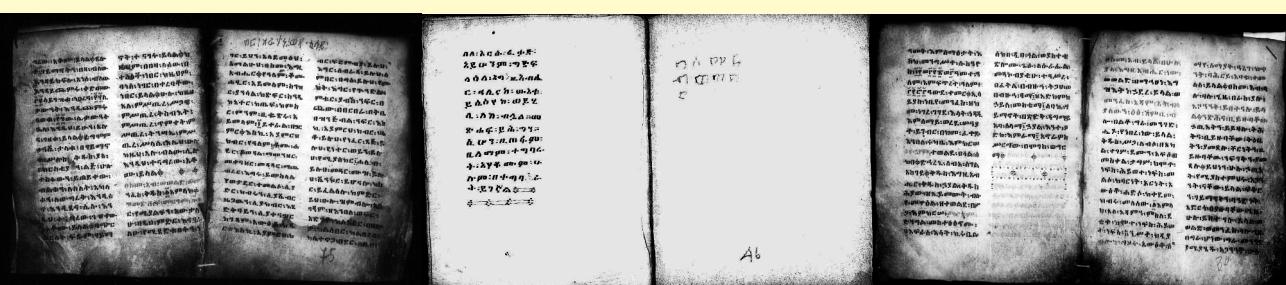


# Teaching and Tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Older Amharic

Edited and translated by  
Getatchew Haile



Teaching and Tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church  
in Older Amharic

Supplement to *Aethiopica*.  
International Journal of Ethiopian  
and Eritrean Studies  
9

Edited in the Asien-Afrika-Institut  
Abteilung für Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik  
Hiob-Ludolf-Zentrum für Äthiopistik  
der Universität Hamburg

Series Editor: Alessandro Bausi  
in cooperation with Bairu Tafla, Ludwig Gerhardt,  
Susanne Hummel, and Alexander Meckelburg

2021

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

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The publication of this volume was supported by the project Beta maṣāḥəft: Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung, funded by The Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities through a project of the Academy of Hamburg.

On the cover, pictures from the manuscripts EMML 7007 and 7650 courtesy of the Hill Museum & Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, MN.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek  
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <https://dnb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek  
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <https://dnb.de>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our website <https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

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Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Typesetting and copy editing: Francesca Panini

Printing and binding: docupoint GmbH

Printed in Germany

ISSN 2196-7180

eISSN 2748-3738

ISBN 978-3-447-11657-2

eISBN 978-3-447-39151-1

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## Introduction

A number of subjects, almost all theological and spiritual, are discussed in older Amharic and copied in MSS Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (= EMML), 7007 (= A), EMML 7650 (= B), and London, British Library (= BL), Or. 16223 (= C).

### Manuscript A (EMML 7007)

A was copied in the beautiful hand of a certain Mika'el. At the time of its microfilming by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML), it belonged to ወአሱስ ስልላሰ in Allamaṭa, Wällo. It has not yet been catalogued but it has been briefly described when discussing in an article the archaic features of Amharic its texts preserved.<sup>1</sup> It can be further described as follows:

– Parchment, 19 × 17 cm, 121 fols (with the numbers 91–99 omitted from the series), 2 cols, 19 lines, rebound in some disorder, eighteenth century.

– Content: (1) Texts in Gə'əz: (a) fols 1v–2r: prayer against eye disease, in a different hand of the same age of the main texts, with the end of fol. 2r erased; (b) fols 3r–15r: *Vision of Baruch*; (c) fols 15r–16r: genealogy of Ethiopian kings from Adam to Iyasu, ‘son of Bäkaffa’; (d) fols 16r–17v, 18r–v, 19r–20v, 21r–25v: what looks like Christ’s admonition to monks; (e) fols 25v–26r: monastic genealogy of the line of *Abunä Täklä Haymanot*; (f) fols 26r–27r: chronology of biblical personalities, of the Old and New Testaments, with the meaning of some in Gə'əz and Amharic; (g) fols 27r–29v: *Beauty of the Creation* and chronology of biblical Fathers and Ethiopian kings to Susənyos. (2) Texts in Amharic, most of which are the subjects of this study: (a) fols 30r–31v, 33r–v: commentary on *Bä-səmä ab*; (b) fols 32v, 32r, 49r–v, 34r–v: commentary on the ‘Lord’s Prayer’; (c) fols 34v–40r: *On the Rise and Fall of Emperor Diocletian*; (d) fols 40r–51v: *Story of Empress Helen and her Finding of the True Cross*; (e) fols 51v–59r: preamble to the *Commentary on the Nicene Creed*; (f) fols 59r–74v: *Commentary on the Nicene Creed*; (g) fols 74v–80r: ‘Poem Condemning Wealth and Glory’; (h) fols 80r–110v: *A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet*.<sup>2</sup> The texts commented on in Amharic are all in Gə'əz.

– Varia: (1) fol. 1r: note of ownership by the church, ‘አውሱስ ስልላሰ, Qobbo Qalim, given to us by a (pilgrim) monk from Jerusalem’; (2) fol.

1 See Getatchew Haile 1983.

2 The title is from B and C.

110v: prayer against hail; (3) fols 111r–121r: excerpts from the *Horologium*; (4) fols 2v and 121v: blank, save for some scrawl on fol. 2v; (5) fol. 15r: copied beautifully by Mika’el for Iyosyas.

The *Story of Empress Helen and her Finding of the True Cross* (A, fols 40r–51v) is not included in this study as it has been edited and made part of a collection of texts on the Holy Cross.<sup>3</sup> Not included is also the ‘Poem Condemning Wealth and Glory’ (fols 74v–80r) as another copy of it has already been published.<sup>4</sup>

### Manuscript B (EMML 7650)

Due to inadequate lighting during microfilming by EMML, the slip containing the basic information is insufficiently legible. However, it can be described as follows:

- Parchment, 14 × 11.5 cm, 56 fols, 2 cols, 14–15 lines (with 8 to 9 letters to a line); fols 47r–56v, 16 lines, eighteenth century.
- Content: (1) fols 3r–45v: *A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet*,<sup>5</sup> another copy of A, fols 80r–110v; (2) fols 47r–50v and 53r–54r: *An Explanation of Unction of Christ from the Point of View of the Adoptionists*; (3) fols 51r, 52r–v, 55r–v, and 56r–v: *Defense of Ethiopian Orthodoxy against Accusations of Protestant and Catholic Churches*; (4) fol. 54r–v: prayer against snake bite.

Each of the first three texts in manuscript B, ((1) to (3)), is copied in a different hand. Only the first and the second items, *A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet* (B, fols 3r–45v) and *An Explanation of Unction of Christ from the Point of View of the Adoptionists* (B, fols 47r–50v and 53r–54r) are included in this study. The latter, though a single copy, is included to add clarity to the position of the Adoptionists presented within *A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet*.

There are cases where the copyist of B’s exemplar (apparently not of B) has introduced changes into the original while updating the language in some places. Some of the other changes he introduced are due to misunderstanding the Amharic of the exemplar. Here is an interesting example for the

3 Published in Getatchew Haile 2018, 196–217 (§ 3.9.1).

4 Getatchew Haile 2005.

5 በሰው : አብ : ወውልድ : ወመንፈሰ : ቅድ-ብ : ይ አምላክ : ጥዣጥን : (sic) በረድኬት : እግዢኬት አይር : መጽሕፈ : ተርጉም : እያል : ለእለመ : የአም : እምን : “In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. We begin, with the help of God, to write a Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet, forever and ever. Amen.” (fol. 3r).

latter case: A has on fol. 109v ተጠቃጥ፡ ከፃጥ፡ የልተገኘበት፡ የለፋይ፡ ከነው፡ ፍጥ፡ አቋሙጥ፡, ‘They made (Christ), in whom there was no sin or malice, stand unjustly in public (for trial)’. The copyist of B misunderstood ከነው፡ ፍጥ፡ (kä-säw fit), ‘before the public’, reading it as ከነው፡ ፍጥ፡ (kässäw fit).<sup>6</sup> ‘accusing him before’. He then saw that የለፋይ፡ (yalä-färd), ‘unjustly’, and ፍጥ፡ (fit), ‘before’, do not sit well in his correction. So, he changed የለፋይ፡ to ሌፋይ፡ (lä-färd), ‘for judgement’ or ‘for trial’, and omitted ፍጥ፡, resulting in ተጠቃጥ፡ ከፃጥ፡ የልተገኘበት፡ ሌፋይ፡ ከነው፡ አቋሙጥ፡, ‘They accused (Christ), in whom there was no sin or any wickedness, and made him stand for trial’ (B, fol. 44r).

Although badly copied, B and C show that, in A, sections were not copied and a folio had been lost at the time of rebinding it. Even though most of the issues discussed in fols 47r–54r and fols 55r–56v are not totally new, the fact that the Adoptionists’ teaching comes directly from the Adoptionists themselves in such an exceptionally clear presentation made it worth including it in this study.

### Manuscript C (BL, Or. 16223)

This manuscript has been described by Dillmann.<sup>7</sup> The two items in it that concern this study are (1) fols 85r–134r: *A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet*; and (2) fols 134r–135v: *A Short Commentary on the Lord’s Prayer*.

As one can see, the difference between this short copy and the longer one in A (fols 32v, 32r, 49r–v, 34r–v) does not allow collating the two copies. I chose to edit both as C is very short and its Amharic shows some archaic features of the time.

The texts of *A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet* in B and C are very similar beginning with the title. The few differences between them show that one is not copied from the other. There are expressions in C that B does not have, indicating that their exemplar might not be the same either. Also, each arranges the topics in slightly different ways.

As one can see, the difference between the short commentary on the ‘Lord’s Prayer’ (C, fols 134r–135v) and the longer one in A (fols 32v, 32r, 49r–v, 34r–v) does not allow collating the two copies. I chose to include the text in C as well, as it is very short and its Amharic shows some archaic features of the time.

6 From *kässäsä*, ‘to accuse’.

7 Dillmann 1847, 23.

## The Language

The texts do not contain many unknown archaic features or regional variations of Amharic that are not published, except for the word order in a sentence structure, where in A the subject is occasionally moved to the end, as in *Gəcəz*. The other features in this manuscript have been brought out and discussed in previous studies.<sup>8</sup> It is quite possible that the exemplars of these texts are much older than the extant manuscripts. The presence of the copula **՚-՚** in some sentences (e.g. A, fols 103v–104r: **ለመንፈስ :** **ቍ-ሰኞ :** **ለመፈሪ :** **አከል :** **አብ :** **ምናቸው-՚ :**) and its absence where it is expected (e.g. A, fol. 100v: **በት :** **ይኩም :** **ይህ :** **ነው :**) indicate that the copyist has tried to modernize their copies. This change did not take place in B and C. **ሁኔና :** is another way of this modernization (e.g. A, fol 101v: **በት :** **ይህን :** **ሁኔና :**). All this and the occasional absence of **ነው :** might indicate that the verb ‘to be’ was insignificant also in Amharic, as in the other Semitic languages, at or until a certain time of its life. The presence, in A, of both **አቸ :** (e.g. fol. 100v) and **ወይቸ :** (e.g. fol. 101r), **አንድ :** and **አንድ :** (e.g. fol. 104v), and **ንታ :** and **ንታ :** (fol. 61r) are more examples that verify the notion that the texts have suffered modernization. **ን** in **ንብ :** is invariably changed to **ኋ** when it is suffixed to a word or when a word is prefixed to it, for instance **በግብ :**, **አንድኋብ :**. The change of **ገ** to **ኋ** in **አንድገብ :** might mean that the two words are connected in a genitive construction.

The influence of *Gəcəz* on these texts is extensive compared to most old and modern Amharic texts. This is observed in the author’s free use of *Gəcəz* words and phrases, so much so that one needs to have some knowledge of *Gəcəz* to understand him. The second area of influence is discernible in the construction of the sentences. One can, of course, suggest a different and plausible explanation for this. For example, the similarities of the two languages in structuring a sentence could be original and their dissimilarities in modern times might be due to the fact that Amharic has deviated from the original. That the copyist was less careful or insufficiently fluent in *Gəcəz* is witnessed by the mistakes he made in copying some of the *Gəcəz* words. Despite the fact that the language of the texts has been updated to the time of the copyists, all manuscripts manifest some archaic features. But one cannot tell if these features are purge-survivors or were current also at the time of the copying.

Since **ሰላም :** **ከነህ :** in A are consistently **ሰላምኩ :** **ከነህ :** or **ሰላምኩ :** **ከነሁ :**, I will ignore noting on them each time they occur when collating B with A. Unfortunately, the difference between signs for the third- and the

8 Getatchew Haile 1983.

fifth-order vowels in B are not distinguishable. The word **ለከ :** is a good example. The vowel signs on the two letters are similar. But we know that the word cannot be **ለከ :** or **ለከ :**. Similarly, the first and sixth orders of **አ** (**አ** and **አ**) are indistinguishable in this manuscript. Furthermore, it is common knowledge that both **ለቃ :** and **ለቃ :** appear in older Amharic. In many cases, in Manuscript B, the last symbol is a combination of **ቃ** and **ቃ**; that is, one letter having the vowel signs of both the third and sixth order. Other similar cases with other letters appear occasionally. The arbitrary choice here is **ቃ**. The letter **ቃ** is also represented by **ቃ** in **ለቃ :** (B, fol. 40r, col. 2). In B, particles that are generally prefixed (as in **ለአከ.ለያም :**) or suffixed (as in **ለከምተም :**) are occasionally copied separately (as **ለአከ :** **ለያም :** and **ለከ** **ምተ :** **ያም :**). Not all are noted in the apparatus.

Interestingly, B preserves a few archaic features that A has discarded, although A is older than B, possibly by a few decades. The most tedious (and possibly futile) task has been noting the presence of the object marker **-ን** and the conjunction **-ም** (both mostly suffixed) in one manuscript and their absence in another. The copyist of B treats the genitive relationship of the nouns as a relationship between a noun and its adjective. This error too must be noted as many times as it is made.

## Orthography

The texts have some symbols my fonts do not have. As explained in a previous study, the lower horizontal line for producing the modern *mʷa* (**ማ**) is placed on the top, with a carrying short perpendicular bar; cf. **ቃ** from **ፃ**. Also the sign for **አ** in A is placed on the top of the symbol; cf. **ኗ** from **አ**. The symbol for *žä* (**ማ**) looks like **ዘ** with its leg on the left also having the kind of sign on its leg on the right. It looks roughly as if **ጋ** and **ጋ** were connected with a line. In A, the symbol **ቃ**, which is common in B, appears very rarely, perhaps twice; it is commonly represented by **ቃ**. **ቃ** and **ቃ** are interchangeable without any rule, even if there is a similar word in the same sentence. The fifth orders of **ቃ** and **ኗ** (**ቃ** and **ኗ**) are absent in manuscript B, while they are common in manuscript A. In two places, **ማ** and **ከ** are combined as a unit sharing one perpendicular line. In B, the horizontal sign added to **ከ** to produce **ኗ** is added to the leg of **ከ**, not to its head. So we have an upside down **ኗ**.

There are a few symbols that are not common in so-far known sources; these include attaching two vowel symbols to one letter to express gemination, and the diphthong sign in an unusual way. For example, the *bʷa* is pro-

duced by placing a short legged **አ** to **ዶ**. There is also *yʷa*, with the diphthong sign attached to the head of **ዶ** as with **ኅ**.

The texts are reproduced from A as they appear on the microfilm and collated with B and C whenever the three have a common text. Illegible and omitted letters by error are noted, even when supplied by B and C. The copyists, especially of A, ignore adding punctuation signs whenever there is no space for them at the end of a line. Here, they are supplied.

## System

In accordance with the local exegetical tradition, an expression from the *Gə’əz* text, which could be a single word or a phrase or a full sentence, is taken out systematically and its meaning and spiritual and theological messages are explained in Amharic. In a few cases, only the Amharic translation is given, with no commentary noted. In such cases, the same English translation is given twice: once for the *Gə’əz* and a second time for the Amharic, for instance **እኩምን :** **በእኩምነት :** **በአንድ :** **አምለት :** **እኩምናለን :** (A, fol. 59v), ‘*We believe in one God. We believe in one God.*’ The translation for the *Gə’əz*, the first, is in *italics*. Sometimes, unaware of the situation, the author comments on words added later to the text (for one reason or another) as if they were part of the original. Since the purpose of the effort is primarily to show the nature of the Amharic, the translation is as literal as the English allows. The corresponding English of *Gə’əz* expressions, including quotations, are given in *italics*. Each of the three manuscripts has its own way of organizing the themes. Even B and C, as similar as one would expect Ethiopian manuscripts to be, each have their own way of arrangement. The edition follows that of A.

## Theology

The issues raised in *A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet* are not consistently treated in similar fashion in B and C. Although this is not news, it should also be pointed out that the text was copied in A on one hand and B and C on the other, with deliberate changes to reflect the copyists’ theological views and with additions to incorporate their knowledge they think should be included. For example, in A, **ከኩም :** **ይግም :**, ‘blood from her blood’, has been consistently added to the standard expression of **ከኩም**

ՅԱ : ԱՅ : ԻՆՔՅ : ԿՔ : , ‘(The Word of God took) flesh from (Mary’s) flesh and soul from her soul’.<sup>9</sup>

Most importantly, A offers a clear theology of the three schools of thought. The Unctionists present their own theology, at the same time accusing the Unionists—who adhere to the official line—as heretics:

ՄԵՃՈ : ՔՔՈ : ԱՅԴ : Ճ.ՔԸ : ՊԼՈՈՓ : ՂԱ : ԱԿՊԱՀՈՒՅԵԸ :  
 ՔԸ : ԹՈ : ՄՆՈՒ : ՔՈ : ՀՅՀՄՅՅ : ՀՊԱՀՈՒՅԵԸ : ՀՊՒ :  
 ՓՈՓ : ՀԸՈՒ : ՔՓԳ : ՄԵՃՈ : ՔՔՈ : ՔՈՈ : ՄՆՈՒ : ՔԱՃ :  
 ՄԵՃՔՔՅ : ՊՅ : Ը.Ը : ՄՈՒԻՒ : ԻՄՅ : ՀՅՅ : ՄՄՅ : ՔՈ  
 ԳՒ : ԿՄ : ՀՅՔ : ՄԵՃՈ : ՔՔՈ : ՔՈՈ : ՀԱՄԿՓ.ՊՅ : ՔԱՃ :  
 ՀԳ : ՊՅ : ՀՊ : ՓՊԶ : ՎԱՃ : ՔՓՊԶ : ՄԵՃՈ : ՔՔՈ :  
 ՔՈՈ : ՄՆ : ՀՅԱԱՅ : (A, fol. 63r).

If one asks, ‘What did the Holy Spirit become to God the Word, when he created the flesh and has him dress it?’, God, his Father, anointed him, he was anointed, and the Holy Spirit became ointment for him. But the heretics say, ‘The unity of divinity with the flesh is unction; the Holy Spirit did not become ointment for him.’ But we say, *‘The Father is the anointer, the Son is anointed, and the Holy Spirit is the ointment.’*

Contrary to what we know about the Unctionists, this, their document, does not claim that Christ became the Son of God by the unction of the Holy Spirit:

ՈՄԿՅՈՒ : Ճ.ՅՊԱ : Ք.ՔՈՈՓ : ՄԵՃՈ : ՔՔՈ : ԹՈ : ՄՆՈՒ :  
 ՊԸ : ՂԱ : Ա.Փ : ԿՍԳԴ : ՅԴ.Ս : ԿԱՄԴ : ԴՈՈՈՀ : ԻՄՈՒԻՒ :  
 ՄՈՒԻՒ : ԻԴ.ՈՈՈՀ : ՈՒՅՅՈՒՒ : ԱԿԿԱՓ.ՔԱՃ : (A, fol. 63v).

When one asks, ‘What did the Holy Spirit, which he received while in the womb of the Virgin, become for him?’ (he made him) high priest and king of kings. (He united) humanity with divinity and divinity with humanity and made him king in unity.

The Adoptionists have modified the sentence as follows:

ՈՀԿՒ : ՄԿՅՅ : Ք.ՔՈՈՓ.ՅԴ : ՄԵՃՈ : ՔՔՈ : ԱՎՃՅ : ՀՊԱՀ  
 ՀՈՒՅԵԸ : ՔՊԱՅ : ԱՅ : ՀՔՀՂՈՒ : ՅԴ.Ս : ՀՔՀՂՈՒ : ԻՄՅ :  
 ՀՔՀՂՈՒ : ՀՅԱԱՅ : (B, fol. 50v).

9 ԻՄՅՊ : ԱՅ : ԻԵՊՅ : ՔՊ : ԻՆՔՅ : ԿՔ : ‘(The Word) took flesh from (Mary’s) flesh, blood from her blood, and soul from her soul’.

We say that the Holy Spirit, which the Son of God received in his mother's womb, made him the natural Son—he made him king, he made him priest.

The Trinitarian theology the texts teach is heavily influenced by the so-called African Creed or *Şälötä haymanot zä-<sup>c</sup>Afraqya*<sup>10</sup> and the homily on the Incarnation of the Word by Saint Athanasius of Alexandria.<sup>11</sup> The expression ከእግዥ፡ ከእናተ፡ ቅድመ፡ የንጋዥ፡ ወር፡ ለጠቅ፡, '(The Word) wore the flesh that was before Adam's error' (A, fol. 89r) is clearly the Catholic teaching of Immaculate Conception.

The rituals these manuscripts describe are also worth knowing, if only all its sources could be identified.

The text in B, fols 51r, 52r–v, 55r–v, and 56r–v—*Defense of Ethiopian Orthodoxy Against the Accusation of Protestant and Catholic Churches*—seems original, composed by someone who heard the controversial issues directly from the missionaries themselves. Most of the points are clear and correct.

The tradition is monastic and of great interest. Also, the author's knowledge of the teaching of Mani (A, fol. 60r), the identification of Judas Iscariot with Oedipus of the Greek mythology, and the loss of his place as an apostle to Matthias (A, fol. 84v) give additional interest in the study of the text.<sup>12</sup> In general, the difference between the author's knowledge of many rare facts and the lack of very elementary ones is puzzling.

Having said all this, publishing these pieces of prose and relatively large texts constitutes a substantial addition to the corpus of older Amharic. Its contents, too, are of great interest to the history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and its tradition.

### General Remarks

As David L. Appleyard notes, most of these subjects are preserved in several versions and in many libraries.<sup>13</sup> But the difference between the versions is such that collating even as little as two is virtually impossible. A good example for the situation is the wide difference between versions of the *Commentary on the Nicene Creed* in this manuscript and the one published by

10 Guerrier 1915–1917.

11 *HA*, 68–71.

12 The *Sinodos* (*Bätłəsat*, Article 48) condemns those who refuse to eat meat and drink wine during the feast of Fasika (Easter) as followers of Mani, the enemy of Christ, cf. Bausi 1995, 263.

13 Appleyard 2003, 111.

Appleyard.<sup>14</sup> *The Symbolic Meaning of the Letters of the Alphabet*, on which this interpretation is made, is transmitted in several versions, copied at different times. The present text is a unique interpretation on the most common version. It is fortunate that at least three more-or-less similar copies are available for the study.

The letters of the alphabet have special significance in the Ethiopian popular tradition. Each letter is perceived to mean or stand for one full sentence like pictorial writing. They also represent numbers that fortune tellers use, effectively shuffling them through the rules of arithmetic. For example, some *däbtära* tells which day to perform a certain job, or place to move to, or woman to marry for a person whose name is composed of letters whose numbers would produce certain numbers when calculated in a given way. Furthermore, it is assumed that it is not accidental that each letter has seven shapes: they are believed to represent the holy number of 7 of the jubilees ( $7 \times 7$ ) and the number of days of the week. Here, in the text commented upon, the first row of the alphabet—*ha, lä, ha*, etc.—represents sentences, some of which are biblical. The interpretation begins with giving the full sentences they represent, and the comment follows, introduced by *bəhil* or just *ba*, ‘means’.

## Translation

The translation follows the English grammar, sometimes at the cost of the way the message is structured in the text. Expressions supplied in parentheses for the English are exceptionally extensive. In this case, it is difficult to determine whether the absence of counterparts in the text was due to the archaic nature of the language or again the failure of the copyist to copy the corresponding Amharic expressions. The verb **አለ :** **ይልል :** serves sometimes as a quotation mark. They come together, even as **በለ :** **በለ :** **አለ :** (e.g. A, fol. 37v). In such cases, translating it ‘as he said’, ‘one says so’ will have to be ignored. Also, it is interesting to note that in A **ይል :** and **ይል :** are interchangeable. Another difficult situation to understand is when the author uses as part of the following sentence the same word(s) he used in the preceding sentence, instead of repeating it for the second sentence. An example would be **ተከተ :** **ያለ :** **ከተ :** **የተ :** **የተ :** **ከ :** **ተከ :** (A, fol. 54r): ‘He stood up and went to the king’ and ‘He arrived at the king and

14 Appleyard 2003.

argued with Arius'. The meaning of archaic idioms and sayings, such as ቅት መት : ካወጣ : ይቀጥን : (A, fol. 90v) remain uncertain.<sup>15</sup>

Am = Amharic;

Gz = Gə'əz;

MA = Modern Amharic;

MS = manuscript;

\* ... = left boundary;

\* ... \* = left and right boundaries;

[ ] = missing expression;

[= correct alternative.

15 The English of this study was graciously reviewed by Ms Rachael Witt, my former colleague at the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML, Collegeville, Minnesota). HMML has been my source of information since 1976, and its staff has never hesitated to provide me the materials I requested.

## Texts and Translations

The Amharic Commentary on *Bä-səmä ab*

*A Commentary on the ‘Lord’s Prayer’*

*A Short Commentary on the ‘Lord’s Prayer’*

*On the Rise and Fall of Emperor Diocletian*

Preamble to the *Commentary on the Nicene Creed*

*Commentary on the Nicene Creed*

*A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet*

A Short Old Amharic Text on the Theology of the Adoptionists

The Amharic Commentary on *Bä-səmä ab*  
(A, fols 30r–33v)

\* በሰመ : አብ : ይለል :<sup>1</sup> በሁ-ለ- : የለ : እግዢ-አብ-ከር : ነው- :  
መውልድ : በማግነዥ : እግዢ-አትና : ይደረ : ይለል :  
መንጋድ : አድም : እት-በለ : የለው-ን : ዕስ : እምበር : በለው : በልቶ : ግራ : 5  
መንጋድ : ተደድ : የነበረ : ነው- : ይለል :  
ቁጥ-ሰ : ሥር : ለ-በለ : በአከል : ተ-ገም : ደመ-ን : እናሰ : በመሰቀል : ተ-ገም :  
ከምተ : እናሰ : አይወጥ : እናሰ :<sup>2</sup> መልሰ : ከባርነት : እርነት : እው-ቁጥ :  
አድሰ : ከቀድመ : ከበኩ : መለሰው- :  
እኩምለከ : አለ : እኩም-ን : የመለል :<sup>3</sup> ይቁቅ : ከምተ : እናሰ : አይወጥ : እናሰ : 10  
አንሠቶ : ከኩ-የበለው- : ግዢት : እው-ቁጥ : ለማግ : ለማግ-ት : ዓረገ : ከጥንት :  
[የ]በአርድ : እኩቱ : ተመለል : ይለል :<sup>4</sup> በሰመ : አብ : ባለ- :<sup>4</sup> ገብ : በራሳ- :  
የለ : እርንጻት : ይበተኞለ- : ይለል :<sup>5</sup> ዓይነት : በይ-የቁጥ : ተጠ-አትን :  
ይይሳ- : ተአትና : በይ-የቁጥ : ተ-በበት-ን : የመ-ሰለ : ተርነት-ን : በይ-የ-  
ቁው- : ተናገት-ን : የመ-ሰለ- : ይህንን : ሁ-ለ- : ተጠ-አት- : የሚ-የሰተም-ሁና- : 15  
አርንጻት : ዓይቁ- : ይለል : የቅርን : ልይማጥና-ን : ዓይነት እናርንት : በይ-የ-  
ቁው- : ገብ : ሁ-ለ- : ይበተኞለ- : ይለል : ወውልድ : መውንፈሰ : ባለ- : ገብ :  
በግራ- : ሆነው- : ግራ- : መንጋድ : የሚ-የቁጥ- : እርንጻት : ሁ-ለ- : | ይበተኞለ- : A, 30v  
የለል :  
ቁጥ-ሰ : ባለ- : ገብ : በቀኬ- : የለ- : ሁ-ለ- : እርንጻት : ይበተኞለ- : ይለል : 20  
ለቀኬ- : እኩ- : ይይል : የሚ-ሆኑ- : ሁ-ለ- : እርንጻት : ዓይቁ- : ይለል : ይህን- :  
አው-ቁ- : በሰመ : አብ : ወውልድ : [መውንፈሰ : ቁጥ-ሰ-] ይፈል- :<sup>5</sup> ይፈል- :  
ሆለ-ሰ : ቁጥ-ሰ : አንድ- : ለሆነ- : ለሰት- : ለሰት- : ለሆነ- : መሆን- :  
በሆን- : ይፈል- : የለ- : እንድሆኑ- : ይሰሳ- : ለሰት- : ለሰት- : በፈጻ-ር : ለሰት-  
ነት- : አለበት- :<sup>25</sup>  
በሆን-ና- : በሆን- : የለ- : እንድሆኑ- : የወአደ- : ለሰት-ነቱ- : ከበበ- : በርሃኑ- :  
መ-ቁጥ- : ከበበ- : አብን- : በርሃኑ- : ወፈል-ን- : መ-ቁጥ- : መንፈሰ- : ቁጥ-ሰ-ን- :  
የመ-ሰለል- : የሰው-ቁ- : ለሰት-ነቱ- : አከለ- : አብን- : የለ- : ወፈል-ን- : እሰት-ን-  
ና-ት- : መንፈሰ- : ቁጥ-ሰ- : የመ-ሰለል- : የውሃም- : ለሰት-ነቱ- : መሆኑ- : አብን- :  
ርጥበቱ- : ወፈል-ን- : መ-ቁጥ- : መንፈሰ- : ቁጥ-ሰ-ን- : የመ-ሰለል- :<sup>30</sup>

APPARATUS: <sup>1</sup> **የለል** : is more a quotation indicator than anything else. Furthermore, **የለል** : and **የፈል** : are interchangeable. | <sup>2</sup> የምተ : እናሰ : and አይወጥ : እናሰ : and many other similar Gz expressions are used in Am as Am. | <sup>3</sup> Used as Am. | <sup>4</sup> Repeats. | <sup>5</sup> **የለል** and **የፈል** exchange.

**The Amharic Commentary on *Bä-səmä ab***  
**(A, fols 30r–33v)**

*In the name of the Father.* It is God who is everywhere.<sup>1</sup>

*And the Son.* He dwelt in the womb of Our Lady.<sup>2</sup>

*And the Spirit.* Adam had strayed to the left, having eaten, in violation, (from) the tree (God) told him not to eat from.

*Holy.*<sup>3</sup> He reinstated (Adam) to his former glory,<sup>4</sup> wearing flesh, being felt in body, spilling his blood, enduring (suffering) on the Cross, returning (for him) from the death of the soul to the life of the soul, setting (him) free from slavery, and renewing (him).

*One God.* He raised Adam with his children from the death of the soul to the life of the soul, rescued (him) from the exile of the Devil, ascended to *the heaven of heavens*, and returned to his original natural Father.

When one says, ‘*In the name of the Father*’, the demons on one’s head disperse. If one holds unto purity, (demons) bring<sup>5</sup> sin; if one holds unto humility, they bring arrogance; if one holds unto generosity, they bring avarice. It is demons who teach all these sins. They all disperse if one holds unto love and faith combined.

When one says, ‘*and the Son and the Spirit*’, all demons who, being on the left, lead one astray to the left | disperse.

When one says, ‘*Holy*’, all demons who are on the right disperse. All who lend power in the right hand are demons. Knowing this, one says, ‘*In the name of the Father, the Son, [and the Holy Spirit]*’.

If one asks, ‘How is it possible for the Holy Trinity to be three while they are one, and to be one while they are three’, as for this, there is trinity even in creatures, let alone in the Creator.

If one asks, ‘In what and what (is there trinity)?’, the trinity of the sun is in its disc, its light, and its heat. Its disc resembles the Father, its light the Son, and its heat the Holy Spirit. Regarding the trinity of man, his body resembles the Father, his word resembles the Son, and his breath resembles the Holy Spirit. Regarding the trinity of water, its being water resembles the Father, its coldness resembles the Son, and its motion resembles the Holy Spirit.

COMMENTARY: <sup>1</sup> Or ‘God is everywhere’. | <sup>2</sup> This sentence could be Am as well as Gz. | <sup>3</sup> In Gz, the adjective, in this case ‘holy’, comes either after the noun it describes—in this case ‘Spirit’—or before it. | <sup>4</sup> Cf. first stanza of Monday’s *Wəddase Maryam*. | <sup>5</sup> Lit. ‘hold unto’.

አንድነታቸውን : ሰሰነታቸው : አይሰነተውም : ሰሰነታቸውን : አንድነታቸው : አይጠቀልለውም : የለ : እንደሆን : አይሁንም : በየበኩለ : ቁጥሮች : ንብረ : ዓቸው : የለል ዘኑ : በምንና : በምን : ሰሰነታቸው : የለ : እንደሆን : በአካል : በንግ : በመልከት : በስም : 5  
 አካል : ማለት : ቁጥሮች : ነው : ገዢ : ማለት : ፍት : ነው : መልካ : | ማለት : A, 31r  
 እራስ : እና : እንር : ዓይን : ተርስ : የል : በልት : ሁሉ : ነው : ስም :  
 ማለት : አብ : ወልድ : መንፈል : ቁጥሮች : ማለት : በለሁ : ባረት : ነገር : ሰነ  
 ተቋጥል : ዓቸው : የገን : በአምሳነት : በመሰረት : በአምሳብ  
 አይደለም : በፈጥረት : በእዝና : በፈቅድ : በሥምረት : በባኩረይ : ከዚን : 10  
 በሚሰም : ነገር : አንድ : ይምናል : የለል ዘኑ : ይህንን አውቅ : በስም : አብ :  
 የለ : ገዢ : እንደንት : ሁሉ : ይርቻል : የለል :  
 ለው : ለውተቻው : በንተሥ : እድባበ : ዓይ :<sup>6</sup> በተኑም : ገዢ : የንተሥ :  
 የለሁ : በለው : በመሬት : ገዢ : ተናሽ : ተተቻ : ይረዳዋል : ዓገቶም : ይፈረ  
 ወል :<sup>7</sup> ገዢ : እውቅ : እስከፈርጋበት : ዓይለ : [የ]አካል : ሁሉ ሁሉ : ቁጥሮች : 15  
 ሰን : ሰሰነነት : አውቅ : በስም : አብ : የለ : ገዢ : እንደንት : ሁሉ : ይጠቻ  
 የለ : የለል ዘኑ : ይህንን አውቅ : በስም : አብን : በአይደለት : መግለጫት :  
 አይደለት : ይፈጥ : ሲሉ : እንደሆ : ሲኅ : የለል ዘኑ : ተተሥ : በዘመና : ካር :  
 የመቅ : እንደቸውቅ : አካልቸው : መቅለቻት : እንደሆ : በስም : አብ : በማ  
 ለት : ይቻዋል : የለል :<sup>20</sup>  
 በስም : አብን : ማን : ተናገረው : የለ : እንደሆን : ይኅ : ተናገሩ : ይፈል ዘኑ  
 ነገር : ማን : ቁጥሮች : ተናሽ : ተናገሩት : | ከዚ : ይፈል : ሰሰነነቱ : A, 31v  
 በማቻወል : ወንጋል : አንድነቱ : በየአንስ : ወንጋል : ሰሰነነቱ : በማቻ  
 ለሰ : ለተናር : አንድ : ወመሆኑ : ከተመመ : አሳይሁ : የምር : እንዘ : ተጠ  
 መቻወመ : በለ : በስም : አብ : ወልድ : ወመንፈል : ቁጥሮች : ሲፈ : አለ : 25  
 ተው : ዘኑ : በየአንስም : ወንጋል : ተንድነቱ : ሲፈጻቻቸ : \*አብና : አነ : ወቅን  
 አኅ :<sup>8</sup> ዘርአየ : ካርየ : ሌሎች : ለአብና : በለው : ሲፈ : ተናገሩ ዘኑ : ይህንን :  
 ማን : ለተናር : አንድ : ተንድ : አልተናገረውም : አንድነቱ : አንድ : ተንድ :  
 \*ተናገረው : የተንሰ : የፈው : ዘኑ : ሰሰነነቱ : አንድነቱ : አንድ : ተንድ : ተና  
 ገሩ :<sup>9</sup> ማቻወል : የፈው : ይህንን : ማን : ሲፈቻ : አያይዘው : መበቻ : አለቻ : 30  
 አስመሰለው :<sup>10</sup> የለል :

APPARATUS: <sup>6</sup> አምባር : MA. | <sup>7</sup> እና ተናገሩ : MA. | <sup>8</sup> Cf. እና : መአብ እናና : የአኅ : (John 10:30). |  
<sup>9</sup> Why it is ተናገረው : in one case but ተናገሩ : in another similar case is not clear. | <sup>10</sup> The gerund used as the main verb.

If one asks, ‘Does not their trinity break up their unity, and does not their unity combine their trinity?’, this would not happen; each stands and lives according to his name.

If one asks, ‘In what and what is their trinity?’, it is *in person* (akal), *in hypostasis* (gäss), *in image* (mälk), and *in name* (säm).

‘Person’ (akal) means ‘stature’; ‘hypostasis’ (gäss) means ‘face’; ‘image’ (mälk) | means ‘head’, ‘hand/arm’, ‘leg/foot’, ‘eye’, ‘tooth’—all parts of the body—and ‘name’ (säm) means ‘Father’, ‘Son’, and ‘Holy Spirit’. They are three in these four things. But their unity is in divinity, in being Messiah,<sup>6</sup> in godhead, in being creator, in command, in will, in consent, and in nature. They are one in more things than these. When one says, ‘*In the name of the Father*’, recognizing this, all demons move away (from him).

Usually, when there is a fight at a public square, and one cries (for intervention), saying, ‘I appeal for help to (whoever represents) the king’, the little as well as the big help him. And his enemy fears him until (the judge) later sees (the case) and sentences him. (Similarly,) if one recognizes the persons of the Holy Trinity (and) their trinity and says, ‘*In the name of the Father*',<sup>7</sup> all demons disperse. Noticing this, the 300<sup>8</sup> ordained thus that ‘*In the name of the Father*’ was written at the beginning of Scriptures pertaining to the New Testament. As a king is recognized by his crown, and the poor by his ashes,<sup>9</sup> similarly, books pertaining to the New Testament are recognized by (their) saying, ‘*In the name of the Father*’.

If one says, ‘Who uttered (first) “*In the name of the Father*”’, the 300 uttered (it). But Our Lord has said (it) earlier: | (God’s) trinity is in the Gospel of Matthew, and his unity is in the Gospel of John. Speaking about his trinity in Matthew, he said to (the disciples), ‘*Go and teach all nations of the earth. When you baptize them, say, “In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit”*’.<sup>10</sup> And in John, in explaining his unity, he said, ‘*My Father and I are one.*<sup>11</sup> *Whoever has seen me has seen my Father.*<sup>12</sup>’ However, when he said these, he did not (do so) on the same day: he told his unity on one day, (and) John wrote it down. He told his trinity on another day (and) Matthew wrote (it) down. But when they wrote this down, they did so connecting (their words) like a lawyer and the main (client).

COMMENTARY: <sup>6</sup>*Sic.* | <sup>7</sup>This is the short form (incipit) of the opening prayer: ‘*In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. Amen.*’ | <sup>8</sup>This is how the 318 Orthodox Fathers of the Council of Nicaea are referred to; it is an abbreviation. | <sup>9</sup>An Am saying. | <sup>10</sup>Matt. 27:19. | <sup>11</sup>John 10:30. | <sup>12</sup>John 14:9.

በረሱ : ተምህርታቸው : ስያስተምህሩ : አዋርያት : ክርስቶስ : የወለምናንን :  
 አቶችናድ : አልዋቸው : እኩ-ለ- : እብ : ይልቻል : እኩ-ለ- : ወልድ : ይል  
 ቻል : እኩ-ለ- : መንፈሰ : ቅድ-ስ : ይልቻል : ስ.ለ- : ይዕስ : እኩ-ስ : ይህንን :  
 ነገር እ ቅድ-ስ : እኩ-ለ- : ስማና : በሁገድ : እያሸ : ይለት : ስያስርግ : ነበረ :  
 ይፈል : ነገር : ጥን : ይበለ : ልቻል : ነበረው : የካድ : ክመን : ስው- : በስ 5  
 ዓት : እንዳበለ : እርስቶቸው-ም : በቀጥር : ይበለ : ነበረ : ይፈል : የወለምናንን : A, 33r  
 ስምቶ : አገኖች : ስለ : ስማይና : አቅም : አየ ቅድ-ስ : እኩ-ለ- : ወተርጋው :  
 ስማይና : በግብር : ይለል : ዓይት : ማገኘን<sup>11</sup> ይለው : የማሕት : ወረዳለት :  
 ይለል : በግብርው-ም : የማሕት : በዘ-ገ : ነገር : ተክኖሎጂ : ነበረ : ይፈል ቅድ-  
 ነገር : ጥን : ይለምለከ : የሚል : በጀር : በጀና : ተክኖሎጂ : አገናው : ቅድ- 10  
 የምም : ቤታቸና : የተናገረው-ን : ነገር : ስይፈሰው : ነበረና : የንግድ : ክንድ  
 ካታቸው-ንና : ለስተኞቸው-ን : ይፈል : አዋው-ና<sup>12</sup> ለይፈሰቸው : ይለል ቅድ-  
 ይፈል : ይህንን : ተመልከተው : የክርስቶስ : ላይ : ሁ-ለ- : በስው : አብን :  
 አስቀድ-ም : ይማር : በለው : እንዳሸ : ስ.ለ- : ስና ቅድ-  
 በስው : አብን : ከምድር : ይመስለ-ታል : 15  
 የምናው : በምድር : መስለ-ት : ይለ- : እንዳሸምን : ስው- : ለውተር : በምድር :  
 ስይፈም : ይለው : ከንድ- : አይታለው-ም : እሁንም : በስው : አብን : ስይ  
 ወ-ቁ<sup>13</sup> ሂይማጥት : ወው-ቁ : የማብራትን : ይለና : ከንድ- : አይታለም :  
 ስ.ለ- : ስና : ይለል ቅድ-  
 በቀድ-ስት : ወላስ : አለ : በገና-ሳ : ወላስ : እናምናለን : ይለል : 20  
 የምናው : ሁ-ለ- : ቅድ-ስት : በስት : ቅል : ለርዋቸው : ይለ- : እንዳሸምን : ስት :  
 እስከ : ለዓለም : ወላቅ-ት : ነና : እርስቶቸው-ም : ወላድ : ሂይማጥት : ገበድ :  
 ቅጥረታት : | ወሁበ : የማብራት : የቸው- : ስ.ለ- : በስት : ቅል : ለናዋቸው- : A, 33v  
 ይለል :  
 ቅድ-ስ : በይገና : ይተረገሙና : 25  
 በምናና[ :] በምና : ይለ- : እንዳሸምን : ዓይ- : ገብ-ኩ : ክብር : ይለል :  
 የኩ-ኩ<sup>14</sup> በአምለከት : ልቶ : ክፍጥረታት : ገብ-ኩ : እምትመለከት : ክብር :  
 እምከብ-ኩ : ነው ቅድ-  
 እንዱ : አአምና : አለ : ለምናና : ለብቻው- : ለይ-ቁ<sup>15</sup> እናምናለሁ- :  
 ወለትመቻሁ : አለ : ለማብንና : በአምለከ : እማብናለሁ- : ይለል : 30  
 እኩሱኩ : ለይ-ቁ : አለ : ለይ-ቁ : እኩሱዋለሁ- : ለ.ከኩ- : ጥን : ክመድ :  
 ወጠኢት-ኩ : ያለምና<sup>16</sup> ማረጋገጫ : ቅል : <sup>17</sup> ክዘመድ : ወጠኢት : ለይ-ቁ : በ.ከ  
 ዓት : ስ.ለ- : ልቶ : ሆኖ : ይዘመድ : ይለል :

APPARATUS: <sup>11</sup> [ማይና/ዘን : .] | <sup>12</sup> አዋው- : MA. | <sup>13</sup> [ሰያ] . | <sup>14</sup> The grammatical role of ቅ- is not clear; a comparison with the other adjectives shows its redundancy. | <sup>15</sup> [ለይቻ] . | <sup>16</sup> [የአምና] . | <sup>17</sup> MA would add ነው- : .

When the Apostles of Christ were teaching during the time of their teaching, they advised the faithful not to go into self-exile. (As they lived together), some said the Father is greater, some said the Son is greater, and some said the Holy Spirit is greater (than the other persons in the trinity). They provoked discord. Saint Peter heard this case as he was praying in the city of Joppa. But he had wanted to eat. As people of today's age eat at 12 o'clock, they too used to eat at noon.<sup>13</sup> | A, 33r  
 As he was saddened, having heard their discord, he looked up into heaven. '*Peter saw and the heaven was opened*', it says in Acts.<sup>14</sup> There came down for him a curtain with four corners. Many things were written on that curtain. But he found the words '*One God*' on each of its edges. Since he had not forgotten what Our Lord had said,<sup>15</sup> he immediately wrote about the unity and trinity and joining (the two statements), he sent (it) to them.<sup>16</sup> And the 300, taking note of this, ordained that thus every child of Christian parents learn first the '*In the name of the Father*'.<sup>15</sup>

One likens the '*In the name of the Father*' to the earth.

If one says, 'Why did they liken (it) to the earth?', one usually cannot move without standing on earth. Therefore, they ordained, saying, 'It is impossible for one to know the faith and do good deeds, without knowing the "*In the name of the Father*".'

*In the Holy Trinity.* We believe in the *firm* Trinity.<sup>17</sup>

If one says, 'Why did they address the Holy Trinity in a feminine word', women are always begetters. They addressed them in a feminine word, to declare that they, too, are begetter(s) of faith, creator(s) of creations, | and giver(s) of good deeds.<sup>25</sup> | A, 33v

*Holy.* (This) is interpreted in four things.

If one asks, 'In what and what?', (in being) powerful, different, pure, and glorious: 'powerful' in godhead, 'different' from creatures, 'pure' of sin, and more 'glorious' than the glorious.<sup>30</sup>

*Believing.* And when I believe, I believe, setting him apart (from other gods).

*And I take refuge.* And when I take refuge, I take refuge with God.

*I renounce you, Satan.* I renounce Satan. But when one renounces, it is by rejecting all sorts of sins, and affairs of the world. If one renounced, without keeping oneself far from all sorts of sin, (Satan) will sing sitting on one's head.<sup>35</sup>

COMMENTARY: <sup>13</sup> The author must be a monk who assumes that a monk does not eat lunch, see fol. 87v–88r. | <sup>14</sup> Acts 10:11. | <sup>15</sup> An allusion to Matt. 28:19. | <sup>16</sup> Check his Acts. | <sup>17</sup> Either 'in unshakeable trinity' or 'firmly in trinity'.

በቁድመ : ሁኔታ : እምጣ : ቁድበት : በተ : ክርስተያን : አለ : በኋይ : ሂት :  
 ሰይማንን : እኩያዋለሁ : ይላል :  
 ክርስተያን : ማለት : ምክመናን : ማለት : ነው ::  
 ምንው : ክህናትን : በስት : ቅል : የኩዋቂው : የለ : እንደሆን : ወላይ :  
 ምክመናን : የቂው : ሌላ : ነው : 5  
 እንተ : ይእኔ : ሰምዕያ : ማርያም : [ጽጥን:] አለ : ሰይማንን : ሰከይወ : እግ  
 ባእትና : መሳእከት : መሰንእ : ወራ : ምሰከራ : ነቶ :  
 የጥን : ማለት : ተወን : ማለት : ነው : እምጣ : በለቦ : በከብት : ገዢ : ክወን :  
 [ቁፏ]፤ ክልለት : ሰባ : ይድኑበታል : የኩ : የለት : ጥን : በመዳ : ገዢ : A, 32v  
 ይሰበረዋል : ክሻለትም : በይን : ይፈረሰል : ይጠናል : የአጠቃለትና : እምጣ : 10  
 ጥን : ሁጋም : በኖወደ : ሥር : ገልም : በኖወደ : ነፍስ : መግግይቶን : ነቶ :  
 ይላል :  
 ለዓለመ : ዓለም : ማለት : \*ይጋት : ለይጋት :<sup>18</sup> ጉልጋት : ጥናት : የይኖር  
 በት : ነው :  
 እምና : አለ : በውኑት : በእንበለ : ተስት :: 15

*A Commentary on the 'Lord's Prayer'*  
(A, fols 32v, 32r, 49r–v, 34r–v)

አበኑ : በበማያያት :  
 አዋርያት : ክርስቶስ : አለ : የለው : አስተምረን : ማን : በለን : እንደሆንምንሁ :  
 ክሻለት : ሁሉ : ማንን : ተወዳለሁ : አለት : ይላል :: 20  
 ክርስቶም : ወልደ : እግዢእብዕርን : ነገሬችው : በከመ : መሀይመ : የካንሰለ :  
 ለእርዳእቱ :  
 የን : አስተምረችው : የለ : እንደሆን : ገዢ ነበያትን :  
 ማንና : ማን : የለ : እንደሆን : ገዢበኩ : ዘዴግም : ሂጥን : ለማልስ :  
 የለው : ተኩን : በአገቃያን : ዘዴፍሰ[ን] : የኩን : የንእልን : ይደቀቃ : 25  
 ነበ : ባረከን :<sup>1</sup> እንቀቃምን : አልየየለን : እለሁን : ነገሬችው : ይላል ::  
 ምንው : ሰነቱን : ተዋቂው : የለ : እንደሆን : ተክለ : ሰለምኑ : ይላል ::

APPARATUS: <sup>18</sup> Not in MA, but common in this text.

<sup>1</sup> [በአ-ን : .

COMMENTARY: <sup>18</sup> The plural of *kabən*, 'priest', is in the feminine form, *kahnat*, not *kabnan*, as in *sadəq* (sing.) and *sadqan* (pl.). | <sup>19</sup> This is playing with words, *səyən* against *śāwān*. But this interpretation would make Sion a Gz word related to *śāwān*. | <sup>20</sup> To make an opening, an entrance to burglarize.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'told'. | <sup>2</sup> The three are Song of Our Lady Mary (Luke 1:46–55), Song of Zachariah (Luke 1:68–79), and Song of Simeon (Luke 2:29–32). All are part of the Ethiopic Psalter.

*Before this, my mother, the holy Church.* I renounce Satan in the presence of my mother.

‘Christian’ means ‘faithful’.

If one asks, ‘Why did they address the clergy in a feminine word’,<sup>18</sup> it is because they meant they are begetters of the faithful.

5

*Which is my witness Mary, the Sion.* When I renounce Satan, my Lady is my witness along with *angels and people*.

‘Sion’ means ‘refuge’.<sup>19</sup> When one builds a hamlet with sweat, one would be saved by the wall from a digger<sup>20</sup> | by day and a broker by night. But when a powerful enemy comes, he would break it. And even if it is saved from the enemy, it will be demolished and destroyed. But the hamlet of Our Lady remains our refuge today in the realm of the flesh and later in the realm of the soul.

A, 32v

10

*Forever and ever.* (It) means that there is no passing or disappearance in (his kingdom) forever and ever.

15

*Amen, truly (and) honestly.*

*A Commentary on the ‘Lord’s Prayer’*  
(A, fols 32v, 32r, 49r–v, 34r–v)

*Our Father who is in the heavens.*

The Apostles of Christ asked (Jesus), ‘Teach us prayer. How 20 should we entreat you?’ They asked him, ‘Which of all the prayers do you like?’

He taught<sup>1</sup> them (about) the Son of God, *as John taught his disciples.*

If one asks, ‘What did he teach them?’, (the canticles of) the twelve 25 prophets.

If one asks, ‘Which and which?’, the First Song of Moses (Exod. 15:1–19), the Second Song of Moses (Deut. 32:1–21), the Third Song of Moses (Deut. 32:22–43), Song of Hannah, mother of Samuel (1 Sam. 2:1–10), Prayer of Hezekiah (Isa. 38:10–20), Prayer of Manasseh 30 (apocryphal), Song of Jonah (Jonah 2:2–9), Song of Daniel (Dan. 3:26–45), First Song of the Three Holy Children (Dan. 3:52–56), Second Song of the Three Holy Children (Dan. 3:57–88), Song of Habakkuk (Hab. 3:2–19), and Song of Isaiah (Isa. 26:9–20); he told them these.

35

If one asks, ‘Why did he leave the three out?’,<sup>2</sup> it is because they are (part of) the New Testament.

አንተመ-ሰ : ሰበ : ትኩልያ : ካመን : በለ- : አበ- : አበመያየት : አለ : የሰ  
 ማይ : አበኩ : በለ-ኩ : አለ :  
 የማው- : የሰማይ : አበኩ : በለ-ኩ : አለ : | የለ- : አንዳሆን : ካምድር : አበት : A, 32r  
 ሰለይ : የሰማይ : አበኩ : በለ-ኩ : አለ : የምድርስ : አበት : በዘ- : አለ :  
 የሥር : አበት : የከርስትና : አበት : የቆብ : አበት : የጠ-ት : አበት : አለሁ : 5  
 ሰ-ለ- : የምድር : አበት : የቃው- እስከሁ : ሰለይ : ነው :  
 የማው- : የሰማይ : አበኩ : በለ-ኩ : ካል : ወይ : መምህራ : ወይ : ገታየ :  
 በለ-ኩ : ሰበ : የለ- : አንዳሆን : መምህር : ያቀ : ወገመ-ኩን : ገታየ : ለመ-  
 ወ-ን : ካውድ :<sup>2</sup> አበት : ለቃ-ኩ : ይውክልና : እኔም : እነጋተን : እውቀቃ-ረል  
 ሆ-ኩ : አበ- : በለ-ኩ : አለ :  
 የማው- : አበ- : ካማለት : አበ-የ : ማለት : እውቀርበው-ም : የለ- : አንዳሆን :  
 ልያ : ይህኩለ : ሰ-ለ- : የለም : የለ- : የአመኩን : ስንድ : በለት :  
 አንዳሆን : ሰ-ይጠይቅ : አበታችን : በለ-ኩ : አለ :  
 ይተቀዳለ : ሰምኩ : አለ : የንተ : አበትኩት : በኩ : የኩ : ለቃ-ኩ : ባንተ :  
 ይቃኩልን : በለ-ኩ አለ :  
 ተምጃኩ : መንግሥትኩ : ይለል : መንግሥትሁ : ተምጃኩን : በለ-ኩ : አለ :  
 ነው-ንን : መንግሥቱ : ተመግ : ሆኖ : እረበኩን : አበይዘን : በለ-ኩ : ይለል :  
 እረበኩ : የማው- : የለ- : አንዳሆን : ሂይማጥታና : የማበር : ነው : ሆን : መን  
 ወሥትኩ : የሚያዋርስ : ነው-ኩ : አለ :  
 ይይ-ኩ : ፈቃድ-ኩ : ይለል : ፈቃድ-ሁ : ይሁ-ኩ : በለ-ኩ : አለ :  
 በከመ : በለማይ : ካማሁ : በምድርኩ : አለ : በለማይ : የለ- : መለከትኩ : A, 49r  
 ሰባኩ : ቅድስ : አንዳሆዋርበልሁ : እነጋተም : በምድር : አንዳሆሁ : ሰባኩ :  
 ቅድስ : አንዳሆዋርበልሁ : እና-ርጋን : በለ-ኩ : አለ :  
 ሰ-ለኩ : አለለበትኩ : አለ : በለማይ : የለ- : መለከትኩ : ይበለለ- : ይጠማለ-  
 ተለ- : አንዳሆን : መለከትኩ : እውጠለ-ም : እውጠው-ም : ሰባኩና : ቅድስ-ም : 25  
 ተው- : መብል : መጠጥ : ሆንዋወው- : በደረጃት : በፈቃታ : ይኖረለ- : ይለል :  
 እከ-ለ- : ተርጉምች :<sup>3</sup> ሰ-ሳ- : ነፍስ : ወሥር : እነጋተን : በለ-ኩ : አለ :  
 ይለለ- : እኩ : ጥን : እንልም : ለቃ-ኩ : ወልደ : እግዢአብዕር : ተናጋ  
 ልኩ : ቅድ-ም : \*እከሁ- : ነፍስ : ተቀስ- : እናስለ-ት : ሥር : ወለምና-ን :<sup>4</sup>  
 አለ : ለቃቅ : ነፍስ- : ክማዘ-ኩ : ሥር : እዋው-አብድ : ክመናውር : ል-በኩ : 30  
 ጥርስ : ክመስበት : ሥን : ይቀርብ :<sup>5</sup> ሌሎች : እስዋድ : ለማይ እስ- : አለ :  
 እ-ይዘኩ : ወእ-የኩርኩ : ወእ-ይጠበኩ :<sup>6</sup> ወ-ስተ- : እስታቃይመ- : ሰበ- :  
 እሁዳን : በከፈም-ት : ተለን : የሚመማብ : እግዢአብዕር : ጉማበር : ሰበኩ :

APPARATUS: <sup>2</sup>ከማውድ : ይበለለ- : MA. | <sup>3</sup>[ተርጉምች] : | <sup>4</sup>Matt. 6:25. The text is transmitted in a variety of ways; see Zuurmond 2001, 76–77. | <sup>5</sup>ይቀርብ : MA. | <sup>6</sup>[ወእያ].

COMMENTARY: <sup>3</sup> Cf. Matt. 6:25. The verse is transmitted in a variety of ways; see Zuurmond 2001, 76–77. | <sup>4</sup>‘go into their nests’ MS, but see Matt. 6:26.

*But when you pray, say like this: 'Our Father who is in heaven'.* He said, 'Call me, "My heavenly Father".'

If one asks, 'Why did he say, "Call me my heavenly Father"?' , | he A, 32r said, 'Call me my heavenly Father' to set (him) apart from earthly fathers. There are, indeed, many earthly fathers—father in the flesh, 5 godfather, monastic father, foster father—all these are earthly fathers. It is to set (him) apart from these.

If one asks, 'Why has he (not) said either "Call me my teacher" or "my master", instead of "Call me my heavenly Father"?' , he said, 'Call me, "*Our Father*"', (to say) I, too, love you as the father loves 10 his son more than the teacher loves his disciple and the master his servant.

If one asks, 'How is it? Would not saying "*My Father*" make one closer to him than saying "*Our Father*"?' , it is fearing they would be set apart (from the faithful). He said, 'Call me, "*Our Father*"' to explain 15 that the faithful in all corners of the world are members of one body.

*Hallowed be your name.* He said, 'Say to me, "Let your fatherhood be steadfast with us and our sonship with you."

*May your kingdom come.* He said to us, 'Say to me, "Let your 20 kingdom come to us." It is (not) realy that his kingdom would come, he (rather) said, 'Say to me, "Make us secure the guarantee (for it)."'

If one asks, 'What secures the guarantee', it is faith and good deeds, because these let one inherit the city of the kingdom.

*And may your will be done.* He said, 'Say to me, "May your will be 25 done."

*On earth, too, as it is in | heaven.* You, too, say to me, 'Make us offer 15 you glorification and sanctification on earth as the angels in heaven offer you glorification and sanctification.'

*Our daily meal.* If you think the angels in heaven eat and drink, angels do not eat or drink. They live in joy and happiness, with their glorification and sanctification being food and drink for them. Some commentators say, 'He said, "Say to me, order for us *food for the soul and body*".' But we do not say (so). For Our Lord, the Son of God, has said already, 'Is not life more of a concern than food of the body and clothing?'<sup>3</sup> Which is easier, creating (man) by uniting a subtle soul and a concrete body or giving clothing and meal? He said, 'Look at the birds of the sky which neither sow nor harvest nor \*gather into their nests.'<sup>4</sup> We would not say to God, who provides (the birds) with grain during the dry season and worms during the rainy season, the 40

አርአርኬኝ፡<sup>7</sup> ወሰኑምኩለኝ፡ በለ፡ የሂጻራኝ፡ አምሳካ፡ ለብዕኝ፡ ጉርሰ፡  
ሰጠኝ፡ አንዥውም፡ ወሰኑንተኝ፡ አጥተኩዎ፡ ለነፋሰሰዎ፡ ወእለሙኝ  
ከመ፡ \*እንኩ፡ ተለብዕ፡<sup>8</sup> እንዳለ፡ ነ፡ ሰራየኝ፡ ያለ፡ ጥን፡ የኋፍሰ፡ ነው፡ የኋፈለ፡<sup>9</sup>  
አ，49v  
ይላል፡  
ሁነ፡ የም፡ እራ፡ ሰጠኝ፡ በለ-ኩ፡ እው-ንን፡ እራ፡ ይኩሰን፡ ሆኖ፡<sup>5</sup> እረሙን፡ በለ-ኩ፡ ይላል፡  
ገድግ፡ ለነ፡ አቦብ፡ ወርጻዋኝ፡<sup>10</sup> አለ፡ አቦብ፡ ተናሽ፡ ለአተት፡ ነው፡  
ገዢይ፡ ተሳቅ፡ ይኩረት፡ ነው፡ ይጠአቃኩም፡ ይኩረቱኩም፡ ይቀር፡ በለ፡  
በለ-ኩ፡ አለ፡ ይላል፡  
ከመ፡ ተስኩኝ፡ ጉንደግ፡<sup>11</sup> ለዘዕበ፡ ለነ፡ አለ፡ የቃን፡ ይጠአት፡ ይቀር፡<sup>10</sup>  
እንዳልካኝ፡ እኩም፡ የባለንፈልሮኝ፡<sup>12</sup> ይጠአት፡ ይቀር፡ እንደንል፡ እኩር  
ገን፡ በለ-ኩ፡ ይላል፡ አልመ፡ ለአመ፡ ይደግመ፡ ይጠአት፡<sup>13</sup> ይተደደግ፡  
ለመ፡ ይላል፡ አባ[ታ]ቃሁኝ፡ የገደለ፡ እናታቃሁኝ፡ የገደለ፡<sup>14</sup> ይቀር፡  
በለ፡ እንዳልካኝ፡ የቃንም፡ ይጠአት፡ ይኩረት፡ ለአተት፡ ይቀር፡ በለ፡  
በለ-ኩ፡ ይላል፡  
አጥብኑ፡ እግዢለ፡ ወ-ሰተ፡ መንሰተ፡ አለ፡ ከከኩ፡ ከመንሰተ፡ ነገር፡<sup>15</sup>  
ሰው-ረን፡ እኩም፡ ከውጠለት፡ ሰራይ፡ እጥበብ፡ በለ-ኩ፡ ይላል፡ እው-ንን፡  
እንዳለም፡ እኩቶ፡ እንደቦግ፡ እኩቶ፡ ይውለደኩል፡ ሆኖ፡<sup>15</sup> ለውተር፡ እኩት፡  
ልፈዋኝ፡ እንደታሳደግ፡ ከባክር፡ እንዳይጠልቅ፡ ከገደል፡ እንዳይውድቅ፡  
ጠብቃ፡ ተይና፡ እንደታሳደግ፡ እኩኩም፡ እኩኩ፡ መጣቃኝ፡ በለ-ኩ፡<sup>20</sup>  
ይላል፡ አለ፡  
አለ፡ እድ-ገኩኝ፡ ወባልካኝ፡<sup>16</sup> እምከተለ፡ እከ-ይ፡ አለ፡ እድ-ገኩኝ፡ የተቀት፡  
ከመኝ፡ ነው፡ ባልካኝ፡ የቃኝ፡ ከመኝ፡ ነው፡ | የረጋግመ-ሰ፡ የመፍራ፡<sup>A，34r</sup>  
ከመኝ፡ ባንተ፡ እንዲ፡ ነው፡ በመንጠቀሱ፡ ሰላም፡ አልበሱ፡ ከከኩ፡  
ከመኝ፡ ከከኩ፡ ነገር፡ አልመልጠኝ፡<sup>17</sup> መጣቃኝ፡ በለ-ኩ፡ ይባል፡ ለው፡ ለው  
ተር፡ እኩኝ፡ ከመኝ፡ ልይማጥኝ፡ የመጠረትኝ፡ ሰላም፡ ሰላም፡ ነጋ፡ በጋዘ፡  
ጥሩ፡ ይጠአት፡ ሰርቶ፡ ባጥኝ፡ የመኝ፡ ይጠቀዋል፡ አሰከ፡ ቅጋሚ፡ ከመኝ  
ቃኝ፡ መጣቃኝ፡ በለ-ኩ፡ ይላል፡  
አልመ፡ ተእከ፡ ይእከ፡ መንጠቀሱ፡ አለ፡ ይህ፡<sup>18</sup> መንጠቀሱ፡ የንተ፡ ሰለ፡  
ሆነ፡ ጉዳ፡ በነፋሰ፡ የፈም፡ በመ፡ ከከኩ፡ ነገር፡ እድ-ገኩኝ፡ በለ-ኩ፡ ይላል፡<sup>30</sup>  
የድል፡ ወሰብካኝ፡ [ወተር፡ ለው-ሰ፡]<sup>19</sup> የመኩም፡ በበረታ፡ ይቀመ-ን፡  
የሁል፡ ይበረታል፡ በበዴው-ም፡ በቃርጉር፡ በርጋኅ፡ ይደከማል፡ በጥኝ፡ ያል  
ኩል፡ የንተ፡ ጥን፡ በርቻ፡ ይኩሙኝ፡ ልማም፡ የለበትም፡ ይውሉኝ፡ ይመ

APPARATUS: <sup>7</sup> Sic. One notices an attempt to change the second **כ** before last to **ש**. | <sup>8</sup> [חַלְפָה] : | <sup>9</sup> MA would add **חַלְפָה** : | <sup>10</sup> Not in the original. | <sup>11</sup> [רַי]. | <sup>12</sup> [וְאַמְתָּה] : | <sup>13</sup> [תְּ] : | <sup>14</sup> "אַתָּה" : MA. | <sup>15</sup> MA would add **חַלְפָה** : | <sup>16</sup> Added apparently because **חַלְפָה** was not satisfactory. | <sup>17</sup> Not in MA. | <sup>18</sup> **אַתְּ** means 'is', not 'this'. | <sup>19</sup> Not certain. | <sup>20</sup> [וְאַמְתָּה] :

God who created us, saying, '*Let us create man in our image and our likeness*', '*Give us clothing and food*', for he has said to us, '*Therefore, do not worry for your life or for a cover for your body*'.<sup>5</sup> So, what he said, '*our meal*', concerns | the soul.

A, 49v

*Give us today.* Say to me, '*Give us today*'. Actually, it is (not) that he would deny us (bread) today, but it rather means, '*Make us secure the guarantee (for it)*'.

5

*Forgive us our trespasses and transgressions.* *Trespass* (*abäsa*) is a minor mistake and *transgression* (*gegay*) is a major arrogance. He said, '*Say to me, "Forgive us the sins as well as the arrogance"*'.

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*So that we, too, may forgive those who trespassed against us.* '*Say to me, "Make us forgive the sins of our comrades*'<sup>6</sup> as you have forgiven our sins".' It says, '*For if you forgive sins, it will be forgiven of them.*' He said, '*Say to me, "Forgive us, too, our sins, arrogance, and mistakes as you said to us forgive him who killed your father and who killed your mother"*'.

15

*Lead us not, o Lord, into temptation.* He says, '*Say to me, "Hide us from evil and from tempting things. Lead us not into the place to which Adam exited."*'<sup>7</sup> It is (not) that he would really take us driving (us) like cows or encircling (us) like sheep. He says, '*Say to me, "Guard us"*', in the manner that a mother usually brings up her child guarding (him) attentively lest he drown in a body of water or falls into a cliff.

20

*But save us and rescue us from every evil.* '*Save us*' (*adəhnännä*) relates to a few years and '*rescue us*' (*baləhannä*) relates to many years. | However, the short as well as the long times are by you. Is there any other (authority) in your kingdom? It should rather be said, '*Say to me, "Have us escape evil times and evil things, and guard us"*'. Usually, if one lives (keeping) the faith and doing good deeds, but at the time of his death dies committing sins, what is his profit? (Therefore,) he says, '*Say to me, "Guard us until the end of our time"*'.

25

A, 34r

*For the kingdom is yours.* '*Say to me, "Since this kingdom is yours, save us from evil things, later in the soul, (and) now in the flesh"*'.

*Power and glory.* [Usually,] however strong a man is, he is (only) as strong as his ability. Even then, he is weakened by deprivation and old age, and passes away by death, but your strength is without weak-

30

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COMMENTARY: <sup>5</sup> Matt. 6:28, also quoted with less care. | <sup>6</sup> ηλ.26 confused with ηλ.36. | <sup>7</sup> Which place is meant is not clear.

የኔ : ካንድ : አይቻልም : ከበርኑን : ሰው-ሳ : በትብር : እወነት : ይከተለ  
ዋል : የንተ : የን : ከበር : አይወለንም : አይመጻንም : ይለል ::  
ለኋለመ : የለም : አሉ : መንግሥትኩም : ይ-ንት : ለይ-ንት : የሚጥር : ነው :  
መንግሥት-ሳ : አሉ : ይዋት : አሉ : ለለመም : ነገዣ : ለኋገዣ : የን : ከሉ አ :  
ተቋበለ-ት : ደለም : ለሉ አሳለቁ-ት : የንተ : የን : መንግሥት : ወደም 5  
ኩም : ከሉ : አልተቋበላኩው-ም : ደለም : ለሉ : አታሳለው-ም : መንግሥትኩም : ከሉ : ለለም : ነው : ባንድነት-ሁ : ሁ-ለት-ንት : በስት-ንት-ሁ : ብት-ንት : የይኖርበት : እንተ : ነህ : ይለል :: በለዕለም : በአንድነትኩ : በስት-ንት : ስት-ስለስ : ስት-ቋይስ : የሚጥር : እምለከ : እንተ : ነህ : ይለል :  
አማን : አሉ : በው-ንት : አለንበለ : ስብት :: :: 10

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*A Short Commentary on the 'Lord's Prayer'*  
(C, fols 134r-135v)

አብድ : በሰላምያት : ብል : ገዢ : ክርስቶስ : አባቱ : መንግሥት : ስማያት :  
 ሰነድ : ማለት : ነው : ለሰላምያ : አባቱ : በለኅ : አል : በለኅ : በሰላምያ : ብቻ : የል : ሆኖ : 15  
 ለሰላምያ : የል : <sup>1</sup> ሆኖ : ንግድ : ወንድ : የቀት : መባይ : በለኅ : የቀታቸው :  
 አባት : እኩት : ይል : በንድ : ክንተው : በለይ : ተመት : ክከርስቶስ : በለይ :  
 አባት : ክርስቶስ : በለይ : ተተረት : እንደለለ : የጠቃቅ : በንድ : ለለዘህ : የል  
 ማያ : አባቱ : በለኅ : [ክሉ:]  
 ይተዋዕስ : ለምክ : ብል : ገዢ : የአንተ : አባትናት : በኅ : የኅ : ለፈነት : C, 134v  
 ብንቃት : ይጋኅ : ማለት : ነው : የክርስቶስ : አባትናት : የኅ : ለፈነት :  
 የሚያቀናው : የሚያደር : ነው : ተቋላት : ወንድል : ማድረግ : ነው :  
 ተምሳብ : መንግሥትኩ : መንግሥትኩ : መንፈል : ቁጥር : ለፈነት : ለፈነት :  
 ብኅ : አካላትቸን : ይ[ን]ኩ : እቅዱትን : መከተሉን : ሥርቶን : ይመኅ :  
 እድርጋን : ይጠቀዕድ : የሀብሩ : እግር : እድርጋን : መንፈል : ቁጥር : እንዲ : 25  
 ማያ : በፈቀት : የጋዢም : ይኅት : የመንግሥት : ለማያጥ : አከውት :  
 ልዕው-ኩም : ብንዱት : አለየን :  
 ወይከና : ልቋድና : ብል : ገዢ : ልቋድ : አትሰራድን : በፈቋድህ : አው-  
 ሰን : ማለት : ነው : የክርስቶስ : ልቋድ : የሚው : የል : እንደሆን : ይም : C, 135r  
 ይለውት : የሚችሉ : ነው : 30

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### APPARATUS:<sup>1</sup> ፩፻፻፻ :

ness and aging. It is impossible to limit (or) measure your wealth. If a man is wealthy, poverty would follow him. But your wealth is not to be limited or measured.

*Forever and ever.*<sup>8</sup> And your kingdom lives on forever and ever. As for kingship, people, such as David and Solomon, had been kings; but when they were made kings, it was by receiving (it) from others, and later they passed it over to others. But your kingdom, you neither received (it) from others, | with it having preceded you, nor will you pass it over to others later. Your kingdom is eternal. You are he in whose unity there is no duality (and) in whose trinity, there is no quadrinity. You are God who lives forever, called eternity, and sanctified in unity and trinity. A, 34v

*Amen, truly (and) honestly.*

*A Short Commentary on the 'Lord's Prayer'*  
(C, fols 134r–135v)

When it says, ‘*Our Father who is the heavens*’, it means Christ is my father and the kingdom of heavens is my inheritance.

If one asks, ‘Why did he say, “Call me my Father in heaven”, it is because he is in heaven while on earth. He said, ‘Call me my heavenly Father’ to explain that there is no higher office than king and higher father than Christ while a (normal) father’s natural (ability) is to say at the most, ‘I am the father of your fathers’.

When it says, ‘*Hallowed be your name*’, it means | ‘Let your fatherhood be steadfast in us and our sonship in you’. What does ‘the fath-C, 134v  
erhood of Christ and our sonship keep steadfast’? It is fulfilling the six commandments of the Gospel. 25

*Let your kingdom come.* Regarding the kingdom, let the Holy Spirit make our mind a throne, our body members a tent, our soul an officer, our flesh a cloud; let the four elements (in us) be legs of the throne in order for the Holy Spirit to reign in our mind. Show us 30 today, before we die, the severity of hell and the life of the kingdom of heaven.

When it says, ‘*Let your will be done*’, it means dismiss us not with our will but keep us in your will. If one asks, ‘What | is the will of Christ?’ It is fasting, prayer, and almsgiving. C, 135r

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COMMENTARY: <sup>8</sup> Lit. ‘to the world of worlds’.

በከመ : በልማር : ከማሁ : በምድር : መለከት : በበረለ : ቅድስ : እንዲያና :  
አንተም : የሥርቻን : ልቃድ : አስተለን : ተለቻሁ : ለምናና : አስተዋና  
ለሁ :<sup>2</sup>

በሰኞ : በለለ : ደለተና : ነበኑ : የም : ሰራየ : ነፍሰኑ : የንፍሰ : ሰሳይኑ :<sup>3</sup>  
ምንው : የለ : እንደሆነ : ከለማለሳብናር : መተያየት : ነው :<sup>5</sup>

ገድግማ : ለኋ : እበኑ : ወጪዎች : ከመ : ጉዳኑ : ጉንድግማ : ለዘለበ : ለኋ :  
የቻ :<sup>4</sup> እኋ : እንተ : ተውልን : እኋም : የበለጋራቻን : እኋ : እንድንተው :  
ልቦና : ሰጠና : እንተው : ግን : ተውን : በንልሁ : መሰረብ : ይመሰረብና :  
አታብለኑ : እግዢል : ወሰተ : | መንሰጥ : የለ : ከለከብ : ነገር : እድገነኑ : C, 135v  
ማለት : ነው :<sup>10</sup>

አለ : እድገነኑ : ምትና : እንደ : ባባት : ከተማ : ለቃድ : ይቆማለው :  
ወሰልአነ : ባለ : ገዢ : ከበለጋራቻን : እና : እውቀን :  
አምከራለ : እከብ : እንተው : እንደመጥሣት : ሆኖሁ : እከለ : መጠና : እኋር  
ሰን :

አስመ : በእከ : ይእኑ : [መንማሥት :] መንማሥትና : የንተት : ከዘህ :<sup>15</sup>  
ወይም : የይልት :

የይል : ወሰበአት : የንግዢ : መለከት : በመልዕልት : ወዘመትአት :  
ምድር : የምትኑ : በእፈ : መለከት : ወሰበአ : የንተመሰንን :<sup>5</sup> ለዓለመ :  
ቃለም : ያንተት : ለድንት : እምን : በውጥት : እንበለ : አሰተ :

*On the Rise and Fall of Emperor Diocletian:  
A Prelude to the Introduction to the Commentary on the Nicene Creed*  
(A, fols 34v-40r)

ቋ ጉተሙ : ነበኑ : ቋ የእለከንድርር : ጉተሙ : ቋ የእለከብ : ጉተሙ : ነበኑ :  
ይልል : የእለከንድርር : ጉተሙ : እማርየጥሰ : የእለከብ : ጉተሙ : ማርየጥሰ :  
የሚልዋቻው : ሁለቱ : ባለጋ : ነበኑ : ሰጥተ : የሚር : የእለከንድርር : ጉተሙ : እማ<sup>25</sup>  
ርየጥሰ : ማርየጥሰን : የል : እስተ : ባለጋ : ማር : ማርከ : \*ሸተ : መልስ :<sup>1</sup> መቆ :  
ይልል : የነጠኑ : እንዲቁ : ባለጋ : ለቃድ : ወልድ : በሁዋጥ : እርግዝ : ነበረቁ :  
ቋለም : በተማረከኝ : በቁቀን : መተቁ : ይግማ : በእናተዋ : ማልስት : ለቃጥ :  
መተቁ : ለኋማርየጥሰ : ነገሱት : [እርስ]ም : ከእናቁ : መቆበር : መምራት :

APPARATUS:<sup>2</sup> A sign that looks like a very short አ is attached to the bottom of ቁ to produce the symbol for *bwa*. |<sup>3</sup> የለለ” is not in the manuscript. Instead, the manuscript has a diphthong symbol representing *ywa*, formed in the form of ደ. |<sup>4</sup> [የቻ] : |<sup>5</sup> [”ቻ”. |<sup>6</sup> ተ : added in the different hand.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Withdrew’? An obsolete expression.

COMMENTARY:<sup>1</sup> That is, it is unlimited.

*On earth, too, as it is in heaven.* He said, 'Plead with me saying, "As angels (in heaven) live on reciting (repeatedly), 'Holy'", you help us, too, get rid of the will of our body. I will help you.'

*Give us today our daily meal.* (It means,) 'the meal of our soul'. If one asks, 'What is the meal of the soul?' It is seeing each other with God. 5

*Forgive us our trespasses and transgressions so that we, too, may forgive those who trespassed against us.* Forgive us our debt (and) give us consciousness so that we, too, may forgive the debt of our adversary. But it would look like an insult to ask forgiveness without us forgiving. 10

When it says, 'Lead us not, o Lord, into | temptation', it means save us from evil things. C, 135v

*But deliver us.* But dismiss us. Would a son in (his) father's court remain waiting (for dismissal)? 15

When it says, 'And rescue us', (it means) rescue us from the hand of our adversary.

*From every evil.* You bring us to adulthood being a tutor-guardian.

*For the kingdom is yours.* For your kingdom is one about which one cannot say it is beyond this. 20

*Power and glory.* Let the strength of divinity, which rules the highest and under the earth, be glorified by the mouth of angels and people *forever and ever. Amen, truly (and) honestly.*

*On the Rise and Fall of Emperor Diocletian:*  
**A Prelude to the Introduction to the *Commentary on the Nicene Creed***  
 (A, fols 34v–40r)

There were two kings. They included a king of Alexandria and a king of the Gentiles. They were the king of Alexandria and the king of the heathens, called (respectively) Numerianus<sup>1</sup> and Merianus, who were two enemies to each other. When they fought, Numerianus, the king of Alexandria<sup>2</sup> defeated Merianus, took slaves as booty, and withdrew (from the war). At that time, there was a slave who was with a child and (also) pregnant. Then, she died seven days after she was captured. And then, her daughter died on the third day of the death of her mother.<sup>3</sup> They reported (this) to Numerianus. And [he] said, 'Add her 30

<sup>1</sup> Roman Emperor (282–284 CE). | <sup>2</sup> *Sic.* | <sup>3</sup> Here 'third day' refers to the first memorial day of a dead person.

հԱ մ: ՀԱԹՅ : ԹԹԳԱ : ՈՒՒԳԵ : ԽՄՅՎ : ԱԷ : ՎՃՔ : ՈԶՀԵՄ : ՄՓ  
 ԹՅՈ : Ո.ՈՊ : <sup>2</sup> ԴԴԴ : ԻՒՅ : ՀԱ : ՃԴՅ : ՓՈՀՄ : ԲԴՅ : ԱՅՈ  
 ԴՓ : ՀԵՅ : ԻՒՅ : ՀԱ : ԹՈՀՄ : ՈՒԿՅՅՅՈՈ : ՈՄԵԴ : ՀԱՅՈ : 9  
 ՍԴ : ՖԹԳՀԵԴ : ԱՅԱՄ : ԱԼ/Դ : ՈՎՊԱԴ : ՈՄԵԴ : ՀԱՅՈ : A, 35r  
 ՈՄԵԴ : ԱՅԴ : ԹՈՀՄ : ԴԴՅ : ՆԼՄՈՎ : ՈՄԵԴ : ՀԱՅՈ : 5  
 ՔԵՀՈՈ : ԹԹԱ : ՀԱՀԵՎՈ : ՈՂԴ : ՈՄԵԴ : ՀԱՅՈ : ՔԵՀՈՈ :  
 ԵՀՊՈՈ : ՄԴ մ: <sup>3</sup> ԿԿԿՅՅՅՈՈ : ԱԷ : ՓՎՈՄՈՈ : ՔՊԱՀԵՎՈ : ԵՎՅ  
 ԸՈ : ԱԷՅ : ԴԱՎ.ՔՊՈՈ : ԿՈ.ՈՀՈՈ : ՀԿԴԵՄ : ԿԿԿՅՅՅՈՈ : ՀԴ :  
 ԿԵ : ԵԴԱ մ: ՈՈՒՅ : ԱԷՅ : ԾԴՅ : ՊՊՅ : ԱԷ : ՈՄԹՈՍ : ԱՊ :  
 ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՈՄԵԴ : ԿՈ.ՈՀՈՈ : ԵԴԱ : ՓԳՄ : ՈՄԵԴ : ՈՎՀ : 10  
 ԵՀՈՈ : ՈՂԴ : ԹԹԳԱ : ՀԿՊ : ԱՄՓ : ՊՎՀ : ՃԴ : <sup>4</sup> ԿՈ.ՈՀՈՈ :  
 ԵՀՈՈ : ՈՂԴ : ԹԹԳԱ : ՀԿՊ : ԱՄՓ : ՊՎՀ : ՄԴ : ՅԴ-Ա-ԳՅ :  
 ԹԵՀՄ : ԵԴԱ :  
 ԻՒՅ : ՀԱ : ԿԿԿՅՅՅՈՈ : ՈՈՒՅ : ԴՓՄՊ : ՊՊՅ : Ո.ՔՅ : Ո.ՄՈԼԻԴ :  
 ԲԴՅ : ՊՎՅ : ՊՎԳԱ : Ո.ՈՀՈՈ : ՈՂԴ : Ո.ՄԵԴ : ՊԴԴ-Ա-ԳՅ : 15  
 ԳՎԵՈՐ : ԱԵԴՄ : ԻԿՊՅ : ԵԸ : ԴՓՄՊ : ՊՊՅ : Ո.ՔՅ : Ո.ՊՈԽ :  
 ՀԿՅ : ՀՈՒ : ԸՍ : ՊԱ : ԸՍ-ՀՅ : ԱԷՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՅՅՈ : ՀԿՅՅՈ :  
 ՈՒՈ : Ո.ՈՄՊ : ՀԵՄ : ԴՓՄՊ : ՀԿՅՅՈ : ՀԿՅՅՈ : ՈՈՈ : 10  
 Ո.Յ : ՀԿՅՅՈ : ՊՄԳ : ՊՎՅ : ՊԱ : ԸՍ-ՀՅ : ԴՔՈՈ : ՊՎՅ :  
 ՀԴ/[/ԱՀ : <sup>5</sup> ԵԴԱ : ՀԿՅ : ՀՈՒ : ԸԿՊՅՈ : ՈԵՄՊ : յՄ-ԴՅ : ՀԿՅՅՈ :  
 ՊԴ : ԵԴԱ : 20  
 ԸՍ : ՊԱ : ԻԿՊ : ԸԸՅ : ԴՓՄՊ : Ո.Ա : ԸԱԴ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ԻՒՅ : A, 35v  
 ՀԱ : ԸՍ-ՀՅ : Ո.ՈՀՈՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ :  
 ՀԿՊՅՈ : ԱԼ : ԿԿԿՅՅՅՈՈ : ԻՒՅ : ՀԱ : ԴԱՎ.ՔՊՈՈ : ԿՈ.ՈՀՈՈ : ՓՎ  
 ՈՄՈՈՈ : [ՀՄԹԳՎՊՅՈ] մ: ԻՒՅ : ՀԱ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ԸՈ : ԸՈ  
 ԳԱ : ԻԿՊ : ՍԴՅ : ՊԸ : ՄԹՈՈ : ՈՂՅՅՅՅՅ : ՊՎՅՈՍ : ՊԼՀ[Հ.Հ]ՅՅ : 25  
 ՄԹԳՎ : ՍԴՅ-ՀՅՅ : ԲՊԿ-ՎԱ : ՊՎՅՈՄՊ : Ո.ՎԿՊՅՈ : ՊՄԳ : ՊԼՀ-ՀՅՅ :  
 ՊԴՅ : ՄԴ : ԸԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ԴԿՊՅՈ : Ո.ՎԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ :  
 ԴՓՄՊ : ՄԻԿ : ՀԿ-Ա-Ը : ԻՍՍ : ԵՎԿ : Ի-ՄՊՅՅ : ԵՄՈՒ : ՊՄԳ  
 Պ-Յ : ՊԼՀ-ՀՅՅ : ԻԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : ՀԿՊՅՈ : 30

APPARATUS: <sup>2</sup> Պ : MA. | <sup>3</sup> Having double auxiliary verbs (հԱ and ՄԴ) is not known in MA. | <sup>4</sup> ‘Son of a Corpse’, a made-up name by the author describing the subject, cf. Կ.Պ. Ա.Դ : ‘Beguiler’, fols 41v–42r. | <sup>5</sup> Probably a word related to Gz հԱ-ՎՊ : ‘to bring’.

COMMENTARY: <sup>4</sup> i.e. ‘civilized’. | <sup>5</sup> *Yä-färäś mäčäne*. | <sup>6</sup> Qäwəstəs. | <sup>7</sup> ? Gälawdewos. | <sup>8</sup> ‘Son of a corpse’, a made-up descriptive name coined by the author, as Կ.Պ. Ա.Դ : (Hayy-ət), ‘Beguiler’, (fols 41v–42r). | <sup>9</sup> That is, civilized and sophisticated, as opposed to *baläge*, ‘countryside boy’. | <sup>10</sup> Prisca, the future consort of Caesar Diocletian. | <sup>11</sup> The story is confusing. She was actually the daughter of Caesar Carus, whom Diocletian succeeded by marrying the princess.

to the tomb of her mother'. Then, when they opened the tomb, a child was found having come out of her belly, sitting on her chest and sucking. Then, they buried the corpse, took up the child, and left. Then, they handed him over to Numerianus. And the latter, saying to himself, 'I shall see the miracles of the case', | he ordered them to give him to a tutor/guardian. And they did. (The child) grew up; he learned the Scriptures, became a young man, and knew city wisdoms.<sup>4</sup> (The king) made him superintendent of horses.<sup>5</sup> When he played the harp, the horses used to dance in the stable. (There were) Justus,<sup>6</sup> the son of Numerianus; Calerius<sup>7</sup> and Basilides, the sons of Theodore the Oriental—whose mother was the sister of Numerianus. The three boys and a fourth, the son of the slave, were given to teacher Agagyos. The former name (of the fourth) was Wäldä Resa.<sup>8</sup> He knew (the art of) horse (riding), playing the harp, the Scriptures, and (how to use) arms; he became a city boy.<sup>9</sup> And the king loved him.

A, 35r

10

15

Then, as Numerianus was watching and viewing a military parade, sitting on a balcony, Fətərbya,<sup>10</sup> the daughter of the king, sitting with her father, saw the slave at times directing (the parade) and at times playing the harp. When she saw him well built and ornamented, she said (to her father), 'My father, let this one be my husband.'<sup>11</sup> At that time, when her father heard when she said this, he rebuked her very much. He said to her, 'How do you say about him, who came (captured) by a horse's neck and a sword's mouth, "Let him be my husband?" One should rather say, "Make (him) my slave".' At that time, Satan had instilled concupiscence in her.

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25

As things are so, another enemy sent a missive to (Numerianus), saying, 'Receive me (with) my fighting army'. | Then, when Numerianus heard this, he said, 'Call those boys and bring them because we have to hold a consultation.' Then, [they brought] Calerius, Basilides, and Justus. Then, he asked them, 'You boys, what is the appropriate (thing to do) for us? An enemy is coming against us from a far country. If we go (to fight), our enemy who is here would come and devastate our city. And if we stay here, our coming enemy will ally (with the near enemy) and damage us. What do you advise?' When he said to them (so), they listened and counselled. They said, 'We counselled thus: let half (of the army) remain here and guard our city; let it fight our coming enemy together with the king. And let us (the three) take (the remaining) half of the army and go to (the other) campaign.'

A, 35v

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35

ንግ-መ-ኅም : ይስ : ፊቁ : አለው : ወደኋቸው : ይህ : ምክር : የከ-ሳ : ምክር :  
ኋው : ምናይ : ምክር : በአለበው-ከሙ : <sup>6</sup> እግዚአብሔር : አላቸው : በ : ከነም :  
ቃለ : ቀው-ሰመሰን : አለቁ : አድርት : በየተውረቻ : ቅ-ም : ባሬዕቃቃራራ :  
ሰደኋቸው : ይፈል : 5  
ከነም : ቃለ : ተኋላ-ተው : ገሰንሰ : ከነም : ይርሰው : ይ-ንግት : አደጋ :  
በ-ጥል : ይፈል : ተኋላ : እርዳቸው-ም : ከነም : ሁ-ነው : ሌ-ደግምኑ : እቁ-ም :  
ውሬት : ተቀመጥ : ከነም : ቃለ : እርዳቸው : <sup>7</sup> ል-ይመለሰ : የቀድመ : ግል-ታ  
ቸው : | የልያን : መግለጫ : ሌማና : ገሰንሰ : መግለቸው : ማርያምና : A, 36r  
የሚለ : ጉንዢ : አከሣብ : ይፈል : ቅ-ም : እምርያምናም : የቀረው-ን : ፳ር : አስከተ  
ተና : ማዳ : መርዳ : ቁጥው : ፳ር : የን : ተከናደው : በም-ጥበቃ : ማርያምና : 10  
አመዳና : <sup>8</sup> ወደኋት : ተደርሰ : ይመለሁሁ : እንደቀደመ : የንር : አይደለ  
ው-ም : የንተሁ : ተዋጋ : በለ : አለው : እምርያምናም : አመዳና : ይህ :  
ሁ-ለ : ሰው : አይለቁ : ከሰው : አላቀት : የንዳቸን : ጥት : ይሻላል : አንተ :  
በተማት : እኔ : ጉንኋቸው : እኔ : በወጥ : [እንተ :] እንኋቸው : እንተና :  
እኔ : ወርድን : እንዋጋ : አለው : እርሰም : ወደድ : ሁ-ለቱ : ቅ-ታ : ወርድው : 15  
ተ-ር-ዳዎ : ጥቱ : የሁ-ለቱም : ፳ር : ተኋላ-ት : አየበቱ : ሂደ :  
ከነም : ቃለ : እምርያምናም : በ-ወጥ : ማን : ይንገሥ : በ-ለ : ቀው-ሰመሰ :  
አስከመዳ : ይፈል : የጥርበያ : <sup>9</sup> ተንገሥ : ቀው-ሰመሰ : በመዳ : ገለ : እናና  
ማሳን : <sup>10</sup> በለው : መከና : የጥርበያም : ወደድቸ : እርዳም : የንዋጅ :  
ሰ-ቸ : በ-ለ : እናና : አለቁ-ና : አገረክን : አገባቸው : አገላቸው : ቁድ-ማ : 20  
ፈ-ቸው : ከበረሰትና : የሰበቸው-ን : አይደለቸ : ቅ-  
ከነም : ቃለ : እርዳ : እንማ : ባርያምና : እንማ : ሰ-ጥር : የቀድመ : ግል-ታ  
ቸው : <sup>11</sup> የሚርያምና : ሌቁ : እንሚ-ደለ : የሚለ-ት : የሰቱን : መንግሥት : A, 36v  
ንግ-አ : እርዳ : እናነቶች : መግለቸው : እርዳቸው-ም : ምን : ፳ር : መግ  
በን : አሉ-ና : አስከተ-ተው : ሰው : መንግሥት : ይ-ቁልጥያምና : እንግ 25

APPARATUS: <sup>6</sup> [”**ወ**”]. | <sup>7</sup> [”**ቃ**”]. | <sup>8</sup> The exact meaning of this word, which comes three times, is not clear. | <sup>9</sup> Otherwise ”**በ**” | <sup>10</sup> እናንጻዣመዋል : or እስት : እናንጻዣዎል : MA. | <sup>11</sup> [”**ታታ**”].

The king was very pleased; he liked them. He said to them, ‘This advice is that of Hushai. *God has made you think a good advice.*<sup>12</sup> Then, (the king) made Justus head and appointed (others) hierarchically and sent off 470,000 soldiers.

Then, they set out and marched in haste. When they arrived there and launched a surprise attack, (the enemy) was defeated. They stayed there very many months subjugating (people). Then, when their former enemy, the king of the heathen, called Merianus, having heard that they were on a campaign, came against (the city) marching in haste before they came back. And Numerianus waited for him mobilizing the remaining army and choosing a (battle)field. Yet, to his disadvantage, the army had been divided and (a division) was on (another) campaign. In response,<sup>13</sup> Merianus said to him, ‘Where do you think you will go (to escape from me)? The situation is not as before. Fight ferociously.’ In response, Numerianus said to him, ‘Let not all these people perish. The death of one of us is better than the perishing of people. If you die, let me unite (our realms under me), and if I die, [you] unite (them under you). Let you and I (alone) go down and fight each other.’ And (Merianus) liked it. The two went down for a duel, slain each other, and (both) died. The armies of the two left for their respective homes.

Then, when Numerianus died, and they wondered who should be king, they counselled, saying, ‘Let Fətərbya<sup>14</sup> reign until Justus comes back. When Justus comes back, we will make him king.’ Fətərbya loved (the idea). She became queen. She married Agrippa and made him king, invoking (the saying), ‘Smoke touched me (on my eyes) when I wanted (to shed tears).’<sup>15</sup> Since she had concupiscent (toward him) earlier, she did what she desired.<sup>16</sup>

Then, as she lived being a queen and making her slave a king, the son of their former enemy Merianus, who is called Nicomedes,<sup>17</sup> became king over his father’s | kingdom. He came against them, amassing a huge army. And they, on their side, wondering, what army came against them,<sup>18</sup> they mobilized (the army), making the one whose reg-

harp. Caesar Carus, who ruled before him, heard and had him come to him. He played the harp before him. He liked it and made him superintendent of his horses. And the horses used to sing when he played the harp. The daughter of the king heard his fame. She created an excuse and saw him, and she heard his harp. His appearance was handsome. She loved him. She sent him a missive to keep himself from sexual activities until she could find an excuse to marry him. When her father died and her brother was killed in a war, she married him and made him king.’ |<sup>17</sup> ? Nigomidos. |<sup>18</sup> Lit. ‘us’.

APPARATUS: <sup>12</sup> [አምስት : | <sup>13</sup> [ሂሳ : ?

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ISBN Print: 978-3-447-11657-2 - ISBN E-Book: 978-3-447-39151-1

nal name was Diocletian a king, and went (to fight back). Then, when they fought, the sons of Numerianus prevailed, and captured the king. Theodore the Oriental was originally a warrior. He took King Nicomedes, holding his topknot from the horseback—not slaying him—took him and handed him over to the king. (The king) saw <sup>5</sup> (him), and since he was a 12-year-old boy and his appearance inspired sympathy (in him) the king said to himself, ‘One cannot execute this!’ and gave him to *Abba* Agagyos, saying, ‘Teach him the Scriptures.’

While *Abba* Agagyos was teaching him, the people (of Nicomedes) came from Greece, and had inquired to (people about) whether he <sup>10</sup> was dead or captured. They told them, ‘He is only captured, not dead.’ Then, when they inquired where he was, they told them that (the king) had given him to *Abba* Agagyos. Then, when they corresponded (with *Abba* Agagyos), saying, ‘Let us give you gold’, and when they mentioned<sup>19</sup> gold to *Abba* Agagyos, he said, ‘Now, bring <sup>15</sup> the gold.’ So they sent him gold and silk clothes loaded on a camel. And when he saw the huge quantity of the gold and the silk clothes, he fainted, lest what the Scripture said, ‘*The root of sin is the love of money*’,<sup>20</sup> | remain unfulfilled. Then, he gave them (the boy) and they <sup>A, 37r</sup> took him. <sup>20</sup>

(Diocletian) had not heard of this event, that *Abba* Agagyos had given them (their king). When the king went back, mobilized (his army), and waged war, (Diocletian’s army) killed as many as before and took captives. And Theodore the Oriental found Nicomedes as before and captured him. Then, he recognized him and asked him, <sup>25</sup> ‘You, had I not captured you before?’ He said to him, ‘Yes, you had captured me. My people ransomed me with gold, took me back, and made me king.’

Then, Theodore the Oriental told the king, ‘The boy king, whom we had captured before and had given to *Abba* Agagyos, said to me, <sup>30</sup> “My people took me back, giving (bribe) money, and made me king.” It is he who came against us.’ (Diocletian) said, ‘Now, bring him.’ And he took (Nicomedes) and gave him (to Diocletian). When he interrogated him, he told him as before.

At that time, (Diocletian) hid him and sent a missive to *Abba* <sup>35</sup> Agagyos, saying, ‘Now, send that boy to me for me to see if he got acclimated and to ask him what he has learnt.’ *Abba* Agagyos sent him a missive, saying, ‘But he is already dead.’ He sent to him again, ‘He is

COMMENTARY: <sup>19</sup> Lit. ‘showed’. | <sup>20</sup> Cf. 1 Tim 6:10.

በት : ይለል ብ: አብ : አጋግጣስም : ባጥ : እንዲ : ሰ.ል : አከበት : አልዋጥም :  
ግብኬም : ሰይይልኩ : ሰ.ል : ደግሞ : አከበት : | ይለል : በት : ባጥኩ : አልማ አ, 37v  
ኩና : ወደበት : ቅርጉስው : በ.ለው : እርስጥም : የሰበት : ቅን : እራሳ : አኅ  
ልኩ : አሳያለሁ : በለው : ሰ.ል : አለ : ይህንንስ : አልተኩና : እስከተሰየኩ :  
ደረሰ : ደይማ : በወንጻልኩ : በመሰቀል : አምልህለሁና : እስከምልህ : 5  
ደረሰ : ግብኬ : ባጥ : ካልተኩ : እሁንም : ማል : አለው : ወንጻለ : መሰቀ  
ልም : የተፋኩ : በለው : ማለ ብ: እሁንም : በእቅርንት : የሙዋዕ : አምልህለ  
ሁና : ቅርጉን : አስርተሁ : ቅወኩ : አለው : እንተም : እኔን : እንደታቀር  
በኩ : አለውና : ሂደ : ደረሰ : ደረሰ ብ: የወንጻልኩ : በለው : ወንጥ : ሂደ :  
ቃለም : ቅርጉን : አስርቶ : ቅወኩ : እንተ : ለበት : እንደታቀርበት : አለ 10  
ወና : ሁሉቱ : ገበ : የወንጻ : በይርንት : በል : ማል : በ.ለው : እርስጥም :  
በ.ል.ር :<sup>14</sup> ደረሰና : ማለ ብ: ደሞቃልጥጥስም : ቅወኩ : በለው : አልቀዱልው :  
በለው : ተቀጥቶ : ይህ : ቅርጉን : አይደግ : በለው : ወንጥ : ሂደ :  
ከተም : ጉራ : ከነሱ : አስከ : ደንት : ከስሌ[ለ]ት : አስከ : ቅኩር : በ.የሰነበጥው :  
አለ : አለ-ት : የአሳየዕ : ለበት : ተቀራቢ : ነውና : የወንጻ : ከስማይ : አስተ : 15  
ሰ.ወርድ : ገዢምር : ከዚና : ምንምና : ሰ.የየት : የርስ :<sup>15</sup> አልታየው-ም :  
ነዚና : ከተም : ጉራ : ደየ : ደሳ : ብጥ : ቅወኩ : አስመጥቶ : ወርቅ : A, 38r  
አስፈልቶ : እኩን : በጥተት : ከፍቶ : ለእቅርብ : ወርቅ : አመሰካከ :  
ወርቅ : አለና : አመማው : አብ : አጋግጣስም : የወይይው : ወርቅ : ለበት :  
ገዢና : ገረሰው : ይለል : የወንጻውን : አይደግ : ቅወኩ : አለና : በጥ : ከርስ 20  
ተ.የኩን : እቅዱለ : ቅወኩን : ደልጋ : አበየት : ከርስታየኩ : ይተካወዋ :  
አበየት : ማየት-ት : ይተረሱዋ : በለው : አዋጅ : ነገስ ብ: ይህንንስ :  
ይህን : በ.ለመ : ለምን : ተያጋጋለሁ : ወንጀለኛስ : በ.ጥኩ : እርስ-ኩ : ቅወኩ :  
እንዲ : በጥ : ከርስታየኩ : ማቅረብለሁ : ቅወኩ : መፍለኛሁ : እማን : ማጥፁ-  
ትሁ : ምንም : በ.ለ-ት : እርስቶው-ኩ : ደቃቃው : አለ : ተወይይለን : አለ : 25  
መርቁልወሰን : በዘት : ለው : አለው : ይለል : ከተም : ጉራ : መርድ : ሂደለ  
ቃው : ደይማ : አበታቃው : ለይሞት : ምም-ው : ለነበሩ : ለይመለሁ : ነበ  
ሩና : ከተም : ጉራ : አበታቃው-ም : ባጥ : ቅርጉስበያ : ነገዋኩ : እገረኩ : እገባ  
ቃው : አገገዋቃው-ም እና እርስጥም : አበየት : ከርስታየኩ : ይተካወዋ : አበ  
የት : ማየት-ት : ይተረሱዋ : በለው : አዋጅ : ነገስ : ቅወኩን : ደልጋ : በጥ : 30  
ከርስታየኩ : እቅዱ : ለዋቃቃይሁ-ኩም : ለምን : ተያጋጋለሁ : በ.ለ-ት : እርስ-  
ቃቃው : በ.ለ : ነገሱቃው : እርስቶው-ም : ባቃቃ ባጥኩ : ለት-ው : ለት-ው : ሂደው : A, 38v  
ነዚና : ሁሉ : ተመለሁ : ከተም : ጉራ : መግልት : ለለ-ጥም : ለረሱ : ለበቱ :

APPARATUS: <sup>14</sup> "C : MA. | <sup>15</sup> AC" MA.

COMMENTARY: <sup>21</sup> Priests and deacons change to sacerdotal vestment when they render church services. | <sup>22</sup> *Märdo*, ‘news about the death of a loved one’.

not dead, I insist, send him to me.' | When he said to him, 'Alright, if you said to me he is dead; where did you bury him', he replied, 'I will exhume a three-day corpse and exhibit (it).' He said to him, 'Well, if you said this, until you show me, I will make you swear first by the Gospel and the Cross. If you insist, saying, "He is dead", now swear.' A, 37v 5 He swore, saying, 'May the Gospel and the Cross have me perished.' He said to him, 'Since I will further have you swear by the horn of the altar, wait for me, having prepared the Eucharist. You will also give me Communion.' He said (this) and left.

Then, (*Abba* Agagyos) waited for him, having the Eucharist prepared. (The king) said to him, 'Get dressed (to serve and)<sup>21</sup> to give me Communion.' Both entered (the service). At that time, when he said to him at *dærgæt* time, 'Go ahead, swear!', he boldly swore out of fear. Angry that (God) did not smite him immediately, Diocletian went out (of the church) and left, saying, 'May this offering not be lifted.' 10 15

Then, when (Diocletian) had (Agagyos) visited from dawn to the third (hour) and from the third (hour) to noon, they said to him, 'He is (still) alive.' Since the heart of the pagan is impetuous, he did not see the fire that had started to come down at that time while the faithful saw (it). Then, he left taking [*Abba* Agagyos?] with him. He ordered a goldsmith, had (him) | melt gold, opened (*Abba* Agagyos's) mouth 20 A, 38r 25 with a pincer, and made him drink (the melted gold), saying, 'You, who love gold, I make you dine on gold.' As for *Abba* Agagyos, the gold he loved killed him ripping his heart. At that moment, (Diocletian) burnt the church and crushed the *tabot*, saying, '(What good is) a *tabot* that does not hear', and issued a decree, saying, 'Let churches be closed, and idol temples be open.'

When (the Christians) heard this, they said to him, 'Why do you do (this)? If a criminal is found, you should punish him, but why do you burn churches, crush *tabots*, and destroy the faith?' He annihilated them, too. Many people, including Theodore and Mercurius, perished. The mourning news<sup>22</sup> was sent to those who were still on the military expedition since before their father (Numerianus) died and had not yet come back. They told them, saying, 'Your father has died; Fætørbya has become queen; she has married Agrippa and made him king; and (the new king) has issued a proclamation, saying, "Let churches be closed, and idol temples be open." He crushed the *tabot*, and burnt the church. He annihilated your people, slaughtering them, when they said to him, "Why do you do (this)?" They had gone with 470,000 | soldiers; all made a return. Then, the three brothers, as 30 35 A, 38v armed as they were, marched day and night ahead of the army, for

ወንድማማቸ : ከሱር : በፈት : ሰንሰሳት : ታጥቃው : እህል : ስይቀምስ :  
ሙ : ስይጠጠ : ስመዳልት : ስለፈት : ሪድ : ይለል :  
ከነም : ጉል : ቁጥር : ጉባርኬል : በመንገድ : ተቀምጠ : ቁጥቃው : ከነም :  
ገል : ከርስ : ሰንሰሳት : መንገድና : መሰላም-ወር : ሁልጋወ : እንዲድ : ሰለ :  
ምንው : ወንድማማቸ : በአዋጅ : ታጥቃቸው : ሰለጠን : እጥቃቸው : የፈረሰቸና 5  
ሁን : ቁጥት : አጥብቃቸው : ቴሂዳለቸው : ወንድ : እንር : አዋጅቸናል : አለ  
ቃው :  
እርዳቃው-ም : እንደን : ሰለ : እንፈት : የባታቸን :<sup>16</sup> ብርሃ : እበረ : በፈረሰ :  
እንፈት : በሰለጠን : እንደበት : የመዳ : ብርሃ : እና : ወደህ : በንዘምት : አለ  
ባቱ :<sup>17</sup> እም : እምን : አጥል : በት : ከርዳቃቸን : ተከ-ሮ : ጥሩት : እና 10  
ማው : ተቀምጠል : ሰለ-ን : የህም : ተበት : አጠልተን : ከቀዳመ : እባቱ :  
ሰኞል : እግባተን : እግባዋላን : በለው :<sup>18</sup> እለ-ት : መግልፏም : ይገባር : ወንድ  
ማው : የድልዋልቁ : ለምድር : በለው : እንዲል : ጉባርኬልም : ሰላም-ወር : በለ  
ቃው : እርዳቃው-ም : ሰለ-ት : በምድ-ና : የፈመ : እለን/በት : እለ : ይለማ : A, 39r  
ቋል : መፈ : እንዲ : እው : የሰማይ[7] : መንግሥት : እንዲለን : ጉልፈት :  
ጥሩት : የይኖርበት : እንዲ : እው : እለ-ት :  
እርስ-ም : መሰለና : እንከ-የሰ : አት-ከ-ት : እርስ-ም : በአጠቃለሁር : እው-  
ቃት : እምናል : በርሃ : መንግሥት : የለም : ይረሰበቃል : እሁ-ንም : ይረሰ  
ናል : በተለ : ፈት : መሰላም-ወር : ሰጠ-ት : አገኘው : እርዳቃው-ም : ወደና : 20  
ለት : ተመክረው : ሪድ : በት :  
የነጠኬ : ከፈረሰቃው : ስይመርጥ : ሰነት : መግልት : ሰነት : ሰለት :  
ሰለና :<sup>20</sup> ከተማናም : ሰላም-ና : ይደና : ይለል : ከነህ : ሂይማጥት : ሰን  
ወጽ : በንጥምት : በኋገና : እንደበት : እንደበት : ስለመም : ተከና : መንግሥት :  
ሰማያትን : እንደበት : እለ : ይለል :<sup>25</sup>  
ከነም : ጉል : ሁንጻቃው : ይረሰ : የጥቃቃጥጥጥናም : መምጃቸው-ን :  
በለማ : ከመንገድ : ይረሰ : እስቀበለቃው : እርዳቃው-ም : ይረሰ : እርስ-ም :  
ተቀበለና : እነሱ : መንግሥታቸው-ን : እለንት : እስከተመዳ : ይረሰ : ይገብ :  
ቁጥቃቸው : ሌላ : ይውጠል : በየ : አገኘው : ተለት : የፈመ :  
እርዳቃው-ም : ሰመልሰለት : እናን : እንደህ : ተል : ከንድ : ባባታቸን : 30  
መንግሥት : ጥሩት : ከህደት : እበረበት : በግይማጥት : እም : ተበታት :  
እንጠኬ : እስቀድና : እስቀብን : እስምና : | ይኖር : እበረ : እንዲሁን : እምን : A, 39v  
አጥቃቃ : የአመናንን : ልቃቃ : እብያት : ከርዳቃቸው-ን : ተከ-ሮ : ጥሩት :  
እንጠኬ : ይኖር : እበረ : እነሱ : መንግሥታቸው-ን : ተለን : ከንድ : እና : እን  
ይህ : በርሃ-ሮ : መንግሥት : እንተማለን : በግይማጥት : ይንተን : የመባራ 35

APPARATUS: <sup>16</sup> ተን : MA. | <sup>17</sup> ባ : MA. | <sup>18</sup> በለው : MA. | <sup>19</sup> ተዋ : geminated.

COMMENTARY: <sup>23</sup> Cf. Prov. 30:21. | <sup>24</sup> The benefit is martyrdom, which monks aspire to suffer. | <sup>25</sup> That is, to stand firm against the proclamation by Diocletian.

seven days and seven nights, without tasting any food or drinking water.

Then, Saint Gabriel waited for them sitting by the road(side). Then, when they came near him, they were about to go on passing (him), assuming he was a traveller, he said to them, ‘My brothers, why are you marching, dressed short, carrying daggers, holding your horse’s saddle girth fast? What matter has faced you?’ 5

And they told him everything. They said to him, ‘There was a slave of our father, a slave brought by the horse’s neck and by the dagger’s tongue. When they told us that, while we were on a campaign here, he has become king without (the right) from his ancestor, abolished the faith, burnt churches, and celebrated idols, we decided to rule him, forcing him to eat a donkey’s liver and returning him to his former ancestral place. As the Scripture says, “*A slave who rules shakes the earth*”.’<sup>23</sup> Gabriel asked them, ‘Alright, you decided on this, but is the heavenly kingdom better for you or the earthly one?’ They said to him, ‘As for the earthly, we are in it | today. But this is transient and vanishing. We seek rather the heavenly kingdom that will be neither transient nor vanishing.’ 15 A, 39r

And he replied, saying to them, ‘In that case, do not touch him. He is made king with the knowledge of God. The world will benefit from his reign.’<sup>24</sup> Therefore, if you believe it will benefit you, withdraw, and leave (it) for him.’ They liked it for him. They left persuaded. 20

At that time, they spent three days and three nights—not descending their horses—preaching and bringing the city to the faith,<sup>25</sup> saying, ‘If we die, not deviating from this faith, we will benefit in our souls. We will find eternal hope—the kingdom of heaven.’ 25

Then, they arrived at their city. And when Diocletian heard of their coming, he had them welcomed from the road. They arrived. And he welcomed them, and said to them, ‘Take your kingdom; I have stayed occupying it until you came, fearing someone else might inherit (it).’ 30

They replied to him, saying, ‘That you say so to us, was there any idol or apostasy in our father’s kingdom? He was reigning in faith, celebrating and blessing *tabots*, and bringing the pagans to the faith. | Was he living this way, abolishing the faith, annihilating the faithful, burning churches, and celebrating idols? That you say to us, “Take your kingdom”, would we just reign over a defiled kingdom? But we will rather inherit the kingdom of heaven, staying steadfast in the A, 39v

APPARATUS: <sup>21</sup> [ἜΡΦΥ :

faith, doing good deeds.' They said to him, 'But a filthy slave as you are, who does not love the *tabot*, which is not of your father—a slave who is brought by a horse's neck and a dagger's tongue—waited for us crushing the *tabot*, annihilating the faithful, issuing a proclamation, saying, "*Let churches be closed, and idol temples be open*", and celebrating idols. You filthy slave!'

And he, saying to himself, 'Let me attack them first before they attack me', pulled out this dagger, ascended his horse and engaged them. And they withdrew and let him have (the throne). At that time, 470,000 soldiers were annihilated.<sup>26</sup> They became martyrs.

After that, Diocletian ruled twenty-five years. His first name was Wäldä Resa, his slave name was Agrippa, and his regnal name was Diocletian. His son, Maximian,<sup>27</sup> reigned fifteen years. The father and the son | reigned (a total of) forty years in Alexandria, destroying the faith, annihilating the faithful, exiling some and cutting off members of the bodies of some.

COMMENTARY: <sup>26</sup> That is the army that came back from the battlefield. The number might reflect the martyred Christians. | <sup>27</sup> *Sic* 'Mäksmøyanos'. Maximian was one of the fellow officers, not his son.

**Preamble to the *Commentary on the Nicene Creed***  
**(A, fols 51v–59r)**

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 ՀՊ : ՈՀՊԱՀԱՊԻԿ : ՄԱՅ : ՀՀՅ : Ց.Ը : [ՀՈ :] ՄՊԴԻՒ : ԱՇԱ :  
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 ԱԴ : ԴՈ : ՔՀԸՊՈՅ : ԻՍԶԴԿ : ՈՊՈԴ : ԻՊՔ : ՀԱ : Ո.ԸՊ : ՀՈԶԵՔ :  
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 ՔՈՒՊՄՍՀԱ : ՀԱՎ : Ա  
 ՀԿԲՈՊՅ : ՔՍԳ : ՀՀՅ : ՀԱԸՒՄՊՍ.ՊՅ : ՀԱՎ : ՔԴՀՈ : ԻՄՀՍ :  
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 ԸՔ : ՈՊՅ : Հ.ՔԸՊԱՍ : ՔԲՊՊ : ՀՀՅԸ : Ո.ԸՊ : ՄՊԳՄՍ : ՔՊՊ :  
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 ՀԱԸ : ԴԱԳ : ՀԱՊ : Ո.ԸԸՄ : ՔԱՅ : ՄՊԴՔՊՅ : Ո.ԸԸԴ : 25  
 ԱԳ : Ք.ԸԸ : ՔՄՈՂԱԼ : Ո.ԸԸԴ : ՈՊՈԴ : ՔՊՊ : ՀՈԶԵՔ :  
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 Պ.ԸԸԴ : ՄՊԴԻՒ : ՔԱՅ : ՀՅՀՄԴ : Դ.ԸԸԴ :

APPARATUS: <sup>1</sup> MA would add ՀՅՀՄԸ :.

COMMENTARY: <sup>1</sup> Abbreviation of 318, the number of the Orthodox Fathers of the Council of Nicaea who composed the Creed. | <sup>2</sup> *Sälotä haymanot*, 'Prayer of faith', is the Gz title of the Nicene Creed. | <sup>3</sup> Sic. | <sup>4</sup> Cf. Prov. 8:8–22:3; Sir. 24:9/14.

**Preamble to the *Commentary on the Nicene Creed***  
**(A, fols 51v–59r)**

The 300<sup>1</sup> said the *Prayer of Faith*.<sup>2</sup> Prayer is a sign of faith. It is believing in the Holy Trinity.

If one asks, ‘Who uttered the *Prayer of Faith*’, it is the 300, during 5 the reign of Constantine, while he was in Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> If one asks, ‘Why?’, there was a deacon called Arius. At a certain time, while reading the Book of Solomon, he came across a verse which says, ‘*Wisdom says, “He created me before the world”*’,<sup>4</sup> his mind thought evil. [He said,] ‘What is called wisdom is God the Son. God the Father created 10 God the Son, and with God the Son he created us’. Without saying to himself, ‘Let me compare the Scriptures, and let me be informed by the mouth of a teacher’, he fell into heresy because of only this (verse).

As Diocletian | had exiled Peter, the Last of the Martyrs, he heard A, 52r about the heresy of Arius while in exile. Then, when he heard, he had 15 him summoned and asked him, ‘Why do you do (this)? One ought to teach faith, not heresy.’

Arius said, ‘I am alright. I did not teach (heresy).’ (Peter) said, ‘Good, if you are alright’, and let him go having admonished as a master, advised as a father, and taught as a teacher. At that time, he left, 20 pretending he had been advised. Since it is impossible with a heresy (to go away) once it settles in one’s mind, (Peter) heard (of it) about him a second time. He had him summoned again, and asked him, ‘Why do you do (this)? When I heard of this (accusation) before, I asked you, and you said to me, “I am alright”. I let you go giving you 25 my advice. And now I heard (of it) about you a second time. Do you not stop?’

And Arius said to him in the same as his former words, ‘I am alright.’ (Peter) said, ‘Good, if you are alright’, and let him go, having admonished but feeling perturbed. (Since) heretics appear for the moment to have been admonished and advised, he heard (of it) about him for the third time. He had him summoned again, and said to him, ‘When I first asked you, you said, “I am alright”. I let you go, saying, “From now on, let me not hear (of it) about you”, and having given you my advice. I said, “Let the first be an error”, and I said, “Let the 30 second be forgetfulness”. But the third | is arrogance.’ He said (this) 35 and banished him, having him excommunicated. When he excommunicated him, he did not do so suddenly (and) arbitrarily, but by consulting the Scriptures. A, 52v

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 ՀԱ.ԴՎ : ՀԴ.ԳԾՎ : ԲՊԵՄՈՂՈ : ՄԳԳՎ : ՀՎ.Վ : ՀԱԵՎ : ԱՆ.Վ :

APPARATUS: <sup>2</sup> Could the original be Ժ.Ը : ? | <sup>3</sup> [ՈՄՊՈՒ : . | <sup>4</sup> [ՀՆԱՊՅԾԻ : .

COMMENTARY: <sup>5</sup> *Haddisat* ('[Books of] the New Testament') is the plural of *Haddis*, the abbreviation of *Haddis kidan*, 'New Testament'. | <sup>6</sup> Matt. 17:15–17. | <sup>7</sup> Titus 3:10. | <sup>8</sup> Archbishop of Alexandria (300–310). | <sup>9</sup> Archbishop of Alexandria (310–311). | <sup>10</sup> Archbishop of Alexandria (311–327).

If one asks, ‘Which Scriptures?’, the Scriptures of the New Testament.<sup>5</sup>

If one asks, ‘Which of the Scriptures of the New Testament?’, the Gospel (which) says, ‘*If your brother sins, go alone [and admonish him]. If he listens to you, you have benefitted your brother. But if he does not listen to you, take one or two (others) along with you so that every word may be confirmed by the evidence of two or three witnesses. If he does not listen to them, tell (it) to my Church. But if he does not listen to the Church, let him be like a heathen and a tax collector.*’<sup>6</sup> And Saint Paul, too, says, ‘*If he refuses after you admonished him a first and second time, let him go and let him know that he is an outlaw who causes [his likes] err and commits sin.*’<sup>7</sup> He consulted all these Scriptures and expelled him from the community of the Church with excommunication.

If one asks, ‘Where was Peter the Last of the Martyrs?’, Diocletian had exiled him. He died at the time of Maximian having excommunicated Arius. While in exile, he taught many faithful.

Then, people said to Maximian, ‘Peter,<sup>8</sup> whom your father had exiled has taught (the faith) to many | faithful while in exile.’ When he heard this, he was angry, and ordered his execution. When Arius heard this, and fearing (Peter) would die before he absolved him, he went to Alexander<sup>9</sup> and Achillas<sup>10</sup> and said to them, ‘Intercede with Peter on my behalf. He has excommunicated me without reason. Have me absolved.’

Earlier than that, before the intercessors went, Peter had a dream at dawn on a Sunday Sabbath, (as he was) between sleep and waking.

If one asks, ‘What (was the dream)?’, (Our Lord) appeared to him distressed, with his robe torn and bringing out one arm of his. He said to him, ‘*My Lord, who tore your garment?*’ He said [to] Peter, ‘*Arius tore my garment.*’ He denied me of my glory; he called me despised. Denying my status of a creator, he called me created, and separated me from (my) natural (place in the Trinity). Him, do not absolve. Excommunicate him again, because he is a heretic who will not repent. You will die, and Achillas will be invested in your throne. He will rehabilitate Arius, ordaining him a priest. And God, angry, will smite Achillas within seven months. After that a religious king will reign and Alexander will be invested. He will excommunicate Arius and | expel him and banish him.’

Then, Achillas and Alexander went to Peter to intercede with him (on behalf of Arius) and said to him, ‘Arius says to you, “Absolve me.”’ And Peter said to them, ‘Let alone me, you, too, do not absolve

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 እናጥረሰም : እየኖ : ሰማይሁ : እለንተስ : እትመ-ቱ : በትም-ቱ : ለቃቂሁ : 10  
 ይሬ : ማረጋገጫሁ : ወለምታ :<sup>6</sup> ይህናለ፡ ተም-ቱ : የኋ :<sup>7</sup> ይገባል : ለገለ  
 ልል : ለምእመኋን : ተሰውረና : ለገዳየኋድ : በማም-በት : ጉበጥ : ተይታቂው : A, 54r  
 እንጋኝ : እው-ኋድ : ለማይው : እርምቃው-ም : እንጋኝ : ቁርጋው : ሂደት :  
 እናጥረሰም : የለ-ኋ : ለደየርግ : \*የኋድማ : ሰማይታ-ኋ :<sup>8</sup> እናጋጌኋ : ወረስም :  
 እምዘእ : ለይምኋ : ማገኘ-ሙ : ይሞሙ : ለተለሙሙ : ሰማይታ-ኋ : ቁጥ-ኋን : 15  
 በለው : ሰል : ነበረ፡ ሰማይታ-ኋን : እስከ : የኋድማ : እመንም : እይቀምኋ :  
 ነገር : የኋ : ከዳየቁልጥጥኋስ : እመን : ሰል : ነው :  
 ክብያ : ጉል : የይማጥታዎች : ጉተሙ : የእለና : ለቃ : ቁስጠንጠጥኋስ : ነገው :  
 መከለምጥኋስ : እጥኋቶ : ይለል : እለ : እስከኋይጋድዎ : ተኋሙ : እርምሰን :  
 ማ[δ]ርጋን : እስቶ : ጉበጥ : እስወቃጥ : ይደረሰው : ይለል፡<sup>20</sup>  
 እርምሰም : ሂደት : የቀዳመው : እስቶ : የስጠኑን : ማብርግ : እለ : እስከኋይ  
 ሰሳ : ይንቀናል : በለው : ለገተሙ : ነገወው : ጉተሙ : ቁስጠንጠጥኋም : ከህደ  
 ተን : ልደው-ቁ : ም[δ]ርጋን : ተኋለዋለሁ : እሁ-ንም : መልሰለት :  
 ሰል : ለኋ፡ እለ : እስከኋይጋድዎ : እልመልሰለትም : በል : ይከፋዋል :  
 እለኋ : ተኋለኋ : ሂደት : ከገተሙ : የኋድ : ከእርምሰ : የሬ : ተኋል 25  
 ከኋ :<sup>10</sup> የእለ : እስከኋይጋድዎ : ሰትዕ : ነገረለት :  
 ክብያ : ጉል : ጉተሙ-ም : ከህደቁን : እየኖ : እለ : እስከኋይጋድዎ : ይሻሙ :  
 ጉተው : እለ : እለ : እስከኋይጋድዎ : እሁ-ንለ : እልገበተው-ም : እርምሰ : A, 54v  
 ለከ-ረ : ማስት : ነው-ኋ : ለበቃው : እንተዋለሁ : እንተ : የኋ : ለይማጥታ :  
 ተትቀና : በሀመንሁ : የለ-ኋ : ምእመኋን : እስከት-ኋሁ : ማይማጥታ : እቅና፡<sup>11</sup> 30  
 መሻለኋም : ይለል : ጉተሙ : በቀና : የይማጥታ : የኋድ : ይለል :

APPARATUS: <sup>5</sup> [”ጋ-”]. | <sup>6</sup> The origin of this word seems to be ደንለ : ማው-ታ-፡. | <sup>7</sup> ሰኋ : MA. |

<sup>8</sup> Gz influence for የሰማይታ-ኋ : የኋድማ :. | <sup>9</sup> [ሰማይታ-ኋን፡. | <sup>10</sup> [ተኋ፡.

COMMENTARY: <sup>11</sup> In MA, *galämota* is ‘a free woman’, close to a ‘prostitute’. | <sup>12</sup> Lit. ‘martyrs’. | <sup>13</sup> He is known more as her son than she as his mother. | <sup>14</sup> Mäksimianos. | <sup>15</sup> This poetic expression does not look biblical.

him. For he is a heretic who would not repent.' He said to the intercessors, 'I will die and Achillas will be invested in my throne. He will rehabilitate Arius, ordaining him a priest. And God, angry, will smite Achillas within seven months. After that a religious king will reign and Alexander will be invested.'

5

And they got up and left, saying to themselves, 'Would we intercede when we hear such a story?' Then, in order that what God has said may not remain unfulfilled, the executors of Peter came, taking orders. When they came, they arrived as all the faithful, whom he was teaching, were mobilized and armed, having heard of this event, and 10 saying, 'We will not allow our teacher to be killed. We will fight.'

10

Peter saw (and said), 'Listen: you should not die. If you die, your children will be poor and your wives will be widows.<sup>11</sup> But I deserve death.' As he was making peace, he disappeared to the faithful and appeared to his killers, | entering the building. He put out his neck and handed (it) over to them. And they beheaded him and left. When Peter prayed, he had said, 'Make me the last of the martyrs: *o Lord, make my blood the seal of the blood of all holy martyrs.*' Actually, martyrdom<sup>12</sup> would not cease until the end of time. But he meant from (the martyrdom of) the time of Diocletian.

A, 54r

20

After that, a religious king, the son of Helen, Constantine,<sup>13</sup> became king, destroying Maxentius.<sup>14</sup> Alexander was invested. Regarding Arius, (Alexander) withdrew his rank, expelled (him), and banished him.

Arius went to the king, and told him, saying, 'Alexander has withdrawn (my) appointment which the previous archbishop bestowed on me.' King Constantine, unaware of his heresy, sent (to Alexander), saying, 'Why did you withdraw his appointment? Now, reinstate (it) to him.' Alexander said to himself, 'If I say, "I will not reinstate (it) to him", (the king) will be offended', and (so) he got up and went (to him). He arrived at the king and argued with Arius. The rightness of Alexander was verified for him.

25

Then, when the king saw his heresy, he said to Alexander, 'Excommunicate him | again.' Alexander said, 'But I will not excommunicate him this time. Since Arius is intoxicated with excommunication, 30 would I excommunicate him alone? But you, if you are zealous for the faith, assemble the faithful and straighten the faith. The book, too, says, "When the king is upright, he strengthens the faith".'<sup>15</sup>

A, 54v

35

የለም : ቁስጠንጻ.ጥስ : አየር : አዋጅ : ነገሮ : ከተት አለኝ : አጠቃቃ : ክርክ  
 ተያዋጥ : ይተረጋዋ : አጠቃቃ : ማየቃጥ : ይተጋዥዋ : አል : ከነም : ቁጽዋ :  
 ልይኑር : ነገሩና : ይለል :  
 ከነም : ጥል : ከእፈሰን : ከእንጂዕም : ከይም : ከስርያ : ከእስከንድርያም :  
 የጊመናን : ተከማጅ : በመሰከረም : ይቻቃን : የብዘትን : ማርያም : ዕለት : 5  
 የብዘትን : የተባለጅ : ለሰነድ : ነው ላይ  
 ከነም : ጥል : ጉተሙ : በያየቃው : እቻማ : ተከለ : ይለል : የከለ : ዓይና  
 ቅው : ልርጫ : የከለ : እናንጂዕቃው : ጉርማቃው :<sup>11</sup> እግራቃው : እቻቃው :  
 እንገትቃው : ተቀርብ : በደረጋቃቃው : ሌተገኘ : ይህንን : ሁሉ : ተምራት :  
 አየር : እቻማ : ተዘዴ : ጥልም : ዓይና : በመከራ : በደረት : የበረቃውሁ : 10  
 አለኝ : ይቻቃ : በለው : ለበረቃውን : ተርማቃውን : አዘዘና : እስከ : ጉዳር :  
 ይቻቃን : ይረሰ : ተቀመጥ : እገዢዎች : ይለል : A, 55r  
 ከነም : ጥል : እንጂዕሰን : የመጀመሪያት : ነገር : ይያዘ : አገኘው : እርዳቃ  
 ወጪ : የው-ኋት : ነው : አለኝ : እስከ : እና : ወያመን : አየቀል : እንጂዕ  
 የቀ : መናፍቃን : በመጀመሪያ : ጥወ : በከንድኋት : ልሳን : ሆነን : እንድንጂዕ 15  
 የቀ : አለኝ : አየቀል : ሆነ ላይ በጠየቀውም : በዘት : መናፍቃን : ተገኘ : እከ-  
 ሌጻ : በምትከት : ሥር : ለሰበ : የሚለ : እከለ : በተፈጥሮ : በእስ : ወጠእ  
 ሌት : ይደረ : የሚለ : እከለ : ከመጀከ : ሥር : እምልማይ : የሚለ :  
 እከለ : ይአምሳክ : የሚለ : እከለ : ተምህርት : ይጠ : እከለ : ተምረው :  
 የገጽና : አለሁ : ሁሉ : መናፍቃን : ተገኘ : ይፍንትከለም : መገኘቃው : 20  
 ነው : ይለል ላይ በትምህርት : ተቀርቡት : በትምህርት : የይማጥት : የተገኘ :  
 ግን : ይቻቃቃለቃነ : ይሳሰት : ወእሳሰ : ይሳሰት : ልተኞች : የይማጥት : አለሁ :  
 ሁሉ : በንፍሳቃው : የከበድ : በሥራቃው : የተጋገሩ : ይጋቃን : የኅው : በየ  
 መቱ : በልታቃውን : ሌተበድ : የሚኖሩ : የኅው :  
 ከነም : ጥል : ጉተሙ : በያየቃው : እቻማ :<sup>12</sup> ወይዳቃው : ከነም : ጥል : እና 25  
 ጉተ : የገበዕሆት : ይግባኝ እንደት : ይውጋዕሁት : ይውጋዕሁት : ይውጋዕሁት : የተገኘ :  
 ነገር : እስለመናቃው : ይለል : A, 55v  
 ከነም : ጥል : ይቻቃቃመናበርት : አገኘው : ይለል : \*በገዢ : ተባለቃው :<sup>13</sup>  
 ጉተሙ : ጉተሙ : ከፍ : ባለ : ወምበር : እቻቃውም : የለ : እንደሆነ : የኝ :  
 መንግሥት : ወጪ-ፈጪ : የርዳቃቃው : መንግሥት : ለማያደርግ : ነው : የኝ : መንግ 30

APPARATUS: <sup>11</sup> [ጥር]? | <sup>12</sup> [እቻማ] . | <sup>13</sup> Influence of Gz for ተባለቃው : ተገኘ .

COMMENTARY: <sup>16</sup> *Sic*. Syria is represented by ‘Antioch’. | <sup>17</sup> *Bəzuhən*, ‘the multitude’. |  
<sup>18</sup> Apparently as a consequence of the Diocletian persecution. | <sup>19</sup> 9 ዘመኑ 637 year of Al-

Then, Constantine considered (the suggestion), and issued a proclamation (for the faithful) to assemble. He said, ‘*Let churches be open and idol temples be closed*’, because (this declaration) was not issued before.

Then, (many) faithful gathered from Ephesus, Antioch, Rome, <sup>5</sup> Syria,<sup>16</sup> and Alexandria, on 21 Mäskäram, the day of Mary of the Multitude.<sup>17</sup> That is why she is called ‘(Mary) of the *bazuhan*’.

Then, when the king saw them, he was extremely saddened. The eyes of some had popped. The noses, the ears, the feet, the hands, and the necks of some having been chopped off, they spoke from their <sup>10</sup> chests.<sup>18</sup> He saw all these wonders and was extremely saddened. Then, having seen, he said, ‘You have been in affliction and persecution!’ He postponed (the meeting), ordering for them clothes and food ration. He said to them, ‘Rest until 9 Hədar.’<sup>19</sup>

| Then, (the king) said to them, ‘But now, let the case you came for <sup>A, 55r</sup> begin.’ They said, ‘That is true, but let us first argue among ourselves separately so that we may argue in one tongue when heretics confront us’, and they set themselves separately. When they discussed, many heretics were found (among them). There were some who said, ‘(Christ) was incarnated by a phantom’, some who said, ‘He was conceived<sup>20</sup> through natural (intercourse between) man and woman’, some who said, ‘The body came from heaven’, some who said, ‘There are four Gods’, some who lacked education, and some who forgot what they had been taught. All these heretics were found (among them). Eutyches,<sup>21</sup> too, belonged to them. But those who were found <sup>25</sup> in the teaching of the Apostles, in the teaching of the (true) faith, were *318 archbishops and bishops of the Orthodox faith*. All these were saints, venerated in their souls and afflicted in their bodies. These used to annually pay their body members as tribute (to persecutors).

Then, when the king saw them, he loved them very much. Then, he <sup>30</sup> authorized them on everything, saying, ‘Let whoever you include be included and whoever you exclude | be excluded.’ <sup>A, 55v</sup>

Then, they had 318 chairs. At the time of their session, the king would sit on a lowered chair and they on elevated chairs.

If one asks, ‘Why did not the king sit on an elevated chair?’, it is to <sup>35</sup> explain, ‘My kingdom is earthly, but their kingdom is heavenly’, and ‘My kingdom is external,<sup>22</sup> but their kingdom is internal’.<sup>23</sup>

exander (= 318 EC = 3 November 325), cf. *HA*, 48 (§ 4). | <sup>20</sup> Lit. ‘dwelt’. | <sup>21</sup> Yafənt-kis/Afəntkis. | <sup>22</sup> i.e. ‘bodily’. | <sup>23</sup> i.e. ‘spiritual’.

ሂጥ : አፋክዎ : ነው : የርዕጥዎ : መንግሥት : ወማማዊ : ነው : ሰል :  
 ሰምጠዬ : ነው : ይለል ብ፡  
 ከነም : ጥለ : ዓይቱ : ሌላዎ : እኩስት : ከንተው : ጉራ : ባንድ : ይቀመጥ :  
 ነበር : የቀኑቱ : በየመግርጫቸው : ይቀመጥ : ነበር : ይለል : ሰንክስር : እግዢ  
 እኔ : አያስለ : ከርስቶስ : ባንድ : ቁጥር : ሰላሮ : ሰቀኑ : ይውል : ነበር : 5  
 ይለል ብ፡ በቀኑቱ : ነገሥት ብ፡ የመንፈል : ቅናስና : ባንድ : ሰቀኑ : ሰመለ  
 ከቱ : ይውል : ነበር : ይለል ብ፡  
 መንፈጸምት : ተባባለን : ያለ : እንደሆን : አልተባባለም : ጥብቅናቸው :  
 እንደ : ቅና : አይደለውም : በዘንኑ : ቅና : ነው : እንዲ : ተንድ : ቅናለ :<sup>14</sup>  
 የመንፈል : ቅናስና : ባንድ : ይቀኑ : ሆነገቻቸው : የናን : ሰመለከቱ : 10  
 ይውል : ነበር : የየት : ከበር : እንደይቀር : በለው : የገዢነው : የመንፈል : A, 56r  
 ቅናስና : ባንድ : በቀኑቱ : ነገሥት : ተክስና : ይለል : የለምለእነ : አያስለ :  
 ከርስቶስም : ከርስቶስ : ቁጥር : ይውል : እንደኝነት : ሰንክስር : ተክስና :  
 ይለል :  
 በምን : ቅዱው : ያለ : እንደሆን : በወምበር : ከይቻለዋጽወምበር : ባንድዎ : 15  
 ወምበር : የእያስለ : ከርስቶስ : ነው : ቅና : መልቶ : ይውልአ : ማጥ : በተ  
 እነ : ገዢ : አገኩ : ይቀር : ነበር : ጥለ : የገዢ : እንሰተው : ከበት : መቅደስ :  
 አግብተው : የሰይኖችአ : በምግባቱ : አውጭተው : የሰቀምጠችአ : እንደው  
 ችር : መልቶ : ይውል : ነበር : የገዢልውን : ሰመለ : የጠመመውን : ሰም  
 ቅና : ይውል : ነበር : ይለል :<sup>20</sup>  
 ከይቻለ : እስከንድጋቢት : ሰላምን : አከበሩት : ያለ : እንደሆን : በፈጸምት :  
 ወልቂል : በመንፈጸምት : ይበልጽቸዋል : የሚው : በለው : በፈጸምትም : በመንፈ  
 ሸም : አይበልጽቸውም ይነበር : የገዢ : የተስረረን : እረም : የመረመረን : የገዢ :  
 እንዲ : አያውቃምና : ከርስተኝም : እንዲያው : የገዢመረውን : ነገር : ይፈ  
 ልም : በለው : ከርስተኝ : አከበሩት : ሰላይሁ : ነው ብ፡<sup>25</sup>  
 ከነም : ጥለ : እርምስና : ለጠይቃነን : ተጠይቃና : አለው :  
 ሰላምን : እንደሆሁ : አለው : ያለ : እንደሆን : የሚከናወት : ነገር : እንዲያደርግ :  
 መክስናን : አገበው : ነገናን : አስበ : የኝበ : ይጠና : በጠይቃና : ይገኘት : A, 56v  
 ነገር : አማሁ : እንዲያደርግ : ቅናም : ተየከለው : ይለል ብ፡ ጥለም : እርምስና :  
 በጠይቃና : የገዢ : ከይሁዳ : ያለናን : እንዲ : ነህ :<sup>15</sup> አሁንም : እንተ : መረ 30  
 ቅና : እንዲ : አለው : ይለል :

APPARATUS: <sup>14</sup> እና : is probably Gz እና :. | <sup>15</sup> In MA ነህ : comes immediately after እንተ :.

COMMENTARY: <sup>24</sup> 9 ዘዴር. The story must be old. እንተኩ : አውጭተው : ወልጋ : ከይቻለዋጽወምበር : ሁይማጥት : እንዲ : ለለው : ወጪት : ማጥበርመው : ‘The Son supplied this to the 318 Or-

Then, the four archbishops sat together with the king, and the rest sat according to their ranks. The *Synaxary* states that Our Lord Jesus Christ used to spend the day together in unity (with them), prescribing and making decisions.<sup>24</sup> It is stated in the *Føtha nägäst* that they used to see and watch the brightness of the Holy Spirit all day long.<sup>25</sup> 5

If one asks, ‘Did the Scriptures contradict each other?’, they did not contradict each other. Their sessions were not in one day (only), but in many days. On one of the days, the brightness of the Holy Spirit had been for them like a canopy. They had spent the day watching that. | At that time, this brightness of the Holy Spirit *was written in the Føtha nägäst* lest the glory they saw remain (unrecorded). And the fact that Our Lord Jesus Christ used to be with them together *was written in the Synaxary*. A, 56r

If one asks, ‘How was it known?’, by the (number of) the chairs. After the 318 chairs, the [31]9th chair was of Jesus Christ. (The chairs) 15 would be occupied during the day, but when they adjourned (each taking his chair with him), one would be left. At the end, they would take it and place it in the church for the night. The next day, they would bring it out and set it up again. It would be occupied as usual. (Our Lord) would spend the day filling in what is lacking and 20 straightening what is not straight.

If one asks, ‘Why, of the 300, did they honour Alexander (with the chairmanship)? Was he older by birth? Or was he superior to them (in the knowledge) of the Scriptures? Why is it?’ He was not older than them by birth nor superior (in the knowledge of) the Scriptures. 25 However, as no one knows (the animal) better than the shepherd in charge, nor (the culprit) better than the judge who has interrogated,<sup>26</sup> similarly they honoured him (to chair) so that he may finish the case that he had already started and knew so well. That is why.

Then, (Alexander) said to Arius, ‘Should I question you or you 30 question me?’

If one asks, ‘Why did he say so to him?’, it was in order that (Arius) may not create an excuse. He asked him (so) first, lest (Arius) say, ‘I had marked | my Scriptures, and I had thought through about my case, but when he questioned me suddenly, I lost the points.’ A, 56v 35

Then, Arius said, ‘You question me. For it is you who said about me that I<sup>27</sup> have apostatized. Now you question me.’

thodox Fathers being in their council’, *Abba Efrem* ‘who was ordained bishop by Cosmas’, either Cosmas I, 729–730, or Cosmas II, 851–858 (EMML 1763, fol. 188v). |<sup>25</sup> ? |

<sup>26</sup> This must be a less known Am proverb. |<sup>27</sup> Lit. ‘you’.

ՀԱ : ՀՈՒՅԱԾՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ : ՄՔՓՈՎ : ԹՈՂՈՎ : ՄԱՅՈՒՆ : ՔԱՅԱԿ : ՔԱՅՈՎ :  
 ՈՂՈՎ : ԱՀՅՈՒՆ : ՀԱՄԱՅՆ : ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՅԱԼԱ : ՀՅԱՅ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ :  
 ԹՈՂՈՎ : ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՅԱԼԱ : ՈՂՈՎ :  
 ՈՂՈՎԴ : ՅԱԼԱ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ :  
 ԹՈՂՈՎ : ՅԱՅԱ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՀԱ : ՈՂՈՎ :  
 ԹՈՂՈՎ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՅԱԼԱ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՅԱԼԱ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ :  
 ԵՍՈՅ : ԹՈՂՈՎ : ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՈՂՈՎ :  
 ՈՂՈՎԵՅ : ՄՈՂՈՎ : ՈՂՈՎ : ՀԱ : ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՀԱ : ԴՐՈՒՅՈՒՆ :  
 ԴՐՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՀԱ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՀԱ : ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՖՔՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՅԱԼԱ-ՅԱ : ԻՄՈՅ : ՈՂ 10  
 ԴՐՈՒՅՈՒՆ : Ս-Ա- : ՅԱԼԱ-ՅԱ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՄՈՂՈՎ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ :  
 ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՖՔՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՄԱՅԻՆ :  
 ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՆՈՒ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ԻՄՈՅ : ՈՂՈՎ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՈՂՈՎ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ :  
 ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՀԱ : ՅԱԼԱ :  
 ՀԱ : ՀՈՒՅԱԾՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ : ԹՈՂՈՎ : ՆՈՒ :<sup>16</sup> | ԱԴՅՈՒՆ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ԱՀՅՈՒՆ : Ա, 57r  
 ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՔԱՅՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՅԱԼԱ :  
 ԹՈՂՈՎԵՅ : ՀԱՄԱՅՆ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՈՂՈՎ : ԱՎԵԿ : ԱՎԵԿ :  
 ՈՂ :<sup>17</sup> ՈՂՅՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՅԱԼԱ : ՈՂՈՎ : ՄՈՂՈՎ : ՄՈՂՈՎ : ՆՈՒ : ԹՈՂՈՎ :  
 ՔԻՖՅՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՈՂՈՎ : ՈՂՈՎ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ԴԳՈՒՅՈՒՆ :  
 ԻՄՈՅ : ԴԱ : ՈՂ : ԵՍՈՅՈՒՆ : ՀԱՅՈՒՆ : ԼՄՈՒՆ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ԴԳՈՒՅՈՒՆ : 20  
 ԴՀՈՒՆ : ԴՈՂՈՎՅՈՒՆ : ՈՂՈՎ : ԵՍՈՅՈՒՆ : ՈՂՈՎ : ԵՍՈՅՈՒՆ : ՈՂՈՎ : ՀՈՒՅՈՒՆ :  
 ՀԱ :  
 ԻՄՈՅ : ԴԱ : ՀԱ : ՀՈՒՅԱԾՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ : ՀԱՅՈՒՆ : ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՔԻՊՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՆՈՒ :  
 ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՈՒՅՈՒՆ : ԻՄՈՅ : ԻՄՈՅ : ԻՄՈՅ : ԱԲՈՎՈՒՆ : ԱԲՈՎՈՒՆ : 25  
 Մ-ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : Մ-ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՈՂՈՎ : Մ-ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ :  
 ՀԱՅՈՒՆ : ՈՂՈՎ : Մ-ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ :  
 ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ :  
 ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : ՀԵՇՈՒՆ : 30  
 ՄԱՅԻՆ : ՈՂ-Դ : | ՀԱՅԵՎՈՒՆ : ՅԱԼԱ :  
 A, 57v

APPARATUS: <sup>16</sup> Probably added later. | <sup>17</sup> Probably from ԱԲՈՎՈՒՆ : | <sup>18</sup> [ՀՅԱՅՈՒՆ : ?] | <sup>19</sup> [ԴԻ : ]

COMMENTARY: <sup>28</sup> Each pair of questions and answers are presented in one sentence with the questions in the subordinate and the answers in the main clause, e.g. ‘when he asked

Alexander asked him. He said to him, ‘Why did you call the Son created?’<sup>28</sup>

Arius said, ‘Did I call him (so), but the Scripture called him (so)?’

He said to him, ‘What Scripture says (so)?’

He said, ‘Solomon says (so).’

He said to him, ‘A verse which says what is there?’

He said to him, ‘*Wisdom says, “He created me before the world”*.’<sup>29</sup>

He asked him, ‘How did you integrate this?’

He said, ‘Usually, before an artisan works on iron, he first makes the hammer, the pliers, the pincers, and the needles, and then he works with them to create all types of iron related (objects). God the Father is like the artisan; God the Son is like the hammer, the pliers, the needle, and the pincers; and we are like all the types of iron-related (objects). God created us through the Son.’

Alexander said to him, ‘Is this your (only) model? | Do you have any others?’ A, 57r

Arius said, ‘I do not have. Yes, (this is all I have).’

(Alexander) said to him, ‘Your model does not work in your favour. Usually, a goldsmith (first) molds wax for the work on gold. The wax perishes and the gold (product) stands. *A model is inferior to which it is modeled for.*’ At that time, he (so) trivialized his argument.

Then, (Alexander) said to him, ‘Alright, you said this, who do you say you<sup>30</sup> worship?’

Arius said, ‘*But we worship our Creator*,<sup>31</sup> and (Christ) worships his creator.’

Then, Alexander said to him, ‘The Torah is called the head of the Scriptures. Has not the Torah said (the following)? “*You shall not worship other than me*.<sup>32</sup> *Whoever worships a creature is cursed*.<sup>33</sup> *Do not worship an alien god*.”<sup>34</sup>

When he presented him with these three Scriptures, he abandoned his tenet, and said, ‘Then let us worship the Father.’

When (Alexander) said to him, ‘Would not one call you, “He who does not know his father longs for his grandfather”?<sup>35</sup> Would we pass (him) by and worship a grandfather God’,<sup>36</sup> he lost a reply.

Then, when he was in trouble, he said to (the council), ‘Now give me a Scripture | which unites<sup>37</sup> (the Son) with the Father and the Holy Spirit.’ A, 57v

him so and so, he replied so and so’. |<sup>29</sup> Sir. 24:9/14: ‘Before the ages, in the beginning, he created me.’ |<sup>30</sup> Lit. ‘I’. |<sup>31</sup> That is, Christ. |<sup>32</sup> Exod. 34:14. |<sup>33</sup> Cf. Deut. 27:15. |<sup>34</sup> Deut. 5:7. |<sup>35</sup> An Am adage. |<sup>36</sup> God the Son being the father. |<sup>37</sup> Possibly, ‘equates’.

ኢርአቃው-ም : ከዕድል : ከብለ-ይ : መርአው : በዘ-ነ : መጽሐፍት : ስጠ-ት : እ  
 እኩይያዥ : መቆይው : ቅል : ስምዕከ- : ቅል : ቅድሚያው : ለተራ-ኩል :  
 ወከ-ኩል : እንዘ : ይብለ : \*ቅ : ቅ : ቅ :<sup>20</sup> እግዢአብዕር : ይበት :  
 ፍት-ም : የል-ብ : ስማያት : ወምድረ : ቅድሰት : ስብአት-ት : ይገል : ይኩብ :  
 ቅድ-ብ : ይውልድ : ቅድ-ብ : ይውልድ : መንፈሰ : ቅድ-ብ : ይገል : ስብአት :<sup>5</sup>  
 ሆኖ : ቅል-ት : እንድነት-ቶች-ት : የን : ለመጠረቅ : ስብአት-ት : እለ : ስብት  
 ነጋቃው-ንም : ለመጠረቅ : ይተ : ገበ : ቅ : ቅ : ቅ : እግዢአብዕር : ቅድ-ብ :  
 ገብርአለም : ለለማነት-ት : ማርያም : መንፈሰ : ቅድ-ብ : ይመጽኑ : ለበለ-ከ :  
 ወቻይለ : ለዕ-ል : ይገልበት : ወኩ : ይተውልድ : እግዢአብ : ቅድ-ብ : ወ-እ-ቱ :  
 ወይለመይ : ወልድ : እግዢአብዕር : ለዕ-ል : እለት :<sup>10</sup>  
 በዘመኑ : ተምህርቁለ : ለብዕርያት : ከርስቶስ :<sup>21</sup> ተ-ኩ : ወመአኩ : ከ-ለ-ው :  
 እኩሃብ : እንዘ : ተመዋቅው-ው : በለ : በስመ : እብ : ወውልድ : ወመንፈሰ :  
 ቅድ-ብ : እላቃው : በፈጥረ : ስም : እንፈሰ : በፍጠ-ርን : ስም : እመውቅ : እስ  
 ተምአኩ : እለው : ይ-አኩለ : ወንፈለም : ቅድማይ-ሁ : ቅል : ወ-እ-ቱ : ወው-<sup>A, 58r</sup>  
 እ-ቱ : ቅል : እግዢአብዕር : ወ-እ-ቱ : እለ : ይቅት-ም : ወብቃለ : እግዢ-<sup>15</sup>  
 እብአብር : ይንገ : ስማያት : ወአምኑለት-ንፃሰ : እኩሁ : ከ-ለ-ው : ይይለመ-  
 እለ : ቅድ-ብ : ይውልስም : እስመ : መንፈሰ :<sup>22</sup> ይቀት-ል : ወመንፈሰ :  
 የአየ : እለ :  
 መጽአኩ : የተባለ : ቅለም : እው : መንፈሰ : የተባለ : ተርጋሚ : እው : ለው-  
 ተር : ቅለም : የገይለው-ን : ተርጋሚ : የገይለው :<sup>23</sup> እንተንም : እንፈይው :<sup>20</sup>  
 መጽአኩ : ለተባለ : ከክህናት : ልማር : ስተል : ቅለም : ገይለሁ : እለው :  
 ይግማው : እሱት : በልድ : በፍጥረት : ይተረጋገጧል : እሱት : በፍጥረት-ም :  
 በልድ-ት : ይተረጋገጧል : ይስም : ልጠረኩ : ወለድኩ : ማለት : እው :  
 ለለመንኩስ : ተብ : እምቅድ-ው : ዓለም : ልጠረኩ : ይስም : ከ-ለ-ው : ከ-  
 ለም : ቅድ-ም : ወለድኩ : ማለቱ : እው : ዓለም : የተባለ : ወአመናን :<sup>25</sup>  
 ዓይቃው : በእር : የተምቀት : ልድ : እንፈይርጋይቃው : ዓውቅ : እው : ለ-ም :  
 መልበለም : በምት-አት : እንዳልሆነ : ፍጠ-ር : ለ-ም : እንድ : ለበለ : ለመ-  
 ይቅ : እው : ከዓለም : ቅድ-ም : የወለድው : ለለዘሁ : እው :  
 ከገዢ : ዓለ : በው-ርድ : እቅንድ : በምት-አት : ለተቅ : የመያስረዳ : መጽአኩ :<sup>A, 58v</sup>  
 ለተቅ : ተመለለ : ለለው : እልመለለም : እለ : መጽአኩ : ከ-መለለ : የሰይቅ :<sup>30</sup>  
 የቅ : ይቀበል : ይውቅል :

APPARATUS: <sup>20</sup> [ቅድ-ብ : ቅድ-ብ : ቅድ-ብ : .] | <sup>21</sup> [”ብ : .] | <sup>22</sup> [መጽአኩ : .] | <sup>23</sup> [ይ-ገ].

COMMENTARY: <sup>38</sup> ‘Thy’. | <sup>39</sup> Cf. Isa. 6:3. | <sup>40</sup> Cf. Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 22 (§ 27). | <sup>41</sup> In the singular. | <sup>42</sup> Luke 1:35. | <sup>43</sup> Matt. 28:19. | <sup>44</sup> John 1:1. | <sup>45</sup> Ps. 32/33:6. | <sup>46</sup> ‘Spirit’ MS. | <sup>47</sup> 2 Cor. 3:6. | <sup>48</sup> i.e. ‘rectifies’. | <sup>49</sup> i.e. ‘spoils’. | <sup>50</sup> Or ‘Torah of Nativity’, that is ‘Genesis’.

They referred him to many Scriptures, selecting from the Old and New Testaments. Isaiah, the foreteller of the Word, has said, *'I hear the words of the sanctification of the seraphim and cherubim as they say, "Holy, holy, holy is perfect God of hosts; the heavens and the earth are full of your<sup>38</sup> holy glory."*<sup>39</sup> It says, *'The Holy Father is one, the Holy Son is one, the Holy Spirit is one.'*<sup>40</sup> It does not say, *'their glory'*. To explain their unity, it rather says, *'thy<sup>41</sup> glory'*. And to explain their trinity, it says three times, *'Holy, Holy, Holy God'*. And Saint Gabriel said to Our Lady Mary, *'The Holy Spirit will come upon you, the power of the Most High will overshadow you. And the one who will be born of you will be holy. And he will be called the Son of the Most High God.'*<sup>42</sup>

(Alexander) said to him, 'And during the time of his teaching, he said to the Apostles of Christ, "Go and teach all nations. When you baptize them say, *'In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit'*."<sup>43</sup> Did they baptize or teach in the name of a creature but in the name of the Creator? And the Gospel of John | says, *"In the beginning was the Word. And the Word was with God."*<sup>44</sup> And David says, *"The heavens are firm by the Word of God and all their powers by the breath of his mouth."*<sup>45</sup> And Saint Paul says, *"The book<sup>46</sup> kills, and the spirit gives life."*<sup>47</sup>

(Alexander) said to him, 'That which is called "book" is the word; and that which is called "spirit" is (its) interpretation. Usually, an interpretation brings to life<sup>48</sup> what a word kills.<sup>49</sup> You, too, (since) you have not said to yourself at all, "Let me make the Scriptures agree" or "Let me learn from the clergy", the word killed you.'

'Also, "Torah of Birth"<sup>50</sup> is interpreted as creation. "Torah of Creation", too, is interpreted as birth. Thus, "he created me", too, means he begot me.'

'And what led Solomon to say, *"Wisdom says, he created me before the world"*, is (the interpretation), "He begot me before the world". That which is called "the world" are the faithful. (He said it) because he knew that by grace he will make them sons (and daughters) through baptism. And it is to explain that wearing flesh was not by phantom, but that he wore a created flesh. That is why he begot him before the world.'

After that, (Arius) refused to repent, even though (Alexander) had straightened (things) one by one, | won (the argument) by evidence, and had referred (him) to Scriptures that explain. A heretic would love to receive death by the sword rather than repent.

ԵԿ. : ՀԱ : ԷՌՄԹ ԸԿՑՆ : ԿԵՄԳԴ : ՈՒԾՊԵՔՓ. : ՄԱՊՆ : ԻՆՊԱ.  
 ՀԱՌԵԸ : ԺԵՌԵՆ : ԻՄԱԽՄԳՆ : ՊԱԴ : ԱՅ-ԻՄ : ՓԵՀՓ. : ՊԱ-ԻՄ :  
 ՀՈԽՔ-ԻՄ : ՈԶԳԴ : ԵԿ. : ՀԱ : ՀԵԸՆ : ՈԶԳ : ՄԱՑԴ : ՈՒ :  
 ԺԵՌԵՆ : ՀԵՄ : ՔԱ : ՀԵՌՄՆ : ԳԵԴ : ԿԵՄԳԴ : ՈՒԽՄԵԴ : Ո.ԳՃՈ : 5  
 ԱԽՄԴ : ՀԵՆ : ՄԿԻՆ : [ԱՄԿԻՆ :] ԿԵՄԳԴ : ՀՈԽ : [Ա]ՅՈ-Ո :  
 ԻԿԸ-ՔՆ : ՊԿՐ : ՔԳՈ : ՈԽ-Չ : ՄՈՒԻ : ՀՈԽ : ԿԵՄԳԴ :<sup>25</sup> ՀԵ  
 ՄՆ : ՄԵՐ : ՔԱ :  
 ԱԽՄԵ-ՔՓ. : ՀԵԸՆ : ՆՄ : ՔԱ : ՀԵՌՄՆ : ՈՒԾ-ՈՒ : ՄՆՓ. : Մ  
 ՂԲ : ՔՃՓ. : Ո.ՔՄԳ : ԺԵԸ : ՄՆԱՔՓ. : ՔԱ : ՄԿԴԱ : ՔԳՈ : 10  
 ՈՒԾ-Ո : ՀԵԸՆ : ԵԺՄՓ. : ՔԱ : ԺԵԸՆ : ՈՒՊԸ : ԺԵԸ :  
 ՄՆՓ. : ՔՍ : ՔՊԱ : ՔՍ : ԱՄԳԳՓ. : ՔՊԱ : ՈՒՓ. : ՄԿ  
 ՀՈՓ. : ԱՄԱ-ԱՓ. : ՄԵՐ : Ո.ԳՃՈ : ՂՅ : ՈՒԾ-Ը : ՔԱ : ՄՆՓ. : Մ  
 ՂԲ : Մ-Ո : ՊԿԸ : ԻԳԸ : ՀՈԽ : ՊԿԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՊԿԸ : ՀԵԳ :  
 ՀՄԳՆ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸՆ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԳ : ՀԵԳ :  
 ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : 15  
 ՀԵԸ :  
 ՄՆՓ. : ՀԵԸ :  
 ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ :  
 ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ :  
 ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ : 20  
 ՀԵԸ : ՀԵԸ :  
 ՔԿԸ : ԱԽՄ : ՔԱ : ՔԳՈ : ՈՒ : ՂԱ : ՈՒ.ՂԵ : ՔՓՄ : Մ-Ո : ՀԱՊԱ :  
 ՈՒԾ-Ը : ՔԱ : ՄԳ : ՀՊԱ-ԱՊԿԸ : ՀԵԸ : ԱՀԸ : ԱԿԸ-ՔՓ. : ՀԵ  
 Ը : ՄԵՐ : ՔԱ :  
A, 59r

APPARATUS: <sup>24</sup> Ա. | <sup>25</sup> The object marker Ղ appears only on the last (sixth) object.

After that, by the authority they were given, the 318 (Fathers) of the Orthodox Faith, separated (Arius) from union with God and the body of the faithful, expelled and banished (him) by cutting (him) off and excommunicating (him). Then, after they banished him, they laid down ordinances, established rules, and uttered seven<sup>51</sup> books. 5

If one asks, ‘What and what (books)?’, these are the *Fətha nägäst*<sup>52</sup> for kings, the *Sinodos*<sup>53</sup> for the clergy, the *Hənsa mänäkosat*<sup>54</sup> [for the monks], the *Haymanotä abäw*<sup>55</sup> (for) the catechumen, the *Gərum*<sup>56</sup> *Anaphora* for the Divine Liturgy,<sup>57</sup> and the *Sälotä haymanot*.<sup>58</sup> They uttered these. 10

If one asks, ‘How was (the method of) their utterance?’, each uttered wherever he was (separately). When they brought (their compositions to the council) in writing (their compositions) were similar. It is known by this that the Holy Spirit was present with all. Or, they came together and uttered in unity in choosing (from the existing sources) and improving (them), saying, ‘This supports us, and this supports the heretics’. | But when they uttered, they uttered in one voice, similar to the tens of thousands of the Israelites who danced uttering in one voice, saying, ‘*We glorify God who is glorified*’, when Moses brought them out (of Egypt), dividing the sea, killing the enemy, stepping on the sea like on land, and making the cloud like a baldachin. Also as when Our Lord Jesus Christ entered the Temple at Hosanna, (people) spoke in one voice in the main (and) infinitive (verbs),<sup>59</sup> saying, ‘*Hosanna in the highest! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of God*’<sup>60</sup> (the Nicene Fathers), too, uttered similarly. 15 A, 59r 20 25

Also as today when the priest says, ‘*Holy*’ at (the prayer of) the covenant, all standing people say, ‘*God*’, in one voice, they, too, uttered similarly (in one voice).<sup>61</sup>

COMMENTARY: <sup>51</sup> Sic for ‘six’. | <sup>52</sup> The *Code of Kings*, Guidi 1899; Paulos Tzadua 1968; ‘*Fətha nägäst*’, *EAe*, II (2005), 534a–535b (Paulos Tzadua and Red.). | <sup>53</sup> ‘*Senodos*’, *EAe*, IV (2010), 623a–625a (A. Bausi). | <sup>54</sup> Monastic rules. | <sup>55</sup> ‘*Haymanotä abäw*’, *EAe*, II (2005), 1073b–1075b (A. Wion and E. Fritsch). | <sup>56</sup> Incipit of the *Anaphora of the 318 Orthodox Fathers*, see Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 122–137. | <sup>57</sup> Lit. ‘body’. | <sup>58</sup> The Gz title of the Nicene Creed. | <sup>59</sup> Not clear. Perhaps the reference in grammatical terms might be to the forms of *zä-yəmäşə* and *buruk*, but the latter (*buruk*) is not infinitive. | <sup>60</sup> Matt. 21:9; Mark 11:9. | <sup>61</sup> Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 247.

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APPARATUS: <sup>1</sup> **ԹԵՂԵՑՄԱԺԻԱ** : MA. | <sup>2</sup> **ԻԽԵԳՓՈՒՅ** : MA. | <sup>3</sup> Either **ՈԱԹՅՈՒՅ** : or **ԹՄԿՈՎ** : should be omitted.

COMMENTARY: <sup>1</sup> Or ‘begging’. <sup>2</sup> Ps. 115/116:10: ‘I kept my faith, even when I said’. <sup>3</sup> This is the title of the Creed in Gz. <sup>4</sup> This looks as if the same sentence has been re-

<sup>3</sup> This is the title of the Creed in Gz. | <sup>4</sup> This looks as if the same sentence has been re-

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The *Prayer of Faith* stated the 318 of the Orthodox faith. Prayer means ‘solicitation’.<sup>1</sup> But here it is ‘dogma’, ‘mark of faith’, ‘teaching of faith’, and ‘sign of faith’.

*Faith* means believing | in the Holy Trinity and remaining steadfast (in it). But when one believes, it benefits if one believes uniting the mouth and the mind into one, as David says, ‘*I believe in what I said.*’<sup>2</sup>

If one asks, ‘What does he who learned the *Prayer of Faith*<sup>3</sup> look like?’, he is (like) the trunk of a tree. He who learns and teaches looks like the flower.

If one asks, ‘What does he who dies steadfast in this faith, done good deeds, and obeyed look like?’, he looks like its fruit.

If one asks, ‘What for would the fruit be?’, if eaten, it would refresh the heart and fulfill the desire of the body; and if it is offered to others, it would generate love to one another. For he who dies steadfast in this faith and having done good deeds, the desire of his soul will be fulfilled.

If one asks, ‘What does he who has learned but has not taught look like?’, a trunk of a banana tree which is of no use, one that would remain rotten once it falls down.

*We believe in one God.* We believe in one God.<sup>4</sup>

If one asks, ‘Why did the 300<sup>5</sup> say, “We believe in one God”?’, priests are called gods by grace; and, furthermore, the whole world | A, 60r had sculpted wood, smoothed stone and worshipped them. They said, ‘We believe in one God’, to set (the real God) apart from these.

Furthermore, Mani I had said, ‘*The world has no steward or its organizer.*’ He had said, ‘There is no one who created the heaven and the earth.’ He had said, ‘Later, too, there will be no one who will make it pass away.’ And Mani II had said, ‘(God) has an opponent.<sup>6</sup> When he created angels, (the opponent) created demons against him. When he created light, he created darkness against him. When he created the soul, he created the flesh against him.’ The 300 said, ‘But we do not proclaim this kind of faith. We rather believe, confessing, “Three persons and one God”.’

peated. But the first sentence is in Gz, and the second is its translation/interpretation in Am. | <sup>5</sup>This is the short name of the 318 Orthodox Fathers of the Nicene Council. | <sup>6</sup>Or ‘rival’.

አጠቃላጊበር : አብ : አዕነ : ከነፈ : ዓለም : ይለል : ሁ-ለ-ን : በማረጋገብ : አም  
 አብ : አኅምናለን : አለ : ይለል :  
 ምኑው : ይህን : ነገር : አስተዋወች : ያለ : አንድሆን : ከአዕጊወን : ሌላይ :  
 ነው :  
 አዕጊወን : አለ : ማኅቃቃው : ያለ : አንድሆን : ነገሮች-ት : መከንናት : ጉተ 5  
 ለም : መጠዋት-ን : መከንናም : ካርወ-ን : አይሁለሁ : ይለል : እና : የን :  
 ለማያናም : ምድ-ና-ናም : ዕመቀ : ዕመቀቱናም : ልለከ : ልለከ-ቱ : ባአርን :  
 ወአፍለጋትን : በአይነት : ወወርጋን : ወከወከለት : ለማረጋገብ : አምላክ : አኅ A, 60v  
 ምናለን : አለ : ይለል :  
 አጠቃላጊበር : ባለ : ገብ : የሥራ-ለ : ቅዱ-ለ : ያንድናት : ለማዘወ : ነው : 10  
 አብ : ባለ : ገብ : የጠቃቃው : ቅዱ-ት : ለመ- : ነው : ወልደ : ባለ : ገብ : የብ  
 ቃው : ቅዱ-ት : ለመ- : ነው : መንፈለ : ቅዱ-ለ : ባለ : ገብ : የጠቃቃው : ቅዱ-ት :  
 ለመ- : ነው : አብነ : ከወና : አብና : ወ-እና-ት : ለው- : ልለከ-ቱ : እለከ : ለኋ  
 ለም : ወልደና : ወ-እና-ቱ : ከወና : ወልደና : ለው- : ልለከ-ቱ : እለከ : ለኋ  
 ለም : መንፈለ : ቅዱ-ለ : ወ-እና-ቱ : ከወና : ለርወና : ለው- : ልለከ-ቱ : እለከ : 15  
 ለአለም : ይህ : በግይማናጥ : አብው : እንደ : ተባለ : ለማዘወ : ነዋድ :  
 ቁጥሚ : ነው : አይፈልጋም : አይፈለጋም :  
 ይህ : ነገር : ከምን : ተነማ : ያለ : አንድሆን : በወልደ : አጠቃላጊበር : ነው :  
 ይለል :  
 ምኑው : አብን : አስቀዳመ-ት : ያለ : አንድሆን : የአብን : ከገር : ተናገረ : 20  
 ወልደም : እንደሆ : ነው : አርሱለ : የን : አብን : ከውልደ : ተጠር : አይናገ  
 ምም : የአብም : ቅለ : ወልደ : እንደ : ሆነ : አለበተዋልው-ም :  
 ገባድ : ለማያት : ወምድር : አለ : ለማያን : [ምድ-ና-ናም :] ከልጊወ : እንዳና  
 በረ : አይርኑ : ለፈጻሚ :<sup>4</sup> አምላክ : አኅምናለን : አለ : ይለል : ለማይ : A, 61r  
 ማለት : ከፍል : ማይ : ማለት : ነው : ምድር : ማለት : ማገኘረ : ከነፈ : ይጥ 25  
 ሂት : ማለት : ነው : ይለል :<sup>5</sup>  
 በየሰተርአ : ወከለያሰተርአ : አለ : የማታየናም : የማይታየናም : ለፈጻሚ :  
 አምላክ : አኅምናለን : አለ : ይለል :  
 የማታየ : የጥረታት : አለ : ማኅቃቃው : ያለ : አንድሆን : ለይ : የማያገብ : ለኋ  
 ይን : የማግበጥ : ሁ-ለ- : ነው :<sup>30</sup>  
 የማይታየ : ማኑው : ያለ : አንድሆን : ነፋለ : ነፋሰ : በርሃት : ለማይ :  
 ሂቃቃ : ነገር : ሁ-ለ- : ይለል :

APPARATUS: <sup>4</sup>The prepositions አ and ባ are interchangeably used with the verb አመኣ : (በ/አፈጻሚ : አምላክ : አኅምናለን :). | <sup>5</sup>This is relating etymologically ለማይ : with ማይ : and ማገኘረ : with ምድር :.

*God the Father, holder<sup>7</sup> of the entire World.* They said, ‘We believe in God who holds everything.’

If one asks, ‘What made them say this’, it is to set (him) apart from (other) *holders*.

If one asks, ‘Who are (the other) *holders*?’, (these) are kings and governors. A king claims to hold the army, and the governor the civilians.<sup>8</sup> They said, ‘But we believe in God who holds the heaven, the earth, the deepest of the deep, the sphere of the spheres, the sea, the rivers, the sun, | the moon, and the stars.’

When (the source) says ‘God’, it is the name of the oneness of the Holy Trinity. When it says ‘Father’, it is (the Father’s) proper original name. When it says ‘Son’, it is (the Son’s) proper original name. When it says ‘Holy Spirit’, it is (the Holy Spirit’s) proper original name. *‘Father’ is fatherhood being his alone forever. ‘Son’ is sonship being his alone forever. And ‘Holy Spirit’ is proceeding being his alone forever.* As this has been said the *Haymanotā abäw*, their names are ever existing and permanent; they do not change or exchange each other.

If one asks, ‘How was this issue raised?’, it is because of the Son of God.

If one asks, ‘Why did they make the Father precede?’, (the source) spoke about the glory of the Father, (but) the Son, too, is (with the Father). But Arius does not speak of the Father together with the Son. He did not realize that the Word of the Father is the Son.

*Maker of heaven and earth.* They said, ‘We believe in God who created heaven [and earth], making (them) existent from non-existence.’ | ‘Heaven’ means ‘a portion of water’.<sup>9</sup> ‘Earth’ means ‘an abode of all creations’.<sup>10</sup>

*That which is visible and that which is invisible.* They said, ‘We believe in God who created those which are visible and those which are invisible.’

If one asks, ‘Which are the visible creations?’, everything which is held with the hand and is concrete for the eye.

If one asks, ‘And which are those which are invisible?’, the wind, the soul, the bright heaven and all subtle things.

COMMENTARY: <sup>7</sup> Or ‘controller’. Otherwise ‘almighty’. The translators of the Nicene Creed and this commentator do not agree on what the Greek originally means. | <sup>8</sup> Lit. ‘the poor’. | <sup>9</sup> That is, *sä-may*, with *may* being water. | <sup>10</sup> The interpretation is based on a sound relationship between Gz *madr*, ‘earth’, and *mahdär*, ‘abode’.

ԱՅՆԻ : ՊԼ : ԵԱ : ՄՊՀԿԲ : ՈՊԿԸԲ : ՄԱՒԿ : Մ-Ա-[Ն] : ՔՔԱ : ՀՀ  
ԳԴ : Ա-Դ : ՃԱՄԴ : ԱԼ-Դ : ՀԵԼՈՒԽՈ-Թ : ՔԱԱ :  
ՄԱՀ.ՔՈՒԾՀ : ՊԼ : ԵԱ : ՊԿԸԲ : ՄԱՒԿՆ : ԽԵՍԹ : ՈՀԱ : ՔՊ.Ք  
ՔՄ : ՔԱԹ : ՔԱԱ : ԱՀՊԱՀ.ԱՊԿԸԲ : ՀԱՐ : ԽԸՀՐ : ՊՄ-Ը : ՀՆՀՀ :  
ՔԼ : ՄՊՀԱ : ՔԱԱ :<sup>5</sup>  
ՄԻՀԹՅ : ՈՒ ՀՊԱՀ : Հ.ՔՈՒ : ԽԸՀՈՒՈ : ՀԱ : ՈՒՀՅ : ԵԴ : ՀԵՄԴ  
ԼՀ : ՀԱ : ՔԱԱ :  
ՈԼԹՅ : ՈՒՀՅ : ԵԴ : ՀԵՄԴՈՂ : ՀԱ : ՔԱ : ՀՆՀՄՅ : ԽԵԴ : ԵԴ :  
ՈԼԲ : ԵԴՈ : ՊԱ : ԵԴ : ՀԱ : ՔՈԹՅ : ՔՈՈԹՅ : ԵԴ : ՆՎ : A, 61v  
Հ[Ն]ԸԸ : ՊՆ : ՈՒԿԱ : ՀՓՊ : ՈՄԱՒ : ՇԱՊ : ՈՒԿԹՅ : ՀՆՊՄ : 10  
ՈԼՄՈՂ : ՀԿԱՒ : ՀԵՄԴՈՂ : ՀԱ : ՔԱԱ :  
ՀՊԱՀ : ՄՊԴ : ԵԴ : ՄՊԴ : Հ.ՔՈՒ : ՄՊԴ : ՄԲ-ԵՆԴ : ՆԲՈ :  
ՄՄՀ : ՄՊԴ : ՆՎ : ԽԸՀՈՒՈ : ՄՊԴ : ՔՈՒ : ԵԴ-Ա : ՄՊԴ : ՆՎ :  
ՔԱԱ :  
ՄԱԶ : ՀՊ : ՊՖՀ : ՀԱ : ՔԱՊ : Ա-Ֆ : ՄԱԶ : ՔՊ.ՔՍՈՒՈ : ՔՊ.ՄՊԸ 15  
ԼՈՒ : ՔՊԿԸԲ : ՔՄՊԸ : Ա-Ֆ : ՔԱԱ :  
ԸՄԴ : ՊՆ : ՊՆ : ՀՈՒՄՎ : ՔԱ : ՀՆՀՄՅ : Ա-Ֆ : ՀՈՒԽԱԼԹՅ : ՄԱ  
ՔՎ : ԱՈՒԿԸԲ : Դ-ՈԼՎՈ : ՊԿԱՄԳԴՅՅ : ՊԳ.Վ : Ա-Ֆ : Դ-ՈԼՎՈ : ԻԼ  
ԱԴ : ՈԼԲ : Ո.ՔՄԵՎ : ՈՊԿԸԲ : ՈՄՊԸ : Ա-Ֆ : ՀԵՄԴՈՂ : ՀԱ :  
ՔԱԱ :<sup>20</sup>  
ԱՍԱՎՈ : ՊԿԱՄՎ : ՀԿՊԲ-Մ : ՔԴ-ԸԸԸ : ՊԿԸ : ՈԼԱԴ : ՊՆ :  
ԻԱ-Ֆ : ՀՊԴ : ԱՄԴ :<sup>6</sup> ՀՆՀ.ՔԲ-ՄՎՈ : Ա-Ֆ : ՀՆՀ.ԻՒՈՎ : ՀԵԳՈ  
ՄՎՅ : ՈՄԲ : ԴԵ-ԸԸԸ : ՊԿԸ : ԴԵ-ԸԸԸ : ՈՒՀՅՀՆԴ : ՈՒՈՒՆԴ :  
Ա-Գ.ՊԸ : ՀԿԱՒ : ՀԵՄԴՈՂ : ՀԱ : ՔԱԱ :  
ՊԿԸ : ԱԿԹ-ՊԿԸ : ՀԱ : ՀՎՓ : ԻԿՎՓ : ՄՊՀԱ : ՔԱԱ :<sup>25</sup>  
ՀԿՄԶՅ : ՀՆՀ-ԴԿԸ : ՆՎ : ՔԱ : ՀՆՀՄՅ : ՊՈՒԲ : ԻՈՒԿԿՆ : A, 62r  
ՄՎ-ՓՎ : ՀՆՀ.ՔԲ-ԲՄՅ : ՀՊԴ : ԱՄԴ : Ա-Գ.ՊԸ : Ա-Գ.ՊԸ : ՀՆՀ :  
ԱՄԴ : ԱԻՒԱ : ԴԵԱ : ՈՒՀՅՀՆԴ : ՄՊՀԱ : ՔԱԱ :  
\*ՀԿԱՒ : ՔԲ-Փ : ԱԿՄ-ՀԿԱՒ : ՔԲ-Փ :<sup>7</sup> ԱՈՒԿԸ : Ա-ՎԱԶ : ՀԱ :  
ՀՎ-ՆԴ-Դ : ՀԿԱՒ : ԻՎ-ՆԴ-Դ : ՀԿԱՒ : ՈՎ-ՆԴ : ՊՆ : ՄՎԸ : ԴՎԸ : ԴՎԸ 30  
ԱԴ : ՔԱԱ :  
ՈԼԹՅ : ՀՎ-ՆԴ-Դ : ՀՈՒՄՎ : ՔԱ : ՀՆՀՄՅ : ԻԿՈՒԴ : ՈԼԲ : ՆՎ :  
ԻԿՈՒԴ : ՀԱ : ԱՄԴ : ԴՎՄՎ : ՔԱ : ՀՆՀՄՅ : ՊԿԸ-Վ.ՔՆ : ԴՎՄՎ : ԻՈՒ  
ԱԴ : ՄՎԸ : Ա-Գ.ՊԸ : ՔՊ.Ա- : ԴՎՄՎ : ԻԼԽՍ : ՈԼԲ : ՀՎ-ՆԴ-Դ : ՀԿՄ

APPARATUS: <sup>6</sup> ԱԱ” ՄԱ. | <sup>7</sup> [ՀԿԱՒ : ԱԿՄ-ՀԿԱՒ : ]

COMMENTARY: <sup>11</sup> John 1:18. | <sup>12</sup> ‘Son’. | <sup>13</sup> The author uses two synonymous words, *bahrəy* and *tābəy*, with the meaning of ‘nature’, possibly for emphasis. | <sup>14</sup> Exod. 4:22. | <sup>15</sup> Sic for ‘God from God in the truth’.

If the Scripture says, ‘*He who sees*’, (it means) he sees everything by the nature of his divinity. Walls of a house or darkness of the night do not hinder him.

If it says, ‘*And he who does not appear*’, (it means) no one sees his natural divinity, (now) and after this (time), as the words of the Gospel say, ‘*No one has ever seen God*.<sup>11</sup>’

*We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ.* It said, ‘We believe in one Lord.’

If one asks, ‘Why did they say, “We believe in one Lord”?’ it is to set a master apart from a master. As for a master, there are many masters. He who feeds | and clothes is a master. But they said, ‘We believe in God who created us, making us upright in body, beautifying us in appearance, and celebrating us with understanding.’

‘*Lord*’ means ‘master’. ‘*Jesus*’ means ‘*savior of the soul and the body*’. ‘*Christ*’ means ‘*the anointed king*’.

*The Only Son of the Father.* *Wāld*,<sup>12</sup> the Son of the Father, who is equal to (the Father) and who resembles him is his Son in \*nature and substance.<sup>13</sup>

If one asks, ‘What led it say this?’, as for son, Israel, too, is called, ‘*My first-born son*’.<sup>14</sup> The faithful, too, are called sons by grace. To set (his sonship) apart from these and to explain, they said, ‘We believe in his Son in nature and substance.’

*Who is existent with him since before the world was created.* However, when we say ‘Son’, it is not like a father preceding a son in time and a son succeeding. They said, ‘We believe in God who is existent in unity and trinity even before the heaven was framed and the earth was created.’

*Light from light.* A knowledgeable came for us from a knowledgeable.

If one asks, ‘How is his coming?’, as the sun’s disc, | its light, and its heat do not precede each other (when the sun rises), he came for us in unity, with the Father not saying, ‘Let me precede in time, because I am Father’, and the Son, not saying, ‘Let me succeed in time, because I am Son’.

*God of truth from God of truth in the truth who was born.*<sup>15</sup> True God came down in the truth from true God, and was born for us.

If one asks, ‘What led it say, “True (God)”?’ it is to set (God) apart from false ones.

If one asks, ‘Who are the false ones?’, these are the earthly ones who say, ‘Let my wealth, my money, be for my son.’ In order to set

ልብ : ክወ-ነትኩ : እምባብ : ተወደደልን : በለን : እናምናለን : እለ : ይለል ይ<sup>16</sup>  
 ወሳኑ : ዘተገበረ : እለ : ይህ : የይኩ ነገር : ይበተራቸው : <sup>8</sup>ኋው : ለእርምጃ :  
 የልኩ : ለልጠት : እንዳንተሰ : ግብር : ፍጤር : እንለው-ም : ገበድ : ይግል :  
 በንደው : እንደኩ : እለ : ይለል ይ<sup>17</sup>  
 እዕራይ : የሰለ : እብ : በመለከቱ : እለ : በመለከቱ : ክእብ : ፍንድ : የው : <sup>5</sup>  
 በሰው-ነቱ : በሰበሰው : ሥር : ክኩ : <sup>9</sup>ፈንድ : የው : ይተረፈና : ለን : በተሰበ  
 እቱ : ወይተረፈና : ለእብ : በመለከቱ : እንዳለ : ይኩ በሂይምናት : አበው : <sup>A, 62v</sup>  
 ይለል ይ<sup>18</sup>  
 በየቱ : ከሚል : ከኩ : እለ : ፍጥረት : ሁ-ለ : በርሰብ : ተፈጻሚ : ይለል ይ<sup>19</sup>  
 ወዘለንበለሁ-ስ : እልወ : በከኩ : ወክምንትኩ : እለ : እንሰለ : ወልደ : እግዢእብ <sup>10</sup>  
 ፍጤር : እው-ቃት : የተፈጻሚ : ፍጥረት : የለም : ይለል ይ<sup>20</sup>  
 በበለምግዥ : ወዘለምድርሱ : እለ : ስማይ : ክትዋዣ : የምድር : ክተማበት :  
 በርሰብ : ቅል : ተፈጻሚ : ለለልሁ-ሁ : እንዳ : እርምጃ : ነገር : እይደለው-ም : እር  
 የሰ : ለል : እርሰን : ቅድም : ልጠረ : በርሰብ : እኩን : ልጠረን : ይለል :  
 ለው : ለውተር : በቃለ : ክተናገረ : ልቃጥ : ይፈጸማልን : እይፈጸምም : <sup>15</sup>  
 እንደኩ : እግዢእብአብር : እብ : ግን : በመልደ : እግዢእብአብር : ቅል : ለይ  
 ከ-ገ : በርሃን : እለ : ይግሞም : ግምበር : ሰ-በአ : በአምሳለን : በለው : ለል :  
 በአንድነትና : በሰበትናት : ሆኖ : ልጠረ : ይለል ይ<sup>21</sup>  
 በበለን-ቁናን : ለሰበአ : ወበትናት : መድቻትናት : እለ : እናምን : እት-በለ : ያለ  
 ወ-ገ : ዕዕ : በል-ጥ : ወጥ : እኩ : በ-የግኩው : እናነዋለሁ : እለ : ይለል ይ<sup>20</sup>  
 ወረዳ : እምሳይያት : እለ : ክለምኩ : ስማያት : ወረዳ : ለለልሁ-ሁ : ስማያት :  
 ቅል : እይደለው-ም : የምሳ-ብ : በከሚለ : ለለ : ክለፋ-ቱ : ስይ-ሰብ : ክውማትኩ : <sup>A, 63r</sup>  
 ልይ-ገና-ል : መተ-ሰብ-ት : ከሚል : ከሚለንታሁ-ሁ : በእርምጃ : ከሚለንታሁ-ሁ : በምር  
 የም : <sup>10</sup>እንዳለ : ለፈው-ንትም : በሂይምናት : አበው : ል-ትለ : እዋት : እለ-ተብ  
 ተ-ከ : እምአብ : እንዳለ : ይኩ ክና-ርድ : እኩቱ : በአንድነትና : በሰበትናት : <sup>25</sup>  
 ለመለሰ : ለፈውኩ : ወረዳ : እለ : ይለል ይ<sup>22</sup>  
 ወተሰበአ : እመንፈቅ : ቅድ-ለ : እለ : ወርድ-ለ : ወርት : <sup>11</sup>ደረሰ : ያለ : እንዳ  
 ሆን : በመንፈሰ : ቅድ-ለ : ግብር : ለው : ሆን : ክሠራው : ሥር : ክናፍለዋ :  
 እኩ : ክሠራ : ያም : ሁ-ጥ : እዋዋከ-ድው : ይለል : መንፈሰ : ቅድ-ለ :  
 ሥር : ል-ጥር : ለለበሰው : ሆን : ለእግዢእብአብር : ቅል : የምን : ሆኔው : <sup>30</sup>  
 ያለ : እንደሆን : እግዢእብአብር : እብቱ : ቅባው : እርሰብ : ተቀባ : መንፈሰ :  
 ቅድ-ለ : ቅባው : ሆኔው : ይለል : መጥናቸት : ግን : ለለ : መለከት : ክሠራ :  
 እንዳ : መሆን : ቅብጥት : የው : እንደኩ : መንፈሰ : ቅድ-ለ : ቅባው : እልሆነ

APPARATUS: <sup>8</sup>ደብተራ- is not known in MA in the sense it is used here. | <sup>9</sup>ከኩ : ጥር : MA. |

<sup>10</sup>Quoted from the *Anaphora of Our Lady Mary*; cf. *MQ*, 112–113. | <sup>11</sup>[ወጤት].

COMMENTARY: <sup>16</sup>? | <sup>17</sup>That is, ‘without the will’. | <sup>18</sup>The person (subject or object) changes frequently. | <sup>19</sup>Unfortunately, ‘trinitize’, which would fit Gz *tästålläsä*, is not an English verb.

(him) apart from these, they said, ‘We believe, saying, “True God was born for us from true God”.’

*Who is not created.* This is the kernel of the 300. When they refute Arius, they said, ‘We do not say, like you, “(the Son) is made or created”, but we call him, “*Maker and Creator*”’

*Who is equal with the Father in his divinity.* He is one with the Father in his divinity. In his humanity, in the flesh he wore, he is one with us. As the 300 said in the *Haymanotä abäw*, | ‘*He is equal with us in his humanity, and he is equal with the Father in his divinity.*’<sup>16</sup>

*Everything was made by him.* Every creation was created by him.

*But without him nothing was made.* There is no creation that was created without the knowledge<sup>17</sup> of the Son of God.

*In heaven or on earth.* When I say to you, ‘The heaven with all its contents, and the earth with all on its dry surface were created by his Word’, it is not like the opinion of Arius. Arius says, ‘(God the Father) first created (the Son), and by him he created us.’ Usually, when someone wishes with his words, would his wish be fulfilled? No, it would not be fulfilled. But God the Father said in the Word of God the Son, ‘*Let there be light (and there was light).*’ Also, he said, ‘*Let us make man in our likeness*’, and created (man) in his unity and trinity.

*For the sake of us, people, and for our salvation.* When death of the soul found Adam for eating (from) the tree he told him not to eat from, he said to him, ‘I will save you.’

*He came down from the heavens.* When I<sup>18</sup> say to you, ‘He came down from the heaven of heavens’, it is not leaving his heaven, but as he is *full everywhere*, without contracting from his breadth or lessened from his | fullness. As (the source) says, ‘*He, who is beneath all, his entirety is in heaven while his entirety is in Mary.*’ As the Doctors of the Church said in the *Haymanotä abäw*, ‘*A long thread which was not cut off from the Father*’, the 300, too, said, ‘He came down while he is trinity<sup>19</sup> and sanctified in his unity and trinity with his natural Father.’

*He was made man by the Holy Spirit.* If one asks, ‘Where did he go when he came down?’, he became man by the work of the Holy Spirit; he took flesh from (Mary’s) flesh, soul from her soul, and blood from her blood, and united them.

If one asks, ‘What did the Holy Spirit become to God the Word, when he created the flesh and made him wear it?’, God, his Father, anointed him, he (the Son) was anointed, and the Holy Spirit became ointment for him. But the heretics say, ‘The unity of divinity with the flesh is unction; the Holy Spirit did not become ointment for him.’

ወ.ም፡ ይለል፡ እና፡ የን፡ አብ፡ ቁጥር፡ ወልድ፡ ተቀባዩ፡ መንፈሰ፡  
ቁጥር፡ ቁጥር፡ ሆነ፡ እንለል፡  
ለይሁ፡ የምስክ፡ የን፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ይለል፡ በለው፡ እሳይየሁ፡ መንፈሰ፡  
እናዘረፈበኩር፡ ለዕለም፡ በዕገር፡<sup>12</sup> ወቀበም፡ \*መንፈሰ፡ ቁጥር፡ ወቻ  
ወሩ፡ ይገል፡ ይግምም፡ በግብር፡<sup>13</sup> ወቀበም፡ \*መንፈሰ፡ ቁጥር፡ ወቻ A, 63v  
ይል፡<sup>14</sup> ይለል፡ ይሁ፡ ቁጥርና፡ ወቀበም፡ ማለት፡ ለእብ፡ ቁጥርና[ን]፡  
ለውልድ፡ ተቀባዩና[ን]፡ ለመንፈሰ፡ ቁጥር፡ ቁጥርና[ን]፡ ይመስከራል፡  
ነገር፡ የን፡ መንፈሰ፡ ቁጥር፡ እና፡ ይጠረ፡ ቁጥር፡ ለላል፤ የን፡  
ወይም፡ እንዳታ፡ ከገዢ፡ ይረ፡ ይጥረ፡ ቁጥር፡ አልሆነም፡ ሌላየም፡  
ስልጥርም፡ ቁጥር፡ ሌላየም፡ ተንድግበ፡ ነው፡ ቁጥርና፡ ማለት፡ እናረት፡ 10  
ማለት፡ ነው፡ እንዳት፡ ማለት፡ ጥንት፡ ስዕቃቁት፡ የን፡ ማለት፡ ነው፡  
በማኑስ፡ ይንግል፡ የተቀበለው፡ መንፈሰ፡ ቁጥር፡ የን፡ ሆነው፡ ባለ፡  
ገዢ፡ ሌቀ፡ ከሆናት፡ ጉተው፡ ነገሬት፡ ተስጠት፡ ከመለከት፡ መለከት፡  
ከተስጠት፡ በቅንድነት፡ እንገዢው፡ ይለል፡  
የንው፡ ከገዢ፡ ወይም፡ ጉተው፡ አልነበረም፡ ከህን፡ ከበር፡ አልነበረም፡ 15  
የለ፡ እንዳሁን፡ ከበርም፡<sup>14</sup> ጉተውም፡ ከህንም፡ ሆኖ፡ ነገር፡ የን፡ ለማይ፡  
ስልጠኩር፡ የጽር፡ ለይፈጠር፡ በስተነትና፡ በስተነት፡ እንዳሁ፡  
ታወቁ፡ መለከት፡ ከተስጠት፡ ተስጠት፡ ከመለከት፡ ተንድ፡ ሆነ፡ ይለል፡  
ረፈቁ፡ ባከርም፡ መለከት፡ ጉተና፡ ሥርዓ፡ ለቦሁ[ና፡ ለማዘኑ]፡ ጉተና፡  
ሥርም፡ ላፈቁ፡ ባከርም፡ መለከት፡ ሆኖም፡ ለርፈቁ፡ ለይል፡ ከመ፡ A, 64r  
ተዋሕዳት፡ እና፡ ወሥራ፡ በለው፡ እንዳለል፡ ቁጥር፡ ቁርጓል፡ ተንድ፡  
ሆነ፡ እንለል፡ ይለል፡  
ወእማርም፡ እምቅድስት፡ ይንግል፡ አለ፡ ማርም፡ ማለት፡ መርሆ፡ ለመ  
ንግሥት፡ ለማይ፡ ማለት፡ ነው፡ ይለል፡ ከንዳከት፡ ይንግል፡ ተወልድ፡  
ለላል፤ የን፡ እንደ፡ ለው፡ በዘርአ፡ በእስ፡ ወጠረስት፡ እድልውም፡ ማን 25  
ተመ፡ ይንግልና፡ ለይፈቁ፡ መርገመ፡ ተዋን፡ ለማይ፡ ከግምባር፡  
ወን፡ እንዳውጫ፡ ከተናም፡ ይንግልና፡ ተወልድ፡ ይለል፡  
ከና፡ በእስ፡ አለ፡ እምላክ፡ ለው፡ ሆነ፡ ለው፡ ለላል፤ ይርሆ፡ ለገልጻም፡  
እከለ፡ መጠን፡ ለጽር፡ ይቻልና፡ እምላክ፡ ይና፡ እላይም፡ በበከቻ፡  
ሆነዋ፡ እንዳ፡ ለውንት፡ እንዳ የው፡ እና፡ ይገን፡ ይለል፡ 30

APPARATUS: <sup>12</sup> That is, **ՊԱՀ** : **ԺՎԱՅՔ**. | <sup>13</sup> |”**ՃՈ** : ”**Ք-Ծ** : ”**ԵԾ** : | <sup>14</sup> |”**ԽՈՎ** :

COMMENTARY: <sup>20</sup>This is the kernel of the Unctionist sect; see Getatchew Haile 1986; 1990, I-II. | <sup>21</sup>Isa. 61:1. | <sup>22</sup>Acts 10:38. | <sup>23</sup>Probably, statement on *nəṣ'at*, 'taking' is omit-

But we say, ‘*The Father is the anointer, the Son is the anointed, and the Holy Spirit is the ointment.*’<sup>20</sup>

If one asks, ‘What Scripture is there for evidence for this?’, Isaiah says, ‘*The Spirit of God is upon me for which he anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news to the poor.*’<sup>21</sup> | Furthermore, it says in Acts, ‘*[God, the Father] anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power.*’<sup>22</sup> This, ‘*he anointed me*’ and ‘*he anointed him*’, testifies (to the role) that the Father is anointer, the Son is anointed, and the Holy Spirit is unction. However, when we say, ‘The Holy Spirit cleaned, created, and became unction’, he did not become unction for him, first cleansing (Mary), and after that creating (the body). His act of 10 cleansing, creating, and becoming unction all happened at the same time. ‘*Unction*’ means ‘*dwelling*’. ‘*Taking*’<sup>23</sup> means he took ‘*his original life*’.

When one asks, ‘What did the Holy Spirit, which he received while 15 in the womb of the Virgin, become for him?’, (he made him) high priest and king of kings. (He united) humanity with divinity and divinity with humanity and made him king in unity.<sup>24</sup>

If one asks, ‘How come, was he not king before that, was he not priest and venerated?’, he was venerated, and he was king and priest. 20 But (with this event) it became manifested that he existed in trinity and unity ever since before the heaven was framed and the earth was created. Divinity was united with humanity, and humanity with divinity. We say, ‘(They) became one, “like the union of soul and body”, as Saint Cyril has said for us,<sup>25</sup> with the subtle nature of his divinity not 25 saying, “Let me be concrete because I wore the concrete flesh”, and concrete body | not saying, “Let me be subtle because I have taken<sup>26</sup> A, 64r the nature of divinity”.

*And from Mary, the Holy Virgin.* ‘Mary’ means ‘guide’<sup>27</sup> to the kingdom of heaven’. But when we say, ‘He was born of the pure Virgin’, it 30 was not *with the seed of man and woman* like people. He was born from a sealed virginity, with the seal of her virginity unopen and the curse of Eve not finding her,<sup>28</sup> like sweat oozes from the forehead.

*He became man.* God became human. When we say, ‘(He became) human’, he did not say, ‘Let me be a young man right away; let me be 35

ted. | <sup>24</sup> Interestingly, this source, although of the Unctionists, does not claim that Christ became the Son of God by the unction of the Holy Spirit. | <sup>25</sup> HA, 313, § 54. | <sup>26</sup> Lit. ‘have become’. | <sup>27</sup> The interpretation is based on the closeness of the sounds of (Gz) *maryam*, ‘Mary’ and (Gz) *märh*, ‘guide’. But it is consistent with the tradition. | <sup>28</sup> This is the Catholic Church’s teaching of the Immaculate Conception.

ወተሰቂለ : በእንደሸኑ : አለ : ለኛ : በለው : [የ]ተሰቂለ :<sup>15</sup> ወተራለቂዎች :  
 ለቀለ : ለመጽሑፍኑትኩመ : መጽሑፍ : ይጠበኑ : ከመ : በማዕ : በቅድመ : ከዚቀ  
 ስጋ : እንዳለ : መብኑ : ነበረ : ተሰቂለ : ሰለት : ከሰለት : ለኖት : ከሰኖት :  
 የበር : ከማብር : ስደብር : መጽ : 5  
 በመዋል : እሳውስ : እንጂጠናዋ : አለ : [በ]እሳውስ : ከመን : ተሰቂለ : ይለል :  
 በማናቂዎች : እሳውስ : ያለ : እንደሆነ : በእንጂጠናቂዎች :<sup>17</sup> ይለል :  
 ስወመ : በእርቃዎች : ስማም : 10  
 ተመመ : ለለልሁ-ሁ : እንደሰው : እና-ና :<sup>18</sup> እንደ-ና : እንመ-ና : ተከ-ና-ና : አለ  
 ለም : መጠው-ከ : በዚም : ለቅዱራት : ወመልታሁ-ቃዎች : ለጽፍኖት : ቅዱና :  
 እድወ-የ : ወልጊዎ : ወነ-ለቂ : ከ-ለው : አበወም-ቃዎች : እንዳለ : ዓይት :  
 ተመመ : ይለል እ  
 ወጥተ : አለ : ወጥተ : እንዘብ : እርመው-ት : በሁለቂ : መለከቱ : ወጥተ : ያይቀር  
 በት : እምለከ : ወጥተ :  
 በእንተ : ቅዱረ : ሰብኑ : ወጥተ : ወን : ለለልሁ-ሁ : እንደ : ሰው : ወጥተ : እይዳለ  
 ወጥመ : ሰው : ወን : ሰጥተ : ከዚመዳሪ : ከልቻ : ከማሬቱ : ከበቱ : ይለል :  
 ስይመድ : የሰነድት : ወጥተ : ይሞታል : እርስ : ወን : እንደ : ሰው : ወጥተ : እይ  
 ይለው-ም : በፈቃድ : ካፍሰን : ከመው-ሁ : ለየ : እና-ና : ወጥተ : በመ-ሁ : ወቀ  
 ወመ : በመንፈሰ : እንዳለ : ቅዱ-ለ : እጥርሰ : ወጥተ : ያይቀርበት : እምለከ :  
 በሰው-ኑቱ : ወጥተ : በእምለከኑቱ : ተነሱ :  
 ወተቀበረ : አለ : ተቀበረ : በሰነድት : ከንድ : ቅመት : በበንጋር : ይረት : 20  
 እንድ : ሰው : መቁበር : ተቀበረ : ይለል : በከመ : ካበረ : የኩስ : በከርመ :  
 እንበረ : ለለብ : መዋል : ወመለብ : ለያዥ : እንዳለ : ነበረ : እርስም : A, 65r  
 እንዳቂዎ : ወሰተ : ለበ : ወጥር : ሰለት : መዓልት : ሰለት : ለለት :  
 ተደረረ : ይለል : ዘ  
 ተንሬክ : እመ-ታን : እመ : ማልስት : ሰለት : አለ : ሰስት : መዓልት : ሰስት : 25  
 ለለት : በከርመ : መቁበር : ይደር : ከዘመ : ጉዢ : ተነሱ : ይለ[ል] : ዘ  
 ወጥመ : ሰለቱን : በተነሱ : ተለ : ጉዢ : ቅድመ : ተሰበለቱ :<sup>19</sup> እና-ና : እስ  
 ሰና : ጉለም : ወጽአቱ : እና-ና : ይሆናል : ሲል : ተንሬክዎ : እና-ና :  
 እድረጋዎ : ይለል : ዘ  
 በከመ : ወጪ-ና : ወሰተ : ቅዱ-ሳት : መዓልዎት : አለ : ቅዱ-ሳት : መዓልዎት :  
 እንደተናገሩት : ተነሱ : ወተንሬክ : እግዢአብበር : ከመ : በንቃዎ : እና-ና

APPARATUS: <sup>15</sup> [ተሰ] :. | <sup>16</sup> እስተጣበር : MA. | <sup>17</sup> Cf. ይበርቃ : from ይበር :. | <sup>18</sup> እና-ና-ና : MA. | <sup>19</sup> That is, Nativity of Christ.

COMMENTARY: <sup>29</sup> Probably a confusion of Isa. 53:7. | <sup>30</sup> The adjectival form ending in -*ččā* is archaic. Another source has a *däbrəčče*, ‘of the monastery’. | <sup>31</sup> This is in line with

an adult. I am capable, I am God.' As the Doctors of the Church said, '*He grew up gradually*', he grew up that way.

*And he was crucified for our sake.* He was crucified for our sake. He was crucified, as the prophet Moses said, '*You will see your Savior crucified. He came to be slaughtered like a lamb before the one who shears him.*'<sup>29</sup> He came coinciding (the prophecy) the day with the day, the hour with the hour, and the action with action.

*At the time of Pontius Pilate.* He was crucified in the time of Pilate.

If one asks, | 'At which Pilate?', that of Pontius.<sup>30</sup>

A, 64v

*He, whom suffering would not approach, suffered.* When I say to you, 'He suffered', he did not say like people, 'Help me lie down, raise me up, perform cupping on me, or treat me with fire.'<sup>31</sup> He just suffered as David said, '*I offered my back for a scourging, and my cheeks for slapping. They have nailed my hands and feet. I counted all my bones.*'<sup>32</sup>

15

*And he died, although he does not die in the essence of his divinity.* God, in whom there is no death, died.

But when I say to you, '*He died for the sake of love for people*', it is not like the death of people. When a man dies, he is separated from his relatives, his children, his wife, and his home. He dies unwillingly the death of inability. But his was not like the death of people. He separated his soul from his body willingly. As Saint Peter said, '*He died in the flesh and came to life in the Spirit*',<sup>33</sup> God, in whom there is no death, died in his humanity and rose in his divinity.

20

*And he was buried.* He was buried in a tomb like a human in the stature of three cubits and in the chest of one span. As the prophet has said, '*As Jonah lived three days and three nights in the belly of the whale*',<sup>34</sup> | he, too, spent three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

A, 65r

*On the third day he rose from among the dead.* He dwelt three days and the three nights in the belly of the tomb, and then he rose.

25

If one asks, 'Why had he not risen on the same day?', he made his resurrection on a Sunday, to indicate that his incarnation<sup>35</sup> took place on a Sunday and, later, (his Second) Coming will be on a Sunday.

*As has been written in the Holy Scriptures.* He rose as the Holy Scriptures have proclaimed, as David has said, '*God has risen like rising up from a sleep*',<sup>36</sup> and as the Holy and Pure Scriptures have

35

traditional healing. | <sup>32</sup>Ps. 21:17/22:16. | <sup>33</sup>1 Pet. 3:18. | <sup>34</sup>Jonah 1:17; Matt. 12:40. | <sup>35</sup>That is, 'Annunciation'. | <sup>36</sup>Ps. 72/73:20.

ምወ : እንዳለ : ዓዋት : ይእንበዱ : ወይወወደዱም : ወይወትናማለ : አመ : ማል  
ስት : ደለት : እንዳለ : ቁጥርኩት : ገዢ-ተት : መጽሕፍት : ተነጥ ዘ፡  
ዓርገ : በስብአት : ወ-ስት : ስማያት : አለ : ጥቶ : ተነስቶ : በማቅን : ስማያ :  
ሰማያት : ዓረገ : ይለል ዘ፡ ሌላርጊ : የን : የምድር : ለቀ : ጥለ : አይደለ  
ወ-ም : መትኩት : ከተለ : መወ-ስት : ከተለ : እለ : በከብር : ዓረገ : ዓርገ : 5  
አግባብአብኩር : በይባብ : ወእግባብ : በቁለ : ቁርን : እንዳለ : ዓዋት : ዓረገ :  
ይለል ዘ፡  
ወነበረ : በየማኑ : አበሆኑ : አለ : በአባቱ : ቁጥ : ተቀመጫ : ይለል :  
ምኬው : ቁጥና : ዓረገ : የሰኔው : የለ : እንዳሆን : ቁጥ : ዓረሰ : የለው : A, 65v  
ሥልጣን : እንደኩ : ቁጥና : ዓረገ : አለው : [ሁም : አይደለው-ም] : ለውተር : 10  
ቀጥ : እኩ : በይዘን : የጠብቃል : በመታት : የዳቃል ዘ፡ እርብም : እንደኩ :  
ደዊ : ተጠለኩን : ሥልጣኑ : የምትን : ተቀቁው : የባቃን : ፍቃድ : ፍቃድ : ዓይም :  
ስላጊ : በቀጥ : ተቀመጫ : ይለል ዘ፡  
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ያለ : የን : እንዳቀደም : ወልደ : የለፍ : ወልደ : የራብ : የለ-ት : የንድ : 15  
በአቱ : የጠቅብት : የንድ : እይደለው-ም : በፍርድ : ስዕት : ለገድ  
ቁጥ : ፍቅ : ለቋጥን : ይሰጥ : የንድ : ይመሻል : ይለል ዘ፡  
ይከተን : አይዋኑ : መሙታኑ : አለ : በአይዋኑም : በሙታኑም : ይራርድ :  
የንድ : ይመሻል : አይዋኑ : የተባለ : የድቃቃን : ዓቃው : መታን : የተባለ :  
ቻጥኑ : ዓቃው : ይለል ዘ፡ 20  
ስላምን : መታን : አለቁው : የለ : እንዳሆን : ከዚ : አግባብአብኩር :  
አምበ : በለው : ተጠለኩ : ሰርተው : የከብር : የዳግበሰብን : በልብ-ኩቁው :  
ስላሳድና : መታን : ይለቁዋል : ስላይሁ : ነው : ይለል ዘ፡  
ዳግቃቃለ : ስላምን : አይዋኑ : አለቁው : የለ : እንዳሆን : በሂይማጥት : ዓን  
ተው : የማግረቻት : ሰርተው : መንፈሰብ : ቁጥ-ብን : በልብ-ኩቁው : ስላሳድና : A, 66r  
አይዋኑ : ይለቁዋል ዘ፡  
ወእሰቦ : ማንሰቻት : ለመንግሥቱ : አለ : ለመንግሥቱ : ዓር : ወሰን : የለ  
ወ-ም : አመ-ብን : ነው : ቁጥጥም : ከለለ : አልተቀበለው-ም : ፍለም : ስለለ :  
አይሳልው-ም : ይለል ዘ፡  
ከብር : ይረዳ : ተናግረው : አቀመ : ፍለ : የን : ይቋሙቃ ሪቋኑ : የይማ 30  
ጥት : አርብበን : ገንተው : አስቀጽተው : ለደው : ይመናብርት : ሰራ :  
አስራ-ይቁው : እንዲት : ነው : የለ : እንዳሆን : ይንጋት : ይርሰው : አልሰ  
ኩም : አበበት : ተመልከተው : ሰራ ዘ፡ ቁጥጥ : አግባብአብኩር : ለቋጥር :  
የሥራው : ወምዕራብ : ሰማኑ : ወደብብ : ይቋ[ን] : መግባኑ : የልም : ፍጠረ :  
ወንገለው-የንም : ሰጋኑ : ሁ-ለት : ሰት : በለው : አልጋኑም : ይ-ለው : 35

COMMENTARY: <sup>37</sup> A conflation of several verbs, e.g. Mark 10:33; Luke 18:33. | <sup>38</sup> Ps. 46:6/47:5. | <sup>39</sup> That is, ‘four sees’.

said, ‘*They will capture him and take him, and he will rise up on the third day*’.<sup>37</sup>

*He ascended into heaven with glory.* He died, rose, and on the fortieth day he ascended into the heaven of heavens. However, when he ascended, it is not leaving the earth and forsaking (it). He ascended in 5 glory while he still was *beneath all and in all*. He ascended in glory, as David said, ‘*God has ascended with a shout and Our Lord with the sound of the horn.*’<sup>38</sup>

*And he sat at the right side of his Father.* He sat at the right side of his Father.

If one asks, ‘What | led it to say right and left?’, right and left is in 10 regards to his authority; it [is not that he has] right and left. Usually, if the right hand holds, it tightens, and if it hits, it crushes. He, likewise, sat on the right, because he ascended, having hammered the illness of sin and the authority of death, and having fulfilled the will of his 15 Father.

*He will come again in glory.* He will come again in glory. But his coming will not be like before to be called ‘son of Joseph, son of a carpenter’, and to be spitted spittle upon his face. He will come to give 20 reward to the just and punishment to the sinners, with justice.

*To judge the living and the dead.* He will come to judge the living and the dead. Those called ‘the living’ are the just, and those called ‘the dead’ are the sinners.

If one asks, ‘Why did it call them “*the dead*”?’, one calls them ‘*the dead*’ because they have refused (to receive) the grace of God, have 25 committed sin, and have housed the advice of the Devil in their hearts. That is why.

If one asks, ‘And why did it call the just “*the living*”?’, they call them ‘*the living*’ because they have been steadfast in the faith, have done good deeds, and have housed the Holy | Spirit in their hearts.

A, 66r

*And his kingdom will have no end.* There is no edge or border for his kingdom. It is *unlimited*. He did not receive it from others initially, and he will not pass it on later to others.

The 318 of the Orthodox faith spoke up to here and stopped. But then, they excommunicated and expelled Arius, and established four 35 chairs.<sup>39</sup>

If one asks, ‘How was the system of their establishing?’, they did not establish suddenly (and) arbitrarily. They established observing models. When God first created (the world), he created *east, west, north, and south*; there are these four *corners of the world*. And when 40

እንደ : ማቻዎን : ማርቆስ : ለ-ቻዎን : የ-ቻዎን : <በለው : ><sup>20</sup> ዘዴኬ :  
 አዋርያት : ከርስቶስም : ለ-የነተምህራ : ይ-ቻ[ን] : ማ-ብዝኬ : ዓለምን : ተ-ከፍ  
 ለው : አስተምኬኬ : ይ-ቻዎን : ተመልከተው : ሰራ : ይ-መናበርት : አስራ : እለ : አስከንድርድን :  
 ለ-ቻዎን : ተ-ባኬ : በ-አስከንድርድር : አለ : ሰራ : ዘ-ጥርድን : ም-ግብ : <sup>21</sup> ክህናት : በ-አ : 5  
 ገ-ክ-ም : አው-ሳንያለን : ለ-ቻዎን : በ-ርምም : እንደማለያለን : ም-ግብ : <sup>22</sup> A, 66v  
 መ-ንግሥት : በ-ርምም : እንደህ : ሰራ : መ-ና-ቻዎን : እንደይናስ-የኩው : በ-ተ-ነስ-ብ  
 ተ-ው : ገ-ይም : በ-የለ-ብት : ለ-ና-ው : እንደህ : ሰራ : ክ-ዘም : ተ-ው : መ-ና-ቻዎን :  
 ተ-ው : በ-ና-ቻዎን : በ-ጥረር : ይ-ማመት : ተ-ቀመጥ : ይ-ለል :  
 ክ-ዘም : ተ-ለ : ም-ግም : በ-ጥረር : ክ-ጥናት : እ-ለ-ቀኬ : ጉ-ት-ው : ቁ-ለ-መ-ት-ጥ-ኩ : 10  
 ተ-ው : ል-ቻ-ት : በ-ይ-ቻዎን : ተ-ቅለ-መ-ት-ጥ-ኩ : ክ-ለ-ው :  
 ወ-ና-ው : ተ-ቅለ-መ-ት-ጥ-ኩ : ሰ-ራ-ት : የ-ለ-ት : እ-ን-ደ-ሆ-ን : አ-ባ-ኬ : የ-ም-እ-መ-ኩ :  
 ወ-ና-ቻዎን : እ-ስ-ረ-ድ : ሰ-ለ-ዎ-ን : በ-አ-ባ-ኬ : ሰ-ም : ይ-ና-ት : ይ-ለ-ል : እ-ለ : አ-ስ-ከ-ን-ድ-ር  
 ለ-ው : ተ-ጥ-ኩ : እ-ት-ና-ት-ጥ-ኩ : ተ-ቅ-መ : ሰ-ራ : ዘ-ጥ-ር-ሰ-ም : ተ-ጥ-ኩ : ክ-ለ-አ : እ-ለ :  
 አ-ስ-ከ-ን-ድ-ር-ሰ-ም : ተ-ቅ-መ : 15  
 እ-ር-የ-ሰ-ም : ገ-ዘ-ተ-ው : እ-ለ-ው-ት-ው : በ-ስ-ደ-ት-ት : ገ-ይ-ም : ዘ-ር-ድ : ሆ-ገ-ር : ወ-ር-ድ :  
 ወ-ና-ር : እ-ስ-ረ-ድ : ክ-ዘ-ም-ው : ሰ-ለ : ዘ-ር-ድ : ይ-ና-ት-ት : ይ-ው-ት-ት : የ-ገ-ር : ይ-ለ-ት-ት :  
 የ-ዘ-ገ-ብ-ት : የ-ገ-ር : እ-ቻ-ለ-ለ-ት-ት : የ-ለ-ቻ-ዎ-ን : የ-ገ-ር : እ-ሳ-ሰ-ት-ት : ክ-ዘ-ም : ተ-ለ :  
 እ-ን-ድ-ር-ው : ሰ-ጥ-ር : አ-ው-ሳ-ን-ያ-ሰ-ም : የ-ሚ-ለ-ት-ት : ይ-ቀ- : መ-ና-መ-ር : እ-ስ-ረ-ው : ይ-ለ  
 ወ-ል : ለ-ገ-ት-ው-ት : እ-ና-ር-ለ-ታ-ል : ገ-ይ-ም : እ-ን-ሰ-ቶ-ታ-ል : # የ-እ-ር-የ-ሰ-ም : ዘ-ር-ድ : 20  
 ለ-ማ-ኩ : ለ-ገ-ት-ው-ት : ገ-ዘ-ጥ-ኩ : ክ-ለ-ው-ት-ት :  
 እ-ን-ሰ-ቶ-ት : በ-ለ-ው : በ-ለ-ው : ገ-ይ-ም : እ-ን-ሰ-ቶ-ት : ሰ-መ-ና-ሁ-ን : ይ-ይ-ከ-ድ : ክ-ድ : A, 67r  
 በ-ለ-ው : ክ-ህ-ና-ት : በ-ቅ-ን-የ-ት-ት : እ-ለ-ው-ት-ው : ሰ-ደ-ት-ት : እ-ዋ-ቁ : ክ-ሁ-ን : እ-ስ-ረ-ድ :  
 ወ-ር-ድ : ሆ-ገ-ር : ወ-ር-ድ : በ-ቅ-ን-የ-ት-ት : ይ-ቅ-ታ-ል : እ-ለ-ኩ : ለ-ገ-ት-ው-ት-ት : ይ-ው-ት-ት :  
 ይ-ት-ት : የ-ገ-ር : እ-ስ-ረ-ድ-ት-ው-ት-ት : እ-ለ-ው-ት-ት : ይ-ቅ- : የ-ና-መ-ው-ት : እ-ን-ድ-ር : ም-ግ-ም : በ-ጥ-ኩ : 25  
 ክ-ር-ድ : ይ-ው-ድ-ለ-ታ-ል :  
 ክ-ዘ-ም : ተ-ለ : ጉ-ት-ው-ት : ሰ-ማ-ው-ኩ : ይ-ይ-ከ-ድ : ክ-ድ : እ-ለ-ት-ት : በ-ለ-ው-ት-ት :  
 አ-ዋ-ኩ : ወ-ና-ር : ክ-ው-ት-ት :  
 ወ-ና-ር : <sup>24</sup> እ-ን-ሰ-ቶ-ታ-ል : ወ-ና-ር : ክ-ዘ-ም : እ-ት-ና-ት-ጥ-ኩ : ተ-ቀ-በ-ለ-ሁ : እ-ማ-ው-ት :  
 በ-ለ-ው-ት-ት : እ-ለ-ው-ት-ት : 30  
 ክ-ዘ-ም : ተ-ለ : ክ-እ-ት-ና-ት-ጥ-ኩ : እ-ር-የ-ሰ-ም : ተ-ቀ-በ-ለ-ሁ : እ-ማ-ው-ት : ሰ-ል-አ-ብ-ት : እ-ለ-ው-ት-ት : እ-ል-ቀ-በ-ለ-ሁ : እ-ለ-ው-ት-ት :

APPARATUS: <sup>20</sup> Redundant, if the four names preceding it are objects of the verb **ዘዴኬ** : and marked by **የ**. | <sup>21</sup> [መ-ጋቢት] | <sup>22</sup> [መ-ጋቢት] | <sup>23</sup> [በ-አ] or [በ-ብ-ት] . | <sup>24</sup> **ሂጋ** : MA.

COMMENTARY: <sup>40</sup> Archbishop, c.311–327. | <sup>41</sup> *Sic*. In Rome (314–335). | <sup>42</sup> That is, ‘Rome of the Greeks’ or Constantinople. But if this Awsanyos is, indeed, Eusebius, his time was 341–342. | <sup>43</sup> *Sic*. Eustathius (325–330). | <sup>44</sup> That is, ‘defend the faith’. | <sup>45</sup> An assumption that this ‘Alexander (328–340) of Constantinople’ was another Alexander of the See of Alexandria. | <sup>46</sup> ‘of Nicomedia’.

the Evangelists wrote, they did not write, deciding on ‘two or three’, but on four. They wrote, deciding on Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. And the Apostles of Christ taught the world, dividing it among themselves into its four corners.

The 300 established (the seats) having observed these (as models). 5  
 They had four seats established. They made Alexander chairman of the council in Alexandria,<sup>40</sup> Silvester administrator of the clergy at Antioch,<sup>41</sup> Eusebius head governor in Rome,<sup>42</sup> and Anastasius<sup>43</sup> | administrator of the government in Syria. They established (the seats) this way, lest heretics rise against them; and they, indeed, did so<sup>44</sup> A, 66v 10 from wherever they were whenever (heretics) rose against them. After that, they lived forty years in peace and good health.

Then, however (long) one lives, one does not stay away from dying: King Constantine died, and his son, Constantine the Junior, became king. 15

If one asks, ‘Why did they call him by his father’s name?’, his father was a friend of the faithful. Therefore, they called him by his father’s name. Also, Alexander died, and Athanasius was invested. Silvester, too, died. Alexander II<sup>45</sup> was invested.

When they excommunicated, expelled, and banished Arius, he 20 went down to the country of Greece and resided there. While he was there, he suffered severe deprivation. Those who used to love him hated him, those who used to honour him despised him, and those who used to hold him highly belittled him. And then, as he lived in this (state), he had a disciple called Eusebius.<sup>46</sup> He was in the service 25 of the king, and time had raised him (to a high position). When he heard Arius’s deprivation, he went into (the palace) and told the king.

If one asks, ‘Saying what?’, he told the king, saying, ‘Behold, | A, 67r Your Majesty, although my father—my teacher—did not apostatize, the clergy—in jealousy—expelled and banished him, accusing him of 30 apostasy. He was a knowledgeable priest. He went down to the country of Greece and is dying from deprivation.’ He said, ‘They made those who used to love him hate him.’ Whatever he, whom time raised high, speaks is appreciated for him.

Then, the king heard and asked him, ‘Did they say he apostatized 35 when he did not apostatize?’

He replied, ‘Yes, he is alright.’

(The king) said to him, ‘Then, if he is alright, go and tell Athanasius, “Accept him and admit him.”’

Then, when (the king) sent to Athanasius, saying, ‘Accept him and 40 admit him’, he said, ‘I will not accept (him).’



He said to him by force, ‘Receive (him).’

(Athanasius) saw the situation, and feared. He fled with his wife,<sup>47</sup> abandoning (everything), saying to himself, ‘If I accept him, I will be smitten (by God) like Achillas, and, if I refuse, this new king will imprison and exile me.’

5

Then, when Athanasius departed, (the king) sent a missive again to Alexander II, saying, ‘Accept him and admit him.’ Alexander II said, ‘Our ancestors expelled him and banished him, saying, “You are not fit for the faith.” Would I admit him? That is impossible with me.’

He said to him by force, ‘But admit him.’

10

God | revealed to Alexander II (what he should do). He went to the king and met him, saying to himself, ‘If I refuse, he will impose (repressive) rules on the churches. In the past, too, it was because of such a trivial matter that Diocletian destroyed the faith for forty years. And now, too, if that case is repeated, what would stop the new king from 15 imposing military (rules) on the churches?’

A, 67v

Then, he arrived (at the palace) and said (to the king), ‘Now, regarding what you have said to me, “Admit him”, give me time.<sup>48</sup> Let him and I plead to God (that he may reveal the truth).’ The king liked it for him and gave him seven days.<sup>49</sup> When Alexander II went to his 20 country and pleaded to his God seven days, the error of Arius was revealed to him. Then, Alexander and the others sent to the king and Arius, saying, ‘Let (Arius) come having written down his faith, so we may admit him. We, too, will wait for him, having written down (our faith).’

25

Arius came and met them, having written what tallies with that of the 300, and having written down his own faith which says, ‘The Son is created.’ He carried the tome of his apostasy on his chest, like an amulet, hiding it by covering it with his garment. Then, when they saw | his (external) tome, it was at one with their faith. Then, they said to him, ‘Then, if your faith is at one with our faith, let us put each other under excommunication so that you may not deviate from this faith; let us swear by the Gospel and by the Cross.’ He put himself under excommunication and swore first, saying, ‘(I swear) that I will stay steadfast in this, and that I will not deviate from this faith’, 35 (while) touching the tome of his heresy that was on his chest. For he used to say, ‘*This is my faith.*’

A, 68r

Then, Alexander II responded and said, ‘Then, if our faith is one, since the belief and faith of a Christian child is (expressed in) Communion, let us take Communion.’ Arius, too, said, ‘Let us take Commu-

40

ቅል፡ ጽልም፡ ካል፡ እለ፡ እስከንድርድም፡ በተከሱም፡ ገዢ፡ እያለም፡ ተስ  
ልም፡ በደናኝረት፡ ገዢ፡ ችግር፡ መግጥም፡ ቁማልጻ፡ እጥልቆ፡ ለባልባው-ን፡  
ታጥቆ፡ ወተንጻለቆ፡ ምስለ፡ ከህናት፡ ይለል፡  
ከነም፡ ጽል፡ ቁም፡ ሰለ፡ በወንጻል፡ ፍጻ፡ ልጻ፡ መንፈሰ፡ ቁጥ-ሰ፡ ሰ.ሰ፡ ይ  
አብ፡ ቁጥ-ሰ፡ ሰ.ሰ፡ በአማን፡ እብ፡ ቁጥ-ሰ፡ እለ፡ ይ ወልድ፡ ቁጥ-ሰ፡ ሰ.ሰ፡ 5  
ገዢ፡ እለ፡ ይው-እቱ፡ መንፈሰ፡ ቁጥ-ሰ፡ ሰ.ሰ፡ በአማን፡ ወ-እቱ፡ መንፈሰ፡  
ቁጥ-ሰ፡ እለ፡ ይ የሚበ፡ በረቃቁ፡ ሰለጻ-ን፡ | ልቦ-ን፡ እናው-ወ-ና፡ ሰ.ሰ  
ማው፡ ካናር፡ ሚዳ፡ ወጻና፡ 008፡ መከለ፡ የሚለ፡ ለከናት፡ እላቸው፡ ይ  
ከነም፡ ጽል፡ ወጻና፡ ተቀመጫ፡ ይለል፡ የሚከው-ን፡ ጽዋና፡ ወ-ሥጫ፡  
ሁ-ሰ፡ ተተተተና፡ ወጻ፡ በ.መግም፡ እልተ-ቋም፡ እንዳ፡<sup>29</sup> እቶማድ፡ ተናና፡ 10  
ይለል፡  
ሻልም፡ በንጻ፡ ቁርጻቦን፡ በ.ሽ-ት፡ ተማ፡ ወደት፡ ይረሰ፡ እለ-ና፡ እርዳታ  
ው-ም፡ ቁርጻቦን፡ እርዳታው፡ ወ-ትው፡ በ.ሽ፡ እጥት-ት፡ ጽዋና፡ ወ-ሥጫ፡  
እንዳ፡ ወሆ፡ ፍሰ፡ እርዳታው-ም፡ የንና፡ እየና፡ ተዘዘ፡ በርሳ፡ ሂደማጥ-ት፡  
ሰለ፡ ይንና፡ ንጂ፡ የናን፡ ሂደማጥ-ት፡ እግዢ.እብከር፡ እልውደድው-ም፡ 15  
ይሁን፡ እለ-ና፡ ለማው-፡ ተናና፡<sup>30</sup>  
ካል፡ እለ፡ እስከንድርድ፡ ገዢ፡ እው-ቆ፡ ንጂ፡ ይፈል፡ እንጥ-ቱ፡  
ቁጥ-ም፡<sup>31</sup> ተቆጥሮሁ፡ ቁበሩ፡ እለ፡ እናጋብለን፡ በለው፡ ቁማል-ን፡ በ.የ  
ወሰ፡ የከህደቱ፡ መግ-አና፡ በደረሰ፡ እጥት-ት፡ እው-እ-ትው፡ በ.የናብ-ት፡  
ወልድ፡ ውጋ-ር፡ ሰ.ሰ፡ እለ፡ ይንና፡ ጽና፡ ሰ.ሰ፡ የናብረ፡ በው-ኑ፡ ከድ፡ 20  
ና-ፈል፡ እለ-ና፡ እንዳ-ይው፡ ተለው-ት፡ ይና፡ ይለል፡  
ሻልም፡ ሌንጻ-ሙ፡ እንጥ-ቱ፡ ወ-ቆ፡ ተንና፡ እርዳ-ም፡ ወተ፡ በለው፡ ጽ  
ና-ት፡ ጽን-ሙ-ም፡ በ.ሰማ፡ ሰንድ፡ እለበተተፈረድ፡ እግዢ.እብከር፡ ይከበር፡  
ይመስጻን፡ እለ-ና፡ እና-ግ፡ ይሰ፡ እለው፡ ይለል፡  
የናው፡ ከበተ፡ መቁደሰ፡ ሰለ፡ በገደለው፡ ይለ፡ እንዳሁን፡ ከህናት፡ በፈ  
ጥ-ት፡ እናው፡ ሂናው፡ ጽፈለ-ት፡ በላዋቸው፡ ንጂ፡ መከናይት፡ ጽና፡  
ሰ.የመ-አ-ይው፡ ለለው፡ በማይቻል፡ ወተ፡ ከበተ፡ እግዢ.እብከር፡ እው-  
ቆ-ቆ፡ ይፈለው፡ ይለል፡ የናይግበት፡ የተናይጻቸ፡ ለማስቀት፡ ይ-ጥርሰ፡ ጽጻ-ት፡ 25

APPARATUS: <sup>29</sup> [ՀՅՔ :.] <sup>30</sup> [ԴԳԵՓ : or ԴՔԳՓԵ :.] <sup>31</sup> ՄԵՋՄԵՔ : or ՈԵՒ : MA.

COMMENTARY: <sup>50</sup> Cf. Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 22 (§§ 26–27). | <sup>51</sup> LIt. ‘blamed’. But *tänäqqäfä*, ‘blamed’, seems to be a copying mistake for *tänaffäqä*, ‘doubted’, or *täddänaffäqä*, ‘stumbled’. | <sup>52</sup> Or ‘wrapping’ or ‘veiling’.

nion.' The day was a Sunday. Then, Alexander II entered into the priestly service. Arius, too, entered boldly, decorated by wrapping his white sash around his head, wearing his vestment, and girding his pantaloons. *'He was counted with the priests.'*

Then, as he was standing, when it is said at the Gospel (reading), 5  
'Send the grace of the Holy Spirit', and when it is said, 'One is the Holy Father', he said, 'Truly, the Father is Holy.' When it is said, 'One is the Holy Son', he kept silent,<sup>50</sup> and when it is said, 'One is the Holy Spirit', he said, 'Truly, the Holy Spirit is (Holy).' At this moment, (power) shook | his heart with a subtle dagger. And when he A, 68v  
felt it, he got to the field outside the fence. The clergy had what they call an enclosure for the latrine. So, he went out and sat (there to relieve himself). At that moment, his entire internal body came together and spewed out. Even though it spewed out, (his belly) did not collapse. He was inflated like a goatskin sack. 15

And later, when they looked for him at the time of Communion, he was missing. Wondering where he went, after they completed the Communion prayer and went out to look for him, they found him, with his internal body spilled out like water. They were disturbed when they saw that. They said, 'He was well when he was in his faith. 20 Could it be that God did not like our faith?' And their mind doubted.<sup>51</sup>

But Alexander II had known (what had happened). He said, 'Bury him after you wash his intestines.' When they removed his vestment meaning to wash (his intestines), they found the tome of his apostasy 25 at his chest. When they took (it) out and read it, it read, 'The Son is created.' They said to each other, 'Although he was saying, "I am alright", in reality, he had apostatized', and left him there as he was, and left.

Later, they told the king, saying, 'He was found with his intestines 30 discharged, and he died.' When the king heard, he said, 'Good that God | did not make us partners (with him). May he be glorified and A, 69r  
praised', and was exceedingly pleased.

If one asks, 'Why has (God) not killed him while he was in church?', one would have accused the clergy, saying, 'They killed him 35 in jealousy, suffocating and covering<sup>52</sup> him.' In order for (the priests) to eliminate any suspicion, he killed him, taking him out of the church, in an impossible way for people to kill. The excommunication of the 300 and the excommunication of Peter the Last of the Martyrs were found written on his stomach, saying, 'Arius, the excommunic- 40

APPARATUS: <sup>32</sup> ”**η** । | <sup>33</sup> [τομε]. | <sup>34</sup> **ηος** : and **ηοις** : are used interchangeably. One of them must be wrong. | <sup>35</sup> **ηεγηψει** : MA.

COMMENTARY: <sup>53</sup> The allusion is to the fact that the expression *wəguz kämä Aryos* is widely known and freely used. | <sup>54</sup> Possibly Gregory I (370–379) of Constantinople. | <sup>55</sup> Timothy I of Alexandria (380–384). | <sup>56</sup> Macedonius I (344–348 and 350–360), Patriarch of Constantinople. | <sup>57</sup> Cf. John 14:16; 15:26; 16:7.

ated.' Also the saying of today's priest 'Excommunicated like Arius'<sup>53</sup> happened since then.

After that, when they said to Athananius, 'Come back, Arius has died in such and such condition', he came back to his former office. Then, (Constantine) the Junior died and Constantine the Senior <sup>5</sup> reigned. Alexander II, too, died. Gregory of Nazianzus was invested.<sup>54</sup> Athanasius died, and Timothy<sup>55</sup> was invested.

After that, a heretic called Macedonius<sup>56</sup> arose against them. He used to insult the Holy Spirit. When the clergy heard him say, 'This weird Arius, he calls the Son of God a creature, | while the (source) <sup>A, 69v</sup> says for him, "The Holy Spirit is *an inferior work!*" Furthermore, while the Gospel of John says for him, "*In the beginning was the Word*", and while it says for him, "*All things came into being by him, and without him not one thing came into being*", and while there is *the inferior Holy Spirit* for him, Arius called the Son a creature!', they <sup>15</sup> assembled. When they assembled, they became 150. They honoured Timothy (with the chairmanship). They said to him, 'You question him. And if he questions you, you reply to him.'

Then, they met. When they met with Macedonius, Timothy said to him, 'Should you question me or should I question you?' <sup>20</sup>

If one asks, 'What led him to (say) this?', it was to abolish his point of excuse, it is to let him not say, 'I have marked my Scripture, thought out my arguments, but when he suddenly asked me, I lost it.' Therefore, he consulted with him.

(Macedonius) said, 'But it is you who has said about me, "Have <sup>25</sup> you apostatized or are you steadfast (in the faith?)?", so you question me.'

Then, he asked him, 'What Scripture did you find that you called the Holy Spirit *an inferior work?*'

Macedonius responded, saying, 'Did I call him (so), but the Scripture calls him (so).'<sup>30</sup>

He asked him, 'What Scripture says (so)?'

(He said), 'The Gospel of John says (so).'

He asked him, 'How?'

He said, '(It says,) "*I shall send you another hope.*"'<sup>57</sup>

| (Timothy) asked him, 'How did you interpret this?' <sup>35</sup>

He said to them, 'Our Lord Jesus Christ gave the Apostles a covenant. On the day of Resurrection, when he ascended into the heaven of heavens, blessing downward, and they watching upward, they said to him, "How do you ascend leaving us in ignorance?" And Jesus Christ <sup>40</sup> said to them, "*Stay here in the city of Jerusalem until you wear power*

სუ : ალ-ზ : ვლა : ა.ვ.რ.ბ : ხიცლებით : ბ.ა.წ.ვ : უც : უგა :  
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დ.ბ : თ.ი.ს : ა.წ.ვ.ი.ძ.მ : ა.ს. : ა.ხ.ლ.ჭ.მ : ბ.ლ.თ.ი.ს : წ.წ.ი.ძ. : ა.ლ.ს.ტ : ა.ი  
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ლ.ტ : ც.ვ.ი : მ.ი.ლ.მ : ი.ა.ბ.ბ : წ.წ.დ.ი.ძ : ბ.ლ : ვ.ლ.დ : დ.ტ.ც : ა.ლ.ვ.ლ.ს. :  
ა.ლ : <sup>41</sup>

ა.ც.ტ.წ.დ.მ : უ.ც.ს. : ლ.ს. : ს.ვ. : ა.ლ.ი.გ : ა.ლ.ს. : ა.ლ.ზ. :  
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ბ.ზ. : ფ.დ.ტ. : ა.წ.ც.ტ. : ი.ი.დ.ც. : ი.წ.წ.ა.ვ. : ა.რ.დ. : ა.ბ.ი. : მ.უ.დ.ბ. : ფ.დ.  
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ვ.ლ.ა : <sup>42</sup>

ა.ც.ტ.წ.დ.მ : წ.წ.ი.ს. : ა.ხ.ც.ტ.ძ. : მ.გ.ტ.ჩ.ც. : ბ.ო.ტ. : ვ.ლ.ა :  
გ.ვ.მ.დ.მ : \* ყ.ც.ტ.ი. : ფ.წ.ს.ა. : <sup>36</sup> თ.ტ.ი.ვ. : ა.ბ. : გ.ლ.ა. : [გ.ი.ს. :] მ.უ.დ.ბ. : 20  
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ი.ს.ს.ჭ.დ. : ღ.ტ.ლ.ხ. : ა.ვ.ჭ. : ს.ვ. : ა.შ.ა.ს.ი.ს.ც. : ი.ღ.ღ.ვ. : ღ.ტ.  
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მ.ი.ლ.მ. : ა.ვ.ჭ. : ა.ვ.ი.ძ. : ს.ღ.ღ.ღ. : გ.ტ. : უ.ჭ. : ბ.ა. : ქ.ქ. შ. : ა.ვ.ი.ძ. :  
ა.ბ.დ.ჭ. : <sup>38</sup> მ.ი.ლ.მ. : ა.ვ.ჭ.დ. : ს.ტ.ზ. : უ.ჭ. : ს.მ.ს. : ა.შ.ტ. / გ.ვ.მ. : ა.ბ.  
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APPARATUS: <sup>36</sup> **የማርቆስ :** **ወንበል :** MA. As it is, **ወንበል :** would be in apposition to **ማርቆስ :** <sup>37</sup> **የማርቆስ :** ‘Mark, the Gospel’. | <sup>37</sup> **[ኩና :** **ኩና :** is the influence of Am **ኩና :** | <sup>38</sup> **[እረዳዋ :** | <sup>39</sup> **[እንደ :** **እኩና :** | <sup>40</sup> **[እረዳዋ :**

*from heaven. In ten days, I shall send you the Holy Spirit.*<sup>58</sup> The Holy Spirit is a messenger. Is not a messenger usually inferior and the sender superior? I call him inferior because he had been sent.’ He said, ‘Furthermore, a dove is a small creature. I call him created because he came down to (the River) Jordan looking like a dove, although he did not lack other creatures.’<sup>5</sup>

They asked him, ‘Is this your only point or do you have any others?’

He said to them, ‘I do not have others.’

‘Then, if you say so, the Son, too, is inferior to your disadvantage.’<sup>10</sup>

He said to them, ‘How is he inferior?’

(They said to him,) ‘God, his Father, sent him saying, “Descend, be born, die, be crucified. The world will be saved by your death.”<sup>59</sup> | A, 70v And God, the Son, came, saying, “*My Father sent me.*”<sup>60</sup>

Then, since Macedonius had chastised Arius earlier (for the same error), he could not deny the Son together (with the Holy Spirit). In desperation, he thought and said, ‘Now, refer me to a Scripture which equates the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son.’<sup>15</sup>

They referred him to the Scriptures they then had referred to Arius. Furthermore, quoting from the Gospel of Mark, they asked him, ‘Has he not said to you, “*Whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit, his sin will never be forgiven neither in this world nor in the coming world?*”<sup>61</sup> Let alone he who belittles the Holy Spirit, has he not said, “Whoever belittles (even) a priest, his sin shall never be forgiven in this as well as in the coming world?” Also, you (ridicule) saying, “He came down at (the River) Jordan in the likeness of a dove.” Although a dove is, indeed, a small creature, but do you not know that the announcement of good news belonged to it? At the ancient people, at the time of Noah, has it not brought (to Noah) cutting *qetāma* grass<sup>62</sup> to say, “*The flood has subsided?*”<sup>63</sup> It is the Holy Spirit, in the likeness of a dove, who brought the good news | regarding the sin of Adam—that had been verdant—saying, “It has dried.” Furthermore, God is one *who appears in whatever (image) he likes.* He appears in whatever object he likes. At a time (he appears) looking like a leopard, to say, “I am fast”; at a time looking like a lion, to say, “I am strong like a lion against my enemy”; and at a time looking like an old man, to say, “I am of ancient time like an old man, (but) my

COMMENTARY: <sup>58</sup> Cf. Acts 1:4–8. | <sup>59</sup> Cf. John 3:16–17. | <sup>60</sup> Cf. John 6:57; 8:18. | <sup>61</sup> Mark 3:29. | <sup>62</sup> *Sic.* | <sup>63</sup> Gen. 8:8 and 11.

APPARATUS: <sup>41</sup> [ηαρ· : ελωτηλ ι or ηφε· : ελωτηλ ι.

COMMENTARY: <sup>64</sup> Or ‘limited’. | <sup>65</sup> Or ‘his names change’. The text is copied wrongly. Actually, Sabellius flourished before Arius and Macedonius. | <sup>66</sup> *Mänafəqan* (pl. of *män-*

time is not countable.”<sup>64</sup> He appeared in the likeness of a dove, to say, “The Holy Spirit is good news.”<sup>65</sup>

They referred him to the Scriptures that explain all this. But when they asked him to repent, he refused. Heretics would prefer to be stoned than to repent.

As (things) were so, another heretic called Sabellius said, ‘(God) is one person with three names. As time changes, the name changes.’<sup>65</sup>

They asked him, ‘How does it change?’

He said, ‘In the time of the prophets, he was called Father; in the time of incarnation, he was called Son; and in the time of the Apostles, he was called Holy Spirit.’<sup>10</sup>

Then, there arose heretics<sup>66</sup> called *hara təqa*<sup>67</sup> (the Doctors of the Church) who came together in unity, and expelled and | banished all who maintained that there are four gods. Since (Macedonius) has called the Holy Spirit, ‘*An inferior work*’, to show his divinity (the Holy Spirit) took him through the journey of a hurricane for half a day and smashed him on the ground.

Their (next) former council in Constantinople took place fifty-eight years from the Council of Nicaea.

Then, connecting to, and in solidarity with, the 300, these (Fathers of the Church) said,

‘*And we believe in the Holy Spirit.*’ They said, ‘We believe, to confess that the Holy Spirit is also at one with the Father and the Son.’

‘Spirit’ means ‘subtle’.<sup>68</sup>

‘Holy’ means ‘with body’.<sup>69</sup>

‘Life giving Lord.

‘Lord’ means ‘Lord’.<sup>70</sup>

‘Life giving’ means that we believe and worship him, confessing, ‘While he is life for himself, he is also life for the Father, and he is life for the Son.’<sup>30</sup>

‘Who proceeded from the Father. Who proceeded from the Father.

‘Proceeded’ means ‘came out’.

If one asks, ‘How is the manner of his coming out’, as breath comes out of the chest,<sup>71</sup> in the same manner, the Holy Spirit came out from the Father, and the Son was begotten. However, human voice or breath | is scattered; it has no body. But that of the Holy Trinity is not like people. The Father has perfect body, perfect hypo-

*afəq*), ‘heretics’. | <sup>67</sup> *Hara təqa*, ‘heretics’. | <sup>68</sup> That is, ‘Spirit is subtle’. | <sup>69</sup> That is, ‘Holy refers to the body of the Holy Spirit’. | <sup>70</sup> Or ‘master’. The first is Gz and the second is its Am equivalent. | <sup>71</sup> Lit. ‘heart’.

፩፩.ም፡ መልከዕ፡ አለዎ፡ ለወልድ፡ ፩፩.ም፡ አከል፡ ፩፩.ም፡ ገጽ፡ ፩፩.ም፡  
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 ቅዱ፡ ነው፡ ወልድም፡ ለራ-ስ፡ ቅዱ፡ ሰ.ምን፡ ለአብና፡ ለመንፈሰ፡ 5  
 ቅድስ፡ ቅድዱው፡ ነው፡ መንፈሰ፡ ቅድስ[ም]፡ ለራ-ስ፡ ለወልድ፡ ሰ.ምን፡  
 ለአብና፡ \*መንፈሰ፡ ቅድስ፡<sup>42</sup> ለወልድ፡ ነው፡ ለሰት፡ ሰ.ምን፡  
 ተንድ፡ ይሆናለ፡ ተንድ፡ ሰ.ምን፡ ለሰት፡ ይሆናለ፡  
 [ሰት፡ ሰ.ምን፡] ተንድ፡ መሆን፡ በምን፡ ይቻላል፡ ያለ፡ እንዳሆን፡ በሙን  
 ሰ.ስ፡ ቅድስ፡ ወብድ፡ ነው፡ ለደተ፡ ወልድ፡ \*መቆከ፡ እመንፈሰ፡<sup>43</sup> ቅድስ፡ 10  
 እምአብ፡ ይተኑከር፡ ወከይተኑገር፡ እንዳለ፡ ቅድስ፡ ይኖቻወስ፡<sup>44</sup> በሆን፡  
 ለተና፡<sup>45</sup> ይጋዋ፡ በባል፡ እንዲ፡ ይኖገኘት፡ ወንድ፡ እየቻልም፡ ይሳለ፡  
 የሰባድ፡ ለው፡ ወንሰበ፡ ወሰለ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ አል፡ ከአብና፡ ከወ  
 ልድ፡ ተንድ፡ በለን፡ ሰንድ፡ እናምናለን፡ ለመንፈሰ፡ ቅድስ፡ አል፡  
 ይሳለ፡  
 በኋበ፡ በበ.የት፡ አል፡ እበ.የተነስ፡ ይናግራ-ቻው፡ የኋበ፡ መንፈሰ፡ 15  
 ቅድስ፡ እንዲ፡ ነው፡ እከላይቻ-ን፡ ለተበ፡ ለባይቻ-ን፡ መቅድስ፡ እና-ርት፡  
 ተንበ.ት፡ ይናግራ-ቻው፡ የኋበ፡ እርብ፡ እንዲ፡ ነው፡ ዓህ፡ ይንግል፡ ተወ  
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 ይመና፡ ቅል.ል፡ ተወረጥ፡ ወ-ሰት፡ ወንድ፡ የጊበ፡ ሰ.አ፡ አገባቻኬልም፡ 20  
 ሰ.አ.፡ የጊበ፡ በምሥራቅ፡ ሰ.አ፡ ማረከብኩም፡<sup>46</sup> ወከንተና፡ በተ፡  
 ለአለም፡ ወንድ፡ እና-ሸ፡ ሰ.አ፡ ይህን፡ ሆ.አ፡ ይናግራ-ቻው፡ የኋበ፡  
 መንፈሰ፡ ቅድስ፡ ነው፡ ይሳለ፡  
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 የናርባቻው፡ መንፈሰ፡ ቅድስ፡ ነው፡ ይሳለ፡  
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 ዓለም፡ ቅድስ፡ ወመ-ለ-ሰና፡ በርድባለ፡ ሰ.የሰተ-ምህራ፡ እየና፡ ከርከተ.የን፡  
 እንበረቻው፡ አል፡ ቅድስ፡ ዓለ፡ ከርከተ.የን፡ ተባለ፡ ከርከተ.የን፡ ማለት፡  
 ከርከተ-ሰው፡ ማለት፡ ነው፡ ይሳለ፡  
 ከነበሆም፡ መናፍቻ፡ ተከተተዋለ፡ ይሳለ፡

A, 73r

APPARATUS: <sup>42</sup> [ለወልድ፡ .] | <sup>43</sup> [መቆከ፡ መ”] | <sup>44</sup> [የ.የናይበኩ፡, HA, 35 (§ 12).] | <sup>45</sup> [እ-ቴና፡ .] |  
<sup>46</sup> [ማረከብኩም፡ .]

stasis, and perfect image. The Son has perfect body, perfect hypostasis, and perfect image. The Holy Spirit has perfect body, perfect hypostasis, and perfect image.

And the Father, while he is nature for himself, he is (as much) the nature of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The Son, too, while he is word for himself, he is (as much) the word of the Father and of the Holy Spirit. And the Holy Spirit, while he is life for himself, he is (as much) the life of the Father and of the Son. They are one while they are three, and they are three while they are one.

If one asks, ‘How is it possible to be one [while three]?’ this happens by the work of the Holy Spirit. As Saint Dionysius<sup>72</sup> of the city of Athena has said, ‘*The birth of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father are admired but not be told*’,<sup>73</sup> (the process) is only admired but impossible to be explained.

\**Let us worship him and glorify him*<sup>74</sup> *with the Father and the Son.* <sup>15</sup> We believe in the Holy Spirit confessing that he is one with the Father and the Son.

*He who has spoken through the prophets.* And the one who had the prophets | speak was, indeed, the Holy Spirit. It was he who had them prophesize, making their body (his) vestment and their minds (his) temple. When Isaiah said, ‘*Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son*’;<sup>75</sup> when he said, ‘*Behold, he will go down to the land of Egypt riding a light cloud*’;<sup>76</sup> when Ezekiel said, ‘*I saw a gate in the east*’;<sup>77</sup> and when Malachi<sup>78</sup> said, ‘*But you, o Bethlehem, of the land of Ephrathah*’,<sup>79</sup> the one who was making them speak all this was the Holy Spirit.

*We believe in one holy Church.* Those called ‘church’ are the faithful. It is the Holy Spirit who made them one, dwelling in them by the grace of baptism.

If one asks, ‘At what time were they called Christians?’, the faithful were called ‘disciples’ when they were taught by Our Lord Jesus Christ, at the era of teaching. And later, when Saint Paul and Barabbas were teaching, they thought and said, ‘Let us call them “Christians”.’ Since then, they are called ‘Christians’. Christian(s)<sup>80</sup> means ‘Christians’.<sup>81</sup>

Heretics had risen | from these, too.

A, 72v  
20

35

A, 73r

COMMENTARY: <sup>72</sup> Dänatewos MS. | <sup>73</sup> HA, 35 (§ 12). | <sup>74</sup> For ‘We worship him and glorify him’. | <sup>75</sup> Isa. 7:14; Matt. 1:23. | <sup>76</sup> Isa. 19:1. | <sup>77</sup> An allusion to Ezek. 44:1–2; cf. the stanza before last of Wednesday’s *Wəddase Maryam*. | <sup>78</sup> Sic for Micah. | <sup>79</sup> Mic. 5:2. | <sup>80</sup> *Krəsriyan*. | <sup>81</sup> *Krəstosawyan*, ‘followers of Christ’ or ‘of Christ’.

ምን : የሚለ : ያለ : እንደሆነ : የወው : በበት : ከርስተያን : እናምናለን :  
 በለ : ገብ : ተከራከራ : ታቂ : ተደገና : በለን : እናምናለን : እንሰጣለን :  
 እለ : እና : ግን : ተከራከራ : ተደገና : በለን : እናምናለን : ደመ : እና  
 ሰለ : ከርስተያን : የተቀናበት : ሥር : መለከት : የተፈተተበት : ስንድ : እናምና  
 ለን : እለ : ይለል : 5  
 ለማድኅን : ለታቦት : እናምናለን : እለ :  
 ለለምና : ያለ : እንደሆነ : ደመ : መለከት : የቀደሰው : የከበረው : የኋገ<sup>10</sup>  
 ለው : በለን : ስንድ : እንሰጣይታለን : እለ : ይለል :  
 እንተ : ሰለ : ከለ : ገብኬ : በአዋሪያት : እለ : ከይና ገብኬ : የአዋሪያት :  
 ይልቂል : በለን : እናምናለን : እለ : 15  
 ከለምና : ገብኬ : ያለ : እንደሆነ : ከቀሰተዋጊያ : ከኋገ :  
 ከከራልን : ይለል :  
 ለለምና : ይልቂል : ያለ : እንደሆነ : ተንተ : መዋሪት : መገመር : ለለ  
 ሆነ : ይልቂል :  
 ገብኬ : ማለት : መከማቂ : ማለት : ነው : መከማቂ-ተሰ : ለተ-ለትም : ለለቂ  
 ለም : ለጠበቃም : ለጠርም : ይከማቂል : የከናድት : ግን : መከማቂ-ት : ለተ-  
 ዓይ : ፈይማማጥ : ነው :  
 ወነአምና : በአሐቴ : የምቀት : ለሰርተ : ይጠአት : | እለ : በአንድ : የም A, 73v  
 ቁት : እናምናለን : እለ :  
 ለለምና : በአንድ : የምቀት : እለ : ያለ : እንደሆነ : ከጠዘና : የምቀት : 20  
 ለለይ : ነው : የአይሁዳ : በዘመ : የምቀት : ንብረቶው-ና : ይለል :  
 የምና : የምና : ያለ : እንደሆነ : ከጠበያ : የዋቅት-ን : የሚበለት-ን : የሚለበለ-  
 ተን : የሚጠበት-ን : ሁለ : ይጠምቀት : ንብረ : ይለል : ደማምም : ደው-ና :  
 የሚጠመቁበት : የምቀት : ንብረቶው : ይለል : ከኔህ : የምቀት : ለለይ : 25  
 በአንድ : የምቀት : እናምናለን : እለ : ይለል :  
 ደማምም : በግይማማጥ : ሆለ-ለ : ቁጥ-ለ : የማይጠረመር : ቁስ : ይአብ :  
 ቁጥ-ለ : ይወልድ : ቁጥ-ለ : ይወ-እና : መንፈለ : ቁጥ-ለ : በለ : መሁን : በበረ  
 ከው : ገብኬ : ከአጠቃና : እየሰ-ለ : ከርስተያን : ከገ-ድና : የውጭ : መሁ : ይሆ  
 ዓል : በገ-ም : በንጠመቁ : ከቀስ : የቀረው-ን : ሁለ : ይጠአት-ቁን : የሰተሰ  
 ይልቂል : ስንድ : እናምናለን : እለ : ይለል : 30  
 የምቀት ይተናማኬ : መርገና : ነው : ል-በለ : የለው : መማበቱ : የግለጻ[ን] :  
 ማይታ : ወልሁ : ማለት : ነው : ገብኬ : ማለከለ : ባኩር : መቆመ : ወልድ :  
 እግዢለአበበር : በመለወልተ : መስቀል : እንድ : ወመ- : <sup>48</sup> እናም : እንዲያው :

APPARATUS: <sup>47</sup> [የፋ ፪] | <sup>48</sup> [ቆመ ፪]

COMMENTARY: <sup>82</sup> How and why this is inserted is not clear. | <sup>83</sup> Marcos Daoud and Marzie Hazen 1954, 22 (§ 26).

If one asks, ‘Who says what?’, when (the heretics were) asked, ‘What is “We believe in the Church”?’, they said, ‘We believe and worship, saying, “The (roof) above is thatched and (the walls) below are supported.”’ But for us, it is not saying, ‘It is thatched, it is supported’, (that we believe) but we believe, saying, ‘It is here where the <sup>5</sup> blood of Jesus Christ is drawn and the flesh of divinity is fractioned.’

Regarding prostration, we prostrate ourselves before the *tabot of God*.<sup>82</sup>

If one asks, ‘Why?’ we prostrate ourselves before it, it is because divine blood has sanctified it, venerated it, and celebrated it. <sup>10</sup>

*Which is catholic, council of the Apostles.* We believe, saying, ‘(The council) of the Apostles is superior to the *council* of the 300.’

If one asks, ‘It is superior to whose and whose councils?’, to Constantinople, to Nicaea, and to Ephesus.

If one asks, ‘Why is it superior?’, because it is the origin, the foundation, and the beginning. <sup>15</sup>

*Council* means ‘assembling place’. As for assembling, one would assemble for a plot, for mourning, for market, and for waging war. But the reason for the clergy to assemble is for a council on faith.

*We believe in one baptism for the forgiveness of sins.* | It said, ‘We <sup>A, 73v</sup> believe in one baptism.’

If one asks, ‘Why did they say, “In one baptism”?’, it is to set (it) apart from many (kinds of) baptism, for the Jews had many (kinds of) baptism.

If one asks, ‘What and what?’, they used to immerse everything <sup>25</sup> they were buying from the market, what they were eating, what they were wearing, and what they were drinking. They also had baptism with which the sick was baptized. To set (it) apart from these baptisms, they said, ‘We believe in one baptism.’

Also when a priest, whose (firm) faith in the Holy Trinity is not <sup>30</sup> suspect, blesses the water and says, ‘One is the Holy Father, one is the Holy Son, and one is the Holy Spirit’,<sup>83</sup> it becomes the water that came from the side of Our Lord Jesus Christ. They said, ‘We believe, saying, “If we are immersed in it, it will absolve all of our sins that remained (from the absolution) by the priest.”’ <sup>35</sup>

Baptism is the fringe of resurrection. Entering (into the water) getting rid of clothes is saying, ‘I have gotten rid of the worldly troubling affairs.’ Entering and standing in the middle of the water (is to say), ‘As the Son of God stood on the Cross, I, too, stand in the same manner to face the temptation of the Cross.’ | And the three-time immer- <sup>A, 74r</sup>

APPARATUS: <sup>49</sup> **ወጪች** ተ የጊዜ ተ ስርች are impersonal gerunds. | <sup>50</sup> [Φርማን :

sion is as he stayed three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

If one asks, ‘What is the meaning of his coming out (of the water) and wearing clothes?’, it is to say, ‘If I am found steadfast in the belief in the Holy Trinity and doing good deeds, I will, in this manner, wear <sup>5</sup> the hope in the kingdom of heaven.’

*We hope for the resurrection of the dead.* We believe, saying, ‘He will raise us, renewing and reconstructing us after we disintegrated and are rotten.’

*And the life to come.* And the life to come is *forever*. We believe in <sup>10</sup> him, saying, ‘He will give us the kingdom of heaven, a glory that is neither limited nor measured, and about which would not be said, “It is this much or it looks like this.”’

*For ever and ever.* In fact, the glory he will give us is forever and ever, in which there is neither passing away nor disappearance, about <sup>15</sup> which cannot be said, ‘It is from here to here’, and in which there is neither limitation nor measurement.

*Amen, truly (and) honestly.*

Earlier, the 300 had said, ‘*And his kingdom will have no end*’ and stopped. And later, the 150 Doctors of the Church declared and said up to ‘*And we believe in the Holy Spirit*’ | and stopped. Since the 300 had not barred under the threat of excommunication that one should not subtract from the *Prayer of Faith*, thinking it is too much, or add to it thinking that it is too little, aware that the 150 Doctors of the Church would add to it later. So, the 150 had said under the threat of <sup>20</sup> excommunication, ‘*Let it (end) like this.*’ <sup>25</sup> A, 74v

Furthermore, they said, under the threat of excommunication, ‘*Let every Christian child, small or big, who is in the faith of the Holy Trinity, ask (God) for his promise so he may be strong to submit his body members to a sharp (sword) and his body (itself) to stoning*’, <sup>30</sup> and stopped. They declared a perfect faith in a concise composition. They said, ‘*If it were more than this, it would have been boring to people. And if it were less than this, it would have remained wanting, despite their (effort). There is everything in this—Mystery of Incarnation, Mystery of Incarnation (sic),<sup>84</sup> Mystery of Baptism, Mystery of Resurrection, and Mystery of Trinity<sup>85</sup>—all these are in here*’, and stopped. <sup>35</sup>

COMMENTARY: <sup>84</sup> *Sic* probably for ‘Eucharist’, *qʷərbən*. Actually, *taṣbət* (here translated ‘Incarnation’, like the preceding *ṣagawē*) usually refers to the day of the Annunciation. |

<sup>85</sup> The dogma of the Ethiopian Church is encapsulated in a catechesis, titled *Amməstū aṣəmadā məstir*, ‘The five pillars of mystery’.

*A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet*  
(A, fols 80r–110v; B, fols 3r–45v; C, fols 85r–134r)<sup>1</sup>

ԱՌՄ : ՀՌ : ՄՓՃՃ : ՄՄՅՃՃ : ՔՔՌ : Ք ՀԹՂԻ : ՅՄԴՌ : ՈՀՅՌ  
 ԽՒ : ՀՊԱՀՈՒԵԾ : ՄՋԺԺ : ԴՃՅ : ՈԳԼՄ : ԳԼԳՄ :  
 ՀՄՑ : ՈՀՄ : ՀՌ : ՄՓՃՃ : ՄՄՅՃՃ : ՔՔՌ :<sup>1</sup> ՄՂԴՌ : ՈՀՅՌ : 5  
 ՌՂԴՌ : ՈԽՂԻ : ՌՂԴՌ : \*ՈՂՑ : ՌՂԴՌ : ՈՄՃԻ : ՌՂԴՌ :<sup>2</sup> ՆՎ :<sup>3</sup>  
 ՈՄ : ՄՂԴՌ : ԹԿՆՎ :<sup>4</sup> ՀՌ : ՄՓՃՃ : ՄՄՅՃՃ : ՔՔՌ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>5</sup>  
 ՀԻՃ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՔՄԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>6</sup>  
 ՂՑ : ՄՂԴՌ : ԱԴ : ՆՎ :<sup>7</sup>  
 ՄՈՃԻ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՈՄԱ :<sup>7</sup> ՈԱԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>8</sup> 10  
 | Ս : ՈՎՃ : ՍԱՄՔ : ՈԽՌ : ՀԹՂԻ : ՀԹԳԵՄ : ԳԼԳՄ :<sup>9</sup> ՔՆՈՀ :  
 ՀԹՂԻ : ՄՂԴՌ :<sup>10</sup> ՆՎ :<sup>11</sup> B, 5v,  
 Ղ :<sup>12</sup> ՈՎՃ : ԿՃ : \*ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ : ԳԼԳՄ : ՀՂՃԵ : ԲՄՂԸ : ՀԹՂԻ :  
 ՂՂՄ : ԱՊՃ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>13</sup> ԿԵԳՄ : ՈՄՅՄՐՄԴՄ :<sup>14</sup> ՌՂՃՌ : ՈՒՄ  
 ՂՄ : ՄՂՃՌ : ՔՔԳԵՈՄ :<sup>15</sup> ԱԼԳՃՄ :<sup>16</sup> ԺՂՃՌ : ՄՂԴՌ :<sup>17</sup> ՆՎ :  
 Ս : ՈՎՃ :<sup>18</sup> ԺՂՃ :<sup>19</sup> ՆՎ : Ճ : ՈՎՃ : ՍԱԴՌ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ : Ճ :  
 ՈՎՃ : ՌՂԴՌ : ՆՎ : Մ : ՈՎՃ : ՀՃՌ : \*ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>20</sup> Ա : C, 87v  
 ՄՂԴՌ :<sup>21</sup> ԵՔՈՒԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>22</sup> Հ : Ո :<sup>23</sup> ՈՔՈՒԴՌ :<sup>24</sup> \*ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>25</sup> Ո : Ո :  
 ՈՂՈՒԴՌ :<sup>26</sup> ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ :  
 Ս : Ո : ՀԹՂԻՄՀ : Ս : Ո : ՀԹՈՒԲ : Ա : Ո : ՀԹՄԱԾ-Ծ : Կ : Ո : 20  
 ՀԹՀՈՒԾ : Կ : Ո : ՀԹԺՄԾ-Ծ : Ս : Ո : ՀԹՈՒԲ-Ծ : Մ : Ո : ՀԹՀՈՒԾ :  
 ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ : Ղ :  
 \*Ք ՀԿՒՃ : ՀՄՂԸ :<sup>27</sup> Ո : ԺՂՃՈՃ :<sup>28</sup> ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>29</sup> ՈՒՃ : Ո : A, 80v  
 Ս-ԾՌ :<sup>30</sup> \*ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>31</sup> ՄԱ-Ծ : Ո : ՌՂԴՌ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՀՈՒՃ : Ո :  
 \*ՀՃՌ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ :<sup>33</sup> ԺՄ-Ծ : Ո : Ք :<sup>34</sup> ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ : \*ԳԸՈ : Ո : 25  
 ՈՔՈՒԴՌ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ : ՔԳՄ : Ո : ՈՂԴՌ :<sup>35</sup> ՄՂԴՌ : ՆՎ : ԱԴ-Ճ : ՀԹՂԻ  
 ՄՂՀ : ՄՂԴՌ :<sup>36</sup> ՈՂԵԿ : ՆՎ :  
 10 Ա, 80v  
 11 B, 5v,  
 12 87r,  
 13 middle  
 14 of col. 1  
 15 C, 87v  
 16 11  
 17 12  
 18 13  
 19 14  
 20 15  
 21 16  
 22 17  
 23 18  
 24 19  
 25 20  
 26 21  
 27 22  
 28 23  
 29 24  
 30 25  
 31 26  
 32 27  
 33 28  
 34 29  
 35 30  
 36 31

APPARATUS: <sup>1</sup> With fols 91–99 omitted from the series. | <sup>1</sup> Omits A. | <sup>2</sup> Omit A.B. |  
<sup>3</sup> Omits C. | <sup>4</sup> Omit A.B. | <sup>5</sup> Omit A.B. | <sup>6</sup> Omit A.B. | <sup>7</sup> Omits C. | <sup>8</sup> ՄՈՃԻ-ՂՎ : ՈԱՃԿ :  
 ՂՎ : ՀԸԸ : Ո.ՔՄ-ՔՄ : ՀՂՃ : ՄՂՅՄ : ՀՔՄ-ՔՄ : (ՀՔՄ-[Ք]Մ : ՀՂՃ) (B, fol.  
 3v) ՀԻ : ՄՂԴՌ : ՈԽԹՂԻՒԵՒ : ՀՂՃ : ՆՎ : ՈԽՊԱՀՈՒԵԾԵՒ : ՀՂՃ : ՆՎ : ՈՄՃԻՒ(C, fol.  
 85v) ՀԻ : ՀՂՃ : ՆՎ : add B.C. ‘Regarding his image, no one knows it, but he (alone).  
 One God means he is one in his godhead, he is one in his being Egzi<sup>o</sup>abher, and he is one  
 in his divinity’. | <sup>9</sup> ԹԿՆՎ : ԳԱ- : ՇԱ : (sic) ԳԱԳՄ : ԳԵԳԵՄ : add B.C. ‘If one asks, “What  
 does (this G<sup>o</sup>e<sup>z</sup> expression) mean?”, it means before the world was created’. | <sup>10</sup> Omits  
 C. | <sup>11</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>12</sup> Ս : C. | <sup>13</sup> Ա-Ք : ԿՃ : Ա-Ք : ՄՂԴՌ : ԳԼԳՄ : ԲՐՈՅԸ : ՀԹՂԻ :  
 ՀԿՒՃ : ՀՄՂԸ : Ա-Ք : ՄՂԴՌ : add B.C. | <sup>14</sup> ՈԽԹՂԻՒԵՒ/ ՈՒ : B/C add. | <sup>15</sup> ՔՔԳԵՈՄ :  
 ՀԹՂԻ : C. | <sup>16</sup> ԱԳ : C. | <sup>17</sup> Omits C. | <sup>18</sup> Ո : (= ՈՎՃ : ) C. | <sup>19</sup> ՄՂԴՌ : add B.C. | <sup>20</sup> Omits  
 C. | <sup>21</sup> Ո : C. | <sup>22</sup> Omits C. | <sup>23</sup> [ՈՎՃ : ] | <sup>24</sup> Ք : C. | <sup>25</sup> Omits C. | <sup>26</sup> Ք : C. | <sup>27</sup> ՊԾԻ :  
 ԱՄ-Ճ : Ք : ՀԹՂԻՄՀ : C. | <sup>28</sup> ՀՂՃ : C. | <sup>29</sup> ԿԸՊ : adds C. | <sup>30</sup> ՈՎՃ : C. | <sup>31</sup> Omits C, and

*A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet*  
(A, fols 80r–110v; B, fols 3r–45v; C, fol 85r–134r)

*In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, One God. We start with the help of God (writing) A Book of Interpretation of the Letters of the Alphabet, forever and ever. Amen.*

5

*In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit | means (God) is three in name, three in person, three in hypostasis, and three in image.*

B, 3v

What does ‘name’ mean?<sup>1</sup>

It means<sup>2</sup> ‘Father, Son, and Holy Spirit’.

10

‘Person’<sup>3</sup> means ‘stature’.

‘Hypostasis’<sup>4</sup> means ‘face’.

‘Image’<sup>5</sup> means the entire member of the body.

| ‘Ha’ (ሀ) means the existence of the Father is before the world was created. It means he is God who has been (before the world was created).

C, 87r, middle of col. 1

‘Ha’ (ሀ) means<sup>6</sup> ‘halle’. It means he is God, King, and Creator who will live, having the world passed.<sup>7</sup> It means you are ever new in whose kingship there is no deposition today and in whose time there is no aging (in the future).

20

‘Ha’ (ሀ) means ‘one’. ‘Lä’ (ለ) means ‘two’. ‘Ha’ (ሐ) means ‘three’. ‘Mä’ (መ) means () ‘four’. ‘Sä’ (ሱ) means ‘five’. ‘Rä’ (ሩ) means ‘six’. ‘Sä’ (ሱ) means ‘seven’.

C, 87v

‘Ha’ (ሀ) means ‘on the first’. ‘Hu’ (ሁ) means ‘on the second’. ‘Hi’ (ሃ) means ‘on the third’. ‘Ha’ (ሐ) means ‘on the fourth’. ‘He’ (ሃ) means ‘on the fifth’. ‘H(ዕ)’ (ሁ) means ‘on the sixth’. ‘Ho’ (ሃ) means ‘on the seventh’.

25

‘Ahadu’ (አ), ‘əbhud’ (= Sunday), and ‘amir’ | means ‘one’. ‘Sänuy’ (= Monday) means ‘two’.<sup>8</sup> ‘Śälus’ (= Tuesday) means ‘three’. ‘Räbu’ (= Wednesday) means ‘four’. ‘Hamus’ (= Thursday) means ‘five’ (እ). 30

COMMENTARY: <sup>1</sup> i.e. ‘What are the names?’ | <sup>2</sup> i.e. ‘name refers to’. | <sup>3</sup> *Akal*. | <sup>4</sup> Gz *gäss*, ‘face’. | <sup>5</sup> *Mälke*. | <sup>6</sup> In the text, one finds both Gz *bəhil* and Am *malät*, two verbs with the same meaning (‘means’). In such cases, the decision to render it in *italics* or *roman* is arbitrary. | <sup>7</sup> ‘*Luiab, halleluiab* means you are God, King and Creator, (and) *luiab* means’ add B C. | <sup>8</sup> *Ka’ab* means ‘two’; *śaləs* is Tuesday, adds C.

adds ክዕብ : ብ : ጥለት : ማለት : ነው : ማልብ : ማከበዋ : . | <sup>32</sup> Omits C. | <sup>33</sup> በርበብ : C. | <sup>34</sup> ፍ  
መብ : C. | <sup>35</sup> ስብሐ : ብ : ስብሐት : C. | <sup>36</sup> Omits C.

Ս :<sup>37</sup> Ո : հետո : ՈՒՈՒ : \*ողլդ : ՆՈՒ :<sup>38</sup> Մ : Ո : ՆՀԹՈՒ : ՈՒԺԱԾ :  
\*ողլդ : ՆՈՒ :<sup>39</sup> Վ : Ո : ՆՀԹՈՒ : ՈՄՆՑԱԾ : ՔՔՈՒ : \*ողլդ : ՆՈՒ :<sup>40</sup> Կ :  
Ո : ՀՅԻ : ԾԵՄ ԹԵՂԻ : ԾԵ ՀԿԹՈՒԻ :  
ԱԼԳՈԼԹՈՒ : ՔՔՄՊ : ԱՀՅՈՈՂ : ԹԵԴ : ԹԵՋԱԾ : ԱՀՅՈՈՂ : ԴԳՀՑԸԴ : C, 88r  
ՄՈԼԴ : ՆՈՒ : Կ : Ո : ՈՒՀԹՈՒ :<sup>41</sup> ՈՒԺՈՒ : ՔՔԸՈՒ : ՈՒ : ԽԸԸԵՐՅ :<sup>42</sup> 5  
\*ՈՒՀՅՈՒ : ՄԿԸՔՅ : ՈՎԱԾԴ : ՀԿԹՈՒ : ՀԿԹՄԳԼՅ :<sup>43</sup> \*ողլդ : ՆՈՒ :<sup>44</sup>  
Մ : Ո : ՈՒՀԹՈՒ : ՈՒԺՈՒ : ԹՄԳՈՒ : ՈՈԾԸՒ : ՇՈՒՀՈՒ : ՄՈԼԴ : ՆՈՒ : Ա  
ԹՄԳՈՒ : ՈՒՄԳՈՒ : ԺՄԳԱԾՈՒ : ՈԱ-Մ : ՀՎՅ : ՀԿԹՄԳԱԾՈՒ :<sup>45</sup> ՈԱ : ՈՎԱԾ :  
ՀԿԹԱՌՈՒՅԵՅ : ՔԴՈՓՈՒ :<sup>46</sup> ԾՈՒ : ՔՅ :<sup>47</sup> ՀԵՐԿ-Դ :<sup>48</sup> \*ԱՂՅՈՒՅՈՒ : ՈՄՄԱ  
Հ-Թ :<sup>49</sup> Ո.ՄԵՐՈՒ :<sup>50</sup> Ո :<sup>51</sup> \*ՄՈԼԱՐ : ՀՄՅԴԴ-Ք : ԻՇՅ :<sup>52</sup> ԶԵՐԴ : ՀԿ- : 10  
ՄՍ : ԴԻ-Ո : ՔՅ : ԱԾՈՒ : ԿԱԲՐ : ՓՈՒ : ՓՈՒ : ՀԿԹԱՌՈՒՅԵՅ : ԴԳՊԸ :  
ՄԿՅՅՅ :<sup>53</sup> ՄՍ : ՈՈՀԻՄՈՒ : | ՂԱ : \*ՄԿՅՅՅ : ՈՎՅ : ՈՂԱՀԻՄՈՒ : ՂԱ : ԻՂ-  
ՔԴ : ՔԸՈՈՒ : | ԲՄՐՃ :<sup>54</sup> ՄԿՅՅՅ : ԴՈՈՈՒ : ՈՂԱՀԻՄՈՒ : ՂԱ :<sup>55</sup> Ա- : C, 88v  
ՄՈԼԻՒ : ԲՄՐՃ :  
ՈՄՄԱՒԻՒ : ԹՄՅ : Ա- : ՀԱՄՎ : ՀԴԻՒ : ՀԵԾԸԸԸ-ԹՅ : \*ՔԱ : ՀԿՅԸՄՅ :<sup>56</sup> 15  
ՀՎՅ : ՀԱՄՎ : ՀԴԻՒ : \*ԻՀԿՊՈՒՀԴ-Դ : ՄԿԸՔՅ : ԻԽՄՉՓ : Ա- : ՔՄՋ  
Ո-Դ : \*ԻՀԸԸ : ՔՅ : ՔԴՈՒ-Յ :<sup>58</sup> ՀՀՅՈՈՂՅ : ՀՀՅՈՄՊՈՒՅ : ԿԱԲՐ : ԶՔՓ :  
ՀՔՅ : ՔՄՄԴ-Ա :<sup>59</sup> ՔՀՊԸԸ : ԱԾՈՒ : ՈՂԱ- : ՈՂՄՊՈՒ : ՈՄՄԳԱԾ : ՔՔՈՒ : ՔՎ  
ԱԾ : ՀԿ- : ՈՂՈՓ :<sup>60</sup> ԿԵՄԳԴ-Դ : ՀՎ-Ֆ : ԴՀՈՒ-Դ : ԴԵՊԱՄ-Դ :<sup>61</sup> ԹՄՊՈ  
Հ-Դ : ՀՈԸ-Դ : ՈՄՄՍ :<sup>62</sup> ՈՒՄՄՓ :<sup>63</sup> ՂԱ : \*Ա-Մ-Դ : ՈՈՈՒ : ԶՄ-Դ : 20  
ՈՄՄՊ : ՂԱ : ՈՂՅՀ-Ա :<sup>64</sup> ՔՄՄՑԱԾ : ՔՔՈՒ : Ա- :<sup>65</sup> ԲՄՐՃ : ՔՄՄՑԱԾ :  
ՔՔՈՒ : Ա- :<sup>66</sup> \*ԱԼԳՈԼԹՈՒ : ՀԿԹՄԳ-Դ :<sup>67</sup> ՄԿՅՄԱՄ-Դ : ՈՊՐ-Դ : ԲՎԸ C, 89r  
ՋԱ :<sup>68</sup> ՈՂԱԽՄ : ՀԿԹՄՅՈՒ-Ֆ-Դ : Ա-<sup>69</sup>

APPARATUS: <sup>37</sup> γ : C. | <sup>38</sup> Omits C. | <sup>39</sup> Omits C. | <sup>40</sup> Omits C. | <sup>41</sup> ወእኑእምን : C. | <sup>42</sup> በ A effaces; **ግለት :** ንዑስ : adds C. | <sup>43</sup> Omit B C. It is not clear if this was in the exemplar or a later addition, inspired by the words of Saint Athanasius, ወግኑ : ንዑስም : በእኑእምኑ : ቅድመት : ድንብ : ማርም : ንዑስ : ወልደት : ንዑስነት : በሥርዓት : ተመግኬ : ንዑስንድ : ንዑስ የወ : ‘We believe also in Our Lady Holy Virgin Mary that is the Begetter of God in the rule of his incarnation from a human’; *HA*, 85 (§ 15). | <sup>44</sup> Omits C. | <sup>45</sup> እምነበታት/በት : B/C. | <sup>46</sup> በተ” B C. | <sup>47</sup> ቅድመ : (ቅ represents ቅ, not today’s ቅ) C. | <sup>48</sup> ጥ” C. | <sup>49</sup> በም” B. | <sup>50</sup> በወጪዎ : ለንደቅስ : በምኑእጥ : C. | <sup>51</sup> ሌን : ልደል : B C. | <sup>52</sup> ከሚመስል : ከንድድ : C. | <sup>53</sup> ማንም : ማን : B. | <sup>54</sup> የ : ከነዑድኑ : የወቅ : ወከ : ይሆናል :: ማንም : ወደን : በበረከ : ሂሳብ : (sic) ከነዑድኑ : የፋሰሰ : ይሆናል : B C. ‘It becomes the water that came out from his side. When he blesses any wine, it becomes the blood that was spilled from his side’, *TQ*, 2. | <sup>55</sup> ሂሳብ : C. | <sup>56</sup> Omits C. | <sup>57</sup> ሂሳብ : ከሚርም : C. | <sup>58</sup> ከኩስዎ : የወጪዎ : ይሆናል : C. | <sup>59</sup> ይሆናል : C. | <sup>60</sup> መረቅ : A. | <sup>61</sup> ተመልከት : A adds. | <sup>62</sup> በወጪዎ : C. | <sup>63</sup> ቅ : C. | <sup>64</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>65</sup> ይሆናል : C. | <sup>66</sup> ይሆናል : C. | <sup>67</sup> ሂደወቻት : ከወላም : C. | <sup>68</sup> ይሆናል : C. | <sup>69</sup> እምነበታት/በት : B C.

COMMENTARY: <sup>9</sup> *Sic*. It rather means ‘eve of the Sabbath’. | <sup>10</sup> *Sic*. It rather means ‘first’ or ‘former’ (Sabbath), as against the latter Sabbath (Sunday). | <sup>11</sup> *Ehud, om-amiru*. | <sup>12</sup> e.g. Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 31–32 (§§ 106–108) and 59 (§ 33). | <sup>13</sup> Not in A,

‘Arb’ (= Friday) means ‘six’.<sup>9</sup> ‘Qädam’ (= Saturday) means ‘seven’.<sup>10</sup> That is why one says, ‘Sunday, on the first’.<sup>11</sup>

‘Ha’ (Ὁ) means ‘we believe in the Father’. ‘Hu’ (Ὕ) means ‘we believe in the Son’. ‘Hi’ (Ὕ) means ‘we believe in the Holy Spirit’. ‘Ha’ (Ὕ) means ‘he is three while one, and one while three’. It means, ‘O | C, 88r everlasting God, you are first without beginning and last without end’.<sup>12</sup> ‘He’ (Ὕ) means ‘we believe in one Holy Church, \*we believe in one Mary, begetter of God’.<sup>13</sup> ‘H(α)’ (Ὕ) means ‘we believe in one baptism for the remission of sins’.

If one asks you, ‘Why do you believe in baptism?’, say, ‘Yes, I do 10 believe.’ On the day the Son of God was crucified, when Longinus pierced him on his right side with a spear, clear water and fresh blood spilled in pairing in one form, looking like (the letter) Λ. Today, too, when a priest blesses any water, | and blesses any wine, reciting the A, 81r Word of God, they become the ones which spilt | from his side. And C, 88v when he blesses any bread, it becomes the flesh of divinity.

If one asks, ‘What flesh does divinity have? Is not (divinity) fire?’ Yes, (divinity) has, indeed, (flesh). We eat and drink the flesh which he brought from the flesh of Our Lady Mary, and the blood which he took from her blood. Today, too, when any child of Adam is baptized 20 in water, and eats (Christ’s) body and drinks his blood, believing that it will be to his use, to his benefit, is born in faith in the Holy Spirit, observes the law, knows the faith, practises humility and perseverance, does good deeds,<sup>14</sup> he will be a son of the Holy Spirit in purity.<sup>15</sup> And a son of the Holy Spirit inherits eternal life—| the kingdom of C, 89r heaven. Therefore, we believe in him.

probably not in the original either. There is this anecdote in the Am *Commentary on the Monastic Writings of Isaac of Nineveh* that hints to the gradual process of arriving at the extreme reverence of the Blessed Virgin: Gz text, ‘Let our prostration to the ground be three (times) at each time (of the prayer of the hours)’; commentary in Am, ‘It is important that we prostrate to ourselves three times before the Trinity at each hour (of prayer)’; Gz text, in parentheses, ‘(And next, that you shall prostrate yourselves before Mary, the Lady of us all’; commentary in Am, ‘Next, you shall prostrate yourselves before Our Lady’.<sup>16</sup> Aqqabe sä<sup>at</sup> Abranyos had inserted this. Abunä Marqos noticed this (insertion) while he was reading the *Book of Mar Yoshaq* (= *The Monastic Writings of Isaac of Nineveh*) and inquired, “Who inserted this?” (Aqqabe sä<sup>at</sup> Abranyos) replied to him, “I inserted it.” (The Metropolitan) asked, “How did you dare insert into what he spoke as the Holy Spirit had revealed to him?” He asked him, “Should I erase it?” He said to him, “How can it be possible to do so once the name of Our Lady has already been inscribed!” and gave him absolution’, *MY*, 104. |<sup>14</sup> Lit. ‘me’. |<sup>15</sup> That is, ‘he will be the son of the Holy Spirit, absolved from his sins’.

APPARATUS: <sup>70</sup> በትልኩ : B.C. | <sup>71</sup> እኩት : C. | <sup>72</sup> ስ : C. | <sup>73</sup> እኩጋለት : C. | <sup>74</sup> ጥ : C. | <sup>75</sup> ወመ” C. | <sup>76</sup> ወወቻት : መገመርች : (“ጋ : C) B.C. | <sup>77</sup> የረዳድ : C. | <sup>78</sup> የረዳ : C. | <sup>79</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>80</sup> ሰላት : B. | <sup>81</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>82</sup> ቁስት : add B.C. | <sup>83</sup> የበዕል : i.e. | <sup>84</sup> ማጥም : C. | <sup>85</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>86</sup> ሆ : ማለት : ማሰናበት : ነው : B.C. Misplaced; see below the meaning of ሆ. | <sup>87</sup> ቁጥ : C. | <sup>88</sup> ቁጥ : C. | <sup>89</sup> ጥ : C. | <sup>90</sup> ጥ : C; የመሰረት : add B.C. | <sup>91</sup> የፋይ : C. | <sup>92</sup> Omits C. | <sup>93</sup> እያደጋጋዣሁ : add B.C. | <sup>94</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>95</sup> እኩም” A. | <sup>96</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>97</sup> Omits B. | <sup>98</sup> Omits C. | <sup>99</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>100</sup> እኩም : C; የለ : እኩም : ነው : እኩም : በእትወልድ : እኩገዢው : መገልፎ : ቁጥኑ : ለለምኑ : እኩገዢው : በሉ : እኩም : በማብች : ተስፋ : በ.ምማ : የምስራት : ደረሰት : add B.C. ‘He, who said this, is Enoch. The Holy Spirit had him speak in the seventh generation. If one asks, “Why has the Holy Spirit had him speak?”, he wrote (it) for Adam as glad tidings when he lost hope when he was in exile.’ | <sup>101</sup> ማለት : adds B; ማለት : ነው : adds C. | <sup>102</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>103</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>104</sup> ሻ : C. | <sup>105</sup> ጥያ : B; ጥያ : C. | <sup>106</sup> መዕ : B; መዕ : C. | <sup>107</sup> ሻፈፈ : B.C. | <sup>108</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>109</sup> ቁስት : B; ቁስት : C.

But if you ask me, ‘How is birth in the Holy Spirit?’, it is having the (first) green grain<sup>16</sup> blessed (by the priest) one day before tasting (it),<sup>17</sup> it is having the first clothes<sup>18</sup> blessed, it is having drinks—milk, beer,<sup>19</sup> and mead<sup>20</sup>—blessed on the day they are available, it is having the fast blessed, (which) is taking fast *qolo*<sup>21</sup> | and have it blessed, and it is taking holiday chicken<sup>22</sup> (to the priest), if it is available. But if any material is wanting, one may provide physical services. This is what birth in the Holy Spirit is.<sup>23</sup> Without these (good deeds), it is impossible to be the son of the Holy Spirit. A, 81v

(Christ) will say to whoever did not inquire about the law, did not know the faith, | and did not practice humility and perseverance, ‘Go to the fire of hell’,<sup>24</sup> and to those who performed their deeds, ‘(Go) to the kingdom of heaven.’ 10 C, 89v

‘Ha’ (ሀ) means ‘I prostrate myself before the kingdom of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit’. ‘Hu’ (ሁ) means ‘I prostrate myself before the kingdom of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit’. ‘Hi’ (ሩ) means ‘I prostrate myself before the kingdom of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit’. ‘Ha’ (ሩ) means ‘(you) are three while one, and one while three, everlasting God, who is first without beginning and last without end’.<sup>25</sup> This (goes on) until (the catechesis on) the *Mystery of the Trinity* | ends. ‘He’ (ሩ) means ‘I prostrate myself before the purity of the body of Our Lady Mary, Bearer of God’. ‘H(a)’ (ሀ) means ‘I prostrate myself before the nails of the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ’. ‘Ho’ (ሁ) means ‘dismissal’, (saying,) ‘Each to your house.’ When divinity comes arrayed in the vestment of his glory to send the just to the kingdom of heaven and the sinners to the fire of hell, everything will pass away and vanish—save for five things—with the stone melting like wax | and spilling like water, | and the heaven and earth crushing like potsherd and crumbling.<sup>26</sup> 15 20 C, 90r

If one asks, ‘What and what are the five things?’, (these are) people and angels, the kingdom of heaven and fire of hell, and Sabbath. These five will remain. God will come on the day of Resurrection, and the 25 A, 82r | C, 90v

COMMENTARY: <sup>16</sup> ገሬት. | <sup>17</sup> That is, ‘offer any first thing to the priest’. The priest then blesses what is left. | <sup>18</sup> Made by the weaver. | <sup>19</sup> ሳላ. | <sup>20</sup> ሳڳڳ, ‘honey wine’. | <sup>21</sup> Roasted grain—wheat, barley, chickpea, beans, etc. | <sup>22</sup> Cf. Thanksgiving turkey. | <sup>23</sup> The basis of this teaching may be a certain commandment in the *Sinodos*, e.g. Article 29 in Bausi 2011, 54; Article 60 in Horner 1904, 205; and Article 39 in Duensing 1946, 126. | <sup>24</sup> Lit. ‘hell of fire’. | <sup>25</sup> Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 31–32 ( §§ 106–108). | <sup>26</sup> 2 Pet. 3:10.

ለተ : ትንሬኬ :<sup>110</sup> እምሳኩ : \*ይመዳል : ምጽእት : ይሁናል :<sup>111</sup> \*መ-ታን :  
 ይኩል :<sup>112</sup> ካለሁ : በቀር :<sup>113</sup> ሆ-ለ : የልኩል : ይጠኩል ቅ፡  
 ክርስቱያን : ጥና : መኩልት : ተዋስኩት : ሆ-ለ-ስ : ቅጽ-ለን : በአንድነት :<sup>114</sup>  
 ለስተኞት : እንዳለበት : ክለውቅ : ተስበኞት : ወልጋን : በመሰኞት :<sup>115</sup> ክመን  
 በኩ : ለይጠኩል : በአሁን : | በመለማን :<sup>116</sup> በምናር : ለይደረ :<sup>117</sup> ሥር : C, 91r  
 እንደ : ለበስ : ክለውቅ :<sup>118</sup> \*እኩምኑት : ይስጠኩት : ይቃጥዋት : ይስራ-ከ :<sup>119</sup>  
 ይኩምኑት : ብንያ : ወለሁ :<sup>120</sup> ብንያ :<sup>121</sup> ወርጋን :<sup>122</sup> ክለውቅ : ክርስቱ  
 ሥር : እይሁኝም : ክመ : ለኩ-ኩል : ክርሱ : ለክኩል :<sup>123</sup> ወከመ : ቅርቃት :  
 እንቀቅል : ክንቱ : | ወ-ኩቱ : እለ :<sup>124</sup> መጽ-ሐና : እራዋት :<sup>125</sup> ጉዳም : ይኩል B, 10r  
 ወል ብ<sup>126</sup> 10  
 | ለ : ብ : ለበስ : ሥር : እኩምኑትኩል : ለበቅ :<sup>127</sup> ክ-ለ : ዓለም : ምኩው : B, 10v;  
 \*በ-ለ : እስከ : ሁኩም : ይጠኩል : ምሆመ-ረ : ሥርቃ : ይሁ : ነው<sup>128</sup> ቅ፡ ብን C, 92r,  
 ለ-ለ : ለለቃ :<sup>129</sup> እም : ቅር : ለት-ቃቃል :<sup>130</sup> ጉበርአልን : ለከው :<sup>131</sup> ጉበርአለ col. 1  
 ለም : ለ-ለት : ክስጠኩድ : ይውጋኩል : ክድ-ንግድ : ይውለኩል : \*እኩምኑት : A, 82v |  
 ወለ-ት :<sup>132</sup> ንር :<sup>133</sup> ይረሰ : እለት : ለአማካለትና : ማርያም : እርዳም : ይኩለ B, 11r  
 ቅና :<sup>134</sup> ለ-ት : እንበለ :<sup>135</sup> ወንድ : ምጽር : እንበለ : ክርክ :<sup>136</sup> ይወንሰ :<sup>137</sup>  
 በንድ : ይኩል : እለቃው : እዋን : ተወንቅለሽ : እለት :<sup>138</sup> እብ : ይኩኝቃል : C, 92v  
 መንፈሰ : ቅጽ-ለ : የኩምኑል : እከለ : ወልደ : እንድ :<sup>139</sup> ይውለኩል : ሥር :  
 ይለበኩል : ክሁለ : በከለ : እኩምኑት : እለሁ : እኩምኑት : ለአማካለበብ  
 ክርር : በለው : እለት ቅ፡ እርዳም :<sup>141</sup> ይከ-ኩ :<sup>142</sup> በከመ : ተበለኩ : እየ :<sup>143</sup> 20  
 ክመት : እግዢአብኩር : እለቃው :  
 ምኩው : ለለምን :<sup>144</sup> ጉበርአልን : ለከበት :<sup>145</sup> ብ-ለ : | ነም : በለምና :<sup>146</sup> B, 11v  
 በሆኑ : በደንገለቃ : ንር : የኩምኑ : የምስራ-ቃን :<sup>147</sup> ጉጋወቃ : ለ-ለም : እከለ :  
 ወል : በማኩወቃ :<sup>148</sup> ይደረ :<sup>149</sup> ሥርቃን :<sup>150</sup> ለበት ቅ፡ ለማኩራብ :<sup>151</sup> ለብ C, 93r  
 ቅና :<sup>152</sup> እኩለ :<sup>153</sup> 25  
 እንደ-ት : እኩና :<sup>154</sup> ብ-ለ : እብ : እኩና-ት :<sup>155</sup> መንፈሰ : ቅጽ-ለ : እኩና-ት :  
 ለስቱ :<sup>156</sup> ክመቃዋቅ : ሥር : \*ክይማ : ይኩም : ክኩለወቅ : እኩና :<sup>157</sup> ይጠኩና :

APPARATUS: <sup>110</sup> እም : C. | <sup>111</sup> \*የመዳል : ለተ : (የመዳለት : C) በስለተ : ምጽእት : B.C. | <sup>112</sup> መ-ታ-  
 ጥና : ሌ-የኩ-ም : B.C. | <sup>113</sup> ሆን : add B.C. | <sup>114</sup> በአንድነት : B.C. | <sup>115</sup> ክመሰኞስ / ክሰላም ” B.C. |  
<sup>116</sup> በበስ ” C. | <sup>117</sup> ”ለይ : B.C. | <sup>118</sup> ክለውቅ : B.C. | <sup>119</sup> ይቃጥዋት : ይስጠኩት : ይኩ-  
 ይ-ከ : B; ይ-ቱ : እኩምኑት : ይስጠኩት : ይቃጥዋት : ይስራ-ከ : C. | <sup>120</sup> ”ንና : C. | <sup>121</sup> ብን : ብን : B. |  
<sup>122</sup> ”ንና : C. | <sup>123</sup> ”ከ-” C. | <sup>124</sup> በአዋል : B.C. | <sup>125</sup> ”ት : B. | <sup>126</sup> ይኩለው : B.C; without the  
 auxiliary verb, *all/allä*, as in MA ይኩለዋል :. | <sup>127</sup> ”ከ-” B. | <sup>128</sup> ብ-ለ : ብ-ለ : ምሆመ-ረ :  
 ሥርቃ : ነው : እስከ : (እስከ : C) ሁኩም : ይጠኩል : B.C. | <sup>129</sup> ለበት : B. | <sup>130</sup> ንር : inserts C. |  
<sup>131</sup> ”ው : B. | <sup>132</sup> የእኩምኑት : B. | <sup>133</sup> እኩም : adds B; የእኩምኑል : ምጽር : እኩም : C. | <sup>134</sup> ”ኩ-” : C. |  
<sup>135</sup> This is Gz used in Semon as Am. | <sup>136</sup> ክርክ : C. | <sup>137</sup> As an Am word, to be read *yəšāns*,  
 not *yəšānnas*. | <sup>138</sup> እኩና : B.C. | <sup>139</sup> ክንታት : C. | <sup>140</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>141</sup> እርዳምና : C. | <sup>142</sup> ይከ-”  
 C. | <sup>143</sup> እም : B.C. | <sup>144</sup> Redundant in MA. | <sup>145</sup> ክመ- : B. | <sup>146</sup> ”ለው : B. | <sup>147</sup> ”ቃና : | <sup>148</sup> ”ቃ-” : C. |  
<sup>149</sup> እኩና : C. | <sup>150</sup> ሥር : B.C. | <sup>151</sup> ”ርብ : B.C. | <sup>152</sup> ፍ : C. | <sup>153</sup> ብ-ኩና : B.C. | <sup>154</sup> ብ-ኩ-  
 ይ-ኩ : B.C. | <sup>155</sup> እኩ-” B. | <sup>156</sup> ቅና : C. | <sup>157</sup> ክኩለወቅ : እኩና : ክይማ : ይኩም : B.C.

(Second) Coming<sup>27</sup> will take place. The dead will rise. Everything will pass and vanish except for these.

Unless a Christian knew there is death and resurrection and there is trinity in the unity of the Holy Trinity, unless he knew that, in the incarnation of the Son, (the Son) wore flesh without subtracting himself from his throne in the Trinity—unseparated in dominion, command, | 5 authority, and counsel—and unless he knew the five mysteries,<sup>28</sup> the five prostrations, the five nails (of the Cross), the five blessings, the Seven Fasts, the seven times (a day) prayers, and the seven times Communion, he cannot be a Christian. The book says, ‘*His filthiness is like the afterbirth of the belly, and he is useless | like the shell of the egg.*’<sup>29</sup> | 10 C, 91v Wild animals are better than him.

| ‘*Lä*’ (Λ) means he wore flesh from the Virgin for the redemption of the whole world. If one asks, ‘What is (this)?’, this is the Mystery of Incarnation to the end (of its story). When (Mary) was in Galilee, spinning white silk, (the Lord) sent Gabriel (to her). And Gabriel | 15 said to Our Lady Mary, ‘The prophecy about which has been told that God will come | down from heaven and will be born from a virgin is at hand.’ She was shocked, and said to him, ‘How can a woman conceive | without man, or the earth (bear fruit) without seed?’<sup>30</sup> He | 20 said to her, ‘Yes, you will conceive.’ He said to her, ‘The Father will strengthen you, the Holy Spirit will cleanse you, and the person of the Son will be born from you; he will wear flesh. *He is the omnipotent God. There is nothing impossible with God.* And she said, ‘*Let it be for me as you told me. Behold, I am the servant of God.*’<sup>31</sup> | 25 C, 92v

If one asks, ‘Why did he send Gabriel to her?’, | she would have been shocked, if this had happened in silence. At that time, when her ears heard the glad tiding, the person of the Word dwelt in her womb; he wore her flesh. | As for dwelling, all three had dwelt (in her). | 30 C, 93r

If one asks, ‘How did they dwell?’, the Father strengthened her, the Holy Spirit cleansed her. The three created flesh from her flesh, blood from her blood, and soul from her soul, and the Son alone wore

COMMENTARY: <sup>27</sup> Məş̄at is the name of the event, like Tənšā’e (Resurrection), Təmqät (Baptism), or Lədät (Nativity or Christmas). | <sup>28</sup> Lit. ‘beliefs’. | <sup>29</sup> The fact that the sentences are rhyming suggests that is a part of a poem. | <sup>30</sup> Commentary on Luke 1:34, *TQ* in EMML 899, fol. 169v. | <sup>31</sup> For the story see Luke 1:26–38.

ԱՐԴՅՈՒՆ :	ԽՈՅ :	ԽՈՅ :	158	ԱՌՈՒՆ :	Ա.Ա.ԱՌՈՒՆ :	ՈՐԴԻՔԻ :	ՀԱՅԻ :	ՀԱՅ :
ՀԱՅ :	159	ՈՐԴԻՔԻ :	160	ՈՐԴԻ :	ՀԱՅԻ :	ԽՈՅԸ :	ՀԱՅԻ :	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	161	ԽՈՅԸ :	162	ԽՈՅ :	163	ԴԻՄՈՒՄ :	164	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	165	ԽՈՅ :	166	ԽՈՅ :	167	ԽՈՅ :	168	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	169	ԽՈՅ :	170	ԽՈՅ :	171	ԽՈՅ :	172	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	173	ԽՈՅ :	174	ԽՈՅ :	175	ԽՈՅ :	176	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	177	ԽՈՅ :	178	ԽՈՅ :	179	ԽՈՅ :	180	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	181	ԽՈՅ :	182	ԽՈՅ :	183	ԽՈՅ :	184	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	185	ԽՈՅ :	186	ԽՈՅ :	187	ԽՈՅ :	188	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	188	ԽՈՅ :	189	ԽՈՅ :	190	ԽՈՅ :	191	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	192	ԽՈՅ :	193	ԽՈՅ :	194	ԽՈՅ :	195	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	196	ԽՈՅ :	197	ԽՈՅ :	198	ԽՈՅ :	199	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	200	ԽՈՅ :	201	ԽՈՅ :	202	ԽՈՅ :	203	ԽՈՅ :
ԽՈՅ :	204	ԽՈՅ :	205	ԽՈՅ :	206	ԽՈՅ :	207	ԽՈՅ :

the flesh. He wore it, but he grew gradually. He stayed 275 days and 275 nights | in her womb from the time he was conceived until he was born while she was to and fro between Nazareth and Galilee. Then, he was born in Bethlehem. She kept him and stayed forty days until the law, | the ordinance (of purification) was completed for her.

A, 83r

B, 12r

C, 93v

By prophecy, | the Magi arrived carrying three hundred ounces of gold. (The gold) was originally the dowry Adam offered to the Holy Trinity.<sup>32</sup> They offered him, saying, ‘Behold, | incense for your priesthood, gold for your kingship, and myrrh for your death’,<sup>33</sup> accompanying these with five prostrations to the ground. Regarding their coming, they arrived on the day of his birth, after two years since they set out, as was set by the prophecy.

C, 94r

10

As they came, Herod met them on the road. When he asked them, they told him everything. He said to them, ‘Since I, too, believe in him, come by me on your return | so you may tell me (about him). He meant to slaughter him, because he had (already) heard some news (about him). | The angel of God signaled to them and they changed route when they returned. They arrived in forty days. Then, (Herod) issued a proclamation, saying, ‘Kill all children of two years.’ And (Mary) fled. On (her) way, she went down to Simeon intending to have him Christened.<sup>34</sup> She stayed in Jerusalem one year, ten months, and twenty days.

C, 94v

B, 13r

20

Then, when her news was rumoured, she went to Egypt. | She stayed three years in Egypt. Then, she went up to Nazareth.<sup>35</sup> She gave (Jesus) to a teacher at (the age of) 5. He stayed twenty-five years taking orders, grinding grain, baking, cutting firewood, and drawing

A, 83v

25

COMMENTARY: <sup>32</sup> That means that dowry is given to parents. | <sup>33</sup> Cf. ‘The Magi worshipped him. They brought him incense (to confess) that he is God, gold because he is king, and myrrh that is given for his death’, third stanza of Thursday’s *Waddase Maryam*. | <sup>34</sup> Cf. Luke 2:25. | <sup>35</sup> Interestingly, this source does not state that the Holy Family went from Egypt to Ethiopia.

**አምጻት :** አለጥ-ና : C. | <sup>179</sup> ደረሰኑና : የገኘት : B.C. The archaic expression was not known to the copyists of B and C. | <sup>180</sup> አ : C. | <sup>181</sup> [ቍጻምም ; ቍጻምም : B. | <sup>182</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>183</sup> ተጻለት : add B.C. | <sup>184</sup> መለ ” B. | <sup>185</sup> አ : B; ”ቁጥ-ና : C. | <sup>186</sup> ለው-ጠው : ሂሳብ : ለመለስ : B; ለመለስ : መንገድ : ለው-ጠው : ሂሳብ : MA. | <sup>187</sup> በማቅና : B.C. | <sup>188</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>189</sup> ቤኑን : መንድ : መንድ : B.C. | <sup>190</sup> አረብ : B.C. | <sup>191</sup> አለ : B.C. | <sup>192</sup> አም ” B.C. | <sup>193</sup> ብስኑት : B.C. | <sup>194</sup> ስታው ” B. | <sup>195</sup> ለሰምም : አስ/ሥነ : በአ : B.C. | <sup>196</sup> አእናርቁ : C. | <sup>197</sup> አድራቀምና : B; ዓውና : ቅን : C. | <sup>198</sup> ተጠለ : B. | <sup>199</sup> አ.ስ ” B. | <sup>200</sup> ወረዳት/የ/ : B.C. | <sup>201</sup> በግ-ብ : C. | <sup>202</sup> Omits C. | <sup>203</sup> ከተ ” B.C. | <sup>204</sup> በአምስቱ : C. | <sup>205</sup> ከዘም : ተጠለ : ለመምና/ራ : B.C.

አ.ስ.በር :	ወሁ :	አ.ቁጥ :	206 እናዕቅመት :	ተቀመጥ :	ከተም :	ቃሉ :	በዕቅመት :	
ተጠመቀ :	ተጠመቀና :	207   ይጠመት :	208 ከይወርግ :	209 እንደ :	መምህር :			B, 13v
ስ.የስተምህር :	እንደ :	ንተሥ :	ስ.የስከለከል :	210 ድጋፍ :	ስ.ፈ.ወ.ለ :	መ.ት :		
ስ.የግኝ :	በጽረቅ :	ግምብር :	ወይን :	ስ.ፈ.ጥር :	211 መንከራት :	ስ.የጽርግ :	ተቀመጥ :	ከተም :
							ቃሉ :	89º :
ጥል :	የሚለ :	ስተራ :	*ጥመናልተ :	ጥለፈ.ተ :	213 ዝመ :	214   *ከተም :	ቃሉ :	5
በበቅ :	216 አሁም :	ስር :	በተራቱ :	*እስከ :	ገንዘራ :	217 ድረሰ :	218 መጽ :	C, 95v
							ከን :	
ረገን :	ወደም :	በገንዘራቱ :	ስር :	ከበተ :	219 መቅደስ :	ገን :	በተራቱም :	B, 14r
እቁ :	ማኑ :	220 እናተድ :	221 የሆኑዕና :	ለተት :	ነው :	222		
ሆ :	በ :	ፈረሰ :	ፈረሰ :	በ :	ወማ :	223 ነው :	ወማ :	B, 10r;
ተጠበት :	ማለት :	224 ቁጥጥ :	የወንዧት :	225 ተዋስናት :	መ.ለ :	ቁጥኑ		C, 91r,
ተን :	226 ንግ :	ፍጥረቱት :	227 ደግመናም :	ልደተ :	ፈጥረን :	ይወርናል :		middle
ይመለዳ :	*ማለት :	ነው :	229 ከተም :	ቃሉ :	230 ጥት :	231 ተቀብሎ :		of col. 2
ለወ :	ሥታ :	ጥዋ :	በአምላካኑ :	232 ተተለዋ :	ኝ ጥበባት :	233 ሪፖት :	ቁጥ	C, 91v
ወ.አድል :	ቁጥ :	አራተን :	ቁጥ :	ወንፈል :	የሰተምረጥ :	235   እር		A, 84r
ስ.ም :	236 ከኩ :	በሥታ :	ተወልድ :	እናነም :	237 በመንፈል :	ቁጥ.ለ :	ይወልድ	B, 10v
ናል :	እልወለድም :	እልማርም :	238 የለ :	*ማን :	ስ.ወ :	239 ገንዘመ :	እናት :	
ይወርናል :	240 በለ :	መናገር :	ነው :					
ሐ :	241 በ :	የመጽሕና :	ቃዕ :	242   የመጽሕና :	የመጽሕና :	243 የመጽሕና :	ገኘ	C, 92r
ተት ጉ :								20
ሲ :	አ.መ :	ወጥጥ :	246 ውተንሥአ :	አመ.ታን :	አመ :	ማልከት :		B, 14r
ስለት :	በከመ :	ቁ.አ.ና :	247 ወ.ለተ :	ቁጥ.ዳት :	248 መጽሕናጥ :	በርግ :		C, 96r
አ.ተ :	ወ.ለተ :	አማጥ :	ወንፈል :	የሆም :	አሁሁ :	ቁጥመ :		
አ.ተ :	የከመ :	ቁጥዋ :	ወመ.ታን :	ማለት :	ነው :	*የናተ :		
አ.ተ :	የከመ :	ቁጥዋ :	ወመ.ታን :	ማለት :	ነው :	*የናተ :		

APPARATUS: 206 **ወ/ሮ** : ሰወርድ : እንደት : ሰወርድ : B/C. | 207 **ቁ** : B/C. | 208 ስነት : ወመት : B. | 209 ካስኩት : ወርጥ : B. | 210 ሰወሮ : ካለክ : B. | 211 ስ” : C. | 212 ካወያ : B. | 213 እርብ : ወ/ሮ ለለት : B/C. | 214 ጥርሃት : (C, fol. 95v) ሰጠበቅ : ህወስ ለጠቅ ይወስ : መሐረድ : ካርስቶስ : ህወስ ለለት : ማርያም : መሐረድ : ካርስቶስ : ህወስ እ-ለይሬም : ህወስ ወቅት : በከመ : መሐረድ : እምነት : ወከት : እብት : በከመ : እብት : መሐረድ : መሐረድ : ወመት እብት : ለብኩያት : ወጥኩው : ሰወርድ : ወጠም : add B/C; ‘He observed the hours (for prayers); the forty-one prostrations to the ground; the forty-one times “O Lord, Christ, have mercy on us”; the forty-one times, “Christ, have mercy upon us for the sake of Mary”; the forty-one times “Kyrie eleison”; the twelve (psalms of) David, “O forgiver, forgive us according to your mercy and not according to our trespassing”, and the twelve times “Our Father”. He fulfilled (all) this doing (each) at every (appropriate) time’. | 215 ካወያ : በጋብ : B. | 216 በጋብ : C. | 217 እንደገዥ : B/C. | 218 Omit B/C. | 219 እስ” : B/C. | 220 መና : B/C. | 221 ስንበት : add B/C. | 222 እቅ : የተባለ : ስቃት : እረት : እው : ስቅድ : የተባለ : መጋጥኩት/ት : እኩስ : እው : omit B/C and add. ‘What is called “effects” (*eqa*) are the Ten Commandments of the Torah; and what is called “Hosanna” is the salvation of the soul’. | 223 ማለት : add B/C. | 224 Omit B/C. | 225 ገዢ : add B/C; ”ኋ” : ገዢ : C. | 226 ቅዱስን : B/C. | 227 ቅኋ : B/C. | 228 የወ” : B. | 229 Omit B/C. | 230 ገዢ : C. | 231 መትኩ : MA. | 232 እ” : B. | 233 ቅኋ : B/C. | 234 i.e. ሰነት : heritage. | 235 ወሮ” : (”ምራ” C) ይ-ስጠቅት : ይ-እምነት : ይ-ቅዱስ : ይ-ስንበት/ስንረዳ : ይ-ስተምሳረኩ :

water. Then, at (the age of) 30 years, he was baptized. He was baptized and | stayed three years and three months teaching as a teacher, deploying bodyguards like a king, healing the sick, raising the dead, creating eyes on bare foreheads, and working (other) wonders. After that, he started fasting. He went into a desert. He fasted forty days and forty nights in places called the countries of Corinth and Scete. | Then, he ascended on a wild donkey, and came as far as the wall (of Jerusalem riding) the mother (donkey); after the wall, he entered the Temple riding the colt. On the mother (donkey) they loaded effects. (This) took place on a Sunday, on the day of Hosanna.

| ‘Ha’ (**ሀ**) is letter. Letter is symbol.<sup>36</sup> Symbol is prophecy. Prophecy is foretelling what has happened regarding the unity of his Holy Trinity, the story of his creation; | and, secondly, it is foretelling the birth of the Creator, proclaiming that he will come down and be born. After that, it is foretelling that, having accepted death, dying in the flesh he wore, and arising in his divinity, he | will leave for us a heritage of five wisdoms; and he will teach us the Ten Commandments of the Torah and the Six Commandments of the Gospel. | And he, being born from us in the flesh, begets us in the Holy Spirit. However, who-ever refuses to be born and to learn will go down to the fire of hell.

‘Ha’ (**ሐ**) is the mead | of books, the source of books, and the peak<sup>37</sup> of books.<sup>38</sup>

| ‘Ha’ (**ሐ**) means (Christ) suffered, and died | and rose from among the dead on the third day as has been written in the Holy Scriptures. He ascended into heaven with glory and sat on the right of his Father. He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead.<sup>39</sup> His mother’s people, his relatives, consulted in jealousy on Monday (to arrest him); it was foiled to their disadvantage. They consulted on Tues-

COMMENTARY: <sup>36</sup> Wäg. | <sup>37</sup> *Gʷəlləlat*, ‘top’, ‘pinnacle’. | <sup>38</sup> So described possibly because of its shape (that looks like a *gʷəlləlat*). See also the size of the quotation under it in the next paragraph. | <sup>39</sup> Taken from the *Sälotä haymanot*, Nicene Creed.

(”**ገ**”) C. | <sup>236</sup> Inserts C. | <sup>237</sup> ”**ገ**” : B.C. | <sup>238</sup> Omits B; **ከ**”**ገ**” : inserts C, probably a misreading of **ከ**”**ገ**” : | <sup>239</sup> **ከ**”**ገ**” : **፡** **፡** B; **፡** **፡** **፡** C. | <sup>240</sup> **፡**”**ገ**” C. | <sup>241</sup> **፡**”**ገ**” B.C. | <sup>242</sup> **፡**”**፡**” : add B.C. | <sup>243</sup> **፡**”**፡**” : adds B. | <sup>244</sup> **፡**”**፡**” : **፡**”**፡**” adds B; **፡**”**፡**” : **፡**”**፡**” C. | <sup>245</sup> **፡**”**፡**” C. | <sup>246</sup> **፡**”**፡**” : adds B. | <sup>247</sup> **፡**” C. | <sup>248</sup> **፡**” B; **፡**” C. | <sup>249</sup> **፡**” C.

ደቂ : በቅርቡት : ሰሞ : መከና : ተፈታዊቸው : <sup>250</sup> ማቅረብ : መከና : ተፈታዊ  
 ቸው : ለቦዕስ : <sup>251</sup> መከና : <sup>252</sup> ደንቶ : <sup>253</sup>  
 ለለምን : የዚከራቸው : <sup>254</sup> ደን : በል : የበኩ : <sup>255</sup> ለው : ይሁዳ : ተጨምር :  
 አገናቸው : <sup>256</sup> ተፈታዊም : በይሁዳ : ተንበት : | ንበረበትና : <sup>257</sup> ምራ : የተወ B, 14v  
 ነስ : ለቂ : አጥቃት : ገጽለው : ይሰላባል : አጥቃት : ማርከ : የወሰኑል : ገታ C, 96v  
 ወን : ለከበት : ይፈጻል : በሉ : ሰል : ንበር : <sup>258</sup> ተናግር : ንበር : <sup>259</sup>  
 በስት : ሰብኩበት : አንቃ : <sup>260</sup> ተፈታዊ : ማረከት : በልዋ : እምበ : አለቸው : <sup>261</sup>  
 | እምበ : በተለው : እናን : ከደመኝ : <sup>262</sup> የተወለድ : ደለት : <sup>263</sup> እንገናለዋ A, 84v  
 ለን : አለት : ከበያ : <sup>264</sup> ተሳ : ወሸቦች : <sup>265</sup> ተወስ : በወለድ : በማስን : እድ  
 ሪት : ከወ : <sup>266</sup> ጥለት : ከእራራኬል : ሁገር : ወሁ : <sup>267</sup> ጥናር : እሳሁበ : 10  
 እራራው : <sup>268</sup>  
 \*የእሳሁበ : ለቂ : የንገጋ : <sup>269</sup> መከና : ንበር : <sup>270</sup> ከወ : <sup>271</sup> \*ስተቻወበ :  
 ከበያ : ተሳ : አግኢታ : <sup>272</sup> አውጻቸው : አበበ : ወለድሁ : <sup>273</sup> በሉ : አለው  
 ለቂ : <sup>274</sup> አልደንቸው : ተፈታዊ : ከበያ : <sup>275</sup> ተሳ : በራሳ : የንደር : አጥቃት : | በገር : C, 97r  
 \*ወጪ : ገልጋወጥ : <sup>276</sup> ተፈታዊ : ለገንታወ : <sup>277</sup> አለሁ : ተገመድ : አጥቃት : <sup>278</sup> ተመወ : B, 15r  
 እንደቃት : የወጥ : በዘምት : እምበ : ሰብኩ : አጥቃት : <sup>279</sup> ገጽለው : ሰለበ : <sup>280</sup>  
 አጥቃት : ማርከ : እባባ : <sup>281</sup> አልጋም : <sup>282</sup> እናይም : \*እናቃሁ : ተና : <sup>283</sup> የገደልኩ  
 ወም : \*አጥቃሁ : እው : <sup>284</sup> የምን : ይበኩሁል : <sup>285</sup> በተለው : ደንጋጌ : <sup>286</sup> ለእርስ  
 ወስ : እራራ :  
 ከርስቶስም : መከና : ለሁሉ : <sup>287</sup> አለዋ : አለው : <sup>288</sup> ደግሞወኝም : ከርስቶስ : 20  
 \*እናይሁ : ሰል : <sup>289</sup> ተንበት : ተናገረ : <sup>290</sup> ከወሁ : <sup>291</sup> ከለይሁ : ለው :  
 እንዲ : <sup>292</sup> ከወቅ : <sup>293</sup> ይጠሙኬል : በሉ : አጥቃው : ተፈታዊ : በመምህር :  
 በአበት : በቁሳ : ከወቅ : <sup>294</sup> በአንድ : <sup>295</sup> መማሳት : የንድ : <sup>296</sup> ተቀምጠ : እና C, 97v  
 ይሸ : ተቁርስ : <sup>297</sup> መባሳት : የንድ : <sup>298</sup> አልጋ : የምንታ : <sup>299</sup> አይገባም : መር

APPARATUS: <sup>250</sup> ሰሞ : መከና : ተፈታዊቸው : በቅርቡት : በመድቂ : B.C. | <sup>251</sup> ለረበዕስ : B. | <sup>252</sup> የም  
 ከር : B.C. | <sup>253</sup> The gerund ደንቶ : used as main verb, as in ተገዢኩ኏, B/C **ወ/ገና** :. |  
 254 Omit B.C. | <sup>255</sup> ከበያ B.C. | <sup>256</sup> [አገናቸው : or አገናገናቸው :. አገናው : B.C. | <sup>257</sup> በይሁ-ዳም :  
 ተንበት : ንበር : ሰል : ወድ-ም : B.C. | <sup>258</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>259</sup> ከበያ : ተሳ : B.C. | <sup>260</sup> [አ  
 ማይ, . | <sup>261</sup> አለት : ተሳ : B.C. | <sup>262</sup> ሰል” C. | <sup>263</sup> ሰት : B.C. | <sup>264</sup> ከበያ B. | <sup>265</sup> ለተቻወበ : B.C. |  
 266 Omit B.C. | <sup>267</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>268</sup> ወሁ/ክ : add B/C. | <sup>269</sup> [የእሳሁበ : ተና-ሙ : ለቂ : የእሳ  
 ማይ : የንገጋ : ለቂ : B.C. | <sup>270</sup> ”ቂ : B. | <sup>271</sup> ማልኝ : B.C. | <sup>272</sup> ተፈታዊ : ከር : አገናቸው : B. |  
 273 ”ኝ” B. | <sup>274</sup> አውጻቸ : B; አውጻቸ : C; ”አለውቸ”/አውጻቸ : MA. | <sup>275</sup> ከበያ : B. | <sup>276</sup> የን  
 ሰና : B; ገጽለው : C. | <sup>277</sup> ”ሙ : B.C. | <sup>278</sup> እንደት : ለተው : add B.C. | <sup>279</sup> ማርከ : adds C. |  
 280 ”በና” B.C. | <sup>281</sup> አውሳድ : B.C. | <sup>282</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>283</sup> እናቃሁት : B. | <sup>284</sup> አጥቃሁት : B.C. |  
 285 ይጠሙኩ : B.C. | <sup>286</sup> ይገባወጥ : B.C. | <sup>287</sup> የሁ-ኩ” B/C. | <sup>288</sup> እራራው : B.C. | <sup>289</sup> Omit B.C. |  
 290 ወማው : ሰል : add B.C. | <sup>291</sup> እነዚ : C. | <sup>292</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>293</sup> አም” B.C. | <sup>294</sup> ወዕ/ኩ : B/C. |  
 295 Omit B.C. | <sup>296</sup> በአንድ : B.C. | <sup>297</sup> መቁርስ : B. | <sup>298</sup> በአንድ : B.C. | <sup>299</sup> መኩት : B.C.

day; it was foiled to their disadvantage. They consulted on Wednesday; it held.

If one asks, 'Why did their consultation hold?', a member of his household, Judas, had been added (to the consultation) and had helped for it to hold for them. There was already a prophecy regarding Judas. | A prophet had foretold, saying, 'A child who will be conceived this day will kill his father and cut off his (father's) genitals. He will take his mother | captive and marry her.<sup>40</sup> He will sell his master for (the love of) money.' When a certain husband asked his wife, 'Give (me sex)'—in accordance with the law of marriage—she refused.<sup>41</sup> | When she refused, he said to her, 'We will kill (the child) on the day he is born rather than I suffer.' After that, *she let him have (his wish)*. (And a child) was conceived. When he was born, they put him in a box and threw him in the water (of a river). The stream took him from the land of Israel to the land of the pagans.

The daughter of the king of the pagans was barren.<sup>42</sup> She found him there while she was bathing in the water (of the river) and took him out.<sup>43</sup> Lying, she had people say she gave birth (to a son). She brought him up. Then, when he quarreled, he killed his stepfather, | by piercing him with a spear, and fled and put himself under the service of | a king (of another country). The king appointed him with a (military) rank. He took his *nägarit* drum<sup>44</sup> and went out to wage war. He broke a hamlet,<sup>45</sup> killed his father<sup>46</sup> and cut off his male organ,<sup>47</sup> and captured his mother<sup>48</sup> and married her. When she said to him, 'I am your mother, and the one you killed was your father, what are you going to do?', he was shocked and put himself under the service of Christ.

Christ thought and made him head over all. Furthermore, Christ told a prophecy. He told (his disciples), saying thus, 'One of you, people who are here, will be involved in my death.' It is unbecoming for someone to dip (his hand) into the stew, eat sitting and break | bread together, or sleep in one bed with the master, the teacher, the

COMMENTARY: <sup>40</sup> The prophecy is an adaptation of the fifth-century BCE legend *Oedipus Rex* by Sophocles. | <sup>41</sup> Obviously, fearing the prophecy would be fulfilled on them, if a child were to be conceived on that day. | <sup>42</sup> The way the sentence is constructed and the next part of the story cast doubt if the woman was, indeed, the king's daughter. | <sup>43</sup> Or 'After that, she found him as she was bathing'. | <sup>44</sup> A sign of rank of a general (or governor) with his own army. The rank is measured by the number of *nägarits*. | <sup>45</sup> That is, he conquered an *amba*. | <sup>46</sup> Laitus. | <sup>47</sup> This is a common practice with some tribes; others cut limbs. Both have been practised in Ethiopia. | <sup>48</sup> Jocast.

ቃዢ : ነው : የተረጋማውን : የን : ከወጪ : <sup>300</sup> ስ.ግብ : <sup>301</sup> ታዋቃለቸው : እና A, 85r |  
ቁዢ : ሰ.ያዥም : <sup>302</sup> አጥቃት : ይኩም : <sup>303</sup> እንዲቆር : <sup>304</sup> በወቃቻት : B, 15v  
በር : <sup>305</sup> ተዋሸቸ : <sup>306</sup> በመሳም : አመልካም : ቤታውን : አስገዳለ : በኋናም :  
መልስ : ስጥቃቸው : አልረጋዥም : <sup>307</sup>  
ቁዢ : <sup>308</sup> አመልካ : ይህን : አልቋው : <sup>309</sup> እንበላለን : እንጠጣለን : 5  
በለው : <sup>310</sup> እምበ : አል-ት : ይኩን : <sup>311</sup> ማትያስ : ለሪክ : <sup>312</sup> ለማበት : ለከርስ  
ቶስ : እንደበት ብር ከርስተዋዢ : ለምቶ : በተረጋዥው : <sup>313</sup> \*አው-ት : በሆን : <sup>314</sup>  
ሽመቱን : <sup>315</sup> ከበቱን : እስጥሮለሁ : በለው : <sup>316</sup> | አለው :: C, 98r  
ከተማም : <sup>317</sup> ጥሩ : <sup>318</sup> \*ቃቃስረድ : ቃቃስግዢ : መአሪን : ከርስተው : ቃቃስራ  
ገይኖን : <sup>319</sup> ጥቃአበት : ከበሆማያት : ይህን : <sup>320</sup> አደረገና : ዘመኑ : <sup>321</sup> ቃሳብ : B, 16r  
አግባለ : ተናግር : ከተማ : ጥሩ : መሥዋዕት : ወዢ : <sup>323</sup> በቃቃስ<sup>324</sup> ከበት : እን  
ዶን : <sup>325</sup> ተበበት : \*ቃቃስር : <sup>326</sup> ከፍሌ : ተበበቱ : የን : በሆም : አይደለ  
ውም : <sup>327</sup> ማቅረብ : <sup>328</sup> ነው : <sup>329</sup>  
ከተማ : <sup>330</sup> ከበሩም : <sup>331</sup> ፍና : እብርቶ : <sup>332</sup> ካርወውም : መራር : <sup>333</sup> እብርቶ :  
መገተዥ : <sup>334</sup> በመንፈልግ : | ሌሎት : ቅዱ : እኩ-ን : እስራት : <sup>335</sup> ሁ-ለት : C, 98v  
እኩ-ን : <sup>336</sup> የጽዋዕት : <sup>337</sup> ጥሩ : <sup>338</sup> ማማ : <sup>339</sup> ለሆን : <sup>340</sup> ገረፋት : እንደዥ : <sup>341</sup>  
በቀኑር : ሰቀለ-ት : በስኖት : ከፍሌ : ወዢ : በስርከ : ከዚ|አል : <sup>342</sup> ወርዳ : <sup>343</sup> A, 85v  
አኩምን : \*ከኩልቃቸ : አውጭው : በቃቃስ : | ከነት : ከጥንት : <sup>344</sup> ሰፍራው : B, 16v  
\*አገባው :  
ስለቱን : ዓይነ : ነው : <sup>345</sup> እርስ : የን : እኩ-ድ : \*በመንፈልግ : ሌሎት : <sup>346</sup> 20  
ተናማ : \*የመንፈልግ : ሌሎት : <sup>347</sup> ለሰው : ሰላይሁ : ነው : የተናማኬ : \*እኩ-ድ :  
የደርጋት : ቅዱባን : <sup>348</sup> መንፈልግ : ሌሎት : ነው : <sup>349</sup> የዘዴቃቻት : እኩ-ድ : <sup>350</sup> ስን C, 99r  
ግዢ : ነው : \*የቆቅማት : በቃቃስ : <sup>351</sup> ዓይነ : ለብዕ : ሰብከት : ወሙ : ቅዱ

APPARATUS: <sup>300</sup>ΩμΩΓΩΜΩ : B; ΩμΩΓΩΜΩ : C. | <sup>301</sup>ΑΛΠΩ : Δ.Φ.Ω.Ω : add B.C. | <sup>302</sup>”Φ.Τ.Ω : B;  
 Π.Φ.Ω.Ω.Ω : C. | <sup>303</sup>Ε.Γ.Ω.Ω : C. | <sup>304</sup>ΑΩΩ : Ε.Φ.Ω. : B. | <sup>305</sup>ΠΩΩ : B.C. | <sup>306</sup>Omit B.C. | <sup>307</sup>Α  
 Ζ” B.C. | <sup>308</sup>Omit B.C. | <sup>309</sup>Π.Φ.Ω. : Α.Ε.Ω.Ω.Ω : B.C. | <sup>310</sup>ΑΛΛ.Τ. : B.C. | <sup>311</sup>Ε.Γ.Ω. : C.  
 | <sup>312</sup>ΑΛΛ.Ζ.Η : C. | <sup>313</sup>”Φ.Ω.Ω : B. | <sup>314</sup>Omit B.C. | <sup>315</sup>Φ” B.C. | <sup>316</sup>Omit B.C. | <sup>317</sup>ΗΛ.Ω : B.C.  
 | <sup>318</sup>ΔΗΜ.Ω : ΦΩ : ΗΛ.Τ. : ΗΛ.Τ. : adds B. | <sup>319</sup>ΦΩ ΠΩΛ.Τ. : Ο.Π.Ω.Ω.Ω : ΣΩ.Η.Ω.Ω : Η.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Φ  
 (sic) Η.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Ι.Ω.Ω.Ω : B; ΦΩ ΠΩΛ.Ω : ΦΩ Α.Ω.Ω.Ω : ΣΩ.Η.Ω.Ω : Η.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : ΦΩ ΠΩΛ.Τ. : Ο.Π.  
 Ω.Ω.Ω : ΣΩ.Η.Ω.Ω : Η.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : ΦΩ Η.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Ι.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : C. ‘Forty-one times, “Christ, have  
 mercy upon us for the sake of Mary”; forty-one times “Kyrie eleison”; twelve (psalms of)  
 David’ B. ‘Forty-one prostrations to the ground; forty-one times “O Lord, Christ, have  
 mercy on us”; forty-one times “Christ, have mercy upon us for the sake of Mary”; forty-  
 one times “Kyrie eleison”; and twelve (psalms of) David’ C. | <sup>320</sup>Ε.Π.Π.Ω : Η.Λ.Τ. : B.C. |  
<sup>321</sup>Omit B.C. | <sup>322</sup>ΗΛ.Ω : B. | <sup>323</sup>Δ.Ω. : C. | <sup>324</sup>Ι.Γ : B.C. | <sup>325</sup>Φ : B.C. | <sup>326</sup>Ι.Ω.Ω : B.C. | <sup>327</sup>Φ  
 Τ.Ω.Ω : Α.Ε.Ω.Ω.Λ.Ω.Ω : add B.C. | <sup>328</sup>”ΑΦ. : B.C. | <sup>329</sup>Φ.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Ι.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Α.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω :  
 Ε.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Φ.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : add B.C. | <sup>330</sup>ΗΛ.Ω : Ζ.Ω. : B.C. | <sup>331</sup>Η.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : or Η.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : MA. |  
<sup>332</sup>Α.Λ.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : C. | <sup>333</sup>”ΑΦ. : MA; Α.Φ.Ω.Ω.Ω : ΣΩ.Π.Ω.Τ. : B.C. | <sup>334</sup>ΣΩ.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : B.C. | <sup>335</sup>Δ.Ω.Ω :  
 ΣΩ.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Π.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Π.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : add B.C. | <sup>336</sup>Α.Φ.Ω.Ω : Α.Λ.Ω.Ω.Ω : B; Φ.Ω.Ω.Ω : Α.Φ.Ω.Ω :  
 Α.Φ.Ω.Ω.Ω : C. | <sup>337</sup>Φ.Ω.Ω : B.C. | <sup>338</sup>Not clear C. | <sup>339</sup>Φ.Ω. : B. | <sup>340</sup>Π.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : add B.C. | <sup>341</sup>Omit B.C. |  
<sup>342</sup>Δ.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : B.C. | <sup>343</sup>Φ.Ω.Ω : B.C. | <sup>344</sup>Η.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Τ.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Ι.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Ζ.Ω. : Α.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : Α.Ω.Ω.Ω.Ω : B.C. |

father, or the priest. It is a curse. He said to them, ‘But you will see | the cursed one when he dips (his hand) in my | stew.’<sup>49</sup> They found him when they looked. And lest (the prophecy) remain unfulfilled, he made a deal of thirty ounces of silver and had his master killed, signaling with a kiss. But he returned the money; it did not avail him. | A, 85r  
B, 15v

(Judas) said to (the Jews), ‘Let the date (of arresting Jesus) be Thursday.’ They said ‘No’ to him, saying, ‘(On that day), we (feast), eating and drinking.’ The disciple Matthias heard this to (Judas’s) disadvantage and told Christ on him. Christ heard and said to (Matthias), ‘If you prevail (in the accusation) against him, if it is true, I will give you | his office and property.’ | 10  
C, 98r

After that,<sup>50</sup> they performed prostrations to the ground forty-one (times), the forty-one (repetitions of) ‘*O Lord Christ, have mercy upon us*’, the forty-one (repetitions of) ‘*Kyrie eleison*’, | and the twelve (repetitions of) the ‘*Our Father*’. (Christ) having led this, he uttered the ‘*Anaphora of Our Lord*’, and prepared Communion with twelve raisin fruits, and breaking one loaf of bread into thirteen. But the bread was not (totally) leavened, it was medium. | B, 16r  
15

After that, the rich, lighting lamp, and the poor, lighting twig (torches), came at midnight | and bound his right hand.<sup>51</sup> When the morning shadow was at nine feet, they tied both of his hands and flogged him. At noon, they crucified him. At three o’clock, his soul departed. At dusk, | he went down to Hades and brought out Adam with his children. At the fifteen (foot) shadow, | he had (Adam) enter into his original place. | C, 98v  
A, 85v  
B, 16v  
25

The day was Friday. But he rose on Sunday [at midnight]. That is why there is midnight prayer. The Communion of Sunday of Resurrection and of Ascension is at midnight. That of the usual | Sunday is at dawn. That of Saturday is at the third hour of the day. (Breaking fast) on Fridays and Wednesdays, during the Fast of Səbkät,<sup>52</sup> Fast of 30  
the Apostles,<sup>53</sup> of the Assumption of Our Lady Mary, and of the abol-

COMMENTARY: <sup>49</sup> Cf. Matt. 26:23. | <sup>50</sup> Giving thanks after meals with a set of prayers is the practice with the clergy, cf. Paulos Tzadua 1968, 91. And here we see how the ritual of the Last Supper was conducted. | <sup>51</sup> ‘In the morning, they interrogated him, and with fetter’, B C. | <sup>52</sup> Or *Səbkätä gena*, ‘Fast of Advent’. | <sup>53</sup> From the feast of Pentecost to 5 Hamle.

<sup>345</sup> δ/κλητος : η/κειτο : ληφθο : B/C. | <sup>346</sup> Omits A. | <sup>347</sup> ζητο : B/C. | <sup>348</sup> ηλεγη : ητη φη : B/C. | <sup>349</sup> ηλητο : φητο : ηθο : add B/C. | <sup>350</sup> ηυ·ξη : C. | <sup>351</sup> ηθημητο : ζητο : ηξ φη : ηθημη : ηξη : B/C.

የት : የልሰት : [ለ]አግባብትና : ማርያም : ቁጥሮ : ቁር : አለሁ : ቁል : \*በሰ  
 የት : የተወ ዘመን<sup>352</sup> የቃድ : የደንብ<sup>353</sup> የልደትና : የጥምቀት : ይፈን<sup>354</sup> የአ :  
 ስለም<sup>355</sup> በእርከ : ነው : ዘመን<sup>356</sup> \*ከነዥ : ቁጥሮ : መሆም : የጠጥ : የቁረሰም :  
 የደረሰት : ነው : ገዢውም : መታገኘል : ነው : ዘመን<sup>357</sup> የቁጥሮ : የቁረሰም :  
 የቁጥሮ : እሁሉ : መሆም : መቅመስ : አይገባም : \*የነው<sup>358</sup> የገም<sup>359</sup> 5  
 ይቃድ : በቁጥሮ<sup>360</sup> የአ : በበዕለ<sup>361</sup> የአ : በበዕለ<sup>362</sup> የበዕለ<sup>363</sup> የገም : በቁጥሮ : ተኩረው :  
 እናሰን : ይህ : በአይ : የቁጥሮ : ይውጋ : ከረሰም<sup>365</sup> በቁጥሮ<sup>366</sup> \*ቁጥሮ : B, 17v  
 ሰው : በወጪ : የገም : መግዳፍ<sup>367</sup> ነው : ዘመን<sup>368</sup> | \*በረሱት : አዋርያት : ሌላው<sup>369</sup> C, 99v  
 ጥት : እንደህ : በለው : ሰርተዋል<sup>370</sup> | ከበደትናም<sup>371</sup> ለሰራ : ቁጥሮ : አዘገብ B, 17v;  
 በዋጥው<sup>372</sup> አለተምህርዋጥው<sup>373</sup> ከከዳም<sup>374</sup> ገዢው : አለሁ : ለምጥን<sup>375</sup> C, 100r  
 አዋርያትናም<sup>376</sup> ወልደ : እንዘረሰኬር : አዘጋጅው : አለተምህርራቸው :  
 ለተመቻዕቅርያት : \*ተመቻዕቅርያትናም<sup>377</sup> ለቁጥሮ አይደለት : \*ቁጥሮ አር A, 86r  
 ዝኑትናም<sup>378</sup> \*ለይቻይለለቸውንት : ሌላውንትናም<sup>379</sup> : አለሁ : ሂደ : የሂልም : | C, 100v  
 ሌላውንት : \*የነው<sup>380</sup> አለሁ : የገምኬት : \*የሰተምህርራለ : ለቀኩው-ሰለ  
 ተና : ለቁጥሮት : ዘመን<sup>381</sup> 15  
 \*ቁጥሮንም : በይና እንዳም : በይናንበሰት ዘመን<sup>382</sup> መጠን : ለንዘር :  
 ማኩተመው : | ይበረከም : | ይይናንበሰትና<sup>383</sup> ወይና : ከይሁ : ቁጥር : ለቁጥር : አይ B, 18r |  
 C, 101r

APPARATUS: 352 የቁጥሮት : የአ : ምክሮን : በአንት : ነው : B.C. | 353 ቁልቱ : ጉዳይ : B.C. | 354 የ  
 ወቃድ : C. | 355 ነው : B.C. | 356 Omits A. | 357 Omit B.C. | 358 የነው : C. | 359 Omit B.C. | 360 የገ  
 ሰው : B.C. | 361 የቁጥሮ : C. | 362 ነው : B.C. | 363 የበዕለ : B.C. | 364 ገዢ : የቁጥሮ : የቁጥሮ :  
 ተኩረው : እናሰን : እርከም : ይህ : B.C. | 365 ከከደበትናም : B; ከከደበም : C. | 366 በቁጥሮ : C. | 367 በ-  
 ቁ/ቁጥሮ : መታገኘል : B/C. | 368 የቁጥሮው : (የርም” C) በቁጥሮው : (“በው : C) በወጪ : የገም :  
 መግዳፍ : ነው : \*የቁጥሮ : (not clear C) ቁጥሮን : እየተርፍም : እየኩልም : ከነፋፍም : በት  
 ደል : የገም : መግዳፍ : ነው : (በተርፍ : መታገኘል : ነው : adds C) አይገባም : ገዢጥት : ይገኘ  
 አል : (ይገኘል C) አርምም : (ርምም C) አይሁድ : ይርመን : በማረጋገም : (በማረጋገም : C) በለ :  
 ገዢው : ይገኘ : ነው : በተሰበት : [ለ]አግባብትና : ማርያም : ይፈን (ይወቅ C) የአ :  
 ነው : የገምው : በሉ : ይገኘጥ : ከከሰሰድር : (ከከናድር C) ይገኘጥ : አለሁ : በሉ : ተረጋግጧል : ተኩረው : ለለይና : ይለያል : add B.C. It would be breaking the fast, if they took Communion before (the sun) sets. (The shadow of) the Communion of the time of seven (feet) shall not be more or less. If the measurement is less, it would be breaking the fast; and if it is more, it would be cancelling (the Eucharistic prayer). It should not be so; it makes the faith deficient, (like those of) the Romans, the Jews, and the Germans. The time in Miyazya and Säne is 6/7 feet. During (the fast of) the Assumption of Our Lady Mary, it is at the twelve (foot) shadow. If one asks “Why?”, the answer is the faith is related to Alexandria. Therefore, one makes the times different (from followers of other faiths). |  
 369 ቁጥሮን : በይና (not clear) በዕለ : ነው : አይገባም : ቁጥሮት : አለሁ : (C ዘለት) በአይ : ከ  
 ሰው : የአ : (በቁጥሮ : C) መጠበቅ : መጠ(C, fol. 100r)ጥ : ከህተት : ቁሰ : የቁጥሮ(B, fol. 17v)ጥ :  
 የመቁጥሮ : ከከደበትናም : (“በ” C) ዘለት : እየገባም : መጠበቅ : በአንት : ነው : በይና  
 (ይተመቻዕቅ) የአ : ከበደትናም : አዋርያት : እንደህ : በለው : ሰራ : B.C. | 370 የገም : B.C. | 371 የዋጥናም<sup>371</sup> B;  
 የዋጥናም<sup>372</sup> ሌላው<sup>373</sup> C. | 373 ከከዳም<sup>374</sup> : A. | 374 የቁጥሮ : add B.C. | 375 አዋርያት : አዋርያት  
 የገም<sup>376</sup> C. | 377 በቁጥሮ አዋርያትናም<sup>378</sup> : ለቁጥሮ አይደለት : አዋርያት : ሌላውና : (sic) B. | 378 Omit B.C; አዋርያት : ሌላውና : ሌላውና : ለቁጥሮ : (sic) ሌላውና

ished Saturday,<sup>54</sup> of all these, is at the ninth hour of the day.<sup>55</sup> The two *gähads*, of Nativity and Epiphany,<sup>56</sup> are at dusk, at the fifteen (foot) shadow. If one drinks water or takes Communion before that (time), he is breaking the fast and the event is cancelled. It is not right for a deacon (who will serve on Sunday) to taste food or water on Saturday after sunset. The three(-days) Fast of Nineveh is at the twenty-five (foot) shadow. Let he who takes Communion at the thirty-five (foot) shadow during the Great Fast,<sup>57</sup> finish, including (the prayer) 'Pilot of the Soul', before | the sun sets. If one takes Communion and comes out after sunset, it breaks the fast.<sup>58</sup> | \*The prophets, the Apostles, and the Doctors of the Church have ordained, saying so. | The prophets as well as the Holy Trinity have ordered and taught; they ordered (these precepts) and taught them from Adam to Simeon the Apostle.<sup>59</sup> The Son of God ordered and taught the twelve Apostles, | the twelve Apostles (passed the teaching) to the seventy-two disciples, the seventy-two disciples to the 300, the 300 to the Doctors of the Church, and the Doctors of the Church to the present (Doctors of the Church). The present | Doctors of the Church will teach (the next) priests and deacons, (and so on) up to the (Second) Coming of Christ.

\*Communion (should be) with three, seven, or with thirteen (loaves of) bread. The size of the seal (on the bread) is a span. | The

COMMENTARY: <sup>54</sup> That is 'Holy Saturday'. It is commanded not to fast on Saturdays and Sundays. But this command is nullified once a year, that is, on Holy Saturday, cf. *HA*, 58 (§ 27); Paulos Tzadua 1968, 94. | <sup>55</sup> 'The time for Saturday is when the morning shadow is 9 (feet)', B C. | <sup>56</sup> The 'no-fast on Christmas and Epiphany' conflicts, if these feast days fall on Wednesday or Friday, which are fast days. The solution is to fast the day before (Tuesday and Thursday) for compensation. These fasts are called *gähad/gad* ('compensation?'). | <sup>57</sup> That is, Lenten Fast. | <sup>58</sup> Not clear. | <sup>59</sup> The reference is obviously to Simeon who received the child Jesus in the Temple at the presentation (Luke 2:25).

ԵՒ : ՀԸՆԻՄ-ԹՅ : ՀԸՆԻ : ԱՇ : ՃԱՇ : ՔԱՇԹ : B; Ա.ԹՎ-ԵՒ : omits C. | <sup>380</sup> ԹԱԶԻ : C. |  
<sup>381</sup> ԱՓԴՄ-ԸՆԻ : ԱԶ.ՔԳԴՒ : (ԱԶ.ՔԴՒ : C) ՀՆՁԵՒ : (ԱԶ.Ս C) ՈՂՄ : ՈՒ : ՂԱՒ : B C. |  
<sup>382</sup> ՄՈՒՊԵԴԹՅ : (ՄՈՒՊԵԴԹՅ : C) ՈՂՄՆԻ : (Ց adds C) ՈՂԻ ԱՈՒ-Թ : ՄԴԴԻ-Թ : ՈՂՄԱՀ : ՄՈՒ-  
 ՓԼ : Բ (Ց C) ՄԴԴԻ-Թ : ("ՄՈՒ- : C) ԻՄՁԵԴՒ : ՄՈՒ : Ա.Ա : ՀԴՄՈՒ(B, fol. 18r)Բ : ՀՄՄՈՒ-ԴԻ :  
 ՄՀԱԱՄՈՒ : (ՄՀԱԱԱՄՈՒ : C) ՈՒ ԾԱԴԻ : ՄՈՒՄԴԱ.Փ : ՄՈՒԱԴԻ : ՀՄՄՀՀ : ԴՈՒ : ՔՂՄՎ :  
 ՂԱՒ : ՀՊԱՀԱԱԿԵ : ԱՀՁԹՅ : ԱՄՄՎ : ՔՅՎԴՒ : ԱԱՎՎ : ՀՀՄԳԴՒ : ՀՀՊԳՐԴՒ :  
 ՀՀՈ-ԾԻ : ՀՀՊՈՊԴՒ : ՈՒՄ : ԱՀՐՎ : ՀՀԱՊ : ԱԼԱԾԻ : (C, fol. 101r) ՔՄ-Դ : ԱԼՎՎ : ՀՀԹԹՅ :  
 ԴՎՊՈՎ : ՈՂՀՈՎ : ՄՈՒՊԵԴԻ : ՈՂՊՈՎ : (ՄՈՒՊԵԴԻ : C) ԴՊՈՒԿԴՎ : ՄԵԴ-Դ : ՊԴ : ԻԱ.Ի :  
 ՔՔԴ : (Ք" C) Ք-ԻԿԸՆԴ : (Ք-ԻԿԸ : Ք. C) ՀԵԴԱ-ԲԱ : (ՀԵԴԱ-ԲԱ : C) ԻՄԸՆԸՆԸՎ :  
 ՀԵԴՊՅ : B C. 'And the sacrifice is with 3 (C 7 seals or loaves of bread?), with thirteen

**ተርፍም :**<sup>385</sup> አይተናልም : ከመሰረርዎችም :<sup>386</sup> ከቀናናም :<sup>387</sup> በገዢ  
 ወለ :<sup>388</sup> ገብ : ጥን ተብ<sup>389</sup> ካበታችም : አዋርቃችም : ይቻ<sup>390</sup> ገበተዋለ :<sup>391</sup> አዋላ  
 ክም : በገዢልም :<sup>392</sup> ካገር :<sup>393</sup> አይተም : በልዋል :<sup>394</sup>  
 ዋም :<sup>395</sup> ይገዢ :  
 የጤና : የጤ : በለ : \*የጤብ : ለበድ : ይሰብከት : ይበበድ : ዋም : አለሁን 5  
 ይተኞ : አቶም : ሂጥኑ : ጥን : ያደት : ለወል : መልከ : የለቁ : | አበርሃም : B, 18v  
 ይሰከቁ : ያደቁብ : ይሁኑ : ለዋ : ቁጥ : መብ : አጋን : | ይቻ ካበታች : C, 101v  
 አበኩ : ለወያን : የተኋመው : ይህ : ነው : ተብ<sup>396</sup> ከልደት : ከሰሰቻል : ወቅሁ :  
 \*ማን : የሆኑ :<sup>397</sup> ዋሙ : አዋርቃች : \*የቃቃሙ :<sup>398</sup> ተልደት : ይ<sup>399</sup> ወጪ :<sup>400</sup> ይኩ  
 ነዋ : አለሁ : \*የቃቃው : ይቃቃም : የተበለ : ለለዘህ : ነው :<sup>401</sup> 10  
 የቃቃም :<sup>402</sup> ተፈው : ሁለ :<sup>403</sup> የነፍሰ : አበት : ገበቶ : በመንፈሰ : ቁጥብ : ተው  
 ለለምን :<sup>404</sup> ገብ :<sup>405</sup> ከይበራኩ : ይረ : | ይገባር :<sup>406</sup> ነው : C, 102r |  
 ለለምን :<sup>407</sup> በለ : ተጠካት : ይሰራየል :<sup>408</sup> ገበኩ : ቁጥብ : ይሁኑ : A, 86v  
 ቁጥብ :<sup>409</sup> በለሁ :<sup>410</sup> መንፈሰ : ቁጥብ : የድርሰል :<sup>411</sup> ለበወተት :<sup>412</sup> መንፈሰ :  
 ቁጥብ : በደረ : ገብ : የእግዢአብአር : \*የመንፈሰ : ቁጥብ :<sup>413</sup> ለቁጥ : ይሁ 15  
 ዓል : አከወተን :<sup>414</sup> አለዓለም :<sup>415</sup> ይወርሰል :<sup>416</sup> ለለዘህ : እንደማለን :  
 የግማማድም : ካገር :<sup>417</sup> ዋም : በቃቃም : ገብ : \*መንፈሰ : ቁጥብ : በልቦና :<sup>418</sup>  
 የድርሰል : \*መንፈሰ : ቁጥብ :<sup>419</sup> በደረ : ገብ : ተብጠሥት : የድርሰል :<sup>420</sup> ለቁጥ  
 ለወ : \*ጋብታው : ዋምታው : የከምታው : አይደለውም :<sup>421</sup> | እውቀት : C, 102v  
 ይመልሰዋል : እንደቁጥ : ለሰተኋም : ዋም :<sup>422</sup> ተፈው : የተሰወረ : ተጠካትን : 20  
 ይገልጻል :<sup>423</sup> ከመንፈሰ : | ቁጥብ : ይረ : ለበወተት :<sup>424</sup> እውቀት : የድርሰል : B, 19v

(stamp) be 3 (C 5, stamps?)?", (it happened) at the time when God said to (Adam), "I shall be born from your daughter and ransom you. I will come to you in five and one half days" and promised him. At the occasion, he showed him (the five) nails (of the Cross) pictorially. He showed him five beliefs (= *The Five Pillars of Mystery?*), five prostrations, five blessings, and five wisdoms. And later, he said to him, "Let this be for your descendants." And Adam received and worshipped with it. He made sacrifices with it. The bread and wine might be more than this, but not less. This should not be in the measurement'. |<sup>383</sup> ወይናት : B. |<sup>384</sup> ቁጥኑ : ይተርፍናች : B.

385 Omit B C. |<sup>386</sup> አይተም : add B C. |<sup>387</sup> እና : C. |<sup>388</sup> ጥን : C. |<sup>389</sup> Omit B C. |<sup>390</sup> Omit B C. |<sup>391</sup> እና : B C. |<sup>392</sup> እናለም : C. |<sup>393</sup> አይወድም : add B C. |<sup>394</sup> በልዋል : C; ይቻተዋለ : add B C. |<sup>395</sup> ዋምም : B C. |<sup>396</sup> አቶም : ሂጥኑ : ጥን : (የሁ : C) ያደት : ለወል : መልከ : የለቁ : (B, fol. 18v) አበርሃም : ይሰከቁ : ያደቁብ : (ወዢ : C) ይሁኑ : ለዋ : ቁጥ : መብ : አጋን : እያ(C, fol. 101v)ብ : በርቁ : (በጥኑ : C) ገመያን : የፋይታኩ : ወቅት : ለለጥን : የታት : \*ማቻ ለቁጥ : (ወቻ ለቁጥ : C) እበታች : አበኩ : ለወያን : ያረሰ : የተኋመ : ዋም : የተደረ : የጤብ : ይሰብከት : ይበበድ : ዋም : አለሁ : ለሰተኋም : የቃቃው : B C. In B C, the list is longer: the fasts ordained from Adam, Enoch, Noah, Japheth, Sem/Shem, Melchizedek, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Levi, Kohath, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Baruch, Gideon, Jephthah, David, Solomon, Nathanael, the 37 major prophets up to Simeon are these three: Friday and Wednesday, forty (days) Səbkät (Advent), and forty (days) Lenten. |<sup>397</sup> የሆኑ : ጥን : ይቃቃም : ነው : የጤና : የጤ : በለ : B C. |<sup>398</sup> ይገዢ B C. |<sup>399</sup> ሁለት : B C. |<sup>400</sup> የልደት : የጥምቀት : add B C. |<sup>401</sup> ይቻ ዋም : የተበለ : አለሁ : የቃቃው : B C. |<sup>402</sup> የገኑ : add B C. |<sup>403</sup> ይገዢ : add B C. |

seal is five at the most. | The number (of the loaves) of bread and grapefruits should be thirteen;<sup>60</sup> it should not be increased or decreased. The prophets, the Apostles, and the 300 have anathematized if it be less. Also, they have said that God will have nothing to do with an incomplete thing.

5

The fasts are seven.

If one asks, ‘What and what (are they)?’, Friday and Wednesday,<sup>61</sup> forty-days of Advent, and forty-days of Lent. These three had been fasted by Adam, Enoch, Noah, Japheth, Sem,<sup>62</sup> Melchizedek, | Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Levi, Kohath, Moses, Aaron, and | the thirty-seven prophets up to Simeon.<sup>63</sup> The fasts established after the Nativity of Christ are these four: the Fast of the Apostles, the fifteen-days Fast of (Mary’s) Assumption, the two(-days Fast of) *gad*,<sup>64</sup> and the three(-days Fast of) Nineveh. That is why they are (collectively) called ‘the Seven Fasts’.

B, 18v  
C, 101v

The fruits of fast, which must be fasted<sup>65</sup> when acquiring a confession father and being born of the Holy Spirit, are seven things, | with five blessings.

15

C, 102r;  
A, 86v

If one asks, ‘Why (do we fast)?’, sin will be forgiven and one becomes pure and holy. When one is holy, the Holy Spirit abides (in him). When the Holy Spirit abides in one’s body, one becomes the Son of God in the Holy Spirit, and inherits life forever. Therefore, we fast. Second, when we fast, [the Holy Spirit] dwells (in us). When the Holy Spirit dwells (in us), perseverance dwells. When one is made capable (by the help of the Holy Spirit), one does not suffer hunger, or thirst, or exhaustion, because | knowledge repels (these).<sup>66</sup> Third, the fruit of fast is when it brings hidden sins out into the open. Knowledge

20

25  
C, 102v

COMMENTARY: <sup>60</sup> What ‘3 7’ means is not clear. It is possible that one source has 3 and the other 7. | <sup>61</sup> Interestingly, the Am expression is always so (‘Fridays and Wednesdays’), never ‘Wednesdays and Fridays’. | <sup>62</sup> Or ‘Shem’. | <sup>63</sup> Simeon mentioned in Luke 2:25. | <sup>64</sup> That is, *gāhad*. | <sup>65</sup> Lit. ‘when fasted’. | <sup>66</sup> Not clear.

<sup>404</sup> **አዎ· :** add B.C. | <sup>405</sup> **ፋይዎ· :** add B.C. | <sup>406</sup> Omits C. | <sup>407</sup> **ምንጻ :** **ምን :** add B.C. | <sup>408</sup> Amharicized Gz word. **የኢትነርያ :** B.C. | <sup>409</sup> **ንግድ :** B.C. | <sup>410</sup> **”ን :** **በለዎ-ኑት :** B.C. | <sup>411</sup> **ያጋጋጋው-ታል :** B. | **ያጋጋጋው-አ :** C. | <sup>412</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>413</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>414</sup> **”ት :** B.C. | <sup>415</sup> **ው** **ንግሥት :** **ሰማያናት :** add B.C. | <sup>416</sup> **ይዋልናል :** B.C. | <sup>417</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>418</sup> Omits A. | <sup>419</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>420</sup> **ያጋጋጋው-አ :** B. | <sup>421</sup> **እነዱ-ተም :** **(እይዳለው-ም :** adds C) **እርጋጥ-ም :** **እይዳለው-ም :** **እም-ተም :** **እይዳለው-ም :** **(እይዳለው- :**) B.C. | <sup>422</sup> Omits C. | <sup>423</sup> **ይጋጽና :** C. | <sup>424</sup> **የነ :** B.C.

ԱՐԴ : մշշեղ : ՀՀՅ : ԱՀՎ : ԴԿ : <sup>425</sup> հետական : ՀԵԴԴՅ : ԴԿ : <sup>426</sup> ԴՄՍՀԴԴ : <sup>427</sup> ԵՂԱՋԱ : <sup>428</sup> \*ԳԵՒ : ԱՐԴ : ՔՔ : <sup>429</sup> ԷԴԴՅ : <sup>430</sup> ԴԿ : ՔՄՅ : ԱՐԴ : ԵՂՄԱ : ՀԵԴԴՅ : <sup>431</sup> հեղԱկանեաւ : ՔՔ.ՔՀԱ.Ա : <sup>432</sup> ՔՔ.ՔՄՅ : <sup>433</sup> ՆՈ.ՔԴ : <sup>434</sup> ՈՂՅ : <sup>435</sup> ՈՂԱՆԴ : ԻԵ.ՊՂ : <sup>436</sup> ԵՂ : ՔԱ : ԱՓԱ : ԴԵԴԿ : <sup>437</sup> ԱԴ : ԱԸԴ : ԴԵԲ : <sup>438</sup> ՀԵԴԴՅ : <sup>439</sup> ՈՂԱՆԴ : ԹԱՀՊԴ : <sup>440</sup> ԹԱՀՎՈԴԴ : <sup>441</sup> ՀՂԱՆԴ : <sup>442</sup> | ՔԸ.ՊՂ : <sup>443</sup> ՈՂԱՆՍ : ՀՀՅԱՂԴ : <sup>444</sup> ԴԿ : ՊԴ : ՔԴԳՈ : ՀՈԴ : <sup>445</sup> ՈՉԵՄ : <sup>446</sup> ՈՄՅ ԱԸ : ՔՔ.Ո : ՈԵՎՈՂԴ : <sup>447</sup> ԷՇԱՆԻ : ՈԵԱ : Ո.ԶՄՅ : <sup>448</sup> ԹԱՀՅ : <sup>449</sup> ԱԵՄ ՅՅ : ԱՐԴ : <sup>450</sup> ՔՅ : <sup>451</sup> ՀՊԴ : ԿԵՄԳԴ : Ո.ՄԴ : ԹԱՀԿԲ : Ո.ՈՄՅ : ՈՄ ՔԸ : ԹԱՀԸՀ : \*ՀՊԱԿԱՆԵԱ : ՀՀՅՀ.ՈՎՀ : <sup>452</sup> ՀՊՎ : Ո.ՈՎՔ : ՀՀՅ<sup>453</sup> ՔՊԱՀԴԴ : <sup>454</sup> ԴՎԱՀԵԴ : ԱԸ.ԱԸ : ՔՔ.ՈԴ : <sup>455</sup> \*ԹԱՄՈՎՀ : ԱԸ ԱԸ : <sup>456</sup> ԹԱՄՈՎՀ : ԱՀՎԴ : \*ԹԱՄՈՎՀ : ԴԵԴԴՅ : <sup>457</sup> Ո.ՈՎՔ : ԹԱՀՅ : ԵՂՊԱ : ՀՀՅ<sup>458</sup> ՀՊՎԴ : ՀՀՅ<sup>459</sup> ՈՂԱՆԴ : ՀՊԴԳԴԴ : <sup>460</sup> ՀՀՅ<sup>461</sup> ՈՂԱՆԻ : <sup>462</sup> Ո.ՈՎՔ : Ո.ՔԴԿ : <sup>463</sup> Ո.ՄԴ : ԹԱՀՅ : ԵՂՊԱ : ՀՀՈՂԱՆՍ : <sup>464</sup> Ա, 87r ՊԴ : ՈՒ : <sup>465</sup> ԱԴՅ : ՈՂԱ : <sup>466</sup> ԹԱՀՅ : ՀԱՎ.ԳԴԴՅ : ՔԵՄՊԱ : <sup>467</sup> ՔՂՄ : ԻԻՐՀՊԴ : <sup>468</sup> ՐԱՂՈՎ : ԻՂԱՆԴ : <sup>469</sup> ԵՂ : ԹԱՀՅ : <sup>470</sup> ԵՂՊԱ : ՀՊԱԿԱՆԵԱ : ՄՊԴ : <sup>471</sup> \*ԿԱՎՖԵՀՍ : ԿԵՄԳԴ : ԻԸԱՈՎՖԵՀՍ : <sup>472</sup> ԹԱՊՈՂԵՍ Մ-Դ : ԿԱՊԸՀԵՍ : <sup>473</sup> \*ԹԱՀՅ : Ո.ՄԴ : ԹԱՀՅ : <sup>474</sup> Ո.Ժ.ՀԸՀ : ՀԵԴՀՅ : ՔՅ : ԱՀԴՎՈ : <sup>475</sup> ԹԱՀԱ.ՔԴ : ԻԻՐՀՅ : ՄՊԸՀ : <sup>476</sup> ԱԸԻ : ՈՊՐՅ : <sup>477</sup> ԹԳՄՅ : <sup>478</sup> ՓԵՀԿՄՅ : ԻՄ : ՆԸ : ՀՊԱԿԱՆԵԱ : ԱՀԴՎՈ : ՔՊՄՅԴՅ : \*ՖԿԸ.ՔԴ : ՀԵՀԱՀԵՀԴԴ : ԹԳՄՅ : <sup>479</sup> ՓԵՀԿՄՅ : ԻՄ : ՆԸ : ՀՊԱԿԱՆԵԱ : ԱՀԵՎՈ : <sup>480</sup> ԱՀՀԵՎ.Յ : <sup>481</sup> Ո.ՄՊԱԸ.ԱԸ.Դ : ՔՂՄ.Ո : <sup>482</sup> ԻՊԸ : <sup>483</sup> ԹԳՄՍՀ : ԴԱՀ : ՔՊՀ.Ա : <sup>484</sup> ՔՂԱՎՈ : ՀՀՅ.Դ : <sup>485</sup> ՔՄ-Դ : <sup>486</sup> Ո.Ա. : <sup>487</sup> ՔՂԱՎ.Յ : \*ՀՀՅ 5 C, 103r B, 20r C, 103v B, 20v A, 87v 20 C, 104r A, 87v 25

APPARATUS: 425 Omit B.C. | 426 "Ճ" : B. | 427 "Դ" : B.C. | 428 "Ա" B. | 429 Omit B.C. | 430 ՃՐԹ  
 ՃՐԴԹ : B.C. | 431 ՈՐՃՐԴԹ : ԴԿ : B.C. | 432 ՔՃՔՃԹ : B.C. | 433 Omit B.C. |  
 434 ԴԴԹ : B.C. | 435 "ԹԹ" : B.C. | 436 ԻՆԱՌԱՌՈՒԵԾ : B.C. | 437 ԴՆՇԴՆ : B.C. | 438 ՈՐԴ  
 ԴԹ : B.C. | 439 "ԹԹ" : B. | 440 Omits B; ՈՐՄ : C. | 441 ՈՐՄ : B. | 442 Omit B.C. | 443 The  
 seventh might have been ՈՐԴԴԹ : ՈՐԳ : ԹԹՔՊԴՒ : ՀՃՆԴ : ՔԾՃԹ : | 444 Ն  
 38 : ՊՂՆ : B. | 445 ՔԾ : add B.C. | 446 ԴԵՒ : B.C. | 447 "Ճ" : B.C. | 448 ԿՄՊՈՂՆ : ՄՋԳԹ :  
 B.C. | 449 "ԹԹԳԹ" : B. | 450 ՈՂՆ : C. | 451 "ԹԾՈՒ" : B.C. | 452 ՀՆՇՃԾՈՒ : ՀԱՌԱՌՈՒԵԾ : B.C. |  
 453 ՔՄԾ : C. | 454 "ՃԴԴ" : C. | 455 "ՈՒ" : C. | 456 Omits B. | 457 ԴԴՄԽՆ : ՄՋՀՅՅ : B.C. | 458 Ք B  
 C. | 459 Ք B.C. | 460 "Դ" : B; ՓՅՊԴՒ : C. | 461 Ք B.C. | 462 Ք ՊՈՊԴՒ : add B.C. | 463 "Ճ" B. |  
 464 ՀՅՈՒ : ԱՒ : B.C. | 465 ՈՒՅՆ : MA; ԿՎ : add B.C. | 466 ՈՒՆՈՒ : C. | 467 [ԵՃՄՂՆ : This  
 is one of the many examples where agreement—be it with number or gender—is  
 routinely violated. ԴԿ : ՊԴ : add B.C. | 468 "ՃԴ" : B.C. | 469 ԻԽՊՊՂՆԴՒ : add B.C. |  
 470 Omit B.C. | 471 ՀԿԴ : B.C. | 472 ԿՃԱՌՈՓՃՄՍ : ԿԵՄՊԴՒ : ԿՃԱՓՃՄՍ : ԵՃԱՌՈՓՃՄՍ :  
 ԿԵՄՊԴՒ : ԿՃԱՓՃՄՍ : C. | 473 ԿՃՈՓՃՄՍ : B; ԿՃՈՓՃՄՍ : C. | 474 ՊԾՈՒ : B.C. | 475 Omit B  
 C. | 476 Omit B.C. | 477 ՔՃՆ : add B.C. | 478 ՊԾՈՒ : B.C. | 479 ՈՒՄԾ : ԳՎՃԾՊԴՒ : ՈՒՄԾՀԿԾ  
 ԴԴՒ : ՊԿԽՄ : B.C. | 480 ԱԽՊՎՄ : C. | 481 ՈՒՆՈՒ : add B.C. | 482 ՔՃՎ : ՈՎՄ : B.C. | 483 ԻՒ

will dwell in one's body with the Holy | Spirit. The mind would deal B, 19v with spiritual (matters); it does not concern itself with corporal matters. Fourth point, it reveals education:<sup>67</sup> the eye of the mind sees. Fifth point, the ear of the mind hears. Sixth, it causes mutual love with God. Formerly, the prophets conversed with the Creator word for word through fast and prayer; they (and God) saw each other face to face. Seventh, offering, prayer, and almsgiving are | lifted by fast. C, 103r Therefore, we fast. But if one fasts without acquiring a confession father, | and not being born in the Holy Spirit, it would not amount to A, 87r fasting. 10

When | fasting, it is important to fast while learning the law and the faith, attending to scriptural (readings), asking the knowledgeable questions about how God created heaven and earth, and inquiring about the twenty-two creations,<sup>68</sup> the unity of the Holy Trinity, the Mystery of Trinity, the Mystery of Incarnation, and the Mystery of Resurrection. It is important to fast with inquiry, studying, and | C, 103v learning about the five beliefs,<sup>69</sup> the five prostrations to the ground, the five nails (of the Cross), and the five blessings. Without (attending to) these, (fasting) is futile. Just fasting, animals, too, do fast.<sup>70</sup> It is important that he who has (money) fasts with almsgiving, and he who does not have fasts with prayer. God has said to them, 'Unless you know the law, keep the faith, and purify your | deeds, you will not be B, 20v justified in whatever you do.'<sup>71</sup> Formerly, he said to the thirty-seven prophets from Adam to Simeon, '*Taste, so you may know that God is good.*'<sup>72</sup> Again, he said to the Apostles and seventy-two disciples, 25 'Taste, so you may know that | God is good.'

When they | responded to him, saying, 'He who has wealth can learn hiring a teacher, but what would he who does not have wealth do?', he said, 'Those who do not have (enough), let them be (a group of) five, or six, or seven and look for a teacher and learn.' Therefore, 30

COMMENTARY: <sup>67</sup> Lit. 'learning'. The inability to learn is not attributed to lack of intelligence but to the fact that a divine power has not revealed the knowledge hidden to the student. There are prayers to reveal knowledge to the student. | <sup>68</sup> The story of the Creation fascinates the clergy of all other stories. In some manuscripts it is copied with *The Five Pillars of Mystery.* | <sup>69</sup> That is, *The Five Pillars of Mystery.* | <sup>70</sup> That is, 'they are vegetarians' or 'frugivorous'. | <sup>71</sup> Unidentified, unless it is an elaboration of Mark 9:29. | <sup>72</sup> Ps. 33:9/34:8.

፻፻፻ : B. Here ከኅር : is ሁብት : , 'wealth'. Cf. ከኅር-ብ : , 'wealthy'. | <sup>484</sup> መግዻዣ : የአ-ተምህረት የአ : ("እ" C) B.C. | <sup>485</sup> እንዲተና : C. | <sup>486</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>487</sup> እለ-ት : B.C.

APPARATUS: 488 **ች** or **ቻ** B, not clear. | 489 **ቻ** : B.C. | 490 **መምኑ** : B.C. | 491 **ለ.ማራብ** : **አ.ማራብ** : **አባ** : **መጠበቅ** : **የይማኖት** : **ማውቅ** : B.C. | 492 **ይ** : B.C. | 493 **ም** : B.C. | 494 **አ.ከህለ** : B.C. | 495 B **ይ** : | 496 **[አበሮ :** **በበሮ** : B.C. | 497 **ተ.የሆነ** : B. ተ is a combination of ተ and ባ. | 498 **ም** : B; **ይ** : **መ** : C. | 499 **ቻ** C. | 500 **ለሳ** : B.C. | 501 **አው** : C. | 502 **ማለት** : add B.C. | 503 Omit B.C. | 504 **የች** B.C. | 505 **የመ** : B.C. | 506 **አለኑ.ማም** : B.C. | 507 Omits C. | 508 **የተተቀባዩ** **በለ** : B.C. | 509 **ይህናል** : B.C. | 510 **ሥራት** : B.C. | 511 **ይህናል** : B.C. | 512 **ው** : B.C. | 513 **አይ** **ማውያም** : C. | 514 **ለ** : B.C. | 515 **በ** : B.C. | 516 **ከተመት** : B.C. | 517 **ማለት** : B.C. | 518 **በ** : B.C. | 519 **የራሬት** : **የዘ** : B.C. | 520 **አይ.የው** : A. | 521 **አንተን** : B.C. | 522 Omit B.C. | 523 **ንው** : **አበሮ** : **የተም** : **አከለ** : **መማሪ** : **ዘረዘሩለ** : **ቻ** (**ቻ** C) **አቶምንት** : **ዘይወ** : **አለኑ.የ** : **ለድ.የተማን** : **ለተመ.ማን** : **ለድ.ው.ማን** : B.C. ‘What (the source) said, “There is no prohibition of food and drink other than when the 6/7 fasts”, concerns the elderly, the feeble, the sick, and the patients.’ | 524 **ሁ.ለ** : add B.C. | 525 **ው.ም** : B; **የት.የተታው** : ? C. | 526 Omit B.C. | 527 **አ** : B.C. | 528 Omit B.C. | 529 **የፍእነታታው.ም** : B.C. | 530 Omit B.C. | 531 **ሁ.ለ** : B.C. | 532 **ነህ** : B;

communities were instituted to learn the law and to keep the faith. Without this, Christianity is not right.

The Holy Scriptures say, | ‘Christian children shall fast the Fast of Salvation, after (the age of) seven years. If they abstain from proscribed animal products, they can eat grain meal and drink | water until (the age of) twelve years. Whoever prolongs<sup>73</sup> (the time) after this, let him be separated from his Christianity.’ What (the source) says, ‘There is no proscribed animal products but during the Great Fast and the Fast of Salvation’, concerns children. There is no feasting in the middle of fasts. Anyone who observes the fasts, including penance 10 fast—be it a priest, or a monk, or an elderly person—if he eats animal products before completing his intended fast, it will be a Jewish fast against him; it will be (adhering to) the law of the pagan and the heretics against him. His Christianity will be abolished against him. It is not right.

A monk shall not have lunch from | year to year, other than on the three days. Lunch is for | children. When a young monk<sup>74</sup> eats his lunch, | three things will be conceived in his body, as a child would be conceived in the womb of a woman when she spends a night with a man.

If one asks, ‘What and what (are they)?’, they are arrogance, concupiscence, and anger. And Satan will ultimately have him commit all (the three) sins. Therefore, he should not have lunch.

What (the source) says, ‘There is no prohibition of food and water (for lunch) for the elderly, the feeble, the sick, and the patient other than during the Seven Fasts’, means that there is no prohibition of food and water (for lunch) for them other than during the Seven Fasts. But their time (for meal) should not be skipped, because if it is skipped and they curse, they will be lost. This will be | their mistake.

‘Mä’ (መ) means ‘the work | of God is marvelous’.<sup>75</sup>

If one asks, ‘What does “his work is marvelous” mean?’, (it means) it is impossible to limit or define God. There is no firmament over him. Nothing overshadows him above the seven suspensions. Nor is there a foundation under the four bases which he erected. (The source)

COMMENTARY: <sup>73</sup> Possibly ‘refuses’. | <sup>74</sup> Not clear. But that abbots clothe children with monastic garbs is a fact. | <sup>75</sup> Cf. Ps. 97/98:1.

”ዘ፡ C. | <sup>533</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>534</sup> ”፡ B; አፋ፡ C. | <sup>535</sup> ስቃ፡ B; ስቃ፡ C. | <sup>536</sup> Omit B C.

ከተ :<sup>537</sup> ይደግ : አያውጥ : መለከተስ :<sup>538</sup> እ.ይተክሁል : ይተበህል :  
 በንተ : የአከላ : መነገት : ይመስላ : ይላል :<sup>539</sup> መገኘፋይም :<sup>540</sup> መለከተን :  
 ይህን : ይመስላል : ይህን : ይህላ : ይለ-ት : ከንድ : እይታልም : \*ማብራ :  
 መንክር :<sup>541</sup> ወዕጥ-ብ :<sup>542</sup> ነው :<sup>543</sup>  
 የማመኝም : ንግ : ይችጥረታት : እንድ : ቅን : በስርከ : ስ.ፋ.ጥር : | ይገ<sup>544</sup> B, 22v  
 በአርምም : እንዳ-ን :<sup>545</sup> ተገኘር :<sup>546</sup> ስ.የመክ : የለለው-ን : እንዳለ :<sup>547</sup> እድ : A, 88v |  
 ሪት : አልሰራው-ን : ክዘሁ : አመክ :<sup>548</sup> ክዘሁ : አመክ :<sup>549</sup> ይለ-ት : ከንድ : C, 106r  
 እይታልም : እርስ-፡ | ስ.የው-ቀው : እንዲ : ሁ-ተኞም :<sup>550</sup> ማንም : አያው-ቀ  
 መም : C, 106v  
 የይማጥት : በምን :<sup>551</sup> ጥብር : ይችላል : በለ-ህ : እንከያብ :<sup>552</sup> የይማጥት : 10  
 \*በ-ለት :<sup>553</sup> ለው-ነት :<sup>554</sup> ይችላል :<sup>555</sup> በል :<sup>556</sup>  
 ማ : ብ : ለረዥ : በሥር : እምድ-ንግል : እንበበል : እርአ : ብለበ : ለአድ-  
 ነጥ :<sup>557</sup>  
 ምንው : \*የለ-ህ : እንድሁን :<sup>558</sup> ተከይ : ክመስከት : ብቁ : እንድ-ትል : እምሳ  
 ክኩ : ለማይና : ምድር : ይችለው : ቅድ-ም :<sup>559</sup> ክእምዘአብኬር : እብ : 15  
 ቅል : ክለብ : እንዳውለድ : \*ተውለድ : እንሰ[ለ]ል :<sup>560</sup> ክእምዘአትኩ : ማር B, 23r  
 የም : ማጥተመ : ይ-ንግልናምን :<sup>561</sup> ለይፈጻቸ : ብቁ : እብ : ተውለድ : እንሰ C, 107r  
 ለን :<sup>562</sup>  
 ሌ : ብ : ለማና : ለማይናት : ወምድ-እ : ማለት : ነው :<sup>563</sup>  
 ምንው : በለ- : ለማይና : ምድር : በየየው : እንድ : ገል : ተቀጥቻው : ይፈር 20  
 ለል : ይ-ንግልናም :<sup>564</sup> በየየው : እንድ : ለም :<sup>565</sup> ቅልው : ይፈሳል : በምን :  
 ይ-ሰኞቸው-ና :<sup>566</sup> እንመረጃው :<sup>567</sup> በለ- :<sup>568</sup> እዋን : እንመረጃው :<sup>569</sup> እብ : እኩ  
 ዓት : መንፈል : ቅድ-ብ : እንዳት : እንድ-ታገምረው : እኩ  
 ዓት : ክመርዋዕ : ሥር : ክኩናው : ክፍት : \*ከድሂ : የም :<sup>571</sup> ወልድ : ተቀ A, 89r  
 በለ- : ለለበ : \*ሰማያናም : ምድናናናም :<sup>572</sup> በእምዘአትኩ :<sup>573</sup> እገናው : B, 23v  
 ቅድ-ም : ቅል : ክኩ : እለው :<sup>574</sup> እንበበል : ክለው : እንበበል : ቅድ-ሙ : | C, 107v  
 እንዳይመኩው :<sup>575</sup> ቅድ-ምም : ስ.ፋ.ጥር : \*ቃ ለቀለታት :<sup>576</sup> ለቀለው :<sup>577</sup> ይገ<sup>578</sup>  
 ይድ : መዋረትን :<sup>579</sup> እንበበል : እውታር : እንበበል : ክለማ : እንበበል : የምለ :  
 እንበበል : ይገና : መቁምም : እቁምት :<sup>580</sup> እነረፍ :<sup>581</sup> ባረም : እንዲ

APPARATUS: <sup>537</sup> በታ-አብ : B.C. | <sup>538</sup> መመ” B.C. | <sup>539</sup> ”ና : B.C. | <sup>540</sup> ”ተም : B.C. | <sup>541</sup> መንክር :  
 ማብራ : B; መንክር : ጥብር : C. | <sup>542</sup> ወዕጥ-ብ : C. | <sup>543</sup> በ.ባል : እንዲ ይ B.C. | <sup>544</sup> ይ : B.C. | <sup>545</sup> ይ B  
 C. | <sup>546</sup> በንተ-ብ : B.C. | <sup>547</sup> እንዳለ : B. | <sup>548</sup> አመቅ : C. | <sup>549</sup> አመቅ : B.C. | <sup>550</sup> ”ን : B.C. | <sup>551</sup> በ  
 መንክር : B.C. | <sup>552</sup> እንዳ-የው-ለ : B; እንዳ-የው-ለ : C. | <sup>553</sup> Omits B. | <sup>554</sup> በው- : B. | <sup>555</sup> በው-  
 ነት : እንዲ : በ-ለት : (የችል : adds C) እይታልም : B.C. | <sup>556</sup> መንክር : ጥብር : ወዕጥ-ብ : በ.ባል :  
 እንዲ : adds C. | <sup>557</sup> Cf. ወአይ-ኩኩ : of the first stanza of Monday's *Wəddase Maryam*. |  
<sup>558</sup> የምንው : በለ- : B.C. | <sup>559</sup> Omits B. | <sup>560</sup> የተውለድ : እንበበል : እባት : B.C; ክእናት : adds C. |  
<sup>561</sup> ”ና : B.C. | <sup>562</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>563</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>564</sup> ይ-ንግልናም : C. | <sup>565</sup> ወዕጥ : B.C. | <sup>566</sup> ይ : ይ-ሰኞ  
 ወ-ም : C. | <sup>567</sup> እንመረጃ : B. Amharicized. | <sup>568</sup> በ.ለ-ለ- : B; በ.ለ-ኩ : C. | <sup>569</sup> በል : add B.C. |  
<sup>570</sup> እይታለው : B.C. | <sup>571</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>572</sup> ለማይና : ምድር : ዓ : በቅለው : B.C. | <sup>573</sup> እ” B.C. |  
<sup>574</sup> እነረፍት : B.C. | <sup>575</sup> እንዳ-የው-ለ : A. | <sup>576</sup> Omits A; ለበአቶን : ስ” C. | <sup>577</sup> Omit B.C. |  
<sup>578</sup> እራ-ኩኩ : B.C. | <sup>579</sup> ”ተ : B.C. | <sup>580</sup> ”ም : ስርታት : B.C. | <sup>581</sup> ”እ : B.C.

says, ‘*It is impossible to say, “Divinity is this size or looks like this.”*’ The Scripture, too, says, ‘It is impossible to say, “Divinity looks like this or is this size.”’<sup>76</sup> *His work is marvelous and amazing.*’

Furthermore, when he created eight creations at dusk on a Sunday—when he brought | the seven in silence, and the one | in speaking—has he not created the non-existent ones making them existent? It is impossible to say, ‘He brought (them) from here or he brought (them) out of here.’ Only he knows it. | No one knows his being either.

If one asks you, ‘By what act is (the knowledge of) faith possible?’, say, ‘Well, it is possible (to know) religion with honest discussion.’<sup>77</sup>

‘*Śā’ (ව)* means ‘he appeared (like the sun) in flesh from a virgin without the seed of man for salvation’.<sup>78</sup>

If you are asked, ‘What is (this)?’, we say, ‘God, whom heaven and earth cannot (carry), was formerly born from God the Father as word is born | from the heart.’ We say, ‘He showed up, | he was born, from Our Lady Mary<sup>79</sup> without unlocking the seal of her virginity.’

‘*Rā’ (ල)* means ‘heaven and earth are still’.

If one asks, ‘What is (this)?’, if he stared at heaven and earth, they will crumble, crushed like potsherd. If he stared at stone, it will crumble, melted like wax.<sup>80</sup>

If one asks, ‘How was (Mary) capable (to carry him) and contain him?’, yes, she contained him. The Father strengthened her, and the Holy Spirit cleansed her; he made her capable (to carry him and) to contain him. The Son received flesh from her flesh, soul from her soul, | and blood from her blood and wore (it). He strengthened the heaven and the earth by his | divinity. He had formerly a covenant not to destroy them before the time, before the appointed time. | Formerly, when he created (them), he had erected them, suspending the four bases (of) the foundation without beam, without stake, without pole, without support, and without leg. Today, too, similarly, Christ has held them by his divine authority and supported them. And today,

COMMENTARY: <sup>76</sup>The Am translates the Gz quotation. Both are from the same source/Scripture. | <sup>77</sup>Unsure. | <sup>78</sup>See the first stanza of Monday’s *Wəddase Maryam*. | <sup>79</sup>‘Who was born without a father’, B C. | <sup>80</sup>Cf. 2 Pet. 3:10.

ՔՓ- : 582 հՀԸՒՔ : 583 ՈՄԱԹԻ : ՀԹԱՒԽԻՒ : ՔՓ : 584 ՀՓՄԴԱ : 585  
ԿԱՐՄ : ՔԱ : Ի.ՀՂ : ՔԱՀՈ : ՈՓ- : ԻՓԱ- : 586 ՂԵՄՈՂՈ : ԻՀԸՒՔՅՈՒ :  
ՀԵՂՈՄ Է  
Ո : Ո : ՈՒԱ : ԻՆ : ԻՄՂ : ԱՀՂՈՂ : ՇՈՒԽԻ : ՂԺՄԵՇ :  
ՄԿՄ- : Ո.Ա.Ս- : 587 \*ՀՀՂՋՇ : ՈՓ- : ՄՒ : ՀԹԱՂԻ : ԻՇՄ.ԽԻ : ՈՓԸ : 588 B, 24r  
ՈՒՇ : ԱԽՄ- : ԴՎՈՂ : ՆՈՒՐԻ : ՀՀՂ : ԴԳՂԴԻ : 589 \*ՀԱ : ՀԳ C, 108r  
ՄՊՄ : 590 ԴՄ- : ՅՄՈՂ : ՔԱ : ԼՈՒ : ՈՒԽՈՂ : 591 ԳՓԸ : ԴՆՀՈՒ : 592  
ՅՄՈՒ-Դ : ՈԿ : ԻՆԱ- : ԶՂՄ- : 593 ՈՒԽՄՄ : ԶԱՐ : ՀԼ : 594 Հ.ՂԵՔ  
ՈՄ- : 595 ԴՄ- : ԶՂՂԱ : ԴՂԴՈ : ՄԴՎՈՂ : ՈՓ- : ՄԴՂՄԲԲ- : ՈՄ- :  
Հ.ՔԸՆ- : ՀԱ : 596 ՔՂՀ : 597 ԱՄ- : ԻՀՂԳՄ : ԻՀԸՒԽԻ : ՔԲՂՊ : ՔՆՈՂՄ- : 10  
ԱՄ- : 598 ՈՈՂՈՎ- : \*ԻՀԸՒԽԻ : ՀԹԱՂԻ : 599 ԳՀ.ԳՄ- : ՈՓ- : ՄՒ :  
ՈՓ.ԳՄ- : 600 ԳՀ.ԳՄ- : ՀԹԱՂԻ : ՄՒ : Ի.ՈՒՐՄ- : ՈՈՂՈՒ- : 601 ՈՒԱ : ԻՀՂԳՄԻ  
ՆԻ : ԱԼՏՂԸՐ- : 602 ՈՓ.ԳՄ- : ՄՂԴԻ- : ՈՒԱ : ԻՀՂԳՄԻՒ : ԱԼՂՈԶ  
ԱՄ- : 603 \*ԴԵՂԸԲ : ԱՄ- : ՈՈՂ : 604  
Փ : Ո : ՓԲՂՄ- : ՔԱ : Մ-ԽԻ : 605 15  
ՔՄԴ : 606 ՈՂՊՐԴ- : ՀԱ : Ո.Ա.Ս- : | ՔՓԲՄ- : 607 ՔԱ : ԱՄ- : ՄՒ : Մ-Ա B, 24v  
ԴԴ- : 608 ՔԱ : ՀՈՂ : 609 Ո.Ա.Ս- : \*ԴՊՄՀՈՒ : ՔԱ : ՔՂՊ- : ՄԴԳ.ԳԴ- : C, 108v  
ՀՀՂԻԽՈՒ- : ՊՈՓ- : ԴԳՂՀ- : ՀՀՂԻ- : ԴԳՂՀ- : Ո.Ա- : ՈՓ- : ՀՊԱ.ԽՈ  
ԽԸ : ԻՀԸՒԽՈՒ- : ՔՊԸ.ՔՄ- : ԱԸ- : ԻՀԸՒԽՈՒ- : ՀՐՓՂԴՄ-Դ- : Ո.Ա- :  
ՄԴԳ.ԳԴ- : ԴԳՂՀ- : ՔՂՊԱ.ԽՈԽԸ : ՀՈՒ : ԱԸ- : ՔԱ- : ԱՄ- : ՀԱՈ 20  
ՈՄ- : ՈՓ- : ՄԿԸ.ՔՄ- : ՔԱ : ՈՓԼ.Դ- : Ո.Ա- : ՄԴԳ.ԳԴ- : ԴԳՂՀ- :  
ԵՂԴ- : ՀՀՂԸ.Ը- : ՀՀՂԻԽՈՒ- : ՊՈՓ- : ԴԳՂՀ- : \*610 ԶՊՄՀՈՒ- : ՔՂՊ- : 611  
ՔՊԱ.ԽԸ : \*ՔՊՊԲ- : ՔՂՊ- : 612 ԱԸ- : ՀԹՊԲՄ- : 613 ԶՂՄԴ- : ՂԵՂԸԸԸ- : C, 109r  
ՔԱ : Ի.Ը.ՈՒ : ՀՀՂԸ.ՈՓԸ- : | ԻՀՊԱ.ԽՈԽԸ : ՀՈՒ : ՀՀՂՈՂ : ՀԳԴ- : 614 \*Ք B, 25r  
ԴՎՈՂ : ՆՈՒ- : 615 ԿԱՐՄ- : ՀԸԸ- : 616 ՀՀՂՈՂ : ՀԳԴ- : ԻՀՊԱ.ԽԸ- : ՄԿ 25  
ՔՄ- : ԱՄ- : 617 ՈՈՂ : 618 ՀԱ :  
Ո : Ո : ՈՒԽՄ-ԴՄ- : ՈՂԸ- :  
ՄԿՄ- : Ո.Ա- : ՔԱԸ- : 619 ՈՄԴ- : ՔՂԸ.ՈՓ- : ՈՂԸ.Ը- : ՄԿԸ.Ը- : Հ.ՔՂՄԸ.Ը- :  
ՀԸԸ- : 620 ՈՄԴ- : ՔՂԸ.Ը- : ՔՂԸ.Ը- : 621 Բ.622 ԻՆԸ- : ԻԸ.Ա.Ը- : 623 ԳՂԸ- :

APPARATUS: 582 **፩፻** in B, has the vowel signs of the third and sixth orders. It is **፩፻** and **፩፻** at the same time. | 583 Omit B.C. | 584 **፩፻፻** : B.C. | 585 **፩፻፻፻** : አለ : add B.C. | 586 **ቍለ** : B; **አቍለ** : corrects C. | 587 **፩፻፻** : B.C. | 588 **አምራክክ** : ከዚጠቅዬት : ("አንተቻ") C) **በፍር** : **አንተቻ** : ስወጥ : **ሁን** : B.C. | 589 **፩፻** : B.C. | 590 **አምጥ** : **፩፻፻** : B.C. | 591 **በፍር** : B. | 592 **ተስስዴ** : C. | 593 Omit B.C; or it was not in the original. | 594 Omits B. | 595 **፩፻፻** : add B.C. | 596 Omit B.C. | 597 **የን** : B.C. | 598 Omits B. | 599 **አምራክክ** : ከዚጠቅዬ : (**አንተቻ** : C) B.C. | 600 **ስወጥ** : B.C. | 601 **ለበስ** : B. | 602 **አልተጋለም** : B.C. | 603 **አልተጋለም** : B.C. | 604 Omit B.C. | 605 **ቍለ** : add B.C. | 606 **ቋንቃ** : B; **ቋንቃ** : C. | 607 **የቀመጥቻቸው** : (sic) B.C; cf. **የቋንቃ** ከ **የቀመጥቻቸው** :. | 608 **የቋንቃ** ውስጥ : B.C. | 609 **አልተገለም** : B.C. | 610 Omits A. | 611 **የጥንት** : add B.C. | 612 Omits C. | 613 **የም** :. | 614 **አባት** : adds B. | 615 Omits B; **ከአባት** : C. | 616 **ቍለ** : add B.C. | 617 Omit B.C. | 618 **ለበስ** : C. | 619 **ቍለ** : B.C. | 620 **ስወጥ** : B.C. | 621 **ቋንቃ** ውስጥ : B.C. | 622 **ለበስ** : B.C. | 623 **ከዚ** : B; **ከዚ** : C.

whoever abolishes a covenant does not deserve Christianity, unless he retracts his words (by which he violated his covenant).

‘Sä’ (¶) means ‘he became human like us except for sin’.

If one asks you, ‘What is (this)?’,<sup>81</sup> God became human like us, | except for sin. He was born in Bethlehem, as | the prophets had foretold. Adam, too, had said, ‘Behold, the Word of the Father will come down drawn by the rope of love; he will die for the redemption of the whole world, in the suffering of crucifixion.’<sup>82</sup> And Isaiah had said, ‘Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and she shall call his name Jesus.’<sup>83</sup> He wore the flesh, the flesh that was before Adam’s error.<sup>84</sup> God became the perfect man with (all) his glory. And man became the perfect God. But because he wore glory, | he did not increase in his divinity; and because he became man he did not decrease from his divinity. He wore flesh without being separated (from Trinity?).

‘Qä’ (Φ) means in the beginning was the Word.<sup>85</sup>

If one asks you, ‘Why did it say this: | The former Word became flesh?’ If one asks you, ‘Is there a second Word?’, there is actually no second Word. (The sources) said (so) knowing that heretics will deny it. If one asks, ‘In what manner did he say?’, the heretics spoke, saying, ‘Christ the Son of God and Christ the Son of Mary are different from each other. Word, the Son of God the Father, was not incarnated. The Word, the Son of Mary, is different.’ (The source) said (so), knowing that they will say this and deny it. There is actually no second (Word). He is the Son in nature and substance, and by name, who was born from God the Father without a mother before | the worlds were created, as word is born from the heart. | Today, too, the same as he wore flesh from Our Lady Mary without a father; he was incarnated.

‘Bä’ (¶) means ‘he came down because of his humility’.

If one asks, ‘What is this? How was she capable (to carry) the Word? How could she, a girl (of the stature) of three cubits and a span, contain him whom heaven and earth would not contain?’, say,

COMMENTARY: <sup>81</sup> Or ‘What does (this) mean?’ | <sup>82</sup> Unidentified poem. The thought is found also in the *Anaphora of John Chrysostom*, Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 203 (§ 53), and the *Anaphora of Our Lady Mary*, ibid., 116 (§ 127). All three must have the same source. | <sup>83</sup> Cf. Isa. 7:14; Luke 1:31. | <sup>84</sup> This teaching of the Immaculate Conception is not maintained by the Oriental Orthodox Churches of which the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is a member. | <sup>85</sup> John 1:1.

APPARATUS: <sup>624</sup> **Ճ** : add B.C. | <sup>625</sup> **Թ** : B.C. | <sup>626</sup> " **Դ** : B.C. | <sup>627</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>628</sup> **Հ** **Պ** **Ա** **Ռ** **Ո** **Ե** : **Դ** **Ռ** **Ո** : **Թ** : add B.C. | <sup>629</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>630</sup> **Հ** **Պ** **Ա** **Ռ** : **Ո** **Վ** : **Մ** : **Հ** **Ա** **Վ** : **Ճ** : **Ք** : **Ո** : **Ո** : add B.C. | <sup>631</sup> " **Ո** : B.C. | <sup>632</sup> " **Ո** : B.C. | <sup>633</sup> Omits C. | <sup>634</sup> **Ո** **Վ** **Դ** **Ի** **Ն** : **Ո** **Ծ** : adds C. | <sup>635</sup> **Գ** **Ա** **Վ** : C. | <sup>636</sup> **Մ** : adds C. | <sup>637</sup> **Դ** **Ե** **Ւ** : C. | <sup>638</sup> **Մ** : C. | <sup>639</sup> **Ե** **Ւ** : C. | <sup>640</sup> Omits C. | <sup>641</sup> Omits C. | <sup>642</sup> " **Ո** : C. | <sup>643</sup> **Ե** **Ւ** : **Կ** : C. | <sup>644</sup> **Հ** **Պ** **Ա** **Ռ** : (> **Հ** **Ե** **Ւ** : with **Ե** assimilated) C. | <sup>645</sup> Omit A.B. | <sup>646</sup> **Ճ** : C. | <sup>647</sup> **Մ** : C.

COMMENTARY: <sup>86</sup> That is, the dialogue in the liturgy, most likely of the *Anaphora of Our Lord*, e.g. Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 85 (§ 64). | <sup>87</sup> e.g. *Anaphora of Our Lord*, e.g. Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 86 (§ 65). | <sup>88</sup> It means God became man through the Holy Spirit, add B C. | <sup>89</sup> This is an attempt to add one mystery to *The Five Pillars of Mystery*.

‘Yes, she was capable (to carry) him. He came down with humility, he made her capable (to carry) him, and wore flesh.’

Adam is (the first) who said, ‘Stand up for prayer.’<sup>86</sup>

Enoch | is (the first) who said, ‘And again we supplicate the Almighty.’<sup>87</sup>

‘Tä’ (¶) means he became man and he was incarnated by the Holy Spirit.

If one asks, ‘What is (this)?’,<sup>88</sup> | he received the Holy Spirit in the flesh he wore, in his humanity, and gives by his being God. In his humanity, he received the Holy Spirit, in the humanity (which he received) from the Father together with the Holy Spirit and wore the Holy Spirit; he gave it body. How is it that he received in his humanity and gives in his divinity? What happened? He made the body divine; he glorified it; he made it king. But himself, he was originally with glory; he was God, the Son of God, Creator, Son of | the Creator. He received glory and glorified us with it; he made (us) king with it. He glorified the body of Adam. He had become poor formerly by his error. He restored to him the priesthood, the greatness, the knowledge, and the royal glory he formerly had. He himself, however, was | originally God.

If he is originally God, if he is Creator, why did he receive the Holy Spirit? He received him in the flesh he wore; he used him to teach; he used him to glorify the body of Adam; he used him to make (it) king. He received glory and used him to glorify us. He liberated us from slavery. And this is the Mystery of Unction,<sup>89</sup> (to be narrated) to | the end.

‘Ha’ (¶) means ‘God is Almighty’.

If one asks you, ‘What is Almighty?’, he raises the dead; he kills the healthy; he makes the wealthy poor; he makes the poor rich; he weakens the strong; he strengthens the weak; he raises the dead.

How would he raise (the dead)? Will you rise or remain (dead)?

Of course, I will rise.

Now, let this be so. Will your body | or your soul rise first?

My body, of course.

How about your soul? Will it not die?

Yes, it will not die, but it could die later by its deeds.

How about your body? Will it remain dead?

Of course, it will rise. Both my soul and body rise together.

**ይናግል :** እንደሸ : እናደም : ለመያም : እብር : **ይናግል :**  
**እንደት :** በሉ : | **ይናግል :** ደምኩ : ከፈሰሰ : ለመያም : ከበሰበሰ : እንደትኩ : C, 111r  
**ከፈሰሰ :** በምን : **ይቻልሁል :**  
**አዋን :** ወድ : **ይቻላል :**<sup>648</sup> እንደሸ : እከል : በዘዴ : በስብሰ : **ረግር :** ደቆ :  
**እንደኝነ :** እናወ : እንደሸ : እናግለሁ : ንገር : ጥን : መከማቱ : ከከል : እኔ : 5  
**እበልግለሁ :** መበለበሰ : እንደኩል : መከማቱ : እንደቻልፎ :<sup>649</sup> ነወ :  
**የኩል :**<sup>650</sup> እንደው : ገለወ : **ረግር :** ደቆራል : እኔ : ጥን : ገለታየም :  
**አይቀርም :** የፈሰሰ : ደምኩ : የተቀረቡ : **ሥር :** የተሰበረ : እንደትኩ : የተቀ B, 27r  
**ዘለ :** ዓናፎ : የተበጠበ : ዓናፎ :  
**እንደት :** በሉ : **ዓንጋኩለ :** ዓናፎርኩለ : እይው-ጥኩም : ከመጠኑ : እያል 10  
**ጥም :** C, 111v  
**አዋን :** እያልፎም : ጥንት : እንደምን : ይ በበዕቻት : ለፈጥረው :<sup>651</sup> ከነፏሰ :  
**ከለፈት :** ከማይ : ከመፈት : ጥገበር : ሰጠበ : በእርከያኑ : ወበአምናለና :  
**በሉ :** ለፈጥራን : የተቀረቡ : መ-ሽራ : እስመሰሰው : ዓንደን : ይጠና :  
**አይርነ :** ቁመ-ቱን : ሰነት : ከንድ : ከስንነር :<sup>652</sup> ደረ-ቱን : ሰንነር : ከጋት : 15  
**አይርነ :** የወ ዓመት : ጥልማኩ : ለጥርት : ከበረ : ለሰርቁ : ዓርጻብ :  
**ቁን :** ቁጥጥንም : | በይት : የጥኩ<sup>653</sup> ዓመት : ቁጥጥ : | ከለኩም : ከባር : \*ቁንስ : A, 90r |  
**ሰጥቶት :** ከበረ :<sup>654</sup> በእኩም : ምስበ :<sup>655</sup> ወጋኩ-ም : \*እንድ : እኩም :<sup>656</sup> የወ B, 27v  
**ዓመት :** ሆኖ : ለ-ቴም : እንድ : እውን : የጥኩ<sup>657</sup> ቁጥጥ : ሆኖ : \*ይናግለ- : C, 112r  
**ነገር :** ጥን : ከሉዋል :<sup>658</sup> እስመሰሁት : እህል :<sup>659</sup> ለጥቶ : እንፎር : ቁልቶ : 20  
**በዘዴት :** እይኑም ፍ፡ እኔ : ጥን : ለፈጥረውም : በፈጥረውም :<sup>660</sup> በፈ-  
**ቁም :** እልቀርም : እንፈለሁ :  
**እንደት :** በሉ : ተናማለሁ : እራ-ቁት :<sup>661</sup> ለማይ : እራ-ቁት : የምርር : በበለሁ :  
**አዋን :** እንፈለሁ :  
**መፈት :** ሆኖ : ደቀሁ : እኩሉ :<sup>662</sup> | በበትንሁ : መህም : በመደህሁ : እራ B, 28r |  
**ቁት :**<sup>663</sup> \*የአርም : በበለሁ :<sup>664</sup> ተናሰለሁ : C, 112v  
**አዋን :** እንፈለሁ :  
**በምን :** **ይቻላል :**<sup>665</sup> እንደት :<sup>666</sup> በሉ : **ተናሰለሁ :** \*እዕወል : ለማይ : እራ-  
**ቁት :** የምርር : እራ-ቁት : በአር : ይበላና : ይከበና : ይጠናና : በመፈት :  
**ወ-ሥጥ :** የተሰበረ : መፈት : ይሆናል : ይቆቻል ፍ፡ ከዘም : ጥን :<sup>667</sup> እኩሉ : 30  
**የዘም :** በምሥራቅ : በምዕራብ : በስምን : በደብብ : ይዘረዋል :<sup>668</sup> ከዘም :<sup>669</sup>  
**ጊ :** በምን : **ይቻላል :**<sup>670</sup> \*በለ- :<sup>671</sup>

APPARATUS: <sup>648</sup> **ይቻልኩል :** C. | <sup>649</sup> [እንደሸ : እንደቻልፎ : .] | <sup>650</sup> የእሁል : C. | <sup>651</sup> \*ረወ : C. |  
 652 ከስንነር : C. | <sup>653</sup> የስራ : ፍ B.C. Is B copied from C? | <sup>654</sup> ጥ-ኩኑ : ሰበር : ቁንስ : ለርቁ  
**ቁት :** ከበረ : B.C. | <sup>655</sup> እከል : B.C. | <sup>656</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>657</sup> ዓመት : adds C. | <sup>658</sup> እናማለሁ : B.C. 'I  
 will rise'. እርቻልኩም : በተዕቻት : የወ ዓመት : ጥልማኩ : ሆኖ : ተናማለሁ : 'Even if you die  
 getting old, will you rise as a young man of thirty years?' **አዋን :** እናማለሁ : (\*ጥኩ : C) **ነገር :**  
**ጥን :** ወጋኩ-ም : ከወል : (ከለከል : C) እኔ : 'Yes, I will rise. Furthermore, I am (more) than  
 grain'. | <sup>659</sup> እከል : B.C. | <sup>660</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>661</sup> \*ጥ : B. | <sup>662</sup> \*ዘም : B. | <sup>663</sup> Omits C. | <sup>664</sup> Omit  
 B.C. | <sup>665</sup> **ይቻልኩል :** B.C. | <sup>666</sup> \*ቁት : B. | <sup>667</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>668</sup> የዘረዋል : C. | <sup>669</sup> Omit B.C. |  
<sup>670</sup> **ይቻልዕል :** B.C. | <sup>671</sup> Omits C.

How would (they) | rise? How would it be possible after your blood  
is spilled, your body is rotten, and your bones have fallen apart? C, 111r

Yes, it will inevitably be possible. As sown grain rises after it is rotten, has fallen, and is crushed, I, too, will likewise rise. But as regards my resurrection, I am better than grain. I will rot like grain, and I rise 5 like grain from sleep. The stem and straw of grain remain fallen. In my case, nothing of me will remain (fallen). My spilled blood, my disintegrated | flesh, my broken bones, my cut off nails and my cut off hair (will rise). B, 27r

How so? Will not your hair and nails engulf you? Will they not exceed their limit? 10

No, they will not. Formerly, when God created Adam from four elements—from wind, from fire, from water, and from earth—when he created him, saying, ‘*Let us create man in our image and likeness*’, he had created a 30-year-old young man, made his nails look like that of a 15 groomed bride, his hair looks like just trimmed, making his height three cubits and one span, and his chest one-span-and-one-palm width. And on Friday, when the sun rose, he had given him Eve, a girl the age of 15 years, | at three (o’clock?) | subtracting (her) from (his) left, in the image of Adam, | men will rise at (the age) of 30 years, in the likeness of Adam. (People) will rise, men (at the age) of 30 years like Adam, and women at (the age) of 15 (years) like Eve. But I am more than grain. Grain will not sprout if sown grounded, boiled, or roasted. But I will not remain (dead) even if they grind me, boil me, or roast me; I will rise. A, 90r |  
B, 27v  
C, 112r

How would you rise, if birds<sup>90</sup> of the sky and animals of the earth ate 25 you?

Yes, I will rise.

Would you rise (even) if you became fine dust and the wind | scattered | you, or (the current of) water took you, or sea animals ate 30 you? B, 28r  
C, 112v

Yes, I will rise.

How can it be possible? How can you rise? If one asks, ‘(Suppose,) birds of the sky or animals of the earth or animals of the sea ate us and defecated us or urinated us or one buried underground becomes fine

COMMENTARY: <sup>90</sup> Lit. ‘animals’.

አዋን : የገድ : <sup>672</sup> የንግድ : <sup>673</sup> ይቻለዋል : <sup>674</sup> የአግዥ አበዳር : <sup>675</sup> የሰውን :  
 መ-ት : ከማንሳት : የለለውን : እንዳለ : የርቶ : ፊ.ጥር : ከማምጭት : <sup>676</sup> ማግኘት A, 90v  
 ቅው : ይልቻ : <sup>677</sup> ይደና : \*በ.ለ. : የትወት : ከወ-ሁ : ይቀጥን : <sup>678</sup> ስው : እድ  
 ሪት : ከማንሳት : \*ሰው : እድርት : <sup>679</sup> መ-ት : የርቶ : ከማምጭት : <sup>680</sup> ማና  
 ቅው : ይደና : <sup>681</sup> \*በ.ለ. : ልጅ : <sup>682</sup> በተዥነስ : ገዢ : ለትና : ወንድ : ተገናኝ C, 113r  
 ቅው : <sup>683</sup> የወንድ : ለሰነት : በቻቻዥ<sup>684</sup> የይናት : ይመዳል : <sup>685</sup> የሰቱ : <sup>686</sup>  
 በቻቻ<sup>687</sup> መንገድ : ይህ : <sup>688</sup> ህ-ለ. : በማግበት : ተገናኝት : ልጅ : <sup>689</sup> በተዥነስ : B, 28v  
 ገዢ : እናስ : አብር : ይዘረል : <sup>690</sup>  
 ይመዳል : <sup>691</sup> \*ንገት : ከመር : <sup>692</sup> \*ከገናት : ከደም : ከገኘር : ከገኘን : ከገኘ  
 ቅር : ከጥርስ : ይመዳል : ከገም : ገዢ : እናስ : <sup>693</sup> ተዘርቶ : ሰለቱን : ቅው 10  
 ሰለሁ : መልክ : የወንድ-ን : <sup>694</sup> በቻቻ<sup>695</sup> ቅት : ይፈጸማል : <sup>696</sup> \*የሰቱን : በቻቻዥ<sup>697</sup> :  
 ይፈጸማል : <sup>697</sup> ከቴጋስት : <sup>698</sup> ጉምር : እስከ.ወለድ : ይረሰ : ወንድ : <sup>699</sup>  
 ይቻቻድ ለለት : <sup>700</sup> ይቻቻድ መዓልት : <sup>701</sup> ነው : <sup>702</sup> \*የሰቱት : እንደህ : ነው :  
 ቅት : ወንድ : የገድ : <sup>703</sup> ከገም : ገዢ : ይመዳል : <sup>704</sup> የሰቱን : <sup>705</sup> C, 113v  
 የኩቱን : መልክ : ይህ : <sup>706</sup> የገድ : መልክ : በለምድን : <sup>707</sup> ይዘረታል : <sup>708</sup> በስራ 15  
 ይገኝ : <sup>709</sup> እስክር : ይለየታል : <sup>710</sup> ለለው : <sup>711</sup> ቅዬ : እምለክ : \*ኩው :  
 እንዳት : አለው : <sup>712</sup> እሁ-ገም : የንግድ : የገድ : እይሳው-ም : <sup>713</sup>  
 \*ኩገኘ : ሰሰት : <sup>714</sup> ይምዕ : የሰምናል : ይቻቻድ : በራት : <sup>715</sup> የገዢ : ከወደ  
 ቅበት : <sup>716</sup> ይረሰ : ይሰበባባል : <sup>717</sup> ይጠራ-ቀማል : <sup>718</sup> | <sup>719</sup> በሁ-ለተኩው : <sup>720</sup> B, 29r  
 የለት : <sup>721</sup> ፍሰ : ተከ-ለ : እድን : <sup>722</sup> እስጥልሁ : <sup>723</sup> በስራተኩው : ፊ.ጥር : A, 100r  
 ከይን : <sup>724</sup> መጥቀብ : <sup>725</sup> ይቀድም : <sup>726</sup> እነሳለሁ : በአድም : አክል : [ተርጉ  
 ማው : ቅድመ : ገጽ : ፍ. :]  
 እድም : ለገዢ : ነው : | እጥር :  
 እይጠምም : <sup>727</sup> እያጋርም : <sup>728</sup> ሰሰት : ክንድ : ከሰንዘር : ነው : C, 114r

APPARATUS: <sup>672</sup> Omits B. | <sup>673</sup> እንድ/እ. : B/C add. | <sup>674</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>675</sup> እ” B C. | <sup>676</sup> ከማን  
 ጭት : C. | <sup>677</sup> ማግኘትው : adds A. | <sup>678</sup> ከወ-ሁ : ይቀጥናል : የትወት : ቅት : B C. Message uncer-  
 tain. | <sup>679</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>680</sup> ከማንሳት : B C. | <sup>681</sup> ”ናል : B C. | <sup>682</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>683</sup> ”ቶ : B; ”ና  
 ማቶ : C. | <sup>684</sup> ከዘይዥበት B; ከዘይዥበት C. Clearly, A and B come from different exemplars. | <sup>685</sup> ይመዳል : B. Another indicator that A and B come from different exemplars. | <sup>686</sup> ”ተም” : B C. | <sup>687</sup> ከይሬ B C. | <sup>688</sup> የ B C. | <sup>689</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>690</sup> ይዘ” B; ይዘ” C. | <sup>691</sup> መ” B;  
 እመ” C. | <sup>692</sup> የገድ : B C. | <sup>693</sup> ከገኘንት : ከገኘር : ከደም : ከገኘን : ከገኘ-ም : አክል : መስለሁ :  
 ይመዳል : ከገመም : ገዢ : እናስ : አብር : B C. | <sup>694</sup> ”ጋ/ገ.ን” : C; with ጋ and ጋ combined into one symbol. | <sup>695</sup> በቻቻ B. A and B come from different exemplars. | <sup>696</sup> ”ክ” C. | <sup>697</sup> Omit  
 B C. | <sup>698</sup> ከተኩስ : B C. | <sup>699</sup> የወ” B C. Probably ሰለቱ : or የሰቱ :. | <sup>700</sup> ቅት : B C. | <sup>701</sup> ሌ.ት : B C. | <sup>702</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>703</sup> የሰቱም : ይቻቻድ : ቅት : ነው : ይቀጥናል : የወንድ : B C.  
 ‘That of females is 275 days. That of males exceeds (this) by 5 days’. | <sup>704</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>705</sup> የአሳ” C. | <sup>706</sup> ይመዳል : adds C. | <sup>707</sup> በለምድ : B; በለምድ : C. | <sup>708</sup> የዘ” B C. | <sup>709</sup> ”ጽ” : B. |  
<sup>710</sup> ይለ-ታል : B. | <sup>711</sup> ተሳለሁ : B C. | <sup>712</sup> ይለየዋል : B C. | <sup>713</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>714</sup> ሰሰት : ገዢ : B C.  
 | <sup>715</sup> በአንድኩው : B C. | <sup>716</sup> እው” B C. | <sup>717</sup> [ይለ”]. B is not clear; ይሰበባባል : C. | <sup>718</sup> Omit B C.  
 | <sup>719</sup> In A, fols 91–99 omitted from the series. | <sup>720</sup> ”ኩም” : B; ”ኩው” : C. | <sup>721</sup> የሰት : C. |

dust. Then, the wind takes and scatters (the dust) toward east, west, north, or south. How can it be possible (to rise) after that?”

Yes, he will inevitably raise me. For God, it is possible. If one asked, ‘Which one is more | difficult, between raising an existent dead (body) or creating a non-existent (object) by calling as if it exists, and bringing it forth?’, it is (like saying that) desire is thinner than water.<sup>91</sup> But if one asks, ‘Which one is more difficult, raising (a non-existent object), making him human, or bringing a dead person, making him (a living) man by calling?’, for a child to be conceived, | a woman and a man meet and the man’s filth<sup>92</sup> comes forth in 734 kinds and the woman’s in 250 ways. When all these meet in the womb | and a child is conceived, the soul will be sown together.

Regarding the case of its coming forth, it comes forth from the flesh, bones, blood, hair, eyes, nails, and teeth. After that, the soul is sown and (the body) is formed the same day, with a male’s image completed in forty days, and that of the female completed in eighty days. From conception to birth, the male<sup>93</sup> takes 275 days and 275 nights (to be actual). So are the day(s) for the female, but the male’s exceeds that. | Then, (the child) is born, taking the image of his father and mother. In case one is asked, ‘Would one spread out that image with a shovel or separate it winnowing with a platter?’,<sup>94</sup> the answer is that it is rather done by the power of God. This time, too, he will raise me. It is definitely not impossible with him.

He will have me hear a voice three times; he will call me. First my skull will be assembled | from where it had fallen; it will be collected one by one |.<sup>95</sup> At the second (voice), I will become a 1-day-old dead body, a fresh carcass. At the third (voice), I will rise quickly, faster than an eye blink<sup>96</sup> in (the size of) the body of Adam.

Is Adam tall | or short?

C, 114r

He is neither tall nor short. He is three cubits and a span.

30

COMMENTARY: <sup>91</sup> The answer seems unrelated to the question. But the expression must be a common saying quoted to refute a comparison of incomparable things. | <sup>92</sup> In popular language, it is called *batī’at*, ‘sin’. | <sup>93</sup> Sic. Probably, ‘a child’. | <sup>94</sup> *Säfed*. | <sup>95</sup> Fols 91–99 omitted from the series. | <sup>96</sup> Lit. ‘beckoning’.

<sup>722</sup> ΠΕΡΙ :? Omit B C. | <sup>723</sup> ΛΥΡΓΑ : B C. | <sup>724</sup> ΗΓΕΡΙ : C. | <sup>725</sup> ΣΩΤΗΡΗ : C. | <sup>726</sup> ΦΕΡΑΙ : B C. | <sup>727</sup> ΩΗΓΩ : C. | <sup>728</sup> ΛΕΓΕΩ : A.

APPARATUS: 729 **ቀይኑ :** ነወ፡ B.C. | 730 Omit B.C. | 731 **እኩጥ”** C. | 732 **ሙቻ”** : B.C. | 733 **”የ”** : C. | 734 **ይመስለት”** : C. | 735 **ለት”** : B; omits C. | 736 **ለታሁ”** : **ሙቻ”** : B.C. | 737 **”እል”** : B.C. | 738 **ለት”** : B.C. | 739 Omit B.C. | 740 **በወ”** C. | 741 **የት”** : B.C. | 742 **እኩስኅ”** : B.C. | 743 **እተ”** B.C. | 744 **የተ”** : **ተናራለለ”** : B.C. | 745 **እኔ”** B.C. | 746 **ሙዋ”** B. | 747 **የተተለቻዋወ”** : B.C. | 748 Omit B.C. | 749 **እቀስ”** : B.C. | 750 Omit B.C. | 751 **በጥና”** : **ከ** add B.C. | 752 **ቀስ”** : add B.C. | 753 **”ቻ”** : B.C. | 754 Omits C. | 755 **”ንዋን”** : B.C. | 756 **ምሳ”** : B. | 757 **እምሳኬ”** : B.C. | 758 **ስያሳ”** : B. | 759 **”አበ”** : B. | 760 **እኔ”** B.C. | 761 **አማራት”** : B. | 762 **እቀስ”** : **የተደርሱ”** : B.C. | 763 **እረ”** B.C. | 764 Omit B.C. | 765 **ለታሁ”** : **እተ”** : **እተደርሱም”** : B.C. **እጽርሳለሁ”** : **እንዲ”** : **የተተከመ”** : **ማንድር”** : **ሙስራ”** : **እልመተ”** : **እሳሰት”** : **ተተናኅል”** : **ከተምሳ”** : **ከንዲ”** : **ሙስራ”** : **አይታወ”** : **እተ”** : ‘Will you not appear before your Lord? Of course, I will appear. I will appear before my Lord, looking like a burnt trunk, vested in darkness, weighing heavier than a cadaver, and stinking and reeking like it’.

Is he red<sup>97</sup> or black?  
He is neither red nor black. He is brown.  
When will you rise?  
On the day my Lord comes.  
When will he come?  
On Məş<sup>98</sup>at<sup>99</sup> day. 5  
On what day?  
On a Sunday Sabbath.  
At what time?  
At midnight. 10  
How will you rise?  
In my (same) soul, where my body was separated.  
Where will you go when you rise?  
To the presence of my Lord.  
Wearing what will you rise? 15  
If I am found having had practised humility and patience, done  
good | deeds, observed the law, (confessed) my failings to a  
priest—falling at his feet—known my faith, asked the knowledgeable  
whatever I had forgotten, performed my | duties well, been born in  
the Holy Spirit with blessings, and acquired a confession father, I will  
come to the presence of my Lord shining like the sun, arrayed in light  
the sun wears its light, being bright like the moon and the stars, be-  
ing crystal clear, looking comely and good, renewed, and refined like  
pure gold.  
In case one is asked, | ‘If your deeds were bad, you had not ob-  
served the law, had not known the faith, had refused to do what the  
priest ordered you, and were not born in | the Holy Spirit, and if you  
were unsalted, | would you not rise, would you remain fallen?’, (the  
answer is) I will not remain (fallen). I will appear to the presence of  
my Lord whether I am bad or good. 20  
A, 100v  
B, 29v  
C, 114v  
B, 30r  
C, 115r

COMMENTARY: <sup>97</sup> This is how a fair and white skin colour is described. In Ethiopian tradition, human skin colour is either *qäyy*, 'red', or *yä-qäy dama*, 'less red', or *taqur*, 'black', 'dark', or *täyyäm*, 'brown'. *Täyyäm* is close to *taqur* and *yä-qäy dama* to *qäyy*. *Näčč* was added to the class recently, translating English 'white'. | <sup>98</sup> The Second Coming of Christ. *Mäš'at* is now a term like Christmas, Epiphany, and so on.

ՈՒ : Ե՞՞ԹՈ : ԵՍ : ՆՈՒ : Ի՞ԱՐ : ՃԱ : ՄՈՒՂԴԻ : ՄՈՄՈԴԻ : ՄՈՒԴԻ :<sup>766</sup>  
 ՄՈՒՐՈԴԻ :<sup>767</sup> ԹՈՀԴԻ :<sup>768</sup> ՄՈՒԴԻ : ԱՎ : ԻՆԳՈՒ : ՄՈՂՅՐԴԻ : ԺՈՒԴԻ : ՄՈԴ  
 ՂԸ : ԺՈՒՀԻ : ՄՈՂՋԴԻ : ՀԱՅ :<sup>769</sup> ԴՐԱԽ :  
 ՔՂՋՈ :<sup>770</sup>

\*ՔՂՋՈ : ԿԱԽ :<sup>771</sup> ՀՅԵՅԴԻ : ԴՐԱԽ-ԱԽ :<sup>772</sup> 5  
 ԱՎՐԲ :<sup>773</sup> | Ո.Ո.Խ : ՈՒԶՃԱԿ :<sup>774</sup> ՀՅԵՅ : ՄՈՂԽԻԴԻ : ՀՐԱ-  
 ԱԽ :<sup>775</sup> B, 30v |  
 ՔՄՅ : ՈԱԴԻՍ : \*ՔՄՅ : ՄԹԻՍ :<sup>776</sup> ԴՐԱԽ-ԱԽ :  
 ՔԳՈՒՔԴԻ :<sup>777</sup> C, 115v

ՔԳՈՒՔԴԻ :<sup>778</sup> ՄՂՂԴԻ : \*ՔՄՅ : ՄՂՂԴԻ : ՆՈՒ :<sup>779</sup> 10  
 ՔԳՈՒՔ : ՔԳՈՒՔ : ՀՊԱՀԱՌՈՒԾ : ԹՊՐԴԻ : ԳՀ-ԹՈ : ԹՊԱ-Ծ : ԱՄՐԴԻ :  
 ԹՊԱ-Ծ : ՔԳՈՒՔ : ՈՒԺԻՒԽԻ : ՄՂՂԴԻ : ՆՈՒ :  
 ԵՍ : ՄՈՒԾ : ՄՈՄՊ :<sup>780</sup> ՔՄԴԱ :<sup>781</sup>

ՀՊՅ :<sup>782</sup>

ՈՒ : Ե՞՞ԹՈ : ԵՍ : ՆՈՒ : ԳՀ-ԳՐԴՅ : ՆՖՈՒ : ԻԿԸՆԻՒ : ՀՈՒՒ : ՄՈԶ : 15  
 ԺՈՒԴԻ :<sup>783</sup> ԵՐԱ-ԱԽ :  
 ԻՒՆԻԴԻ :<sup>784</sup>

\*ԻԱՐ : ՃԱՐ :<sup>785</sup>

ՈՄՄԴՐԴԻ :<sup>786</sup> ԱՄՐԴԻ : ԱԶԱՄՈ : ԳՂՋՈ : \*ՈՀՈՒՅԻ : ՈՒԺՄԱԿ : ԵԳ  
 ԸԱ :<sup>787</sup> A, 101r

ՔՇԹԱՀՈՒ :<sup>788</sup> ՆՖՈՒ : ԻԿԸՆԻՒ : \*ՀՈՒՒ : ՄՈԶ :<sup>789</sup> | ՎՔԻԴԻ :<sup>790</sup> ԵՐԱ-ԱԽ :  
 ԴՐԱԽ :  
 \*ԻՇԱՀԱԴ : ԻՇԱՀՄՈԴԻ :<sup>791</sup> B, 31r |  
 \*ԱՄՄՈ : ԱՎՈՒ :<sup>792</sup> C, 116r

ԻԿԿԻՄՈ :<sup>793</sup> ՀՈՒԴԻ : ԱԶԱՄՈ : ԳՂՋՈ :  
 ՈԱՓՈ : ՈՓԵՐԴԻ :<sup>794</sup> 25

\*ՀՊՅ : ԱԶԱՄՈ : ԳՂՋՈ : ՈԱՓՈ : ՈՓԵՐԴԻ :<sup>795</sup> ՈՇԱՒՅ : ԵՐԱ-ԱԽ :<sup>796</sup>

ՈՒ : Ե՞՞ԹՈ : ԵՍ : ՆՈՒ : ՀՊԱՀԻ : ԳՄԶ :<sup>797</sup> ՂԱ : ԱՄՐԵԴ : ԹՊՃԱ : ՔԱ  
 ԳԱ : ԴՆԱԽՈՒԴԻ :<sup>798</sup> ՀՐԱԽԳՅՈ :  
 ԻՇԱՀԱԴ : \*ՈՓԸ : Ս-Ը :<sup>799</sup> ՔԱԳԱ : ԵՄԿԱ :  
 ԱՇԱՀԱԴ :<sup>800</sup> ԳՊԱԳՈՒԴԻ : ԹՊՅՈՒ : ԹՊՅՈՒ : Ո.Ը. :<sup>801</sup> ՈՎ-Ծ : ՄՈՂԽԻԴԻ : ՄՊՅ  
 ՄՈԴԻ : ՈՄՐԴԻԴԻ : ՂՎՆՄՈ : ՀՈՒԴԻ : ՈՀՈՒԴԻ : ՀԱԽ : ՀԵՑՓԱՃԱ : ՊԱՄՊ : ԱՊ

APPARATUS: <sup>766</sup> ՄՈՒԴԻ : B; ՄՈՒԴԻ : C. | <sup>767</sup> ՄՈՒՐՈՒ : B.C. | <sup>768</sup> ՄՈՒԴԻ : B.C. | <sup>769</sup> ՀՈՒ : B.C. |  
<sup>770</sup> ՀՅԵՅ : add B.C. | <sup>771</sup> ԻԱՐ : ՃԱ : B.C. | <sup>772</sup> Ո.Ո.Խ : ՈՒԺԱԿ : ՈՒԺԱՄՈԴԻ : ԱՎՐԲ : add B.C. |  
 | <sup>773</sup> ԴՐԱ : B.C. | <sup>774</sup> ԱՎ : B.C. | <sup>775</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>776</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>777</sup> ՔԳՈՒՔԴԻ : ՔՄՅ : ՄԹԻՍ :  
 ԴՐԱԽ-ԱԽ : ՔԳՈՒՔԴԻ : B.C. | <sup>778</sup> ԴՐԱ : B.C. | <sup>779</sup> ԳՄՅՈՒ : B.C. | <sup>780</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>781</sup> ԴՐԱ :  
 ԵՐԱ : ՄՈՄՊ : ՔՄԴԱ : B. | <sup>782</sup> ՔՄԴԱ : add B.C. | <sup>783</sup> ՔԴԻ : B.C. | <sup>784</sup> ՀՊՅ : B.C. | <sup>785</sup> ԻՄ  
 ՊՈՒ : ՈՀՈՒՅԻ : B.C., ‘after he came.’ | <sup>786</sup> ՄՊՅՈՒ : B.C. | <sup>787</sup> ՈՒԺՄԱԿՈՒ : ‘Happily?’; ՀՊՅ : ՈՒ-  
 ԺՄԱԿՈՒԴԻ : B.C., ‘Yes, happily.’ | <sup>788</sup> ԴՐԱ : B.C. | <sup>789</sup> ՀՈՒՒ, ՄՊՅ : B.C., ‘until he comes’. |  
 790 ԳԴԻ : B.C. | <sup>791</sup> ՀՇԱՀԱ : ՀՇԱՀՄՈԴԻ : B.C., ‘in Hades, in darkness’. | <sup>792</sup> ԻՄՊՈՒ : B.C.,

Alright, (let us say) this is so. After that, would you say there will be eating, drinking, urinating, defecating, sleeping, separation of the body from the soul, telling lies, and committing sin?

No.

If you say, 'No', how would you live?

5

If my deeds | are good, I will live like the angels in glory and purity.

B, 30v;  
C, 115v

Eating what and drinking what will you live?

Sanctifications.

What does sanctifications mean?

10

It means, 'Holy, holy, holy, perfect God of hosts; the heavens and the earth are full of the holiness of your glory.'<sup>99</sup>

Would this be food and drink?

Yes.

Alright, (let us say) this is so. Where will the souls of the righteous live until Christ comes?

15 In Paradise.

And after that?

They will live in the kingdom of heaven forever in joy | and pleasure.

A, 101r  
20

Where would you say the souls of sinners live until Christ | comes?

B, 31r;  
C, 116r

In Hades and in darkness.

And when he comes?

They will live in the fire of hell forever.

In weeping and wailing?

25

Yes, in weeping, in wailing, and in grief forever.

Alright, (let us say) this is so. When God comes, would you say heaven and earth will pass or will they not pass?

All will pass and vanish save for five things.

If one asks, 'What and what are the five things that will remain?', 30 people and angels, the kingdom of heaven and the fire of hell, and the Sabbath; these five will remain. When he comes attired in his vestment

COMMENTARY: <sup>99</sup> Cf. Isa. 6:3.

'And after he came?' | <sup>793</sup> Καὶ οὐκέτι : B C. | <sup>794</sup> Λαζαρὸν : οὐλαρῷον : οὐλαρῷον : adds B; οὐλαρῷ : adds C. | <sup>795</sup> Omits A. | <sup>796</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>797</sup> ουσίᾳ : B C. | <sup>798</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>799</sup> οὐλαρῷον : οὐλαρῷον : B C, 'all at noon'. | <sup>800</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>801</sup> ζετεῖσθαι : B C.

ԸՆ : ԸՆԸ : <sup>802</sup> ՈՄԶ : ԶԱ : ԶԴՂՅ : <sup>803</sup> ՀՆԶ : ԸԹ : <sup>804</sup> ՓԱՄ : ԵՃԱՃ :  
 ՈՄՔԸ : ԹՔԸ : ՀՆԶ : ՂԱ : ԴԻԳՐԹՄ : ԵՃԱՃ : ԶՔՖԴՅ : ՈՄԾԺ C, 116v  
 ԴԴՅ : <sup>805</sup> ՄԱՀԻԴԴՅ : <sup>806</sup> ԵՃԱՊՀԱ : | ՔԼՓՈՂԱ : ԵՃԱՃ : ՎԴՅ : <sup>807</sup> ՀԴ B, 31v  
 ՔՈ : ԵՃԱՃ : ԶԴԴ : ՂԱ : <sup>808</sup> ՀԿԱՓԿԱ : ԵՄՅԱՃ : ԵՃԱՃ : ԳԴՅ  
 ՀՎ : ԶԴՂՅ : <sup>809</sup> ԱԳ : ՄԶ : ԹԱՃՃԱ : <sup>810</sup> ԳԹՃՃԱ : ԶԴՂՅ : <sup>811</sup> ԱԳ.ԳՅ : <sup>812</sup> 5  
 ՄԶ : ԹԱՃՎ : ԵՃԱՃ : ՂԴ : ԶԴՅԹ : <sup>813</sup> ՈՃՃՈ : ԶԱ : <sup>814</sup> ԻԲ : ԱԳ :  
 ԶՃ : <sup>815</sup> ՄԳԲ : ՄՃ : ԵՄՅԱ : ՈՂՅ : ԳՄՅ : <sup>817</sup> ԶՔՖԴՅ :  
 ՈՒՅ : ՇԹՀՀՅ : ՈՂՅ : ՀԲՃՅ : ԵՓԱԴ : ՀՃԴ : ՎԴՆՃՅ : A, 101v  
 ԴԳՊՅ : ԵՍՅ : ՈՃ : ՔՂԵՄՅ : <sup>818</sup> ՀՔՃՅ : ԱԽՈԱ : ՄԶ : ՄԴՊՐՄՅ : C, 117r  
 ՈՄՔԴ : ՀԳՈԱ : ԶՃ : ՄԴՃՃՅ : ԱՃՎԿ : ՄԶ : <sup>819</sup> ՂՂՆՄ : ՀԴԴ : 10  
 Ժ.Ք : ՀՔՈՃՔՅ : ՈՂՅ : ՔՂԵՈՃՔՎՃ :  
 ԻԿԸՆՔՅ : ՄՂԴ : ՂԴՅ : <sup>820</sup> \*ՂԴՅ : ՄՂԴ : <sup>821</sup> ԶՔ.Ք : \*Մ  
 ԱԴ : ՂՎ : <sup>822</sup> ՂԿ : ՂՅ : ՔԻԿԸՆՔՅ : <sup>823</sup> ՀԽԸՆՔՅ : ԽՎ.Ք : ՀԸՆՔՅ :  
 ՂՎ : ՄՊՈԱ : \*Ժ.Ք : ՂՎ : <sup>824</sup> ՄՊ | ՄՊ : ՂԵՄԳԴ : ՂՎ : ԱՊՈ : ՂԿ B, 32r  
 ՄՊ. : <sup>825</sup> ԳԹԳՅՄ : ՄԸԿ : <sup>826</sup> ՄԴ : <sup>827</sup> ՓՈՎ : <sup>828</sup> ԴԵՄՐՄ. : <sup>829</sup> ՂՋ 15  
 ՔՊ. : <sup>830</sup> ՂՊ. : ՀՎ.Ք. : ՂՎ.Ք. : ՂՎ. :  
 ՈՒ : ԸԽՈ : ՄՂԴ : ԶՔ.Ք : ՄՂԴ : ՄՂԴ : ՂՎ. : <sup>831</sup>  
 ՀՎ.ՀԴՅ : ՈՒ : <sup>832</sup> ՖԸ : ՔՎԸ : ՂԵ :  
 | ԹԱՂՄ. : ՀՎ.ՀԴՅ : C, 117v  
 ՔԵ.Ժ.Վ.Դ : <sup>833</sup> ՔԻԿԸՆՔՅ : ԱԴ : ՄՂԲ. : <sup>834</sup> 20  
 ԹԱՂՄ. : ՈՒՂԴ. :  
 ԹՊՂՃ. : <sup>835</sup> ՄՂՈՃ. : <sup>836</sup> ՀՂԲ.Ք.Վ. : <sup>837</sup> \*ՀՆԶ : ԵԺ.Վ. : ՄԴՂՄ. : <sup>838</sup>  
 ՀՎՃ. : ՄՂԴ : \*ՄՂԴ : ՄՂԴ : ՂՎ. : <sup>839</sup>  
 ՀԴՅ : Խ.Վ : ԻԲ :  
 ԹԱՂՄ. : ՀԳԸՆՔ. :  
 Ժ.Ք : ՀԱՄՈՒՔՄ : ՂԵՄԳԴ. : ՀԱՄ.Ք.Վ. : ՄԴՊՐՄ.ԴՅ : <sup>840</sup> ՀԱՀՅ. :  
 ՄՂԴ. : ՂՎ. : <sup>841</sup>  
 ԹԱՂՄ. : Խ.Վ.Հ. :  
 ՔԵ.Ժ.Վ.Դ : <sup>842</sup> ԱԴ : ՀԱՄԳԲ. :  
 ԹԱՂՄ. : ԻԲ.Հ. : 30

APPARATUS: <sup>802</sup> ՄԱՀԻԴ : add B.C. | <sup>803</sup> Դ : C. | <sup>804</sup> ՓԿ : B.C. | <sup>805</sup> Դ : B; ԻԱ : C. |  
<sup>806</sup> Դ : B.C. | <sup>807</sup> Ա : B. | <sup>808</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>809</sup> ԵՃԱՃ : ԳԹՃՃԱ : inserts B; Կ : adds C. |  
<sup>810</sup> ԵՃԱՃ : adds C. | <sup>811</sup> ՂՅ : C. | <sup>812</sup> ԱԳ : B.C. | <sup>813</sup> ՈՃ : B.C. | <sup>814</sup> ՂՅ : ՈՒԴ : ՈՂՅ :  
 add B.C, 'but unhindered'. | <sup>815</sup> ՔՂԱ : B.C. | <sup>816</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>817</sup> ՔՊ : B.C. | <sup>818</sup> ՔԸ : B.C. | <sup>819</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>820</sup> ՄՂԴ : B.C. | <sup>821</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>822</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>823</sup> ՔԻԿԸՆՔ : B.C. |  
<sup>824</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>825</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>826</sup> ՄԴ : ՄՊՂՃ.Դ : ՂՎ : add B.C, 'the silver symbolizes  
 good deeds'. | <sup>827</sup> ՄՊ. : B.C. | <sup>828</sup> ԴԱԴ.Դ : ՂՎ : ԱԱ.Վ : ՄՊՃ.Վ : add B.C, '(The butter)  
 is modesty; the salt, its tastiness (is his patience)'. | <sup>829</sup> Դ : ՂՎ : B.C. | <sup>830</sup> ԻՒՄՂՄ. : add  
 B.C. | <sup>831</sup> ԹԱՂՄ. : B.C. | <sup>832</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>833</sup> ՂՋ : B.C. | <sup>834</sup> ԱՐ : B.C. | <sup>835</sup> ԳԹԳՅ.Դ : B.C. |  
<sup>836</sup> ՄՂՈՃ. : B. | <sup>837</sup> ՂՋ : B. | <sup>838</sup> ՀՆԶ : ԵԺ.Վ. : ՂՎ. : ՈՄՊՐՄ.Դ : (Դ : C) ՈՄ.Գ.Դ : B.C,

of glory, the stone will melt like wax and be spilled; the heaven and earth will be crushed like potsherd | and crumble.<sup>100</sup> The righteous, the martyrs, and the angels will be shocked and | weep; they will be in dread. Rivers will flee upstream. The hills and cliffs will plunge downward and flee. Stones and trees of the east will flee to the west; and stones and trees of the west will flee to the east. As soon as his voice arrives, everything will be flat, with whatever is high or low vanishing. As (the risen ones) stand there, he will set the righteous on the right and the sinners on the left |, reciting the Ten Commandments of the Torah and the Six Commandments of the Gospel, and dismissing them saying, ‘Those of you who had accepted these and had been obedient, go to | the kingdom of heaven for glory, and those of you who had been disobedient and who are criminals, go to the fire of hell for tribulation, each to your respective abodes.’

Christian means king. King means righteous. But the diadem or crown of the Christian are the five blessings; his food is the law; his drink | is his faith; his vestment—his silk cloth—<sup>101</sup> is his dignity; his money—his honey and his butter—is his patience; his marketplace and his trophy is his knowledge.

Alright, (let us say) this is so. What does righteous mean? 20  
 Truthful,<sup>102</sup> good,<sup>103</sup> generous, and forgiving.  
 | What (good) is truth for (a righteous person)? C, 117v  
 His seeing the face of his Lord, Christ.<sup>104</sup>  
 What is goodness for him?  
 Fulfilling his good deeds, and hence his being king like his Lord. 25  
 What does sinner mean?  
 Liar, wretched,<sup>105</sup> and evil.  
 What is his being a liar?  
 His refusal to observe the law, his refusal to know the faith, and his refusal to need kingship.<sup>106</sup> 30  
 What is his wretchedness?  
 His not seeing the face of his Lord.<sup>107</sup>  
 What is his wickedness?

COMMENTARY: <sup>100</sup> Cf. 2 Pet. 3:10. | <sup>101</sup> *Gəmğa.* | <sup>102</sup> Or ‘honest’. | <sup>103</sup> Cf. Greek *kalos*. | <sup>104</sup> i.e. ‘It made him see’. | <sup>105</sup> Lit. ‘poor’. | <sup>106</sup> Or ‘the kingdom (of heaven)’. | <sup>107</sup> i.e. ‘His inability to see’.

‘He is like his Lord in the kingdom of heaven’. | <sup>839</sup> ፩፻፻፻፡ B C. | <sup>840</sup> ፩፻፻፻፻፡ ስ፻፻፻፡  
 ፩፻፻፡ C. | <sup>841</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>842</sup> ፩፻፡ B C.

የኞቻ : አባት : | ቅስ : አለመማካት : በመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : አለመወለድ : የማግ አ, 102r;  
 ሪድ : 843 መጥፋት : 844 የማመና : 845 ገመና|ወ : B, 32v  
 መህ : ለወሁ : መማካት : የማው : 846 በል : ሥርወት : \*በሥር : በይዘወ : C, 118r  
 ክንቱ : 847 እንጂ : ነው : 848 በቃ : 849 ማለቱ : 850 ማንያም : 851 በሆን : የድቃንም :  
 ለማስታትም : መሳለከትም : \*በደንገዥ : ሌያቃቅስ : 852 ተጠካቱን : 853 5  
 ለቁስ : 854 ፍጠራኩ : አድርቃ : 855 የያዘ : 856 ለው : አይደንግዥም : አይፈ  
 ሪፖ : ይፈማል : እንዳ : 857 የቃ : 858 ዓመት : ላይ : 859 እናት : አባቱን : ባጥ :  
 ገዢ : \*እንዳለም : እንዳለቅ : 860 እንዳለው : 861 ያስ : ይለዋል : 862 አርድ  
 እት : ይጠልእል : እናትን : እንሰለ : መጠን : እማን ሪ : 10  
 እ : ባ : ነው : ሥር : አምድንግል : \*ማለት : ነው : 863  
 \*ነመን : ሥር : | አምድንግል : 864 ማለት : 865 የማው : በል : ይህን : ሁሉ : C, 118v |  
 የሚያደርግ : አምሳት : ለበኩ : ልጥኩ : በስዕ : ከእግዥነትኩ : ማርያም : ከሥ B, 33r  
 የዋ : ሥር : \*የደጋ : የም : 866 ከኞቻው : 867 እኞቻ : እናት : ለበኩ :  
 እ : ባ : አእከታቸ : 868 ወሰንበስ : 869 \*እግዥነትኩ : እብ :  
 ለእግዥነትኩ : እብ : 870 ወልድ : 871 የሚው : በል-ሁ : 872 ቅት : ተቀብ 15  
 ለህ : ከዚያ : ለማያት : ወርደህ : ከእግዥነትኩ : ማርያም : ተወልደህ : የደም  
 ለበኩ : \*ድል : እስተህ : በትካትኩ : 873 አቶምን : ከለልቃቃ : 874 አው-ገ  
 ተህ : 875 ከኞቻት : እርነት : 876 የቀዳመ : 877 ከበኩ : | መንግሥተን : ከህ C, 119r |  
 ቅት : 878 ተንጋጋቸ : መልሰህ : ለጥተህ : ዓ : 879 በልው : ወደ : 880 ጉልም : A, 102v  
 ለማቅና : 881 ፍጠራኩ : ፍጠራኩ : 882 አገረት : 883 ይህን : 884 ፍቃት : 885 B, 33v  
 መልሰህ : ለጥተህ : ይዘን : ዓ : 886 በልው : እናት : 887 አመሰንው : እባ  
 ቅት : 888  
 ጉልም : ወረዳ : ተወልደ : እስተምሁራ : ፍቃትናም : 889 ተወልደ : አምሳት : 890  
 ለው : ሆነ : እኞቻ : ልቀቃቃ : 891 ሥር : የንግድናቃቃ : 892 ልታጠና : 893 እንዳ :  
 \*እንዳ : ሆነቃ : 894 መለከትም : ከለው : 895 ከሥር : እንዳ : ሆነ : በለበሰው : 25  
 ሥር : ቅት : በአምሳትኩ : ተነሱ : ተነስቶ : በስዕነቱ : ከበር : ተቀብ|ለው : C, 119v  
 እናት : ከበኩ : ከበኩ : መቀበሉ : የን : በማግዥ : ሌያቃቅ : ሥር : ሌላ

APPARATUS: 843 መማቅና : B.C. | 844 ማጥ” B.C. | 845 ”ናም” : B.C. | 846 በለው : add B.C. |  
 847 ሥርወት : ሥር : በይዘወ : ክኩ : B.C. ‘It is bad if the body commands the body’. |  
 848 Omit B.C. | 849 በቃ : B. | 850 ”ት” : B.C. | 851 ማ” B.C. | 852 ሌያቃቅ : ሌያቃቅ : B.C. |  
 853 ”ታታወት” : B; ”ታታወትም” : C. | 854 ”ወው” : B.C. | 855 Omit B.C. | 856 የያዘ : B. | 857 እንዳ :  
 B. | 858 የቃ : B.C. | 859 ላይ : B.C. | 860 እንዳለቅ : እንዳለም : B.C. | 861 ”የ” : B.C. | 862 ከዚኩ :  
 add B.C. | 863 Omit B.C. | 864 Omits A. | 865 የው” : adds A. | 866 Omit B.C. | 867 ”ጥቃ” : B.  
 This is not a mistake. The last letter (ጥ) stands for *s*wa, not for *š*wa. | 868 አእከታቸ : አእከታቸ :  
 B; አእከታቸ : C. | 869 ለበኩ : B.C. | 870 Omits A. | 871 እግዥነትኩ : ወልድ : ለእግዥነትኩ : B.C. |  
 872 በል : B.C. | 873 በትካትኩ : በትዳደሱት እታ ተወለጥኩ : ዓ : እስተኩ : B, ‘having  
 fought with modesty and patience’. | 874 ከለልቃቃ : B; ከለልቃቃ : C. | 875 ተጠናጥኩ : B.C. |  
 876 አው-ገጥኩ : add B.C. | 877 ”መወት” : B.C. | 878 ከህኩ : A (sic). | 879 በስዕ : add B.C. |  
 880 Omit B.C. | 881 ለቀና : ለው” : B.C. | 882 ፍቃት C. | 883 ፍቃት : B. | 884 ይህን : B.C. | 885 እና  
 ቅት : B.C. | 886 በለው : add B.C. | 887 እናትን : አባቱን : ያስቀቅ : አለው : B.C. ‘His Father

His not acquiring a confession | priest and his not being born in the Holy Spirit. Missing doing good deeds is his additional | shame. A, 102r;  
B, 32v  
C, 118r

If one asks, ‘What is acquiring water for water?’<sup>108</sup> if one supports his body with his body, his submission (to the body’s needs), that is vain. While the just, martyrs, and angels will be shocked and weeping, anyone who confesses his sins to a priest, and holds the five blessings firmly<sup>109</sup> will not be shocked; he will not be in dread either. He will rather rejoice. He will be happy in the same manner a 5-year(-old) child would rejoice and smile when he sees his mother and father. (Such) disciples are superior very much, limitlessly. Amen. 5

‘*Nā*’ (ና) means ‘he took flesh from the Virgin’.

If one asks, ‘What does, | “*He took flesh from the Virgin*”, | mean?’, God, who does all this, took from Our Lady Mary flesh from her flesh, blood from her blood, and soul from her soul and wore it for the sake of the salvation of sinners. 10

‘*A*’ (አ) means ‘*I thank and praise God the Father*’.

If you are asked, ‘What is the Son to God the Father?’, when he said to him, ‘Receive death, go down from the heaven of heavens, be born from Our Lady Mary, defeat the Devil, bring out Adam and his children from slavery to liberty by your humility and give back to him his former glory |—his | kingship, his priesthood,<sup>110</sup> and his power of prophecy—and come back’, and when he said to him, ‘To those who will stay behind,<sup>111</sup> give five | wisdoms, five blessings, and sixteen Commandments<sup>112</sup> as heritage, and come back (leading captives)<sup>113</sup> he thanked his Father very much. 20

Then, he came down, he was born, he taught, and left for us the heritage. God became man. Divinity became united with the human body as soul and body become one with neither the former losing its subtlety nor the latter its concreteness. He died in the flesh he wore, and rose by his divinity. He rose, and receiving glory in his humanity, | glorified us (humans). As for his receiving glory, his dwelling in the womb, his wearing flesh, and his receiving glory (all) happened at the 30

25

C, 119v

A, 102v

B, 33v

COMMENTARY: <sup>108</sup>This must be an obsolete Am saying. | <sup>109</sup>*asrəto*, ‘clearing’ MSS; but probably, *asəzəto*, ‘firmly’. | <sup>110</sup>*kəhdät*, ‘denial’ MSS, for *kəhnät*, ‘priesthood’. | <sup>111</sup>That is, the living. | <sup>112</sup>Lit. ‘(articles of) laws’. But these are the Ten Commandments of the Torah plus the Six Commandments of the Gospel, see fol. 101v. | <sup>113</sup>Cf. Ps. 67:19/68:18; and *Anaphora of James of Sarug*, Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 223 (§ 27).

was extremely happy’. | <sup>888</sup>Omit B C. | <sup>889</sup>አረቃቃ፡ ታምክር፡ B C. | <sup>890</sup>Omit B C. | <sup>891</sup>አር፡ B; አር፡ C. | <sup>892</sup>ማዘሩ፡ B C. | <sup>893</sup>አያዥ፡ B C. | <sup>894</sup>ሁ፡ B C. | <sup>895</sup>Omits B.

በለ : ካብር : ሰ.ቁዥ : እንደ : ሆነ : ሰ.አል : ወርድ :<sup>896</sup> አያምን : ካለ  
 ፍቃ :<sup>897</sup> ተጠይቶ : አመድ :<sup>898</sup> እርከ : ካና : \*በመጋ : ተመልጫ :<sup>899</sup> እና B, 34r  
 እም :<sup>900</sup> በመንፈሰ : ቅጽ-ሰ : ወለድን : የእግዢአብዕር : ልጅ :<sup>901</sup> አደረገን :  
 አልወደም : የለ : ሰው : መንግሥት : ሰማያት :<sup>902</sup> አያያትም :<sup>903</sup> ገን  
 እም : እሳት : ይመርግል :<sup>904</sup>  
 ካ : በ : ካብር : ሰ.ቁዥ : እግዢአብዕር : አልቦ : ከይሰሳም : ለእግዢአብዕር :  
 ማለት : እው :<sup>905</sup>  
 የሚገኘው : የለም : ሁ-ለ :<sup>906</sup> የሚታለው :<sup>907</sup> አምላክ :  
 እው : ቅ | ቅጥረታት :<sup>908</sup> ሰ.ቁዥ : በመንፈሰ : ቅጋዥቃን : እና-ድ : በስርከ : A, 103r;  
 ፍጠረ :<sup>909</sup> እና-ሰና : እሳት : ወሆና : መፈት : ሰማይና : መለከት :<sup>910</sup> ድል C, 120r  
 መት :<sup>911</sup> እለሁን : \*በእርምም : ሰይናገር :<sup>912</sup> ፍጠረ : \*መለከት : ሌቁቅ :  
 እው : ካብር : ገን : መለከት : ተባለ : ማን : ፍጠረ :<sup>913</sup> እና : ቅናን :<sup>914</sup>  
 ቅጠረና :<sup>915</sup> አል- : ቅጥናእልን :<sup>916</sup> ካብር : በለም :<sup>917</sup> አለዋ :<sup>918</sup> ለርቶት : B, 34v  
 እበረና :<sup>919</sup> ማን : ፍጠረ : ሰ.ለ- : ሀ.ለም : እኔ : ፍጠረና : ለበል : በለ- :  
 ሀ.የሰብ : ሀ.ቁጥ :<sup>920</sup> ሀ.የው-ቁዥ : በርሃን : ተናግር : ፍጠረ :<sup>15</sup>  
 እንደት :<sup>921</sup> ቅጥና : ሰ.ለ- : እበ : እኔ : እግዢአብዕር : ሌይ-ት- : ሰር  
 ገን :<sup>922</sup> | እጥቃው : ፍጠረ :<sup>923</sup> እኔ : እንደ :<sup>924</sup> \*በርሃን : ይህ-ንለቃሁ :<sup>925</sup> C, 120v  
 ሀ.ጥቃው : እርዳቃውም : ቅጽ-ሰ : ቅጽ-ሰ : ቅጽ-ሰ : እግዢአብዕር : ወባት :  
 ፍጠረ-ም : ማለ-ሰ : ሰማያት : ወምድና : ቅጽ-ሰ : ሰብአቱት : አል- : ሰበም :  
 በእከል : በንድ : በመልከት :<sup>926</sup> ሰነትና-ት :<sup>927</sup> ይ :<sup>928</sup> ገብ : ቅጽ-ሰ : ሰማያት 20  
 ቅው : ቅውቅ :  
 ፍጠረና-ት :<sup>929</sup>  
 እግዢአብዕር : ሰብአቱት : ሰማያት-ቅው : ተጠዋቅ : የማመናም : ገለ :  
 ሀ.የ- : ለእብ : \*የለ : ሀ.የ- : ለውልድ :<sup>930</sup> የለ : ሀ.የ- : ለመንፈሰ : ቅጽ-ሰ : 30 B, 35r  
 ገድ :<sup>931</sup> ለእብ : ገሰባድ :<sup>932</sup> ለውልድ : ገሰባድ :<sup>933</sup> ለመንፈሰ : ቅጽ-ሰ : \*የለ A, 103v  
 በአቱት : ለእብ : ሰብአቱት : ለውልድ : ሰብአቱት : ለመንፈሰ : ቅጽ-ሰ :<sup>934</sup> C, 121r  
 እንዘ : ይመልከዝ : ይ : \*እለምላክ : ከለበለም : ቅድማዊ : በእንበለ : ጥንት :  
 ወደረሰ-ዋ : በእንበለ : ቅጥና-ት : አል- : እንዘ : ይመልከዝ : ይ :<sup>935</sup> የንድ

APPARATUS: <sup>896</sup> ወረዳ : C. | <sup>897</sup> ካልቃቃ : B; ካልቃቃ : C. | <sup>898</sup> አመግ : C. | <sup>899</sup> ተመልጫ :  
 በመግ : B.C. | <sup>900</sup> እም : B.C. | <sup>901</sup> ልጅ : B.C. | <sup>902</sup> ቅ : B. | <sup>903</sup> አያያትም : B.C. | <sup>904</sup> Omit B  
 C. | <sup>905</sup> ሀ.ለ- : B.C. | <sup>906</sup> ሁ-ለ- : B.C. | <sup>907</sup> የሚታለው : C. | <sup>908</sup> ቅናን : B; ቅናን : C. | <sup>909</sup> Omit B.C.  
 | <sup>910</sup> ቅናን : C. | <sup>911</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>912</sup> ሰይናገር : በእርምም : B.C. | <sup>913</sup> መለከት : ቅጠረና : መለ  
 ከት : ሌቁቅ : እው : እጠ-ት : ቅ-ታው-ት : የታል : B.C. ‘When the angels were created, they  
 did not find their Lord since divinity is subtle’. | <sup>914</sup> The role of ቅናን is not always clear.  
 Here it seems a question mark. | <sup>915</sup> ቅጠረማጠን : ማጠረና : B.C. | <sup>916</sup> ሀ : C. | <sup>917</sup> Omit B  
 C. | <sup>918</sup> በለ- : add B.C. | <sup>919</sup> ገ : B.C. | <sup>920</sup> Omit B.C. This word, ሀ.ቁጥ : was most prob-  
 ably added later to explain the word it preceded. | <sup>921</sup> MA would add በለ- :. | <sup>922</sup> ይ : B.C.  
 The similarity of these two manuscripts is striking. | <sup>923</sup> ይለ : B.C. | <sup>924</sup> ቅናን : B.C. | <sup>925</sup> [ለይ  
 ከ-ት :] በርሃን : በርሃን : ይለ- : B.C. Saying, ‘He said to them, “[Let there  
 be light” (= “Let there be light”)’. | <sup>926</sup> ይ : C. | <sup>927</sup> ቅ : B.C. | <sup>928</sup> ሰነት : B; ሰብአቱ : C. |

same moment. He went down to Hades, and brought out Adam and his children paying ransom. He being born from us | in flesh, begot us in the Holy Spirit. He made us children of God. Whoever refuses to be born (in the Holy Spirit) will not see the kingdom of heaven. He will go down to the fire of hell.

B, 34r

5

*‘Kā’ (h) means ‘God is omnipotent’. Nothing is impossible with God.*<sup>114</sup>

If you are asked, ‘What is (this)?’, there is nothing impossible with him. He is God to whom everything is possible. When he | created the eight creations—wind and fire, water and earth, heaven and angels, and darkness—he created (them) at dusk on a Sunday, on 29 Mägabit. These he created in silence, without speaking. Divinity is subtle. Then, the angels argued among themselves. They said, ‘Who created us? Are we created by us?’ Since (the Lord) had set Sataniel head over all, | when the latter heard them say, ‘Who created us?’, (the Lord) knew on him that he was contemplating to say, ‘I created’, he created light in speaking.

A, 103r;  
C, 120r

B, 34v

If one asks, ‘What did he speak?’, he said to them, ‘*I, God, say, “Let there be light”.*’ | When he said to them, ‘I am the creator; let there be light for you’, they said, ‘*Holy, holy, holy, perfect God of hosts; the heavens and the earth are full of holiness of your glory.*’<sup>115</sup> His trinity in name, person, hypostasis, and image was known by their saying ‘*holy*’ three times.

C, 120v  
20

And how about his unity?

That has been understood by (the angels) saying, ‘*God, your*<sup>116</sup> 25 *(holy) glory*’. Furthermore, they have said, ‘*Halleluiah to the Father, [Halleluiah to the Son,] Halleluiah to | the Holy Spirit. We worship the Father, we worship the Son, we worship | the Holy Spirit; | glory to the Father, glory to the Son, glory to the Holy Spirit, who is three while one, and one while three, o eternal God, who is first without beginning and last without end.*’<sup>117</sup> They said thus ‘*three while one, and*

B, 35r  
A, 103v  
C, 121r  
30

COMMENTARY: <sup>114</sup> Cf. Luke 1:37. | <sup>115</sup> Cf. Isa. 6:3. | <sup>116</sup> Singular: ‘thy’. | <sup>117</sup> e.g. Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 31–32 (§§ 106–108) and 59 (§ 33).

<sup>929</sup> **καὶ** B C. | <sup>930</sup> Omits A. | <sup>931</sup> **τοῦ** C. | <sup>932</sup> **τοῦ** C. | <sup>933</sup> **τοῦ** C. | <sup>934</sup> Omits A. | <sup>935</sup> Omit B C.

՚ት : 936 ለሰትነት : 937 በሰትነት : 938 አንድነት : አንድለበት : 939 ሌ.ም	
ይ.ቁ : 940 አንድሁ : አለ. ብ : 941	
አብ : አምላክ : አይደለው-ም :	B, 3v,
*ነው : አንድ : 942	col. 1; C,
ወልድ : አምላክ : አይደለው-ም :	85v
ነው : አንድ :	
መንፈል : ቅድ-ብ : አምላክ : አይደለው-ም :	
ነው : አንድ :	
*ሰሰት : አምላክ : ነው : ተሳለሁ : 943	
አይደለው-ም : 944	10
*ይ-ነት : ሰሰት : 945 ገዢ : አምላክ : አልሁ : 946	
ሰሰት : አምላክ : አልፈም : የሰሰቱ : አካል : 947 አምላክናታቸው : አንድ :	
ነው : አለለሁ : 948 *ለአብም : መልከትናት : ለውልድም : መልከትናት : ለመን	
ፈለ : ቅድ-ለም : መልከትናት : አላቸው : የሰሰቱ : አካል : መልከትናታቸው :	
አንድ : ነው : አንድ : ይት : አይደለው-ም : ለአብም : እግዢ.አብከርናት : 15	
ለውልድም : እግዢ.አብከርናት : ለመንፈለ : ቅድ-ለሁም : እግዢ.አብከርናት :	
አላቸው : የሰሰቱ : እግዢ.አብከርናት : አንድ : 949   ነው : አንድ : ሰሰት : አይ	B, 4r
ደለው-ም : በእነዚህ : በምልከና : በፈቻድ : በሥልጣን : በሥም   ሰት : በሀዋዊ :	C, 86r
አንድ : ይህናለ : 950	
*ለመንፈለ : ቅድ-ለሁ :   ለውልድ : 951 አካል : አብ : ምናቸው-ት :	A, 104r
*የባከርድ : አካላቸው : እኩ-ም : የባከርድ : እኩቸው : እግዢ-ም : የባከርድ :	
አግራቸው : መልከ-ም : በልተ-ም : የባከርድ : በልታቸው : መልካቸው :	
ነው : ፖ : 952	
ለአብና : ለመንፈለ : ቅድ-ብ : አካል : 953 ወልድ : ምናቸው-ት :	
*የቻል : አካላቸው : እኩ-ም : የቻል : እኩቸው : እግዢ-ም : የቻል : እግዢ 25	
ቸው : መልከ-ም : በልተ-ም : የቻል : መልካቸው : በልታቸው : ነው : ብ : 954	
ለአብና : ለውልድ : አካል : 955 መንፈለ : ቅድ-ብ : ምናቸው-ት :	

*one while three*' to explain that there is trinity in oneness, and oneness in trinity.

| Is not the Father God?

C, 85v

Of course, he is God.

Is not the Son God?

5

Of course, he is God.

Is not the Holy Spirit God?

Of course, he is God.

Do you say, 'There are three Gods?'

No.

10

But how about this, that you said 'God' three times?

I do not say three Gods. I say, 'The divinity of the three persons is one. The Father has divinity, the Son has divinity, and the Holy Spirit has divinity. The divinity of the three persons is one, not three. The Father has godhead, the Son has godhead, and the Holy Spirit has 15 godhead. The godhead of the three (persons) is one, not three. They are one in command, in reign, in will, in authority, in consent, and in nature.

What is the Father for the persons of the Holy Spirit | and the Son? A, 104r

(He is) their natural person; his hands are their natural hands; his 20 legs are their natural legs; his image and the members of his body are the natural members of their body and image.

What is the Son for the persons of the Father and the Holy Spirit?

(He is) the body of their Word; his hands are the hands of their Word; his legs are the legs of their Word; his image and the members 25 of his body are the image of their Word and members of their body.

What is the Holy Spirit for the persons of the Father and the Son?

(He is) the body of their breath; his hands are the hands of their breath; his legs are the legs of their breath; his image and the members

ቁጥ-ና : C. | <sup>952</sup> የበኩርድ : እኩ-ም : የበኩርድ : እኩ-ቁ-ት : (sic) እግ-ም : የበኩርድ : እግ-ቁ-ት  
ው-ት : መልከ-ም : ብል-ቁ-ም : የበኩርድ : መልከ-ቁ-ት : B. | <sup>953</sup> እ : A.B. | <sup>954</sup> የቁል : እከ-ቁ-ት  
ው-ት : እቁ-ም : (እቁ-ም : C) የቁል : እቁ-ቁ-ት : እግ-ም : የቁል : እግ-ቁ-ት : B.C. |  
<sup>955</sup> Omits C.

\*የእስተንፋሰ : አካላችው : እኩም : የእስተንፋሰ : እኩችው : እግዚም : የእስተንፋሰ : እኩችው : እግዚም : መልከም : በልተም : የእስተንፋሰ : መልከችው : በልታችው : ነው. <sup>956</sup>

| የሥለሰ : ቅዱሳ : \*በእምነትኩ : እንደንቱ : <sup>957</sup> ይታወቂል : <sup>958</sup> \*በጥር : C, 86v  
ስለተኞት : አለበት : እኩችው : <sup>959</sup> ወሆኩ : ወጥኩ : ሰለውም : በቁስም : <sup>960</sup> 5  
በዕክድ : ሰለተኞት : አለበት : <sup>961</sup> ሰለት : ብዕክድ : እወለም : አንድ :  
ዥክድ : <sup>962</sup> እንደ : መልከትም : እንደህ : <sup>963</sup> ነው : የሥለሰ : ቅዱሳ : መልከት  
ነት : ሰለበት : <sup>964</sup> \*አካል : መልከተኞት : <sup>965</sup> አለችው : ሰላል : \*እንደ : አካል  
ችው : <sup>966</sup> ተለይቶ : እንደ : ሰማችው : ተክርቶ : <sup>967</sup> | አይደለውም : <sup>968</sup> አይ  
ሁድ : የን : <sup>969</sup> መሳከ : <sup>970</sup> ይርመን : መፍቃቂን : ሰለት : አካል : <sup>971</sup> ስም : 10  
ስለት : መልከት : <sup>972</sup> አያምነት : <sup>973</sup> እግዚአብሔር : ነው : <sup>974</sup> ይለል : ተንበሳ  
ቻዊ : እረማዊ : <sup>975</sup> እጋጋጋት : \*በስም : በአካል : በንግ : በመልከት : <sup>976</sup> በንግም C, 87r  
አነስት : በመለከተኞት : በእግዚአብሔርኞት : አንድ : <sup>977</sup> ነው : ይለል : እኩ :  
የን : ሰንድ : ሰለም : በአካል : በንግ : በመልከት : <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> ነው : <sup>980</sup> በመለከት  
ነት : በእምነትኞት : በእግዚአብሔርኞት : እንድ : <sup>981</sup> እንደለን : ተ፡\*\*<sup>982</sup> 15  
| ሰዋ : እንድ : ሰራ : <sup>983</sup> የምን : በል : መሆ : ክምድር : <sup>984</sup> እስከ : ለቁቅ : B,  
ሰማይ : መልቶ : እስረፍ : <sup>985</sup> መልተም : እንደ : እንቀሳል : ሪፍን : እስረፍ : middle  
ቻና : <sup>986</sup> እረጋጋት : መህን : ከለበት : <sup>987</sup> ከዚ : ሰላል : <sup>988</sup> ሰለውን : መልር : እኩ  
ሪን : <sup>989</sup> \*በጥርድር : የል-ን : ባከርን : እኩራጋትን : እኩራጋ : <sup>990</sup> ሰለውን : አኩ  
ስን : <sup>991</sup> ከዚልር : በልይ : እስረፍ : <sup>992</sup> ሰለውን : ወ-ቅያጥስ : <sup>993</sup> ክምድር : <sup>994</sup>  
ናር : እኩራጋ : <sup>995</sup>

| በስርክ : ማከሰም : <sup>996</sup> | ሰራ : <sup>997</sup> ወ-ቅያጥስ : ድት : ማለዳ : እስናበት :  
ለይተጋባ : ማይ : ወ-ስት : ምልአድሁ : <sup>998</sup> በልው : ወረዳ : <sup>999</sup> ማስርን : እሁ  
ልን : <sup>1000</sup> እንጋጋጋት : እንደ : በለም : ሰራ : <sup>1001</sup> ከነት : <sup>1002</sup> እተካልኞት :  
ስራ : <sup>1003</sup> | እግዚአብሔር : \*ቻ ነገር : ሰራ : B, 35v

A, 105r

APPARATUS: <sup>956</sup> የአካል : እስተንፋሰችው-ት : እኩም : እግዚም : የእስተንፋሰ : እኩችው-ት : (እኩ)  
C) እግዚችውም : ነው : መልከም : በልተም : የእስተንፋሰ : መ(C, fol. 86v) አካልችው-ትም :  
(”ውም : C) በልታችውም : ነው : B.C. | <sup>957</sup> አያምነትኩ : እንደንቱ : B; እምነትኩ : እንደንቱ :  
C. | <sup>958</sup> ሰለተኞም : ለመሆም : ለጥዋቃም : ለቁስም : ሰለተኞት : አለበት : adds C. |  
<sup>959</sup> ”ት” is a combination of ተ and ባ. | <sup>960</sup> Omits C. | <sup>961</sup> ሰላለበት : የን : add B.C. |  
<sup>962</sup> በል : adds C. | <sup>963</sup> እንደያ : እንደ : ነው : C. | <sup>964</sup> ”ቁ” : C. | <sup>965</sup> Omits C. | <sup>966</sup> እንደ : እኩ  
አንችው : C. | <sup>967</sup> ሰለት : adds C. | <sup>968</sup> እንደ : ነው : እንደ : adds C. | <sup>969</sup> Omits C. | <sup>970</sup> መ<sup>ለ</sup>  
አኩ : C. | <sup>971</sup> ሰለት : C. | <sup>972</sup> ሰለት : C. | <sup>973</sup> ሰለት : C. | <sup>974</sup> Omits C. | <sup>975</sup> Omits C. | <sup>976</sup> በአ  
ካል : በንግ : በመልከ : C. | <sup>977</sup> እንደ : C. | <sup>978</sup> ”ን” : C. | <sup>979</sup> ሰለት : C. | <sup>980</sup> Omits C. |  
<sup>981</sup> Omits C. | <sup>982</sup> Omits B. | <sup>983</sup> ልጠረ : B.C. | <sup>984</sup> ”ይ” B. | <sup>985</sup> ”ይ” : B.C. | <sup>986</sup> ”ይቻ” : B.C.  
| <sup>987</sup> እለ” B.C. | <sup>988</sup> ”ለው” : B.C. | <sup>989</sup> ”ለው” : B.C. | <sup>990</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>991</sup> እኩሰ : C. | <sup>992</sup> ”ይው” : B  
C. | <sup>993</sup> ”ኩ” : C. | <sup>994</sup> እም” B. | <sup>995</sup> ”ይው” : ባከር : እኩራጋት : እኩቅድ : በጥርድር : አይ : የል-  
ሁሳ : ከዚቅያጥስ : የተከለፈ : የቻው : B.C, (‘He suspended’ it. Bodies of water, (water of)  
rivers, fountains, all (others) on earth, are taken from the ocean.’) | <sup>996</sup> ሰለት : B.C. | <sup>997</sup> ልጠረ : B. | <sup>998</sup> ”ይ/የ”  
, a combination of the two B. | <sup>999</sup> እንደ : add B.C. | <sup>1000</sup> እኩልን : B.C.  
| <sup>1001</sup> ልጠረው : ሁ-ስት : B.C. | <sup>1002</sup> ጥነትን : B.C. | <sup>1003</sup> እንደ : በለም : ልጠረ : B.C.

of his body are the image of their breath and the members of their body.

| The oneness of the Holy Trinity is known by (the oneness of) its C, 86v divinity. There is trinity in a candle:<sup>118</sup> its fieriness, its wateriness, and its being a candle. There is trinity in a man, or in a priest, and in sun. 5 One does not say three suns, but one sun.<sup>119</sup> Divinity, too, is like this. Regarding the divinity of the Holy Trinity, because we said, ‘There is divinity in the three persons’, it is not by separating it as by their persons or calling it (three) as by their names. | But the Jews<sup>120</sup> (and) A, 104v Melkite<sup>121</sup> German heretics say, ‘It is thee persons, three names, three 10 divinities, three Gods,<sup>122</sup> three Gods.<sup>123</sup> Muslims, pagans, (and) demons<sup>124</sup> say, ‘He is one in name, in person, in hypostasis, in image, | C, 87r in godhead,<sup>125</sup> in divinity,<sup>126</sup> and in being God.<sup>127</sup> But we say, ‘He is three in name, in person, in hypostasis, and in image, but one in divinity, in godhead and in being God.’

| On Monday, he made one (thing). If one asks, ‘What?’, the water had filled (the space) from earth to the subtle sky. And the earth was covered<sup>128</sup> like an egg (by its shell). He spread the water, and divided it into three. A third he made firmament; the (parts of it) which were on earth he made seas and rivers: the (second) third, the *hanos*, he elevated above the firmament, and (the third) third, the ocean, he settled at the edge of earth.

| On Tuesday at dusk,<sup>129</sup> he | made three (things). He discharged the ocean early in the morning: when he said to it, ‘*Let the water be gathered into its place*’, (and) it went down. He created the grass, the grain, and the woods with one (command). In Paradise he created plants. | God created eight things.

15  
B,  
middle  
of 35r;  
C, 121r,  
toward  
the end  
of col. 1  
C, 121v |  
B, 35v  
25  
A, 105r

COMMENTARY: <sup>118</sup> *Twaf*, indigenous candle made locally of threads and wax. | <sup>119</sup> Cf. fol. 72r. | <sup>120</sup> Perhaps because of the Hebrew expression *elohim*, ‘gods’. | <sup>121</sup> ? *mälaki* MS. | <sup>122</sup> *Amlak*. Who German heretics are is not clear. If the reference is to the Hermannsburg Mission of the nineteenth century, the manuscript could not be of the eighteenth century, but it is. Also the features manifested in the language could be regional (Gondarite) rather than archaic. | <sup>123</sup> *Ęgzi'abher*. | <sup>124</sup> It is not clear if this is a class by itself or an adjective to the preceding class. | <sup>125</sup> *Amlakənnät*. | <sup>126</sup> *Mäläkötənnät*. | <sup>127</sup> *Ęgzi'abherənnät*. | <sup>128</sup> Probably, ‘round’. | <sup>129</sup> Sic.

እኔድ : ለሳ : <sup>1004</sup> ዝግም : አልፈመደም : ካልቁ : እስከ : የርብ : ጥብር :  
 እምግብር : ለራ : <sup>1005</sup> ገኩም : <sup>1006</sup> ካመራት : ታከናለቁና : <sup>1007</sup> መራት :  
 እቁ : <sup>1008</sup> \*ማር : እንጂት : እህል : እትከልት : <sup>1009</sup> | ካወሁ : ካመራት : ካኩ C, 122r  
 ቁት : ተቀናስ : ተሰርቃዬ ቁ :  
 ለቦዕ : <sup>1010</sup> ቁ : <sup>1011</sup> ለራ : \*ምንና : ወን : በል : <sup>1012</sup> \*ወከይን : ካኩሳ : ጥርግ 5  
 ገን : ካሳት : መረቁና : | <h>ወከብትን : ካኩሳ : ከበርሃን : ካወሁ : <sup>1013</sup> B, 36r  
 በስርከ : <sup>1014</sup> ሂመ-ሳ : ይሰራ : ዝንና : ወን : በል : በባክር : የሚለውን : <sup>1015</sup>  
 ዝንና : እወን : እርቃናን : በባክር : የለን : <sup>1016</sup> ሁ-ለ- : \*ሰራ : ሁ-ለ-ቁ : እዋ  
 ለን : <sup>1017</sup> ገግራ-ን : <sup>1018</sup> ገለው-ቁ : ለን : <sup>1019</sup> በርግና : <sup>1020</sup> የራ : ጉስር : <sup>1021</sup>  
 በእግር : የሚለዘሩና : | እራቁ-ቁ : <sup>1022</sup> ምድር : የሚይበን : <sup>1023</sup> ምጥ C, 122v  
 ምጥ : <sup>1024</sup> ገምድ : እስከ : ለወን : <sup>1025</sup> ሂዋናትን : ሂሳብትን : <sup>1026</sup> እንቃቅ  
 ገን : <sup>1027</sup> ማንጂ-ን : <sup>1028</sup> በአምትና : <sup>1029</sup> ለዋና-ን : <sup>1030</sup> በስርከ : እለሁን : ካ  
 ቁስ : ካሳት : ካወሁ : ካመራት : ለራ ቁ :  
 የርብ : <sup>1031</sup> ለራ : ዝንና : ወን : በል : ድ-ከ-ማኑ : እንና : | መንፈቁ : <sup>1032</sup> B, 36v  
 ለለት : ደርሃን : <sup>1033</sup> ቁቁ : <sup>1034</sup> ለረንን : ብርትን : <sup>1035</sup> ማርበን : <sup>1036</sup> ደርጋይ 15  
 ቁን : <sup>1037</sup> ለራ : <sup>1038</sup> \*የሚበን : ቁቁ-ሳ : <sup>1039</sup> የኩር : እው : <sup>1040</sup> ለኩ :  
 ለማን : <sup>1041</sup> እንሰሳ : ገፍምን : <sup>1042</sup> ለራ : <sup>1043</sup> A, 105v  
 ተከይ : ለ-መቁ : | እምምን : ገግባር : ለበአ : በእርከያና : ወበአምሰለና :  
 በለው : <sup>1044</sup> ለራ : \*የሚመት : ገልማኑ : እድርን : ልጠው- : <sup>1045</sup> ሂዋና- :  
 ወን : <sup>1046</sup> በይት : <sup>1047</sup> ካኩም : ከግራ : እኩ- : ለበር : ቁን : <sup>1048</sup> ለራ-ቁ : <sup>1049</sup> 20  
 እኩሳ : የለው-ን : <sup>1050</sup> ሁ-ለ- : ካኩሳ : ካሳት : ካወሁ : ካመራት : ቁን : <sup>1051</sup>  
 ለረ-ቁ : <sup>1052</sup>  
 ካወሁ-ቁ : <sup>1053</sup> ከወማ : በቀር : የሚበን : የለም ቁ :  
 በቀዳማት : ወን : እዳረፍከ- : እምት-ለ- : ወብና : እለ : በሳብት : <sup>1054</sup> ወራ-ቁ :

APPARATUS: <sup>1004</sup> ቁ : ወጥረት : ወሁ-ና : ልጠረ : እኩ- : ለሳ : B.C. | <sup>1005</sup> ለለያይ : B.C. |  
 1006 እኩም : B.C. | <sup>1007</sup> ቁ : B.C. | <sup>1008</sup> እቁ : C. | <sup>1009</sup> ብርት : ይወን : እትከልትን : B  
 C, ‘the grass, the plants, the grain, and vegetable’. | <sup>1010</sup> እራ” B.C. | <sup>1011</sup> ለራ-ቁ : B.C. |  
 1012 Omit B.C. | <sup>1013</sup> ካኩሳ : ከበርሃን : ካሳት : ብርይን : እንና : ካወሁ :  
 መረቁና : ይ ካኩሳ : ከበርሃን : ካወሁ : ካወሁ-ቁ : B.C., ‘(He produced), one, the sun  
 from wind, light, and fire; two, the moon from light, wind, and water; and three, the stars  
 from wind, light, and water’. | <sup>1014</sup> እው : add B.C. | <sup>1015</sup> ለን : B; ”ኩ : C. | <sup>1016</sup> የለ- : B.C. |  
<sup>1017</sup> እኩ- : በንና : የሚበን : እራቁ-ቁ : ለማይና : እርከ-ሳ : እ-ለ- : እም-ራ- : ቁ-ና : B.C., ‘One,  
 animals of the sky that fly with wings, including all unclean ones, (such as) vultures (and)  
 crow’. | <sup>1018</sup> ”ኩ : B.C. | <sup>1019</sup> ለን : B. | <sup>1020</sup> እስከ : add B.C. | <sup>1021</sup> ደረሰ : ይ add B.C. |  
<sup>1022</sup> ”ቁ : B. | <sup>1023</sup> ”ለ- : B.C. | <sup>1024</sup> [ምጥማጥ- ; ከወጥማጥ- : B.C. | <sup>1025</sup> A variant of ከወማ- :  
 ከወማ- : ደረሰ : ይ B.C. | <sup>1026</sup> እዋናት : B; እዋናት : ለለት : ወኩ-ው : በ-ለ- : እቅ-ሳ : C, ‘insects’ B;  
 ‘If one asks, “What does insects mean?” Snakes’. If እቅ-ሳ, ‘snake’ is one of the እዋናት,  
 then the exact meaning of እዋናት is not ‘insects’ but including all creeping animals. |  
<sup>1027</sup> ”ለ- : B.C. | <sup>1028</sup> ”ኩ : B.C. | <sup>1029</sup> ”ቁ : B.C. | <sup>1030</sup> ”ቁ-ኩ : ለርሃ- : ይ B; ”ቁ-ኩ : እራቁ-ቁ :  
 ለርሃ- : ይ C. | <sup>1031</sup> ለራ-ቁ : B.C. | <sup>1032</sup> በመ” B.C. | <sup>1033</sup> ”ሁ : B.C. | <sup>1034</sup> ብርት-ን : add B.C, pos-  
 sible for ብርት-ን : which is wanting in B and C. | <sup>1035</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1036</sup> እር- : B.C. | <sup>1037</sup> ”ማ-”

On Sunday he did not create any other (things). From Monday to Friday, he produced *works from (existing) works*.<sup>130</sup> Since Paradise was broken away from earth, it, too, is earth. Grass, wood, grain, and plants/vegetables | were created, taking (the materials) out from earth. C, 122r

On Wednesday, he created three (things). If one asks, 'What and what?', the sun from wind, the light from fire, and the moon | and the stars from wind, light, and water. 5  
B, 36r

On Thursday, at dusk, he created four (things). If one asks, 'What and what?', he created those that move in the seas: the fish, the crocodiles, the monitor lizards, and all that are in the seas. Second, he created vultures, pheasants, kites, ostriches, seagulls,<sup>131</sup> eagles, the wild animals of the dry land that run on legs, | beginning with inedible genet to elephants—insects, chameleons, small lizards,<sup>132</sup> pythons, behemoths, and leviathans. He made these at dusk from wind, from fire, from water, and from earth. 10  
C, 122v

On Friday, he created three (things). If one asks, 'What and what?', at | midnight, he created those with weak wings—hen partridges,<sup>133</sup> *sorän*,<sup>134</sup> porcupines, doves, and *dərçutt*.<sup>135</sup> The edible and the clean<sup>136</sup> are seven things. At | dawn he created cows and wild beasts. 15  
A, 105v  
B, 36v

At sunrise, | he created Adam, a young man of 30 years, saying, 'Let us create man in our image and our likeness.' But Eve he created on the third (day/year), breaking (a bone) and taking (it) out from Adam's left side. He made every living thing, taking them out from wind, fire, water, and earth. C, 123r

There is nothing edible from Thursday's creation, save for fish. 25

But on Saturday, he said, 'I rested', from all his work; (that is,) on the seventh day.

COMMENTARY: <sup>130</sup> That is, he produced new materials from existing materials. | <sup>131</sup> *Bərgana*. | <sup>132</sup> *Enqaqəlla*. | <sup>133</sup> *Qoq*. | <sup>134</sup> A white bird that has no resemblance to a partridge. | <sup>135</sup> Variant of *dərçatt*, a bird much smaller than a partridge. | <sup>136</sup> *Qəddus*, 'holy', i.e. 'edible animal', against *rəkus*, 'filth', i.e. inedible animal.

**ՀԱՅԻՑ :** (ՅԱՅՈՅ : C) B C. | <sup>1038</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>1039</sup> ՔՊՈԱ : ՓՔ-ՈՅ : B C. | <sup>1040</sup> Հ.ՈՅ : B C. | <sup>1041</sup> ԱՎՄՈՅ : B C. | <sup>1042</sup> ՊՈ : ՔՊՈԱ-Յ : Ք B C. | <sup>1043</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>1044</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>1045</sup> Հ.ՈՅ Հ.ՈՅ : ՔՊՈՄԴ : ԴԱՄՈՒ : ՀԱՅՈՅ : ԱՅԸՆ : B C. | <sup>1046</sup> ՈՒ ՓՅ : ԳԸԱ : B C. | <sup>1047</sup> ՔԱ : add B C. | <sup>1048</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>1049</sup> Հ.ՔՊՈՄ Ի ԻՆԻՒ : ՈՒ ՔՊՈՄԴ : ՄԸՅ : add B C, 'And Adam came down from Paradise after seven years'. | <sup>1050</sup> ԿԿԱ : add B C. | <sup>1051</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>1052</sup> ԱԿՃԱ : B C. | <sup>1053</sup> ՊՅ : add B C. | <sup>1054</sup> ՈՒ ՈՒԿԻՒ : B; ՈՒ ՈՒԿԻՒ : C.

\*ወ : በ : <sup>1055</sup> ወረዳ : እንዘ : እየከዕስ : በለሰለ : \*ወወ, ይተቻለኝ : በታ B, 37r  
 ከቱ : <sup>1056</sup> ከይሁ : ከመሳሰሉቱ : <sup>1057</sup> ከመንበሩ : የይጠናል : በእዝነ : | በሥል C, 123v  
 ማን : በምክር : በፈቻድ : በሥምረት : የይለይ : ወረዳ : ማለት : ነው : ወከይ  
 ተቻለኝ : <sup>1058</sup> በታኩቱ : በይሁ : በለሰለ : ከንድ : ከስንጋር : ወንገጥ : በዕለብ  
 ማንዥኝ : ሰማይና : ምናር : የይቻለው : <sup>1059</sup> እምጣኝ : እድረ : <sup>1060</sup> ሥር : 5  
 ለበለ : በበበቻ : ለሰሩ : <sup>1061</sup> እኩረቻ : ለርዝም : <sup>1062</sup> የይል : ተመልማግል : ወን  
 በልባል : እንበለ : መሰናና : ልሳኩ : በገኘመ : <sup>1063</sup> ሌና : \*እንዳለ : ከንድ :  
 መሰናና : ነው : ይለል : <sup>1064</sup>

ወ : በ : በበይ : እግዢእብኩር : እለ : <sup>1065</sup>  
 ምናው : <sup>1066</sup> በለብ : \*ከርስና : በወር : <sup>1067</sup> ተሳቻ : የታሳቻ : ተሳቻ : ከከ A, 106r  
 ለበና : <sup>1068</sup> ከበር : ከመንግሥቱ : መንግሥት : በለጥ : የይጠናልው : <sup>1069</sup> | C, 124r |  
 ከእሳት : እሳት : በታናና : <sup>1070</sup> እንዳበሩ : የርስጥም : <sup>1071</sup> \*የዕለብ : እንዳለ B, 37v  
 የወ : <sup>1072</sup> ለውቅቻዊ ወ በእይወታቻውም : በጥታቻውም : <sup>1073</sup> ተርነት :  
 ወለስት : የደረጋት : ስው : በከብር : ሌብ : ተጠላትም : እንዳለስት :  
 የስተስርቻለታል : <sup>1074</sup> ከውቅቻ : <sup>1075</sup> ይለቅ : ይውዳዋል : የማቻ : ስም : 15  
 የርቻ : \*እንዳሳ : በመጽ : ገብ : <sup>1076</sup> እማት : ከማቻ : <sup>1077</sup> ይለቅ : እንድታው  
 ይው : እንደታካብረው ወ እምጣኝም : እንዳያነው : <sup>1078</sup> ከገዛቱ : <sup>1079</sup> ወራ :  
 የጥቻውን : ስው : ምናም : <sup>1080</sup> ወቅቻ : በሆን : ከገዛቱ : ይለቅ : ይገዛዋል :  
 መጽሐና : እንዳለ : | ከንድ : በተሳተሩ : ምስለ : ወተኑ : ወተኑ : <sup>1081</sup> C, 124v  
 መእኔ : እተደመሩ : ምስለ : የልውያን : ወክረማውያን : በእረፍተም : <sup>1082</sup> 20  
 በገለግለዎች : <sup>1083</sup> ከዘለያ : በወሰኑት : በድና : <sup>1084</sup> ምግባር : <sup>1085</sup> ይተቻለኝ : <sup>1086</sup> B, 38r  
 ቅድሚናሁ : ለጠኩሉ : በልዋል : <sup>1087</sup> ነገር : ጥን : የበትወካም : <sup>1088</sup> ከብት :  
 እንበለ : እሳብ : \*በበለ : ገብ : <sup>1089</sup> ለፍጥን : <sup>1090</sup> እዋቅ : መደቅ : ካለ  
 ሌጥ : <sup>1091</sup> \*እንዳ : ቅማጥ : እንዳ : ሌጣ : <sup>1092</sup> ይፈረደኝበታል : <sup>1093</sup>  
 ዘ : በ : በከብር : ይእጥና : እግዢእብኩር : 25  
 \*ምን : ማለት : <sup>1094</sup> ነው : በለብ : \*የበትወካም : የከፋወካም : ጥና : እርስና : <sup>1095</sup>  
 ነው : ወበእንተት : ለይእና : <sup>1096</sup> | ሌጥ : እንዳለ : <sup>1097</sup> | ወንጋል : እስከ : A, 106v |  
 C, 125r

APPARATUS: <sup>1055</sup> እብ : A. | <sup>1056</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1057</sup> በሥል” B.C. | <sup>1058</sup> ይተቻለኝ : B; ወይተቻለኝ : C. | <sup>1059</sup> እይ” B.C. | <sup>1060</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1061</sup> ”ፋት” : B.C. | <sup>1062</sup> ”ማት” : B.C. | <sup>1063</sup> በገኘመ : ስም በለብ : B.C. | <sup>1064</sup> መሰናና : እንዳለ : ከንድ : B. | <sup>1065</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1066</sup> ለለምን : የበይ : እግዢእብኩር እኩር : እለ : B.C, ‘Why did (the source) say, “Almighty God/God is almighty?”’ | <sup>1067</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1068</sup> የከብር : B.C. | <sup>1069</sup> የይጠናልበትም : B; ከይጠናልበት : C. | <sup>1070</sup> እንዳለ : add B.C. | <sup>1071</sup> እርስና” B.C. | <sup>1072</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1073</sup> ”መ.” B. | <sup>1074</sup> ይለወርቻለታል : B; ይለወርቻለታል : C. | <sup>1075</sup> ከውቅቻዊ : C. | <sup>1076</sup> በመጽ : እንዳሳ : B.C. | <sup>1077</sup> ከለማቻ : C. | <sup>1078</sup> ”የወ” : ነው : B.C. | <sup>1079</sup> ”ተም” : B.C. | <sup>1080</sup> ”ማ” B.C. | <sup>1081</sup> Omits A. | <sup>1082</sup> በል/እ” B.C. | <sup>1083</sup> በገለግለዎች : (?) B; በገለግለዎች : C. | <sup>1084</sup> ”ና” : C. | <sup>1085</sup> ”ፌ” : C. | <sup>1086</sup> ”ኅል” : C. | <sup>1087</sup> በለውአል : B; በለው እለ : C. | <sup>1088</sup> ”ንም” : B.C. | <sup>1089</sup> በበለት : B.C. | <sup>1090</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1091</sup> ከለደረጋት : B.C. | <sup>1092</sup> እንዳለ : ሌጣ : እንዳ : ቅማጥ : B.C. | <sup>1093</sup> ይፈረደኝበታል : alters B, and adds እግዢእብኩር ; እግዢእብኩር : adds C. | <sup>1094</sup> ማለት : ምና : B.C. | <sup>1095</sup> የከፋወካም : የበትወካም : የማጥና : ጥና : ማለት : B; የከፋወካም : የበትወካም : የማጥና : ጥና : ማለት : C, ‘It means Lord who holds the bad and the good.’ | <sup>1096</sup> ወ” B.C. | <sup>1097</sup> Omit B.C.

‘Wä’ (ወ) means | ‘he came down without wanting from above and without being added to below’. It means he came down without wanting from his trinity and from his throne, unseparated in command, | authority, counsel, will, and consent. What it said ‘and without being added to below’ (means) God, on whom heaven and earth are not capable (to carry), dwelt in the narrow womb of a girl (of the stature) of three cubits and a span; he wore flesh, without saying, ‘It is narrow, let me widen (it)’, or ‘It is short, let me lengthen (it)’, as Moses said, ‘In the desert of Sinai, I saw verdure and flame without destruction.’<sup>137</sup>

10

‘A’ (ወ) means God is great.

If one asks, ‘What is (this)?’, there (is no one) greater than him. He is greater than the greatest, | whose glory will not lessen if he gives glory from his glory and kingship | from his kingship. As fire increases when one makes | fire from fire, his brightness (increases) likewise (when he shares it) with his friends during their lifetime and in their death. To whoever holds prayers glory (will be added) to his glory, and if there is sin on him, it will have it forgiven for him. (The Lord) will love him more than his friends. As when a guest comes invoking the name of a father-in-law, the mother-in-law loves him more than the father-in-law himself and honours him; so is also God. (But) he hates the man whom he finds with his enemy more than his enemy, however (close) his friend might be, as the Scripture says, | ‘Whoever is a partner with the anathematized is anathema. Do not associate with outlaws and the pagan.’<sup>138</sup> Even if barred by a wall,<sup>139</sup> (the source) says, ‘Whoever prays at | the carcass of a rebel, the person’s sanctity will cease.’ But if one consumes a good (person’s) property free of charge, he will be judged as a robber and thief, unless one inquires about its value and indemnifies (it).

20

C, 124v

25

B, 38r

‘Zä’ (ዘ) means God is Almighty.<sup>140</sup>

30

If one asks, ‘What does (this) mean?’, he is the Lord of the good as well as the bad. As | the Gospel says, ‘But about that | hour’, to the end of the periscope.<sup>141</sup> And when the messenger comes, he does not

C, 125r

A, 106v

COMMENTARY: <sup>137</sup>That is, without the fire affecting the verdure of the tree. Probably taken from a certain hymn, cf. ‘You (Mary) are the tree which Moses saw in the flame of fire and it was not burning’, sixth stanza of Tuesday’s *Wəddase Maryam*, and ‘Mary is the tree that Moses saw in the flame of fire in a desert, and its branches not burning’, first stanza of Thursday’s *Wəddase Maryam*. | <sup>138</sup>Cf. 2 John 10:11. | <sup>139</sup>Wall is death. | <sup>140</sup>That is, ‘who holds all in his hands’. | <sup>141</sup>Matt. Pericope 58 = 24:36–51.

፩፭፻ : ይም፻፻፻ : መልከተኝው-ም : <sup>1098</sup> በመክ : ገብ : መዓልት : ለለት :  
በር : ክረምት : እይልም : \*ከዘኝ : ከገል : ከሚር : ከባክር : ወ-ሥም : የለ :  
በታኝኩ : በበቃለው : <sup>1099</sup> በፈረሰ : ስር : ስ.ኩድ : ሰ.ገኝ : <sup>1100</sup> የሰረጋዥ-ም : B, 38v  
ይው-ረድ : የውጭው-ም : ይግባ : እይልም : ክቃለ : ከወድ : ስ.በለ-ም : ስ.መ  
ጠ-ም : ስ.ኩድ-ም : <sup>1101</sup> ስ.የስተምህራርም : ስ.ቀድ-ለ-ም : <sup>1102</sup> ስ.የገኝ : 5  
ቃለ : <sup>1103</sup> ክሳረሰ : ሁ-ለ : <sup>1104</sup> ይብ : ይሰጣል : ለይታው- : <sup>1105</sup> ይህ : ገን : ገን  
በለ : ል.ቃድ : <sup>1106</sup> እይሁንም ፍ፡

የ : በ : የማኝ : እግዢአብዳር : | ገበረ : <sup>1107</sup> ይይለ : C, 125v  
ምን : ማለት : ነው : በ.ለ : ቅኝ : እኩ : ነው : በ.የሰር : የጠበቃል :  
በመታ : ያደቃል : የእግዢአብዳር : እብ : ለኩ : ወልደ : <sup>1108</sup> እግዢአብ 10  
ኩር : ዓ.የበለሰሰን : በተ-ከተትና : በተ-በግሥት : ተዋዋጥ : ዝል : ነስቅ : የማ  
እክወን : <sup>1109</sup> ንፍስ : <sup>1110</sup> ሁ-ለ : እስመለሰው : <sup>1111</sup> ይለል ፍ፡ <sup>1112</sup>  
ደ : በ : ያመረ : ሥ-ኩ : የምስል : መለከት : ወመለከት : <sup>1113</sup> ያመረ : የምስል : B, 39v  
ሥ-ኩ :  
ምንው : በ.ለ : ስው-ኩ-ቃ-ኩን : እምሳከ : እድረጋው : እምሳከኩ-ኩ : ስው : 15  
እድረጋው : የሰው-ት : እምሳከ : የምንው : በ.ለ : እርስ : ክኩ : ሥር : ለለ  
ስኩ : <sup>1114</sup> ሥር : ክኩኩ : እንደ : እንደ-ትሆን : | መለከት : <sup>1115</sup> ክመር : <sup>1116</sup> A, 107r |  
እንደ : ሆኖ : <sup>1117</sup> የእምሳከኩ-ኩ : <sup>1118</sup> ሥልጠን : ለቁስ : ለመው : እፈጻሚኩ : C, 126r  
እክወንአከኩ-ኩ : <sup>1119</sup> በዋር : ሥልጠን : ለቁስ : ለጥቅ : እንደኩ : ሁ-ኩ : <sup>1120</sup>  
እዘዴ : እስር : ፍታ : እለው : እኩኩም : <sup>1121</sup> በመንፈሰ : ቅኝ-ስ : የእምሳከ : 20  
እኩ : እኩ : እኩኩ-ኩ : ይለል ፍ፡ <sup>1122</sup>  
ገ : በ : ገበረ : የለመ : <sup>1123</sup> በጥበብ : <sup>1124</sup>  
ምንው : የለምን : እንደ-ት : በጥበብ : ስራ : በ.ለ : ይለቃለት : <sup>1125</sup> ለማይ : <sup>1126</sup>  
ቃ <sup>1127</sup> መዋረት : በመልጠን : እምሳከኩ-ኩ : ይዘ : እኩ-ኩ : <sup>1128</sup> ክእሳት : ወሁን : B, 39v  
ክመራት : \*ቅንድ : እኩ-ኩ : <sup>1129</sup> መህው : ያደረሰ.ርስ : <sup>1130</sup> መራቱ : ያደበበ : 25  
በለ : እንደ-ቱ : ያደረሰ : <sup>1131</sup> እኩ-ኩ : ያደረሰ : <sup>1132</sup> ለየጥቅ : <sup>1133</sup> ለቁስ-ቱ : የይ C, 126v  
ኩ : <sup>1134</sup> በተ-እሱት : እቁም-ቁል : ስው-ኩም : <sup>1135</sup> በቁጥበብ : ስር-ቁል :

APPARATUS: <sup>1098</sup> መተ” B.C. | <sup>1099</sup> እኩ-ቱ : ስር : እገልልም : ስር : እባክርም እው-ሰም : እኩ[ኩ]ኩ : ስር : B.C. ‘climbing a tree, climbing a cliff, and ascending a boat in the sea’. | <sup>1100</sup> ስ.የገኝ : B.C. | <sup>1101</sup> ስ.እኩ-ም : ስ.የገኝ : B.C. | <sup>1102</sup> ስ.ቁ-ለ-ም : C. | <sup>1103</sup> ክቃ” B.C. | <sup>1104</sup> ሁ-ለ-ም : B.C. | <sup>1105</sup> ስለ” B.C. | <sup>1106</sup> እርስ : ል.ቃድ : B.C. | <sup>1107</sup> ሰት : B.C. | <sup>1108</sup> ዝጋ : B. | <sup>1109</sup> የውሳድው-ኩ : B.C. | <sup>1110</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1111</sup> ል” B. | <sup>1112</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1113</sup> ሰ-ቱ : B.C. | <sup>1114</sup> ስ-በለ : B; ለበለ : C. | <sup>1115</sup> ሰ-ም : C. | <sup>1116</sup> እንደ-ሙ : ተገኝ-ቁ-ቱ : እንደ-ሙ : add B.C. | <sup>1117</sup> ሆና : B.C. | <sup>1118</sup> የእም” B.C. | <sup>1119</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1120</sup> ሰ-ሳ : B.C. | <sup>1121</sup> ሰ-ም : B.C. | <sup>1122</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1123</sup> ሰ-ም : B. | <sup>1124</sup> ለጥቅ : B; ለጥበብ : C. The two manuscripts, B and C, had similar exemplars. | <sup>1125</sup> ሰ-ቁ-ቱ : B.C. | <sup>1126</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1127</sup> ሰ-ኩ : B.C. | <sup>1128</sup> ንፍስ : B.C. | <sup>1129</sup> እኩ-ኩ : ሰ-ኩ : እኩ-ኩ : B.C. | <sup>1130</sup> እንደ-ሙ” MA. | <sup>1131</sup> ክቃ” B.C. | <sup>1132</sup> ክቃ” B.C. | <sup>1133</sup> ለየጥቅ : B; ለየጥቅ : C. | <sup>1134</sup> ክቃ” B.C. | <sup>1135</sup> ስው-ኩም : B.

take into consideration (if it is) day or night, dry season<sup>142</sup> or rainy season.<sup>143</sup> As to whoever is on a tree, at a cliff, on the grassland, and in the sea on a boat, or if he is found travelling—ascending a mule or horse—(the messenger) will not say, ‘Let whoever has ascended | descend and he who is out come in.’ Once (his command) is issued through his words, and has reached (people, be it) while eating, drinking, walking, teaching, or serving Mass, (the messenger) will capture all and deliver (them) to his Lord. But this will not happen without his will.

B, 38v

5

‘*Yā*’ (¶) means ‘the right hand of God | did power’.<sup>144</sup>

C, 125v

If one asks, ‘What does (this) mean?’, it concerns the right hand, which tightens, if it ties, and crushes, if it strikes. The Son of God—the Son of God the Father—fought the Devil with his humility and forbearance, defeated him, and had all the souls he captured returned.

15

‘*Dā*’ (¶) means he added our flesh to his divinity, and his divinity be added | to our flesh.

B, 39r

If one asks, ‘What is (this)?’, he made our humanity divine, and he made his divinity human. If one asks, ‘What is humanity’s divine?’,<sup>145</sup> he wore flesh from us, and, as flesh | becomes one with the soul, | divinity became one with flesh, and gave the authority of his godhead to the priest. He gave his authority to the priest, save for his (power of) being creator, his Godhead, and said to him, ‘Command, bind, and lose representing me.’<sup>146</sup> And us, (the faithful), he made children of God in the Holy Spirit.

A, 107r |

C, 126r

25

‘*Gā*’ (¶) means he created the world with his wisdom.

If one asks, ‘What is (this)? How did he create the world with wisdom?’, he held the seven suspensions of heaven and the four foundations with the authority of his godhead, and has set up (the world) with his command, combining wind | with fire, and water with earth, with the water not being turbid, and the earth not being soggy, | the fire not burning, the wind not blowing, and the suspension above not crumbling. Man, too, he created with five wisdoms.

B, 39v

C, 126v

COMMENTARY: <sup>142</sup> *Bäga*. | <sup>143</sup> *Krämnt*. | <sup>144</sup> Ps. 117/118:15–16. | <sup>145</sup> Lit. ‘God’. | <sup>146</sup> Cf. Matt. 16:19.



If one asks, ‘What and what are (the five)?’, humility, perseverance, good deeds, the law, and the faith. If one does not observe (these) strictly and practise (them), it is impossible to be a Christian. In the Gospel, too, these are the five heritages or the five wisdoms. | Furthermore, ‘Be wise as the serpent and innocent as the dove.’<sup>147</sup>

B, 40r;  
C, 127r

The serpent’s wisdoms are three. If one asks, ‘What and what?’, one wisdom of it is (behaving) like martyrs. | The serpent does not die however its body, from its neck to its tail, is hammered. (But) if one hits it on its head, it dies. What is called head is faith; it is also the soul. And martyrs would fight for their faith and their souls, they are not worried about their properties or their bodies. The serpent’s second wisdom is | as a man who fasts forty years and thirty-five days<sup>148</sup> is renewed, it becomes an infant when it casts off its skin. When (a man) does not fast, his enemy | defeats him; he becomes weak. Whoever becomes a monk in his virginity is an angel of God. And if one first errs and commits sin, he, too, can inherit the kingdom of heaven by later becoming a monk, making himself tasty—with (the salt of) fasting, prayer, prostration to the ground, almsgiving, perseverance, modesty, and good deeds—anointing himself with the butter<sup>149</sup> of the law and faith, and renewing himself and being a child by being born in the Holy Spirit. The serpent’s third wisdom | is (acting) like that of the righteous. The serpent does not drink water, with its poison (in its mouth) however in a hurry it may be. It would die instantly, if it drinks daring or forgetting. If it does not die, it (at least) becomes sickly and weak. The righteous, too, do not taste the body of God |, when they are with their sins. They do not eat (even) the *mäkfält* alms, (which one acquired) by saying, ‘*For the sake of the name of the Father*’,<sup>150</sup> if they have committed vengeance, quarreled with people, eaten food, drank water, not washed their<sup>151</sup> filth, and have met with a

A, 107v  
C, 127v  
B, 40v  
15

20  
C, 128r  
A, 108r;  
B, 41r

COMMENTARY: <sup>147</sup> Matt. 10:16. | <sup>148</sup> There might be a story behind these numbers, cf. *sumu መኑኩ አኑኩ እና አኑኩ እና አኑኩ*, ‘fast, therefore, like a wise man who fasts’, *ሱማ ደንግዋል*, e.g. A SZ, 1. | <sup>149</sup> In Ethiopia, butter is used as lotion. | <sup>150</sup> This is one of the expressions beggars use when they beg. | <sup>151</sup> Lit. ‘his’.

**ያለ :** መንከናና : B C. | <sup>1164</sup> ስከተ : B C. | <sup>1165</sup> ”የ” B. Probably a badly copied መንከናና :. | <sup>1166</sup> በስረዳ : በስረዳት : B C. | <sup>1167</sup> በትኩኩኩ : በትኩኩኩት : B C. | <sup>1168</sup> ተከናና : B C. | <sup>1169</sup> ”ዋ” B C. | <sup>1170</sup> ”ቻ” B C. | <sup>1171</sup> ጥበት : የቅብ : B C. | <sup>1172</sup> ጥ” B. | <sup>1173</sup> ከለከምና- : B C. | <sup>1174</sup> በቻ

**ከተ :** B. | <sup>1175</sup> ”ከ” B; ”ከዋ” : C. | <sup>1176</sup> እረስተ : B C. | <sup>1177</sup> ደመናምናል : ደጋመማግል : B C, ‘It becomes emaciated and sick’. | <sup>1178</sup> ”ቻው-” : B C. | <sup>1179</sup> Omit B C. | <sup>1180</sup> መለከት : B C. | <sup>1181</sup> እረዳ-ም : B C. | <sup>1182</sup> ”ዋ” : B C. | <sup>1183</sup> ”ዋ” : B C. | <sup>1184</sup> እርስዕት : B; እርስዕትን : C.

በበ :<sup>1185</sup> ካልት : ተገኘች ይ በእንተ : ስመ : እብ : ያለብትን : መከል  
 ለተ :<sup>1186</sup> እምነትናበር :<sup>1187</sup> የፈቻን :<sup>1188</sup> አይበለም : መንሸለኛ :<sup>1189</sup> የን :  
 ለሥወው : በለው : ካለወጠ. | አቶ : ሥር : መለከተን :<sup>1190</sup> በ.ቁበል :<sup>1191</sup> የግም : C, 128v  
 ገናድ :<sup>1192</sup> በርስተት :<sup>1193</sup> ማስና : በእንተ : ስመ : እብ : ያለብትን :  
 የፈቻ :<sup>1194</sup> በበ : ገብ : \*በነፍሰ : ይጠናል : በሥወውም : ይቁመናል :<sup>1195</sup> 5  
 በእንተ : ስመ : እብ : ያለ : ገብ : ፍት : ባከንድ : ወደ : ፍት : ባከ  
 ገድ : \*በቀና : በግራም : ባከንድ : ይቁደሰል : ይይግዥ : ስው :<sup>1196</sup> B, 41v  
 ገራው : በለማ : ገብ : በልቶ : እንደቁረበ : ነው :<sup>1197</sup> ገናመ : እሳት : ይፈረ C, 129r  
 ይበታል :  
 \*በልቶ : መጥቶ : እርስተት : እስቶ : ገራው : በለማ : ስለምን : በ.ባል :<sup>1198</sup> 10  
 መንፈሰ : ቁጥሮ : ይርቀዋል : መንፈሰ : ስይመን : ይድርጋቻል : ይበኋል :  
 የግም : ይገኘናል : በልቶ : ይቁርባል : የወጠና : ክና : ክመ : ሪማብ : መን  
 የ.ም : ስራቶ : በ.ምት : የቁረውም : አይግባም :<sup>1199</sup> ይግመናም : እንቀል  
 ል.ን :<sup>1200</sup> በ.በበ : ል.ን : በ.ገድለ : ወቅም : አይሰራም : አይሽጻም :<sup>1201</sup>  
 በ.ቁና : በ.ያራርስበት : የን ይ ይሽሳል : በት : የተባለ : ሂይማጥት : 15  
 ነው :<sup>1202</sup>  
 መ : በ : መግመ :<sup>1203</sup> ወታኋምና : ክመ : ንር : እምነትናበር : B, 42r;  
 የግመ : በ.ለ : የነፍሰ : እሳት :<sup>1204</sup> ገነታቸው : በመንፈሰ : ቁጥሮ : ተወልና C, 129v  
 ቸው : የተምህርት : ቁበ : ተቀበታቸው : በተምህርት : ማወ : ይኋማቸው :  
 እንደተገኘው : ሁኔ : እዋዊ : መቁቸው :<sup>1205</sup> በምን : ይገድናቻል : በምን : 20  
 ይከተሉዳል :<sup>1206</sup> በለይሁ : እውቅ :<sup>1207</sup> የአውቅ : ገናመ : እሳት : ይመናል :  
 መምህርና :<sup>1208</sup> ማኅበር : ሰላለሁ : ተሰርቃል : በአርምም : ክህን : ወበታ A, 108v  
 መ.እ : መምህር : ይፈረፍና :<sup>1209</sup> የጥእ : እስይት : ለበ :<sup>1210</sup> የግመ :<sup>1211</sup>  
 እ : በ : እና.ቁለመስ : መንፈሰ : ይድቃ :<sup>1212</sup>

APPARATUS: <sup>1185</sup> "የበ" : B. | <sup>1186</sup> የበት : B.C. | <sup>1187</sup> "ጋ" : B; "ጋን" : C. | <sup>1188</sup> "የ" : B.C.  
 That is, እንተቻን : | <sup>1189</sup> "ቻ" C. | <sup>1190</sup> "ተ" : B.C. | <sup>1191</sup> ይቁበል : B.C. | <sup>1192</sup> ይገኘናል : B;  
 ይገኘናል : C. | <sup>1193</sup> በር" B.C. | <sup>1194</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1195</sup> በሥወውም : ይቁመናል : በነፍሰም : ይጠናል : B.C., 'He will be smitten in his body, and he will be lost in his soul'. | <sup>1196</sup> የፈቻ :  
 ባከንድ : ወደግራ : ባከንድ : ክቀመት : በለም : ባከንድ : ክቀመት : በታት : ባከንድ : ክበበ : ባ  
 ክንድ : ይቁደሰል : በእንተ : ስመ : እብ : የለለ : ይለናል : ሪማብ : እይግባም : B.C., '(The place) will be sanctified 40 cubits to the right, 40 cubits to the left, 40 cubits above  
 the stature, 40 cubits below the stature, and 40 cubits in circumference. A priest who  
 does not recite, "For the sake of the name of the Father" shall be demoted from his rank.  
 He shall not serve'. | <sup>1197</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1198</sup> በ.በ : C. | <sup>1199</sup> አይግባም : C. | <sup>1200</sup> "አን" : C. |  
<sup>1201</sup> እሽጻም : C. | <sup>1202</sup> Omits A. | <sup>1203</sup> ወአመ/ም (መ and ም combined into one symbol) B;  
 ወአመ : C. | <sup>1204</sup> ቁበ : add B.C. | <sup>1205</sup> "ቁ" : B.C. | <sup>1206</sup> "ገናዋል" : B.C. | <sup>1207</sup> ይሽሳል : add B.C. |  
<sup>1208</sup> "ጋ" : B.C. | <sup>1209</sup> ይፈረፍና : B. | <sup>1210</sup> ለበ : B.C. | <sup>1211</sup> የአውራል : B.C. | <sup>1212</sup> ማለት : add B.C.

woman. But if a criminal receives | the body of divinity for the sake of his body,<sup>152</sup> with his sins, and if he eats the alms (that one received) by saying, ‘*For the sake of the name of the Father*’, having broken the fast, and while he is in a mess of filth, he will be lost in his soul, and he will be punished with premature death in his body. When one says, ‘*For the sake of the name of the Father*’, (the area) forty cubits to the front, forty cubits to the back and forty cubits to each the right and left | will be sanctified. If someone hears who does not deserve to hear it, it would be as if he has taken Communion after eating. He will be condemned | to the fire of hell.

If one asks, ‘What is (wrong) if one’s ears hear after he ate and drank and touched filth?’, the Holy Spirit will distance himself from him, and the spirit of Satan will dwell in him; he will become crazy; he will break the fast; and he will take Communion after having meal. *Be innocent as the dove*. If either the male or female (dove) dies, the living will not marry. Secondly, (a dove) does not hold any rancor or flee if one breaks its egg or kills its chick. But it will flee if one destroys its nest. What is called nest is faith.

‘*Tä*’ (ሙ) means ‘Taste, so you may know that God | is good.’<sup>153</sup>

If one asks, ‘What is (this)?’, (it means) ‘be ready to be justified by acquiring a confession father, being born in the Holy Spirit, anointed with the butter of learning, and being tasty with the salt of learning’. Know by asking the knowledgeable, saying, ‘How will one be justified, and how will one be condemned?’ He who does not know will go down to the fire of hell. Teachers and communities have been instituted for this. *Sinners will increase by | the silence of the priest and by the lack of a teacher, and one’s mind’s eye will be blinded.*

‘*Pä*’ (¶) means ‘Parakletos is the Spirit of truth’.<sup>154</sup>

If one asks, ‘What is (this)?’, | it is one who sacrifices the Eucharist, the father of the remedy of the truth of the soul. Priest means a true

COMMENTARY: <sup>152</sup> There is a popular belief that taking Communion is medicine for illnesses, probably based on the *Sinodos*: ወከታሰኗት፡ ቅጋጥ፡ እግዢአብዳር፡ በተሰ፡ ዲለት፡ እኩዎ፡ ቅጋ፡ ወርጋ፡ ይከል፡ መንሳተ፡, ‘Do not neglect (taking) the holy things of God every day because taking Communion prevents temptations’, *Sinodos of Clement that Peter, Head of the Apostles, Wrote*, Article 22, Bausi 1995, 291. | <sup>153</sup> Ps. 33:9/34:8. | <sup>154</sup> Cf. John 14:26.

**ምኑው :** በል : | እንደራ : ስው-ዳ : አቡ : \*መድኑት : የድቃቃ : አነፃሰ : C, 130r  
 ካው :<sup>1213</sup> ቅስ : ማለት : የው-ት : መድኑት : የደንበስ :<sup>1214</sup> እና : በፋርድ :  
 እና : ፍርድ :<sup>1215</sup> የደናጋበት :<sup>1216</sup> ማለት : ካው :  
 ወ : በ : ወጪ : ወቃድቃ : | በተው-ህበ : ለነ : B, 42v  
 ልንጋር :<sup>1217</sup> ልንጋር :<sup>1218</sup> ይህን : የህበ : ክበር : በቅርብ : የሰጠን : ክርስት 5  
 ዓን :<sup>1219</sup> ታሳቃነትን :<sup>1220</sup> መጋጋዥትን :<sup>1221</sup> ቁስናን :<sup>1222</sup> ሁልጣን :<sup>1223</sup> መለከ  
 ተን :<sup>1224</sup> የሰጠን : \*አምሳክ : ክበሩ : ይመስጠን :<sup>1225</sup> ማለት : ካው :  
 ብ : በ : በክር : የድቃቃ : እግዢአብዕር : \*ማለት : ካው :  
 የምኑው :<sup>1226</sup> በል : በክር : ለፈቃድናም :<sup>1227</sup> ለውጭለኛም :<sup>1228</sup> | ለክና C, 130v  
 ወ-ም :<sup>1229</sup> \*ለበት-ው-ም : ታበራ-ለቃ :<sup>1230</sup> የግመናም : የው-ት-ና :<sup>1231</sup> በር 10  
 የን : እና :<sup>1232</sup> እምሳክ : በአምሳክና : የደለውጥ : በቅል : ተሰት : የደንና  
 በት : እንደግኝ : ፍርድ : ክስናበት :<sup>1233</sup> እውመለም : ክናው : የደናጋር :<sup>1234</sup>  
 ክናት : የደናጋር :<sup>1235</sup> በኋፈሰ :<sup>1236</sup> ሆኖር : ይለል :<sup>1237</sup>  
 ው : በ : ውጤም : ውለም : በጥበብ :  
 የት-ኋናም :<sup>1238</sup> በጥበብ : ውለም-ትን : ስርቶ : ንበረ : ውራም : ጥበባትን : አልቀበ 15  
 ል|ም :<sup>1239</sup> የል : ለው- : ወንቃለኛ : ካው : ው|ለምን : ስ.ሰር : እንዳይፈረርብ : B, 43r |  
 እንዳይፈቀድ :<sup>1240</sup> በቃይል : እምሳክና : እው-ታር :<sup>1241</sup> አቅምታል : ውራም : A, 109r  
 እነጋትን :<sup>1242</sup> ጥበባትን :<sup>1243</sup> | አልቀበለም :<sup>1244</sup> የል : ለው- : ውመዕና :<sup>1245</sup> C, 131r  
 ወንቃለኛ : ካው :<sup>1246</sup>  
 \*ታጥክ : ውማሳ :<sup>1247</sup> \*አያቅል : የታው- :<sup>1248</sup> ተጥክ : ማለት : የክር : ለውድ : 20  
 ይመከራው : የማ : የታምህርት : ለውድ : የሰተምህረው : የማ :<sup>1249</sup> በሰነት  
 ተና : በማማት : የታምህረ :<sup>1250</sup> ተጥክ : ካው : ወንቃለኛ : የን : የነጋጥና :  
 የአዋጅምትን :<sup>1251</sup> ቃል :<sup>1252</sup> የፈመናን : ተእኔዣ : የማለ : \*አምበ : በለው :  
 ክመዕና :<sup>1253</sup> ክህና : ሂሳብ :<sup>1254</sup> እንድ : ካው :  
 ተ : በ : ተጋኙል :<sup>1255</sup> ለመ- : እግዢአብዕር :<sup>1256</sup> 25  
 | ክው : በ : ክውና : ውለም-ት :<sup>1257</sup> እግዢአብዕር : \*ማለት : ካው :<sup>1258</sup> B, 43v  
 ክውና : \*የሰማም-ት : ማለት :<sup>1259</sup> | ሁ-ለ-ን : ውማሳ : ክና-ው-ናም :<sup>1260</sup> በትው- C, 131v  
 ክም :<sup>1261</sup> ለማያው-የን :<sup>1262</sup> የመድ-ው-የን :<sup>1263</sup> የፈመና : ለርም :<sup>1264</sup> ቃል

APPARATUS: <sup>1213</sup> ክፍሰ : (ነፍሰ : C) መድኑት : የድቃቃ : B.C. | <sup>1214</sup> እና” B.C. | <sup>1215</sup> ”ና : C. |  
<sup>1216</sup> እና” B.C. | <sup>1217</sup> ሆኖር : C. | <sup>1218</sup> ሆኖር : C. | <sup>1219</sup> የናስል : add B.C. | <sup>1220</sup> ”ት : B.C. |  
<sup>1221</sup> ”ት : ለማያት : B. | ”ት : C. | <sup>1222</sup> የናስል : add B.C. | <sup>1223</sup> ”ን : B.C. | <sup>1224</sup> ”ት : B.C. | <sup>1225</sup> ክ  
 በኋፈ : ይመስጠን : የአምሳክ : B.C. | <sup>1226</sup> የን : ማለት : ካው : B.C. | <sup>1227</sup> የል” B; የል” C. | <sup>1228</sup> የ  
 ወ” በርሃን : B.C. | <sup>1229</sup> Omits C. | <sup>1230</sup> በርሃን : (በርሃን : C) እምሳክ : የክና-ም : የሰንም : ተበራ-  
 ለት : (ተበራ-ለት : C) B.C., ‘(With God’s) light, it gives light to the good and the bad’. |  
<sup>1231</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1232</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1233</sup> የል” B. | <sup>1234</sup> የደናጋም : B.C. | <sup>1235</sup> እናከብርም : B.C. |  
<sup>1236</sup> ለነ” B. Apparently, MA በኋፈ :. | <sup>1237</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1238</sup> ”ት” B. | <sup>1239</sup> አለው-ቃም : B.C. |  
<sup>1240</sup> እንዳይፈረርብ : B. | <sup>1241</sup> አለው-ታር : B.C. | <sup>1242</sup> ”ት” B. | <sup>1243</sup> ”ት” B. | <sup>1244</sup> አለው-ቃም : B  
 C. | <sup>1245</sup> ካው : add B.C. | <sup>1246</sup> Omits C. | <sup>1247</sup> ወንቃለኛም : ተጥክ : B.C. | <sup>1248</sup> እያቀልታው-ት : B  
 C. | <sup>1249</sup> የማያት : ለውድ : ይመከራው-ው- : የማ : add B.C., ‘He who likes giving alms but  
 lacks what to give’. | <sup>1250</sup> የታምህረ : B.C. | <sup>1251</sup> ”ት” A. | <sup>1252</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1253</sup> እበ : የል :  
 ወንቃለኛ : (ውንቃለኛ : C) B.C. | <sup>1254</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1255</sup> ተጋኙል : C. | <sup>1256</sup> በተውሃ : ንበ : ዕ : (ነ

remedy, untouchable<sup>155</sup> judge, whose judgement is not to be overidden.

‘Sä’ (¶) means *grace and truth | that are given to us.*

B, 42v

(If one asks, ‘What is this?’), it means may the glory of God, who gave us easily this much glory—Christianity, greatness, kingship, priesthood, and divine authority—without us laboring and agonizing, be praised.

‘Sä’ (¶) means ‘*God is the Sun of truth*’.

If one asks, ‘What is (this)?’, the sun gives light to (both) the obedient and the criminal, | to the bad and the good. Furthermore, it is a true light. God (too) does not change in his godhead, in whose words lies would not be found, who does not change (his mind) once he passes judgement and dismisses (a case), who does not depose once he appoints, who does not enrich once he makes one poor in one’s own country.<sup>156</sup>

15

‘Fä’ (¶) means *completer (of the creation) of the world with wisdom.*

(If one asks, ‘What is this?’), originally, he had created the worlds with wisdom. And today, whoever refuses to accept | the wisdoms<sup>157</sup> is a criminal. | When he created the world, he founded it on the beam of the power of his godhead lest it crumble or move.<sup>158</sup> Today, too, whoever refuses to accept the law and the wisdoms | is a rebel and a criminal.

B, 43r

A, 109r

20

C, 131r

Sinners and criminals are different (from each other). ‘Sinner’ means one who would accept advice but could not find who would advise him; who is eager to learn, but could not find who teaches him. He who is lost by error and want is a sinner. But ‘criminal’ is one who rejects the words of the prophets and Apostles and the Commandments of the Creator, and refuses (to listen); he is at one with rebellious apostates.

25

‘Pä’ (¶) means ‘*the name of God is Päppä’el*’.

30

| ‘Kwä’ (h·) means ‘*God is the judge of the worlds*’.

B, 43v

The meaning of ‘*the judge of the worlds*’ | is that he is the one who rules all, the bad and the good, who created the heavenly and the

C, 131v

COMMENTARY: <sup>155</sup> That is, ‘unchallenged’ or ‘unassailable’. | <sup>156</sup> There must be an unclear meaning in ‘in one’s own country’. | <sup>157</sup> See under *Gä* (¶), fols 107r–108r. | <sup>158</sup> Cf. Ps. 92/93:1, 95/96:10.

¶-¶ : C. | Ȑ-Ȑ : add B.C. | <sup>1257</sup> ”-¶ : B.C. | <sup>1258</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1259</sup> ¶-¶ : ¶-¶ : B.C. | <sup>1260</sup> ¶-¶ : B.C. | <sup>1261</sup> ”-¶ : B.C. | <sup>1262</sup> ”-¶ : B. | <sup>1263</sup> ”-¶ : B. | <sup>1264</sup> ”-¶ : B.C.

ዓም : እንበለ : እርብ : ሂቃድ : የይረጣኑ : የይበበስ : ሌላ : ጉታ : <sup>1265</sup> የይ  
 የጋበት : ነው ብ: <sup>1266</sup>  
 ገብ : ብ : ገመዓ : ሌብየ : <sup>1267</sup> \*ማለት : ነው : <sup>1268</sup>  
 ገመዓ : <sup>1269</sup> ማለት : በልተኞ : እውቀት : የሚያደርግ : <sup>1270</sup> ያኝ : የሚያደ  
 የገ : <sup>1271</sup> የተኞችን : <sup>1272</sup> ልሳን : የሚያሰር : <sup>1273</sup> የለመትትን : የይናሳ : የናገድ 5  
 ተን : <sup>1274</sup> የይረዳ : እምሳኑ : ነው ብ:  
 ቁ : <sup>1275</sup> ብ : ቁመ : እግዢአብኬር : በማእከለ : እኩዢብ :  
 እኩዢብ : ቁመ : ብ.ለ. : <sup>1276</sup> በኢትመስ : ስመት : <sup>1277</sup> | በቁማር : መንግሥት : A, 109v |  
 የተኞች : <sup>1278</sup> ለዋጅ : | በቁጭጥ : <sup>1279</sup> ተጠለት : ከፋት : ያልተገኘበት : ያለፈ  
 ልድ : <sup>1280</sup> ክስው : ፍት : <sup>1281</sup> እቅመት : <sup>1282</sup> እርብም : ለበብ : ታዋን :  
 ለበብ : ቁመ : የተኞገዚ : ነገር : እንዲቁርበበት : የገ : ተቀበለ : ለሰማይ :  
 ጉምና : ይመና : የሚያለበስ : <sup>1283</sup> ለመፈተም : ማር : <sup>1284</sup> ኮር : <sup>1285</sup> የሚያገኘና  
 የገ : <sup>1286</sup> የእሳት : የመእከለት : ፍጥ : <sup>1287</sup> የጥረታት : ጉታ : <sup>1288</sup>  
 ተከራ : <sup>1289</sup> ተገራ : ተገራ : <sup>1290</sup> የመስቀል-ን : <sup>1291</sup> ጥንድ : ተሽከመ : ተብ  
 ቀለ : ተወጋ : <sup>1292</sup> ተከራ : <sup>1292</sup> \*መጥ : ተቀበለ : <sup>1293</sup> ይለል : <sup>1294</sup> 15  
 ቀብ : ብ : ቁርባን : ወንጋል : ማለት : ነው : <sup>1295</sup>  
 በሥራው : <sup>1296</sup> ቅት : <sup>1297</sup> ተቀበለ : | ክሳኑት : እርነት : እውቀት : <sup>1298</sup> ሥር C, 132v  
 ወ-ን : <sup>1299</sup> እብልቶ : ይመ-ን : እመጥቶ : እንገዢ ብ: እርብም : ሌል : እውነ  
 ተና : <sup>1300</sup> በበለው : <sup>1301</sup> በመዋወ : ገብ : \*እኔም : ክርብ : ወራ : እብራ :  
 እኩራለሁ : <sup>1302</sup> እርብም : | ክብ : እብር : ይናሳል : <sup>1303</sup> በመንግሥት : <sup>1304</sup> ለማ B, 44v  
 የት : ወንፈለጥ : <sup>1305</sup> ጥን : <sup>1306</sup> በበለው : <sup>1307</sup> በመዋወ : <sup>1308</sup> ጥንጋመ : እሳት :  
 ይመርናል : <sup>1309</sup> \*መጽሐፍም : እንደሆህ : ይለል ብ: <sup>1310</sup> ቅጽ-ብ : ለቁጥ-ብ : <sup>1311</sup>  
 \*ቁጥ-ብ : ለቁጥ-ብ : እኩር : እሆን ብ: <sup>1312</sup>  
 ገብ : ብ : ገብ-ት : <sup>1313</sup> እግዢአብኬር :  
 \*ገብ-ት : የሰንወ : <sup>1314</sup> የሚው : | ብ.ለ. : <sup>1315</sup> በት : ሌርቶ : ለማይቻም : <sup>1316</sup> A, 110r  
 መግዢም : <sup>1317</sup> ለደቻም : <sup>1318</sup> መቁለጥም : ያበቻዋል : <sup>1319</sup> | ገንዘው-ናም : <sup>1320</sup> C, 133r

APPARATUS: <sup>1265</sup> ተታ : B.C. | <sup>1266</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1267</sup> በእግዚአብሔር : B.C. | <sup>1268</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1269</sup> ልሳም : add B.C. | <sup>1270</sup> የሚሳይር : B.C. Here ልሳም is not *mwa* but *mya*. | <sup>1271</sup> የሚገኘ” B.C. | <sup>1272</sup> የተኞችውን : B.C. | <sup>1273</sup> የሚሰር : B.C. | <sup>1274</sup> Omits A. | <sup>1275</sup> ተ/ወር C, with the two symbols combined into one. | <sup>1276</sup> ተለ : ተዘ : B.C. | <sup>1277</sup> ተ” B.C. | <sup>1278</sup> ተ፡ : C. | <sup>1279</sup> በቻናቻ፡ ገለት፡ B.C. | <sup>1280</sup> ለፋርድ : B; ልፋርድ፡ C. | <sup>1281</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1282</sup> ”ቸ” B. Cf. the periscope ማከመ : ቁሙ : አየሰ፡ በቻው-ድ፡ | <sup>1283</sup> የም” B.C. | <sup>1284</sup> ማርሱን : B.C. | <sup>1285</sup> ሁኔታ፡ B. | <sup>1286</sup> ”የሚገኘ” B.C. Here ልሳም is *mya* or *mia*, not *mwa*. | <sup>1287</sup> የሚ B.C. | <sup>1288</sup> ተታ፡ B.C. | <sup>1289</sup> ”ር፡ B. | <sup>1290</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1291</sup> የሚልዋልዕትን፡ B.C, ‘On which he will be crucified’. | <sup>1292</sup> ”ከ” B.C. | <sup>1293</sup> የተ እተዋለ፡ B. | <sup>1294</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1295</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1296</sup> ”ወ፡ : C. | <sup>1297</sup> ”ተኞ፡ B.C. | <sup>1298</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1299</sup> ”ወኝ፡ B. | <sup>1300</sup> ”ተ፡ ተ፡ ለው፡ B; ”ተኞ፡ ለው፡ C. | <sup>1301</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1302</sup> ከርድ፡ አየሰ፡ እምናለሁ፡ B.C. | <sup>1303</sup> ይጠናማል፡ B.C. | <sup>1304</sup> መ” B. | <sup>1305</sup> አከተኞ፡ add B.C. | <sup>1306</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1307</sup> ”አው፡ B.C. | <sup>1308</sup> ”ማው፡ B.C. | <sup>1309</sup> ይፈርማል፡ B. | <sup>1310</sup> እሁ-ፍጻ፡ ሌላ፡ B.C. | <sup>1311</sup> አለ፡ add B.C. | <sup>1312</sup> Omit B.C. | <sup>1313</sup> በርሃን፡ add B.C. In C, the symbol for *hwa* (in የጥኞ፡) is a combination of የ and ተ. | <sup>1314</sup> ጉኞ፡ በርሃን፡ የሰኞቸው፡ B.C. |

earthly, without whose consent neither grass nor leaves fall or be cut, and over whom there is no other lord.

‘*Gʷä*’ (¶) means ‘my heart is indited a good word’.<sup>159</sup>

‘*Indited*’ means he is God who instills knowledge in one’s mind, who makes the dumb speak, who ties a speaker’s tongue, who does not refuse what people entreat of him, and who does not forget what people tell him.

‘*Qʷä*’ (¶) means ‘God stood in the middle of the heathens’.

If one asks, ‘How did he | stand?’, during the office of Pilate, | in the reign of Caesar, his mother’s people made him, who was innocent of sin and wrongdoing, stand (for trial) before the public,<sup>160</sup> | in jealousy, without due process of the law. He stood for the sake of the redemption of sinners. Lest the words he foretold not remain (unfulfilled), he suffered injustice;<sup>161</sup> he, who covers the sky with mist and clouds and arrays the earth with (all) kinds of grasses, the creator of fire and angels, and the Lord of the eight creations, was bound, scourged, stripped, carried the beam of his cross, was crucified, pierced, slapped, struck, and accepted death.

‘*Qʷä*’ (¶) means ‘Communion of the Gospel’.<sup>162</sup>

He accepted death in his flesh and | brought us out of slavery to freedom. He fed us his flesh, and had us drink his blood and made us kings. He has said, “When a truthful (person) eats it and drinks it, I will live together with him and he | will reign with me in the kingdom of heaven.”<sup>163</sup> But the criminal will go down into the fire of hell,<sup>164</sup> even if he eats and drinks (Christ’s body and blood). The Scripture, too, says thus, ‘Holy things for holy (men), and holy things for holy (women). Look. Amen.’<sup>165</sup>

‘*Hʷä*’ (¶) means ‘the door of God’.

If one asks, | ‘What led it to say “door”?’, when one builds a house, one makes a shutter for the inner room,<sup>166</sup> and a lock for the door. |

COMMENTARY: <sup>159</sup> Cf. Ps. 44:2/45:1. | <sup>160</sup> B ‘They accused (Christ), in whom there was no sin or any wickedness, and made him stand for trial.’ That is, the assembly mentioned in Matt. 26:57–59, Mark 14:53–55, Luke 22:65, and John 18:19–20. | <sup>161</sup> Probably an allusion to Ps. 21:17/22:16. | <sup>162</sup> This must be a well-known expression. In the literature, there was a deacon called after it, *Qʷərbanä Wängel*, who served at Däbrä Zämäddo, in Wällo. | <sup>163</sup> Cf. John 6:53–58. | <sup>164</sup> Lit. ‘hell of fire’. | <sup>165</sup> Sic. See Marcos Daoud and Marsie Hazen 1954, 102 (§ 123). | <sup>166</sup> *Mağät*.

<sup>1315</sup> በለ፡ C. | <sup>1316</sup> ”ተ፡ B C. | <sup>1317</sup> አበቃ፡ add B C. | <sup>1318</sup> ”ቁጠ፡ B C. | <sup>1319</sup> ”ቁል፡ B C. |

<sup>1320</sup> ለገንዘብ-ወ-ም፡ መሆኑም፡ B C.

አበደኛ : \*የእናወል : በገዢ :<sup>1321</sup> መሠጥበት :<sup>1322</sup> ካቶ : መብል : መጠጥ :  
 ወጪ :<sup>1323</sup> \*ጠወጥ : ለበብ :<sup>1324</sup> ማር :<sup>1325</sup> ቅበ : ካቶ : እንደ : መቀቅ : የሰጠ  
 በቀዋል :<sup>1326</sup> ወዳደኛም : በመዳ : ተጠበ : ተደምቶ : እናናፍትም : የበደል :  
 የመዋል : በንጥተም :<sup>1327</sup> መቀቃም : በመጠበቅ :<sup>1328</sup> እራዋት : ይበል  
 ወል :<sup>1329</sup> ሌላ : ይመስቃዋል :<sup>1330</sup> \*በከወጥም : ይቀማል :<sup>1331</sup> በሽንሽ : B, 45r  
 ይመረዋል :<sup>1332</sup> የበቃም :<sup>1333</sup> ሌላ :<sup>1334</sup> እንዲይበበስ : ማንኑ : እንዲይረ  
 ማኑ :<sup>1335</sup> የግንዋል :  
 በት : የተባለ : አከለ : ሁር : እው : ያደኛ :<sup>1336</sup> የተባለ : እና : እው : መሠጥያ :  
 የተባለ : \*አሳን :<sup>1337</sup> እው : ማደኛ : የተባለ :<sup>1338</sup> ለበና : እው : መቀበለናም : C, 133v  
 የተባለ : ተመግሮት :<sup>1339</sup> \*አው-ቃት : እው :<sup>1340</sup> መቀቅ :<sup>1341</sup> የተባለ : ቅበ : 10  
 እው : ወዳደኛ :<sup>1342</sup> የተባለ : እግዢአብዕር : እው : C-ናን : የተባለ :<sup>1343</sup> እና  
 የን :<sup>1344</sup> ዓቃው : እራዋት : የተባለ :<sup>1345</sup> መካከል : የበት : \*ቻጠአት :  
 አስተት :<sup>1346</sup> መስራት : እው : መገኘት :<sup>1347</sup> መቀበበት :<sup>1348</sup> የተባለ :<sup>1349</sup> ጥበ  
 ባት : ዓቃው :<sup>1350</sup>  
 ጥ :<sup>1351</sup> በ : ተረፈው :<sup>1352</sup> ዓለም :<sup>1353</sup> በምልዕት :<sup>1354</sup> 15  
 ከርስ : የተናተ :<sup>1355</sup> ዓለም : ባጥታም : ከይመትም :<sup>1356</sup> ጥሩ-ትም :<sup>1357</sup> ልማ  
 ተም :<sup>1358</sup> በርስ : ልቃድ :<sup>1359</sup> እው : እኔ :<sup>1360</sup> አስቀለሁ : እኔ : እደርጋ  
 ለሁ :<sup>1361</sup> ማለት : ከንቱ : | ከገር : እው :<sup>1362</sup> አሳ-በም :<sup>1363</sup> እንበለ : ከርስ : A, 110v |  
 ልቃድ : እይሁም : የድና : ሌሎ : እግዢአብዕር : ሌሎናት : ወው-እቱ :<sup>1364</sup> B, 45v  
 ይረስኩ :<sup>1365</sup> | በልዋል :<sup>1366</sup> መሻተናም :<sup>1367</sup> \*ይህ : የን :<sup>1368</sup> ሌም : በጠ C, 134r  
 ፍም : በለማም : ተግበራት :<sup>1369</sup> እያቀመጥም : ሁ-ለ :<sup>1370</sup> በተማረት : ይገኛ  
 ልና :<sup>1371</sup> \*ስራን : እት-ተው : እለ ተ<sup>1372</sup>

APPARATUS: 1321 Omit B.C. | 1322 መሠጥ B.C. | 1323 Omit B.C. | 1324 ለበብ : ለጠወጥ : B.C. |  
 1325 መቀር : B.C. | 1326 ተና : B.C. | 1327 ተዘዢ : add B.C; በናናጥም : ተዘዢ : C. | 1328 በፈ : A. |  
 1329 ተና : B.C. | 1330 የና : B.C. | 1331 Omits B; C በከሰት : ይመስና : | 1332 ተና : B.C. |  
 1333 ተናም : B.C. | 1334 ተና : B.C. | 1335 እንዲይረጋብስ : C. | 1336 ወዳደኛ : B.C. Could this be  
 evidence that A is older than B and C? | 1337 ተና : B. | 1338 Omits A. | 1339 እው/ው : add  
 B/C. | 1340 Omit B.C. | 1341 ተና : B. | 1342 In C, the vowel sign for ደኛ is placed on the right  
 wing of ደኛ that distinguishes it from ደ. | 1343 ተና : B. | 1344 የይይን : B. | 1345 ተና : B. |  
 1346 ተና/አስተት : የጠአት : B/C. | 1347 Omit B.C. | 1348 መሠጥ B. | 1349 ተና : B. | 1350 እው : B.C. |  
 1351 ጥ : C. | 1352 ተረፈው : B. | 1353 እለማት : B.C. | 1354 በሙም B. | 1355 የተና : A;  
 ተገር : add B.C. | 1356 Omit B.C. | 1357 ጥሩ-ትም : B. | 1358 ተና : B. | 1359 Omit B.C. |  
 1360 Omit B.C. | 1361 እናና-ለሁ-ት : B/C. | 1362 Omit B.C. | 1363 ሲና” B.C. | 1364 ወ-” B.C. |  
 1365 ወይሃለ : ሌክ : add B.C. | 1366 በልዋል : B.C. | 1367 ተና : B.C. | 1368 ይቀማን : C, with ይ in  
 serted. | 1369 ተና : B.C. | 1370 ሁ-ለ-ም : B.C. | 1371 B ”አ : | 1372 Omit B.C.

One makes a fence and strengthens it. He stores his treasures in it—he stores food, drinks, stew, salt, clothes, honey, and butter—and has it guarded by a guard. And when a friend comes, hungry and thirsty, one should not hold it back from him; he must feed him, and give him drink. But if one holds back, animals would eat it and thieves would take it, however (the owner) has it guarded by a guard. It would also be openly robbed or | stealthily stolen. (Therefore), one must strengthen the base of the house, lest it be cut and the *magär*<sup>167</sup> fall apart. 5 B, 45r

What is called ‘the house’ is the body of flesh. What is called ‘the door’ is the mouth. What is called ‘the shutter’ is the mind. What is called ‘the lock’ | is perseverance and knowledge. What is called ‘the guard’ is the priest. What is called ‘the friend’ is God. What are called ‘the hungry’ are the poor. What are called ‘animals’ are swearing, ex-communication,<sup>168</sup> committing sins and lies. What are called ‘shut-10 C, 133v  
ters’<sup>169</sup> and treasures are wisdoms. 15

‘*Hwə*’ (‘**८**’) means ‘the numbers of the world in its entirety’.

There is nothing that is missed from his attention. Death as well as life, and loss as well as prosperity happen with his consent. It is a vain thing | to say, ‘I think’ or ‘I do’. Ideas are not realized without | his will. The Scripture has said, ‘*Cast your worried upon God, and he | shall feed you.*’<sup>170</sup> However, in this case, whether (the effort) is futile or prosperous, let one not cease works. Since everything is attained by work, do not stop work. A, 110v |  
B, 45v  
C, 134r

COMMENTARY: <sup>167</sup>The horizontal holder of the poles forming the wall of a house. |  
<sup>168</sup>Or ‘anathema’. | <sup>169</sup>Lit. ‘shutting’. | <sup>170</sup>Ps. 54:23/55:22.

A Short Old Amharic Text on the Theology of the Adoptionists  
(B, fols 47r–50v, 53r–54r)

በእወጣ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ይ አምላክ :  
 የወን : ስወ- : ንኩ :  
 ክርስተያን : 5  
 የወን : ክርስተያን :  
 የልቀዴዊ :  
 ለማን :<sup>1</sup> ተአምናለኝ :  
 በአብ : በወልድ : በመንፈሰ : ቅድስ :  
 ለማን : ተሰማሪለኝ : 10  
 ለአብ : በወልድ : ለማንፈሰ : ቅድስ :  
 አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ስንት : የቃወ- :  
 ሰነት : ስ.ሆኑ : አንድ : ይሆናለ- : አንድ : ስ.ሆኑ : ሰነት : ይሆናለ- :  
 ሰነተነታቃወ- : በምንና : በምን :<sup>2</sup> 15  
 በአክል : በስም : በገጽ : በመልከት : በእለሁ : በእር-ቱ : ንግር : ሰነት : ይሆናለ- :  
 ዓለ- :  
 አንድነታቃወ- :  
 በእግዢአብአርኩት : በመለከት : በባህርድ : በአምላክነት : በፈ.ቁድ : በሥም  
 ዓለ- : ከዚኑ : በሚጠበቅ : ንግር : አንድ : ይሆናለ- :  
 አክል : ማለት : የወ- : 20  
 ቁመት : ቁመቱን : ይሆወልን : ይሆደናገግ : ንወ- : እርስ : በፈ.ቁወ-ቁወ- :  
 አንድ : ማንም : አቁወ-ቁወ-ም :  
 ስም : ማለት : የወ- :  
 አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈሰ : ቅድስ :  
 ገጽ : ማለት : የወ- :<sup>3</sup> 25  
 ፍት :  
 መልከት : ማ :<sup>4</sup> የወ- :  
 በልተ : ፍ-ኩና : በልተ : ማንም : አቁወ-ቁወ-ም : እርስ : በፈ.ቁወ-ቁወ- :  
 አንድ : ፍቁቅ : ንወ- :  
 እግዢአብአር : ማለት : የወ- : 30  
 ፍ.ማር : መልከት :  
 መልከት : የወ- :  
 አይተረገሙም : የወርር : ማለት : አንጻራት : ማለት : አንድይተረገሙም : እር  
 ስ-ም : አይተረገሙም :  
 መልከት : ማ : በርሃን : በኋይድ : ይሳላሳ : መገኘናና : 35  
 ሰተኞኑቱ : በተሆነቱ : ፍቁቅ : ማብሩ : አሰገወ- :<sup>5</sup> አንድ : መልከት : ማ : በኋይድ : አይፈም : በኋይድ : ማ : መገኘናና :<sup>6</sup>

APPARATUS: <sup>1</sup> For በምን :. | <sup>2</sup> MA adds ንወ- :. | <sup>3</sup> i.e. የወ- :. | <sup>4</sup> i.e. ማለት :. | <sup>5</sup> The horizontal line on ን, to produce ን, is on its leg, not on its head. | <sup>6</sup> MA adds ማለት : ንወ- :.

**A Short Old Amharic Text on the Theology of the Adoptionists  
(B, fols 47r–50v, 53r–54r)**

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God.

What person are you?

Christian.

5

What (kind of) Christian?

Jacobite.

Who do you believe in?

In the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

How many are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit?

10

They are one while three, and three while one.

In what and what is their trinity?

In person, in name, in hypostasis, and in image; they are three in these four.

And (how is) their unity?

15

They are one in being ይግዥ አብዴር, in divinity, in nature, in godhead, in will, in consent, and in more than these things.

What does ‘person’ mean?

Stature. But his stature is one that is not limited or defined. He would know it but no one else knows it.

20

What are the names?<sup>1</sup>

Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

What does ‘hypostasis’ mean?

Face.

What does ‘image’ mean?

25

Members of the body. No one knows his face and members of his body, but he would know them. It is subtle.

What does ‘የግዥ አብዴር’ mean?

| Creator; divinity.

B, 47v

What is divinity?

30

It cannot be explained. Just as what earth means, and what wood means is not explained, it, too, is not explained.

But the Scripture says, ‘Divinity means light.’

Its brightness, its subtlety, and its deeds make it say (so); it does not say, ‘Divinity means nature. Nature means substance.’

35

COMMENTARY: <sup>1</sup> Lit. ‘What does name mean?’

መብድ : ማ : የወ :

የወቻ : ወሮቻ : የእሳት : ለሳትኩ : የመለከትም : ለኩሮቻ : ገኩሮቻ :

ርቃቁ : መብድ :

አምላክ : ማ : የወ :

ጥር :

5

ፈቃድ : ማ : የወ :

መውድድ :

ሥምረት : ማ : የወ :

የወደድወን : ማድረግ :

ለሐ[ን]ድነቻና : ለሰሰትኩ : የወ : የወሰኑር : አለው : <አለው : >

10

መለከት : በተፈጻሚበት : ለለት : ማን : ፍጠረን : ፍት : መጽን : በል :

ይፈጻሚው : ከርተምው : ተብር : ተፈጥር : እኔ : ልጠ[ር]ረቻት :<sup>8</sup> ልጠል :

አሉ : እግዢአብኩርም : እንዳይሰታቸው : በሉ : እኔ : እኔ : ፍጠረ : በርሃን :

ይተና : በል : በርሃን : ተፈጻረ : የብርሃን :<sup>9</sup> የወ : ንብረተቸውና : \*ቁ : ቁ :

ቁ :<sup>10</sup> እግዢአብኩር : በይሬት : የወም : የወልድ : \*ይፈጻሚት : ወጥድር :<sup>11</sup> ቁድ :

15

ናት : እብካረቱ : በሉ :<sup>12</sup> እሉ : ለሰሰትኩ : በማለታቸው :<sup>13</sup> ለሰሰትኩ : ተኋ

መቀ : እንደነቻም : ለብካረቱ : በማለታቸው : ተኋወቀ :

መለከት : በወኩ :<sup>14</sup> እንዳጠቃቁ : በምን : መጽሐፍ : እሉ :

| በአዲይድ : ይግሞም : እየሰሰ : ከርሰሰድ : ለአዋርቸውም : በየሰተምሁራ B, 48r

ቸው : እንዘ : ተጠመቸውሙ : በሉ : በሰው : እብ : ወመልኩ : ወመኩል :

20

ቁድድ : <በሉ : > እለቸው : ይህ : ለሰሰትኩቸው : የወሰኑር : ንዑ : ቁድድ :

ማይቸውም : እንደ : የአድ : ይቻል : እንደ : እንደቸውን : እንደ : እምላክ :

በሉዋ : እሉ :

ይተና : የሚያሰረዳ : የወ : የወሰኑ : አለው :

የአድ : እሳት : እኩድ : በኩር : በወአድ : ለሰሰትኩ : እለበት : ከበበ : በርሃን :

25

መቀቁ : ለሰሰትኩ : ለሰበት :<sup>15</sup> ለሰት : የአድ : እይለም : እንደ : የአድ :

በሉ : እንደ : እብ : ከበበ : ይመሰል :<sup>16</sup> ወመልኩ : በርሃን : ይመሰል :

መኩል : ቁድድ : መቀቁ : ይመሰል : በአድ : ለሰሰትኩ : እለበት : እሳት :

እሳት : እሳት : እሳት : እሳት : እሳት : እይለም : እንደ : እሳት : እሳት :

አንድ : እሳት : በሉ : እንደ : እብ : እሳትኩ : ይመሰል : ወመልኩ : ማብራ :

30

ቁን : ይመሰል : መኩል : ቁድድ : መቀቁ : ይመሰል : ወመልኩ : በኩድ : ለሰት :

ነት : እለበት : እኩሰኩቁ : ተኋወቀኩቁ : እያወካቁ : ለሰሰትኩ : ለሰበት :

APPARATUS: <sup>7</sup> ጥር, ጥር, and ጥር are all alike with the vowel sign for all attached to the bottom of its legs. | <sup>8</sup> "ቁ" is ቁ. In this manuscript, ቁ and ቁ are both represented by ቁ. It seems the scribes were not ready to add one more sign on top of ቁ. | <sup>9</sup> MA በርሃን : | <sup>10</sup> i.e. ቁድድ : ቁድድ : ቁድድ : | <sup>11</sup> Treated as subjects. | <sup>12</sup> Impersonal. Otherwise, it would be ለለው : | <sup>13</sup> For "ቸው : | <sup>14</sup> እል could be እል. The signs for the third- and fifth-order vowels are indistinguishable from each other. | <sup>15</sup> MA ለሰበት : | <sup>16</sup> The form is that of Gz imperfect *yəmässəl*, with /s/ geminated. But how they pronounced it as an Am imperfect is not clear: *yəmässəl* as in Gz or *yəmässəl*, not geminating /s/, as in Am *yəmäslall*?

What does ‘substance’ mean?

The wateriness of water; the fieriness of fire; and regarding divinity, its breadth, its brightness, and its subtlety are its substance.

What does ‘God’ mean?

Ruler.

5

What does ‘will’ mean?

To like.

What does ‘consent’ mean?

To do whatever one likes.

What evidence is there for his unity and trinity?

10

On the night the angels were created, they asked (each other), ‘Who created us? Where did we come from?’ The Devil, who was created with them, said to himself, ‘Let me say I created you.’ And God, lest (the Devil) make them err, said, ‘I am the Creator; let there be light’, and light was created. As the light became grace for them, they said three times, ‘*Holy, Holy, Holy God of the hosts, heaven and earth are filled with the holy things of your (= thy) glory*’.<sup>2</sup> Their trinity was known by (the angels) saying (‘holy’) three times, and his unity was known by their saying ‘your (= thy)<sup>3</sup> glory’.

15

In what Scripture is there that the angels explained it this way?

20

| In Isaiah. Also when Jesus Christ taught the Apostles, he has said B, 48r to them, “When you baptize them, say, ‘*In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*’”<sup>4</sup> This is evidence to (God’s) trinity, as Saint Matthew has written (it). The 300<sup>5</sup> added “One God.”

What example is there that explains this?

25

Sun, fire, soul, and sea. There is trinity in the sun: its disc, its light, and its warmth. One would not say three suns because there is trinity in it, but would say one sun. The Father resembles its disc, the Son resembles its light, and the Holy Spirit resembles its warmth. There is trinity in the fire: its fieriness, its giving light, and its heat. One would not say three fires because there is trinity in it but says one fire. The Father resembles fieriness, the Son resembles its giving light, and the Holy Spirit resembles its heat. There is trinity in the soul: its being soul, its rationality, and its liveliness. One would not say three souls

30

COMMENTARY: <sup>2</sup> Cf. Isa. 6:3. | <sup>3</sup> In the singular. | <sup>4</sup> Matt. 27:19. | <sup>5</sup> The Three Hundred Eighteen Orthodox Fathers of the Council of Nicaea.

ለሰት : እኩለ : እይለ-ዋጥም : ቁንድ : እኩለ : እንዲ : እብ : እፋ[ሰ]ነቱዋን :  
 ይመሰል : ወልደ : ተናጋራነቱ[ዋ]ን : ይመሰል : መንፈሰ : ቅድስ : እያወኑቱ :  
 ወን : ይመሰል : በኩህር : ለሰተኑት : እለበት : ወሰንቱ : ይጥበቱ : መኑቃኑቁ :<sup>17</sup>  
 ለሰተኑቱ : ለሰበት : ለሰተኑት : ባህር : እይለ-ም : | ቁንድ : ባህር : እንዲ : እብ : B, 48v  
 ወሰንቱን : ይመሰል : ወልደ : ይጥበቱ : ይመሰል : መንፈሰ : ቅድስ : መኑቃኑቁ 5  
 ቅን : ይመሰል :  
 እብ : እግዢአብዳር : ነው-ን :  
 እዋ :  
 ወልደ : እግዢአብዳር : ነው-ን :  
 እዋ :  
 10  
 መንፈሰ : ቅድስ : እግዢአብዳር : ነው-ን :  
 እዋ :  
 ለሰት : እግዢአብዳር : ነው-ን :  
 እይደለም : እንደ : ሰበ : እብ :<sup>18</sup> እግዢአብዳር : እብል : በእንተ : እብ : ወው  
 ለልደ : ወመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : እንዳለ : በንድ : ቅድስ : ተርነርየለ : እባብ : መለ 15  
 ካት : ቁንድ : እግዢአብዳር : ነው : እንዲ :  
 ቁንድ : እለ :<sup>19</sup> እግዢአብዳር : ክኩነ : ለሰተ : ወብ : እግዢ :<sup>20</sup> እግዢ :  
 እግዢ : ማ : ሚ :  
 ወልጊዜቱኑ : ህሉ : ወማሳሌ : ክበበ : ተከይ : ተርሃት : ተከይ : መ-ቀቱ :  
 ተከይ : ስንድ : ቁንድ : ተከይ : እንዳ : የለኝም : ወይ : እንደኝነ : ቁንድ : 20  
 እግዢአብዳር : እንደለን :  
 ክበበኛ : በምንኛ : ሆነ : ተከይ : ይለ-ዋል :  
 ተከይ : ወረጃ : ለሰበት : ተኩን : ቁጥር : ተኩን : ሰለ : ተከይ : ይለ-ዋል :  
 ተርሃትኑኑ :  
 25  
 ተከይ : በይደኛ/ይ :<sup>21</sup> ገበኑ : በመሰከተ : ገበኑ : ሰለ : ተከይ : ይለ-ዋል :  
 መ-ቀቱኑኑ :  
 ተከይ : ለመ-ቁ : የረመበንም : በቴከይ : ይደረቁቁ : ሰለ : ተከይ : ይለ-ዋል :  
 ይኩ : የመለያት : ሰም : እይደለም : የቅንድኝነት : ሰማጥቃው-ት :  
 እግዢ : እግዢ : እግዢ : በእንተ :<sup>22</sup> እልኝም : እንደ : እካል : ለይተኑ : እን  
 ለም : ቁንድ : እግዢአብዳር : በንድ : እንዲ :  
 30  
 ለውልደና : ለመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : እብ : ምጥቃው-ት :  
 በየጥቃው-ት : ለሳ : በየጥቃው-ም : እርሳ : በየጥቃው-ም : ይኩኝቃዋል :<sup>23</sup>  
 ለእብና : ለመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ወልደ : ምጥቃው-ት :  
 ቀጥቃው-ት : ለሳ : ቀል : የጥቃው-ም : በርሳ : ቀል : ይኩኝራለ :  
 B, 49r

APPARATUS: <sup>17</sup> MA መኑቃኑቁ :. መኑቃኑቁ : is from እቃኑቁ :, ‘to shake’, while መኑቃኑቁ : is from ተኑቃኑቁ :, ‘to be in motion’. | <sup>18</sup> For እብ :. | <sup>19</sup> This word does not appear in manuscript sources known to me. Its appearance here twice exonerates the lexicographers. | <sup>20</sup> That is እግዢአብዳር :. | <sup>21</sup> With the signs of the third- and sixth-order vowels attached to one ይ. | <sup>22</sup> Gz for Am ሰለ :. | <sup>23</sup> MA ምጥቃው-ም”. Here it could be a typing error rather than an archaic feature.

because there is trinity in it but says one soul. The Father resembles its being soul, the Son resembles its rationality, and the Holy Spirit resembles its liveliness. There is trinity in the sea: its wateriness, its wetness, and its motion. One would not say three seas because there is trinity in it but says one sea. The Father resembles its wateriness, the Son resembles its wetness, and the Holy Spirit resembles its motion. 5

Is the Father God (*Egzi'abher*)?

Yes.

Is the Son God (*Egzi'abher*)?

Yes.

Is the Holy Spirit God (*Egzi'abher*)?

Yes.

Is it three Gods (*Egzi'abher*)?

No, he is one God, as Gregory the Theologian said, '*But when I say God, I mean about the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*' 15

If he is, indeed, one God, why is the saying of God, God, God, three times?

*As for this, there is an example.* When we call the disc 'sun', the light 'sun', and the warmth 'sun', do we not say there is one sun? We say he is one God in this fashion. 20

When would one call the disc 'sun'?

When one says, 'Did the sun rise? Is it nine o'clock? Is it noon?', one refers to sun.

How about its light?

One refers to sun when one says (about its light), 'Is the sun in 25 through the door? Is it in through the window?'

How about its warmth?

One refers to sun when one says, 'Let me warm myself in the sun', and when one says about wetted things, 'Let it be dried by the sun'.

These are not names of different (objects). It is the name of their 30 unity. Because we say, 'God, God, God', we do not say separate as (different) bodies, but we say one God.

What is the Father to the Son and the Holy Spirit?

He is their nature. They have no other nature; he remains their nature. 35

What is the Son to the Father and the Holy Spirit?

He is | their word. They have no other word; they speak with his B, 49r word.

ለእብና : ለወልድ : መንፈሰ : ቅድስ : የመቻቸውት :  
 ከይወታቸውት : ለብ : ከይወት : የገኛ[ወ.]ም : እርከ : ከይወት : ቅድዋቸ :  
 ይቻረል :  
 እብ : ወልድን : ወልድው : መንፈሰ : ቅድስ[ን] : እስረዥው : ስይቀድጋማ  
 ቅው :<sup>24</sup> 5  
 ወልድው : ክለ : እስረዥው : ስይቀድጋማቸው : እርከቸው : በረሳ : ስይገኘት :  
 በምን : ይቻረል :  
 ለዚና : ቅርጉ : ምላሽ : እለው : ከብርሃንና : ከመ-ቀት : የወጪው : ከብብ :  
 እ[ን]ዳልቀድማቸው : ወልድ : ማን : መውለድ : ከእባት : እንበለ : እናት :  
 የመንፈሰ : ቅድስም : መሥረዥ : ለድት : ወልድ : ወዕከት : መንፈሰ : ቅድስ :<sup>10</sup>  
 ይተናከር : ወእይተናከር : እንዳለ : ቅድስት : መድከፍት : ድንቅ : በባል :  
 እንቃ : ይናገሩት : ከይቻረልም :  
 ሥርዕት : ማ : የም :  
 መው-ናት : እውዳለ : ማን : የመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ከእብ : እስተንቀሰ : ከልብ :  
 እንዳመግ : ነው : የወልድም : መውለድ : ቅል : ከልብ : እንዳ : መድ : ነው :<sup>15</sup>  
 ከሰነድ : እክል : ማን : መሬ : ለቦብ :  
 እክል : ወልድ :  
 ከምን : እብ : ለቦብ : ወልድም : መንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ለቦብ : እቅን : ወጋበት :  
 ከልወጪትም : ቅት : እንበለ : እናት : ከእብ : ቅወልድ : እስረዥ : የጥንት :  
 ስመ : እንዳይቀለለ : እርከ : መሬ : ለቦብ : እንቃ : እጋብ : ወጋ-ጥበት : ከይድ<sup>20</sup>  
 ለም :  
 መሬብ : ለቦብ : እልከናና : ባህርያቸው : ካንድ : ሂቻቸው : ካንድ :  
 ከተና : ሂሳ : ካንድ : በሚሆኑበት : ነገር : እብና : መንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ለቦ  
 ሲ-ት :  
 እለበሰ-ም :<sup>25</sup> 25  
 ካንድ : ከጋኑ : ሂሳ : ለምን : ከይለበሰ-ም :  
 ቅድማ : እብ : ወልድን : በወለድው : ገብ : ወው : የቀድም : ካንድነቱ : B, 49v  
 እብና : ቅወልድ : ከይረገውን : እለደ[ረ]ገው-ም : እንቃ : እክል : ወልድን :  
 ከይው : እንዳዋለን : ከይው-ነቱ : በመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ነው : በርከ : ከይው :  
 ከተና : ለቦን : ቅወልድ : እሳነው-ም : መንፈሰ : ቅድስን : ቅድመን : እንዳብ<sup>30</sup>  
 ለነ : እና-ም : እንዳም :  
 ለነ : ይከሰ : ከተና : መሬ : እለበሰብ : እንደበት : ነዋ :

APPARATUS: <sup>24</sup> MA either ስይቀድማቸው : , ‘without him preceding them’, or ስይቀድጋማው : , ‘without preceding each other’. | <sup>25</sup> For ከተና : .

What is the Holy Spirit to Father and the Son?  
 He is their life. They have no other life; he lives being their life.  
 The Father begot the Son and had the Holy Spirit proceed, without preceding them.

If one says, '(The Father) begot him, he has him proceed', how is 5 this possible (to happen), without him preceding them and without them being behind?

For this there is a handy reply. As the disc of the sun does not precede the light and warmth, [similarly, the Father did not precede them]. But the birth of the Son from the Father is without a mother as 10 the proceeding of the Holy Spirit. As the Holy Scriptures say, '*The birth of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father are admired but not told*',<sup>6</sup> it can be called admirable but not possible to be explained.

What does 'procession' mean? 15

Coming out. But the manner of the coming out of the Holy Spirit from the Father is like the coming out of breath from the heart.<sup>7</sup> The birth of the Son, too, is like words coming out from the heart.

Who of the three persons wears flesh?

The person of the Son. 20

Why has not the Father worn, or the Holy Spirit worn? Was a lot cast on him?

It was not cast on him. Since he was born originally from the Father without a mother, he wore flesh lest his original name be distorted; it is not because a lot was cast on him. 25

Now, you said to me he wore fresh, but if their nature is the same, and their will is the same, did the Father and the Holy Spirit wear flesh when they later became one?

They did not wear flesh.

Why do they not wear it once they became one? 30

Formerly, when the Father begot | the Son, did his former oneness make the Father begotten? It did not. We call the person of the Son living. His liveliness is by the Holy Spirit. Because he is living through him, we did not say the Holy Spirit was born (with the Son). As we did not call him so before, now, too, we do not. 35

Alright, (let us accept) this happened; how was the manner of his wearing?

COMMENTARY: <sup>6</sup> HA, 35 (§ 12). | <sup>7</sup> That is, from the lungs.

ለወተር : ለወጥ : ለወለድ : ከወጥ : ከወጥ : ይም : ተገናቸው :  
 እንደዚ : ብለ : ወጥ<sup>26</sup> ይወለድል : እርብ : የን : እንደዚ : እይደለም : እግ  
 ብለትና : ማርያምና : ጉብርኬል : ባብሰራት : ገብ : እግዢአብዕር : እብ :  
 ለደግኝት : መንፈል : ቅዱስ : ለደግኝት : ቅድምም : ገብ-ሐ : ካረቻ :  
 ማንም :<sup>27</sup> በትኋና : የን : ለመለከት : እናት :<sup>28</sup> ቅዱስ : እልኻረቻም : እብ 5  
 ቅዱስ : ከነፍሰው : እናት : ከሥርዋ : ሥር : ልጥረሰት : እብ : ቅል : ተው  
 አደ : ልጥረሰት : ቅዱስ : ብግይቶም : እይደለም : ለፈጥጥ : ከነም : ከፈ  
 መረሰት : ሥር : ተንድ : ለፈጥ : ከኋይ : መማቅስ : ይቀድም :  
 አንድነቱ : እንደምና : ነው :  
 ብለው-ር : ተለት : እብል : ተለት : ባህርድ : ይለል : ይቀድም : ይኩስ : ነው : 10  
 በየርዳናስ : የን : በፈጻ : ተንድ : እንደል : እንደም : እንደ : ልጥ  
 ሻም : በፈጻድ : እብል : ተለት : ባህርድ : እንደል : እንደም : እንደ : እውጥ  
 ከም : ወቃትና : [ወጥና] እንደቀቀል : ቅዱስ?>አቀል : እንደም : እናሰና :  
 ሥር : እናሰና : ልቀቀልና : ሥርም : ይንዳንነቱን : ለምጫና : ተንድ : እብ :  
 አንድ : ባህርድ : ተና : እንደል : ከመ : ቅዱስ|ይ-ት : እናሰና : ወመር : በለው : B, 50r  
 እንደመሰላልን : ቅዱስ : ወርሰለስ : ለቁቅ : እብል :<sup>29</sup> ቅል : ብዘ-ና : ሥር :  
 ለይመሩ-ና : ተንድ : እብል : ተንድ : ባህርድ : ተና : እንደዋለን : የንግማን :  
 የለበሰው-ን : ሥር : የፈጻመረሰትን : መንፈል : ቅዱስ : እባክ : ቅዱው : እር  
 ሻም : ቅዱስ : መንፈል : ቅዱስ : ቅዱስ : እባክ : ቅዱው : እር  
 አንድ : መንጠና : ቅዱስ : ነው : እንዲ : መንፈል : ቅዱስ : ቅዱስ : እይደ 20  
 ሻም : ይለል :  
 እብ : ቅዱስ : ወልድ : ቅዱስ : መንፈል : ቅዱስ : ቅዱስ : የሚል : ለኩስ :  
 ሻም : ምስክር : እለን :  
 እሳይየስ : ሻም : ይለል : መንፈል : እግዢአብዕር : ለሰለየ : ከበት-ትእሁ :  
 ቅዱስና :<sup>30</sup> እነገንወመ : ለነገሥን : ልኩዎስ : ይለል : ይቀድም : ባማብር : ወቀ 25  
 በለ : መንፈል :<sup>31</sup> ቅዱስ :<sup>32</sup> ወሰድል :<sup>33</sup> ይለል : ይኩስ : ቅዱስና : ወቀበያ :  
 ማለት : ለአጠም : ለቀባሪነቱ : ለወልድም : ለቀተቀባሪነቱ : ለመንፈል : ቅዱ  
 ሻም : ለቀበያነቱ : ይመሰከራል : የገርማን : መንፈል : ቅዱስና : እናገ : ለጠረ :  
 ቅዱስም : ተና : በእንተ :<sup>34</sup> እለን : ይቀድም : እንደአለም : ከነም : ጉል : ልጥር :  
 ከነም : ጉል : ቅዱስም : ተና : እይደለም : ለፈጥጥ : ለፈጥጥ : ለፈጥጥ : ቅዱ 30  
 ሻም : ለፈጥጥ : ተንድ : እንደምና : ነው : እንዲ :  
 ቅዱስት : ማለት : ምኩው :  
 የፈረሰት : የጥንት : ለፈረሰቱ : መንፈል : ቅዱስ : ይከናና : በከመ : ተበለና :  
 ባለቻ : ገብ : በእናቱ : ማንገን : የፈረሰት :

APPARATUS: <sup>26</sup> System, manner. | <sup>27</sup> MA የሚም :. | <sup>28</sup> For እናቸነት : or እናት : ለመሆን :. |  
<sup>29</sup> For ለለ :. | <sup>30</sup> For ቅ :. | <sup>31</sup> For ለለ :. | <sup>32</sup> For ለለ :. | <sup>33</sup> For ለለ :. | <sup>34</sup> Gz for Am ለለ :.

COMMENTARY: <sup>8</sup> Lit. 'lust'. | <sup>9</sup> Something is missing. | <sup>10</sup> Isa. 61:1. | <sup>11</sup> Acts 10:38. | <sup>12</sup> Luke 1:38.

Normally, when someone is conceived, seed<sup>8</sup> from the father and blood from the mother meet and they are born this way. But he was not (conceived) in this way. When Gabriel announced her, the Father strengthened her, the Holy Spirit cleansed her—she was clean formerly, but since however clean she was, she was not worthy of becoming the mother of divinity, he made her worthy—and created soul from her soul and flesh from her flesh with which the person of the Word was united. It did not happen long after he was created from her. (The moment) he was created from her and his becoming one with the flesh he created from her was faster than a blink of the eye. 10

And how is his unity?

Nestorius says, ‘Two persons and two natures’. He repeats this.<sup>9</sup> But we do not say, as he says, ‘At (the River) Jordan, he became one by grace’. We do not say, as Leo says, ‘Two natures in one person’. We do not say either, like Eutyches, ‘(The two) were mixed as milk [and water] would mix.’ As Saint Cyril has given us an example saying, ‘As the | union of soul and body’—with the soul not abolishing its subtlety and the flesh its concreteness—we say, ‘He became one person and one nature, with the subtle person of the Word and the concrete flesh not abolishing each other’. We say, ‘His Father anointed with the Holy Spirit the flesh that (the Word) wore, that he created from her. And he was anointed. The Holy Spirit became unction.’ (But) they say, ‘The fact that divinity was united with the flesh is unction; the Holy Spirit is not unction.’ 15 20 B, 50r

What evidence is there for us which says, ‘The Father is anointer, 25 the Son is anointed, and the Holy Spirit is unction’?

What does Isaiah say, ‘*The Spirit of God is upon me for which he anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news to the poor*’.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, it says in Acts, ‘[God, the Father] anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power’.<sup>11</sup> These phrases, ‘anointer’ and ‘he anointed him’, testify that the Father is anointer, the Son is anointed, and the Holy Spirit is unction. However, because we say about the Holy Spirit that he cleansed, created, and became unction, he did not become unction for him, first cleansing (Mary), and after that creating (the body) and after that he became unction. His act of cleansing, creating, and becoming unction all happened at the same time. 30 35 35

What does ‘unction’ mean?

(It means) he dwelled in her. When she said, ‘Let it be with me as you said to me’,<sup>12</sup> the Holy Spirit, his original life, dwelt in his Mother’s womb. 40

በስው-ነቱ : የቃይረዋት : መንፈሰ : ቅድ-ሰ : ወን : ገዢው : ቤሌ-ዋጥው : መና  
 ዓቃይን : እና : በተጠመቻ : ገዢ : ቤሌርርጊን : የጋጋ : ለቃድ : እንዳያደር  
 ገን : እርስተም : በማገዢን : ቤሌርርጊት : የጋጋ : ለቃድ : እድረገው : ይለለ : B, 50v  
 እናገን : እንፈሰ : ስንፈሰ : በእንተን ቤሌር : ቅበቅት : እግዢአብኬር :  
 እምላከት : ቅበቅ : ተናሸከት : ዘይሃይድ : እምላለ : ከማት : እንፈለ : ከንድ : 5  
 ዓቃት : የባህርድ : ለቃድ : ገን : እንፈለን :  
 ከስዋጥና : የሚቃል : ቅበቅ : ቅበቅ : ስለ : ዓቃት : እለ : መገን : ስዋጥና :  
 የባህርድ : ለቃድኑን : ለመጠረቅ : እንፈለ : ዓግማም : እየሰኞ : ከርስቶስ :  
 ተው-ሃብ : ሌተ : ከተለ : ከተና : ለማድ : ወምድር : በለው : እለ : እስከ : 10  
 ከጋጋ : ለቃድና : የለማገን : ቤሌር : ተስጠዋጥው : ለእርስት : በባህርድ : ለቃድኑን :  
 ተስጠው : እንፈለ : ዓግማም : ቅበቅ : እው-ለብ : ወጋገም : ስው : በየዕበ : እም  
 አስማ-ቃሮው : ወይከበር : በለው : እለ :  
 ወን : ከተለ : የሚልሁቅ : ስው : ስውው : መገለት : ወንው :  
 የባህርድ : ለቃድኑን : ለመጠረቅ : እንፈለ : የጋጋ : ለቃድ : ገንድ : 15  
 ገን : ከተለ : የሚልሁቅ : ከተለ : የሚቃልበር : ስው : ስውው : በገለለም :  
 በት : እርስተው-ሰ : የጋጋ : ለቃድ : እድረገው : እለ-ና : እናሰ : ወን : ገንው :  
 እንፈለን :  
 በእናቁ : መገዢን : የተቀበለው-ን : መንፈሰ : ቅበቅ : ለውፈድ : እግዢአብኬር :  
 የባህርድ : ለቃድ : እድረገው : ስት-ሙ : እድረገው : ከህን : እድረገው : እንደ 20  
 ለን :  
 ቤት : የባህርድ : ለቃድ : እልከበረም : ወንው : የባህርድ : ለቃድ : የደርግዋል :  
 እንዲያስ : ይገለ : ከተና : ገለ : የጋጋ : ለቃድ : ገዢበቻት : ይለ-ተል : እንፈለ :  
 መናፍቻን : እው-ተንበገኝም : ቤት : ለቃድ : ለቃድኑን : የልቦረን : መንፈሰ :  
 ቅበቅ : በተዋቀት : በተቀበልና : ገዢ : | የጋጋ : ለቃድ : የደርግዋል : እርስት : B, 53r  
 ለን : ቤት : የባህርድ : ለቃድ : እስወቻን : መንፈሰ : ቅበቅ : ቤተቀበል :  
 የባህርድ : ለቃድ : ለን : በስው-ነቱ : የደረገውም : መንፈሰ : ቅበቅ : ስው :  
 እድረገው-ም : ስንፈሰ : ስው-ነቱን : ለቃድ : እድረገው : ስው-ነቱ : ለቃል : የገ<sup>13</sup>  
 ዓቃት : መለከት : ለቃል : ቤተና : የባህርድ : ቤተና : እናሰ : እርስተ :  
 ቤት : የባህርድ : ለቃድ : የንበረው-ን : በስው-ነቱ : የባህርድ : ለቃድ : እድረገው : 30  
 እንፈለን :  
 በት : ይገለ : ከተና : [ወስው-ነቱ : የባህርድ : ለቃድ :] እንዳደረገው : ወን : ወን  
 ከር : እለው : <እለው : >

APPARATUS: <sup>35</sup> For **ቃ**.

COMMENTARY: <sup>13</sup> Ps. 44:8/45:7. | <sup>14</sup> Matt. 27:18; cf. John 5:22. | <sup>15</sup> Probably an allusion to Heb. 1:4.

When one asks the heretics, ‘What became for him the Holy Spirit that dwelt in his body?’, they say, ‘As he made us children by grace when we were baptized, him, too, he made the Son by grace | when he dwelt in her womb’. But we do not say (so). But we say about him, ‘He became natural Son, as David said, “*Therefore, God, your God, has anointed you with the ointment of gladness, which is better than those who are like you*”.<sup>13</sup>

When David said, ‘ointment, which is better than those who are like you’, who are they talking about, whom that made him say, ‘better than those who are like you’?

(This is) to explain his natural sonship. Furthermore, Jesus Christ has said, ‘All judgement in heaven and earth has been given to me.’<sup>14</sup> Now to whom of the sons by grace was given all, but it was given to him for his being the natural Son? Saint Paul, too, has said, ‘He gave him a name which is higher than their names, and is glorious.’<sup>15</sup>

What does this ‘He gave him a name which is higher than others’ mean?

(This) is rather to explain his natural sonship; if he were son by grace, he would have not said, ‘He gave him a name which is higher and more glorious than all names.’

Alright; they said he made him son by grace. What did he become for him, do we say?

We say, ‘The Holy Spirit, whom he received in the womb of his Mother, made the Son of God a natural son; he made him king, and he made him priest.’

The heretics say to us, ‘Was he not a natural son originally? How would he make him a natural son? Then, if this happened later, he is son by grace, in your thinking.’

No, it will not be, in our thinking. For us, who originally were not sons (of God), the Holy Spirit makes us | sons by grace through baptism. But he is in origin the natural Son. He received his life, the Holy Spirit, and became natural Son; it is the Holy Spirit which made him (the natural Son) in his humanity.

When we say, ‘He made him’, it is separating his humanity. If humanity that was not made (natural Son) on its own, and divinity which is (natural Son) on its own, it would have been two natures. (Therefore), we say, ‘He made the natural Son in his humanity, the one who is the natural Son in origin.’

Alright, let us accept that this happened. What evidence is there that he made him [natural Son in his humanity]?

በግብር : ወረሰኑ : እግዢ,እኔ : ወመሰሳኑ : ይላል : ፈይማማት : እበወጥ :  
 ወሳንንም : ለሥር : እምም : በመንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ይላል : ይጋጥን :<sup>36</sup>  
 ቅ[C]ለስ : ተሰምም : ወልደ : እምላክ : በቅበጥት : መንፈሰ : ቅድስ : ይላል :  
 አዋርድትም : በሰጥቶችው : ይላል :<sup>37</sup> ለወጥ : እብ : እመ : ከና : ሰብአ :  
 ክማና : ይላል : እለኩን : ተብሎ : ቅድስት : መጠቅምት : ጥስኩር : ይዘን : የባህ 5  
 ስዕ : ለክም :<sup>38</sup> ገብና : የን : ሰዕ : የገብና : መለከት : ወጥ : እንልዋልን :  
 አልዋጥም : እንልዋልን :  
 ወጥ : እንዲ : በወገኑ : ገብ[ን]ተናዕ : እምላክ : ገብ[ን]ተናዕ : ሰዕ :  
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APPARATUS: <sup>36</sup> For ”ኑ : (?) . | <sup>37</sup> In MA this comes after the quotation. | <sup>38</sup> For **ይክም :**

In Acts, it says, 'He made him Lord and Messiah.' The *Haymanotä abäw* says, 'He made the flesh of Adam king through the Holy Spirit.' Cyril's homily says, 'He was called Son of God by the unction of the Holy Spirit.' The Apostles say in their *Sinodos*, 'The Father anointed him, as he was human like us.' We say, 'He made him natural Son', 5 having all these Scriptures as evidence.

Alright, let it be so. Do we say that divinity, who became man, died or do we say he did not die?

(We say) he, indeed, died. We say about him, 'He who is clearly<sup>16</sup> God in his entirety has become human in his entirety.' That Christ of one nature—who has been called, '*He is God himself, he is human himself*'—is he who is called, 'He who is God in his entirety has become human in his entirety'. We say about him he died in his humanity while we say about him he is living in his divinity, as Saint Peter said, '*He died in the flesh and came to life in the Spirit*'.<sup>17</sup> We say he died in his humanity, while he did not die in his (divine) nature, as also the Doctors of the Church | said, '*He suffered although suffering does not approach him; he died although he does not die in the nature of his divinity.*' B, 53v

How do we say, 'He died in his nature'? How do we say about divinity, 'He died in his nature while even our soul does not die in its nature'? 20

We do not, but in the flesh he wore. But, although we say he died in the flesh he wore, we say about him he is alive in his godhead, while he is dead in the flesh he wore. 25

If he is surely alive, what transpires one to declare he died?

What transpires all people to say that one died, but the separation of his soul from his body? Him, too, we say, he died because his soul was separated from his body. We say about him that he died in his humanity, and we say about him that he rose (from the dead) in his divinity. 30

Alright, this, too, is this. Regarding the flesh of Jesus Christ, although we see wheat, we eat it assuming it is the flesh of divinity. Although we see wine, we drink it believing it is the blood of divinity. How is this? Does (the wheat) change, losing its wheat nature and become the flesh of divinity? And as for the wine, does it change, losing its wine nature and become the blood of divinity? 35

COMMENTARY: <sup>16</sup>The meaning of *bä-wägänu* is not clear. | <sup>17</sup>1 Pet. 3:18.

ԱՃԱՄ : ՈՒՅ : ՀՅՋ : ԴՊՋ : ԴՎԱ[Ն]ԴՎՄ : ՈՄ : ԴՎԱ[Ն]ԴՎՄ : ՀՅՋ  
ԴԻ : ՔԴՊԱԼՅ : ՈՒՔՄԱՒՆԻՒ : ՀԱԲ : ՈՎԱՄ : ՈՎԱՄ : ՈՎԱՄ : ԴՎՄ : ՀՅՋԱՓ  
ԱՅ : ՊԴԻ : ՈՄՄ : ՄԺԲՄ : ՈՄՄԱՀՈ : ՀՅՋՈ : ԱՅՅ : ԳԴՈ : ՀԴԱԾՈ :  
Ա.ՓՈ.ԴԴԻՄ : ԺՄ : ՀՅՋ : Հ.ԲՓԸՈ : ՀԱՊՊ : ՊԴԻ : ՀՅՋ : Հ.ԲՄ 5  
Մ.ԴԻ : ՈՄՊՎ : ՄՈԼԻՒ : ՀՅՋՈ : ՈՊՍԸԲ : ԳԵՊԴԻ : ՈՈՎԱՄ : ՊԴԻ : ՀՅՋ 5  
ԱՓՈՅ :  
ՀՅՋԴԻ : ՈՊՍԸԲ : ՊԴԻ : ՀՅՋԱՓՈՅ : ՊԴԻ : ՈՎԱՄԸԲՎ : ԳԻԴԻ  
ՊԴԻ : ՄՈԼԻՒՆԻԴԻ :<sup>39</sup> ՈՊՍԸԲ : ՊԴԻ : ՀՅՋԱՓՈՅ :  
ՀՅՋԱՄ.ՊՅ : ՈԼՈՈՓՎ : Մ.Վ : ՀՅՋ : \*ՀԱԾՈ.ՊՅ :<sup>40</sup> ՈԼՈՈՓՎ : Մ.Վ :  
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ՀՅՋ : ՀԱԾՈՒՊՅ : ՆԳՈՒ : ԻՄՎՎ : ՈԼՅԴԻ : ՄՈԱՐԵՎ : ՊԴԻ : ՀՅՋԱՓՈՅ :  
ՊԴԻ : Պ[Ն]ԱՄՎ : ՈՒՎԱՄ : ՈՒՔՄԱՒՆԻՒ : ԴԼԿԸ : ՀՅՋԱՓՈՅ :  
ՈՒ : ԵՒՊՅ : ԵՒՊԴԻ : Մ.Վ : Հ.ԲԸՆՈՒ : ԻԸԸՆՔ[Ո] : ՈՎՅՈ : ՈՎԵՅ : ՊՄԱ 15  
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ՊՄԱՀԻԴ : Մ.Վ : ԵՒԳՃ : ՈՎԵԿՊՅ : ՄՈՎ.ՄՅ : ՈՎԵԿԿՅ : ՀՊԳՃՔՅ :  
ՊՄԱՀԻԴ : ԵՊՅ : ԵՒԳՃ :  
ՀՎ : ՊԸՀ[Ն]Յ : ՈՎԵՅ : ՀՅՋ.ՀԿԱԸ : ԵՊՅ : ՈՎԿԲ : ՀՅՋ.ՀԿՊ : 20  
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ՊՄԱՀԻԴ : ԵՊՅ : ԵՒԳՃ :  
| ՀՅՋԱԼՈՎԹ : ՊԸՀ : ՊԸՈՒԸ : ՀԱԼՎ :  
ՀԱԼՎ : ԳԴՈ : ՀԴԳ.ՀՎԸ : ՔԱԾՈՒՅՀԸԸ : Ա.Փ : ՀՀՈՒԴԻ : ՊԸՀ : ԵԱԸ : B, 54r  
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ԴՈ : ԵՎԸ : Մ.Վ : ԱՀՊԱՀ.ՊԸԸ : ՓԸ : ՊԸԸ : Հ.ՊԸԸ : Հ.ՊԸԸ :

APPARATUS: <sup>39</sup> For "נִזְבֵּן" | <sup>40</sup> Most likely for נִזְבֵּן : נִזְבֵּן :

Yes, we eat seeing raw meat; and we drink seeing blood. Although their appearances do not change, they change with a miraculous deed and become the flesh of divinity and blood of divinity.

| What evidence is there that they change?  
There is. What does Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria, say? He has said, 'They are bread and wine before the priest blesses them. When the priest blesses them, the Holy Spirit descends on them and changes them from being bread to being the flesh of God the Word.'<sup>18</sup>

B, 54r

5

COMMENTARY: <sup>18</sup> *HA*, 86 (§ 22).



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### Abbreviations

*ASZ* = አምስቱ : የወተዎች : ለማዕች :: (*Amməstu šäwatəwā zemawočč*, ‘The five categories of chants’) (Addis Abäba: Bärhanənna sälam mattämiya bet, 1965 EC = 1972/1973 CE).

*AAe* = S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: *A–C*; II: *D–Ha*; III: *He–N*; in cooperation with A. Bausi, ed., IV: *O–X*; A. Bausi in cooperation with S. Uhlig, ed., V: *Y–Z. Supplementa. Addenda et Corrigenda. Maps. Index* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).

*HA* = የይማኖት : አበው :: (*Haymanotā abäw*, ‘The faith of the Fathers’) (Addis Abäba: Asattami tənšā’e masattämiya dərəggət, 1967 EC = 1974/1975 CE).

*MQ* = መጽሐፈ : ቅዱስ :: በግዢኬና : በአማርኛ :: (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase: bägečəzənna bā’amarənñā*, ‘The Missal: In Ge’əz and Amharic’) (Addis Abäba: Bärhanənna sälam mattämiya bet, 1951 EC = 1958/1959 CE).

*MY* = መጽሐፍት : መኩኑኩት :: አንድኛ : መጽሐፍ :: ማር : ይሰሳቸ (Mäṣḥafətä mänäkʷäsat, *andānñā: Mar Yəshaq*, ‘The Books of the Monks, first: Mar Yəshaq’) (Addis Abäba: Tasfa Gäbrä Šəllase mattämiya bet, 1962 EC = 1969/1970 CE).

*TQ* = መጽላል ቅዱስ ከኢትዮጵያ መመሪያዎች እ.የሰ.ሰ ከርስቶስ :: የጽታቸ የመድረኅታቸ የእ.የሰ.ሰ ከርስቶስ ቅዱስ መጽላል :: ከቀድሞ እባቶች ፊዴር ሰ.ወርድ ሰ.ወረድ የመማው እ.ንብር ተርጉ ማውቃት :: የእ.ትቶኩም ለ.ቁዱት አንድ ዘመኑና አንድ ተረጋሙኑት :: (Wängel qəddus zä’əgzi-ənä wämädhaninä Iyäsus Krəstos: Yägetäččen yämädhanitacčen yä’Iyäsus Krəstos qəddus wängel, Käqdmo abbatočč gämməro siwärd siwarräd yämättaw, Nəbabunna tərgʷamew, Yä’Ityopya liqawənt əndä ʃafutənna əndä täräggʷämut, ‘The Holy Gos-pel of Our Father and Saviour Jesus Christ: its reading and interpretation as transmit-ted starting from the Ancient Fathers, as the scholars of Ethiopia wrote and inter-preted it’) (Addis Abäba: Balə’ul yä’Ityopya mängəst alga wäraš Täfäri Mäkʷännən mattämiya bet, 1916 EC = 1923/1924 CE).

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