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An 'Old Amharic' Commentary on the Nicene Creed

DAVID L. APPLEYARD

The text of a Commentary on the Nicene Creed (*ṣälotä haymanot*) which forms the subject of this paper appears at the end of a copy of the Psalter and Wəddase Maryam belonging to the Ethiopian church at Däbrä Gännät in Jerusalem [MS JE 48 E = MS Dabra Gannat 186].¹ The text was copied and circulated privately by the late Roger Cowley, who also records that material similar in outline but different in detail is contained in the *andämta*-commentary on the Anaphora of the Nicene Fathers. Versions of the preamble to the Commentary, which describes Arius' heresy and the events which led to the Council of Nicaea and the drafting of the Nicene Creed, are known from other manuscript versions of the Creed, for instance Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Fonds d'Abbadie 101, f. 2r,² EMML 2468, ff. 138b–141b,³ and more recently EMML 7007, ff. 34v–74v.⁴

The text of the commentary and the preamble is in the type of archaic or pre-modern Amharic that is generally called Old Amharic. The use of the word 'old' here has been the subject of some debate. The name Old Amharic is used to cover a range of varieties of the language, some of which are indeed old in the sense that they clearly represent an earlier stage of Amharic containing, for instance, some syntactic patterns, grammatical forms and lexical items that have become obsolete in Modern Amharic.⁵ Such language is also obviously 'old' inasmuch as it is found in manuscript sources that are datable to before the mid 19th century. Alongside this, and perhaps

¹ Unfortunately, I have not been able to gain access to the original manuscript. The copy of the text used in this article, therefore, is that of Cowley's transcription.

² CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie = *Journal Asiatique*, 1912, 483 (MS 102).

³ GETACHEW HAILE & WILLIAM F. MACOMBER, *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville*, Vol. 6 [Project numbers 2001–2500], (Collegeville, 1982).

⁴ See GETACHEW HAILE, *Old Amharic features in a manuscript from Wollo* (EMML 7007) = S. SEGERT & A.J.E. BODROGLIGETI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his Seventy-fifth Birthday* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 175–169.

⁵ By 'Modern Amharic' I refer to forms of Amharic known from the mid-19th cent. to the present day.

not always clearly differentiated from it, a type of language particular to exegesis and commentary on religious texts, such as is covered by the term *andəmta*, is also generally called Old Amharic. The difficulty about using the epithet 'old' in this instance is that this language is still in use today in the highly specialised environment of religious commentary. Of course, such a variety of Amharic is perhaps consciously archaic and maintains at least stylistic or syntactic and some morphological forms that can be found in genuinely Old Amharic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The language of the present text, however, does not belong to the more archaic varieties such as that described by Cowley in his discussion of the Fragmentum Piquesii and the *Təməhərtä Haymanot*, also published and translated by Cowley,⁶ or by Getatchew in his edition of an early seventeenth century treatise on the theology of the Trinity.⁷ It does not, for example, show any instances of the particle (or copula) -ት, which is one of the principal hallmarks of Old Amharic. It also shows occasional hesitation between genuinely archaic forms and modern developments, such as ትብህለው አለ alongside ተብህለዋል, equivalent to Modern (standard) Amharic ተብላለዋል. The language does, however, show fairly consistent preservation of laryngals in both initial and medial positions, as in the last example, a feature that may be regarded as typical of genuine Old Amharic.⁸

Content of the Text

The text opens with an extensive preamble, running to over 800 words, in which are described Arius' heresy and the background to the Council of Nicaea and its Creed, the purpose of which was to put an end once and for all to the Arian heresy. The history of Arius' conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities in Alexandria is well known, and need not be described in detail here. The events concerning him referred to in the preamble, however, might usefully be explained. Arius, who had been ordained deacon by Peter I, Bishop of Alexandria († 311), was subsequently excommunicated by him after he had attached himself to the separatist church of the followers of

⁶ ROGER COWLEY, Ludolf's Fragmentum Piquesii: an Old Amharic tract about Mary who anointed Jesus' feet = *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28, 1983, 1–47. Also 'Additional sources for a copula -tt in Old Amharic', *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977), 139–143.

⁷ GETATCHEW HAILE, Some archaic features of Amharic = ROBERT L. HESS (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Session B, Chicago, April 1978 (Chicago 1979), 111–124.

⁸ It is of course also possible that dialect features may occur in the text. Whilst the composition of the text itself cannot be ascribed to a particular location, Gondar is well known as perhaps the greatest centre of the *andəmta* tradition.

Melitius of Lycopolis. Peter's quarrel with the Melitians arose from the latter's taking a much harsher line towards those Christians who had lapsed under the persecution of Diocletian, the events of which are also referred to in the preamble. Following Peter's execution in 311, Arius was recalled to the church and ordained presbyter under Achillas and was promoted under his successor Alexander I, but fell foul of the official line again this time when he sought support for his doctrine in the anti-Alexandrian polemic of the School of Antioch. In 320⁹ Alexander I summoned a synod at Alexandria to oppose and condemn the doctrines of Arius, excommunicating him in the following year. In 324, following his arrival in the East, the emperor Constantine I dispatched Hosius of Cordoba to arbitrate in the quarrel between Arius and Alexander, leading to the summoning of the Ecumenical Council at Nicaea the following year. As a result of the Council Arius was condemned and banished. Several years later, in 335, Arius' friend Eusebius of Nicomedia used his influence to get Arius recalled briefly from exile, but he died suddenly in 336, probably poisoned, whilst in Constantinople, having been banished once again from Alexandria. Such are the historical events of Arius' life that lie behind the at times rather garbled version in the preamble.

Following the preamble, the text of the Creed itself is analysed phrase by phrase in the Ge'ez version with Amharic translation and commentary. The commentary has appended to it the additions made to the Creed prompted by Macedonius' heresy. Macedonius I was Bishop of Constantinople who supported the Semi-Arian cause. He died in 362. It used to be the general belief that these additions were made to the Nicene Creed at the Council of Constantinople held in 381, though the circumstances surrounding the addition are now far from clear.¹⁰ In any event, the augmented version was confirmed by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, following which, of course, the Ethiopian Church, along with the other Oriental Orthodox Churches, separated from the authority of the main Christian Community.

The nature and extent of the commentary varies from phrase to phrase, sometimes running into a detailed discussion of the theological niceties, and at other times merely being an Amharic translation of the Ge'ez phrase. The format of the commentaries follows the now familiar pattern: the Amharic translation is introduced by the word **ማለት** 'it means'. Further discussion and interpretation is indicated by such formulaic constructions as **ያሉ እንደሆነ** 'if one says', and somewhat less frequently **ብዬ ብልህ** 'if I say to you', and **ትላኝ እንደሆነ** 'if you say to me', introducing an explanation-by-disputation discussion of the relevant christological point.

⁹ Or 318 or 319.

¹⁰ See J.N.D. KELLY, *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd ed.) (Harlow 1972), 296.

The text of the Creed analysed here differs only in small details from that currently used in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Thus, for example, the opening formula **ነን በ፩አምላክ አሐዜ ኩሉ** ‘we believe in One God, the holder of all things’ is in the modern Creed augmented by **፩አኣክ እግዚአብሔርአብ** ‘One God, God the Father’; or, a little later **ወተሰብአ እንጌስ ቅዱስ ወእግርያ እቅድስት ድንግል** ‘and He was made man of the Holy Spirit and of the Holy Virgin Mary’ in the text is augmented by **ተሰብአ ወተሰገወ** ‘He was made man and was made flesh’.

Language of the text

Questions of non-standard or archaic language forms are to some extent obscured by probable and possible orthographic uncertainties, such as, for example, **እንጫት** for presumed **እንጨት/እንጨት** ‘wood’ (rather than being an unpalatalised form); **በኻላ** for **በኋላ** ‘afterwards’, which occurs elsewhere in the text (rather than an unrounded *bāhala* for *bāh^wala*; **ያገበዋል** for **ያገባዋል** ‘he will bring him in’ (rather than a putative root variant *ገበ instead of standard Amh. ገባ) and similarly **አወፀኖ** for **አወገኖ** ‘he took out and’; **ያሳዝናሃል** for **ያሳዝንሃል** (if not representing a regressive assimilation to the vowel *a* across the ‘weak’ syllable boundary of *b* : **yasazzənahal*). Full writing of suffixes beginning in *-a*, such as **አስተምህርአችሁ** for what is surely to be read as *astāmhəraččəhu* (**አስተምህራችሁ**) and **ትለንአለህ** ‘you say to us’ for *tälänalläh* (**ትለናለህ**) more likely represent a morphemic division than a phonetic reality. More problematical is the regular writing the first root syllable of imperfect forms of the verb **ሰደደ** ‘send’ in the sixth order: e.g. **ትሰዳአላችሁ** ‘you send away’, **ቢሰዱቶ** ‘when they sent him away’, **ብሰደው** ‘if I send him away’, and so on. The difficulty of distinguishing first order **ሰ** and sixth order **ስ** in many manuscript hands may lie behind this.

Such problems aside, prominent features of the language of the text are as follows:

i. preservation of laryngals: especially *b*, in root initial and medial position: **ሲሐዝን**, **ሐፍነው**, **ሐርነት**, **ሐንድ**, **ያሐሰበበት**, **እየሰሐተን**, **ተበሀለው**, **ያድንነን**, **ጥሀሎት**, **ተሐንፀው**, **ይጽሕፋሉ**, **የሚአድህን**, and so on. Whilst there may be an element of orthographic archaism here, it is probable that graphic {*b*} does represent a real phonemic occurrence here. Initial **አ** of verb roots is apparently sometimes preserved in derived forms, though this is much more likely purely orthographic: **ተአሰረ**, **ስንተአመን**, **ነአምንአለን**; it is probably on a par with the not infrequent full writing of the auxiliary in compound tenses: **ትለንአለህ**, **ትሰዳአላችሁ**, etc., which more probably represent *tälänalläh*, *täsäddallaččəhu*, rather than hiatus **tälän^walläh*, etc., and thus is more a re-

flection of the underlying morphemic constituents than an accurate rendition of the phonetic reality, as suggested above.

ii. occurrence of older ς (**ጸ, ፀ**) where modern Standard Amharic has ζ : **አንጹ**, **ሊመጹበት**, **ጸ-ዋቱን**, **አሰወጽቶ**, **ጽሩ**, etc.

iii. verbs - fully inflected base and auxiliary in compound tenses (3pl): there are a few instances of 3rd person plural forms of the compound gerundive and compound imperfect in which both constituent elements show full inflexion: **ተዘግተዋሉ**, **ተሐንፀው አሉ**, **ተብሀለው አሉ**, **ብለዋሉ**. There are, however, at least as many counter-examples which exhibit the standard Amharic pattern, such as **ተብሀለዋል**, **ይቀድማሉ**, **ትሰዳኣላችሁ** (= **ትሰዳላችሁ**), etc.

iv. verbs – “short” 1st plural imperfect prefix: the 1st person plural prefix is more usually **ጉ-** than the **እጉ-** of standard Amharic: **ገዋጋለን**, **ገሰገድ**, **ገማልድን**, **ናኣምናለን**, etc. Note also from this last verb **ነኣምን አለን** with **ነ-** perhaps influenced by Ge^{ez}.

v. verbs - different verbal extension patterns: the following forms occur with different verbal extensions from their corresponding standard Amharic equivalents: **ያሐሰበበት** (**አሐሰበ** = **አሳሰበ**), **አወውሕዶ**, **አይወወሐድም** (***አወወሐዶ** and ***ተወወሐዶ** = **አወሐሐዶ** and **ተወሐሐዶ**).

vi. particles - relative prefix **የ-** with a negative imperfect: **ያያሳልፈው** (sole example). Elsewhere **የም-** occurs as in standard Amharic: **የማይታዩነም**, etc.

vii. particles - ‘object marker’ as **-ነ-** when followed by another clitic: **ሰውነም**, **መምህራችነም**, **የሚታዩነም**, etc. Counter-examples also occur: **ሰማይንም ምድርንም**.

viii. lexical items - nouns: **ጌታ** ‘master’ (standard Amh. **ጌታ**); verbs: **ተሸመ** ‘be appointed’ (standard Amh. **ተሸመ**) representing a direct development of Gz. **ተሠይመ** rather than a back-formation from **ሹም**; impersonal **አይደለውም** ‘is not’; pronouns: **እሌህ** ‘these’, and prepositional forms **ከዚህ** ‘from this’ and **ሰለዚህ** ‘because of this’; particles: **እንበለ** ‘without’ used in an Amharic context; **ከ-** frequently in the sense of ‘to, towards’; and perhaps **በኻላ** ‘afterwards’ (standard **በኋላ**) if this is not an orthographic error.

The translation

In the translation that follows those parts of the text originally in Ge^{ez} have been put into italics. In the translation of the commentary the discussion of each phrase has been assigned a separate paragraph for ease of consultation. In the text itself letters that have been obviously inserted later are rendered in superscript. Page breaks in the original text are shown by |.

ጸሎተ ሃይማኖት ማለት ። = ።

ጸሎተ ሃይማኖትን ርጅምን ምክንያት አጽሐፊቸው ፤¹¹ የጸሐፊነት ምክንያቱ ምነው ያሉ እንደሆነ ። በእስክንድርያ አርዮስ የሚሉ ዲያቆን ነበረ ። ወልድ ፍጡር ብሎ ሲል አለ ። ወልድን ፍጡር ብሎ ቢለው ። ተፍጻሜተ ሰማዕት ጴጥሮስ ከማነበረ ክርስቲያን አወገዘና ሰደደው ። በዝያ ዘመን ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ለጣዖት ያሰግድ ነበር ። አብያተ ክርስቲያኖት ተዘግተዋሉ ። አብያተ ጣዖት ተሐንፀው አሉ ። ሰውን ሁሉ ለጣዖት ስገዱ ብሎ ቢል ። ተፍጻሜተ ሰማዕት ጴጥሮስ አርሱም አልሰግድም ። ሰውነም አላሰግድም አለና ። ሐንድ ሀገር አጋመሰና ያዘ ። ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ይዛችሁ አንጹ¹² ብሎ ሰደደ ። ይዛችሁ አንጹ ብሎ ቢል ። መምህራችንም አንሰጥም ። እኛም ለጣዖት አንሰግድም ። ብለው ንዋጋለን ብለው ቢሉ ። ተው እንጂ ቅሉስ ክርስቶስ ጌታዬ በእንተ ሰው ብሎ እንጂ ተላልፎ ሞተ ። አለና ተአሰረ ። በእስክንድርያ አኪላስ ፣ እለእስክንድርያስ ፣ የሚልዋቸው ካህናት ነበሩ ፣ ካህናቱን ፣ መኳንንቱን ፣ አርዮስ ገዝቶኝ አይሞት አማልዱኝ አለና ወሰዳቸው ። ተፍጻሜተ ሰማዕት ጴጥሮስ ፣ ጹዋቱን ሊመጹበት | ሌሊት በሕልሙ ክርስቶስ ሕፃን ሆኖ ። ሸማው ተቀዶበት ፣ መሮ ሲሐዝን ። ምን ያሳዝንሃል ጌታዬ ሆይ ፣ ብሎ ቢለው ፣ አርዮስ ሰጠጠ ልብ ስየ ፣ አርዮስ ...

¹¹ sic, for አጽሐፊቸው.

¹² አንጹ by assimilation for አምጹ.

The Meaning of The Prayer of Faith

The reason which led the 300¹³ to write the Prayer of the Faith: if you ask what the reason is that they wrote it, there was in Alexandria a deacon called Arius. He said that the Son was created. When he said of the Son that He was created, Peter, Seal of the Martyrs,¹⁴ excommunicated him from the community of Christians and expelled him. At that time Diocletian was making people worship idols. Churches were closed. Pagan temples were built. When he told everyone to worship idols, Peter, Seal of the Martyrs, himself said, 'I shall not worship them, nor shall I make others worship them.' He split the one country into two and held it.¹⁵ Diocletian sent [soldiers], telling them to seize [him] and fetch [him]. When he told them to seize [him] and fetch [him], and they (i.e. Peter's followers) said, 'We shall not give up our teacher nor shall we ourselves worship idols, but shall fight,' he (i.e. Peter) said, 'Wait, though, Christ My Lord, however, was handed over and indeed died for the sake of mankind', and so he was arrested. In Alexandria there were priests called Achillas¹⁶ and Alexander.¹⁷ Arius took the priests and officers and said, 'Though he excommunicated me, let him not die.¹⁸ Intercede for me.' As for Peter, Seal of the Martyrs, before they were to come for him in the morning he saw in his dream that night Christ as a child, his clothes torn, and grieving bitterly. When he said to Him, 'What grieves you, My Lord?', [Christ said,] 'Arius has rent my garment. Arius says

¹³ the text later says 318.

¹⁴ Peter I, Bishop of Alexandria, who following Diocletian's edict of 303 went into hiding to escape persecution, but was eventually arrested and executed in 311 or 312.

¹⁵ This presumably refers to the rift in the Christian community between the followers of Peter who advocated leniency towards those Christians who had apostatised under the pressure from Diocletian's edict of 303, and the more stringent Melitus who refused to accept Peter's willingness to readmit those who had lapsed.

¹⁶ Achillas, Bishop of Alexandria 312–313.

¹⁷ Alexander I, Bishop of Alexandria 313–328.

¹⁸ the text has አይሞት here, but አይሙት later.

ወልድ ፍጡር ይለኛል ፣ ከአባቴ ይለየኛል ። አንተም ትሞታለህ ። አንተ የሞትህ እንደሆን ፣ አኪላስ ይሸማል ። አኪላስ የተሸመ እንደሆን ፣ ያገበዋል ። አኪላስም እግዚአብሔር ይቀስፈዋል ። የእስክንድርያ ካህናቱ ፣ መኪንንቱ ፣ መጽና አማልዱኝ ብሎናል ፣ ገዝቶኝ አይሙት ይፍታኝ ይለህል ። ሰው አስወፃ ቆይቶ አደረገና ። እንዴት ትማልዱብኛላችሁ ። ዛሬ ሌሊት ክርስቶስ ጌታዬ ፣ ሕፃን ሆኖ ፣ ሸማው ተቀደብት ። መሮ ሲሐዝን ። ምን ያሳዝናሃል ጌታዬ ሆይ ። ብዬ ብለው ፣ አርዮስ ወልድ ፍጡር ይለኛል ፣ ከአባቴ ይለየኛል ፣ አንተም ትሞትአለህ ። አንተ ብትሞት ፣ አኪላስ ይሸማል ፣ አኪላስ የተሸመ እንደሆን ፣ ያገበዋል ። አኪላስም እግዚአብሔር ይቀስፈዋል ፣ ብሎ ሲል አለአቸው ፣ ይህ ትንቢት ካለ ምን ብለን ንማልደን አሉና ተነሥተው ሂዱ ። ከዝያ በኻላ ተፍጻሜተ ሰማዕት ጴጥሮስ ሞተ ፣ አኪላስ ተሸመ ። አኪላስ ቢሸም ፣ አገባው ፣ ዲያቆን የነበረ አቀሰሰው ፣ ተቈጣና እግዚአብሔር ቀሠፈው ፣ እርሱን ቢቀስፈው ። እለእስክንድርያ ተሸመ | እለእስክንድርያ ቢሸም ፣ ተፍጻሜተ ሰማዕት ጴጥሮስ ብርሃናተ ዓለም በአወቀ ፣ ከማኅበረ ክርስቲያን አውጽቶ ቢሰደው ፣ አኪላስ እምቢ ብሎ እንጂ ቢያገባው ፣ እግዚአብሔር ቀሰፈው አለና ፣ ከማኅበረ ክርስቲያን አወፀና ሰደደው ። ምን ብዬ እሂድ አለሁ እንበለ መጽሐፍ ። መጽሐፍ ስጡኝ ብሎ አለ ። ከዝያ በኋላ ፫፻ አስራ ስምንት ሊቃውንት ፣ ከአራቱ መናብርት ተከማቹ ፣ ከእስክንድርያ ፣ ከሮም ፣ ከአንጾኪያ ፣ ከኤፌሶን ፣ እሌህም መዐርግ ያላቸው ፣ በጊዜ ጉባኤ እስክንድርያ አፍ መላሽ ናቸው ፣ በጊዜ ቡራኬ ሮም ይቀድማሉ ፣ ሳይለዩ ነበር ። በጊዜ ቅዳሴ አንጾኪያ ። በዕጣን ውግረት አራሶን ።

of me that the Son is created. He separates me from my Father. And you will die. When you die, Achilles will be appointed. When Achilles is appointed, he will bring him (i.e. Arius) back in. And God will chastise Achilles. The priests and officers of Alexandria have come and said that he (Arius) told them to intercede for him: he says about you, though you have excommunicated him, you should not die, [and] they should absolve him.' A man brought him out and made him wait [there]. He said to them, 'How can you intercede for me? This night [I saw] Christ My Lord as a child, his clothes torn, and grieving bitterly, and when I said to Him, "What grieves You, My Lord?", [He said,] "Arius has said of me that the Son is created. He separates me from my Father. And you will die. When you die, Achilles will be appointed. When Achilles is appointed, he will bring him (i.e. Arius) in. And God will chastise Achilles." They said, 'If this is the prophecy, why should we intercede?', and they got up and left. After that Peter, Seal of the Martyrs, died. Achilles was appointed. When Achilles was appointed, he brought him (i.e. Arius) in; he made him a priest who had been a deacon. God grew angry and chastised him. When He had chastised him, Alexander was appointed. When Alexander was appointed, he said, 'As for Peter, Seal of the Martyrs, when the Light of the World knowingly removed him and sent him from the community of Christians, Achilles revoked [his decision] and when he then brought him (Arius) in, God chastised him.' He removed him (Arius) and sent him from the community of Christians. He (Arius) said, 'How should I proceed without scripture? Grant me scripture.'¹⁹ After that 318 scholars assembled from the four dioceses: from Alexandria, from Rome, from Antioch and from Ephesus. The one that held authority at the time of the assembly was the delegate from Alexandria; at the time of the blessing, the Romans took precedence; they were not set apart. At the time of the mass [it was] Antioch. At the time of censuring²⁰ [it was] Ephesus.

¹⁹ i.e. scriptural support for his case.

²⁰ ስጣኑ ውግረት 'casting the incense' – i.e. the censuring of the church after communion and during the mass.

ምን መጽሐፍ አለህ አሉት ። መጽሐፈ ሰሎሞን ይላል ። ጥበብ ትቤ እምቅድመ
 ዓለም ፈጠረኒ ። ጥበብ የተባለ ክርስቶስ እንጂ ነው ። ምን ምስክር ያሻኛል ። በጎ
 ወልድን ፍጡር አልኸውና ። እኛ ማን ፈጠረና ። እግዚአብሔር ወልድ ። ለማን
 ንሰገድ ። ለአብ ። እንዴታ ። የፈጠረን ሳለ ተላልፈን ለያትን²¹ ንሰገድ አለን ። ብሎ
 ቢሉት ። ላወልድ ስገዱ አለ ። ለፍጡር እንደ አይሰግዱ ጽሑፍ እንጅ አለብህ ።
 ወኢትሰግድ ለአምላክ ነኪር ። ወአልቦ ቅዱስ አምላክ ዘእንበሌየ ። ተብሎ ብሃል
 እንጂ ። | ይህን አሉና ። ይወፃ ይገባ አስጨነቁት ። እንዴታ ። ፈጣሪ ሳለ ። ለፍጡር
 ስገዱ ትለንአለህ ። አቡዩ አነ ወጀንሕነ ሲለህ ። ቀዳሚሁ ቃል ውእቱ ወውቱ ቃል
 ንበ እግዚአብሔር ውእቱ ። ብሎ ሲልህ ። ንግበር ሰብአ በአርአያነ ወበአምሳሊነ ። ብ
 ሎ ሲልህ ። ኦሪት ዘልደት ማለት ፈጠረ ማለት ። እንጅ ። ወልድን ማለት ነው ።
 ኦሪት ዘልደት ማለት ። ፈጠረ ። ፍጥረት እንደሆነ ። ጥበብ ትቤ እምቅድመ ዓለም
 ፈጠረኒ ማለት ። ዓለም ሳይፈጥር ወለደኝ ማለት እንጅ ነው ። ይህን አሉና ። ከብ
 ሉይ ከሐዲስ ምስክር ሰጡና ። አስወጽቶ ሰደዱት ። አስወጹና ቢሰዱት ።
 ከቁስጠንጢኖስ ሄደና አማልደኝ ። መጽሐፍ ስቼ ነበር አስወጽቶ ሰደዱኝ ። እየሰሐተን
 ትሰዳአላችሁ አስተምህር አችሁ መልሱ እንጅ ። ነገር እንደ አይመለስሰ ትንቢት
 አለበት ። በእንተ የውሀቱ ለንጉሥ ይላል ታሪክ ። ስለ አንተ ። ስለቸርነትህ ። ርቱዐ
 አሚን ። አሚን መላሽ ብለን ንተወው እንደሆን እንጅ ። ምላሽም የለው አሉና ።
 ተገዘት አሉት ። ተገዘት ብለው ቢሉት ። ወልድ ፍጡር የሚል ክታብ

²¹ reading ላያትን.

They asked him what scripture he had. He said, "The Book of Solomon:²² *"Wisdom saith, He created me before the world."* That which is called Wisdom is indeed Christ. What (other) witness do I need?' (They said,) 'Well, since you have said of the Son that He was created, who, then, created us?' (He replied,) 'God the Son.' 'Whom should we worship?' [they asked] 'The Father.' 'How then, while He created us, shall we pass Him by and worship the grandfather?' When they said [this] to him, he said, 'Worship the Son.' 'Rather, you have it written that we should not worship one created: *"And worship not a false god. And there is no holy god but me,"* it is indeed said.' They said this and they pressed him on every detail:²³ 'How then, do you tell us to worship the creature when there is the creator? - when He tells you, *"My Father and I are One,"* when He tells you, *"In the beginning was the word, and the word was one with God"* [and] *"Let Us make man in Our image and Our likeness."* '[The Book of] Genesis' indeed means 'He created', 'He begot us.' Whilst 'Genesis' means 'He created,' 'Creation' - *Wisdom saith, "He created me before the world"* means, rather, 'He begot me before He created the world.' They said this and gave evidence from the Old and New [Testaments], and then expelling him, they banished him. They expelled him and when they banished him he went to Constantine and [he said to him], 'Intercede for me. [Because] I was in error concerning the text, they have banished me and expelled me.' [Constantine] said [to them], 'Do you banish him when he is in error? Rather, bring [him] back and instruct [him]. Then, lest no word be made in response, there is a prophecy about it: *Concerning the mercy of the king,* says history. What if, rather, for your sake [and] for kindness' sake we leave him be, saying that he is vindicated in truth [and] a true respondent? But he has no response.' They said to him (i.e. Arius), 'May you be excommunicated!' When they said to him, 'May you be excommunicated!', he was wearing at his breast an amulet which said "The Son is created", ...

²² i.e. the Book of Proverbs.

²³ ደግሞ ይገባ ።

በደረቱ ያዘና ፣ ከዜህ ከያዝሁት አሚኔ ። አልናወጽ ይውረድላችሁ ኣለ ። ሶስት መቶ አስራ ስምንት ሊቃውንት ገዘቱት ። ዕድሜ ሰጠን አሉና ፣ ጌቀን ጸለዩ ፣ | ከዝያ በኋላ ፣ ክፉ ፣ በኅ ፣ ባይገለጽላቸው ፣ በጸሎት ኅበር ፣ ነግ ሥጋ አምላክ ትነሣለህ አሉት ፣ ነገሩ ፣ ቀዳሚ ማታ ፣ ለእሁድ አፅብያ ነው ፣ ጽዋቱን ፣ ታናሽ ቤት ፣ ቢያልፍ ፣ ሆድ አተው ተገብረው ወጸ ፣ ሥጋ አምላክ ይነሣ አርዮስን ጽሩ ብሎ ቢሉ ፣ ሆድ አተው ተገብረው ፣ ቀፎው ፣ ተደፍቶ ፣ አገኙት ፣ መጥቅፅ ጠቁ ፣ መደወል መቼና ፣ እዩ እስኪ ፣ የ፫ ፻፶ይላቸውን የቅድስት ቤተ ክርስቲያን ረድኤትዋን ፣ እነሆ አሉና አሳዩ ፣ ምነው እንዴህ ባለ ሞት አርዮስን ገደለው ፣ ያሉ እንደሆን ፣ ሊቃውንት ቢቀኑ እንጂ ፣ ሐፍነው ሸፈነው ገደሉት ብለው እንደ አይሉ ። እንዴህ ባለ ሞት ገደለው ፣ ሐንድም ኩላሊት ያስባል ። ሐስቦ ለልብ ይሰጣል ። ወልድ ፍጡር ብሎ ያሐሰበበት ኩላሊቱን ፣ ከለሆድ አተው ገብገብና አወግዱ ።

ጸሎት ማለት ፣ ምልክት ነው ፣ ስእለት ማለት ፣ ልመና ነው ፣ ለወትሮ ከንጉሥ ፣ ከመከራንን ደርሶ ፣ አቤት አቤት ብሎ የጮኸ እንደሆን ፣ ምነው ይልዋል ፣ ነገሬ ይህ ነው ብሎ ያከለክታል ።

ይኸም የአሚን ምልክት ነው ፣ ይህንን አውቆ የደገሙ እንደሆን እንጤት ጉንዱን ይመስል ። የተረገሙ እንደሆን ፣ አበባውን ይመስል ። ተርጉም ግና ፣ እገቢሩ የዋሉበት ፣ የጸሙበት እ | ንደሆን ፣ ፍሬውን ይመስል ፣ ዝም ብሎ ግን በአፍ ደግሞ ፣ በልብ አውቆ የተው እንደሆን ለምንም አይረባም ፣ ከዝያ በኋላ አርዮስን ድል ነሱ ፣ ፊት አስመለሱና ፣ ፫፻ ሐንድ አፍ ፣ ሐንድ ልብ ፣ ሆነው ይጽሑፋሉ ።

ነአምን በ፩አምላክ ማለት ። ምነው ሐንድ አምላክ ያሰኛቸው ፣ ሌላ አምላክ አለን ያሉ እንደሆን ፣ አምላክስ ፣ ነቢያትም አማልክት አንትሙ ወደቁቀ ልዑል ከኋልክሙ ፣ ተብህለው አሉ ፣ ሙሴም አምላኩ ለፈርዖን ተብህለዋል ፣ እርሱ ግን መንግሥቱን ቀድሞም ከሰው ያላመጸው ። ኋላም ለሰው አያሳልፈው ፣ በባሕርዩ በጠባይፅ ገዢ ፣ በሐንድ አምላክ ነአምን አለን አሉ ።

አምላክ ማለት ፣ ፈጣሪ ማለት ነው ፣ እግዚአብሔር ማለት ፣ ገዢ ማለት ነው ፣ ምና ፣ እግዚአብሔር ገዛ ፣ አምላክ ፈጠረ ይሉ ፣ አይደለውም ፣ በተገኘ ፣ እግዚአብሔርም ፣ አምላክም ፣ ፈጣሪ ማለት ነው ።

and he said, 'I shall not be shaken from this my belief which I hold, [but] let it (i.e. the amulet) be removed for your sakes.' The three hundred and eighteen scholars excommunicated him. They said, 'Give us long life,' and prayed for seven days. After that, when neither evil nor good was revealed to them through joining in prayer, they said, 'Tomorrow, Incarnation of God, You will arise,' for it was Saturday evening, the eve of Sunday. In the morning, when he (i.e. Arius) was passing a small house, his entrails spilled forth; as they said, 'The Incarnation of God will arise, so summon Arius!', they found him with his entrails spilled forth, suffering and cast down. They struck the stone gong, they sounded the bell and showed him and said, 'See, then, behold the might of the 300²⁴ [and] the succour of the Holy Church!' If one asks why He (i.e. God) killed Arius with a death such as this, [it was] so that one might not say that the scholars killed him, rather, in their jealousy, by gagging and smothering [him]. He killed him with a death such as this. The kidney thinks of something, [and] having thought [of it] gives it to the heart. His kidney from which he had the idea that the Son is created he spilled and threw out from amongst his entrails.

A prayer means a message. A vow means a request. Usually if [a man] comes to the king or a noble and shouts 'Sire! Sire!', he will say to him, 'What is it?', and he will remark, 'My business is this.'

This is a message of faith. If one knows and repeats this, a tree will seem as the trunk; if one interprets [it], it will seem as the flower. But as for the interpretation, if one lives through the action of it [and] if one fasts thereby, it will seem as the fruit. If, however, one does not repeat it by mouth and knowing [it] in one's heart rejects [it], it will not profit anything. After that, they defeated Arius. They had him brought back before them and the 300 wrote [this] with one mouth and with one heart.

We believe in One God means: if one says, 'What is it that made them say "One God"? Is there another god?', as regards God the prophets are said to have said, 'Ye are gods and sons of the most high all of you,' and Moses, too, is said to have said, 'the God of Pharaoh.' He, though, did not first bring the Kingdom to man, and afterwards he will not hand it over to man. They said, 'We believe in One God, the ruler of [man's] substance and nature.'

God (*amlak*) means Creator. God (*ʾəgzīʾabəher*) means Ruler. But then it is not that one should say that God (*ʾəgzīʾabəher*) rules and God (*amlak*) created; it means that both *amlak* and *ʾəgzīʾabəher* are Creator.

²⁴ see fn. 13.

አሐዜ ከሩሉ ማለት ። ኹሉን በሚይዝ አምላክ ነአምናለን አሉ ። ኹሉን በሚይዝ አምላክ ምን አሰኛቸው ። ፫፻ን ያሉ እንደሆን መያዝስ ፣ ንጉሥም ሀገር ይገዛል ፣ ይከፈልበታል ፣ እቃም ላዩን ቢይዙ ፣ ውስጡን ይይዙ ዘንድ አይቻልም ። እርሱ ግን ከሩሉ እኩዝ ውስተ እዴሁ በከመ አርአዮ ለጴጥሮስ እንደ አለ ዘንድ ፣ ሰ | ማይን ከለግሡ ። ምድርን ከለግሡ ። ባሕርን ከለአሸዋው ፣ በሚይዝ በሐንድ አምላክ ነአምናለን አሉ ።

ገባሬ ሰማያት ወምድር ማለት ፣ ሰማይን ምድርን ፣ በፈጠረ አምላክ ነአምናለን አሉ ።

ዘያስተርኢ ወዘኢያስተርኢ ማለት ፣ የሚታዩነም ፣ የማይታዩነም ፣ በፈጠረ አምላክ ነአምናለን ። የሚታዩ ምነው ያሉ እንደሆን ፣ ፀሐይ ፣ ጨረቃ ፣ ከዋክብት ፣ ሰው ፣ ዕፅዋት ። ከሰማይ ፣ በላይ ፣ መንግሥተ ሰማያት ፣ መንበረ ፀባዖት ፣ ምቅዋመ መላእክት ። ከምድር በታች ፣ ባሕር ፣ ጽልመት ፣ ነፋሳት ።

ወነአምን በ፩እግዚእ ማለት ፣ በሐንድ ጌታ ምን አሰኛቸው ፣ ሌላ ጌታ አለን ያሉ እንደሆን ። ጌታስ መኩንንም ፣ ካበላ ፣ ካጠጣ ጌታ ይልዋል ። እርሱ ግን ፣ አገዛዙን ቀድሞም ከሰው ያላመፃው ፣ ኋላም ለሰው ያያሳልፈው ፣ በባሕርዩ በጠባይዕ ገዢ ፣ በሐንድ አምላክ ነአምናለን አሉ ።

ኢየሱስ ማለት ፣ መድኃኒት ማለት ነው ፣ መድኃኒቱ ምነው ያሉ እንደሆን ፣ ሰውን ፣ ከባርነት አርነት ፣ ከሰይጣን ግዛት ፣ የሚአድህን ነው ።

ክርስቶስ ማለት ፣ ቅቡዕ ፣ ንጉሥ ማለት ነው ፣ ያው ቅቡዕ አራሰውን ፣ አረጠበውን ትለኝ እንደሆን ፣ ከእግዚአብሔር ማርያም ከሥጋዋ ሥጋ ከነፍስዋ ነፍስ | ነሥቶ ሐንድ በኾነ ጊዜ በሰውነቱ ተቀብቶ ካህን ንጉሥ ኾነ ።

ወልደ አብ ዋሕድ ማለት ፣ በሐንድ በባሕርይ ልጁ ነአምናለን አሉ ፣ ምና ፣ ሌላ ልጅ አለን ያሉ እንደሆን ። ልጁስ እስራኤልም ፣ ወልድየ ዘበኩርየ ተብሀለዋሉ ። በጎም ሰው ያዩ እንደሆን የእግዚአብሔር ልጅ ነው ይልዋል ።

*The Holder of all [things]*²⁵ means: they have said, 'We believe in God who holds everything.' If one says, 'What made the 300 say "God who holds everything"?'; as regards holding, a king, too, rules [his] land; it is divided up by him. If one holds an object from above, one cannot hold it from within. But just as he has said, '*Everything is held within His hand, as He showed unto Peter,*' [so] they have said, 'We believe in One God who holds Heaven with all its appurtenances, and the earth with all its appurtenances, and the sea with all its sand.'

The Maker of Heaven and earth means: they have said, 'We believe in God who created heaven and earth.'

That which is visible and that which is invisible means: we believe in God who created both that which can be seen and that which cannot be seen. If one says, 'What is it that can be seen?', [it means] the sun, the moon, the stars, man, trees; [and that which cannot be seen means] the Kingdom of Heaven which is above the heavens, the Throne of Sabaoth, the Abode of the Angels, [and] beneath the earth, the seas, darkness [and] the winds.

And we believe in One Lord means: if one says, 'What made them say "in One Lord?" Is there another lord?' Now, a lord and a nobleman, one calls him a lord if he gives food and drink. But he is not the one who first brought his dominion over man, nor the one who afterwards will hand it over to man; [so] they have said, 'We believe in One God, the Ruler of [man's] substance and nature.'

Jesus means 'salvation.' If one says, 'What is salvation?', it is that which [gives] man freedom from slavery, which saves [him] from the rule of Satan.

Christ means 'the Anointed King.' If you say to me, 'Did that anointing soak Him, did it wet Him?', He became priest [and] king anointed in body at one and the same time that He became incarnate from *Our Lady Mary*, flesh of Her flesh, soul of Her soul.

The only Son of the Father means: they have said, 'We believe in the Son [who is] of one nature.' If one says, 'Why then, is there another son?' As for the Son, Israel, too, was called "*My son that is My firstborn.*" Also, if one sees a good man, one calls him 'the son of God.' ...

²⁵ i.e. the Almighty.

የእርሱ ግን ፥ አወላለጁ ፥ ወለዶ አብ ለወልዱ ፥ ቦጊዜ ኢይትበሀል ፥ ወበዘከመዝ መዋዕል ወለዶ እንዳሉ ፥ በቅዳሴ ። ይህን ጊዜ ወለደው ፥ ይህን ጊዜ ተወለደ አይሉትም ።

ዘህልው ምስሌሁ እምቅድመ ይትፈጠር ዓለም ማለት ። ህልው ። ስፍራ ነው ፥ ተወለደ ብዬ ብልህ ፥ ቅድምና ፥ ድኅርና አትሰጥብኝ ፥ ዓለም ሳይፈጠር በሐንድ ቦታ ነበሩ ።

ብርሃን ዘእምብርሃን ማለት ፥ ከፀሐይ ፥ ፀሐይ ፥ የተወለደ ማለት ነው ፥ እምነ ምሳሌያት ዘመሰልሲ የሐፀፀ ቦቱ ፥ እንዳሉ ፥ ከመሰሉት የመሰሉበት ፥ እንድያንስ ፥ እንዴህ አይደለውም ፥ እግዚአብሔ²⁶ ወልድ ። ከእግዚአብሔር አብ የተወለደ ።

አምላክ ጽድቅ ፥ ዘእምአምላክ ጽድቅ ዘበአማን ማለት ፥ የውነት አምላክ ፥ ከውነት አምላክ የተወለደ ማለት ነው ፥ ምና ፥ የሐሰት አምላክ አለን ፥ ያሉ እንደሆን ። አምላክስ ፥ ጣዖታትም ። እንጨት ፀርቦ ፥ ደንጊያ ወቅሮ ቢያምልኩባቸው ፥²⁷ አምላክ ይባላሉ ። እርሱ | ግን ፥ የውነት አምላክ ፥ ከውነት አምላክ የተወለደ ፥ በሐንድ አምላክ ነአምናለን ይላሉ ።

ዘተወልደ ወአኮ ዘተገብረ ማለት ፥ ተወለደ ብዬ ብልህ ፥ እንደ አርዮስ ፍጡር አትበልብኝ ።

ዘዕሩይ ምስለ አብ በመለኮቱ ማለት ። በመለኮቱ ከአባቱ መሳ እኩል ነው ። በመለኮቱ እኩል ሆነና ፥ በሌላሳ ፥ ትልኝ እንደሆን ። መለኮት ሁሉን ይፈጽማል ። መለኮት እዘዝ ነው ። መለኮት ሥምረት ነው ፥ መለኮት ማለት መለክ ፥ ሁሉን ገዛ ማለት ነው ።

ዘቦቱ ኩሉ ኮነ ማለት ። ሁሉ በወልድ ተፈጠረ ማለት ነው ።

ዘእንበሌሁሰ አልቦ ዘኮነ ወኢምንትኒ ማለት ፥ እንበለ እርሱ ፥ ሐንዳኛ የትንኝ ግማሺ ፥ አልተፈጠረም ፥ ማለት ነው ።

ዘበሰማይኒ ወበምድርኒ ማለት ፥ ሰማይንም ፥ ምድርንም ። የፈጠረ እርሱ ነው ፥ ማለት ነው ።

ዘበእንቲአነ ለሰብእ ወበእንተ መድኃኒትነ ማለት ። ለኛ ለመድኃኒታችን ፥ ከባርነት ሐርነት ፥ ከሰይጣን ግዛት ፥ ያድኅነን ዘንድ ማለት ነው ።

²⁶ for እግዚአብሔር.
²⁷ reading ቢያምልኩባቸው.

But as for the manner of His birth, as they say in the Mass, “*Let it not be said there is a time [at which] the Father begot the Son; nor that He begot Him on such and such a day.*” One shall not say, ‘He begot Him at this time, He was begotten at this time.’

Who is existent with Him from before the world was created means: ‘existing’, ‘[in a] place.’ If I say to you, ‘He was begotten,’ do not propose to me ‘before’ and ‘after’; They were in one place before the world was created.

Light of Lights means ‘begotten [as] the sun of suns.’ As they say, “*Of the images that they liken to Him, [each] has a defect in it*” – if one likens Him [to something], it is not thus that He should be less than that to which one likens Him, God the Son, who is begotten of God the Father.

Very God of Very God in Truth means True God, who is begotten of True God. If one says, ‘Why then, is there a god of untruth? As for God, when one worships idols, too, hewing [them out of] wood and carving [them out of] stone, they are called ‘god’.’ But He [is] the True God, begotten of the True God; they [therefore] say, ‘We believe in One God.’

Who was begotten and not made means that if I say, ‘He was begotten,’ do not propose to me like Arius that he was created.

Who is equal with the Father in divinity means, He is the same as and equal to the Father in divinity. He is equal in His divinity, and so if you say to me, ‘And what of the rest?’, divinity fulfills everything; divinity is command. Divinity is accomplishment; divinity means He is ruler, He rules over everything.

In whom everything exists means everything was created in the Son.

And without Whom there is nothing means that without Him no part [even] of a mosquito is created.

Neither which is in heaven nor which is on earth means, it is He who created both heaven and earth.

Who, for our sake, for mankind, and for the sake of our salvation means, that for us [and] for our salvation He will free us from slavery [and] save us from the rule of Satan.

ወረደ እምሰማያት ማለት ። በሰውነቱ ስለ ወረደ ፣ ተከቶ የወረደ ይመስል ፣ ወረደ አለው ።

ወተሰብአ እመንፈስ ቅዱስ ወእማርያም እምቅድስት ድንግል ማለት ። ከመንፈስ ቅዱስ ። ከእግዝእትነ ማርያም | ተወለደ ማለት ነው ። ከእግዝእትነ ማርያም ሥጋ ነሣ ፣ ከመንፈስ ቅዱስ ምን አወፃ ፣ ትልኝ እንደሆን ። አብ ልጁን ሰደደ ። ወልድ ታዞ ወረደ ። ፍቅረ መንፈስ ቅዱስ እንዳይቀር ። ከእግዝእትነ ማርያም የነሣውን ሥጋ ፣ በማኅፀን አወውሕዶ ፍጹም መለኮት አደረገ ፣ ሐነፀ መቅደስ ለርእሱ እንዳለ ቄርሎስ ።

ኮነ ብእሴ ማለት ፣ ፍጹም የ፴አመት ጉልማሳ ሆነ ማለት ነው ፣

ወተሰቅለ በእንቲአነ ማለት ። ተሰቀለ ብዬ ብልህ ፣ እንደ ሌባ ፣ እንደ ቀማኛ ፣ ሰርቆ ፣ ቀምቶ ፣ አትበልብኝ ፣ ለኛ ብሎ ተሰቀለ እንጂ ።

በመዋዕለ ጲላጦስ ጳንጤናዊ ማለት ፣ በጲላጦስ በጳንጤንቼው ተሰቀለ ማለት ነው ፣

ሐመ ማለት ፣ ታመመ ማለት ነው ፣ ሕመሙ መጋኛ ፣ ጉስምትን ፣ ትለኝ እንደሆን ። ተፀፋ ፣ ተቀነወ ፣ ተከራ ፣

[ወተሐሰበ ሎቱ እንዳለ ዘንድ] ወሞተ ማለት ፣ ሞቱስ እንዴት ሞተ ትለኝ እንደሆን ፣ ሰው ከእናቱ ማኅፀን ሲወፃ ። ዑቃቤ ሰይጣን ይቈራኘዋል ፣ ሲያስደነግፀው እስከግብን ይቀመጣል ፣ ሀብተ ወልድና የደረሰው እንደሆን ፣ ጥህሎት ይሄዳል ፣ ከዝያ በኋላ እየነፃ ይርጎቃል ፣ ኃጢአት እየሰራ ይቀርባል ፣ ዕለተ ሞቱ የደረሰ እንደሆን ፣ መጋፀፁ መገረሙ ፣ ፅኑዕ ነገር ነው ። የታየው እንደሆን ቢደነግፅ ፣ ከልቡ ደም ይጠፋል ። ፈትልና እሳት ፣ ቅቤ ካላገኘ እንደ አይበራ ። | ነፍስና ሥጋም ፣ እንበለ ደም አይወወሐድም ። ሰው ከሞተ ኋላ ፣ እዝ እንጂ ፣ ደም አይወፃም ፣ እርሱ ግን ፣ በውነቱ እንደሞተ ፣ በመለኮቱ ሕያው እንደሆነ ሲያጠይቅ ። ከሞተ ኋላ ቢወጉት ። ባሕር ያህል ደም ፣ ባሕር ያህል ወጋ ፣ ከጎድኑ ፈሰሰ ። ደሙም ምስጢር ቁርባን ነው ። ወጋውም ትእምርተ ጥምቀት ነው ።

Descended from Heaven means, because He descended in body, it infers that He descended wholly; He descended, it says of him.

And He was made man of the Holy Spirit and of the Holy Virgin Mary means that He was born of the Holy Spirit and of *Our Lady Mary*. If you say to me, ‘He arose from *Our Lady Mary*, [so] what did He bring of the Holy Spirit?’ The Father sent His Son. The Son, obedient, descended. So that the love of the Holy Spirit be not absent, it joined²⁸ in the womb with the flesh that arose from *Our Lady Mary* and made [Him] wholly divine. “*He constructed a temple for Himself,*” as Cyril says.

He became man means that He was fully a young man of thirty years.

And He was crucified for our sake means: if I say to you, ‘He was crucified,’ do not you say to me, ‘[It was] because He stole and robbed like a thief and like a robber,’ rather He was crucified for us.

In the days of Pontius Pilate means that He was crucified under Pilate, the man from P’änt’en.²⁹

He suffered means that He suffered. If you say to me, ‘Was His illness a sudden fever [or] a stomach pain?’, He was slapped, He was struck [on the head], He was nailed.

And He died means, [as it says ‘And it was calculated for Him.’]³⁰ as for His death, if you say to me, ‘How did He die?’, when a man issues from his mother’s womb, the spirit of Satan binds him; it dwells [in him] terrifying him for forty days. If *the gift of the Son* reaches him, [Satan] abandons him and goes away. Thereafter he remains far away whenever [the man] is pure, [and] he draws near whenever he performs sin. When the day of his death arrives, his desolation [and] his alarm are mighty things. When [death] appears to him, in his alarm the blood vanishes from his heart. Just as a thread and fire will not ignite unless they find grease, [so] soul and flesh, too, cannot be united without blood. After a man is dead, clear fluid and not blood comes out. But while [this] proves that He died in His body [and] was [still] alive in His divinity, when after He died they pierced Him, blood as much as the sea [and] water as much as the sea flowed from His side. And the blood is the mystery of the eucharist, and the water is the miracle of baptism.

²⁸ አወወሐደ: taking the stem *አወወሐደ, or as occurs later *ተወወሐደ as equivalent to Mod. Amh. አወሐሐደ and ተወሐሐደ, resp.

²⁹ አንጢንጅዎ would seem to be a toponymic equivalent to አንጢናዊ አንጢን is Pontus, incorrectly understanding the name Pontius to be a gentilic.

³⁰ this phrase is inserted in the text above ወዋተ ማለት.

ወተቀብረ ማለት ፥ ተቀበረ ማለት ነው ፥

ወተንሥኦ እሙታን በሣልስት ዕለት ማለት ፥ ሞተና በሦስት ቀን ተነሣ ። ምነው ሞቱን በዓርብ አደረገ ፥ ያሉ እንደሆነ ፥ አዳምን ፥ አርብ ፈጥሮት ነበር ፥ ዓርብ የተፈጠረ ፍጥረት ጠፍቶ ነበርና ሐድሼ እጥንት ህላሰው እመልሰው ፥ ብሎ ሲል ፥ ስለዚህ ሞቱን በዓርብ አደረገ ። ምነው ትንሣኤውን በእሁድ አደረገ ፥ ያሉ እንደሆነ ፥ እሁድ ጥንተ ፍጥረት ነው ፥ ኋላም አመፃዬ እሁድ ነው ፥ ብሎ ሲል ፥ ትንሣኤውን በእሁድ አደረገ ።

በከመ ጽሑፍ ውስተ ቅዱሳት መጻሕፍት ማለት ። ወአመ ሣልስት ዕለት ይሄርየነ ወየሐይወነ ማለት ነው ።

ዐርገ በስብሐት ውስተ ሰማያት ማለት ። በክብር ሰማየ ሰማያት አረገ ፥ ማለት ነው ፥ በሰውነቱ ስለ አረገ ፥ ተከቶ ያረገ ይመስል ። አረገ የለዋል ።

ወነበረ በየማነ አቡሁ ማለት ። በአባቱ ቀ | ኝ ተቀመጠ ማለት ነው ፥

ቀኝና ግራ ፥ ይኖር ሆኖ ፥ ሰይጣን ሞትን ፥ ቀጥቅጦ ከኑሉ በላይ ሆነ ፥ ብሎ ሲል ቀኝ ይለዋል ።

ዳግመ ይመጽእ በስብሐት ማለት ። ዳግመኛ በክብር ይመጻል ፥ ማለት ነው ፥ ይመጻልም ብዬ ብልህ ። እንደቀደም ፥ ይፀፋ ፥ ይከፈራ ፥ ይቀነው ፥ አይደለውም ። ፱ አእላፋት መላእክትን አስከትሎ ፥ ሰማይና ምድርን ሲያሳልፍ በክብር ይመጻል ።

ይከፍንን ሕያዋነ ወሙታነ ማለት ። ፈርዶ ለጻድቃን መንግሥት ሰማያት ። ለኃጥአን ገሃነመ እሳት ይሰጥ ይመጻል ፥ ማለት ነው ፥ ምነው ጻድቃንን ሕያው ፥ ኃጥአንን ሙት አላቸው ፥ ያሉ እንደሆነ ፥ ፀጋ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ካላደረበት ሕያው አይባልም ። ስለዚህ ኃጥአን ሙት አላቸው ።

ወአልቦ መነለቅተ ለመንግሥቱ ማለት ። ፈርዶ ለጻድቃን መንግሥተ ሰማያት ፥ ለኃጥአን ገሃነመ እሳት ። ብዬ ብልህ ፥ የመንግሥቱ ዳር ፥ ወሰን ፥ የለውም ፥ ይህን ግዜ ያልፋል ፥ ይህን ጊዜ ይጠፋል ፥ አይሉትም ።

And He was buried means that He was buried.

And He rose from the dead on the third day means that He was dead and He rose in three days. If one says, 'Why did [God] make His death on a Friday?', He had created Adam on Friday; the creation that was created on Friday was lost, and so as He said, 'I shall renew [him] and shall return him to his former estate,' therefore [God] made His death on Friday. If one says, 'Why did [God] make His resurrection on a Sunday?', Sunday is the beginning of creation, and as He said, 'Afterwards My coming shall be on Sunday,' [so] He made His resurrection on Sunday.

As it is written in the sacred scriptures means, '*And on the third day He will heal us and will give us life.*'³¹

He ascended in glory into Heaven means, He ascended in glory into the Heaven of Heavens. Because He ascended in His body, it infers that He ascended wholly. It says of Him, He ascended.

And He sat at the right hand of the Father means that He sat at the right hand of the Father. One says of Him 'at the right hand' whilst one [also] should say, 'whether at the right hand or at the left hand, he smote the Satan of Death and is above all.'

He will come again in glory means that He will come again in honour. If I say to you, 'He will come,' it is not that He will be slapped, struck [on the head] and nailed as before. He will come in honour making both heaven and earth pass away, accompanied by ten thousand thousand angels.

He will judge the living and the dead means that He will come and judge and give to the righteous the Kingdom of Heaven, and to the sinners the Hell of Fire. If one says, 'Why did He say of the righteous [that they will be] living, [and] of the sinners [that they will be] dead?', unless [a man] has the grace of the Holy Spirit residing in him, he will not be called living. Therefore, He said of sinners [that they shall be as] dead.

And there is no end to His Kingdom means: if I say to you, '[He will give] the Kingdom of Heaven to the righteous, [and] hellfire to the sinners,' the edge of His Kingdom has no limit; one shall not say of it, 'It will pass away at this time; it will vanish at this time.'

³¹ there seems to be something missing here, as the exegesis is in Ge'ez and not Amharic and in any event does not "explain" the phrase in question.

ይህን ተናገሩና ፫፻ አቆሙ ። ፳፪አመት መናፈቅ ሳይነሳባቸው ተቀመጡ ። ። ።

በ፳፪አመት መቅደንዮስ ተነሣ ። አርዮስ ሐብሎ አይደለውም ወይ ። ወልድን ፍጡር ያለው ። መንፈስ ቅዱስ ፍጡር ነው እንጂ ። እንዴት ፍ / ጡር ነው ብሎ ቢሉት ። እንደ መላእክት ፍጡር ነው አለ ። ከዚያ በኋላ ፻፶፯ ዓ.ም. ታዲያውን ተከማቹና ። ንጉሠ-ቴሲዶስዮስ ነው ። ሊቀ ጳጳሱ ጢሞቴሲስ ነው ። ምን መጽሐፍ አለህ አሉት ። ፫፻በጸሎተ ሃይማኖታቸው ብለዋሉ ፣ ዘቦቱ ኩሉ ኮነ ወዘእንበሌሁስ አልቦ ዘኮነ ወኢምንትኒ ። በርሱ ኅሉ ተፈጠረ ብሎ ሲሉ ፣ ምን መጽሐፍ ያሻኛል ። መንፈስ ቅዱስ ፍጡር ነው እንጂ ። እንዴት ፍጡር ትለዋለህ ።

ወእንዘ ታጠምቅሲሙ በሉ በስመ አብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ብሎ ሲልህ ። ወእምእስትንፋስ አፋሁ ኩሉ ኃይሎሙ ብሎ ሲልህ ። በሱራፊል ቅዳሴ ፣ ቅዱስ ፣ ቅዱስ ፣ ቅዱስ ፣ ብሎ ሲል ለአብ ፣ ለወልድ ፣ ለመንፈስ ቅዱስ ፣ እንደሆነ ሲያጠይቅ እንጂ ። ወይ ኅለት ፣ ወይ አራት ። ባላደረገን አሉና ። ከብሉይ ከሐዲስ ምስክር ሰጡና ፣ አስወጽተው ሰደዱት ። ከዚያ በኋላ ። ፊት አስመለሱ ። ድል ነሱና ይጽሕፋሉ ። ነአምን በ፩አምላክ ። ወነአምን በ፩እግዚእ ብለው ፫፻ እንደ ጸሐፉ ። እሌህም አስተካከሉና ።

ወነአምን በመንፈስ ቅዱስ እግዚእ ማለት ። አገዛዙን ቀድሞም ከሰው ያላመጸው ። ኋላም ለሰው ያያሳልፈው ። በባሕርዩ ፣ በጠባይ ገዢ | በመንፈስ ቅዱስ ናአምናለን አሉ ።

ማንኛው ማለት ። ከሞት ልቡና ፣ ሕይወተ ልቡና ፣ የሚናኝ ማለት ነው ።

ዘሠረፀ እምአብ ማለት ። ከአብ ዘንድ የሠረፀ ማለት ነው ። አሠራረፀ ግን ። ምድር ቀድሞ ትብያ ይሆናል ፣ ኋላ ቅፀል ያወፃል ። እንዲህ አይደለውም ። ልደተ ወልድ ወፀአተ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ። እምአብ ይትነከር ፣ ወኢይትነገር ። ዕፁብ ድንቅ ብሎ ቢሉ እንጂ ። ይህን ጊዜ ፀረፀ ይሉ ዘንድ አይቻልም ።

The 300 spoke this and set it down. They continued for 62 years before any heresy arose against them.

In the 62nd year Macedonius³² arose. He said, 'Is it not that Arius misled [us] when he said that the Son is created? Rather, the Holy Spirit is created!' When they said to him, 'How is He created?', he said, 'He is created like the angels.' After that, 150 scholars assembled and the King was [at that time] Theodosius. The Archbishop was Timothy. They said to him, 'What scripture do you have?' He said, 'The 300 have said in their Prayer of the Faith: "*in Whom everything exists and without Whom there is nothing.*" When they say that everything is created in Him, what scripture do I need? The Holy Spirit is indeed created. You say, "How is He created?" ...

When He says to you, *And while ye baptise them, say "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,"* [and also] when He says to you, *And all their power [is] from the breath of His mouth,* [and also] when He says in the Mass of the Seraphim, *Holy, Holy, Holy,* it proves rather that it is [meant] for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.' They said, 'It would not make it for us either two or four.' They gave evidence from the Old and New [Testaments] and they expelled him and sent him away. After that, they had [him] brought back before [them]. They defeated [him] and wrote [this]. As the 300 wrote, '*We believe in One God and we believe in One Lord,*' so they settled [the matter].

And we believe in the Lord, the Holy Spirit means that they said, 'He is not the one who first brought his dominion unto man, nor the one who afterwards will hand it over to man. We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Ruler of [man's] nature and substance.'

Life-giving means that conscious life is bestowed out of conscious death.

Who proceeded from the Father means 'who proceeded from the Father.' But as regards His manner of proceeding, the earth is at first dust [and] afterwards it produces foliage; it is not like this. Rather, whether one says, '*The birth of the Son and the issue of the Holy Spirit from the Father are miraculous*' or not, it is a marvelous thing; it is not possible that one should say, 'He proceeded³³ at this [particular] time.'

³² Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, d. c. 362, who supported the Semi-Arian cause. The arithmetic here seems a little puzzling: the Council of Nicaea was held in 325, Macedonius died c. 362, and the Council of Constantinople which was traditionally believed to have incorporated the additions prompted by Macedonius' heresy took place in 381. Neither of the latter dates could be described by the phrase 'in the 62nd year'.

³³ reading ሠረፀ for ፀረፀ.

ንስግድ ሎቱ ወንሰብሐ ፥ ምስለ ኣብ ወወልድ ። ማለት ። እንደ ኣብ ። እንደ ወልድ እናክብረው ። እንስገድለት ማለት ነው ።

ዘነበበ በነቢያት ማለት ። በነቢያትም የተናገረ እርሱ ነው ። ምን ሲል ፥ እስመ እምፍሬ ከርሥክ ኣነብር ዲበ መንበርክ ። ናሁ ትሬእይሲ ስቁል ለመድኃኒትክሙ ። ያሰኘ እርሱ ነውና ፥ እናክብረው ፥ እንስገድለት ።

ወነአምን በአሐቲ ቅድስት ቤተ ክርስቲያን ማለት ። በቤተ ክርስቲያን እናምናለን ማለት ነው ። በቤተክርስቲያን እንዴት ያምንዋል ። ይህ ታላቅ እድም ።³⁴ ይህ ታናሺ እድም ። ያሉ እንደሆን ። ቤተ ክርስቲያን ማለት ፥ የክርስቲያን መከማቻ ማለት ነው ። ለወትሮ ለነገር ቢከማች ። ዱለተኛ ፥ ይልዋል ።³⁵ ለከብት ቢከማች ገበየኛ እንዲሉ ዘንድ ። ለሰአታት ፥ ለጸሎት ፥ ለቅዳሴ ፥ | ባከማቸን መንፈስ ቅዱስ እናምናለን አሉ ።

እንተ ላዕለ ከሱሉ ጉባኤ ዘሐዋርያት ማለት ። ከሁሉ በላይ አድርጎ ። በአቆሙት በመንፈስ ቅዱስ እናምናለን አሉ ።

ወነአምን በአሐቲ ጥምቀት ለስርየተ ኃጢአት ማለት ። በጥምቀት እናምናለን ማለት ነው ። ይህ ታላቅ ባሕር ፥ ይህ ታናሺ ባሕር ብሎን የአምንዋል³⁶ ፥ ያሉ እንደሆን ፥ ሀብተ ወልድና በሚናኝ በመንፈስ ቅዱስ ናአምናለን አሉ ።

አንዘ ንሴር ትንሣኤ ሙታን ማለት ፥ ሞተን ንኅሣለን ብለን ስንተአመን ማለት ነው ፥ ሸማንን በዳር እንዲጽሉ ፥ የቀደመ ኃጢአቱን ጣልት ማለት ነው ፥ እባሕር እንዲቆሙ በመስቀል ቆመ ማለት ነው ፥ ሶስት ጊዜ እንዲጠመቁ ። ሶስት መዐልት ሶስት ሌሊት በከርሠ መቃብር አደረ ፥ ማለት ነው ። ሞቶ እንደ ተነሣ ። ከተጠመቅን በኋላ ግብር ሰማያዊን እንጂ ። ግብር ምድራዊን አንሰራም ብለን ስንታመን ።

ወሕይወተ ዘይመጽእ ማለት ። የምትመጸን ሕይወት ዘለዓለም ፥ ይሰጠናል ብለን ። ስንታመን ማለት ነው ።

ለዓለም ዓለም ማለት ። ድንት ለድንት ማለት ነው ።

አሜን ማለት ፥ በውነቱ ማለት ነው ።

³⁴ sic, for እድም as later.
³⁵ The form ይልዋል here, balanced by እንዲሉ ዘንድ, is the impersonal, originally 3rd plural, deriving from a different reduction of original *ይሉ አሉ than the plural ይላሉ. See also የአምንዋል ‘one believes’ in fn. 38. Similar forms occur elsewhere; note also ያምንዋል earlier.
³⁶ The writing of the initial first order የ- in የአምንዋል may be influenced by the corresponding Ge‘ez form.

Let us worship Him and let us glorify [Him] together with the Father and the Son means, let us honour Him like the Father [and] like the Son. Let us glorify Him, let us worship Him.

Who spoke through the prophets means that it is He (the Holy Spirit) who spoke through the prophets. If someone should say, 'How so?', it is He who made [them] say, 'For I shall place [Him] from the fruit of thy belly upon thy throne; behold, ye shall see Him crucified for your salvation.' And so let us glorify Him, let us worship Him.

And we believe in one Holy Church means, we believe in the Church. If one says, how does one believe in the church? This large churchyard, [or] this little churchyard?, the Church means the community of Christians. If ever [people] gather about a dispute, one calls them litigants; if they gather about livestock, one should call them marketers. They said, 'We believe in the Holy Spirit who has assembled us for the [canonical] hours, for prayers, [and] for the mass.'

The assembly of the Apostles which is over all means that they said, 'We believe in the Holy Spirit which they have placed above all.'

And we believe in one baptism for the remission of sins means, we believe in baptism. If one says, 'Does one believe whether this [is] a large lake, [or whether] this is a little lake?', they have said, 'We believe in the Holy Spirit which bestows the gift of the Son.'

While we hope for the resurrection of the dead means, we trust that, having died, we shall rise. It means, just as one casts aside [one's] clothes, [so] I have cast off my former sin. It means, He (i.e. Jesus) stood upon the cross just as one stands in the lake (i.e. of baptism). It means, He (i.e. Jesus) resided in the belly of the tomb for three days [and] three nights just as one is baptised three times. As we trust that as He died and then rose, [so] after we have been baptised we shall perform heavenly and not earthly deeds.

And life to come means 'while we trust that the eternal life that is to come will be given to us.'

For ever and ever means for ever and ever.

Amen means 'in truth.'

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