

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

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Declaration on oath

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

Nafisa Valieva

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List of Abbreviations

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

Biblical Abbreviations

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

Table 1. Transliteration from Ethiopic¹

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a	u	i	ā	e	ə	o
ሀ	ha		ጠ		ṭa	
ለ	la		ጸ		pa	
ሐ	ḥa		ጸ		ša	
መ	ma		ፀ		ḍa	
ሠ	śa		ፈ		fa	
ረ	ra		ፐ		pa	
ሰ	sa		ቁ		q ^w a	
ቀ	qa		ኀ		ḥ ^w a	
በ	ba		ኸ		k ^w a	
ተ	ta		ኀ		g ^w a	
ኀ	ḥa		ቨ		va	
ነ	na		ቸ		ča	
አ	°a		፪		ča	
ከ	ka		ጀ		ḡa	
ወ	wa		ቐ		qa	
ዐ	°a		ኸ		ḵa	
ዘ	za		ኸ		ša	
የ	ya		ኘ		ña	
ደ	da		ዠ		ža	
ገ	ga					

¹ I apply transliteration principles as set for the Beta maṣāḥəft project, see <https://betamasaheft.eu/Guidelines/?id=transliteration-principles>

Chapter 0. Introduction

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

0.1. The title

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

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

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

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

⁶ This hypothesis was presented during the 19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held in Warsaw from August 24th to 28th 2015.

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

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

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

⁷ Depending on its content, a textual unit may or may not qualify as a distinct ‘work’, but I will not address this issue here.

0.2. The content of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The seventh and largest textual unit is the 'Life of Lālibalā' proper.⁸ The life starts with an introduction in which the author warns those who might find his narration tedious that by neglecting the narration they will delight Satan. The text is in general rich with various moralistic reflections. If we try to follow the 'factual' thread of the narration, the summary will be as follows: Lālibalā is born in Roḥa to the rich and noble family of Zān Šəyyum. At the moment of Lālibalā's birth he is said to have been surrounded by a swarm of bees, which are interpreted as the king's soldiers, revealing the child's royal destiny. The name 'Lālibalā' is said to mean 'a bee knew that this child is great'. The child grew up, attaining excellence in every way. His destiny did not remain a secret: Lālibalā's brother Ḥarbāy, who was king at that time, having heard the prophecy, began to worry that Lālibalā 'will take and usurp his kingdom without the will of God', and everyone around him, loving their king, started to worry as well. However, here the author comments that 'taking of a kingdom cannot occur without God's will. And when God's will comes, it does not fail to be accomplished'. This legitimization of Lālibalā's kingship can be considered one of the main themes of the narrative. In the meantime the entire court started to mock Lālibalā. One of the women, 'a sister of Lālibalā, born from the same father', went even further: She decided to poison him, adding poison to the beer she offered Lālibalā. However, the first to taste the poisoned beer was a deacon who died, then a dog that licked the deacon's vomit and also died. Having seen the death of the deacon and the dog, Lālibalā felt guilty and, instead of taking revenge on his sister, decided to drink the cup of death that had been prepared for him 'for the sake of love'. The effect of the poison was, however, the opposite: instead of killing Lālibalā it healed him from a worm that was disturbing him. When God saw Lālibalā's goodness, his readiness to die for the sake of love, He sent an angel, who raised him by stages up to the seventh heaven, passing first through the firmament,⁹ which terrified Lālibalā. In the seventh heaven God revealed to Lālibalā the sanctuaries of the Heavenly Jerusalem and said that there were sanctuaries hidden in the heart of the earth for Lālibalā to reveal. Further, God established a covenant with Lālibalā, promising to reward all those who will venerate these sanctuaries. After that God anointed Lālibalā with the oil of kingship.

⁸ See also Derat 2018, 216-218.

⁹ The concept of firmament is based on the 'Ascension of Isaiah'.

Then, on the third day the angel returned Lālibalā's soul to his body, which had been wrapped and prepared for burial. When Lālibalā awoke, those in charge of his funeral started to question what had happened to him, but Lālibalā decided to keep everything secret for the sake of peace. His relatives and people at the court continued to mock him about his kingship. When the mockery became unbearable, he decided to flee into the desert.

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

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

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

Afterwards Lālibalā returned to his wife, who consoled him with her tenderness and wisdom. Later they decided to go back to the desert, feeling safer there than among people. And again people from the king's army were sent to search for Lālibalā and Masqal Kəbrā in all cities and in all deserts and in all places in order to kill them. But the angel came and took them 'into the land of the East, the land of the beginning of Ethiopia's Christianity', where they were to stay until the moment came to go to Jerusalem. After a few days the angel (Gabriel) came after Lālibalā, but brought Michael to take care of Masqal Kəbrā; the angel introduced Masqal Kəbrā into a community of women to guard her. As for Gabriel and Lālibalā, on their way to Jerusalem they visited a patriarch, who received Lālibalā with great honour as the future king of Ethiopia. The patriarch washed Lālibalā's feet, and the water with which his feet were washed became a remedy

for people's sickness. In Jerusalem the angel had Lālibalā visit all the places of Jesus's earthly life. The visit culminated with a night vision, in which Jesus, accompanied by His disciples and Holy Mary, unveiled the rest of the mysteries of His life and established with Lālibalā another covenant, this time promising rewards and salvation to those who do good deeds for the sake of Lālibalā and promising Lālibalā himself a godly life after his death. In this vision Jesus also warns those who might doubt the truthfulness of Lālibalā's virtues and future rewards, saying that by rejecting Lālibalā they reject Him. Jesus repeats the order to build sanctuaries and, recalling that Lālibalā had already been anointed with the oil of kingship, this time He gives Lālibalā a regnal name, Gabra Masqal. After Lālibalā awakened they continued visiting holy places. Then they returned to Ethiopia where they reached the place where Masqal Kəbrā was waiting for her husband, 'the oldest Christian land among the lands of Ethiopia'. After that they continued their way back together. At that time Jesus appeared in a night vision to King Ḥarbāy, revealing to him His will concerning the throne. Ḥarbāy comprehended the vision and despite all the distress at the court, ordered his courtiers to accompany him in order to meet Lālibalā with great honour appropriate for a king. Ḥarbāy, repenting of his wrongdoing against Lālibalā, went on foot to meet his brother. Ḥarbāy offered an apology, and they reconciled. Returning to the palace, the king carried out Lālibalā's enthronement according to the law. The king took the scissors and cut Lālibalā's hair and installed him on the royal throne. And the herald proclaimed: 'Lālibalā reigns according to the will of God'. And his brother ordered all the people to serve Lālibalā and give him all that was appropriate for the king. And Ḥarbāy gave his brother the regnal name Gabra Masqal, as the Lord had named him before enthroning him on the royal throne. After becoming king, Lālibalā continued his asceticism until the end of his days.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

0.3. The corpus of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

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

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

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

	Shelf-mark	Siglum	Place of preservation	Date
1	DabŞey-001	A	Dabra Şəyon Abuna ʾAbrəham	XIV/XVth c.
2	Abbadie 139	Ab	Bibliothèque nationale de France	XIXth c.
3	EMML 6931	Ea	Beta Golgotā, Lālibalā	XVII/XVIIIth c.

4	EMML 6921	Eb	Beta Māryām, Lālibalā	XVII/XVIIIth c.
5	EMML 6964	Ec	Beta Giorgis, Lālibalā	XVII/XVIIIth c.
6	EMML 7051	Ed	Beta Na'akkwəto La'ab, Lāstā	XXth c.
7	EMML 6770	Ee	Dabra Libānos, Šawā	XIXth c.
8	EMML 2836	Ef	Mašāqo Šəllāse, Ḥarr 'Ambā	XVIIIth c.
9	EMML 6951	Ei	Qofitu Lālibalā, 'Ad'ā waradā, Šawā	XIXth c.
10	EMML 8942	Ej	Mangəšt Lədatu Māryām, Fārtā, Gondar region	XVIIIth c.
11	MotGiorg-001	G	Moṭā Giorgis, East Goḡḡām	XVIIIth c.
12	Ms. Ethiopic 4	J	British Library	XIXth c.
13	Kəbrān 31	K	Kəbrān Gabrə'el	XIV/XVth c.
14	BetLib-001	La	Beta Libānos, Lālibalā	XIXth c.
15	BetEman-001	Lb	Beta 'Amānu'el, Lālibalā	XVIIIth c.
16	BetMarq-001	Ld	Beta Mārqorewos, Lālibalā	XVII/XVIIIth c.
17	MasKa-003	M	Beta Masqal Kəbrā, Madabāy Tābor	XXth c.
18	NarMa-001	N	Māryām Nāzret	1988
19	Orient 719	Oa	British Library	XIV/XVth c.
20	Orient 718	Ob	British Library	XIXth c.
21	Parm. 3852	P	Biblioteca Palatina, Parma	1939/40
22	Cerulli 37	Va	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	XIXth c.
23	Cerulli 223	Vb	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	XXth c.

The size of the manuscripts ranges between 175 mm × 145 mm and 355 mm × 275 mm.¹⁰ The binding was considered to a very limited extent in this study. Nevertheless, with the exception of MS Ethiopic 4,¹¹ the majority of the manuscripts can be described as having a 'true' binding:¹²

¹⁰ I do not have the measurements for all manuscripts, only for some.

¹¹ See Valieva 2017.

almost every codex containing the collection is bound to two wooden boards covered with finely tooled stamped leather and lined with flowered cloth.

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

0.4. Date and author of ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’

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

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

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

¹² Note that in the Beta Maṣāḥəft project, under ‘binding: true’ is meant ‘the original binding’. In this way the binding of some of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts is ‘false’: it is either broken or has been newly bound in Ethiopia. For this see the description at betamasahfeft.eu.

¹³ See EAe III, 479; Derat 2006, 568; Derat 2016, 116-119.

¹⁴ See Derat 2018, 151-153

¹⁵ See the summary in Derat 2006 and further Derat 2018, 193.

proposing this date was an assumption that MS BL Orient. 719, dated to the fifteenth century, is the only witness of the text from that period. Thanks to a re-evaluation of Hammerschmidt's dating of MS Kəbrān 31, instead of the seventeenth century to the fifteenth century, we have another manuscript in a different area, coming from the fifteenth century. Lastly, MS DabŞey-001, which was found in Tigray, is palaeographically datable to the fourteenth/fifteenth century. Thus, for the moment we have three manuscripts transmitting the text with disjunctive errors, coming from three geographically distant places, all datable to approximately the fourteenth/fifteenth century. Further, on the basis of the main hypothesis of this thesis, arguing against homogeneous content of the corpus (the 'Multi-Unit Hypothesis') but rather for the constitution of the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' of textual units by the fifteenth century at the latest, this hypothesis presupposes some transmission history of the individual textual units even before their earliest attestation in the form of a collection. This means that the individual textual units should be even older than the fifteenth century. Yet, for the moment, since no solid arguments have been proposed for dating of the individual textual units, the question of individual dating remains open.

0.4.1. Authorship

The question of how many authors contributed a piece of writing to the creation the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' has theretofore barely been addressed and can only be seriously discussed when a complete critical edition becomes available. The main point to be made is that different textual units within the collection—namely, the 'Life of Lālibalā' and the 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā'—present different justifications for Lālibalā's kingship. In her contribution on this topic, Derat, in describing the content of the collection, does not raise this question, but talks about 'the hagiograph'¹⁶ or 'a scholar'.¹⁷ She suggests that:

'In all probability, the *Life* of Saint Lālibalā was composed by a scholar, who came from the region of Lālibalā's churches or close to this milieu. [...] This text marks one of the stages in the development of the cult of Saint Lālibalā. It signals as well a non-questioning attitude toward the then-current historiography which asserted that the Zāgwe¹⁸ were not Israelites.¹⁹ The idea is completely assimilated. However, the author manipulates skilfully this idea, showing that Lālibalā has received his power from God and that at the end of his reign he is ready to return this power. The text, thus, defends the idea that Lālibalā was not a usurper but a king chosen by God, anointed and acting as a saint.

¹⁶ Derat 2018, 218–2020: 'l'hagiographe'. Here and further on, if not otherwise specified, the translation is mine.

¹⁷ Id., 220: 'un lettré'.

¹⁸ The name 'Zāgwe' given to Lālibalā's dynasty later; and is often used by scholars inside and outside Ethiopia.

¹⁹ Reference to 'Israelites' or the 'Solomonic dynasty' implies an ideology arguing that the only legitimate rulers of Ethiopia are those who can trace their genealogy back to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Thus, the *Life* of King Lālibalā gave a response to the anti-Zāgwe historiography; and perhaps conveys a message to the rulers who called themselves Israelites, presenting them King Lālibalā as a model.’²⁰

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

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

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

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

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

²¹ Id., 151.

²² Perruchon 1892, 15.

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

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

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

0.5. Veneration of Lālibalā

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

51 He is a prophet, for he knew what would happen before it happened.

52 He is an apostle, for he became a preacher of salvation to those who did not believe and taught them to believe in the name of the Trinity, and he converted numerous non-Christians to Christianity and he baptized them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

54 He is a righteous man, for with a stick of hardship he chastised the limbs of his body.

55 He is a martyr, for all through his life he was punished by beating, and wrongly persecuted from city to city, while he was guilty of nothing.

²³Perruchon 1892.

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

60 The great blessed him, for he was their glory.

61 The aged blessed him, for he was the support of their old age.

62 Children blessed him, for he brought them up...

63 Orphans blessed him, for he nurtured them and consoled them in their sorrow...

68 The rich blessed him, for he enriched them. And there was nothing that was taken from them by violence, he would take nothing but what they themselves gave him...

69 The poor blessed him, for he became for them an asylum and helped them in all their concerns...

70 The naked blessed him, for he covered their nakedness.

71 The hungry blessed him, for he fed them.

73 The thirsty blessed him, for he quenched their thirst with his fine and delicious drink.

74 Hermits blessed him, for he became for them a helper and guardian in everything.

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

99 For while a king, Lālibalā did not eat royal food, as is appropriate for a king...

108 Lālibalā, while having slaves and maids and power over the entire nation, over which God appointed him to reign below Him, did not compel the slaves to serve according to the law of slaves, nor the maids to serve according to the law of maids’ service, but he regarded slaves as his own children who had come from his loins...

110 And he loved his maids as if they were his daughters.

111 Lālibalā did not wear fine clothing, (though) being a king, and he did not boast of not wearing it.

One can argue that Lālibalā is portrayed here as anyone but a king. This is arguable if we were to accept that, stereotypically, a king cannot be generous and humble; but still, if we consider what

the author of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ narrates about Lālibalā, we find a protagonist whom God made an invincible king²⁴ to whom He says:

313 I will subjugate to you every enemy who will surround you. And if there is someone who would rise up against you, he will not be able to stand before you.

314 I will set fear in the heart of all those who are rebellious to you. Know that you will make the people of your kingdom free from all injustice and wrong-doing.

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

364 ‘Tell me, will it be a sin for you, O man of God, to take a wife? There is no lessening of reward because of her, for it is not for the sake of earthly love, but for the sake of children.’

365 But [Lālibalā] objected to the angel of God concerning this matter, saying: ‘It is not appropriate for me to take a wife’.

366 Then the angel asked him: ‘Is it possible for you to neglect God’s command? Or can you bring children alone, those who are in your loins.’

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

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

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

²⁴Note that King Lālibalā literary presents himself as ‘invincible’ in the land donations CCR 6 and CCR 7, found in the archive of Ham, see Conti Rossini 1901, 186-192 and Derat 2018, 49-59 and 115.

‘Veneration becomes legitimized when the Life and the miracles worked by the saint are written down, usually at the initiative of the monastic community founded (or claimed to have been founded) by the saint. This process takes place at a local level and it is hardly possible that these saints are venerated in a wider territory if their Lives are not included in larger collections of hagiographic texts circulating in the whole country.’²⁵

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

‘The composition of the large hagiographical works required very good literary skills. Were such texts necessarily the first to be composed? On the contrary, the composition of liturgical chants seems to have been a less challenging task. As we can see in the examples of the chants for *ʾabba* Yohānni from DS II, [a fragment from Dabra Šahl] the composer completed the task using the minimum of lexical and stylistic means, for which he needed to know only the “essence” of the story about the saint, or just a few remarkable events or miracles from the legend. After the chants were created and embedded into the liturgical cycle, they could be easily modified; they could be revised, merged with other chants or cancelled, or extended with the material from other chants and narrative hagiographical works dedicated to the same saint or other saints, other works of the Ethiopic literature, or even oral legends.’²⁶

When it comes to the veneration of saint kings, these dynamics can be different in another way, as saint kings do not found a monastery and the essence of their story is already well-known nationwide. Paolo Marrassini argues that ‘the royal sanctity could find a good ground on which to establish itself just in some kind of ‘sacral’ preexisting conception.’²⁷ Alessandro Bausi, reflecting on the sanctification of kings, associates the institution of commemoration (*tazkār*) with acts of donation and/or foundation of churches.²⁸ King Lālibalā indeed appears to have been a founder of churches and a donor.²⁹ Along these lines, a note found in the archive of the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos za-Ham, a monastery that was endowed with lands by King Lālibalā,³⁰ is particularly interesting. It is attested only once,³¹ immediately below document n. 12³². It reads as follows:

ወእነሂ ፡ ዐቃቤ ፡ ሰዓት ፡ አስፍሐ ፡ ወደቂቀ ፡ መካንሂ ፡ ኀቢረነ ፡ ወሠሚረነ ፡ ሠራዕነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትገበር ፡ ትገኝሮሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ወሀቡ ፡ ንዋዮሙ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ መጣዕ ፡ እመሂ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ወእመሂ ፡ ገራህት ፡ ወእመሂ ፡

²⁵ Brita 2020, 277.

²⁶ Nosnitsin 2018, 310.

²⁷ Marrassini 1990, 187; in the same sense also Bausi 2013, 171-173.

²⁸ See Bausi 2013, 180-182.

²⁹ See Conti Rossini 1901, Derat 2019.

³⁰ See Conti Rossini 1901, 197. Note by “*Āqqābe saʿāt*” ʾAsfəha, n. 13 according to Conti Rossini’s numeration.

³¹ Id., 198-199.

³² Id., 1901, 196.

ላህም ፡ ወእመሂ ፡ ዐለባ ፡ ወእመሂ ፡ ብዙህ ፡ ወእመሂ ፡ ውሳኔ ፡ ዘወሀበ ፡ ይትገበር ፡ ትዝካሮም ፡ በንዋየ ፡
ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እምይእዚ ፡ እስከ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

And I, ‘*āqqābē sa‘āt*’ Ἀσφαῖα and the sons of the monastery, being together and in agreement, have instituted that the *tazkār* (commemoration) of those who donated their wealth to Saint Matā^c be celebrated, be it books, fields, cattle, cloth, whether it is much or little that they donated, their commemoration shall be celebrated with the wealth of the church, from now forever and ever, amen.³³

‘*Āqqābē Sa‘āt*’ Ἀσφαῖα is said to have been active during the reign of King Wādām Ra‘ad,³⁴ who was enthroned in 1299. The writing of this note is damaged and is difficult to read, yet from what remains this note seems to be contemporary with ‘*Āqqābē Sa‘āt*’ Ἀσφαῖα. Based on these considerations, one can assume that King Lālibalā’s commemoration was established in the monastery of Dabra Libānos of Ham, together with commemorations for other donors, at the beginning of the fourteenth century at the latest. Although this cannot explain the cult around King Lālibalā, for no other monastery donor attained a saint’s fame as Lālibalā did, it can be regarded as one of the impulses for the king’s sanctification or as documentation of his sanctification at the monastery of Ham, which was accompanied by hagiographic writings.³⁵

Further, Claire Bosc-Tiessè in her article³⁶ and further in her book³⁷ proposes an interesting hypothesis concerning the *manbara tābot*³⁸ of the church of Goldotā (DSG 05) in Lālibalā, the church, where, according to the tradition, was buried Saint Lālibalā. This *manbara tābot* bears two following inscriptions:

ላሊባ/ላ ፡ ንጉ/ሥ ፡ ፡ / ዕጉ/ስ ፡ ቅ/ዱስ / እ[ግ]ዚ/አ ፡ ብ/ሔር / ምስተ / ገ[.] / በ[.] / ተ[.] / ደ[.] ፡ / ሰ[.] ፡ /
ደ[ግ]ዛ/እ ፡ ዕ/ሴቶ ፡ እ/መ ፡ ነበ/ አብ³⁹

Patient king Lālibalā, saint of the Lord [...].⁴⁰

and

መስ/ቀል ፡ /ክስ/ራ ፡ ንግሥ/ት ፡ ቅ/ድስ/ተ ፡ እ/ግዚ/አ ፡ ብ/ሔር / ዘገረ/ደ ፡ ክ/ርስቶስ / [እም] / [ከሉን ፡] /
አንስ/ት ፡ ፡⁴¹

³³This translation is adapted with the help of Orin Gensler from the one done by Merid Wolde Aregay, discovered by Marie-Laure Derat in the archive of Roger Schneider.

³⁴Basset 1882, Derat 2010.

³⁵See also Derat 2018, 214.

³⁶Bosc-Tiessè 2010.

³⁷Bosc-Tiessè 2019, 111-116.

³⁸Bosc-Tiessè 2010, 74-85.

³⁹Id., 84.

⁴⁰Cf. Id., 2010, 84: ‘Lālibalā roi parient, saint de Dieu (...) Qu’il reçoive du Père sa part de récompense’.⁴¹ Bosc-Tiessè 2010, 84.

Queen Masqal Kebrā, saint of the Lord, whom Christ chose among all women.⁴²

Analysing the inscriptions, Bosc-Tiessè notes that contrary to other inscriptions on *manbara tābot* of the churches of the place, 'Lālibalā and his wife Masqal Kebrā are referred to as saints and not as sponsors of the object'.⁴³ Which suggests that they were officially already recognised as saints by the moment the inscriptions were done, which would mean to date the *manbara tābot* to the fifteenth century.⁴⁴ Yet, there is another element, which suggests slightly different interpretation and an earlier dating: Bosc-Tiessè further notes, despite the lacunae, we can notice that the inscription does not contain any request for intercession.⁴⁵ On the other hand, interpreting 𐌸[𐌹]𐌿/𐌰 : 𐌲/𐌱-𐌹 : 𐌰/𐌺 : 𐌹𐌺/ 𐌰𐌺 as 'May he receive his part of reward from the Father'⁴⁶ she points to 'an allusion to the eternal reward requested for the deceased'⁴⁷ that 'evokes the formulas of prayer for the dead citing the supplications for the deceased said by the priest during the divine office'⁴⁸. She then concludes:

The little that the inscription says supposes that this *manbara tābot* was made rather for the commemoration of Lālibalā and Masqal Kebrā, [...], than as an object testifying to a worship addressed to them. This *manbara tābot* could therefore be an attestation - one of the first? - of their holiness but perhaps not yet of a worship that would be rendered to them because we would then ask for their intercession.⁴⁹

To conclude, the 'note by 'aqqābē sa'āt 'Asfəḥā' attested in the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos za-Ham together with the inscriptions on the *manbara tābot*⁵⁰ of the church of Goldotā (DSG 05) in Lālibalā brings new evidence on how veneration of a king might have been transformed into

⁴² Cf. Bosc-Tiessè 2010: 'Masqal Kebrā, reine, sainte du Seigneur, que le Christ a élue parmi toutes les femmes'.

⁴³ Id., 84: 'Lālibalā et sa femme Masqal Kebrā sont référés comme saints et non pas comme commanditaires de l'objet'.

⁴⁴ Id., 84: 'La qualification comme saints de Lālibalā et de Masqal Kebrā date au plus tôt l'objet de l'époque où ils ont été reconnus comme tels officiellement et à laquelle se multiplient leur représentations, c'est-à-dire le courant du XVe siècle vraisemblablement.'

⁴⁵ Id., 2010: 'Car, si nous revenons à l'inscription malgré ses lacunes, nous pouvons noter que n'apparaît pas de demande d'intercession.'

⁴⁶ Id.: 'Qu'il reçoive du Père sa part de récompense'.

⁴⁷ Id.: 'une allusion à la récompense éternelle demandée pour le défunt'.

⁴⁸ Id.: 'évoque les formules de prière pour les morts citant les supplications pour les défunts dites par le prêtre pendant l'office divin'.

⁴⁹ Id.: 'Le peu que l'inscription dit laisse donc supposer que ce *manbara tābot* a été fait plutôt pour la commémoration de Lālibalā et de Masqal Kebrā, dans la mesure où l'objet est utilisé dans l'église du Golgotā où est située aujourd'hui la tombe supposée de Lālibalā, que comme un objet témoignant d'un culte qui leur serait adressé. Ce *manbara tābot* pourrait donc être une attestation – une des premières ? – de leur sainteté mais peut-être pas encore d'un culte qui leur serait rendu car on demanderait alors leur intercession.'

⁵⁰ Id., 74-85.

‘veneration of a saint’, the process that necessarily differs from what was described by Brita and Nosnitsin but partially corresponds to what was suggested by Marrassini and Bausi.

0.5.1. Historical data on King Lālibālā⁵¹

King Lālibālā⁵² definitely ruled over Ethiopia around 1225 CE. In the documents King Lālibālā presents himself as the ‘son of Morārā, son of Zānsəyūm, son of ʾĀsdā’.⁵³ There is no evidence saying where Lālibālā was appointed to the throne or what was his place of origin. He was married to Masqal Kəbrā, ‘lady of Biḥat’.⁵⁴ Masqal Kəbrā apparently had a very strong position as queen and played an important role, for she appears, in the royal donation by her husband, King Lālibālā, as (apparently) the first queen ever to be mentioned in a royal donation.⁵⁵ Marie-Laure Derat suggests that Masqal Kəbrā may actually have brought the royal power to the hands of Lālibālā through her lineage.⁵⁶

King Lālibālā is credited by the tradition with the construction of an ensemble of rock-hewn churches, replicas of the heavenly churches. The present-day church complex in Lālibālā town comprises twelve churches, ‘although this figure differs according to the traditions and periods.’⁵⁷ Concerning the role of King Lālibālā regarding the churches of Lālibālā town, Marie-Laure Derat, based on a comprehensive study of all the evidence now available,⁵⁸ concludes that for the moment we still cannot be certain about which churches were definitely founded by King Lālibālā and which were founded at some other time:

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

So far, no precise role can be decisively attributed to this place within the Christian Kingdom at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁵⁹

⁵¹The historical figure of King Lālibālā is not part of my current research. Here I just present a concise summary based mainly on the book by Marie-Laure Derat, see Derat 2018.

⁵²‘It should be mentioned that although the spelling ‘Lālibālā’ is the one attested in the later tradition, the large majority of the earlier tradition attests the spelling ‘Lālibālā’, that should be restored, to indicate the king as opposed to the city’ (from Bausi 2018, 7).

⁵³Derat 2018, 148.

⁵⁴Id., 148.

⁵⁵Id., 148-150.

⁵⁶Id., 151.

⁵⁷Derat 2011: ‘bien que ce chiffre diffère selon les traditions et les époques’. Note that according to the Homily of Lālibālā, he built not ten but twelve churches.

⁵⁸See Derat 2018, 163-168.

⁵⁹Id., 168: ‘Le roi Lālibālā joua donc un rôle important vis-à-vis des églises de ce fameux site. Sa présence et son intérêt pour cet ensemble sont marqués par des donations de terre et la fabrication de nombreux autels

0.5.2. *Post- Lālibalā dynamics*

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

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

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

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

⁶⁰Literature on this topic, e.g. Marrassini 1990; Marrassini 1994; Gervers 2003.

⁶¹Derat 2018, 2014.

⁶²Id., 213-220.

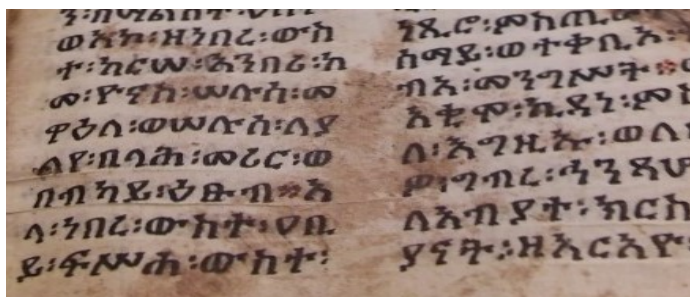
⁶³See Bosc-Tiessé 2009, 2019.

⁶⁴I will discuss this further in chapter one.

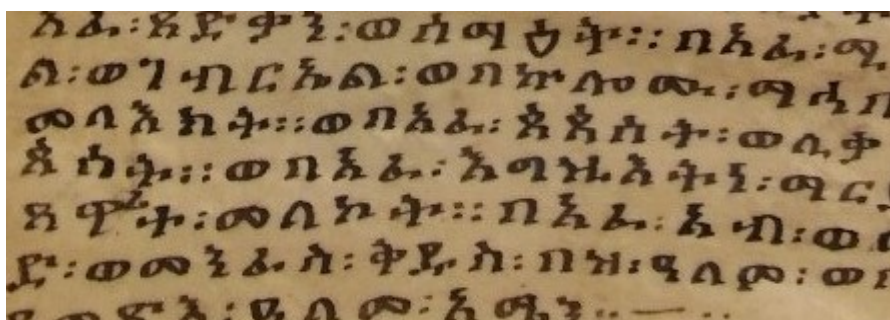
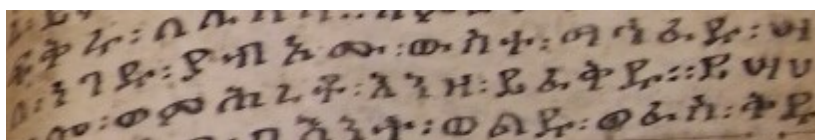
⁶⁵See Wright 1870, 601.

by a different hand than the body of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, which calls into question its authenticity: the donation note is rather a pseudo-donation note.

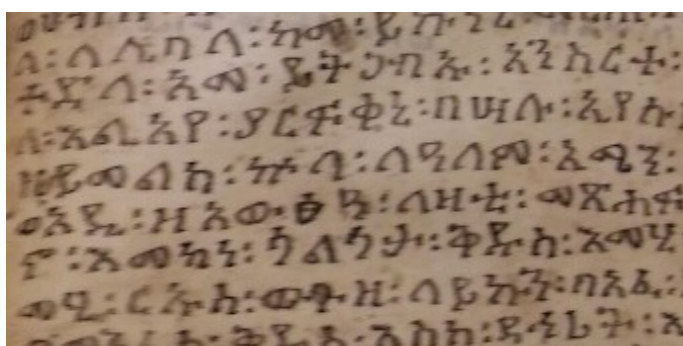
In fact, one can identify at least five hands within the codex: Hand number 1: main body of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’



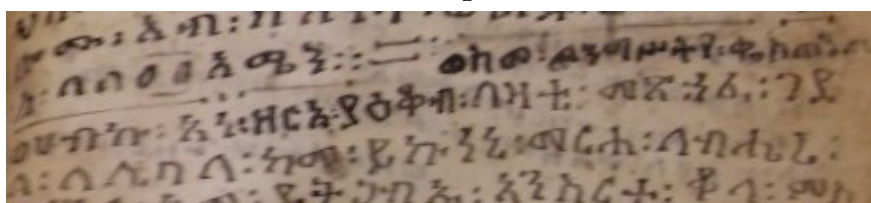
Hand number 2: supplication on fols. 162vb-163r; condemnation not on fol. 3v



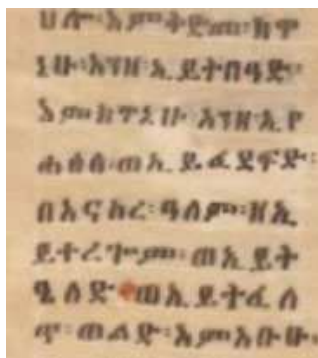
Hand number 3: pseudo- ‘Zar’ā Yā’eqob donation note’ on fol. 163r



Hand number 4: name of Zar’ā Yā’eqob on fol. 163vb



Hand number 5 (of the nineteenth c.): missing portion of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ on fol. 2rab-2vab



I will discuss these now in greater detail. The hand of the pseudo-‘Zar^ā Yā^ēqob donation note’ is hand number three; it is different from the hand of the main body of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’. The main body of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ (in hand number one) is followed by a supplication on fols. 162vb-163r, written in a hand which could be identified with the hand of the condemnation note on fol. 3v; this is hand number two. Note that fol. 3rv belongs to the second production unit, which was added later in time, not clear exactly when.

Blank folia of the second production unit were used in 1840 to restore the missing portion of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, i.e. the second production unit was used for the ‘restoration’ later than this unit was actually inserted.

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

There are other elements⁶⁶ allowing to argue that King Lālibalā's veneration was established in Lālibalā town by the sixteenth century at the latest, as attested by a Portuguese missionary Francisco Álvares.

0.7. Literature overview on Saint King Lālibalā's hagiography

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

Starting from the twentieth century two important Ethiopian scholars should be named: First, Gabra Masqal Tasfāyye⁶⁷ has compiled various sources as **ገድለ ፡ ነገሥታት ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ዘንግሡ ፡ በምድረ ፡ ሮሐ ፡** / 'Life of Ethiopian kings who ruled in Roḥa land' which is known from his autograph, MS EMMML 1614=IES 5446. The second scholar is *Afa mamhər* Allabbāčcaw ʾEratta, who contributed to **ገድለ ቅዱስ ላሊበለ** / 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā' edition;⁶⁸ I briefly discuss his contribution in Chapter Three.

In Europe the study of Saint King Lālibalā's hagiography was begun by Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704). In 1681 in his *Historia Aethiopica* L. II, cap. V, Ludolf edited with a Latin translation a short hymn for Saint King Lālibalā, encomium or salām, originally taken, according to Ludolf, from the Ethiopian Synaxarion.⁶⁹ The same encomium served for Ludolf as a source for his *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum*.⁷⁰ August Dillmann identified the manuscript used by Ludolf as Bibl. Bodl. 221 'Encomium Coelestium et terrestrium'.⁷¹

Soon after Ludolf, in 1695 the Bollandists showed interest in Saint Lālibalā. Thus, in *Acta Sanctorum*, juin, T. I, on the 6th of June, among those lives that were omitted or replaced.⁷² It remains unclear whether the Bollandists had access to any other hagiographic sources beyond what had been edited by Ludolf.

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

⁶⁷ See Derat 2016.

⁶⁸ See Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007.

⁶⁹ See also Perruchon 1892, XL=XLI.

⁷⁰ Ludolf 1699.

⁷¹ Dillmann 1848, 36-37.

⁷² Henschen et al. 1695, 616.

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

In the 1840s Johann Ludwig Krapf, another important collector of Ethiopian literary sources, held a copying workshop, in which he commissioned a copy of the 'Life of Lālibalā'.⁷⁴ In all likelihood, this manuscript was used by August Dillmann for his *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, published in 1865.⁷⁵

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

In 1870 William Wright published a catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts acquired for the British Museum which now became part of the British Library Collection. In his catalogue Wright provided a basic description of two manuscripts containing the 'Acts of Lālibalā', MS BL Orient. 718 and MS BL Orient. 719.⁷⁸

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

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

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

⁷³See Sapeto 1857, 425-426, 428.

⁷⁴See Valieva 2017.

⁷⁵Id., 197.

⁷⁶Id.

⁷⁷See Abbadie 1859, 154-155.

⁷⁸See Wright 1870, 601.

⁷⁹See Perruchon 1892.

⁸⁰See Nöldeke 1893.

Russian, which, according to him, was the only important part of this source.⁸¹ According to the Multi-Unit Hypothesis, the importance is given to the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’.

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

In 1912 Chaîne published a catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts, donated to the Bibliothèque nationale de France by d’Abbadie. Chaîne again described the MS BnF d’Abbadie 139.⁸³

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

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

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

Again in 1946, Cerulli noted the existence of a paper manuscript containing ‘La Vita di Lālibalā’ in the collection of the India Office. This appears to be the same manuscript used by Dillmann, MS Ethiopic 4.⁸⁷ In 1968 in his *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Cerulli included his Italian translation of a part from the ‘Atti di Lālibalā’ and from the ‘Atti di Masqal Kebra’.⁸⁸

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

⁸¹See Turaev 1902, 75.

⁸²See Guidi 1906, see Chapter One.

⁸³See Chaîne 1912, 87.

⁸⁴See Conti Rossini 1914, 51.

⁸⁵Gianfrancesco Lusini is in charge of preparing a catalogue of Mordini manuscripts.

⁸⁶See Raineri 1998, 39, 130-131, 178-179.

⁸⁷See Cerulli 1946, 116 and Valieva 2017.

⁸⁸See Cerulli 1968, 87-89.

⁸⁹Pankhurst 1967. This became a basis for the analysis by Maimire Mennasemay, ‘Chronicles of Lalibela, Gibbonism, and Ethiopian Studies’, available at the Academia page of the author. The original article was modified and

In 1973 Ernst Hammerschmidt published a catalogue of the manuscripts he photographed during his mission to Lake Ṭānā, among which was MS Kəbrān 31, another manuscript containing *Vie de Lālibalā roi d'Éthiopie*.⁹⁰

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

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

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

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

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

should appear as 'Epistemic Autnomy, Gibbonism, and Ethiopian Studies' in the forthcoming volume of the Journal of Ethiopian Studies vol 15, 1, 2021.

⁹⁰See Hammerschmidt 1973, 154-155.

⁹¹See Kur 1972.

⁹²See Tubiana 1994.

⁹³See Lourié 1999.

⁹⁴See Derat 2006, 567.

⁹⁵Bosc-Tiessè and Derat 2011.

In 2014 published an article where she discusses the possibility of a scriptorium in Lāstā, to which some of the manuscripts of my corpus would belong.⁹⁶

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

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

Again in 2017 appeared my short article on 'Ms Ethiopic 4 of the Collection of the India Office: A strayed Manuscript of *Gadla Lālibālā*'.⁹⁹

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

In 2019 an article by Serge A. Frantsouzoff appeared, 'The Acts of Lalibāla: a Collection of Fables or an Underestimated Historical Source?'.¹⁰¹

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

0.8. Research's methodology

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

⁹⁶Bosc-Tiessé 2014.

⁹⁷See Valieva 2016.

⁹⁸See Derat 2016.

⁹⁹See Valieva 2017.

¹⁰⁰See Derat 2018.

¹⁰¹See Frantsouzoff 2019. For some reasons the author decided to go back directly to Perruchon's edition, neglecting all the problems of the edition and all related recent studies.

¹⁰²Bosc-Tiessé 2019. I have received the pdf in December 2020, so in its written form it had less impact on my work than it should, however, my way of writing the present work was still very much influenced by the discussions we had with Claire, as well as all the articles she wrote, though I refer to only some of them

ideal image of a king' but then was transformed into the 'Characteristic features of the image of an Ethiopian king on the basis of the *Gadla Lālibalā*'. The present research has been conducted within the framework of the GraKo, Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures under the supervision of Marie-Laure Derat and Alessandro Bausi. This project was initially planned to be a 'Critical edition of the *Gadla Lālibalā*',¹⁰³ and ended as the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection: tradition and documentation'. With this project I have been studying manuscripts, their contents and their usages. Having in mind ultimately the preparation of a critical edition, I have been focusing on those manuscripts that primarily contain the 'Life of Lālibalā'; all the rest is rather a by-product of the research. In 2017 I participated in an archaeological mission in Lālibalā, in which I was invited to participate in all discussions concerning the history of the place. In my work I will refer to published works; but readers should keep in mind that many of the hypotheses in this thesis were born during these discussions, and the intellectual authorship of some important points should be shared with the research-team.

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

Dalarun J., *La Malaventure de François d'Assise*, Paris, Editions franciscaines, 2002;

Flusin B., *Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris, Etudes augustinienes, 1983;

Follieri E., 'Problemi di agiografia bizantina: il contributo dell'innografia allo studio dei testi agiografici in prosa', *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 31 (1977), pp. 3-14.

Guran P. & Flusin B., *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, Bucarest, 2001.

Lifshitz, Felice, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator*, 25 (January 1994), pp. 95-114.

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

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

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

¹⁰³ This project was announced at the ICES 17 in Warsaw, 2015.

After familiarising the reader with the textual units, in Chapter Two I will present the description of the manuscripts containing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’.

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

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

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

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

Chapter Seven is a prolegomenon to the critical edition.

Chapter Eight concludes the results of the thesis.

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

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

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

¹⁰⁴ See <https://collatex.net/>

¹⁰⁵ See <http://cte.oeaw.ac.at/>

Edition Two contains my edition of *Malkeʿa Lālibalā*, attested only in MS UNESCO 2.85.

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁶ See Conti Rossini 1912.

Chapter One. Lālibalā's hagiographic dossier

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

To begin the investigation of an Ethiopian literary text, °Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos’s¹⁰⁷ *Marḥa Ləbbunā* (‘The Guide of Wisdom’)¹⁰⁸ serves as a good starting point. His book is a concise survey of indigenous Ethiopian scholarly history and provides an inventory of literary works in Gəʿz and Amharic. In a chapter about Gadlāt / Vitae, °Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos mentions on p. 80 ‘Gadla Lālibalā Nəguś’ / ‘The Life of King Lālibalā’ (ገድለ ላሊበላ ንጉሥ), and on p. 79 ‘Gadla Masqal Kəbrā za-Lālibalā’ / ‘The Life of Masqal Kəbrā from Lālibalā’ (ገድለ መስቀል ክብሩ ዘላሊበላ). Further, in a section about *malke*¹⁰⁹ (መልክ, lit. ‘image’), on p. 87, °Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos mentions ‘Malkə’a Lālibalā’ (መልክ ላሊበላ). One can very plausibly suppose that by ‘Gadla Lālibalā Nəguś’, Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos means what is commonly known as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’, that is (according to the terminology used in this thesis) either the basic ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’ or only the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ proper. A closer look at the various manuscripts labelled as ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ shows that their contents are only partially the same. That is why one has to stipulate what is to count as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’. Moreover, at times cataloguers have mislabelled ‘Dərsāna Lālibalā’ / ‘The Homily of Lālibalā’ (ድርሳን ላሊበላ)¹¹⁰ as the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’. Therefore, with less probability, behind the ‘Gadla Lālibalā Nəguś’ Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos could conceivably mean instead the ‘Dərsāna Lālibalā’ / ‘The Homily of Lālibalā’ (ድርሳን ላሊበላ). When it comes to the ‘Gadla Masqal Kəbrā za-Lālibalā’ and the ‘Malkə’a Lālibalā’, the overview below will suggest several possible identifications for each.

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

¹⁰⁷ See ‘Aklilā Bərḥān Wāldā Qirqos’, EAe V: Y-Z (2014) (M. Alehegne), 227b-228a.

¹⁰⁸ Walda Qirqos 1951.

¹⁰⁹ I do not know any equivalent for the term *malke*° in English; ‘Image’ as a literary genre does not exist in English. Therefore, I leave the term *malke*° without translating it. It is a poetic genre that presents and discusses the saint’s body parts one by one, stanza by stanza, each with theological and metaphorical interpretation.

¹¹⁰ See Derat 2016. Note that Sergew Hable Sellasie refers to it as ‘Zenā Lālibalā’ / ‘Story of Lālibalā’ (ዘኔና ላሊበላ), see Sergew Hable Selassie 1972.

¹¹¹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007; 2010.

from this printed book. I myself have seen one manuscript copied from this printed book in the monastery of Dabra Libānos, although I cannot state whether all textual units contained in the printed book were copied into the manuscript or not. Anyway, this book marks an important turn in the textual transmission of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’.

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

This overview has the following objectives:

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

The overview points out that the hagiographic tradition – or better, traditions – related to Saint Lālibalā have been neither limited to the Lāstā region, where Lālibalā town is located, nor to any particular century. On the contrary, they seem to be the product of an ongoing process of composition and copying which started long before the fifteenth century and which has involved many different individuals throughout the country.

2) to identify textual units that often appear under the label ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’. As it appears, a number of textual units that were not introduced by Perruchon or Kur also belong under the umbrella of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’.

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

¹¹² *Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007*, 179-182. This prayer was edited by Gigar Tesfaye, see Tesfaye and Pirenne 1984, 115-119.

¹¹³ But see Bosc-Tiessé 2010.

¹¹⁴ I will introduce more information on the ‘*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007*’ as well as on ‘*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2010*’ editions in Chapter Four.

1.1. ‘The Gadla Lālibalā collection’

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

1.1.1. *Preamble*

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

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

‘Preamble’ corresponds to ‘Introduction’ / ‘Discours d’introduction. - Invocation à la Trinité. - Éloge de Lālibalā’ in Perruchon’s *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*.¹¹⁸ The same textual unit corresponds to መቅደም / ‘Preamble’ in ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’.¹¹⁹

Incipit 1. በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡
 ዕሩይ ፡ ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡ ታሉት ፡ ዘኢይነፍድ ፡
 ዘሀሎ ፡ እምቅድም ፡ እምክሞሁ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢይትበድ ፡
 2. እምግጻዊሁ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢየሐጽጽ ፡ ወኢይፈደፍድ ፡
 3. በዐናስረ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ዘኢይትገመር ፡ ወኢይትኤለድ ፡
 4. ዘኢይትፈለጥ ፡ ወልድ ፡ እምአብ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እምወልድ ፡

¹¹⁵ Cerulli, 1956, 1-3.

¹¹⁶ The short summery of the textual units presented here is exactly the same as in the Introduction.

¹¹⁷ The sequence of shelfmarks follows the alphabetical order of the sigla used for the edition. See chapter three.

¹¹⁸ Perruchon 1892, 1-7 (text), 65-72 (trans).

¹¹⁹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 5-10; 2010, 24-37.

Explicit (Supplication) 66. ሰአሉ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ከመ ፡ የሀበኒ ፡ ልሳነ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ከመ ፡ አእምሮ ፡ ዘእነብብ ፡ እስመ ፡ አነ ፡ ሕጹጽ ፡ ልብ ፡ እስመ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ኢገሰስኩ ፡ ማእዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዜናሁ ፡ ለዘእትናገር ፡ በእንተአሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ ነዋህ ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ወልገሙት ፡ ከሥተተ ፡ ምሥጢሩ ፡

67. ወባሕቱ ፡ እነግረከሙ ፡ በሐሳብ ፡ ክህልኩ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እትአመን ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ጸሎትክሙ ፡ ወበጸሎቱ ፡ ለዘንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ኮከበ ፡ ክብር ፡ ጽባሐዊ ፡ ዘይሀይድ ፡ ብርሃኑ ፡ ብርሃኑ ፡ ካልአን ፡ ከዋክብት ፡

68. እንዘ ፡ አብ ፡ ይረድእ ፡ ለወጢን ፡ በለብዎ ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ያጸንፅ ፡ በአስተሰናእዎ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ፈጽሜ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ቃል ፡ በአስተታልዎ ፡ በሰላም ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ አሜን ፡

1.1.2. *Jesus and His redeeming fire*

The second textual unit, ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’, firstly narrates poetically the life of Jesus Christ; it contains some similarities with or allusions to the ‘Homily of Epiphanius of Crete’¹²⁰ (see chapter five). It follows up with references to the fire and the rope of salvation, ending with poetic lines in praise of Saint Lālibalā’s virtues, always illustrated with quotations from the New Testament.

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

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ corresponds to Perruchon’s *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*, ‘Seconde introduction’¹²¹ / ‘Deuxième discours: résumé de la vie du Christ’.¹²² ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ corresponds to አቀድም ፡ አእኩቶቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ / ‘First, I thank God’ in the first edition of ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’, and to በእንተ ፅረፍቱ ፡ / ‘About his death’ in the second edition.¹²³

Incipit 1. አቀድም ፡ አእኩቶቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ በእንተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ወቃሉ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ዘበሕፃነ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ሠረጸ ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ዐቃቤ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ እምሰማያት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይደይ ፡ ርጢኖ ፡ ዲበ ፡ እለ ፡ ቁስሉ ፡ በንስኩት ፡ አርዌ ፡ አስዋር ፡ ወአልህምት ፡

¹²⁰ See Weischer 1979.

¹²¹ Perruchon 1892, 7-10 (text), 72-76 (trans).

¹²² In dealing with Perruchon’s edition I note two subtitles, one for the text and the other for the translation, only if they differ.

¹²³ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 11-13; 2010, 316-320.

አትቡዕ ፡ ወአእኑስ ፡ ፈኒዎ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ነቢያቲሁ ፡ ዘያጌብሮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይበልዎ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አጽኀን ፡ ሰማያቲክ ፡ ወረድ ። አንሥእ ፡ ኀይለክ ፡ ወኅዓ ፡ አድኅኅ ።

Explicit ¹²⁴ (Supplication) 43 በዝንቱ ፡ ሐብል ፡ ተሠጊሮሙ ፡ መሠግራኝ ፡ ዓሣ ፡ ኀደጉ ፡ መሣግሪሆሙ ፡ ወተለውዎ ፡ ለአሥጋሬ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትመሀሩ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ንዒወ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይንወው ፡ እሙንቱሂ ፡ አናብሱተ ፡ በዩውሆ ፡ ወአናምርተ ፡ በአባግዖ ፡ ወከሎ ፡ ዘቦ ፡ እከዩ ፡ በመይጦ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ግዕዝ ፡ ሠናይ ፡

1.1.3. Teaching about Saints

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

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

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §§ 1-9 corresponds to Perruchon’s *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*, the end of the ‘Seconde introduction’¹²⁵ / ‘Deuxième discours: résumé de la vie du Christ’. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ partially corresponds to አቀድም ፡ አእኩቶቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ / ‘First, I thank God’ and to the end of ወዓዲ ፡ ነሥኦ ፡ ክብረ ፡ / ‘And again he received the glory’ in the first edition of ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ and partially to በእንተ ዕረፍቱ ፡ / ‘About his death’ in the second edition and to በእንተ ዕረፍቱ ፡ / ‘About his death’ in the second edition.¹²⁶

Incipit 1. ወዝንቱኒ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ገዥ ፡ ርጡብ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ በዘትረ ፡ ቃሎሙ ፡ ተሰቂዮ ፡ ጸገዩ ፡ ምዑዝ ። ወበሐብለ ፡ ሐረጎሙ ፡ ተእኒዞ ፡ ፈረዩ ፡ ሐዋዘ ።

¹²⁴ From here on, text reconstruction and translation are in progress.

¹²⁵ Perruchon 1892, 10 (text), 76 (trans).

¹²⁶ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 13-18; 2010, 320-333.

Explicit 54. ወያወሥኦሙ ፡ ዝኩ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ ቃል ፡ ማሕዋዊት ፡ ወይብሎሙ ፡ አማን ፡ እብለከሙ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘገበርከሙ ፡ ለ፩ እምእሉ ፡ ንኡሳን ፡ አጋውዮ ፡ እለ ፡ የአምኑ ፡ ብዩ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ገበርከሙ ፡ ወየሐውሩ ፡ እሉሂ ፡ ተሰሐቦሙ ፡ በስሱ ፡ አሕባለ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወይብውኡ ፡ ንበ ፡ ሀለወ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ምስለ ፡ በግዑ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ መንፈሱ ።

1.1.4. *Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem*

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

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

‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ is absent in Perruchon’s *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*. It corresponds to ወዝንቱሂ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ / ‘And this Gabra Masqal’ in the first edition of ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ and to በእንተ ፡ ፅረፍቱ ፡ / ‘About his death’ in the second edition.

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Incipit 1: ወዝንቱሂ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ፩ ውእቱ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ እምእለ ፡ ቦኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ሰማያዊት ፡ አግዓዚት ፡ ብሔረ ፡ ብርሃን ።

Explicit (Supplication) 62. ያድኅኸኬ ፡ እመሥግርቱ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ጽጉብ ፡ ደም ፡ አርዌ ፡ ዘዮኅሥሥ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ነፍሳተ ፡ ከመ ፡ የኅዋ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጥገር ፡ ከመ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ወኢያርመመ ፡ እምአዳም ፡ እስከ ፡ የም ፡ ፋሕለ ፡ ጥጎረቱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይፈቅድ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይድቢ ፡ እለ ፡ ተሰመይነ ፡ ናዝራዊያነ ። እስመ ፡ ሰምዐነ ፡ እንዘ ፡

ናወግዞ ፡ መደጠነ ፡ ገጸነ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ በዕለተ ፡ ለበስናሁ ፡ ለመርዓዊ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ሐዲስ ፡
ዘውእቱ ፡ ክርስቶስ ።

63. ወነደግናሁ ፡ ለብእሲ ፡ ብሉይ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ዲያብሎስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ንብሎ ፡ ርጉም ፡ አንተ ፡ ወርጉም ፡
ኅሊናክ ፡ ወርጉም ፡ ግብርክ ። ወበእንተዝኬ ፡ ይትመዓዕ ፡ ላዕሌነ ፡ ወለሂኒ ፡ የሀበነ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡
ክርስቶስ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ ረድኤት ፡ በከመ ፡ ወሀቦ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ መዊዕ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያውቂ ፡ ክሳዶ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡
አርዌ ፡ ርጉም ። ወይረስዩነ ፡ ለሂኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ናውቂ ፡ ክሳዶ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ከይሲ ፡ በከመ ፡ አውቀዮ ፡ ውእቱ ፡
አሜን ።

1.1.5. *Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of Gospel*

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

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ is attested in the following twenty-four manuscripts: DabŞəy-001 fols. 19va-23va; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 11vb-14rb; EMMML 6931 fols. 15rb-18ra; EMMML 6921 fols. 20vb-25va; EMMML 6964 fols. 19ra-23rb; EMMML 7051 = NL 46 fols. 18vb-21va; EMMML 6770 fols. 37rb-40vb; EMMML 2836 fols. 18rb-22ra; EMMML 6451 fols. 44va-47vb; EMMML 8942 fols. 15rb-18va; MotGiorg-001 fols. 53vb-56va; BL Ms. Ethiopic 4 fols. 54v-59v; Kəbrān 31 (material loss: the beginning is missing) fols. 15ra-18va; BetLib-001 fols. 35ra-37rb; BetEman-001 fols. 17ra-20vb; BetMarq-001 fols. 18vb-22rb; MasKa-003 fols. 20ra-24ra; NazMa-001 fols. 16ra-19rb; BL Orient. 719 fols. 26va-32ra; BL Orient. 718 fols. 17va-21va; Parm. 3852 fols. 18rb-22rb; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 15rb-18va; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 21rb-23ra; EMIP 1908_HazenCodex.

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ is absent in Perruchon’s *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*. It corresponds to ወዝንቱሂ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ክቡር ፡ / ‘And this distinguished Man’ in ‘Gadla Qæddus Lālibalā’ of the first edition (1-15), which, however, also contains a narrative unit from ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ (16-29; see below). In the second edition it corresponds to በእንተ ዕረፍቱ / ‘About his death’ (1-15), which also contains a narrative unit from ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ (16-21), though shorter than in the first edition.¹²⁸

Incipit 1. ወዝንቱስ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ኮኩበ ፡ ጽዱል ፡ ዘዩንሶሱ ፡ መልዕልተ ፡ አየር ፡ አብጢሎ ፡
እምኅሊና ፡ ዘበምድር ። አልቦ ፡ ዘጉበረ ፡ ምግባራተ ፡ ዘያምዕያ ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወአልቦ ፡
አመ ፡ ሰለለ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ እምአመ ፡ ተወልዶ ፡ እምከርሠ ፡ ጥምቀት ፡ እስመ ፡ ኢተግሕሠ ፡
እምቃለ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ እስትንፋስ ፡ መለኮት ።

Explicit (Supplication) 53. ወከመ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ አመት ፡ ውስተ ፡ እደ ፡ እግዚእታ ። ከሞሁ ፡ አዕይንቲነ ፡ ኀበ ፡
እግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክነ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ይሃሀለነ ።

¹²⁸ Gadla Qæddus Lālibalā 2007, 25-29 (1-15); 2010, 348-357 (1-15).

1.1.6. Praise for *Lālibalā*

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

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

‘Praise for *Lālibalā*’ is absent in Perruchon’s *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*. It corresponds to ወበዝ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ / ‘And because of this all again *Lālibalā*’ and to ሚመጠነኬ ይደል ውዳሴ / ‘How much praise is appropriate’ in ‘*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*’ of the first edition and to በእንተ ትጋሁ ወትሩፋቲሁ / ‘About his diligence and his virtues’ of the second edition.¹²⁹

Incipit 1. ወበዝ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወምክሐ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አድያሚሃ ፡ ተመሳሎሙ ፡ ለትጉሃነ ፡ ሰማይ ።

Explicit (Supplication) 125. ወለሃኒ ፡ ዐሥራተ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ይንሥኡን ፡ ምክሐ ፡ ኩልን ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንባእ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ቦኣ ፡ ለሊሁ ። ወከመ ፡ ንርፈቅ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ረፈቀ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንሳተፎ ፡ በፍሥሐሁ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ንደለው ፡ በተድላሁ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ኖኦሶሱ ፡ ውሱተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መርዓ ፡ ሐዳስ ፡ ዘኢይበውእ ፡ ውሱቲታ ፡ ዘኢሉበስ ፡ ልብስ ፡ ከብካብ ፡ መርዓ ፡ ወዘኢተሰርገወ ፡ በብርሃነ ፡ ሥላሴ ።

126. ወይቤለን ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ በይእቲ ፡ ሰዓት ፡ ነዩ ፡ አነ ፡ ወደቂቅየ ፡ ዘወሀበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። ወያቂመን ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ገጸ ፡ በግዑ ፡ ኀበኢ ፡ በጽላሎተ ፡ ክክፊሁ ፡ ወከዲኖ ፡ በመንጠላዕተ ፡ ጸሎቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይቅረቡ ፡ ኀበኒ ፡ መላእክተ ፡ እሳት ፡ እኅዛነ ፡ አስይፍት ፡ እለ ፡ የዐፅዱ ፡ ክርዳደ ፡ ዐርዮሙ ፡ እማእከለ ፡ ሥርናይ ፡ ወየአሥርዎሙ ፡ በበከላስቲሆሙ ፡ ለአንድዶቶሙ ።

127. ወለእለ ፡ ይፈልጥዎሙ ፡ ለኃጥኣን ፡ እማእከሎሙ ፡ ለጸድቃን ። ወእለ ፡ ይሌልይዎሙ ፡ ለፀዋጋን ፡ እማእከሎሙ ፡ ለየዋሆን ። ወእለ ፡ መላእክተ ፡ መዓት ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይቅረቡ ፡ ኀበኒ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ኢይፍልጡን ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ይመግበን ፡ ሐቂፎ ፡ በየማነ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ አሜን ፡ ወአሜን ።

¹²⁹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 32-45; 2010, 272-303.

1.1.7. *Life of Lālibalā*

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

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

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

Incipit: ንትመዋጥኪ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ጥበቡት ፡ ገድሉ ፡ ለዝንቲ ፡ ዕፍረት ፡ ምዑዝ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይምሰሎ ፡ ዝንጋዔ ፡ ለልበ ፡ አብድ ፡ ለዘኢያፈቅር ፡ ውዳሴሆሙ ፡ ለጸድቃን ።

Explicit: ወከመዝ ፡ ነበረ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወቲ ፡ እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈለሰ ።

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

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

¹³⁰ See also Derat 2018, 216-218.

¹³¹ With serious changes published by Dabra Sabakā Gubāe, *Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā* 2007, 46-151; 2010, 304-309, 48-255. With full of omissions edited by Perruchon, Perruchon 1892, 11-44 (text), 76-110. Partially, complementing Perruchon’s work, edited by Kur, Kur 1972, 385-403.

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

Incipit (fol. 1ra) በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ወዘንተ ፡ ብሂሎ ፡ አርአዮ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ዓቢያተ ፡ ዘእምአሐቲ ፡ እብን ። ውኑልቆሙስ ፡ ለእማንቲ ፡ ዘአርአዮ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ዐሠርተ ።

Explicit (fol. 4rb) ወባሕቲ ፡ ኢተሐበሉ ፡ ይግንዘዎ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኢቈረ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሕገ ፡ በድን ። በዝንቲ ፡ ሠላስ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ እስመ ፡ ምውቅ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ በላህበ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘካላር ፡ ውስጥቲ ።

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

Incipit (fol. 4rb) ወይእኬኒ ፡ ተፈሣሕ ፡ ኦጽሩዩ ፡ ልብ ፡ ወንጹሐ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ እስመ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ረከብኩ ፡ ዘኃሠሥኩ ። ወከመዝ ፡ እትራከበሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ዩጋሥሠኒ ።¹³²

Explicit (fol. 9vb) ወከመዝ ፡ ነበረ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ሕይወቲ ፡ እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈለሰ ።

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

Incipit (fol. 148ra): ወእምዝ ፡ መጽአ ፡ ንቤሁ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ንበ ፡ ነጋሢ ፡ በሌሊት ፡ ትርእዮ ፡ ወደነገፀ ፡ በንዋሙ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘእሕሠመ ፡ በላዕለ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ እኑሁ ። ወገሠዎ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ በከመ ፡ ገሠጸ ፡ ዕንባቆም ፡ ከመ ፡ ያሕሠም ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ እኑሁ ፡ አመ ፡ ዴገኖ ።¹³³

Explicit fol. 142vb: ወእንበይነ ፡ መንግሥትክ ፡ ፈቃድክ ፡ ለይኩን ። ለዘፈቀድክ ፡ ሀብ ፡ ምንት ፡ ዘበቀላኒ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ዘበምድር ፡ ያድኅክ ፡ ለኩልነ ፡ ሕዝበ ፡ ክርስቲያን ።¹³⁴

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

Incipit fol. 52va: ወከመዝ ፡ ልሀቀ ፡ [empty space for rubrication] እዝዝ ፡ ትቀልዎ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ እግዚእ ወረድኤተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ወሀብተ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅ ።¹³⁶

¹³² Cf. Kur 1972, 395.

¹³³ Cf. Perruchon 1892, 40.

¹³⁴ These passages were omitted by Perruchon and not recovered by Kur.

¹³⁵ MS EMIP 1908_HazenCodex contains fully six previous textual units and it is clear that they were the main interest of the scholar, not the ‘Life of Lālibalā’.

¹³⁶ Cf. Perruchon 1892, 14.

Explicit fol. 52vb: ወከመዝ : ተወልደ : ላሊበላ : እንዘ : ምሉእ : መንፈስ : አእምሮ : ወመንፈስ : ጥበብ ::
 መንፈስ : ልቡና : ወመንፈስ : ምክር :: መንፈስ : ቅድስና : ወመንፈስ : ንጽሕ :: ወከመዝ : ተወልደ :
 በፈቃድ : አብ : ወበሥምረተ : ወልድ :: ወበኃይለ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ ::¹³⁷

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

Incipit fol. 54r, line 12 ንትመየጥኬ : ኀበ : ጥንተ : ገድሉ : ለዝንቲ : ዕፍረቲ : ምዑዝ : ከመ :
 ኢይምስሎ : ዝንጋኤ : ለልበ : አብድ : ለዘ : ኢያፈቅር : ውዳሴሆሙ : ለጸድቃን ::

Explicit fol. 54v: ወአንትሙሂ : መፍትሔ : በተአምኖ : ትልበስዎ : ከመ : ልብስ : ወትትሞጥሕዎ : ከመ :
 ሞጣሕት : እንዘ : ታኩበርዎ : ከመ : መላእክት : ወከመ : ነቢያት : ወሐዋርያት : ወከመ : ጸድቃን :
 ወሰማዕት : ወከመ : ደናግል : ወመካከላት : እስመ : ውእቲኒ : ኢሐጸ : እምኔሆሙ ::

Supplication: ጸሎቲ : ወስእሉቲ : ወሁቡተ : ረድኤቲ : ወበረከተ : ተስፋሁ : የሀሉ : ምስሌነ : ወምስለ :
 ኩልክሙ : ዝየ : እለ : ሀለውክሙ : እለ : መጻእክሙ : እምርሐቅ : ወእምቅሩብ : እንዘ : ትትአመኑ :
 በጽላሎተ : ክከፊሁ : ወውእቲኒ : ኢይርሐቅ : እምኔክሙ : አሜን ::

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

Incipit, fol. 54v, line 26 – Explicit: ወፈድፋደስ : ዘይቤ : ጳውሎስ : ወዓዲ : እንተ : ትኔይስ : ፍኖተ :
 እሜህረክሙ : አልቦ : ዘይበቀኝክሙ : ምንተኒ : ገቢረክሙ : እንበለ : አፍቅሮ : ቢጽክሙ :: እመኒ :
 አእመርኩ : ነገረ : መላእክት : ወነገረ : ኩሉ : በሐውርት :: ወዓዲ : ሥጋዊ : ለእመ : አብላዕኩ : ከመ :
 እትመዝገን : አልቦ : ዘበቋዕኩ :: ወእመኒ : ተነበይኩ : ወአእመርኩ : ኩሎ : ዘነበእ : ወዘክሙት :
 ወተፋቅሮ : አልብየ : ከንቶ : ኮንኩ : ወአልቦ : ዘበቋዕኩ : እስመ : ተፋቅሮ : አልብየ : ከንቶ : ኮንኩ :
 ወአልቦ : በቋዕኩ :: እስመ : ተፋቅሮስ : ፍጹም : ሕግ : ውእቲ :: ዘንተኬ : ርእዮ : ላሊበላ ::¹³⁸

MS EMMML 7500, eighteenth century, preserved in the church of Golgotā, containing mainly ድርሳነ ጋብርኤል / Dərsāna Gābrəʾel (‘Homily of Gābrəʾel’), on fol. 108rb-108vb contains an excerpt from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, which can be entitled as ‘How Saint Lālibalā went to Jerusalem,

¹³⁷ Cf. Perruchon 1892, 14.

¹³⁸ Id., 17.

accompanied by the Archangel Gābräʾel,¹³⁹ in the manuscript entitled as ተአምሪሁ : ለቅዱስ : ገብርኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት ።

Incipit, fol. 108rb: ዘከመ : መርሐ : ለላሊበላ : መንገለ : ኢየሩሳሌም ።¹⁴⁰

Supplication: ጸሎቱ : ወበረኩቱ : ይምርሐ : ለፍቀሩ ። ዮሴፍ ። ለዓለመ : ዓለም ።

Explicit fol. 108vb: ወዘንተ : ርእዮ : ቅዱስ : ገብርኤል : ድካሞ : ውበካዮ ። ለላሊበላ : ጾሮ : በአክፍሬሁ : ወአብጽሐ : ኢየሩሳሌም ።¹⁴¹ ወካዕበ : ሜጦ : መንገለ : ሀገሩ : ኢትዮጵያ : በደኅኖ ወበሰላም ።

Supplication: ጸሎቱ : ለላሊበላ : ወበረኩቱ : ለቅዱስ : ገብርኤል : የሀሉ : ምስለ : ፍቁሩ : ዮሴፍ ። ወምስለ : ጸሐፊሐ ።

1.1.8. *Three men visit King Lālibalā*

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

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

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

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Kur 1972, 389-391.

¹⁴¹ The narration of the miracle ends with the arrival to Jerusalem, while in the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ at this moment they reach the Patriarch.

115rb-116vb; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 118va-120rb; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 94ra-95rb; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 108va-110ra.

‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ (not distinguished by title) was edited by Perruchon as *Vie de Lālibalā roi d’Éthiopie*.¹⁴² The same textual unit corresponds to the first of ተአምረ ቅዱስ ላሊበላ¹⁴³ / ‘Miracles of Saint Lālibalā’ in ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ of the first edition and to ተአምር ፩ / ‘First miracle’ of the second edition.¹⁴⁴

Incipit: ወእምዝ ፡ ኮነ ፡ አሐተ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይፈቅድ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይደረር ፡ መጽአ ፡ ሠለሱ፣ ፡ አጋው ፡ ቅሩብ ፡ ጽርሐ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ይረፍቅ ፡ ውእቱ ። 145

Explicit: ወእምዝእነሂ ፡ ይሔውጽሙ ፡ ወይትአነገድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤቶሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ያፈቅሩ ፡ ነግደ ። በከመ ፡ ተአንገደ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤቱ ፡ ለአብርሃም ። ወይባርኮሙ ፡ በከመ ፡ ባረከ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ወለዘርአ ። ወበከመ ፡ ባረከ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ዝንቱኬ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ መንከራቲሁ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ዘጸረ ፡ ክበደ ፡ ጽሙና ፡ ወክበደ ፡ ጽምእ ። እስመ ፡ ኢበልዓ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ሠለሱተ ፡ አፍሕምት ። ወኢሰትዮ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ጽዋዕ ።

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

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

¹⁴² Perruchon 1892, 44-46 (text), 110-112 (trans.)

¹⁴³ Here I note titles that are found in MS EMMML 6931 and therefore being modern, reflect the idea of the editorial team. Textual units 8-14 in MS EMMML 6931 begin with an inscription, which I discuss in chapter four. The same inscriptions are preserved in the edition, just being extended with a modern title.

¹⁴⁴ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 158-159; 2010, 384-387.

¹⁴⁵ Perruchon 1892, 44.

textual unit and therefore I distinguish it from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, even if it was written by the same author.

1.1.9. *How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out*

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁶ Perruchon 1892, 46-49 (text), 112-115 (trans.).

¹⁴⁷ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 162-164; 2010, 394-399.

Incipit: ወኮነ : በአሐዱ : እመዋዕል : እንዘ : ያመጽኡ : ለጉበረ : መስቀል : ጸባሕቶ : ለኒጋሂ : ዘከመ : ይደልዎ : ለንጉሥ ። ከመ : የሀቡ : ወያወፍዩ : ግብሮሙ : ዘይረከቦሙ : ነሥኡ : ብዙኃ : መቃጽወ : እለ : ምሉዓን : መዓረ : ወጸዊሮሙ : በጽሐ : ኀበ : ሐይቀ : ፈለግ : ዘይወርድ : በኃይል ።¹⁴⁸

Explicit: በከመ : ዓቀቦ : ለዮናስ : በውስተ : ከርሠ : አንበሪ ። ወከማሁ : ዓቀቦን : ለእማንቱ : ግምጌያተ : መዓር ። በኃይል : ጸሎቱ : ለላሊበላ ።¹⁴⁹

1.1.10. *How Lālibalā became like a pauper*

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

‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts: DabŞəy-001 fols. 121va-123ra; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 74vb-75vb; EMMML 6931 fols. 82ra-83rb; EMMML 6921 fols. 136vb-138va; EMMML 6964 fols. 119va-120vb; EMMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 94rb-95ra; EMMML 6770 fols. 102rb-104ra; EMMML 2836 fols. 115rb-117ra; EMMML 6451 fols. 103va-104vb; EMMML 8942 fols. 93ra-94rb; MotGiorg-001 fols. 129vb-131ra; Ms Ethiopic 4 fols. 146r-148r; Kəbrān 31 fols. 88ra-89ra; BetLib-001 fols. 94ra-95ra; BetMarq-001 fols. 95va-97rb; MasKa-003 fols. 114va-115vb; NazMa-001 fols. 89vb-90vb; BL Orient. 719, fols. 148vb-150va; BL Orient. 718 fols. 119vb-120va; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 123ra-124vb; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 98ra-99va; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 112va-114rb.

‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ corresponds to Perruchon’s: ‘Humilité de Lālibal ā’.¹⁵⁰ The same textual unit corresponds to the third of ተአምረ ቅዱስ ላሊበላ / ‘Miracles of Saint Lā libalā’ of the first edition of ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ and to ተአምር ፫ / ‘Third miracle’ of the second edition.¹⁵¹

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

Incipit: ወኮነ : ካዕበ : በአሐዱ : ዕለት : እመዋዕል : ተርእዮ : መንክረ : ትሕትና : በላዕለ : ጉበረ : መስቀል : እንዘ : ንጉሥ : ውእቱ : ዘተመሰለ : ነዳዩ ።¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Perruchon 1892, 46.

¹⁴⁹ Id., 49.

¹⁵⁰ Id., 49-51 (text), 115-117 (trans.).

¹⁵¹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 160-162; 2010, 390-393.

¹⁵² Perruchon 1892, 49.

Explicit: ወጉበረ : መስቀል : እንዘ : ሀሎ : ውስተ : መንበረ : መንግሥቱ : ኢበልዓ : ወኢሰትዩ :
ለፍትወተ : ሥጋሁ : ከመ : ይኩን : ፍግሃሁ : ፍጹመ : በእደ : መርዓ : ዘኢየሱልፍ : በሰማያት ።¹⁵³

1.1.11. *Lālibalā and a rebel*

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

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

‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ corresponds to Perruchon: ‘Lālibalā fait la guerre à un rebelle.- Miracles de Lālibalā’ / ‘Un chef tributaire de Lālibalā se révolte contre lui. Miracles de Lālibalā’,¹⁵⁴ although the last few lines were omitted by Perruchon and the translation ends earlier than the edited text. The same textual unit corresponds to the fifth of ተአምረ ቅዱስ ላሊበላ / ‘Miracles of Saint Lālibalā’ in ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ of the first edition and to ተአምር ፮ / ‘Fifth miracle’ of the second edition.¹⁵⁵

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

¹⁵³ Perruchon 1892, 50-51.

¹⁵⁴ Id., 51-53 (text), 117-119 (tr.).

¹⁵⁵ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 165-167; 2010, 400-405.

Incipit: ወዓዲ ፡ ኮነ ፡ በአሐዱ ፡ እመዋዕል ፡ ወሀሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ እምአሀጉራት ፡ መንግስቱ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ ዓላዊ ፡ ዘዓለዎ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡¹⁵⁶

Explicit: ወበእንተዝ ፡ ሞተ ፡ እስመ ፡ ጸዓለነ ።¹⁵⁷

‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ is close to the episode edited by Conti Rossini, where he notes that ‘the episode with some variations recurs in the ‘Acts of Lālibalā’.¹⁵⁸ They probably have a common Vorlage that was realised in two different ways. ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ preserves the quotative particle *-ኣ*, which does not appear elsewhere in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ but comes regularly in the ‘Life of Naʾākweto Laʾāb’.¹⁵⁹

1.1.12. *How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman*

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

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

‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’ corresponds to a portion of text included in Perruchon’s: ‘Lālibalā fait la guerre à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lālibalā’ / ‘Un chef tributaire de Lālibalā se révolte contre lui. Miracles de Lālibalā’.¹⁶⁰ The same textual unit corresponds to the sixth of ተአምረ ቅዱስ ላሊበላ / ‘Miracles of Saint Lālibalā’ in ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ of the first edition and to ተአምር ፮ / ‘Sixth miracle’ of the second edition.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Perruchon 1892, 51.

¹⁵⁷ Id., 53, omitted in the translation.

¹⁵⁸ Conti Rossini 107, 141-146: ‘L’ episodio con alcune varianti ricorre anche negli Atti di Lālibalā.’

¹⁵⁹ More details in Chapter Four.

¹⁶⁰ Perruchon 1892, 53-54 (text), 119-120 (trans.).

¹⁶¹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 168; 2010, 406.

Incipit: ወአሐቲኒ : ዕለተ : ዘአርአየ : መንክራቲሁ : ገብረ : መስቀል : እፈቅድ : እንግርክሙ ። ወሀለወት : አሐቲ : ብእሲት : ብዕልት ። ወእንዘ : ትደረር : ወትበልዕ : ሥጋ : እንሰሳ : አጋዘት : ትብላዕ : ሥጋ : ሰብእኒ : ዘበሐሜት ።¹⁶²

Explicit: ወዘንተ : ሶባ : ትቤ : ወፅአ : ውእቱ : ምታረ : ሥጋ : ምስለ : ደመ : ጉርዔሃ : ወወድቀ : ውስተ : ምድር ።¹⁶³

1.1.13. *How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind*

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

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

‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’ corresponds to a portion of text included in Perruchon’s: ‘Lālibalā fait la guerre à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lālibalā’ / ‘Un chef tributaire de Lālibalā se révolte contre lui. Miracles de Lālibalā’.¹⁶⁴ The same textual unit corresponds to the seventh of ተአምረ ቅዱስ ላሊበላ / ‘Miracles of Saint Lālibalā’ in ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ of the first edition and to ተአምር ፯ / ‘Seventh miracle’ of the second edition.¹⁶⁵

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

Incipit: ወካዕበ : አሐተ : ዕለተ : አጋዘ : ይፀርፍ : ሎቱ : አሐዱ : ብእሲ : ለላሊበላ : እንዘ : የሐምዮ ። ወብእሲቱስ : ለውእቱ : ብእሲ : ትቤሎ : ኢትፀርፍ : ላዕለ : ገብረ : እግዚአብሔር : ወመሰራሐ : እግዚአብሔር : ወእቱ : ዓዲ ።¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Perruchon 1892, 53.

¹⁶³ Id., 54.

¹⁶⁴ Id., 54-55 (text), 120-121 (trans.).

¹⁶⁵ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 168-169; 2010, 408-411.

¹⁶⁶ Perruchon 1892, 54.

Explicit: ያድግኝኬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እምዛ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ልማድ ፡ እስመ ፡ ጳውሎስኒ ፡ ይሚሰረኝ ፡ ከመ ፡
ኢንርግም ፡ እስከ ፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ አኮ ፡ ሐዚኖ ፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ ዘይሚሰር ፡ ከመዝ ፡ አላ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢንልክፍ ፡ ጥቀ ፡
ለመርገም ፡ በልሳን ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢንድጋፅ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እኩነ ።¹⁶⁷

1.1.14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā

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

‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ is attested in the following twenty-two manuscripts: DabŞəy-001 fols. 125rb-130va; BnF d’Abbadie 139 fols. 78rb-82vb; EMMML 6931 fols. 86ra-89vb and 98ra-98vb; EMMML 6921 fols. 143rb-151va; EMMML 6964 fols. 124vb-131vb; EMMML 7051=NL 46 fols. 97va-102rb; EMMML 6770 fols. 108rb-116rb; EMMML 2836 fols. 121ra-128ra; EMMML 6451 fols. 107vb-113rb; EMMML 8942 fols. 97rb-102va; MotGiorg-001 fols. 134ra-139vb; Ms Ethiopic 4 fols. 153v-162v; Kəbrān 31 fols. 93ra-98rb; BetLib-001 fols. 98ra-102v; BetMarq-001 fols. 100vb-107va; MasKa-003 fols. 120rb-128vb; NazMa-001¹⁶⁸ (partial) fols. 94ra-97rb; BL Orient. 719, fols. 155ra-162vb; BL Orient. 718, fols. 123vb-130va; BP Parm. 3852 fols. 128va-135va; BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 103rb-110ra; BAV Cerulli 223 fols. 118ra-124vb.

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

‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ corresponds to Perruchon’s: ‘Construction des églises monolithes; leur description’ and ‘Lālibalā ne veut pas que son fils lui succède; mort de Lālibalā’.¹⁶⁹ In ‘*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*’ ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ is revised (there is no longer any trace of ‘Lālibalā does not want his son to succeed him’¹⁷⁰ anymore) and split into two parts. The beginning comes immediately after the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, *ዘከመ ወጠነ ሀኒፀ አብያተ ክርስቲያናት* / ‘How he began to build the churches’ in the second edition and partially as an ending part of ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ §§ 16-29 of the first edition and §§ 6-21 and *ዘከመ ወሀበ ኪዳነ በዕለተ ዕረፍቲ* / ‘How he Gave him the kidān on the day of his (eternal) rest’ of the second edition.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Perruchon 1892, 55.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ abrupts. In EMMML 6931, the Vorlage for MS NazMa-001, another unit of production was insterted, splitting ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ into two parts. Although close, this insertion does not exactly match an ending point of ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ in MS NazMa-001.

¹⁶⁹ Perruchon 1892, 55-64 (text), 121-129 (trans.).

¹⁷⁰ ‘Lālibalā ne veut pas que son fils lui succède’.

¹⁷¹ *Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā* 2007, 152-157, 29-31; 2010, 256-271, 356-363.

Incipit: ስምዑኬ : አፍቁራንዩ : እንግርክሙ : ዘከመ : ኮነ : ግብረ : ፀአቶን : ለእላንቱ : አብያተ : ክርስቲያናት : እምልበ : ምድር ።¹⁷²

Explicit: ናሁኬ : ለካእከ : ለከሙ : አፍቁራንዩ : ንስቲተ : ዜና : እምትሩፋቲሁ : ለግብረ : መስቀል : ከመ : ይትፈሣከ : ልብከሙ :¹⁷³

1.1.15. The ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’. PS

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

‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ (1.1.8.),

‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’ (1.1.9.),

‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ (1.1.10.),

‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ (1.1.11.),

‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’ (1.1.13).

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

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

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

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

‘Preamble’ (1.1.1.),

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ (1.1.2.),

‘Teaching about Saints’ (1.1.3.),

‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ (1.1.4.),

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ (1.1.5.),

¹⁷² Perruchon 1892, 55.

¹⁷³ Id., 63.

and ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ (1.1.6.).

For now I tend to consider MS Dabṣəy-001 and EMIP 1908_HazenCodex as an attestation of all these textual units together. Yet, ‘Preamble’ of the collection under the discussion has a clear relation to Preamble of the ‘Life of Krəstos Samrā’.¹⁷⁴ Again, Perruchon felt no compunctions in leaving out:

‘Teaching about Saints’ (1.1.3.),

‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ (1.1.4.),

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ (1.1.5.),

and ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ (1.1.6.) completely, while Dabra Sabakā Gubā’e of Lālibalā town felt free in changing the sequence of the textual units into:

‘Praise for Lālibalā’ (1.1.6.),

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ (1.1.2.),

‘Teaching about Saints’ (1.1.3.),

‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ (1.1.4.),

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ (1.1.5.) in the second edition.

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ (1.1.2.),

‘Teaching about Saints’ (1.1.3.),

‘Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem’ (1.1.4.), and

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’ (1.1.5.) remain ‘chained’ so far, i.e. they are presented, moved, omitted, but all together, as a block. Therefore, their status as potentially independent units remains highly hypothetical, whose logic will be explained in chapter four. I still think that it is possible to pin down an independent circulation for each of these textual units; but these textual units need not necessarily be specifically about Lālibalā, for he is mentioned by name only in passing. I am puzzled for now where to look for their possible attestations as it is not easy to define the genre of these compositions. Conceivably, these textual units might belong to a different literary tradition,¹⁷⁵ but this can only be studied in a proper way after the critical edition is completed.

¹⁷⁴ Cerulli, 1956, 1-3.

¹⁷⁵ In Alessandro Bausi’s review of Marie-Laure Derat’s book, in his ‘The enigma of a medieval Ethiopian dynasty of saints and usurpers’ in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 2018, p. 13, he notes that ‘if the institutional and political gap between the Zāgʷē and the following dynasty might have been overestimated, from the point of view of the textual heritage there were dramatic changes’.

1.2. Other textual units transmitted together with the the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’¹⁷⁶

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

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

Since my focus is on manuscripts containing the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, the list that I provide here for other textual units is not complete. I have tried to consider all manuscripts photographed by EMMML and made available at HMML that contain the hagiography of Lālibalā, as indicated by the catalogers.¹⁷⁷ Many new findings have become possible thanks to the unpublished ‘List of Lāstā manuscripts, produced by Claire Bosc-Tiessé and Marie-Laure Derat (dated July 13, 2016)’¹⁷⁸ which they kindly made available to me. When it comes to the *Sankessār*, in addition to manuscripts from Lāstā, I have made a survey of the manuscripts photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe project.¹⁷⁹ Some manuscripts were indicated to me by my colleagues, which I will note in each case.

1.2.1. *Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab*

The ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’ narrates the life and deeds of King Lālibalā’s nephew, godchild and successor, Na’akkwəto La’ab. The text was edited by Carlo Conti Rossini on the basis of two manuscripts.¹⁸⁰ In all likelihood, the text was written down not before the sixteenth century. Many other manuscripts emerged since Conti Rossini’s edition. In my corpus of manuscripts, the ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’ is contained in MotGiorg-001 fols. 2ra-36vb.

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

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

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

¹⁷⁹ ‘Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia. Salvation, Preservation, Research’ (EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720, PI Denis Nosnitsin, 2009-2015), see <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare.html> [accessed on 25th February 2021].

¹⁸⁰ Conti Rossini 1943.

Incipit: ንቀድሞ : በረድኤተ : እግዚአብሔር : በሠናይ : ውጥጉቴ : ውበፀፅ : ሁብቴ : ወበጽሐፈ : ገድሉ : ወዜናሁ : ሠናይ : ለአቡነ : መክብብ : ነገሥት : ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ጸድቅ : ዘከነ : ከመ : ጽጌ : ሬዳ : ዘሐይቅ ።¹⁸¹

Explicit: ተፈጸመ : መጽሐፈ : ገድሉ : ለአቡነ : ብፀፃዊ : ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ።¹⁸²

1.2.2. *Miracles of Na'akkwəto La'ab*

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

The first miracle:

Incipit: ስምዑ : አበውዋ : ወአገውዋ ። ወክበሩ : ሰብእ : እለ : ያመጽኡ : ለአቡሁ : ላሊበላ : አምኑ : መንግሥቱ : እምብሔር : ግብጽ : ብዙነ : ወርቅ : ውበዙነ : ብሩረ ። ወለአቡነሂ : ብጽፃዊ : ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : እንበለ : ያእምሩ : ክዋኔሁ : ወሥነ : ገድሉ : ወከለዎ : አምኑሁ : ወኢገደ : ለንግሡ ። እለ : እመንጉቴ : ግብጻውያን : ግዙፋነ : ክሳድ ።¹⁸⁴

Explicit: ከመ : ኮነ : በሰማርያ : በመዋዕለ : ኤልያስ : በመንግሥተ : አክዓብ : እስከ : ተሴሰዩ : ርእሰ : አድግ : ወኩሲሐ : ርግብ : ከግሁ : ረሰይኮሙ : ለሰብአ : ግብጽ ። ኦኬ : አቡዋ : ብጽፃዊ : ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ተአምራቲክ : ዕጽብ ። ለእለ : ነአምን : ተአምራቲሁ : ወገድለ : ጸማሁ : በጽሐቅ : ይከልለን : እግዚአብሔር : በወልታ : ጽድቅ ። ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ።¹⁸⁵

1.2.3. *Malkə'a Na'akkwəto La'ab*

‘Malkə'a Na'akkwəto La'ab’,¹⁸⁶ *malkə'a* 118 in Chaîne’s liste, mentions Lālibalā in passim and is therefore included here, attested in MS MotGiorg-001 fols. 39-40va.

Incipit (fol. 39ra): ሰላም : ለገክረ : ስምከ : ምሉዓ : ጸጋ : ወሞገስ : ወሥዕርትከ : ጥሉል : በቅብዓ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ ። ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ኤርምያስ : ዘቀደስከ : በከርሥ ።

¹⁸¹ Conti Rossini 1943, 113.

¹⁸² Id., 170.

¹⁸³ Id.

¹⁸⁴ Id., 70-171.

¹⁸⁵ Id., 172-173.

¹⁸⁶ Chaîne 1913, 198: 118.

Explicit (fol. 40va): አምላክ ፡ አቅረብኩ ፡ ለከ ፡ አምሥ ፡ ውዳሴ ፡ ንስቲተ ፡ ለዕበይከ ፡ ልዑል ፡ ከመ ፡ ይከን ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡ ነአኩቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ኢታስትት ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ከፍፍርየ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ለኑዳይ ፡ ዘእንበሌሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ አልብየ ፡ ጥሪተ ፡ አኩኑ ፡ ተአምር ፡ ወትጤይቅ ፡ አንተ ፡

1.2.4. *Sankæssār* reading for Na³akkwəto La³ab and *salām*

The *Sankæssār* reading for Na³akkwəto La³ab is a short note stating that King Lālibalā's nephew, Na³akkwəto La³ab, passed away on the third of *Hədār* (EC). It is attested together with *salām* in MS MotGiorg-001 fols. 40vb-41ra as follows:

አመ ፫ ለወርታ ፡ ጎዳር ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ነአኩቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እኑሁ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ ዘይሄሉ ፡ በሕይወተ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ እስከ ፡ ምጽአተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዳምግዊ ፡ ሰላም ፡ እብል ፡ እንዘ ፡ እነግር ፡ ክብር ፡ ነአኩቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ወተፋቅር ፡ እንበለ ፡ ያድንግፀ ፡ ምንተ ፡ ወያባሕርር ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እምገጸ ፡ ሞት ፡ ሠወር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሕያዋን ፡ ጎበረ ፡ ያንብር ፡

It is worthy to note that this is the only case known to me in which the *Gadl* and the commemoration of the *Sankæssār* are attested within the same codex. According to Dorothea Reule's analysis of *Sankæssār* manuscripts, the earliest known attestation of Na³akkwəto La³ab's commemoration is in IES 2411 (1812), which makes its attestation in MS MotGiorg-001 chronologically older (eighteenth century).

1.2.5. *Version of the 'Life of Masqal Kəbrā' known in Lālibalā town and in Madabāy Tābor*

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

Trinitarian formula: በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ወጠንኩ ፡
Title: ዜናሃ ፡ ወገድላቲሃ ፡ ለመስቀል ፡ ክብራ ፡ ብእሲቲ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡
Supplication: ጸሎታ ፡ ወበረከታ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኩልነ ፡ ሰማዕያን ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፡
ስምዑኬ ፡ አበውየ ፡ ወአኃውየ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ኃርያ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለመስቀል ፡ ክብራ ፡¹⁸⁷

I have not found this text in the form as edited by Kur in the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' manuscripts. This would be absurd, for it would mean to repeat one portion of the textual units twice within a manuscript. However, there is a much more interesting version of the text about

¹⁸⁷ Kur 1972, 385.

the queen, which shows much independence from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’; this is the version of the ‘Life of Masqal Kəbrā’ known in Lālibalā town and in Madabāy Tābor.¹⁸⁸

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

Incipit (fol. 132ra): ወክሱ ፡ ፪ቲ ፡ አኃው ፡ ፍቁራን ፡ በዕሪና ፡ ልብ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ በሕገ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወበኃይለ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ ወኢያነት ፡ ሐዊረ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እመሂ ፡ ሠርከ ። ወእመሂ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጽባሕ ፡ ወእመሂ ፡ መንፈቀ ፡ ሌሊት ፡

Explicit (fol. 134rb): ወተጋበአ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ እድ ፡ ወአንሰት ፡ አዕሩት ፡ ወመካሳት ፡ እለ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አድባር ፡ ወጸማዕት ፡ ወግበበ ፡ ምድር ። ወአብዕዋ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ቅድስት ። ወቀበርዋ ፡ በህፃ ፡ በዝማሬ ፡ ወበማሕሌት ፡ ወኮነ ፡ መቃብሪሃ ፡ ዘይፈውስ ፡ ድውያን ፡ ወያነሥእ ፡ መታኅ ።

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

1.2.6. *Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā*

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

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

¹⁸⁹ ‘Miracolo IV. Lālibalā’ in Marrassini 2003, 311-320.

¹⁹⁰ Id.: ‘Miracoli in vita’.

¹⁹¹ Id., 311-320. *Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā* 2007, 169-172; 2010, 412-417.

¹⁹² Id.: ‘[...] redazione più ridotta, proveniente da unico archetipo’.

the siglum ‘A’)¹⁹³. In addition to the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ corpus of manuscripts, ‘Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā’ is contained in MS EMMML 7052 fols. 94rb-100ra

Incipit ስምዑ : እነግረክሙ : ኦአጎውዮ : ተአምራው : ለአቡነ : ዘክመ : መጽአ : ኢትዮጵያ : እምብሔር : ብጽዓን : እንዘ : ይረውጽ : በሰረገላ :¹⁹⁴

Explicit (fol. 127va) ወፊዱሞሙ : ከሉሎ : ሕገ : እግዚአብሔር : እሙንቱ : ሠራዊት : አእተውዎ : አብያተ : ብርሃን : በክብር : ወኮነ : በአርያም : ትፍሥሕት : በከመ : ዕርጉቱ : ለእግዚኅ : ወማኅበሩ : ስብሐተ : እንዘ : ይብሉ ፤ ሃሌ ፤ ሉያ : ፍርቃን : ፤ ለአምላክነ : ይደሉ ። ለዓለመ : ዓለም ፤ አሜን ።

1.2.7. *Malkəʿa Lālibalā as edited in ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’*

‘Malkəʿa Lālibalā as edited in “Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā”¹⁹⁵’ is attested in the following manuscripts of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’: MS BAV Cerulli 37 (ends with a supplication),¹⁹⁶ fols. 110ra-113vb; NazMa-001 fols. 98rb-101ra; EMMML 7051 fols. 102va-105vb. Independently from the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, this textual unit is attested in MS Chester Beatty 919¹⁹⁷ (not foliated), MS EMMML 659¹⁹⁸ fols. 94v-97r; MS EMMML 1548 fols. 2r-16v;¹⁹⁹ MS EMMML 4116, fols. 37rb-41vb;²⁰⁰ MS EMMML 6251 fols. 30v-32v አመ : ፲፪ ለሰኔ : መልክዓ : ላሊበላ : ሰማዕት ፣ IES 1016 fols. 2r-16v.

Incipit: እስመ : ብዙኃን : አጎው : እለ : እሙንቱ : ቀደመኒ ። አገዙ : ይንግሩ : ዝክረ : ስምክ : ዘይሣኒ ። አሂ : ማሕሌተ : መልክእክ : ይእዜኒ ። ከመ : እጽሐፍ : በበመትልው : ሊተኒ : ረትሚ ።²⁰¹

Explicit: እምትራፈ : ገድልክ : ንሱቲተ : ፍተ : ጸማክ : እዜኑ ። ወዳሱ : ምግባር : ላሊበላ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ዐርክ : መማኑ ። በምጽዋተ : ፈጸምክ : ንዋየክ : ለእግርክ : እስክ : አሃእኑ ። እንዘ : ንጉሥ : በሥልጣኑ : ወመስፍን : በምኩኅኑ ። ዘኢያተረፈ : ልብሰ : ለበድኑ : ከማክ : መኑ ።²⁰²

¹⁹³ Marrassini 2003: “Tutti i mss. di questa redazione sono indicati in apparato, se in accordo tra loro, con la sigla “A”.

¹⁹⁴ Id., 311-312.

¹⁹⁵ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 196-198; 2010, 453-458.

¹⁹⁶ Malkəʿa Lālibalā and Hymn for Lālibalā of MS TGM-001 has been catalogued together as ‘Salām a Lālibalā’.

¹⁹⁷ See Cerulli 1965.

¹⁹⁸ See Macomber 1976, 410-413.

¹⁹⁹ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 47.

²⁰⁰ See Getatchew Haile 1993, 47.

²⁰¹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 196.

²⁰² Id., 198.

1.2.8 *Salāmtā* as edited in ‘*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*’

‘*Salāmtā* as edited in “*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*”²⁰³ is attested in MS NazMa-001 fols. 101ra-102rb and MS BAV Cerulli 37 fols. 113vb-114ra as a continuation of Malkəʾa Lālibalā, while MS EMMML 7051 does not contain it. Independently from the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, ‘*Salāmtā* as edited in “*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*” is attested in MS Chester Beatty 919;²⁰⁴ MS EMMML 659, fols. 97r-97v; MS EMMML 1548 fols. 22r-23v (noted as hymn to Lālibalā);²⁰⁵ MS EMMML 4139 fols. 22r-23r (noted as hymn salām in the catalogue);²⁰⁶ MS EMMML 6251 fols. 32vb-33rb; MS EMMML 7319 fols. 18vb-19rb; MS EMMML 1391 fols. 40vb-42rb (noted as greeting to Lālibalā with an incipit);²⁰⁷ MS IES 1016 fols. 22r-23r.

Alone, not as a continuation of ‘Malkəʾa Lālibalā’, ‘*Salāmtā* as edited in “*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*” with a slightly different beginning (ዝክረ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ it has ሰላም ፡ ለክ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ ዜና ፡ ገድልክ ፡) is attested in MS TGM-001 from °ፀmba Tākula Dābrä Gännat Mikaʾel, fifteenth /sixteenth century²⁰⁸, as an *additio* (in a seventeenth-centuryhand) to the Four Gospels²⁰⁹; it reads as follows:

ዝክረ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ተሰምዓ ፡ በርሕብ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ከኅላ ፡
 በሀገረ ፡ ሩሃ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ በማእከላ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትሕንጽ ፡ መካከ ፡ ተድላ ፡
 ሰላ ፡ ። አሰረ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ተለውከ ፡ በአገረ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቀሊል ፡ ላሊበላ ፡
 ጸድቅ ፡ ወመስተጋድል ፡ ዘፈጸምክ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ።
 ሰ ፡ ይገንዩ ፡ ለክ ፡ አናስረ ፡ ከኅላ ፡ ዓለም ፡
 በሀገረ ፡ ሩሃ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ሰላም ።
 ሰላም ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ዐጸደ ፡ ጸሎቱ ፡ ወጸሙ ።
 ላሊበላ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ ባሕታዊት ፡ ገዳሙ ፡ ዘአጥረዩ ፡ ለተዝክረ ፡ ስሙ ።
 ሰ ፡ ነጸራ ፡ ዓይንክ ፡ ምሥጢራት ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ሰብአቱ ፡
 ላሊበላ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ በከኅላ ፡ ሕይወቱ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ገባሬ ፡ ሥምረቱ ።
 ሰላም ፡ እንተ ፡ ትትመዋጠኑ ፡ ወትረ ፡ መሓሪት ፡ ዓይንክ ፡
 ላሊበላ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ ለኃጥእ ፡ ገብርክ ፡
 አርፍቀኒ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሕፃንክ ።
 ሰላም ፡ ለለ ፡ ንስእል ፡ ንቤክ ፡ ወናስተበቀኑ ፡ እምይእዜ ፡ ለለ ፡ ሰዓቱ ፡ ወለለጊዜ ።

²⁰³ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 200.

²⁰⁴ See Cerulli 1965.

²⁰⁵ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 47. The cataloguers identified one hymn, while I distinguish them according to ‘*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*’ and evidence for independent circulation. The noted incipit is different from the incipits noted in the catalogue for other manuscripts containing the same hymn, which might be confusing.

²⁰⁶ See Getatchew Haile 1993, 54-55.

²⁰⁷ See Macomber 1979, 456-457.

²⁰⁸ The description of the manuscript is not yet available, but there are some notes on it in the report, see <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare/missions/pdf/report2014-pt1.pdf> p. 35, fig. 58.

²⁰⁹ This text with some variants is said to be contained in one of the Gospel manuscripts of Turaev’s collection. Turaev edited and translated the hymn in Turaev 1912, 59-61.

ሰላምከ : ይኩነን : ነዛይ :: ሰላም : ለከ ::²¹⁰

(In NazMa-001 fol. 102rb instead of the last line, continues as: ሰለ : ለከ : ለእለ : ንሰል : ወናስተበቀኑ፡፡ እምዋይ ፤ እመንባይ : ወእምትካይ ::

ላሊበላ : ለለሰዓት : ወለጊይ ::
 ዘፈቃደ : አቡሁ : ወበሥምረተ : ዘአሁ : አመ : ርእሶ :
 ይሰቀል :: ወአመ : ተዐገሠ : ኩሎ : ንጸውንተ : መስቀል ::
 ሶበ : አምኑኪ : ማርያም : ወነገሩኪ : በቃል ፤
 ዘውሐዝ : አምእይንቲኪ : ከመ : ውሐዝ : ዘይፈለፍል ::
 ድንግል : ድንግል : ወላዲት : አምላክ : ቃል ::
 ቤዛ : ይኩነኒ : ማየ : አንበዕኪ : እምሀጉል ::)

The report of the EthioSPaRe mission²¹¹ provides interesting details about the church ʾĪmba Tākula Mikaʾel:

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

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

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

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

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

²¹¹ ‘Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia. Salvation, Preservation, Research’ (EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720, PI Denis Nosnitsin, 2009-2015), see <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare.html> [accessed on 25th February 2021].

²¹² Conti Rossini 1943.

²¹³ <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare/missions/pdf/report2014-pt1.pdf>, P. 8-9.

²¹⁴ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 198-199; 2010, 462-464.

²¹⁵ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 47.

Marie-Laure Derat interprets this text as a colophon and she takes **ዘንተ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡** / ‘this work’ as referring to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’,²²³ **እመዝገበ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡** as ‘in the library’ and **ዘቀረጹ ፡** / ‘they carved’.²²⁴ She notes the following:

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

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

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

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

This is what he comments on the verb **ዘቀረጹ ፡** ‘inscribed’ and on **ዘንተ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡** / ‘this book’:

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

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

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

Incipit: **እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡** [space] **አኃዘ ፡ ይሕንፅ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ በ፲ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡**

Explicit: **በዘመነ ፡ ሉቃስ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡** #

1.2.12. Antiphons for Lālibalā as attested in MS EML 6931²²⁹

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

²²³ Derat 2016, 106.

²²⁴ Id.: ‘avaient taillée’

²²⁵ Id., 109, n. 33: ‘L’emploi du verb **ቀረፀ ፡** est assez étrange dans cette phrase et ne peut se comprendre que si l’on se replace dans le contexte du site de Lālibalā, entièrement taillé dans le rocher. Il est donc peut-être fait allusion ici à une réserve ou bibliothèque creusée dans la roche.’

²²⁶ I quote Nostinsin’s text, I introduced only a few stilistical changes.

²²⁷ In the submitted version of the thesis I had my own interpretation of this colophon, interpreting the verb **ዘቀረጹ** as an idea that there was something incised on the wall, like an inscription. My interpretation was rightly criticized, that is why it is dismissed.

²²⁸ Derat 2016: ‘ouvrage’.

²²⁹ I thank Jonas Karlsson who had patience to explain to me what he learnt about antiphons himself and who helped in introducing some system to this part.

Gabra Manfas Qəddus, while the scribe's name was Fāsīlidas Qalamsis. One of these antiphons is also attested in MS EMMML 286, in the antiphonary for the year.²³⁰ The colophon reads as follows:

(fol. 100rb) ዝነቲ ፡ መዝሙር ፡ ተጽሕፈ ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ለዜና ፡ ንበርኢል ፡ መስፍን ፡
ወደራሲሁኒ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ንበረ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወጸሐፊሁ ፡ ፋሲሊደስ ፡ ቀለምሲስ ፡

The text of antiphons reads as follows:²³¹

(fol. 99ra) Wazema (‘Vespers’), sung at the beginning of Vespers²³²

ዋዜማ²³³አንቲ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ሮኃ ፡ ጥቅተ ፡ አምሳል ፡ ኢትዬኃሪ ፡ ወኢተሐፅዒ ፡ እምድረ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ጥሉል ።
እስመ ፡ እምኔከ ፡ ወፅኦ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ንበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ዘይርእዮሙ ፡ ለሕዝበ ፡ እስራኤል ።

(still wazema)

ብእሲ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ንበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ፈራኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጸሊ ፡ በእንቲአነ ፡ ጎበ ፡ አቡከ ፡ ኔር ፡ እስመ ፡
በጸሎትከ ፡ ትድግን ፡ ወኢትማስን ፡ ሀገር ።

በጅ bahammestu (in 5), with stanzas of five lines, used in accompanying psalm

በጅ ዮም ፡ ንበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ወመጽሐፈ ፡ ገድሉ ፡ በሆ ፡ ጎበ ፡ አምደ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ተጽሕፈ ፡ ዮ ።
እግዚአብሔር ፡ ነግሠ ፡ (Dominus regnavit), with Ps 92 [93] at Vespers
እግዚአብሔር ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ንበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ በደብረ ፡ ሮሀ ፡ ለቀበላሁ ፡ ወረዱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትባደሩ ፡ ተአይነ ፡
ሰማይ ፡ አማሃ ።

በጅ (in 5), with stanzas of five lines, used in accompanying psalm

በጅ ላሊበላ ፡ መካ ፡ ጥሪቶ ፡ አንበይነ ፡ ዝኒ ፡ ነገር ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አዕኩቶ ።

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

ይትባረ በጽድቀ ፡ ዝነቲ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ ንበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ እመቦ ፡ ዘይናፍቅ ፡ ይረድ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ግበ ፡
ደይን ፡ ዕመቅ ።

፫ ዛም

፫ ዛም ፡ ነአኩቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ወንበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ወሃልሰኒ ፡ ይምርዝነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ገባሬ ፡ ኃይል ፡ ንዑ ፡
ትባርኩነ ፡ በበረኩቲ ፡ ለእስራኤል ።

፭ ስላ

፭ ስላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ አንተ ፡ ወሠናይ ፡ ለከ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሰላመ ፡ ጸሊ ፡ ለርኑቃን ፡ ወዳጎና ፡
ለቅሩባን ፡ ሰላመ ፡ ጸሊ ።

(fol. 100rb) ምልላን chant portion ‘Type IIA’ according to Shelemay et al., usually preceded by one or more repetitions of the word ‘halleluya’ sung to standard melismas

²³⁰ Macomber 1975, 298.

²³¹ Those indications that are not clear for me I left without any comment.

²³² For this and further see Shelemay et al. 1993, 76-78.

²³³ I try to reproduce the text as faithfully as possible, but introduce no critics, for there are stages which I do not know whether they contain errors or I just do not understand.

ምልጣ ትብሎ ፡ መርዓት ፡ ደብረ ፡ ስኒን ፡ ወአፈዋት ፡ አንተ ፡ የዓውደ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለመርዓዊ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ እምኃጢአት ፡ አማን ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ የውሃት ፡ ከመ ፡ ዳዊት ።

ዜናሁቺ

ዜናሁቺ ለመንፈስ ፡ የሃውር ፡ ወበኃይለ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ሳራሪሃ ፡ ለመቅደስ ።

አርያም- (Highest Heaven) can precede mazmur or abun

አርያ ርእሶ ፡ አንደየ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ባዕል ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ምድራዊ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ከመ ፡ አኖሬዎስ ፡ ድንግል ፡ ወመኖኒ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ክርስቶስ ።

በቺ

በቺ ደምፀ ፡ ወተሰምዓ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ዜና ፡ ጊሩቱ ፡ መድምም ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ሐዋጄ ፡ ሕሙም ፡ ደ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ብሔር ፡ ወውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አድያም ፡ ደ ፡ መዋዕሊሁ ፡ ፈጸመ ፡ ለግብረ ፡ ትእግሥት ፡ ወጸም ፡ ደ ፡ ወኢበልዓ ፡ ምንተ ፡ እምሐውዘ ፡ መብልዕ ፡ ቅሱም ፡ ደምፀ ፡ ዘተሰምዓ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ደም ፡ ወተ ፡ ው ፡ ዓለ ።

በቺ

ይገብሩ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ወመስቀል ፡ ክብራ ፡ ጌራን ፡ ወራትዓን ፡ ድኅረ ፡ ሕንጻሃ ፡ ፈጸሙ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያም ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀበል ፡ ዘረዉ ፡ ወርቆሙ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ነዲያን ፡ ወምስኪናን ።

በ፪

በ፪ ሐውፀን ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ረድኤቱ ፡ ለሚካኤል ፡ መልአክ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መስቀል

(fol. 99va) ክብራ ፡ ወይትባረክ ፡

ቃለ አዋ

ቃለ ፡ አዋ ላሊበላ ፡ ጽዱል ፡ ኮከብ ፡ ሠርክ ፡ ከደነ ፡ ሰማያተ ፡ ስንክ ፡ መትልወ ፡ በዓሉ ፡ ለሚካኤል ፡ መልአክ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ በዓልክ ።

በቺ

በቺ ሐነፀ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ መቅድመ ፡ ነገር ፡ መቅደስ ፡ በስመ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ድንግል ፡ ሐነፀ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ዓዲ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ በስመ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ መልአክ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ወሃህል ፡ ሐ ፡ ወኩሎ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጸርብ ፡ ዕብነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ገዳም ፡ ወሐቅል ፡ ሐ ፡ ወኢሐሠሠ ፡ ጸረብተ ፡ ዕፅ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ወዘኑባቤል ፡ ሐነፀ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ሐነፀ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስ ።

አክ

አክ በጎልጎታ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ዕፁብ ፡ ወበድኅ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ውስቴታ ፡ ሰከበ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይስእል ፡ ግንዛቱ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ቅሩብ ፡ ወገድለ ፡ ሞግሁ ፡ ኢየሐልቅ ፡ እመ ፡ ተክበ ።

አክ

ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ በጥበበ ፡ ሕንፃክ ፡ ወትረ ፡ ለትዝምደ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ሐነፅካ ፡ ማኅደረ ፡ ባቲ ፡ ያጸንፀ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ መንበረ ፡ ወመኳንንትኒ ፡ ይእኅዙ ፡ ምድረ ።

አቡን Abun ('Our Father'), sung at the beginning of Lauds and the Little Hours on weekdays

አቡን በ፩ ላሊበላ ፡ በሩክ ፡ ስኦል ፡ በእንቲአነ ፡ ወቡርክት ፡ መስቀል ፡ ክብረ ፡ አዕርጊ ፡ ጸሎተኅ ፡ ሃሌ ፡ ሉያ ፡ ሃሌ ፡ ሉያ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብፁዓዊ ፡ ነአኩቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ አቡነ ።

እስመ ፡ ለ (Quoniam in aeternum), sung at Lauds, preceded by the refrain of Ps 135 (136):

Quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius

እስመ ፡ ለ ተጋብአ ፡ ደናግል ፡ ወመካሳት ፡ ሶባ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ሚካኤልኒ ፡ ወገብርኤል ፡

(fol. 100vb) ኪሩቤል ፡ ወሰራፌል ፡ ወሰድዎ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ሙኑ ፡ ከማክ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ኃይል ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘከማክ ፡ መስተጋድል ።

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

ሕመማን : ይፈቅድዎ : ለዓቃቤ : ሥራይ : ላሊበላ : ወበዘሐነፀ : ካዕበ : ደብረ : ሲና : ወጎልጎታ : አዕላፍ :
ይትመሐፀኑ : ወየኃሥሡ : ኃይለ : ረድኤታ : እስመ : ሠምሩ : ዕበኒሃ : ወአክበርዎ : ለመሬታ ።

ስለስት : በ፪ (third) with stanzas of three lines used in the accompanying psalm

ስለ : በ፪ ውስተ : ዛቲ : እምነ : ደብረ : ሮኃ : ለእለ : መጽሐ : እምርኑቅ : ምስለ : መባዕ : ወአምኃ :
ወለእለ : ጸለዩ : (unclear) ሙ : በአናቅጺሃ : ላሊበላ : በሎሙ : ውለድዮ : በሰላም : ሐሩ : ወፍሥሐ ።

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

መዝሙር : ዘሌ በ፯ በሰንበት : ምጽዋተ : ወሀበ : በሰንበት : ምጽዋተ : ወሀበ : ወርኑባኑ : አጽገበ : ወሰ :
ወለኩሎሙ : ምንዳባን : ገብረ : መስቀል : ኮኖሙ : አበ : በ : ኀበ : (unclear) ኢያማስኖ : ወኢይረከበ :
ሠራቂ : በሰማያት : ረከበ : በሰንበት : ምጽዋተ : ወሀበ : ወዘኢይበሊ : ረከበ ።

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

ዘአምላኪ ላሊበላ : ብፁዕ : ምዕመን : ላሊበላ : ብፁ : ወም : ሳሊ : በሰንበት : አሠዳዩ : ውኒበ : ምጽዋት :
ለነዲያን ።

፬ ጸጥመ

፬ ጸጥመ ላሊበላ : ጠቢብ : ወየዋህ : ርግብ : መክብበ : አሕዛብ : ወሕዝብ : እማዕዱ : አጽገበ : ለርኑብ ።

፬ ጸጥመ

ኮከብ : ብእሲ : ክቡር : ጸድቅ : ወምዕመን : ላሊበላ : ካህን : በላዔ : መጸሕፍት :

(fol. 100ra) ኩሎን : በጸሎቱ : አሠዳዩ : ሰነ : ሕንጻሃ : ለቤተ : ክርስቲያን :

አራራይ : mode

አራራ ይቤሎ : እግዚአ : ለገብረ : መስቀል : ወለዘሐነፀ : በስምክ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ስሞ : አጽሕፍ :
ውስተ : መጽሕፈ : ሕይወት : ኀበ : ኢይበሊ : ወኢያማስኖ ።

ዕዝል ዘጥጎ (named for its mode), sung at the beginning of Lauds (ሰብሐተ : ነጥጎ)

ዕዝል : ዘጥጎ : ወረደ : መልአክ : ዘስሙ : ገብርኤል : ኀበ : ገብረ : መስቀል : ብፁዕ : ንጉሠ : አሕዛብ :
ወእስራኤልኒ : (+marg. እንዘ : ይጼሊ : ወያንቀዳዱ : ሰማዩ) : ወይቤሎ : ገብርኤል : ለገብረ :
መስቀል : ሕንፀ : መቅደስ : ይቤለክ : እግዚአብሔር : ኃያል :

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

ዘይእዜ : ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ወገብረ : መስቀል : ወይምርሃን : ክርስቶስ : ቀሲስ :

በስላ

በስላ ሐነፀ : መቅደስ : በመንፈስ : ቅዱስ :

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

እስ ከማሆሙስ : ኢሐነፀ : መቅደስ : ሰሎሞን : ንጉሥ : ዘሩባቤልኒ : ከማሆሙ : ኢሐነፀ : በኢየሩሳሌም :
ሐገር : ሐዳስ ።

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

ይትባረክ ምንተኑ : ንሰምዖኪ : ደብረ : ሮኃ : ሰማዮኑ : ንበለኪ : ዘከሞክብት : ማህትዊሃ ።

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

ዘይባር ምንተኑ : ትመስል : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ላሊበላ : ንጉሥ : እንተ : ሐነፃ : በእብን :

ሰብሐተ : ነግሠ : (‘Glorification of the Morning’) sung with Psalms 148-50 at Lauds

ሰብሐ ኢይ : ይእቲ : ዛቲ : ቤተ : መቅደስ : እንተ : ሣረራ : በዕብን : ገብረ : መስቀል : ንጉሥ :

ሰብሐተ : ነግሠ : (‘Glorification of the Morning’) sung with Psalms 148-50 at Lauds

ሰብ ላሊበላ : ብፁዕ : ንጉሠ : ይሁዳ : እንተ : ሐነፅካ : መቅደስ : ታቅየሐይህ : እምጽጌ : ረዳ ።

ሰብሐተ : ነግሠ : (‘Glorification of the Morning’) sung with Psalms 148-50 at Lauds

ሰብ ላሊበላ : ሕጉሥ : በመንግሥቱ : ቤተ : ማርያም : ሐነፀ : በዕብን : ባሕቲቱ ።

ሰብሐተ : ነግሠ : (‘Glorification of the Morning’) sung with Psalms 148-50 at Lauds

ላሊበላ : ለሕንፃክ : ነውረ : ኢያውፅኡ : ወኢወሀቡ : ሰሎሞን : ወዘሩባቤል : እለ : ፍትሐ : ጽድቅ : ዓቀቡ : ወእንዘ : ይብሉ : ብዙኃ : አስተዓፀቡ : አይቱ : ተረክበ : ዘዩዓቢ : በጥበቡ ።

ሰላም (‘Peace’) sung at the end of each office

ሰላም ንዒ : ርግብየ : ሰላማዊት : ንባብኪ : አዳም : ከመ : ፍሕሰ : ቀይህ : ከፍፍርሃ : ምስለ : ኅሩያን : ነገሥት : ይምርሃነ : ክርስቶስ : ወገብረ : መስቀል : ወነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ልዑላነ : ዝክር : ወስም : ዘሐነፅዋ : ወጽድቅ : ወሣረርዋ : ለቤተ : ክርስቲያን ።

ዝማሬ (‘Psalmody’), communion chant sung at Mass (collected in a book called Zəmmāre)

ዝማሬ ላሊበላ : ቀርባንክ : ዓርገ : በደብረ : ሲና : ከመ : ዓርገ : ቅድመ : መሥዋዕተ : አብርሃም : በርእሰ : ደብር : ወመሥዋዕተ : ዳዊት : ነቢይ : ቢይወደ : (?) ኦርና : እስመ : ንጹሕ : ቀርባንክ : ዘአልቦቱ : መስፍ ።

1.2.13. Second preamble as attested in MS BetMarq-001

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

Incipit (fol. 71rb) በስመ : ሥላሴ : ዕሩይ : ዘኢየሐጽጽ : ወኢይፈደፍድ ። እምህላዊሁ : ዘኢይትባዓድ ። እስመ : ወእቲ : አምጸኢሁ : ለኩሉ : ትውልድ ፤ ወለኩሉ : ትዝምድ ፤ ዘስቀሎ : ለሰማይ ።

Explicit (fol. 72ra) ይረስዮን : ድልዎን : ገጸ : ዚአሁ : ከመ : ንገሥሥ ።

‘The second preamble as attested in MS BetMarq-001’ is introduced into the body of the ‘Life of Lālībalā’, but mentions Lālībalā only in supplication: ወምስለ ላሊበላ ጎበረ ሙንግሥተ ሚካኤል ስመ ገረሰ ለዓለመ ዓለም ። አሜን ። ።

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

(fol. 72rab) ንግባፅኬ ጎበ ሃገረ ገድሉ ለዝንቲ ጎሩፊ ምግባር ላሊበላ ፡

1.2.14. *Hymn(s) for Lālībalā of MS EMMML 8942*

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

Incipit (fol. 102vab) እንበለ ሰዋቅ ለሰማይ አንተ ረሰይኮ ስቁለ ፤ ወዘሰፋህካ ለምድር ፤ እንበለ ፤ ትግሥሥ ሙትከለ ፤ ከመ በለብዎ እትናገር ፤ ዘገብረ መስቀልክ ገድለ ሰ(unclear) ል ፤ ውስተ ልብዩ ፤ ዘጥበብክ ፊደለ ፤ ከመ ለሙሴ ነቢይ በልቡ ተሰለ ፤ ሰላም ለልደትክ ፤ ዘአክበርዎ ፤ ኃይላት ፤ እንዘ የአግደክ ጥቀ አምሳለ ገበዘኃን አንሁበት ፤

1.2.15. *The Sənkəssār reading of MS FBM-003 and DSM-005 = Salām*

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

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

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

1.3.1. ‘Homily of Lālībalā’

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

²³⁴ Derat 2016, 120-124 (text), 125-128.

²³⁵ Id., 103.

²³⁶ See Gadla qəddus Lālībalā 2007, chapter 27, 118-122.

²³⁷ See Gadla qəddus Lālībalā 2010, chapter 41, 364-375.

Incipit: ንግባዕኬ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ጥንተ ፡ ነገር ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ኃረዮ ፡ ወጸውዖ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ እምከርሠ ፡ እሙ ፡²³⁸

Explicit: ወንጉሥኢ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ በሰላም ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወሰከበ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መቃብረ ፡ አበዊሁ ።

Gloria: ስብሐት ፡ ለኣብ ፡ ለዘንበረ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለወልድ ፡ ዘቀደሳ ፡ ለእሙ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ንጽሕተ ፡ ወስብሐት ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘኃረያ ፡ ዛተ ፡ ቡርክተ ፡ እስከ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፡²³⁹

1.3.2. *How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a child*

‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a child’ is attested together with the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ and was edited as such by Derat.²⁴⁰ In addition to the manuscripts noted by Derat, ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a child’ is attested in MS EMMML 7783. In ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ this text is presented as the ‘Second miracle’ of Lālibalā in both editions.²⁴¹

Inscription: ተአምራሁ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ገባሬ ፡ ተአምራት ፡ ቡተድላ ፡ ወመንከራት ፡ በምድረ ፡ ቆላ ፡

Supplication: ጸሎቱ ፡ ወበረኩቱ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ ሣህለ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

Incipit: ወሀለወት ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ በምድረ ፡ አንጎት ፡ ገባሪተ ፡ ተዝካሩ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ለለወርኑ ፡
²⁴²

Explicit: ወሶበ ፡ ተፈጸመ ፡ ላቲ ፡ ኀበስተ ፡ ተዝካሩ ፡ ወጽኦ ፡ ወልዳ ፡ ድኒኮ ፡ በእዱ ፡ ወበእግሩ ፡ እምእሳት ፡ በላዒ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይዘፍን ፡ እሳት ። ወሶበ ርእይዋ ፡ አዝማዒሃ ፡ ኢነከዮ ፡ አልባሲሁ ፡ ወኢሥዕርተ ፡ ርእሱ ፡²⁴³
(followed by a supplication)

1.3.3. *Malkəʿa Lālibalā of UNESCO 2.85*

‘Malkəʿa Lālibalā’ as attested in MS UNESCO 2.85²⁴⁴ is the only known attestation of this hymn. MS UNESCO 2.85 is a parchment codex, datable to the sixteenth century, containing different hymns. Apparently, Lālibalā is the only Ethiopian saint included into the collection of the

²³⁸ Derat 2016, 120.

²³⁹ Id., 124.

²⁴⁰ Id., 124-125 (text), 128-129 (trans.).

²⁴¹ See Gadla qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 159-160; 2010, 388-389.

²⁴² Derat 2016, 124.

²⁴³ Id., 125.

²⁴⁴ I thank Ted Erho for indicating me this manuscript in September 2016, during our stay in HMML.

‘universal’ saints.²⁴⁵ As it seems to be a composite manuscript, consisting of at least three parts, it requires more research before any conclusion can be drawn. In the last stanzas, this hymn praises Saint Lālibalā for returning መንግሥተ ጳሪብሉ : / ‘the Kingdom of Israel’.

Incipit (fol. 90vb): ሰላም ፡ ለልደትክ ፡ በንጹሕ ፡ ሰብሳብ ፡
 ላሊበላ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡
 ዘአስተርአይክ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዙበሩህ ፡ ኮኩብ ።
 ተማሕፀነ ፡ በልደትክ ፡ ወንጌላዊያን ፡ ሕዝብ ፡
 ከመ ፡ ትሰውረነ ፡ እምተኩለ ፡ ወዝእብ ፡፤²⁴⁶

Explicit (fol. 93va): ሰላም ፡ ሰላም ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ እብሎ ፡
 መንግሥተ ፡ ጳሪብሉ ፡ ለዘ ፡ ሜጠ ፡ በተንብሎ ።
 ናኦድ ፡ መሲሕ ፡ በፍቅረ ፡ ሐሊሎ ፡
 ጊዜ ፡ ጸውዖ ፡ ቃሎ ፡ አልዒሎ ፡
 ዘሰአለ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አሆ ፡ ይበሎ ፡፤

1.3.4. *Malkəʿa Yəmrəḥanna Krestos, Lālibalā and Naʾakkwəto Laʾab*

‘Malkəʿa Yəmrəḥanna Krestos, Lālibalā and Naʾakkwəto Laʾab’ is known to me as attested in MS EMMIL 4139 fols. 23r-29r²⁴⁷ and MS EMIP_UNESCO_10 DimmaQ ፩ ddusGiorgisChurchGojjam_069 fols. 3rb-5rb.

Incipit (fol. 23r): ንወጥን ፡ አንሰ ፡ ወላሊበላ ፡ ማሕሌተ ፡ መልክዓክሙ ፡ በዘምሮ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ ለጣዕሙ ፡
 እምጣዕመ ፡ መዓር ፡ ዘአፍቀሮ ፡ ይምርሃን ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወላሊበላ ፡ ነአኩቶ ፡
 (fol.23v): ለአብ ፡ በአኅብሮ ፡ መኑ ፡ እምሰብእ ፡ ነባቢ ፡ ዘኢያክር ፡ አንከሮ ፡ ዜና ፡ ገድልክሙ ፡ ሶባ ፡
 ሰምዓ ፡ ወለበወ ፡ ግብሮ ፡፤

Explicit (fol. 5rb): ሰላም ፡ ለፀሐተ ፡ ነፍሳክሙ ፡ ወለበድኅ ፡ ለህክሙ ፡ ባሕርይ ፡፤ እለ ፡ ዘግቡ ፡ ይኑሙ ፡
 በንፍቀ ፡ ዝገር ፡ ሠናይ ፡፤ ይምርሃን ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ እስከ ፡ ትንሃኤ ፡ ዓባይ ፡፤ ወነአኩቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡
 ዘሥዋሬሁ ፡ ሰማይ ፡፤ ጠሰ ፡ ኪዳንክሙ ፡ ያርወ-ዮኒ ፡ ለጽሙዕ ፡ ነዓይ ፡፤ ሊተ ፡ ለጉበርክ ፡ ወልደ ፡
 ሃይማኖት ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፡፤

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

²⁴⁶ The complete text is available as Appendix.

²⁴⁷ See Getatchew Haile 1993, 54.

1.3.5. *Miracle of Gabra Māryām, Lālibalā, Naʾakkwəto Laʾab and Yəmrəḥanna Krestos*

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

Inscription (fol. 20v): ተአምረሆሙ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ወላሊበላ ፡ ነአኩቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ወይምርሃ ፡

Supplication: በረከቶሙ ፡ ወኃይለ ፡ ረድኤቶሙ ፡ ይዕቀብኝ ፡ በኩልኝ ፡ አሜን ።

Incipit: ወኮነ ፡ በ፩ዕለት ፡ ገብሩ ፡ ገብዔ ፡ ቧቲሆሙ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ጸድቃን ፡ ገብረ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ወላሊበላ ፡ ይምርሃ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወነአኩቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ በደብረ ፡ ሮሐ ፡ ወተባህሉ ፡ በበይናቲሆሙ ፡ ወተካዩዱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ዘበአ ፡ ሀገረኝ ፡ በእግረ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ እመሂ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወእመሂ ፡ መሳፍንት ፡ እመኒ ፡ ሥዩም ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ባዕድ ፡ እንበለ ፡ እለ ፡ ተወልዱ ፡ ባቲ ፡ በቅድስት ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ሮሐ ፡ ሀገሩ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ዓቢይ ፡ ኢንትፈለጥ ፡ ለተዋበዖ ፡ ወኢለገቢረ ፡ ኃይል ፡

Explicit (fol. 21r): ወከመዝ ፡ መሐላ ፡ ወኪዳን ፡ አቀሙ ፡ ወሐሩ ፡ በቡብሔሮሙ ፡

Supplication: ወአተው ፡ ጸሎቶሙ ፡ ወበረከቶሙ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ንጉሥኝ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ እግዚእኝ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ማንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ መምህርኝ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ መሳፍንኝ ፡ ብርሃኝ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

1.3.6. *Malkəʾa ʾAbbā Lālibalā of GG 144*

MS GG 144²⁴⁸ in its index on fol. 3r contains an indication that there is a ‘Malkəʾa ʾAbbā Lālibalā’, however, the part containing this ‘Malkəʾa ʾAbbā Lālibalā’ was not photographed yet, and therefore the identification of this Malkəʾa for now is impossible.

The Sənkəssār readings

According to our current state of knowledge, the so-called ‘first redaction’ of the *Sənkəssār*²⁴⁹ does not contain any mentions of Saint King Lālibalā. When it comes to the so-called ‘second redaction’, manuscripts attest at least six versions of readings for Saint King Lālibalā: five readings seem to be related to each other, while the reading (1) attested in MS DW 03, the earliest so-far attested manuscript of the ‘second redaction’, appears to be an independent composition.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ I thank Ted Erho for indicating me this index.

²⁴⁹ See ‘Sənkəssār’, IV (2010) (G. Colin and A. Bausi), 621a-623a.

²⁵⁰ Dorothea Reule is currently studying this manuscript. According to her current findings, the *Sənkəssār* contained in MS DW 03 ‘is different from all other witnesses known of the second recension. It can be counted to the second recension because it contains the commemorations which were added then,

1.3.7. *The Sankassār reading of MS DW 03=UNESCO 12.3=EMIPMM0064*²⁵¹

MS DW 03 is a parchment codex approx. 24 cm in height and 20 cm in width. It contains the *Sankassār* for the entire year, written in two columns, of 212 fols. The manuscript was photographed in Dabra Warq, however, 'was probably originally the local *Sankassār* of Dabra Bizan'.²⁵² The same *Sankassār* reading 'on the twelfth of June of the *Sankassār* of Bizan'²⁵³ was edited by Giuseppe Sapeto.²⁵⁴ The manuscript is datable palaeographically to the first half of the sixteenth century.

Dabra Warq monastery, lit. 'Mount of Gold', located in eastern Goḡgām, became an important centre for the ʾEwostāteans and through its doctrine has been closely related to the Dabra Bizan monastery, probably 'Monastery [Mount] of Byzantium', which is located in today's Eritrea, some 25 km east of Asmara. MS DW 03 contains a hymn (Salām) on fol. 212rb for the monks of Dabra Bizan, which is an evidence to link its origin to Dabra Bizan.²⁵⁵

The Dabra Bizan monastery 'was founded by the monk Filəpp os, a leader of the monastic movement known as daqīqa ʾEwostātewos [...]. During the last decade of the fourteenth century the community suffered from repression, culminating after the resolution of a council summoned in April 1400 by ʾaše Dāwit II in the arrest of Filəpp os and his internment on the island of Ḥayq, within the monastery of Dabra ʾḤstifānos. A few years later, by 1403 or 1404, the same Emperor allowed the Sabbath celebration, i.e. the observance of rest on both Saturday and Sunday'.²⁵⁶

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Francisco Alvarez visited the Dabra Bizan monastery. According to his report, in 1520, its territory still nominally was part of the Solomonic Kingdom. Moreover, the monks of Dabra Bizan were playing also a political role as 'ambassadors' of the Solomonids.²⁵⁷

The supplications mention a certain ʾAbuna Gabra Māryām. In all likelihood he can be identified with ʾAbuna Gabra Māryām, the sixth ʾAbuna of Dabra Bizān according to a list by

but the single commemorations are much shorter and (as can be seen in the example of Lālibalā) can be different from those of the standard second recension'.

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

²⁵² Dorothea Reule, 'Goḡgām, Dabra Warq, DW 03', in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung / Beta maṣāḥaft* (Last Modified: 13.2.2018) <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/DW03> DOI:10.25592/BetaMasaheft.DW03 [Accessed: 2018-05-02+02:00]

²⁵³ Sapeto 1857, 426: 'ai 12 Giugno del Senkessar di Bizan'.

²⁵⁴ See Sapeto 1857, 425-426, XIV.

²⁵⁵ See Dorothea Reule, 'Goḡgām, Dabra Warq, DW 03', in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung / Beta maṣāḥaft* (Last Modified: 13.2.2018) <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/DW03> DOI:10.25592/BetaMasaheft.DW03 [Accessed: 2018-05-03+02:00]

²⁵⁶ Lusini 1993, 16.

²⁵⁷ Beckingham and Huntingford 1961.

Roger Schneider, based on different documents.²⁵⁸ ᵀAbuna Gabra Māryām died, according to the list, in 1525/26, terminus non-post quem for a manuscript production. Therefore, the description provided by Alvarez can be true for the environment in which the manuscript was commissioned.

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

Inscription (fol. 153vb): አመ : ፭ ሊኃዚራን : በዕብራውያን : ወበግብጽ : ወበኢትዮጵያ : አመ : ፲ወ፪ ለሰኔ :

Incipit (fol. 154ra): ወተዝካሩ : ለላሊበላ : ወበእሲቱ : መስቀል : ክብሩ : ዘሐነጸ : ፲ አብያተ : ክርስቲያናት : በሀገረ : ወርወር : እንተ : ስማ : ሮሃ : ወኅንጽቶንሂ : እንበለ : ዕዕ : ወማይ :

ወሶበ : ፈጸሞን : ይቤ : እግብእ : እግዚአ : መንግሥተ : ለዘርአ : እስራኤል : ወንሕነሰ : በተዓድዎ : ሕግ : ነጉሥነ ። ወይቤሎ : እግዚአብሔር : ኢይግባእ : በመዋዕሊከ : አላ : በመዋዕሊሁ : ለወልድከ : ይግባእ : መንግሥት : ለዘመደ : እስራኤል :

Explicit (fol. 154ra): ወኮነ : መዋዕለ : መንግሥቱ : ፶ ዓመተ ።

Supplication (fol. 154ra): ጸሎቶሙ : ወበረከቶሙ : የሀሉ : ምስለ : አቡነ : ገብረ : ማርያም : በኩሉ : ጊዜ : አሜን ።

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

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

Explicit: And the period of his kingdom was fifty years.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ See Schneider 1978, 138-139.

²⁵⁹ For the date of Saint King Lālibalā’s commemoration, see Chapter Six.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Sapeto 1857, 425-426, ‘É pure oggi la commemorazione di S. Lālibalā Re e di sua moglie Masqal-Kabra, che fabbricò le 10 chiese nel paese di Warwar chiamata Rohà’.

²⁶¹ Id., 426, ‘E la fabbrica fu senza legno e senz’a acqua, e dopo averla finite disse: io restituirò il regno alla schiatta d’Israele, che noi abbiamo regnato contro le regole della legge; e Iddio gli disse, esso non ritornerà dal tuo tempo; ma in quello di tuo figlio il regno ritornerà alla dinastia d’Israele’.

²⁶² Id., 1857: ‘e la durata del suo regno fu di 40 anni.’

Supplication: May their prayers and their blessings be with ʾAbuna Gabra Māryām forever, Amen.

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

- Construction of the churches in Roḥā without wood or water. The expression **ወጎንጸቶንሂ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ዕፅ ፡ ወማይ ፡** ‘their construction without wood or water’ appears in many other texts about how Saint King Lālibalā built his churches.
- His prayer for the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty. The more common expression is **ቤተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡** (lit. House of Israel), while in this text it appears instead as **ዘርክ ፡ እስራኤል ፡** (Seed of Israel) or **ዘመደ ፡ እስራኤል ፡** (Family of Israel).

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

1.3.8. The *Sankassār* reading of MS EMMML 2054

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

²⁶³ See Gigar Tesfaye 1987, 114.

²⁶⁴ Id., 107-108.

²⁶⁵ Id., 116-119: ‘Au Sabbat de tes Sabbats’.

²⁶⁶ Id., 115-117: ‘Dimanche litt. Sabbat des chrétiens’.

²⁶⁷ See for example Taddesse Tamrat 1972, 207.

²⁶⁸ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, 67-68.

²⁶⁹ See Colin 1988, 308.

nos monastery.²⁷⁰ On fols. 189vb-190ra, the manuscript contains a short ‘Vita of Saint King Lā libalā’. The text is the same as edited by Guidi, only without a hymn at the end, Salām. The same S *ənkəssār* reading was edited by Giuseppe Sapeto²⁷¹ ‘from the *Sənkəssār* of Tzalot’.²⁷²

Incipit (fol. 189vb): ወበዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ካዕበ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወንጹሕ ፡ ወረአዬ ፡ ምስጢረ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ

Explicit (fol. 190ra): ወሰበ ፡ ፈጸመ ፡ ሐኒዖቶን ፡ ለእማንቲ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ አውረሶ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ለወልደ ፡ እኅሁ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ በሰላም ፡

Supplication: እግዚአብሔር ፡ በጸሎቱ ፡ ለዝንቲ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ለጉበሩ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

1.3.9. *The Sənkəssār reading edited by Guidi*

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

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

Incipit: ወበዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ካዕበ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወንጹሕ ፡ ወረዓዬ ፡ ምስጢረ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ

Explicit: ወሰበ ፡ ፈጸመ ፡ ሐኒዖቶን ፡ ለእማንቲ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ አውረሶ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ለወልደ ፡ እኅሁ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ በሰላም ፡

Supplication: እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይምሐረኝ ፡ በጸሎቱ ፡ ለዝንቲ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

Salām: ሰላም ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ ሐናጼ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ በጥበብ ።

በእብን ፡ ይቡስ ፡ እንበለ ፡ መሬት ፡ ርጠብ ።

በዘይትአመር ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡ ምስፍና ፡ ወምግብ ።

አምሳለ ፡ መዐር ፡ ተድላ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወሕዝብ ።

በዕለተ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ ተዓግተ ፡ በንሁብ ።

²⁷⁰ See Colin 1988, 309.

²⁷¹ See Sapeto 1857, 426-428.

²⁷² Id., 428: ‘dal Senkessar di Tzalot’.

²⁷³ See Guidi 1906, 600-602.

²⁷⁴ ‘Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia. Salvation, Preservation, Research’ (EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720, PI Denis Nosnitsin, 2009-2015), see <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare.html> [accessed on 25th February 2021].

1.3.10. The *Sənkəssār* reading of MS FBM-003 and DSM-005 = *Salām*

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

ሰላም ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ ሐናጼ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ በጥበብ ፡፡
በእብን ፡ ይቡስ ፡ እንበለ ፡ መሬት ፡ ርጡብ ፡፡
በዘይትአመር ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡ ምስፍና ፡ ወምግብ ፡፡
አምሳለ ፡ መዐር ፡ ተደላ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወሕዝብ ፡፡
በዕለተ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ ተግግተ ፡ በንህብ ፡፡

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

1.3.11. The *Sənkəssār* reading of MS EMMML 7506

MS EMMML 7506 containing the *Sənkəssār*²⁸⁰ is said to be donated by *liqa kāhənāt Zenā Gābrəʾ* el²⁸¹ to Beta Māryām of Lālibalā town. This manuscript begins for the twelfth of *Sane* with the text contained in MS EMMML 2054, but then, instead of proceeding with the above mentioned *Salām*, introduces a different *Salām* commemorating the entire Lālibalā’s holy family.

Incipit (fol. 123vb): ወበዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ካዕበ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወንጹሕ ፡ ወረዳዬ ፡ ምስጢረ ፡ ሰማያት ፡
ላሊበላ ፡ ንጉሠ ኢትዮጵያ ፡

²⁷⁵ See Colin 1988, 309, see Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, 67.

²⁷⁶ ‘Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia. Salvation, Preservation, Research’ (EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720, PI Denis Nosnitsin, 2009-2015), see <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare.html> [accessed on 25th February 2021].

²⁷⁷ Sophia Dege-Müller, Denis Nosnitsin, Alessandro Bausi, Massimo Villa, Pietro Maria Liuzzo, ‘Gulo Maḳadā, Faḳadā Māryām, FBM-003’, in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung* / Beta maṣāḥəft (Last Modified: 10.5.2016) <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESfbm003> [Accessed: 2021-03-08+01:00]

²⁷⁸ Stéphane Ancel, Denis Nosnitsin, Alessandro Bausi, Pietro Maria Liuzzo, ‘Gāntā ʾAfašum, Dabra Sāhl Qəddus Mikāʾel Bet Maḳā, DSM-005’, in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung* / Beta maṣāḥəft (Last Modified: 10.5.2016) <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESdsm005> [Accessed: 2021-03-08+01:00]

²⁷⁹ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, 231.

²⁸⁰ This manuscript has not been catalogued, for my study I used a working list prepared by Marie-Laure Derat and Claire Bosc-Tiessé. Their work for my research cannot be overestimated.

²⁸¹ The donation of the *Sənkəssār* among six other manuscripts to Beta Māryām is noted in MS EMMML 7506, fol.200v.

Explicit (fol. 123vb): ወሰባ : ፈጸመ : ሐኒዎቶን : ለእማንቱ : አብያተ : ክርስቲያናት : አውረሶ : መንግሥተ : ለወልደ : እኅቲ : ወእምዝ : አዕረፈ : በሰላም :

Supplication: እግዚአብሔር : ይምሐረኝ : በጸሎቱ : ለዝንቱ : ቅዱስ : ንጉሥ : ላሊበላ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፤፤

(fol. 124r) ሰላም : ለመቅደስ : እግዚአብሔር : ዘአብደራ :
እመቅደስ : ሰሎሞን : ንጉሥ : ወእምቀዳሚት : ደብተራ :
ምስለ : ይትባረክ : ወልድክ : ወምስለ : መርዓትክ : መስቀል : ክብራ :
ባልሐነ : ለደቂቅክ : እምነ : ብዙኅ : መከራ :
ሚናስ : ላሊበላ : ዘሰማይ : ሐራ ።

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

MS AMM-008 dated to 1917/1918²⁸² and MS AP-015 dated to 1974-1976²⁸³ contain the *Sankessār* reading edited by Guidi, which is extended through an addition of the same excerpt from the 'Life of Lālibalā'. The text looks as follows:

Incipit: ወበዛቲ : ዕለት : ካዕበ : አዕረፈ : ብፁዕ : ወንጹሕ : ወረዳዬ : ምስጢረ : ሰማያት : ላሊበላ : ንጉሠ : ኢትዮጵያ

Incipit of the excerpt (fols. 123vb-124ra): መጽሐ : እግዚእ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ ፤፤ ክብሮ : ዲበ : ሰረገላ : /ኪሩቤል : ዘ/ብርሃን : እንዘ : ይአውድዎ : ኃይላቲሁ : ዑጽፋን : /ብርሃን :/ እሳት ፤፤ ወይቤሎ : እግዚእ : ኩሉ : ናሁ : አንስ : እብለክ : ዘኢይኔሱ : ቃልየ : ወኢይኤምፅ : ኪዳንዩ ፤፤

Explicit of the excerpt (fol. 126rb): ወሰገደ : ላሊበላ : ውስተ : ምድር : እንዘ : ይሴብሐ : ለዘ : አቀመ : ሎቱ : ዘከመዝ : ኪዳን ፤፤ ወአንሥኦ : እግዚእ : ኢየሱስ : ወይቤሎ : ኢትፍራህ : ቊልዴየ : ተጽዮል : ወጽናዕ : {ዲ}በ : ኃይለ : ጸላኢ : ወምላኅ : ሰይፈ : ትስልስትየ :

Explicit: ወሰባ : ፈጸመ : ሐኒዎቶን : ለእማንቱ : አብያተ : ክርስቲያናት : አውረሶ : መንግሥተ : ለወልደ : እኅቲ : ወእምዝ : አዕረፈ : በሰላም :

ሰላም : ለላሊበላ : ሐናጼ : መቅደስ : በጥበብ ፤፤
በእብን : ይቡስ : እንበለ : መሬት : ርጡብ ፤፤
በዘይትአመር : ዘሎቱ : ምስፍና : ወምግብ ፤፤
አምሳለ : መዐር : ተድላ : ነገሥት : ወሕዝብ ፤፤
በዕለተ : ተወልደ : ተግግተ : በንህብ ፤፤

²⁸² Sophia Dege-Müller, Denis Nosnitsin, Massimo Villa, Pietro Maria Liuzzo, Dorothea Reule, Eugenia Sokolinski, 'Addigrat, 'Addigrat Madhāne 'Ālam, AMM-008', in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung* / Beta maṣāḥaft (Last Modified: 26.11.2020) <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESamm008> [Accessed: 2021-03-08+01:00]

²⁸³ Vitagrazia Pisani, Denis Nosnitsin, Alessandro Bausi, Massimo Villa, Pietro Maria Liuzzo, Dorothea Reule, Eugenia Sokolinski, 'Gulo Maḳadā, 'Addaqāḥarsi Pārāqlītoṣ, AP-015', in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung* / Beta maṣāḥaft (Last Modified: 26.11.2020) <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESap015> [Accessed: 2021-03-08+01:00]

Apart from this hybrid case which contains an actual excerpt from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, as it was already noted in the literature for the text edited by Guidi, the Sənkəssār readings for Saint King Lālibalā recall traditions different from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’.²⁸⁴ Additionally, there are manuscripts that for the twelfth of Sane just mention the commemoration of Saint King Lālibalā among other saints for this day (e.g. MS EMMML 953, twentieth century).

1.4. Conclusion for chapter one

The hagiographic dossier of Saint Lālibalā is rich. It is impossible to say whether it is exceptionally rich or it is common for other saints as well. Thinking about virtues ascribed to Saint Lālibalā, we see that some textual units indeed praise Lālibalā for bringing back the ‘House of Israel’ (*‘Malkəʿa Lālibalā* of UNESCO 2.85’, ‘The *Sənkəssār* reading of MS DW 03=UNESCO 12.3=EMIPMM00641, ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’), others portray him as one of the saint kings among other saint kings (‘Miracle of Gabra Māryām, Lālibalā, Naʾakkwəto Laʾab and Yəmrəḥanna Krestos’, *‘Malkəʿa Yəmrəḥanna Krestos, Lālibalā and Naʾakkwəto Laʾab’*), some textual units portray Lālibalā as a monastic man, some praise him as a martyr (or witness), some hymns praise him as someone whose sainthood is superior to all ranks. It is not clear to me in many cases whether one hagiographic tradition considered the other. Only once all the textual units are edited, one can study different traditions in comparative perspective and analyse various post-mortal transformations of a historically attested figure.²⁸⁵

The reason why I think we have to consider a complete hagiographic dossier as possible can be illustrated with the example of MS BL Orient. 718. In terms of text, the codex contains only the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, while one of the miniatures, miniature on fol. 39,,286 illustrates a narrative form of the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’. I did not find an attestation of the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ together with the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ (that is why it belongs to subgroup three in the chapter). It was introduced in ‘*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*’, but this happened first in the second millennium. Marie-Laure Derat dates the composition of the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ to the end of the nineteenth century, while MS BL Orient. 718 is dated to the first half of the eighteenth century. This means that the story contained in the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’ was circulating already in the 1840s, probably orally. Whichever modus it had, it contaminated²⁸⁷ the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’.

²⁸⁴ See e.g. Pankhurst 2006, 54.

²⁸⁵ What one can do, and as Marie-Laure Derat did in her book, is to analyse what might be a precondition proved by history for further veneration of King Lālibalā, see Derat 2018.

²⁸⁶ See the complete description of the manuscript in Appendix.

²⁸⁷ ‘Contamination’ does not have any negative connotation here, it is used as a technical term to say that one tradition is slightly influenced by another.

There are two parallel processes that we can witness: adding other textual units to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and hence extending it and taking short excerpts (narrative units) from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and adding them to other collections and hence extending other collections.

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

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

Chapter Two. The ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’ manuscripts

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

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

1. MS DabŞəy-001²⁸⁹

Parchment codex of 131 folios, 250 mm in height, 175 mm in width

Date (evidence: palaeography): fourteenth/fifteenth century

Currently in Ethiopia, Təgrāy, monastery of Dabra Şəyon

UniProd 1

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-7ra

2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7ra-9vb

3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9 vb-14va

4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 14va-19va

5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 19va-23va

6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 23va-36vb

UniProd 2

1. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 37ra-117rb

2. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 117ra-118vb

3. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 118vb-121va

4. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 121va-123ra

5. Lālibalā and a rebel (distorted folio order: the end is replaced, see below) fols. 123ra-124vb

²⁸⁸ See also in Liuzzo 2019, 26.

²⁸⁹ See Derat 2016, 103, note 7.

6. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind (distorted folio order: the beginning is replaced, see below) fol. 125rab
7. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 125rb-130va
8. Lālibalā and a rebel (distorted folio order: the beginning see above) fol. 131ra
9. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol 131ra-131va
10. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind (distorted folio order: the end see above) fol. 131va-vb.

2. MS BnF d'Abbadie 139²⁹⁰

Parchment codex, 82 folios, 240 mm in height and 180 mm in width

Date (evidence: history): first half of the nineteenth century

Currently in France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Origin (evidence: history): Ethiopia, Gondar

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

3. MS EMMML 6931²⁹¹

Parchment codex, 127 folios, 280 mm x 260 mm

Date (evidence: history): seventeenth/eighteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta Golgotā

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

²⁹¹ See Bosc-Tiessé 2009, 101 note 58, 110 note 103; Derat 2016, 102, note 7.

UniProd 1

1. Antiphons for Naʾakkwəto Laʾab fol. 1vab

The first antiphon is introduced as a **ምልላን** / *māltān*,²⁹² which may indicate the type of antiphon. Further antiphons lack indications of their type, but spaces have been left, presumably for rubrication of the names for further types of antiphons and hallelujah numbers. There is a musical notation (*malakkāt* and *bet* signs). Here as a kind of incipit and explicit I provide the text of the first and the last antiphons:

(fol. 1va) **ምልላን** : ዘይምርሃ ። ነያ ፡ ጽርሕከ ፡ እንተ ፡ ሣረርካ ፡ በእድ ፡ እስመ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ታኣውድ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ይብላከ ፡ ዘይወፅእ ፡ ወዘይወርድ ፡ አማን ፡ ይምርሃ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ፈቃድ ።

(fol. 1vb) ኢጥዕመ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ነኣኩቶ ፡ ለኣብ ፡ ዘበአማን ፡ ኖላዊ ፡ ዳዕሙ ፡ ይመውት ፡ በደመ ፡ ስምዕ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ አረጋዊ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ ቲሱቢያዊ ፡ ኮሬባዊ ፡ አመ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ድልቅልቅ ፡ በቡብሔሩ ፡ ወአመ ፡ ይነግሥ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ሐሳዊ ።

2. Preamble fols. 3ra-7ra

3. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7ra-8vb

4. Teaching about Saints fols. 8vb-11vb

5. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 11vb-15rb

6. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 15rb-18ra

7. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 18ra-25vb

8. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 26ra-78ra

9. A note on the dating as attested in MS EMMML 6931 fols. 78vab

10. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 79ra-80ra

11. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 80ra-82ra

12. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 82ra-83rb

13. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 83rb-85ra

14. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 85rab

15. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 85rb-86ra

16. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 86ra-89vb and 98ra-98vb (there is no folio displaced; fols. 90r-97vb belong to UniProd 2 and simply split the text, see below).

17. Antiphons for Lālibalā as attested in MS EMMML 6931 fols. 99ra-100ra

18. The Life of Yemerḥanna Krestos fols. 101-127va

‘The Life of Yəmrəḥanna Krəstos’ was edited by Paolo Marrassini.²⁹³

²⁹² Shelemay et al. 1993, 78.

²⁹³ Marrassini 1995, 23-65.

Incipit: በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አብ ፡ ዘእምቅድመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ህላዌሁ ፡ ወእስከ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ ዘኢየሱስ ፡ ምስፍናሁ ፤ ልዑል ፡ በልዕልናሁ ፡ ስቡሕ ፡ በስብሐቲሁ ፡ ለወልድ ፡ ብርሃኑ ፡ ወዋካሁ ፡ ወለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጸዳሉ ፡ ወሠራኤሁ ፤²⁹⁴

Explicit: ወበእንተ ፡ ይምርሃን ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ብጹዕ ፡ ዘኢሥመሮ ፡ በኒሩቲ ፡ ይክፍላን ፡ ውስተ ፡ ርቡቲ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነህሉ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ጽላሎቲ ፡ አኮ ፡ በምግባርን ፡ ዳዕሙ ፡ በከንቲ ፡ እለ ፡ ተጋባእን ፡ አመ ፡ ዕረፍቲ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ወግረ ፡ ስኒን ፡ ምኔቲ ፡ ለጸድቃኒከ ፡ ይትመክዑብ ፡ ዕሴቲ ፡ ወሊኃጥእ ፡ ይስረይ ፡ ንጢአቲ ፡ ወፀዳለ ፡ ስራኤሁ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብክ ፡ ሊዮኑቲ ፤ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።²⁹⁵

UniProd 2

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

4. MS EMMML 6921²⁹⁶

Parchment codex, 157 folios

Date (evidence: supplication): 1684-85

Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta Māryām

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

²⁹⁴ Marrassini 1995, 23. Here I provide incipit and explicit of the edited text, which is the same in the listed manuscripts.

²⁹⁵ Id., 61.

²⁹⁶ See Bosc-Tiessé 2009, 135-136; Derat 2016, 102, note 7.

Incipit (fol. 152ra): እሴብሐክ : አእምረክ : ወአምላኪያ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ምስለ : አቡክ : ጌር : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ ። በስብሐተ : ማር : ፈለስኪናስ : ጳጳስ : ዘሀገረ : ምክቡጋር ። (sic!)

Explicit (fol. 157vb): ወአድኅኒ : እምነ : ፀብዕ : ወዴዋዌ ፤ ወእምነ : ፍርሃት : ወድንጋዬ : ወእምነ : ኩሉ : መቅሠፍታት : እኩያት : እሉ : የኅዝቡ : ሥጋ : ወየኃረተምዋ : ለነፍስ :

5. MS EMMML 6964²⁹⁷

Parchment codex, 157 folios

Date (evidence: supplication): 1694-95

Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta Giorgis

1. Preamble fols. 2ra-7rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7rb-9vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9vb-13vb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 13vb-19ra
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 19ra-23rb
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 23rb-34vb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 34vb-115ra
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 115ra-116vb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 116vb-119va
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 119va-120vb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 121ra-123rb
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 123rb-123vb
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 123vb-124vb
14. Story about the virtuous Deeds of Lālibalā fols. 124vb-131vb
15. Finding in Beta Māryām fols. 132ra-132va.

6. MS EMMML 7051 = NL 46²⁹⁸

Parchment codex, 105 folios

Date (evidence: palaeography): twentieth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Lāstā, Beta Na'akkwəto La'ab

1. Preamble fols. 3ra-9ra
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 9ra-11rb

²⁹⁷ See Bosc-Tiessé 2009, 135-136; Derat 2016, 102, note 7.

²⁹⁸ See Derat 2016, 103, note 7.

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

7. MS EMMML 6770²⁹⁹

Parchment codex, 116 folios, 175 mm x 145mm

Date (evidence: palaeography): nineteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Šawā, Dabra Libānos

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

²⁹⁹ See Valieva 2017, 196.

15. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 106va-107ra
16. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 107ra-108rb
17. Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 108rb-116rb.

8. MS EMMML 2836³⁰⁰

Parchment codex, 128 folios, 225mm x 190mm

Date (evidence: catalogue): eighteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Harr ʾAmbā, Maśāqo Śəllāse

1. Preamble fols. 3ra-7va
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7va-9vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9vb-13va
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 13va-18rb (fols. 17v-18r are missing from the reproduction)
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 18rb-22ra
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 22ra-33vb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 33vb-110va
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 110va-112ra
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 112ra-115ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 115rb-117ra
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 117ra-119va
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 119va-120ra
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 120ra-121ra
14. Story about the virtuous Deeds of Lālibalā fols. 121ra-128ra.

9. MS EMMML 6451³⁰¹

Reproduction of EMMML 6451, seems to cover either several manuscripts or several UniProds. In the following description I consider only UniProd 1.

Parchment codex, 115 folios, 235mm x 170mm

Date (evidence: reproduction record): nineteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Śawā, ʾAdʾā waradā, near Nāzret town, Qofitu Lālibalā³⁰²

1. Preamble fols. 2ra-7va

³⁰⁰ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, 185; Derat 2016, 103, note 7.

³⁰¹ See Valieva 2017, 196.

³⁰² I thank the NALE employees who helped me to identify this place. I was told that *Qoftu* in Oromo means rock-hewn. May be this place is mentioned in Futuh-al-Habashat tr Basset, p. 112.

2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7va-9vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9vb-13vb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (split into two, see below for the ending part) fols. 13vb-15va
5. Praise for Lālibalā (split into two, see below for the beginning part) fols. 15va-25ra
6. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, see below for the ending part) fols. 25rb-41va
7. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (the ending part, see above for the beginning part) fols. 41va-44va
8. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 44va-47vb
9. Praise for Lālibalā (the beginning part, see above for the ending part) fols. 47vb-49va
10. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, see above for the beginning part) fols. 49va-100rb
11. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 100rb-101va
12. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 101va-103va
13. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 103va-104vb
14. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 104vb-106vb
15. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 106va-107ra
16. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 107ra-107vb
17. Story about the virtuous Deeds of Lālibalā fols. 107vb-113rb
18. Antiphons for Jesus as attested in MS EMMML 6451 fols. 113vb-115rb.

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

(fol. 113vb) ፪ ስምዕምኬ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ ኩልክሙ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘአክበሮሙ ፡ ለኦሪት ፡ ወለክቢያት ፡ በወንጌል ፡ መንግሥት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ አሜን ፡ ወአሜን ፡ እብለክሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ የኅልፍ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወምድር ፡ የውጣ ፡ እንተ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ሕርመታ ፡ ወአሐቲ ፡ ቅርፀታ ፡ ኢተኅልፍ ፡ እም ፡ ኦሪት ፡ ወእም ፡ ክቢያት ፡ እስከ ፡ ሶባ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ይትገበር ፡ ወይከውን ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ዘበእብራይስጢ ፡ ልሳን ፡ በወንጌል ፡ ማቴዎስ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ዘእም ፡ ብርሃን ፡

(fol. 115rb) ነአምሮ ፡ ውእቱስ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ የአምር ፡ መለኮቶ ፡ ሥዲሮ ፡ ሞተ ፡ በሥጋ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይወርድ ፡ ጊጉዮ ፡ በአምሳለ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ ርዕዩ ፡ በላዕሊሁ ፡ ሥነ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ወትቤ ፡ ሲኣል ፡ አይ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዘእም ፡ ሥልጣንዩ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ለቢሶ ፡ ዘሞሪ ፡ መኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡

10. MS EMMML 8942³⁰³

Parchment codex, 104 folios

Date (evidence: supplication): first half of the eighteenth century

³⁰³ See Derat 2016, 103, note 7.

Provenance: Ethiopia, Gondar region, Färtā, Mangəst Lədatu Māryām

1. Preamble fols. 2ra-6rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6rb-8ra
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 8ra-11rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 11rb-15rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 15rb-18va
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 18va-27va
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 27vb-89vb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 89vb-90vb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 90vb-93ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 93ra-94rb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 94rb-96ra
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 96rab
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 96va-97rb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 97rb-102va
15. ³⁰⁴ *Asmāt* fol. 102vab ³⁰⁴ ለዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘእጽሐፋ፡ [erased] ይጽሐፍ፡ ሰሞ፡ ኀበ፡ ዓምደ፡ ብርሃን
እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ መድኀን። ወይክፍሎ፡ ቁመተ፡ እንተ፡ በየማን ፤
(ምስለ፡ አባግዕ፡ በሩካን ፤ ወኢያቦ፡ ኀበ፡ ሀሎ፡ ብካይ፡ ወሐቀየ፡ ስን ፤ ወያርፍቆ፡ ምስለ፡ ላሊበላ፡
ምእመን ፤ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። ወአሜን። ለይኩን ፤ ለይኩን። ይቤ፡ ጸሐፊሁ፡
ቤት ፤ አሌፍ ፤ ኖን ፤ ታው ፤ ላሜድ ፤ ላሜድ ፤ ቤት ፤ ላሜድ ፤ ዮድ ፤ ጸዴ ፤ ጋሜል ፤ ዋው ፤ ኖን ፤ አቤቱ ፤
አቤቱ። ።
16. Hymn(s) for Lālibalā as attested in MS EMMML 8942 fols. 102va-104vb.

11. MotGiorg-001

Parchment codex, 175 folios

Date (evidence: supplication): end of the eighteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, East Goğğām, Moṭā Giorgis

1. The life of Takla Ḥaymānot (incomplete) fol. 1rab

It is the beginning of the so-called Dabra Libānos recension of the 'Life of Takla Ḥaymānot'³⁰⁵ edited by Ernst Alfred Wallis Budge.³⁰⁶

2. The Life of Na³akkwəto La³ab³⁰⁷ fols. 2ra-36vb.

³⁰⁴ See Gidena Mesfin Kebede, 2017. Cf. MS MotGiorg-001.

³⁰⁵ See 'Täklä Haymanot', IV (2010), 831a–834b (D. Nosnitsin)

³⁰⁶ See Budge 1906.

³⁰⁷ Conti Rossini 1943.

Incipit: ንቀድሞ : በረድኤት : እግዚአብሔር : በሠናይ : ውጥጥቴ : ውበፀፅ : ሁብቴ : ወበጽሐፈ : ገድሉ : ወዜናሁ : ሠናይ : ለአቡነ : መክብብ : ነገሥት : ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ጸድቅ : ዘክነ : ከመ : ጽጌ : ሬዳ : ዘሐይቅ ::
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Explicit: ተፈጸመ : መጽሐፈ : ገድሉ : ለአቡነ : ብፀፃዊ : ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ::³⁰⁹

3. Miracles of Na³akkwəto La³ab fols. 37ra-38va

4. The death of Nəṣəḥt Maryām, wife of Na³akkwəto La³ab fol. 38vab

Incipit: ወአመ : ዕረፍታ : ለብእሲቱ : እንተ : ስማ : ንጽሕት : ማርያም : አመ : ፯ ለወርኅ : ጥር : ዘወሀባ : እግዚአብሔር : አልባሰ : ክቡራን : ወአክሊላተ : ሥርግዋተ : ከመ : ዘደናግል : ሠናይት ::³¹⁰

Explicit: ወለእለ : ተራድኡነ : ጥሪሦሙ : ተስፋ : ሀቦሙ : እግዚእየ : ተስፋ : ኢታስተፍርሙ : አዶና : አልፋ : ክድኖሙ : በየማንክ ::³¹¹

5. *Malkəṣa* Na³akkwəto La³ab³¹² fols. 39-40va

Incipit (fol. 39ra): ሰላም : ለዝክረ : ስምክ : ምሉዓ : ጸጋ : ወሞገስ : ወሥዕርትክ : ጥሉል : በቅብዓ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ :: ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ኤርምያስ : ዘቀደስክ : በከርሥ ::

Explicit (fol. 40va): አምላክ : አቅረብኩ : ለክ : አምኃ : ውዳሴ : ንስቲተ :: ለዕበይክ : ልዑል : ከመ : ይኩን : መሥዋዕተ :: ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ኢታስትት : ፍሬ : ከፍፍርየ : ዘንተ :: ለነዳይ : ዘእንበሌሁ : ከመ : አልብየ : ጥራተ :: አኩ : ተአምር : ወትጤይቅ : አንተ :: ::

6. Hymn for Na³akkwəto La³ab as attested in MS MotGiorg-001 fol.40vab

Incipit (fol. 40va): ሰላም : ለክ : ዕለተ : በዓሉ : ዘኃበረ :: በዘዘ : ዚአክ : በዓል :: ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ይመስል : ለእዝበ : ወንጌል ::

Explicit: (fol. 40vb): ሰላ : ለክ : ድርሱተ : ኃጠ : ቅብዓ : ነአኩቶ : ለአብ : ማርምር :: ኢይቅባዕ : ህየ : ኢትባል : በዕለተ : ነገር :: ከመ : ይቤ : ቃለ : መዘመር ::

7. The *Səmkəssār* reading for Na³akkwəto La³ab and *Salām* fols. 40vb-41ra

³⁰⁸ Conti Rossini 1943, 113.

³⁰⁹ Id., 170.

³¹⁰ Id., 175.

³¹¹ Id., 175-176.

³¹² Malkəṣa 118 in Chaîne's liste: Chaîne 1913, 198. 118.

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

ለሳቲ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ዘእጽሐፋ ፡ [erased] ይጽሐፍ ፡ ሰሞ ፡ ንዝ ፡ ዓምደ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡
 ወልደ ፡ ማርያም ፡ መድኃኒን ። ወይክፍሎ ፡ ቁመተ ፡ እንተ ፡ በሮማን ፤ ወኢያቦ ፡ ንዝ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ብካይ ፡ ወሐቀየ ፡
 ስነን ፤ ወያርፍቆ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ላሊባላ ፡ ምእመን ፤ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ። ወአሜን ። ለይኩን ፤ ለይኩን ። ይቤ ፡
 ጸሐፊሁ ፡

24. Testimony of Abraham fols. 141ra-150rb

Testimony of Abraham=‘Das äthiopische Testament Abrahams (መጽሐፈ ፡ ፍልሰቱ ፡ ለአብ ፡
 አብርሃም ፡) Rezension I’.³¹³

Incipit: 2 ዝውእቱ ፡ ፍልሰቶሙ ፡ ወፀዓቶሙ ፡ ለአበው ፡ አብርሃም ፡ ይስሐቅ ፡ ወያዕቆብ ።

3 ኮነ ፡ አንከ ፡ ፀዓቱ ፡ ለአብርሃም ፡ ወፍልሰቱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አመ ፡ ፳ወ፰ ፡ ለነሐሲ ፡ ወይስሐቅኒ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ አመ ፡
 ፳ወ፰ ፡ ለነሐሲ ፡ ወያዕቆብ ፡ አመ ፡ ፳ወ፰ ፡ እምዝንቱ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ወዕርገቶሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ በስብሐት ፡
 ወክብር ። 4 ዘንተ ፡ ዘከሠተ ፡ ለነ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አትናስቶስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘእለስክንድርያ ፡ ወልደ ፡
 አበው ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ እስክንድራውያን ።³¹⁴

Explicit: 14 ወእምድኅረ ፡ ላሒሙ ፡ ገበአ ፡ ይስሐቅ ፡ ንዝ ፡ ማኅደሩ ፡ ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ለአግብርቲሁ ፡ እስመ ፡
 15 ናሁ ፡ አቡየ ፡ አግዐዘከሙ ፡ ወለከሙ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ይደሉ ፡ ላዕሌክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትግበሩ ፡ ምግባረ ፡ አግዛሊያን ፡
 ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ለከሙ ፡ ግዕዝ ፡

³¹³ Heide 2012.

³¹⁴ Id., 93-94.

16 ወይስሐቅ፤ ገበረ፡ ምግባራተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ምእመን፡ በአምላክ፡ አብርሃም፡ አቡሁ፡ መሃይምን፡ በአብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ ፤³¹⁵

25. Testimony of Isaac fols. 150va-160rb

Testimony of Isaac=‘Das äthiopische Testament Isaaks’ (Rezension I).³¹⁶

Incipit: 2 ዝንቱ፡ ዕረፍቱ፡ ለአብ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ወፍልሰቱ፡ እምሥጋሁ፡ አመ፡ ጄወ፤ ዕለት፡

3 እምሥሐሲ፡ በሰላም፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ ይከድን፡ ለኩል፡ አሜን ።

4 አብስ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ትእዛዙ፡ ወረሰየ፡ ነገሮ፡ ትምህርተ፡ ለወልዱ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ወለኩሉ፡ ዘይለጽቅ ፤ በረከቶ፡ ለአበው፡ ትኩን፡ ምስለ፡ ሰማዕያን፡ ወምስለ፡ እለ፡ ይመጽኡ፡ እምድግፊሆሙ፡ አሜን ።³¹⁷

Explicit: 7 ዝንቱ፡ ዘይደሉ፡ ሎቱ፡ ኩሉ፡ ክብራት፡ ወኩሉ፡ ሰጊድ፡ ምስለ፡ አብ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማሕየዊ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን ።³¹⁸

26. °Asmāt fol. 160rb

ይቤ፡ ጸሐፊሁ፡ ፊስ፡ ካፍ፡ ኖን፡ አሌፍ፡ ኖን፡ ልብጤጽ፡ ጳሰጽል?፡ ልሰገኤተ፡ ከንቃ፡ ለእግጳ፡ ዝልእልሲ፡ ደገእ[ል.ፊ.] ንሲ፡ ወዋጄሞጽ

27. Testimony of Jacob (incomplete) fols. 160va-167rb

Testimony of Jacob=‘Das äthiopische Testament Jakobs’ (Rezension I).³¹⁹ Here the text is not complete, it is probable that pictures are missing.

Incipit: 2 ዝውእቱ፡ ዕረፍቱ፡ ለአብ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ዙተሰመየ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወፍልሰቱ፡ እምሥጋሁ፡ አመ፡ ጄወ፤ ለወርጎ፡ ነሐሲ፡ በሰላም፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ ይከድን፡ ለኩሉ፡ አሜን ።³²⁰

Explicit: 8 ዝንቱ፡ ዘሎቱ፡ ይደሉ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወክብር፡ ወውዳሴ፡ ወስግደት፡ ምስለ፡ አብ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማሕየዊ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን ፤ ወአሜን፡ ለይኩን፡ ለይኩን ።³²¹

28. The Homily on Abraham and Sarah in Egypt by Saint Ephrem of Syria³²² fols. 167va-175vb.

³¹⁵ Heide 2012, 127.

³¹⁶ Id., 127.

³¹⁷ Id., 139.

³¹⁸ Heide 2000, 166-167.

³¹⁹ Id., 166-167.

³²⁰ Id., 168.

³²¹ Id., 191.

³²² See Caquot 1988.

Incipit (fol. 167va): ድርሳን ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ማሪ ፡ ኤፍሬም ፡ በእንተ ፡ አብርሃም ፡ አበ ፡ አበው ፡ አርከ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ሳራሂ ፡ እንዘ ፡ በዓቶሙ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ግብፅ ።

Explicit (fol. 175vab): ወወሀቦሙ ፡ እምሠርጐ ፡ ወአልባሰ ፡ ወምፅንቀኢ ፡ ውእተ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ወፅኦ ፡ አብርሃም ፡ ወሳራ ፡ ወአጋርሃ ፡ እምድረ ፡ ግብፅ ። ወመልኦ ፡ ጎቡረ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ይትፈሥሐ ፡ ወይዮብሉ ፡ ወይሴብሐ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘተወክፈ ፡ ጸሎቶሙ ፡ ዘፈነወ ፡ ኃይሎ ፡ ወአድኃኖሙ ፡ ለአግብርቲሁ ፡ እምከሀድድያን ፡ በምድረ ፡ ነኪር ።

12. MS BL Ms. Ethiopic 4³²³

Paper codex of 163 leaves, 237mm in height and 170 mm in width

Date (evidence: history): 1940s

Provenance: British Library, India Office collection

Origin (evidence: history): Dabra Libānos, Šawā

1. Preamble fols. 1r-6v
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6v-9v
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9v-14v
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (split into two, see below for the ending part) fols. 14v-17r
5. Praise for Lālibalā (split into two, see below for the beginning part) fols. 17r-29r
6. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, see above for the beginning part) fols. 29r-50v
7. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (the ending part, see above for the beginning part) fols. 50v-54v
8. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 54v-59v
9. Praise for Lālibalā (the beginning part, see above for the ending part) fols. 59v-61v
10. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, see above for the beginning part) fols. 61v-140v
11. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 140v-142v
12. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 142v-146r
13. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 146r-148r
14. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 148r-151v
15. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 151v-152r
16. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 152r-153v
17. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 153v-162v.

13. MS Kəbrān 31³²⁴

Parchment codex, 98 folios, 260 mm x 195mm

³²³ See Enrico Cerulli 1946, Valieva 2017.

³²⁴ Cf. Hammerschmidt 1973, 154-155; Derat 2016, 102, note 7.

Date (evidence: palaeography): fourteenth/fifteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Kəbrān Gabrəʾel

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-4vb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire (material loss: ending is missing) fols. 5ra-7vb
3. Teaching about Saints (material loss: the beginning is missing) fols. 7vb-10va
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem (material loss: the end is missing) fols. 10va-14vb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel (material loss: the beginning is missing) fols. 15ra-18va
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 18va-27rb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 27rb-84vb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 84vb-85vb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 85vb-88ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 88ra-89ra
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 89ra-91vb
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 91vb-92ra
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 92ra-93ra
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 93ra-98rb.

14. MS BetLib-001

Parchment codex, 132 folios

Date (evidence: supplication): end of the nineteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta Libānos

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

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

Trinitarian formula: በሰሙ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ አምላክ :

Incipit: በቅዱሚት : ዕለት : ዘጉበረ : ሰማየ : ወምድረ ።

³²⁵ I thank Sophia Dege-Müller for advising me about this textual unit.

Explicit: እስመ : ውእቱ : ዘፈቀደ : ይገብር : ወዘሐለየ : ይፌጽም : ወዘደክምር : እምቅድመ : ሕሊና :
 ለዘከሙዝ : አምላክ : ይደልዎ : ክብር : ወስብሐት :: ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ::³²⁶

2. Version the ‘Life of Masqal Kəbrā’ known in Lālibalā and in Madabāy Tābor fols. 2va-21rb

3. Miracles of Saint and Blessed Masqal Kəbrā fols. 21rb- 22rb

Two ‘Miracles of Saint and Blessed Masqal Kəbrā’ were edited by Kur together with the *Acts of Masqal Kəbrā*.³²⁷

Miracle One

Incipit: ወእምዝ : ሐረ : አቡነ : ተክለ : ማርያም : ሀገረ : ዳሞት : ኀበ : ተዝካረ : መስቀል : ክብራ :
 ብዕዕት : ወይቤ : ለሊሁ : በቃሉ : እንዘ : አሐውር : በፍኖት : ርኢኩ : ሰብአ : ብዙኃን : በምሥያጥ :
 ዘወርወር : በጸሕኩ : ህየ : ወአንከርኩ : በይነ : ብዝኖሙ : ወሰባሕከዎ : ለእግዚአብሔር ::³²⁸

Explicit: ወክብር : ይደሉ : ለመንግሥቱ : ለዘይሁብ : ጸጋ : በመለኮቱ :³²⁹

Miracle Two

Incipit: ወበውእቱ : ዕለት : ተወልዱ : ሰብእ : እምኔሁ ::³³⁰

Explicit: ሰማዕኩ : ቃለ : ዘይብል : ሐር : ኀበ : ተዝካረ : መስቀል : ክብራ : ወበህየ : ትረክብ : ካህነ :
 ዘይብልዎ : ተክለ : ማርያም : ውእቱ : ይናዝከ : በእንተዝ : አኃሥሥከ : አቅዱስ : ለእግዚአብሔር :
 በአማን : ዘኢይትሔሰው : ቃልከ :: ወይትባረክ : ስሙ : ለአምላክ ::³³¹

4. Preamble fols. 25ra-27vb

5. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 28ra-29rb

6. Teaching about Saints fols. 29rb-31vb

7. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 31vb-34vb

8. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 35ra-37rb

9. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 37rb-44rb

10. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 44rb-90rb

11. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 91ra-92r

12. How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out fols. 92ra-94ra

³²⁶ As attested in MS MasKa-003 fols. 131ra-131vb.

³²⁷ Kur 1972, 403-404.

³²⁸ Id., 403.

³²⁹ Id., 404.

³³⁰ Id.

³³¹ Id.

13. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 94ra-95ra
14. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 95ra-97ra
15. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 97ra-97rb
16. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 97va-98ra
17. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 98ra-102v
18. The Life of Yemerḥanna Krestos³³² fols. 103ra-130r
19. *Malkəʿa* Libānos³³³ fols. 130v-132vb

Incipit: ኦክርስቶስ ፡ ዘተወለድከ ፡ እምድንግል ፤ መድኃኒተ ፡ ነፍሶሙ ፡ ትኩን ፡ ለሕዝብ ፡ ሙስና ፡ ወሀገሉ ፡ ስብሐተ ፡ ሊባኖስ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ባርክ ፡ በደማንክ ፡ ወበእዴክ ፡ መስቀል ።³³⁴

Explicit ፡ ባርክ ፡ አባ ፡ ለደቂቅክ ፡ ኄራን ፡ ነጹሮሙ ፡ ባርኩተክ ፡ ወሰሚያሙ ፡ በእዝን ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ መላእክት ፡ ይበሉ ፡ አሜን ፡³³⁵

15. MS BetEman-001³³⁶

Parchment codex

Date (evidence: palaeography): eighteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta ʾAmānuʾel

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-7ra
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 7ra-9rb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9rb-12vb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 12vb-17ra
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 17ra-20vb
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 20vb-23vb (end of the photographed material).

16. MS BetMarq-001

Parchment codex, 109 folios

Date (evidence: palaeography): seventeenth/eighteenth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Lālibalā, Beta Mārqorewos

1. Preamble.fols. 3ra-8rb
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 8rb-10va

³³² See MS EMMML 6931 earlier in this chapter and further Marrassini 1995.

³³³ Edited by Alessandro Bausi as *La 'Vita' e I 'Miracoli di Libānos*, see Bausi 2003, 121-124.

³³⁴ Bausi 2003, 121.

³³⁵ Id., 124.

³³⁶ I have photographed this manuscript only partially. For now I have decided not to encode its record.

3. Teaching about Saints fols. 10va-14rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 14rb-18vb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 18vb-22rb
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 22rb-31vb
7. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, for the ending part see below) fols. 31vb-71ra
8. Second Preamble MS BetMarq-001 fols. 71rb-72ra
9. The Life of Lālibalā (split into two, for the beginning part see above) fols. 72ra-92ra
10. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 92ra-93rb
11. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 93rb-95va
12. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 95va-97rb
13. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 97rb-99rb
14. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 99rb-99vb
15. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 99vb-100vb
16. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 100vb-107va
17. Salām 170.³³⁷ Sunday, Saturday of Christians fols. 108ra-109ra

Incipit (fol. 108ra): ሰላም ፡ ለዝክረ ፡ ስምክ ፡ ፀዳለ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ ወምዕራብ ፡ ሰሜን ፡ ወደቡብ ። ሰንበተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ቅድስት ፡ መርዓተ ፡ በግዑ ፤ ለኣብ ።

Explicit (fol. 109ra): ትሰፍንሃ ፡ ባሕርቲቴ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዳግም ፡ ትውልድ ። ኅሐ ፡ ጽባሕ ፡ ባቲ ። ጽልመተ ፡ ጌጋይ ፡ አልባቲ ። ትፍሥሕተ ፡ ወሐሣተ ፡ ጸድቃን ፡ በዛቲ ።

17. MS MasKa-003

Parchment codex, 146 folios

Date (evidence: colophon): first half of the twentieth century

Provenance: Ethiopia, Madabāy Tābor, Beta Masqal Kəbrā

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-6va
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6va-9rb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9rb-13rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 13rb-20ra
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 20ra-24ra
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 24ra-35rb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 35rb-110vb

³³⁷ According to Chaîne: 'Salām 170, Dimanche, sabbat des chrétiens'.

8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 110vb-112ra
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 112ra-114va
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 114va-115vb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 115vb-118vb
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 118vb-119rb
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 119rb-120rb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 120rb-128vb
15. Finding in Beta Māryām fols. 128vb-129rb
16. A narration about the seven days of Creation or Pseudo-Miracles of blessed Lālibalā and Saint Masqal Kəbrā³³⁸ fols. 131ra-131vb
17. Version the 'Life of Masqal Kəbrā' known in Lālibalā and in Madabāy Tābor fols. 132ra-134rb
18. Miracles of Saint and Blessed Masqal Kəbrā³³⁹ fols. 145vb-146vb.

18. MS NazMa-001³⁴⁰

Parchment codex, 102 folios

Date (evidence: colophon): 1988

Provenance: Ethiopia, Māryām Nāzret

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

³³⁸ See MS BetLib-001 earlier in this chapter.

³³⁹ See MS BetLib-001 earlier in this chapter.

³⁴⁰ See Derat 2016, 103, note 7.

16. A narration about the seven days of Creation or Pseudo-Miracles of blessed Lālibalā and Saint Masqal Kəbrā³⁴¹ fols. 97rb-98ra

17. Malkəʿa Lālibalā fols. 98rb-101ra

18. 'Nagš of Lālibalā as edited in 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā' fols. 101rb-101va

19. Salām fol. 101va

20. Hymns fol. 101vab

21. *Salāmtā* as edited in 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā' fol. 102rab

19. MS BL Orient. 719³⁴²

Parchment codex, 163 folios, 229 mm in height and 178 cm in width

Date UniProd 1 (evidence: palaeography): fourteenth/fifteenth century

Date UniProd 2 (evidence: palaeography): nineteenth century

Currently in London, British Library

Provenance: from Gondar to Maqdālā, from Maqdālā to the British Library

UniProd 2

1. Preamble (restoration of UniProd 1) fols. 1ra-2vb

UniProd 1

1. Preamble (following text of UniProd 2) fols. 4ra-10va

2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 10va-13vb

3. Teaching about Saints fols. 13vb-19rb

4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 19rb-26rb

5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 26va-32ra

6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 32ra-47va

7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 47va-143vb

8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 143vb-145va

9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 145va-148vb

10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 148vb-150va

11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 150va-153rb

12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 153rb-153vb

13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind man fols. 153vb-155ra

14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 155ra-162vb.

20. MS BL Orient. 718³⁴³

³⁴¹ See MS BetLib-001 earlier in this chapter.

³⁴² See Wright 1870, 601; Derat 2016, 102, note 7.

Parchment codex, 130 folios, 335mm in height and 275 mm in width

Date (evidence: miniature): 1840s

Provenance: from Gondar to Maqdālā, from Maqdālā to the British Library

Origin: Gondar

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-5vb

2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6ra-8vb

3. Teaching about Saints fols. 8vb-12rb

4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 12rb-17va

5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 17va-21va

6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 21va-33va

7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 33vb-115rb

miniature *ዘከሪያ ፡ ተወልዶ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሐ ፡ fol. 38r*

miniature *ለካሊስቶስ ፡ ልጁን ፡ እንደ ፡ መጸውተ ፡ fol. 39v*

miniature *ቃል ፡ ኪዳን ፡ እንደ ፡ ተቀበለ ፡ ከፈጣሪው ፡ fol. 76r*

miniature *እንደ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ fol. 76v*

miniature *ከጳጳስ ፡ እንደ ፡ ተገናኘ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ fol. 99v*

miniature *ጳጳስ ፡ እግሩን ፡ እንዳጸበ ፡ / ዘከሪያ ፡ ተማህወንት ፡ እቴጌ ፡ መኖን ፡ ንግሥት ፡ fol. 100r*

8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 115rb-116vb

9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 116vb-119ra

10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 119vb-120va

11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 120va-122va

12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 122va-122vb

13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 122vb-123vb

14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 123vb-130va.

miniature *ሕንፃ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ fol. 126r*

miniature *ቤተ ፡ ማርያም ፡ እንዳሕነፀ ፡ fol. 127v*

21. BP MS Parm. 3852³⁴⁴

Parchment manuscript, 137 folios, 210 mm in height, 155mm in width

Date (evidence: colophon): 1939-1940

Currently in Italy, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma

1. Preamble fols. 1ra-6vb

³⁴³ See Wright 1870, 601; Derat 2016, 102, note 7; Valieva 2016.

³⁴⁴ Gianfrancesco Lusini is preparing a catalogue of Ethiopic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma.

2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 6vb-9rb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 9rb-13rb
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 13rb-18rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 18rb-22rb
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 22rb-33va
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 33vb-118vb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 118va-120rb
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 120rb-123ra
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 123ra-124vb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 124vb-127ra
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fol. 127ra-127va
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 127va-128va
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 128va-135va
15. Finding in Beta Māryām fols. 135va-136rb
16. Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā fols. 136-137va.

22. MS BAV Cerulli 37³⁴⁵

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

Date (evidence: catalogue): nineteenth century

Currently in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

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

³⁴⁵ Using the methodology of *La Syntaxe du Codex* (see Andrist et al. 2013), I have suggested that there are two UniProds within this manuscript. When I went to BAV in July 2018, I checked the manuscript. In fact there are two manuscripts which were just put together into one box, perhaps by the librarians; they are neither bound nor do they have anything in common. That is why I describe only the manuscript containing the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection', see Liuzzo 2019, 215 n. 79. Cf. Raineri 1998, 39.

12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 101vb-102rb
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 102rb-103rb
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 103rb-110ra
15. Malkəʿa Lālibalā fols. 110ra-113vb
16. Hymn for Lālibalā as attested in MS TGM-001 fols. 113vb-114ra.

23. MS BAV Cerulli 223³⁴⁶

Parchment codex, 164 folios, 275mm x 200 mm

Date (evidence: supplication): twentieth century

Currently in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

1. Preamble fols. 5ra-10va
2. Jesus and His redeeming fire fols. 10va-12vb
3. Teaching about Saints fols. 12vb-16va
4. Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem fols. 16va-21rb
5. Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel fols. 21rb-23ra
6. Praise for Lālibalā fols. 23ra-35vb
7. The Life of Lālibalā fols. 35vb-108rb
8. Three men visit King Lālibalā fols. 108va-110ra
9. How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out fols. 110ra-112va
10. How Lālibalā became like a pauper fols. 112va-114rb
11. Lālibalā and a rebel fols. 114rb-116va
12. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman fols. 116va-117ra
13. How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind fols. 117ra-118ra
14. Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā fols. 118ra-124vb
15. Finding in Beta Māryām fols. 124va-125ra
16. Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā fols. 125va-127va
17. The Life of Yemerḥanna Krestos fols. 129r-164r.

³⁴⁶ See Raineri 1998, 178-179.

Chapter Three. Transmission of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’

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

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

³⁴⁷ See <https://www.juxtasoftware.org/about/>.

³⁴⁸ See <http://cte.oeaw.ac.at/>.

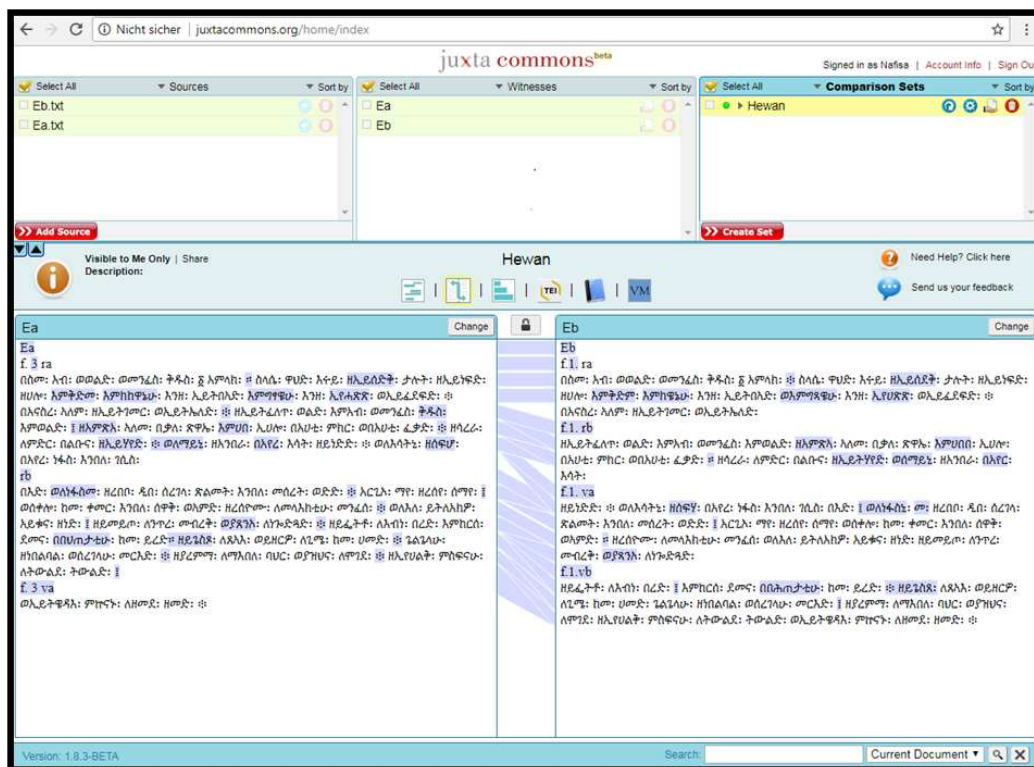
³⁴⁹ See <https://collatex.net/>.

³⁵⁰ See <https://readcoop.eu/transkribus/>.

not work.³⁵¹ I chose to work with Microsoft Word because it was the most familiar to me and I wanted to have an easy start. While rendering manuscript text into digital form, I made some simple tests:

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

Fig.1. Juxta commons: Ea vs Eb



³⁵¹ Here one should say that after the completion of my work CollateX was integrated into the Beta maṣōḥəft research environment, which made its use for Ethiopic texts much easier. Another option that I consider after learning how to use XML, is to begin with XML, not with Microsoft Word. XML allows one to consider all layers of information for encoding and getting as many ‘clean’ texts as someone wants, which would reflect different layers attested and which is then easy to process. With Microsoft Word one will either have a ‘dirty text’ (the more detailed transcription, the ‘dirtier’) which is difficult to process or have to decide which layer might be disregarded, on which costs to simplify the transcription.

From what I can judge based on my brief experience with Juxta, this application works very well for comparison of two witnesses. I know that the project of Steve Delamarter and Daniel Assefa³⁵² has successfully used this program to compare transcriptions of one and the same witness made by different people independently. This makes it possible to recognize new readings introduced by the transcribers. One can apply the same technique for comparison of an already-established critical edition and a newly found text witness. One can also use Juxta for collation of two witnesses. Whenever one has two texts to compare, Juxta is good and the visualization is clear. It is important to note that Juxta can malfunction and ‘freeze’ with longer texts, so it is better to break down the text into shorter portions and work with them individually.

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

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

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

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

³⁵³ See <https://collatex.net/>.

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

In what follows I propose my hypothesis for the history of the textual transmission of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, which I postulate, applying Neo-Lachmannian method,³⁵⁴ based on the collation performed with CollateX.

The following twenty-six manuscripts³⁵⁵ containing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ (except Eg and Eh) and here listed according to the alphabetical order of their sigla, were available for my study:

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

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

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

17. Lb, MS BetEman-001, eighteenth century
18. Lc, MS MadAl-001, nineteenth century
19. Ld, MS BetMarq-001, seventeenth/eighteenth century
20. M, MS MasKa-003, twentieth century
21. N, MS NazMa-001, 1988
22. Oa-OaII, MS BL Orient. 719, British Library, fourteenth/fifteenth century (Oa), nineteenth century (OaII)
23. Ob, MS BL Orient. 718, British Library, 1840s
24. P, MS Parm. 3852, 1939-1940
25. Va, MS BAV Cerulli 37, twenties century
26. Vb, MS BAV Cerulli 223, nineteenth century

3.1. Recensio

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

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

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

³⁵⁶ Trovato highlighte the importance of polygenetic errors, ‘noise’, see Trovato 2014, 109-116.

1. Witness A did not serve as a *Vorlage* for any of the available witnesses, for it has separative errors (such as innovations, omissions also by homeoteleuton, that are difficult to correct once they have happened).

E.g. 'Preamble' § 26 [...] በእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ሃይማኖቱ ፡ ርትዕት ። ወበእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ትዕግሥቱ ፡ በውሰት ፡ ገድል ፡ [...]

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

Omission of ወበእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ትዕግሥቱ ፡ A, fol. 1vb

Full passage: cet.

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

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

E.g. 'Preamble' § 34 [...] ዘእንበለ ፡ ዐቅም ።

§ 35. እስመ ፡ እለ ፡ ይበልዑ ፡ ወይሰትዩ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ዐቅም ፡ ይትቃረንዎ ፡ ለቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ።

'Preamble' § 34. [...] without measure.

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

Homeoteleuton of እስመ ፡ እለ ፡ ይበልዑ ፡ ወይሰትዩ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ዐቅም ፡ Ed, fol. 5ra

Full passage: cet.

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

3. Branch of the subarchetype κ

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

E.g. 'Preamble' § 42 [...] ኀክ ፡ ይኑበር ፡ አምላክክ ፡ ባሕረ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ [...]

'Preamble' § 42 [...] where our God abides, sea of mercy [...]

Merged variant ባሕረት ፡ Ee, fol. 1rb

Correct reading ባሕረ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ cet.

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

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 50 [...] ደብረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ እስመ ፡ በከመ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ይትወቀብ ፡ ውሱት ፡ አስከሬን ፡ [...]

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 50 [...] a mount of gold because as gold is kept in a treasury [...]

Hom. እስመ ፡ በከመ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ Ei, fol. 5rb

c) In all likelihood, Dillmann used witness J for the *Lexicon*.³⁵⁷ Witness J did not serve as a *Vorlage* for any of the available witnesses (considering its history, probably for non existing witness), for it contains separative errors.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ § 4 [...] እኚህ ፡ ይጸወር ፡ በአርዑት ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ [...]

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ § 4 [...] suffering under the yoke of Satan’s servitude [...]

Variant reading ይኮበር ፡ J, f. 7r

ይጸወር ፡ cet. (-EjKV_a); ይኸር ፡ EjV_a; ይጸግግ ፡ K

d) There is a big textual transposition in Ee, Ei, J which were grouped under the sigla ShMSS, all originated from Šawā. The manuscripts of this group are marked by a transposition of a portion of text as opposed to the ‘rest’ of the tradition, which follows the normal thread of the narration.³⁵⁸ It is enough to postulate a common subarchetype for EeEiJ. Transposition occurs in the middle of the page, what excludes the possibility of the codicological transposition within these preserved MSS.

Thus, we find:

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

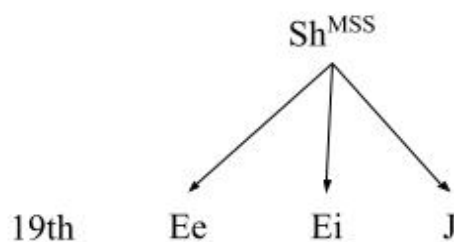
³⁵⁷ See Dillmann 1865, x-xi, see Valieva 2017, 197.

³⁵⁸ See Valieva 2017, 196.

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God’, integrated into the ‘Life of Lālibalā’: Ee fols. 37rb-40vb, Ei fols. 44va-47vb, J fols. 54v-59v;

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

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



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

E.g. ‘Preamble’ §36 ወይትረጸም ፡ ላዕሊሆሙ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ [...]

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

Variant reading ላዕሊከሙ ፡ K, f. 2rb (‘on you’)

Correct reading ላዕሊሆሙ ፡] cet. (- αEiGK); በላዕሊሆሙ ፡ αEiG; በላዕሊሆ ፡ Ld

f) ShMSS shares conjunctive errors with K.

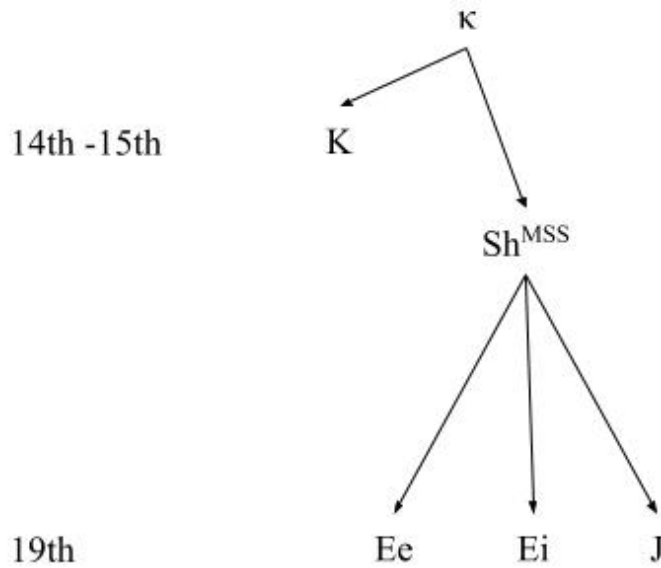
E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 60 [...] ሰማዕነ ፡ ዝኸረ ፡ ተስፋሆ ፡ ለጸድቅ ።

‘Preamble’ § 60 [...] we have heard the mention of hope of a saint.

Variant reading ዜናኹ ፡ Ei, fol. 6rb, J, fol. 5v, K, fol. 3vb; ዜናሁ ፡ Ee, fol. 6rb (‘announce’)

Correct reading ተስፋሆ ፡ cet (-La); (ወ-ዳሊሁ ፤ La, fol. 27rb)

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



4. Branch of the subarchetype ε

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

E.g. 'Preamble' § 45 [...] እምነረ ፡ ፅርፈት ፡ እምነቢበ ፡ መግ ፡ ወሐሰት ፡ [...]

'Preamble' § 45 [...] from blasphemous speech, from unjust and false talk [...]

Om. ፅርፈት ፡ እምነቢበ ፡ Lb, fol. 3vb

Full passage: cet.

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

E.g. 'Preamble' § 8 ወለእሳትኒ ፡ ዘሰፍሐ ፡ በአየረ ፡ ነፋስ ፡ [...]

'Preamble' § 8 And Who stretched out the fire on the air of the wind [...]

Variant reading ዘፍሐ ፡ Va, fol. 1rb ('blew')

Correct reading ዘሰፍሐ ፡] cet. (-ξVa); ዘሰፍሐ ፡ ξ

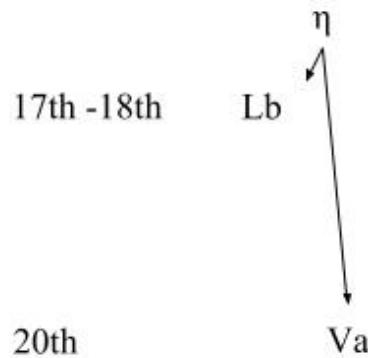
c) Lb shares conjunctive errors with Va.

E.g. 'Preamble' § 49 [...] ወድርክ ፡ እንግድግ ፡ ዘመዊእ ፡ [...]

'Preamble' § 49 [...] A breastplate of power [...]

ወደርክ ፡] cet. (- LbVa); ወደግ ፡ Lb fol. 4va, Va fol. 3va

In addition, Lb has identical physical articulation as Va. Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Lb and Va, subarchetype η in the *stemma*.



d) Ej shares conjunctive errors with Lb and Va.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ § 15 [...] መግባዝ ፡ አርቲያ ፡ [...]

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

Variant reading አርጊያ ፡ Ej, fol. 6vb, Lb, fol. 8ra, Va, fol. 6rb (‘made solid’)

Correct reading አርቲያ ፡ cet.

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

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 8 ወለእሳትኒ ፡ ዘሰፍሖ ፡ በአየረ ፡ ነፋስ ፡

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

Variant reading እሳት ፡ G, fol. 42ra (‘fire’)

Correct reading ነፋስ ፡ cet. (-OaII); ሰማይ ፡ OaII

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

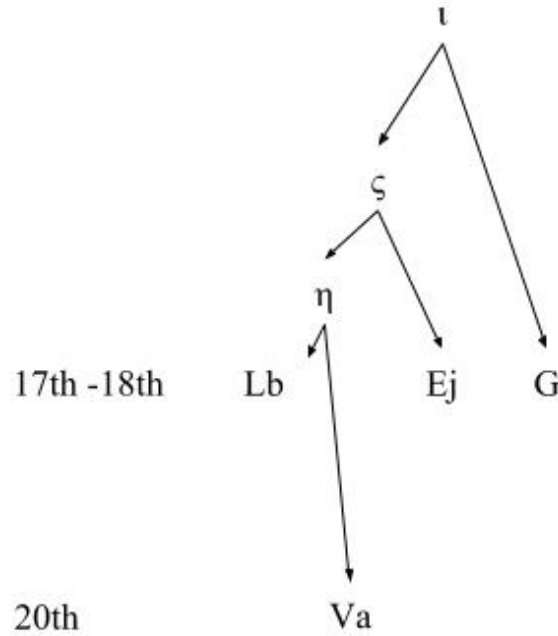
E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 4 ዘኢይትፈለጥ ፡ ወልድ ፡ እምኣብ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እምወልድ ፡

‘Preamble’ § 4 In Whom the Son is neither separated from the Father nor the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Variant reading $\omega\alpha\epsilon\text{'}\iota : \lambda\rho\text{'}\lambda\text{'}\eta : \text{Ej, f. 2ra, G, f. 42ra, Lb, f. 1ra, Va, f. 1ra}$ ('And the Son from the Father')

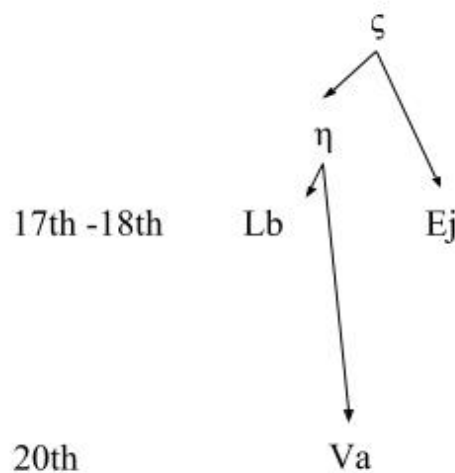
Correct reading $\lambda\rho\omega\alpha\epsilon\text{'}$: cet. (-EdLd); om. EdLd

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



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

E.g. 'Preamble' § 60 [...] $\lambda\rho\text{'}\lambda\text{'}\eta\text{'}\epsilon\text{'}\iota : \rho\text{'}\epsilon\text{'}\epsilon\text{'}$: [...]



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

E.g. 'Preamble' § 60 [...] እምአጽናፌ ፡ ምድር ፡ [...]

'Preamble' § 60 From the ends of the earth [...]

Variant reading ዓለም ፡ Ef, fol. 6va ('world')

Correct reading ምድር ፡ cet. (-La); om. La

h) Ef shares some conjunctive errors with ι.

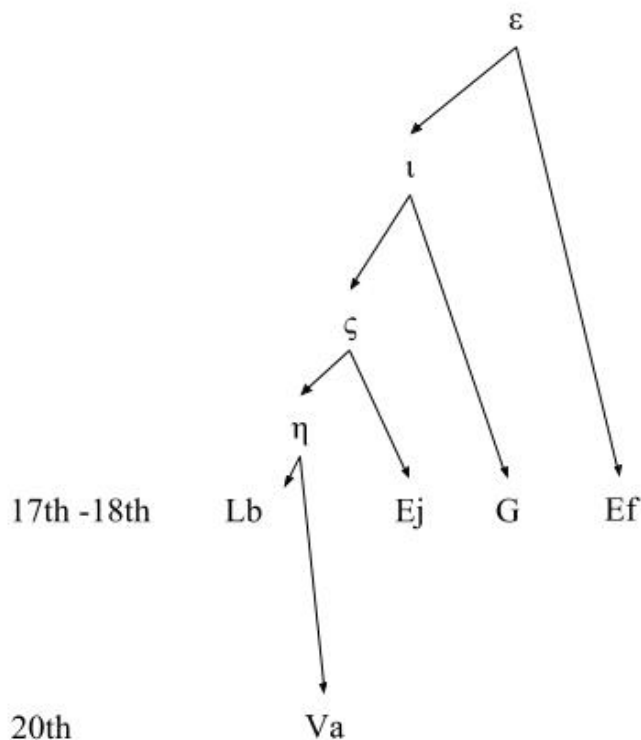
E.g. 'Jesus and His redeeming fire' §2 [...] ዘወለደ ፡ ነጠአተ ፡ እማሕፀኑ ፡ ዘምለእ ፡ ሕምዝ ፡ ዘይቀትል ።

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

Variant reading እምከርሡ ፡ Ef, fol. 7vb, Ej, fol. 6va, G, fol. 46ra, Lb, fol. 7va, Va, fol. 5vb ('womb')

Correct reading እማሕፀኑ ፡ cet. (-EdEi); om. Ed; እምሕፀኑ ፡ Ei

Therefore, I postulate a common ancestor for Ef and ι, subarchetype ε in the *stemma*. ε constitutes one branch and for the reconstruction will count as one.



4. Branch of the subarchetype δ

- a) P is a *codex descriptus* from Ec, see below.
- b) M is a *codex descriptus* from Ec, see below.
- c) Vb is a *codex descriptus* from Ec, see below.
- d) Eg attests only narrative units that seem to be copied from Ec. However, since it does not attest the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ proper (it does not attest neither ‘Preamble’, nor ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ etc.), I eliminated it from the reconstruction.
- e) Ec shares conjunctive errors with M, P and Vb.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 40: ወእሉ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ እለ ፡ ይበውእዋ ፡ ለአንቀጽ ፡ ሀገሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እለ ፡ አቅደም ፡ ነገረ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሥሁዓን ።

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

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

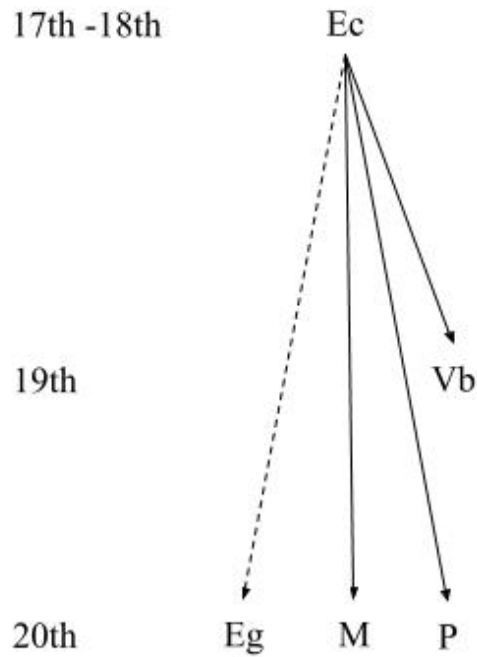
Correct reading ምስለ ፡ እለ ፡ cet.

Since M, P and Vb:

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

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

Considering the number of textual units in Ec, I presuppose that Eg was copied from Ec, but this hypothesis needs to be verified. Since Eg is incomplete, I can verify it only when respected parts of the textual units will have been reconstructed.



f) The *recensio* demonstrates that only one from the 26 available witnesses of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’ derives directly from Ea, witness N, i.e. a *codex descriptus*. The most illustrative example is the following:

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

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’, explicit fol. 78rb: ወከመዝ ፡ ነበረ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወቱ ፡ እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈለሰ ።

BetLal, incipit fol. 78va: እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ላ [space] አኀዘ ፡ ይሕንጽ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ በ፲ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡

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

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’, explicit fol. 86rb ወከመዝ ፡ ነበረ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወቱ ፡ እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈለሰ ፡

Addition N fols. 86rb-va: እምዘንቱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ኃላፊ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ ኢጥዕመ ፡ ጥዑመ ፡ መባልዕተ ።

BetLal, incipit fol. 86va: እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ [space] አኀዘ ፡ ይሕንፅ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ በ፲ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡

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

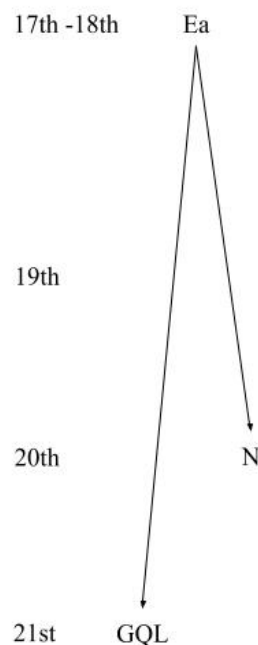
³⁵⁹ See chapter one.

g) Ea served as a *Vorlage* for ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’,³⁶⁰ it is one of the two most authoritative witnesses of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’ within the Lālibalā churches (and thus, de facto, within the entire country). According to one of the traditions, all other copies derive from Ea. Ea contains separative errors, which disclaim it as a *Vorlage* for other witnesses.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §30 [...] እስመ ፡ ፈጽሞኒ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ [...]

Variant reading ፈጽመ ፡ Ea, fol. 8va

Correct reading ፈጽሞኒ ፡ cet.



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

i) Ea shares conjunctive errors with Eb.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ § 3 ወይእቲ ፡ ንጢላቲ ፡ ልሂቃ ፡ ፍጡኅ ፡ [...]

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ § 3 And this sin of his, growing fast [...]

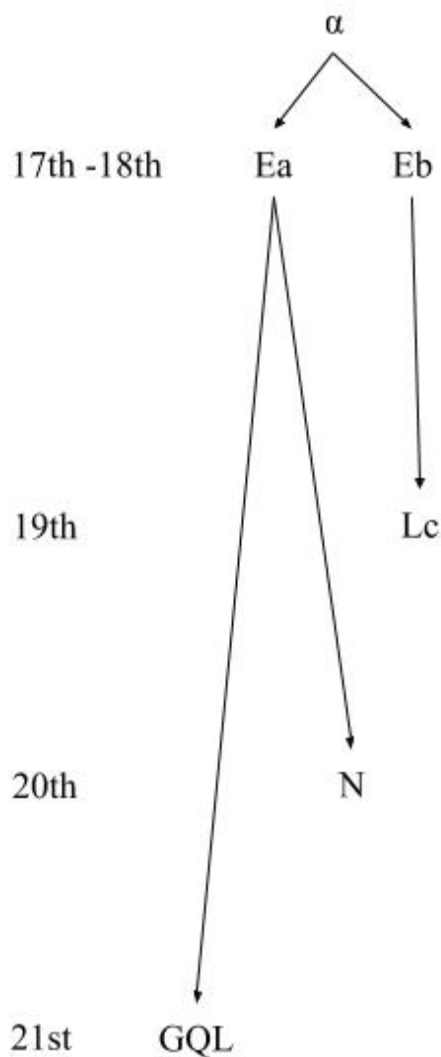
³⁶⁰ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007.

Variant reading $\omega\epsilon\lambda\iota\iota\iota$: Ea, fol. 7rb, Eb, fol. 7vb

Contaminated reading $\omega\epsilon\lambda\iota$: { $\omega\epsilon\lambda\iota\iota\iota$:} s.l. Ec fol. 7vb

Correct reading $\omega\epsilon\lambda\iota$: cet.

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



j) Ea and Ec contain various contaminations; apparently, they were collated with each other.

E.g. 'Jesus and His redeeming fire' §12 $\text{ዘኸሰጠ} : \text{ለዓለም} : \text{በማየ} : \text{አዶኅ} : \text{በኅርዳናስ} : \text{ተጠሟቆ} :$

'Jesus and His redeeming fire' §12 The one who washed the world in the waters of the Deluge was baptised in the Jordan.

Variant reading በማየ : የርዳኖስ : Ec, fol. 8ra

Contaminated reading በ{ማየ :} የርዳኖስ : s.l. Ea, fol. 7va

Correct reading በየርዳኖስ : cet.

Another example is 'Jesus and His redeeming fire' §19 በየማየ : ገብር : ቀጥሎ : ከመ : ጊዜ : ተክሏል :

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

Variant reading በዓውደ : ጳሊጦስ : p.c. Ea, fol. 7vb

Contaminated reading በየማየ : ገብር : {በዓውደ : ጳሊጦስ :} s.l. Ec, fol. 8rb

Correct reading በየማየ : ገብር : cet.

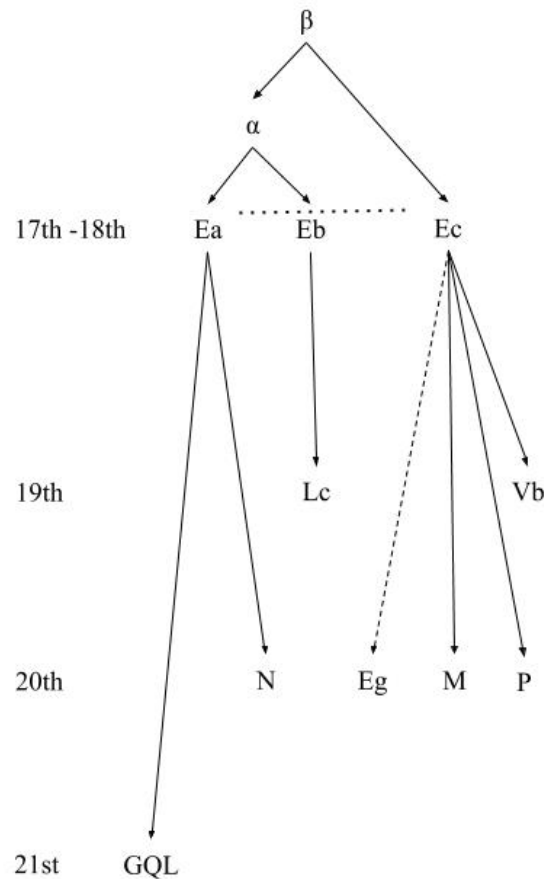
k) Subarchetype α shares conjunctive errors with Ec (although most of which seem to be contaminations with Ea).

E.g. the 'Life of Lālibalā' § 1 ንትመዋጥኬ : ኀበ : ጥበዓተ : ገድሎ : ለዝንቱ : ዕፍረት : ምዕዝ : [...]

Variant reading ንግባእኬ : Ea, fol. 26ra, Eb, fol. 39rb, Ec, fol. 34vb

Correct reading ንትመዋጥኬ : cet.

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



l) Witness Ab and Ob are codices descripti from Oa-OaII. Sigla OaII is introduced for the second production unit dated to the nineteenth century, while the first production unit (Oa) is datable to fourteenth/fifteenth centuries.³⁶¹ Witnesses Ab and Ob share conjunctive errors with both units (Oa and OaII), which probably means that the restoration of Oa (introduction of OaII) took place before Ab and Ob were copied. Since OaII and Ob seem to be written by the same hand, I suggest that the copyist first restored Oa, introducing OaII and then copied Ob from Oa-OaII. Antoine d'Abbadie did not write anything about his copy in his diary. Knowing that d'Abbadie did commission some manuscripts in Gondar, we may assume that his 'Gadla Lālibalā' collection' copy comes from the same city and probably even from the same scriptorium as Ob.

E.g. for OaII: 'Preamble' § 6 **ዘላለኝ ሥላሴ ለምድር ጠልብኛለሁ ስለዚህ ትሆኑ** #

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

ዘላለኝ ሥላሴ # Ab fol. 1ra, OaII fol. 2rb, Ob fol. 1rab

ዘላለኝ ሥላሴ # cet. (AbEiGOaIIOb) (**ዘላለኝ ጠልብኛለሁ** : s.l. G; **ትሆኑ** : Ei).

³⁶¹ For more details, see Chapter Two.

E.g. for Oa: ‘Preamble’ § 45 [...] አንብቦ ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትግሠት ። አልጉሞ ፡ ልሳን ፡ እምነረ ፡ ፅርፈት ፡ [...] ‘Preamble’ § 45 [...] tears with diligence, keeping one’s tongue from blasphemous speech [...]

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

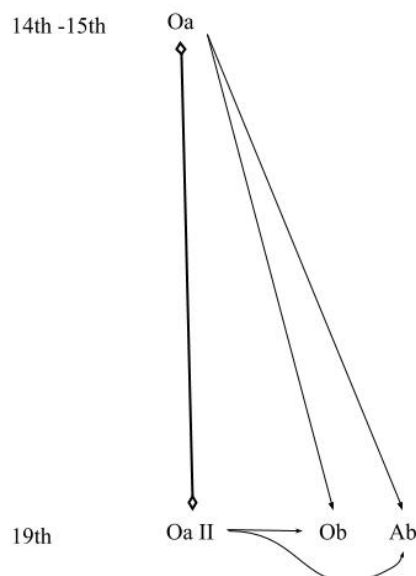
[...] አንብቦ ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትግሠት ፡ አርምሞ ፡ ልሳን ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትፅግሥት ፡ እምነረ ፡ ፅርፈት ፡ [...] Ab fol. 2 va

[...] አንብቦ ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትጋህ ፡ አልጉሞ ፡ ልሳን ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትእግሥት ፡፤፤ እምነረ ፡ ፅርፈት ፡ [...] Ob fol. 3ra

[...] tears with diligence, keeping one’s tongue with patience from blasphemous speech [...]

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

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



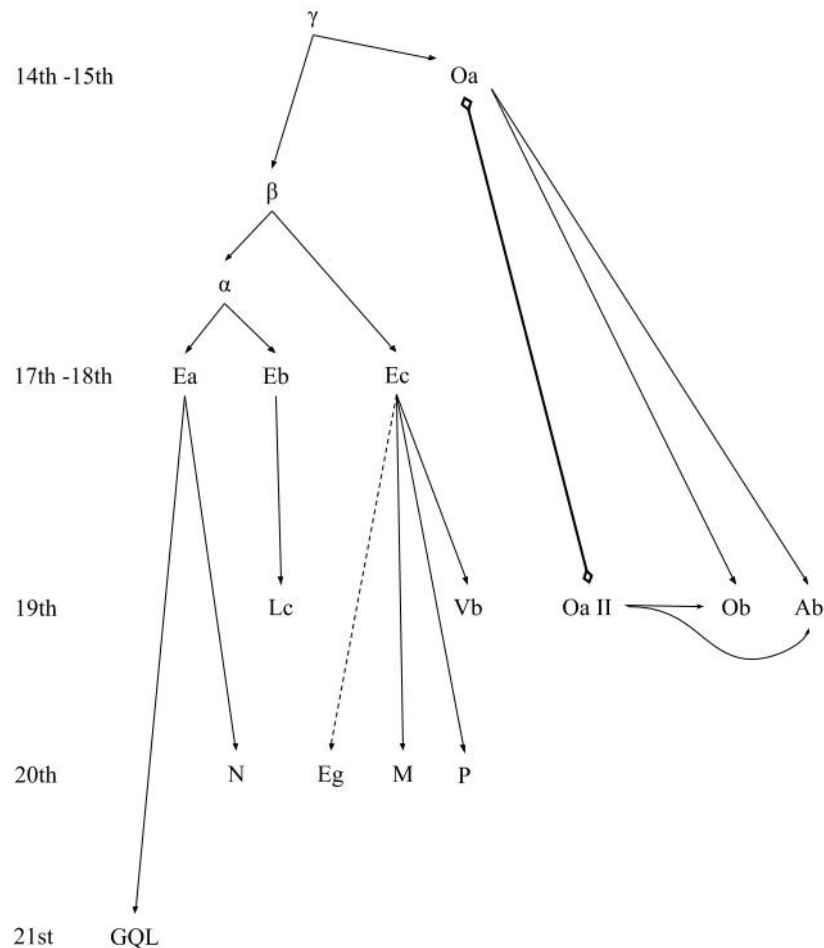
m) Subarchetype β shares conjunctive errors with Oa.

E.g. ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ § 17: በውስተ ፡ ሥጋው ፡ በዘይቱበኣ ።

Variant reading በዘይመውኣ ፡ Ea, fol. 19rb, Eb fol. 27va, Ec, fol. 24vb, p.c. Oa fol. 34 rb

Correct reading በዘይቱበኣ ፡ cet.

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



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

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 51-52 [...] ወትሐት ፡ ወጽምው ፡ ዘይርዕድ ፡ እምቃልየ ።

52ወእግዚአ ፡ ነቢይኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ተመሀኑ ፡ እምኔየ ፡ እስመ ፡ የዋህ ፡ አነ ፡ ወትሐት ፡ ልብየ ፡ [...]

‘Preamble’ § 51 [...] and the humble and the ascetic, who tremble at my word?’

52 And the Lord of the Prophet says, ‘Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble is my heart [...]

Hom. ወጽምው ፡ ዘይርዕድ ፡ እምቃልየ ። 52ወእግዚአ ፡ ነቢይኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ተመሀኑ ፡ እምኔየ ፡ እስመ ፡ የዋህ ፡ አነ ፡ ወትሐት ፡ La, fol. 26vb

Full passage: cet.

La shares conjunctive errors with Ld.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 7 ሰማይኒ ፡ ዘአንበራ ፡ በአየረ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘይነድድ ።

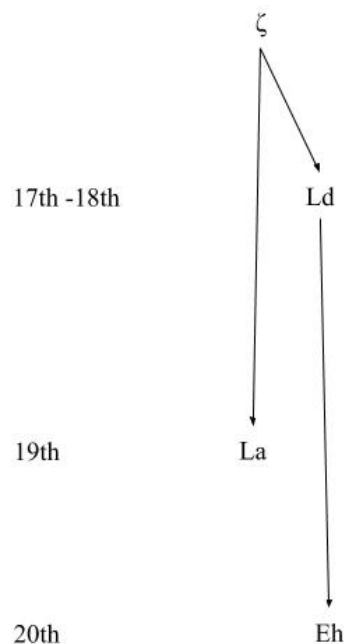
‘Preamble’ § 7 Who established the heavens on the air of the burning fire.

Variant reading በአየረ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ La, f. 25ra, Ld, fol. 3rb

Correct reading በአየረ ፡ cet.

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

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



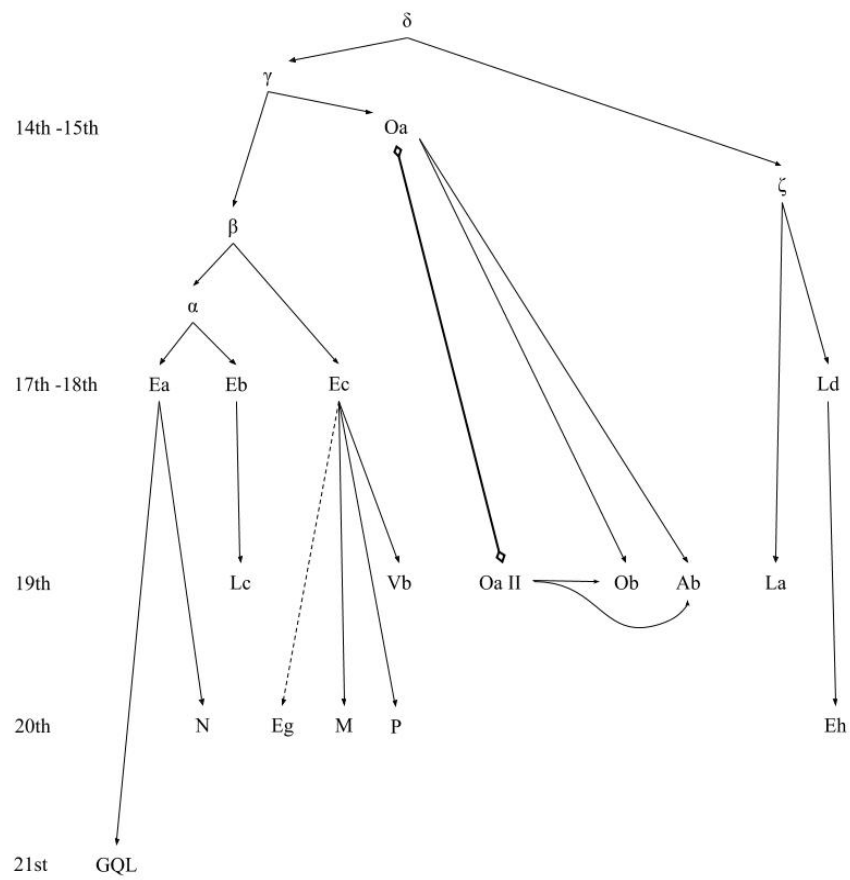
q) Subarchetype γ shares several polygenetic errors with ζ.

E.g. ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ § 17 ወተወለጠ ፡ ጠባይዑ ፡ አኮ ፡ በጢሎ ፡ እምክሞኔሁ ፡ አላ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተመይጠ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ግዕዝ ፡ መለኮት ።

Variant reading መለኮት ፡ Ea, fol. 19rab, Eb, fol. 27va, Ec, fol. 24vb, La, fol. 38rb, Ld, fol. 23vb, Oa, fol. 34rb

Correct reading መለኮት ፡ cet.

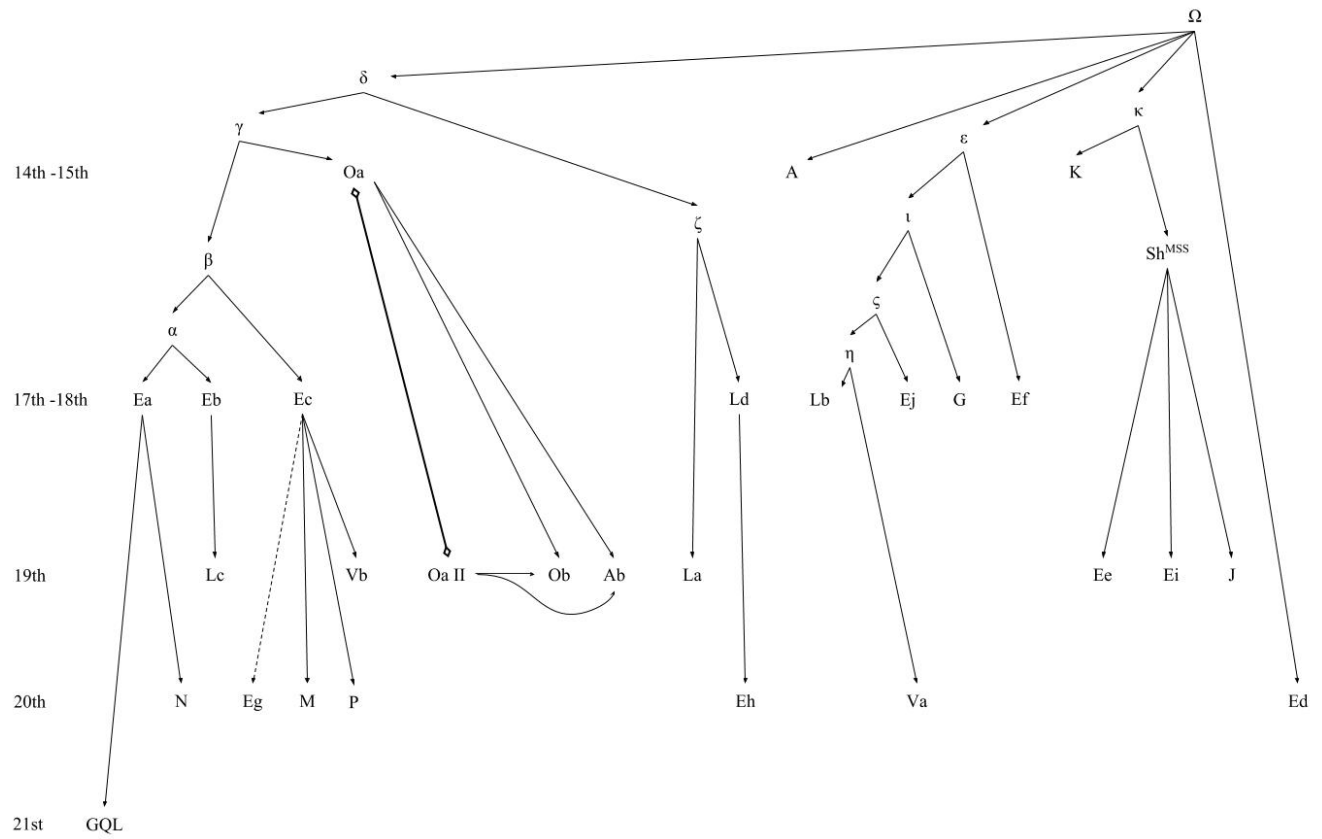
Therefore, for now I postulate a common ancestor for γ and ζ , subarchetype δ in the *stemma*. Subarchetype δ constitutes one branch.



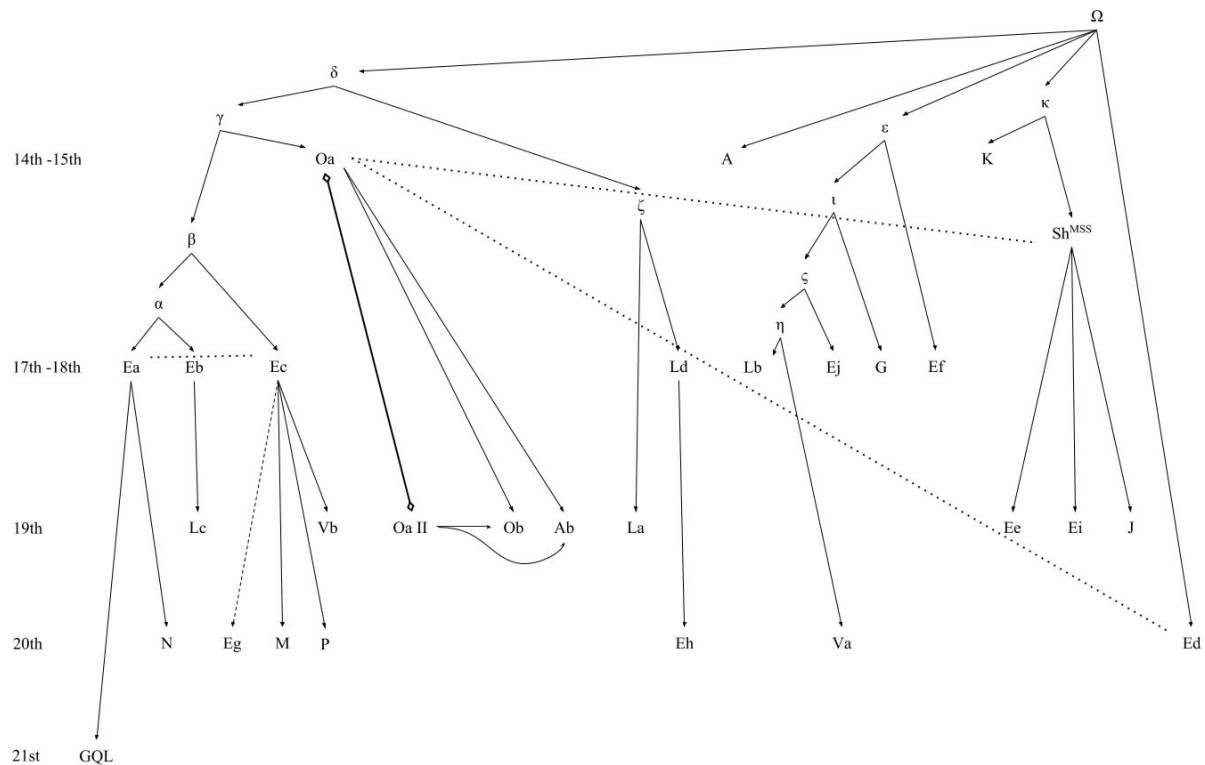
Summary

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

The remainder fall into five branches:



If we add evidence about contamination with dotted line, the *stemma*³⁶² looks like the following:



3.2. Paracontent and the stemma

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

In their effort to reach a medieval author's original writings, textual critics have regarded the scribe as an impediment. The editor would prefer him to be transparent, leaving no trace of his own ideology, taste, knowledge, or skill. If the scribe is intelligent, he annoys the scholar by making conscious emendations, while the blunders of a less gifted copyist arouse contempt even though they can be useful in establishing stemmata. When the focus of literary study shifts away from the histories of individual works, however, the scribe appears in a different aspect. He was as much a member of his society and a transmitter of his culture as any author, and his creation is as much a historical artefact of the works he transmits.³⁶³

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

³⁶² I want to thank Margarita Akseshina who happened to be my guest at the moment of writing this part and helped to draw me the Stemma (I). Further I want to thank Pietro Liuzzo who was very much engaged in my work and helped me to draw an improved *stemma* once again.

³⁶³ Gehrke 1993, 1.

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

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

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



Chapter Four. The ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’ edition

As was noted in Chapter One, the recently published book, the ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’ edition,³⁶⁴ is the richest collection of Saint King Lālibalā’s hagiography. It was prepared by the scholars of Dabra Sabakā Gubā’e of Lālibalā town based on different sources, one of which was confirmed to be MS EMMML 6931. This book was authorized as an improved version and as such is read aloud in the churches of Lālibalā town. Being easily available, this printed book is reaching all corners of Ethiopia: one will find it treated as a manuscript in the churches of Lālibalā town (people kiss it as if they were kissing the manuscript), in the hands of a monk in a hidden monastery of Təgrāy or in the hands of a scholar in Addis Ababa. The edition appeared three times already, though I only have access to two of them. As stated in the introduction to the second edition, it is a re-print of the same book in a pocket format. I am not aware which sources were employed for this edition apart from MS EMMML 6931; it is neither specified by the editors, nor inquired by me. I have limited myself to the issues related to the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’ and will introduce here what I learnt from several interviews conducted in Lālibalā town in 2014 and 2017.

4.1. The sources for the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’

Afa mamhər Allabbāččaw Ǝratta took a manuscript from the church of Golgotā (I have identified this manuscript as MS EMMML 6931) to his home (it was before the UNESCO resettlement and he was living five-minutes walking distance from the church) in order to copy it. His copy is done on paper with a pen, the text is written in two columns: in one Allabbāččaw Ǝratta copied the original text and in the other one he began his Amharic translation. Being aged and having problems with his eyes, Allabbāččaw Ǝratta did not finish the Amharic translation. It was accomplished by other scholars, namely by *mamhər* Yāred Məsgānāw, *marigetā* Sammāñ Samara, *mal’aka səbḥat* Abağga Daśśālañ, *marigetā* Yāred Yaḥwalāw³⁶⁵ and *marigetā* Balāy.

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

³⁶⁴ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007; 2010.

³⁶⁵ Id., 3.

The first ‘Inscription on *manbara tābot* of Beta Golgotā’ was edited by Gigar Tesfaye.³⁶⁶ In ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’ this inscription appears as መስተብቅላዊ ዘቅዱስ ላሊበላ ንጉሥ በእንተ ሰንበተ ክርስቲያን ቅድስት.³⁶⁷

Incipit: በስመ አብ (sic!) ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ እግዚአብሔር አምላክ እዩድስ ኣነ ለሰንበተ ክርስቲያን ዕቢያ³⁶⁸

Explicit: ሰንበተ ሰንበታቲክ አብዒኒ ውስተ ዕረፍተ ክብር ወሕይወት ለገብርክ ላሊበላ ለክ ሰብሐት ወለክ አክሙቴት ወለክ ሥልጣን ወለክ መንግሥት ወለክ ምሕረት በሰማይ ወበምድር ብውህ እንተ ትቀትል ወትሐዩ ወከመ ታኅዲ ወታብዕል ወአልቦቲ ዘኢይትከሐልክ ውስተ ዝንቲ እምቅድመ ዓለም ወእስከ ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን³⁶⁹

The second ‘Inscription on *manbara tābot* of Beta Giorgis’ was edited by Gigar Tesfaye as well.³⁷⁰ In ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’ this inscription appears as መስተብቅላዊ ዘቅዱስ ላሊበላ በእንተ ማርያም ድንግል.³⁷¹

Incipit: ማርያም ወላዲት አምላክ እመ ሰማዕት ወእህተ መላእክት እንተ ሐሰሰዋ ወኣድዋ ነቢያት ዙበዙ ወዳሴ³⁷²

Explicit: ወገራውህ እለ ያውድእ ፍሬ መሥዋዕተ በስምዩ ይኩኑ ቡሩካኑ ወአጸወይን እንተ ያቀርቡ እምኔሁ ትኩን ቡርክተ ወይትባረኩ ኩሎሙ እለ ይገብሩ ተዝካርዮ ለዓለም ዓለም ።³⁷³

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

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

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

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

³⁶⁷ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 179-181; 2010, 378-383. ³⁶⁸ Gigar Tesfaye 1987, 115.

³⁶⁹ Id., 116.

³⁷⁰ Id., 77.

³⁷¹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 182; 2010, 422.

³⁷² Gigar Tesfaye 1987, 77.

³⁷³ Id.

collection' with the numbers they appear below, in the sequence they are arranged in MS EMMML 6931 (Ea):

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

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

15. Homily of Lālibalā, commonly known as transmitted together with *Dərsāna 'Urā'el*³⁷⁴
16. How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a child, commonly transmitted with the 'Homily of Lālibalā'³⁷⁵
17. Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā³⁷⁶
18. Finding in Beta Māryām³⁷⁷
19. Inscription on *manbara tābot* of Beta Golgotā
20. Inscription on *manbara tābot* of Beta Giorgis
21. Malkə'a Lālibalā as edited in 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā'
22. Nagś [Hymn] of Lālibalā as edited in 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā'
23. *Salāmtā* as edited in 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā'

³⁷⁴ Derat 2016, 120-124 (text), 125-128.

³⁷⁵ Id., 124-125 (text), 128-129 (trans.).

³⁷⁶ 'Miracolo IV. Lālibalā' in Marrassini 2003, 311-320.

³⁷⁷ 'Deux colophons de la Vie de Lālibalā', see Derat 2016, 106-114.

In the last right column, I will indicate the correspondence to the edited text by Perruchon (Perr.) or Kur, for they were my initial sources for the indentification of the content of ‘Gadla qəddus Lā libalā’.

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

Pages, GQL 2007	Marking (on a page)	TU	Perr./Kur
1-3	መግለጫ (Introduction)	-	
5-10	መቅደም (Preamble)	1	Perr. 1-7
11-15	ምዕራፍ ፩ (chapter one) ዘሠኔ	2	11-14 § 13 in GQL corresp. Perr. 7-10
16-18	ምዕራፍ ፪	2	
19-24	ምዕራፍ ፫	4	
25-29	ምዕራፍ ፬ (1-15)	5	
29-31	ምዕራፍ ፬ (16-29)	14	29 § § 17-31 in GQL corresp. Perr. 62-64
32-36	ምዕራፍ ፭ ዘሐምሌ	6	
37-45	ምዕራፍ ፮	6 (cont.)	
46-47	ምዕራፍ ፯ ዘካርያስ	7	
48	ምዕራፍ ፰	7 (cont.)	48 corersp. Perr. 11
49-52	ምዕራፍ ፱	7 (cont.)	50 (§ 6-52) in GQL corresp. Perr. 15-17
52-57	ምዕራፍ ፲ ዘመስከረም	7(cont.)	53-54 (§ 13), 55 (§ 20)-56 (§ 22), 57 (§ § 31-34) in GQL corresp. Perr. 17-20
58-62	ምዕራፍ ፲፩	7 (cont.)	58-59 (§ 9) in GQL corresp. Perr 20-21
63-64	ምዕራፍ ፲፪	7 (cont.)	
65-68	ምዕራፍ ፲፫	7(cont.)	65 (§ 1-3) in GQL corresp. Perr. 21
69-70	ምዕራፍ ፲፬	7 (cont.)	69 (§ 1-3) in GQL corresp. Perr. 21-22

71	ምዕራፍ ፲፭	7 (cont.)	
72-74	ምዕራፍ ፲፮	7 (cont.)	
75	ምዕራፍ ፲፯	7 (cont.)	
76-88	ምዕራፍ ፲፰	7 (cont.)	84 (§ § 85-90) in GQL corresp. Perr. 22
89-91	ምዕራፍ ፲፱	7 (cont.)	
92-94	ምዕራፍ ፳ ዘጥቅምት	7 (cont.)	93 (§ 15-94) in GQL corresp. Perr. 22-24
95-96	ምዕራፍ ፳፩	7 (cont.)	Perr. 24-25
97-101	ምዕራፍ ፳፪	7 (cont.)	97-99 (§ 22), 100-101 in GQL corresp. Perr. 26-31
102-106	ምዕራፍ ፳፫ ዘኅዳር	7 (cont.)	102-106 corresp. Perr. 31-35
107-109	ምዕራፍ ፳፬	7 (cont.)	107 (§ 1-6), 108 (§ 14-15) in GQL corresp. Perr. 35-36, while 107 (§ 6)-108 (§ 13) in GQL corresp. Kur 385-386 and 108 (§ 15)-109 in GQL corresp. Kur 386
110-114	ምዕራፍ ፳፭	7 (cont.)	110 (§ 1-4), 111 (§ 8-11), 111 (§ 14)-112 (§ 16), 112 (§ 17-19) in GQL corresp. Perr. 36-38, while 110 (§ 2), 110 (§ 5)-111 (§ 7), 111 (§ 11-13), 112 (§ 16), 112 (§ 19)-114 in GQL corresp. Kur 386-389
115-117	ምዕራፍ ፳፮ ዘታኅሣሥ	7	115-117 (§ 11) in GQL corresp. Perr. 12-14
118-122	ምዕራፍ ፳፯	15	
123-127	ምዕራፍ ፳፰ ዘጥር	7 (cont.)	Kur 389-392
128-134	ምዕራፍ ፳፱	7 (cont.)	Kur 392-396
135-140	ምዕራፍ ፴ ዘየካቲት	7 (cont.)	Kur 396-400
141-148	ምዕራፍ ፴፩ ዘመጋቢት	7 (cont.)	144 (§ 14)-145 (§ 24), 146 (§ 30)-147 (§ 39) in GQL corresp. Perr.

			38-41, while 141-144 (§ 13), 145 (§ 25)-146 (§ 30), 147 (§ 39)-148 in GQL corresp. Perr. 400-403
149-151	ምዕራፍ ፴፪ ዘግጥሙ	7 (cont.)	Perr. 41-44
152-157	ምዕራፍ ፴፫ ዘግጥሙ	14	Perr. 55-61
158-159	ተአምር	8	Perr. 44-46
159-160	ተአምር	16	
160-162	ተአምር	10	Perr. 49-51
162-165	ተአምር	9	Perr. 46-49
165-167	ተአምር	11	Per. 51-53
168	ተአምር	12	Perr. 53-54
168-169	ተአምር	13	Perr. 54-55
169-172	ተአምረ ገብረ መንፈስ ቅዱስ	17	
172	ቅዱስ ቤተ ክርስቲያን	18	
173	ተዝካረ ቅዱሳን	18 (cont.)	
173	ከሰሎሞን እስከ ይትባረክ የትውልድ ሐረግ	-	
175-176	የ፲፩ ቅዱሳን ነገሥታት የንግሥ ዘመን	-	
177-178	የዛጉዩ ነገሥታት ሥርወ መንግሥት ከንጉሥ ሰሎሞን ዘር ሲያያዝ የመጣ ስለመሆኑ	-	
179-182	መስተብቁሳዕ ዘቅዱስ ላሊበላ ንጉሥ በእንተ ሰንበተ ክርስቲያን ቅድስት	19	
182	ማርያም ድንግል	20	
183-194	የ፲ፋ ቤተመቅደሳት ቅርጽ ከክምሳሌያቸው	-	
194	ታቦታቱ የገቡበት ቀንና ወር	-	
194-195	በሕንጻው ዙሪያ ያሉ ቦታዎች ከክምሳሌያቸው	-	
196-198	መልክአ ላሊበላ	21	
198-199	ነገሥ	22	

200	ሰላምታ	23	
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Table 2. Concordance of GQL edition of 2010 with the identified textual units

Pages in GQL 2010	Marking (on a page)	Correspondance
1-19	መግለጫ (Introduction); መቅድም (Preamble)	-
20-23	የላሲታ ³⁷⁸ ነገሥታት ሥርወ መንግሥት ከነገሥት ሰሎሞን ዘር ሲያያዝ የመጣ ስለመሆኑ	
24-37		1
38-45	ምዕራፍ ፩ በእንተ ፅንሱቱ ወልደቱ	7
46-49	ምዕራፍ ፪ በእንተ ሰትዮቱ ሕምዘ	7 (cont.)
50-61	ምዕራፍ ፫	7 (cont.)
62-71	ምዕራፍ ፬ በእንተ ተመስጦቱ ውስተ ሰማያት	7 (cont.)
72-75	ምዕራፍ ፭	7 (cont.)
76-83	ምዕራፍ ፮	7 (cont.)
84-89	ምዕራፍ ፯	7 (cont.)
90-91	ምዕራፍ ፰	7 (cont.)
92-97	ምዕራፍ ፱	7 (cont.)
98-99	ምዕራፍ ፲	7 (cont.)
100-119	ምዕራፍ ፲፩	7 (cont.)
120-129	ምዕራፍ ፲፪ ዘክመ አርአዮ ግብረ ሆንጸሆን	7 (cont.)
130-135	ምዕራፍ ፲፫ ዘክመ ወሀቦ ኪዳነ በሰማያት	7 (cont.)
136-141	ምዕራፍ ፲፬ ዘክመ ቀብያ ቅብዓ መንግሥት በሰማያት	7 (cont.)
142-145	ምዕራፍ ፲፭ በእንተ ተንሱቱ በሃልስ ዕለት	7 (cont.)
146-149	ምዕራፍ ፲፮ ዘክመ ሐረ ውስተ ገዳም ባህቲቶ	7 (cont.)
150-159	ምዕራፍ ፲፯	7 (cont.)

³⁷⁸ Note that የዛገላ in the first edition was changed into የላሲታ.

	ዘከመ ነገሮ መላክ ይገባል ብእሲት	
160-169	ምዕራፍ ፲፰ ዘከመ አስተወደደዎ ወአልተ ንጉሥ	7 (cont.)
170-175	ምዕራፍ ፲፱ ዘከመ ሐረ ውስተ ገዳም ምስለ ብዕሲቱ	7 (cont.)
176-179	ምዕራፍ ፳	7 (cont.)
180-187	ምዕራፍ ፳፩ ዘከመ ወሰደሙ መላክ ውስተ ምድረ አክሱም	7 (cont.)
188-199	ምዕራፍ ፳፪ በእንተ ተአንግዶቱ ኢየሩሳሌም	7 (cont.)
200-209	ምዕራፍ ፳፫	7 (cont.)
210-215	ምዕራፍ ፳፬ ዘከመ ወሀቦ ኪዳን በኢየሩሳሌም ምድራዊት	7 (cont.)
216-231	ምዕራፍ ፳፭	7 (cont.)
232-239	ምዕራፍ ፳፮	7 (cont.)
240-249	ምዕራፍ ፳፯ በእንተ ተመደጦቱ ውስተ ብሔረ ኢትዮጵያ	7 (cont.)
250-255	ምዕራፍ ፳፰ ዘከመ ወሀቦ ንግሶ ለቅዱስ ላሊበላ እኅሁ	7 (cont.)
256-263	ምዕራፍ ፳፱ ዘከመ ወጠነ ሆሪፀ አብያተ ክርስቲያናት	14
264-271	ምዕራፍ ፴ ዘከመ ፈፀመ ሆሪዎቹን ለአብያተ ክርስቲያናት ፲ቱ	14 (cont.)
272-283	ምዕራፍ ፴፩ በእንተ ትሩፋቲሁ	6
284-303	ምዕራፍ ፴፪	6 (cont.)
304-307	ምዕራፍ ፴፫	7 (cont.)
308-309	ምዕራፍ ፴፬	7 (cont.)
310-315	ምዕራፍ ፴፭	7 (cont.)
316-325	ምዕራፍ ፴፮ በእንተ ዕረፍቱ	2
326-333	ምዕራፍ ፴፯	3
334-347	ምዕራፍ ፴፰	4
348-357	ምዕራፍ ፴፱	5
357-359	(ምዕራፍ ፴፱ 16-29)	14 (cont.)
360-363	ምዕራፍ ፵	14 (cont.)

	ዘክመ ወሀቦ ኪዳነ በዕለተ ዕረፍቱ	
364-375	ምዕራፍ ፵፩ እምድርሳን ዑራኤል	15
376/377	ቅዱሴ ቤተ ክርስቲያን	18
376/377	ተዝካረ ቅዱሳን	18 (cont.)
378-383	መስተብቁኑዕ ዘቅዱስ ላሊበላ ንጉሥ በእንተ ሰንበተ ክርስቲያን ቅድስት	19
384-387	ተአምር ፩	8
388/389	ተአምር ፪	16
390-393	ተአምር ፫	10
394-399	ተአምር ፬	9
400-405	ተአምር ፭	11
406/407	ተአምር ፮	12
408-411	ተአምር ፯	13
412-417	ተአምረ ገበረ መንፈስ ቅዱስ	17
418-421	የ፲፩ ቅዱሳን ነገሥታት የንግሥ ዘመን	-
422	መስተብቁኑዕ ዘቅዱስ ላሊበላ በእንተ ማርያም ድንግል	20
423-446	የ፲ፋ ቤተመቅደሳት ቅርጽ ከምሳሌያቸው	-
446	ታቦታቱ የገበብት ቀንና ወር	-
446-452	በሕንጻው ዙሪያ ያሉ ቦታዎች ከምሳሌያቸው	-
453-458	መልክአ ላሊበላ	21
459	ሰላምታ	23
460-461	ከሰሎሞን እስከ ይትባረክ የትውልድ ሐረግ	
461	የ፲፩ ቅዱሳን ነገሥታት የንግሥ ዘመን ³⁷⁹	
462-464	ነገሥ	22

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

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

³⁷⁹ The same table as on page 418 of the same book.

first book was meant for and is used in the churches, while the second book is meant rather for private usage.

The difference can be seen in the table:

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

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

ይሁን እንጂ እን ቅዱስ ላሊበላ ከዚህ በላይ እንደተገለጸው ዘራቸው ከሰሎሞንም ይወርዳል ፤ ግን አንዳንድ በጽሑፍ ላይ (ሐሰተኛ ወንድሞች) የታሪክን ይበልጡን ደግሞ መንፈሳውያን መጻሕፍትን ከደው እውነቱን በሐሰት ፤ ጽድቁን በኃጢአት በመለወጥ አንዳንድ የሥልጣን ተፎካካሪዎችን ያስደሰትን መስሏቸው የዛጉዮ ነገሥታት ከሰሎሞናውያን ዘር ሳይኖራቸው ፣ የማይገባቸውን መንግሥት በኃይል ቀምተው ወዘተ እያሉና ሌላም ሌላም እግዚአብሔርንና ሰውን የሚያሳዝን ቃል ሲናገሩ ፤ በጽሑፍም ሲያሰፍሩ ፤ አንዳንዳችንንም ሲያሳስቱ ይገኛሉ።³⁸²

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

³⁸¹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007, 177-178; 2010, 20-23.

³⁸² Id., 178; 2010, 22.

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

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

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

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

Incipit ስምዕኑኪ ፡ አፍቱራንደ ፡ እንግርክሙ ፡ ዘከሙ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ፀአቶን ፡ ለእሳንቲ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ እምልባ ፡ ምድር ።³⁸⁵

Explicit ወእምሞ ፡ ወሃጥያቲሆንሰ ፡ (sic!) የዓቢ ፡ ሞግ ፡ ቅጽራቲሆን ።³⁸⁶

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

³⁸³ I thank Hewan Semon Marye for her authoritative translation.

³⁸⁴ MS NazMar-001 does not contain these passages, for it stops earlier.

³⁸⁵ Perruchon 1892, 55.

³⁸⁶ Id., 61.

³⁸⁷ Id.

to jump to chapter four § 16. Thus, the second narrative unit from the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ begins and ends as follows:

Incipit: ከጉሉክ : ሰብእ : እንዘ : ኢትዮጵያዊ : ውኃቱ : ዘኢበጽሐ : ውስተ : ሀገረ : ሮሐ : ቅድስት : እንዘ : ይሰምዕ : ዜናሆን : ለእሳንቱ : አብያተ : ክርስቲያናት : እለ : ተገብራ : ዘእምካሐቲ : ዕብን : ይትሚሰል : ከመ : ብእሲ : ዘኢያፈቅር : ከመ : ይርአይ : ገጸ : ለእግዚነ : ወመድኃኒነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ :: ወብፁዕስ : ወቅዱስ : ላሊበላ : ሶበ : ፈጸመ : ሕንጻሆን : ለእመንቱ : አብያተ : ክርስቲያናት : ዘከመ : አርአዮ : እግዚአብሔር :: ³⁸⁸

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

ኢፈቀደ : ከመ : ይጎንዲ : ላዕሌሁ : ሢመተ : መንግሥት :: ወኢፈቀደ : ከመ : ትዕዱ : ላዕለ : ወልዱኒ : አላ : ይቤ : ይሚጣ : እግዚአብሔር : ለዛቲ : ሢመተ : መንግሥት : ወያግብኦ : ኀበ : እስራኤል : እስመ : ሎሙ : ይቤሎሙ : በእንቲአክሙ : ፈጠርክዎሙ : ለኩሎሙ : አሕዛብ :: ወካዕበ : መሐለ : ሎሙ : እንዘ : ይብል : ኢይሜንኖሙ : ለሕዝበ : ያዕቆብ : ወኢያስተሐቅሮሙ : ለሕዝበ : እስራኤል : እስመ : ኪያሆሙ : ኀረይኩ : እምኩሉ : አሕዛብ :: በከመ : ይቤ : ነቢይ : መሐለ : እግዚአብሔር : ለዳዊት : በጽድቅ : ወኢይኔስሕ :: እስመ : ይቤሎ : እምፍሬ : ከርሥከ : አኅበር : ዲበ : መንበርከ :: ወይእዜኒ : ለያግብኦ : እግዚአብሔር : ለዛቲ : መንግሥት : ኀበ : እስራኤል :: ወኢይትኃጣእ : እምእስራኤል : ዘይኅበር : ዲበ : መንግሥት :: ኢያጎነዲ : እግዚአ : ኃያላን : ለዛቲ : ሢመተ : መንግሥት :: ኢያጎነዲ : እግዚአ : ኃያላን : ለዛቲ : ሢመተ : መንግሥት : ኢዲቤየ : ወኢ : ዲበ : አዝማድየ ::

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

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

³⁸⁸ Perruchon 1892, 61.

Israel; may it henceforth remain at the house of Israel; that they occupy the throne; may the mighty God not keep the kingship any longer for me and my family [...].³⁸⁹

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

ወናሁ ፡ አንሰ ፡ ፈጸምኩ ፡ መልእክትዮ ፡ ዘበእንቲአሃ ፡ ሢመኒ ፡ ሢመተ ፡ መንግሥት ። እንዘ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይገብር ፡ በእደ ፡ መላእክቲሁ ። ከመዝ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ እስመ ፡ ኢያፈቅር ፡ ሢመተ ፡ ዘበምድር ፡ ፈጸሞ ፡ መልእክቶ ፡ ወመጽዊቶ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ጥሪቶ ። እስከ ፡ ኢይተርፍ ፡ አሳፀከ ፡ ዲበ ፡ እገራሁ ።³⁹⁰

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

Explicit: ናሁኬ ፡ ለካእኩ ፡ ለክሙ ፡ አፍቁራንዮ ፡ ንስቲተ ፡ ዜና ፡ እምትሩፋቲሁ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትፈሳሕ ፡ ልብክሙ ።³⁹¹

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

4.3. Conclusion for chapter four

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

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

³⁹⁰ Id., 62.

³⁹¹ Id., 63.

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

Chapter Five. Logical and physical articulation of the textual units

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

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

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

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

5.1. Titles

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

5.1.1. Labels / titles

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

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

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

³⁹³ I have decided not to provide any preliminary information on content and date of these manuscripts, because with regard to content I cannot be more precise on what is generally available and I do not have a separate date for the inventory lists.

second two lists የላሊበላ : የይምርሐ : የአኩላ : ለአብ : / ‘ya-Lālibalā, ya-Yəmrəḥanna, ya-Na’ akkwəto La’ab’.

I suggest that the ገድለ : ላሊበላ : / ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ recorded in MS EMMML 7069, fol. 164r from Beta Māryām of Lālibalā might refer to MS EMMML 6921. Further, MSS EMMML 6954, fol. 3v and EMMML 7239, fol. 125v from Beta Gabrē’el of Lālibalā might refer to MS AM-LL-IV-28, displayed today at the museum in Lālibalā town. Finally, what is recorded as የላሊበላ : የይምርሐ : የአኩላ : ለአብ : / ‘ya-Lālibalā, ya-Yəmrəḥanna, ya-Na’ akkwəto La’ab’ in MSS EMMML 6912, fol. 193v and EMMML 7232 fol. 162 from Beta Madḥane ‘Alam of Lālibalā might refer to MS AM-LL-001-IV-036; in this last case the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ has been copied together with gadlāt of two other kings.

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

- First, we know that, today, ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ serves as a designation for all four manuscripts. This invites speculation that this might have been the case in the past as well.
- Second, both an exemplar of the book and a note in the inventory list are stored in the same church.
- Third, among the manuscripts I photographed at these three churches, I did not find either the ‘Homily of Lālibalā’,³⁹⁴ or any other books that the inventory lists could conceivably have meant by the term ‘Gadla Lālibalā’.

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

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

³⁹⁴ See Chapter One.

³⁹⁵ See Chapter One.

³⁹⁶ See Derat 2016.

³⁹⁷ See Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2010, 364.

time as the ‘Gadl’ and the ‘Miracles’ of Lālibalā or the ‘*Gadl* and Miracles of Lālibalā’. The local scholars of Lālibalā town seem to differentiate between the ‘Gadl’ and the ‘Miracles’ of Lālibalā within the manuscripts as well. Here it is important to note that these same scholars also produced the printed edition; therefore, the printed edition reflects their view on this point as well.

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

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

5.1. 2. *Titles in manuscript tradition*

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

³⁹⁸ Dillmann 1955, XI.

³⁹⁹ See Valieva 2017.

⁴⁰⁰ Cerulli 1956a, 65: ‘Atti di Lalibela’.

⁴⁰¹ Id.: ‘Storia della letteratura etiopica’.

⁴⁰² Id.: ‘Miracoli’.

⁴⁰³ See Raineri 2004, 39 and 178-179: ‘Atti di Lalibala’ and ‘Miracoli di Lalibala’. Note that under Cerulli 37 were put two manuscripts; fols. 115-116 belong to a different unit of circulation and are not bound to the manuscript in question. See chapter Two.

⁴⁰⁴ See Cerulli 1946, 116: ‘Gli Atti di Lālibalā’.

⁴⁰⁵ Buzi 2005: ‘Titoli e autori nella tradizione copta’.

⁴⁰⁶ Mainly from her presentation ‘Titles as Fluid Entities – Some Examples from Ethiopic Hagiographic Manuscripts’ for CSMC workshop on ‘Titles, Labels, and Names of Multiple-Text Manuscripts’, 30 November 2018.

terminology as was used by Buzi in her book,⁴⁰⁷ which is the working terminology in the *Beta maṣāḥaft project*.⁴⁰⁸ What are the titles that one can find in the manuscripts?

i. Incipits as titles

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

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

2. አቀድሞ አእከ-ቶቶ ለእግዚአብሔር = 'Jesus and His redeeming fire'
3. ወወዲ ነግ ክብር = 'Teaching about Saints'
4. ወዝንቲ ገብረ መስቀል = 'Lālibalā enters the Heavenly Jerusalem'
5. ወዝንቲስ ብእሲ ክብር = 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of God'
6. ወጠዝ ከሉ ካዕበ ላሊበላ = 'Praise for Lālibalā'
7. ሚመጠከ ይደል (sic!) ውዳሴ = 'Praise for Lālibalā'

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

Then, in the second edition of the 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā',⁴¹¹ the reference system was changed from using incipits to the common system 'በእንተ X' / 'Concerning X'. Thus, in መከሥተ አርእስት / 'Table of contents' of the second edition of the 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā', instead of their respective incipits, the above-mentioned textual units 2, 3 and 4 appear under the titles በእንተ ዕረፍቱ 'Concerning his rest' and 5, 6 appear under the titles በእንተ ትሩፋቲሁ / 'Concerning his virtues'.

⁴⁰⁷ See Buzi 2005; the same terminology was adopted by Brita in her research.

⁴⁰⁸ <http://betamasaeft.eu/>.

⁴⁰⁹ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007.

⁴¹⁰ I consider rubrication as one of the concomitant markers of the actual beginning of a new textual unit.

⁴¹¹ It is important to mention መከሥተ አርእስት of the first edition refers to the chapters of the 'Life of Lālibalā' proper, see chapter one.

Hence, since incipit as titles in the table of contents for the first edition of the ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’, which we find almost regularly rubricated in the manuscripts, do not reflect the modern editorial practice and as such were even changed in the second edition, we can assume that the first edition of the ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ reflects an incipit-reference system, as was used in former times.⁴¹²

ii. Subscriptio (plural subscriptiones)

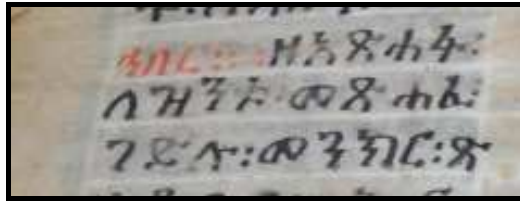
By the subscriptio, I mean a title occurring at the end of a work. Subscriptiones are attested in MS DabŞəy-001, MS EMMML 6964, MS EMMML 6770, MS BetMarq-001, MS BL Orient. 719 and MS BP Parm. 3852.

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

⁴¹² See below.

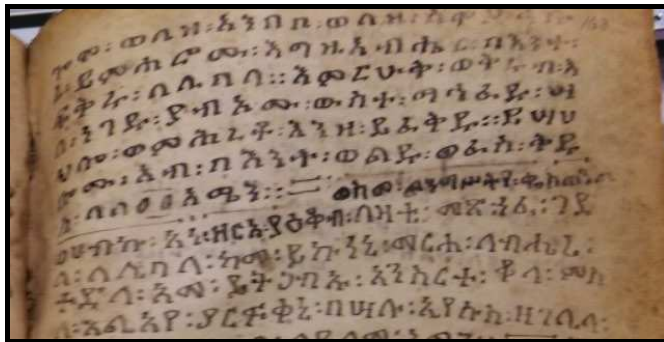
MS DabŞey-001 on fol. 131vab⁴¹³

መጽሐፈ ፡ ገድሉ ፡ መንከር ፡ / ‘Book of the admirable life’.



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

MS BL Orient. 719, fol. 163r



The following are all straightforward cases of *subscriptio*es:

MS EMMML 6964 on fol. 132 vab contains a colophon where the book is referred to as መጽሐፈ ፡ ገድሉ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ / ‘Book of the Life of Gabra Masqal’.

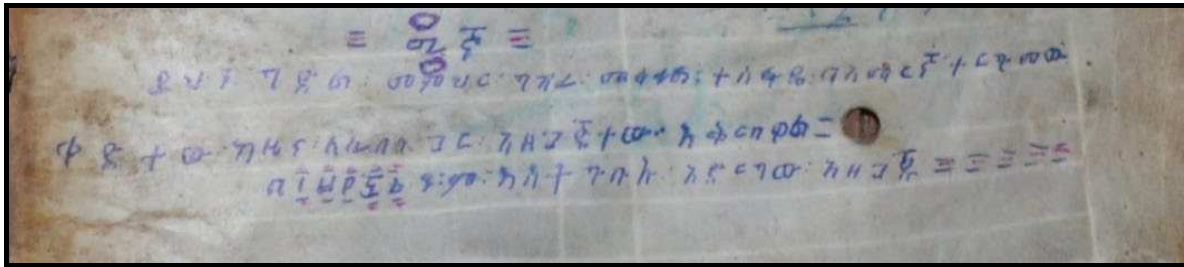
MS EMMML 6770 on fol. 116va contain a colophon where the book is referred to as ገድሉ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ / ‘Life of Lālibalā’.

MS BetMarq-001 (Image below) has a note by Gabra Masqal Tasfāyye on the last folio, in which he refers to the content of the book as ገድሉ ፡ / ‘Life’.

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

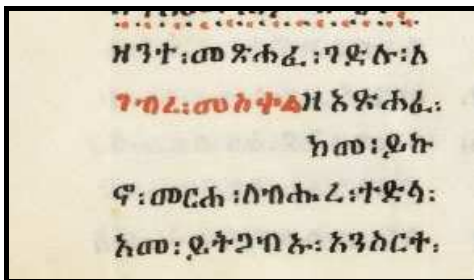
⁴¹⁴ See Wright 1870, 601.

MS BetMarq-001 fol. 109r



Finally, MS BP Parm. 3852 on fol. 137vab (Image below) is expanded with a supplication that contains the title መጽሐፈ ፡ ገድሉ ፡ ለጉበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ / 'Book of Life of Gabra Masqal'; since this occurs at the end of the work, it is to be categorized as a *subscriptio*.

MS BP Parm. 3852 on fol. 137vab



iii. Inscriptio (plural inscriptions)

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

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

Trinitarian formula: በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈ.

ስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ። Title: ተአምራው ፡

ለጉበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ንጉሥ ።

ፍቄሩ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክ

ርስቶስ ። Supplication: ጸሎቱ ፡ ወበረከቱ ፡ ይ

ዕቀቦ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ቂርሎስ ፡

ወሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡ እደ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡

⁴¹⁵ See Valieva (forthcoming).

ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

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

The *inscriptio* is followed by ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’

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

Title: ተአምራሁ ፡ ለጉበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡

ንጉሥ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ።

ወመድኃኒነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስ

ቶስ ። Supplication: ጸሎቱ ፡ ወበረከቱ ፡ ይዕቀቦ ፡

ለንጉሥ ፡ ቄርሎስ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለ ፲

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

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

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

Title: ተአምራሁ ፡ ለጉበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡

ንጉሥ ፡ አመ ፲፱፻ ለሚያዝያ

Supplication: ስለ ፡ (sic!) ፍቁሩ ። ደ///ሰዮስ ። ።

ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

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

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

Title: ተአምራሁ ፡ ለጉበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡

ንጉሥ ፡ Supplication: የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ።

ለ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ እደ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወም

ስለ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ ቄርሎስ ። ለ

ዓለመ ፡ ዓ ፡ አሜን ።

The fourth *inscriptio* is followed by ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’.

The fifth *inscriptio*, on fol. 85ra, reads as follows:

Title: ተአምራው ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡

ንጉሥ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስ

ቡድን (sic!) ። Supplication: ጸሎት ፡ ወበረከት ፡ ይዕቦ ፡ (sic!)

ለንጉሥ ፡ ቄርሎስ ፡ አሜን ።

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

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

Title: ተአምራው ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡

ንጉሥ ፡ Supplication: ጸሎት ፡ {ይዕቀቦ ፡ s. l.} ለንጉሥ ፡ ቄርሎስ ፡

ምስለ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ እደ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡

አሜን ።

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

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

Title: ተአምራው ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡

ንጉሥ ፡ Supplication: ጸሎት ፡ ወበረከት ፡ የሃ

ሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ አቡልዲስ ፡

ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ። ።

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

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

MS EMMML 6931 consists of more than one production unit. The production unit containing the ‘Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā’, which begins on fol. 90r, has the same type of *inscriptio* as those just given, only with different names, ተአምራው ፡ ለአቡነ ፡ ገብ ፡ መን ፡ ቅዱ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ ወበረከት ፡ የሀሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኢየሱስ ። ወምስለ ፡ ጸሐፊው ። ወልደ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ። ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 (P) share a common ancestor.

These two manuscripts are identical in terms of *inscriptiones*, so I will discuss them in parallel. Both manuscripts attest the same kind of *inscriptio* as we find in MS EMMML 6931 (Ea). The first *inscriptio* in MS BAV Cerulli 223 on fol. 108va comes on a new page, while in MS BP Parm. 3852 it comes on fol. 118va after the dotted line, which splits the page in two. In both manuscripts, as in

MS EMMML 6931, the titles are expanded with a Trinitarian formula and a supplication. The only difference from MS EMMML 6931 is the absence of names in the supplication, which continues to be the case in all further supplications in both manuscripts.

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

An interesting case is the third *inscriptio*, found on fol. 112vab in MS BAV Cerulli 223 and on fol. 123rab in MS BP Parm. 3852. Here, the supplication is the same as in the two previous inscriptions, while the *inscriptio* becomes **ተአምራሁ ፡ ለጉበረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘይትኅብብ ፡ አመ ፲ወ፪ ለሚያዝያ ።** / ‘Miracles of King Gabra Masqal, which is read on the 12th of Miyāzyā’. What happened? Apparently, the introduction of indication for the monthly reading by a later hand in MS EMMML 6931 became part of the title, through further addition of a relative verbal form **ዘይትኅብብ ፡** / ‘which is read’ (or ‘to be read’). In MS BP Parm. 3852 in the upper margin of the same page there is an indication for monthly reading, **ዘሚያዝያ**, added by a later hand. Generally, the indications for monthly readings in MS BP Parm. 3852 match the indications for monthly readings in MS EMMML 6931, while MS BAV Cerulli 223 does not contain any indications for monthly readings.

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

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

Stematically, MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 belong to the same branch.

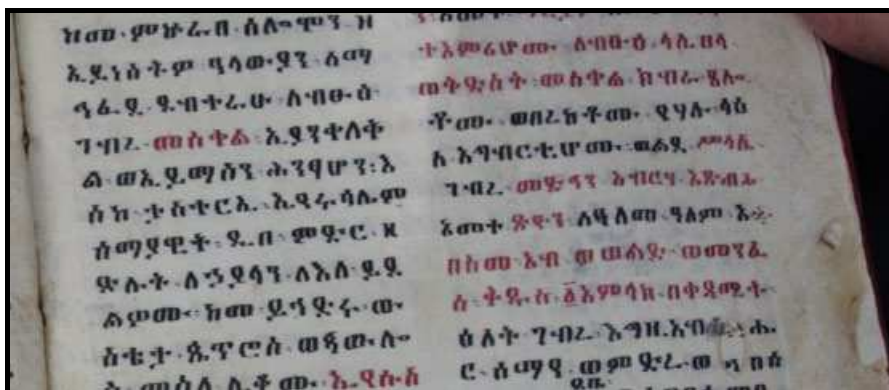
Since the *inscriptio* in both manuscripts contains a shared conjunctive innovation, **ዘይትኅብብ ፡** / ‘which is (to be) read’, I postulate a common subarchetype for the *inscriptiones* in MS BAV Cerulli 223 and MS BP Parm. 3852, which in this case would correspond to the same subarchetype as for the textual witnesses themselves. We further see that MS BAV Cerulli 223 and MS BP Parm. 3852 share the same *inscriptiones* as MS EMMML 6931. However, the main textual bodies of MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 (P) have no close relationship with MS EMMML 6931 (Ea),

since they (Ea on the one hand, and Vb and P on the other) belong to two different branches. In the *inscriptions* of Vb and P we have one conjunctive error, namely an indication for a monthly reading in the third title in both manuscripts introduced through **ዘይትዝብ** :. This can only be interpreted as an insertion into MS EMLL 6931 (Ea), which lacks this word. Therefore, I postulate that the *inscriptions* in MS BAV Cerulli 223 (Vb) and MS BP Parm. 3852 (P) derived/were copied from MS EMLL 6931 (Ea).

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



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



⁴¹⁶ See Chapter One.

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

Title: ተአምረሁ : ለጉበረ : መስቀል :
 ንጉሥ : እንዝ : ሀሎ :: Supplication: ጸሎት :
 ወበረከት : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ፍቁ
 ሩ : ሕዝቅያስ : ወምስለ : ጸሐፊ
 ሁ : ኤዎስጣኑዎስ : ለዓለመ : ዓ
 ለም : አሜን ::

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

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

Title: ተአምረሁ : ለገ
 ብረ : መስቀል : ንጉሥ: ይዕቆብ
 ነ : ለኩልነ : እለ : ተወከል : በኪዳነ :
 Supplication: ጸሎት : ወበረከት : ለዓለመ : ዓለ
 ም : አሜን ::

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

MS Cerulli 37 contain the same type of *inscriptiones*, but only for five of the seven textual units, not for the ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ and not for the ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’. These *inscriptiones* (expanded with a supplication) can be found on fols. 95rb, 98ra, 99va, 101vb, 102ra.

MS MasKa-003 on fol. 146vb contains *inscriptions* for only one textual unit, written according to the same model: ተአምሪሃ : ለቅድስት : ውበዕዕት : መስቀል : ክብራ ፩ / ‘Miracles of Saint and Blessed Masqal Kəbrā’ expanded with a supplication.

The different kind of collection contained in MS NT 47 has slightly different *inscriptions* for the same textual units, ተአምሪሁ : ለብፁዕ : ላሊበላ : ንጉሠ : ኢትዮጵያ : / ‘Miracles of Blessed Lālibalā, King of Ethiopia’ expanded with a supplication.

Conclusion for inscriptions

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

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

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

⁴¹⁷ For more details and questions see Chapter Seven.

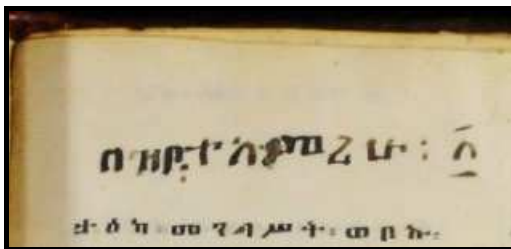
⁴¹⁸ See Chapter One.

happened at the time of Zenā Gabrē'el and were all meant for Beta Golgotā, which became a centre for the liturgical veneration of Saint Lālibalā.

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

iv. Titles in margins

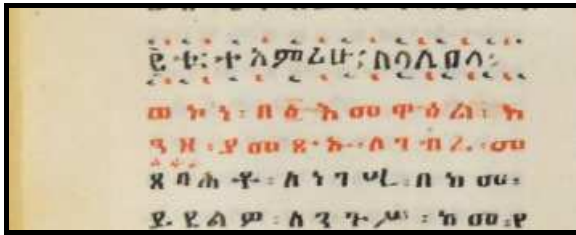
MS MotGiorg-001 contain titles in the margins, added by a secondary hand, sometimes in the upper margin, sometimes between the lines if there is space. These titles are ascribed to the same textual units as the *inscriptions*, 9-14. Thus, on fol. 126r in the upper margin it reads በሥነ ፡ ተአምራት ፡ ፩ / 'Miracle One'. This might refer to "Three men visit King Lālibalā".



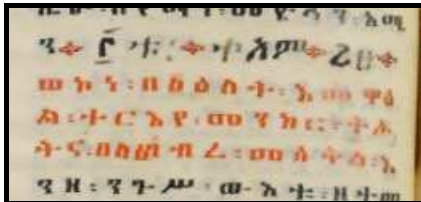
Next, on fol. 127va between the lines it reads as ፪፡፡ ፡ ተአምራት ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ / 'Second Miracle of Lālibalā', referring to 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out', image below:

⁴¹⁹ See Derat 2018 with further literature.

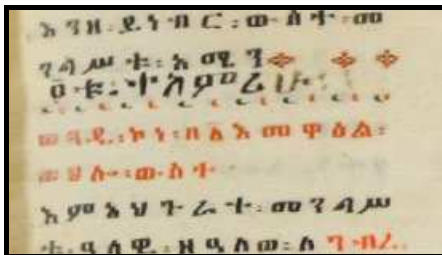
⁴²⁰ See Bosc-Tiessè 2019, 167-169.



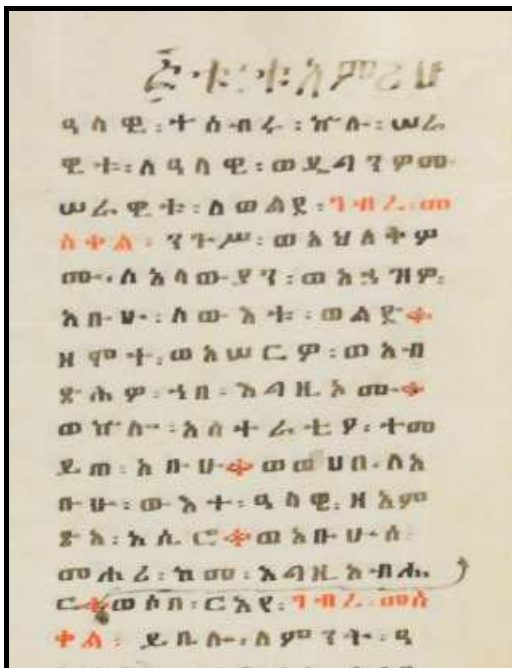
Again between the lines of fol. 129vb, we have ፫ቱ ፡ ተአምራው ፡ / ‘Third Miracle’, this might refer to ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’, image below:



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

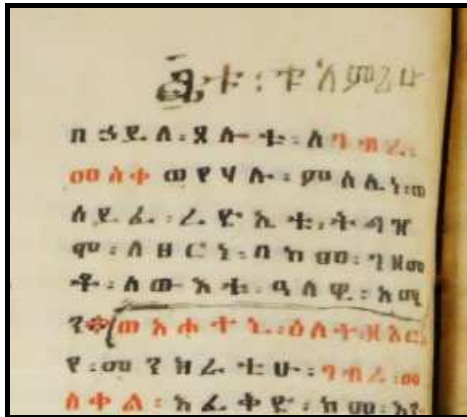


And then still within the same textual unit, on fol. 132r in the upper margin, ፭ቱ ፡ ተአምራው ፡ / ‘Fifth miracle’, image below:

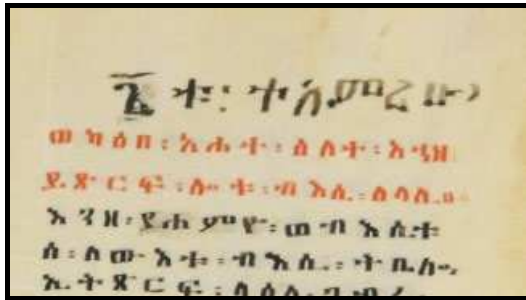


Thus, here ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ is split into two miracles.

Next, both in the upper margin, on fol. 132v we find ፮፻፲፯ : ተአምራት / 'Sixth Miracle', referring to 'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman', image below:



And on fol. 135r, **ጌታ፡ ተአምራው፡** / ‘Seventh Miracle’, referring to ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’, image below:



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

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

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

5.1.3. Conclusion for titles in manuscript tradition

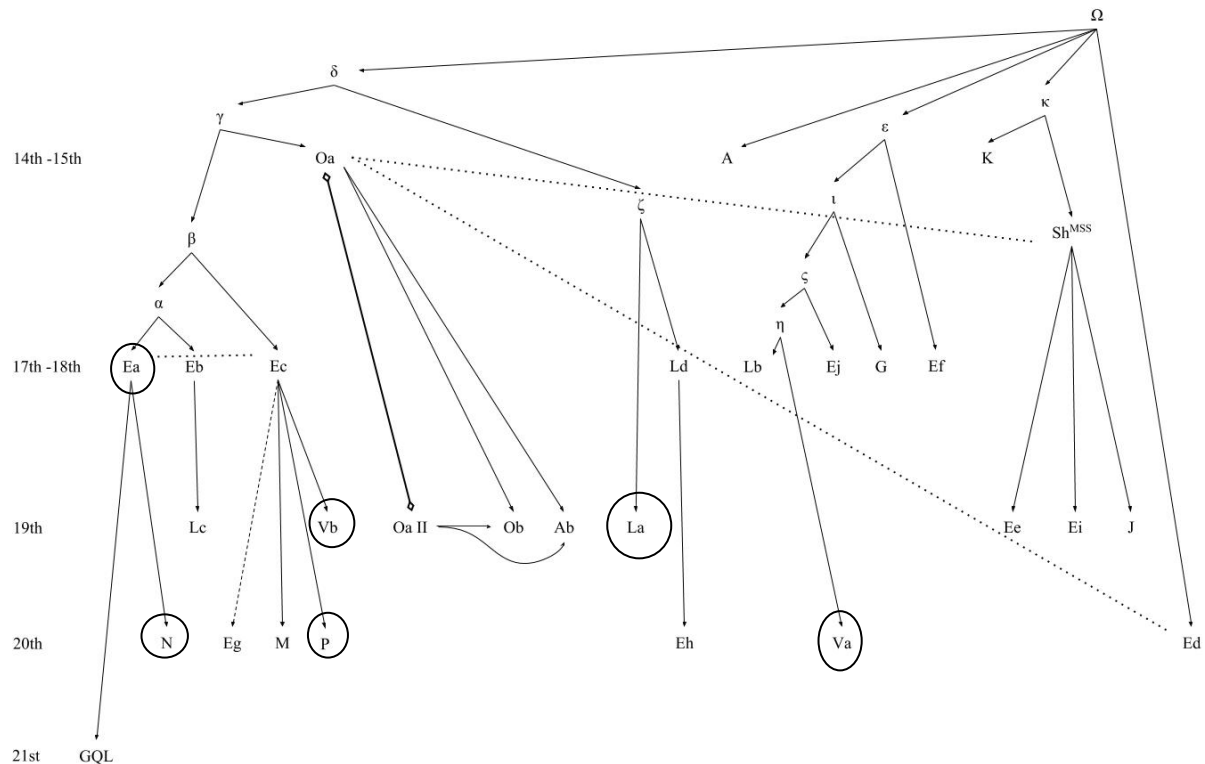
The overview of the four title types attested in the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts shows that:

- Not much can be said about incipit-type titles prior to the twentieth century;
- Subscriptio-type titles fit the concept of labels;
- Titles in margins, if attested once, fit the concept of labels; titles in margins, if attested more than once, fit the concept of *inscriptio*;

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

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

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



5.2. Supplications

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

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

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

§ 24 ዘኢተሀይጽ ፡ በኢሕጸ ፡ መስተቃርን ፡ ዘውእቲ ፡ ዲያብሎስ ።

The supplication reads as follows:

ጸሎቲ ፡ ወበረከቲ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡

ይዕቀቦ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ቄርሎስ ፡

እንበለ ፡ ሕማም ፡ በጥፋና ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወኅፍስ ።

እንበለ ፡ ድካም ፡ በጽናዕ ፡ ከመ ፡ አድማስ ፤

እንበለ ፡ ተሀወኮ ፡ በዞጎን ፡ ወመርስ ፤

እንዘ ፡ ይመልክ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ንዝ ፡ ያበርህ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ኦርያሬስ ።

Here line breaks have been introduced to make the rhyme visible. As can be seen, every line ends with a letter expressing the sound ‘ስ / s’. This also holds true for the last lines of ‘Preamble’, and it is possible that this was what provided the idea for the rhyme. Notice also that one line ends with

the name of the then-contemporary king, ቂርሎስ ፣, which, however, still conforms to the rhyming pattern. Let us now look at the other manuscripts where variants of the same supplication are preserved.

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

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

ጸሎቱ ፣ ወበረከቱ ፣ ለላሊበላ ፣ ንጉሥ ፤
 ይዕቅቦ ፣ ለጉበሩ ፣ ወለንጉሥኅ ፣ ኃይለ ፣ ሥላሴ ፣
 ይዕቅቦ ፣ እንበለ ፣ ሕማም ፣ በጥረና ፣ ሥጋ ፣ ወነፍስ ።።
 እንበለ ፣ ድካም ፣ በጽንዕ ፣ ከመ ፣ ኢድማስ ፤
 እንበለ ፣ ተሀውኮ ፣ በዛኀን ፣ ወመርስ ።።
 እንዘ ፣ ይመልክ ፣ ከሎ ፣ ዓለመ ፣ ኀዘ ፣ ያበርህ ፣ ብርሃን ፣ አርያሬስ ፣
 በሥልጣኑ ፣ ንግሥ ፣ እንዘ ፣ ይሰብክ ፣ ሃይማኖት ፣ ሥሉስ ፣ ቅዱስ ።
 ከመ ፣ ጴጥሮስ ፣ ወጳውሎስ ።።
 ወእንዘ ፣ የስተናሥኦ ፣ ውዳሴሁ ፣ በአፈ ፣ ዐቢይ ፣ ወንድስ ።።
 ወበደኃሪ ፣ ዓለም ፣ ይረስዮ ፣ ድልወ ፣ ለመንግሥተ ፣ ሰማያት ፣ ምስሌሁ ፣ ለወረስ ።።
 ወይክድኖ ፣ በሰራሄ ፣ ስኑ ፣ ዘያንበሰብስ ።
 ወከማሁ ፣ ይክድኖ ፣ ለጸሐፊሁ ፣ ገበረ ፣ ሚካኤል ፣ ለዓለመ ፣ ዓለም ፣ አሜን ።።

Notice here that although the rhyme in ‘ስ / s’ has been maintained almost everywhere, the name of the king has been updated to ኃይለ ፣ ሥላሴ ፣, which does not end in ‘s’ and thus does not follow the pattern anymore.

In MS BP Parm 3852 fol. 2rab we find again:

ጸሎቱ ፣ ወበረከቱ ፣ ለላሊበላ ፣ ንጉሥ ።።
 ይዕቅቦ ፣ ለፍቁሩ ፣ [space] ወለንጉሥኅ ፣ አማኑኤል ፣
 እንበለ ፣ ሕማም ፣ በጥረና ፣ ሥጋ ፣ ወነፍስ ።።
 እንበለ ፣ ድካም ፣ በጥረና ፣ ሥጋ ፣ ወነፍስ ።።
 እንበለ ፣ ተሀውኮ ፣ በዛኀን ፣ ወመርስ ።።

እንዘ : ይመልክ : ኩሎ : ዓለመ : ጎበ : ያበርህ : ብርሃን : አርያሬስ :
 በሥልጣኑ : ንግሥ :
 እንዘ : ይሰብክ : ሃይማኖተ : ሥሉስ : ቅዱስ ።
 ከመ : ጴጥሮስ : ወጸውሎስ ።፤
 ወእንዘ : ያስተናግዳል : ውዳሴሁ : በአፈ : ዐቢይ : ወንድሱ ።፤
 ወበደኃሪ : ዓለም : ይረስዮ : ድልወ : ለመንግሥተ : ሰማያት : ምስሌሁ : ለወረሰ ።፤
 ወይክድኖ : በሰራሄ : ስኑ : ዘያንበሰብስ ።፤
 ወከማሁ : ይክድኖ : ለመስፍንነ :
 [space] ዘእምሩሳን : ርኡስ ።፤ ።፤ ።፤

Again, the name of the king አማኑኤል : disrupts the rhyming pattern in -s.

MS NazMa-001 fol. 1va has again:

ጸሎቱ : ወበረከቱ : ለላሊበላ : ንጉሥ :
 ያዕርፋ : ለነፍስ : ንብሩ : ወልደ : ሥላሴ :
 [space] እንበለ : ሕማም : በጥፂና : ሥጋ : ወነፍስ ።፤
 እንበለ : ድካም : በጽንዕ : ከመ : አድማስ ፩
 እንበለ : ተሀውቲ : በዛጎን : ወመርስ :
 እንዘ : ይመልክ : ኩሎ : ዓለመ : ጎበ : ያበርህ : ብርሃን : አርያሬስ :
 በሥልጣኑ : ንግሥ : እንዘ : ይሰብክ : ሃይማኖተ : ሥሉስ : ቅዱስ :
 ከመ : ጴጥሮስ : ወጸውሎስ ።፤
 ወእንዘ : የስተናግዳል : ውዳሴሁ : በአፈ : ዓቢይ : ወንድሱ :
 ወበደኃሪ : ዓለም : ይረስዮ : ድልወተ : ለመንግሥተ : ሰማያት : ምስሌሁ : ለወረሰ :
 ወይክድኖ : በሰራሄ : ስኑ : ዘያ[ን s.l.]በሰብስ :
 ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አማን ።፤

Again, the name of the king ወልደ : ሥላሴ : disrupts the rhyming pattern.

If my main *stemma* is correct, the *stemma* for this supplication is the same as the *stemma* for *inscriptiones*-type titles. The *Vorlage* for the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ in the case of Vb and P is Ec, but for *inscription*-type titles and the supplication discussed above it is Ea. N, in its entirety, is a *codex descriptus* from Ea. Therefore, if all hypotheses are verified, one can perhaps speak of a model project, where different manuscripts were used as *Vorlage* for different parts of the text. Another scenario would be that the scribe copied the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ from Ec and recovered the rest from his memory.

I have presented this example to demonstrate how tricky the supplications can be; one has to apply *stemma* to study them. Only by thinking stemmatically can one discuss the innovative work of a copyist, which is the case of the above discussed supplication in MS EMMML 6931.

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

The correlation of the presence of the supplication and an explicit of the textual unit can be seen in the following table, where in the first column I list fourteen textual units and in the second column, I define the correlation between an explicit and a supplication. In the table, just ‘supplication’ means that explicit and supplication are identical; ‘plus Explicit (supplication)’ means that there is a supplication, but I distinguish it from an explicit, because it seems to vary (often just number of lines) from manuscript to manuscript; finally, an empty cell means that there is no supplication at all at the end of the textual unit.

	TU	Explicit
1	Preamble	supplication
2	Jesus and His redeeming fire	supplication
3	Teaching about Saints	
4	Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem	supplication
5	Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel	supplication
6	Praise for Lālibalā	supplication
7	Life of Lālibalā	
8	Three men visit King Lālibalā	Plus Explicit (supplication)
9	How the river swallowed Lālibalā 's honey and then spit it out	Plus Explicit (supplication)
10	How Lālibalā became like a pauper	Plus Explicit (supplication)
11	Lālibalā and a rebel	Plus Explicit (supplication)
12	How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman	Plus Explicit (supplication)
13	How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind	Plus Explicit (supplication)
14	Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā	Plus Explicit (supplication)

From the table we see that 'Teaching about Saints' and Life of Lālibalā have no integral supplication. The supplications of 'Preamble', 'Jesus and His redeeming fire', 'Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem', 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel', 'Praise for Lālibalā' remain almost the same throughout the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' manuscripts, they seem to be at times not recognized as such and are therefore followed by additional, more typical supplications. From what I can see now, personal names appear only rarely in these supplications.

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

I consider the presence of a supplication in all the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' manuscripts as one of concomitant markers. Supplications are directly related to the following parameter,

which I consider, *mise en texte*, *mise en page* for the content of a supplication is often articulated in the particular way, which makes it visible.

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

The concepts of *mise en texte* and *mise en page* in this study come from the notion that the ‘role of the scribes was not confined to the physical embodiment of the verbal text; it also involved shaping its visual disposition, which in turn affected its verbal perception and reception, and allowed the reader to navigate within it easily.’⁴²¹ Further, that ‘the visual presentation of texts in manuscript books was not an autonomous interpretative or purely artistic act on the part of the scribe and the painter; there were other factors and conventions — material, social, economic, aesthetic, and scholarly — dictating text configuration or at least affecting it’.⁴²²

In the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts I have made use of the following major features as criteria for delimiting the physical articulation of the content. I chose features which appeared more systematically. These features are: spacing, compound punctuation, paragraphing and subdividing, the use of colours, punctuation marks, repetition of ❧, dotted line, cross etc.

All these elements in various combinations seem to establish chromatic hierarchies. I have tried to evaluate the presence of these elements on the basis of *stemma*, aiming to distinguish between (a) what the scribe was copying from what he saw, (b) elements that the scribe himself added to articulate the text because he was critical, innovative, careless or because there were other conventions, and (c) (a special sub-case of (b)) elements that the scribe added in order to mark the end of the quire and the beginning of the quire, the added elements thus having a codicological function. For now, I see no other way to discuss the physical articulation than purely descriptively.

Thinking about the schema, I initially chose to distinguish two types of articulation: the ‘logical articulation’ as defined by the content, and then what is articulated by any markers as the ‘physical articulation’. This decision aims to keep two levels separate, without imposing any hypothesis about the content upon the evidence that is present in the manuscripts. This decision, however, was revised, for it gives an impression of two contents in one manuscript, which is conceptually wrong. Moreover, there is no way to explain what is articulated without introducing my idea about the content. These problems brought me to a different decision, which I am following now:

I merged the two descriptions into one and have introduced the concept of the articulated unit. Sometimes this may correspond to a textual unit, but it can also be a physically articulated sub-unit within the limits of a textual unit. It causes no confusion, if an articulated unit fits within

⁴²¹ Maniaci 2015, 84.

⁴²² Id.

the limits of a textual unit. The question was how to proceed if the textual unit is shorter than an articulated unit? For now, I have found no better way to handle these cases than to have an incipit of an articulated unit alone, with no closing explicit, adding a note to say where the articulated unit ends.

In this way, the ‘logical articulation’ has priority over the ‘physical articulation’, but still there is an option, I hope, while still allowing one to see what is articulated and by which means. Each time when a supplication was introduced, it is articulated. Since there is no reference work on how to interpret *mise en texte* and *mise en page*, in my description, I merge two hypotheses and I use one to support the other: I have introduced my Multi-Unit Hypothesis about the content and then tried to see whether it is somehow supported visually by the physical articulation. It was one of the important parameters for me to distinguish the first six textual units. However, I somehow neglected the articulation of what I define as the ‘Life of Lālibalā’.

Once one has a clear idea of what the logical content is, it becomes possible to study the individual way that a given scribe put the text on the pages, always considering the antigraph, which might have had these features already.

5.4. Syntaxe du codex: MS Dabṣṣ-001

MS Dabṣṣ-001, presently preserved in Dabra Ṣṣon ‘Abuna ‘Abreḥām Church, is the oldest manuscript of the corpus, palaeographically datable to the fourteenth century. Two hands appear to be attested throughout the codex: while quires 1-5 were written mostly by ‘Hand 1’, the text on quires 5-11 seems to be written by a different ‘Hand 2’, while quires 12-17 attest both hands.⁴²³ ‘Hand 1’ might be characterised by straight downstrokes, rectangular ‘feet’ without any decoration; if we assume that the colophon on fol. 131va-b belongs to the manuscript and was written by ‘Hand 1’ (as appears to be the case visually), then we know that this hand belongs to the scribe Māksimos. Our Māksimos evidently learned to write during the first half of the fourteenth century, since his hand shows a clear tendency to the archaic way of writing. Yet, the word 𐌲𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸 / ‘Lord’ is written as one word and no ancient punctuation is attested. ‘Hand 2’ is more modern compared to ‘Hand 1’. In the writing of ‘Hand 2’, the downstrokes are slightly bent and directed to the right, and the feet have hairlines. The shapes are more soft, more rounded than in ‘Hand 1’.

Although all of MS Dabṣṣ-001 belongs to a single milieu and got its present shape apparently within not more than 50 years this manuscript is particularly distinctive in terms of its

⁴²³ I thank Antonella Brita and Denis Nosnitsin for helping me to formulate my opinion concerning the hands attested. I thank Denis Nosnitsin for helping me to define the characteristic features. Of course, the responsibility for any mistakes is mine, since both scholars saw only what I showed them and confirmed that ‘it seems to be like that’.

codicology and can be used as additional evidence to support the Multi-Unit Hypothesis about the history of the collection. The analysis of this codex was made according to the methodology described by Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart and Marilena Maniaci in their 'La syntaxe du codex: Essai de codicologie structurale' (henceforth 'La Syntaxe').⁴²⁴ 'La Syntaxe' offers a methodology⁴²⁵ for how to work with a medieval book, which can be formulated in the following steps:

1. Look for all discontinuities, that is, places where the physical format of the text changes in some significant way.
2. Write all discontinuities in a table
3. Analyse the table

Multiple concomitant discontinuities (two or more) within a codex allow us to identify candidates for Production and Circulation Units. Here 'a Production Unit [UniProd] is defined as the set of codices or parts of codices which are the result of the same act of production. The act of production is the totality of operations, limited in space and time, which create one or more objects or parts of objects. In our case, this means one or more codices or parts of codices'.⁴²⁶

Further, 'Circulation Unit (UniCirc) is defined as the sum of parts which make up a codex at a particular point in time. It can be the same as a UniProd and/or be the result of a transformation'.⁴²⁷

After noting all main discontinuities (Chapter 3 of the Syntaxe) of the codex, I have written them out in a table. I have considered only those discontinuities that appear concomitantly 'i.d. those which are found in the same place of the codex in several categories'.⁴²⁸ The 'categorical units'⁴²⁹-marked in the table are abbreviated as follows:

'Regulatory in the quires' (Quires),⁴³⁰

'Quire signature' (Signatures),⁴³¹

'Unity of content' (Content),⁴³²

⁴²⁴ Andrist et al. 2013. 'La Syntaxe' is going to be translated into English; however, as the English version is not available yet, I rely on and use the French terminology.

⁴²⁵ Of course, this method relies on previous studies, as discussed in chapter one in Andrist et al. 2013.

⁴²⁶ Andrist et al. 2013, 59: 'une unité de production [UniProd] se définit comme l' ensemble des codex ou des parties de codex qui sont le résultat d' un même acte de production. L' acte de production est l' ensemble des opérations, délimitées dans le temps et dans l' espace, qui créent un ou plusieurs objets ou parties d' objet, dans notre cas un ou plusieurs codex ou parties de codex.'

⁴²⁷ Andrist et al. 2013, 59.

⁴²⁸ Id., 111: 'c' est-à-dire celles qui se trouvent au même endroit du codex dans plusieurs catégories'.

⁴²⁹ Id., 113: unités catégorielles'.

⁴³⁰ Id., 89-91: 'Unités de cahiers' (UniCah).

⁴³¹ Id., 100-104: 'Unités de marques de succession' (UniMarq).

⁴³² Id., 104-108: 'Unités de contenu' (UniCont).

‘Layout and ruling type’ (Layout).⁴³³

Each horizontal line in the table corresponds to one quire. The first column indicates the number of the quire in the present-day codex of MS DabŞəy-001. The other four columns indicate discontinuities of the four different types. In an entry such as ‘/Q1’, the two-letter abbreviation (e.g. ‘Q’) indicates the type of discontinuity, the number indicates whether the discontinuity is the first, second, etc. discontinuity of this type, and the slash indicates the location of the discontinuity on the page: when the slash comes before the number (e.g. /Q1), the discontinuity occurs at the beginning of the page; when it comes after the number (e.g. Q1/), the discontinuity occurs at the end of the page.⁴³⁴ Within the table, the abbreviations are re-abbreviated as follows: Q = Quires, S= Signatures, C = Conten, L = Layout.

Presence of four concomitant discontinuities at the beginning of a quire: MS DabŞəy-001

quires	Quires	Signatures	Content	Layout
1.	/Q1		/C1	/L1
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.	Q1/	/S1	C1/	L1/
6.	/Q2		/C2	/L2
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				
11.				
12.		S1/		L2/
13.				/L3
14.				
15.				

⁴³³ Andrist et al. 2013, 92-95 : ‘Unités de mise en page’ (UniMep).

⁴³⁴ Id., 112.

16.				
17.	Q2/		C2/	L3/

(Quires) The table tells us that MS Dabšəy-001 is a codex of 17 quires. The first discontinuity to observe is in the number of leaves in the quires: quire 5 is a binion, while the rest are quaternions.

(Signatures) The second discontinuity to observe is in the signature of the quires: immediately after the binion: quires 6-12 are marked with Ethiopic numerals as 1-2-3-4-5-6-7.

(Content & Layout) According to my Multi-Unit Hypothesis which understands the content as a collection of textual units, quires 1-5 (where quire 5 is the binion) contain seven complete textual units. The first page of the first quire is laid out as an initial page. Next, quire 6 begins with the new textual unit, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, which continues on fol. 85r. The first page of quire 6 (paginated as quire 1), which corresponds to the beginning of the textual unit, is laid out as an initial page. Then, fol. 85r, the first page of quire 13 is again laid out as an initial page. It contains another portion of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, marked as a reading for *Sane*.

To explain these concomitant discontinuities, can suggest three alternative hypotheses:

a) We suppose that quires 1-5 = UniProd a; 6-12 = UniProd b; 13-18 = UniProd c.

Either UniProd b was UniCirc b as it is, or the codex experienced transformation according to Model D2 ‘partial destruction’,⁴³⁵ where it lost its original (different) ending. At a later stage, UniProd a and UniProd c were added to UniProd a according to Model 4 ‘codex union’.⁴³⁶ UniProd a and Uni Prod c are connected by mention of the scribe Māksimos. Possibly UniProd a and UniProd c were added to UniProd b because UniProd b was not perceived as complete.

b) We suppose (as in (a)) that quires 1-5 = UniProd a; 6-12 = UniProd b; 13-18 = UniProd c.

A second possibility is that UniProd c was UniCirc c as it is, or the codex experienced transformation according to Model D2 ‘partial destruction’,⁴³⁷ where it lost its original beginning. Later, UniProd b was added to UniProd c to complete a manuscript that had lost its first part. The possibility that UniProd c was originally the beginning of its own codex is unlikely, given the absence of the Trinitarian formula. But it is possible that it is the relic of a manuscript where all the monthly readings had the grandiose articulation that we find at the beginning of UniProd c. Then, after UniProd b had been added to complement it, at a still later stage UniProd a was added. At

⁴³⁵ Andrist et al. 2013, 68-70: ‘destruction partielle’ .

⁴³⁶ Id., 66-67: ‘union de codex’.

⁴³⁷ Id., 68-70.

one point in time, there was thus a UniCirc consisting of UniProd b and UniProd c, which would explain the quire numbering whereby quire 6 is paginated as '1'.

c) We suppose that quires 1-5 = UniProd a; 6-18 = UniProd b.

UniProd b was UniCirc b, which originally consisted of two volumes; this would explain its particular layout and why there is a seeming break between two quires. The reason why there were two volumes (or parts?), with quires 13-18 set apart, might have been that it contains the reading for the month of *Sane*, where (at least in modern times) the main liturgical celebration of *Lālibalā* is found. Seen this way, UniCirc b contained eight textual units, starting with the 'Life of *Lālibalā*'. Then UniProd a, which was UniCirc a, was added to this, possibly at the same time as UniProd b and UniProd c were bound together, transformation model A4 'Codex union'.⁴³⁸

Conclusion

Hypotheses a and b are less likely, since they involve too many changes for an assumed time span of only fifty years. Therefore, I am in favour of the third hypothesis. If we consider observed discontinuities, it becomes clear that the 'major' discontinuity occurs at the end of quire 5, which, in my opinion, confirms that textual units 1-6 had, even if only potentially, their own life. It would be an ideal chance to document the development of the collection, namely to register the point at which the first six textual units were added to the 'Life of *Lālibalā*'. However, as was discussed in chapter three, none of the known manuscripts containing the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' depend on MS DabŞəy-001. Therefore, I would posit that MS DabŞəy-001 registers the existence of two models of the collection at a certain point of history: one containing six textual units (UniCirc b), one containing eight textual units (in its latest shape).

5.5. Sequence

A principle stated by Alessandro Bausi says that a work 'only refers to fixed contents and a precise sequence'.⁴³⁹ In chapter one I have argued that what appears as the '*Gadla Lālibalā*' does not fit the definition of a work, for its content is not fixed. If we consider the sequence of what I have defined as the basic collection, the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection', its sequence in the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' manuscripts quite precise, apart from the position of those textual units that follow the 'Life of *Lālibalā*', there we find the 'guest' textual units in between. According to my understanding of the collection, starting from a certain moment in history, 'Preamble' was conceptualised as a Preamble for the 'Life of *Lālibalā*', while the 'Story about the virtuous deeds of

⁴³⁸ Andrist et al. 2013, 66: 'union de codex'.

⁴³⁹ Bausi 2010, 34, n.3.

Lālibalā' was conceptualised as an ending part. This is what made the scribes copy the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' in the sequence we find in the manuscripts.

Here I want to discuss to what extent the modern editors have respected the sequence of the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection'. The sequence of the fourteen textual units in the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' manuscripts is always the same, namely:

the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' MSS: 'Preamble' – 'Jesus and His redeeming' – 'Teaching about Saints' – 'Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem' – 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel' – 'Praise for Lālibalā' – 'Life of Lālibalā' – 'Three men visit King Lālibalā' – 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out' – 'How Lālibalā became like a pauper' – 'Lālibalā and a rebel' – 'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman' – 'How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind' – 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā'.

When it comes to the editors, who apparently enjoyed more freedom, we see that Perruchon has left out four consecutive textual units completely, namely 'Teaching about Saints' – 'Jesus and His redeeming' – 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel' – 'Praise for Lālibalā'. Thus:

Perruchon: 'Preamble' – 'Jesus and His redeeming' – 'Life of Lālibalā' – 'Three men visit King Lālibalā' – 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out' – 'How Lālibalā became like a pauper' – 'Lālibalā and a rebel' – 'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman' – 'How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind' – 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā'.

The scholars of Lālibalā who prepared '*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*' of 2007 remained relatively close to the manuscript, but still split 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā' in two and re-positioned these two pieces: one portion was positioned after 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel', the other at the end of 'Life of Lālibalā'. Additionally, 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out' and 'How Lālibalā became like a pauper' have been switched. Thus, we have:

'*Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā*' of 2007: 'Preamble' – [] – 'Jesus and His redeeming' – 'Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel' – 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā' (half) – 'Praise for Lālibalā' – 'Life of Lālibalā' – 'Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā' (half) – 'Three men visit King Lālibalā' – 'How Lālibalā became like a pauper' – 'How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out' – 'Lālibalā and a rebel' – 'How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman' – 'How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind' ['Teaching about Saints' omitted].

‘Preamble’ – ‘Jesus and His redeeming’ – ‘Teaching about Saints’ – ‘Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem’ – ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel’ – ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ – ‘Life of Lālibalā’

Re-editing ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ in 2010, the scholars of Lālibalā introduced further changes in the sequence:

‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’ of 2010: Preamble – ‘Life of Lālibalā’ – ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ (half) – ‘Praise for Lālibalā’ – ‘Life of Lālibalā’ – ‘Jesus and His redeeming’ – ‘Teaching about Saints’ – ‘Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem’.

‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel’ – ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ (half) – ‘Three men visit King Lālibalā’ – ‘How Lālibalā became like a pauper’ – ‘How the river swallowed Lālibalā’s honey and then spit it out’ – ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ – ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’ – ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’.

MS EMMML 6592 ‘Life of Lālibalā’ – ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’.

We see that the editors did not feel constrained to adhere to the precise sequence, although ‘Teaching about Saints’ – ‘Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem’ – ‘Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel’ do always follow in sequence, as well as ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ – ‘How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman’ – ‘How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind’. But the above-stated overall ordering of ‘Preamble’ – ‘Life of Lālibalā’ – ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ seems to be respected.

5.6. Philological features

Here I will discuss some philological features that I consider supportive for my Multi-Unit Hypothesis.

5.6.1. ‘Preamble’

As I discussed briefly in chapter one, ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ contradicts the entire message of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ supports the ‘Solomonic’ ideology, denigrating Lālibalā and his lineage as Ethiopian rulers, whereas the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ legitimizes the reign of Lālibalā and as such it fits the concept of a chronicle. A lot has been written on this contradiction in an attempt to explain this discrepancy. Here I will contribute to this discussion by arguing that we are dealing with two textual units coming from two different authors from two different milieus. Since ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ has an independent circulation, my explanation seems to be reasonable. Thus, the ‘unhappy’ end (‘Story

about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’) is not the end of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. Now I will argue that ‘the beginning’ or the ‘Introduction’ (‘Preamble’ in my thesis) is not necessarily part of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ either. Arguably it, too, has an ‘independent circulation’.

‘Preamble’ is mostly familiar, since it was completely edited by Perruchon as an ‘Introduction.’⁴⁴⁰ However, so far no one has noted that its text is almost identical with the Preamble to the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’.⁴⁴¹ The ‘Preamble’ contains some passages that are not in the Preamble to the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’; but everything that is in the Preamble to the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’⁴⁴² finds a correspondence in ‘Preamble’. In the following table I present selected passages from two Preambles more or less parallelly, with an underline I marked what is almost identical, with a dotted underline what is transposed and what is different is unmarked, with a wavy underline I mark what differs in gender. I use my edited text as PreLal and the text edited by Enrico Cerulli for the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’

Selected passages from ‘Preamble’ (ryhmed with ድ)	‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ ⁴⁴³ (ryhmed with ቅ),
§1 <u>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡</u> <u>፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡</u> <u>ዕሩይ ፡ ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡</u>	<u>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡</u> <u>፩ አምላክ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡</u> <u>ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡</u>
§ 5 <u>ዘአምጽኦ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ በቃለ ፡ ጽዋዔ ፡</u> <u>እምነበ ፡ ኢህሎ ፡ በአሐቲ ፡ ምክር ፡</u> <u>ወበአሐቲ ፡ ፈቃድ ፡</u>	<u>ዘአምጽኦ ፡ በጽዋዔ ፡ ቃሉ ፡ እምነበ ፡ ኢህልዎ ፡</u> <u>በአሐቲ ፡ ምክር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢይፅሕቅ ፡</u> <u>ወሣረራ ፡ ለምድር ፡ እንበለ ፡ መሠረት ፡</u> <u>ወንድቅ ፡</u>
§6 <u>ዘሣረራ ፡ ለምድር ፡ በልቡና ፡</u> <u>ዘኢይትህየድ ፡</u>	<u>ዘሰቀሎ ፡ ለሰማይ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቀመር ፡ እንበለ ፡</u> <u>ሰዋቅ ፡ በአርጊያ ፡ ማየ ፡ ወረበበ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሠቅ ፡</u> <u>ዘይፈትቶ ፡ ለዕብነ ፡ በረድ ፡ በበሕጠታቲሁ ፡</u> <u>ከመ ፡ ይደቅ ፡</u>
§10 <u>አርጊያ ፡ ማየ ፡ ዘረሰዮ ፡ ሰማየ ፡ ወሰቀሎ ፡</u> <u>ከመ ፡ ቀመር ፡ እንበለ ፡ ሰዋቅ ፡ ወዐምድ ፡</u>	<u>ጥንተ ፡ ሀልዎቱ ፡ ዘኢይትዓወቅ ፡</u> <u>ወዓመታቲሁ ፡ ዘኢየጋልቅ ፡</u>
§13 <u>ዘይፈትቶ ፡ ለእብነ ፡ በረድ ፡ እምክርሠ ፡</u> <u>ደመና ፡ በበጎጠታቲሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይረድ ፡</u>	<u>ለዘከመዝ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እገኒ ፡ ወእሰግድ ፡</u> <u>ሎቱ ፡ በጽድቅ ፡</u> (ryhmed with ት)
§19 <u>ጥንተ ፡ መዋዕሉ ፡ ዘኢይትጌለቀኦ ፡</u> <u>ወሰፍሐ ፡ ሀልዎቱ ፡ ዘኢይትጌለድ ፡</u>	
§20 <u>ለዘከመዝ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እገኒ ፡</u> <u>ወእሰግድ ፡</u>	

⁴⁴⁰See Perruchon 1892, 1-7.

⁴⁴¹‘Atti di Krəstos Samrā’.

⁴⁴²See Cerulli 1956, 1-3.

⁴⁴³For the original text see Cerulli, E., ed., 1956. *Atti di Krestos Samrā*, 1-3.

(ryhmed with ስ) §21 <u>እነግር ፡ ዜና ፡ ገድለ ፡ ጸማሁ ፡ ለብእሲ ፡</u> <u>ብፁዕ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወርኡስ ፡ ስቡሕ ፡</u> <u>ወውዱስ ።</u> §22 <u>ለባሴ ፡ ንጽሕ ፡ ዘኢለከፎ ፡ ደነስ ።</u> <u>ጸዋሬ ፡ ንዴት ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ንግሥ ።</u>	<u>እነግር ፡ ዜና ፡ ገድለ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡</u> <u>እምነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሠምራ ፡ ቅድስት ፡</u> <u>ወብፁዕት ፡ ስብሕት ፡ ወክብርት ፡ ወልዕልት ፡</u> <u>ለባሲተ ፡ ንጽሕ ፡ ከመ ፡ መላእክት ፡</u>
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Until now there is no clear reference to King Lālibalā in ‘Preamble’, apart from a hint to a saints’ kingship (ጸዋሬ ፡ ንዴት ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ንግሥ ።)

In what follows after above quoted ryhmed passages, there is a clear allusion to the Book of Henok, which is interpolated with a commented quotation from NT, linked to saint Lālibalā. If we neglect those passages that allude us to the Book of Henok, but instead jump directly to the passages §45, we will find again some parallelism with the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’.

Lālibalā	‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’
§ 45 <u>ወጸዊረ ፡ መስቀሉኒ ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ጸም ፡</u> <u>ምስለ ፡ አኩቴት ፡ ፍቅር ፡ ምስለ ፡ የውሀት ፡</u> <u>ዘምስለ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ንዴት ።</u> <u>አንብዕ ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትግሀት ። አልጉሞ ፡</u> <u>ልሳን ፡ እምነገረ ፡ ፅርፈት ፡ እምነቢበ ፡ ዐመፃ ፡</u> <u>ወሐስት ፡</u> <u>ዐሪቅ ፡ እምግብር ፡ ኅላፊት ፡ እንተ ፡ ትወስድ ፡</u> <u>ውስተ ፡ ሞት ።</u> § 46 <u>አንጽሐ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ እምዝሙት ፡ [...]</u> <u>ወተዘግሐ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጸማዕት ፡ አንጽሐ ፡ ልብ ፡</u> <u>እምሐልዮ ፡ ኅጢአት ፡ ወተዘክሮ ፡ ሞት ፡</u> <u>በኩሉ ፡ ጊዜያት ።</u> §47 [...] <u>ከመ ፡ ይትመሠጥ ፡ ቦቶን ፡ ኀበ ፡</u> <u>መንበረ ፡ መለኮት ። ከመ ፡ ይኅበር ፡ ሰብሐ ፡</u> <u>ምስለ ፡ ሱራፌል ።</u> § 48 [...] <u>ተሰጢሞ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ባሕረ ፡</u> <u>ትዕግሥት ። እስመ ፡ ርኒብኒ ፡ ኢይትከህል ፡</u> <u>እንበለ ፡ ትዕግሥት ።</u> §49 <u>ወበእንተዝኬ ፡ ለብሰ ፡ እልታኀ ፡</u> <u>ትዕግሥት ፡ ወድርአ ፡ እንግድዓ ፡ ዘመዊእ ፡</u> <u>ከመ ፡ ይማእ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ምንዳቤ ፡ ገድል ።</u> §51 <u>እስመ ፡ በሐብለ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ሕሱል ፡</u>	<u>ወፀዋሪት ፡ መስቀል ፡ ዘባቲ ፡ ጸም ፡ ዘምስለ ፡</u> <u>አኩቴት ፡ ወፍቅር ። ዘምስለ ፡ የዋሃት ።</u> <u>ወምስለ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ወንዴት ፡</u> <u>አንብዕ ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትዕግሥት ፡ አልጉሞ ፡</u> <u>ልሳን ፡ እምነቢበ ፡ ፅርፈት ። ወእምነቢበ ፡</u> <u>ዓመፃ ፡ ወሐስት ፡</u> <u>ርኒቅ ፡ እምግብር ፡ ዓለም ፡ ኃላፊ ፡ እንተ ፡</u> <u>ትወድስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሞት ፡</u> <u>አንጽሐ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ እምዝሙት ፡</u> <u>ወተግኅሠ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጸላዕት ፡ አንጽሐ ፡ ልብ ፡</u> <u>እምኃልዮ ፡ ኃጢአት ፡ ወተዘክሮ ፡ ሞት ፡</u> <u>በኩሉ ፡ ጊዜያት ።</u> <u>ከመ ፡ ትኅብር ፡ ሰብሐ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መላእክት ፡</u> <u>ትጉሃን ፡ ወከመ ፡ ትትመሰጥ ፡ ቦቶን ፡ ኀበ ፡</u> <u>መንበረ ፡ መለኮት ።</u> <u>ተሠጢማ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ባሕረ ፡ ትዕግሥት ።</u> <u>እስመ ፡ ረኃብኒ ፡ ወተፅናስ ፡ ኢይትከህል ፡</u> <u>ዘእንበለ ፡ ትዕግሥት ፡</u> <u>ወበእንተዝኬ ፡ ለብሰት ፡ እልታሃ ፡ ወድርዓ ፡</u> <u>እንግድዓ ፡ ዘመዊዕ ። ከመ ፡ ትስማዕ ፡ ምንዳቤ ፡</u> <u>ገድል ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ [...]</u> <u>እስመ ፡ በሐብለ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ዕሡር ፡ ሕሊና ፡</u>

<p>ከሳደ : <u>ልቦሙ : ለጸድቃን ። እስመ : እንበለ :</u> <u>ትሕትና : ኢይትከህል : ያሥምርዎ :</u> <u>ለእግዚአብሔር : በከመ : ከልሐ : ነቢይ : [...]</u> <u>ከመዝ : ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር : ኀበ : መኑ :</u> <u>እኔጽር : ዘእንበለ : ኀበ : የዋህ : ወትሑት :</u> <u>ወጽምው : ዘይርዕድ : እምቃልየ ።</u></p> <p>§51 <u>ወእግዚእ : ነቢይኒ : ይቤ : ተመህሩ :</u> <u>እምኔየ : እስመ : የዋህ : አነ : ወትሑት :</u> <u>ልብየ : ወትረክቡ : ዕረፍተ : ለነፍስክሙ ።</u></p> <p>§54 <u>እስመ : አጥረየ : ንጽሐ : ከመ :</u> <u>መላእክት ።</u></p> <p>§55 <u>ወአጽደለ : ባሕርየ : ንጽሐ : ምስብዒተ :</u> <u>እምአሶንያ : ወእምኦርያሬስ ። እምኦርዮብ :</u> <u>ወእማዝሮት ። እስመ : ይሰምየ : ለሐዋርያ :</u> <u>እንዘ : ይብል : አንጽሐ : ልበክሙ :</u> <u>ወአንጽሐ : እደዊክሙ ።</u></p> <p>§56 <u>ወዓዲ : ተዳደቀቶ : ቃል : እምአፈ :</u> <u>ጳውሎስ : እንዘ : ትብል : ከመዝ : አልቦ :</u> <u>እምውስቱትክሙ : ዘይከውን : ዘማዊ :</u> <u>ወርኩስ ።</u></p> <p>§57 <u>ወዓዲ : ተፍእመ : ሕጠተ : ቃል :</u> <u>እምአስካለ : ትንቢቱ : ለብፁዕ : ዳዊት :</u> <u>ዘይቤ : መሥዋዕተ : ወቀራርባነ : ኢፈቀድኩ :</u> <u>ሥጋክ : አንጽሐ : ሊተ ።</u></p> <p>§59 <u>ወዘንተ : ኩሎ : ዐቂቦ : [...]</u> <u>ጐየ :</u> <u>እምሐውዘ : ጣዕሙ : ለዝ : ዓለም : ዘያወረዙ :</u> <u>ለአብሶ : ከመ : ይሰመይ : ጥሪተ : ዐቢየ :</u> <u>ዘእሉድ : ውስተ : መዝገበ : ቤቱ : ለልዑል ።</u> <u>በከመ : ይቤ : ሰሎሞን : ጥሪት : ክቡር :</u> <u>ብእሲ : ንጽሐ ።</u></p> <p>§60 <u>ዘምዕዘ : ዕፍረተ : ርኄሁ : ውስተ : ኩሉ :</u> <u>አጽናፈ : ዓለም ። [...]</u> <u>ሰማዕነ : ዝክረ :</u> <u>ተስፋሁ : ለጸድቅ ።</u></p> <p>§ 61 <u>ወነዋ : ያረውጸሙ : ለሕዝብ :</u> <u>ወለአሕዛብ : ወለመኳንንት : ወለመሳፍንት :</u> <u>ለዐበይት : ወለሐበይት : መዐዛ : ዕፍረቱ :</u> <u>ዘኢተምዝመዘ : እስከ : ይእዜ : ጣዕመ :</u> <u>ጽዑጤሁ ። [...]</u></p>	<p><u>ልቦሙ : ለጸድቃን ። እስመ : ዘእንበለ :</u> <u>ትሕትና : ኢይትከህል : ከመ : ያሥምርዎ :</u> <u>ለእግዚአብሔር ። በከመ : ነገረ : ኢሳይያስ :</u> <u>ነቢይ :</u> <u>ከመዝ : ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር : ኀበ : መኑ :</u> <u>እኔጽር : ዘእንበለ : ኀበ : የዋህ : ወትሑት :</u> <u>ዘይርዕድ : እምቃልየ ።</u></p> <p><u>እግዚአብሔርኒ : ይቤ : ተመህሩ : እምኔየ :</u> <u>እስመ : የዋህ : ወትሑት : ልብየ ። ወትረክቡ :</u> <u>ዕረፍተ : ለነፍስክሙ : ወለሥጋክሙ ።</u></p> <p><u>ዓዲ : አጥረየት : ንጽሐ : ከመ : መላእክት ።</u></p> <p><u>ወአዕደለት : ባሕርየ : ንጽሐ : እምነ : ፀሐይ :</u> <u>ወወርኅ : ወከዋክብት ። በከመ : ይቤ : ሐዋርያ :</u> <u>አንጽሐ : ልበክሙ ። ወእደዊክሙ :</u></p> <p><u>ዓዲ : ተወክፈት : ቃለ : እምአፈ : ጳውሎስ :</u> <u>ሰሚዓ : እንዘ : ይብል ። አልቦ : ዘይከውን :</u> <u>እምውስቱትክሙ : ዘማዊ : ወርኩስ :</u> <u>ዓዲ : ቀሰመት : እምጽጌ : ትንቢቱ : ለብፁዕ :</u> <u>ዳዊት ። ዘይቤ : መሥዋዕተ : ወቀራርባነ :</u> <u>ኢፈቀድኩ ። ሥጋክ : አንጽሐ : ሊተ ።</u> <u>ወዘንተ : ኩሎ : ዓቂባ : ጐየት : እምሐውዘ :</u> <u>ዓለም : ወጣዕሙ : ዘያወረዙ : ለአብሶ : ከመ :</u> <u>ትሰመይ : ኀሪተ : ወክብርተ : በውስተ :</u> <u>መዝገቡ : ለልዑል : በከመ : ይቤ : ሰሎሞን :</u> <u>ጥሪት : ክቡር : ብእሲ :</u></p> <p><u>ዘምዕዘ : ዕፍረተ : ርኄሃ : ውስተ : ኩሉ :</u> <u>አዕናፈ : ዓለም ። ሰማዕነ : ዝክረ : ተስፋሁ :</u> <u>ለጸድቅ :</u></p> <p><u>ነዋ : ያረውያሙ : ለሕዝብ : ወለአሕዛብ :</u> <u>ወለመኳንንት : ወለመሳፍንት ። መዐዛ :</u> <u>ዕፍረታ : ዘኢተመዝመዘ : እስከ : ይእዜ :</u> <u>ጣዕመ : ጺዓታሁ ።</u></p> <p><u>ወዕፍረታሰ : ለዛቲ : ብእሲት : እምነ :</u></p>
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<p>§ 62 <u>ወዕፍረቱስ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡</u> <u>አኮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዕፍረተ ፡ ክህነቱ ፡ ለአሮን ፡</u> <u>ዘእምአፈዋተ ፡ ጽጌ ፡ ዘከርቤ ፡ ወአበሚ ፡ [...]</u> <u>አላ ፡ ዕፍረቱኒ ፡ እምአፈዋተ ፡ ወንጌል ፡</u> <u>ወኢኮነ ፡ እምዕፅ ።</u></p> <p>§ 63 [...] <u>ወቀዲሙስ ፡ ንፈቅድ ፡ ንንግርክሙ ፡</u> <u>ግብሮ ፡ ለሐናዲሆን ፡ እፎ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ጥንቱ ፡</u> <u>ወእፎ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ተፍጻሜቱ ።</u></p> <p>§ 64 <u>እምከመ ፡ ሰአልናሁ ፡ ለመጥበቤ ፡</u> <u>አብዳን ፡ ከመ ፡ ያርኑ ፡ ለነ ፡ አናቅጸ ፡ ቃል ፡</u> <u>በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ እመቦ ፡ ዘንጥኣ ፡</u> <u>ለጥበብ ፡ ለይስአል ፡ ኀበ ፡ ወሀቢ ፡</u> <u>እግዚአብሔር ፡</u></p> <p>§ 65 <u>ወአንትሙሂ ፡ ፍቁራንዩ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡</u> <u>ዘምክሕ ፡ ዘያሰሚ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ፡ እለ ፡</u> <u>ትሴሰዩ ፡ እምጥብኅ ፡ መንክር ፡ ዘኢየፃዒ ፡</u> <u>ገደላሁ ፡ [...]</u> <u>ወእለ ፡ ትሰትዩ ፡ ማዩ ፡ ሕይወት ፡</u> <u>እምከሁኩሐ ፡ ምሥጢር ፡ [...]</u></p> <p>§ 66 <u>ሰአሉ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ከመ ፡ የሀበኒ ፡ ልሳነ ፡</u> <u>ጥበብ ፡ ከመ ፡ አእምር ፡ ዘእነብብ ፡ እስመ ፡</u> <u>አነ ፡ ሕጹጽ ፡ ልብ ፡ እስመ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡</u> <u>ኢገሰስኩ ፡ ማእዝንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዜናሁ ፡</u> <u>ለዘእትናገር ፡ በእንቲአሁ ።</u> <u>እስመ ፡ ነዋህ ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ወልጎት ፡ ክሥተተ ፡</u> <u>ምሥጢሩ ።</u></p> <p>§ 67 <u>ወባሕቱ ፡ እነግረክሙ ፡ በሐሳብ ፡ ክህልኩ ፡</u> <u>እንዘ ፡ እትአመን ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ጸሎትክሙ ፡</u> <u>ወበጸሎቱ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ኮከበ ፡ ክብር ፡</u> <u>ጽባሐዊ ፡ ዘይሀይድ ፡ ብርሃኑ ፡ ብርሃነ ፡</u> <u>ካልኣን ፡ ከዋክብት ። እንዘ ፡ አብ ፡ ይረድእ ፡</u> <u>ለወጢን ፡ በለብዎ ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ያጸንዕ ፡</u> <u>በአስተሰናእዎ ። ወመንፈስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይከውን ፡</u> <u>ፈጻሜ ፡ ኀይለ ፡ ቃል ፡ በአስተታልዎ ፡</u> <u>በሰላመ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ አሜን ።</u></p>	<p><u>ክርስቶስ ፡ ሠምራ ፡ አኮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዕፍረተ ፡</u> <u>ክህነቱ ፡ ለአሮን ፡ ዘእምአፈዋተ ፡ ከርቤ ፡</u> <u>ወጽጌ ፡ ወአበሚ ፡ አላ ፡ እምአፈዋተ ፡ ወንጌል ።</u> <u>ወኢኮነ ፡ እምዕፅ ፡</u></p> <p><u>ወኩሎስ ፡ ስነ ፡ ኂሩታ ፡ ድኅረ ፡ እነግረክሙ ፡</u> <u>ዘከመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ጥንቱ ፡ ወእፎ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ተፍጻሜቱ ።</u></p> <p><u>ወእምከመ ፡ ሰአልናሁ ፡ ለመጥበቤ ፡ ዓብዳን ፡</u> <u>ከመ ፡ ያርኑ ፡ ለነ ፡ አንቀጸ ፡ ቃል ። በከመ ፡</u> <u>ይቤ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ እመቦ ፡ ዘንጥኣ ፡ ለጥበብ ፡</u> <u>ለይስአል ፡ ኀበ ፡ ወሀቢ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።</u> <u>አንትሙኒ ፡ ፍቁራንዩ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡</u> <u>ሠምራ ፡ ዘትሰመዩ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ።</u> <u>እለ ፡ ትበልዑ ፡ እምጥብሐ ፡ በግዑ ፡ ዘኢየፃዒ ፡</u> <u>ገደላሁ ።</u> <u>ወእለ ፡ ትሰትዩ ፡ ደመ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ዘውኀዘ ፡</u> <u>እምገቦሁ ፡</u></p> <p><u>ሰአሉ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ከመ ፡ የሀበኒ ፡ ልሳነ ፡ ወጥበብ ፡</u> <u>ወከመ ፡ አእምር ፡ ዘእነብብ ፡ እስመ ፡ አነ ፡</u> <u>ኀፁፁ ፡ ልብ ። ወእስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ኢገሠሥኩ ፡</u> <u>ዜና ፡ ገድላ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ እምነ ፡</u> <u>ክርስቶስ ፡ ሠምራ ፡ እትናገር ፡ በእንቲአሃ ።</u> <u>እስመ ፡ ነዋህ ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ወልጎት ፡ ክሡት ፡</u> <u>ምሥጢሩ ።</u></p> <p><u>ወባሕቱ ፡ እነግረክሙ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እትአመን ፡</u> <u>በኃይለ ፡ ጸሎትክሙ ። ወበኃይለ ፡ ጸሎታ ፡</u> <u>ለዛቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ እምነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሠምራ ፡</u> <u>ኮከበ ፡ ክብር ፡ ጽባሐዊት ፡ ዘየሃይድ ፡ ብርሃና ፡</u> <u>እምብርሃነ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ እንዘ ፡ አብ ፡</u> <u>ይረድእ ፡ ለወጢን ፡ በለብዎ ። ወእንዘ ፡ ወልድ ፡</u> <u>ያጸንዕ ፡ በአስተሰናእኦ ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ መንፈስ ፡</u> <u>ቅዱስ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ፈጻሜ ፡ ለኃይለ ፡ ቃል ፡</u> <u>በአስተታልዎ ። በሰላመ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡</u> <u>ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።⁴⁴⁴</u></p>
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⁴⁴⁴ Cerulli, E., ed., 1956. *Atti di Krestos Samrā*, 1-3.

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A comparison of the two prologues shows, the prologue of the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ is shorter and differs in gender (but not always).

This striking parallelism can mean either of the following:

- 1) The ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ strictly depends on ‘Preamble’ (this hypothesis cannot be excluded, see also Chapter Six).
- 2) The ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ and ‘Preamble’ depend on a common model

Even if indeed the ‘Acts of Krəstos Samrā’ depends on ‘Preamble’ (and they do not both depend on a common model), absence of any specific details about Lālibalā suggests that a pre-existing *Vorlage* was slightly elaborated for Lālibalā.

As is commonly known, a prologue is a mandatory part of any *gadl*. The current reading practice of *gadlāt* begins each reading with a prologue: thus, prologue and the reading for June, prologue and the reading for July, prologue and the reading for August, etc. As we can see from the table in 4.5 *Mise en livre*, all editors have kept ‘Preamble’ on the first page of the edition. However, what I identify as the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ has three kinds of prologues of its own. For now, to define the beginning of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, I rely upon the codicological evidence from MS Dabṣəy-001, which marks what I define as the first folio of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ as quire number one. One should think critically about the real beginning of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ further anyway, since it is not rare for the author or the scribe to insert external textual or narrative units at the beginning of his own work. An example from the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts is ‘A narration about the seven days of Creation or Pseudo- ‘Miracles of blessed Lālibalā and Saint Masqal Kəbrā’ which has a wide circulation; it is attested as the ‘Prologue’ and once entitled as a miracle.

Between ‘Preamble’ and the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ come five other textual units which are related to Saint Lālibalā only through the mention of his name, and even this is not regular throughout the manuscripts. I will be able to say more on this topic when I will have the edited text. This argues that ‘Preamble’ was not written specifically for the ‘Life of Lālibalā’; otherwise, it

should have been placed right at the beginning of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, as indeed it is in Perruchon’s edition and in the second edition of ‘Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā’. Both replaced the ‘Prologue’ which originally stood right before the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, the with ‘Preamble’ which is about 30 folia before its beginning.

5.6.2. *Jesus and His redeeming fire*

The second textual unit of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ collection is ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’. The latter starts with an account of those events in the life of Jesus the Saviour which are important for the salvation of mankind. This textual unit shows some parallelism with the ‘Homily of Epiphanius of Crete’⁴⁴⁵ Weischer, writing about the style of Epiphaneus, notes the following characteristic:

The logical connection is not always evident; mostly the subjects of the individual sentences change quickly, which disturbs the train of thought; often there are only Greek participles throughout entire passages; one looks in vain for a *verbum finitum*. This bad style of language used by Epiphany also shines through in the Ethiopian translation. There, too, we find, for example, only gerundive forms throughout several sentence sequences that represent the Greek participles - especially in the older manuscripts. These stylistic observations can be verified in the homily edited below.⁴⁴⁶

Indeed, the Gəʿz version of ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ attests an astonishing number of Gerundive forms, which led me to look back at the Greek *Vorlage*. Despite the number of Gerundives in ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’, the Subject is always the same, Jesus, and the style has a simple beauty. The author knew exactly how to use the Gerundive; indeed, ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ could be used as a chrestomathic example for learners.

5.6.3. *Lālibalā and a rebel*

In his introduction to the ‘Life of Naʾakkwəto Laʾab’ Conti Rossini writes the following:

The episode with some variations also occurs in the ‘Acts of Lālibalā’. A king, [Lālibalā’s] vassal, and lord of a country eight days’ march from Roḥa, rebels; Lālibalā sends his son against him, who in singular intent kills the rebel’s son, captures the rebel himself who fled with his army, and hands him over to the king; Lālibalā forgives the rebel and grants him freedom, but the rebel goes away mocking him, full of pride, and dies of a trivial accident, as in our text: the ‘Acts of Lālibalā’ does not say the name of the evil king nor his country nor of the prince who wins him.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁵ Weischer 1979, 24.

⁴⁴⁶ Id.: ‘Der logische Zusammenhang ist nicht immer ersichtlich; meistens wechseln die Subjekte der einzelnen Sätze schnell, was die Gedankenfolge stört; oft stehen ganze Passagen hindurch nur griechische Partizipien, man sucht vergeblich nach einem Verbum finitum. Dieser schlechte Sprachstil des Epiphanius schimmert auch noch in der äthiopischen Übersetzung durch. Auch dort finden wir z.B. mehrere Satzfolgen hindurch nur Gerundivformen, die die griechischen Partizipia repräsentieren - vor allem in den älteren Handschriften. Diese stilistischen Beobachtungen sind schon allein an der im folgenden edierten Homilie zu verifizieren.’

⁴⁴⁷ Conti Rossini 1943, 107-108: ‘L’ episodio con alcune variante ricorre anche negli Atti di Lalibala. Un re, vassallo di questo, e signore d’ un paese ad otto giornate di marcia da Roḥa, si ribella; Lalibala invia contro lui suo figlio,

Conti Rossini considered the ‘Acts of Lālibalā’ (‘Gli Atti di Lalibala’) as one work. When looks at it from the point of view of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, we see that the episode described by Conti Rossini⁴⁴⁸ corresponds to one textual unit of the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’, namely ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’. The ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’ is dated to a later period than ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’, yet the description of this episode, which is considered historical, is more detailed in the ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’, as Conti Rossini noted, than in ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’. Further, ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ attests the frequent presence of the quotative particle -ኣ, which is used to mark direct speech⁴⁴⁹ and only there. In the ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’ the quotative particle -ኣ is attested throughout the text. Common content and common grammar-pattern, namely the quotative particle -ኣ, make me think that either one text depends on the other, or both texts go back to another textual unit. Apart from ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’, none of the textual units of shows any similarity with the ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’, which gives some reference to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’:

ወቀርበ ፡ ጎቤሃ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ትሑት ፡ ወፍጹም ፡ በሰነ ፡ ገድሉ ፡⁴⁵⁰

Therefore, if the ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’ was all written by one person, then this person had some familiarity with the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, at least an idea of its existence. However, since the narration of this episode in the ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’ contains more details that scholars consider historical than ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ does, ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’ cannot be the source for the ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’, dated to the fifteenth century by Conti Rossini and I have not revised this date if it is correct, it will mean that the ‘Life of Na’akkwəto La’ab’ comes at least one century later than the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ and cannot be a source for ‘Lālibalā and a rebel’. Therefore, in all likelihood both versions derive from a common *Vorlage*, which had the quotative particle -ኣ in it.

5.7. Conclusion

As noted in the introduction, none of the parameters that I have discussed in this chapter is absolute. The proposed identification of the textual units, though (I believe) well-founded, remains very much intuitive. Once again, although one cannot deny that under the label ‘Gadla Lālibalā’

che in singolare tenzione uccide il figlio del ribelle, cattura il ribelle stesso che col suo esercito si è dato alla fuga, e lo consegna al re; Lalibala perdona il ribelle e gli concede la libertà, ma il ribelle se ne va deridendolo, pieno d’ orgoglio, e muore di un banale accidente, come nel nostro testo: gli Atti di Lalibala non dicono i nome ne del re malvagio ne del suo paese ne del principe che lo vince.’

⁴⁴⁸ Conti Rossini 1943, 143-146.

⁴⁴⁹ See Dillmann 1857, §162.

⁴⁵⁰ Conti Rossini 1943, 116.

we find a variety of textual units (partially differing from manuscript to manuscript), their number remains uncertain.

In this chapter I have discussed labels/titles, supplications, *mise en texte* and *mise en page* as evidence of the scribe's thought; *mise en livre* in the editions as evidence of the editor's thought; and finally, philological features of some textual units. I have discussed only some of the features, just to demonstrate that the general idea – to achieve a better understanding of the intellectual content of the manuscripts – seems to work. All the parameters for my definition of a textual unit are displayed in the following table. The table is specifically for MS Dabṣəy-001.

The 'Gadla Lālibalā collection'

	TU	Title s	Supplic ations	Mise en texte	Sequence
1.	Preamble		+	+	
2.	Jesus and His redeeming fire		+	+	+
3.	Teaching about Saints			+	+
4.	Lālibalā enters Heavenly Jerusalem		+	+	+
5.	Lālibalā accomplishes the Word of the Gospel		+	+	+
6.	Praise for Lālibalā		+	+	+
MS Dabṣəy-001					
7.	The Life of Lālibalā			+	
8.	Three men visit King Lālibalā	+	+	+	+
9.	How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spat it out	+	+	+	+
10.	How Lālibalā became like a pauper	+	+	+	+
11.	Lālibalā and a rebel	+	+	+	+
12.	How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman	+	+	+	+
13.	How a man defamed Lālibalā and became blind	+	+	+	+
14.	Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā	+	+	+	+

I have tried to be critical and to introduce all the problems and ambiguities that I have noticed. However, there is one good thing to say: I have tried to observe all these parameters, while writing chapter one and identifying other textual units transmitted together with the 'Gadla

Lālibalā collection’ for which we have much more evidence for considering them as textual units, because they are ‘fresh’ accretions to the collection. For most of the textual units it worked. Therefore, taking into consideration mutual processes – introduction of other textual units into the collection and extracting parts of it, initiating its circulation as narrative units, plus the lack of evidence about the independent circulation of something in an unexpected form, since most of the manuscripts are known to us by labels, I think it is reasonable to consider all these parameters.

Now the question of dating. The earliest known attestation of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ is MS DabṢəy-001, datable to the fourteenth century; therefore, all textual units must have been composed by that time. It might be thought that the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ could not have been written earlier than King Lālibalā’s death, therefore definitely after 1225 CE. But in view of the Multi-Unit Hypothesis, the reasoning is fallacious. In my opinion, the first six textual units could easily have been written earlier and then adjusted to apply specifically to Saint Lālibalā, in most cases by simple insertion of his name. This must remain an open question. For ‘Story about the virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ a terminus non ante quem of 1270 can be given, for it was written after the ‘restoration of the Solomonic dynasty’.

Chapter Six. Commemoration of Saint King Lālibalā: Tradition and significance of the Life of Lālibalā in the religious community

This chapter results mostly from observations and interviews made during three field trips to Ethiopia (2014-2017), as well as from my stay in the Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library.⁴⁵¹ This all allowed me to make a sketch of a very rich and complex tradition, in which HagLal often plays a crucial role, since it provides people with knowledge about the saint king as well as enables the community to perform different kinds of religious services. The present chapter is an attempt to link manuscript culture to its usage, actual or potential, within the communities.

Research on the manuscript geography and local traditions indicates that the hagiographic ‘realm’ of Saint King Lālibalā corresponds roughly to the historical one⁴⁵² in terms of provinces, according to the country division before the 1995 constitution. One can find manuscripts containing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ in Wallo, Bagemdər, Təgrāy, Eritrean highlands,⁴⁵³ Šawā and Goğgām.⁴⁵⁴

6.1. ‘The Life of Lālibalā’: commemoration (ተዝክር) of Saint Lālibalā from the text

There are many different hagiographic compositions written for Saint Lālibalā. It is still an open question whether the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ or the *gaddāt* in general actually count as parts of the liturgical service. It is not necessarily the case that a community devoted to a saint owns a book containing his/her *gadd*. Obviously, the community can perform a liturgical service for the saint without having his/her *gadd*. A book containing a *gadd* is not a required minimum for the liturgical commemoration; a book containing a *gadd* can be considered rather a maximum for the commemoration of a saint.

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’ is the earliest known written attestation of the commemoration of Saint Lālibalā, and it provides necessary information and directions for his commemoration. In

⁴⁵¹ 01.10-10.10. 2014 in Lālibalā, before the official enrolment; 29.10-19.11. 2016 in Təgrāy, as part of SFB 950 project: “ ‘Parchment Saints’ : The Making of Ethiopian Hagiographic Manuscripts – Matter and Devotion in Manuscript Practices in Medieval and Pre-modern Ethiopia” ; 02.10-26.11.2017 in Wallo, Təgrāy and Šawā, partly together with CNRS project ‘Lalibela, la christianisation et le contrôle de l’ Éthiopie centrale au tournant des 1^{er} et 2^{es} millénaires de notre ère: Recherches archéologiques et historiques entre Lasta et Tigré meridional (IX^e – XIII^e siècles)’ ; archival research in Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (18.08-16.09.2016).

⁴⁵² See Derat 2010.

⁴⁵³ Giuseppe Sapeto edited a Sənkəssār reading for King Lālibalā and Queen Masqal Kəbrū from Dabra Bizan, dated to the first half of the sixteenth century, see Chapter One 1.3.7.

⁴⁵⁴ Goğgām was not part of the Christian kingdom before *haḍe* ‘Amda Šəyon, see Taddesse Tamrat 1972, 132-145. The tradition maintaining that Lālibalā got his education in Goğgām apparently emerged when Goğgām became an important centre for education. The only known manuscript from Goğgām that contains the Life of Lālibalā is MS MotGiorg-1, dated to the eighteenth century, commissioned by *haḍe* Takla Giyorgis and kept in the church of Moṭā Giyorgis.

the following, I discuss three important points: (i) the day of the death, (ii) topographic coordinates for the tomb and (iii) the pact (*kidān*) in light of new evidence. For the discussion I will take into account manuscripts that contain:

- ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, specifying which textual unit contains what
- *Sənkəssār*
- ‘Homily (Dərsān) of Lālibalā’⁴⁵⁵
- ‘Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā’⁴⁵⁶
- *Dəggwā*,⁴⁵⁷ the most important Ethiopian collection of liturgical chants, arranged according to the liturgical calendar.
- *Maṣḥāfe Gəṣṣāwe*, ‘Book of Exposition’, a perpetual liturgical calendar and a lectionary

6.1.1. *The day of death or the day of commemoration*

a). 12 days (per year)

The ‘Life of Lālibalā’ does not contain the day of his death but rather contains directions to commemorate Saint Lālibalā every month, altogether 12 days (per year). In the second Kidān given to Lālibalā on the way back from Jerusalem we read (Jesus is speaking):

ወዘይገብር ፡ ተገዝረከ ፡ በከሉ ፡ አውራጃ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ዓሠርተ ፡ ወክልኤተ ፡ ዕለታት ፡ ይኩን ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘይገብር ፡ ተገዝረዮ ፡ ለለሰሙን ፡ ፲ ወ ፪ ዕለታት ፡ እምነ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ተገዝረ ፡ ትንሣኤዮ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ካልዓን ፡ ተገዝረ ፡ ትሰበእትዮ ።⁴⁵⁸

The one who will celebrate your *təzkār* all months of the year, twelve days, let it be as if he celebrate My *təzkār* every week, fifty-two days of the year, *təzkār* of My Resurrection without [celebrating] other *təzkārs* of My incarnation.⁴⁵⁹

Two recent manuscripts containing the *Sənkəssār*, photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe project,⁴⁶⁰ contain the same passage on the monthly commemoration;⁴⁶¹ these are MS AMM-008, Dabra Madḥanit Madḥane ‘Alam ‘Addigrāt (from 1917 to 1918)⁴⁶² fols. 94 rb-95v and MS AP-015, ‘

⁴⁵⁵ See Derat 2016.

⁴⁵⁶ See Marrassini 2003, 311-320.

⁴⁵⁷ See Shelemay et al. 1993.

⁴⁵⁸ Kur 1972, 395.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Kur 1972, 414: ‘Celui qui fera ta commémoration, tous les mois de l’ année, douze jours, qu’ il soit comme s’ il faisait ma commémoration, toutes les semaines, cinquante-deux jours de l’ année, la commémoration de ma résurrection et la commémoration de mon incarnation sans (faire) les autres (commémorations).’

⁴⁶⁰ ‘Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia. Salvation, Preservation, Research’ (EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720, PI Denis Nosnitsin, 2009-2015), see <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare.html> [accessed on 25th February 2021].

⁴⁶¹ I worked with manuscripts containing the *Sənkəssār* photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe project and *Sənkəssār* manuscripts from Lālibalā town, photographed by EMMML and available at HMML.

⁴⁶² Sophia Dege-Müller, Denis Nosnitsin, Massimo Villa, Pietro Maria Liuzzo, Dorothea Reule, Eugenia Sokolinski, ‘Addigrāt, ‘Addigrāt Madḥāne ‘Alam, AMM-008’, in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des*

Addaḳāḥarsī Makāna Hywat Pāqlīṣ (1975-1976)⁴⁶³ fols. 104 ra-105vb. In addition to the common entry for Saint Lālibalā, both manuscripts include a portion of text from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’. The passage on the monthly commemoration from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ quoted above reads as follows in the *Sānkəssār* manuscripts MS AMM-008, fol.94v and AP-015, fol.104c:

ወኩሉ ፡ አውራጃ ፡ ዓመታት ፡ ፲፬፻ ዓመታት ፡

And every month of the years, twelve years.

The change from ወኩሉ ፡ (days) to ፲፬፻ ዓመታት ፡ (years) is a significant alteration, for it changes the direction for commemoration. Reworded in this way, it suggests commemorating Lālibalā each month for twelve years.

b) On the twelfth of *Hazirān*

According to the ‘Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ Saint Lālibalā passed away on the twelfth of *Hazirān*, which is his *Dies Natalis*. According to the counting system used in the *Sānkəssār* of MS DW 03,⁴⁶⁴ fol. 156va, the twelfth of *Hazirān* corresponds to the nineteenth of *Sane*. However, at present, it is impossible to know exactly what the author of the text meant by the twelfth of *Hazirān*. Before the sixteenth century there is no other date related to Saint King Lālibalā’s veneration but this twelfth of *Hazirān*.

c) On the twelfth of *Sane*

Starting from the sixteenth century the twelfth of *Sane* seems to be the generally accepted date for Saint King Lālibalā’s veneration. Apparently, at this time Saint King Lālibalā and his wife, Saint Masqal Kəbrā, were commemorated together on the same day. In all known books containing the *Sānkəssār* datable to the sixteenth century, if they indicate a day for Saint King Lālibalā’s veneration, it is on the twelfth of *Sane*. The above-mentioned MS DW 03 on fol. 154ra, for the fifth day of *Hazirān*, i.e. twelfth day of *Sane*, contains a short reading for Saint King Lālibalā and his wife, Saint Masqal Kəbrā.

christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung / Beta maṣāḥəft (Last Modified: 26.11.2020) <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESamm008> [Accessed: 2021-03-23+01:00]

⁴⁶³ Vitagrazia Pisani, Denis Nosnitsin, Alessandro Bausi, Massimo Villa, Pietro Maria Liuzzo, Dorothea Reule, Eugenia Sokolinski, ‘Gulo Maḳadā, ‘Addaḳāḥarsī Pāraqliṣ, AP-015’, in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung / Beta maṣāḥəft* (Last Modified: 26.11.2020) <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESap015> [Accessed: 2021-03-23+01:00]

⁴⁶⁴ Dorothea Reule, ‘Goḡḡām, Dabra Warq, DW 03’, in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung / Beta maṣāḥəft* (Last Modified: 13.2.2018) <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/DW03> DOI:10.25592/BetaMasaheft.DW03 [Accessed: 2018-05-02+02:00]

The *Dəggwā*, according to our knowledge, does not contain specific antiphons for Lālibalā. However, MS EMMML 2542 of the *Dəggwā* from Ankobar Giorgis, dated to the sixteenth century,⁴⁶⁵ contains on fols. 1v-3v a calendar which mentions the commemoration of Saint Lālibalā and Masqal Kəbrā, his wife, on the twelfth of *Sane*. Regarding the commemoration of Saint Masqal Kəbrā on the same day as Saint Lālibalā, it is interesting to note another manuscript that contains the *Sənkəssār*, MS EMMML 7506, which was donated by *liqa kəhənāt Zenā Gābrəʿel*⁴⁶⁶ to Bēta Māryām of Lālibalā town. This manuscript, in addition to the common text for Lālibalā, edited by Guidi,⁴⁶⁷ instead of proceeding with the common hymn,⁴⁶⁸ on fol. 124 contains a different hymn for Saint Lālibalā that also includes Masqal Kəbrā. The hymn reads as follows:

ሰላም ፡ ለመቅደስክ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘኣብደራ ፡ እመቅደስ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወእምቅዳሚት ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ምስላ ፡ ይትባረክ ፡ ወልድክ ፡ ወምስላ ፡ መርዓትክ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ክብራ ፡ ባልሐኑ ፡ ለደቂቅክ ፡ እምነ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ መከራ ፡ [መ]ናስ[ው] ፡⁴⁶⁹ ላሊበላ ፡ ዘሰማይ ፡ ሐራ ።⁴⁷⁰

Salām to your sanctuary that Lord preferred over the sanctuary of King Solomon and from the first tabernacle; together with your son Yətbārak, with your wife Masqal Kəbrā rescue us, your children, from numerous temptations and afflictions, Lālibalā, the one of the heavenly hosts.

Other books containing the liturgical calendar for the saints, the *Sənkəssār* and *Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe*, also suggest commemorating Saint Lālibalā on the twelfth of *Sane*.

The ‘Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’, in its turn, contains the information about the date of Lālibalā’s death, *Dies Natalis*, the twelfth of *Ḥazirān*,⁴⁷¹ i.e. twelfth of *Sane*. The text edition reads as follows:

[...] ወአዕረፈ ፡ አመ ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ ለወርቅ ፡ ሐዘራን ።⁴⁷²

He found rest on the twelfth of *Ḥazirān*.

or

[...] ወአዕረፈ ፡ አመ ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ ለወርቅ ፡ ሐዘራን ፡ ዘውእቲ ፡ ሡኔ ።

He found rest on the twelfth of *Ḥazirān*, i.e. of *Sane*.

⁴⁶⁵ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, 23.

⁴⁶⁶ The donation of the *Sənkəssār* to Beta Māryām together with six other manuscripts is noted in MS 7506, fol. 200v. On *liqa kəhənāt Zenā Gābrəʿel* see further in section 4.2.

⁴⁶⁷ See Guidi 1906, 600-602; the same in Ludolf 1681, L. II, cap. V.

⁴⁶⁸ See Guidi 1906, 602.

⁴⁶⁹ ማናስ.

⁴⁷⁰ I have not found this hymn in any other manuscript.

⁴⁷¹ ‘Ḥazirān est le nom d’ un mois syrien, qui correspond au mois de juin’ (Perruchon 1892, 128, n. 1).

⁴⁷² Perruchon 1892, 63.

d) On the twelfth of *Tāḥsās*

Another interesting hagiographic text for Saint Lālibalā is the Homily (*Dərsān*) dedicated to him that was edited by Derat⁴⁷³ on the basis of three manuscripts, namely MS EMMML 54,⁴⁷⁴ MS EMMML 79,⁴⁷⁵ dated to the late nineteenth century and photographed in the church of Rāguʿel, ʿĒn ṭoṭo, Addis Ababa, and MS EMMML 327,⁴⁷⁶ dated to the twentieth century, photographed as part of a private library. According to the text in MSS EMMML 54 and EMMML 79, Lālibalā died on the twelfth of *Tāḥsās*.⁴⁷⁷

ወዘንቱ ፡ ከሉ ፡ ኮነ ፡ አመ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ለታህሣሥ ፡ በ፲ወ፪ ዕለት ፡ በዕለተ ፡ በዓለ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ። ወንጉሥኒ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ በሰላም ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።⁴⁷⁸

All this happened on the twelfth of *Tāḥsās*, day of the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. On this day our king rested in peace of the Lord.⁴⁷⁹

Derat evaluates the twelfth of *Tāḥsās* as textual variant for the twelfth of *Sane*⁴⁸⁰ found in MS EMMML 327. This can be interpreted either as a simple error in the manuscript or as the reflection of a tradition to commemorate the saint on the twelfth of *Tāḥsās*.

The twelfth of *Sane*, like the twelfth of *Tāḥsās*, is also the day to commemorate the Archangel Michael. We know that the Coptic calendar had established monthly commemorations for the Archangel Michael on the twelfth day of every month, and this is already attested in the first redaction of the *Sankassār*,⁴⁸¹ translated into Gəʿz in the fourteenth century. For now, it is impossible to say whether the monthly commemoration of Lālibalā on the twelfth day of the month was added to the existing feast for the Archangel Michael or it developed independently.⁴⁸² So far, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ seems to be the earliest registered attestation of the indigenous tradition of the monthly commemoration in Ethiopia.

⁴⁷³ See Derat 2016.

⁴⁷⁴ See Macomber 1975, 57-58.

⁴⁷⁵ Id., 83.

⁴⁷⁶ Id., 29-30.

⁴⁷⁷ See Derat 2016, 105.

⁴⁷⁸ Id., 124.

⁴⁷⁹ Id., 128: ‘Tout cela eut lieu le 12 de Tāḥsās, jour de la fête de saint Michel, chef des anges. Et en ce jour notre roi se reposa dans la paix du Seigneur.’

⁴⁸⁰ Id., 124, 175 in apparatus.

⁴⁸¹ Checked by Dorothea Reule.

⁴⁸² I thank Alin Suciu and Emmanuel Fritsch very much for helping me to define the limits of our knowledge.

e) On the twenty-ninth of *Tāḥsās*

There are communities devoted to Lālibalā that see a problem in the overlapping of two significant feasts, the commemoration of the Archangel Michael and that of Saint Lālibalā. Some have even decided to change the date for Lālibalā's commemoration. Thus, instead of commemorating him on the twelfth day of *Tāḥsās*, the community of Nāzre(t) Māryām commemorates Lālibalā each twenty-ninth day of each month, which is considered to be Lālibalā's birthday. The community of ʾAdādi Māryām commemorates Lālibalā on the twenty-ninth of *Tāḥsās* (twenty-eighth during the year of Yoḥānnəs). The 'Life of Lālibalā' does not contain this date, i.e. the date of birth, but the 'Homily of Lālibalā' does. According to the 'Homily of Lālibalā', he was born on the twenty-ninth of *Tāḥsās*, the same day as the Ethiopian Church celebrates the Nativity of Jesus.⁴⁸³ The text reads as follows:

ወተወልደ ፡ በሩካቤ ፡ አመ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ለታኅሣሥ ፡ በጳውላዕ ሰለት ፡ ኮነ ፡ ልደቱ ፡ ምስለ ፡ በዓለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡⁴⁸⁴

He was born through the union of flesh, on the twenty-ninth of *Tāḥsās*. His birthday was on the same day as the feast of Our Lord.⁴⁸⁵

Here again, commemoration of Lālibalā on the twenty-ninth overlaps with another significant feast, Madḥāne ʿAlam, which is also commemorated on the twenty-ninth day of each month.

d) Around the fifth of *Maggābit*

Another hagiographic composition related to Lālibalā is 'Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā'. This textual unit narrates the last activities of Lālibalā together with Gabra Manfas Qəddus before Lālibalā's death. Here we learn that both saints were in Zəqwallā, where they also met ʾAbbā Garimā and ʾAbbā Gubā.⁴⁸⁶ When it was time for Lālibalā to pass away, Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā went to Warwar, where Lālibalā died.⁴⁸⁷ According to this text, it appears that Lālibalā died around the fifth of *Maggābit*.⁴⁸⁸ I will quote the entire passage below, where I discuss the tomb of Lālibalā.

⁴⁸³ See Marrassini 1981, LXIII.

⁴⁸⁴ Derat 2016, 121.

⁴⁸⁵ Id., 126: 'Il fut mis au monde par une union charnelle le 29 du mois de Tāḥsās. Sa naissance eut lieu le même jour que la fête de Notre Seigneur'.

⁴⁸⁶ See Marrassini 2003, IX, also Brita 2010.

⁴⁸⁷ The main text of 'Miracolo IV. Lālibalā' ends with Lālibalā's death. The text of these passages is to be found in the critical apparatus.

⁴⁸⁸ See Marrassini 2003, 319.

6.1.2. *Traces of the date in the ‘Gadla Lālibalā collection’ manuscripts*

If we consider paratextual information (marginalia or interlinea), often introduced by a later hand, we will find notes in some manuscripts containing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts suggesting that it should be read in a certain month/on the twelfth day of a certain month or on a certain day of the week.

Without going into detail, I want to note that one can find a manuscript containing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ in a church which is reported not to have a *tābot* for Saint Lālibalā, but where we do find indications for monthly readings. This indicates that the monthly commemoration of the saint can or cannot be connected to a *tābot* and/or that monthly commemoration of the saint can or cannot be marked in the manuscripts with specific indications. Even in the presence of a *tābot*, in some cases the *tābot* cannot be considered as obligatory for commemoration, but rather as an option. This probably depends on the number of *tābots* preserved in the given church. There are manuscripts that contain eleven or twelve indications for monthly readings, excluding, starting or ending with the month of *Sane*. From interviews we know that if a church preserves a *tābot* for a saint, it is common on the annual day of commemoration to read his or her entire *gadl*. This can explain why some of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts attest eleven and not twelve indications for monthly readings, with the month of *Sane* excluded. The same logic can work in a different direction: if a manuscript attests twelve indications for monthly readings, this might imply that there is no tradition to read the entire ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts on the annual day of commemoration, from which we can deduce that either the church does not preserve a *tābot* for the saint or the presence of a *tābot* for the saint does not dictate the way of commemoration. If the indication names only a month, we cannot deduce on which exact day the reading takes place. If the day of the month is indicated, it is always the twelfth. The relationship between monthly readings and textual units still needs to be analyzed. The function of the indications for daily readings remains unclear to me.

6.1.2. *Summary for the date*

To sum up, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ provides no commemoration dates, but suggests commemoration of Saint Lālibalā each month, twelve times per year. In some of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts we find traces of a twelvefold commemoration. (I consider the absence of *Sane* as positive evidence for an annual commemoration as well). The ‘Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’ gives the day of his death, originally the twelfth of *Ḥazirān* and which was interpreted later as the twelfth of *Sane*. The *Sankassār*, *Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe* and the calendar in *Dəggwā* all agree on commemorating Saint Lālibalā on the twelfth of *Sane*, which seems to be the commonly accepted date. In a few of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts, we find explicit

indication for monthly commemoration on the twelfth day, while others attest only the name of the month. Considering that we do not know what was originally meant by the twelfth of *Hazirā n*, it is difficult to say when the twelfth of *Sane* became the accepted day of Lālibalā's commemoration. Even in Lālibalā town today there is a certain degree of uncertainty as to which day to reserve for Saint Lālibalā. Pilgrims coming to Lālibalā town around the twelfth of Sane say they come to celebrate the annual commemoration of the Archangel Michael, not of Saint Lālibalā. If we try to compare how many people come to Lālibalā town on the twelfth of *Sane* and on the twenty-eighth of *Tāḥsās*, we see that more people come on the twenty-eighth of *Tāḥsās*, but they come to celebrate the Nativity of Jesus Christ. Other dates, the twelfth of *Tāḥsās*, twenty-ninth of *Tāḥsās*, the fifth of *Maggābit*, seem just to reflect this freedom of choice and conceptualization. To add more confusion, I should mention that when I asked the locals of Lālibalā town what is so important about the twelfth of *Sane*, I was told that it is actually the *gabayā* (market) which makes this day so special.

6.2. Tomb of Lālibalā

The 'Life of Lālibalā' invites the faithful to visit the tomb of Lālibalā,⁴⁸⁹ which today is believed to be in the church of Golgotā.⁴⁹⁰ The text reads:

ወዘሊ ፡ ጌሠ ፡ ውሱተ ፡ መርጡልክ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘጌሠ ፡ ውሱተ ፡ መቃብርየ ። ወዘአምን ፡ ዝኅረክ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ይትቀበር ፡ ሥጋክ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘአምን ፡ ዝኅረየ ። ኀበ ፡ ተቀብረ ፡ ሥጋየ ።⁴⁹¹

The one who will run to your church in the morning, let it be as if he runs to my sepulcher in the morning. And the one who will embrace your tomb where will be buried your body, let it be as if he embraces my tomb where was buried my body.⁴⁹²

And again:

ወእሬሲ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይቅብብዎ ፡ መላእክትየ ፡ ለመቃብርክ ። ከመ ፡ ይባርክዎሙ ፡ ለከሉሎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይፈቅዱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትባረኩ ፡ እምነ ፡ አፅምክ ፡ ወከሉ ፡ ዘሰገደ ፡ ውሱተ ፡ ዝኅረክ ። ኢይበል ፡ ዘኢሰገድኩ ፡ ውሱተ ፡ መቃብር ፡ ኀበ ፡ ኀበረ ፡ ሥጋየ ፡ ሠሉሰ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ወሠሉሰ ፡ ሊዩልየ ።⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ First mentioned by Francisco Alvarez, see Derat 2018, 191-192.

⁴⁹⁰ On this see Derat 2018, 190-193.

⁴⁹¹ Kur 1972, 395.

⁴⁹² Cf. Kur 1972, 414. 'Celui qui entrera dans ton sanctuaire deviendra comme s'il entrerait dans mon sépulcre. Celui qui vénérât ta tombe où a été enterré ton corps, qu'il soit comme s'il vénérât ma tombe où a été enterré mon corps'.

⁴⁹³ Id., 396.

I will institute my angels to guard your sepulcher, so that they bless all those who want to be blessed by your bones. And everyone who bows to your tomb, he shall not say 'I did not bow' to sepulcher where my body remained for three days and three nights.⁴⁹⁴

When it comes to the location of the tomb of Lālibalā, the 'Life of Lālibalā' does not provide any topographic information. Another hagiographic composition related to Lālibalā, already mentioned above, is 'Gabra Manfas Qəddus and Lālibalā'. Here we read that the angels took Lālibalā's body and buried it in the place commanded by God.

ወሰምዑ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ይኩን ፡ መቃብሩ ፡ ⁴⁹⁵

And they hear a word saying 'Jerusalem shall be his burying place'.

The words 'His tomb shall be in Jerusalem' could refer to Jerusalem in today's Israel, or to Lālibalā town (which is also sometimes interpreted as Jerusalem), or to the heavenly Jerusalem.

6.1.3. *Kidān*

Kidān is one of the characteristic features of the Ethiopian *gadlāt*. In this context the word ኪዳን (*kidān*) 'testament, covenant, pact' designates a promise given to a saint by Jesus Christ for the benefit of those who will commemorate the saint and keep his memory alive. If the *gadl* includes a *kidān*, it often comes at the end of the *gadl*, when the saint approaches his/her death.⁴⁹⁶ Sometimes a *gadl* includes two *kidāns*; in this case the second *kidān* is often given to the saint to support him in situations of extraordinary difficulty.⁴⁹⁷ The *kidān* invites listeners to participate in the promises; it gives various recommendations and instructions on how to commemorate the saint in a fitting way, and it also describes different blessings for those who follow the suggestions listed in the *kidān*.

In its merged form, the 'Gadla Lālibalā collection' appears to be the richest for the *kidān*. It contains three *kidāns*. The editors of 'Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā'⁴⁹⁸ draw much attention in their introduction to the threefold *kidān* given to Saint Lālibalā. In doing this, they point out the special place of Saint Lālibalā among other saints. This special place of Lālibalā is fully expressed in the 'Life of Lālibalā' itself, although it contains only two *kidāns*. The text stresses that Saint Lālibalā

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. Kur 1972, 415: 'Je ferai que mes anges garderont ton sépulcre, pour qu'ils bénissent tous ceux qui voudront être bénis par tes os. Chacun qui se prosterner sur ton sépulcre, qu'il ne dise pas qu'il ne s'est pas prosterné au sépulcre où a été ma chair trois jours et trois nuits.'

⁴⁹⁵ Marrassini 2003, 319.

⁴⁹⁶ See Kur 1984.

⁴⁹⁷ Id., 125.

⁴⁹⁸ See Chapter Four.

received his *kidāns* under special conditions for a special purpose: not in the face of death, but ‘at the beginning of the matured life’. The text reads as follows:

ወለካልዓን ፡ ጸድቃን ፡ አመ ፡ በጽሐ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ጸዓቶሙ ፡ እምዝንቱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ እለ ፡ ተጸምዱኒ ፡ በኩሉ ፡
ልቦሙ ፡ እሁብሙ ፡ ኪዳን ፡ በከመ ፡ ይደልዎሙ ፡ ወለከሰ ፡ በሕይወትክ ፡ ወሀብኩክ ፡ ኪዳን ፡ እንዘ ፡
ኢይበጽሕ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ጸዓትክ ፡ እምዝንቱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወኢኮነ ፡ ጊዜሁ ፡ ለፍልሰትክ ፡ እስመ ፡ ሀለወክ ፡ ትሕዩው ፡
ብዙኃ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ በዲበ ፡ ምድር ፡ እምይእዜ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ እሔውፀክ ፡ አመ ፡ ፍልሰትክ ፡ በጽዋዔ ፡
ሠናይ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ባዕር ፡⁴⁹⁹

And as for the other righteous who have given themselves to me with all their heart, I will give them the pact according to their merit when the complection of their departure arrives. As for you, I gave you the pact in your life, before the completion of your departure from this world. It is not the time of your migration, because you must live many days on earth, from now until I visit you at the time of your migration with a beautiful vocation without pain.⁵⁰⁰

Perruchon’s edition contains only one of the *kidāns*, from the ‘Story about virtuous deeds of Lālibalā’. Consisting of just a few lines, this *kidān* is the shortest in the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’. At the time when Perruchon was preparing his edition, the hagiographic genre of the *gadl* had not yet been much studied, and nothing had been written about the *kidān* as one of its characteristic features. Perruchon translates the part of the text containing the *kidān* as if it were just a response of Jesus to Lālibalā’s prayers, translating the word ‘*kidān*’ as ‘promise’. Therefore, Perruchon’s translation sounds misleading in this regard.

In turn, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ contains two *kidāns*. Both *kidāns* are given to Saint Lālibalā, the first one about the churches that he was told to build and the second one about the veneration of the king himself. The first *kidān* is given to Saint Lālibalā in the seventh heaven; it remains unedited. The second *kidān* Lālibalā receives after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the way back to Ethiopia; it was edited by Kur.⁵⁰¹

6.2. Liturgical commemoration of Lālibalā and the ‘Life of Lālibalā’⁵⁰²

It is not clear whether the *gadlāt* are part of the liturgical service or not. In his study of liturgical texts, Habtemichael Kidāne lists the *gadlāt* among the extrabiblical texts, but he does not specify

⁴⁹⁹ Kur 1972, 326

⁵⁰⁰ Id., 415: ‘Et quant aux autres justes qui se sont donnés à moi de tout leur cœur, je leur donnerai le pacte selon leur mérite quand arrivera (le moment) de leur sortie de ce monde. Quant à toi, dans ta vie, je t’ai donné le pacte avant que n’arrive l’achèvement de ta sortie de ce monde et le temps de ta migration, car il te faut vivre beaucoup de jours sur la terre, jusqu’à ce que je ne te visite au temps de ta migration avec une vocation belle et sans douleurs’.

⁵⁰¹ Id., text 394-397, tr. 414-417.

⁵⁰² I thank Hiruie Ermias, Emmanuel Fritsch, Leonard Bahr, Antonella Brita and Jonas Karlsson for helping me to formulate my questions and answers. I also thank the many Ethiopian priests who kindly shared this information with me, though undoubtedly wondering about the purpose of my questions.

at which point of the service their reading takes place.⁵⁰³ In this section I will discuss the liturgical commemoration of Saint Lālibalā and the place of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ in it. For the discussion I will refer to the following books: *Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe*, *Mə‘ərāf*, *Dəggwā*, *Sənkəssār*, Antiphons for Lālibalā, the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and ‘Gadla Zenā Gabrə’el’.

Two books that give guidelines for the celebration of the Divine Office, the ምዕራፍ (Mə‘ərāf) and መጽሐፈ ግጽዋ (Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe), at least on first glance say nothing about the *gadlāt*. The Mə‘ərāf is a book of liturgical chants which provides the common of the Divine Office of the Ethiopian Church.⁵⁰⁴ According to Getatchew Haile,⁵⁰⁵ it dates from the nineteenth century, but among the manuscripts used by Shelemay et al. in their study on Ethiopian liturgical chants there are *Mə‘ərāf* manuscripts dated to the sixteenth century.⁵⁰⁶ Among other things, it gives the directions for the services. The *Mə‘ərāf* only gives indications which texts have to be chanted or read. The exact texts that should be read on a particular day have to be found in other books. Among others, the *Mə‘ərāf* studied by Velat indicates the place within the Service when the *Sənkəssār* is to be read. Velat’s edition does not give any hint as to when or whether a *gadl* or miracles of a saint should be read.

Another book of importance for the structuring of liturgical life of the Church is the *Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe*, which in its present form includes both a lectionary and a liturgical calendar. There are indications that the lists of saints found in the *Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe* are ‘older and relatively independent of the Synaxaries’.⁵⁰⁷ The *Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe* says on which day a certain saint is to be commemorated, but does not provide any directions for the hagiographic readings.

Given this absence of precise indications for the reading of *gadlāt*, many different flexible practices have developed. They are conditioned by many factors: (i) which saint the community venerates, (ii) whether it is a monastic community, a church in a city or in a village, (iii) whether it is an important pilgrimage place, (iv) what kind of books the community has, etc.

Different practices of commemorating a saint can be observed in Ethiopia today. This provides an idea of the variety of different liturgical or non-liturgical celebrations, often shaped by the conditions in which the community happens to live. Very often, a certain tradition of commemorating a saint is reflected in the manuscript containing his/her life. Through the comparison of common practices in their variety today and the reflection of this or that practice in a given manuscript, we can try to make hypothesis about the past.

⁵⁰³ See Kidane 1998, 231-234.

⁵⁰⁴ See Velat, 1964, p. 160.

⁵⁰⁵ ‘Mə‘ərāf’, EAe, III:He-N (2007), 910a – 911a (G. Haile), 911a.

⁵⁰⁶ See Shelemay et al. 1993, 74.

⁵⁰⁷ ‘Gəṣṣāwe’, EAe, II (2005), (E. Fritsch and U. Zanetti), 774a.

Some characteristics can be drawn for the services or their parts that employ the *gaddlāt*:

- they can be performed anywhere, most often outside the church;⁵⁰⁸
- they can be read by any churchman;⁵⁰⁹
- their performance is guided by less strict rules: during the reading listeners are allowed to sit, one can join in at any time and go at any time.

Here I want to discuss the liturgical service of Saint Lālibalā, the role of the manuscripts containing his hagiography in the service and the impact of these manuscripts on it.

Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe in its present common form indicates the commemoration of Saint Michael, Afonyos and Lālibalā for the twelfth of *Sane*. However, manuscripts containing the *Maṣḥāfe Gəṣṣāwe* listed in the article by Emmanuel Fritsch⁵¹⁰ have no such indication for Saint Lālibalā.⁵¹¹ In the same article, Fritsch writes:

Any commemoration is solemnly celebrated only at churches which possess the corresponding tābot.⁵¹²

Thus, if the church contains a tābot dedicated to Saint Lālibalā, the community can decide to have the liturgical service of Lālibalā's commemoration. To perform this service, the priest of the church follows the directions in the *Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe* and the *Mə'ərāf*. The *Maṣḥāfa Gəṣṣāwe*, serving as a liturgical calendar, can suggest commemorating a certain saint on a certain day, but still a given community always makes the choice. Therefore, the most important book for performing the liturgical service for the feast of Saint Lālibalā is the *Mə'ərāf*.

The *Mə'ərāf* gives indications which texts have to be chanted or read. The exact texts that should be read on a particular day must be found in other books, commonly in the *Dəggwā* and the *Sənkəssār*. The *Dəggwā* to our knowledge does not contain any texts composed for Saint Lālibalā. In this case, as I was informed during my field research in Šəre, the common solution for the liturgy is to chant the antiphons for saints or kings, inserting Saint Lālibalā's name. As for the *Sənkəssār*, to my knowledge, the first redaction does not include an entry for Saint Lālibalā; when it comes to the so-called 'second redaction', this question still requires study. From my inquiries into various *Sənkəssārs*, starting from the sixteenth century on the *Sənkəssār* contains the reading for Saint Lālibalā, of which I counted at least six types of the *Sənkəssār* readings in chapter one.

⁵⁰⁸ The church regulation says that the *gaddl* cannot be read inside the church if the Divine Office was or is going to be served. Instead, the miracles can be read inside the church in any case.

⁵⁰⁹ According to my observation, it is very often performed by young members of the church and then the more professional readers will correct them.

⁵¹⁰ Fritsch 2001, 82-83.

⁵¹¹ Some of the listed MSS do not include *Sane*.

⁵¹² Fritsch 2001, 64.

Apart from the versions that are extended with an excerpt from the Life of Lālibalā (see chapter One), other versions of the *Sənkəssār* reading differ from what we read in the 'Life of Lālibalā'.

Although the *Dəggwā* does not include any antiphons composed for Saint Lālibalā, this does not mean that there are no liturgical hymns composed for Saint Lālibalā at all. MS EMMML 6931 of Beta Golgotā, along with the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' on fols. 99r-100r, contains antiphons needed for the service. Comparison of the antiphons for Lālibalā with the generic antiphons for the king found in *Maṣḥāfa Dəggwā* proves that these texts were specially composed just for Lālibalā. The content of the antiphons depends on the hagiographic texts and apparently on the oral tradition around the saint. The antiphons are full of geographic coordinates; they link the saint king entirely to Lālibalā town. As mentioned in chapter Four when discussing MS EMMML 6931, we can talk about revival or establishment of the liturgical commemoration of Saint Lālibalā in Beta Golgotā at the time of Zenā Gabrē'el, when a *tābot* for Saint Lālibalā was sanctified for Beta Golgotā.⁵¹³ Since that time, Beta Golgotā of Lālibalā has apparently been celebrating a unique service for Saint Lālibalā. As said above, the antiphons are chanted according to the directions found in the *Mə'ərāf*.

Today these chants will be chanted for the liturgical celebration on the twelfth of *Sane* and for the monthly commemoration of Lālibalā. Thousands of pilgrims come from all over the country to commemorate the Archangel Michael and Lālibalā on the twelfth of *Sane*. During these days, many people sleep outside, under the sky. Different parallel activities are arranged for the pilgrims. Some can enter the church and attend the liturgy.

As I have said above, the chants are performed without the MS EMMML 6931. This manuscript is taken away for another service. Independent from the services in the churches, starting from the eleventh of *Sane*, different readers successively read from the 'Life of Lālibalā' on the hill of Golgotā. Reading (ዮንዮን አገልግሎት) is performed by those who can read Gə'z, from the lowest to the highest ordained members of the church. The reading is interrupted only to give a sermon on significant passages in the text. It lasts for two days until the entire text has been read out. In this way, people from all over the country, including those who have just heard of Lālibalā's fame, become familiar with his life and his virtues.

The MS EMMML 6931 is divided into 11 parts for 11 months. The monthly readings in the manuscript exclude the month of *Sane*, when the annual feast takes place and the entire text is read out. I was told that for the monthly commemoration they first read the introduction, then a marked part of the text for the particular month and then one of the miracles. This structure is not clearly reflected in the manuscript: the monthly reading is indicated starting from fol. 18r.

⁵¹³ See Haile, 1988.

Probably fols. 3r-18v are considered an introduction. However, the miracles are parts assigned as the monthly readings as well.

At a certain point in Lālibalā town exclusively, the reading of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ was introduced into the everyday reading service before the kidān. The manuscript to be read is placed on the *’atronas* in front of the altar (ከመቅደስ ፊት ለፊት) and lighted with a candle for reading. The amount of text is rather arbitrary—up to two pages. This can be seen as part of Gəʿz class, for there are professionals and beginners, constantly corrected by the former ones. After reading, everyone who is present will kiss the book and it will be placed together on the floor with other books to be read. When all readings are finished, all books are taken away back to the altar. From my observation, no difference is made between manuscripts and printed editions: all books are wrapped in cloth, all are read in the same way and then kissed by the believers. Yet, according to the rules (ሰነድ ሥርዐት), if the liturgy is to be served in the church, one is not supposed to read any *gadl* inside the church but only privately በግል, in the reading house በግብብ ቤት or in the store room በእቃ ቤት. This is what I was told by priest Hiruie Ermias (if I understood him correctly), but this regulation was never mentioned to me during my inquiries.

6.3. Other places where veneration of Lālibalā can be traced/attested

Lālibalā town is indeed a centre for the veneration of Saint Lālibalā today, but there is no evidence that it had the same privileged position prior to the end of the eighteenth century. There are other churches or monasteries where the veneration of Saint Lālibalā flourishes. Here I want to discuss two places where we find the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’ manuscripts datable to the fourteenth/fifteenth century, i.e. the earliest attestations, but where today there is no longer much devotion of Saint Lālibalā; the manuscripts have rather become items of a museum.

6.3.1. *Dabra Şəyon ’Abuna ’Abrəham, Gar’ältā, Təgrāy*⁵¹⁴

Təgrāy, historically part of the Axumite kingdom, has the longest Christian tradition in Ethiopia. There are hundreds of churches and no study includes them all. Many monks chose predominantly the mountainous Gar’ältā, one of Təgrāy’s districts, as a place to live. Therefore, Gar’ältā has a high number of rock-hewn churches. Dabra Şəyon ’Abuna ’Abrəham is one of the rock-hewn churches in Gar’ältā, presently out of use; its manuscript collection has been closed up in a metal bookcase. ’Abuna ’Abrəham was the founder of the monastery of Dabra Şəyon, active in the second part of the fourteenth and the first part of the fifteenth century.⁵¹⁵ The Life of

⁵¹⁴ Visited in November 2017.

⁵¹⁵ See Schneider 1983, 107.

All these elements imply that the initiative to commission the book came from the internal needs of the church, as likely as not based on a previously existing devotion and has been read later for the monthly feasts of Saint King Lālibalā. Another observation that deserves attention in connection to King Lālibalā is that there is ‘a copy of an Aksumite timber frame sketched into the exterior face of the cliff, which is unusual in Tigrāy, and bears witness to the influence of the art of the Lasta region.’⁵²⁵

The manuscript of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ has indications for the monthly readings for the entire year, starting with the month of *Hamle* and ending with the month of *Sane*. The rather unskilled hand that added these marks for monthly readings is different from the hand of the main text. The orthography of these additions for monthly readings probably reflects the spoken variety.

Today monthly readings are commonly read on monthly commemoration of the saint if the church has a tābot dedicated to the saint. Probably, monthly readings in the manuscript served for the same purpose in the past—they were read for the monthly commemoration of Saint Lālibalā.

I was not able to trace any particular hagiographic tradition that would associate Saint King Lālibalā with the church of ‘Abuna ‘Abrəhām.⁵²⁶ However, all the elements from the manuscript as well as the presence of the manuscript itself, and the tradition at least to an assumed presence of an icon of Saint Lālibalā, suggest that there has been an established veneration of Saint Lālibalā at least for a certain period in the church of ‘Abuna ‘Abrəhām.

6.3.2. Lake Ṭānā

Lake Ṭānā is the largest lake in Ethiopia and the source of the Blue Nile. Its coasts shelter many monasteries going back to the thirteenth century when the evangelization of this area began.⁵²⁷ As it appears, the museum of Kəbrān Gabrə’el, located on a small island, houses the second-oldest manuscript containing the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ of my current corpus, MS Kebrān 31 = Ṭānāsee 31, palaeographically datable to the first half of the fifteenth century. But why should this ancient manuscript of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ be found in a peripheral region for Lālibalā? According to the *Life of Zayohannəs*, written in the first half of the sixteenth century, Zayohannəs founded the church of Kəbrān Gəbrə’el in the first half of the fourteenth century and organized a monastic community there.⁵²⁸ The colophon of MS Kebrān 31, fol. 98r, reads that ‘*Emma mənēt* (i.e. abbess)

⁵²⁵ Lepage and Mercier 2005, 146.

⁵²⁶ Today, Dabra Şəyon ‘Abuna ‘Abrəhām is a very popular tourist site. Even though the church servants stated that we were very unusual visitors, I had a time slot exactly in between two tourist groups, and as soon as a helicopter brought VIP tourists, my work was immediately stopped.

⁵²⁷ See Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 51.

⁵²⁸ See Cerulli’s introduction to the translation in Schneider 1972, IX.

Sārā donated this manuscript for the place of [the place name is erased]. Female monastic communities around Lake Ṭānā are known starting from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.⁵²⁹ The evidence for Lālibālā's veneration can be found in two hagiographic texts of two nuns, Saint Zenā Māryām⁵³⁰ and Saint Krastos Samrā. They both lived in monastic communities around Lake Ṭānā: Zenā Māryām lived in the late fourteenth,⁵³¹ Krastos Samrā in the mid-fifteenth century.⁵³² According to Cerulli, their lives were composed in the fifteenth century.⁵³³ Therefore, these texts can hint at the veneration of Saint Lālibālā among nuns in the fourteenth century and serve as witnesses for the veneration of Lālibālā in the fifteenth century.⁵³⁴ The rhymed introduction to the *Life of Krastos Samrā* is very close to the corresponding part of the Life of Lālibālā, although the texts rhyme differently.⁵³⁵ We can speculate that the reading of the 'Life of Lālibālā' stimulated the author of the Life of Krastos Samrā to write a similar, though different text.

The donated manuscript of the 'Life of Lālibālā', the devotion of Saint Krastos Samrā to Saint Lālibālā, and the importance given to Saint Lālibālā in the 'Life of Zenā Māryām', all suggest that the veneration of the king was flourishing or at least present during the fifteenth century. On the contrary, no other manuscripts of the 'Life of Lālibālā' have been registered in this area from a later period; no other hagiographic texts of the saints who lived around Lake Ṭānā indicate devotion to Saint Lālibālā. One can think that the veneration of Lālibālā in this area soon decreased or disappeared.⁵³⁶ However, as Bosc-Tiessé noted,

We can note that in the collection of the Christian museum of the Vatican library among the eight altar stones (tābot), acquired in 1908 in the region of lake Ṭānā, there is a tābot with multiple dedications, including Lālibālā and Yemrehānna Krestos [...]. The spelling of the inscriptions suggests that tābot in white stone predates the sixteenth century [...].⁵³⁷

Besides, there is an archaeological site on the east of Lake Ṭānā with a cave known as Lālibālā.⁵³⁸ Possibly this is one of the numerous caves whose construction is attributed to Saint King Lālibālā

⁵²⁹ See Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 52.

⁵³⁰ The *Life of Zenā Māryām* remains unedited.

⁵³¹ See E. Cerulli 1946.

⁵³² See Cerulli 1956b, II.

⁵³³ See E. Cerulli 1946, 121-127 and Cerulli 1956b, XIII-XVI.

⁵³⁴ See Heldman 1995, 35.

⁵³⁵ See Chapter Five.

⁵³⁶ Claire Bosc-Tiessé writes about 'évolution d' une identité territoriale' that started in the fifteenth century and lasted till the seventeenth century, see Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 51 and also Bosc-Tiessé 2019.

⁵³⁷ Bosc-Tiessé 2019, 109 n. 332: 'Nous pouvons ainsi noter que dans la collection de huit pierres d'autels (tābot) du musée chrétien de la bibliothèque Vaticane, acquis en 1908 dans la région du lac Ṭānā, il y a un tābot aux dédicaces multiples, incluant Lālibālā et Yemrehānna Krestos [...]. La graphie des inscriptions donne à penser ce que tābot en pierre blanche serait antérieur au XVI^e siècle [...].

⁵³⁸ See Dombrowski 1970, 25-29.

by the tradition. However, one should never exclude the possibility that the cave name Lālibalā refers to the place name Lālibalā, and not to the person.

Chapter Seven. Introduction to the critical edition

In this chapter I will discuss some editorial decisions that were made for the edition.

7.1. Division of the text, titles, layout, reference system

As has been previously discussed, the idea of distinguishing between different textual units reflects the existence of various divisions attested in the manuscripts. Ideally, an individual textual unit corresponds to one original division of the content of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’. I have decided to follow this reconstructed division of the content, and to make the distinction between the textual units clear in my representation.

There is no attestation of original titles (distinct from the incipits) in the manuscripts. For this reason, in order to provide myself and the reader with easy reference to a particular textual unit of the collection, working titles were introduced for each textual unit in Chapter One, and I am going to keep these titles for the edition. The first textual unit is edited as the ‘Preamble’; the second textual unit is edited as ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ etc.

The layout of the edition is completely my own and has nothing to do with how the text actually appears in the manuscripts. The layout of the edition aims to highlight certain textual peculiarities, be it rhyme or particular rhetoric, which are immediately recognized as such by Ethiopian traditional scholars and are reflected in the traditional intonation, while for an outsider this might be less apparent. Accordingly, I have divided the textual units into smaller paragraphs, which are then numbered. I used the division into paragraphs made for the first edition of the ‘*Gadla qəddus Lālibalā*’⁵³⁹ as a starting point, but it went through lots of changes. Each passage will be numbered in the same way in the Ethiopic text and in the English translation. At the beginning of each new textual unit the numbering restarts. The edition preserves the sequence of the textual units attested by the majority of the manuscripts of the corpus.

The ‘Preamble’ was edited in full by Perruchon as the ‘Introduction’ and I note it in the following way in the apparatus of witnesses:⁵⁴⁰

Preamble §§ 1-69 corresponds to Perr: ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-7 (text), ‘Discours d’ introduction. - Invocation à la Trinité. - Éloge de Lālibalā’, pp. 65-72. (tr.).

⁵³⁹ *Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā* Dabra 2007.

⁵⁴⁰ When we come to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’, Perruchon has edited only selected parts, while Kur’s edition is meant to complement Perruchon’s lacunae. Here marginal indications to both Perruchon’s and Kur’s editions are needed and will be applied.

The second textual unit, the ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’, was edited by Perruchon partially, though without any omissions. Since my present edition covers even less than Perruchon did, I just indicate the correspondence of the paragraphs to the pages of Perruchon’s edition:

‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’ §§ 1-26 corresponds to Perr: ‘Seconde introduction’, pp. 7-9 (text), ‘Deuxième discours: résumé de la vie du Christ’, pp. 72-74 (tr.).

Siglum ‘Perr.’ stays for Perruchon’s edition.

7.2. The value of the edition

In the edition I neither discuss variant readings from Perruchon’s edition, nor his translation. As I have discussed in chapter three, Perruchon used MS BL Orient. 718 and did not introduce any conscious changes to the text. MS BL Orient. 718 is a codex descriptus from MS Orient. 719. The scribe of MS BL Orient. 718 introduced some additional mistakes to his copy. Even if Perruchon’s copy perfectly corresponds to MS BL Orient. 718,⁵⁴¹ in terms of the critical reconstruction, the edition does not provide any evidence and therefore, has to be eliminated.

Since MS BL Orient. 718 was eliminated as codex descriptus from MS BL Orient. 719 (under sigla Oa and OaII), the qualitative improvement of the present edition is not apparent. To justify my decision to edit the text already known from Perruchon’s edition, I will present here one example, where the text contained in MS BL Orient. 718 and further in Perruchon’s edition is deviant from the reconstructed text:

The text contained in Perr: ‘Introduction’, p. 1 reads as follows:

በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሥሉስ ፡ ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡ ዋሕድ ።
ዕሩይ ፡ ታሉት ፡ ዘኢይነፍድ ፡

Au nom du Père, du Fils et du Saint-Esprit, un seul Dieu en trois personnes qui ne se confondent pas en une seule, égales et formant une union indissoluble.

While my edition reads as follows:

§1. በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡
ዕሩይ ፡ ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡ ታሉት ፡ ዘኢይነፍድ ፡

§1. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God, One Equal Trinity, Indivisible Trinity, Who does not come to an end.

⁵⁴¹ I did not collate the edition, only the *Vorlage*.

The decision to translate the text into English is also not without an importance. Apart from the fact that English translation nowadays makes the text available for non-French readers, even French readers could profit from my English translation.⁵⁴² I will present two examples where the Gə'z text of Perruchon and mine are identical, which I had however difficulties to understand and for which Perruchon's translation was not helpful:

1) Preamble § 11. ዘረሰዮሙ ፡ ለመላእክቲሁ ፡ መንፈሰ ፡ ወለእለ ፡ ይትለእክዎ ፡ አይቁና ፡ ዘነድ ።

Perruchon translates as following:

Qui a créé ses anges de [purs] esprits et ses messagers comme des flames (?).⁵⁴³

While my translation reads as follows:

Preamble § 11. Who constituted His angels as spirit(s) and those who minister to Him as icon(s) of flame.

2) Preamble § 47. ዘአመስቀለ ፡ አክናፈ ፡ ሕሊናሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ አክናፈ ፡ ኪሩቤል ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትመሠጥ ፡ ቦቶን ፡ ንብ ፡ መንበረ ፡ መለኮት ። ከመ ፡ ይንበር ፡ ሰብሐ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሰራፊል ።

Perruchon translates as follows:

Il attacha des ailes à sa pensée, à l'instar des chérubins, afin de pouvoir, grâce à elles, s'élever jusqu'à la demeure de la divinité, pour s'associer aux séraphins entonnant des louanges.⁵⁴⁴

While my translation reads as follows:

Preamble § 47. Who made the sign of the cross over the wings of his mind like the wings of the Cherubim to be carried off by them to the throne of divinity, to join in praising together with the Seraphim.

The present thesis should be seen as a preparation for the critical edition of the fourteen textual units. The importance of the new complete edition was highlighted by Marie-Laure Derat in her article in 2003, where she notes how much Perruchon actually omitted.⁵⁴⁵

If Perruchon's edition can be criticised for its incompleteness, the 'Gadla qəddus Lālibalā'⁵⁴⁶ edition can be criticised for its 'over-completeness', meaning, as it is discussed in chapter one,

⁵⁴² I thank Orin Gensler, who has enthusiastically helped me to improve my translation.

⁵⁴³ Perruchon 1892, tr. 66.

⁵⁴⁴ Id., tr. 69.

⁵⁴⁵ See Derat 2003.

⁵⁴⁶ Gadla Qəddus Lālibalā 2007.

that other textual units were introduced simply as chapters. Since MS EMMML 6931 was used as a Vorlage for ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’,⁵⁴⁷ I noted only manuscript readings (under siglum Ea), without reporting what is in the edition. The critically edited text seems to have advantages over the edition by Dabra sabakā gubā³e. I will give one example from ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’ for the text in Gəz and one example to encourage Amharic readers to read the translation critically:

1) Preamble § 7. ሰማይኒ ፡ ዘአንበራ ፡ በአየረ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘይነድድ ።

Who established the heavens on the air of the burning fire.

While ‘Gadla qəddus Lālibalā’ መቅድም / ‘Preamble’ reads this passage as follows:

1. ወሰማይኒ ፡ ዘአንበራ ፡ በአየረ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘይነድድ ።

In Amharic as follows:

1. ውሃንም በሚነድ እሳት ጠፈር ላይ ያስቀመጣት ።

The shapes of ሰ and ሰ are at times very similar and can be easily confused.

2). The second example is to illustrate a passage which is complicated in Gəz and had troubled the person who has translated this passage into Amharic:

Preamble § 26. ደብረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ንብሎ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ሃይማኖቱ ፡ ርትዕት ። ወበእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ትዕግሥቱ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ገድል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጽህቅ ፡ ለፈጽሞ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ።

§ 27. እስመ ፡ ይሰምዖ ፡ ለቀርነ ፡ መድኃኒት ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ብስራተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ፡ ዘደምፀ ፡ እምልሳነ ፡ በግዑ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትነፋኅ ፡ በቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በአፈ ፡ ካህን ።

§ 28. ወድምፀ ፡ ቃሉ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ይብል ፡ በትዕግሥትክሙ ፡ ታጠርይዋ ፡ ለነፍስክሙ ።

Preamble § 26. We call him a mount of gold because of the beauty of his orthodox faith. And because of the beauty of his patience in the struggle, while striving to fulfill the word of the Gospel.

§ 27. Because he hears the horn of salvation, which is the announcement of the New Israel, which resounded from the tongue of the Lamb while being blown in the church by the mouth of the priest.

§ 28. And the sound of the word says like this, ‘By your patience you will gain your souls.’

⁵⁴⁷ As I discuss in Chapter Four, apart from MS EMMML 6931 other manuscripts were used, but not for textual units that I am editing, it is MS EMMML 6931.

‘Gadla qaddus Lālibalā’ መቅድም / ‘Preamble’ divides (!) and reads these passages as follows:

6. ደብረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ንብሎ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ሃይማኖቱ ፡ ርትዕት ።

7. ወበእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ትዕግሥቱ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ገድል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጽህቅ ፡ ለፈጽሞ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ።
እንዘ ፡ ይሰምዖ ፡ ለቀርነ ፡ መድኃኒት ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ብሥራተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ። ዘደምፀ ፡
እምልሳነ ፡ በግዑ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትነፋኅ ፡ በቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በአፈ ፡ ካህናት ።

8. ወድምፀ ፡ ቃሉ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ይብል ፡ በትዕግሥትክሙ ፡ ታጠርይዋ ፡ ለነፍስክሙ ።

In Amharic:

6. «የወርቅ ተራራ» ያልነው ስለቀናች ሀይማኖቱና በገድል ውስጥ ሳለ ስለመታገሱ ነው ።

7. የወንጌልን ቃል ለመፈጸም ነቅቶ ተግባሩ የመድኃኒትነትን አዋጅ ሰምቶ ይኸውም ፡ በጥምቀት ለታደሱ ለምእመናን የምሥራች ብሎ ከበግዕ ክርስቶስ አንደበት የተነሣ በካህናት አንደበት በቤተ ክርስቲያን የተሰማ የቃሉም ድምፅ እንደዚህ ይላል ።

8. ሰውነታችሁን በትዕግሥት ገንዘብ ታደርጋላችሁ ማለት ታድኗት አላችሁ ።

It is clear that what is meant to be a translation from Gəʿz in this case is an interpretation. The Amharic interpretation in its turn appears difficult even for a native Amharic speaker and might be only interpreted in English but is difficult to translate due to the ambiguity of the subject of the verbs ነቅቶ, ተግባሩ, ሰምቶ and ብሎ.⁵⁴⁸ As I do not want to impose my interpretation of the text in Amharic, I will not offer any interpretation, but consider that the idea of ዘውእቱ ፡ ብሥራተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ። / ‘which is the announcement of the New Israel(s)’ got much different interpretation, where እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ፡ was interpreted syntactically not as Accusative but as Dative and interpreted into በጥምቀት ለታደሱ ለምእመናን / ‘for/to the believers, renewed in baptism’.

7.3. Sigla

Of twenty-six manuscripts, I have used seventeen manuscripts for the edition. I refer to these manuscripts with the following sigla.⁵⁴⁹

1. A, MS DabŞəy-001, Monastery of Dabra Şəyon, fourteenth/fifteenth century
2. Ea, MS EMMML 6931, seventeenth / eighteenth century
3. Eb, MS EMMML 6921, seventeenth/ eighteenth century
4. Ec, MS EMMML 6964, 1694-1695
5. Ed, MS EMMML 7051 = NL 46, twentieth century
6. Ee, MS EMMML 6770, nineteenth century

⁵⁴⁸ I thank Hewan Semon Marye for making this experiment with me.

⁵⁴⁹ The same as introduced in chapter two.

7. Ef, MS EML 2836, eighteenth century
8. Ei, MS EML 6451, nineteenth century
9. Ej, MS EML 8942, first half of the eighteenth century
10. J, MS BL Ms. Ethiopic 4, Indian Office collection, 1840s
11. G, MS MotGiorg-001, eighteenth century
12. K, MS Kəbrān 31, fourteenth/fifteenth century
13. La, MS BetLib-001=MS B7-IV.15, end of the nineteenth century
14. Lb, MS BetEman-001=B9-IV.35, eighteenth century
15. Ld, MS BetMarq-001=AM_LL_IV5_26, seventeenth/eighteenth century
16. Oa-OaII, MS BL Orient. 719, British Library, fourteenth/fifteenth century (Oa), nineteenth century (OaII)
17. Va, MS BAV Cerulli 37, twentieth century

7.4. Apparatuses

For the edition I am using the Classical Text Editor,⁵⁵⁰ which makes it possible to deal with a complex *mise en page*. I have introduced six apparatuses.

7.4.1. *The apparatus criticus*

I am using a positive critical apparatus (App. 1 (crit.)) for the textual variants. This means that all the variants are explicitly listed, not just the witnesses to the variants; first come the positive attestations of the variant chosen for the edition, and then the other variants.

Although I have tried to write readings exactly as they are found in the manuscripts, I generally disregard mere orthographic variants. In particular, if a variant reading is found in more than one witness (thereby forming a group reading), orthographic variants within the group are disregarded. Here I generally keep the first variant recorded during the process of encoding (essentially a random choice).

The same is true for signs of punctuation. I have tried to keep all signs of punctuation together with the individual variant readings, but this becomes meaningless if a group reading is involved. Here I ignore differences in punctuation just as I ignore differences in orthography.

Following tradition, Latin has been chosen as the language of the editor in the apparatus. The following abbreviations have been used:

Add. = addit = added

⁵⁵⁰ CTE is the word-processor for critical editions, commentaries and parallel texts that allows to have several notes and apparatuses. See <http://cte.oeaw.ac.at/>.

A.c. = ante correctionem = before correction

Ante = before

Del. = deleuit = deleted

Dupl. = duplicavit = duplicated

Marg. = in margine = in margin

Om. = omittit = omitted

P.c. = post correctionem = after correction

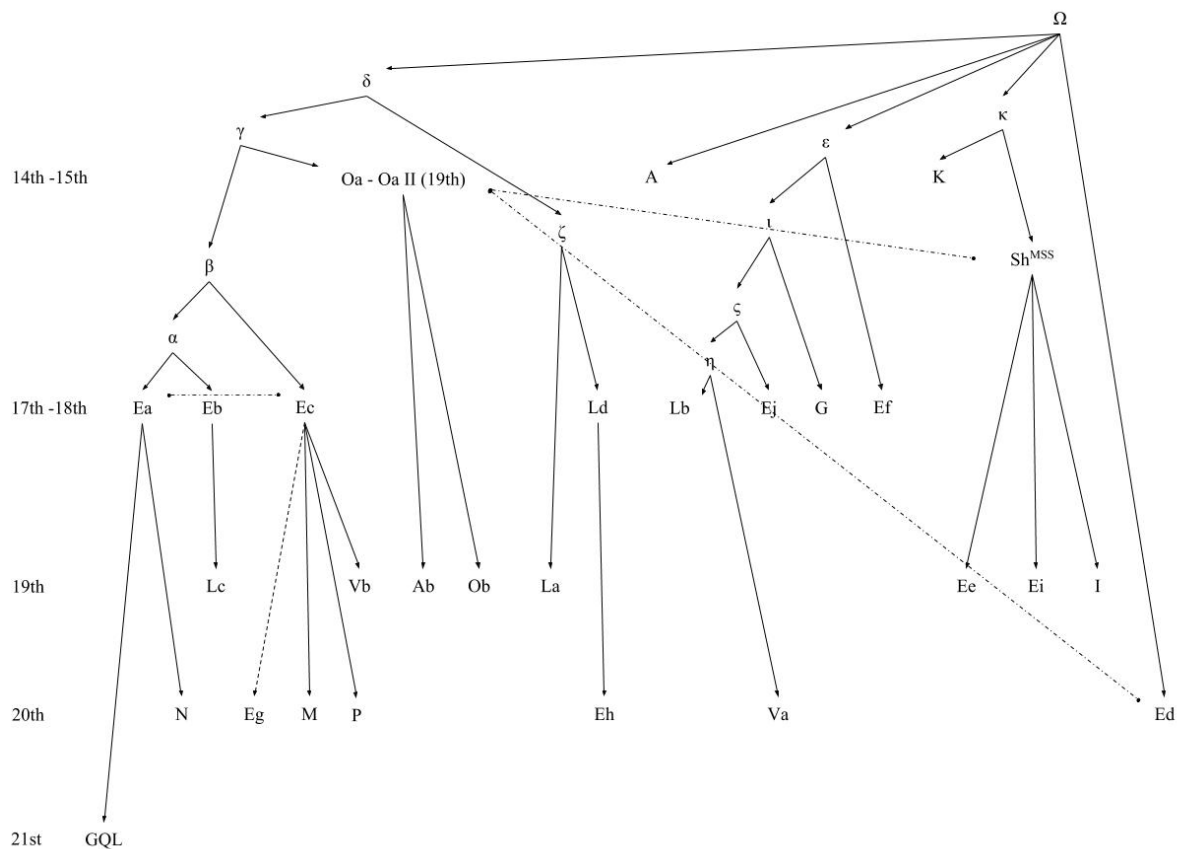
Post = after

S.l. = supra lineam = written above the line

Subscr. = subscriptum (a) = written below the line

Transp. = transposuit = transposed, reversed the word order.

For ease of reference, the following diagram indicates my proposed *stemma* for the manuscripts. As discussed in chapter two, MSS Ab, Lc, M, N, Ob, P, Vb have been eliminated from the edition as being *codices descripti*, as will be clear from inspection of the stemma. In the apparatus criticus, group readings (labeled with lower-case Greek letters) will appear under their appropriate group siglum. Dotted line indicates contaminations.



Discussion of the stemma:

(α) Readings shared by Ea and Eb appear as α. Note that if e.g. Ea and Eb have two readings both of which are different and vary from the critical reading, which is shared by more than 50% of witnesses, I group Ea and Eb as (- α). I do this for the sake of economy and also to make the transmission of the text more apparent. It helps to determine the relationships between witnesses of a given textual unit.

(β) Readings shared by Ea, Eb and Ec appear as β.

(γ) Readings shared by Ea, Eb, Ec and Oa appear as γ. I distinguish between OaII and Oa (as two production units).

(δ) Readings shared by La and Ld appear as ζ. Whatever ζ shares with is marked as δ.

(η) Readings shared by Lb and Va appear as η.

(ς) If the same reading in η is also shared by Ej, it appears under ς.

(ι) If the same reading in ς is shared by G as well, it appears as ι. The group ι has particular prominence and probably deserves to be called ‘a version’.

(ε) If Ef join ι, then together they appear as ε.

(Sh.MSS) MSS Ee, Ei and J have already appeared as a ‘Šawānic’ tradition with siglum Sh.^{MSS} Ee is lacking the beginning; images of Ei are at times unreadable; and for J, I have had to use my own on-site transcription, as it was not feasible to take a photo. Sh.^{MSS} is a prominent group. Less evident is the relation of Sh.MSS with K; their shared readings appear as κ.

Readings shared by more than 50% of witnesses will appear under the sigla ‘cet.’

As is common, the manuscripts contain corrections.

E.g. ‘Preamble’ § 39. ወይፈልስ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እምሥራዓት ፡ ከርሥ ፡ ኀበ ፡ እለ ፡ ያፈቅሩ ፡ ጽሑፍ ።

The scribe of Ej miswrote the last ጽሑፍ ። as ጽሑ፡ and then he himself, or a reader, corrected it s.l. to ጽሑፍ ፡

In this case I will consider ጽሑ፡ as a variant, but rather also say that Ej contains the critical reading ጽሑፍ ፡ Therefore, I mark the fact of a s.l. correction, but do not count it as an actual variant reading and record it as follows:

ጽሑፍ ። (ጽሑ፡{ ፍ ፡} s.l. Ej), cet. (- α ShMSS); ለጽሑፍ ። α ShMSS

Other types of corrections arose due to contamination with other witnesses.

E.g. ‘Jesus and His redeemong fire’ § 3. ወይእቲ ፡ ኀጢአቲ ፡ ልሂቃ ፡ ፍጡህ ፡ ኮነቶ ፡ ቀኖተ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ወለዘርእ ።

The scribe of Ec wrote correctly ወይእቲ ፡, while at a later stage someone collated Ec with Ea and ‘corrected’ s.l. ወይእቲ ፡ to the critically wrong reading ወይእዜኒ ፡ In this case I say that Ec attests the correct reading ወይእቲ ፡ and report on the contamination in the following way:

ወይእተ፡ ፤] (ወይእዜኒ ፡ s.l. Ec), cet. (-α); ወይእዜኒ ፡ α .

A general rule can be formulated as follows:

If a ‘correction’ in a manuscript is written in such a way that the critical version is also visible and readable (due to either a supralinear or a sublinear or a marginal ‘correction’), this will not be counted in the apparatus as a variant reading. However, each transformation (correction or contamination) is noted after the lemma, as in the above-mentioned examples. Instead of counting ወይእዜኒ ፡ as β reading, I identify it as α reading, for originally Ec had the correct ወይእተ፡ ፤, while ወይእዜኒ ፡ comes as a correction from Ea:

ወይእተ፡ ፤] (ወይእዜኒ ፡ s.l. Ec), cet. (-α); ወይእዜኒ ፡ α.

In the apparatus I am using references to lemmata based upon the division of the text into paragraphs. If a variant reading of a witness has already been described (e.g. it is contained in a larger omission which has already been registered in the apparatus), this witness will be noted first, directly after the lemma, as (-siglum), before the positive evidence is presented. This means that for this lemma, this witness will be disregarded, as having already been described.

7.4.2. *Apparatus for punctuation*

I am using a separate apparatus for punctuation signs (App. 2 (punct.)), which I have aimed to make as exhaustive as possible. As I am trying to abstract away from the prevalent editorial convention of automatically rendering “ as English full stop or “ as comma or semicolon, and instead to think what else they really might have meant. If we were to follow the prevalent convention, we would have to assume that there are (as the apparatus for punctuation demonstrates) dozens of meaningless punctuation signs scattered throughout the manuscripts. I have had to make choices about what punctuation marks should appear in the critical edition. My choice may not always have been the best one.

For the reconstruction of punctuation I have tried to follow a method: I mean to apply strictly the rule of stemmatic majority, without any preconceptions about what the ‘expected’ or ‘correct’ punctuation ought to be. In fact, this stemmatic approach does not seem to bring any dramatic changes to our understanding of the punctuation signs; in all cases where the rule of stemmatic majority does yield an unambiguous answer, a reconstructed “ does seem to correspond to the English full stop, semicolon or comma. In cases where the stemma gives no definitive answer (i.e. 50-50 cases), I have decided to follow this logic and again render “ with a full stop in my edition. In any event, the punctuation apparatus provides full information for those who may want to study the problem in fuller detail.

7.4.3. *Apparatus for paratextual elements*

I am using an apparatus for paratextual elements (App. 3 (addit.)) to note all additions found in a given manuscript in comparison corresponding to the edited text. Some are physically visible on the manuscript as being additions; some are not, and emerge only through comparison of multiple manuscripts. As they are additions by definition, I note only their position, whether in the margin or interlinearly within the textual body.

7.4.4. *Apparatus for quotations and allusions*

(App. 4. (font.))

7.4.5. *Apparatus for folio breaks*

Because of the large number of witnesses, instead of indicating folia recto/verso and columns recto/verso in the margins, I have a separate apparatus for folio breaks (App. 5 (test.)). As is usual, each time I indicate only the beginning of the column (inc.), and not the end. Thus, the following string in the relevant apparatus means that column b on f. 5v in Lb begins with word ብእሲ:

ብእሲ. :] Lb 5vb

Whenever a word is split across two columns, I give the word twice and mark the position of the split with |. Thus, the following indication means that column a on f. 8r in Lb begins with letter ፍ :

ተሐቂፍ :] ተሐቂ|ፍ : Lb 8ra

If a split word between two columns is a variant reading, I write the variant reading:

እግዚአብሔር ፡፡] እግዚአብሔርእግዚአብሔር|ር ፡፡ Oa 8va

Chapter Eight. Conclusion

This research aimed to trace traditions via written artefacts and document living traditions of King Lālibalā's posthumous history. King Lālibalā ruled in the twelfth-thirteenth century CE in Ethiopia. He is credited for the construction of the renowned rock-hewn churches in the city of Lālibalā, named after him. These rock-hewn churches are the strongest holders of the memory about the king. The earliest known hagiographic texts about the king-saint, the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection', are attested materially in the manuscripts datable to the fourteenth/fifteenth century, which makes seven centuries of reviving interest for Saint King Lālibalā's image.

Some parts of the text were further employed by Ethiopian and non-Ethiopian historians for reconstructing history. However, some of the works were used for my quest for traditions, namely ገድለ : ነገሥታተ : ኢትዮጵያ : ዘነገሡ : በምድረ : ሮሐ / 'Life of Ethiopian kings who ruled in Roḥa land', known from his autograph, MS EMMML 1614=IES 5446 by Gabra Masqal Tasfāyye and ገድለ : ቅዱስ : ላሊበላ / 'Life of Saint Lālibalā', by *Afa mamhər* Allabbāččaw Ḥratṭa et al., that appeared three times in Ethiopia.

In Europe some parts of the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' were edited by Jules Perruchon *Vie de Lālibalā roi d'Éthiopie*⁵⁵¹ and complemented by Stanisław Kur based on MS BAV Cerulli 178.

The original idea was to work on the critical edition, for two available editions, complement each other in a way that the sentence starts in one edition and ends up in another; the edition of excerpts by Perruchon is based on one manuscript, whereas today at least twenty-three manuscripts containing the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' are available – twelve manuscripts during this study only; the edition by Kur, aiming to cover the lacunae left by Perruchon's edition, is based on a manuscript containing only excerpts from the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' and does not cover all the lacunae. There was no critical analysis of the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' transmission. Both scholars seem to understand the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection' as a homogeneous text that simply recounts the 'Life of Lālibalā' and omitted several textual units completely.

In this work I adopted a working title, the '*Gadla Lālibalā* collection', which is a generic title for the content of the manuscripts, containing the 'Life of Lālibalā' and labelled as the *Gadla Lālibalā*. The working title is based on my Multi-Unit Hypothesis and reflects the idea to identify fourteen textual units, originated from different milieus. Presumably the texts of the collection count more than one author but are attested commonly together starting from the fourteenth/fifteenth century.

⁵⁵¹ Perruchon 1892.

In present study I combined various approaches: classical philology (that aims to reconstruct the lost archetype) and ‘new’ philology (that argues that each and every witness deserves due attention), history and anthropology, codicology, liturgical studies and digital humanities. On the research process: carrying in my pocket a set of ‘anthropological’ questions concerning the community during my field missions helped in dealing with refusals to see manuscripts. It kept my mind busy and finally brought different perspectives to the research. In addition, the set of historical questions that I was not able to answer helped me to orient myself more to the history of thoughts.

While working on the question on the transmission of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, I realised the necessity (or better elements speaking in favour of diversity) to define what is transmitted. Once I decided to segment the text of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, I assumed the responsibility of this step, for we know that it is very difficult to unsee what was once seen: once I introduce the segmentation, it will be difficult to come back to uniformity and homogeneity. This led me to an articulation of a new methodology allowing me to postulate a textual unit:

A portion of a text is a textual unit, if found:

- ✓ attested in some of the manuscripts with a particular *mise en texte*
- ✓ with its own title
- ✓ with a supplication
- ✓ circulated as part of a different collection
- ✓ attested with various *mise en livre*

A textual unit does not have to meet *all* of these criteria, but it must meet at least two of them. For the moment a textual unit is my bedrock.

Based on the corpus of manuscripts containing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’, I terminate with a well-defined and applicable concept of what a textual unit is.

The innovative methodology allows me to argue that what was previously considered as *Gadla Lālibalā* is a composite of multiple textual units revolving around Lālibalā, partially independent of each other and occurring in different combinations in different manuscripts. The units are articulated on both a logical and a physical basis. Each unit has a textual life of its own (potentially different date of composition, author, provenience), and may be transmitted separately apart from the others. This general approach provides a solution to what has seemed a paradox: most parts of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ honour and praise Lālibalā, but one textual unit (having a strongly Solomonic ideology) shows Lālibalā humbling himself and renouncing his kingship.

Digital collation of twenty-three witnesses allowed to postulate a *stemma codicum*, which serves for the critical edition as well as for studying various phenomena attested in the manuscripts, such as an introduction of ‘titles’ in MS EMMML 6931.

The analysis of the textual and paratextual evidence attested in manuscripts in parallel with observations in the churches and interviews with clergy helps us to document various practices around liturgical veneration of Saint Lālibalā and presumable saints in general.

The main task of this research, a critical edition has not yet been achieved but has been started: the initiated edition is based on seventy textual witnesses and aims to reflect an understanding of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ as a collection.

There are two parallel processes that we can witness: adding other textual units to the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and hence extending it and taking short excerpts (narrative units) from the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ and adding them to other collections and hence extending other collections.

If we consider the dating of the manuscripts containing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ manuscripts so far known, we find a gap of about two centuries: there is no manuscript in my corpus containing the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ datable or dated to the end of fifteenth and of the seventeenth centuries. Although, the overview of other texts does not explain this gap, it proves that hagiographic veneration of Saint King Lālibalā did not cease during these centuries entirely. In the opposite, quite a few hagiographic textual units about Saint King Lālibalā were probably composed during these two centuries or at least copied. Therefore, for better understanding of the unceasing interest for Saint King Lālibalā other textual units must be critically edited as well.

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Appendix One: the step by step description of my experience of digital collation with CollateX

- CollateX is a software designed to
 - read multiple (≥ 2) versions of a text, splitting each version into parts (tokens) to be compared;
 - identify similarities of and differences between the versions (including moved / transposed segments) by aligning tokens;
 - output the alignment results in a variety of formats for further processing;
 - support the production of a critical apparatus or the stemmatical analysis of a text's genesis.⁵⁵²

The CollateX allows to use a 'baseless' comparison method to produce a collated text. None of the witnesses is assigned greater significance than the other. Once a stemma hypothesis is created, the editor could use the same script to step back through the variants again and to collate witnesses in all combinations. For somebody, who does not aim to produce a critical edition, it is a perfect program to analyze the transmission of the text, to get visual picture of different processes, for example to get an idea which witness was used for correcting another witness.

The first requirement was to transcribe as many witnesses as possible into a digital format, as efficiently as could be managed. This is by far the most time-consuming stage of the project. I have made transcription simply with Microsoft Word. Transcribing the texts, important to note, that in case one wants to use CollateX, all characters/signs used in dot and svg languages must be avoided, otherwise the program will not work. On the one hand, it is good to decide whether all minor points are significant for the work or not—one can normalize text while transcribing it (for example if you have different characters for the same sound), because it can confuse the program. Here, in my opinion, still better to have an exact transcription and then play with it as you want.

Then I have converted my files into txt. The Life of Lālibalā is a long text and CollateX program cannot operate it, that is why I have divided my txt files equally into short txt files containing short parts. On the Desktop I have created a folder which I called 'CollateX'. Within this folder I have:

folder 'collate-master', which contains different algorithms of the program.

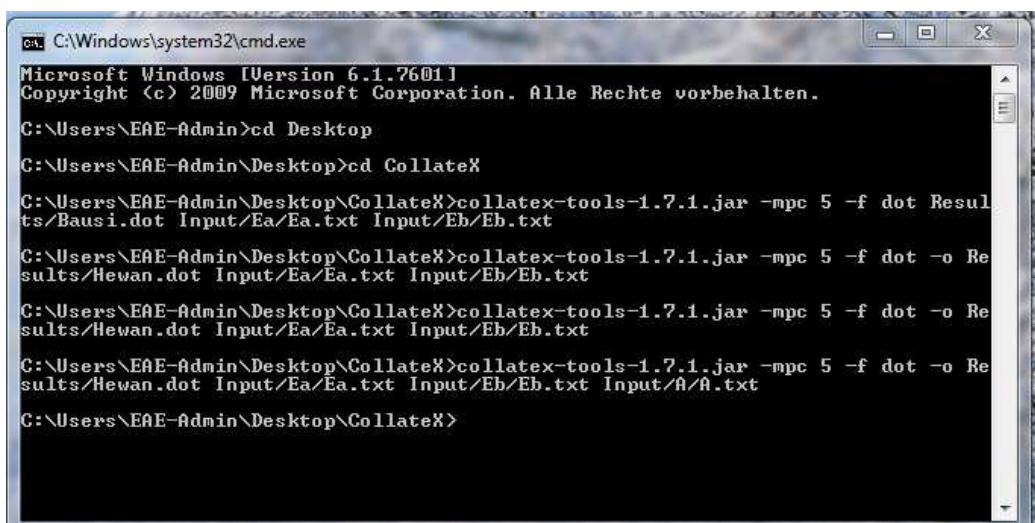
folder 'Input' for all my witnesses. For each witness I have created a folder and gave each folder a name which corresponds to the sigla, Ea, Eb etc. Within these folders for witnesses I have saved all my txt-files.

folder 'Results' for all my results (output) in -dot format. Within the folder 'Results' I have another folder which I called 'SVG', here I save all results in -svg format.

⁵⁵² <https://collatex.net/>

CollateX program has command line interface. To find it click Start, in the Search or Run line, type cmd (short for command), and press Enter. Fig. 1 demonstrates my command for collation. I command the program to perform a collation using the algorithm collatex-tools-1.7.1.jar. I command it to give me results of the collation written in -dot language (-f, format) and to save the results (-o, output) under the name 'Hewan'.dot in my folder for the results. For the collation I command to take three portions of the text of three witnesses, Ea, Eb and A.

Fig. 1.



```

C:\Windows\system32\cmd.exe
Microsoft Windows [Version 6.1.7601]
Copyright (c) 2009 Microsoft Corporation. Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

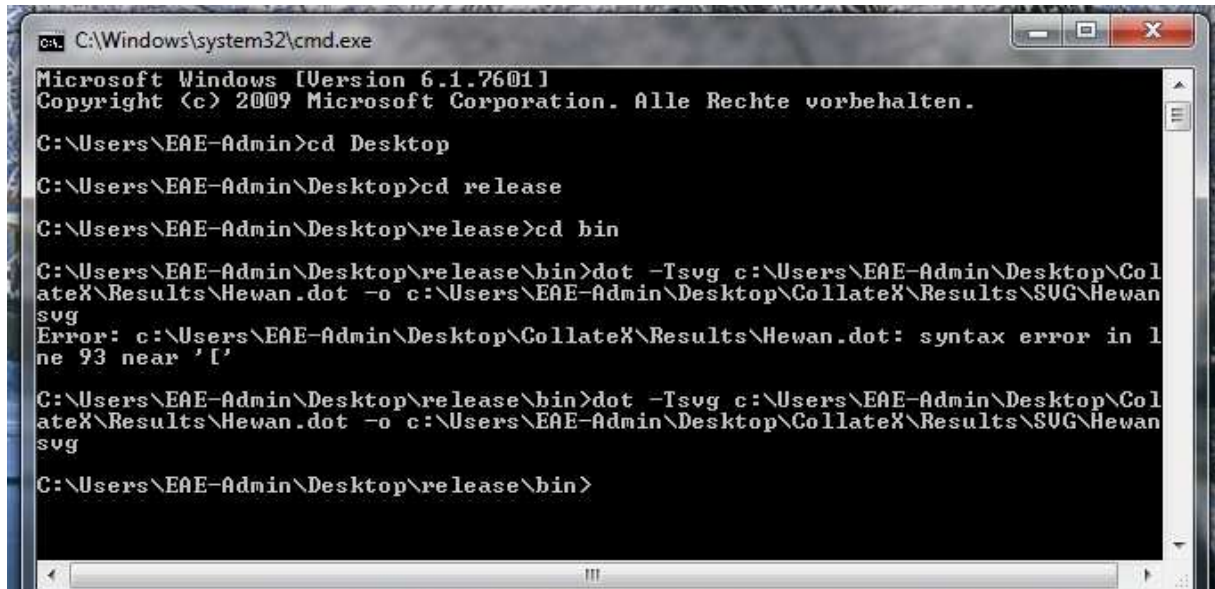
C:\Users\EAE-Admin>cd Desktop
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop>cd CollateX
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX>collatex-tools-1.7.1.jar -mpc 5 -f dot Results/Bausi.dot Input/Ea/Ea.txt Input/Eb/Eb.txt
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX>collatex-tools-1.7.1.jar -mpc 5 -f dot -o Results/Hewan.dot Input/Ea/Ea.txt Input/Eb/Eb.txt
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX>collatex-tools-1.7.1.jar -mpc 5 -f dot -o Results/Hewan.dot Input/Ea/Ea.txt Input/Eb/Eb.txt
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX>collatex-tools-1.7.1.jar -mpc 5 -f dot -o Results/Hewan.dot Input/Ea/Ea.txt Input/Eb/Eb.txt Input/A/A.txt
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX>
  
```

Fig. 1 demonstrates a successful experiment. However, making the first attempt to use this program for Ethiopic texts, I have faced some challenges. After learning how to use the command line interface and make an automatic collation, with an output in dot (graph description) language, I did not get any results with my files in Ethiopic script. The file always had a mistake. Next step was to learn dot language to be able to correct automatically produced file. However, the program still was indicating mistakes in the dot file. Finally, it was detected that it is due to invisible characters, which appear while processing files with Ethiopic Script, encoded into UTF-8, which was automatically changed into UTF-8-BOM. With the Notepad++ program, I was encoding my files back into UTF-8, cleaning them from these invisible characters that prevented the program to work.

Then with graphviz-2.38 program, I created svg-file (Scalable Vector Graphics, a vector graphics file format). For this I opened again a command line. I prefer to have two command lines for two algorithms, one to work with collatex-tools-1.7.1.jar. and another for graphviz-2.38 program. Fig. 4 illustrates my command for creating svg-file. I command the program to change

the format of my file Hewan.dot into Hewan.svg, using the algorithm dot. I command it to save it in my special folder 'SVG' for svg-files.

Fig. 2.



```

C:\Windows\system32\cmd.exe
Microsoft Windows [Version 6.1.7601]
Copyright (c) 2009 Microsoft Corporation. Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

C:\Users\EAE-Admin>cd Desktop
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop>cd release
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\release>cd bin
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\release\bin>dot -Tsvg c:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX\Results\Hewan.dot -o c:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX\Results\SUG\Hewan.svg
Error: c:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX\Results\Hewan.dot: syntax error in line 93 near '['
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\release\bin>dot -Tsvg c:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX\Results\Hewan.dot -o c:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\CollateX\Results\SUG\Hewan.svg
C:\Users\EAE-Admin\Desktop\release\bin>

```

At this stage, the task was to find a program for visualization, which would support Ethiopic Script. Inkscape 0.91 was found.

Another point, important for the Ethiopic texts, is punctuation. Punctuation is important for understanding the text and therefore should be kept and reported in the apparatus. For a programme a word with a punctuation mark is not a word with a punctuation mark but simply a different token. I introduced **፤** before each punctuation mark to make the programme to treat a punctuation mark as a single token, separately from the word. Like this the programme does not split two identical words with or without a punctuation mark into two different tokens.

I must say that I did not find a way to make CollateX to tolerate graphical variants. I kept graphical variants for the transcription since they can be interesting for a different kind of research and since the aim of the transcription to be incoded tends to be as faithful to the manuscript as possible, does not presuppose any emendation or change. On the other hand, graphic variants do not provide us any information for the *stemma* and won't be included into the apparatus. Thus, in order to simplify the work and to make the visualization of variants clear for my eyes, I thought to replace them **አ** for **አ**, **ሐ** for **ሐ**, **ከ** for **ከ**, **ሀ** for **ሀ**, **ኀ** for **ኀ**, **ሰ** for **ሰ**, **ሠ**, but these changes became destructive, so I decided to leave them as they are.

What also makes this program promising is the idea that in case a new witness is found, it can be collated either with a critical text or with any other witness in each combination: geographically close, timely close, visually close etc.

Codicological Information

Identifier	BL Oriental 718
Alternative Identifier	Wright cat. CCXCV
Alternative Identifier	Wright cat. 295
Collection	Oriental
Repository	↗ British Library
Date	1837-1839
Keywords	↗ Christian Literature ↗ Hagiography ↗ Miracle
Catalogue	Wright, W. 1877. <i>Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1847</i> (London: British Museum, 1877).pageValieva, N. <i>The Portrait of a Queen: A story about a manuscript and its commissione Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures</i> (2016) < https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/mom/2016_07_mom_e.html >.
Form of support	Parchment Codex
Extent	130 leaf 8 blank leaf 19 quire A+17+B
Leaf Dimension	Height 335mm Width 275mm
Outer Dimension	Height 336mm Width 276mm
Binding	true
b1	Two boards covered with reddish-brown tooled leather.
Material	leather
Other	Blind tooled ornament on the reddish-brown leather cover.
Layout	Columns: 2, Written lines: 21
Collation	Quires are numbered with Ethiopic numerals on the top left corner recto and (if written), on the top right corner verso. Number ፩, simply decorated, also in the middle of the upper margin of f. 9r. (f. 9r) 8 (ff. 1r-8v) ፪ (f. 9r) and (f. 16v) 8 (ff. 9r-16v) ፫ (f. 17r) and (f. 24v) 8 (ff. 17r-24v) ፬ (f. 25r) and (f.

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Nafisa Valieva, Dorothea Reule, Eugenia Sokolinski, 'London, British Library, BL Oriental 718', in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung / Beta maṣāḥaft* (Last Modified: 15.1.2019) <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BLorient718> (DOI:10.25592/BetaMasaheft.BLorient718) [Accessed: 2019-01-18+01:00]

32v) 8 (ff. 25r-32v) ፩ (f. 33r) and (f. 40v) 8 (ff. 33r-40v) ፪ (f. 41r) and (f. 49v) 8 (ff. 41r-49v) 8 ፫ (ff. 49r-56v) ፬ (f. 57r) and (f. 64v) 8 (ff. 57r-64v) ፭ (f. 65r) 8 (ff. 65r-72v) ፮ (f. 73r) 8 (ff. 73r-80v) ፯ (f. 81r) 8 (ff. 81r-88v) ፱ (f. 89r) 8 (ff. 89r-96v) ፲፱ (f. 97r) 8 (ff. 97r-104v) ፳፬ (f. 105r) 8 (ff. 105r-112v) ፳፭ (f. 113r) 8 (ff. 113r-120v) ፳፮ (f. 121r) 8 (ff. 121r-128v) ፳፯ (f. 129r) 2 (ff. 129r-130v)

Hand h1 (Ethiopic) careful, clear hand Black, red used to lay out initial pages, punctuation and Nomina sacra

Contents

ms_i1: ↗ 'The 'Gadla Lālibalā' collection of texts: type A' (ff. 1r-130vb)

ms_i1.1: ↗ Preamble (ff. 1ra-5vb)

Incipit: (f. 1ra)በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ አምላክ : ሥሉስ : ዘኢይሰደቅ : ዋሕድ ፤ ዕሩይ : ታሉት : ዘኢይነፍድ ፤ ዘሀሎ : እምቅድመ : ክዋኒሁ : እንዘ : ኢይትበዓድ ፤ ወእምህላዊሁ : እንዘ : ኢየሐፀፅ : ወኢይፈደፍድ ፤ በአናስረ : ዓለም : ዘኢይተረጎም : ወኢይትዔለድ ፤ ወዘኢይትፈለጥ : ወልድ : እምአቡሁ : ወመንፈስ : እምወልድ ፤

Supplication: (ff. 5va-5vb)ሰአሉ : ሊተ : ከመ : የሀበኒ : ልሳነ : ጥበብ : ከመ : አእምር : ዘእንብብ ፤ እስመ : አነ : ሕፁፀ : ልብ : እስከ : ይእዜ : ኢገሠሥኩ : ማእዘንተ : ነገረ : ዚአሁ : ለዘእትናገር : በእንቲአሁ : እስመ : ነዋህ : ነገሩ : ወልጎት : ክሥተተ : ምሥጢሩ ፤ ወባሕቱ : እነግረክመ : በሐሳብ : ክህልኩ : እንዘ : እትአመን : በኃይለ : ጸሎትክሙ ፤ ወበጸሎቱ : ለዝንቱ : ብእሲ : ኮከበ : ክብር : ጽባሐዊ : ዘየኃይድ : ብርሃኑ : እምብርሃኑ : ካልአን : ከዋክብት ፤ እንዘ : አብ : ይረድእ : ለወጢን : በለብዎ : ወእንዘ : ወልድ : ያጸንዕ : በአስተሰናእዎ ፤ ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : እንዘ : ይከውን : ፈጽሜ : ኃይለ : ቃል : በአስተታልዎ ፤ በሰላም : ዚአሁ : አሜን ፤ ጸሎቱ : ወበረከቱ : ብፁዕ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ፍቅርቱ : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወልዳ : መስፍን : ኃይለ : ኢየሱስ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

Supplication: (f. 5vb)ጸሎቱ : ወበረከቱ : ወሀብተ : ረድኤቱ : ለዝንቱ : ብፁዕ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ፍቅርቱ : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወልዳ : መስፍን : ኃይለ : ኢየሱስ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

Text contained on f.1r, line 1 up to f.5vb, line 21 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 1, line 1 up to page 7, line 18 ('Introduction'). In this description by counting lines I disregard any extra notes or punctuation in the manuscript and titles in Perruchon's edition. The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Sane. The first folio recto is layouted with red inks. It ends with supplication on f.5vb and marked with a cross.

ms_i1.2: ↗ Soteriology (ff. 6ra-9vb)

Incipit: (f. 6ra)አቀድም : አእኩቶቶ : ለእግዚአብሔር : በእንተ : እግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ዝውእቱ : ወልዱ : ወቃሉ : ለአብ : ዘበሕፅነ : አቡሁ : ሠረፀ : ፍሬ : ስብሐት : ዓቃቤ : ሥራይ : ዘወረደ : እምሰማያት : ከመ : ይደይ : ርጢኖ : ዲበ : እለ : ቈስሉ : በንስከተ : አርፎ : አስዋር : ወአልህምተ ፤ አተቡዕ : ወአዕኑስ : ፈኒዎ :

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Nafisa Valieva, Dorothea Reule, Eugenia Sokolinski, 'London, British Library, BL Oriental 718', in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung / Beta maṣāḥəft* (Last Modified: 15.1.2019) <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BLorient718> (DOI:10.25592/BetaMasaheft.BLorient718) [Accessed: 2019-01-18+01:00]

መንፈስ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ነቢያቲሁ ፡ ዘያጌብሮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይበልዎ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አጽንን ፡ ሰማያቲክ ፡ ወረድ ፡፤ አንሥእ ፡ ኃይለክ ፡ ወነዓ ፡ አድኅነነ ፡፤

Explicit: (ff. 9va-9vb) ብፁዕኬ ፡ ዘበልዓ ፡ እምፍሬሁ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ ቀሲሞ ፡ እምአስካለ ፡ ሃማሁ ፡ በተመስሎተ ፡ ምግባራቲሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ ዘይትሜሰሎ ፡ በምግባር ፡ ይሄሉ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወኀበ ፡ ቦአ ፡ ይበውአ ፡ ወኀበ ፡ አሥመክ ፡ ያሠምክ ፡ ወኀበ ፡ ተጽሕፈ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ይጸሐፍ ፡ ስመ ፡ ተመሳሊሁ ፡፤ ወዘተሠርገወ ፡ ስነ ፡ ይሠርገው ፡ ተላዌ ፡ ፍኖቱ ፡፤ ወዘተቀጸለ ፡ አክሊለ ፡ ምዝጋኖ ፡፤ ይትሜሰል ፡ ዘይትሜሰሎ ፡ በገድል ፡፤ ናሁ ፡ ውእቱስ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ አክሊለ ፡ ምዝጋኖሁ ፡ ዘኢየሳልፍ ፡ ወዘኢይጸመሂ ፡ ዘተገብረ ፡ በሐሳብ ፡ ሕሊናሁ ፡ ለዓሣዬ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ዘኢተገብረ ፡ በሐሳብ ፡ ህክሚሆሙ ፡ ለጠቢባን ፡ መዓሥቃን ፡ እለ ፡ ያሄንዩ ፡ አኒመ ፡ በሜላት ፡፤ ወበኀብረ ፡ ለይ ፡ ወበኀብረ ፡ ደርከኖ ፡ ወበአዝመር ፡፤

no title provided has a different articulation in the present manuscript: having the same incipit on f. 6ra, it will end with a following explicit and incipit of a portion, which goes further into SaintsLal end ends with the same explicit as JerusLal.

ms_i1.2.1: (ff. 6ra-8va)

Incipit: (f. 6ra) አቀድም ፡ አእኩቶቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ በእንተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዝውእቱ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ወቃሉ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ዘበሕፅነ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ሠረፀ ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ዓቃቤ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ እምሰማያት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይደይ ፡ ርጢኖ ፡ ዲበ ፡ እለ ፡ ቈስሉ ፡ በንስከተ ፡ አርዌ ፡ አስዋር ፡ ወአልህምተ ፡፤ አተቡፅ ፡ ወአፅኑስ ፡ ፈኒዎ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ነቢያቲሁ ፡ ዘያጌብሮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይበልዎ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አጽንን ፡ ሰማያቲክ ፡ ወረድ ፡፤ አንሥእ ፡ ኃይለክ ፡ ወነዓ ፡ አድኅነነ ፡፤

Explicit: (f. 8va) ፍሬ ፡ ተመርትኒ ፡ ካልእ ፡ አርአያሁ ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ ፡ ወጣዕመ ፡ መዓዛሁ ፡ ወፍሬ ፡ መልጸጸንሂ ፡ ካልእ ፡ አርአያሁ ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ ፡፤ ወፍሬ ፡ ዕንጉታትሂ ፡ ካልፅ ፡ አርአያሁ ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ ፡፤

Text contained on f.6ra, line 1 up to f.8va, line 15 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 7, line 19 up to page 10, line 25 ('Seconde Introduction'). It starts on the new page and new line, lines 1,2,5,6 are written with red inks. The end is marked with three ፡፤ and dotted line.

ms_i1.2.2: (ff. 8va-17va)

Incipit: (ff. 8va-8vb) ወከማሁኬ ፡ ዝንቱኒ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘተመሰለ ፡ ወዓሌ ፡፤ እንዘ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ነባርያን ፡ ዘተመሰለ ፡ ነባሬ ፡፤ እንዘ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ መኳንንት ፡ ተመሰለ ፡ ተኩፍኔ ፡፤

ms_i1.3: ↗ Teaching about the Saints (ff. 9vb-12rb)

Incipit: (ff. 9vb-10ra) ወዓዲ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ ክብረ ፡ እምኀበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘየዓቢ ፡ እምክብረ ፡ ካልአኒሁ ፡፤ እስመ ፡ ብዙኀ ፡ ያታ ፡ ክብሮሙ ፡ ለቅዱሳን ፡ በከመ ፡ አርአየ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ወነገረ ፡ በምሳሌ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ካልእ ፡ ክብሩ ፡ ለፀሐይ ፡ ወካልእ ፡ ክብሩ ፡ ለወርኅ ፡ ወካልእ ፡ ክብሮሙ ፡ ለከዋክብት ፡፤ ወኮከብ ፡ እምኮከብ ፡ ይኔይስ ፡ ክብሩ ፡፤

Explicit: (f. 12rb) ወያወሥአሙ ፡ ዝኩ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ ቃል ፡ ማኅዋዊት ፡፤ ወይብሎሙ ፡ አማን ፡ አማን ፡ እብለክሙ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘገበርክሙ ፡ ለ፩ እምእሉ ፡ ንዑሳን ፡ አጋውዮ ፡ እለ ፡ ዮአምኑ ፡ ብየ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ገበርክሙ ፡፤ ወየሐውሩ ፡ እሉሂ ፡ ተስሒሎሙ ፡ በስሱ ፡ እሕባለ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡፤ ወይበውኡ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ሀለወ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ምስለ ፡ በግዑ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ መንፈሱ ፡፤

SaintsLal is not articulated in the present manuscript.

ms_i1.4: ↗ Lālibalā entered Heavenly Jerusalem (ff. 12rb-17va)

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Nafisa Valieva, Dorothea Reule, Eugenia Sokolinski, 'London, British Library, BL Oriental 718', in Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung / Beta maṣāḥəft* (Last Modified: 15.1.2019) <http://betamasafeft.eu/manuscripts/BLorient718> (DOI:10.25592/BetaMasaheft.BLorient718) [Accessed: 2019-01-18+01:00]

Incipit: (ff. 12rb-12va) ወዝንቱ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ፩ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ እምእለ ፡ ቦኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ሰማያዊት ፡ አግዓዚት ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ዘኢየሱልፍ ፡ እንተ ፡ ኢይበውአ ፡ ውስቲታ ፡ ቈላፍ ፡ ዘኢተገዝረ ፡ ቀልፊተ ፡ ልቡ ፡ በመጥባሕት ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ዘንቱስ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ ዘተገዝረ ፡ ቀልፊተ ፡ ነፍስቱ ፡ በመጥባሕት ፡ ሥጋዊት ።

Explicit: (ff. 17ra-17vb) ያድኅነነኬ ፡ እመሥገቱ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ጽጉብ ፡ ደም ፡ አርዌ ፡ ዘየጋሥሥ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ነፍሳተ ፡ ከመ ፡ የጋጥ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጥሕር ፡ ከመ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ወኢያርመመ ፡ እምአዳም ፡ እስከ ፡ ዮም ። ፋሕለ ፡ ጥሕረቱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይፈቅድ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይድቢ ፡ አለ ፡ ተሰምዩ ፡ ናዝራዊያነ ። እስመ ፡ ሰምዓነ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ናውግዞ ፡ መይጠነ ፡ ገጸነ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ በዕለተ ፡ ለበስናሁ ፡ ለመርዓዊ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ሐዲስ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ክርስቶስ ። ወጋደግናሁ ፡ ለብሉይ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ዲያብሎስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ንብሎ ፡ ርጉም ፡ አንተ ፡ ወርጉም ፡ ሕሊናክ ፡ ወርጉም ፡ ግብርክአ ወበእንተዝኬ ፡ ይትመዓዕ ፡ ላዕሌነ ።

ms_j1.4.1: (ff. 8va-17va)

Supplication: (ff. 17rb-17va) ወለነኒ ፡ የሀበነ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ ረድኤት ፡ በከመ ፡ ወሀቦ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ መዊዕ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይውቂ ፡ ክሃዶ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ አርዌ ፡ ርጉም ፡ ወይረስየነ ፡ ለነኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ናውቂ ፡ ክሃዶ ፡ በከመ ፡ አውቀዮ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አሜን ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by "Amen" and the beginning of the following text written with red inks. As it was noted, an explicit of JerusLal corresponds to the articulated explicit.

ms_j1.5: ለLālibalā accomplished the Word of Gospel (ff. 17va-21va)

Incipit: (f. 17va) ወዝንቱስ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ኮከብ ፡ ፅዱል ፡ ዘያንሶሱ ፡ መልዕልተ ፡ ዓየር ፡ በጢሎ ፡ እምሕሊና ፡ ዘበምድር ። አልቦ ፡ ዘገብረ ፡ ምግባራተ ፡ ዘያምዕዖ ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ። ወአልቦ ፡ አመ ፡ ሰላለ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እምኔሁ ። እምአመ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ እምክርሠ ፡ ጥምቀት ። እስመ ፡ አተግኅሠ ፡ እምቃለ ፡ መጸሕፍት ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ እስትንፋሱ ፡ መለኮት ።

Explicit: (f. 21va) እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ይሠሃለነ ።

In the present manuscript GospelLal is divided into two portions with a supplication. Having the same articulated incipit as GospelLal, it has another internal explicit and internal incipit, which will end with the same articulated explicit, as of GospelLal.

Explicit: (f. 18vb) በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘይእኅዝ ፡ ፅርፈ ፡ ወየሐርስ ፡ ድኅሪተ ። ወይከውን ፡ ድልወ ፡ ለመንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ። ርትዕት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ። ወዘንተ ፡ ሰሚዖ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሐረሳዊ ፡ ዘመንፈስ ። እስመ ፡ ሰሚዖ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ የሐውር ፡ በፍፍተ ፡ ሕይወት ።

Supplication: (f. 18vb) ወበዝንቱ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ዕቀባ ፡ ለንግሥትነ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ወዕቀሶሙ ፡ ለውሉዳ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ወልደ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ወለአዋልዲሃ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ጊሩተ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አ ፤

First two lines are written with red inks. The text ends with a supplication note.

Incipit: (f. 19ra) ወቅዱስኒ ፡ ወብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ አኮ ፡ ሰሚዖ ፡ ቃለ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ዘየኅድግ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይግበር ፡ እስመ ፡ ይፈርህ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ እመቦ ፡ ዘያጸምዖ ፡ ለቃል ፡ ወኢይገብሮ ።

Explicit: (ff. 19vb-20ra) እስመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ጥበቡ ፡ እንከ ፡ ወአጥብቡ ፡ ልበክሙ ። እስመ ፡ ጸላኢክሙ ፡ ጋኔን ፡ ይጥሕር ፡ ከመ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ወየጋሥሥ ፡ ዘይውኅጥ ። ወቆመ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ኩኩሐ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል ፡ መሠረቱ ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ነፋሳት ። እለ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ዓላውያን ፡ እለ ፡ አውከኩ ፡ እምጽድቅ ። ወተዓተቱ ፡ እምርትዕ ፡ ወእምሃይማኖት ፡ መንክር ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ አጽንዑ ፡ ቀዊመ ፡ በሃይማኖትክሙ ።

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The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Hāmle. The text starts on the new page and new line, first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

Incipit: (f. 20ra) ወኮነ ፡ ልቡ ፡ ጽሌ ፡ ዘሕግ ፡ ዘይሜህር ፡ ርትዓ ፡ ወምጽዋተ ፡ ወምሒረ ፡ ነዳያን ፡ ወሰርየ ፡ ለአባሰያን ፤ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚእን ፡ በወንጌል ፤ ለእመ ፡ አበሰ ፡ ለከ ፡ እኅከ ፡ ኅድግ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብዓ ፡ በበስብዕ ፤

ms_i1.6: ↗ Praise for Lālibalā (ff. 21va-33va)

Incipit: (f. 21va) ወበዝ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወምክሐ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አድያሚሃ ፡ ተመሰሎሙ ፡ ለትጉሃነ ፡ ሰማይ ፤

Supplication: (ff. 33ra-33va) ወለኒ ፡ አሥራተ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ይንሥአን ፡ ምክህ ፡ ኩልን ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንባእ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ቦአ ፡ ላሊሁ ፤ ወከመ ፡ ንርፍቅ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ረፈቀ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንሳተፎ ፡ በፍሥሐሁ ፤ ወከመ ፡ ንደለው ፡ በተድላሁ ፤ ወከመ ፡ ናንሶሱ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መርዓ ፡ ሐዳስ ፤ ዘኢይበውእ ፡ ውስቴታ ፡ ዘኢለብሰ ፡ ልብሰ ፡ ከብካብ ፡ መርዓ ፡ ወዘኢተሠርገወ ፡ በብርሃነ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ወአመ ፡ ይሠራዕ ፡ ማዕደ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ይበለን ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ በይእቲ ፡ ሰዓት ፡ ነየ ፡ አን ፡ ወደቂቅየ ፡ ዘወሀበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፤ ወያቂመን ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ገጸ ፡ በግዑ ፡ ኃቢኦ ፡ በጽላሎተ ፡ ክነፊሁ ፤ ወከዲኖ ፡ በመንጠላዕተ ፡ ጸላሎቱ ፤ ከመ ፡ ኢይቅረቡ ፡ ኀቤን ፡ መላእክተ ፡ እሳት ፡ እኅዛነ ፡ አስይፍት ፡ እለ ፡ የዓፅዱ ፡ ክርዳደ ፡ አርዮሙ ፡ እማእከለ ፡ ስርናይ ፤ ወየዓስርዎሙ ፡ በበክላስስቲሆሙ ፡ ለአንድዶቶሙ ፡ ወለእለ ፡ ይፈልጥዎሙ ፡ ለኃጥአን ፡ እማእከሎሙ ፡ ለጸድቃን ፤ ወለእለ ፡ ይፈልገዎሙ ፡ ለጸዋጋን ፡ እማእከሎሙ ፡ ለየዋሃን ፤ ወእሉ ፡ መላእክተ ፡ መዓት ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይቅረቡ ፡ ኀቤን ፡ ወከመ ፡ ኢይፍልጡን ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ይመግበን ፡ ሐቂፎ ፡ በየማነ ፡ እዴሁ ፤ ወያድኅና ፡ እመከራ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወነፍስ ፤ ለአመተ ፡ ንግሥትነ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ወይዕቀባ ፡ ለወለታ ፡ ጊሩተ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፤

Incipit and explicit of WuddaseLal in the manuscript corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit, with more articulated portion in between and which I articulate with internal incipits and explicits.

ms_i1.6.1: (ff. 21va-23vb)

Incipit: (f. 21va) ወበዝ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወምክሐ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አድያሚሃ ፡ ተመሰሎሙ ፡ ለትጉሃነ ፡ ሰማይ ፤

Explicit: (f. 23vb) ሐፀነቶ ፡ መርዓተ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ እስመ ፡ አእመረት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይከውና ፡ ወልዳ ፡ ዘምክህ ፡ ዘይትሜካህ ፡ በፍናዊሃ ፡ ወበኃሢሠ ፡ ሕገሂ ፤ በከመ ፡ ትቤ ፡ ሐና ፡ እመ ፡ ሳሙኤል ፡ ወዘሰ ፡ ይትሜካህ ፤ በአእምሮ ፡ ወበለብዎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፤ በገቢረ ፡ ፍትሕ ፡ ወጽድቅ ፡ በማእከለ ፡ ምድር ፤

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space

ms_i1.6.2: (ff. 23vab-31rb)

Incipit: (ff. 23vb-24ra) ወላሊበላኒ ፡ አፍቀረ ፡ አጥባቲሃ ፡ ለዘሐፀነቶ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይጥዕሞ ፡ አጥባቲሃ ፡ እምወይን ፡ ወአፈዋቲሃኒ ፡ ይምዕዝ ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ ዕፍረታት ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ በውስተ ፡ መኃልየ ፡ መኃልይ ፡ አዳም ፡ አጥባቲኪ ፡ እምወን ፤

Explicit: (f. 31rb) ፍትወቱ ፡ ለሥጋ ፡ ወፍትወቱ ፡ ለዓይን ፡ ወስራሐ ፡ ለመንበርት ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ እምኀበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፤ አላ ፡ እምዓለም ፡ ወዓለምኒ ፡ የኃልፍ ፡ ወፍትወቱኒ ፤ ወዘሰ ፡ ይገብር ፡ ፈቃዶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ይነብር ፡ ለዓለም ፤

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The text marked with three kinds of ፤

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ms_j1.6.3: (ff. 31rb-32va)

Incipit: (f. 31rb) ወበእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ኢጥዕመ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ እምፍግዕቶሙ ፡ ለኃጥኣን ፡ ወኢእምአልባስ ፡ ቀጠንት ፡ ወኢእማዕድ ፡ ጥዕማት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይሴፎ ፡ በሊዓ ፡ እማዕድ ፡ ሕይወት ፡

Explicit: (ff. 32rb-32va) በዝንቱኬ ፡ ቃላት ፡ ወበፍቅረ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ተወርዚዎ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ዝነዙኃ ፡ ገድል ፡ ተወካፊ ፡ ምንዳቤ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ሥሉጠ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ዕፁ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ቱዎጎሎስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ነጐድንድ ፡ ብፁዓን ፡ እለ ፡ ያነጽሑ ፡ አልባሲሆሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ሥልጣኖሙ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ዕፁ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ አመ ፡ ይሰደዱ ፡ ወይወፅኡ ፡ አፍኣ ፡ ሐምስቱ ፡ አክላብ ፡ እሉ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ መሠርያን ፡ ወዘማውያን ፡ ወቀታልያን ፡ ወእለ ፡ ያጣዕው ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ያፈቅሩ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ሐሰት ፡ ወእሉ ፡ አመ ፡ ይወፅኡ ፡ እምኩብካብ ፡ መርዓ ፡ መንገለ ፡ አፍኣ ፡

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks on the new line.

ms_j1.6.4: (ff. 32va-33ra)

Incipit: (f. 32va) ወውእቱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ይበውእ ፡ ተጸዊዖ ፡ በቃለ ፡ መርዓዊ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ ዘይብል ፡ ንዑ ፡ ንቤየ ፡ ቡሩካን ፡ ለአቡየ ፡ ትረሱ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ዘአስተዳለወ ፡ ለከሙ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ይትፈጠር ፡ ዓለም ፡

Explicit: (f. 33ra) ወለጸድቃኒሁ ፡ ቡሩካን ፡ እለ ፡ ያሩ ፡ ክበዳ ፡ ወላህባ ፡ ለዕለት ፡

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ፡ and dotted line.

ms_j1.7: / Life of Lālibalā (ff. 33vb-115rb)

Incipit: (f. 33vb) ንትመየጥኬ ፡ ንበ ፡ ጥንተ ፡ ገድሉ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ዕፍረቱ ፡ ምዑዝ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይምሰሎ ፡ ዝንጋዔ ፡ ለልበ ፡ አብድ ፡ ለዘኢያፈቅር ፡ ውዳሴሆሙ ፡ ለጸድቃን ፡

Explicit: (f. 115rb) ወከመዝ ፡ ነበረ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወቱ ፡ እምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈለሰ ፡

Incipit of VitLal corresponds to the articulated incipit, while explicit of VitLal is not articulated in this manuscript. VitLal has been divided into portions, which I present in a descriptive way, presenting articulated incipit and explicit. I have introduced subtitles that will hopefully help to have a better idea what is articulated.

ms_j1.7.1: (ff. 33vb-35ra)

Incipit: (f. 33vb) ንትመየጥኬ ፡ ንበ ፡ ጥንተ ፡ ገድሉ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ዕፍረቱ ፡ ምዑዝ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይምሰሎ ፡ ዝንጋዔ ፡ ለልበ ፡ አብድ ፡ ለዘኢያፈቅር ፡ ውዳሴሆሙ ፡ ለጸድቃን ፡

Explicit: (ff. 34vb-34vb) ወሶቤሃ ፡ ይትፈሣሕ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ምስለ ፡ አጋንንቲሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ በሀብለ ፡ ሀኪት ፡ አሲሮ ፡ አውፅአሙ ፡ ወይኤምኖሙ ፡ ሐቂፎ ፡ ክሃዶ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘይኤምኖ ፡ አብ ፡ ወልዶ ፡ ፍቁሮ ፡ ወይተልዎሙ ፡ ንበ ፡ ሐሩ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይሜግብዎሙ ፡ አጋንንቲሁ ፡ ይምነ ፡ ወጽግመ ፡ ከዋላ ፡ ወፍጽመ ፡

Supplication: (ff. 34vb-35ra) ያድኅነነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እመክፈልቶሙ ፡ ለእሉ ፡ ወያጽሕቅ ፡ ልበነ ፡ ለሰሚዓ ፡ ቃላቲሁ ፡ ወለገቢረ ፡ ትእዛዛቲሁ ፡ ወይረሰየነ ፡ ድልዋነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንኅድር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤቱ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ንጸመድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መቅደሱ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወትነ ፡ ወያርእየነ ፡ በዘኖሠምሮ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ጸሎቱ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ፀሐየ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ወይዕቀባ ፡ ለአመተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ንግሥትነ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፡

The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Naḥāse. The text starts in the new column and new line, lines 1, 2, 5, 6 are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with dotted line.

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ms_i1.7.2: (ff. 35ra-35vb)

Incipit: (f. 35ra) ስምዑኬ : አፍቁራንዩ : እለ : ተኃሥሡ : በረከተ : ጸጋሁ : ለጸድቅ : ወእለ : ትፃምው : ለፍቅረ : ላሊበላ : ከመ : ትርወዩ : እምነቅዓ : ገድሉ : ጥዑም ፤

Explicit: (f. 35va) እንዘ : ታከብርዎ : ከመ : መላእክት ፤ ወከመ : ነቢያት : ወሐዋርያት ፤ ወከመ : ጸድቃን : ወሰማዕት : ወከመ : ደናግል : ወመነኮሳት ፤ እስመ : ውእቱኒ : ኢሐፀ : እምኔሆሙ ፤

Supplication: (ff. 35va-35vb) ጸሎቱ : ወስእለቱ : ወሀብተ : ረድኤቱ : ወበረከተ : ተስፋሁ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : አመተ : እግዚአብሔር : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወለታ : ኂሩተ : ሥላሴ : ወምስለ : ኩልክሙ : ዝየ : እለ : ሀለውክሙ : ዝየ : ወእለ : መጸእክሙ : እምርኅቅ : ወእምቅሩብ ፤ እንዘ : ትትአመኑ : በጽላሎተ : ክነፊሁ : ወውእቱኒ : ኢይርኃቅ : እምኔክሙ ፤ ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

The text contained on f.35ra, line 3 up to f.35vb, line 7 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 11, line 1 up to line 22 ('L'auteur commence a raconter la vie de Lalibala'). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with dotted line.

ms_i1.7.3: How Lālibalā was born in Roḥā. (ff. 35vb-37rb)

Incipit: (f. 35vb) ወሀለወት : አሐቲ : ሀገር : እምአሀጉራተ : ኢትዮጵያ : እንተ : ትሰመይ : ሮሐ : ሀገረ : ሙላዱ : ለብፁዕ : ላሊበላ ፤

Explicit: (f. 37rb) አላ : መላእክት : እሙንቱ : እለ : ተመሰሉ : አንሀብተ : እንዘ : ያኢምሩ : ንግሥ ፤ ወጸቃውዓተ : ምግባር : ዘይትቀዳሕ : እምኔሁ ፤ እስመ : ሀለዎ : ለብፁዕ : ላሊበላ : ከመ : ይልበስ : ወይፈጽም : ዘንተ : ኩሎ : ትንቢታተ : ዘበምድር : እንተ : ይእቲ : ምግባረተ : ጽድቅ ፤

The text contained on f.35vb, line 8 up to f.37rb, line 19 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 12, line 1 up to page 13 line 21 ('Naissance de Lalibala'). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is marked with three ፤፤.

ms_i1.7.4: How Lālibalā grew up in a beautiful man. (ff. 37rb-39rb)

Incipit: (ff. 37rb-37va) ወእምዝ : ልሕቀ : እንዘ : የሐፅኖ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ወያጸንዖ : በኃይል : ወበጥበብ : ወበምክር : ወበግርማ : መንክር ፤ ወኩለንታሁኒ : አዳም : ውእቱ ፤

Explicit: (ff. 39ra-39rb) ወይቤሉ : ሀለዎ : ይኩን : ንጉሠ : አመ : ልሕቀ : ዝንቱ : ውእቱ : ቀዳሜ : መንክራት : ዘኮነ : በላዕለ : ብፁዕ : ላሊበላ : ዘተቀብዓ : ኃይለ : ውስተ : ቈናዝዓ : ድማሁ : ከመ : ሶምሶን : ቃዴ : እስራኤል : እስመ : ናዝራዊሁ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ቅዱስ : ውእቱ ፤

Supplication: (f. 39rb) ጸሎቱ : ወስእለቱ ፤ ወሀብተ : ረድኤቱ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወለታ : ኂሩተ : ሥላሴ : ወይባርክመ : ለኩልነ : ዝየ : እለ : ሀለውነ : ውሉደ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

The text contained on f.37rb, line 20 up to f.38vb, line 11 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 13, line 22 up to page 14, line 24 ('Portrait de Lalibala'). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ፤፤ and with dotted line.

ms_i1.7.5: Lālibalā voluntarily embraces the death for the love of the others. (ff. 40ra-45va)

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Incipit: (f. 40ra) ወእምዝ : እነግረክሙ : ካልአኒ : ነከራ : ዘተገብረ : በላዕለ : ብፁዕ : ላሊበላ : አመ : ውርዛዊሁ : ወዝንቱስ : ዘእከሥት : ለክሙ : ይእዜ : በቀዳሚት : ውእቱ : ለነፍሳቲክሙ : ፤

Explicit: (f. 45va) ወሪዶ : እምሰማያት : እንዘ : አልቦ : ዘአገበሮ : ለቢሶ : ትስብእተ : ወመዊቶ : ጸገወ : ሕይወተ : ለምውታን : እስመ : በፈቃዱ : ጥዕመ : ሞተ : በእንተ : እሊአሁ : ወበእንተ : ፍቁራኒሁ : ምእመናን : ፤

The text contained on f.41ra, line 19 up to f.44va, 7 line is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 15, line 1 up to page 18 line 23 ('Le frère de Lalibala cherche a le faire mourir'). The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Maskaram. The text starts on the new page and new line, lines 1, 2, 5, 6 are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.6: Lālibalā became like Jesus Christ. Ascension to the heavens. (ff. 45va-65ra)

Incipit: (ff. 45va-45vb) ወላሊበላኒ : አማን : ተመሰሎ : ለመድኃኒ : ኩሉ : ዓለም : እስመ : በፈቃዱ : ሰትየ : ጽዋዓ : ሞት : በእንተ : ፍቅረ : ካልኡ : እስመ : ሰምዓ : ቃለ : እንዘ : ይብል : እስመ : ተፋቅሮስ : ፍጹም : ሕግ : ውእቱ : ፤

Explicit: (f. 65ra) ኀበ : ሀለወ : እግዚአሙ : ዘተሰምየ : እኅሆሙ : በከመ : ይቤ : ለሊሁ : ዘተሳተፈ : ምስሌሆሙ : ሥጋ : ወደመ : ወዓፅመ : ወጸጉረ : ወአሥራወ : ወበእንተ : ዝንቱ : እብለክሙ : አኃውየ : እስመ : ነሣእኩ : ዘዚአክሙ : ከመ : አሀብክሙ : ዘዚአየ : ወኀበ : ሀሎኩ : አነ : ህየ : ይሂሉ : ዘይትለአክኒ : ፤

The text contained on f.45va, line 14 up to f.46ra, line 14 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 18, line 24 up to page 19, line 13. The text contained on f.47ra, line 13 up to f.48vb, line 3 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 19, line 14 up to page 21, line 11 ('Lalibala est ravi dans les cieux'). The text contained on f.53ra, line 1 up to f.53rb, line 3 line is to be found in Perruchon's edition page 21, line 12 up to line 20. The text contained on f.56ra, line 3 up to f.56ra, line 16 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 21, line 21 up to page 22, line 1. The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Ṭəqəmt is applicable to the text that follows. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.7: Lālibalā is in the heavens. (ff. 65rb-65vb)

Incipit: (f. 65rb) ኢሰማዕከኑ : አብእሲ : እንዘ : ይነግር : ዕበየ : ልዕልናክሙ : ጳውሎስ : ዘከመ : ትትሌዓሉ : እምኔነ : ወይብል : እስመ : አኮ : እመላእክተ : ዘነሥኦ : ለዘነሥኦ : አላ : እምዘርኦ : አብርሃም : አልዓለ : ፤

Explicit: (f. 65vb) ወእፈቅድ : ከመ : ይርአየ : ስብሐትየ : ዘወሀብከኒ : ዘሀሎ : ምስሌከ : እምቅድመ : ይትፈጠር : ዓለም : እስመ : አነሂ : አፍቀርክሙ : በከመ : አንተ : አፍቀርከኒ : ፤

The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Həḍār. The end is marked with three ፤.

ms_i1.7.8: Lālibalā is in the heavens. (ff. 65vb-68rb)

Incipit: (ff. 65vb-66ra) ዝንቱኬ : ቃል : ዘየዓርገክሙ : መልዕልተ : ኪሩቤል : ወሱራፌል : ኀበ : ሀለወ : ለባሴ : ሥጋክሙ : ወዓቃሜ : ኪዳን : ምስሌክሙ : ዘተካየድክሙ : ለእለ : ትገብሩ : ፈቃዶ : ከመ : ተሀልው : ኀበ : ሀለወ : ወከመ : ትንበሩ : ኀበ : ነበረ : ፤

Explicit: (f. 68rb) ወምዕማዲሁኒ : ወሠራዊቲሁኒ : ዘዕፅ : ወመክደናኒ : ዘሠቅ : እንተ : ላዕሉ : ወአንተስ : አኮ : ዘተኃሥሥ : ዕፅ : ለአዕማድ : ወለምዕማዱ : ወለሠርዊሁ : ፤

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The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.9: How God showed Lālibalā ten monolithic churches. (ff. 68rb-68va)

Incipit: (f. 68rb) ወዘንተ ፡ ብሂሎ ፡ አርአዮ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ዓቢያተ ፡ ዘእምአሐቲ ፡ ዕብን ፡ ወጉልቆንሰ ፡ ለእማንቱ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ዘአርአዮ ፡ ፲ እማንቱ ።

Explicit: (f. 68va) ወዐ ፡ እምኔሆን ፡ ዘጎብረ ፡ ሐመደ ፡ ክዐ ፡ ጎበረሆን ። ወዐ ፡ እምኔሆን ፡ ዘዓቢይ ፡ ኑኃ ፡ ግደሚሆን ። ለአሐቲ ፡ እምአሐቲ ፡ የዓቢ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ኑኃ ፡ ሥሮን ።

The text contained on f.68rb, line 8 up to f.68va, line 20 is to be found in Perruchon's edition page 22, line 2 up to line 13 ('Dieu montre à Lalibala les dix églises monolithes du ciel'). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is marked with three ።.

ms_i1.7.10: (ff. 68vb-69va)

Incipit: (f. 68vb) ወዘንተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ አርአዮ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ ዝኩ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ኃይል ፡ ዘይነብር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ስፉሕ ፡ ዘጎብረ ፡ በረድ ። ዘሀሎ ፡ መልዕልተ ፡ ርእሶሙ ፡ ለ፬ቱ ፡ እንስሳ ፡ እለ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ኪሩባውያን ።

Explicit: (f. 69va) ዘተናገርክዎ ፡ ገጸ ፡ በገጽ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘይትናገር ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ቢጹ ። እስከ ፡ ተሰብሐ ፡ ጎብረ ፡ ገጹ ፡ እምነጽሮ ፡ ምዕዛርየ ።

The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Tāḥsās. The text starts in a new column new line, first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.11: (ff. 69vb-70va)

Incipit: (ff. 69vb-70ra) ወዘንተ ፡ ሰሚያ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ሰገደ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ለአኃዜ ፡ ኩሎ ። ወአኃዘ ፡ ይንብብ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አነኑ ፡ እክል ፡ ከመ ፡ እግበር ፡ ዘንተ ፡ አጽራሐ ፡ መንግሥትከ ፡ ዘአርአይከኒ ፡ ዓሠርተ ፡ አብያተ ፡ እምአሐቲ ፡ ኩኩሕ ።

Explicit: (ff. 70rb-70va) ወባሕቱ ፡ በምክንያተ ፡ ተልእኮ ፡ በእንቲአሆን ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ አንተ ፡ ገባሪሆን ፡ ወአርአዮ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ሐፃውንተ ፡ በዘቦቶን ፡ ይትገበር ፡ አርአያሆን ፡ ለእማንቱ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ዘርእየ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ሳብዕ ።

The text starts on the new line and first line is written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.12: (ff. 70va-71vb)

Incipit: (f. 70va) ወብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ሰሚያ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘነበዐ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ኃያላን ፡ ወርእዮ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘአርአዮ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ፈቃድከ ፡ ለይኩን ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወአኮ ፡ ፈቃደ ፡ ዚአየ ፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ ለይርድአኒ ፡ ኃይልከ ፡ እስመ ፡ ፅቡስ ፡ አነ ።

Explicit: (f. 71vb) ወከመዝ ፡ እትአኩት ፡ ወእሴባሕ ፡ እምእለ ፡ ይኔጽሩ ፡ ማጎፈዳተ ፡ መቅደስየ ፡ ዘሀለዎ ፡ ያስተርእያ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ምድር ፡ እምአሐቲ ፡ ኩኩሕ ። ወአነሂ ፡ ናሁ ፡ አቀውም ፡ ምስሌከ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ዮም ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks on the new line.

ms_i1.7.13: (ff. 71vb-74ra)

Incipit: (ff. 71vb-72ra) ኩሎ ፡ ዘይበጽሕ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማጎፈዳት ፡ ዘሀለወከ ፡ ትሕንጽን ፡ ወይትጋነይ ፡ በውስቱቶን ። እንዘ ፡ ይትአመን ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ጸሎትከ ፡ ወይክክረከ ፡ ወይብለከ ፡ መሐረኒ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወተሠሃለኒ ።

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Explicit: (f. 74ra) ወአነ ፡ እወዲ ፡ ፍርሃተ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልበ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ የዓልውከ ።
ወዑቅ ፡ አንተሂ ፡ ከመ ፡ ታዕትት ፡ እምሕዝበ ፡ መንግሥትከ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዓመፃ ፡ ወግፍፃ ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines, i.e. lines 16, 17 of the column, as well as lines 20, 21 are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.14: (ff. 74ra-75ra)

Incipit: (f. 74ra) ወዘንተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ሰሚያ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ሰገደ ፡ ወዲቆ ፡
በገጽ ፡ በቅድመ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ኃያላን ፡ ወይቤ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ ምንትኑ ፡ አነ ፡ ከመ ፡
እኩን ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ሕዝብከ ፡ ዘአልብየ ፡ አእምሮ ።

Explicit: (f. 75ra) ወዘንተ ፡ ብሂሎ ፡ ለዝኩ ፡ መልአክ ፡ ለዘአዕረጎ ፡ እምድር ፡ ይቤሎ ፡
እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ናሁ ፡ ረሰይኩከ ፡ ወሄምኩከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትኩን ፡ ዓቃቢሁ ፡ በኩሎ ፡
መዋዕሊሁ ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.15: (ff. 75ra-75vb)

Incipit: (f. 75ra) ወይቤሎ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ለብፁዕ ፡ ወለቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ወአንተሂ ፡
ኢትተክዝ ፡ በይነ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ እስመ ፡ አነ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ክብር ፡ ኃላፊ ፡ ዘእሠይመከ ።

Explicit: (ff. 75va-75vb) አላ ፡ ነበረ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዓቢይ ፡ ፍሥሐ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዓፀደ ፡
ትጉሃን ፡ ወውስተ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ከመ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ዘርእየ ፡ ምስጢራተ ፡
ትንቢት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ርድቱ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ እምሰማይ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ተመስሎቱ ፡ ሰብአ ፡

The text contained on f.75ra, line 9 up to f.75vb, line 5 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 22, line 14 up to page 23, line 15 ('Lalibala reçoit l'ordre de construire des églises semblables; son retour sur la terre', continues in the following unit). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks.

ms_i1.7.16: Having seen the mysteries of the heaven and being appointed to the thrown, on the third day Lālibalā comes back to the earth. (ff. 75vb-77ra)

Incipit: (f. 75vb) ወብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ በሣልስት ፡ ዕለት ፡ ተመይጦ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ምድር ፡
ርእየ ፡ ወነጺሮ ፡ ምሥጢራተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወተቀቢዎ ፡ ቅብዓ ፡ መንግሥት ።

Explicit: (f. 77ra) ወባሕቱ ፡ ኢተሀበሉ ፡ ይግንዝዎ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኢቄረ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ከመ ፡
ሕገ ፡ በድን ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ሠሉስ ፡ መዋዕል ፤ እስመ ፡ ምውቅ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ በላህበ ፡ መንፈስ ፡
ቅዱስ ፡ ዘኅዱር ፡ ውስቴቱ ።

The text contained on f.75vb, line 6 up to f.77ra, line 8 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 23, line 15 up to page 24, line 3 ('Lalibala reçoit l'ordre de construire des églises semblables; son retour sur la terre', continues in the following unit). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text written with red inks.

ms_i1.7.17: (ff. 77ra-78rb)

Incipit: (f. 77ra) ወላሊበላስ ፡ ነቅሐ ፡ እምስካቡ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘጽሕወ ፡ እምወይን ።
ወአብርሃ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ እምነ ፡ ራዕያት ፡ ዘርእየ ፡ ወእምነ ፡ ስብሐቲሁኒ ፡
ለእግዚአብሔር ።

Explicit: (ff. 78ra-78rb) ወካልኡን ፡ ይቤ ፡ አፍቅሩ ፡ ቢጸክሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተፋቅሮ ፡
ይደመሰሰን ፡ ለኩሎን ፡ ኃጣውእ ። አማንኬ ፡ ተፈጸመ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ በላዕለ ፡
ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ፈርየሂ ፡ ወተመክዓበ ።

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Supplication: (f. 78rb) ወለኒኒ : ይረስየኒ : ጽሑቃን : ለአፍቅሮ : ቢጽን ፤ እግዚእን : ወመድኃኒን : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : በጸሎቱ : ወበስእለቱ : ወበሀብተ : ረድኤቱ ፤ ወበግማ : ገድለ : ዚአሁ : ወበሐፈ : ድካሙ : ዘተወክፈ : በሥጋሁ : ዝንቱ : ብእሲ : ብፁዕ : ወቅዱስ : ላሊበላ : ዘተሰምየ : ገብረ : መስቀል : ወያድኅኖ : እመከራ : ሥጋ : ወነፍስ ፤ ለንግሥትን : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

The text contained on f.77ra, line 8 up to f.78rb, line 21 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 24, line 3 up to page 25, line 21 ('Lalibala reçoit l'ordre de construire des églises semblables; son retour sur la terre'). First two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ፤.

ms_i1.7.18: Lālibalā runs away to the desert. (ff. 78va-79vb)

Incipit: (f. 78va) ወእምድኅረዝ : ነበረ : ብፁዕ : ላሊበላ : እንዘ : ይትዌከፍ : ኩሎ : ፅዕለተ : ወኩሎ : ምናኔ : እምኅበ : አዝማዲሁ ፤

Explicit: (f. 79vb) ወብፁዕኒ : ላሊበላ : ነበረ : እንዘ : ይሜግቦ : ኃይለ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ ፤ ወሲሳዮ : ይሴሰይ : ንዲዎ : አራዊተ : በከመ : ነገርናከሙ : ቅድመ ፤

Supplication: (f. 79vb) በረከተ : ጸሎቱ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : አመተ : እግዚአብሔር : ንግሥትን : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወኃይለ : ሚካኤል : ወልደ : ማርያም : ወለአዋልዲሃ : ወለተ : ማርያም : ጊሩተ : ሥላሴ : ወበረከተ : ጸጋሁ : የሃሉ : ላዕለ : ኩልን : እለ : ተጋባእን : ውስተ : ዛቲ : ቅድስት : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን ፤ ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

The text contained on f.78va, line 1 up to f.79vb, line 20 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 25, line 22 up to page 27, line 17 ('Lalibala se retire au désert'). The text starts on the new page and new line, first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ፤ and a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.19: Lālibalā marries Masqal Kəbrā. He is blamed for marrying an engaged woman, but helped by an angel he escapes the punishment. (ff. 80ra-86ra)

Incipit: (f. 80ra) ወከመዝ : እንዘ : ሀለወ : ብፁዕ : ላሊበላ : በውስተ : ገዳም : አስተርአዮ : መልአከ : እግዚአብሔር : ዘአዕረጎ : ውስተ : ሰማይ ፤ ወዘተአዘዘ : ከመ : ይዕቀቦ : በኩሉ : መዋዕሊሁ ፤

Explicit: (f. 85vb) ወመፍቅደ : ሩጸቶሙ : ለገይሰ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ወለናዝዞ : ሙቁሐን ፤ ወስነ : ይዋሂሆሙ : ዘይትሜሰል : ከመ : ይዋሂ : በግዕ ፤ ወሀብተ : ምጽዋቶሙ : ዘኅቡእ : ወዘክሡት ፤

Supplication: (ff. 85vb-86ra) ወኩሉ : ጸሕቀ : ተጸምዶሙ : ዘያሩ : በሥጋሆሙ : ላሊበላ : ወመስቀል : ክብራ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ንግሥትን : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወለታ : ጊሩተ : ሥላሴ : ወላዕለ : ኩሎሙ : እለ : ይትአመኑ : በኃይለ : ጸሎቶሙ : ለእሉ : ክልኤሆሙ : አዕናቀ : ፅዱላን : እለ : ያዋክዩ : ወያበርሁ : በውስተ : ጽልመት : ይክነን : መርሃ : በኅበ : ኩሉ : ዘወፈርን ፤ ወበኅበ : ኩሉ : ዘአቶን ፤ በፍጽምን : ወበከዋላን : በይምንን : ወበጽግምን ፤ እስከ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

The text contained on f.80ra, line 1 up to f.86ra, line 17 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 27, line 18 up to page 35, line 16 ('Mariage de Lalibala; son frère le fait venir pour l'en punir'). The beginning is marked as monthly reading for the 12th of Ṭərr. The text starts on the new page and new line, lines 1, 2, 5, 6 are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.20: Lālibalā runs away to the desert with Masqal Kəbrā. (ff. 86ra-87rb)

Incipit: (ff. 86ra-87rb) ወእምዝ : ሐለየ : ላሊበላ : ኩሎ : ምንዳቤያቲሁ : ዘረከቦ : እምኅበ : ኩሎሙ : አዝማዲሁ : ወእምኅበ : ኩሎሙ : ሕዝብ : ዘተዓይነ : ኩርንኔ : ዘንጉሥ ፤

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Explicit: (f. 87rb) አመ : ሐረ : በትእዛዝ : ዚአከ : ወበትእዛዝ : መምህሩ : ከመ : ኢይርአይ : ሙስናሃ : ለኢየሩሳሌም : በምክንያት : ድውያን : እስመ : አዘዘ : ኤርሚያስ : ነቢይ : ከመ : ያምጽእ : በለስ : ለፈውሶ : ድውያን : ወበህየ : ከደንኮ : በመንጠላዕተ : ሣህልከ : እንዘ : ትሴስዮ : ንዋመ : ሠናየ : ፰ ወ ፯ተ : ዓመተ :

Supplication: (f. 87rb) ወለነኒ : በዘፈቀድከ : ትክል : አጽንዖተነ : ወለከ : ስብሐት : ለዓለም : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

The text contained on f.86ra, line 18 up to f.86va, line 10 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 35, line 17 up to page 36, line 6 ('Lalibala retourne au désert avec sa femme'). The text starts on the new line and first line, i.e. line 18, as well as line 20 are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Yakkātīt is applicable to the text that follows. It ends with a supplication note. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.21: After their prayers for food, Lālibalā and Masqal Kəbrā find partridges which they eat. (ff. 87rb-87vb)

Incipit: (ff. 87rb-87va) ወእምዝ : ሶበ : ፈጸሙ : ጸሎቶሙ : አንሶሰወት : መስቀል : ክብረ : ውስተ : ውሣጤ : በዓት : ወረከበት : በህየ : ጴርድክሴ : ዓቢየ : ወዜነወቶ : ለምታ ፤

Explicit: (f. 87va) ወወድቀ : ማእከለ : ቴዓይኒሆሙ : ወዓውደ : ደባትሪሆሙ : በልዑ : ወጸግቡ : ጥቀ : ወኢያሕጣእከሙ : እምዘ : ፈቀዱ ፤

Supplication: (ff. 87va-87vb) ወለነኒ : ኢሳጣእከነ : ለአግብርቲክ : እለ : ስዱዳን : እምሰብእ : በእንተ : ኃጢአትነ : ወውእተ : የፈ : ተሴስዮሙ : ኃደሩ : እንዘ : የአኩትዎ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ጸሎቶሙ : ወበረከቶሙ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ፍቅርቶሙ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወለታ : ኂሩተ : ሥላሴ : ለዓለም : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

The text contained on f.87rb, line 16 up to f.87va, line 8 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 36, line 7 up to line 11. The text starts on the new page and new line, three line, namely lines 17, 19 and 21 are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.22: Lālibalā and Masqal Kəbrā live in a cave, like Prophet Isaiah and other prophets. They run further to the east from the persecution. Archangel Gābrəʾel announces to the family that Lālibalā will make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. (ff. 87vb-90ra)

Incipit: (f. 87vb) ወእምዝ : ነበሩ : ክልኢሆሙ : እምይእቲ : ዕለት : ውስተ : ይእቲ : በዓት : ኀበ : በጽሑ : በይእቲ : ዕለት : እንዘ : ይሴሰዩ : ዘአቅረበ : ሎሙ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : እምአቃቂራተ : ገዳም : እንዘ : ይትሜሰልዎ : ለመክብብ : ነቢያት : ኢሳይያስ : ወለካልአኒሁኒ : ነቢያት : ዘነበሩ :

Explicit: (f. 90ra) ላሊበላስ : ወመስቅል : ክብራ : ነበሩ : ህየ : በተጸምዶ : ዓቢይ : በጸም : ወበጸሎት : በቀዊም : ወበሰጊድ : መጠነ : ነበሩ : ውስተ : ይእቲ : ብሔር : ኀቡረ ፤

Supplication: (f. 90ra) ጸሎቶሙ : ወበረከቶሙ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወለታ : ኂሩተ : ሥላሴ : ለዓለም : ዓለም : አሜን ፤

The text contained on f.87vb, line 8 up to line 16 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 36, line 12 up to line 15. The text contained on f.88ra, line 4 up to f.88rb, line 1 is to be found in Perruchon's edition page 36, line 15 up to line 22. The text contained on f.88vb, line 1 up to f.89ra, line 7 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 36, line 23 up to page 37, line 8. The text contained on f.89rb, line 7 up to f.89va,

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line 12 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 37, line 9 up to line 19 ('L'ange Gabriel annonce à Masqal Kebra le prochain départ de Lalibala pour Jérusalem'). The text contained on f.89vb, line 2 up to line 21 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 37, line 20 up to page 38, line 4. The text starts on the new line, first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.23: (ff. 90ra-95va)

Incipit: (f. 90ra) ወእምዝ : እምድሳረ : ጎዳጥ : መዋዕል : አስተርአዮሙ : ገብርኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት : ወይቤሎሙ : ሰላም : ለክሙ : ኦኦግብርተ : እግዚአብሔር ።

Explicit: (f. 95va) ወኖሎተ : መርዒትከ : ወርትዕተ : ሃይማኖትከ : ኢታሰስል : እምልቦሙ : ለእለ : የአምኑ : ብከ ። ለከ : ይደሉ : እግዚአ : ስብሐት : በጽዮን ። ወለከ : ይትፌኖ : ጸሎት : በኢየሩሳሌም ። ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Maggābit is applicable to the text that follows. The end is marked with three ።.

ms_i1.7.24: (ff. 95va-96vb)

Incipit: (f. 95va) ወዘንተ : ብሂሎ : ሊቀ : ጳጳሳት : ወፅኦ : አፍኦ : ውስተ : ዴዴ : ጎበ : ሀለወ : ላሊበላ : ወሶበ : ርእዮ : ብፁዕ : ላሊበላ : ወድቀ : ውስተ : ምድር : እንዘ : ይሰግድ : ሎቱ : ታሕተ : እገሪሁ : ለሊቀ : ጳጳሳት ።

Explicit: (f. 96vb) ወዘመርሆሙ : ለእስራኤል : መዓልተ : በደመና : ወኩሉ : ሌሊተ : በብርሃነ : እሳት ። ውእቱ : ለይምራህከ : ወይሠርሕ : ወያብርህ : ፍኖተከ : ወይትወከፍ : ንግደተከ ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.7.25: (ff. 96vb-100vb)

Incipit: (f. 96vb) ወዘንተ : ብሂሎ : ፈነዎ : ሊቀ : ጳጳሳት : እንዘ : ይቱክዝ : በእንተ : ተፈልጦቱ : እስመ : መአድም : ውእቱ : ላሊበላ : በቃሉኒ : ወበምግባሩኒ : ወራእዩኒ : ፍሠሕ : ወግሩም ።

Explicit: (f. 100vb) ወዘከመ : ትሬኢ : ሕሊና : ልብዩ : ግበር : ሊተ ። ወዘከመ : ተአምር : ፈቃደ : ሰእለትዩ ። ፈጽም : ሊተ : በኒሩትከ : ኦእግዚእዩ ።

Supplication: (f. 100vb) ወአርኢ : ሣህለከ : ወምሕረተከ : ላዕለ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : አመትከ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked by a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.26: (ff. 100vb-104rb)

Incipit: (ff. 100vb-101ra) ወይቤሎ : እግዚአ : ኩሉ : ናሁ : አንሰ : እብለከ : ዘኢይሔሱ : ቃልዩ : ወኢይዒምፅ : ኪዳንዩ ። ምስለ : ዓሠርቱ : ወክልኤቱ : አርዳእዩ : ይኩን : ማኅደርከ : ወምስሌሆሙ : ይኩን : መክፈትከ : በኩሉ : ክብር : ወዘይትአመንሂ : በጸሎትከ ።

Explicit: (f. 104rb) ወለከሰ : የማከሂ : ዘተወከፍከ : ወኪዳንከሂ : ዘአቀምኩ : ለከ : ጽሕፍት : ይእቲ : ወልክዕት ። ውስተ : ኢየሩሳሌም : ሰማያዊት ። ወጽሕፈታሰ : አኮ : በማየ : ሕመት : አላ : በደመ : ሕግ : ወኪዳን : በዘቦቱ : ይጸሐፍ : አስማተ : ኩሎሙ : ቅዱሳን ፡

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Supplication: (f. 104rb) ከማሁ ፡ አቅም ፡ ኪዳነክ ፡ ለንግሥትነ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ አመትክ ፡ አሜን ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines, namely lines 12, 13, as well as lines 16, 17 are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Miyāzyā is applicable to the text that follows. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.7.27: (ff. 104va-105rb)

Incipit: (f. 104va) ወዘንተ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይቤሎ ፡ አኃዜ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ዘይነብር ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሰረገላ ፡ ኪሩቤል ፡ ሰገደ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወአክሎቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ። አክኩተክ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተወከፍከኒ ።

Explicit: (f. 105rb) ወአንሰ ፡ ወኢአሐተ ፡ ቅሥፊታተ ፡ ኢዖርኩ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ፆሩ ፡ አግብርቲክ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ አርአይክ ፡ ምሕረተክ ፡ በላዕሌየ ፡

The text starts on the new page, new line and first two lines are written with red inks. The end is defined by the beginning of the following text on the new line, written with red inks.

ms_i1.7.28: (ff. 105rb-107rb)

Incipit: (f. 105rb) ወይቤሎ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ለብፁዕ ፡ ወለቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ አማን ፡ አማን ፡ እብለክ ፡ እምእሉ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ዘክርኩሙ ፡ ኢየሐፅፅ ፡ ዕሄትክ ፡ በኀቢየ ፡ ወይእዜኒ ፡ አፅምዕ ፡ በልባዌ ፡ ዘእነግረክ ፡ አነ ።

Explicit: (ff. 107ra-107rb) እስመ ፡ ብዙኃት ፡ ነፍሳት ፡ እለ ፡ ይድኅና ፡ በውስቴቶን ፡ ተአሚኖን ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ጸሎትክ ፡ ወተጸዊኖን ፡ በትንብልና ፡ ዚአክ ። ወአነሂ ፡ ኢያሴስል ፡ ጸጋየ ፡ ወምሕረቶየ ፡ እምኔሆን ። ወሀብተ ፡ ረድኤትየ ፡ ኢያአትት ፡ እምውስተ ፡ አብያቲሆን ። ወርስቶን ፡ ምስሌ ፡ ርስትክ ።

Supplication: (f. 107rb) ወለዛቲኒ ፡ ንግሥት ፡ ወለተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ዘሐነጸት ፡ ሕንጻ ፡ ማኅፈድክ ። እንዘ ፡ ትሲፎ ፡ ኪዳነክ ፤ ይኩን ፡ ማኅደራ ፡ ምስሊክ ። እመኒ ፡ እድ ፡ ወእመኒ ፡ አንስት ፡ ይኩን ፡ ምስሊክ ፡ ማኅደሮሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይትአመኑ ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ጸሎትክ ። ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with a dotted line.

ms_i1.7.29: (ff. 107rb-108vb)

Incipit: (f. 107rb) ወዘንተ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይቤሎ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ለብፁዕ ፡ ወለቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ተፈሥሐ ፡ ወተሐሥየ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ወተመልዓ ፡ እምኃይለ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ።

Explicit: (f. 108va) ወካዕበ ፡ አንተኒ ፡ ትመውአ ፡ ወለኩሉ ፡ መናግንቲሁ ። ወብዙኃን ፡ እለ ፡ ተሰምዩ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ስም ፡ ወኢኃብረ ፡ ስሞሙ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ምግባሮሙ ።

Supplication: (ff. 108va-108vb) ወለክስ ፡ ስመክኒ ፡ ኃብር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ምግባርክ ። ሰላምየ ፡ ወኃይለ ፡ ረድኤትየ ፡ ወፍቅርየ ፡ ወትውክልተ ፡ መስቀልየ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስሊክ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ንግሥት ፡ እመትየ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ ዓለም ።

The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.7.30: (ff. 108vb-116vb)

Incipit: (f. 108vb) ወዘንተ ፡ ብሂሎ ፡ ባረኮ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወዓርገ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይፈእዮ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ በከመ ፡ ርእይዎ ፡ አርዳኢሁ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እሙ ፡ አመ ፡ ዓርገ ፡ ዪዊዎ ፡ ዪዋ ፡

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ms_i1.8: ↗ King Lālibalā and the three Angels (ff. 115rb-116vb)

Incipit: (ff. 115rb) ወእምዝ : ኮነ : አሐተ : ዕለተ : እንዘ : ይፈቅድ : ላሊበላ : ከመ : ይደረር : መጽሐ : ሠለስቱ : አኃው : ቅሩበ : ጽርሐ : መንግሥቱ : ኀበ : ይረፍቅ : ውእቱ ።

Explicit: (ff. 116rb-116va) ወእግዚእነሂ : ይሔውጸሙ : ወይትአነገድ : ውስተ : ቤቶሙ : ለእለ : ያፈቅሩ : ነግደ ። በከመ : ተአንገደ : ውስተ : ቤቱ : ለአብርሃም ። ወይባርኮሙ : በከመ : ባረኮ : ሎቱ : ወለዘርኡ ። ወበከመ : ባረኮ : ለገብረ : መስቀል : ዝንቱኪ : ውእቱ : መንክራቲሁ : ለገብረ : መስቀል : ዘፆረ : ክበደ : ጽሙና : ወክበደ : ጽምዕ ። እስመ : ኢበልዓ : በመዋዕለ : መንግሥቱ : ዘእንበለ : ሠለሥቱ : አፍዕምት ። ወኢሰትየ : ዘእንበለ : አሐቲ : ጽዋዕ ።

Supplication: (ff. 116va-116vb) ጸሎቱ : ወስእለቱ : ወሀብተ : ረድኤቱ : ወአሶተ : ጸጋሁ : የሃሉ : ምስሌ : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ውሉድ : ኃይለ : ኢየሱስ : ኃይለ : ሚካኤል : ወልደ : ማርያም : ወምስለ : አዋልዲሃ : ወለተ : መርያም : ጊሩተ : ሥላሴ : ወምስለ : ኩሎሙ : ነጋድያን : እለ : መጽሐ : እንዘ : ይትአመኑ : በኃይለ : ጸሎቱ : ለዝንቱ : ብእሲ : ፀዋራ : ግብረ : ምስኩስና : ዘበንግሥ : ውእቱ : ለይኩን : ለነ : ተንባሌ : በቅድመ : እግዚአብሔር : አዘኪሮ : ኪዳኖ : ዘወሀብ : እግዚአ : እንዘ : ይብል : ኩሉ : ዘጌሠ : ውስተ : መርጡልክ ። ወተቀብዓ : እምፀበለ : ዝኅርክ ። ይኩን : መክፈልቱ : ምስሌክ ። ወይረሲ : መክፈልተነ : ምስሌሁ : በከመ : ኪዳኑ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ።

Explicit: (ff. 116rb-116va) ዝንቱኪ : ውእቱ : መንክራቲሁ : ለገብረ : መስቀል : ዘፆረ : ክበደ : ጽሙና : ወክበደ : ጽምዕ ። እስመ : ኢበልዓ : በመዋዕለ : መንግሥቱ : ዘእንበለ : ሠለሥቱ : አፍዕምት ። ወኢሰትየ : ዘእንበለ : አሐቲ : ጽዋዕ ።

Supplication: (ff. 116va-116vb) ጸሎቱ : ወስእለቱ : ወሀብተ : ረድኤቱ : ወአሶተ : ጸጋሁ : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ውሉዳ : ኃይለ : ኢየሱስ : ኃይለ : ሚካኤል : ወምስለ : አዋልዲሃ : ወለተ : ማርያም : ጊሩተ : ሥላሴ : ወምስለ : ኩሎሙ : ነጋድያን : እለ : መጽሐ : እንዘ : ይትአመኑ : በኃይለ : ጸሎቱ : ለዝንቱ : ብእሲ : ፀዋራ : ግብረ : ምስኩስና : ዘበንግሥ : ውእቱ : ለይኩን : ለነ : ተንባሌ : በቅድመ : እግዚአብሔር : እዘኪሮ : ኪዳኖ : ዘወሀብ : እግዚአ : እንዘ : ይብል : ኩሉ : ዘጌሠ : ውስተ : መርጡልክ ። ወተቀብዓ : እምፀበለ : ዝኅርክ ። ይኩን : መክፈልቱ : ምስለክ ። ወይረሲ : መክፈልተነ : ምስሌሁ : በከመ : ኪዳኑ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ።

The text contained on f.109vb, line 20 up to f.111va, line 2 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 38, line 5 up to page 40, line 5 ('Retour de Lalibala en Ethiopie'). The text contained on f.111vb, line 15 up to f.113ra, line 5 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 40, line 6 up to page 41, line 21 ('Réconciliation de Lalibala avec son frère qui lui cède le trône'). The text contained on f.113rb, line 12 up to f.116va, line 13 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 41, line 22 up to page 46, line 4. The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note. The end is marked with three ።. This is the only case, when logical articulation contradicts physical articulation: 'The King Lālibalā and the three Angels' is not marked as a separate unit.

ms_i1.9: ↗ How the river swallowed Lālibalā's honey and then spit it out (ff. 116vb-119ra)

Incipit: (ff. 116vb) ወኮነ : በአሐዱ : እመዋዕል : እንዘ : ያመጽሐ : ለገብረ : መስቀል : ጸባሕቶ : ለነጋሂ : ዘከመ : ይደልዎ : ለንጉሥ ። ከመ : የሀቡ : ወያወፍዩ : ግብሮሙ : ዘይረክበሙ : ነሥኡ : ብዙኃ : መቃጽወ : እለ : ምሉዓን : መዓረ : ወፀዊሮሙ : በጽሐ : ኀበ : ሐይቀ : ፈለግ : ዘይወርድ : በኃይል ።

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Explicit: (f. 119ra)በከመ : ዓቀቦ : ለዮናስ : በውስተ : ከርሠ : አንበሪ ። ወከማሁ : ዓቀቦን : ለእማንቱ : ግምዲያተ : መዓር ። በኃይለ : ጸሎቱ : ለላሊበላ :

Supplication: (ff. 119ra-119rb)ጸሎቱ : ወስኦለቱ : ወበረከቱ : ወሀብተ : ረድኤቱ : የሃሉ : ምስሌ : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወልዳ : መስፍን : ኃይለ : ኢየሱስ : ወምስለ : ወለታ : ጊሩተ : ሥላሴ : አሜን ። ወለነኒ : ይሁቀነ : ከመ : ኢንተንትን ። ወይሕቅፈነ : ከመ : ኢንትመነን ። ወይባልሐነ : እመሥገርተ : ሰይጣን ። ወይምርሐነ : ውስተ : ብርሃን ። ወይክድነነ : በመንጣሳዕተ : ስኦለቱ : ከመ : ኢንትኩነን ። በግርምት : ወዕፅብት : ሰዓተ : ደይን ። ከመ : ንቁም : ምስሌሁ : በየማነ : መድኅን ። ለዓለም : አሜን ።

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir2 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit. The text contained on f.116vb, line 9 up to f.119ra, line 12 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 46, line 5 up to page 49, line 7 ('Miracle en faveur de Lalibala'). The text starts on the new line, first two lines, namely 9, 10, as well as lines 13, 14 are written with red inks. Apparently, the upper margin indication for monthly reading on the 12th of Gənbət is applicable to the text that follows. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.10: ↗ How Lālibalā became like a poor person (ff. 119vb-120va)

Incipit: (f. 119vb)ካዕበ : በአሐዱ : ዕለት : እመዋዕል : ተርእየ : መንክር : ትሐትና : በላዕለ : ገብረ : መስቀል : እንዘ : ንጉሥ : ውእቱ : ዘተመሰለ : ነዳየ :

Explicit: (f. 120rb)ወገብረ : መስቀልስ : እንዘ : ሀሎ : ውስተ : መንበረ : መንግሥት : ኢበልዓ : ወኢስትየ : ለፍትወተ : ሥጋሁ : ከመ : ይኩን : ፍግዓሁ : ፍጹመ : በእደ : መርዓ : ዘኢየሳልፍ : በሰማያት ።

Supplication: (ff. 120rb-120va)ወለነኒ : ኢይፍልጠነ : እምውእቱ : ማዕደ : መርዓ : እግዚእነ : ወመድኃኒነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : በኃይለ : ጸሎቱ : ለገብረ : መስቀል : መሲሐ : ዘተጸምደ : ለአርዑተ : ጽሙና : እንዘ : ይነብር : ዲበ : መንበረ : መንግሥቱ ። ወይዕቀባ : ለንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ።

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir3 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit. The text contained on f.119rb, line 6 up to f.120va, line 9 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 49, line 8 up to page 51, line 6 ('Humilité de Lalibala'). The text starts on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.11: ↗ Lālibalā and a rebel (ff. 120va-122va)

Incipit: (f. 120va)ወዓዲ : ኮነ : በአሐዱ : እመዋዕል ። ወሀሎ : ውስተ : አሐቲ : ሀገር : እምአህጉራተ : መንግሥቱ : አሐዱ : ዓላዊ : ዘዓለዎ : ለገብረል መስቀል : ንጉሠ : መሲሐውያን :

Explicit: (f. 122rb)ወበእንተዝ : ሞተ : እስመ : ጸዓለነ ። ርእዩኬ : አፍቀራንየ : ዘከመዝ : መድምመ : ዘተገብረ : በኃይለ : ጸሎቱ : ለገብረ : መስቀል : ወራእየሂ : ዘርእየ : እንዘ : ሀሎ : ርኅቀ ። እስመ : በከመ : ይሬኢ : አምላኮሙ : ይሬእዩ : መምለክያኒሁ ። እስመ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ዘላዕሌሆሙ : ይከሥት : ሎሙ : ኩሎ : ኅቡአተ ።

Supplication: (ff. 122rb-122va)ጸሎቱ : ወስኦለቱ : ለገብረ : መስቀል : የሃሉ : ምስለ : ንግሥትነ : ወለተ : ኢየሱስ : ወየሃሉ : ምስለ : ኩልነ : ወሰይፈ : ረድኤቱ : ትግዝሞ : ለፀርነ : በከመ : ገዘመቶ : ለውእቱ : ዓላዊ : አሜን ።

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir4 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit. The text contained on f.120va, line 10 up to f.122rb, line 10 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 51, line 7 up to page 53, line 22 ('Lalibala fait la guerre

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à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lalibala', continues in the following unit). It ends with a supplication note. The end is defined by the left space.

ms_i1.12: ↗ How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a rich woman (ff. 122va-122vb)

Incipit: (f. 120va) ወአሐተኒ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ዘኣርአየ ፡ መንክራቲሁ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ እፈቅድ ፡ እንግርክሙ ፡ ወሀለወት ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ብዕልት ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ትዴረር ፡ ወትበልዕ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ እንስሳ ፡ አኃዘት ፡ ትብላዕ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ሰብእኒ ፡ ዘበሐሜት ፡

Explicit: (f. 122vb) ወዘንተ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ትቤ ፡ ወፅኦ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ምታረ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ደመ ፡ ጉርዔሃ ፡ ወወድቀ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡

Supplication: (f.)ጸሎቱ ፡ ወስእለቱ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ንግሥትነ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ወሐብለ ፡ ረድኡቱ ፡ ይሕንቆ ፡ ለዕድውነ ፡ አሜን ፡

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir5 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit.

ms_i1.13: ↗ How a prayer to Lālibalā saved a man (ff. 122vb-123vb)

Incipit: (ff. 122va-123ra) ወካዕበ ፡ አሐተ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ አኃዘ ፡ ይጽርፍ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የሐምዮ ፡ ወብእሲቱሰ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ተቤሎ ፡ ኢትጽርፍ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ገብረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወመሲሐ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ዓዲ ፡

Explicit: (f. 123va) ያድኅነኬ ፡ ቅግዚአብሔር ፡ እስመ ፡ እምዘ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ልማድ ፡ እስመ ፡ ጳውሎስኒ ፡ ይሜህረኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢንርግም ፡ እስከ ፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ አኮ ፡ ኃዚኖ ፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ ዘይሜህር ፡ ከመዝ ፡ አላ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢንልክር ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ለመርገም ፡ በልሳነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢንድኃጽ ፡ ለዕለ ፡ እኑነ ፡

Supplication: (ff. 123va-123vb) ንትማኅፀንኬ ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ጸሎቱ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ከመ ፡ ያዕሮ ፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ ዘያስሕተነ ፡ ወዘይሜህረኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንጽርፍ ፡ በከመ ፡ አዖሮ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘጸረፈ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ጸሎቱ ፡ ወስእለቱ ፡ ወበረከቱ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ንግሥትነ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ ወልዳ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ወይባርከነ ፡ ለኩልነ ፡ አሜን ፡

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagMir6 corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit. The text contained on f.122va, line 5 up to f.122vb, line 10 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 53, line 23 up to page 54, line 8 ('Lalibala fait la guerre à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lalibala', continues in the following unit). The text begins on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication. The end is defined by the left space. The text contained on f.122vb, line 15 up to f.123va, line 13 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 54, line 9 up to page 55, line 10 ('Lalibala fait la guerre à un rebelle. - Miracles de Lalibala'). The text begins on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It ends with a supplication note.

ms_i1.14: ↗ Story about virtuous Deeds of Lālibalā (ff. 123vb-130va)

Incipit: (f. 123vb) ስምዑኬ ፡ አፍቂራንየ ፡ እንግርክሙ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ፀአቶን ፡ ለእሳንቱ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ እምልበ ፡ ምድር ፡

Explicit: (f. 130rb) ናሁኬ ፡ ለካእኩ ፡ ለክሙ ፡ አፍቂራንየ ፡ ንስቲተ ፡ ዜና ፡ እምትፋፋቲሁ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትፈሣሕ ፡ ልብክሙ ፡

Supplication: (ff. 130rb-130va) ወይኩነነ ፡ ለኩልነ ፡ እለ ፡ ተጋባእነ ፡ ዝየ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ጸሎቱ ፡ ጌራ ፡ ምክህ ፡ ለርእሰነ ፡ ወጸዳለ ፡ ሱራሔ ፡ ለገጽነ ፡ ወኩሕለ ፡ መድኃኒት ፡ ለአዕይንቲነ ፡ ወአዕነገ ፡ ሃህል ፡ ለእዛኒነ ፡ ወመዓዛ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ ለአዕናፈነ ፡ ወማኅተመ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ለከናፍሪነ ፡ ወሞጣሕተ ፡ ፍሥሐ ፡ ለዘባንነ ፡ ወእልታሐ ፡ መዊእ ፡ ለእንግድዓነ ፡ ወአውቃፈ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ለእደዊነ ፡ ወሕልቀተ ፡ ፍቅር ፡ ለአፃብኢነ ፡

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ወአሃዕነ፡ አድኅኖ፡ ለእገሪነ፡ ወሰቲ፡ ሕይወት፡ ለጽምዕነ፡ ወኅብስተ፡ መና፡
 ለርኃብነ፡ ወኅብ፡ ቦሐ፡ ቤተ፡ መርዐ፡ መርዓ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ያብኣነ፡ በጽላሎተ፡ ክነፊሁ፡
 እንዘ፡ ይከድነነ፡ ወኅብ፡ ረፈቀ፡ ያርፍቀነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡

Abstract incipit and explicit of HagVirt corresponds to the articulated incipit and explicit.

Supplication: (f. 130vb) ለዘጸሐፎ፡ ወለዘአጽሐፎ፡ ለዘአንበቦ፡ ወለዘተርጉሞ፡
 ወለዘሰምዓ፡ ቃላቲሁ፡ ኅቡረ፡ ይምሐሮሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡
 በጸሎታ፡ ለማርያም፡ ወዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ወበትንብልናሆሙ፡ ለሚካኤል፡ ወገብርኤል፡
 ወበጸሎተ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወሐዋርያት፡ ወበጸሎተ፡ ጳጳሳን፡ ወሰማዕት፡ ወበጸሎተ፡
 ላሊበላ፡ ወመስቀል፡ ክብራ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይምሐራ፡ ለንግሥትነ፡ ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡
 ወለውሉዳ፡ ኃይለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላአዋልዲሃ፡
 ወለተ፡ ማርያም፡ ጊሩተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡

The text contained on f.123vb, line 3 up to f.130vb, line 18 is to be found in Perruchon's edition on page 55, line 11 up to 64, line 11 ('Construction des églises monolithes; leur description'. and 'Lalibala ne veut pas que son fils lui succède; mort de Lalibala'). The text begins on the new line and first two lines are written with red inks. It inds with a supplication note. It is the last page containing the text in Ethiopic, its end is marked with three dotted lines, interchanged with three ¶ two times below two columns.

Decorations

The manuscript is the only illustrated copy of this text. It contains ten miniatures that occupies eight pages, either a whole page (six miniatures) or half-page (four miniatures) and, as was common in the 19th century, either bearing a title in Gəʿz or in Amharic. The scribe and the painter must have thought very carefully about the project because the passages selected for painting narrate a specific story about Saint King Lālibalā. Most of the illustrations depict significant symbolic episodes of Lālibalā's life until he became king. All the miniatures originally belonged to one and the same codex, so it is likely that a scribe and a painter worked on the manuscript together and almost simultaneously. Most of the miniatures reflect occurrences in Lālibalā's life that are mentioned in the text.

d1 (f. 38r) Full-page miniature

ዘከመ፡ ተወልደ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ላሊበላ፡ በሀገረ፡ ሮሐ፡

How Saint Lālibalā was born in the town of Roḥa

d2 (f. 39v) Full-page miniature

ለካዳያን፡ ልጁን፡ እንደመጸወተ፡

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How he granted his son to the poor

See

Derat, M.-L. 2016. “Autour de l’homélie en l’honneur du saint-roi Lālibalā: écritures hagiographiques, copies et milieux de production,” eds. H. Kaufhold and M. Kropp, *Oriens Christianus: Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients*, 99 (2016), 101–132.

d3 (f. 76r) Full-page miniature

ቃል ፡ ኪዳን ፡ እንደ ፡ ተቀበለ ፡ ለፈጣሪው ፡

How he received the Pact from his Creator

d4 (f. 76v) two half-page miniatures describing the same moment

እንደ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡

How Saint Lālibalā died

d5 (f. 99v) Full-page miniature

ከጳጳስ ፡ እንደ ፡ ተገኘ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ላሊበላ ።

How Saint Lālibalā met the Patriarch

d6 (f. 100r) Half-page miniature

ጳጳስ ፡ እግሩን ፡ እንዳጸበ ፡

How (the) Patriarch washed his feet

d7 (f. 100r) Half-page miniature

ዘከመ ፡ ተማገፀነት ፡ እቴጌ ፡ መነን ፡ ንግሥት ፡

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How Queen Manan committed herself to [God's] care

d8 (f. 126r) Full-page miniature

ሕንፃ ፡ ላሊበላ

Lālibalā's building'

Balicka-Witakowska, E. 2007. "Lalibāla: King Lalibāla in art," in S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, III: He-N (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 480a-482a.

d9 (f. 127v) Full-page miniature

ገብተ ፡ ማርያምን ፡ እንደአነፀ ፡

As he built the Beta Māryām

Balicka-Witakowska, E. 2007. "Lalibāla: King Lalibāla in art," in S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, III: He-N (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 480a-482a.

Additions

a1 **Ownership Note** (f. 1r) The note states that the manuscript belongs to the church of ገMadḥāne ʿAlam.

ገድለ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ዘቅዱስ ፡ ገመድኃኔ ፡ ዓለም ፡

e1 European seal

Presented by the Secretary of State for India 1868-08 (f. ir)

e2 European note

Acts of Lalibala, King of Lasta> (f. viv)

e3 Monthly reading (f. 1r)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለሰኔ ፡

e4 Monthly reading (f. 19r)

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አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለሐምሌ ፡

e5 Monthly reading (f. 33v)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለነሐሴ ፡

e6 Monthly reading (f. 40r)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለመስከረም ፡

e7 Monthly reading (f. 45v)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለጥቅምት ፡

e8 Monthly reading (f. 65r)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለኅዳር ፡

e9 Monthly reading (f. 68v)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለታኅሣሥ ፡

e10 Monthly reading (f. 80r)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለጥር

e11 Monthly reading (f. 86r)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለየካቲት ፡

e12 Monthly reading (f. 90r)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለመጋቢት ፡

e13 Monthly reading (f. 100v)

አመ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ለሚያዝያ

e14 Monthly reading (f. 116v)

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አመ : ፲፪ : ለግንቦት

Revisions of the data

- Dorothea Reule *Validated* on 15.1.2019
- Nafisa Valieva *updated the file according to the last mode!* on 14.1.2019
- Eugenia Sokolinski *corrected collection name* on 26.10.2018
- Nafisa Valieva *encoded new item "the Poetry of Lalibala"* on 24.5.2018
- Nafisa Valieva *encoded Perruchon's edition* on 10.4.2018
- Nafisa Valieva *started to introduce information on each page and line edited by Perruchon* on 9.4.2018
- Nafisa Valieva *finished* on 29.3.2018
- Nafisa Valieva *encoded metada, considering that it make sense* on 28.3.2018
- Nafisa Valieva *Started encoding metadata* on 27.3.2018
- Pietro Maria Liuzzo *encoded with regex the main structure of the word file provided by Nafisa Valieva (cb, pb, div[@subtype='folio'])* on 17.7.2017
- Nafisa Valieva *started encoding metadata* on 13.7.2017
- Nafisa Valieva *Created entity* on 18.5.2017
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Preamble

- 1 በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፤ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡
- ዕሩይ ፡ ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡ ታሉት ፡ ዘኢይነፍድ ፡
- ዘሀሎ ፡ እምቅድም ፡ እምክዋኔሁ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢይትበዕድ ።
- 2 እምግጻዊሁ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢየሐድድ ፡ ወኢይፈደፍድ ።
- 3 በአናስረ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ዘኢይትገመር ፡ ወኢይትኤለድ ።
- 4 ዘኢይትፈለጥ ፡ ወልድ ፡ እምአብ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እምወልድ ፡
- 5 ዘአምጽአ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ በቃለ ፡ ጽዋዔ ፡ እምኀበ ፡ ኢሀሎ ፡ በአሐቲ ፡ ምክር ፡ ወበአሐቲ ፡ ፈቃድ ።
- 6 ዘሃረራ ፡ ለምድር ፡ በልቡና ፡ ዘኢይትሀየድ ።
- 7 ሰማይኒ ፡ ዘአንበራ ፡ በአየረ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘይነድድ ።
- 8 ወለእሳትኒ ፡ ዘሰፍሐ ፡ በአየረ ፡ ነፋስ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ገሢሥ ፡ በእድ ።

1. Preamble1,1 ፩ ፡] cet. (-AEcLbLd); om. AEcLd; ቅዱስ ፤ Lb | አምላክ ፡] ({አምላክ ፡} add. et del. Ef), cet. (-AEc); om. AEc | ሥላሴ ፡] cet. (-Oall); ሥላሴ ፡ Oall | ዋሕድ ፡ ዕሩይ ፡] cet. (-Oall); transp.post ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡ Oall 2 ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡] (ዘ{ኢ}ይሰደቅ ፡ s.l. Ei), cet. | ታሉት ፡] (tr.p. እምቅድም ፡ Ei), cet. (-EdJLbLd); ታሉት ፡ Ed; ታሉት ፡ transp.post ቅድም ፡ J; ታሉት ፡ a.c., ታሉት ፡ p.c. Lb; ሥላሴ ፡ Ld | ዘኢይነፍድ ፡] cet. (-EiJ); ዘኢይፈደፍድ ፡ ፤; ዘይፈደፍድ ፡ transp. ante እምክዋኔሁ ፡ EiJ 3 እምቅድም ፡] cet. (-EAOall); እምቅድም ፡ EAOall | እምክዋኔሁ ፡] cet. (-LdOall); ክዋኔሁ ፡ Oall; እምክዋኔሁ ፡ Ld 2,1 እምግጻዊሁ ፡] cet.; እምክዋኔሁ ፡ Oall | እንዘ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ኢየሐድድ ፡] cet. (-EdLa); ዘኢየሐድድ ፡ Ed; ኢየሐድድ ፡ La ወኢይፈደፍድ ፡] (ወኢ{ፈ}ደፍድ ፡ s.l. Ld), cet. 3,1 ዘኢይትገመር ፡] cet. (-EdEiOall); ዘኢይተረጎም ፡ Oall; ዘኢይተበመር ፡ Ed; ዘኢይትነገር ፡ Ef; ወዘ{ ኢ}ይትገመር ፤ s.l., transp. post ወኢይትኤለድ ፡ Ei | ወኢይትኤለድ ፡] (ወኢይትኤለድ ፡ marg. Ld), cet. 4,1 ዘኢይትፈለጥ ፡] cet. (-Ld); ዘኢይትፈጥ ፡ Ld | እምአብ ፡] cet. (-Oall); እምአቡሁ ፡ Oall | ቅዱስ ፡] cet. (-EbEc); om. EbEc | እምወልድ ፡] cet. (-EdLd); om. EdLd; ወልድኒ ፡ እምአብ ፡ ፤ 5,1 ዘአምጽአ ፡] cet. (-Oall); ወአምጽአ ፡ Oall | ዓለመ ፡] cet. (-Ld); ዓለም ፡ Ld | በቃለ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ጽዋዔ ፡] cet. (-AEfJOall); ጽዋዔ ፡ AEfOall; ጽዋዕ ፡ J | እምኀበ ፡] cet. (-EbLa); እምኀበበ ፡ Eb; om. La | ኢሀሎ ፡] cet. (-La); እምኢሀሎ ፡ La 6,1 ዘሃረራ ፡] cet. (-La); ወሰረራ ፡ La | ዘኢይትሀየድ ፡] cet. (-EiGOall); ትሀየድ ፡ Ei; ዘኢይት{ በ}ዓድ ፡ s.l. G; ዘኢይኔለድ ፡ Oall 7,1 ሰማይኒ ፡] AEaJLd; ሰማይኒ ፡ ፤; ወሰማይኒ ፡ EfLa; ወሰማይኒ ፡ EbEcEdEiOall ዘአንበራ ፡] cet. (-La); ዘአንበራ ፡ La | በአየረ ፡] cet. (-EiEbEcEdLbOall); በአየረ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ፤; በአየር ፡ EbEcEdLbOall | እሳት ፡] cet. (-Ld); እሳተ ፡ Ld | ዘይነድድ ፡] cet. (-Ld); ዘይነድድ ፡ Ld 8,1 ወለእሳትኒ ፡] cet. (-s); ለእሳትኒ ፡ s | ዘሰፍሐ ፡] cet. (-EiVa); ዘሰፍሐ ፡ ፤; ዘነፍሐ ፡ Va | ነፋስ ፡] cet. (-GJOall); እሳት ፡ G; ነፋስ ፡] (ዘይነድድ ፡ a.c., add. J; ሰማይ ፡ Oall | እንበለ ፡] cet. (-EdEf); ዘእንበለ ፡ Ed; om. Ef

1,1 አምላክ ፡] ፡ αEfLb | ዋሕድ ፡] ፡ Ld 2 ዕሩይ ፡] ፡ G | ዘኢይሰደቅ ፡] ፡ Ec; ፡ Oall | ዘኢይነፍድ ፡] ፡ AGld 3 እምቅድም ፡] ፡ La | ኢይትበዕድ ፡] ፡

Preamble

- 1 In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God, One Equal Trinity,
Indivisible Trinity, Who does not come to an end,
Who existed from the beginning, without being altered from its essence,
- 2 Without diminishing or increasing from its Person,
- 3 Who is not encompassed by nor assembled from the [four] corners of the world,
- 4 In Whom the Son is neither separated from the Father nor the Holy Spirit from the Son.
- 5 Who brought forth the world from nonexistence through a word of invocation, by one plan and one will.
- 6 Who founded the Earth with a wisdom that cannot be taken away.
- 7 Who established the heavens on the air of the burning fire.
- 8 And Who stretched out the fire on the air of the wind without touching by hand.

ⲥⲁⲈⲉⲒⲙⲁ 2,1 እምግጸዋው ፡] # Eḡ | ኢየሐጽጽ ፡] # Ld | ወኢይፈደፍድ #] #
cet. (-EdEeEfEiEjKLbOaOall); ፤ J 3,1 ወኢይትኤለድ #] # ⲥⲁⲈⲁ; ፤ J 4,1 ዘኢይት
ፈለጥ ፡] ፤ J | ወልድ ፡] ፤ J; # Ld | እምወልድ ፡] # AOall; ፤ EaJ 5,1 ጽዋዔ ፡] #
Ec; ፤ J | ምክር ፡] # Ec 2 ፈቃድ #] # cet. (-EdEeEfEiKLbLdOaOall) ፤ LbLd
6,1 ለምድር ፡] # J | ዘኢይትሆድ #] ፤ EḡLd # AEaEcEdLaVa 7,1 ዘአንበራ ፡] # J
ዘይነድድ #] # cet. (-xEfGLdOa) 8,1 ነፋስ ፡] # Ei | በእድ #] ፤ αLd; #
AEcGLaOallVa

1,1 በስመ ፡] ዘሀምሌ marg. ⲥA; መቅድም marg. Ec; ዘሰነይ marg. Ld

(Numbers for OT and NT are given according to New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition)
For Preamble Cf. Cerulli, 1956, 1-3.

Preamble §§1-69 corresponds to 'Introduction', p. 1-7 (text), 'Discours d'introduction. - Invocation à la Trinité. - Éloge de Lalibala, p. 65-72. (tr.), Perruchon, J., ed., 1892. *Vie de Lalibala roi d'Éthiopie: Texte éthiopien publié d'après un manuscrit du Musée Britannique et traduction française avec un résumé de l'histoire des Zagüés et la description des églises monolithes de Lalibala*, tr. J. Perruchon (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892). 1,1 በስመ ፡] inc. A, 1ra, Ea, 3ra, Eb, 1ra, Ec, 2ra, Ed, 3ra, Ei, 2r, Ef, 3ra, Eḡ, 2ra, G, 42ra, J, 1r, K, 1r is unreadable; La, 25ra, Lb, 1ra, Ld, 3ra, Oall, 2ra, Va, 1ra 3,1 ወኢይትኤለድ #] ወኢይትኤለድ ፡ Eb, 1rb 4,1 ወመንፈስ ፡] ወመንፈስ ፡ Ed, 3rb, ወንፈስ ፡ Lb, 1rb 5,1 በአሐቲ ፡] በአሐቲ ፡ Lb, 1rb | ምክር ፡] Ei, 2rb 2 ወበአሐቲ ፡] ወበአሐቲ ፡ Ec, 2rb | ፈቃድ #] Oall, 2rb 6,1 ዘኢይትሆድ #] ዘኢይትሆድ # A, 1rb 7,1 ዘአንበራ ፡] ዘአንበራ ፡ Ld, 3rb | እሳት ፡] እሳት ፡ Eb, 1va 8,1 ወለእሳትነ ፡] ለእሳትነ ፡ Va, 1rb, Ef, 3rb | ነፋስ ፡] ነፋስ ፡ Eḡ, 2rb | በእድ #] በእድ ፤ Ea, 3rb

- 9 ወለነፋስመ፡ ዘረበበ፡ ዲበ፡ ሰረገላ፡ ጽልመት፡ እንበለ፡ መሠረት፡ ወድድ፡ ።
- 10 አርጊያ፡ ማየ፡ ዘረሰዮ፡ ሰማየ፡ ወሰቀሎ፡ ከመ፡ ቀመር፡ እንበለ፡ ሰዋቅ፡ ወዐምድ፡ ።
- 11 ዘረሰዮሙ፡ ለመላእክቲሁ፡ መንፈስ፡ ወለእለ፡ ይትለአክዎ፡ አይቁና፡ ዘነድ፡ ።
- 12 ዘይመይጦ፡ ለንጥረ፡ መብረቅ፡ ወያጸንያ፡ ለነጐድንድ፡ ።
- 13 ዘይፌትቶ፡ ለእብነ፡ በረድ፡ እምክርሠ፡ ደመና፡ በበጎጠታቲሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይረድ፡ ።
- 14 ዘይጌሥጸ፡ ለፀዓዕ፡ ወይዘርዎ፡ ለጊሜ፡ ከመ፡ ሐመድ፡ ።
- 15 ጌልጌላሁ፡ ዘነበልባል፡ ወሰረገላሁ፡ መርዕድ፡ ።
- 16 ዘያረምማ፡ ለማዕበለ፡ ባሕር፡ ወያዝሕና፡ ለሞገድ፡ ።
- 17 ዘኢየጎልቅ፡ ምስፍናሁ፡ ለትውልደ፡ ትውልድ፡ ።
- 18 ወኢይትዌዳእ፡ ምክርናኑ፡ ለዘመደ፡ ዘመድ፡ ።
- 19 ጥንተ፡ መዋዕሉ፡ ዘኢይትጌለቀኑ፡ ወስፍሐ፡ ሀልዎቱ፡ ዘኢይትጌለድ፡ ።

App. 1 (crit.) 9,1 ወለነፋስመ፡] (ወለነፋስኒ፡ a.c., ወለነፋስመ፡ p.c. Eb), ሕA E a E j; ወለነፋስኒ፡ Ec E i J V a; ወለነፋስ፡ Ed G L b O a l l; dupl. Ef | ዘረበበ፡] cet. (-Ed J L a); ዘረበበ፡ Ed L a; ሰረገላ፡ add. J | እንበለ፡] cet. (-Ef); ዘእንበለ፡ Ef | መሠረት፡] cet. (-L a); መስፈርት፡ La 10,1 አርጊያ፡] cet. (-E i G J); ወዓርጊያ፡ E i J; አርጊ{ ዕ}የ፡ s.l. G | ሰማየ፡] cet. (-Ef); om. Ef | ወሰቀሎ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | እንበለ፡] cet. (-Ed Ef); ዘእንበለ፡ Ed Ef 11,1 ዘረሰዮሙ፡] cet. (-ኗ); ዘይፌስዮሙ፡ ለእንለ፡ እመሕያው፡ ዘይፌስዮሙ፡ La; ዘይፌስዮሙ፡ L d | መንፈስ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ይትለአክዎ፡] cet. (-Ed L a); ይትለአክዎ፡ Ed; አትለአክዎ፡ La | አይቁና፡] cet. (-Ed E i G J L a); አይቅና፡ Ed; ነደ፡ እሳት፡ add. ዕቁና፡ E i; አይቁና፡ G; ነደ፡ add. አቆና፡ J; አይቀና፡ La 12,1 ዘይመይጦ፡] cet. (-J L d); ይመጦ፡ J; ዘይመይጣ፡ L d | ለንጥረ፡] cet. (-Ed L a); ለነጐድ፡ Ed; om. La | መብረቅ፡] cet. (-Ef G J L a); መብረቅ፡ Ef; መረቅ፡ G J; ለመብረቅ፡ La | ወያጸንያ፡] cet. (-Eb); ዘያጸንያ፡ Eb | ለነጐድንድ፡] cet. (-G J); ለነጐድ፡ G J 13,1 ዘይፌትቶ፡] cet. (-Ed L b); ዘፌትቶ፡ Ed L b | ለእብነ፡] cet. (-L d); ይለእብነ፡ L d በረድ፡] cet. (-G J); ይሰረድ፡ G J | እምክርሠ፡] cet. (-E i); ይክርሠ፡ E i | በበጎጠታቲሁ፡] cet. (-Ed); ይበበሕወታቲሁ፡ Ed | ከመ፡ ይረድ፡] cet. (-J); ከመ፡ ይሪ፡ dupl. J 14,1 ዘይጌሥጸ፡] cet. (-Ed K); ይዘይጌሥርጸ፡ Ed; ዘይጌሥጸሙ፡ K | ወይዘርዎ፡] cet. (-Ef); ወዘርዎ፡ Ef 15,1 ጌልጌላሁ፡] cet. (-εEd J L a); ጌርጌላሁ፡ εEd L a; ጌርገልጌርጌላሁ፡ J | ዘነበልባል፡] cet. (-L a); ዘያንበለብል፡ La | መርዕድ፡] cet. (-J); መርዕ፡ J 16,1 ዘያረምማ፡] cet. (-J); ዘይረምማ፡ J | ለማዕበለ፡] cet. (-G L a); ለማየ፡ G L a | ወያዝሕና፡] cet. (-Ed E i); ወያዝጎር፡ Ed; ወያዝጎኖ፡ E i | ለሞገድ፡] ለሞ{ገ}ድ፡ s. l. G; cet. (-G) 17,1 ምስፍናሁ፡] cet. (-ηEd J); ምስፍና፡ η; መኮናሁ፡ Ed; ምስናሁ፡ J ለትውልደ፡] cet. (-A); ለትውልድ፡ A 18,1 ወኢይትዌዳእ፡] cet. (-ኗEf E i G L b); om. Ef; ወኢይትመዋዕ፡ E i; ወኢይትዋዳዕ፡ G; ወኢይትወዳዕ፡ La; ወይትወዳዕ፡ L b; ዘይትወዳዕ፡ L d | ምክርናኑ፡] cet. (-Ed Ef L b); ምስፍና፡ Ed L b; ወኢይኮናኑ፡ Ef | ዘመድ፡] cet. (-Ef); ዘመ፡ Ef 19,1 መዋዕሉ፡] cet. (-εα); መዋዕሊሁ፡ εα | ዘኢይትጌለቀኑ፡] cet. (-E i); ወዘኢይትጌለቀኑ፡ E i | ሀልዎቱ፡] cet. (-Eb G); ሀልልዎቱ፡ Eb; ሀልወ፡ G ዘኢይትጌለድ፡] (ዘኢይት)ሔለድ፡ s.l. La, cet. (-Ed J L a); ዘኢይትጌለድ፡ Ed; ዘኢይጌለድ፡ J

App. 2 (punct.) 9,1 ዘረበበ፡] ። J | ጽልመት፡] ። J | ወድድ፡] ።

- 9 And Who extended the wind upon the chariot of the darkness without foundation or base.
- 10 Who, having congealed the water, set it up as the heavens and suspended it as an arch without a prop or a pillar.
- 11 Who constituted His angels as spirit(s) and those who minister to Him as icon(s) of flame.
- 12 Who turns aside the lightning flashes and who fortifies the thunder.
- 13 Who breaks off hailstones from the belly of clouds to fall as small pieces.
- 14 Who rebukes the thunder and disperses the mist as ashes.
- 15 His heavenly sphere is of flame and His chariot causes shaking.
- 16 Who quiets the wave(s) of the sea and calms the tempest.
- 17 Whose dominion does not pass away from generation to generation
- 18 And Whose authority will not be overthrown throughout (all) the races.
- 19 The beginning of Whose days is uncountable and the extension of Whose being is not limited.

cet. (-EbEdEeEfEiKLdOa) 1 EbLd 10,1 ሰማየ :] 1 Ea; # EcOall 2 ወወምድ :] #
 cet. (-EaEcEeEjJKLbOa) 11,1 መንፈስ :] # Oall | ይትለአክዎ :] # J | ዘነድ :] #
 cet. (-αEdEeEiGKLdOa); 1 EiLd 12,1 ለነገድንድ :] 1 Ld; #
 cet. (-AEcEdEeEiGKLdOa) 13,1 በረድ :] # ርLdOall; 1 EbEi | ይረድ :] 1
 EjLbLd; # cet. (-፭EcEeEfLdOaOall)OallVa 14,1 ለጊሜ :] # J | ሐመድ :] #
 cet. (-Sh^{MS}αEfLbOa); 1 Lb 15,1 ዘነበልባል :] # Ei | ወሰረገላሁ :] # J | መርዕድ :] #
 # EaEfEiEjOallVa; 1 EbLbP; # # K 16,1 ዘያረምማ :] # J | ባሕር :] # Ei
 ለሞገድ :] # cet. (-EbEeEfEiKLdOa); 1 Ld; # # K 17,1 ዘኢየንልቅ :] # J
 ትውልድ :] 1 EaLbLd; # cet. (-αEeEjGKLbLdOa) 18,1 ወኢይትዌዳእ :] # J
 ምክርና :] # J | ዘመድ :] # AEjOall; 1 LbLd 19,1 መዋዕሉ :] # J | ዘኢይት
 ንልቀ :] # Ei | ሀልዎቱ :] # J | ዘኢይትኔለድ :] # A; 1 EjLbLd; # # K

App. 3(addit.)18,1 ምክርና :] ገድለ : ላሊበላ : ዘቅዱስ : መድኃኔ : ዓለም : marg. Oa

App. 5 (test.) 9,1 እንበለ :] እንበለ : Ed, 1va, Lb, 1va 10,1 ሰማየ :] G, 42rb
 እንበለ :] እንበለ : La, 25rb 11,1 ይትለአክዎ :] Ec, 2va; ይትለአክዎ : Ei, 2va; ይትለ
 አክዎ : Lb, 1va 12,1 መብረቅ :] Oall, 2va 13,1 ዘይፌትቶ :] ዘይፌትቶ : Eb, 1vb
 እምክርዓ :] A, 1va; |ሠ : K, 1va | ደመና :] ደመና : Ld, 3va | ከመ :] J, 1v
 14,1 ለፀዓብ :] ለፀዓብ : Ed, 1vb, Lb, 1vb 15,1 ንልኒላሁ :] ንልኒላሁ : Oall, 2vb
 16,1 ወያዝሕና :] Va, 1va | ለሞገድ :] ለሞገድ : Ef, 3va 17,1 ትውልድ :] Ej, 2va
 18,1 ወኢይትዌዳእ :] expl. Oall, ወኢይትዌዳእ : Ea, 3va | ምክርና :] inc. Oa, 4ra
 19,1 ጥንተ :] ጥንተ : Ei, 2vb; Lb, 1vb | ሀልዎቱ :] ሀልዎቱ : Eb, 2ra; ሀልዎቱ : Ec

- 20 **ዘለሐኮ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትገህድ ።**
ለዘከመዝ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እገኒ ፡ ወእሰግድ ።
- 21 **እነግር ፡ ዜና ፡ ገድለ ፡ ጸማሁ ፡ ለብእሲ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡**
ክቡር ፡ ወርኡስ ፡ ሰቡሕ ፡ ወውዱስ ።
- 22 **ለባሴ ፡ ንጽሕ ፡ ዘኢለከፎ ፡ ደነስ ።**
ጸዋሬ ፡ ንዴት ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ንግሥ ።
- 23 **ዘኢያንሶሰወ ፡ በፍኖት ፡ መብእስ ።**
- 24 **ዘኢተሀይጳ ፡ በአሕጻ ፡ መስተቃርን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ዲያብሎስ ።**
- 25 **ደብረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወደብረ ፡ ብሩር ።**
ደብረ ፡ ባሕርይ ፡ ወደብረ ፡ ሰንፔር ፡
ወግረ ፡ ቀንኦት ፡ ወወግረ ፡ ስኂን ፡ መንክር ።
- 26 **ደብረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ንብሎ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ሃይማኖቱ ፡ ርትዕት ። ወበእንተ ፡ ሥነ ፡**
ትዕግሥቱ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ገድል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጽህቅ ፡ ለፈጽሞ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ።

App. 1 (crit.) 20,1 በአርአያሁ ፡] cet. (-JVa); በአበአርአያሁ ፡ J; ወአርአያሁ ፡ Va | ከመ ፡ ይትገህድ ።] cet. (-EdLb); om. EdLb | ይትገህድ ።] cet. (-J); ይትሐየድ ፡ add. J
 2 እግዚእ ፡] cet. (-EdLbLd); om. Ld; እግዚአብሔር ፡ add. EdLb | እንዘ ፡] cet. (-AJ); om. A; dupl. J | እገኒ ፡] cet. (-Eb); እሰግድ ፡ Eb | ወእሰግድ ።] cet. (-G); {እንዘ ፡} እሰግድ ፡ s.l. G 21,1 እነግር ፡] cet. (-iEcEiLd); እነግር ፡ ወእዜኑ ፡ Ec; ወእነግር ፡ iEiLd ገድለ ፡] cet. (-La); ገድሉ ፡ La | ጸማሁ ፡] cet. (-La); om. La | ለብእሲ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡] cet. (-KLd); ለብፁዕ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ KLd | ብፁዕ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡] cet. (-EdLa); transp. post ርዑስ ፡ EdLa 2 ወውዱስ ።] ({ወው}ዱስ ፡ marg. La), cet. 22,1 ለባሴ ፡] cet. (-EdLb); om. EdLb | ንጽሕ ፡] cet. (-Lb); ንጽሕ ፡ Lb 2 ንግሥ ።] cet. (-Ef); ንግሥዝ ፤ Ef 23,1 በፍኖት ፡] cet. (-αEfEiGLa); በፍኖተ ፡ αEfEiGLa | መብእስ ።] (መብ{እ}ስ ፡ s.l. Ef), cet. (-G); መብስ ፡ G 24,1 ዘኢተሀይጳ ፡] cet. (-EbEcG); ዘኢተሃይጳ ፡ EbEc; ኢተሐይጳ ፡ G | በአሕጻ ፡] cet. (-AEEdLa); በሕሕፃ ፡ A; በሐፁ ፡ Ed; በሐፀ ፡ La መስተቃርን ፡] cet. (-JLa); መተቃርን ፡ J; መስተቃርናን ፡ La | ዘውእቱ ፡] cet. (-ηEdEi); ዘውእቱ ፡ ηEdEi | ዲያብሎስ ።] cet. (-J); ዲያብሎ ፡ J 25,1 ደብረ ፡ ... ብሩር ።] cet. (-G); ደብረ ፡ ብሩር ፡ ወደብረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ G | ደብረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡] (-G), cet. (-Ea); om. Ea | ወርቅ ፡] cet. (-J); ወወርቅ ፡ J 2 ሰንፔር ፡] cet. (-Ed); ወሰንፔር ፡ Ed 3 ወግረ ፡] cet. (-J); om. J | ቀንኦት ፡ ወወግረ ፡] cet. (-J); hom. J | ወወግረ ፡] (-J); cet. (-La); ወግረ ፡ La 26,1 ደብረ ፡] cet. (-J); ወደብረ ፡ J | ሥነ ፡] cet. (-La); om. La | ወበእንተ ፡ ... 2 ትዕግሥቱ ፡] cet. (-A); om. A | ወበእንተ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ሥነ ፡] cet. (-Ld); om. Ld 2 ትዕግሥቱ ፡] (ትዕ{ግ}ሥቱ ፡ s.l. Ed), cet. | በውስተ ፡] cet. (-A); ወውስተ ፡ A ገድል ፡] cet. (-Ef); ገድሉ ፡ Ef | ይጽህቅ ፡] cet. (-La); ይጽዕቅ ፡ La | ወንጌል ።] cet. (-J); መጻሕፍተ ፡ add. J

App. 2 (punct.) 20,1 ዘለሐኮ ፡] ። J | በአርአያሁ ፡] ። J | ይትገህድ ።] ። cet. (-ηEcEdEeEfJLdOaI); ፤ LbLd 2 ወእሰግድ ።] ። EjLd 21,1 ጸማሁ ፡] ። J ወቅዱስ ፡] ። Vb 2 ክቡር ፡] ። J | ወርኡስ ፡] ። EjJ; ፤ Lb | ሰቡሕ ፡] ። J ወውዱስ ።] ። γGJKLd 22,1 ንጽሕ ፡] ። J | ደነስ ።] ። ζEdEiJOa; ፤ Lb 2 ዘምስለ ፡] ፤ Ei; ። J | ንግሥ ።] ። iEaEdLd; ፤ EfLa 23,1 መብእስ ።] ። EcEdEiEjGJKVa; ፤ Ea 24,1 ዘኢተሀይጳ ፡] ። J | በአሕጻ ፡] ። J | ዲያብሎስ ።] ። AEcEfEiEjLdOaVa; ። EaK; ፤ Eb 25,1 ብሩር ።] ። EbEdOaVa; ፤ EcLaLb 2 ባሕርይ ፡] ። EiJ ሰንፔር ፡] ። EaEcEdOa 3 ስኂን ፡] ። J; ፤ La | መንክር ።] ። AEjLd 26,1 ንብሎ ፡] ።

- 20 Who created Adam so that He could be made manifest.
And while praising and bowing down to such a Lord
- 21 I will tell the story of the struggle and affliction of a man, blessed and holy,
honoured and chieftain, extolled and praised.
- 22 Clad in purity untouched by filth,
Bearer of poverty with majesty;
- 23 Who does not go by the wrong way,
- 24 Who was not struck by the arrows of the Adversary, who is the devil.
- 25 Mount of gold and mount of silver;
Mount of pearl and mount of sapphire,
Hill of galbanum and hill of wondrous incense.
- 26 We call him a mount of gold because of the beauty of his orthodox faith. And
because of the beauty of his patient in the struggle, while striving to fulfill the
word of the Gospel.

J | ርትዕት #] # EdEjJ | ወበእንተ :] # J 2 ትዕግሥቱ :] ፯ Ei | በውስተ :] ፯ La
ገድል :] ፯ Ec; # Ld | ቃለ :] ፯ La | ወንጌል #] # uβ; # # K

App. 3(addit.)24,1 ዲያብሎስ #] ጸሎቱ : ወበረከቱ : ለላሊበላ : ንጉሥ : ይዕቀቦ :
ለንጉሥ : ቁርሎስ : እንበለ : ሕማም : በጥረት : ሥጋ : ወነፍስ ፤ እንበለ : ድካም :
(በጽናዕ : ከመ : አድማስ ፯ እንበለ : ተህውኮ : በዛጎን : ወመርስ ፯ እንዘ : ይመልክ : ኩሎ :
ዓለመ : ጎበ : ያበርህ : ብርሃነ : አርያሬስ ፤ በሥልጣነ : ንግሥ ፯ እንዘ : ይሰብክ :
ሃይማኖት : ሥሉስ : ቅዱስ : ከመ : ጴጥሮስ : ወጳውሎስ ፯ ወእንዘ : ያስተናሥእ :
ውዳሴሁ : ከመ : ሞገደ : ባሕር : በአፈ : ዓቢይ : ወንኡስ ፤ ወበደጋሪኒ : ዓለም : ይረስዮ :
ድልወ : መንግሥተ : ሰማያት : ምስሌሁ : ለወሪስ ፤ ወይክድኖ : በሱራሔ : ሥኑ : ዘያንበ
ሰብስ ፤ ወለሊቀ : ካህናቲነ ፤ እደ : ክርስቶስ # Ea

App. 4 (font.) 25,1 ደብረ : ...25,3 መንክር #] Cf. Book of Henok, Flemming.

App. 5 (test.) 20,1 በአርአያሁ :] በአርአያሁ : Ed, 4ra, Lb, 2ra | ከመ :] ከመ : G, 42va
2 ለዘከመዝ :] ከመዝ : A, 1vb | ወእስግድ #] Ld, 3vb 21,1 ብፁዕ :] ብፁዕ : K, 2vb
22,2 ዘምስለ :] ዘምስለ : Oa, 4rb 24,1 ዲያብሎስ #] ዲያብሎስ # Ei, 3ra;
ዲያብሎስ : Lb, 2ra 25,1 ደብረ :] Ea, 3vb | ወደብረ :] Va, 1vb | ብሩር #] Eb, 2rb
2 ደብረ :] Ed, 4rb 3 ወግረ :] Ef, 4vb | ስኂን :] ስኂን : Ej, 2vb 26,1 በእንተ :]
በእንተ : Ec, 3ra 2 በውስተ :] ወውስተ : A, 2ra | ገድል :] ገድል : Oa, 4va
ይጽህቅ :] J, 2r | ለፈጽሞ :] Ld, 4ra

- 27 እስመ ፡ ይሰምዖ ፡ ለቀርነ ፡ መድኃኒት ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ብስራተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ፡
ዘደምፀ ፡ እምልሳነ ፡ በግዑ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትነፋኅ ፡ በቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በአፈ ፡ ካህን ።
- 28 ወደምፀ ፡ ቃሉ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ይብል ፡ በትዕግሥትክሙ ፡ ታጠርይዋ ፡ ለነፍስክሙ ።
- 29 ወካዕበ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ባኡ ፡ እንተ ፡ ጸባብ ፡ አንቀጽ ። እስመ ፡ ርሒብ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡
ወስፍሕት ፡ ፍኖታ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትወስድ ፡ ወታብውእ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀጉል ።
- 30 ወፈድፋደ ፡ ጸባብ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡ ወጥቀ ፡ መቅዐኒት ፡ ወጽዕቅት ፡ ፍኖታ ፡ እንተ ፡
ትወስድ ፡ ወታብውእ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ወኅዳጣን ፡ እለ ፡ ይበውእዋ ።
- 31 ወውስተ ፡ ስፍሕትስ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡ ይብል ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ እለ ፡ ይበውእዋ ።
- 32 እለ ፡ መኑኬ ፡ እለ ፡ ቦእዋ ፡ ለአንቀጽ ፡ ሀጉል ። ወእለ ፡ መኑ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ እለ ፡
ይበውእዋ ፡ እምድኅረዝ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኢተዐጽዋ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ እሳንቱ ፡ ፍናው ፡
ክልኤቲ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ እንተ ፡ ሞት ፡ ወአሐቲ ፡ እንተ ፡ ሕይወት ።
- 34 እለ ፡ ቦእዋስ ፡ ለአንቀጽ ፡ ሀጉል ፡ እሉ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ እለ ፡ ሐሩ ፡ በፍኖተ ፡ ዝዓለም ፡
ስፋሕ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ በሊዕ ፡ ወሰቲይ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ዐቅም ።

App. 1 (crit.)27,1 እስመ ፡] cet. (-EcLa); እንዘ ፡ EcLa | ለቀርነ ፡] cet. (-J); ለቀነ ፡ J
መድኃኒት ፡] (-EbJ); መድኃኒትነ ፡ Eb; ለመድኃኒት ፡ J | ዘውእቱ ፡] cet. (-EdEfEiGJ);
ዘውእቱ ፡ EdEfEiGJ | እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ፡] (እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ፡ s.l. Lb),
cet. (-EdJLa); እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲስ ፡ Ed; እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲስነ ፡ J; እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ፡ La
እስራኤል ፡] cet. (-A); ገብርኤል ፡ A | ሐዲሳን ፡] cet. (-EdJ); ሐዲስ ፡ Ed; ሐዲስነ ፡ J
2 ዘደምፀ ፡] cet. (-JLa); ዘይመጽእ ፡ J; ዘይወዕዕ ፡ La | እምልሳነ ፡] cet. (-Ef); ልሳን ፡ Ef
ይትነፋኅ ፡] cet. (-J); ይትነፋ ፡ J | በቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡] (በቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ s.l. Lb).
cet. (-JLa); በቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ J; transp. post ካህን ፡ La | ካህን ፡] cet. (-AEaJ); ካህናት ፡
AEaJ 28,1 ወደምፀ ፡] cet. (-EdEfJK); om. Ed; ወደምጽ ፡ EfJK | ቃሉ ፡] cet. (-Ed);
om. Ed | ከመዝ ፡ ይብል ፡] cet. (-αEdEf); ዘይብል ፡ α; ወከመዝ ፡ ይብል ፡ Ed; ከመ ፡
ዘይብል ፡ Ef | በትዕግሥትክሙ ፡] cet. (-iζEaEd); ወበትዕግሥትክሙ ፡ iζEaEd
ታጠርይዋ ፡] cet. (-J); ታጠርዋ ፡ J | ለነፍስክሙ ፡] (ለነፍስክሙ ፡ s.l. Ei), cet.
29,1 ይቤ ፡ ባኡ ፡] cet. (-A); በእንተ ፡ A | ጸባብ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡] cet. (-La); ጸባብ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡
La | ጸባብ ፡] cet. (-JVa); ጸባብ ፡ JVa | እስመ ፡ ... አንቀጽ ፡] (እስመ ፡ ርኅብ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡)
s.l. Ea), cet. (-ζEiJ); hom. ζEiJ | ርሒብ ፡] (-ζEaEiJ), ርኅብ ፡ EbEcEdEeEjG; ረኃብ ፡
AEf; ርኅብት ፡ K; ርኅብ ፡ Lb; ርኅብ{ት} s.l. Oa 2 ትወስድ ፡] cet. (-EdK); om. EdK
ወታብውእ ፡] cet. (-EdK); ታብውእ ፡ EdK | ሀጉል ፡] cet. (-EiJLa); ፍኖተ ፡ add. EiJ;
ሞት ፡ add. La 30,1 ወፈድፋደ ፡] ((ወ)ፈድፋደ ፡ marg. Oa), cet. (-iAEiJ); ፈድፋደ ፡
AEiEjGJVā; ፋደ ፡ a.c., ፈድፋደ ፡ p.c. Lb | ጸባብ ፡] cet. (-J); ጸባብ ፡ J | መቅዐኒት ፡]
cet. (-αEfGLa); መቅዓን ፡ αLa; መቃዐኒተ ፡ Ef; መቃዓቢተ ፡ G | ወጽዕቅት ፡] cet. (-Ef);
ወጽንዕት ፡ Ef 2 ወኅዳጣን ፡] cet. (-EfGLa); ወዳጣን ፡ Ef; ሕዳጣን ፡ GLa | እለ ፡]
cet. (-EiGJK); om. EiGJK | ይበውእዋ ፡] (ይበውእ{ዋ} ፡ s.l. K), cet. 31,1 ወውስተ ፡]
cet. (-Ed); ውስተ ፡ Ed | ስፍሕትስ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ስፍሕት ፡ Ed | እለ ፡] cet. (-G); om.
G | ይበውእዋ ፡] cet. (-EbEd); ይበውእውዋ ፡ Eb; ውስተ ፡ ስፍሕት ፡ መካን ፡ add. Ed
32,1 ቦእዋ ፡] cet. (-EcGLa); ይበውእዋ ፡ Ec; ባእዋ ፡ G; ዘቦእዋ ፡ La | ሀጉል ፡] cet. (-J);
ሐጌል ፡ J | ወእለ ፡] cet. (-K); መኑኬ ፡ K 2 እምድኅረዝ ፡] እምድኅረዝ ፡ s.l. cet. (-J);
ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ J | ኢተዐጽዋ ፡] cet. (-AEdEi); ኢተዐጽወ ፡ AEd; ኢተዓጸዋ ፡ Ei
እስከ ፡] cet. (-J); ይእዜ ፡ add. J | ፍናው ፡] cet. (-Ld); ፍናዋ ፡ Ld 3 እንተ ፡] cet. (-Ec);

- 27 Because he hears the horn of salvation, which is the announcement of the New Israel(s), which resounded from the tongue of the Lamb while being blown in the church by the mouth of the priest.
- 28 And the sound of the word says like this, 'By your patient you will gain your souls.'
- 29 And furthermore it says, 'Enter through the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the road is broad that leads and brings one in to destruction.
- 30 For the gate is extremely narrow and very tight, and strait is its road that leads and brings one in to life, and there are few who enter it.'
- 31 And as for the wide gate, it says that there are many who enter through it.
- 32 Who are those who have entered through the gate of destruction? And who are those again who will enter through it afterwards? For neither of these two ways has been bolted shut until now, one which is of death and one of life.
- 34 Those who enter the gate of destruction, they are those who walked in the ways of this wide world, which is eating and drinking without measure.

om. Ec | ሞት :] cet. (-EfG); ለሞት : EfG | እንተ :²] cet. (-G); om. G | ሕይወት :] cet. (-EfG); ለሕይወት : EfG 34,1 እለ :¹] cet. (-Ec); ወእለለ : እለ : Ec | ቦእዋለ :] cet. (-EcEi); ቦእዋ : Ec; ይበውእዋለ : Ei | ለአንቀጽ :] cet. (-GKL a); ለእንተ : G; ውስተ : አንቀጽ : La; አንቅጽ : K 2 ስፋሕ :] cet. (-La); ስፋሕ : La | ዘውእቱ :]

App. 2 (punct.) 27,1 ለቀርነ :] # J; 1 La | መድኃኒት :] # Ea; 1 EbEi | ዘውእቱ :] # J | ብስራተ :] # J | እስራኤል :] # J 2 በግዑ :] # J | ይትነፋሳ :] # J | በቤተ :] # J | ክርስቲያን :] # J | ካህን :] # αEiJ; 1 Ld 28,1 ቃሉ :] # J | ይብል :] 1 Ec; # J | ታጠርይዋ :] # J | ለነፍስክሙ :] # AEjLd 29,1 ባሉ :] # J | አንቀጽ :] # AEcEjGLb 2 ፍኖታ :] # J | ውስተ :] # J | ሀጉል :] # AEjLd; # # K 30,1 ወጥቀ :] # EfJ; 1 La | ፍኖታ :] # J 2 ትወስድ :] 1 Ei; # J | ወታበውእ :] # J | ሕይወት :] # EaEdLd | ይበውእዋ :] # AEbEcEiJKOa 31,1 ይብል :] # J ይበውእዋ :] # cet. (-ζEbEdEeEfLbOall) 32,1 ቦእዋ :] # J | ለአንቀጽ :] # J ሀጉል :] # cet. (-ηAEbEeEiLdOaOall) 2 ይበውእዋ :] # J | እምድግረዝ :] # EdJ ኢተዐጽዋ :] # J | ይእዜ :] # JLa | እላንቱ :] # A 3 ክልኤቲ :] # Ld | አሐቲ :] # J | ሕይወት :] # AEj; # # K 34,1 ለአንቀጽ :] # J | ሀጉል :] # EaLa

App. 4 (font.) 28,1 በትዕግሥትክሙ : ... ለነፍስክሙ :] Cf. Luke 21:19 29,1 ባሉ : ... 31,1 ይበውእዋ :] Cf. Matthew 7:13-14

App. 5 (test.) 27,1 ይሰምዖ :] ይሰምዖ : Ea, 4ra 2 ዘደምፀ :] ዘደምፀ : dub. K, 2ra እምልሳነ :] እምልሳነ : G, 42vb | ክርስቲያን :] ክርስቲያን : Ed, 4va | ካህን :] Lb, 2rb 28,1 ወድምፀ :] ወድምፀ : Eb, 2va | በትዕግሥትክሙ :] በትእግሥትክሙ : Ei, 3rb 29,1 እስመ :] Oa, 4vb 2 ትወስድ :] Va, 2ra 30,1 ወፈድፋደ :] ወፈድፋደ : La, 25vb | ጸባብ :] A, 2rb, Ef, 4ra | ወጥቀ :] አንቀጽ : Ec, 3rb | ወጥቀ :] ወጥቀ : Ej, 3ra 2 ትወስድ :] ትወስድ : Ld, 4rb | ይበውእዋ :] Ed, 4vb 31,1 ይበውእዋ :] ይበውእዋ : Lb, 2va 32,1 እለ :¹] Eb, 2vb | ወእለ :] መኑከ : K, 2rb | ካዕበ :] Oa, 5ra 2 ኢተዐጽዋ :] Ei, 3va | ፍኖው :] ፍኖው : Ea, 4rb 3 ክልኤቲ :] ክልኤቲ : G, 43ra 34,1 ሀጉል :] ሀጉል : A, 2va 2 ወሰቲይ :] Ec, 3va, J, 2v; ወሰቲይ : Ed, 5ra ዘእንበለ :] Ld, 4va

- 35 እስመ ፡ እለ ፡ ይበልፅ ፡ ወይስትዩ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ዐቅም ፡ ይትቃረንዎ ፡ ለቃለ ፡ ወንጌል ። ዘይቤ ፡ ኢታክብዱ ፡ ልበክሙ ፡ በበሊዕ ፡ ወበሰቲይ ።
- 36 ወይትፈጸም ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ አሌ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይገይሡ ፡ በጽባሕ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መያሲ ፡ ወይውዕሉ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ስታይ ፡ ወያነድዶሙ ፡ ወይን ።
- 37 ወካዕበ ፡ ያቴክሎሙ ፡ አፍኣ ፡ እምቤተ ፡ ግዝእ ፡ ቃለ ፡ መርዓዊ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ አሌሎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይጸግቡ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይርኅቡ ።
- 38 እስመ ፡ ኀደግዋ ፡ ለቃሉ ፡ መሃሪተ ፡ ጽሙና ፡ እንተ ፡ ትብል ፡ ተገበሩ ፡ እንከ ፡ ለመብልዕ ፡ ዘይነብር ፡ ለሕይወት ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ ዘይሁበክሙ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እንለ ፡ እመሕያው ፡ ወአኮ ፡ ለመብልዕ ፡ ኀላፊ ።
- 39 ወይፈልስ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እምሥሡዓነ ፡ ከርሥ ፡ ኀበ ፡ እለ ፡ ያፈቅሩ ፡ ጽሙና ። በከመ ፡ ፈለስ ፡ ብኩርና ፡ ዒሳው ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ መብልዕ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ማኅፈደ ፡ ጽሙና ።

cet. (-EdEiJKLa); ዝውእቲ፡ EdEiJK; ዘውስተ፡ La | ወስቲይ፡] cet. (-EfEiGJLd); ወስታይ፡ Ei; ሰቲይ፡ EfG; ወስታይ፡ በስመ፡ ወስታይ፡J; ወስተይ፡ Ld | ዘእንበለ፡] cet. (-Ed); እንበለ፡ Ed

35,1 እስመ፡...ዐቅም፡] cet. (-Ed); hom. Ed | ወይስትዩ፡] (-Ed), cet. (-uJ); om. u; ወይስተዩ፡ J | ይትቃረንዎ፡] cet. (-Ed); ወይትቃረንዎ፡ Ed | ለቃለ፡...2 ወንጌል፡] cet. (-u); ለክርስቶስ፡ ወለቃለ፡ ወንጌል፡ ፡; ለላሊበላ፡ ወለቃለ፡ ወንጌል፡ G 2 ወንጌል፡] (-u), cet. (-La); ጽድቅ፡ add. La | ኢታክብዱ፡] cet. (-K); ኢታግብዱ፡ K | ልበክሙ፡] cet. (-EdEiJ); om. EiJ; ልብክሙ፡ Ed | በበሊዕ፡] cet. (-ζ); {በ}በሊዕ፡ s.l. La, በሊዕ፡ Ld ወበሰቲይ፡] EfLa; ወበስታይ፡ α; ወበስትይ፡ AEcKLbOa; ወስታይ፡ EiJ; ወስተይ፡ Ej; ወስተይ፡ EdGLdVa 36,1 ወይትፈጸም፡] cet. (-G); ይትፈጸም፡ G; | ላዕሌሆሙ፡] cet. (-αEiGK); በላዕሌሆሙ፡ αEiG; በላዕሌሆ፡ Ld; ላዕሌክሙ፡ K | ነቢይ፡] cet. (-K); ነቢያት፡ K | ዘይቤ፡] cet. (-La); om. La | ለእለ፡] cet. (-EdLa); እለ፡ EdLa 2 በጽባሕ፡] cet. (-EcEdEfLa); om. EdEf; transp. post መያሲ፡ EcLa | ውስተ፡ ስታይ፡] cet. (-Ed); ቤተ፡ ስታይ፡ Ed | ወያነድዶሙ፡] (ወያነ{ድ}ዶሙ፡ s.l. Oa), cet. (-Oa) | ወይን፡] cet. (-uEc); ፍቅረ፡ ወይን፡ Ec; ሜስ፡ u 37,1 ወካዕበ፡] cet. (-La); om. La | ያቴክሎሙ፡] AEcEdEjKLdOa; ያቴክሎሙ፡ αLa; ያቴክልዎሙ፡ η; ያቴክሎ፡ Ef; ይክልዕዎሙ፡ G; ወይን፡ add. EiJ | አፍኣ፡ እምቤተ፡] cet. (-EdLa); እምአፍኣ፡ ቤተ፡ Ed; እምቤተ፡ La | ግዝእ፡] ({እለ} s.l. Oa), EcKLd; ግእዝ፡ A; ግዕዝ፡ αEiJ; መግዝዕ፡ ζEfLa; ግዕዝ፡ Ed; ግዑዝ፡ G 2 ይጸግቡ፡] cet. (-G); ይዘግቡ፡ G ይእዜ፡] cet. (-Ed); ይቤ፡ Ed | እስመ፡ ይርኅቡ፡] cet. (-La); hom. La | እስመ፡] cet. (-EbEc); እሙንቲ፡ add. EbEc 38,1 ኀደግዋ፡] cet. (-EfEiJ); የኃደግዋ፡ EfEiJ ለቃሉ፡] ({ለቃሉ፡} s.l. Va), cet. (-Va) | መሃሪተ፡] cet. (-ζEiJ); መሰረተ፡ ζEi; መስራተ፡ J | ጽሙና፡] cet. (-EdLa); ጽሞና፡ Ed; om. La | እንተ፡] cet. (-EfLd); እንዝ፡ EfLd ትብል፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ተገበሩ፡] cet. (-EdLb); ተገብሩ፡ EdLb 2 ለሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡] cet. (-GJ); ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡; ለሕይወት፡ G; ለሕይወት፡ ለዓለም፡ J ዘይሁበክሙ፡] cet. (-Ee); ወዘይሁበክሙ፡ Ee 3 ወአኮ፡] cet. (-EfLd); om. Ef; አኮ፡ Ld 39,1 ወይፈልስ፡] cet. (-K); ወይፈልሶሙ፡ K | ከርሥ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}Va); ከርሠ፡ Va; ልብ፡ Sh^{MSS} | ያፈቅሩ፡] cet. (-αα); ኢያፈቅሩ፡ K; ያፈቅርዎ፡ Sh^{MSS}α 2 ጽሙና፡] (ጽሙ{ና፡} s.l. Ej), cet. (-Sh^{MSS}α); ለጽሙና፡ Sh^{MSS}α | ብኩርና፡] cet. (-ζ); ብኩርናተ፡ La; በኩርና፡ Ld | መፍቀሬ፡ መብልዕ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ኀበ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}); በኀበ፡ Sh^{MSS} 3 ማኅፈደ፡] cet. (-αLa); መፍቀሬ፡ α; ማኅደረ፡ La

- 35 Because those who eat and drink without measure, they deny the word of the Gospel, which says, 'Do not make your hearts heavy with eating and drinking.'
- 36 And on them will be fulfilled the word of the Prophet, which says, 'Woe to those who go early in the morning to the tavern and who spend the day drinking and whom wine inflames.'
- 37 And again, the word of the Bridegroom drives them out of the house of feasting, saying 'Woe to them who are satiated now, for they will be hungry.'
- 38 Because they rejected the word that teaches toil, which says, 'Work for the food that is for eternal life, which the Son of Man will give you, but not for the food that is transitory.'
- 39 And the grace of Lord passes away from those of gluttonous bellies to those who long for toil. As the birthright of Esau, lover of food, passed over to Jacob, citadel of toil.

እሙንቱ፤] # J | ሐሩ፤] # J | ዝዓለም፤] # Ed 2 ስፉሕ፤] # J | ዘእንበለ፤] # La
 0ቅም #] # cet. (-ኛEbEdEeEfEiKOall); # Eb
 35,1 ይበልፅ፤] # J | ወይስትዩ፤] # J | ዘእንበለ፤] # La | ይትቃረንዎ፤] # J
 ለቃለ፤] # J 2 ወንጌል #] # ηAEaGJ | ወበሰቲይ #] # cet. (-፻EbEeOall) 36,1 ወይ
 ትፈጸም፤] # J | ላዕሌሆሙ፤] # J | ነቢይ፤] # J | ዘይቤ፤] # G | ሎሙ፤] # J
 2 በጽባሕ፤] # J | መያሲ፤] # Ea; # Ld | ወይውዕሉ፤] # J | ስታይ፤] # EdJ
 ወይን #] # AEjLd; # EbG; # # K 37,1 መርዓዊ፤] # EdJ 2 አሌሎሙ፤] # J
 ይጸግቡ፤] # J; # La | ይእዜ፤] # J | ይርኅቡ #] # AEaEcEdJ 38,1 ጽሙና፤] # α;
 # AK | እንተ፤] # La | ትብል፤] # La | ተገበሩ፤] # J 2 ለመብልፅ፤] # J
 ለሕይወት፤] # EiJ | ዘለዓለም፤] # Ei; # Ec | ዘይሁበክሙ፤] # J 3 እመሕያው፤] #
 αEiJ | ወአኮ፤] # Ee | ኀላፊ #] # cet. (-፳ηEaLdOall); # # K; # Ld 39,1 ከርሥ፤] #
 Ec | ኀበ፤] # J | ያፈቅሩ፤] # J 2 ጽሙና፤] # cet. (-ኛAEcEeEiKOall)
 ፈለሰ፤] # Ei | መፍቀሬ፤] # J | ያዕቆብ፤] # Ef 3 ጽሙና፤] # AEjLd

App. 4 (font.) 35,2 ኢታክብዱ፤... ወበሰቲይ #] Cf. Matthew 21:34 36,1 አሌ፤... 2
 ወይን #] Cf. Isaiah 5:11 37,2 አሌሎሙ፤... ይርኅቡ #] Luke 6:25 38,1 ተገበሩ፤... 3
 ኀላፊ #] Cf. John 6:27

App. 5 (test.) 35,1 እለ፤] Va, 2rb | ወይስትዩ፤] ወይስትዩ፤] Ef, 4rb | ይትቃረንዎ፤] ይትቃረንዎ፤] Oa, 5rb | ለቃለ፤] Ej, 3rb 2 ወንጌል #] ወንጌል፤] Lb, 2vb | ዘይቤ፤] ዘይቤ፤] Eb, 3ra 36,2 መያሲ፤] መያሲ፤] K, 2va | ወይውዕሉ፤] ወይውዕሉ፤] Ei, 3vb
 37,1 ያቴክሎሙ፤] ያቴክሎሙ፤] A, 2va, La, 26ra 2 ይጸግቡ፤] ይጸግቡ፤] Oa, 5va
 38,1 ኀደግዋ፤] ሐደግዋ፤] Ld, 4vb | መሃራተ፤] Ed, 5rb | ትብል፤] Ec, 3vb 2 ለመ
 ብልፅ፤] G, 43rb | ዘይነብር፤] Lb, 3ra; ዘይነብር፤] Eb, 3rb | ዘለዓለም፤] Ea, 4va, inc.
 Ee, 1ra 3 ለመብልፅ፤] ለመብልፅ፤] Ef, 4va 39,1 ወይፈልሰ፤] ወይፈልሰ፤] Va, 2va
 እለ፤] እለ፤] Ej, 3va 2 ጽሙና፤] ለጽሙና፤] Ei 4ra | ዔሳው፤] Oa, 5vb
 መፍቀሬ፤] መፍቀሬ፤] K, 2vb, A, 3ra

- 40 ወእሉ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ እለ ፡ ይበውእዋ ፡ ለአንቀጽ ፡ ሀጉል ፡ ምስለ ፡ እለ ፡ አቅደምነ ፡ ነጊረ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሥሡዓን ። ዘማውያን ፡ ሐሳውያን ፡ ዐላውያን ፡ ሰራቅያን ፡ መስተቃትላን ፡ መስተበቅላን ፡ ሀያድያን ፡ መስተመይናን ፡ መስተሰልቃን ፡ ዕቡያን ፡ መሰግላን ፡ ወእለ ፡ ይትአመኑ ፡ በሐሳበ ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ በቃለ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ወበቃለ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ እለ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ነአምር ፡ ዘይመጽእ ፡ ወንፈልጥ ፡ ዘይከውን ።
- 41 እሉኬ ፡ እለ ፡ ይመስልዎሙ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ ሀጉል ፡ ፍኖቶሙ ፡ ሞት ፡ ደኃሪቶሙ ፡ ወሲአል ፡ ተፍጻሜቶሙ ። ዛቲ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ትርጓሜሃ ፡ ለአንቀጽ ፡ ስፍሕት ፡ እንተ ፡ ትወስድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሞት ።
- 42 ኢይምስልክሙ ፡ ፍቁራንዩ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ትሰምዑ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡ ሀጉል ፡ ዘተብህለ ፡ በወንጌል ፡ ከመ ፡ ሀለወት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማያት ። አላ ፡ በዝዩ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ በምድር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማያትሰ ፡ አልቦ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡ ሀጉል ፡ እንበለ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡ ሣህል ፡ ኀበ ፡ ይነብር ፡ አምላክነ ፡ ባሕረ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ወነቅዐ ፡ በረከት ።

App. 1 (crit.) 40,1 ወእሉ ፡] cet. (-x); ወእለ ፡ x | እለ ፡¹] cet. (-EfKLa); om. EfLa; እሉ ፡ K | ለአንቀጽ ፡] cet. (-J); ለአንቀጽ ፡ add. J | ምስለ ፡ እለ ፡] cet. (-Ec); በከመ ፡ p.c. Ec እለ ፡²... 2 ምስለ ፡] cet. (-Ed); hom. Ed 2 ምስለ ፡] cet. (-AEb); ምሁለ ፡ A; ምስለ ፡ እሉ ፡ Eb | ሥሡዓን ።] cet. (-Eb); እሉ ፡ add. Eb | ዘማውያን ፡] (ዘማዊያን) ፡ s.l. La, ዘማዊያን ፡] s.l. Oa), AEaEcEdKLdOaOall; ወዘማውያን ፡ εEbEe; om. Sh^{SS} ሐሳውያን ፡] cet. (-La); ወሐሳውያን ፡ La | ዐላውያን ፡] cet. (-αζEfVa); ወዓላውያን ፡ EfVa; om. αζ | ሰራቅያን ፡] cet. (-Ee); ሠራቁያን ፡ Ee | መስተቃትላን ፡] cet. (-EiJ); መስተቃትልላን ። add. EiJ 3 መስተበቅላን ፡] cet. (-EfK); ወመስተበቅላን ፡ Ef; om. K ሀያድያን ፡] cet. (-GJK); {ህ}ሐድያን ፡ s.l. G; ኃያላን ፡ J; om. K | መስተመይናን ፡] cet. (-EaEeJKLd); ወመስተመይናን ፤ Ea; መስተመናን ፡ Ee; መስተመይምናን ፡ J; om. K; መስተማይያን ፡ La | መስተሰልቃን ፡] cet. (-EeJL); መስተቃላቃን ፡ Ee; መስተሰቃትላን ። J; om. K 4 መሰግላን ፡] cet. (-AEdEfK); መስተ ፡ ሰግላን ፡ A; መስተዐግላን EdK; መስተእግሣን ፡ መሰግላን ፡ Ef | ወእለ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}Ed); እለ ፡ Sh^{SS}Ed | በሐሳበ ፡] (በሐሳበ ፡ s.l. Eb), cet. (-Eb) | ከዋክብት ፡] cet. (-AJ); ከ ፡ ከዋክት ፡ A; ከዋክት ፡ J ወበቃለ ፡... 5 ብእሲት ፡] cet. (-EdLa); ወብእሲት ፡ EdLa 5 ዘይመጽእ ፡ ወንፈልጥ ፡] cet. (-EdEeLa); om. Ed; ዘመንፈስ ፡ ቀጥአ ፡ add. Ee; ይፈልጥ ፡ ወዘይመጽእ ፡ La ወንፈልጥ ፡] cet. (-Ee); om. Ee 41,1 እሉኬ ፡] cet. (-i); transp. post ይመስልዎሙ ፡ i እለ ፡] cet.; ወእለ ፡ Ld; እለ ፡ add. J | ይመስልዎሙ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}La); ይመስልዎ ፡ ይመስል ፡ Ee; ይመስልዎ ፡ Ei; ይመስልዎ ። ይመስልዎ ፡ ይመስል ። J; ይመስልዎን ፡ La ሞት ፡] cet. (-ε); ወሞት ፡ ε | ደኃሪቶሙ ፡... 2 ተፍጻሜቶሙ ።] cet. (-A); om. A ደኃሪቶሙ ፡] (-A), cet. (-Sh^{SS}εA); om. ε; ወደኃሪቶ ፡ Ei; ወደኃሪቶሙ ፡ EeJ 2 ወሲአል ፡] (-A), cet. (-AEd); ሲአል ፡ Ed | ይእቲ ፡] cet. (-Ef); om. Ef | ትርጓሜሃ ፡] ({ተፍጻሜታ ፡} s.l. Oa), βAEdEfKLd; ትርጓሜሁ ፡ Sh^{SS}; ፍካሬሃ ፡ ወትርጓሜሃ ፡ ε; ፍኖት ፡ ወትርጓሜሃ ፡ G; ተፍጻሜት ፤ add. La | ለአንቀጽ ፡] cet. (-GJ); አንቀጽ ፡ G; ለአንቀጽ ፡ J | ስፍሕት ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}EcG); ትፍሥሕት ፡ Sh^{SS}; om. EcG | እንተ ፡] cet. (-Va); s.l. Va 3 ሞት ።] cet. (-K); ሐጉል ። ። K 42,1 ኢይምስልክሙ ፡] cet. (-βEiGLa); ኢይመስልክሙ ፡ βEi; ኢይምስልክሙ ፡ G; ኢይመስልክሙ ፡ La | ፍቁራንዩ ፡] cet. (-La); አፍቁራንዩ ፡ La ሶበ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ትሰምዑ ፡] cet. (-EdJ); om. Ed; ተሰምዓ ። J | ዘተብህለ ፡] (ዘተብ {ህ}ለ ፡ s.l. Va), cet. 2 ከመ ፡] cet. (-Va); በከመ ፡ Va | ውስተ ፡ ሰማያት ።] cet. (-iEdJ); በሰማያት ፡ i; ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ Ed; ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ J | ይእቲ ፡] cet. (-La); transp. post በምድር ፡ La | በምድር ፡] cet. (-Va); ምድር ፡ Va 3 ሰማያትሰ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | እንበለ ፡... 4 ይነብር ፡] cet. (-Ed); ለአንቀጽ ፡ ይነብር ፡ Ed

- 40 These are, again, those who enter the gate of destruction together with those of whom we spoke previously, with the gluttons: adulterers, liars, heretics, thieves, fighters, robbers, deceivers, mockers, arrogant ones, magicians, and who believe in astrology, in the word of men and the word of women, who says, 'We know what is coming and we discern what will be'.
- 41 For those who are like them, the way of destruction is their way, death is their end and Sheol is their consummation. This is the meaning of the wide gate which leads to death.
- 42 Do not think, my beloved ones, when you hear about the gate of destruction mentioned in the Gospel that it is in the heavens. Rather, it is here on earth. In the heavens there is no gate of destruction in the heavens, but the gate of mercy where our God abides, sea of mercy and fountain of blessing.

እንበለ ፡ ... ሃህል ፡] (-Ed), cet. (-G); om. G | እንበለ ፡] (-EdG), cet. (-EcEdG); ዘእንበለ ፡ Ec | ሃህል ፡] (-EdG), cet. (-EdGJ); ሃህ ፡ ብ ፡ J 4 አምላክነ ፡] cet. (-Ef); አምላክ ፡ Ef ባሕረ ፡ ምሕረት ፡] cet. (-Ee); ባሕረት ፡ Ee | ወነቅዐ ፡] cet. (-A); ነቅዓ ፡ A | በረከት ፡] cet. (-Ef); በረከተ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ Ef

App. 2 (punct.) 40,1 ለአንቀጽ ፡] ፤ La | ሀጉል ፡] ፡ EfG 2 ነገረ ፡] ፤ La ሥራዓን ፡] ፡ ሃAEdJ ፤ EjlB; ፡ ፡ K | ዘማውያን ፡] ፤ EaEjLb | ሐሳውያን ፡] ፤ Ec | ዐላውያን ፡] ፤ EaEj; ፡ EfJVa | ሰራቅያን ፡] ፡ EaGJ ፤ EjlB | መስተቃትላን ፡] ፤ Ei; ፡ J 3 መስተበቅላን ፡] ፤ EaEj; ፡ EcEiJ | ሀያድያን ፡] ፤ EaEjLb | መስተመይናን ፡] ፤ EaEjLb; ፡ EfVa | መስተሰልቃን ፡] ፡ EbEiJOaVa ፤ EjlB | ዕቡያን ፡] ፤ EaEj; ፡ J 4 መሰጣላን ፡] ፤ EaEcEj; ፡ GJLaVa | ይትአመኑ ፡] ፡ J | በቃለ ፡] ፡ J 5 ብእሲት ፡] ፡ ሄJ | ነአምር ፡] ፡ GJ | ዘይመጽእ ፡] ፡ Ej | ወንፈልጥ ፡] ፡ J ዘይከውን ፡] ፡ EaEcEfGJOaVa; ፤ EbEjLb 41,1 ሀጉል ፡] ፡ J | ፍኖቶሙ ፡] ፡ ሄ; ፤ Vb | ሞት ፡] ፡ A | ደኃራቶሙ ፡] ፡ K 2 ተፍጻሜቶሙ ፡] ፡ Ld; ፤ Eb ትርጓሜሃ ፡] ፡ ሄ; ፤ La | ለአንቀጽ ፡] ፤ La | ስፍሕት ፡] ፡ JVa 3 ትወስድ ፡] ፡ J ውስተ ፡] ፤ La | ሞት ፡] ፡ EjLd 42,1 ኢይምስልክሙ ፡] ፡ Ee | ፍቁራንየ ፡] ፡ ሄ; ፤ La | ትሰምዑ ፡] ፡ J | ሀጉል ፡] ፡ J 2 በወንጌል ፡] ፡ J | ሀለወት ፡] ፡ J | ውስተ ፡] ፤ La | ሰማያት ፡] ፡ εαJ | በምድር ፡] ፤ Eb; ፡ EcJKOa 3 አልቦ ፡] ፡ J | ሀጉል ፡] ፡ EeGJ | ሃህል ፡] ፡ EfEjVa; ፤ La 4 ይነብር ፡] ፡ ሄ; ፤ La | አምላክነ ፡] ፡ J ምሕረት ፡] ፤ Ei | ወነቅዐ ፡] ፤ La | በረከት ፡] ፡ αAEdKLdOa; ፤ EcEi

App. 3(addit.) 41,2 ተፍጻሜቶሙ ፡] በረከቱ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ (ገላውዴዎስ Lb)(ወልደ ፡ ማርያም ፡ Va) ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓ ፡ አ ፡ ፤ η

App. 4 (font.) 40,2 ዘማውያን ፡ ... 4 መሰጣላን ፡] Cf. Romans 1:29-31

App. 5 (test.) 40,2 ሐሳውያን ፡] Ld, 5ra | ሰራቅያን ፡] Ed, 5va, Lb, 3rb 3 ሀያድያን ፡] ኃያላን ፡] J, 3r | መስተመይናን ፡] መስተመይናን ፤ Ec, 4ra 4 ብእሲ ፡] ብ|እሲ ፡] Oa, 6ra | ወበቃለ ፡] ወበቃለ ፡] Ee, 1rb 5 ይብሉ ፡] ይብሉ ፡] Ef, 4vb | ወንፈልጥ ፡] ወንፈልጥ ፡] A, 3rb; ወንፈልጥ ፡] Ei, 4rb, G, 43va 41,1 ፍኖተ ፡] ፍ|ኖተ ፡] La, 26rb, Va, 2vb 2 ተፍጻሜቶሙ ፡] ተፍጻሚቶሙ ፡] Ea, 4vb, Ej, 3vb | ዛቲ ፡] Ej, 3vb; Lb, 3va 3 ውስተ ፡] K, 3ra 42,1 ፍቁራንየ ፡] ፍ|ቁራንየ ፡] Eb, 3vb, ፍቁራንየ ፡] Ed, 5vb ዘተብህለ ፡] Ld, 5rb 2 በወንጌል ፡] በ|ወንጌል ፡] Oa, 6rb | ይእቲ ፡] ይእ|ቲ ፡] Ec, 4rb 4 ይነብር ፡] ይነብር ፡] A, 3va | አምላክነ ፡] አምላክነ ፡] Ei, 4va

- 43 ወዘይትሀገውል ፡ ኢየዐርግ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ። ሶበስ ፡ ዘተሰይመ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ወድቀ ፡ እምሰማይ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ሐለየ ፡ ሕሊና ፡ ሀገል ፡ እፎኬ ፡ የዐርግ ፡ ሰማየ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ሀገል ።
- 44 ወእለስ ፡ ቦኡ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡ ጸባበ ፡ እሉ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ እለ ፡ ጸሩ ፡ መስቀሎ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ወተለውዎ ።
- 45 ወጸዊረ ፡ መስቀሉኒ ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ጸም ፡ ምስለ ፡ አኩቲት ፡ ፍቅር ፡ ምስለ ፡ የውሀት ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ንዴት ። አንብዕ ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ትግሀት ። አልጉሞ ፡ ልሳን ፡ እምነገረ ፡ ፅርፈት ፡ እምነቢበ ፡ ዐመዓ ፡ ወሐሰት ፡ ዐሪቅ ፡ እምግብር ፡ ኅላፊት ፡ እንተ ፡ ትወስድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሞት ።
- 46 አንጽሐ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ እምዝሙት ፡ ዐዪል ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገዳም ፡ በዘብድወ ፡ ጠሊ ፡ ወበሐ ሜለት ፡ ወተዘግሐ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጸማዕት ፡ አንጽሐ ፡ ልብ ፡ እምሐልዮ ፡ ኅጢአት ፡ ወተዘክሮ ፡ ሞት ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ጊዜያት ።
- 47 ዘንተኬ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይባእ ፡ ተኅየለ ፡ ተመሪሐ ፡ በእለ ፡ ቀደምዎ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ወቦኣሂ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ መካሕ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ዘተሰምየ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡

App. 1 (crit.) 43,1 ወዘይትሀገውል ፡] cet. (-EeJ); ወዘኢይትሀገውል ፡ EeJ | ኢየዐርግ ፡] cet. (-Ee); ዘኢየአርግ ፡ Ee | ሰማይ ።] cet. (-EdEfVa); ዘሰማይት ፡ Ed; ሰማያት ፡ EfVa ሶበስ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SSA}Ef); ሶበ ፡ Sh^{SSA}; ወሶበስ ፡ Ef | ዘተሰይመ ፡] iSh^{SS}; ተሰምየ ፡ cet. (-iSh^{SS}OaOaI); ዘተሰምየ ፡ Oa 2 ሐለየ ፡] (ኅለ ፡ {የ} s.l. A), cet. (-AEf); ኃለፈ ፡ add. Ef | ሕሊና ፡] (ኅሊ ፡ {ና} s.l. A), cet. (-Sh^{SSC}A); ሕሊናሁ ፡ Sh^{SSC} | ሀገል ፡] cet. (-EeEiLd); transp. post እፎ ፡ Ee; ሐጉል ፡ EiLd | እፎኬ ፡] cet. (-EdEe); እፎ ፡ EdEe | የዐርግ ፡] cet. (-ALa); ያዓርግ ፡ ALa | ሰማየ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ሰማይ ፡ Ed 3 ብእሴ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SSL}La); ብእሴ ፡ Sh^{SSL}La 44,1 ወእለስ ፡] cet. (-iEa); እለስ ፡ ፡; ወእሉስ ፡ Ea | ጸባበ ፡] cet. (-EdEeJ); ጸባብ ፡ EdEeJ; ሃህል ፡ K | እሉ ፡] cet. (-La); እለ ፡ La ጸሩ ፡] cet. (-A); ጸሮ ፡ A | መስቀሎ ፡] (መስ{ ቀ}ሎ ፡ s.l. Eb), cet. (-EbEfLa); መስቀሉ ፡ Ef; መስቀሉ ፡ ሞቱ ፡ La 45,1 ወጸዊረ ፡] cet. (-EaEcKLa); በጸዊረ ፡ EaEcKLa መስቀሉኒ ፡] cet. (-EjGLb); መስቀሉስ ፡ EjG; መስቀሉ ፡ Lb | ይእቲ ፡] cet. (-K); om. K ምስለ ፡] cet. (-i); ዘምስለ ፡ ፡ | አኩቲት ፡] ({አ}ኩቲት ፡ s.l. Ed), cet. (-LaOa); ወአኩቲት ፡ transp. post ወፍቅር ፡ La; ወአኩቲት ፡ Oa | ፍቅር ፡] cet. (-ζJ); ወፍቅር ፡ ζJ | ምስለ ፡] cet. (-ηEd); ዘምስለ ፡ η; om. Ed 2 የውሀት ፡ ዘምስለ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SSC}); om. Sh^{SSC} | የውሀት ፡] cet. (-EcEdEeEfEjJ); ወየውሃት ፡ EcEdEeJ የሀበት ። Ef; የዋሃት ፡ Ej | ዘምስለ ፡] cet. (-G); ወምስለ ፡ G | ንዴት ።] cet. (-ζG); ወንዴት ፡ ζ; ንዴተ ፡ G አንብዕ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}); ወአንብዕ ፡ Sh^{SS} | ዘምስለ ፡ ትግሀት ።] ({ዘምስለ ፡ ትእግስት ፡} subscr. Oa), cet. (-Sh^{SS}EdGLaOa); ምስለ ፡ ትእግሥት ። Sh^{SS}; ዘምስለ ፡ ትእግሥት ፡ Ed; ዘምስለ ፡ ትግሀት ፡ G; ምስለ ፡ ትግሀት ፡ La | አልጉሞ ፡] cet. (-EdJ); አርምሞ ፡ Ed; አልጉመ ፡ J 3 እምነገረ ፡ ፅርፈት ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}); እምጽርፈት ፡ Sh^{SS} | ፅርፈት ፡ እምነቢበ ፡] cet. (-Lb); om. Lb | እምነቢበ ፡] cet. (-iEdLa); ወእምነገረ ፡ iEd; እምነገረ ፡ Ej; ወእምነቢበ ፡ La | ወሐሰት ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}); ሐሰት ፡ Sh^{SS} | ዐሪቅ ፡] (ዓሪቅ ፡ a.c., {ርኒ}ቅ ፡ p.c. Oa), βAEjKLd; ዓርቂ ፡ Sh^{SS}; አዓሪቅ ፡ La; ዐሪገ ፡ Ef; ሪት ፡ Va እምግብር ፡] cet. (-εSh^{SS}Ed); እምግባረ ፡ ፡; እምግባረ ፡ EeEi; እምግብረ ፡ EdLd; እምነገረ ፡ Ef; እምግብር ፡ J 4 ውስተ ፡] (s.l. K), cet. (-ζ); ኅበ ፡ ζ | ሞት ።] cet. (-iLd); ኃገል ። iLd 46,1 አንጽሐ ፡] ({አ}ንጽሐ ፡ s.l. Ei), cet. (-La); አንቀጽ ፡ La | እምዝሙት ፡] cet. (-JLb); ወእምዝሙት ፡ J; እምዝሙት ፡ Lb | ዐዪል ፡] cet. (-EfEi); ዐቢይ ፡ ኅይል ፡ Ef; አዲው ፡ Ei | በዘብድወ ፡] cet. (-JK); በዘብድ ፡ J; ዘበዘብድወ ፡ K | ጠሊ ፡] cet. (-JK); ወጠሊ ፡ J;

- 43 The one who is lost does not ascend into heaven; for if one, who was appointed an Archangel fell from heaven when he had a thought of destruction, how can a man of destruction ascend into heaven?
- 44 And those who have entered the narrow gate are those who bore the Cross of Christ and followed Him.
- 45 Bearing His Cross means fasting with thanksgiving, love with mildness which is with humility and poverty, tears with diligence, keeping one's tongue from blasphemous speech, from unjust and false talk, devoid of temporal affairs which lead to death.
- 46 Purifying (his) flesh from adultery, wandering in the desert in a goat-skin and mantle and shutting himself in a cave. And purifying (his) heart from the thought of sin and being mindful remembrance of a death at all times.
- 47 To enter this gate he was strengthened, being guided by the saints who had come before him, and he did enter, this glorious man, whose name is Lālibalā, who was

ዐጣሊ ፡ K | ወበሐሜላት ፡] cet. (-AEb); ወበሐሜት ፡ A; ወለሀሜላት ፡ a.c., ወሀሜላት ፡ p.c.
Eb 2 ወተዘግሐ ፡] cet. (-EeEi); ወተዘንግሐ ፡ Ee; ወዘግሀ ፡ Ei | ውስተ ፡]
cet. (-Sh^{MS}ζEf); om. Sh^{MS}ζEf | አንጽሐ ፡] cet. (-JLd); አንሐ ፡ JLd 47,1 ዘንተኬ ፡]
εAEd; ዛተኬ ፡ β; ዛቲኬ ፡ αLaOa; ዛቲ ፡ Ld | አንቀጽ ፡] ζEdEfEiJ; አንቀጽ ፡
cet. (-ζEdEfEiJ) | ከመ ፡] cet. (-Ef); om. Ef | ተንየለ ፡] cet. (-La); ዘንለየ ፡ La
ተመራሐ ፡] ({ተ}መራሐ ፡ s.l. Ea, {ተ}መራሐ ፡ s.l. Ec), cet. (-Sh^{MS}αEdLa); መራሐ ፡ Eb;
ተምሂሮ ፡ Ed; ተመርሐ ፡ Sh^{MS}Lα | በእለ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MS}αGLbLd); እምእለ ፡ Ea; ባዕለ ፡

App. 2 (punct.) 43,1 ኢየሮርግ ፡] # J | ሰማይ ፡] # αEfEjJLb; # # K | መላእክት ፡]
Ed; ፤ La 2 እምሰማይ ፡] ፤ Ei | ሀጉል ፡] # cet. (-αAEdEfOαOalI); ፤ Ei
3 ሀጉል ፡] # ALd; ፤ EiEj, 44,1 ወእለስ ፡] # J | ቦኢ ፡] # Ee | ጸባበ ፡] # EaJ
መስቀሎ ፡] # J 2 ወተለውዎ ፡] # EdGJKVa; ፤ EiLb 45,1 መስቀሎኒ ፡] # Ei
አኩቴት ፡] ፤ EbLb; # Va | ምስለ ፡] ፤ EiLa 2 የውሀት ፡] ፤ Lb; # Va | ንዴት ፡]
αEdLaOa; ፤ EiLb | ትግሀት ፡] # βEdEfJ; ፤ Lb 3 ልሳን ፡] # J | ፅርፈት ፡] ፤
Ei; # J | ወሐሰት ፡] # αEdLa 4 እንተ ፡] # J | ትወስድ ፡] # J | ሞት ፡] ፤ Ea; # A
46,1 ሥጋ ፡] # J | እምዝሙት ፡] # Ea | ውስተ ፡] # J | ጠሊ ፡] # J | ወበሐሜላት ፡]
EcJ 2 ጸማዕት ፡] # EaEiJ; ፤ Ec | ልብ ፡] # J | እምሐልዮ ፡] # J | ኀጢአት ፡] #
EbEd; ፤ Ei 3 ሞት ፡] # EaJ | ጊዜያት ፡] # cet. (-Sh^{MS}EdGOalIVa)

App. 4 (font.) 46,1 አንጽሐ ፡ ... 46,3 ጊዜያት ፡] Cf. Hebrews 11:37-38.

App. 5 (test.) 43,1 ውስተ ፡] ውስተ ፡ Ef, 5ra | ዘተሰይመ ፡] ዘተሰይመ ፡ Lb, 3vb
መላእክት ፡] መላእክት ፡ Ee, 1va 2 እምሰማይ ፡] J, 3v; እምሰማይ ፡ Va, 3ra | እፎኬ ፡]
እፎኬ ፡ Oa, 6va 3 ሀጉል ፡] ሐጉል ፡ Eb, 4ra 44,1 እሉ ፡] G, 43vb | ጸሩ ፡] Ed,
6ra 2 ወተለውዎ ፡] ወተለውዎ ፡ Ej, 4ra; ወተለውዎ ፡ K, 2rb 45,1 መስቀሎኒ ፡]
መስቀሎኒ ፡ Ld, 5va 2 ትሕትና ፡] Ea, 5ra | ትግሀት ፡] A, 3vb 3 እምነገረ ፡]
ፅርፈት ፡] እምጽርፈት ፡] Ei, 4vb | እምነቢበ ፡] La, 26va 4 ኀላፊት ፡] Oa, 6vb;
ኀላፊት ፡ Lb, 4ra 46,1 ዐዩል ፡] ኀይል ፡ Ef, 5rb | በዘብድወ ፡] በዘብድወ ፡ Eb, 4rb
2 ወተዘግሐ ፡] ወተዘግሐ ፡ Va, 3rb | ጸማዕት ፡] ጸማዕት ፡ Ed, 6rb | ኀጢአት ፡] Ee,

አመ : ቅብአተ : ንግሡ : ዘአመስቀለ : አክናፈ : ሕሊናሁ : ከመ : አክናፈ :
ኪሩቤል : ከመ : ይትመሠጥ : ቦቶን : ኀበ : መንበረ : መለኮት ። ከመ : ይኅበር :
ሰብሐ : ምስለ : ሱራፌል ።

- 48 እስመ : ተወክፈ : ኩሎ : ሥቃያተ : እለ : አቅደምን : ነጊረ : ተሰጢሞ : ውስተ :
ባሕረ : ትዕግሥት ። እስመ : ርኒብኒ : ኢይትከህል : እንበለ : ትዕግሥት ።
ወጸሚእኒ : ኢይትከህል : እንበለ : ትዕግሥት ። ዐሪቅኒ : ወተፀንሶኒ : በእንተ :
እግዚአብሔር : ወፈጽሞ : ኩሉ : ቃለ : ወንጌል : ኢይትከህል : እንበለ :
ትዕግሥት ።
- 49 ወበእንተዝኬ : ለብሰ : እልታኀ : ትዕግሥት : ወድርአ : እንግድዓ : ዘመዊእ : ከመ :
ይማእ : ኩሎ : ምንዳቤ : ገድል ።
- 50 ዝንቱ : ብእሲ : ዘሰመይኖ : ደብረ : ወርቅ : እስመ : በከመ : ወርቅ : ይትዐቀብ :
ውስተ : አስከሬን : ተዘጊሐ : በቀማጥር : ከማሁ : ኮኖ : መዝገበ : ለቃለ : ወንጌል :

Sh^{MSS}; ቦእለ : EbEjGLbLd | ቀደምዎ :] cet. (-ζA); ቀዲሙ : ζ; ቀምዎ : A 2 ወበአሂ :]
cet. (-EcEd); ቦአሂ : Ec; ወቦአ : Ed | ብእሲ : ... ዘሰሙ :] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ብእሲ :]
(-Ed); cet. (-EdEf); add. ቅዱስ : Ef | መካሕ :] cet. (-La); መክሃ : La | ላሊበላ :]
cet. (-Ee); ላሊበ : Ee | ዘተሰምየ :] cet. (-G); ዘተሰመየ : G
3 አመ :] cet. (-Ec); ዘአመ : Ec | ቅብአተ :] (ቅብ{ ዓ}ተ : s.l. G), cet. (-GLa); ቅብተ :
La | ዘአመስቀለ :] cet. (-EiJLd); ዘአመ : ሰቀለ : EiJ; ዘእ : መስቀለ : Ld | ሕሊናሁ :]
cet. (-J); ሕሊሁ ። J | አክናፈ :²] cet. (-EdEf); om. EdEf 4 ኪሩቤል :] cet. (-EdEi);
ኪሩብ : Ed; ሕሊና : add. Ei | ከመ :¹] cet. (-K); አመ : K | ይትመሠጥ :] cet. (-Sh^{MSS});
ይትመየጥ : Sh^{MSS} | ከመ :²] cet. (-Ec); ወከመ : Ec | ይኅበር :] (ይኅበር : s.l. A),
cet. (-A) 5 ሰብሐ :] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}G); ሰብሐ : Sh^{MSS}; om. G 48,1 ተወክፈ :] cet. (-K);
ተወክፈ : K | ኩሎ :] cet. (-Ld); ኩሉ : Ld | ሥቃያተ :] cet. (-Ld); ስቃያት : Ld
እለ :] cet. (-EdEiK); om. EdEiK | አቅደምን :] cet. (-EdEiLd); om. Ed; ዘአቅደምን : Ei;
ቀደምን : Ld | ነጊረ :] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ተሰጢሞ :] cet. (-Ef); ወተሰጢሞ : Ef
2 ትዕግሥት ።¹] (አሳት : a.c. ትዕግሥት : p.c. Ee), cet. (-AEe); እሳት : p.c. A
እስመ : ... ትዕግሥት ።²] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}); hom. Sh^{MSS} | እስመ :] (-Sh^{MSS}); cet. (-Sh^{MSS}Ed);
om. Ed | ርኒብኒ :] (-Sh^{MSS}); cet. (-Sh^{MSS}η); ርኒብሂ : η | ኢይትከህል :] cet. (-Ed);
ኢይትከሃሎ : Ed | እንበለ :] (-Sh^{MSS}); cet. (-Sh^{MSS}EfGLa), 1160; ዘእንበለ : EfLa
ትዕግሥት ።²...3 እንበለ :] (marg. A), cet. (-A) 3 ወጸሚእኒ : ... ትዕግሥት ።]
cet. (-KLa); hom. KLa | ወጸሚእኒ :] (-KLa); cet. (-αEdEfEiG); ወጸሚእኒ : α; ሰሚዕኒ :
Ed; ወጸሚእኒ : Ef; ወጸምኒ : Ei; ወጸማዕኒ : G | እንበለ :] (-KLa); cet. (-EfKLa); om.
Ef | ዐሪቅኒ : ...4 እግዚአብሔር :] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ዐሪቅኒ :] (-Ed); cet. (-αζEdG);
ዓሪቅኒ : G; እርቃንኒ : Sh^{MSS}; ወዕርቃንኒ : La; ወአሪቅኒ : Ld; ወዓሪቅኒ : K | ወተፀንሶኒ :]
ወተፀንሶ : ኒ : A; cet. (-ικA); ወተጽናሰኒ : ικ | በእንተ : ...4 እግዚአብሔር :] cet. (-Ee);
በእግዚአብሔር : Ee 4 ወፈጽሞ :] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}EdGLa); ወፈጸመ : Sh^{MSS}; ፈጽሞ : Ed;
ወፈጸሞ : GLa; | ኩሉ :] (s.l. Ec), cet. (-αEcEfGLa); ኩሎ : transp. post ቃለ : G;
ኩሎ : Sh^{MSS}Ef; om. KLa | ኢይትከህል :] (ኢይት{ከ}ሃል : Ed), cet. (-Ed) | እንበለ :]
cet. (-La); ዘእንበለ : La 5 ትዕግሥት ።] cet. (-G); ትዕግት : G 49,1 ወበእንተዝኬ : ...
ትዕግሥት :] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}); hom. Sh^{MSS} | ለብሰ :] (-Sh^{MSS}); cet. (-ιSh^{MSS}La); om. ι; ነሥአ :
La | እልታኀ :] cet. (-Ef); እልታሕ : Ef | ትዕግሥት :] cet. (-K); ትዕግሥተ : K
ወድርአ :] cet. (-η); ድድዓ : η | እንግድዓ :] (እንግድድ : s.l. Ea; እንግድድ : s.l. Ed),
cet. (-EaEd) 2 ይማእ :] cet. (-AEdLa); ይመእ : A; ይስማዕ : Ed; ይባእ : La | ኩሎ :]
cet. (-Ed); ኩሉ : Ed | ምንዳቤ :] (ምን{ዳ}ቤ : s.l. La), cet. (-La) | ገድል ።] cet. (-ζAK);

given the name Gabra Masqal at the time of his anointment as king, and who made the sign of the cross over the wings of his mind like the wings of the Cherubim to be carried off by them to the throne of divinity, to join in praising together with the Seraphim.

- 48 Because he accepted all the torments of which we spoke earlier, being immersed in the sea of patience. Because starving is impossible without patience. And thirsting is impossible without patience. Being bereft or being pregnant of the Lord [i.e. by God's will], and accomplishing all the words of the Gospel is impossible without patience.
- 49 For this reason he wore a tunic of patience and a breastplate of power so as to overpower all the hardships of the struggle.
- 50 We call this man a mount of gold because as gold is kept in a treasury being closed in a coffer, so too the treasury of the heart of the blessed Lālibalā was for him a

በገድል ፡ ሄ; ዘገድል ፡ A; ገድ ፡ add. K 50,1 ዝንቱ ፡] cet. (-EbEc); ዝንቱስ ፡ Eb; ዝንቱስ ፡ s.l. Ec | ብእሲ ፡] cet. (-G); om. G | እስመ ፡ ... ወርቅ ፡^{2]} cet. (-Ei); hom. Ei | እስመ ፡] (-Ei); cet. (-EdEi); om. Ed | በስመ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ከመ ፡ ፡Ed | ወርቅ ፡^{2]} (ወርቅ) ፡ a.c. {C} s.l. J), cet. (-J) | ይትወቅ ፡] cet. (-AEdGLa); ዘይትወቅ ፡ A; ይትወቅ ፡ Ed; ይትወቅ ፡ GLa 2 ተዘጊሶ ፡] cet. (-G); ተዘጊሶ ፡ G | በቀማጥር ፡] cet. (-K); በአስከሬን ፡ K | ከማሁ ፡] cet. (-ሄ); ወከማሁ ፡ ፤ ሄ | ከኖ ፡] cet. (-EeGLd); ከመ ፡ add. Ee; ኮነ ፡ GLd | መዝገበ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ወንጌል ፡] cet. (-Ld); ወንጌሉ ፡ Ld

47,1 ዘንተኪ ፡] ፡ J | አንቀጽ ፡] ፤ Ei; ፡ J | ተመራሕ ፡] ፤ Eb | ቅዱሳን ፡] ፡ αEdJ
2 ዘስሙ ፡] ፡ JK | ላሊበላ ፡] ፡ J | መስቀል ፡] ፡ A
3 ንግሡ ፡] ፡ Ef | ዘእመስቀለ ፡] ፡ Ea | አክናፈ ፡^{2]} ፤ La 4 ኪሩቤል ፡] ፡ J
መለኮት ፡] ፡ EdEiLa 5 ሱራፌል ፡] ፡ βAEdEe; ፤ EiEj 48,1 ኩሎ ፡] ፡ G
ሥቃያት ፡] ፡ EiJLd | ነገረ ፡] ፤ Eb; ፡ J | ተሰጢሞ ፡] ፡ J 2 ትዕግሥት ፡^{1]} ፡
EaEdEiEjKLa | ትዕግሥት ፡^{2]} ፡ Ej; ፤ EbEiLb 3 እንበለ ፡] ፡ J | ትዕግሥት ፡] ፡
EaEcEdEiGVa 4 እግዚአብሔር ፡] ፡ αEiEjVa | ኢይትከህል ፡] ፡ ሄ; ፤ Ld
5 ትዕግሥት ፡] ፡ AEjLd; ፤ EiLb 49,1 ትዕግሥት ፡] ፡ EcEf | ዘመዊእ ፡] ፡ J
2 ገድል ፡] ፡ AEbEcEiEjGLdOa 50,1 ብእሲ ፡] ፤ La | ወርቅ ፡^{1]} ፡ EaEdJ
2 አስከሬን ፡] ፤ La | በቀማጥር ፡] ፡ βሄEi | ወንጌል ፡] ፡ EeEiVa

1vb 47,1 በእለ ፡] በእለ ፡ A, 4ra | ቅዱሳን ፡] K, 3va 2 ወወአሂ ፡] Ld, 5vb
ዘስሙ ፡] ዘስሙ ፡ Ec, 4vb | ገብረ ፡] Oa, 7ra
3 አመ ፡] አመ ፡ G, 44ra | ቅብአተ ፡] Ej, 4rb; | አክናፈ ፡^{1]} አክናፈ ፡ Ei, 5ra
ሕሊናሁ ፡] ሕሊናሁ ፡ Lb, 4rb 4 መንበረ ፡] J, 4r | ከመ ፡^{2]} Ea, 5rb | ይጎበር ፡]
ይጎበር ፡ Eb, 4va 48,2 እስመ ፡] እስመ ፡ Va, 3va | ኢይትከህል ፡] ኢይትከህል ፡ Oa,
7rb; Ef, 5va 3 ወተፀንሶኒ ፡] Ee, 2ra, Ld, 6ra 4 ወፈጽሞ ፡] ወፈጽሞ ፡ Ec, 5ra,
ወፈጽሞ ፡ K, 2vb | ኢይትከህል ፡] La, 26vb 5 ትዕግሥት ፡] ትዕግሥት ፤ Lb, 4va
49,1 ወድርአ ፡] ወድርዓ ፡ Eb, 4vb 2 ይማእ ፡] ይማእ ፡ Ei, 5rb 50,1 ደብረ ፡] ደብረ ፡
Ej, 4va | ወርቅ ፡^{2]} ወርቅ ፡ inc. Oa, 7va 2 ከማሁ ፡] ከማሁ ፡ G, 44rb | ሊቃለ ፡] A,
4va

አስከፊን ፡ ልቡ ፡ ለብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ወቃለ ፡ ወንጌልሰ ፡ አማን ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡
ተምያን ፡ ዘጎደረ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልቡ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ፍጹም ፡ ብፁሐ ፡ አምጣን ፡
በዓቅሙ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ።

- 51 ህየንተ ፡ ቀማጥርኒ ፡ ኮኖ ፡ ትሕትናሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ በሐብለ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ሕሱል ፡
ክሳደ ፡ ልቦሙ ፡ ለጻድቃን ። እስመ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ኢይትከህል ፡ ያሥምርዎ ፡
ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ በከመ ፡ ከልሐ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ተመጣዊ ፡ ፍሕም ፡ እምጉጠተ ፡
ሱራፌል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኀበ ፡ መኑ ፡ እነጽር ፡
ዘእንበለ ፡ ኀበ ፡ የዋህ ፡ ወትሑት ፡ ወጽምው ፡ ዘይርዕድ ፡ እምቃልየ ።
- 52 ወእግዚእ ፡ ነቢይኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ተመህሩ ፡ እምኔየ ፡ እስመ ፡ የዋህ ፡ አነ ፡ ወትሑት ፡
ልብየ ፡ ወትረክቡ ፡ ዕረፍተ ፡ ለነፍስክሙ ።
- 53 ደብረ ፡ ብሩርሂ ፡ ወደብረ ፡ ሳንፔር ፡ አስተማስልኖ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ፍትሕ ፡
ዘይወፅእ ፡ እምአፉሁ ፡ ሣእሣእ ፡ ዘቅሙም ፡ ልሳኑ ፡ በዔወ ፡ መለኮት ።
- 54 ደብረ ፡ ባሕርይኒ ፡ ንብሎ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ንጽሐ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ አጥረየ ፡ ንጽሐ ፡
ከመ ፡ መላእክት ።

App. 1 (crit.) 3 አስከፊን ፡] cet. (-EfLa); ወአስከፊን ፡ Ef; አስከፊን ፡ La | ልቡ ፡] cet. (-Ed);
ልብ ፡ Ed | ለብፁዕ ፡ ... ወቃለ ፡] cet. (-K); om. K | ለብፁዕ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MS}); ወቅዱስ ፡
add. Sh^{MS} 4 ውስተ ፡] cet. (-Ee); om. Ee | ብእሲ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MS}); om. Sh^{MS}
ፍጹም ፡] cet. (-EdEfLa); ብፁዕ ፡ Ed; om. EfLa | ብፁሐ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MS}); በጸሐ ፡ Ef;
ብፁዕ ፡ La; ብዙኃ ፡ Sh^{MS}Ld | አምጣን ፡] cet. (-EdEeGJLb); በአምጣን ፡ EdEe; አምጣን ፡
GLb; አምጣን ፡ J 5 በዓቅሙ ፡] cet. (-EdEf); አቅሙ ፡ Ed; በዓቅም ። Ef | ለክርስቶስ ።] cet. (-G); ለክርሙ ። G 51,1 ህየንተ ፡] (ህየንተ ፡ s.l. A), cet. (-A) | ቀማጥርኒ ፡] cet. (-JKLa); ቀማርኒ ፡ J; ቀማጥር ፡ K; ቀማጥኒ ፡ La | ትሕትናሁ ፡] cet. (-JVa);
ትሕትናሁ ። J; ትሕትና ፡ Va | እስመ ፡ ... ትሕትና ፡] cet. (-Ee); om. Ee | ሕሱል ፡] (p.c. Ea; ፅሁር ፡ ወ} marg. Oa), cet. (-EaEiOa); ስሁል ፡ Ei 2 ክሳደ ፡ ልቦሙ ፡] cet. (-i);
ክሳደሙ ፡ i | እስመ ፡] cet. (-EdEe); om. EdEe | እንበለ ፡] cet. (-i); እንበለዝ ፡ i
ትሕትና ፡] cet. (-i); om. i | ኢይትከህል ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed 3 ተመጣዊ ፡] ተመጣዊ ፡
K; cet. (-EeEfK); ተመጣዊ ፡ Ee; ተመጣዊ ፡ Ef | ፍሕም ፡] cet. (-Ed); ፍሕመ ፡ Ed
እምጉጠተ ፡ ... 4 ሱራፌል ፡] cet. (-eEiJLa); ዘጉጠተ ፡ ሱራፌል ፡ EfEi; እምሱራፌል ፡ i;
እምጉደጠ ፡ ሱራፌል ፡ J; በጉጠተ ፡ እሳት ፤ La 4 እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡] cet. (-α); om. α
5 ኀበ ፡] cet. (-EbEdEf); om. EbEd; ሀሎ ፡ add. Ef | የዋህ ፡ ወትሑት ፡] cet. (-K);
ትሑት ፡ ወየዋህ ፡ K | ወትሑት ፡] cet. (-Ed); ልብ ፡ add., trans. post ወጽምው ፡ Ed
ወጽምው ፡ ... 52,1 ወትሑት ፡] cet. (-La); hom. La | ወጽምው ፡] (-La); cet. (-JLa);
ወጽውም ፡ J 52,1 ወእግዚእ ፡] (-La); cet. (-LaVa); እግዚእ ፡ Va | ነቢይኒ ፡] (-La);
(ነቢይኒ ፡ s.l. Ee), cet. (-ηEeEfLa); ነቢይ ፡ ηEf | ይቤ ፡] (-La); cet. (-EeLa); om. Ee
እስመ ፡] (-La); cet. (-GLa); ከመ ፡ G | አነ ፡] (-La); cet. (-ζ); om. Ld 2 ልብየ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MS}EdLa); om. Sh^{MS}; ልብ ፡ Ed; ልቡ ፡ La | ዕረፍተ ፡] cet. (-i); ሕይወተ ፡ i
ለነፍስክሙ ።] cet. (-GLb); ለነፍሳቲክሙ ። GLb 53,1 ብሩርሂ ፡] cet. (-G); ብሩር ፡ G
ወደብረ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ደብረ ፡ Ed | ሳንፔር ፡] cet. (-Ld); ሳንፔርሂ ፡ Ld | አስተማስልኖ ፡] cet. (-αEeJ); አስተማስልም ፡ α, አስተማስልም ፡ s.l. Eb, አስተማስኖ ፡ s.l. Ee;
አስተማሉሙ ። J | ቃለ ፡] cet. (-La); om. La | ፍትሕ ፡] cet. (-Ee); ፍትሐ ፡ Ee
2 ዘይወፅእ ፡] (ዘይወፅእ ፡ s.l. Ea), cet. (-Ea) | እምአፉሁ ፡] cet. (-La); እምኔሁ ፡
ወእምአፉሁ ፡ La | ሣእሣእ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MS}); ዘሣዕሣእ ፡ (አፉሁ ፡ add. J) Sh^{MS} | ልሳኑ ፡]

storehouse of the word of the Gospel. And the word of the Gospel is true gold which does not contain any falseness, which dwel in the heart of this perfect man, who ireached the measure of the limits of Christ.

- 51 For his humility was like a coffer, because by the rope of humility is led the neck of the heart of the righteous. Because without humility it is impossible to please the Lord, as the Prophet exclaimed, receiver of a coal from the tongs of the Seraphim, saying, ‘Thus says the Lord: Upon whom shall I look if not upon the meek and the humble and the ascetic, who tremble at my word?’
- 52 And the Lord of the Prophet says, ‘Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble is my heart, and you will find rest for your souls.’
- 53 We compare him to the mount of silver and mount of sapphire, because of the word of justice which comes out from mouth, eloquence whose language is seasoned with the salt of divinity.
- 54 We call him mount of pearl because of the purity of his flesh, because he acquired purity like the angels.

cet. (-EfLa); **ልሳን** : Ef; om. La | **በዚው** :] cet. (-J); **በጸው** : J 54,1 **ባሕርይኒ** :] cet. (-KL a); **ባሕርይ** : KL a | **ንጽሐ** :] cet. (-Ef); **ንጽሐ** : Ef | **እስመ** : ... **ንጽሐ** :²] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed

App. 2 (punct.) **3 ልቡ** :] # K | **ላሊበላ** :] # AJ | **አማን** :] # J | **ዘአልቦ** :] # J **4 ዘነደረ** :] # J | **ልቡ** :] # J **5 በዓቅሙ** :] # J | **ለክርስቶስ** :] # EbEi; # EdEjKLbLd **51,1 ህየንተ** :] # J | **ቀማጥርኒ** :] # Ei | **ትሕትናሁ** :] # EaLa, # EbEi | **ሕሱል** :] # J **2 ለጳድቃን** :] # γEdJV a | **ትሕትና** :] # La | **ኢይትከህል** :] # Ei **3 ለእግዚአብሔር** :] # EiLa; # αEdEjLbLd | **ነቢይ** :] # La | **ፍሕም** :] # J **4 ሱራፌል** :] # EbEi | **ይብል** :] # AEdEfEjLbLdOa; # Ec | **ከመዝ** :] # J | **ይቤ** :] # J | **እግዚአብሔር** :] # J | **እኔጽር** :] # Va **5 ዘእንበለ** :] # La | **ወትሑት** :] # J **እምቃልየ** :] # Ei; # ζγEd **52,1 ተመሀሩ** :] # J | **እምኔየ** :] # J | **ወትሑት** :] # Ei **2 ወትረክቡ** :] # J | **ለነፍስክሙ** :] # Ei; # cet. (-Sh^{MS}EdEfGOall) **53,1 ፍትሕ** :] # La **2 ዘቅሁም** :] # J | **መለኮት** :] # AEjLd **54,1 ንብሎ** :] # J | **ሥጋሁ** :] # GJ **ንጽሐ** :²] # J **2 መላእክት** :] # EiLa; # EaEcEdK

App. 4 (font.) **51,3 በከመ** : ... **4 ሱራፌል** :] Cf. Isaiah 6:6 **4 ከመዝ** : ... **5 እምቃልየ** :] Cf. Isaiah 66:2 **52,1 ተመሀሩ** : ... **2 ለነፍስክሙ** :] Cf. Matthew 11:29

App. 5 (test.) **3 ልቡ** :] Ed, 6va | **ወቃለ** :] **ወቃለ** : Ea, 5va **4 ተምያነ** :] **ተምያነ** : Va, 3vb | **ውስተ** :] **ውስተ** : Ld, 6rb | **ፍጹም** :] **ፍጹም** : Ec, 5rb | **ብፁሐ** :] **ብዙኃ** : Ee, 2b | **አምጣን** :] Ef, 5vb; Lb, 4vb **51,1 ቀማጥርኒ** :] **ቀማጥርኒ** : Eb, 5ra **ትሕትና** :] K, 3ra | **ሕሱል** :] Oa, 7vb **2 ለጳድቃን** :] **ለጳድቃን** : Ei, 5va | **ኢይትከህል** :] J, 4v **3 ነቢይ** :] **ነቢይ** : A, 4vb **4 መኑ** :] Ed, 7ra **5 ወጽምው** :] Ej, 4vb **52,1 ተመሀሩ** :] Lb, 5ra | **እስመ** :] **እስመ** : Oa, 8ra | **የዋህ** :] Ld, 6va | **ወትሑት** :] Ec, 5va **2 ልብየ** :] Eb, 5rb | **ዕረፍተ** :] **ሕይወተ** : Va, 4ra | **ለነፍስክሙ** :] **ለነፍሳቲክሙ** : G, 44va **53,1 ሳንፔር** :] Ea, 5vb **2 ዘይወፅእ** :] **ዘይወፅእ** : Ef, 6ra **እምአፋሁ** :] **እምአፋሁ** : Ei, 5vb | **በዚው** :] **በዚው** : A, 5ra; K, 3rb

- 55 ወአጽደለ ፡ ባሕርየ ፡ ንጽሑ ፡ ምስብዒተ ፡ እምአሶንያ ፡ ወእምኦርያሬስ ። እምአርዮብ ፡ ወእማዝሮት ። እስመ ፡ ይሰምዖ ፡ ለሐዋርያ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ አንጽሑ ፡ ልበክሙ ፡ ወአንጽሑ ፡ እደዊክሙ ።
- 56 ወዓዲ ፡ ተዳደቀቶ ፡ ቃል ፡ እምአፈ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብል ፡ ከመዝ ፡ አልቦ ፡ እምውስቴትክሙ ፡ ዘይከውን ፡ ዘማዊ ፡ ወርኩስ ።
- 57 ወካዕበ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ወዘሰ ፡ አማሰነ ፡ ቤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሎቲኒ ፡ ያማስኖ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።
- 58 ወዓዲ ፡ ተፍእመ ፡ ሕጠተ ፡ ቃል ፡ እምአስካለ ፡ ትንቢቱ ፡ ለብፁዕ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡ ወቀሩርባነ ፡ ኢፈቀድኩ ፡ ሥጋክ ፡ አንጽሕ ፡ ሊተ ። መሥዋዕተ ፡ ዘበእንተ ፡ ኀጢአት ፡ ኢሠመርኩ ።
- 59 ወዘንተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዐቂቦ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምጉንጳ ፡ ንጽሕ ፡ ተኀብአ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይርከቦ ፡ ሕምዘ ፡ ከይሲ ፡ ዘያስዖዝዝ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ተነዝኀ ፡ ሕምዙ ። በእንተዝኬ ፡ ጐየ ፡

App. 1 (crit.) 55,1 ወአጽደለ ፡] cet. (-AEdEfLd); ወአጸረዓ ፡ A; ወጸደለ ፡ Ed; ወአጸደለ ፡ Ef; ወአጽድለ ፡ Ld | ባሕርየ ፡] cet. (-La); ለባሕርየ ፡ La | ንጽሑ ፡] cet. (-EdLa); ንጽሕ ፡ EdLa | ምስብዒተ ፡] cet. (-GLb); ውስተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ምሥብዒተ ፡ GLb | እምአሶንያ ፡] cet. (-AEd); እምአርሶንያ ፡ A; እምአስባንያ ፡ Ed | እምአርዮብ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}EfGLb); ወእምኦርዮብ ፡ EfGLb; om. Sh^{MSS} 2 ወእማዝሮት ።] cet. (-EcJ); ወእማዝሩት ፡ Ec; እምዝሮት ፡ J | ይሰምዖ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ይሰምዖዎ ፡ Ed | ለሐዋርያ ፡] cet. (-Ef); ለሐዋርያት ፡ Ef 56,1 ወዓዲ ፡] cet. (-La); om. La | ተዳደቀቶ ፡] cet. (-ኒJ); ደደቀቶ ፡ ኒ; ተደደቀቶ ። J | ቃል ፡] cet. (-Ed); ቃለ ፡ Ed | እንዘ ፡] cet. (-AEbEcJLa); እንተ ፡ AEbEcJLa | ከመዝ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed 2 እምውስቴትክሙ ፡] cet. (-EeJ); እምውሳጣዖቲክሙ ፡ Ee; እምውሳጣዖቲክሙ ፡ J | ዘይከውን ፡] cet. (-ኒAEdK); om. ኒK; ዘይኩን ፡ A; transp. ante እምውስቴትክሙ ፡ Ed | ዘማዊ ፡] cet. (-ኀEeLa); ዘማዊ ፡ ኀEeLa 57,1 ወዘሰ ፡] cet. (-EcEd); ዘሰ ፡ EcEd | ሎቲኒ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}Ed); ሎቲ ፡ Sh^{MSS}; ወሎቲኒ ፡ Ed 58,1 ተፍእመ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}); ተእፍእሞ ፡ Sh^{MSS} | ሕጠተ ፡ ቃል ፡] s.l. Ec; cet. (-Ec) | ሕጠተ ፡] (-Ec); cet. (-Eck); ሕዳጠ ፡ K | ቃል ፡] (-Ec); cet. (-Eck); ቃለ ፡ K | እምአስካለ ፡] (እምአስካለ ፡] ካለ ፡ s.l. G, እምአስካለ ፡ s.l. Oa), cet. (-EdGJKOa); እምቃለ ፡ Ed; እምአስካል ። J; አስካለ ፡ K | ትንቢቱ ፡] cet. (-K); ትንቢት ፡ K | ለብፁዕ ፡ ዳዊት ፡] cet. (-iLa); ለዳዊት ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ iLa | ዘይቤ ፡] cet. (-Ld); ይቤ ፡ Ld 2 መሥዋዕተ ፡] cet. (-A); መሥዋዕት ፡ A | ወቀሩርባነ ፡] cet. (-EdJ); ቁርባን ። EdJ ኢፈቀድኩ ፡] cet. (-EeJ); ኢፈድኩ ፡ J; ወኢፈቀድኩ ፡ EeK | አንጽሕ ፡] cet. (-G); አንጽሕ ፡ G | መሥዋዕተ ፡] cet. (-AEe); መሥዋዕት ፡ A; ወመሥዋዕተ ፡ Ee 3 ዘበእንተ ፡] (ዘበእንተ ፡ s.l. Ed), cet. (-Ed) | ኢሠመርኩ ።] cet. (-Ee); ወኢሠመርኩ ፡ Ee 59,1 ኩሎ ፡] cet. (-i); om. i | ዐቂቦ ፡] cet. (-EeJLa); እቀቦ ፡ Ee; አቅቦ ። J; ዐቀቦ ፡ La | ውስተ ፡] cet. (-G); om. G | ንጽሕ ፡] cet. (-EdEe); ንጽሕ ፡ Ed; ንጽሕት ፡ Ee ተኀብአ ፡] cet. (-EeK); ኀበአ ፡ Ee; ተሐቢአ ፡ K | ኢይርከቦ ፡] (ኢይርከቦ ፡ s.l. EiK), cet. (-xG); ኢይረከቦ ፡ G; ይርከቦ ። EeJ 2 ከይሲ ፡] cet. (-EeJ); ከመ ፡ add. Ee; ከመ ፡ ይምሲ ፡ J | ዘያስዖዝዝ ፡] cet. (-La); om. La | ኀበ ፡] cet. (-i); ከመ ፡ i | ተነዝኀ ፡] cet. (-EeLa); ተዝኃ ፡ Ee; ተነበ ፤ La | ሕምዙ ።] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}La); ሕምዝ ፡ Sh^{MSS}; ዝሰ ፡ La | በእንተዝኬ ፡] cet. (-EdGLa); ወበእንተዝ ፡ Ed; በእንተዝ ፡ GLa | ጐየ ፡] cet. (-EeJ); ጐየ ፡ EeJ

App. 2 (punct.) 55,1 እምአሶንያ ፡] ፤ Ei; ። J | ወእምኦርያሬስ ።] ። AEaEdJ; ፤ Eb እምአርዮብ ፡] ። A 2 ወእማዝሮት ።] ። AEcEdEfEiJKLd | ይሰምዖ ፡] ። Ee

- 55 And made the pearl of his purity to sparkle seven times more than the Moon, the Sun and Orion and Mazzaroth. Because he hearkens to the Apostle, when he says, 'Purify your hearts, and purify your hands.'
- 56 And again there came out of the mouth of Paul, saying like this, 'Let there be no one among you who is a fornicator or impure person.'
- 57 And further he says, 'And he who destroys God's temple, God will destroy him.'
- 58 And moreover, Lalibalā swallowed a seed of the word from the grapes of prophecy of the blessed David, which says, 'I have not desired sacrifice and offerings. Purify your flesh for Me. I take no delight in sin offerings.'
- 59 And having observed all this, he hid himself in a pure guiver, in order that the venom of the serpent, whose venom stupefies whatever it besprinkles, should not

ለሐዋርያ ፡] ፡ J | ይብል ፡] ፤ Ea | አንጽሑ ፡] ፡ J 3 ልበክሙ ፡] ፤ Ei; ፡ J
 እደዊክሙ ፡] ፤ Ei; ፡ J | 56,1 ተዳደቀቶ ፡] ፡ J | እውሎስ ፡] ፤ Ei | ትብል ፡] ፡ J
 ፤ Lb 2 ወርኩስ ፡] ፡ AEjLd 57,1 ወካዕበ ፡] ፡ J | ወዘስ ፡] ፡ J | አማሰነ ፡] ፡ J
 እግዚአብሔር ፡] ፡ J | ያማስኖ ፡] ፡ J; ፤ La | እግዚአብሔር ፡] ፤ Ei; ፡ J | EJLd
 58,1 ተፍእመ ፡] ፤ La | ሕጠተ ፡] ፡ J | እምአስካለ ፡] ፡ J | ትንቢቱ ፡] ፤ La
 ለብፁዕ ፡] ፡ J | ዳዊት ፡] ፡ EaJ 2 ወቀርባነ ፡] ፡ J | ኢፈቀድኩ ፡] ፡ EbEd
 ሥጋክ ፡] ፡ J | አንጽሕ ፡] ፡ J | ሊተ ፡] ፤ EcEi; ፡ J | αEdEf 3 ኅጢአት ፡] ፤ La
 ኢሠመርኩ ፡] ፡ J | AEjLd 59,1 ወዘንተ ፡] ፡ J | ዐቂቦ ፡] ፡ J | ውስተ ፡] ፤ La
 ምጉንጳ ፡] ፡ J | ንጽሕ ፡] ፡ J 2 ከይሲ ፡] ፤ La | ዘያስያዝዝ ፡] ፡ J | ተነዝኅ ፡] ፡ J
 ሕምዙ ፡] ፡ J | AEj | በእንተዝኪ ፡] ፡ J

App. 4 (font.) 55,1 እምአሰንያ ፡ ... 2 ወእማዘሮት ፡] Cf. Book of Henok
 2 አንጽሑ ፡ ... 3 እደዊክሙ ፡] Cf. James 4:8 56,1 አልቦ ፡ ... 2 ወርኩስ ፡] Cf. Ephesians
 5:5 57,1 ወዘስ ፡ ... እግዚአብሔር ፡] Cf. Corinthians 3:17 58,2 መሥዋዕተ ፡¹ ... 3
 ኢሠመርኩ ፡] Cf. Ps. 51:16-17

App. 5 (test.) 55,1 ንጽሑ ፡] Ed, 7rb | ወእምአርያሬስ ፡] ወእ|ምአርያስሬስ ፡] Oa,
 8rb | እምአርዮብ ፡] Lb, 5rb 2 አንጽሑ ፡] አን|ጽሑ ፡] Eb, 5va 3 እደዊክሙ ፡]
 እደዊክ|ሙ ፡] Ec, 5vb, Ej, 5ra 56,1 ተዳደቀቶ ፡] Ld, 6vb 2 እምውስቴትክሙ ፡]
 እምውሳጥያቴክሙ ፡] J, 5r | ዘይከውን ፡] ዘይከው|ን ፡] Va, 4rb | ወርኩስ ፡] ወርኩ|ስ ፡]
 Ee, 2vb 57,1 ቤተ ፡] Ei, 6ra | እግዚአብሔር ፡] እግዚአብሔእግዚአብሔ|ር ፡] Oa, 8va
 58,1 ወዓዲ ፡] ወ|ዓዲ ፡] Ef, 6rb; ወዓ|ዲ ፡] K, 3va | ተፍእመ ፡] ተፍ|ዕመ ፡] G, 44vb
 ቃል ፡] Ea, 6ra | ትንቢቱ ፡] ትንቢ|ቱ ፡] Ed, 7va 2 መሥዋዕተ ፡¹ መ|ሥዋዕተ ፡] Lb, 5va
 3 ኢሠመርኩ ፡] ኢሠ|መርኩ ፡] Eb, 5vb 59,1 ኩሎ ፡] La, 27rb 2 ዘያስያዝዝ ፡]
 ዘ|ያስያዝዝ ፡] Ec, 6ra | ሕምዙ ፡] ሕ|ምዙ ፡] A, 5va | በእንተዝኪ ፡] በእንተ|ዝኪ ፡] Ld,
 7ra | ጐየ ፡] ጐ|የ ፡] Oa, 8vb

- እምሐውዝ ፡ ጣዕሙ ፡ ለዝ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ዘያወረዙ ፡ ለአብሶ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይሰመይ ፡ ጥሪተ ፡
 ዐቢየ ፡ ዘእሉድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መዝገበ ፡ ቤቱ ፡ ለልዑል ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡
 ጥሪት ፡ ክቡር ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡
- 60 ወግረ ፡ ቀንኣትሂ ፡ ወወግረ ፡ ስሒን ፡ ተብህለ ፡ በእንተ ፡ አፈዋተ ፡ ኂሩቱ ፡ ዘምዕዘ ፡
 ዕፍረተ ፡ ርኄሁ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አጽናፈ ፡ ዓለም ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡
 እምአጽናፈ ፡ ምድር ፡ ሰማዕነ ፡ ዝክረ ፡ ተስፋሁ ፡ ለጸድቅ ፡
- 61 ወነዋ ፡ ያረውጸሙ ፡ ለሕዝብ ፡ ወለአሕዛብ ፡ ወለመኳንንት ፡ ወለመሳፍንት ፡
 ለዐበይት ፡ ወለሐበይት ፡ መዐዛ ፡ ዕፍረቱ ፡ ዘኢተምዝመዘ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ጣዕመ ፡
 ጸዕጤሁ ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ በመዐዛ ፡ ዕፍረትከ ፡ ንረውጽ ፡

App. 1 (crit.)3 ጣዕሙ ፡] cet. (-EdEiJLa); ጣዕመዝ ፡ Ed; s.l. Ei; ጣዕመ ፡ J; om. La
 ለዝ ፡] cet. (-xEdEfLa); ዝንቱ ፡ Sh^{MSS}; om. EdLa; ለዝንቱ ፡ EfK | ዘያወረዙ ፡] cet. (-ኛG);
 ዘያረውጽ ፡ A; ዘያወረዙ ፡ G; om. La; ዘወርዘወ ፡ Ld | ለአብሶ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}αζOall);
 ለ{አ}ብሶ ፡ s.l. Ea, ለብሶ ፡ Eb; ለአብሶ ፡ ለአበሰ ፡ J; አንበሳ ፡ Ei; ለአ{ን}በሳ ፡ p.c. Ee;
 በኢአብሶ ፡ La; እንበለ ፡ አብሶ ፡ Ld | ከመ ፡] cet. (-J); ከመ ፡ add. J | ይሰመይ ፡]
 cet. (-J); ይምሲይሰመይ ፡ J | ጥሪተ ፡] cet. (-J); ጥሪት ፡ J 4 ዐቢየ ፡] cet. (-EdEeJ);
 ዓቢይ ፡ EdEeJ | ዘእሉድ ፡] cet. (-EdEeEiLa); om. Ed; ዘእሉዳ ፡ Ee; ዘውሉድ ፡ Ei;
 ዘህሎ ፡ La | ለልዑል ፡] (ለ)ልዑል ፡ s.l. La, cet. (-La) | ይቤ ፡] (s.l. Ea), cet. (-α); om.
 Eb 5 ጥሪት ፡] cet. (-EfLa); ጥሪተ ፡ EfLa | ክቡር ፡] cet. (-ALa); ውብሩክ ፡ A; ክቡረ ፡
 La | ንጹሕ ፡] cet. (-Ef); ንስሐ ፡ Ef 60,1 ወግረ ፡ ... ስሒን ፡] cet. (-Ed); ወግረ ፡ ስሒን ፡
 ወቀነዓት ፡ Ed | ወግረ ፡] (-Ed); cet. (-EdEeJ); ውድረ ፡ Ee; ወግብረ ፡ J | ወወግረ ፡] (-
 Ed); cet. (-EbEdEeEiKLa); ወግረ ፡ EbEeEiKLa | ስሒን ፡] (-Ed); cet. (-EdEf); ስኂንሂ ፡
 Ef | ተብህለ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ንብሎ ፡ Ed | አፈዋተ ፡] cet. (-EdEeG); አፈዋት ፡ Ee; አፈወ ፡
 Ed; አፍኣተ ፡ G | ኂሩቱ ፡ ... 2 ዕፍረተ ፡] cet. (-Ee); om. Ee | ኂሩቱ ፡] cet. (-G);
 ኂሩት ፡ G | ዘምዕዘ ፡] cet. (-EdEiJLa); ዘይምዕዘ ፡ Ed; ዘመዓዘ ፡ EiJ; ዘተምዕዘ ፡ La
 2 ዕፍረተ ፡] cet. (-ኛEd); እምዕፍረተ ፡ Ed; አፈዋተ ፡ La; አፈ ፡ Ld | ርኄሁ ፡] cet. (-EeJK);
 ርህራሄሁ ፡ EeJ; ርሕ ፡ K | አጽናፈ ፡] cet. (-u); om. u | ዓለም ፡] s.l. J; cet. (-J) | ይቤ ፡]
 cet. (-AG); om. A; ይብል ፡ G | መጽሐፍ ፡] cet. (-A); መጽሐፈ ፡ A 3 ምድር ፡]
 cet. (-EfLa); ዓለም ፡ Ef; om. La | ዝክረ ፡] cet. (-EdK); om. EdK | ተስፋሁ ፡]
 cet. (-xEdLa); ተስፋሆሙ ፡ Ed; ዜናኑ ፡ (ዜናሁ ፡ Ee), EiJK; ውዳሴሁ ፡ La | ለጸድቅ ፡]
 cet. (-Sh^{MSS}Ed); ለጸድቅ ፡ Sh^{MSS}; ለጸድቃን ፡ Ed 61,1 ወለአሕዛብ ፡] cet. (-xኛ); om. xኛ
 ወለመኳንንት ፡] ወለመኳንንት ፡] s.l. Ei; cet. (-ኛ); ለመኳንንት ፡ 2 ለዐበይት ፡]
 cet. (-Ei); ወለዐበይት ፡ Ei | ወለሐበይት ፡] (ወለሐውርት ፡] s.l. Oa);
 cet. (-Sh^{MSS}EdEfGLaOa); ወለዓቢያት ፡ Ed; del. Ef; om. Sh^{MSS}G; ወለንዑሳት ፡ La
 መዐዛ ፡] cet. (-JLa); መዓዘ ፡ J; መዓዘ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ La | ዕፍረቱ ፡] cet. (-GLa); ዕረፍቱ ፡ G;
 ወዕፍረቱ ፡ La | ዘኢተምዝመዘ ፡] AEbKLbOa; ዘይትሚዓዝ ፡ ወዘኢይትሚዝመዝ ፡ Ed;
 ዘኢተመዝመዘ ፡ ζEaEcEfEjG; ወኢተመዝመዘ ፡ Va; ዘኢይትመዝመዘ ፡ EeJ; ዘትምዕዘ ፡
 Ei | እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡] cet. (-γEd); om. βEd, (እስከ ፡] marg.) om. Oa | ጣዕመ ፡]
 cet. (-Sh^{MSS}); ጥዕመ ፡ EeJ; ይጥዕም ፡ Ei 3 ጸዕጤሁ ፡] cet. (-EeEfEiG); ጸኡጤሁ ፡ Ee;
 ጸዓጤሁ ፡ Ef; ጸአጥዒሁ ፡ Ei; ጸዓጤሁ ፡ G

App. 2 (punct.) 3 ጣዕሙ ፡] ፡ J | ዘያወረዙ ፡] ፡ J | ለአብሶ ፡] ፡ Ec 4 ዐቢየ ፡] ፡ J
 ዘእሉድ ፡] ፡ J | ውስተ ፡] ፡ J | ለልዑል ፡] ፡ Ej 5 ንጹሕ ፡] ፡ AEjLd 60,1 ቀን
 ኣትሂ ፡] ፡ Ee | ስሒን ፡] ፡ Ea | ተብህለ ፡] ፡ J | አፈዋተ ፡] ፡ J | ኂሩቱ ፡] ፡ EiLa
 2 ርኄሁ ፡] ፡ J | አጽናፈ ፡] ፡ La | ዓለም ፡] ፡ EjLd; ፡ Lb 3 ሰማዕነ ፡] ፡ Ei
 ለጸድቅ ፡] ፡ AEjLd; ፡ La 61,1 ወነዋ ፡] ፡ J | ያረውጸሙ ፡] ፡ J | ለሕዝብ ፡] ፡ J

reach him. That is why he fled from the sweet pleasure of this world that grows into sin. So that he shall be called a great treasure, which is collected in the treasury of the house of the Highest. As Solomon says, 'A pure man is a precious treasure.'

- 60 He is called the hill of myrrh and the hill of incense because of the fragrance of his virtue, the aroma of whose scent perfumes all ends of the world. As the Scripture says, 'From the ends of the earth we have heard the mention of hope of a saint'.
- 61 And behold, the fragrance of his arima causes people and nations, officers and nobles, great ones and prefects to run after (it), the sweetness of whose aroma has not dried up until now. As the Scripture says, 'We run after the fragrance of your aroma.'
- 62 And the aroma of this blessed man is not like the aroma of the priesthood of Aaron which is from the perfume of flowers, of myrrh, or spice, nor it is from

ወለመሳፍንት ፡] # Ei; ፲ La 2 ወለሐበይት ፡] ፲ Lb; # Va | መዐዛ ፡] # J | ዘኢተም
ዝመዘ ፡] # J 3 ጸዕጤሁ ፡] # ፭EaEdEjGK | መጽሐፍ ፡] # J | ንረውጽ ፡] # Ej

App. 4 (font.) 61,3 በመዐዛ ፡ ... ንረውጽ ፡] Cf. Song of Songs, 1:4

App. 5 (test.) 3 ከመ ፡] Ej, 5rb | ይሰመይ ፡] Ee, 3ra 4 ውስተ ፡] Ei, 6rb | መዝገበ ፡]
መዝገበ ፡ Va, 4va | ለልዑል ፡] ለልዑል ፡ Ed, 7vb 5 ብእሲ ፡] Lb, 5vb
60,1 ወግረ ፡] ወግረ ፡ K, 3vb | በእንተ ፡] በእንተ ፡ Ef, 6va 2 ርኄሁ ፡] ርኄሁ ፡ Eb,
6ra 3 ሰማዕነ ፡] J, 5v; ሰማ ፡] Oa, 9ra | ዝክረ ፡] A, 5vb, Ea, 6rb 61,1 ያረ
ውጽዎ ፡] G, 45ra | ወለመኳንንት ፡] Ec, 6rb 2 ወለሐበይት ፡] ወለሐበይት ፡ Ld,
7rb | ዘኢተምዝመዘ ፡] ዘመዝ ፡ Ed, 8ra 3 ይቤ ፡] Ee, 4rb | መጽሐፍ ፡] መጽሐፍ ፡
Ei, 6va | ዕፍረትክ ፡] ዕፍረትክ ፡ Lb, 6ra

- 62 ወዕፍረቱስ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ አኮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዕፍረተ ፡ ክህነቱ ፡ ለአሮን ፡
 ዘእምአፈዋተ ፡ ጽጌ ፡ ዘከርቤ ፡ ወአበሚ ፡ ወኢዘእምአበሞ ፡ ወቀናንሞስ ፡ ወቅብአን ፡
 እምዘይት ። አላ ፡ ዕፍረቱኒ ፡ እምአፈዋተ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ወኢኮነ ፡ እምዕፅ ።
- 63 ወማኅፈደ ፡ ደብተራሁኒ ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ሙሴ ፡ እስመ ፡ አርአያሃ ፡
 ወጽላሎታ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ሙሴ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትመጽእ ፡ ሐዳስ ፡ ደብተራ ፡
 እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ወፈድፋደስ ፡ ዘተገብረ ፡ በእደ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ጎንጸ ፡
 ማኅፈደ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መርዓ ፡ ዘበግዑ ፡ ዘኢተገብረ ፡ በጎበ ፡ ካልአን ፡ በሐውርት ፡ ወኢበ
 አይቲኒ ፡ እስከ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ይፊኢ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወኩሎ ፡ ግብረታቲሆን ፡ ድጎረ ፡
 ንግረክሙ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ እፎ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ሕንጻሆን ። ወቀዲሙስ ፡ ንፈቅድ ፡
 ንግረክሙ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ለሐናዲሆን ፡ እፎ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ጥንቱ ፡ ወእፎ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ተፍጻሜቱ ።
- 64 እምከመ ፡ ሰአልናሁ ፡ ለመጥበቤ ፡ አብዳን ፡ ከመ ፡ ያርጉ ፡ ለነ ፡ አናቅጸ ፡ ቃል ፡
 በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ እመቦ ፡ ዘጎጥአ ፡ ለጥበብ ፡ ለይስአል ፡ ጎበ ፡ ወሀቢ ፡ እግዚ

App. 1 (crit.) 62,1 ወዕፍረቱስ ፡] cet. (-EdLa); ዕፍረቱስ ፡ Ed; ወዕፍረቱ ፡ La | ብእሲ ፡] cet. (-EjGVa); om. EjGVa | አኮ ፡] cet. (-EfEi); ወአኮ ፡ Ef; አነ ፡ Ei | ዕፍረተ ፡] cet. (-Ei); ዕፍረት ፡ Ei | ክህነቱ ፡] cet. (-EdJ); om. Ed; ክነቱ ፡ J | ለአሮን ፡] cet. (-J); አሮን ፡ J 2 ዘእምአፈዋተ ፡] cet. (-iEd); እምአፈዋተ ፡ Ed; ዘእምአፈወ ፡ EjG; ዘእምአፈ ፡ η | ጽጌ ፡ ዘከርቤ ፡] cet. (-La); ከርቤ ፡ ዘጽጌ ፡ La | ጽጌ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}); ከጊሁ ፡ Ee; ጽጌሁ ፡ EiJ | ዘከርቤ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ወከርቤ ፡ Ed | ወኢዘእምአበሞ ፡] AEbEeJL; ወዘእምአበሞ ፡ ηEaG; ወአምሞ ፡ Ed; ወኢእምእም ፡ Ef; ወኢ ፡ ዘአምእም ፡ Ej; ወዘእምአበሞ ፡ s.l. EcOa; ወኢዘእምዓም ፡ Ei; ወዘእምአምሞ ፡ La; ወእምአምአም ፡ Ld ወቅብአን ፡] cet. (-ζEiK); ወቅቡአን ፡ ζEi; ወቅዓት ፡ K 3 እምዘይት ።] cet. (-Ef); እመዘይት ። Ef | እምአፈዋተ ፡] cet. (-EeLd); ወአፈዋተ ፡ Ee; እምእፍረተ ፡ Ld 63,1 ወማኅፈደ ፡] cet. (-xEd); ወማኅፈድ ። Sh^{MSS}; ማሕፈድ ። Ed; ማኅፈደ ፡ K ደብተራሁኒ ፡] cet. (-K); ደብተራሁ ፡ K | ኢኮነ ፡ ... 4 ማኅፈደ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ኢኮነ ፡ ዘዕፅ ፡ አላ ፡ Ed | ሙሴ ፡ ... 2 ደብተራ ፡] cet. (-ζ); hom. ζ | እስመ ፡] cet. (-Ee); ለእንተ ፡ add. Ee 2 ለእንተ ፡] cet. (-Ef); አላ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ Ef | ሐዳስ ፡] cet. (-η); ሐዲስ ፡ η 3 እንተ ፡] cet. (-Ee); om. Ee | ይእቲ ፡] cet. (-GJ); ትመጽእ ፡ GJ | ወፈድፋደስ ፡] cet. (-EcK); ወድፋስ ፡ Ec; ወድፋደስ ፡ K | ዘተገብረ ፡] (ዘተ)ገብረ ፡ s.l. La, cet. (-La) | ጎንጸ ፡] cet. (-EeJLa); ሐነጸ ፡ EeLa; ሕንጽ ፡ add. J 4 ማኅፈደ ፡] ማኅፈደ ፡ AKLa; cet. (-AKLa)? | ቤተ ፡] cet. (-La); ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ add. La | መርዓ ፡ ዘበግዑ ፡] cet. (-εA); በግዑ ፡ ዘመርዓ ፡ ε; መዓዘ ፡ ዘበግዑ ፡ A | በጎበ ፡ ካልአን ፡] cet. (-iLa); ለካልአን ፡ i; በዕደ ፡ ካልዓን ፡ La | ካልአን ፡] cet. (-Ef); ካልአነ ፡ Ef | በሐውርት ፡] cet. (-EfLa); በሐውርተ ፡ EfLa | ወኢበአይቲኒ ፡] (ወኢበአይቲኒ) ፡ s.l. Ea; ወኢበአይቲኒ ፡ s.l. Ec, cet. (-Sh^{MSS}ζEaEcEdG); om. Ed; ወኢበአይቲኒ ፡ EeJLd; ወ{ኢ}በአይቲኒ ፡ s.l. Ei; ወአይቲኒ ፡ G; ወኢበአይቲኒ ፡ La 5 እስከ ፡] cet. (-ζ); om. ζ ጎበ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}ALa); om. Sh^{MSS}ALa | ፀሐይ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}); ፀሐየ ፡ Sh^{MSS} ወኩሎ ፡] γEeK; ወኩሎስ ፡ cet. (-γEdEeKOall); ወኩሎ ፡ Ed | ግብረታቲሆን ፡] cet. (-EdEfGKLa); ግብረታቲሁ ፡ Ed; ግብረቲሆን ፡ ζEf; ግብረታቲን ፡ G; ግብረቲሆሙ ፡ K | ድጎረ ፡] cet. (-Ei); ድጎረስ ። Ei 6 ንግረክሙ ፡] cet. (-EfKLa); እንግረክሙ ፡ Ef; ንግረክሙ ፡ K; እንግረክሙ ፡ s.l. La | ግብረ ፡ ሕንጻሆን ።] cet. (-ζ); ግብረቲሆን ። La; ግራቲሆን ፡ ወሕንጻቲሆን ። Ld | ሕንጻሆን ።] cet. (-ηEe); ሕንጻሆን ፡] cet. (-EeEi); om. EeEi 7 ንግረክሙ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{MSS}Ed); ንግረክሙ ። Sh^{MSS}; ንግረ ፡ Ed | ግብረ ፡] cet. (-iEdLa); ግብረሙ ፡ ζ; ግብረ ፡ Ed; ግብረን ፡ GLa | ለሐናዲሆን ፡] cet. (-EdGKLa);

spice or cinnamon or from olive ointment. Rather, his aroma is from the perfume of the Gospel and is not from a tree.

- 63 And the citadel of his tabernacle is not like the tabernacle of Moses, because that tabernacle of Moses was the model and pattern for the coming new tabernacle which is the Church, and especially for the citadel building which was built by Lalibala's hand, the house of the wedding of the Lamb, which was not built in any other place, nowhere, as far as the Sun can be seen. And we will tell you later all about their construction, how the construction of their buildings was. But first, we want to tell you about the deeds of their builder, how his origin was and how his
- 64 end was. And therefore we ask the one who makes the fools wise to open for us the gates of the word, as the Apostle says, 'If there is someone who lacks wisdom,

ሕንፃሆን ። Ed; ለሐናዲያን ። G; ለሐናዲሆሙ ። K; ለሕንፃሆን ። La | ጥንቱ ፡... ኮነ ፡²] cet. (-EfEiKLa); hom. EfKLa; {ጥንቱ ፡ s.l.} om. Ei | ጥንቱ ፡] cet. (-G); ዝንቱ ፡ G ወእፎ ፡] cet. (-Ed); እፎ ፡ Ed | ተፍጻሜቱ ።] (ተፍጻሜ{ሁ}ቱ ፡ p.c. Ee), cet. (-Ee) 64,1 እምነሙ ፡] cet. (-Ef); ወእምነሙ ፡ Ef | ለመጥበብ ፡] cet. (-K); ለመጥበ ፡ K | ለነ ፡] cet. (-K); om. K | ቃል ፡] cet. (-Ed); ቀላይ ። Ed 2 ሐዋርያ ፡] cet. (-JLa); ሐዋርያሁ ። J; መጽሐፍ ። La | እመቦ ፡] cet. (-x); እመሰቦ ፡ Sh^{MS}; እመ ፡ K | ዘንጥኣ ፡] cet. (-G);

App. 2 (punct.) 62,1 ብእሲ ፡] ፤ Ei | ለዝንቱ ፡] ፤ Ei; ። J 2 ዘእምአፈዋተ ፡] ፤ Ei ጽጌ ፡] ። J | ወአበሚ ፡] ። Ef | ወኢዘእምአበሞ ፡] ። J | ወቅብኣን ፡] ። J 3 እም ዘይት ።] ፤ Lb; ። AEJLd | እምአፈዋተ ፡] ። J | እምዕፅ ።] ። γAEJ 63,1 ኢኮነ ፡] ። J | ደብተራ ፡] ፤ La | ሙሴ ፡] ። EaEiJ 2 ወጽላሎታ ፡] ። A | ሙሴ ፡] ። Ef ትመጽእ ፡] ። J | ሐዳስ ፡] ፤ La 3 ይእቲ ፡] ። J | ክርስቲያን ፡] ። βEJGLbLd ወፈድፋደስ ፡] ። J | ዘተገብረ ፡] ። J | በእደ ፡] ። J | ላሊበላ ፡] ። EaJ 4 መርዓ ፡] ። La | ዘበግዑ ፡] ። Ed | ዘኢተገብረ ፡] ። J | ካልኣን ፡] ። J | በሐውርት ፡] ፤ Ei 5 ይፊኢ ፡] ። J | ፀሐይ ፡] ። ζEaLa; ፤ Eb | ግብረታቲሆን ፡] ፤ Ei | ድኅረ ፡] ። EaEi 6 እፎ ፡] ። J | ሕንጻሆን ።] ። cet. (-x)EaEdLaLbOall); ፤ Lb; ። ። ። ። Ei 7 ንንግር ክሙ ፡] ። J | ለሐናዲሆን ፡] ፤ Ei; ። EaEcJ | ኮነ ፡] ። J | ተፍጻሜቱ ።] ። cet. (-ζ)AEdEeEiGKOall) 64,1 አብዳን ፡] ። J | ለነ ፡] ፤ Ei | ቃል ፡] ፤ Ej; ። ηEaG 2 ሐዋርያ ፡] ። Ef | እመቦ ፡] ። J | ለጥበብ ፡] ። J | ለይስኣል ፡] ። J | ወሀቢ ፡] ። J እግዚአብሔር ፡] ። EdJ

App. 4 (font.) 64,2 እመቦ ፡... 4 ሎቱ ።] Cf. James 1:5-6

App. 5 (test.) 62,2 ዘእምአፈዋተ ፡] ዘእምአፈወ ፡] Ej, 5va; Va, 4vb | ጽጌ ፡] Eb, 6rb ወኢዘእምአበሞ ፡] ወኢዘእምአለሞ ፡] Oa, 9rb | ወቀናንሞስ ፡] ወቀናንሞስ ፡] A, 6ra, La, 27va, K, 4ra 3 እምዘይት ።] እመዘይት ። Ef, 6vb 63,2 ይእቲ ፡] Ec, 6va 3 ወፈድፋደስ ፡] ወፈድፋደስ ፡] Ee, 3va, Ld, 7vb | ዘተገብረ ፡] Lb, 6rb | በእደ ፡] Ea, 6va; በእደ ፡] Ei, 6vb 4 መርዓ ፡] Oa, 9va | በጎበ ፡] ካልኣን ፡] ለካልኣን ፡] G, 45rb በሐውርት ፡] Eb, 6va | ወኢበኣይቲኒ ፡] A, 6rb 5 ይፊኢ ፡] ይፊኢ ፡] Ed, 8rb | ግብረታቲሆን ፡] J, 6r 6 ሕንጻሆን ።] Va, 5ra 7 ግብረ ፡] Ej, 5vb | ለሐናዲሆን ፡] ለሐናዲሆሙ ፡] K, 4rb 64,1 እምነሙ ፡] ወእምነሙ ፡] Ef, 7ra | ያርጉ ፡] Ec, 6vb ቃል ፡] Oa, 9vb 2 ሐዋርያ ፡] ሐዋርያ ፡] Lb, 6va | እመቦ ፡] እመሰቦ ፡] Ee, 3vb | እግዚአብሔር ፡] እግዚአብሔር ፡] Ld, 7vb

አብሔር ፡ ዘይሁብ ፡ ለኩሉ ፡ በስፉሕ ፡ ወይስአል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትአመን ፡ ወኢይ
ናፍቅ ፡ ወይትወሀብ ፡ ሎቲ ።

- 65 ወአንትሙሂ ፡ ፍቁራንዩ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ዘምክሕ ፡ ዘያሰሚ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐዲሳን ፡ እለ ፡
ትሴሰዩ ፡ እምጥብሳ ፡ መንክር ፡ ዘኢየሳይ ፡ ገደላሁ ፡ ዘኢኮነ ፡ እምፍርፍርት ፡ ዘኮነ ፡
ዕዜ ፡ ወወፅአ ፡ በአእናፈ ፡ እለ ፡ በልዕዎ ። ወእለ ፡ ትሰትዩ ፡ ማዩ ፡ ሕይወት ፡
እምኩኩሕ ፡ ምሥጢር ፡ ዘኢኮነ ፡ እምኩኩሕ ፡ ኮሬብ ፡ ዘአምጽአ ፡ ማዩ ፡
ቅሥተ ፡ ማእከለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወማእከለ ፡ ነቢዩ ።

- 66 ሰአሉ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ከመ ፡ የሀበኒ ፡ ልሳነ ፡ ጥብብ ፡ ከመ ፡ አእምር ፡ ዘእነብብ ፡ እስመ ፡
አነ ፡ ሕጽጽ ፡ ልብ ፡ እስመ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ኢገሰስኩ ፡ ማእዝንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዜናሁ ፡
ለዘእትናገር ፡ በእንቲአሁ ። እስመ ፡ ነዋህ ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ወልጎት ፡ ክሥተተ ፡
ምሥጢሩ ።

ዘኃጥአ ፡ G | ለይስአል ፡] (ለይ{ስ}አል ፡ s.l. Ed), cet. (-EdEf); ወይስአል ፡ Ef | ወሀበ. ፡]
cet. (-EeLa); ወነቢ ፡ Ee; om. La

3 ለኩሉ ፡] cet. (-A); በኩሉ ፡ A | በስፉሕ ፡] cet. (-Ed); በስፉሕ ፡ እድ ፡ Ed
ወይስአል ፡] cet. (-La); ወለእለ ፡ La | ወኢይናፍቅ ፡] (ወኢይና{ፍ}ቅ ፡ s.l. K), cet. (-EbK);
ወኢይትፍቅ ፡ Eb 4 ወይትወሀብ ፡] (ወይት{ወ}ሀብ ፡ s.l. Ec), cet. (-Ec)
65,1 ወአንትሙሂ ፡] γAEdEf; ወአንትሙሂ ፡ ζEeEiK; አንትሙሂ ፡ EijGJVā; ወአንትሙሂ ፡
Lb | ሕዝብ ፡ ዘምክሕ ፡] cet. (-K); ምክሕ ፡ ዘሕዝብ ፡ A; ሕዝብ ፡ ምክሕ ፡ s.l. K
ዘምክሕ ፡] (-AK); cet. (-xAEf); ዘመካሕ ፡ Ef; ዘከመ ፡ ከካህ ፡ J; ዘከመ ፡ ካህን ፡ Ee;
ዘ{ት}ይመካህ ፡ s.l. Ei | ዘያሰሚ ፡] εAEbKOā; ያሰምዕ ፡ s.l. G; ዘያሰመዩ ፡ EcEaJLd;
ዘ{ት}ይሰመዩ ፡ s.l. Ei; ዘትሰመዩ ፡ s.l. EaEd; ዘይሰመዩ ፡ La | ሐዲሳን ፡] cet. (-La);
ሐዲስ ፡ G; ሐዲሳን ፡ La 2 እምጥብሳ ፡] cet. (-EeEfGJ); እምጽባሕ ፡ Ee; መጥብሕ ፡ Ef;
እምብዙሃ ፡ G; እምመጥብሕት ፡ J | መንክር ፡] cet. (-i); ክቡር ፡ ε; ክብሩ ፡ G
ዘኢየሳይ ፡] cet. (-AGKLāLb); ዘኢይዐፁ ፡ A; ዘኢየአዲ ፡ G; ዘየዐቢ ፡ K, ዘኢያአዲ ፡ La;
ዘ{ኢ}የዓጺ ፡ s.l. Lb | ዘኢኮነ ፡] cet. (-Ee); ዘኮነ ፡ Ee | እምፍርፍርት ፡]
cet. (-EdEiJKLd); እምፍርፋራት ፡ EdEi; እምፍርሃት ፡ JKLd | ዘኮነ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}Ef);
ዘኢኮነ ፡ Sh^{SS}Ef 3 ዕዜ ፡] cet. (-La); om. La | ወወፅአ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}ε); om. Sh^{SS};
ወጽአ ፡ La; ዘወፅአ ፡ Ld | በአእናፈ ፡] (በአእና{ፈ}ፍ ፡ s.l. Ea), cet. (-Sh^{SS}εEaEf);
በአእናፍ ፡ EfLa; በአፍአ ፡ Ei; ወበአፍአ ፡ EaJ; በአንፈ ፡ Ld | በልዕዎ ።] cet. (-G);
መልዕዎ ፡ G | ወእለ ፡] cet. (-Ld); እለ ፡ Ld | ትሰትዩ ፡] cet. (-Sh^{SS}εEf); ሰተዩ ፡ Ef;
ሰትይዎ ፡ La; ሰትዩ ፡ Sh^{SS}Ld | ማዩ ፡] cet. (-Ea); dupl. Ea 4 ዘኢኮነ ፡ እምኩኩሕ ፡]
cet. (-iEd); ዘኢኩኩሕ ፡ iEd | ዘአምጽአ ፡] cet. (-EiJLa); ዘኢያምጽአ ፡ Ei; ዘኢመጽአ ፡
J; ዘአውጽአ ፡ La | ማዩ ፡ ... 5 ቅሥተ ፡] cet. (-EjG); transp. post እግዚአብሔር ፡ transp.
EjG | ማዩ ፡] (-EjG), γEdEfJLd; om. η; del. A; ግዩ ፡ EdEeLb; ማዩ ፡ EiK; ለማዩ ፡ La
5 ቅሥተ ፡] (-EjG); (s.l. Ea), cet. (-ηEiGJLd); transp. post እግዚአብሔር ፡ η; ቅድስት ።
EiJ; ቀስቶ ፡ Ld 66,1 ከመ ፡ የሀበኒ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | የሀበኒ ፡] cet. (-La); ያሀበኒ ፡
La | ልሳነ ፡] cet. (-K); ቃለ ፡ ወልሳነ ፡ K | ከመ ፡²... ዘእነብብ ፡] cet. (-iA); om. iA
ዘእነብብ ፡] (-iA); cet. (-iAK); ዘእነብብ ፡ K | እስመ ፡ ... 2 ልብ ፡] cet. (-Ef); om. Ef
2 ሕጽጽ ፡] cet. (-J); ሕጽጽ ፡ J | እስመ ፡] cet. (-EdEiJKLaVa); om. EdEiKLaVa; ከመ ፡
J | ማእዝንተ ፡] cet. (-Ei); ዘንተ ፡ Ei | ነገረ ፡] AEdEfEiJLa; ነገር ፡ γEeK; ነገሩ ፡ iLd
ዜናሁ ፡] cet. (-iLd); ወዜናሁ ፡ iLd 3 ለዘእትናገር ፡] cet. (-iLa); ለዘይትናገር ፡ i; ለዘ ፡
እሳት ፡ እትናገር ፡ La | ነዋህ ፡ ነገሩ ፡] cet. (-K); ነገረ ፡ ነዋህ ፡ K | ነዋህ ፡] cet. (-La); om.
La | ወልጎት ፡] cet. (-EiJLd); ወሊተሰ ፡ Ei; ወሊጎ ፡ J; ወልጎተ ፡ Ld | ክሥተተ ፡]

- let him ask the giver God, Who gives generously to all. And let him ask trusting
 65 and without doubting and it shall be given to him.' And you, my beloved ones,
 people of pride, who are renowned as new Israelites, who eat from a wonderful
 sacrifice whose carcass does not produce worms, which is not from the quail(s),
 that became worm and came out from the nostrils of those who ate them. And you
 who drink the water of life from the mount of mystery, which is not from the
 mount of Horeb whose water issued forth due to contention between God and
 His Prophet
 66 Pray for me that He may give me a well-instructed tongue, that I know what to
 say, because I am of limited understanding, for until now I have not touched (even)
 a corner of the account of the story, which I am going to talk about. Because the
 account is long and the revelation of its mystery is profound.

cet. (-EfEiJLa); ከሠታተ : Ef; ከሠት : Ei; ከሥተት : J; ወከሥተተ : La 4 ምሥጢር ።]
 cet. (-ኛ); ምሥጢር ። ኛ

App. 2 (punct.) 3 ለኩሉ :] ። EeJ | በስፋሕ :] ። Ea | ወይስአል :] ። J | እንዘ :] ። J
 4 ወይትወሀብ :] ። J | ሎቱ ።] ። AEjLd; ፮ Eb; ። ። K 65,1 ወእንትሙሂ :] ። J
 ሐዲሳን :] ። αOa 2 እምጥብሳ :] ። J | ገደላሁ :] ። Ef; ፮ Ei 3 ዕዔ :] ። Ea
 በልዕዎ ።] ፮ EiEj; ። EbEcLbLdOa 4 እምኩኩሐ :] ። J | ምሥጢር :] ። EfEiLa
 5 እግዚአብሔር :] ። Ei | ነቢዩ ።] ። EjLd 66,1 ጥበብ :] ፮ Ei | አእምር :] ። J
 ዘእነብብ :] ። EaEi; ፮ Eb 2 ልብ :] ። K | ማእዝንተ :] ። J | ዜናሁ :] ። J 3 ለዘእ
 ትናገር :] ። J | በእንቲአሁ ።] ። ሩEaEdJ; ፮ Ei | ነገሩ :] ። Ei 4 ምሥጢር ።] ። AEj

App. 4 (font.) 65,2 ዘኢኮነ : ...3 በልዕዎ ።] Cf. Exodus 16:13, 20 4 ዘኢኮነ : ...5
 ነቢዩ ።] Cf. Exodus 17:6

App. 5 (test.) 3 ዘይሁብ :] ዘይሁብ : Ei, 7ra | ለኩሉ :] በኩሉ : A, 6va | በስፋሕ :]
 በስፋሕ : Eb, 6vb | ወኢይናፍቅ :] ወኢይናፍቅ : Ed, 8va 65,1 እስራኤል :] La, 27vb
 2 እምጥብሳ :] እምጥብሐ : Ea, 6vb | እምፍርፍርት :] እምፍርፍርት : G, 45va
 3 በአእናፈ :] በአእናፈ : Oa, 10ra | ወእለ :] Va, 5rb 4 ምሥጢር :] ምሥጢር : Lb,
 6vb | ዘኢኮነ :] K, 4va | ዘአምጽአ :] ዘአምጽአ : Ef, 7rb; ዘአምጽአ : Ej, 6ra; ዘኢ[Ee,
 4r seems to be the end of the textual units, image is unreadable) 5 ቅሥተ :] ቅሥተ :
 Ec, 7ra | ማእከለ :] ማእከለ : A, 6vb | እግዚአብሔር :] እግዚአብሔር : Eb, 7ra
 66,1 የሀበኒ :] Ei, 7rb | ጥበብ :] Ed, 8vb; ጥበብ : Ld, 8ra | ዘእነብብ :] J, 6v
 3 ወልጎት :] ወልጎት : Oa, 10rb

- 67 ወባሕቱ ፡ እነግረክሙ ፡ በሐሳብ ፡ ክህልኩ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እትአመን ፡ በኃይለ ፡
 ጸሎትክሙ ፡ ወበጸሎቱ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ኮከብ ፡ ክብር ፡ ጽባሐዊ ፡ ዘይሀይድ ፡
 ብርሃኑ ፡ ብርሃኑ ፡ ካልኣን ፡ ከዋክብት ።
- 68 እንዘ ፡ አብ ፡ ይረድእ ፡ ለወጢን ፡ በለብዎ ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ያጸንዕ ፡ በአስተሰ
 ናእዎ ። ወመንፈስ ፡ in hatmony እንዘ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ፈጻሜ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ቃል ፡ በአስተ
 ታልዎ ፡ በሰላመ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ አሜን ።

Jesus and His redeeming fire

- 1 አቀድም ፡ አእኩቶቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ በእንተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡
 ዘውእቱ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ወቃሉ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ዘበሕፅነ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ሠረጸ ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ስብሐት ፡

App. 1 (crit.) 67,1 እነግረክሙ ፡] cet. (-J); ወእነግረክሙ ፡ J | በሐሳብ ፡ ... 2 ጸሎትክሙ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ዘከሠተ ፡ ሊተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ Ed | በሐሳብ ፡] cet. (-JLa); በሐሳብ ፡ J; በኃይለ ፡ La | ክህልኩ ፡] cet. (-K); ከልሑ ፡ K | እንዘ ፡ እትአመን ፡] cet. (-La); om. La በኃይለ ፡ ... 2 ጸሎትክሙ ፡] cet. (-i); በጸሎትክሙ ፡ i 2 ጸሎትክሙ ፡] cet. (-EiJ); om. EiJ | ወበጸሎቱ ፡] cet. (-EcEi); ወበኃይለ ፡ ጸሎቱ ፡ Ec; ጸሎቱ ፡ Ei | ብእሲ ፡] cet. (-Ed); om. Ed | ጽባሐዊ ፡] cet. (-Ed); ጽዱል ፡ Ed | ዘይሀይድ ፡] cet. (-ηEf); ዘይሐይድዎ ፡ η; ዘሐይድ ፡ Ef 3 ብርሃኑ ፡] {እም}ብርሃኑ ፡ marg. Oa; cet. (-ζEdJOa); om. Ed; ዘእምብርሃኑ ፡ J; እምብርሃኑ ፡ ζ | ካልኣን ፡] cet. (-ηEd); transp. post ከዋክብት ፡ η; እምካልኣን ፡ Ed 68,1 ይረድእ ፡] cet. (-La); ይወርድኣ ፡ La | ወእንዘ ፡ ወልድ ፡] cet. (-Ef); ወወልድ ፡ Ef ወእንዘ ፡] cet. (-A); እንዘ ፡ A | በአስተሰናእዎ ።] cet. (-AEiJ); በተሰናእዎ ፡ A; ወያረግዕ ፡ add. Ei; ወያጸግዕ ፡ add. J 2 ወመንፈስ ፡] cet. (-EiJ); ወዘመንፈስ ፡ EiJ | እንዘ ፡ ይከውን ፡] cet. (-EdEiJ); om. EdEiJ | ፈጻሜ ፡] cet. (-EdLd); እንዘ ፡ ይፈጽም ፡ Ed; ፍጻሜ ፡ Ld | ኃይለ ፡] cet. (-EjKLd); om. EjK; transp. post ቃለ ፡ La | ቃል ፡] cet. (-La); ቃለ ፡ La | በአስተታልዎ ፡] (በ{አ}ስተታልዎ ፡ Ed), cet. (-ζEdEiGJ); በአስተዳልዎ ፡ ζEi; ዘአስተዳልዎ ፡ G; ዘአስተዳለዎ ፡ J 3 በሰላመ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡] cet. (-Ec); om. Ec | በሰላመ ፡] (በሰላ ፡ {መ} s.l. A), cet. (-AEbEiJ); በስመ ፡ EbJ; ወበስመ ፡ Ei | ዚአሁ ፡] cet. (-AEb); እግዚአብሔር ፡ A; ሥላሴሁ ፡ Eb | አሜን ።] ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፡ La 2. Soteriology 1,1 አቀድም ፡] cet. (-K); አቅድም ፡ K | አእኩቶቶ ፡] {አእኩቶቶ} ፡ s.l. Ei), cet. (-G); እኩቶቶ ፡ G | በእንተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡] cet. (-GLb); በእግዚእነ ፡ AGLb ኢየሱስ ፡] (ኢየ{ሱ}ስ ፡ s.l. Ei), cet. 2 ዘውእቱ ፡] cet. (-Ei); ዝውእቱ ፡ Ei | ዘበሕፅነ ፡] cet. (-αG); ዘባሕቲቱ ፡ α; ዘበሕነ ፡ G | ሠረጸ ፡] cet. (-K); transp. post ስብሐት ፡ K ስብሐት ፡] cet. (-EiJ); ወስብሐት ፡ add. A; ሕይወት ፡ EiJ

App. 2 (punct.) 67,1 ክህልኩ ፡] ። J 2 ጸሎትክሙ ፡] ። αEfLa | ክብር ፡] ። J 3 ካልኣን ፡] ። η | ከዋክብት ።] ። αEdEfEjJOa; ̄ Ei 68,1 ለወጢን ፡] ። GJ በለብዎ ፡] ። EaEcEdEiJLb; ̄ Eb | ያጸንዕ ፡] ። J | በአስተሰናእዎ ።] ። cet. (-AEbEeEfEiKLdOaOaI); ̄ EbEi; 2 ፈጻሜ ፡] ። J | ቃል ፡] ። J | በአስተ ታልዎ ፡] ። ζ; ። ። ። Ea 3 አሜን ።] ። EfEiEjGJKLd; ። ። AEbEd; punctual line, (end of the folium)

- 67 But I will tell you to the degree that I am able, believing in the power of your prayers and prayers of this man, the glorious morning star, whose light outshines the light of (all) other stars.
- 68 While the Father helps to begin with intelligence and the Son strengthens (it) in harmony with it, and while the Holy Spirit thereupon becomes the perfection of the power of the word by His peace. Amen.

Jesus and His redeeming fire

- 1 I shall begin by thanking God for Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the Son and the Word of the Father, Who in the womb of the Father came forth as a fruit of praise,

2. Soteriology 1,1 ክርስቶስ ፡] ። EjlLb 2 ወቃሉ ፡] ። J | ፍሬ ፡] ። J | ስብሐት ፡] ። EcEfJ

App. 3(addit.)68,2 በአስተታላም ፡] ጸሎቱ ፡ ወስኔለቱ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ ይኩኖ ፡ ረድኤተ ፡ ወጸወነ ፡ ለቄርሎስ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ ለንግሠ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ ያግኒ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዕልዋነ ፤ ወቦቱ ፡ ይፈጽም ፡ ዘዝ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አዝማነ ፤ እስከ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ ለኩንኖ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ አምላክነ ። ወበዘይመጽእ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ያውርሶ ፡ መንግሥቶ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ወሰነ ፤ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ። ለገብር ። ከ ፡ ድ ። ዮኖ ። ስዮስ Ea 3 ዚአሁ ፡] በረከቱ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ (ገላውዴዎስ ፡ Lb) ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ (አ ፤ Lb)(አሜን ። Va) η

App. 4 (font.) 1,1 አቀድም ፡ ...ክርስቶስ ፡] Cf. Romans 1:8 2 ወልዱ ፡ ...አቡሁ ፡] Cf. John 1:18

App. 5 (test.) 67,2 ብእሲ ፡] ብእሲ ፡ Lb, 7ra 3 ብርሃኑ ፡] ብርሃኑ ፡ Eb, 7rb ካልኣን ፡] A, 7ra 68,1 እንዘ ፡] እንዘ ፡ Ec, 7rb; K, 4vb | አብ ፡] Ea, 7ra | ለወጢን ፡] ለወጢን ፡ G, 45vb | በለብዎ ፡] በለብዎ ፡ Va, 5va 2 ወመንፈስ ፡] ወዘመንፈስ ፡ Ei, 7va ፣ ወመንፈስ ፡ Ed, 9ra | in]፥ Ld, 8rb, ቅ| ዱስ ፡ Oa, 10va | ፈጻሜ ፡] ፈጻሜ ፡ Ef, 7va | በአስተታላም ፡] በአስተታላም ፡ Ej, 6rb

Soteriology §§ 1-26 corresponds to 'Seconde introduction', p. 7-9 (text), 'Deuxième discours: résumé de la vie du Christ, p. 72-74 (tr.)', Perruchon, J., ed., 1892. *Vie de Lalibala roi d'Ethiopie: Texte éthiopien publié d'après un manuscrit du Musée Britannique et traduction française avec un résumé de l'histoire des Zagües et la description des églises monolithes de Lalibala*, tr. J. Perruchon (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892). 1,1 አቀድም ፡] inc. A, 7ra, Ea, 7ra, Eb, 7rb, Ec, 7rb, Ed, 9ra, Ee, 4rb (unreadable pictures until 6ra), Ef, 7va, Ei, 7va, Ej, 6rb, J, 6v, K, 5vb, La, 28ra, Ld, 8rb, Oa, 10va, Va, 5va 2 ወልዱ ፡] ወልዱ ፡ Lb, 7rb

- ዐቃቤ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ እምሰማያት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይደይ ፡ ርጢኖ ፡ ዲበ ፡ እለ ፡ ቈስሉ ፡ በንስከተ ፡ አርዌ ፡ አስዋር ፡ ወአልህምት ፡ አትቡዕ ፡ ወአእኑስ ፡ ፈኒዎ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ነቢያቲሁ ፡ ዘያጌብሮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይበልዎ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አጽንን ፡ ሰማያቲክ ፡ ወረድ ። አንሥእ ፡ ኃይለክ ፡ ወነዓ ፡ አድኅነነ ። አምላክ ፡ ኃያላን ፡ ሚጠነ ፡ ግሥሦሙ ፡ ለአድባር ፡ ወይጠይሱ ። ምንትኑመ ፡ ግሰቶሙ ፡ ለአድባር ፡ ወጢሰቶሙኒ ፡ እምከመስ ፡ ጤሱ ፡ ይጠፍኡ ።
- 2 አድባርስ ፡ ይሰመዩ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ወአጋንንቲሁኒ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ልዕልና ፡ ትዕቢቶሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ቀዳሚሁ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ኮነ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ትዕቢት ፡ ፀኒሶ ፡ በጸዕር ፡ ዘወለደ ፡ ኀጢአተ ፡ እማሕፀኑ ፡ ዘምሉእ ፡ ሕምዘ ፡ ዘይቀትል ።
- 3 ወይእቲ ፡ ኀጢአቱ ፡ ልሂቃ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ኮነቶ ፡ ቀኖተ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ወለዘርኡ ።
- 4 ወበእንተዝ ፡ ዝኩኒ ፡ ለሓኩ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ርእየ ፡ ልሕኩቶ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጸዕር ፡ በአርዑተ ፡ ቅኔሁ ፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ ወረደ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢየዐርቅ ፡ እመንበሩ ፡
- 5 ዘሰማየ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ኢያገምሮ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማሕፀነ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ኀዲሮ ፡ ፱ አውራኃ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢያርኑ ፡ አንቀጸ ፡ ድንግልናሃ ፡ ተወሊዶ ፡

App. 1 (crit.) 3 ዐቃቤ ፡] cet. (- La); ወዓቃቤ ፡ La | ሥራይ ፡] cet. (- GLa); ሥርዓት ፡ G; om. La | ዘወረደ ፡] (ዘወረደ ፡ s.l. A | ርጢኖ ፡] ([ር]ጢኖ ፡ s.l. Ei), cet. | እለ ፡] cet. (- G); om. G 4 በንስከተ ፡] cet. (- EfKL a); በእንተ ፡ Ef; በንስከቶ ፡ K; በንስከተ ፡ La አርዌ ፡] cet. (- Ef); om. Ef | አትቡዕ ፡] cet. (- EiJ); እምትርቡዕ ፡ Ei; እምትቡዕ ። J; አታቡዕ ፡ Ld | ወአእኑስ ፡] cet. (EiG); ወአንኡስ ፡ A; አኮ ፡ Ei; አክቡር ፡ G | ፈኒዎ ፡] cet. (- ηEi); ፈኒወ ፡ η; ተፈኒዎ ፡ ከመ ፡ Ei 5 መንፈስ ፡] cet. (- ηEiG); መንፈሶ ፡ ህ; መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ Ei | ይበልዎ ፡] cet. (- EdG); ይበሉ ፡ Ed; ይበልዎ ። G 6 ሰማያቲክ ፡] cet. (- J); ሰማያት ፡ J | ወረድ ።] cet.; ውረድ ፡ s.l. A | አምላክ ፡] cet. (- EdK); om. EdK | ኃያላን ፡] cet. (- Ed); om. Ed 7 ሚጠነ ፡] cet. (- EdGJLaLbOa); om. Ed; ሚጠነ ፡ G; ሚጠነ ። J a; ሚጣነ ፡ LbOa | ግሥሦሙ ፡] cet. (- K); ግሥሦሙ ፡ K ለአድባር ፡] cet. (- Lb); ለአድር ፡ Lb | ወይጠይሱ ።] cet. (- ηG); ወይጢስ ፡ s.l. A; ወይጢሱ ። E jGLb; ወይጡሱ ፡ Va | ምንትኑመ ፡] cet.; ምንትመ ፡ Ld 8 ወጢሰቶሙኒ ፡] cet. (- GKLaLb); ወጢሰቶሙ ፡ G; ወጢሰቶሙ ፡ LaLb; om. K እምከመስ ፡] cet. (- Eb); እምከመ ፡ AEbLd 2,1 አድባርስ ፡] cet. (- K); ይጠፍኡ ። add. K; አርባርስ ፡ Ld | ይሰመዩ ፡] cet. (- ηGK); transp. post ሰይጣናት ፡ ህ; ይጠፍኡ ። add. K ሰይጣን ፡] cet. (- ηEdEfEiGLa); ሰይጣናት ፡ εEdEi; ሰይጣናት ፡ p.c. La; ወአጋንንቲሁኒ ፡] AK; cet. (- K) | በእንተ ፡] cet. (- La); om. La 2 ቀዳሚሁ ፡] cet. (- La); ከማሁ ፡ La | ሰይጣን ፡ ኮነ ፡] cet. (- ηGLa); ኮነ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ሁረላ | ሰይጣን ፡] cet. (- EiJ); om. EiJ | ትዕቢት ፡] cet.; ትዕቢተ ፡ A | ዘወለደ ፡] cet. (- EcEdEfLa); ወወለደ ፡ Ec; ወወለደ ፡ EdEfLa 3 ኀጢአት ፡] cet. (- J); ኀጢአት ፡ AJ | እማሕፀኑ ፡] cet. (- ηEdEfEiG); እምከርሡ ፡ ε; om. Ed; እምሕፅኑ ፡ Ei | ሕምዘ ፡] cet. (- ηG); ኀምዘ ፡ ηG 3,1 ወይእቲ ፡] (ወይእዜኒ ፡ s.l. Ec), cet. (- α); ወይእዜኒ ፡ α | ቀኖተ ፡] cet. (- ηEfG); ዕቅፍተ ፡ ε 4,1 ወበእንተዝ ፡] cet. (- EiGJ); ወበእንተ ፡ EiGJ | ለሓኩ ፡] cet. (- EdEiJKLa); ለኩኒ ፡ Ed; ለሓኮ ፡ EiJKLd; ለኀኩቲኒ ፡ La | ልሕኩቶ ፡] (ልሕኩቶ ፡ s.l. Ld), cet. (- La); om. La | ይጸዕር ፡] cet. (- JKVa); ይፃዕር ፡ E jVa; ይነብር ፡ J; ይጸዓን ፡ K; 2 ቅኔሁ ፡] cet. (- K); ቀኖተ ፡ K | ወረደ ፡] cet. (- EiJ); ዘወረደ ፡ EiJ | ኢየዐርቅ ፡] cet. (- Ed); ኢየኃዕዕ ፡ Ed | እመንበሩ ፡] cet.; እምንበሩ ፡ A 5,1 ዘሰማየ ፡ ...ኢያገምሮ ፡] cet. (- La); ዘኢያገምሮ ፡ ሰማየ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ La | ዘሰማየ ፡] (-La); cet. (- Ed); እምሰማየ ፡ Ed | ኢያገምሮ ፡] (-La); cet.; ዘአግመሮ ፡ Ld | ውስተ ፡] cet. (- Ef); ወውስተ ፡ Ef

a physician, Who descended from the heavens to cast His balm upon those who are wounded by the bites of beasts, oxen and cows, male and female, sending the Spirit to his Prophets, Who makes them say to Him, 'O Lord, incline your heavens and descend, raise up your power and come redeem us. Lord of Powers, restore us. Touch the mountains and they will smoke'. What is this touching of mountains and their smoking? Even they smoke, they vanish.

- 2 Satan and his devils are called mountains because of their utter arrogance. Because first Satan became a mountain of arrogance, having conceived in torment, who begat sin from his womb that was filled with poison which kills.
- 3 And this sin of his, growing fast, became a scourge for Adam and his seed.
- 4 And that is why the Creator, when he saw His creation suffering under the yoke of Satan's servitude descended, (yet) without divesting himself of His throne.
- 5 The one whom the heaven of heavens cannot encompass spent nine months in the womb of a woman, being born without opening the gate of Her Virginity.

ብእሲት ፡] cet. (- Ed); ድንግልና ፡ Ed | ኅዲሮ ፡] cet. (- EiJLa); ኅደረ ፡ ζA; ተገምረ ፡ EiJ | ፱ አውራጃ ፡] cet. (- EdEi); transp. ante ውስተ ፡ ማሕፀን ፡ Ed; ወፅተ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ add. Ei | 2 ኢያርት ፡] (ኢያርት ፡ s.l. Ed), cet. | አንቀጸ ፡] cet. (- ηEcEfG); ማዕዘ ፡ ε; አናቅጸ ፡ Ec | ድንግልናሃ ፡] ζEbEdEiJKVa; ድንግልና ፡ AEaEcEfEiJLbOa; ድንግልናሂ ፡ G | ተወሊዶ ፡] cet. (- EbEfK); ወሊዶ ፡ Eb; ተወልዶ ፡ EfK

App. 2 (punct.) 3 ዘወረደ ፡] # J | እምሰማያት ፡] # EiJ | ይደይ ፡] # J | ርጢኖ ፡] # J | 4 አርዌ ፡] # Eb; # K | ወአህምት ፡] # G | ወአእኑስ ፡] # EfEj | ፈኒዎ ፡] # J | 5 ዘያጌብሮሙ ፡] # J | ይበልዎ ፡] # Eb; # Ec | እግዚአ ፡] # Ea | 6 ወረድ ፡] # Ej | አድኅነነ ፡] # αEdEjGKOa; # Ei | 7 ሚጠነ ፡] # δEf | ለአድባር ፡] # A | ወይጠይሱ ፡] # AEcEdEfGKLbOa; # Ei | ለአድባር ፡] # La; # Eb | 8 ወጢሰ ቶሙኒ ፡] # Eb; # J | ይጠፍኡ ፡] # cet. (-ηEdEeGJLdOall) | 2,1 ይሰመዩ ፡] # J | ትዕቢቶሙ ፡] # βEdJK | 2 ትዕቢት ፡] # J | 3 ኅጢአተ ፡] # Ei | ዘይቀትል ፡] # AEjLd; # Oa | 3,1 ኮነቶ ፡] # J | ወለዘርኡ ፡] # cet. (-ζEcEdEeGOallVa) | 4,2 ለሰ ይጣን ፡] # βEfG; # Ei | ወረደ ፡] # J | እመንበሩ ፡] # Ec | 5,1 ኢያገምሮ ፡] #

App. 4 (font.) 5 አጽንን ፡ ... 8 ይጠፍኡ ፡] Cf. Ps. 44:26, Ps. 104:32 / Ps. 144:5 | 4,2 እንዘ ፡ ... እመንበሩ ፡] Cf. Ullendorff, E. 1987, 166. | 5,1 ማሕፀን ፡ ... 2 ተወሊዶ ፡] Cf. Weischer 1979, 32, 34.

App. 5 (test.) 3 እምሰማያት ፡] እምሰማያት ፡ A, 7rb, Ea, 7rb | ከመ ፡] ከመ ፡ Eb, 7va | እለ ፡] Oa, 10vb | 4 በንስከተ ፡] J, 7r | 5 ኅበ ፡] Ec, 7va | ዘያጌብሮሙ ፡] ዘያጌብሮሙ ፡ Ed, 9rb | ይበልዎ ፡] ይበልዎ ፡ Va, 5vb | እግዚአ ፡] እግዚአ ፡ Ei, 7vb | 6 ሰማያቲክ ፡] ሰማያቲክ ፡ K, 6ra | ኃይለክ ፡] Ld, 8va | 7 ምንትኑመ ፡] ምንትኑመ ፡ Lb, 7va, Ef, 7vb | 8 እምከመሰ ፡] እምከመሰ ፡ G, 46ra | ይጠፍኡ ፡] Ej, 6va | 2,1 ይሰመዩ ፡] ይሰመዩ ፡ A, 7va | ሰይጣን ፡] ሰይጣን ፡ Oa, 11ra | ወአጋንንቲሁኒ ፡] ወአጋንንቲሁ ፡ Eb, 7vb | 3 ዘይቀትል ፡] ዘይቀትል ፡ Ec, 7vb | 3,1 ወይእቲ ፡] ወይእቲ ፡ Ed, 9va | ለአዳም ፡] ለአዳም ፡ La, 28rb | ወለዘርኡ ፡] ወለዘርኡ ፡ Ei, 8ra | 4,1 ዝኩኒ ፡] Ea, 7va | ልሕኩቶ ፡] ልሕኩቶ ፡ Va, 6ra | ይጼዐር ፡] ይጼዓር ፡ Lb, 7va | በአርዑተ ፡] Ld, 8vb | 2 ቅኔሁ ፡] ቀኖሁ ፡ K, 6rb | ወረደ ፡] Oa, 11ra

- 6 ዘበደባትረ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ይሴወር ፡ በአፅርቅት ፡ ተጠብሊሎ ፡
 7 ዘበጽርሐ ፡ አርያም ፡ ያሰምክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጎል ፡ ሰኪቦ ፡
 8 ዘኢይበልዕ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ላህም ፡ ወኢይሰቲ ፡ ደመ ፡ ጠሊ ፡ ሕፅነ ፡ ሐሊቦ ፡ ጠቢዎ ፡
 9 ዘበክነፈ ፡ ነፋስ ፡ ይጸውር ፡ በአብራክ ፡ ተሐቂፎ ፡
 10 ዘብሉይ ፡ መዋዕሊሁ ፡ በበ ፡ ሕቅ ፡ ልሂቆ ፡
 11 ዘይትለአክዎ ፡ አእላፈ ፡ አእላፋት ፡ ከመ ፡ ገብር ፡ ተልኢኮ ፡
 12 ዘጎፀቦ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ በማየ ፡ አይኅ ፡ በዮርዳኖስ ፡ ተጠሚቆ ፡
 13 ሻመዓልተ ፡ ወሻሌሊተ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ገዳም ፡ ጸዊሞ ፡ እምድጎረዝ ፡ ርኒቦ ፡
 14 እምኅበ ፡ ዲያብሎስ ፡ ተመኪሮ ፡ ወወንጌለ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ምሂሮ ፡
 15 ድውያነ ፡ ፈዊሶ ፡ ዕውራነ ፡ ከሂቶ ፡ መፃጉዓነ ፡ አርቲያ ፡ ሐንካሳነ ፡ አርዊጾ ፡
 ጽቱማነ ፡ ፈቲሐ ፡ ጎሡፋነ ፡ አዔርዮ ፡ እለ ፡ ለምጽ ፡ አንጺሐ ፡ ጽሙማነ ፡
 አስሚያ ፡ ወበሃማነ ፡ አስተናጊሮ ፡
 16 ዘደመና ፡ ጸበለ ፡ እገሪሁ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ከይዶ ፡

App. 1 (crit.) 6,1 ዘበደባትረ ፡] cet. (- EdEiJLa); ዘበደብተራ ፡ EdEiJLa | ብርሃን ፡] cet. (- ηGJLa); ብርሃናት ፡ uJLd; ብርሃናውያን ፡ La | ተጠብሊሎ ፡] cet. (- EfGK); ተጠሊሎ ፡ Ef; ተጠብለሎ ፡ G; ተጠብለለ ፡ K 7,1 ዘበጽርሐ ፡] cet. (- ηEdG); ዘበጽሐ ፡ ηG; በጽርሐ ፡ Ed | ሰኪቦ ፡] cet. (- K); ሰኪቦ ፡ K 8,1 ዘኢይበልዕ ፡] cet. (- EiJLb); ዘኢይበሊ ፡ Ei; ዘኢበልዕ ፡ JLa | ሕፅነ ፡] cet. (- EdEfEiJKLa); ጎፃን ፡ EdEfK; ከመ ፡ ሕፃን ፡ EiJ; ከዊኖ ፡ add. La | ሐሊቦ ፡] cet. (- ηEcG); ሐሊብ ፡ ηAEcG | ጠቢዎ ፡] cet. (- G); ጠቢያ ፡ G 9,1 ዘበክነፈ ፡] (ዘበ{ክ}ነፈ ፡ s.l. Lb), cet. (- EdGKLa); ዘበአክናፈ ፡ Ed; በክነፈ ፡ GLa; ከመ ፡ ክንፈ ፡ K | ይጸውር ፡] cet. (- EdGJVa); ይፀወር ፡ EdJVa; ይዲወር ፡ G በአብራክ ፡] cet. (- KLa); በአክናፍ ፡ add. K; በአዕዳው ፡ La 10,1 ዘብሉይ ፡] cet. (- GLa); ብሉየ ፡ GLa | መዋዕሊሁ ፡] cet. (- GLa); መዋዕል ፡ GLa 11,1 አእላፈ ፡] cet. (- EcEfGLaLbOa); አእላፍ ፡ AEcEfGLaLbOa | አእላፋት ፡] cet. (- La); መላእክት ፡ La ገብር ፡] (s.l. Ei), cet. 12,1 ዘጎፀቦ ፡] cet. (- EiJ); ዘሕፀባ ፡ EiJ | በዮርዳኖስ ፡] (በማየ ፡] ዮርዳኖስ ፡ s.l. Ea), cet. (- Ec); በማየ ፡ ዮርዳኖስ ፡ Ec | ተጠሚቆ ፡] cet. (- K); ተጠምቆ ፡ K 13,1 ወሻሌሊተ ፡] cet. (- K); ሌሊተ ፡ K | እምድጎረዝ ፡] cet. (- La); ወእምድጎረዝ ፡] ርኒቦ ፡] cet. (- Ed); ኒቦ ፡ Ed 14,1 ዲያብሎስ ፡] (ዲያ)ብሎስ ፡ s.l. Ef), cet. ወወንጌለ ፡] cet. (- EdEfKLa); ወንጌለ ፡] EdEfK | መንግሥት ፡] cet. (- Lb); መንግሥቱ ፡ Lb | ምሂሮ ፡] cet. (- La); ምህሮ ፡ La 15,1 ዕውራነ ፡] cet. (- EcJ); ወዕውራነ ፡ Ec; ዕውራነ ፡ J | መፃጉዓነ ፡] cet. (- EiGJLa); መፃጉዓ ፡ G; ወመጸጉዓነ ፡] EiJ | አርቲያ ፡] cet. (- η); አርጊያ ፡] ር | ሐንካሳነ ፡] cet. (- JKLaoA); ሐንካሳነ ፡ AJ; ወሐንካሳነ ፡ KLaOa 2 ጽቱማነ ፡] (ዕውሳነ ፡ marg. Ec), cet. (- αEdEiJKLa); ዕውሳነ ፡ α; ጽሙማነ ፡ EdEiJK; ሙቁሐነ ፡ La | ጎሡፋነ ፡] (ሕሱፋነ ፡ a.c. ሕሱራነ ፡ p.c. Ec), cet. (- cet. αEfEiLa); ጎሡራነ ፡ αEi; ሕሙማነ ፡] Ef | አዔርዮ ፡] cet. (- ηEfGLa); አዓርዮ ፡ ε; አርዮ ፡ La ለምጽ ፡] cet. (- K); ለምጽ ፡ K | አንጺሐ ፡] cet. (- J); ንጽሐ ፡ J | ጽሙማነ ፡] cet. (- EiJ); om. EiJ 3 አስሚያ ፡] cet. (- JLa); om. JLa | ወበሃማነ ፡] cet. (- EdEi); om. EdEi; በሐማነ ፡] Ld | አስተናጊሮ ፡] cet. (- EdEiJ); om. Ed; ከሂቶ ፡ EiJ 16,1 ዘደመና ፡] cet. (- EdLa); በደመና ፡ Ed; ደመና ፡ La | ጸበለ ፡] cet. (- G); ፀልበ ፡ G | ምድረ ፡] cet. (- EfLa); ምድር ፡ EfLa

- 6 The one who is concealed in tabernacles of light was swaddled in rags.
 7 The one who rests in the chamber of the highest heaven slept in a stable.
 8 The one who does not eat the meat of a cow nor drink the blood of goat, suckled the breast of milk.
 9 The one who is borne on the wings of the wind was dandled on the knees.
 10 The Ancient of Days grew old little by little.
 11 The one whom myriads upon myriads ministered to, (himself) ministered like a servant.
 12 The one Who washed the world in the waters of the Deluge was baptised in the Jordan.
 13 40 days and 40 nights fasted in the desert, then He became hungry.
 14 He was tempted by the Devil and taught the Gospel of the Kingdom.
 15 He healed the sick, opened the eyes of the blind, raised up the paralysed. He made the lame to run. He loosed the twisted. He made smooth the scabby. He purified the leprous. He made the deaf hear and the dumb speak.
 16 The one Who had clouds as the dust under His feet, trod the earth.

EaEd | ጥዲሮ ፡] # Ed | አውራጃ ፡] # Ea 2 አንቀጸ ፡] # J | ድንግልናሃ ፡] # Ei ተወሊዶ ፡] # EaEdEfEjVa; ፤ EbLb
 6,1 ብርሃን ፡] # J | ይሴወር ፡] # K | ተጠብሊሎ ፡] # EaEjLb; ፤ Eb 7,1 ያሰምክ ፡] # EcEdEiJ | ሰኪቦ ፡] # Ea; ፤ EbEi 8,1 ጠሊ ፡] # EcJLa; ፤ Eb | ጠቢቃ ፡] # EaK; ፤ EbEi 9,1 ይጸውር ፡] # J | ተሐቂፎ ፡] # EaEcVa; ፤ EbEi 10,1 ዘይትለአክዎ ፡] # J መዋዕሊሁ ፡] # J | ልሂቆ ፡] # EaEcEiEjGJLb; ፤ Eb 11,1 ዘይትለአክዎ ፡] # J አእላፋት ፡] # EdEiJK | ተልኢኮ ፡] ፤ Eb; # EcEd 12,1 ለዓለም ፡] # J | አይኅ ፡] # i | ተጠሚቆ ፡] # EaEfEjJLa; ፤ Eb 13,1 ወጃሌሊተ ፡] # EdJ | ጸዊሞ ፡] ፤ α; # EdEiJLa | ርኒቦ ፡] ፤ αG 14,1 ተመኪሮ ፡] # EaEcEdEi; ፤ Eb | ምሂሮ ፡] ፤ β; # EdEfOa 15,1 ፈዊሶ ፡] # EaEiJ; ፤ Eb | ከሂቆ ፡] ፤ α; # EcEdJ | አርቲዎ ፡] ፤ α; # EjG | አርዊጾ ፡] # αηEdG 2 ፈቲሐ ፡] ፤ αLb; # LaVa | አዔርዮ #] # EcEdEfGJOa; ፤ αLb | አንጺሐ ፡] ፤ αLb; # EcEiVa 3 አስሚዎ ፡] # EcEdVa; ፤ αLb | አስተናጊሮ #] # AEaEfGKLbOa; ፤ EbEc 16,1 ከይዶ ፡] # EaEcEd; ፤ Eb

App. 4 (font.) 8,1 ዘኢይበልዕ ፡...9,1 ተሐቂፎ ፡] Cf. Isaiah 66:12 12,1 በዮርዳኖስ ፡ ተጠሚቆ ፡] Cf. Ibid., 34. 13,1 ጃመዓልተ ፡...ርኒቦ ፡] Cf. Ibid., 36, 38. 14,1 ወወንጌለ ፡...15,3 አስተናጊሮ #] Cf. Ibid., 38.

5,1 ዘሰማየ ፡] ዘሰማየ ፡A, 7vb | ውስተ ፡] J, 7v | ማሕፀነ ፡] ማኅፀነ ፡] Eb, 8ra ብእሲት ፡] ብእሲት ፡] Ef, 8ra
 7,1 አርያም ፡] አርያም ፡] Ej, 6vb | ያሰምክ ፡] Ed, 9vb 8,1 ወኢይሰቲ ፡] G, 46rb ጠሊ ፡] Ec, 8ra 9,1 ዘበክነፈ ፡] ዘበክነፈ ፡] Oa, 11va | ተሐቂፎ ፡] ተሐቂፎ ፡] Lb, 8ra 11,1 ዘይትለአክዎ ፡] ዘይትለአክዎ ፡] Ld, 9ra | አእላፋት ፡] አእላፋት ፡] A, 8ra | ገብር ፡] ገብር ፡] K, 6va | ተልኢኮ ፡] ተልኢኮ ፤ Eb, 8rb 12,1 አይኅ ፡] Va, 6rb 13,1 ጸዊሞ ፡] Ea, 7vb 14,1 እምነብ ፡] Ef, 8rb | ወወንጌለ ፡] ወንጌለ ፡] Ed, 10ra | መንግሥት ፡] መንግሥት ፡] La, 28va 15,1 ፈዊሶ ፡] ፈዊሶ ፡] Oa, 11vb 2 ፈቲሐ ፡] ፈቲሐ ፡] Ei, 8va እለ ፡] እለ ፡] Lb, 8rb | አንጺሐ ፡] J, 8r 3 አስሚዎ ፡] Ej, 7ra | አስተናጊሮ #] አስተናጊሮ ፡] A, 8rb 16,1 እገሪሁ ፡] እገሪሁ ፡] Ld, 9rb | ከይዶ ፡] Eb, 8va

- 17 **ዘይጼዓን** ፡ ዲበ ፡ ኪሩቤል ፡ ዲበ ፡ አድግ ፡ ተጽዒኖ ፡
 18 **ወኩሎ** ፡ ትሕትና ፡ አርእዮ ፡ ወሕማማተ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ተወኪፎ ፡
 19 **በየማነ** ፡ ገብር ፡ ቀዊሞ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጊጉይ ፡ ተአሲሮ ፡
 20 **በእደ** ፡ ገብር ፡ ተጸፊዖ ፡ በበትረ ፡ ኅለት ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ተከራሪዖ ፡
 21 **ወዲበ** ፡ መስቀል ፡ ተሰቂሎ ፡ ዲበ ፡ አእጋር ፡ ወአእዳው ፡ ተቀኒዖ ፡
 22 **ወሐሞተ** ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ ከርቤ ፡ ቱሱሐ ፡ ሰቲዮ ፡
 23 **ወሰሊጦ** ፡ መዊተ ፡ በአጽንኖ ፡ ርእሱ ፡ ወገቦሁ ፡ ተረጊዞ ፡ እንተ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡
 ውሕዙ ፡ ክልኤ ፡ አፍላገ ፡ ሕይወት ።
 24 **ወተገኒዞ** ፡ በሰንደናተ ፡ ገርዜን ፡ ወተቀቢሮ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መቃብር ፡ ወተዓጺዖ ፡
 በእብነ ፡ ማኅተሞሙ ፡ ለአይሁድ ፡
 25 **ወነቢሮ** ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልበ ፡ ምድር ፡ ሠሉስ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ወሠሉስ ፡ ለያልየ ፡ ወተንሢኦ ፡
 እምውታን ፡ ወአንሢኦ ፡ ምውታን ፡
 26 **ዐርገ** ፡ ሰማያተ ፡ ወሀሎ ፡ ይነብር ፡ በየማነ ፡ ዕበዩ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ አብ ፡ ወይትዋቀሥ ፡
 በእንቲአነ ።

App. 1 (crit.) 17,1 **ዘይጼዓን** ፡] cet. (- LbOa); **ዘይትጼዓን** ፡ LbOa | **ኪሩቤል** ፡] cet. (- Ef); om. Ef | **ዲበ ፡ አድግ** ፡] cet. (- Ed); **በዕዋል** ፡ Ed | **ዲበ ፡** 2] cet. (- Ef); om. Ef
 18,1 **ወኩሎ** ፡] cet. (- Ed); **ወኩሎ** ፡ Ed | **አርእዮ** ፡] cet. (- G); **አርእዮ** ፡ G
ወሕማማተ ፡] cet. (- GJK); **ሕማማተ** ፡ G; **ወሕማተ** ፡ J; **ወሕማመ** ፡ K 19,1 **በየማነ ፡**
ገብር ፡] cet. (- EaEc); **በዓውደ ፡ ጲላጦስ** ፡ p.c. Ea, s.l. Ec | **ቀዊሞ** ፡] (ቀ{ዊ}ሞ ፡ marg.
 Ed), cet. | **ጊጉይ** ፡] cet. (- G); **ገብር** ፡ add. G 20,1 **በእደ** ፡] (በከመ ፡ a.c., በእደ ፡ s.l. G),
 cet. | **ርእሶ** ፡] cet. (- La); **ቅድስት** ፡ add. La 21,1 **ወዲበ** ፡] ተ cet. (- EiLa); **በዲበ ፡** ζEi
ዲበ ፡] cet. (- EdLa); om. EdLa | **አእጋር ፡ ወአእዳው** ፡] cet. (- EdKLa); **አእጋር ፡**
ወአእጋር ፡ Ed; **አእዳው ፡ ወአእጋር** ፡ K; **እደዊሁ ፡ ወእገሪሁ** ፡ La | **ወአእዳው** ፡] cet. (- Ei);
አእዳው ፡ A; **አዕጋሪሁ** ፡ Ei | **ተቀኒዖ** ፡] cet. (- EaEc); **በቅንዋት** ፡ add. Ec, marg. Ea
 22,1 **ወሐሞተ** ፡] cet. (- EiGLa); **ሐሞተ** ፡ EiGLa | **ዘምስለ** ፡] cet. (- EfEiGLa); **ምስለ** ፡
 AEfEiEjGLa | **ቱሱሐ** ፡] cet. (- Ed); om. Ed | **ሰቲዮ** ፡] ζEdEfEjKLb; **ሰትዮ** ፡ A;
ሰቲዖ ፡ G; 23,1 **ወሰሊጦ** ፡] cet. (- J); **ወሰለጦ** ፡ J | **መዊተ** ፡] cet. (- EiJLa); **መዊቶ** ፡
 EiJLd; **ሞተ** ። La | **በአጽንኖ** ፡] cet. (- La); **አድኒኖ** ፡ La; **ወአድኒኖ** ፡ Ld | **ርእሱ** ፡] cet.
 (- EiJLa); **ርእሶ** ፡ ζEiJ | **ወገቦሁ** ፡] cet. (- La); **ገቦሁ** ፡ La | **እንተ** ፡] cet. (- EdEiJLa);
 om. EdEiJLa | **እምኔሁ** ፡] cet. (- G); **እምኔሆሙ** ፡ G 2 **ውሕዙ** ፡] cet. (- ηGK); **ውኅዘ** ፡
 η; **ውኒዞ** ፡ G; **ውሐዝ** ፡ K | **አፍላገ** ፡] cet. (- La); **ማየ** ፡ add. La | **ሕይወት** ።] cet. (-
 EiJ); **ገነት** ። Ei; **ገ ፡ ት** ። J 24,1 **በሰንደናተ** ፡] (በሰንደ{ና}ተ ፡ s.l. Ef), cet. (- EdGJLaVa);
በሰንደናት ፡ AEdJ; **በሰዱናት** ፡ EjGVa; **በሰደናት** ፡ La | **ገርዜን** ፡] cet. (- EdGVa);
ገርዜ ፡ A; om. Ed; **ወገርዜን** ፡ EjGVa | **ወተቀቢሮ** ፡] cet. (- K); **ተቀቢሮ** ፡ K; **ወቀቢሮ** ፡
 Ld | **ውስተ ፡ መቃብር** ፡] cet. (- EiJ); **በመቃብር** ፡ EiJLd | **ወተዓጺዖ** ፡] cet. (- EdGLa);
ወተሐቲሞ ፡ ζEd; **ወተዓጺዖ** ፡ G 2 **በእብነ** ፡] cet. (- EfLa); **በዕብን** ፡ Ef; om. La
ማኅተሞሙ ፡] cet. (- EiJ); **ማኅተሞ** ፡ EiJ | **ለአይሁድ** ፡] cet. (- Ei); om. Ei
 25,1 **ወነቢሮ** ፡] cet. (- Oa); **ነቢሮ** ፡ Oa | **ልበ** ፡] cet. (- La); om. La | **ሠሉስ** ፡] cet. (- J);
ሰለስተ ፡ J | **መዋዕለ** ፡] cet. (- Ef); **መዋዕል** ፡ Ef; **ዋዕለ** ፡ Ld | **ወሠሉስ** ፡] cet. (- J);
ሰለስተ ፡ J | **ወተንሢኦ** ፡] cet. (- Ef); **ወተሢኦ** ፡ Ef 2 **ወአንሢኦ ፡ ምውታን** ፡] cet. (-
 ηEfGJLa); om. εJLa | **ወአንሢኦ** ፡] (-εJLa), cet.; **ወአንኦ** ፡ A 26,1 **ዐርገ** ፡] cet. (-
 EdEfG); **ወዓርገ** ፡ EdG; **ዓር** Ef | **ሰማያተ** ፡] cet. (- EdGLa); **ኅበ** ፡ አቡሁ ፡ Ed; **ሰማያት** ፡

- 17 The one Who would ride on the Cherubim, rode on a donkey.
 18 And He showed utter humility and accepted (all) sufferings of the flesh.
 19 He stood to the right of a servant. He was bound like a criminal.
 20 He was slapped in the face by the hand of a servant. His head was beaten with a stick of cane.
 21 And He was hung on the Cross, He was nailed by His feet and hands.
 22 And He drank gall mixed with myrrh.
 23 And bowing His head He accomplished (His) dying. And His side was pierced, from which flowed two streams of life.
 24 And He was shrouded in fine linen cloth. And He was buried in a tomb. And it was closed with the stone of the Seal of the Jews.
 25 And He spent three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. And He was raised from the dead and He raised the dead.
 26 He ascended into the heavens and He is sitting on the right hand of the Majesty, Who is the Father, and He intercedes for us.

G; ውስተ ሰማያት ፡ La | ወሀሎ ፡ ይነበር ፡] cet. (- Ei); ወነበረ ፡ Ei | ይነበር ፡] (-Ei), cet. (- K); ይነበር ፡ K | ዕበዩ ፡] cet. (- EdLa); እቡዩ ፡ Ed; ዕበዩ ፡ La | ዘውእቱ ፡] cet.; ዘውእቱ ፡ A | ወይትዋቀሥ ፡] cet. (- G); ወይትዋቀሶ ፡ G

App. 2 (punct.) 17,1 ዘይጸዓን ፡] # J | ኪሩቤል ፡] # J | አድግ ፡] # J | ተጽዒኖ ፡] # Eb; # EcEiJOa 18,1 ትሕትና ፡] # J | አርእዮ ፡] # EaEdEiK; # Eb | ሥጋ ፡] # J ተወኪሮ ፡] # Eb; # EcEdJ 19,1 ቀዊሞ ፡] # JK | ጊጉይ ፡] # J 20,1 ተጸፊዎ ፡] # EaEdEiJLd | ተኩሪዎ ፡] # EcEdEfEiJK; # EaLb 21,1 ተሰቂሎ ፡] # EdJ | አእጋር ፡] # η | ተቀኒዎ ፡] # EcEfEiOa 22,1 ቱሱሐ ፡] # Ea | ሰቲዮ ፡] # EdJK 23,1 መዊተ ፡] # La | በአጽንኖ ፡] # J | ርእሱ ፡] # Ea; # cet. (-αζAEdEeKOall) ተረጊዞ ፡] # J | እምኔሁ ፡] # J 2 ሕይወት #] # cet. (-ηEbEeEfKLaaOall); # # K 24,1 ገርዜን ፡] # EaEcEiJOa | ወተቀቢሮ ፡] # J | ወተዓጺዎ ፡] # J 2 ማኅተሞው ፡] # Ei | ለአይሁድ ፡] # ζEaEcEdEf 25,1 ሊያልዩ ፡] # EjLd 2 እምውታን ፡] # JVa ምውታን ፡] # EiOa 26,1 ሰማያት ፡] # Ea | ዕበዩ ፡] # GJ | ዘውእቱ ፡] # J 2 በእንቲአን #] # AEj; # # Ec

App. 3 (addit.) 26,1 ዐርገ ፡] በረከቱ ፡ ለላሊበላ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓ አ # marg. ዘናሕሴ ፡ Lb

App. 4 (font.) 24,1 ወተገኒዞ ፡ ... 24,2 ለአይሁድ ፡] Cf. Ibid., 40. 26,1 ዐርገ ፡ ... 26,2 በእንቲአን #] Cf. Romans 8:34

App. 5 (test.) 18,1 ትሕትና ፡] G, 46va | ወሕማማተ ፡] K, 6vb 20,1 ተጸፊዎ ፡] Oa, 12ra | ርእሱ ፡] ርእሶ ፡ Va, 6va, Ed, 10rb 21,1 ወአእዳው ፡] ወአእዳው ፡ Ef, 8va 22,1 ከርቤ ፡] ከርቤ ፡ Lb, 8va 23,1 ወገቦሁ ፡] ወገቦሁ ፡ Ea, 8ra, Ei, 8vb | ተረጊዞ ፡] ተረጊዞ ፡ Ec, 8va | እንተ ፡] እንተ ፡ A, 8va 2 ሕይወት #] ሕይወት ፡ Eb, 8vb 24,1 ወተገኒዞ ፡] ወተገኒዞ ፡ Ld, 9va 25,1 ወነቢሮ ፡] ወነቢሮ ፡ Oa, 12rb | ውስተ ፡] ውስተ ፡ Ej, 7rb | ሊያልዩ ፡] ሊያልዩ ፡ La, 28vb; K, 7ra 2 ምውታን ፡] Ed, 10va

Edition Two: ‘Malkə³a Lālibalā of UNESCO 2.85’⁵⁵³

1. ሰላም ፡ ለልደትክ ፡ በንጹሕ ፡ ሰብሳብ ፡
 ላሊበላ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡
 ዘአስተርአይክ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘብሩህ ፡ ኮከብ ።
 ተማሕፀነ ፡ በልደትክ ፡ ወንጌላዊያን ፡ ሕዝብ ፡
 ከመ ፡ ትሰውረነ ፡ እምተኩለ ፡ ወዝእብ ።፤

1. Salutation to your birth in a pure marriage,
 wise Lālibalā,
 you appeared like a shining star.
 We, evangelic people, appeal by your birth
 that you protect us from the wolf and the hyena.

2. ሰላም ፡ ለልደትክ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ዘኣዳ ፡
 በአምሳለ ፡ ንህብ ፡ ጸዕዳ ።
 ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ለስርዌ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ዐምዳ ፡
 ተማሕፀነ ፡ በልደትክ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ውሉዳ ፡
 ኢያስጠመነ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ ሞገዳ ።፤

2. Salutation to your birth that the spirit of wisdom
 encompassed in the likeness of bright bees.
 Blessed Lālibalā, pillar for the hosts of the faith,
 we, children of the church, appeal by your birth
 never to be destroyed by the tempest.

3. ሰላም ፡ ለሥዕርተ ፡ ርእሰክ ፡ በቅብኣ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ እለ ፡ ጠላ ፡
 ዐምደ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ላሊበላ ፡
 ዘዐቀብክ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ በቋፄ ፡ ተድላ ።
 ተማሕፀነ ፡ በሥዕርተክ ፡ ኩነነ ፡ ቀጸላ ፡
 አብሐነ ፡ ንኪድ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ወተኩላ ።፤

3. Salutation to the hair of your head, wet from the oil of the Gospel,
 Lālibalā, pillar of faith,

⁵⁵³ I thank Ted Erho for indicating me this hymn and Hiruie Ermias and Orin Gensler for helping me with its translation.

who fulfilled the Law of Christ, the Benefactor of delight.

We appeal by your hair to be our crown,
allow us to trample the lion and wolf.

4. ሰላም ፡ ለከተማ ፡ ርእሰክ ፡ እለ ፡ ተከለለ ፡ በሰን ፡

አክሊለ ፡ ብርሃን ።

ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ዘወንጌለ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ቀርን ፡

ለከተማ ፡ ርእሰክ ፡ ይደልዎን ፡ ፍርቃን ፡

ዜናክ ፡ ተሰምዐ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መካን ።፤

4. Salutation to the top of your head, which is surrounded by beauty,
(like) a crown of light.

Blessed Lālibalā, horn of the Gospel of the Kingdom,
salvation is fitting for the top of your head,
your fame was heard everywhere.

5. ሰላም ፡ ለገጽክ ፡ ልሁይ ፡

ጥቀ ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ኅሩይ ፡

በፍቅረ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ርሱይ ። በልሁይ ፡

ገጽክ ፡ ተማኅፀንኩ ፡ ነዳይ ፡

አብሐኒ ፡ እመኦ ፡ ለአርፄ ፡ ጊጉይ ።፤

5. Salutation to your lovely face,
very beautiful, Lālibalā, who is chosen
(and) adorned by the love of Mary.

I, the poor, appeal by your lovely face,
allow me to conquer the wicked beast.

6. ሰላም ፡ ለቀራንብቲክ ፡ ንዋመ ፡ ሀኬት ፡ እለ ፡ ኢኖማ ፡

ላሊበላ ፡ ዘኮንክ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ተቅዋማ ።

መኑ ፡ ከማክ ፡ በሥነ ፡ ገድል ፡ ወጸማ ።

ተማኡፀንኩ ፡ በቀራንብቲክ ፡ ለቀራንብትየ ፡ ኅትማ ፡

ኢይቅረባ ፡ ለዝላፉ ፡ አርፄ ፡ ቅስት ፡ መስቴማ ።፤

6. Salutation to your eyelashes, which did not sleep, a slumber of sloth,
Lālibalā, you, who were a pedestal for the church.

Who is like you in excellence of struggle and toil?!

I appeal by your eyelashes to seal my eyelashes,
so that the Devil, the beast of contention, may never come near them.

7. ሰላም ፡ ለአዕይንቲክ ፡ ፍትወተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ እለ ፡ ኢነጸራ ።
 ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር ፡ ሐራ ፡
 ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በአዕይንቲክ ፡ ኢይርከበኒ ፡ መከራ ፡
 ወክልለኒ ፡ ዘመዊእ ፡ ጌራ ።

7. Salutation to your eyes, which did not regard worldly desires.
 Blessed Lālibalā, host of the Lord,
 I appeal by your eyes that temptation may not overcome me,
 and crown me with a diadem of victory.

8. ሰላም ፡ ለእዘኒክ ፡ ማኅሌተ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ዘሰምዓ ፡
 በልበ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያፀምእ ፡
 መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ዘላዕሊ ፡ በሕቁ ፡ አድምዐ ።
 ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በእእዛኒክ ፡ ኩነኒ ፡ መርድኡ ፡
 ቅድመ ፡ ገጸ ፡ ልዑል ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትከውን ፡ ስምዐ ።

8. Salutation to your ears that heard the hymns of Michael
 in the heart of the spirit, while listening;
 it reached the Kingdom of the uppermost Heaven.
 I appeal by your ears, Lālibalā, be my helper
 before the Most High, being a witness.

9. ሰላም ፡ ለመላትሒክ ፡ ቀይሕ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሮማን ፡
 ወእዳም ፡ ከመ ፡ ወይን ።
 ላሊበላ ፡ ኅሩይ ፡ ዘመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አክራጦን ፡
 ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በመላትሒክ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ምኑን ፡
 ትንባሌክ ፡ ትኩነኒ ፡ ማዕድት ፡ እምደይን ።

9. Salutation to your cheeks, red as pomegranates
 and delightful as wine.
 Chosen Lālibalā, pure wine of the Holy Spirit,
 I, despised man, appeal by your cheeks
 that your supplication shall be for me a ford away from Judgement.

10. ሰላም ፡ ለእእናፊክ ፡ እለ ፡ አጼነዋ ፡ ክሱተ ፡
 ወንጌላዌ ፡ ዕፍረተ ፡
 ላሊበላ ፡ ዘጸርክ ፡ ዘመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አርዑተ ።
 ተማገፀኝ ፡ በእእናፊክ ፡ ንሥኣነ ፡ ዐሥራተ ፡
 ወአዕድወነ ፡ ዘሲኦል ፡ ማዕገተ ።

10. Salutation to your nostrils, which smell clearly of
the evangelic perfume,

Lālibalā, who bore the yoke of the Holy Spirit.

We appeal by your nostrils, take care of us
and bring us past the snares of Sheol.

11. ሰላም ፡ ለከፍፍሪክ ፡ ቀይሐት ፡ ከመ ፡ ፍሕሶ ፡
ዘኢነበባ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዘርቅ ፡ ወኣብሶ ፡
ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ምዑዝ ፡ ምግባር ፡ ከመ ፡ አንክሶ ፡
ለመንክረ ፡ ዕርገት ፡ እንተ ፡ ሐነጽከ ፡ መቅደሶ ።
ለሐመርየ ፡ አብጽሐ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ዛሕን ፡ ወመርሶ ።

11. Salutation to your lips, rosy as a red flower,
which did not say vain words of transgression;
Blessed Lālibalā whose deeds are as fragrant as myrrh;
you, who built the temple of the wonder of Ascension (Christ),
bring my ship in to port of peace.

12. ሰላም ፡ ለመክሥተ ፡ አፉክ ፡ እንተ ፡ አውሐዛ ፡ ሰባሔ ።
ውስተ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ኩነነ ፡ መራሔ ።

12. Salutation to the opening of your mouth, that pours out praise.
Be a guide for us on the path of righteousness.

13. ሰላም ፡ ለአስናኒክ ፡ በቆዐ ፡ ኀጢአት ፡ ዘኢፀርሳ ፡
ወኢተደነሳ ፡
ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ሮሳ ።
ሀገረ ፡ ሮሃ ፡ ትብለክ ፡ ሐቂሳ ፡
እስመ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ለክ ፡ ወአንተ ፡ ሞገሳ ።

13. Salutation to your teeth which did not become dirty because of the sour grapes of sin
and were not defiled,

Blessed Lālibalā, son of the church.

The town of Roḥa bids you ‘Welcome!’

because it belongs to you and you are its grace.

14. ሰላም ፡ ለልሳንክ ፡ እለ ፡ ጸለያ ፡ በስኢል ፡
ከመ ፡ ይትመየጥ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ እስራኤል ።
ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ኮከበ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ጽዱል ፡

ተማገፀን ፡ በልሳንክ ፡ ዘሙሐዘ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ፈልፈል ፡
 ከመ ፡ ትባልሐን ፡ እምአርዌ ፡ ሕጉል ፡፤

14. Salutation to your tongue which prayed, asking
 for the return of the kingdom of Israel.
 Blessed Lālibalā, radiant star of faith,
 We appeal by your tongue, which (is) a gushing river of praise,
 to save us from the corrupted beast.

15. ሰላም ፡ ለጉርጌክ ፡ ወይን ፡ አስፆዝዞ ፡ ዘኢሰትየ ፡
 እማየ ፡ ገነት ፡ ከዊኖ ፡ ርውየ ፡፤
 ላሊበላ ፡ ረሰይክ ፡ እክለ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሲሳየ ፡
 ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በጉርጌክ ፡ ኩነኒ ፡ ምስካየ ፡
 ወአዕድወኒ ፡ ዘእሳት ፡ ቀላየ ፡፤

15. Salutation to your throat which did not drink the wine of stupefaction,
 Being satisfied with water from Paradise.
 Lālibalā, you made grains of the Holy Spirit (to be) nourishment;
 I appeal by your throat, be my refuge
 And pass me over the abyss of fire.

16. ሰላም ፡ ለጽሕምክ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጽሕመ ፡ አሮን ፡ ስዩም ፡
 ናሁ ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ወናሁ ፡ አዳም ፡፤
 ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ዘቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ያቁም ፡
 ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በጽሕምክ ፡ ወልድክ ፡ ድኩም ፡
 ሰውረኒ ፡ ሊተ ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ ሕማም ፡፤

16. Salutation to your beard, like the beard of Aaron,
 Behold it is good and beautiful.
 Blessed Lālibalā, firm pillar of the church,
 I, your weak son, appeal by your beard,
 protect me from all suffering.

17. ሰላም ፡ ለክሳድክ ፡ በብዙኅ ፡ ጽሂቅ ፡
 እለ ፡ ተሰርገወ ፡ በዝግና ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ዘጽድቅ ፡፤
 ላሊበላ ፡ ጽሩይ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘፓሩሄ ፡ ወርቅ ፡
 ተማገፀን ፡ በክሳድክ ፡ ወንጌላዊያን ፡ ደቂቅ ፡
 ከመ ፡ ትሰውረን ፡ እምጋኔን ፡ ወደድቅ ፡፤

17. Salutation to your neck, which, through great diligence,
Is adorned with a necklace of the light of righteousness.
Pure Lālibalā as a (?) gold,
we, evangelic disciples, appeal by your neck,
that you protect us from the devil and calamity.

18. ሰላም ፡ ለመትከፍትከ ፡ እለ ፡ ኢጸራ ፡ ከበደ ፡ ንጢአት ፡
ዘሀገረ ፡ ሮሃ ፡ ማሕቶት ።
ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ በሐብለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ቅኑት ።
ተማኅፀነ ፡ በመትከፍትከ ፡ ወንጌላዊያን ፡ መርዔት ፡
ከመ ፡ ታዕድወነ ፡ እምዳግም ፡ ሞት ።፤

18. Salutation to your shoulder(s) which did not bear the burden of sin,
lamp of Roḥa town.
Blessed Lālibalā, girded by a rope of faith.
We, evangelic flock, appeal by your shoulder,
that you pass us over the second death.

19. ሰላም ፡ ለዘባንከ ፡ ብርሃነ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ዘተሞጥሐ ፡
በሀገረ ፡ ሮሃ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ታቄርብ ፡ በህየ ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ንጹሐ ።
ተማኅፀንኩ ፡ በዘባንከ ፡ ምልአኒ ፡ ፍሥሐ ፡
ሐውፀኒ ፡ ለለ ፡ ሳው ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብል ፡ ባሐ ።፤

19. Salutation to your back, clothed in the light of Divinity,
while offering there the pure sacrifice of the Lord in Roḥa town.
I appeal by your back, fill me with joy,
Visit me every time, while saying ‘Greetings!’

20. ሰላም ፡ ለኅፅንከ ፡ እለ ፡
ሐቀፋ ፡ ወንጌለ ፡
እንዘ ፡ ይስብካ ፡ ቃለ ።
ላሊበላ ፡ ዘኮንከ ፡ ዘሐሊበ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ምዕቃለ ።
ተማኅፀንኩ ፡ በኅፀኒከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይኩን ፡ ሕጉለ ፡
ረስየኒ ፡ አድምዕ ፡ ዘጻድቃን ፡ ክፍለ ።፤

20. Salutation to your bosom, which
Embraced the Gospel,
while preaching the Word.

Lālibalā, who became a reservoir of the milk of the Gospel.

I appeal by your bosom, that I may not be lost,
make me obtain a portion of the righteous.

21 ሰላም ፡ ለአእዳዊክ ፡ እለ ፡ ኢተሀከያ ፡ ለጎኒፅ ፡
ቤተ ፡ ፈጣሪ ፡ እንበለ ፡ መሬት ፡ ወዕፅ ።
ኢዳንከኒ ፡ በጽሌ ፡ በጽሌ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ቅሩጽ ፡
ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ዘጥበበ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ሰርፅ ።
በአእዳዊክ ፡ ተማገፀንኩ ፡ እምወዲቅ ፡ ወዳሕፅ ።፤

21. Salutation to your hands which were not lazy in building
the House of the Creator without earth or wood.

Your covenant, engraved on every one of the tablets of heaven.

Blessed Lālibalā, blossom of heavenly wisdom.

I appeal by your hands (to be protected) from falling and slipping down.

22 ሰላም ፡ ለእራጋቲክ ፡ እለ ፡ አሐዘ ፡ በትረ ፡ መዊእ ።
ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡
ቦቶን ፡ ተገንጸ ፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር ፡ ምሥዋዕ ።
ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በእራጎክ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ ኃጥእ ፡
ከመ ፡ ትሰውረ ፡ እመንሱት ፡ ወጽልእ ።፤

22. Salutation to your palms, which hold the scepter of Victory.

Blessed Lālibalā;

by them the altar of the Lord was built.

I, your sinful servant, appeal by your palms
to protect me from temptation and enmity.

23. ሰላም ፡ ለአጽብዒክ ፡ እለ ፡ ጎነዓ ፡ ዳቤረ ፡
አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ዐሥረ ።
ላሊበላ ፡ ዘኮንክ ፡ ለጥበበ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ መንበረ ፡
ቅዱሳት ፡ አፃብዒክ ፡ እለ ፡ ተመልእ ፡ ምዕዛረ ፡
ይባርካኒ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አሚረ ።፤

23. Salutation to your fingers which built a sanctuary
(and) ten churches.

Lālibalā, you who were the seat of heavenly wisdom,
your holy fingers that were full of shining splendour
bless me all day long.

24.ሰላም ፡ ለገበዋቲክ ፡ እለ ፡ ተወክፋ ፡ ጥብጣቤ ፡
 መጽሐፈ ፡ ገድልክ ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ።
 ላሊበላ ፡ ምዑዝ ፡ እምነ ፡ ስሒን ፡ ወከርቤ ።
 ተማኅፀንኩ ፡ በገበዋቲክ ፡ ኩነኒ ፡ ዐቃቤ ፡
 ወባልሐኒ ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ ምንዳቤ ።፤

24. Salutation to your ribs which received whipping,
 as says the book of your struggle.
 Lālibalā, more fragrant than incense and myrrh.
 I appeal by your ribs, be my protector,
 and save me from all torment.

25.ሰላም ፡ ለኅሊናክ ፡ በኅፀ ፡ ፍቅሩ ፡ ዘተነድፈ ፡
 ለወድዶ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዘልፈ ።
 ላሊበላ ፡ መልአክ ፡ አክናፈ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ዘተዐፅፈ ።
 ተማኅፀንኩ ፡ በኅሊናክ ፡ ኩነኒ ፡ ሐዳፈ ፡
 እንዘ ፡ ትሜጥወኒ ፡ ዘመዊእ ፡ ሰይፈ ።፤

25. Salutation to your mind, which was ever wounded by the arrow
 of the Son of God's love.

Angel Lālibalā, who clothed himself in the wings of Michael.
 I appeal by your mind, be my guide,
 granting me the sword of victory.

26.ሰላም ፡ ለልብክ ፡ ለኅልዮ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ኢተከዘ ፡
 እንዘ ፡ የዐቅብ ፡ ትእዛዘ ።
 አመ ፡ ሰትየ ፡ በሐይለ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሕምዘ ፡
 ተመልእ ፡ አሜሃ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ዐዚዘ ።
 ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ዘተሰምየ ፡ ቤዘ ።፤

26. Salutation to your heart which was not concerned in thinking of the world,
 while observing the commandment(s).

When he drank poison, by the power of God,
 at that moment he was filled with a Mighty Spirit
 Blessed Lālibalā, who was named a shining star.

27.ሰላም ፡ ለከርሥክ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቀርነ ፡ ሰሌዳ ፡
 ዘተሰውጦ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ስርናየ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ጸዐዳ ።
 ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወምዑዝ ፡ እምጽጌረዳ ፡

ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በከርሥከ ፡ አመ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ደይን ፡ ወፍዳ ፡
አመ ፡ ኢታድኅን ፡ እም ፡ ውሉዳ ፡፤፤

27. Salutation to your stomach, like the horn of a tablet,
in which wheat of the bright Spirit was poured.
Blessed Lālibalā, more fragrant than a rose,
I appeal by your stomach (to be protected) on the Day of Judgement and Retribution
when a mother cannot save her son.

28. ሰላም ፡ ለሐቋክ ፡ ቅኑተ ፡ እንተ ፡ ኮነ ፡
ዘመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቀርነ ፡
ላሊበላ ፡ ኅሩይ ፡ ዘሞእከ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡
ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በሐቋክ፡ ተናበበኒ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡
እንዘ ፡ ትብለ፡ ፍቁርየ ፡ ረዳኢከ ፡ አነ ፡፤፤

28. Salutation to your girded loins,
which were a horn of the Holy Spirit.
Lālibalā, chosen one, who conquered Satan,
I appeal by your loins, speak to me soon,
saying ‘My beloved, I am your helper’.

29. ሰላም ፡ ለአቀህያጺከ ፡ ከመ ፡ አዕማደ ፡ ወርቅ፡ ሱሩር ፡
በመንበረ ፡ ብሩር ፡
ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ዘሐሊበ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ምንሃር ፡
ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በአቀህያጺከ ፡ ምኑን ፡ ገብር ፡
ከመ ፡ ትባልሐኒ ፡ እምጋኔን ፡ ዘቀትር ፡፤፤

29. Salutation to your legs that are set
like golden pillars on a silver throne.
Blessed Lālibalā, who is a spring of the milk of the Gospel.
I, despised slave, appeal by your legs,
that you save me from the midday devil.

30. ሰላም ፡ ለአብራኪከ ፡ ለሰጊድ ፡ እለ ፡ ተደለዋ ፡
ትእዛዘ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይተልዋ ፡
ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ሥርዋ ፡
ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በአብራኪከ ፡ ወልድከ ፡ ነዋ ፡
ኅበ ፡ ዐምደ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወስምየ ፡ አዕልዋ ፡፤፤

30. Salutation to your knees which readied themselves for prostration,
while following the commands of righteousness.

Blessed Lālibalā, root of the church,
Behold I, your son, appeal by your knees,
and inscribe my name onto the column of gold.

31. ሰላም ፡ ለአእጋሪክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ዘሮፃ ፡
መስክወ ፡ ኅግ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይሐውጸ ።
ላሊበላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ሠርፃ ፡
ተማኅፀንኩ ፡ በአእጋሪክ ፡ ኢይልከፈኒ ፡ ዐመፃ ፡
በለኒ ፡ በገብርክ ፡ ክፍልየ ፡ በዕፃ ።

31. Salutation to your feet which ran along the street of wisdom,
while observing the windows of the law.

Blessed Lālibalā, blossom of the church,
I appeal by your feet that injustice should not touch me.
Say to me, your servant, ‘You are my portion in lot’.

32. ሰላም ፡ ለአጸብዐ ፡ አእጋሪክ ፡ እለ ፡ እንሳህለላ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢይትሀወካ ፡
ለጥበበ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መድረካ ።
ላሊበላ ፡ ኅሩይ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ሮሃ ፡ መልካካ ።
ተማኅፀንኩ ፡ በአፃብዒክ ፡ አሰርግወኒ ፡ በዋካ ፡
እምእደ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ንሥኣኒ ፡ ምህርካ ።

32. Salutation to your toes, which walked without shaking,
through the doorposts of heavenly wisdom.

Chosen Lālibalā, you are an angel/messenger for Roḥa town.
I appeal by your fingers, embellish me with splendour,
carry me off as booty from the hand of Satan.

33. ሰላም ፡ እብሎን ፡ ለአሳእኒክ ፡ ቅቡዓት ፡
ዘውእቶን ፡ ኅጺን ፡ ውብርት ፡
ዘበትርንጌሁ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ወኦሪት ።
ተማኅፀንኩ ፡ በአሳእኒክ ፡ እምነ ፡ ቀኖቱ ፡ ለሞት ፡
ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ዘገነት ፡ ዘይት ።

33. I salute your anointed sandals,
which are iron and copper,
whose interpretation is the Gospel and the Torah.

I appeal by your sandals (to be saved) from the sting of death,
Blessed Lālibalā, olive tree of Paradise.

34. ሰላም ፡ ለቆምከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘበቀልት ፡ ፍካሬሁ ፡
ዘዐርገ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ገብርኤል ፡ በአክናፊሁ ።
አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ዐሥሮን ፡ ይንእዳሁ ።
ተማገፀንኩ ፡ በቆምከ ፡ ገብርከ ፡ ናሁ ።
ብፁዕ ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ሥንአሁ ።

34. Salutation to your stature, whose interpretation is like a palm tree,
who ascended on the wings of Gabriel.
Ten churches praise him.
Behold I, your servant, appeal by your stature.
Blessed Lālibalā, who is in harmony with Christ.

35. ሰላም ፡ በዲበ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ለመልክዕከ ፡ ኩሎን ፡
ለነፍስከ ፡ ወሥጋከ ፡ በበኢናሆን ፡
ለዐፅምከ ፡ ወደምከ ፡ እለ ፡ ተቀደስ ፡ በሜሮን ።
ለሐንገዝከ ፡ ወአስራዊከ ፡ እለ ፡ ይምዕዛ ፡ እምልብን ።
ላሊበላ ፡ አቡያ ፡ በፍቅረ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ርሱን ፡
በገነተ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ዘትነቁ ፡ ቀርን ።

35. Salutation over salutation to your entire image,
to your soul and flesh, each in its turn,
to your bones and blood, which were sanctified with holy oil.
To your eyebrows and your sinews, which are more fragrant than storax.
Lālibalā, my father, inflamed with love of Mary, you are a horn
which sounds in the garden of righteousness.

36. ሰላም ፡ ሰላም ፡ ላሊበላ ፡ እብሎ ፡
መንግሥተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ለዘ ፡ ሜጠ ፡ በተንብሎ ።
ናኦድ ፡ መሲሕ ፡ በፍቅረ ፡ ሐሊሎ ፡
ጊዜ ፡ ጸውያ ፡ ቃሎ ፡ አልዲሎ ፡
ዘሰአለ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አሆ ፡ ይበሎ ።

36. I offer salutation, salutation to Lālibalā,
Who returned the Kingdom of Israel.
Naod, the anointed one, burning in love,
When he [Na'od] calls upon him [Lālibalā], lifting up his voice,
He says 'yes', whatever he asks him.

Summary

The central goal (and hopefully achievement) of this dissertation is to break apart and articulate, for the first time, the large mass of material about King Lālibalā that has generally been subsumed and ‘leveled’ under the monolithic label ‘Gadla Lālibalā’, which has been considered the main source about the life and deeds of King Lālibalā as a saint. King Lālibalā is considered a saint along with other kings of the so-called Zagwe dynasty, who ruled in the twelfth-thirteenth century ce, who is given credit for the construction of the renowned rock-hewn churches in the city of Lālibalā, named after the king.

As a careful study of twenty-three manuscripts shows, Gadla Lālibalā is anything but a homogeneous text that simply recounts the life of Lālibalā. Rather, it is a composite of multiple textual units revolving around Lālibalā, partially independent of each other and occurring in different combinations in different manuscripts. The units are articulated on both a logical and a physical basis. Each unit has a textual life of its own (potentially different date of composition, author, provenience), and may be transmitted separately apart from the others. The basic textual units include (inter alia) the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ proper, ‘Jesus and His redeeming fire’, ‘Praise for Lālibalā’, various miracles, numerous separate episodes in his life, etc. I distinguish between this ‘basic’ dossier of fourteen units closely linked to Lālibalā and which usually occur together (I call this ensemble the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’), and some further units which may sometimes occur together with the basic Lālibalā dossier — on such topics as Na’akkwəto La’ab, Masqal Kəbrā (Lālibalā’s queen), malkə’, antiphons, hymns, etc. This general approach provides a solution to what has seemed a paradox: most parts of the ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’ honour and praise Lālibalā, but one textual unit (having a strongly Solomonic ideology) shows Lālibalā humbling himself and renouncing his kingship.

Additionally, the dissertation proposes a *stemma codicum* for the basic ‘*Gadla Lālibalā*’ collection’ dossier, and presents a partial critical edition for two of the fourteen basic textual units. A notable feature here is the use of computer software to prepare the basic collation of the manuscripts. Also addressed is the use of the ‘Life of Lālibalā’ for the liturgical commemoration.

Zusammenfassung

Das Hauptziel dieser Dissertation ist es, zum ersten Mal die große Menge an literarischem Material zu König Lālibalā, das meistens unter der monolithischen Bezeichnung ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ zusammengefasst wird, aufzuteilen und zu gliedern. Das ‘Gadla Lālibalā’ wurde als Hauptquelle zu Leben und Taten Lālibalās als Heiligem betrachtet. Gemeinsam mit anderen Königen der sogenannten Zāgwe -Dynastie, die im 12./13. Jahrhundert n.u.Z. herrschte und der die Erbauung der berühmten Felsenkirchen in der nach dem König benannten Stadt Lālibalā zugeschrieben wird, gilt auch König Lālibalā als Heiliger.

Die sorgfältige Untersuchung von 23 Handschriften hat ergeben, dass das Gadla Lālibalā keinesfalls ein homogenes Werk ist, welches lediglich das Leben Lālibalās nacherzählt. Es handelt sich dabei vielmehr um ein Kompositum mehrerer direkt oder im weitesten Sinne Lālibalā behandelnder Texteinheiten, die teils unabhängig voneinander zirkulieren und in verschiedenen Kombinationen bezeugt sein können. Die Einheiten sind sowohl logisch als auch physisch gegliedert. Jede Einheit hat einen eigenen Hintergrund (mit potentiell verschiedenen Datum, Autor und Herkunft) und kann unabhängig von den anderen überliefert werden. Die Haupteinheiten beinhalten unter anderem das eigentliche ‘Leben Lālibalās’, eine Soteriologie, den ‘Lobpreis Lālibalās’, verschiedene Wunder sowie zahlreiche Einzelepisoden aus Lālibalās Lebens. Ich unterscheide zwischen diesem ‘Hauptdossier’ von 14 eng mit Lālibalā verbundenen Einheiten, die meist gemeinsam bezeugt sind (ich nenne dieses Ensemble die ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’) und weiteren ca. 25 Einheiten, die manchmal gemeinsam mit dem Hauptdossier bezeugt sind, unter anderem zu Na’akkwəto La’ab, Königin Masqal Kəbrā (Lālibalās Frau), malkə’, Antifonen, Hymnen etc. Dieser Ansatz erlaubt die Auflösung einer bisher paradoxal erscheinenden Eigenheit: die meisten Teile von die ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’ ehren und loben Lālibalā, eine Einheit (mit deutlich Salomonischer Ideologie) jedoch zeigt einen sich erniedrigenden Lālibalā, der auf seine Königsherrschaft verzichtet.

Zudem schlägt die Dissertation ein stemma codicum für das ‘*Gadla Lālibalā* collection’-Dossier vor und bietet eine Teiledition von zwei der 14 Haupttexteinheiten. Ein wichtiges Merkmal ist dabei die Verwendung einer Computersoftware zur Kollationierung der Handschriften. Ferner wird die liturgische Verwendung des Leben Lālibalās behandelt.

List of Publications

Valieva, N. 2016. The Portrait of a Queen: A story about a manuscript and its commissione
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (2016) <https://www.manuscriptcultures.uni-hamburg.de/mom/2016_07_mom_e.html>.

Valieva, N. 2017. 'Ms Ethiopic 4 of the Collection of the India Office: A strayed Manuscript of
Gadla Lālibalā', *Aethiopica*, 20 (2017), 190–201.

