

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC SPECTACLE OF DESSIE, 1917–1991 | 185 |
| <i>Assefa Balcha</i> | |
| ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TEWAHIDO CHURCH AND ITS LINK WITH STATE: A HISTORICAL REVIEW | 231 |
| <i>Alemayehu Jote Tullu</i> | |
| POST-1991 INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN SOUTHEASTERN WOLLO: THE OROMO AND THE AFAR..... | 257 |
| <i>Endris Ali Haider</i> | |
| BÊTE AMHARA: THE PRE-OROMO RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF WOLLO..... | 275 |
| <i>Misganaw Tadesse</i> | |
| FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN ETHIOPIA: A HEYDAY OF FRENCH..... | 293 |
| <i>Daniel Abera</i> | |
| THE PLACE OF GENDER EQUALITY, ACCOMMODATION OF DIVERSITY AND CIVILIZED SOCIETY (ENLIGHTENMENT) IN CLASSICAL ETHIOPIAN PHILOSOPHY | 309 |
| <i>Eyasu Berento Assefa</i> | |
| GOZZE: THE LIVING EVIDENCE OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION IN SHÄWA | 329 |
| <i>Habtamu Mekonnen & Mikiyas Tewodros</i> | |

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TEWAHIDO CHURCH AND ITS LINK WITH STATE: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

Alemayehu Jote Tulu

Abstract

Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church (hereafter, EOTC) is an ancient Church that has passed through several progresses. This review article describes brief historical accounts of the origin and development of the Church in connection to Ethiopian states. When organizing the paper, published and unpublished sources from religious and historical fields were critically reviewed. Sources from Amharic versions were carefully translated to English; and yet Amharic versions were directly used where it is difficult to find equivalent English version. Despite all the efforts made to use the sources cautiously, the reviewer honestly alleges that the data in this review article is by no means exclusively indisputable. There are significant inconsistencies among writers. The sources of the variation could attribute to the authenticity level of the sources and long-established stories the writers used, as well as to the personal and religious prejudice and subjectivity of the writers. To minimize the inconsistencies of facts and figure (dates), maximum efforts were made to follow the most reliable sources and the most accepted traditions.

The reviewed sources indicate that the Ethiopian state system and Christianity had been functioning in strong harmony since their inception to the half of the 20th century. As far as the history of introduction of Christianity to Ethiopia is concerned, several hypotheses are put forward, both before and after the Christ Era. The coming of Jews with Menelik I in the 10th century B. C. and the arrival of the two Syrian boys in the 4th century are the most overwhelming traditions. It was also reviewed that the Christological dispute that emerged among Christian theologians in the 3rd

and 4th century was finalized dividing the theologians into Orthodox and Roman Catholic horizons. Further, it was described that EOTC had been under the Patriarchate leadership of Alexandria, Egypt for 16 centuries until the diplomatic effort of Atse Haile Silassie made it possible to have local Patriarch in the mid-20th century.

1. Introduction

The ancient history of Ethiopia in general and that of Ethiopian states and religions in particular is debatable as sources, both religious and secular, come perhaps from hypothetical myths. Despite the debate, the history of religions is inseparable from the history of states as the state configuration is related to religion activities, specifically Christianity, in Ethiopia in one way or another. As ፍሰሐ ያዜ (2003) and others argue, both social entities have mythological tie with the descendants of Noah, which may probably signify the far antiquity of Ethiopian Christianity and state formation. Other prominent hypothesis regarding their configuration also refers to the pilgrimage of Queen of Sheba of Aksum to the King Solomon of Israel and their son, Menilik I. As some writers assert, it was said to be difficult to determine even which of the two had ultimate power. On one hand, it was observed that in reality the Emperor had more actual political and military power than the Archbishop. The imprisonment, exile and the execution of Abunas in the Ethiopian history could prove the supremacy of Emperors over the Church. On the other, it was the Archbishop who anointed the emperor which the power of the emperor would not be legitimized, otherwise. This could witness the intrinsic power of the Church over the Emperor.

The church came to be related and worked together with the imperial state of Ethiopia mainly after the restoration of the Solomonic Dynasty by Yekuno Amlak in the mid-13th century. Regarding the introduction and expansion of the Christianity to Ethiopia, though the Ethiopian people were known to worship different traditional gods before the introduction and expansion of Christianity, the practice of Judaism was believed to start side by side with practice of polytheism since long. Beside the tradition related to the coming of Jewish with Menilik I, there are important historical

myths in this regard. They include the attendance of an Ethiopian pilgrim on the sermon of Peter in Jerusalem, the meeting of Philip with Ethiopian eunuch, the disciple Mathew's pilgrimage to Aksum, and the arrival of the Syrian boy (Frumentius). These may portray that there is accepted tradition that 'belief in one God, the God of Israel' and circumcision were introduced to Ethiopia centuries before Christ Era while baptism and the Eucharist began since the first century.

In the course of its progression, EOTC faced three circumstances. Regarding the first circumstance, the 'Nine Saints' and other foreign saints played significant role for the development of the Church, particularly in the establishment of Monasteries and teaching monks. The second one is the heretic movements emerged in its early age of establishment that caused theological division which laid strong foundation for the other anti-Orthodox movements, notably Catholic Church that would come to challenge EOTC in the long run. As the third condition, the Church was led by foreign Metropolitan for about 1600 years, from 4th to 20th centuries. While the fact that the assistance it obtained from Alexandria helped the Church to establish it as a legitimate religious institution, it is also claimed that this dependence on non-native leaders for so long period might have impeded the evangelization magnitude of the Church.

2. Ethiopian State Systems in Relation to Christianity

Historical accounts of Ethiopian state governance links with Christianity from its antiquity. Some myths trace Ethiopian history and its state systems back to the time of Adam. According to some traditions, beginning from the year of 970 after the creation of the world, 22 kings ruled Ethiopia until the time of Noah (ዮሳ), the first ruler being Ory (አሪ or ኣሪ-ም) (ፍስሐ ያዜ፣ 2003፣ 12). Other traditions trace it to the time of Noah, the 10th generation from Adam, especially after the period of the Flood of Water that is 1656 years after the creation of world or in 3844 B. C. This numerical analysis has some alignment with the religious myth that claims that there was 5500 years between the creation of world and the birth of Christ (3844+1656=5500).

According to the Bible, Noah had three sons (Shem (ሴም), Ham (ካም), and Japheth (ያፌት)) (Genesis: 6:10), and when the Flood of Water occurred, Noah was at the age of 600 years (Genesis: 7:6). According to ፍስሐ ያዜ (2003: 12) and ኢኦቲቤ (2000:4), after the flood of water, Noah divided the world into 3 regions and shared them to his three sons, central (Asia) for Shem, left side (Africa) for Ham, and right side (Europe) for Japheth.

In the related history, it was believed that after the Flood of Water, Noah came to Ethiopia with his wife (named Aikel) and one of his sons, Ham, while the two sons, remained in their regions. Noah's wife died and was buried at a village called Chilga, near Gonder, whose town was named later 'Aikel' and still called so. While ፍስሐ ያዜ (2003, 20) wrote that Noah stayed in (and ruled) Ethiopia for 350 years (3844-3500 B. C.) and died in Gondart, it was simply stated in Bible that Noah lived 350 years after the flood of water, and died at the age of 950 (Genesis 9:28). Where he lived and where he died is not mentioned in the Bible. It was also believed that after the death of Noah, his son, Ham (3500-2787B. C.) and his grandson, Cush (2787-2545 B. C.) overtook and ruled Ethiopia. Ham and Cush were followed by 22 more consecutive rulers of same ancestors, the last ruler being 'ጲኦሪ 1ኛ' (2000-1985 B. C.). These rulers settled their imperial seats at different locations of the present Ethiopia and further areas. Therefore, the period from Ham (3500-2787 B. C.) to 'ጲኦሪ 1ኛ' referred to Imperial period of Ham's Clan (ገደ ካም ዘመነ መንግሥት).

During the reign of 'ጲኦሪ 1ኛ', it happened that three clans who were the direct constituents of 'ዮቅጣን' (the 4th generation from Shem), fled from Yemen to Ethiopia escaping from Indian invaders. These clans were Saba, Abal, and Afer; and they settled at Tigray, Adal and Ogade respectively. In the meanwhile, the Indian invaders invaded Ethiopia, too, and overthrown 'ጲኦሪ 1ኛ', the king from the Ham clan. This time, the three clans in the line of Shem, who had settled earlier in Ethiopia confronted and conquered the Indian invaders, freeing the Ham people from the invasion. Then they overtook the empire of 'ጲኦሪ 1ኛ' and crowned Aknahus Saba II (አክናሁስ ሳባ 2ኛ) from Saba clan

of Tigray in 1985 B. C. Aknahus Saba II ruled for 55 years (1985-1930 B. C.) and was followed by other 51 rulers (kings), the last one being Queen of Sheba (1013-982 B. C.) (ፍስሐ ያዜ፡2003፡51-60፤ ኢአተቤ፡2000).

The kings from Saba clan of Tigray (from Aknahus Saba II to Queen of Sheba) were named 'አጋዝያን' which means 'liberators'. In Ge'ez, 'አጋዝ' means 'to liberate'. Thus the area was named 'ብሔረ አግዳዚ' and their language was named 'ግዕዝ' (Ge'ez). Hence, the Imperial period of Ham's Clan (ነገደ ካም ዘመነ መንግስት) was shifted to the Imperial period of Shem's clan (አጋዝያን ዘመነ መንግስት/ነገደ ሴም ዘመነ መንግስት). This could be one of the hypotheses that Ge'ez was descended from Saba language. In general, following Queen of Sheba (1013-982 B. C.), a total of about 163 rulers ruled Ethiopia until the advent of Zagwe Dynasty in 920. From these rulers, 68 kings were before Christ Era, the last king being Bazin (6 B. C. to 9 A. D.), and about 95 rulers were after the Christ Era, the last king being King Del Naod (910-920). These rulers were also believed to descend from 'አጋዝያን፣' (ፍስሐ ያዜ፡2003፡95-98፤ 145-147፤ መሪኔታ አዕምሮ በሪሁን፤ 2000፤ 109-115).

Before discussing the Rise of Zagwe Dynasty vis-a-vis EOTC, it seems sound to make brief observation about the governance of Aksumite Kingdom during the reign of King Caleb (Elasbah) (514-543) as its role in the history of Ethiopian state system in relation to Orthodox Church was significant. According to historians and traditions, during the earlier times, vast areas in the world, including Yemen area, were under the rule of Aksumite Kingdom, which was listed as one of the four kingdoms in the world, along with Rome, Persia, and Sileons. There was also a belief that King Caleb of Ethiopia and King Justinian of Rome were once destined by God to meet in Jerusalem and divide the earth between them (Rome and Ethiopia) (Ephrem, 2013:21-23; ብሉታ መርሰዔ ኅዝን፤2011፤ ፍስሐ ያዜ፡2003፡173-179).

Accordingly, under the Caleb's empire, there were different kings at different areas. 'አፌታስን', for example, was a Christian king ruling Yemen who was once in conflict with a Jewish king called Phinhas. When the king was conquered by Phinhas, St. Thomas, bishop of the Yemen Christians escaped from the war and came to Aksum to report

the incident to Caleb. Being encouraged by King Justinian of Rome, Caleb marched to Yemen crossing Red Sea with huge troop and completely suppressed the army of Phinhas in 525. Caleb proposed Abreha (EL-Aiba) as a king of Yemen area, but the people did not accept him, rather, they requested the King to crown one of Arabian Christians. Caleb accepted people's request and crowned Ariat (አርያት); however, Abreha protested against Ariat and killed him, after which he made himself a king. Caleb was later made a saint of Ethiopian Church and is still honoured in the Roman calendar on October 27th. During those periods, Ethiopia is believed to have been ruled by forms of governor such as *high priests* (Mukarib) like the Melchisedek (Genesis 14:18); then by *Malkanas* (kings); this later adopted the title *Negashi* (originally 'treasurer' or 'tax collector,' which later came to mean simply *king* or *ruler*); and then by the imperial title, *King of Kings* (Neguse Negast), which was used to the recent time by rulers of Ethiopia (ibid).

Since Zagwe Dynasty had significant place in the Ethiopian States and the movement of EOTC in any case, it is praiseworthy examining the Rise of this Dynasty vis-à-vis EOTC. Beginning from the 4th through the 6th century, Ethiopian new Christianity was well spread in the Aksumite Kingdom, and this Christian kingdom put pressure upon the Jews, who were believed to come to Ethiopia long ago, to convert them to the new Christianity. However, the Jews refused to accept the new Christianity and insisted to their religion. In resistance to the imposition of consecutive Christian kings to change their religion, they moved from Aksum area to Semien in Northwest Ethiopia (that is why they are called 'Falasha,' meaning migrated people) (Ephrem, 2013). About three centuries later, they were well settled and populated in the area and elected a leader called Gideon whose daughter was called Aster (later called Yodit). Yodit was married to Christian governor of Lasta Bugina, called Zere Yaeqob, (later named Solomon), who had not recognized her being Jewish, but was later convinced and accepted her. Yodit replaced her father and received the responsibility of leading Jewish community (ፍሰሐ ያዙ፣ 2003; ኢኦተቤ፣ 2000).

In similar Area lived Agaw residents who were believed to be descended from Cushitic race and speak Cushitic language. The people had also been resisting the Christian dominance for long time. In order to liberate the people from the dominance of the Christian Kingdom, the Jews led by Yodit and the Agaw residents living in the Lasta area led by the Zagwe local rulers, began protesting against the Aksumite kings. Yodit, who was said to rule from a fortress, became prominent protester and was able to control Christians in the area using the weakening of Aksumite kingdom by the expansion of the Islamic movement and her marriage to a Christian governor as an opportunity. At this time Ethiopian (Aksum) ruler was ‘ድግናካሃ’ (830-849), who was later replaced by his son, Anbesa Wedem, crowned at a very young age. Considering the resisting capacity of Anbesa Wedem, and the weakened army of Aksum, Yodit, marched to Aksum to overthrow the young king, but he escaped to Showa, Menz. Yodit was crowned as a Queen in 850 (some sources say she ruled beginning from 950) in Aksum and began to destroy all Churches, religious treasures, and massacred Christians and clerics in Aksum and the surrounding (Ephrem, 2013; ኢኦተቤ፣2000)

Because of her cruelty, she was given the name ‘Gudit-Judith’ or ‘Isato’, means ‘fire’. Later, she sent her troops to Showa to encounter Anbesa Wedem, but her troops were defeated. She herself also marched to him with other troops, yet could not conquer him for the great support of the surrounding Showa peasants. Hence she returned to Aksum devastating Monasteries and Churches she encountered on her way. It was this time that Arks of the Covenant from Aksum moved to Zeway Islands. Queen Yodit, who ruled for 40 years and died in 890, was believed to be a cruel and destructive woman, as in fact it was asserted that the destruction that took place during her reign took centuries to rehabilitate. Nevertheless, others suggest that she was the first strong ruler after three centuries of the dark age and dormancy creating the centralized Aksum, and eventually giving rise to the Zagwe Dynasty. When Queen Yodit died in 890, Anbesa Wedem returned to Aksum and ruled for 20 years. He devoted to reconstruct the damaged churches and rehabilitate the

Christians and was succeeded by his son, Atse Del Na'od (910-920) (Ephrem, 2013: 219; ፍስሐ ያዜ፣ 2003, 191-195; ኢሉተቤ፣2000፣ 268).

It is to be noted that during the reign of Atse Del Na'od, the last king from solomonic Dynasty, the protest by Lasta Agaw residents and the Jews that started long ago to liberate themselves from the Aksumite dominance continued unsolved. This time, a Lasta Bugina descendent and Atse Del Na'od's chief army, named Mara Tekle Haymanot, married the daughter of Atse Del Na'od and fled to Lasta Bugina. Hence the name 'Zagwe' means 'fled'. (በግዕዝ፣ ዘጉዳዩ ወይም ዘገዳ ማለት ያሸሸ ወይም ያኮበለለ ማለት ነው) (አባ ሐይለ ገብርኤል፣ 2004፣ 2). Later he marched to Aksum and conquered Atse Del Na'od, while Del Na'od was forced to flee to Showa. Mara Tekle Haymanot, therefore, took over the imperial position and became the first king from Zagwes in 920 and ruled for 13 year. He shifted the imperial seat to Lasta area (mainly Roha and Lalibela). Note that the imperial seats of kings before Zagwe were at Aksum and other towns in the north while after Zagwe, it was shifted to Showa, Gondor and later to Addis Ababa (ፍስሐ ያዜ፣2003፣ 201; Taddesse Tamrat, 1968).

Therefore, Zagwe Dynasty is an imperial system that was ruled by 11 kings crowned from Zagwes/Lasta Bugina residents. The name of the kings ranges from Mara Tekele Haymanot to Yitbarek. Regarding the duration of the dynasty, however, there are two conflicting traditions. One is that it lasted for 333 years (920-1253) (አባ ሐይለ ገብርኤል፣ 2004፣ 2) and the other one gives it only 133 years (12th to 13th). This review paper takes the former into account. Since it was mandatory to be anointed by a bishop to be an emperor, Mara Tekle Haymanot had to request Alexanderian Patriarch to send him a bishop. However, claiming that it was illegal for the non-Solomonic line (out of the house of Esirael) to be emperor, Egypt refused to send a bishop for some time but later the king succeeded to have the bishop and got anointed (ፍስሐ ያዜ፣2003).

Despite its strength, Zagwe Dynasty began to decline mainly because the rulers were unable to solve their internal conflicts. The characteristic weakness in the system of Zagwe succession to the throne greatly facilitated the anti-Lasta movement. The last king of

the Dynasty, King Yetbarek (1245-1253) repeatedly fought with Yekuno Amlak and was finally killed in 1253 at Gaint (መላቀን ታሪኩ፣ 2008፣ 35; Taddesse Tamrat, 1968, 127). Yekuno Amlak, who was the eighth generation of Atse Del Na'od's family, was believed to establish an independent kingdom of his own comprising Amhara and Christian communities of Showa on the eve of the fall of Zagwe Dynasty. Conquering the Zagwes, he took the imperial position and restored Solomonic Dynasty in 1253, after 333 years. Abba Tekle Haymanot, the first Etchege of EOTC, was believed to contribute to the collapse of the Zagwe Dynasty. Thus, the period of Zagwe Dynasty was followed by the second round Solomonic Dynasty and lasted to 1974. However, there was interruption of the central governance during Zamana Masafint for about 86 years (1769-1855). Zamana Masafint was a period of civil war, regional sovereignty and rule by regional chieftain kings (Ephrem, 2013; ፍስሐ ያዜ፣ 2003; ኢሉተቤ፣ 2000፣ 18-19). It should be noted that the Ethiopia state systems and progress of EOTC, particularly after the 13th century, is more logical to be judged with the introduction and expansion of the other religions, notably Islamic religion and Catholic Christianity, as it has passed through frequent hostilities with those religions.

In general, the Ethiopian rulers before the revolution of 1974 were undeniably involved in the matter of the Church and the Church in the matter of the state. The important document that led the rulers in the line of religious orientation was 'Kebra Nagast' that was believed to be compiled from legends and traditions (some historical and some mythical) derived primarily from the Old Testament, Jewish *haggadah* and other sources in the first 4 centuries of the Christ era. These traditions first came to be written down in Coptic in the 6th century, and subsequently translated into Arabic and finally to Ge'ez (Ethiopic) sometime in the 13th century. The fact that kings are concerned with the conduct of the religious activities and give full protection to the Church and its possession since its establishment also clearly shows their strict association. It was argued that the imperial success of the kings was judged on the basis of their devotion to establish and secure churches and monasteries besides

securing the national sovereignty. Even some kings, including Caleb, Yimrana Kiristos, Gebre Mariam, Lalibela, and Nakuto Leab, were granted the rank of both king and saint (considered as both King and Cleric) recognizing their significant contribution in Church construction and expanding Christianity in Ethiopia.

3. Origin and Development of Christianity in Ethiopia

There seem divergent hypotheses about the origin of Christianity in Ethiopia. According to some traditions, the history of the origin of Christianity traces back to the coming of Noah with his wife, Aikel and his son, Ham to Ethiopia (ፍሰሐ ያዜ፣ 2003፣ 19; ኢአተቤ፣ 2000). However, it seems more reliable to trace it to the 10th century B. C. traditions. It was believed that Queen of Sheba of Aksum (1013-982 B C) went to Israel to learn government and religion wisdom from King Solomon where she conceived and came back to Ethiopia and gave birth to a son, Menelik I. Her name varies as Maceda in Kebera Negast (The Glory of Kings), Queen of Saba in Metsafa Negast, and Queen Azeb (means 'of south') after Christ. When Menelik I was at the age of 22 (or 20), he went to Israel to visit his father, Solomon. Having acquired the royal wisdom and management, he came back to Ethiopia after three years and became a king at Aksum (982-957 B. C.). Hence the Solomonic Royal Dynasty was founded in Ethiopia (ብሩክ መኮንን፣ 2012; ሙሉቀን ታሪኩ፣ 2008; ኢአተቤ፣2000).

There is a belief that when Menelik I came back from Israel, he brought the Original Ark of the Covenant of Tsiyon to Aksum with with deacons and priests as well as thousands of descendants of Jews, who brought Holy Books and reserved them for centuries. It was also believed that the religion of Israel (of Jews or of Beta Israel) was introduced to Ethiopia during that time. Basically, Judaism shares a number of customs with Ethiopian Christianity, except that they do not believe in Trinity or do not recognize Jesus as Messiah. Thus there is strong belief that Ethiopia believed in God a thousand years before Jesus Christ Era (Ephrem, 2013; ሙሉቀን ታሪኩ፣ 2008).

Other sources assert that Ethiopia was connected to Christianity during the time of Apostles. Even before the coming of St.

Frumentius to Ethiopia, and before the conversion of King Ezana, it is probable that there were some Christians among the foreign residents of Adulis, Coloe and Aksum and other few converts among their Aksumite servants and commercial associates. The messengers of the kingdom of Aksum, who were travelling to and from Mediterranean countries and Middle East through the Nile and Red Sea, had already spread Christianity in Ethiopia. The Greek-Egyptian traders in transit through Ethiopian ports of the Red Sea were also believed to contribute to the evangelization of Christianity during the earlier times in Ethiopia. Still other stories relate the origin of Ethiopian Christianity to the sermon of Peter (ሐዋሪያው ጴጥሮስ) (one of the 12 disciples of Christ) in the Jerusalem on the fiftieth day after the resurrection of Jesus Christ (Acts 2:14). This time Ethiopian Jewish pilgrims heard a new religion from the sermon of Peter and were converted and spread Christianity in Ethiopia (Ephrem, 2013; ሙሉቀን ታሪክ፣ 2008).

Yet, others trace the origin of Ethiopian Christianity to the meeting of Philip (ፊልጶስ), the deacon, with Ethiopian eunuch (named ባኮስ) of Queen Candace Aksumite court in the first half of 1st century, and the eunuch's subsequent baptism, as recorded in the Bible (Acts 8:26-40). Another hypothesis was that disciple Matthew (ደቀመዝሙር ማቴዎስ) travelled to Aksum to preach Christianity, which thereafter spread throughout the land. On the basis of the above hypothetical descriptions, there is a belief that when St. Frumentius arrived at Ethiopia, he found considerable Christian Communities (Ephrem, 2013, 277-280; Taddesse Tamrat, 1968). According to Dr. Aba Ayele (2000), St. Jerome (349-420), writing from Jerusalem says that among the pilgrims, there were many Ethiopian monks (literarily he says: 'We welcome every day many monks coming from India, Persia and Ethiopia').

Well sourced proposition of the establishment of Ethiopian Christianity is associated with the arrival of Frumentius. In the end of the 3rd century (others say in the first half of 4th century), when Aksumite Kingdom was at the height of its power, two Syrian Christian boys (Aedesius and Frumentius) from Tyre (an ancient city

and capital of the Phoenicia kingdom on the eastern coast of Mediterranean Sea) were captured from trade ship and taken to King Ell-Amida's court at Aksum. When king Ell-Amida died, Frumentius became the advisor for the wife of the king. Some years later, when Ezana became a king, Aedesius went back to Tyre while Frumenatius began to encourage the spread of Christianity. He preached and baptized King Ezana and his brother, Saezana (also called Abreha and Atsebeha), sons of king Ell-Amida.

In the first half of 4th century, King Ezana became the first Christian king of Aksumite Kingdom and he sent Frumentius to Alexandria to request Archbishop for his Kingdom. Frumentius told Patriarch Athanasius (328-373), the 20th head of Coptic Church of Egypt, of the future promising predictions of the Church in Aksum appealing to him to send Archbishop to guide these worshippers. The Patriarch considered the enthusiasm of the young Syrian and consecrated himself and sent to Aksum. Frumentius, the first Archbishop of Ethiopia, was named Abuna Salama (Father of Peace) and Kesate Birhan (Revealer of Light). Some historians, however, argue that the conversion of the king to Christianity in the middle of the 4th century was also motivated by the economic and cultural influence of Eastern Mediterranean area (Ephrem, 2013: 19; ብሉታ መርሰዔ ኅዘን:2011: 2; ሙሉቀን ታሪክ: 2008: 21).

Hence in the fourth century A.D., Christianity became the official state religion of the Aksumite kingdom and was recognized internationally as legitimate national religion to the end of the Imperial Regime in 1974. In Aksum and other areas, along the major routes to the coast, former temples were converted into churches, and new places of Christian worship were established. St. Mariam Tsiyon Church, the first Ethiopian Church, which was privileged to host the original Ark of the Covenant, was built by Abuna Salama in Aksum, the Holy City. As religious scholars agree, since the EOTC was established in Ethiopia, no substantial doctrinal change took place (Ephrem, 2013:19; ብሉታ መርሰዔ ኅዘን:2011; Taddesse Tamrat, 1968).

In relation to the early history and expansion of Ethiopian Christianity, the other most important development was the

introduction of Monasticism into Ethiopia. More than a century later, after Ezana's conversion (479-487), the traditions of the Christianity show significant progress in the Kingdom of Aksum with the arrival of groups of foreign missionaries. At the beginning, 100 saints were sent to Aksum to weaken Aksumite governance (but other writers say they were forced to migrate to Ethiopia and Egypt when they were persecuted by the Byzantine Empire because they rejected the anti-monophysite decision of the Chalcedon Congress held in 451). While one saint died on the travel, 99 reached Aksum in 479/480. However, 90 of them were detected acting against the doctrine of Ethiopian Orthodox Church and were exiled, but 9 of them, who agreed to the doctrine of Ethiopian Orthodox Church, remained at Aksum. These monks were called "The Nine Roman Saints," or 'Nine Saints' (Tasatu Qiddusat, Zetegnu Menekosat) (ፍስሐ ያዜ፣ 2003, 171; Dr. Aba Ayele; 2000, 280; ኢትዮጵያ፣ 2000፣ 17).

These saints contributed to the institutionalization of monasteries and the life of monks. During this time, famous Monasteries were built by the 'Nine Saints' in Ethiopia. Debre Damo Monastery was founded by Abba Za-Mikael or Aba Aregawi Manfasawi (the older, from Rome). Abba Pantalewon (from Rome) founded his monastery at Asabo near Aksum. Abba Isaaq (Gherima) (means performing miracles) (from Rome) founded a monastery in Medera, east of Aduwa. Abba Afse (from Asia) founded a monastery in the pre-Aksumite Sabean capital of Ethiopia, Yeha, some 25kms from Aksum. Abba Guba (from Greece) founded his hermitage near that of Abba Gherima, West of Medera. Abba Alef (from Kisaria) founded the monastery of Dabra Haile Luya to the northwest of Aksum. Abba Yem'ata or Mata (from Italy) founded famous church of Debre Libanos in the region of Gheralta (Hausien) northern Eritrea. Abba Liqanos (from Constantinople) founded the monastery of Dabra Qonasel, on the hill north of Aksum. Abba Sahma or Os (from Syria) (Sahma means 'bearded,' settled on a plateau, similar to that of Dabra Damo, southeast of Aduwa (ibid).

It was also believed that most of the holy books used then were the translations of the books they brought to Ethiopia. They

strengthened Ethiopian Christianity by learning Ge'ez language and, along with Ethiopian scholars, translating Bible and many other religious books from Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek languages into Ge'ez language of Ethiopia. For instance, the Gospel of St. Matthew is believed to be translated by Abba Mata. Although there was lack of trained candidates for the services of the church, and the absence of books in Ethiopic that had faced the church in its evangelization scheme, the foreign monks' initiative generally contributed a great deal to alleviate these problems and to strengthen the position of the church in the country. In response to the favour they made, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has designated many Churches by the name of these saints that include Abba Gerima, Abba Pentelion, Abba Aregawi etc. (Dr. Aba Ayele, 2000, 280; Tadesse Tamrat, 1968).

Though Orthodox Christianity became an institutionalized religion right from 4th onwards, its progress from mid-7th to 13th century was characterized by latent development and tolerance for it was overwhelmed by the Islamic dominance. Moreover, because of the lack of sufficient sources, very little is known about the history of EOTC at that time. Regarding the development of EOTC after the 13th century, as was pinpointed in the forgoing section, it seems to be better observed with the movements of religions other than Orthodox Church, mainly Islamic and Catholic movements.

4. Early Theological Dispute on the Christology and the Stand of EOTC

The appearance of the heretical doctrines against the Orthodox Christianity traces back to the time before the Council of Nicean of 325 E.C. The first heretics were called Dynamic Monarchianists, Gnostics, Ebonists, and Dosetists. Dynamic Monarchianists preached saying that Christ was not originally divine in nature but it was because of His good cause and during His baptism that He was ordained and became Son of God (በመንፈስ ቅዱስ በፀጋ ከበረ). This faith was excommunicated and rejected on the conference of Antioch in 268 E. C. and also on the council of Nicean. This faith was also reappeared

during the reign of Emperor Susenyos and confused Christians in the name of 'ቅባት፣ ፀጋ' (መጋቤ ሐዲስ ሮዳስ ታደሰ፣ 2012).

Gnostics were those who had deviant perception about human flesh and then denied the 'True Man True God' nature of Christ (ፍፁም ሰው ፍፁም አምላክ). Ebonists on their part believed that Christ was ordained during His baptism and they degraded the divine nature of Christ to human nature though they accepted that He was born from St. Mary. Other than this, Dosetists denied the incarnation or 'True Man' nature of Christ ('ፍፁም ሰው' ወይም 'የክርስቶስን በስጋ በአውነት መገለጥ'). The other heretical belief was the faith preached by Arius (አርዮስ) that completely denied the divine nature of Christ. The implication of this faith was against the Holy Trinity, the 'True Man True God' nature as well as divine features of the Christ. Arius as well as his belief was rejected on the Council of Nicean during the reign of Pope Sylvester and Emperor Constantine by the 318 clerics/fathers including the archbishops from Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople and Antioch (መጋቤ ሐዲስ ሮዳስ ታደሰ፣ 2012).

The serious heresy in the post-Nicean Conference was the sermon of Nestorius (ንስጥሮስ) (the Patriarch of Constantinople) denying the fact that Jesus Christ was born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of the man, but of God, and the Word became Flesh (John; 1:13-14 of Bible). Nestorius preached the two nature of Christ. This faith was excommunicated and rejected by 200 clerics on Council of Ephesus (ጉባኤ ኤፌሶን) in 431 E. C. Following this portrayal, the Roman pope, Lion, strengthened the teaching of Nestorius that resulted in the important council held to the doctrine of the two nature of Christ, Council of Chalcedon (ጉባኤ ኬልቄዶን) in 451, carried out by 636 clerics (Ephrem, 2013; መጋቤ ሐዲስ ሮዳስ ታደሰ፣ 2012፣ 463; Dr. Aba Ayele, 2000).

On the Council of Chalcedon, the proposed doctrine was rejected by the five Oriental Churches that include Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church, the Coptic Church, Armenian Church, Syrian (Antioch) Church, and the Indian Malabar Church. The doctrinal position held by these churches at this council is generally Monophysitism, the doctrine that in the person of the incarnate

Christ there was but a single, divine nature (የአንድ ባህሪ ሐይማኖት), not Eutychism, the doctrine of the two nature of the Christ (የሁለት ባህሪ ሐይማኖት). Abuna Dioscorus, the 25th Patriarch of Alexandria, who was banished as a heretic on the council, was the chief exponent of this doctrine at the council, and he is regarded as a saint and is still commemorated in Ethiopian liturgical calendar on 4th of September and 14th of October (ibid).

As the result of the Christological question that is the disagreement between the stand of Roman Catholic Church and Oriental Churches including EOTC on the nature of Christ, there became division between the two religious doctrines, Orthodox Church and Catholic Church since 451. Therefore, the theology of the EOTC today is the theology of the first three major councils of Christendom (Council of Antioch, Council of Nicea, and Council of Ephesus). In contrary to the decision on the 4th council at Chalcedon in 451, it is not Eutychian but Monophysitian; it teaches the ‘True Man True God’ (ፍፁም ሰው ፍፁም አምላክ) theory.

5. The Archbishopric Headship of EOTC: The History of Quest and Success for Independence

As it was discussed in section 3, the history of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church depicts that the Church began to be led by Archbishop or Abuna who had been sent from Alexandria (Egypt) since 4th century. The first Ethiopian Abuna (Archbishop) sent from the Alexandria was Abuna Salama (Kassate Berhan) in the first half of the 4th century. According to ብሉታ መርስዔ ኅዘን (2011, 2) since then, 110 Archbishops came to lead EOTC until the mid-20th century, the last Archbishop being Abuna Qerlos V. The figure and chronological order of the Egyptian Archbishops, however, vary in different sources. For example, Dr. Aba Ayele (2000, 150-156) lists 113 Egyptian Archbishops who led EOTC.

Despite the large contribution of Egyptian Archbishops to the development of the EOTC for the 16 centuries, the Ethio-Egyptian relation in this regard was not without hardships for different reasons. Some Archbishops were observed acting against the

Ethiopian interest resulting in significant interruptions. For example, according to ዲ/ን ፋንታ ታደሰ (1997), Aba Sawiros made agreement with the Wazir of Egypt to encourage the propagation of Muslims and allowed them to build 7 Mosques without the permission of the king. There was also observation of the limitation of the evangelization by foreign leaders of Orthodox Church to the satisfaction level of Ethiopian people. As the result of these and other inconveniences, there were intermittent assignments of Ethiopian abbots as Metropolitans. Among these is Aba Mikael I, towards the end of the 9th century during the reign of Anbesa Wedem (890-910). The other Abbot was Abba Salama (nick-named “ZaAzeb” (of the south) during the rule of Del Na’od (910-920). There was also interruption because of the reluctance on the side of Alexandria to send bishop when the imperial seat was shifted from the ascendants of House of Israel to the Zagwes until the reconciliation was made later towards the end of 10th century (Ephrem, 2013; Dr. Aba Ayele, 2000: 162).

Moreover, after the death of Aba Matewos, in the mid-13th century, Abba Tekle Haymanot (1215-1313) (the first Etchege) was said to have led Ethiopian Church as an Archbishop for some time, until Aba Yohanes was sent. This time it was difficult to obtain Archbishop from Alexandria because of the crusade, the battle carried out by Western Christians to liberate Jerusalem, the holy city, from Muslims that lasted from the end of 11th to the 13th century. Others, however, argue that Abba Tekle Haymanot was not Abuna (Archbishop) but an influential Abbot (Etchege) of Debre Libanos Monastery and decision maker with the existing kings on the fate of Ethiopian Church. It was also believed that there was no Egyptian Archbishop from 1546- 1632, during the prominent period of Catholic missionaries in Ethiopia (ብሉታ መርሰዔ ኅዘን፣2011; Dr. Aba Ayele, 2000).

Note that the Etchege was a Church hierarchical authority who was appointed by the emperor and was always a native of Ethiopia. Theoretically, Etchege was second in rank to the Abuna while, in actual practice, he exercised more power than the Abuna. He served as an administrative head of the church and has jurisdiction over monasteries, and was also considered as a government official. The

first Etchege was Abba Tekle Haymanot of Debre Libanos whereas the last was Gebre Giorgis the Mida (Showa), who later became the first Ethiopian Archbishop and the Patriarch of EOTC. Altogether, there were 58 or 59 Etcheges from 1268-1959. Thereafter, the role of Etchege and that of Patriarch has been consolidated and carried out by the Patriarch (Ephrem, 2013, 202; ብሉታ መርሰዔ ኅዘን፣ 2011).

The Ethiopian desire to have Ethiopian Archbishop and Patriarch was a long time wish that passed through long process and finalized in the mid-20th century. During the reign of Harbe (Gebre Mariam) (1125-1164), there was strong attempt to have Ethiopian Episqoposes to preach the people moving at different provinces in the country and expand Christianity. Hence the king requested the Ethiopian Archbishop, Aba Mikael to assign 10 Episqoposes to give this service. However, Aba Mikael had to take recognition from the Egyptian Patriarch, Aba Gebriel, for the assignment, but the Egyptian Patriarch was unwilling to do so. The intention of the Patriarch was that if Episqoposes were assigned from Ethiopians, Ethiopia would clam for complete independence that would interrupt the Egyptian hegemony and would block the gift sent from Ethiopia. The desire of the Ethiopian king to shift the EOTC head from Alexandria to Ethiopia resulted in conflict with the Egyptian Patriarch. This further extended to the disagreement between the Ethiopian King and the people (ብሉታ መርሰዔ ኅዘን፣ 2011; ፍስሐ ያዜ፣ 2003).

Other Ethiopian kings were also consecutively making efforts to have Ethiopian Archbishops to lead EOTC. After the death of Abuna Athanasius, Emperor Yohannes IV (1872-1889) also wrote letter to Egyptian Patriarch to consecrate one Archbishop and several Ethiopian Episqoposes. Nevertheless, the Egyptian Patriarch appointed an Archbishop, Abuna Petros and other three Episqoposes (Abuna Markos, Abuna Lukas and Abuna Matewos, all are Egyptians) at Cairo in 1881. Abuna Petros was replaced by Abuna Matewos in 1882. Later after the death of Abuna Matewos in 1926, Ras Teferi, the would be emperor, requested Egyptian Patriarch to send one Egyptian Archbishop who had to come and choose a candidate from Ethiopian abbots to be metropolitan to lead EOTC.

After successive discussions and Ras Teferi's diplomatic effort, Abuna Qerlos V was sent, and five Ethiopian bishops were consecrated by the Egyptian Patriarch at Cairo on September 25, 1929 to assist Abuna Qerlos V (ብሉታ መርሰዔ ኅዘን፣ 2011፣ 5; Dr. Aba Ayele, 2000; ኢኦተቤ፣2000).

These bishops were:

1. Abuna Mikael (West Ethiopia)
2. Abuna Yeshaq (Tigry and Semien)
3. Abuna Petros (Wollo and Lasta)
4. Abuna Abreham (Gojam and Gondor)
5. Abuna Sawiros (As he was unable to travel to Cairo for sickness, Abuna Sawiros was consecrated 7 months later when Egyptian Patriarch visited Ethiopia in January, 1922 E. C.)

Note that Abuna Petros and Abuna Mikael were the ones that were ruthlessly assassinated by Italian Fascist).

Abuna Qerlos V crowned Teferi as Haile Silassie I in St. Georgis Church on November 2/1930. When Italian occupied Ethiopia in 1936, it banished Abuna Qerlos V and appointed Abuna Abreham of Gojam and Gondor in his place, while Abuna Qerlos V remained in office until 1947. This issue was narrated by ብሉታ መርሰዔ ኅዘን (2011, 13) differently. He said that Abuna Qerlos V went to Rome in July, 1937 and then to Egypt and stayed there. Since the patriarchate seat became vacant for months, the Ethiopian church leaders coming from different corners of the country convened conference and assigned Abuna Abreham as Ethiopian Archbishop in November, 1937. Whichever the way may be, Abuna Abreham's appointment was true and he consecrated soon other bishops to assist him. These appointed bishops were:

1. Abuna Yohannes - Showa
2. Abuna Marqos - Eritrea
3. Abuna Salama - Harer
4. Abuna Matewos - Welo, later Wolayta

5. Abuna Gabriel - Gonder
6. Episcopos Abba Luqas - Welega

Though Italian occupation somehow helped the realization of the Ethiopian desire for the religious autonomy, the Egyptian Coptic Church reacted to the action of Italians and excommunicated the newly elected Ethiopian Archbishop, Abuna Abreham in December, 1937. When Abuna Abreham died in July, 1939, 72 Ethiopian Church leaders made a conference and assigned Abuna Yohannes of Showa as an Ethiopian Archbishop in September, 1939. The new Archbishop also appointed four more bishops and one Episcopos (ብሉታ መርሰዔ ጎዘን፣ 2011፣ 14; ኢኦተቤ፣2000). They were:

1. Abuna Matias - Showa
2. Abuna Gorgorios - Wolo
3. Abuna Filipos - secretary of the Archbishop
4. Abuna Atenatewos - Gojam
5. Abba Qerlos - Eritrea

However, when Haile Silassie returned from exile in England in 1941, he banned Abuna Yohannes and other bishops from their work to give recognition to the Egyptian excommunication and to maintain the relation between the Egyptian patriarchate and EOTC, before the negotiation for the independence began in February, 1942. In May, 1942, Abuna Qerlos V, who left the Ethiopian Patriarchate seat during the Italian invasion, and other three delegates came from Egypt for negotiation. While the three delegates returned to Cairo in June, 1942, Abuna Qerlos V was let take over the seat of Archbishop and Abuna Yohannes left the Archbishop position until the agreement was reached (ብሉታ መርሰዔ ጎዘን፣2011፣ 17; ኢኦተቤ፣2000፣ 22-30).

As the result of the death of Egyptian Patriarch, Abuna Yohannes in June, 1942, the negotiation delayed for some years. Although the negotiation continued after one and half a year, during the new Patriarch, Abuna Makarios, it was once again interrupted because of the death of the new Patriarch in September, 1944. The consecutive

discussions during the Acting Egyptian Patriarch, Abuna Athanasius was not fruitful. When the new Egyptian Patriarch, Abuna Yosab II was consecrated in May, 1946, a protocol of agreement that forbids the right of Ethiopian Archbishop to consecrate bishops and Episkoposes was provided for discussion but Ethiopian discussants rejected the protocol. For this reason, the negotiation was interrupted for two more years. Nevertheless, in July, 1948, an agreement was signed and 5 Ethiopian bishops were consecrated by Abuna Yosab II at Cairo, Egypt on July 29/1948 . It was also reached an agreement that from these bishops, one would be consecrated as an Ethiopian Archbishop that would be realized after the death of Abuna Qerlos V (ብሉታ መርስዔ ኅዘን፣2011፣21). The five bishops were:

1. Abuna Basilios (Gebre Giorgis, the last Etchege) - Showa
2. Abuna Mika'el (Memihir Gerima) - Gondor
3. Abuna Timotios (Memihir Getahun)-Sidamo
4. Abuna Ya'qob (Memihir Zefere Berhan) -Wellega
5. Abuna Tewoflos (Lika-Siltanat Meliktu) – Harer

When Abuna Qerlos V died on October 22, 1950 in Cairo, based on the agreement signed earlier, Abuna Basilios was consecrated as the **FIRST ETHIOPIAN ARCHBISHOP** of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church at Cairo on 13/5/1951 (6/5/1943 E. C) (ብሉታ መርስዔ ኅዘን፣2011፣21).

Later on, to set a policy and procedure as to how to develop the status of the EOTC leadership to Patriarch level and the electoral procedure of a patriarch, several discussions were held with Egyptian Patriarchs which took more than eight years. Finally, the protocol was signed between the delegates of the two churches and approved by the Patriarch, Abuna Qerlos VI of Egypt on June 25/1959 (ሰኔ17/1951). Four days later, on 29/10/1959 (ኢሁድ፣ ሰኔ 21/1951 E. C.), Abuna Basilios was consecrated at Cairo, Egypt as the **FIRST ETHIOPIAN PATRIARCH** of EOTC (ብሉታ መርስዔ ኅዘን፣ 2011፣ 48; ኢ.አተ.ቤ፣ 2000፣ 22-30; Dr. Aba Ayele, 2000).

Therefore, Ethiopia declared the independence in consecrating its Archbishops and Patriarchs of EOTC from within in 1959. Abuna Basilius served from 6/5/1943 to 21/10/1951 E.C. as a first Archbishop and from 21/10/1951 to 1/2/1963 E.C. as a first Patriarch of EOTC. This was a big success of the efforts exerted for centuries in the history of EOTC headship. From then on, the Church has been consecrating its own Patriarchs and Bishops by its own right. The Ethiopian Patriarchs and their patriarchate time are described in the Table below.

Table 1: Name of Ethiopian Patriarchs of EOTC and their Consecration time

| No. | Name of the Patriarchs | Consecration Period (E.C.) |
|-----|------------------------|---|
| 1 | Abuna Basilius | 6/5/1943 - 1/2/1963, both as Archbishops and Patriarchs |
| 2 | Abuna Tewoflos | 1/9/1963 - 9/6/1968 |
| 3 | Abuna Tekle Hymanot | 23/12/1968 - 28/9/1980 |
| 4 | Abuna Marqorios | 29/12/1980 - 28/12/1983 |
| 5 | Abuna Pawolos | 5/11/1984 - 10/12/2004 |
| 6 | Abuna Matias | 2005- present |

Note that Abuna Marqorios was deposed from the patriarchate seat during the overthrow of Derg by EPRDF in 191983 E.C. and was exiled until 2010 E.C. Since 2010 E.C, his holiness returned back to Ethiopia and is considered as an Ethiopian patriarch along with Abuna Matias. However, his role is limited to blessing service with no administrative role on the Church activities.

Conclusion

There are several hypotheses regarding the introduction of Christianity to Ethiopia. The prominent hypothetical sources include the history of the coming of Bete Israel with the son of Queen of Sheba and Solomon (Menelik I) in the 10th century B. C., the sermon of apostles in the 1st century, and the arrival of the Syrian boys in the 4th century. Although there is strong belief that Ethiopians believed in

one God long before Jesus Christ Era and Christianity began to spread early after Christ Era, Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church was established as a religious institution in the 4th century. In the expansion of Orthodox Christianity and institutionalization of Churches and Monasteries, the role of the 'Nine Saints' and other apostolic missionaries from the 5th century onwards was significantly recognized.

The Christological dispute that emerged in the 3rd and 4th century brought about the disagreement among Christian community. The source of the dispute was mainly the issue of the nature of Christ that called for different conferences, namely Council of Antioch, Council of Nicea, Council of Ephesus and Council of Chalcedon. This last council, held in 451, came up with theological division between Roman Catholic Church (the followers of the Two nature of Christ or Eutychians) and the five Oriental Orthodox Churches including EOTC (the followers of the One nature of Christ or Monophysitians, 'True Man True God' (ፍፁም ሰው ፍፁም አምላክ)). This further resulted in the isolation of EOTC from Rome for several centuries.

Traditions prove that the Ethiopian Christianity was tied with the state system in Ethiopia from its very antiquity. The fact that the assumed descendants of Solomon through Menilik I ruled Ethiopia from the 10th century B. C. to the second half of 20th century verify Ethiopia as the legitimate successor of Israel and that the kings of Ethiopia are of Devine origin could indicate the case. The welcoming, accommodating and full protection that the kings used to grant the missionaries/saints coming from abroad, for example, the 'Nine Saints', also show clear association. Besides, the role that Aba Tekle Haymanot played in the restoration of the Solomonic Dynasty in the 13th century was another indicator of the strong amalgamation of the two. Specifically, since the 13th century to the dethroning of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 (for about 700 years), Christianity became state religion and the church came to be related and worked together with the imperial state of Ethiopia.

Despite the strong support it gained from the state, EOTC had never succeeded in ensuring autonomy for 16 centuries (4th to 20th) as

far as the Church Patriarchate administration is concerned. In this period, 110 or 113 patriarchs led EOTC until Abuna Basilius replaced the last Egyptian Patriarch, Abuna Qerlos V. Various kings, particularly Gebre Mariam (Harbe) and Atse Yohanes IV, are known for exerting much effort to bring about the autonomy of EOTC in terms of Patriarchate leadership. Thanks to the diplomatic capacity of Atse Haile Silassie, it was made possible that the first local EOTC Patriarch was consecrated in the mid-20th century.

References

- Aba Ayele Tekle Hymanot (Dr.) (2000). *Miscellanea Ethiopica*. Addis Ababa: Destop Publishing.
- Ephrem Isaac (2013). *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahido Church*. New Jersey: The Red Sea Press.
- Haustein, Jörg (2014). *Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Ethiopia: A Historical Introduction to a Largely Unexplored Movement*.
- Tadesse Tamrat (1968). *Church and State in Ethiopia (1270-1527)*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of London.
- The Bible (1952). *Containing the Old and New Testaments; Revised Standard Version*. New York: American Bible Society.
- መሐቀን ታሪኩ (2008)። የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ፣ ከቅድመ ስክሱም እስከ ኢህአዴግ መባቻ። አዲስ አበባ፣ ስልታ ማተሚያ ቤት።
- መሪጌታ ስዕምር በሪሁን (2000)። የኢትዮጵያ ፊደል ታሪክና ክፍለ ዘመን።
- መጋቤ ሐዲስ ሮዳስ ታደሰ (2012)። ነገረ ክርስቶስ ክፍል ስንድ፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ ጃጃ አታሚዎች እና ደብዳቤተኛ።
- ብላታ መርስዔ ኅዘን ወልደ ቂርቆስ (2011). የኢትዮጵያ ቤተ ክርስቲያን የመጀመሪያ ፓትሪያርክ (የተሻሻለ አትም)። አዲስ አበባ፣ ማህበረ ቅዱሳን።
- ብሩክ መኮነን (2012)። ንግስተ ሳባና ስዑል ምኒሊክ፣ የሰለሞናዊ ሥርወ-መንግሥታችን አጀማመርና የታቦተጽዮን አመጣጥ ምስጢር።
- ሸባ ሐይስ ገብርኤል ፍሰሐ (2004)። የቅዱስ የምረሃን ክርስቶስ ታሪክና በሳስታ ቅዱስ ሳሊበሳ የሚገኙ የቅዱሳን መካናት።

- ኢትዮጵያ (1999)። መሰከት መፅሔት፣ 15ኛ ዓመት፣ ቁ. 1፣ ጎዳርና ታህሳስ።
አዲስ አበባ፣ ኢትዮጵያ - ማህበረ ቅዳሳን።
- ኢትዮጵያ (2000)። የኢትዮጵያ ጅምርና ትምህርት ተቋማት ለተጨማሪ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ታሪክ፣ ከፊደል
ክርስቲያን እስከ 2000 ዓ.ም።
- ዲ/ን ፈንታ ታደሰ ዘላለበት (1997)። የ11ዳ ነገስታት የዘር ሐረግና የቅዱስ
የምረቃ ክርስቲያን፣ የቅዱስ ገ/ማሪያም፣ የቅዱስ ሳሊበሳና የቅዱስ ነግሱት
ሰሸብ ታሪክ።
- ፍሰሐ ደዜ (2003)። የኢትዮጵያ የ5ኛ ዓመት ታሪክ፣ ከኖህ እስከ ኢህአዴግ
(መጽሐፍ 1)፣ አዲስ አበባ።

*Alemayehu Jote Tulu, PhD
Africa Leadership Excellence Academy, Department of
Development Communication and Media Studies
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

