

Sonderdruck aus/Offprint from

AETHIOPICA

International Journal
of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies

Edited in the Asien-Afrika-Institut
Hiob-Ludolf-Zentrum für Äthiopistik
der Universität Hamburg
Abteilung für Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik

by Alessandro Bausi
in cooperation with
Bairu Tafla, Ludwig Gerhardt,
Susanne Hummel and Alexander Meckelburg

25 (2022)

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Vignette:

Gold coin of King Aphilas, early third century CE, as drawn by A. Luegmeyer after the coin in Rennau collection. Weight 2.48 grams, diameter 17 mm.

AETHIOPICA. INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHIOPIAN AND ERITREAN STUDIES is an internationally refereed academic journal, edited at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies and at the Department of African and Ethiopian Studies of the Asien-Afrika-Institut at Hamburg Universität, Alsterterrasse 1, 20354 Hamburg, Germany, Tel: +49 40-42838-7730/8380; email: *aethiopica.aai@uni-hamburg.de*.

The journal focuses on philology, linguistics, archaeology, history, cultural anthropology, religion, philosophy, literature, and manuscript studies with a regional emphasis on Eritrea, Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, and related areas. The editors welcome contributions on relevant academic topics as well as on recent research in the respective field. Each issue of AETHIOPICA contains reviews of books which form a substantial section of the journal.

AETHIOPICA is published mainly in English. Articles in French, German, and Italian are also accepted for publication. An English summary for all articles in any language is provided.

A series of Supplements of monographic or occasional character is also published.

Opinions expressed in articles and reviews in AETHIOPICA are the views of the authors, and not those of the editors, the publishers, or the editorial board.

Editorial Team

Sophia Dege-Müller
Francesca Panini

International Editorial Board

David Appleyard, London
Maria Bulakh, Moscow
Christina Gabbert, Göttingen
Jacopo Gnisci, London
Alessandro Gori, Copenhagen
Olga Kapeliuk, Jerusalem

Samantha Kelly, USA
Andrea Manzo, Naples
Alain Rouaud, Paris
Shiferaw Bekele, Addis Abāba
Rainer Voigt, Berlin

Publication of this journal is partially supported by the project Beta maṣāḥaft: Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung, funded by The Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities through a project of the Academy of Hamburg, and includes immediate Open Access.

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2022

This journal, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.

Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

Printing and binding by Memminger MedienCentrum, Memmingen

Printed on permanent/durable paper

Printed in Germany

<https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/>

ISSN 1430-1938

eISSN 2194-4024

Table of Contents

Editorial	6
Articles	
STÉPHANE ANCEL, <i>Yohannās IV and the Patriarchate of Alexandria: Obtaining Four Coptic Bishops while Ceding Nothing on Jerusalem Issue (1876–1882)</i>	7
MICHAEL KLEINER, <i>Disputed Translations from The Life and Struggles of Our Mother Walatta Petros (2015) Reconsidered: Some Notes on Gə'əz Philology</i>	36
SOPHIA DEGE-MÜLLER, JACOPO GNISCI, and VITAGRAZIA PISANI, <i>A Handlist of Illustrated Early Solomonian Manuscripts in German Public Collections</i>	59
HAGOS ABRHA, <i>The Gə'əz Manuscripts Collection from the Monastery of Däbrä Şəyon (Abunä Abrəham, Təgray, Ethiopia)</i>	99
MARIA BULAKH and YOHANNES GEBRE SELASSIE, <i>New Readings and Interpretations on the Inscribed Stele from Hənzat (HS1)</i>	125
SOLOMON GEBREYES, <i>The Confession of King Gälawdewos (r.1540–1559): A Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia Monophysite Document against Jesuit Proselytism</i>	160
MARIA BULAKH, MAGDALENA KRZYŻANOWSKA, and FRANCESCA PANINI, <i>Bibliography of Ethiopian Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic Linguistics XXV: 2021</i>	182
Miscellaneous	
AARON BUTTS, SIMCHA GROSS, and MICHAEL HENSLEY, <i>Once Again on 'bk wdm in Ethiopian Sabaic</i>	193
ALESSANDRO BAUSI, <i>I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Statale di Montevergine a Mercogliano, Avellino</i>	201
MICHAEL WALTISBERG, <i>Nachträge zur Edition einer syrischen ṭablītō in Aethiopica 24 (Bausi und Desreumaux 2021)</i>	215
ALAIN DESREUMAUX, <i>Le texte syriaque de la ṭablītō éthiopienne : une réponse aux remarques du Pr. Dr. Michael Waltisberg</i>	220
Personalia	
Academic News	223

Table of Contents

Review Article

- BITANIA ZE'AMANUEL and PETER UNSETH, *Amharic Folkloric Oral Traditions: Collections for Insiders and for Outsiders* 226

Reviews

- ZEMENFES TSIKHE ET AL., eds, *International Conference on Eritrean Studies, 20–22 July 2016: Proceedings, I–II* (DENIS NOSNITSIN) 241
- INGVILD SÆLID GILHUS, ALEXANDROS TSAKOS, and MARTA CAMILLA WRIGHT, eds, *The Archangel Michael in Africa: History, Cult, and Persona* (SOPHIA DEGE-MÜLLER) 246
- MERON T. GEBREANANAYE, LOGAN WILLIAMS, and FRANCIS WATSON, eds, *Beyond Canon: Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition* (CALUM SAMUELSON) 250
- ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, eds MANFRED KROPP and HARRY STROOMER, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite, III: Traductions et commentaires, B: Les inscriptions sémitiques* (ALESSIO AGOSTINI) 253
- MICHAEL LAUSBERG, *Geschichte und Kultur Äthiopiens* (SIEGBERT UHLIG) 257
- MARIE-LAURE DERAT, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie du XI^e au XIII^e siècle* (NAFISA VALIEVA) 258
- VERENA KREBS, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* (SAMANTHA KELLY) 261
- SHIFERAW BEKELE, UOLDELUL CHELATI DIRAR, ALESSANDRO VOLTERRA, and MASSIMO ZACCARIA, eds, *The First World War from Tripoli to Addis Ababa (1911–1924)* (NICOLA CAMILLERI) 264
- MELAKU GEBOYE DESTA, DEREJE FEYISSA DORI, and MAMO ESMELEALEM MIHRETU, eds, *Ethiopia in the Wake of Political Reforms* (SARAH HOWARD) 266
- ANNEGRET MARX, *When Images Travel to Ethiopia ... Impact of the Evangelium Arabicum printed 1590 in Rome on a 17th Century Ethiopian Gospel: Documentation and Synoptic Presentation of their Images* (JACOPO GNISCI) 269
- JOSEF TROPPEL and REBECCA HASSELBACH-ANDEE, *Classical Ethiopic: A Grammar of Ge'ez, Including Sample Texts and a Glossary* (MAIJA PRIESS) 272

Table of Contents

DERIB ADO, ALMAZ WASSE GELAGAY, and JANNE BONDI JOHANNESSEN, eds, <i>Grammatical and Sociolinguistic Aspects of Ethiopian Languages</i> (MARIA BULAKH)	273
MARLENE GUSS-KOSICKA, <i>Die Verbalsysteme des Amharischen und Tigrinischen: Eine vergleichende Analyse</i> (MAGDALENA KRZYŻANOWSKA)	279
Dissertation Abstracts	
HAGOS ABRHA ABAY, <i>Critical Edition (with translation) and Textual Analysis of Gädlä Yəmṣatta</i>	284
CARSTEN HOFFMANN, <i>Das geographische Traktat in der Weltgeschichte des Wäldä `Amid – Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar</i>	286
SISAY SAHILE BEYENE, <i>A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Treatise: Tārik Zamədra Gondar (The History of the Land of Gondar)</i>	288
LEAH MASCIA, <i>The Transition from Traditional Cults to the Affirmation of Christian Beliefs in the City of Oxyrhynchus</i>	292
JONAS KARLSSON, <i>The Diachronic Development of the Dəggwā: A Study of Texts and Manuscripts of Selected Ethiopic Antiphon Collections</i>	295

Editorial

The present issue of AETHIOPICA is the twenty-fifth since the journal's founding in 1998. It is also the thirteenth issue I have worked on as editor-in-chief, one more than that of founder Siegbert Uhlig. The present time, however, does not lend itself to celebrations of any sort. The global political crisis and the situation in the Horn of Africa are having a deep impact on the scholarly community, which appears divided and radicalized on opposite or increasingly diverging positions as never before. The growing influence of diaspora communities is at times marked by waves of resurgent nationalism. The challenge posed by main-stream policy in countries of established scholarly traditions gives less and less space to small fields—as is the case of Ethiopian and Eritrean studies. The consequent lack of resources triggers the fragmentation of the scholarly scene. New balances based on mutual legitimation and acknowledgement of a common scholarly method are not obvious. The consequence of this complex situation, which reflects global changes, is that scholarly and academic freedom can be put at risk. Of all priorities envisaged in the mission of AETHIOPICA, preservation of academic freedom along with scholarly quality has been, is, and will remain the top priority of the journal.

I regret that in the past, and still now, the lack of available qualified authors has prevented AETHIOPICA from duly commemorating distinct colleagues and researchers recently passed away who were more than deserving of an obituary. I would like to remember at least some of them here, by name, as a very modest tribute to their work and memory: Johannes Launhardt (1929–2019), Mesfin Wolde Mariam (1930–2020), Steffen Wenig (1934–2022), Girma Fisseha (1941–2020).

To end on a positive note, three colleagues active in Ethiopian and Eritrean studies have received important awards this year, and we would like to mention them here: Samantha Kelly (Professor of Medieval History at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, also on our International Editorial Board), has won the Choice Outstanding Academic Title 2020, and the African Studies Review Prize for the Best Africa-focused Anthology or Edited Collection 2021, for her *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden–Boston, MA: Brill, 2020); Verena Krebs (Junior-Professorin für Mittelalterliche Kulturräume at Ruhr-Universität Bochum) has received the Dan David Prize for her *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); and Massimo Zaccaria (Professore Associato in Storia e Istituzioni dell'Africa at Università degli Studi di Pavia) has received the Giorgio Maria Sangiorgi award of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 'per la Storia ed Etnologia dell'Africa'. To all of them—the warmest congratulations from AETHIOPICA!

der eminent wichtige Bereich der Handschriften entgangen, jene mehr als 200.000 „Kronzeugen“ und Hauptquellen von Kultur und Geschichte, die bis heute die Äthiopienforschung in Atem halten. Ebenso fehlt eine für das Verständnis der Region grundlegende Einführung in die Gliederung der über 80 Sprachen. Und die Weltkulturerbestätte Lālibalā wird zwar erwähnt, hätte aber neben Harar unbedingt eine ausführliche Beschreibung erfordert. Auch auf die sehr eigene Literaturgeschichte, die die Gesellschaft bis heute prägt, aber nicht dokumentiert wird, hätte der Leser Anspruch gehabt.

Als Defizit erweist sich, dass zwar dem Islam und dem Judentum eigene Kapitel gewidmet werden, nicht aber der Äthiopisch-Orthodoxen Kirche, ohne die das Land mit seiner Geschichte und Kultur – und wenn auch nur oberflächlich – nicht zu verstehen ist.

In manchen Passagen wird deutlich, dass ein Autor am Werk ist, der offenbar keine der wichtigen Sprachen der Region kennt. (Ist es vergleichsweise unangemessen zu fragen: Was hielte man von einem Wissenschaftler, der ohne Französischkenntnisse über französische Geschichte und Kultur schreibt?) Nur ein Beispiel: Das für das traditionelle Selbstverständnis der Äthiopier prägende mittelalterliche Literaturwerk *Kəbra nagašt* wird im Deutschen in aller Regel mit „Herrlichkeit der Könige“ statt mit „Ruhm der Könige“ übersetzt.

Von einem politikwissenschaftlichen Autor ist vielleicht nicht zu erwarten, dass er in Fragen von Sprache, Literatur und überwiegend religiös ausgerichteter Kunst seine Kompetenz unter Beweis stellen muss – zu erwarten aber wäre gewesen, dass diese Schwäche mit einem Koautor ausgeglichen worden wäre.

Dennoch, auch wenn das Buch keine wissenschaftliche Forschungsarbeit liefert, ist es als Einführung in die politische Geschichte Äthiopiens bei Berücksichtigung seiner wissenschaftlichen Mängel eine Bereicherung für eine breite Leserschaft.

Siegbert Uhlig, Emeritus

MARIE-LAURE DERAT, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie du XI^e au XIII^e siècle*, Hagiologia, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). 330 pp. Price: €100.00. ISBN: 978-2-503-57908-5

The book by Marie-Laure Derat aims to comprehend all available sources, interpret them, and propose new viewpoints for the history after the decline of the Axumite kingdom till 1270, when the so-called ‘Solomonic dynasty’ was restored.

To alert criticism the absence of which gave rise to confusion at various levels, the scholar discusses the images given by the ‘Solomonids’ to the ‘non-Solomonids’, the Zāg^we, and demarcates the history as narrated by the scholars. As Derat provides all the elements upon which she builds her hypothesis—and another possible, but disfavoured way of reasoning—the book equips the reader with all the necessary evidence and, thus, makes the reader feel intelligent. The reader will appreciate the glossary (pp. 273–277), the note on the Ethiopic calendar (pp. 279–280), the chronology starting from the first century and ending with the fifteenth century (pp. 281–282), maps (pp. 311–318), the index of personal and place names (pp. 319–323), and, at the end, images that present all written documents discussed in Gə‘əz.

Chapter 1 (pp. 29–86) introduces written sources on the Zāg^we kings and serves as the foundation for the following chapters. For each document, the author provides information on its ‘discovery’, (research) history, physical description, as well as the text in Gə‘əz with its interpretation in French. Each document is followed by a discussion defining its research potential. The chapter opens with an introduction to the scholarly discussion of King Ṭaṇṭawədəm’s land charter to the church of ‘Urā Masqal, attested in MS Gulo Maḳadā, ‘Urā Qirqos, UM-035 (eighteenth century) (pp. 30–38). The author argues that the manuscript is a copy of an authentic Gə‘əz document contemporary to King Ṭaṇṭawədəm’s reign and, in its light and vice versa, suggests reading the biography of Patriarch Cyril II of Alexandria (1078–1092) (pp. 69–73). This question was further elaborated by the author in M.-L. Derat, ‘L’affaire des mosquées: Interactions entre le vizirat fatimide, le patriarcat d’Alexandrie et les royaumes chrétiens d’Éthiopie et de Nubie à la fin du XI^e siècle’, *Médiévales*, 79 (2020 = *Éthiopie, Nubie, Égypte: Pouvoirs chrétiens et musulmans (XI^e–XVI^e siècle)*), 15–36.

These two accounts together enable a dating of King Ṭaṇṭawədəm’s reign at the end of the eleventh and twelfth century (p. 73). Both texts provide glimpses into the presence of Muslim communities within the Christian kingdom. The author adds to the manuscript a discussion of two inscriptions (pp. 38–40): one attested on the cross donated to the church of ‘Urā Masqal by King Ṭaṇṭawədəm, whose regnal name is Solomon (p. 38); and one attested on the metal cover of the Golden Gospel donated to the church of ‘Abbā Maṭā‘ of Ham by King Solomon, whom, following Roger Schneider’s suggestion, is identified by the author as King Ṭaṇṭawədəm.

King Ṭaṇṭawədəm’s dossier is followed by the Gə‘əz text and translation of a note attributed to Metropolitan Mikā‘el ‘Ambā (pp. 40–46), sometimes interpreted as its testimony and found in a gospel manuscript (no shelf mark assigned) datable from the sixteenth up to the eighteenth century previously only partially known from Sergew Hable Sellassie’s translation. The author con-

cludes that this note is a copy of an authentic Gə‘əz document written in 1149/1150, according to the date in the document.

After which the author discusses the dossier of the best documented Zāg^we king, King Lālibalā. Based on images of some Golden Gospel folia taken by Schneider in 1975, the author re-evaluates Carlo Conti Rossini’s dating of the two land donations by King Lālibalā to the church of ‘Abbā Maṭā’ of Ham and to the church of ‘Urā Masqal (pp. 46–59). Instead of sixteenth century for Lālibalā’s *gʷəlt* to the church of Masqal and to the church of Maryām or document no. 6 (after Conti Rossini’s numbering), and seventeenth/eighteenth for Lālibalā’s *gʷəlt* to Ham or document no. 7, the author suggests the two oldest versions stem from King Lālibalā’s time, while the paleographically later version of document no. 7, datable to the seventeenth century, is a copy of the original version of the same document. As Lālibalā’s *gʷəlt* to the church of Masqal and to the church of Maryām or document no. 6 was photographed only partially, the re-evaluation of Conti Rossini’s considerations concerning the second part of the document, namely its dating to King Lālibalā’s time and considering it authentic, is to be regarded critically. As Conti Rossini did not suggest any translation, the French translation appears to be the first published attempt to interpret the document in its integrity.

In Chapter 2 (pp. 87–145), the author discusses the territory of the Christian Ethiopian kingdom, the Bəg^wənā kingdom, as the author convincingly argues it was called, in the period covered by the documents introduced in Chapter 1, eleventh to thirteenth century, its centre and peripheries, structure, and relationships with internal (Muslim) and external (Arab and Coptic) neighbours, showing its cultural proximity to the Aksumite kingdom (mainly in architecture), as well as its difference from it (the hypothesis on the emergence of a new royal line of ‘the *ḥadāni*’ (p.108)).

Chapter 3 discusses King Lālibalā and the Ethiopian monarchy at the turn from the twelfth to the thirteenth century (pp. 147–194). The author draws attention to King Lālibalā’s wife, Masqal Kəbrā, and her high position in society, presupposing the strategical importance of this union (pp. 148–153). The author goes on to show how one can trace most of the symbols later employed by the ‘Solomonic dynasty’ for the ‘royal myth’ (pp. 153–160) back to King Lālibalā’s reign. Contouring the devout king as presented in Gə‘əz sources, the author shows another side of the king’s role emerges from the Arabic source, the biography of Patriarch John VI of Alexandria, in which King Lālibalā is seen as a political leader. It is also stated that King Lālibalā’s reign is marked by several church foundations and numerous donations on behalf of the king (pp.163–173). The author recalls that the centre of political and church power seems to be Adafa, which remains to be identified (pp. 174–182), and not Roḥā-Lālibalā as some suggest, which, although undoubtedly marked by King Lālibalā’s attention,

unfolds a different story about twelfth/thirteenth century kingdom, with many questions and hypotheses on Roḥā-Lālibalā's precise role (pp. 182–190). The end of the chapter reflects on the passage from royal figure to the figure of a saint (pp. 190–194), showing the connection between King Zar'a Yā'qob's and King Lālibalā's cult in the church of Golgotā.

Chapter 4 (pp. 195–256) discusses the emergence of two different historiographies, one narrated by the authors of the Zāg^we kings and the other narrated by the authors of the anti-Zāg^we party. The author reflects on the context of the two main discourses, placing them in the course of time in the context of rewriting the past with its various stages—an ongoing scholarly process since the sixteenth century.

The book under review already proved to contain a number of working hypotheses which led researchers in various directions. It can be particularly stimulating for those who work in such domains as Ethiopian studies, medieval Africa, Horn of Africa, church history, as well as for any historian due to its methodological approach. Any scholar can appreciate it as a piece of good and clear academic writing.

Nafisa Valieva, Collège de France

VERENA KREBS, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland AG–Palgrave Macmillan, 2021). 308 pp. Price: €93.59. ISBN: 978-3-030-64933-3.

In this monograph, Verena Krebs examines the diplomatic contact between the Christian Ethiopian kings (*nägāst*) and various Latin European powers between about 1400 and 1526. These contacts have often been approached from the side of the European powers, whose motives, including military alliance and religious union, are attested in a wide variety of sources. Yet it was the *nägāst* who initiated the first successful diplomatic contacts, and who continued to land their envoys in Europe over a long period in which European powers tried but failed to reciprocate. Krebs thus orients her study around a deeply relevant question: what exactly did the *nägāst* want? It is a complex question to investigate, for until the sixteenth century there are precious few Ethiopian sources that speak directly to this diplomacy. The prevailing interpretation—that the *nägāst* sought military alliance and weaponry—Krebs finds unsupported by evidence and Eurocentric in its assumptions of Ethiopian weakness and need for 'superior' European technology. She thus sifts through a raft of European sources and several Egyptian accounts, as well as what Ethiopian textual and material evidence can reveal of the contacts themselves and of their context, to look again.