

INTERTEXTUALITY IN ETHIOPIAN GĖ'ĖZ. LITERATURE: THE LEXICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE HAGIOGRAPHY AND THE CHRONICLE OF KING IYASU I

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Abstract

This paper attempts to demonstrate the intertextuality aspect of hagiography and chronicle of an Ethiopian king *aše* Iyasu I [r.1682–1706]. To achieve this purpose, lexical features of both texts are examined. These texts were written in the late seventeenth century. The Chronicle of *aše* Iyasu I was written during the reign of the King by his own three chroniclers (Hawarya Krəstos, Zäwäldä Maryam and Sinoda), while the Hagiography of *aše* Iyasu I written two years after the death of the King by azaž Sinoda.

This study on the texts is carried out based on textual method of analysis, in particular using the method of content analysis. This method makes it possible to distinguish the lexical relationship used in both genres of texts. For this purpose, the words and phrases that describe the royal courage and sacred personality of the king are identified.

Although both hagiography and chronicle of *aše* Iyasu I are composed to the single king and address the subject of the same historical milieu, there is no remarkable lexical parallel between the two texts in the area of words and phrases. Unlike the Chronicle of *aše* Iyasu I, the Hagiography of *aše* Iyasu I uses carefully selected metaphoric words and phrases to describe the King's bravery and sacred personality. It is thus reasonable to conclude that each author composed text in a different literary setting rather than one influenced the other. In other words, the two texts are interconnected but each developed its own textual features as a response to method and approach of Ethiopian Gə'əz literature.

Keywords: Ethiopic/ Gə'əz Language, Hagiography; Chronicle; *Aše* Iyasu I, lexical parallel.

1. Introduction

Both the Hagiography¹ and the Chronicle are more widely used genres in Ethiopic literary tradition still the turn of the 20th century. They have served as informative sources for Ethiopian history. These genres of Ethiopic literatures deal with the Ethiopian culture and history relevant to the study areas of disciplines such as theology, linguistics, language and literature, social science, political science, philosophy, mythology, architecture, etc. Attesting to this concept, Tadesse, states that these genres have valuable primary sources for the reconstruction of Ethiopian history with various degrees.² However, historians give more credit to chronicles³. In addition to this, Frantsouzoff, stresses the important relationships of both genres arguing that ‘Two genres of Gə’əz literature- the chronicle and the lives of the Saints could be used to reconstruct the course of Ethiopian history and understand the essence of the processes that took place in the Horn of Africa during medieval times’.⁴

In Ethiopic literary tradition, a chronicle deals with secular matters and its protagonist is a King whereas hagiography is concerned with the spiritual world and the Saint is its focal narrative character. Both figures, King and Saint, can be considered as representatives of opposing world views in principle even if it is apparent that both genres have shared common tradition. Evidently, the Saint’s early life follows a set of similar narration pattern that are almost interchangeable between the Saint and the King. The hagiographer and chronicler usually depict the early life of Saints and Kings who behaving very differently from ordinary children for that the Saints and the King are labelled ‘wise-children’ whose childhoods are marked by extraordinary serious speeches and manners.⁵ Fəqərtä Krəstos, an ideal example, in this regard, requested her parents to take her to a teacher so that she can learn the ‘*psalms and prayers*’, ስዱኒ: ኀብ: መምህር: ከመ: እትመህር: መዝሙር: ወጸሎተ: አአቡዮ: ወእምዮ: (‘My father and my mother took me to a teacher to learn psalms and prayers’).⁶ The same is true of aṣe Iyasu I-according to his chronicle አመ: ተወልደ: ሐፀንዎ: ንጉሠ: ነገሥት: አቡሁ: አእላፍ: ሰገድ: ወእመ: ንግስት: ሰብለ: ወንጌል: ሠናዩ: ሕፅነተ: ወአልሐቅዎ: በጥብብ: ወተግሣፅ: ወበትምህርተ: መጻሕፍት: ቅዱሳት: ወበፍርሃተ: እግዚአብሔር: እስመ: እመንቱ:

¹ The term ‘Hagiography’ is alternatively referred to in scholarship as ‘Gädl’ or ‘The Life of Saint’. For the sake of consistency, I will refer to the text as ‘The Hagiography’.

² Tadesse Tamrat 1972, 18,; ‘Mnauscript’, EAe, III (2005), 738 (Alessandro Bausi).

³ The chronicles are seen as the most important source for the political history of Ethiopia; the bulk of entries being related to Kings and rulers, battles and invasion.

⁴ ‘Chernetsov Sevir’, EAe, V (2014), 292 (Serguei Frantsouzoff).

⁵ Yet this theme of the “wise child” is very common in many medieval Ethiopic hagiographies and chronicles.

⁶ For further details see: Mersha Alegehege 2015, 156.

ጸድቃን፡ ወፈራህያን፡ እግዚአብሔር ... ወውእቱሂ፡ ኮነ፡ ማእምረ፡ ወፍቁረ፡ በኀብ፡ ከሉ፡ ወጠቢበ፡ ወተምህረ፡ ተፅዕኖተ፡ ፈረሰ። (‘When he was born, his father A‘əlaf Säggäd [Yohannəs I] and his mother Queen Säblä Wängel made him grow in wisdom, advice, education of holy scriptures and fear of God as they were righteous and had the fear of God. And he became knowledgeable and beloved and wise in all. He also learned horse riding’). In this sense, Sergew, argues that the royal chronicles, which are considered as secular historical documents, follow some patterns of hagiographical texts.⁷

Ethiopian hagiographies can also be grouped in terms of their themes. Samuel outlines themes in the Ethiopic hagiographies; he grouped into three major themes. The first group of hagiographies depict that the lives of holy monks in conflict with the King. The theme of these hagiographies is the moral reform of the imperial court. Bäsälotä Mika’el is an ideal example in this regard. In his endeavour to carry out their mission, though, he encountered resistance and torture from the King ‘Amdä Šəyon I.⁸ The subject of the second group of hagiographies is the lives of Täklä Haymanot⁹, Nine Saints¹⁰, Yohannəs Məśraqawi¹¹ and so on. The central message of these hagiographies is expanding of Christianity in the region. The third and last group of hagiographies is intentionally composed to commemorate a King who was venerated as a martyr by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, who was a ‘martyr’ on account of his sacrifice for the religious cause.¹² The case of *aše* Iyasu I is a good example in this regard.

Parallel to the genre of Ethiopic hagiography mentioned above, Ethiopian royal chronicle is a particular genre of Ethiopian literature that deals with the history of the Kings, and other royal entourages as well as historical accounts of their courts from 14th century to the early 20th century.¹³ Before the fourteenth century, as remarked by Solomon Gebreyes, we still have no evidence that proves the existence of a tradition of the composition of chronicle either during the Aksumite or Zag^we period¹⁴. Thus, the tradition of composing royal chronicle is the only one of its kind dedicated to Solomonic Kings.¹⁵ It shares with some features with the hagiography. As

⁷Sergew Hable Sellassie 1972, 3.

⁸ Conti Rossini 1961.

⁹ Budge 1906.

¹⁰ Brita 2010.

¹¹ Marrassini 2012. Is an Ethiopian saint credited with the evangelization of the region of Mänz in Šäwa in the 15th cent.

¹² Samuel Wäldä Yohannəs 1997, 2011.

¹³ The traditions of royal documentation have been traced to the Aksumite period. Stone inscriptions could be considered to be the forerunners of the later tradition of written documents, particularly the royal chronicles.

¹⁴ Solomon Gebreyes 2016, 5.

¹⁵ Solomon Gebreyes 2016, 5.

mentioned above, grouping in terms of styles, theme, the language of writing and philosophy not only a pattern of hagiography tradition but also appears in the chronicles. Therefore, both texts provide a definitive answer concerning the Ethiopian past.

The hagiographies were not only a literary genre to record the common history of the Saints and holy men/women; rather they served as a historiographical document dealing with the history of Ethiopian Kings. Evidently, hagiography has been the only written royal historiography composed for some Kings of the Zag^we dynasty, they are regarded as holy Kings by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The Zag^we rulers are conventionally described as a ‘usurping¹⁶’ dynasty, though four of the Zag^we Kings, Yəmṛəhnnä-Krəstos, Lalibāla, Nā’akk^wəto Lā’ab and Yəṭbarāk have hagiographies composed to their name.¹⁷ Likewise, with a few such exceptions *aše* Iyasu I is the only one among the Solomonic monarchs of Ethiopia to have a hagiography composed to his name. He was murdered by his people and this was taken as martyrdom by the author of the *Gädl*. The main objectives of these hagiographies are celebrating the monarchs for their particular zeal in defending Christianity, must have also been to show the possibility of leading a saintly life while at the helm of a Kingdom.¹⁸

2. Notes Towards the History of *aše* Iyasu I

Before going to the lexical relationships between the two texts it may be better to discuss the short history of *aše* Iyasu I and his hagiography and chronicle. *Aše*¹⁹ Iyasu I ruled twenty four years, from 1682–1706. His regnal name, Adyam Säḡäd²⁰, is always used together with his name whenever reference is made to him or his reign.²¹ He was also known as ‘Iyasu the Great’. He owned this name based on his courage in war and his skills for administration.²² He continued the policy of his father *aše* Yoḥannəs I (1667–82), and his grandfather *aše* Fasilädäs (1632–1667); he attempted to create peace and stability in the country. Unfortunately, internal theological disputes caused by monks and others continued and it had a danger for the authority

¹⁶ Zag^we King s were not belonging to Solomonic descent or that there was not blood lineage from the legendary Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. See: ‘Zag^we’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 107a-114a (Gianfranco Fiaccadori).

¹⁷ Tadesse Tamrat 1970; Marrassini 2012.

¹⁸ Samuel Wäldä Yoḥannəs 1997, 212.

¹⁹ The term of address and reference for an Ethiopian emperor.

²⁰ This throne name also is known by *aše* Iyasu II (r. 1730-55).

²¹ The throne names of Gonderian King s literally rendered as Alām Säḡäd (‘the world submitted’), A’əlaf Säḡäd (‘thousands submitted’), Adyam Säḡäd (‘the confines of the earth submitted’), Lə’Yul Säḡäd (‘the exalted submitted’), Airar Säḡäd (‘the enemies submitted’), Šähay Säḡäd (‘the sun bowed’), Adbar Säḡäd (‘the mountains bowed’), Mesihe Säḡäd (‘the anointed submitted’). Berry, 1976, 155.

²² Täklä Sadəq Mäkuriya 1960, 281.

of the King.²³ He managed to maintain the royal presence over a large territory. *Aṣe* Iyasu I was the last Gondarine monarch to reach as far as Ḥannarya in the region of Gibe, in 1704.²⁴ He built up his power by visiting such symbolical places as the old and then remote monastery of Däbrä Libanos in Šawa²⁵ in 1699 and above all, Aksum Šəyon. During his reign, Ethiopian Orthodox Church was the great beneficiary from his law of the land because the *Gult* lands, laws and privileges were restored to Aksum Šəyon in 1687. And he granted lands to other churches such as Märtula Maryam in Goğgam. He also built the model church of Däbrä Bərhan Šəllase in Gondär, which was consecrated in 1694. Nowadays, this church is known for its fine murals, which cover the entire wall. He also gave preferences to the religious doctrine of the Təwahədo (Unionists)²⁶ and supported the ‘house of abunä Täklä Haymanot’²⁷, mainly relying on the legendary pact (*Kidan*) between *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak and the Saint which was believed to have the Solomonic dynasty preserved for centuries.²⁸ Besides, he tried to reform the society in an economically and culturally sense. He undertook the reform of customs’ posts aiming at stopping the uncontrolled taxation of goods on the trade-routes from Ḥändarta in Təgray to Gondar.²⁹ He fell ill and went to different churches and monasteries around Lake Ṭana for cure in 1705. Thereafter, he appointed his son Täklä Haymanot. However, on 8 March 1706, the supporters of *Qəbat* doctrine court nobles in Gondär, most prominently *ras* Fares and *däggazmač* Wäldä Giyorgis of Səmen, enthroned Täklä Haymanot³⁰ against the will of *aṣe* Iyasu I. He was shortly after his dethronement murdered by order of his son, his concubines Mäləkotawit, and her brothers on Čəqla Mänzo, an island in the Lake Tana.³¹ Then, he was buried in the royal cemetery in the island named Məşraha. He was regarded as a ሰማዕት (‘Martyr’) due to the tragic death, he suffered at the hands of his maternal uncles, Dərmən and Pawlos and thus his

²³ Boll 2009, 65.

²⁴ Berry 1976, 149.

²⁵ It is a famous monastic institution founded by St. Täklä Haymanot. It was originally called Däbrä Asäbot, its name being changed in the reign of Zär’a Ya’əqob (r. 1334–1468).

²⁶ The word ተዋሕዶ, Təwahədo means ‘fusion’ or ‘unity’. See Leslau 1991, 609. Here ተዋሕዶ, Təwahədo refers to the fusing of humanity and divinity in the person of Christ and is a reflection of the non-Chalcedonian miaphysite Christology of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

²⁷ The monastic congregation of Dabra Libanos of Šawa

²⁸ ‘Iyasu I’, *EAE*, III(2007), 249–251 (Claire Bosc-Tiesse).

²⁹ Boll 2009, 65.

³⁰ *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot (r. 1706–08), succeeded his father *aṣe* Iyasu I. He had his father murdered and consequently he was styled አርጉም (‘The Cursed’). Budge 1928, 425–34.

³¹ *aṣe* Iyasu I preference to the religious doctrine of the ‘unionists’, whereas his son of Täklä Haymanot supported by Goğgam *Qəbat* ‘Uncionists’, most probably one cause of his death was doctrinal differences.

hagiography, called *Gädlä Adyam Sägäd* was written soon after his death. He is also commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 05 *Təqəmt*, the day of his death.³²

3. The Hagiography and Chronicle of *aše Iyasu I*

It is believed that *Gädlä Adyam Sägäd Iyasu* was probably written by *azzaž Sinoda*³³. It was composed some years after the death of the King during the reign of Tewoflos (1708–11). It is dedicated to the veneration of *aše Iyasu I* as a martyr-King.³⁴ In this regard, Conti Rossini, states that when *aše Tewoflos* decided to honour the memory of *aše Iyasu I* and canonize him on the second anniversary of his death, Sinoda was reappointed to write the vita of *aše Iyasu*, a piece of hagiography rather than historiography.³⁵ The hagiography of *aše* was translated into Italian by Conti Rossini in 1942. Conti Rossini in his translation of this hagiography used only one manuscript witness.

Meanwhile, his chronicle was initially written first by Hawarya Krəstos³⁶. After Hawarəya Krəstos's death in 1700, *Iyasu I* chronicle was continued by *azzaž Zäwäld Maryam* until 1704 and *aše Iyasu* replaced him by Sinoda, who continued writing the chronicle until *Iyasu's* dethronement by Täklä Haymanot. It narrates the king's political career, victories and good deeds. The chronicles of *aše Iyasu I* was edited and translated into French by Guidi in 1903, on the basis of two manuscripts witness, namely d'Abbadie 167 and Bodl. Aeth. 31.³⁷

³² This episode is found in the *Sənkəssar* manuscript BritLib Orient. 660, በዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ አዕረፈ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወሰማዕት፡ ተመሳሊሁ፡ ለአቤል፡ ዘተክዕወ፡ ደሙ፡ በዓመ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ሰማዕተ፡ ወለድዎ፡ በፆም፡ ወበጸሎት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ዘብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ወንግሥት፡ ሰብለ፡ ወንጌል፡ ፈራሂተ፡ አግዚአብሔር፡፡ ('On this day died *aše Iyasu I*, King and martyr, who was the likeness of Abel, whose blood was poured out through violence. *aše Yohannəs*, the righteous King of the country of Ethiopia, and his God-fearing Queen Säblä Wängle, got this [man] *Iyasu* by fasting and by prayer). It ends with the words በረከተ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ሰማዕት፡ የሁሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ወልዱ፡ ንጉሥን፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወምስሌኒሁ፡ ሰማዕያን፡ ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡፡ (May the blessing of the prayer of this *aše Iyasu I* be with his son our King *Iyasu I*, and with us who hear [his history] for ever and ever!).

³³ He was an 18th century royal historiographer. He penned the last six chapters for the events until 5 June 1704 and a short 'Second Account' (*Zena kalə*) about *Iyasu I's* entering Gondar. He lived as a cleric at Dabra Bərhan Səllase cathedral during the reign of *aše Täklä Haymanot*. He resumed his pen as historiographer only in the reign of *aše Bakaffa*, in 1721, and was granted the official title of *sähafə tə'əzaz* as late as 1723. He also wrote the first 27 chapters of the Chronicle of *Bäkaffa*. 'Sinoda', *EAE*, IV (2010), 668a–669a (Sevir Chernetsov and Denis Nosnitsin); See also 'Historiography', *EAE*, III (2007), 42 (Sevir Chernetsov).

³⁴ Bosc-Tiessé 2007, 250.

³⁵ Conti Rossini 1942, 65. There is also an extremely interesting passage in the chronicle of *Bäkaffa* about Sinoda who composed a song for *aše Iyasu I* which is possibly part of this hagiography. It reads ወዓዲ፡ ደረሰ፡ መዝሙረ፡ ሐዲ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ሐዲስ፡ ባሕቱ፡ አግዚአብሔር፡ ያዕርፍ፡ ነፍሱ፡ ውስተ፡ ሕዕነ፡ አብርሃም፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ወያዕቆብ፡፡ (Besides, he composed the psalm of *haše Iyasu* the new martyr. However God rests his soul in the burst of Abraham, Yəšəhaq and Ya'əqob). Guidi 1903, 283.

³⁶ He was a member of the Gondarine court and royal chronicler. He wrote the chronicle of *aše Iyasu I* until his death. Guidi 1903, 84.

³⁷ d'Abbadie 1859, 17; Dillmann 1848, 81.

However, both hagiography (hereafter HI) and chronicle of *aše* Iyasu I (hereafter CI) were, belonging to different genres, written by dramatizing and narrating the history of the time by relating the deeds of the King with the history of the Saints in the Bible. These documents have made considerable contributions to present different levels of intertextuality and understand the history of late Medieval Ethiopia in particular and the comprehensive one in general. They are well known to scholars and students of Ethiopian studies. Both are rich mine of information not only for those interested in the history of *aše* Iyasu I and of Gondarine period at large, but also for those interested in Gə'əz language and literature, the history and theological disputes of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, church painting, martyrdom and settlement and so on.

To the knowledge of the researcher, no one to have compared the chronicle of king Iyasu I with his hagiography, especially in the specific subject lexical matters of the texts. There are of course two philological works which have mainly focused on edited and translated the texts into European languages. Guidi (1903) and Conti Rossini (1942) made a significant contribution to the edition and translation of the hagiography and the chronicle into French and Italian, respectively. They do not examine the contents and textual features that appear in the two genres of texts. The main purpose of this paper, therefore, is to explore the intertextuality features between the two genres of texts. In this respect, the lexical relationship between the texts have examined to gain further understanding of the HI and CI as a component of the Ethiopian literary tradition.

In this article, I shall try to discuss the history of *aše* Iyasu I and his chronicle and hagiography. Then, I shall attempt to examine the lexical parallel found between the two texts. An attempt will be made to identify the words and phrases that describe the courage and sacred personality of the king in both texts.

4. Methodology

This study has employed the approaches of textual analysis to gain an understanding of the textual features of HI and CI. This includes aspects of the text's history and content. With the involvement of such approaches to textual analysis, this study has been done to examine the lexical relationships between the two selected base texts by looking at the words and phrases that describe the king's courage and sacred personality.

4.1 The source of data

The data for this study have been drawn from the literary sources. The HI and CI are the principal literary sources for the article, which are both written in Gə‘əz. Much effort was made to collect all the existing manuscripts of both texts from various churches and monasteries. Three manuscript witnesses of the hagiography and two manuscripts of the chronicle can be found and listed below as sources with their attribution of the place, where the manuscripts are currently existed in physical.

The hagiography of *aše* Iyasu I:

A. . Translated by Conti Rossini 1942, pp. 65-128.

The text of the HI was translated and published by Conti Rossini in 1942; the source of his publication was Däbrä Bərhan Šəllase church in Gondär. It was edited on the basis of only one manuscript. It is necessary to appreciate and acknowledge the work of Conti Rossini for his contribution to translating the text that has used as an important source in their research and published works. The edition along with an Italian translation was published in the *Journal of Revista degli studi orientali* in 1942. It is identified with the title ‘*Iyasu I, red’Etiochia e martire*’ (‘Iyasu I, King of Ethiopia and Martyr’). I have searched to find the manuscript that Conti Rossini had used, but I couldn’t find the location of the manuscript at the time of research. This work is composed of three main parts: the introduction, the Gə‘əz text and the Italian translation. He has not mentioned the date of the composition of the manuscript that he used, for unknown reasons. However, the content of the text provides a crucial clue to the date of its composition. It contains information about the name of the commissioner, a request for prayers and God’s blessing for the commissioner. *Aše* Yohannəs IV’s name is mentioned in the following formulaic sentence ጸሎቱ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ሰማዕተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወመናኔ፡ መንግሥት፡ ክቡር፡ ሰም፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ኢየሱ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወምስለ፡ ኩልነ፡ ሰማዕያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም።³⁸ (‘The prayer and blessing of this righteous martyr, despiser of the world, honoured by name, our King Iyasu, be with our King Yohannəs and with all of us who listen, for all ages.’). Given the fact that the text was commissioned by *aše* Yohannəs, one might assume that the text might be dated to the reign of *aše* Yohannəs IV (r. 1872-1889).

³⁸ Conti Rossini 1942, 95.

B. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Éth. 338, Grèbaut 1941, 1 (no.34), ff. 1v 56r.

This manuscript is found in the collection of Griaule in Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*.³⁹ It is measured with 168mm length and 137mm width. It has 61 folios of which four of them blank at the beginning. The *Mälk* part of the hagiography extends from f. 50r-56r. It has two columns with 17 lines. It is bound with leather. The handwriting is bold and clear. The writing style is *G^wəllh*⁴⁰ on modern parchment with holes and sewing. The text is important in that it contains the *Mälk* section missing in IES. The scribe of this manuscript is not indicated. In his catalogue, Grèbaut stated that the date of the composition is the 20th century.



Figure 1 Beginning of the text of the Gädlä Adyam Sägäd Iyasu housed in BnF library

C. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), IES. 693.

³⁹ The Griaule collection of 369 items came to Paris in 1933 as a result of an ethnographic and linguistic mission, under the direction of marcel Griaule and was acquired almost wholly at Gondar. It consists of Gə'əz and Amharic Manuscripts Grèbaut 1941.

⁴⁰ *G^wəllh* script, mid- 17th to the second half of the 18th century. The script of this period is the most elegant. The characters are evenly shaped and clear. This is the script of the luxury manuscripts of the Gondarine period. Uhlig 1990, 15.

This manuscript of the hagiography housed in the IES at Addis Ababa University. This manuscript contains 68 folios (136 pages), the folio measures about 17 cm by 12 cm. Each folio consists of two columns of text which are written in a fine bold hand; the number of lines to the column is 15. The titles, the King's name and the angels' name are written in red ink. There is no indication of the author. The manuscript is microfilmed by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library and known as EMMML 1584. In his catalogue, Getatchew Haile indicated that the date of the manuscript is the nineteenth century. In the last column, as in the Conti Rossini's edition, it is stated that *aše* Yoḥannēs who prayed for, could be emperor Yoḥannēs IV (r. 1872-1889).⁴¹ This manuscript has a unique feature for the part dealing with *Mälk* (literally 'Image') of the King has been eliminated.

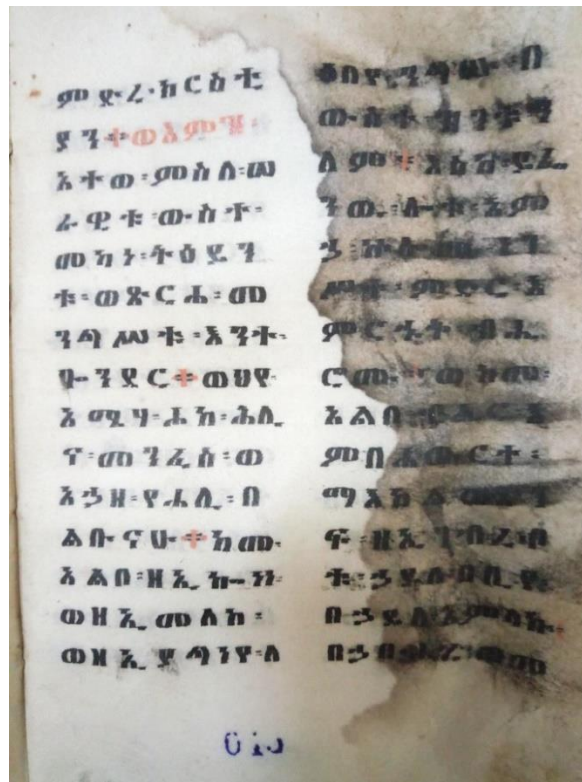


Figure 2 Showing water damage of the Gädlä Adyam Säḡäd Iyasu housed in IES library

⁴¹ Getatchew Haile 1981, 75.

The Chronicle of *aše* Iyasu I:

A. Translated and edited by Ignazio Guidi, Paris 1903, pp. 57-269.

It was first edited and translated into French by Ignazio Guidi in 1903 on the basis of two manuscripts, namely Paris, BN d'Abbadie 167, nineteenth-century and Oxford, BB; Cod, Aeth.31, eighteenth century, which appeared together with the chronicle of *aše* Yohannēs I and *aše* Bākaffa under the title *Annales Iohannis I, Iyāsu I, Bakaffa (Choronicle of Yohannēs I, Iyasu I, Bākaffa)*. The chronicle was written in Gə'əz and covers three hundred forty-six pages in a modern printed book, the part of the chronicle of *aše* Iyasu I covers two hundred eight pages from pp. 59 – 267.

B. Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), NL. 513.

The second chronicle housed in the NALA at Addis Ababa. It is written on paper, being about 31 by 21 cms. It contains 61 pages with one column on each page. The chronicle is written in Gə'əz and the history of *aše* Iyasu I begin on page 1 and ends on page 61. According to NALA catalogue, it was written in the twenty century. The name of the copyist and date of the composition is not mentioned in the texts. The inside cover of the text is stamped by the seal, which mentioned the name of Emperor Haile Səlassie I (r. 1930-74). The text also contains the chronicle of *aše* Iyasu I and *aše* Bakaffa.

Among the extant copies of the HI and the CI, Conti Rossini's edition and Guidi's edition is selected as the base text for this article for three reasons. First, both manuscript witnesses differ considerably in its length and some other minor details. However, the others manuscripts agreed on the basic outline of the story. Second, the most important point to be aware of is that Conti Rossini's and Guidi's work is a product of scholarly critically edited text accompanied with translation; their transmission from the authentic text near to the original has been more or less straightforward. The edited manuscript offers a more promising field of textual analysis work than an unedited manuscript does.⁴² In this regard, contemporary philologists in the field of Ethiopian studies have given more credit to those edited texts. They argue that the edited texts provide specific facts regarding the history of textual tradition and knowledge about the archetypal text. In this regard, the edited texts have fertile ground for conducting a wide range of

⁴² Lusini 2005, 91-106.

textual analysis works on the textual evidence. The third reason is the suitable text layout and its accessibility on paper.

4.2 The Techniques of Analyzing Data

This study has involved the approach of content analysis to answer the research question. Content Analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within the text.⁴³ The data were classified and analyzed descriptively. The analysis presented in the aspects namely shared lexical features analysis. In shared lexical features analysis, identify the shared lexical features of both texts through the analysis of the words and phrases that describe the King's foundational character traits such as bravery and faithfulness.

5. Data Presentation and Analysis

The nexus between the HI and CI can be understood through the inquiry of the features and frequency of particular units of language in recounting the personal qualities and character of the main narrative subject, *aṣe* Iyasu I. Hence, the motive of this discussion is to examine the lexical parallel found between the HI and the CI.⁴⁴ For this purpose, words and phrases that seem to have described the King's royal courage and sacred personality are selected as the main case study for this article for four reasons. First, in both genres, the King's traits of courage and faithfulness have been described with full attention. Second, giving such royal qualities was one of the important literary themes in the long historiographic and hagiographic traditions. Third, such qualities were identified in the Solomonic monarchs, martyrs and Saints⁴⁵. Fourth, the lexical features are not only evident in the author's choice of words and phrase but also in the degree of correspondences between texts.⁴⁶ In view of these factors, therefore, a brief

⁴³ Krippendorff 1980, 6.

⁴⁴ Basically, there are two competing views on 'philology'. Some scholars view philology from the perspective of textual criticism. In this view, philology focuses on written documents and seeks to hypothetical text which is assumed to be near to the lost original through the analysis of textual traditions, production of critical editions, and representation of the whole manuscript tradition and its history. On the other hand others scholars have viewed philology as a discipline that encompassing every aspect of language relating to the study of written text. In view of this, philology is an over-arching approach to the study of texts and their interpretation; looking at the text through the lenses of linguistics, history and philosophy and the like. In this way, philology as a discipline with other auxiliary disciplines can play its proper role in analyzing those features of the text related to the language of the text, including its lexical features. Therefore, in studying written texts, philologists often examine the lexical features of the given texts. See: Gumbrecht 2003, 5; Elliott 1956, 158.

⁴⁵ Pankhurst 1987, 25-88.

⁴⁶ Kwon 2016, 12.

comparative analysis of words and phrase that described the King’s two foundational royal qualities is made below inorder to determine whether the two texts differ or coincide in their lexical features.⁴⁷

5.1 Words and Phrases referring to the King’s Courage

In both HI and CI, there are various words and phrases, referring the aspects of the royal might and courage of *aše* Iyasu I. The possession of royal might and courage was the common traits of influential Ethiopian Kings in various historiographic and hagiographic accounts through the use of distinctive words and phrases. Likewise, *aše* Iyasu I, one of powerful monarchs in the seventeenth century, is known by his royal might and courage with distinctive words and phrases.

Both the HI and CI indicate that *aše* Iyasu I led his soldiers being in frontline of them in each and every battle he fought. In most of the battles that he fought, he almost always emerges as the victor. In this sense, the author of both texts employs carefully selected imagery words and phrase to depict the military career and achievements of the King. For the purpose of comparison, the distribution and frequency of each word and phrase describing the King’s trait is examined separately. Accordingly, these words and phrase s, both in the HI and CI are intended to attribute the King’s courage as presented in the subsections with illustrative tables here below:

5.2 Words and phrases referring to King’s Courage in the HI

There are various words and phrase in HI which are intended to signify the invincible royal courage of the King as indicated in the text:

Table 2: Words referring to the King’s courage in HI

No.	Word	Translation	Frequency
1	አንበሳ	‘Lion’	Three times ⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Lexical features are a syntactic category for elements that are part of the lexicon of a language. These elements are at the word and the phrase level. The author should choose the diction with appropriate connotation to express the idea that he/she wants to show. The authors always use aesthetics and poetic words and phrases to give effect on their works. Thus, the choices of words and phrases give understanding particularly the system that lies behind the text. Ronald 1972, 46.

⁴⁸ Conti Rossini 1942, 82, 89, 91.

2	ብርቅ	‘Iron’	Two times ⁴⁹
3	ንስር	‘Eagle’	Two times ⁵⁰
4	ወይጠል	‘Gazelle’	Two times ⁵¹
5	ወራዝ	‘Youth’	Three times ⁵²

The author of the HI intentionally uses figurative words to refer to the courage and power of the King. This is apparently seen from the words: እንባ (‘Lion’), ብርቅ (‘Iron’), ንስር (‘Eagle’), ወይጠል (‘Gazelle’) and ወራዝ (‘Youth’). The word Lion is used here to demonstrate the King’s bravery and fighting skills. In Ethiopian culture, lion is not only designate as a sign of courage but also specifically refers to a successful person. Therefore, a person is usually called and named as a lion to indicate success and dignity. In most cases, the courage of the Solomonic monarchs was compared with the lion.⁵³

Similarly, the author employed words: ንስር (‘Eagle’) and ወይጠል (‘Gazelle’) to portray the King’s heroic deeds and appearance with the distinctive wild animals. The author used these wild animals to extol the King’s swift military tactics, unexpected and forced war campaigns, where he surprisingly marches to the most dangerous areas to fight his enemies and subdue his rivals. It is attested in his decisive battle of Gibe state in 1704 against Dilamo, the leader of Gibe state. The animal ንስር (‘Eagle’) has a specific cultural reference in Ethiopian tradition; for instance, the term is highly associated with intelligence and far-sighted behavior of a person. .

The author also uses other words in the text to express the King’s strength. He describes him as a hero with qualities such as: ወራዝ (‘Youth’), ብርቅ (‘Iron’) indicates that a person is physically full, healthy and strong. According to some traditional interpreting the word ብርቅ (‘Iron’) symbolizes a man of high power. Similarly, these four words appear frequently in the royal chronicles of Solomonic Kings to describe the courage and might qualities of those Kings.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Conti Rossini 1942, 82, 86.

⁵⁰ Conti Rossini 1942, 75, 83.

⁵¹ Conti Rossini 1942, 72, 82.

⁵² Conti Rossini 1942, 68, 85, 91.

⁵³ Most notably *ase* Tewdros I is mentioned and called “son of Lion”. ‘Tewodros II’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 930a-936a, esp. 930 (Donald Crummey- Denis Nosnitsin- Evgenia Sokolinskia).

⁵⁴ Getie Gelaye 2009, 1353.

Apart from the above words, there are also considerable phrases used in various sections of HI to reveal the King's courage and boldness, as can be seen from the table below:

Table 3: Phrase referring the King's bravery in HI

No.	Phrase	Translation	Frequency
1	ጸብዓ፡ መዋዒ	'Victorious of the battle'	Two times ⁵⁵
2	ልዕለ፡ ግርማ	'Highest of the majesty'	Two times ⁵⁶
3	ኅያላን፡ መዋዒ	'Victorious of the mighty youth'	Two times ⁵⁷
4	መደንገ፡ ግርማ	'Majesty of the horrible'	Two times ⁵⁸
5	ቃተሌ፡ እልፍ	'Killer of the thousands'	One time ⁵⁹

As it has been explained in the above phrase s, the bravery of *aše* Iyasu I is portrayed in connection with his strong pride. The author of the HI frequently refers to the King as ጸብዓ፡ መዋዒ ('Victorious of the battle'), ኅያላን፡ መዋዒ ('Victorious of the mighty youth') and ቃተሌ፡ እልፍ ('Killer of the thousands'), to illustrate the military achievement of the King. The King's boldness also presented frequently through the phrase s: ልዕለ፡ ግርማሁ፡ ('Highest of the majesty') and መደንገ፡ ግርማ፡ ('Majesty of the horrible'). On the frequent basis, the author of the royal historiographies employed these phrases in the narration of the Kings' deeds.

5.3 Words and phrase referring the King's courage in the CI

The author of CI, like the HI, uses a variety of words and phrases to describe the King's courage. These related lists of words and phrase and their frequency figures are shown in the following two tables:

Table 4: Words referring the King's bravery in the CI

No.	Word	Translation	Frequency
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⁵⁵ Conti Rossini 1942, 83, 90.

⁵⁶ Conti Rossini 1942, 72, 91.

⁵⁷ Conti Rossini 1942, 83, 91.

⁵⁸ Conti Rossini 1942, 82, 84.

⁵⁹ Conti Rossini 1942, 91.

1	አንበሳ	‘Lion’	Two times ⁶⁰
2	ድብ	‘Bear’	One time ⁶¹
3	ወሬዛ	‘Youth’	Three times ⁶²
4	ንስር	‘Eagle’	One time ⁶³
5	ግስላ	‘Panther’	One time ⁶⁴
6	መስተጋድል	‘Patriotic’	Two times ⁶⁵

Similar to the HI, the author of the CI frequently compares the King’s bravery quality with distinctive wild animals like አንበሳ (‘Lion’) and ንስር (‘Eagle’). Contrary to the author of the HI, the chronicler of *aše* Iyasu I compares the King with ግስላ (‘Panther’) and ድብ (‘Bear’) to describe the King’s fearless character. These expressions show the King as a brave warrior who seems to have great strength and prowess in battle. In Ethiopian culture, people associate those animals with heroic deeds. In similar vein, *aše* Iyasu I’s personality as a brave King is further attested in words such as: መስተጋድል (‘Patriotic’) and ወሬዛ (‘Youth’). The author frequently uses these words in the narration of the CI to exaggerate the King’s might.

Apart from the aforementioned words, there are also distinctive phrases, composed in the CI to describe similar related characteristics of the King’s bravery, as indicated in the table here below:

Table 5: Phrase referring the King’s bravery in the CI

No.	Phrase	Translation	Frequency
1	ወሬዛ፡ ወራዙት	‘Chief of patriotic’	Three times ⁶⁶
2	ምክህ፡ ሠራዊት	‘Reliance of the army’	Two time ⁶⁷
3	ወግዙፈ፡ ከሣድ	‘Vigorous neck’	One time ⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Guidi 1903, 59, 62.

⁶¹ Guidi 1903, 76.

⁶² Guidi 1903, 76, 62, 129.

⁶³ Guidi 1903, 130.

⁶⁴ Guidi 1903, 77,

⁶⁵ Guidi 1903, 77, 130.

⁶⁶ Guidi 1903, 116, 130, 161.

⁶⁷ Guidi 1903, 116. 161.

⁶⁸ Guidi 1903, 137.

4	ወምክህ፡ ወራዙት	‘Reliance of the patriots’	Two times ⁶⁹
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The author of the CI, unlike the HI, uses a number of phrases to assert the King’s unlimited power, who lauded him as ወሬዛ፡ ወራዙት (‘Chief of patriotic’), ምክህ፡ ሠራዊት (‘Reliance of the army’), ወምክህ፡ ወራዙት (‘Reliance of the patriots’), and ወግዙፈ፡ ክሣድ (‘Vigorous neck’). These kinds of honorific titles can be appearing in other Solomonic Kings’ royal chronicles too.⁷⁰ The phrase ወግዙፈ፡ ክሣድ (‘Vigorous neck’) stands out among the other phrase because it is an idiomatic expression. It is mentioned in CI in connection with his victory over the Gibe state. It marks the King’s in a good status; it also indicates that the King is man of highest prestige; therefore, he is considered a figure to be respected.

5.4 Word and phrase referring to the King’s sacred personality

In addition to his courage the other important personal character trait that both texts show to mark *aše* Iyasu I’s personality is his dedication to the faith. The author of both texts explicitly described him as a model of piety and devotion to God, though the author of the CI put very little effort into describing the religious deeds of the King, compared to his hagiography. As is evident in both HI and CI, both texts use carefully selected imagery words and phrase referring to the King’s dedication to the faith and religious undertones surrounding him. They used words and phrase showing the King’s sacred qualities are presented as under:

5.5 Words and phrase referring to the King’s sacred personality in the HI

Words and phrase are evident in the HI to unfold to the King’s sacred personality as presented with illustrative tables here below:

⁶⁹ Guidi 1903, 137, 183.

⁷⁰ Throne names connoted a different, secular emphasis, utilizing hyperbole to create impressions of the awe men felt towards Solomonic King s or the domination they claimed over other peoples or monarchs. From the 16th cent. on, throne names were all constructed from the Gə‘əz root Sägäd (‘he bowed, prostrated himself, submitted’). The throne names of Gonderian King s literally rendered as: ’Alām Sägäd (‘the world submitted’), A’əlaf Sägäd (‘thousands submitted’), Adyam Sägäd (‘the confines of the earth submitted’), Lə’Yul Sägäd (‘the exalted submitted’), Asrar Sägäd (‘the enemies submitted’), Šähay Sägäd (‘the sun bowed’), Adbar Sägäd (‘the mountains bowed’), Mesihe Sägäd (‘the anointed submitted’). Berry 1976, 155. As we see, a certain tradition can be traced in the choice of royal names.

Table 6: Words referring to the King's dedication to the faith in the HI

No.	Word	Translation	Frequency
1	ቅዱስ፡	‘Holy’	Three times ⁷¹
2	ሰማዕት፡	‘Martyr’	Six times ⁷²
3	መሲህ፡	‘Messiah’	One time ⁷³

From the table, we can see that the author of the HI focuses on the King's dedication to the faith of Christianity and shed light on this matter; he enhances the sanctity status of the King with qualities such as: ቅዱስ (‘Holy’), ሰማዕት (‘Martyr’), መሲህ (‘Messiah’).

The word ቅዱስ (‘Holy’) generally signifies persons who have reached the high status through a lifelong religious devotion.⁷⁴ Usually, this title is used mostly in the Ethiopic Bible and applied to call the Biblical figures like prophets, Apostles, Saints and martyrs. In the context of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, the title of ቅዱስ (‘Holy’) is given to holy persons who have consecrated *tabot* in their names and composed the *Gädl* for their name. In addition to this, the term appears in the Ethiopian royal chronicles. It was traditionally given for the Kings who sought religious legitimization of their Kingships. Among the prominent Kings are Kaleb, Lalibäla, Yəmrəhannä Krəstos, Nä’k^wəto Lă’ab and Gälawdewos.⁷⁵ Here, the term is specifically used by the author of the HI to indicate the King's holiness character, which might have connected with the events that the King ignored earthly values and decided to live the life of an ascetic.⁷⁶ In the same manner, the author also emphasizes the King's close relation with God such as speaking to Holy Trinity in person.⁷⁷ These are probably the main reasons for the author who revered the King as a saint, though the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwəḥədo Church has not yet been considered him as a saint.

In a similar way, the author also praises the King's sanctity quality, using the word: ሰማዕት (‘Martyr’). The term is derived from the verb ሰምዐ (‘hear, hear of, heed, give heed, obey,

⁷¹ Conti Rossini 1942, 68, 74, 83.

⁷² Conti Rossini 1942, 67, 68, 89, 90, 94, 95.

⁷³ Conti Rossini 1942, 94.

⁷⁴ Leslau 1991, 423.

⁷⁵ ‘Saints, Christian’, EAe, IV (2010), 476b, 480a, esp. 479a (Denis Nosnitsin).

⁷⁶ See: Gə‘əz text of Conti Rossini 1942, 54.

⁷⁷ Conti Rossini 1942, 54.

be obedient, listen, hearken, perceive, understand, bear witness and testify.’)⁷⁸ In the context of Christianity, it generally signifies a person who gave his/her own life for the Christians faith, a person who suffered exile and imprisonment for his/her beliefs. The term ሰግዕት (‘Martyr’) with the meaning ‘witness’ appears already in Ethiopic Bible. In the New Testament, for example, it is applied to Jesus Christ, accepting death punishment for his sake. In the Christian Oriental tradition of ‘King-as-martyr’ was known in Ethiopia through writings in their honor in *Gädl*, Ethiopic *Sənkəssar* entry and also in others historical records. There are at least two cases where the title ‘Kings-as-martyr’ is given to the Kings who were killed untimely and violently. The first one was Gälawdewos who died at the hands of the Muslims. The second King was *aše* Iyasu I who was killed in conspiracy.⁷⁹ The author of the HI specifically reports that the King was belonged to the Tāwahədo sect of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, for which he was murdered violently at the hands of his son.⁸⁰ The pro-qəbat partisans were intimately involved in planning and carrying out the conspiracy.⁸¹ This is probably one of the reasons why the author referred him as ‘King-as-martyr’. The author of the HI, on the other hand, favored the King, for him, *aše* Iyasu I was a martyr.

Another emphatic word through which *aše* Iyasu I’s sacred personality is illustrated in the HI can be found in the word: መሲህ (‘Messiah’). The term መሲህ (‘Messiah’) as ‘one who anoints’ where he traces the origin to Greek ‘*χριστός*’, was taken over into Gə‘əz via Arabic. It derived from the verb መስሐ which means ‘anoint’.⁸² It generally signifies a person of authority, a senior in the spiritual religious spheres. The word with the meaning ‘anointed’ appears in the Ethiopic Bible and refers the main biblical figures such as priests, prophets and Kings. In Ethiopian literary tradition, the most common usage of the title ‘anointed’ was relation to the Solomonic monarchs, who were claimed decent from King Solomon and the queen of Sheba (Makədda), which is the ‘root of David’.⁸³ All the monarchs supposed to have been chosen by God and anointed in His name, for which reason they received the title of መሲህ (‘Messiah’). As the Solomonic King, the same is true for *aše* Iyasu I. Moreover, the author of the HI also uses the

⁷⁸ Leslau 1991, 501.

⁷⁹ Marrassini 2012, 392.

⁸⁰ A conspiracy resulted in the enthronement of the King’s concubine son Täklä Haymanot, against the King’s will.

⁸¹ This episode is also found in *Sənkəssar* entry of *aše* Iyasu I. Cp. MS London, British Library, Or. 660, Wright 1877 (no. 233), folio 2r. The full text of *aše* Iyasu I’s *Sənkəssar* entry is attached in Appendix one as raw data at the back of the thesis for reference.

⁸² Leslau 1991, 363.

⁸³ Pankhurst 1987, 28.

term to associates the King’s appearance with Biblical figures such as Joshua, Gideon, Samson, Ezekiel and Job. Likewise, *aše* Iyasu I is presented as a Christ-like figure, the author of HI draws parallels between the King’s life and the life of Christ. According to his hagiography, the King’s body stopped the storm, just as Christ calms the storm⁸⁴. Just as a Joshua freed the people of Israelites from the slavery in Egypt⁸⁵, so did the Christian freed from the oppression of non-Christian by *aše* Iyasu I⁸⁶. *aše* Iyasu I freed the Christians from Gibe and settled them to their homeland. More specifically, the term መሲህ (‘Messiah’) also signifies holiness. These give the reader impression to assure the perfection of the King. Therefore, the term መሲህ (‘Messiah’) is presented here not only to magnify the King’s holiness quality, but also maintained his political legitimacy.

Apart from the aforementioned words, there are also diverse phrase s, composed in the HI to describe similar related characteristics of the King’s dedication to the faith of Christianity, as indicated in the table below:

Table 7: Phrases referring to the King’s sacred personality in the HI

No.	Phrase	Translation	Frequency
1	መናኔ፡ መንግሥት	‘Despise of Kingdom’	Three times ⁸⁷
2	ሠርሃ፡ ክሕነት፡	‘The ornament of priesthood’	One time ⁸⁸
3	ለማዕተ፡ ደም፡ ክቡር	‘Valued blood witness’	Four times ⁸⁹
4	ማንቶተ፡ ሥጋነ	‘The light of our flesh’	One time ⁹⁰
5	ዐቃቢነ፡ ትጉህ	‘Our diligent shepherd’	One time ⁹¹

The author of the HI praises the faithfulness qualities of the King referring to him as መናኔ፡ መንግሥት (‘Despise of the Kingdom’) is an emphatic title used in Gə‘əz to address the

⁸⁴ Matthew 8:23-27.

⁸⁵ Joshua 1:2.

⁸⁶ Conti Rossini 1942, 74.

⁸⁷ Conti Rossini 1942, 67, 68, 95.

⁸⁸ Conti Rossini 1942, 92.

⁸⁹ Conti Rossini 1942,67, 68, 87, 90.

⁹⁰ Conti Rossini 1942, 87.

⁹¹ Conti Rossini 1942, 88.

Ethiopian Kings. The term is made up of two Gə‘əz words መናኔ (‘Despise’) and መንግሥት (‘Kingdom’). The first component, which was used independently as a title, is derived from the root word መከ (‘To despise’). It generally signifies a person who rejected earthly values. The second component is specifically referring ‘Kingship’. In Ethiopia literary traditions, the title was used to address the King Kaleb in connection with his condemnation of earthly values.⁹² Likewise, the author of the HI used the phrase to addresses *aṣe* Iyasu. The King’s rejection of his Kingship and lived as a hermit in Cäqla Mänzo is probably the main historical reason why the author of the HI refers him as መናኔ: መንግሥት (‘Despise of the Kingdom’).

Similarly, the author of the HI uses carefully selected phrase ሰማዕተ: ደም: ክቡር (‘Valued blood witness’) intended to demonstrate the King is a uniquely chosen person principally because he is martyr King. The phrase ሰማዕተ: ደም: ክቡር (‘Valued blood witness’) is a generic title that usually denotes Saints and martyrs. In the context of Ethiopian traditional church, the title is applied to the Saints/martyrs who have sacrificed their life to religious causes. Thus, Saints/martyrs are called ሰማዕተ: ደም: ክቡር: in their *Gädl* and Ethiopic *Sənkəssar* to venerate their martyrdom. A rare case among Solomnic Kings, as *aṣe* Iyasu I appears associated with the title of ‘ሰማዕተ: ደም: ክቡር:’ in his hagiography. This was perhaps the result of his tragic death; the author of the HI rewarded him with the title ሰማዕተ: ደም: ክቡር:.⁹³

Aṣe Iyasu I’s characterization as a faithfulness King is even further attested to in the phrase such as: ሠርሕ: ክሕነት: (‘The ornament of our priesthood’), ማኅቶተ: ሥጋነ: (‘The light of our flesh’) and ወወቃቢነ: ትጉህ: (‘Our diligent shepherd’). In similar manner, these emphatic phrases are repeatedly mentioned in both the hagiographic and historiographic of Ethiopic literatures to assert the divine rights of the Saints and Kings respectively.

⁹² The *Kəbrä nägästä* presents Kaleb as an ideal King -monk, stating that: ‘...God shall accept him gladly, for he shall not defile his body after he hath returned, but he shall go into a monastery in purity of heart. And he shall make King his youngest son, whose name is Gäbrä Mäsqäl, and he himself shall shut himself up [in a monastery].’ In fact, the Akumite Emperor obtains the title of monk-King due to his major role in restoring the Ethiopian King dom to its ancient limits as they were established by Mənilək. See: Budge 1932, 198.

⁹³ His *Sənkəssar* reading also acknowledge of his martyrdom. This is clearly evident in the following excerpts of the *Sənkəssar*: አመ: ለ፩ጥቅምት: በዛቲ: ዕለት: አዕረፈ: ኢየሱ: ንጉሥ: ወሰማዕት: ተመሳሊሁ: ለአቤል: ዘተከዕወ: ደሙ: በዓመፃ: ለዝንቱ: ኢየሱ: ሰማዕት: (‘5 *Təqəmt*, on this day died Iyasu I, King and martyr, who was the likeness of Abel, whose blood was poured out through violence.’). Cp. MS London, British Library, Or. 660, Wright 1877 (no. 233), folio 2r.

5.6 Words and phrase referring the King's sacred personality in the CI

Similarly, the King's faithfulness in the CI is an important feature which marks his personality. In the CI, *aše* Iyasu I is not only brave, but also pious since his early age. In this regard, the author of the CI uses carefully selected words and phrase to praises the King's sacred personality as indicated in the following tables.

Table 8: Words referring to the King's dedication to the faith in the CI

No.	Phrase	Translation	Frequency
1	መሲሕ፡	'Messiah'	One time ⁹⁴
2	መልአክ፡	'Angel'	One time ⁹⁵

Similarly, the word መሲሕ ('Messiah') also appeared in the CI, in similar context of the HI, to magnify the King's sanctity and political legitimacy. The term is used in connection with ውኅበ፡ ተለወ፡ ኪያሁ፡ እግዚአ፡ ወመሢሕ፡ ወንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ አድያም፡ ሰገድ፡ ... ('And from those who followed their lord, the anointed one and the King of Kings Adyam Sägäd' ...).⁹⁶ Here, the term መሲሕ ('Messiah') is not only praise the King's deep devotion to the Christian faith but also upholds the King's appointee of God to rule the people. Considering similar term appeared in both texts, it is perhaps the result of the author of HI influenced by the King's chronicle for his writing without making any effort to standardize the word extracted.

Contrary to the HI, the author of the CI compares the King with መልአክ ('Angel') to magnify the King's religious personality. It refers to agents who carry out God's will. The term መልአክ ('Angel') defines as 'messenger, attendant, deacon, minster, apostle'. It is derived from the Gə'əz verb ለአክ ('to send') which means etymologically 'send, commission'.⁹⁷ The term መልአክ ('Angel') frequently mentioned in the Bible to indicate superhuman or heavenly being who serves as God's messenger in the world. It mentions in the CI in connection with ሐመ፡ ንስቲተ፡ ሕማመ፡ ንጉሥ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ ወመፍቀሬ፡ ጾም፡ ወጸሎት፡ ወክሉለ፡ ጌራ፡ ዘኒሩት፡ ወትዕግሥት፡

⁹⁴ Guidi 1905, 173.

⁹⁵ Guidi 1905, 61.

⁹⁶ Guidi 1905, 173.

⁹⁷ Leslau 1991, 303.

ወሥርገወ፡ ንጽሕ፡ አምሳለ፡ መላእክት።⁹⁸ (‘The King fell ill with a minor disease , loving the Orthodox faith and loving fast and prayer, crowned with a crown of politeness and patience and decorated with purity, like angels.’). In this context, the author of the CI used the term to assert the King’s representativeness of God over his people. As discussed above, the author consistently depicts the King according to the biblical Kings and prophets. Consequently, it is not surprising that the author equates the King’s personality with angel, who serves as God’s messengers to men. Therefore, the chronicler used this term is not only to advocate the King’s religious personality worthy but also to assert the divine right of the King.

Apart from the aforementioned words, there are also distinctive phrase s, composed in the CI to describe similar related characteristics of the King’s sacred personality, as indicated in the table below:

Table 9: Phrase referring to the King’s sacred personality in the CI

No.	Phrase	Translation	Frequency
1	መንኖ፡ ጥሪት፡	‘Despise of his wealth’	One time ⁹⁹
2	ጽድቅ፡ ቃሉ፡	‘His real word’	One time ¹⁰⁰
3	ወእመን፡ ነገሩ፡	‘His trustworthy word’	One time ¹⁰¹
4	ወብዙኝ፡ ምሕረቱ፡	‘His plenty of mercy’	Two times ¹⁰²
5	ንጽሐ፡ ልብናሁ፡	‘His steadfast mind’	Two times ¹⁰³
6	ርትዕት፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡	‘His religion is right’	One time ¹⁰⁴
7	ወርኅቀ፡ መዓቱ፡	‘His anger is far away’	Two times ¹⁰⁵
8	ብርሃን፡ አሕዛብ	‘The light of the heathen’	One time ¹⁰⁶

As has been apparent from the above phrase s, the CI also shows faithfulness as the most distinguishing character of aṣe Iyasu I’s personality. Those phrase are mentioned in CI in

⁹⁸ Guidi 1903, 61.

⁹⁹ Guidi 1905, 80.

¹⁰⁰ Guidi 1905, 127.

¹⁰¹ Guidi 1905, 127.

¹⁰² Guidi 1905, 142.

¹⁰³ Guidi 1905, 152.

¹⁰⁴ Guidi 1905, 152.

¹⁰⁵ Guidi 1905, 164, 252.

¹⁰⁶ Guidi 1905, 261.

connection with the King's religious piety. Among these phrase s, especially like ጽድቅ፡ ቃሉ ('His real word'), ወእመን፡ ነገሩ፡ ('His trustworthy word'), ውበዙኝ፡ ምሕረት፡ ('His plenty of mercy'), ንጽሐ፡ ልብናሁ፡ ('His steadfast mind'), ወርኑቀ፡ መዓቱ፡ ('His anger is far away') and ብርሃነ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ('The light of the heathen') are adopted from Bible to draws parallels between the King's personality and those of biblical figures. The phrase which describe the King's faithfulness appears in the CI are not mentioned in the HI. In this sense, there is no a direct literary dependence between the two texts and the author of the HI is not influenced by the previous work of the King's chronicle. However, the author of the HI was strongly familiar with the CI. This has led to the assumption that the text of the CI has by far a little influence on the formation of HI.

By and large, when examining the lexical features of words and phrase which describe the King's bravery and sacred personality used by HI and CI, it can be understood that there is a significant difference between HI and CI. In regard to the King's bravery character traits two marked similar words are identified such as አንበሳ ('Lion') and ንስር ('Eagle'). The remaining eight words that describe the King's bravery character found in both texts are not similar. Compared to the words, there is little chance to extracting the shared phrase that describing the King's bravery from both texts. While examining the words and phrase that describe the King's sacred personality used by HI and CI, only one marked similar word መሲሕ ('Messiah') is identified. The remaining words that found in both texts are not parallel. Similarly to the phrase which describe the King's bravery character trait, all the phrase that appeared in CI in describing the King's sacred personality are not mentioned in the HI at all.

6. Conclusion

This article attempts to show the intertextuality features of the hagiography and chronicle of *aṣe* Iyasu I through the inquiry of words and phrases concerning the king's royal courage and sacred personality. In Ethiopia's literary tradition, a single king is rarely the subject of hagiography and chronicle. The HI was written for a king who dedicated to himself to his religious duties and suffered martyrdom. Whereas the CI was written for recount his political career, victories and good deeds. In this respect, the king's chronicle recounts his earthly value. On contrary, his hagiography is concerned with the veneration of king as a martyr-king.

Although both HI and CI are composed to the single king and address the subject of the same historical milieu, there is no remarkable lexical parallel between the two texts in the area of words and phrases. It is thus reasonable to conclude that each author composed text in a different literary setting rather than one influenced the other. In other words, the two texts are interconnected but each developed its own textual features as a response to method and approach of Ethiopian Gə'əz literature.

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