

XIV. New Evidence for the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ethiopia?

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in memoriam
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The century since M.R. James' identification of part of a text published and translated by Sylvain Grébaut with the early Christian *Apocalypse of Peter*, previously known only from some fragmentary Greek witnesses, has brought forth few advances in the study of the Ethiopic version.² Grébaut had access to a single mutilous manuscript, most probably to be assigned to the early sixteenth century on palaeographical grounds, acquired from the monastery of Dāgā Estifānos by French-Irish explorer Antoine d'Abbadie during his travels in Ethiopia between 1837–1848. Later transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale de France as Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51,³ it remained the only known witness to the Ethiopic version until 1968, when

¹ I am grateful to James Hamrick for reading and offering suggestions on the text and translation of the homily edited below, as well as to Steve Delamarter for kindly providing me copies of several manuscripts referenced in this article digitized by his Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project. Eric Beck also graciously provided me with a copy of his English translation of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter*, which is used for references to that text.

² M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JThS* 12 (1910) 36–54; S. Grébaut, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39.

³ A. d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) 60–63; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris, 1912) 34–37; C. Conti Rossini, 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie', *Journal Asiatique* ser. 10 vol. 20 (1912) 5–72, at 37–38.

Ernst Hammerschmidt microfilmed a second, eighteenth-century exemplar at the monastic library of Kebrān Gabre'ēl as his Ṭānāsee 35.⁴ Hammerschmidt's Ethiopian venture subsequently took him to Dāgā Estīfānos, located only a few kilometers away on another island in Lake Ṭānā, where he would also microfilm a bifolium comprising the long-disconnected end of Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51.⁵

Despite more than a tenfold increase in the availability of Ethiopic manuscripts to Western scholars since that time, not even one further witness to this text has emerged to supplement the aforementioned Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 and Ṭānāsee 35.⁶ This somewhat surprising situation raises a number of important questions: Was the circulation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ethiopia highly localized and more or less limited to the Lake Ṭānā area? Is there any evidence for the text in the Horn of Africa beyond the two known manuscripts? When did it first arrive there? Did the *Apocalypse of Peter* have any tangible impact upon the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition?

Any attempt to answer such questions must necessarily begin, though not end, with the direct material evidence itself. While the palaeographic age of the earlier manuscript does provide a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 1500 for the Ethiopic version of this apocalypse, the primary significance of this starting point is as a means of delimiting – or

⁴ E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee I* (Wiesbaden, 1973) 163–67. The microfilming took place on November 6, 1968 (*ibid.*, 56), and the same manuscript would be microfilmed once again two decades later by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library project as EMLL no. 8294. On the materiality of the manuscripts, see also the article by Thomas J. Kraus in the present volume.

⁵ As Ṭānāsee 118, ff. 2–3. Despite being properly identified in V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3* (Stuttgart, 1999) 79, this fragment, in which the correct order of text runs ff. 3vr, 2vr, seems to have gone overlooked in recent scholarship. For the locations of the two monasteries in relation to one another, see the map in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (Wiesbaden, 2003–2014) III:369.

⁶ For example, despite microfilming more than 9000 manuscripts over two decades in the late twentieth century, the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) project would only encounter the same copy from Kebrān Gabre'ēl recorded by Hammerschmidt. On the EMML, see C. Stewart, 'A Brief History of the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML)', in A.C. McCollum (ed.), *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile* (Wiesbaden, 2017) 447–72.

rather problematizing the delimitation of – the text in question. On the one hand, it is clear that the boundaries which scholars assign to the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the strict sense cannot be applied to the text as presented in the Ethiopian tradition, as no division exists at this point in the manuscripts. On the other, however, reasonable arguments can be advanced for two different termini. Traditionally, as first suggested by Antoine d'Abbadie and later brought out even more explicitly by Grébaut in publishing the material under the separate subtitles “La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts” and “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs”, the work in which the *Apocalypse of Peter* is embedded has been interpreted as being followed by another discrete pseudo-Clementine text.⁷ Although this relational reconstruction may be correct, and a division of some sort clearly exists in both manuscripts here, its precise character cannot be so easily categorized. In neither case does this division result in a large gap or a start at the top of a new page, the clearest markers for the beginning of an independent work. Instead, the demarcations are of a less major type, occurring within just one of multiple columns, and the following material could be legitimately interpreted as either a completely new text or a subsection of the existing one. Thematic and contextual similarities between the material both preceding and following this division in combination with the fact that a proper colophon only appears after “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs” render the latter a distinct possibility.⁸

Regardless of the true terminus, these two works – or two sections of a work – have formed an inseparable bond in the extant Ethiopian tradition: neither is attested anywhere without its counterpart. In both surviving exemplars, moreover, the *Testamentum Domini* and the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee*, two more popular pseudo-apostolic texts that commonly circulate together, immediately precede this material.⁹

⁷ d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné*, 62; S. Grébaut, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine’, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907) 139–51, 285–97, 380–92; 13 (1908) 166–80, 314–20; 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39. On this pseudo-Clementine framework, see the contribution of Daniel Maier in the present book.

⁸ R.W. Cowley, ‘The Ethiopic Work which is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter,’ *JThS* 36 (1985) 151–53 strongly advocated for this position.

⁹ Respectively published in R. Beylot, *Testamentum Domini éthiopien* (Louvain, 1984) and L. Guerrier and S. Grébaut, *Le Testament en Galilée de*

This suggests that, at least in the Lake Ṭānā area, the *Apocalypse of Peter* was integrated into the pseudo-apostolic revelation tradition rather than the pseudo-Clementine one attested principally in *Qalēmentos*.¹⁰

The *Testamentum Domini* and the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* are not, however, the only other works found in Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 and Ṭānāsee 35. The former opens with the unique Ethiopic witness of *Sargis of Aberga*,¹¹ while the latter closes with five additional texts, a truncated copy of pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem's *Homily on the resurrection* (CPG 3598), more or less an apocryphal gospel, standing at the end.¹²

Moving away from the two codices themselves to examine whether any known Ethiopian inventory lists might include the *Apocalypse of Peter*, it is crucial to bear in mind that the comparative brevity of the text and its constant collocation with other works results in the possibility that the apocalypse itself may have gone unrecorded even if present in an ecclesiastical library when an extant inventory was compiled. Not only, in fact, is this likely, it is theoretically conceivable that the work never received an Ethiopic title.¹³ As this is not

Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ (Paris, 1912). In many manuscripts, the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* indeed basically appears as another chapter of or supplement to the *Testamentum Domini*.

¹⁰ On *Qalēmentos*, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:251–53. This may admittedly be due to other factors. With one possible exception (cf. A. Bausi, 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 39 (1995) 25–48, at 34–39), the Ethiopic *Synodicon*, *Didascalia*, and *Qalēmentos* each seemed to have been copied exclusively as individual manuscripts until the end of the medieval period. Only later do they commonly combine with each other and other works in codices. It may therefore be that at the formative stage book production norms precluded supplementing such texts with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, whereas shorter works such as the *Testamentum Domini* and *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* were not governed by the same standards and could collocate with different works more easily.

¹¹ Edited and translated in S. Grébaut, *Sargis d'Aberga (Controverse judéo-chrétienne)* (Paris, 1909–1919).

¹² For the precise texts, see Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee 1*, 163–67. Among the other imperfect Ethiopic copies of CPG 3598 is a quire inserted at the beginning of the famous National Library Gospels in Addis Ababa (UNESCO 2.28, ff. 1r–8v).

¹³ Upwards of 90% of Ethiopic texts do not have indigenous titles as they were simply unneeded within the tradition. (Unfortunately, modern

the place for a comprehensive treatment of Ethiopian inventory and titling practices, for the present purposes it suffices to say that in general only the first or primary work in a manuscript is listed, i.e. that inventories are of codices and not of the texts contained therein. Yet even in a more detailed list, the *Apocalypse of Peter* might well go unnoted, as an entry for Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 at Dāgā Eṣṭifānos before it left the monastery demonstrates: ፩መጽሐፈ : ኪዳንኛ : ሰርጊስ “1 *Testamentum Domini* and *Sargis*.”¹⁴

While such realities challenge this endeavour, two late-medieval inventories nonetheless offer candidates for potential lost Ethiopic manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. One of these emerges from another Lake Ṭānā monastery, Dabra Māryām, whose famous illuminated gospelbook contains a list of books between Matthew and Mark.¹⁵ This inventory, almost certainly to be assigned to the late-fifteenth century on account of its reference to a metropolitan Yesḥaq,¹⁶ includes the title *Sargis* (ሰርጊስ), a text whose current *codex unicus* is Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51. Given that most Ethiopic manuscripts were copied as complete units, i.e. that the full contents of an antigraph were reproduced in an apograph without addition or subtraction, it is tempting to believe that the geographic and chronographic proximity of this list to Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 might imply equivalency in the contents of the two volumes.¹⁷ Even if correct, however, such a theory barely expands the apocalypse's reach.

scholarship continues to manufacture ‘missing’ or insufficiently determinate ones for its own purposes.) The ‘title’ *the Second Coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead* could not function as such in Ethiopian practice given its length, and would be more appropriately understood along the lines of a rubric in other manuscript traditions. Whether this served as a title for the work in the antecedent Arabic version, or whether another title was lost in the translation process, remains unclear.

¹⁴ The full inventory list, located in Ṭānāsee 126, ff. 3v–4r, is published in Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3*, 115–16.

¹⁵ Catalogued in E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee 2* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 50–53.

¹⁶ On Yesḥaq, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, V: 62–63.

¹⁷ It cannot, in fact, be precluded that this entry is to Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 itself, with the manuscript having moved from Dabra Māryām to Dāgā Eṣṭifānos at some point during the following three centuries.

A more promising candidate comes from the former capital city Lālibalā several hundred kilometers to the east. In its Bēta Gologotā church, another late-medieval gospelbook contains an inventory with the following curious title: **ዘከመ : ተስላሎ : ጴጥሮስ : ለእግዚእነ** “How Peter inquired of our Lord”.¹⁸ Unusually formulated, this title is otherwise unknown, but the basic contextual parameters hew far closer to the Petrine materials in Éthiopien d’Abbadie 51 and Ṭānāsee 35 than any other known Ethiopic text. Although they normally use a different verb to express the idea of inquiring (**ሐተተ**), which might raise doubts about such an identification, the colophon at the end of the (second) text contains a more congruent formulation: **ተፈጸመ : በዝዮ : ራዕዮ : ነገር : ዘተሰላሎ : ጴጥሮስ : በእንተ : ኃጥአን...** “It is here accomplished the vision on the subject on which Peter asked Him (i.e. Jesus) concerning the sinners...”¹⁹ Alongside the lack of other suitable alternatives, this colophonic parallel makes it highly probable that the recorded manuscript contained “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs” and, by extension, the *Apocalypse of Peter* since, if not a single work, the latter always appears before the former. This entry therefore not only provides the first evidence for the circulation of this text outside of the Lake Ṭānā region, but, since the inventory list is dated to the first or fourth regnal year of Emperor Eskender (reigned 1478–94),²⁰ provides a new *terminus ante quem* for its Ethiopic translation ca. 1480.

¹⁸ The full booklist is published in T. Erho, ‘The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia’, in P. Nicelli (ed.), *L’Africa, L’Oriente Mediterraneo e l’Europa: Tradizioni e Culture a Confronto* (Roma, 2015) 97–117, at 112.

¹⁹ As published by A. Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition of the Ethiopic dossier of the *Apocalypse of Peter*: A few remarks on the Ethiopic manuscript witnesses’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96, at 191 from Ṭānāsee 35. Ṭānāsee 118, f. 2r, originally the final page of Éthiopien d’Abbadie 51, contains a variant (**ራብዕ** instead of **ራዕዮ**); see Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil* 3, 79. Although impacting the meaning of the clause (“It is here accomplished the fourth subject about which Peter asked him concerning the sinners”), this variant does not affect the overlap between the colophon and the title from the Bēta Gologotā gospelbook. While other Ethiopic titles have occasionally been derived from subscriptions, it cannot be precluded that this particular formulation resulted from physical damage to the beginning of the text.

²⁰ The uncertainty is due to the visual similarity of the Ethiopic numerals for 1 (**፩**) and 4 (**፪**), which often creates problems in the tradition.

Efforts to identify citations of or allusions to the *Apocalypse of Peter* in indigenous Ge'ez literature have been underwhelming thus far. As noted by Alessandro Bausi, only two scholars have suggested such relationships, Anton Baumstock in the *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth* and Robert Beylot in (the *Vision of*) *Nabyud*.²¹ Upon close inspection, however, these supposed parallels prove vague and unconvincing, consisting of no more than common apocalyptic tropes or similar phraseology, any of which could also be derived from other works or have no particular source.

Assuming that no obvious citations or allusions to the *Apocalypse of Peter* have simply gone overlooked in published indigenous writings, it becomes necessary to move beyond this corpus and examine to whatever extent possible unpublished texts, particularly those of the medieval period. In comparison to the major theological works of fifteenth-century Ethiopia, all of which have been edited and published, very little scholastic attention has been applied to the writings of Ethiopian authors of late Antiquity and the rest of the medieval era. Indeed, within the extant indigenous literature of this period, only five of eight writers who either applied their given name or some sort of pseudonym to a homily have received similar treatment, and in each case it has been limited to a single text, not their full *oeuvre*.²²

Nowhere, perhaps, is this situation more jarring than with the fourteenth-century author who used the moniker Retu'a Häymānot "the Orthodox (one)".²³ No less than thirteen homilies are directly

²¹ Bausi, 'Towards a re-edition', 194–95.

²² Respectively published in C. Conti Rossini, 'L'omelia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garimā', in *Actes du congrès international des orientalistes, Paris – 1897* (1898) 139–77; Getatchew Haile, 'The Homily of Lulāyanos, bishop of Axum, on the Holy Fathers', *Analecta Bollandiana* 103 (1985) 385–91; G. Lusini, 'L'omelia etiopica "Sui Sabati" di "Retu'a Haymanot"', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 11 (1988) 205–35; Getatchew Haile, 'The Homily of Abba Elāyas, bishop of Aksum, on Mātṭā', *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990) 29–47; Getatchew Haile, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church's Tradition on the Holy Cross* (Leiden and Boston, 2018) 112–25. It is possible that some of the names, such as Tēwofelos and Yoḥannes, actually conceal the work of multiple similarly named individuals.

²³ Other Ethiopian authors before, after, and perhaps contemporaneous with him employed the same pseudonym. For some of the better known ones, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:382–83.

attributed to him, a total to which it might eventually prove possible to add various formally anonymous ones with which they circulate. At worst, this corpus matches the surviving output of any other indigenous author of pre-fifteenth-century Ethiopia.²⁴ Yet, until recently, Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work had not occupied the singular focus of even one journal article.²⁵

Such inattention cannot be dismissed on account of a lack of scholastic opportunity. Copies of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work reached Tübingen in 1842, France the same decade, London in 1868, and Berlin in 1906,²⁶ an unusually broad dissemination for any Ethiopian writer in Europe. But they were all completely ignored, a situation that the subsequent microfilming and digitization of a further thirteen major exemplars, as well as some fragments, in Ethiopia has done little to abate.²⁷

²⁴ That of an earlier Retu‘a Hāymānot, one whose work has, however, at least received a modicum of attention insofar as one of his homilies has been published by Lusini (‘L’omelia etiopica “Sui Sabati” di “Retu‘a Haymanot”).

²⁵ The first such publication was M. Krawczuk, ‘Rətu‘a Haymanot, Kazanie o Chrczie Chrystusa z rękopisu EMMML 7028, f. 6v–20r a postrzeżenie islamu w Etiopskim Kościele Ortodoksyjnym’, *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1 (2019) 37–47, though others, most notably Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries’, *Oriens Christianus* 65 (1981) 102–36, touched on the topic earlier.

²⁶ H. Ewald, ‘Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen’, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844) 164–201, at 197; d’Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné*, 93–94; Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens*, 53–54; C. Conti Rossini, ‘Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d’Abbadie’, *Journal Asiatique* ser. 11 vol. 2 (1913) 5–64, at 15–16; W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847* (London, 1877) 231–32; E. Hammer Schmidt and V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Wiesbaden, 1983) 267–71.

²⁷ For descriptions of each of the principal manuscripts in question, most either unpublished or correcting the published catalogue entries, see the appendix to this article. In the present context, a notable comparison naturally arises between Éthiopiens d’Abbadie 51 and Éthiopiens d’Abbadie 80. Both are fifteenth/sixteenth-century manuscripts that Antoine d’Abbadie acquired from the monastery of Dāgā Eṣṭifānos and brought to France. However, while every word in the former, which, of course, contains the *Apocalypse of Peter* along with other works, has been published, not a single word from the latter, a copy of the Retu‘a Hāymānot homiliary, has hitherto received comparable treatment.

This is particularly unfortunate, as indications abound that Retu‘a Häymānot was among the best-read and most interesting writers of medieval Ethiopia. In one passage, for example, he displays knowledge of several rare ancient apocrypha and other works:²⁸

Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, St. Antony, etc. saw the glories of the kingdom of heaven and wrote (about them) to us. Jambres, Hippolytus the second, Bartholomew, the same Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, etc. saw Gehenna and wrote to us (about) its operations.

The second series references the following texts: (1) the *Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres*, (2) Hippolytus’ discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, (3) the *Vision* or *Questions of Bartholomew*, (4) *I Enoch*, (5) the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Gregory*, (6) *Apocalypse of Paul*, and (7) *Apocalypse of John*. Only the fourth and seventh of these are well known in the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition. The above quote adds marginally to the indirect evidence for the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Vision of Bartholomew*, both of which are recorded in inventory lists and whose existence in Ethiopic at one point has been presupposed by indigenous works’ reliance on them.²⁹ Limited material evidence has recently emerged for the *Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres*, but this would appear to be the only indigenous reference to the text.³⁰ A similar situation exists with the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Gregory*, for which the first complete copy of the Ethiopian Orthodox translation has finally

²⁸ For the Ethiopic text, see ll. 220–222 in the edition of the homily below.

²⁹ Inventory references include those from Urā Masqal published in Erho, ‘The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia’, 110–11, as well as British Library Or. 681, f. 208v. P. Piovanelli, ‘Les aventures des apocryphes en Éthiopie’, *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 197–224, at 210–12 highlights important citational material indicating direct knowledge of the *Questions of Bartholomew* in an indigenous Ethiopian work. The *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Mary* consists in part of a reworking of material from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, providing additional evidence that the latter once existed in Ge‘ez.

³⁰ T.M. Erho and W.B. Henry, ‘The Ethiopic *Jannes and Jambres* and the Greek Original’, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 65 (2019) 176–223. That Retu‘a Häymānot was acquainted with the *Apocryphon* itself in some form is supposed by the reference to Jambres as the writer rather than his more famous brother, since in the text the latter dies and thereafter describes to his brother the horrors of the underworld.

come to light.³¹ Hippolytus' discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, on the other hand, is otherwise completely unknown in the tradition. Given his apparent knowledge of so many rare texts, if the *Apocalypse of Peter* existed somewhere in his vicinity, it seems probable that Retu'a Hāymānot would have been acquainted with the work, making his corpus of writings a good probing point for unidentified citations or allusions thereto.

The question of the identity of the author using this moniker, a subject of occasional speculation, should be briefly discussed. Three different figures have been proposed: John Chrysostom, famed Ethiopian theologian Giyorgis of Saglā, and metropolitan *Abbā* Salāmā II. The first of these, suggested by Carlo Conti Rossini,³² can be refuted quite easily. Not only does Retu'a Hāymānot contradict certain of Chrysostom's positions, such as referencing *I Enoch* approvingly and authoritatively, he cites materials originating long after his death, such as the *Legend of Habbakuk*.³³ He even cites the Church Father himself!³⁴ The second, Giyorgis of Saglā, has somewhat more merit, given that this figure's lifetime overlaps to some extent with that estimated for Retu'a Hāymānot and there are two homilies in his *magnum*

³¹ EMMML 8775, ff. 143r–151r. (I personally examined a fragmentary late-medieval copy of the Christian version at Qorqor Māryām in 2019.) The existence of the heavily abridged Beta Israel version, published in J. Halévy, *Tē'ēzāza Sanbat (Commandements du Sabbat) accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les falachas ou juifs d'Abyssinie* (Paris, 1902) 97–107, 210–19, naturally presupposed the antecedent Ethiopian Orthodox one.

³² Conti Rossini, 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie', 15.

³³ Cf. T.M. Erho and R. Lee, 'References to the *Shepherd of Hermas* at the Monastery of Gunda Gundē', *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 98 (2022) 451–61, at 460. This *Legend of Habakkuk* (CAVT 215) is translated in C. Conti Rossini, 'La leggenda di Habacuch nella versione etiopica', in id. (ed.), *Studi Etiopici* (Roma, 1945) 17–40.

³⁴ Chrysostom is quoted in the homily for Palm Sunday. Among the other obvious anachronisms created by such a proposal are the references to Benjamin I of Alexandria (seventh century) and Severos of Antioch (born mid-fifth century) in the homily on the baptism of Jesus, both of whom were not yet alive when Chrysostom died in 407.

opus, the *Book of Mystery*, attributed to “the Orthodox (one)”.³⁵ A similarly designated anaphora included alongside of some old copies of the *Book of Mystery* might likewise be his.³⁶ However, although both of the aforementioned works seem to be recorded in his hagiography and the other texts mentioned therein comport very well with the historical record, suggesting a fairly comprehensive account of his literary output, no independent homilies or corpus thereof are ascribed to Giyorgis, rendering his potential authorship of the Retu‘a Hāymānot material under consideration doubtful.³⁷ Combined with its major theological discrepancies with his established writings, such as the authority of *Qalēmentos*,³⁸ this serves to eliminate his candidacy for the role. Lastly, one eighteenth-century manuscript begins with a supplementary adscription to metropolitan Abbā Salāmā II before the opening treatise on the theology of the Incarnation.³⁹ Given the commonality of his own name being attached to texts,⁴⁰ it would be strange for Salāmā to use a pseudonym in this instance, especially in view of his position at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Ethiopia. It therefore seems best to interpret Retu‘a Hāymānot as a figure whose historical identity cannot be ascertained.

The third of these names may have been occasioned by an erroneous assumption that all works circulating together in the major compendia of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work, the so-called homiliary of Retu‘a Hāymānot, emanate from the same pen. Nearly half of the known manuscripts contain an initial section of pseudo-Cyriacus of Bahnasā’s *Lament of Mary* (also known as the *Gospel of Gamaliel*) and/or a homily for Easter comprised of its remainder and some

³⁵ Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383. On Giyorgis, see e.g. *ibid.*, II:812.

³⁶ The anaphora in question is found in EMMML 6456, ff. 35rv, EMMML 6837, ff. 8v–9r, and EMMML 7018, ff. 33rv.

³⁷ Cf. Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville. Vol. V: Project Numbers 1501–2000* (Collegeville, 1981) 340.

³⁸ Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies’, 111.

³⁹ EMIP 816, f. 2r.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. van Lantschoot, ‘Abbā Salāmā, métropolitte d’Éthiopie (1348–1388) et son rôle de traducteur,’ in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma 2–4 aprile 1959)* (Rome, 1960) 397–401.

prefatory materials.⁴¹ The subscription to the Ethiopic version of this Copto-Arabic work records *Abbā Salāmā* as the translator, which is reproduced in the usual textual place within its bifurcated version included in the homiliary. Other clearly foreign writings such as the *Death of Joseph*,⁴² the *Book which came from Jerusalem*,⁴³ and a *Rite of adoration at the end of the feast of Pentecost*⁴⁴ are also found in parts of the manuscript tradition.

While it is therefore certain that not all texts found in exemplars of this homiliary are products of a single author, the extent of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s own corpus remains unclear.⁴⁵ Ascriptions of individual homilies to him are quite fixed,⁴⁶ despite many unattributed ones, and although some or many other tractates are formally anonymous, they may well also derive from the same source. Nonetheless, it is clear that noteworthy ties exist between the formally attributed texts despite the extreme paucity of research on them to date: for example, all of

⁴¹ The first of these spans 1:1–5:1 in the enumeration of M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, *Gamaliel: Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur* (Freiburg, 1959), while the anonymous *Homily for Easter* contains 5:2–11:50.

⁴² Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Ms. or. quart. 1166, ff. 55v–60r; cf. EMML 1939, ff. 162r–168r. The text is not properly identified in Hammerschmidt and Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1*, 270.

⁴³ E.g. UNESCO 8.9, ff. 9r–12r; cf. EMML 1763, ff. 63v–69r.

⁴⁴ E.g. EMML 2375, ff. 42v–54r; cf. EMML 2358, ff. 138r–154r.

⁴⁵ Several of the homilies found within the homiliary also circulate in other manuscripts, some even in the medieval period, although the majority do not exhibit this transience. The most common such texts are the anonymous *Homily on Mary*, often included in copies of the *Homiliary for Mary* (*Dersāna Māryām*), the anonymous *Homily on the archangel Michael* found in the widespread *Homiliary for the monthly feasts of the archangel Michael* (*Dersāna Mikā’ēl*), and the homily of Retu‘a Hāymānot on the four heavenly creatures, which appears in assorted contexts. As this involves items both directly attributed and not attributed to Retu‘a Hāymānot in roughly equal measure, it can hardly serve as *prima facie* evidence for differing origins or authors based on ascriptions alone. This phenomenon, however, does heighten the possibility of the original release of at least some of these homilies in contexts separate from the homiliary.

⁴⁶ The only variations in this respect seem to be the anonymous *Homily on the Ascension*, which is ascribed to Retu‘a Hāymānot in MS E, and the anonymous *Homily on the twelve apostles* similarly assigned to him in the subgroup of MSS B, C, I, and Q. All of the other core texts from the homiliary are universally consistent in their attributions across the currently available witnesses.

those which overtly reference the *Shepherd of Hermas* are of this type, and at least three of them contain a belief in penance, an unusual theological position for an Ethiopian Orthodox churchman.⁴⁷ Only the publication of a majority of the texts that principally or exclusively circulate within this homiliary will allow the bounds of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s personal corpus to be clarified.

Given the lack of personal and historical details available, the period when this figure was active cannot be definitively established, but Getatchew Haile has advanced a reasonable argument for the fourteenth century, most likely the latter half.⁴⁸ This fits well with the surviving material evidence, as the earliest witness to any of the writings is EMLL 7028, internally dated to 1397/8 CE. EMLL 7028, however, contains fewer homilies than any other exemplar of the homiliary, raising the possibility of multiple supplements to an earlier, more limited core.⁴⁹ Such a scenario might account for some of the variances seen in the ordering and precise contents of the various exemplars, though later editing doubtless played roles as well.⁵⁰ If this occurred, 1398 could not be fixed as a *terminus ante quem* for all of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work, but only those texts found in EMLL 7028, slightly muddying the dating of this author’s floruit since all data points brought to bear on it stem from homilies in that manuscript. Although a firm demarcation before the turn of the fifteenth century might not therefore be viable, the earliest witness to a full version of the corpus, the important illuminated manuscript first brought to scholarly attention by Eike Haberland and later microfilmed as EMLL

⁴⁷ Cf. Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 459–60 and Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383.

⁴⁸ Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies’, 112–13; Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville. Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500* (Collegeville, 1982) 451.

⁴⁹ This might be suggested by the reference to Retu‘a Hāymānot’s own *Homily on the four heavenly creatures* in the *Homily on Peter’s denial* (see ll. 194–195 in the edition below).

⁵⁰ See Table 1. Examples of late editing would include the integration of the *Rite of adoration at the end of the feast of Pentecost* in one branch of the tradition and the *Book which came from Jerusalem* in another, with neither possessing any witness older than the eighteenth century.

9084,⁵¹ could hardly have been copied more than a couple of decades into it, so the basic picture remains intact.

Table 1: Contents and sequences of text in surviving copies of the homiliary of Retu‘a Häymānot ⁵²

	L	O	J	D	E	A	M	Q	I	B	C	P	K	N	F	H	G
Theology	1	1	1	1*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	4	4
Birth	2	2	2	2*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	5	5	5
Baptism	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	6	6	6
Start Lent				13	15	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	7	7	7
1 st Sunday				14	16	5	5	5	5	5	5	7	7	7	8	8	8
2 nd Sunday				15	17	6	6	6	6	6	6	8	8	8	9	9	9
3 rd Sunday				16	18	7	7	7	7	7	7	9	9	9	10	10	10
4 th Sunday				17	19	8	8					10	10	10	11	11	11
5 th Sunday				18	20	9	9					11	11	11	12	12	12
6 th Sunday				19	21	10*	10					12	12	12	13	13	13
Pentecost rite									8	8	8						
Death of Joseph				20													
Incarnation		4	4	4	4	24	12	8	9	9	9	14	14	14	15	15	15
Palm Sunday	4	5	5	5	5		11	9	10	10	10	13	13	13	14	14	14
Footwashing	5	6	6	6	6	11*	13	10	11	11	11	15	15	15	16	16	16
Peter's denial				22	22	12	14					16	16	16	17	17	17
Trial				21		13	15					17	17	17*	18	18	18
Ps-Cyriacus						14		17* ⁵³				18	18		19	19	19
Death	6	7	7	7	7	15		11	12	12	12	19	19		20	20	20
Easter						16	16					20	20		21	21	21
Ascension	7	8	8	8*	8	17	17	12	13	13	13	21	21		22	22	22
Pentecost	8	9	9		9	18	18	13	14	14	14	22	22		23	23	23
Apostles	9	10	10		10	19	19	14	15	15	15		23		24	24	24
Transfiguration	10	11	11	9*	11	20	20	15	16	16	16		24		25	25	25
Mary	11*	12	12	10	12	21	21		17	17		23	25		26	26	26
Heavenly beasts		13	13	11	13	22	22	16	18	18	17	1	1	1	1	1	1
Michael	12	14	14	12	14	23	23*					2	2	2	2	2	2
Book Jerusalem															3	3	3

⁵¹ E. Haberland, *Altes-Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien* (Wiesbaden, 1976)

21. For a catalogue entry of EML 9084, see the appendix to this article.

⁵² Asterisks denote imperfect copies of texts.

⁵³ Possibly an addendum or different codicological unit.

The lack of prior research into Retu‘a Hāymānot’s body of work poses considerable challenges to determining whether this indigenous Ethiopian author might cite or allude to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Only a handful of his homilies have been summarized,⁵⁴ but careful examination of them as well as their counterparts is weighed down by the textual problems and uncertainty that make reliance on any single manuscript in the Ethiopic tradition highly inadvisable when multiple copies are available. An initial probe, therefore, can only be attempted here on the basis of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s *Homily on Peter’s denial*, a selection made principally because of its focus on the chief apostle and its lengthy description of hell, two major elements shared with the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

This homily, which is concerned with the perils of pride and the necessity of repentance, intersperses a retelling of part of the Passion narrative with various other vignettes. Opening with Jesus’ rebuttal to Peter after the latter claims to be willing to die for him (ll. 2–19), the text then adduces Jonah (ll. 23–50) and Macarius the Great (ll. 61–102) as other examples of individuals whose vain pride was confronted. An extended account of Peter’s three denials with various authorial interludes (ll. 104–142) segues into the second main theme, the necessity of repentance (ll. 142–148). The author then provides a description of the horrors of Gehenna, the future lot for whoever refuses to repent (ll. 148–205). After imploring his audience to repent if they have fallen and reminding them both of the glories of heaven and the suffering in Gehenna (ll. 210–226), he concludes his homily by returning to the Passion narrative, now with Jesus before Pilate (ll. 226–253).

A critical text and translation of the full homily are presented below, the *editio* and *translatio princeps* of not only the text itself, but any complete member of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s corpus. The text is transmitted in the following ten manuscripts:

- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien d’Abbadie 80, ff. 51r–55v (15th/16th century; siglum A)
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. quart. 1166, ff. 66r–69v (mutilous; 15th century; siglum D)

⁵⁴ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber, *Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500*, 452–56; Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 456–60.

- Dāgā Eṣṭifānos Monastery, Ṭānāsee 142, ff. 152r–158r (15th century; siglum E)⁵⁵
- Holy Trinity Cathedral (Addis Ababa), EML 1194, ff. 55v–57v (mid-20th century; siglum F)⁵⁶
- Bečanā Giyorgis Church, UNESCO 8.9, ff. 49r–51v (18th century; siglum G)
- Mārḳos Church (Addis Ababa), EML 12, ff. 76r–80v (early 20th century; siglum H)⁵⁷
- Ġar Šellāsē Monastery, EML 7019, ff. 93r–97v (15th century; siglum K)⁵⁸
- (Unknown library) EML 7638, ff. 84r–89v (15th century; siglum M)
- Ṭānā Qirḳos Monastery, EML 8459, ff. 89r–94v (15th century; siglum N)
- Berber Māryām Church, EML 9084, ff. 132r–139r (14th/15th century; siglum P)⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Later microfilmed a second time as EML 8382.

⁵⁶ Not collated as a descendant of MS G. Manuscript also microfilmed as UNESCO 5.25.

⁵⁷ Not collated as a descendant of MS G. Manuscript subsequently digitized as EMIP 1293.

⁵⁸ This witness was not available to me while editing the text and hence could not be used.

⁵⁹ While perhaps the most valuable witness to the text due to its age and relatively good text, the early leaves of EML 9084 are heavily waterlogged and completely illegible. Although lying halfway into the manuscript, significant parts of the leaves with the *Homily on Peter's denial* are also water damaged. Due to this situation, the decision was made not to integrate this witness into the textual apparatus, though the manuscript, where legible, was used to help adjudicate the critical text below.

- (A: 51r; D: 66r; E: 152r; G: 49r; M: 84r; N: 89r)ድርሳን : ዘደረሰ :
 ርቱዐ : ሃይማኖት : በእንተ : ዘከመ : ክሕዶ : ጴጥሮስ : ይቤ : ወንጌላዊ :
 ሶበ : ይቤሎሙ : እግዚእነ : ለሐዋርያቲሁ : ኀበ : አሐውር : አነ : አን
 ትሙ : ኢትክሉ : ተሊዎትየ : ይእዜ ። ወሶበ : ይቤሎሙ : ከመዝ : ተን
 5 ሥአ : ጴጥሮስ : ወቀነተ : ሐቋሁ : ወአኀዘ : ይክላሕ : እንዘ : ይብል :
 ለምንት : እግዚአ : ኢይክል : ተሊዎትከ : ነፍስየ : እሜጡ : በእንቲአክ ።
 ወይቤሎ : ማእምረ : አልባ(E: 152v)ብ : ኦጴጥሮስ : ነፍስከኑ : ትሜጡ :
 በእንቲአየ ። ዮም : በዛቲ : ሌሊት : ዘእንበለ : ይንቁ : ዶርሆ : ሥልሰ :
 ትክሕደኒ : ከመ : ዘኢታአምረኒ ። ወሶበ : ይቤሎ : ከመዝ : አኮ : ዘአር
 10 መመ : አላ : አኀዘ : ይንግር : ጽንዐ : ዚአሁ : ወድካመ : አኀዊሁ :
 እስመ : ይቤ : ለእመ : ኩሎሙ : ክ(N: 89v)ሕዱከ : አንሰ : ኢይክሕደክ ።
 ኦጴጥሮስ : ለምንት : ትትናገር : ዘከመዝ : ነገረ : ዘኢይደሉ : ይፃእ :
 እምአፋሆሙ : ለአግብርተ : እግዚአብሔር : ከመ : ያንጽሑ : ርእሶሙ :
 ወያርኩሱ : ቢጸሙ ። ርቱዕስ : ትበል : አነኒ : ኢይክሕደክ : እግዚአ : ወአ
 15 ኀዊየኒ : ኢይክሕዱክ : እንዘ : ጸጋክ : የዐቅ(D: 66v)በኒ : ኢትቤ : ከመዝ :
 በትሕትና : ወበፍቅር : አላ : አንተሰ : መጻእክ : በትምክሕ(G: 49v)ት :
 ወኢያፍቅሮ : አኀዊክ ። ስማዕኬ : ዘንተ : ነገረ : መደንግፀ : አሜን :

1 ድርሳን በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አሐዱ : አምላክ : ድርሳን
 DM | ዘደረሰ : ርቱዐ : ሃይማኖት] ዘርቱዐ : ሃይማኖት : ዘደረሰ E | 2 ዘከመ] om.
 DN | ክሕዶ] ክኀደ A; ዘክሕደ D; ክሕደት E; ዘክህዶ N | ይቤ] ወይቤ DMN |
 ወንጌላዊ] ወንጌል N | 3 ሶበ] ወሶበ DN | አሐውር : አነ] tr. GMN | አሐውር] አውር
 N* | አንትሙ] om. A | 4 ኢትክሉ : ተሊዎትየ : ይእዜ] ኢትክሉ : ይእዜ : ተሊወ
 ትየ A; ኢትክሉ : ተሊዎትየ D; ኢትክሉ : ይእዜ : ተሊዎትየ E; ኢትክሉ : መጺአ :
 ለተሊዎትየ : ይእዜ G; ይእዜ : ኢትክሉ : ተሊወትየ N | ወ(ሶበ)] om. AG | ይቤ
 ሎሙ] ይቤ M | 6 ኢይክል] ዘኢይክል M | ተሊዎትከ] ተሊወተክ A; ተሊዎተክ
 DGN | ነፍስየ] +ጥቀ DN | 7 ማእምረ] ማእመረ A; እግዚእነ D; ማእምሩ E; ማዕረ
 ረረ G* | አልባብ—በእንቲአየ] om. D | አልባብ] አልበብ N | ነፍስከኑ : ትሜጡ]
 ትሜጡት : ነፍስከ M | 8 በእንቲአየ] በእንአየ E | ዮም] ዮምኬ DN | ይንቁ] ይኔቁ M |
 ሥልሰ] ሥልሰ G | 9 ትክሕደኒ] ትክህድኒ N | ከመ : ኢታአምረኒ] ከመ : ኢታአምረኒ
 DG; ከመዝ : ኢታአምረኒ N | ሶበ] ሶቤሃ D | ይቤሎ] ይቤሎሙ N | 10 አላ] om. DN |
 ይንግር] ይግር M | ዚአሁ] ዚናሁ G | ወድካመ] ወድከመ M | አኀዊሁ] om. G |
 11 ይቤ] ወእመኒ A; ይቤሎ D | ለእመ] ይቤ A; ለእመኒ E | ኩሎሙ] ኩሉ A | አንሰ]
 ወአንሰ N | 12 ኦጴጥሮስ] ወይቤሎ : ኦጴጥሮስ D; ወይቤሎ : ኦጴጥሮስ : ኢየሱስ E;
 ወይቤላኒ : ጴጥሮስ N | ዘከመዝ] ከመዝ AD | ነገረ] ነገረ A; ነገር MN | ይደሉ]
 ይሉ E* | 13 ያንጽሑ] ያጽንዐ : ወያንጽሑ AE | 14 ያርኩሱ] ያርኩሱ A; ያርኩሱ D |
 ርቱዕስ] ርቱዕስኬ DN | ትበል] ትብል A*D; ትብላኒ N | አነኒ] አንሰ E | ኢይክሕደክ :
 እግዚአ] እግዚአ : ኢይክሕደክ D; ኢይክህደክ G; እግዚአ : ኢይክህደክ N | አኀዊየኒ]
 አኃውየ G; አኃውየየኒ N | 15 ጸጋክ] ጸጋየ D | የዐቅበኒ] ያዓቅበኒ A; ያጽንዐኒ : የዐ
 ቅብ D; ያጽንዐኒ : ወያዐ*ቅበኒ E; የዓቅበነ GN | ትቤ] ትቤኬ M | ከመዝ : በትሕትና]
 በትሕትና G | 16 ወበ(ፍቅር)] በ A; ወ D | አላ] om. D | አንተሰ] አንሰ E | መጻእክ]
 ትቤ D; መጻእኩ E; መጽእክ M | ትምክሕት] ትሕይልት M | 17 ስማዕኬ] ስማዕክ N |
 ዘንተ] om. G | ነገረ] +እነግረክ : AE | መደንግፀ] +ዘረከበክ : M | አሜን] አማን D

እብለክ ፡ አጼጥሮስ ፡ ሥልሰ ፡ ትክሕደኒ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይንቁ ፡ ዶርሆ ።
በርቱዕኬ ፡ ረከበክ ፡ ዝብካይ ፡ መሪር ፡ እስክ ፡ ይትመላሕ ፡ ቀራንብቲክ ።
አዛቲ ፡ ትምክሕት ፡ አውደቀቶሙ ፡ ለብዙኃን ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ ይቤሉ ። 20
አዕማድ ፡ ንሕነ ። (M: 84v)ንስማዕኬ ፡ በበጽታሁ ፡ ዘረከሶሙ ፡ ድቀት ፡
ለአበዊነ ፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ድጎኑ ፡ በሠናይ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ ወበትሕትና ።
ወይቤሎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለዮናስ ፡ ሖር ፡ ስብክ ፡ ለሰብአ ፡ ነነዌ ፡ እንዘ ፡
ትብል ፡ ትትገፈታእ ፡ ሀገርክሙ ። ወእእመረ ፡ ዮናስ ፡ በመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡
ዘኅዱር ፡ ላዕ(A: 51v)ሌሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይድጎኑ ፡ በንስሐ ፡ ወተከዘ ፡ ዮናስ ፡ 25
በእንተ ፡ ክብረ ፡ ርእሱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይኩን ፡ ሐሳዌ ። ወይቤ ፡ ለምንት ፡
እግዚአ ፡ ትምሕሮሙ ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ ሰበኩ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለግፍታኤ ፡ አኮኑ ፡
አነ ፡ እከውን ፡ ሐሳዌ ። ወይቤሎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለእመ ፡ (E: 153r)
መሐርኩ ፡ ተግባርየ ፡ ሚላዕሌክ ። ወገብረ ፡ ዮናስ ፡ ባእሰ ፡ ምስለ ፡
እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተጎጥአ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ እስራኤል ። 30
ወረከበ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ ተርሴስ ፡ ወተጽዕነ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሐመሮሙ ፡
ወተንሥአ ፡ ማዕበል ፡ ወፈቀደ ፡ ያስጥማ ፡ ለሐመር ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ዮናስ ፡
ለእመ ፡ ኢወረወክሙኒ ፡ ኪያየ ፡ ኢትድጎኑ ፡ እስመ ፡ ፈርሀ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይ
ኩኖ ፡ ጎጢአተ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ሞቱ ፡ በጎጢአተ ፡ ዚአሁ ። ዝኬ ፡ (N: 90r)ልማዶሙ ፡
ለቅዱሳን ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ይድጎፁ ፡ ወድጎረ ፡ ይኔስሑ ፡ በከመ ፡ አድጎኖ ፡ 35
ለጼጥሮስ ፡ ብካዩ ። እስመ ፡ ሠለስተ ፡ ጥምቀተ ፡ ወሀቦ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ፩ ፡

18 እብለክ] om. A | ሥልሰ] ሥልስ GN | ይንቁ] ይኔቁ M | ዶርሆ] ዶርሆ N |
19 በ(ርቱዕኬ)] om. AE | ረከበክ] ረከብነ A; ትብኬ E; ረከበክ N | ዝብካይ] ዝብካየ A;
ዛብካይ D; om. E; ብካይ G; ዝበካይ N | መሪር] መሪረ A | ቀራንብቲክ] ቀራንቲክ A* |
20 አ(ዛቲ)] om. D; እስመ ፡ E | አውደቀቶሙ ፡ ለብዙኃን] tr. AN; ለብዙጎን ፡ አው
ደቀቶሙ D; ላብዙኃን ፡ እንተ ፡ አውደቀቶሙ G | ይቤሉ] ይብሉ A*; ይብሉ A^cN |
21 አዕማድ] አእመርነ G | ንስማዕ(ኬ)] ስማዕ D | በበጽታሁ] በበጽታሆሙ A; በበ ፡
ጽታሆሙ D; በበጽታሐሙ N | ድቀት] ድቀተ DM | 22 ኩሎሙ ፡ ድጎኑ] tr. E; ኩሎሙ
M | ንስሐ] ትሕትና DN | ትሕትና] ነስሆ D; ንስሐ N | 23 ስብክ] ሰብሕ ፡ ወ[] N |
ነነዌ] ነነዌ A | 24 ትትገፈታእ] ትትፈታዕ G*; ትትገፈታእኦ M | ወእእመረ ፡ ዮናስ]
om. D | 25 ይድጎኑ] ይድኃኑ N | ንስሐ] ሠናይ ፡ ንስሐ M | ተከዘ] ትካዘ G | 26 ርእሱ]
ርእሶም D | ይቤ] ይቤሎ AE | 27 ትምሕሮሙ] +እስክ ፡ A | ሰበኩ] ። N | ሎሙ]
om. M | አኮኑ] +አንተ ፡ A | 28 እከውን] እከው G | ሐሳዌ] ሐሳዊ M | 29 መሐርኩ]
ሐርኩ D; +ሕዝብየ ፡ M | ተግባርየ] ተገቢርየ D; ተግባርየ E | ሚላዕሌክ] ምላዕሌኬ E |
ዮናስ] om. M | ባእሰ] ባዕስ N | 30 ተጎጥአ] ኃጥአ A*; ጎጥአ E | 31 ረከበ] ረከቡ D |
ተርሴስ] ተርሴስ G | 32 ፈቀደ] ፈድፋደ G | ያስጥማ ፡ ለሐመር] ይሰጠም ፡ ላዕለ ፡
ሐመር A; ያስጥም ፡ ለሐመር D; ይሰጠም ፡ እምላዕለ ፡ መሐመር E; ያስጥማ ፡ ለ
M* | 33 ወረወክሙኒ] ወረወክሙ A; ወረድክሙኒ G | ኪያየ] om. DG; ኪያየ N |
ፈርሀ] ፈርሃ AN; ፈርሁ D | ይኩኖ] ይኩኖሙ D | 34 ሞቱ] ሞተ A; +እሉ ፡ M | ዝኬ]
+ውእቱ ፡ D; ill.+ N | 35 ቅድመ] om. E | ይድጎፁ] ድጎፁ AM; ይደነግጽ D | ይኔ
ስሑ] ይነስሑ A | በከመ] ወበከመ D | አድጎኖ] +ብካዩ ፡ D | 36 ብካዩ] ብካዮ A; om.
D; ብካዮ M | ሠለስተ] ሠለስቱ D; ፫ GMN | ጥምቀተ] ጥምቀት G[N] | ወሀቦ] ወሀበ
DGMN | እግዚእ] እግዚአ E; እግዚአብሔር M; እግዚእግዚእነ N | ፩] አሐደ AE; ፪ N

- በዮርዳኖስ : ወጀበአንብዕ : ወጀበስምዕ ። እስመ : ዘይበኪ : ዘእንበለ : ጽር
 ዐት : ይሠውዕ : ደሞ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ወይከውን : ሱታፌሆሙ : ለሰማ
 ዕት ። ወዘኒ : ይዜሙ : ዘእንበለ : ጽርዐት : በሥጋሁ : ዝኒ : ይሠውዕ : ደሞ :
 40 ለአጋንንት : ወይከውን : ሱታፌሆሙ : ለገነውት ። ወይቤልዎ : እሙንቱ :
 ሰብእ : ለዮናስ : መነሃ : ታመልክ : አብእሲ ። ወይቤሎሙ : አመልኮ :
 ለሰማያዊ : ወእምኒሁ : ጐየይኩ : (M: 85r)ወናሁኬ : እብለክ(D: 67r)ሙ :
 ለእመ : ኢወረውክሙኒ : ትትሐጐሉ : ወፈርሁ : ወአበይዎ : ወተወረወ :
 ለሊሁ : በፈቃዱ : ውስተ : ባሕር : ወውኅጠቶ : ዐንበሪ ። ከመዝኬ :
 45 ልማዶሙ : ለጻድቃን : ለአድኅኖ : ሰብእ : ይመክሩ : ወርእሶሙሰ : ይሜ
 ንኑ ። ወኃጥአንሰ : ለአድኅኖ : ርእሶሙ : ይመክሩ : ወለሐጐሉ : ባዕዳን ።
 ወዮናስሰ : ነበረ : ውስተ : ከርሠ : ዐንበሪ : ሠሉሰ : ዕለተ : ወሠሉሰ :
 ለያልየ : እስመ : ጸዋሬ : ትንቢት : ውእቱ : ለዘሀለዎ : ይትቀበር : ዮም :
 በኃልኃታ ። ወለዮናስሰ : ጐስዐ(A: 52r)ቶ : ዐንበሪ : ውስተ : ሀገረ : ነነዌ :
 50 ወሰበክ : ሎሙ : ግፍታኤ : እንዘ : ይትመሐለል : ሎሙ : ስርየተ ። እስመ :
 ኩሉ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ : ወያጠብብኒ : በከመ : አ(E: 153v)ጥበቦ : ለጴ
 ጥሮስ : ብካዩ ። አመ : ተስእሎ : እግዚእነ : ተንሢኦ : እምነ : ምውታን :

37 ጀበአንብዕ] ጀአንብዕ DE; ጀበንስሐ : ምስለ : አንብዕ [M]; ቩበዓንብዕ N*; በዓን
 ብዕ N^c | ወጀበስምዕ] ወጀ : በከዊነ : ስምዕ M; om. N | እስመ] +ዘየዓቢ : ; +ዘየዐቢ :
 E | ይበኪ] ይቤለክ D | ዘእንበለ] በ[ጎጢኦቱ M | ጽርዐት] ጸርዓት A; ከመ M |
 38 ይሠውዕ] ዘይሠውዕ M | ይከውን] ይከውኑ D | ሰማዕት] ጻድቃን : ወለሰማዕት D;
 ሰማዕተ G | 39 ወዘኒ : ይዜሙ] ዝኒ : ዘይዜሙ N | ጽርዐት] ጸርዓት A; ጽራዕት M |
 ሥጋሁ] ሥጋ N | ዝኒ] ወዘኒ A; om. DG | ይሠውዕ] ከመ : ዘይሰውዕ M; ይሠወዕ N |
 40 ሱታፌሆሙ] ሱታፎሙ G; ሱታፌሁ N | ገነውት] አጋውተ A*; ጋነውተ A^c;
 ill. D; አጋንንት : ወለገነት G*; አጋንንት : ወለገነውት G^c; አጋንንት N | ወ(ይቤልዎ)]
 om. D | እሙንቱ] እሉቱ A; እሉንቱ E; እሎንቱ G | 41 ለዮናስ] om. DN |
 መነሃ] መነ DG^c; ወ G* | ይቤሎሙ] ill.+ D | 42 እምኒሁ : ጐየይኩ] እምድኅሬሁ :
 ጐየይኩ N | (ናሁ)ኬ] om. MN | 43 ለእመ] om. AE | ኢወረውክሙኒ] om. AE;
 ኢወገርክሙኒ : ኪያየ D; ኢወረድክሙኒ G*; ኢያውረድክሙኒ G^c; +ኪያየ : N |
 ትትሐጐሉ] ትሐጐሉ N | ተወረወ] ትወርወ G; ተውርወ N | 44 ውኅጠቶ] ውሕጠ D;
 ውጡ E; ውኅጠ GM | ከመዝ] ወከመዝ EG | 45 ርእሶሙ] ርእሶሙ DMN |
 46 ኃጥአንሰ] ኅጥአንሰኬ N | አድኅኖ] አድኅነ G* | ወለሐጐሉ] ወለአሕጐሉ D;
 om. E | 48 ለያልየ] ሌሊተ E | እስመ] ዘእስመ A^c | ጸዋሬ] ለጸዋሬ N | ትንቢት]
 ትንቢቱ MN | ለዘሀለዎ] +ዮም : D; ለዘ G | ዮም] om. DM | 49 ኃልኃታ] ኃለኃታ D |
 ለዮናስሰ] ዮናስሰ A; ለዮናስ N | ጐስዐቶ] ጐስዐቶ D; ጐስዐ M | ውስተ] ውስተ
 A* | ሀገረ] ብሔረ DN | ነነዌ] ነነዌ A; ነነዌ N | 50 ግፍታኤ] ፍፍታዔ G | ይትመሐለል]
 ይትመሀለሉ A; ይትመሀለል D | ስርየተ] ስሬተ A; ሰሬተ N | እስመ] om. G |
 51 ኩሉ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ] ኩሎ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ D | ያጠብብኒ] ያጥብ
 ብኒ A; ያጠብብኒ D; ill. M | በከመ] ከመ G | አጥበቦ] አንበቦ G | ለጴጥሮስ : ብካዩ]
 ብካዮ : ለጴጥሮስ A; tr. D | 52 አመ] ወከመ A; ወአመ E; እስመ G | ተስእሎ]
 ተሰእሎ D; ተስእሎ M | ተንሢኦ] ተንሥኦ E; ተንሥኦ G*; ተንሢኦ G^c | እምነ :
 ምውታን] እምውታን AGN; እሙታነ E

ወይቤሎ ፡ ስምዖን ፡ ዘዮና ፡ ታፈቅረኒኑ ፡ ኢይቤኬ ፡ <ክ>መ ፡ ዮም ፡ በተ
መክሐ ፡ እወ ፡ አፈቅረከ ፡ አላ ፡ ይቤ ፡ አንተ ፡ ታኣምር ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወሶበ ፡
ርእየ ፡ እግዚእን ፡ ትሕትናሁ ፡ ሢሞ ፡ ወወሀቦ ፡ መራኅተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡
ሰማያት ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ረዐይኬ ፡ አባግዕየ ፡ አዛቲ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ዘረሰዮቶሙ ፡
ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ሰማያዊያን ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡
ይትመረገዝዋ ፡ እንተ ፡ ተዐርግ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ሉዓሌ ፡ እለ ፡ አጥረይዋ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡
ምስለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተዓረ(N: 90v)ኩ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚእን ፡
እስመ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘአዕበየ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ዮኀስር ፡ ወዘአትሐተ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ይከብር ፡
ይቤ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ አሐተ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ አባ ፡ መቃርዮስ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት ፡
መጽአ ፡ ሕሊና ፡ ዘይብል ፡ ምስለ ፡ እንጦንዮስኑ ፡ (G: 50r)እትዓረይ ፡
ወሚመ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አውኪን ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ይኄሊ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ስም(M: 85v)ዐ ፡
ቃለ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ማኅደርከሰ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ክልኤቱ ፡ አንስት ፡ በሰማያት ፡
እለ ፡ ሀለዋ ፡ በሰብሳብ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አምታቲሆን ፡ አንስቲያሆሙ ፡
ለኖሎተ ፡ አልህምት ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ስምዐ ፡ አረጋይ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ደንገፀ ፡
ወይቤ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አይቱኑ ፡ ሀለዋ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ኀሥሦን ፡ በምሥራቅ ፡
ወትረክቦን ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ሖረ ፡ አረጋይ ፡ በጉጉአ ፡ ወረከቦን ፡ ለክልኤሆን ፡

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53 ኢ.(ይቤኬ)] ወኢ. AE | <ክ>መ] ከመ ADEGMN | በተመክሐ] በተመክሐ D;
ኢይትሜካህ N | አፈቅረከ] ill.+ D | 54 ይቤ] ይቤሎ E | ታኣምር] ill. D; ታኣምር
GN | 55 ርእየ] ርእየከ G* | እግዚእን] om. DN; እግዚአብሔር G | ወሀቦ] ወሀቦ G;
ወሀቦሙ M | መንግሥተ] ዘመንግሥተ M | 56 ሰማያት] ill.+ D | ወይቤሎ] om. M |
ረዐይኬ] ill. D; om. M | አባግዕየ] ill. D; አማግዕዮ E; om. M | አ(ዛቲ)] ወ M |
57 ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ሰማያዊያን] ለመሬታውያን ፡ ሰማውያን ፡ ወለመዋትያን ፡ ሕያዋነ
G; ሰማያዊያን ፡ ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ወለመዋቲያን ፡ ሕያዋነ M | ለኩሎሙ] ለኩሉ AE;
om. M | ለ(እለ)] D; om. GN | 58 ተዐርግ] ታኣምር ፡ ወተዓርግ D | እለ] ወእለ
M | ዛቲ] +ትሕትና ፡ N | 59 ምስለ] ዘምስለ M | ተዓረኩ] ተዓርኩ A; ተዐርኩ DE |
ይቤ] ለሊሁ M | 60 እስመ] ይቤ M | ኩሉ] ኩሎ D; om. GM | ዘአዕበየ] om. M |
ርእሶ] om. M | ዮኀስር] ይኃስር E; ዮኃሥር G; om. M; ያሐስር N | ወ(ዘአትሐተ)]
om. M | ርእሶ] ርእሱ N* | ይከብር] +ወዘአዕበየ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ዮኀስር ፡ M | 61 ይቤ]
ወይቤ DMN | ዕለተ] +በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ AE | መቃርዮስ] መቃርስ DG; መቃሪስ N |
በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት] om. AE; አቡነ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸሎቱ G | 62 መጽአ ፡ መጽአ A;
መጽአ ፡ በውስተ ፡ N | ዘይብል] እንዘ ፡ ይብል AE | እንጦንዮስ] እንጦንስ AE | እትዓ
ረይ] ትትዓረይ D; እትዓረይ G | 63 ዘንተ] +መጽአ ፡ A; መጽአ ፡ መንፈስ E | ስምዐ]
ወስምዐ AE | 64 እንዘ ፡ ይብል] om. D; ዘይብል GM | ማኅደርከሰ] ማኅደርከ D;
ማኅደርሰ G; ሚኅደርከ N | በሰማያት] om. D; በሰማይት N* | 65 ሰብሳብ] ሰብሳብ E |
አምታቲሆን] እምታቲሆን ED | አንስቲያሆሙ] ወለአምታትይሆን A*; ወለአምታቲ
ይሆን A^c; ወአንስቲያሆሙ D; ወለአምታቲሆንስ E; om. N | 66 ለኖሎተ] ሎቶን A;
ቦሙ ፡ ብዙኃ E; ለኖሎት G; ለኖለተ M; ብዙኃ ፡ N | አልህምት] አልህምተ AE |
ወሶበ] om. E | ስምዐ] ወሰሚያ E | አረጋይ] አረጋዊ D; om. E | ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ]
om. AE | 67 እግዚአ] om. D | አይቱኑ] አይቱ DM | ሀለዋ] +እግዚአ ፡ D | ኀሥሦን]
ኀሥን G | 68 ወ(ትረክቦን)] om. A | ሖረ] om. D | አረጋይ] አረጋዊ DE | ጉጉአ]
ጉጉዒ A*; ጉጉአ N | ለክልኤሆን] ለ፪ ፡ አንስት D; ወለክልኤሆን E

- እንዘ : ያስተዳልዋ : ድራረ : ለአምታቲሆን : እስመ : ፩አቡሆን : ለክልኤ
 70 ሆን : ወአሐቲ : እሞን ። ወአምታቲሆንሂ : ከማሁ : ፩አቡሆሙ : ወአሐቲ :
 እሞሙ ። ወሶበ : ርእያኒ : (D: 67v)ይቤላኒ : እምአይቲ : እንግዳ :
 ወእቤሎን : እምገዳም : ወባሕቱ : ሀባኒ : ማኅደረ : ወወሀባኒ ። ወሶበ :
 አተዉ : አምታቲሆን : ሖርኩ : ኅቤሆ(A: 52v)ሙ : ወእቤሎሙ : ደቂቅየ :
 መጻእኩ : ኅቤክሙ : በትእዛዘ : እግዚአብሔር : ከመ : ትንግሩኒ : ግዕዘ
 75 ክሙ : እስመ : አምላኪየ : ፈነወኒ ። ወይቤሎኒ : ንሕነ : ሰማዕናሁ : ለው
 እቱ : (E: 154r)ቃል : እንዘ : ይትናገረከ ። ወለነኒ : ይቤለነ : ናሁ : ይመ
 ጽእ : ኅቤክሙ : ዐምደ : ብርሃን : ወኢትኅብእዎ : ግብ<ረ>ክሙ ። ወንቤሎ :
 መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘይመጽእ : ኅቤነ ። ወይቤ : መቃርዮስ : ለባሴ : ገዳም :
 በኩሩ : ለእንጦንዮስ : ቅዱስ : በልብሰተ : አስኬማ ። ወባሕቱ : አሐደ :
 80 ይከውን : ማኅደርክሙ : በመንግሥተ : ሰማያት ። ወዘንተ : ብሂሎ :
 ተሰወረ : እምኔነ ። ወናሁ : ንነግረከ : በከመ : ተአዘዝነ : እምኅዳጥ :
 ምግባራቲነ : ዘአልቦ : በቁኑዐ ። ወሶበ : ሰማዕኩ : ዘንተ : እምአፉሆሙ :
 ደንገዕኩ : ወእቤሎሙ : በሉኬ : ደቂቅየ : ወአኅዊየ : ወአኃትየ : ንግሩኒ :

69 እንዘ—ክልኤሆን] om. G | ድራረ] ድረራ A*; ደራረ D; ደራራ N | ለአምታቲሆን] አምታቲሆን D; ለአምታቲሆን N | ለክልኤሆን] om. AE; ለ□ ሆን N | 70 ወአሐቲ : እሞን] ወእሞን A; ወሞን E | አምታቲሆንሂ] ለአምታቲሆን AE; አምታቲሆን M; አምታቲሆሂ N | ከማሁ] om. D | ፩] om. G; ወ፩ N | አቡሆሙ] አቡሆን E | አሐቲ] om. DMN | 71 ሶበ] ሶበኒ N | ርእያኒ] ርእያን D; ርእያሁ M | ይቤላኒ] ይቤለኒ DEN; ይቤላ M | እንግዳ] እንግድዓ G | 72 እቤሎን] እሎን D; ይቤሎን E; ሶበ : እቤሎን G | እም(ገዳም)] እ N* | ሀባኒ] ሀበኒ M; ኅባኒ N | ወሀባኒ] ወሀንኒ D; ወሀበኒ N | 73 አተዉ] አተወ E; ርኢኩ M | አምታቲሆን] አምታሆን M | ኅቤሆሙ] +ወኅቤሆን : G; ኅቤ ሆን N | እቤሎሙ] ይቤሎሙ G; ይቤሎን N | ደቂቅየ] ኦደቂቅየ M; ill. N | 74 መጻእኩ] መጻኩ G | ኅቤክሙ] om. N | ግዕዘክሙ] ግዕዛክሙ EM; ግዕዝክሙ D; ግእዘክን N | ፈነወኒ] ፈንወኒ G | ወይቤሎኒ] ወይቤላኒ G; ወይቤልዎ M; om. N | ንሕነ] ወንሕኒ A; ንሕነሰ E; ንሕነኒ N | ሰማዕናሁ] ሰማዕኖ DN | ውእቱ] +ለውእቱ : N | 76 ቃል] M* | ይትናገረከ] ይብለከ : ወይትናገረከ AE | ይቤለነ] ይበለነ D | 77 ኅቤክሙ] ኅቤክን GN | ወኢትኅብእዎ] ወኢትኅብአሁ : ዘከነ A*; ወኢትኅብ አሁ : ዘኮነ A*; ወኢትሕብሉ D; +ዘኮነ : E; ወኢትኅብአሁ G; ኢትሕብአሁ N | ግብ<ረ>ክሙ] ግብረክን AG; ግዕዝክሙ D; እምግባርክሙ E; []ብርክሙ M; ግብ ርክን N | ንቤሎ] ንብሎ D; ill. M | 78 ይመጽእ] ይማጽ[እ] M | ይቤ] ይበለነ DGM | ለባሴ] ለባሴ E; ለበሴ N | 79 በኩሩ] በኩሉ A; በኩሉ : በኩሩ E | እንጦንዮስ] እንጦ ንስ E; እንጦዮስ G; እንጦንዮስ N | ቅዱስ] om. E | አሐደ] አ፩ A; አሐዱ E; ፩ N | 80 ይከውን] ይኩን DN | ማኅደርክሙ] ማኅደርክሙ N | መንግሥተ] om. AE | ወዘንተ] om. N | 81 ተሰወረ] ተሳወረ D | ንነግረከ] ነገርናከ E | ኅዳጥ] ኅደጥ D; ዳኅጥ G | 82 በቁኑዐ] ባቁኑዓ AN; ባቁኑዕ EG | ዘንተ : እምአፉሆሙ] እምኤሆሙ AE; እምአፉሆሙ : ዘንተ : ነገረ D; እምአፉሆን : ዘንተ : ነገረ N | 83 ወ(እቤሎሙ)] om. N | በሉ] በኩሉ AE | ደቂቅየ] ኦደቂቅየ D | አኅዊየ] አኃው M | ወአኃትየ] om. DN; ወአኅትየ E; ወአሐትየ [M] | ንግሩኒ] +ነበኩሉ : በዘ : ኮንክሙ : A; om. D; +በኩሉ : በዘ : ኮንክሙ : ሰማዕተ : E; +ኮንክሙ : G

እስማዕ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ምድራዊያን ፡ ዘኮንክሙ ፡ ኅዳርያነ ፡ ውስ(M: 86r)ተ ፡
 ሰማይ ፡ በምግባርክሙ ፡ ወይቤሉኒ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ (N: 91r)ኣኅው ፡ ወኣንስቲያነ ፡ 85
 ኣኃት ፡ ወእምአመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ኢበላዕነ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይዕርብ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡
 በሰናብት ፡ ወበበዓላተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሰርከ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ርኢነ ፡
 እንግዳ ፡ ንትፌሣሕ ፡ ወናስተፌሥሖ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ኢአተወ ፡ እንግዳ ፡
 ንነሥእ ፡ ፫ኅብስተ ፡ ወ፩ጻሕበ ፡ ሐሊብ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ አልብነ ፡ ሐሊብ ፡
 ጻሕበ ፡ ማይ ፡ ነጎሥሥ ፡ ነዳያነ ፡ ወንሁቦሙ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ኢረከብነ ፡ 90
 ነዳያነ ፡ ንጼውዕ ፡ ኣክልብተ ፡ ርኅባነ ፡ እለ ፡ ወለዳ ፡ ወንሁቦን ፡ ወነአቱ ፡
 ኅበ ፡ ድራርነ ፡ ወኢያርኩስነ ፡ ሥጋነ ፡ በዝሙት ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ኣንስቲያነ ፡
 ወእሎንሂ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ወኢያብጠልነ ፡ ጸሎታተ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡ ዘለለ ፡ ጊዜሁ ፡
 ወሰጊደ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ረከባ ፡ ትክቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ ፡ እኅታኒ ፡ ተኅድር ፡ ምስ
 ሌሃ ፡ ወኢትቀርብ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ብእሲሃ ፡ ወንሕነኒ ፡ ኣኅው ፡ ነጎድር ፡ ኅቡረ ፡ 95
 እንዘ ፡ ናኣኩቶ ፡ ለዘ ፡ ጸገወነ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ደቂቃ ፡ ለእን(A: 53r)ተ ፡ ትልህቅ ፡
 ይጠብዋ ፡ ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትንእስ ፡ ወደቂቃሂ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትንእስ ፡

84 እስማዕ] om. D; እስመ [M] | እንዘ] om. DGN | ምድራዊያን] +ወመሬታ
 ዊያን ፡ AE; እምድራዊያን DN; አምድራውያን G | ኅዳርያነ] ኃዳርያን AD | ውስተ]
 ምስለ AE | 85 ሰማይ] ሰማያዊያን AE; ሰማያት D | በምግባርክሙ] om. AE;
 በምግራክሙ D; በምግባረ ፡ ሠናይ [M] | ይቤሉኒ] ይቤሉ D | ወኣንስቲያነ] ወኣንስ
 ቲነ A; ወኣንቲያነ D; om. G; ወኣንስቲያነኒ M | 86 ኣኃት] ኣሐተ D[M]N; om. G |
 ወ(እምአመ)] om. ADN | ይዕርብ] ይርዕብ G | 87 በ(ሰናብት)] om. AE | ወበበዓላተ]
 ወዘእንበለ ፡ በዓላት A; በበዓለ D; ወበዓላተ E; ወወበበዓላት G*; ወበበዓላት G*N |
 እግዚእነ] እግዚእ D | ሰርከ] ሰርክ A; ill. M | ርኢነ] ረከብነ M | 88 ንትፌሣሕ]
 +ወንትሐሠይ ፡ G; ንተፌሣሕ N | ወናስተፌሥሖ] om. AE; ወናስተፌሥሖ ፡
 ለውእቱ ፡ እንግዳ D; ወናስተፌሥሖ N | ወለእመ] om. N | ኢ(አተወ)] om. D | 89 ፫]
 om. [M] | ፩] om. M | ሐሊብ] ሐሊብ AN; ወሐሊብ M | ወለእመ] +ኢረከብነ ፡
 ሐሊብ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ A; om. D; +ኢረከብነ ፡ ሐሊብ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ኢተረከብነ ፡
 ሐሊብ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ E | አልብነ] ዘአልብነ AE; om. D; አልቦ MN | ሐሊብ]
 ንሕነ AE; om. D; ሐሊብ G | 90 ጻሕበ ፡ ማይ] om. ADE; ማየ N | ነጎሥሥ]
 ወናጎሥሥ D; ነጎሥሥነ E; ወነኃሥሥ G; ወነጎሥሥ M | ነዳያነ ፡ ወንሁቦሙ]
 ነዳየ ፡ ወነሐቦሙ N | 91 ነዳያነ] ነዳየ N | ንጼውዕ] ንጸውዖሙ D | ንሁቦን] ንሆቦን G;
 ንሐቦን N | ነአቱ] ናኣቱ D | 92 ኅበ ፡ ድራርነ] ውስተ ፡ ድራር E | በዝሙት] om. AE;
 ለዝሙት G | 93 ከማሁ] ከማሆሙ N | ጸሎታተ] ጸሎተ M | ሰዓታት] ወሰዓታተ AEN;
 ሰዓታተ D | ዘለለ] ዘእንበለ A; ለለ D; ዘበበ E | 94 ሰጊደ] ሰጊዶ N | ወ(ለእመ)]
 om. A | ረከባ] ረከብነ D; ረከበኒ N | ትክቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ] ትክህቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ G; tr. M |
 እኅታኒ] አሐቲኒ ፡ ይእቲ A; ወአሐቲኒ ፡ ይእቲ E; አኅታ G; እኅታ N | ምስሌሃ]
 +ወኢተኃድር ፡ AE; ምስልህ N | ትቀርብ] ትቀረብ G | 95 ብእሲሃ] ምታ E | ንሕነኒ]
 ንኅነ A; ንሕነሂ G; ንሕነ N | ኣኅው] om. DN | ነጎድር] ናሐድር N | 96 ናኣኩቶ]
 ናኣኩቶ D; ነኣኩቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር E | ጸገወነ] ጸግወነ G | ደቂቃ] ወደቂቃ D;
 ወውሉዳ E | ትልህቅ] ትልሕቃ N | 97 ይጠብዋ] ያጠብው D | ጥባ] ጥበ AN; ill. D |
 ትንእስ—እንተ₂] om. E | ትንእስ] ትንዕሣ N | ደቂቃሂ] ደቂቃኒ A; ደቂቃ G;
 ለዘሂ N | ለእንተ] om. N | ትንእስ] ትንዕሥ ፡ ደቂቃ N

- ይጠብቅ ፡ ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትልህቅ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይልህቁ ፡ ደቂቆን ። (D: 68r;
E: 154v)ወአልቦ ፡ ጋእዘ ፡ ውስቴትነ ፡ ወኢተካፈልነሂ ፡ ንዋየነ ። ነዋኬ ፡
100 ከመዝ ፡ ሕይወትነ ። ወሶቦ ፡ ሰማዕኩ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ እምአፋሆሙ ፡ እቤ ፡ ወይ ፡
ሊተ ፡ ወአሌ ፡ ሊተ ፡ እስመ ፡ አጎለቁ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወትየ ፡ በጽ
ርዓት ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ አተውኩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማጎደርየ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እበኪ ። ርእየኬ ፡
ከመ ፡ ኢትትመክሑ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትድጎኑ ፡ እምዘ ፡ ረከቦ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ በዛቲ ፡
ሌሊት ። ይቤ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ወሰድዎ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ እምጎባ ፡ ቀያፋ ፡
105 ጎባ ፡ ሐና ፡ ወአብእዎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ውሳጤ ፡ ወይቤልዎ ፡ አምሐልናከ ፡
በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ሕያው ፡ ከመ ፡ ትንግረነ ፡ እመ ፡ አንተኑ ፡ (M: 86v)ክር
ስቶስ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ለቡሩክ ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ እወ ፡ አነ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ እምይእዜስ ፡
እነብ(N: 91v)ር ፡ በየማነ ፡ ጎይል ፡ ወእመጽእ ፡ በደመና ፡ ሰማይ ። ወሶቦ ፡
ሰምዐ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡ ሠጠጠ ፡ አልባሲሁ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ምንተ ፡
110 ትፈቅዱ ፡ ሰማዕተ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ሰማዕክሙ ፡ እምአፋሁ ። ወተንሥኡ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡
በምልአሙ ፡ ወዘበ(G: 50v)ጥዎ ፡ ወአንበርዎ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይጸብሕ ። ወረከቦቶ ፡
አሐቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ አንተሂ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ አንተ ፡
ወክሕደ ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ። አጴጥሮስ ፡ ኢወረደ ፡ ላዕሌከ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡
ወኢኩናት ፡ ወኢያግብኡከ ፡ ጎባ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወመኳንንት ። አላ ፡ ሶባ ፡

98 ይጠብቅ] ያጠብቅ N | ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ] ጥባ ፡ ለዘ A | ትልህቅ] ትንዕሣ N |
እስከ] እስመ N | ይልህቁ] ልቁ A* ; ልጎቁ A° | ደቂቆን] ደቂቆሙ AE; ill. D |
99 አልቦ] አልቦሙ A; አልቦነ E | ጋእዘ] ጋዕዝ G | ውስቴትነ] ውስቴቶን ADEM N |
ወኢተካፈልነሂ—ሕይወትነ] om. N | ኢተካፈልነሂ] ትካፍላነ D; ኢተካፈላነ E;
ኢተካፈልነ G | ንዋየነ] ንዋየ M | 100 ከመዝ] በዝ D; ዘከመዝ M | እምአፋ-
ሆሙ] እምኔሆሙ D; እምአፋሙ M; እምኔሆን N | እቤ] ወእቤ AE | ወይ ፡ ሊተ]
አሌሊተ AE; +ወይሊተ ፡ N | 101 ወአሌ ፡ ሊተ] አሌሊተ AEGN | እስመ] ወ D |
አጎለቁ] አሐለቁ N | መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወትየ] መዋዕልየ ፡ ወሕይወትየ N | ጽርዓት]
ጽራዓት D; ጽራዕት M | 102 ውስተ] ጎባ D | ማጎደርየ] ብሔርየ N | ርእየ] ርዩ G*;
ርኢ N | 103 ከመ] om. N | ትትመክሑ] ትመክሑ D | ትድጎኑ] ትድጎኑ AGN;
ትድጎኑ D | እምዘ ፡ ረከቦ] እምዘ ፡ ረከቦን N | 104 ይቤ] ወይቤ DM | ቀያፋ]
ሐና M | 105 ጎባ] om. G* | ሐና] ወሐና G; ቀያፋ M | ውሳጤ] ውሳጤት AE |
አምሐልናከ] እምሐልነከ D | 106 ትንግረነ] ትንግረኒ A | እመ] እስመ G* | አንተኑ]
አንተ[?] D; አንተሁ G; አንተ ፡ አንተ M | 107 እምይእዜስ] ወእምይእዜስ ፡
ወኢትሬእየኒ A* ; ወእምይእዜስ ፡ ወኢትሬእየኒ A°; ወእምይእዜስ ፡ ትሬእይዎ ፡
እንዘ E | 108 እነብር] አነብር DE | 109 ዘንተ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት] ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡
ዘንተ [D] | ሠጠጠ] ወሰጠጠ N | ወይቤ ፡ ምንተ] ይቤ ፡ መንተ N | 110 ትፈቅዱ]
+ሎቱ ፡ AE; ill. D | ሰማዕተ] ሰማዕት D | 111 በምልአሙ] በምልሆሙ AE; ቦም
ልሆሙ G | ይጸብሕ] ill. D; ይጸብሕ EG; ይበጽሕ N | ረከቦቶ] ርእየቶ DN |
112 እምኔሁ] ምስሌሁ D | አንተ] om. A; ill. D | 113 ወክሕደ] ወክህዳ A; ill. D |
ይቤላ] ይቤ GMN | ኢያአምሮ] ኢይአምሮ AE; ኢያአምሮ ፤ አንሰ G; ኢያአምሮ N |
አጴጥሮስ] +ናሁ ፡ AEN | ኢ(ወረደ)] ወኢ N | 114 ኢ(ኩናት)] om. GN | ሶባ]
om. AEM; ሰቦ D

ሐተተተክ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ትቤ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ፡ አኮኑ ፡ አንተ ፡ ሊቆሙ ፡ 115
 ለአርዳኢሁ ፡ ናሁኬ ፡ አሐደ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ወደቀ ፡ ኢትድግም ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ወይቤ ፡
 ወንጌላዊ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ዘይወርቅ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ዘይጸፍቦ ፡ ወይቤልዎ ፡
 ዘይነሥቶ ፡ ለምኸራብ ፡ ናሁ ፡ በ፱ብሩር ፡ ተሣየጥናክ ፡ ወባዕድኒ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡
 ወፅአት ፡ ካዕበ ፡ እንታክቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ወረከበቶ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ እንዘ ፡
 ይስሕን ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ አማን ፡ እብለክ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ አንተ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ እሱር ፡ 120
 ወይቤላ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ፡ ለዘ ፡ ት(E: 155r)ብሊ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ደገምክ ፡
 ክሒደ ፡ ኢይደልወከኬ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ትፈጽም ፡ ቃለክ ፡ ዘትቤ ፡ እሜጡ ፡
 ነፍሰየ ፡ በእንቲ(A: 53v)አክ ፡ ናሁኬ ፡ ኢመጠውክ ፡ እዝነክ ፡ ለጽፍዐት ፡
 ኅድግስ ፡ ነፍሰክ ፡ ትሜጡ ፡ ዘባነከኒ ፡ ኢመጠውክ ፡ ምንትኑ ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ 125
 ላዕሌክ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ ዘከመዝ ፡ ትደነግፅ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ገጸ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡
 ወለት ፡ ዘቆማ ፡ ኢየአክል ፡ ፪እመተ ፡ ተፈጸመ ፡ ዘትቤ ፡ ሐና ፡ እመ ፡
 ሳሙኤል ፡ ኢይትመካሕ ፡ ኅያል ፡ በኅይሉ ፡ ወኢይትመካሕ ፡ ባዕል ፡
 በብዕሉ ፡ ወኢይትመካሕ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ በጥበቡ ፡ ወዘሰ ፡ (M: 87r)ይትሜካሕ ፡

115 ሐተተተክ] ሀተተክ A; ሐተተክ DG; ተሐተተክ E; ሐተተክ G; om. M | አሐቲ] om. AE | ወለት] om. A; +ሐተተክ ፡ M | ትቤ] ወትቤ AEM | ያአምሮ] ይአምሮ A; ያምሮ G; የአምሮ N | አኮኑ] አኮሁ AMN | አንተ ፡ ሊቆሙ] tr. A | 116 ናሁኬ] ወናሁኬ E | አሐደ] ፩ AN; አሕያ E; አሐተ GM | ወደቀ] ወድቀ AG | ኢትድግም] ወኢትድግም ADE | ካዕበ] ካዕበ M | ወ(ይቤ)] om. AGN | 117 ወቦ ፡ ዘይወርቅ] ቦዘይወርቁ D; ቦዘይወርቅ E; ቦዘይዌርቅ G; ወቦ ፡ ዘይዌርቅ M; ወቦበ ፡ ቦዘይወርቅ ፡ ምራቀ ፡ ርኩስ N | ይጸፍቦ] ጸፍኦ A; +ገጹ ፡ D | ይቤልዎ] ይቤሎ E; ቦ ፡ ዘይቤልዎ G | 118 ዘይነሥቶ ፡ ለምኸራብ] om. DN | ናሁ] ወናሁ AE; om. D | በ(፱ብሩር)] om. A; ለ E | ፱] om. DN | ተሣየጥናክ] +ናሁ ፡ D; ተሣየጥናሁ M | ባዕድኒ] ባዕድኒ AMN | ብዙኅ] ብዙኃ ፡ ይጸርፉ ፡ ላዕሌሁ A; ብዙኃ D; ብዙኃ ፡ ይጸርፉ ፡ ላዕሌሁ E; ብዙኅ G | 119 ወፅአት] ወወጽአት G; ወምጽአት M | እንታክቲ] እንታክቲት D | 120 ይስሕን] የኃዝን A; ይሐዝን E | ወትቤሎ] om. N | አማን] አማንየ GN | እብለክ] እብለ E; እብለኬ ፡ ወትቤሎ N | ዝንቱ] ውእቱ DM | እሱር] እሁር A* | 121 ያአምሮ] ያምሮ G; የአምሮ N | ለዘ ፡ ትብሊ] ትብልኑ AE; ለዘ ፡ ትቤሊ N | ናሁ] ናሁኬ DG | 122 ክሒደ] ክሐድክ D; ከሂደ GN | ኢይደልወከኬ] ይደልወከኬ G; ይደልወክ M; ይደልወከኬ N | ትፈጽም] ፈጽም A; ፈጺሞ E; ትፈጽም N | ቃለክ] ቃለ D | 123 (ናሁ)ኬ] om. EM | ኢመጠውክ] ኢመጠክ G; አመጠውክ M | እዝነክ] እዝነክ D | 124 ነፍሰክ] ነፍሰክ D | ትሜጡ] ትሜጡ A*; ኢትመጡ G | ዘባነከኒ] ዘባነከሂ D; እዝነከኒ E; ዘባነከሂ M | መጠውክ] ትሜጡ AE; መጠክ G; +ለዝብጠት M; ትሜጡውክ N | ምንትኑ] ምንቱ A; ምንት D | 125 ዘከመዝ] ከመዝ AE | ትደነግፅ] ድንጋሃ D; ትነግፅ G* | እምቅድመ] ቅድመ M; እመቀድመ N | ዛቲ] om. AE | 126 ዘቆማ] ill. M | ኢየአክል] om. A; ኢይአክል D; ኢያአክል E; ኢየአክል G | ፪እመተ] ፪እመት AD; ፪ቱ ፡ በእመት G; ፪ ፡ እመታ M | ሐና] ናሁ A; +ነቢይት ፡ N | 127 ይትመካሕ] ይትሜካህ A; ይትሜካሕ D; ይትሜከሕ E; ይትሜሕ N | ወኢይትመካሕ] ኢይትሜካህ A; om. D; ኢይትሜከሕ E; ወኢይትሜከሕ M; ወእትሜከሕ N | ባዕል] om. D; ብዕል G | 128 በብዕሉ] om. D | ወኢይትመካሕ] ወይትሜካህ A*; ወኢይትሜካህ A^c; ወኢይትሜካሕ DEM; ኢይትመካሕ N | ወ(ዘሰ)] om. E

- በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ለይትመካሕ ፡ ርቱዕኬ ፡ ኢንትመካሕ ፡ አላ ፡ ንበል ፡
 130 ኢታብአነ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንሱት ፡ (D: 68v)ወ(N: 92r)ይቤ ፡
 ወንጌላዊ ፡ ሥልሰመ ፡ ተጠየቀቶ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ወአስተጋብአት ፡ አበ
 ዊሃ ፡ ወካልአነኒ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ተአኅዘቶ ፡ ርግምት ፡ ወለት ፡ ዘመደ ፡ ሄሮ
 ድያዳ ፡ እስመ ፡ አእመረቶ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይደነግፅ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ አማን ፡ እብለከ ፡
 እምኔሁ ፡ አንተ ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ እምእለ ፡ ምስሌሃ ፡
 135 አማንዩ ፡ እብለከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ርኢኩከ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ገነት ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ለዝ ፡
 ሰዓሬ ፡ ሰንበት ፡ እስመ ፡ ርእዮ ፡ ዝብእሲ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈወሶ ፡
 ለመፃኅዕ ፡ በሰንበት ፡ ወአኅዘ ፡ ይትረገም ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ፡
 ለእግዚእነ ፡ ወሶቤሃ ፡ ነቀወ ፡ ዶርሆ ፡ ወተዘከረ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ወበከየ ፡
 መሪሪ ፡ ወተመይጦ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወርእዮ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይበኪ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡
 140 ኢትፍራህ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ሰረይኩ ፡ ለከ ፡ ዝኪ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ አኮ ፡ እምልብከ ፡
 አላ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ክብረ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይትሐሰው ፡ እስመ ፡ እቤለከ ፡
 ሥልሰ ፡ ትክሕደኒ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ተዘኪረከ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ለእመቦ ፡ ዘአበሰ ፡
 ወመጽአ ፡ ኅቤከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይንሣእ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ ኢትክልአ ፡ ስርየተ ፡ እስከ ፡
 145 ፪ ፡ በበ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ ዝኪ ፡ ፬፻፺ወ፭ ፡ (E: 155v)አማኅበረ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስ
 ቲያን ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ ኅቤክሙ ፡ ኃጥእ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ ኢትክልእዎ ፡ ስም

129 ይትመካሕ] ይትሜካህ A; ይትሜካሕ DN; ይትሜካሕ EM | ርቱዕኬ] om. D |
 ኢንትመካሕ] om. D; ኢንትሜካሕ E; ኢንሜካሕ N | ንበል] +አቡነ ፡ ዘበሰማያት ፡ E;
 +አቡነ ፡ N | 130 ኢታብአነ] ወኢታብአነ N | እግዚአ] om. GN; እግዚአ M |
 መንሱት] መናት E; +እግዚአ ፡ [N] | ወ(ይቤ)] om. G | 131 (ሥልሰ)መ] om. AEDG |
 ወለት] om. D | ወ(አስተጋብአት)] om. AE | አበዊሃ] እምአኃዊሃ A; አበዊሂ D;
 እምአኅዊሃ E; አእበሊሃ M | 132 ካልአነኒ] ካልአነሂ A; ካልአነሂ E; ካልአኒ N |
 ተአኅዘቶ] ወተአኃዘቶ A; ወአኃዘቶ D; ወተአሐዘቶ E | ወለት] ወለተ DM; om. GN |
 ዘመደ] om. DM; ዘማዱ(?) N | ሄሮድያዳ] ሄሮድያድ G; ለሄሮድያዳ N | 133 አማን]
 አማንዩ D[N] | እብለከ] +ከመ ፡ EN; om. M | 134 እምኔሁ] እመኔሁ N | ይቤላ]
 ይቤ G | ይቤሎ] ይቤ AE | አሐዱ] ፩እምኔሁ A; ፩ EGMN | እለ] እሉ N | ምስሌሃ]
 ምስልሃ N | 135 አማንዩ] አማን M; ሰማን N | ከመ] om. DN | ታሕተ] በታሕተ D |
 ምስሌሁ] om. N | 136 ሰዓሬ] ሰዐረ A | ሰንበት] ሰንበተ A | እስመ] om. M | ዝ(ብእሲ)]
 ለዝ DN; ዝንቱ M | ፈወሶ] ፈወሶ G | 137 አኅዘ] ኅዘ M | ይትረገም ፡ ጴጥሮስ]
 ይትረገም DN; tr. M | ኢያአምሮ] ኢይአምሮ A; ያእምሮ E; ኢያአምሮ G |
 138 እግዚእነ] እግዚነ M | ተዘከረ] ተዘከር A*; ተከረ N | ወ(በከየ)] om. D | 139 ይበኪ]
 ይቤኪ N | 140 ኢትፍራህ ፡ አጴጥሮስ] tr. D | ዝኪ] አኮ AE; ዠ D; ዝኒ G | አኮ]
 om. AE; አምልኮ G | እምልብከ] እምብከ D; እብልብከ E; ዘእምልብከ N | 141 ከመ]
 ክመ M | ይትሐሰው] ይትሐው A; ይትሐሰዉ DE; ይትሔሰዉ G; ትሐሰዉ N |
 142 ዘንተ ፡ ተዘኪረከ] ተዘከርኪ AE; ዘንተ ፡ ተዘከረከ M* | አጴጥሮስ] om. DN |
 ዘአበሰ ፡ ወመጽአ] አበሰ ፡ ወመጽአ D; ዘመጽአ ፡ ዘአበሰ E | 143 ኅቤከ] om. DEN |
 ይንሣእ] ይነስሕ DM | ትክልአ] ትክለእ D; ትክል G* | ስርየተ] ስራየተ E | 144 ፬፻፺ወ፭]
 ፴፻፺ወ፭ A; ፬፻፺ M; ፬፻ወ፺ N | አማኅበረ] ማኅበረ D; እማኅበረ N | 145 ይመጽእ]
 ይመጽኡ D | ኃጥእ] ኃጥአን D; ኅጥአን E; om. M; ኅጥዕ N | ትክልእዎ] +ንስሐ ፡
 DEN

ዕየ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ዘኅዱር : ምስሌክሙ : ወላዕለ : ኩልክሙ : ከመ :
 አልቦ : ኅጢአት : ዘይኔይላ : ለንስሐ ። ስብሐት : ለመርዓዊሃ : ለዘ :
 ወሀባ : ኅይለ ። ወእለስ : አበዩ : ንስሐ : በዝየ : (A: 54r)በኅብስት : ወማይ :
 ወበዔው : ወበአሕማላት : እንዘ : ያንፈሰፍስ : ሎሙ : ነፋስ : በህየ :
 ይሁብዎሙ : ንስሐ : ካህናተ : ገሃነም : እሉ : እሙንቱ : ዕፅያተ : ገሃነም : 150
 እለ : ኢይነውሙ : እለ : የዐብዩ : ፈድፋድ : (M: 87v)እምአዕዋመ :
 ዝዓለም ። ወአትማኒሃ : የዐብዩ : አርእስቲሆሙ : እምአድባረ : ዝዓለም ።
 ወነጌያት : እለ : ቆሞሙ : ይበጽሕ : እስከ : ደመናት : ወጽንጽንያ :
 ገሃነም : ወትንንያሃ : የዐብዩ : እምአዕዋፈ : ዝዓለም : (N: 92v)ወካልአንሂ : 155
 እለ : አልቦሙ : ፕልቄ : በከመ : ይቤ : ነቢይ : ዛቲ : ባሕር : ዐባይ :
 ወረሐብ : ህየ : ዘይትሐወስ : ዘአልቦ : ፕልቄ ። ባሕርስ : ይእቲ : ገሃነም :
 ዘድልው : መዋግዲሃ : ለአስጥም : ጊጉያን ። በከመ : ይቤ : ሄኖክ : አልቦ :
 ሰማይ : ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ : ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ : አላ : ባሕረ : እሳት :
 ይእቲ : ጸናፊት : እምኸሉ : ፍጥረ(G: 51r)ት : ወየዐውዳ : ጽልመት :
 ፍጹም : ወእሳትኒ : አኮ : ዘያንበለብል : ላዕ(D: 69r)ለ : ከመ : እሳተ : 160
 ዝዓለም : አላ : ያንበለብል : ታሕተ ። ወቦ : በውስቲታ : ከመ : እቶን :

146 ምስሌክሙ] ላዕሌክሙ DN; om. GM | ወ(ላዕለ) om. GM | ኩልክሙ] ኸሎሙ D | 147 ኅጢአት] om. D; ኅጢአተ N | ይኔይላ] ይኔይሎ A; ይሄይሎ E | ንስሐ] +ለከ : AE | መርዓዊሃ] መዓርጊሃ E | 148 ወሀባ] ወሀበአ[?] D; ወሀበ GN | ወእለስ] አመሰ D; እለስኬ G; እመሰ N | 149 ወበዔው] ወዔው AEM; በዔው D | አሕማላት] አኅማላት A; ኃይላት D; ሐምለት E; አሕማላት M | ያንፈሰፍስ] ያስተና ፍስ AE; ይነፍስ N | ሎሙ] ቦሙ AE | ነፋስ : በህየ] ነፍስ : በህየ A; tr. D; አኅማላት : በህየ M | 150 ይሁብዎሙ] ይሁብዎ ADE | ካህናተ] ካህናት A; ካናተ N | እሉ—ገሃነም] om. M | እሙንቱ] om. AE | ዕፅያተ] ጽንፀያተ D | 151 ይነውሙ] ይነውሙ N | እለ] አላ G | የዐብዩ] ያዐቢዩ D; ያዐብዩ M | ፈድፋድ] om. AE | አዕዋመ : ዝ] አዕ : ዝንቱ A*; አዕዋመ : ዝንቱ A*; አእዋመ : ዝንቱ E; አመ : ዝ N | 152 አትማኒሃ] አትናማሂ AE; አዕዋፈሃ N | የዐብዩ] ያዓቢ D; ያዐብዩ M | አድባረ : ዝ] አባረ : ዝንቱ A; አድባረ : ዝንቱ EN | 153 ወነጌያት] ወነቢያት A; ወነገያተ D; ወትኒንያ : ገሀነም M; om. N | ቆሞሙ : ይበጽሕ] ቆሞሙ : ወይበጽሐ A; tr. G; ቆሙሙ : ይበጽሕ M* | እስከ] ኅበ GN | ጽንጽንያ] ጽንጽያተ D; ጽንጽያሃ E; ፅንፅ ንያተ N | 154 ገሃነም] om. AE | ትንንያሃ] ill. D; ትኒንሃ M | አዕዋፈ] አእዋፍ A[D]; አዕፈ G* | ዝዓለም] ዝንቱ : ዓለም AE | ካልአን] ካልአ N | 155 ፕልቄ] ጉልቁ G | 156 ዘ(ይትሐወስ)] om. GN | ፕልቄ] ፕልቆ A; ጉልቁ G | ባሕርስ] ወባሕቲስ D; ባሕርስኬ M | ይእቲ] ዘይቤ : ዓለም : ውእቱ AE; ይእቲኬ G | 157 ጊጉያን] ill. D; ጊጉያን N | 158 ሰማይ] ill. D; ሰማየ EM | ላዕሌሃ] ዲቤሃ D | ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ] ወኢምድር : በታሕቲሃ AE; om. D | ባሕረ] ill. D; ባሕር E | 159 ይእቲ] ውእቱ AE | ጸናፊት] ጸናፍት A; ill. D; ወጸናፊት G; ጸናፊ : ጽልመት M; ጽንፈሃ N | ወየዐውዳ] ወየዓውዳ AG; ill. D; ወያሐውዳ E; ዘየዓውዳ N | 160 ፍጹም] ill. D; ፍጹም GM | እሳትኒ] እሳታኒ DM | ከመ] ወከመ AE | 161 ያንበለብል] ያንበለቢል D | (ወ)ቦ] om. D | በውስቲታ] በውስቲቱ A*; በውስቲቱ A*EG; ውስ ቲታ D; በውስቲተ M | ከመ] om. DN

- ወከመ : ቅጽርኒ : ወከመ : ዐዘቅትኒ : ወከመ : ግብኒ : ወከመ : ጸላዕትኒ :
 ወከመ : ንቅዐታትኒ : ወከመ : አድባርኒ : ዐበይት : ወከመ : አውግርኒ :
 ንኡሳት : ወከመ : አጽዳፍኒ : ወከመ : ደደክ : ወውስቴቱ : ቍረ : እሳት :
 165 ዘየአኪ : እምዋዕይ : ወከመ : (E: 156r)መርቄሂ : ወህየ : ዋዕይ ። ወከመ :
 አፍላግ : ዐበይት : ፈድፋደ : እምአፍላግ : ዝዓለም : ወህየ : ይውሕዝ :
 ፍሕም : ዕራቁ ። ወ<ይከልእ> : ፈለገ : ነድ : ዕራቁ ። ወዐ : ፈለግ :
 ዘይውሕዝ : ቀለምጽጽ : ዕራቁ ። ወዐ : ፈለግ : ዘይውሕዝ : ውስቴቱ :
 170 ጢስ : ጽልመት : ዘጺአቱ : የአኪ : እሞት ። ወዐ : ፈለግ : ዘይውሕዝ :
 ውስቴቱ : አስሐቲያ ። ወዐ : ፈለግ : ዘእምኔሁ : ይውሕዝ : ሕምዘ :
 እሳት ። ወውስተ : አድባርሃ : ወአውግሪሃ : አራዊት : ወአክይስት : ወአቃ
 ርብት : እለ : አልዐሙ : ፕልቄ : እንዘ : ይስእሉ : ጎበ : እግዚአብሔር :
 ሲሳየሙ : ወለእመ : (M: 88r)ረከቡ : አሐደ : ሰብአ : ይገ(A: 54v)ብሩ :
 ባእስ : በበሊዖቱ : ወከመ : ቅጽበት : ይትፈአምዎ : ወየሐውሩ ። እስመ :
 175 አስናኒሆሙ : ኩሉ : አስይፍት : ወኩያንው ። ወሶቤሃ : ከመ : ቅጽበት :
 የሐዩ : ውእቱ : ብእሲ : ዘተበልዐ ። ወይመጽኡ : ካልአን : ወይበልዕዎ :

162 ወ(ከመ)] om. N* | ዐዘቅትኒ] ዐዘቅት E | ወከመ—ጸላዕትኒ] om. M | ከመ]
 om. N | ጸላዕት] ጸልዓት D | 163 ንቅዐታት] ንቀዓት D; ንቅዓት N | ዐበይት] ዐቢ
 ያን E | አውግር] አድባር D | 164 ንኡሳት] ንኡሳን DM; ንኡሳነ E | ወከመ] om. D |
 አጽዳፍኒ] አፅዳፍኒ : ወከመ : አውግርኒ A; om. D; +ወከመ : አውግርኒ : E; አጽ
 ዳፍ GM | ደደክ] ደደክኒ N | ወውስቴቱ] ውስቴቱ AE; ወውስቴታ DN; ዘውስ
 ቴቱ GM | ቍረ] +አስሐቲያ : N | 165 የአኪ] ያአኪ D | እምዋዕይ] ዋዕዩ A; እምዋ
 ዕዩ E | (መርቄሂ] om. DN | ወህየ] om. A*; ህየ A*E; ወዐ M | ዋዕይ]+ህየ : M;
 ዋዒ N | ወ(ከመ)] om. D | 166 አፍላግ] አፍላግኒ AE | ፈድፋደ] አፈድፈደ N |
 ዝ(ዓለም)] ዝንቱ : AEN | 167 ፍሕም] om. G | ወ<ይከልእ>—ዕራቁ] om. ADEN |
 <ይከልእ>] ካልኡሂ G; ካልእሂ M | ፈለገ] ፈለግ M | ወዐ—ዕራቁ] om. DEN |
 (ወ)ቦ] ካልኡሂ M | 168 ዘይውሕዝ] om. M | ቀለምጽጽ] ቀለምጽጸት A; ቀለም
 ጸጽ G | ይውሕዝ] ይውዝ A*; ይሕዝ N | ውስቴቱ] om. AEG; ውስቴታ N |
 169 ጢስ] ጢስ G | ጽልመት] እሳት : ዘጽልመት AE | ዘጺአቱ] ወጺዓቱ AG; ወፂ
 አቱ E | የአኪ] ያአኪ N | እሞት] ሞት G | ዘይውሕዝ—ፈለግ] om. E | 170 ውስቴቱ]
 om. G; እምውስቴቱ M | ወዐ : ፈለግ] ወበአፍላግ N | ዘእምኔሁ] om. M; ዘእምን
 ሃንም N | ይውሕዝ] ዘይውዝ D; ዘይውሕዝ G; ዘይውሕዝ : እምኔሁ : M; ዘውሕ N |
 ሕምዘ] om. D | 171 ውስተ] ሶ : ፈለግ : ወውስተ A; ሶ : ፈለግ : ወውስቴቱ E;
 ውስቴታ N | አድባርሃ : ወአውግሪሃ] አውግሪሃ : ወአድባርሃ E | አራዊት] አራዋት D |
 172 ፕልቄ] ጎልቀ G | እንዘ] እለ DN | 173 ሰብአ] ብእሲ [D] | ይገብሩ] ዘይ
 ገብሩ A; ይወግሩ E | 174 ባእስ] om. AE; ባዕለ G | በበሊዖቱ] በእሳት AE | ቅጽበት]
 +ዓይን : A; ዐይን : ቅጽበት : ይውሕጥዎ E | ይትፈአምዎ] ይትወፍዎ : ለበሊዖተ A;
 ill. D; ወይትወከፍዎ : ለበሊዖቱ E; ይትፈዓምዎ G; ይተፍእዎ N | 175 አስናኒሆሙ]
 አስናናቲሆሙኒ A; አስናኒሆሙኒ E | ኩሉ] እሳት A; ከመ D; ዘእሳት E; om. M |
 ኩያንው] ኩናት AEN; ill. D; ኩንያው G | ቅጽበት] ill. D; ቅጽቦ G | 176 ካልአን]
 ill. D; ካልአነ E | ይበልዕዎ] ill. D; ይቤልዎ G*; ይቤልዕዎ G^c

ወካዕበ : የሐዩ ። ዝኬ : ንብረቶሙ : ለቀታልያን ። ወካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይ
ትወደዩ : ውስ(N: 93r)ተ : እቶን ። ወቦ : ውስተ : ዐዘቅት : ወቦ : ውስተ :
ባሕር : ወቦ : ውስተ : አፍላግ : ወኸሎሙ : እሳት : ፍጹም ። ቦእስከ :
ጽፍሩ : ዘይትወደይ : ሀሎ : ወቦ : እስከ : ሰኩናሁ : ወቦ : እስከ :
ብረኪሁ : ወቦ : እስከ : ሐቋሁ : ወቦ : እስከ : ክሳዱ ። ወቦ : ዘይትወሐጥ :
ኸለንታሁ : ወቦ : ዘይወርድ : ውስተ : ማዕምቅት : መትሕተ : ታሕቲት :
ወበህየ : ይበልዕዎ : ሐርገጸት : ወዓሣተ : እሳት ። ወዘሰ : ኢይሁብ : ስብ
ሐተ : ለፈጣሪሁ : ይበውእ : ውስተ : አፋሁ : ቈርናንዓተ : እሳት ። ወገሃነም
ሰኬ : ዐባይ : ወግርምት : ባሕር : ይእቲ : ዘርኅበታ : የዐቢ : እምዝ :
ዓለም : ወዕመቃ : የዐቢ : እምድር : እስከ : ሰማይ : ወድምፃ : የዐቢ : እም
ነጉድጓደ : ዝባለም : ወጥሕረታ : እመብረቅ ። ጥዩቅኬ : አል(E: 156v)ቦ :
ሰማይ : ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ : ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ : ከመ : ሰማይ :
ወምድር : ለሊሃ : ዛቲኬ : ዐባይ : ዘታገምር : ዘንተ : ኸሎ : ወታነፍሶ :

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177 ወካዕበ : የሐዩ] ill. D; ካዕበ : ወየሐዩ G | ካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይትወደዩ] ለካልኣንሰ :
ቦዘይትወደዩ D; ካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይትወደዩ G; ካልኣንሰቦ : ዘይትወደዩ M | 178 ውስተ]
ውስቴቱ AE | እቶን] ለእቶን AE; እሳት D | ቦ : ውስተ] ቦ : ኅበ AE; ወውስተ D;
ወበውስተ N | ውስተ] ኅበ AE | 179 ወኸሎሙ] ወኸሎ AE; ወኸሎሙ N | ፍጹም]
ፍጹም M | ቦእስከ] ወቦ : እስከ DGN | 180 ጽፍሩ] እግሩ M | ዘይትወደይ : ሀሎ]
om. AE | ሰኩናሁ] ዘይትወደይ A; ይትወደይ E | ወቦ : እስከ : ብረኪሁ] om. AE |
181 ክሳዱ] [?]ብዱ N | ዘይትወሐጥ] እስከ : ይትወሐጥ N | 182 ኸለንታሁ] ኸል
ንታሁ ADEN | ማዕምቅት] ማእምቅተ A; ማዕምቅ D; ማዕምቀት E; ማዓምቅት M;
ማዕምቅተ N | መትሕተ] ወታሕተ ADE | ታሕቲት] ታሕቲተ N | 183 ወበህየ :
ይበልዕዎ] om. AE | ሐርገጸት] ሐራግጽ A; ሐራግዕ E; አራግዕት G; ሐራግጽት M;
ሐርገጸት N | ዓሣተ] ዓሣት AEN; አክይስተ D | እሳት] om. AE | (ወ)ዘሰ] om. N |
ኢይሁብ] ይሁብ D; ኢይሁ M; ኢይሁቡ N | ስብሐተ] ስብሐት DG | 184 ፈጣሪሁ]
ፈጣሪ A; ፈጠሪሆሙ N | ይበውእ] ኢይበውኡ D; ይበውኡ M | ውስተ : አፋሁ]
om. E; ውስተ : አፋ M | ቈርናንዓተ] ቈርናዕነዓት D; ቊርናነኣተ E; ቈርናነዓት G;
ቈርናንዓት N | ገሃነምሰኬ] ገጋምኬ A*; ገጋምሰኬ A*; ገሃነምሰ D; ገህነምኬ M;
ገሃነምኬ N | 185 ዐባይ] ዐቢይ A; ዓቢይ D | ግርምት] ግርምተ D | ይእቲ] om. M |
ዘርኅበታ] ዘርኅባ AE; ርሕባ D; ዘርኅበተ G*; ርህባታ N | የዐቢ] ዐቢይ A*;
የዐቢይ A*; የዓኪ G | እምዝ] እምዝንቱ AE | 186 ዕመቃ] እመቃ A | እምድር]
om. E; እምሰማይ N | እስከ : ሰማይ] ወምድር N | የዐቢ] ያዓቢ N | እምነጉድጓደ :
ዝ] እምነጉድጓደ : ክረምት : ዘዘናመ : ዝ A; እምነጉድጓደ : ዘዘ D; እምነጉድጓደ :
ክረምት : ዘዘናመ : ዝ E; እምነ : ነጉድጓደ : ዝ G; እምነጉድጓደዝ; እምነጓዳጓዳ :
ዝ N | 187 ጥሕረታ] ጽሕርታ A; ጽህርታ E | እመብረቅ] እምነ : መባርቅት D;
የዐቢ : እመብረቅ E; +ከማሁ : M | ጥዩቅ] ጥዩቀ MN | 188 ሰማይ] ሰማየ AM;
om. E | ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ] om. AE; ዘይጼልል : መልዕልቴሃ M; ዘይጼልል :
ሰማይ : ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ N | ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ] ወምድረ : በታሕቲሃ : ወኢ
ሰማየ : በላዕሌሃ : ዘይጼልል A; ምድር : በታሕቲሃ : ወኢሰማየ : በላዕሌሃ : ዘይጼ
ልል E | ከመ—ለሊሃ] ከመ : ዝንቱ : ሰማይ AE; om. M | 189 ዐባይ] ዓቢይ N |
ዘታገምር : ዘንተ : ኸሎ] om. AE; ዘንተ : ኸሎ : ዘታገምር D; ዘተገምር :
ኸሎ M | ታነፍሶ] ታነፍሶ D; ነፍሰ G; ተነፍሶ M

- 190 እመዓቱ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ስብሐት ። እስመ ፡ አመቱ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወገባሪተ ፡
ፈቃዱ ፡ ወማሕጐሊቱ ፡ ለዲያብሎ(D: 69v)ስ ፡ መምህራ ፡ ለዝ ፡ ኩሉ ፡
መንሱት ። ይመስለከኑ ፡ ኦብእሲ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወአጋንንት ፡ ባሕቲቶሙ ፡
ዘይትወደዩ ፡ ሚመጠነ ፡ ሀለው ፡ ፍጥረታት ፡ ካልአን ፡ እለ ፡ ቦሙ ፡
ሥጋሂ ፡ ወዘእንበለ ፡ ሥጋሂ ። ወሶበ ፡ ተናገርነ ፡ በእንቲአሆሙ ፡ ይነውጎ ፡
195 ነገ(M: 88v)C ። ይመስለከኑ ፡ ኦብእሲ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ትሰምዕ ፡ እንዝ ፡ ይብል ፡
መጽሐፍ ፡ እለ ፡ ኢነስሑ ፡ በዝየ ፡ በህየ ፡ ይኔስሑ ። ይመስለከኑ ፡
በ፪ሱባዔ ፡ አው ፡ በ፫ሱባዔ ፡ ዘየኅልቅ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ በህየ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ከማሁ ፡
ንስሐ ፡ በህየ ፡ ፲፫ዓመት ፡ ለእለ ፡ (N: 93v)ኢኮኑ ፡ ውፁኣነ ፡ እመርዔተ ፡
ክርስቶስ ፡ በሕይወቶሙ ። ወዓዲቦ ፡ ለዘይፈ(A: 55r)ደፍዶ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ለዘ
200 ይውጎዶ ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእለስ ፡ ዘበሕግ ፡ አበሳሆሙ ፡
ዘበሕግ ፡ ኩነኔሆሙ ፡ ወእለስ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ሕግ ፡ አበሳሆሙ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡
ሕግ ፡ ኩነኔሆሙ ። ወካልአንስ ፡ እምክርስቲያን ፡ እለ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ውፁኣነ ፡
በምግባራቲሆሙ ፡ እምዝ ፡ ዓለም ፡ እመርዔተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ንጹሓን ፡
ወኮኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ አረሚ ፡ በእበዶሙ ፡ በህየኒ ፡ ይከውኑ ፡ ውፁኣነ ፡ እምኩነኔ ፡

190 እመዓቱ] +ዘታገምር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ A; እምዓቱ D; እምዐቱ E; om. M | ስብሐት]
+ዘታገምር ፡ ኩሎ E; +እመዐቱ M | አመቱ] መዓቱ DN; መዐቱ E | ገባሪተ] ገበሪተ N |
191 ፈቃዱ] +ይእቲ ፡ E | ማሕጐሊቱ ፡ ለዲያብሎስ] ማኅጐሊተ ፡ ዲያብሎስ AEN |
መምህራ] መምህር AE; መምህሩ G; መመምሕራ N | ለዝ ፡ ኩሉ] ለኩሉ D; ለሳቲ G |
192 ይመስለከኑ] ይምስለከኑ E; ወይመስለከኑ N | ባሕቲቶሙ ፡ ዘይትወደዩ] ዘይት
ወደዩ ፡ ባሕቲቶሙ ፡ አላ DN; +ውስተ ፡ ገህነም ፡ M | 193 ሚመጠነ] ምመጠነ A*;
ሚመጠን DG | ሀለው] +እስፍንቱ ፡ D; ሀለዉ M; +ወእስፍንቱ ፡ N | ፍጥረታት]
ፍጥረታት N | ካልአን] ካልአንስ AE | እለ] om. D | ቦሙ] አልቦሙ DM; በውስተ N |
194 ሥጋሂ] ሥጋ AEM | ወዘእንበለ ፡ ሥጋሂ] ወዘእንበለስ ፡ ሥጋሂ AE; ወዘእንበለ ፡
ሥጋ D; om. M | ተናገርነ] ተናገር D | በእንቲአሆሙ] በእንቲሆሙ M | ይነውጎ]
ይውጎዝ A; ይበዝሕ E | 195 ኦብእሲ] ኦብሲ A; እሰብእ N | ሶበ] om. D | ትሰምዕ]
ትሰማዕ D; ትምእ N* | 196 እለ] om. N | ኢነስሑ ፡ በዝየ] ይነስሑ ፡ በበዝየ G |
በህየ] om. DE | ይኔስሑ] ይትኔስሑ AE; የሀብዎሙ ፡ ንስሐ D; ይነስሑ G; ይሑብ
ዎሙ ፡ ንስሐ N | ይመስለከኑ] om. G; +ኦብእሲ ፡ M | 197 ፪ሱባዔ] ፪ጉባኤ A |
፫ሱባዔ] ፫ጉባኤ A; ፫ G | በህየ] በህየሰ M | አልቦ ፡ ከማሁ] አልቦኬ ፡ ከማሁስ D |
198 ንስሐ] ንስሐስ DN; ወንስሐስ M | በህየ] +አላ ፡ A; አላ E | ዓመት] ዓመተ AN |
ለ(እለ)] om. AE | ኢ(ኮኑ)] om. E | ውፁኣነ] ውፁዓን G | 199 በሕይወቶሙ]
እግዚአብሔር ፡ በሕይወቶሙ E; ለሕይወትነ N | ሶ ፡ ለዘይፈደፍዶ] ለዘይፈደፍዶ D;
+ኩነኔ ፡ E | ሶ] ዐዲ ፡ ሶ N | ለዘይውጎዶ] ዘይውጎዶ E | 200 ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእለስ ፡
ዘበሕግ] ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእመስ ፡ ዘሕግ N | 201 ዘበሕግ] በሕግ D; ዘሕግ N | ኩነኔሆሙ]
ይትኬነኑ AE; ኩነኔሆሙ N | ወእለስ—ኩነኔሆሙ] om. E | እለስ] እመስ N | ዘእንበለ—
ኩነኔሆሙ] om. G | ዘእንበለ] እንበለ M | አበሳሆሙ—ሕግ] om. G | አበሳሆሙ]
om. D | ዘእንበለ ፡ ሕግ] om. A | 202 ኩነኔሆሙ] ይትኬነኑ A; ኩነኔሆሙ N | ወካል
አንስ] ዘካልአንስ A; ዘወካልአንስ G; ወካልአን M | እም(ክርስቲያን)] om. D | ኮኑ]
ኢኮኑ G | 203 እምዝ] እዝ M | እመርዔተ] ለመርዔተ D | ንጹሓን] ንጹሐነ D |
204 ከመ ፡ አረሚ] አረሜ AE; +በምግባሮሙ ፡ D | በእበዶሙ] ወበእዶሙ D |
በህየኒ] ወህየኒ G; በዝየኒ N | ውፁኣነ] ውፁኣነ E | ኩነኔ] ኩሉ DN

ክርስቲያን ፡ ወይትኳነት ፡ ምስለ ፡ አረሚ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወበገሃነምስ ፡ 205
 ኢያቦውሐነ ፡ ንጸውዕ ፡ ስሞ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ እምብዝኅ ፡ ምንዳቤ ፡
 በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ሞት ፡ ዘይዘከረከ ፡
 ወበሲኦልኒ ፡ መኑ ፡ የአምነከ ፡ ንፍራህ ፡ እን(G: 51v)ከ ፡ ወኢንኅድግ ፡
 ትእዛዞ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንባእ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዕረ(E: 157r)ፍቱ ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡
 እስከ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፡ አንትሙሰኬ ፡ መምህራነ ፡ ቤተ ፡ 210
 ክርስቲያን ፡ መሀርዎሙ ፡ ለኃጥአን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብሉ ፡ ዐምደ ፡ ብርሃን ፡
 ዘይጸውር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ወዲቤሁ ፡ ሕኑጽ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወምድር ፡
 ወውስተ ፡ ልሳኑ ፡ መራኅተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወስሙኒ ፡ ኩኩሕ ፡
 ጽኑዕ ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል ፡ ናሁኬ ፡ ወድቀ ፡ ዮም ፡ ሥልሰ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ሌሊት ፡
 ወተንሥኦ ፡ በብካይ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ነስሐኬ ፡ እለ ፡ ወደቅሙ ፡ 215
 (M: 89r)ከመ ፡ ትኩኑ ፡ መዋርስቲሁ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ ወትወርሱ ፡ ሀገረ ፡
 ዘኢትከውን ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ሄጠ ፡ ርእዮታ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ ወኅርኅርዮስ ፡
 ወጳውሎስ ፡ ወዮሐንስ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ እንጦንዮ(D: *finit ex abrupto*)ስ ፡
 ወእለ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ርእዩ ፡ ዕቢያቲሃ ፡ ለመንግሥተ ፡ (N: 94r)ሰማ
 ያት ፡ ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ ፡ ኢያንብሬስ ፡ ወሄጳሊጦስ ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ወበርተ
 ሎሚዎስ ፡ ወሄኖክመ ፡ ወኅርኅርዮስ ፡ ወጳውሎስ ፡ ወዮሐንስ ፡ ወእለ ፡ 220
 ምስሌሆሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ርእይዎ ፡ ለገሃነም ፡ ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ ፡ ምግባራቲሃ ፡ ወኩ
 ሎሙ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ ምስለ ፡ አዳም ፡ አቡሆሙ ፡ እሙንቱስ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡
 ሲኦል ፡ እስከ ፡ ይትከዐው ፡ ዝደም ፡ ዘቆመ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ወአሜሃ ፡

205 ይትኳነት] ይትኳነት D | ምስለ ፡ አረሚ] om. M | በገሃነምስ] በገሃነምስኬ DN;
 በውስተ ፡ ገሀነምስ M | 206 ያቦውሐነ] ይትከሀል ፡ ከመ M; +ከመ ፡ N | ንጸውዕ]
 ይጸውዑ M | ምሕረት] ስብሐት M | ብዝኅ] ብዝኃ AG; ዝሐ N | 207 ይቤ] om. D |
 ይዘከረከ] ይዘከረከ A | 208 (ሲኦል)ኒ] om. D | እንከ] om. D | ኢንኅድግ] ንኅድግ E;
 ኢሕድግ M | 209 ትእዛዞ] ትእዛዛ E | ዘ(ሎቱ)] om. AE | 210 እስከ] om. ADE |
 ዓለመ] om. EN | አንትሙሰኬ] ወአንትሙሰኬ D; አንትሙኬ E; ወአንትሙሰ MN |
 211 ትብሉ] om. N | 212 ዓለመ] om. D | ዲቤሁ] ዲቦ DN | ሕኑጽ] ill. D;
 ተኅን] M; ሕፅኑ N | ሰማያት] ሰማይ DG | 213 ወ(ውስተ)] ill. D; om. G[N] |
 214 ሥልሰ] ሰልሠ E | 215 ተንሥኦ] ተንሣኦ AE; ill. M; ተንሥኦ N | ብካይ]
 +ወበንስሕ ፡ [M] | ሊቀ ፡ ሐዋርያት] ሊለሐዋርያት G | 216 ትወርሱ] ill. D; ትረሱ GM |
 217 ሄጠ] ሄጣ AE | ርእዮታ] ርእዮ A; ርእዮሙ E; ርእየታ M | ሄኖክ] ሄኖክመ M |
 218 ወ(ጳውሎስ)] om. AE | ወቅዱስ ፡ እንጦንዮስ] እንጦንስ AE; ቅዱስ ፡ ወእንጦ
 ንዮስ ፡ ቅዱስ M; ወቅዱስ ፡ ዕንጦንዮስ ፡ ወቅዱሳን N | 219 እለ] ርእዩ A | ዕቢያቲሃ]
 አብያቲሃ AE | 220 ወጸሐፉ] ጸሐፉ G*; ጸሐፉ G° | ኢያንብሬስ] እለ ፡ ኢያንበሬስ A;
 እለ ፡ ኢያንብሬስ E; ወኢያንበሬስ G; ill. N | ሄጳሊጦስ] ቁላጦስ A; ሂጳሊጦስ M;
 ሄጳሊጦስ [N] | ዳግማዊ] ዳግማይ N | 221 ወሄኖክመ] om. A; ወሄኖክ EG | ወኅር
 ኅርዮስ] om. N | ወ(እለ)] om. G | 222 ርእይዎ] ርእዩ N | ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ] ጸሐፉ G |
 223 ነቢያት] ነቢያትስ G | ምስለ] +ኩሎሙ ፡ AE | አዳም ፡ አቡሆሙ] ወአዳም ፡
 አቡሆሙ E; tr. N | እሙንቱስ] ወእሙንቱስ AN; ወእንቱስ E; እሙንቱ M |
 224 ደም] ድም N | አሜሃ] አሚሃ A

- 225 ወፅኡ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ እምሲኦል ፡ እመሰ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የሐሙ(A: 55v) ፡
 ወእንዘ ፡ ኢየሐሙ ፡ እንዳዒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ያአምር ። ንግባእኬ ፡ ኅበ ፡
 ቀዳሚ ፡ ነገርነ ፡ እስመ ፡ አምላክነ ፡ እሱር ፡ ይቀውም ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ቅድመ ፡
 ጲላጦስ ። ወኢቦኡ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዐውድ ፡ እስመ ፡ ጸብሐ ፡ ዐርብ ፡
 ከመ ፡ ኢይርኩሱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ እሙንቱ ። ንስምዖኬ ፡ ለነቢይ ፡
 230 እንዘ ፡ ይበኪ ፡ ወይብል ፡ እፎ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ሀ(E: 157v)ገረ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ዘማ ፡
 ምእመን ፡ ወከዓዊተ ፡ ደም ። አስጥሞሙ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወምትር ፡ ልሳናቲ
 ሆሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ርኢኩ ፡ ዐመፃ ፡ ወቅስተ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወኅጢአት ፡
 ማእከላ ። ወገሃደ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መድኅኒነ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ሕዝበ ፡
 235 አይሁድ ። ለምንት ፡ አንገለጉ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ወሕዝብኒ ፡ ነበቡ ፡ ከንቶ ፡
 ወተንሥኡ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወመላእክትኒ ፡ ተጋብኡ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡
 ኅቡረ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ መሲሑ ። አማን ፡ ተጋብኡ ፡
 ሕዝበ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ መሲሑ ፡ ለእ(M: 89v)ግዚአብሔር ፡ በዛቲ ፡
 ዕለት ፡ ወአኅዝዎ ፡ ወአሰርዎ ፡ ወወሰድዎ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ወኅበ ፡ ሄሮ
 ድስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ረከብናሁ ፡ ለዝ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያዕልዎሙ ፡ ለሕዝብነ ፡
 240 ወይክልኦሙ ፡ ኢየሀቡ ፡ ጸባሕተ ፡ ለቂሣር ፡ ወይሬሲ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ክርስቶስሃ ፡
 ንጉሠ ፡ እስራኤል ። ቦዘይረውጽ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የኅሥሥ ፡ ስምዐ ፡ ሐሰት ፡
 ወያ(N: 94v)ስተሴፉ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ንሁበክሙ ፡ በበፂብሩር ። ወቦ ፡
 ዘይረውጽ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያብስር ፡ ለሄሮድስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ናሁ ፡ ተረክበ ፡

225 እመሰ] እስመ AE; ወእመሂ M | ነበሩ] +ኩሎሙ ፡ E | እንዘ] እን N | የሐሙ] የሐምሙ M; ያሐምምሙ N | 226 ወእንዘ ፡ ኢየሐሙ] ወእንዘ ፡ ኢይሐሙ A; om. GMN | ያአምር] የአምር AG; ill. N | 227 ነገርነ] ነገር M; ill. N | እሱር] A; እሱሩ GM | ሀሎ] om. AEN | 228 ውስተ ፡ ዐውድ] om. AEG; ቅድመ ፡ አውድ N | ጸብሐ] በጽሐ A | ዐርብ] ይብልዑ ፡ ፍሥሐ M | 229 ይርኩሱ] ያርኩሱ AEM; ያርኩሱ N | እንዘ] እስመ ፡ እስመ N | እሙንቱ] እሙን N | 230 ይበኪ ፡ ወይብል] ይብል ፡ ወይብል A; ይብል E | ኮነት] +ዘማ ፡ M | ዘማ ፡ ምእመን] ዘበአማን AE; ምእመን ፡ ወኮነት M | 231 ወከዓዊተ] ከዐዊተ AE; ከዓዊተ M | አስጥሞሙ] ወይቤ ፡ አስጥሞሙ E; ወካዕበ ፡ ረገሞሙ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ አስጥሞሙ M | ምትር] መትር N | 232 ርኢኩ] ርእዩኩ A | ቅስተ] ቅስት M; ቅሥት N | ሀገር] +ዐመፃ ፡ ወጉሕሉት ፡ A; +ወጉሕሉት ፡ E; +ወዐመፃ ፡ E | ወኅጢአት] ወሥራኅ M; ኅጢአት N | 233 ገሃደ] ገሃደመ N | በእንተ] ወበእንተ N | መድኅኒነ] መድኅነ N* | ሕዝበ ፡ አይሁድ] ሕዝብ ፡ አይሁድ N | 234 ለምንት] ወይቤ ፡ ለምንት AE; ill. N | ሕዝብኒ] ሕዝብኒ A | 235 መላእክትኒ] ለመላእክትኒ N | 236 አማን—መሲሑ] om. N | 237 በዛቲ] ወበዛቲ M | 238 ዕለት] ሌሊት G | ወ(አኅዝዎ)] om. M | ሄሮድስ] +ብእሲ ፡ G | 239 ያዕልዎሙ] የዕልዎሙ A; የዓልዎሙ N | ሕዝብነ] ሕዝብ E | 240 ይክልኦሙ] ይክልኦሙ N | የሀቡ] ይሀቡ A; ሀሎ G* | 241 ቦዘይረውጽ ፡ እንዘ] ወቦ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይረውጽ N | የኅሥሥ] ወየሐሥሥ N | ስምዐ] ሰማዕተ EN | ሐሰት] ሐሰተ A | 242 ያስተሴፉ] ያሴፍዉ A; ያስተፍዉ E; ያስተሰፍሙ N*; ያስተሰፍዎ N* | ይብል] ይብሉ AEGN | በበፂብሩር] ብሩረ A; ብሩር E; ፂ ፡ ብሩር M | 243 ያብስር] ያብስሮ N | ይብል] ይብሉ N | ተረክበ] ትረክብ N

በመዋዕሊከ ፡ ዘኅሣዎ ፡ እኅኑከ ፡ ሄሮድስ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ኢረከበ ፡ ቀተሎሙ ፡
 ለ፲፬፻፹፱ክፃናት ፡ በእንቲአሁ ። ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ ሄሮድስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተእነዝ ፡
 እግዚእን ፡ ተፈሥሐ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይሰምዕ ፡ ነገሮ ፡ እምጉንዱይ ፡ ዕለት ፡
 ወይፈቅድ ፡ ይርአይ ፡ ተአምረ ፡ በላዕሌሁ ፡ ዘይገብር ። ወአብጽሕዎ ፡
 ሶቤሃ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ አሲሮሙ ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡
 ወአኀዙኒ ፡ አስዋር ፡ ስቡሓን ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ምንት ፡ ጌጋዩ ፡
 ወይ(E: 158r)ቤልዎ ፡ ይሜህር ፡ በገሊላ ፡ ወበይሁዳ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡
 ንጉሥ ፡ አነ ። ወሐተቶ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ወኢተሰጥዎ ። ወተፈጸመ ፡
 ዘይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ኢከሠተ ፡ አፉሁ ፡ በሕማሙ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለዓለመ ፡
 ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

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244 ጎሠዋ] ኃሠዋ A; ኃሠወ G | ወሶበ| ዘንተ : ሶበ AE | ረከቦ| ረከበ E | 245 ፲ወ፬፻
፲ወ፬፻ወ፵፫ EG; ፬፻ [N] | በእንቲአሁ- እንዘ : ይመስሎ : ዘይረከብ : ኪያሁ M
ተእኅዝ አኅዝ E; አኃዝዎ G; ትእሕዝ N | 246 እግዚእነ ለእግዚእነ G | ጉንዱይ]
ጉዱይ G*; ጉንዱይ N | ዕለት] om. GM; መዋዕል N | 247 ወ(ይፈቅድ)] om. N*;
ዘ N° | ይገብር] ይንብር E; ገብረ N | አብጽሐዎ] አብአብጽሕዎ N | 248 ኢየሱስ]
እግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ M | 249 ወአኅዙኒ] አኣዙኒ N | ስቡሓን] ስብኅን N* | ምንት :
ጌጋዩ] ምንት : ጌጋዩ : ለዝ : ብእሴ M | 250 ወይቤልዎ] om. N | ይሜህር] ይሜር N |
በ(ይሁዳ) om. AE | 251 ለኢየሱስ] om. M | ተሰባዎ] ትሠጥዎ G | 252 ነቢይ] በነ
ቢይ N | ኢከሠተ] ውእቱስ : ኢከሠተ M | ሎቱ] ዘሎቱ MN | ስብሐት] +ወክብር : M;
በ. + N | 253 አሜን] አሜን : ወአሜን : ለይኩን : A; አሜን : ወአሜን : ወአሜን : E;
አሜን : አሜን : ወአሜን : G; አሜን : አሜን : ወአሜን : ለይኩን : ለይኩን : M

¹A homily which Retu‘a Hāymānot composed about how Peter denied (Jesus).

²The evangelist said, “Then our Lord said to his apostles, ‘Where I am going you are not able to follow me now’.”⁶⁰ ⁴When he spoke to them like this, Peter rose up, girded his loins, and began shouting ‘Why, O Lord, am I not able to follow you? I will hand over my life for you!’⁶¹ ⁷The diviner of hearts said to him, ‘O Peter, will you (really) hand over your life for me?’ ⁸Today, on this very night before the rooster crows, you will deny me like one who does not know me three times.’⁶² ⁹When he spoke to him like this, (Peter) did not keep silent, but began to declare his own steadfastness and the weakness of his brothers, for he said, ‘(Even) if all of them deny you, I shall not deny you.’⁶³ ¹²‘O Peter, why are you speaking like this, speech which is not worthy to emerge from the mouths of the Lord’s servants, that they might hold themselves innocent and defame their companions?’ ¹⁴You might correctly say instead, ‘I myself will not deny you, O Lord, and likewise my brothers will not deny you’, your kindness guarding me. ¹⁵You did not speak like this, with humility and love, but came with boasting and no love for your brothers. ¹⁷Now listen to this terrifying thing! Truly, I say to you, O Peter, you will deny me three times before a rooster crows.’⁶⁴ ¹⁹In truth, such bitter weeping will fall upon you until your eyelids are salty’.”⁶⁵

²⁰O this boasting cast down many after they said “We are pillars”. ²¹Let us therefore listen to each kind of downfall which found our fathers; yet all of them were saved through proper repentance and humility.

²³The Lord said to Jonah, “Go, preach to the Ninevites saying ‘Your city will be overthrown’!” ²⁴Jonah knew through the Holy Spirit dwelling upon him that they would be saved through repentance. ²⁵Jonah was concerned about his own prestige – that he would not become a liar – and said, “Why, O Lord, will you show them mercy after I preach to them about the overthrow? Will I not be a liar

⁶⁰ John 13:36

⁶¹ John 13:37

⁶² Luke 22:34

⁶³ Matt 26:33

⁶⁴ Cf. Matt 26:34

⁶⁵ Cf. Matt 26:75; Luke 22:62

(then)?” ²⁸The Lord said to him, “What is it to you if I show mercy?”

²⁹So Jonah made a quarrel with the Lord and fled from before the face of the God of Israel. ³¹He found men who were going to Tarshish and was loaded upon their ship. ³²But rough seas rose up and threatened to sink the ship. Jonah said to them, “If you do not cast me overboard, you will not be spared”, for he was afraid lest it be a sin when they died on account of his sin.

³⁴Now this is the custom of the saints: at first they stumble and then they repent, like Peter’s weeping saved him. ³⁶For the Lord gave him three baptisms: one in the Jordan, one through tears, and one through martyrdom. ³⁷Since the one who weeps ceaselessly sacrifices the blood of the Lord and is a partner of the martyrs, so too the one who fornicates ceaselessly with his body sacrifices the blood of demons and is a partner of pagan priests.

⁴⁰Those men said to Jonah, “Who do you worship, O man?” ⁴¹He said to them, “I worship the Celestial One, but ran away from him. ⁴²Now then I tell you, if you do not cast me overboard, you will perish!” ⁴³They were afraid and unwilling to do it, so he intentionally threw himself into the sea, and a sea creature swallowed him.

⁴⁴Now such is the custom of the righteous: they plot the salvation of men, but cast themselves aside. ⁴⁶Conversely, sinners plot their own salvation and the ruin of strangers.

⁴⁷Jonah dwelt three days and three nights in the sea creature’s belly, for he is the bearer of the prophecy concerning the one who was to be buried this day at Golgotha. ⁴⁹The sea creature vomited Jonah into the city of Nineveh, and he preached to them (about) the overthrow while earnestly seeking a pardon for them.

⁵⁰Since every admonition both makes humble and gives wisdom,⁶⁶ Peter’s weeping likewise made him wise. ⁵²When our Lord, having risen from the dead, enquired of him and said, “Simon Bar-Jona, do you love me?” he did not <ju>st say (that) day with boasting “Yes, I love you” but “You know, O Lord”.⁶⁷ ⁵⁴Then our Lord saw his humility, and he gave him the keys to the kingdom of heaven⁶⁸ and charged him, saying “Tend my sheep”.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Cf. Prov 16:17

⁶⁷ Cf. John 21:15–16

⁶⁸ Cf. Matt 16:19

⁶⁹ Cf. John 21:15–17

⁵⁶O this humility which turned earthly creatures into heavenly ones! ⁵⁷It is a tree of life to all who lean on her,⁷⁰ which rises up to the heights. ⁵⁸Those who obtain this are friends with the Lord,⁷¹ for our Lord said, “For everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, but the one who humbles himself will be honoured.”⁷²

⁶¹It says, “When Father Macarius was in prayer one day, the thought arose (in his mind): ‘Have I become the equal of Antony or Awgin⁷³?’” ⁶³While pondering this, he heard a voice saying, ‘But your abode in the heavens will be alongside two women, the wives of cattle-herders, who are in a chaste marriage with their husbands.’ ⁶⁶When the elder heard this statement, he was perturbed and said, ‘O Lord, where are they?’ ⁶⁷It said to him, ‘Look for them in the East and you will find them.’ ⁶⁸The elder then went (there) in a hurry and found both of them preparing dinner for their husbands, because they both had the same father and mother. Their husbands similarly had one father and mother.⁷⁴ ⁷¹When (the women) saw me, they said to me, ‘From where (do you come) stranger?’ ⁷²I said to them, ‘From the desert; nevertheless, give me lodging.’ And they gave (it) to me. When their husbands came home, I went to them and said, ‘My children, since my God sent me, I came to you at the Lord’s command so that you might tell me about your conduct.’ ⁷⁵They said to me, ‘We heard that (same) voice which was speaking to you; to us it said, “Behold, a pillar of light is coming to you and you should not hide your conduct from him.”’ ⁷⁷We said to it, “Who is coming to us?”” ⁷⁸It said, “Macarius, wearer of the

⁷⁰ Prov 3:18

⁷¹ Cf. Wisd 7:14

⁷² Luke 14:11

⁷³ The Ethiopic form of this name, Awkin, does not appear in any of the standard apophthegmata collections in the Ethiopian tradition, but this monk is referenced in the abbreviated form of Dadisho’ Ʋaṭraya’s *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers*, which circulates under the name *Filkesyus*. Cf. Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, II:542. Although it cannot be precluded that Awgin was included in some other presently unknown Ethiopian monastic compendium, if his presence here depends upon the *Filkesyus*, that text’s translation from Arabic into Ge’ez in the time of Abbā Salāmā II (cf. van Lantschoot, ‘Abbā Salāmā,’ 400) would allow for a *terminus post quem* for the composition of this homily to be affixed in the mid-fourteenth century.

⁷⁴ I.e. the women were siblings and the men were siblings.

desert, the first-born of St. Antony, in monastic dress. ⁷⁹However, your abode in the kingdom of heaven will be the same.” ⁸⁰Upon saying this, it disappeared from us. ⁸¹Now we will tell you as we were commanded for our few deeds are useless.’ ⁸²When I heard this from their mouths, I was perturbed and said to them, ‘Speak then my children! My brothers and sisters, tell me! Let me hear! Although earthly creatures, you became heavenly residents because of your behavior.’ ⁸⁵They said to me, ‘We are brothers and our wives are sisters. ⁸⁶From the beginning of (our marriage), we have not eaten before sunset except on the Sabbath and on feasts of our Lord. ⁸⁷When it is evening, if we see a stranger we rejoice and make him comfortable; if the stranger does not go home, we take (him) three loaves of bread and a pitcher of milk. If we have no milk, we seek out a pitcher of water (for) the destitute and give (it) to them. ⁹⁰If we do not find the destitute, we summon the hungry dogs who are pregnant and give (it) to them. And (then) we return home to our dinner. ⁹²We have not defiled our bodies with sex apart from (with) our wives, and these (women have done) similarly. We have not reduced the hourly nighttime prayers, each with its proper time and prostration. If one (woman) begins to menstruate, her sister dwells with her and does not draw near to her husband. ⁹⁵We brothers dwell together, praising the one who granted us this (gift). ⁹⁶The children of the elder (sister) suckle the breast of the younger (sister), and the children of the younger (sister) suckle the breast of the elder (sister) until their children are grown. ⁹⁹There is no strife among us, and we have not even divided up our possessions. Behold, our life is indeed like this!’ ¹⁰⁰When I heard this from their mouths, I said, ‘Oh my! Woe to me, because I have wasted all the days of my life with laziness!’ Then I went home to my abode weeping.”

¹⁰²Therefore, see that you do not boast in order that you might be spared from that which befell Peter on this night!

¹⁰⁴The evangelist said, “Then they led Jesus from Caiaphas to Annas, and brought him into the interior (of the building). ¹⁰⁵They said to him, ‘We adjure you by the living God to tell us if you are the Christ, the son of the Blessed One.’ ¹⁰⁷(Jesus) said to them, ‘Yes, I am he. But from now on I will sit at the right hand of power and come with the cloud(s) of heaven.’ ⁷⁵ ¹⁰⁸When the high priest heard this, he tore his

⁷⁵ Cf. Matt 26:64; Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69

clothes and said, 'What need have you of (further) testimony? Behold, you have heard (it) from his own mouth!'⁷⁶ ¹¹⁰All of them rose up together and smote him, and they continued until it grew light. ¹¹¹A certain girl came across Peter and said to him, 'You yourself are for him.' He denied (it) and said to her, 'I know him not'.⁷⁷

¹¹³O Peter, neither sword nor spear came down upon you, nor did they hand you over to rulers and magistrates. ¹¹⁴But when only one girl questioned you, you said, "I know him not." Are you not the chief of his disciples? ¹¹⁶Now then, you have fallen one time: do not repeat (it) again!

The evangelist said, "Someone spit in his face and someone slapped it. ¹¹⁷They said to the annuler of the temple, 'Behold, we bought you with thirty pieces of silver', as well as much else."⁷⁸ ¹¹⁹That girl went out again, came across Peter warming himself, and said to him, 'Truly, I say to you, you are for this prisoner.' ¹²¹He said to her, 'I do not know the one of whom you speak'.⁷⁹

O Peter, now you have repeated the denial! ¹²²Should you not, O Peter, in fact fulfill the words which you spoke: "I will hand over my life for you"?⁸⁰ ¹²³Yet now you did not (even) hand over your ear for a blow. ¹²⁴How much more is it to hand over your life? You did not even hand over your back. What has come over you like this tonight? ¹²⁵You are terrified before the face of this girl whose height does not amount to two cubits. ¹²⁶What Hannah, Samuel's mother, said has been fulfilled: "Let not the mighty man boast in his might; and let not the wealthy man boast in his wealth; and let not the wise man boast in his wisdom; but the one who boasts in the Lord, let him boast."⁸¹

¹²⁹It is therefore proper for us not to boast; instead, let us say, "Do not lead us, O Lord, into temptation."⁸²

¹³⁰The evangelist said, "A third time that girl recognized him and she gathered her male relatives as well as other men. ¹³²Because she realized that (Peter) was terrified, the cursed girl, a relative of

⁷⁶ Cf. Matt 26:65

⁷⁷ Cf. Matt 26:69–70

⁷⁸ Cf. Luke 22:65

⁷⁹ Cf. John 18:25

⁸⁰ John 13:37

⁸¹ Cf. 1 Sam 2:10

⁸² Cf. Matt 6:13; Luke 11:4

Herodias, accosted him and said, 'Truly, I say to you, you are for him.' He said to her, 'No.'¹³⁴One of those with her said to him, 'My own truth I will speak to you, that I saw you with this Sabbath-breaker below the garden,'⁸³ for this man had seen our Lord when he healed the paralytic on the Sabbath.¹³⁷Peter began cursing that he did not know our Lord, and immediately the rooster crowed.¹³⁸Peter remembered (what Jesus had said) and wept bitterly.⁸⁴¹³⁹Our Lord turned around, saw him weeping, and said to him, 'Lest you fear, O Peter, I have forgiven you.'¹⁴⁰Indeed, what happened was not from your heart, but for the glory of my word, that it would not be shown false since I said to you, "You will deny me three times".¹⁴²Keeping this in mind, O Peter, if someone sins and comes to you so that he might receive penance, do not refuse him absolution up to seventy times seven: this is 495'⁸⁵."

¹⁴⁴O congregation of the church, when a sinner continually comes to you, do not impede him.¹⁴⁵My witness⁸⁶, the Holy Spirit, is the one who dwells with you and upon you all, so that there is no sin which prevails over repentance.¹⁴⁷Praise be to the bridegroom who gave it power.¹⁴⁸To whomever refuses penance here – through the bread and wine⁸⁷, through salt and through herbs – while they still have life, the priests of Gehenna will offer penance there.¹⁵⁰These are the worms of Gehenna who do not sleep, who are much larger than the trees of this world.¹⁵²Its snakes' heads are larger than the mountains of this world.¹⁵³The height of (its) elephants reaches up to the clouds, and the flies of Gehenna and its mosquitoes are larger than the birds of this world.¹⁵⁴(There are) innumerable others also, as the prophet said, "This great and wide sea; there creeping things innumerable."⁸⁸

⁸³ Cf. John 18:26

⁸⁴ Cf. Matt 26:74–75; Luke 22:60–62

⁸⁵ Cf. Matt 18:22. Some manuscripts have corrected the calculation, but the total of 495 goes back to the archetype. Moreover, a citation of the same verse followed by the same sum total of 495 is found in Retu'a Hāymānot's *Homily on the baptism of Jesus* (e.g. EMMML 7028, ff. 27v–28r), further indicating that this figure is intended.

⁸⁶ As contextually the speech of Jesus has ended in the previous section, "my witness" represents a solecism, one attested in all manuscripts and possibly going back to the original text.

⁸⁷ Literally "liquid".

⁸⁸ Psalms 103:25 LXX

¹⁵⁶The sea is Gehenna, whose waves are ready to drown transgressors. ¹⁵⁷As Enoch said, "There is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it."⁸⁹ ¹⁵⁸But the sea of fire is the outermost part of all creation, and total darkness encompasses it. ¹⁶⁰The fire does not emit flames upwards like the fire of this world, but emits flames downwards. ¹⁶¹Within it, there is such a furnace, as well as such a fortress, dungeon, abyss, and cavern; such crevices, as well as such big mountains, little hills, and cliffs; such a chilly place – in it, the fire is cold, which is worse than the heat – as well as such a torrid place – but the heat is there; ¹⁶⁵as well as such rivers, much bigger than the rivers of this world. ¹⁶⁶Bare embers flow there and <transform> (into) a river of bare flame. ¹⁶⁷There is a river in which bare sparks flow. ¹⁶⁸There is a river in which smoke flows, a darkness whose stench is worse than rotting flesh.⁹⁰ ¹⁶⁹There is a river in which ice flows. ¹⁷⁰There is a river from which a fiery poison flows. ¹⁷¹On its mountains and hills are innumerable reptiles, snakes, and scorpions asking the Lord for their sustenance. ¹⁷³If they find a man, they have a fight for the right to eat him; then, in a flash, they feed on him and depart. ¹⁷⁴For "their teeth are all swords and spears."⁹¹ ¹⁷⁵Then, in a flash, that man who was consumed is healed; others come and eat him and again he is healed. ¹⁷⁷This is the murderers' existence. As for the others, some are placed in the furnace, some in the dungeon, some in the sea, and some in the rivers: all of them are fire-filled. ¹⁷⁹One is placed nail-deep, another heel-deep, another knee-deep, another hip-deep, and another neck-deep. ¹⁸¹Another is swallowed entirely, and someone else descends to the deep, the bottom of the underworld, and crocodiles and fish of fire eat him there. ¹⁸³However, he cannot give praise to his creator: a frog of fire enters his mouth. Gehenna, therefore, is a great and terrible sea whose width is greater than (that of) this world, whose depth is greater than (the distance) between earth and heaven, whose sound is louder than the thunder of this world, and whose roaring (is louder) than a thunderbolt. ¹⁸⁷It is therefore certain that "there is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it"⁹² like the sky and the earth themselves. ¹⁸⁹Now this great one

⁸⁹ Cf. *1 En.* 18:12

⁹⁰ Literally "death".

⁹¹ Cf. *Psalms* 56:5 LXX

⁹² Cf. *1 En.* 18:12

encompasses this all, and gives one respite from the wrath of the God of glory, since (Gehenna) is his maidservant, the worker of his will, and the destroyer of the devil, its instructor for all this affliction.

¹⁹²Does it seem to you, O man, that only men and demons are put (there)? How many other created things are there, both corporeal and incorporeal! ¹⁹⁴When we conversed about them, the discourse was long.⁹³ ¹⁹⁵When you listen, O man, does it seem to you the book says, “Whoever did not repent here will repent there”? ¹⁹⁶Does it seem to you that in two or three weeks one is finished (their) penance? ¹⁹⁷It is not so in that place. ¹⁹⁸Penance there is a thousand years for those who are not apostates from the flock of Christ in life. ¹⁹⁹Still, there are some which exceed (this sum) and some less than it, as Paul said: “Those who transgress with the Law are judged through the Law, but those who transgress without the Law are judged apart from the Law.”⁹⁴ ²⁰²Yet others from the Christians are apostates from the flock of Christ – the pure ones – through their worldly deeds, and they are like the heathens in their foolishness. ²⁰⁴Likewise, there they will be apostates from the Christian judgment, and they will be punished with the pagans forever.

²⁰⁵But he shall not concede us to Gehenna. ²⁰⁶Let us proclaim the name of the God of mercy from much affliction, as the prophet said, “Because in death there is no one who mentions you; and in Sheol who will profess you?”⁹⁵ ²⁰⁸So let us be afraid and not forsake his commandment so that we might enter into his rest.

²⁰⁹To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

²¹⁰So then, church teachers, instruct sinners saying, “A pillar of light holds up the entire world: heaven and earth are built on it and the kingdom of heaven’s keys are in its tongue. Its reputation is (as) a strong rock which does not shake.” ²¹⁴Now then, he fell today – three times on this night – and rose up weeping! ²¹⁵And he was the chief of the apostles! Therefore, you who have fallen, repent so that you might become Peter’s heirs and inherit the city whose value this world does not see! ²¹⁷Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, St. Antony, etc. saw the glories of the kingdom of heaven and wrote (about them) to us. ²²⁰Jambres, Hippolytus the second, Bartholomew, the same Enoch, Gregory, Paul,

⁹³ Reference to the homily of Retu‘a Hāymānot on the four heavenly creatures.

⁹⁴ Cf. Rom 2:12

⁹⁵ Psalms 6:6 LXX

John, etc. saw Gehenna and wrote to us (about) its operations. ²²²All the prophets along with their forefather Adam dwelt in Sheol until this blood – of he who stood before Pilate – was poured out, and at that time all of them came forth from Sheol. ²²⁵I do not know if they dwelt (there) being afflicted but not suffering; the Lord knows.

²²⁶Let us therefore return to our original topic. ²²⁷Our bound Lord is going to stand before Pilate. ²²⁸Since Friday had dawned, the Jews did not enter the court so that they would not be unclean⁹⁶ – though they are unclean. ²²⁹Let us now listen to the prophet weeping and telling how the city of Zion is a reliable whore and a spiller of blood: ²³¹“Drown them, O Lord, and interrupt their tongues, because I saw lawlessness and dispute in the city; and sin within it.”⁹⁷ ²³³The prophet clearly said about our saviour and the Jewish people: ²³⁴“Why did the nations band together and the peoples utter vain things? The kings of the earth rose up, and the rulers jointly assembled with them, against the Lord and against his Anointed One.”⁹⁸ ²³⁶(It is) true: the Jewish people assembled against the Lord’s Anointed One on this day. ²³⁸They seized, bound, and took him to Pilate and to Herod saying, “We found this (man) misleading our people, forbidding them to pay taxes to Caesar, and considering himself the Christ, the king of Israel.”⁹⁹ ²⁴¹One ran around seeking out false testimony and made promises saying, “We will give you each thirty pieces of silver.” ²⁴²One ran to announce the good news to Herod saying, “Behold! In your days the one whom your kinsman Herod sought has been found; when he did not find him, he killed 140,000¹⁰⁰ infants because of him.” ²⁴⁵When Herod heard that our Lord had been seized, he rejoiced because he was hearing word of (Jesus) after a long time and desiring to see a miracle performed by him.¹⁰¹ ²⁴⁷Having bound Jesus, (the Jews) then brought him to Pilate. ²⁴⁸As the prophet said, “And fat bulls seized me.”¹⁰² ²⁴⁹Pilate said to them, “What is his crime?”

⁹⁶ Cf. John 18:28

⁹⁷ Cf. Psalms 54:10–11 LXX

⁹⁸ Psalms 2:1–2

⁹⁹ Luke 23:2

¹⁰⁰ Some manuscripts read the “correct” figure of 144,000, but this is almost certainly the result of revision.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Luke 23:8

¹⁰² Psalms 21:13b LXX

²⁵⁰They said to him, “He is teaching in Galilee and in Judea saying ‘I am a king’.”¹⁰³ ²⁵¹Pilate questioned Jesus, but he did not answer him.¹⁰⁴ What the prophet said was fulfilled: “He did not open his mouth on account of his suffering.”¹⁰⁵

²⁵²To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

Close examination of this homily reveals a particularly challenging situation for the task outlined above. While Retu’a Hāymānot references a variety of biblical and non-biblical writings, slavish citations are rare and seem nearly limited to the gospels and Psalms. Much more commonly we encounter looser levels of textual dependence, such as the repeated reference to *I En.* 18:12, a text introduced as a formal quotation, but one whose relationship to the source would likely go overlooked without this formula.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, while the section about Jonah is loosely indebted to the canonical book, Retu’a Hāymānot has rather significantly adapted the contents and structure of the story to suit his own purposes.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the Macarius narrative, effectively introduced as a block quotation in the text, is derived from the *Life of Macarius the Great*, but although following its contours, much of the material is different; for example, Macarius speaks at length with the husbands in the homily, whereas he only meets their wives in the *Life*.¹⁰⁸ Thus if Retu’a Hāymānot references

¹⁰³ Cf. Luke 23:5

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Luke 23:9

¹⁰⁵ Isa 53:7

¹⁰⁶ “There is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it” (አለቦ : ሰማይ : ዘይጌልል : ላዕሌ፡ ወኢምድር : ታሕቲ፡) as opposed to *I Enoch* 18:12 itself: “It did not have the sky’s firmament above it nor earth’s foundation below it” (ወኢጽንዐ : ሰማይ : ላዕሌሁ : ወኢመሰረተ : ምድር : በታሕቲሁ). The idea is the same, but the vocabulary and sentence structure quite different.

¹⁰⁷ For example, in the canonical book the sailors throw Jonah into the water after he tells them to do so, whereas in Retu’a Hāymānot’s retelling they refuse to do so and Jonah casts himself overboard instead.

¹⁰⁸ For the story in the Bohairic, Syriac, and Arabic versions of the *Life of Macarius the Great*, see S. Toda, *Vie de S. Macaire l’Egyptien* (Piscataway, 2012) 430–35 and B. Pirone, *Vita di San Macario* (Cairo and Jerusalem, 2008) 86–87. An Ethiopic translation of this hagiography, which Retu’a

the *Apocalypse of Peter* in our homily, there is little chance of this taking the form of a slavish citation.¹⁰⁹

Some potential points of contact can be readily dismissed. The worm or worms who do not sleep (ll. 150–151; *EthApPet* 9:2) is such a widespread image in apocalyptic literature that dependence on any particular source barring congruity with its supplementary elements cannot be entertained. The river of fire is of a similar character, especially since Retu‘a Hāymānot also includes multiple other rivers with dissimilar natures (ll. 165–171). Gehenna being a place of darkness (ll. 159–160; *EthApPet* 9:1) should also not be pursued. Likewise, at the end of his section on Gehenna, Retu‘a Hāymānot exhorts his audience to “not forsake his (God’s) commandment” (ll. 208–209: ወኢንጎድግ : ትእዛዞ), while “those who forsake the commandment of God” (10:7: የጋድጉ : ትእዛዞ : እግዚአብሔር) and those who “did not observe the commandment of God” (prologue: ኢዓቀቡ : ትእዛዞ : ለእግዚአብሔር) are subjected to punishment in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Yet, once again, such an exhortation is simply too general to suggest that a specific source occasioned it.

Other elements are a bit more promising. One of these is the biting question that Retu‘a Hāymānot asks his audience: “When you listen, O man, does it seem to you the book says, ‘Whoever did not repent here will repent there’?” (ll. 195–196) In certain respects this parallels a passage towards the end of the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter* (13:4–5):

In one voice all of those who are in punishment will say, “Have mercy on us because now we have understood the judgment of God... [But the angel of Tartarus] will say to them, ‘Now you would repent, when there is no time left for repentance, and no life has remained.’”¹¹⁰

Hāymānot clearly read, is known from a few manuscripts, including EMML 1844, ff. 114v–136v, but has yet to be published.

¹⁰⁹ Such a lack of precise congruity certainly allows for more things to be considered, but also less definitive conclusions since many motifs or ideas are found in multiple texts. This is particularly acute in this case, since Retu‘a Hāymānot knows the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which covers ground similar to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Lacking the Ethiopic version of the latter, however, it can be impossible in cases to adjudicate which one of the two more likely served as the source.

¹¹⁰ Here and below all translations from the *Apocalypse of Peter* and its broader pseudo-Clementine framework derive from the contribution of Eric Beck in this volume.

While this might therefore be an allusion to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ch. 43) expresses a similar sentiment from the mouth of Michael. Given the short and parodic character of the statement in the homily, neither option can be eliminated, nor can the book mentioned be limited to these two texts.

As the homily transitions from focusing on Peter's denial to Gehenna and the need for repentance, a potentially significant confluence of elements with one section of the *Apocalypse of Peter* emerges. One of the most pointed and unusual additions to the basic narrative of Peter's denials is its culmination in an accusation by a man who saw Jesus when he healed the paralytic on the Sabbath, immediately whereupon the apostle commits his third and final disavowal, leading to his bitter weeping (ll. 134–139). Earlier in the text, Retu'a Hāymānot states that "Peter's weeping saved him, for the Lord gave him three baptisms: one in the Jordan, one through tears, and one through martyrdom" (ll. 35–37). All of these elements – weeping, repentance, and the healing of the paralytic – appear together in close proximity in the pseudo-Clementine framework of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (26:4, 6): "When I had wept bitterly for many hours, the lover of repentance turned to me, saying to me... 'They complained about me when I healed the sick on the Sabbath. When I said to the paralytic...'" Such a combination might bespeak some sort of interrelationship given that this miracle and Peter weeping are not associated in the canonical gospels.

Only one class of wrongdoers, the murderers, has their specific form of punishment described in the homily, unlike in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which outlines them for a wide array of sinners, including usurers, crafters of idols, fornicators, etc. The latter text also includes the murderers, stating that they and "those who associate with them, they will be put in fire that is full of venomous animals and they will be punished without rest" (*EthApPet* 7:9). Perpetual torture by venomous creatures is also their lot in the homily, albeit in far greater detail (ll. 171–177):

On its mountains and hills are innumerable reptiles, snakes, and scorpions asking the Lord for their sustenance. If they find a man, they have a fight for the right to eat him; then, in a flash, they feed on him and depart. For "their teeth are all swords and spears." Then, in a flash, that man who was consumed is healed; others come and eat him and again he is healed.

This represents a possible interpretation of the passage in the *Apocalypse*, especially because the parallel with venomous animals is so specific.

Retu'a Hāymānot expresses a clear belief in penance. This occurs not only in the homily published here, which says that it lasts a thousand years – or a little more or less – for Christians (ll. 198–200), but in at least two others. In his *Homily on the washing of the disciples' feet*, he makes the following statement:¹¹¹

This is those who died having denied the holy faith of baptism: they have no life. As Hermas said, “For the tree which has withered completely – it has nothing verdant upon it – it is therefore deserving of the fire (cf. *Sim.* IV 4 [53.4]). But the one which has verdant foliage, if they put it in the fire, it does not burn, but extinguishes its fire.” Likewise, therefore, if a Christian dies with his baptism, if he has not repented here, he will do penance there, in Gehenna; but he, having perished, will not be destroyed.

In a similar vein, his *Homily on the Incarnation* says:¹¹²

Behold, it is known that not a single Christian will ever perish, if he dies with his baptism intact. If he dies while in sin, before penance, he will be given penance in hell in the measure of his deeds. He will then be saved for the sake of the name of Christ.

The idea of penance is uncommon in medieval Ethiopia, and there are few known sources from which it might be derived. The *Apocalypse of Peter* stands as one of the best candidates. Although modern scholarship considers it to express apokatastasis rather than penance, it is not difficult to imagine the repeated emphasis on eternal damnation for sinners (e.g. 6:6, 6:9, 8:1, 10:3, 11:8–9, 13:2) combining with God's mercy on sinners later in the text (esp. ch. 31) to result in not universal forgiveness, but salvation limited to repentant Christians.¹¹³

¹¹¹ As published in Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 459–60.

¹¹² Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383.

¹¹³ E.J. Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter: The Relationship of the Versions’, in M.T. Gebreanayye, L. Williams, and F. Watson (eds), *Beyond Canon* (London, 2021) 117–30, at 120–24 offers several important observations on the form of apokatastasis found in the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* and how it diverges from that attested in the antecedent Greek version. While traces

It therefore seems as likely as not that Retu‘a Hāymānot encountered the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Indeed, his *Homily on Peter’s denial* contains not only the aforementioned points of contact, but basically serves as the outworking of a statement found in the broader Ethiopic *Apocalypse* (32:6): “But as for you, prioritize the gift of repentance for sinners and instruct concerning the judgment of burning fire.” The publication of further segments of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s works will doubtless allow for a more nuanced examination of this question. If, however, it is true that he was directly acquainted with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, we may push its arrival in Ethiopia back to the fourteenth century, and his lasting impact as a theologian, as attested by the wide diffusion of his writings, would mean that it played an impactful role in Ethiopian Orthodoxy, particularly if it served as the basis for the idea of penance.

Appendix

With the dual aims of making more transparent some of the claims above and trying to facilitate further scholarship on the corpus of the important and much neglected Retu‘a Hāymānot, presented below are catalogue entries for the seventeen primary witnesses to the Retu‘a Hāymānot homiliary currently available to scholars.¹¹⁴ While some

of this doctrine may exist in the Ethiopic text, they nonetheless remain extremely difficult to isolate, and the same theological conclusion probably would not be reached without recourse to other materials, none of which, of course, would have been available in late medieval Ethiopia. Indeed, the statement quoted by Beck (*ibid.*, 122) as evidence of apokatastasis can only be understood as supporting such a position if two groups are sequentially referenced, first the sinners who believed in Jesus (31:2–3), and second all sinners (31:4–8). Yet, given the return to those who believed in Jesus thereafter (31:9), it remains possible to interpret this entire chapter as relating to sinful Christians, or Christians who died in sin, rather than a grouping limited to them as well as a universal grouping in which they only constitute a portion. Such an interpretation provides a relatively clear lens through which the idea of penance might emerge.

¹¹⁴ Minor fragments of the homiliary, such as those at Gunda Gundē (cf. Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 455) are not treated here. It should be noted, however, that the bifolium in Rylands Ethiopic MS 44 supposedly containing material from this homiliary (thus

form of catalogue has been published for half of them, fresh inspection of the manuscripts has revealed many of these to be in need of correction. For example, although having been catalogued in triplicate, no published description of MS A has hitherto noted a number of displaced and missing leaves, and proper collation reveals part of an additional homily.

The following entries, prepared from full collations, focus on the original production units and provenances of the manuscripts, omitting *additiones* and occasional other minor details. Rather than providing extended titles for each homily, consistent abbreviated forms are utilized, which together with the Table above will allow for easy identification and reference to all witnesses found within these codices. Each manuscript has also been assigned an alphabetic siglum in accordance with its approximate sequential availability to (Western) scholarship, a series that can straightforwardly be added to as others become accessible. These will hopefully allow multiple scholars to work on the Retu‘a Hāymānot material without the emergence of a cacophony of conflicting independent systems, and encourage the publication of more of this corpus.

(siglum A) **Éthiopien d’Abbadie 80**

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

Parchment, 38.5 × 30 cm, i+155 ff., 2 cols., 27–32 lines, wooden boards partially covered with leather, 15th/16th cent.

ff. 3r–155r: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–6v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7r–15v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 15v–24v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 25rv, 42rv, 40rv, 26r–27r: Start of Lent; ff. 27v–30r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 30r–32r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 32v, 41rv, 33r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 33r–35v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 35v–38v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 39rv, mutilous: Sixth Sunday in Lent; acephalous, ff. 44r–51r: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 51r–55v: Peter’s denial; ff. 56r–62r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 62r–71v, 43rv,

S. Delamarter and Demeke Berhane, *A Catalogue of Previously Uncatalogued Ethiopic Manuscripts in England* [Oxford, 2007] 26) is in fact derived from a manuscript of the funeral ritual (*Genzat*) – not Retu‘a Hāymānot – from the reign of Emperor Takla Hāymānot II (1769–1777).

72r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary¹¹⁵ 1:1–5:1; ff. 72r–84r: Death of Jesus; ff. 84v–95v: Easter; ff. 95v–96v, 98r–102r: Ascension; ff. 102r–104v, 97rv, 105r–111v: Pentecost; ff. 112r–115r: Twelve apostles; ff. 115r–119v: Transfiguration; ff. 120r–122v, 127r–128v, 123r–126v, 129r–133r: Mary; ff. 133r–138r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 138r–143v: Archangel Michael; ff. 143v–155r: Incarnation)

Harag: ff. 3r, 7r, 15v, 25r, 27v, 32v, 33r, 35v, 39r, 112r

Bibliography: A. d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) 93–94; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris, 1912) 53–54; C. Conti Rossini, “Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie,” *JA* ser. 11, vol. 2 (1913) 5–64, at 15–16

(siglum B) **Ma IX 2**

Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany

Paper, 24.5 × 19 cm, i+197+i ff., 1–2 cols., 23–37 lines, European binding, dated April 24, 1840 CE

ff. 2r–196v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 2r–8r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 8r–24r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24r–41r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 41r–49v: Start of Lent; ff. 49v–55r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 55r–59v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 59v–63r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 63r–86v: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost¹¹⁶; ff. 86v–106v: Incarnation; ff. 106v–110r: Palm Sunday; ff. 110r–125r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 125r–139v: Death of Jesus; ff. 139v–145v: Ascension; ff. 145v–158v: Pentecost; ff. 158v–163r: Twelve apostles; ff. 163r–169v: Transfiguration; ff. 170r–189r: Mary; ff. 189v–196v: Four heavenly creatures)

Completed in Ankobar on 16 Miyāzyā in the year of the evangelist John on Good Friday (=April 24, 1840 CE), with copying having commenced on 12 Terr (January 21), f. 197r

¹¹⁵ CANT 74

¹¹⁶ Cf. EMMML 2358, ff. 138r–154r.

Copied by Habta Šellāsē for Yoḥannes Krāpf (i.e. Johann Ludwig Krapf), ff. 106v, 110r, 125r, 129v, 145v, 158v, 163r, 169v, 189r, 196v

Ownership note of Yoḥannes Krāpf (i.e. Johann Ludwig Krapf), f. 196v

Gift of (Johann) Ludwig Krapf to the University of Tübingen library on February 1, 1841 CE; sent by Krapf from Ankobar and arrived at Tübingen July 1, 1842 CE, f. 1r

Bibliography: H. Ewald, “Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen,” *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844) 164–201, at 197

NB: Copied from EMMML 2375 (siglum I)

(siglum C) **Or. 786**

British Library, London, United Kingdom

Parchment, 36.5 × 26.8 cm, 168+ii ff., 3 cols., 25 lines, wooden boards, between 1806–1813 CE

ff. 5r–167v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ገደማኖት]

(ff. 5r–10v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 10v–24v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24v–40r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 40r–47r: Start of Lent; ff. 47r–51r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 51r–54v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 54v–57r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 57r–72r: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost; ff. 72r–88v: Incarnation; ff. 88v–92v: Palm Sunday; ff. 92v–109v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 109v–124v: Death of Jesus; ff. 125r–132v: Ascension; ff. 132v–148v: Pentecost; ff. 148v–153v: Twelve apostles; ff. 154r–160v: Transfiguration; ff. 160v–167v: Four heavenly creatures)

Harag: f. 5r

Copied by Asba Giyorgis, ff. ff. 62v, 92v, 109v, 167v, for Šāhla Šellāsē, ff. 24v, 40r, 62v, 88v, 92v, 109v, 124v, 132v, 148v, 153v, 160v, 167v

Ownership note of Šāhla Šellāsē, king of Šawā (reigned 1806–1847 CE), his father Wasan Sagad (d. 1812/3 CE), and his mother Iyāsīmēr, f. 167v

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847* (London, 1877) 231–32

(siglum D) **Ms. orient. quart. 1165** and **Ms. orient. quart. 1166**
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany

Parchment, 35 × 24 cm, 62+68 ff., 2 cols., 27–35 lines, European bindings, 15th cent.

Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 2r–63v and Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 2r–69v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(acephalous, Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 2r–5r: On the theology of the incarnation; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 5r–7v, wanting leaf, 8rv, 60rv, 10r–11v, 35rv, 13r–14v: Birth of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 14v, 12rv, 16r–24v: Baptism of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 25r–34v, 37r: Incarnation; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 37rv, 53rv, 36r: Palm Sunday; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 36v, 38r–47v, 9rv: Washing of the disciples’ feet; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 9v, 54rv, 50r–52v, 55r–56v, 48r–49v, 57r–59r: Death of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 59rv, 15rv, 61r–63v, mutilous: Ascension; acephalous, Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 2r–6r: Transfiguration; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 6r–21r: Mary; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 21v–27v: Four heavenly creatures; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 27v–32v: Archangel Michael; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 33r–38r: Start of Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 38r–41r: First Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 41r–43r: Second Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 43v–45r: Third Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 45v–48r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 48r–52r: Fifth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 52r–55v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 55v–60r: Death of Joseph¹¹⁷; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 60v–66r: Trial before Pilate; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 66r–69v, mutilous: Peter’s denial)

Name of commissioner effaced on Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 21r, 32v

Bibliography: E. Hammerschmidt and V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Wiesbaden, 1983) 267–71

¹¹⁷ CAVT 116 and 117. Cf. A.M. Butts *et al.*, ‘Notes on the History of Joseph (CAVT 113, 114) and the Death of Joseph (CAVT 116, 117)’, *Apocrypha* 28 (2017) 233–37.

(siglum E) **Ṭānāsee 142**

(also microfilmed later as EMLL no. 8382)

Monastery of Dāgā Estifānos, Goğgām, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34 × 25 cm, 159 ff., 2 cols., 25–30 lines, broken wooden boards, 15th cent.

ff. 4r–158r: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 4r–8v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 9r–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20v, 22r–33v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 33v–47v: Incarnation; ff. 48r–50v: Palm Sunday; ff. 51r–61v, 21rv, 62r–64v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 64v–78r: Death of Jesus; ff. 78v–84r: Ascension; ff. 84v–95v: Pentecost; ff. 96r–99r: Twelve apostles; ff. 99r–104r: Transfiguration; ff. 104r–119r: Mary; ff. 119r–124v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 125r–130v: Archangel Michael; ff. 131r–136r: Start of Lent; ff. 136r–139r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 139r–141v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 141v–143r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 143r–146r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 146r–149v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 149v–152r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 152r–158r: Peter’s denial)

Harag: f. 4r

Bibliography: V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3* (Stuttgart, 1999) 159–65

NB: ff. 46v–47r not microfilmed in Ṭānāsee 142

(siglum F) **EMML no. 1194**

(also microfilmed earlier as UNESCO 5.25)

Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Paper, 35 × 22.5 cm, ff. i+153+x, 2 cols., 41 lines, hard paper covers, mid-20th cent.

ff. 1r–153v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–5v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 5v–10r: Archangel Michael; ff. 10r–15r: Book which came from Jerusalem¹¹⁸; ff. 15r–18v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18v–27v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 28r–37r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 37r–41v: Start of Lent; ff. 41v–44r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 44r–46r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 46v–48r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 48r–50r:

¹¹⁸ Cf. EMLL 1763, ff. 63v–69r.

Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 50r–52v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 53r–55r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 55v–57v: Palm Sunday; ff. 57v–67r: Incarnation; ff. 67r–76v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 76v–81r: Peter's denial; ff. 81r–86v: Trial before Pilate; ff. 86v–96r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 96r–106r: Death of Jesus; ff. 106r–115v: Easter; ff. 115v–120r: Ascension; ff. 120v–131r: Pentecost; ff. 131r–135r: Twelve apostles; ff. 135r–139v: Transfiguration; ff. 139v–153v: Mary)

Copied by Qalama Warq Lawtē (baptismal name Gabra Ḥeywat) of Ašāmā Qirqos and Gondar, ff. 52v, 86v, 153v

Commissioned by/for Ḥāyla Šellāsē and *mamher/abuna* Ḥabta Māryām, ff. 86v, 153v

Bibliography: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed by the UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Province* (1970); Getatchew Haile, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. IV: Project Numbers 1101–1500* (Collegeville, MN, 1979) 150–51

NB: Textual descendant of UNESCO 8.9 (siglum G)

(siglum G) **UNESCO 8.9**

Church of Bečanā Giyorgis, Goğğām, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 25 cm, ff. 93, 3 cols., 36–38 lines, wooden boards, late 18th cent.

ff. 4r–92v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 4r–6v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6v–9r: Archangel Michael; ff. 9r–12r: Book which came from Jerusalem; ff. 12r–14r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 14r–19v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 19v–25r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 25r–27v: Start of Lent; ff. 27v–29r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 29r–30v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 30v–31v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 31v–32v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 32v–34v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 34v–36r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 36r–37r: Palm Sunday; ff. 37v–43r: Incarnation; ff. 43r–49r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 49r–51v: Peter's denial; ff. 51v–55r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 55r–60v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and

lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 60v–66r: Death of Jesus; ff. 66r–71v: Easter; ff. 71v–74v: Ascension; ff. 74v–80r: Pentecost; ff. 80r–82r: Twelve apostles; ff. 82r–85r: Transfiguration; ff. 85r–92v: Mary)

Copied by Ḥāyła Šellāsē for Walda Gabre'ēl, f. 92v; name of owner Arsānyos, ff. 55r, 57v, 92v

Bibliography: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed by the UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Province* (1970)

NB: f. 1r not microfilmed

(siglum H) **EMML no. 12**

(also digitized later as EMIP 1293)

Qeddus Mārḳos Church, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 29.5 cm, ff. 147, 3 cols., 28 lines, leather over wooden boards covered with cloth, early 20th cent.

ff. 1r–145r: **Retu'ā Ḥāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–5r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 5r–9r: Archangel Michael; ff. 9r–13v: Book which came from Jerusalem; ff. 13v–18r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18r–27r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 27r–36r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 36r–40v: Start of Lent; ff. 40v–43r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 43r–46r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 46r–47v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 47v–49^{bis}r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 49^{bis}r–51v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 51v–54r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 54r–56r: Palm Sunday; ff. 56r–65v: Incarnation; ff. 65v–75v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 76r–80v: Peter's denial; ff. 80v–86r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 86r–95v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 95v–104v: Death of Jesus; ff. 104v–113v: Easter; ff. 113v–117v: Ascension; ff. 117v–126v: Pentecost; ff. 126v–129v: Twelve apostles; ff. 129v–133v: Transfiguration; ff. 133v–145r: Mary)

Copied by Walda Sinodā of Dabra Ṣemmunā for (future Emperor) Ḥāyła Šellāsē and for *mamher* Walda Māryām, ff. 86r, 90v, 145r
According to later anachronistic notes, the manuscript was given by Emperor Ḥāyła Šellāsē to Qeddus Mārḳos Church in 1918 EC (1925/6 CE), ff. 2r, 81r, 145r

Bibliography: W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm*

Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, Vol. I: Project Numbers 1–300 (Collegeville, MN, 1975) 14

NB: Descendant of UNESCO 8.9 (siglum G); nos. 14 and 44 skipped in foliation and an unnumbered leaf after f. 49; ff. 134v–137r not microfilmed

(siglum I) **EMML no. 2375**

Church of Ankobar Mikā'ēl, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 29 × 26 cm, 128 ff., 2 cols., 22–30 lines, broken wooden boards, 18th cent.

ff. 3r–127v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–8r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 8r–18v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 18v–31r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 31v–36v: Start of Lent; ff. 36v–39r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 39r–41r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 41r–42v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 42v–54r: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost; ff. 54r–65r: Incarnation; ff. 65r–67v: Palm Sunday; ff. 67v–78v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 78v–89r: Death of Jesus; ff. 89r–93r: Ascension; ff. 93v–101v: Pentecost; ff. 101v–104r: Twelve apostles; ff. 104r–108r: Transfiguration; ff. 109r–122r: Mary; ff. 122r–127v: Four heavenly creatures)

Harag: ff. 3r, 109r

Copied for Abulidis, ff. 18v, 31r, 42v, 46v, 65r, 67v, 78v, 89r, 93r, 101v, 104r, 108r, 122r, 127v

Bibliography: Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500* (Collegeville, MN, 1981) 451–57

(siglum J) **EMML no. 2584**

Church of Mascā Māryām, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 24 × 20.4 cm., 126 ff., 2 cols., 22 lines, wooden boards, 18th cent.

ff. 3r–123r: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–7v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7v–24v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24v–27r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 27r–39r: Incarnation;

ff. 39r–42r: Palm Sunday; ff. 42r–56r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 56r–67r: Death of Jesus; ff. 67r–73r: Ascension; ff. 73r–84v: Pentecost; ff. 84v–89r: Twelve apostles; ff. 89r–94v: Transfiguration; ff. 95r–110v: Mary (incompletely copied); ff. 110v–117r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 117r–123r: Archangel Michael)

Ownership notes of Ḥāyala Krestos, f. 123r, *bālāmbārās* Kabbada Feśšeḥa, ff. 2v, 124v, and *dabtarā* Walda Yoḥannes, ff. 124v, 125v–126r

Bibliography: Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. VII: Project Numbers 2501–3000* (Collegeville, MN, 1983) 38

NB: The antigraph of this manuscript or another of its predecessors was defective, resulting in major omissions of textual material on ff. 10v, 25r, 63v, 66r, and 78v, and most of the homily on the baptism being copied as part of the homily on the birth of Jesus (ff. 17r–24r).

(siglum K) **EMML no. 7019**

Monastery of Ġar Šellāsē, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 32.5 × 22 cm., 168 ff., 2 cols., 24–34 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

ff. 1r–168v: **Retu‘a Ḥāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–6r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6r–11r: Archangel Michael; ff. 11v–15v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 16r–28v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 28v–41v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 42r–47v: Start of Lent; ff. 48r–50v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 51r–53v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 53v–55r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 56r–59r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 59r–63r: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 63v–66v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 66v–69r: Palm Sunday; ff. 69v–80v: Incarnation; ff. 80v–93r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 93r–97v: Peter's denial; ff. 98r–104r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 104v–115r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 115r–125v: Death of Jesus; ff. 125v–135r: Easter; ff. 135v–140r: Ascension; ff. 140r–150r: Pentecost; ff. 150v–153v: Twelve apostles; ff. 153v–157v: Transfiguration; ff. 157v–160v, 165r–166v, 161r–164v, 167r–168v: Mary)

Harag: f. 1r

NB: Nos. 31, 105, and 137 skipped in foliation and nos. 60 and 101 repeated on consecutive leaves (foliation given above as per actuality, not as written); ff. 105 and 111 later replacement leaves

(siglum L) **EMML no. 7028**

Church of Ešatan Māryām, Wallo, Ethiopia

Parchment, 35 × 24 cm, ff. 177+i, 2 cols., 27–33 lines, wooden boards, Part I (ff. 1–129) dated 1397/8 CE, Part II (ff. 130–177) 14th/15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–126v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 1r–6r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 6v–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20v–34v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 35r–38r: Palm Sunday; ff. 38r–53r: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 53v–67v: Death of Jesus; ff. 68r–75r: Ascension; ff. 75r–90r: Pentecost; ff. 90v–95r: Twelve apostles; ff. 95v–102r: Transfiguration; ff. 102v–114v, missing leaf, 115r–119v: Mary; ff. 120r–126v: Archangel Michael)
- 2) ff. 130r–167r: **Life of Hripsime** [ገድለ : አርሲማ]
- 3) ff. 167v–177v: **History of Mary the Egyptian**, for 7 Miyāzyā; cf. British Library Or. 686, ff. 168v–173r; EMML 8458, ff. 43r–54v

Harag: ff. 95v, 102v

The first part of the manuscript (ff. 1–126) was commissioned by *abuna* Nob and completed in the 50th year of mercy (1397/8 CE), f. 126v. The Life of Hripsime is copied in the same hand as the first part of the manuscript.

NB: f. 1r not microfilmed

(siglum M) **EMML no. 7638**

Unidentified library, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 36 × 24 cm, 166 ff., 2 cols., 28–31 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–157v, 160r–166v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 1r–6v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7r–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 21r–32r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 32r–37v: Start of Lent; ff. 37v–40v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 40v–43v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 43v–45v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 45v–48v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 48v–52v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 52v–55v: Sixth

Sunday in Lent; ff. 55v–58r: Palm Sunday; ff. 58v–70v: Incarnation; ff. 71r–83v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 84r–89v: Peter's denial; ff. 90r–96v: Trial before Pilate; ff. 96v–108r: Easter; ff. 108r–113v: Ascension; ff. 114r–127r: Pentecost; ff. 127v–131v: Twelve apostles; ff. 132r–137v: Transfiguration; ff. 138r–154v: Mary; ff. 154v–157v, 160r–163r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 163r–166v, mutilous: Archangel Michael)

- 2) ff. 158r–159v: **2 Samuel** 6:5–7:21, displaced leaves from a 15th-century manuscript

Harag: ff. 1r, 7r, 21r

NB: ff. 36v–37r not microfilmed

(siglum N) **EMML no. 8459**

Monastery of Ṭānā Qirqos, Gondar, Ethiopia

Parchment, 30 × 21.5 cm, 96 ff., 2 cols., 25–38 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–58v, 60r–96v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት], mutilous
(ff. 2rv, 1rv, 3r–6v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6v–10v, 13r–14v: Archangel Michael; ff. 15r–16v, 11r–12v, 17r–18r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18v–30v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 31r–40v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 41r–45v: Start of Lent; ff. 45v–48r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 48v–52r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 52v–53v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 54r–55v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 56r–58v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 60r–61v, 49r–50v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 50v, 62r–63v: Palm Sunday; ff. 63v–76r: Incarnation; ff. 76r–89r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 89r–94v: Peter's denial; ff. 94v–96v, mutilous: Trial before Pilate)
- 2) ff. 59rv: **Life of Cyricus and Julitta** [ገድለ : ቂርቆስ], displaced leaf from a late-14th century manuscript

Harag: ff. 2r, 48v, 63v, 94v

(siglum O) **EMML no. 8913**

Church of Atkanā Giyorgis, Gondar, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 25 cm., 122 ff., 2 cols., 29–31 lines, without covers, 15th cent.

ff. 1r–122v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1rv, 90r–93v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 94r–95v, 2rv, 61r–70v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 70v–75v, 96r–102v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 102v–105v, 76r–84r: Incarnation; ff. 84v–87r: Palm Sunday; ff. 87r–89v, 3r–4v, 113rv, 106r–112v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 112v, 114r–122v, 5r–8r: Death of Jesus; ff. 8v–14v: Ascension; ff. 14v–20v: Pentecost; ff. 21r–25r: Twelve apostles; ff. 25v–29v, mutilous: Transfiguration; acephalous, ff. 30r–46r: Mary; ff. 46v–53v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 54r–60v: Archangel Michael)

Harag: ff. 1r, 8v, 21r, 25v, 46v, 54r, 70v, 84v, 94r, 112v

Name of scribe or commissioner effaced, f. 60v

National inventory no. H₂-IV-617

(siglum P) **EMML no. 9084**

Church of Berber Māryām, Gāmo Gofā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 32 × 24.5 cm., 236 ff., 2 cols., 26 lines, wooden boards, late-14th/early-15th cent.

ff. 1r–236v: **Retu'ā Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ገጽገናት]

(ff. 1r–9v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 11r–18r: Archangel Michael; ff. 19r–25r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 26r–42r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 43r–59v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 61r–68v: Start of Lent; ff. 69r–73r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 74r–77v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 78r–80v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 81r–85r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 85r–90v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 90v–94v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 95r–98v: Palm Sunday; ff. 100r–115v: Incarnation; ff. 116r–131r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 132r–139r: Peter's denial; ff. 140r–148r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 149r–163v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 165r–179r: Death of Jesus; ff. 180r–193v: Easter; ff. 195r–201v: Ascension; ff. 203r–215v: Pentecost; ff. 217r–236v: Mary)

Full-page miniatures: ff. 10v, 18v, 25v, 42v, 60v, 73v, 99v, 131v, 139v, 148v, 164v, 179v, 194v, 202v, 216v

Harag: ff. 1r, 11r, 19r, 26r, 43r, 61r, 69r, 74r, 78r, 81r, 85r, 90v, 95r, 100r, 116r, 132r, 140r, 149r, 165r, 180r, 195r, 203r, 217r

NB: Severe water damage to the first half of the manuscript, with the first leaves totally illegible on the microfilm; significant portions of text on each page are affected until well after the midpoint

Bibliography: E. Haberland, *Altes Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien: Eine vergessene Missionsepoche* (Wiesbaden, 1976) 21 (and plate)

(siglum Q) **EMIP no. 816**

Church of Čalaqot Šellāsē, Tegrāy, Ethiopia

Parchment, 23.7 × 20.4 cm, 137 ff., 2 cols., 22 lines, wooden boards covered with stamped leather, 18th/19th cent.

- 1) ff. 2r–121v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 2r–7v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7v–19v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20r–32r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 32r–38r: Start of Lent; ff. 38r–41v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 41v–44v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 45r–47r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 47r–60r: Incarnation; ff. 60r–62v: Palm Sunday; ff. 62v–75v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 75v–88r: Death of Jesus; ff. 88r–94r: Ascension; ff. 94r–106v: Pentecost; ff. 106v–111r: Twelve apostles; ff. 111r–116r: Transfiguration; ff. 116r–121v: Four heavenly creatures)
- 2) ff. 122r–137v, mutilous: **Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary** 1:1–9:2 [ላክ : ማርያም]; cf. M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, *Gamaliel: Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur* (Freiburg, 1959)

Name of original owner effaced, ff. 2r, 7v, 19v–20r, 32r, 38r, 41v, 44v–45r, 47r, 60r, 62v, 75v, 87v, 94r, 106v, 111r, 116r, 121v–122r
Acquired by Emperor Tēwodros for his church of Madhānē Ālam at Magdala, where it was acquired by the British Army in April 1868, which presented this and hundreds of other manuscripts to the church of Čalaqot Šellāsē the following month, cf. f. 2r

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