

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**Re-considering the history and teaching of Qəb‘at School of  
thought  
based on *Mäşəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli***

Prepared by:  
Abreham Adugna  
Advisor:  
Dr. Amsalu Aklilu

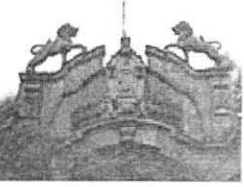
Addis Ababa  
Ethiopia

October  
2007

Addis Ababa

University

(Since 1950)



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**Re-considering the history and teaching of Qǝbʿat School of  
thought**

**based on Mǝṣḏḥafǝ Zǝkre wǝ-pǝwli**

Prepared by:

Abreham Adugna

Advisor:

Dr. Amsalu Aklilu

Addis Ababa  
Ethiopia

October  
2007

RE-CONSIDERING THE HISTORY AND TEACHING OF  
QƏB'AT SCHOOL OF THOUGHT  
BASED ON MÄŞƏHAFÄ ZƏKRE WÄ-ṖAWLI

A THESIS  
PRESENTED TO  
THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN  
LINGUISTICS

By  
ABREHAM ADUGNA

Addis Ababa  
Ethiopia

October  
2007


ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES


Re-considering the history and teaching of Qəb'at School of  
thought  
based on Mäşəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli

By  
ABREHAM ADUGNA



Approved by:  
Board of Examiners

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Advisor

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Examiner

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Examiner

  
\_\_\_\_\_

  
\_\_\_\_\_

  
\_\_\_\_\_

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of accomplishing various tasks involved in this research, I have been indebted to some institutions and individuals.

First and foremost I would like to thank God the Almighty, for His countless help throughout my life. My profound appreciation goes to my mother *ጌማሳይ* Kasanesh Yeshaw, who inspired me to join the post graduate program and helped me all the way through my studies. My special thanks also goes to my advisor Dr. Amsalu Aklilu, who has provided me his valuable advice during the development of this thesis.

My indebtedness should also be extended to the department of Linguistics for the academic provisions made available, and the school of graduate studies for providing me with financial assistance to carry out the research work. Similarly I am thankful to the staffs of the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies for their cheerful treatment.

My appreciation should also be forwarded to Pro. Baye Yimam and Dr. Joachim G. Persoon, who devoted their precious time and energy in reading my paper heartily and forwarding their comment.

Finally, I am pleased to express my unreserved gratitude to all friends and members of my family, who offered me material and moral support in time of need.

## ABSTRACT

Various kinds of religious controversy were an important feature of Ethiopian history in general and Ethiopian church history in particular. There were doctrinal conflicts on the mystery of the Trinity, on the mystery of the Incarnation; as well as conflicts on the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, on the veneration of the Virgin Mary, on the date of the second coming of Jesus Christ etc. Despite efforts to eliminate differences, most religious conflicts existed for a long period of time. Relatively speaking the controversy on the incarnation of Christ remained for longer period - for more than five centuries- than others. In this regard the central conflict revolved around the question, "how the human body became God?" Was it through the unction of the Holy Spirit or through the union with the Word of God? The Qəb'at school of thought favored the formula that the human body became the natural Son of God through the unction of the Holy Spirit at the moment when the Virgin Mary accepted the Archangel Gabriel's annunciation.

The Qəb'at school of thought was influential for certain periods for the reason that it embraced well respected scholars and was able to create a link with the royal court. It had influential personalities like Abba Šärsä Dəngəl, Abba Zəkere, Abba päwli, and [Abba] Sälik. The school was influential even at the level of state religion during the reigns of Aše Fasil (r. 1632-1667), Aše Täklä Haymanot (r. 1706-1708), Aše Tewoflos (r. 1708-1711), Aše Dawit (r. 1716-1721), Aše Iyasu II (r. 1730-1755), and Aše Iyoas I (r.1755-1769). The time of the *Zämänä Mäsafənt*, lit. 'The era of princes,' was also beneficial for the school. It began to deteriorate after 1855, at the time of the council of Amba Ĉara during the reign of Aše Tewodros; and it was almost abolished in 1878 at the time of the council of Boru Meda during the reign of Aše Yohannes IV. Since then, the school is in a vulnerable position.

Even though any kind of controversy is undesirable, the controversy on the incarnation of Christ motivated Ethiopian theologians to produce religious documents that support their position. However, except for some instances, we know the history and teaching of the Qəb'at School of theology mainly from the sources of the opposing school of thought. Thus a clear picture of the school is lacking. This paper seeks to fill this gap, based on *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkere wä-päwli*, 'the book of Zəkere and päwli,' which is a historical as well as theological document of the Qəb'at School.

## GLOSSARY

- Abba:** derived from *ab*, 'father' is an honorific title applied to religious leaders such as monks, abbots, bishops and the patriarch. It is frequently used as a prefix to the name of a religious leader.
- Abunä:** with a suffix of first person plural possessive marker *nä* means "our father". It is a prefix to the name of religious leaders. Abba is also used as a prefix, although, Abunä is often used for the bishops and the patriarch.
- Andämta:** Amharic commentary of sacred books.
- ʾAṣe:** (usually translated as "your majesty") is a term to address or reference to the Ethiopian monarchs.
- Awraḡḡa:** sub province.
- Blata:** a short form of the court title *blattengeta*, 'chief of pages', from the word *blatena*, 'a page', 'an armor-bearer', or 'a personal servant of a nobleman'.
- Däbr:** a church. According to the size and type of their servants, churches can be divided in to three: *Däbr*, *Gädä*, and *Gätär*. *Däbr* is the most common type of church and is served by married priests, unlike a *Gädä* which is served by monks.
- Däḡḡazmač:** was one of the highest military titles of traditional Ethiopia. Some put it second to *ras*, but there have also been cases where a *Däḡḡazmač*, could eventually be more prestigious and influential than an ordinary *ras*. As a replica of his imperial lord, the *Däḡḡazmač* had three basic responsibilities: governor of a province, chief judge of his particular governorate and commander-in-chief of the men at arms under his jurisdiction.
- ፀmmahoy:** derived from *ፀm*, 'mother' is an honorific title used as a prefix to the names of nuns.
- ፀtege:** was a title designating the coroneted spouse of an emperor. According to the tradition, the *ፀtege* was crowned three days after the emperor. The title was different from that of a female sovereign ruling in her own right, i.e. *nəgəstā nəgəstat*.
- Gädä:** literally mean 'contending, [spiritual] struggle'. It is the most popular genre of Ethiopian hagiography, which is, in turn, one of the most important constituents of *Gəʿəz* literature.
- Gəʿəz:** a classical language of Ethiopia.
- Hamile:** the name of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of Ethiopian Christian calendar.
- Liqä Ṭäbäbt:** a title applied for the scholars of *Zema*, 'sacred music'. *Liqä Ṭäbäbt* usually stands at the center of the *Qəne Maḥlet*, 'the place where hymens are sung'. In some places *Liqä Ṭäbäbt* serves as a chief of *Qəne Maḥlet*.

- Mälakä Bärhan:** a title applied for the learned church people.
- Mämhär:** a title for the administrators of big monasteries in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It also serves as a prefix for well known church scholars.
- Mäşəḥaf:** book, scripture, written document.
- Qəb'at:** a separate School of taught under the umbrella of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which propagates the formula 'the Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed, and the Holy Spirit is the ointment'.
- Rə'sä Rə'usan:** a title for the administrators of Märtulä Maryam church. The title is the fifth level in Ethiopia next to Axsum Şəyon, Lasta, Tädbabä Maryam and Ḥayq Əştifanos.
- Şəksar:** the collection of history of saints and feasts.
- Şəqq:** belt.
- Şəgga:** a School of taught under the umbrella of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which propagates the three birth formula.
- Şəhəfe Tə'əzaz:** (lit. 'Writer of a decree/command') is a title applied to chroniclers. Some times they could also be called as *Şəhəfe Tə'əzaz wä-Tarik*, 'writer of a command and history' (Guidi 1903:214). It seems to me that the second title expresses the career of chroniclers fully. A king could have two chroniclers at a time like King Iyasu I had had *Şəhəftä Tə'əzaz Ḥawarəya kərstos* and *wäldä Haymanot* (Ibid.62), and King Bəkaffa *Şəhəftä Tə'əzaz Sinoda* and *Dəmeṭros* together (Ibid. 309). Usually the *Şəhəfe Tə'əzaz* follows where ever the King goes and writes what he saw (Ibid. 295 & 272).
- Tabot:** usually it means the Ark of the Covenant but etymologically the word comes from *betä*, 'dwell', and it meant a case for keeping the tablet of the law (*Şəlle*).
- Təwəḥədo:** a School of taught under the umbrella of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which propagates the formula, "the Son himself is the anointer, the anointed and the ointment."
- wäräda:** district.



## TRANSLITERATION

In this paper, sources in Gəʿəz and Amharic language are cited in the language in which they originated and their English translation is also given. In the translations, Ethiopian names of books, places, personalities, etc..., are given in transliteration for the sake of simplicity.

I have used the transliteration system of Encyclopedia Ethiopica, but some signs are not available in the computer I have used. So that, I have employed some signs different but very close to the system of Encyclopedia Ethiopica. I illustrate below with the consonant "D" as an example:

ደ = Dä  
ደፍ = Du  
ደፊ = Di  
ደፈ = Da  
ደፊ = De  
ደፊ = Də  
ደፊ = Do

Except for the insertion of the sound "W" next to the consonant, I have applied the same system for the labiovelars too. Thus:

ከፍ = K<sup>w</sup>ä  
= K<sup>w</sup>i  
ከፈ = K<sup>w</sup>a  
ከፊ = K<sup>w</sup>e  
= K<sup>w</sup>ə  
ከፊ = G<sup>w</sup>e  
ከፈ = Q<sup>w</sup>a

Some Gəʿəz and Amharic sounds have no an equivalent in the English language. So they are transcribed as follows:

ሀ = h  
ሐ = H/h  
ኀ = H/h  
ሰ = S  
ሠ = Š  
ሸ = š  
ኸ = Ĥ/ħ  
አ = ʾ  
ዐ = ʿ

Ŧ = ž  
ǧ = Ğ/ğ  
ᄀ = ᄁ/ᄂ  
ᄃ = ᄄ  
ᄅ = ᄆ  
ᄇ = ᄈ/ᄉ

## ABBREVIATION

Cf.	compare
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
EMML	Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilm Library
EOTC	Ethiopian Orthodox Tāwahādo Church
f	following page
ff	following pages
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
Ms	Manuscript
Mss	Manuscripts

## CONTENTS

	Pages
Acknowledgement	i
Abstract	ii
Glossary	iii
Transliteration	v
Abbreviations	vii
 <b>Chapter One: Introduction</b>	
1.1 Back ground	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	4
1.3 objective of the study	6
1.4 Significance of the study	7
1.5 Limitation and Delimitation	7
1.6 Methodology	8
1.7 Review of related literature	9
 <b>Chapter Two: Understanding the Manuscript</b>	
2.1 Description	15
2.2 Name of the manuscript	16
2.3 Standard of the manuscript	20
2.4 The author(s) of the manuscript	21
2.5 Content review	21
2.6 The time of production	23
 <b>Chapter Three: Historical Analysis</b>	
3.1 The beginning of Qəb'at teaching	26
3.1.1 Mäşəhafä Zəkre wä-pawli	28
3.1.2 The report of James Bruce	31
3.1.3 Märrs Amin	32
3.1.4 Mäşəhafä Milad	33
3.2 Abunä Ewoşatewos and the school of Qəb'at	34
3.2.1 Abunä Ewoşatewos	35
3.2.2 Sources that support the Ewoşatewos - Qəb'at link	40
3.3 Genealogical diagram of Qəb'at School	47
 <b>Chapter Four: Theological Analysis</b>	
4.1 Biblical texts	51
4.2 Phases of Qəb'at teaching	52
4.2.1 Phase one	53
4.2.2 Phase two	53



4.2.3 Phase three	54
4.2.4 Phase four	54
4.3 Translation of the teaching of Qab'at in the book of Zekre and pawli	55
<b><i>Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendation</i></b>	
5.1 Summary and Conclusion	69
5.2 Recommendation	70
References	72

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### **1.1 Background**

Christian scholars regarded the founder of the universal church to be the Lord Jesus Christ. They write that He founded it by shedding His own blood (Acts 20:28). This church is One, because Christ is its head (Gal. 5:23); It is Holy, because it is purchased by the blood of Jesus (1 Co. 6:19; Acts 20:28); It is Catholic because the whole world is its province (Aymro and Motovu 1970:96); and Apostolic, because it was established on earth by the Apostles of Christ (Gal. 1:8).

This One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic church considered to be founded by Jesus always faced certain dangers. One traditional exegesis of the controversial text “Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword” (Mt. 10:34) describe it as referring to the inevitable division of the Church.

The first challenging problem came about 325 AD, at the council of Nicaea<sup>1</sup>. The controversy seemed based on the question of the Trinity but the points raised were mainly revolved around Christology: Is Jesus Christ really God? Is He really human? Is He equal to the Father? (Conway 1962:3).

Three personalities tried to answer these questions, but were labeled heresy as heretics. Saballius believed that Jesus Christ appeared like a human being just as a manifestation of God (ibid.). For him Christ was not a real human. Paul of Asamosata<sup>2</sup>, a bishop of Antioch, believed the opposite that Jesus was a real human being but not really divine. To Paul Asamosata Jesus was far from God (ibid. 4). Arius<sup>3</sup>, a priest of Alexandria, tried to minimize the gap between Saballius and Paul of Asamosata, but ended by introducing the concept of subordination. To Arius, Jesus was a superior creature of God the Father to be His instrument in further creation (Watkin 1960:28). “Arianism may be defined as an attempt to determine the relations of the Trinity on the basis of distinction and subordination” (Hastings 1994, vol. 1:781).

---

<sup>1</sup> Nicaea was founded in the fourth century BC by the Macedonian king Antigonus I Monophthalmus. The town was besieged and conquered in 1331 by the Ottoman Turks, who renamed it Iznik and built the Green Mosque (1378-91) (Norton 1994, vol. 6:448).

<sup>2</sup> Paul of Asamosata was a worldly cleric of humble origin who became bishop of Antioch in AD 260 (Norton 1994, vol. 9:208)

<sup>3</sup> Arius was a Christian priest of Alexandria. He was born in Libya about AD 250 and died in AD 336 in Constantinople (now Istanbul) (Norton 1994, vol. 1:556).

The council of Nicea ended by condemning Arius and signing a statement of the true doctrine. It defined the Godhead of the Son. But peace did not remain long and the following fifty years were years of strife (Conway 1962:11).

Another Christological issue was raised during the second general council of Constantinople<sup>4</sup>, in 381. At this stage the true humanity of Christ was questioned. Apollinaris<sup>5</sup>, Bishop of the Syrian Laodicea, was the man in charge of this doctrine. He asked himself if Christ is a perfect human, then is He sinful like the rest of us. But Christ could never be sinful. So, he believed, Christ's rational soul, which understands and chooses freely, was replaced by His Godhead (Watkin 1960:36). The council condemned Apollinaris (Brake 1977:10), but no creed was formulated. However, by its act of condemnation, this general council opened the agenda of the forthcoming councils-issues on Incarnation (Watkin 1960:37).

The previous two general councils clarified the true Divinity and the true Humanity of Christ's nature. The question at the third general council, Ephesus<sup>6</sup> 431 AD, concentrated on the true meaning of the Incarnation-the relationship of the two natures of Christ (Brake 1977:10). The attempt to explain this concept resulted in the creation of two opposing great schools of theology-Alexandria<sup>7</sup> and Antioch<sup>8</sup> (Conway 1962:30). The scholars of Antioch<sup>9</sup> concentrated their attention on the separation of the divinity and the humanity of Christ, to guarantee the non-existence of confusion between them. Scholars of Alexandria,<sup>10</sup> on the other hand, focused on the unity of the two natures (Watkin 1960:42). "In the controversy between the men of [the] Alexandrine and the Antiochine theological traditions the council of Ephesus offered a decisive victory for the former" (Samuel 1977:4). Even if the council could not formulate

---

<sup>4</sup> Formerly Constantinople was called ancient Byzantium and now it is called Istanbul. Byzantium was founded as a Colony by the Greeks at about the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. It came under direct Roman rule during Vespasian's reign (AD 69-79). In 324 Constantine I made the city his capital, and in 330 he made it the Seat of the Roman Empire, later naming it Constantinople (Norton 1994, vol. 6:426).

<sup>5</sup> Apollinaris was born about AD 310 and died around 390 (Norton 1994, vol. 1:484). He was learned in science and was a man of manifold erudition and accomplishments. His father, who also named Apollinaris, was a Grammarian from Alexandria who came to Berytus (Beirut) and then went on to Laodicea in Syria (Hastings 1994, vol. 1:606).

<sup>6</sup> Ephesus was founded about 600 BC and was the most important Greek City in Ionian Asia Minor. Ephesus owed much of its fame by the Temple of Artemis, or Diana (Norton 1994, vol. 4:517).

<sup>7</sup> Alexandria was the capital of Egypt after its founding by Alexander the Great in 332 BC and in antiquity was a Center of Hellenic scholarship and science (Norton 1994, vol. 1:250).

<sup>8</sup> Antioch was a populous City of ancient Syria. It was founded in 300 BC by the Greeks and was the center of the Seleucid Kingdom until 64 BC, when the Romans made it the capital of their province of Syria (Norton 1994, vol. 1:458). It was the third City of Roman Empire. It was also a center of Greek life and culture, and was noted for its pursuit of art and culture (Hastings 1994, vol. 1:584).

<sup>9</sup> The title is generally applied to a school of church teachers, all connected with Antioch, whose activity covers the later half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Its most famous representatives were Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus (†394); John Chrisostom, bishop of Constantinople (†407); Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia (†429); and Thodoret, bishop of Cyrrus (†457) (Hastings 1994, vol. 1:584).

<sup>10</sup> The great doctors of Alexandria were Athanasius, Didymus the blind, and St. Cyril (Conway 1962:32).

any doctrinal definition, it condemned Nestorius on the basis that his teaching contradicted the Nicene Creed (*ibid.*).

In the next general council, Chalcedon<sup>11</sup> (in 451), the mystery of the nature of Christ shook the church and divided it into two big parts. The doctrinal definition formulated by the council affirmed the existence of two natures in one person or in the Incarnate Word (Watkin 1960:52). The churches that accepted the council and its declaration are referred to as Chalcedonian and the churches which opposed the council as non-Chalcedonian<sup>12</sup> (Samuel 1977:XXj).

Despite the efforts of early theologians to reconcile different teachings that which was prophesied by Jesus Christ was fulfilled. Meaning division of the universal church as foretold was thus inevitable (Mt. 10:34). As discussed earlier, the cause for the split was not uniform and instant. Following the occurrence of unusual kind of Christological teaching tiresome and time-consuming discussion and effort will be done and a certain creed will be formulated. But instead of stabilizing the church, it brings confusion and disagreement. Even it becomes a source for other kind of heretical teaching.

The division, based on Christology, did not happen only in a universal level, it also involved regions. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church belongs to the non-Chalcedonians, and thus rejected the declaration of the council of Chalcedon. As a member of the non-chalcedonian churches, it rejects the existence of two natures in the incarnated word and believes in one united nature. But living under the umbrella of 'one united nature' there are still some differences among its theologians, concerning the mystery of the incarnation. Because of these theological variations, many Ethiopians were killed, persecuted or mutilated (Taddesse 1992:112). It also consumed the time and energy of kings, princes, and dignitaries in frequent councils, which could have been useful for more productive work. Above all, it caused the church scholars to straggle among themselves for supremacy and not to evangelize the un-evangelized with their full power. On the positive side the controversy initiated Ethiopian theologians to produce religious books that supported their views. As Getachew (1981:102) noted religious controversies were the main reasons for the growth of Gə'əz literature, in translation as well as in original composition.

How and when did the human body (flesh) become the natural Son of God? Such were the controversial issues, which brought tension between Ethiopian

---

<sup>11</sup> Chalcedon was originally a Megarian colony founded in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC on a site so obviously inferior to that of Byzantium (now Istanbul) on the opposite shore that it was accorded the name of the "city of the Blind" (Norton 1994, vol. 3:58).

<sup>12</sup> The Chalcedonians prefer to call the non-Chalcedonians as "Monophysite." But it is unfair to give this nickname for these churches, because the expression used by the non-Chalcedonian side was Miaphysis, and never Monophysis (Mia standing for a composite unit unlike Mono standing for an elemental unit) (Aymro and Motovu 1970:98).

theologians. The attempt to explain these questions created three different schools of thought<sup>13</sup>. The first school of thought called Qəb‘at, ‘unction’ or ‘ointment,’ maintains that human body became the natural Son of God by the unction of the Holy Spirit. The school of Tāwahādo,<sup>14</sup> ‘union,’ on the other hand holds the view that the body became the natural Son of God through the union with the Word of God (Getachew 1980:205). The third school of thought called Şāga,<sup>15</sup> ‘adoption,’ propagates the view that Christ in his humanity became the Son of God by grace or adoption (ibid. 206).

Our concern in this paper is only the school of Qəb‘at. This school of thought was very powerful and had influential scholars like Abba Zəkre and Abba päwli<sup>16</sup> (Basset 1882:20). It was even the state religion of the country during the reigns of ‘Aşe Fasil (1632-1667) (Strelcyn 1974:1&2), ‘Aşe Täklä Haymanot (r. 1706-1708), ‘Aşe Tewoflos (r. 1708-1711), ‘Aşe Dawit (r. 1716-1721) (Sergew 1989, vol.II:136), ‘Aşe Iyasu II (1730-1755) (Guidi 1962:101) and ‘Aşe Iyoas I (1755-1769) (ibid. 200).

Therefore, I believe the history of Ethiopia in general and the history of the Ethiopian Church in particular, will not be complete without a thorough study of this school of thought and its literary products.

## 1.2 Statement of the problem

The existence of Qəb‘at School of thought has been known for a long time. Yet still there is no a complete consensus among scholars on the history and teaching

<sup>13</sup> Based on the structure of the Ethiopian Church Mario da Abiy Addi (1956), quoted in Getachew (1983 (b): 146), preferred to call the theological division of Ethiopian theologians as “schools” than sects. Each big monastery or Mother church with its dependent daughter churches was independent financially, to lay down ecclesiastical rules, or even to the extent to hold its own theological views. To mention some of heads of monasteries with their rules and theological views are Estifanos, Zä-Mikael and Fre Mahəbär. The only thing which holds the monasteries together was the spiritual authority of the metropolitan, from whom they all received ordination, and the political authority of the Christian crown, which defended them from the attack of the non-Christian communities found in and around Ethiopia (Getachew 1983 (b): 145; cf. Getachew 1983 (a): 95). Admasu (1954: 12), who was a celebrated scholar from the school of Tāwahādo, in his reply against the book of the Catholic Dr. Abba Ayele, called Abba Zəkre and Abba päwli, who were from the school of Qəb‘at, as “Fathers of our Church.” Admasu’s assertion of Zəkre and päwli as his fathers will strengthen our consideration of different Christological teachings as teachings of schools, than as sects.

<sup>14</sup> Qəb‘at and Şāga followers prefer to call them as Kara, ‘knife’. Because, they say, at the time of religious debates the Tāwahādo followers always prefer knives and swords to persuade their counter parts than Holy Books (Taddese 1962: 23).

<sup>15</sup> The Şāga adherents claim that, the name Şāga is a nickname given to them by the Qəb‘ats. They maintain that their real name is rather Tāwahādo (Kidānā wäld 1948:743).

<sup>16</sup> About these two scholars see from page 19-22 in this work.

of the movement. I believe this gap arose because most of the studies are not based on the documents produced by the scholars of this school of thought. As far as I know, the only article that used the document of that school as a main source is Getachew Haile's "Materials on the theology of Qəb'at or unction." Concerning the history of the movement Taddese Meheretu (1992:110) noted that the one who first taught the doctrine of Qəb'at was Alfonso Mendez,<sup>17</sup> a Portuguese Jesuit. Brake (1977:154) and Taddesse Tamrat (1970: 29) on their part explained the situation that after discussing christological issues with the Jesuits,<sup>18</sup> Ethiopians needed to re-examine and define the doctrinal position of the church more accurately. But the attempt resulted in the creation of the schools of Qəb'at and Təwahədo. Ayyalew Tamru (1953:192) and Admasu Jenbere (1954:280) also followed the same line of argument. Taddese Meheretu, Brake and Taddesse Tamrat associated the beginning of the teaching of Qəb'at with Jesuit missionaries and its date of origin with the 17<sup>th</sup> c., where as Ayyalew Tamru brought the date of origin back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast line with this, Harry (1928:100) believed that the teaching of Qəb'at was introduced in Ethiopia in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. by Syrian and Egyptian priests. Unlike the above scholars Harry tried to detach the beginning of the school from the Jesuits but he still supports the claim that the founders of the school were non-Ethiopians.

Available local sources have a lot to contribute to our knowledge of the history of the movement. A book from the Təwahədo school called *Mäşəhafä Nägärä Haymanot*,<sup>19</sup> 'a book of religious affairs' (EMML<sup>20</sup> 1533:12v), asserts that the teaching of Qəb'at was first introduced by a certain Ethiopian called Ewoşatewos during the time of 'Aşə Susənyos<sup>21</sup>. According to the document Ewoşatewos learned the teaching from a *färänj* 'a white man' or 'foreigner'. Here the word *färänj* refers to the Catholics who had friendly relations with King Susənyos, specifically Alfonso Mendez. The Təwahədo School of theology taught that the doctrine of Qəb'at is a teaching which was deliberately fabricated by the Catholic Church in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. to confuse and weaken the Ethiopian church. Since *Mäşəhafä Nägärä Haymanot* is produced by the opponents of Qəb'at School, we

<sup>17</sup> Alfonso Mendez came to Ethiopia in 1625 (Merid 1998: 53). On February 11, 1626 he was enthroned as a patriarch ceremonially (Ayele 1998: 137).

<sup>18</sup> Jesuit, or member of Society of Jesus, is a Roman Catholic order of religious men founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola. The society is regarded by many as the principal agent of the Counter-Reformation and later a leading force in modernizing the church. Ignatius, the founder of the Society, was a Spanish soldier who experienced a religious conversion during a period of recovery from a wound received in a battle (Norton 1994, Vol. 6: 541).

<sup>19</sup> *Mäşəhafä Nägärä Haymanot* was composed by a certain Mämhər Täklä Haymanot Arägawi (Getachew 1980: 245(note 32)).

<sup>20</sup> Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilm Library (Addis Ababa and Collegeville).

<sup>21</sup> 'Aşə Susənyos is the grand son of Ya'əqob and the son of Fasiladas by a slave woman. He began to reign immediately after the defeat of and death of Jacob in 1607 to 1632 (Budge 1966 vol. II:383).

should not take it for granted. Rather the genuine and uncorrupted identity of Qəb‘at can only be found from the manuscripts of the school itself. Stressing this point Getachew (1983(a)): 93) stated, “A true picture of a movement can best be attained when it is seen from the stand point of those holding the view.” *Mäṣḥafä Zəkṛe wä-ṗawli*, ‘the book of Zəkṛe and ṗawli’, the document of the Qəb‘at school of thought affirms the beginning of the teaching of Qəb‘at before the reign of King Gälawdewos<sup>22</sup>. According to the document Zəkṛe and ṗawli, who were scholars of the Qəb‘at school of thought, argued in a local council with the Catholics during the reign of ‘Aṣe Gälawdewo (*Mäṣḥafä Zəkṛe wä-ṗawli*: 8v). This means that if the school was on a firm footing during the controversy with the Catholics in the sixteenth century, it must have been established a long time before that.

Although these clashes of ideas and methodological problems do exist, so far, no recent study has undertaken the Qəb‘at School of thought. For this reason, studying the history and teaching of this school of thought based mainly on its own literary heritage is an open research agenda, which is waiting to be filled. So that the general purpose of this paper is to fill this gap.

### **1.3 Objective of the study**

The broad objective of the study is to assess the history and teaching of Qəb‘at School of thought based on the materials produced by the scholars of the school itself, especially the book of *Zəkṛe* and *ṗawli*. In line with this broad objective the study tries:

- a) To find out the real time of the origin of Qəb‘at teaching.
- b) To ascertain whether the beginning of Qəb‘at school is related with the Catholics or not.
- c) To find out the relationship between the Qəb‘at school of thought and that of the house of Ewostatewos.
- d) To ascertain the basic teachings of the Qəb‘at school.
- e) To show the developments of Qəb‘at teaching through different stages.

---

<sup>22</sup> ‘Aṣe Gälawdewo was the son of Ləbnā Dəngəl by his wife Säblā Wängel. He began to reign when he was only eighteen in 1508 AD and died in 1540 AD (Budge 1966 vol. II:337).

## 1.4 Significance of the study

In the history of Ethiopia, there have been different kinds of religious controversies. These religious themes occupy a big part in the history of the Ethiopian church, which in turn occupies a considerable part in the history of Ethiopia as a whole. Nevertheless, there remains a lot to be researched in this area. Hence, this study contributes to a better understanding of the concept of Incarnation, which was and is one of the controversial issues of Ethiopian theologians. In addition, it develops the existing knowledge about the Qəb‘at School of thought. It also serves as a stepping-stone for those who want to study further on this specific area and contributes to the writing of a complete Ethiopian church history. Since the book of *Zakre* and *ḥawli*, the material on which this work is mainly based, has neither been studied nor edited, this work adds much to what is so far known about the literature of the Qəb‘at<sup>23</sup>. Moreover it draws the attention of young Ethiopian historians and philologists to the forgotten Gə‘əz sources, which are waiting in cold and dark rooms to be examined.

## 1.5 Limitations and Delimitation of the Study

### 1.5.1. Limitation

The problem of insufficient research funding has been a major stumbling block to the researcher’s fieldwork and subsequent tasks. Lack of adequate time, as a result of taking courses side by side with this paper, was another disturbance for the study. Due to these constraints the researcher’s plan to visit more Qəb‘at monasteries and to read hagiographies of the Qəb‘at Saints, which would furnish further information about the school, was dropped. Consequently, the depth and scope of this study have been affected. Moreover difficulties have been encountered in the accessibility of manuscripts. Even if documents of the Qəb‘at school of thought are available in their age-old monasteries, they are not accessible for fear of theft and intentional destruction by their opponents - the school of *Təwahədo*. Besides, eliciting information from Qəb‘at scholars that are employed under the Ethiopian Orthodox *Təwahədo* Church was not possible, because, they are afraid of losing their jobs if they are identified to be followers of the Qəb‘at School.

---

<sup>23</sup> Qəb‘at documents, which are known till now by the scholarly world are: Getachew haile’s two EMLL sources (2840 and 2090) for his article “Materials on the theology Qəb‘at or unction”; *MäşəhtäLəbuna*, ‘mirror of understanding’ (Cerulli 1960); and *Haymanot Məsiḥawit*, ‘Messianic Faith’ (Getachew 1990 vol. 517 & 518; Strelcyn 1974). For more information see Getachew 1980.

### 1.5.2. Delimitation

There were different Doctrinal as well as canonical controversies in Ethiopia that the church goes through. Such as the controversy on the mystery of the Trinity, the controversy on Incarnation, the controversy on the date of the second coming of Jesus Christ, the controversy on the existence of *Däbrä Şəyon*<sup>24</sup>, the controversy on the number of canonical books, the controversy on the veneration of St. Mary, the controversy on the need to prostrate before the holy cross and holy Icons, the controversy on the observance of the Jews Sabbath, etc... However, the study focuses only on the question of unction, which is part of a controversy on incarnation. The study also depends on using mainly the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli*, the source that is produced by the school of thought itself. Even if there exist different manuscripts on the history as well as teaching of the Qəb‘at School, most of them are produced by the followers of the opponent school of thoughts, so that they are full of biases and could not show the actual picture of the movement.

## 1.6 Methodology

### 1.6.1. Source of Data

The main source for the present study is a manuscript called *Mäşəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*, ‘the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli*’. It belongs to a monastery called *Qoga*<sup>25</sup>, which is one of the leading monasteries of the Qəb‘at School. In addition, theological scholars of this school of taught are priceless sources. Other supplementary sources for the paper include, Chronicles of contemporary Kings, Hagiographies of Qəb‘at Saints, theological works of scholars of this school, *Qənes* (religious poems), and selected analytical works of modern scholars.

---

<sup>24</sup> *Däbrä Şəyon* lit. 'Mount Zion,' is a one thousand-year time, in which Christ will come and reign with his elect. It is related with the belief of *Səməntāñaw šəh*, ‘the eight thousand’ (Getachew 1996:31). It is believed that, the second coming of our lord will be in the “eight thousand.” According to the traditional sources the world was created 5500 years before the birth of Christ. So the “eight thousand” began in Sep. 1, 1501 EC. (or Sep. 1, 7001 AM). The year 7000 AM is arrived at by adding 5500, the time before the birth of our Lord to 1500 years, the interpretation of the 150 years found in the declaration of our Lord to his disciples in the *Mäşəḥafä Kidan*, ‘the book of the covenant’ (Getachew 1983(a):109 (note 69)). In the book of the miracle of St. Mary it is also mentioned that, among the cities of righteous people *däbrä Şəyon* shines greatly than the others (Tä‘amərä Marəyam 1985:153).

<sup>25</sup> The etymology of the name *Qoga* is that, the founder of this monastery, Abba *Wäldä Hana*, used to whip his body with a stick made of *Qäga*, ‘thorny plant,’ to get nearer to God by punishing his vain flesh. Seeing this virtues deed his sons named the monastery as *Qäga*, by the name of the plant he used to whip his body. But through time the name was changed to *Qoga* (Abba *Täklä Maryam*, the present Abbot of the monastery).

### ***1.6.2. Sampling Techniques***

The scholars which the researcher interviewed and discussed with for the purpose of the study are intentionally selected as they belong in and know well the teaching of the School.

### ***1.6.3. Data Gathering Instruments***

In the study only qualitative data gathering methods are employed. Interviews and discussions are made with Qəb'at theological and Qəne scholars.

### ***1.6.4. Data Gathering Procedure***

Literary sources are collected from the concerned monasteries, churches, and libraries. The researcher read them and tried to extract the necessary information. Since theological ideas are mostly mysterious and are subject to misconception, he discussed theological issues with the scholars of Qəb'at School of thought. In addition, to eliminate any kind of possible misunderstanding because of ambiguous wordings or sentence structures in the document, the researcher consulted Gə'əz language experts.

Finally Philological, Historical, and theological facts found in the book of Zəkre and päwli are complemented by the supplementary sources and the conclusion is presented.

## ***1.7. Review of Related Literature***

In the history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, theological controversies, especially Christology takes a considerable part. Many traditional, local as well as foreign scholars have written on the history and teaching of Christological controversies, specifically on the question of unction. I shall discuss the main ones.

Following the ill treatment of Qəb'at School of taught by 'Aše Tewodros and 'Aše Yoħannəs IV, fathers of this school prepared an official document in Amharic called *wäldä 'Ab. Mämhr Gäbrä Mädhən Əndaläw* published this document in 1993 EC., from the manuscript that is under the possession of *Qoga* monastery. The name *wäldä 'Ab* was adopted for the document from the titles of one of the sections of the book. In the introductory part the publisher tried to formulate the name of the School of thought as 'The Ethiopian Orthodox Qəb'at Church'. The book explains the mystery of incarnation, the mystery of unity and the mystery of unction in detail. It says, "[The Divinity] accomplished human deeds for the sake of humans because it is united with [human] flesh; and [human body] accomplished Divine deeds because it is anointed [the Holy Spirit]" (*Gäbrä Mädhən* 1993:231). According to the document, to believe in the

formula that 'human body became God through unity and the Son himself is the unction'<sup>26</sup> results with four kinds of heresies.

If it is asked what the four heresies are, then, the four heresies [that are resulted in believing that human body is honored through unity and the Son himself is an ointment] are two person [and two natures], change (*wəlaṭe*), being afterwards (*tädəhro*) and dependent (*Ṣəgña*). If it is asked how [their teaching results in saying] two persons, then, to say [human body] was honored through unity means that the person of the Word honored the person of man. If they are honor giver and honoree, then, it is dividing their action (*gəbr*) like Leo. If the action is divided, then, it is inevitable [to divide] the person and the nature, and it is making two person[s] and two nature[s] like Nestorius [did].... If it is asked how [their teaching results in saying] change, then, if they say the body in its estate was honored and became creator through unity, subsequently, since unity is possessive, they are saying the Word in its estate [and] nature is creature; If the body in its estate is the son of the Father through unity, consequently, the Word in its estate becomes the son of Mary. If it is asked how [their teaching results in saying] being afterwards, then, If they say the body in its estate was honored through unity, as a result, they are saying it did not exist before the creation of the world in the estate of the Word, he ruled over only [the years] after AD, not BC... (*Gäbrä Mädhən* 1993:232). If it is asked how [their teaching results in saying that body is] dependent, then, if they say the body in its estate honored through unity and the Son is unction, consequently they are saying the person of the body is honored by receiving a small amount of honor from the person of the Word, like a poor lives by receiving a small amount of cattle from a wealthy (*Ibid.* 233).

Generally speaking the document explains the teachings of Qəb‘at School of thought in detail (with 300 pages) and in depth. However, I can see a difference on Mariology and on the concept of unction between *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* and *wäldä ‘Ab* (*Gäbrä Mädhən* 1993), the two acknowledged documents of Qəb‘at School of thought. *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* allows St. Mary to be worshiped with God. ሰጊድ ወምልክና ይደልዋለእግዝእትነ ማርያም (16<sup>1a</sup>), 'prostration and worship deserves to our Lady Mary'; Where as the book of *wäldä ‘Ab* preserves only prostration and honor to St. Mary. ሰጊድ ወክብር ይደልዋለእግዝእትነ ማርያም (*Gäbrä Mädhən* 1993:292), 'prostration and honor deserves to our Lady Mary'. The formula 'worship together with her Son' is introduced first by a document called *Mästəbq’ə Zä-Maryam*, 'intercession of Mary'.

ላቲ ይደሱ ክብር ወስብሐት፤  
 ዘምስለ ወልዳ ኦምልኮ ወስግደት፤

<sup>26</sup> This is the formula of the Təwahədo School of thought.

Honor and glory deserves for her;  
[And] worship and prostration [for her] together with her Son

Prof. Getachew (1983(a):111) explained the situation that this theological formula "divided the Christian Ethiopia in two. The Churches from Axum to Bashlo rejected the expression *wa-mäslä walda*, 'together with her Son' and replaced it with *wa-lä- walda*, 'and for her son', while those in Gojjam accepted it as it is." But later in 1878, at the council of *Boru Meda*, the expression *wa-mäslä walda* was revised into *wa-lä-walda* by the request of the adoptionists and the will of Emperor Yohannes IV (Getachew 1993:266). I think that is the reason why the two Qəbʿat documents, *Mäṣṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* and *wäldä ʿAb*, have different positions on St. Mary, one written a long ago before the council of *Boru Meda* and the other most probably after. Another point of difference of the two documents is on the issue of the anointer of the body of Christ. *Mäṣṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* (6<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>, etc.) acknowledges only the Father as the anointer, where as the book of *wäldä ʿAb* (211) acknowledges the three persons, the Father, the Son Himself, and the Holy Spirit as the anointers.

Basing two sources, EMML 2090 and EMML 2840, Getachew (1980) described the core teaching of Qəbʿat School of thought. The article has two constructive sides: one it made use of Qəbʿat documents and the other the documents are produced side by side with there English translation. As a whole, professor Getachew's work helps to understand the teaching of Qəbʿat School of thought from there own stand point.

Another outstanding work of professor Getachew in this area is his textual edition and the English translation of the Qəbʿat document called *Haymanot Mäsiḥawit*, 'Messianic faith.' The edition was published in 1990 in the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium series, Vol. 91; and the translation was published on the same year, in the same series and Vol. 92. Even if *Haymanot Mäsiḥawit* is a document for the school of Qəbʿat, it holds a difference theological view with *Mäṣṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*. The book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli* confirms the anointment of the human body only; where as *Haymanot Mäsiḥawit* acknowledges the anointment of the Word itself. The book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli* reads:

ዘኢይፈቅድ ተቀብጾተ በህላዌሁ ተቀብጻ በእንተ ሰብእናሁ ከመ ይረስዮ  
ለትሰብእቱ ፩ምስለ መለኮቱ ዘእንበለ ፍልጠት ወዘእንበለ ተሌልዮ። ...  
አካለ ቃል ተቀብጻ በሰብእናሁ (Mäṣṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli 27<sup>va</sup> and <sup>vb</sup>)

He, who does not need anointment in His nature, was anointed in His humanity to make His human nature one with His Divinity without

division and without separation. ... The person of the Word was anointed in His humanity.

Where as *Haymanot Mäsihawit* reads:

ከመሰ ተቀብኖ ቃል ለርእሱ ይተክመር እመንገሰ ስሙ። እስመ ክርስቶስ ብሂል ቅቡዕ ውእቱ (Getachew 1990, Vol. 517:34)::

That the Word was anointed on his own behalf is known from his name, for Christ means anointed (Getachew 1990, Vol. 518:31).

From the stand of *Haymanot Mäsihawit*, subordination between the Father and the Son is visible. If the Word was anointed by the Father to receive honor, then the Father is the one that gives and the Word that receives. That means, the Word was not equally God before the second birth, but attained that level with the gift of the Father through unction during the time of birth from St. Mary. Where as the book of *Zakre* and *ḥawli* is strict in this case that, the one, who was anointed and received gift is the human body of the Word not the Word itself. So, the Word was equally God with the Father before unction and after unction. There exists no room for subordination.

Taddese Meheretu (1992) tried to discuss the entire internal doctrinal controversies of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Generally speaking the work lacks depth because of the width of the topic. However, it has contained useful information about Qab‘at School of thought from chronicles, Qanes and other Ethiopian sources. The work has been most likely done to defend the Tāwahado School of taught, so that there are biases here and there.

Dr. Abba Ayele (1951) dedicated two chapters in his book *Yä‘itayopäya Btä-Krästiyān: sälä Krastos bahrayat ‘akalawi täwahado yä-mätamnäw taməhart*, for Qab‘at - Tāwahado-Şäga controversy. However, he discussed the doctrine of these schools having in mind that the Ethiopian church was originally the follower of 'in two natures' formula. So that, whatever he concluded, it had arisen from the mentality that it would support his main theme. In one place he seems supporting the teaching of Qab‘at School of thought. Because, he believed, the teaching supports "the existence of two natures in Christ" (1951:136). In another instance he said, "The teaching of the school of Şäga is identical with the teaching of the Catholic church" (Ibid. 158). So either Abba Ayele is confused or else believed the origin of the two schools to be the teaching of the Catholic Church, which he did not claim explicitly. There are also some teachings sited in the book to be teachings of the School of Qab‘at. He labeled the teaching of Eutyches to the school of Qab‘at. He said, "The Goğgames [Qab‘at followers] believe in the doctrine that human nature was destroyed [absorbed] by divinity" (Ibid. 157; 1995:254); He also said, "They use words 'unction' and 'unity' interchangeably" (1951:156); He asserted, "The Goğgames

believe the anointer, the anointed and the ointment to be the Word of God himself" (1951:157; 1995:258); He claimed, " Qəbʿat followers believe as unction took place before unity" (1951:157) etc.... I believe the confusions of Dr. Abba Ayele resulted from the lack of consulting materials produced by the scholars of Qəbʿat School of thought.

In light of the documents of the school of Qəbʿat, Abba Ayele's claims are totally wrong. According to an official book of Qəbʿat School of taught called *wäldä ʿAb*, they neither acknowledge the existence of two natures in Christ nor do they use words 'unction' and 'unity' interchangeably. For them unity brought two persons and two natures into one and unction made Him the natural Son of God. The unity of two persons and two natures bring forth the name Emanuel to Him; and the act of unction generated the name Christ to Him. The act of unity and unction took place at the same time, and there is no the existence of two natures after the act of unity and unction (Gebre Medhin 1993:229-231). *Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli* (4<sup>r</sup>, 14<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>, 63<sup>r</sup>) claims Eutyches, Şäga and Təwahədo to be heretics and their teachings are discussed here and there. Abba Ayele gave to the School of Qəbʿat the teaching, according to the document, belongs to the School of Təwahədo. For Qəbʿat followers the Father is the Anointer, the Son the anointed and the Holy Spirit the Ointment (Ibid. 13<sup>r</sup>).

The book of Abba Ayele received five replies from the side of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the replies touch on the history and teaching of Qəbʿat. The personalities replied are Tesfa Welde Sillase (1952), Kidane Maryam (1952), Tekle Maryam (1952), Ayyalew Tamru (1953) and Admasu Jenbere (1954). I shall discuss here only the works of Ayyalew Tamru (1953) and Admasu Jenbere (1954).

In the introductory part of his book, Admasu (1954:17) has written about a local religious council during the reign of Aṣe Gälawdewos and he said, "I have written all these from the historical books that our fathers preserved." The writer however did neither mention the name of the book nor the location where he found it. Nevertheless, as we can see from its content, pages from 12-16 are direct translations of folio 7<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>v</sup> of *Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli*. As a scholar of *Dima Giyorgies*, the writer probably found the manuscript either in the monastery of *Däbrä Şəmona* or in the monastery of *Däbrä Wärq Maryam*, which are seats of Qəbʿat School of thought in the vicinity. In his answer to Dr. Abba Ayele, Admasu (1954:280) said, "Ethiopian scholars [scholars of Təwahədo, Qəbʿat, and Şäga] seem quarreled while they really are in agreement; and they seem divided while they really are one, just to abstain themselves from the two nature formula." Indirectly the writer acknowledged the coming of the Catholics as the reason for the beginning of Christological controversies, which is in line with the argument of Dr. Abba Ayele and unlikely with the researcher. However, Admasu (1954:283) still calls the three schools of taught [Təwahədo, Qəbʿat, and Şäga] as "brothers" not as "heretics." About the teaching of Qəbʿat he said, "Qəbʿat followers believe that when the Word was

united with the Flesh, He became One Nature and One Person, and at the same time he received the Holy Spirit and became the natural Son of God." What he said is in conformity with the teaching of Qəb'at School of taught mentioned in the *Mäṣṣəḥafä Zəkere wä-ḥawli*, may be because he referred the same document.

Ayyalew (1953:192) in his part believes that the teaching of Qəb'at originated in the 14<sup>th</sup> c. from Rome, and also that they believe in the existence of two natures in Christ, which is unlikely with the teaching of Qəb'at School of theology. The school believes in the existence of one nature (Gebre Medhin 1993:229-231). The confusion of Ayyalew resulted from the usual cause- lack of consulting Qəb'at materials.

## CHAPTER TWO

### UNDERSTANDING THE MANUSCRIPT

*Mäṣṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ḵawli*, the document that this study is based on, is found in the form of a certain number of manuscripts in possession of Churches/Monasteries in which Qəb‘at teaching traditionally was or is dominated. I personally saw two manuscripts, one belonging to the church of *Däbrä Wäraq Maryam* and the other belonging to *Qoga*<sup>27</sup> monastery. Abba Täklä Maryam, the abbot of *Qoga* monastery, also told me that *Gončča Mädḥane ‘aläm*<sup>28</sup> monastery possesses one copy of *Mäṣṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ḵawli*. Even if the three copies of *Mäṣṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ḵawli* are available, the manuscript under the possession of *Däbrä Wäraq Maryam* church is inaccessible. Administrators of these Church did not allow me either to read it properly or to take digital pictures. I also consulted the EMLL catalogue of Manuscripts; but I could not find any copy of the document. So that the present study makes use of the only accessible copy of *Mäṣṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ḵawli*, brought from the monastery of *Qoga*.

#### 2.1 Description

Title:	<i>Mäṣṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ḵawli / Məṣṥirä Haymanot.</i>
Language:	Gə‘əz
Date:	17 <sup>th</sup> Century (1683)
Proprietor:	<i>Qoga</i> Monastery.
Ordered by:	<i>Mämhər Surafel</i> of the monastery of <i>Qoga</i>
Written by:	<i>Wäldä Her / Gäbrä Marəyam</i>
Material:	Parchment
Ink:	Red and black
Column:	Two.
No. lines:	23
Size:	21 x 17 cm.
Folios:	76
Cover:	Animal skin

Other Remarks: Two documents namely *Mälkə‘a Wäldä Hana* and *Giyorgis Wäldä*

<sup>27</sup> It is a monastery in *Goḡḡam* about four hours on foot from *Gundä Wäyn*. It is one of the leading monasteries of Qəb‘at School of thought. Last year, when the researcher visited the monastery, there were more than two hundred monks living permanently. Amazingly, young members of the community give priority over feeding and managing the elders (senilities).

<sup>28</sup> A monastery found in the vicinity of *Märṥulä Maryam* monastery.

<sup>2</sup>*amid* are attached in the same binding. In addition the painted portrait of *Mämhər Surafel*, the person who ordered the document to be written, has been added.

## 2.2 Name of the Manuscript

The Manuscript has two names; the first name is given by the writer (what is mentioned in the Manuscript) and the other is given by the adherents or followers of the Qəb‘at School (i.e. popular name). The writer named the document *Məstirä Haymanot*, ‘the mystery of religion’ (*Mäşəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*: 1<sup>r</sup> and 58<sup>r</sup>). Whereas the followers of the school preferred to call it *Mäşəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*, ‘the book of Zəkre and ṗawli’, according to the name of the two main figures in the document- Abba Zəkre and Abba ṗawli. For the purpose of this study, *Mäşəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*, the name used by the followers of the school for the document, has been adopted.

The name Zəkre is an acronym of Zəkrä Maryam. They both also have a second name that of Zəkre's is Sinoda and that of ṗawli's is ṗetros. According to *Mäşəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* these scholars were clergy of the Church of *Däbrä Şəmona*<sup>29</sup> (*Mäşəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*:7<sup>r</sup>). Whereas the Chronicler of ‘iyasu II made them clergy of *Mängästä Sämay*<sup>30</sup> (Guidi 1910:17). The difference in the above sources occurred because the first source indicated the place of their origin<sup>31</sup> and the other mentioned the place of their service. They were actually clergy of *Däbrä Şəmona* first; or rather clergy originating from *Däbrä Şəmona*, but after the construction of *Mängästä Sämay* by Ətege Säblä Wängel, they were transferred to the new Church, perhaps because of their popularity at that time.

Several Ethiopian traditional sources indicate the non-Ethiopian influence of Zəkre's and ṗawli's educational background. According to the Chronicler of ‘Aşe

---

<sup>29</sup> *Däbrä Şəmona* is a monastery in Goğgam, about eleven kilometers from *Däbrä Wärq*. It is found in the neighborhood of Dima Giyorgis.

<sup>30</sup> *Mängästä Sämay*, which is sometimes called as *Mängəsto* (EMML 4802:49; EMML 1411::29; EMML 5403:55(b)), is a Church in Goğgam that was founded by Ətege Säblä Wängel, the wife of ‘Aşe Ləbnä Dəngəl and mother of ‘Aşe Minas (Cowley 1989: 392). Its location is in the province of *Däbrä Marqos*, between the rivers *Suha* and *Yəbort* (Sergew 1989: 51; EMML 4802:49).

<sup>31</sup> Roger Cowley (1974: 164) confused the Arab ṗawlos Zəkrin with Zəkre and ṗawli, and tried to substantiate his conclusion with the book of ‘*Arägawi Mändəfäsawi*. But ‘*Arägawi Mändəfäsawi* (1988: 6) talks about Zəkre and ṗawli and they have no connection with the Arab ṗawlos Zəkrin. Habtä Marəyam (1963: 213) indicated this issue clearly that ṗawlos Zəkrin is an Arab and teacher of Abba ṗawli, one of the two personalities. So ṗawlos Zəkrin is a name of a single foreign person; where as Zəkre and ṗawli are names of two Ethiopian personalities.

'iyasu II, they were taught by Abba Sāršā Dəngāl, who studied books of the Old and New Testament in Egypt (Guidi 1910:17). Another source 'Arägawi Mänəfäsawi<sup>32</sup> (1982:6) claims that their teacher was a certain Giyorgis, who came from Syria. It is also believed that Sədi päwlos<sup>33</sup> and Mu'aləm pəṭros<sup>34</sup> interpreted the Gə'əz text of the New Testament into Amharic and then Sədi päwlos taught Zəkre and päwli (Mänkər 1972:22)<sup>35</sup>.

The name of Abba Zəkre and Abba päwli is mentioned in various works of Ethiopian Church and political history. They were celebrated Church scholars, politicians, and sometimes mediators. According to Flad (1869:4), they were the translators of the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament (Excluding the books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Ruth) in to Ethiopic (Gə'əz)<sup>36</sup>. For Cowley (1989:395) they were Biblical interpreters than translators. As scholars, they stood firm for the Ethiopian Church against the Catholics, during the reign of 'Aše Gälawdewos (Basset 1882:20)<sup>37</sup>. As politicians, they participated in the process of reshuffling of offices and persuaded Ətege Säblä Wängel the need to enthrone Minas, immediately after the death of her son King Gälawdewos (Pereira 1888:26). As mediators they tried to cool off the conflict between 'Aše Minas and Ətege Säblä Wängel, at the time when a conflict aroused after the King elevated his wife to the position of Ətege -ship by demoting his own mother (Cowley 1989:393)<sup>38</sup>. However their last act resulted in death for Abba päwli and loss of eyes for Abba Zəkre. The last part of their life history is depicted in the historical book of Alqa Täklä Iyäsus<sup>39</sup> of Goğğam called Yəzämən Tarik<sup>40</sup> (EMML 1411:29ff; EMML 4802:49ff; EMML 5403:55ff)<sup>41</sup> as follows:

---

<sup>32</sup> 'Arägawi Mänəfäsawi is the writing of John Saba and one of the three books of monks. The remaining two books of monks are *Mar Yəshaq*, the writing of Isaac of Nineveh, and *Filkəsyus*, the writing of Philoxenus of Maabbug (Cowley 1983:12).

<sup>33</sup> According to Hammerschmidt, quoted in Cowley (1974:164), Sədi päwlos might be (paulus) Jöhannes Bachmann (1862-1894).

<sup>34</sup> According to Cowley (1974:164) Mu'aləm pəṭros could probably be the German Peter Heyling (1607-1652). See also footnote number 49 of this work.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Cowley 1983:22.

<sup>36</sup> Flad claimed that his conclusion is based on an Ethiopian source, but he did not indicate the source.

<sup>37</sup> In addition Cf. Gorgoriyos 1986: 56; Admasu 1954: 12; Täklä Şadəq 1945: 56.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Täklä Şadəq 1945: 64.

<sup>39</sup> Alqa Täklä Iyäsus, who was also called Aləqa Təkle, was the one who had an Oromo background (Getachew 1997:27) and the one who decorated most of churches in goğğam with his paintings (Ibid. 21). Professor Getachew (ibid. 25) called Aləqa Təkle's book as, "a written legened."

<sup>40</sup> The book is also known as Täklä Iyäsus chronicle or Goğğam chronicle.

<sup>41</sup> EMML 5403 was microfilmed from the 20<sup>th</sup> century manuscript, which was copied and owned by Dəjjazmač Kəbädä Täsma, where as EMML 4802 was microfilmed from the manuscript of Blata Mrsie Hazen, which intern was copied from Dəjjazmač Kəbädä's manuscript by the owner himself.

<sup>42</sup>After this, his brother Minas, who was called Admas Säggäd, reigned. When 'Aše Minas reigned, he demoted his mother, Ətege Säblä Wängel, from the rank of Ətege -ship and appointed his wife Šallus Hayla. This Ətege Säblä Wängel, who was the wife of 'Aše Ləbnä Dəngäl, was the one who founded the church called *Məngəstā Səmay*, between the rivers Suha and Yəbort....

Ətege Säblä Wängel was a fine person, a good queen who loved the clergy and feared her creator. When she quarreled with her son 'Aše Minas, the *dəbtāras* whom she had placed, appointed, and decorated at *Məngəsto* were very sad. They were startled. After this, the whole company took council; they sent the learned Zəkre [and] pəwli to 'Aše Minas. When they said to him 'To elevate a wife having humiliated a mother is to violate the word which says, "Honor your father and your mother"; It is not right for you; be reconciled for us with your mother', he refused, saying, 'you are not closer than I to my mother; It shall not be; She reigned in her turn; In my turn, I will let my wife reign; From now on, for her, her crown is her nun's cape'. Because the clergy pəwli and Zəkre were bold, they excommunicated the king. The king 'Aše Minas was furious and imprisoned them. Later, when he said to them, 'release me from excommunication, and let me release you', they said, 'we shall not release [you]', and he put out their eyes with a hot [iron]. pəwli became ill and died imprisoned.

After a time, the king regretted that he had destroyed [their] eyes. He took Zəkre out of prison, and gave him an allowance of clothes and food. He made him a councilor. But because he [Zəkre], embittered at the loss of his eyes, had desired revenge against the king, he sought a way to harm the king, to destroy his kingdom, [and] to shorten his life.

At that time a [certain] monk, a Nazarene, was brought to the public square for trial, having been apprehended with someone else's wife. That blind cleric [Zəkre] whom the king had made a councilor spoke thus: 'The fornication is not this monk alone. It is only because [their deeds] have not been revealed to their detriment, but there are many who live defiling the wives of priests and communicants. Now, rather than let this continue, for the future let us deal with the matter properly. Let all the monks who live in the churches and in monasteries assemble by proclamation, and let us expose their genitals and see - each fornicator will be found to have shaved [the pubic hair]. We will punish them. The good ones will leave alone'. The reason he gave this advice was that, having brought out by proclamation the good men who live in solitude, he would cause grief against him [the king] and shorten his life.

---

<sup>42</sup> The translation was adopted from Cowley 1989, with a slight modification.

The king, 'Aše Minas, thinking it was true, not realizing it was a trick, assembled all the monks and Nazarenes by a proclamation, ordered guards, lined [them] up in a public square, and had their clothes stripped off. At that time both the righteous and the sinner were unclothed equally. He flogged and imprisoned any found with the genital region shaved. But the righteous, who, while they were living in solitude, had been obliged to come by proclamation and stripped [of their close], prostrated themselves and cried out to their creator for seven days. They grieved against the king. They wept. When the guards forcibly stripped off their clothes, the iron edge of the *Säqq* with which they were girded wounded them; blood flowed around their feet.

On the seventh day after this happened, the king was smitten; 'Aše Minas died. But that blind [Zäkre] pleased by the death of the king. And he said, "As he put out my eyes with a hot [iron], I also destroyed his kingdom with my tact, [and] shortened his life."

Since these personalities lived during periods of religious upheaval, one question should be raised about them: to which school of thought did they belong? Two of the manuscripts I came across indicated that they were from the school of Qəb'at.

The first source, the chronicle of 'Aše 'Iyasu II, after explaining the teachings of the Qəb'at school of thought says that, "the people of Goğgam and Q<sup>w</sup>ara are alike on this religion because they learnt it from the sons of Abunä Ewošatewos, who are *Rə'sä rə'usan*<sup>43</sup> Täklä Marəyam, Abba Säršä Dəngəl, and Abba Zäkre and Abba päwli" (Guidi 17). So, according to this text Zäkre and päwli were not only members of the school of Qəb'at but also among the promoters of the school. The other source *Mäšəhafä Zäkre wä-päwli* (8<sup>v</sup> ff.) indicates that, in a religious council during the reign of 'Aše Gälawdewos these personalities argued with the Catholics and won them over to the teachings of the school of Qəb'at. That means Zäkre and päwli were scholars of the school of Qəb'at and even that Qəb'at was a kind of a state religion during the reign of Gälawdewos. This appears to contradict the established history that Qəb'at began in the seventeenth century. But until proven wrong by more reliable evidence, we may take the facts mentioned in the *Mäšəhafä Zäkre wä-päwli* as they stand.

---

<sup>43</sup> *Rə'sä rə'usan*, lit. mean 'the head of heads,' is a title given for the vicars of the church of Märtlä Maryam, a church found in the province of Goğgam. This title is of a fifth level in the rank of the Ethiopian Church, next to Axsum Šəyon, Lasta, Tädbabä Maryam, and Hayq əstifanos (Sirgew 1989, vol. 1: 46).

### 2.3 Standard of the Manuscript

The Manuscript is a historical and doctrinal document; it discusses dogmatic issues like the incarnation, Mariology, Christology, and the theology of the Trinity. It also deals with wars, religious councils, Church and State relation, the relationship between Catholics and Ethiopians, the relationship between the Qəb‘at and the Tāwahado the schools, and commemorates the martyrs of the Qəb‘at School of thought.

As any modern research book, this Manuscript attempts to indicate the main sources for its production in a collective form. According to the document the sources were 46 books of the Old Testament, 35 books of the New Testament, *Haymanotä ‘Abāw*<sup>44</sup>, Other books of *Liqawənt*<sup>45</sup>, and *Mäzɡäbä Haymanot*<sup>46</sup> (*Mäšəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*: 58<sup>r</sup>).

Thanks to the monastery of Qoga, the document is well preserved; there is no damage that prevents the reader from understanding the text. The Manuscript is comfortable to read, because the punctuation is well placed and the paragraphs are indicated with a special signs of four dotes and a cross symbol in the middle. Besides, the arrangement of arguments is of a high quality. Further more, except in two instances<sup>47</sup> on folio 7<sup>r</sup> and folio 8<sup>v</sup>, there is no any grammatical error in the manuscript. This was accomplished because, I believe, that the copyist was very careful and in addition the document was corrected later with a new hand. The corrections are visible through out the manuscript.

---

<sup>44</sup> *Haymanotä ‘Abāw* is a miscellaneous of works of different church fathers, beginning from the Apostles of Christ. Content wise, we can divide it in to two. The first part is the collection of works of the Fathers in general, who lived before the council of Chalcedon. The second part is the collection of works of Oriental Fathers, who came up after the council of Chalcedon. It was translated from the Arabic source by a person called Məb‘a Šəyon / ‘Asratä Šəyon (Sirgew 1989, vol. 1:17). Its date of translation is controversial. According to the introduction of the printed text of *Haymanotä ‘Abāw*, which is published by the EOTC (1986:4), it was translated during the *šəwan* kingdom. Where as Guidi ( ) believed that it was translated during the reign of Gälawdewos.

<sup>45</sup> According to Märigeta Haddis (scholar of Exegesis), in addition to *Haymanotä ‘Abāw*, the main books of *Liqawənt* are *Qerlos* (Ciril), *Yohanəs ‘Afäwäraq* (John Chrisostem), *Qədase Marəyam* (the anaphora of Mary), and *Wədase Marəyam* (Praise of Mary).

<sup>46</sup> According to Cerulli, quoted in Merid (1998: 41), *Mäzɡäbä Haymanot*, ‘Treasury of faith,’ was written after 1555 but before 1559.

<sup>47</sup> On folio 7<sup>r</sup> The manuscript reads, አባ ሲኖዳ ዘስሞሙ አባ ዝክረ ማርያም ወአባ ጴጥሮስ ዘውእቱ ጳውሊ. (*Mäšəhafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*: 7<sup>r</sup>), ‘Abba Sinoda whose names is Abba Zəkrä Maryam and Abba ṗetros whose name is abba ṗawli.’ The grammer error is on the word ዘስሞሙ, ‘whose names’. Since it talks about a single person Abba Sinoda, it would have been correct if it was ዘስሙ, ‘whose name.’ Again on folio 8<sup>v</sup> it reads, አሚሃ ይእተ አሚረ ኮነ ሲቀ ጉባዔ አባ ዝክረ ማርያም ወአባ ጴጥሮስ, ‘At that time Abba Zəkrä Marəyam and Abba ṗetros became head of the council.’ Since the persons presided over the council were two - Abba Zəkre and Abba ṗetros- it should have been said ሊቃናተ ጉባዔ, ‘heads of the council.’

## 2.4 The Author(s) of the Manuscript

I believe, the manuscript was written by a person called *Wäldä her* (*Mäṣḥafä Zäkre wä-ṗawli*: 17<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup> and 63<sup>r</sup>) and *Gäbrä Maryam* (*ibid.* 23<sup>v</sup> and 62<sup>v</sup>). It seems in the codex that, these two names belong to the same person, because they are used interchangeably even on the same page. If they were used with a Gəʿəz conjunctive word ወ, 'and,' at the same time then we would suspect them to be names of different persons. But they are used separately in different places and in turns. So the person may have used his two names i.e., his secular name, given by his family, and his Christian name, given by the Church at the time of baptism; Or his secular name and his monastic name, a name given at the time of monastic ordination, if he was a monk; Or his Christian name and his monastic name. Most probably the latter seems the favorite choice of the author because they are presented attached with a kind of concluding prayers. Like, ጸሎቶሙ ወበረከቶሙ የሀሉ ምስሉ ፍቅሮሙ ወልደ ኔር / ገብረ ማርያም ለዓለሙ ዓለም አሜን, 'Let their prayer and blessing be with their beloved *Wäldä her / Gäbrä Maryam*, for ever and ever Amen' (*Mäṣḥafä Zäkre wä-ṗawli*: 23). Usually, in the practice of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, only names related to the church are used at the time of prayer, according to the belief that the church knows her children by the name given by her.

Unfortunately we know nothing further about this individual. He did not reveal his rank or title, nor whether he was a monks or a married man, may be for the reason of modesty. Based on the standard of the document we can speculate that, the author was a highly talented person versed with *Qəne* (religious poetry) and *Tərguame* (commentary).

## 2.5 Content Review

Generally speaking the Manuscript has six sections. We shall examine each of them very briefly.

### a) **Introductory notes (from folio 1-7<sup>r</sup>).**

This section of the text introduces the name of the document, highlights preliminary teachings on the theology of Trinity, and discusses about twenty different "heretical" teachings including Arius, Islam, and Chalcedonians.

### b) **Incidents during the reign of 'Aṣe Gälawdewos (from folio 8<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>).**

The main issue in this section is the argument of Abba Zäkre and Abba ṗawli with five Catholic priests in a local religious council. According to the text the council took thirty days. Another important event under this section is a description of the prophecy of Abba Zäkre.

### c) **Incidents during the reign of 'Aṣe Susnəyos (from folio 18<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>).**

This section deals about the fulfillment of Abba Zäkre's prophesy. It also discusses the conflict of 'Aṣe Susnəyos with his general Yoləyos, with the

Egyptian bishop Abunä Səm'on, and with a certain monk called mar<sup>48</sup> Diyosqoros and about the death of the later.

**d) Incidents during the reign of 'Aše Fasilädäs (from folio 24<sup>r</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>).**

In this section a big event, which influenced the forthcoming sections very much, is described. It is the coming of a certain Mu'aläm pēṭros<sup>49</sup> from Germany. It also discusses the teaching of this person and his conflict with the Egyptian bishop Abunä Marqos. This section introduces also another person called Zämarəyan, who was, according to the document, the spiritual son of Mu'aläm pēṭros. Three local councils were held to examine the faith of Zämarəyan. The first council was held at a place called Zäge<sup>50</sup>, and Zämarəyan was condemned by the bishop Abunä Marqos. At the second council, Zämarəyan again condemned by a new Egyptian bishop called Abunä Mika'el. The third council was held at *Aringo*, and for the third time Zämarəyan was condemned by another Egyptian bishop Abunä Yohannəs.

**e) Incidents during the reign of 'Aše Yohannəs (from folio 61<sup>r</sup>-62<sup>r</sup>).**

The only issue in this section is the clash of 'Aše Yohannəs with the clergy because the King abstained from receiving the Holy Communion, believing that the Eucharist he received at the time of baptism, during childhood, was enough for ever.

**f) Incidents during the reign of 'Aše 'iyasu (from folio 63<sup>v</sup>-76<sup>r</sup>).**

It is the last section of the manuscript. It discusses the conflict of a certain *Abba Zä-'iyäsus* with the sons of the German [Mu'aläm pēṭros]. Then *Abba Zä-'iyäsus* send a letter to the Egyptian bishop Abunä Sinoda, to inform him of the heretical teaching of these people. Again the text recorded about the quarrel of a certain *Abba Ṭäbdän Dəngäl* with, the usual, sons of the German [Mu'aläm pēṭros] and the return of the later to the faith of Alexandria.

<sup>48</sup> *Mar* is a title applied to certain saints or ecclesiastic dignitaries (Leslau 1987:356).

<sup>49</sup> According to Cowley (1974:164) and Aren (1978), Mu'aläm pēṭros is equivalent to the German Peter Heyling. He was born in 1607, or 1608, from a wealthy goldsmith. He was a trained physician and highly qualified lawyer who spoke several languages fluently (Aren 1978:34). After extensive travels in France and Italy, Heyling sailed for Egypt where he arrived in 1633. Having the talent for the study of language, he learnt Arabic so well that he earned himself the title of Mu'aläm pēṭros or Doctor Peter. In 1634, Fasil's envoys arrived at Alexandria and on returning with the new Abun in October of the same year, they were accompanied by Mu'aläm pēṭros (ibid. 35). In 1652 Heyling left Ethiopia and when he passed through Suakin, the Turkish pasha beheaded him (ibid. 37). Also see footnote number 34.

<sup>50</sup> *Zäge* is a peninsula place in Goğgam 23 km on land and 17 km on sea Northwest of Bahirdar city. It borders Lake Ṭana in the in East.

## 2.6 The Time of Production

The Manuscript does not explicitly indicate the time that it was written. So the burden of proof for its time of production entirely lies on internal evidences. Evidences that make the precise dating of Ethiopic Manuscripts possible are colophons, Subscripta, and names of well-known Kings or other persons (Uhlig 1990:13). In our case here, names of Kings serve as the main tools to date the codex. Accordingly eleven names of well-known Kings are mentioned in the text. To mention them: 'Aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508-1540), 'Aṣe Gälawdewos (r. 1540-1559), 'Aṣe Minas (r. 1559-1563), 'Aṣe Säršä Dəngəl (r. 1563-1597), 'Aṣe Ya'əqob (r. 1597-1603/07), 'Aṣe Zä-dəngəl (r. 1603-1604), 'Aṣe Susnəyos (r. 1607-1632), 'Aṣe Fasilädäs (r. 1632-1667), 'Aṣe Yohannəs (r. 1667-1682), 'Aṣe 'iyasu (r. 1682-1706), and 'Aṣe Thewodəros. Chronologically 'Aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl is the first and 'Aṣe Thewodəros is the last, and the rest lay in between.

It is clear that the Manuscript was not written during the reign of 'Aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl, because names of other kings, who reigned after him, are mentioned. Neither was it produced during the time of 'Aṣe Thewodəros for two reasons. First, his name was mentioned in a part of a prophecy, which is supposed to be fulfilled in the future, when he comes to the throne.

እምይእዜሰ ሃይማኖተ እስክንድርያ<sup>51</sup> (Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli:22<sup>r</sup>)  
በኅቤኪ ኢይረትፅ እስከ ይመጽእ ቲዎድሮስ ንጉሥ:: (ibid.23<sup>v</sup>).

After this [day], until King Thewodəros comes, the religion of Alexandria will not win in you [Ethiopia].

So, he was not on the throne when the document was in the making, meaning the production of the document precedes the coming in to power of king Thewodəros. Secondly, if it was written during his time, then 'Aṣe Thewodəros should not have been considered as a defender of Qəb'at's teaching rather as an aggressor. Because the King forbade the teaching of the Qəb'at and declared Təwahdo's teaching to be the official faith during his time (Sergew 1970:32). If so, then, the

<sup>51</sup> In addition to the above mentioned folio, there are also other entries of the phrase 'ሃይማኖተ እስክንድርያ' in *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli*. Such as folios 15<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup> and <sup>r</sup>, 22<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>v</sup> and <sup>r</sup>, etc. In *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli* there is a tendency to consider the doctrine of Qəb'at as the only true Alexandrian teaching. As the document claimed, some times we can see the Egyptian bishops favoring the teaching of Qəb'at. In a letter of Metropolitan Marqos (1694-1716) to the community of Wälätä ḥəṭros, the Metropolitan clearly acknowledged the doctrine of Qəb'at ወበዝንቱ ቅብፅ ረሰዮ አብ እግዚአቲ ወመሲሐኒ ወወልደ ዘባሕርይ (EMML 2090), 'with this ointment the Father has made him Lord and Messiah and natural Son'. Cf. Getachew 1980:229-232.

prophet may have been read or heard about the book called *Fəḱare ʿiyyäsus*<sup>52</sup>, ‘anticipation of Jesus’, which is written before *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli*. Because the prophecy mentioned in *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli* is the same with the prophecy in *Fəḱare ʿiyyäsus*. In the book of *Fəḱare ʿiyyäsus* it is written:

ወደጎሬሁ አመጽኝ ንጉሠ ዘስሙ ቴዎድሮስ<sup>53</sup>:: ዘእምነገደ ሌዋውያን ነዋሃ ቆሙ:: ወአዕይንተሁ (sic) ይመስል ከመ ኮከበ ጽባሕ ወክሳዱ ከመ አርማስቆስ:: ወአስተጋብሎሙ ለእለ አትረፍክዎሙ እለ ይገብሩ ፈቃድዮ:: (EMML 1569: 17<sup>v</sup>).

After [all this persecution of the church], I will bring a king called Thewodāros. He is from the tribe of Leviticus and his stature is long. His eyes look like a morning star and his neck like a necklace. I will gather whom I saved, who will fulfill my will.

If the document was not written at the time of ʿAṣe Thewodāros, then, it was produced during the reign of ʿAṣe ʿiyasu, the king whose name is mentioned in the text and chronologically reined prior to ʿAṣe Thewodāros, from 1682-1706. The manuscript indicates the year of the last incident of the controversy as one year after the coronation of ʿAṣe ʿiyasu.

ወበውእቱ መዋዕል ንዮሎ<sup>54</sup> ወሞክ ሃይማኖተ ጀርመን እምአመ ነግሠ በጅዓመት ወለጡ ሃይማኖተ አበዊነ ኅበ ሃይማኖተ ጀርመን (*Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli* :63<sup>r</sup>).

In his [ʿAṣe ʿiyasu’s] reign, the religion of Germane<sup>55</sup> became stronger and even prevailed. After he reigned a year, they changed the religion of our fathers to the religion of German.

<sup>52</sup> *Fəḱare ʿiyyäsus* is a book about the prophecy of our Lord in response to the inquiry of His disciples concerning the future. እንዘ ይመስሉ ምስሌሆሙ ሐተትዎ ወይቤልዎ እስኩ ንግረነ ሊቅነ በደጎሪ መዋዕል ዘይመጽኝ ምንት ትእምርቱ (IES MS. 724:5), ‘When He [Jesus] was eating his lunch with them [His disciples], they asked Him saying, “tell us our Master, what is the sign of the forth coming period?” *Fəḱare ʿiyyäsus* could probably be compiled in the periods just after Ahmad Grañ (Merid 1982:261). Because of the defeat of the Christian king by the Moslem leader, Christians may suspect the truthfulness of their God and it seems to me that the document was written to elevate the spirit of those who are in doubt.

<sup>53</sup> Thewodāros means a gift of God and it essentially refers to Christ who, according to the New Testament, is the greatest gift God ever gave to mankind (Merid 1982:259).

<sup>54</sup> Ms. ኃዮሎ

<sup>55</sup> According to the manuscript, the so called the religion of German is introduced by Muʿaləm ḡeṭros, during the reign of ʿAṣe Fasilādās (*Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli*: 24<sup>r</sup>). It also indicated that the teaching of Muʿaləm ḡeṭros is in part identical with the teaching of the school of Tāwahādo. For instance ወይቤሉ... አካለ ሰብእኛሁ ለክርስቶስ በተዋሕዶተ ቃል ከብረ (ibid.

So, it is most probable that the manuscript was written in 1683.

But still, there are some indications about the possibility of early production of some sections of the manuscript, than the date proposed. On folio 17<sup>r</sup>, the codex concluded the section by mentioning the death of 'Aṣe Gälawdewos and wrapped up the incidents of 48 years, the times of the next four kings, with in a single paragraph, and then began the third section from the coming in to power of 'Aṣe Susnanyos. Compacting of the happenings of 48 years in a single paragraph seems to me, an attempt to link two previously different texts in to one, because of the lack of adequate sources about the times in between. If so, then, the first two sections, which are the introductory section and the section on the report of the local religious council during the reign of 'Aṣe Gälawdewos, were written during the reign of king Gälawdewos in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. The other indication is on folio 58<sup>r</sup>. It is a kind of concluding remark that, 'believers collected the [necessary] Holy books and this codex was written and named *Māṣṭirā haymanot*'. I suspect that extensions of this concluding remark, which are the last two sections that talk about the incidents during the reigns of 'Aṣe Yohannəs and 'Aṣe 'iyasu, are lateral additions. If my speculation is right, then, the third and fourth sections, which discuss on the incidents during the reign of 'Aṣe Susnəyos (r. 1607-1632) and 'Aṣe Fasilädäs (r. 1632-1667), were written during the reign of 'Aṣe Fasilädäs in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century and the remaining two sections were attached later during the time of 'Aṣe 'iyasu in the same Century.

To conclude, there are two speculations on the time of production of the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli*. The most probable one is that the whole manuscript might be produced in 1683, one year after the coronation of 'Aṣe 'iyasu (r. 1682-1706). The remaining speculation takes in to consideration the possibility of separate production of the sections of the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli*. Based on this assumption, the first two sections of the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli* were produced during the reign of 'Aṣe Gälawdewos (r. 1540-1559) in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century; the next two sections, section three and four, were produced in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century during the reign of 'Aṣe Fasilädäs (r. 1632-1667); and the remaining two sections, section five and six, were produced in 1683, during the reign of 'Aṣe 'iyasu (r. 1682-1706).

---

63'), 'and they [the followers Mu'aləm ṗetros] say, \_ \_ \_ the person of Christ's humanity is glorified by the unity with the Word'. See also note number 49 of this work.

## CHAPTER THREE

### HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

#### 3.1 *The Beginning of Qəb'at Teaching*

Everything has a beginning. There is a point in time or space at which something starts or comes into existence, even though it is challenging to trace doctrines back to their point of origin because of complications. Christianity or the belief in the life, teaching, and example of Jesus Christ began with the birth of Christ. When the time goes by people started to ask different doctrinal questions. The first difficult doctrinal question that engaged the mind of early Christians revolved around the Trinity (Conway 1962:3). To give explanation for this and other related questions, people started to forward their attitudes, incorporate their cultural heritages and philosophies<sup>56</sup> in to religion (Norton 1994, vol. 3:281). It is a cyclic process that people's mind restlessly generates questions and speculates the answers, and the answers again give birth to other questions. Through time, speculations have influence and grow into doctrines. Qəb'at's teaching seems to have been started in Ethiopia as a form of a comment on certain Biblical texts, which focus on Christology, and grew in to a School of thought. To explain the simple beginning and slow growth of controversies in religion, Samuel (1977:16) said, "Most disastrous events in history have simple beginnings."

Most of Ethiopian historians believe that Qəb'at teaching began in the seventeenth century. They believe that the Christological discussions with the Jesuits forced the Ethiopians to re-examine their own position. Their attempt of revision divided the Ethiopian church and created the schools of Qəb'at and Tāwahədo (Brake 1977:154; Tadesse 1970:29). I personally do not accept this claim for two reasons. First, Christological questions which are raised at the council of Chalcedon and Christological position of the chalcedonians were not strange concepts to the Ethiopians. Before the Jesuits stepped on the Ethiopian soil, accounts of the first four general church councils<sup>57</sup> were translated in to Gə'əz and local Gə'əz compositions regarding Christological controversies of the council of Chalcedon were composed<sup>58</sup>. And even, Ethiopian and foreign scholars are

---

<sup>56</sup> For instance, in the Hellenistic world terms of Greek Philosophy were applied to explain Christ and in Syria, Egypt, N. Africa and Persia the Gospel was interpreted metaphysically (Norton 1994, vol. 3: 281).

<sup>57</sup> The first four general church councils were Nicea in 325, Constantinople in 381, Ephesus in 431 and Constantinople in 451 (Conway 1962).

<sup>58</sup> For instance, a local Gə'əz composition called *Məzgäbä Haymanot*, 'treasury of the faith', was composed in the sixteen century, and talks about the first four church councils and Christological Controversies (Cowley 1970:33). Qerillos (Cyril of Alexandria) translated

indicating the possibility of the direct participation of Ethiopians at the council of Chalcedon (Petros 2006:78). Whether Ethiopians discussed Christological matters with the Jesuits or not, the formula of the existence of two natures in Christ was not a new theological idea for them. Nothing forced the Ethiopians to re-examine their position; they new it early on and wrote their comment on it before the arrival of the Jesuits.

Secondly, scholars of Ethiopian history believed the beginning of Qab‘at to be in the seventeenth century because the teaching of Qab‘at School of thought is mentioned in the chronicle of ‘Aṣe Susenyos (1607-1632)<sup>59</sup>.

ወእሜሃ መጽኡ ብዙኃን መነኮሳት ወብዙኃን ካህናት በእንተ ነገረ ሃይማኖት ከዊኖሙ ለጎበ ክልኤ ክፍል። ወኮነ ይብሉ መንፈቆሙ አብ ቀባኢ ወልድ ተቀባኢ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ቅብኢ። ወመንፈቆሙ ይብሉ ተዋሕዶተ መለኮት ኮኖ ህየንተ ቅብኢት ለትስብኢት (Pererra 1892:217)::

At that time, many monks and priests came [to the king Susenyos] concerning the issue of religion, by being in to parts. Half of them happen to say, 'The Father is the anointer, the son is the anointed, and the Holy Spirit is the ointment.' And half of them say, 'The unity of the Divinity became in place of the ointment for the manhood.'

But religious and historical documents before the reign of ‘Aṣe Susenyos have not yet been analyzed well and their similarity or dissimilarity with the teaching of Qab‘at School is not established. So, claiming that Qab‘at teaching began in the seventeenth century is questionable. In addition to this, the beginning of a certain doctrine obviously precedes its popularity. A certain doctrine may arise from a single person for the first time. Then people around him may begin to entertain this same theological idea. Next, people of the locality or all the members of a monastery may possess the same teaching. It May become known by the rest of the clergy after this time and the need for a common examination of the teaching may arise. But that does not mean this doctrine began at the time when it was brought to public discussion. Inline with this, the coming of representatives of the two schools to ‘Aṣe Susenyos does not indicate the beginning of Qab‘at teaching at that moment.

Christian<sup>60</sup> religion began with the birth of the founder, Jesus Christ, in 1 AD. It began as a group of small sects in different provinces (Bundy 1992:927). It

---

from Greek to Geez during the Axumite period indicates the existence of anti-chalcedonian theology in Ethiopia at a very early stage (Petros 2006:78).

<sup>59</sup> Professor Mered Welde Aregay said so (personal contact).

<sup>60</sup> The term Christian appears only three times in the New Testament- Acts 26:28, 11:26; 1 Pt. 4:16 (Mc Donald 1967, vol.3:629).

needed more than two centuries to become influential and popular in the Roman Empire. Christianity became important and influential world wide after Constantine adopted it as his own religion in 313 AD to strengthen his position as Emperor (Hastings 1994, Vol.III:589). It did not even possess its present name -Christianity- until 79 AD<sup>61</sup> (Cheyne 1899:754). It took around 80 Years from its beginning or 46 years after the death of the founder to acquire its present name. If Christianity as a religion took morethan two centuries to be popular, it is obvious that a distinct doctrine inside the umbrella of Christian faith would take much more time to gain public attention. The main issue I want to show here is the time difference between the coming into existence of a certain teaching and the public awareness about it.

I believe Ethiopicists made a mistake on setting the beginning date of Qəb'at School of thought, considering coming in to existence and popularity as a concurrent phenomenon. Its popularity in the seventeenth century does not mean it began in that same century. I believe Qəb'at's doctrine began prior to the seventeenth century and was a belief entertained by different personalities and monastic groups, before it was brought to the general clerical public.

Primary sources mentioned below may help us to push back the beginning of Qəb'at teaching before the seventeenth century.

### 3.1.1 *Mäṣṣəḥafä Zəkṛe wä-ṗawli*

The book of Zəkṛe and ṗawli is the main source for this work plus the popular book among Qəb'at followers. About the beginning of Qəb'at teaching the document says that at the time of religious debate between the Catholics and the Ethiopians during the reign of 'Aṣe Gälawdewos, Qəb'at scholars Zəkṛe and ṗawli represented the Ethiopian Church and presided over the council (*Mäṣṣəḥafä Zəkṛe wä-ṗawli*:8<sup>v</sup>). The document also indicates that a local religious council was held between the Catholics and the Qəb'ats because the so called the school of Tāwahdo was inexistent at that time. According to the document the teaching of Tāwahdo began later in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century during the reign of Aṣe Fasilädäs by a person called Mu'aləm pēṭros<sup>62</sup> (*Mäṣṣəḥafä Zəkṛe wä-ṗawli*: 24<sup>f</sup>).

The document says 'Aṣe Gälawdewos promised the Romans<sup>63</sup> to receive their religion if they kill the *nəḡusä tānbalat*<sup>64</sup>. The Romans succeeded in killing the

<sup>61</sup> Before 79 AD, Christians used to be called with different names, such as, 'brethren,' 'saints,' 'elect,' 'called,' 'that believed,' 'faithful,'. According to Acts of the Apostles 11:26, it was in Antioch that the disciples of Jesus were first called 'Christians' (Cheyne 1899:754).

<sup>62</sup> See also note number 44 of this work

<sup>63</sup> It should have been said the Portuguese not the Romans. Because it is the Portuguese under the leadership of Christopher da Gama who came to Ethiopia in 1541 and helped the king in the fight against the Muslims (Merid 1998:37). Other sources call them *Afrənj*, 'whit people' (Basset 1882:20; Perruchon \_\_\_ : 162; Dombrowski 1983: 47). May be the document called them as Romans because they were followers of the Roman Catholic church.

*nəguṣä tənbalat* in a place called *Wäynadäga*<sup>65</sup> and they asked the king to respect his word and convert to Catholicism. The king grieved because of the love of his church<sup>66</sup>, and he consulted Abba Zəkṛe and Abba päwli. These two scholars advised him to make a council and if the Romans won he would receive their religion and if they won the Romans would leave Ethiopia.

ወበውእቱ መዋዕል ሀለዉ ካህናት በደብረ ጽሑፍ ምኔተ አባ ሲኖዳ ዘስሞሙ<sup>67</sup> (sic) አባ ዝክረ ማርያም ወአባ ጴጥሮስ ዘውእቱ ጳውሊ ጸውዖሙ ወይቤሎሙ ሮማውያን ሃይማኖተን ተወፈይ ይቤሎኒ አንትሙ ዘትብሉ ይእዜ (*Mäṣḫafä Zəkṛe wä-päwli*: 7<sup>r</sup>) አይድኡኒ:: ወይቤልዎ ምእመናን ፍትሐ ኢትንስኣነ<sup>68</sup> ሀበነ ጉባዔ ሀበነ (sic):: ሶበ ይረትዑነ በሃይማኖት<sup>69</sup> (sic) ይንበሩ በሀገርን ወንሕነኒ ንሑር ወንሰደድ ወአንተኒ ተመጠው ሃይማኖቶሙ ወንበር ምስሌሆሙ:: ሶበሰ ንሕነ ንመውዖሙ ይሑሩ ሀገሮሙ ምስለ ቁላፍ ሃይማኖቶሙ:: ወአዖደ ንጉሥ ዓዋዲ ከመ ይግበሩ ጉባዔ ውስተ ከተማሁ ወተጋብዑ ውስተ ጸርሐ መንግሥቱ ካህናተ ኢትዮጵያ ወካህናተ ሮም ቁላፋን አሜሃ ይእተ አሚረ ኮነ ሊቀ ጉባዔ<sup>70</sup> (sic) አባ ዝክረ ማርያም ወአባ ጴጥሮስ (*Mäṣḫafä Zəkṛe wä-päwli*: 8<sup>v</sup>)::

At that time there were priests at the monastery of *Däbrä Ṣəmunä* [called] Abba Sinoda, whose [other] name was *Zəkṛä Marəyam* and Abba *pəṭros*,

<sup>64</sup> *Tənbalat* literally means messengers. In the document it refers to Muslims to indicate their belief in Muhammad to be the messenger of Allah (Leslau 1987:576). *Nəguṣä tənbalat* in turn refers to Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, known by his nickname as Ahmad *Graññ*, 'the left handed', who was the leader of the Muslims to invade the Christian kingdom.

<sup>65</sup> The chronicle of 'Aṣe Susenyos (1607-1632) calls it *Wäynadäg'a*. From the chronicle the place seems a kind of a rural city and kings used to camp there when passing to the south. ወተንሥኣ ንጉሥ ... እምነ ከተማሁ ደንቀዝ ወተዓየነ በወይና ደግዓ (Pererra 1892: 217), 'The king [Susenyos] set out ... from his city *Dänqäz* and camped in *Wäynadäg'a*. *Wäynadäg'a* is a kind of name of a province. The specific name of the place where Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi was killed is called *Zantära* in *ənfräz*, a district in *Bägemder* 60 km Southeast of *Gondär* city (Chernetsov 2003:301&302).

<sup>66</sup> Short chronicles show the fact differently than the book of Zəkṛe and päwli. ልበ ንጉሥስ አፍቀረ ሃይማኖቶሙ ለአፍርንጅ ...፤ ባሕቱ ፈርሃ ከመ ኢያምጽኡ ቦቱ ሕዝበ ኢትዮጵያ ሁከተ ላዕለ መንግሥቱ ከመ ዘመነ ግራኝ፤ ወእምድኅረዝ ቆመ በሃይማኖተ እስክንድርያ (Basset 1882:20; Perruchon 162; Dombrowski 1983: 47&48), 'But the king's heart loved the religion of the white people.... However he was afraid of the people of Ethiopia that they will bring turmoil to his kingdom like the time of [Ahmad] *Graññ*. After this he stud still in the religion of Alexandria.

<sup>67</sup> It should have been said ዘስሙ, 'whose name', other wise the number will not fit.

<sup>68</sup> The word ኢትንስኣነ is inserted later on the top of the line. Even if it is contextually better fit than the verb in the main text- ሀበነ-, the editor did not eliminate the later so that the existence of two similar verbs in the same sentence made the meaning is senseless. Or else the editor should have connected the two verbs with a *Gə'əz* conjunctive word -ው- so that structurally would have been possible and meaning wise promising, showing affirmation. Example, ቶረ ወገገደ, 'he completely went', to mean he may not come back.

<sup>69</sup> The context would have been good if it was በሃይማኖቶሙ, 'in their religion'.

<sup>70</sup> Since the persons presided over the council were two - Abba Zəkṛe and Abba päwli- it should have been said ሊቀናተ ጉባዔ, 'heads of the council'.

who was [also called] päwli. [ʾAṣe Gälawdewos] summoned them and told them that, "the Romans are asking me to receive their religion, tell me your advice now." The believers said to him that, "Do not take away justice from us. Just give us a council, if they won let they live in our country with [their] religion, and let us migrate, and let you receive their religion, and live with them. However, if we won let them go to their country with their uncircumcised religion." The king sent around a herald in order they make a council in his capitol. Priests of Ethiopia and the uncircumcised priests of Rome were assembled in his palace. At that time Abba Zäkrä Maräyam and Abba päwli became head[s] of the council.

The council took thirty days (*Mäṣḥafä Zäkre wä-päwli*: 17<sup>v</sup>). Finally Abba Zäkre and Abba päwli won over the Catholics and they requested the expulsion of the Catholics from Ethiopia. But the king begged Abba Zäkre and Abba päwli to let them live in Ethiopia because the king believed they had a lot to contribute to the development of Ethiopia.

ወጸውዎሙ ንጉሥ ለአባ ጳውሎስ ወለአባ ዝክሬ እምይእዜሱ ሃይማኖትክሙ ሃይማኖትዮ...:: ኦ አበውዮ ጅነገረ እስክለክሙ ኦሆ በሉኒ እሱ ሰብአ ሮም ይንበሩ በሀገርነ እስክ ንትመሀር ጥበቦሙ:: አልቦ ጠቢብ በምድረ ኢትዮጵያ እሱ ሰብአ ሮም ናሁ ኩሎሙ ኮኑ መፈውሰ ለሕሙማን ዓቃብያነ ሥራይ ለድውያን:: ወኮኑ መስተገብረ በጎበ ሐዲን ወበጎበ ጥቅም ኦሆ በሉኒ ጎድግዎሙ ይንበሩ በእንተ ጥበቢሆሙ (*Mäṣḥafä Zäkre wä-päwli*: 14<sup>f</sup>-15<sup>v</sup>)::

The king called Abba päwli and Abba Zäkre [and said], "from now on your religion is my religion.... O my fathers, I beg you one thing and say me alright; let these people of Rome live in our country until we learn their science. There is no skilled manpower in Ethiopia [where as] these people of Rome, all of them, became healers of the sick and physicians of the ill. They became blacksmiths and masons. Obey me, let them live for the sake of their knowledge."

According to the document the council was presided over by Abba Zäkre and Abba päwli, who were scholars of the school of Qäbʿat<sup>71</sup>. If the school of Qäbʿat existed during the reign of ʾAṣe Gälawdewos (1540-1559) on a national level, then it is obvious that its teaching began a long ago before the sixteenth century. The source contributes two things: One, it pushes back the beginning of Qäbʿat's teaching before the sixteenth century, unlike the existing belief of the scholars that it has

<sup>71</sup> About these scholars see pages from 19-22 of this work.

began in the seventeenth century. Two, it helps to detach the school of Qəbʿat from the Jesuits (Catholics) and shows that it is of Ethiopian origin<sup>72</sup>.

### 3.1.2 The Report of James Bruce

Bruce<sup>73</sup> (1813: 117) reported an interesting incident that occurred during the reign of ʾAṣe Zārʾa Yaʿaqob (1434-1468). After the council of Florence, a number of Syrian and Egyptian monks under the leadership of Abunä Yəmrəhanä Krəstos<sup>74</sup> came to Ethiopia and preached a doctrine which is different from the teaching of the established church. They confessed that Christ is perfect God and perfect man, but maintained that His human body was not made of flesh and blood like ours, but of a perfect substance peculiar to himself.

Like the teaching of those Syrian and Egyptian monks, the denial of equality of our flesh with the flesh of Jesus Christ is also maintained in the book of Zəkre and päwli.

After showing the contribution of the two persons -the Father and the Son- during the time of incarnation, the book of Zəkre and päwli (39<sup>v</sup>) shows the role of the Holy Spirit. It says: ፈጠራ ትሰብእት በግብረ መንፈስ ቅዱስ 'The [task of]-creating the body is [performed] by the Holy Spirit'. This formula of the Qəbʿats' is also attested in their lateral Amharic compositions.

እግዝእትነ ማርያምን ቅዱስ ገብርኤል መንፈስ ቅዱስ ይመጽእ ላእሌኪ፤  
 ወኃይለ ልዑል ይጸልላኪ<sup>75</sup>፤ ወዘኒ ይትወለድ እምኔኪ ቅዱስ ውእቱ  
 ወይሰመይ ወልደ እግዚአብሔር፤ ባላት<sup>76</sup> ጊዜ ... መንፈስ ቅዱስ ...

<sup>72</sup> A respected scholar from the head quarters of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church told me ones that, "forieners (white people) always believe that Ethiopians are incapable of creating new things. Whatever we have, whether a language or an alphabet, dressing stile or masonry, they believe it is an importation from them. They do not even believe that our mind is capable of creating a heretical teaching. So my son, what ever they say about the Qəbʿats do not trust them, even if we disagree on some maters, we are still brothers."

<sup>73</sup> James Bruce was born in 1730 and died on April 26, 1794. He was perhaps the most important foreigner to visit Ethiopia between the (Pankhurst 2003:631) expulsion of the Jesuits in 1632 and the visit of Henery solt in 1810. Motivated by an ambition to discover the source of the Nile, he sailed to the Red sea port of Massawa in September 1769, and proceeded via Axsum to Gondar where he spent most of his time in Ethiopia. On November 4, 1770 he achieved his quest by reaching the source of the Blue Nile (Abbay). Returning to Godar a few weeks later he began his journey home, via sinnar, at the end of December 1771. He arrived at Marseilles in March 1773, but did not return to Britain until June 1774 (Ibid. 632).

<sup>74</sup> I could not find a source that shows who Yəmrəhanä Krəstos was. But the construction of his name Yəmrəhanä Krəstos, lit. 'Let Christ guide us', seems a Gəʿəz construction. If my speculation is right then, he could be an Ethiopian.

<sup>75</sup> Ms. ይጸልላኪ

<sup>76</sup> Ms. ባለዋት

ከነፍሱ<sup>77</sup> ነፍስ ከሥጋዋ<sup>78</sup> ሥጋ ፈጥሮ አዋሐደው<sup>79</sup> (EMML 2840:197<sup>v</sup>)<sup>80</sup>::

When St. Gabriel said to our lady Mary, "The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Highest will overshadow you. And the one to be born will be Holy and will be called the Son of God," the Holy Spirit created the soul from her soul and the flesh from her flesh and united it [with the person of the word].

For the scholars of Qəb‘at school of thought, the word "creating" here does not explain the process of bringing a new thing in to existence; it rather shows the process of acquiring necessary elements for incarnation from the Virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit. ወበእንተ ዘፈለጠ ነፍስ እምነፍሱ ወሥጋ እምሥጋሃ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ሥጋ ፈጠሮ አልበሶ ይቤ መጽሐፍ (*Mäsəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli*: 40<sup>f</sup>), 'for the sake that [the Holy Spirit] divided the soul from her soul and the flesh from her flesh, the book said: "the Holy Spirit created the flesh and clothed [a human body to Christ]"'.

Even if Qəb‘at scholars tried to soften the meaning with a commentary, it is clear from their book that they maintain the dissimilarity of our body and the human body of Jesus Christ, like the Syrian and Egyptian monks, mentioned in the report of James Bruce. If so, then, elements of the teachings of Qəb‘at school of thought existed in the fifteenth century, before the school was given a name in the seventeenth century. This source may help us to claim the existence of Qəb‘at School in the fifteenth century.

### 3.1.3 *Märrs Amin*

*Märrs Amin*, lit. 'The port of religion', is one of the three<sup>81</sup> theological treatises of the *Zämika’elites*<sup>82</sup>. It was edited and translated by Enrico Cerulli in 1958.

<sup>77</sup> Ms. ከነፍሱ-ዋ

<sup>78</sup> Ms. ከሥጋዋ

<sup>79</sup> Ms. አወውሐደው

<sup>80</sup> The main text of EMML 2840 is a *Gə‘əz* Psalms of David. However at the end, from folio 194<sup>f</sup>-197<sup>f</sup>, a treaty on the theology of Qəb‘at is attached. Professor Getachew Haile reprinted the material to write the article on the title, 'Materials on the theology of Qəb‘at (1980).

<sup>81</sup> The rest two are *Fäkkare Mäläkot*, 'exposition of the Divinity' and *Hamärä Näfs*, 'Ship of the soul' (Cerulli 1958). Professor Getachew (1981: 125) proposes that the Anaphora of St. John son of thunder, which is in use in the Ethiopian Orthodox church today, could probably be the composition of the *Zämika’elites*.

<sup>82</sup> *Zämika’el* was probably the abbot of a big monastery (Getachew 1981: 124; 1983(b): 145). *Zämika’elites* could come from a Jewish background (Getachew 1983(b):146). In addition to what is mentioned in the main text, *Zämika’elites* were in disagreement with king *Zär’a Ya‘əqob* concerning the second coming of Jesus whether with the Father and the Holy Spirit or alone (Getachew 1983(b):146).

Zāmika'elites lived during the reign of 'Aṣe Zār'a Ya'əqob (1434-1468) and even the king concerned too much about them and their teaching than the Estifanosites<sup>83</sup> (Getachew 1983(b): 144). Zāmika'elites believe that our body does not liken the human body of Christ. ሐሰ ንብሎ ለዝንቱ ጽቡር ይትማሰሎ ለእግዚአብሔር ዘእንበለ በነፍስ ነባቢት ዘትሄሉ ውትረ እንበለ መዊት<sup>84</sup> (Cerulli 1958: 250), 'God forbid to announce this mud [human being] likeness to God, except with a rational soul, which lives forever without death'.

As it is shown in the above subtitle, Qəb'at scholars believe the same way the Zāmika'elites believe that our flesh is not equal or the same with the human body of Christ. This fact shows the existence of the elements of Qəb'at teaching in the fifteenth century, two centuries before what is believed to be the date of origin of Qəb'at.

### 3.1.4 Mäṣəḥafä Milad

*Mäṣəḥafä Milad*, lit. 'The book of nativity', is one of the books of King Zār'a Ya'əqob<sup>85</sup> (r. 1434-1468). It was edited and published with its Italic translation by Wendt in 1962. It seems that the book was written in response to those who do not accept the two births of Jesus Christ - the first from His eternal Father and the second from the Virgin Mary. The king described these people as Jews. ስማዕ ኦ ኣይሁዳዊ ርጉም ... ዘክህድክ ልደቶ ለክርስቶስ ቀዳሚ እምእግዚአብሔር ኣብ ወዳግመ ልደቶ እማርያም በክልኤ ደንግል በደኃሪ መዋዕል (Wendt 1962:3), 'listen O! Jew the cursed... who denied the birth of Christ primarily from God the Father and again His birth from Mary, twice virgin, in later times.

The document mentions a little bit the doctrine of Qəb'at School of thought that Jesus Christ was anointed.

እስመ ኩሎሙ ነቢያተ መንፈስ ተነበዩ ፈጸሙ ወከርመሙ ወይትቀባዕ  
 ቅዱስ ቅዱሳን ዳንኤል ነቢይ ዘይቤ ቅዱስ ቅዱሳን ክርስቶስ ውእቱ::  
 (Wendet 1962:51)::

Indeed, all the prophets of the [Holy] Spirit professed, satisfied, and made silent that, "The Holy of Holies will be anointed." What the prophet Daniel called the 'Holy of Holies' is Jesus Christ.

<sup>83</sup> Estifanosites are monastic groups that refused to prostrate before any thing except the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. More on the Estifanosites movement see: Getachew 1983 (a); Tadesse 1968; Kaplan 1984.

<sup>84</sup> To refute this teaching of Zāmika'elites, king Zār'a Ya'əqob composed a homily in honor of St. John the evangelist (Getachew 1983 (b):146; 1981:125).

<sup>85</sup> For the list of works ascribed to king Zār'a Ya'əqob, see, among others, Perruchon 1893:76-78; Dillman 1884:26; Wendet 1962:1.

The document does not say who anointed Him and What He was anointed. In addition it does not indicate the outcome of the anointment. Whereas Qəb'at's teaching point out clearly all these points that Christ was anointed by the Father and that the ointment was the Holy Spirit (*Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*: 13<sup>v</sup>; 48<sup>v</sup>). Besides the school clearly shows that the unction of the Holy Spirit in the womb of St. Mary, at the moment of conception, made Him the natural son of God<sup>86</sup> (*Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*: 65<sup>r</sup>).

Even if the doctrine mentioned in *Mäṣəḥafä Milad* does not show a complete picture of the teaching of Qəb'at School of thought, it at least acknowledged the word ተቀብቦ, 'anointed', apart from the tradition of the Təwəḥədo School that always understands it to mean ተዋሕዶ, 'united' (Getachew 1980:205). Thus, we may say one of the elements of the teaching of Qəb'at existed in the fifteenth century and even recognized by King Zär'a Ya'əqob, the one who considers himself as defender of the Təwəḥədo<sup>87</sup>.

To conclude, among the source mentioned above, one shows the beginning of Qəb'at teaching to be before the sixteenth century and the rest point out to be at least in the fifteenth century. In addition, historical works also indicate the fifteenth century to be the century that many opposing doctrinal teachings originated (Getachew 1981:134). So that, it is most probable that the teaching of Qəb'at began at least in the fifteenth century and was developed to a level of a school of theology in the sixteenth century.

### 3.2 Abunä Ewosṭatewos and the School of Qəb'at

When we look closely the history of Ethiopian Church, the majority, if not all, of the internal religious movements were founded by strong monastic leaders. To mention some, Estifanos, the founder of Estifanosit movement (Getachew 1983(a):93); Ewosṭatewos, the founder of Ewosṭatean movement (Kaplan 1984:38); Zämika'el, the founder of Zämika'elites movement (Getachew 1983(b):144), etc.

If it is so, then, who possibly founded the school of Qəb'at? Can we trace its origin from a certain monastic leader? Followers of the theological School of Qəb'at trace the

---

<sup>86</sup> For the complete teaching of Qəb'at School, see the fourth chapter of this work.

<sup>87</sup> It is not amazing to see Zär'a Ya'əqob's ideas clashing with the doctrine of the Təwəḥədo Church. For example, he prefers to interpret the mystery of the unity and trinity of God with three distinct suns, each representing one person of the Trinity. Whereas the Təwəḥədo Church prefers to represent the Trinity with a single sun, its disc representing the Father, its light the Son and its heat the Holy Spirit (Getachew 198:108).

origin of their teaching from the teachings of *abunä Ewoṣṣatewos* (Fiaccadori 2003(b):468). There are also some sources that indicate *Ewoṣṣatewos* as the founder of this school of thought. Getachew (1983(b)) in one instance supported this assertion that, "[the followers of *Abunä Täklä Haymanot* and *Abunä Ewoṣṣatewos*] were at odds first over the question of observing the Saturday Sabbath, and later over the theology of the Unction of Christ...." According to the belief of Professor Getachew Haile, the school of *Qəbʿat* is another phase of the development of *Ewoṣṣatewosit* movement.

Who was *Ewoṣṣatewos*? How could he be connected to the school of *Qəbʿat*? What are the sources that support this speculation? What do they really say? These questions are discussed bellow.

### 3.2.1 *Abunä Ewoṣṣatewos*

The monk *Ewoṣṣatewos* was born in July 15, 1273<sup>88</sup> in *Şəraʿ* a district of Eastern *Təgray*. His mother was *Sənä Həywät* and his father *Krəstos Moʿa* (Fiaccadori 2003(a):469), who was from a noble family (*Gädlä Ewoṣṣatewos*:1). As a baby his father gave him the name *Maʿəqäbä Alfa*<sup>89</sup> and after joining the monastery of *Abba Danʿel* he was renamed *Ewoṣṣatewos* (ibid. 8).

In 1280, when he was 7 years old<sup>90</sup>, he was sent to his maternal uncle *Abba Danʿel*<sup>91</sup>, who was the Abbot of *Däbrä Maryam* in *Gärʿalta*, to study under him (Fiaccadori 2003(a):469). *Abba Danʿel* gave him the order of monasticism (Taddesse 1972:206) and soon after, around 1300, he left the community of *Abba Danʿel* and established his own at *Şärabi* (Fiaccadori 2003(a):469).

*Ewoṣṣatewos* was in conflict with the clergy on the question of the observance of Saturday Sabbath. In about 1338, he put his community under the guidance of *Absadi* and left Ethiopia in search of a country where Saturday is observed as the Lord's Day (Getachew 1981 (b):75; Fiaccadori 2003(a):470). Based on other

<sup>88</sup> *Ewoṣṣatewos* died in September 15, 1352 (Taddesse 1972:206; Fiaccadori 2003:469).

<sup>89</sup> Fiaccadori (2003:469) noted *Ewoṣṣatewos*'s early name or የዓለም ስም, 'secular name', to be *Maʿəqäbä əgziʿ* not *Maʿəqäbä Alfa*.

<sup>90</sup> About *Ewoṣṣatewos*' school time, his *Gädlä* (4) says, ወእምዝ ሰበ ጎደጎ ጥበ እሙ ወሰድዎ ውስተ ምኒተ መነኮሳት ከመ ይትመሀር ጥበበ ወተግሳፀ, 'consequently, when he abandoned [sucking] his mother's breast, they took him to the monastery of monks so that he studies a wisdom and admonition'. So it seems that he went to school even earlier.

<sup>91</sup> *Abba Danʿel* was an Abbot, not founder, of *Däbrä Maryam* (Lusini 1994:1276). His monastic name, given by his teacher *Abunä Ebnä Sänbät*, was *Zäkaryas* (ibid. 1277).

sources, it seems that Ewostatewos was forced to leave the country. There was an attempt on his life by a rival group of clergy as a result of the Saturday Sabbath controversy (Taddesse 1972: 207). His hagiography reports the failure of the attempt:

ተንሥኡ ወቀንዑ ላዕሌሁ ወተማከሩ መነኮሳት ወካህናት። ወይቤሉ  
እደ ወአንስተ አግብአ ውስተ ትምህርቱ። ... ንኡ ንውግሮ ሌሊተ<sup>92</sup>  
በአዕባን (26) ... ። ወሶቤሃ ወጽኦ እማኅደሩ ወተኣተተ ሕቀ ወበይእቲ  
ሌሊት ወገርዎ ለማኅደሩ(27)።

Monks and priests arose against him and became jealous of him, and they conspired against him. They said, "He brought men and women to his teaching. ... Come; let us stone him [to death] with a rock during a night...." At that time [the time when St. Gabriel and Michael told him about the conspiracy], he got out from his cell and disappeared for a little while. On that night they stoned his cell.

When Ewostatewos left the country, he was accompanied by some of his followers. When he was visiting the Egyptian Patriarch Benjamin<sup>93</sup>, he had fifteen disciples with him (Gädlä Ewostatewos: 42) and in another instance when he met a certain Zäkrya, an Ethiopian monk who was living in the monastery of *Asqetas* in Egypt, there were twelve disciples (ibid. 45&51).

Actually some scholars believe that the controversy on the observance of the Jewish Sabbath began a century before Ewostatewos, during his grand spiritual father Abunä Ebnä Sänbät (Ebnä Sänbät → Abba Dan'el → Ewostatewos). These scholars based their speculation on two factors, one on the meaning of the personal name Ebnä Sänbät and the other on the substance of king Lalibäla's inscription. Literally, the name Ebnä Sänbät means 'stone of the Sabbath', in connoting 'corner stone, head stone, founder' or 'son of the Sabbath', if there was a possibility of adaptation of Arabic name ibn. As Lusini (1994:1279) believed this strange name "contains a reference to some controversy about the observance of the Sabbath...." If the speculation is right, then the controversy on the observance of the Jews Sabbath began during the Zag<sup>w</sup>e period, around the middle of thirteenth century. About the other substantial source Gifar (1984) and Lusini (1993), as quoted in Lusini (1994), noted that King Lalibäla dedicated a long inscription to the ሰንበተ ክርስቲያን, 'Sabbath of the Christian' or simply Sunday and this could be an opposition to the supporters of the Jews Sabbath. In both cases the scholars believed that there is a possibility of the existence of Jews Sabbath controversy before the time of Abunä Ewostatewos.

<sup>92</sup> Ms. ሊ.ሊ.ተ

<sup>93</sup> He was a patriarch over the seat of St. Mark from 1327-1339 (Taddesse 1972: 207).

Armenian patriarch and the other is the Ewostateans visit of early Christian churches.

As his *Gädl* indicates, when Abba Ewostatewos was in Egypt, he heard about an Armenian Arch bishop, who was banished from his seat and living in Egypt in exile. This bishop was Kat'olikos Yakob II Tarsonac'i, who was deposed in 1341 and exiled to Egypt from Ca. 1343 to 1354. Finally he was restored to his seat in 1355 (Fiaccadori 2003(a):470 & 471). The *Gädlä* does not clearly indicate the reason or reasons for the banishment of the bishop. It only says two things 'for the sake of God' and 'by reason of rules of the Apostles'. **ዘተሰደ በእንተ እግዚአብሔር** (*Gädlä* Ewostatewos:44), 'who was banished for God's sake'; **ዘተሰደ በሕገ ሐዋርያት** (*Gädlä* Ewostatewos:49), 'who was banished because of the Apostolic law'.

At last Abba Ewostatewos met this bishop in Armenia, **ወእምዝ እንዘ የሐውር አባ ኤዎስጣቲዎስ ሀገረ አርማንያ ረከቦ ሊቀ ጳጳሳት ዘተሰደ** (*Gädlä* Ewostatewos:49), 'Thereafter, when Abba Ewostatewos went to the country of Armenia, he met the arch bishop who was banished'. If the bishop was persecuted for a reason having different dogmatic stand, not a canon, against the position of the established Church of Armenian, then Abba Ewostatewos and his disciples might got the teaching of Qab'at from the former and imported it to Ethiopia in their return. If this assumption is right, then Abba Ewostatewos is the founder of Qab'at school of thought in Ethiopia and the School began in the fourteenth century after the return of the disciples of Ewostatewos following the death of the later in 1352. However, some scholars believe that the controversy on the unction of Christ developed with in the Ethiopian church and among the Ethiopian theologians (Abba Ayele :252).

Another important episode in Ewostatewos's *Gädl* is his, including his disciples, visit of early Christian churches. According to Taddesse (1972:210) their visit probably gave them an opportunity to read "the literature of the early Christian church, and they may have brought their own copies<sup>98</sup> of religious books back with them." It could be at this time that the main source for the central formula

---

<sup>98</sup> According to *Gädlä* Filāpos, sons of Ewostatewos had a tradition of copying manuscripts and presenting for a brother. ...አመ ይቤሎ አባ ፊልጶስ ለአባ አብሳዲ፤ ጸሐፍ ሊተ እጉየ ብሔረ ዮሐንስ ከመ እጹሊ ቦቱ አነ። ወተቈጥፀ አባ አብሳዲ ወይቤሎ፤ እምኢአከለከነ ሰበ ትቤለኒ ጸሐፍ ሊተ አንቀጸ ብርሃን እስመ ብእሊ ነዳይ አንተ (Conti Rossini 1900:104), '... When Abba Filāpos said to Abba Absadi that, "O! my brother copy to me [the book] Bāherā Yoḥannās in order to pray with it", Abba Absadi became furious and said to him, "Since you are a poor man, is not it enough to you, if you ordered me to write you *Anqāṣā Bārhan*."

of the school of Qəbʿat - አብ ቀባዒ ወልድ ተቀባዒ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ቅብዕ<sup>99</sup>:: በቅብዕት ወልድ ባሕርይ, 'The Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed and the Holy Spirit the ointment. Natural Son [of God] by unction'- was imported to Ethiopia. Some Qəbʿat literatures indicate sources for this formula. *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli* specifies the basis for this formula to be a document called *Mäṣəḥafä Antosi*<sup>100</sup>. መጽሐፈ አንጦሲ አብ ቀባዒ ወልድ ተቀባዒ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ቅብዕ [ይቤ] (*Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli*:47<sup>v</sup>), 'The book of *Antosi* says, "The Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed [and] the Holy Spirit the ointment"'. But I personally never heard or read about the existence of such a document and even neither do scholars I have discussed with. This book of *Antosi* might have been introduced to Ethiopia by the Ewostateans. Another source, the short chronicle of King Täklä Haymanot (r.1706-1708), reported an account of a local religious council held at *Yä-Fəqər Gənbə*, in March 1707<sup>101</sup>. In the council the School of Qəbʿat was represented by Abba Wäldä Tənsäʿe, Abba Təməte, Abba Şädal and Abba Madäre. When they were asked about their literary base for the formula 'Natural Son by unction', Abba Wäldä Tənsäʿe replied that ሀሎ መጽሐፍ ዘግብጽ ዘይብል በቅብዕ ተወሐደ (Basset 1882:60), 'There is an Egyptian book that says "[the flesh was] united [with Divinity] by unction"'. Even if the Abba Wäldä Tənsäʿe could not spell the name of the book, it certainly indicated that the scholars of Qəbʿat have a source for their formula. And this source might have been come to Ethiopia with the return of the Ewostateans from their self exile. The other Qəbʿat literature *Mäṣəḥafä Ləbuna* state the foundation of the formula to be a scholar called Qəṛəyaqos.

ቅዱስ ቅርጽቆስ አመ ተርጉሞ<sup>102</sup> ለመልእክተ ጳውሎስ ዘብሔረ ሮሜ ይቤ በጥንተ ድርሳነ፤ እስመ ዝክረ ክርስቶስ ይመርህ ላዕለ ኪኣኣል:: ዘውእቱ አብ ቀባዒ ወልድ ተቀባዒ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ቅብዕ (Ceruly 1960:160).

'When saint Qəṛəyaqos interpreted the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans in his ancient homily said, "Mentioning of [the name] Christ leads to [the understanding of the duty of] the three persons. That is to say the Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed and the Holy Spirit the ointment"'.  


---

<sup>99</sup> This formula is found almost in every page of any Qəbʿat literatures. For more on Qəbʿat literature see note no. 23 of this work.

<sup>100</sup> In another place *Mäṣəḥafä Zəkre wä-ḥawli* (27<sup>v</sup>) notes that the doctrine of Qəbʿat School of thought is based on the testimony of 81 Holy books and the teachings early fathers.

<sup>101</sup> The chronicle says ሠረቀ መስከረም በዕለተ ሐሙስ በፎፂወ፩፻፺ወ፱ ዓመት እምፍጥረተ ዓለም... (Basset 1882:59):: ወበወርኃ መጋቢት ገብረ ነገሥ ገባዔ (ibid. 60), 'September began on the day of Thursday in 7199 from the creation of the world. On the month of March the king [Täklä Haymanot] made a council'. To calculate the time of the council in AD, we subtract 5500 (the time before the birth of Jesus Christ) from 7199 (the time from the creation of the world to the council of *Yä-Fəqər Gənbə*) and we find 1699 in Ethiopian calendar, which is equivalent to 1707 AD (plus 8 years difference between the Ethiopian Gregorian calendar).

<sup>102</sup> Ms. ተረጎሞ

According to Roger Cowley (quoted in Getachew 1980:249), Qarəyaqos (Cyriacus) was one among the scholars who had commented on Pauline epistles. The commentary of Qarəyaqos, which contained the main doctrine of the Qəbʿat School, might have been copied and brought to Ethiopia by the Ewosṭateans. If our speculation is right, then it strengthens the claim of Qəbʿat followers that Ewosṭatewos is the father or founder of the School.

### 3.2.2 Sources that support the Ewosṭatewos - Qəbʿat link

There are different sources that indicate the long lived relationship between the house of Ewosṭatewos and the school of Qəbʿat. Some of them are religious and belong to the school of Qəbʿat, where as others are neither religious in their nature nor belong to the school.

#### (a) *Məsəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*

The document does not give a genealogical list of fathers of the school of Qəbʿat beginning from Abunä Ewosṭatewos. But it creates a bond between the monasteries founded by Ewosṭateans and the scholars of Qəbʿat. Sometimes also, after mentioning a certain Qəbʿat scholar or a certain church established by a Qəbʿat father, it tries to indicate that that scholar or father is the son of Ewosṭatewos. ወገብሩ ገብዔ በገዳመ ዘጌ ዘሐነዖ አቡነ በትረ ማርያም ወልዱ ለአቡነ ኤዎስጣቲዎስ (*Məsəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*:25<sup>v</sup>), 'They made a council at the monastery of Zäge<sup>103</sup> that Abunä Bätträ Maryam, the son of Abunä Ewosṭatewos, built it'. ሐሩ ሀገረ እንፍራዝ ዘትሰመይ ደብሳጅ ዘውእቱ አምባ ማርያም መካነ አቡነ ገብረ ኢየሱስ ወልዱ ለኤዎስጣቲዎስ ከፋሌ ባሕር በኃይለ ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ:: ወበጽሑ ንበ ሀሎ አባ ዘኢየሱስ (*Məsəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*:63<sup>f</sup>), 'They [priests of Azäzo] went to the city of ጸንፍራጅ<sup>104</sup> that is called Däbsan, which is Amba Maryam, the place of Abunä Gäbrä

<sup>103</sup> See note no. 50 of this work.

<sup>104</sup> ጸንፍራጅ is a district in Bägemder 60 km southeast of Gondär city. It borders Lake Ṭana in the West, Dämbəya in the north, and Fogera in the south. Its original inhabitants were Agäw, but by the early 14<sup>th</sup> C. it was populated by the Betä Israʾel (Fälaša), who were evangelized and converted to Christians by Abba Gäbrä ʾiyyäsus, son of Abunä Ewosṭatewos (Chernetsov 2003:301; Fiaccdori 2003(b):465). In 1570s, ʾAše Säršä Dəngəl (1563-97) established his camp at Gubaʾe (Guzara) among the monasteries of ጸንፍራጅ. It remained as the capital of the kingdom until 1589. Later in 1708 ʾAše Tewoflos was crowned in this place (Chernetsov 2003:302).

## Declaration

I, the under signed, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

---

Abreham adugna  
October 2007

## Confirmation

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as thesis advisor.

---

Amsalu Aklilu (Dr.)  
Advisor  
October 2007

'iyäsus, the son of Ewoṣṣatewos divider of the sea by the power of Jesus Christ. They were arrived where Abba Zä-'iyäsus<sup>105</sup> was'.

Mentioning of the phrase ከፋሌ ባሕር, 'divider of the sea', next to the name of Abunä Ewoṣṣatewos seems intentional here. Because, the school of Täwahädo does not acknowledge this Ewoṣṣatewos as the founder of the School of Qəb'at. According to the adherents of the School of Täwahädo, there are two personalities called by the name Ewoṣṣatewos. The first one is ኤዎስጣቴዎስ ከፋሌ ባሕር, 'Ewoṣṣatewos divider of the sea', whom they accept as a saint. And the other is ኤዎስጣቴዎስ ዘሜጫ (EMML 1533:12<sup>v</sup>), 'Ewoṣṣatewos of Meča<sup>106</sup>', whom they believe to be the founder of the School of Qəb'at and consider to be a heretic. Even if scholars of Qəb'at School of thought consider the second Ewoṣṣatewos as a false fabrication of the School of Täwahädo, the writer of *Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* used the adjective ከፋሌ ባሕር, to make the issue clear in case if a doubt crossed the mind of a reader.

From among the sons of Abunä Ewoṣṣatewos, Abba Gäbrä 'iyäsus was the only who left the northern part of the empire and came to Bägemdär to evangelize the Betä Əsra'el<sup>107</sup> of Ənfraz (Fiaccadori 2003(b):465). In Ənfraz he has founded the monastery of Däbsan and built the church of Şawänä Maryam (Raineri 2003:614). According to *Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* (63ff.), this monastery was a seat for the School of Qəb'at. On this place a Qəb'at scholar called Zä-'iyäsus defended the teaching of Qəb'at against 'the priests of Azäzo', who believe that በቅብዓተ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ኢኮነ ወልደ ባሕርይ፤ በተዋሕዶተ<sup>108</sup> ቃል ከብረ, '[humanity] did not become natural son [of God] by the unction of the Holy Spirit; it was glorified by the union with the Word, '.

<sup>105</sup> There should not be confusion between Abba Gäbrä 'iyyäsus and Abba Zä-'iyyäsus. What priests of Azäzo met and discussed Christological matters with was Abba Zä-'iyyäsus, where as the place where Abba Zä-'iyyäsus lived was founded by Abba Gäbrä 'iyyäsus, immediate son of Abunä Ewoṣṣatewos. Abba Gäbrä 'iyyäsus was one among the disciples of Abunä Ewoṣṣatewos, whom they followed as far as Armenia for about fourteen years (Fiaccadori 2003(b):466). According to *Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* Zä-'iyyäsus was a blind scholar of Qəb'at School. ወከባ ዘኢየሱስ አሜሃ ሶበ ይሰምዕ ነገረ ክህደት ወጽርፈት ላዕለ ስመ ክርስቶስ አምላክነ፡፡ ፈቀደ ስመ ይሕንቆ[መ] ጊርዔ[ሆመ]...፡፡ ወጎደጎመ በእንተ ዘኮነ ዕውረ (*Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*:64<sup>f</sup>), 'At the time when Abba Zä-'iyyäsus was hearing a heretic word and insult on the name of our Lord Christ, he wished to strangle their throat.... But he left them for the reason that he is blind'.

<sup>106</sup> Meča is name of a district in Western Goḡḡam, around thirty five kilometers southwest of Bahir Dar city.

<sup>107</sup> Betä əsra'el, lit. 'The house of Israel', is the name of Ethiopian Jews. They are also called Fälaša, lit. 'Emigrants.'

<sup>108</sup> Ms. በተዋሕዶ

Therefore, *Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* shows the link between the school of Qəbʿat and Abunä Ewoṣtəwos, and even claimed Abunä Ewoṣtəwos, through Abba Gäbrä ʾiyäsus, to be the founder of the School.

(b) *Gädlä Abba Sinoda of Däbrä Şəmona*

As quoted in Taddesse (1972:217) Abba Sinoda of Däbrä Şəmona claimed in his *gädl* to be the disciple of Əndryas,<sup>109</sup> who in turn was the disciple of Gäbrä ʾiyäsus, the immediate son of Abunä Ewoṣtəwos. But the question is how could the discipleship of Abba Sinoda to Abba Əndryas establish Ewoṣtəwos - Qəbʿat link? Dose Abba Sinoda of Däbrä Şəmona really belong to the School of Qəbʿat in the first place? We may answer these questions by consulting cross references on Abba Sinoda and Däbrä Şəmona Monastery.

Different sources testify that Däbrä Şəmona was/is a firm seat of Qəbʿat School of thought. The main input of this work, *Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli* states that Zəkre and ṗawli, scholars who fought representing the School of Qəbʿat against the Catholics in a local religious council during the reign of ʾAşe Gälawdewos, were clergy of Däbrä Şəmona. ወበው-አቱ መዋዕል ሀለዉ ካህናት በደብረ ጽሙና ምኒተ ... አባ ዝክረ ማርያም ወአባ ... ጳውሊ. (*Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli:7*), 'At that time, there were priests at the monastery of Däbrä Şəmona called Abba Zəkrä Maryam<sup>110</sup> and Abba ṗawli'. This source shows that Däbrä Şəmona was not only the seat but also the headquarters of Qəbʿat School of thought. The other source, the short chronicle of ʾAşe ʾiyasu also acknowledges Däbrä Şəmona as the seat of Qəbʿat School of thought. ወይኢተ አሚረ መጽኢ<sup>111</sup> ስዱዳን ምስለ አባ አርከ ድንግል ዘደብረ ጽሙና (Basset 1882:38), 'At that time the excommunicated ones came with Abba Arkä Dəngəl of Däbrä Şəmona'. The scholars of Qəbʿat were excommunicated at the council of Yəbaba during the reign of the same king ʾAşe ʾiyasu (ibid. 37). But they came again to the king for an appeal. The responsibility of leading the petitioners was put on the shoulder of Arkä Dəngəl, who was from the monastery of Däbrä Şəmona. It shows that personalities from Däbrä Şəmona were given a high respect, may be because of the highness of the monastery itself among the monasteries of Qəbʿat School of

<sup>109</sup> Taddesse Tamrat (1972:217) suspected the discipleship of Abba Sinoda to Abba Əndryas. He said this claim is a lateral development in the tradition of Däbrä Wärq.

<sup>110</sup> Zəkrä Maryam is the full form of the name Zəkre, as in '*Mäṣḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*'.

<sup>111</sup> Ms. መጽኢ

thought. The above two sources assure us that *Däbrä Şəmona* was a Qəb'at monastery, may be the principal one, and personalities from this monastery were not only members of the School but also the leading scholars in the Qəb'at circle.

Apart from the history of *Däbrä Şəmona* monastery, the account of the monk Abba Sinoda itself shows the same fact. In the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli* there is a reference about Abba Sinoda. The document states that the name Sinoda is another name of Abba *Zəkre*. ወበው-እቱ መዋዕል ሀለው ካህናት በደብረ ጽሑፍ ምኔተ አባ ሲኖዳ ዘስሙ አባ ዝክረ ማርያም ወአባ ጴጥሮስ (*Mäşəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli:7'*), 'At that time, there were priests at the monastery of *Däbrä Şəmona*, Abba Sinoda who's [secondary] name is Abba *Zəkrä Maryam*<sup>112</sup> and Abba *ṗawli*'. The two Sinodas, the one who claimed to be the disciple of Abba Əndryas and the one with a secondary name as *Zəkrä Maryam*, seem the same person to me. Firstly, they were residents of the same monastery *Däbrä Şəmona* and secondly, they lived in the same century. Abba Sinoda, also called as *Zəkrä Maryam*, lived during the reigns of *Gälawdewos* (1540-59) and *Minas* (1559-63), and probably died during the reign of *Särşä Dəngal* (1563-97) (Cowley 1989:394). The other Sinoda, son of Əndryas, also lived in the sixteenth Century. His grand father Abba *Gäbrä 'iyäsus* lived during the reigns of *Säyfa Ar'ad* (1344-72) and *Dawit II*<sup>113</sup> (1379/80-1413). His father Əndryas "died in an advanced age on 20 *Hamle*" (Raineri 2003:614). In the source the year of his death is not mentioned, but the phrase 'advanced age' shows the fact that Əndryas died reaching the state of senility. If so, then he may have survived until the reign of *Na'od* (r. 1494-1507), for about 94 years. This helps us to speculate that Abba Sinoda, son of Əndryas, lived in the sixteenth Century and most probably the two Sinodas mentioned in the two different sources are identical.

Let us come back to the genealogy of Abba Sinoda. Abba *Gäbrä 'iyäsus* received from his dying master, *Abunä Ewostatewos*, both the *Tabot*<sup>114</sup> of St. Mary and his own chair as a blessing, and came to Ənfraz to evangelize Ethiopian Jews living there. He succeeded in converting many *Betä Əsra'el* in to Christianity. When he was in his death bed in his turn, he distributed his belongings among his three disciples *Matewos*, Əndryas and *Fiqtor*, and gave them a final order. Əndryas was ordered to go to another region and preach the Gospel (Raineri 2003:614). According to *Hamile 20* reading of *sinksar* of *Däbrä Wärq*, quoted in Tadesse 1972:217, this new region is identified to be *Zəway*. This Əndryas of *Zəway* is the one that Abba Sinoda claimed to be his father.

<sup>112</sup> See note no. 110 of this work.

<sup>113</sup> 'Aşe Dawit was the first Ethiopian emperor by this name, but the local sources often refer him Dawit the second (Derat 2003:112).

<sup>114</sup> *Tabot*, lit. 'A dwelling' is a replica of the Ark of the Covenant, believed to exist in Axsum.

Therefore, according to Gädlä Abba Sinoda of Däbrä Şamuna, Abunä Ewoşatewos, through Abba Əndryas, is the founder of the School of Qəb'at. In the above two discussed manuscripts, one thing is getting a little bit clearer, that the Qəb'at School of thought is nearer to Abba Gäbrä 'iyäsus and his sons than to the general population of the house of Ewoşatewos. This fact may lead us to believe that Gäbrä 'iyäsus played a great role in the strengthening of Qəb'at School.

(c) Royal Chronicles

Throughout the royal chronicles, scholars and followers of Qəb'at School of thought are referred as ደቂቀ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ, 'sons of Ewoşatewos'. Since royal Chronicles are reliable firsthand sources for Ethiopian history, we have to acknowledge their claim. To mention just some entries: the chronicle of Yohannəs (r. 1667-1682) (Guidi 1910:47); the chronicle of Iyasu I (r. 1682-1706) (Ibid. 63, 72 & 82); the chronicle of Iyasu II (r. 1730-1755) (Ibid. 17 & 45). The chronicle of 'Aşə Iyasu II, even went beyond indicating the father of Qəb'at School of thought and gave a list of genealogy.

ወበዝንቱ ሃይማኖት የኃብሩ ሰበአ ጐዣም ወሰብአ ቋራ እስመ ተምህሩ እምውሉዱ ለአቡነ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ ዘውእቶሙ ርእሰ ርክሳን ተክለ ማርያም ዘደብረ እሌኒ መርጡሰ ማርያም ወአባ ሠርፀ ድንግል መምህር ዘደብረ ሳራት ወወረደ ምድረ ግብጽ ከመ ይትመሀር በህየ መጻሕፍተ ብሉይ ወሐዲስ በሰብዓቱ ልሳናት፤ ወተመይጦ ምድረ ኢትዮጵያ ወመሀሮሙ በልሳነ ግዕዝ ብሉየ ወሐዲስ ለንጉሥ ልብነ ድንግል ወለሰሊክ ዘሜጦ መጽሐፈ ሐዋ እምልሳነ ዓረቢ ለግዕዝ ወለዓምደ ሐዋርያት ዘደረሰ መልክዓ ኢየሱስ ዘሀገሮሙ ተደባበ ማርያም ወዳግመ መሀሮሙ ለአባ ዝክሪ ወለአባ ጳውሊ ካህናት ዘመንግሥተ ሰማያት፡፡ ወእምውሉደ እሱ ተምህሩ ትርጓሜ መጻሕፍት አባ ተጠምቀ መድኅን ዘገዳመ ኃሾላ ወጋገርጌ ወወገዳ፡፡ ወአባ ዮሐንስ ዘደብረ ጽላሎ፤ ወአባ ዔዋ ድንግል መምህር ዘደብረ ጎንጅ (Guidi 1910:17):፡፡

With this belief [of the formula that 'the Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed and the Holy Spirit the ointment'], people of Gožžam and Q<sup>w</sup>ara are alike because they learnt it from the sons of Abunä Ewoşatewos. They are Rə'sä Rə'usan<sup>115</sup> Täklä Maryam of Märtulä Maryam<sup>116</sup>, the

<sup>115</sup> See note no. 43 of this work.

<sup>116</sup> A well know church found in Eastern Goğğam, Bəčəna awrağğə, ənnəbse wäräda. According to a recent Gädl of Abrəha and Aşbəha, the church was built during the reign of Abrəha and Aşbəha, in the fourth century (Sergew 1989:46). But the chronicle of Iyasu I (1682-1706) testifies that it was built by Queen əleni, the wife of Aşə Bə'ədä Maryam (1468-1478), in the fifteenth Century. ... እንተ ይአቲ መረጡላ ለንግሥተ [Ms. ለመንግሥተ] ሰማይ ወምድር እግዝአተ ኩልነ ቅድስት ድንግል በጀማርያም ወላዲተ አምላክ ... እንተ ሐነጸታ እሌኒ ንግሥት ብእሊተ ንጉሥ በዕደ ማርያም (Guidi 1903-1961:72),

church of [Queen] əleni, and Abba Śārsā Dəngəl Māmhər of Dābārā Sarat, who went to the land of Egypt to study there the Old and New Testament in seven languages; and who came back to Ethiopia and taught Old and New Testament in Gəʿəz language to the King Ləbnā Dəngəl and to Sālik, who translated the book of Ḥawi<sup>117</sup> from the Arabic language into Gəʿəz, and to 'Amdā Hawarəyat, who composed Mālkə'a 'iyāsus, whose [probably Sālik and 'Amdā Hawarəyat] diocese is Tādbabā Maryam, and again he taught Abba Zəkre and ṗawli, clergy of Māngəstā Sāmāy. From the sons of these, Abba Tātāmqā Mādhan of the monastery of Gašola, Gažige, and Wägāda; and Abba Yohannəs of Dābārā Şalalo<sup>118</sup>; and Abba Dewa Dəngəl, Māmhər of Dābārā Gongǧ<sup>119</sup>, studied commentary of books.

The chronicler clearly showed the eighteenth Century mentality that followers of Qəb'at School of thought are sons of Abunā Ewosṗatewos. I do not believe it is the chronicler's personal attitude, because every chronicler is expected to present what he has written in front of the king, the Queen, and other dignitaries. In the chronicle of king Bākkaffa (r. 1721-1730) it is reported that:

... እምድገረ ተሠርዓ ማዕድ በከመ ልማድ አዘዞ በካፋ ለጸሐፊ ትእዛዝ ሲኖዳ ወይቤሎ አምጽእ መጽሐፈ ታሪክ ዘጸሐፍክ በዝ ዘመን ወአንብብ በቅድመ ሰብእ ከመ ይስምኑ እሰ ኢሰምዑ። ... አሜሃ ገብረ ሲኖዳ በከመ አዘዞ ወአንበባ ማእከሰ መኳንንት ወዌዛዝር። ዓፄ

---

'... Which is the sanctuary of the Queen of heaven and earth, our lady Saint Mary twice virgin and mother of God. It was built by Queen əleni, the wife of Aše Bā'ədā Maryam.' The same thing is justified in the chronicle of Iyasu II (1730-1755) that it was the church of Queen əleni. ደብረ እሌኒ መርጠሰ ማርያም (Guidi 1910:17), 'Mārtulā Maryam, the church of [Queen] əleni'.

<sup>117</sup> The book of Ḥawi is the collection of Christian doctrine, and moral and ascetic theology. The name of the book came from the Arabic Kitāb al-ḥawī, lit. 'Book of the collector'. It was translated in to Gəʿəz in 1582 during the reign of 'Aše Śārsā Dəngəl (Ezra 2003:1052).

<sup>118</sup> Gongǧ and Şalalo, or some times Gongǧ-Şalalo together, is one of the three well known Qəne Schools- Wadla, Wašera and Gongǧ-Şalalo. These two places are located side by side in Western Goğǧam, Yəlmāna Densa awrağǧa, Adet wārāda. The main Tabot in Gongǧ is dedicated to Tewodros and the Qəne School follows the tradition of the well known scholar Tāwany (Wion 2003:848). In the other side the Tabot dedicated to Şalalo is Amanu'el and the woman əmmahoy Gālanāš Ḥaddis was among the well known Qəne scholars of the place (Getie 2003:654). Based on the literary sources it seems that Gongǧ was the main seat of Qəb'at School of thought beginning early 17<sup>th</sup> cent., may be after the decline of Dābrā Şəmona. Ləbsā Krəstos, who was the head of the Qəb'at party at the council of Fogāra held in 1620 by 'Aše Susnyos, was from Gongǧ. Also Māmhər Ṥābdān Dəngəl, who was the leader of the Qəb'at party during the reign of Aše Iyasu I, was from the same place. Following the excommunication of Ṥābdān in 1688, Gongǧ lost its influence and leadership as a Qəb'at seat (Wion 2003:848).

<sup>119</sup> See note number 110.

አዘዞ ከመ ይደምራ ምስለ ታሪክ ነገሥት አበዊሁ አዕላፍ ሰገድ ወአድያም ሰገድ (Guidi 1903-1961:306)::

... after meal was served as usual, [the king] Bäckaffa ordered *Ṣāhāfe Təʿezaz Sinoda* and said to him, "bring the history book that you have written in this season and read it in front of the people in order they, who did not hear, listen it." ... At that time Sinoda carried out as [the king] ordered him that he read it in front of rulers and ladies. Again he ordered him to add it to the chronicle of his fathers Aʿḷaf Sägād [yohannəs (r. 1667-1682)] and Adəyam Sägād [Iyasu I (r. 1682-1706)]<sup>120</sup>.

Consequently, there is no room for the chroniclers to propagate their own personal attitude, except the mentality of the general public or at list of the royal camp. In addition the chronicle tried to give a genealogy of Qəbʿat fathers beginning from Abunä Ewostatewos. But a gap exists here and there. It has listed the family tree beginning from Rəʿsä Rəʿusan Täklä Maryam and Abba Śärsä Dəngəl, who was the teacher of Aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508-1540) and lived in the sixteenth century. Rəʿsä Rəʿusan Täklä Maryam seems a contemporary of Abba Śärsä Dəngəl. Because the monastery of Märtulä Maryam itself was built at the end of the fifteenth Century (Guidi 1903-1961:72; Sergew 1989:46) and it does not seem from the document that Täklä Maryam was the first Rəʿsä Rəʿusan. Thus Rəʿsä Rəʿusan Täklä Maryam lived most probably in the beginning of sixteenth century like Abba Śärsä Dəngəl. Therefore, the document did not depict fourteenth and fifteenth century fathers of Qəbʿat School of thought. The other gap is at the last part of the stema that it listed Ləbnä Dəngəl, Sälik, ʿAmdä Həwarəyat, Zəkre, and päwli, who are the five sons of Abba Śärsä Dəngəl, and mentioned that from their sons Abba Tātəmquä Mädhən, Abba Yohannəs and Abba Dəwa Dəngəl studied commentary of books. That means teachers of the later are grand sons of Abba Śärsä Dəngəl but they are left unlisted.

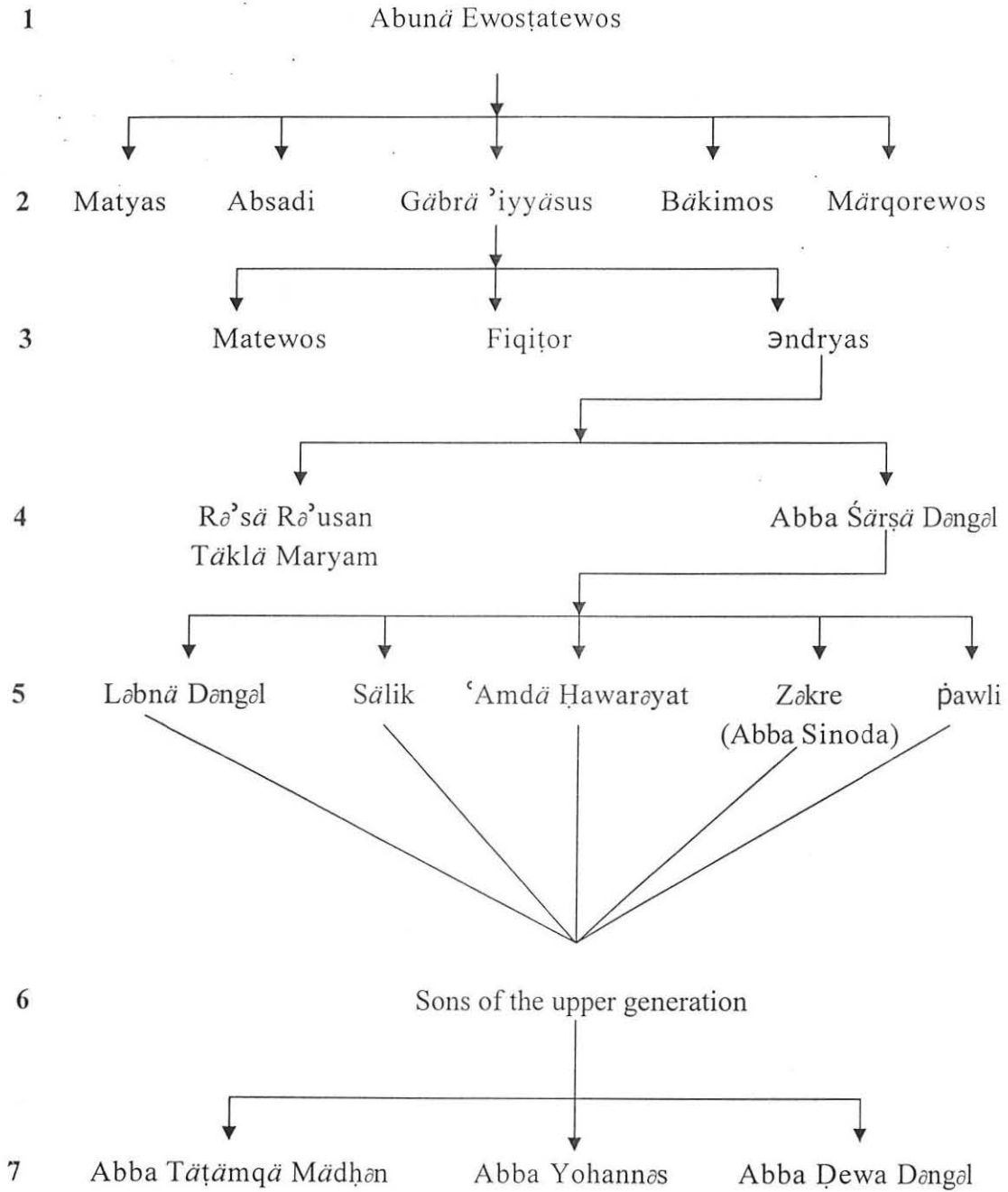
However, even if the document has some limitations, it certainly serves as a stepping stone for further studies on the genealogy of the fathers of Qəbʿat School of thought.



<sup>120</sup> The last two sentences are reports of another person other than the head chronicler Sinoda. The reporter could be his son Kənfä Mikaʿel, who replaced the former on his death (Guidi 1903-1706).

### 3.3. Genealogical Diagram of Qəb'at School

By combining facts mentioned in *Mäşəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*, *Gädlä Abba Sinoda* of *Däbrä Şəmona* and the Royal Chronicle of Iyasu II, we may arrive at the following genealogical diagram of Qəb'at School of thought.



## Clarification

Numbers on the left side may be explained as follows.

1. Indicates Abunä Ewoṣtatewos, the presumed founder of Qəb‘at School of thought.
2. Shows sons of Abunä Ewoṣtatewos (Cf. Taddesse 1972:206-219). In addition to the list in the genealogical tree, Taddesse has given additional three names as sons: Filipos, Buruk Amlak, who is given a foreign origin (ibid 208), and Zäkkaryas, who failed to be loyal to the movement (ibid. 215). Another source listed other additional three names as sons of Ewoṣtatewos - Gäbrä Mäsqaḷ, Dewa Dəngəl and Matyan (Conti Rossini 1900:154 & 155<sup>121</sup>). According to *Gädlä Abba Sinoda of Däbrä Ṣəmona*, the line of fathers of Qəb‘at School passes through Gäbrä ‘iyyäsus, who lived during the reigns of Säyfä Ar‘ad (1344-72) and Dawit II<sup>122</sup> (1379/80-1413). So, we may presume the time of the first generation of the School in the second half of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century.
3. Points out Əndryas as the representative of the second generation of Qəb‘at School of thought. As it is mentioned above Əndryas may have lived until the reign of Na‘od (r. 1494-1507). Based on this fact we may assume the time of the second generation of the school in the second half of the fifteenth century.
4. This stage designates the third generation, but there is inconsistency in the sources. *Gädlä Abba Sinoda of Däbrä Ṣəmona* puts Abba Sinoda, whom I believe to be identical with Zəkre, among fathers of this generation. Where as the chronicler of Iyasu II make Zəkre, who's other name is Abba Sinoda, in the next generation. The problem is either Zəkre and Sinoda are two distinct personalities and I made a mistake in considering them identical or Zəkre/Sinoda as a single person was active through out the sixteenth century. I believe the problem is the later one that Zəkre/Sinoda lived for a century during the reigns of Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508-1540), Gälawdewos (r. 1540-1559), Minas (r. 1559-1563), and Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563-1597)<sup>123</sup>. If our speculation is

<sup>121</sup> This list is appended to Conti Rossini's edition of gadla Filipos and gadla Yohannes. It is a general list of monks written by a certain Fəqurä Maryam, beginning from the Egyptian Əntonyos (Anthony). ንዋጥን ታሪክ አባዊነ መነኮሳት፤ ጸሎቶሙ ወበረከቶሙ የሀሉ ምስሉ ወልደሙ ፍቁረ ማርያም ለዓለም ዓለም አሜን። ቀዳሚሆሙ ለመነኮሳት አባ እንጦንዮስ ነሥኦ አስከማ እመልክክ እግዚአብሔር እንተ ይእቲ አልባሰ ምንኩስና (Conti Rossini 1900:154) 'We begin the history of our fathers monks; Let their prayer and blessing be with their son Fəqurä Maryam forever and ever Amen. The beginner for monks Abba Əntonyos took Askema, which is the dress of monastic life, from the angel of God'

<sup>122</sup> ‘Aṣe Dawit was the first Ethiopian emperor by this name, but the local sources often refer him Dawit the second (Derat 2003:112).

<sup>123</sup> About the time of this scholar Cowley (1989:394) said, "The main activity of Zəkre is securely dated to the reigns of Gälawdewos (r. 1540-1559), Minas (r. 1559-1563)... and probably died

right then, he survived in the times of the two generations -the third and the fourth- and the above two sources showed this fact separately. There is no problem with the rest of the fathers. As we have tried to show above Rə'sā Rə'usan Tāklä Maryam and Abba Śārṣā Dəngəl lived in the first half of the sixteenth century and it may be considered as the time of the third generation.

5. Indicates the fourth generation and may be the outstanding in the history of the School. Except 'Amdä Həwarəyat, we know about the scholars of this group. Səlik translated the book of Həwi in 1582 during the reign of 'Aṣe Śārṣā Dəngəl (1563-1597) (Ezra 2003:1052). If he was still working during the reign Śārṣā Dəngəl, then perhaps he lived in beginning of the seventeenth century. Where as pəwli died after his eyes were put out by Aṣe minas (r. 1559-1563) as a result of their, including Zəkṛe, act of excommunication of the king siding to his mother Ətege Səblä Wəngel (Cowley 1989:393). Zəkṛe survived the cruel act of the king and may be died during the reign of the next king 'Aṣe Śārṣā Dəngəl (1563-1597) (ibid. 394). The time of this generation may be assumed in the second half of the sixteenth century.
6. The fifth generation is left unlisted in the three sources discussed above so that we use other sources to fill this gap. However, the sources listed the personalities as commentary scholars not as Qəb'at fathers. According to a list in an Amharic manuscript (Rhodokanakis 1906:13<sup>v</sup>), as quoted in Cowley 1989:389, Zəkṛe taught Abba Məzgəbä Səllase. Abba Məzgəbä Səllase taught Zərufa'el, Abba Diyosqoros, Esdəros, Abetohun La'əkä Maryam, Azzaṣ Zədəngl, Abba Amməḥa Giorgis, Abba Askal Tewodoṯos, Zä'amanu'el and Abba Ragu'el. pəwli in his part taught Śārwe Krəstos; Śārwe Krəstos taught Şəge Dəngəl; Şəge Dəngəl taught Abba Ya'əqob; Abba Ya'əqob taught Bətrā Krəstos; Bətrā Krəstos taught Aləqa G<sup>w</sup>ang<sup>w</sup>ul; Aləqa G<sup>w</sup>ang<sup>w</sup>ul taught the fames Məmhər Esdros<sup>124</sup> (Habtä Marəyam 1963:213). Therefore, Məzgəbä Səllase through Zəkṛe, and Śārwe Krəstos through pəwli, are among the scholars of the fifth generation. This generation might have lived at the end of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century.
7. Neither I could not find any cross reference who scholars listed as the sixth generations were, nor do their names match to the lists given in other references as the grand sons of Zəkṛe and pəwli. Habtā Marəyam (1963:213) listed Şəge Dəngəl as the grand son of pəwli and another source (Rhodokanakis 1906:13<sup>v</sup>) recorded Zərufa'el, Abba

---

during the reign of Śārṣā Dəngəl (1563-1597). But he is not sure whether he lived during the reign of Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508-1540) or not.

<sup>124</sup> Esdros was a well known Andəmta commentary scholar. His influence is evident in the Andəmta commentary tradition that it preserved comments in his name (Cowley 1986:43). He was an adherent of Qəb'at Christology but in old age he adopted the Təwəḥədo doctrine (ibid. 42). Esdros was a blind person, but since he was an expert of the four Andəmta commentary departments (Old Tes., New Tes., Books of Monks and Books of Scholars), he had given the title ነፍሱ ላይ ስፍራ, 'four eyed' (Habtä Marəyam 1963:214).

Diyosqoros, Esdāros, Abetohun La'ākā Maryam, Azzāž Zādāngl, Abba Ammāha Giorgis, Abba Askal Tewodoṭos, Zā'amanu'el and Abba Ragu'el as the grand sons of Zākre, but non in the list matches with the list in the chronicle of Iyasu II. In addition I do not have an idea when this six generation lived, but we may speculate that they lived in the seventeenth century.

To conclude, Ethiopian first hand sources indicate the existence of a link between Abunā Ewoṣtawos and the theological School of Qəb'at. And even sources go beyond that and tried to show the genealogical tree of Qəb'at School of thought beginning from Abunā Ewoṣtawos. Based on this fact we may conclude that, Abunā Ewoṣtawos was the founder of Qəb'at School of thought.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Some scholars claim that, the controversy concerning the unction of the human body of Christ is a dispute found only among the Ethiopian theologians (Ayele 1995:252). It seems to me that, questions related to unction engaged the mind of Ethiopian theologians because of the existence of Biblical texts that discuss on the unction of Christ. Then the theologians may have been used different sources to interpret these texts and that may resulted to a difference in interpretation, and then to a controversy.

#### 4.1. Biblical texts

In the documents of Qab<sup>5</sup>at School of theology, mainly in the books of *Zakre* and *ḥawli*, and *wäldä 'Ab* (Gäbrä Mädhän 1993), there are different Biblical references on the issues related to the unction of the human body of Christ. The following are the main:

(a) As the body of Christ was anointed:

Ps. 2:2  
44:7  
Is. 42:1  
61:1  
Dn. 9:24  
Lk. 4:18  
Acts 4:27  
10:38  
Heb. 1:8-9



(b) As the human body became natural son by the unction:

Ps. 2:7  
109:3  
1 Chr. 17:13  
Mt. 2:5  
3:17  
11:2  
Lk. 1:32  
Jn. 10:36  
3:18  
Acts 13:33

(c) As the human body became head of prophets:

Deut. 18:15

Lk. 13:33

(d) As the human body became the highest priest:

Ps. 109:4

Heb 4:14

7:24

(e) As the human body became King of kings:

Ps. 2:6

Mt. 2:6

Lk. 1:33

I believe, because of the above Biblical references, Ethiopian theologians engaged themselves with questions related to unction. And they may have used *Mäṣḥafä Anṭosi* (*Mäṣḥafä Zəkṛe wä-ṗawli:47<sup>v</sup>*), or the commentary of Qərəyaqos (Cerulli 1960:160), or an Egyptian source (Basset 1882:60) to interpret these texts and that may resulted to a different school of thought.

#### **4.2. Phases of Qəb'at teaching**

The teaching of Qəb'at School of theology has developed through ages. Abba Ayele (1995:253) noted the general controversy on the unction of Christ in two stages. According to him, on the first stage the discussion was on the meaning and function of the anointment. And on the second stage the subject moved from the anointment to the birth in Christ. But Abba Ayele's work did not at least consult the royal chronicles, which reported most of the local councils on the subject. So, his work does not really show phases on the teachings of unction.

Kidan Wald Kefle (1986:90&91) in his part identified three phases of teachings of Qəb'at School of thought. According to this scholar, the first phase of Qəb'at School appeared during the reign of 'Aṣe Fasil (r. 1632-1667) and taught that, 'the Word lost its natural birth and natural honor when it was united with the body, but regained it back when it was anointed.' The time of the second phase of the school was during the reign of 'Aṣe Yoḥannes I (1667-1682) and it taught that, 'the body became one with the Word through unity but it became natural God and the natural Son of God only when it was anointed.' The third phase happened during the reign of 'Aṣe Tewodros and they taught that, 'the human body of Christ became God and the natural Son of God through both unction and unity.' But when I check the royal chronicles of the said kings, I could not find the claimed teachings of the school.

Using the book of Zəkṛe and päwli, the book of *wäldä 'Ab* (Gäbrä Mädhən 1993), the royal chronicles, and EMMML 2840, I have arrived at four phases of Qəb'at School of theology.

#### 4.2.1 Phase one

The distinctive teaching of the first phase of Qəb'at School was that, 'the Holy Spirit created the human body that Christ received.' This teaching is preserved in the book of Zəkṛe and päwli (39<sup>v</sup>) and in a lateral Amharic source of the school (EMML 2840:197<sup>v</sup>). This formula is not found in the chronicles, which preserved most of reports of local religious councils. This fact shows that the school has amended the position it held prior to the reign of 'Aṣe Susnyos (r. 1607-1632) through the discussions in the local councils; and then it held its earlier position back again after the ill treatment by 'Aṣe Tewodros at the council of Amba Ĉara in 1855 and by 'Aṣe Yoḥannes at the council of Boru Meda in 1878.

Based on this speculation, we can assume the time of the first phase of Qəb'at teaching to be before 1630, the first report of the existence of the controversy during the 23<sup>rd</sup> reign of 'Aṣe Susnyos (Pererra 1892:217) and after 1878, the last council on the controversy.

#### 4.2.2 Phase two

The second phase of Qəb'at teaching occurred during the reign of 'Aṣe 'Iyasu I (r. 1682-1706). The architect for the teaching of this phase was Ĉär Dämo. At the council of *Adäbabay*, Ĉär Dämo spoke in front of the King 'Aṣe 'Iyasu, the *Abun* Abba Sinoda, the *፩ēge* Abba Hərəyaqos, the scholars, the dignitaries, and the people. His formula was, 'Natural Son through unity and the Son of God by unction.'

ቃል ሥጋ ኮነ ወሥጋኒ ኮነ ቃለ እንበለ ውላጤ በተዋሕዶቱ ምስለ ቃል ቀዳማዊ ወኮነ ወልደ ባሕርይ (Guidi1903-1961:94):: ... ተቀብኖ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ውስተ ማኅፀነ እግእዝትነ ቅድስት ወድንግል በጀማርያም ወላዲተ አምላክ ወበተቀብዖቱሂ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ኮነ ወልደ እግዚአብሔር ወተውሀቦ ሎቱ ስመ ወልድና:: ወኮነ ንጉሠ ነገሥት ወእግዚአ ኦጋዕዝት ወርእሰ ነቢያት ወሊቀ ካህናት ወሊቀ ሐዋርያት (Ibid. 95)::

The word became flesh and the flesh became Word with out change through unity with the original Word; and [The body] became the natural Son [of God].... [The body] was anointed the Holy Spirit in the womb of our lady and twice virgin Hail Mary, the mother of God. With the anointment of the Holy Spirit, it became the Son of God and has given the name of sonship. It became the King of kings, and the Lord of lords, and the head of prophets, and the highest priest, and chief of the Apostles.

His teaching was accepted by both parties and by the whole participants of the council as the only true teaching of the Ethiopian church. It seems, what Čär Dämo was trying to do is to pleas both parties and to eliminate a division in the church. However, he seems sided to the Tāwahado party. He said, 'Natural Son through unity and the Son of God by unction.' In both cases the body became the Son of God but it became 'the natural one' only in the case of unity. May be Čär Dämo considered the sonship by unction as an adopted one.

#### 4.2.3 Phase three

During the reign of the same king, 'Aše 'Iyasu I (r. 1682-1706), another distinct teaching was formulated by a person called Wäldä Tənśa'e. He said, ተዋሐዶ በቅብዕ (Guidi1903-1961:189), '[the body] was united [with the Word] by the unction [of the Holy Spirit].' That means unity of the Word and the body was accomplished by the unction of the Holy Spirit. So that with out unction there would not have been unity of the two persons.

After three months of the formulation of his teaching, Wäldä Tənśa'e and his friend Tə'amarte were called to the court of 'Aše 'Iyasu and they were convinced that their teaching was wrong (Ibid. 194).

#### 4.2.4 Phase four

The fourth phase of Qəb'at teaching is found in the lateral Amharic book of Qəb'at School called wäldä 'Ab (Gäbrä Mädhən 1993:210 & 211). The teaching in this document acknowledges the son as the anointed one and at the same time as the anointer. It reads:

እስመ ዝክረ ክርስቶስ ይመርህ ጎበ ቫቱ አካላት ዝውኡቱ አብ ቀባዒ ወወልድ ተቀባዒ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ቅብዕ ... (Ibid. 210):: ወልድን በሰውነቱ ተቀባዒ ነው ስላልን<sup>125</sup> በአምላክነቱ ቀባዒ ነው (Ibid. 211)::

Mentioning of the name Christ leads towards the three persons. That is the father as the anointer the son as the anointed and the Holy Spirit as an ointment.... Even if we say the Son is the anointed in His humanity, He is [also] the anointer in His Godhead.

<sup>125</sup> Ms. ስላሱ

4.3. Translation of the teaching of Qab'at in the book of Zekre and pawli

በ፫አካላት ፩መለኮት እንዘ ሀለው  
 በ፩መለኮት ፫አካላት እንዘ ሀለው  
 እም ፫አካላት ፩አካል ዘጥንተ ስሙ  
 ወልድ ወረደ እምሰማየ ሰማያት።  
 5 እንዘ ኢይትፈለጥ እምሕጽነ አቡሁ  
 ወእንዘ ኢየሐፀፀ እምሀላዊ  
 ትሥል[ስ]ቱ። በብስራተ ገብርኤል  
 አቅዲሙ ዜነዋ ወአጠየቃ ኩሎ  
 እምጎበ እግዚአብሔር ዘይከውን  
 10 ነገረ። አብ ቀባዒ ወልድ ተቀባዒ  
 ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ከዊኖሙ ከመ  
 ይመጽኑ፤ በቅብዓተ መንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 ወበቀቢያቱ ለአብ በተዋሕዶቱ  
 ወበተቀቢያቱ ለአካለ ቃል ምስለ  
 15 አካለ ሥጋ ወነፍስ ከመ ይከውን  
 ወልደ ባሕርይ። ወከመ ይከውን  
 አምላክ አማልክት ወእግዚአ  
 አጋእዘት ወንገሠ ነገሥት። ውእቱ  
 (6<sup>vb</sup>) መልአክ ቀዊሞ ቅድሜሃ እንዘ  
 20 ይቤላ ኢትፍርሂ ማርያም እስመ  
 ረከብኪ ሞገሰ እምጎበ  
 እግዚአብሔር። ወናሁ ትፀንሲ  
 ወትወልዲ ወልደ ወትሰምይዮ ስሞ  
 ኢየሱስ ውእቱ ዓቢይ ወይሰመይ  
 25 ወልደ እግዚአብሔር ልዑል ወይሁቦ  
 እግዚአብሔር አምላክ መንበረ ዳዊት  
 አቡሁ። ወይነግሥ በቤተ ይዕቆብ  
 ለዓለም ወአልቦ ማኅለቅት  
 ለመንግሥቱ። ወርእያ ደንገጸት  
 30 እምቃሉ ወስዕነት ተናግሮ። ሐለየት  
 ወትቤ ዘቀዳሚ እንተ አስሐታ  
 ከይሲ ለሔዋን ዮምኒ መጽአ ጎቤየ?  
 አይቱ አሐውር ወአይቱ እጎይይ።  
 ብሂላ ከመዝ እንዘ ትሔሊ  
 35 ወአርመመት እምተናግሮ። ወይቤላ  
 መልአክ ኢትፍርሂ ወኢትደንግሂ  
 ማርያም ወተአመኒ ቃለ ዘነገርኩኪ  
 ወኢተሐስዊ ብስራተ ጽድቅ  
 ዘአብሰርኩኪ። እስመ አልቦ ነገር  
 40 ዘይሰዓኖ (6<sup>ra</sup>) ለእግዚአብሔር  
 በከመ ፈቀደ ይገብር ወበከመ ሐለየ  
 ይፌጽም። ወትቤሎ ማርያም

While in three persons one Divinity exists [and] in one Divinity three persons exist, from the three persons one person with His original name, the Son, came down from the heaven of heavens with out being separated from the throne of his Father and without ceasing to co-exist with the Trinity. Earlier through the annunciation, Gabriel told her and assured her of everything that would happen from God. [Gabriel told her] what would occur: the Father became the anointer, the Son the anointed and the Holy Spirit the ointment; as [the body] becomes the natural Son of God through the ointment of the Holy Spirit and anointment of the Father, the unction and unity of the person of the Word with the person of human body and soul. [Gabriel told her] as [the human body] becomes the God of gods, the Lord of lords, and the King of kings. Standing in front of her the angel (6<sup>vb</sup>) said, "Do not be afraid, Mary, for you have found grace with God. And behold, you will conceive and bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus. He will be great, and will be called the Son of God the most high; and God the Lord will give to him the throne of his father David, and He will reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and His kingdom will have no end." She was troubled at his saying and failed to speak. She asked herself saying: "Did the earlier serpent, who led Eve into sin, come to me today? Where can I go and where can I flee." When she was thinking this way, she kept quiet avoiding speech. The angel said to her, "Do not be afraid and do not be terrified, Mary, believe the word I have told you; and do not deny the true good news that I have announced to you. Since nothing is impossible (6<sup>ra</sup>) to God, He does as he likes and He accomplishes the way He thinks fit." And Mary said to the Angel,

ለመልአክ ለእግዚአብሔር ስለሰ  
 ዘይሰዓኖ ይኩነኒ በከመ ትቤለኒ።  
 ወአሜሃ ቃል ኃይረ ላዕሌሃ  
 ዘበእንቲአነ ለሰብእ ወበእንተ  
 5 መድኃኒትነ። ወኅድረቱሰ ለቃለ ክብ  
 ኅበ ማርያም ድንግል በከመ ዜነዋ  
 ቅዱስ ገብርኤል መልአክ። ክብ  
 ቀባዒ ወልድ ተቀባዒ መንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 ቅብዕ ከዊኖሙ ኅበ ማርያም  
 10 ድንግል መጽኡ ። በቅብዓተ  
 መንፈስ ቅዱስ ወበቀቢያቱ ለክብ  
 በተዋሕዶቱ ወበተቀብያቱ ለክብ  
 ቃል ምስለ ክብ ሥጋ ወነፍስ ኮነ  
 ወልደ ባሕርይ። ወኮነ አምላክ  
 15 አማልክት ወእግዚአ ኢጋእዝት  
 ወንጉሠ ነገሥት ወሊቀ ካህናት  
 ወርእሰ ነቢያት። ወበእንተዝ ንሰምዮ  
 ለክርስቶስ ወልደ አምላክ ወሰብእ  
 ብሂለነ በእንተ ከዊኖቱ ሰብአ ወልደ  
 20 እንሰ እመሕያው ወዓዲ በእንተ  
 (6<sup>rb</sup>; 35<sup>vb</sup>) ከዊኖቱ መለኮተ ወልደ  
 እግዚአብሔር ሕያው። እንዝ ንብል  
 ከመዝ በተዋሕዶተ ስም ክርስቶስ  
 ብሂለነ ንጹውያ። ኅድረት ንሥኦት  
 25 ቅብኦት ከዊነ ወልደ ባሕርይ  
 ወተዋሕዶተ ክብ ቃል ምስለ ክብ  
 ሥጋ ወነፍስ ከዊነ ንጉሠ ነገሥት  
 ወእግዚአ ኢጋእዝት ወከዊነ ሊቀ  
 ካህናት ወርእሰ ነቢያት ዝኩሉ  
 30 ፩ጊዜ ከመ ቅጽበተ ዓይን። ወኃይረ  
 ውስተ ከርሠ ድንግል ወነበረ  
 ፱አውራጃ ወ፭ዕለተ። ወተወልደ  
 በከመ ሥርዓተ ሕፃናት።  
 አምላክናሁ እንዝ ያጤይቅ ከመ  
 35 ይወፅእ ሐፍ እምገጽ ከማሁ ወጽእ  
 ወዓዲ ሰብእናሁኒ እንዝ ያጤይቅ  
 መወልዲት ሐቀፈቶ ውስተ ሕፅና  
 ምሉዓ ወጠብለለቶ በአጽርቅት  
 ለዘይትዓፀፍ ብርሃነ። ትስብእት  
 40 ኢኃይገ ወኢያትረፈ ግብረ መለኮት  
 እንዝ ውሱን መልዓ ውስተ ኩሰሄ  
 (7<sup>va</sup>)። መለኮትኒ ግብረ ትስብእት

"Nothing is impossible To God; let it be  
 to me according to your word." At that  
 moment the Word dwelt up on her for  
 the sake of us, human beings, and for the  
 sake of our salivation. The Word of the  
 Father dwelt in St. Mary the virgin in  
 accordance with what the angel Gabriel  
 told her. They came to Mary the Father  
 becoming the anointer, the Son the  
 anointed, [and] the Holy Spirit the  
 ointment. With the ointment of the Holy  
 Spirit and anointing act of the Father,  
 with the unction and unity of the person  
 of human body with the person of the  
 Word and soul, [the body] became the  
 natural Son. It became the God of gods,  
 and the Lord of lords, and the King of  
 Kings, and the highest priest, and the  
 head of the prophets. Because of this we  
 call Christ 'the Son of God and Man' by  
 reason of His being the Son of Man and  
 again by reason of (6<sup>rb</sup>; 35<sup>vb</sup>) His being  
 the Divinity of the Son of God the living  
 one. We call Him with a united name  
 Christ. Indwelling, receiving, unction,  
 being natural Son and unity of the  
 person of the Word with the person of  
 the body and the soul, being the King of  
 kings and the Lord of lords, and being  
 the highest priest and the head of  
 prophets, all this [was accomplished] at  
 one time like the twinkling of an eye. He  
 dwelt in the womb of the virgin and  
 remained [there] for nine months and  
 five days. He was born according to the  
 manner of infants. To affirm His  
 Godhead, as a sweat comes out from a  
 face the same way He comes out [from  
 the womb]; and again to assure His  
 humanity, the midwife embraced Him  
 fully in her bosom and wrapped him  
 with clothes which he used as a dress of  
 light. Humanity did not abandon and did  
 not leave behind the deed of Divinity;  
 while limited filled everywhere (7<sup>va</sup>).  
 And the Divinity did not abandon and

ኢጋደገ ወኢያትረፈ ዘእንበለ  
 ኃጢአት ባሕቲታ። በበሕቅ ልሕቀ  
 በፀክረምት በዮርዳኖስ ተጠምቀ ጾመ  
 5 ፵መዓልተ ወ፵ሌሊተ። ደክመ  
 ወሐፊወ ርኅበ ወጾምዓ ወመሐረ  
 ሕገ ወንጌል ፫ዓመተ ወ፫አውራኃ።  
 ወገብረ ተአምራተ ወመንክራተ።  
 በቅንዓተ አይሁድ ወበምክረ  
 ዲያብሎስ ሰቀልዎ ካህናተ አሪት።  
 10 ሐመ ወሞተ ወተቀብረ ወተንሥኦ  
 እሙታን በሃልስት ዕለት።  
 በሰብእናሁ ዓርገ ሰማያተ ወነበረ  
 በየማነ አቡሁ ኅበ ዘትካት መንበሩ  
 ኅበ ዘቀዳሚ ህላዌሁ እስከ ይመጽእ  
 15 ዳግመ በክብር ወአኮ በኃሃር።  
 ወመጺኤቱስ ለኩንዮ ሕያዋን  
 ወሙታን። ሎቱ ስብሐት ምስለ  
 ኄር አቡሁ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 ማሕዋዌ ይእዜኒ ወዘልፈኒ  
 ወለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን (7<sup>vb</sup>)።

did not leave behind human deeds except  
 sin alone. He grew up little by little; He  
 was baptized at the age of thirty in the  
 river Jordan; He fasted for forty days  
 and forty nights. He was tired and  
 sweated; He became hungry and thirsty,  
 and taught the precepts of the Gospel for  
 three Years and three months. And He  
 made miracles and wonders. Due to the  
 envy of the Jews and the guidance of the  
 Devil, the priests of the synagogue  
 crucified Him. He suffered and died, and  
 was buried, and was raised from the  
 dead on the third day. In His humanity,  
 He ascended to the heavens and sat  
 down at the right side of His Father,  
 moving towards His former seat, [and]  
 towards His previous state, until He  
 comes back for the second time in honor  
 not in disgrace. His [second] coming is  
 to judging over the living and the dead.  
 Praise be to Him with His gracious  
 Father and the Holy Spirit, the life-giver,  
 today and always, and forever and ever  
 Amen (7<sup>vb</sup>).

አብ ወለዶ ለወልድ ወአሥረጾ  
 ለመንፈስ ቅዱስ እምባሕርየ  
 መለኮቱ። ዘውእቱ አብ ፍጹም  
 በአካሉ ወበገጹ ወበመልክዑ ወልድኒ  
 5 ፍጹም በአካሉ ወበገጹ ወበመልክዑ  
 መንፈስ ቅዱስ[ኒ] ፍጹም በአካሉ  
 (8<sup>ra</sup>) ወበገጹ ወበመልክዑ። ናሁ  
 ተጠየቀ ወተአውቀ በ፹ወ፩  
 መጻሕፍት ምስጢረ ህልዎቶሙ  
 10 በ፫አካላት ጽኑዓን ወቀዋምያን።  
 ህላዌሆሙኒ ፩ዝኬ ውእቱ አብ  
 ባሕርዮሙ ለወልድ ወለመንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ። ባሕርይ ብሂል በትርጓሜ  
 መጻሕፍቲን ልቡና ወአእምሮ  
 15 ይከውን። ወዝውእቱ ተዋሕዶቶሙ  
 ለአብ ወለወልድ ወለመንፈስ ቅዱስ፤  
 እንዘ ውእቱ አብ ባሕርይ ቀዋሚ  
 በአካሉ ባሕርየ ይከውኖሙ ለወልድ  
 ወለመንፈስ ቅዱስ። ወልድኒ ውእቱ

The Father generated the Son and made  
 the Holy Spirit proceed from His Divine  
 nature. This Father is absolute in His  
 person, in His face, and in His form; and  
 the Son is absolute in His person, in His  
 face, and in His form; and the Holy  
 Spirit too is absolute in His person, (8<sup>ra</sup>)  
 in His face, and in His form. Behold, it is  
 ascertained and became known in the 81  
 [Holy] books the mystery of their  
 existence in three persons that are  
 mighty and stable. Their essence is again  
 one that the Father is their nature for the  
 Son and the Holy Spirit. According to  
 our commentary of the books nature  
 means intelligence and knowledge. This  
 is the unity of the Father, of the Son and  
 of the Holy Spirit; while the Father is the  
 nature eternal in His person (= in  
 himself), He is the nature for the Son  
 and the Holy Spirit. [While] the Son is

ቃል ቀዋሚ በርእሱ ቃል  
 ይከውኖሙ ለአብ ወለመንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ። መንፈስ ቅዱስኒ እስትንፋስ  
 ወህይወት ውኔቱ ቀዋሚ በርእሱ  
 5 እስትንፋስ ወሕይወተ ይከውኖሙ  
 ለአብ ወለወልድ። ወነአምር ካዕቦ  
 ከመ አልቦሙ ለወልድ ወለመንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ ካልዕ ልብ (8<sup>rb</sup>) ወአእምሮ  
 ዘእንበለ አብ። ወከማሁ አልቦሙ  
 10 ለአብ ወለመንፈስ ቅዱስ ካልዕ ቃል  
 ዘእንበለ ወልድ። ወአዲ ከማሁ  
 ለአብ ወለወልድ አልቦሙ ካልዕ  
 ሕይወት ዘእንበለ መንፈስ ቅዱስ።  
 ወበእንተዝ ይትበሀል አብ ቀዋሚ  
 15 በአካሉ ወልቦ በርእሱ ወነባቢ  
 በወልድ ወሕያው በመንፈስ ቅዱስ።  
 ወልድኒ ነባቢ ወቀዋሚ በርእሱ  
 ወልብው በአብ ወሕያው በመንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ። መንፈስ ቅዱስኒ ከማሁ  
 20 ሕይወት ወእስትንፋስ ውኔቱ  
 ወቀዋሚ በርእሱ ወልብው በአብ  
 ወነባቢ በወልድ (9<sup>la</sup>)።

the Word eternal in himself, He is the  
 word for the Father and the Holy Spirit.  
 The Holy Spirit too, [while] He is the  
 breath and the life eternal by Himself,  
 He is the breath and the life for the  
 Father and the Son. We know again that  
 the Son and the Holy Spirit do not have  
 another heart (8<sup>rb</sup>) and mind other than  
 the Father. Similarly the Father and the  
 Holy Spirit do not have another word  
 other than the Son. And likewise the  
 Father and the Son do not have another  
 life other than the Holy Spirit. Because  
 of this it is said that the Father is eternal  
 in His person and in His essential heart.  
 He speaks by the Son, and lives by the  
 Holy Spirit. The Son too is the speaker  
 and eternal by Himself, intelligent by the  
 Father and living by the Holy Spirit. The  
 Holy Spirit too similarly is life and  
 breath, eternal by Himself, intelligent by  
 the Father, and spokenker by the Son  
 (9<sup>la</sup>).

አመ አብሰራ ገብርኤል ለማርያም  
 ወይቤላ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ይመጽእ  
 ላዕሌኪ ወኃይሰ ልዑል ይጸልሰኪ  
 ዘኒ ይትወለድ እምኔኪ ቅዱስ  
 5 ውኔቱ ወይሰመይ ወልደ  
 እግዚአብሔር ልዑል። ... መንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ ይመጽእ ላዕሌኪ ወኃይሰ  
 ልዑል ይጸልሰኪ ሰባ ይብል  
 ገብርኤል እስኩ (sic) ቫካላት  
 10 ለተሰግዎ ዘመጽኡ ኢይምሰልከ።  
 ውኔቱሰ (13<sup>vb</sup>) ዘይቤ አብ ቀባዒ  
 ወልድ ተቀባዒ መንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 ቅብዕ ከዊኖሙ ገብ ማርያም  
 [መጽኡ]። እንዝ ይትወሐድ ምስለ  
 15 ሥጋ ውኔቱ ወልድ ቀብዖ አብ  
 ለወልዱ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ቅብዓት  
 ንሥኣት ኅድረት ኮኖ ፩ጊዜ በማኅፀን  
 ከመ ቅፅበተ ዓይን። በከመ ይቤ  
 ማቴዎስ በወንጌሉ ተረክበት እምዘባ  
 20 ውስተ ማኅፀና ፅንስተ እመንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ። ሰቤሃ መለኮት ኮነ ሰብአ

At the time when Gabriel announced to  
 Mary, He said to her, "The Holy Spirit  
 will come upon you, and the power of  
 the most high will over shadow you,  
 there for the child to be born is holy, and  
 will be called the Son of God the most  
 high." When Gabriel said, "the Holy  
 Spirit will come upon you, and the  
 power of the most high will over shadow  
 you," do not think that these three  
 persons papered for incarnation. What  
 [the angel] (13<sup>vb</sup>) said is that, they came  
 to Mary, the Father becoming the  
 anointer, the Son the anointed and the  
 Holy Spirit the ointment. While the Son  
 united with the body, the Father anointed  
 His Son, and the Holy Spirit became to  
 him ointment, receiving, [and]  
 indwelling in the womb at the same time  
 like the twinkling of an eye. As [St.]  
 Mathew in his Gospel said, "She was  
 found to be pregnant in her womb by the  
 Holy Spirit." At that time the Divinity

እንዘ ኢይጠፍዕ ህላዌ ርቀቱ በከዊነ ሥጋ። ሥጋኒ ኮነ መለኮተ ፍጹመ እንዘ ኢይጠፍዕ ህላዌ ግዘፋ በከዊነ መለኮት። ወኮነ ጅኣካለ

5 ወጀራእዮ ወጀህላዌ ወጀጠባይዐ ወጀባሕርዮ። ኣብ ቀባዒ ብሂል ባሕርዮ ዘከመ ኮኖ ቅድመ ለኣካለ ቃል። ከማሁ በኣካለ ሥጋሁ ወነፍሱ በተዋሕዶ በማኅፀነ ድንግል

10 ኮኖ ባሕረዮ ለቃል በሰብእናሁ። ወልድ ተቀባዒ ብሂል (13<sup>ra</sup>) ከመ ነሥኣ እመንፈሲ ቅዱስ ሕይወተ ቅድመ ኣካለ ቃል። ወከማሁ ድንገረኒ ነሥኣ በኣካለ ትስብእቱ እስትንፋሱ

15 ወሕይወተ እመንፈሲ ቅዱስ። መንፈሲ ቅዱስኒ ቅብዕ ብሂል ዘከመ ኮኖ ቅድመ ሕይወተ ወእስትንፋሱ ለኣካለ ቃል። ወከማሁ ኮኖ ለቃል በኣካለ ትስብእቱ

20 እስትንፋሱ ወሕይወተ። ወካዕበ ኣብ ቀባዒ ብሂል ያኤምር ከመ ቅድመ ወለዶ ለኣካለ ቃል ወከመ ኣስረዖ ለኣካለ መንፈሲ ቅዱስ እምባህርዮ መለኮቱ። ወከማሁ እምባሕርዮ

25 መለኮቱ ወለዶ ኣካለ ሥጋ ወነፍስ ጊዜ ተዋሕዶሙ ቃል በቅብዓተ መንፈሲ ቅዱስ። ወልድ ተቀባዒ ብሂል ከመ ተወልዶ ቅድመ ውእቱ ኣካለ ቃል እምባሕርዮ

30 መለኮቱ ለኣብ። ከማሁ በኣካለ ሥጋ ወነፍስ ተወልዶ በቅብዓተ መንፈሲ ቅዱስ እምባሕርዮ መለኮቱ ለኣብ። መንፈሲ ቅዱስ ቅብዕ ብሂል ኣስተወሐደ ኣካለ ቃል ምስለ ኣካለ

35 ሥጋ ወነፍስ ኣመ ኃደረ ውስተ ከርሣ ለድንግል ወረሰዮ ዕሩዮ ለውእቱ ሰብእና ምስለ መለኮተ ኣብ ወወልድ ወመንፈሲ ቅዱስ (13<sup>rb</sup>; 45<sup>vb</sup>)።

became human, with out loss of His subtle nature by being human. Humanity too became absolutely divine without loss of His gross nature by being Divine. It became one person, one Divine entity, one existence, one attribute, and one nature. The Father is the anointer means that as He became the essential nature earlier for the person of the Word; similarly He became the nature of the Word in His humanity [or] in His person of flesh and soul through unity in the womb of the virgin. The Son is the anointed means, (13<sup>ra</sup>) as the person of the Word received the life from the Holy Spirit earlier; likewise later in His person of humanity He too received breath and life from the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the ointment means, as He earlier became life and breath to the person of the Word; similarly He become breath and life to the person of the Word in His humanity. And again announcing the Father as the anointer indicates, as He earlier generated the person of the Word and caused the person of the Holy Spirit to proceed from the nature of His Divinity; similarly from the nature of His Divinity He generated the person of the body and flesh at the time when the Word united with it through the unction of the Holy Spirit. The Son is the anointed means, as this person of the Word was begotten earlier from the nature of the father's Divinity; likewise in the person of the body and flesh, He was begotten from the nature of the Father's Divinity through the unction of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the ointment means, He caused the person of the word to unite with the person of the body and the soul, at the time when it rested inside the womb of the virgin; and He made this humanity equal with the Divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (13<sup>rb</sup>).

5 ሹወ፩ቅዱሳት መጻሕፍት [ይቤሉ] አብ ቀባዒ ወልድ ተቀባዒ መንፈስ [ቅዱስ] ቅብዕ። ንሕነስ ነሢኣነ ስምዓ ቃለ መጻሕፍት በከመ መሀሩነ አበው ቀደምት እንዘ ይብሉ ክርስቶስ ተቀብዓ እመንፈስ ቅዱስ በእደ አቡሁ። አኮ ከዊኖ ዕሩቀ እመንፈስ ቅዱስ እስመ ሕይወቱ ዘቀዳሚ። ዘኢይፈቅድ ተቀብዖተ
   
 10 በሀላዊሁ (27<sup>va</sup>) ተቀብዓ በእንተ ሰብእናሁ ከመ ይረብዮ ለትስብእቱ ፩ምስለ መለኮቱ ዘእንበለ ፍልጠት ወዘእንበለ ተሌልዮ። ... [አኮ] አካለ ሥጋ ተቀብዓ በአካለ
   
 15 ቃል አላ አካለ ቃል ተቀብዓ በሰብእናሁ ወቀባዒሁኒ አብ እስመ ባሕርዩ ዘቀዳሚ ውእቱ። ... ነአምን በ፩አምላክ አብ ቀዳሚሁ እምቀዲሙ ከመ ወለዶ ሰወልድ
   
 20 ወአስረዖ ለመንፈስ ቅዱስ እምባሕርዩ መለኮቱ። ወአልቦ ካልእ ወላዲ ወአስራዒ ዘእንበሌሁ ባሕርዩ ወልድ ባሕርዩ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ውእቱ። ወነአምን ካዕበ በአብ ከመ
   
 25 ወለዶ ለትስብእተ ወልድ እምባሕርዩ መለኮቱ በቅብዓተ መንፈስ ቅዱስ አመ ተወሐደ ምስለ (27<sup>vb</sup>) አካለ ቃል። ወነአምን በ፩ወልድ ቀዳሚሁ እምቀዲሙ ከመ ዘተወልደ
   
 30 እምባሕርዩ መለኮቱ ለአብ አልቦ ካልዕ ወልድ ዘይትወለድ እምአብ ዘእንበሌሁ ቃለ አብ ወቃለ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ውእቱ። ወነአምን ካዕበ በትስብእተ ወልድ ከመ ተወልደ
   
 35 እምባሕርዩ መለኮቱ ለአብ በቅብዓተ ጊዜ ተወልደ ምስለ አካለ ቃል። ወነአምን በ፩መንፈስ ቅዱስ ቀዳሚሁ እምቀዲሙ ከመ ሠረፀ እምባሕርዩ

The 81 Holy books say that the Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed, [and] the Holy Spirit the ointment. And we accept the testimony of the words of books [and] of our fathers, which teach us saying, "Christ was anointed from the Holy Spirit by the hand of His Father, not because He was naked from the Holy Spirit, given that it is His original life. He who does not need anointment in His nature, (27<sup>va</sup>) was anointed in His humanity to make His human nature one with His Divinity without division and without separation. ... The person of the body was not anointed by the person of the Word, but rather the person of the Word was anointed in His humanity; and His anointer is the Father because He is His original nature. ... We believe in the one God the Father, who is the first from the beginning, as He has begotten the Son and made the Holy Spirit proceed by His divine nature. There is no other begetter and one who caused to proceed other than Him; He is the nature of the Son and the nature of the Holy Spirit. And again we believe in the Father, that He begat the humanity of the Son from His divine nature through the unction of the Holy Spirit at the time when [the human body] was united with (27<sup>vb</sup>) the person of the Word. And we believe in the one the Son, who is the first from the beginning, as He was born from the Father's divine nature; there is no another son other than Him, who shall be born from the Father; He is the Word of the Father and the Word of the Holy Spirit. And again we believe in the Humanity of the Son, as He was born from the divine nature of the Father through unction, at the time when He was united with the person of the Word. And we believe in the one Holy Spirit, who is the first from the beginning that He proceeds from the divine nature of

40 መለኮቱ ለአብ አልቦ ካልዕ መንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ ዘይሠርዕ እምክብ ሕይወተ  
 አብ ሕይወተ ወልድ ውእቱ።  
 ወነአምን ካዕበ በመንፈስ ቅዱስ ከመ  
 ኮኖ ሕይወተ ለትስብእተ ወልድ  
 45 ነአምን ወከመዝ ንትአመን (27<sup>ra</sup>)።  
 ወከመዝ ንሜህር ለሰብእ (27<sup>rb</sup>)።

5 ወንሕነሰ ንቤ ትስብእተ ወልድሰ  
 ኢኮነ ወልደ [በ]ጸጋ በርደተ መንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ አላ ውእቱሰ በማኅፀን አመ  
 ነሥኦ ሕይወቶ ዘቀዳሚ ወአሜሃ  
 ኮነ ወልደ ባሕርይ። ወሶበ ይከውን  
 ንጉሠ ኢኮነ ከመ ዳዊት ወሰሎሞን  
 ዘይሥዕርሙ ሞት ከመ ፀበል  
 ወጢስ ዘይገነጽሎሙ ወይዘርዎሙ  
 መዋዲ ነፋስ አላ ውእቱሰ ኮነ ንጉሠ  
 10 ነገሥት ወንጉሠ ሰማያት ወምድር  
 ዘይሁብዎ ሎቱ ኩሎሙ ነገሥተ  
 ምድር አምኃ ወሰጊድ። በከመ ይቤ  
 ዳዊት በመዝሙር ነገሥተ ተርሴስ  
 ወደስያት አምሐ ያበውኡ ነገሥተ  
 15 ሳባ ወዓረብ ጋዳ ያመጽኡ ወይሰግዱ  
 ሎቱ ነገሥተ ምድር። ወሶበ  
 ይከውን ካህነ ኢኮነ ከመ (34<sup>va</sup>)  
 አሮን ወሳሙኤል ዘይሰውዕ ሥጋ  
 ሳህም ወበግዓ ምድራዊ። አላ ውእቱ  
 20 ኮነ ሊቀ ካህናት ወሠያሜ ካህናት  
 ዘይቤሎሙ ንሥኡ መንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 ለእለ ኃደግሙ ኃጢአት ይትኃደግ  
 ሎሙ። ወለእለ ኢኃደግሙ ኃጢአት  
 ኢይት[ኃ]ደግ ሎሙ ወካዕበ  
 25 ይቤሎሙ ዘአሠርክሙ በምድር  
 ይኩን እሠረ በሰማያት  
 ወዘፈታሕክሙ በምድር ይኩን  
 ፍቱሐ በሰማያት። ወሶበ ይከውን  
 ነቢያ ኢኮነ ከመ ሄኖክ ወኤልያስ  
 30 ዘይጽሕፉ ምግባራተ ዘተገብረ  
 ለሰዕሎቱ። ውእቱሰ ኮነ ርእሰ  
 ነቢያት እምቅድመ ይፍጥር ለሰብእ

the Father; there is no other holy spirit [other than Him] who should proceed from the Father; He is the Life of the Father and the Life of the Son. And again we believe in the Holy Spirit, as He became the Life for the humanity of the Son at the time when He was united with [the Son's] Divinity. We believe this and we confess this (27<sup>ra</sup>); and we teach this to the public (27<sup>rb</sup>).

But we say, the humanity of the Son did not become an adopted son with the descent of the Holy Spirit; but rather He received His natural life in the womb, as of that moment He became the natural son [of God the Father]. When He became king, it was not like David and Solomon, whom death wipe out like a dust and a smoke, and whom a mobile wind disperse and distort; but rather he became the King of kings and the King of heaven and earth, to whom all kings of the earth offer tribute and prostration as David attested in the psalm, "May the kings of Trashes and of the Isles render him tribute, may the kings of Sheba and Saba bring gifts; may all kings fall down before him." When He becomes a priest, He did not become like (34<sup>va</sup>) Aaron and Samuel, who offered a sacrifice of the flesh of cows and of sheep. But rather He became the highest priest and the nominator of priests who announced [saying]: "Receive the Holy Spirit; If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven. If you retain the sins of any, they are retained." And again [He is the one who] declared saying "Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loosened on earth shall be loosed in heaven." When He became a prophet, He did not become like Henoh and Elijah, who wrote events which happened every day. But rather He became the head of prophets; He knows the act of a person

የአምር ግብር። እስመ በእንተዝ  
 ነገር ይቤሉ አበዊን ዘይቤሉ  
 ክርስቶስ በመንፈስ ቅዱስ ከብረ  
 ከመ ፩እም ቅዱሳን ውጉዝ ለይኩን።  
 5 ወጉባኤ ኒቂያኒ እንዘ (34<sup>vb</sup>)  
 ይብሉ ዘወረደ እምሰማያት ተሠገወ  
 ወተሰብአ እመንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 ወእማርያም እምቅድስት ድንግል።  
 10 ወይቤ እግዚእን ለሊሁ ወልድከ  
 ተአውቀ እመንፈስ ቅዱስ (34<sup>ra</sup>)።

አብ ቀባዒ ወልድ ተቀባዒ መንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ ቅብዕ ከዊኖሙ መጽኡ ንበ  
 ማርያም ድንግል። ወሶቤሃ ውኣቱ  
 አካለ ቃል ዘጥንተ ስሙ ወልድ  
 5 ደመረ መለኮቶ ንበ አካለ ሥጋ።  
 ትድምርት ኅድረት ቅብዓት  
 ወንሥኣት ወፈጠረ ትስብእት  
 በግብረ መንፈስ ቅዱስ። ዝግብር  
 ኩሉ ምሥጢረ እግዚአብሔር ኮነ  
 10 ፩ጊዜ ከመ ቅፅበት። በቀቢያቱ ለአብ  
 ወበተቀብያቱ ለወልድ ወበቅብዓቱ  
 ለመንፈስ ቅዱስ ኮነ ወልደ ባሕርይ  
 ውኣቱ ትስብእተ ወልድ። ቃል  
 ሥጋ ኮነ እንዘ ሀሎ በርቀቱ (39<sup>vb</sup>)  
 15 ወበምልዓቱ። ወሥጋኒ ቃል ኮነ  
 እንዘ ሀሎ በጋዘፉ ወበዓቅመ  
 ሰብእና። መለኮትኒ በአካለ ሰብእና  
 ተወሰነ ወአካለ ሰብእና በመለኮቱ  
 ሰፈነ። አፍአ ቀለም ትተልዉ እንዘ  
 20 ኢተአምሩ (39<sup>rb</sup>) ምሥጢረ  
 ሥላሴሁ በአካላት ወምሥጢረ  
 ተዋሕዶቱ በመለኮት ወምሥጢረ  
 ትስብእቱ በቅባዓት። ንሕነሰ እንዘ  
 ንብል ኩብአ ቀለም ወአፍአ ንባብ  
 25 መንፈስ ቅዱስ ሥጋ ፈጠረ ሎቱ  
 ለክርስቶስ። ምሥጢረ ነገሩ ለዝ  
 ቀለም እስመ ውኣቱስ ለአዳም  
 ንጹሐ ፈጠሮ እግዚአብሔር  
 በብስራተ ንባብ እንዘ ይብል  
 30 ንግብር ሰብአ በአርኤያነ ወበአምሳሊነ

before creating him. Because of this fact  
 our fathers say, "Let the one who says  
 that Christ was honored by the Holy  
 Spirit like one of the saints be  
 anathematized." The council of Nicea  
 [affirmed the same fact] saying, "The  
 one who came down from heaven was  
 incarnated and became human from the  
 Holy Spirit and from St. Mary the  
 virgin." Our Lord Himself said, "Your  
 Son is known through the Holy Spirit."

They came to Mary, the Father  
 becoming the anointer, the Son the  
 anointed, and the Holy Spirit the  
 ointment. At that moment the person of  
 the Word, whose original name is the  
 Son, united His Divinity with the person  
 of the body. Uniting, dwelling,  
 anointing, receiving, and the creation of  
 the human body was [accomplished] by  
 the act of the Holy Spirit. All these  
 operations of the mystery of the God  
 head happened at once in the twinkling  
 [of an eye]. With the anointment of the  
 Father, and the anointing act of the Son,  
 and the ointment of the Holy Spirit, the  
 humanity of the Son became that of the  
 natural son. The Word became flesh  
 while still in its subtleness (39<sup>vb</sup>) and  
 fullness. And the human body too  
 became Word while existing in its  
 grossness and in human capacity. The  
 Divinity was defined in the person of  
 humanity and the person of humanity  
 filled [in the world]. You [heretics]  
 follow literal reading, with out knowing  
 (39<sup>rb</sup>) the mystery of Trinity in person,  
 and the mystery of unity in Divinity, and  
 the mystery of incarnation in unction.  
 We say the verse; "the Holy Spirit  
 created a body for Christ" is a literal  
 reading. The commentary for the reading  
 is that, God created Adam in purity with  
 an annunciation saying, "Let us make  
 man in our image and in our likeness";

ወለሐዊንኒ እምዓፅመ ገቦሁ።  
 ወክልኤሆሙ ጸድቃን እሙንቱ  
 ወነበሩ ጁዓመተ ውስተ ገነተ ተድላ  
 በንጽሕና ወበተደንግሎ  
 5 በሕሊናቲሆመ ወበሥጋቲሆሙ።  
 ወኢያእመራ አዳም ለሐዊን ከመ  
 ኮነት ተባዕተ ወአንስተ እስከ ለመ  
 ይትፌጸም ጁዓመት። ወእምድኅረ  
 ስሕተት አእመራ ከመ ኮነት አንስተ  
 10 ወሶበ ስህቱ አዳም (40<sup>va</sup>) ወሐዊን  
 ተአርቁ እምልብሰ ብርሐን።  
 ወአሜሃ አዳም በከየ ብካየ መሪረ  
 ወመሐሮ እግዚአብሔር ወአሰፈዎ  
 ቃለ ብሰራት ወይቤሎ እትወለድ  
 15 እምወለተ ወሰትከ ወእድሕክ ውስተ  
 መርህብከ ወእትቤዘወከ በመስቀል  
 እስመ በተስፋሁ ፶፻፬፻፫ ዓመት  
 ነበረ በከርሠ ገሃነም በከመ ይቤ  
 መጽሐፍ ኢያጎነዲ እግዚአብሔር  
 20 ቃለ ዘነበበ ወፈነወ ወልዶ ዋሕደ  
 ውስተ ዓለም ወሐወፀ ወርእየ ኩሎ  
 ደቂቀ እንሰ እመሕያው። እምቅድመ  
 ስሕተት ዘነበረ ዘነበረ ሥጋ አዳም  
 ንበ ማርያም ድንግል ተረክበ።  
 25 ምንተኒ ሶበ ትነጽሕ እምኢኮነት  
 ወኢምኢበቀዓት ከመ ትኩኖ እም  
 ሰፈጣሪ። ከብ አጽንዓ መንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ አንጽሐ ወቀደሳ ወረሰያ ከመ  
 ትክህሎ ለአካለ ቃል ምስለ አካለ  
 30 ሥጋ። እግዚአብሔር (40<sup>vb</sup>) አብ  
 አስተወሐደ በመንፈስ ቅዱስ።  
 ወበእንተ ዘፈለጠ ነፍሰ እምነፍሳ  
 ወሥጋ እምሥጋሃ መንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 ሥጋ ፈጢሮ አልበሶ ይቤ  
 35 መጽሐፍ። እንዘ ይትቀባዕ ወእዘ  
 ይትወሐድ ወእንዘ ይነሥእ ሀብተ  
 ወልድና እምአብ ወሀብተ ሕይወት  
 እመንፈስ ቅዱስ ወእንዘ ይከውን  
 ወልደ ባሕርይ ወእንዘ ይከውን ሊቀ  
 40 ካህናት ወንጉሠ ነገሥት ወርእሰ  
 ነቢያት ኮነ ፩፯ዜ ከመ ቅፅበተ  
 ዓይን። ስምዑ አመናፍቃን ነገደ  
 ጀርመን ኩልክሙ ሀብተ ወልድና

And Eve too from his ribs. The two were  
 righteous and lived for seven years in the  
 pleasure of heaven in chastity and in  
 virginity in their mind as well as in their  
 body. Until seven years has lapsed  
 Adam did not know Eve whether she  
 was male or female. After the fall, He  
 knew her to be female. At the moment  
 when they made sin, Adam (40<sup>va</sup>) and  
 Eve became naked, losing from clothe of  
 light. At that time, Adam lamented  
 bitterly and God forgave him, and gave  
 him good news saying, "I shall be born  
 from the daughter of your daughter and  
 crawl in your field and ransom you on  
 the cross." With this promise, [Adam]  
 lived in the belly of hell for five  
 thousand five hundred years. As the  
 scriptures say: "God will not delay what  
 He promised," He sent His only Son to  
 the world, and visited and observed the  
 whole human being. The body of Adam,  
 which existed before the fall, was found  
 from the Virgin Mary. No mater how  
 much she is pure, she could not become  
 and was not fit to be the mother of God.  
 [For this reason] the Father strengthened  
 her, the Holy Spirit cleansed her and  
 sanctified her, and enabled her to hold  
 the person of the Word with the person  
 of the body. God (40<sup>vb</sup>) the Father united  
 [the two persons] by the Holy Spirit. By  
 reason that He separated the soul from  
 her soul and the body from her body, the  
 scripture said, "The Holy Spirit created  
 the body and clothed it." When He was  
 anointed, when He was united, when He  
 received the gift of Sonhood from the  
 Father and the gift of life from the Holy  
 Spirit, He became the natural son, He  
 became the highest priest, the king of  
 kings and the head of prophets [all these]  
 happened at one moment like the  
 twinkling of an eye. O! Heretics, the  
 whole family of the German, listen,  
 when we inform you saying that [the

እምአብ ወሀብተ ሕይወት እመንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ ነሥአ ሶበ ንብለክሙ  
 ኢይምሰልክሙ በሀላዊሁ ዳዕሙ  
 በእንተ ሰብእናሁ። በከመ ይቤ  
 5 መጽሐፍ ዘኢይፈቅድ ተቀብዖተ  
 በሀላዊሁ ተቀብዖ በእንተ ሰብእናሁ  
 (40<sup>ra</sup>)።

እግዚአብሔር አብ ከመ ወለደ  
 ለእግዚአብሔር ወልድ እምባሕርዮ  
 መለኮቱ መንፈስ ቅዱስኒ ከመ ኮኖ  
 ቅድመ እስትንፋሱ ወሕይወተ  
 5 ለትስብእተ ወልድ በቅብፅናሁ።  
 በቀቢያቱ ለአብ በተዋሕዶቱ  
 ወበተቀብዖቱ ለወልድ ወበቅብዓቱ  
 ለመንፈስ ቅዱስ ውእቱ ሥጋ  
 ዘይማስን ኮነ ዘኢይማስን። በቀቢያቱ  
 10 ለአብ በተዋሕዶቱ ወበተቀብዖቱ  
 ለወልድ ወበቅብዓቱ ለመንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 ውእቱ አካለ (41<sup>vb</sup>) ሥጋ መዋቲ  
 ኮነ አካለ መለኮት ዘኢይመውት።  
 በቀቢያቱ ለአብ ወበተቀብዖቱ  
 15 ወበተዋሕዶቱ ለወልድ ወበቅብዓቱ  
 ለመንፈስ ቅዱስ አካለ ሥጋ ውሱን  
 ኮነ አካለ መለኮት ስፋን። በቀቢያቱ  
 ለአብ በተዋሕዶቱ ወበተቀብዖቱ  
 ለወልድ ወበቅብዓቱ ለመንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 20 ውእቱ ወልደ እንለ እመሕያው  
 እምነ መሬት ዘተፈጥረ ኮነ ወልደ  
 እግዚአብሔር ሕያው ኩሎ ዓለመ  
 ዘፈጠረ። በ[ግብረ] መንፈስ ቅዱስ  
 አካለ ቃል ረቂቅ ምስለ አካለ ሥጋ  
 25 ግዙፍ በተዋሕዶ ኮነ ወልደ  
 እግዚአብሔር ሕያው ወወልደ  
 ማርያም ሥግው። ወበቀቢያቱ  
 ለአብ ወበተቀብዖቱ ወበተዋሕዶቱ  
 ለወልድ ወበቅብዓቱ ለመንፈስ  
 30 ቅዱስ ውእቱ ሥጋ ግዙፍ ምድራዊ  
 ኮነ አካለ መለኮት ረቂቅ (41<sup>ra</sup>)  
 ሰማያዊ (41<sup>rb</sup>)።

Son] received the gift of Sonhood from the Father and the gift of life from the Holy Spirit, do not think that [He received] in His nature but rather in His humanity. As the scripture says, "The one who did not need to be anointed in His nature, was anointed in His humanity" (40<sup>ra</sup>).

[It shows that] God the Father generated God the Son from His Divine nature [and] the Holy Spirit became breath and life to the human body of the Son by being unction. With the anointing act of the father, with the unity and unction of the Son, and with the ointment of the Holy Spirit, the body that was perishable became imperishable. With the anointing act of the father, with the unity and unction of the Son, and with the ointment of the Holy Spirit, the person (41<sup>vb</sup>) of the body that was mortal became the person of the Divinity that is immortal. With the anointing act of the father, with the unity and unction of the Son, and with the ointment of the Holy Spirit, the person of the body that was defined became the person of the Divinity that filled [in the world]. With the anointing act of the father, with the unity and unction of the Son, and with the ointment of the Holy Spirit the son of man that was created from the earth became the Son of the living God, who created the whole world. With the act of the Holy Spirit, the subtle person of The Word together with the gross person of the body became the living Son of God and the incarnated son of Mary. With the anointing act of the father, with the unity and unction of the Son, and with the ointment of the Holy Spirit the gross body that was terrestrial became the subtle person of the Divinity that is (41<sup>ra</sup>) celestial (41<sup>rb</sup>).

በኢየሱስም ለመጸሐፍት ትኔግሩ።  
 እስከ ስምዑን በቅብዓተ መንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ ከመ ኮነ ወልደ ባሕርይ  
 ዘናመጽእ ለክሙ ስምዓ እምጥዋጅ  
 5 መጸሐፍት። በከመ ይቤ ዳዊት  
 (41<sup>rb</sup>) እግዚአብሔር ይቤለኒ ወልድየ  
 አንተ ወአነ ዮም ወለድኩክ። ወካዕበ  
 ይቤ ምስሌክ ቀዳማዊ በዕለተ ኃይል  
 በብርሃኖሙ ለቅዱሳን ወለድኩክ  
 10 እምከርሥ እምቅድመ ኮከበ ጽባሕ።  
 ወአዲ ይቤ ይቤሎ እግዚእ  
 ለእግዚእየ ንበር በየማንዮ እስከ  
 አገብዎሙ ለጸላዕትክ ታሕተ መከየደ  
 እገሪክ በትረ ኃይል ይፌኑ ለከ  
 15 እግዚአብሔር እምጽዮን ወትኮንን  
 በማእከለ ጸላዕትክ። ስምዑ  
 አመናፍቃን ደቀ ጀርመን ኩልክሙ  
 ኢይምሰልክሙ ዝነገረ ትንቢት  
 ዘይቤ በእንተ አካለ ቃል በህላዌሁ  
 20 አላ በእንተ ተሠግዎቱ። በከመ ይቤ  
 በነገሥት በክፍል ሣልሳይ አነ  
 እከውኖ አባሁ ወውእቱ ይከውነኒ  
 ወልድየ። ወገብርኤልኒ ይቤ አመ  
 አብሰራ ለማርያም (42<sup>va</sup>) ድንግል  
 25 መንፈስ ቅዱስ ይመጽእ ላዕሌኪ  
 ወኃይለ ልዑል ይጾል[ለ]ኪ ዘኒ  
 ይትወለድ እምነኪ ቅዱስ ውእቱ  
 ወይሰመይ ወልደ እግዚአብሔር  
 ልዑል። በከመ ይቤ ዘዝኩር  
 30 በወንጌል እምግብጽ ጸዋዕክዎ  
 ለወልድየ። ወዓዲ ይቤ በወንጌለ  
 ማቴዎስ ተውህበ ሊተ ኩነኒ  
 ሰማይ ወምድር ወኩሉ ተውህበኒ  
 እምንበ አቡየ። በወንጌለ ዮሐንስ  
 35 ይቤ ወወሀቦ ሥልጣነ ወመባሕተ  
 ይግበር ኩነኒ። ወካዕበ ይቤ  
 አንትሙ ትብሉኒ ትጸርፍ ለእመ  
 አብለክሙ አነ ወልደ  
 እግዚአብሔር። ወካዕበ በዮርዳኖስ  
 40 ወበደብረ ታቦር ስምዓ ኮነ ሎቱ  
 እግዚአብሔር አብ ለወልዱ እንዘ  
 ይብል ዝንቱ ውእቱ ወልድየ  
 ዘአፈቅር እስመ አነ ሠመርክዎ  
 ወሎቱ ስምዕዎ (42<sup>vb</sup>)። ...  
 45 ወበእንተዝ ስምዓ ኮነ ሎቱ  
 [እግዚአብሔር አብ] ከመ ወለደ

You speak with out knowing scriptures.  
 Listen to the testimony that we bring to  
 you from the 81 holy books that [the  
 human body] became natural son by the  
 unction of the Holy Spirit. As David said  
 (41<sup>rb</sup>), "God said to me, 'you are my son,  
 today I have begotten you.'" And again  
 he said, "With you, earlier on the day of  
 the power in the holy array, I have  
 begotten you from the womb before the  
 star of the morning." And once more he  
 said, "The Lord says to my lord: 'sit at  
 my right hand, till I make your enemies  
 your footstool. The Lord sends forth  
 from Zion your mighty scepter. And you  
 rule in the midst of your enemies.'" O!  
 Heretics, the entire sons of the German,  
 listen, do not think this prophetic  
 statement is speaking about the person of  
 the Word in his nature, but rather about  
 his incarnation. As it is said in the third  
 [book] of kings, "I will become His  
 Father and He will become my Son." At  
 the time when he announced the Virgin  
 Mary (42<sup>va</sup>), Gabriel also said, "The  
 Holy Spirit will come up on you, and the  
 power of the most high will over shadow  
 you; therefore the child to be born will  
 be called holy, the Son of God." As the  
 one who mentioned in the Gospel said,  
 "I have called my son out of Egypt."  
 And again said in the Gospel of Mathew,  
 "I have given the rule over heaven and  
 earth; all things have been delivered to  
 me by my Father." And He said in the  
 Gospel of John, "He has given Him the  
 authority and power to execute  
 judgment." And again He said, "You say  
 you speak blaspheme if I told you that I  
 am the Son of God." And again God the  
 father gave a testimony concerning His  
 Son in the [river] Jordan and on mount  
 Tabor saying, "This is my beloved Son,  
 with whom I am well pleased; listen to  
 him" (42<sup>vb</sup>). ...For the sake of this, God  
 the Father gave a testimony as He

ለትስብሕተ ወልድ እምባሕርየ መለኮቱ (42<sup>ra</sup>)::

generated the human body of the Son from His Divine nature.

ወይቤልዎሙ ማኅበረ ጆርመን ለምእመናን ወልድ ባሕርይሰ ከመ ኮነ በቅብዓተ መንፈስ ቅዱስ አመርክሙነ:: ወእምዝ እስኩ ሀቡነ ስምዓ እመጸሕፍት ዘብሉይ ወዘሐዲስ በቅብዓተ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ከመ ኮነ ሊቀ ካህናት ወርእሰ ነቢያት:: ወሶበ ታመጽኡ ስምዓ እመጽሐፈ. (sic) አዋልድ ኢናበውእ ነገርክሙ ውስተ ልብነ:: ወእውሥኡ (43<sup>va</sup>) ምእመናን ወይቤልዎሙ ለመናፍቃን ለዝ ነገር ሶበ ነጋጥእ ስምዓ እመጸሕፍተ ብሉይ ወሐዲስ ረስዩነ ከመ አድግ:: ስምዑ ነገርነ እመ ተመየጥክሙሰ በስምዓ መጸሕፍት:: ወይቤ ሙሴ በኦሪት ዘዳግም ነቢየ ያነሥእ ለክሙ እግዚአብሔር ዘከማየ:: በከመ ይቤ እግዚእነ በወንጌል ኢይደልዎ ለነቢይ መዊት በአፍአ ዘእንበለ በኢየሩሳሌም:: ወካዕበ ስምዑ ከመ ኮነ ሊቀ ካህናት ንነግረክሙ በከመ ይቤ ዳዊት አንተ ካህኑ ለአለም በከመ ሢመቱ ለመልክ ጼዴቅ ወጳውሎስኒ ይቤ ወብነ ሊቀ ካህናት ዓቢይ ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ:: በከመ ይቤ ቁርሎስ ለሊሁ ኮነ ሊቀ ካህናት በትስብሕቱ:: ለሊሁ መሥዋዕት በሥጋ ዘነሥኦ ወሎቱ ያዓርጉ (43<sup>vb</sup>) መሥዋዕቶ:: ወለሊሁ ሠራዬ ኃጢአት ዘከመ መባሕተ መለኮቱ:: ወጎርጎርዮስኒ ዘነሲስ ይቤ ውእቱ ካህን ዘለዓለም ወውእቱ በግዓ መሥዋዕት ውእቱ ካህን ሠዋዒ:: ወውእቱ ተወካፊ መሥዋዕት ምስለ አቡሁ ወምስለ መንፈስ ቅዱስ:: ወዓዲ ከመ ኮነ ንጉሠ ነገሥት በከመ ይቤ ዳዊት በመዝሙር አንሰ ተሰየምኩ ንጉሠ በላዕሌሆሙ:: ወኢሳይያስኒ ይቤ ይቀውም ሥርወ ዕሴይ ወዘተሠይመ እምኔሁ ይከውን

The community of the German said to the believers, "You made us know as [the human body] became natural Son by the unction of the Holy Spirit. So then give us the testimony from the books of the Old and the New Testament as it became archpriest and head of the prophets by the unction of the Holy Spirit. If you bring the testimony from apocryphal book[s], then, we will not admit your teaching in our heart." The believers answered (43<sup>va</sup>) and said to the heretics, "If we do not find a testimony for this teaching from the books of the Old and the New [Testament], then, consider us as a donkey." Listen to our teaching if you returned back by the testimony of the books. Moses said in the Deuteronomy, "God raises for you a prophet like me." As our Lord said in the Gospel, "It is not proper that a prophet should perish outside other than in Jerusalem." And again listen as He became the arch priest we tell you as David said, "You are a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." And Paul said, "We have a great high priest, Jesus Christ." As Cyril said, "He Himself became the highest priest in His humanity. He Himself is the sacrifice; they offer (43<sup>vb</sup>) their sacrifice to Him, which He partook of in His body. And He Himself is the canceller of sin as His Divine power." And Gregory of Nyssa also said, "He is a priest for ever; and He is the lamb of sacrifice; and He is the sacrificer priest. He is the receiver of the sacrifice with His Father and with the Holy Spirit" And once more as He became the King of kings, David said in psalms, "I have appointed a king upon them." And Isaiah said, "The tribe of Jesse will prevail and the one who is appointed from him, will become a king

37-ሠ ለአሕዛብ ወሕዝብ።  
 ገብርኤልኒ መልአክ አመ አብሰራ-  
 ለማርያም ድንግል ወይቤላ  
 ወይነግሥ ለቤተ ያዕቆብ ለአለም  
 5 ወአልቦ ማኅለቅት ለመንግስቱ።  
 በከመ ይቤ ነቢይ ዘዘኩር በወንጌል  
 ወአንቲኒ ቤተልሐሄም (43<sup>ra</sup>) ምድረ  
 ኤፍራታ ኢትዴጋሪ ወኢትሐፊላ  
 እምነገስተ ይሁዳ እስመ እምኔኪ  
 10 ይወፅእ ንጉሥ ዘይርአዮሙ  
 ለሕዝብዮ እስራኤል (43<sup>rb</sup>)።

for the pagans and believers." At the  
 time when the angel Gabriel announced  
 the Virgin Mary, he said to her, "And He  
 will reign over the house of Jacob for  
 ever; and there will be no end for His  
 kingdom." As the prophet mentioned in  
 the Gospel said, "And you Bethlehem,  
 (43<sup>ra</sup>) the land of Efrata, you will not  
 remain behind and be deficient among  
 the rulers of Judah; from you shall come  
 a ruler who will govern my people Israel  
 (43<sup>rb</sup>)."

ጳውሎስስ ዘይቤ እንዘ ባዕል ውእቱ  
 አንደዮ ርእሶ። ፍካሬሁስ ለዝ ነገር  
 ውእቱ ትስብአተ ወልድ ዘኮነ ወልደ  
 ባሕርይ እንዘ ባዕል ውእቱ ይቤ  
 5 በእንተ ዘተጠምቀ ሢመተ ሰብእና  
 ትንቢተ ወመንግሥተ ወክህነተ  
 አንደዮ ርእሶ ዘይቤ። በቅድመ ህላዌ  
 ክብሩ ለመለኮት ሢመተ ትንቢት  
 ወመንግሥት ወክህነት ነዳዮ  
 10 ይትበሀል። በከመ ይቤ ዳዊት  
 በአርእስተ ነገሩ አንሰ ተሰዮምኩ-  
 ንጉሠ [በ]ላዕሌሆሙ። ኩሉ ደቂቀ  
 እንሰ እመሕያው ወኩሉ ክብረ  
 ዓለም ወመንግሥት ነዳይ ወምስኪን  
 15 በገጸ እግዚአብሔር ባሕርቱ  
 እግዚአብሔር ክቡር ዘኢየሩሳሌም  
 ክብረ እምባዕዳን። ወካዕበ ይተረጎም  
 በካልእ እንዘ ባዕል ውእቱ አንደዮ  
 ርእሶ ዝብሂል በቅብዓተ (53va)  
 20 መንፈስ ቅዱስ ውእቱ ወልደ  
 ሰብእናሁ በማኅፀነ ድንግል እንዘ  
 ይከውን ወልደ ባሕርይ ሕገ ሰብእና  
 ፈጸመ እግረ አርዳኢሁ ሐፀበ በዲበ  
 ዕዋል ተፅዕነ በፀዋረ ጉንደ መስቀል  
 25 ከመ ገብር ኮነ እስመ በእንተዝ  
 ዘይቤ ጳውሎስ (53vb)። ... ናሁ  
 ምሳሌ ዘእምጸእነ ለክሙ ምሳሌ  
 (sic) እስኩ ሰብዉ። ነዋ ንጉሠ  
 ዓለም ሰበ ይትነሣእ ፀር በላዕለ  
 30 መንግሥቱ ይትነሣእ እምነ መንበሩ  
 ወይትሌለይ እምስቱ ወይኑ

But Paul said, "While He is rich, He  
 impoverished Himself." The  
 commentary for this reading is that:  
 while the human body of the Son that  
 became the natural Son is rich, it is said  
 impoverished because of His baptism,  
 [and because He received] human  
 offices [like] kingship, being prophet,  
 and being clergy. In the face of the  
 natural honor of the Divinity, the  
 appointment of prophet ship, kingship,  
 and clergy ship is being poor. As David  
 said, "I was appointed king upon them."  
 The whole human being and the whole  
 prestige of the world, and [any] kingdom  
 is poor and needy in the face of God;  
 only God is honorable and does not need  
 honor from others. The verse "While He  
 is rich, He impoverished Himself" can  
 also be interpreted in an other way, that  
 while the body of the Son became  
 natural Son in the womb of the virgin by  
 the unction (53va) of the Holy Spirit, He  
 fulfilled human rules He washed feet of  
 His disciples, He was loaded on [the  
 back] of a colt; He became like a slave  
 by carrying the beam of the cross; that is  
 what Paul spoke about (53vb). Please!  
 Try to perceive the example we have  
 brought to you. Behold a secular king,  
 when an enemy enters in his kingdom,  
 he rises from his throne and departs from  
 drinking wine and from [eating] his

ወእምጥዑም መባልዕቲሁ።  
 ወየሐውር ወይበጽኡ ኅበ ሀለወ  
 ጸላዕቱ ወየጎድር ውስተ ጸላዕቱ  
 ኅበ [ኢ]ሀሎ ዕፅ ወማይ እንዘ  
 5 ርኅብ ወጽሙዕ። ወበሳኒታሁ ሶበ  
 ይትናፀር ምስለ ፀሩ ይፀውር  
 ረምጎ በመትከፍቱ ወይቀትል ፀር  
 በድጎሬሁ። ወእምዝ እንዘ  
 ይትመየጥ ኅበ መንበሩ  
 10 ወመንግሥቱ ወያወርድ ረምጎ  
 እመታክፍቲሁ ወ[ይ]ሁቦሙ  
 ለአግብርቲሁ። ለዝ ንጉሥ ዘጎደረ  
 ርኅብ ወጽሙዓ ወዘየረ ረምጎ  
 በመትከፍቱ እሉ አግብርቲሁ  
 15 ወሰብአ (53<sup>ra</sup>) ተዓይኒሁ  
 ያስተሐቅርዎኑ ወያስተቃልልዎ  
 እመዓርገ መንግሥቱ። ክርስቶስኒ  
 ንጉሠ ሰማያት ወምድር ከማሁ  
 መጽአ በሥጋ ኃዲጎ ጳውሎስ ነገደ  
 20 መላእክት ወጎደረ ውስተ ያላዕተ  
 ቆሮንቶስ ኅበ አልቦ ዕፅ ወማይ።  
 ወጸመ ሿመዓልተ ወሿሌሊተ።  
 ወተመይጠ እምገዳም ፀዊሮ ረምጎ  
 መስቀል በመትከፍቱ። ወሐረ ኅበ  
 25 ሀለወ ፀር ወረዝዞ በረምጎ መስቀል  
 ወቀተለ ፀር በድጎሬሁ። ተንሥኦ  
 ወዓርገ ኅበ ዘትካት መንበሩ።  
 ወለረምጎ መስቀልሰ ወሀቦሙ  
 ለአርዳኢሁ ወለአርድኢቲሁ ...። ለዝ  
 30 ፈጣሪ እምህላዌ መለኮቱ  
 አውርዶሙ ፍጡርኑ ይቤልዎ  
 በእንተ ዘጸረ ረምጎ መስቀል  
 ለቀቲለ ፀር (53<sup>rb</sup>)።

delicious foods. He travels and arrives  
 where his enemy is, and he resides  
 among his enemies, where there is no  
 wood and water, while hungry and  
 thirsty. Subsequently the next day, when  
 he finds himself face to face with his  
 enemy, he bears a spear on his shoulder  
 and kills his enemy by stabbing in back.  
 Consequently when he returns to his  
 throne and to his kingdom, he takes  
 down the spear from his shoulder and  
 gives it to his servants. Do the servants  
 and the people of (53<sup>ra</sup>) his city  
 humiliate and despise the king, who  
 spent the night in hunger and in thirsty,  
 and who carried a spear on his shoulder,  
 from the dignity of his kingdom? Christ,  
 the King of heaven and earth, too, came  
 in flesh by leaving the 99 tribes of  
 Angels and resided on the Corinthian  
 rocks, where there no wood and water.  
 He fasted for 40 days and 40 nights. And  
 he returned from the wilderness carrying  
 the spear cross on his shoulders. And He  
 went where his enemy is, and pierced  
 him with the spear cross, and killed his  
 enemy in his back. He rose [from the  
 dead] and ascended to heaven to his  
 original throne. He gave the spear cross  
 to his male and female disciples.... Can  
 they call this God, a creature since He  
 gave up his Divine nature for the sake of  
 carrying the spear cross to kill the  
 enemy? (53<sup>rb</sup>)



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 5.1. Summary and Conclusion

Except in some instances, foreign as well as local scholars employed the materials of the opposing school to write on the history of the Qəb'at School of thought. Some scholars seem intentionally reserved in using the documents of the concerned School; in order to propagate their own agenda. Others were shut out by external barriers, like lack of information on the existence of relevant manuscripts, unavailability and inaccessibility of the identified texts, lack of knowledge of the Gə'əz language, etc. due to the avoidance of using documents of the Qəb'at School, there is lack of consensus among scholars on the history and teaching of the movement. Furthermore, despite these clashes of ideas and methodological problems, no recent study has been undertaken on the Qəb'at School of thought. For this reason, studying the history and teaching of this school of thought according to their own literally heritage, such as the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli* is a significant undertaking.

The general purpose of this study was to assess the history and teaching of the Qəb'at School of thought based on the materials produced by the scholars of the school itself, especially the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli*. In line with this, the study pointed out the real time of the origin of Qəb'at teaching and the link between the Qəb'at school of thought and that of the house of Ewostəwos. It also discussed on the basic theological teachings of the Qəb'at School and its development through different stages.

To achieve this purpose different sources were utilized. The main source for the study was a manuscript called *Mäşəḥafä Zəkre wä-ṗawli*, 'the book of *Zəkre* and *ṗawli*,' which was produced by the doctors of Qəb'at School of theology. Different documents that gave insight concerning contemporary issues of the period of the Qəb'at School were also discussed. In addition, theological scholars of this school of thought were valuable sources. Other supplementary sources employed in the paper include, Chronicles of contemporary Kings, Hagiographies of Qəb'at Saints, theological works of scholars of this school, Qənes (religious poems), and selected analytical works of modern scholars.

The scholars which the researcher interviewed and discussed with for the purpose of the study were intentionally selected since they belong to and know

well the teaching of the School. In the study only qualitative data gathering methods were employed. Literary sources were collected from the concerned monasteries, churches, and libraries. The researcher read them and tried to extract the necessary information. Since theological ideas are often mysterious and are subject to misconception, he discussed theological issues with the scholars of the Qəb'at School of thought. In addition, to eliminate any kind of possible misunderstanding, because of ambiguous wordings or sentence structures in the document, the researcher consulted Gə'əz language experts.

The study has produced five major findings:

- a) The first finding is bringing to light of the book: *Zəkre* and *ḥawli* itself. So far, the book of *Zəkre* and *ḥawli* is neither edited nor studied. It is not cited even once in the scholarly works and this designates its misrecognition in the scholarly world. Consequently, the study adds much to what is so far known about the literature of the Qəb'at.
- b) The Qəb'at School of theology began prior to the sixteenth century and was a belief entertained by different personalities and monastic groups. It developed into a School of thought in the sixteenth century. However, it only attracted the attention of the general clerical public in the seventeenth century.
- c) According to the sources I have found, the beginning of the Qəb'at School of thought does not have any connection with the coming of the Jesuits to Ethiopia. It was an indigenous theological ideology established and spread by Ethiopians themselves.
- d) Abunä Ewostatewos began the teaching of Qəb'at theology. However among the spiritual sons of Ewostatewos, Abba Gäbrä 'iyäsus with his descendants shouldered best the task of spreading the teaching and strengthening the school, rather than the general house of Ewostatewos.
- e) The theological teaching of the Qəb'at School of thought has four phases. In each phase there are slight differences in expression as well as in theology.

## **5.2. Recommendation**

1. The study used only one copy of the book of *Zəkre* and *ḥawli*. Future studies on the document should include many copies as far as possible.
2. Ethiopian historical sources tell of many gifted individuals that had a great influence in the church as well as in court. However their life and influence has not yet been studied. As an experimental sample Cowley (1986) studied the life and influence of Māmḥar Esdros by incorporating written historical materials, oral tradition and *andəmta* commentary materials. In this regard, the book of

Zəkre and p̄awli can serve as a source for the study of the life and influence of important foreign as well as local personalities, like Abba Zəkre, Abba p̄awli, Mu'aləm p̄etros and *Abba Zä-'iyäsus*.

3. There is an impediment to the use of the book of Zəkre and p̄awli as a source for the study of Ethiopian history and theology; and that is its unavailability. Therefore, as a solution, the book of Zəkre and p̄awli should be critically edited and translated, and then presented to the general scholarly world.
4. As I personally observed, monasteries and churches of the Qəb'at School of thought are rich in literary heritages. The manuscripts owned by these monasteries and churches have not been studied by scholars. Therefore, there is an immediate need of cataloging them.
5. The EMMML project did not microfilm the manuscripts found in Goğgam in general and in the monasteries and churches of Qəb'at School of thought in particular. A project to Microfilm them or make a digital record of them would be appropriate.
6. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church reconciled with the Eastern orthodox Churches on the issue of the incarnation. They both abolished the differences which had existed for about sixteen centuries and agreed on terms that stated "no difference of doctrine except difference of analytical interpretation" (Tensae 1996:146). In a similar way, the Ethiopian Orthodox Tāwahaḥado church should reconsider its attitude to the Qəb'at School of theology. It should cease to regard the Qəb'at movement as heretical and rather recognize it as an alternative orthodox theology, just as different schools -*Lay bet* and *tač bet*- literally the upper school and the lower school: are recognized in the areas of *andəmta* commentary and *aq<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>am*, 'sacred music.'

## REFERENCE

- Admasu Jänbäre (Mälakä Bärhan). (1954). Mädlotä amin: Yä-haymanot mizan. Addis Ababa: Tanša'e Zä-guba'e Printing Press.
- Arägawi Mänfäsawi. (1988). Addis Ababa: Täsfa Gäbrä Sälase Printing Press.
- Ayyalew Tamru (Liqä Tābābt). (1953). Mäč Tälämädä-na Kätäk<sup>w</sup>ula Zämdäna. Addis Ababa: Tanša'e Zä-guba'e Printing Press.
- Ayele Teklehaymanot. (1951). Yä'itəyopəya Btä-Krəstiyan: səlä Krəstos bahrayat 'akalawi təwahədo yä-mətamnäw təməhərt. Asmara: pētrətos Šila Matämiya Bet.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1995). 'General introduction to Christology.' in: Ethiopian Review of Cultures (Special Issue), Vol. IV-V, 1994-1995. Symposium on the future of religious studies in Ethiopia and Eritrea , held at the capuchin Franciscan Institute of philosophy and technology, Addis Ababa, 14-19 February 1994. Pp. 235-260. Addis Ababa: Capuchin Franciscan Institute of philosophy and technology.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1998). 'The struggle for the "Ethiopianization" of the Roman catholic tradition'. in: Getachew Haile et al. (eds), The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia: Papers from a symposium on the impact of European missions on Ethiopian society, Lund University, August 1996. Frankfurt.
- Aymro Wondmagegnehu & Motovu, Joachim. (1970). The Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Addis Ababa: Brāhan-əna Sālam H.S.I Printing Press.
- Basset, Rene Marie Joseph. (1882). 'Etudes l'histoire d'Ethiopie.' in: Journal Asiatique, XVI. Paris: imprimerie nationale.
- Brake, Donald L. (1977). Historical investigation of monophysitism in the Ethiopian Church. Unpublished Dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, Faculty of the Department of Systematic Theology).
- Bruce, James. (1813). Travels to discover the source of the Nile in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773. (3rd ed.). Edinburgh.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. (1966). A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia (According to the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia, and the Ethiopian Chronicle). The Netherlands: Anthropological Publication.
- Bundy, David. (1992). 'Christianity'. in: Noel Freedman, David (ed.), The Anchor Bible Dictionary (Vol. I, Pp. 927-979). New York: Doubleday.

- Cerulli, Enrico. (1960). Scritti teologici Ethiopici del secoli XVI-XVII: Tre opuscoli del Mikaeliti, studie Testi, No. 198:139-160. Citta Del Vaticano: Biblioteia Apostolica Vaticana.
- Chernetsov, Sevir. (2003). 'ጎጥጥራዊ' Encyclopaedia Aethiopica (Vol. 2, pp. 301-302). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.
- Cheyne, T. K. (ed.) (1899). 'Christian, name of.' Encyclopedia Biblical: A critical dictionary of the literary political and religious history the archaeology geography and natural history of the Bible (Vol. 1, pp.752-763). London: Adam and Charles black.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. (1900). 'Il gadla Filipos e il gadla Yohannes'. in: ATTI. Serie Quinta, Classe de Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. VIII: 61-170. Roma: Accademia dei Lincei.
- Conway, Msgr. J. D. (1962). Times of decision: story of the councils. Indiana: Fides Publishers Association.
- Cowley, Roger W. (1970). 'The Ethiopian Church and the council of Chalcedon' in: Sobornost. VI, 1: 33-38.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974). 'Old Testament introduction in the Andemta commentary Tradition.' Journal of Ethiopian Studies, XII, 1: 133-175. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Haile Sellassie I University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1983). The traditional interpretation of the apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1986). 'Māmhār Esdros and his interpretation'. in: Goldenberg, Gideon (ed.), Ethiopian studies: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14-17 April 1980. Pp. 41-69. Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1989). 'Zakre and päwli – Ethiopic Bible Translators or Interpreters.' Journal of Semitic Studies, XXXIV: 387- 398. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Derat, Marie-Laure. (2003). 'Dawit II'. Encyclopedia Aethiopica (Vol. 2, pp. 112-113). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.
- Dillman, A. (1884). 'Über die Regierung , insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zarʿa-Jacob'. in: Abhandlungender Königlichen. Berlin: akademie der Wissenschaften.

- Dombrowski, Franz Amadeus. (1983). Tanasee 106: Eine chronik der herrscher Ethiopiens. Vol. 1, Teil A. Wiesbaden
- EMML 1411. ( 1979). (*Yäzämän Tarik/ Täklä Iyäsus chronicle/ Goğğam chronicle*) Getachew Haile, A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegevil (Minnesota). Vol. IV
- EMML 1533. (1981). (*Mäšəhafä Nägärä Haymanot*) Getachew Haile and William F. Macomber, A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegevil (Minnesota). Vol. V.
- EMML 1569. (1981). (*Fakare ʾiyyäsus*) Getachew Haile and William F. Macomber, A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegevil (Minnesota). Vol. V.
- EMML 2090, f. 156. (1982). (The letter of Metropolitan Marəqos ) Getachew Haile and William F. Macomber, A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegevil (Minnesota). Vol. VI.
- EMML 2840, ff. 194<sup>f</sup>-197<sup>f</sup> and 5<sup>f</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>. (1983). (Dawit or Psalter) Getachew Haile and William F. Macomber, A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegevil (Minnesota). Vol. VII.
- EMML 2969, ff. 14-15. (1983). (*Mästəbqʾə Zä-Maryam*) Getachew Haile and William F. Macomber, A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegevil (Minnesota). Vol. VII.
- EMML 4802. ( 1993). (*Yäzämän Tarik/ Täklä Iyäsus chronicle/ Goğğam chronicle*) Getachew Haile, A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegevil (Minnesota). Vol. X
- EMML 5403. ( ). (*Yäzämän Tarik/ Täklä Iyäsus chronicle/ Goğğam chronicle*) Getachew Haile, A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegevil (Minnesota). Vol. XI
- EOTC. (1986). Haymanotä Abäw. Addis Ababa: The Ethiopian Orthodox Təwahədo Church.

Ezra Gebremedhin. (2003). 'Hawi: Mäṣṣāḥafä ḥawi.' Encyclopedia Aethiopica (Vol. 2, pp. 1052-1053). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.

Flad, J. M. (1869). The Falashas (Jews) of Abyssinia. London: William Macintosh.

Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. (2003(a)). 'Ewäṣṣatewos.' Encyclopedia Aethiopica (Vol. 2, pp. 469-472). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003(b)). 'Ewäṣṣateans.' Encyclopedia Aethiopica (Vol. 2, pp. 464-469). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.

Gädlä Ewäṣṣatewos. (Unpublished). በቤ.መ 746፤ 005.125፤ ገሌዎ

Getachew Haile. (1980). 'Materials on the theology of Qəb'at or Unction.' in: Goldenberg, Gideon (ed.), Ethiopian studies: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14-17 April 1980. Pp. 205-250. Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1981 (a)). 'Religious controversies and the growth of Ethiopic literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.' in: Oriens Christianus, LXV. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1981 (b)). The letter of Archbishops Mika'el and Gäbrä'el concerning the observance of Saturday. in: Journal of Semitic Studies, XXVI, 1: 73-78.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1983 (a)). The cause of the Estifanosites: A fundamentalist sect in the church of Ethiopia. in: Paideuma, XXIX: 93-119. Orono.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1983 (b)). The homily of Zär'a Ya'əqob in honor of St. John the evangelist, EMMI, 1480, ff. 48r-52v. in: Orient Christians, LXVII: 144-166 Wiesbaden.

\_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) (1990). The faith of the unctionists in the Ethiopian church: Haymanot Mäsiḥawit. in: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Aethiopici), DXVII. Louvain: Aedibus E. Peeters. (The edited Gə'əz text of Haymanot Mäsiḥawit).

\_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) (1990). The faith of the unctionists in the Ethiopian church: Haymanot Mäsiḥawit. in: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Aethiopici), DXVIII. Louvain: Aedibus E. Peeters. (The English translation of Haymanot Mäsiḥawit).

\_\_\_\_\_. (1996). Däqiqä Əstifanos. Collegeville (Minnesota).

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1997). Yä-'Abba Bahray Darsätoč: 'Oromočan kāmimäläkätu leloč Sänädoč Gara. Avon: Minnesota.
- Getie Gelaye. (2003). 'Gälanäš Haddis'. Encyclopedia Aethiopica (Vol. 2, pp. 654-655). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.
- Gifar Tesfaye. (1984). 'Inscriptions sur bois de trois eglises de Lalibala'. Journal of Ethiopian Studies, XVII: 114-119. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University.
- Gorgoriyos (Abba). (1986 EC). Yä-Itäyoḅäya Ortodoks Täwahädo Betä Krästiyän Tarik. Addis Ababa: Brəhan-əna Sälam Printing press.
- Guidi, Ignatius (ed.). (1910). Annales regum Iyasu II et Iyo'as. in: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Aethiopic), XXVII & XXIX. Louvain: Secretariat du CorpusSCO, Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.). (1903-1961). Annales Iohannis I, Iyasu I, Bakaffa. in: Corpus Scrpus Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Aethiopic), V-VII, Series altera V, VIII. Paries: Imprimerie nationale, Louvain: Secretariat du CorpusSCO.
- Habtä Marəyam Wärqənäh (Liqä Səlṭanat) (1963) Təntawi Yä-Itäyoḅäya Təmähərt. Addis Ababa: Brəhan-əna Sälam Printing Press.
- Hastings, James et. al. (eds.). (1994). 'Christianity'. Encyclopedia of religion and ethics (Vol. III, Pp. 579-600). Edinburgh.
- Holy Bible. King James Version. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Hyatt, Harry Middleton. (1928). The church of Abyssinia. London: Luzac & Co..
- Kaplan, Steven. (1984). The monastic holy man and the Christianization of early Solomonic Ethiopia. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Kidane Maryam. (Mämhər). (1952). Rät'ət Haymanotomu Lā-qədusan Abäw. Addis Ababa.
- Kidanä wäld Kəfle. (1948). Mäsəhafä säwasəw wä-gəss wä-mäzgäbä Qalat haddis. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1986). Haymanotä Abäw Qädämt. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden Gubh.

- Leslau, Wolf. (1987). Comparative dictionary of Ge'ez (classical Ethiopic): Geez-English / English-Geez with an index of the semitic roots. Otto Harrassowitz Wiesbaden.
- Lusini, Gianfrancesco. (1993). 'Stdi sul monachesimo Eustaziano (secoli xiv-xv)'. Studi Africanistici, Serie Ethiopica 3. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerchesu Africa e Paesi arabi.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1994). 'Historical elements in the *gädlä Danel*'. New Trends in Ethiopian Studies: Paper of the 12<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, East Lansing, Michigan State University, 5-10 September, 1994, II: 1275-1281. Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press.
- Ludolf, Hiob. (1982). Historia Aethiopica. et commentarius ad suma historiam Aethiopica. Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag.
- Mario, Padre da Abiy Addi. (1956). La Dottrina della Chiesa Ethiopica dissidente sull Unione Ipostolica. OrChrA, 147: 117-129. Roma: Pont Institutum Orientalium Studiorum.
- Mc Donald, William J. (1967). 'Christian (the term)'. New Catholic Encyclopedia (Vol. 3, p. 629). Washington: thy Catholic University of America.
- Mänkär Mäkonnän (Mämhär). (1972 EC). Mäsəhafä liqawənt. Addis Ababa: Tanša'e Zä-guba'e Printing Press
- Merid Wolde Aregay. (1998). 'The legacy of Jesuit missionary activities in Ethiopia from 1555 to 1632.' in: Getachew Haile et al. (eds.), The missionary factor in Ethiopia: papers from a symposium on the impact of European missions on Ethiopian society, Lund University, August 1996. Frankfurt.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982). ). 'Millenarian Traditions and Peasants movement in Ethiopia 1500-1855'. Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Lund, 26-29 April 1982, Pp. 257-262. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- Mäsəhafä Zäkre Wä-pawli. (Unprinted) Qoga Monastery.
- Norton, Peter B. (ed.). (1994). 'Jesuit.' The new Encyclopedia Britannica (Vol. 6, p.) Chicago.
- Pankhurst, Richard. (2003). 'Aringo.' Encyclopedia Aethiopica (Vol. 1, p.335). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (2003). 'Bruce, James.' Encyclopedia Aethiopica (Vol. 1, pp. 631-633). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.
- Pereira, F. M. Esteves. (1888). Historia de Minas: Ademas Sagad rei de Ethiopia. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1892). Chronicai de Susenyos rei de Ethiopia. Lisbon.
- Perruchon, Jules Francois Celestin. ( ). Notes Pour l'histoire d'Ethiopia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.). (1893). Les chroniques de Zar'a Ya'aqob et Ba'eda Maryam. Paris.
- Petros S. Berga. (2006). What happened to the original Christian unity in Ethiopia?: towards the restoration of our original unity in Christ. Eos Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien.
- Raineri, Osvaldo. (2003). 'Gäbärä Iyyäsus.' Encyclopedia Aethiopica (Vol. 2, p. 614). Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.
- Samuel, V. C. (1977). The council of Chalcedon re-examined: a historical and theological survey. Madras: diocesan press.
- Sergew Hable Selassie. (1970). 'The period of reorganization.' in: Sergew Hable Selassie (ed.), The church of Ethiopia: A panorama of history and spiritual life. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Orthodox Church.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) (1989). 'Märtulä Maryam'. Yä-Amaräña Yä-Betäkrästyian Mäzägbä Qalat (Vol. 1, pp.46-47). (unpublished).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) (1989). 'Qäb'at /፤mnät/'. Yä-Amaräña Yä-Betäkrästyian Mäzägbä Qalat (Vol. 2, pp.133-138). (unpublished).
- Strelcyn, Stefan. (1974). Catalogue of Ethiopic manuscripts in the John Rylands University library of Manchester. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Tä'amärä Maryam. (1985). Addis Ababa: Tansa'e Masatämiya Däragät.
- Taddese Meheretu. (1992). Bä-Ityoፆaya Betäkrästyian lay yädäräsu Wästawayan Yä-፤mnät Gäçätoč (A Bachelor thesis presented to the Faculty of theology, Hayle Selassie I University, Addis Ababa).
- Taddesse Tamrat. (1968). Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite "heresy" in the Ethiopian Church. in: Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, XXII: 103-115. Roma: Istituto Per L'orient.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1970). 'Persecution and religious controversies'. in: Sergew Hable Selassie (ed.), The Church of Ethiopia: A panorama of history and spiritual life. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Orthodox Church.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1972). Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fekle Maryam. (Abba). (1952). Həssu Sälama Lä-hagär. Addis Ababa:
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1945 EC). Yä-'Itəyopəya Tarik: Kā-'Aše Ləbnä Dəngəl Əskä 'Aše Thewodəros. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press.
- Fesfa Welde Sillase. (Abba). (1952). Əskä Ma'əzenu Təhanəkəsu Bəkəl'ehon Gegayatikəmu. Addis Ababa:
- Tensae. (1996). The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Faith, order of worship and ecumenical relations. Addis Ababa: Tensae publishing house.
- Uhlig, Siegbert. (1990). Introduction to Ethiopian Palaeography. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Watkin, E. I. (1960). The Church in Council. Liverpool and London: Charles and Sons LTD.
- Wendt, Kurt. (1962). Das Mäšəhafä Milad (liber Nativitates) und Mäšəhafä Sellase (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zar'a Ya'əqob. in: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Aethiopici t. 41-44) Vol. 221. Louvain: Secretariat du CorpusSCO.
- Wion, Anais. (2003). 'Gong' Tewodros'. in: Uhlig, Siegbert et al. (eds.), Encyclopedia Aethiopica. Vol. 2, p. 848. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.

1970). 'Persecution and religious controversies'. in: Sergew Hable (ed.), The Church of Ethiopia: A panorama of history and spiritual life. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

1972). Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Abba). (1952). Hässu Sälama Lä-hagär. Addis Ababa:

Abba). (1945 EC). Yä-'Itäyopäya Tarik: Kä-'Aše Ləbnä Dəngəl Əskä  
Tewodros. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press.

Abba). (1952). Əskä Ma'əzenu Tähanəkəsu Bəkəl'ehon  
Abba. Addis Ababa:

Ethiopian Orthodox Church Faith, order of worship and ecumenical  
Addis Ababa: Tensae publishing house.

1970). Introduction to Ethiopian Palaeography. Stuttgart: Steiner.

The Church in Council. Liverpool and London: Charles and Sons

1970). Das Mäšəhafä Milad (liber Nativitates) und Mäšəhafä Sellase  
Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zar'a Ya'əqob. in: Corpus Scriptorum  
Orientalium (Scriptores Aethiopici t. 41-44) Vol. 221. Louvain:  
Institut du CorpusSCO.

1970). 'Gong' Tewodros'. in: Uhlig, Siegbert et al. (eds.), Encyclopedia  
Aethiopia. Vol. 2, p. 848. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.

## Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been used for a degree in any other university, and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Abreham adugna', is written over a horizontal line.

Abreham adugna  
October 2007

Confirmation