THE ROYAL CHRONICLE
OF ABYSSINIA
1769–1840
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KING OF KINGS TAKLA HÄYMÄNOT II

In the name of God the Father whose existence is without a cause, in the name of God the Son, whose generation is from the person of the Father, and in the name of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the essence of the Father, without the first being antecedent to the second or the second to the third without change of name or ceasing from being One; who exist in one divinity and in one Kingdom; distinct, without division of their simple essence, and single operation: and in such manner that the Father wills His fulfilment by the Son and the Holy Spirit. And by this Will of the Holy Spirit, the Royal Secretary begins to write the History of his Lord Mikä’êl Chief of the Dignitaries, and Power of the Negus, in the following tenor.

On the 8th Ṭeqemt (18 October 1769) Sunday, the grace of the Holy Spirit which descended from above upon him, moved and impelled Mikä’êl the Archangel and Holy Created Being to cause to reign the eldest son of King Johannes, and made Takla Häymänōt Negus. Have you observed the acuteness of the intelligence and subtlety of mind of Mikä’êl, prince of the wise men? Of the two sons of the Negus, he chose the eldest for the Kingdom, and left the younger. Yet some one may say "Why did he choose and make King the eldest? Peradventure because his Father had in goodly manner disposed it? But Rās Mikä’êl, Master of Law, said to them 'Not that I had heard that the Father had so ordained in his favour; O why subtly search for a thing? Know ye not that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are those that grant a Kingdom? And have ye not heard that Laban held a wedding feast for Jacob and in the evening brought Leah nigh to Jacob? And when it was morning and he (saw) that behold (it was) Leah, Jacob said Why hast thou done this thing? Was it not

1 For dates, &c., vide Appendix: Chronography and Chronology.  
2 Gen. xxix.
for Rachel that I served thee for seven years, and why hast thou despised me thus? ' And Laban said 'How could I have given thee the younger daughter when it is the custom of our country to give the elder'? ' So Rās Mikā'ēl spoke, a master of Parables, with understanding and knowledge, because he likened the King to the bridegroom and the Kingdom to the Spouse. Oh wisdom unfathomably rich of Mikā'ēl, of profoundest judgment!

On the 13th, the Saturday, he appointed the dignitaries of the Church, he gave to Satiti Kidāna Wald the charge of the Qas Hatsē. He gave that of the Mal'aka Tsahay to Alaqā Nahuda, as also the charge of the Royal Secretary of the Left (Wing). He appointed the Alaqā Fāsil over the Church of Hamārā Noh; the "Mal'aka Gannat" Nācho over that of Attala mi Qeddus Mikā'ēl; the Goragatata "Wāsē" to the Church of Qeddus Rafa'ēl; Liqā Kāhenat (Chief Priest) Pantalewon to the Church of Ledatā; the Mal'aka Salaam Taklē to Debra (Monastery) Sēgē: all he confirmed in their charges, each according to his place. On the 28th, Sunday, the Negusa Nagast Takla Häymānot created the Abēto Kefta Iyasus, a Dajazmāch of Semēn, who was Governor of Tamben, by wish of his Overlord Rās Mikā'ēl, because he sincerely loved his Overlord. On the 29th, Monday, the Azāj Berkyānos went out from Gondar marching by Faraqa Bēt and halted at Loza. On the 30th of Ṭeqemt, Tuesday, Rās Mikā'ēl left Gondar and halted at Kāyla Mēda to await the Negus. The Negus issued forth with the royal regalia, that is to say, the crown of marvellous workmanship, and admirable shape; Rās Mikā'ēl left Kāyla Mēda, stationing the Negus in front of himself, and the following behind. Thus stayed the N. N. Takla Häymānot and the chief of the Captains Mikā'ēl with their armies, as often as they were on the march by the grace of God. And the Mal'aka Tsahay has written in lofty style, being in fact the Royal Secretary, and he began the relation of the history after the ensuing tenor.

They departed from Gondar and halted at Loza on the 30th Ṭeqemt and on their parting from Gondar on the 30th,

1 Gen. xxix. 25.
a great mystery was shown, deeply significant, for it was a symbol of the return of the Prince of the mighty ones, Mikā'ēl, he being a youth of 30 years, and the symbol of his renewal is like the Eagle (Ps. ciii. 5), except that he is better than the Eagle in his renewal; for the Eagle renews himself in 500 years, while he renews himself every day. And in his sojourn in Loza, he likened himself to Jacob the Father of Israel, who dwelt on the mount of Luza and saw in his dreams a ladder (Gen. xxviii. 12) which joined the earth to the heavens, and the angels of the Lord ascended and descended by it. Thus Rās Mikā'ēl beheld in his nocturnal vision everything that he did during the day, as if in the past, the night of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ and saw it if even he only ate a berry of a grape.

But this dream could be likened to the dream of the Chief of the Cupbearers of the King of Egypt, who saw in his dreams three berries of a grape which he pressed and put in a cup of the King, and Joseph interpreted the three grapeberries were three days, and that at the end of three days Pharaoh would restore him to his office. But Mikā'ēl Prince of the interpreters dreamed a dream himself and himself interpreted the dream.

Khedār began on a Wednesday: the King and Rās Mikā'ēl moved from Loza and halted at Bālangab, whence they departed the 2nd Khedār on a Thursday and halted at Gērā Dabā. They moved on from Gērā Dabā and halted at Alawā, and from Alawā they moved and halted at Masqala Krestos; on the 5th Khedar, Sunday, they spent the day (in repose) and passed the night. This night of Sunday which Rās Mikā'ēl passed at Masqala Krestos, this second Moses was mindful of the words of O. S. Jesus Christ on the Cross and prayed for the Negus, for himself, and for all the men that followed him, saying, “Remember, O Lord, The Kingdom.” In the day then he rested, for the Lord said to Moses, “ Honour the Sabbath of the Lord thy God,” and for this the Prince of the illustrious, Mikā'ēl, honoured being, honoured the day of Sunday. They marched from Masqala Krestos and halted at Dengel Bar, from Dengel

Bar they moved on and halted at Gerāgē, from Gerāgē they moved and camped at Wembaryā; they moved from Wembaryā and camped at Gug; from Gug they moved and camped at Kelti. On the 10th Khedār Wāti Sanbato, a trustworthy man, made submission and on that day they stupified many fish. This capture of fish was not done by the seed of the true Berbera (*Berbera ferruginosa*) which they throw into the water and stu-

ify the fish for a time so that when they come to the surface they are netted, but by love of the Prince of Magnates, Mikā'ēl, they were stupified and submitted to him, becoming dainty food on the day of the fast and fulfilling the words which God said, "Let us make man after our image and likeness, and masters of the fish of the sea." They moved from Kelti and camped on Arussi: Zar'u, Wadāgē, Bosi son of Mikā'ēl trusting to him, submitted. On the 12th Khedār the Negus T. Háymānot held solemn audience and celebrated the feast; likewise the Prince of Magnates, Mikā'ēl, celebrated it with rejoicings and festival and gave bullocks without count to the Magnates, to the "Liq" as well as the Royal Princesses, to all the sons of the nobles of Shāwā and also to all the cooks and bearers of the water-gumbos (large earthenware vessels), the reason of all this that he did was because this day was the feast of S. Mikā'ēl. They moved from Arussi the 13th Khedār, a Monday, and halted at Kuāgā; from Ker they moved and halted at Kuāgā: the 15th, Wednesday, they moved from Kuāgā and halted at Kuakerā: from Kuakerā they moved, 16th Khedār, and halted in the land of Fagtā: on Thursday, the feast of our Lady Māryām, on which she received from her beloved son, the merciful and compassionate, the (Kedān) covenant of mercy. The Chief of the Captains, Mikā'ēl, went up on to a high mountain and had audience in the same tent with the Negus, who placed him in front of himself, for he loved him more than himself: for he encompassed him and covered him as with a cherished shield, in order that he might not be afraid at seeing the assemblage of the people.

1 By putting a vegetable preparation in the water.
2 Gen. i. 26.
And Rās Mikā'ēl, shield of the Negus and a sharpened sword that opens not, at the sight of the encompassing of the people, prayed and said, "Wherefore are the people assembled?" (Ps. ii. 2). Thereupon he said to two Dajazmāch, Goshu of Amhāra, and Dejazmāch Wand Bawasan of Begameder and Eshētē Khāylu, "Go by the road to the right, you hither and you thither."

First of all they assembled their guards who [were as though they] had wings on their feet, without which the precipice would have kept them back. There was a great slaughter in the land of Fagta as the Bible says, "The slaughter made the blood run like a river" (Ps. lxxix. 3). A great number of pagans and Christians perished, more than 10,000, and the prince of Victors, Mikā'ēl, conquered them for his missiles were swifter than the wind. His victory was not through a multitude of soldiers and of lances, but by a ball of lead which brought down a horseman on a white horse; and when they saw the cavalier fall, all the enemy fled and found no place of refuge to retire to, nor did any spot retain them; for the whole earth does not suffice for a timid man. And these witless ones ran round about the earth bereft of mind, as Sirak says, "The heart of a fool turns over like a wheel" (Eccles. xxxiii. 5). That day the people found no water to drink, for all the water of the river had become blood, first as the water of Egypt had turned to blood in the time of the Prophet Moses, aided by St Mikā'ēl the Angel of Heaven: thus did these valiant men on Fagittā cause the water of the river to turn to blood, by the power of Rās Mikā'ēl the Angel of Earth. The earth too was tinged with blood and their clothes were raiment of Bāsor which is red as blood. And thus was fulfilled the words of the Sacred Book, which says, "Blood came up to the bits of the horses, and the chariots were steeped to their middles" (Apoc. xiv. 20). For this the land of Fagtā was called Armageddon (Megiddo) (4 Kings xxiii. 29), for that blood was poured freely of pagan and Christian, and while this terrible slaughter was being enacted Rās Mikā'ēl played at chess, according to his custom. Oh, custom! that burnt like fire the hearts of the enemy; for
the soul of Rās Mikā'ēl was not moved in the moment of great slaughter. We will return to the battle of the valiant, Chief of the Giants, Dajazmāch Goshu, the giant Defazmāch, Wand Bawasan, with their armies. Then Eshētē Khāylu killed six un circumcised, five with the spear, and one with his sword (Goradē) at a blow, and showed great valour, wonderful to hear and relate, being then of the age of 16 years. It is fitting to be astonished and astounded by such courage, for he performed then feats of great prowess as Gideon did in Midian, saying, “The war of Gideon is the strength of the Lord”; and he killed Horeb and Zeb and Selmānna and all their chiefs who had killed his brother, and avenged the blood of his brother, shedding the blood of these peoples. In such manner he acted at Fagta and avenged the blood of his father. So that (by the laws of nature) the birth of sons ceases not, it is glorious for him to have such sons! And he also acted as David the Israelite did who in the presence of Saul his father-in-law laid down the trophies, so he also did and left 200 trophies with his retainers, before his father-in-law, Rās Mikā'ēl (1 Sam. xviii. 27). Then Rās Mikā'ēl was rejoiced at the valour of Eshētē Khāylu, and first of all the warriors of Tigrē, such as not distinguished their left from their right, returned with trophies. Then Rās Mikā'ēl ordered his escort that they should put on one side in front of him, the chess board to look at it, while they were laying down their trophies. And the warriors of the Tigrines, for whom the victory had been won, threw down the trophies of various peoples in front of the Negusa Nagast (King of Kings), Takla Háymānot, a young man endowed with gifts, and our Lord the lord of the warriors, Rās Mikā'ēl, Conqueror of the enemy from of old, who were together in the same tent, pitched on a high hill. The trophies, that is to say, the sexual organs, which had been just thrown down before them, resembled a heap of grain in the fields of a rich man. When the Royal Princesses and the waiting women saw this heap of sexual organs they marvelled and cried, in great astonishment, “What

1 Judges vii, viii.
is this?" as if they did not know, though they well knew. But let us dismiss the discourse of the ladies and turn to our first object, what was the reason that his enemies hated him even to doing him an outrage, their ruler who suffers no injury, like unto a great mountain wherein is found a gem of great price. The great mountain is Rās Mikā'el, great and lofty, whose height reaches to heaven, even as Enoch said in the beginning of his vision, "I saw a great mountain in the midst of seven mountains, whose peak lifted itself towards the heavens" (Lib. Henoch, v. c. 24). And in this manner the prophet Enoch has pronounced in his lengthy science the greatness and glory of Rās Mikā'el our greatness and our glory, of gentle disposition, who hates not after having loved, who dismisses not after having appointed, when he finds no fault. Come, Come, Oh my sons, I mean my thoughts that are born in my mind and move your feet in the ink and pen towards a far-off region, I mean the words that the rebels used when they said, "We are conquered." For when Rās Mikā'el went forth to war, they could not encounter him in battle, nor stand up before him. What is the custom of these mock warriors, who could not resist him? Let alone resistance, they fled straight in front, nor looked behind them: for how long did they run away but they could remain as they were without doing for one hour a deed of valour? The valour of Fasil and Lubo was that they came on like men and they ran fleeing like beasts. But in this so great victory and prowess a great sorrow seized Dajazmāch Kefla Iyasus, a man of intelligence who weighed his words in the scale because the son of a brother of his was killed, the Abēto Gabra Kedān, a beloved youth. Discussion over the victory of Fagtā would not finish, and without finishing, I return (to the thread of my story) and say. They moved from Fagtā the 17th Khedār, where they made booty of much cattle. They moved from Faradā and halted at Burē. Nānā Gergis came, as well as people of Agaw, and people of Mechā came and saved their belongings. There they rested for three days: they moved from Burē, the 12th, Wednesday, and stayed at Silmān; they marched from Silmān, the 24th, and halted at Quesquām, where is the Church of Our Lady Māryām,
and laid down many trophies. The Boru, Dagago Ragu'el, Nacho, Liban, Ennabesë and all the people of Gojam came and prostrated themselves before the Negus. All thus came to the Negus, thanks to the power of his Chief Mikā'ēl. Just as the fire does not separate from the hearth, and brightness from the light, so the power of God does not part from the prince of warriors and great captain, Mikā'ēl. The hour that they gave was marked as the year of the world 7,000, according to the calculation of Bizan (?). There the Negus and the Rās stayed with their army twenty days. On the 30th Khedar, Thursday, Rās Mikā'ēl gave audience to the “Liq” and all the sons of Chawa1 (nobles), and gave a banquet.

Takhsās began and on the 1st (9th December), Friday, the soldiers of the Negus and the Rās caught fish. On the 2nd Takhsās, Saturday, by the hand of Goche Wale, Wāchaqā the accursed came to make submission, and stood to receive sentence before the Chief of the Judges, Mikā'ēl, and proclaimed all the malice of Lubō and the malice of all the Galla2 and his own, he confessed all his crimes and repented. But the “Liq,” Chief of the “Liq” (Chief Justice) Mikā'ēl, knowing that this penitence was not genuine, because it appeared only when put in straits, said to Wāchaqā, “If you tire yourself by much speaking what does it avail you? If you had given yourself trouble for me in the land of Saddā, I would have given myself trouble for you, neither would all this have befallen you. Now the Lord has pronounced against you, just as he pronounced against Fantābil, the enemy of the bridge.” (A story of one Fantābil who came to a bad end for destroying a bridge.) Thus saying he ordered the “Liq” to pronounce judgment, and these condemned him to death. This sentence came to (the ears of) the Negus Takla Hāymānot who said, “They have given a just sentence.” Then that Wāchaqā was handed over to the man who had to put him to death like a bullock. They moved from Quesquām, the 14th Takhsās, Wednesday, and halted at Den, and here they tarried sixteen days. Ter3 began on a Sunday, and the Minister

1 Vide Appendix: Titles.  
2 Vide Appendix: Names of Tribes, etc.  
3 1 Ter = 8 January.
Rejoicing, Rās Mikā‘el, made rejoicing for the magnates and the “Liq.” They moved from Den on the 2nd of Ṭer and halted at Yamālog on the Dagā, where they halted thirteen days. They moved from Yamālog, the 16th Ṭer, Monday, and halted at Tālyā, resting two days. Moving from Tālyā the 19th Ṭer they halted at Ber Ambo. They moved from Ber Ambo, 20th of Ṭer and halted at Ambasit, where they stayed three days. On the 24th, Tuesday, they entered Qolālā and remained there in the place of an old Tower seven days, N. N. Takla Háymānot and Rās Mikā‘el, chief of the Captains. They found large booty of bullocks, sheep and goats. Then Rās Mikā‘el, a midday fire that cools not, set fire to the land of Qolālā, from one end to Selālo, and from the other as far as Agām Weha. Those that were afar, seeing the smoke of the fire, said, “Beware, beware of Qualālā, because from henceforth there will be nothing but thorns and brambles, and no man will traverse it.” On the 29th Ṭer, Sunday, Dajazmāch Kefla Iyasus set fire to the land of Enzagedem, he who neglected no wish of God, accomplished it in an instant, whether it was wrath or whether it was mercy. He burned all the land of Qolālā and the land of Abala Maryām up to the boundaries of Agām Weha. The Blättengetā Taklē, a valiant young man without an equal, and what shall I say? for my day is short, as well as my knowledge, neither is it possible for me to recount all the acts of prowess of the brave ones that took place. The Blättengetā Walda Mikā‘el, Abēto Gabra Masqal, Bāshā Hazqeyās, Abeto Walda Gaber, the Chief of the Militia of Salawā, and also other warriors, who trusting to their Lord, the faithful Rās Mikā‘el, fought and conquered in battle, and scattered the army of the enemy. I refrain from further prolonging this discourse for I would not tire those who listen. Yakātit¹ began on a Tuesday. The Negus and Ras entered the land of Wanabā, they halted at Gannat, hard by the river where they caught fish: on the 2nd, Wednesday, they moved towards Abollā and there they caught fish. They moved from Abollā and joined at Yebābā, halting at the Old Castle (Arogē Gemb).

¹ Yakātit begins 7th February.
The Liqa Maquāś Wand Bawasan caused to be brought to the King of Kings and the Chief of the Kings, Takla Háymānot, a liberal dinner and supper, that is to say, Matsen¹ (various foods); this was of incalculable amount, for there was every kind of food of various flavours in abundance. The wine was the wine of Kānā², so sumptuous was the ordering of his house. This Wand Bawasan, a man honoured and exalted on his father's and mother's side, needed no one to advance him being of the royal family by birth. Against him, I say, enemies ranged themselves, and drove out from his country and seized the wealth that he had acquired from his youth, making him want even his daily food, in spite of the various foods that they had, and the troubles that had befallen him. After that, the return of Rās Mikā'ēl took place from Dāmot, whither he returned, while on his return Eshētē Khāylyu remembered what his father had told him while living. “If I die in a strange land, while you are alive let not my bones remain in a strange land, but bring them back to Waldabbā.” He said then to Rās Mikā'ēl, “Allow me to bear my father from his tomb, now that you are for me (my help).” Rās Mikā'ēl told him to do what he wished, thereupon he sent a large body of troops to transport the bones of his father. They transported them so that the limbs were not discomposed or the folds of his fillet disturbed, which he wore in life interlaced. They bore him away; then there was great wailing and lamentation when they saw the corpse of Dajazmāch Eshētē, their friend and their kinsman, and all of them said “Oh Dajazmāch Eshētē, second Zacharias, who died by treachery, ⁴³⁷b Oh Babylonia, I mean the land of Dāmot, blessed Zarubbēbel, I mean Khāylyu, who wreaked on thee a great vengeance, helping the great Hosea (the Saviour) which is Rās Mikā'ēl. Truly it is fitting to call thee blessed, Oh Eshētē Khāylu, a second Joseph: thus they bore his father Jacob from Egypt, land of the pagans, towards his country of Canaan, just so did


² Kānā. The marriage feast of Cana. In the Synaxarium this Commemoration was held on 13th Ter=21st January.
those make the translation of the body of his father and bore it quickly to Waldabbā, as in life he had desired. Truly it behoves us to call thee blessed, Oh Abēto Khāylu, second Jacob, who tookst the blessing of thy father Isaac, I mean Dajazmāch Eshētē, who was sacrificed in Fagṭā. But we will return to the previous matter. The Negus and the Rās Mikā'ēl stayed ten days. On the 21st, Monday, the beginning of the Fast, they joined at Gunaguamā and halted close to the river: Tuesday, 15th, they entered Enferāz, the sanctuary of the four animals (Apoc. iv. 6): they caught fish; and the 16th, Wednesday, they moved from Enferāz and arrived at the river Geyon, where they caught fish, and halted at Moshā. The 17th, Wednesday, they tarried there; the 18th, Thursday, they remained there. The 19th, Friday, they stayed at Wandgē Chawāhi, they fortified it with stone (or according to MSS. A “at Chawāhi Dangyia”). The 19th, Saturday, they halted at Dangal Bar: the 20th, Sunday, they spent the day resting. Dajazmāch Gētā came with Bálambarās Mammo, Abēto Gabra Madhen, Abēto Kinfu, and Azāj Walda Rufa'ēl, son of Dajazmāch Awsābyos and made obeisance to the Negus Takla Hāymānot and the prince of the merciful ones, Rās Mikā'ēl. In accordance with the clemency of these his old friends, the name of Rās Mikā'ēl had the meaning of clemency, as Enoch says, for Mikā'ēl signifies element or merciful. On the 21st, Monday, they halted at Masqala Krestos: the 22nd, Tuesday, at Sabsābā: the 23rd, Wednesday, at Gērā Dabā: the 24th, Thursday, in Bālāngab: the 25th, Friday, the priests of Azazo gave a reception to the King of Kings Takla Hāymānot and to the Chief of the Aeons. Mikā'ēl came into the Church which he had built at Azazo: he prayed for a long time and came out and gave audience to the priests in Ayrā Qeddus Mikā'ēl. Also the Negus held audience and the monks of Debra Tsahay came to the Negus, who said to them however, “Go first to my father and my chief, who has made me King, Mikā'ēl, lamp of my kingdom, and sing canticles before his face. These monks sang before him a joyful song, saying, “The high General

1 aēves a name taken from the Gnostic philosophy.
Mikä'ël who rolls up lead in balls for a gun, and hurls them on
the face of the enemy.” Thereafter they returned to the King
for the song (in his honour). On the 26th Yakätit, the Saturday,
the Negus departed from the Ayra, and all the priests of the
Church received him with canticles; Christians and Muslims
received him with dances and “cheers” and he entered the
camp with the awe of his majesty, for his awe was (through)
Räs Mikä'ël; and they laid down the booty before the King and
the Prince. Megäbit began on a Thursday. The 4th, Sunday,
Räs Mikä'ël gave audience to Dajazmäch Geshu and to Dajaz-
mäch Wand Bawasan, and invested him with a robe of honour
which in front had the appearance of fire, and behind of the sun.
He gave them bracelets of gold and decorations (ornaments)
for the right hands and the left; he girded their thighs with
an “affä” (a dagger) and put on them at the same time a
“kappa” according to custom. He invested the Azäj Berk-
yänos with a wonderful robe embroidered with gold, because
he gave proof of his valour at Fagtä and was as if he had
whiteness without and iron within (i.e. though grey haired he
was like a youth). He also invested Nänä Gergis and many
Agaw headmen to do them honour. Many and beyond count
were the warriors of Begameder and Ambasäl that he invested
with precious robes. On the 5th Megäbit they issued forth
from Gondar on a Tuesday, Dajazmäch Wand Bawasan, and
Dajazmäch Goshu and they went to the provinces of which
they had been appointed governors with their wives. The
princess Eshët (that is to say, Eshëta Märyäm) and the princess
Yawab Dar, preceded by many guns given them by Räs Mikä'ël.
And while they were marching slowly on the road, they reached
their land, and the youth of Begameder came forth to receive
the princess Yawab Dar, a sun that rose out of the house of
the two grandees, Metewwab, the Queen and Mikä'ël, Chief of
the Captains. And the youths of Begameder who saw them
cried “Whence have ye come? Whence? Your countenance
shines in the Night.” Dajazmäch Wand Bawasan came into his
house with the sun that is his wife and said, “Blessings on the

1 A cape worn by the King and high functionaries on solemn occasions.
Seigneur who has brought me to this such great honour, to make me kindred with the prince of dignity, Mikâ’el.” The Dajazmâch Yamâna Krestos arrived at the province of his command, Walqâyt, but his brother killed him on the road the 27th of Megâbit, even as Cain killed Abel. Oh, what villainy! On the 24th of Megâbit, the Sabbath (Saturday) the Negus created Blâttêngêtâ Sennu a Dajazmâch of Walqâyt. This month he sent messengers to Mikâ’el, prince of giants, saying, “Give me a token of your clemency.” And the Giant Râs Mikâ’el answered, “The thorn sent to ask the cedar: the beasts have come and destroyed the thorn” (Judges ix). He explained this parable by saying, “Why did he return from Dâmot?” Let us now write the story of the return of Mikâ’el, Chief of the Captains, from the land of Dâmot to Gondar. His return was not voluntary, but the Negus with the troops, the Magnates, with the “Liq” (justiciary), the masters with their servants, the royal children, the princesses with the waiting women, constrained him and prayed him to return for their sakes, saying, “How can we fast in a desert country?” (For they had reached the fast days of our Lord Jesus Christ.) “Let us return to our country and fast in our houses that the heat of the sun may not make us ill, nor abandon the fast of our Lord, which is ordained for the salvation of our souls.” Another reason was the will of God, which knew that Râs Mikâ’el had fallen sick of a slight illness, to the end that this illness would not seize him away from home, but in his house; and the illness of Mikâ’el conqueror of his enemies, son of Hezqeyâs, who showed himself strong and victorious, was comparable to the illness of Hezqeyâs¹, King of Juda. And as Hezqeyâs was cured by the (fluid) which flowed from a fig, so Mikâ’el, life of this world, was cured by the tears that flowed from the eyes of a living body, with a soul (not inanimate like a fig) and especially by the tears of our Queen Walatta Giyorgis. Since she wept saying, “Who will protect me in these times?” “Who will place me here close to the Church, to receive the

¹ Hezechiah.
Eucharist since it will not be any longer Rās Mikā‘el, beloved of me and faithful friend, who guards me from the evil of sadness, as the prophet said?" "A faithful friend is the medicine of life" (Eccles. vi. 16). But if he is not cured of this slight complaint soon, what will become of the world, of the ruler of the whole world, Rās Mikā‘el? For there is no one like him among the Captains, but leaving aside the Captains, but even among the Kings, has there been anyone who could be likened to Mikā‘el, Prince of the Captains, for the number of his troops? In times previous, while two wise men were bantering, one Edug Abuqer, and the other the Chief of the Captains, Walda Le’ul, whose wisdom was like that of the philosophers, which the month of the Investitures gives hope to the people, and from whose mouth issues not forth rebukes. Edug Abuqer answered in these words, “There is no one who can compare to the rulers of this our time, to Wadagē, Lord of Amhāra, to Ayo, Lord of Begameder, to Warana, Governor of Dāmot, to Nācho, Governor of Gojam, to Mikā‘el, Governor of Tigrē.” The General in Chief Walda Le’ul, replied, saying, “Amend your language, Oh man, for you ‘minish the grandeur of Mikā‘el. How can you compare Mikā‘el with the other rulers, seeing that he is worth more than five kings and his army numbers more than that of five kings.” And when Bādi¹ King of the Arabs went into the country of Mikā‘el the Governor seeing the riches of his house and the great multitude of his army, he marvelled greatly. Then he, when he came to Gondar before the King and Queen, he spoke to them of the greatness and glory of the Governor Mikā‘el. When the King and the Queen said, “Make them come out to Debra Quesquām”; on hearing this the Chief of the Captains Walda Le’ul replied to them, “Do not go out from Quesquām, lest Bādi the King may see the fewness of your troops, with the same eyes that he has seen the multitude of the troops of the Governor Mikā‘el and despise you,” and when in opposition to Walda Le’ul, Chief ruler, they sallied forth from Quesquām, he sent food and drink

¹ King of the Fungs of Senaar. Vide Appendix: Abyssinia and the Sudan.
to Bādi King of the Arabs by the hand of a man who spoke the language of the country of Bādi that he might eat and drink and not issue from his house and see the King and Queen. He knew the wisdom of Rās Walda Le'ul and said, “The Chief of the Captains has used cunning with me, even as Jehu’s cunning towards Okozia King of Judah and Joram King of Israel,” and leaving the food and drink he went out of his house and mounted to the top of the tower of Mankit to see the King and Queen: and having seen the fewness of their soldiers he held the King cheap and said “The Sultan is Mikāʿel, for his soldiers are numerous as the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea that cannot be counted for their number. But the soldiers of the King are somewhat few, like the locusts or some such thing in comparison with the soldiers of the Governor Rās Mikāʿel, for his army is strong as an olive tree and lofty as a cedar” (Amos ii. 9). The escort of the Chief of the Captains Walda Le’ul, hearing the discourse of Bādi, King of the Arabs (he knew the language of his country) reported all this, and Rās Walda Le’ul said, “Why have the King and Queen gone out to Quesquam after I had told them not to go out to Debra Quesquam, that Bādi, King of the Arabs, might not hold them cheap when he saw the fewness of their soldiers?” Many other sage things Rās Walda Le’ul said to his sister Queen Mentwāb when she was nearing her death, and he spoke thus to her, “If Rās Mikāʿel does not seat himself in my place and become Rās and Commander in Chief all the world will go to ruin.” And the Queen Mentwāb, hearing this, answered, “Oh my brother, let Rās Mikāʿel be as you, and let your will be done, for thy will is mine, and without Mikāʿel my beloved there is no escape for me.” But this question would carry us to a lengthy discourse. Let us speak rather how the month passed (i.e. the events of the month). Miyāzyā began on a Saturday, and on the 15th a raid was proclaimed by a herald. After this proclamation a certain man while sleeping heard a terrible voice which said, “Be made a slave Oh land of Mechā, and

1 Vide p. 216 note.
drink the cup of anger of Rās Mikā'ēl, which will cause thy fall, that is the lead of the bullet of a gun: behold two things await thee: shame and destruction, and who will help thee to rise again?" The man fell asleep again and saw in a dream an angel descending from heaven who said, "This is the Guardian Angel of Rās Mikā'ēl, the Guardian Angel of the kingdom: the ill fortune of Begameder has gone to Lolma." On the 24th of Miyāzyā, Monday, he sallied forth from Faraqa Bet, and the next day Negus Takla Hāymānot and the King's Chief Mikā'ēl, Judge of the Judges, departed with the army and halted at Saddā: they moved from Saddā and halted at Menzero: they left the day following Menzero and halted at Butā; they left Butā and halted at Ankashā, resting there for three days, to honour the Sabbath and the Sunday. The clergy of the Island of Mesrāhā came with boats and rafts from one shore to the other of the sea (lake) which is the City of Ankāshā below Ferqa Bar: they received him with canticles of joy, which rejoiced and inebriated their souls. The Negus and the Rās Mikā'ēl when they heard the sound of the chants of the clergy of Mesrāhā, the chant called "Qisāryā¹," were astonished and said, "This Miyāzyā is truly the month of Alleluia (Pasch. cp. Deut. xvi. 1), as is written in the Laws." And they marvelled also when they saw the various foods which they brought to the Negus Takla Hāymānot and Rās Mikā'ēl their Chiefs, laden on their boats and rafts. Genbot began on a Monday; they moved from Ankāshā and halted at Sābisā Bar; they moved from Sābisā Bar and halted at Darā. During these days the Princess Walata Isra'ēl, daughter of Queen Mentwāb, withdrew herself (disappeared). Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Rās Goshu stayed behind (did not join raid), and went out each to his own province. The reason of their staying away was that they were meditating rebellion. Negus Takla Hāymānot and Rās Mikā'ēl passed beyond the Abay, moved towards Mechā, which land they burnt with fire. They met Rās Fasil and fought in a great battle; then they fought with great valour both Rās Khāylu Eshētē, as well as the

¹ Ḥag. chant of Caesar
Negusa Nagast Takla Hāymānot and Rās Mikā‘ēl recognised his valour. Eshētē Khāyulu was yoked with a bull, he was always there where the Royal Crown was, and where the standard flew: many Tigrines perished there, the rebel Fasil fled nor could he withstand before Rās Mikā‘ēl. Then the King of Kings Takla Hāymānot and Rās Mikā‘ēl returned and soon after entered Gondar.

Sanē began on a Wednesday and the 2nd, Thursday, Eshētē Khāyulu said to Rās Mikā‘ēl “I will go with thee, I will not separate from thee. I am desirous of coming, come death or life.” Rās Mikā‘ēl blessed him with a great benediction, as Isaac blessed Jacob his son (Gen. xxvii) saying, “Be lord over thy brother, be thy blessing of the dew of heaven and the bread of the earth.” Rās Mikā‘ēl blessed Eshētē Khāyulu for two reasons, one for his words “I will go with thee,” and the other because he was without guile, while the two Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Rās Goshu had played the traitor; for this he blessed him greatly, retaining him as Chief. Thence he departed quickly from Gondar with the Negus, without replying and bearing with him the crown; and he marched by an unaccustomed route, without taking heed of the annoyance or the trouble: and the soldiers asked him, “How shall we go by another road?” He answered them, “Let it be according to the will of God,” and while he said these words, the Angel of God, his beloved St Mikā‘ēl, descended from the mansions of heaven standing on guard over him, in sight of all in his presence, and marching in front of him. And he halted with him at Zhān Faqarā, in his tent. As for the Negus none of the soldiers followed him, except Abeto Takla Giyorgis, his brother, and Qaṇazmach Nacho his son-in-law, the Azaj of Wakhnē, Yohannes Aychaw, the Shalaqā, Adgo, the eldest born of the Shalaqā, his friends, Zena Gabri‘ēl his supporter, the Azmāch Walda Dāwit his councillor. But the magnates of Tigrē and the soldiers of the general Mikā‘ēl that marched before and behind him were more numerous than the sands of the sea. They moved from Zhān Faqarā
and halted at Teragē and it was in truth a teragē (a place of a tooth) because like the tooth of a dog were the rocks of the road. They moved from Teragē and halted at Adirā. They moved from Adirā and halted at Tsemā, of a truth Tsemā, for “Tsā” means Tsallama (=darkness) and Mēsa means Mesēt (evening = evening = tomb). The day after they halted at Ensesā (=beasts) where the beasts of the field and the serpents lived with the men. The day after they halted at Fesogē, a narrow road and on a precipice. The next day they halted at Gumā Tsaguar. It was in truth “Gumā Tsaguār” for the country was like Gimē1 and it was called Tsaguār2 for the difficulties were more numerous than the hairs (of a head). The next day they halted in Naguādīt, which is an arid land. The next day they halted in Masāhel and the day following in Zārēmā, near Waldebbā; there they spent the day and the night. The 12th of Sanē, Sunday, the Feast of St Mikā’ēl. On the 13th Sanē, Monday, they halted at Māya Lehem (a name) like Bethlehem the city of David. The next day they halted at Buyā. They moved from Buyā and halted at Māya Sabr, and thence they halted at Tsabalaque, a fertile spot. The next day they spent the night at Takazzē; thence the Princess Mertsit was taken ill on account of the water. The next day they halted at Sehā and the day following at Māya Shabni: the day following at Ad Wanfito, where they remained two days to celebrate the feast of the Dedication of the Church of Our Lady Maryām, on the 21st of Sanē3. On the 22nd Sanē, Wednesday, they moved and camped at Selahlakhā a holy land where there is no breath of scandal. The next day they halted at Māya Shum: it was in truth a Māya Shum (water of the governor) because the country

1 Mist = ľmē = Gimē.
2 Tsagūr = hairy.
3 The Abyssinians keep on this day the feast of the first church founded, they believe, by the Blessed Virgin.
was the land of Rās Mikā’ēl, appointed by God alone, a man without falsehood; the “water” was his justice that flowed like water without falsehood every day of his life. They moved the next day and halted at Axum, the second Jerusalem. On the 25th of Sanē, the Sabbath, they reached Adua, and there was held high festival in the honour of the rich Prince of rich men, Mikā’ēl. At the sight of this festival the King of Kings Takla Ḥāymanōt much marvelled, and could find no words to express himself, for he gave a banquet equal to that of Solomon such as his lord and father had never given, the honoured prince of the honoured, who had made him King and honoured him. But the Chief of the Captains Mikā’ēl was greater in wisdom and knowledge than Solomon the King, in doing what was pleasing to the heart of the Negus. Besides all this he entertained the Negus in his house with the troops for three months and two days, and it seemed to him but the sojourn of a day! He slaughtered for him every day sheep and bullocks innumerable, millions of myriads. No one but only God could say the number of loaves, and all the furnishings of a house he gave the Negus and his army. And again I will record in this chapter of the history the highness of the exalted prince of the exalted Mikā’ēl: for beautiful was the ordering of his house, plenteous were the banquets and the suppers, and those that daily slaughtered bullocks and sheep reposed not a single day, nor did any other work, neither did their dogs go to drink at the river, for they drank and saturated themselves with the blood of the slaughtered beasts. If I have spoken of the fair setting out of the house of this ordainer of this world, prince of every creature, Mikā’ēl, I called to mind the ordering of the house of Solomon; every day he gave 30 measures\(^1\) of fine bread, 60 measures of flour, 10 fat bullocks, 20 bulls and 100 sheep, besides goats, deer and fat chickens. But let us return to our first purpose in regard to Adua, for the discourse about the feasts of the Negus, of the prince and all the magnates would never

\(^1\) \(\text{an unknown unit of measure. Qoros cp. Kebrā Nagast f. } 17 \text{ b. chap. 25, ed. Bezold, p. } 14.\)
come to an end. The Negus departed from Adua the 23rd of Maskaram, Monday, by the road (taken) according to the counsel of the Chief of the Captains Mikä‘él, and tarried two days at Aqbasā. What shall I say of the feasts that took place then in Aqbasā in the house of the good and element prince of good men Mikä‘él? Rather will I hold my peace, nor begin a discourse that could not be finished for it would be a hopeless task.

On the 25th, Wednesday, Negus Takla Hāymānot departed and halted at Abbā Tsehmā; the day following he camped at Awālu: the next day at War‘i: the next day at Magab. This month the great prophet and prince of prophets Mikä‘él saw a marvellous and terrible vision and he recounted it to Dajazmāch Kefta Iyasus and said to him, “I have seen in a dream a pot or pan of iron placed upon three arrows: in this was hot and boiling water and it appeared that there were a multitude of rats standing in front of me. I took the pot from the arrows, in which was the hot boiling water and threw it over the heads of the rats.” The Dajazmāch Kefta Iyasus hearing this wonderful recital of the dream of his lord, shown him by the Holy Spirit, marvelled, he a strong man and a patient, and in all times a man knowing in counsel, even as Kusi1 who with rebels made them food for spears and gun bullets. The author of this history has written the wonderful account of the wonderful dream of the prince of wonderful men Mikä‘él, because such was the custom of the Chief of the Captains in the battle charge, Mikä‘él, and prince of the strong men in conquest; that is to say, what he saw previously in a dream that was what he wrought when he awoke. This was the matter of his dream: Before him stood a pot or brazier of iron in which he poured hot water: this is a symbol of the man, (strong) water which caused the giants to perish. Into this boiling water he threw many rats: these rats represented the enemy, who rose against him and fell by his hand.

Teqemt began on a Wednesday. The Negus departed and halted at Ad Ṭalākha. In this place the King of Kings Takla

1 Hushai the Archite, 2 Sam. xv. 32, etc.
Hāymānot and the seigneurs prince of seigneurs Mikā'el heard of the death of a rebel of the name of Tasfu: they heard that the warriors of the prince of warriors Mikā'el had killed him the 20th Maskaram, on a Thursday. Thereupon they departed and camped between two mountains Deguātē and 'Edā Tsēyon (Zion) and between these Shemberit, he encircled it from one end to the other with spears and troops of the giant among giants Mikā'el. Before this he, the rebel, pondered in his mind, and what he thought he spoke out with his mouth, saying, “Who is it shall be able to bring me down to the earth?” Hearing of this speech of the rebel the thunderbolt prince of thunderbolts Mikā'el replied, “Even if thou couldst fly like an eagle, and put thy children on the summit of a mountain, even from there I will hurl thee down with bullets of a gun.” This said, he constructed a rampart inside of Shemberit and surrounded it with a fire. Thereupon the rebels sent to sue for mercy to the Negus and the patient prince of patient men, Mikā'el, against whom they had practised perfidy, and who had had patience even unto that. For he knew that the foe would not escape from the hand of Mikā'el, which was the hand of God: and the lion prince of lions, Mikā'el, said, “Has the lion perchance pity when he finds a beast? I for my part will not have pity on you, Oh you who have done every deed of crime.” After this he sent a message to the rebels similar to that to the liar Waraṇā, the angel that goes before the last Antichrist (since Mamno Gosh is the first Antichrist). The letter from the rebels sent from Shemberit ran thus, “Come quickly over to us and do not tarry for no one will escape, Rās Mikā'el has us encompassed by every way and every place, wishing us to suffer, let himself suffer.” Oh what a falsehood! Oh what impudence! How can sick men say that he is sick to a man who is well? But by reason of this letter of theirs no one came from Gondar to them to aid these ungodly men, who had lost their senses, and whose prudence had been destroyed. Then was fulfilled the words of David

1 I.e. from the top of his stronghold or “amba” as they are called in Abyssinia.
that said, “Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly” (Ps. i. 1). Then the troops of Rās Mīkā‘ēl burst open the gates of this mountain of rebellion, Shemberit, which was destroyed. Dajazmāch Tekla Iyasus ascended the mountain of rebellion leaping among the mountains and skipping among the hills (Sol. Song ii. 8) like a young goat or a strong antelope on the mountains of slaughter, and massacred the rebels. Thence they broke through the gates of the mountain of ‘Edā Tseyon, hard by, the Blāttēngētā Taklē and Blāttēngētā Walda Mīkā‘ēl who ascended the mount Antāktē and seized Zamanfo with great wrath, even as the warriors of Israel seized Agag King of the Amalakites. They said to Zamanfo, “Where is now thy mouth with which thou dost talk and say, ‘Who will ever make me come down to the earth, and who is this Rās Mīkā‘ēl that I should submit myself to him?’” This madman chief of madmen, Zamanfo, said, “It were better that I had never been born in the womb of my mother,” and then he said, yearning, “I would have wished that the earth should cleave asunder and swallow me up like Datan and Abiron.” And the other rebels were taken and brought to the spot where Negus Taklā Hāymanot, the Abbā Nāgāsē Mīkā‘ēl who found the Royal Crown; the sentence on the rebels aroused Abētō Gabra Masqal who seized Zamanfo from the hands of the warriors, by command of the Negus and by the wish of the strong worker of strength, Mīkā‘ēl. Zamanfo was a piece of madness (=bit of a madman): and the other rebels, Walda Johannes with his adherents were like him. Then their lord Rās Mīkā‘ēl addressed them words of wrath, though he was a father of clemency, and spoke to his attendants, “Do all that I have commanded you!” and in words of vengeance and malediction cried “Cursed be he who does keep his sword from blood, for the Book says, He who kills with the sword shall perish by the sword, and there shall be no one who shall bury him. For a similar law has been established. It is not fitting that a rebel should be buried in the ground, but sons of the

1 Dathan and Abiram (Num. xvi. 30, 31).
deaconship pardon them and spare them for the clemency belongs to the lord, and error and submission to the servant.” This was done by Räs Mikä’el on the 6th Takhsās, the day of the feast of Our Lady Holy Virgin in two kinds (body and spirit) Māryām, Mother of God, who was exiled from the Mount of Quesquām. This occurred on the 2nd of the month where they were camped (while besieging the rebels), for the gift of victory was bestowed on the Negus Takla Háymānot whose throne name was Admās Sagad, and no one of the ancient warriors were equal to Räs Mikä’el for strength and victory. On the third day after the rebels perished, as the Book says, “They were consumed as in a moment and perished for their sins” (Ps. lxxiii. 19). The Negus took counsel with Räs Mikä’el, the Chief, that he loved as himself, and he said that he wished to depart and scour the country (of the rebels). His Chief, Räs Mikä’el, agreed, and the Negus sallied forth and made a circuit of Shemberit, passed the Mount Isugon, and ascended to the top, slaughtered oxen and gave food to those that had ascended with him. Let us turn to the recital of the history of the month of Sanē. On the 2nd Sanē Räs Mikä’el went out of Gondar with the Negus bearing with him the crown of the Negus and the image (picture) of Our Lord Jesus Christ, called Kuerāta Re’su, guided by the Holy Spirit as David says, “And thy spirit lead me into the land of uprightness” (Ps. exlili. 10). On the 5th Sanē Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Gerazmāch Ayadar marched to Gondar, Eshētē Khāylu went to his province of Begameder and, meeting at Dangurē, joined the Captains above mentioned and entered Gondar with them. But before entering the city they ascended the mountain of Quesquām, and made their obeisance to Queen Mentwāb; the Dajazmāch Goshu and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan entered the house of Dajazmāch Gētā and the Bāshā Ansabyos. On the 7th Sanē they mounted anew the mount of Quesquām and said to the Queen Mentwāb, “What wish you that we should do with you? Shall we put over you and us a Negus who shall be useful for us?” She replied to them, “I do not desire that
that should be done, because I should be answerable for their crime”: and she spoke these words in justice and without fraud, and her discourse was without guile. So these men hearing the noble reply of the Queen, said, “It is well, it is well,” and returned to their houses in the city. On the 13th, Monday, the Patriarch Abuna Yosāb entered Gondar with a small band of robbers with the object of robbing Yusef (Joseph): and on entering Gondar he lost hope. If he had joined in Tigré with the Negus and Rās Mīkā’el he would not have been overtaken by misfortune, and the faithful prince of the faithful Rās Mīkā’el, who gives bountifully and remembers not (forgets and forgives), would have bestowed abundant wealth on the Patriarch Abuna Yosāb, nay, to such amount that he would have cried “Enough! enough!” But God did not vouchsafe this. After the Patriarch entered, Dājamāch Goshu, Dājamāch Wand Bawasan and Gerāzmāch Ayādār summoned the commanders of the right and left,

445 a in her wisdom was like to the Sābēlā (Sibyl), and they said to her, “Send over to Rās Mikā’el to send us the Negus, but not to come himself at our displeasure.” And she replied, “What error or what crime has the pure prince of the pure, Rās Mīkā’el, committed that he shall not have the inheritance of Fārēs his father in his own city?” For there was a place in Gondar which

1. άν.ά.πί.ά.στ. pl. of άν.α πί. (1) an elder, senior, (2) ruler, prefect. ἀρ.στ. arch. of the right and left, i.e. of the right and left wing. Similarly ἀρ.στ. arch. of the right wing; Gerāzmāch = leader of the left wing.

2. ʿudād. ʿlā. ʿā. ʿā a ruler, prefect.
was called “the place of Rās Fārēs.” And they answered, “Rās Mikā’ēl, we are afraid of him, we are afraid of him, for when he gives judgment he turns neither right nor left (lit. he goes neither here nor there). Wald Sa’ālā replied, “Prithee! stay! whether he comes or comes not, only God disposes all things.” This said, she sent a man to the King of Kings, Takla Hāymanot and Rās Mikā’ēl, but he who was sent returned empty (without bringing anything) nor reached the province of Tigrē, because a robber fell upon him and ill-used him sorely, not only beating him, but stealing his clothes. Wald Sa’ālā said to her attendants who had returned naked (without result) “Fie! for shame! Art thou not dead? He who will come is a raging fire, Rās Mikā’ēl is coming and will not tarry.” And she justified her words in that way. On the 22nd, a Wednesday, the three dignitaries left Gondar and each went to their respective commands. Let us now return to the beginning of the story. After that the King of Kings, Takla Hāymanot and Rās Mikā’ēl departed out of Tigrē, and came to Wāg, they marched as far as Golyo, and from Golyo they arrived at Balasā, and from Balasā they came to Gondar. Rās Mikā’ēl and Admās Sagad, Takla Hāymanot, met Abbā Salāmā and Germā Tsēyon brother of Waraṇā. And then they entered Gondar and held an audience in the Audience Hall (Mēfis: reception hall). The Commanders were convened, the azāj (judges) of the right and the left, and they brought Abbā Salāmā and Germā Tsēyon and made them stand before the face of the Negus, and condemned them to death because the Abbā Salāmā had disturbed the whole world, and had spoken evil of the Negus. Then they were crucified, Abbā Salāmā and Germā Tsēyon. Rās Mikā’ēl went into his house, and after a few days Abēto Gabra Dengel was crucified with a man; and they put out the eyes of Sabhat La’āb, and he dwelt many days at Addabābāy after his eyes had been put out. After this Eshētē Khāylu was created Dajazmāch of Begameder. And after that Rās Goshu and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan rebelled, on account of fear of Rās Mikā’ēl, and came as far as Dambayā. But Rās Mikā’ēl on
hearing of their arrival sallied forth from Gondar with Negus Takla Haymānot and came to Sārbākusā. There they fought for fifteen days and thence they marched towards Daguasā: there they fought for thirty days and there was a great battle: Dajazmāch Khāylu acquitted himself valiantly, and with such prowess that the ear is not capable of hearing or the tongue of declaring it. While Rās Mikā'ēl was in Daguasā he saw the tent of Semēn Tasfu, and he called up Dajazmāch Khāylu and Dajazmāch Kefla Iyasus and said to them, “Attack this rebel.” Then they set out by night and made an attack and Dajazmāch Khāylu took prisoners eight men valiant in battle. Then he returned and left those he had made prisoners before Rās Mikā’ēl, who rejoiced at the prowess of Dajazmāch Khāylu. “Oh Dajazmāch Khāylu, where hast thou not shown thy valour?”

But let us return to the beginning of the story. After this Rās Mikā’ēl was defeated and entered Gondar: then he was captured and brought by Wand Bawasan to his province and settled at Debko: he remained a year there. Then he sent him to his country of Tigrē, and for seven years he dwelt there, in his command. After all that Rās Mikā’ēl, Prince of the strong Captains and Chiefs, passed to his rest during the time of Our Negus, King of Kings, Takla Hāymānot was on the throne. Dajazmāch Goshu great and advanced in years made me write this book of the history of the Kings and Governors who have been from the creation of Adam until the King of Kings, Admās Sagad Takla Hāymānot, and we have collected it with pains and care from all the monasteries and islands and the houses of the Azāj (Secretaries of State) and the houses of the “Tsahāfē Te’azāj” (Chroniclers of the archives). From all this we have compiled these books of history, after they had been for a long time scattered, even as Ezra the ancient prophet collected all the books of the prophets that had before been burnt in the fire: just so the Dajazmāch Goshu, Chief of the Captains, collected all the books of the Kings which perished when the Royal Palace was burnt through the anger of Rās Mikā’ēl, grievous in his wrath, and as the 300 (i.e. the 318 fathers of
Nicaea) collected the books of the New Testament, in such manner we collected them; but there was no king or ruler, who with pains and study will hear or see us.

Here ends the Book of the History in the peace of God. Amen.
KING OF KINGS TAKLA GIYORGIS
1779—1795
By Alaqa Gabru

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, One God. Let us write with the help of God the Highest, and the intercession of Mary the Virgin, and by the intercession of Michael and Gabre'ël and the intercession of St George the Athlete, the story of the reign of the honoured Anointed, whose eyes are as the morning star, and whose countenance is shining and beneficent, whose stature is like an exalted angel, and his valour like the terrible Samson, his mind pure as the mind of the Creator, his wisdom great as the wisdom of Solomon, his dominion extensive like that of Alexander, the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, whose throne name was Feqr Sagad. And I believe in my mind and I declare that he was the glorious Theodore who it was said would come in the latter days. The East was his progenitor of good works, which caused him to arise the Son of Justice and Love. If I had to recite all the tribulations that fell to him before becoming Negus, the leaves would not contain them. Because often the Governor (of Wakhnē) made him come down by force, and against his will, denying him food and drink. He would not have been so afflicted by his own death, but saddened by the death of the chiefs who were in Wakhnē, by hunger and thirst, he offered himself to death like Christ as expiation (expiatory victim) for all: and he came down from Wakhnē. Then he was made to ascend again to the mountain Wakhnē by his brother Takla Háymänot. He sometimes descended in fear that they would cut off his hands and feet, and pluck out his eyes as in the

1 Vide Appendix: Fakkärē Iyasus or Prophecies of Christ, a famous apocalypse of Ethiopian literature. This Theodore was to conquer the world and bring about universal peace.
2 Cp. Beginot, La Cronica Abbreviata, ii.
3 A custom of Abyssinians to keep Royal (but inconvenient) relations on an amba or mountain stronghold to keep them out of the way. Amba Geshen in former days was used for this purpose.
time of the Negus Salomon. Then he underwent great suffering, but God who sees into the hearts of all, saw that he came down, not to seek for the kingdom but for deliverance from the afflictions we have recounted above. God preserved him as he preserved Yusef (Joseph) from the hands of Fare'on and Dane'el from the mouths of the lions, for he restored in his days the laws of Constantine made by the mouth of the Fathers (of Nicaea) and built churches, and made him ascend Wakhnē again with great honour and joy. Let us turn to writing the story of the reign of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. In the second year of the reign of Salomon, in the month of Sanē, the Evangelist Lukās, Year of the world 7271 (A.D. 1778), Kenfu Adām went to Wakhnē with many chiefs and people, cutting him off (T. Giyorgis) from food and drink as before. He tormented him with hunger and thirst and with much contumely made him our Negus Takla Giyorgis descend. He did not make him descend with a good but an evil object; yet God changed the counsel of death and made it a counsel of rejoicing even as he changed the book of death of Bāhrān, and caused it to be by the hands of the angel Mikā'ēl the book of life and joy1. After that Kenfu conducted our Negus T. Giyorgis and King Salomon to the land of Dāmot and Governor of the Agaw, while his brother Adarā Khāylyu was Dajazmāch of Gojam, having taken it by his hand (by force) from Rās Khāylyu. In the month of Hamlē God roused the people of Mechā and Dāmot, so much that they said if Takla Giyorgis did not reign they would not submit, nor give tribute to King Salomon. When Kenfu saw the excitement of the people, he gave the kingdom to our King Takla Giyorgis in the country of Yebābā on the 12th of the month of Hamlē on the day of the feast of the Glorious Archangel St Mikā'ēl and there was great rejoicing from one end of the country to the other, for all loved him from his childhood upwards and hoped that he would come to reign, as the sower hopes for rain. Besides his

1 The reference is to a legend of St Michael in the Senkessar (Synaxarium) of Abyssinia for the 12th Sanē, 6th June called Ṣḥ. T. ʿeṣ. Bahālā Batsalota Mikā'ēl, Ludolf, Comm. p. 418.
father loved him more than the Negus, his eldest son: for this he was named Fiqr Sagad. This winter the Negus came to Taqusa, and returned having accomplished many things. After that he dwelt without going into Gondar seven months, for Abëto Kenfu prevented him. The Negus built a church in Yebäba, under the invocation of the Holy Apostles, and he made great devotions of penitence, for that the Lord had made him enter the city of his fathers and his regalia (Royal property). In the month of Takhshä the King was a child and yet a peacemaker, and brought about peace between Dajazmäc Kenfu and Dajazmäc Baqatu. When the Lord saw the great penitence of the Negus he softened the heart of Kenfu who made him come to Gondar the 29th of the month of Takhshä, the day of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ. On him be praise! The people and the clergy, men and women, gave him a reception with canticles and rejoicing and that day was a new Nativity. After the Negus entered his chamber after a few days he sent Salomon up to Wakhmed with his wife and children, having decorated them with robes of honour. The governors went each to their respective governments. Dajazmäc Kenfu went to his province decorated with gifts by the hand of the King, he and his people. This summer the Negus made Princess Enkoy Lul come, the sister of Dajazmäc Baqatu from Begameder, to be his concubine. In the month of Hamlé at the end of the summer, there was, on Sunday, a proclamation of appointments and dismissals. Kenfu sent to the King, saying, "To do me a favour, give an appointment to Tsadalu, for I have given him my daughter to wife." The Negus, on hearing this, nominated Tsadalu Egabët Bájrond and invested him with a robe of honour. But Tsadalu was playing the traitor to the Negus and went from Kenfu Adam. After this he also who was governor of the "Westu" (the interior), the governor of the supplies (lit. food), that is to say "the Kantiba," betrayed the Negus, and went thither; by reason of that the Negus prayed, saying, "He who eats my bread has lifted his heel against me" (Ps. xli. 9). Asahel went there also: also Mehroka his friend combined with them, as the Book says,
“Asshur also is joined with them” (Ps. lxxxiii. 8). On their account the Negus prayed, saying, “If my enemy hated me I had patience” (Ps. liv. 12). From this time there was enmity between the Negus and Kenfu. Kenfu sent Tsadālu telling him, “I give you all the territory of the Negus as far as the Qaha.” Tsadālu went over to Afala in the rainy season with many other warriors of Mechā. In the second year of his reign, that of the Evangelist Mätewos, the Qaňazmāch Wasan, son of the Negus’ sister, went to make war against Tsadālu and those that were with him, vanquished him and captured his war drums and sent him to the Negus. These then escaped severe punishment. After that the Negus departed and pitched his camp at Berāhēlā and met Dajazmāch Baqatu; he chose some warriors of Lāstā, who were Kalu, Goljā and Gabra Iyasus. The Negus returned and Dajazmāch Baqatu went to his country. Then the Azāj Ya'eqob and the Liqa Guba'e Zēnā wearied themselves in making peace between the Negus and Kenfu. The Negus re-entered his palace, appointed Kalu to the office of Teqqēn Blattēngētā and Goljā to that of Bālāmbārās and Shālaqā of the Eju, and Gabra Iyasus the office of Eqqābēt Bajrond and Shālaqā of Lāstā. In these days Gadlu came in rebellion and encompassed Janwārā, having joined Kenfu in a conspiracy; he did not understand the words of the Bible which say, “Touch not my anointed” (Ps. cv. 15), and again, “Lift not thy hand against the anointed of the Lord, he who does so is not guiltless” (1 Sam. xxvi. 9). The Negus, having heard of this patiently, sent a message to him, for his patience was equal to his power, saying, “Henceforth return to the land which we have given thee.” Gadlu, on hearing this message of the King, answered with haughty words and what was not seemly. His language was outrageous; the Negus sent a message to his servant humbly and patiently, and the servant sent a message to his lord of pride and anger! When the Negus, whose throne name was Feqr Sagad, heard this message of Gadlu, he burned like fire, and roared like a lion: the measure of his patience was his anger and he made a proclamation by herald that every one who was under his (the King’s) command,
and did not follow him the next day would be no more received in audience. That said, he departed the 5th Ter, on a Thursday, at the 12th hour, at nightfall the 3rd hour, glaring like a lamp and flashing like the sun. In such wise whom shall we liken our King Takla Giyorgis to? We will liken him perchance to David when he sallied forth to attack Golyad the Ilufelawi (Goliath the Philistine), or to Iyāsu (Joshua), son of Nawē, when he went forth to destroy Jericho, or indeed to Theodoros when he went against the people of Quz. But more than all of these he was then great in majesty. Let us return to the beginning of the story. Dajazmāch Wasan came because the Negus had called him from the province where he had been governor. Leaving Gondar there was a raiding expedition and the Negus marched, followed by his ministers and chiefs, namely, Rāś Ayādār the Blättēngētā Adgah, the Azāj Mechā, the Fitāwri Selassē Báryā, the Liqē Basalotu, the Bāshā Menywāb, the Kantibā Kenfu, the Nagādrās Yalemdu, the Azāj Zawdu, the Azāj Danfā. Three days after they had arrived at Gondar without repose, for he had come by order of the King, the Alaqa Gabru, author of this history, with the image of the “Kuer’āta Re’ṣu,” marching on foot because he loved his lord; and in order that this should be known he depicted (in Gondar) in the church of Ba’ata, the oppression of him whose victim was his lord, the King of Kings, Takla Hāymānot, without fear of anyone; also Dajazmāch Hezqeyās, Dajazmāch Gabru Kedān, the Liqā Maquās Gabru and Azāj Ikonyān Wāsē, the “Affā Negus!" who with his own hands pitched the tent of the Negus on Angareb, the Bajrond Zena Gabre’ēl, the Bāshā Walda Kedān, the Dajazmāch Yamāyām Bāryā, the Qaṇāzmāch Zogu, the Kantibā Kabtē, the Bāshā Iyāsū, the Kantibā Gabra Selassē, the Azmāch Walda Dāwit, the Līgābā Atsqu, the Asālāfī Khāylu of Agāmyā, the Asālāfī Yabisē of the Afro‘aygaba (name of a corps of troops), the Azāj Kidanu, the Shālaqā Gīgar and the Shālaqā Koraṃtu. Of the Chief Justices, the Azāj Zekru, the Azāj Ya’eqob, the Azāj Wadaju, the Azāj Walda Rufa’ēl

1. "Abīmūrū" lit. mouth of the King. The highest judicial official who gives judgement on behalf of the King.
and all the guards of the King, who had been appointed or had been dismissed, the Ligābā Lenchā, the Asālāfi Nacho and sons of the nobles of Mecha and Damot, Hawī Bakaffā, Wātī Sanbato, Adaru Zago, Walda Kiros, Sahlu Maracho, Walda Giyorgis and many soldiers of the Negus of whom we have no mention and have not written down the names. If the names of all the followers of the Negus were written down these leaves would not contain them. The Gerazmāch Walda Abīb did not remain to stay on guard over the King's mother. The Chief Justices remained, and they remained by wish of the Negus. The Azāj Kabtē found himself in Kosogē, coming from Wakhnē. This day the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, Adyām Sagad halted at Kosogē. The day following, Friday the 6th of Ter, the Negus departed in the morning: the Azāj Ya'eqob returned by command of the Negus: the Kantibā Qanwit and Kokaba Leda Gabra, the Azāj Mitar and the Azāj Warqē came. When the King reached Engash Blāttēngētā Kitu received him, Bālāmbāras Galfā and Bajrond Gabra Iyasus, Salawa Gabra Masqal, the Shāláqā Walda Sellāsē with a large force of the Negus. In the evening the Negus departed and ascended the hill and saw the encampment of the rebel Gadlu and his many troops and tents and horses and guns and breastplates beyond number. The retainers of the Negus who were with him were named: Bālāmbāras Walda Sellāsē, Bāshā Dangazē; Bajrond Adarā Gabreʾēl,ʾAlam Dāru, Akalē of Warq Weha, whom the rebellion had nourished like milk, the friend of war, and fearful of the rod; all these of Wagarā, except Ausābyos 'Atsqu who had followed the Negus from Gondar.' And when the Negus saw these rebel soldiers, he recited the prayer of the psalm of David which runs, "O Lord, how many are they that trouble me, many are they that rise up against me. Many they be that say of my soul 'Thy God will not save thee,' but thou, O Lord, art my refuge; my glory and the upraiser of my head" (Ps. iii. 1—3). And again he prayed, saying, "Oppress them O Lord those that oppress me, and fight the writer having given his throne name as Feqr Sagad."
with them, O Lord, that fight against me, lift up a shield and spears, and arise to help me!” (Ps. xxxv. 1-2). Then he passed the night at Enqāsh and the following day, on the Sabbath, the 7th of Ṭer, the Negus started in the morning and camped at Mehurtach. The Kantibā Qenwāt returned, and the next day, Sunday, the 8th Ṭer, he took repose. While there Audākyos brother of Akālē came: the next day, Monday, the 9th of Ṭer, he reposed there. Bajrond Kabtē, Susenyos Nacho, the Sagabā Yāʾeqob, Dabāreq Yamāryām Bāryā and the sons of Fitāwrāri Ya Sellāsē Bāryā and all the people of Saqalt came. Then the Negus sent Abyāṭār to set fire to the house of Akālē, and he set fire to it. The next day, Tuesday, the 10th of Ṭer the Negus started in early morning and ascended by a narrow and difficult road; the Negus and the soldiers marched on foot from daybreak to midday. Many men, mules and asses perished over the precipice. That day Fitāwrāri Ya Sellāsē Bāryā and Azāj Kabtē marched in the rearguard. Blāṭṭēngētā Kalo, Bālāmbārās Goljā and Bajrond Gabra Iyasus acted as Fitāwrāri ¹, because Fitāwrāri Walda Aragāwi had been left behind in his own province. They halted at Derāderā; the next day, Wednesday, 11th of Ṭer, they took a rest because it was the feast of the Baptism (Epiphany). Gabra Abib joined them with the tent he had captured from the men of Gadlu, and the Negus gave it for the Kuerāta Reʾsu. Gadlu turned back panic-stricken and trembling when he heard the Negus had advanced in wrath, as Salomon said, “The anger of a King is as the roaring of a lion” (Prov. xx. 2). The next day, Thursday, the 12th of Ṭer, the Negus started in the morning: in the guard was Bajrond Gabra Iyasus. They made a halt at Bantarō. The next day, Friday, the Negus departed, Blāṭṭēngētā Kalo being rearguard: they halted at Tsarakuha; Dajazmāch Wasan halted at Angarab, and with him Fitāwrāri Ya Sellāsē Bāryā, Dajazmāch Kidān, Liqē Batsalotu, Kantibā Kenfu, Nagiderās Yalmtu, Azāj Danfā, Azāj Zawdu, Bajrond Kabtē halted because they had got separated on the road. The next day, the Sabbath, the 14th of

¹ Advance guard, lit. Fit, horn, head, āwrāri, rhinoceros.
Ter, the Negus started in the morning and halted at Adit: the following day, Sunday, 15th Ter, he took a rest. Kormā came, and the Negus made proclamation by herald thus: "The inhabitants of Sagadē that dwell in the country of their fathers shall come to me, up to end of three days." But Batryos of Bozā, a thieving brigand and a traitor to his oath to the Negus, did not come. The next day, Monday, the 16th of Ter, the King departed in the morning: Kormā was the rearguard, much provender was captured by raid, and many were killed over the precipice. Kenfa Gabrē'ēl Yābo Bāryā arrived, who had left by order of the Negus: the next day, towards the close of night, Shalaqā Guangul Sarwe of the attendants of the palace went with Malkē and a few soldiers in the rear of Walda Sellāsē, Dungazē, Adarā Gabrē'ēl, Keflā Adnāy, the Fitawrāri of Gadlu the rebel. They joined battle at Anshalā, and Bojen was killed and many others perished with him: of the troops of the Negus Sela Amsā1, Kenfu Gadlu fled first of every one, for he was seized with terror. This thing is marvellous, and very extraordinary that this man who had a mind to fight against the puissant King of power and exalted majesty, fled and was terrified beyond measure by a simple boy sergeant of the Negus. When the King heard of the defeat of Gadlu he prayed, repeating the Psalm of David cxliii.2 which runs, "Blessed be the Lord my God which teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight," following it to the end. Then he halted at Samarā. The next day, Tuesday, 17th of Ter, by order of the King Asālāfī Yabīsē, Nurē Aychew, Menywāb and Abbā Sāhelu marched out. Then the King departed; Bajrond Kabtē forming the rearguard, and halted at Tabarshesh. The next day, Wednesday, the 18th Ter, the Negus started and halted at Sarquā: and many serpents were killed, big and terrible, and leopard cubs were captured by the hands of the attendants of Danfā: he gave certain knowledge of the death of the King's enemies and their capture. Guests of the Queen came that

1 A captain of 50 of the corps called Sala.
2 Ps. cxliv. Authorised Version.
day, and the next Friday they arrived at the river Kaza; the rumours ran that spears (of Gadlu’s army) had come up, and the King’s troops prepared for battle. None of the men of the King loitered behind, but they said to one another, “I will go first” and “I will go first,” but when the river Kaza was crossed, the spears were not to be found. The Negus was wroth and burnt like a fire, saying, “I will not stay here without getting to where Gadlu is.” Then Rās Ayādār and Dajazmāch Adgah started supplicating the Negus, saying, “O King, these words are not good nor fitting: let us rather remain here, till the troops have assembled together.” After much praying the King consented. After that they pitched the tent and stayed there the night. Za Waldē and Sebuhay, to whom Gadlu had entrusted the guarding of the pass of Achālāqo, so that the King might not get out, arrived. The next day, the Sabbath, the 21st Ṭer, the King departed and halted in Affā Warq. Messengers came from the Queen and Rās Khāylu, and the next day, Sunday (22nd Ṭer), he took a rest. Monday, 23rd of Ṭer, the Negus left and arrived in the province of Atara. Kefla met him at Taher: that day a “Warq Saqalē” fell and was broken. Then when the Negus heard that the rebels were fighting with one another and had been scattered like smoke he marvelled and praised the Lord, and remained there. The next day, Tuesday, 24th Ṭer, the Negus departed and halted at ‘Adi Kokab. Here were found the goods of the rebels: many elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns, cushions, cooking pots and iron braziers and carpets, and iron basins, tents, war drums, honey, butter and wine. And the next day, Wednesday, 25th Ṭer, there was a rest. Wadbabo Gabra Blāttēŋētā of Gadlu’s with a large force of guns and cuirasses, presented the Negus with the gift of guns. The sons of Madabāy came that day; and from that day the house of the rebels fell weaker and the house of the Negus waxed stronger. The next day, Thursday, 26th Ṭer, the Negus

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1 Error for Warq Saqalē?
2 መ وعد ፈ sk(a) መ ሸ የ የ = makadda = a cushion (Amharic and Arabic).
3 የ ይ ካ ያ = Amharic, a brazier.
4 የ ዋ = Amharic, cuirass.
started in the morning and halted at Ad Dajazmāch. There was sent there great booty, horses, cuirasses and guns: the Alaqā Zena joined them at Dalshihoch. The next day, Friday, 27th Ṭer, the Negus departed in the morning and halted at Salāwā: the raiders had a fight that day with the people of the locality. The next day, the Sabbath, 28th Ṭer, the Negus departed and reached Qabteya. A man arrived, sent by Gadlu, with this message, “Pardon me and have mercy on me, O King, my Lord.” He did not say this in humility but in treachery. The Negus hearing this said to the messenger, “Come over to the camp, there I will tell you everything.” After that the Negus went over against Adanā. He saw the encampment of Gadlu which was on the ambā, and he had pitched his tent on the edge of Qabteya. The Negus sent to say to Gadlu, “First of all send me my war drum, and after that tell me everything.” Gadlu on hearing this replied, “The war drum is not here but at Berkutā.” This he asserted, but the drum was in his hands for they heard the sounds when it was beaten; the man was a villain and was stupid in his villainy. That day the King halted there. Gadlu sent the Negus 20 bullocks and five sheep: the next day, Sunday, the 29th Ṭer, the Negus summoned Dajazmāch Wasan and said to him, “Go and seize the springs of the river that is at the foot of the ambā as the Book says, for the most important thing in war is to shut out the water from the enemy, and guard it so that the troops of Gadlu may not drink of it.” That day Kefta came to Qorarāt. After that Dajazmāch Wasan went, and on the march with his men and the Azāį Warqē encountered Gadlu’s men in a battle and they fought, and of the followers of Gadlu there perished many, and of the people of the Negus a few were killed. The Negus, hearing of this sent to the battle ground, saying, “Whoever fights on this day is no servant of mine, for the Sunday is no day for fighting but for prayer.” Hearing this the King’s people desisted from the fight and returned to their camp. The next day, Monday, the 30th Ṭer, the Negus issued the following proclamation, “Whoever loads his horse
I will give it to another" (i.e. whoever starts to go away I will confiscate his horse). So saying the Negus rose and made ready for battle, and getting off his mule Abbā Walda Rufā‘el laid out his cloak, and the battle began with guns and stones. In the front was Blättēngētā Kalu who was like Gedēwon the conqueror, also the Bālāmbrās Goljā who was like Yonātān (Jonathan) (2 Sam. i. 22) of whom it was said, “The bow of Jonathan turned not back, and was stained with the blood (of the slain).” Bajrond Gabra Iyasus, who was like Adinon, of wondrous fame, while his head was crowned with purple, the token of his valour; Gabra and Azāj Yābo Bāryā, all of the men of Lāstā, the Yalu, Tigrines, those of Kansis and Gimja-bēt; also the Dajazmāch Gabra Kedān and Dajazmāch Hesqeyās, those of Mechā and sons of Chawā (nobles). The Negus was rearguard with his chiefs, Rās Ayādār, Blättēngētā Adgah, liqē Batsalotu, Azāj Ya Sellāsē Bāryā, all versed in war and cunning in counsel. The Azāj Mechā was that day like Asāhel and stood solid as if a rock did not seem to him a rock nor a gun seem a gun. The battle raged, and then the Negus launched into the field of battle the chiefs who were left in the rear, the Azāj Ikonyān, the Kantībā Kenfu, Nagādrās Yalāmtu, and Azāj Zawdu. From morn to midday of that day many of the men of the Negus fell dead through guns, and spears, and rocks, men of Yalu, Lāstā, Tigrē, Kanisa, Mechā, and sons of Chawā, many who were not killed were wounded. That day Dajazmāch Wasan slew many, and the warriors Madkhen Nawāy, Taklu, his son, Kabaṭē, Yābo Bāryā and Kenfu were like lions ahungered or thirsting wolves. Of the Gadlu’s men few perished, for they would not come out of their enclosure (zariba) and they fought standing in the midst of their zariba. When the Negus saw that the combat waxed more furious he sent to the field of battle, “Come to me, you will have your belly full” (lit. it will content you! cp. 2 Sam. xi. 25) as David said, for at times this must be done and at another that. Is the spear for ever sharp? Then the Negus returned with his chiefs, and the troops, and reached their own ground. That day the Negus neither touched food nor drank water, and
spent all night praying and crying, “How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord, altogether, how long wilt thou hide from me thy face, how long that I make sorrow dwell in my mind, and my heart afflict me all the day? How long shall my enemies be exalted over me?” (Ps. xiii. 1, 2). And again he cried, “Where is thy former lovingkindness, O Lord, which thou swarest unto David in thy truth?” (Ps. lxxxix. 49). The month of Ter came to a close. The next day, Tuesday, 1st of Yakātīt, the people of Tsadālu and Fīqra Mīkā‘ēl joined the monks of Saquār. The Negus issued a proclamation of amnesty, ordering that the whole army should stay on the bank of the river which was not occupied and guard it so that Gadlu’s people should not drink; for the wisdom of the Negus was like the wisdom of Alexander. That day Gadlu called up a fool, Walda Mīkā‘ēl, and sent him over to the Negus to say: “Pardon me and have mercy on me, O King.” That was foolishness, not cleverness. Why did he send that fool, while there were so many old monks of the monastery that he could have sent? The Negus issued a proclamation: “Let all my people set up their habitations (tokuls, huts) and hold a market, because a halt will be made till a fitting opportunity.” The next day, Wednesday, 2nd Yakātīt, two men were captured of Gadlu’s following who had gone out from the mountain to drink water for they were tormented with thirst: the Negus gave those who took them a robe of honour. That day messengers from the Queen and the inhabitants of Gondar arrived. On the 3rd Yakātīt the Negus sent messengers to Gondar for necessaries and towards Tigrē and near Adris. When it was midday two soldiers came who had killed some of Gadlu’s men and laid down the trophies before the King who gave to one a “Chufā” and to the other a “Bitāwā.” Of these two soldiers one was of the guards of Walda Sellāsē and the other of the tribe of Madabāy. That day the Wechalē, who had been

1 Chufā is a bracelet of gold or silver worn on the arm and given by the King as a military decoration to soldiers who have killed more than one enemy, and may accumulate with the numbers killed. The Māldyā is a similar decoration. The Bitāwā is a higher decoration as is also the one called Yarborā.

w. b.
wounded previously at Règuato, died, and they buried nine of them. On the 4th Yakätit, Friday, Gadlu sent over to the King to say thus, "Let the Blättengētā Kalu and the Azāj Ikonyān come over to me and we will meet at the gates of the amba, after that I will come over to the Negus, my lord, carrying on my head the stone (token of submission). I will go where my lord goes and I will give up all I possess, guns, breastplates, horses and kettle drums." The Negus hearing this sent Blättengētā Kalu and Azāj Ikonyān; Gadlu came forth from the amba with Keľa Admāy, and held parley at the entrance of the amba. Then Gadlu changed his tone and said, "I am afraid, and I will not come to (the camp), but give me pardon while I stay here." This he said after having given an oath and (under pain of) excommunication. Their eyes became blind and spirit hardened because they saw not with their eyes, nor understood with their spirits, because they did not turn to me and I had no mercy on them (Isaiah vi. 9, 10). This day the Azāj Kablē went to the right part of the amba and found the Gadlu's guard; one was killed by the hand of one of Azāj Kablē's guard and many were made prisoners. He who was killed was named Abraham, strong and terrible like Goliath the Philistine. Our Negus gave a "Bitāwā" to the man who killed him. If he had had much wealth he would have given it to him, but he had no wealth in his hand, for he had left Gondar suddenly. That day messengers from Alaqa Zefera came. Let us return to our previous matter. The Blättengētā Kalu and Azāj Ikonyān returned and reported to the Negus that the peace had been abandoned and that Gadlu had changed his tone. The Negus knew from the first that it would not be done. This day he began the foundation of a house and set up the walls. Aukendyos died who had been wounded by a gun-shot. The next day, the Sabbath, the 5th of Yakätit, a brave youth of the King's soldiers, having killed one of Gadlu's guards, brought the trophies (cut from him) and the Negus presented him with a robe of honour. On the dawn of Saturday there were loud war cries heard, and the followers of Blättengētā Kalu killed two of the servants of Gadlu, took many prisoners
and the remainder fled and returned disgraced into their amba. The men of the country came before the King bringing many gifts. The Monday, 7th Yakātīt, the King sent Abbā Dāmo towards Waldebbā to bring back his retainers who had fled there for refuge in Waldebbā, having taken side with Gadlu. The Negus pardoned them. Tuesday, 8th Yakātīt, the Negus gave orders to the troops to guard the water that remained. This day many came from Gondar with provisions, and entered the camp. Wednesday, the 9th Yakātīt, the Negus issued from his tent and went to the camp with a few men and spent the day in surveying the country. At the sixth hour messengers of the Queen and Rās Khāylu arrived: the Negus re-entered his tent. He commanded Dajazmāch Wasan and Wadbabo Gabru to go towards Berkutā and attack Gadlu's guard that were posted at the fort of the amba. That day Blāttēngētā Kalu fought anew severely with Gadlu, because Gadlu had ascended the mountain to set fire to the camp, on hearing that Dajazmāch Wasan was not in his camp. Then Blāttēngētā Kalu defeated him and killed many warriors and men cunning in war; one of these was called Dangyatabash (Stone-scorcher). Gadlu re-entered his camp humiliated, and there was great lamentation on the amba, for Gadlu loved much the men who had been killed that day. Of the people of Blāttēngētā Kalu, few armed with shields and guns perished. The day after, Friday, 11th of Yakātīt, Dajazmāch Wasan sent to the Negus a happy messenger, announcing the defeat of the rebels. The Negus gave to the runner a “Chufā” of silver and promised him much. Wadbabo Gabru came in with much booty and trophies. With him came Blāttēngētā Kalu. Dajazmāch Wasan then entered his camp the first. Next day, the Sabbath, 12th Yakātīt, the guards of Dajazmāch Wasan came before the Negus to lay down the trophies. Then the trumpets were sounded, the curtain lifted which covered the Negus; and the Negus held an audience with great rejoicing. Gabra Haywat entered first of the servants of the royal household, because he had killed a valiant and terrible man, expert in battle and famous. After that all entered
who had killed (men) and laid down the trophies before the Negus, and each one left for his camp. The Negus, on seeing this, did not allow pride to enter into his mind, and spoke not vaingloriously, but prayed in the words of the Psalm of David, "O Lord, we have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us the work thou didst in their days in the days of old. Thy hand has driven out the heathen and planted them, thou didst afflict the people and cast them out. For they got not the land in their possession by their own arms, their arms did not save them, but thy right hand and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance because thou hadst pity on them. Thou art my King and my God, who didst command deliverance for Jacob. Through thee will we push down all our enemies" (Ps. xlv. 1—5), and he recited it to the end. Then at the ninth hour Gadlu sent the Negus five sheep, and the next day, Sunday, 13th Yakātīt, prepared the tables and gave a banquet to the monks of Waldebbā. As Our Lord said, on him be praise! in the Holy Gospel, "When thou makest a banquet call not thy friends, thy neighbours, nor thy kinsmen, but rather invite the poor and the needy" (Luke xiv. 12). The followers of Gadlu, servants, male and female, continually descended from the amba, and declared that they were perishing of thirst, the men and beasts that were in the amba. The Negus, hearing this, was deeply grieved at it, for his heart was compassionate like the heart of David his father when he said, "May all that be upon my enemies and adversaries who have compassed me about with hatred and have warred upon me in vain. Instead of loving me they have made accusations against me but I have prayed: they have requited evil for good and they have hated me when I loved them" (Ps. cix. 3), repeating the Psalm to the end. When it was evening the guards despatched by the Patriarch and the Echēgē came before the King, the Abēto Demetros and Adarā Gabre'ēl. On Monday, 14th Yakātīt, Dajazmāch Wasan and all the ministers came before the Negus. The Negus alone knew the reason of their coming! Many of the retainers of Gadlu came before the King. That day the 40-day
fast began and the King began to hear (recitals from) the Book On Tuesday, the 15th Yakatit, Keffa Adonay came down and had a parley with the guards of the King, in order to settle terms of peace, and then returned on to the amba. The Negus on his part sent an embassy of mercy (amnesty) to Gadlu, who hearing it was exceeding rejoiced and made gifts of mules to the messengers of the King. This day the Negus had news of the death of Blattengetä Takle, son of a sister of the Räss Mi'kä'el: Wednesday, the 16th Yakatit, those who had been sent to Gadlu returned and reported to the Negus these words of Gadlu: “Let some one come to-day (on behalf of the Negus) and take delivery of the war drums and horses and everything that is in my hands, and I will send my wife, daughter of the King's sister.” The Negus, hearing that, sent Liqabä Atsqu, and Gadlu loaded the beast with the kettle drum, robed himself handsomely, and went forth to send back the war drum, but one of his servants came then, by name Wad Gadab, a foe to honest dealing, and said to him, “Why do you give up the war drum to the King before having an oath under pain of excommunication that he will restore you your governorship?” But Keffa Adonay said, “It is not fitting to thwart the Negus as has been done heretofore.” About this proposal the guards of Gadlu started to fight with one another. After that Gadlu said to the messengers of the King, “Go and report to the Negus what you have seen, that my guards are fighting with one another about this matter.” The messengers returned who were there, and announced to the Negus all that had passed, and he, hearing, said to the ministers, “Be careful about guarding the water day and night until everything is cleared up.” Thursday, the 17th Yakatit, the King sent a herald out to proclaim in these words, “I have given Gabra Abib all the jurisdiction of his father; of the people of Gadlu, those who come in by day I will receive; but those who come in by night I will not receive.” That day messengers from Räss Khaylu came in, and of Mal'aka Tsahay Rob'äm, and announced that Räss Khaylu had refused to make peace with Kenfu Adäm, and
had fought with Adarä Khäylu for the Negus. On Friday, 18th Yakäsit, the King went out and spent the day surveying the country: he returned about the sixth hour. Then Arabs sent by Adris arrived\(^1\). In the evening the guards of Dajazmäch Wasan came in who had killed (their men) and laid the trophies before the King. On the Sabbath, 19th Yakäsit, Yashälaqä Walda Selläsë and Suri Habä had a fight with the men of Gadlu, and many mighty men were killed, and many wounded; the remainder fled disgraced; the guards who had made the slaughter came and laid the trophies before the Negus. At the ninth hour the house of the Negus was completed and he made his entry into it; on the Sunday, 20th of Yakäsit, Gadlu called together the monks of Wäldebbä, and sent to the King to sue for pardon: Läkë, the brother of Gadlu, came in (submitted). On Monday, 21st Yakäsit, three inhabitants of Wålqäyt, sons of 'Ebaya Dengel, sent to the King to say, “Pardon me and have mercy on me.” And on the 22nd Yakäsit, Tuesday, a superior of Wäldebbä died of an illness: and more trophies of the Gadlu’s guards were laid down. Wednesday, the 23rd Yakäsit, the monks of Wäldebbä went up by order of the King to the mountain of Adama to bury their superior. Gadlu addressed them, “O my brothers, pray for me that my Lord the King may have mercy on me and pardon my crime.” Thursday, 24th Yakäsit, the monks of Wäldebbä reported to the King what Gadlu had said to them. The King on this said, “As I have not failed to show mercy, to-day likewise let what you ask be granted.” Then the monks of Wäldebbä went to Gadlu and reported to him what the King had said. The same day the monks of Wäšä came and went with them. Friday, the 25th Yakäsit at the ninth hour Gadlu mounted a horse and held an orgy\(^2\) on the amba with his servants, for he was drunk and bereft of his senses, as the Bible says, “Wine and women snatch away the reason” (Eccles. xix. 2), and he was a laughing-stock of all the people, and monks were shocked at him. The

\(^1\) Sheikh Idrys, king of Senaar, son of Mohammed Abn El Kaylak, died a.h. 1218. 
\(^2\) לִעֲנָה from לִעֲנָה = to hold a meeting; assemble.
Sabbath, 26th Yakätit, Wäsë the Aflä Negus (King’s mouth-piece) went with Wadbabo Gabru on a raiding incursion. The next day, Sunday, 27th Yakätit, Wäsë the Aflä Negus arrived with great booty and trophies which he laid before the King. Gadlu’s men killed an old monk, one of the monks of Waldebbä in Dalshäha, and this one they impaled, and threw his pudenda before Gadlu, who was much elated and gave a robe to the man who had killed him, as it seemed to him he had done a good action. As Our Lord said, “Whosoever killeth, you will think that he brings a sacrifice to God” (St John xvi. 2—that he doeth God a service). Monday, 28th Yakätit, messengers from the Queen came and the friend of the King, Räs Khaylu. The same day the Negus pronounced judgment to the monks of Dalshäha, and restored to them the lands that had been taken from them by the Chawä: as David said, “Do justice to the needy and the orphan” (Ps. lxxxii. 3). The men of Saquär departed. Tuesday, 29th Yakätit, those came from Gondar, bringing the supplies of the King and the expedition. Dajazmäch Sunnu came, and Adris¹ from the country of the Arabs with many Arabs; some of these train elephants to work and tame lions. On the Wednesday, 30th Yakätit, the men of Dalshäha left, whose land of which they had been deprivèd the King had restored. Adris joined the King with many Arabs, who presented the Negus with a white camel: as David said, “The King of Säbä, and the Arabs shall offer gifts, and all the boundaries of the earth shall adore him” (Ps. lxxii. 10). Here ends the month of Yakätit. On the 1st Magäbit, a servant of the King who had been sent to Awaza arrived and reported to the King the matter about which he had been sent. Friday, 2nd Magäbit, the messengers of the Queen arrived. The Sabbath, the 3rd Magäbit, there was weeping in the King’s palace, for the news came of the death of Princess Hirut, daughter of Räs Goshu, and wife of Dajazmäch Bagatu. Sunday, 4th Magäbit, a great battle took place, at the four corners of the amba, and the retainers of the King, who were Salawä

¹ See Appendix: Abyssinia and the Sudan.
Gabra Masqal, Dajazmäch Wasan, and men of Madabay, and Lāstā, killed many of the soldiers of Gadlu, of the latter few were lost. The same day Walda Aragāwi was sent to Tigrē. Monday, 5th Magābit, the King issued his proclamation by herald, “We have given Adris his former jurisdiction.” The same day Bonā, who had been previously wounded, died. Tuesday, 6th Magābit, Dajazmäch Wasan came into the presence of the Negus. A fire broke out in the camp and burnt the habitations of many. When it reached the spot of the picture of the Kuerāṭa Re’esu, the fire subsided. Wednesday, 7th Magābit, Rās Ayādār came before the King. Thursday, 8th Magābit, the King proclaimed by herald, “We have given to the men of Yaju the country they had formerly.” Friday, 9th Magābit, in early morning, Gadlu descended the amba with five servants and fled towards Baqata. The Sabbath, 10th Magābit, the men of Madabay, Genyabet and Kanisa, had a fight with the retainers of Gadlu, and laid the trophies before the King. The same day Dajazmäch Wasan brought as plunder to the King seven youths of courage who bore arms. Then the rumour was spread abroad that Gadlu had fled to Berguttā. The 11th Magābit, the Negus sent thus to speak to the men of the amba, “Come to us, for I have pardoned you.” But they refused to come before the King. Monday, the 12th Magābit, the ministers assembled in the King’s house and took good counsel. Warqē was sent to Begameder. Tuesday, 13th Magābit, Dajazmäch Wasan marched towards Berguttā. Wednesday, 14th Magābit, the monks of Wäldebbā came and Wāshā entered before the King. Thursday, 15th Magābit, the guards of Gadlu who were in Mayega came and laid the trophies of many wild beasts before the King. The King proclaimed by herald their pardon. Friday, 16th Magābit, Dajazmäch Wasan came and laid down trophies: with him came Ab Selus. The monks of Wāshā went towards Berguttā to bring about peace. The Sabbath, the 17th Magābit, Affā Negus Wasē went towards Salawā and made a raid. Sunday, 18th Magābit, the inhabitants of Adargay came and the Affā Negus Wasē returned.
On the 19th Magabit the Negus gave to Ab Sellus, son of Dajazmäch Ebaya Dengel, the government of Walqäyt as well as the grade of Dajazmäch. The 20th Magabit, the monks of Wäldebbä and Wäshä came, having negotiated peace. Dajazmäch Sellus went to the amba Faläsä; the King gave to Walda Qaräät Keflu the government of Awärä and Aqa Warq. Wednesday, 21st Magabit, messengers from the Patriarch came, of the Echëgē, and the Queen and Kenfu Adam came, openly messengers of peace, but secretly for a quarrel. After that Kenfu Adäm came to the city and stayed in Walaqä, and the Queen went for refuge to the house of the Patriarch. Then the King prayed, reciting the Psalm (Ps. lii.), "Why does the mighty boast of his mischief and commit unrighteousness every day?" and continued to the end (of the Psalm). The 22nd Magabit, the Negus sent the men of Wäldebbä over to Gadlu at Berkutta and three messengers whom we have mentioned above to Gondar with the answer that was proper. Friday, 23rd Magabit, the King issued this proclamation by herald, "We have given the frontiers of Adyämä to Adris and we have pardoned Iyäsù." The same day a fire broke out in the camp and burnt a few houses. The Sabbath, 24th Magabit, the King departed from Adanä and returned because he had given Gadlu a pardon; he heard that Kenfu Adäm had come and had settled to render up the war drum after he had arrived at And Kokab. But the Negus fulfilled the words of God which say, "Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy" (Matt. v. 7). Then Gadlu acted perfidiously towards the King, as was his wont, and did not send the war drum, for he was puffed up, on hearing the arrival of Kenfu. The same day the King halted at Salawä. The 25th Magabit, he took repose at Salawä. That night a fire broke out in the house of the King and burnt the royal tent. This made manifest the power that issues from the King, for destroying the King's enemies, who had compassed him round on the frontiers. Monday, 26th Magabit, the King departed and halted at Bil Ambä. Those who formed the rearguard, Blättengetä Kalu, Dajazmäch Gabra Iyasus, the Azaj Yābbo

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Bāryā, Dajazmāch Gobryē, fought with the natives of the country who fled in disgrace without killing anyone except one guard of Azāj Ikonyān. The 27th Magābit, a rest was made because it was the commencement of the Crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Glory be to him! The Negus ordered the herald to make this proclamation, “Whoever goes over to Dajazmāch Wasan his goods will be confiscated.” The 28th Magābit, the King departed from there, Wednesday, and halted at Ad Azenach: the following day, 29th Magābit, he took a rest, because it was the feast of the Incarnation (Annunciation, as it is called in the West). The day after, Friday, 30th Magābit, mounted the hill to see what had happened, for the “Zerrāfi” (soldiers?) had been fighting with the people of the country.

The Sabbath, 1st Miyāzyā, Dajazmāch Ab Sellus came from Amba Falāsā, and came in before the King, in the evening. The Sunday, 2nd Miyāzyā, Rās Ayādār and the ministers came to the King and spent the day eating and drinking because it was Palm Sunday. Yābbo Bāryā was sent to Begameder. The day after, Monday, the King began the prescribed devotions, for it was the week of the Passion. Tuesday, 4th Miyāzyā, the King passed similarly in devotions; Wednesday, 5th Miyāzyā, remainder in prayer and mourning, mindful that on this day the sentence of death was passed upon Our Lord, Glory be to him! The 6th Miyāzyā, Thursday, the Azāj Ikonyān came to the Negus to a banquet; also Alaqā Gabru and Azmāch Walda Dāwit. No others came. Friday, 7th Miyāzyā, the King passed in worship and prayer, for it was the day of the Crucifixion. Saturday, 8th Miyāzyā, the clergy of “Kuer'āta Re'su” entered before the King saying, “Peace has come through this Cross.”

The same day a messenger of the Queen came, by name Abbā Qerillos (Cyril), and reported to the King that Kenfū Adām had sent a number of men and chiefs towards Wakhnē to bring down another King, and that Abēto Demētrros had fought a battle and burnt down houses. The Negus, on hearing this, prayed, reciting the 2nd Psalm of David, “Why do
the people tumultuously assemble and the people imagine a vain thing? The Kings of the earth set themselves up and the rulers have united together with them against God and his anointed. Let us break our bands asunder, let us cast away their yoke from us. He who sitteth in the heavens shall laugh. God shall have them in derision. When he shall speak to them in his wrath and shall vex them in his displeasure. Since I have been appointed over them," to the end (of the Psalm). The same day a violent rain fell with hail; so great that many houses were ruined. Sunday, 9th of Miyāzyā, the feast of the glorious Resurrection, the Negus refused to eat nor would he slaughter bullocks on account of the great affliction: notwithstanding for the sake of the people he had an ox slaughtered. Of the Officers and the people no one tasted salt and butter because Kenfu Adām committing a great crime that had never before been done, he put guards to prevent the supplies of the King and the Officers of State arriving. The people and the messengers of the King went forth by night; also the Queen with the princess Yankoy Lul, wept and wailed day and night. This week of the Resurrection the King did not depart thence. He completed the week of the Resurrection with his Officers of State, eating and drinking in honour of the Resurrection, while his heart was full of sorrow. The 17th Miyāzyā, the King remained there to get information about everything. The 18th Miyāzyā, the King stayed to learn (about events) and learnt for certain that Kenfu Adām had brought down another King from Wakhnē, namely Atse Salomon who had previously been deposed by his hand and was dwelling at Takya. The 19th Miyāzyā, the captains and the troops and sons of the "Chawa" assembled round the Negus and took an oath in the name of Our Lord, as well as the "Kuer'āta Re'su" and by the Glorious Cross and under pain of excommunication of the King's priest, the Qasīsa Negus, that they would do no treachery to the King of Kings, Adyām Sagad. Thursday, 20th of Miyāzyā, the messenger of Dajazmāch Baqatu came before the King. The same day the "Zerrāfi" (picked troops) went towards Adiqabay and fought with the people of
the country. Many "Zerrafi" were taken prisoner. On the 21st Miyāzyā, Friday, the King mounted his horse and went to the church of the Holy Virgin for it was her feast day and then soon after returned. The Saturday, 22nd Miyāzyā, Dajazmāch Wasan went towards Adiqābāy with Wadbābo Gabru Ţaher, the Bajrond Kebtē and Gabra Abib made an incursion; they killed many and made prisoners with their guns and horses and set fire to their houses. The same day Batsalotu and his brother were put in chains as was proper; on Saturday evening, and dawn of Sunday, they forgot their oath and went over to Kenfu Adām, (namely) Ambaye Kenfu, Berqe, Wasan, Golam and Yeľma. Monday, 24th Miyāzyā, Dajazmāch Wasan came from Adiqābāy and laid before the King the trophies of their enemies and much booty. The 25th Miyāzyā, messengers of Dajazmāch Bagatu came: Wednesday, 26th Miyāzyā, he took a rest there. Thursday, 27th Miyāzyā, the King departed and halted at Sa'ēlā, where the next day he rested. Saturday, 29th Miyāzyā, the Bajrond Gabra Iyasus stormed a strong amba. From this day till the 6th Genbot the King did not depart from thence in order to learn of the coming of Dajazmāch Baqatu. Saturday, 6th Genbot, the Affa Negus Wasē went towards Quaqualā and made a raid with Wadbābo Gabru: the same day a severe battle took place and the brother of Wasē was killed. Khāylu son of Wasē's son fought bravely and Wasē himself was wounded by the spear in the face, because as was his wont he did not turn his face when he saw a foe coming. On 7th Genbot, Gebr Asnash Warqē came and announced to the King, with reliable words, the coming of Dajazmāch Baqatu. From this day to the 10th Genbot the King did not move from there, in order to settle the affairs of Wālqāyēt and Tsagadē. Wednesday, the 10th Genbot, the King sent out a herald with the following proclamation, "The Madābāy, the monks of Tsagadē and Melqol Kabtē are in possession of what they formerly held; and whoever passes over to Dajazmāch Wasan his goods shall be confiscated." Thursday, 11th Genbot, the King departed thence and halted at Adiqābāy: the same
day Latā Sāhlu son of Aragāy Nā’od Aklog turned back and went over to Gadlu’s side. Friday, the 12th Genbot, the King and the army marched and halted at Feqra. They made the descent of Adiqābāy on foot and during the descent one of the soldiers of the King quarrelled with one of his comrades and drew his sword. The King seeing this was enraged and castigated him with a stick. For the Book says, “The rod strengthens the Kingdom.” The same day Sadāka’el died.

Saturday, 13th Genbot, the King marched and halted at Amba Abrehām: Dajazmāch Wasan killed some elephants: Yabbo Bāryā joined them and reported that Dajazmāch Baqatu was approaching. The 14th Genbot many elephants were discovered; Dajazmāch Wasan the Bālāmbārās, Gualjā, Mammo and Halib killed some of them. The same day Gebra Asnash Warqē was sent to Dajazmāch Baqatu. News of the death of Daru Kābtē spread abroad: while ill he had gone towards Wäldebbā. The King halted at Dequtu. Monday, the 15th Genbot, the King marched and halted at Fetqā. The Bajrond Gabra Iyasus, Gabryē and many others stayed behind to kill elephants. The same day many soldiers stayed alone with the Kuer’āta Re’u on account of the lengthiness of the road. Tuesday, 16th, he halted in Zaremā, the King sent spies over to Kenfu Adām. The Wednesday, 17th Genbot, Bajrond Gabra Iyasus came and Gabryē, having killed some elephants. At this time the King halted at Deba Bāhr and the proprietors of the country brought him food and drink. Dajazmāch Wasan and Bajrond Gabra Iyasus stayed on the bank of Dabāreq. Messengers of the Queen joined them, and Gerāzmāch Walda Abībē, and Bālāmbārās Adegoayehaw. Thursday, 18th Genbot, feast of the Glorious Ascension, the King rose and ascended the cliff of Lamālmo on foot. A horse was killed over the precipice. The news was spread that Kenfu Adām had left Wagarā and was advancing towards Māryām Weha, having had intimation of the approach of the King. The same day the Negus halted at Dabāreq. The ‘Aqābē Sa’āt Takla Hāymānot joined him. The day after, Friday, 19th Genbot, he took rest until the arrival of the army train¹. At the

¹ Guāz ṭ-ḥ included transport animals, provisions, baggage, etc.
6th hour there was a great tumult because the men of Lāstā had a quarrel with the men of Azāj Kabtē. A youthful warrior was killed and many were wounded. During the hours of sleep a fugitive arrived who had deserted from the battle. He entered before the King and announced to him the great news, saying, “Good tidings to thee, Oh King. Glad tidings because yesterday there was a great battle at Maryām Weha, and Dajazmāch Bagatu has defeated Kenfu Adām and Efrem, as David said, ‘The sons of Ephrēm have drawn the bow and boasted, and they were crushed on the day of battle’ (Ps. lxxvii. 9). They were caught prisoners and those who appointed themselves King and Queen among their children.” Hearing this the Negus said, “Know’st thou Oh man that if thou hast not told the truth thou shalt be punished grievously?” And he answered and said, “Be it upon me Oh King if I lie.” Then the Negus sent messengers of gladness to the Officers of State who came in before the King; the same day there was great rejoicings and festival as was fitting; as David said, “Sing aloud unto God who has helped us, and make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob” (Ps. lxxxii. 1). Saturday, 20th Genbot, he departed from Dabāreq. Many heralds of glad tidings came by road sent by the Queen and Dajazmāch Bāqatu and announced that Kenfu Adām had been taken, that Gomaden was dead and all the rebel officers of the people of Mecha Dāmot and Jāwi had been killed or captured. Hearing that, the Negus went into the church of the Holy Virgin of Chāmbelgē and prayed, reciting the Psalm of David, which runs, “I will extol thee Oh Lord because thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made me a laughing stock to my enemies. Oh Lord my God, I cried unto thee and thou didst have pity on me” (Ps. xxx. 1), continuing to the end. The King having marched out halted there. Sunday, the 21st Genbot, the King departed and marched. The reason of his going on Sunday morning, the feast of Our Lady, and not observing the Sabbath was that he might join quickly his servant and fight Dajazmāch Bāqatu. For Bāqatu was coming with few troops for it is established (laid down) that a law
May be put aside for the sake of a law (i.e. one law may give way to a more cogent law). Dajazmāch Baqatu came with a small force, and at Kosogē met the King. Then Dajazmāch Baqatu went to his camp at Tahya and the King stayed at Kosogē. Monday, 22nd Genbot, the “Liq” arrived from Gondar and the chief Judges (Wombars) much pleased because Kenfu Adām had occupied their (rebels) houses, and seized their goods, and those came also who had not taken part in his rebellion. Then Dajazmāch Baqatu arrived bearing many trophies and booty beyond count. First of all his Fitawrāri Ayadan laid down the trophies, after him Gerazmāch Adyamo, the Shalaqa Sandaqē and all the men of Lāstā, each one according to his grade and order, as many as they were. After all these the faithful servant came to his Lord, wonderful in his strength and power, Dajazmāch Baqatu saying, “I am Oh my Lord thy servant and brother of thy handmaid.” Thus saying, he laid the trophies down and cast down Kenfu Adām and Sāhlu and Ephrēm whilst they were bearing the stone (on their shoulders in token of submission). As the prophet says, “Ephraim was as a humble vessel” (Hosea viii. 8). All the rebel officers were caught, Tsadālu was captured at Gondar. When the King saw that he marvelled and blessed the Lord, saying, “What shall I repay the Lord for all he has done to me? For the enemy who afflicted me are weakened and fallen.” After that Dajazmāch Baqatu went to his camp and the King stayed there. Tuesday, 23rd Genbot, the King departed thence. Dajazmāch Baqatu came and the people of the country gave him a solemn reception, the clergy and the people with jubilation and canticles. The Negus made entry into the Royal Palace chanting to God the Psalm of David which runs, “It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man, it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes. All nations compassed me about, but in the name of the Lord I will destroy them. I staggered and came near falling, but the Lord has raised me up,” and so on to the end (Ps. cxviii. 8).

Here is finished the Book of the History and account of the
expedition of Wálqáyt, of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, treasure-house of clemency, and patience. Praise be to the Lord who has delivered us from the hands of the enemy for ever and ever. Amen.

And now we will tell the story of the raiding expedition of the King of Kings, Takla Giyorgis, treasure of mercy and patience, to the land Mechā, and the reason of his expedition, (it was) because Kenfu Adám escaped from the place where he had been imprisoned on the 14th Ṭeqemt, in the third year of the (King’s) reign, the year of the Evangelist Marqos; and he (the King) marched towards Mechā, where he saw with an eye of mercy, and returned good for evil deeds; if we were to recite every good deed that the King performed these leaves would not contain them. And on that day he cut off the hand and the foot of Bāshā Wasan, and they (cut off) the hand of Sakelu, having driven out Kenfu, whom they put in chains as a rebel. And on the 24th of Ṭeqemt, three days after, at nightfall the King of Kings, Takla Giyorgis, whose throne name was Feqr Sagad, issued forth; and he was blessed by the Abun and the Echage, and he halted at Adareha. And with him there halted the Azāj Teku, the Kantibā Kenwāt, Bālāmbāras Gualjā, Bāshā Iyāsu, Liqē Khāylu, Liqē Gabru, Liqē Iyo’aks, Azāj Ya’eqob, Yashālaqā Sutu’il, Azāj Walda Giyorgis. The “Liq” (judiciary) went forth with great rejoicing, because that the Negus had pronounced righteous judgment on Liqē Khāylu. They did not prepare food supplies, but went forth with the Negus on that day. Rās Ayādār remained as guard for the town. And on the 25th of Ṭeqemt, the Friday, the Negus went out from thence and stayed at Bāchā, and he sent Azāj Mechā and there came Liqā Maquās Kenfu and Affa Negus Wāsē and Alaqā Gabru Za Ledatā came, since it is not proper to raid on the friends of the Lord after abandoning the office of Se’el Bēt for the law must be waived for the sake of the law; and
with him "the Kuer'ata Re'su," and the notables and chiefs Azáj Zawada, Negádrás Asáwel, Bálambárás Adegoaychaw and the judges and the children of "Chawá." And on 26th he rested at that place and the Affá Negus Wásé towards Gondar by order of the Negus, when the army of the Negus marched. On the 27th he rested and Azáj Khâylu came, and there came a messenger from Fitáwrári Ikonyán who brought news to the Negus that the enemy had been dispersed, namely, Kenfu Adám and Aderá Khâylu, one towards the east, the other towards the west. On the 28th, Fitáwrári Yasellášé Bárýá (slave of the Trinity) and Azáj Danfu came and Alaqá Zená of Abuna Ewosttätewos since a raid was not fitting for him. He remembered the kindness that had been done him by the Negus. What eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive. And on that day the Negus stayed at Guarehê, and Affá Negus Wásé returned. On the 29th day the Negus started out from Guarehê and stayed at Cháqeren. And many soldiers came, Bajrond Fánu'él and Nagádrás Yalemú. On the 30th the Negus rose from Cháqeren and stayed at Goy. There came many soldiers and on the 1st of Khedá the 5th day of the week, the King rose from Goy and Sagábá came and messengers sent by Fitáwrári Ikonyán, and news arrived that Aderá Khâylu had been captured and the King was rejoiced on hearing it. And he sang the Psalm of David the 96th, "Sing unto the Lord a new song, the Lord hath worked wonders," to the end; and then he prayed saying, "He wisheth not the strength of a horse, he hath not pleasure in the limbs of a man, he the Lord hath pleasure in those that revere him, and in those that trust in his mercifulness." And the Negus sent a messenger of good tidings to Dajazmách Başatu for Dajazmách Başatu did not go on the expedition, but had come to the town, before the King went out on his. He went towards his province by order of the King. And then the King sent messengers into his province and stayed over against WambARYA. And many officers Sura Habá and Walda Sellášé came from
Gajagē Kañamach but Yasellāsē Bāryā remained at Alfa. And on the second (day), Wednesday (4th), they rose from there and stayed at Qongarā. And Azāj Mēchā came with many soldiers and on the 3rd he reposed there. And Gara Walda Aragāy came and Halib with many soldiers and Baroriga Kabtē. On the 4th he and Azāj Zakeru Liqē Khāylu and many officers and troops rested because it was (Saturday) the Sabbath, and on the 5th the Negus rose from Qongarā and stayed at Amra. And Blätōngēti Wāti and Asālafī Khāylu and Azāj Kābtu and Qañamach Yasellāsē Bāryā and Alaqa Sāhelu and many troops of Mēchā and Agaw arrived with many gifts. On the 6th Dajamach Adegahe came with a few men and left troops at Guta. On the 7th the Negus reposed while he dispensed justice to the poor and needy. As David said, "Render justice to the poor and the orphan." And on the 8th Fitāwrāri Ikonyān came and appeared before the Negus; a man of Djawis and a man of Mēchā stayed at Godakhā; and on the 9th the Negus reposed in dispensing justice and alms to the blind and the infirm, as the Psalms say "The justice of the great King makes him beloved in return." And Bāshā Iyāsu was set free and Liqā Maqwās Kenfu at Dañenat, Dañenat however belonged to Bāshā Iyāsu. On the 10th Fitāwrāri Ikonyān came and met the Negus and the curtain was withdrawn, and the chiefs arrived, and the horn was sounded, and the judges took their seats. The servants of the Negus stood up in great reverence on the right hand and on the left, some came bearing a sword and others bearing guns without number, so that no one could say it was such a one, or such a one, officers also covered up their faces and feet in the likeness of the Cherubim and Seraphim that they might be saved from the fire that flew from the hands of the riflemen. And then the men of Mēchā came and Fantā Gabra Mikā'ēl came first and after him all the men of Mēchā alongside of him, and after everyone Fitāwrāri Ikonyān came and brought Aderā Khāylu before the face of the Negus and proclaimed the benefits the Negus had conferred upon him.
He prostrated himself before the Negus saying, "Have mercy on me." And when the Negus saw that, the spirit of patience came into his heart and he bid Adera Khaylu to rise, and the judges went to their places; and then he sang the Psalm of David, saying "Oh Lord, the King shall joy in thy strength, and in thy salvation he shall greatly rejoice, and thou hast given him his heart's desire and hath not withholden the request of his lips" unto the end. And on the 11th the Negus retired and reposed in solitude. And on the 12th they slaughtered many bullocks and they made a feast for Alaqa Gabru and Alaqa Zenâ and he gave them meat so that the monastery was satisfied. For that was the feast of the Archangel Michäel. And to the chief judges he gave them bullocks for each of them. And on the 13th at the 9th hour there was a great tumult and disturbance in the camp because of some petty dispute between the men of Bâlâmbârâs Gualej and the men of Dajazmâch Hezeqeyâs. And three men were killed and many wounded, the Negus himself not prevailing to make the men relinquish (the fighting). And even after the torpor of the cold overcame them, the Negus having returned home, their meal (rations) did not pacify them, so that on the next day, Wednesday, the Negus did not show himself on account of his great grief till the 9th hour. And on the 15th the Negus arose and returned and Walda Sellâsé from Amri. And he went to the frontier of Asharâ and punished with the rod many of those who were guilty of plundering the cattle of the district. And on the same day a ruffian Arushé (Galla Tribe of) killed a man in front and by order of a royal servant of the King, the Negus however was much annoyed that the murderer escaped. And on the next day the Negus arose from that place and stayed at Dubani. The next day, Sunday, he rested there and left Fitâwrâri Ikonyân at Amri. And on the 18th the King retired and rested alone. And on the 19th the Negus rested when he did what was just for the widows and children, and he punished by flogging two men who had slaughtered bullocks of

Ps. xxi. 1, 2.
And Azāj Yābo Bāryā came, and Gabryo and the Balasā men. And on the same day news was heard of the death of Azāj Abēsēlom of Sanqō. And on the 20th Fitāwrāri Ikonyān came and sent out a herald to Azāj Abēsēlom and Nagādrās Asāhēl saying "enough of beginning." And on the 21st the Negus commanded men of Agaw to go to their own country and bring him tribute at once. And on the 21st the Negus went to the Church of our Lady Mary and returned in an hour. And on the 23rd the Negus was accessible at the 9th hour for a short time. On the 24th Wadbābo Gabru came, who was Tsagadē Dajzmāch Kantībā Yawesta and Gerazmāch Walda Sellāsē and Gerazmāch Tsewā, for he had (pardoned) compassion on them. And on the 25th the Negus rose and made a feast for the judges and the nobles and for those whom he had pardoned. In the evening there was much firing of guns and many wounded. On the 26th the Negus reposed dispensing justice.

And on the 27th the Negus reposed while the horses and cattle were received from the people of Jāwi. And on the 28th the Negus spent the time dispensing justice.

The judges gave sentence on Miko Gabre'ēl, viz., that his leg be cut off as a penalty for cutting off a leg of his poor attendant, as the Book says, "an eye for an eye, and a leg for a leg." And on the 30th the herald went round and said to the Priests of Sion whom he had assembled, "There is enough of beginning." As for Bāshā Kenfu he gave him the country of Lomāmē, that he had previously consecrated.

And Sion assembled from Amiru in the (month of) Takhsās on the day before and the Negus reposed by himself and was not accessible. On the 2nd it was heard that Asālāfi Walda Aragāy had come out from Begameder. On the 3rd Asālāfi Walda Aragāy came, and he took the two hands of a child and a youth that Kanfā Adām sent them so that they might see the Negus privately; the Negus was inaccessible because he was taking medicine, and on the 9th Hararē went out towards Guta,

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1 *饸饸RoleId* = Amharic, lit. enough of beginning, i.e. now let us get to work.
and many were killed, but the King was absent; and on the 5th the King withdrew until the 16th except from his ministers and children of the house, for he was suffering a little. And on the 17th the Negus gave audience to the minister that came from Gondar and Tigré, and on the 18th Räš Khäylu came with many gifts. And on the 19th there was a meeting of Gojamese and on the 20th there came a verdict from the judges that Aderä Khäylu be sentenced to death as the Book says, “Everyone who conspires, even if without harm done, against Patriarch and King, for their death, or dishonour, he shall die the death.” And on the same day Dena Kabtē returned for he had during that time been taken by the men of Gomar. And on the 21st there was council taken with Räš Khäylu, he robed Räš Khäylu with a purple linen robe and reconciled him with the men of Gojam: and Rogē died suffering from Epī (sic) and with blessings left a legacy to Räš Khäylu that it might be called the “Glory of the House” by law, and Räš Khäylu was pleased.

On the 22nd the Negus rose from Dubani and stayed at Ashra, but Räš Khäylu and Dajazmāch Adgah left their positions. And on the 23rd the Negus rose from there and stayed at Kelti, the excuse he gave for his starting on the Sabbath being that the country might not be destroyed nor the people disturbed, as is written in the Gospel: The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. And on the 29th the Negus rose from that place and stayed at Chāqā River. And he heard that Echage Henoch was dead and Fantā his servant was put in chains as was proper. On the 25th the Negus arose from there and stayed at Acharā, and Azāj Kabtē returned among the judges and the people of the country and the priests received the Negus with jubilation. On the 464 a 26th the Negus arose from thence and stayed at Sarweha, and Yashālaqē Walda Sellāsē came from Gājgē. On the 29th the Negus rose from there and stayed at Bārcha and men who came from Gondar met him. And there was no food to be got nor head of corn on the whole journey for the Negus

1 Purple. 2 Epilepsy or perhaps Epsapē, elephantiasis, a not uncommon complaint in Abyssinia.
was punishing his troops. And on the 28th the Negus rose from there and stayed at Robit over against Gondar and the 'Aqabe Sa'ät Abësëlom and the commanders and the priests came out to meet him on the road and there was great rejoicing. And the Negus came into the reception hall and he relieved the Dajazmäch Wasan of his term of imprisonment and the Queen also coming they stayed among them with great rejoicings. And guns were received that Dajazmách Gadalu sent him. This concludes the history of the expedition into the land of Mëchä, praise be to God for ever and ever. Amen.

The Negus arriving at the city spent the summer season in safety only doing works of penitence: for he was freed with Dajazmäch Bakatu in the matter of Bålambäräs Gualej. But Bålambäräs Gualej had taken refuge at Wäldebbä, the Negus having dismissed him so as to rejoice the heart of Dajazmách Baqatu. That spring an Arab came from the town of Senaar and he presented the Negus with gifts of many asses and horses. Another Arab came and made gifts to the King and the King gave him decorations in return. Dajazmách Gadelu came this spring for the Negus was kind to him and gave him in addition to his command of Dajazmách that dignity over Wälqayt, presenting him with a robe of honour and sending him to his territory. And the Negus received visits of the priests. In the month of Genbot, news came how Dajazmách Kabtë was ill and the Negus was not only much distressed but he summoned the 'Aqäbayän (guardians) of medicine (the head physicians) and sent them to him. And after guns had been fired they heard that Dajazmách Baqatu had died and it caused great sorrow not only to the Negus but to the Negus's household. And they shaved his head and dressed him in cloth of goat hair, and they mourned as King David mourned for his beloved Jonathan. At that time there came to the Negus a rumour saying that Kenfü Adäm was coming from Setyä and Andäyl Lanacho the Fitäwräri of Dajazmách Adagah seized him. And hearing this on the 6th of Sané ( = 7th

1 Vide Appendix. 2 It is customary to fire guns when a man dies.
June) on Tuesday after the 6th hour Negus Takla Giyorgis started from Gondar and went out followed by the chiefs and officers. These were they the chiefs Liqē Khāylu, his brother and Liqē Iyo'ekes, of the left wing, and Fitāwrāri Yasellāsē Bāryā friend of the King, Dājazmāch Gabra Iyasus, Qa'yazmāch Bakaffa, Garasmāch Walda Abib, Bālāmbārūs Gualēj, Nagādrās Ya-lemtu, Bāshā Iyasu, Affā Negus Wāsē, Azāj Kabtē, Ligābā Walda Giyorgis, Asālāfi Khāylu, Azmāch Walda Dāwit, Yashā-laqā Mitār, Yashālaqā Sutuel, Yashālaqā Waldu, Yashālaqā Kabtē, Yashālaqā Yābo Bāryā, Yashālaqā Guragul, Yashālaqā Aderu, Rās Ayādār also, and Kantībā Adegoaychaw, he left in the city, and the prisoners that had been taken when they were shut up, were not allowed out. The Negus brought with him Aderu Khāylu, and on the same day he stayed at Fantar. But Qīs Atsē Kabtē, and Alaqā Zafaru and Malek Tsahay Robc'ām stayed with the Negus to bid farewell, and on the same day Bajrond Fānu'ēl was kicked by his horse. He returned towards Gondar and Gera came from Mēchā. Then there came the officers that had not gone out with the Negus for among them there is no sedition, when the Negus sent a herald proclaiming "Assemble on Thursday." And when he heard of the great perfidy (rebellion) of Kanfu, he started forth on (the 3rd day) Tuesday, for indeed there is no remissness in the Negus.

For God when he saw a just king he called him just, when he saw the great sins of the people, he caused a deluge of water for 100 years after. He spoke saying, "Let a deluge come for 120 years." We will now return to what we said at the beginning. On the 7th the Negus rose from Fantar and stayed at Wayn Arab; Mel'akā Tsahay Roba'am and Qīs Atsē Kabtē and Alaqā Zafaru returned, and Liqē Iyo'ekes went to Balasa. Blāttēngētā Kalu and Azāj Danfā came while both were very ill. And on the 8th Sānē the Negus rose from Wayn Arab and rested at Ferqā. Alaqā Gabru came the 3rd hour, since he was much grieved at being separated from his Lord two hours, for he was much loved of his Lord, as John the Evangelist was, and at the 6th hour
Liqe Maqwasa Kanfu and Garazmách Walda Selassé and Kantibá Yawestu, and Nagadrás Asähel and Azåj Zawedu. And on the 9th the Negus rose from Ferqa and when he arrived at Amgê, Dajazmách Hezeqeyas came, and he heard from a merchant saying that Dajazmách Adegeh and Fitawrâri Ikonyân had defeated Kenfu Adâm and Andayl who had got away out of prison was taken, and he brought him to Nacho; and many were put to death. And again the attendant of Aslafè Khâylu came bringing the truthful account of the victory. And he reported it to the Negus, and the Negus was much pleased and gave thanks to God saying “The image of God hath been always before me, for he is on my right hand, so that it be not shaken. For this is my heart rejoiced and my tongue is loosened”; and after this Khâylu son of the Affa Negus Wåsè came from Begameder, for he was travelling by order of the Negus. And Zalân came at the same hour, skipping like a goat. And presents of bullocks were made to the Negus. And when each youth had received a little grass from the master of the country for his house, the Negus made a present of clothes to the youth for the master of the house. On the same day the Negus stayed at Awara Måsarya. And Azåj Teku came and Bajrond Zenâ Gabre’el and Bajrond Nåblis and many soldiers. And on the 10th day he rested there. And many officers of state came and soldiers and warriors, the owner of the village bringing a great quantity of food. And on the 11th he reposed there and Alaqå Zenâ came, and Alaqå Såhelu of Walda Neguadgud. And the reason of their retiring was because they utterly refused them (to go) saying, “What is the use of being guards of priests, if we have to go on raiding expeditions, like the guards of the army twice in one year.” And on account of this they came and gathered together, many of their guards remaining behind. The same day many soldiers came. On the 12th he rested there because it was the feast (?) of the Archangel Mikael. And on that day came many officers but the Negus spent the time hearing speech and examining
disputes among the priests of the island. And on the 13th the Negus rose from there, and filled up his supply of water and stopped at Gugebê. And on the 14th the Negus rose from there and stopped at Galda. Then Azâj Yâkob came and afterwards blood-letters¹ (surgeons) came, and that there might be witnesses (?) Dajazmâch Hezeqeyâs stayed, for the operation² as he was suffering from illness. On the 15th they went from there and stayed on the Abây and Adgeh, and Fitâwrârì Ikonyân and Garazmâch Adyâm and Agâz Yabis Hunaña came. And the Picture from Debra Mâryâm arrived and on the 16th he left Kantibâ Kanfu and the Negus rose from there. And Kañazmâch Sahelü came and Azâj Khâylu and on the same day the Negus started from Achâbar. And on the 17th the Negus left there and he pulled down the houses of Kenfu (?) that had been built with the fifth³ that they might serve for timber for the Church. What was left, he burnt; he camped there, and on the 18th he marched thence and arrived at the River Abây, and found it in flood (full) and many animals were drowned. On the same day they killed many Galla peasants, capturing much booty, men and animals. But the Negus was much grieved and he sent a herald to proclaim that the plunder should be restored. Evening coming on Bâlâmbarâs Ramekhâ came and Teha his son and Bajrond Aderâ Gabre'êl and Logo his son, and Gâjan his daughter, but the Negus camped on the bank of the Abây that the people might not be harmed. And on the 19th the Negus marched out from there and crossed the River Abây, by the good advice of another, on wheels. On the same day Maleaka Tsahay Robe'âm, Alaqâ Feqru Wagurâti, and his friend Wage-shyê, Nagâdrâs Walda Busâ, Azâj Zekru, Azâj Wadâju and many troops arrived, and the Negus flogged many who brought bullocks. On the 28th the Negus started out and

¹ የới(205,238),(243,254): Amharic from ለ(205,238),(243,254). Guidi, loc. cit., gives ከ(205,238),(243,254) and ከ(205,238),(243,254), 263, 4.

² Operation of blood-letting.

³ እምስተyll: Ammuisté'yyâ the fifth part of the produce of a property which goes to the proprietor, four-fifths going to the cultivator.

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camped at Dangelā and on the following day the Wednesday he reposed there, and a messenger came there from Balyā who reported that Kanfu Adām had been captured. The same day Gaberyē came and many people of Lāstā. And evening coming on Gerazmāch Walda Abēh went out towards Gondar, and Azāj Danefu Balyā: and the day following the Negus marched out and camped at Adābē. And he sent messengers into his territory and Bālāmbārās Ramekhā returned. On the 23rd the Negus rose and camped at Ambāsā Gāmā, and Gerazmāch Sandaqē came and people of Waransa, and Lasta and Kanesa and Waraq Saqala (Golden Cross) and Liqē Iyo'akes and many troops. On the 25th he reposed there and Gabra Sellāsē came and Gabra Hywat from the servants of the King's household and they laid down the trophies. The next day Kenfu came and Wand Afrāsh having killed some Shānkalā they cast down the trophies again, Priests came of Nargā Selāssē and he sent them a herald. And on the 26th Priests of Daga came bringing with them the bones of Zarā Ya'ekob the just king, that was called Constantinos and so they came after 330 years, and it seemed the will of God that this blessing should be upon the King of Kings, Takla Giyorgis. But the Negus sent a herald to them, saying “All those who take sanctuary with the bones of the Great Zarā Ya'ekob the just king, and Stephen the Martyr, we will have mercy on all evil doers and rebels. And let Daga be for the abode of the Abun and Echage and ‘Quoratsa’ (Surgeon?), and let the whole number of those (bones?) that had been taken away be restored to them.”

On the 28th came Kanfu Adām, Ba'eda Nānā of Basyā, and many powerful men of Mēchā, whom he had made prisoners, came with him, then they bore stones1 and they fell down before the Negus. And when he saw that he marvelled and gave praise to God, saying “Praise God with a new song, praised be he in the congregation of his just ones. Let Israel

1 I.e. carried stones on their shoulders as mark of submission.
rejoice in him who made them, and the children of Sion be joyful in their King.” (Ps. cxlix to the end.) And after that Liqé Khaylu of the left (wing) stood up to be punished in the Negus’s presence, for the Azāj that was present among them punished them on account of their crimes; while they proclaimed aloud, saying “We deserve to die, for we have committed (the crime of) rebellion.” So the judges and the Negus gave judgment in these words, “They are worthy of death.” And since they committed crime of rebellion, he proclaimed that it was useless for them to cry out. They groaned but groans were of no avail. And when the Negus saw that, his heart softened as was his wont and he was touched with pity at their being put to death so he gave orders, saying, “Let Kāssā Kenfu and Eleyās Amaljeī, and Cholē Kiros, and Khāylu Warañā, repent by having their feet cut off that it may be a warning to their posterity that may come (after them).” As for Kenfu Adām and Andāyl, he commanded that they should remain in chains with Aderā Khāylu, but on Wasan Sagad and Chālēmā, as they were staying with Kenfu, he had mercy and pardoned them. And on the 29th the Negus marched out from there and camped at Sānkēra. But Dajazmāch Adegah and Fitāwrārī Ikonyān and their officers, returned and went to Gondar, and Azāj Teku and Bajrond Zenā Gabre’el made preparations, and at evening the Negus had the bones of Zarā’ Ya’eqob the Negus brought to his tent, and looked upon them in admiration and wrapped them in purple and fine drapery. On the 30th of Sanē, the Negus went out from thence and camped at Bomba, for the (bones of) Zarā’ Ya’eqob were restored to Dāgā. On the 1st of Hamlē the Negus rose from that place and many men and women of the place seized his hand with jubilation saying, “What sedition! Kenfu has gone off and fled,” they shouted “What a crime! Down with rebellion!” On

1 Symmada, town in Phrygia, Dill. Lex.
2 Amharic, except the Ge’ez word ወጭጫ, which is from an old form of verb ያጫ to rebel.
the same day the Negus camped at Galematā Warqā, and there came from Gondar the princess Walata Abo, the sister of the Negus, as he was going towards Metā Dajazmāch Adeghah and with him came Garazmāch Walda Abēb and princess Waleta Fekr, and many who were sent from the principal towns. The next day, the Sunday, he reposed there, and the Priests of Quesquam, of Tomarā came and had rejoicings in the presence of the Negus. On the 3rd the Negus rose from there and camped at Babakhā, and a great crowd of men and priests from the country round came at that time of festivity and song, to give him a reception, and that day the Negus camped at Bārchā; and when they went out on the journey there was no grass received or wood from the peasants, so that the Negus punished them. And on the 5th the Negus went out from thence and was received by the youths and priests and he camped at Robit: and on the 6th, Thursday, the Negus started thence and came into the Royal audience hall with rejoicing and great festivity, singing the Psalms of David, and he said, "When they go they went into the country weeping, and bearing seed, but when they returned home they came rejoicing, and carrying their sheaves with them" (Ps. cxvii. 6). Then the Negus commanded them to cut off the right hand and the left foot of Andāyl and they were so cut off. And the Negus coming sent to Kenfu Adām, and Adera Khāylu saying "You deserve it. Finish with your penitence, for you shall have a severe sentence," and after a little while the Negus meted out punishment to Kenfu Adām and Adera Khāylu, and he put out their eyes having mercifully remitted their death sentence. For he was a merciful and kind-hearted man. And after the rains the Negus continued in good health. And on the 16th Nahasē the Negus ordered the Abun to bring the Tābot of Fasiladas into the house of Estē Galawdēwos and joined with it the Tābot of Dabra Tābor and the Tābot of Hannā and Eyāqīm, and the Tābot of Abrahām and Yshaq

1 *yāhāt:* chant, canticle, also instrument of music.
and Yā'eqob. And on the same day he sent a herald out to proclaim “From this time forward let all fees from the priests cease that were received by the Chiefs and Bishops, and let the Tābots be consecrated without fees.” Then he said, “We have given our provinces (districts) which are called Daquā, and Quabetā, and Guinter to be the property of the priests of Debra Tābor.” This pronouncement the Negus established under pain of excommunication, by the mouth of the Abuna Yusāb, and Echagē Tesfā, and during that winter at Agatā, ‘Ali came to Begameder, and the Negus hearing of this sent to ‘Ali saying, “Unless you come before us, know that I will wreak a severe vengeance on you.” Hearing this message of the Negus, ‘Ali sent to the Negus saying “If indeed it is your will, I will come before you.” And on the 17th he laid hands on Azāj Gabru when he was about to play the traitor upon him. And on that day Dajazmāch Gadetā came before the Negus from Wālqāyt. A short while after, ‘Ali came before the Negus and he was invested with the office of Bālāmbārās, and decorated by the hand of the Negus. On the 6th of Khedār, the Negus had the Tābot of Debra Meṭmāq (Baptist) brought to his tent at Chafera Mēdā, because the building was not completed.

And after this we will relate the history of the campaign in Wallo and Wechālē of the King of Kings, Takla Giyorgis, the new Alexander, who showed his prowess by land and sea, whom the Holy Ghost has blest, like Jeremias in the womb, Priest as well as King. Amen.

In the year 75001 of the world 1777 year of mercy, the 4th year of his reign, of Luke the Evangelist on the 7th of Khedār, on the night of Thursday, after the 6th hour, the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, whose throne name was Feqr Sagad, went out from Gondar, and camped at Tsadā; Rās Ayādārs he left at Gondar so that he might build the Church of our Lady

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1 Error for 7275. The year of mercy given (1777) makes 1777 + 7 = 1784. This, however, is at variance with the date on p. 342, and being the year of Luke is probably 1782.
the Holy Virgin, Mary the Mother of God, which was called Debra Metmäq. Semën Aderu however was invested with the office of Kantibä and returned; on that day there remained with the Negus, Blättängeä Guälej and Garazmäc Adyäm, Bälämbaräs Ali, Dajazmäc Gadelu, Azäj Zenä Gabré‘el, Alajä Gabru, the writer of this history, Affä Negus Wäsë, Azmäc Walda Dawit, Lïgäbä Walda Gïyorgis, Yashälaqä Kabté, Yas-halaqä Asagad, who was himself Gäshäjagrë (a shield-bearer)¹, Yashälaqä Wädënä Kabté, Segä Malekañã, and many attendants of the Negus whom he had invested and decorated.

And of the judges, Liqë Gabru of the right (wing) and Liqë Iyo‘akes, and Azäj Wädäj, and on the following day the 8th Khedär, Qis Atse Kabté came from Gondar, to bid him adieu. And the Negus marched out from Tsadä and camped at Guarabä, and Qis Atse Kabté returned, Mel‘ek Berhänät Zafarú and Alaqa Zenä Zaba‘ata and Alaqa Fequr Egzi‘e, and Alaqa Gabra Kedän, and Alaqa Libäryos, for they came to bid farewell, and Mel‘ek Tsahay Robe‘am, but Mel‘ek Berhänät Khërut and many judges he turned back at Fantur and Azäj Danefu came, for he had remained to take physic, as he was suffering much, by reason that he was parted from his master, for he loved him as a son. Afterwards Mel‘ek Tsahay Nahud came to bid him farewell, and on the following day the 9th the Negus marched from Gorabä and camped at Enferaz and Mel‘ek Tsahay Nahud the attendant on the King, and Alaqa Sähelu, having been received were sent back. And on that day Azäj Ya‘ëgob came and on the following day the 10th he reposed there. Many officers came and priests with the Kuer‘ata Re‘su. Afterwards Dajazmäc Iyasu came and Negä-dräs Yalimtu, and Azäj Kedän, Yashälaqä Mitär and on the following day the 11th he reposed there, and the Negus went out to Amba Märyäm and returned at the 3rd hour with banners and kettle drums and a large force. The next day the 12th of Khedär he rested and Azäj Kenfu of Tarasambä and Azäj Kenfu Elfäña came, and next day the 13th the

¹ Amharic.
Negus marched from Emferäz and camped at Qārodā on a hill. Here he sent out a herald to say, “Everyone who has taken refuge (taken sanctuary) at Debra Metsrākhā shall be pardoned, for the Negus seeks cause for pardon, as he was its founder.” Afterwards it was proclaimed “We have given the country to Liqē Gabru which our brother the Negus gave.” And a second proclamation was made, “Whosoever shall take food, or pluck an ear of corn (ףף) I shall visit with severe punishment.” There were many priests at that moment, who gave him a reception with songs and sweet music. On the 15th the Negus marched from Amad Bor and camped at Tsaguer. And Liqē Khāylu came, of the left wing, and Yashālaqā Yabisahunaña who was a Dajazmāch and many people; on the 16th the Negus brought Alaqā Gabru to his tent and he rested there and returned in the evening; and on the 17th on Sunday he reposed there. Nagādrās Yamāryāmbāryā came and after came Azāj Walda Abib and Liqa Gubā’e Zenā, for he was delayed at Guenter suffering on account of his fasting.

On the 18th news was brought from Rās Khāylu, and on the 19th Rās Khāylu and with him Fitāwrāri Ikonyān came and chiefs and the Negus stayed for food and on the same day Azāj Khāylu came. On the 20th the Negus stayed and held a court of justice, and restored territory and goods that had been taken away, and gave a flogging to those who had taken them away. He struck one of his servants because he altered his orders. On the same day Dajazmāch Adegah came, and with him Eshētē Khāylu; on the 21st Dajazmāch Adegah and Fitāwrāri Ikonyān went on in advance, but the Negus stayed with his sister Princess Waleta Abo and Waleta Fequr. The Negus inflicted punishment on all who had taken food and ears of corn from the peasants even to the grass (thatch) of the houses and seizing Aslafē Yaba Bāryā had him up before him. When however (he found) that they who took the things were very badly in want of food, he repented, and gave secret orders that they should not be punished severely but lightly, that the men might be warned.
On the 22nd Yashālaqā Eshati came, Yashālaqā of Lastā, and Asālafē Walda Aragawi the Negus receiving them in his tent.

A great number of troops came in. On the 23rd the Negus marched from Tseguer and camped at Wāher and Dajazmāch Iyāsu made a present of show bread. And the Negus put up his tent of scarlet cloth, having a silver mast that gave light like a morning star. And he had a wonderful cross in the likeness of the Holy Trinity, as on that day every work done was with the sign of the cross, and they made on their shields of iron a sign of the cross as was done in the time of the just King of Constantinople, and that shows how near allied is the destruction of the pagans and the salvation of the faithful. And on that day Rās Khāylu presented the Negus with many mules. On the 24th the Negus issued an admonition and called together the people of Gojam and the people of Dāmot, but some wrangled, some saying: “I am first,” and others, “I am first.” And the Negus hearing this said to them, “Go away, eat your food, and some other day demand of me your rights once again.” And he said this to the Chiefs and the sons of Chawā and the picked troops. And on the 25th of Sanē, the Negus marched from Qaher and camped at Kemer Dangya and on the 26th the Negus marched out from Kemer Dangya and camped at Mashalamyā, where the priests of Zur Amba gave him a reception, and the Negus invited one of the priests. On the 27th the Negus left Mashalamyā and camped at Wecha by himself; and Liqē Khāylu of the left wing came, and Yashālaqā Guangul who was Yashālaqā of Tigrē, and on the 28th the Negus left and descended below on foot, and stayed at Bēt Meda, and men were killed and animals by (falling down) the precipice. On the 29th the Negus left Bēt Meda and camped at Chēt Weha. There he heard of the death of Qis Atsē Keflu, and Dajazmāch Kāssā. On the 30th the Negus went from Chēt Weha and

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1  "small cakes of bread used in presentations.
2  a mast surmounted by a cross and bearing the royal banner. Turkish and Arabic (from the Persian) "سندق".
3  "chefrā", name of a corps.
camped at Anchem. This was the end of the month of Khedar; the first day of (month of) Tākhṣās was Tuesday and he rested there. Then he sent Warārē towards Wādelā, for the men of Wādelā that winter had conspired together with rebels. And on the same day the Princess Mentewadad, mother of Dajazmāch Baqatu, and Princess Yaweb Dār also came. On the 2nd, Dajazmāch Kāssā sent many bullocks to the Negus and he brought in bread and tribute of mēs\(^1\) and wood.

On the same day came Azāj Zakeru with many men of Gondar and so the Negus showed his favour to Dajazmāch Kāssā with a gold head-piece, with a caftan, and a robe of honour. And he sent a herald to announce “that he had bestowed on Kāssā the governorship of Begameder and Lāstā,” he remembered the benefits he had received from the son of Dajazmāch Baqatu, being one not to forget a benefit, nor to remember an injury. And on the 4th the Negus rested there. And on the 5th the Negus left Anchem and camped at Yanajā, and on the 6th the Negus left Yanajā and camped at Bēta Hor, and on the 7th he rested again, and he founded a town there. On the 9th the Negus sent to Dajazmāch Adegah, that he would receive the Dajazmāch Bato, for the (latter) sent word that “He had sent everything due to the Negus.” On the same day the Negus invested Asalāfē Bertu Saw, Intelligence messenger; and Dajazmāch Baṭo came, and on the 11th the Dāraba Bēt from Gondar. On the 12th the Negus sent a herald to announce that every man of Wechālē and Wollo should follow Dajazmāch Baṭo, Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl, and everyone who followed him should be trained, and ask no questions. And on the 13th the Negus decorated Dajazmāch Baṭo on account of his exploits. And on the 14th the Negus sent Dajazmāch Baṭo to his province. On the 15th Dajazmāch Kāssā came and camped at Bēta town. On the 16th Dajazmāch Kāssā came to the council and on the 17th Dajazmāch Dori came there, many being present there. Asalāfē Warqē and Khāylu came to receive them for they had fled from a fight with Galla. And on the

\(\text{\(\text{\(mēs\)}\)}}\) an unfermented grape juice, must.

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\(\text{\(w. b.\}}\)
18th, Jan Tserër Birali Wagelmo came with many men from Yaju and Basal. And they cast down Walda Sellassé the rebel before the Negus along with many other rebels. And Azâj Yâ'êqob rose and argued before the Negus and judgement was given and the sentence was death. But the Negus showed more tolerance and put them in chains, for he did not favour death as punishment for rebels, but rather their conversion and turning away with repentance. And on that day the Negus gave a feast to Dajazmâch Dori and his men. And on the 20th Dori Talè gave the Negus a goat with three legs, which shows how pagan sinners lessen and lower authority, for that goat was a type (symbol) of the sinner. And on the 21st the Negus sent forth a herald to proclaim that no detachment of troops should go towards Inajâ. And on the 22nd, in the evening, the Negus called to Liqa Gubâ'ê Zenâ and Alaqa Gabru, to confer with him on spiritual matters, for they were much beloved by him. And drawing near to him they said to him, "O King, if we have found favour in thy sight, we have a word to address thee, some information to give." And the Negus answered, "Speak what you have to tell me." Then said Liqa Gubâ'ê Zenâ and Alaqa Gabru, "The men do not speak well to us, and they are unwilling to cross the river Jaṭâ and refuse to follow us to another country." The King on hearing this was much angered, but rebuked them tenderly, even as our Lord reproved Peter when he said, "Oh thou of little faith, what maketh thee afraid," when he saw him doubting and afraid when they went with him upon the sea. He (the King) said to them, "Why do you (who are) priests speak thus? Does (the ordinary) man know what is good and evil? If he does know, he knows it of himself (by his own gifts) and, if he lies, it is by reason of this that he is himself a liar." David indeed said, "I said in my foolishness, all men are liars," and in his mouth we shall hear the destruction of the Christian fathers and dispersal of the sheep of Christ. Did you not hear what our Lord said to those faithful ones? "On him be praise in the Holy Gospel, the Good Shepherd goes back to seek his sheep. He shall give us power to bear
the cold of night and the heat of the day, to bear the blows upon our backs, and smittings on our cheeks, until there is no more sin.” And hearing this, Liqa Gubā’ě Zenā and Alaqa Gabru went off to their lands, saying, “May the will of God be done.” And on the 23rd the Negus ordered a feast for Jāntserāy Biralē with his people. On the 24th the Negus reconciled Dajazmāč Dori with Dajazmāč Adegah; for an enmity existed between them formerly. The Negus sent a herald to proclaim, “We have given to Bālāmbārās Ali all his province that he previously held. On the 25th men came, sent by the Abuna, 471 a Yosāb, bringing Holy Unction. And on the 26th Tarbēnos Khāylu went away to his country because he was ill, and on the way he was murdered by attendants of Dajazmāč Gadelu on account of a trifling dispute. On the same day a second fight took place at the Negus’s city: and the Negus punished those who stirred up the conflict; some of them were flogged and some put in chains. On the 27th came men, sent by the Echagē. And on the 28th Blāttēngētā Kalu came, bringing bullocks and honey and presented them to the Negus. On the 29th, this being the Great Feast of the Nativity, the Negus gave the bullocks to the chiefs and judges and princesses, and to all the people. And on the 30th the Negus reposed by himself. This is the end of the month Tākhṣās. And on the 1st of Ṭer, Aslafē Tekla came from Tigrē and with him and his attendant, of a favourable reputation, a man of good works, and an intelligent counsellor, and an honoured friend of the Negus, Kañasmāč Yasselāsē Bāryā. And they reported the arrival of Dajazmāč Walda Gabre’ēl to the Negus. On the 2nd the Negus spent the time with his chiefs in council, and on the 3rd messengers came from the Eṭēgē Warās Ayādādar. And on the 4th the Negus took repose and heard what the messengers had to report. And on the 5th the Negus sent a herald to announce to the son of Ras Goshu, “Let judgement be confirmed1.”

On the 6th the Negus reposed alone, and on the 7th the

1 Amharic, lit. the judgement or sentence is enough.
Negus put himself under medical treatment. And on the 8th an attendant of the Negus came who had gone out and brought a mule of Dajazmäch Walda Gabra'el. On the 9th the Negus rested to hear the report of Jäntsaräy Biralé and Bälämbäräś Ali and on the 10th the Negus went early to the Church with some men. And he returned thence at the 6th hour. On the 11th which was the great feast of the Baptism (Epiphany) the Negus rested with his chiefs. And on the 12th the Negus slaughtered the bullocks which Räs Khäylu had given him and stayed with him and Dajazmäch Adegah and Fitäwräi Ikonyän. And on the same day the Negus decorated with a golden head-piece Fitäwräi Aydana, Shum of Dakhnä. And on the 13th the Negus stayed alone. On the 14th the Negus was not accessible, and on the 15th no one came except the children of the household. On the 16th the Negus commanded the judges and the Affa Negus Wase to hear the complaints of the litigants at the door of the Negus's tent. On the 17th Yalaw Aygar, one whom the Negus had ordered to Gondar, brought a saddle\(^1\) for the Negus of gold, that shone like lightning, such as has never been made before for other kings. And with him came Priests that had been sent by Mal'aka Berhänät Zafaru bearing the Täbot of the Holy Trinity and the Täbot of the Abuna Takla Häymänot, and with him came those sent by Qis Atsë Kabtë bringing the martyrdom of Abuna Takla Häymänot, and the picture of Our Lady with the picture of Abuna Takla Häymänot painted on a silver tablet, and gave it to the Negus. Afterwards came men sent by Räs Ayädär. And on the 18th there was mourning in the town because of the death from illness of Aderä Wald Alu Fäsìl and Abran Gadäm attendant of Ras Khäylu. On the 19th the Negus was in retirement. On the 20th Abbä Walda Hawäryät came and Abdallä. And they reported to the Negus that Dajazmäch Walda Gabra'el was near and on the 21st the latter camped at the Negus's town of Tegä and the Negus sent him to Asläfè Mudekhen. And on the evening coming on, the noise of shots

\(^{1}\) Amharic, modern spelling is ማ上海证券交易所
was heard, but his coming was not (inspired by) good intentions or affection. If indeed the will of God had not brought him and the work of Qaناسمّاچ Yasellâsē Bâryâ the favourite of the Negus, he would not have come before. He did not give tribute as he was bound to the Negus. But the Negus redoubled his favours in accordance with what the Book teaches “Return not evil for evil, but evil with good.” On the 22nd Dajazmâch Walda Gabraʼêl came with Qaناسمّاچ Yasellâsē Bâryâ a friend of the Negus. And Dajazmâch Walda Gabraʼêl on his arrival presented to the Negus the son of his brother saying, “Behold the brother of thy Son the King of Kings, Tebab Sagad, Takla Häymânot whom Rás Mikaʼel gave in charge to my father when he refused to reign over the country.” The Negus was grieved at the recollection of the death of his brother, but he was delighted to look upon the face of the son of Abéto Gabra Mudekhen, and after that he ordered a table to be set and a banquet for Dajazmâch Walda Gabrêl with the Negus. And he made him many gifts of guns and shields of silver, and cups of gold besides. And he gave a bird that came and spoke (like a man) with a human voice, that bird too was endowed with reason to come to the King to help him, the Dove of Noah and of our Blessed Lady the Virgin Mary, Mary the Mother of God. On the 24th the Negus sent Râs Khâylu and Fitâwrâri Ikonyân in the vanguard. And on the 25th the Negus sent away Dajazmâch Adegah to Râs Khâylu and Fitâwrâri Ikonyân, and he sent Abéto Gabra Madekhen to Wakhni with Bajrond Hezeqeyâs and Qaناسمّاچ Ya Mâryâm Bâryâ and sent away all those that had been sent from Gondar. He sent a herald round to the Neguses and Abuna Yosâb and the Echagê Tasfâ, and Ḥaqâbê Saʼát Abesêlêm and Râs Ayadâr, and all the priests and chief priests he sent a royal rescript “Behold, when we heard of the destruction of the Churches and the captivity of the faithful and all that great breaking up of our Tübôts in Makhte and Mafatsch by the hands of pagans, I was fired with spiritual indignation. Even as David said ‘The zeal of thy house con-
sumes me,' and we went out to make war upon the heathens. But in our going forth we trust not in the number of soldiers, or strength of our horses, for a King is not saved by numbers of soldiers, and horses are a snare they will not deliver him."

But we trust in your prayers. Now therefore pray for us, as the men of Jerusalem prayed for King Herqal. And our Abuna Pantaleon for Kaleb the Negus of Ethiopia, when Finehas the traitor abandoned the Christian King\(^1\). Ye know what the Book says of Nābukadratsār\(^2\), before he became a prisoner, but his followers said "Pray for the King"\(^3\). "Mourn for me among Kings, for Rebeqā mourned for Yā'eqob and Yā'eqob mourned for Ye'osef and Our Lady mourned for her only son," and this letter he sent afterwards. The Negus has not been given sleep to his eyes nor slumber to his eyelids, nor rest to his cheeks, but he stays all the night praying like his father David, and saying "Why hast thou oh Lord abandoned us for ever?" "Why doth thy anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture? Remember thy congregation that thou hast made (purchased) of old. For like the tree of the plain they have cut down with an axe the gate posts and they have burned thy sanctuary with fire\(^4\). But from now vengeance shall be taken for the blood of thy servants that has been shed. The cries of these prisoners shall rise before thee, and as thy arms shall be strong thou shalt have pity on these murdered children, but before they harvested the vintage thou didst bring them out of Egypt, thou didst place thy people and established them." And repeating many other prayers, the Negus camped that night. And on the 26th before the setting of the Sun, the Negus rose from his house ardent as a fire, and he shone like a lamp, and the crown on his head was like the moon, and Bajrond Ayādār followed behind him at hand. His shield besides was of silver that glittered like the sun. His swift horses moving (like animals flying) as if beasts with wings followed behind. There was too

\(^1\) Vide Appendix: Kaleb.
\(^2\) Nebukadrezzar.
\(^3\) "Say prayers for the life of King Nebukadnezzar, etc." (Baruch i. 11).
\(^4\) Ps. lxxiv. 1, 2.
a lamb with a heavy horn that followed him, and the lamb following, let it be known that a lamb of redemption and sacrifice followed the Negus. Above was the power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to help him, and in front marched Liqa Gubā'ē Zenā, and Alaqa Gabru with the Tābot of the Holy Trinity, and the Tābot of Abuna Takla Háymānot and the picture of our Lord, glory be to him, viz. the "Kuer'āta Re'su" (picture represented the striking on the head of Christ). Alaqa Maryām Bārīā was there, as we have said, all the soldiers and weapons of the Negus, and all the collection of papers. Having completed the courtyard of the house of the Hor, the Negus descended below to Jiţā on foot as was fitting saying, "Behold thy law is a lamp to my feet and a light to my way" (Ps. exix. 105). After that he said "Arise and receive me and show thou art the Lord God of the mighty ones, the King of Israel," and on the same day the Negus camped in the land of Shagna of Dawnt, and many men and animals were killed over a precipice. Dagēna was in Tigre (?), but Dajazmāch Kāssā he left at Begamedr. And when the men of Chālē and Wollo and Watalonā heard that the King had left his house and was on the march, a great panic fell upon them and they were seized with fear and terror. And they suffered there as those that are in the pangs of labour. The men of Wollo went, out of their great terror, unto the better educated and more experienced among them, and clamoured aloud, saying, "Woe to us! alas for us! for the terrible Negus has come upon us with a double edged sword in his hand to execute vengeance among the people. Woe is ours! Alas for us! For the Negus has come upon us. Blessed is he who will take our children and hide them among the rocks. Woe is ours! Alas for us! for the mighty lion of the line of Judah and the seed of David has come to us, he will break our bones and burn our marrow"; and hearing this the men of leading and experience answered, "Why are ye troubled in your hearts, children, do ye seem to be as those who can rise and stand up against a powerful King. Can a reed stand up

1 Hor (Bazēn?) was one of the officials of the law. T. Guidi, loc. cit., 682.
against fire? or a goat against a leopard? or a bullock against a lion? We shall hear from our young ones how the King of the Christians comes, and there dispenses justice to the earth, and judges the world and the peoples with justice. If you seek your safety, take your bullocks and go to his tent, fall down before the Negus beneath his feet.” And the men of Wollo hearing this said: “This is good counsel. Behold we will go before the mighty Negus and come before his face in confidence, and in the language of the Galla we will acclaim him, and we will weep before Takla Giyorgis our King, for he is our Lord.” They approved their speech and ratified this counsel of the men of Wollo. We will now return to what we said above. On the 27th he rested there and deprived Walda Gabra’el of a strong amba (fortress) because the men of the amba had not sent presents to the Negus, if indeed he had not refused the pardon of the King for not leaving any firewood. And on the 28th the Negus marched from Shaguā and descended below to Shelu on foot, both men and animals lost their lives and the Negus was much grieved here seeing the loss of Christians through the heathens, and then of the destruction of his people down the precipice, that he had not abandoned the campaign. And on the same day the Negus camped on the (river) Bashelo and on the 29th he rested there because it was the feast of our Lord. And on the 30th the Negus marched from the Bashelo and camped at Shaguā in Amhara. Here ends the month of Ṭer.

And on the 1st of Yakatit on Thursday the Negus went from Shaguā and camped at Sadi Ambasa, and some soldiers were killed by the people of the country. And Dajazmach Bato sent bullocks and bread and much wine (“must,” vinum facticium, Dill.) to the Negus. On the 2nd the Negus marched from Sadi Ambasa and camped in the Quolla. And there came to the city Walda Abaychafu of Wollo who knelt down before the Negus, but the Negus sent out a herald proclaiming “Every

1 ḫəղ. for ḥə ḫə? corrupt text.
2 Requisition for the King’s service.
3 ያ እ Amharic= the hot lowlands.
man of Amharā and Wollo and Wechālē shall place himself at the disposal of (deliver himself up to) Dajazmāch Adegah." On the same day Dāwit, one of the children of the Royal house, came since he lived there in command of the land of Wollo. And then the Negus gave orders again there, and they made prisoners on the road of the men of Wechālē. The 3rd he spent there. And on the 4th he stayed again there. On the 5th the Negus left Kollo and camped at Querquer and on the same day they laid trophies before the Negus of the slain enemies of Amharā. Rās Khāylu made an oration over it. And on the 6th the Negus went from Querquer and men of Lāstā were in the rearguard, and he camped at Guadalās in the province of Wollo. And on the 7th Manasho one of the chiefs of the Wollo came and delivered himself up to Dajazmāch Adegah and with him came men of Amharā who were invited and reported to the Negus saying, "Among the Rivers of the Galla there we have dwelt and we have wept when we have remembered the roof (building) of our blessed Mary, and they have made us captives and sold us like cattle and like sheep they slaughter us. But now may the Lord God of Israel be praised who has raised for us from the house of Yāsu (Joshua) his servant the horn of our salvation." And hearing this the Negus was astonished and repeated the 84th Psalm of David 1, "Lord, thou hast been favourable unto thy land: thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob" and so on to the end. And after that he had finished he said to Manasho, "Do you wish to become a Christian?" And Manasho replied thus: "I do not wish to become a Christian, Oh King, but I will stay like my Father," but there were those that came to him and said, "We indeed desire to be Christians, for we began as Christians." And hearing this the Negus said, "Whoso desires, let him be a Christian. Whoso desires not, let him remain as his Father was." The Negus spoke thus because he knew that Scripture says that the heathens may not be baptized by force; if they are not wholly converted that they might not deride it, let them go. Then

1 Ps. xxxv. 1, in western version.
Manasho knelt before the Negus, "Since thou hast been so perfectly merciful, give us a place where I may have a dwelling with my people and my animals." And the Negus said, "Go and dwell where we cannot find you." And Manasho answered, "Since thou wilt not protect me, my Lord, where shall I go out of thy Kingdom and whither shall I fly from thy jurisdiction, whether I climb the distant mountains, thy guns will reach me, or I descend to the hungry plains thy horses will overtake me there." And the Negus hearing this softened and gave him a territory called Daraq Ambā. At the same time the Negus sent out a herald to announce that if anyone killed a Galla, without a lawful sentence, he would execute severe vengeance on him. On the 8th the Negus marched from Gadalās, and detached his baggage, appointed Gerazmāch Adyāmo with Lāntebyē Nāblisa as rearguard. And he protected one woman until she gave birth. And on the same day men came who were sent by Dajazmāch Lubo, and were pardoned without pleading defence. And the Negus sent a herald to proclaim that every follower of Dajazmāch Lubo was pardoned without pleading defence. Then the Negus camped at Warq Masechā. On the 9th he spent the day with Dajazmāch Walda Gabra'ēl and on the following day Manasho came to the council the evening of the Sabbath. And on the 10th the Negus spent the day with Dajazmāch Walda Gabra'ēl in festivity, and the latter gave the Negus a musical entertainment. The same day the Negus sent on the road word to Shawā (Shoa). And evening coming on, a great "Chaffā" and Gurati with many men of Wollo came bringing presents, requisites and many bullocks, and they knelt down before the Negus besides many men of Shawā, called Malej, who presented petitions, and they knelt before the King. On the 12th the Negus received the men of Wollo whom we have mentioned before. On the 13th at Zalay the Negus pitched his tent of royal crimson, and he was received with great

1 Amharic የናው. baggage.  
2 A gold decorative bracelet worn as an ornament.  
3 መንዘጋው = መንዘጋፋ (?) Amharic for requisites for the march.  
4 መግልት = የጋልት. I. Guidi, loc. cit., 57.
honour to his throne with the (Hymn?) of "Ayudawit Masih." And afterwards Dajazmách Bato came with men of Wechālē, and they laid trophies before the Negus besides and gave him presents. And after that Dajazmách Lubo arrived bringing two pearls, one that was placed on the crowns of the Negus's in former 475a times; then there was another, and he made reverence before the Negus and presented those pearls, and the Negus was very pleased and gave thanks to God, saying, "Henceforward, let all generations call me blessed because he hath shown me his great power, blessed be his name." And after that he went to his province, and on the 14th the Negus punished Dajazmách Bato saying, "Unless you convert the Christians that are sold in your country, you are acting wrongly." And on the 15th priests of Gell came bringing a Tābot of Giyorgis. On the 16th the soldiers of the Negus laid an ambush for Dajazmách Bato on the journey, because his people of Wechālē fled like traitors, and Adam his brother left him by night with them, but the Negus punished those who laid an ambush on the road for Dajazmách Bato. And he sent out a herald to say "We have given to Bato the province called Adādā." On the 18th there were some of the men of Wollo who wished to become Christians, so that they should not be heathens any more. On the 19th priests of the house of Mary and on the same day a Galla killed one of the Gojam men who was going to Warārē. Then the Negus sent out a herald saying, "We have given Amārā as a province of a Dajazmách to Darso, and let every man of Amhārā come into his province. We have given to Kantibā Kabtē the country he had formerly, that is called Maqdalā." On the 20th Dajazmách Darso went towards Jefu, and imprisoned Dajazmách Bato because he refused to convert to Christians those who had been sold. On the 21st he baptized with Christian baptism the progeny (or dependants) of the great Chufu of Wollo and Darā Galāwdewos of Telomā and their people and Dajazmách Lubo, with his people. He baptized Kēder, and three of the women were also baptized. And the Negus put on them a robe of honour, but on the son
of the great Chufu whose name was Katamē he gave other proofs of his favour. To others he gave each an office and admitted them to the sacred mysteries. And on the same day the chief of Malzā, whose name was Wabasho, came, and he gave the Negus a banquet and wine; being there he arranged a table for the Negus and gave food to the Gallas who had been baptized, and the priests who had baptized them and Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl, and Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl gave them a divine chant, saying, "He hath extinguished the torch of him who dares to speak (evil)." Afterwards Takla Giyorgis found that for his honour, he (W. Gabre'ēl) was as a fire devouring the stalk of noxious grass. And then Alaqa Gabru gave a (rhyming) song of three couplets, which ran, "The priests hid the jewel of thy name Tewodoros (Theodore) in the treasury of the outward name, Takla Giyorgis, for which the people of the earth blessed thee that day. For that is an enduring word, in which there is no falsehood. Man shall utter no word of slander against it. David hid the name of his Creator from his people within his house." On the 22nd the Negus gave bullocks to his chiefs and nobles, and judges. And on the 23rd the Negus baptized the head man of Wollo who came with Wabasho, and admitted him to the Eucharist. And many of the faithful came who dwelt under the dominion of the heathen, with many Tabots. On the 24th the Negus sent out a herald to proclaim "We have given the jurisdiction of Malzā to Wabasho," and on the 25th, on Sunday, the Negus gave food to Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl with some chiefs. And Liqa Gubā'e Zenā gave (composed) to the Negus a song of three couplets, saying, "Our Lord when he revealed the name of the Kings, when he would write the first letter of Takla Giyorgis, went on to write Tewodoros." And the Negus when he heard this was astounded. Then he wrote it (the name) down wrong, and remained (for-

1 Amharic.

2 This is a sacred hymn in Ge'ez. It is so called from having six verses terminating with the same rhyme. In the Ge'ez the rhymes are —hōra—ankara—sakara—akhbara—emara—dekhara.

3 Vide Appendix: Fakkărē Iyăsus.
getful) as one who is drunk with stupefying wine. He put together the beginning (the first letter) of the two names (the letter T) and after writing the second (Tewodoros) in place of the first (Takla Giyorgis) without knowing, he did not write the first again. And on the same day men of Talomä came. And on the 26th the Negus spent the time with the chiefs in council, for Satan was envious at the baptism of the heathens and their turning Christians from captivity, sowing the evil (NCGR = Lolium) weed in the fields of the hearts of the men of Tigrë, so that they said when the Negus did not march away, "We will go off to our own country for we are much afraid," and being midday the Negus sent a proclamation for the house of Mary both for the dependants of Rås Goshu and the people of Talomä saying "Enough of beginning?" On the same day the Great Fast began; and on the 27th the Negus invited Dajazmäch Walda Gabré'el with the head men of his people and addressed them. "Children wait patiently for the arrival of what is sent them. Behold the land of Shawä, let everyone of the Christian people who were made captives (wait) till they reach their country, and have no fear, for we shall not die without confessing (our sins). And hearing this, the people of Tigrë returned home to their province, all of them saying, "When we have deliberated we will report to you." And the same day the Negus sent to Shálatqä Mitär the Yashálaqä of that church with his people, to help Dajazmäch Darso. And on his coming the people of Tigrë consulted together how they should leave the Negus and return to their own country because wherever he encouraged the crime of the people of Tigrë, he went away. And they lit up their road (lit. burned, and made bonfires to show the road) with fires, and the same day the guards of Rås Ikonyän blazed their road with fires. And of the people Jáwis and the

1 This performance was for the purpose of enlisting the credulity of the people that King Takla Giyorgis was to be the King Theodore who, according to an old prophecy contained in an apocryphal revelation called the Fakkåre, was to rise and become a world conqueror. Vide Appendix: Fakkåre Iyasus.

2 Amharic, i.e. "let us get ahead," "make some progress."
people of Gojam and the people of Dajazmāch Khāylu not one took thought to go and leave the Negus; in that Rās Khāylu was like the mighty Iyoab (Joab) the mighty Captain of the power of David the King, and encouraged the people saying, "Does it seem good to you to leave the King, because that will not seem good in days to come. And if you go to your own country, that also is the land of the Negus, but the Negus chastised the men of Mēchā, when they spoke like that." And speaking thus, Rās Khāylu went to see the Negus and when the Negus saw him arriving, he was much pleased and said, "Will not your people disperse now that you have come here?" And Rās Khāylu answered "Be of good heart, my lord King. No man of my people shall depart and leave the Negus. I will die first." And as he said this, a Galla came, when he saw the smoke. And Rās Khāylu went out to slay the Galla and then the Galla fled and two men of Mēchā killed him. And on the same day Fitawrāri Yasellasē Bāryā put many in prison, to cool down matters. But the Negus saw the unrest of the soldiers, and sent out a herald to say, "To-morrow we shall march and go to our country." And then he sent Dajazmāch Lubo, and presented him with some guns and practised them that they might make war upon Wechālē. On the 29th, Thursday, the Negus marched from Warq Masacha, roaring like a lion when he is driven from his dead prey, for he had carried out the desire of the new Christian fathers, who had been persecuted by the hand of the heathen, and he received the thanks of Dajazmāch Aľfā Wasan. And on the same day there were Dagēn¹ Rās Khāylu and Dajazmāch Adegah and Fitawrāri Ikonyān, on account of Fitawrāri there was Dajazmāch Khāylu and Dajazmāch Kabtē and Dajazmāch Ab Sellus. And when they were on march a Galla fell upon the chiefs that were in the rearguard and on the same day Rās Khāylu was then again a tower of strength before the face of the enemy, and he destroyed thousands of the foe and put the warriors of the Galla of Wollo to shame; but the head men of Wollo,

¹ For ḥaṛẓr, rearguard.
retired saying, "We have made no enemy like our Lord the Negus," and they killed many servants of Rās Khāylu, and the escort of Dajazmāch Adegah and Fitāwrāri Ikonyān, and the trophies were laid before the Negus camped at Awsā town. And Abbā Kērllos, who had been sent by the Echagē, arrived and others came sent by Rās Ayādar, bringing a Tābot, and others sent by Princess Enkoylul again sending letters of a messenger Tserāg Māsarē¹ Pantaleon and Mel'ak Berhanāt Khirut (the angel of true lights). On the 30th the Negus marched from Awsā town and camped at Mera Wechālē called Sanguolā. And Sēru Warqē made prisoner a Galla from Wechālē and left the Negus. That same day some dependants of Dajazmāch Dulo came from Gondar, and Fitāwrāri Ikonyān on the same day passed away. It was towards the end of that day he was in command of rearguard of the Tigrines. Here the month of Yakātit ended.

On the 1st Magābit, on Sunday, the Negus left Sanguolā and there the followers of Rās Goshu were the rearguard. The Negus camped at Charaqā of Adelā. And on the same day Galla came upon them at Quāz and killed many of the escort of the Negus and officers besides, and took many prisoners and booty, and the tent of the Negus that was there. Then the Tigrines pursued him and engaging with him made him abandon many men and tents of the Negus which had been captured; then they left the Negus when he had got a little distance away towards the frontier, and this shows how the frontier of Shāwā was opened to the Negus.

The escort of the Negus left the trophies of victory there of the slaughter of the Wechālē men. And it being evening Dajazmāch Darso came from Jifu with Kantibā Kabtē and Shālaqā Mitār. On the 2nd the Negus rested to consult with his officers, the Tigrines on the other hand left many trophies. And on the 3rd the troops of the Negus spent the day on a hill of the Wechālē while the latter were fighting with

¹ ብንጤክ ነበር: Amharic, title of an official who puts the crown on the King, eide Guidi, loc. cit., 862.
one another, and when a powerful Galla killed another Galla, a giant attendant of Rās Khāylu, and after that when the Galla was disgraced before them all, Yāshalahāq Gungul marched up and slaughtered a great many. The same day they crossed a precipitous place and many wounded men died.

On the 4th the Negus went from Charachā and camped at foot of a mountain of the Wechālē, called Lagūāt. And Rās Khāylu commanded the rearguard and Dajazmāch Adegah, and on the same day Losā his son who was the rearguard killed a Galla armed, and his horse, a hereditary leader, and he laid the trophy down before the Negus. Then the Tigrine began to ascend the hill and the Negus turned them back, saying, "Wait till to-morrow, because the sun is scorching," and that day went out and killed a giant of Wechālē, with many men of Wechālē. And they laid the trophies before the King, but Rās Khāylu when the women were taken with the pains of labour, he guarded them until they were delivered, and brought them along on the march. On the 5th, the Wednesday, it being the feast of the great Saint Gabra Manfūs Kaddus Allayu, the Negus started his troops early towards the hill, in three divisions, on his right the people of Dajazmāch Walda Gabre‘ēl and on his left Chefara of the Yāshalahāq and the guards of the King’s house, and of the Generals Fitawrāri Ikonyān and Dajazmāch Adeyāmo, and in the centre Dajazmāch Walda Gabre‘ēl ascended without any desire to make a feint. And the other Generals remained with the Negus to cover the town. And at the third hour with many prayers and strong faith of the Negus, they left the hill that the Wechālē men had put so much trust in and there was fulfilled what Our Lord, Glory be to him, said in the holy Gospel, regarding how Faith was likened to a grain of mustard seed. And they called that hill "Feles" (Retreat) and they did retreat. Paulos also says "Everything is possible to those who have faith." The smoke of victory rose, and fire burned before the face of the King, for it increased his good luck (blessing). And Māmād Ali who is called Abbā Jūbā,
roused his people, and on that day no man of the people of the Negus was there that did not kill and take prisoners, so that we could not estimate the numbers that were killed of the pagans, they were as many as the stars of the heavens, and sands of the sea. And then Dajazmâch Walda Gabre'êl sent a messenger saying “Good news for you, Oh King. Good news for you, the pagans have retreated from the hill and have been destroyed.” And hearing this the Negus was greeted with rejoicings in his spacious tent, and they blew horns and drew back the curtain. And in presence of everyone the escort of the Negus laid down their trophies, whose names were Wedi, and Beshu and Saruláb and Abran and Yāšhālaqā Mitâr, and many other attendants of the Negus and Râs Khâylî, and Dajazmâch Adegah and Dajazmâch Walda Gabre'êl. And after that his men came mourning for his death and bearing the head of Adam the giant son of Mâmad Ali, for he was treacherous and was the first to go, after the Negus had said, “I will baptize him, and I will bring him up as a son to me,” although men said, “Let him be chained, before he deserts for he is a traitor.” But the Negus had answered “He who exacts a punishment before the trespass, commits a crime, and if God sees a crime in my heart he will not hear me. And on account of that God heard me and delivered that wicked and treacherous heathen into the hands of the Negus.”

And he died an evil death—and they cut off his head as David said, “He made a pit and digged it and is fallen in the ditch he had dug” (Ps. vii. 15). And so his crime recoiled upon his head, and fell upon top of him.

And he died even as Akitofêl died, among the pagans, and sellers of the faithful and murderers of Christians. That was a wonder and great blessing for seven years to this day; since the chiefs of the Kings have reigned nothing has happened like this. And they thought not of crossing the Bashalo alone, the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis hardening his heart destroyed the gates of the monasteries and broke the spears and their swords and marched to the frontiers of Shâwâ.
And he received the faithful on the road, but those their enemies recognised the work of God, and his wonders in the habitations. And they rejoiced, for their bondage to the Wechālē had ceased. But the King gave thanks to God in the Psalms of David saying, “Thou alone oh Lord art great that worketh wonders. Thou hast declared thy strength among the people. Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people.” And speaking thus, the Negus camped for that night. And on the 6th day, Thursday, the Negus sent to Dajazmāch Biraḷē ordering him to march towards his country. And on the 7th, on the Friday, the Negus spent the time in council with his generals. On the 8th, the Saturday, Rās Khāyū came and joined the Council of the Generals, and on the 9th, Sunday, it was finished in presence of the Negus, when Rās Khāyū gave to Dajazmāch Darso his shield. And evening coming on, Dajazmāch Biraḷē came with many men of Wechālē that are called Waratāyē and on the same day the Negus reconciled Dajazmāch Darso with the son of Rās Goshu. On the 10th, Monday, the Negus left Leguāt and camped at Qasat Ambulā and a herald proclaimed that “We have given Gulthā to Dagālās, and a robe of purple.” On the same day Rās Khāyū and Dajazmāch Adeガ commanded the rearguard. On the 11th, Tuesday, the Negus left Qasat Ambulā and camped on the Bashelo, and Rās Khāyū and Dajazmāch Adeガ were rearguard, and he left Jantserā Biraḷē at Ambāsāl. On the same day the troops laid trophies before the Negus of the slaughter of the Wechālē, and many prisoners taken from the rearguard in Tigrē; on the same night the moon was the colour of blood. Now that (portent) signified the submission of rebel and powerful chiefs.

That was on the nightfall of the 12th. On the 12th, Wednesday, the Negus marched from Bashalo, Dajazmāch Kabtē and Dajazmāch Abselus being rearguard, and the troops laid trophies before the King, after their fight with the rearguard of the Wechālē. That day came Alēdmā, for they sent men of the Wollo (Galla tribe) to the Negus

1 Ps. Ixxvii. 14, 15.
to say “We beseech thee, oh King, to retire from our land, we have not gone beyond the frontier you have marked out for us.” This the men of the Wollo said for they were sore afraid when they saw him destroy Debra Legot with fire, and they cried out “Who is he, King though he be, has overthrown the men of Wechālē? Who is he who with the power of the flame of fire has fought with the Wechālē? Who is he who with his mighty strength has burst and broken through the gate the pass of Legot? This is in sooth the Mighty King of Israel (the Abyssinian King of the Line of Solomon) foretold of yore.” And it was not only the pagans who said this, we also, sons of Christians, say so to our King. He was anointed King when he was a child, secretly, by the hand of an angel, as the angel announced to the Abuna Takla Hāymānot in these words, “In the year of the world 7260 (1768-9) there shall reign one who shall be anointed with the holy oil of royalty.” Although one should say, “How long did he wait before he reigned after he had been anointed King?”

We will return to what we were saying at the beginning. On that day the Negus camped at Yawatōt and the troops brought trophies to the Negus of the slaughter of the Wechālē. On the 13th, Thursday, the Negus moved from Yawatōt. And on the same day then Yashālaqā Mitār and Fitawrāri Dangazi were rearguard, and the troops slew many Wechālē, and the men burnt Zaquayā with fire that day, and Dajazmāch Darso and the men of Rās Goshu returned to their country, and the Negus camped at Shāguē in Dāwnot. On the 14th (Wednesday) the Negus moved from Shāguē and camped at Waga, the house

1 Takla Hāymānot was the greatest of the Abyssinian National Saints and flourished in the latter part of the 13th century. It was through his influence that the Salamanian Line (according to its own pretended and spurious genealogy) was restored, after the usurpation of the Zaguē dynasty, in the person of Yekuno Amlak (=Let him be King) about 1270. The saint is supposed to have chosen this King and solemnly anointed him.

The prediction in the text is found in a work called the Ba‘ala Nagastāt or Wealth of the Kings (ed. W. Budge), f. 231 b, col. 3, Eth. MSS. Br. Mus. 503. It declares that with the holy oil with which he had anointed Yekuno Amlak another King will arise after Zara Ya‘qob (1434-1468) and be anointed in the year 7390 who would be a world conqueror. The value of the prophecy is rather discounted by the fact that there is reason to believe that this work, or at least this passage is contemporary with the subject of the prophecy—a not unknown phenomenon.
of Johannes. Abagâz Gugsà was in command of rearguard, and many men and animals were suffocated in the morass. And on the 15th (Sunday) the Negus first put in chains Dajazmûch Walda Gabre'îl on account of his rebellion; we have mentioned this above. And with him he put in chains Ganbelâ Fishâ and Abdallâ, and he took away all their arms and guns and animals. But on the people of Tigré he had mercy and sent them a herald. And the same day Dajazmûch Kâsû came from Garagarâ. On the 16th (Sunday) the Negus created the Shumate of Sherat and invested Dajazmûch Adegah with the Dajazmûch-ship of Begameder and the Yashâlaqû-ship of Gadesha, and on Fitawrâri Ikonyân the Dajazmûch-ship of Damot, and Râs Khâylyu he invested with former office and bestowed on him what had belonged to Walda Gabre'îl, decorations of silver and gold. On Dajazmûch Kâsû he bestowed the province of Emkînâ, and raised Blâtêngêtâ Golej to the chief priesthood of Warawar and on Princess Enkoylul and on Princess Mëntewadad, villages and huts. And to Asfâ Wasän he gave the Shumate of Wâg. On the 12th (17th?) (the 2nd day) the Negus spent the time receiving the arms that remained of Walda Gabre'îl. And he sent messengers and heralds to Gondar. On the 18th (Tuesday) the Negus marched from there and camped at Garagarâ. And he sent a herald to proclaim "Let no man from now take food or arms from the proprietor of this country." On the 19th, Wednesday, the Negus sent a herald saying, "We have given the Shumate of Dakhûn to Fitawrâri Aydân." And he left Garagarâ and camped at Mawqaryâ, and left Dajazmûch Adegah at Garagarâ and with him Ali. And on the 20th, 5th day, the Negus moved from Mawqaryâ and camped at Afragamûch. And on the 21st on the Friday the Negus started from Afragamûch and camped at Kemer Dangyâ (stony) and he was received there by the priests of the house of Leham and Zur'amba with songs and rejoicings. And on the same day the Negus expelled Shetê Khâylyuand Sehin Khâylyu and Nahrm, and Mentasenot and the prisoners of Kam Kam towards the plains, and he took their villages, for they were caught in rebellion. But the people of Tigré he sent to their
country, by a herald. And the 22nd (Saturday) he spent there and on the 23rd, Sunday, he spent the time eating and drinking with his generals, for that day was the feast of Mount Olivet\(^1\) and on the 24th, Monday, the Negus moved from Kemer Dangyä and came to Aringo. There he established a town and built a house very spacious and fine. And on the 25th (Tuesday) the men of Gojam with Ras Khäylyu and the men of Dämot with Dajazmäch Ikonyän and all the men of Mëchä went to their country by wish of the Negus. Dajazmäch Gadelu the Negus decorated with a robe of cotton, and sent him to his country. And he gave Räs Khäylyu guns. On 26th (Wednesday) some generals and sons of Chawä returned to their country by desire of the Negus. And priests came on his feast with Psalms and Canticles before the Negus. The same day there came men who had been sent by Räs Aydär and Mele'k Ber-bänät Zafaru and Khäryä Negus and children of the priests of the establishment of Mary, who gave good example and many were well instructed. On the 27th (Thursday) the Negus sent many of the soldiers to his country giving them food for their sustenance, and gave also a veil (curtain) for the Church; on the 28th (Friday) the Negus, to those who had the children whom we mentioned above, he gave food and drink\(^2\) but the children themselves gave a concert to the Negus. On the 29th, on the Saturday, the Negus went to Church and presented the Church with sacerdotal vestments and, returning, stayed with his generals eating and drinking\(^2\); for it was the feast of the Incarnation. And men came who had been sent by Qis Atsë Kabtë and the Aqäbē Sa'ät Takla Haymänot. On the 30th (Sunday) the Negus selected children of the priests. On the same day the children of the priests of Ba'ata, that were sent for, arrived. The 4th of Miyäzyä (Monday) the Negus spent in hearing charges of oppression. And Abëlik had an altercation (legal disputation) with Amësya of Gumä.

\(^1\) Feast of Mid-lent, \(\mu\varkappa\vomicron\varphi\omicron\nu\nu\omicron\varrho\vomicron\rho\iota\varepsilon\iota\alpha\iota\nu\iota\alpha\iota\).  
\(^2\) At these feasts sides of sheep and oxen are brought round to the guests who cut off pieces and eat them raw (raw meat = Brindo in Amharic). Makrizy (14th century) says flesh meat was brought—"ut ventriculum bovis semicocctum comedisset; quod autem in eo stercore reliquum erat fluebat ad palatum." The same witness saw a man eating a cock while it was still crowing! (وهي تصبح).
And Abelik vanquished Amēsyās. And many witnesses stood up (proving that) he had acted the coward¹ (lit. shirked an act of bravery?) and (proved) from the mouth of Amēsyās the charge was an old one. On the same day the Negus selected children of the priests, and on the 2nd, 3rd day of week, spent the time hearing charges of oppression and about his servants (officials), and he flogged one man who had lied after swearing by “The Death of the Negus.” On the 4th, Friday, the Negus again spent the day hearing charges of oppression. And when a witness stood up he swears by the Cross so that he may not declare a falsehood. On the same day David, one of the domestics of the Royal household whom the men of Wechāle had taken prisoner, was reported dead. And when the Negus saw him he was much rejoiced, as when Yā'eqob rejoiced when he saw Yosef his son, after they had said he was dead. And Aqābē Sa'āt Abēsēlom came. And on the same day they pronounced sentence of death on one who had sworn by the death of the Negus and had lied. On the 6th, Saturday week, the Negus stayed in the house of Johannis, and he dismissed Waha his son, because of the cold house he had built. And on account of this he promoted in front of him Abimelek to his office of Shum. On the same day the Negus again selected children of the priests. And on the 7th, Sunday, the Negus gave no audience, and on the 7th, Sunday, the Negus sent to Azāj Zenā Gabrc'ēl, and Yashālaqā Kabtē that they were to select bullocks that would suit the Negus. The 8th (Monday) the Negus spent in hearing charges of oppression. And a messenger came who had been sent from Shāwā. And Danigazi and Hezeqeyās went to their country by stealth. On the 9th, Tuesday, the Negus was inaccessible and the 10th, the Wednesday, the Negus spent in looking at the foundations being laid of his house. On the 11th, Thursday, the Negus spent the time in giving decisions and he flogged one priest who had had a sentence of death passed on him, as we mentioned above, letting him go

¹ An Abyssinian custom. If one officer accusing another of cowardice can prove his point, he takes the latter's rank. ¹ Strongest form of oath, By death of the Negus.
safe and sound. And on the same day Abêto Gabra Masqal came who was called Sabrah Dān. And on the 12th, on the Friday, the Negus moved from Arango and went to the River Reb, and they netted many great fish which he sent to the people of Gondar and Wakhnē and afterwards camped there. On the 13th, on the Saturday, the Negus left the Reb and went to the Mākhdārā Māryām and when the troops were suffering from want of food on the road; that shows how he held to the injunctions of the Apostles. He camped at the house of Weyzaro Wabeto Sellāsē. And on the 14th, on the Sunday, he got up early in the night for the Church and Alaqā Gabru Mowades served (acted as acolyte) and then returning to the house of Weyzaro Wabeto Sellāsē, the Negus remained eating and drinking among his generals. And he stayed there, and on the 15th, on Monday, the Negus left Mākhdārā Māryām and returned to Aringo, and on the same day Baru Fayātāwē came and Asālāfē Yābo Bāryā bringing by the hand a murderer. And on the 16th, the Tuesday, the Negus was not visible, and did penitence (i.e. confessed his sins) for it was the octave of the Passion that day. On the next day the Negus was in retirement. On the 18th, Thursday, the building of the Negus’s house was completed, and Bālāmbārās Ramkhā came and sent bullocks and sheep. And on the 19th, Friday, and this was the day of the crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ, on Him be praise. The Negus spent the time in Church in prayer. And on the 20th, Saturday, the Negus gave no audience. On the 21st, on the Sunday, that being the day of the feast of the Glorious Resurrection, the Negus went out to the Church fasting, and performed the service of Easter with his servants, and Alaqā Zēnā, and gave bullocks to his troops. And on the next day he gave a banquet to his generals, and on the day after a banquet to his Princesses. And on the 24th, Wednesday, the Negus left Aringo and camped at Qārodā. On the 25th, Thursday, the Negus left Qārodā and camped at Emfrāz and the following day leaving Emfrāz camped at Sembā. On the 26th, Friday, leaving Sembā

1 ወጌጌወ: Amharic, Royal Princesses, now used for ‘ladies’ generally, Guidi, loc. cit., 588.
he camped at Atsē Sa'ār. The following day the Negus decorated Alaqā Gabru and Alaqā Zēnā with a robe of gold and robe of cotton. And the people and priests received him with psalms and music. And the Negus came into his hall with pleasure, and stayed with his mother the Queen. On the 6th of Genbot the Negus received and confirmed the appointment to office of Ras Aydar. And he bestowed upon him all the villages of Māchē and Denser and Darā. Then the Negus reflected in his mind, saying, "Whom shall we promote in the grade of office of Chief priests of Debra Mowamaq?" And he obtained the office of Aqābē Sa'āt which had been raised above all the official grades. And everyone from the Generals down to the quartermasters\(^1\) did reverence to him. And after this he selected a man among the priests of Debra Libānos\(^2\), and when this man expounded the old and the new (testaments), and the masters and the statutes of the Church every man was astonished. The sweetness of his voice, the fluency of his speech, the modesty of his conduct and the wisdom of his counsel, and justice of his judgment of that man Qis Atsē Kabtē (was such that) his fame went from frontier to frontier. On the 14th of that month the Negus sent a herald out on the Saturday in the evening to proclaim, "We have given to the Chief priest Debra Metemāt our convent. And he has received the Office of Aqābē Sa'āt and for the priests the places as tributary of Bursā and Qasār. On his account we have given to Deputy\(^3\) Blätěngētā Gulta the Aqābē Sa'āt who is in Tigrē, and all dues are abolished which are exacted from the merchants by hand of the Negādrās (or chief of the merchants) and by hand of all the officials. And on the same day Qis Atsē Kabtē was nominated Aqābē Sa'āt and he joined the appellation (title) of his office with the name of his work, for he was the man who kept watch on the march of the hours, and he mingled with the workmen so that they might not slacken or leave off in their work, for this reason we have said he combined

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\(^1\) ወናና. ከክ ከ ከ ከ ከ ከ ከ ከ. Amharic, thealaqā's of the camp.

\(^2\) ዓብ. Appendix: Abyssinian Church.

\(^3\) ዓብ. Amharic (from መንabit to cut in pieces), i.e. (1) small; hence (2) sub-; deputy.
the name of his office and his work. And on the same day he heard how he had gained a victory over Ali Labirale. On the 12th, Sunday, the Negus held a meeting for the purpose of appointments and dismissals, the office of Blättengētā being conferred on Kañazmāch Yasellāsē Bāryā Teqāqen, and the dignity of Dajazmāch on Blättengētā Gualej. And Gērazmāch Walda Abib was promoted to be Kañazmāch. And Affa Negus (mouth of the King = Chief Judge) Wase Zufān Bēt to be Bajrond. Kāntibā Adago Ayecho became Aqābē Bajrond and Bāsha Iyāsu General in Chief, and Nabared Arm was made Bāshā with Warq Saqalā as Alaqā. And Azāj Yabā Bāryā was created Bālāmbārās, with the office with Yaju, of Yashālaqā. And Fantā Gabru was made Fitāwrāri and Lules Dēbāsor Quorra (was made) Dajazmāch; Walatta Gosha Māch Adyāmo Tsagadē was made Dajazmāch; Walatta Gosha Yabābā was made Azāj. Wati Sanbato Mār was made Azāj and Bālāmbārās of Anorēwos Wakhnē, Azāj; and Bajrond Fanu’el Qaha was made Azāj; Fāsil Saif was made Aslāfē of Agāmeyā. And on Yabis Hunañ Gāshā Jagrē was bestowed the office of Yashālaqā, and Walda Hawaryāt to be Bag Malekteṇa and Kēdāna his son to be Mezikker of Amara. Others he confirmed in their former offices. Shālaqā Guangul to be Shālaqā of riflemen, of Jān Arwā, and Shālaqā, his son, to be Shālaqā of riflemen, of Gājgē. And Aslāfē Wand Afrāsh to be Mezikker of Dāmot. Of the Tigrines that were invested with office on that day Sabareh Dān, Gabra Masqal to be a general of Tigrē, and Selawā Gabra Masqal his country, and Hezeqēyās to be Dajazmāch of Sirē, Walda Sellāsē to Belgād. But of the priests that were given office, Alaqā Gabru over his country, as written above to be Azāj of Qaũ, that had been in the hands of Liqā Mazmerān Kenfu. And whoever the Negus elected to office it was not by favour but according to strict justice, for he worked at the

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1 Aqābē Sa'āt means watcher of the hour, or guardian of the watch.
2 Amharic, “Remembrancer,” or “Court Chronicler” from የኔር to remember.
3 He, viz. Alaqā Gabru the writer of this Chronicle.
writing of this history before he was appointed on the expedition, that he might not lose (omit anything) of the fame of the Lord King. Consequently Liqā Mazmerān Kenfū was not made to go on expeditions by reason of his dignity (seniority) and on account of that the wise King said, “The work is worthy of the workman.” And Liqā Gubā'e Zenā was appointed Mezikker of Quarra above the office he had before, and 'Aqābē Sa'āt Abēselom was appointed Male'ak Gennat (= messenger of the Garden). The priests that were left over, he did not elect on that day. On the 19th the Negus was occupied with giving decisions, for there came men sent by Mardā Asmāch Asfā Wasan, bringing a purple robe and a dress of gold according to custom and spears and swords. He also sent Warenā with two others and with them came Fanot Qal (Word of the Road) who before governed Shāwā. Then the judges examined Warenā in these words, “Who are you? And whose son are you? And how are you King?” And Warenā answered “I am the son of a workman and I am not son of a King. Only when A'wsābē came with Mardasmāch Asfā Wasan, he brought me from the plains and made me King by force.” And the Negus hearing this said, “This is certainly not a matter for death (sentence), but only let him be put in chains, until we investigate what he did.” On that day the Negus gave to his servants a large quantity of gold, beyond count, and then he was somewhat unwell from drinking a potion (medicine). On the 20th he descended in secret to Debra Metmaq and returned in the same manner. On the same day Magābē Amkhā Walda Gabre'ēl performed the first chant, Meherkā performed the second, and Walda Ab the third. And the Chief Priest (archbishop) Amkhā chanted a hymn of the Trinity, and on 21st, on Tuesday, went down in public according to the statutes of the Kingdom Debra Metmāt bearing many gifts, crosses and crowns, and thuribles and chalices of silver, and vestments of gold (work), that caught the eye, which Mardazmāch Asfā Wasan had sent to him. And coming to the Holy House he pronounced judgement on many prisoners that were in the Royal house in chains for their crimes, for love of our Lady Mary Mother of God. On the
same day Šellásē ṭeṣrāg Māsārā Pantalewon improvised the hymn of the Trinity, and Liqa (Chief) of the teachers Yohannis and Azāj Gabru, and Alaqa Žēnā. And after the prayers were concluded of the Qedāsē, the Negus returned to his room, and the Negus coming, arranged a banquet in his hall; he seated the priests in the hall and the chiefs in the hall of his palace, the Negus remaining in the midst of them in the place of honour\textsuperscript{1}. And he did not check them doing as they pleased, in fact after coming to high words, he made two monks Wāshā and Masquar who were bad friends (who had quarrelled) eat and sit down together. And there was singing at Debra Meṭmāq for three whole days. And Aqābē Sa'āt Kabtē and Azāj Gabru stayed together there in tents. On the 23rd the Negus decorated Rās Warq and Dajazmāch Gabra Masqal and Kaṇazmāch Walda Abib and Bajrond (Colonel) Washē, and many officials and on the same day Dajazmāch Gualej went to Samen. On the 28th, Tuesday, Dajazmāch Gabra Masqal went to his province with all the other officials. And during the month of Ṣanē came men from Amasen and Serayo bringing gifts for the Negus and the Queen and Rās Ayādār. On the 10th Sanē, Sunday, Abbā Isederos in the house of the Echāgē declared “His flesh (body) was glorified by the union with the word of God and it was anointed as one of the saints, and received its glorious birth in very truth”; for before that Abbā Isederōs said, “The Holy Ghost at the moment of Union, was to Him the unction of His body\textsuperscript{2}.” And on that day Blätōŋgētā Yasellāsē Bāryā was decorated with a gold headpiece. On the 25th, Friday, the Negus went to the house of the Abun, with eight dignitaries of the Church. They were the following:—Aqābē Sa'āt Kabtē, and Azāj Gabru, and Male’āk Tsahay Robe’ām, Male’āk Berhānāt Khērūt and Liqa Gubā’ē Žēnā, Alaqa Zaferu and Alaqa Takla Ḥāymānōt; for the address of Bāḷāmbrās Ramekhā. And there was evidence against Bāḷāmbrās Ramekhā, that he had married a

\textsuperscript{1} In the ṭeśgē is the head of a couch, where the head (re’es) is laid, i.e. the place of honour.

\textsuperscript{2} This is the controversy in Christology that crops up at intervals, starting about the middle of the 15th century. \textit{Vide Appendix: Theological Controversies of the Abyssinian Church.}
woman and had left the woman he had previously married, for he had committed adultery with her mother, and it was decided secondly that a husband should not cohabit except with his wife, nor a wife except with her lawful husband. And that they should repeat the prayers of the marriage ceremony, that were (prescribed) for his nuptials and any monk who kept a concubine in the house, should be excluded from the Church. Also it was ordained that no bullocks should be killed for sale during the fast of the Apostles or during the fast of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ (Advent). After this the Negus went to his chamber and on the 27th, Sunday, the Negus sent a herald round concerning the ordinance we mentioned above. On the same day he decorated with a gold head Azâj Gabru and Malečâk Tsahay Robe'âm, and when the judges and Jan-Takal\(^1\) officials pronounced that the presents\(^2\) be restored, the Negus punished them as was befitting. And he said to them, “Have you not heard how we have extirpated bribery among the priests?” And after this he decorated Bâhrnagâsh Tasfa Tsêyon (Zion) along with many men of Tigrë. And on the same occasion he invested with a robe of honour Bâhrnagâsh Tasfa Tsêyon and his minister Maradâsmâch Asfa Wasan. And Dajazmâch Adyâño sent news of the killing of some elephants and news came that Dajazmâch Gabru Masqal and Ba'algâdå Walda Sellâsè and all the officials had arrived safely at their respective provinces. A herald of the Queen was sent round to proclaim “What she has got from Bursâ, let it be confirmed to her.” It was also heard how they had fought and vanquished the people of Batrya, and there was mourning in Waldebba. And Dajazmâch Gadelu sent his son before the Negus with many servants and gave them to the Negus and Alga Zeferu went towards Dasit by orders of the Negus and on the 26th, the Friday, the Negus went down towards St Johannes because the wood of the house of Râs Walda Lehul was being sold,

\(^1\) Jan Takal, the Royal Palace at Gondar.

\(^2\) የላንካክ from የፋል (Amharic)=to supplicate, i.e. gifts for soliciting the favour of King or Judges. A euphemism for a bribe.
that it might be put up at Debra Meṭmāq, and he made all his generals carry, and the Negus himself carried wood, and thus they went to Debra Meṭmāq. And that day Dajazmāch Kassa came and Blāttēngētā Kolu for they moved camp with Dajazmāch Adegah. On the 4th of the month of Hamlē, Wednesday, the Negus decorated Bālāmbārās Ramkhā, and gave him the daughter of his sister to be his wife. He also decorated the sons of Dajazmāch Gadelu and Kefta Adonāi. And on the 6th, Friday, the Negus sent round a herald to say, “Let there be held a market on the Saturday as in the beginning, for they preach Eastern doctrine when they say there should be no market held on Saturday.” On the 21st, Saturday, the Negus received in the Royal house of Shaskanā the priests of Debra Meṭmāq and he opened a meeting for drinking with his generals; and on the 25th, Wednesday, there came a messenger from Tigrē who reported to the Negus that Sura Khab’a Walda Sellāsē had defeated and taken prisoner Dajazmāch Gabra Masqal and killed Arām his servant. On the 28th, Saturday, Male’ēk Berhanat Khērūt died of an illness on the 7th day (after illness of seven days) and he was buried at Hamar Nokh. And there was great grief in the town for he was a good man and very learned in books. And on the 11th of (month of) Nahasē the Negus sent a herald round to say that he had given all the country of Ejāgerā between Bursā and Qasār to Debra Meṭmāq and on the 15th the Negus bestowed a glebe on the priests of Meṭmāq. On the 17th a servant of the Negus was killed by some people of Lāstā in consequence of some trifling matter, and on the 18th, Friday, the Negus gave what was left of the glebe to the people of Debra Libānos and the people of Debra Ewostātewos. The next day there rose a great tumult for the priests of Debra Meṭmāq refused to take food at the table, at the house of ’Aqābē Sa’āt Kabbē, on the

1  The  is a plot of land near a church given by a founder for the maintenance of the Church and the attendants (Dabtarā).
2  The Christological controversy arose between the theologians of these two monasteries, Debra Libānos championing the more orthodox or High Church definition, and Ewostātewos that of the Low Church.  Vide Appendix : Theological Controversies of the Abyssinian Church.
question of how the men of the house of Ewostätewos had been placed among them, and with many petitions to the Negus they took their meal later; and on the 21st again a tumult broke out among them at Debra Meṭmāq, on account of the question mentioned above, so there was a council at the house of the Negus and on the 23rd the Negus convoked those who had started the quarrel among the priests of Debra Meṭmāq, and he was urgent with them to have a meeting for a reconciliation, but they were obdurate (refused). So on the 25th the Negus spent the day with the men of Ewostätewos to make peace, and among those who were present was Blättëngētā Yasellāsē, Bārā Azāj Gabru, Azāj Kenfā of Ṭārasambā, Bajrond Wasē. And on the 30th the Negus took the glebe from those that had stirred up strife. On next day the Negus reconciled the men of the house of Ewostätewos with 'Aqābē Saʾāt Kabtē, and made them eat together, but there was no reconciliation in their hearts. On the 1st Maskaram when it was (the year of) John the Evangelist, the 5th year of the reign, the Negus stayed at the Church of John of Meṭmāq. On the 7th the Negus stayed in the house of the Queen Mother, in order to keep the anniversary of the King of Kings, Takla Haymanōt. On the same day Agafārē Ramkhā came, a guard of the Negus with a retainer of Baʾālgada Walda Sellāsē bringing presents for the Negus. On the 10th there were great rejoicings in the town of the Negus, because Azāj Gabru and Tserag Masarē Fequr Egziē (Beloved of God) had reconciled, by order of the Negus, the men of the House of Ewostätewos with the 'Aqābē Saʾāt Kabtē from their hearts (wholeheartedly) and on oath, as the Book says, “And they came to the place of contention, and settled it by taking oaths.” On the 11th the men of Debra Libānos stayed with the men of the house of Ewostätewos singing hymns of love in the Church of the Holy Fasilādas, for previously they sang the music of discord. And they came out of there and spent the time in festivity at the Royal palace, eating and drinking, and the next day the Negus again feasted the priests mentioned above. And the 'Aqābē Saʾāt Kabtē also
serenaded the Negus with songs of peace making, at the hour that Azâj Kabtē was reposing. And on the 13th the Negus received his generals at a banquet and the 14th, Tuesday, the Negus sent a herald round to say that he had pardoned the Ba'algada Walda Sellâsē and the retainers of Shum Darā. On the 16th Dajazmâch Adyâmō came and there was a mingling (of society) according to law, and on the 17th the Negus spent the time looking at the concourse for it was the feast of the cross. And the next day the Negus went to the Church of the Abuna Ewostâtewos and he made them a gift of a Canopy, and he sent round a herald to give notice of it. On the 21st he was engaged at a Council and on 22nd the Negus stayed at the house of Abuna Yosab for a banquet with his generals. On the 26th the Negus began (making) a number of guns, and he bestowed many lands on the riflemen. On the 2nd of (the month of) Ṭeqemt, the Negus proclaimed by herald that he had given Samēn to Dajazmâch Yasellâsē Bâryâ and the office of Blättëngëtâ to Gualej Taqâqen.

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In the name of the Father, etc. Behold we are beginning an admirable and wonderful history, that will astound men of intelligence and learning; and the story of his marvellous birth, sweet as honey and sugar, from his great parents, the like of which the world will never see again for greatness and extent. The history is of the man grown old in wisdom, and of his chastisement, that well beloved and renowned Khâylu Mikâ‘el of the beaming countenance and glorious fame; by the help of God living and giving life, as the Book says, “All things excellent that are wrought by man thou shalt accomplish by the help of the Almighty,” and our Lord said, “Without me what art thou able to accomplish?”

1 On this feast, 27th of September, the whole populace turn out and with the Negus, his chief ministers and officials go out in procession and walk round a high pyramid of logs and canes three times, the men carry wands and throw them into the erection of sticks which is finally set on fire.

2 ፋ Glam: an umbrella or canopy (Amharic, from Ge’ez ይ mistranscribed, prep. above, over), held over the King, a Tabot, etc.
In the 23rd year of the reign of the King of Kings, Iyāsu, son of the King of Kings, Bakaffa, and the epoch was that of Matēwos (Matthew). The month was the month of Ter, the 12th of the month of Ter, and the day was the feast of the Archangel Mikā'el. He was the offspring of a great and lawful marriage, as the Book says, “He married honourably in every way.” And there was no defilement of the marriage bed of that offspring, honoured and beloved of his good and pious parents, beloved of God, his kindnesses and favours were famous everywhere. And the names of his forefathers were: of his father the name was Dajazmāch Eshate, the son of Abeto Fiqtor, the son of Atsē Nebla Dengel, and his mother was Wayzero (Princess) Amāyo, the daughter of Abeto Lā'eka Māryām, and the name of his mother was Princess Walatta Rufe'el, the daughter of Abeto Walda Giyorgis, the son of Abeto Galawdewos, the son of Rās Walda Giyorgis; his father was Abeto Selāssē, son of Wayzero Fanāyē; and the mother of Rās Walda Giyorgis was Wayzero Elēnē, and her father was Dajazmāch Talāya Christos and her mother’s father was Azāj Elēteros of Shemē and Fatagar, and the name of the mother of Nagalā Walda Giyorgis was Wayzero Walatta Tsēyon. And the father of this particular Walda Giyorgis was the son of Abeto Doni of Nagalā. And the father of Abeto Doni was Askarajan of Wāg.

His mother was Beseldeya Ambārāsa and governed Tigrē. The mother of this particular Walda Giyorgis was Princess ‘Atsaqa Dengel, the daughter of Amata Iyasus, daughter of Walata Giyorgis, the daughter of Awsābeyos, the son of Tēwoderos, son of Martā, daughter of King Eskander (Alexander). The daughter of Fitāwrāri Rufe'el of Gerāroyā and Abeto Lebāy of Wādelā, the mother of Princess Walatta Tsēyon (Sion) was Princess Walatta Rufa'el, the daughter of Ada Adeyām Sagad Iyāsu who was born of a daughter of the Negus Baqelā as he was called, of the house of Walatta Tsēyon. We will also give the name of the mother of that child’s mother, Princess Bechāsh, daughter of Rās Wadājē, son of Yamāna Krestos, and son of Walatta Negāsh Abrāko. And the name of the mother of Princess
Bechash was Wayzaro Suranteyä of Ambasal, daughter of Atsê Na'od and Tsegē Roman (Rose of Rome), and Abêto Bāraq. These now we have mentioned to the best of our ability but when we say we give an accurate account, the mind is feeble (liable to error), the tongue is mute, and the hearing becomes confused (lit. buzzes).

And by request he brought up the child in the Church, so that he was baptized, and so was renewed by the Holy Ghost; and he received baptism at the hand of a priest and he was christened by the name of Khāyla Mikāʾel which was his name as a Christian, and this was given him by his father, Dajazmāch Benyām, and he also brought him up in sound discipline. And when he came to be instructed he gave him a teacher and he was taught the sacred books. And he became a learned man, and intelligent in all his actions, handsome in appearance and liberal. And when he reached the age of 13 he longed to hunt wild beasts, before he had ever gone out hunting, while his elder brother, whose name was Eshti Engada had killed an elephant, Nage, that is to say a Żahon. And when he saw that and heard the chorus of dancing he was seized with anger in his heart. Even as the Book relates, Saul the Israelite was enraged, when he heard what Naos (Nahash) the Ammonite said to the people of Israel, “Pay tribute with your right eyes” (1 Sam. xi. 2) and then Saul was much enraged and he took two bullocks and cut them in pieces and sent them to all the people of Israel, and said, “Whoever has not followed Saul and Samuel and Abner let his arms be taken away and his house plundered.” And when they killed, Khāyla Mikāʾel was as Saul, who had learnt warfare from a child, and the Nage was as Naos the Ammonite, that is to say the Elephant. And Qundi the retainer who was beloved was as Abner and the official that sent him was Samuel, and again his father that had begot him of his body was as David, for David was enraged in his

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1 Ṣagē; from a name, Nagaja, Sanscrit for elephant. For relations between India and Abyssinia, vide Cosmas Indicopleustes.

2 ḫfrē: the Amharic modern name for elephant. Variants, ḫfrē, ḫfrē, ḫfrē Bilin. janā, Quara, ganā.

w. b.
soul when he heard the insult of Golyād (Goliath), saying, "Send me a man who can kill me and we will become your servants, but if I can kill him then you shall be our servants." And he killed the giant Goliath and took his sword from his thigh. Khayla Mikā'ēl indeed was not comparable with David for he was but a child. And Goliath was another Elephant and Goliath's sword was the nose of the Elephant, that is to say, his trunk.

We will return to the beginning of the narration. And as soon as he left the house he began a journey towards Wagarā on the 17th Miyāzyā, and none of the soldiers of his father knew him, though they knew that he might be captured and fettered, and being much loved by his father and still more because he was a child who could not go out and descend (from the house) so his attendants followed him slowly, saying, "Follow, he would make 1000 soldiers follow war, for his father is a great prince and who is equal to him?" And he stayed at Batirko and then left Batirko and stayed at Adiquorrā, and from there he went away and stayed at Dārqāy which was a town of Abēto Gabru and then he met Abēto Gabru (in early daylight) at Berā. And when Abēto Gabru saw him he was much grieved and vexed, and said, "Whoever has taken you shall be sorry for it and whoever brings you to the desert haunts of the Elephants shall die, and saying that, he was enraged, for Khāyla Mikā'ēl was a headstrong child, who was thirsty as a wolf, hungry as a lion, and savage as a leopard, for he said, "Bring me to all the Elephants; if you will not bring me, then I have no kinship with you," and when Adārqay Gabru laughed at him, "What have they put into his head? This child should be thinking of eating and drinking but this is not business that children but what young men, conquerors and those versed in warfare attempt." And his father Dajazmāch Khāylu, Chief of the Captains and leaders was not residing at Gondar but had gone to the country of his governorship, Dāmot. And when he heard the story of his son, how he hunted wild beasts, he was much annoyed and distressed at heart, like a woman taken with pains of travail, and he said, "How could he endure the heat of the sun and the

1 ወያየ, Amharic word for elephant's trunk.
want of water, for he is a child who is not accustomed to any such thing. What will become of him and what shall I do to keep him off distant countries?" He would go to his son for he loved him, and his father's love forgave the son, for who would not love him of all who saw him? And after that Adârqây Gabru brought him and collecting many men of the army of his house round the child, victor over the mighty, went to see where was a herd of mighty elephants, and (the boy) saying, "Tell me where is a herd of elephants to be seen," he told him "There is a herd of elephants in the heart of the forest 1 that belongs to Adyâm Waldebbâ," and then Adârqây Gabru went with the child conqueror of the strong, and many soldiers with him; and they came to where the herd of Elephants was. And when the child Khâylâ Mikâ'êl saw the herd of Elephants, he was like a lion's cub that sees a bullock and has not tasted blood. His heart stiffened like curds, and his hand was steady like a brazen bow. And he went into the midst of the herd of Elephants and let fly his spear at one and killed one. Then the herd of Elephants dispersed like sheep that a wolf comes amongst, and leaving that place he shot at another Elephant, and killed him, making a bag of two (lit. accomplished a second). And then he returned to Waldebbâ, and he was received by many monks by whom he was blessed, and visited his son Tasfâ Giyorgis like a second Takla Háymânot who ate no food but leaves 2, that is to say tsagâyto (?); he was received by him and was blessed by him. Then he returned from Waldebbâ and came to Adârqây and joined his teacher Waldâ Mîkâ'êl who loved him dearly, like his own mother, and felt for him as for himself, and with Azâj Bântahun. Here there were great rejoicings and delight, first on account of his return alive and

1. ḥârâcâ: Gë'ez, Navel. Amt. ḥârâcâ: the central boss of a shield, here, the centre of the Forest.
2. The reference is to the great Abyssinian saint Takla Háymânot (died about 1313) who is described in the Ethiopic Senkessâr (Synaxarium) as living in Waldebbâ like King Takla Giyorgis. "He went thence to the land of Garâriyâ; and he ate nothing but leaves and drank nothing but water," &c. (Sinaxaire Ethiopien, ed. Ig. Guidi in Patrologia Orientalis, tom. ix). His feast was kept on the 24th Nahasê (31 August). tsagâyto is some fruit or plant not, so far as I know, identified.
second on account of his bag (lit. killing). After that he left Dārqāy and went toward Wagarā, and had a reception by the men of Wagarā with salutes of guns (feu de joie) according to the custom of this country. Then he went to Gondar and had a reception by the men with crowds on foot and on horseback, so that they were astonished and dumbfounded by two things, first by the youthfulness of his appearance and, secondly, the force of his strength. And Ashāwā came and laid trophies before the King of Kings Iyo'ās, son of King Iyāsu, and they had great rejoicing when they saw him leaving the trophies with his collar. And then he went to the house of the Ytegē Mentwāb, the Queen of Etyopiya and laid trophies before her, and she was much gratified and she said, “When did he grow up? When did he kill them, that child that was born only yesterday?” And after that he went to his house. And when he went to the house of his father who heard what was said on the stoop, he blessed God who had given such a son to Dajazmāch Eshatē and blessed God that he had seen eye to eye with him. And after that he entered his father’s house and there was joy and festivity, and after that his father Dajazmāch Eshatē came from the country of his command, Dāmot, his son Khāylal Mika’ēl went out to meet him on the road of Isada; and when he laid trophies before him, he (the father) smiled gently to himself, but it was a smile of pleasure and gratification; his pleasure at the sight was like that of Jacob when he saw Yosef his son ruling over Egypt, after it had been said that Yosef was dead, and a wild beast had devoured him. As he rejoiced exceedingly, so in like manner Dajazmāch Eshatē rejoiced at the sight of his son, and he blessed God for what his son had shown him. Then he went to Gondar and spent

1 The elephant hunter’s “bag” or number was called Gaddai. The insignia of his exploit a ear-ring or necklet called Denfāta (玱玱玱玱 from gzaja; dannafa, to make a show, “swagger”), the man who can show a number of lance marks or dents is a Zerrāf (กกกก from gzzr, zarrafa, to charge on, and plunder. The betāwa gives the hero the right to plait his hair in a special way. The scale of valour is calculated thus—killing an elephant is the equivalent of killing 40 men; a buffalo, five men; a lion, four. In Tigre killing a lion or a Galla conferred the highest honour.

2 ከጳር is a chain or collar worn by boys mostly.

3 እጲንጆ: Amharic piazza or verandah of a house, the stoop, i.e. publicly.
the winter there, for he did not wander about. After this a messenger came from Dajazmâch Eshatê to Râs Mikâ'êl, saying, “Come quickly, the King and Queen behold have given you the title of Râs.” Then he rose and went. But this matter will not be concluded at this point, as it will be found in the history of the Negus Iyo'âs.

We will go back to the beginning of our story. And after that Dajazmâch Eshatê sent his son Abêto Khâylyu to the land of Begameder with Azâj Mensabo and Shamât Kenfu and with the teacher of Walda Mikâ'êl to look after him and protect him; and he gave him many arms, guns according to the use of Generals, for he was a great General. The reason for sending him was that he said he knew that the people of the Quorra (or hot low lands) were restless, and this should be stopped, and because he said (his son) should know the land of his mother Bigamer and know how to govern men, “While I am alive,” as he said. And then he went about the business and lived there, and when he heard of the arrival of Râs Mikâ'êl to make war, he sent over to his father Dajazmâch Eshatê “Shall I come to help you with a large force of troops and horsemen?” And his messenger Abêto Gabreyê, started off and Dajazmâch Eshatê replied “Did I send for you to come and help me? Have you no place to live in your country?” And then Râs Mikâ'êl came to Gondar to lord it over them with great arrogance and there was great disturbance and work of dismissal of officials. And they appointed Dajazmâch Eshatê to the Dajazmâch-ship of Dâmot by a cunning fraud. They sent Râs Fâsil after him saying “We have given you his office and as for him let him not snatch it from you.” And afterwards Dajazmâch Eshatê went to Dâmot. But Fâsil followed after him, and he heard of his arrival while at Dalma near Machâkel. Fâsil sent all over Jawê and Mêchâ and assembled everyone and marshalled them for war. And there was a great slaughter

1 Lit. did not say “Hither and thither,” i.e. remained quiet, Amharic idiom.
2 = sacking, dismissal; ው ilçe Amharic. Guidi, loc. cit., 209.
and Dajazmäch Eshatē was killed with a great number of soldiers and important men of his house. And Dajazmäch Eshatē died lowly in spirit and humble to all the great ones, as the Bible says, "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." He died and they shall weep and mourn for ever for a just man, as the Bible says, "Blessed are they that mourn here for they shall be comforted," and Dajazmäch Eshatē died gentle and meek of heart, as the Bible says, "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth." He truly had the inheritance of the Kingdom of heaven. Dajazmäch Eshatē too died in hunger and thirst for the love of man, as the Bible says, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness." And Dajazmäch Eshatē died compassionate and merciful, as the Bible says, "Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy." He was truly a man who had compassion on the needy and lowly and he spared not the goods of his house. Dajazmäch Eshatē died purified of all revenge or rancour as the Bible says, "Blessed are the pure of heart for they shall see God." Dajazmäch Eshatē, a lover of love and peace as the Bible says, "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God." He truly made peace for many men with God, by giving away his property. He truly indeed was worthy of all blessings for he was a great man and loved God. And Dajazmách Eshatē died as all men have died by tyranny, and I grieve over his history, it makes my heart bleed. I am heart broken, heart broken that I did not know him, heart broken, heart broken that I did not see him. And when the news of his death was heard and he came to Gondar, great grief and lamentation and great bewailing burst forth as the Bible says, "Rāhēl weepeth over her children, a great lamentation has broken forth." We will return to what has been said above. And when he heard of the death of his brother Dajazmäch Eshatē, Dajazmäch Awsābyos returned and Abēto Enged, for they were in his rear, Abēto Engad at that time was a young man. They crossed the bank of the Abāy (Blue Nile) with a handful of soldiers. And there was great
lamentation, and he sent messengers from the guards of his father to the son of Abēto Khāylu. And when he heard it, he grieved saying, “Alas, alas, woe is me. I am grieved that he did not know of my coming. He was truly worthy of regrets and mourning. For he was a great father, who was pleasing to heaven and earth.” And then he made preparations to make a memorial of his father and worthy preparations and works of remembrance and he numbered out bullocks of which he slaughtered 400 and what were left he used for farming at Eṣtē. And he spent the summer in his province in sorrow and mourning. For there were people who related what was said of his father when he was alive, and people came at the time of his death and weeping recounted things of him. And his teachings they repeated mournfully, and as a lesson of his. Were there not two spears that they hurled upon thee Eshatē, like Saul, and violence like Nabutē. But alas for Eshatē it afflicts my vitals! and he said, “Ah, me, for my father it afflicts my vitals.” And at that time Dajazmāch Yamaryam Bāryā started on a crime and conspired against the Negus. He sent to him (his brother) to say “I am your servant and friend, I am your brother and kinsman. Come to me and we shall be one, and if we are one there is no one that will avail against us, there will be no one who can stand up before our face, for I am a great general, and you are a great (ally) assistance.” And when Abēto Khāylu heard this talk he was much enraged and said this rebellion and conspiracy against the King should not be, for the Bible says in the Psalms, “Touch not mine anointed” (Ps. cv. 15) and in another place it says, “Stretch not forth thy hand against the Lord’s anointed, for he who layeth his hand on the Lord’s anointed shall not be purified from his stain” (1 Sam. xxvi. 9). But who shall attain to this knowledge? Oh my Lord and friend, between whose love and mine there is no defect or deception, from this you have received wisdom and knowledge which Dajazmāch Māryām Bāryā never received, and his brothers and friends, who were

1 ይወለጆ Amharic.
sorely tried. Then after he had heard of the crime of Dajazmäch Máryäm Bāryā the Negus appointed Dajazmäch Biralē and after he had appointed him he went to Begamedr, and Dajazmách Máryäm Bāryā caught him (Biralē) when replete with food and there was a great slaughter and he conquered and slew. Many were killed that day and they took prisoner Rās Ayādār and Echagē Yamāryām Bāryā. And at that Dajazmäch Yamāryām Bāryā rejoiced greatly at the victory, and there was no end to his rejoicing, for he did not know what the Bible says, “He who kills with the sword shall perish by the sword.” On this there was great mourning in Gondar because Biralē the brother of the Negus was dead. We will go back to what we said at the beginning. And after that his kinsmen wished to make war and take his country but they were not able to carry on the war. For God was on his side as he was on the side of Moses in the land of Egypt, and the hand of the Lord has not failed, when, oh when (has it failed)? Thence he went to Nagalā and spent the winter there with many retainers, for there was no one to harm him. After this there was an expedition against Dajazmäch Yamāryām Bāryā. After this the Negus Iyo’as went on an expedition with Rās Mika’ēl and large force of soldiers, and then the Negus sent Shālaqā Tezkarō and Fitāwrāri Gabenā to bring Abēto Khāylu; and Abēto Khāylu came quickly, and was received by the King and Rās Mikā’ēl at Mushalamiya Abo. And the Negus started forth and camped at Nafasa Mawcha, and they fought a battle at Checheho, and the Negus gained a victory and Yamāryām Bāryā took to flight. But the rest of the story will not be concluded here. After this the Negus returned and on the Negus’s return Abēto Khāylu fell ill at Garagarā of the small-pox and they carried him on a bed to the town of Nagalā. And God gave him life and had pity on his illness, as a father has pity on his son, just so God has mercy on those

1 Amharic, የሄስባክት, lit. to have indigestion.
2 ክማርት, Amharic, an expedition, from ክማር ብይት, to raid. Azmāch (አዝማቃ), a military title, is a derivative.
3 ከሄስ, Amharic, የሄስ,.
that fear him. Glory be to him! And Mīkā’ēl the Archangel
was not parted (from him in) his illness, for he was his own
 guardian angel. And after he recovered from his illness Rās
Mīkā’ēl sent over to him a message, "Come! come to Gondar
and I will give you my daughter." Then he went from Nagalā
to Estē and heard there the news of the death of the Negus
Iyo’as his kinsman and he wept there.

**REIGN OF YOHANNES**

And then he heard of the news of the accession of Yohannes, 190
and arrived at Gerāriyā. Thence he went to Gondar and was
received by the Negus, bringing the tribute that was fitting.1
And he was received by Rās Mīkā’ēl and Rās Mīkā’ēl looked
after2 Abēto Khāylu. And he gave him his daughter whose
name was Princess Walatta Takla Ḥāymānot, and counted out
for him much property which was dowry. And as for Abēto
Khāylu he enumerated his lands (villages), saying, "Behold!
These are the dowry that are mine." And when Rās Mīkā’ēl
heard the number of his villages, he was astonished and
dumbfounded, and how should he not be astonished? For
there was no one who had the like extent of villages (country).
And after that he brought him to the pastures and made him
come to his house and spend the winter (rains) in his tents.
And at that moment there was an expedition to Dāmot of Rās
Mīkā’ēl with the Negus Takla Ḥāymānot and many Generals
with him, and Abēto Khāylu himself, son-in-law of Rās Mīkā’ēl,
went on an expedition with him. When Fitawrārī Rās Mīkā’ēl
came to Fāgtā, there was a great slaughter that day, and Rās
Mīkā’ēl was victorious, and Abēto Khāylu killed six uncircum-
cised,3 and five with spears and one with his sword, a Guarādē4;
he was a noble youth, so young that it is difficult to listen
and to speak of it, he being a boy of seventeen winters, worthy
of admiration, and his prowess was such as to be hard to believe.

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3 ወጋራ: እማር from ወጋራ to lock with a key. Arabic ﻊﻔ. Guidi, loc. cit. 245.
4 ለጋራ: ች እ ለጋራ: =a straight sword; ወጋራ the curved scimitar of the Abyssinians.
w. b.
For he then performed a deed of great strength, even as did Gidēwon with Midyām (Midianites) when he said, “The war is Gidēwon’s but the strength is the Lord’s.” And he slew Heb and Zēb and Zēbehel and Salmanna (Oreb, and Zeeb and Zebah and Zalmunna) and all their followers, who killed his brother, and so he wiped out (expiated) his brother’s blood by the shedding of the blood of the people. In the same manner he (Abēto Khāylu) acted at Fāgtā and avenged the blood of his father, who had left no other son, and then he acted as David the Israelite did in the face of Saul his father-in-law, and laid trophies before him. In such manner he (Abēto Khāylu) acted, and laid 200 trophies with his retainers before his father-in-law, Rās Mikā’ēl, who rejoiced over the youth of Abēto Khāylu. And when this was done he afterwards returned to Dāmot, to his tents. And when Abēto Khāylu had returned, he was minded of what his father said when he was alive, “If now I die in a foreign land leave not my bones in a foreign land as long as you are alive, but bring my bones to Wāldebbā.” And he answered Rās Mikā’ēl, “Is it permitted to me to take my father out of a grave when you are present?” And Rās Mikā’ēl replied, “Do as you will for you are my son and beloved of me.” And so he sent a large force of troops to bring his father away; and they bore him away, for they would make no separation of his limbs, and they would not disturb the fillet on his head, that he bound round it in life, but brought it along. And then there rose great mourning and lamentation when they saw the corpse of Dajazmāch Eshatē their friend and tribesman. And the whole world said, “O Dajazmāch Eshatē, thou art a second Zakāryās who died through tyranny, for Herodes went out and killed Zakāryās in the Holy House, and his blood was flowing for thirty years, and after that the King came and asked saying, “For what reason is this blood flowing?” and they told all that took place. Then he commanded them to bring a man of the house of those that killed him and they made his blood flow upon the blood. And when

1 Judges vii. 25; viii. 21.
they had done this, the blood at the instant ceased to flow (dried up). Just so the son of Dajazmāch Eshatē acted; he mingled the blood of the people with the blood of his father. And then he was minded of Abel whom his brother slew, and the children of Qāyāl (Cain) who perished in the deluge (Maya Ayekh). Dajazmāch Eshatē was Abel, whom by a previous decree died by the point of a spear. The children of Qāyāl were Jāwi and Mechā, men of Dāmot. And the deluge was the sword in the hand of his son, Olzābel that was burned with fire, was the land of Dāmot. Blessed is he, Abēto (Khāylu) that made flow the blood of thy sons at Fāgtā, for Eleyās will help Rās Mikā‘ēl. Oh Babylon, land of Dāmot, blessed is he Zerūbābel, Abēto Khāylu, that exacted a great vengeance. Hosē’e Rās Mikā‘ēl will give thee help and make thee worthy of being blessed. Oh Second Yosef Dajazmāch Khāylu, as Yosef took Ya‘qob his father from Egypt to the land of his people and brought him to the land of Cana’an, so thou didst take out thy father and bear him quickly to the land of Wäldebbā that formerly in life he yearned for. For this thou deservest to be blessed. Oh Second Jacob Dajazmāch Khāylu who took the blessing of Ishaq thy father, Dajazmāch Eshatē, that was sacrificial at Bifatā. And now we will return to what we were saying before. And after that Azāj Teku Eqā brought him to the house of Walda Mikā‘ēl. And Abbā Ma‘āzā and those who brought him to Wäldebbā to a consecrated spot, as he had before desired. We will go back to what was said before. Bringing him the Negus Takla Háymānot returned and Rās Mikā‘ēl and all the captains and Abēto Khāylu returned. And there was great shouting and warcries on their return and rejoicings and singing. Then Dajazmāch Khāylu bethought him of a beautiful song, and his song was like this:

As for the sword, I know how it
Always strikes, I glorify Khāylu.

And after this he went to Gondar and stayed a short time there. After this he heard that Rās Fāsil was at Nagalā in Begameder; on hearing this Rās Mikā‘ēl marched out from Gondar quickly
and went against Rās Fāsil to make war upon him, and there he fought a great fight while there also fought the youth Abēto Khāyu, so that the Negus Takla Háymānot and Rās Mīkāʾel got to know of his youth (what his youth was worth). Then Rās Mīkāʾel went to Gondar and wanted to go to his country with the Negus Takla Háymānot and his troops, and Abēto Khāyu said to him, “I will go with you, and there shall be no separation between us, for I am strong for marching whether for death or life.” And then he blessed him with a great benediction, as Ishaq did Yaʿeqob his son, saying, “Be lord over thy brother. Whether the heavens are moist or the earth stricken (the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth) it shall be thy blessing.”

The Blessing with which he blessed Abēto Khāyu was for two reasons: first because of his saying that he would go with him, second because he did not deceive him, as two generals, viz. Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Rās Goshu deceived him. And for that he gave him a great blessing upon (lit. taking) his head. After this Rās Mīkāʾel went to his province Tigré and passed the winter at Adewā. And Abēto Khāyu went to his province of Begameder. And when he reached Dangure he was received by Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Rās Goshu and he went in their company to Gondar. But they quickly returned and went to their country. And he (Abēto Khāyu) followed after them, to his place (village) of Nagalā and wintered there. Then Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan said, “Give me your sister that is called Wayzaro Weshēn Azāl for my wife.” But he refused and answered, “It is not fitting for me to give you my sister, because you have married her sister called Yaweb Dar, and the Bible forbids marriage with two at a time.” And again he said, “Supposing I give her to you, which will you put in the position of wife? Of the two will you make a concubine of the sister I give you and how much of a wife?” That was his haughty answer. And on account of this Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan hated him and wanted to seize him and take his lands. The other however was not frightened of him because he was a giant and versed in war from his child-

1 Gen. xxvii. 39.
hood. Then there was a great battle with Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and they fought with one another; and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan pursued him. Now behold the commencement of the trial of Abēto Khāylu. He fled, leaving his country, and while trying to get to Gondar, he had a messenger from Rās Fāsil saying, "Come to me and we will be one (united)." And Fāsil (pretended) to hold all the other's possessions as of no account, for he was a serpent. And he spoke like this several times and showed his face (nature) to (Abēto Khāylu) the son of Eshatē, and he threw a net around him, making him gifts of arms and titles. Just as the Bible says in the Psalms, "The proud ones hid a snare from me, and concealed the deceit of their nets for my feet" (Ps. cxl. 5). But Abēto Khāylu was cunning as a serpent and simple as a dove. As the Bible says in the Gospels, "Be cunning as the serpent and simple as the dove." And he being simple as a dove severed himself from the other, in his wisdom. And he left Gondar and on coming to Abbā Samuel as he had commanded Fitawrāri Abro'ay came to his death. And he marched forth from Gobaden and joined battle with him and gained a victory and brought him to his camp. On that Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan marched out in a rage and followed him to Gobaden. And Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan arrived at where Abēto Khāylu was and there was a great battle and Abēto Khāylu took to flight, but while he was flying he performed deeds of valour, and he slaughtered as the fleet-footed Osāhel with his bow killed Abner when he was fleeing. And when he came to Kāylāmedā, there fell upon him a powerful body of men mounted on horses. And on this he wheeled round on them and said, "Come on upon me, for I am the man you are looking for." That moment they hesitated with fear at what might be in store for them, and they were afraid of coming near him. And then he arrived at the house of the Abun. And Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan came to Gondar, and that was the day that Susneyos, the Negus, quitted Gondar and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan went to the House of the Abun

1 2 Sam. ii. 18, 19.
and was received and made peace. And he made a covenant with him and after that Dajazmäch Wand Bawasan went to Begamder. And Abēto Khāylu remained at Gondar. While things were in this situation Rās Mikāʾēl came with the Negus Takla Häymānot, and there was great panic and threats of danger and they came to Gondar. At that time they crucified Abbā Salāmā as Artekersas (Ahasuerus) crucified Hama (Haman). Abbā Salāmā had subverted the Faith and a great infidelity had broken forth, that had disturbed every man in his tents. For he had thrilled the hearts of all the men without knowledge of the Scriptures. As is said in the remains of Qerlos (Cyril), “Thou didst move the whole world in a little space.” He also destroyed the house of the Echage Henok, a righteous man and orthodox. And Rās Mikāʾēl at that time was very active, he appointed Abēto Khāylu to be Dajazmách of Begamder, besides whom no one could be found (better) for the position in Begamder unless Dajazmách Khāylu were selected. After this Dajazmách Wand Bawasan and Rās Goshu were guilty of rebellion, and Rās Mikāʾēl hearing of it, sent that very day Dajazmách Khāylu with a large force to set on fire and burn the convents of Tsagyāt in Gebaden and Rézā Ḥabt towards the road of Farqāʿ Bar, which was a hiding-place for robbers. And there the soldiers of Dajazmách Khāylu fought a battle wherein Dajazmách Khāylu showed himself worthy of his title, for on that day there was fought a great battle between Rās Āydar Wadāj Asāhel and the people of Yaju and victory lay with the soldiers of Dajazmách Khāylu. And after that he returned and told him all that took place. Then Rās Mikāʾēl marched out and went on the road in the rear, and reached Dagolā and he camped there and Dajazmách Wand Bawasan and Rās Goshu advanced with a large force and they joined battle that lasted forty-five days in which there was a great slaughter. And at that time Dajazmách Khāylu fought, and the prowess of the young man was wonderful such as is impossible for the ear to hear or the tongue to relate. While Rās Mikāʾēl was at Dagolā he saw the tents at Semēn of
Tesfu. And his heart was fired at that and he exclaimed, "Can a fox stand up in the face of a lion? Or a Karmel that is a Chefreg that is like Tsad contend with the wood of Pawqinā (pine)?" And so saying, Rās Mikā'ēl summoned Dajazmāch Khāylu and Dajazmāch Kefta Iyasus that they should act after his own heart. As it is said in the Bible, "I have found my servant David a trusty man that worketh after my heart." And then he marched by night and made war on him, and fought a great battle and made great booty. Dajazmāch Khāylu fought and made prisoners of eight powerful men, many goods, both guns and arms, round shields of war and mules and horses, and the troops of his house made prisoners as well as he. And after this he left the men he had made prisoners before the face of Rās Mikā’ēl. And Rās Mikā’ēl was rejoiced at the strength of Dajazmāch Khāylu. "Oh my Lord and loved one, what place is there that you have not fought in (lit. killed). Oh my Lord and loved one, who hast bound my soul with your soul. As the soul of David was bound up with the soul of Yonatan (Jonathan). What place have you not done valiantly in? And how shall we measure your manhood, for there is no measuring it; at Dagalā what you performed was equal to ten young men or twenty or thirty and the great ones talk of it in Begameder, who saw you moving about among them. And you range about everywhere (lit. you say, ‘Here and there and everywhere’) when mounted on a horse (lit. on the foot of a horse). Woe, Oh conquering, conquering youth, to the enemy, whom we saw to-day at noon, woe to those Oh conquering child, whom we saw to-day at the moment of the struggle. Oh my Lord and loved one, I grieve you did not find an upright King, for the Bible says, "Thou shalt not dwell in country where there is not an upright King," and of how many didst thou wipe off all the ointment of valour instead

1 Kermel [חֶרֶב] Chefreg, kind of plant, a small shrub, used for making brooms.
2 Tsad or Tsaddo, shrub, Rhamnus Teaddo (Schweinfurth), whose root is used for flavouring Hydromel (Taj). The more usual flavouring is by the plant Giesho, Rhamnus Pancifolius.
3 1 Sam. xxix. 3.
4 Gashā, round shields, Amharic.
of selling it to many warriors?” (Matt. xxvi. 9). We will go back to what was being said before. And after forty-five days Rās Mikā’ēl was defeated though he did not show he was beaten, as the Book of Kings says, “Let not that matter displease thee—sometimes it is like that, sometimes it is like this (whether it is thus or thus) wilt thou always be delivered from the sword.” And after he was defeated, he came to Gondar and there came with him two chiefs, viz. Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Rās Goshu and they brought him. At that time Dajazmāch Khāylu and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan became reconciled and also with Dajazmāch Goshu. And he gave him his sister named Princess Weshen. Before they made war from necessity, contrary to their desires. And he went with him to his country, Begameder, and spent the rains there. And during this time while Dajazmāch Khāylu was at Gerāriyā, the King of Kings, Takla Háymānot, went out and came to Qāroda, and when Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan heard of this he sallied forth from Ashmā and camped at Reb and caught the Negus while eating and drinking, and all his generals eating and drinking too, as they were not aware of his coming. He came on Easter day. And he stopped when they were at Adaga, and took them prisoners, and then returned having taken the Negus, and the crown of the kingdom, and the fillet of his head and all his generals and there was not one of the soldiers of the Negus that was not captured. And at the same time Rās Goshu came and Rās Fāsil to help the Negus on the Dāra road. And they attacked Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Dajazmāch Khāylu joined with him, and fought with them to help the Negus. And they fought a battle at Chachaho and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan was defeated and retired to his country Lāstā. Whereupon they sent the King of Kings Takla Háymānot to his tents at Gondar. And he and Rās Mikā’ēl made friends and have so continued to this day. After the fight at Dagolā he sent him to his province Tigrē. After this Rās Goshu and Rās Fāsil returned having become reconciled, and becoming intimate they concerted a plot against

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1 2 Sam. xi. 25.
Dajazmāch Khāylu, saying to Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan, "We have come to you, you will not be silent about the province of Dajazmāch Khāylu." That was what Rās Fāsil said because he was his enemy from of old, and the other had done him favours when he came to Begameder. He returned evil for good that had been done him. As the Bible says, "They returned me evil for good, they hated me because that I loved them" (Ps. cix. 5). And after that Dajazmāch Khāylu was expelled (from his province) and gave over his province to Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan: and he came to Gondar and spent the winter there. And about that time there was a famine\(^1\) that is called "My thinness" (Qachne).

At this time the King of Kings, Takla Hāymānot made changes among the offices, and confirmed Rās Ayādār in his office, as Rās Behtwaddad\(^2\). And Dajazmāch Berkeyānos was appointed to be Teqāqen, and Dajazmāch Aklog to be Bālāmbārās, and Dajazmāch Khāylu to be Qaňasmāch. He went to Ahobalekhua, his village on the road to Anguaj on account of the famine, and then he went to Begameder. And about that time the Negus left Gondar to make war on Rās Fāsil, and he came to Lebbo, and from Lebbo he went to Affarawānāt and when at Affarawānāt Dajazmāch Khāylu gave a horse which they call Magen to the Negus Takla Hāymānot, and then the Negus presented to him the revenue that belonged to Nagalā, which did not exist till instituted by the Negus Bakaffā. On this a herald proclaimed, "I have given him all the revenues that come from Nagalā. Let them be for his son and his son's son." And for this declaration there were many witnesses, viz. officers of state and judges. And their names were Rās Ayādār, Dajazmāch Adegah, Wand Bawasan, and of the judges were Liqa Khāylu, Azāj Yāeqob, Azāj Iyo'akes, Azāj Abēsēlom of Sango, Liqa Gebru.

\(^1\) J'rtiT (Qatana), Amharic (from verb Qatana, to get thin), was corrupted in popular language into J'Pfc (Qachne) = my thinness, with a secondary meaning of (1) a thin pole or wand; (2) narrow shoes.

\(^2\) Betwaddad or Beht, the highest title in the kingdom, derived from nA-J-i< only or specially united to, i.e. beloved; prime favourite. The number in former days was limited to two.

W. B. 495 a
Azāj Abēselom, the son of Azāj Tadaseyos, Liqa Gabru, son of Liqa Takla Háymānot. And in presence of those the Negus gave him his villages. Dajazmāch Khāylu returned (to the Negus) the revenues of the villages that the Negus had granted him, in order to strengthen himself with the Negus Takla Háymānot, as Zerubābbel strengthened himself with Daryos the King by returning his prisoner, Yā'eqob, and as Iyāsu (Joshua) restored the land of Shem that was called Iyārako (Jericho), that the children of Kām had taken away. We will now go back to what we were saying before. Now while the Negus was making war on Dajazmāch Goshu and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan, on account of the people of Lāstā, and on account of that he abandoned the expedition against Fāsil, the Negus came to Gondar and spent the dry season there, and Dajazmāch Khāylu came with him. And after that he returned to Begameder, and while he was at Begameder, Fāsil came to Gondar. Fāsil was an enemy and a tyrant, for he had plundered the house of Dajazmāch Khāylu of all its goods and left nothing that was in the house, though the goods that had been given him were without number. As soon as Dajazmāch Khāylu heard that he had been robbed of his property his elder brother died whose name was Abīto Anged when Es hatē was there. And he was filled with great grief when he heard the two reports at one moment, first of the robbery of his house and secondly of the death of his brother. And after that he heard of the death of Ytēgē (Queen) Mentwāb who gave food to the hungry and was the hope of the people and of those who lived around far and near. And when the sun, the Ytēgē Mentwāb, set, there was darkness and great lamentation over the whole world. For Ytēgē Mentwāb was in truth a sun. She gave joy to the poor and needy, she clothed the naked and starving. Who is there that would not regret such a woman, and be sorrowful for thee, Oh Jerusalem, Ytēgē Mentwāb, the land of prophets, priests of Quesquām.

For there was no man who did not bewail her in sorrow. And who is there who would not be submerged in a flood

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1 This story is taken from Apocryphal sources followed by Josephus (Antiq. xi. 8). Cp. also Haggai i. 1.

2 Quesquām, a town of Upper Egypt.
of tears at the tokens of grief when they saw Ytège Mente-wāb being lowered into the grave, the sun of peace and love, for there was no man that her light had not cheered, or her hand had bestowed gifts, so that there was bitter lamentation, for hers was a great race that loved and inspired love. And thus mourning and grieving he spent the summer (dry season) at Gerāriyyā. At the same time Rās Fāsil handed over to the Negus Takla Háymānot his land in Dāmot and wintered there and joined with Rās Goshu. Then Rās Fāsil and Rās Goshu came to the Negus Takla Háymānot, and they made an expedition against Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan. But the Negus had no desire for that expedition (raid). And he joined with Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Dajazmāch Erāqlēs (Heracles) who had helped Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan. Then before the arrival of Dajazmāch Fāsil, Dajazmāch Khāylu went away to Agats for he was ashamed to be connected with Dajazmāch Fāsil for he had been his former enemy. So on that account he went to Agats and did not go on the raid with the Negus, and only his retainers went. Then after that Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Dajazmāch Erāqlēs were defeated at Enjārut, and Rās Goshu pursued them as far as Wāg. And Dajazmāch Fāsil turned back and in returning appointed over the lands of Dajazmāch Khāylu two chiefs; then he took them and put them in chains, for they had done what they ought not to have done. And Dajazmāch Fāsil went off to his territory, as was his custom, sneaking like an animal, a civet cat. And during this time Dajazmāch Khāylu and Rās Goshu and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan had come together at Bashelo and made friends there, and with the Negus Takla Háymānot. And when Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Rās Goshu returned Dajazmāch Khāylu returned with them, but only he did not camp with them, he said, "It is not fitting for me to have my camp with

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1 Terē=civet (Amharic); the usual word is ṭēbad, hence our word civet, Arabic ḏij. The old Ge’ez name was ṭēbaḥ Ankaso, or ṭēbaḥ Ankos=Greek ḏēvē. The civet substance is found sticking to branches, bamboos, etc., where the animal has been moving and rubbing itself, and is still obtained in S. Abyssinia and Kaffa. It may have been what was called καρτούμ by Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th cent.).
the Dajazmach of Begameder," so he camped by himself, and
saved the bullocks of the country of Fogarâ from being plundered,
for he was a friend of the pasturers¹. After this Râs Goshu went
to his territory, Amârâ, and Dajazmâch Wand Bawasan went to
his, Garagarâ, and as Râs Goshu was going he received Dajazmâch
Khâylu with joy and festivity, and sent him away in peace. But
Dajazmâch Khâylu went away to Wakhné to where the Negus
was and joined him there and they consulted together about all
that was taking place. After that he turned back and came to
Gerâriyâ. And when Râs Fâsil heard all that was going on, on
that he sent his son whose name was Dajazmâch Walda Gabre’êl
and with him a large force of troops, and gave him orders to
set fire to the house of Dajazmâch Khâylu and he did so, on the
2nd of Hamlé (15 November). And he ordered the burning
down of the house for (the reason of two affairs) two reasons,
1st because he² had reconciled Râs Goshu and Dajazmâch Wand
Bawasan and made peace between them, and 2nd because he
had received Dajazmâch Kenfu; for when the latter had been
making war upon Râs Fâsil, and had been driven out to Dajaz-
mâch Khâylu, the latter then had received him with delight and
rejoicings, and had told him, "My house shall be thy house and
my land shall be thine, and think not of what thou shalt eat or
clothe thyself, or for thy sojourning, for there shall be nothing
wanting of anything that thou mayst ask for from me." And
what he did for Dajazmâch Kenfu were things too numerous to
relate. For that then Râs Fâsil ordered the burning of his
house. And on the same day Asâlâfe Qundé and Asâlâfe Walda
Iyasus did valiantly, while their lord was not present. And
after that Dajazmâch Walda Gabre’êl returned and his retainers.
And while he was at Gerâriyâ Dajazmâch Khâylu heard how
they had burnt down his house, came away in haste but did not
catch them, and afterwards he wintered at Estê, but Fâsil made
war on the Negus and Dajazmâch Wand Bawasan and he
(Fâsil) came in Maskaram (September) and he burnt down

¹ Amharic, pastoral nomads.
² D. Khâylu.
his (Dajazmäch Khäylu's) house a second time and after went to Kemer Dangayā and camped there. Dajazmäch Khäylu went to Nagalā and Dajazmäch Wand Bawasan to Masqanē, and then Rās Fāsil rose to go to Wakhnē to where the Negus was with Rās Goshu and then Dajazmäch Khäylu followed in his tracks and said to the men of his house, “Follow me and we will make an attack on Fasil for there shall be no hope of life for either great or small, and thereby resembling Jonathan the son of Saul who fought valiantly at Mikewos (Michmash) as it is related in the Book of Kings. And a great slaughter took place, and God gave great strength, for as the Book of Psalms says, “They have the strength of the Lord, who fear him, and who call upon his name.” And they took prisoners a great many men and horses and mules without number and the number of tents was 450 there being many men who were making festival that day, so that there was not a man who had not captured horses and mules. The number of horses that were in the train of Dajazmäch Khäylu was 220 and those (in the train) of Rās Fāsil were 3550 so they saw the stoutness of heart of Dajazmäch Khäylu who confronted Rās Fāsil though he had such a number of horses and troops. And the day was Wednesday and the spot was the Amus river. And on that day they resembled the father of David. For when David was away the people came to the land of David and captured two of his women, Abigāya and Akināhon (Abigail and Ahinoam) and plundered his house (1 Sam. xxx. 3—5). And then David came and mourned because of it and at the same time he pursued and caught them when they were spread abroad (1 Sam. xxx. 16) and smote them there. And Dajazmäch Khäylu was David and the people were the soldiers of Fāsil whom they killed at the Amus river and the two women of his houses that did not leave as they were burning them. From thence he returned from the field of battle and joined Dajazmách Wand Bawasan and sent over a messenger to the Negus, saying, “Good news for thee, oh King, good news,” and the Negus was rejoiced at it; and Dajazmäch Wand Bawasan and Dajazmách Khäylu met
the Negus together on the Saturday the seventh day. And then they encountered Fāsil and defeated him and many there were that were killed and taken prisoner, Dajazmāch Khāyulu doing valiantly that day as is the wont of warriors, capturing a great number of men, 165 in number. He went to the Negus and presented the trophies and said, “On the Thursday I did it, I did it, thus,” and like that he boasted and vaunted himself. After this the Negus turned back and went to Gondar from the place of the raid and Dajazmāch Khāyulu went to Gerāriyā in triumph, and they composed a chorus which ran like this, “On Thursday Rās Fāsil got Khāyulu excommunicated: he got leave and went off to be absolved on Saturday. When a shield glittered at him and the spear pursued him, off went Fāsil quick.” And he lived there a short while and then went to Gondar and made gifts to the Negus including a horse that they call a mudslinger; and the horse was estimated to be worth 35 dinars of gold. And the Negus gave him lands, which had been assessed with the providing of a troop and shields and shieldbearers, saying, “Build a Church for they are lands you possessed before.” But the gifts are for two reasons, 1st because of the fight with Fāsil, 2nd for the gift of the horse, and that has been inscribed in the book of the Judges and it will be found there. And after this he returned to the country Gerāriyā and stayed the summer there. He was taken ill for a short while, but God cured him of his disease, on Him be praise. And while he was at Gerāriyā Rās Goshu sent a message to him, saying, “Help me.” On this he descended towards the Abāy with Rās Ayādār and they met him there. After this they went to Gondar. At that time there were changes made among the officials and the Negus Takla Háymānot appointed Rās Ayādār as Dajazmāch of Semēn and Azāj of Qāha, and spent the rainy season there. The Negus Takla Háymānot said, “As a matter of friendship show me a great
number of your soldiers," but it was Dajazmách Khāylu who answered, "Yes, and I will do for thee what thou biddest me," and in the middle of this business he summoned Rās Goshu though no one knew his crime (what he had committed). Then the Negus called up Dajazmách Khāylu and said to him, "Put Fāsil and his son to death." And (the other) replied, "Assemble the judges, and let them give sentence and I will kill them according to the sentence (legally), and if not, how should I secretly put to death men who have been in chains for a long time?" And by saying that he made the Negus desist from his order to kill them. We will go back to what we were saying before. And on that he sent him (Dajaz. Khāylu) a horse and a gilt sword and all the equipment of a warrior, and he was set up with all this splendour. He came to Ashāwā and showed the revenue return\(^1\) which gave the Negus great satisfaction, and with this there began all kinds of decorations and honours. And a short while after there came to the Negus a report to the effect that Wand Bawasan had come. And he sent down Abēto Takla Giyorgis from Wakhni and Wand Bawasan did not halt except for the impropriety of one day. Thereupon the Negus rose up in anger and issued out from Gondar and marched towards Begameder. Then the Negus met Wand Bawasan and they fought there, and there was a great slaughter and some of the soldiers of the Negus fled, and got as far as Gondar; and while the Negus himself was in the midst of the enemy, others again fled and reached Gojam, while the Negus was in the midst of a terrible battle; and there were some who fled, but many a man did valiantly; on that day Dajazmách Khāylu also was valiant and captured many prisoners. And in the middle of the battle he met Dajazmách Bakaha, threw his spear and struck his shield, but he could not stand up before the face of Dajazmách Khāylu, no more than a flying thread can face the wind or a bullock stand up against a lion, and Dajazmách Khāylu did not desist from pursuing him and smiting him till he came to Kemer Dangāyā. And then Dajaz-

\(^1\) Modern Amharic, ይላት: royal revenues.
māch Khāylu wheeled round and halted there, and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan fled and came to Gerāriyā with Abēto Takla Giyorgis, but Dajazmāch Khāylu returned with Dajazmāch Adegah and Sela Gabru and laid the trophies before the Negus. The Negus rejoiced at the manhood of Dajazmāch Khāylu, for there were many generals and young men that were afraid and fled that day. O my Lord and friend! There is no one who knows thy worth except only God that guards thee in every day’s trials, I am sorry for him who does not know thy goodness. What land of the Negus is there where thou hast not fought or laid trophies before him? And what spot that thou hast not marked with the footsteps of thy valour? The prowess that thou showed at Amad Bar, that was wonderful and admirable, it was worthy of admiration from all creatures, as is said of the three mighty men who were Adinon (Adino) and Iyābustē (Abishai) and Eliānān (Eliazar) who were famous in the house of David.

We will turn back to the beginning of the story. Then the Negus left Wādēgano for Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and marched as far as Emakinā and pitched his camp at the bottom of Emakinā and Wand Bawasan pitched his camp on the top of it. And then there was a battle, warriors advancing from one side and warriors sallying forth from the other, and they smote one another, and Dajazmāch Khāylu started slaying, seeming as if his heart was ever on fire so that he slackened not in his slaying. As the Bible says, “I have no thought for those in front of me, and those behind I hasten,” and he fell upon Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan when they were carrying water. After this he made friends with the Negus and delivered to him a rebel (pretender, rebel, Amharic), who was Abēto Takla Giyorgis. And the Negus returned and on arriving at Kemer Dangeyā he appointed Dajazmāch Khāylu Yashālaqā of the Kanisa 1. And there was joy and festivity, and a chorus and singing and it ran like this—

1 Amharic. Yashālaqā is commander of 1000. Alaqa = commander; ya-sheh = of 1000. Kanisa is the name of a corps.
“Let them roast, Let them roast (th rash, lit. set fire to) the coward
Quickly off went his armlet
Quickly off went his mule and his servant
They are roasting the coward."
And again it was said, “Why did they say a man? a worm in my garden grain has his (as much) strength, why did they say a man?” And after that the Negus came to Gondar and wintered there, and Dajazmâch Khâylu became friends with the Negus. And then he produced the tribute which gave him great pleasure. And every eye that saw that said, “What mother has given him birth? What breast has given him suck?” Then about that time Dajazmâch Wand Bawasan rebelled, and the Negus and Dajazmâch Khâylu made an expedition against him, and Dajazmâch Khâylu did not sever himself from the Negus; he raided continually in the raids of the Negus and the latter went from Emakinâ and made war there against Wand Bawasan. During these events Sela Gabru died. At that time all the governors joined with Wand Bawasan in a conspiracy against the Negus, so on this account he turned back quickly from his raid and came to Gondar. He then appointed Dajazmâch Khâylu to be Mezikker (Inspector or Reporter) of the Agaw so he went off to his province of Agaw, and when he was there he was accused of rebellion by slanderers. As the Book of Job tells of “And the angel that was Satan went and stood up before God and slandered Job before the Lord,” and just so they slandered Dajazmâch Khâylu before his friend the Negus Takla Hâymânot and then there came a messenger to him saying, “The Negus has told the men of Agaw to seize Dajazmâch Khâylu and if not to kill him.” And when Dajazmâch Khâylu heard that he was grieved and troubled about this quarrel with the Negus and he said, “Ah Satan has come between me and him.” On that the men of Agaw came and said to him, “The

1 The Zafan or dance-song was to celebrate Daj. Khâylu for his victory over Wand Bawasan who fought for Takla Giyorgis, while Khâylu championed Takla Hâymânot II. Let some one roast or beat the coward, i.e. Wand Bawasan, who threw away his chufa or decorations, etc.

W. B.
Negus tells us thus, but we will not do thus to thee because thou art the son of our beloved Dajazmāch Eshatē. Thou art our friend." And saying thus they sent him away in peace. And he went over to the land of Begameder and when he went he sent over to the Negus saying, "Since they tell me that the Negus says 'Seize him,' I have passed over to my own territory." Then he had a meeting with three chiefs, viz., Rās Khāylu, Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan and Dajazmāch Kanfu and they took counsel about coming to Gondar. Thereupon they came to Gondar but the King Takla Háymānot went to Wäldebbā; he preferred the kingdom of heaven, for he hated the kingdom of earth. And for this reason he preferred to go to Wäldebbā; so he went there. On this they brought down Abēto Salomon from Wakhni.

After this there were changes made among the officials. (They made Negus) the King of Kings Salomon. And he appointed to be Rās Behtwadded, Rās Ayādār, and he appointed Kanfu Adam to the province of Dānot, and Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan to Begameder, and Dajazmāch Khāylu to Gojam, and Eshētē Khāylu to be Dajazmāch of Semēn, and Bāshā Mebaras Boqatu he appointed Teqāqen1. And Dajazmāch Khāylu wintered at Gondar with the King of Kings Salomon. On the 16th of Maskaram Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan came to Gondar, and at the same time Dajazmāch Khāylu was confirmed in his office at Semēn. Before that however the Negus Takla Háymānot rested from the troubles of this world and fighting with governors in the region (world) where nothing is profitable or pleasant. Afterwards it was called abdication (repudiation) and as an anchorite in the desert as this Negus Takla Háymānot was, no Negus had reigned before or will reign again that will see the world with his eye. He left it to go to the desert, and was buried at Wäldebbā, whereupon his name was changed and he received the name of Abba Takla Háymānot of Wäldebbā. Then the news of his death spread abroad and the Negus Salomon was received at Ashawā. And there was great grief and lamen-

1 Amharic: Lieutenant or Deputy of the Blättēngāta, Guidi, loc. cit., 814.
tation, and the priests whom he had ordained wept and chanted, and there was no man that did not grieve and weep. For he was a great Negus and Dajazmákh Kháylu mourned him sorely and wept, for he was his friend from of old. And on the 2nd of Takhsás (begins 9th December) Dajazmákh Wand Bawasan fell from his horse and received fractures (lit. was broken) at Ashawá and died and was buried in accordance with his orders. Then his brother Dajazmákh Baqatu was appointed to his command and he went to Begameder and stayed the summer at Esté, when the governors were in their provinces. And Azáj Yasellása Bárýá brought Abêto Takla Giyorgis and men of Wagará; when the Negus Salomon heard of this he was frightened and marched out from Gondar, and for that reason the generals came to Gondar to help the Negus and Dajazmákh Kháylu came along with them, being one of the generals. Abêto Takla Giyorgis was dismissed and went to Tigré. Then this Dajazmákh Kháylu was promoted to be Rás Behtwadded, and he resided at Gondar with the Negus. And all the generals went to their provinces. After that, the month of Sane, Abêto Takla Giyorgis came from Tigré, it was said with a large force; and many soldiers went from Gondar traitors to the Negus Salomon. At that moment the Negus marched out from his tents and Abêto Takla Giyorgis advanced to Gondar. For this reason the captains assembled to stand by the Negus and to fight against Abêto Takla Giyorgis. A great battle took place and Dajazmákh Kháylu did valiantly, and helped the Negus with a powerful assistance, for thus it was always his custom to help the Negus in his coming and going. On that occasion Abêto Takla Giyorgis was defeated and seized, but Gondar was destroyed and plundered. Then Dajazmákh Kháylu laid the trophies before the Negus, but the generals did not lay trophies. And the reason of their (not ?) leaving them, I do not know, unless it was to deceive him. Then Baqatu went out and went to Begameder when he heard reports of the battle, and Dajazmákh Kháylu went with him to support him, and afterwards wintered in his country. After that he came
to Gondar and had a petty quarrel with Dajazmách Khâylu, but the Abun and the Echagē reconciled them, for the quarrels of kinsmen are of small importance. After that he went from his country to his province Semēn. And when he arrived he was received by the people of Semēn with festivity and rejoicings. And to Abēto Dametsu, son of Abēto Erāqelēs son of Dajazmách Tesfu of Tslalamet, he gave his daughter whose name was Princess Martsēt daughter of Princess Nachet; his father was Atsē Sartsa Dengel: it has been said how he fought with Walda Sellāsē of Salatsabā. Walda Sellāsē refused to hand over the tribute while everybody at Semēn was jubilant.

Then Dajazmách Khâylu went out against one who was always a rebel, and seized by force and courage his house. These were Méchā Walda Gabre'ēl, Asālāfi Qundi Gaberyo, Engeda Habta Kyros, son of Argāy. There they bore themselves bravely and fought, their valour was sure, a valour that did not belie them. Then he seized and bound Walda Sellāsē, and he discharged the tribute. After this Dajazmách Khâylu was reconciled after he had made sure. Then he returned from the land of Semēn and came to Gondar. About that time he was engaged on a campaign, and Dajazmách Kanfu sent to him a message saying, “Come, join with me and we will raid Rās Khâylu, as he has treated you thus and thus,” but he replied saying, “It is not so, as far as I am concerned, and there shall be no fighting with my kinsman Rās Khâylu. If I say I fight, what will people say that hear that? For he is the son of the Itage Mentwāb, and I am the son of Dajazmách Eshatē”; and saying that he refused and quitted associating with him; those that advised him to do this were Walda Mikā'ēl, his tutor, and Abēto Walda Zagājēn, who said to him “Spare him! My lord, Spare him, it is not for you to make war upon Rās Khâylu,” and hearing this he went over to Rās Khâylu and was received at Rebb and they pitched their camp at Qārodā. And there they performed Easter; and the Negus Salomon was with them. On this Kanfu Adam came to make war on Rās Khâylu and Negus Salomon alone, and some said he had come by the Negus Salomon's invitation.
Then Rāṣ Khāylu and Kanfu Adam met in battle, and the place where they fought was at Sabisa Ber; there Rāṣ Khāylu was defeated and Negus Salomon was captured, and the crown of the kingdom with the fillet of his head, and all the regalia of the crown, and he himself was made prisoner and his soldiers taken. And on that day Dajazmāch Khāylu did valiantly, for that was his wonted courage that they feared in him; the mighty men, when he had his war skin on him, alone could stand up against him. What sort of a valour was that? It was worthy of admiration. And on that day mighty men of the house were killed, viz., Barē Kefalē and Abēto Khāylu, son of Abēto Yara Tsēyon, and the goods of the house and the royal drums were abandoned there. He, Dajazmāch Khāylu, went with a small force of men on horse-back, and he came to his land of Garazaya. But Rāṣ Khāylu went to Dembayā and joined up with Mēkol Kabtē. Mēkol Kabtē had navigated the ways of the whole sea and lofty mountains, so that to flee from him it would be no disgrace; he sent to Rāṣ Khāylu near Quaratsā and a quantity of iron which is found in the bosom of the land came to Quaratsā. And he dwelt there: Qaāasmāch Tsadālu and Bāshā Waletā fled to Abēto Ramkha at Bēgameder. Then Negus Salomon sent over to Dajazmāch Khāylu to say, “Come, and Asdhel will be the servant of Mennāssē,” and Dajazmāch Khāylu answered, “Coming, I am coming, for I have no quarrel with the Negus, only how can I come, for there is a feud between me and Kanfu Adam.” And thus saying he sent Blāttēngētā Teku Hagunā with a priest and a sacred picture, and then Kanfu Adam swore upon the picture and by the priest on penalty of excommunication. Then Dajazmāch Khāylu went and was received by the Negus, and Dajazmāch Kanfu, Dajazmāch Gadelu came on the same day. And then all went on a raid together and came to Garagarā and Dajazmāch Baqatu fled, leaving his hall. Maqēt Lagāsa came to the Negus

1 ኆሰ (Nat) Amharic, a tanned bullock hide, used as a cloak.
2 እር እር error for እር እር
3 ዓር። recalled = circulum, anula, Dill.
with the people of Maqet. Thus the Negus returned with his generals and troops. And on his return Dajazmäch Baqatu followed, and there was a battle with the troops of the Negus in which they pursued these troops as far as Chachaho; the Negus reached Agala and camped there. And then he sent to Wasan Walata Tséyon and Fitáwräri Ikonyān to bring him Abëto Takla Giyorgis from Wakhni, and they brought him to Agala in bonds; Kanfu Adam and Khäylu Adera made a secret conspiracy with Abëto Takla Giyorgis, without the knowledge of the King of Kings Salomon. Then Dajazmäch Kanfu rose and went to Darā, and camped there contrary to the desire of the Negus: and coming to Quaratā he wanted him to seize Rās Khäylu: but God delivered him by help of the prayer of Waleta Pětro, holy among the holy persons; monks and nuns had prayed much. Then Dajazmäch Kanfu left Rās Khäylu after taking an oath under (penalty of) excommunication. Then Dajazmäch Kanfu went to the country of his command, Dämot, with the King of Kings Salomon and Abëto Takla Giyorgis and Dajazmäch Khäylu as he was going to Gondar to take up his office at Lasā, viz., as Deputy Blättengetā. At that time there came a man, a Falasi, of Shewa, who was called Abëto Abagāz and was received by Dajazmäch Khäylu who showed him much kindness, and the other always blessed him as Paulos blessed the house of Hēnēsqhoros when he said, “May God give mercy to the house of Hēnēsqhoros” (2 Tim. i. 16). Then he came to Gondar, and while Dajazmäch Khäylu was at Gondar, Dajazmäch Kanfu made Takla Giyorgis Negus with celebrations on the 12th Hamlé; then Dajazmäch Kanfu sent out a proclamation by herald which ran thus, “Takla Giyorgis has been made Negus and Negus Salomon a monk. On account of this crime he has been made Negus over the Negus.” And on the 15th of Hamlé it was heard at Gondar and pronounced by the herald and then there was rejoicing and jubilation, and great chorus of joy. And then the Negus Takla Giyorgis and Dajazmäch Kanfu sent to Dajazmäch Khäylu saying, “Come quickly,” and on that Dajazmäch Khäylu went at once and was received
by them, and then lying men rose up against him, and they harassed him with evil deeds. As the Book of Psalms says, "I am afflicted by my sins." And they brought accusations against him before the Negus Takla Giyorgis and Dajazmāch Kanfu even as Paskor (Pashur) accused Ermeysiās (Jeremias) the Prophet (Jerem. xx. 1) and Hananayā (Jerem. xxviii. 15), before the King of Israel, Sēdīqyās (Zedekiah) and Simon and Ḥiās (Joshua) his kinsman slandered David before Saul the King of Israel. And in like manner the accusers brought charges against Dajazmāch Khāylu. At the same time Ḥaṣāmāch Adaya Khāylu engaged in war against the will of the Negus, and he defeated Ḥaṣāmāch Tseḍālū and came to the house of his wife (named) Princess Sahelu, the sister of Dajazmāch Khāylu. On this Bālāmbaraṣ Yalentu came and said to Dajazmāch Khāylu, "Let us take him and make war on him, for he is a rebel." The other refused, for he was his father-in-law and his friend, and he replied, "Did perchance the Negus order me (to do it)? Why should I seize Dajazmāch Tseḍālū, and do an evil thing to Dajazmāch Tseḍālū?" Now he hated doing wrong to anyone.

We will go back to the previous matter. And after that they brought him away under close guard (lit. in custody of the eye), and handed him over to a watchful eye, and guarded him day and night, while he spent the winter with them. The Negus also wintered there, and one Sunday Dajazmāch Khāylu withdrew from Burā alone, there being no one to follow or lead him on the road. And going away that day he encountered many trials, for his troops had been scattered abroad like dust, having no shepherd and no man with them of the men of his household, and the shepherds that went did not know him. Then Dajazmāch Kanfu was enraged and sent a large force and pursued him; following after him on foot and on horse. They caught him up at Aḥaffār, and forced him to come, and took him quickly to Dajazmāch Kanfu: then they bound him with iron chains and increased (the severity of) his imprisonment. At that time he was suffering from severe illness, so on account of his
grievous sickness they relieved him of his fetters. Then monks came of Waldebbâ and made peace, and Dajazmâch Kanfu swore an oath that he would not betray him again, and after he had taken his oath he played the traitor a second time, for his weapons deceived Dajazmâch Khâylu; and he (Dajazmâch Kanfu) bound him in chains of iron. Then the Negus Takla Giyorgis came to Gondar, with Dajazmâch Kanfu, and Dajazmâch Khâylu came chained with chains of iron. Thereupon there was grief among all the people of Gondar, every kinsman and friend, because he had been tyrannically chained. And the monks of Waldebbâ had pity on him and prayed God; and they said to the Negus, “Let him go, for God’s sake, for he has not sinned against thee,” and the Negus replied, “Yea, I will release him,” but he had no intention of doing so, saying, “To-morrow, to-morrow I will release him.” God released him and delivered him out of his chains, even as he liberated Menâssê from the hand of Hondhard; and God delivered him from all the suffering that the Negus and Dajazmâch Kanfu had intended for him. As the Book of Psalms says, “Many are the sorrows of the righteous and the Lord will deliver them from them all” (Ps. xxxiv. 17). He went forth by night and having gone to his land Begameder, he started by night and reached Warotâ at noon, riding a horse called Baligâgâter. Then he sent over to Dajazmâch Kanfu and the Negus Takla Giyorgis to say, “You have not freed me, but God has freed me who knoweth all things; but you were saying, ‘We will tie him up for a long time.’ But God has freed me as he freed Adam from the fiery dungeon and brought him away from the power of the Devil, so has God delivered me out of your hands, as he brought Yosef out of the hands of Pis Fâru, the Ruler of Egypt, so has God delivered me out of your hands.” And so saying he went to the Convent of Mary1 and he sent monks of the Convent of Mary to Dajazmâch Baqatu saying, “Behold I have come among you, and you take pity on me, for there is no quarrel between you and me.” And when Dajazmâch Baqatu

1 = Makhdura Maryam.
heard that he relented over him and said, "Come! Come! As you have come to me, therefore you and I shall be one." And they who reconciled him were Princess Walatta Sellāsē, Princess Walatta Kedān and Princess Yamserāch, and it was so proclaimed by a herald. And peace and friendship reigned, and he spent the winter in his country. And he came to the Convent of Mary and made a feast for the priests of the Convent, everyone being assembled by a herald from great to small, and they made high festival with eating and drinking. At the same time Baqatu came to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, they meeting at Dembyā, and Dajazmāch Khāylu went with him, and they met with the Negus, and he made friends there and the Negus gave him a robe of a governor as was fitting, and nothing was neglected that made it resemble a deed of friendship, but only there was treachery in his heart; afterwards Dajazmāch Baqatu returned, with Dajazmāch Khāylu, and they arrived at Labat. There he chained Dajazmāch Khāylu, though it was unworthy of him to fetter him; for he was bound by covenant and a strong oath; he chained him treacherously on account of love of a woman called Princess Sanāyt, sister of Dajazmāch Khāylu, who hated him, for she was pursued by him everywhere. As the Bible says in the Book of Psalms, "And my kinsmen persecute and compass me round," but Sanāyt she was not righteous but wicked, as in Hēwān (Eve) there was no life, though that name signifies life, for she bringeth death, and that is misery. Then Dajazmāch Baqatu sent him to his country Lāstā, after he put him in chains, and he kept him bound for seventy days; and after seventy days he released him; and some said that it was after monks of Waldēbbā sent messages to him, and others that (it was) on the death of his wife, he delivered him from chains, for he had chained him unjustly, and innocent of offence. Only God however let him out after seventy days, as he led forth Israel after seventy years, bringing them out of captivity. Then Akada Christos met

1 I.e. Sanāyt (.armāt\) meaning "goodness," and Hawan (Eve) (hār\pāt\) meaning "life," both had names that were belied by the nature of the first, and the work of the second in bringing death into the world.
Dajazmäch Baqatu in the desert, and he made friends there and came to his land of Begameder. He came to Geräreyā, and there he heard news of the death of Princess Sāhelu, and he dwelt in the Convent of Mary for one year and three months, Dajazmäch Baqatu having taken away all his lands and command and decorations, which was an injustice. But Dajazmäch Baqatu continually persecuted him, as the Devil persecuted Adam, for the Devil took Adam first from the Garden and instigated him against God through envy. Then he brought it about that he was not reconciled to God and never returned to Paradise. So Dajazmäch Baqatu first bound him without cause of offence, and afterwards took away all his lands. And in the midst of his persecution he took away his wife Princess Angedet. And he made her his concubine, which all was tyranny that Dajazmäch Khāylu endured. While Dajazmäch Khāylu was at the Convent of Mary Dajazmäch Baqatu died on the 6th of Genbot (begins 8th May). Then Dajazmäch Khāylu issued forth and went to Estē, and at that time the troops of Baqatu came by order of the Negus to search him out, seeking to make an attack upon him; they did not catch him however, for that time he had gone to Nagalā where Princess Sanäyt climbed up the mountain and wanted to kill herself from the top of the mountain. And they brought her down from the mountain and seized her. Then he acted kindly towards her, who knew no tenderness (towards herself), and then returned to Nagalā. Then he heard report to the effect that the Negus had ordered him to be seized. So he turned back quickly; he was not afraid of making war with the Lästä people, but he feared the order of the King, lest there be a charge of rebellion against him; and he went away, leaving his country, and betook himself to Gojam where Rās Khāylu was. He however received him with joy and rejoicing. Then he went to Dajazmäch Adegah with confidence and Dajazmäch Adegah received him with joy, and did him many kindnesses, so he wintered there with Dajazmäch Adegah. After that the Negus was desirous of leaving his tents and going on a raid. And Negus Takla Giyorgis went
on the raid, and Dajazmāch Adeghā came from his territory of Dāmot, and met the Negus and made friends between Dajazmāch Khāylu and the Negus. He went on the expedition with them and came as far as Bēt Hor, and there many enemies rose against him, actions being brought against him for matters that had no existence, but they could not stand up before his face, for everything he said was trustworthy. And Princess Sanāyt rose against him, but she could not stand up before his face. There were assembled many dignitaries and chiefs, and among them Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl, a great chief among chiefs, and Dajazmāch Dorē and Jantserār Birālē, and there were none of the dignitaries that did not come. Then the Negus went on an expedition towards Amharā, and came to Sāko, and there he camped several days. And when he wanted to go to the land of Shāwā¹ his soldiers refused and he turned back sorrowful and depressed. So the Negus returning came to Qurlāf, that is, Wollo. Then the soldiers of the Negus turned sulky, for they were much afraid, for the Pagans of Wollo, that were following, were in great numbers. Then Dajazmāch Khāylu rose and mounted his horse, and seizing two spears charged upon (the enemy), and fought with great valour, till all the soldiers of the Negus pointed him out. But the Negus, till he heard of his prowess, did not fight that day, only if he did not kill many of the troops, it was only that (fact) that saved them from being killed, and from the point (lit. mouth) of his spear. When the Negus found him, even as Saul when he gave his daughter whose name was Melkol (Michal) to David on account of his valour, in like manner he gave his daughter on account of his (Dajazmāch Khāylu's) manhood, and he did this at Bakyā Mēdā. And he added territories to his territories and offices to offices, for the Negus Takla Giyorgis always watched him as he fought. As the Book of Psalms says, “He ploteth evil against the righteous and gnasheth with his teeth upon him, and the Lord shall laugh at him for he foreseeth that his day is coming” (Ps. xxxvii. 12,

¹ Shoa as it is now generally called.
And then he found as David did who raised up Abisa on account of his valour in one day, in like manner he (Negus) promoted him (Khaylu) over his captains.

We will return to the previous matter. And after the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis turned back he took Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl and put him in chains at Bēt Hor, and he found much property, beyond count. He rose from Bēt Hor and went on to Garagarā. He told Dajazmāch Khaylu to leave with Dajazmāch Adegah, but he did not depart from him. And saying that the Negus Takla Giyorgis marched till he came to Arango, and he camped there. Then he sent over to Dajazmāch Khaylu to say, “Go out into the desert. Do not stay in your lands,” because there were some who said he would become reconciled with Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl, though it was impossible that he should be. It was also because this man was father-in-law of the Negus. And there were others who said his sister, Princess Sanāy’t, falsely accused him slanderingly to Dajazmāch Qabatu, by whom he was persecuted when he came back from a raid. He said, “Go, do not stay in your lands,” and when he said, “I am going to my house,” he told him, “Go away and don’t come to your house.” And on that he left Garagarā. There were then no men following him (in his train) for all the soldiers were dispersed by means of a proclamation. Then he sent to the monks of the Convent of Mary saying, “Let me live in the Convent of Mary till you have found out the whole matter, for I have not done anything of what you have heard concerning me.” And the monks went and told the Negus all this, that he had sent in a message to them. And those monks informed him that they would allow him to stay at the Convent of Mary; but he refused saying he would go to Quaratsā. Then he rose and went to Quaratsā and dwelt there ten months; and while he was at Quaratsā men lived with him for a short time; there were not many of them, Abēto Abagāz, Azāj Walda Kēros, Asālāfē Qundi, and with those that were there, they spent the time and took up their abode, and did not part from him for a moment, whether at the
time of eating or of drinking, nor during the night time, did they separate from him; and they all lived there at Quaratsā together, and at work, they spent the time listening to the voice of the books (reading aloud) and conversing with the monks, and the nights they passed in the Church which was a house of prayer, and always said their prayers on behalf of the Negus that there might not be trouble in his time.

In this they resembled Eremeyās the prophet of old, who said, “Pray on account of Nābukadatsar, that in our dwelling may be fasting and tranquillity”\(^1\); then they went to an island that they might receive the blessing of the monks, and might not rouse one day the malediction of the Negus. But he said, “All that trial has proved me that mine is the transgression.” And he performed everything that the Gospel of the Kingdom ordains, “All (your actions),” they said, “making us purified servants.” And then he went out upon the deeps (water) and fished for all kinds of fish. In that he was like Petros and Andreyas and Yohannes and Yāʾekob the disciples: and he prayed always for Walatta Petros, for the monks, the refuge from oppression and oppressors. And what other works did he not perform of the acts (of the Apostles)? And while he was at Quaratsā, no one knew anything of him, of his friends or his relations. And there was no one who said, “Those goods shall be a trouble to you, but God shall not spoil you of aught of the provision for the body.” As the Book of Psalms says, “He hath not let them want aught of what they desired.” It is said that Dajazmāch Khāylu came out from Quaratsā when the Negus Takla Giyorgis started to make war on Dajazmāch Ali and Rās Khāylu. And then he came out from his tents and marched as far as Amadebar and pitched camp there; then he went to Gojam to where Rās Khāylu was, and Rās Khāylu passed over to Begameder and met Bālāmbarās Ali and they two joined; then there were certain men who sent a message saying, “Come over to us, and we will make war on the Negus, for he does not love you or us.” That message was

\(^{1}\) See footnote on p. 278.
worthy of them, for it shows that they were making war unjustly, when he was returning from an expedition. But the other refused and replied, "If you conquer I will go back to my land, and nothing shall stop me, and if the Negus conquers I will go to Waldebbâ. For there is no matter (for dispute) in what he has demanded, for there is nothing I can find against him." And so saying he sent over to them, and then the Negus retired from Gojam, and they came on and found him at Afarwănât. And a battle took place there, the Negus was defeated and fled, and went to Ambasal. On that they summoned Dajazmâch Khâylu and brought him from Quaratsâ, where he was received among them.

Then they came to Gondar, and they made Abeto Iyâsu Negus on the 12th of the month of Yakâtît (begins 7th February) in the 7276 year of the creation of the world (1784 A.D.) the era was the era of Yohannes. And the King of Kings Iyâsu, son of Abeto Atsequ son of the King of Kings Iyâsu, came to the house of his father Iyâsu, and sat upon the royal throne. The Abun and the Echagê arrived with him, and all the generals took the oath to him (lit. bound by covenant with him) in presence of the Abun and Echagê, under pain of excommunication if they betrayed the Negus. Then the King of Kings Iyâsu made changes in the offices. He appointed Kañazmâch Tsadâlu to be Bêtwaddad and Râs Khâylu to be Dajazmâch of Gojam among the Agaw, Bâlambârâs Ali to be Dajazmâch of Begameder, Dajazmâch Walda Gabrê'êl to be freed from his chains and made Dajazmâch of Tigré, and all the generals he appointed to their commands, and all of them went to the provinces of their commands. Then Dajazmâch Khâylu came forth from the land of Semên without tents of the larger sort and without horns or drums and without many troops; it was said he had come from Gondar without drums, tent or soldiers. And there was a man of Semên whose name was Semên Aderu, who when he heard of the death of Abeto Eruçlês retired and went

1 Ar. دکوان a small tent, دکوان a large tent for officers and officials.
out by night from Gondar without Dajazmāch Khāylu knowing that he was making war upon the sons of Dajazmāch TASFU, who were Abēto Gabrē and Abēto Demtsu the father-in-law of Dajazmāch Khāylu; and when Dajazmāch Khāylu heard of this he went out quickly and followed on behind him. And Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl then got away from Gondar and camped at Wagara, and Dajazmāch Khāylu came up and met him at Darā, and from thence sent him on to Lamālamo. He turned back from Lamālamo, marched, and came to Shawāda, and all the men of Shawāda received him, (Bāl)āmbāras Afsaqu, Abēto Awkendyos of Semēn, Agafārē Betsu' Be'ese, and from Shawāda marched to Danqolako. There Abēto Gabrē and Abēto Demtsu came to meet him, but Semēn Tesfu fled and was dismissed to another country, that was called Ṭērāwātā. Then Dajazmāch Khāylu left for Jān Amorrā, and camped at Rebu'e Gabayā. Abēto Gabrē and Abēto Demtsu camped at Bateqā his camp. And then came men of Semēn and men of Tsalamt all of them, and they brought presents and settled there. * * A story is that a war broke out and there was one man named Walda Sellāsē of Sāhelā, and the name of his brother was Khāylu. But there were rebels whose crimes we mentioned before, men who would not hand over the tribute that was due on their lands, and did not serve the chiefs appointed by the Negus. And when they heard of the coming of Dajazmāch Khāylu without a large body of troops, and when they saw the fewness of his soldiers, these rebels said to one another, "Why should we serve and give up tribute to a Dajazmāch like that, who has no soldiers, and no drums, and no men, and no horses, and they remembered not, rebels and rascals as they were, what the Book says, "The Lord delivereth not by many or by few soldiers" (Ps. xxxiii. 16) neither were they mindful of what David said, "Their strength is the Lord for those that fear Him, and those who call upon His name," and in another aspect of ground where he said he did not require strength in horsemen, and the Lord delights not in the legs of men but
delights in him that fears Him (Ps. cxlvii. 10). And when only a few came, he knew that they were full of pride and wickedness (coming as they did) with many soldiers and big guns\(^1\) and they were received by Dajazmāch Khāylu, and when they were received they did not give him presents as were his due, they came before with great arrogance and self-importance, and camped with Abēto Gabrē, for they were in a plot. The next day Dajazmāch Khāylu invited them, plotting rebellion with Abēto Gabrē: and they came and entered the tent. And when Dajazmāch Khāylu wanted to talk to them in words of peace and friendship, Walda Sellāsē went out of the tent, for he knew the plot, and went to his own camp. Now it would have been better for him (Dajazmāch Khāylu) to have assembled his troops and seized that rebel to his country than be chained hand and foot; it would have been better to have gone into the compound of that traitor before he could fight, than be chained up with his people. It had been better if that man of blood and craft had been cherished by Dajazmāch Khāylu than that he (the latter) should be bound by chains of iron with his followers. We will go back to what we were saying before. At the time he (Khāylu) sent over to him saying, “What were you about, and how did you manage to slip out of the tent and go away suddenly without our noticing it or seeing?” And when Walda Sellāsē returned, they were drawn up with a strong force of soldiers and armed weapons: then he came over to where Dajazmāch Khāylu was, and while they conversed Dajazmāch Khāylu saw his arrogance and that he had been betrayed. Then the heart of Dajazmāch Khāylu was enraged, and he said, “Seize that mad dog.” On that one of his warriors from the fighters of his house named Yashālaqā Aderu of Afarāwānāt fell upon him (Walda Sellāsē) like a young lion upon a bullock. And he seized him and rolled him on the ground and Aderu was like a father seizing his son. Then there was a great battle, and the men of Semēn were stronger, and they surrounded the tent like the

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\(^1\) \(\text{አማርኛ}: \text{አማርኛ} = \text{big guns, cannon.} \)}
sea encompasses an island and rushed into the tent, and there were many soldiers of the house of Dajazmách Kháylu. Then Dajazmách Kháylu rose up and ran out in haste from the tent, taking a spear, and when those that were at the entrance of the tent saw him, they scattered hither and thither; whereat he got hold of a horse from one of the followers, his own horse not being there, mounted it, galloped up the mountain, and charged down upon them like hail or like a thunderbolt; then he was like David his ancestor, as the Book of Kings says, "When the people came, he ascended up the side of Qalawmánoś" (Keilah, 1 Sam. xxiii. 5), and he fell upon them, as he did (upon the Philistines). Then he resembled 'Amda Tséyón his ancestor, as the book of the history of 'Amda Tséyón says, he mounted his horse, and God sent his spirit on him, and like him he seized his spear, and God gave him His help, and all the soldiers were scattered in battle. And they were as if they did not exist, for there were left but few troops of his camp that returned to it. Then the soldiers of his house did valiantly, and one among them Lagáś Sayfu, a great man, who had no equal, not once did he draw back his spear without the blood of a disarmed warrior; he fought like a hero and slaughtered that day, and there were many who fought like heroes and killed that day and took prisoners. And of the mighty men who perished Sáhélú, son of Wayzero Teweras, and Agáfaré Walda Johannes and Asáláfé Walda Dengel and Asáláfé Sáhélú, Abagáž Darso Ayechaw and Shálaqá Darsís, and those who were wounded by gunshots were Abětō Walda Nēr, Azzāj Yared, Asáláfé Siewadu Ashkar, his son. And there was no one that did not fight valiantly that day. Abětō Abagáž had his teeth broken. And when Dajazmách Kháylu came to the camp of Abětō Gabrē, while he was pursuing the army that was in flight, his strength was in force, but his horse had tired that he was riding. Then he said, "Give me a horse," and one of his warriors named Abětō Saifu, son of Abětō Lagās, dismounted from his horse and gave it to him, and again he resembled 'Amda Tséyón, the Negus his ancestor. As the book
(called) the history of 'Amda Tsēyon the Negus, a great army of soldiers fell upon him, and they said to him, "Look! An army is upon us, come on quick." And 'Amda Tsēyon the Negus said to them, "Are you running to me, and quitting the battle charge? And why do you call to me, when you are sending me into the battle?" and saying that he sallied forth. And he put to flight the infidels, and they were broken. And just so Dajazmāch Khāylu said to his soldiers that followed him, "Do I not go in front of you, and how should you go in front of me?" And on that those behind him hesitated in fear, and that hesitation was natural in them, for there was a rain of bullets like hail in front and behind, and he led them by a distance of twenty paces. Then he hurled his spear, and the army scattered like dust before the face of the wind, and they melted like wax before the face of fire. Then there were some that threw away their weapons and their guns, and there were others became trophies1 through the thunder of his horse and terror of his looks. But Walda Sellāsē was taken that hour, and Walda Sellāsē would have preferred to part with his hand than part with gold and silver.

Then there was a great victory2, and many were made prisoners, and the followers of Walda Sellāsē were captured. For the strength of the Lord was the help of Dajazmāch Khāylu on account of his goodness and clemency of heart. As the Bible says, "God sees the face of a man, God sees his heart" (1 Sam. xvi. 7), and again, the Book of Psalms says, "God trieth the heart and reins" (Ps. vii. 9). He truly helped Dajazmāch Khāylu on that day, for all his friends blessed him, saying, "In the evil day God will deliver him and give him power, oh my lord and friend, from all who will betray thee, and thou who knowest not treachery may God deliver thee, to Him be praise, from the hand of thy enemy. They did not spare thee for they pierced the shield that was in thy hand and God has delivered thy people from the hand of the enemy, while they dwelt about thee. Oh they oppressed thee ever in vain, yet

1 I.e. had to submit to mutilation. This revolting custom, described in the text as "laying down trophies before the King," etc., is still continued in Abyssinia.

2 ይፋ ያወን ያቋ ብስራይ, ወስራይ.
thou didst not oppress in aught any created thing. The lord made manifest upon thee the power of His help this day, in accordance with His mercy. Oh they that raised thee to the first place above all warriors and captains of the earth, in the days of manhood, and the time of good counsel, God hath revealed upon thee His power before His enemies, so that He might make it manifest. Oh they hated thee for thy great power and on account of thy many lands, and not on account of any other deed of thine, as the Jews said to our Lord Jesus, "It is not for any other of thy deeds we cast thee forth, but for thy blasphemy." I saw thy prowess on that day, standing afar off from the road. And not I alone saw but there were many witnesses; there were enemies of thy lands as there were enemies of our Lord Jesus, and they led him to death on account of his raising of the dead from the dust, and healing of the sick man in his bed.

There is no one who will not be astonished and wonder at his prowess on that day, for great was the power thou wroughtest in their halls at Jan Amorra, on those troops that were in Semën, even as Samson wrought in the land of Ilifelé, the land of trial. Oh how thy strength was thy enemy, as Samson's strength was to him, when he killed himself. It had been better for thee to have relinquished thy prowess than that the whole world should have hated thee; oh everyone thou knewest, were shown as liars. And I quitting every other path followed the track of thy affection, that I might prove thee. As the Bible says, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." Oh the man that knew thee was a man that would not be separated from thee, whether in times of joy or of sorrow, and would not abandon thee; as Paul said, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall famine or thirst or distress?" (Rom. viii. 35). Thou wroughtest wonders in Semën such as no other prince has wrought.

Now we will return to the beginning of the story. And on that Dajazmäch Khāylu said to Abēto Gabrē and Abēto Demtsu, "Collect your soldiers that have scattered, and carry away your dead that have fallen, and go to your lands." This.

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1 Hilifelé = ለልፈል።
what he said, was not in enmity or anger, but in friendship and peace. But they were afraid and did not leave their camps. They marched in haste to their land and crossed it to Mashaha the same day. And that day Samën Aderu came and said to Dajazmách Khäylu, “Let us attack them now and not leave one of them (alive).” And Dajazmách Khäylu replied, “Avaunt! This would be a disgrace to me, let not evil be done to my kinsman.” And when Samën Aderu saw that his advice would not do, he went and returned to his country. And on the same day Dajazmách Wasan, son of Princess Waleta Tséyon, came with many troops and met him returning. And Dajazmách Khäylu stayed eight days at Rebu’e Gabayä, and then he left and came so far as Wagarä from there and camped at Shawádá. And there he received all the tribute, and then he left and came to Wagarä, and from Wagarä he went to Gondar, and there he joined the King of Kings Íyäsù, and handed over all the tribute that the chiefs of Semën had given him to the Negus, and he made great friends with the King of Kings Íyäsù; and he spent the winter at Gondar, going out and coming in in company with the King of Kings Íyäsù, eating and drinking. They sallied forth to hunt wild animals and went out on the road together, and in such work as this he wintered at Gondar. ** Story of how he went out from Gondar. He heard the report that gave out that Rās Khäylu had told the Generals that were in Gondar to seize Dajazmách Khäylu, and abolish his office, because he had joined his enemies. But they were ashamed to seize thee because of two reasons, partly because they were on friendly terms with thee and partly because if they were not friends they were afraid of thee, and because they were ashamed to seize thee. And when he came to know of all this rumour he left Gondar, for he feared not the Generals themselves except at Gondar, and there would be no question of laying hands on him except by those who feared a quarrel with Rās Khäylu, for he was of a powerful tribe. That message Rās Khäylu sent to say, “Seize him,” was not in enmity (personal hostility) but on account of what they had told him, viz. that he had associated
with (his enemy) Dajazmach Wasan. But the King of Kings Iyäsu stood out against him and said, “I know he has done nothing of what they tell me.” And he would not have him seized on account of that matter for he was an honourable and upright King. But the other, Dajazmach Khäylu, when he heard of all this, went off to his country Begameder having been given permission by the King of Kings Iyäsu, on the pretext of having powers to make a raid with Dajazmach Ali. And thereupon he went to his country Begameder. And at that time Dajazmach Gadelu went on a raid, and Dajazmach Khäylu received him at Amad Bar with food and drink. While things were thus at Begameder he sent to Dajazmach Ali to say, “Guard the land which lies below Chachaho,” and afterwards he sent over to him telling him to come over to him. Thereupon he started to go, and on the march his kinsmen Abêto Khäylu and Abêto Susenyos fought, and Abêto Khäylu was killed, and Dajazmach Khäylu was grieved and wept, and then marched to Dajazmach Ali, and met him at Dâwent and stayed there guarding the land of Dâwent with the troops of Dajazmach Ali. And Dajazmach Ali went to Yaju, and having finished off all that he intended returned to Dâwent and joined Dajazmach Khäylu, and afterwards Dajazmach Khäylu returned from his expedition, taking his leave and making peace (or compact), and went over to his land Begameder, taking what had been prepared in provisions of food and drink. For he said, “I will give thee the daughter of my brother whose name is Abêto Ymar.” And when he had made preparation thus, he sent over to him saying, “Do not stay in your land, but go where you like, for Râs Khäylu told me not to give the daughter of my brother. Trust me, and thou conceal her, and do not say, I have forsworn my oath. I therefore will not quarrel with Râs Khäylu, for I have already taken an oath, and I will not forswear my oath.” And saying thus he sent over to him to say, “Do not stay in your land, but go where you like.” That matter of the oath may be viewed as the oath of Herodes, as is related in the
Gospel of Matëwos (Matthew), and Herodes grieved over his oath and over those who were sitting with him at table. And after this he went to the Convent of Mary while they were giving food to the needy and starving of the priests and monks, all that had been prepared for the nuptial ceremony, and after this he dwelt at the Convent of Mary, alone without his soldiers, grieving and sorrowing over that tyranny, for that was great tyranny (act of oppression), such that had never been before, and will never be hereafter. Now! we have brought things to this point, and we have related the story of his prowess and the oppression that fell upon him, according as we were able. Since all men will say, "I will relate everything that Dajazmäch Khäylu did and what trials happened to him." It is not possible to relate them fully, for they were many as the sands of the sea and the stars of heaven. Only I raise the tongue of my mouth for Dajazmäch Khäylu, and it has worked on account of the love that no man or lord else has shown except him. I have related somewhat and have given account of the fathers of my lord and friend Dajazmäch Khäylu, a high and mighty man, may God help me who helped him, in his mercy and compassion and his great exaltedness, for ever and ever, Amen.

HISTORY CONTINUED BY ABAGAZ SA'UNA

In the 7344 (1852) year of Creation of the world, beginning of Maskaram, and (year of) John the Evangelist, the Thursday when Epact of the moon was 9 and Matq'e¹ 21. On the 7th Genbot (2nd April) this book, which was a history from the time it was begun on the 16th of Yakätit (month begins

¹ Matq'e is the New Moon falling six months before the Paschal New Moon. The Abyssinian Chronographers adopted the theory of the Jewish Calendar by which the sixth month before Nisan is always Tishri; Matq'e therefore, which signifies Trumpet in Ge'ez, is Tishri 1, the Feast of Trumpets, the Jewish New Year. Vide Appendix: Abyssinian Chronography and Chronology.
7th February), was finished. And the writing was done while Dajazmâch Goshu¹, the high and renowned, was at Dâmot, wise
and learned, who dwelt all his youth with the Secret Word, and
whose name reached from one end of the earth to the other
and from sea to sea. And he dwelt there when he was invested
with the office of Dajazmâch of Dâmot in the Jubilee² of his
judgeship.

And on the 1st of Maskaram and on Friday which is the
harbinger of the year (lit. head herald of the year) Dajazmâch
Khâyîlu went down to the river that they call Matarây, that he
might be bathed in the water of Jordan that Abbâ Walda
Christos Nadây sent to him, on the arrival of the Patriarch
Yosâb the elect, high and great, which he kept (the water)
to this day, the great day of the consecration of the Convent
of Mary, a goodly sight, that no edifice equals. And then
Dajazmâch Khâyîlu was bathed in it, the well-beloved and
chosen one of God, begging forgiveness even as Job, was
bathed, a great and good remembrance. And he was cured
by it of his sickness. And on that day I too stood with him,
and was bathed like him in that water of Jordan. But this
book which is a history that contains many stories contains no
lies in the narration. I wrote it I Abagâz Sa'una, the narrator, 511
and the matter (is) of my country, the land of Shawa, a remote
land where I was born of the noble ones (chiefs) of the district.
And to-day, in it, I working at it put "Finis," and God who
judgeth the living and the dead knoweth how I have added
nothing but have related only a portion (little of what I have
heard), and have brought it to this point. And after that while
Dajazmâch Khâyîlu was in the Convent of Mary he considered
in his mind (heart) on his expulsion from his land, and pondered
on many counsels, and on his many sorrows, how he should
retire to Wâldebbâ to receive a blessing and consolation from
the monks of Wâldebbâ. And then he rose from there in the

¹ According to G. Sapeto (a contemporary in Abyssinia) Goshu's province was Dambaya.
He was killed at the battle of Gur-Ambâ against Kâssâ (K. Theodore) 13th November 1852
at the age of nearly 80. (Etiopia, p. 310.) The Secret Word may refer to some book not
known to the common people.

² E. = E. (?) Dillmann, Lex.
month of Teqemt, and the epoch was the epoch of Márkos, and stayed at Tembâhôch. And those that followed him were a few men, viz. Abêto Angedâ and Abêto Atsequ of Afarawânât. And Shâlaqâ Tsâmâyé and Asalâfê Maqas and other retainers clamoured to follow him: when he started on his journey in the month of Easter many would have followed him, and then his going had not been exile. Many soldiers would have followed him for Dajazmâch Khâylu was a great lord and a great commander the like of which no leaders or commanders are. And from Tembâhôch he started out and stayed at Sârbâkusâ, and from thence he started forth and stayed at Ensosâ. The stoutness of heart of Dajazmâch Khâylu was wonderful, for he crossed (the country) alone in the midst of enemies. When Bâlâmbârâs Ramkhâ was at Gondar and Losâ his son was on the road that he was marching, passing through their midst, the stout heart of Dajazmâch Khâylu quailed not at all at the multitude of their soldiers, a hundred difficulties, and a hundred strange things. No one could have done what he did, or have thought in his mind of deeds like that. O my Lord Dajazmâch Khâylu. Nay! from the day thou wast born thou hast not feared the threats of thy enemies. And oh what a heart thou didst keep that said not, "My enemies will find me and seize me." O my Lord Dajazmâch Khâylu I grieve for thy having to go without provisions and without many troops; thy departure indeed was like to the going of David towards Gêt. For David when he warred upon Saul the Benjamite, King of Israel, went over to Abimelek the priest of the Testament, and declared to him that he was famished and that he had no victuals, nor arms that he could take. Like him Dajazmâch Khâylu marched towards Wâldebbâ without victuals and weapons of war according to the customs of the Chiefs. And the exile of Dajazmâch Khâylu was like to the expulsion of Jesus Christ, for as Christ was cast forth and hidden from the face of Herodes, so he Dajazmâch Khâylu was driven forth and hid from his enemies who warred against him in vain.
We will now go back to the previous matter. And from Ensesā he started forth and halted at the Lake Dēb, and from there he went out and halted at Saquar which is the head of Wäldebbā, and thence he went and halted at Aytsayaf. And he was met there by Abba Na'aquito La'ab and other monks, his friends, and thence he went and came to Wāshā, a place of his fathers that he loved, and had longed for from his childhood. O my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, I give thanks to God that he brought thee to Waldebbā the place of saints, and vouchsafed that thou didst reap blessings from it. And after this he was received among his fathers, the monks, who were Abba Asrat and Abba Sartsa Aragāwi and Abba Ma'aaza and other great monks that dwelt in Wäldebbā. And from thence he started and descended to Abrantuanti, and was blessed by all those holy men in the 8th of the month of Hedar, which was the feast of Ensesā and the feast of the monks of Waldebbā. And then he was received by all the monks who were Abba Johannes and Manā a confessor and Abba Walda Takle a confessor and Abba Marqorēwos and Abba Tsēwā, and with all the monks that dwelt in its light, and he was blessed by them. And when the monks his fathers saw him they were overjoyed at the sight of his countenance, for he was their friend and son of their friend Dajazmach Eshate. And there were those that mourned over his trials, for his trials were great, and there were others of the monks his friends who wept, saying, “They have condemned you to this, oh son of Dajazmāch Eshatē,” and he was exiled from his country; and that shedding of tears was not wrong, for the Bible says, “They wept with those that weep and rejoiced with those that rejoice.” And the Gospel says, “The Lord Jesus groaned in spirit and raised Lazarus from the grave.” Like him those monks his fathers wept over his exile, and solaced him for the grief of his heart with their tears. O my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, thou wert exiled undeservedly. For they found no crime in thee, but only gentleness and goodness. Thy exile was through persecution without evil (done). For the Bible says, “Blessed
are they that suffer persecution for justice's sake for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven." O my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, I indeed prefer thy persecution, for the Bible says, "It is more fitting that men should persecute thee than thou should persecute men." For persecution does not remain upon one. But he Dajazmāch Khāylu rejoiced in that he found himself among the monks who were at Waldebbā, for all of them desired to receive thee amongst themselves, and comfort thee with their prayers. For the Bible says, "The Prayer of the righteous is a plant and a power, a consolation in sorrow of heart." And all watched to see how he would look upon the rules of Waldebbā. And after that he returned from Abran Tantē with the monks. And he entered Wāshā, and they who worked in the light bid adieu to him in joy and peace. And they said to him, "May God watch over thee in all thy days, nor withdraw from thee." And then they said, "O son of Dajazmāch Eshatē, may the God of Israel be with thee, even as he was with Moses in the land of Egypt and Iyāsu (Joshua) with the Philēste'īm." And they who were in Wāshā received him as a guest is received or a son, and there were some among them who brought to him food and drink, and others who comforted him with their prayers. For the Bible says, "Comfort the sorrowful to the best of thy power." And all those men were a help in his gloom with food and drink. And Abēto Habta Wasan did him many services, because he had before been shown kindness by him, and had brought him away from the lake, where he was in chains. When there was a fire in the land of Awazā, he took him joyfully, and rendered him kindness, for that was an act of kindness at his hands. Of a truth kindness followed Dajazmāch Khāylu on his march. As Paul says in his Epistle to Timotewos, "A man's good and evil deeds follow after him" (1 Tim. v. 24, 25). And even in that manner while he was at Waldebbā he suffered, and was sick of a grievous illness, and his illness was separation from the holy men. And then all the monks of Waldebbā mourned on account of that suffering, for it was a great trial. But he did
not take hardly that suffering, though it was a grievous one, for he knew the words of the Bible, "If they do not chastise you are bastards" (Hebrews xii. 8). And then what it says, "Whom he loveth the Lord chastiseth," and verily the Lord chastised Dajazmāch Khāylu in his exile as he chastised his beloved David and in the sickness of Isāyās his servant. And there was no man who was not grieved at his suffering, if he was his friend, and even if he was an enemy. O my Lord, thy sufferings became the sufferings of all who loved thee. For the Bible says, "Every member (of the body) suffers if one member suffers," and all were made companions in thy suffering; O my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, thy trial was the trial of everyone. For those that loved thee were sharers (partners) in thy trial even as the Apostles shared in the sufferings of their Lord and their beloved Jesus Christ. And after that he little by little grew better, and was cured of his illness. And all the monks of Waldebbā said to him, "Rise up and depart, for there is nothing that ails thee," and then he rose, understanding their words. And he completed his journey towards Aytsayaf, and as he was descending a declivity in that country he suffered a grievous pain, and called to God in his great affliction, and he said, "Behold my affliction and my trial," even as David his father said, "Behold my suffering and my affliction, and forgive me all my sins. And behold how many are my enemies; they hate me with a wicked hatred. Help me and deliver me. Let them not shame me, O Lord, for I put my trust in thee." And again he said, "Behold, O Lord, my pain as thou beheldst the pains of Hezeqeyās," and even as that his trials became severer and torments came upon him at Saquār. And when Alaqa Abagāz his friend heard of the sufferings of Dajazmāch Khāylu and his trials, he descended to Waldebbā, with no one to show him the road; but he loved that trouble, and he found him when making the descent of Saquār. And Dajazmāch Khāylu said to him, "Why didst thou come to me?" and that is what he

1 Ps. xxi.
said, because he loved him even as himself. And there Dajazmâch Khâylu stayed. And the next day he departed from Saquar with all the monks of the land of Waldebbâ. And when he arrived at Zarimâ a monk came whose name was Abbâ Gabra Le'ul, who had been sent by Râs Khâylu with his attendant, and brought word from Râs Khâylu to sympathise with him over his sufferings, and on that day he halted hard by the Lake Debb and the next day at Lake Debb. And from thence he departed and halted at Ensësâ, and there he kept the feast of the Epiphany. Then he started and came to Gondar with all the monks of Waldebbâ. And he came to the house of the Echagê, and then he sent all the monks over to Râs Khâylu for the cause of his exile lay with Râs Khâylu; and the monks went to Gojam and came to Râs Khâylu and recounted to him all the sufferings of Dajazmâch Khâylu, and they said to him, “Have mercy on us, for he is thy brother,” and then they said, “He has no kinsman but thee and thou hast no kinsman but him.” And then when Râs Khâylu heard that his heart softened, and he said, “Let it be as you tell me and everything you tell me that I will do,” and Bâlâmâbâras Ramkhâ said the same. And in accordance with that act they reconciled him with those two Râs Khâylu and Bâlâmâbâras Ramkhâ with an oath under pain of excommunication, and they said to the monks “Since there is reconciliation from the heart, send over to Râs 'Ali and say to him—Have mercy on us and let him come to his country—” and they answered “Aye, we will do all that you bid us.” O my Lord Dajazmâch Khâylu, what persecution did not come upon thee and what trials didst thou not see; but Râs Khâylu warred against thee in vain and Bâlâmâbâras Ramkhâ and other chiefs when they warred against thee for the sake of thy territories, but they warred in vain. Then the monks turned back and came to Gondar, and they related to him all that Râs Khâylu had said to them and
Bālambārās Ramkhā, and from the house of the Echagē they went to the house of the Abuna Yosāb, and while there he then sent the monks of Waldebbā to Rās ‘Ali to make friends with him, and they went off. And they reconciled him with Rās ‘Ali and Rās ‘Ali said, “Let him come back to his lands, for there is no enmity in me but on account of Rās Khāylu.” Then the monks entered Gondar and related to him all that Rās ‘Ali had said. Thereupon he rose from Gondar and went back to his territory Begameder. And when he arrived at Gerāiyā his country and came to his house, those established in his land refused to let him come into his house and land. Just so the blind and lame prevented his father David from coming into Tseyon the city of his fathers, so like them, they prevented him from coming into his house and land. And then he departed from Gerāiyā to Garagarā, and he was received by Rās ‘Ali and he made friends with him heartily and gave up all his lands to him. And he turned out those who were established in his land. Then he turned back from Garagarā and came to them. And after all that had passed Rās ‘Ali gave him the sister of his brother Abēto Yemar, whose name was Princess Anqualit, who was chosen out of all the daughters of his kinsman Guangul, that she might be his wife. And Dajazmāch Khāylu accepted her with joy and peace, and brought her to the land of Nagala. And after that war broke out between Rās ‘Ali and Rās Khāylu. But what remains of this matter belongs to the history of Rās ‘Ali and Negusa Nagast Takla Giyorgis.

In the name of God in the beginning that has no beginning and no end, that was before all things, and will be after all things, may his assistance be with his beloved Sāhela Iyasus. Amen. And as to what has been said about him except for me, there is no one who has set down what he did, and again it shall be repeated fully what the man did, and it shall be finished by the

1 2 Sam. v. 8, and 1 Chr. xi. 5.
help of God. Amen. Behold we will commence to write a pleasant account of him, which will be a history of a new Constantinos, Rās 'Ali, chief of the commanders and leaders, who was after the likeness of the 1st Constantinos King of Kings of Constant-tenya. And the likeness of God is an exalted likeness, as the Bible says; and we will follow the perfect leader, that is to say we compare his sayings and society to Paul the Apostle. And his likeness to Constantinos that we spoke of, is because he was first a pagan, and afterwards became a Christian, and walked in the way of the Lord. And he was one fearing God, and first was a pagan and afterwards a Christian, and walked in the true Faith and in spiritual works. And he went not outside the Canons of our fathers the Kings, at moments when he dealt out life or dealt out death. As the Bible says, "The just man is not put to death, and the sinner is not given life." And the likeness of God which we spoke of is because God is merciful and compassionate. As it is said in the Bible, "And as a father has compassion on his son, so does God have compassion on those that fear him" (Ps. xxxiii. 11, 18). And he Rās 'Ali, chief of the mighty ones, is merciful and divines everything so that he heard and understood. As the Bible says, "Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy." And then it says, "For if ye forgive trespasses against you, your father who is in heaven will forgive your trespasses." Of a truth he is one who relinquishes revenge and knows not lying once with his word. And the companionship of Pawlos that we said because as Pawlos made all the people believe him and brought the Faith of Christ to the ends of the earth so like him Rās 'Ali made many people trust him, and he taught the law of the Faith and built Churches in his territories. Truly Rās 'Ali was a steadfast apostle conqueror of the mighty ones and stout Christian, that a flattered not in the Faith. Truly an Israelite was Rās 'Ali that had no guile in his heart, full of wisdom; and many are the Churches that were built by his hand. And the people who believed (embraced the faith) and were baptized were hundreds

1 To hear was to understand. Cp. Ar. to hear is to obey.
of thousands, it would be impossible to number them. Truly Ras 'Ali was a son of Abrahaam the Kaldawi of the true Faith to whom God said, "I will raise thee up the father of many people," for as Abraham left his father Tara and followed the Lord, so he left the laws of his father Guangul, Chief of the Galla, and followed the Lord and loved him heartily, and he will know him for all eternity. Furthermore we will write the account of the return of King of Kings Takla Giyorgis to his kingdom and his reconciliation with Ras 'Ali, chief of the mighty ones. Afterwards troubles arose, through many provocations as all troubles do, and war broke out between Ras 'Ali and Ras Khaylu, for it is the habit of men to make friends and fall out (lit. love and make war). And then Ras 'Ali made friends, being a lover of peace, with the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, who had been driven out from his kingdom, and they brought him back from the country of Basal. And his exile from the time he was dethroned (expelled) was two years and seven months. He received him with great humility and much sorrow. And on the 4th Maskaram he came to the house of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis who had been expelled from his kingdom and went and remained there for three days. Afterwards he went to Garagarā, and that day Rās Khāylu received the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis with lowly heart and great humility. As the Bible says, "Blessed are the poor in spirit for they shall inherit the kingdom of heaven." And he gave to Dajazmāch Khāylu, the great commander, the daughter of his brother Abēto Damar whose name was Princess Anqualit. And the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis stayed many days with Rās 'Ali, chief of the generals in peace and friendship. And there King 515<b> of Kings Takla Giyorgis of the revered name said to Rās 'Ali, "Set free Dajazmāch Adegah and Dajazmāch Gualej for on my account are they chained." And he replied, "Yea, I will do as you command me." And then he set free Dajazmāch Adegah and Dajazmāch Gualej, and brought them to Garagarā, and from Garagarā he sent him to the land of Amhara under an oath and pain of excommunication to set free Dajazmāch Darē, who
was chained in his territory and in his house. And he brought Dajazmäch Darso, and at Garagarä he made great parade such as other generals had not made for the queens, and he gave up his house, that (was furnished) within with many carpets, did him great honour in reverence, and he rejoiced him greatly with all kinds of acts. Biralé, however, was like to Esau that sold his birthright and lost a blessing, for Rās ʿAli did not arrive at happiness till the summit of his power; he was like Yaʿekob who took the blessing of Esau and his birthright. Again Jantserār Biralé resembled the traveller (stranger) that was going towards the sea, and the waves overwhelmed him when he came to the shore and all his goods were lost, like him. He, when he came to the end, betrayed the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. And then when he was dwelling at Garagarä he commanded Dajazmäch Khaylu and Abagāz Abuna and Abēto Lenchā, Mehur Tṣabē the son of Rās Goshu, Abagāz Negusē of Begameder, Azmāch Gulmāsē, Barentu Aligāz and the sons of Abbā Bonā Galmo, and all their soldiers that were below Chachaho to surround Qomā. And they surrounded for two months that place. That day he heard of the death of Garazmäch Adamē his brother whom he loved. And he was grieved greatly on account of him, his death occurring at Sarweha. And while King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was at Garagarä the high commanders came over to him, viz. Dajazmäch Ikonyān, Dajazmách Yassellāsē Bāryā, Dajazmäch Iyāsu, Bālāmbārās Adego Ligābā Mechā, Azāj Kabtē, Gerazmāch Walda Abib and all their soldiers of the Negus came to him with rejoicing, and he gave them a camping ground to each one to please them. But Negus Iyāsu departed from Gondar and withdrew to Gojam. And then there was an expedition, and on the 2nd Hedār the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and the chief of the generals Rās ʿAli marched out from thence and halted at Chat Weha. And from Weha they halted at Awrājet and from thence they marched forth and halted at Afarēnmañ. And from there they halted at Zurambā, and they were received by the priests of Zurambā with much chanting. And King of Kings Takla
Giyorgis remained there seven days in prayer, for he understood what Paul had said, "I beseech thee before all things to offer up prayer." And from Zurambā they departed and halted at Walalā lake, and from there they halted at Mekrā, and from Mekrā they halted at Yashā, and then the King of Kings Takla Gyorgis commanded them to lay waste the land of Abēto Goh and destroy his house, and they laid waste everything that there was; and on the same day Rās 'Ali sent counsel of prudence to his brother the Shum of Wāg, Aligāz, as Dajazmāch Khāylyu had a strong fortress and a position that could not be shaken, and Bāḷāṃbārās Sādiq and Maqēt Azmāch Walda Mikā’el and Nagdārās Jalē he sent towards Nadābēt that Bāḷāṃbārās Ramkhā might not find out the place of their exit. And when he was at Yashā he sent a man of his army over to Qoma and left him at Qoma for Bāḷāṃbārās Ramkhā, for he issued forth by night and withdrew, so that there should be no sight of him. Then he gave orders to destroy Bar Adagē and burn it with fire. And he wiped out everything that was there. But Rās 'Ali was like Iyāsu (Joshua) the leader of Israel, and Zurambā was like Jericho at the sounding of the trumpet. Like him he destroyed the rebels of the land of Laqo. And from thence they departed and arrived at Qomā, and commanded them to destroy everything that was at Qomā, men and animals and crops and all habitations, and Qomā was as though it had not been, and it was like to the walls of Sena’or that fools and mad men built. As the Bible says, “As the servants built so was their chastisement.” And their tongues failed upon them, and they were all terrified who saw them, and all men were afraid like him. But Qomā was the building of the children, and there was no profit in their building and they ordered that no one was to enter the Church of the Pious Fasilādas. They saved all those who had taken refuge in it, and at Qomā, the King of Kings Takla Gyorgis decorated Rās ‘Ali conqueror of his enemies. On the 4th Tākhšās Rās ‘Ali went to Limon, and he surrounded it with a large force, and Limon was destroyed and all the great men were vanquished who were inside. And all the labour of
Bālāmbārūs Ramkhā was in vain. As Solomon said, “All is vanity, vanity in this world that passeth away.” He was taken at that time, and he came terrified before the awful Rās 'Ali, trembling in every limb (lit. in the whole of him). And Ramkhā died by the hand of Rās 'Ali and was like Agag the King of the Amaleq, who said, “Is death bitter as this?” And the land of Qomā became as a desert, as the Bible says, “Their lands shall be as a desert.” There was no one who dwelt in their houses. And the high Rās 'Ali was like Samuel the Prophet, the Highness that slew Agag with his own hand. And again Bālāmbārūs Ramkhā was like him whose strength was in vain against the Philistinawi (Philistine) for he despised the soldiers of the Negus and vilified Rās 'Ali and Dajazmāch Khāylu, but his abuse was of no avail, but for his destruction and bringing him unto death. And the same day Dajazmāch Khāylu accomplished great exploits that it would be difficult to relate, he who marched in front at the strongholds and their destruction, and whose custom ever was to go first and leave those behind, and he knew not from his youth one day when he was afraid, and thereafter all knew his bravery. To-day saw Rās 'Ali the chief of the braves, but to Ramkhā came what is spoken of by the Prophet, “For this God shall crush thee for ever and uproot thee and pluck thee out of thy dwelling place and root thee out of the land of the living” (Ps. lii. 5). Then Rās 'Ali sent over to King of Kings Takla Giyorgis the head of Bālāmbārūs Ramkhā. And the Negus saw it and wondered and marvelled, and he sent the head over to Gondar, and it was impaled at Adābābāy; Rās 'Ali stayed at Limon two days, and gave orders for the destruction of Limon, a place of wickedness, and he demolished all the walls. Then Rās 'Ali rose and arrived at Mēchā, while the Negus Takla Giyorgis started from Qomā and came to Mēchā: so they met there. And from Mēchā he departed and stayed at 'Este, and there Dajazmāch Khāylu laid the trophies before the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and recounted his wonderful bravery, that all the world saw; that is the wont of a warrior. And Takla the brother of Rās 'Ali said, “I am he who is his
right hand that fails not, I am he who is his son of whom it is not said that he betrays him, since he knows not guile. Truly a good brave man, without stain, and will not be put to shame by any man who comes before him. When he meets his Lord and stands up before his Lord he will not be put to the blush as he stands up. When they lay him in the grave in the end, there will be a great following, and his great family will not fail him.” And after that Dajazmāch Khāylu brought them near to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, and in honour of Rās ‘Ali they drank wine and ate bread, mutton and beef, and this clinched the business. And then the Herald announced to him about the Church which he had built. And from ‘Estē he departed and halted at Tenjanā, and from Tenjanā he started and halted at Aringo, and from Aringo the priests from the Convent of Our Lady Mary received the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis with wonderful chants, and he stayed there two days, and thence he started and halted at Erb, and the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis starting thence stayed at Yefug Sellāsē. And the high Gift, Rās ‘Ali, marched so that he could meet Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl, a learned friend, and he received him with great joy and festivity. And Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl came with great reverence and met the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, and there was great rejoicing and festival at the arrival of Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl the chief of the wise men. And he came to the tent of Rās ‘Ali who was his friend, and he went with him as far as Gojam. A report arose that was not contradicted by the word of Rās ‘Ali that he gave him food with the soldiers. But he (Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl) invited Rās ‘Ali to his tent, and gave him food with his soldiers. On the same day he gave him many articles, such as guns and beds and other things. But the coming of Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl was accompanied with many wonderful articles, terrible cannon that it would be hard to describe. For there was no man who understood it; and with many men horse and foot and shields without number. And Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl declared he was determined to go to Gojam, dead or alive. And when his heart was inflamed he swore an oath and said, “By
God's life that he would not turn back without getting to Gojam,"  
"and I will plant my footsteps upon Edomeyäs on the frontier of the land of Dämôt." And when Dajazmách Walda Gabre'ël came he knew the difficulty, and the terror of the land, and crossed Atselaqelaqat, and he shook the foundations of Gojam, for the craft of foreigners brought weapons of war, and these were guns, that before that time had not been done. And it had not been done to this day since munitions of war, guns that is to say, came for the Negus of Etyopiya, who was Atsē Galawdēwos, son of Atsē Lebna Dengel, who destroyed the power of the Khalifa¹ Grañ, who destroyed Debra Libānos, no warlike weapons came to him that were like these. No kingdoms had had such, that had existed before that. Dajazmách Walda Gabre'ël was a dove, making himself like a dove. And he was like Iskander (Alexander) chief of the wise men who came to the help of the Negus of Hind (King of India) with munitions of war, that like these were guns that he might wage war upon Dara (Darius) chief of the mighty ones. And the people saw how much Dajazmách Walda Gabre'ël loved the steadfast heart of Rās 'Ali, for he delayed not the moment he called to him; what a gift and what high position was offered to Rās 'Ali the chief of the generals! And in a similar matter Dajazmách Walda Gabre'ël aided with a powerful help both the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and the great work of Rās 'Ali. And after that they departed from Qārodā and halted at Enfrāz. And thence they left and stayed at Bula, and to this place came all the generals and judges and princesses that were at Gondar. And when Gondar knew the indubitable dignity of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis it rejoiced and made reverence, and Gondar cried, "My soul thirsts after my King," as the People of Babilon cried, "My soul thirsts after my God." For King of Kings Takla Giyorgis ever brought every man to repentance in his heart, if he was not as is spoken of in the Bible, "Who knoweth the heart of man except his spirit

¹ Ḥālāfa: King Claudius reigned from 1540 to 1559. Assisted by 450 Portuguese he fought and defeated Grañ, the General of the Adelan Muslims, who was killed 1542. (Conzelman, Galawdēwos, ch. xvi. Castanho in Esteves Pereira. Dos Feitos etc., p. 61.)
within him?" Such a king as he will never be found, whether they ascend upon high or descend below. And at Bula Ras 'Ali was released from his excommunication, a terrible punishment, and then he put to death a man who was caught in a crime, there was punishment for all (evil-doers); and he kept the feast of Saint Gabre'ël the archangel there, and he gave alms to the needy and poor. For he did everything as a great man as he was, does, and Dajazmách Walda Gabre'ël kept the feast of Saint Gabre'ël the archangel. And then King of Kings Takla Giyorgis received his generals at a feast of eating and drinking, and then he departed and halted at Acherä. After this King of Kings Takla Giyorgis ordained the priests that were with him at Tasay: they were Alaqa Walda Ab Mala'k Berhanat, Qis Atsé Walda Máryäm and others. And from Acherä he departed and halted at Boch and leaving that place he halted at Dalgé. And leaving Dalgé he stayed at Acharä, and thence he went and stayed at Quenzelä, and then he promoted Rás 'Ali to be Betwadded with the title of Dajazmách of Begameder. And Dajazmách Walda Gabre'ël he made Dajazmách of Dämot, Mezikker of Agaw and Dajazmách of Tigrë. And after this the governors and judges came from Gondar, and leaving Quenzelä, they halted at Cheqä Wanz (river Cheqä), and from Cheqä Wanz they halted at Amrä. And then he appointed Azzaj Walda Ab a Fitawräri, and Fitawräri Sadiq he made a Bálambäräs, and Jälo Lomë he created a Nagädräs, and Abëto Aligäz he made a shum of Wäg. But Rás 'Ali, with his great gift (promotion), was like the King of Kings Atsë Susneyos, who appointed his brothers who were Abbä Bonä Galmo, Wäg-Shum Aligäz, Fitawräri Sadiq, raising them to high offices.

How it will rejoice and ennoble! For great gifts are bestowed by God, the giver of gifts. As it is said, "There be no gifts for either him who hastens or him who runs, but only the knowledge of God." For thus the gift is worthy of admiration and respect. And again, pray for him that his days may be prolonged, as it is said, "Rather than one man die who has given shelter to a thousand, better is it for many men to die." And
John Chrysostom said, "Better is one righteous man than a thousand sinners." And further let us quote a parable, and the parable is this. If a man collects much grass for the roof, and if there are no long wooden planks for a main beam you cannot build a house, for it stops halfway (in the middle), so he Rās 'Ali was equal to every emergency, if it were not actually impossible. And afterwards they departed and halted at Keltē, and from Keltē they left and halted at Quaquarā, and from there they started and stayed at Duban. And leaving Duban they stayed at Sakelā, and thence they went and stayed at Ṭāliyā and from Ṭāliyā they went and stayed at Bāhr Mēdā, and leaving there they stayed at Bot, and from Bot they went and stayed at Den and while there, then came messengers to Rās 'Ali from Gojam, and they informed them the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and Rās 'Ali lover of peace, who sent them had spoken, and what he had said was this, "Return to me, and what you order me I will do, if you say come, I will come." And then they (gave up) going to war. And they were reconciled there, and he sent his daughter whose name was Wayzero Altāsh. And on her arriving before her father there was joy and festivity and a tremendous commotion among all the tents. And then Rās 'Ali showed to Dājazmāch Walda Gabrēʾēl a joyful countenance and a tender heart, that showed nothing of an evil intent; ten camels, thirty-five laden horses, how it rejoiced him! a pledge of their mutual affection, for they being as one (man), whoso Rās 'Ali loved, Dājazmāch Walda Gabrēʾēl loved, and whoso Rās 'Ali hated, Dājazmāch Walda Gabrēʾēl hated, and their every counsel was one. And at that place Dājazmāch Gabru came, his friend from of old, and thence they departed and halted at Butalā. Leaving that place they halted at Arag, and from there they halted at Amdāmit, and from there they stayed at Shawa, and leaving that they halted at Qelālā, where they stayed four days. The King of Kings Takla Giyorgis went to the Church and prayed there alone, and all his heart was raised to God, for he knew what the Bible says, "Cast thy heart up to God and he
will sustain thee" (lit. nourish). And all his desire was for the praise of God, for he hearkened to what the Book says, “Why do we place all our desires on this life that we leave to-morrow?” And again he knew what has been said, “He is a fool who thinks of a dwelling in this world except the grave, which he inherits for a dwelling place.” And in another place it says, “They who possess shall be as though they possessed not, and those who ate shall be as though they had not eaten,” and further the Book says, “The world, ye abide but for one hour in the midst of it (in what concerns it).” And while he was minded of all this, he was lingering and remained in the Church, and was praying there. And thence they departed and halted at Yenāch. And afterwards while he was at Yenāch Rās Khāylu came and pitched his camp at Debra Tsot, and those high dignitaries, viz. Rās ‘Ali and Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’el and Dajazmāch Gadelu. And Rās ‘Ali and Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’el went away by command of the Negus as far as Abāya to inspire confidence. That indeed was a great thing, to be faithful, for there was not one of the men that could be faithful for eight days, as the saying is, and the one Faith of mankind. In vain one man conferred with another and then said, “There is no one who does what is right, no not one.” Being honest, that is being faithful. And they met there and everything that took place was reported. And they spoke out to each one what was in their hearts, but he Rās Khāylu was full of affection. “Yea, even as you command me, I will do, and I will not depart from that which is your pleasure. If indeed the Negus tells me ‘Come’ I will come, and I will do everything you command me.” With such action they departed and in friendliness; Rās Khāylu entered his own country; those commanders also entered their tents, and they related to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis all that had been said. And some said, “What was the good of a meeting of Rās (‘Ali?)

1 The quotation is the translation of the Latin Vulgate of Ps. liv. 23, “Jacta super Dominum curam tuam et ipse te nutriet.”
2 This refers to some book of proverbs or sayings.
with the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis without trusting him, we say, until they meet together heart to heart, and they are completely reconciled.” And when it was known in the camp (tents) that confidence was restored in the kingdom of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, there was great rejoicing, and the whole world said, “Verily, verily, it is what God said—Knock and it shall be opened unto you. Ask and ye shall receive. Seek and ye shall find.” And further it is said, “Every one of you that ask, if there is faith ye shall be raised up” as Hannah said. God grants the prayer to him who prays, for it has been what concerns the world that you ever ask God for. And there was good will in the kingdom of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, as much as in the kingdom of David and Solomon, and he grieved over his exile, for the land was other than his kingdom, and the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis yearned after his own kingdom; in this being like to Abraham his father that dwelt in Kana‘an a stranger and an immigrant; like him he dwelt, he too a stranger and an immigrant in his land of Ambasal, and he was like as though he were not king above all. And he fulfilled what the Bible says, “They were as strangers and wanderers.” And as he was worn out he resembled Ya‘eqob who was exiled and went to Soryā (Syria), and afterwards returned to his country of Kana‘an, and like him he returned from his exile to his kingdom. And again he was like Zerubābbel the King of Isra‘el after he grew up and came to rule over Ierusālēm thirty-nine years, and like him he returned from Ambasāl and sat upon the golden throne. And Ambasāl was like Bābilon the city of temptation, but Gondar the city of his kingdom was like Iyarusālēm. And it was said by many friends of Debra Libānos, “Long live, long live our Negus Takla Giyorgis for many days, for he is the father of the bereaved and dispenser to the widows.” The noble godsend Rās ‘Ali was like Samson the Nāzarāwi that found honey in the mouth of a lion and like him the bee came to his tent and settled in the store room of his robes. That was a weighty matter, and he showed his great judgement. And again,
he was like Gideon, for as Gideon explored the land and made proof of it with spears, so he too like him explored Zobel the city of his people, and proved it with spears; broke down the mighty ones, and established the city that was his. And further we will liken him to David prince of the mighty ones who said, "I am the youngest of my brothers and the brave man of the house of my father." And again he said, "My brothers are good and are chiefs, and were not pleasing to God"; for like him he too was the youngest of his brothers and great in his gifts, and he filled all the ends of the world. And we will liken him to Iyoseyās (Isaias) that raised his voice against Samaria and destroyed the temples of the Idols. Like him he too raised his voice against Onā, land of the pagans, and cast down the temples of their speakers. And again we will liken him to Dāne'ēl in his wise judgement (when he convicted the Elders and saved Susannah) when he said, "I have been wiser than the Elders," for as Dāne'ēl saved by his judgment the daughter of Isra'ēl from the hand of the false Elders, like him he too saved the world from the hands of the wicked, who were rebels and from the hands of the Tagalyān, who were robbers. And from the many good services he did for the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, the latter said, "I will love 'Āli and I have hated Biralē," as the Bible says, "I have loved Yā'eqob and I will hate Esau." From Yenāch they moved on and halted at Ganat. From Ganat they went and halted at Yegaba, and there they remained seven days while they took counsel on everything that occurred. At that place he appointed Dajazmāch Gadelu to be Dajazmāch of Tsagadē and Wālqāyt with the office Azaj of Tarasambā. And then he commanded and gave permission to Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl and Dajazmāch Gadelu to go to their places, and they went towards Dengel Bar. And those, the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis in his upright rule, and Rās 'Āli in his love as a ruler resembled

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1 This is probably a quotation from an Ethiopic version of the Book of Daniel.
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w. b.
Solomon, for as Solomon ruled the land from Dan to Bersābeh and from Tigros (the Tigris) as far as Efrātes (Euphrates) so like him, he too ruled the land from east to west, that is to say, Adel and Gojam. And they made their way from Nagalā on the side of Deldey, and stayed at Deldey; then departing, crossed the road of the Abāy by night with many troops, so the multitude of their host was beyond count. They halted at Adayām Darā, that is to say, Dawal. And while they were having festivities Rās ‘Ali gained honour by the many acts of generosity that he performed to the people of Mēchā, for he remitted them the tribute that was due from their territory, which was a thousand ounces (gold). In this he resembled God his creator, exalted name and exalted similitude, who said to the man with the palsy, “My son, thy faith has made thee whole (lit. has given thee life) and thy sins are forgiven thee.” And again he was honoured in his parting from Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl and Dajazmāch Gadelu, and all the dignitaries gathered together in friendship and peace. And they left Dawal and halted at Tatsabara, and thence they went and halted at Labat: and from Labat they moved and stayed at Shotal Mēdā. And from there went on and halted at Aringo in the peace of God; and King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and “threaten-his-strength” Rās ‘Ali pitched their tents. Then there was a change in officials, Dajazmāch Galmo was appointed Deputy Blāttēngētā of Balasa, Adarā Gabre’ēl Garazmāch of Rentogualej (was made) Qaazmāch; Abagāz Negusē, General in chief, was made Keyaj Yashālaqā; Gārā Karawaba was made Bajrond in Lastē; Kantibā Ayādār was made Yaras Meqemmat (Ras’ lieutenant) and Kantibā. And at the royal house Legābā Tashashēgo was made Kanisā Yashālaqā. Wand Afrāsh was made Yashālaqā of the golden Tabernacle. And Khanit Kanfu was made Azāj Aderāsh (secretary of the household). And all these officials were appointed in their provinces. And Dajazmāch Khāylu was promoted to high appointment and the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis did him many (honours), and Rās ‘Ali of 1 Blue Nile. Abāy = great, i.e. the Great river, or Abawi = Ancestral (Father of Waters).
good counsel, full of reverence, for they knew what labour he had
gone through in that land of Qomā. And he who had destroyed
cities and had not been separated in all their expeditions,
refused and would not be made a shum (governor); he said, “I
will repose a little while within my house,” and that he said by
reason of his great labours, for he had laboured (striven)
exceedingly, starting from the month of Nahasē to the month
of Miyāzyā, three months he rested alone in the land of Qomā.
And of the months that remained he was not separated from his
fellow campaigners, that is to say the King of Kings Takla
Giyorgis and grimly awful Rās 'Ali, and all the while he yearned
for repose from office, for he never rested for a single day in
his home. We will return to the beginning of the affair. And
after there had been changes made in the officials, the King
of Kings Takla Giyorgis remained in the house of his children
at Arengo, the city of his fathers. And Rās 'Ali went to
Garagarā, his city. And he started from Garagarā and de-
sceded to the land of Waldāyā. And while Rās 'Ali was
at Waldāyā Dajazmāch Khāyru went out from his territory
of Begameder, 'Estē that is to say, to his friend Rās 'Ali, and
with him there descended to Waldāyā, Azāj Khāyru and Elqa
Kedān Māryām Zaledatā (the Birth), and other friends of
Dajazmāch Khāyru. Rās 'Ali received a handsome reception,
after the manner of a father receiving his son, and a friend,
and there was great festivity at his board. For he was a
great ruler, and it was not that he rejoiced merely at his
coming, but because he knew to what a position he had raised
his kin and dependants, and he opened out all his heart to
him. And meanwhile he rejoiced exceedingly and invested
him with robes to startle the eye, and gave him a girdle for his
mantle of gold, as is the custom of commanders that had
gone before him. And Dajazmāch Khāyru lived in great pomp
and festivity for ten days and the day after. But to Rās 'Ali
it did not seem like one day on account of his affection.

After this the treachery of Rās Khāyru and Dajazmāch Walda

1 مدين = city.
2 ำRemember: The Arabic alphabet is not the same as the Roman alphabet.
Gabre'ēl was heard of, when they entered into a covenant (of alliance) and confirmed the alliance by a firm covenant and a great oath; and they broke through the terms of their oath, that ought not to have been forsworn, even as the infidels of the Qāyal (Chaldees) broke the terms of their oath before the Lord at Armon.

Meanwhile they offended the Lord and angered him, inasmuch that in the month of Genbot, while Rās 'Ali, the just and upright commander, was in his territory of Waldāyā, Rās Khāylu came from his land of Gojam over to Gondar with the purpose of making king the Negus that was with him, abandoning all his oath of fealty, and raising every grievance that could annoy him. Then a man who was bidden by the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis patient of counsel and calm of heart, went as he was bidden, and said, "Lo, Rās Khāylu betraying his oath of fealty has come to put a king over me." And when Rās 'Ali heard that message he laughed and said, "Has not Rās Khāylu heard what the Bible says, "Beware! Sin not twice, and then thy evildoing will not find thee out" (Numbers xxxii. 23). And then he was wroth in spirit even as Saul the King of Israel was wroth at the coming up of the children of Ammon to Yabis Gala'ad (1 Samuel xi. 1—6). And as Samuel the Israelite was wroth when Saul the King of Israel rent his garment (1 Samuel xv. 27), so his wrath too was kindled when he rent his garments at their oath by which they bound themselves. And when Rās Khāylu came over to Gondar to seize the Negus, Dajazmāch Gabrē came and camped with Rās Khāylu, as the Bible says, "Assur also is joined with them" (Ps. lxxxiii. 8). And Aderā Gabre'ēl was betraying both the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and Rās 'Ali, prince of power, only it profited him nothing as he only deceived himself, and his hatred failed to strike; and then the chiefs took to flight, viz. Qańazmāch Qualej and Kantībā Ayādār, Liqa Makuas Negusē and Bajrond Kowā, Yashālaqā Tashashgo, Yashālaqā Wand Afrāsha shield bearer, Yashālaqā Gegār and Bālāmbārās Atsequ. And they came to their King Takla Giyorgis and
camped at Amadebar, and the Negus Takla Giyorgis was an asylum and a refuge and repose for his retainers (escort), as the shore of a sea, and as a door that they put up of tamarind wood. The King of Kings said to his attendants, “Do not stir from here; if they come down upon us, we will engage them, and if they do not come on upon us we will go out upon them.” And with that act he hardened the hearts of his soldiers, and gave them coolness. And thereupon Rās 'Ali issued forth upon Garagarā when he knew that Rās Khāylu was advancing on Gondar. But Rās Khāylu, when he heard that Rās 'Ali was advancing on Garagarā, left Gondar by night with his army, and did nothing at Gondar, and abandoned all the business he had come about. His retreat from the advance seemed like abandoning the Negus with Qaňazmāch Kabtē and Dajazmāch Gabrē, a lover of villany with the other commanders. And when Rās 'Ali heard how Rās Khāylu had fled leaving the Negus, he laughed and said, “What was the reason of his coming, and what was the reason of his going?” and added, “It is like the nonsense of children.” Then while he was at Garagarā he sent his principal generals, viz. Dajazmāch Khāylu of the royal household and Fitāwrārī Sadiq and Dajazmāch Gugsā, son of his sister, and Qaňazmāch Gualej and Garazmāch Aligāz and Dajazmāch Galmo and Dajazmāch 'Ali Borshē and Abēto Saju, and all the men of Gabawāho, viz. Abēto Gulaṃāsē, Abēto Bāyqamān, and all the men of Begameder, viz. Dajazmāch Fanta and Abēto Teku of Guna; and Abēto Amesyas, and all the troops that were below Chachaho, and those generals whom we have mentioned above marched together towards Gondar. And then all the commanders who were at Gondar dispersed, and Qaňazmāch Kabtē went towards Dambayā, and arrived at Quallāt¹ Balasā. As the Bible says, “The terrors of the deep (valleys) for the accursed.” Negus Iyāsu completed his journey towards Wagarā with Dajazmāch Gabrē and his other generals, and as they were numerous they had no right (ought

¹ Quallā Ḍawā “hot” lowland as opposed to Ḏagā (high) cool highland.
not) to have retreated, for there was no end to the number of their troops, and it only showed that they retired from fear of their defeats of the past year. As the Bible says, “You come to our land and you vanquish our kings, for God hath cast fear upon our hearts.” And for that reason they were afraid and were vanquished and were driven to their lands. But those who were the generals of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis accomplished their journey towards Dambayā and reached Saqalet. And many men there were that perished by the sword; and the bullocks and sheep were not left behind, and the houses and churches were destroyed. And Qaṇazmāch Kabtē fled, and hid (not?) himself and was not recognised from those who were there. And then they turned back to Gondar. Then they heard of the arrival of Dajazmāch Gabrē that they might help Qaṇazmāch Kabtē. And when he heard of their coming to him, he turned back and came to his land of Semēn. There were some who asked saying, “Are not you that came to fight and put the Negus on the throne, and are you the rulers over the whole land?” What could Rās ‘Ali and Dajazmāch Gabrē and Qaṇazmāch Kabtē reply? So they said, “We do not see the face of the enemy, they come on when we retire far, and they take to flight when we approach near.” And the generals of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, viz. Dajazmāch Khāylu and Fitāwrāri Sadiq and Dajazmāch Gugsā and Kantibā Ayādār, and all the commanders whom we mentioned above followed in pursuit of Dajazmāch Gabrē and Negus Iyāsu, and reached Darā and spent the winter there; but Dajazmāch Gabrē was crucified on the top of the Mountain Saganat. That is what the generals did to him, a strong measure, for they wielded great power when the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was at Aringo, and the powerful Prince Rās ‘Ali when he was at Garagarā, and prevented Dajazmāch Gabrē and Qaṇazmāch Kabtē from meeting. The messenger giving up trying to find them stopped them just as a chasm in mountains stops a hippopotamus from crossing from one side to the other, so they prevented them from stretching out the hand of their messenger one to another. But those steadfast,
immoveable mountains, these were Dajazmách Khāylu and Fitāwrārī Sadiq that stopped Dajazmách Gabrē from passing over to Gondar, and they crucified him on the top of a precipice, like a deer, and made war upon his land as far as Shawādā. And we will draw for a moment an example from the deeds of Eskander the Macedonian, as far as we are able. For Eskander the Macedonian found work of the wisdom of the children of Yafēt (Japhet) which was an image of (brass?) 1.

And he took it from where they had placed it, and he put it between two mounds which he had brought together as his votive offering, and he set it up to guard the children of Yafēt. Now the wisdom of Eskander the King that was King of Kings Takla Giyorgis; the brazen image that was Rās 'Ali whom he placed and appointed between the hills, and established to guard against his enemies, and with loud noise filled everyone with joy. But the two mountains between which was the brazen image, those were Dajazmāch Khāylu and Fitāwrārī Sadiq, that scattered Dajazmāch Gabrē and Qaṇazmāch Kabtē; and the children of Yafēt, they were the men of Gojam, and the men of Dāmot and men of Mēchā and Agaw who fled clamouring. The image of brass that was Rās 'Ali, chief of the commanders, whose numbers were like the sands of the sea and the stars whose awfulness is beyond measure. We will now go back to the beginning of the story. Wagarā became a desert, and churches were destroyed that had been built in it, until wherever there was a country Bartyo Dajazmāch Gabrē devastated it. For if that man had not rebelled against the Negus Rās 'Ali would not have sent his officers, and the houses of Wagarā would not have been laid in ruins, or Balasā that was devastated through the action of Walda Sellāsē, and Dambayā through Qaṇazmāch Kabtē. And there was no thing among the lands that was not laid waste and destroyed. And there were no churches that were not plundered. Here is a man who will relate and write down the wrongdoings of the soldiers of the King of

1 Vide Appendix: Eskander the Macedonian.
Kings Takla Giyorgis and the soldiers of Rās 'Ali. And we will not absolve (omit) their devastation of countries, while we are recounting their exploits and good deeds. For thus is the rule for each man that the angel of life records his just deeds and the angel of death records his sins. And matters being so, they spent the winter in Wagarā, in accordance with the orders of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. The King of Kings Takla Giyorgis went out from Aringo in the direction of Zurambā in order to perform the fast of the Assumption\(^1\) there, and he recited his prayers, the acts of the saints and elders: as the Bible says, "I beseech of thee before all things, perform thy prayers" (1 Tim. ii. 8). Further the Bible says, "Woe to thee, oh land, whose King is young" (Eccl. x. 16, Woe to thee, oh land, when thy king is a child). And with the knowledge of what was written he performed the fast with greater severity as the days of the fast drew to a close. He entered thus his city of Aringo and did so in the year of Lukas; this we have narrated according to our ability and have recorded it; there is much that has been omitted for there is no limit to the matter. Behold we have begun to write about what occurred in the period of Johannes the Evangelist and all that the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis did and the powerful Prince Rās 'Ali did at Ambāsal, for it behoves us to write about and describe with the tongue every creature. Maskaram opened the next day, and in that month Maskaram the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis gave his daughter to Rās 'Ali; her name was Princess Altāsh, and he brought her into his house; and he made her his wife. While Rās ('Ali) was thinking of leaving Garagarā to go on an expedition he heard of the treachery of Dajazmāch Yasufē. Now Yasufē made it his business to betray him. When he had been received like that he ought to have guarded his kinsman, that is to say, Rās 'Ali like a glass and a beryl, and looked upon him as a gem of the sea; since he had found a friend like him he ought

\(^1\) Feast of the Fesatā or Assumption of the B. Virgin, 16th of the month Nahasē (22nd August), and continues to the 21st. No work is done during these days.
to have protected him like the pupil of his eye. When he had
found a brother like him who comes to the help if he is afraid,
and who rules over the east and west of Semên he ought to
have gone over to Rās ‘Ali, when they took up arms. And
Dajazmāch Yasufē did not remember all this and all the
kindnesses that Rās ‘Ali had done him, and how often had
Rās ‘Ali yearned after Yasufē, as if he were Rās ‘Ali’s brother.
And he wanted Yasufē to be another ‘Ali to him. Could ever
such a fool as (Dajazmāch Yasufē) be found, could ever such
a kinsman as (Rās ‘Ali) be found? Again would a brother
like that be found, again would a master be found like that,
who marches forth at one time with 10,000 horsemen, and who
does not take to himself the first-comer?

We will go back to the beginning of the matter. Now
when Rās ‘Ali heard of the treachery of Dajazmāch Yasufē
and his enmity, biding his time, he sent the Shum of Wāg
Aligāz and Negādrās Jālē, great warriors whose prowess
pagans and Christians knew, that they might attack Dajazmāch
Yasufē. That indeed was a big affair, and for whom should
such a thing be? For he while he was at Garagarā sent half
of his troops towards Gondar and half towards Ambāsāl,
and then there was a great battle between Nagādrās Jālē
and Dajazmāch Yasufē, and when the battle was raging
Rās ‘Ali issued from Garagarā accomplishing the journey
towards Ambāsāl. And the Negus Takla Giyorgis, when he
heard of the exit of Rās ‘Ali from Garagarā towards Ambāsāl,
was not daunted in heart or terrified, and those
generals, viz. Dajazmāch Khāylu and Fitāwrārī Sadiq, were
undaunted, and their hearts were not dissolved, for the heart
of the servant is as the heart of the master. As the servant
Yonatan (Jonathan) said, “As thy heart so is my heart.” And
they fortified the hearts of the troops, and they that were there
were unshaken. And they blenched not at the retreat of
Rās ‘Ali nor at the advance of Rās Khāylu and Qānázmāch
Kabtē. And they left Darā and camped at Berā, and from
Berā they went and camped at Kosogē, and from there they

w. b.
went and halted at Ambäzo. And while there Dajazmäch Gadelu arrived from Wälqäyt, and he came as far as Maraba, and they descended to him and joined him. And after he joined them they returned to their camp. And the next day they left and camped at Däbo Gerär. And while they were there Dajazmäch Gadelu sent over to them to say, “It is not proper for me to come over to you.” And he added, “Why should I come over to you? Because the Negus is not there nor a powerful chief.” And meanwhile Dajazmäch Gadelu and Fitawrâri Sadiq were anxious to turn back towards Märyäm Weha. And all the generals, as Dajazmäch Gadelu and Dajazmäch Khäylyu seemed to them to be betraying them, refused to turn back to Märyäm Weha. For this time was not the time to turn back. And they said, “We will remain here and we will not turn back, for if we turn back and go towards Märyäm Weha, our enemies will rejoice and our friends will blush.” And they said, “He is afraid of Dajazmäch Kabté, but we are not afraid of him.” So they refused and would not listen to his voice, not with hostility but in a friendly way, for they looked upon him as their father and as their master. But Dajazmäch Khäylyu they put him down for a bitter foe and an oppressor of all the men of Gojam and Dämot and all the associates of Râs Khäylyu, for all that seemed to them as a trial of them on the part of Dajazmäch Khäylyu. The Gallas indeed who wanted to go to their country hated Dajazmäch Khäylyu before Tegetel; but afterwards they loved him much, for he exercised powerful influence over them. After that they turned back from Dambayä and camped at Märyäm Weha, and while they were there they engaged with Bålâmbârâs Walda Sellâsê. On the same day Galmo Fanil and Abêto Gogê showed bravery, and among the attendants of Dajazmäch Khäylyu, Gabaryo a foreigner, and Abêto Seyf Yashâlaqa Aderu.

We will go back to the beginning of the history. And on the next day in the month of Òeqemt Râs ‘Ali marched out from Garagarâ, went and halted at Yanaja in order to attack Dajazmäch Yasufê, who had been disloyal to him. Now the reason
of the treachery of Dajazmāch Yāsufē was that Rās Khāyīlū and Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl and Dajazmāch Gabrē had sent over to him saying, "Steady! Steady! and courage! (lit. Be firm and strong); fall upon him, and we will help you and will give you his command." (office). And during this Yāsufē was deceiving Rās 'Ali in the words of the Book which say, "From him who rises betimes for those honours, they will vanish—To him who flies from these honours they will come." And when he came to Yanajā, Kāleb Saīfū was treacherous to him, for he sent his troops, i.e. Dajazmāch Galmō and Fitāwrārī Sādiq and Dajazmāch Gugsā and all the troops towards Sēmēn, and Dajazmāch Walda Miqēt to Miqēt, and the men of Miqēt towards Eynā. For Yēlaw'ayqār Eshatē had risen with the men of Lāsta and Dāgilās; and Letārbēnos Khāyīlū with all the men of Sāmādā and Andābēt towards Dēldēy. And during this Kāleb Saīfū was betraying him (Rās 'Ali) in not stamping out the rebellion. And from Yanajā they left for Wāgadāt and from Wāgadāt they left for Nūbēt and from Nūbēt they left for Koso Ambā. And from Koso Ambā they left for Kesāt, and Dajazmāch Alulā came with many troops, and men of Yāju and Gurā and Newārā and Emsequa came, and the Shum Aligāz with many troops. And from there he left for Tērteryā, and there he halted and spent the time, and they laid waste the frontier of Tērteryā. And from there he departed and halted at Dāgēt. And when he was at Dāgēt he ordered them to make good the road that leads up the ascent of Maqdālā. And Dajazmāch Yāsufē came and his (Dajazmāch Alulā) soldiers joined battle and killed many of his men. And of the men of Rās 'Ali one man was killed whose name was Bayān. And from there he left and camped below Egrā Dabēt, and from there left for Wadādē, and there Dajazmāch Bato came and Ali Abāqāwī and all the men of Wechālē and 'Ayar, and then Gobazē came from Legōt. And there they opened Chāchā a great monastery, and many other monasteries, and the prisoners came out rejoicing. And in that they were like our Lord Jesus Christ who said, "When he descended into
the midst of Sheol\(^1\) they came forth who were in prison, and those that were in Sheol were made manifest.” And from there they left and halted between two mountains that were Layjefā and Tachjefā\(^2\), and then they came to Katamē. And all the men rested there without number, and thence they went and halted at Maqdalā. There a rifleman killed a man that was on the top of the mountain, so that the men of Maqdalā were terror-stricken and Salāmgē destroyed. Rās ‘Ali remained one month at Maqdalā after he had ascended. Then the wife of Dajazmāch Yasufē was imprisoned, and he allowed her to come to him, for he controlled her coming and going. And then he sent Nagādrās Jālē and Wāg Shum Alīgāz to the Gabo Daber called Sangolāt. And then they had a great battle. And when the soldiers said, “Back!” two of them stood up drawing their swords, and drove the enemy back, and they showed their strength in taking the fence; and then Rās ‘Ali stood up, his face holding them up like unto a great wall. They fought a hard fight, and many men were killed on that day. Then his wife sent and said, “What have I done and what crime have I committed?” And she said, “Have mercy on me, O Lord have mercy,” and the wife said, “You are killing one who has no strength, in taking away (leave) to come or to go. As Abēlemelēk the King of the people said when he recognised the angel of the Lord, “Wilt thou kill a people that are ignorant?” (Gen. xx. 4). And she said, “Lo my children and my goods, arms, that is to say guns, and spades"\(^3\) and carpets (that is to say 'mentsāf"\(^4\)), all is in your hands, but only save me, and let me go alone.” And Rās ‘Ali replied, “He seeks not your goods nor your children.” Like Abrahām his father, the Chaldean, when Kolodagomor (Chedorlaomer, Gen. xiv. 21, 24) the King of the people said, “They have left thee the horses and mules, give

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\(^2\) i.e. upper Jefā and lower Jefā.
\(^3\) Ṣ tighten Amharic, a curved spade.
\(^4\) Ḥa‘ ṣ ṣ zarbet is Ge’ez; Ḥa‘ ṣ ṣ (modern spelling, Ḥa‘ ṣ ṣ) is Amharic (Guidi, Dict. 405).
me the man, they will take nothing from thee, except only what Eskol and Mamré have taken of thee to eat." And he Ras 'Ali, as though son of Abrahām, took nothing from her. And he said to her, "Go, and take all thy property." And then she went out from Maqdalā taking all her property. And the Wāg Shum Aligāz came to Maqdalā and afterwards Ras 'Ali came and saw it and liked it exceedingly. And meanwhile he made changes in the commands, appointing Bāshā Alulā a Dajazmāch of Amhārā, and giving him a hundred guns. And then he went out from Maqdalā and went to Bashelo, and from Bashelo he departed and camped at Debel. And Dajazmāch Yasufē came there with a large force and instruments, viz. drums of war. And when Yasufē presented himself and was spied by Ras 'Ali, his ambā which was Wagel Ambā (fortress) was destroyed. Dajazmāch Yasufē fled and his ambā Qaratemcheg was laid in ruins. And Ras 'Ali marched away and halted at Laga, and there he took possession of a great deal of property, as they found there bullocks and sheep, and, I have heard, many men. Dajazmāch Biralē came there, having broken out (his chains) from his prisons with one of his attendants, and Nagādrās Jalē, Wāg Shum Aligāz with many troops received him. And there was great rejoicing in the house of Ras 'Ali at the arrival of Dajazmāch Biralē. While he was there he sent Dajazmāch Biralē with a large force, and they destroyed Tenkobār and Ahelmāt. And then Dajazmāch Lubo came, and after that he left and halted at Mahawa and remained there three days. On the fourth day Ras 'Ali issued forth to the battle, and when he was on his couch warriors were sentenced before his face. Ras 'Ali was like Musē (Moses) the chief of Isra'ēl. For Musē (Moses) when he stretched out his hand, his enemies were vanquished, and like him he (Ras 'Ali) when he spread out his couch his enemies were defeated. But Yasufē had no mountain left to him of his mountains and no land of his lands, and he did not think of that, but he said, "I rule over Waldeya and Begameder." And meanwhile there came to him what the Book says, "His sin recoiled upon his
And then he sent to one of the priests and clergymen, and said, "Have pity on me, pity on me," and they replied, "I had pity on thee, only thou hast not quitted thy sin." And then he was excommunicated by one of the priests, as he was leaving his village and was going to Geshan. He then sent over to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis all the generals who were at Maryam Weha, and all who were at Ambäsal. And after that he started and completed his journey towards Waldeyä, leaving a man called Nagädràs Jälè to bring about peace between Dajazmäch Yasufê and Dajazmäch Biralê. He left a hundred guns with Dajazmäch Biralê, and when he arrived at Gudeba he set free all the men of Begameder and Blättengētä Walda Selläsè, telling them to wait for him at Mawehā. And then he descended to Waldeyä finishing what he had to do, and came to his house on the 11th of Ter (begins 8th January) and assembling all the troops that were at Yaju started from Waldeyä and came the 21st of the month of Ter, which was the feast of our lady Maryám, but of the men that had been beaten at Ambäsal as far as Amhara, thirty-four Rās 'Ali gave to Dajazmäch Biralê, and two hundred besides. And then Rās Khäylu arrived from Gojam at Gondar in the month of Ter with a large force and horsemen and many commanders from the land of Dämot and Mëchā and Agaw, Dajazmäch Aklog of Dämot and Fitawrāri Faqadu and Fitawrāri Bifetu, Zamo the son of Yonä Ligäs Hagē, and other generals who were in the same way, and Qañazmäch Kabtē, and they came to the habitations that were at Gondar. But the councillors of Rās Khäylu understood neither matters of prudence nor matters of war. If they had understood the question of prudence they would have come in the month of Teqemt; (even) in the month of Khedār¹, it might or might not have gone well with them; and if they had understood the question of war they would not have gone up to

¹ Teqemt begins 10th October, Khedār begins 9th November, the two driest months of the year, i.e. if they had taken advantage of the dry month of Teqemt they would have succeeded, putting off till Khedār made the issue uncertain, but putting off till Ter (begins 8th January) courted disaster
Wagara. But these highly placed men Dajazmāch Khāylu and Fitāwrārī Sadiq and all who were with them were on the road of Wakhni towards Lebo and pitched their camp there. The King of Kings Takla Giyorgis also a lion of the lion race, as Judah was said to be of the lion race “Rise out from thy lair,” issued from his “lair” at Aringo on Thursday much in wrath, as the Book says “In just indignation,” and camped at Kamkam. He joined his retainers the officers to wit, Dajazmāch Khāylu and Fitāwrārī Sadiq and Dajazmāch Galmo and Dajazmāch Gugsā and Abēto Gojē and Kantibā Ayādār and Bālāmbārās Adequ and Ligāba Tashhashgo and Shalaqā Wand Afrāsh and all the officers that remained, and they had great rejoicings among them, for the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was a power and a strength to them. Those officers also who came with him were Azāj Kenfu, Dajazmāch Gualej, Fitāwrārī Aydān Kantibā Adego Aycho, Ligāba of Mechā. And all the troops of the Negus came to Lebo. Rās Khāylu too ended his march at Wagara with the officers and troops that were with him, as there were enemies at Lebo, whom he searched out. And then Rās ‘Ali went out from Waldeyā and came to Garagarā, and from Garagarā to Lebo and there he joined the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis who wanted him, and all the officers that were wintering at Wagara, and he gave the King of Kings a new tent after they had met. And Rās ‘Ali, Prince of power, stayed four days at Lebo while they were deliberating, and from Lebo they departed and camped the other side of Wakhni. And from there they left for Ambā Cherā and thence they stayed at Māryām Weha, and leaving there on Saturday they halted at Yshaq monastery. There Dajazmāch Gadelu came with a large force, and leaving they camped at Cheqāwanz (river), where Rās ‘Ali had a banquet for Dajazmāch Gadelu. Leaving there they halted at Dārā and from there they went and camped at Tach, and leaving that place they halted at Maqārā; and there they cast an eye (of suspicion) on one another, the men of Rās ‘Ali and the men of
Rās Khāylu, and one tent kept its eye on the other tent. And on that day a fear and terror fell upon their hearts, of Rās Khāylu and Qaṇazmāch Kabtē and Dajazmāch Gabrē, and they withdrew leaving their houses. They built houses for children first, houses as for the adults, then they withdrew leaving the buildings and left at night, and their coming was as the words of the Book which say, “They labour in vain who build (houses).” And the same day an attendant of Dajazmāch Khāylu came and reported to Rās ‘Ali and the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis saying, “Your enemies have retired,” and when they heard this they did not say, “We will pursue them and destroy them,” for the men of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis did not like to do a treacherous thing. Rās ‘Ali, Prince of power, alone with a few men followed in pursuit when it was dawn and made them give up all musical instruments (war drums), horses, mules, and asses and tents, and one brave whose name was Liqā Maquas Mitār, noted for his valour, pursued them and made them hand over many tents. With difficulty they crossed over to Balagaz and camped at Quantatā. And Dajazmāch Kabtē camped at Gonqābar. And they saw the power of God, for the men of Gojarn had retired towards Semēn, they prefer (fighting in) mountains, for do horsemen like mountains? and do not leaders of infantry like plains? Then the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and Prince of power, Rās ‘Ali, departed and came to Bandi Gabsā, and pitched their tents there for several days, and letting loose detachments1 of troops, devastated Shawādā up to its frontiers to the foot of Quantatā. And on the same day they had a fight with the men of Begameder and Blätāngētā Walda Sellāsē fought hard. And of the men of Azāj Khāylu many were killed that day. Then it was heard that Dajazmāch Walda Gabrē’ēl had come with a large force and many guns and cannon bringing a Negus who was called Ba’eda Māryām. Afterwards many took the oath of fealty under pain of excommunication. What Walda Gabrē’ēl did was like a certain saying that runs thus.

1 ṭešait a detachment, Amharic. Guidi, 563.
"To him who gave rain, he stopped the water; to him who made gifts of gold and silver he returned a stone." For such an action there was no justification for him. But to Râs 'Ali had come a prophecy which said, "They returned evil for good, and hated me in return for my love of them," and again as the Bible says, "They hated me in vain." After that the King of Kings Takla Gıyorgis and Prince of power Râs 'Ali rose from where they were camped saying, "When Walda Gabre'êl advances we will fight him at Mâryâm Weha." And they halted at Waqen and then Dajazmâch Gadelu went to his country in friendship and peace, he was afraid they would surround (invest) his country. And from there they departed and halted at Mâyleko, and from there they went and halted below Mount Yshaq, and from there they went and halted at Mâryâm Weha, and there they pitched their camp till Dajazmâch Walda Gabre'êl arrived and Râs Khâylu and Dajazmâch Gabrê, and when they were at Mâryâm Weha Râs 'Ali said to the delegates "Why do you make festival, and why do you dance as a pretence of prayer, since I am a great Christian, and the Negus is over us all?" And the same day he converted a man who was a fluteplayer whose name was Galmo to the great Christian religion, to the point of being a zealot for his God; also he put to death many on account of the murders they had committed. And then was heard the death of Dajazmâch Kabtê while he was at Wagârâ. After that there was a meeting of Dajazmâch (Walda Gabre'êl) and Râs Khâylu and Dajazmâch Gabrê and all the officers, and their number was as the stars of heaven and sands of the sea. A great number said, "Let him protect us" and again "Let him protect us." And then they sent over to Râs 'Ali to say, "Hand us over the Negus who is with you, and we will make Negus, the Negus who is here with us, and we will make peace." But that message was an improper message, for it is not right to make a Negus rule over a Negus. And he Râs 'Ali made speech and said to them, "Am I like you and break my oath, and lie to my King Takla

1 lit. stand up for.
Giyorgis that is above the Kings?” and saying thus he was wroth with the men who had sent to him and he said to them, “Tell them do what you like” (lit. do what you will do). And after that the Negus whom they had elected Negus by unanimous vote whose name was Yasu came and ruled them, and came to Mount Yshaq. And they took counsel and went down towards Gondar for they were afraid of Maryam Weha, for the men of Gojam understood the scheme that had trapped them at Maryam Weha. But for the Gojam men it justified them retiring, for terror reigned among their troops. And after that they camped at Angarab, and from there they went and camped at Dambayä, and from there they went and camped at Bolâ. And that day Eshète Bāso came for treason. And from there the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis rose from Maryam Weha with the Prince of power Rās ‘Ali and all the generals and camped at Weyna Dagā and from there they went and halted at Berâ, and that day (they had) a Hosanna as they marched on the road towards Amad Bar. Rās Khāylu came and Dajazmāch Walda Gabrē'el and Dajazmāch Gabrē with a large army and with many horsemen and guns. And their appearance was like to a cloud holding rain, afterwards they were like a cloud in (month of) Genbot that the wind scatters. And he sent some of them towards the rear, looking as if they were going to attack; the others the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and Prince of power Rās ‘Ali continued on their road silently and quietly, for they knew the art of war and they did not want to attack although they were able to do so. He despatched horsemen, some to the left, some to the right, and a large force of warriors he left behind of the Gojam and Dāmot horsemen, and one warrior by name Liqa Maquas Mitār took prisoner a man advancing in the middle of a body of horsemen, leaving his leader Rās ‘Ali and the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. And the same day they camped at Watemb; the others camped at Reb. From Watemb they went and camped at Amadbar: the others made a halt at Reb. The former made a halt at Amadbar.

1 Begins 8th May, when the thunderstorms and broken weather begin.
And on the fourth day they started, those over above Reb that is below Madat, and quitted the road of Amadbar. As Luke the Evangelist says, “And we left Qopuros (Cyprus) on our left hand because Apullos was there!”. And Râs ‘Ali was Apullos who kept the faith of the Almighty and was a friend to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. And from Amadbar they went and camped at Qantona. That day the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis went down and Prince of power Râs ‘Ali and Dajazmâch Khâylu and Nagâdrâs Jâli towards Madab to see the spot where the battle took place, and having showed them the place where their enemies had been they turned back and returned to their camp. And the next day Râs Khâylu and Dajazmâch Walda Gabre’ël and Dajazmâch Gabrê escorted by a large force and many horsemen and many guns and terrible cannon and they put them in position, as the Bible says, “In vain they put their trust in men,” and further it says, “The horse is a vain thing, neither shall he deliver anyone by his great strength” (Ps. xxxiii. 17). But the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and Prince of power Râs ‘Ali went down from their camp trusting in God, as the Book says, “Trust in God and do right and He shall make thee dwell in the land and they will see thee in the midst of abundance of its wealth.” And its wealth that means Gojam and Tigré. “Delight in the Lord and He shall give thee thy heart’s desire. Commit thy way to the Lord and He shall bring it to pass for thee” (Ps. xxxvii). In truth indeed they did for them just as they desired. Then the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and Prince of power Râs ‘Ali gave orders that there should be posted on the right Dajazmâch Khâylu and Fitâwrâri Sadiq and Tarbênos Khâylu and all their troops, and on the left were Wâg Shum Aligâz and Negâdrâs Jali and Dajazmâch Gugsâ and Dajazmâch Ali Boshê and Qânazmâch Gualej and Garazmâch Aligâz, and all the men of Begameder with their Abagâz Walda Sellâsê were

1 Acts xxi. 3. The Abyssinians attributed the Acts to S. Luke. The author seems to have confused this verse with xix. 1.
2 Title of governor of the province on confines of the Galla, corresponding to Fitâwrâri, i.e. chief of the vanguard if the King is present (Guidi, 457).
in the centre, and the men of Gabawa, viz. Golmasē Dagalās Bayqamañ. And the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis with Dajazmāch Galmo and Daqa Tserkh were posted in the rear. And Rās 'Ali stout of heart and cool commanded the horse in the rear. But the others, Rās Khāylu and Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl advanced, forming them up in their lines; and then they joined battle and fought. And then appeared the power of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and Prince of power Rās 'Ali, for they vanquished their enemies; and when Rās 'Ali saw their great army, he shouted out saying, “I am a Jawī—I am a Jawī.” Look at me, my boys.” At the same time he strengthened the hearts of his men, and he came on like that even as he said. And Dajazmāch Khāylu marched into their midst like a lion among bullocks, like a wolf among sheep, like a leopard among goats, scattered them and treated them as if they were grains of salt. And Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl was killed, Bāshā Elufa killing him, and Dajazmāch of Tigrē fell, the son of Rās Mikā'ēl. Afterwards there came to Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl what the Book says, “They who possessed were as they who possessed not.” Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl came from Tigrē with a large army. And he lay fallen alone in the dust. Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl came with many carpets and with many robes of purple (Byssus) and with great pomp: he was discovered by his dress. Among his servants it was not said, “He shall only be buried in a coffin,” but he was levelled with the servants’ servants at the moment of his death. See how death levels the great with the humble, the lord with his servant. Of a truth death came to Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl in the words of the Book, “I have created mankind in vain” (Gen. vi. 7). And his coming before was in vain, and his death also was in vain. And many were killed that day of the men of Tigrē, of the men of Gojam and Dāmot and Semēn. And a great number were taken prisoner, as I learnt. And Rās Khāylu fled and escaped alone. The King of Kings Takla Giyorgis pursued him as far

1 Name of a Galla tribe: afterwards it was the name of the Rās Ubī’s horse and then transferred to himself.
as Amhāra Gadel, so that he barely escaped, and Mitār pursued as far as Warotā. And the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis turned back and camped at Arengo. There were captured Dajazmāch Gabrē and Dajazmāch Gabra Abib and Atsē Ba'eda Māryām was taken by Agafārē Walda Taklē of Balasā. And those that came escaped panic-stricken and were not captured. And Bāshā Mekular caught Atsē Iyāsu and there were a number of officers that were taken on that day. Gerasmāch Aligāz, a great general, was killed by a gunshot, who was of the tribe of Rās 'Ali, and he mourned deeply for his death, and the son of Gerasmāch Adamē was also killed that day, and many warriors also, numbers that cannot be counted, so many were they. And Dajazmāch Khāylu captured Fitawrārī Waldu, first of all warriors. And when Rās 'Ali returned from the battle, he ordered Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl to be buried. The trials of the Gojam men began on the Thursday and finished that day. On that Thursday the hopes of all men were raised, for on Holy Thursday the new dispensation began, that was the law of the Gospel. And the law of the Old Testament (law of Moses) was dissolved, and in the same manner the priests of Levi passed away on that day. And on that (Thursday) the reign was renewed of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis who came into his kingdom of the other kings. As the law of Moses is received into the true Gospels, and the priests were dismissed whom we spoke of, who were called robbers and traitors leaders who seized the Kingdom of Gobelya. Behold that has come to pass and been fulfilled which was predicted. “Three kings shall reign and they shall fight on account of them, and after that there shall be a time of peace and friendliness, a time of happiness and rejoicing.” One Negus who conquered was the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and those who were defeated were Atsē Iyāsu and Atsē Ba'eda Māryām who came out of Tigrē and from Gojam.

1 The Council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, the council at which were pronounced definitions which the Monophysites rejected, and separated from the Church.
2 Gabela, see of Syria.
And then they came to Aringo on Holy Saturday (before Easter) and there kept Easter; and on that day of victory all the officers and warriors showed the tribute, and presented the trophies to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and the Prince of power Rās 'Ali. And the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis presented to Prince of power Rās 'Ali a Khenbāl that is to say a saddle studded with gold. He, Rās 'Ali (gave) 150 guns. And on the octave, Gabra Māryam brought a paschal lamb to his elder brother with two of his kinsmen and gave the blood to the father and killed them. And after this there were changes made among the officers. Bālāmbārās Gugsā was made Dajazmāch, Tarbēnos Khāylu Dajazmāch of Gojam, Dajazmāch Ikonyān Dajazmāch of Dāmot, Qaṇazmāch Gualej was made Qaṇazmāch and also Fitāwṛāri, and all the officers were appointed to each of their provinces. But Dajazmāch Khāylu when they said to him, “Choose your title (command) and take what you choose,” he refused and replied, “I do not care for office, I will stay in my province for a little while and take a rest at home.” All this took place in the year of Johannes the date of the time was 7280 (1788 A.D.) and the month was the month of Miyāzya (begins 8th April).

History of Rās 'Ali lover of peace and friendship.

And after all question of war and fighting had been concluded Rās 'Ali said a noted thing to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. “Go then to your city and appoint whom you like, and whom you don't like, dismiss.” But he refused, for his trial was to come. And then Rās 'Ali finished his journey towards Gono, for he was suffering and ill; he left and halted at Tsaguer and there he handed over to Dajazmāch Khāylu all the territory of Afarawanāt with Darā and all the land of Qomā, for he blessed him in his expedition and took delight in his prowess, and then Rās 'Ali arrived at Estē, and Dajazmāch Khāylu received him with food and

1 ḫmft, royal dues.
2 A Khenbāl (ẖnhḅ) in Ge'ez = Kworchā (ẖ-cph) in Amharic both meaning “saddle.”
3 qhli for qh: a paschal lamb (Amharic). Ge'ez, Fessh, the Pasch. ḥ-phn. ṡḥp; πᾶσχα. The Christian Easter is Fasikā (f. h), faśic.
drink, and made great provision for his journey. And he went down to Gono slowly, for he was ill, and he bathed in the water of life; but he did not live, for he was not cured because his disease was his cup. (He was a drunkard.) Jăn Tserăr Barilë came to Gono, and then Rās 'Ali started from Gono and made the journey to Garagarā, and when he arrived as far as Garagarā towards his country his disease went on and on getting worse. And Rās 'Ali died at Garagarā, a great general, such as there was none like. And Rās 'Ali died like all men of whom the Book speaks, “Ye shall die like men and fall like angels.” Further it says, “What man is there that lives, that shall not see death? And who shall deliver himself from the power of Sheol?” (Ps. lxxix. 48) and Solomon said, “As it happens to the fool so it shall happen to me.” In truth, it happened to him to die by an accident, calling to mind the hour, both to the strong and to the weak, and to the wise man and the fool. For Rās 'Ali died, since death is the inheritance of man, Rās 'Ali died, the performer of exploits at Afarawānāt. How can I describe his prowess in the land of Qomā? How of Ambāsal? Of what he performed at Madeb, that would be difficult to describe, for alone he defeated a number of commanders who collected from Gojam and Dāmot, from Gara, from Tsalamat, Tigrē, Wagarā and Semēn. And the feats of bravery he performed in the land of Yaju were very many, beyond number. Rās 'Ali died who settled the whole world. Alas! for his being a man, for a man is to-day a speaking man and to-morrow is speechless dust. Rās 'Ali was a man who ordered the whole world, from one day to another, but to-day is dust that is driven hither and thither, so that perhaps no commander was trusted as Rās 'Ali inspired trust. What price could be put on (his having) such trustfulness? For he was trusted by men and he forswore not his oath, all approached and believed in him. And God will preserve him from all his judgements, if he has kept His word which says, “Swear not at all, neither by heaven nor by earth. And if ye swear, do not swear falsely, for a false oath brings judgement upon the body and soul.”
In truth  Rās 'Ali kept his oath, and it was by that he ruled the whole world. And no courage will be found like Rās 'Ali, who ruled from one end of the world to the other. And he died on the 11th day of the month of Sanē (18th June), and he was buried at Lalībalā; and it was not a man that was buried, it was Truth, for every deed of his was Truth. And there was great weeping and lamentation through all the ends of the earth, for he was the father of the fatherless, and a dispenser of justice to widows (Ps. lxviii. 5).

History of Rās Aligāz.

And after that Rās Aligāz the brother of Rās 'Ali was appointed, and governed the whole world in his place, for he was appointed by the voice of God, as the Bible says, "They shall not appoint a ruler except by the will of God. When there is an appointment of rulers before the Lord, it is not right that they should be disloyal to him, for that is to strive against God." Then Dājazmāch Khāylu finished at Gondar, and when he heard of the death of Rās 'Ali he wept and mourned greatly, for he loved him and trusted him. For the death of Rās 'Ali was to Dājazmāch Khāylu like cutting off his hand, or knocking out his eye. And after this Dājazmāch Khāylu turned back from Garagarā towards his country of 'Este, and put up a great memorial on account of his affection for Rās 'Ali. And Rās Aligāz also, Chief of the captains, put up a great memorial at Garagarā for his brother, Rās 'Ali. And at that time Rās Aligāz set free the officers from their chains. They were Abēto Walda Gabre'ēl, Dājazmāch Gabrē, Dājazmāch Gabra Abey. He sent Dājazmāch Gabrē to Semēn, Dājazmāch Gabra Abib towards his land of Armachaho. Then Negusa Nagast Hezeqeyās came down from Wakhni and Azāj Dagalē and Kantibā Ayādār made him King, while Negus Takla Giyorgis was at Aringo. And a herald proclaimed that the King of Kings Hezeqeyās was Negus, and he repudiated the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. And when the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis heard they had proclaimed Atsē Hezeqeyās Negus, he was very much vexed, and came out from his city Aringo and pitched his camp at the
village of Salâm, and there Gerazmāch Amadē and Dajazmāch Ali Borshe surrounded him. And they saw that he could not retire in the night and go along the road to Afarawānāt, so Dajazmāch Ali Borshe and Dajazmāch Amadē followed in pursuit of him, and they arrived at Deldāy. But the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis escaped and crossed over to the Abāy. At the same time Jān Tserār Barilē and Fitāwrāri Sadiq turned traitors to Rās Aligāz their brother, who had been appointed by the will of God: these latter Dajazmāch Yasufē betrayed. And they saw the work of God when they betrayed Rās Aligāz, God had requited them through Yasufē who had betrayed him. As the Book says, “And he shall requite everyone according to his deeds” (Matt. xvi. 27). And then Dajazmāch Alulā and Nagādrās Jāli and Blāttēngētā Walda Sellāsē turned traitors. But when they betrayed them, they were betraying Rās Aligāz the brother of Rās ‘Ali. And they rose early from Dawentā and came to Garagarā while they were paying the tribute, and they let loose a detachment. Then there was a great clamour over Garagarā, and there was not one that gird up his loins; the chiefs ran out of their houses, and stood up at their doors; the Daqa Tserekh of Rās Aligāz stood at the door of the hall and prevented them from entering into the house. And then there was a great exploit of Rās Aligāz when they vanquished the enemy. That day many warriors performed feats of valour, and one among them Muqit Azmāch Walda Mikā‘el and another, Abeto Khāylu, the son of Dajazmāch Wand Bawasan, and Murā killed Giyorgis Kenfu, and many whose name we do not know performed feats that day. Those that fought bravely that day ought to be proclaimed like the thirty-six mighty ones of David (2 Sam. xxiii. 8—39) and for their Lord Rās ‘Ali, they ought to declare his name, even as Iyob (Joab) prince of the power of David. And that day the strength of Rās Aligāz accomplished what had not been done to this day. And God preserved him from danger, for God preserves the rulers that are appointed according to his will, if he sends them forth through his will. And He defended Rās Aligāz
and protected him from danger of an enemy he recked not of. As the Bible says, "God will preserve thee in thy going forth and coming home" (Ps. xxi. 8). And further it says, "God shall hear thee in the day of thy affliction, and the name of the God of Jacob shall defend thee" (Ps. xx. 1). In truth it was for Ras Aligaz the prophecy that says, "The Lord will assemble angels around those that fear Him, and He will deliver them." And further what David says, "O Lord, see to my help. O Lord, help me and save me. Let them blush for shame that seek my soul, let them be driven backward and put to shame that plot evil against me. Let them be driven back at the moment of their shame that say to me, Aha, Aha" (Ps. xl. 13, 14, 15). Of a truth He helped Ras Aligaz as He helped David the King of Israel. Of a truth God helped Ras Aligaz as He helped Elsa'e (Elishah) the prophet of Galgala (Gilgal) from the men of Surya (Syria) who encompassed him by night (2 Kings vi. and vii.), so it was with him, for He brought him out of the hands of his enemies that abandoned him in the night, and as He blinded the eyes of the men of Surya (Syria) at the prayer of Elsa'e so the strength of Ras Aligaz made powerless the strength of those that hated him, and he turned them back, able to do nothing. And in the deeds that he did Ras Aligaz resembled David the King of Israel. For when Nabal the man of Carmel vilified David the King of the Israelites he was smitten with death by the Holy Spirit (1 Sam. xxv. 38). Saul also the Benyahmawi (Benjamite), when he went to war, was killed by the hand of the archers. And Sahuhe (Sheba) when he was betrayed died by the hand of the woman of Abel when he took refuge there (2 Sam. xx. 22). It was thus with him when Dajazmach Yasufé played the traitor to Dajazmach Sadiq and Negus Takla Giyorgis, if he had been his enemy, he would have been taken by the hand of Dajazmach Ikonyan; and Dajazmach Yasufé treacherously laid hands on Alulà, the son of his sister. See, O men, how God loved this man, because he was just in his hatred, by the

1 ቤንጋስጆል. Amharic from ይጋስ to cut? The word does not occur elsewhere and may be a corrupt text.
hand of others. That was a specimen of his rule from one frontier to the other. And in that month on the day Rās Aligāz was at Garagarā, a man, who was his enemy, brought a false report of Dajazmāch Khāylu. And he said, “Eshētē Khāylu was a traitor, that should not be trusted, he was a traitor.” This was done by those who wanted to get hold of the government of his land. And when Dajazmāch Khāylu heard of this story, which was not what was in his mind, he sent messengers from the leading men of his household to say, “Is it true that you suspect that I am a traitor? If you do not suspect me, is it not from the blood of Gojam that I am descended, and of the blood of Tigrē and Semēn, and I quarrelled with my kinsmen and others. Forsooth how could I have been a traitor to Aligāz, the brother of Rās 'Ali, for I say that he was my refuge and my tower of strength.” And when Rās Aligāz heard that and his friends Maqēt Azmach Walda Mikā'ēl and So Aba Muras Wareho, they said, “What is the meaning of this? (What is this business?) For this was not in our mind nor in his.” Then they swore a mighty oath saying, “We are not the men to suspect thee, and we would not put chains upon thee, for thou art our kinsman.” And this matter they made known to him, and they sent messengers Abēto Anqad and Agāfārē Qundē and declared to him that there was not any tittle of hostility in their hearts. And Dajazmāch Khāylu hearing this was rejoiced, for he sought to be united with his kinsmen, and to be one with them. And after this Rās Aligāz started out from Garagarā and his captains, viz. Maqēt Asmāch Walda Mikā'ēl and Dajazmāch Ali Borshē and Gerazmāch Amadē and Gerazmāch Aderā Gabre’ēl and Abēto Walda Gabre’ēl and Abēto Walda Ner and Asmāch of Begameder Fanta and many others whose names we do not know, and they came to 'Estē and met Dajazmāch Khāylu who received them with rejoicing and hospitalities. And then Abagāz Negusē came, and then they went down to Afarawānāt and were joined by Dajazmāch Khāylu, the son of Abēto Tarbēnos. Then Dajazmāch Ikonyān started from the country of Dāmot, and while on the march the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis fell
upon him and fought a battle with him. And the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was victorious, for he hung on to the rear (of the enemy) leaving behind many of his soldiers; that was a wonderful and difficult feat, for nothing of the sort had been done before this day, and there had been no king who had fought a battle like him, after he had been in chains. And Dajazmāch Ikonyān arrived, having taken the wife of the Negus and his belongings. And there was a meeting between Rās Aligāz and his captains, and afterwards Rās Khāylu came from Gojam, and as he was coming on the road he met the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and came with him as far as Deldāy. And there Rās Aligāz and Dajazmāch Khāylu, Chief of the captains, met, and they told one another of the oath they had in their minds. See now the generosity of Rās Aligāz, for he ordered everything, one man ruling the world without trouble or fatigue. Rās Aligāz with a large force met Rās Khāylu, the latter being with a small force. Rās 'Ali had sent back his daughter, Mayzero Altāsh from Gojam in great grief, he, however, had no compunction or regret. Now all the men were afraid who had spread the false report, for all the captains were at one with Rās Aligāz, but enemies of Dajazmāch Khāylu would be utterly put to shame, who had spread about him the false report. And they said once with Rās Khāylu and once with Ikonyān, "What will they talk of and what will they say, for Dajazmāch Khāylu was found alive by those that were traitors to him." Then Rās Aligāz turned back and proceeded on the road towards Garagarā. But before that a herald had proclaimed in the tents of Rās Aligāz a notice that Atsē Hezeqeyās may act as he thinks fit. And the retainers of the Negus, viz. Qaṇazmāch Ya Māryām Bāryā and Azāj Wadaju and Azāj Waltā said that they spoke by the mouth of the Negus. "I have given," said the King of Kings Hezeqeyās, "to Rās Khāylu the office of Dajazmāch of Gojam with the office of Mazikker of Agaw, the office of Azāj of Garā Yababa with the title of Fitawrāri, and to Dajazmāch Ikonyān the title of Dajazmāch of Dāmot." And at Gondar this day of the month matters were in this position.
In the year 7281 of the world (1789 A.D.) the year of Matewos the Evangelist the 24th of the month of Takhsas, the day being the feast of Abuna Takla Haymanot, the Negusa Nagast Hezeqeyas came forth from Adababay with all the captains and soldiers and men of the city, the Abuna Yoseb came forth Patriarch of Etyopiya and the Echaghe Tasfu, Superior of Debra Libanos, and all the elders of the Church and Chief Judge of Appeal and judges. And the herald proclaimed at Adababay to wit, “That devastated land at Eshte at Aratu Cheqa belonging to him, Dajazmach Khaylu who makes this decree, has bestowed upon the Makan Iyasus (Place of Jesus) and what former Kings have given, and Dajazmach Khaylu has bestowed a gub (a plot of grass?) as a pious donation on the people of Demba Gabre'el by desire of the Atse and he declares it a monastery to be a place of sanctuary even as Waldebbä, Quaratä and Makhdara Maryam,” and they said, “Whoso disturbs the peace of our declaration, whether Negus, or captains, or soldiers, or priests, we Negusa Nagast Hezeqeyas excommunicate, and the Abuna Yosab and Echage Tasfu and all the elders of the Church, let him be anathema by the mouth of the twelve apostles, by the mouth of the seventy-two disciples, and by the mouth of the three hundred and eighteen orthodox Bishops who assembled at Nikeya, one hundred and fifty in the city of Quostantinya (Council Nicaea at Constantinople) and the two hundred at Ephesus, and by the mouth of our Lady Maryam the Mother of God and the mouth of the Holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, let them be accursed. By the Echage, by the Acts of Faith it has been written, by the Liqa Khaylu, by the sea the document has been written. By the Liqa Yoak, by David, it has been written, by the Liqa Takla Haymanot, by David, it has been written, by Liqa Gabru, by David, it has been written.”

And after all this Ras Aligaz turned back from Deldey and went up in the direction of Wagarä, and Dajazmach Khaylu

1 እ. мн. ፕ. ሞ. እ.guidi, loc. cit. 115.
remained at Darā, and Dajazmāch Ikonyān and Dajazmāch (hiatus in mss.) went towards Fogara. Rās (hiatus) went towards Yebābā that he might hand over the Negus, that is the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis.

The Book giving the account of Rās Aligāz.

And after he joined Rās Khāylu in a sworn covenant, and under pain of excommunication, Rās Aligāz turned back from the Abāy in the direction of Garagarā, and he made an expedition towards Dāwent, and Dajazmāch Khāylu remained near Darā in order to carry out the wish of Rās Aligāz, for he was obedient wherever he knew. And he desired as the Bible says not to appoint captains except with the will of God; again as the Bible says, “Command your captains.” Now see all ye men, the humility and gentleness of heart of Dajazmāch Khāylu, for he was commanded by all who came across him, that which ruled him was wisdom and knowledge. What you were found was from God. O my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, who taught you that wisdom that Abraham the Chaldaean was taught? As the Book of the tradition of our Fathers teaches us Abraham was bidden to be ruler of the land of Cana’an, and he bought his burying place when he migrated to that land. (Gen. xxiii.)

We will now return to the previous matter. Rās Khāylu forswore his oath and declared “They shall not give up the Negus Takla Giyorgis who has taken refuge with me,” adding, “For the Book says, ‘They put aside the law for the sake of the law.’” Then when Rās Khāylu was at Mēchā Takla Giyorgis hastened along his route to Gondar with Rās Odalu and the captains that were with him. And on the road Abēto Mamo Sāhelu and Qaṇazmach Gualej and other captains met him with rejoicing and festivity. Gondar too received him with chorus, for that was both a joy and a trial. The Negus Hezeqeyās too marched out of Gondar with his captains, viz. Kantibā Ayādār and Azāj Teku and Azāj Dagelē and other officers. And he hastened on his journey to Begameder and arrived at Kamkam
and pitched his tent there. And then while the King of Kings Hezeqeyās was there, Dajazmāch Khāylu came out from Darā, and he joined the Negusa Nagast and recounted to him everything that had passed and had not. For he Dajazmāch Khāylu was versed in affairs as he was versed in warfare, as the Bible says, “Bless the Lord my God that hath taught me to war against my enemy and kill those that make war against me.” Since he gave counsel to Dajazmāch Khāylu as to what should be and what not it seems as if nothing was impossible for him; whether his counsel was war and battle or whether his counsel was other, it was wisdom. For it was given to him, every matter of war, and every counsel of wisdom. As the Book says, “What hast thou that has not been given to thee?” And after that all the captains were assembled before the King of Kings Hezeqeyās, and his captains were Dajazmāch Khāylu, Dajazmāch Ikonyān, Dajazmāch Tarbēnos Khāylu, Bashā Gugsa and all the other captains. Then they departed and proceeded on the route towards Gondar in order to give battle to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. The King of Kings Takla Giyorgis too marched out from Gondar and camped at Tsadā with his captains, and the Negus Hezeqeyās advanced with his captains to give battle, and he came on as far as below Tsadā. Negus Takla Giyorgis took to flight and quitted Tsadā and continued his march and came to Sar Weha, and the others followed and reached Saqalt. He continued his flight and reached Dengal Bar. Then the captains of Rās Khāylu came to him from Gojam to help him and turned back towards Gondar to give battle to the King of Kings Hezeqeyās and his captains, viz. Dajazmāch Khāylu and Dajazmāch Ikonyān and Dajazmāch Tarbēnos Khāylu. But they (Takla Giyorgis and Co.) fled and marched on by the road towards Wakhni. And he the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis hastened on the road to Qaroda and reached Fārtsā and burnt down the house of Abēto Walda Nēr. After that the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis turned back and

1 Ps. cxliv. 1. 2 Sam. xxii. 35.
marched on along the road to Delday, and there were the generals who were with him camped, who had scattered to their tents. And some people asked of the captains saying, "What have you done and why have you come to Begameder?" What had they to say, for they had done nothing? They were indeed like a tree that came up in a valley by night and perished in a night. Again they were like that other tree that grew in the land of Fars (Persia) and quickly was dried up when it heard the voice of a man saying, "Oh tree, an axe\(^1\) has come to cut thee down.\(^2\)" In truth that similitude is applicable to those captains, for they did nothing at all at Begameder except burn down the house of Abēto Walda Nēr.

An axe sharp-edged and terrible was Rās Aligāz, and the tree that was cut down were those captains of Gojam, who trembled and were panic-stricken when they heard the roar of Rās Aligāz, and the Negus Hezeqeyās and his captains, Dajazmāch Khāylu, Dajazmāch Ikonyān, and Kantibā Ayādār, Azāj Dagelē, Azāj Teku, Dajazmāch Galmo and Bāshā Gugsā came to Qāntonā. But Dajazmāch Khāylu pursued Negusa Nagast Takla Giyorgis, and Dajazmāch Khāylu’s soldiers made the captains of Negus Takla Giyorgis give up their cattle, and then when Rās Aligāz turned back from Ambāsal, he came to Garagarā and sent Maqēt Azmach Walda Mikā‘el over to the King of Kings Hezeqeyās. And the King of Kings Hezeqeyās made changes in the commands at Aringo. But before this matter took place, Rās Aligāz had a quarrel with Jān Tserār Yasufē, and they fought a battle at Dāwent, and victory remained with Rās Aligāz chief of the princes and captains, because he who wars against one appointed by the Lord, wars against the Lord. For as the wise man said, when the elders of the old law laid hands on the disciples, "Be not as those who fight against God, when that was their counsel, if this counsel or work be of men it will

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1 Guidi 876, Amharic.
2 20 Tigrine, Guidi 735-6.
perish and come to nought but if it be of God nothing that he hath established shall pass away" (Acts v. 38, 39). Truly was the appointment of Rās Alīgāz from the Lord, for everyone bowed themselves under his foot. And when he went forth to war there was no one could stand up before him. And then Blātēngētā Walda Sellāsē died, being killed by Maqēt Azmāch Walda Mikā'ēl. Jān Tserār Yasufē took to flight and he escaped in suffering and pain. And Rās Alīgāz pursued him as far as Ambāsāl, and then Barilē came to Rās Alīgāz, having broken his fetters. Then Yasufē and Rās Alīgāz became reconciled and they sent away Dajazmāch Alula, after putting fetters on his hands. Rās Alīgāz, however, full of gentleness, released him that day, and made him ruler over two provinces, viz. Waro and the land of Dawuwart. And besides because he knew that they had compelled him to act as he did, like the others, and on this account he forgot his offence. Then Rās Alīgāz returned and came to Garagarā and after sent Maqēt Azmāch Walda Mikā'ēl over to the King of Kings Hezeqeyās to say, “Oh, our Negus, come to your city of Gondar, and of the captains that are with thee those that wish to come with thee let them come, and those that wish to go with thee let them go.” Then Negusa Nagast Hezeqeyās made some changes in the appointments at Aringo, and he appointed Maqēt Azmāch Walda Mikā'ēl Azāj of Geresamba, and Abēto Yobazē, Bāshā, and Sonē Abbā Murās, Qaṇazmāch Abāy Demanā, Negādrās, and Abēto Khāylyu, son of Princess Yawareq Wehamār, to be Azāj, and Dajazmāch Galmo he confirmed in the governorship of Balasā, and all the captains he appointed according to their ranks. And Negus Takha Giyorgis also made fresh appointment at Mēchā, he appointed everyone he liked and dismissed everyone he disliked. See, oh men, that time was as no time had been, for the Kingdom was split in two. And after that Dajazmāch Ikonyān came to Garagarā and met Rās Alīgāz and gave him the land of Gunā. Dajazmāch Khāylyu also came to Garagarā from his land.
of Estē and joined Rās Aligāz and related everything that passed in the summer, for he had spent it in expeditions (raids). Then Rās Aligāz said to Dajazmāch Khāylu, "Go to your lands and repose for a short while, for your labours have been great"; then he returned to his land of Estē. Then Negus Hezeqeyās rose with his captains, Kantibā Ayādār, Azāj Dagelē, and Azāj Teku, and Liqa Maquās Yabo Bāryā, Affā Negus Lā'eka Māryām and all the captains who were with him, and they started to go towards Gondar. And when they arrived at Isadā, Qaṇazmāch Gualej came from the land of Mecha and drove out Qaṇazmāch Sonē; so Qaṇazmāch Sonē went over to the King of Kings Hezeqeyās and pitched his tent at Tsadā, and Qaṇazmāch Gualej came on to fight them, and when there was no battle Gualej returned and pitched his camp at Darasge. And on Thursday Gualej went over to the King of Kings Hezeqeyās in order to give battle, and to show his wisdom sent his brother Abēto Yamar above the camp, and he drew near below it; and when Negusa Nagast Hezeqeyās heard of the coming of Qaṇazmāch Gualej by another road, he ordered Abēto Khāylu, son of Maqēt Azmach Walda Mikā'ēl, and the Affā Negus Lā'eka Māryām, saying to them, "You guard the road above the camp." And he the King of Kings Hezeqeyās started out from his sleeping place, girded his loins with strength, as the Bible says, "Buckle thy sword, oh strong one, upon thy thigh in thy judgement and thy splendour, make straight, prosper and rule, because of justice, truth and clemency, and thy right hand shall teach thee glory. Thine arrows are sharp and strong. Peoples shall fall beneath thee" (Ps. xlv. 3, 4, 5). And he said to the captains who were Qaṇazmāch Sonē and Kantibā Ayādār and Azāj Dagelē and Azāj Teku and Liqa Maquās Gaba Bāryā and all the captains, "Be strong and brave, for (otherwise) there is no hope of life either in many or few, and there is no power in big battalions, but what God gives. It shall be to him as God's Word says, 'He giveth great strength to those that proclaim his word,'" and by speaking thus the King of
Kings Hezeqeyās encouraged his soldiers, for he was a master of power and versed in war. Then they closed and joined battle. And victory rested with the King of Kings Hezeqeyās, for the mind of God is one thing and the mind of man is another. As the Lord says by the mouth of Isayās (Isaias) the prophet, “For my thoughts (mind) are not your thoughts, nor my counsels your counsels” (Is. lv. 8). “Even if you multiply your vows I will not hear you, for your hands are full of blood” (Is. i. 15). Then the King of Kings Hezeqeyās scattered the captains that encompassed him by the two roads, as the Bible says, “Scatter thou the people that delight in war” (Ps. lxviii. 30). And that day he prayed to God full of mercy, saying in the words of David, “It is better to trust in God than to put confidence in man (Ps. cxviii. 8) or put confidence in princes” (Ps. cxviii. 9). “All the peoples compassed me about but in the name of the Lord I have vanquished them” (Ps. cxviii. 11). “I have been thrust at that I might have fallen, but the Lord raised me up” (Ps. cxviii. 13). “My strength and good name is the Lord, and he has become my salvation” (Ps. cxviii. 14). “The voice of rejoicing is in the houses of the righteous, the right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly. The right hand of the Lord is exalted, the right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly. I shall not die, but live and declare the works of the Lord” (Ps. cxviii. 15—17). In very truth fitting for Negusā Nagast Hezeqeyās to declare the works of the Lord, for he did very valiantly, as he did for Hezeqeyās King of the Jews, when the King of Persia came to him, so again spoke Hezeqeyās King of Etyopiā, “Now I know that the Lord hath saved his anointed, and has heard from holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand. Those others trusted in horses and chariots, but we were great in the name of the Lord our God. Those others were ensnared and fell, but us the Lord raised upright and sustained. Deliver the Negus and hearken to him in the day we call upon thee” (Ps. xx. 6—9). And with all these prayers and supplications he attributed his strength as from the Lord of the mighty who
conquered the Asoraweyan (the Assyrians). Qañazmäch Gualej and the soldiers who followed him and the captains of Kings Hezeqeyäs, viz. Qañazmäch Sonë and Azåj Teku and Kantibä Ayädär and Abäy Dämana and Liqa Mâquäs Yâbo Bâryä did feats that day of great valour, and there was not one who did not perform feats that day. And Abëto Gualu, the son of Atsë Hezeqeyäs, fought valiantly and took prisoners men who had captured him. And Qañazmäch Gualej fled as far as Sar Weha, and the Negus Hezeqeyäs came to Gondar, and the priests received him with chants and songs, and Gondar gave him an ovation with choral dancing. And the Negus Hezeqeyäs in his great joy said, “The stone that the builders refused is become the headstone of the corner” (Ps. cxviii. 22). “This is the Lord’s doing” (Ps. cxviii. 23). And further he said, “This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it” (Ps. cxviii. 24). And further he cried, “Behold, henceforth all nations shall call me blessed, because he hath done for me a great deal of strength.” And with all these prayers he came to Gondar, and ruled by the will of God only. Yet Gondar was destroyed and nothing at all was left of it. And in the month of Genbot, Rås Aligâz went from Garagarä towards Ambäsäl. When he heard of the crime of Dajazmäch Yâsufë thereupon he laid waste and plundered all the land of Dalántä and Ambäsäl, and he devastated Tartaryä and Mahawä and Khuäyêt, high mountains, and all the villages he burnt down with fire on account of the rebellion of Dajazmäch Yâsufë. And Dajazmäch Barilë said to Rås Aligâz, “Ascend all the mountains and they will come under your control, and place there the men you want.” And Râz Aligâz replied to Dajazmäch Barilë, “I have given you your lands and they shall be in your hands.” And when he had done that they all returned from Ambäsäl and came to Garagarä. That month Ali Borshe came to Gondar to render assistance to the King of Kings Hezeqeyäs and Qañazmäch Sonë, for Qañazmäch Gualej had driven them out from Gondar. And all this took place the year of Matëwos from the creation of the world
5500 year of the world: in 1781\(^1\) of the year of grace, and nothing (of what is related) but what happened in that period. And at that time they released the princes out of Wakhnī the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and gave them permission to go where they liked. See now, Oh men, how times had changed. There was nothing like it had ever happened before that time. In the days of the Old Testament on account of the grievous sins of the people of Isra'el the Kingdom was divided among two tribes of Isra'el, that is to say one tribe of Jews of Benjamin followed Robe'am the son of David, and the other tribe Isra'el followed Jerobe'am son of Nabat and made him King of Samaryā. But God had commanded that the kingdom should not go out of the house of David, or the priests made out of the house of Levi, and only on account of that sin of Isra'el the kingdom was split up. And the kingdom was given over to others that had no right, and whoever wished to become a priest of Idols became a priest of Idols in Samaryā. To-day since God has kept His help aloof from us and taken away one Lord to whom had been given the unction of the Kingship (who had been anointed King) there had been many rulers over Etyopiya. As the Bible of the Jews says, “Many are thy princes in the numbers of thy cities.” And Ermeyās (Jeremias) first brought back by his prayers the kingdom to the house of David, and afterwards the Abuna Takla Haymānot the Father of Light restored the throne, so that the King might be the descendant of David. To-day in our time, there is no one to set in order for us the kingdom, for we have turned God far away from us by our sins. As David said, “The voice of my sins has turned away my salvation”; further, there is no man in our time to say to God, Is thy word false that declares, No servant can serve two masters; that has not spared thy creature; but as a man may not speak thus out of the multitude of his trials and his sorrows, Abbā Gabre'ēl Aragāwī (the old man) spoke thus, \(^{542}\)b

“Oh Lord, my hope and my refuge, according to Thy good

\(^1\) 1781=1789. 8 years have to be added to adjust the Abyssinian chronology. If this is correct the A.M. should be 7281 instead of 5500.
pleasure, afflict my life with sweet or bitter; what thou willest, even that I desire as liquid honey; and that is the voice of wisdom, the bridle for heart and mind."

The story is related how the wife of Dajazmāch Khāylu was captured and how she returned, through the power of God, to Gojam.

When Dajazmāch (Khāylu) returned from Garagarā towards the land of ‘Estē he heard that his wife Princess Anqualit had been made prisoner; but she had only been made prisoner, there was no stain upon her (character). And he was not remiss, but sent over to her to say, "Return to your village, and come back to your house"; but she recked little about returning, but meantime there was no blame or weakness on the part of Dajazmāch Khāylu, just as there was no blame or weakness on the part of God in the death of living beings. And the (woman) was expelled from the Garden (of Eden), for God declared to her these words, "If you eat of that tree, you will die the death." And her heedlessness of that voice was the cause of her death and her expulsion from the Garden. Then Dajazmāch Khāylu started from his land of Estē and went on the road to the Abāy and pursued Petros who had captured his wife, as far as the river Abāy, and he, Petros, crossed the river Abāy and escaped painfully and with difficulty, and he made Wayzaro Anqualit cross the river Abāy and so they came to the land of Gojam; and when the men of Gojam saw the arrival of Anqualit and Dajazmāch Khāylu in pursuit after her, they trembled and were afraid, and the pains like those of labour seized those who dwell in the Mountain of Isot. And then they sent over to Dajazmāch Khāylu to say, "Turn back to your lands and we will send you your wife." He replied, "Yes, I will return to my land if you will give me back my wife." And then they gave him back his wife in fear and trembling, for if they had not given her to him, he would not have returned in the end, but he would have gone on to the land of Gojam whether for death or life, for his mind was aflame as with fire. Only the merciful
and compassionate God made the men of Gojam give him back his wife. And after this Wayzaro Anqualit crossed the river Abāy and rejoined her husband Dajazmāch Khāylu; and when she saw him she wept and embraced his neck, and he was much delighted and gave thanks to God that had done valiantly for him, saying, “Ask and thou shalt receive and thou hast not scorned my prayer, Oh Lord my God I have called unto thee and thou hast had pity. Oh Lord, thou hast brought out my soul from She’ol and She’ol that is Gojam, and his soul that is his wife, Wayzaro Anqualit. As the Bible says, Wife and Husband they are one, for what God has joined together let no man put asunder,” and then he said out of his great joy, “Come, listen to me, and I will tell you all you who fear the Lord how much He has done for me myself when I called out to Him with my voice and proclaimed with my tongue; if He saw wickedness in my heart the Lord would not have hearkened to me; and by reason of that the Lord hearkened to me and was not deaf to the voice of my supplication. Blessed be the Lord who hath not refused my prayer and hath not removed His mercy from me.” Thou wilt not relinquish the love of the Lord thy God, Oh my lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, in truth the Lord did not refuse thy prayer, nor withdrew His mercy far from thee and thou didst not abandon thy love of the Lord thy God. As the Bible says, “Love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with all thy strength, and He will not withdraw His mercy from thee, and will not put thy face to shame” (Mark xii. 30, Luke x. 27). As David said, “Draw nigh to Him and He will shine upon you and shall not put your countenance to shame.” Again Dajazmāch Khāylu said in his great joy that was in his heart “What return shall I make the Lord for all He has done for me, calling for life, I have had it given back, and I will call upon the name of the Lord.” For his wife was his life, who was given back from Gojam, for indeed that wife was his life. As the Angel said to Adam, “Why hast thou put far away thy wife?” and for thy life Oh my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu thou hast gratefully returned thanks to God, for Johannes Chrysostom says “We ought not
to speak evil of the Lord whether He has helped us or not.”
Oh my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, of a truth the Lord helped thee as it was seen by all. And then he returned from the Abāy with his wife towards the land of Estē. And then there were great rejoicings among those who were his friends and grief among those that were his enemies. For those were many that said “Who would bring back Wayzaro Anqualit from the land of Gojam, without pain and trouble?” As David says, “Who shall give deliverance to Israel out of Sion?” (Ps. lii. 6). When the Lord restor eth his people from captivity, Yā’eqob re joiceth and Israel is glad. But we will reckon that wonderful thing with the wonderful thing that was done for Hezeqeyās in his trial, and with the wonderful thing done to David when his women were captured; for there was done for Dajazmāch Khāylu a great deed such as had not been done unto this day.

The history which sets forth and relates how Dajazmāch Khāylu chief of the wise men built a church and how he finished it by the help of God.

As the Bible says, “Ye shall finish it more excellently by the help of God.” Amen.” In the year of the world 7279 from the creation of the world (1787 A.D.) the year of Lucas (Luke) the evangelist, Dajazmāch Khāylu pondered on and was anxious to build a church in the name of Jesus Christ, and before any building he threw a fence round. And he built inside it a church, small and in the vicinity. And he brought a Tābot of Jesus from Geshana and brought it inside. And the priests that fixed it performed chants with cymbals and tambours. And thus the Tābot of Jesus was left during the winter in the vicinity, and Dajazmāch Khāylu spent the winter in raids. Maskaram opened in the 7280 year from the creation of the world (1787 A.D.) in the year of Johannes (the evangelist), Dajazmāch Khāylu assembled together the experts (architects) whose custom was to build churches, and he gave them first a remuneration, because he knew and respected the word of the Bible. Let him not pass the night
in thy house, pay the labourer his hire. And the Gospel says, the labourer is worthy of his hire. And on account of this he first gave them their hire for he was a man of knowledge. And he commanded his attendant who was Yashālaqā Waldā Gabre'ēl that he should not absent himself (that he should always be present) from the building. After that he began the building the church. He fashioned the wood of good quality, and gathered together the stones that would make good the construction. Then he laid down the foundations of the church and dug the earth deep and according to his instructions; and when those who were craftsmen laid down the foundations of the church one of the craftsmen took canes (measuring rods) the length of a cubit and fixed them between the foundation (stones) while the craftsmen passed ropes round from one side to the other and measured the ground for building the sanctuary¹; the rope, falling on the canes, was prevented (lit. refused) from passing beyond to another point (i.e. from being deflected), as they laid one upon the other, until we were full of wonder and admiration at the builders, for it was a great marvel; such a building as would be pleasing to God, a dwelling-place of Jesus; and the size of the sanctuary was 10 cubits. And they began building what was the roof and left the wood (planks) for what was to be the vestibule and laid down inside wood of a good quality of the tree called Pawkina (πεύκων ?) and cedar, and they call these planks the passage (?). And they erected in this vestibule (verandah) two fine pillars and they erected three others in close proximity to each. And similarly they wrought the three doors of the sacred edifice, and for each door there were two folds (i.e. double doors) very fair to see and two hinges and similarly for the two doors of the sanctuary with their two

¹ The sanctuary mentioned above of 10 cubits אַ֫דַּמָּה (Maqdas) or Holy of Holies was the enclosure where the Tabot was deposited, and the celebrants (and the Emperor) communicated. The outer sanctuary, אַדַּמָה (qeddest), was the space where communion was given to the people and was divided into four parts; (1) the principal entrance where the men communicated, (2) the right side of the entrance where the women communicated, (3) the left side where the sacred elements were brought in, (4) the space opposite the entrance used as a sacristy.

w. p.
folds and two hinges. And the breadth of the outer sanctuary was 7 cubits, and the stand of the priests was 6 cubits. And all the measurements of that church were pleasing and very fine; and the doors and the windows were all also very fine, and the rafters that were fashioned were very beautiful. Thus the church of Dajazmāch Khāylu was built of fine construction and was finished by the help of God in one year and six months from the time it was begun, on the 5th of Hamlé; and on the day of the feast of Peter and Paul, the year of Mātēwos Dajazmāch Khāylu brought the Tabot of Jesus into the church, with great rejoicing and festival; and the priests who were trained, sang the Psalms Chants, saying, "It has been done according to the will of God, All this has been done," and with every kind of melody. And with ceremonies such as these they erected that church beautiful above the churches, and high over all the hills, destroying the foundations of his own houses for he knows how a house (an earthly house) in this world is ruined and destroyed. As the Bible says, "How many houses are destroyed and how many men leave their houses unwillingly?" But he Dajazmāch Khāylu pulled down his earthly houses willingly and built up a heavenly one (2 Cor. v. 1). He was mindful of the words of the Bible that say, "Seek those things which are above, Christ sitteth on the right hand of God" (Coloss. iii. 1) and they do not say "things of the earth." Truly all the seeking of Dajazmāch Khāylu was after the Lord. For he knew how all things are brought to perfection in the Lord whether the habitation of the body or the habitation of the soul. And he called that church by the name of the Place of Jesus. Oh my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, whence didst thou find such a name for thy church. Did an angel teach thee, or was it the Almighty? Yea the Bible says, "For the Lord knoweth the heart as the heart of an angel." Oh my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu blessed be God that gave thee to finish what thou didst begin and put

1. 545a more correctly ἡοθήν doors.
2. θάλαθον; error for θαλάθων (melanthron) = μαλαθὼν, centre beam of a roof.
thee not to shame. Oh my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu, thou deservest to be blessed by the voice of every creature, by reason that God accomplished for thee thy desire. For the Bible says, "Blessed is the man who accomplishes his desire and is not brought to shame when he sayeth his prayers at his gates." And while he was building the church, no one gave him any help, no king nor commander, and no kinsmen, nor anyone else, but those that would not help him refused help because that time was the season for raids. Solomon, indeed, the King of Israel, when he was building the Temple was assisted by many, as it is said in the Bible, Kings and Keram (Hiram) supplied (helped) him with wood of Cedar and Pawkina, besides there were many ships that brought him gold from the sea, and that time too was a time of affluence and repose, but Dajazmāch Khāylu had none of these things, but indeed only the help of God that sufficed for all things and nothing is impossible to him. And after that the good and learned arranged a melody and learned discourses, and learned books which they showed to be excellent, and others fortified their works with faith. For the books that teach and speak as a body without a spirit are as dead. So faith without good works that too is dead. And he gave them lands that are called Meder Faras (Horse land) that the kings gave him, called Atsē Takla Häymānot and Atsē Takla Giyorgis, also Dajazmāch Khāylu added villages that are called Dembach and Gub and besides built a church in land of Yaju called the "Saviour of the World" and he called it "Debra Madakhnit" Mount of Redemption. And Dajazmāch Khāylu did many kindnesses at that time. And at one time which was the year of Matēwos when there was a famine over all the provinces, there came over to him many needy people in their great distress, whom he settled in his villages as guards. And hearing of this report about Dajazmāch Khāylu, many commanders who acted as he did adopted his example for themselves. And further, Rās Alīgāz presented to the House of Jesus a village called the Hagar Densar, that is Zeguarā.
History relating and describing everything that took place in the year of Mărqos the Evangelist, in the peace of God the Father, Amen. The year 7283 (1790-1 A.D.).

After that event Rās Aligāz spent the rains at Garagarā and Jān Tserār Biralē came from Ambāsal, and he was put in chains at Garagarā; then there was a raid on his land and Rās Aligāz raided and ruled over the whole of the land of Ambāsal except Geshen, and made his son Abēto Gobazē come to Mahwa. Thereafter he returned from Ambāsal, and on his return from there he joined Dajazmāch Khāylu in the land of Wadelā and came home to Hor and there pitched his camp. Dajazmāch Khāylu returned to his land Begameder in peace and amity. And in this year of Mărkos war broke out between Negusa Nagast Takla Giyorgis and Rās Khāylu and the strength of Negusa Nagast Takla Giyorgis prevailed for God was with him, and he escaped by great strength and courage and passed on towards Dambayā; and he had a mind to go to Dajazmāch Gadelu, but he Dajazmāch Gadelu refused to receive him. Thereupon he sent over to Rās Aligāz saying, "Receive me, for I am coming over to you," and Rās Aligāz answered, "Come over to me and I will receive you." Then he hastened along the road towards Begameder and came to Zurāamba; and then joined Dajazmāch Khāylu for Rās Aligāz sent him over to Dajazmāch Khāylu. Then King of Kings Takla Giyorgis rose and marched towards Garagarā and as he was arriving at Chāt Weha he was received by Rās Aligāz with a large army with rejoicing and festivity. And he brought to the house one of the Captains; then as it seemed good to the men who had made him Negus, they sent him to Emkina, on the plea that none should know his affairs. Now Rās Aligāz gave Rās Khāylu a wife called Wayzarō Attash, daughter of his brother Rās 'Ali. Rās Khāylu also gave the other a wife named Wayzarō Qatsaro, daughter of his sister, Wayzarō Khērut.* And all this came about through the advice of Wariho, for it was he who brought about peace between them. And about that time Dajazmāch Ikonyān was exiled to
Waldebbă, and the same month died Dajazmāch Dorē, son of Rās Goshu. Then Rās Aligāz started from Garagarā and made a raiding expedition towards Ambāsal with all the men of Begameder and Yaju. Then he sent over to Dajazmāch Khāylu saying, “Come for a raid, for you will be a great help to me.” But he Dajazmāch Khāylu sent over to him to say, “Leave me alone and do not drive me to a raid because there was no raiding amongst my fathers with the captains of Begameder.” But he Rās Aligāz scorned him for he was well versed in the business of war and fighting. Then Dajazmāch Khāylu went out of his land Esatē with his army and followed behind him and those who were hostile to Dajazmāch Khāylu said to Rās Aligāz “Dajazmāch Khāylu will not go on that expedition, for his heart is not with you, if he says ‘I will come’ do not trust him.” And while they were slandering him in this way he went over to his friend Rās Aligāz and joined him. And Rās Aligāz was glad at the coming of my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu. They threw suspicion on him but nothing could be found for which they could cast aspersions on him: they slandered him, though no cause of slander could be found; they bullied him but he bullied no man; they hated him but he hated no man. Oh my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu who was it taught thee to obey, for to obey a man makes man obedient. That is as you know full surely, like the story in which theredwelt two monks in a certain desert, one in fetters in a prison, that is to say he was an anchorite, and the other was a disciple who was obedient to him, and his name was Oho Bahālē; and one day they went down to a river and the disciple Oho Bahālē went into the water and came up among crocodiles. And those crocodiles laid themselves prone before him. Now the anchorite stood on the bank of the river and was afraid to come into the water, and the disciple Oho Bahālē cried “Come in, Oh my brother,” but the anchorite replied, “I have not risen to your degree (height) of faith.” Oh my Lord Dajazmāch Khāylu see what happened to that disciple for his obedience brought about the obedience of the crocodiles to him. Oh my Lord, thou wert wise without being taught, as the
Bible says, “Wise men are indeed as children before the Lord.” Thou wert wise without being taught, as the Bible says, “Thou shalt fill the earth with the knowledge of God, As waters that irrigate the ground” (Hab. ii). And thou art likened to our Lord Jesus Christ in that thou wast obedient, for the Bible declares this obedience to man, when it says “He heard and was obedient unto death.” Oh my Lord Dajazmách Khāylu in what place have you not been obedient, did you not spend the rains in Wagarā in obedience to Rās ‘Ali, and did you not toil in the land of Qomā? And what King of Kings has not gloried in thy prowess and what captain among captains that has not rejoiced at your obedience?

We will now return to the previous matter. And when Rās Aligāz and Dajazmách Khāylu met, Rās Aligāz was glad, for there were many who declared that Dajazmách Khāylu would not come; and there were others who were annoyed at his joining Rās Aligāz, they thought they could strike a blow at him; as the Bible says, “The envious man is like to one who strikes at another,” but such a man first gathers bitter fruit of their envy, pains and condemnation. And Rās Aligāz made a friend of Kollāsē and gave him for a wife the daughter of his sister. And then they returned from the expedition and on their return Dajazmách Khāylu went to Ḥayq and joined several monks and was blessed by them. And the monks of Ḥayq said to Dajazmách Khāylu, “We have not seen such a man, either Negus or Commander or anyone except Galla since the days of Graā” (1530–40 A.D.). And then he departed from Ḥayq. And Rās Aligāz hurried on their road and all his generals, towards Yaju, and the men of Begameder towards Begameder, and when they came to parting, a herald made a proclamation in these words, “Henceforth Dajazmách Khāylu will not go out on raiding expeditions with the men of Begameder, for raiding is not right.” Then when the parting had taken place Dajazmách Khāylu was seized with a severe illness and the cause of his illness was from going out fishing (chill?). And they laid him on a bed and with difficulty carried him to
Dabko, and from Dabko they bore him to his land Nagalā. And many there were that grieved at his illness, for he was the hope of all and the tribesman to all; and besides he was the only man left of whom the Book\(^1\) speaks, “Thou hast left us but one grape upon the vine.” A writer, his friend on account of his great love for him, wrote thus, “If David and Bērsābeh (Bathsheba) laid aside their mourning, etc., for the illness and death of their child (II Sam. xii. 19) it was because they were bereft for a brief time, by the illness of their only son, and seeing that another (Solomon) would be born; but we will not cease to mourn for Khāylu Mikāʾēl, for if we sail the seas, or raise our eyes beyond to the skies, he is our one relation.” And afterwards he was cured of his illness and God (on Him be praise) had pity on him. As the Bible says, “The Lord is merciful and compassionate, far removed is His anger, plenteous His mercy and justice,” and again the Bible says, “As a father has pity on his son so the Lord has pity on those that fear Him. For He knows that we are His creatures and remembers that we are dust” (Ps. ciii. 8—14). (But as for) man his days are as grass as a flower of the field so he bears fruit. For the wind passeth over it and it shall be no more. For the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear Him. Truly we know how Dajazmāch Khāylu feared God and loved Him from his heart for His mercy was upon him. And after that Rās Aligāz left Waldāyā and came to Garagarā and he came home to his house. Thereupon he seized Maqēt Asmāch Walda Mikāʾēl with his two sons, and Gerazmāch Adera Gabreʾēl and Gerazmāch Amadē, Qaʾazmāch Gualej and put them in chains, for he knew their misdeeds. And that month Liqa Maquaṣ Negusē died and thus spent the rains at Garagarā, and Negus Hezeqeyās also spent the rains there, while building his royal residence (palace). And he repaired what had fallen down and had been knocked down when he found some one able to put things right. For he was a restorer of what was right and just, because great men are those who govern men as they ought in righteousness.

\(^1\) Cp. Jerem. xlix. 9, Obad. 5. “If David” to “relation” is a song or Qenē of six verses with the rhyme -adu. *Vide* Appendix: Hymns and Chants.
And Qañazmách Sonē devastated the land of Dambayā, which belonged to the Negus and the governors and royal princesses; but no man confiscates land of the Negus or land of the governors or of the priests or of the princesses or of the Echagē or of the Abun. And a great wonder was worked in the land of Gojam. Rās Khāylu came to Jēbalā and pitched his camp. And in Dāmot a very wonderful thing was performed. First of all a woman was crucified on a tree, and her crime [written] below, and behind her were crucified seven enemies like her, who also perished for their crimes. That is what Liqā Male'kt Makā'ēl did to show his power and as a warning; he showed himself a Negus, were the actual (lit. earthly) Negus to disappear. As for Dajazmách Walda Sellāsē the men of Tigrē laid a trap to kill him with a cannon. As the Bible says, “The proud have hid a snare for me and cords about my feet and have set stumbling blocks on my road” (Ps. cxI. 5). But may God the merciful and compassionate preserve him from that grievous trial.

We will now go back to the other matter. The angel of light gave a son to the father Dajazmách Khāylu. If my heart were searched I account you superior to Betwaddad, Rās, and all the generals. The King is greater for us, but thou for us (art) greater than a prince. A friend to all Eshētē Khāylu, but what is better than this thy heart is pure. If men came to thee from the four quarters (of the earth) thine eye would look kindly on every man, for thou couldst never be sated (with generosity). It seems to me in thy noble building, that if the world perishes by (Divine) chastisement, thou wilt save it, with thy people, for thou art the very seed of men. And if any man ask me, what proof I have of this, (I would answer) Noah in his ark saved himself with his people, while (the rest of) men perished in the Flood1.

In the year 7283 (A.D. 1790) Maskaram opened on Thursday when the Epact of the Moon was 25, the Matq‘ē was 5 and Tentyon2 2. An incident began that took place in this year

1 This harangue from “If my heart” is written in Amharic.
2 Tentyon, a corruption of the Greek πατριαίων, may be translated by Solar Epact. From it is deduced the Year Letter. Vide Appendix: Abyssinian Chronography and Chronology.
of Lukās. Rās Aligāz, Chief of the captains, marched towards Ambāsal, and reduced the land of Ambāsal to submission. And he surrounded Geshen many months, and cut off Dajazmāch Yasufē from coming in or getting out. And all the warriors that were on the mountain came down to him and all the men of Wechālē submitted to him and laid themselves beneath his feet. After this he turned back from Ambāsal and left there Dajazmāch Alulā to stand guard over Dajazmāch Yasufē, coming from out his amba (stronghold) that he might not lay waste the villages. And he went to his village Yaju and inflicted punishment on the Gallas who were in revolt on the frontier of the country. Thereupon he spent the summer at Ambāsal and Yaju. And the whole country that was troubled was made safe by the great work of Rās Aligāz and the times made straight. A miracle this, since if a ruler is good the times are good, and if a ruler is a bad one the times are bad. We will quote a similitude from the Book of Wisdom which says, "A King among Kings said to a wise man among wise men, 'How is the goodness of a time (to be reckoned)?' and the wise man replied 'The times are indeed as art thou, If thou art evil the times are evil, and if thou art good the times are good.'" God said to Johannes of Ephesus by the mouth of John the Evangelist "If thou dost not repent and act according to thy former acts, I will come quickly and shiver thy lights at Emkinā." And again the Bible says, "As is the ruler so is the land," and in another part it speaks thus, "Woe is thee Oh city whose King is young and thy rulers eat in early morning" (Eccles. x. 16). It has been made manifest how the destruction of a city is by the wickedness of her ruler and the life (prosperity) of a city is in the goodness of her ruler. And at that time Rās Aligāz put down rebellion in all the villages. For God justified in him his gifts beyond the gifts of all rulers. We will now return to the beginning of our story. He departed from Yaju and came to Garagarā in the month of Genbot and spent the winter there. And in the month of Sanē Dajazmāch Khāylu left Makana Iyasus (Place of Jesus) and went to Garagarā and
joined Rās Alīgāz and remained there. And on the 5th Hamlē on the Feast of St Peter and Paul, Rās Alīgāz stayed in his residence (hall) eating and drinking. And he spent the time with his captains and warriors in festivities, and at the same time he invested Dajazmāch Khāylu with the robe of Office of Governor. And he left that place for his residence and the retainers of Rās Alīgāz and those of Dajazmāch Khāylu came, with guns and horses so that there was a commotion, and coming into his house in great reverence they took their leave of him.

And the King of Kings Hezeqeyās sent Rās Alīgāz a general’s robe of a silk shirt and a silk breeches and a light reflection and a girdle, and the Negus spent the winter at Gondar.

The history that begins 7284 from the year of the creation of the world (1791) the year was the year of Johannes. Maskaram began on Saturday when Negusa Nagast Hezeqeyās was at Gondar and while Takla Giyorgis was kept prisoner under surveillance at Emkīnā and when his guard Ali arrived, Rās Khāylu and Dajazmāch Walda Sellāsē and Dajazmāch Gabrē wintered in their lands in friendliness and peace. And while Rās Alīgāz was at Garagarā he put to death Jān Tserār Beralē and Moqēt Azmāch and Gerazmāch Adera Gabre’ēl, after they had been kept in chains for several days in the year of Lukās, in the month of Maskaram. Some say in the month of Sanē. Now as to their crimes, who knows? We know nothing, but God did not call to account oppression when He saw the oppression of King Takla Giyorgis. God was angered by Rās Alīgāz, as He was angered by Senakerem (Sennacherib) and made war against his descendants, so he (Rās Alīgāz) made war against the sons of his sister, Alulā and Gugsā, and as He brought to destruction the soldiers of Senakerem so He brought to destruction the soldiers of Rās Alīgāz, as David says “Touch not mine anointed and do my prophets no harm” (1 Chron. xvi. 

1 ὄψις: Diccion. Amarico, Guidi, 719.  
2 αἰφνίς: Diccion. Amarico, Guidi, 184.  
3 ὀφθαλμός: Diccion. Amarico, Guidi, 764.  
4 ὀφθαλμὸς: Diccion. Amarico, Guidi, 505. All these words are Amharic.

5 ἁπέφαγεν: Lit. “by the eye,” i.e. not chained by a ring to the Quraña (or Guard) Ali, who was away.
22), and He sent mourning into the house and annihilated all the power of the soldiers, and all the retainers of Rās Aligāz were sold (in slavery).

Now we will return to the beginning of the story. Gugsa came out of Lāstā and descended towards Yaju and Alulā was at Mahawā, and a battle was evident, and after that a war (was declared) by Dajazmāch Khāylu from his land of Nagala for the reason that he was his ally. Though he proposed the matter of an expedition he answered “There shall be no expedition. You stay here, and I am going with your Eunuchs, Wareho and Barento, and we will raise the question of reconciliation, as Joab and the woman of Takoah (2 Sam. xiv.) brought about the reconciliation of Absalom with David his father, so let us make friends, if they refuse let it be as with Absalom.” And Rās Aligāz answered thus, “A raid is better; for men of my land of Yaju are joined with me,” and so saying he refused (peace). And Dajazmāch Khāylu replied, “Do not do this thing, it is fighting with thy kinsman Oh my friend: I will not conceal from thee what I have heard from the learned monks, the story of the events that are to come, saying, ‘If there is war between them, their rule will be destroyed,’” and hearing that Rās Aligāz refused, and replied, “Dajazmāch Khāylu, since you have refused I go to my land,” and he answered “Go to your country, for it is wrong for you to go on the expedition against the Dajazmāch of Begameder”; and he came to his place Nagala and spent the summer there building the house of the 24 priests of heaven. Story. Rās Aligāz took up the raid from Garagoria to Yaju and afterwards at Yanajā. Now! begins his trial. He departed and halted at Bēt Hor and left Gerazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl to protect the land of Wadelā that it might not be laid waste by any one coming out of Wechālē, that is to say Abēlom. And from Bēt Hor he departed and halted at Owdeqom. And then he went on, leaving the road to Yaju, and took the road to Ambāsāl, followed by his (?) retainers Qaṇazmāch Gafi and Gerazmāch Gobazē taking men who dwelt in their respective governments; and
after that he sent Fitäwräri Sadiq and Gerazmäch Gobazë to Yaju to make war upon Dajazmäch Gugsä. But Räs Aligäz came to Ambäsal and surrounded Mahwä, as Iyäsüş (Joshua) surrounded Iyärikä (Jericho) so Räs Aligäz encompassed Mahwä. And the retainers of Räs Aligäz fought with the retainers of Jän Tsërär Alulä and a few men were killed, and they with unbroken front, the hills could no more stand up before his face, than grass in the face of fire. But now was not the moment of his trial. And he remained four months in his entrenchment and they saw that there was no means for him to get out of it. He went to the land of Wechälë to fight against the Gallas, called Warät'ae. Ali Gor was taken prisoner and consternation reigned in the camp of Räs Aligäz for eight days, and after eight days he explored Tomet with his retainers so that his enemies the Wechälë men should not hear. Then a few of the enemy got up and followed him. And there was a fog so that men could not be distinguished from men, master from servant, friend from friend. At that time Räs Aligäz was defeated and all his men perished, and many Christians were killed; that day died many commanders, viz. Blättengetä Tewodoros (Theodore) and his son and Blättengetä Nábétë, Abëto Abisä, with his son, and Abëto Engadä. And the men and animals with their loads and long (Galla) spears filled the chasms. It was like a bank (of dead) and all were taken prisoner by the hand of the Galla, and some were sold and others returned after many days. And being left with a handful of men he came to his land Yaju that is called Qoqoro, and men came from his land to receive him saying to him, “Why did you act as you did, in a way such as we have never heard before from our Fathers.” And Räs Aligäz replied, “Are spears always pointed?” And they were silent. They saw then the power of God who rules the whole land of Etyopiya, and by having a small force of men, and by a fog those soldiers perished. As the Bible says, “A king is not saved by a multitude of his host, a mighty man

1 ጥሠሮ = ይሆን Guidi, loc. cit. 561.
is not delivered by his great strength, and a horse is a vain thing (for safety): it will not deliver and he will not escape by great endurance” (Ps. xxxiii. 16, 17). We will now go back to the beginning of the story. And while he was at Qoqoro he made friends with Gugsa and Alula, on pain of a curse, and an oath, with Chät like Galla; there was great rejoicing in the land Yaju at their reconciliation. And after that Räs Aligâz went out of Yaju and came to Bêt Hor, and he joined Gerazmäch Walda Gabre'ël. And then he departed and came to Garagarâ and Dajazmäch Khâylu came, the son of Tarbënos, and they joined Räs Aligâz and there was a fresh appointment of offices. Gerazmäch Walda Gabre'ël was made Yashalaqâ of Gâdisâ, and Abâgâz of Seîmâdâ, and they confirmed all the officials in their posts. And Qañazmách Gafi went to Gondar and did not come. After this there was a tumult at Gondar at the arrival of Qañazmách Gafi. And King of Kings Hezeqeuyas held a council and the Abuna Yosâb and the Echágë Walda Iyasus, with four chiefs and four judges of appeal, and they declared, “We will not submit to (serve) the Galla.” And the Abun and the Echágë went forth and excommunicated the whole world, and they separated the Christians from the Galla, and they were like our Fathers Musë (Moses) and Aaron who led Israel out of the bondage of Pharon, so like them, they brought the people of Etçoyiyâ out of the bondage of the Galla, by the will of God. And a rescript issued forth from Gojam and Amharâ to Walqâit and Quarrâ to Semën and Wagarâ to Lâstä and Tigrê to Dambayâ and Begameder saying “Do not serve or mingle with the Galla for we have no part or lot (with them) (otherwise) we curse you by the power of Peter and Paul, by the power of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”

1 Chät قات a tree, the leaves of which are used for chewing by Somalis and other Muslims it taking the place of tea. Catha Forskalli (Hibiscus esculentus?), vide Guidi, loc. cit. 849. The chewing of this plant like smoking the pipe of peace among red Irdians is part of any important ceremony. The leaves and buds have the slightly intoxicating effect of the “Coca” of Peru. Makrizy (14 cent.) speaks of it as jat and says it was in use in Ifat (S. of Abyssinia), where it is now called Shat. It was introduced into Yemen by Sheikh Ibrahim Abu Zarbây in 1490, the same time that Omar esh Sha'dely introduced Coffee.
And after they had cursed them there was a fight between Fanjä Kabtē and Qaňazmāch Gafi, his former retainer, but strength was on the side of Fanjä Kabtē and he defeated his master Qaňazmāch Gafi who fled towards Ferqā; and his brother Dajazmāch Gobazē came to the rescue of his brother Dajazmāch Gafi, so they came to Qāha and pitched camp there. And King of Kings Hezeqeyās came forth and sent out a herald to proclaim in these words, “Whoever does not come out with me will have his house plundered and his goods confiscated.” And the Abun and the Echage and the judges came forth, and all the men of Gondar and there was a great fight. And they stayed there, and the same night the men of Gondar fled towards Wagārā, with the judges and Fanjä Kabtē. Now the judges went off to Waldebba and the King of Kings Hezeqeyās, Abun and Echage to their houses, and wooden doors, and there was a reconciliation with the Gallas, for there was no help for it, and men came to Gondar to their houses. That was done through treachery by the vote of the Liqē, for it is his custom to deceive. How often must I tell you what deception they practise on many kings and governors by sending a runner to say, “I will help you, while I remain among them.” And on the coming of the Galla all that was what was done.

We will now return to the beginning of our history. And when he was at Garagarā, retainers of Dajazmāch Khāylu came, sons of Dajazmāch Eshētē bringing their mules (?). “What have I done,” said (their) lord, (saying) “I have heard that there are Gallas from below Chachaho, that there are above and below you, who are coming upon you, to attack you while you are ill, and all the men report that I have no enemies, only friends.” And they reported to Rās Alīgāz who said, “Indeed I have not done this thing for it were a crime.” As the prophet says, “With their mouths they bless, they curse in their hearts” (Ps. Ixii. 4). Then he went out from his land and came to Qorātsā, being
carried on a bed for he was sick. Gerazmâch Walda Gabre'ēl and Tartenos Khâylu pursued the Galla that were below Chachaho as far as Zando Guidguâd and they camped there. And they brought out a woman from Mâkhdâra Mâryâm by her own consent. She was like Samson's wife like Tawânayat¹ woman with the Illofelë² and that Tawânayat woman got him into the power of his enemies: as the wise man said to a certain man, “Bring me thy friend,” and he brought his dog, and when he said “Bring me thy enemy” he brought his wife; and he says in another part, “What worse thing is there than a wife?” We will now turn to the previous matter. From Zando Guidguâd they started and went to their lands, Gerazmâch Walda Gabre'ēl going to his place Denqus and making peace with all the Galla; some heard of, and some had not, the plan of attacking Gerazmâch Gobazê, so he came away from his house at Denqus; and he came one night to Arbâmbâ and he seized Gerazmâch Gobazê and also many Gallas and many men perished; and from Arbâmbâ he started and halted at Tsanjêna and departing from there stayed himself at Mâwchâ; and starting thence he found it necessary to attack and came to Chât Weha. On this Râs Aligâz heard of the arrival of Gerazmâch Walda Gabre'ēl, so marching out from his house at Garagarâ he retired upon Wâdelâ and Gerazmâch Walda Gabre'ēl came to Garagarâ and remained on his bed. He was the servant of his Lord as the Book says, “For there is nothing impossible to the Lord.” As the prophetess said, “He has made weak the bow of the mighty, and he has girdled the weak with power” (1 Sam. ii. 4). Those filled with food were famished and the famished shall be filled. The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich, he humbleth and he exalteth, whom he taketh from the land of the needy, and lifteth the lowly out of the dust that he may set them up among the mighty of his people, and that they may inherit the throne of Glory (1 Sam. ii. 7, 8). To continue. And after ⁵⁵² b that he came out of Garagarâ and followed Râs Aligâz and

¹ יָנוּד for יָנוּדַי
² Philistines ἄλλων, vide supra.
campaed at Dafté, and Rās Alīgāz went to his village of Yāju. Gerazmāch Waldā Gabrē'ēl sent out a herald to proclaim in these words, “I have given the government of Lāstā to Wand Bawasān Khāylu.” And Wand Bawasān Khāylu went to send down King of Kings Takla Giyorgis from Emkinā so that he might be set free after two years and eight months, and Agābē Ali Bēdaras refused deceiving him with many stories, telling him “Yes, he has descended from the Amba.” And Dajazmāch Gualjā the friend of the Negus received him, and the men of Lāstā. That indeed was like our Lord when he came down from the Mount, and his disciples and many people came out to meet Him. We now return to the beginning of the story. The King of Kings Takla Giyorgis came to Lalibala that is called Warawar and remained there. Dajazmāch Walda Gabrē'ēl came to Garagarā being annoyed; and he arranged all this that was done in the month of Nahāsē 7285 year of the creation of the world (1793 A.D.) the year being that of Mathēwos. Maskaram began on the Sunday. On the 10th of Maskaram men went to their tents, that they might announce the coming of Rās Alīgāz and after that he let loose the soldiery in the land of Wādelā and set fire to Daftē and there was a great commotion in Garagarā. Rās Alīgāz advanced to Garagarā and Dajazmāch Waldā Gabrē'ēl retired from there as far as Mafatānā and pitched his tents there, while Rās Alīgāz followed and camped at Zabit; there was a muster of troops below Chachaho, and Gerazmāch Waldā Gabrē'ēl turning back camped at Chachaho. On the 22nd of the month of Maskaram on Sunday there was a great battle and Gerazmāch Waldā Gabrē'ēl was defeated and the cause of his defeat was that 

553 a Walē who was on his rear deserted him.1 And all the soldiers perished, and Abeto Gabra Masqal of Debra Wagarā Azmāch Tsēwā of Kamkam was killed. And he let loose the soldiers of the Galla as far as Gunā; Tarbēnos Khāylu was taken prisoner by the hands of the Galla, and Gerazmāch Waldā Gabrē'ēl escaped very narrowly; and he came to his village of

Danqusa, and while on the road marching towards the land of Dajazmâch Khâylu he came upon a band of Galla; that time there was a fight and 14 Galla taken prisoner, after which he went on to his village of Estê. That month Dajazmâch Gabri was appointed a Râs, while he was in his country, and King of Kings Hezeqeyâs was at Gondar, he said “formerly thy son-in-law was seated on the throne, thou however be seated on the throne of thy father.” Aligâz saying thus, sent out a herald proclaiming this and in the month of Takhsâs he came to Gondar and grasped the hand of the Negus. We now return to the beginning of the story. King of Kings Takla Giyorgis remained at Lalibalâ till the month of Ter, in which month he went to Wâdelâ and joined Yasufè and Amadê, thence to Ambâsal, created Yasufè Dajazmâch of Begameder, and settled at Geshen. Dajazmâch Yasufè died in the land of Yajum in battle with Alula and Dagalâs. King of Kings Takla Giyorgis came to Wâdelâ and joined Gerazmâch Walda Gabre’él and stayed at Bêt Hor, after which he came to Garagarâ and created Dajazmâch Walda Gabre’él a Dajazmâch of Begameder, and appointed the retainers of Walda Gabre’él to what offices they chose. After that he rose from Garagarâ and went to Lâstâ and met Blättengetâ Kalu with great joy, and they bade farewell at Lâstâ, while King of Kings Takla Giyorgis came to Balasâ. We now go back to the beginning of the story. The Gallas returned back to their own lands, and then Blättengetâ Galmo and Fitâwrârî Sadiq came, from the land of Balasâ to Begameder and camped at Jerabat. He put in fetters Qañazmâch Gafi and Gerazmâch Amadê and left Garagarâ. Then they marched and camped at Afaro and they had a fight with Wand Bawasan Khâylu the latter retreating for it was his habit to retreat, and many men perished. Then the Gallas marched out and descended to Yaju and fought with Râs Aligâz. And then took place a great battle and they confiscated from the men their lands that are called Wadâjâ. But previous to this Dajazmâch Khâylu had gone to Gojam to attack Gerazmâch Walda Gabre’él, the reason of his
attack being that he had said, "Come follow me," and Dajazmāch Khāylu had replied, "It is not fitting for me to follow a general, but only a Negus." On account of this they fought. And he went to Gojam to seek help from his brother Rās Khāylu, for he was a powerful ally in everything. So he sent his retainers to help him, for he himself was ill so that he could not come over to him. So Dajazmāch Khāylu returned to Begameder with his retainers and camped at Acheqan. Gerazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl camped at Mezegzeg. And they kept fighting a whole day Khāylu staying with the men of Gojam, but after that there was a secret reconciliation; and they went to their provinces Gerazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl going into his camp at Nafās Mawchā, joining Dajazmāch Khāylu at Mākhāra Māryām. And while they were at Nafās Mawchā Rās Aligāz came setting the country in a commotion as the prophet says, "He hath made the mountains shake with his power" (Ezek. xxxviii. 20). And he camped at Afar Ga'mān, and Gerazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl went to Gāynt, and crossed the Takazzē Shodat and came to Garagarā and Rās Aligāz left Afar Ga'mān and camped at the Cliff of Zenjaro. And they set fire to villages of Denqusā and Guāsāt. He sent a runner to Rās Khāylu saying, "You are my father-in-law and I am thy son-in-law, thou art my friend and I am thy friend, if you are safe and sound (lit. alive) help me, and if you are not safe and sound send your son with your army." Rās Khāylu replied, "Be it so," and sent his son Abēto Mardhā with a large force. And setting off he joined Rās Aligāz at Gunā. After that, hearing of the arrival of King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, King of Kings Hezeqeyās issued forth from Gondar and marched to Tsēnjanā, and departing thence he came to Dedem to the house of Dajazmāch Khāylu. Rās Aligāz came from his tents and joined Negus Hezeqeyās and they took counsel together, and Abēto Mardhā, Dajazmāch Gugsā, and Gerazmāch Wallē came to the assistance of Negus Hezeqeyās with a large army to bring him to his tents. At this time Abēto Mardhā was created Qa'nazmāch. Then King of Kings Hezeqeyās departed and halted at Fartsā
and coming to Gondar appointed Wagris Tasfu Ṭārsambā an Azāj (Judge of Appeal) and Aligāz Agē a Bāshā. Then Negus Hezeqeyās went towards Wagarā and engaged with the troops of Azāryā Gabru of Wagarā, and pitched his camp at Enqāsh. We return now to the beginning of the story. King of Kings Hezeqeyās came out of Balasa to Wagarā and received Rās Gabrē and camped at Waqen and then left and camped at Shamlākō. King of Kings Hezeqeyās turned back and camped at Enchedubā and followed him to Kosogē. And from Kosogē he went and camped at Māryām Weha, and while King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was there, and King of Kings Hezeqeyās was at Enchedubā, in that month Rās Aligāz started from Gunā, and camped at Nafās Mawchā; he then sent Kefāw and Waleq-archam with a large force to Garagarā and camped at Gārshena. They fought a battle with Dajazmāch Walda Gabre‘ēl and defeated him leaving not a single man; and when Rās Aligāz heard how all the army had been destroyed, he started from his camp by forced march while (the other was) at Dororayā and left his ambush; he destroyed the whole army and Blättengetā Teku was taken prisoner. But Gerazmāch Walda Gabre‘ēl escaped and came to Gunā; and from there he started and burnt the houses, that might have been useful to the fugitives of Dajazmāch Khāylu of Estē, and captured all the cattle and horses and asses without number. And Rās Aligāz pursued him as far as Amad Bar, and Dajazmāch Walda Gabre‘ēl fled towards Lebo and joined King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and presented his trophies. Then King of Kings Takla Giyorgis started out to attack Atsē Hezeqeyās, but the latter fled towards Dengel Bar, to seek assistance, while King of Kings Takla Giyorgis pursued him to Saqelat, but failing to catch him up, returned to his camp. And from there he departed and camped at Lebo, and while he was at Lebo Tarbēnos Khāylu turned traitor to him and went over to Aligāz; on account of that there was a council held at the house of King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. And some said “Let us go out and fight Rās Aligāz and others said Let us go
towards Wagarā," and so as their opinions did not agree, they separated, but the Negus went to Wagarā and Dajazmāch Gabre'ēl to Begameder. All this affair took place in the year of Matēwos.

In the year 7286 from the creation of the world (A.D. 1793) the year being that of Markos, Maskaram began on the Monday when the Epact was 28 and Matq'e was 2, on the 12th of Maskaram, Rās Aligāz marched out of Amad Bar on Friday and camped at Kamkam. And thence he went and camped at 'Ebnāt, and while Rās Aligāz was there at 'Ebnāt, King of Kings Hezeqeyās came with Qañazmāch Mar'ēd and Dajazmāch Gugsā and Dajazmāch Aklog to delibarate with Rās Aligāz. And his plan was in these terms, "You go to Gondar, taking with you Hezeqeyās the Negus and protect him from attack by King of Kings Takla Giyorgis coming from Semēn, while I will march towards Begameder and search for Walda Gabre'ēl." And they bade farewell on that plan. Then Rāz Aligāz marched out and halted at Madab, and King of Kings Hezeqeyās left Lebo and came to Gondar; and in the month of Khedār he left Gondar and came over to Rās Aligāz, and descended to the land of Yaju; Qañazmāch Mar'ēd and Dajazmāch Aklog remained at Gondar for a month; and then left for their provinces. Rās Aligāz however left Dab and halted at Wāher. Then he heard how they had burnt down the house belonging to Dajazmāch Khāyli at Nagala and how the latter had camped at Mawqaryā. Now Rās Aligāz went down to attack Tarā Muja, but men of Muja came to him with the penalty of excommunication. Then he started and camped at Nafās Mawchā and Dajazmāch Khāyli took his leave and returned to his village; and Rās Aligāz left for Wādelā and fought with the Lāstā people. And it was not his time to bear himself valiantly (for showing his prowess) as the Book says, "There is no strength but from the Lord" and the Lord avenged Rās Aligāz for the shedding of the blood of the men of Begameder and the death of all the Christians. As the prophet says, "He will avenge the blood of his servants,
he will avenge and exact vengeance on his enemy. And he will render vengeance on his adversaries" (Deut. xxxii. 43). And further another prophet says, "God has numbered (measured) thy kingdom, and given it to others" (Dan. v. 26) and thus he gave it to others. And then he started and went down to the Gand Yaju, and fought with his retainers and kinsmen, and he is a foe to this day. We will now return to the beginning of the story. While Dajazmâch Walda Gabre'êl was at Lâstâ he stirred up war against Wand Bawasan Khâylu in secret, and came to Begameder to attack the Dajazmâch and Dajazmâch Khâylu hearing of the coming of Dajazmâch Walda Gabre'êl, rose from his village and engaged in battle with the Sâlâ men. And force was on the side of Dajazmâch Walda. Gabre'êl and Abêto Walda Nêr was killed, and Asâlâfê Sewodu with many men, and Dajazmâch Khâylu was taken, and Tarbênos Khâylu escaped. Then he left and halted at Estê and deliberated how he could make a raid on Gojam; then he went from there and camped at Dâber. And a retainer of Râs Khâylu came and practised a deception on him, saying, "Have pity on Walda Kêros"; then he went and halted at Ganj, and leaving that place camped at Amadâmêt. Then Dajazmâch Aklog came with an impudent piece of treachery. And Râs Khâylu when he heard of his treachery issued out by night from home alone being afraid of the sun's burning heat, for he was ill; and he camped at Talbâ Weha, where Aklog formerly dwelt in poverty, though later he was promoted, and raised to the grade of Dajazmâch of Dâmot. But the cause of the quarrel was that he had been intimate with King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, that was like Samê (Shimei) the son of Gêrâ, when he assembled Juda to get his lord into the hands of the Jews. (To return.) And from Amadâmêt he departed towards Gojam. And Râs Khâylu rose from his village and marched towards Amhara; that month King of Kings Takla Giyorgis came to his tents at Gondar and Dajazmâch Walda Gabre'êl sent a runner with Dajazmâch Darso to King of

1 2 Sam. xix. 16 et seqg. 2 2 Sa. xix. 16 et seqg.
Kings Takla Giyorgis saying, "Oh, King, come over to me that I may appoint officers and dismiss others in my house." This proposal he refused, and he (Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl) spent the rains at Gondar and made appointments and dismissals without leave of the Negus. Rās Gabrē was with him. Then Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl after that returned to his province of Begameder and came to Garagarā and spent the rains there, but Dajazmāch Aklog tarried in Anbalē. And Rās Khāylu returned from Amhārā and had a fight with Dajazmāch Aklog and the latter was captured by the hand of Dajazmāch Mar'ēd. That young man was like Solomon who did the behest of his father and took vengeance on Same (Shimei) the son of Gera (1 Kings ii. 46) for like him he (Qañazmāch Mar'ēd) took vengeance on Aklog and seized him and put him in chains. All this occurred in the year of Mārkos.

In the year of the Creation of the world 7287 (A.D. 1794) the year being that of Lukās, Maskaram began on Tuesday, the Epact of the moon was 9, Matq'e 21, and Tentyon¹ (Solar Epact) 7. Dajazmāch Gabre'ēl started out on a raiding expedition from Seqanch, towards Lāstā, without permission of the Negus, and was met on the road by Wāldebbā men, who came on account of Dajazmāch Khāylu having been put in chains. And thus they said, "What have you done? first you persecuted him and burnt his house and the house of his father, and destroyed the whole of his village, afterwards you imprisoned him; let him go for the sake of our fathers who have sent us, and for our sake who are weaklings," and he replied, "Yes, after I have returned from my raid, I will set him free," and he swore to them, so they gave it up; he however departed and went to Garagarā. And from Garagarā he marched and departing thence camped at Dānkana. And while he was there Dajazmāch Adgah came having been sent by the King of Kings. His business however we know not. But at the time he turned back to his village Ansātā. Then Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl left and camped at

¹ Ty, Ty (T in error for ṭ) = Dārbiov, Dillmann, Lex., 1392. Vide Appendix: "Chronography, etc."
the frontier of Wadelā, and there Dajazmāch Gobazē came from Yaju, bringing a pearl (gem of the sea) called Sharāfīt that had been in the hands of his father Aligāz. And there were great rejoicing and festivity, and he gave him a horse and took leave of him in peace. And after this he returned and raided Lāstä, and Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl had the best of it. Afterwards they made friends and he promoted Wand Bawasan with a large present of gold and there was peace between them. Then he turned back and came to Gara-garā, and sent his retainers to his provinces; his brother Aserāt he sent towards Ebenāt. And he advanced against Sadaf Gabru, but could not find him, as he had escaped and gone to Gondar. The other however pursued him, and pitched his tents at Māryām Weha. Then he got up by night, that no one might know of this affair and went to Angarab and prepared for a battle. And when the Negus Takla Giyorgis heard that he was coming to attack him, he did not trust himself to the encounter (he did not wait to receive him) that day, since he had not had rations, and nothing to drink, so he let out his troops in Gondar. And the retainers of the Negus came to his palace, and found the door open. When they got there, an attendant of the Negus shut the door against them, and they seized them, and the servant of the Negus was killed, named Berkabu. The others we do not know; on this Bālāmbarās Aserāt came up with a force to drive out the men from the King's walls, and he set fire to the Royal Takal (hut) and broke down the Negus' wall, but he was unable to stop the rush of the violent attack of the Negus' retainers with guns and spears; and all joined in the battle at the gates and on the road. And at that moment the Abun and the Echage came out of their houses, and put them apart, and Aserāt came out from Gondar, and camped at Angarab. Afterwards, the Abuna Yosāb brought about peace; the Echage Iyasus, and Labisa came over to the Negus, but his heart was heavy, and that reconciliation was a pretence, only for the purpose of getting the men out that had been seized in the
Royal Palace. Then he started from Angarab towards Wakhnē. But Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl while at Garagarā, heard of the fight of his brother with the Negus; then in order to confirm the peace with Rās Khāylu, he sent followers each day and thereupon he started from Garagarā and camped at Tsanjena. And while there Qaḩasmāch Sahelu came, the son of Dajazmāch Goshu, followed by a large force. And from there he started and came down to Deldey to join Rās Khāylu, and the latter came down and camped at Ganj. And he refused to join Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl saying, “You make friends with King of Kings Takla Gıyorgis since I have made friends with my Lord and unless you make peace we will not meet.” Then he (Rās Khāylu) sent out a herald to proclaim, “I am reconciled with the King of Kings Takla Gıyorgis, my friends will rejoice and my enemies will grieve.” At the same time they had great rejoicings on account of the alliance. That now was like Petros who denied his Lord three times and repented, and so like him Rās Khāylu repented. And he was given promotion in Gojam, Dāmot, from Dengel Bar as far as Enbesē a district of Ekit, by Takla Gıyorgis King of Kings. We will now return to the beginning of the affair. Then he turned from the Abāy and camped at Reb and sent a runner to King of Kings Takla Gıyorgis saying, “Have mercy on me,” and King of Kings Takla Gıyorgis replied “Yea, return to your province, and stay at Aringo.” But the other refused, and started out from Reb on the Thursday towards Gondar. But the Negus left the same day from Gondar and went towards Wagarā with Rās Gabrē and camped at Waqn. And Dajazmāch Walda Gabre'ēl camped at Māryām Weha. Easter fell on the 6th Miyāzyā. On the same day he released Dajazmāch Khāylu. On the 7th Miyāzyā he started out of Māryām Weha and camped at Kosagē. On the 9th of that month he came to Gondar and camped at Angarab. On the same day Abēto Gabra Abib, the son of Dajazmāch Nacho Chelqin was killed by a spear on the house of the Abun, about an affair of a woman. And while he was at Angarab he laid waste the land of Bājinā and Balasā, and
many of his retainers perished. On the 10th Miyāzāyā he came into the house of the Abun and the Echage and joined the chiefs, and he said to them, “I have put another Negus on the Throne.” And they replied, “You shall not do that. We will go and fetch the Negus,” and he replied only, “Be it so.” Then they went off, Dajazmāch Adgah, Liqē Khaylu, Liqē Gabru and Mamher (doctor) Baferu of Tsanā not aware of the fact that the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was in the country of Sāwrē. And when those chiefs returned they made Negus Ba’eda Maryam King on the 12th of Genbot on the day of the feast of St Michael the Archangel. And the Abun and the Echage came to the centre of the Royal Castle, and placed the crown which was of fine gems on his head, and there was dancing at Gondar and pedlars, and dancing girls. And the same month Qaņazmāch Sāhelu fell grievously sick and was left at Gondar. Dajazmāch Walda Gabre’ēl was created a Rās and also Bētwaddad. And in the month of Sanē he started out from Gondar and went on a raiding expedition towards Wagarā and camped at Tamamē. And while he was there men of Wagarā came over to him with Bālāmbārās Atsequ. Then Atsē Ba’eda Maryām departed and camped at Daqua, and the same day King of Kings Takla Giyorgis started from Sāwrē and camped at Quanṭatā, Atsē Ba’eda Maryām started out from Daqua and camped at Bandi Gabsā; the same week the retainers of Rās Gabrē at Shawāda and Mosabit had a fight with the retainers of Walda Gabre’ēl. Rās Gabrē prevailed and after that the coming of Rās Khaylu from Gojam to Bega-meder became known and his meeting with Wand Bawasan Khaylu in the province of Agātsa, to give assistance to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. And hearing that, he made a secret plan to return to his province: and then he started and camped at Lāmā. And at that time a servant of Dajazmāch Walda Sellāsē came to say, “Say nothing neither here nor there.

1 Ṣṭamā: Amharic is the fort or stronghold of the Royal Residence.
2 Ṣmē: from Ṣmē: (1) to peddle goods, (2) to cheat. Amharic. Guidi, loc. cit., 507.

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I, however, have come to help you and I will show you my power and the power of God." And then Dajazmách Walda Sellāsē (went) from Tigrē and camped at Aquinā. Meanwhile Abēto Walda Heywat, the brother of Rās Gabrē came and attacked a retainer of Dajazmách Walda Sellāsē: and on seeing that he marched forth burning with rage, for that man was a chief powerful as a lion and savage as a leopard. As the Bible says, "He had the indignation that is of righteousness," and he split the darkness of the mountains (convents) with a multitude of guns whose roar was heard like lightning bolts and thunder, and they covered with smoke like a fog the monasteries, that are called Hay and Ṭażan, Saganat and Batal, that had not been destroyed since the days of the Negus Ishaq to the present time. What was achieved by him was through his strong faith. As the Bible says, "If you have faith as big as a grain of mustard seed, then if you say to that mountain, 'move,' it will move" (Matt. xvii. 20). And they found people chained in those convents, so they set them free, and also concubines were found, and these they sent to their respective countries. Then he got up and camped at Meshha. The Negus Ba'eda Māryām also started from Karar and camped at Shawādā. After that when the Negus Takla Giyorgis and Rās Gabrē heard everything, they started from Quanṭatā. There was a reconciliation between the chiefs and the retainers and Dajazmách Adeghah. When they started there was great sorrow in the Plain of Saqār.

We will now return to the beginning of the matter. From Shawādā the Negus started out and camped at Anchat Kāb, and came to the house of Rās Gabrē and Dajazmách Walda Sellāsē came with a few troops and joined the Negus and presented him with gifts. Yafu Manshā gave him what was fitting, and was appointed Governor over the frontier of Angarāb as far as Matswā, and he spent the winter at Semēn. Afterwards our Negus Ba'eda Māryām marched to Baguzo and came to Gondar, and there were changes made in the appointments. And the same month of Sanē, Rās Khāylu returned from Bega-meder to his land of Gojam, and he came on to Nāzarēt, and
while at Nazaret Rās Khāylu died suddenly on the 30th of Sanē, the nourisher of the whole world. And the Negus hearing of this wept with his army, and caused an effigy to be made (to be borne) with banner and drums\(^1\). Rās Khāylu died a man of modesty towards both great and small (to the great and the lowly) as the Bible says, “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.”

And after that Qaṇazmāch Mara’ed succeeded to the office of his father, and in the same month of Sanē on the 27th, there passed to her rest Princess Walatta Kedān, the daughter of Atsē Iyāsu, and she was buried at Mākhdara Māryām, and after that on the 25th of Hamlē, Rās Walda Gabre’ēl started from Gondar and came to Mākhdara Māryām, and became reconciled with his sister Wayzaro Yawareq Weha, and then started and went to Masqanch; the Negus however spent the rains at Gondar, while Negus Takla Giyorgis did the same at Waldebbā. Princess Atsuga passed to her rest at Nagalā on the 9th of Nahase.

The 7288 year of the creation of the world (1795 A.D.) the year being that of Johannes, Maskaram began on Thursday. Epact of moon being 20, Matq’e was 10, Tentyon was 2, and on Thursday of the year of Johannes, the 12th Maskaram, Rās Walda Gabre’ēl started from Seqanch and came to Garagarā. Thence he departed and camped at Malay and then heard of the advance of the men of Lāstā and Amadē that are called Kualāsi. Then he turned back and camped at Felaqit and pitched his tents there. The Lāstā men advanced with Gallas in company with them, and a battle took place on the 8th of the month Tēqemt on Saturday. In the fight Rās Walda Gabre’ēl was beaten and victory declared for the Lāstā men and the Gallas. And Rās Walda Gabre’ēl made his escape with great difficulty, with a handful of

\(^1\) Ḍ̇ḥl = Ḋḥl or Ḋḥl, old orthography for ḍ ml; cf. Praetorius, Beiträge zur äthiop. Grammatik, 35; Massaia, Lectiones Grammaticales etc., 254. In great state funerals an effigy (יָנָא) of the defunct was constructed and borne in procession. (Vide I. Guidi, loc. cit. 171.)
troops, and all the men from Begameder were taken prisoner by the men of Lästä and the Gallas. And then he descended to land of Wechäle, some were sold (as slaves) others were killed, others were fettered, and others made good their escape. And the Amadé turned back to their country, but the Lästä men pursued him (Räs Walda Gabre'él) towards Chachaho. He went to Märyäm Weha and the Lästä men camped at Agalä. While the Lästä men were there, Räs Walda Gabre'él retired towards Begameder on the road to Säbisä Bar. The Lästä men, hearing of this movement of Räs Walda Gabre'él started in pursuit and joined battle with him at Tsanfa Gumara. Then Räs Walda Gabre'él withdrew and came to Quarätsä, his brother having gone to Begameder. The monks of the plain of Quarätsä effected a reconciliation between Räs Walda Gabre'él and Wand Bawasan Khäylu, and Räs Walda Gabre'él came to Mäkhdara Märyäm and stayed there. Then Wand Bawasan Khäylu left Mäkhdara Märyäm for Gondar, and camped at Reb. After this he tyrannically put Dajazmäch Khäylu in chains and sent him to Emkinä with a strong force, since he coveted his goods and his province. That oppression was like the persecution of Näbuté (Naboth) whom the Queen persecuted about his vineyard (1 Kings xxi. 14). The story is that he went to Guzohu and came on to Gondar. But after his arrival Negus Takla Giyorgis came to Wand Bawasan Khäylu. Before, when he was at Darä, he (the latter) had sent Gerazmäch Adiyämö to Waldebbä to fetch away the Negus Takla Giyorgis, but the Negus had refused and said, “If I come back, shall I be an image and a puppet?” and the messengers returned. And Wand Bawasan Khäylu took the oath (swore) to them saying, “Whoever he appoints, let him hold office, and whoever he dismisseth, let him be dismissed. I however by permission of the Negus will go away.”

After that the King of Kings (Takla Giyorgis) came away from Waldebbä with Räs Gabré and came to Gondar. On the 19th of the month of Ter, Dajazmäch Khäylu built a church in the land of Askumä by leave of the Negus and brought a Tabot of the
Holy Trinity and a Tabot of the Testament of Mercy on the 7th of Khedār; he gave the name of Tsereh Tsēyon (Sion) to that monastery. (To return.) And the Negus and Rās Gabrē foregathered with Wand Bawasan Khāylu and the Negus Takla Giyorgis gave a banquet and regaled them. And after that there were appointments made and dismissals. We do not know what appointments were made, because not a single appointment was permanent; he (Wand Bawasan Khāylu) did make permanent one official, but that one was without permission of the Negus, and he foreswore his oath of allegiance to the Negus, it being his habit to lie. And then Tarbēnos Khāylu came from Gondar with treacherous intent. At that time advice was given to the Negus as to going together to the healing (medicinal) waters they call Labat. And after that they practised a fraud on him, saying, "A runner has come to say that Rās Walda Gabreʾēl has gone away in great haste towards Begameder." The Negus however knew that it was a falsehood, and he remained at Gondar, and Wand Bawasan came to Mākhdara Māryām with Tarbēnos Khāylu, and joined Rās Walda Gabreʾēl, on what business we do not know. Then he started out and came to Masqanch, and while there Rās Walda Gabreʾēl and Dajazmāch Mareʾēd came to an agreement (an alliance) and Bālāṁbārās Aserāt went off to bring Dajazmāch Mareʾēd and then, first Bālāṁbārās Aserāt came with Abēto Walda Taklē, Dajazmāch Khāylu’s son, and a large force, afterwards Dajazmāch Mareʾēd followed by forced marches him to Begameder and Rās Walda Gabreʾēl came to Mākhdara Māryām, breaking his oath, saying, "Better fall into the hands of the Almighty than fall into the hands of my sister’s son." And he passed on towards Estē and joined Dajazmāch Mareʾēd and there was a commotion at Masqanch. And hearing of their coming, Wand Bawasan fled towards ‘Ebnāt, but the others came to Kemar Dangayā and camped there. Wand Bawasan Khāylu camped at Libo; then he sent over to Negus Takla Giyorgis to say, "Come and help me," and

1 Labat (ἡντατ) means, in Tigrine, hot, hot water; several places were given this name from hot springs in the locality.
he replied, "Yes," and the Negus started out from Gondar, and he joined Walda Bawasan Khäylu at Zenä Maryäm; and when he joined he said, "We will stay behind, but you go and burn down the villages of our enemies so as to disperse the men of Gojam." And he (Wand Bawasan Khäylu) rose and said, "Agreed" with the voice of a deceiver; it has been related above how he had deceived him (the king) three times before, "for the Israelite forgets not his revenge." Then the King of Kings rose and camped at Geräñ, and nearing there he made a forced march with a few soldiers towards Wagarä. The other soldiers however returned to Wand Bawasan Khäylu, while the Negus went on to Waldebba. Then Wand Bawasan Khäylu rose from his camp and halted at 'Ebnät. Easter fell on the 25th of Miyäzyä. Genbot began on Saturday. On the 5th Genbot, Rās Walda Gabre'ēl started from Kemer Dangayä and Dajazmäch Mare'ēd to go towards Gondar and camped at Enätenä. The son of Wand Bawasan followed them and on the 6th Genbot they fought a battle, and the power of Dajazmäch Mare'ēd prevailed, Dajazmäch Khäylu was killed, the son of Tarbēnos and Dajazmäch Khäylu were taken prisoner, as well as Bālāmbārās Walda Taklē, Fitawrāri Aydān, and were put in chains. Of those that remained we do not know their names but many men perished. Then Dajazmäch Mare'ēd sent for Dajazmäch Khäylu to be brought from Emkinä, where he was chained, and thereupon released him on the 13th of Genbot. His counsel, it seemed to me, was that of Wand Bawasan on account of his persecution of Dajazmäch Khäylu. When he was released he prayed saying, "Thou has delivered my soul" (Ps. lvi. 13) and again, "My tongue shall declare thy justice all the day long (Ps. xxxv. 28) when they (the Lästā men) were put to shame and punished that devise my hurt" (Ps. xxxv. 1, lxx. 2). After this he went to his village. We will now return to the previous matter. On the 17th of that month, Bālāmbārās Aserāt was put in fetters and on the 18th Dajazmäch Mare'ēd got out from his camp and went towards Gondar; Rās Walda Gabre'ēl stayed behind at Begameder. On the 25th Genbot, it
rained dust (ashes) such as had not been heard or seen in the land of የትዮጵያ, and as for other countries we do not know if it rains so, or if it rains not, only it was found in the Fakkărē Iyasus¹ (Prophecy of Jesus) words (which foretell) “Thirty angels cast ashes (dust) down with their wings.” To continue. Dajazmäch Mare’ed came to Gondar and camped at Aborā, and he sent over to the Negus Takla Giyorgis, “Now! come to your house and sit on your throne.” And his followers said, “We will not go on unless you take the oath, and the men of your house take the oath, for there are men who dislike his ruling,” and he replied, “Agreed.” And the Abun came to the house with the retainers of his father, and the governors that were with him, and all of them took the oath together. And at the same time, a herald made proclamation, “Anyone who will not accept our Negus shall have his house plundered and his goods confiscated.” And then on the 14th of Sanē Dajazmäch Mare’ed started from Gondar and camped at Magach to receive the Negus Takla Giyorgis and waited while he deliberated how he should arrange the reception of the Negus, some said, “According to the plan of Rās Gabrē and Liqē with prayer” and others said, “According to the plan of the Gojamese,” but we know not what this was, God alone knows. And on the 14th of that month he returned taking Abēto Gabra Madakhan, who was called Solomon; son of Atsē Takla Häymānot Makual Gem came, and the Abun and Echage and the chiefs arrived and elected him Negus. And there was great grief at the abandonment (deposing) of Negus Takla Giyorgis.

After this Dajazmäch Mare’ed was created a Rās and Bētwaddad, and on the 20th of Sanē appointments and dismissals took place, but the names of the officials we do not know, as for each office they appointed three or four each day. Then Rās Mare’ed went to Gojam on the road to Begameder, and Dajazmäch Aklog remained at Gondar, to protect Negus Solomon and the Negus spent the rains at Gondar and in that month Hamlē, Dajazmäch Khāylu came to Quarātsā as that was his village. Nahasē began on Friday and on the 7th of

¹ Vide Appendix: Fakkărē Iyasus.
Nahase he started from Quaratsa to be blessed by the monks that were at the island of Narga and Daga. Some said, "Fly from the Ras Walda Gabre'el." And then they were put with two sailors—Abbâ Gabra Le'ul and a child—on board a tanqua (bamboo boat) and when they were out on the lake, one sailor got sick, and a strong wind arose which made the sea rough, and at that moment the tanqua was upset and Abbâ Gabra Le'ul of Waldebbâ was drowned. Thereupon Dajazmâch Khaylu got on to the tanqua with them, but by the wonderful power of God when they were upset he clung on to its keel for two days and a night, naked, while the waves of the lake dashed over him, as the prophet says, "All thy rivers (floods) compassed me about, thy billows passed over me" (Jonah ii. 3). He took Abbâ Gabra Le'ul after he was dead and bound him on to a tanqua and after three days by the force of the wind he came to the shore of an island of Tsana (lake); and the monks his friends received him. And Abbâ Gabra Le'ul was buried on that spot, but Dajazmâch Khaylu resembled Jonah the prophet who came out of the belly of a whale after three days, praise be to God who showed His power to His servant Dajazmâch Khaylu. Amen.

In the 7289 year of the creation of the world (1796 A.D.). The year being that of Matewos Maskaram began on Friday, the Epact of the moon 1, the Matqe' 29 and the Tentyon was 3. We have been brought to this hour by his mercy—for ever and ever. Amen.

And when King of Kings Solomon was at Gondar, locusts came and destroyed many districts. Ras Mare'ed started from Zawâ, came to Machâkel and put Dajazmâch Zawedâ in chains and in that month Ras Walda Gabre'el put his brother Abagaz Khaylu in chains, on the 18th of Maskaram, sending to him spearmen while he was in his house and fetching him to Garagarâ, and then on the 12th of Teqemt Ras Walda Gabre'el released his brother Abagaz Khaylu hearing that the_Lastâ men were advancing to attack him, putting him in chains, so that he might not be killed. And on the following
day the Lästä men came, with a few spearmen, and he went with the spies to see them. Then they killed a rifleman in the midst of a number of men and the retainers of Räs Walda Gabre’êl fled and came to his camp. On this Räs Walda Gabre’êl took to flight towards Náfás Mawchâ and camped there. Is not the work of God who worketh wonders in the earth visible in this? When Räs Walda Gabre’êl released Abagâz Khäyulu that he might not be killed, God avenged Abagâz Khäyulu. As the Book says, the judgement of God is otherwise than the judgement of man. And in that month, the Agaw came with Walda Ab and killed Gabrä Haywat, a retainer of Ras Mare’ed. We will now go back to the previous matter. And while King of Kings Solomon was at Gondar, Dajazmâch Tshaya Ledâ came and camped at Ayrâ, and the Negus came out from his tents and went to Ayrâ, and had an interview with him, but the reason of the meeting we do not know. The King of Kings Solomon turned and came to his tents. Khedâr began on the Tuesday. On the 14th of that month Räs Gabrê started from Semên and went towards Aksum to join Dajazmâch Walda Selläsê and the two of them met on the feast of Tsêyon (Zion) and there was great rejoicing, and Dajazmâch Walda Selläsê gave Räs Gabrê many articles, and he took his leave and returned to his country. Takhsâs began on Thursday, while Räs Mare’ed was at Dabgasha, to build a church; Räs Walda Gabre’êl sent over to him, “We will meet on the bank of the Abäy, for there is a matter that I must consult you about.” So on the 27th of Takhsâs Räs Mare’ed went out of his camp and Räs Walda Gabre’êl started and went off and they two met on the bank of the Abäy. Ter began on Saturday. And they took Bālāmbāràs Aserât who had been brutally put in chains. First he had tyrannically chained him and then afterwards saying, “I will release you,” he had chained him again. That Bālāmbāràs Aserât was like Samson who was fettered with brutal duress. And after that he went to Garagarâ and camped at Chât Weha, and tarried a short while. And his retainers
had a fight with the Lästä men and many men were captured. Yakätit began on Tuesday. Räš Mare'ed started on a scheme of raiding to attack the Agaw and Räš Walda Gabre'el started from Chät Weha to attack the Lästä men, and camped at Qachen Amba; Blättëngëta Kalu came and while he was there spies came to him, and told him, “Räš Aligäz has arrived with a large army,” whereupon he consulted with the men of his household and Blättëngëta (Kalu) rose from there and camped at Chabar Tsäy. Then Räš Aligäz advanced and camped at Dagämu and pitched his tents. Magäbit began on Wednesday; Räš Gabre'el took to flight towards Yemrehä and came to a Maqät travelling by night and day in haste. And from Maqät he departed and camped at Agrit and from Agrit he departed and camped at Zugarä. And while there he heard of the approach of Räš Aligäz through a spy and went off by night and reached Nafäs Mawchä. Räš Aligäz pursued him as far as Aynä, and laid waste Aynä and from there he went and reached Garagarä and from Garagarä he went and camped at Mawqarya. And departing from Mawqarya he camped at Abrajet. And Walda Gabre'el was at Nafäs Mawchä the 28th of the month of Magäbit. Then Räš Aligäz attacked Räš Walda Gabre'el, and the latter beat a retreat victory remaining with Räš Aligäz. And that day he released Wand Bawasan Khäylu and marched to the province of Lästä, and chained Blättëngëta Kalu, breaking his oath. Räš Walda Gabre'el proceeded towards Semäda and set free without his leave Blättëngëta Aserät, saying, “He will be a help to me,” and from Semäda he rose and marched to Mujä, hearing of the approach of Amadé whose name was Yemäm. And they met at Nafäs Mawchä and both of them camped at Säloch while Räš Aligäz was at Zenjero cliff. Easter fell on the 10th Miyäzyä. While there he heard of the approach of Amadé, so he left and camped at Yetba. On the 18th of Miyäzyä a great battle was fought, such as had never been heard or seen. And victory lay with Amadé and Räš Aligäz

1 = 10th April 1797 A.D.
fled towards Estē and came to Mākhdara Māryām, and took refuge there with many of his troops; of the remainder Daţazmāch Gugṣā and Qaţazmāch Gafi with their troops fled in the direction of Semēn on the road to Amad Bar. At that time there was great straits at Mākhdara Māryām from the terror of Amadē the (Muhammedan) preacher\(^1\), but our Lady Māryām, as she had delivered it before from the hand of the Kalifa destroying her house, so she preserved the Makhdār (convent) from the hand of the Muslim; and he was driven back to his land by the power of Christ our Lord, and the powerful aid of our Lady Māryām Mother of God. And after that Rās Walda Gabre'ēl came to Mākhdara Māryām, while they were seeking for him in order to destroy Mākhdara Māryām a thing that had not occurred since the (days of) Negusa Nagast Sartsa Dengel to this day. And he reached Mākhdara Māryām on the 24th of the month of Miyāzyā on Sunday. He said to the priests, “Fetch out Rās Aligāz my enemy, that I may put him in chains,” and the monks of Mākhdara Māryām answered, “There has been no man chained in our land since King of Kings Sartsa Dengel to this day; wilt thou break through the (customs) decrees of our fathers and our Kings and violate what the Bible speaks of, ‘Violate not the decrees of your fathers.’” But he refused for his heart was hard and he was an obdurate infidel. And that moment the priests swore an oath before the image of our Lady Māryām, but he was inflamed with a great rage and he cast into irons Rās Aligāz and Garazmāch Gubazes against the will of the priests; the priests bewailed as did the men of Begameder who had taken sanctuary there to see such desecration in that monastery. As Ermeyās (Jeremias) says, “Let us not see the desecration of Jerusalem.” Then they wept as Ezra wept over the destruction of Jerusalem, and as the Gospel says, “He looked upon the city and wept” (Luke xix. 41). And while he was going to fight with his brother Bālāmbārās Aserāt, he left the guards at the door to sur-

\(^1\) יְמָן הָנָּא (taneballa) i.e. to cry הָנָּא (=prophet of God)—to pray, preach, etc. Dillmann, LEXIKON, 562.
round those who were in Mákhdara Máryám that he might break into it, as was said by David, “They encompassed me about like honey bees” (Ps. cxviii. 12), or as Sanácherem said, “Walk about Zion and go round about her, tell her towers; set your heart in her strength, and divide the burden of her!”

And then he departed and camped at Tsenjaná. Genbot began on Sunday. From Tsenjaná he departed and camped at Marábêt, and while there the Gallas came to a consultation and entered into a covenant as the Bible says, “They have consulted together against thee and they have shown to thee they have united and confederated, the tabernacles of the Idomeyás and the Ishmaelâweya (Edomites and Ishmaelites, Ps. lxxxiii. 5, 6) Mo‘áb and the Agarâweya (Hagarines, ibid.) Gebál and Amon and Amalig (Gebal and Hammon, ibid.), and Amaleq and Ilofelli with the men of Tiros” (Philistines and the inhabitants of Tyre, ibid.). And it is said in another part, “Council good for all who do good” that he might make war on Rás Walda Gabre‘êl and might make common cause with Abigáz (and) Aserât, as the prophet says, “And Assur also is joined with them” (Ps. lxxxiii. 8). The cause of making war was, because Rás Aligáz had been chained by the hand of Rás Walda Gabre‘êl. And he sent two warriors over to him, to fetch Bámâmbâras Aserât, just as Kaleb and Iyasu were sent (Numbers xiii.). And Bámâmbâras Aserât came being prepared for battle and while the other did not advance the battle began with Rás Walda Gabre‘êl’s Gallas who were in his house. Then Bámâmbâras Aserât arrived and a fight took place and he got the best of it, and Walda Gabre‘êl retreated for it was his habit to retreat. And all this that took place was what the words of the Bible describe and men of the house fought with men and as David said, “He who has nourished with my Lord has raised his heel against me” (Ps. xli. 9). And to us it seems this might be likened to the desecration of Mákhdara Máryám, and the mourning of the monks

1 Ps. xlviii. 12, 13. This is the Greek version, ἔσθε τῶν καρδίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ καταδίδετε τὰς βάρμες αὐτῆς. The Abyssinians referred this Psalm to Hezekiah.
that was heard by God, in the words of the Bible saying, "The voice was heard in Rama of weeping and lamentation and wailing for Rachel was weeping for her children" (Jer. xxxi. 15), and elsewhere it says, "Because of the prayer of the just man thou shalt prevail," and as he heard the prayer of Isaiyās so he hearkened to the monks of Mākhda Māryāṁ on the 14th day and after that the monks of Mākhda Māryāṁ released Rās Aligāz having heard of the retreat of Rās Walda Gabre'ēl: and Bālāmbārās Aserāt sent over to him to say, "Oh my Lord Rās Aligāz, be not afraid on account of your being chained, for I am going to send you back to your own country in peace," and Rās Aligāz replied, "It is well," and Bālāmbārās Aserāt came over and joined Rās Aligāz and made a firm covenant of alliance with him by oath and anathema. On the 19th of Genbot they issued forth from Mākhda Māryām, Bālāmbārās Aserāt and Rās Aligāz. Then Rās Aligāz resembled Zerubbābel who brought out Israel by the permission of Dāryos (Cyrus?) (Ezra ii. 2) bringing forth the Gallas by permission of Aserāt. Then they halted at Tsenjānā and afterwards departed and camped at Gāzā and met Princess Yawarq Wehā. There they halted. Then they departed and camped at Afar Gamān, where they sent out a herald to proclaim, "Bālāmbārās Aserāt who is of the race of the Galla shall not remain in Begameder but shall follow Rās Aligāz," and Rās Aligāz went to his province Yaju and Bālāmbārās Aserāt was left behind. And this is as we relate it, for those were the days not of the kings but of the servants (the supremacy of servants, not of rulers). As the Book says, "Gold shall be despised, and silver held in esteem." On account of this we have narrated what we saw and heard. The King of Kings having espoused a woman, daughter of his brother, Rās Ali, by name Princess Alṭāsh who had lived before in concubinage with the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, resembled Oreyo (Uriah) who was illtreated through his wife (2 Sam. xii.). Oh, my Lord Takla Giyorgis, how much were

you illtreated through your wife, but your judgment was just; only God has not so far delivered you.

We will now return to the beginning of the matter. And he started from Afar Gàmàñ and camped at Adis Ambà, and made appointments and decrees without the Negus or the chiefs on the 29th Genbot. Sanè began on Tuesday. (To return.)

While he was there the Gallas advanced that had before fled towards Semën, Dajazmàch Gugsà, Qañazmàch Gafi with their brothers, and joined Bâlâmbàras Aserât, and he took leave of them in peace, in their province Yaju on the road to Lástà. That month Ràs Mare'èd returned from Agaw to Gojam, and Dajazmàch Aklog remained in Dàmot, and was created Dajazmàch of Dàmot, and Liqê Batsalotu was cast into chains. Hamlè began on Thursday, and on the 10th Hamlè Bâlâmbàras Aserât started hurriedly from Seqanch in the direction of Gondar, to attack our Negus Solomon with the Fanjà troops and approached Tsadà; but the Negus took to flight in the direction of Dengel Bar to seek assistance. Ràs Mare'èd and Bâlâmbàras Aserât then pursued him as far as Dambaya, and he turned back towards Gondar. That Aserât was like Ràs Zasellàsè of the Guragè¹ that oppressed the Kings Atsè Za Dengel and Atsè Yà'eqlab, so he surrounded Gondar. And he knocked down the walls of the house and burnt the property of the Negus Takla Giyorgis and only did not enter (break through) owing to want of strength, and the defence of the King's retainers. As the Bible says, "I will make powerless the bows of the mighty, and I will gird the weak ones with strength."² And again he put Negus Solomon to flight, and sacked Gondar. In that month Dajazmàch Aklog died and Ardu Yàba Bàryà, by the hands of the Agaw, while they were at Burà. Nahasè began, and on 14th Abèto Jonas, son of Abèto Latsun, son of Atsè Fàsil ruled and there were appoint-

¹ Guragè, a tribe of Gallas, S.W. of Shoa, referring to early wars of the 16th century between the Abyssinians and Gallas.
² "The bows of the mighty men are broken, and they that stumbled are girded with strength" (1 Sam. ii. 4).
ments and dismissals (of the officers). Who were appointed we know not, for we were not in the habitations. Dajazmäch Aserät returned to Begameder, and at that time there was a famine, and more men perished than could be numbered. At that time he came to Masqanch, and while at Masqanch he sent a runner to Dajazmäch Khäylu to say, “Do not remain at Makhdara Maryäm with a lot of men, but stay by yourself, and send me your daughter and your horse.” Dajazmäch Khäylu replied, “Agreed.” That however was a trick, for he hurried towards Afarawänät, on the 3rd of Pärguemën (Intercalary month) and pitched camp there. His retainers and his father-in-law came, and attacked Gerazmäch Wand Yera’ad violently while he was at Darä, and victory declared for Dajazmäch Khäylu; and Dajazmách Aserät hearing news of the battle, rose from Saqanch and came to Afarawänät, but Dajazmäch Khäylu crossed the river Abäy and camped at Ganj, to seek the aid of Räs Mardhā; and Räs Mare’ed sent over to Dajazmäch Khäylu to say “Come, we will consult together as to what we shall do.” So Dajazmách Khäylu started and came to Gojam. Ṭeqemt began on Monday. Räs Mare’ed and Dajazmäch Khäylu sent over to King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, while he was at Wäldebbā, to say, “Come to your palace, and we will serve you, for without thee the whole world perished by famine (hunger) and spears.” Dajazmäch Walda Selläsē sent the same message and Räs Gabré joined and said, “Negusa Nagast of all the world if that declaration pleases.” “Agreed.” As the Bible says, “Give us a king who shall rule over us.” But the men of Etyopiya cried, “Let Takla Giyorgis be King to rule over us, and save us from famine and turmoil.” All were satisfied with this arrangement. We will now return to the beginning of the affair. On the 30th of Ṭeqemt, Mäfu son of the Yṭégē Esther died. Khedär began on the Wednesday. On the 15th of Khedär Räs Mare’ed joined Kualäsi. Dajazmäch Sähela was expelled from his province Amharä and came to Begameder and he was attacked by the men of Muj and seized; on the 19th Khedär the Yṭégē (Queen Consort) Esther died who had been Queen for three months. There was great
mourning in the tabernacles, the Abun and Yṭēgē issued forth; and she was buried at Quesquām in the royal tomb of Mentwāb; and there was a commotion at Gondar and Dam-bayā caused by the only son, for there was not a king or a queen to deliver us. Takhsās began on Friday and on it Rās Gabré descended to Wāldebbā to fetch out King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, and when he joined him he said to the Negus, “Come and enter your palace,” but that proposal was a trick, and the Negus replied, “Yes, come over to me and bring me to my habitation, but Rās Gabré refused and the Negus declined also, but the object (pretext) of their cajolery we know not. As the Book says, “Tie up a boat in the sea and a beast in the grass” just that was in the mind of the Negus. We will now go back to the commencement of the affair. Rās Gabré was torn between the two questions, “If I go back to my tents I shall be afraid of the Negus, and if I remain Dajazmāch Walda Sellāsē will attack me.” And he made the Negus swear that (called the Negus to witness) he would not seek revenge and Rās Gabré gave the Negus his brother Walda Heywst to fetch him to his tents, then left him and went to the country of Berā. But the Negus came out quietly and camped, and going a day’s march\(^1\) halted at Angarab; and that day the Abun Atsē Jonās came to the palace and took refuge, and on the 29th Takhsās on the day of the Feast of our Lord Jesus, he came to his dwelling. On the 30th Takhsās, a herald went out to proclaim these words, “Come, the (Feast of the) Nativity has come,” and men of the city, pedlars and singing girls of Islām and Gondar issued forth to his reception, dancing, and all the priests made festival with canticles and psalms. And there were great rejoicings, but for the habitations searching of heart and joy that troubles had passed away and they had found cause to rejoice. On that day when he came to Qob’āstēl, he appointed Aqābē Sa’āt Kabtē Bo’atā an Alaqā, and the other Kabtē Ledatā, an Alaqā. Ṭer began on the Sunday, and in that month Dajazmāch Aserāt came bearing a stone (i.e. carrying a stone on his shoulder, a token of giving

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\(^{1}\) \(\text{Amharic = Ge'ez}\) \(7\text{th} + 1\) \(\text{ride} \text{ Guidi, loc. cit. 769 (1) road, (2) day's march.}\)
his submission). And he took the oath to Takla Giyorgis and the King took an oath to him, and he made many appointments among the Dajazmächs of Begameder, and went away in peace. King of Kings Takla Giyorgis sent a messenger, Khāylu, over to Rās Mare'ed, “Make peace for us, I too will give him what he likes, and let him dwell with me, there is no man among the great ones of those who dwelt before with me, except him,” and Rās Mare'ed replied, “Agreed,” and he took the oath to his Lord to serve the Negus King of Kings Takla Giyorgis. Then he sent Dajazmāch Khāylu for King of Kings Solomon, the son of Atsē Takla Hāymānot, after he had been expelled for eight months by the hand of Dajazmāch Aserāt. That man was like Zaso of Gurage. Qañazmāch Kabțe of Fanjā came who had lived in the exile with King of Kings Solomon, sending to Azāj Sahelu to return to Andāsa, and King of Kings Solomon came to Baguzo. (Yakātīt began on Tuesday.) He arrived at Gondar on the 3rd Yakātīt, and the chiefs and retainers of the Negus came out to receive him, according as Negus King of Kings Takla Giyorgis had ordered. He received him in the centre of the Royal Castle, with a banquet of food and drink, and seated him—King of Kings Solomon—on the throne beside himself, and there were great rejoicings; that month on the 11th, the Negus had a reception¹, and the Abun and Echāgē came, and the Negus took an oath with Rās Mare'ed. And at the same time the Negus came forth from Adabābāy with the Abun and Echāgē and ordered the herald to proclaim “Let Debra Meṯmāq be sanctuary like the house of the Abun and the Echāgē, like Mākhdara Māryām and Qurada,” and he brought the Tābot to where it had been placed before, and men of Mākhdara Māryām came bringing their sacred utensils with the Tābot which the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis had deposited, from where it had been for eleven years; the Negus receiving it with joy and high festival. He gave to Mākhdara Māryām the land of Gurā Amba to be the property of the priests and Dajazmāch Khāylu, and made

¹ *Amharic*, the reception hall for *Ge'ez* *to pass the night, to inhabit.*
a grant of glebe\textsuperscript{1}, so that they might take the tithes. We will now go back to the beginning of the account. He provided Debra Meṭmāq with tents and instituted the priests and the guardians and started building the church. While at this, the retainers of Dajazmāch Walda Sellāsē came, bearing the vessels of gold and silver and carpets of woven work, and canopies of silk and silver (worked cushions) and the Negus received donations and presented appointments of Rās and Bētwaddad. And he ordered them to speak to the herald, and the herald to inform Rās Walda Sellāsē. No one of the Commanders of this world was ever like him, either in power or in modesty, he deposed no king, he made no king, he revered the commandments of God, and as our Lord says by the mouth of David, “Lift not thine hand against my anointed, or illtreat my prophets.” And he did no evil to this day. We will now return to the beginning of the story. Magābit began on Thursday. The retainers of Aserāt arrived being sent over to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis to say, “I take my leave, I am going on a raiding expedition to Gojam, to make war on Rās Mare’ēd.” But the Negus refused and replied, “Mare’ēd is at my orders. For what reason do you make war, return to your province.” Saying this, he sent the servants of Liqē Kherut and the retainers of both the Abun and the Echagē. But Dajazmāch Aserāt refused, for treachery was a habit of his and Liqē Kherut returned, and reported the matter to the Negus. On the 22nd of Magābit, the daughter of Rās Gabrē returned. She had been concubine of the Negus, and the men of the city and the retainers of the Negus gave her a reception when she came to the hall of the palace, and the following day he decorated the retainers of Gabrē and bid them farewell. Miyāzyā began on Saturday. On the 2nd Miyāzyā was kept Easter and that month he created Gabrē Amlāk a Bālāmbārās, a retainer of Rās Walda Sellāsē, and bid him farewell. And Aserāt returned to the alliance of Rās Mare’ēd. Genbot began on Monday; the men of Azāzo had a quarrel with the Echagē
Walda Iyasus; and on the 10th Genbot, Echagé Walda Iyasus was deposed and the Negus sent to consult the men of Debra Libanos about bringing the Abbá Walda Yoná from Amhará on to Tadbaba Maryám. Sané began on Wednesday, and the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was not accessible, he was living in mourning and penitence. The cause of his grief we know not. This month retainers of Rás Marc‘ed came and Dajazmách Aserát and Qis Atsé Gabru, offering peace, and the Negus received them in the centre of the palace and then declared to them all the proposals of peace that had passed. They said, “Agreed,” and he decorated them. Then the daughter of Dajazmách Tsahay Ledá came in order to become the wife of the Negus’ son Iyo‘ás, that she might grow up with him, but they were designers of evil. And the Negus added for Dajazmách Tsahay Ledá, the office of Bajrond of the Reception Hall. Hamlé began on Friday. On the 3rd Hamlé on Sunday they appointed the Echagé Walda Yoná; and the Negus followed him as far as his gates, and then returned to his house; that month Mardu Zaqualá disappeared by night in the direction of Balasa. The Negus sent a herald to command his pursuit and the retainers of the Negus did so; they made friends without the consent of the Negus, who was enraged and put them in chains. Nahasé began on Sunday, and on the 8th depositions on oath were taken at Gondar on the matter of the wrecking of Dambaya. And he who had plundered was (the culprit was) Wahedu, by consent of his brother Aserát. On this account there was great concern, and that grief was like that of the Nanawé (Nineveh) of the prophet Yonah (Jonah), “Until the 3rd day Nanawé ye will be overthrown” (Jonah iii. 4). And when the Nanawé men heard that they grieved with a great grief and the anger of the Lord was averted, so the men of Gondar grieved. And they took an oath at Adababay, and the judges and the Abun and the Echagé on the 10th of Nahasé on the (feast of the) Assumption of the Lady Maryám, they slaughtered no bullock and no sheep, or any similar thing,

1 The name of a famous monastery in Shoa.
except what is eaten on a great fast day. And on the 11th Nahasë, the son of Dajazmäch Khaylu’s sister, fought Dajazmäch Aserät, and a great victory lay with Dajazmäch Khaylu; Dajazmäch Aserät fled. And when the men of Gondar got the news they rejoiced heartily, as the Bible says, “Blessed is the man who sees the fall of his enemy. Since I will tell the teacher my lips shall be joyful when I proclaim thee aloud. Thou hast delivered my soul, and again my tongue shall declare thy justice all the day long (Ps. xxxv. 28) when they shall blush for shame and misery that devise evil against me.” We will now return to the beginning of the story. On the 12th Nahasë, on Friday, he took the property that was looted at Dambayā and camped at Menzero. And the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis sent to say, “I have not given it to you, why have you looted Dambayā, send back all the booty to Dambayā, and return to your province of your government. And if you refuse, go to your brother.” And hearing this order, he refused (to go) and cursed the Negus. Then he rose and camped at Tsadā, and let loose the troops as far as Angarab, and they massacred the men of the city. On the 28th of Nahasë, on Saturday, the Qolanians came to the assistance of the Negus, and he gave appointments to Lāhoy of Gābā, Ledat of Armachuho, Andarsā of Marabā, Abēto Khaylu, Abēto Walda Sellasē, Abēto Lawtē son of Akilē and Abēto Gabra Kedān, and others whose names we know not. They came to the royal palace and camped at Ashawa, that they might protect the Negus, and King of Kings Takla Giyorgis hearing of this summoned the Abun and the Echagē to the royal residence that they might have a council; so they came, and the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis said to the Abun and the Echagē, “What is the use of this business?” and they replied to the King, “Send out a herald and proclaim that, and we will issue an excommunication”; and the Abun and Echagē went their way. And the herald gave forth these words, “Whoever follows Wahedu will have his house demolished and his goods confiscated.” And on the 1st of Pāguemēn, he (Wahedu) went to prepare for
battle, and let loose the soldiery in Qaha and many men of Islam and pedlars were killed, as well as of the King's retainers: that day Aslafê Gedi died, and the king mourned, for he too had formerly been in exile. He returned and camped at Sàmonà Bar, burning down the city of the Negus, just as his brother Ràs Aseràt had burnt the Gates of the Negus, just so he burnt his city. And on the 3rd Pàguemen he rose and camped at Añenàqer to fetch out the Atse Yonas from the house of the Abun. But the Negus getting wind of this brought Atse Yonas with his brother Goshu and made them dwell with him in friendship, and that villain was put to shame. Maskaram began on a Sunday. The Epact of the moon was 23, the Matq'e was 7, the Tentyon 5. (1798.) That day the retainers of the Negus had a fight and the Negus prevailed. The same day Liqa Masamer Kenfu of Debra Berhàn met his death, a teacher of the Scriptures and the pure gospel such as these times have not seen the like. On the 3rd Maskaram he started from Añenàqer and camped at Nach Debbà; that villain resembled Adam, God gave him the whole land of Paradise and seven gifts except one, the power of God. But Adam sought the power of God and let slip everything what was within his grasp, and his curse passed on to his posterity even to our day. King of Kings Takla Giyorgis gave seven offices to Wahedu, and brought him up from his childhood, but from what he gave him he reserved his kingdom, so he did not obtain the kingdom, just as Adam did not obtain the kingdom of God, but that was his own fault. We will return to the beginning of the story. And he stayed eight days and then he started and went to Dambayà and halted six days there, and returned from Dambayà on the 16th of Maskaram, on a Tuesday, and camped at Sàmonà. And retainers of La'eka Maryàm of Wälj were captured, while they were coming into the tents as they were living with Wahedu; they came before the Negus and he examined the messengers saying, "Why did you go over to that villain?" and they answered the Negus,

1 Lit. Kingdom of God, by aiming at omniscience through the tree of knowledge.
“When our lord sent us we went to fetch him that he might attack thee, oh Negus.” And the Negus ordered them to be kept that they might be flogged and he put in chains La’eka Maryam; on the 17th Maskaram on the Feast of the Cross he spent the time in camp. And on the 18th Wednesday he came and prepared for battle and he set fire to the Negus’ city in four corners, but the Negus restrained himself, the retainers of the Negus however made ready to fight, though against his wish. So they fought and on the evening of Thursday he crushed Atsê Yonãs and his brother Abêto Goshu, son of Atsê Solomon, but he did not remember it against them for he had a tender heart; and many men were killed. He returned to his camp. On the 19th Thursday, he (Wahedu) came prepared for battle, and they fought and he halted at Kaylã Mêdä. And he sent to the tent of the Abun a message, “If he will give me the Governorship of Ađeya I will make friends with the Echagê and if he refuses let him leave the tents and we will attack, and he shall go to another land, and if this proposal is not accepted I will burn the houses of both the Abun and the Echagê.” And when Negus Takla Giyorgis heard this proposal he was inflamed with great anger, like a roaring lion or with the violence that is given to a man drunk with wine. As the Book says, “With righteous indignation.” On the 20th Maskaram on Friday he harnessed himself for battle against the Abun and the Echagê and against the Negus. And a battle raged for three hours to the setting of the sun, and that day Walê Khäylu performed valiantly at Kaylã Mêdä. Oh men of Etyopiya behold that persecution such that had never been done from the Negusa Nagast Fasil to this day! That persecution was like that of Hezeqeyãs done to him at Jerusalem. And his deliverance from the hand of his enemy was like what happened to King of Kings Takla Giyorgis of great power; that rebel was turned back in shame; many were killed and Goshu, son of Dajazmâch Iyäsú was killed by a gunshot; and on the 23rd of Maskaram he rose and hastened towards Dambayã and camped at Meneyecher. And he heard of the advance of
Bālāmbārās Taklē to give aid to the Negus, and those that accompanied him were Mardu Golej of Wāro, Walda Mikāʾel of Gaden, Wāg Shum, Gerazmāch Wand Yerʿad of Yaju, Abēto Darso, and Abēto Gabra Sellāsē, and three sons of Abēto Menywāb, and others whose names we do not know. And when he heard of their advance Wahedu was terrified, and he trembled as a bullock trembles at the roar of a lion. So Wahedu trembled and rose out from his camp and hurried towards Ferqā. And Bālāmbārās Walda Taklē came along the road to Māryām Weha to Gondar on the 25th, the Wednesday, and camped at Chafrē Mēdā. On the 26th, Thursday, he came to the house of the Negus that he might see the tribute. And the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis received him in the saddle in the fort and Bālāmbārās Walda Taklē presented the trophies of former fights, with his retainers. And the Negus gave them a reception in the centre of the stronghold with a banquet of food and drink. And on the 29th, Sunday, dismissals and appointments took place. And those that were appointed were Bālāmbārās Walda Taklē a Gerazmāch, and Eshētē Khāylu a Dajazmāch, Zaquarra Adārāsh an Azāj (judge of appeal), Abēto Enquo Sellāsē a Kantibā, Ambāsalē a Yashālaqā and Abēto Sedat Ţarsamba an Azāj, Okalē Lawetē a Bāshā and Wālē Khāylu a Liqa Maquas, Yamāryām Bāryā Elfin an Azāj, and Tsay Mār an Azāj, Mardu Golej a Bajrond, Bishu a Bālāmbārās, Engodāy Atsequ a Bajrond of Iqābet; and others were appointed whose names we do not know.

We will now return to the beginning of the matter. Ṭeqemt began on Tuesday. On the 8th ḥeqemt spies came from Gondar, and reported to the Negus the arrival of those rebels Aserāt and Wahedu, those villains camped at Wantafet Mankariyā; and on the 13th, Sunday, King of Kings Takla Giyorgis left his habitations, and while he was on the march, he despatched the Lāstā troops towards Begameder on the road to Māryām Weha that they might take the rebels in the rear; the captains who

1 Amharic, Guidi, loc. cit. 526. Ṣe Ṣe Amharic: saddle, probably here a seat.
were on the Negus' side held their shields behind him and in front of him Dajazmáč Kháylu, son of Dajazmáč Eshétó, Qaňazmáč Kabtě, Kantibá Newáya Sellásé, Negádrás Kenfu Ruďel, Bálámbárás Adego Aychan, Bajrónd Ála, Qaňazmáč Gabru, Belát. Gabra Sellásé, Gerazmáč Walda Abib, Azáj Saquay, Bajrónd Heóqeyáś, Dajazmáč Halib, Dajazmáč Guaľeţ, and of the Heads of the Adbarat (monasteries) Qís Ātsé Gabru, Archpriest Kenfu, Mélećek Ganat Yared, Qís Ātsé Walda Márýám, Álaqa Kabtě, and others retainers of the Negus who were in great numbers. We cannot complete the list, as the angel said to Ezra. And as they were passing he came to his camp. And King of Kings Takla Giyörgis was like our Lord in the land of Egypt (was victorious over) the devil, and so he (King of Kings) was victorious over his enemies, through his exile. How shall I recount the story of thy trial, and thy sorrows, and the history of thy outrage, and thy exile, Oh my Lord, be not cast down, what has become of those that persecuted thee? and yet thou art still here now. We will now return to the beginning. On the 14th he reposed and then he departed thence and camped at Taláq Médá, then he left and camped at Anjebá, and from Anjebá he went and camped at Qebala Qáńcha, and that day those rebels came from Gondar by night and reached Enqášh. But they gained nothing except fatigue and they returned ashamed of themselves towards Gondar. And from Qebala Qáńcha they went and camped at Sabantára and on the 21st the Feast of Our Lady Márýám he and Fitávrári Germé entered the camp of these rebels while they were at Angarab and killed the rebel Wahedu at the opening of his tent, and let him hear the sound (of his voice) even as David let Saul hear the sound (of his voice) (1 Sam. xxvi. 13, 14). And he (Fitávrári Germé) laid the trophies before the Negus. That warrior was like Asáhel light of foot (2 Sam. ii. 18). We will now return to the beginning of the affair. And on the 22nd Ṭeqemt, Aseráit rose from Angarab and marched towards

1 Guidi 269, official who thumped on the table when the Negus had drunk enough.
Begameder, and while King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was at Sabantārā he sent Kantibā Newāya Sellāsē over to Dajazmāch Tsahay Ledā to say, “Come and help me, I have been fighting on your account with the rebels” and Newāya Sellāsē went to Tsahay Ledā and made him swear that he would aid the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and retainers of Tsahay Ledā came to join with him; the Negus started and there was rejoicing at Sabantārā at his joining and he camped at Marabā. Khedār began on a Thursday and on the 4th Khedār, on Sunday, Kantibā Newāya Sellāsē came leaving Tsahay Ledā behind as he refused (to come) and returned to his province, burning his camp and breaking his oath. The Negus grieved with his troops, and visited his grief on Tsahay Ledā by the hand of his retainers.

We will now go back to where the story begins. He (King of Kings) departed from Rabā and camped at Enqāsh and while there retainers of Walda Gabre'ēl came saying, “I have come to aid you, come to your house,” and the Negus replied, “Agreed,” and went from there and camped at Gonko; and while there retainers of Rās Walda Sellāsē came and said, “Make friends with Rās Gabrē and he will help you.” The Negus answered, “I will,” and moved his camp and returned to join Rās Gabrē, on the 12th of Khedār the Feast of the Archangel Mikā'ēl, and camped at Mahortach. On the 15th, Thursday, he left this camp and marched towards Semēn to join Rās Gabrē; he arrived at Enchat Kāb and met him with a banquet of food and drink. And the city mourned over the Negus just as Jerusalem mourned over the illness of Hezeqeyās the King, the pain of a āḥ cured him of his sickness, so the grief of retainers of the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis delivered him from his sickness. (To return to our narrative.) And he returned from his camp on the 20th Khedār, then rose in haste from Hartach and marched towards Samē, and demolished it and set fire to Lambo, destroying the walls; while there, Tākhsās began on Saturday, and on the 5th

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1 Vide 2 Kings xx. 7.
Takhsās, he sent Dajazmāch Khāylu to Qāroda to Rās Walda Gabrē'ēl, and on going he found Rās Walda Gabrē'ēl at Sārbāquisā, and with him Dajazmāch Gugsā and Dajazmāch Alulā, and they camped at Tsadā. And King of Kings Takla Giyorgis went from Samē by forced marches and camped at Meldebbā. Those miscreants Aserāt and Wahedu camped at Meneycher. On the 17th Takhsās, on Friday, Rās Walda Gabrē'ēl at Meldebbā joined King of Kings Takla Giyorgis and there was great rejoicing. Then they started on a sudden and camped at Fantar, and on the 8th, on Saturday, King of Kings Takla Giyorgis came to the house of the Echage, and Rās Walda Gabrē'ēl and they took an oath to be united (of alliance) and then they started out of Fantar and camped at Gaman-debbā, and while there, a friendship was (proposed) struck up and the Abun and the Echage came, and they went to Meneycher, and those miscreants Aserāt and Wahedu refused, so the Abun and Echage turned back with the army, and came to Gondar, mourning and weeping. On the 17th of that month, Monday, King of Kings Takla Giyorgis rose from his camp and prepared for battle, and advanced over to where the miscreants were, and there was a great battle for a space of three hours to the time of evening; on that occasion Dajazmāch Walda Heywat came to assist the rebels, by desire of his brother Rās Gabrē. And victory was on the side of King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, and many were killed, and Aserāt and Wahedu beat a retreat towards Gojam, where his father-in-law Rās Mare'ed received them. Then King of Kings Takla Giyorgis rose from his camp and came to Qaha and camped, and they laid down trophies for two days. He came to his habitations and gave a send-off to Rās Walda Gabrē'ēl to his province, in peace. Yakātit began. On the 14th Yakātit, on a Tuesday, King of Kings Takla Giyorgis rose from Gondar and went to Wagarā to a meeting with Rās Walda Sellāsē, then marched a day's journey and came to Ambāris where retainers of Rās Walda Sellāsē came to say "We will fight first, then we will make friends," meaning with Rās Gabrē, but the Negus was
grieved and not at all pleased at their reconciliation without his consent. Then he departed and camped at Amiwalek and Rás Walda Seläsē came making the earthquake with guns and spurs and met the Negus and Rás Gabrē and Dajazmāch Walda Heywat also came, carrying stones (as mark of submission) and threw themselves before the Negus, and the Negus had pity on them, for mercy was his habit, as the Bible says, "It is meet for the Lord that he should be merciful," and again the prophet says, "I have preserved the straight way, keep aloof from evil and do good." We will now return to the beginning. Then he departed and camped at Atsgabē, and while at Atsgabē Rás Walda Sellāsē brought his donation (tribute) to the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis 100 catapults¹ and many precious robes, that caught the eye, 200 dinārs of gold, and many carpets. And the Negus accepted them and was much pleased with them. And he sent out a herald to proclaim, "I have given to Walda Sellāsē the revenue of Tigrē for four years because he came to my assistance, and I congratulate him, because, as the Bible says, "The servant is worthy of his hire." And then followed appointments and dismissals. Magābit began on the 17th Śunday. Rás Walda Sellāsē was appointed and created Betwaddad of Tigrē and on another day as an (additional) honour a Wag Shum, and besides this a Qañazmāch; Walda Samu'el was made Gerzmāch; Gabra Mikā'el a Bālāmbārās, and many others more appointed whose names we do not know. Rás Gabrē (jurisdiction) went from Shāha to Takazzē and from Atabē to Balagaz, and other officers were appointed to their respective provinces. To continue. On Magābit 20th, he despatched Rás Walda Sellāsē to his province, and the King of Kings started out of Atsgabē and camped at Bāquet. Thence he departed and came to Enchat Kāb; thence he got up and camped at Waqen, and while there he despatched in disgust the Tanj men to Tigrē; from Waqen he rose and went by a day's march to Gondar on the 14th Miyāzyā on Saturday. Easter Day fell on the 22nd, Sunday, and the Negus had

¹ מנהני = catapults.
a reception with eating and drinking for three days; they slaughtered 200 bullocks in Adabâbây and he gave every man in the city to eat, even as his father Iyäsu, whose throne name was Adeyäm Sagad Zaqâdis, gave to eat, so he gave to eat, as the Bible says, “The son shall not relinquish the work of his father.” While there spies came from Begameder to report the approach of Râs Mare’ed by forced marches in search of Râs Walda Gabre’ël. Râs Walda Gabre’ël took to flight in the direction of Gayent and Râs Mare’ed camped at Mogesh and with him were Râs Aserât and Qañazmâch Wahedu. Genbot 573 a began on Tuesday. Râs Mare’ed advanced quickly to attack the Gallas of Alulâ, and they joined battle in the country of Daguilâ till the evening; then they separated and went to their camps, and that night they arrived at Gondar. On the 14th of Genbot, Monday, King of Kings Takla Giyorgis went out suddenly¹ towards Wagarâ; the others however, followed him, Alulâ and Gugsâ, and camped on the hill, while the King of Kings Takla Giyorgis camped at Qazqâzet. The Galla (chiefs) withdrew and went in the direction of Wakhni on the road to Begameder, and the Negus took the road to Jân Taqara, as far as Adêt. While there a retainer of Kenfès, the Shum of Tsagadê came to say, “Hand me over Dajazmâch Tsahay Ledâ, whom I delivered you before.” The Negus was distressed but was not able to save him, and gave up his brother. Then the Negus rose from Adêt and camped at ’Ajre, and while there Atsê Salomon (disappeared) went into Gondar over to Râs Mare’ed. Râs Mare’ed however, while he was at Qaha cast Râs Aserât and Wahedu into prison. Now their imprisonment was by (the power of) the Lord. He said to them, “Quit Gondar, that it may not become a desert; once before it was demolished by your hands.” They declined, “If you have given those people our province, we will go away with you,” they said. The Abun and the Echage and the men of the city were cast into irons, on account of that, and the people of the city were delighted and the country jubilant. And after this Râs Gabrê came, taking oath

¹ እንቂት: Amharic form for Ge’ez እንታት: from v. እንታት.
and invoking (the penalty of) anathema, and the two of them made peace. And they made Atsē Salomon Negus, on the 10th Sanē, on Saturday; and Rās Gabrē said, “We shall be well advised to go to Wagarā and attack the Negus Takla Giyorgis, while he is at Chārdequwā,” and Rās Mare'ed answered, “Agreed,” and both of them marched with the Negus (Salomon) to Wagarā. Now the Negus Takla Giyorgis left Chārdequwā and went to Tigrē, and with him a great number of Chief Azāj’s banded together, Liqē Walda Dengel and Liqē Gabru and Azāj Kenfu and Liqē Khāylu his ministers, Kantibā Nawāya Sellāsē, Nagādrās Kenfē Rufā'el, Ligaba Mēchā, Ali Bidars, and many others whose names we do not know. On arriving at Axum Rās Walda Sellāsē received the King of Kings with rejoicing and festivities. He left Chārdequwā and reached Anṭālo on the 28th and spent the rains at Anṭālo. As for Rās Walda Sellāsē, there was no one like him for doing good deeds to great and small.

We will now return to the beginning of the affair. And while Rās Gabrē and Rās Mare’ed were at Wagarā, spies came, and reported to them the approach of Rās Walda Gabre’ēl and the Gallas. These struck up an alliance to agree not to serve King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, and it seems to me what made that agreement void was that it was a great act of disloyalty to King of Kings Takla Giyorgis; and they took an oath, and they met together three days, but it was not for peace, but for war; but the Bible says, “The judgment of God is not as the judgment of men,” and it likewise says in another place, “The word of God is greater than the word of a man.” There was a great slaughter on the 15th Hamlē, on Saturday, for a space of three hours, Rās Walda Gabre’ēl was killed the first of all by a gunshot and spears; then Rās Mare’ed was killed by a spear wound while fighting most valiantly. Now Rās Mare’ed died young and poor in spirit (modest), as the Bible says (Matt. v. 3), “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven.” Rās Mare’ed died a man of mercy, and a pillar (foundation) of the Christian fathers, as the
Bible says, “Blessed are the merciful for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” Rās Mare'ed died too when his days numbered 27 (years) and he had accomplished the work of old men. As the Bible says, “It is not only in grey hairs that there is wisdom.” We will now return to the beginning of the story. The men of Gojam fled, though mighty and versed in war, they were vanquished. As the Bible says, “There is a day for thee and a day for another,” and again the reason is evident, “forasmuch there is no power in men” as Gēdēwon said when he attacked Midian, “Strength is the Lord’s, the battle is Gideon’s (?)” And Rās Gabrē escaped, and Dajazmāch Khāylu did so with great difficulty. And at the same time they put them on two beds and bore them into the camp on the 10th of Hamlē, the feast day of Our Lady Maryām. And Dajazmāch Alulā and Dajazmāch Gugsā came bringing with them the treasury (strong boxes) to Gondar. And that day Abēto Takla Iyo’as died, son of King of Kings Takla Giyorgis, and Rās Mare’ed was buried in the tomb of his mother at Quisquam. And Rās Walda Gabrē'el was buried at Atsātsāmē of St Mikaël, and Abēto Iyo’as was buried at Bā'ata, the grave of his father. Now this arrangement of their burial was in accordance with that of Israel, i.e. in the burial place of their fathers. Kings in the burial place of the Kings, Prophets in the burial place of the Prophets. King of Kings Salomon was put in irons, and they deposed Atsē Salomon, and Dajazmāch Gugsā, and Dajazmāch Alulā made Atsē Demētros Negus, son of Abēto Arqādēwos (Arcadius), son of Abēto Afnin, son of Atsē Fasil, on the 20th Hamlē. On the 24th Hamlē, Sunday, there were appointments and dismissals made, Gugsā was created Dajazmāch of Begameder, and on the 20th (29th?) Hamlē, Alulā was made a Qaṇāzmāch, and Quasa Dajazmāch, with many offices, and Dajazmāch Gualēj was appointed over the storehouse of the dried grain1. And Sadaf Gabra was

1 (Amharic) የᐊrequent to be superintendent of the storehouse of the 5th portion (of the grain and harvest that belongs to the owner of the land), vide T. Guidi, loc. cit. 422 and 857.
appointed a Bajrond and others were appointed whose names we know not. Nahasē began on Monday, and this month Rās 574b
Gabrē released Aserāt and Wakhedu, that there might be a tumult (rebellion). On the 13th of Nahasē, on Saturday, at
cock crow, there was an earthquake. (To return.) Rās Aserāt
went to Begameder and was taken by the hand of Gugsā
on the 23rd Nahasē on a Thursday. The blessed month of
Nahasē ended in the peace of God. Amen.

The 7292 year of the Creation of the World and 1792 year
of Mercy1, blessed Maskaram began when the Epact of the
moon was 4, the Matq'e was 26, Ṭentēyon was 7. May it bring
us to perfection. Amen.

In the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, our
God.

We are about to write the story of the sorrows of the
world. We did not obtain it from the narrations of learned
monks, the sources whence our fathers drew (their knowledge).
We found no friends to tell us, on account of that we mourned
and grieved, God alone knows. Maskaram began on Tuesday
of the Evangelist Johannes. Ṭeqent began on Thursday, and
while King of Kings Demētros was at Gondar, runners of King
of Kings Takla Giyorgis arrived from Tigrē, and they came into
the habitations, and sent forth a herald to proclaim, "Every
man must (come out) and receive me on the Wagarā Road,
with Alulā." Men of the city rejoiced that the Lord should
 guard those habitations when he came. And when he was
expected, it was in a state of disturbance. (To continue.)
And while he was at Dambayā Rās Alulā had compassion on
(i.e. amnestied) the men of the city and the men of Dambayā.
And after that Alulā was taken ill and died on the 27th of
Ṭeqent, a Monday, and was interred at Medrākhā.

Khedār began on Saturday. On the 18th of that month
our Negus Takla Giyorgis and Dajazmāch Gugsā started from
his camp to receive the Negus on the 12th. After this Amadē, 575a
named Kolāsi, joined the Lāsta men at Garagarā on the road

1 10 September 1799. Vide Appendix: Chronography and Chronology.
to Chachaho, and camped at Tere Aybalā, and harassed Begameder. From there he marched and camped at Aringo. And men of Mākhdara Māryām went to meet him and give him a reception, but they were deceiving him, and he bid farewell to them in peace and then started and went a day’s march and came to Gondar, camping at the outskirts of the city. And he entered the royal house of King of Kings Demētros, and the Abun and the Echage also came; and they met, had much useless debate, then the Pāppās Abbā (Patriarch) Yosāb turned to him, and said, “Wherefore hast thou come here, thou who art nothing but a heathen, it would be better for thee that the Lord should destroy, through thee, the Governors of Begameder and Amharā,” and he castigated him severely. But the heathen behaved in a friendly manner, and he was not irritated on account of it, his discourse was gentle and his tongue eloquent, remembering the words of the Bible, “Bow not the head to the foolish man, Fear not the man when he puffs himself up, and when he exalts the honour of his house.” And no man came to the house of the Abun. The Gallas, however, came to that of the Echage, and demolished two houses, and then there were some appointments made and dismissals; he created Wand Bawasan Khāylu a Rās, and others were given offices whose names we do not know. And after that he got out of Gondar on the 22nd Tākhsās and came a day’s march, and when he arrived at Reb he let loose the soldiery, and many people were killed; then he marched and camped at Danguira Gabayā, and on the 4th of Ter, he came to Mākhdara Māryām and made booty of all the property that had not been looted up to that moment.

We will now go back to the beginning of the affair. While Rās Walda Sellāsē was in his tents, he made a herald proclaim, “That all the men of Tigrē must follow Negusa Nagast Takla Giyorgis, and whoever remained behind would have their houses plundered and their goods confiscated. Rās Walda Sellāsē started with King of Kings Takla Giyorgis with a thunder (rattle) of guns and horses, as David said, “He shook the earth and made
it tremble. And that is what Walda Sellası did, like Iskander (Alexander). As the Book says, "A wild beast eats and what he leaves he spurns with his foot." Oh, Räs Walda Gabre'ël, how can I describe the fame of thy prowess, and thy goodness? And in good sooth, thou art like to Iskander, as he closed the brazen gates of Gog and Magog, so thou didst shut out men of Teltäl and Azabo with the fame of thy valour, while thy acts of kindness to the Negus and his army are without number.

To return. And then he marched from Antálo towards Abergallé, and crossed the river Takazzé and came to Semën, that is called Lawäré, and was attacked by Räs Gabrë, Bâshâ Haram and Bâlambârâs Gabra Amlâk, before the Negus heard of it or Räs Walda Selläsë; that night Räs Gabrë withdrew, and took refuge in his Amba (stronghold) called Hay, for it was his habit to retire to mountains with caves and lie hid. Then they marched away and camped at Lawäré, and from Lawäré they marched and camped at Sáberà, and surrounded and besieged Räs Walda Selläsë in his Amba, just as Tyo'ab surrounded and besieged Abel, and cut off the head of Sâbuhê (Sheba) the son of Bekori (Bichri) and returned (2 Sam. xx. 22). After this Dajazmâch Gugśa joined the Negus and Räs Walda Selläsë, and they presented the trophy of Räs Aserät his prisoner. And on the 9th Ter, the Negus decorated Gugśa, giving him the governorship of Begameder. And he travelled a day's march and camped at Gadabegś, and the Negus stayed at Sáberà for four months, making appointments and dismissals that were no use, and the officials appointed got nothing except empty titles (lit. fame) and gold bands (diadems). Magabít began on Sunday and on the 9th of the month, on Monday, King of Kings Takla Giyorgis 576 a started from Sáberà, and left Räs Walda Selläsë to invest his Amba, so that Räs Gabrë should not come down. But the Negus, going a day's march came out and reached Gadabegś,

1 Ps. lx. 2.
2 mmŠn read swp as in f. 87v. Hist. of Alexander, p. 135 (W. Budge), the hole or gap in the mountains, the Pass of Derbend, which Alexander closed to keep out hostile nations. Vide Appendix: Iskander the Macedonian (Hist. of Alexander as a Christian Romance). W. B.
where Dajazmāch Gugsa was, and Dajazmāch Kenfē handed over Tsahaya Leddā in chains; and the Negus received him, and then he (Gugsa) marched and came to Gondar on the 17th Magābit, and joined his brother Negusa Nagast Demētrros, but he did not stay in the king’s house (palace), but stopped at the door of the church that he had built at the outskirts of the habitations, that was called Debra Meṭmaq; and the day after the people assembled in the city and announced the death of Abēto Iyo'as, and thereat was great grief; but the Abun and the Echage put an end to the mourning and brought him into the house, and he (the Negus) did not cease from going and coming back on account of the building of the church. And while there Gugsa insulted the Negus and that insult distressed him, and this was, we knew, because they did not mourn the death of his son as they entered the habitations. And again, he refused (when the King said) “We will go to Gojam.” A third insult he committed, by making appointments and dismissing officials without consent (of the Negus), and that Dajazmāch Gugsa fulfilled the words of David when he said, “As a sharp (sharpened) razor working deceit, thou hast put evil before good” (Ps. lii. 2). Miyazya began on Monday, and on the 2nd Rās Walda Sellāsē went to his country Tigrē. There was an eclipse of the moon, and that month Dajazmāch Zawede sent presents of horses, and a herald announced his appointment as governor of Gojam, and he (the King) stayed to build Debra Meṭmaq. But Gugsa stayed to demolish the villages of Dambayā and Gābā. And Easter fell at the time, on the 13th of Miyazya. On the 14th, Wayzaro Amatu, daughter of Atsē Adeyām Sagad died. Genbot began on Thursday. That month Gugsa returned to Begameder and camped at 576b Qārodā, and Liban, the son of Amadē started on the 22nd of Genbot, laying waste three sanctuaries; their names were Sāgā, Zurāamba, and Goraf, and after massacring a great number of monks, and finally leaving1 Gāyent in Begameder, entered his province. Sanē began on Saturday, and a herald proclaimed,

1 There seems to be words missing or the text is corrupt, the translation is a conjecture.
“Every man who always comes up with the Negus must follow me.” On Wednesday he started on a raid in the direction of Wagarā; and he brought his brother Atsē Demētros to the courtyard of the Palace. And then Negus Takla Giyorgis was camped at Wagarā, so he marched from there and camped at Janodā, that is called Sabanterā. And while there Wayzaro Aqlekayā, daughter of Rās Mikā’el, passed to her rest and was buried at Aksum. On the 27th of this month, Gugsā ravaged Dambaya, and Fanja Kabtē committed an outrage on Ledatā that the Negus Yostos built, and desecrated the image (picture) of Our Lady Maryām built by a spear of an attendant of Gugsā, just as the Jews did violence to her of old.

We will now return to the beginning of the story. Hamlē began on the Monday, and on the 7th Hamlē a herald made proclamation in these words: “We have given the government from Dangal Bar to Amharā to Dajazmāch Zawadē.” The Negus started from his camp Sabanterā, marched along the road to Angararāb, when there were violent rains and many men perished as well as bullocks. (To continue.) He crossed the river Angararāb and then marched off and camped at Adēt, thence he marched and camped at Egera Daber, marching from there King of Kings Takla Giyorgis made ready for battle, and then there was a fight, but he did not gain the victory, so he returned to his camp. As the prophet says, “I will make powerless the spear of the mighty ones, and I will gird the feeble with strength”; but He did not give strength to the Kings but he gave it to the feeble. We will return to the beginning of the affair. He marched and camped at Tselalo; and while on the road the men of the district engaged with the troops of the Negus and victory was on the side of the peasants, and Ligabā Mēchā and Qaṇazmāch Walda Galawdēwos (Claudius) and many soldiers were taken prisoners

1 The allusion is to a story recounted in the Taʿamra Maryām (Miracles of Mary), Eth. MSS. No. 43, f. 94a-95b, Bib. Nat. Paris. Also, in Mākhilēta tsugō, a collection of strophes or verses on the B. Virgin, No. cxxx, Aethiop. Marienhymnen, ed. Grohmann.
and much property of the Negus captured. And there was
grief in the tents of the Negus that day, and they tarried
several days in that place, where there was a great famine, so
that many men of the Negus' troops perished. Then he
started and hastened to Waldebbâ and camped at Dawê, and
then went a day's march and reached (a part of) Waldebbâ,
called Saquár. That month a great number of horses died;
and while King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was there, Dajazmâch
Zawedê had a fight with the Agaw. He showed great valour
on the 27th of Teqemt, but his retainers fled in fear of the
spears of the Agaw, he (Dajazmâch Zawedê) alone distin-
guishing himself, and a great number of Agaw were slain. And
after that he returned to Gojam, and while at Zawâ the
retainers of Râs Khâylu betrayed Dajazmâch Zawedê for the
sake of their master, so as to assist the son of Bâlâmbarâs Fâsil.
And Dajazmâch Zawedê went in haste towards Gubeyâ, all his
enemies scattered; he spent the dry season at Bechana, watching Bâlâmbarâs Fâsil, sallying forth, so that he should
not ravage the country. Magabit began on a Monday, and on the
6th Magabit on Monday, during the hours of slumber,
riflemen played traitors to Dajazmâch Zawedê, all unconscious,
since he was in his house; but he bore himself valiantly;
and that evening, there was no one like him in that
fight; and he snatched away the guns and spears from
their hands, and came in triumph and joy back to his house.

Miyâzýâ began on a Wednesday, and on the 6th Miyâzýâ
Dajazmâch Khâylu crossed the river Geyon, in exile with his
father-in-law Dajazmâch Zawedê, and settled him at Motà.
On the 30th Miyâzýâ Bâlâmbarâs Fâsil came out in a "Busht¹," 
and Dajazmâch Zawedê getting to hear of this pursued him,
and both of them reached his camp at Hawârýâ Tsçyon (Zion).
On the 1st of Genbot a battle ensued that lasted three hours,
and Dajazmâch Zawedê had the best of it, many men being
killed, and Bâlâmbarâs Fâsil was taken with his retainers.
And that month he put in chains Azâj Sâhelu. On the 12th

¹ an Amharic word, a thick cotton cloak.
Genbot Abbā Zawalda Māryam of Shawā went to his rest, a wise man, conquering his love of the world; he was buried at Gondar, in the monastery of the “Saviour of the World.”

We will now return to the beginning of the story. King of Kings Takla Giyorgis having made a secret plan left his army and went away by forced marches, and then started on his plan. He crossed the river Takazzē on the 8th Khedār on the day of the feast of the 4 Beasts (Rev. iv. 6) and came to Debra Abāy, and then he marched to Aksum and went towards Adwā; and while marching on the road, Rās Walda Sellāsē received him with a large army with rejoicings and festivity, for it was his custom to give a reception to his master and chiefs. He introduced him with honour into the habitations, and brought food and drink without measure. We will now return to the beginning of the story. He spent the dry season at Adwā with Rās Walda Sellāsē. Easter fell on the 28th Magābit, the Negus started from there and came to Antālo. But Rās Walda Sellāsē made a muster¹ in order to make a raid and war against Sarāyē and Hamāsēn. He started out of his habitations, making the earth shake, as the prophet says, “He made the earth shake and tremble, and thou hast healed its wounds².” The wounds however that are spoken of was that piece of villainy. Then the men of Hamāsēn and Sarāyē came bearing tribute beyond count previous to his attack (before he fought them) and he bid them farewell in peace. He himself turned back and came to his province, while the King of Kings was at Antālo. Before Rās Walda Sellāsē arrived, King of Kings Takla Giyorgis sent a message over to Dajazmāch Gugsā to say, “I will make friends, I am coming, receive me.” And Dajazmāch Gugsā replied, “Agreed,” and the envoys of the Negus entered into a binding covenant with the mother, but he (Gugsā) was lying. He took his oath after a few days to, and made king Abēto Gualu, son of Atsē Hezeqeyās, by the hand of his underling; and there was no one to say, “How is

¹ Amharic from Guidi, loc. cit. 540; Basset, Études sur l’histoire d’Éthiopie, 66, 12.
² Ps. lx. 2; Is. xiv. 16.
it that the kingdom has become contemptible to striplings and slaves? How is it that the kingdom is a laughing stock to the uncircumcized from the very beginning? How is it that the kingdom is the image of a worthless flower that children pluck in the autumn rains?" I indeed lament as I ponder over the kingdom, for I was present in that day, in its trial and tribulation. And I weep always without ceasing, as Rachel wept because of her children, and as Israel were in bondage of old in the hands of Pharc'on (Pharaoh); it is afflicted, for the children of Israel in these days submit to slaves, while I weep without ceasing.

May the Lord have mercy on the great Kings even as he had mercy on the kings of old, when he restored to them the throne by the hand of Abuna Takla Häymänot from the hands of the Zaguê, who held it not in the beginning, and was the gift of our fathers David and Salomon, and Meneyelek. May he give us and manifest to us a repetition (lit. extension) of this by his grace and power. Amen.

We are now going to commence the story of the outrage upon the Negusa Nagast Demêtros. First they brought him to the Royal Palace without his consent. After that they turned him out and bringing in Takla Häymänot King of Kings made him King over the other and even yet a third time drove him out of the Royal Palace when he had done nothing wrong. I indeed am sad and stricken on account of this persecution of those revered kings. Who shall restore the dominion of the kingdom to you as of old he restored the kingdom from the Zaguê to the house of David, through the prayer of Iyasus, the conqueror, and the covenant of Abuna Takla Häymänot, may he grant us this day that he restore the Kingdom. Amen.

The month of Nahasê began on a Thursday, while I was in captivity and rendered useless in another province, and so I was not in the habitations of the Negus, so if I have been deficient (have failed) in what they instructed me as to the doings (events) in the habitations of the Negus, and over
the whole country, my masters, and fathers and brothers, will not be angered, because of my ignorance. I have written in order that the memory of the Kings may not perish: if I lament over that oppression of the Kings, it is because masters have become servants, and servants masters; only they do not grieve. I however have heard aforetime from the Holy books, “Gold shall be as dross, and brass be esteemed of higher worth” (Fakkērē Iyasus); the gold signifies the Kings, and the brass their subjects. In the 7294th year of the creation of the world (1801 A.D.), 1704th year of Grace, the month of Maskaram began on a Thursday, when the Epact of the moon was 26, the Matqē was 4, and the Ṣentyon was 2. The year was the year of Makūros, and when Negusa Nagast Guālu was at Gondar Ṣeqemt began on a Saturday. In that month Ḍaqabē Saʿāt Kabtē a man of the tribe of Azāl died. And while the Negus was in his habitation, Ras Aserāt came out of the slavery he had been sold into by his captors and camped at Wagarā, with his brother Qaṇazmāch Wāhēdu, and there was a great panic and vexation at Gondar; Ras Aserāt with a secret plan went towards Lāstā, and Qaṇazmāch Wāhēdu went towards Dambayā. The Negus followed him with a large army of Galla; and a few fled in the direction of Mēchā; so he crossed the river 579 a Gayon with a view to being received by Dajazmāch Zawedē, but Dajazmāch Zawedē refused to receive him on account of his Galla friendship. We will now return to the beginning of the business. Now the Negus returned to his city and spent the summer (dry season) in his habitation. Dajazmāch Zawedē spent it in Gojam and Dāmot moving about hither and thither (i.e. aimlessly); and Ras Walda Sellāsē spent the dry season at Adēt. All the captains spent the dry season in their respective provinces. King of Kings Takla Giyorgis was in exile in the hermitage of Wāldebbā, that is called Saqūār; and the kings moreover that were bound in fetters were Atsē Yonas in the land of Lāstā and Atsē Salomon in Tigrē, and Atsē Ba’eda Māryām in the land of Semēn, all sons of kings that had been

1 Error for 1794 if a.m. 7294 is correct. = 10 September 1801.
scattered like dust before a wind. Alas! and woe is me! My inwards are wrung, and my bowels are torn on account of those atrocious deeds (upon you) my masters. What avails that kingdom that was snatched away by the hands of underlings? Who will bring a Takla Ḥaymānot that he may restore the kingdom? (To return.) Takhsās began on a Wednesday. Wāhedu returned towards Lāstā. Sanē began on Monday. In that month, on the 24th of the month, there was an earthquake. Hamlē began on a Wednesday. On the 27th, the feast of the Saviour of the World, Dajazmāch Zawedē had a fight with the Agaw, and all his followers and his officers beat a retreat as well as his kinsmen and friends. All of them took to flight, and Dajazmāch Zawedē was left by himself with Dajazmāch Ikona’ēl and Sandē his chief officer, Yamalogē, the son of Gabru were those who were left with him, and others whose names we do not know; and all the men were made prisoners of war; and men without number lost their lives. Among the killed were Kantībā Walda Yarēd Kanfū Baqatu, Walatu Gabru Tāwqē, his son, Yamazokē Tadlā Jarso; and there were cut down, Dajazmāch Sāhelu, brother of Rās Khāylu, Līqa 579 b Maquās Gēdēwōn of Begameder, and others whose names we do not know. After that Dajazmāch Zawedē reached Debut and came among the Agaw, while all his army were their captives, but when the Agaw men saw Dajazmāch Zawedē, they exclaimed “Zawedē Yentegua” open. They fled from before his face. “Yentegua” is an expression in the language of the Agaw meaning, “He came”; and he ordered the pardon (release) of all the captives. That prince now was like our Lord Jesus who rescued the captives of the Devil, just so he rescued the prisoners of the Agaw, and as the prophet said, “Thou hast freed Yā’eqob from captivity and relented from all thy wrath, and turned away the chastisement of thy anger.”

1 Modern Bilin; Ḥaṭṭīḥi (entakhū). Khamir; Ḥaṭṭīḥi (Entakul) both from verb Ḥaṭṭī (ent), “come.” These are Agaw dialects, the former in the North on the Ansaba river, the latter in the region of Lāstā and Wāg. The Agaw are the ground race of Abyssinia, and probably forerunners of the Gē’ez-speaking immigrants from S.W. Arabia, the original Habashat. Vide Appendix: Names of Tribes, etc.

2 Ps. lxxxv. 3.
And after that he tarried in his camp; that prince feared no man, for there was no one like him except his father Dajazmäch Tulu, of whom it was said before in the time of our Negus Adayäm Sagad, "Yelu Aylu Yatāl Tulu." Burying those that were killed and carrying those that were wounded he marched towards Gesh, the head of the Geyon (river). Nahasē began on a Friday; that month Dajazmäch Gugsä fought with the Lāstä men; and victory declared for Gugsä, and no one escaped except Wand Bawasan Khāyu and Aserät, and Dajazmäch Darso was killed, the son, Shalaqā Chakañ of Lāstä, and others whose names we do not know. Maskaram (10 September 1802) began on a Friday; the Epact of the moon was 6, and Golden Number (Matq'e) was 24 (?). (To return.) Ṭeqemt began on a Sunday. That month Abba Yosāb, Patriarch of Ethiopia, excommunicated all Christians, so that they could not celebrate the Eucharist, or pray in the churches. The reason of the excommunication was that he said, "Serve (i.e. be loyal to) the Kings and do justice to the widows and the children, and come into the Hall of the King." But they did none of these things during two months, and they (his enemies) forbade entrance into Gondar and doing good works; seeing that nothing was done, he removed the interdict. After this Atsē Demētros died in his habitation and was buried at Ba'ata. King of Kings Gualu went towards Wagarā with the Gallas to attack Rās Gabrē, but not being able to (successful) he turned back after a few days and came to Gondar; and while on the road coming, he met his father Atsē Hezēqeyās as he was coming from Zagē towards Gondar; he went to meet him and conducted him to the house of the Echage. Dajazmäch Gugsä came too to Gondar and killed Kuara Mardu, cutting off his hands and feet, as well as his brother's, from sheer cruelty. But there was tranquillity with Dajazmäch Zawedē in Gojam, Dāmot and Mēchā, for the Agaw

1 A cryptic epigram that may be translated "They say, they say not—where is Tulu?" Aylu (they say not) is perhaps a pun on Khāyu, a rival chief. Puns of this sort are a favourite form of wit in Abyssinian lampoons.

his enemies had been defeated. Sanē began on a Tuesday; that month Wayzaro Galabu died.

We will now go back to the beginning of the history. Now the Negus did not leave his city. Hamlē began on a Thursday; that month Rās Aligāz died at Yaju. Nahasē began on Saturday. On the 20th of this month there was an eclipse of the moon. The 7296th year of the creation of the world (A.D. 1803) Maskaram began on a Sunday, the Epact of the moon was 18, the Golden Number was 12. The year was the year of Johannes. On that day Abuna Yosāb passed to his rest, and was buried at St Gabre'el. On the 5th of this month a light descended in the middle of the night on his grave, I indeed was not in the habitations but those who were there in them related it to me, as they saw and heard it. And there was mourning in the land, first our Negus vanished from us and now our Patriarch. “Who will protect us, body and soul,” is what all the world said weeping. Khedar began on a Thursday. On the 12th, the feast of St Mikā'el, Amdē whom they called Kolasi¹ was overthrown by the hand of the Wollo. He demolished the churches and made a laughing stock of Christian people: and the Archangel was avenged for that and made them pay the penalty by their trophies in Jerusalem, and as vengeance was taken on the Badalāy by the hand of Zar'a Ya'eqob the great man of the Kingdom. . . . We will now return to our previous matter. And after our Patriarch Yosāb was dead the retainers of Gugsā came to the house on the 4th day and took away the property of the Patriarch and from the Atsē Fāsil (that had been theirs) to the present time. Dajazmāch Kenfti who was there they bound with a strong rope. That indeed was the custom of their fathers, formerly they robbed the churches. Then he did what has never been done by any men in Ethiopia, rulers and Kings. (He said), “No one shall dwell in my country who professes the double Birth.” And Atsē Walda Yonā joined with them, a teacher of Debra

¹ Tribe of Gallas, N.E. of Shoa.
² Vide Appendix: Theological Controversies,” etc.
Libānos; the men of Waldebbā had formerly expelled him. On account of that crime he (?) migrated, and he was expelled to Amharā (to a place called) the Convent of Māryām; the men of Gondar brought him that they might seek peace, and they made him Negus without the consent of the Negus and the chiefs. But first Abbā Yosāb pronounced excommunication on those that declared for the "triple Birth!" After Abbā Yosāb was dead, in a few days, the Echage Walda Yonā pronounced an excommunication in these terms: "For those that serve Dajazmāch Gugsā no one may remain who professes the double Birth, only those that profess the triple Birth may remain in the land of Gugsā." Hence the men of Debra Libānos were expelled from Tigre and Gojam, on account of their faith, as the Echage Filippos was expelled from Shewā to Anqo and Geshanā. (To return.)

Dajazmāch Zawedē was seized with a spiritual zeal for the property of the Patriarch; he sent a messenger over to Dajazmāch Gugsā, who was in company with Rās Walda Sellāsē, to say, "Restore to us the property of the Patriarch." Gugsā was afraid of this alliance of the two commanders, so he said, "I agree, (come) to the Bridge." They met on the road of the Bridge that is called Gānj, with Dajazmāch Zawedē; and he fetched the gold that he had taken from the house of the Abun, but the other property belonging to the Patriarchate that had been abstracted with the gold, he did not bring. So Dajazmāch Zawedē brought 100 (pieces) of gold for the sake of his friend the Patriarch and gave it to Abba Robčam whom the monks of the convent of Ewosṭatēwos (Eustathios) had chosen, that he might go back to Egypt to bring back a Patriarch, and after that, bidding farewell, Gugsā went to his land of his government Begameder; Dajazmāch Zawedē hastened along the road to Mēchā to attack the Agaw. That month Easter fell on 29th Miyāzya. And after that he fought with the Agaw, and no one escaped but a few horsemen. A jester made this verse:

1 Vide Appendix: Theological Controversies, etc.
“From afar from Akáko he came at speed
Like Fasil he laid waste to the edge of the precipice.”

They tell that story about Dajazmách Zawedé. The King of Kings, Eguála Tséyon (Son of Zion) spent the summer at Gondar, doing nothing, his authority as Negus maintained only by the arms of the Galla. And King of Kings Takla Giyorgis remained in exile at Waldebbá in Begameder at a place called Washá, and his attendants having perished and his friends, his concubine, daughter of Rás Gabré having died, he had been in mourning to the present time. We will now return to the beginning of the affair. Dajazmách Sáhelu had been expelled from his land to Tigré. He was received by Rás Walda Sellásé and he was received kindly because it was Rás Walda Sellásé’s custom to receive strangers like him. The commanders spent the rains within their respective commands in peace. Those that had been selected by the converts of Takla Háymánot and Ewostatéwos proceeded to the land of Egypt, with some Mahommedans. They spent the rains at Matswá (Massawa). They had a quarrel over some small matter with the Nahib (Turkish Governor). The 7297 year (A.D. 1804) of the creation of the world. Maskaram began on a Monday, the year was the year of Mátéwos. There was war in the land. Rás Walda Sellásé went on a raid in the direction of Sarwé. They fought and killed Walda Sellásé, called Adayám; and Dajazmách Gugsá raided towards Armáchaho, and the Lástá men raided in the direction of Begameder, and Dajazmách Zawedé raided in the direction of Bāssó, and Enbessé spent the dry season moving about here and there. And in the month of Miyáyá, there was tranquillity in Gojam and Dámot, and the Agaw, keeping the country quiet by force. (To continue.) I however was not in the city, but those that were related it to me. There was a rebel by name Za Máryám Báryá of Tanjá, and there was an attendant whose name is not known. The Negus came out to the edge of his habitation suddenly, as anyone

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1 C. Rossini, p. 99 (MS. 118, Abbadie) suggests that Kaññña Darso is probably a pun with Kaññña dersaw “up to Fafa” a place in Agawmeder.
might, he met (came up against) some fool who drew a weapon upon the Negus Eguāla Tsēyon who sent him disarmed to his house though coming by night; and Dajazmāch Tsahay Ledā was with the king and came to the house of the Echagē. How is it that the kingdom is a laughing stock to the Galla and the uncircumcised, how is it that the kingdom is a derision to the children and servants? Why was the kingdom snatched away to other families, of whom it cannot be said, "They are of such and such a race." We however do not know the reason of this usurpation of the kingdom, but of yore the usurpation of the kingdom from the hand of Na’od in favour of the Zaguē we have heard the reason of that matter. Everyone said that when any man laid down trophies, he first of all said, "I have done this by the power of God." (by reason of this Del Na’od the Negus was conquered), (they said) "why speak you thus? Why do you not say, 'By the power of the Negus Del Na’od.'" For this God was wroth and God gave the kingdom to the Zaguē. But that kingdom remained in the hands of the children of David to this day. This history I found in the Gadla Yemersh, that he restored the kingdom from the Zaguē to the children of David by the prayers of Abuna Takla Háymānot. Who is there has restored the kingdom to you, my masters, the Kings? I mourn and weep without ceasing.

We will now turn back to the previous matter. The month 582 a of Magābit began. The Wollo and the Wechālē and Tolomā uniting together made war upon Abēto Tsamru in Amharā, the son of Dajazmāch Dori, son of Rās Goshu. Tsamru retired, so the Gallas were victorious. Tsamru was taken by the hand of the Galla, and they sent him away in peace. And after that Darso, son of Bālāmbārās Dori, governed Amharā. Abēto Tsamru came to Gojam to his father-in-law Dajazmāch Zawedē, and was received in peace. The Negus likewise and the captains were in their respective provinces. Sanē began on a Friday. That month the Liban and Wechālē made a raid on Maqēt, called Debra Abuna A’aron (Mount of our Father
Aaron). They surrounded it suddenly, some say through the advice of Aserāt. They had a fight with him and a few men were killed, and afterwards they were reconciled with Aserāt and returned to their provinces. Aserāt, however, went to Beganeder with Gugsa and the chiefs to their provinces. But the King of Kings 'Eguāla Tsēyon spent the rainy season at Gondar. Dajazmāch Zawedē did the same at Dāmot at a place called Burē. He put two officers in chains, but the reason of their imprisonment we do not know....

The history of the Kings is defective (now) and the reason of this deficiency is that there was no Negus who had power to loose or to bind to appoint or dismiss; on this account there is a deficiency. Men must not be angered with me about this history; there was no one to give me information as to what occurred in the habitations in other lands. In fact I was in another part of the country. In the 7298 year of the creation of the world Maskaram began on a Friday; the year was the year of Mārkos and brings us to a new epoch. We are now beginning with the help of God the book of the history of our Negus 'Eguāla Tsēyon. Nothing took place in the habitations, since nothing was done good or bad, no appointments and no dismissals; for there was an authority over the Negus in the hands of a Galla, who was called Dajazmāch Gugsa. We will now return to the beginning of the affair. While Dajazmāch Zawedē was at Burē, he put out the eyes of Fitawrāri Gabra Kedān and his brother Zaro, on the advice of Jawē and Yamālog. Then he marched and camped at Kob Mikā'ēl and took a rest, then he removed and camped at Ybābā; Mabājā was there and a scheme of Dajazmāch Zawedē was begun. He spent the dry season at Yabābā and while there he made a covenant with his army with an oath and under pain of anathema. After that he sent in the direction of Deldey (the Bridge) Dajazmāch Khāylu with Azzāj Sandē and Bāshā Faqadu and Fitawrāri Charn and Galla Wadājē, who camped at the edge of Deldey. And Dajazmāch Zawedē

1 10 September, 1805.
came over from his camp at Yabäbä and crossed the river Abäy. He made war in Begameder and made booty of both men and cattle, in Afrawänät and Wayrä, and went back to his camp. And while there Antsoña Habtu seized the son of Fäsîl, a rebel, and sent him to Dajazmâch Zawedë, who put him in chains. News came from Begameder to say that Dajazmâch Gugsä had gone from his camp at Lebo. So Dajazmâch Zawedë gave up his dry season quarters at Yabäbä and passed on towards Wadätä on the borders of Andäsä and camped there. And Dajazmâch Gugsä arrived at his camp and camped at Robit, both of them pitching their tents. Then the monks of the plain of Quarârtä came to make peace between the two captains. They made a treaty with a binding oath. While they were in this position, retainers of Räś Walda Selläsë came to bring about peace. "I was in my province, so you stay in your provinces in friendship and peace." Said the captains, "Agreed." That month spies came from the Agaw saying, "Azäj Eleyäs, Shum of Agaw, has played the traitor to you." When he heard that report, he took secret counsel with his friends, and rose from his camp and came to Sankuä Giyorgis and camped in that place, and despatched Dajazmâch Khäylu to the country of Gojam, and Dajazmâch Ikonyän to Yabäbä. He bid adieu to them and Dajazmâch Khäylu came to Debra Tsot, and he marched from Sankuä Giyorgis and camped at Qachen Bar, thence marching he camped at Dagutä; marching thence he camped at Sakalä. And Easter and Saturday fell on the same day. Then he marched and camped at Kossä, and then he proceeded to the house of Azzäj Ileyäs, that is called Fäfä. He found in his house much food and wine and beer beyond count, and he camped at his door (verandah), harassed the whole of the Agaw, in every direction, and he captured many men and cattle. After this he marched towards Gojam, and came to Zâwâ by advice of the Gojamese, but after a few days they deceived him all except Bâlâmbaräs Walda Khēr. That month Räś Aserät died at Quarâtsä of a grievous illness, and there was great lamentation in the house of Dajazmâch
Khaylu. We will now go back to the beginning of our story. Then he (Dajazmách Zawedé) rose from Zawä but his house had been demolished. Some went seizing prisoners, others went and seized the guns and others cattle, and others breast-plates. In great distress he hastened on his road to his province and going a day's march he reached Dāmot (a place) called Dambachá. How can I relate what was done at this time? Dajazmách Zawedé came and fortified in that hill. It was fortified by order of Abuna Yosäb, so that the rebels should not reach him. And Abeto Gualu son of Räs Mare'ed came with a large army of the province of Gojam and with him was Kuelalit (Kidney) as he was named. (To continue.) Abeto Guāla camped at the edge of the hill and sent a messenger to say, “Send me your wife, Princess Denqenash, daughter of Räs Khaylu.” Dajazmách Zawedé sent back in reply, “Before, I sent her out, and you threw down my wall of the retreat where I had placed her.” After that you tell me, “Fetch your wife.” So saying his eyes shed tears like water in the rain. Through that shedding of tears all his enemies were dispersed. We will return to the beginning of our story. God sent help from his enemies seeing the sorrows that had overtaken him, so that he might contend with them. Azzäjē Eleyās was his helper in this manner. He said, “Give up the wife of our Lord, Dajazmách Zawedé, whom you took out of his house against his will, whom he had settled there in the convent.” And there was a debate in the houses of the Gojamese. And they replied, “We will not attack Dajazmách Eleyās before we have elected him (governor); shall we attack him afterwards?” So they took this counsel, and they answered, “It is well”; i.e. they gave up Dajazmách Zawedé’s wife. And after that Princess Denqenash returned and went to the land of her father, and all of them returned to their provinces. After this Dajazmách Zawedé started out from Dambachá suddenly to attack Dajazmách Eleyās. He did not find him, so he returned and camped at Yamālog. Then first he attacked Dajazmách Goshu and

1 Amr: (Amharic).
then fell upon Dajazmäch Eleyäs. And victory after two days declared for Dajazmäch Zawedē. We will go back. Dajazmäch Zawedē pressed forward along the road towards Gojam to attack the men of Gojam, and he came up with them at Dambal, and won a victory; then he returned in triumph to his camp at Lamchan. And while there, there came a runner of Wadaje Sabaro saying, “We have taken Nathan Walda Amlák, send over to me (some one) that I may give up (exchange) Walda Amlák Baru. He sent Blätteṅgēṭā Biftu and Abeto Azanach to meet him and they went out quickly to meet him and put him in chains. (To continue.) He (Dajazmách Zawedē) started from Lamchan and camped at Wafit, and while there spies came to report “Dajazmách Gugsā has crossed the river Abāy and has camped at Koso Bar in the guidance of Azzāje Sāhelu.” And from Wafit he rose and camped at Sadē, and marching from Sadē he crossed the Abāy and passed on towards Mēchā. And there he passed the dry season, moving hither and thither. Dajazmách Gugsā surrounded the land of Gafat and devastated it, and all the men of Gafat perished. And while there his mother, Emmabēt Kafay, sent word, “There is in possession of your land a man called Endris Adam.” That was while Dajazmách Zawedē was in the land of Mēchā. Dajazmách Gugsā started quickly towards Begameder, to attack Endris Adam. He was a rebel who had risen in Begameder, and when pursuing Dajazmách Gugsā, Dajazmách Zawedē came upon Khāylu Kenfu on the banks of the Abāy. And he bore himself valiantly, and his (Khāylu Kenfu’s) relatives and retainers were captured, and he himself turning back towards Adawarē camped, and put in chains Khāylu Walda Rafa’ēl. Then he marched and camped at Tabābit and from Tabābit he marched and camped at Yaraz; both of them pitched their tents there. Then Dajazmách Zawedē prepared for battle. They met at Ayshāl Mēdā. Dajazmách Zawedē defeated them and the men of Gojam retreated, and while they retreated he advanced to Başo, that is called Yawesh. He
584 b turned back from Yawesh and came to Nāzrēth. And various appointments and dismissals were made. And Abēto Yamāryām Fantā, son of Samu'ēl Nacho died this month and was buried at Nazrēth Iyasus. After this Abēto Goshu son of Dajazmach Zawedē came back from exile, but his mother (Zawedē's wife) Princess Denqenash went away to Begameder with Princess Qatsaro in exile, and they came to Mākhdara (convent) Māryām. And after that he (Zawedē) rose from Nazrēth and came to Bechnā. While at Beclma he put in chains to die Adara Bori who was of Barantā and spent the rains there. Maskaram1 began on a Friday when the Epact of the moon was 10, the Matq'e 14. The King of Kings 'Eguāla Tsēyon started from Gondar in the direction of Fogarā that he might take the medicinal waters called "Labat" on account of his disease....

We will now go back to the beginning of the story. And while Dajazmāch Zawedē was at Bechnā the two chiefs sent to say, "Let us be reconciled." Dajazmāch Gugsā said "I will give back your wife and you give me goods to the value of 300 dinars of gold." Dajazmāch Zawedē replied, "Agreed," and gave an oath and (engagement) under penalty of anathema. He sent the gold that they asked for, and the gold arrived at the habitations of Dajazmāch Gugsā, which are called Lebo; but he (Gugsā) was a traitor to his oath, and kept back Princess Denqenash, Zawedē's wife, forswearing himself. After this Dajazmāch Zawedē came and passed over to Sadē and while he was marching, retainers of Rās Walda Sellāsē came to say, "Our master is approaching, having put Abēto Gualej to flight, to his land of Yaju." They met in battle, and victory was on the side of Rās Walda Sellāsē and all the men of Yaj perished. He returned to his land of Tigrē, and Dajazmāch Zawedē spent the dry season at Sadē to watch Dajazmāch Gugsā, and in the month of Nahasē he rose from his camp at Sadē and hastened towards Hadis Ambā, and from Hadis Ambā he started and camped at Akerma. And while there a reconciliation was

1 This is still the year 7298, p. 478, according to the Epact given, 10.
started with Blättēngētā Kuelālit and Abēto Azanach and Azājē Asēgo. They came to the camp of Dajazmāch Zawedē with oaths and penalty of anathema, and Blättēngētā Kuelālit came to Debra Dēmā and dwelt there in sanctuary.

In the 7301 (1808) year of the creation of the world Maskaram began on a Saturday; that was the (year) of the evangelist Mätēwos, the (New Moon) (?) rose the night of the 16th, the Ťentēyon was 4, when the Epact of the moon was 14 and 585 a the Matq’e 16. Yakātīt began on a Tuesday. Dajazmāch Zawedē started from his village of Hawārē in Begameder to make a sudden attack on Dajazmāch Gugsā, and he camped at Mount Maryam and came to the habitations of Gondar. And he sent out a herald to proclaim, “Come! Come forth to meet King of Kings Takla Giyorgis at Waldebbā.” And he turned out Atsē ‘Eguāla Tsēyon and returned to his camp at Mount Maryam, it being Saturday, and then he moved out of his camp and camped at Abbā Samu’ēl. Here begins the trial of Dajazmāch Zawedē. On the 18th of the month Yakātit, on Friday, the battle began and in the evening of Friday, a retainer of his, a Galla, a pretended ally deserted and played the traitor to his master Dajazmāch Zawedē. Now that Galla was like the Jew that sold his Lord; he (Dajazmāch Zawedē) waited through the Saturday considering over it, and in the evening of Saturday the Gojamese betrayed him, and went over to the Galla, for it is their habit to be traitors. And first they put Rās Mare’ed to death at Wagara, and the same day deserted from Dajazmāch Zawedē, according to their custom. On the 20th of Yakātit, on Sunday, a battle took 585 b place and the Galla advanced against him, but they (Zawedē’s force) retreated without engaging, they were beaten, and victory remained with the Galla. But God delivered Dajazmāch Zawedē according to his mercy, and the prophecy of his father David was fulfilled in him, as it said in the Bible, “A Prince is not saved by many men, and a horse is a vain thing for safety, and he will not escape by great strength".

1 Ps. xxxiii. 17.
Dajazmäch Zawede escaped on foot to his village and came to the house of Demetros Khäylu and he sent him by boat to Mèchà and he came to the house of Engulal Khäylu, and while there he released those in chains that were dwelling at Daq (island in Tsānā) who were Azaj Eleyas of Agaw, Delu Nacho and Delu Amàro, taking an oath and (binding himself) under penalty of anathema. Then he started out and camped at Jamma, and met those of his soldiers that had escaped from the defeat, Fitawrari Sandè and Fitawrari Biftu. And of those that Dajazmäch Gugsà put in chains were Bālāmbārās Walda Khèr and Kantibá Iyorám, and Liqà Maquàs Tesfuyo and Walda Ab, and Walda Abib and Walda Gabrèl, Walda 586 a Sellāsè. How should I enumerate those that were left in the hands of the Galla? And Rās Gugsà returned to his province in the year of the Evangelist Mätèwos. The 5th year Atsè Hezeqeyàs died and Dajazmäch Adegah and this (A.D. 1813) was the year of Mätèwos the Evangelist, and the third year (three years after (1816)) Rās Gabrè died the year of the Evangelist Lukàs. The second year Rās Walda Sellàsè died (1817) the year of Evangelist Johannes, and before his death at that time Abuna Qerlos came, and the third year (1818) the Evangelist Märkos, died Atsè Takla Giorgis in (the month of) Tàkhàsàs and in Genbot Atsè Guàla died¹. On the 15th of Sànè, Atsè Iyo'as his brother came to the throne, and in the third year Abuna Qerlos was expelled; he was vanquished in a matter of Faith, when he professed, “His Son by Unction”, and he went away to Tigrè and that was the year of the Evangelist Johannes. And the third (1821) year (after), that of Evangelist Märkos, Atsè Iyo’as died, and the Echage Walda Yònà. And Atsè Gìgar was King and Johannes was created Echage. And in a year the righteous Echage Johannes retired and abandoned his office and went to his province (1823). And Filipos was created Echage and the third year that of the Evangelist Mätèwos after he had ruled over the whole world

¹ 3 June 1818.
² Vide Appendix: Theological Controversies in Abyssinian Church.
except Shoa and Tigré, Rās Gugsā died at Debra Tabor and was buried 16th of Genbot\(^1\) on a Monday, and the period of his dominion was 27 years. And after that Walda Yanam was appointed and the next year (1826) that of Mārkoṣ, there was a great migration from Semien and Dajazmāḥ Khāylu Māryām came to make war. He reached Mount Mantā to put Atṣē Ba'eda Māryām on the throne, and he stayed at Mount Mantā fifteen days, for Rās Yman was not in Begameder but had gone to Gojam to do battle against Dajazmāḥ Gosuḥ; Dajazmāḥ Khāylu Māryām seized the ford of the Geyon (river) so that he might not cross it, and when they failed at the ford they crossed by the bridge at Dangal Bar, and they came as far as Azazo and pitched camp at Sāmonā Bar. Dajazmāḥ Khāylu Māryām retreated in panic and pitched camp at Wāldebbā, and the battle began. And they fought for three days and a great number were killed. And they shut him out from the water of the (river) Angareb, as it is written, “Shutting out water is the beginning of strife.” And on the 29th Takhāsās on the Day of the Nativity of Our Lord, Dajazmāḥ Khāylu took to flight in fear and trembling, and Rās Yemām and Dajazmāḥ Māru pursued him as far as Wagara, but did not catch him up; many were killed on the road, and the Tābot of Dafachā was destroyed. He tarried at Gondar for the day of the fast of the Nativity, and in the evening he returned and came over to the Echage, Filippos, and received his blessing and broke bread with him. Dajazmāḥ Khāylu Māryām came to his village, sick from poison; he died and was buried at Wāldebbā in Genbot of that year. Dajazmāḥ Oubiē was appointed. Dajazmāḥ Māru had a battle with Rās Yemām and they fought at Amdamit, and Dajazmāḥ Māru was killed by a gunshot and Rās Yemām came to his village and died by violence. Rās Māryo was appointed, and Semien was devastated by the soldiery of Māru. And the third year Māru came out of his village of Debra Tābōr and went to Tigrē while Dajazmāḥ Oubiē was chief, and fought

\(^1\) 25 May 1825.
with Sabe Gādis, Dajazmāch of Tigrē, and Rās Māru was killed\(^1\) by a gunshot and was buried at Mount Abāy, and Dajazmāch Sabe Gādis was taken and remained one day and was put to death with spears before sentence (had been given). And after that his brother was appointed, Rās Dori. And 587 a Ātsē Iyāsu was made King. Dori died and Iyāsu was deposed. Ātsē Gabra Krestos was made Negus and died. All this occurred in one year.

In the year 7322 (1830) of the creation of the world Rās Ali was created chief of the Generals, and Ātsē Sāhelu was made Negus.

Here the MS. ends abruptly and the following summary of events may be added from other sources.

Dajazmāch zawedē, after his defeat, fled and was captured by Walda Rufēl and handed over to Rās Gugsa, who threw him into a prison at Balambā, where he died. Gugsa made his son Rās Alula Governor of Dāmōt and gave him as a wife Wayzaro Menin, who became the mother of Rās Ali, destined in manhood to be one of the most powerful chiefs in North Abyssinia. War continued between Rās Gugsa and Walda Sellāsē, the latter having the King, Takla Giyorgis, in his protection rather than in alliance. Walda Sellāsē died in 1816. Hezeqeyās died 17th Magābit (26th March) the same year. Ātsē 'Eguāla Tsēyon died 27th Gērbot (3rd June) 1818, Takla Giyorgis having preceded him on the 12th Takhsūs. The latter was buried at Axum.

After Ātsē Iyo'ās died 3rd June 1821, Ātsē Gigār may be said to have had a little more than the empty title of King of Kings; but though greater power was exercised by various contending governors, such as Dajazmāch Sabagudis in Tigrē, Rās Gugsa in Begameder and Dajazmāch Khāyłu in Semēn, he had at least survived the other puppet kings and pretenders. He enjoyed this precarious position for nine years. Rās Gugsa died 23rd May 1825, and his son, bearing the Muslim name of Rās Imān, was elected his successor. After the death of Dajazmāch Khāyłu, his son Dajazmāch Ubi (pronounced Ubye or Ubiē) succeeded to the governorship or dictatorship of Semēn.

The writer in f. 585 b to the end summarizes the history of the country to 1830. A fuller version of this portion is given in a MS. lately found among the d'Abbadie Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 118.

\(^1\) The date given by MS. 118 Abbadie of the death of these two chiefs is 1829. It gives the account of their battle and their death. *Vide* the continuation of the history taken from the above MS.
From 1830, where our MS. terminates, the d'Abbadie MS. (ed. and trans. by C. Conti Rossini) brings the history up to 1840, as follows (f. 246 b, col. a).

Both (of these Chiefs, Maryë and Sabagadis) were buried at Debra Abäy. Whilst their battle was raging there, the heat was terrific and many men perished of thirst. The Lord had pity on them and caused an abundant rain to fall; a great stream of water burst forth and mingled with the blood. The thirsting men drank of this water and fell ill of the disease called fatsant (אשת); some died and some survived.

After the death of Râs Maryë, Dori rose to the position of his brother. (Dori) departed to return to his country, while Dajazmâch Ubië remained in Tigrë. During this march of Dori, some of his troops died of fatigue and hunger; there were some who sold their horses for bread, others for a bowl of milk. Yet for all that they were in such misery there was not one who did violence to the poor or seized any (of their) goods, for Râs Dori was a just judge and loved not ill-usage. In his great love of justice he thought to show obedience to the King, but the Lord would not permit him. Of his hatred of ill-treatment he gave a proof when a soldier seized a piece of bread or a bowl of milk; he gave the man who had been despoiled the offender's horse. While he was acting thus, the Almighty cut short his life for the sins of the people. On his return to camp, he fell grievously ill. He put in prison Dajazmâch Kenfu and Amadê, in order that they might not create disturbance and remained thus for three months; then he died and was buried in the tomb of his father. The month in which he died was Sanë (June), 1831.

Râs Ali was elected. He let out Dajazmâch Kenfu and Amadê from the prison where Râs Dori had thrown them and bestowed on Dajazmâch Kenfu the government of the country formerly ruled by Dajazmâch Maru. He then sent Amadê back to his country to govern his own district. In his province there was a village called Baba, where there was a church. Amadê entered the church, defiled it, had food and drink brought to
it and invited to it all the Muhammedans. While they were there eating and drinking, a thunderbolt fell and terrified them, even as it had terrified Paul. However, he was not converted like Paul, but hardened his heart, like Fare'on (Pharaoh), for he belonged to the race of Grañ. Before that he had set fire to many churches; and some of these he had turned into mosques for the Musselmans. Then he set forth to wage war on Ali Fāris. But Ali Fāris defeated him and put him in chains because he had not shown the justice of the Lord. After (Amadē) had been imprisoned, Rās Ali sent messengers and made peace, in order that (Ali Fāris) might set him at liberty. The latter did so. Rās Ali did not remember that he (Amadē) had destroyed Christianity; but the Lord, who measures not this practice, willed him to be a prisoner that he might perish at the hand of Rās Ali; thus he acted not friendly to Christ, though he acted friendly towards men. After that, the sixth month after the election of Rās Ali, Ali Fāris came to wage war on Rās Ali. With him was a Christian who had taken the name of Eguāla Anbasā, although he was not of the royal line. Ali Fāris wanted to make him Negus, but was defeated and had great trouble to escape and get to his country, Rāya, where Rās Ali was unable to find him. When Rās Ali returned to his country, (Ali Fāris) returned to his. For a long time affairs remained in this state. After a time, Amadē came bearing the books of the Muslims and all their laws, to convert the Christians to Islam and deny Christ. While he was on the road and was trying to join the son of his sister, he died on the march. They brought back the corpse and buried it in his own country. In this manner our Lord wrought, for he loves Christians for whom he died and gave himself.

Rās Dori, when he was alive, elected to be King of Kings Iyāsu, son of Solomon King, son of Takla Haymānot, the king who renounced the world and retired to Wāldebbā. The reign of Iyāsu began on the Feast of Pentecost in the month of Sanē. After he had begun to reign, he betook him to riding on horseback and to go on campaigns. Rās Ali heard that he did all
these things while he was beginning the war against Ali Fāris. When he had defeated Ali Fāris, he drove Iyāsu out of the kingdom and nominated King of Kings Sāhela Dengel in his stead. When Sāhela Dengel was called to be King, the Clergy of Azāzo were hostile to him, on account of the Faith. While Rās Ali was passing through the land of Dambeyā to carry on war against the Agaw, the Clergy of Azāzo said to him, “Send him away!” And he sent away the King and made him stay in the Country of Zengāj. All this took place about the time of the Epiphany. After him King Gabia Krestos, who was living in Mesraha, ascended the throne on Sunday of mid Lent, in the month of Magābit. He remained for three months, then he died, 27th of Sanē, and was buried in the convent of Our Father Takla Háymānot, which is in Adababāy. After this, on the return of Rās Ali from his expedition, King Sāhela Dengel started from Zengāj and met Rās Ali in a village called Tsagur, and discussed with him the question of the kingdom, and said to him “Bring me back to my kingdom.” He (Ali) ordered that he be allowed to return, so he came back and reigned. When he was reinstated, there came the rebel who had appeared before with Ali Fāris, who had taken the name of Eguāla Anbasā. After having wandered from place to place and from country to country, he came and entered the convent built in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the bank of the river called Qaha, in company with a few men. He took the horn outside the church, and, sounding it, cried, “I am the King whose name is Theodore.” Hearing of this, King Sāhela Dengel was disturbed in his heart; in the evening he started out with his attendants, killed him with blows of his sabre, cut off his head and stuck it on a tree in Adababāy. With the dead man was a eunuch; Sāhela Dengel made him a slave and kept him with him, and to this day this man lives with the King. As for the cross and monk’s habit which belonged to the pretender, (Sāhela Dengel) took them away and placed them in the palace, where they can be seen by those who come to pay respects to the King.
After Rās Ali had appointed Dajazmāch Kenfu to be governor of the province to which Dajazmāch Maru had been nominated, he (Kenfu) preserved the country in peace against oppressors and robbers. He cut off the hands and feet of brigands and thieves. So the country he ruled could rest quiet from the violences of the soldiery; rich and poor rejoiced in his rule. In his day was abundance, and famine ceased. In his time it was heard that the Turks had come and had camped at Matemmā. When he heard of this, the whole country was alarmed and grieved and all made supplication (for help) with loud lamentation. Said Dajazmāch Kenfu “Have no fear; be not afraid. So long as I am not dead, you shall not die!” This said, he departed and betook him to Matemmā to make war on the Turks, who had come to take tribute from the Arab tribes (lit. sons of Arabs) who inhabited Matemmā. The numbers of the Turks were 400. He gave battle to them and he slaughtered them and the inhabitants of Matemmā. Their Commander, however, was not there; he was at Sennār. Dajazmāch Kenfu returned in peace to his province. Having heard of this, the Franks said to Muhammed Ali, “If the Christians are molested, we shall no longer be friends with you.” With such language they forced the Turks to abandon war against the city of Gondar. Before Dajazmāch Kenfu died, his two brothers, Dajazmāch Yabru and Andawā Khāylu, died; their mother was Wayzero Walatta Taklē.

In the days of Rās Ali, retainers came, relations of Rās Ali, and raised trouble in the city of Gondar. On account of such disorders, the King and the Echagē went away and spent the night at Tsaddā. Seeing this, the retainers had no fear, for the Lord willed that, though servants, they should hold them in contempt. Before this, a like outrage was committed in the reign of King Gigār. Soldiers came who penetrated into the city and camped in the market-place. The King and the Echagē came out and remained in the market-place, but the soldiers had no respect for their authority and plundered Dengēyage. And on his flight the Echagē fell ill and died. Dajazmāch
Kenfu also lay ill for many days and died. When he died none of his followers showed any grief, although they divided amongst them his riches. A few men bore his body and brought it to Fanja and buried it.

After the death of Dajazmäch Kenfu, Goshu Berru was elected. Before the election of Goshu Berru, Rās Ali said to the sons of Dajazmäch Kenfu, “We have bestowed on you the country of your fathers.”

In these days, Lejj Walda Taklē arose and stirred up the villages, and while the country was in such a state of unrest Dajazmäch Berru came with his father, Dajazmäch Goshu, by Dengel Bar. They gave battle to Lejj Elma and Makunnen, sons of Dajazmäch Kenfu, defeated them and took them prisoner and put them in chains. But these things were done by Dajazmäch Berru when Rās Ali had said “I have given you (this country).” Thence he advanced to Dambeyya. The clergy of the capital came and gave him a reception; he received them, offering food and drink and made no difference between right and left. Then, as they did not bring in their tribute (requisitions) he bought up the crops and forbad the introduction of cereals into the city. On account of this, the clergy assembled, united in the intention of betaking themselves to Debra Tabor to Rās Ali to bring an accusation against Berru, saying, “This man has seized the fruits of the earth which the Kings have bestowed.” Thus they came with an accusation. Rās Ali replied “Be reconciled.” They answered “We will not be reconciled, for we are afraid of him; it is impossible for us to go back to our country; nay, we will go as exiles to another country.” Then (Ali) said to Berru, “We have given you the province of Gojam; return to it.” And so the priests went back in peace.

After Dajazmäch Berru went away, war broke out, and he lost the friendship of Rās Ali. The latter gave to his mother the province of Dajazmäch Maru. Dajazmách Berru went away and set at liberty the sons of Dajazmäch Kenfu. These entered Quoratsā. The son whose name was Elma, while disporting (g受访 for g受访) himself on a horse, fell and was killed
Then Rās Ali and the Itegē Manan sallied forth to make war on Gojam. The Itegē went to the country of the Agaw, and while she was there Lejj Makuannen came to the province of Dambeyā and engaged Lejj Walda Taklē in battle. Lejj Walda Taklē was the victor, captured him and put him in chains at Sarambā. After this, Wayzaro Manan came to Fergā Bar and reached Dambeyā. The country was much disturbed by her and by Walda Taklē. She pursued Walda Taklē. The latter marched to the top of an amba, the amba was taken by storm and she (Manan) captured Walda Taklē. Keeping him prisoner, she entered the city the 23rd of the month Nahasē. Previously to this, she had driven Sāhela Dengel out of the kingdom (29th August, 1840). On the 24th of this month, Johannes was made King of Kings, son of Takla Giyorgis. Then she really became the wife of King Johannes. The royal ceremonial was carried out for them. In these days the city underwent grave disturbances; the soldiers broke into all the houses and ate up all that the inhabitants of the city had to eat. There was a great famine and many people perished of hunger.
APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGY AND CHRONOGRAPHY OF ABYSSINIANS.

The chronography of the Abyssinians is that of the Mother (Coptic) Church of Alexandria. It would appear from Georgius Synccellus that it was initiated by the Alexandrian monk Panodorus, who flourished under the Emperor Arcadius (395-408 A.D.) and founded a system of chronology based on Egyptian and biblical sources. He fixed the incarnation of Christ in the year 5493 of the world and made the year 1 A.M. begin on the 29th August, 5493 B.C. in accordance with Alexandrian reckoning, which begins the year with the 29th of August (Julian) or 9th of September (Gregorian), = the 1st of Tut (Coptic), = the 1st of Maskaram (Abyssinian).

In this way he anticipated the date assigned to the incarnation by Dionysius Exiguus (who died circ. 540-560 A.D.), the founder of the Dionysian era. His contemporary, Annianus, an Egyptian monk, also mentioned by Synccellus, made a step forward in the system of Easter reckoning; he began his Era on 25th March, 5492 B.C., this date (25th March) being held by many early chronographists as the fateful day of the incarnation of Christ, the creation of the world, and the Day of Resurrection. He combined 28 nineteen-year cycles of the Moon into a 532 year period, which he took as the basis of his Easter reckoning, at the close of which Easter Day would fall on the same day and the Golden Number would revert to 1.

Annianus placed the birth of Christ in the year A.M. 5501, and this is the date adopted by the Abyssinians according to the MSS. extant, though they do not ascribe to this writer the determination of this date. The Alexandrian and Abyssinian era, beginning on the 29th of August, is seven months earlier than the era of Annianus. In order, therefore, to convert the Alexandrian and Abyssinian date to dates A.D., or Christian era, subtract 5492 from the given year of the world and there remains the year A.D., which from 1st January to the 29th August agrees with the Abyssinian. From the month of September to the end of December, 5493 subtracted from the given date gives the correspondence with the Abyssinian date.

1 ἐνακτάτῃ μοναχῷ συγγραφεὶ Ἀννιανῷ καὶ Πανδώρῳ, Synccellus, ed. Dindorf, v. 27, p. 61, and v. 32, p. 75.
2 Julian dates are in this appendix converted into Gregorian by the addition of eleven days, the proper correction for the eighteenth century of our era.
3 Annianus, according to Synccellus, was the contemporary of Theophilus, the 22nd Archbishop of Alexandria, A.D. 385-412. He was the first to conceive the 532 years' cycle. (Synccellus, ed. Dindorf (1829), I. 62-65, 597, and Dr Fotheringham in Journal Theolog. Studies, Oct. 1921, p. 53.)
Although we have the authority of Georgius Syncellus for crediting Ammianus and Panodorus with the elaboration of what is called the Alexandrian era on which the Coptic and Abyssinian computations were founded, no mention of these names is found in the existing Abyssinian MSS. relating to these computations. Chronographical computations (called Hasāb) are found in the following MSS. in the British Museum: Or. 815; Or. 816; Add. 16,217; the latter is the source drawn upon by Scaliger for his exposition of the Abyssinian system in his work De Emendatione Temporum; and Add. 16,252—a voluminous work brought by the missionary Krapf and founded on the work of Abu-l-Shaker (ca. 1257 A.D.)

The MS., Or. 815, ascribes the Abyssinian chronography to Demētersos, Patriarch of Alexandria from 190 A.D. to 232 A.D. According to Eusebius there were discussions on the date of Easter at this period, but no hint is given that Demetrios played any part in it. According to this MS. the reform and corrections of the calendar were the work of "Gyorgis, the son of 'Amid," better known as Al-MakIn or Elmacinus, a Kātib or clerk of Egypt who was born in A.D. 1223 and died 1273 at Damascus. No chronographical work survives of this writer, who is known only by his Historia Saracenica, a history from Muhammed to the beginning of the reign of Atabak, and a history from the Creation to the fourth Sultan of Egypt, Malek Addaher Bibars (Schnurrur, Bibliotheca Arabica, p. 115).

1 In the Colophon of this Ethiopic MS. we read "This blessed book composed by the illustrious lord, and exalted doctor of Scripture, Abushaker, son of Abielkiram Petros, monk, elma Elmahaddab, which signifies son of an educated, or rather, son of a learned man, who was known by name Barish, who was ordained deacon of the Church of Ma'llaqa; and he treats of the computation of the world in this book from the Creation of Adam, on him be peace, up to the year 6750 according to the Egyptian reckoning, which agrees with the year 1599 of Alexander and also with the year of the Tanballat (Muhammedans) 655" (A.D. 1257).

There are the two following works of Abu-l-Shaker in the Vatican Library:

1. Petri abacioci Abicarami, Monachi, Quaestiones de Trinitate et Incarnatione, etc., in Codice scripto propria auctoris manu, anno Martyrum 998, Christi 1282.


f. 25, col. 2

2 In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God, we are writing down the computation that the Patriarch Dēmētersos, Archbishop of Alexandria, instituted, who was consecrated in the 180th year after the Ascension of Christ; in the 27th year of his office. The Holy Spirit, praise be to him for ever, revealed to the Holy man the computation, because the Christian people from the time of the Apostles to his day fasted always each year the fast of our Lord, taking 40 days from the 2nd of Tēqemt to the 21st of Yakētīt, and thereafter they passed (interrupted the fast for) a period, and observed the week of his passion and resurrection, and celebrated them thus, taking the beginning of the Fast and the Feasts, that first started in the time of Christ, by a certain number of days from among the months.

3 The authorities quoted by Abu-l-Shaker are: Carmen Arabicum; Joannes Damascus (cap. 4, 39); Mabul, son of Constantine, Bishop of Mabug; Ba'ala Zaidg el Hakmi; Basilius,
According to the Abyssinian MSS. the date of creation of the world is 5493 B.C. They used the 532 year cycle, beginning with A.M. 1. The date of the birth of Christ is A.M. 5501, the 181st year of the Cycle, Golden Number 11, Epact 9, Tentyon 1, which would give Wednesday the first day of the Abyssinian year, or E for their year letter, corresponding to year letter G of the Julian or Gregorian era. The correspondence, therefore, of the Abyssinian to the Coptic, Julian and Gregorian eras would be as follows, e.g. A.M. 7283, 29th Takhsas = 7283, 29th Kiyhak (Coptic) = 1790, 26th December (Julian) = 6th January, 1791 (Gregorian). Another era used is one called the Year of the Martyrs (蜇) which is given in the MSS. as 276 years after the birth of Christ (= 284 A.D.), being reckoned from the persecution of Diocletian in the year of his reign. The term “Year of Mercy” (茁) is applied both to the years of our Lord and to the years of the Cycle of 532 years to which they correspond. Until the introduction by Dionysius Exiguus of his reckoning of the Christian era, in the year 532 A.D., this Era of the Martyrs, or as it was also called, the Era of Diocletian, was in general use by Christian writers.

The days of the week in Ethiopic are:
1. Ehud (hド�), i.e. Sabbath of the first (Ehud) day = Sunday, or Sambata Kresteyan (Sabbath of the Christians).
2. Sanuy (hド�), 2nd day = Monday.
3. Salus (ゅル穌), 3rd day = Tuesday.
4. Rabue (ゅ鲁穌), 4th day = Wednesday.
5. Khamus (ゝ-v�穌), 5th day = Thursday.
6. Arb ( Desde穓穌) (evening) = Friday.
7. Sambata Ayhud, Sabbath of the Jews, or qadämit sambat (= Early Sabbath) = Saturday (ェ穓穂穓穌)．

The Abyssinian year, beginning on the 29th August (Julian, = 9th September, Gregorian) has the following months:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abyssinian</th>
<th>Coptic</th>
<th>Julian ordinary</th>
<th>Gregorian ordinary</th>
<th>Leap Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maskaram</td>
<td>Tut, توت</td>
<td>begins 29 Aug. = 9 Sept.;</td>
<td>10 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TypeDefi</td>
<td>بابه</td>
<td>&quot; 28 Sept. = 9 Oct.;</td>
<td>10 Oct.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khedür</td>
<td>Hatur, هطور</td>
<td>&quot; 28 Oct. = 8 Nov.;</td>
<td>10 Nov.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takhsas</td>
<td>Kiyhak, كييك</td>
<td>&quot; 27 Nov. = 8 Dec.;</td>
<td>9 Dec.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṭer</td>
<td>Tubeh, توبة</td>
<td>&quot; 27 Dec. = 7 Jan.;</td>
<td>8 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bishop of Caesarea, in the Hexaëmeron (cap. 16); Joannes, son of Saad, son of Joannis, son of Kulzen; Mar Jacobus Sarugensis (cap. 14); Josephus, son of Gorion; Said, son of Batrik, Patriarch of Alexandria (cap. 14, 23, 30, 46, 50).

Another important work on this subject is no. 160 in Zotenberg's Catalogue des MSS. Ethiopiens, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abyssinian</th>
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<th>Gregorian ordinary</th>
<th>Leap Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yetait</td>
<td>Anshir</td>
<td>begins 26 Jan.</td>
<td>= 6 Feb.</td>
<td>7 Feb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magabit</td>
<td>Barmahat</td>
<td>25 Feb. = 8 Mar.</td>
<td>8 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miyazyä</td>
<td>Barmudeh</td>
<td>27 Mar. = 7 April</td>
<td>7 April</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genbot</td>
<td>Beshnes, Binkas</td>
<td>26 April = 7 May</td>
<td>7 May</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sañe</td>
<td>Bawneh, Bonhe</td>
<td>26 May = 6 June</td>
<td>6 June</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halci</td>
<td>Ebib, Eeb</td>
<td>25 June = 6 July</td>
<td>6 July</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahasë</td>
<td>Misry, Misri</td>
<td>25 July = 5 Aug.</td>
<td>5 Aug.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagnemen</td>
<td>Epagomenai</td>
<td>24 Aug. = 4 Sept.</td>
<td>4 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the Abyssinian leap year (i.e. when the Abyssinian year divided by 4 gives remainder = 0) 1st Maskaram will fall on 30 Aug. (= 10 Sept. Gregorian) and 1 must be added to the Julian month till 28 Feb. inclusive.

Each Abyssinian year is named after one of the Evangelists in the following order: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; the leap year, with 6 days of Pagnemen, is called the year of Luke, the other three are ordinary years. Thus, 7327 A.M. was a Luke year, and the next year begins with the 1st Maskaram = 30th August, Julian. So all next below the multiple of 4 are years of Luke, e.g. 7323, 7139, etc. The years divided by 4, leaving no remainder, are years of John; having a remainder 1, years of Matthew; a remainder of 2, years of Mark. (Vide Ginzel, Handbuch d. mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, Bd. III. p. 321.)

Extracts from an Abyssinian MS. on Chronography and Chronology are adjoined.

**MS. OR. 815, BRITISH MUSEUM.**

*Book of Years. Calendar.*

f. 17, col. 1 In the name of God the merciful and compassionate, we will begin the writing of the book which speaks of the years of the world which were collected by the revered and exalted father Giyorgis the son of 'Amid of the Land of Egypt, prayers and blessings be upon the friend of God for ever and ever, Amen. For our teacher said, and he laid down the law that the number of the years from the beginning until the end was 70001 years;

1 The germ of this idea seems traceable to the Book of Enoch, which seems to have had such a widespread influence upon patristic and religious writing during the ages succeeding the 2nd century B.C. In the Ethiopic Enoch we are shown a system of ten weeks, which last from the creation of the existing universe to the revelation of a new heaven. The eighth week is the Week of Righteousness. The duration of each week is not stated, but it may be observed that the word Suba'ë, plur. Suba'ëyä, pl. Suba'ëyä ḫāl; pl. Suba'ëyä ḫāl: though generally applied to the period of seven days, i.e. a week, may also be translated by "periods of seven." In the Revelation of St. John, chap. xx. 4-7, there is a period of a thousand years, during which those who had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus reigned with Christ. Then comes a deceiving of the nations, and a judgment. This may be compared with the eighth,
there was no one who knew this from their writings; but the learned were anxious to correct their histories that is to say their reckoning. And what was known to them was that there had been from the Creation of Adam until the appearance of Christ our Lord in the flesh, 5500 years. And the interval is given by the revelation, from Adam to the birth of Noah, 1657 years; from the birth of Noah to the cessation of the Flood, 2256 years. col. 2

In the 128 year of Mercy in the 5th Cycle, from the cessation of the Flood to the building of Babel, 571 years and their sum is 2827 years. In 167 year of Mercy, in the 6th Cycle, from the Building of Babel to Abraham 501 years. On that year of Mercy 136, the 7th Cycle, and their sum is 3328 years. From Abraham to Moses 425 years and in the year of Mercy 29 in the 8th Cycle, and their sum is 3753 years. From the birth of Moses to Dawit (David) 694 years and years of Mercy 191 in the 9th Cycle, and their sum is 4447 years. From Dawit to Nābukadnatsār 469 and their sum is 4916 years. Year of Mercy 128, the 10th Cycle from Nābukadnatsār to Iskender 265 years, and their sum is 5181. From Iskender the Macedonian f. 17b, to the birth of our Lord 319 years and their sum is 5500 years; and the year of Mercy 180 in the 11th Cycle. He was conceived on the 19 Magābit (26 March N.S.), on a Sunday, and he was born 29 Tākhśās (5 January), on a Tuesday, in the reign of Awgestos Qēsār, the King of Rome, and at that time, Epact of the Sun was 1 and Epact of the Moon 9, and He was baptized the 11 Ėr, on a Tuesday (17 January), in the year 5531 in the 16th year of the reign of Tibāryos when Epact of the Sun was 3 and Epact of the Moon 11; and was crucified in 5534 on the 27 of Magābit (3 April), Epact 14, and Matq‘e 16, and He rose on the day of the Feast of the Incarnation, that is the 29 Magābit (5 April), and He ascended into heaven on the 3 of Genbot (14 May). And after Christ was born Awgestos lived 14 years, Tibāryos reigned 23 years. Gabeyos reigned 4 years. Qalāwdēwos reigned col. 2

ninth, and tenth weeks of Enoch. The combination of the two ideas of weeks and a definite period of a thousand years appears for the first time in the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. xv, where the six days of creation are interpreted to mean six periods of a thousand years each, in support of which Psalm xc. 4 is cited. These are followed by the sabbath rest of a thousand years when the Son shall have come and destroyed time and judged the ungodly and changed the Sun, Stars, and Moon. With the eighth day God will make a beginning of another world.

There is no evidence that the author of the Epistle of Barnabas originated the idea of the term of 7000 years, but he is the first extant author who used it. The idea acquired a wide popularity and is found in Jewish as well as in Christian literature. It would be very easy to interpret Enoch’s weeks in the light of this chronology. But it will be observed that while Enoch recognises ten weeks, Barnabas has only one week.

If Enoch’s ten weeks are to be fitted into Barnabas’s 7000 years, then each week must contain 700 years or seven centuries. The century should be a day of Enoch, seven centuries his week, 70 centuries his ten weeks.

w. n.
14 years. And in the first year of his reign Mätewos wrote his gospel the 20th year after the ascension of our Lord. In the 4th year of his reign Márkos wrote his gospel 14 years after the Ascension of our Lord and the last year of his reign Lukis wrote 22 years after the ascension of our Lord. Néron reigned 13 years and in the 8th year of his reign Yohannes wrote (his gospel) and in the end of his reign they put Pétros and Páwlos to death on a Sunday. Asbásyanos (Vespasian) reigned 9 years, and in the 6th year of his reign, the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed, 40 years after the Ascension of our Lord, and 5574th year of the world, from the birth of Christ to the conversion of Etyopya 245 years, and from the conversion of Etyopya to Diyoqleťyanos (Diocletian) 31 years and their total is 5776 years. And from the birth of Christ our Lord there were 276 years. And Christians kept the true faith, till Diyoqleťyanos ruled. And from Diyoqleťyanos till the council of Níqyá (Nicaea), 59 years, of the 318 Fathers of the Orthodox Faith, that were assembled, in the 12th year of the reign of Costantinos, on account of Aryos (Arius), who declared the Son (to have been) created. And then their Chief Bishór was Iskanderos Patriarch of Iskanderyá (Alexandria), and he was one of the 19 Archbishops. And from the birth of Our Lord there were 335 years; and their total was 5835 years. And from the Council of Níká to the Council of Questenténá where 150 were assembled and their Chief was Timotewos, Patriarch of Iskanderyá, and he was of the number of 22 Archbishops in the time of Tewodosyos who was in power 58 years. And from the birth of our Lord (there were) 393 years and their total is 5893 years, and the year of Mercy 41, in the 12th Cycle. Now the reason of their being assembled was on account of Maqedyanos, who declared that the Holy Ghost was Himself created, and on account of Sabalys, who said the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost was one person (lit. one “face” ις Πartz). And again on account of Abúlimarios (Apollinarius) who said there was no soul in our Lord, in the days of Tewodosyos who was a child. And from the Council of Questenténá (Constantinople) to the Council of 'Eféson (Ephesus) where 200 were assembled, on account of Nestor (Nestorius) who declared, the Son (was) in the Flesh. And their Chief was Qárillos and he was one of the number of 24 Archbishops 55 years. And from the Council of 'Eféson to the Council of Kelqędon (Chalcedon) where 636 were assembled in the time of Marqéyon (Marcian) who said there were two natures (άλλα γένη), and they all agreed through being terrorized; and none remained except only 6 who were Diyosqoros patriarch of Iskanderyá, he being one of the 25 Bishops, and Tewoderos Bishop of Warábyá, and Maqüros of Qáww, and Ya'eqob of Rád'e, and Alesetás of Fars, and Sem'on Soryáwi, 11th [117th] year (of the Cycle). From the birth
of our Lord was 469 years, and their total was 5960 [5969] years. From 
Kelqēdon to the mission of Muhammad (tenbalat) 170 years, from the birth of 
our Lord to the Mission were 639 years and their total was 6139 years. From 
the Mission to Yekuno Amlak 622 years from the birth of our Lord 1262 
years and the total is 6762 years. And in the year of Mercy 378 in the 
13th Cycle, Yekuno Amlak reigned 15 years, Yageba Tseyon reigned 9, 
and his 5 sons viz. Bahr Asgad, Tsenef Sagad, Jan Sagad, Hazb Ar'ad, and 
Yom Sagad reigned 5 years; Wedem Ar'ād reigned 15 years: 'Āmda 
Tseyon, his son, reigned 30 years; Sayf Ar'ād, his son, reigned 28 years; col. 2 
Wedem Asfarēm, his son, reigned 10 years. Dawit, his son, reigned 29 years; 
Tēwodoros reigned 3 years; Yshaq with Endryās reigned 17 years, in the 
10th year of his reign the 13th Cycle ended. From Yekuno Amlak to that 
time 151 [154] years (elapsed). The total is 6916. Hazb Nān with 2 sons, 
viz. 'Āmda Iyasus and Badel Nān reigned 5 years; Zara Ya'eqob reigned 
34 years; Ba'eda Maryām, his son, reigned 10 years; Iskander, his son, 
reigned 16 years; Nā'ad, his brother, reigned 13 years; from the 11th year 
of the reign of Yshaq to the death of Nā'ad 84 years; and the total is 
7000 years. Lebna Dengel, his son, reigned 32 years; Qalādēwos, his son, 
reigned 19 years; Menās, his brother, reigned 4 years; Sartsa Dengel, his f.19, col.1 
son, reigned 34 years; Ya'eqob, his son, 7 years; Zadengel, his son, reigned 
one year; the land was destitute of a king one year; again Ya'eqob 
reigned one year; Suseneyos, whose throne name was Seltān Sagad, reigned 
25 years and 6 months and 9 days; Fāsildas reigned, whose throne name 
was 'Ālam Sagad, 35 years, one month; Yohannes, his son, whose throne 
name was 'Aelāf Sagad, reigned 14 years and 9 months and 7 days; Iyāsu, 
his son, whose throne name was Adyām Sagad, reigned 24 years. (The 
last two words, 24 years, added in another hand.)

The rules given in the MS. (Or. 815) for finding the Epact do not call 
for comment. Ludolf (Commentarius, p. 386), translates "subtract" 19 instead of "divide," which naturally would not give the 
year of the lunar cycle or Golden Number.

Matq'e is the new moon falling six months before the Paschal New 
Moon. The Chronographer adopts a theory of the Jewish Calendar by 
which the sixth moon before Nisan is always Tishri, so that Matq'e is 
Tishri 1, the "Feast of Trumpets," the Jewish New Year. Matq'e (mōṭ̣rīḥ) 
means a bugle or trumpet.

Matq'e has often been translated from the days of Ludolf by Golden 
Number, which it cannot possibly be. In accordance with the above data, 
pointed out to me by Dr Fotheringham, the best translation would be 
"Feast of Trumpets." It will be seen that it works out at 30 minus Epact,
because 30 days is always a sign of the Lunar Month, beginning with the 1st new moon in the calendar year—the same duration as the first calendar month. The day of the month, therefore, on which Maṭq'e falls, is not affected by the question whether it is the first or second new moon of the year.

Maṭq'e (extract from the M.S.).

f. 20a, col. 1
"And again, if you want to find how the Maṭq'e is arrived at (lit. from whence the Maṭq'e issues), after you have divided all the years of the world by 19 and multiplied everything and the number is known, divide by 30 as before and what remains from 30 that is the Maṭq'e. And for the interpretation of the name, Maṭq'e means the summoner (or assembler), because just as the Maṭq'e (= a horn or trumpet) of brass and stone summons (or assembles) men, so this summons the fasts of the days of the whole year.

"In the first year (cycle of 532 years) when there is no Epact, Maṭq'e will be the 30th Maskaram (27th September O.S.) (1st Maskaram = 29th August O.S.). When Epact is 11 Maṭq'e will be 19 Maskaram (16th September O.S.)."

f. 20a, col. 2
"Epact = 22, Maṭq'e is 8 Ṭeqemt (begins 28 September O.S.). Epact = 3, Maṭq'e 27 Maskaram. Epact = 14, Maṭq'e 16 Maskaram. Epact = 25, Maṭq'e 5 Ṭeqemt. Epact = 6, Maṭq'e 24 Maskaram. Epact = 17, Maṭq'e 13 Ṭeqemt. Epact = 28, Maṭq'e 2 Ṭeqemt (= 30 September). Epact = 9, Maṭq'e 21 Maskaram. Epact = 20, Maṭq'e 10 Ṭeqemt. Epact = 1, Maṭq'e 29 Maskaram. Epact = 12, Maṭq'e 18 Maskaram. Epact = 23, Maṭq'e 7 Ṭeqemt. Epact = 4, Maṭq'e 26 Maskaram. Epact = 15, Maṭq'e 15 Maskaram. Epact = 26, Maṭq'e 4 Ṭeqemt. Epact = 7, Maṭq'e 23 Maskaram. Epact = 18, Maṭq'e 12 Ṭeqemt. And again it returns and comes round again, and does not differ from that for ever and ever. The Maṭq'e at the beginning of the day cannot be earlier than the 15th of Maskaram and cannot be later than the 13th of Ṭeqemt. And it will always be the 1st of nightfall (lit. rise of night)\(^1\) and may fall on 19 days, 11 days of Maskaram and 8 of Ṭeqemt, and these 19 days fix the increment to the issue (i.e. the limits of the incidence) of Maṭq'e.

f. 20b, col. 1
"Add 9 to Maṭq'e and you will have the Jewish fast, add 14 and you will get the Feast of Tabernacles\(^2\), the ensuing Maṭq'e to the Jewish fast 9 days, and that being added, (is) the Jewish fast.

"Further, from the next Maṭq'e to the Feast of Tabernacles is 14 days; the Jewish fast on day of day is not earlier than Maskaram, and cannot be later than the 22nd of Ṭeqemt, and it will always be on the 10th nightfall (lit. rise of night). The Feast of Tabernacles is not earlier than the dawn of

\(^1\) ms. "אַּתְּרִ י הַ י י הְ י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י הַ י י י Hכה. The Abyssinians like the Jews began their day at nightfall. ms. "סָרָה הָי הָי הָי הָי הָי הָי Hכה was the dawn of day, the two together making the day of 24 hours ṣוֹפָרָה הָי Hכה."

\(^2\) ms. " from חָלָהָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ לַיְיָ Lכנ. purify חַלָה.
day of the 29th Maskaram but is not later than the 27th of Teqemt, and it will always be 15th nightfall. If the Maṭq'e is on a Saturday add 8 and you will get Nanawē (Monday before Septuagesima Sunday (τριωδίων)¹), if on a Sunday (add) 7, if on a Monday 6, if on a Tuesday 5, if on a Wednesday 4, if on a Thursday 3, if on a Friday 2. And if further you wish to know the addition of Nanawē when Maṭq'e falls on a Saturday, from the f. 21 a, next Maṭq'e to Nanawē (there will be) 128 days, so divide by 30 and there will remain 8; that then is the addition to Saturday. And if it falls on a Sunday (add) 127 and if on a Monday 126, and if on a Tuesday 125, Wednesday 124, Thursday 123, Friday 122. Further to the Maṭq'e found add 10 and you will find Jewish Pasch, from next Maṭq'e to Jewish Pasch there will be 190 days, divide by 30 and there remain 10 days; that, then, is the addition for Jewish Pasch. If Maṭq'e falls on a Saturday Easter will be the (next) Sunday, if on a Sunday Easter will be on the succeeding (Sunday). Again, the Pasch cannot (be earlier than) the 25th of Magābit (=21 March O.S.) nor be later than the 23rd of Miyāzyā (18 April O.S.), and it will be the 14th (day of New Moon).

"When you have found Nanawē, add 14 and you will have the beginning of the Fast; 11 and you will get the Feast of Mount Olivet; add 2 and you will get Hosanna (Palm Sunday); add 9 and you will find Easter; add 3 and you will find Rekeb (απάντησις: mid-interval between Easter and Trinity); 18 and you will find the Ascension; add 28 to find the Feast of Pentecost; add 1 to find Mehla Dakhnat², 6 to find the Fast of the Apostles (also called Judith, fast of Trinity Monday). On next Nanawē to the beginning of the Fast there are 14 days that you add for the beginning of the Fast. Also from the next Nanawē to the Feast of Mount Olivet there are 41 days, then subtract 30 and 11 days remain, and that is the addition for the Feast of Mount Olivet. And to Palm Sunday there are 62 days and to Easter 69, and to Rekeb 93 and to the Ascension 108, and to the Fast of Pentecost 118 and to Mehla Dakhnat 121, and to the Fast of the Apostles 126. All this will be from the succeeding Nanawē to these feasts 30 and what remains is from dividing by 30 is the increment for each year.

"Nanawē when it falls on the 17th of Ter (=12 Jan. O.S.) cannot be earlier f. 21 b, than this, and cannot be later than 21st of Yakātit (15th February O.S.). The beginning of the Fast (Lent) cannot be earlier than the 1st Yakātit (26 Jan. O.S.) or later than the 5th Magābit (1 March O.S.). Easter cannot

¹ So-called from the 3 chants. Syrians and Copts also call it Nanawē (= Niniveh) νησσσία Νινωτικῆ, associated with the punishment of Niniveh. Fr. Alvarez speaks of Lent, the period of penitence, as Niniveh.

² The interval between Easter and Pentecost when no fasts were observed (Jerome and Tertullian).
**SPECIMEN OF CALENDAR TABLES.**

**First Table beginning with year 1 A.M.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Cycle</th>
<th>Cycle of Moon (Golden Number)</th>
<th>Birth of Expect</th>
<th>Cycle of 4 years</th>
<th>Day of John = 29th August (Julian)</th>
<th>Ťempton</th>
<th>Expect</th>
<th>Matfe</th>
<th>Day of Moon at nightfall</th>
<th>Jewish Past</th>
<th>Day of Moon at nightfall</th>
<th>Rest of Tiberian Natives</th>
<th>Day of Moon at nightfall</th>
<th>Nisan</th>
<th>Beginning of the Pass</th>
<th>Jewish Pasch</th>
<th>Day of Moon at nightfall</th>
<th>Easter</th>
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* Last year of 1st cycle.  
† 1st two years of 2nd Lunar cycle.
FACSIMILE OF PORTION OF CALENDAR.

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The table contains various symbols and numbers, likely representing dates or other calendar-related information. The specific meanings of these symbols are not immediately clear without further context.
be earlier than 16th (rather 26th) Magäbit (12 (22) March O.S.) or later than the 30th of Miyäzyä (25 April O.S.), etc., for other feasts.

Ṭentyon\(^1\) (extract from the MS. 815).

f. 22, col. 1 "And if you want to find the Ṭentyon, which is the starting point (ṭent) of the sun, take the year of the world up to the date required (completed years), and divide it into four parts (divide by 4). If the parts are equal and there is no remainder, add the one part to the others to the amount of a fourth (divide by 4 and add \(\frac{1}{4}\)) and if what remains is one year or two or three, set it by itself (i.e. reject fractions), and divide by 7, which is the cycle of the days (week), until you finish all the 5 parts, and to what remains after dividing by 7, add the remainder that you have put down, subtract one and what remains after dividing by 7 is the Ṭentyon. (Day of) Johannes\(^2\) is the Wednesday if the Ṭentyon is 1, because on that day there was the (ṭent) beginning of creation of the sun on the evening of the Tuesday (third day) on the morning of the 4th day (Wednesday) until afternoon\(^3\). Johannes is on Thursday when the Ṭentyon is 2; Friday, 3; Saturday, 4; Sunday, 5; Monday, 6; Tuesday, 7; and the cycle is complete col. 2 and the course reverts to the beginning, for this is the (result of the) division by 7."

The Day of Johannes, i.e. The First Day of the Abyssinian Year = 29th August O.S., ordinary years, 30th August following leap year.

col. 2 "And if you want to find the day of Johannes, which is the tent (starting point) of the day, this same being called its rising (i.e. the 1st day of the year), take the year you are in and divide by 4. In respect of the 4 parts, add one part (i.e. a quarter), and divide the whole by 7 and to what remains (after dividing by 7), add 2, and that will be the day of Johannes. If it is 1, Sunday; 2, Monday, and so on to Saturday."

Explanation of the Table.

The beginning of the first of the Tables of the cycle of 532 years is here given. The first vertical column gives the number of the years of the 532 cycle; the second the Golden Number or year of the lunar cycle.

\(^{1}\) Ṭentyon (iversary-) is a curious corruption of πλασθειν apparently due to the confusion between \(\tau\) and \(\tau\). According to Cedrenus, ἡ παρ ἑλληνικών ὑπή πλάθθεα λατρευλοῦμ παρὰ Ἄρμανου λέγεται. Laterculum is taken from a military term, a fixed number or prescribed position. Ṭentyon begins with the second year of the era of Panodorus.

\(^{2}\) The day of John, i.e. 29th of August O.S., so called because on that day was observed the Feast of Decollatio Johannis, ὀποκεφαλισμός τοῦ Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ. In Coptic Church, استناد يوحنا الأبيدان.

\(^{3}\) Et factum est respere et mane dies quartus. Gen. i. 19. N.B. The Abyssinians like the Jews begin the day of 24 hours at nightfall of our day before.
The month corresponding to the figures, upon which Matq'ê and the various feasts occur, can be found through the limits given in the text, between which each of them must fall. Thus, if we take the Golden Number 2 in the second column, Matq'ê is marked 1/19. Here 1 = Sunday, and 19 = 19th Maskaram, as Matq'ê cannot fall earlier than the 15th of Maskaram, or later than the 13th of Teqemt.

For Nanawê; from Nanawê to Matq'ê there is an interval of 127 days, divide by 30 and there is a remainder 7; hence the rule, when Matq'ê falls on a Sunday, add 7; we have accordingly 19 + 7 = 26, but as Nanawê cannot be earlier than the 17th of Ter, or later than the 21st of Yakâtît, this must be the 26th of Ter. For the Jewish Pasch, the rule is: add 10 to Matq'ê and we have 19 + 10 = 29 in the column headed Jewish Pasch; and this must be the 29th of Magâbit, because Pasch cannot be earlier than the 25th of Magâbit or later than the 23rd of Miyâzyâ. In the same way the Paschal term, being between the limits of the 26th of Magâbit and the 30th of Miyâzyâ, the 5 in the Easter column must be the 5th of Miyâzyâ, and is found by adding 9 to Nanawê.

The column headed Birth of Epact, is the Epact "born" or starting at the last new moon of the old year, the Epact being the moon's age on New Year's day. Hence the birth of the Epact falling in one year corresponds to the Epact of the next year.

APPENDIX B.

ESKANDER THE MACEDONIAN

There are six so-called Histories of Alexander in Ge'ez, viz.:
1. Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes.
6. A Christian Romance, "History of the Holy Alexander Saviour of the World from which the story in the text is taken." It is called in Ge'ez: የርፋ ኦለፍን እርተር የፋኝታ ያለ ጋር ታለ ይልቅ

(Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 837, and Bib. Nat. MS. Eth. No. 146).

These Histories have been collected, published and translated by Sir Wallis Budge, and the following extract is taken from his "Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great," Chap. v. f. 281, p. 466 of the Christian Romance: "Alexander journeyed on towards the coasts of Pâqanûsê to

1 f. 524 a, p. 375.
the right of the East and Permêlenot among the Nations whose Kings were Gog and Magog."

Then follows a curious rignarole describing how Alexander assumed the remarkable rôle of bringing about the salvation of the people who were given up to dancing, wickedness, and ritual worship of a mechanical contrivance which was a brass figure in the shape of a man: "And Alexander bowed low and cried out before God Almighty with groaning and with tears, which were mingled with awe of Him. And the Spirit of God Almighty came upon him even as when he prayed at first, and told him of all that had been and of all that should come to pass and of the hidden things of God Almighty which appertained to the beginning and the end: and he brought the two mountains which were called Madigeen and Qeraftaran close together until there remained but a distance of 23 cubits between them.

"Then Alexander set up between them images of brass according to those which he had seen in the land of Japhet, and the organ, and the drum, and the cymbals, and the pipes, and the trumpets and all the contrivances for dancing which skilful workmen had made with cunning, and the works of brass which he had brought out from the land of Japhet; and he made in the ground there a hollow for them (f. 282) and for the fixture and the wheels and the fittings and the works even as he had seen them originally. He sealed the brazen gate with three seals and he laid three enchantments upon it so that no man, whosoever he might be, should be able to work against it successfully etc., and finally destroyed the idolatry and abolished the wickedness of those heathen nations."

At p. 465 (f. 575 b) we have an allusion to another feat of Alexander recounted in the above Romance. "Alexander said to them I will place here a gate of brass and iron, which shall serve as a wall and a fortress against the nations who are in the country which is behind this high mountain." Now by his understanding he set a seal upon the peoples of Yâqûg (Ibid. p. 236). This Pass of Derbend, along the ridges of the Caucasus, was called by the Persians Sadd-i-Iskander, "Rampart of Alexander"; the arabs called it باب الإبوابة or "Gate of Gates." Yakût, tom. i. p. 25 (Ibid. footnote).

APPENDIX C.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES.

The Hierarchy. The Head of the Abyssinian Church is the Abun ( букв ) or Pâppus (ὁ παππος), the Metropolitan who is chosen from the monks of St Anthony and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt. This right,
which constitutes the Abyssinian Church as a dependent and daughter Church of Alexander, has existed since the introduction of Christianity into the country and was defined by the Pseudo-Canon of Nicaea (Canones Arabici 42, 36), which in respect of its basic principle had already appeared in the ancient collection of Maruthā (cp. Braun, De Sancta Nicenae Synodo. Münster 1898, p. 66).

The Abuna confers orders, dispenses vows and anoints and crowns the King. On the death of an Abuna an embassy is despatched to Cairo to request the nomination and consecration of a new Abuna at the hands of the Patriarch. He is accompanied by his confessor, Abun Qasis ( dru 'A'.

The second principal dignitary is the Echageh, the Head and Superior of all the monks of Debra Libanos and their monasteries. His residence has been at Gondar since the seventeenth century. The Echageh appoints the high priests, Liqa Kāhenat ( dru 'A'.

The Dabtara ( dru 'A'.: probably from Greek δυτθερα) is a clerk, who chants the offices in the Church. The word is applied also to a literary man, literatus. Two other high ecclesiastical dignitaries are attached to the court, the Qes Atsē or Grand Almoner and the 'Aqabē Sa'at or Keeper of the Watch, hour. There are two great orders of monks; one that of Takla Haymanot, of which the head is the Echageh, and that of Ewostatéwos (S. Eustathius). Takla Haymanot (Plant of the Faith) was the greatest of the Abyssinian Saints, flourishing towards the end of the thirteenth century.

Liqa Pappâsât ( dru 'A'.: A.K.A. A'], a Patriarch, applied to foreign dignitaries.

The monks ( dru 'A'.: Ge'ez, dru 'A'.: ) are very numerous and distributed among various monasteries, called Daber (mountain) from their generally being placed on an elevated piece of ground.

Originated by St Pachomius and St Anthony of the Egyptian desert monasticism attained to a high degree of development towards the end of the thirteenth century during the renaissance of literary and religious activity, the outcome of a similar movement in the Coptic Church in Egypt.

Some stone edifices were built by the Portuguese Jesuits during the latter part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at Garagar, Azaiz and Fremma, etc. Pictures in the Byzantine style are generally found in the more important churches but no statues. Crosses are also everywhere common but never sculptured or in relief.

Debra Libanos, situated in the centre of Shoa, for a long time has been the premier monastery in the country. It was founded by King Hezekyias
57 years after the death of Takla Haymänot (according to the *Cronaca Abbreviata*, ed. Beguinot, 1313 A.D.). It was originally called Debra Asbo, its name being changed in the reign of Zara Yä'eqob (1434-1468). The position of being the most revered foundation was formerly held by another Debra Libanos in Tigrë, S.E. of the province of Serawë. It was founded by a holy man called Libanos or Matä who came over from Constantinople in the reign of King Gabra Masqal in the sixth century. It fell into decay towards the fourteenth century and its name and prestige transferred to the other foundation.

II. TITLES, CIVIL AND MILITARY, AND GLOSSARY.

**Abagáz**, Governor of the frontier, sc. Galla Country. In general nearly equivalent to Fitawrari.

**Abétö**, formerly “Highness”; title given to princes of royal blood; later a title of distinction. Now corrupted to “Atto,” and the equivalent of Esquire, Chevalier.

**Alaqä**, Chief; commander in general.

**Ambà**, a precipitous mountain with a flat top, such as are numerous in Abyssinia owing to the denudation of basaltic plateau leaving isolated masses forming natural fortresses.

**Azmäch**, General.

**Azzaj**, Commander; specially the four judges of the Supreme Court or Royal Court and descent; later, Superintendent, Treasurer.

**Bajrond**, in former days, Treasurer, Procurator; later, an honorary civil title.

**Bålambäräš** [= Ba'ala-ambal-räš], lit. chief Bala-ambal or owner of captain's uniform, i.e. a Colonel.

**Bâshä**, borrowed from the Turks. After the wars with the Turks, rifle corps were formed and the commanders of these were called Bâshä.

**Bchtwaddad** was the title given at first to only two subjects who were in the highest position and honour after the King, and bestowed only on special favourites who enjoyed his confidence.

**Belättäňä** (shortened into Belättä), “Page” of the Royal Household.

**Blättengêťä**, Chief of the Royal Pages. Later the title became less specific and was merely honorary.

**Chawä**, corps of troops attached to the King, “Praetorian or Royal Guards,” “Household Brigade.” With these the King formed military colonies in conquered territories. From this it later became almost the equivalent of “nobles”.

**Dabanä**, great round tent, put up for the King when travelling.

**Dajazmäch**, lit. Daj-Azmäch, Keeper of the Gate. It became the title of generals of the army and governors of provinces.
Fitawrari (Fit = horn, awrari = rhinoceros), General commanding the vanguard.

Gemjabêt, Treasure house, or storehouse, of precious stuffs.

Gerazmách, General of left wing (Gera = left).

Hatsé, Ge’ez, = Amharic, Atē, or Atsē, His Majesty.

Itē, Itēgē, also Ytēgē, Her Majesty.

Kantiba, also Kantiba, title formerly given specially to the Chief or Hamūsēn; then to the Mayor or Governor of Gondar. Later an honorary civil title.

Liq (Α) was at first senior or superior in dignity, chief, arch-in any class, civil or military. In modern days generally of Chief Judges, liqa male’ak = an archangel.

Liqa Makuas, primarily Master of the Horse. Also Chief Magistrate of Mocha in Gojam.

Lotē, Servant.

Mangest bêt, House of the Kingdom; room in the royal house where the prisoners were confined. The Quaraṇa was the officer in charge of them.

A very old title, perhaps the title Qereñ, of the merotic inscriptions.

Nagarit, a large kettledrum. One of the insignia and perhaps most important of royalty and highest dignitaries rulers of provinces, the number being apportioned to the status of the personage—like guns in honour of Indian princes.

Qaņazmách, General of the right wing (Qaņ = right).

Ras is the highest title given to Governors of provinces and Generals.

Reception Hall of Palace is the Aderash ( אדרаш). The King’s habitation is in a stockade which contains several separate buildings. One is called the Lion House (לֹוחַ לְלָא), another the house of the Crown (לֹוחַ לְלָא), and the house of (Clothing) Stuffs (לֹוחַ לְלָא).

Shum, Headman, Chief, governor in general, whether of a province or a village.

Tserag, ma’asare or māsarē, Master of Ceremonies. Introducer of strangers to the King.

Wayzaro, Wēzaro, Her Highness; title given to princesses of the royal family; later to women of exalted birth.

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF KINGS FROM 1769.

Forty-one Kings reigned in Abyssinia up to 1769.

42nd. Takla Haymanot II, ‘Admas Sagad II, Khāyla Sadag, Telab Sagad, son of Johannes, ascended the throne 1769, deposed 7th Miyäzyā 7269 (2/13 April 1777); died 4/15 September in the same year.
43rd. Salomon (or Solomon) II, till 15th Hamlé 7271 (9/20 July 1779).
44th. Takla Giyorgis, Feqr Sagad, till 12th Yakátit 7276 (28 Jan./8 Feb.
1784).
45th. Iyásu (Joshua?) III, Ba'ala Segáb, deposed 11th Miyázyá 7280 (13/24
April 1788).

Rival king:
Ba'eda Máryám in 1787 and 1788.
Takla Giyorgis restored, till 21st Hamlé 7281 (15/26 July 1789).
46th. Hezekeyás (or Hezekiah), till Ter 7286 (January 1794).
Takla Giyorgis restored, till 9th Miyázyá 7287 (4/15 April 1795).
47th. Ba'eda Máryám II, till Tákhásá 7288 (December 1795).
Takla Giyorgis restored, till 14th Genbot 7288 (9/20 May 1796).
48th. Salomon (or Solomon) III, from 14th Sané 7288 (8/19 June 1796) till
10th Hamlé 7289 (15 July 1797).
49th. Yonas (or Jonah), from 14th Naháse 7289 (7/18 August 1797) till 28th
Salomon III, restored for a brief period.
50th. Demétrios (or Demetrius), till 16th Magábit 7292 (12/24 March 1800).
Takla Giyorgis restored, till Sané 7292 (June 1800).
Demétrios restored, till Sané 7293 (June 1801).
51st. Eguála Tseyon or Guálu, Newáy Sagad, died 27th Genbot 7310
(22 May/3 June 1818).
52nd. 'Iyoás (or Joas) II, died Genbot 7313 (22 May/3 June 1821).
Anarchy for some months.
53rd. Gígar, till Miyázyá 7318 (April 1826).
54th. Ba'eda Máryám III, in April 1826.
Gígar restored, till 12th Sané 7322 (6/18 June 1830).
55th. 'Iyásu (Joshua?) IV, till 10th Magábit 7324 (6/18 March 1832).
56th. Gabra Krestos, died 2nd Sané 7324 (27 May/8 June 1832).
Anarchy for some months.
57th. Sáhela Dengel (or Sáhelu), till 7332 (A.D. 1840).
58th. Yohannes (or John) III, from 25 Naháse 7332 (18/30 August 1840) to Teqemt 7334 (October 1841).
Sáhela Dengel restored, till 7347 (A.D. 1855).
59th. Téwodórós (Theodore) II, from beginning of 1855 to Miyázyá 7360
(13/23 April 1868).
60th. Johannes (John) IV, from 1868.
APPENDIX E.

NAMES OF TRIBES, ETC.

The Wollo tribe of Galla inhabit the N.E. corner of Shoa on the plateau. Under Râs Gugsâ about 1800 they had spread over Begameder up to Lake Tsânâ and the river Wanchet, and the Abây or Blue Nile. They were converted to Islam by an Arab called Debelo. They consist of seven tribes under a chief who is called "Haiow," and is changed every seven to eight years; this eight-year period being the Galla system of recording time, age, events, etc. The festival celebrating the commence ment of each new lustrum of eight years is called the Butta, when another chief is elected from one of the tribes. The supreme chief of the Galla tribes is called the Luba, elected in the same way at eight years interval (vide Paulitschke, Ethnographie Nord-Ost Afrika, pp. 19, 65 etc.). According to Krapf, writing about 1838–9, "They murder and rob anyone not a 'mogasa' or protégé of their Chief. Every Wednesday and Friday early there is a meeting of the tribe for a confabulation, where they smoke and drink coffee and 'Shat' (قات) which they call modaska" (Krapf, Reisen, etc. Vol. 1. p. 106).

According to the Zenâ Za Galla (Eth. MSS. Bodley's, Oxford, No. xxix, written 1592–3) the Wollo were descendants of the Barâytuna, one of the two great septs of the Galla, the other being the Borân. The Galla appeared in S. Abyssinia in the reign of King Lebna Dengel (1508–40), and till late years—when organization and modern weapons accomplished their subjugation—they were the menace of the Abyssinian kingdom where they established themselves as the "hereditary enemy." Being more prolific than the Abyssinians, these Galla tribes have settled all over Shoa and the Western portion as well as the Eastern fringe of the country, and in these parts form the greater portion of the agricultural population.

They worship a supreme being, Wâq, Wâqâyo, as creator of all things and highest principle of good, under whom they place 44 good and evil genii (ajâna, cp. جنة). Chief among these are Attêtê (= Astartê, attartê ?), associated with fertility and fecundity and propitiated with the sacrifice of a goat; Oglè (= 'igl, إجل, calf?), to whom sacrifice of a white heifer or cow is made in seasons of severe drought; Sambata, the Saubat of the Falasha, the Abyssinian Jews, worshipped as the Goddess of the 7th day, the cult of the moon-phases, the primitive Sabbath. They have a developed system of divination conducted by sacrificing soothsayers, qallo (cp. Assyrian Kalu), not only by flights of birds, but by chickens picking up
food, and especially by examination of the veins in the stomach of a slaughtered cow. "At ille fibras tractat ac fata inspicit, et adhuc calentes viscerum venas notat" (Seneca, Thyestes, Act IV, Sc. 1).

Some Gallas explained to Bishop Massaja that the origin of this custom was that a sacred Book was once bestowed by God on Jews, Christians and Galla, but the latter being a careless people let their book be eaten by a cow, and in consequence have had to look to the entrails of that animal for knowledge of the future.

They pay especial reverence to serpents and two serpents attend the Chief Soothsayer, the Abba Muda (Father anointed), who used to dwell in a cave on the mountain Saquāla, forty miles south of Adis Ababa, and is the object of pious pilgrimages. Some trees, especially a sort of sycamore, Wanz, are also held in reverence, and important meetings and consultations are held under them.

Falāshā (Falasha), the name given to the Jewish section of the population by the Abyssinians; they call themselves Ḫēh₂nē-hA: the people of Israel. They inhabit the province of Sirē in Tigrē, Walqāyt in Amhāra, along the mountain range on the border of R. Takazzē between Samēn and Lāstā and in the districts of Dambayā, Chalā and Quarā. They speak a dialect of the Agaw, and have their religious books and prayers in this language. They are described as darker and more full bodied than the other Abyssinians, with shorter and more curly hair. Judaism was probably introduced from the South of Arabia when in the early centuries of our era a considerable number of Jews spread to Yaman so that we find in the early part of the 6th century a Jewish King, Du Nawās of the Himyarites. The conquest of Yaman after the defeat of this chief's army in 527 by Kaleb the Negus was followed probably by captives and refugees settling in Abyssinia at intervals from this time to the conquest of Yaman by Muhammedanism. Their own tradition is that their forefathers fled into Egypt at the time of the Babylonian Captivity, came up the Nile and established themselves at Quarā. "They do not observe Purim or the Dedication of the Temple and know nothing of the Babylonian or Jerusalem Talmud, which were composed during and after the Captivity. They know nothing of Tephelin—so they probably came away sometime between the reign of Solomon and departure of the Jewish remnant under Johanan" (Falasha of Abyssinia, Rev. J. W. Flad). They worship the Sabbath in the person of a Goddess, Sanbat; "they offer her drink offerings, make cakes for her, and burn incense believing that she controls the heavens and thus implore her blessing. She was worshipped at Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Babylon and Askelon" (Th. Waldmeier, Autobiography, p. 25).
THE AGAW AND RELATED TRIBES.

The Agaw may be taken as a general name for the tribes forming the early Hamito-Semitic inhabitants of the region now known as Abyssinia, previous to the S. Arabian invasion of the Habashat and Ge'ez speaking Semites. They are the 'Aβαγαίοι of the Adulis inscriptions, Asachae of Pliny. The element 'Aθ-, and as- being the 'Ad-, az-, of Bilin; 'ad (ογ.: and άγ.:) of Tigrè; 'adi (ογ.:i) of Tigrine, enda of Beja, Galla, Somali ganda, all meaning tribe = Arab. بنى (cp. Egyptian 'ad, 'az, land, and 'adz, child, scion). Cosmas Indicopleustes refers to them as the Agaioi, into whose country the King of Axum sent men to seek for gold, probably in the rivers Didesa and Dabus, running into the Blue Nile (or Abây, as it is called in Abyssinia). They formed the bulk of the population of Lasta and Agawmeder (meder = land, country) in the province of Gojam. Different fractions of this race scattered in early times, and, differing dialectically in language, were called Bilin, or Bogos, who migrated north about the 10th century and settled, after various movements and displacements, on the plateau of Magareh and on the right bank of the Ansaba. The Khamir, the Falashâ, the Quara, the Dambaya and Characha Agaw, etc. These form with Amharic one group of North-East African languages, of which the others are Saho and Afar, to the East, on the borders of the Red Sea, the Beja, or Bedawy, of the desert to the North-West of Abyssinia and West of Port Sudan, while the Somali and Galla form another and more distantly related group. D’Almeida describes the Agaw as follows: “They are generally of the small stature, with good features and of dusky colour. They don’t dress in cotton, but cover their shoulders with soft leather hides, stained red. They are courageous in battle and use in warfare a short spear, to which they give the name of Kafeta, and a large shield made of buffalo skin. The Agaws of Gojam are pagans and much given to Fetishism. They adore a single Creator of Heaven, whom they call Doban, but have no idols. They also worship river springs, also some species of trees and groves, sacrificing to them and offering cows, milk and butter. They bury their bodies in woods, making chambers for them and placing near their heads hydromel and the cups which they were accustomed to use in drinking when alive” (Historia de Ethiopia a vita, 1, fol. 301 v. et seqq.; Lettere annue......of the year 1620 to 1624, p. 232 et seqq., also Beke, Routes in Abyssinia, Journ. R.G.S., 1844, p. 10, and Bruce, Travels etc., vol. ii. p. 325 et seqq., ed. 1805). Late researches point to this group of people and languages as most likely to furnish the nearest affinities to those of Upper Egypt and the Meroitic Kingdoms.
The Christian fervour of the Abyssinians seemed in early days to break out at intervals and inspired them to carry out their conversions with quite Mohammedan ruthlessness. We read in the history of Alphonso Mendez, the head of the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries in Abyssinia, how one of their converts, a certain Rās Sela Krestos, carried fire and sword into their country and made a holocaust of their idols. At another time, Abba Iacobus baptized eighteen thousand of them. A little later, in 1628, ten thousand of them were baptized. (Historia Expeditionis Aethiopicae, Vol. I, Chap. 14. Ed. C. Beccari, S.J.) This missionary gives the following description of them and their habitat in the mountainous part of Gojam, near and around the sources of the Nile or Abai, as it is called in Abyssinia.

“These mountains are rich in fertility and covered with shrubs and forest, especially bamboos, so dense and thick that they serve as strongholds and walls against assaults of the enemy; for among these bamboos they make narrow paths with many turnings, after the manner of a labyrinth, and collecting in the middle remain entrenched in these bamboos for the space of a third of a league, and in places a circuit of more than a league, so that it is impossible to break through, or cut through a jungle so tough and intricate; and in case of war they construct roads, by cutting down the large trees which stand in the way, and they get into this jungle like robbers into a house, with bows and arrows firing without danger to themselves at any who would attack them; these grounds they call Secutés. They have also in many parts great caves (dens) underground, formed by nature in rocks, having a narrow entrance and enlarging within so as to be capable of containing many people. They call them Partatas (ep. Saho, Afar, furudad, a harbour; Tigrine, mefertat, flight); some have water within, and in these they take refuge when pressed by a hostile army. These Agaws of Gojam are much given to Fetishism. As the land is fertile, they have ample supplies, especially millet and much honey, which has a large market in Ethiopia to make the beverage which they drink (hydromel, or tej); they have great herds of cattle, and these very fine; the men of the forests wear no garment but hides of cattle which they kill and eat raw like the Abyssinians; these they beat well and make them soft, like prepared leather, and tint them red, each man and woman covering their shoulders, or twisting them round their waists without anything else to cover them, yet go about as pleased with themselves as those with the most precious and splendid gala dresses in the world.

“They have no king, nor any lord to govern them; each district stands
on its own, and is ruled by those who are most powerful and worthy. They are of a dusky colour, less black, however, than the Abyssinians, of good features, valiant in warfare so long as they have not to seek out their enemy far from their own land and contenting themselves with defence. So they have defended themselves for hundreds of years against their neighbours on the West, and even against the power of the Emperor, never up to now having paid any tribute. The truth is that the Imperial Captains and troops have often invaded their country, killed and captured many, and taken great booty of cattle, horses and mares, but have also often retired with forces decimated and great losses of many and good men” (vide C. Rossini, Studi su Popolazioni dell’ Etiopia, and Popoli dell’ Etiopia Occidentale in R. Accad. dei Lincei. Ferie accademiche 1919).

APPENDIX F
(p. 284; f. 561 a, p. 439; and f. 564 b, p. 445).

Fakkârê Iyasus.

It had always been a cherished prophecy among Abyssinians that one day a King called Theodore would rise who would be a world conqueror (Fakkárë Iyasus, Bib. Nat. MSS. 113). The hymn above (p. 284) was designed to flatter King Takla Giyorgis, and to pretend he had been inspired to write his name as the King who was destined to be the Abyssinian Alexander. The King Theodore whom we fought in 1868 had started life with the name of Lîjî Kâssâ, but assumed this prophetic name to fit himself and prepare the minds of his people for what he thought was to be his destiny.

This Fakkârê Iyasus is one of the indigenous compositions and does not belong to the group of foreign translations and importation. It has played an important part at various epochs inasmuch as it consists of a revelation of future events, which have been made use of to suit the convenience of ambitious leaders, or to illustrate contemporary events by historians and observers. This is especially the case in the matter of one curious prediction the Fakkârê contains. It is that a certain king, by name Theodore, would some day arise in the East, who would be a world conqueror and bring about an era of unexampled peace and prosperity before the final catastrophe that would engulf the world.

An analogous prophecy is recorded in Roman History1. There was an oracle known in Greece or, according to some, séance of Magic, which

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announced that a man whose name began with the Greek letters Θ. E. O. Δ. would be the successor to the Emperor Valens. A pretender, whose name was Theodosius, was soon found, but he failed and was put to death. A crop of other aspirants, of the name of Theodosius, Theodotos, Theodulos, sprang up, who were all executed in like manner, to allay the Emperor's suspicions.

The missionary Gobat says that the same belief exists among the Falasha (Gobat, Journal etc., trans., p. 261). We have the instance recorded in the text, but later in the middle of the 19th century Krapf relates that during the troubles following on the death of Ras Sabagadis in Tigrē, he was asked by a monk of Mawoini about the appearance of Theodotos (i.e. Theodotos)¹.

Kassā, son of a Kosso merchant, gave himself this name². According to other accounts, the Abba Salāmā gave him this designation at the time of his anointing the King Theodore³. The Amharic Chronicle says that Kassā assumed the name after his coronation, but makes no allusion to the legend⁴.

A prophecy, however, dies hard. After Theodore committed suicide at Maqdala, there arose in 1877–8 another claimant to the glory of being the predicted conqueror in the shape of a foreign adventurer with long hair and an immense yellow beard. He spoke both Amharic and Oromo (Galla language). Credulous people, as usual ready to accept a pretender of curious appearance and boldly asserted claims, began to create a following and do honour to him with presents and pilgrimages. At last a Ras Gobana, the Governor of the district, in Shoa, found it necessary to take steps, and accordingly brought him to King Menelek. On being interrogated by some Europeans, it was found he could converse in French, Italian, English and German, but would give no hint as to who he was or where he came from. The general opinion, however, was that he was a Russian. The Emperor Menelek treated him with much forbearance, for though he sent him out of the country he supplied him with food and transport for the journey.

On turning to actual history of Ethiopia for an explanation of this curious prophecy, we find only one king who bore his name, viz. Tewodros I, eldest son of Dawit I, "who reigned three years, from 1409 to 1412, and

¹ Vide Isenberg and Krapf, Journals, 1847, pp. 496–7.
³ Dimothoës, Deux Ans, etc., trad. fr., t. ii. 97–98.
died 29 Sane. His tomb is at Tadbaba Maryam.” The Chronicle adds that nothing more is known of him.

Bruce gives the earliest mention of the prophecy in Abyssinian annals, in relation to Theodros: “It is even confidently believed that he is to rise again and reign in Abyssinia for a thousand years” (Travels to discover etc., Vol. III. p. 94, ed. 1805).

Rossini (Note por la storia letteraria Abissina, p. 20) and E. Littmann (“Gesch. der Aeth. Litteratur,” p. 207, in Gesch. der Christ. Litt. des Orients) think this apocrypha is to be referred to the advent to power of Theodore (?). R. Basset (p. 10, Les Apoc. Eth.) thinks that these must be rejected and that the explanation of the prophecy may be looked for in the Synaxar of the Commemoration of Tewodros, son of Dawit, the 29th Sanë. P. 1, fasc. v of Patrolog. Orientalis.

The Synaxar recounts a miracle that took place at the transport of his body for burial. The waters of the river the cortège had to pass, divided, as the River of Jordan divided for Joshua (as another version of the Synaxar at Bizan adds). The text and translation is in an appendix of Sapeto, Viaggio etc., pp. 437–38.

APPENDIX G

CHRISTIANITY IN ABBYSSINIA

Christianity was first brought to Abyssinia about 350 A.D. by Frumentius. The story as handed down by Rufinus (Hist. Eccl., i. 9) was briefly this. A philosopher of Tyre, one Meropius, returning from India, accompanied by his two kinsmen, Frumentius and Aedesius, were cast upon the Abyssinian shores, probably Adulis. The crew and passengers of the ship were all massacred, Frumentius and Aedesius alone escaping. They were taken before the King, who, after further acquaintance, was so impressed with their characters that he induced them to remain, and finally made the first his treasurer and the second his cup-bearer. On the death of the King, the Queen retained them till her infant son, the future King, reached the age of maturity. Frumentius improved the opportunity to secure liberty for the Greek travelling merchants in the exercise of their religion. When the prince had grown up, Frumentius journeyed to Alexandria, visited St Athanasius, and on his request to have a bishop sent to Abyssinia was himself chosen and consecrated to be the first metropolitan of the new-

born Faith in that country. His first experience was a summons to appear before the Arian Bishop George of Alexandria, by a letter dated 356 of the Emperor Constantine, addressed to Aizanas and Sazanos, Kings of Aksum, with commands to that effect. The letter is preserved by St Athanasius in his *Apologia ad Constantium* (Pat. Gr. t. xxv. 636). There is nothing known of the early development of Christianity till we come to inscriptions at Aksum still preserved, which indicate the change of worship from pagan deities Mahrem ("Αρης) and Aster (Αττάρ, Ishter) to the Christian God, Egziá Behır, in the second half of the 5th century and set up by a king whose name, mutilated in some inscriptions, appears to have been 'Ozaná, and seems to have survived in literature as Tazéná, and on coins in Greek as θαζάνα. The next event of importance was the arrival of those known to Abyssinians as the "Nine saints or holy men," who came from "Rum," i.e. from the Byzantine Empire, and from the resemblance of their names to those of well-known monasteries in Syria have been proved to be members of that Church and natives of that country. Probably it was to these saints and their disciples that the Ge'ez translation of the New Testament, recalling as it does the Greek of Syria rather than the Egyptian text, may be ascribed. Their provenance, as well as the Abyssinian tradition of one of them destroying a dragon, Zando, typifying the refutation of a false doctrine (of orthodox Christianity) points to the conclusion that they were Monophysites. In Egypt in the 13th century, the great renaissance of theological study and literature headed by Ibn al-'Assal, brought to Abyssinia by the Abuna, especially Abba Salámá (about 1399), produced a corresponding effect in the latter country. This was enhanced by the translation of numerous Arab works into Ge'ez, especially by the recension of the Gospel and New Testament texts, and it was followed by a general revival of sacred literature in Ge'ez. It inspired, too, a new fervour in evangelization of the still pagan portions of the country, especially in the north. In this the famous monk Ewostätëwos (Eustathius, died circ. 1332), hereafter the patron saint of what has been called the Low Church party, signalized himself as a destroyer of delubra sylvestria, or sacred groves of the Agaw and other pagan tribes. Another revival was initiated by the great church reformer Zár'a Yá'eqob (1434-1468). This king regulated the ordinances of the Church, the observance of the Saturday as a Sabbath, the Eucharistic service, Extreme Unction, etc. He reformed abuses, reconciled schisms and combatted various pagan superstitions which survived and still survive to this day. He is credited with the actual composition of theological works, and at any rate it was through his influence that the theological literature of his kingdom was considerably enriched.
King Dawit, whose throne name was Lebna Dengel (1508–1540) sent a letter of submission to the Pope, and later King Claudius (1540–1558) under stress of the Muhammadan threats of invasion did the same, coupling the act with entreaties for assistance with arms and men. Relieved of his fear by the death of the redoubtable Grañ, whom he defeated with the help of the heroic band of Portuguese under Cristovam da Gama, he turned hostile to the Catholics. About this time, 1546, a mission of Jesuits was decided upon by their Founder, and a bishop Oviedo reached Abyssinia in 1580. A successor, Pero Paez, had great success, King Za-Dengel (1603–04) being converted, and when Susneyos (1607–1632) came to the throne Catholicism spread over the whole country. Pero Paez died in 1622, and while the Jesuit P. Mendez was Patriarch the King made full submission to the Roman See in 1626. The constantly growing opposition of the native clergy, however, came to a head in open rebellion, and so discouraged the King that he abdicated in favour of his son Fasilidas. This king immediately restored the Abyssinian doctrines, and hunted out the Jesuit missionaries.

The Chief Corpus of civil and canon law in use is called the Fatha Nagast or the Law of the Kings, a compilation however which does not date further back than the latter half of the 17th century.

The Canon of the sacred books is that of the Coptic Church and corresponds to the last Canon of the Apostles. It comprises, with the New Testament, the two letters and eight books of Clement (Constitutiones Apostol.) and with the Old Testament the Kufale or Parva Genesis (legatee). Two lists or types of canonical works passed from Egypt to Abyssinia and were translated from the Arabic into Ge'ez, under the title of Abtelisat or Abustulisat, corrupted into “Pitlusat,” through the Arabic transcription of the Greek. Coming late comparatively, and from a foreign source, it did not destroy the veneration for other books that had previously been held sacred—e.g. Book of Enoch, the Πομιδη of Hermas, Ascension of Isaia, III and IV of Esdras and the Book of Baruch. The Book of Macabees of the Ethiopic Bible has no connection with the Western version (vide “Il Canone Bibl. della Chiesa Copta,” I. Guidi, Rev. Belgique, April, 1901).

The Churches and Sacred Buildings.

The ordinary church edifice, apart from the oldest in Aksum and Adulis whose ruins betray the plan of the ancient Basilica, are circular buildings, the walls being often of stone, with thatched roofs. They are built in three divisions: (1) the Qené mahlēt for the clerks 'dabtarā, (2) the Qeddest for those communicating, (3) the Maqdas where the priests and the king com-
municate. In the large churches in the principal towns there is a daily service preceded by psalms. The plain chant is called Zemā and is of three orders or modes: ‘Ezel (אצ‘:), araray (ארָרָא‘:), and ge’ez (גֵּז‘:), the first used for days of fasts and Lent, the second for the principal feasts, and the third for feriae. The notation employed does not indicate the note, but the first word or letter of a known verse which is accompanied by a known musical phrase.

The architectural terms used for church construction are:

- oḥḥō‘: pl. oḥḥō‘: exterior part or extremity of the angle.
- ḫā‘: breadth.
- ḫɪ‘: height.
- ʿé‘: content or extension.
- ḫw‘: foundation, lower course of the wall.
- ḫ’h: wall.
- ḥ’: pl. ʿapin: door.
- ḥ’: ḥ’: door of light, i.e. principal entrance door.
- ḫ:w‘: pl. ḫ:w‘: window.
- ḫ:n: ḫ:n: In the usual round church of the country, the external passage or corridor between the first and second circle. (Guidi, II Gadla Aragawi, pp. 42, 43.)
- ḫ:n: ḫ:n: the space near the western door of a round church where the choir stands to sing the ḫ:n: or religious chants and psalms.
- ḫ:w‘: ḫ:w‘: sanctuary, the third or interior chamber, Holy of Holies square in shape, in which is the manbar (םँ‘: : ) or throne on which is placed the Tabot (ם‘: : ) or altar stone.
- ḫ:n: ḫ:n: the sacristy or robing room where the sacred vessels and church ornaments were kept.
- ḫ:n: ḫ:n: bells. In 1691, the Governor General of the Dutch Indies sent as a gift to the King Adyam Sagad (Iyāšu I) two metal bells which were placed in the Church of Dabra Berhan; they are designated in the letter of this Governor by the Arabic فاتوس which means properly a plate or cymbal of iron used for calling to prayer. In Basset's Chronique Ethiojriqite (p. 42) it is called ḫ:n: : Vide Ludolf, Relatio Nova de Hodierne Habessiniae Statu, p. 21; Rüppell, Reise etc., Bd. ii. p. 120; Dillmann, Lexicon, c. 306. For church architecture vide Ludolf, Commentarius, p. 371, and Chron. Susneos, Pereira, p. 536.
The tabot ((Jobit) is a small table of stone or hard wood on which the Mass is celebrated. It bears always on one side a cross, or a picture of a Virgin and Child. It is placed on the altar. The tabot of the Royal Palace accompanies the king, when he travels. The original tabot was the Ark of the Covenant supposed to have been taken from Jerusalem by the son of Solomon and Queen of Ethiopia (Menylek I) and brought to Aksum, according to a tradition embodied in the Kabra Nagast (Glory of the Kings) (vide Kabra Nagast, ed. C. Bezold, p. 43).

No sculptured figures are permitted in Abyssinian churches, only paintings and pictures of sacred subjects, such as the Crucifixion, the Virgin and Child, etc. They generally preserve the Byzantine tradition similar to those well known in the Abyssinian MSS. One of the most revered of these was known as the Quer’ata Re’esu, mentioned on pp. 248, 250 and 251. The earliest known European visitor to Abyssinia, a Venetian painter called Francisco de Branca Leone, was supposed to have painted pictures of Jesus and Mary some time in the reign of Ba’eda Maryam (1468–1478). The MS. 129 of the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele (Cronaca Abbreviata) tells us that this King had a picture painted of this subject by “a Frank, but the people of Ethiopia were indignant.” It was in a church called Atronson Maryam till it was plundered and destroyed by the Galla in the reign of Tewoflos (1708–1711). It is more probable the painter was a Brancalione da Genazzano in the Roman province (vide Cronaca etc., footnote, p. 13).

In the Chronicles of Ba’eda Maryam (Jules Perruchon) there is no mention of this painting, though it describes its foundation and embellishment, p. 173.

APPENDIX H.

THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES IN THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH.

The first theological dispute that disturbed the Church of Ethiopia so far as we have record, arose about the middle of the 16th century during the early part of the reign of Zar’a Ya’eqob (1434 to 1468). This king was a great religious reformer, and to him may be ascribed the distinctive form of the Abyssinian liturgy and ceremonial as well as the strongly Jewish character which it has always preserved. The discussion that arose in his reign centred in the question of the Persons of the Trinity or as the Abyssinian theologians expressed it more nearly following the Greek concept the “faces” (G. Πρόσωπα) of the Trinity. A theologian Za Mika’el by name raised the point by opposing the idea that Christ was...
made in the likeness of man, by the argument, "If this anthropomorphic definition be true, can the God with the three persons be one in Substance" (Substantia *nDRAWGE*: ὑπόστασις. Dillmann, *Ueber die Regierung, etc. des Königs Zar'a Yā'eqob*, from the "Matsafa Berhān," Book of Lights, by this monarch). The definition given by a Synod called by the king in 1439 which condemned Za Mika'el, in refusing to recognize distribution in the one Substance of Christ seemed to indicate that the Abyssinian Church had chosen the path of extreme Monophysitism, and in the next reign, of Bá'cla Maryām son of Zara Yā'eqob, some preachers from Syria and Egypt brought to Abyssinia the doctrine of Extreme Eutychianism which denied the consubstantiality of Christ's body with ours. Thus the elements of a controversy were introduced which were destined to distract the Abyssinian Church to this day.

It was, however, probably due to the awakening of the spirit of investigation and criticism in consequence of the discussions with the Portuguese Jesuits Pero Paez, 1604 and Alfonso Mendez in 1604, that the original formulas became the subject of further and closer examination. The result was a cleavage between two schools of thought which ended in the great division of the Church known as the Party of Debra Libānos (the monastery of that name), founded by Takla Háymān in 1312, and the Party of Ewostätewos (Eustathius), i.e. those that revered St Eustathius as their founder (in 1333) and stood for the extreme views of what might be termed the Low Church.

As soon, in fact, as Pero Paez arrived he was engaged in disputation with the learned men and dabteras (clerics and students) on this crucial point of their religion. In 1604 the then Emperor Za Dengel called him to his Court or Camp at Waynadega, near Lake Tsānā, and "made me sit near him, and said he would be glad to hear something about the Controversy between the people of Ethiopia and Portugal, to see if it was certain that there was so great a difference between them as was stated" (Pero Paez, *Relação etc. in “Rerum Ethiopiae Inedita,” Vol. II. p. 366, ed. P. Beccari; and *Squarcio di Historia Ecclesiastica di Abissinia*. Ignazio Guidi, *Rivista di Studi orientali*, Anno v. Vol. VIII.). On the Jesuit declaring himself ready to be interrogated he was engaged in controversy by some monks. One of them said, "'In many things there is a great difference between us, in particular in what they say that in Christ there are two natures and that the human nature is not equal to the Divine.' I answered that we do say so, and that this is the Catholic Faith for leaving aside what St Paul says in many places that God shed his blood for the Church, which he received with his precious blood, proving clearly that in Christ
there are two natures, for God as God has no blood, being a spirit; and so that which is God and sheds blood must necessarily have two natures. To these and similar arguments the monk replied, 'After the Resurrection, there remained no more than one nature.' 'Which of them?' I replied, 'if he had lost one it must have been the human nature,' and I showed him that Christ when he appeared on the eighth day, must have been clothed in a human body to have been seen and touched by Thomas.' Finally, having extorted from his opponents the admission that Christ was perfect God and perfect man, they could only escape the conclusion, by saying that after the Union there was one and not two natures. The Jesuit replied, "If you wish to say Christ our Lord cannot be said to be two but one, this is certain truth for he was not two but only one Person" (Ibid., loc. cit., p. 369). It looks as if at this stage the native theologians were at a disadvantage from the Abyssinian formula not making use of the concept Person as distinguished from Nature (\(\text{አክላ}: \) or \(\text{ሆሄ}: \) as distinguished from \(\text{ለከላር}: \)). Pero Paez then cited St Athanasius, whose definitions Abyssinians accept, where that authority expressly states that Christ is equal to the Father according to his Divinity, but less than the Father according to his humanity. The result of the discussion was that the Emperor expressed himself satisfied and convinced. His death followed soon after and his son Susneyos (throne name Seltan Segad) came to the throne (1607 A.D.) and after some further disputations and explanations accepted the Western Orthodox Doctrine.

The discussions, however, had sharpened the wits of the native theologians and in the sixteenth year of this monarch fresh formulas were evolved as described in the Chronicles of Susneyos (ed. F. E. Pereira, Cronica d. Suseneyos, Chap. lix.).

"In the same month of Som (i.e. the Fast which this year was from 26th Yakätit or 10th February to the 22nd Magäbit, 18th March) there came many monks and anchorites from the Lake (Tsänä) and the continent and all the countries of the king's dominions and then called a synod before the king and all the great ones of the kingdom: and they discussed among themselves the question they had raised before the king had returned from his expedition (the year before). Some like the Azzäj Za Dengel and Abbä Kefla Krestos spoke thus according to the words they had used before, 'The Union of the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was for him in place of the Unction of his body,' and others like the Abbä Kefla Selläsē and Abbä Askal of Alkana and Abbä Lebso of Gwanj and Abbä Batro and Abbä Estefanos and many other monks of the lake and the continent said, 'the Father was the anointer, the Son was the anointed
and the Holy Ghost was the Uction. And there was a great altercation amongst them, and the king said, 'If you have the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures both of you bring them for us to see and to judge the truth.' And they brought the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the Faith of the Fathers (Haymanot Abaw) and the Psalms of David; and the books that served them for proofs. And having heard them, the king, pure of heart and weighty of speech said to them, 'In truth the Uction of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was the grace of the Holy Spirit which was given with his human nature at the moment of the Union of His Humanity with His Divinity. When in His Divinity and His equality with the Father and the Holy Ghost he gave Grace to all, He took the Grace in His humanity to give it to the son of Adam, his brothers. But the Grace which He took from the Holy Ghost was not in measure, as after the manner given to the prophets and the Apostles, but was without measure, as it is said in the Gospel of St John, iii. 34, 35. For God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto Him, but the Father loveth the Son and hath given all things into his hand.' With several other citations from the Gospels, King Susneyos 'pronounced and gave judgment of truth against those that erred.' For God gave him speech and wisdom; and the monk who was called Kefta Krestos, as he did not submit, was flogged with rods and then he (the king) expelled and excommunicated Za Dengel that he might not teach this creed to the people' (ibid.).

According to the same Chronicle this King Susneyos who had been converted and "induced to embrace their (the Portuguese missionaries) impure faith," seeing the commotion and unrest among the people due to the harsh measures enforced for their conversion, finally returned to the Abyssinian Creed in the twenty-fifth year of his reign (1631-32). The reign of his son and successor Fasiladus was marked by a general denunciation and extermination of the Portuguese missionaries and their adherents.

In this reign the dissenters, called Gebatoch ("Ujectionists"), evolved a formula which practically became with some later modifications the watch-word of the Eustathians or Party of Gojam, so called from the place where the heresy had the most numerous adherents. This formula was, "Through Uction Christ was Son consubstantial with the Father." It was countered by the Debra Libanos by the formula, "By Union He was made consubstantial with the Father" (Ge'ez, ክታታታይ : መሸጭ : ከሸጭ, i.e. the Uction produced the union or absorption of the

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1 ከሸጭ, ከሸጭ, ከሸጭ, Petav. de Theolag. Dogmat. xl. viii.

2 In Ge'ez ከሸጭ, መሸጭ, ከሸጭ, where ከሸጭ = ከሸጭ substantia natura, መሸጭ, ከሸጭ = consubstantial, የመሸጭው. (Vide I. Guidi, loc. cit., p. 17, footnote 8.)
humanity by the divinity. They were excommunicated by the Echagē, Batra Giyorgis.

In the next reign, that of Johannes, a synod was called together by the king, in 1681, at which the spokesman of the Gojamese party Akāla Krestos propounded that, “By Unction Christ was made Son substantial with God,” and the Debra Libānos answered by declaring, “By Union he was made Son consubstantial, and by Unction he was firstborn of all creatures” (Coloss. i. 15). Akāla Krestos was condemned. It is easy to trace through all the stages of the dispute the efforts of the Monophysites to struggle against the ever-present danger of being entangled in the logical necessity of the orthodox Western doctrine of the two natures of Christ.

This latter held that in giving the name Christ to the God-man it was the humanity not the divinity that was anointed (J. Chrysostom, Ep. ad Hebr., Hom. 1 and 13). In the Incarnation the Word became Flesh, the human nature was endowed with existence and the God became God-man. The result of the Incarnation was the glorification of the Humanity and the God-man was anointed as High Priest and Messiah for the mission of the Redemption of the world (J. Damasc., de fide ortho. 4. 18. 3, 7 contra Jacobitas, n. 52). The human nature became by union a nature of the Son of God, so that Christ is the only begotten Son even in his Human Nature, but this Human Nature did not become Divine, as the Monophysites held, or it would cease to be Human.

Unction being the result of Union, the flowing of grace from the Divine Nature to the Human, through their Union in one Person and thereby giving the Messianic mission, it became the essential object of the Monophysites to neglect as much as possible laying any stress on the Unction after the act of Union, because it was evident that for the purpose of rejecting a human nature as well as a Divine, no recognition of this humanity receiving this mission by Unction later in time would be allowed; such act of unction being admittedly only applicable to a full perfect idea of humanity, which would thus be constituted as separate from the Divinity in the sense required by the Dyophysites. At first the High Church of Abyssinia as it may be called were in practical accordance with the Western doctrine in their formula, only refusing to acknowledge the distinction of the two natures of Christ after the Union.

In the orthodox formula, χριστης, χριστός, χρίσμα, they took advantage of the difficulty of the explanation of the word Unction to endeavour to cling to Scripture, and at the same time avoid the logical necessity of acknowledging the Tomes of Leo, while the extreme or Low Church Party,
who held the Council of Chalcedon in abomination, were concerned above all in keeping its definitions as far from the Western doctrine as theological ingenuity could devise. These Extremists or Eustathians took the line, therefore, of denying or at any rate minimising the act of Unction. When they were refuted on this point they shifted their ground and, as mentioned above, produced the definition, "By Unction Christ was Son consubstantial with the Father," met by the party of Debra Libanos with, "By Union He was Son substantial with the Father," Unction and Union became henceforth the theological battle cries of the two sects. The Eustathians enjoyed a brief period of ascendancy during the reign of David (1711-15) who pronounced in their favour while the Debra Libanos adherents suffered eclipse and severe persecution.

A new Abuna arrived from Egypt and, on being appealed to, endeavoured to reconcile the hostile parties by pronouncing, "By Union the Son is only begotten Son and by Unction He became Christ." Which was considered by the Debra Libanos sect as a victory for their side.

Peace seems to have reigned till the 20th year of King Iyasu II on the occasion of a visit of a "Frank" called George "a Syrian" who was supported by a "Restless Monk" Abba Eshatê. They were combined against by both the Eustathian and Debra Libanos parties, excommunicated and expelled. The Eustathian Heresy threw out an extreme offshoot among the Tigrines, who to avoid the necessity of acknowledging the Unction of the Son of God by the Holy Spirit explained that the Holy Spirit in this sense signified no other than the second Person of the Trinity himself, in other words self-anointed (τὸν ἐδωκὸν ναὸν, Cyril of Alex. in Joh.), and was in His own Person χρίστης, χρυστός, χρίσμα. This was embodied in the Tigrine Formula, Krestos waldâ qibâ'e (hCfl-fh: oAG: ßνAl-)="Christ the Son Anointing," thus omitting all consideration of the Humanity and forcing the deduction that Christ accomplished his Messianic Mission in the mere appearance of a Man.

The Sost Ledat (hðtv: Ag:ñ:1) or triple Birth mentioned f. 580 b, p. 475, was a doctrine that rose in the High Church Sect. It was the name applied to this definition. The God-Word was born, 1st of the Father from all eternity, ἰμήτωρ, 2nd of His Mother, the Virgin Mary, in Time, ἀπάτωρ, and 3rd of the Holy Ghost, ἰμήτωρ. The 2nd and 3rd was by the Tigrines cut down to one and earned for its adherents the nickname of the upholders of the "Knife Faith" (Kârra Häyanânot). It was embodied in a proverb, "The faith we once had was Union and Unction, then when they brought in the doctrine of the Knife there was no flesh left." (I. Guidi, Proverbi Abessini, p. 51). When Bruce came to Abyssinia he found at
Gondar (Feb. 15, 1770) that these Tigrine doctrines had gained considerable predominance owing probably to the prestige and influence of Mika'el Sehul the Governor of Tigré who was then at the height of his power. Later on in 1804 the “Sost Ledat” controversy gave rise to great excitement which ended in the Echägi Walda Yonäs expelling those that denied it from the capital and forcing them to take refuge in Tigré. It was not till 1817 when the Metropolitan Kerillos (Cyril) and the Tigré ecclesiastics were called together by Dajazmách Sabagadis in the last year of N. N. Takla Giyorgis that the “Twice Born,” the Tigrine doctrine, received official sanction of an Abuna (MS. 118 Abbadie, trans. by Conti Rossini, p. 114-15 in R. Accad. Lincei, Vol. xxvi. fasc. 7. 18, Oct. 1916) and Kerillos pronounced in favour of the Kārrā Häymānot (the Knife creed) or the Twice Born.

His triumph however only endured while backed by the Tigrine clergy during his stay in Tigré from 1816 to 1819. When summoned to Gondar to meet his opponents he found them too strong for him and through the influence of Rās Gugsā (a Galla) with the concurrence of King Iyo'ās (who had succeeded his brother Egnāla Tseyon in 1818) he was compelled to return to live in Tigré. He retaliated however by being backed by Sabagadis in forcing all dissenters in Tigré to adopt his doctrine and subjected one of the leaders of the High Church party, Abuna Gabra Masih, to great hardship in prison. He went on a successful hunger strike however, for though they tried to force him to eat food and drink water, he remained for 13 days without tasting anything whatsoever (MS. 118 Abbadie, ibid., p. 121). Shoa, which had become a powerful state and practically thrown off its allegiance to the feeble Negus at Gondar had been converted by a Gondar priest called Bassana towards the end of the 18th century to the doctrine of Sost Ledat. It was not however till 1840 that this Faith was made compulsory. The suppressed party revenged themselves by accusing two unpopular leading clerics, Alaqa Walda Giyorgis and Videna Wald Alaçe of Debra Libānos, of heresy. Rās Ali, who was the most powerful ruler in Abyssinia except Sāhla Sellāsē of Shoa (grandfather of the Emperor Menelek), called the latter to account for appointing such prelates. This roused Sāhla Sellāsē to great indignation. The accused were tried for heresy (on the subject of capacity of sinning of an embryo in the womb) and condemned. The vanquished anti-Sost Ledat party however found an unexpected champion in a new Abuna, Abbā Salāmā IV, who like Kerillos stood for the “Garra Häymānot.” This Abuna menaced Sāhela Sellāsē with excommunication. This not only produced no effect but he himself was obliged to take refuge in Tigré (1842). Kāssā,
who afterwards took the name of King Theodore, then Dajazmâch of Dambaya, found it suited his ambitious designs to champion the Abuna by embracing his tenets and got for his reward the honour of being crowned, by the latter, King of Kings of Ethiopia in 1855. To give colour to his ambitions he proclaimed a religious war and on the death of Khäylu Malakot (Sâhela Selleû’s son) at the cost of one battle Theodore made himself master of Shoa. He called a Synod under the specious pretext of reconciling the contending parties at Azâzo, which seemed to be a theological centre.

The theologians of Debra Libânos had all the logic, but Theodore like Henry VIII prided himself on his theology and had the unanswerable argument of despotic power, he played the card of Alexandria in supremacy and demanded “if they recognised Abuna Salâmâ for their Lawful Patriarch.” They were fain to answer in the affirmative. “Then my children,” replied the king, “You are heretics from the very moment you differ in opinion from the Abuna and me, the defender and upholder of the Church. Abjure your errors or the executioner will take off your heads” (Bolotoff, trans. p. 41, Lejean, p. 621). The High Church party who took time to consider this answer were kept without bread and water in confinement till, not being of the stuff of martyrs, they succumbed and abjured their doctrines. Menelek who had been imprisoned by Theodore, when he escaped in 1866, took the side of the suppressed High Church, but King John was raised to the throne on the death of Theodore at Magdala and Menelek when he succeeded to the Kingdom of Shoa in 1878 acknowledged him as his liege lord. On being severely admonished for encouraging the Italian missionary Massaja and being ordered to expel him, Menelek carried out his commands. King John then began a reform persecution of the Debra Libânos party, even submission as in the case of the Superior of Debra Libânos not being sufficient to save him from deprivation, all the adherents of the Sost Ledat party were replaced by their opponents and the monks dispersed over the whole country. A Synod was called but the discussion was a farce. The King concocted his own list of orthodoxy which was clear Eutychianism, “confess with us one only nature in that the Humanity of Christ was absorbed by the Divinity, or confess with the Romans two natures in Christ from the moment that according to you Jesus Christ is true God and true Man.” The Synod was a repetition of the famous Council of Ephesus in its behaviour towards the High Church theologians, but the latter, giving vent to their sarcasms on their treatment, were retaliated upon by the Negus and had their tongues cut out. The final result was a general submission to an oath of Uniformity, the few

**APPENDIX I.**

**KALEB.**

Kaleb, otherwise known as Ela Atsbeha (אלה אטסבה: = the Blessed One, a transcription of Arab. الامام), the 'Eleæséas of Procopius, the son of Tāzēnā (ταζηνα: according to the Ge’ez MSS., ṣěṣeva on Greek coins)1, was king of Ethiopia, i.e. a king of Aksum, in the first quarter of the sixth century. He took vengeance on the Jewish king of the Himyarites, Du Nawās, for his massacre of the Christians of Negrān, in the year 524–5 A.D. A graphic account is given of the “Martyrs of Negrān” (whose commemoration was kept by the Abyssinian Church on the 22nd November O.S.) by Simeon, Bishop of Bet-Arsam, written during the reign of Justinian (527–565). The commemoration of King Kaleb was on 15th May O.S. and is thus given in the *Senkessar* (Synaxarium): “On this day is held the Commemoration of Kaleb, King of Ethiopia, son of Tāzēnā, lover of God. On account of the greatness of his faith God opened for him the earth, and the king marched secretly from the land of Aksum to the land of Matara, and destroyed the rebels, who were called the people of Gamorra; and after this he built churches. He also made war on the land of Saba and made an expedition by land and sea; and he destroyed the Jews (Du Nawās) and built an altar to God, and set on the throne his eldest son whose name was Israel.... And after this he contemned this world, and left his kingdom and came to a monastery of St Pantaleon that stood on the summit of a mountain, in which dwelt holy monks, and he entered this monastery and died in a cell....After he entered the cell he spoke to no one, and was pleasing to God by reason of the beauty of his works, and reposed in peace.” Vide

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1 Vide Gadla Aragāwi, *Life of Za Mika’el Aragāwi*, one of the nine holy men who came to Abyssinia in the 5th and 6th centuries. The Greek coins are figured in E. Littmann, *op. cit.* Bd. i. p. 53.

w. b.

APPENDIX K.

ABYSSINIA AND THE SUDAN (p. 216).

Without going into the early history of the relations and intercourse between Abyssinia and the Sudan which begins with the raids and conquests of ‘Azana in the middle of the 4th century, and ‘Azana or Tázana, son of Ela Amida towards the end of the 5th, as related in the famous Greek and Ge’ez inscriptions at Aksum, it may be noted that the Fungs of Sennâr and Halqayt on the Atbara (the tribe of which Badi, p. 216, was chief), are frequently mentioned in Abyssinian Chronicles. In the reign of Susneyos (1607–1632) a king of the Fungs or Balaw, Ribat (1614–1642), called Erubat in the Chronicle, was defeated in 1618 by Susneyos after apparently a peaceful period marked by interchange of presents between the Sovereigns; from Adelân (1604–1611) in the shape of fine horses, and from Susneyos to King Bady Sayd el Kawam (1611–1614) of bracelets of gold and a gold-mounted saddle (Chron. Susneyos, Pereira, pp. 96, 124, 155 trans.). Later King Iyâsû II suffered severe defeat by Bâdy Abu Shilluk (1722–1761) in 1744. This victory “over 100,000 Habesh” is described in the History of Nuba (Arab. MSS. No. 2345 British Museum, ff. 9 r.–9 v.), but appears also as a brilliant success for the Abyssinian king in the Ge’ez Chronicles of Iyâsû (Eth. MSS. Bodley’s, No. 82, f. 112 r.). The Bâdi and Adrys of the text were probably the Bâdy and Sheikh伊drîs who during an anarchic period at Sennâr were among the “four kings at one and the same time” as described by the History of Nuba (f. 16 v.) contending in 1788–89 for supreme power during the intermittent reign of Adelân II (1768–1788). It is impossible to give a coherent story of the origin of the Fungs out of the contradictory legends due to attempts, common to people who have risen in the world, to concoct illustrious pedigrees, a tendency specially characteristic of Arab adventurers and their descendants. These adventurers from various immigrant south Arabian tribes had been entering the Sudan from time immemorial, from the days of the Minaeo Sabæans and Habashat who settled in Abyssinia from about 800 B.C. to about the beginning of the Christian era down to the appearance of the Benu Ḥilāl, Benu A’ammer, Rabiaḥ, Kenânah, Hubhaynah, etc., who, after the conquest of Egypt,
spread over the east coast of the Sudan. Enterprising spirits abandoning their tribes settled among the native blacks, trained them to arms, then leading their adopted people to conquest of neighbouring tribes founded small kingdoms of which their descendants formed a kind of aristocracy. The Fungs may very probably have come from the Shilluk country and been a Shilluk tribe as Bruce states. According to their own traditions, about 1504, as the result of a movement of population towards the East, a certain Amara Dunqas (also written Amru Du Nqas), came from the west of the White Nile, conquered the country round Sennar by defeating Wad Ajib, the king of Sennar, and established the Fung domination over the surrounding country. The story seems to be embodied in the tradition of the Nyikang, the demi-god of the Shilluks (Westermann, Shilluk People, p. 11). There have been many attempts to explain the word Fung. There is a word Buong pronounced in some dialects Fuong, Fung, which at Sennar means "Arab" and among the Shilluks "stranger"; the word for Arab being made synonymous with "stranger" may be compared with the word Frank, "Feringhi, farangi" in Persia, Arab. فرح; feranq in Ge'ez (denoting Portuguese), becoming the general word to express "foreigner" over a large area of the East. They appear as "Fung" in D'Almeida's Map (1662) transcribed from P. Paez (ca. 1620) and they are called "Funchos" and "Funye" (this latter is the Shilluk pronunciation) in his history. In the above map they are placed on the Atbara along with the "Balloos," i.e. Balaw. In another contemporary map they are placed together in the kingdom of Sennar. These Balaw or Balloos, Balloes as they are called by the Portuguese writers, are distinctly stated to be identical with the Fungs, "not only the island of Meroe but all lower Ethiopia which is a frying-pan stretching from Suaquem to Egypt is possessed by Moors whom we call Funchos and the Abyssinians, Balloos" (D'Almeida, Historia de Ethiopia, ed. Beccari, i. i. p. 10). The Chronicles of Susneyos also treat them as identical but much oftener use the name Funj (Funj). Their habitat is described both by D'Almeida and indicated by the Chronicles as being not only around Sennar but also in the north in the province of Holcait (Halqayt), the former calling them "Cafres muito baixas e quents," and says they are called Ballous inland and Funchos on the coast of Suaquem. These Balaw can be traced back some 600 years as the chief tribe of the Beni Amer. According to Makrizi, who calls them Baly, they belong to the Beni Hilal tribe, who were immigrants into Africa, having been driven out of Nejd on account of their brigandage and depredations. They, however, gave themselves Abbas as their ancestor, and so long and unchallenged was their position that their
name Belawi became synonymous with “Lord” or “Chief.” It is probable that members of this tribe settled among the Fungs constituted themselves rulers, and their relations the aristocracy of the population. This overlordship of the Balaw in the Sennar region, to which the later dynasty coming in at the head of the Shilluk succeeded, was recognised as late as 1853 by the investment of a symbol in the shape of a three-cornered brown silk hat presented by the Fung king to the “Deglel” (Tigré word for chief) of the Habab, Beni Amer, and Balaw Nebtah.

The following is the list of kings of Sennar according to the MSS. History of Nuba (Arab. MSS. British Museum No. 2345):

- Omārah Downqas 1504–1533.
- Abd el Qādir 1533–1543.
- Nāyl 1543–1554.
- Omārah abu Sakikim 1554–1562.
- Dukyn son of Nāyl 1562–1577.
- Tabl 1577–1588.
- Awnsah 1588–1604.
- Adalan son of Āyat 1604–1611.
- Bādy Sayd el Kawan 1611–1614.
- Ribat 1614–1642.
- Bādy abu Dakan 1642–1677.
- Awnas son of Nasir 1677–1688.
- Bādy el Ahmar 1688–1715. A pretender to the throne called Awkal, is set up in opposition and defeated.
- Nawl 1717–1722. Put on the throne by a revolutionary movement in place of former king “Related to the Royal Line on the Female side” (History of Nuba, f. 9 r.).
- Bādy abu Shilluk 1722–1761. Defeated the 100,000 troops of King Iyāsu of Abyssinia 1744. Deposed and replaced by
  - Nawl 1761–1768. Deposed, and there was elected Isma’el son of King Bādy 1768–1775, deposed.
  - Adalan II 1768–1788. Anarchy succeeded “and no one of their kings was able to enforce his authority” (Ibid., f. 15 v.).

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<td>Nawar 1789, put to death by Sheikh Nasir.</td>
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<td>Bādy son of Tabl 1789. A youth too young to control the brothers</td>
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Sheikh Adelan and Sheikh Idrys who held the country in their power 1799–1822. "There were four kings at one and the same time" (History of Nuba, f. 16 v.). King Ranfy and Sheikh Kaments elect Mohamed, son of Rajab, Sheikh. Then ensued a general struggle ending in Bady being restored (he had been deposed by Sheikh Idrys) in 1803. Bady finally made his submission to Isma’el Pasha in 1820.

The fighting between King Bady abu Shilluk and the Abyssinian King Iyasu II, dated 1744 and described in the History of Nuba as an overwhelming victory for the Mohammedans over an army of 100,000 Habish, is thus presented in the Ge’ez Chronicle of Iyasu (Ethiopic MSS. Bodley’s No. 32, f. 112 r.): “The Negus held a council of war with his generals, having first forbidden horns to be blown or fires lit to avoid giving the alarm to the enemy, and arrayed his army, according to the tactics of his fathers; and that wisdom in plan, strengthened his power and fired his courage so that it would destroy the enemy as the face of fire destroys straw or wind sweeps away the dust. On the feast of our Lady Mary they came across six of the Balaw in search of honey, and they killed three; and the next day they came to the land of Asib (south), and then he sent to the troops in their lines, and numbers to engage with the enemies of the Negus. They fought for four days and there was no numbering the fallen.” Then a list of exploits by individual warriors is given and finally the human trophies are laid before the king, who rejoices with chants and music over the victory. This is the other side of the glorious victory claimed by the Mohammedans. The date as given by the Abyssinian account is February 1743. (Vide Bruce, Vol. vi. Ch. 8 and 9. Caillaud, Voyage à Meroë, II. p. 259 et seqq., 273 et seqq. Tremaux, Le Soudan, p. 190. H. C. Jackson, Tooth of Fire.)

APPENDIX L

HYMNS AND CHANTS (Qenê, f. 284, f. 475 b.

The Abyssinian Church, like the other Oriental churches, possesses a large number of different kinds of sacred hymns and chants; some (malke) are recited regularly on the feasts of saints, others (Tabiba) do not form part of the regular divine office but are only recited by the monks; others again (Mahbara Memanan) are recited during the Mass at the moment of Communion in the provincial churches where they do not read the Matshafa Kidan (the scriptures). The system of versification does not consist of a fixed number of syllables but a certain amount of uniformity is obtained by singing the long verses faster and the short ones more slowly, a pause in the middle divides each verse.
These hymns (Qene) are classified according to their various lengths as follows:

1. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Geba'e Qana}$, has two verses.
2. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Mibazkhu}$, so-called because it accompanies Psalm 63 (O God, thou art my God”), has three verses.
3. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Sellas}$, has six verses. This was the species of Qene of which we have an example on p. 284, f. 475 b.
4. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Zay'eze}$, so-called because it accompanies the verse “Now lettest thou thy servant depart,” etc. (Luke ii. 29), has five verses.
5. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Maawades}$, has eight verses. A division of this class called $\text{Qene} : \text{Ah}$, which accompanies Psalm 49, “Hear this all ye people,” etc. has nine verses. Another called $\text{Qene} : \text{Acher wazema}$, has two verses.
6. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Acher wazema}$, has two verses.
7. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Keber yeti}$, so-called because it accompanies the second half of verse 9, Psalm 149.
8. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Acher wazema}$, has two verses.
9. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Keber yeti}$, so-called because it accompanies the second half of verse 9, Psalm 149.
10. The $\text{Qene} : \text{Acher wazema}$, has two verses. (a) In Ge'ez mode, which has seven verses; (b) In 'Ez mode, which has eleven verses.

The order of the Divine Office and the psalms and hymns of the days of the year are embodied in a collection called the Deggua, which is in course of publication. Vide I. Guidi, Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, etc., August 1900.

P. 415, f. 547 b. This song or Qene may be thus transcribed to show the system of rhyming:

Laha 'ema nagafu Dawit negus wa Bersabe emani khedata 'emuntu bahemama waldomu wekheedu,
Esma hallawomu kale'a yeladu;
Nehuasa 'inengel lahewo la-Khayla Mikael nagadu,
Zeya Bahra ema na 'adu
Wasamaya kaha ema nampa 'adu
Zamadna bahtitu ahadu.
APPENDIX M.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Abāy, Abawi (derived by Abyssinians from ab, father, abawi, ancestral; cp. Mississippi, the father of waters), or Abyssinian portion of the Blue Nile, rises in the Mountains (Daguja) of Gojam and flowing north through L. Tsānā by a wide sweep, embracing the province of Gojam, flows west into the Sudan. It is first mentioned in the History of Ba'eda Māryām (1468–1478). Perruchon, p. 158.

Addābabāy, an affluent of the Abāy in Shoa, from the east.

Adwā or 'adwā, capital of Tigrē, ad (tribe) -avā = Ave of Nonnosus = anm of the Sabaean inscription (vide Bent, Sacred City of the Ethiopians, p. 134; Glaser, Abessinier in Arabien u. Afrika, p. 11).

Afarawānāt, district in Amhārā, south-east of Tsānā.


Ambā Māryām, village of Begameder, east of Tsānā.

Ambasa gāmā, a district in Achafrā. The name means lion’s mane (C. Rossini, Nuovo codice, etc., pp. 20, 25; Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), ch. 33, p. 80).

Ambāsal, Ambasāl, and Ambā Sa’āl, in the province of Amhārā near R. Mīllē, a flat-topped mountain with several jagged peaks. This with Legot, Geshen, Gosha Magdala, etc., is one of the very strong natural fortresses of the country. They are described by d'Almeida (Historia, etc., ed. Beccari, l. ix. p. 92): “Fortalezas feitas pelo autor da natureza, e como obras de tal mestre muito avançadas as mais fortes que a arte humana soube e pode fabricar.”

Antālo, district and town in Enderta in province of Tigrē.

Aringo. Basset, Hist. d’Éthiopie, pp. 32–35, etc.

Ashāwā. Basset, loc. cit., p. 76.

Axum (貅貅: Aksum). The oldest city of the Habashat or Ge’ez immigrants into Abyssinia, called in the Periplus Maris Erythraeae (written ca. 60–67 A.D.) μητρόπολις τῶν Αὖξουμετῶν, 'Αξώμη by Ptolemy, 'Αξώμη by Cosmas (6th century), is situated in Tigrē, lat. 14° 7', long. 38° 40' E. It is the sacred city of the Abyssinians, where the kings for centuries have been solemnly crowned, and contains the famous inscriptions in Minaeo-Sabaean and Ge’ez script of the 4th and 5th centuries, as well as the oldest church in which, according to tradition of the Kebra Nagast, the Tābot or altar stone was deposited when brought from Jerusalem by the son of the Queen of Sheba by Solomon,
variously known as Bayna Lehkem, Ibna elhakem, Meneylek. The old church was destroyed by Gran about 1540 and a new church was built on the foundation by the Portuguese soon after (Bent, Sacred City of the Ethiopians, pp. 163–165; Alvarex, Verdadeara informação das terras do Preste Joan, cap. 36; d’Almeida, Historia de Ethiopia, l. 1; D. H. Müller, Epigraphische Denkmuler aus Abessinien, p. 19).

The native legend of Aksum is contained in the Book of Aksum. (Liber Axumae, by C. C. Rossini, Cod. Eryth. A. 97, in the Corpus Script. Christ. Orient., Scriptores Aethiopi, t. VIII) F. 90 a. “The town was built at Mazeber, where the tomb was found of Ityopis, son of Kuesa, son of Kām. It remained there long; Makēda (the Queen who visited Solomon and whose son was the ancestor of the Abyssinian line of Solomon) made changes and built the city in the territory of ‘Āseba (var. Asfā); by reason of this the Book calls her Queen of Saba, and calls her still Queen of ‘Azēb (= of the South). For the third time the city was built by Abreha and Atsbeha, where is to be seen this sanctuary, the cathedral of Aksum.” (Other MSS. are no. 225 Coll. d’Abbadie, and no. 26 Bodley’s, Oxford.)

For inscriptions and early history, vide Sabāsche Denkmäler by Dr J. H. Mordtmann and Dr D. H. Müller; Abessinier, by Glaser; and the works of A. Dillmann, especially Zur Geschichte des Axumitschen Reiches in Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft, Bd. VII. p. 341; History of Pero Paez, lib. 1, cap. v. p. 62 in Corpus Scriptorum Orient., ed. Beccari; Bent’s Sacred City of the Ethiopians; E. Littmann’s D. Deutsche Aksum Expedition, and the older researches of Valentia and Salt (Voyages and Travels, Vol. III. p. 182, 1809; and Henry Salt’s Voyages to Abyssinia, p. 411, 1814); Rüppell, Reisen in Abessinien, etc.

Azāzo, a village in the province of Dambayā, on the right bank of the R. Qāba, two hours’ march from Gondar (Chron. Susneyos Pereira, pp. 199, 534). In the time of d’Abbadie’s expedition, 1845, the population was about 5000 (A. d’Abbadie, Géodésie d’Éthiopie, p. 273).

Balisâ, province of Amharâ west of the Takazzâ, north of Begameder, south of Senēn, bounded on west by mountains of Belesen.

Barchâ, a plain in the middle of Dambayā where King Za Dengel was defeated by his rebel subjects and slain, a.d. 1607 (Conti Rossini, Di un nuovo Codice della Cronaca etiopica, p. 20). “His troops escaped on horseback but King Za Dengel fell off, because he did not know how to ride but only to sing hymns” (La Cronaca Abbreviata, Beguinot, p. 42).
Bashelo, an important river rising in the east of the central plateau, flows west and then south, joining the Abāy about lat. 10° 55'.


Begameder, variously spelt Bēgameder (Chron. of Zara Yā'eqob), Begameder, Bēgemeder, Bagender (Chron. of Susneyos). Land of the Bēg = Beyā of the Adulis inscriptions, the Bouvēira of the Greek inscription of Axum and the בְּגֶא (Begā), Arab. بِجَة (Makrizi, Hist. Egypt; Ibn Batutah, tom. i. pp. 110–11, ed. C. Defrémy et Sanguinetti). This is more probable than P. Jerónimo Lobo's derivation from בְּגֶא bag sheep, i.e. "sheep country." Begameder is divided from Amhāra by the river Bashilo, it lies north-east of Gojam and north of Shoa.

Ber Ambā, a hill-fort in Gojam. Ber river flows into Abāy.

Bera or Bra, a day's march from Darīsa which is again a day's march from Waynā Daga, q.v. (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 167).

Būrē, district of Agaw in Dāmot.

Chachaho, district of Begameder.

Chardequā, district of Amhāra.

Chāt Weha, district distant a day's march from Chachaho (a village in Begameder), Chron. Susneyos, ch. 62, p. 63 (Pereira). It means the river Chat, Ar. قط, the plant used as a stimulant by chewing the leaves, Celastrus edulis (Paulitschke, Harar, p. 247: "Nach dem Geschmack und der Feinheit der Blätter unterscheidet man verschiedene Sorten Arūs," Gambāt, Taglēj und Watjē, p. 247; Schweinfurt, Abyssinische Pflanzennamen, p. 58).

Dabra Berhān, "Convent of Light," city and monastery in east Shoa, about 20 miles from Ankober.

Dabra Libānos. This famous monastery, formerly known as Dabra Asbo, is situated in the middle of Shoa, near the river Siga Wadiab, in a district of considerable fertility, and is the most venerated institution of its kind in the country. Its precincts have always been held inviolate as sanctuary. It has a round church founded by King Yeshaq (1414–1428) of the usual type and is surrounded by clusters of tokuls or cottages inhabited by monks. The tradition that the bones of the great Saint Takla Haymānot lie buried here enhanced its prestige and importance, and large grants of land were made to it by various rulers (Tellez, Historia Geral de Ethiopia a Alta, liv. 1, ch. 35). In a wood to the south is a sacred spring of water supposed by tradition to have been brought underground by St Michael from Jordan. Its
name was changed to Dabra Libanos by King Zara Ya’eqob who established a feast on the 29th of each month to celebrate his victory in 1445 over the King of Adal, Sahab ad Din Ahmed Badlay (Chronique de Zara Ya’eqob, Perruchon, p. 90).

Dagol, near Semien, p. 318.

Dambaya, district “bounded on East by Begameder, on South by Gojam, on West by Agaws of Achafer and Tangha. Lake Tsana, formerly called Dambaya, is in this region” (d’Almeida, Hist. de Ethiopia a alta, ed. Beccari, l. 1, cap. iii. p. 13).

Damot, a province lying within the southern bend of the Abay in the south of Gojam. It was one of the fields of the missionary activity of S. Takla Haymanot and the campaigns of that scourge of Abyssinia Ahmed ben Ibrahim, surnamed Grañ or the “left-handed,” who at the head of the Muslim armies of the king of Adal overran the country in 1535-42, as described in the Futuh el Habesh and the Narrative of Castanhoso, commander of the Portuguese forces sent to assist the Abyssinians. In 1579 it was devastated by Galla tribes under Birmaje and again in 1586 by the Boran, who were defeated by Sartsa Dengel in 1595 (History of the Galla, trans. I. Guidi, ch. xiv. and Dne framenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia, I. Guidi, p. 15).

Dar, district in province of Walaq, east of Abay, and north of R. Jamm. Darasge, small village south-west of Gondar.

Debow, village of Amhar.

Deldey, the ancient bridge over the Abay at Alata, as it flows through a narrow gorge about 20 miles south of Lake Tsana. It consists of eight arches of irregular size, and is about 90 paces long and 15 feet in breadth. It is built at an angle, the three northern arches being inclined west (Rüppell, Reise, etc., vol. ii. p. 213), the earliest bridge of one arch under direction of the Portuguese Jesuits 1626. It was still described as of one arch by Bruce, Travels, vol. v. p. 104, ed. 1805.

Dangel Bar, Dangelbar, village in Achafer (Basset, Histoire, etc., pp. 40, 55, 57, etc.).

Emkin or Makkina, mountain in Lasta near the sources of the Takazz. Enferüz, district in Begameder north-east of Lake Tsana.

Estè, a village of the Agaw of Anda Bét, on left bank of the Abay (Pereira, Chron. Susneyos, pp. 121, 446).

Fagta, village in Agawmeder near the Abay.

Ferqa Bar. Ferqa is a mountain north-east of Tsana. There is a convent here founded by King Aruda Tséyon (1314-1344).

Gafat. This is a tribe speaking one of the ground race languages of the
country, which gave their name to the mountainous district on the left bank of the southern sweep of the Abäy. After the 16th century they were dispossessed by invading Galla and driven north into Gojam (d’Almeida, Historia, etc., vol. 1; Chron. Susneyos, ed. Pereira, p. 24).

Gajge, a district of Sababa, on east of Lake Tsänä.

Galdä, river between R. Gumara and the Abäy (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), ch. 58), flows into Lake Tsänä.

Ganat, “a river in the country of Wanaba” (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 174).

Ganj (= Gonj and Guanj), Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 102, district of Gojam between R. Abäy and Abya.

Garagarä, district in Begameder.

Gerärayä, a district, centre of Shoa, mentioned in Hist. des guerres d’Amda Seyon, ed. Perruchon, p. 10. An account of Takla Haymänöt, the great saint of Abyssinia, his life and death in a grotto called Asbo at Gerärayä is given in the Life of Takla Haymänöt in the Dabra Libänos document, chap. 102. It was at Asbo that the famous monastery Dabra Libänos was founded.

Geshan, an ambä or natural stronghold on right bank of R. Bashelo in Amharä. A description of this fort is given by Alvarez, Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste Joam, chap. 58; and d’Almeida, Historia de Ethiopia, I, 1, ch. VIII. p. 30. Abyssinian tradition has it that as far back as the reign of Abram, a predecessor of Lalibalä (i.e. in the beginning of 11th century), this ambä was used for interning the king’s near relations, except the heir to the throne, generally as a precaution against rebellious ambitions and faction. See also Bruce, Travels, vol. III. p. 42, ed. 1805.

Gugebë (= Gugeben = Guguben?), mountain on east border of Lake Tsänä (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), ch. 58).

Guna, an ambä situated in Amharä, south of Dabra Tabor, lat. 11° 43’ (Rassam, Mission to Abyssinia, II. p. 159).

Hamäšen, large province in north of Tigrë.

Hayq, lake in province of Amharä, lat. 11° 25’, at an altitude of 1951 m. above the sea on the extreme east and below the plateau. It is calculated to be about 83 kilom. in circumference. In the north-east extremity and about 700 feet from the shore there is an island known by the name of Dabra Naguadgnad, where there is a monastery dedicated to St Stephen. It was here that according to tradition the great Abyssinian Saint Abbä Takla Haymänöt took the monastic habit at
the hands of Abbā Iyasus Mo’a and resided there at frequent intervals. A village near by, principally populated by wives of the clergy, is called Dabra Māryām, no female thing, not even a hen, being by ancient law allowed to enter the precincts of the island. The church was destroyed by the redoubtable Grañ in 1531 (A.H. 7024). (Futūh el Habesh, trans. d’Abbadie, p. 264; d’Almeida, Historia, etc., ed. Beccari, i. iii. p. 264.)

Jān Mēdā, village in Faggera south-east of Dabra Tabar, about 25 miles east of Tsānā.

Jatā, river in Amhārā, affluent of River Bashilo—the latter flows from north and joins (Blue Nile) Abāy about lat. 10° 50’.

 Jáwi, district on right bank of River Didesa, which gave the name to a Galla tribe of Yahabata sept (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 200).

Kosogē, village north of Gondar and district of Dambayā, near River Argef. Name derived from Kosso (Kosso-ĝē, abounding in Kosso), the usual medicament for the prevalent internal worm is decocted from its leaves (Brayera anthelmintica). (Lejean, Voyage, etc., p. 37; Basset, Études sur l’histoire d’Éthiopie, note 98; E. Pereira, Susneyos, p. 275.)

Lamelmo, a pass over the Semen mountain, 176 kilom. from Adawa and 94 from Gondar. The mountain is 2988 m. The caravans between Tigrē and Dambayā use this pass.

Lāstä, a mountainous region of Amhārā west of Angot and east of Begameder.

Leguat = Legot, an ambā in Amhārā (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), pp. 239 and 582).

Makhdara Māryām, a hamlet in Begameder, populated by a great many clergy. It has an old and venerated church, and the whole village was made a sanctuary (Combes et Tamisier, Voyage en Abyssinie, ii. pp. 90–95; Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 400).

Maqdala, a precipitous mountain or natural fortress in Amhārā on the east, where King Theodore committed suicide to avoid falling into the hands of the English army 1868.

Maraba, district in Wagārā.

Mēchā, province south of Abay, west of Shoa, inhabited by Gallas of Mecha.

Meneycher, district in Amhārā.

Nafās Mawchā, village in Begameder, lat. 11° 42’.


Qaroda, mountainous district in Begameder.

Quesquam, *qesquam*: is the Ethiopic version of the Coptic *kouskam*, Arab. *kuscum*. *kouskam* in Coptic signifies to embalm for burial, *kam*, cane; according to Abu Salih, Kuskam means one who makes a coffin of cane for the poor. Koskam is the name of the site of an ancient church near the monastery of Al-Muharraka in the region of Monfalut in the province of Asyut in Egypt. There was a tradition among the Copts that Christ with Mary and S. Joseph took refuge here from Herod; the first church built in Egypt was said to have been here. The Sinkessar (Synaxarium Ethiopicum) commemorates the Flight into Egypt on the 2nd November (vide Church and Monasteries of Egypt, ed. Evets, p. 224, etc.; Quatremère, Mémoires géographiques, etc., l. p. 189; Amelineau, Géographie de l’Égypte, 396; Ludolf, Comment. ad suam Hist. Aethiop., p. 397; Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 550).

River Reh, rising near Mount Guna, traversing Begameder from east to west, flows into Lake Tsānā about lat. 11°59’ (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), pp. 90 and 398).

Sadda, village in province of Dambeyā. Sāgā, in Hadeyā.

Saganat, an ambā, a mountain stronghold in the mountainous region of Semēn.

Salawa, district of Tigrē, bounded on north by River Arequa, on east by Abargelē district and on south by River Samrā.

Samēn, Semēn, *sēwēna*, a mountainous region of Amharā east of Dambayā and Waldebbā, and west of River Takazzē. Inhabited by Gallas and Falashā (Jews) temp. d’Almeida (Historia, etc., ed. Beccari, l. vii. ch. x. p. 413; Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 331; Bruce, Travels, etc., vol. III. p. 5).

Sangolat = Šangolā (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 212), district in Shoa.

Sankera, district of Sagaba on east of Lake Tsānā.


Shawādā, district of Semēn bounded on south by River Shera and on east by River Ambekaynā.

Takazzē, an important river rising in province of Augot in a place called ain Takazzē (spring of the Takazzē) at an altitude of 3200 m. It is
the Ḑhil.: or Ḑhil.: of the Ge'ez inscription at Axum (Rüppell, II.; Bent, Sacred Cities, etc., iv.). Takazzé in Ge'ez means "river."

Tarasambá. Basset, Histoire etc., pp. 69, 76.

Toloma (Tulama in Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), pp. 31 and 629), a tribe of the Galla.

Tsadá, district a day's march from Gondar, in province of Dambayá.

Tsagadé, a mountainous province of Tigré bounded on north-east by Waldebbá, north-west by Walqáyit (Rüppell, Reise, etc., ii. p. 151; Lefebvre, Voyage en Abyssinie, iii. p. 61; Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 128).

Tsána, or Táná. The famous lake in Abyssinia through which the Abás or Blue Nile passes before it turns west to the Sudan. It is 1800 m. above sea-level and covers 2980 sq. kilometres; and according to Stecker the greatest depth is in the south, 72 m. (Dupuis). It was called in Ge'ez qálá:qí in Amharic qálá:qamíf: Barçena by João de Barros (Dos feitos que fizeram os Portugueses, Dec. iii. liv. iv. cap. l.), who identifies it with Kolón lýmón of Ptolemy. It was also called, formerly, sea of Dambayá (Téllez, Historia geral, etc., liv. i. cap. vi.). It is said to have 45 inhabited islands, Daq being the most famous (d'Almeida, Historia de Ethiopia a alta, ed. Beccari, i. i.).

Tsenjána, district in Begameder, famous for its pasture and horses.

Wádelá, district of Begameder bounded on north by the Takazzé, on south by River Chacháho (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 189).

Wág, district of Tigré bounded on south by mountains of Lastá, on east and north by River Talláre, on west by River Takazzé.

Wagará, district south-east of Walqáyit and Segadé south of Tigré, south-west of Semén.

Wakhá: Basset, Hist. p. 33, etc. Mountain and district in Begameder. (Bruce calls it Wakhúne, vol. vii. p. 62, ed. 1805.)

Waláqá, district in Amháriá. Waláqá is also a province west of the Didesa on the borders of the Sudan.

Waldebbá, district of Tigré near River Zarema, in an unhealthy and feverish country. There are numerous monasteries and monks, who retire there for a life of penitence and prayer. It is a resort of the great ones, and, as in the case of Takla Giyorgis, even of kings, when they fell from power, or wished to retire into private life. Owing to their great prestige and the reputation for working miracles they acted as a powerful force in any political disturbances (Bruce, Voyage to discover, etc., Vol. iv. p. 367, ed. 1805; Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 405). It is not mentioned by d'Almeida.
Walqayt, district in Amhara north-east of Wáldeba, south-east of Kunamá river running into the Setit.

Wambaryá, a district on extreme west of Gojam, bounded on west by Blue Nile and the present Sudan frontier at Fazoki.

Wanaba, district in Gojam near River Gαιnat.


Warq Weha and Debra Warq, river flowing into Abay, and mountain in eastern part of Gojam.

Wayná Daga, also Wayná Dag’a, district between Lake Tsānā and district of Balasā; it means the intermediate altitude of land between the hot Quallā and high plateau, Dāgā.

Wechalē, a tribe of Galla. This name does not occur in the Zenā Za Galla (Hist. of Galla written towards end of 1500). They were mentioned in the Chronica Ethiopta (ed. Basset) as having murdered Dajazmāch Walda Hawaryāt, husband of Princess Wangdawit in the 14th year of the Emperor Susneyos and two years after as suffering severe defeat at his hands (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 179 relates murder of D. Hawaryāt as by Tuluma Galla). The Wechalē may therefore be an offshoot of this tribe who, according to Zenā Za Galla, belonged to the Borān Galla which with the Baraytuma formed the two main divisions of the tribe at their first appearance in South Abyssinia.

Yamalogue, river and district inhabited by Gafät (Chron. Susneyos (Pereira), p. 569).

Yanaja, village in south-east Begameder in district of Wadla, north of River Jidda.

Zhān Fagarā, district west of Wagarā and bounded by River Kolbā and River Manā. Kolā is its principal village (Rüppell, Reise, ii. p. 151).

Zurambā, district in Amharā.
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