ ሰማዕታት፡ ወምስካይ።

፺፫ ንዑ፡ ንስግድ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ማርያም፤
 ንዑ፡ ንስግድ፡ «ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም²⁸⁵፡ እም፤
 ንዑ፡ ንስግድ፡ ለተስፋ፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ አዳም፤
 ንዑ፡ ንስግድ፡ በፍርሃት፡ ለንግሥተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወኦርያም፤
 በደነ፡ ዘይደልዋ፡ ሰጊድ፡ ለዓለም፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 286)

281 እመአምላክ፡ P.

282 ስመዚአኪ፡ P.

283 ወኩ' P.

284 ሰ' P.

285 ለመድኃኔዓለም፡ P.

3.2.2 Translation

Effigy²⁸⁶ of Zion

Effigy of Zion, Holy of Holies, the Mother of God

1. Salutation to the mention of Your **name**, which is invoked continually;
By the mouths of Angels and men at the time of praise and glory;
Our Mother Zion, the Queen of heaven and earth;
Those who deny Your Virginity, children of punishment and torment;
Let them vanish and be destroyed from every country.

2. Salutation to the **hair** of Your head, which is decorated with the celestial
gem of Sapphire;
Behold! In the sanctuary of Levi;²⁸⁷
Savior of the world Zion, the Mother of Christ the heavenly;²⁸⁸
Save me for the sake of Your name from sickness which comes suddenly;
I have no health, for I am sick.

3. Salutation to Your **head**, which is surrounded by Sun and lightning;
And surrounded by Star[s] and the Moon which shine from a distance;
Mother of Divinity, Zion, savior from distress;
For us who hope for Your intercession and who believe in the true faith;
Hide me from the world of flesh and from the love of silver and gold.

286 In this section the Ge'ez term *Mälkə* is translated as 'effigy' (pl. 'effigies'). Habtemichael (2007: 701) lists different Effigies of St. Mary (such as: *Mälkə'a Maryam*, *Mälkə'a Kidanä Məhrät*, *Mälkə'a Šə'al*, *Mälkə'a Maryam Šayon*, *Mälkə'a Edom*, *Mälkə'a Q'wəsq'wam*, *Mälkə'a Fəlsäta*, *Mälkə'a Lədäta*, *Mälkə'a Bə'ata*). Budge (1933: 236–244) presents 'Salutations of the members of the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary', which contains 42 hymns. Nevertheless it differs from the commonly used effigy of Mary in the EOTC. EMM 1220 (ff. 5^r–10^r) preserves *Mälkə'a Šayon*, but it differs from the text I present here. It goes: ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምኪ፡ ከመ፡ ኮለ፡ ገዳም፡ ዘይጸኑ፤ ለሥዕርተ፡ ርእሰኪ፡ ሰላም፡ ወለርእሰኪ፡ በበዘመኑ፤ ...

287 Among the Israelites the tribe of Levi was assigned special responsibility for the Ark and the Tabernacle (for example Num. 1:50, Deut. 10:8).

288 There is also similar expression of Christ in the chant of Epiphany as ተጠምቀ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ በእጅ፡ መሬታዊ። 'The heavenly one [i.e. Christ] has been baptized by the hand of the earthly one (i.e. John the baptist)' (cf. *Mäṣḥafä Dəgg'w'a*, *Mäskäräm* 1st, *Wazema Züzäwätr*, Tənsä'e publishing House 1988: 11). Similarly, Dillmann's antiphonary records: እፎ፡ ኣጥመቆ፡ በመይ (sic): መሬታዊ፡ ለሰማያዊ፡ 'How the terrestrial baptized the celestial with water?' (cf. Hammerschmidt 1988: 154).

4. Salutation to Your **face**, like flaming fire;
 For those who deny Your name called 'Covenant of Mercy';
 Zion, [the] prophesy of the Prophets and preaching of the Apostles;
 Hope of the people of *Tāwahaḍo* and hope of all creatures;
 And You are consoler from grief for him who called upon You in prayer.

5. Salutation to Your **eyelashes** above Your two eyes;
 They are satiated with spirit;
 Zion, provision for those who are hungry, Queen of above and below;
 The word of Your covenant is life to *Amdä Bərhan*;²⁸⁹
 For He is life of us all and we believe in Him.

6. Salutation to Your **eyes**, which looked at the Mystery of the Trinity;
 For the Angel²⁹⁰ made You drink the cup of life like Ezra;
 Exalted Mother Zion, Tabernacle of Moses;
 Hide me from punishment and from many temptations;
 And from denial (of) the wrath of Herod, for it will come always.

7. Salutation to Your **ears**, hearers of twin praise;
 From the word of the Angel Gabriel, sent from heaven;
 Zion, mother of Apostles and mother of Fathers;
 My Lady, safeguard me in all ways;
 For I am wandering around mountains and wilderness.

8. Salutation to Your **cheeks**, the course of tears [that come as] guests;
 While You beseech your Son concerning our debt;
 Zion, the one who quickens help, savior of Adam from punishment;
 Pray for us all for the sake of Your exile from Judah;
 And do not cause us, our Mother, to see the path to Hell. (P. 281.)

9. Salutation to Your **nostrils**, full of the aroma of the Son;
 Which the Archangels of fire are continually filling with sweet odor;
 Zion our Mother and Zion Mother of the One;²⁹¹
 We beseech You with tear of grief and prostration;
 And all generations declare You 'blessed' together with us.

289 Lit. 'Column of light'. But from this and several succeeding *arkes* (no. 16, 19, 48), we can assume that this name may refer to the composer of *Malkə'a Şayon*.

290 According to the Ethiopian tradition the angel who feed St. Mary is Fanu'el (cf. *arke* 11 below).

291 Implies Jesus—the only begotten Son of the Father.

10. Salutation to Your **lips**, which the flame of Divinity kissed;
And which caused to rain, upon us the rain of entreaty of the Creator;
Zion, Your covenant which saves the world;
Save me, Your poor servant, from temptation;
For pride, the root of temptation, is appointed over me.

11. Salutation to Your **mouth**, which is fed with heavenly bread;
By the hand of the Angel Fanu'el, who bears the platter;
And give me, o Zion, the wage [of] your praise;
Make Your name [like] a milk, to me;
For my sake; I cannot bear the thirst of water and hunger.

12. Salutation to Your **teeth**, the images of the Moon and the Star;
And they are likened by image to white milk;
Zion, Mother of God and Zion bride of the Father;
My Lady, cause me to enter your sanctuary;
And I hope in Your name together with Your people.

13. Salutation to Your **tongue**, which is sweeter than honey;
For the one who hears it at the time of prayer and fasting;
Zion Mary, [you are] the one who cools transgression and sin;
For the enemies of love and peace have risen against me;
Mother, give me love, from Your love.

14. Salutation to Your **word**, which is the word of compassion and mercy;
Cause us all to hear, children of the Gospel;
Zion Mother of Divinity and Zion Mother of the Flame;
Save us, Mother of Light, from perdition and destruction;
[From] those who bring the enemies of faith during this time.

15. Salutation to Your **breath**, the breath of life and healing;
For those who make the heart believe in Your holy covenant;
Zion, my Mother in the time of denial and conflict;
Make myself like Your beloved John;
And I will proclaim the faith in Your Son and Yourself before the King.

16. Salutation to Your **throat**, which is bound by the thirst for water;
Joseph went with you in [Your] exile to Egypt;
As You caused Yared to drink, who praised Your name in song;
Make me drink (from) the hidden cup of understanding in Your compassion;
And shelter in Your mountain *'Amdä Bərhan*, (may he be) acceptable.

17. Salutation to Your **neck**, which deserves praise;
 It bows continually in worship and prayer;
 Zion mother of many and mother of the Creator, [Lord of] Hosts;
 Pray for me and for all creatures;
 You and Your Son, God of mercy and compassion.

18. Salutation to Your **shoulders**, decorated by the Highest;
 White in Your garment of light and gold;
 [O!] Zion, because of You, the gate of Paradise is opened;
 Open my understanding, which is shut up by the gate of sin;
 For my mind has melted like wax out of weakness. (P. 282.)

19. Salutation to Your **back**, the throne of the Savior of the World;
 When the Israelites departed from Egypt and from the face of Pharaoh;²⁹²
 Mary Zion, the Ark of Moses and Joshua;²⁹³
 Your name is grace for *Amdä Bərhan*;
 Those who trust in Your name will inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

20. Salutation to Your **chest**, which is the stand of the Light of the World;
 Heaven of heavens, Zion the Mother of Immanuel;
 The martyrs of the Son say to You, 'Come' as they grow weak;
 With Bərhana'el Your messenger, slayer of the cursed demons;
 For Bərhana'el gives light to those who are in darkness.

21. Salutation to Your **bosom**, mountain of the Lord of the entire world;
 And we liken You to the palace of the highest²⁹⁴ heaven;
 Zion the Queen of the highest; the demons of Hell and Gehenna,
 Lightning of summer and winter will be scattered by Your name;
 The one who trusts in (what is) Yours shall sink the demons.

292 The allegorical reference is to the backs of the Israelites as they fled.

293 The Ark of the Covenant is called by various titles, such as 'Ark of the Lord', 'Ark of God', 'Ark of Testimony', 'Ark of the Law' etc. By extension, in the Ethiopian tradition it is also called in relation to Moses (i.e. 'Ark of Moses'), as he received it from the Lord at Mt. Sinai (Exod. 24). Joshua, the successor of Moses as leader of Israelites, did many wonders with the help of the Ark (Josh. 3:1ff.). Hence the composer of this effigy relates the Ark with both: 'Ark of Moses and Joshua'.

294 አርያም: is translated as 'highest'.

22. Salutation to Your **hands**, chariot of the Son;
 From country to country while He was fleeing;²⁹⁵
 Zion, Your name is power to the one *Gäbrä Həywät*;²⁹⁶
 Like the beloved of Your Son—John, seer of mysteries,²⁹⁷ the son of Thunder;
 ‘Make me (Your)’ disciple, Your servant says to You.

23. Salutation to Your **arms**, bearers of great mysteries;
 Behold Him who is called the glorious Savior of the World;
 Celestial Zion, throne for the Lord;
 My Lady, save me from all [my] enemies;
 For the custodians²⁹⁸ of Hell and country are raised against me.

24. Salutation to Your **elbow**, awesome and astonishing,
 Bearer of the Son over whom the capacity of man cannot gain power;
 Zion, the mountain of flame and beautiful mountain of the Sun;
 My Lady, safeguard me from the cursed Satan;
 For he causes (man) to descend to [the place of] its worm that does not sleep.

25. Salutation to Your **forearms**, which have no rest from spinning;
 They are in the temple together with the joyful Gabriel;
 Lamp of the World, Zion, Mother and Virgin;
 You are the might of kings at the time of battle;
 And you are His Mother, the crown of priests.²⁹⁹

295 The reference is to Jesus’ flight as an infant (Mtt. 2:12 ff.).

296 This implies St. *abunä* Gäbrä Mānfäs Qəddus. The name Gäbrä Mānfäs Qəddus was given to him when he was born (cf. Marrassini 2003, 6, 123 (text), 2, 41 (trans.)). However, tradition gives the name Gäbrä Həywät lit. ‘Servant of life’ to the saint. According to the tradition of the EOTC, the name of churches dedicated to St. Gäbrä Mānfäs Qəddus are including the word *Həywät* ‘life’, such as *Mākanä Həywät* ‘the place of life’ *Mākanä Həyawan* ‘place of the living’ etc., for the commemoration of Saint Gäbrä Həywät.

297 Gə‘əz ረዓላ፡ ምስጢር፡ ‘seer of mystery/ies’. This alludes to the Biblical Revelation of John, in Gə‘əz ራእይ፡ ለዮሐንስ፡ ‘vision of John’.

298 ሕልዋነ፡ ሲኦል፡ [P]; but corrected according to Dillmann (1864: 577) ጎልዋነ፡ ሲኦል፡ ‘custodians of Hell’.

299 ለካህናት፡ አክሊል፡ /አክሊሎም፡ ለካህናት፡ ‘Crown of priests’ is one of the epithets of Christ.

26. Salutation to the **palm of Your hands**, which were given manna and the cup;

For the man who beseeches You from mind and heart;
 Zion, savior from severe hunger;
 In order that He may save us from hunger and thirst,
 Pray to Your Son, giver of the hidden Manna.

27. Salutation to Your **fingers**, effigies of the Ten Commandments;
 Your fingers are shining more than the light of the sun;
 Zion, the mystery of Isaiah and prophecy of Jeremiah;
 Place me with Ezra until the passing of the wrath,
 Of Your Son, Savior of the World, Lord of the above and earth.

28. Salutation to Your **fingernails**, shining more than the stars;
 And they are a sword of flame for all the demons of hell;
 Zion, Queen of Angels and Queen of below and above;
 When Satan with his power comes to make war;
 Those who trust in Your name, may they kill (him) together with his hosts.
 (P. 283.)

29. Salutation to Your **breasts**, flowing with the milk of virginity;
 You are the tree of *Malka'am*³⁰⁰ of the Mount Sinai;
 Zion, the daughter of Hanna, Your name binds the demons;
 And Satan, together with his hosts, is bound by Your name;
 He will be smashed by Your power and will not get health.

30. Salutation to Your **side**, girded with celestial sackcloth;
 Which is like lightning;
 Zion, your name will be a provision for me;
 When he heard Your name, which is heard from far off;
 The Devil, dismayed, fell at the hand of Bərḥana'el.

31. Salutation to your **belly**, which is exalted more than the worlds;
 It is greatest and highest, for it bore what cannot be born;
 Zion the Mother of the Life-giver, we praise you continually;

300 Traditional Ethiopian name for Moses.

The Ark of Moses, built and called³⁰¹ by Your name;
He [the *Tabot*] smashed and broke Dagon,³⁰² the dwelling of Satan.

32. Salutation to Your **heart**, full of compassion and mercy;
With worship and prayer;
Zion, light of the night for the one who is in darkness;
You are illuminator of my understanding in the last day and the eight³⁰³
[thousand];
For your enemies, and the enemies of Your Son (the Lord) of Hosts, will be a
multitude.

33. Salutation to Your **kidneys**, which give off the smoke of goodness;
Which will be mercy and life for sinners;
Zion, the fountain of medicine, give me medicine;
For Your Son's Flesh became the medicine of all, which is concealed;
From the infidels, the arrogant and those who commit sin.

34. Salutation to Your **mind**, which thinks mercy for the sinner;
For the one who returns³⁰⁴ in repentance like Paul;
Virgin Zion, pray to Your Son;
And save me in Your compassion from the Devil, the killer;
For I, your servant, am weak.

35. Salutation to Your **intestine**, that the Lord has made;
And He exalts it more than all;
Zion Mary, dwelling of the Savior of the World;
The one who invokes Your name and performs its commemoration;
He cuts the Devil's neck with the sword of his prayer.

301 It is not clear why the text uses masculine gender for the Ark of the Covenant in the last two lines of this *arke*: ዘይሰመዶ፡ በስምኪ፡ ታቦተ፡ መሴ፡ ዘተገብረ፤ ማኅደረ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ዳንን፡ ቀጥቀጠ፡ ወሰበረ።.

302 In 1 Sam. 5:1–5 the story is told how the Lord smashed the image of the Philistine god Dagon when the Philistines captured the Ark.

303 ዘመነ፡ ፍጹሜ፡ ወሰማኒት፡ 'the last days and the eight [thousand]'. This formulation, according to the teaching of the EOTC, refers to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, which according to Ethiopian tradition will occur after 8000 years.

304 The verb ተመዶጠ፡ 'returns' is in masculine gender, but the relative እንተ፡ is feminine. This seems to be a mistake.

36. Salutation to Your **bowel**, freshened with the Holy Spirit;
Behold it destroys the spirit of fatigue and sickness;
My Mother Mary, mountain of the sun and peace;
Destroy and scatter the inglorious plots of the Devil;
For he plotted against me to destroy me while sleeping.

37. Salutation to Your **navel**, situated in the middle of the belly;
Glorious, high and ornamented with heavenly garment(s);
Zion, liberator for the one who is imprisoned in heresy;
Turn his faith back towards You until he comprehends;
And towards him send Gabriel, the messenger.³⁰⁵

38. Salutation to Your **womb**, the dwelling of Jesus Christ;
Behold it is covered by the Holy Spirit;
Zion the dwelling of God, Zion the dwelling of the King;
Angels praise You while they stand in the port;³⁰⁶
For the Virgin is the dwelling of Christ and the upper floor.³⁰⁷ (P. 284.)

39. Salutation to Your **loins**, firm like brass of iron;
And marvels (at it) man³⁰⁸
Zion, Your name quenches thirst;
Being the Bread of Life, it satiates the one who eats;
And it safeguards the author of your effigy.

40. Salutation to Your **legs**, situated left and right,
And clad in flesh and skin, full of spirit and light;
My mother, mountain of the sun, Zion, raise me (to maturity);
Make me wiser, in Your compassion than all wise men;
And make me stand with the righteous in the place of Mount Zion.

305 **ዘተፈነወ**: lit. 'who was sent'.

306 The intended sense is not clear to me.

307 **ተሰለሰ**: is the 'third floor' of a building, and in some cases it is applied to the upper part of a building as stated in Acts 20:9. For the various definitions of the term, cf. Dillmann 1864: 232; Leslau 1987: 529.

308 In the Gə'əz, the word for 'man' is in the accusative **ሰብአ**, which seems to be a mistake but preserves the rhyme.

41. Salutation to Your **knees**, which kneel down in the sanctuary;
 To the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit;
 Zion the gate of Paradise, the Mother of Jesus Christ;
 Save me from the water of putrefaction and from punishment and penury;
 For I Your servant am weak of intellect and insignificant.

42. Salutation to Your **feet**, which faced stumbling blocks³⁰⁹ and the thorns of
 Egypt
 As they went running;
 Zion, the chariot of Elijah and the prophesy of Isaiah [who is] the son of
 Amos;
 My Lady, save me from the spear and arrow of the adversary;
 For I, Your dismayed servant, am without capacity.

43. Salutation to the **heel of Your foot**, sanctifier of the desert of Egypt and
 Qadesh;³¹⁰
 From stone idols and from the dwelling of Satan the unclean;
 Zion, do not disdain me, for the sake of the monk Rə'sä Baḥtawi (head of the
 hermit(s));
 Who is named *Gäbrä Həywät*,³¹¹ who went³¹² in spirit
 And built up the building and the upper floor in Your name.

44. Salutation to the **sole of Your foot**,³¹³ partaker³¹⁴ in suffering and
 hardship;
 And to your toes,³¹⁵ fatigued from the road;
 Hermit Zion, the ladder to the Highest;³¹⁶

309 The Gə'əz text has **አቅፍት**: 'embrace', which makes no sense in context. Correct to **አቅፍት**: (or **ዕቅፍት**:) 'hindrance, stumbling block'. There may have been graphic confusion between **አ** and **ዕ**.

310 Qadesh lit. 'Holy', refers to the Nagev desert south of Canaan. It is also called Qadesh-barnea (cf. Num. 32:8).

311 The famous monk *Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus* was also known as *Gäbrä Həywät* and as *Rə'sä Baḥtawyan* 'head of hermits'. The life of this saint is edited and translated by Marrassini (2003).

312 Again, the feminine relative pronoun **እንተ**: is used with reference to a male person.

313 Cf. **መከየደ፡ እግዚአ**: an imprint of Jesus at Axum.

314 The Gə'əz text has **ሰቶፋነ**: which should be corrected to **ሰቶፋነ**: (cf. Lambdin 1978: 72, Leslau 1987: 517).

315 Lit. 'the fingers of your foot'.

316 'Rama' lit. *high*; for instance 'Abraham' 'the father of the high'.

My intercessor, intercede for me with your Son, *Fema*;³¹⁷
 For you know the weariness of my soul.

45. Salutation to Your **toenails**, the light of heaven and earth;
 While they walked, fleeing from country to country;
 Zion the ladder of souls and Zion the Ship;
 Raise me up towards heaven and transport me across the sea;
 So that the sea of fire should not burn me because of my [evil] deed(s).

46. Salutation to Your **stature**, likeness of the verdure of Moses;³¹⁸
 Which deserves praise;
 Zion, Your own petition makes righteous the sinner;
 And pray for me to the Holy Trinity;
 For my sin is exceeding the sin of Manasseh.³¹⁹

47. Salutation to Your **effigy**, likeness of the flame of a lamp;
 Which gives light during the night;
 Zion the throne of (the Lord of) Hosts, and Zion the throne of Divinity;
 Cherubim and Seraphim praise You with tongues
 Together with Michael and Gabriel the archangels and powers.

48. Salutation to the **departure of Your soul**, the savior of souls from
 damnation;
 And from the cursed devil, and his obedient Satan;³²⁰
 Zion, Your power destroys and demolishes;
 The demons of hell, the enemies of man together with the despised devil
 Your servant *Amdä Bərhan* will sink (them) by Your power. (P. 285.)

49. I say salutation [to] Your **corpse**, fragrant like galbanum;
 And its freshness is beautiful like the cedar of Lebanon;
 Zion Mother of God, your name is delightful;
 Send me towards righteousness and to the baked bread of Paradise;
 For I am obedient to your Son and to what is Yours.

317 *Fema* 'oracular answer, oracle' is also an epithet of Christ. It comes from Greek *phémē* 'prophetic saying'. Cf. Dillmann, 1864: 1348; Leslau, 1987: 162.

318 In the Ethiopian tradition, this refers to the Burning Bush (Exod. 3:2).

319 Manasseh did what was evil in the sight of the Lord. For further details of the sins of this king, cf. 2 Kings 21:2–9.

320 The author apparently presents Satan as an underlining of the devil.

50. Salutation to the **enshrouding** of Your body, covered with a garment of light;

Whose light resembles the likeness of sun and star;

Zion, you are the patience of Abraham and Job;

Protect me from the world, that brings (us) down into the abyss;

And we follow you in flight leaving behind father and mother.³²¹

51. Salutation to Your **grave**, the dwelling of three days;

And salutation to Your **assumption**, and Your ascension;

Zion, the hope of the Angels and the hope of men and women;

Archangels and kings lick the dust of Your foot;

For You are Mother of God and above all creation.

52. With these **Sabbaths**, we beseech You, O Virgin;

Our Mother, the sun of suns and the Mother of mercy and compassion;

And we praise You Zion, Mother of Christ, the Most High;

For the one who has been called by Your name, Your own servant and plant;

My Queen, do not cause [me] to enter Gehenna and Hell.

Praise to You, Zion, the Mother of Adonay;

Praise to You, Zion, mountain of light and mountain of the sun;

Praise to You, Zion, sustenance of hermits;

Praise to You, Zion, the power and refuge of martyrs.

53. Come let us bow down to Zion Mary;

Come let us bow down to the Mother of the Savior of the World;

Come let us bow down to the hope of the first Adam;

Come let us bow down in reverence to the Queen of Heaven and the Highest;

For she deserves veneration forever and ever, Amen. (P. 286.)

321 Jesus said that His followers should leave their father and mother to go with Him (Mtt. 10:37–38).

Summary and Concluding Remarks

Although there are several places in the world with which the Ark of the Covenant has been associated, the Ethiopian claim is the strongest.¹ This claim is based on the narration of the Ethiopic *Kəbrä Nəgäst* ‘Dignity of Kings’. KN in 19 chapters² speaks of the visit of the Queen of the South to King Solomon and it also mentions the result—the birth of Mənilək. Thus, it presents the blood relation, and the succession, of the Ethiopian kings to the Israelites. This relation, according to KN, is the will of the Almighty God and Mənilək I, the son of King Solomon and Queen of Sheba,³ was the founder of this line.⁴ Prior to the Ethiopian tradition,⁵ the story of the Queen of Sheba was based on Biblical accounts of the Queen’s visit to King Solomon.⁶ It has undergone extensive Arabian and Jewish elaborations and has become the source of one of the most fertile cycles of legends in the Middle East.

KN presents this blood relation of Israel and Ethiopia, and the coming of the Ark of the Covenant to Ethiopia as the will of the Almighty. The corollary is that Israel lost its role as the chosen nation, to be succeeded by Ethiopia. Ethiopians strongly believe this notion, not as a mere legend, but as a reality. Hence KN is a quasi-biblical truth for Ethiopians. The foundation of this belief is the presence of the Ark of the Covenant at Axum. Ethiopians venerate the

1 Geographically we can classify these claims as: Asian (Middle East—buried at the Dome of the Rock, at Jerusalem, taken to Arabia etc.), European (England), African (Zimbabwe, Egypt and Ethiopia).

2 Chapters 21–39.

3 KN ch. 30 describes the sexual union of the King and the Queen in tactful words as ገብረ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ ወኅሙ፡ ጎቡረ፡ ‘He fulfilled his will, and they slept together’. Moreover, the text appears to say that the Queen was found a virgin after their union (Marrassini 2008a: 810). This theme of virgin motherhood is a universal folkloric topos (cf. Saintyves 1908).

4 The claim of the Ethiopian kings to be the successors of Mənilək I (‘Solomonid dynasty’) is based on this notion.

5 The Sheba-Solomon tradition in Ethiopia is deep-rooted and predates even the composition of KN. Tedeschi (1987: 165–173) after dealing with the Arabic biography of the Coptic Patriarch, Cosmos III (AD 921–933), observes that the Queen of Sheba is mentioned by name in the Arabic text, which indicates that the legend has existed since the early days. For an updated comprehensive overview see Piovanelli 2013.

6 Cf. 1 Kings 10:1–13; 2 Chron. 9:1–12; Mtt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31.

Ark of the Covenant; as we have seen in the first chapter above, *tabots* are considered to be replicas of the AC. Ethiopians thus composed a homily which glorifies the Ark, the *Dərsanä Şəyon*.

The annual feast of *Ḥadar Şəyon* at Axum Zion enjoys a high degree of public participation. The solemn ceremonies and worship are of immense significance. One of the ceremonies is the reading of DŞ in front of the Ark Chapel, then kissing the book and receiving its blessing. Infertile women carry the manuscript and make vows before the Ark in order that they bear fruit.

DŞ thus has religious, hermeneutical and social values, and has historical as well as contemporary significance.⁷ The text presents Mariology in a highly exegetical manner. Mariology is expressed in numerous symbols. The prominent Ark-Mary metaphors and characterizations are:

Golden lamp stand
 True Ark of the Law
 Ark of the Law of the Covenant
 Our Mother Zion, holder of dew of the divinity
 Bride of Lebanon, which is like the throne of the father of Rehoboam (= Solomon)
 Zion, our Ark of the Law, our Lady
 Zion, the celestial Temple
 Zion, the golden ship
 Our Lady Mary, Queen of heaven and earth
 Our Mother Zion, pride of children and elders, etc.⁸

It is highly worthwhile, therefore, to study DŞ text systematically and to produce its critical edition. The methodology used to reconstruct the text is Neo-Lachmannian reconstruction. In general, with just a few exceptions, all texts available to us today are copied texts, which show various innovations (in some cases, errors) including their own additions. Scribes and copyists do not systematically change the received text; neither they do correct its errors. It is customary to maintain everything in the text (including the errors). Bausi (2010: 143) gives the justification why philological analysis is done on the basis of errors or shared innovations. The findings of the Neo-Lachmannian method as applied to DŞ are as follows:

⁷ Because the veneration of the Ark of the Covenant and the ceremony still continue today.

⁸ For further analysis on the subject, cf. Amsalu Tefera 2012: 71–96.

Textual History

As described in the third chapter, MSS [C] and [T] are the earliest copies and can be supposed to date back to the 15th and 16th century respectively. Apparently the original text must have been composed prior to AD 1400. With regard to the textual arrangement of DŞ, the ten manuscripts can be grouped into four types:

- 1) Initially, DŞ was composed separately as attested in NL 273 [C], EMMML 8429 [K] and EMMML 8823 [F].
- 2) DŞ was compiled together with other Marian texts to form DM. This is attested in three manuscripts: [S] + [Q] + [T] = S + ξ.
- 3) Due to similarity of the content of KN and DŞ, the two came to be considered together as a single text: DŞ ‘proper’ as an introduction and KN as the body. This is clear in sub-archetype $\beta = A + B + P = (A + \delta)$.
- 4) The codex NL 630 [D] contains *Tarikä Nägäšt* (ff. 1^{ra}–40^{vb}) and DŞ (ff. 41^{ra}–59^{va}) in one volume.

We can speculate that the text was originally composed solely as the so called ‘DŞ ‘proper’’. Later it merged with two other texts due to its content similarity. As it exalts the Ark of the Covenant and equates the Blessed Virgin Mary with the celestial Zion, it was compiled together with homilies in honor of St. Mary (DM). We can also hypothesize the reason why the text was compiled with KN: both are concerned with the Ark of the Covenant, KN narrating the story, DŞ expounding on the honor and glory of the AC.

Attested Manuscripts

The edition is based on ten manuscripts, which were collected from various places. Their sigla are:

- [A] Axum MS, EC 1925;
- [B] Īnṭoṭṭo MS, 20th cent. AD;
- [C] Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency, NL 273, 15th cent. AD;
- [D] Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency, NL 630, EC 1977;
- [F] Bābbāks Dābrā Gännāt St. Mary Church, EMMML 8823, 19th cent. AD;
- [K] Baḥər Dar, Kota Maryam, EMMML 8429, 17th cent. AD;
- [P] Published text by Ṭana Qirqos Communal Monastery, EC 1998;
- [Q] Ṭana MS, EMMML 8713, 18th cent. AD;

- [S] Däbrä Tabor, Dära, Šəme Maryam, EMMML 8979, 19th cent. AD;
 [T] Lake ʾTana, Däbrä Maryam in the island monastery, ʾTānāsee 72, 16th cent. AD.

Bipartite *Stemma*

As we can see from the list of archetype errors,⁹ all the manuscripts share eleven common errors. This is a testimony that they are derived from the same common source or ‘archetype’, designated by the Greek letter [Ω]. The *stemma* is reconstructed as a bipartite stemma; primary divisions are called α and β, both of which in turn produce sub-families:

$$\begin{aligned} D + K &= [\varepsilon]; \\ C + F = \lambda, Q + T = \xi; \lambda + \xi &= [\varphi]; \\ S + \varphi &= [\gamma]. \end{aligned}$$

The inferior families [γ] and [ε] form the family [α], which is the left wing of the *stemma codicum*. On the other hand, the right wing of the stemma [β] is formed by:

$$\begin{aligned} B + P &= [\delta]; \\ \delta + A &= [\beta]. \end{aligned}$$

The critical edition of DŞ, as shown in the *apparatus criticus*, shows both adiphoric errors (viz. characteristic/variant readings, insertions, omissions/*homoioteleuta* etc.) and conjunctive innovations. As is standard Neo-Lachmanian practice, the conjunctive errors are the sole parameters for establishing manuscript families in the critical edition presented above.¹⁰

We can list the following points as concluding remarks.

- DŞ, from the literary point of view, is one of the most important and popular Ethiopian texts. So it is an attractive target for research.
- From the theological point of view, it provides the best material for the history of the Ark and Mariology. Its exegetical presentation and hermeneutical approach are detailed and precise.

⁹ Chapter 3 (pp. 103–109) of this book.

¹⁰ Cf. McCarter 1986: 62 for a detailed note on these steps.

- As far as the scope of DŞ ‘proper’ is concerned, it breaks off the Ark story at the destruction of the First Temple.¹¹ Mention of Axum and other later Ethiopian traditions related to the Ark of the Covenant is found in the *Tä’ammära Şəyon* ‘Miracle of Zion’ of EMML—8823 [F] and the colophon¹² of the sub-family β [A, B and P].
- The text crucially complements the *Kəbrä Nəgäşt*. If we add the account of DŞ (honor and glory) to the KN (story), then we will have the complete Ark story. Nevertheless, the text originally was composed as a separate text.
- As the Ark of the Covenant is supposed to be deposited at Axum chapel, then positing Axum as the origin of the text is a plausible assumption. However, copies of DŞ were later disseminated to other parishes and monasteries.
- DŞ has major cultural, religious and social values. A text edition and annotated translation of *Dərsanä Şəyon* hopefully provides an important contribution to various research areas.

11 Cf. DŞ §§ 112–113.

12 Cf. Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

Appendix

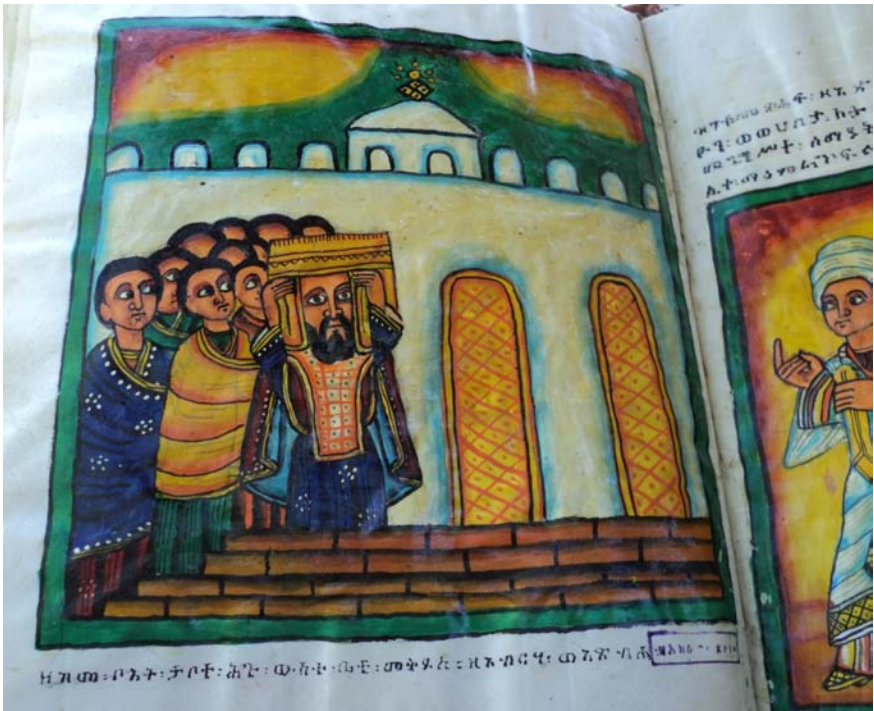


FIGURE 1 *Ark of the Covenant is transported to Axum and entered to the Temple*
PHOTO FROM AXUM MS BY AMSALU TEFERA, DECEMBER 6, 2010

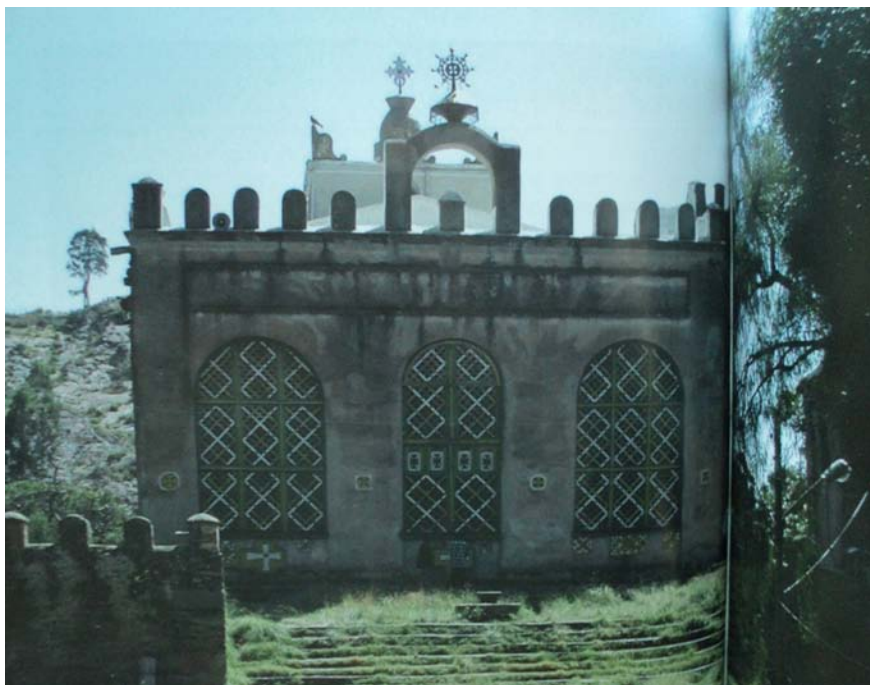


FIGURE 2 *Fasil's Cathedral of Axum Church*

PHOTO BY AMSALU TEFERA SEPTEMBER 23, 2008



FIGURE 3 *New Cathedral of Axum Zion*
PHOTO BY AMSALU TEFERA, SEPTEMBER 23, 2008



FIGURE 4 *The Ark Chapel*

PHOTO BY AMSALU TEFERA, DECEMBER 4, 2010



FIGURE 5 *DŞ reading ceremony in front of the Ark Chapel*
PHOTO BY AMSALU TEFERA, DECEMBER 4, 2010

Bibliography

Abbreviations of Journals, Series and Other Publications

<i>Aethiopica</i>	<i>Aethiopica: International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies</i> , Wiesbaden.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Parisiis—Romae—Lipsiae—Louvain.
<i>DAE</i>	Enno Littmann (ed.), <i>Deutsche Aksum-Expedition</i> , 4 vols., Berlin 1913.
<i>E Ae</i>	Siegbert Uhlig (ed.) <i>Encyclopaedia Aethiopica</i> , vol. 1 (A–C), Wiesbaden 2003; vol. 2 (<i>D–Ha</i>), 2005; vol. 3 (<i>He–N</i>), 2007; in cooperation with Alessandro Bausi (ed.), vol. 4 (<i>O–X</i>), 2010; A. Bausi in cooperation with S. Uhlig (ed.), vol. 5 (<i>Y–Z, Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index</i>), 2014.
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