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 Abäba Rainer Voigt, Berlin

Publication of this journal is partially supported by the project Beta maṣāḥəft: 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, Yoḥannəs IV and the Patriarchate of Alexandria: Obtaining Four Coptic Bishops while Ceding Nothing	
on Jerusalem Issue (1876–1882)	7
MICHAEL KLEINER, <i>Disputed Translations from</i> The Life and Struggles of Our Mother Walatta Petros (2015) Reconsidered: Some Notes on Go 'oz Philology	36
SOPHIA DEGE-MÜLLER, JACOPO GNISCI, and VITAGRAZIA PISANI, A Handlist of Illustrated Early Solomonic Manuscripts in German Public Collections	59
HAGOS ABRHA, The Gəʿəz Manuscripts Collection from the Monastery of Däbrä Şəyon (Abunä Abrəham, Təgray, Ethiopia)	99
MARIA BULAKH and YOHANNES GEBRE SELASSIE, New Readings and Interpretations on the Inscribed Stele from Ḥənzat (HSI)	125
SOLOMON GEBREYES, <i>The</i> Confession of King Gälawdewos (r.1540–1559): A Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia Monophysite Document against Jesuit Proselytism	160
MARIA BULAKH, MAGDALENA KRZYŻANOWSKA, and FRANCESCA PANINI, Bibliography of Ethiopian Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic Linguistics XXV: 2021	182
Miscellaneous	
AARON BUTTS, SIMCHA GROSS, and MICHAEL HENSLEY, <i>Once Again on</i> 'bk wdm <i>in Ethiopian Sabaic</i>	193
ALESSANDRO BAUSI, I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Statale di Montevergine a Mercogliano, Avellino	201
MICHAEL WALTISBERG, Nachträge zur Edition einer syrischen ṭablito in Aethiopica 24 (Bausi und Desreumaux 2021)	215
ALAIN DESREUMAUX, Le texte syriaque de la ṭablītō éthiopienne : une réponse aux remarques du Pr. Dr. Michael Waltisberg	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 TSIGHE ET AL., eds, <i>International Conference</i> on Eritrean Studies, 20–22 July 2016: Proceedings, I–II (DENIS NOSNITSIN)	241
INGVILD SÆLID GILHUS, ALEXANDROS TSAKOS, and MARTA CAMILLA WRIGHT, eds, <i>The Archangel Michael in Africa: History, Cult, and Persona</i> (SOPHIA DEGE-MÜLLER)	
MERON T. GEBREANANAYE, LOGAN WILLIAMS, and FRANCIS WATSON, eds, Beyond Canon: Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition (CALUM SAMUELSON)	
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)	e,
MICHAEL LAUSBERG, Geschichte und Kultur Äthiopiens (SIEGBERT UHLIG)	257
Marie-Laure Derat, <i>L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie du XI^e au XIII^e siècle (Nafisa Valieva)</i>	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, <i>The First World War from Tripoli</i> to Addis Ababa (1911–1924) (NICOLA CAMILLERI)	264
MELAKU GEBOYE DESTA, DEREJE FEYISSSA DORI, and MAMO ESMELEALEM MIHRETU, eds, <i>Ethiopia in the Wake</i> of Political Reforms (SARAH HOWARD)	266
Annegret Marx, When Images Travel to Ethiopia Impact of the Evangel: Arabicum printed 1590 in Rome on a 17th Century Ethiopian Gospel: Doumentation and Synoptic Presentation of their Images	
(JACOPO GNISCI)	269
JOSEF TROPPER and REBECCA HASSELBACH-ANDEE, Classical Ethiopic: A Grammar of Ge ^s ez, Including Sample Texts and a Glossary	252
(Maija Priess)	272

Table of Contents

273
279
284
286
288
292
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!

Dissertation Abstracts

JONAS KARLSSON, *The Diachronic Development of the* Dəgg^wā: *A Study of Texts and Manuscripts of Selected Ethiopic Antiphon Collections*, PhD Dissertation in Ethiopian Studies, Faculty of Humanities at Universität Hamburg, defended on 27 October 2022.

The dissertation begins with an extensive introduction to the topic (Chapter 1), discussing previous research and introducing the indigenous terminology that characterizes $D g g^w \bar{a}$ -type antiphon collections. The first chapter also provides a brief introduction to the traditional accounts of the history of the $D g g^w \bar{a}$, including the story of St Yāred, whom the Ethiopic tradition venerates as the sixth-century author of the corpus of antiphons.

Chapter 2 provides descriptions of the forty-seven manuscripts and two printed editions that serve as the main corpus of the study. Included are all but one of the known D
orange variety antiphon-collection manuscripts predating 1600, as well as a selection of manuscripts from the seventeenth through twentieth centuries. The earliest manuscripts, most of which derive from the recent find in 'Agwazā Dabra Śāhl (Togrāy) and were made available by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, are of special interest. They display archaic features, including extensive use of so-called 'non-standard vocalization' and a few exceptional cases of what could be interpreted as matres lectionis (e.g. had the interpreted as matres lectionis).

The term $D \partial g g^w \bar{a}$, of uncertain etymology, is only attested from around the sixteenth century, and thus ' $D \partial g g^w \bar{a}$ -type antiphon collection' is used here as a more neutral designation for collections of the types of antiphons presently found in the $D \partial g g^w \bar{a}$, regardless of how they are labelled in the manuscripts.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are dedicated to the aspects of diachronic development mentioned above. Chapter 3 focuses on the development of textual features, understood both as developments in the sets of antiphons (i.e. the corpus of antiphons for a certain commemoration attested in the manuscripts) and as developments in the wording of individual antiphons. The complete commemoration of Pantalewon (6 Təqəmt) is used as a case study, complemented by a selection of antiphons from the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (14 Təqəmt). Each of these commemorations contains material related to two distinct saints: in the first case, Pantalewon the Martyr (the fourth-century martyr Pantaleon of Nicomedia) and Pantalewon of the Cell (one of the so-called 'Nine Saints', said to have evangelized northern Ethiopia in the fifth–sixth centuries CE), and in the second case, Gabra Krəstos (the common Christian saint Alexis, known as the 'Man of God') and 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (another of the 'Nine Saints').

Based on a survey of the sets of antiphons for Pantalewon contained in the various manuscripts (in total eighty-two antiphons), it is shown that there are fluctuations in the corpus, with some antiphons falling out of use, while others appear to be added to the corpus. Still, a substantial number of antiphons (c.45 per cent of the studied corpus) is attested over the entire documented time span. As for the developments in the wording of individual antiphons, many of the phenomena usually characterizing textual transmission in manuscripts are encountered, although some—such as the 'trivialization' of details in antiphons consisting of quotations from other texts, unnecessary or incomprehensible in their new context—may be typical for this genre.

With regard to the manner in which source texts are used, the studied corpus suggests that $Dagg^w\bar{a}$ -type antiphons for non-local saints (in this case, Pantalewon the Martyr and Gabra Krəstos) are regularly derived from their respective Lives. Conversely, antiphons for saints commemorated primarily in the Ethiopic liturgical tradition (here, Pantalewon of the Cell and ' $Abb\bar{a}$ ' Aragāwi) seem to stand in a freer relation to their respective Lives. This distribution may perhaps suggest that the Lives for the latter postdate the formation of the corpora of antiphons. It is noteworthy that—in sharp contrast to later periods—no direct quotations from the Life of Pantalewon the Martyr (CAe 3158) are found in the sets of antiphons attested in collections from before the fourteenth century, possibly implying that it was not used as a source text before.

The marking of the beginning of an antiphon collection varies greatly over the studied time period, a development connected to a shift from smaller collections, containing only antiphons of one type, to larger collections. The beginning of a commemoration is often marked with a series of features, including rubrication. In the earlier layers, this rubrication is often semantically defined, in the sense that it coincides with an initial formula or a metatextual element. In manuscripts from after 1600, however, it is possible to detect an increased use of 'symmetrical rubrication', by which is meant rubrication defined 'mechanically' and covering typically a certain number of lines (regardless of their semantic content).

Throughout the studied time period, the beginning of an individual antiphon is also generally marked by a rubricated element, which can be either a rubricated metatextual element or a rubricated (portion of the) first word depending on the characteristics of the individual antiphons and its placement in the larger structure. Diachronically, there is an increasing use of (two-letter) abbreviations for metatextual elements, paralleled by a tendency to rubricate only the two first letters of initial words.

The end of an antiphon is marked by a 'major' punctuation mark of varying realization. In the earliest period, up to the fifteenth century, a cross-based form appears most frequently (*). In a transition period (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries), the common 'dichromatic nine-dot asterisk' (*) is increasingly used, and from the seventeenth century onwards, it dominates completely, only varying with 'smaller' punctuation marks (such as a word divider with rubricated elements) in contexts where the scribe is especially prone to encounter problems of space (line breaks, right before rubrication, etc.). It is likely that some of these developments are not restricted to $Dogg^w\bar{a}$ -type antiphon collections but reflect more common tendencies in the evolution of Ethiopic punctuation marks.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to the development of the system of melodic families for $arb\bar{a}$ t antiphons. This is the earliest attested system for classifying Ethiopic antiphons based on musical characteristics, appearing in manuscripts from before the mid-fourteenth century. Taking a variety of sources into account (a selected corpus of antiphons as well as the lists of melodic families found, for example, in the $Ma r\bar{a}f$), developments in the Ethiopic terminology used to refer to individual melodic families are traced diachronically.

A central contribution of this dissertation is the survey of the earliest manuscripts containing $D \partial g g^w \bar{a}$ -type antiphon collections, several of which predate the mid-fourteenth century. This will hopefully enable future researchers to make use of the extensive corpus of Ethiopic antiphons, which serve as a secondary line of textual transmission for excerpts of numerous texts, biblical as well as hagiographical.