

Gorgoryos and Ludolf : The Ethiopian and German Fore-Fathers of Ethiopian Studies An Ethiopian scholar's 1652 visit to Thuringia*

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The story of the connection between an Ethiopian scholar and a young German begins in Rome, a year after the end of the Thirty Years' War: Hiob Ludolf from Erfurt, the then only 24-year-old jurist and tutor of the Swedish delegation, travels from Paris to the Holy City, in search of some lost manuscripts from Uppsala. During his studies at Erfurt and Leyden, Ludolf had acquired command of numerous languages – and developed a special predilection for oriental languages. He had learned Hebrew and Arabic and had soon begun to acquaint himself with all of the Semitic languages that were in any way documented. A private teacher at Erfurt, Karnrad, had at that time also introduced him to the as of yet virtually unknown Ethiopian language of Ge'ez, utilizing a grammar and dictionary he himself had compiled. Making various errors and confusions, Karnrad had based it on the only printed Ethiopian volume, Potken's psalter from the year 1513.¹ The result was so muddled that Ludolf soon embarked upon rewriting these works anew for his own use.

When Ludolf now reached Rome, four Ethiopians were staying there, a fact which was to bear a decisive influence on the remainder of Ludolf's life. For the first time he was presented with an opportunity to speak the language he had been studying for such a long time! The four Ethiopians were staying at the *Collegium Aethiopicum*. The Pope had founded it in the sixteenth century in order to provide the few Ethiopian² pilgrims who occasionally travelled to Rome from Jerusalem with their own place of teaching and prayer.

The first encounter was a cheerful affair, thanks to Ludolf's droll pronunciation. But to start from the beginning: Ludolf sought out the Ethio-

pians at their hospice, first coming upon only two 'simple and uneducated persons' and one Ethiopian of part Portuguese ancestry, Antonio de Andrade (Smidt 2003:259b–260a). The latter had grown up in northern Ethiopia, in Tigray, and had, like many fellow Catholic Ethiopians, fled to Goa in India following the collapse of the Catholic domination in Ethiopia in the year 1632.³ From Goa he had made his way to Jerusalem and eventually to Rome as a pilgrim. Many years later, he was to revive the local mission as the newly appointed Catholic Bishop for Ethiopia – but failed spectacularly. That, however, is a different story and shall not be recounted here. Back, then, to the meeting between Ludolf and the Vatican's Ethiopians: Abba Antonio (Ethiopian Int'onyos) spoke Italian and Portuguese and could be of service to the young Hiob Ludolf as an interpreter. Ludolf describes their first conversation:



Fig. 1: Portrait of Abba Gorgoryos (1652)



Fig. 2: Dutch map of Ethiopia, as it was approximately known to Europeans in the time of Abba Gorgoryos, Blaeu 1640 (detail)

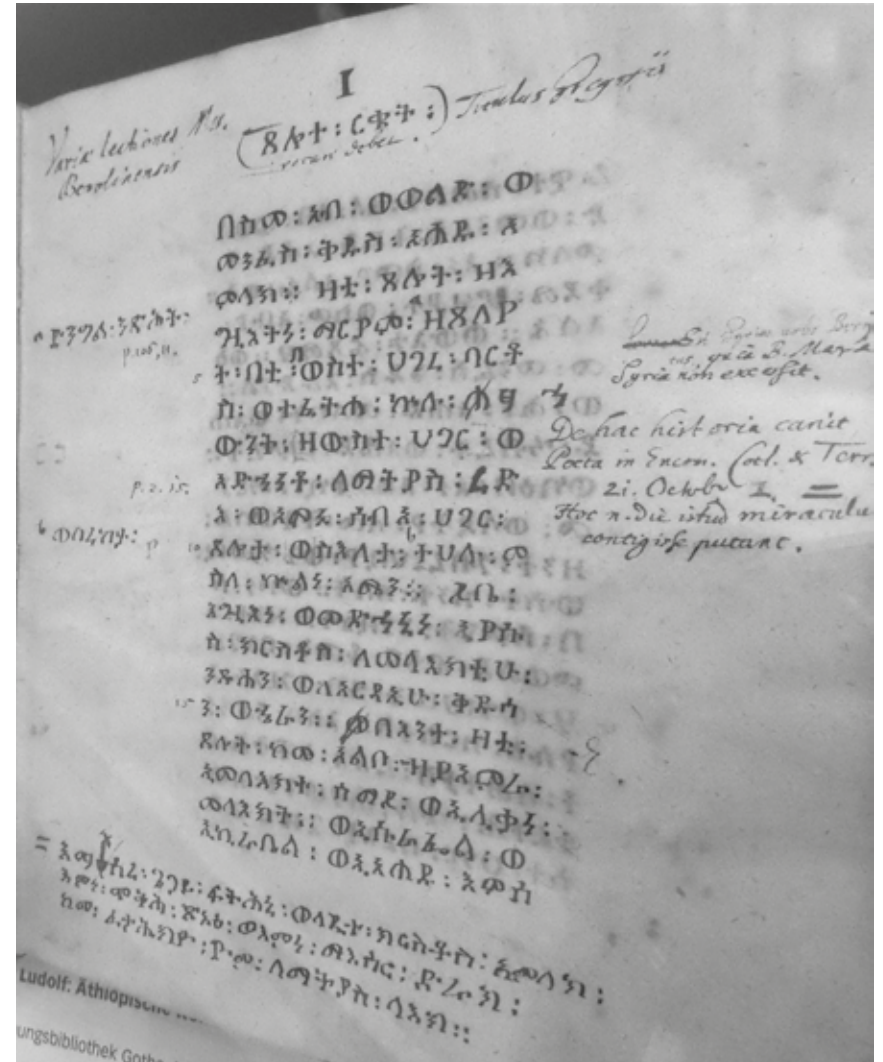


Fig. 3: Collection of Ethiopian texts, from a manuscript written by Hiob Ludolf, documenting poems on St Mary, with texts written and documented by Abba Gorgoryos, volume 'Äthiopische Kollektaneen'

'I now presented my concern, namely, to learn Ethiopian from them. By this they were greatly astonished and explained that this would be exceptionally time-consuming and could only take place in Ethiopia herself. Gregorius⁴ - the fourth [Ethiopian at the Collegium] -, a highly prudent man, might be capable of teaching it, but for all that, he knew neither Italian nor Latin. I urged them further and said that I already had some knowledge of Ethiopian. G. is thus summoned and my wish communicated to him.'

Abba Gorgoryos presents him with an Ethiopian manuscript and prompts him to read out loud. At first, this brings about a failure: all four Ethiopians burst out laughing. His pronunciation was not exactly accurate. Gorgoryos cheerfully proclaimed that he spoke just like Paster Atanasyos, referring to the German orientalist Athanasius Kircher, a highly talented man and famous worldly scholar who occupied himself with all the languages in the world and (falsely) claimed to have deciphered the hieroglyphs. Hiob Ludolf further describes the scene:

'...when, however, it came to translating, their laughter turned into astonishment, and G. was forced to admit that he had not believed that anybody could learn this language, which had so challenged the Jesuits in Abyssinia, without any instructor.'⁵

From now on, Hiob Ludolf visited Abba Antonio and Abba Gorgoryos every day. In the beginning, Abba Antonio served as interpreter, until Hiob Ludolf and Gorgoryos began to converse with each other in the Church language of Ge'ez ('Ethiopian'). This posed a great challenge, as Gorgoryos had never actively used it, either. For centuries, this former court language of the late antique Aksumite Empire had been extinct and had only been used as a liturgical language. Gorgoryos gave an account of the state of affairs in his country and mainly practiced Ge'ez with Ludolf. Due to his employment as a tutor, the latter had to depart and return to the autumnal Gothenburg in Sweden after several months. Availing himself of the latest knowledge Gorgoryos had imparted to him, he now spent the winter revising his old dictionary and translating an old Ethiopian manuscript. He moreover made it to the Swedish court in Stockholm, a place where scientific activity was valued highly.



Fig. 4: Scene of Gotha town below the Friedenstern castle, with the house of Hiob Ludolf on the right, in which he worked on his Ethiopianist oeuvre (currently in renovation), 2014

In the meantime, Hiob Ludolf and Gorgoryos had taken up an intensive and very cordial exchange of letters. The Ethiopian priest informed him about details pertaining to the fields of geography, natural history, linguistics, and literary history, and wrote about the complex Ethiopian calendar, state institutions and ethnography. He thus prepared the ground for a thorough cooperation that was to blossom between the two, spawning Ethiopian Studies as a branch of Oriental Studies with Ludolf and Gorgoryos as its founders in Germany. Gorgoryos had already held an important position as a scholar when still in Ethiopia. Being a relation of the royal dynasty, he had enjoyed access to the best education in the convent schools, and was made abbot of one of the famous old monasteries in Lake T'ana at a young age. His name had originally been Iskinder, but probably after converting to Catholicism he had changed it to Gorgoryos. Like Antonio de Andrade, at the beginning of the persecution of Catholics in 1632, he too fled to Goa in

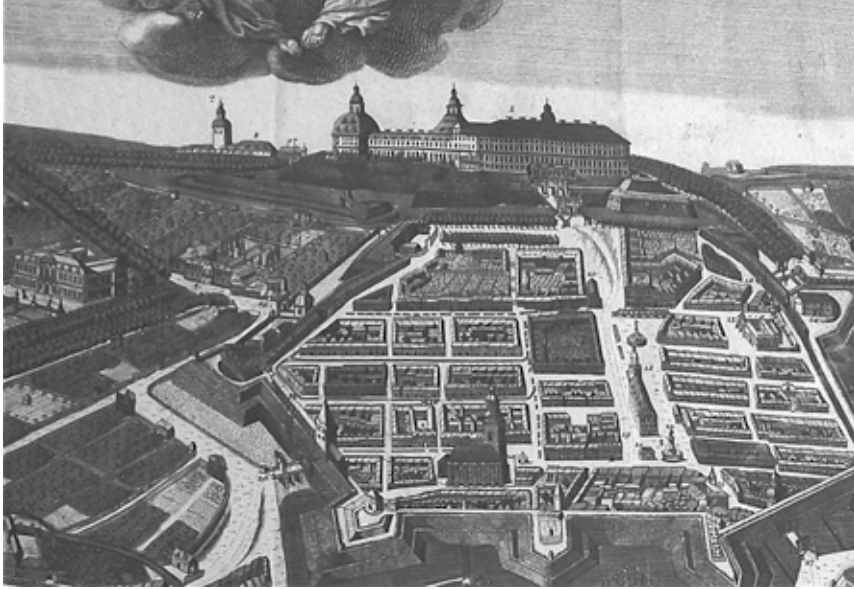


Fig. 5: Etching of Gotha with Friedenstern castle, some decades after Abba Gorgoryos' visit

India with Jesuits from Portugal. In 1648 he once again resided briefly at the royal court in Ethiopia, but again he was forced to flee. Hence, when Ludolf met him in Rome in 1649, he had not yet been there for long⁶. In his letters, mainly those of the year 1651, Gorgoryos dwelt on his renewed travel plans – Hiob Ludolf and him were intending to meet each other in Ludolf's home town and to continue their works. For this purpose, Ludolf returned to Erfurt to await the Ethiopian scholar's arrival, where he used the opportunity to also notify Ernest I, reigning Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, known as Ernest the Pious, of his plans.

After the winter of 1651/52, equipped with money obtained from Ludolf, travel documents and a route manual, but all by himself, Abba Gorgoryos did indeed set off on the journey across the Alps. Details of this journey are not preserved, but it is fairly certain that he must have caused plenty of astonishment, and was met with hospitality. He seems to have veered off track at one point; when in fact he wanted to get to

Erfurt, his slightly uncertain pronunciation led to him being directed towards Herford. However, the Duke had in the meantime ordered for Gorgoryos to not travel towards Ludolf and his mother in Erfurt, but to come to the Duke's court in Gotha directly, since he hoped to learn more about the kingdom of Prester John from him. Thus Ludolf was now travelling towards Abba Gorgoryos and indeed he found him in Nuremberg. Flemming (1890: 545) describes the moment of their very emotional reunion in the following words: 'G. clung to the neck of his friend and cried like a child.'

After his first stay at Heldburg Castle in Franconia, Palace Captain Dr Heher wrote to the Duke about the Abyssinian scholar:

'The Abyssinian is a rather fine man; and due to goodly information he is able to give about his fatherland, and in other ways worthy that sound conversation may be had with him; albeit that may prove slightly cumbersome, for while he does not speak Italian at all and only some Portuguese, his hard pronunciation makes him difficult to understand' (Beck 1865: 564).

Ludolf writes, '... said friend ... is vivacious and content with what he encounters; for he has witnessed a great deal of hospitality from many an unknown person in Germany, and thus he lauds our country, its manners, customs and people rather generously. He enjoys eating all manner of foods and revels in drinking our beer, saying that it quite returns his strength to him'.⁷

Gorgoryos had thus proven himself worthy in the eyes of the Duke's officials and could now be received in audience: this took place on 10 June 1652 at Friedenstern Castle. Hiob Ludolf was used here as an interpreter. To begin with, he intended to relay the German words of the Duke in Italian, but Gorgoryos asked for him to speak 'Metshafinya' ('book language'), so that he may understand everything, hence the conversation took place in German and Ge'ez. The Duke praised the Lord in his providence, for having sustained 'in the midst of pagans and Mohammedans' a Christian Church – meanwhile, Gorgoryos expressed his joy to 'be allowed to meet a Christian Duke so high up in the north, and one of such widely famed piety and wisdom' (Flemming 1890:



Fig. 6: One wing of Friedenstein castle, in which Abba Gorgoryos stayed in 1652, July 2014



Fig. 7: Detail of Friedenstein castle, July 2014

546). By order of the Duke, many months of collective work followed, during which the few extant volumes on Ethiopia were being put to use. Among them were the emissary's reports by Alvarez from the sixteenth century and publications by Tsäga Zä'ab,⁸ Dresser and Brerewood. Gorgoryos expressed horror and disappointment at how much of the printed matter was wrong, an observation that shocked him. His emotions revealed a conviction typical of his culture that was convinced of the sanctity of ecclesiastical writings, namely that *script itself was holy*.

It was thus at Friedenstein Castle that the foundation for all of Ludolf's later works on Ethiopia were laid. They are characterised by the author's comprehensive knowledge of all that had been written on Ethiopia since antiquity – Ludolf later managed to receive further news from Ethiopia through indirect routes – and at the same time constitute an immense step ahead in knowledge. Ludolf further revised maps that had thus far been characterised mostly by rumours and legends

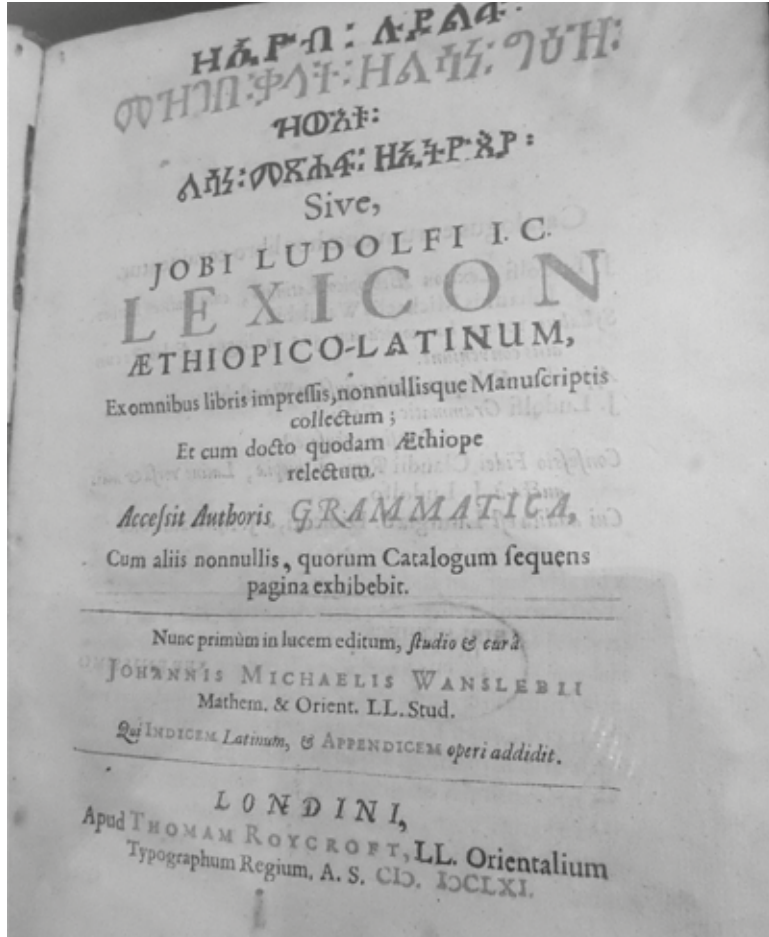


Fig. 8: The earliest Ge'ez-Latin dictionary by Hiob Ludolf, based on his collaboration with Abba Gorgoryos and edited by his student Johann Michael Wanslebenius in London in 1661

passed down since antiquity, and he described for the first time peoples and provinces that were as of yet unknown. For the first time, too, he offers a more precise description of those neighbouring states of the

Christian kingdom that had only been annexed by Ethiopia in the late nineteenth century, for instance of Kefa, the empire hidden away in the southern mountain fortresses. From a contemporary point of view it is the objective tone of the accounts and the variety of approaches that is most striking: for disciplines ranging from linguistics to ethnology, his works can offer interesting material to this day, and that without creating even the slightest sense that Ethiopians may in any way be inferior to Europeans. Quite the opposite, they are future partners and potentially even allies against the Ottoman Empire.

Since the Duke worried that the harsh winter climate may be detrimental to the Ethiopian's health, his return journey to Rome was made possible. On 6 September 1652 the now 52-year-old Abba Gorgoryos left Gotha and travelled to the Italian border in Ludolf's company, and on to Venice. Even though the Duke had offered him a permanent position at his court, Gorgoryos never returned to cold Germany.

The 'loss of Ethiopia' was being debated and reassessed again and again, and possibilities were considered as to how the Ethiopian Church could still be united with the Roman Catholic Church. Lack of success can result in readiness to find a compromise, as well as in resourcefulness, and thus a concept was developed according to which a Catholic Church would be established in Ethiopia that was to maintain the old Ethiopian liturgy and all the rites. This only happened two centuries later, however, when



ABBA GREGORIUS, HABESSINUS.

Fig. 9: Posthumous portrait of Abba Gorgoryos, frontispiz of Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann (ed.): P. Hieronymus Lobo, eines portugiesischen Jesuiten, Reise nach Habessinien, und zu den Quellen des Nils



Fig. 10: Painting in the coin cabinet of Friedenstein castle, on the left a figure symbolizing Africa, September 2014

the Lazarist Justin de Jacobis (known in Ethiopia as Abunā Yaqob) restarted the Catholic mission during the separation of Ethiopia into different princedoms. At a certain stage Abba Gorgoryos, too, was meant to become an instrument in this plan⁹, for a further and very innovative idea seemed to raise hopes: Instead of European priests, locals with a Catholic predisposition, more familiar with local conditions, were to initiate a Church reform in Ethiopia and promote the connection with Rome. Very soon, in 1654, Gorgoryos decided to return to Ethiopia. Due to a newly erupted Ottoman war, however, he did not get any further than Jerusalem and Alexandria and had to turn back after a small odyssey. In 1658, when undertaking a new attempt, he drowned in a shipwreck off the Syrian coast of Alexandrette (Iskanderun). He was buried by the French Consul of Aleppo.

His friend Ludolf was much aggrieved by his death, but the friendship with the Ethiopian priest with his ‘animi integritas atque sinceritas’ (‘with his integer and sincere spirit’, Ludolf 1691: 35) had produced a solid foundation on which Ludolf could build further. In a way, the communication with his friend continued, through Ludolf’s notes and Gorgoryos’ letters and manuscripts,¹⁰ into Ludolf’s old age. Initially, in 1661, Ludolf published his wordbook and grammar of Ge^cez, followed by comprehensive works of history, dictionaries, and a description of Ethiopian theology. He published his last work at an old age, before dying, almost 80 years of age, in Frankfurt (1704). Ludolf’s works – he had become an acclaimed scholar, and was leading an intensive correspondence even with Leibniz – retained their relevance and, just like the works of his students, they formed the basis for the on-going research of Ethiopia in Germany, much influencing the Enlightenment’s image of Ethiopia (Smidt 2004, 2006). When Kant (1802, see also Smidt 2006) formulated a new ethnological theory and placed all peoples of the world in a hierarchical order in the eighteenth century, he exempted Ethiopia from his radically negative judgement of Africa, which according to him had been rejected by history. Thus, the positive image of this country, which had been Christian since primeval times, remained intact throughout the eras of imperialism and colonialism that were to follow.

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Fig. 10: Painting in the coin cabinet of Friedenstein castle, on the left a figure symbolizing Africa, September 2014, photo by the author

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Endnotes

* Edited and translated version of: Wolbert Smidt, ‘Abba Gorgoryos – ein integrer und ernsthafter Mann. Der Besuch eines äthiopischen Gelehrten in Thüringen 1652’, in: Kerstin Volker-Saad – Anna Greve (eds.): *Äthiopien und Deutschland, Sehnsucht nach der Ferne*, Berlin 2006, 48–57.

1 Johannes Potken from Schwerte had twice printed the Ethiopian psalter from a manuscript in his possession: in Rome, and again in Cologne in 1518. He believed to have rediscovered the Biblical language of Chaldean in the hardly known language of the Ethiopian church, Ge‘ez. It was believed that manuscripts and written records from biblical and pre-biblical times might have been preserved in Chaldean.

2 A brief explanation of the term ‘Ethiopian’ is in order here. Throughout the Baroque era in Europe, geographers mostly applied the term Ethiopia (Aethiopia) to the entire area south of Egypt, and up until the early nineteenth century sometimes meant by it Nubia alone. However, since Late Antiquity, the Christian state of the Abyssinians in northeast Africa had referred to itself as ‘Ityop’ya’. Abba Gorgoryos, too, calls himself a priest ‘from Ethiopia’. In this text we follow (as does Ludolf in his works) this self-designation.

The European term Abyssinia is often, but not entirely correctly, equated with the state’s name, even though this is actually a cultural geographical term referring to the highlands inhabited by Habesha (i.e. Abyssinians).

- 3 Since the sixteenth century, the influence of Portuguese Jesuits had been continually increasing, until the Ethiopian King of Kings Susinyos (Latin Susinius) converted to Catholicism. The unwise radicalism of the Catholic patriarch from Portugal, however, which showed itself in his prohibiting numerous Ethiopian Church traditions, engendered sustained resistance among both clergy and broad segments of the population – and ultimately a bloody civil war. After the King of Kings had resigned and his son had taken over government, all Catholics who refused to be converted to the old Ethiopian-Orthodox faith had to flee the country.
- 4 This is the form of the name utilized by Ludolf, i.e. the Latin equivalent of his Ethiopian name Gorgoryos. Abba (= father, form of address for priests) Gorgoryos occasionally refers to himself in the Italian way, as ‘Gregorio’. Absurdly, in modern literature, the English form ‘Gregory’ can be found, followed by the Ethiopian transmission ‘Gregori’ in modern Ethiopian press (an example of the extent to which the reception of its own history in Ethiopia by now depends on European sources).
- 5 Ludolf (1691: 30) cited after Flemming (1890: 543).
- 6 Hiob Ludolf brings his curriculum vitae in his *Commentarius* (1691), along with the well-known image with the circumscription in Latin and in Ge‘ez script: ‘Abba Gregorius Aethiops Amharensis. Aet: LII. + Abba : Gorgoryos : Ityop’yawi : Imbetä : Amhara : Imäkanä : Sillase ::’ [thus, his place of origin too is mentioned here: Mäkanä Sillase]; see also Debrunner (1979: 54–56); Smidt 2006 (with image).
- 7 Cited after Flemming (1890: 545). – Ludolf moreover describes him in the following way: ‘Due to his good nature and his quite mature intellect with manifold free discourses and memorable accounts, this person gives everybody reason to hold him in the highest regard.’
- 8 Regarding this Ethiopian pilgrim in Rome see: Debrunner 1979 inter alia.
- 9 Regarding the plans of the Vatican see further in Beccari (1903, 1913).
- 10 Among them, an Italian-Amharic glossary, composed by Gorgoryos. Moreover, Gorgoryos translated the Creed and the first thirteen verses of the eleventh chapter of the Gospel of Luke into Amharic, and wrote an Amharic poem about the Virgin Mary (Flemming 1890: 564).
- 11 Registered in the Zotenberg Catalogue, Nr. 156.
- 12 Autotype of an exemplary letter in: August Dillmann: *Verzeichnis der Abessinischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1978, Tafel III

Annex

Original text by Abba Gorgoryos on the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Priesthood: *De Ministerio Ecclesiastico*¹

The following text was written by Abba Gorgoryos in about 1652, who gave it to his German language student and academic correspondent Hiob Ludolf. Ludolf used it as a source for his chapters on the Orthodox Church in his Historia Aethiopica and later gave the original text to his own Ge'ez student Christophorus Schlichting. Many years later, the text was published in the original Ge'ez, with a Latin translation done by Schlichting, in a small brochure in Hamburg 1691 (with the title of the text only in Latin). This overview on the rules for Ethiopian Orthodox priests is one of the first texts published by an Ethiopian

and is a witness of the flourishing first decades of academic interest in Ethiopia.

Schlichting taught Ge'ez in the 1690s in a 'Collegium Aethiopicum' in Hamburg, i.e. an academic seminar of students of Oriental languages of the Gymnasium of Hamburg (a traditional academic institution below the level of a full university). The text of Abba Gorgoryos has been, as we see here, one of the texts used by Schlichting for his teaching. Until the 18th century, Oriental languages were among the flourishing subjects of study in this academic institution. The text has been translated into English by Kifle Kiros, Wuqro, for this publication.

by ABBA GORGORYOS

1. Until now, no one could be appointed as a priest unless he was at least thirty years old, but that has now changed and even younger men can become priests. However, those born out of wedlock cannot be appointed. As to marriage, no one can compel a man to get married, but he cannot marry after he is appointed as a priest. If he is to be a real monk, he should live in a churchyard and remain unmarried. If he wants to marry, his community will expel him from the churchyard without reproach. In ancient times, one was required to serve and be trained for seven years in a churchyard, but now four years training suffices for someone to become a monk. Ethiopian senior priests do, however, not follow this new approach. They accept anyone who asks them and give them lessons according to their sex. They will [just] ask: 'Do you live without wife and obey the procedures and other laws of the Church [school]?'

2. If a priest marries another wife, he is dismissed from his position and he cannot live with the second wife.

3. All churches are very respected in their lands and follow these [basic] laws of the Church. The number of priests per church is not fixed but depends on the churches' wealth. A priest cannot punish and make judgments (i.e. work in a court of law). Only the appointed leaders of a king can do so.

4. People choose the respective person because they know who is to be a priest. When the chosen person comes to the bishop, he will appoint them. In Ethiopia, there is no theological education, and they read holy books only at Mass in church.

5. The Alexandrian archbishop, with the bishops of Egypt and monks from Jerusalem choose the Ethiopian bishop, who will be called *abun*,

meaning *metropolitos* in Greek language. This bishop cannot be chosen by the Alexandrian archbishop without the agreement of the monastery of St. Antonius, the leader of the monks in Egypt.

6. A bishop can condemn rebellious individuals, but he cannot make them starve. Rather he advises them not to die without penitence for their sin.

7. When the *abun* dies, the king takes his land and property and gives it to new bishop.

8. Monks should not participate in public work and eat public food. If they face a problem, they should directly go to the king's house.

9. When a church owns farmland, farmers tend the land and give its fruits to the priests. If you choose, you can give them [plenty of] gifts generously, but if there is no custom of generosity, there is no problem because the land provides enough food for them.

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10. Ethiopian people like to grow beards, because shaving beards and growing hair on their heads are not customary. When priests go to another place, they follow protocol and carry a cross. However, they do not like pictures or idolatrous statues other than those depicting the crucifixion of Christ. Also commoners tend to carry a cross around their neck. There is no holy water in churches, although, if an ill person comes, the priest reads the gospel and will spray what they call holy water (*spa*) on him.

11. In Ethiopia, there is no academic education such as that found in Europe. If families want to educate their kids, they send them to the church or an individual priest or another scholar in the churchyard. Kids either go to one of these or remain uneducated. If they go to a priest, they will pay a fee in order to learn to know [the important] books [of Christian Orthodox tradition] and learn Ge'ez by reading them.

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ABBA GREGORIUS

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 ሀመተ: ዐድግሁ: ለመይእዘሰ: ለዘይንእስ: ይሠይመው::
 ወለወልደ: ዕቅብት: ሊይሠይመው:: ዘበእንተ: ሰብሳብ::
 ለእመ: ሊያውሰበ: ለያጌብርዎ: በሐቱ: ለመድሳረ: ተሠይመ:
 ሊያውሰብ: ለእመ: መነብካ: በለግን: ወእቱ: ሊያውሰብ: ለግ
 መሳ: ለሱ: ያካደፍ: ጳይብፍ: ለእመፍ: ለውሰበ: ሊይገላ
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 ይተቀጥቶ: በደብር: ይእዘሰ: ዐ: ሀመተ: ለመ: ተቀነቶ: በመ
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 ሕሱሂ: በሐቲቱ: ለሆ: ይበልወመ: ለእለ: የሐተትዎመ:
 በዘ: ከመዝ: ጾታ: ትንብርት: ለንበለ: ብእሲት: ተገደገኑ:
 ዓለመ: ተቀላጸዘት: ለሠርዐቱ: ጸዘር: ወዘይቱሱ:
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 ወግሂ: ነቢረ: መስለ: ዕቅብት:
 III. ለብዶተ: ክርስትያን: በለመብነ: ሀገር: ሀሊይ: ወእቱ: ለሐቲ:
 ለው: ዘይበዘሳ: ለእመ: ለግ: ሕግ: ለልብ: ቀሳውስት: በለመ
 ብነ:

The original Ge'ez text as printed in 1691 (three pages)

ጦነ፡ በዕል፡ ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ለው፡ ላይጠነ፡ ለክ
መ፡ ለልቦ፡ ፋልቶ፡ ቆይመ፡ ወቀሰውስተሰ፡ ሊይገብሩ፡ ነጥኒ፡
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IV. ሱባለ፡ ሀገር፡ ቶኒርይዎሙ፡ ለተሳውስተ፡ ለለሰ፡ ያለመርወመ፡ ።
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VI. ጸጸስ፡ ዎጥጠሙ፡ ለጭጭዎን፡ ለረኅብለ፡ ለይነገገሙ፡
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VII. ለመ፡ ጥተ፡ ለቡነ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ይነሠላ፡ ምድር፡ ወነጥ፡ ድላ
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VIII. ለይነልዎሙ፡ ለመነከተ፡ ይመግቡ፡ ለው፡ ይግበሩ፡ ተግበሩ፡
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IX. ለቤተ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ምድር፡ ሀሉ፡ ዘፋሪሃ፡ ቀሳውስተ፡ ይባ
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XI. ሱባለ፡ ሊቶጾዎ፡ ጽሕፍት፡ ነጥነ፡ ያረቆሩ፡ ለላ፡ ዘተብ
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XI. ቤተ፡ ትመህርተ፡ በከመ፡ ሠርዕተ፡ ለውርገ፡ ለልቦ፡ በሊቶ
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ፋተ፡ ለው፡ ኅብ፡ ደብር፡ ይረከቅሙ፡ ለው፡ ኅብ፡ ለይሐ፡ ቀላከ፡
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ይተመህሩ፡ ለኅብቦ፡ ወጽሐረ፡ ወለቤወ፡ መጸሕፋተ፡ ።



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Endnotes

- 1 Abba Gregorius: ‘De Ministerio Ecclesiastico Quæ Abba Gregorius in aula Habassiæ Imperatoris Nobilium Aulicorum quondam Ephorus, Viris quibusdam doctissimus re rebus Æthiopicis cum eo tempore Ernesti, p.m. Saxonix and c. Ducis, Gothæ conferentibus, sincerè retulit’, in: Christophorus Schlichting: *Homilia Æthiopica de Nativitate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Ante annos multos ad verbum Latinè versa ... addita etiam literarum Æthiopicarum genuinæ lectionis explicatione ...*, Hamburg: Nico-

laus Spieringk LL. Orient. Typographus 1691, pp. 18–23 (with the following introductory lines added by the editor Christophorus Schlichting: ‘Ob Operis Brevitatem e Tractatu Meo Æthiopico Mss. De Religione Ac Moribus Habessinorum, Duodecim Capitibus Præcipua Fidei Christianæ Dogmata Compræhendente Ne Columnæ Hæ Vacuæ Manerent, Sequentia Addere Volui’). See on the Ethiopianist Schlichting, who was a student of Hiob Ludolf, and an active Orientalist specialized in Ge^eez: Dege – Uhlig 2010, 575a–b.