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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.

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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.

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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!

have given the name α -recension for the earlier and β -recension for the more frequent later translation. Following indications in the incipit or desinit of some manuscripts, it is possible to claim the reign of *Aṣe Zār'a Ya'qob* (r.1434–1468 CE) as the more secure date of translation of the α -recension and the time span from 1525–1540 CE during the reign of *Aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl* as the most likely date for the translation of the β -recension.

In its linguistic part the dissertation addresses the aforementioned great diversity and ambivalence in the orthography of proper names that go beyond the ever observed misconceptions and garbles but also include divergent multiple standards in the orthography of place name according to their shape and their familiarity to contemporary scribes.

Furthermore a number of genuine Arabic features have been detected in this short piece of the translation that the text *Tarikä Wäldä Amid* represents. Among others, one can list Arabized names, adjectives of provenance ending in *-i*, some specific geographical terminology, idiomatic phraseology, and other technical terms, the construction of *l-omu* instead of *b-omu* (which designates expression of possession or belonging in accordance with the arabic *la-hum*), topicalization by the means of the conjunction *wä- ... wä- ...* according to Arabic *wa-'ammā ... fa- ...*, the emergence of asyndetic attributive sentences, ordinal numbers frequently used in postposition, and an early instance of the letter ʾ.

SISAY SAHILE BEYENE, *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)*, PhD Dissertation in Ethiopian Studies, Faculty of Humanities at Universität Hamburg, defended on 12 November 2021.

The *Tārik zamədra Gondar* ('The history of the land of Gondar') is a historical compendium written in Amharic, in the city of Gondar (Ethiopia), between the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, after the destructions and looting the town had suffered in the decades preceding. It narrates the history of Gondar, its kings, nobles, and clergy from its founding in the 1630s up to the reign of Mənilək II (r.1889–1913). Most of the episodes copied in this collection are known through other historiographic corpora.

The dissertation focuses on the complex intertextuality to obtain an understanding of the specificities of writing the long royal chronicles, the short chronicles, and the regional *tārika nagaśts*. Also evaluated is the role of oral traditions in the circulation of the narrative elements and patterns. This comparative study leads to precise hypotheses on the milieus of production of the *Tārik zamədra Gondar* that appear to have been compiled by a religious scholar, most probably

pro-Şaggā and Gondarine. In particular, the most recent collection of stories and anecdotes shows the intellectual behind the text had taken a stand against the rising influence of the Şawān clergy and the intellectuals around King Mənilək II who were constructing a history of the Ethiopian nation based on Şawān interests. It had therefore become a critical necessity to strengthen the history of Gondar, with it being weakened by the geopolitical movement toward east and south and the destruction of its archives and libraries.

This text has been circulating among the religious elites and nobles of Gondar from the early twentieth century. But only a small amount of this text brought about by the ethnographic work of Alberto Pollera, an Italian officer and anthropologist, has featured up to now. Pollera collected several oral traditions in Gondar as well as several anecdotes from the *Tārik zamədra Gondar* which he translated into Italian and published in 1936. Similarly, Ethiopian historian Takla Şādəq Mak^wəriyā incorporated passages from the *Tārik zamədra Gondar* in his published works of the 1940s. Both works have been widely referred to by foreign and Ethiopian historians in reconstructing the history of Gondar. However, the primary source to which both scholars referred appears to have been forgotten for almost a century. It is precisely this source which is now to be brought to light in this PhD dissertation.

This text is known through four manuscripts housed in archives and private collections in Ethiopia, France, and Italy, as well as one additional witness only known as a source of marginal and interlinear secondary correction. The dissertation will be the first to provide a critically reconstructed text, edited, translated into English, and annotated. The annotation identifies place names and historical figures of the royal court and the clergy. It also identifies the literary sources referred to by the author such as the Bible, hagiographic texts, works of the *'andəmtā* exegesis, and contemporary works of oral traditions as well as historiographic works of the Gondarine period. Oral traditions circulating between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries as reported by European travellers are also introduced to show the circulation of some of the anecdotes long before the *Tārik zamədra Gondar* was compiled. Parallel readings from Pollera's works and those of subsequent local and foreign scholars have been indicated to show the nature and the evolution of the oral tradition over time. A reconstructive genealogical method has been applied to determine the relationship of the available manuscript witnesses and establish the *stemma codicum* based on the errors and shared readings. The critical edition has been laid out including the critical text, variant readings, and punctuation, using Classical Text Editor, a computer software designed for producing critical editions. Aside from the language, content, structure, and organization of the text being studied, all the relevant issues are addressed in the four introductory chapters of the dissertation. Hence, the relationship is analysed between the *Tārik zamədra Gondar* and other historical

texts of the Gondarine period. Furthermore, peculiar palaeographic and orthographic features and regional dialectal forms reflected in the text are taken into consideration and discussed accordingly.

This PhD dissertation offers a thorough analysis of the language, orthography, and palaeography used in the text. It also enables the identification of precise regional patterns such as social structure and organization, religion, and politics of the period, as well as the historiographic tradition of the Gondarine society in the aftermath of the recent destructions and the eve of its modernization.

ታሪክ ፡ ዘምድረ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ በአማርኛ ፡ ቋንቋ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ከተማ ፡ (ኢትዮጵያ) ፡ ውስጥ ፡ የተጻፈ ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ነው ። ጽሑፉ ፡ በዚህ ፡ መልኩ ፡ የተዘጋጀውም ፡ የጎንደር ፡ ከተማ ፡ በተደጋጋሚ ፡ ከተዘረፈችና ፡ ጥፋት ፡ ከደረሰባት ፡ በኋላ ፡ በዐሥራዘጠ ነኛው ፡ ምዕት ፡ ዓመት ፡ መጨረሻና ፡ በሃያኛው ፡ ምዕት ፡ ዓመት ፡ መጀመሪያ ፡ መካከል ፡ ነው ። ጽሑፉ ፡ ከተማዬቱ ፡ ከተመሠረተችበት ፡ ከ1630ዎቹ ፡ ጀምሮ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ምኒልክ ፡ ዘመን (1889–1913) ፡ ያለውን ፡ የጎንደርን ፡ የነገሥታቱን ፡ የመኪንንቱንና ፡ የካህናቱን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ይዟል ። በዚህ ፡ ጥራዝ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ የተካተቱት ፡ አብዛኞቹ ፡ ታሪኮች ፡ በሌሎች ፡ መዛግብት ፡ ውስጥም ፡ ይገኛሉ ።

ይህ ፡ ተወራራሽነት ፡ የረጅሙንና ፡ የአጭሩን ፡ ዜና ፡ መዋዕል ፡ እንዲሁም ፡ በየአካባቢው ፡ የሚጻፈውን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ አወቃቀር ፡ ለመረዳት ፡ ይረዳ ፡ ዘንድ ፡ በዚህ ፡ የምርምር ፡ ሥራ ፡ በጥልቀት ፡ ተዳስሷል ። በዚህ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ መልክ ፡ አወቃቀርና ፡ ስርጭት ፡ ላይ ፡ አፈ ታሪክ ፡ ያለው ፡ ሚናም ፡ ተመዝኗል ። እነዚህን ፡ መዛግብት ፡ በጥልቀት ፡ በማመሳከር ፡ የተገኘው ፡ ውጤትም ፡ የጽሑፉ ፡ አዘጋጂ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ ተብሎ ፡ ለሚጠራው ፡ ሃይማኖታዊ ፡ አስተምህሮ ፡ ያደላ ፡ የነበረ ፡ ጎንደራ ፡ ሊቅ ፡ ሳይሆን ፡ እንዳልቀረ ፡ ያመለክታል ። በተለይም ፡ በጽሑፉ ፡ የተካተቱት ፡ ታሪኮች ፡ እንደሚያመለክቱት ፡ አዘጋጁ ፡ በዘመኑ ፡ ተቀባይነት ፡ እያገኘ ፡ ከመጣው ፡ በሸዋ ፡ ሊቃውንትና ፡ በዳግማዊ ፡ ምኒልክ ፡ ዙሪያ ፡ የነበሩ ፡ ምሁራን ፡ ከሚከተሉት ፡ የሀገረ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ታሪክ ፡ አተራረክ ፡ በተቃራኒ ፡ የቆመ ፡ ነበር ። በመሆኑም ፡ ጂኦግራፊያዊ ፡ እንቅስቃሴው ፡ ወደ ፡ ደቡብና ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ በማተኮሩ ፡ በተጨማሪም ፡ አብያተ ፡ መዛግብቷና ፡ መዘክሮቿ ፡ በመውደማቸው ፡ እየተዳከመ ፡ የመጣውን ፡ የጎንደርን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ማጠናከር ፡ ወሳኝ ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ ስለነበር ፡ ነው ።

ታሪክ ፡ ዘምድረ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ከሃያኛው ፡ ምዕት ፡ ዓመት ፡ መባቻ ፡ አንስቶ ፡ በጎንደር ፡ ሊቃውንትና ፡ መኪንንት ፡ ዘንድ ፡ ይዘዋወር ፡ የነበረ ፡ ቢሆንም ፡ አልቤርቶ ፡ ፖሌራ ፡ የተባለ ፡ ጣሊያኖዊ ፡ መኰንንና ፡ አንትሮፖሎጂስት ፡ በዚህ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ የሚገኙትን ፡ ጨምሮ ፡ የተለያዩ ፡ አፈ ታሪኮችን ፡ ሰብስቦና ፡ ወደጣሊያንኛ ፡ ተርጉሞ ፡ በ1936ዓ/ም ፡ ማሳተሙን ፡ ተከትሎ ፡ የዚህ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ጥቂት ፡ ክፍል ፡ እንዲታወቅ ፡ አድርጓል ። በተመሳሳይም ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊው ፡ የታሪክ ፡ ጸሐፊ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ መኰሪያም ፡ በ1940ዎቹ ፡ ባሳተመው ፡ ሥራው ፡ ከዚህ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ የተ

ቀዳ፡ ጥቂት ፡ አፈታሪኮችን ፡ ማካተቱ ፡ ጽሑፉን ፡ እንዳገኘው ፡ ያመለክታል ። የእነዚህ ፡ የሁለቱ ፡ ምሁራን ፡ ሥራዎች ፡ የጎንደር ፡ ታሪክና ፡ ባህልን ፡ ባጠኑ ፡ ተመራማሪዎች ፡ ዘንድ ፡ በስፋት ተጠቅሰዋል ። ሆኖም ፡ ምሁራኑ ፡ የተጠቀሙበት ፡ ዋናው ፡ ምንጭ ፡ ግን ፡ ለአንድ ፡ ምዕት ፡ ዓመት ፡ ያህል ፡ ተዘንግቶ ፡ ቆይቷል ። በዚህ ፡ የፒኤችዲ ፡ ምርምር ፡ የተጠናው ፡ ይህ ፡ ዋናው ፡ ምንጭ ፡ ነው ።

ይህ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ በጣሊያንና ፡ በፈረንሳይ ፡ ባሉ ፡ አብያተ ፡ መዛግብት ፡ እንዲሁም ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ በግለሰብ ፡ እጅ ፡ የሚገኘውን ፡ ጨምሮ ፡ አራት ፡ ቅጅዎች ፡ ያሉት ፡ ሲሆን ፡ የአንድ ፡ ተጨማሪ ፡ ቅጅ ፡ መረጃም ፡ በፈረንሳይ ፡ ቤተመገባብት ፡ ካለው ፡ ቅጅ ፡ ጋር ፡ ለማነጻጻሪያነት ፡ እንደዋለ ፡ በሚያሳየው ፡ የኅዳጉ ፡ ላይ ፡ በተጻፈ ፡ ማስታወሻ ፡ ላይ ፡ ተገኝቷል ። ይህ ፡ የፒኤችዲ ፡ ምርምር ፡ ለመጀመሪያ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ የተዘጋጀውን ፡ የጽሑፉን ፡ አርትዖት ፡ (critical edition) ፥ የእንግሊዝኛ ፡ ትርጉምና ፡ የግርጌ ፡ ማብራሪያ ፡ ይዟል ። ከእንግሊዝኛ ፡ ትርጉሙ ፡ ጋር ፡ በቀረበው ፡ የግርጌ ፡ ማስታወሻ ፡ ደግሞ ፡ በአካባቢው ፡ የሚገኙ ፡ ሥፍራዎች ፡ አቅጣጫቸው ፡ ተመለክቷል ። በታሪክ ፡ የሚታወቁ ፡ የቤተ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ሰዎችና ፡ የቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ሊቃውንት ፡ ታሪክም ፡ ተካቶበታል ። ደራሲው ፡ ከሌሎች ፡ ጽሑፎች ፡ ማለትም ፡ ከመጽሐፍ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ የቅዱሳን ፡ ገድሎች ፡ የአንድምታ ፡ ትርጓሜ መጻሕፍትና ፡ በዘመኑ ፡ ከተጻፉ ፡ አፈታሪኮች ፡ በጎንደር ፡ ዘመን ፡ ከተጻፉ ፡ ታሪኮች ፡ የቀዳቸው ፡ ንባቦች ፡ ምንጮቻቸው ፡ ተጠቅሰዋል ። ወይም ፡ ከየምንጩ ፡ የሚገኘው ፡ ንባብ ፡ ተገልጠጠ ፡ ተካቷል ። በዐሥራሰባተኛውና ፡ በዐሥራዘጠነኛው ፡ ምዕት ፡ ዓመታት ፡ መካከል ፡ ይተረኩ ፡ የነበሩና ፡ አውሮጳውያን ፡ ተጓዦች ፡ የመዘገቧቸው ፡ አፈታሪኮች ፡ ጽሑፉ ፡ በዚህ ፡ መልኩ ፡ ከመዘጋጀቱ ፡ በፊት ፡ እንደነበሩ ፡ ለማሳየት ፡ ቀርበዋል ። ፖሌራና ፡ ሌሎች ፡ የውጭና ፡ የሀገር ፡ ውስጥ ፡ ጸሐፍት ፡ ከሰበሰቧቸው ፡ አፈ ፡ ታሪኮች ፡ መካከልም ፡ ተመሳሳይ ፡ የሆኑትን ፡ በየዘመኑ ፡ የያዙትን ፡ ለውጥ ፡ ለማነጻጸር ፡ ተካተዋል ። በተጨማሪም ፡ የጽሑፉ ፡ ቅጅዎች ፡ የሚጋሯቸውን ፡ የንባብ ፡ ግድፈቶችና ፡ ተመሳሳይ ፡ ንባቦችን ፡ መሠረት ፡ በማድረግ ፡ በቅጅዎች ፡ መካከል ፡ ያለውን ፡ የዝምድናና ፡ የቅደም ፡ ተከተል ፡ ሐረግ ፡ (stemma codicum) ለማዘጋጀት ፡ የሚያገለግል ፡ ስልትም ፡ ጥቅም ፡ ላይ ፡ ውሏል ። በአርትዖት ፡ የተሰናዳውን ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ልዩነት ፡ ያላቸው ፡ ምንባቦችንና ፡ ሥርዓተ ፡ ነጥቦችን ፡ ክላሲካል ፡ ቴክስት ፡ ኤዲተር ፡ የተሰኘውንና ፡ በአርትዖት ፡ የተሰናዳ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ለማዘጋጀት ፡ ተሰራውን ፡ የኮምፒዩተር ፡ ሶፍትዌር ፡ በመጠቀም ፡ በአንድ ፡ ላይ ፡ አቅርቧል ። በተጨማሪም ፡ የጽሑፉን ፡ አዘገጃጀት ፡ ቋንቋ ፡ ይዘት ፡ አወቃቀርና ፡ ሌሎች ፡ ጠቃሚነት ፡ ያላቸው ፡ ተያያዥ ፡ ጉዳዮች ፡ በአርትዖት ፡ ለተሰናዳው ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ መግቢያ ፡ ይሆን ፡ ዘንድ ፡ በተጻፉት ፡ አራት ፡ ምዕራፎች ፡ የተነሱ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ በታሪክ ፡ ዘምድረ ፡ ጎንደርና ፡ በጎንደር ፡ ዘመን ፡ በተጻፉ ፡ ሌሎች ፡ የታሪክ ፡ ድርሳናት ፡ መካከል ፡ ያለው ፡ ግንኙነትም ፡ ተተንትኗል ። በተጨማሪም ፡ የብዕር ፡ አጣጣሉ ፡ የቃላት ፡ አጻጻፍና ፡ በጽሑፉ ፡ ላይ ፡ የተንጸባረቀው ፡ የጸሐፊው ፡ የአነጋገር ፡ ዘየ ፡ በየፈርጁ ፡ ተብራርቷል ።

ይህ የፒኤችዲ ጥናት በታሪክ ፡ ዘምድረ ፡ ጎንደር ፡ ውስጥ ስለሚታየው ቋንቋ ፡ የአጻጻፍና ፡ የብዕር ፡ አጣጣል ፡ ጥልቅ ትንተና ፡ ይሰጣል ። በተጨማሪም ፡ በዘመ

ኑ ፡ የነበረውን ፡ የአካባቢው ፡ ሁኔታ ፡ ማለትም ፡ ማሳበረሰባዊ ፡ አወቃቀርና ፡ አደረጃጀት ፡ ሃይማኖትና ፡ ፖለቲካ ፡ ለማወቅ ፡ ይረዳል ። በአርትዖት ፡ የተሰናዳው ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ የእንግሊዝኛ ፡ ትርጉሙ ፡ የግርጌ ፡ ማብራሪያና ፡ ትንታኔው ፡ ጎንደር ፡ በተደጋጋሚ ፡ ከተመዘበረኛና ፡ ከተቃጠለኛ ፡ በኋላና ፡ በዘመናዊነቷ ፡ ዋዜማ ፡ የነበረውን ፡ የጎንደሮች ፡ የታሪክ ፡ አረዳድ ፡ ያሳያል ።

LEAH MASCIA, *The Transition from Traditional Cults to the Affirmation of Christian Beliefs in the City of Oxyrhynchus*, PhD Dissertation in Egyptology, Faculty of Humanities at Universität Hamburg, defended on 23 May 2022.

This dissertation aimed at reconstructing the religious panorama of the Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus (modern el-Bahnasa) during its transition phase from Pharaonic and Greco-Roman cults to the affirmation of Christianity (second–fourth centuries), establishing a dialogue between textual and archaeological evidence. Oxyrhynchus has been at the centre of scholarly attention for over a century. Its importance resides in the discovery of over half a million papyrus texts within this ancient site’s rubbish dumps, which provide detailed information on the history of its inhabitants during the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods. However, the extraordinary importance of the collected Greek papyri has inevitably overshadowed texts in other languages, especially Egyptian, whose importance remains essential for a clear understanding of this city’s religious history. Furthermore, predominant interest in the papyrological documentation has also resulted in the absence of the adequate publication of numerous written artefacts other than papyri, associated with various ritual practices, now dispersed in countless museum collections and research institutions. Alongside this extraordinary textual documentation, the archaeological investigations carried out over the last decades are now shedding new light on the ancient city’s religious and funerary landscape. This wealth of textual and archaeological evidence makes Oxyrhynchus a unique case study for comprehending the complex dynamics, leading to the transition from the traditional cults to Christianity. This research inevitably began evaluating the papyrological documentation published thus far, in particular over six hundred documentary, literary, and para-literary texts dating from between the second and the fourth centuries. Aside from the Greek documentation, the examination of texts in other languages (i.e. Egyptian, Latin, Nabataean, Hebrew) to determine the continuity of the native tradition and the social role held by other communities present in this city has been essential. Furthermore, this study has offered a detailed analysis of a corpus of published