

GIORGIS ZEGASITCHA: TEACHER AND AUTHOR

By **Sergew Hable Sellassie**

In the history of the intellectual life of Ethiopia, Giorgis of Gasitcha¹ is undoubtedly an important literary figure comparable to Yared. Giorgis composed poetry and prose to praise God and to defend the faith of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. His literary contributions to the church can be compared with Yared's musical contributions of the 6th century A.D. Yared introduced church music, composing hymns for the four seasons. Throughout Ethiopian churches today, Giorgis' *Horologium* for the day and night is used side by side with Yared's hymns.

I SOURCES

a) Chronicles

Information on the life and work of Giorgis appears in various sources whose credibility differs. The Ethiopian chronicles are unanimous in mentioning the role of Giorgis in the religious conflict about iconography which arose during the reign of Zer'a Yacob, between Giorgis and an unnamed foreigner. It should be stressed that this information is persistently found in almost all the abridged Chronicles of Ethiopia.² But the information must be ruled out, simply because Giorgis, according to all the other sources, died earlier than the reign of Zer'a Yacob in 1425.³ How this anachronism came about is hard to ascertain. Probably because Giorgis was a prestigious man, his name was attached to the burning issue of the time. The mention of his role in the abridged Chronicles of Ethiopia reveals the prestige he enjoyed in the Chronicles of Ethiopia. In fact, he is the second person after Yared, who, among the non-ruling class, secured such a prominent place in the Chronicles.

b) Hagiographical

1. Gedle Giorgis

Hagiographical sources supply detailed information about Giorgis. His *Gedle* (Life story) is the leading source. The oldest known text of his life dates from the 19th century.⁴ The monastery of Gasitcha was plundered in the 19th century by Moslem hordes. Consequently, the older manuscripts

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were burned, and their ashes were visible until very recently.⁵ Only a few manuscripts survived this disaster.

2. *Dirsane Urael*⁶

The official *Dirsane Urael* is eschatological in nature. At the same time it has much geographical and historical information⁷, whilst the discredited version labelled "of doubtful origin" contains much information, particularly about the early life of Giorgis. So far the former work is the only source where some details of his early life can be found.

3. His Works

From Giorgis' works one can appreciate the depth of his knowledge, the standard of his education, and his religious ideals, but not the history of his career. In *Mesihafe Mistir* we have colophons where he uses verses about himself but they reflect little on his life.

4. *Teamire Mariam*

Recently there came to light a *Teamire Mariam*⁸ (The Miracles of St. Mary), written during the reign of Libne Dingil (1508-1540), where information is provided about the works of Giorgis.⁹ Interestingly, this information coincides with that found in the version of *Dirsane Urael* which was condemned as apocryphal.

c) Studies

So far few studies have been done on the life and works of Giorgis. C. Conti Rossini, the well-known *Ethiopianist*, attempted to study two chapters of *Mesihafe Mistir*.¹⁰ Tadesse Tamrat¹¹ has summarized the life and works of Giorgis on the basis of some hagiographical sources. *Melake Birhanat Tesfa Werqineh* in the introduction to the Book of *Arganon* has synthesized the traditional information in Amharic.¹²

II EARLY LIFE

Giorgis was born in the region of Shagla¹³ in the present Wello province which in the early times was known as Bete Amhara.¹⁴ His father was called Hizbe Sion and his mother Emne Sion. His father originated from Tigre or more precisely from Aksum and was of a well-known family.¹⁵ His mother was from Bete Amhara, from the region of Welleqa.¹⁶ There is contradictory information about his father's profession. In *Dirsane Urael* he is first described as being head of dignitaries in the province of Tigre, and then as governor of Shagla during the reign of Emperor Dawit

(1382-1411).¹⁷ Whereas in his *Gedle* he is simply called a scholar and priest who was serving in the Imperial Chaplaincy¹⁸ in the inner part of the palace.

In the sources available thus far there is no indication of his exact date of birth. In his *Gedle* it is mentioned that he died at the age of 60 in the 12th year of Yeshaq's reign in the 6917 year of Creation which corresponds to the year 1425 G.C. If this information is proved true, he must have been born in 1365, towards the end of Seife Ariid's reign (1344-1372).

He was the only child of the family. His parents waited for a long time for a child, but in vain.

Their expectation only materialized later through Divine intervention.¹⁹ The newborn child was given the name Giorgis, meaning that he would face the truth in front of Emperors and overcome the enemies of the faith and guide the clergy from the darkness of heterodoxy with the light of the Gospel.²⁰ As he was destined for such a high position, his father thought it wise to entrust him to good hands for a thorough education.

At that time the best place for such an education was Haik. Its priests were well-known for their erudition and exemplary behaviour.²¹ The date of his arrival at Haik is uncertain. Both *Gedle Giorgis* and *Dir-sane Urael*²² underline the fact that Giorgis was entrusted to Haik during the office of Sereqe Birhan as abbot of the monastery. When exactly Sereqe Birhan assumed his office is not known, though history indicates he was an influential figure during the reign of Dawit (1382-1411)²³, particularly in resisting the new trend of the observation of two Sabbaths. We do know that Giorgis began learning the alphabet at an early age in Haik. At the beginning of Dawit's reign Giorgis was 15 years old, which is too late to begin learning the alphabet. Two things can be assumed here. Either Giorgis was not as old as 60 when he died, or the conventional date of Dawit's reign is not correct. The matter becomes more serious if we note the fact that Giorgis took seven years to learn the Ethiopian alphabet.²⁴

The early career of Giorgis is misty with legends similar to those told about Yared.²⁵ Both men failed to grasp the alphabet for seven years. Yared fled away to the tomb of Menelik I in Aksum and Giorgis' teacher returned him to his father with the following remark: "This child has failed to learn books. This is why I returned him to you. Put him in the service of the King to be a prince like yourself."²⁶ His father refused to accept him on the grounds that he had already given him to serve God, and he could not recant.²⁷

In this circumstance his teacher took him back to Haik where Giorgis was assigned to manual work and farming. He stayed at this job for a while and one night he saw a vision in which he realized his gift was to be a leading author.²⁸ Thereafter he advanced in learning. On this point neither his *Gedle* nor *Dirsane Urael* elaborate the state of education and the time needed to accomplish it. It has been underlined only that he finished his studies rapidly and began to compose hymns and write books. But as it was pointed out elsewhere in the *Gedle*,²⁹ Haik was not the only place where he received his education. *Abba* Samuel of Garma taught him the hymns of Yared on which he became an expert. It is also quite possible that he visited *Abba* Beselote Michael in pursuit of knowledge, because it is mentioned in his *Gedle* that Giorgis "Loved him from his childhood."³⁰

As an author, he won fame among a wide circle of clergy and this gradually reached the ears of Dawit, the Emperor and the latter summoned him to the palace to be the teacher of his children. *Gedle Giorgis* says that he was the teacher of Zer'a Abrham and the others,³¹ but *Dirsane Urael* is more precise and says: "Hereafter he became teacher for the eight sons of Dawit II: 1)Tewodros, 2) Yeshaq, 3) Tewoflos, 4) Endrias, 5) Habte Yesus, 6) Hezqias, 7) Iyosias, 8) Zer'a Yacob, and his sister Elleni."³² Obviously the number eight referred the sons and not their sister Elleni.³³ Other than those who later ascended the throne — Tewodros, Yeshaq, Zer'a Yacob and perhaps Endrias — they are not familiar to me. The effect of his education can be seen in the life and behaviour of his students. Tewodros was the one who was highly regarded by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He was canonized and his commemoration is observed on 29th of *Sene* (July 6).³⁴ Yeshaq is another Emperor whose reign is remarkable for political and cultural achievements.³⁵ The same perhaps even more true of Zer'a Yacob, who is known as a reformer of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and as a unifying power of the empire.³⁶

About Endrias' contribution little is definitely known. What is known for sure is that he succeeded Yeshaq and ruled for less than a year. *Dirsane Urael* is unclear about Endries, apparently confusing him with Wudim Ar'id, (1299-1314).³⁷ According to this source he ruled forty years and his throne name was Theodosius II in emulation of Theodosius I of the Byzantine Empire who was active in matters of religious decision-making. He is cited as being a reformer of the Orthodox Church. But in the *Chronicles*, Endrias is always given as the son of Yeshaq not as his brother.³⁸

While Giorgis was engaged in teaching, he continued to write different books which were highly admired by the Emperor. Because of his talent and correct behaviour, Dawit, the Emperor, liked him very much and he asked him to be his son-in-law.³⁹ But Giorgis, remembering that he was

given to God to serve Him all the days of his life, rejected the proposal. The Emperor insisted on the matter, however, and Giorgis, to avoid the trap went to the Bishop and became a priest. Even then the Emperor did not abandon his proposal and in view of this Giorgis received the monastic habit. Giorgis combined noble descent with intellect, which is why Dawit insisted on his marrying his daughter. Gradually, however, the hopelessness of the case became clearer to Dawit and from that time Giorgis was treated only as a teacher.⁴⁰

The prominent and distinctive place he gained involved him in many social and religious problems, which, in fact, on several occasions exposed him to danger. The equal treatment which he wanted to give to both the nobles and the common people resulted in friction with the court. It was the habit of the queens at that time to receive Holy Communion sitting in their seats. When Giorgis assumed the post as teacher of the nation as a whole he wanted to abolish this habit.

He insisted that the Queen should come forward to take Holy Communion and would not go to give it to her because "the Holy Communion is of the King of Kings."⁴¹ At last the Queen gave in and came forward to take Holy Communion like other people. But she considered the act as improper and took the matter to the Emperor for action. Dawit found himself in a difficult position. As a pious emperor and student of Giorgis he found the decision correct. On the other hand he could not easily tolerate the stand taken by Giorgis towards the Queen. So he solved the problem quite diplomatically by removing Giorgis through appointing him as head of a church in Damot⁴² with the highest ecclesiastical rank, *Nibure Ed.*⁴³ The decision was carried out, and in effect it was in favour of the Queen.

It is not known how long Giorgis remained in exile. But it seems that the confinement was not as rigorous as it usually was. He was free to move where he wished and it was at that time he went to Waldiba to visit Samuel.⁴⁴ At certain points they were not in complete agreement with each other. It seems that their difference was so serious that *Abba Samuel* refused to accept Giorgis into his community. The main issue of their differences has not been stated in the available sources. One possible issue could be a practical one. The monastery of *Abba Samuel* in Waldiba engaged in seven hours of prayer during the day, whereas Giorgis had already written, or intended to write the *Horologium* which took up twenty-two hours of the day.⁴⁵ For Waldiba, which was work-oriented it was rather difficult to adapt to the new *Horologium*. It seems they were not able to reach a compromise solution and Giorgis departed.

After that he went to the bishop⁴⁶ on a formal visit. Giorgis' main object was to secure approval for writing a number of anaphoras for the Church of Ethiopia. Bertelomewos approved this proposal.⁴⁷

III. The Role of Giorgis in Expanding and Defending the Faith

It is a fact that in this period the Orthodox Church of Ethiopia was preoccupied with religious conflicts several times and exerted the utmost effort to defend the faith through the leading church personalities. In the 15th century, if the information provided in the *Gedle* prove true, Giorgis played a leading role in defending the teaching of the Church from external and internal enemies suppressing different heresies which arose at that time.

1. Judaism

In the Shewa Province in the region of the present Ankober there was a strong Jewish community dating from early Medieval times. Zena Marqos launched missionary activities there in the 14th century and succeeded in converting many of them to the Christian faith. Prominent among the converts was a certain *Abba Sige Birhan* who is the author of *Mahylete Sige*.⁴⁸

As the number of converts increased, Emperor Newaye Mariam and Dawit II built churches. In *Gedle Zena Marqos* it is stated that four such churches were, built one in the name of St. Mary near the present Mahil Wenz, the second in the name of *Abba Nob* on the hill of Yesha, the third in the name of Gigar, the martyr, in Dens, the fourth and the last in the name of the Angel Michael at Yafidi.⁴⁹ The first and last are still in existence; the other two are not.

The conversion was not general. There were still many who confessed their old religion. Some of them were on the offensive perhaps because of the conversion of some of their members to Christianity. Such a case occurred during the reign of Dawit, when one leading Falasha asked for public discussion with Christians and, the *Gedle* says, he was so confident of himself, that he set the condition that they had to be converted to Judaism if the result was adverse. Otherwise, he and the whole Jewish community would embrace Christianity.

The challenge was serious and alarmed the Christian population. Even the Emperor Dawit involved himself in this matter, recruiting important and well versed Christian teachers to participate in the discussion.⁵⁰ Giorgis was unable to attend the meeting owing the sickness. Dawit himself chaired the meeting where on one side stood the Jew alone and on the other the members of the Ethiopian Church.⁵¹ The floor was first given to the Jew and he began to say: "This Christ whom you call the Son of God, if he really was the Son of God, would he not have known where they buried Lazarus because your Gospel says that when He reached Bethany He said: 'Where have ye laid him?'"⁵² For God there is not work which is hidden. Everything is clear in front of His eyes. Now I read to you

one part of your Gospel and not from my Pentateuch. Behold answer me."⁵³ From the Christian side none of them was able to answer the question posed by the Jew. Until that very moment they had not noticed the absence of Giorgis. Immediately Dawit sent some of his dignitaries and they brought him on a bed and put him in the middle of the meeting. Giorgis, hearing the argument of the Jew, said: "And I will not argue on the Gospel but your Pentateuch." And then he quoted similar passages from the Old Testament.⁵⁴ The Jew could not refute the argument and remained mute. The Emperor declared that the Jew was defeated and condemned him to death.⁵⁵

2. Imprisonment and Exile

The main reason for Giorgis humiliation was his confrontation with Bitu. During the reign of Dawit, there was a man called Bitu, who was a personal friend of the Emperor. In *Gedle Giorgis* he is labelled as a man who "converses with Satan", apparently meaning that he was magician.⁵⁶ The Emperor had high regard for this man and he thought that Bitu was a scholar. Giorgis and Bitu had different opinions on Doomsday. Bitu believed that the Son alone would come to judge the world as it is stated in the Gospel: "For the Father judgeth no man but hath committed all judgment unto the Son."⁵⁷ The view of Giorgis on this matter was that the Son would come with the Father. They argued, each one bringing evidence from the Bible, but failed to convince one another. At last the case was taken to the Emperor and he too, seeing that the matter was so delicate, decided to hear this case in the presence of the bishop. At this point Bitu used a trick to suspend the case. He composed a false letter pretending to be written by Giorgis to the bishop in which it was stated that the Emperor sided with the heretic view of Bitu and he should not trouble himself to come. He entrusted this letter to bribed men and went to Dawit to tell him about the happening. The Emperor ordered the messengers with the letter to appear in court and found that the alleged letter accused him. Immediately he sent for Giorgis, who was subjected to every kind of humiliation and oppression. Finally he was thrown in jail where he remained until the death of Dawit.

After the imprisonment of Giorgis the controversial issue continued to be discussed among the clergy but they could not come to a concrete decision. In the mean time Bitu died and the case died too.⁵⁸

The death of Dawit terminated the imprisonment of Giorgis. Tewodros, who was his pupil, released him and assigned him to continue his preaching in the region of Damot. It was at this time that he stopped over at Debre Libanos, on his way to Damot where he led a discussion about the Sabbath. In the mean time he continued to compose various works which earned him the title of 'Golden Mouth.' His activities did not last long. Another

dignitary denounced him to the Emperor.⁵⁹ Tewodros sent him to an arid and completely isolated mountain. From this place Giorgis sent a petition and the Emperor granted him amnesty. If we remember that the short reign of Tewodros lasted only nine months, the period of Giorgis' hardship was not long.

The exile in this arid place deeply affected his health. But still he continued his spiritual activities. It was at this time that he composed his highly praised work, *Mesihafe Mistir*. At the same time he did his best to consolidate the observation of the two Sabbaths.⁶⁰

It seems that he was not on good terms with Yeshaq either. The reason for this difference is not stated in the *Gedle*. When the land of Sewen, in the same area of Gasitcha, was given to Giorgis he was not told directly, but through a third party.⁶¹ This reveals at least a lack of cordiality.

While he was in Sewen, his health deteriorated. It was at that time that Yeshaq intended to inaugurate a church in the region of Shewa and Giorgis was invited to be present on this occasion. His poor health did not really allow him to go. But Yeshaq insisted, and Giorgis was obliged to attend. During his return he died in the middle of the journey. His students, according to his wish took him to Gasitcha and buried him.⁶²

IV WORKS

Giorgis produced more works, possibly, than any other writer in the Church of Ethiopia. For this reason he earned the title of Light of Ethiopia.⁶³ The exact number of his books is not known. The lists so far available differ. For our purpose we take his *Gedle* as the main source of information without, of course, failing to note the other sources.⁶⁴

Gedle Giorgis

- 1) Hohite Birhan
- 2) Arganone Wudassie
- 3) Wudassie Meskel
- 4) Mesihafe Sibhat
- 5) Anaphoras
- 6) Wudassie Hawariat
- 7) Fikare Hawariat
- 8) Mesihafe Mistir

1) Hohite Birhan⁶⁵

This is a short praise of St. Mary which usually appears with the Arganon. It was arranged into 7 sections to be used during the seven days

of the week. Uncontestably it was accepted as being the first work of Giorgis. The content is very similar to the anaphora of St. Mary and አንቀጽ : ብርሃን ።

The text was published by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church with the Arganon in the intervals. The manuscripts available include the one belonging to Mitaq Amanuel, Ankober district in the province of Shewa MS. No. 2193 EMML. According to palaeographical evidence it belongs to the 17th century. The second text belongs to Meseqo Sellassie Ankober (=Har Amba) in the province of Shewa. MS No. 2835 EMML. The third one is MS 2630 EMML of Yigem Abbo, Ankober district. The discrepancies in these different texts are quite obvious.

2) Arganon⁶⁶

This book is established as the second work produced by Giorgis. It is known widely among the faithful Christians who use it for morning prayer. As in the case of *Hohite Birhan* it is also divided into seven sections to be used on the seven days of the week.

The oldest manuscript which has so far come to our knowledge belongs at least to the 16th century.⁶⁷ According to *Gedle Giorgis* this book was written during the reign of Dawit and has three parts with distinct titles, *Arganon* (=Organ), *Messenqo* (=Lyre) and *Enzira* (=Accordion). It seems that the parts were accompanied by three musical instruments. This is an innovation in itself and deserves special attention. Giorgis strove to introduce different types of musical instruments, alien to ones previously used. The attempt had partial success. Emperor Dawit was so much impressed by the work that he ordered the book to be written in golden ink.⁶⁸

3) Wudassie Meskel

A small size (10 x 8.3 cms) MS. without cover, whose beginning is missing, has come to our knowledge.⁶⁹ From the beginning to the end it praised the Cross. The style recalls vividly that of Giorgis. In fact on fol. 3^a one reads በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አሐዱ : አምላክ : አውሎጊዮስ : ጊርዮስ (sic) አዳሱስ : ክርስቶስ ። which is identified with the beginning of *Hohite Birhan*.⁷⁰ This book could be *Wudassie Meskel* but definite evidence is lacking.

4) Mesihafe Sibhat

This work has various names: ሰዓታት : ዘአባ : ጊዮርጊስ : ዘደወለ ጋስ⁷¹ ። It is also termed simply as prayer: ጸሎት : ዘአባ : ጊዮርጊስ : ዘነግሀ : በጎመስቱ : ሃሌ⁷² ። It is also called *Mesihafe Sibhat* (=The Book of Praising), "because

it shows the path of God's glory."⁷³ It is a hymnary to be used during the night and day for 22 hours with melody but without musical accompaniment. The one most used in all churches is the *Horologium of the Night*, whereas *Horologium of the Day* is used in most prominent churches and monasteries particularly during Lent. There are doubts as to whether the present widely used *horologia* are by Giorgis.⁷⁴ A few years ago an *Horologium መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡* was brought from Gasitcha whose content is much different from the presently used one.⁷⁵ My suspicion is that this book might be the *Horologium* used prior to the composition of Giorgis' *Se'atat*.

Both *Horologia* of the Night and Day in one volume have been published by Tesfa Gebre Sellassie.⁷⁶

5) Anaphoras

It was *Abuna Bertelomewos*, the Metropolitan, who asked Giorgis to write his anaphoras.⁷⁷ The question is whether or not anaphoras existed previously. In the oral tradition we hear that Yared the Composer had written such anaphoras in the 6th century. But it is very hard to believe service book for two consecutive centuries after the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia. What perhaps happened was that Giorgis wrote additional anaphoras. As a matter of fact, in the Orthodox Church of Ethiopia we have 14 officially acknowledged anaphoras.⁷⁸ To the best of my knowledge the Orthodox Church of Ethiopia is the only Church in the world which has so many anaphoras. The other churches have 3 and a maximum of 4 anaphoras. The abundance of so many anaphoras may be attributed to *Abba Giorgis*. On this occasion it is worth mentioning that the style and presentation of many of these anaphoras are almost identical which suggests that the author is one and the same person, but this matter needs further careful examination.

6) Wudassie Hawariat

This book is alternatively known as መጽሐፈ ፡ ፍጹሞ ፡ and has still not come to my knowledge.⁷⁹

7) Fikre Haimanot

Giorgis wrote this work because Tewodros, Commander of the Army in the court of Emperor Dawit, asked him about the Orthodox faith and Giorgis presented this treatise in response. As the title itself reveals, Analysis of the Faith, it is doctrinal in character and apparently it was written to refute certain non-Orthodox teaching of the time.

Who was the exponent of this teaching is not stated explicitly in the *Gedle*. From the concern of the clergy and laity, however, one can deduce that it was a serious heresy.

From further description of *Gedle Giorgis*, *Fikare Haimanot* seems to be an important one. It attracted the attention of Emperor Dawit and church scholars. After they had read it they equated it with the works of St. John Chrysostom and St. Cyril of Alexandria. They said that this time Ethiopia overshadowed Alexandria and been elevated to the rank of Constantinople.⁸⁰

Although this book is so highly praised in his *Gedle*, it is not widely circulated and used in the Ethiopian Church. Even in Haik where Giorgis was brought up and educated, there does not seem to be a copy. From this monastery and other adjacent Churches more than 150 manuscripts have come to our knowledge. Among these we were not able to identify this work although perhaps our examination was not thorough enough.

8) Mesihafe Mistir

Unlike *Fikare Haimanot*, *Mesihafe Mistir*⁸¹ is widely available in many prominent churches and monasteries. The Ethiopian Church scholars use it widely. The oldest MS. of this work, to the best of my knowledge, is found today in Debre Libanos. As is stated in marginalia in a different pen, the MS. was discovered in a cave in Wellamo during the expedition by Menelik II in 1895 and later it was given to Debre Libanos Monastery, apparently by *Sehafa Tizaz* Gebre Sellassie, the court chronicler of Menelik II. Due to a long sojourn in the cave, the edge of the MS. is badly damaged and a few letters at the margin are missing. But the text can be easily reconstructed.

As is mentioned on many occasions in the colophons of the chapters, it was written by the order of one certain "Sophia, daughter of the King"⁸² and was dedicated to Washy or Wisy⁸³ Mariam and Her Son Jesus to ensure her soul's rest in the coming world.⁸⁴ As this text was written in the same century as the original one, perhaps with a half century difference, it has great significance for the critic of the work *per se*.

Gedle Giorgis Zegasitcha has given us some indication as to how the work was composed at first. It was written in the region of Sewen towards the end of his life. He dictated it to the scribes and within two days the whole work was completed.⁸⁵ Apparently it was the last work of Giorgis as it was written in the 10th year of Yeshaq's reign,⁸⁶ which is equivalent to 1423. G.C.

So far only two chapters of this work have been published, in Italian translation⁸⁷ by C. Conti Rossini.

Conclusion

Giorgis is undoubtedly an outstanding figure of the Medieval period of Ethiopia, who, next to Yared, contributed immensely to church life in Ethiopia. His hymns and other works of his remain to this very day basic prayer books of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He introduced some innovation in the way of using different musical instruments such as the lyre, the accordion and the organ. The facts suggest some kind of Western influence at that time,⁸⁸ though there is no direct proof of this.

From the works of Giorgis, one gets a good picture of the standard of education in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, and this fact encourages the researcher to intensify his studies in the hope of obtaining more material to shed light on various aspects of life of that period.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Gasitcha is a place name in the province of Wello in the region of Borena. It is a table land like Debre Damo where the body of *Abba Giorgis* rests. መጽሐፈ : አርጋኖን : ዘአባ : ጊዮርጊስ : published by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, (Addis Ababa, 1959 E.C.), p. VII; see St. Wright, "Notes on Some Cave Churches in the Province of Wallo:" *Annales d'Ethiopie*, Vol. II, (1957), pp. 12-13; Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527*, (Oxford Press, 1972), p. 222.
2. ወበመዋዕሊሁ : ኮን : ተቃሕዎ : በእንተ : ሃይማኖት : ተዋሥኦ : አባ : ጊዮርጊስ : ምስለ : አሐዱ : አፍርንጅ : እስከ : ከሠተ : ወደረሰ : መጽሐፈ : ምሥጢር ። R. Basset, *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Ethiopie*, (Paris, 1882), p. 12 (text); see I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura Etiopica*, (Roma, 1932) pp. 49-50.
3. *Gedle Giorgis Zegasitcha* of Debre Haik, Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, (EMML) MS. No. 1838, fol., 45 ff; Tadesse Tamrat, *op. cit.*, p. 222; C. Conti Rossini, "Due capitoli del libro del mistero di Giyorgis da Sagla": *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Vol. VII, (1949), p. 12; E. Cerulli, *Il libro Etiopico dei miracoli di Maria*, (Roma, 1943), pp. 114-115.
4. It is found in the monastery of Haik. Information received from individuals of this monastery stresses the fact that the book was copied from Lake Zuway island in Arussi. According to the same source a copyist was sent to Zuway with the necessary provisions during the reign of Menelik II, after his expedition of 1895, during which he found abundant manuscripts. (M. de Coppet, *Chronique du regne de Menelik II roi des rois d'Ethiopie*, (Paris, 1931), Vol. I, pp. 163-64). It is alleged that the copyist had found a voluminous work and he copied only the highlights of the life of the saint and returned to his monastery, Haik. My personal research in this regard in 1962 in Zuway did not give me the chance to see the original text of the life of Giorgis. Although I saw some manuscripts of the 15th century such as *Gedle Qidussan* with marvellous illuminations, *Gedle Giorgis Zegasitcha*, however, did not fall into my hands. Apparently prior to my visit it either fell into unscrupulous hands as happens many times or it fell prey to natural disasters such as fire, earthquake etc. Internal evidence of the text, however, does not support the above oral tradition. It presents unity and continuity.

5. St. Wright, *op cit.*, p. 12.
6. There are two distinctly different *Dirsane Uraels*. The one which is officially adapted and used in the churches dedicated to the Angel Urael, the other attached mostly to the history of Gragn and is more eschatological in character. During the reign of Menelik II, this last *Dirsan* was seriously attacked by the learned clergy of Dima Giorgis in Gojjam. The matter was taken to the Emperor, and he in consultation with church scholars took a decision and issued a letter, in which he states clearly that the latter text lacks authenticity. As it is further pointed out in the letter the Emperor was convinced by the arguments of Dima Giorgis' clergy and made decision in favour of them in 1889. A copy of this decision is found written in *Gedle Semaitat* of Debre Libanos fol. 48^a as well as in the Synaxarium of Dima Giorgis. Although this book is labelled in the circular letter of Menelik II as "of doubtful origin" ያለእናት ፡ ያለመገባብ ፡ it still has a lot of historical information which can be supported by other sources.
7. MS. EMLL 144 St. Urael Church of Addis Ababa. See note, *Bulletin of Ethiopian Manuscripts*, Vol. I, No. 2, Serial No. 9.
8. MS. EMLL 2275.
9. *Ibid*, fol. 233 ff.
10. "Due capitoli", p. 13 ff.
11. *Church and State*, pp. 222-226.
12. መጽሐፈ ፡ አርጋኖን ፡ ዘአባ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ዘጋስጫ ፡ pp. II - VIII.
13. All other sources except *Mesihafe Mister* that I have consulted give ሸግላ ፡ not ሰግላ ፡ But the change is quite possible. In *Mesihafe Mister* it is stated ዶቤ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ሰግላዊ ፡ MS. Debre Libanos Monastery, fol. 15^b. According to *Dirsane Urael*, Shagla is also known as Debre Mahiw ደብረ ፡ ማሕው ፡ (MS. Debre Libanos Monastery, fol. 22^b).
14. Segá Ze'ab, the envoy of Libne Dingil to the court of Portugal, had always proudly referred to himself as being descended from ቤተ ፡ አምሐራ ። Job Ludolf, *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam, Commentarius*, (Frankfurt, 1691), p. 28
15. *Dirsane Urael*, MS. 1942, EMLL, fol. 63^b.
16. *Gedle Giorgis of Gasitcha* of Haik Monastery. EMLL MS. 1838, fol. 4^a; Ethiopian Orthodox Church, መጽሐፈ ፡ አርጋኖን ፡ ዘአባ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ p. II.
17. ወኮነ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ወነበረ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ መኩንነ ፡ ሸግላ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ ዑራኤል ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ወሂሞ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ርዕሰ ፡ መኳንንት ፤ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ዘሱባኦ ፡ ትግሬ ። *Dirsane Urael, op. cit.*, fol. 63^b.
18. ጠቢብ ፡ ወማዕምረ ፡ መጻሕፍት *op. cit.*, fol. 4^a and further ወአቡሀኒ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እምኑልቄ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ዘውሳጤ ፡ ዓፀደ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ንጉሥ ። *Ibid.*, fol. 4^b; see also Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, p. 222.
19. *Dirsane Urael, op. cit.*, fol. 64^a.
20. ዘይከውን ፡ መምህረ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወበጸሎቱ ፡ ዘያድጎን ፡ እሞተ ፡ ሲዖል ፤ ፍቁረ ድንግል ፡ ማርያም ፡ ወላዲቱ ፡ ለአማኑኤል ። ወመገሥዖሙ ፡ ለነገሥት ። ወፀሮሙ ፡ ለዐላውያን ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ በሰይፈ ፡ ቃሎሙ ፡ ለሐዋርያት ፡ ዘያጠፍዖሙ ፡ እምብሔረ ፡

- እትዮጵያ ፤ ወለካህናተ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ዘይመርሆሙ ፡ እምጽልመተ ፡ ኑፋቄ ፡ መንገል ፡ ብርሃነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ወንጌሉ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ በትምህርተ ፡ ሕጎሙ ፡ ለሐዋርያት ፡ *Dirsane Urael*, fol. 65^a.
21. እስመ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ደሴት ፡ ጠቢባን ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ወማዕምራን ፡ (sic) መጻሕፍት ፡ (ለአንብቦ) ፡ ወለፈክሮ ፡ ወኔራን ፡ እሙንቱ ። *Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 4^b.
22. *Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 4^b; *Dirsane Urael*. fol. 65^b.
23. ወእምጽ-ጎረዝ ፡ ፈነዎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መርጦለ ፡ እስጢፋኖስ ፡ እንተ ፡ ሀለወት ፡ በሐይቀ ፡ ባሕር ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ በሚመተ ፡ ሠረቀ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ዓቃቤ ፡ ሰዓት ፡ ዘሐይቅ ። *Gedle Giorgis*, fols. 4^b-5^a. See also Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Debre Hayq 1248-1535": *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, (1972), p. 103.
24. ወሶበ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትመሐር ፡ ዐቦሮ ፡ ወጸንዎ ፡ ፈደል ፡ ወነበረ ፡ እስከ ፡ ስብአቱ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ዘኢየሱስ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ቀለማት ፡ አሐተኒ ፡ ቃላ ። *Dirsane Urael*, fols. 65^b-66^a.
25. Sergew Hable Sellassie "Yared": *Yememhran Dimts* (Voice of the Teachers), Vol. I, No. 1, (1965), p. 15 ff; *ibidem*, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, (Addis Ababa, 1972), p. 165 ff.
26. ለዝንቱ ፡ ወልድክ ፡ አቦሮ ፡ ትምህርተ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ወበእንተዝ ፡ ሚጥክዎ ፡ ጎበክ ። ሐራዊ ፡ ዘንጉሥ ፡ ረሰሮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ መስፍነ ፡ ከማክ ። *Gedle Urael*, fol. 66^a.
27. *Ibid*, fol. 66^a.
28. *Ibid*, fol. 66^a.
29. *Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 16^a.
30. እስመ ፡ ፈድፋድ ፡ ያፈቅሮ ፡ እምንእሱ ። *Ibid*. fol. 28^a.
31. *Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 15^b; Taddesse Tamrat has reservation whether Zer'a Abrham was the son of Dawit. *Church and State*, p. 224 n. 3.
32. ወእምጽ-ጎረዝ ፡ ኮነ ፡ መምህሮሙ ፡ ለነገሥተ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ሰመንቱ ። ቴዎድሮስ ፤ ይስሐቅ ፤ ወቴዎፍሎስ ፤ እንድርያስኒ ፤ ወሀብተ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፤ ሕዝቅያስኒ ፤ ወኢየሱስ ፤ ወዘርዓ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ወእሳቱ ፡ ብዕዕት ፡ እሌኒ ። *Dirsane Urael*, fol. 67^b.
33. In *Dirsane Urael*, she is later referred to as having built a church named Debre Kerbe, probably Gishen Mariam, on the instructions of her brother Zer'a Yacob, fols. 80^a-80^b. In *Gedle Elyas* we have the following information about her. She was married to a *Liqe Mezemiran* Bekimos of Graria, a place near the present Debre Libanos and she had from him four children, 3 boys and 1 girl. They were Sergo Michael who later became *Liqe Mezemiran* (head of cantors) in Debre Libanos. The second was Gebre Sion, *Liqe Kahinat* of Debre Mitmaq of Tegulet. The third was *Abba Elyas*, erudite hermit who spent his life in the region of Entoto, near Addis Ababa. The fourth Mariam Kibra, a nun and abess of a nunnery in Debre Libanos. (*Gedle Elyas* MS. 36 [5:10]IES 661, fol., 5^a).
34. W. Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, (London, 1928), Vol. IV, p. 1045. The oral tradition of Ethiopia strongly believes that Tewodros did not die but is hidden in the mountain Yerer, South-East of Addis Ababa, and one day will appear to rule the country with justice and love for forty years. He is the only Emperor who enjoys such a widely accepted tradi-

tion. For this reason, later, Kassa of Quara preferred to take this name to ensure far-ranging recognition when he was crowned as King of Kings in Deresge Mariam Church in Simien (C. Mondon - Vidaillet, *Chronique de Tewodros II, roi de rois d'Ethiopie*, (Paris, w.d.), p. 6 (text).

35. J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, (London, 1952), pp. 74-75.
36. A. Dillmann, "Ueber die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zar'a Jacob": *Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Vol. XV, (1884), p. 4 ff.
37. *Dirsane Urael*, fol. 78^a.
38. እንደርያስ : ወልዱ : ለደስሐቅ : ነግሠ : 7 አውራጃ : ወመቃብሪሁ : በተደባበ : ማርያም : ጠፍ : ናቸው ። *Negere Mariam*, MS. Debre Werq, Gojjam.
39. Whether this means that he was to marry Elleni is not specified.
40. ወሶበ ርእየ : ብፁዕ : ጊዮርጊስ : ከመ : ኢንደጎ : ንጉሥ : ሐረ : ኃበ : ጳጳስ : ወነሥአ : ሢመተ : ቅስና ። ወእምድኅረ : ዝኒ : ኢጋደጎ : በበይነ : ወለቱ : ወሶበ : ርእየ : ካዕበ : አቡነ ጊዮርጊስ : ከመ : ስእነ : አምስመ : በኩሉ ፤ ወጽአ : አፍአ : ወነሥአ : አልባሰ : መነኮሳት : ዘመከራ : ወለብሰ : በእደሁ : ዘውእቱ : ልብሰ : ሐራ : ዘኢኮነ : ፍጹመ : ከመ : ያስተርአ : ለጻይነ : ንጉሥ : ከመ : ዘመንኩሰ ። (*Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 15^b).
41. ወአቡነስ : ጊዮርጊስ : አበየ : ወደቤሎ : ትትነሣእ : ወትምጸእ : ዝየ : እስመ : ንጉሠ : ነግሥታት : ወእቱ : ዝንቱ : ቁርባን ። (*Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 15^b)
42. In my opinion this is an error of the copyist, who, instead of Damot, wrote Debre Damo (see, fol. 19^b).
43. Many Ecclesiastics who were appointed deans of churches in Shewa Province were given this title. During the reign of Amde Sion (1314-1344) twelve *Nuburane Ed* were appointed and since then it has been very common to use this title for the deans of many churches. *Gedle Philipos of Debre Libanos*, MS. Mitaq Tekle Haimanot, EMMML No. 2142, fol. 54^a ff; *Synaxarium*, MS. Holy Trinity Cathedral, EMMML, No. 1117, p. 712. It is worth mentioning here that the published text of *Gedle Philippos* does not use the term ንቡራነ-እድ but መምህራን : (B. Touraiev, *Acta Aaronis et Philippi*, CSCO, Scr. Aeth. t. 13, (Louvain, 1901), p. 107 ff).
44. *Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 19^b.
45. *Dirsane Urael*, fol. 67^a.
46. The name of the bishop is not mentioned in the *Gedle* but it seems quite sure that he was Bertelomewos, who succeeded *Abuna Fiqitor*, who was widely known as *Abba Selama* the Translator. Bertelomewos apparently arrived in Ethiopia between 1398-1399. (Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, p. 213).
47. *Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 21^b.
48. *Gedle Zena Marqos*, MS. EMMML No. 932, fol. 30^a ff.
49. ወገብረ : ሎሙ : በዘመነ : መንግሥቱ : ለነዋየ : ማርያም : (ወ) ንጉሥ : ዳግማዊ : ዳዊት : አብያተ : ክርስቲያናት ። ለአሐቲ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : በስመ : እግዚአቲህ : ማርያም : ላዕለ : ሀገረ : እስቆሊና : መልእክተ : ሙራደ : ማኅል : ወንዝ : በጥቃ : ሰኩተ : ምክር ፤ ወለካልዑ : ዲበ : ደብረ : የሻ : በስመ : አባ : ናብ : ጸድቅ : ዐቢይ : ወለሣልሱ : በስመ : ጊጋር : ሰማዕተ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ውስተ : ገዳመ : ደንስ :

ዲበ ፡ ሰከታ ፡ ለነቅዓ ፡ ማየ ፡ ከይሱ ፡ ዘትወርድ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ኢያፊዲ ፤ ወለራ ብዑኒ ፡ በስመ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ዲበ ፡ መርጎባ ፡ ለይኦቲ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ኢያፊዲ ፤ ኃበ ፡ ነቅዓ ፡ ማይ ፡ መካነ ፡ ጳጦስ ፡ ዘይብልዎ ። *Gedle Zena Marqos*, MS. fol. 30^b.

50. ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ነደ ፡ ልቡ ፡ በእሳተ ፡ ሃይ ማኖት ፡ ወአስተጋብእ ፡ ኃቤሁ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሊቃነ ፡ ካህናት ፡ ወንቡራነ ፡ ዕድ ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ ማእምራነ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ዘውስተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሀገር ፡ *Gedle Giorgis*, fols. 22^b-23^a.

51. The *Gedle* does not specify which side the Jew took and which the Christians. **This is very important for the decision. The one who stands on the right side of the Emperor has a better chance of winning the case.**

52. John 11:34.

53. *Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 22^b.

54. Gen. 3:9; 18:9 etc.

55. *Gedle Giorgis*, fol., 22^b.

56. ወይዛዋዕ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አጋንንት ። fol., 24^a.

57. John 5:22.

58. *Gedle Giorgis*, fols. 25^a-25^b.

59. The actual charge is not explicitly stated in the *Gedle*.

60. ወፈድፋደሰ ፡ ይጠናቀቅ ፡ በእነተ ፡ አክብሮ ፡ ክልዒሆሙ ፡ ሰንበታት ፡ በከመ ፡ አዘዙ ፡ ሐዋርያት ። *Gedle Giorgis*, fol. 35^b.

61. ወእምድጎረዝ ፡ ጸውዖ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ይስሐቅ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ወወሀቦ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ሰወን ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይትናገር ፡ በቃሉ ። fol. 37^b.

62. *Gedle Giorgis*, fols. 38^b-39^a.

63. ወአባ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ዘጋስጫ ፡ ዘተብህለ ፡ ማኅቶታ ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ ፡ *Gedle Yesus Mo'a* MS No. 1940 EMLL, fols. 45^a-45^b, see also S. Kur, *Actes de Iyasus Mo'a Abbé du couvent de St. -Etienne de Hayq*, (Louvain, 1965), p. 35 (text).

64. In *Mesihafe Arganon*, published by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church there is a list of his works which slightly different and more titles 1. ኖኅተ ፡ ብርሃን ፤ 2. አርጋኖን ፤ 3. ዕንዚራ ፡ ስብሐት ፤ 4. ሕይወተ ፡ ማርያም ፤ 5. መጽሐፈ ፡ ብርሃን ዘእምራ ፡ ወአርባእቱ ፡ ሰንታት ፤ 6. መጽሐፈ ፡ ምሥጢር ፤ 7. ውዳሴ ፡ መስቀል 8. ተአምኖ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፤ 9. ዘነቢያት ፡ ወሐዋርያት ፡ ዘጸድቃን ፡ ወሰማዕታት ፡ ዘመእክት ፡ ውዳሴ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ወሰላምታ ፤ 10. የቅዳሴ ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ ፈትቶ ፤ p. IV. In *Dirpane Urael* only the principal works of Giorgis have been cited, without going into details (fols. 66^b-67^a).

65. Erroneously M. Van den Oudenrijn attributes this work to Elleni Queen of Ethiopia: *Helenaë Aethiopum Reginaë*, CSCO, Scr. Aeth., t. 39, (Louvain 1960), pp. 94-134 (text).

66. Erroneously I. Guidi attributes this work to Emperor Zer'a Yacob. (*Storia della letteratura*, pp. 65-66.

67. MS. 2264 EMLL, Agam Beret Gebre Kristos, Ankober District, Shewa Province.

- 68. ወአጋዘ ፡ ይድርስ ፡ ወይጽሐፍ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ እርጋኖን ፡ ውዳሴ ፡ በመዋ ስሊሁ ፡ ለዳዊት ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ መፍቀሪ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወሰመዮ ፡ በሠለስቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ እርጋኖን ፡ ውዳሴ ፤ ወመሰንቆ ፡ መዝሙር፤ ወዕንዚራ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ወእንበይን ፡ ጣዕሙ ፡ ለዘንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ እጽሐፎ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ በቀለመ ፡ ወርቅ ። fol. 18^a.
- 69. MS. 2822 EMMML, Private, Haik district, Wello Province.
- 70. MS. 2867 EMMML, Wuti Giorgis, Ankober district, Shewa Province, fol. 5^a. See also MS. 2494 EMMML, Duway Michael, Ankober District, Shewa Province, fol. 2^a.
- 71. MS. 2566 EMMML, Debdebo Meskele Kristos, Ankober district, Shewa Province, fol. 1^a.
- 72. ወዓዲ ፡ ደረሰ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ዘመዓልት ፡ ወዘሌሊት ፡ ዘለለዓታቱ ፡ ወዘዘ ጸታሁ ፡ ወዘሰመዮ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ያርአ ፡ ፍናወ ፡ ስብሐቲሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ። *Gedle Giorgis, fol., 19^a.*
- 73. MS. 2822 EMMML, Private, Haik district, Wello Province.
- 74. Both Cerulli, *Storia della letteratura Etiopica*, (Roma, 1956) p. 32 and Guidi, (*op. cit.*, pp. 36-37) believe that the *Horologium* is a translation from Arabic into Ge'ez. In fact there are two types of *Horologia* in the Church of Ethiopia. One is known as ሰዓታት ፡ ዘግብጽ (=The *Horologium* of Egypt), a copy of which is found in the church of Mertulla Mariam. This one could be a translation from Arabic.
- 75. Tadesse Tamrat termed it simply as *Mesihafe Selot* (= The book of Prayer), *Church and State*, p. 223.
- 76. ሰዓታት ፡ ዘሌሊት ፡ ወዘንግህ ፤ (አዲስ ፡ አበባ ፡ አርቲስቲክ ፡ ማተሚያ ፡ ቤት ፡ ፲፱፻፵፪ ፡ ዓ፡ም፡)
- 77. *Gedle Giorgis, fol., 21^b.*
- 78. There are three others which are rarely attached to the rest of the anaphoras and apparently they are rarely used in some churches. In this case the Anaphora which is called መዓዛ ፡ ቅዳሴ ፡ is the common one. In fact, this Anaphora is attributed to Giorgis. ንቡረ ፡ እድ ፡ ድሚጥሮስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ማርያም ፤ ቅዳሴያተ ፡ ማር ያም ፤ (አሥመራ ፡ ኮከበ ፡ ጽዕሕ ፡ ዘማኅበረ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ፍ ፡ ሃ ፡ ፲፱፻፶፱ ፡ ዓ ፡ ም ፡) pp. 1; 51. It is used in a time of crisis.
- 79. In Dagga Estifanos of Lake Tana there is a MS. *Wudassie Qidussan & Martyrs* of which a few folios are missing. I am not prepared to attribute it to Giorgis.
- 80. ወበአሐቲ ፡ እመዋዕል ፡ ተስዕሎ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ መስፍን ፡ ዘሰሙ ፡ ቱዎድሮስ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ሐራ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ርትዕት ፤ ወደረሰ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ዘይሰ መይ ፡ ፍካሬ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ርእዩ ፡ ወአንብብዎ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ መጽሐ ፍ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወኹሎሙ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ ምሥጢር ፡ ይቤሉ ፡ አማንኪ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ አፈ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወቁርሎስ ፡ አፈ ፡ በረከት ፡ ተንሥኡ ፡ በመዋዕሊን ። ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ተመሰሉት ፡ ቁስጥንጥንያ ፡ ወተ አረዩታ ፡ ለእስክንድርያ ። *Gedle Giorgis, fol., 28^a.*
- 81. This book has been characterized by L. Ricci as "la prima opera apologetica originale etiopica": "Letterature dell'Etiopia", *Storia delle letterature d'oriente*, (Società Editrice Libreria, Milano, 1969), p. 825.
- 82. It seems that Eskindir had only daughters and this is why he was succeeded by his brother Naod. One of his daughters was Martha who was active in the Province of Gojjam.

85. The exact location of this site is not yet known. It could well be located in the district of Motta, Gojjam Province or, as Eskindir took the initiative in carrying on extensive missionary activities in the South, perhaps one should look for location of this site in this same place where the MS. was originally found i.e. in Wellamo Soddo.
84. ዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘሶፍያ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘወሀበቶ ፡ ለውሽይ ፡ መቅደሳ ፡ ለማርያም ፡ ወለወልዳ ፡ ኢየሱስ ። ያርፍቃ ፡ በደብረ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ አመ ፡ ይነግሥ ፡ አሜን ። (fol. 31b).
85. ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ለእሙንቱ ፡ ጸሐፍት ፡ አፍጥኑ ፡ ጽሑፈ ፡ ዘነገርኩክሙ ፡ ወኃደሩ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጽሐፉ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይጸብሕ ። ወይነግሮሙ ፡ በበጾታሁ ፡ ወወአሉ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይመሲ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጽሐፉ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ወበሳኒታ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ጸሐፉ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይመሲ ፡ በመንፈቀ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ ወክልዔቱ ፡ ዕለታት ፡ ፈጸምዎ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ በረድኤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። (fol. 32a).
86. ተፈጸመት ፡ ዛቲ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ በግልስ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ በሐሳበ ፡ ዕብራዊያን ፡ ወበሐሳበ ፡ ግብፃዊያን ፡ በዓሥር ፡ ወርኅ ፡ አመ ፡ ዐሥሩ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለይስሐቅ ።
Mesihaje Mistir, MS. Debre Libanos Monastery, fol. 123b.
87. C. Conti Rossini, "Due capitoli", p. 14 ff.
88. E. Cerulli, puts under question mark, the possibility of translation of the Creed of Athanasius from Latin to Ge'ez by Giorgis according to the information obtained from a MS. of the British Museum Or. 793. Such a MS. has not come yet to light in Ethiopia (*Storia della letteratura Etiopica*, p. 195).