

## Education Magic In Traditional Ethiopia

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THE literature on Ethiopian medicine, including magic, is fairly extensive, but, as far as I know, educational magic has not yet been dealt with, or at any rate, has not attracted the attention of scholars as a special topic.

Educational magic is one aspect of one characteristic of Ethiopian thought, the preoccupation with supernatural powers.<sup>1</sup> This preoccupation can only be understood in the context of the pre-industrial and rural way of life of the Ethiopian people. Here Nature has not yet been subjected to science and technology; knowledge of the physical nature of the environment is very limited; false concepts supply the place of real knowledge. Because of his limited knowledge and his very limited ability to control the forces of nature, man looks for the assistance of spiritual powers, real or imagined, to solve the problems that he faces in the physical world. In the consciousness of the people the physical is not to be separated from the spiritual: the spiritual is a higher realm directing and commanding the physical. The cause and effect relationship is not considered as something inherent in the physical and social world; it may be transcended by the working of supernatural powers.

Ethiopia has a rich tradition in the cult of those spirits considered responsible for bodily wellbeing or sickness, social success or failure, abundance or scarcity of crops. These spirits are factors that must be reckoned within seeking protection against the forces, known and unknown, that influence the struggle for life.

The big question in all this magic, including educational magic, is the question of how to summon the spirits and make use of them for the desired purpose.<sup>2</sup>

The common belief is that there are certain people, *qalitscha*, *balewuqabi*, *gotatch*, *asmategna*, etc, who have the power to command spirits and use them for any desired purpose. In order to arrive at hidden knowledge a number of magical devices, such as *asmat*, have been developed, and it is through these magical devices that the spirits are summoned and directed.

As a preliminary to a detailed discussion of the magical devices developed to advance the learning process, it is necessary to say something about the traditional Ethiopian concept of the nature of man. Man is conceived of as a dual being. He is made up of two entities, the body and the soul, and each of these has its own characteristics. Bodily, man is supposed to be made up of four elements, ባሕርይት water, fire earth and air.<sup>3</sup> Man is therefore part and parcel of the material world. አካሉም መረጥ አንተ ወገንብህ.<sup>4</sup> Thus the body is material ግዙፍ and limited in time and space ውሉን. The body has desires of its own ፈቃድ ሥጋ, which are considered to be earthly, temporal, limited. The needs of the body conflict with the desires of the soul, which is spiritual and therefore considered higher.

The soul is inspired into the material body by God at the beginning of Creation. It is looked upon as an entity within the body but having distinct characteristics: the soul is *in* the body but not *of* the body.

In Ge'ez literature the soul is given three main characteristics, immortality ሕይወት, cognition ለባዊት, speech ኃባቢት. The soul is abstract ረቂት as opposed to the material body ግዙፍ. It is made in the image of God. Thus, it is not material; it is immortal and eternal. The desires of the soul are spiritual and are directed towards eternal heavenly life. Since the main purpose of life is to fulfil the desires of the soul and since the claims of the body conflict with the aspirations of the soul, human life is explained as a struggle between the two opposing desires. Ultimately, the soul should dominate the body, for a true Christian is expected to subdue his bodily desires to those of the soul. As a means of training the body and freeing the soul for higher spiritual activities, hardship, fasting and torture are employed.

Now, learning is a higher spiritual activity, for all the movements of the human mind or consciousness, including cognition, feeling and memory, are abstract, and, therefore, are functions of the soul. The teacher therefore can justify the harshest and most repressive of disciplinary measures on the grounds that these measures liberate the soul from the importunities of the body and therefore make learning possible.

It is important to note again that the soul possesses the characteristics mentioned above because it is made in the image of the omnipotent God. Man has received from Heaven certain intellectual qualities as gifts እጋገባታት. The nature of these gifts, however, is not clear. Traditionalists make no clear distinction between innate potential ability and actual knowledge acquired in the course of time. Generally the literature makes the assumption that the soul possesses የተረፈው ሰው ተገኝ "natural knowledge".

The term "natural knowledge" could be taken to mean instinct, or inborn (potential) ability, or acquired knowledge conceived of as "inborn knowledge". The tendency, however, is to consider the mind አእምሮ as a source or container of "natural knowledge" from which actual knowledge springs. The mind also has the power to derive knowledge from without. In both cases the intervention of the spirit of God is essential. The process of learning something new to the soul is taken to be a revelation of the spirit, though learning is also understood as a process of unveiling "Natural knowledge", which is a gift hidden or buried in the human soul. The learning process is compared to a key that opens a closed room contained a treasure of knowledge. The knowledge itself is compared to the fire buried under the ash in a stove. The power of the spirit is needed to release knowledge from within. Thus, knowledge, skill, eloquence and prophecy are acquired by the soul through the spirit of God.

Teaching plays the role of an intermediary between the spirit of God and the learner. As Ras Kassa puts it,<sup>5</sup> 'The teacher is like the telephone line that connects the pupil with God and carries the message, the content of instruction.

The educational result, i.e. the development of skill or ability or the acquisition of knowledge, is the effect of the spirit of God."

Here, then, we have a recognition of one important educational fact, namely, that the child is an educable creature because he possesses an inborn potential ability, coupled with a denial of the equally important educational fact that the child develops his abilities and skills only through the interaction of his innate ability with the experience which the world affords him. As a consequence of this one-sided concept of the learning process, little effort has been made to improve the method of teaching, and little effort is made to help the child to learn. If the child is slow or fails to learn, the teacher concludes either that he is not inspired by Heaven or that he is being inhibited by the influence of an evil spirit. The remedy, therefore, is not to be sought in improved instruction but in the summoning to his aid of a good spirit through prayer and educational magic, *yeqlem abinet* or *Hossana* የቀለም አብነት ሆሳስና.

We can identify three major types of educational magic, or *asmat*, according to their functions:

1. *Asmat* to cure weakness of perception and retention by combating that which blocks, ዘግይን ጥላ, the evil eye; ዘግይን ሰብዕ, or malediction ልሳነሰብዕ
2. *Asmat* that assists the memory to retain and recall ዘአያገድፍ;
3. *Asmat* that accelerates learning and increases the power of speech and prophecy, አስተናግር ፤ አስተጋብሶ "

Belief in the power of the *asmat* names of the divinity is the basis of the charms listed above. አስግት is a Ge'ez word derived from the verb ሰጠየ to give names. *Asmat* stands for quite a number of terms used in magic which are supposed to be the secret ገቡዕ names of God or, in some cases, of Satan. They are supposed to denote the various attributes of the deity. Few of these *Asmat* terms are Ge'ez. Many of them are derived from Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic or Arabic. Others seem to be local coinages. To-day it is difficult but not impossible to trace their etymology, since they have been greatly corrupted in the course of centuries. Littmann comments, "If we consider how often these names must have been copied and re-copied, and through how many languages they must have passed, it is only remarkable that there really are some words which are still intelligible." 7

These names are close secrets said to have been revealed by God to a few of the angels, prophets and saints. Thus, God revealed his secret names to the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Fanuel and Raguel.<sup>8</sup> Christ did not reveal to all the secret names under which he performed miracles, but only to His Mother Mary and the disciples. The magical books, አርድእት ማገረን አጠሰ አስግተ እግዚአብሔር deal with these names.

The important assumption about the names is that they are all-powerful, and possession of the name confers power upon the possessor. By reciting them correctly he gains access to the use of divine power.

Through these names the disciples are said to have exercised great power on earth. They destroyed 155 idols and converted 88 kings and 140 cities. "He

(Christ) showed unto them the mysteries of the new world. He revealed unto them and told His secret names. 'If ye can invoke this My Name, ye shall be saved from sin, and from all powers of the enemy, and he who invokes this My Name like you shall be saved and not be confounded for ever and ever'.<sup>9</sup>

The power attributed to the names implies that symbol and essence are thought to be identical. That is why the names are kept secret. If a man knows the real name of a spirit he has power over it and can make use of its strength.<sup>10</sup>

This assumption is well illustrated in the following cases, where teachers and debteras use *asmat* to advance the process of learning.

1. *Curative educational magic.*

This type of *abinet* is known under various names such as **ዘጻይኑ ጥላ** or **ዘጻይኑ ሰብሐ**. When a child proves exceedingly slow in learning and the teacher despairs of his ever making any progress in spite of all the advice and punishment he has showered upon him, both teacher and parents will conclude either that God has clearly destined him for some purpose other than learning, which he ought therefore to give up, or that some power or other has blocked his faculties **ጻይኑ ጥላ ኃረደው**. The proper course of action in the latter case is to look for education medicine **የቀለም ለብኑን** that will expel the inhibition caused by some evil spirit, perhaps the evil eye or *buda*.

Sometimes, too, a child shows no interest in his lessons, usually because the lessons consist mainly of the monotonous repetition and memorisation of uncomprehended texts in Ge'ez or Classical Arabic. The teacher then has recourse to corporal punishment, sometimes severe, with the result that a powerful hatred of study and a fear of the teacher are built up in the child. This, naturally, inhibits his imagination and his receptive powers, and further hinders his progress. Again, the difficulty is ascribed to predestination or to evil spirits, and again no attempt is made to help the child through better instruction. Instead, supernatural assistance is sought to rid the child of the evil spirit's inhibiting influence. For this purpose a formula or *asmat* against the inhibiting influence is read and the child is then obliged to swallow the words of the *asmat* — and the material upon which the words are written. The power of the spirit will then work, through the instrumentality of the material, upon the child's soul and relieve it of the inhibiting spirit. In this way the normal faculties of the child, it is believed, are set free for learning.

Here is an example of an *asmat* to cure the evil eye or *buda*:-

"Prayer to cure from evil eye attack. Neshran, Yatsetsesin, awnashun, adlu, adl, atir, ktir, melos, sweken, tsega, akho, lekho, lekese, in the name of these your names, le'eshar, save me from evil eyes of men, of the hand that makes the face thin and fatigues the body. Sador, alador, danat, adera, rodas, lofham, (3 times) salomon aqmashun (7 times) in these your names save your servant . . . . . Gabre Tsadiq."<sup>11</sup>

2. *Zeiyaqedif* **ዘኢያገድፍ** is the second type of educational *asmat*. Its func-

tion is to help the learner retain and recall what he has already learnt or heard. This kind of educational magic is quite widespread because in the traditional school all the lessons are learnt by heart and memorization therefore plays a very important part in the lessons. The student's anxiety to use magic to cope with the bulky material he has to study is very understandable. Here is a sample of a magic formula administered to serve this purpose:-

*Pekupeku kupu letor alator agnator obtedenabtil tor alator telator ne'a tor*  
 — as you illuminated the heart of Moses and untied the chain of his speech through this *asmat* of yours, so do you likewise illuminate the eyes of my heart and untie the chains of my speech and hand. Reveal and strengthen the wisdoms of the heart and the hand of this your servant .....”  
 Recite this prayer on virgin honey and drink it. It helps retention.<sup>12</sup>

Another good example of a magic formula for retention is the following:-

“In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God. Prayer to overcome forgetting: the words of God (Lesson): *Tofofos, tofofos, tofofos, tofofos, tofofos tofofos, tofofos; Archlifos, archlifos, archlifos, archlifos, archlifos, archlifos; Kiryanos, Bersbahel, bersbahel, bersbahel, bersbahel, bersbahel, bersbahel; aqirnael, aqirnael, aqirnael, aqirnael, aqirnael, aqirnael, sedeqael; Berhanael*; Through these *asmat* of yours enlighten my heart (*labonaye*) and put it into my power that I may not forget the words of God (lessons) that I hear from the professors. As you made Ezra knowledgeable and made him drink the sources of fire and life and the cup of knowledge through the hands of Urael the angel, so do you make your servant ..... drink. Ehyous, ..... as you made Henoah drink and satisfied his power to absorb the spirit through Paraclete: that is inseparably with you, springs from you, descended from heaven from your Holy Hall, and the disciples drank from it and said united in heart: *'Filmunite', 'Bafilmunite'*. Make me know your words that I may not miss and forget them, your servant.....

3. The most common and widely used educational magic is employed to increase the power of perception, cognition, speech, skill and prophecy, etc. This type of *asmat* has different names depending on the function each is supposed to fulfil. But the terms  $\aleph \delta + \epsilon \zeta \eta \zeta$  (make one speak) or  $\aleph \delta + \zeta \eta \delta$  (make one understand) are loosely used.<sup>13</sup> One could perhaps identify three main functions of these *asmat*. *Asmat* which is supposed to increase the power of understanding, perception of ideas and ability to speak; *asmat* to promote the ability to speak; *asmat* to promote the ability to see visions and spell out prophecy; *asmat* to promote various manual skills.

In order that a newborn baby may become successful in life a magical device known as *anqar*  $\aleph \zeta \delta \zeta$  is employed. This becomes effective if it is administered to the child immediately after birth. It is a common custom that, immediately after birth, the elders give the child a small piece of butter. In the magical case, instead of giving the child butter only, a learned person, *asmate-*

gna, grinds one grain of *abisho* with another grain of *itse fars* ልፀ ፋርሳ and mixes these with the butter. Over this mixture he recites the appropriate *asmat* text. This titbit is then given to the child and he swallows it. The child is supposed to develop higher abilities to learn and perform.<sup>14</sup> A similar *asmat* is also administered to the student so that he may grow to resemble one of the great scholars. A certain mixture is prepared and put on a cistrum, ጸሩጸላ if his desire is to become a church musician. The *asmat* is written on a sword known as a London sword, which is famous for its sharpness. The *asmat*, which is written in *efran*, or seven colours mixed together, is licked by the student from the sword.

Here is another variety: a teacher makes a cup out of wax. In this cup he mixes lemon juice, raisins and honey. Every morning for seven days he reads the appropriate *asmat* over the cup. On the seventh day the boy sits on a church drum ከሰሮ as the mass starts. In the middle of the mass, when the deacon says, ጸፁ ጌፁሰ ከርሰቲያጌ (Go out, minor Christians) the student drinks the mixture. This cup must be buried, otherwise it might melt under the influence of heat and the *asmat* would be rendered ineffective. Another important condition is chastity, at least for forty days. Moreover, the student should not be approached by other people who are not chaste. Most *asmat* of this nature are administered in Lent, which is 56 days long. People are expected to avoid sexual intercourse during these days of fasting.

The following are samples of *asmat* used to raise the power of understanding:-

*Tor lotor aleterawi.* Through this *asmat* enlighten my heart and make it as bright as the sun and make it sharp as the sword in order to be able to read books and study words, for this servant of yours ..... (Christian name). Nalele zelil, like the prince who is exalted, who lives high and who speaks much, likewise make me speak the words of the texts, your servant ..... Read this on 7 raisons, 7 Qundo berbere and mineral salt for seven days and eat it when the priest says in the mass of the church: 'Send the grace of the spirit'. ፈጎ ጸጋ ሞጎ ፈሰ.<sup>15</sup>

Here is another variety of *asmat*:-

The things of the sun, the rays of the sun and the light of the sun: *Ur menntat*, let the sun set in *medeq* and let her be seen on this word: *fitrael ganre*, which means *aksyas*, *lamta tebleyal*, *beyona*, through the force of these *asmat* of yours inject into my heart the words, the words of instruction, so that I may learn that which I have not learned yet and that I may not forget that which I have already learnt. Yared asked the bird 'Tell me how to study the words of the Psalms of David,' and she told him: '*Indfyanos* is the name of the Lord.'<sup>16</sup> Henoah drank from the four columns and the words of God were revealed to him: *Kol*, *Shem*, *Felshem*, *kolshem*. Through these *asmat* open the eyes of the heart of this servant of yours ..... Through his second name *Alfa*, *Alfa Qi*, *Alfa rodyad*, through the power of these *asmat* and in the name of the Holy Trinity: *Qon*, *sele-*

*steqael, qimur terpaqotal* through the power of these *asmat* of yours give me the ability to read and comment on books and made me compose like Yared the priest. *Belotonawi bestetonawi betabonawi* through the powers of the names, through the powers of these *asmat* of yours, untie the chains of my speech in order to make me able to learn the words of the Psalms of David for your servant.....<sup>17</sup>.

The most famous of all *Qelem Abinet* is *astenagir* or the *abisho*.<sup>18</sup> It is also known for its adverse side effects. Only experienced teachers or debteras know how to administer it without too much risk of driving the student mad. Forty-nine grains of *abisho* are ground on unused stone. This will be mixed with honey (in some cases a little raw meat is used). The teacher reads over the mixture the appropriate *asmat* every morning for seven days, during which time the student goes into retreat and devotes himself to prayer and fasting. On the seventh day the student drinks the mixture in complete isolation, where no one, nor even a common dog or chicken, is to be found.

The immediate effect is that the student loses his self-control and talks and behaves like a mad person for two or three days. He is closely watched by the teacher who administered the *abisho*. It is this person who also has the *markesha* or the means to reduce the effect of the *abisho* if necessary.

Tela made from barley, injera made of white tef, and noug are said to be the only foods the patient may take. Milk dilutes the *abisho* and makes it totally ineffective. It is not recommended unless the intention is to avert the side effects. The desired effect of *abisho* is revealed in its immediate effect: it enlightens the student, makes him see visions, and enables him to prophesy. People listen closely to his first words, since these convey the most important visions about himself and others. If the student starts to bray like a donkey, then automatically people conclude that he is destined for trade, and he may be advised to quit studying and enter commerce. On the other hand, if he sings a hymn, then he is destined to be a musical scholar. All such signs are observed and interpreted. After the immediate effect is past, the student's mental capacity is supposed to increase.<sup>19</sup>

*Asmat* of different kinds to increase various skills are numerous. To increase skill in handwriting, known sometimes as *merwatse id ስጵ ሰ ለ ጽ ሐ ፈ ለ ጽ ሐ ጽ ሰ ሰ ሰ ስ ጵ*,<sup>20</sup> the following text is written in red ink on a piece of paper and then tied to the right arm of the person concerned. It is supposed to improve the ability to write well and rapidly.

h'h'h' (say seven times) sehal (say three times) suhal (say three times) sehal my hands, so that I may write books with my right hand *adgebra* the star of the month and the star of the clouds *weyakwa, ak'e tihil, methil, wemahesaw*. Just as the sun and the months run according to Your, the Creator's order, make my hands fast to write with the pen and ink of your servant.....

On a piece of paper an appropriate *asmat* is written and the paper is then

smoked by the student. Or the same paper is then burnt and the hand is put into the smoke of the burning paper and the ash rubbed on the hand.

In order to help the student of music improve his voice a number of devices are used. Here are two examples:-

The student swallows a live queen bee together with some honey. This is supposed to help produce an attractive voice. One may also take and drink the bile of a bird known as ደ ግ ፀ ያ ራ ደ (the voice of Yared), a pretty, colourful bird noted for its attractive song.

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Magic is also practised in the traditional Moslem schools. However, it is not so developed as in the Church school system. Moslem magic is founded, like Christian magic, upon the assumption of the power of the "names". The name of God has an important place in Islam. God is supposed to have 99 names, which are believed to have power to perform all kinds of miracles. The one who knows these secret names can enter Paradise. The hundredth name, the great name of God, is said to be known only to the Prophet and the saints.<sup>21</sup>

One of the main characteristics of Islamic magic is its strong Qranic orientation. The *Kitaba*, the Moslem magical book, is mainly a compilation of Qranic sources. The Moslem Qalitscha (Wollo) or Keriba (Harar) or sheikh gives magical formulae to his students from the *Kitaba*. The students either hang these texts around their neck, or recite them over the material on which they are written and consume it. A widespread practice in the Moslem schools of Harar is the writing down of an appropriate Qranic text on a *loh*, a wooden board used for writing lessons. This is then washed and the water in which it has been washed is drunk.<sup>22</sup>

The reader may have asked himself several questions:

Is there any truth in educational magic? Does it really have any effect? Does it advance the learning process? Do people believe in it?

The answers to these questions depends upon the questioner's own set of values. To start with, teachers and students in traditional schools firmly believe in the effectiveness of *asmat*. Generally, Ethiopian parents also believe in magic. What about the government school teachers? The average Ethiopian school teacher still accepts magic as a reality and believes in the effect of magic in learning. His belief affects his approach both to learning and to teaching. The strength of this belief among students can be seen when examinations approach, and Addis Ababa pupils, particularly the girls, flock to the houses of Qalitchas to ask their help.

One effect of education magic can be explained. For those students who really believe in the effect of *asmat* the treatment gives them courage. Shy students and others who are inhibited for one reason for another receive assurance that they are cured. This saves them from fear and despair. Self-confidence, courage and optimism won in such a way may bring about a certain improvement in study. More than that one cannot say about the positive effect of *asmat*.



The danger which the magical pattern of thought holds for our education system is that it hinders, or at least slows down, the scientific approach to education. The day-to-day classroom activities of the average teacher are not guided by scientific generalizations obtained from the real situation through observation and experimentation. Teachers limit themselves to "chalk and talk". They seem to see their teaching role merely as the transmission of the content of certain books or the curriculum. The effect of chalk and talk is transcended: successful students are said to be "gifted", "fortunate" ልጅ ለኛ, others are classified as not gifted or unfortunate. The investigation of the causes of success or failure is neglected. Can modern education, university teacher education in particular, eradicate this magical approach to reality?

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Authorities on Ethiopian magic literature have this to say:  
Littmann comments, "Abyssinia is a mine of superstitions and magic practices and many of them have been written down in Ethiopic language. The large part of the Ethiopic literature, therefore, is a magic literature." *Arde'et, The Magical Book of the Disciples*, p.1.  
Lifschitz wrote also, "les hommes se sont préoccupés de se protéger contre les forces connues et inconnues et c'est cette préoccupation qui provoque l'invention des amulettes et qui a contribué à leur grand développement... Dans la lutte pour la vie, les hommes ont recours aux armes spirituelles au moins autant qu'aux armes matérielles". *Textes Ethiopiens Magico-Religieux* (Paris, 1940) p. 1.  
The popular visits to pilgrimages to shrines and holy persons or places should be seen in the light of the above conditions.  
Worrel, W.H., writes in his dissertation, "... Die unzähligen Gefahren eines Landes, in dem unsichere Verhältnisse bestehen, die vielen Krankheiten, die bei einem warmen Klima gedeihen, das anscheinend sehr häufige Vorkommen von Geisterkrankheiten... all dies trägt dazu bei, einen Geisterglauben auszubilden". In: *Studien zum abessinischen Zauberveesen*, (Strasburg, 1909), p. 9.
2. See also the chapter on magic in Littmann, E., *Geschichte der aethiopischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1909).
3. This theory first systematized by Empedocles, 490-422 B.C., is quite current in Ge'ez literature.
4. Oh! Adam you are earth and you shall turn to earth.
5. ካ ሳ ጋይሉ ሰላሳ ራስ ስፍናተ ለእምሮ አ-አ ስገጃጃ-ም- see also ሥነ ፍጥረት and ዓዕግድ ምሥጢር catechetical books of the Ethiopian Church. There are many versions of these texts. Here I refer to the MS in the National Library.
6. ቀለም ለብነት means medicine for learning ምግባና is used in the same sense just to avoid using የቀለም ለብነት which may incriminate the teacher or debtera as a magician. Hossana refers to Christ's healing function.
7. See the discussion on, Asmat in Littmann, Arde'et, Op. cit., p. 2.
8. Grébaud, S., Noms esotériques de Dieu révélés aux archanges, in *aethiopica* 3e année 1935.
9. Littmann, Op., p. 27.
10. People have many names. The real name and the Christian name are hidden. False names are used to confuse evil spirits or the charms of magicians. For the same reason one may call a boy by a feminine or a girl by a masculine appellation.
11. Criaule, M., *Le Livre de Recettes d'un Dabbara Abyssin* (Paris 1930), p. 13.

12. Ibid., p. 72. It is not mentioned how many times and when one has to recite some of these texts. However, the usual frequency is 3, 7, 9, 41 and 49. Why odd numbers?
13. Other terms used are ንገር ለማጥናት in order to learn things, ራዕይ ለማየት to see visions ናለ የሚጨምር that which adds brains. Cf. Strelcyn, S., *Medécine et plantes d'Ethiopic* (Warszawa, 1968), in the index.
14. One notices a similar practice in the Borana nomadic situation: When a child is born it will be led out from seclusion in a big ceremony. A crowd follows him out of doors and brave men of the group make the child touch their sword belts. The child may also be seated on a stone. The idea is that the boy will be as brave and skilful a warrior as the owner of the sword and as strong and enduring as the stone he is seated upon. Here we see the wish of the parents to convey the highest values of nomads: bravery and endurance. In a similar practice in Christian families, a child after the baptism ceremony may be rolled up in or laid on a thick layer of injera, so that he may be fortunate and wealthy in his future life.
15. Griaule, Op. cit., p. 65
16. This means: If you use this secret name of God then you can learn without trouble.
17. Griaule, Op. cit., p. 66
18. ቆንዶ በርበሬ :Piper nigrum  
አብሽ : Datura Stramonium
19. The most common receipt used in the villages is; one grinds ማጉል and puts it in an empty egg-shell, recites the asmat and then squeezes lemon on it. It foams. The student swallows it. In some parts of Christian I<sup>st</sup> Ethiopia parents take their child to a church and make him go around it three times, when he is just four years, four months and four days old. He then joins a school.
20. Asmat is used even to assist girls to spin well.
21. St. Relcyn, S. *Prières Magiques Ethiopiennes*, p. xxxix, also Lifschitz, op. cit., p. 3.
22. ጫፋጭ a piece of wood used as a tooth cleaner is used to help enlighten the mind. The informant, a sheikh, refused to reveal the nature of the plant.

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| ካላ ኃይሉ ለዑል ራስ               | ፍጥተ አለም ለ-አ ስድስት ዓ-ም |
| ገርማዬ ብርሃኔ                   | የደብተራ ዶክተር «አስማት»    |
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