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## Article

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## **The Archives of Kirsten Pedersen (1932–2017): Inventory and Research Perspectives**

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### **Introduction**

Catholic nun and historian, Kirsten Pedersen (1932–2017), also known as Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen and Sister Abraham, is renowned for her scholarly work on the history of Ethiopian Christianity. Of Danish origin, she moved to Jerusalem in the 1960s to study history and literature at the Hebrew University. From the 1980s until her death, she became a recognized specialist not only on the Ethiopian Orthodox community in Jerusalem and its history, but also on the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in general. Her work on Ethiopian liturgy and exegesis remains influential to this day. In 1969, Pedersen moved to a hermitage on the site of the Benedictine monastery on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. After joining the Benedictine community as an oblate, she occupied this hermitage from 1968 to 1970, and again from 1981 until her return to Denmark in 2014 for health reasons. This hermitage housed her entire library and archives, both scientific and personal. In 1990, Pedersen made the prioress of the Benedictine monastery the legatee of her archives in her will. Thus, following her passing in 2017, the Benedictine nuns inherited her entire belongings.

During the summer of 2022, PhD candidate Clément Dussart, affiliated with the French Research Centre in Jerusalem (CRFJ), lodged at the Benedictine convent on the Mount of Olives, and learned that Pedersen's archives were preserved there. When the nuns asked him to find a way of preserving and promoting these archives, Clément Dussart contacted the director of the CRFJ, Prof. Vincent Lemire (Université Gustave Eiffel), and the present author, who was appointed at that time to the CRFJ. After discussions, it was decided, in conjunction with the nuns of the monastery, to donate Pedersen's library and scientific archives to the École Biblique et Archéologique Française (EBAF) in Jerusalem. A preliminary agreement was reached between the prioress of the Benedictine monastery, Sister Marie, and the then directors of the EBAF, Jean Jacques Pérennès (O.P.) and the CRFJ, Vincent Lemire, before a formal agreement was signed with their successors, Olivier Poquillon (O.P.) and François-Xavier Fauvelle (CRFJ-Collège de France). The CRFJ was given the task of producing a precise inventory of the

library's books, as well as one devoted to the scientific archives. It was also decided to develop a viable 'packaging' system for these archives. I was entrusted with the supervision and development of this work. In agreement with the nuns, Pedersen's library and archives were transferred from the Benedictine monastery on the Mount of Olives to the CRFJ premises in October 2022. Between October 2022 and October 2023, I led the classification and inventory of Pedersen's archives.<sup>1</sup> Then in November 2023, the entire collection—books, printed materials, and archives—was transferred to the EBAF library.

The work carried out at the CRFJ led to a first inventory of the books and printed material that made up Pedersen's library. This inventory, which covers 290 books and 77 issues of periodicals, is now included in the EBAF library catalog.<sup>2</sup> A second inventory has been prepared for the archives. This 48-page inventory (written in French) describes all the documents held in her archives, divided into 14 boxes comprising a total of 86 files and 274 sub-files. This inventory is freely available on the CRFJ website.<sup>3</sup> The aim of this article is firstly to provide an overview of Pedersen's books and archives, which are now held at the EBAF library in Jerusalem, to encourage all researchers to consult them. It also aims to demonstrate the scientific interest of these archives and to suggest some of the research prospects open to researchers thanks to the documents preserved in them. Indeed, as we shall see, these archives preserve important documents concerning Ethiopians in Jerusalem. Paradoxically, a researcher can access documents on this community in Addis Ababa, Rome, Paris, London, or Istanbul, whereas in Jerusalem, it remains very complicated.<sup>4</sup> Israel's national archives preserve some documents, but the archives of other institutions in the city that had contact with the community are difficult to access, as are those of the Armenian, Greek, and Latin patriarchates. More importantly, the community's own archives are not accessible, except with exceptional authorization. Therefore, the data collected during Pedersen's career is all the more valuable for scientific research. But first, it is necessary to give some biographical details about Pedersen.

<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my deep gratitude to Lyse Baer Zerbit (CRFJ) for her precious help and to all the members of the CRFJ who, through their advice and friendship, have contributed to the success of this work.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Saint-Étienne de Jérusalem, EBAF catalog: <https://biblio.ebaf.edu/cgi-bin/koha/opac-search.pl>.

<sup>3</sup> Ancel 2023, free download from: <https://www.crfj.org/inventaire-des-archives-de-kirsten-pedersen-deposees-a-lecole-biblique-et-archeologique-francaise-de-jerusalem/>.

<sup>4</sup> Ancel and Lemire 2017.

### Biographical details about Pedersen

These archives document Pedersen's scientific, professional, and community life. However, the main elements of her life were already known, thanks in particular to the publication, in Danish, of her autobiography<sup>5</sup> (of which the archives include an English version), as well as various testimonials from people who had known her.<sup>6</sup> Born in a Lutheran family in Copenhagen, Denmark, on 26 February 1932, Pedersen converted to Catholicism in her teens and entered the novitiate of the Bridgettine convent in Vadstena, Sweden, in 1951. In 1957, she took her monastic vows and was entrusted with the supervision and education of the novices. She published her first work as a historian in 1961, on the lives of some of famous sisters of the Bridgettine order.<sup>7</sup> However, her monastic life became tumultuous. Pedersen questioned the teaching program for novices, calling it too basic, and in general criticized the way in which novices were accommodated and educated. In deep disagreement with her hierarchy, she left the Vadstena convent with several other sisters in 1962. Despite her wish not to leave the monastic life, she received an order of secularization from Rome. She then decided to resume her studies. Already holding a degree in Hebrew, she joined a Jewish studies and Semitic philology program at the University of Copenhagen until 1965. During this period, in 1964, she took part in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and joined the kibbutz Neot Mordechai as a volunteer for a few months. After completing her studies in Copenhagen, she settled permanently in Jerusalem in 1965. She studied Hebrew history and literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, graduating with a BA degree in 1969. Meanwhile, in 1968, she joined the Benedictine community of the Mount of Olives as an oblate, under the name Sister Abraham. She was entrusted with the care of Palestinian children at the convent's boarding school, with the possibility of occupying a small hermitage.

Having completed her university studies, Pedersen needed to find a job that would enable her to extend her visa and therefore her stay in Israel. At university, she had the opportunity to meet Ethiopian students and to help them by translating administrative documents from English into Hebrew. These students put her in touch with members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem. In October 1970, she was hired by the Ethiopian Orthodox Archbishop of Jerusalem, *Abunä Yosef*, to teach English and Hebrew to members of the Ethiopian Christian community, as well as to provide secretarial services. So she left the Benedictine monastery and moved into a room in the Ethiopian archbishop's residence in the old city of Jerusalem. In carrying out her duties, she called herself Sister Krestos

<sup>5</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1996a.

<sup>6</sup> See the chapter dedicated to her in Abraham Rabinovich's book: Rabinovich 1988, 153–159. See also the Festschrift dedicated to her: Laugesen et al. 2002.

<sup>7</sup> Pedersen 1961.

Semra (Krastos Šämra), after the fourteenth/fifteenth century Ethiopian saint, and signed the documents in her care with this name. In 1971, she was commissioned by the archbishop to translate from Hebrew into English the court judgments that had just been pronounced concerning the dispute between the Copts and the Ethiopians about the Dayr as-Sultān monastery. From then on, she became interested in the history of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian Church and began studying Amharic. In 1972, a new Ethiopian archbishop, *Abunä* Matewos, was appointed to head the community. He asked Pedersen to strengthen the education program given to community members, adding courses in mathematics. Moreover, he encouraged her in historical research on the community, notably by giving her access to the community archives. In 1975, she obtained a permanent residence permit and, on the recommendation of her professor of Gə'əz, Prof. Olga Kapeliuk, joined the Hebrew University for a master's degree program in African Studies. She specialized in the study of African literature and Ethiopian history under the supervision of Prof. Mordechai Abir.

During the 1970s, Pedersen presented her first works at seminars and published her first writings on the Ethiopians of Jerusalem, such as the booklet entitled *Ethiopian Institutions in Jerusalem*.<sup>8</sup> Access to the archives provided Pedersen with the sources she needed to write her master's thesis on the history of the community. In particular, she was able to access the archives of lawyer Nathan Marein, who represented the Ethiopian government at the Jerusalem courts in the 1930s–1940s, and she could also study important Ethiopian manuscripts. She presented her work on the Ethiopian community for the first time in an international colloquium at the International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Tel Aviv in 1980.<sup>9</sup> On this occasion, she met the Rev. Dr. Roger Cowley, with whom she began a close collaboration. It was also during this period, around 1973, that she began to paint icons, initially in the Ethiopian style, before adopting a more personal style, an activity she continued until her death in 2017.

In 1980, Pedersen's employment at the Ethiopian Archdiocese came to an end. Her presence in the community, as well as her teaching role, had not been accepted by all the monks, and relations were often strained, despite the archbishop's support. The arrival of a new prior (*māggabi*) finally prompted her to leave the archdiocese. She no longer called herself Krestos Semra and took back the name Sister Abraham, while continuing to sign her scientific works Kirsten Pedersen. After lodging with a friend, then at the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion convent in Ein Karem, in 1981 she returned to the hermitage she had left in 1970, namely in the gardens of the Benedictine convent on the Mount of Olives. In the same year, she submitted her master's thesis on the history of the Ethiopian Christian community

<sup>8</sup> Pedersen 1975. 2nd revised edition in 1980: Pedersen 1980.

<sup>9</sup> Pedersen 1986, 419–426.

in Jerusalem and obtained her master's degree. This year also saw the publication of her first article on the Ethiopians in Jerusalem in a scientific work.<sup>10</sup> Her master's thesis was translated (from Hebrew into English) and published in 1983 as *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*.<sup>11</sup> As part of the biblical study program organized by the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion, she began to teach the history and characteristics of the Eastern Churches.

In 1984, she started a PhD program at the Hebrew University on the Ethiopian exegesis of the Psalms of David, under the joint supervision of Prof. Olga Kape-liuk and Rev. Dr. Roger Cowley. The latter passed away in 1988, and Dr. Ernst Hammerschmidt took over as second supervisor. During this period, she continued to take part in international conferences and publish articles in scientific journals. 1984 was the year of her first trip to Ethiopia, when she took part in the 9th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. She presented her work on the *mālkə*, which was published in 1989.<sup>12</sup> In 1988, she published an article on the history of the Dayr as-Sultān monastery in the journal *Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*.<sup>13</sup> In the same year, she took part in the 10th International Conference on Ethiopian Studies in Paris and presented her work on Ethiopian nuns in Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> From 1989, she chose to sign her scientific work with the name Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen, adding her mother's name to her own. That year, under her new name, she published an article on the term 'Holy Land'.<sup>15</sup> She completed her PhD thesis in 1989 and officially received her PhD in 1990. Her PhD thesis was published in 1995 under the title *Traditional Ethiopian Exegesis of the Book of Psalms*.<sup>16</sup>

During the 1990s, Pedersen published more general works on Ethiopia and the Ethiopian Church. In the mid-1980s, she had begun writing a book on the Ethiopian Orthodox Church for Edition Brepols and its 'Fils d'Abraham' series. The book was published in French in 1990 and in Italian in 1993.<sup>17</sup> In addition to very general articles on the Ethiopian Church,<sup>18</sup> she published works on Ethiopian exe-

<sup>10</sup> Pedersen 1981, 197–211.

<sup>11</sup> Pedersen 1983.

<sup>12</sup> Pedersen 1989, 547–560.

<sup>13</sup> Pedersen 1987–1988, 33–47.

<sup>14</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1994a, 383–390.

<sup>15</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1989, 35–40.

<sup>16</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1995a.

<sup>17</sup> Stoffregen-Pedersen 1990; Stoffregen Pedersen 1993a.

<sup>18</sup> Pedersen 1999, 225–236.

gesis,<sup>19</sup> but also on Ethiopian iconography,<sup>20</sup> on the ‘Judaic’ character of the Ethiopian Church,<sup>21</sup> and on the condition of women in Ethiopia.<sup>22</sup>

If her work was of interest to specialists in Ethiopia, it also interested specialists in the history of Jerusalem. And thanks to her work, the Ethiopian community of Jerusalem, hitherto seldom mentioned, was integrated into studies on the history of the Holy City. Her early work on the Ethiopians of Jerusalem was quoted and used by Ely Schiller in his book published in 1980.<sup>23</sup> Later, in 1986, the renowned Israeli historian Yehoshua Ben-Arieh quoted her work in his major publication on Jerusalem’s history.<sup>24</sup> But it was in the 1990s that the presence of Ethiopians in these studies was confirmed with Anthony O’Mahony’s request to Pedersen to participate in a generalist work on the Christian heritage of Jerusalem. Published in 1995, this work gave the history of the Ethiopian community a wide audience.<sup>25</sup> As early as the 1980s, she was asked to give lectures in Denmark on Ethiopia and Ethiopians in Jerusalem, as well as on the situation and history of Christian communities in Palestine. She continued to do so in the 1990s, prompting the preparation and publication of a book on the subject in Danish for a large audience, published in 1998.<sup>26</sup> This book was then published in English (in 2003) and in French (2008).<sup>27</sup> During the same period, Pedersen was asked to contribute entries to the *Encyclopedia Aethiopica*. She contributed to volumes I and II, published in 2003 and 2005, respectively,<sup>28</sup> and was entrusted with the ‘Jerusalem’ entry for volume III, published in 2007.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Pedersen 1990, 259–263; Stoffregen Pedersen 1994b, 72–77; Stoffregen Pedersen 1997, 253–261.

<sup>20</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1993b, 141–144.

<sup>21</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1999a, 203–216.

<sup>22</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1996b, 133–148.

<sup>23</sup> Schiller 1980, 35–40. In the chapter devoted to the Ethiopians, the author makes it clear in a footnote that he is basing his description on a presentation given by Pedersen at a seminar. See Schiller 1980, 35.

<sup>24</sup> Ben-Arieh 1985–1986, II, 312–316. Unfortunately, the author made a mistake in quoting Pedersen’s publication, mistitling it. See Ben-Arieh 1985–1986, II, 312 fn. 59.

<sup>25</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1995b, 129–148.

<sup>26</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1998a.

<sup>27</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 2003a; Stoffregen Pedersen 2008.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Andāmta’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 258a–259b (K. Stoffregen-Pedersen and Tedros Abraha); ‘Bible Translation into Amharic’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 574b–575b (K. Stoffregen-Pedersen); ‘Danish Ethiopian Mission’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 89a (K. Stoffregen-Pedersen); ‘Dayr as-Sultān’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 117a–119a (K. Stoffregen-Pedersen); ‘Denmark, Relations with’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 132b–133a (K. Stoffregen-Pedersen); ‘Filāppos’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 540b–541a (K. Stoffregen-Pedersen).

<sup>29</sup> ‘Jerusalem’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 273a–277a (K. Stoffregen Pedersen).

From the 1970s onwards and throughout her career, Pedersen was very active in Jerusalem's scholarly and associative circles. Combining scientific and ecumenical dialogue, she took an active part in the activities of the Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel, based in Tantur (south of Jerusalem). Ecumenism was one of her most important social commitments, notably through her participation in the Jerusalem Rainbow Group, an organization bringing together Jews and Christians for sessions, lectures, and discussions, and the Israel Inter-faith Association, bringing together Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Keen to promote knowledge of Ethiopia and its history, she became personally involved in the attempt (which ultimately failed) to set up an Institute of Ethiopian Ecclesiastical Studies in Jerusalem. She was also actively involved in helping Ethiopians arriving in Israel and, in particular, in founding in 1980 and running the School Pension for Ethiopians in Jerusalem, affiliated with the Danish Evangelical Mission. She was also involved in organizations promoting women's ordination in the Catholic Church, such as the Catholic Women's Network.

She thus became a local figure, well known in Jerusalem, especially under her name Sister Abraham, and not only in Christian circles. She also gained notoriety in her home country and in other Scandinavian countries, where she became a public figure often interviewed by journalists. Returning to Denmark in 2014 for health reasons, Pedersen passed away in May 2017.

### **Books and printed materials owned by Pedersen**

Pedersen accumulated documentation at her hermitage on the Mount of Olives. Not surprisingly, a large number of books and printed materials were found there. There was obviously a wide range, from novels to books on all kinds of subjects. A sorting process was necessary, and it was decided to inventory and keep only those items of immediate scientific interest, due to their subject matter or rarity, as well as those that had been used for Pedersen's research. In addition to novels and other books totally unrelated to scientific research, general works, particularly on the history of the Middle East, which are easily accessible in Jerusalem, have been discarded. 290 books and booklets as well as 77 issues of periodicals were inventoried. The entire collection was added to the general catalog of the EBAF library in Jerusalem.

Among these books and booklets, one naturally finds the work of Pedersen. It should be noted, however, that some are missing: the published version of her autobiography was not found in the hermitage, nor was that of *Les Éthiopiens*, published by Brepols in 1990. Also missing is her 1998 publication in Danish on Christians in the Holy Land. Moreover, the list of Pedersen's publications published in 2002 in the commemorative booklet for her 70th birthday mentions a work in Hebrew on the Ethiopians of Jerusalem, entitled *Ha-Etiopim ha-notsrin*



*bi-Yerushalayim* and apparently published in 1991 (Ramat Aviv: Ha-Universita ha-Petuha).<sup>30</sup> However, this publication, unknown to me, was not found in the hermitage, nor does it appear in any bibliographic database or library catalog. Drafts of the publication do exist, however, in the archives of Pedersen. It is possible that this work is linked to the article entitled *Ha-Etiopim bi-Yerushalayim* ('The Ethiopians in Jerusalem'), published in the journal *Ariel* in 1994.<sup>31</sup> Then again, the booklets on the Ethiopians of Jerusalem, published in 1975, 1980, 1994, 1996, and 1998, which are difficult to access today, have been found and added to EBAF catalog.<sup>32</sup>

The entry of Pedersen's books and booklets in the EBAF catalog also had the advantage of making accessible in the Holy City the usual and classic works known and used by "éthiopisants", such as the first four volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, issues of the periodical *Aethiopica* (from vol. 1 to vol. 12), as well as numerous dictionaries and studies for Amharic and Gə'əz, such as those published by August Dillmann, Marius Chaîne, Ignazio Guidi, Sylvain Grébaut, and Wolf Leslau. Historical and philological studies are also present, including publications by Conti Rossini, Enrico Cerulli, Getachew Haile, and Roger W. Cowley, as well as classics of Ethiopian history by Taddesse Tamrat, Richard Pankhurst, Bairu Tafla, Bahru Zewde, Steven Kaplan, and Mordechai Abir.

But out of the classic studies on Ethiopia, what makes this collection so interesting is the presence of numerous publications in Gə'əz and Amharic (there are 105 in Amharic and 30 in Gə'əz, not counting bilingual editions), first and foremost those of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. So there is a Bible as well as some Four gospels<sup>33</sup> and liturgical books, such as missals (*māṣḥafā qəddase*),<sup>34</sup> lectionaries (*māṣḥafā gəṣṣawe* and *gəbrä ḥəmamāt*),<sup>35</sup> and the synaxary (*Māṣḥaf*

<sup>30</sup> King 2002, 9. Unfortunately, this publication list contains errors and seems unreliable. Although noted as published, Pedersen's presentation entitled 'The Nail Version of the *K'ər'atā rə'əsu* Icon', presented at the Third International Conference on Ethiopian Art in Addis Ababa in 1993, was never published.

<sup>31</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1994c.

<sup>32</sup> Pedersen 1975; Pedersen 1980; Stoffregen Pedersen 1994d; Stoffregen Pedersen 1994e; Stoffregen Pedersen 1996c; Stoffregen Pedersen 1998b.

<sup>33</sup> [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwähədo Church] 1960/1961 (*Māṣḥaf qəddus*); four Gospels, including: [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwähədo Church] 1960/1961 (*Wāngel qəddus*); [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwähədo Church] 1995/1996 (*Wāngel qəddus*). One can also find three Bibles published by the United Bible Societies, including: [United Bible Societies] 1962 (*Māṣḥaf qəddus*).

<sup>34</sup> One can find two missals, including: [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwähədo Church] 1995/1996 (*Māṣḥafā qəddase*).

<sup>35</sup> There is one lectionary: [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwähədo Church] 1981 (*Māṣḥafā gəṣṣawe*), and one for the Holy Week: [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwähədo Church] 1989/1990 (*Gəbrä ḥəmamāt*).

*sənkəssar*).<sup>36</sup> Patristics is also present, including an exemplar of the *haymanotä abäw*.<sup>37</sup> There are also numerous prayer books, as well as collections of *dərsanat* and *mälkä*.<sup>38</sup> As we might expect, there are several volumes of the Psalms of David (*Mäzmurä Dawit*), as well as works presenting Ethiopian exegesis (*Andämta*).<sup>39</sup> Also noteworthy are editions of *fəṭṭa nəgäšt* and *gädlä Krəstos Šəmra*.<sup>40</sup>

Piety and devotional literature in Amharic is also very present, both that published by the Ethiopian Church itself and by other organizations such as the Qalä Həywät šənä šəḥuf dərəğgət ('The word of life, publishing house [lit. literary organization]'),<sup>41</sup> or the Yäməsräč dəməš šənä šəḥuf dərəğgət ('The voice of the gospel, publishing house [lit. literary organization]').<sup>42</sup> Admasu Ġänbäre's classics of piety literature in Christian Ethiopia<sup>43</sup> thus stand, somewhat unexpectedly, alongside Yoḥannəs Sandved's numerous publications.<sup>44</sup> The Mäkanä Iyäsus Church is also represented through books written by Wändəmmagāñ Ḥaylu.<sup>45</sup> The works on Amharic (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw*) by Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, Tayyā Gäbrä Maryam, and Märs'e Ḥazän Wäldä Qirqos<sup>46</sup> are present, as well as the one on *qəne* written by Maḥtämä Šəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl.<sup>47</sup> One can also find fictional literature like the novels of Ḥaddis 'Alämayyāhu<sup>48</sup> and Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>36</sup> [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 2001/2002 (*Mäṣḥafä sənkəssar*).

<sup>37</sup> [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 1975 (*Haymanotä abäw*).

<sup>38</sup> Let us just note the presence of the following books, among others: [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 1980 (*Yəzəwätər šälot*); [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 1981/1982 (*Mälkä'a guba'e*); [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 1997/1998 (*Dərsanä Mika'el*).

<sup>39</sup> There are five different editions of the Psalms of David in this collection. Among the books on exegesis are those on the Psalms of David and on Ezekiel: [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 1957/1958 (*Mäzmurä Dawit*); [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 1997/1998 (*Mäṣḥafä Həzqə'el*).

<sup>40</sup> [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 1997/1998 (*Fəṭṭa Nəgäšt*); [Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church] 1973/1974 (*Gädlä Krəstos Šəmra*).

<sup>41</sup> One can find three books published by this publishing house, including: Qalä Həywät šənä šəḥuf dərəğgət 1979/1980.

<sup>42</sup> There are seven books published by this publishing house, including: Yäməsräč dəməš šənä šəḥuf dərəğgət 1974/1975.

<sup>43</sup> Admasu Ġänbäre 1957; Admasu Ġänbäre 1962.

<sup>44</sup> Seven books authored by Yoḥannəs Sandved are present in this collection, including: Yoḥannəs Sandved 1969/1970.

<sup>45</sup> Wändəmmagāñ Ḥaylu 1975/1976; Wändəmmagāñ Ḥaylu 1965/1966.

<sup>46</sup> Kidanä Wäld Kəfle 1955/1956; Tayyā Gäbrä Maryam 1965/1966; Märs'e Ḥazän Wäldä Qirqos 1955/1956.

<sup>47</sup> Maḥtämä Šəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1965/1966.

<sup>48</sup> Ḥaddis 'Alämayyāhu 1965/1966.

<sup>49</sup> Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs 1968/1969.

Historical works complete this collection, such as those by Tāklä Šadaq Māk<sup>w</sup>əriya (about the history of Ethiopia from Tewodros II to Haile Selassie, and on the jihad of Imam Ahmād Grañ)<sup>50</sup> and Bārihun Kābbādä (about the Wäldäbba monasteries).<sup>51</sup>

But above all, there are books which are hard to find, even in Ethiopia. Notable examples are the book published in 1955 on the reforms undertaken by Haile Selassie for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church,<sup>52</sup> the one published in 1971 concerning the history of the church Mādḥane ‘Alām in Addis Ababa,<sup>53</sup> and the booklet published to celebrate the coronation of Patriarch Tāklä Haymanot in 1976.<sup>54</sup> Of course, there are publications about Ethiopians in Jerusalem. Of particular interest is a small booklet on the history of the Däbrä Gännät monastery in Jerusalem,<sup>55</sup> as well as one devoted to the life of a nun who lived in Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup> More importantly, we found in the hermitage many of the publications produced by the association responsible for organizing Ethiopian pilgrimages to the Holy Land, known as the Jerusalem Memorial of Ethiopian Believers.<sup>57</sup> Here is a list of them:

- በኢየሩሳሌም ያሉ ገዳማት ኢትዮጵያን ለመርዳት የተቋቋመ ማኅበረ ምዕመናን ዘኢትዮጵያ (*Bä’Iyārusalem yallu gādamatä Ityopyan lāmārdat yätäq<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>amä maḥbärä mə‘ämānan zä’Ityopya*, “Association of Believers of Ethiopia” founded to help the Ethiopian monasteries which are in Jerusalem’) (Addis Abāba: Tənsä’e zäguba’e mattämiya bet, 16 *mäggabit* 1945 EC = 25 March 1953 CE), 11 p.
- በኢየሩሳሌም ያሉ ገዳማት ኢትዮጵያን በአስተዋጽኦ ለመርዳት የተቋቋመ ማኅበረ ምዕመናን ዘኢትዮጵያ (*Bä’Iyārusalem yallu gādamatä Ityopyan bā’astāwaṣə’o lāmārdat*

<sup>50</sup> Tāklä Šadaq Māk<sup>w</sup>əriya 1959/1960; Tāklä Šadaq Māk<sup>w</sup>əriya 1973/1974.

<sup>51</sup> Bārihun Kābbādä 1990.

<sup>52</sup> Yä’Ityopya ortodoks tāwahədo betä krəstiyan tarikənna dərsət mazzägaḡa kəfəl 1955.

<sup>53</sup> Tāklä Maryam 1971.

<sup>54</sup> Yä’Ityopya ortodoks tāwahədo betä krəstiyan yäsəbkāt wāngelənna mastawäqiya māmriya 1976.

<sup>55</sup> Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məhrät betä krəstiyan 1993.

<sup>56</sup> *Yäkəbärt əmmahoy Amaräčč Walälu yähaywät tarik* n.d.

<sup>57</sup> This association was created in 1964 at the instigation of Māk<sup>w</sup>ännən Zäwde. See Hailemichael Gabratakale 1986, 15–17. It was successively called in Amharic yä’Iyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət (Jerusalem Memorial Association), then yä’Ityopya mə‘ämānan mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət lä’Iyārusalem (Memorial Association of Ethiopian Believers for Jerusalem) and finally yä’Ityopya ‘ortodoks tāwahədo betäkrəstiyan mə‘ämānan mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət lä’Iyārusalem (Memorial Association of Believers of the Orthodox Tāwahedo Church of Ethiopia for Jerusalem). However, it is known in English as the Jerusalem Memorial Association of Ethiopian Believers or Jerusalem Pilgrims’ Memorial Association. Since its creation, it has published books, publicizing both its activities and the history of Ethiopians in Jerusalem.

*yätäq<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>amä mahbärä mē‘ämānan zä’Ityōpya*, “‘Association of Ethiopian believers” founded to help the Ethiopian monasteries which are in Jerusalem with donations’) (Addis Abāba: Tənsä’e zäguba’e mattämiya bet, 19 *sāne* 1945 EC = 26 June, 1953 CE), 12 p.

- Yä’Ityōpya mē‘ämānan mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət lä’Iyārusalem 1972. *Jerusalem Memorial Of Ethiopian Believers Regulation* (Addis Ababa: n.p., 16 *sāne* 1964 EC = 23 June, 1972 CE), 28 p.
- Yä’Iyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət 1972/1973. **የአሥር፡ ዓመት፡ የሥራ፡ እርምጃ** (*yä’asśər ‘amät yäsəra ərməḡḡa*, ‘Progress of the work in ten years’) (Addis Abāba: Bərhanənnā sālam qādamawī Ḥaylā Šəllasē mattämiya bet, 1965 EC = 1972/1973 CE), 218 p.
- Yä’Iyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət 1980/1981. **የቅዱሳት መካናት መስተዋት** (*yäqəddusat məkānat mästāwat*, ‘Window to the Holy Places’) (Addis Abāba: Yä’Iyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət, 1973 EC = 1980/1981 CE), 267 p.
- Yä’Iyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət 1983. **የፃፍኛ ዓመት የሥራ እርምጃ** (*yäha-yañña ‘amät yäsəra ərməḡḡa*, ‘Progress of the work in the twentieth year’) (Addis Abāba: Tāramäd mattämiya bet, 27 *yäkkatit* 1975 EC = 6 March 1983 CE), 77 p.
- Yä’Iyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət [1985/1986]. **በዘጋጀው ፕሮግራም መሠረት፤ ቅዱሳት መካናትን ለመሳለም ወደ ኢየሩሳሌም ለሚሄዱ አባላት የተሰጠ የጉዞና የጉብኝት ፕሮግራም** (*Bazzägaḡḡāw program mäśärät, qəddusat məkānatən lämäsalām wädä Iyārusalem lämmihedu abalat yätäsäṯṯä yäguzonna yägubəññät program*, ‘In accordance to the program prepared; Program for the Travel and the Visit of the Holy Places, given to the Members who make the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem’) (Addis Abāba: Tāramäd mattämiya bet, n.d. [1978] EC = n.d. [1985/1986] CE), 37 p.
- Yä’Ityōpya mē‘ämānan mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət lä’Iyārusalem 1988. **የታሪክ፡ መስተዋት፡ ለፃፃ፡ አምስተኛ፡ ዓመት፡ መታሰቢያ፡ የተዘጋጀ፡ ልዩ፡ ዕትም** (*yätarik mästāwat, lähaya amməstāñña ‘amät mättasäbiya yätäzägaḡḡä läyyu ‘əttəm*, ‘Window to History, twenty-fifth years remembrance, other publications’) (Addis Ababa: Nəgəd mattämiya bet, 28 *ṯər* 1980 EC = 6 February 1988 CE), 165 p.

In addition, there are three issues of the periodical journal entitled *Zena Iyārusalem* (‘News of Jerusalem’), nos. 2, 3, and 4, published by this association between 1964 and 1967.<sup>58</sup> This collection also includes the works (in Amharic

<sup>58</sup> *Zena Iyārusalem* n.d. [after 1964/1965], *Zena Iyārusalem* 1965/1966, *Zena Iyārusalem*, n.d. [after 1966/1967].

and in English) published by Archbishop Philippos<sup>59</sup> on the history and situation of the Ethiopians in Jerusalem:

- Philippos, Archbishop (Enba Philibbos) 1959. *The Rights of the Abyssinian Orthodox Church in the Holy Places, Documentary Authorities, translated from Arabic to English by ex Judge and Advocate Jamil Habiby* (N.p.: n.p., 1959), 47 p.
- Filäppos, *Liqä Päppas* 1959/1960. **ዜና ኢትዮጵያ በሀገር ቅድስት ኢየሩሳሌም** (*zena Ityopya bähagär qäddäst Iyüusalem*, ‘Story of Ethiopia in the holy city Jerusalem’), *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinians at Jerusalem, 1850–1867*, bilingual English–Amharic edition (Asmara: Kokäbä şəbah, 1952 EC = 1959/1960 CE.), 96 p.
- Philippos, Archbishop 1962. *The Rights of the Abyssinian Orthodox Church in the Holy Places, Documentary Manuscripts*, II (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1962), 85 p.
- Filäppos, *Liqä Päppas* 1967. **ለኢትዮጵያ ቤተ ክርስቲያን በቅዱስ መካን (ኢየሩሳሌም) ያላት መብት** (*lä Ityopya betä krästiyan bäqäddus mäkan* (‘Iyüusalem) yallat mäbat): **የሰነድ ማስረጃዎች** (*yäsänäd masräğğawočč*), *The Rights of the Abyssinian Church in the Holy Places: Documentary Authorities*, bilingual English–Amharic edition (Asmara: Kokäbä şəbah mattämiya bet, 2nd edn, təqəmt 1960 EC = 12 October until 10 November 1967 CE), 173 p.
- Filäppos, *Liqä Päppas* 1971/1972. **ኢየሩሳሌም: ዕውቁ** (‘Iyüusalem ‘əwäqu, ‘Know Jerusalem’) (Addis Abäba: Bərhanənnä sälam qädamawi Ḥaylä Šəllase mattämiya bet, 1964 EC = 1971/1972 CE), 178 p.
- Philippos, Archbishop 1971/1972. **ኢየሩሳሌም: ዕውቁ**, *Know Jerusalem (Iyüusalem ‘əwäqu, ‘Know Jerusalem’)* bilingual English–Amharic edition (Addis Abäba: Bərhanənnä sälam qädamawi Ḥaylä Šəllase mattämiya bet, 1964 EC = 1971/1972 CE).

There is one notable absence from this list. Pierre Petridis and Salvatore Tedeschi mention in their work a publication by Philippos, which is described as comprising 131 typewritten pages, and is referenced as follows: Philippos Menghistu, *The Ethiopian Holy Places in Jerusalem, Jerusalem*, 1955.<sup>60</sup> This publication is still untraceable today, and its absence from Pedersen’s collection of books shows that, despite her research, it also remained inaccessible to her. Finally, and still concerning the Ethiopians of Jerusalem, we note in this collection the presence of works published by various Ethiopian authors, such as Kidanä

<sup>59</sup> About Archbishop Philippos, see ‘Filäppos’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 540b–541a (K. Stoffregen-Pedersen).

<sup>60</sup> Petridis 1961, 50–53; Tedeschi 1964, 133–134, 160.

Maryam,<sup>61</sup> Archbishop Matewos,<sup>62</sup> Amakkälä Gäbäyyähu, and Zäkaryas Tākolla.<sup>63</sup>

### **The Archives of Pedersen (AP)**

In addition to the books that constituted Pedersen's library, the hermitage also housed thousands of paper documents that complemented the historian's archive. Once filed, these archives represent 14 boxes, numbered AP-001 to AP-014, comprising 86 files and 274 sub-files. They also include 188 notebooks, filled with Pedersen's handwriting. As the latter was a polyglot, there is a very wide variety of languages used in the documents. The majority are written in Hebrew, Danish, English, French, German, and Amharic. But one also finds, to a lesser extent, documents written in Latin, Classical Greek, Gə'əz, Italian, Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Syriac, and Aramaic. It should also be noted that some passages in the notebooks are written by Pedersen in Old Norse. One of the main features of these archives is that they not only contain the drafts and various versions of Pedersen's publications, but also the typescripts of unpublished works. Even more interestingly, we found copies of historical documents that were annotated by Pedersen and that fed into her research work, notably documents from the archives of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem. In addition, these archives include documents relating to Pedersen's professional and associative activities. Here we find numerous documents from (produced for and by) the Ethiopian Orthodox Archdiocese of Jerusalem, for which she worked from 1970 to 1981. There are also documents from various Jerusalem ecumenical and missionary organizations in which Pedersen was involved. A whole history of scientific, ecumenical, and missionary organizations present in Jerusalem at the time is thus revealed. Based on the complete inventory available online (written in French),<sup>64</sup> I provide here a brief description of the contents of these 14 archive boxes, highlighting the most remarkable documents:

#### **Box AP-001: Publication 1.**

File AP-001-001 until file AP-001-006:

Preparatory works (typescripts, working notes), correspondence and proofs, related to the writing of Pedersen's PhD thesis at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (PhD obtained in 1990), and its publication under the title *Traditional Ethi-*

<sup>61</sup> Kidanä Maryam Gäbrä Həywät 1958.

<sup>62</sup> Matewos, Archbishop 1993/1994; Matewos, Archbishop 1995/1996.

<sup>63</sup> Amakkälä Gäbäyyähu 1999; Zäkaryas Tākolla 2000/2001.

<sup>64</sup> Ancel 2023.

*opian Exegesis of the Book of Psalms*, Äthiopistische Forschungen, 36 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995); 6 files; 12 sub-files; Dates: 1979–1995.

This box contains the typescript of the first version of Pedersen's PhD thesis, written in English between 20 October 1988 and 20 August 1989 (AP-001-001-001). Pedersen's working notes are also included (AP-001-005), as is a lengthy note on Ethiopian exegesis written by Rev. Dr. Roger Cowley, sent to Pedersen in 1979 (AP-001-006). The proofs of the book published by Harrassowitz Verlag date to 27 April 1994 and are hand-corrected by Pedersen (AP-001-003-001).

**Box AP-002: Publications 2.**

File AP-002-001 until file AP-002-005:

Preparatory works (typescripts, working notes), as well as notebooks, correspondence and various documents related to the book entitled *Les Éthiopiens*, Fils d'Abraham (Turhout: Brepols, 1990); 5 files; 24 sub-files; Dates: 1986–1996.

File AP-002-006 until file AP-002-008:

Preparatory works (typescripts, working notes), correspondence with the publisher Unitas, related to the publication of the book entitled *De kristne i Det hellige Land* (n.p. [Valby]: Unitas Forlag, 1998), and first proofs of the English version published with the title *The Holy Land Christians*, edited by Natalie King (Jerusalem: n.d. [private publication], 2003); 3 files; 5 sub-files; Dates: 1997–2007.

File AP-002-009:

Documents (typescripts, correspondence) related to the publication of the English version of the book entitled *Birgittinere*, with a cover drawing by Ulla Sander Olsen (Vadstena: Birgittinerne I Vadstena, 1961) with the title *Bridgettines* (Jerusalem: n.d. [private publication], 1991); 1 file; Dates: 1990–1992.

In this box, there are notebooks in which original manuscript versions of part of the book entitled *Les Éthiopiens* are written by Pedersen (AP-002-001-001 and AP-002-001-002). There are also the original typescripts of *Les Éthiopiens*, written between 25 August 1987 and 7 October 1988 (AP-002-002), and *De kristne i Det hellige Land*, written in 1997 (AP-002-006-001). There is also a typescript of the Italian version of *Les Éthiopiens*, with the title *Gli Etiopi*, written in 1990 (AP-002-003), and the proof (dated 2003) of the English version of *De kristne i Det hellige Land*, with the title *The Holy Land Christians* (AP-002-008).

**Box AP-003: Publications 3.**

File AP-003-001 until file AP-003-007:

Preparatory works (typescripts, working notes), correspondence, and various documents related to the submission of the master's thesis of Pedersen to the Hebrew

University of Jerusalem (master obtained in 1981), and its publication with the title *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, *Studia Oecumenica Hierosolymitana*, 2, (Jerusalem: The Ecumenical Institute for Theological Research, 1983); 7 files; 17 sub-files; Dates: 1976–1983.

File AP-003-008:

Typescripts related to the work entitled *Ha-Etiopim ha-notsrim bi-Yerushalayim* (Ramat Aviv: Ha-Universita ha-Petuha, 1991); 1 file; 5 sub-files; Date: 1991.

File AP-003-009:

Last proof of the booklet entitled *Æthiopisk ikonografi* (Kirkernes U-Landsoplysning, 1996): 1 file; No date [1996].

This box contains the original typescript of Pedersen's master's thesis written in Hebrew between 17 February 1979 and 20 May 1980 (AP-003-001), as well as the original typescript of the English version, entitled *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, dated 23 May 1982 (AP-003-003-001). Scientific correspondence between Pedersen and Rev. Vsevolod Rochcau between 1976 and 1983 (AP-003-007) is also here preserved. There is also the original typescript of the work in Hebrew on the Ethiopians of Jerusalem, entitled *Ha-Etiopim ha-notsrim bi-Yerushalayim*, dated August 1991 (AP-003-008-001).

#### **Box AP-004: Publications and Conferences.**

File AP-004-001 until file AP-004-005:

Documents (typescripts, working notes, correspondence) related to the preparation and writing of articles published in scientific journals and collective scientific works; 5 files; 23 sub-files; Dates: 1975–2001.

File AP-004-006:

Documents (typescripts, working notes) related to the preparation and writing of works presented in public at conferences; 1 file; 18 sub-files; Dates: 1977–2007.

File AP-004-007 until file AP-004-009:

Notes and typescripts related to different works; collection of typescripts of works and lectures; 3 files; 6 sub-files; Dates: 1973–2003.

This box contains the original typescripts (as well as several preparatory versions) of 11 published works, including Pedersen's best-known articles, such as the articles 'The Mälke, an Ethiopian Prayer Form with Latin Origin', published in 1989 (AP-004-001) or 'Deir es-Sultan: The Ethiopian Monastery in Jerusalem', published in 1988 (AP-004-002), as well as others, more difficult to access today, such as 'Deir es-Sultan' in Hebrew, published in 1984 (AP-004-007-001e), 'Jeru-



salem in the Tergwame Dawit’, published in 1994 (AP-004-003), ‘The incarnation according to the Ethiopian Orthodox Catechism’, published in 1990 (AP-004-005-005) or ‘Women in Ethiopian Tradition’, published in 1996 (AP-004-005-010) and ‘A 19th Century Amharic Manuscript about the History of the Ethiopians in Jerusalem’ published in 1999 (AP-004-006-015). Also in this box are the typescripts of 18 conference papers, some of which have never been published, such as ‘The Nail Version of the *K<sup>w</sup>ər ‘atä rə ‘äsu* Icon’, presented at the 1993 International Conference of Ethiopian Arts in Addis Ababa (AP-004-007-001x), or ‘Amharic Literature from Jerusalem in the 20th Century’, presented at the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Trondheim, July 2007 (AP-004-006-018). There are also 33 other typescripts of unpublished works, such as ‘Jerusalem in the Liturgical Prayer of the Ethiopian Church’, dated 1996 (AP-004-007-001y).

**Box AP-005:** Scientific organizations: documents related to Pedersen’s involvement in scientific organizations.

File AP-005-001:

Documents related to Pedersen’s involvement (correspondence, internal documents, documents produced) in the Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel, Tantur; 1 file; 6 sub-files; Dates: 1971–1993.

File AP-005-002:

Documents related to Pedersen’s involvement (correspondence, internal documents, documents produced) in the Ecumenical Institute for Advanced Theological Studies, Tantur; 1 file; 4 sub-files; Dates: 1978–1982.

File AP-005-003:

Documents related to Pedersen’s involvement (correspondence, internal documents, documents produced) in the French Society for Ethiopian Studies; 1 file; 4 sub-files; Dates: 1986–1997.

File AP-005-005:

Documents related to Pedersen’s involvement (correspondence, internal documents, documents produced) in the Institute of Ethiopian Ecclesiastical Studies; 1 file; 6 sub-files; Dates: 1977–1979.

The box contains minutes of meetings attended by Pedersen. There are also membership lists and other documents internal to these organizations. The documents concerning the attempt to create an Institute of Ethiopian Ecclesiastical Studies in Jerusalem are particularly interesting: in addition to the institute’s statutes and list of members (including Archbishop Matewos, Prof. Ephraim Isaac, and Pedersen—under the name *Emahoy Krestos Semra Pedersen*) (AP-005-005-001), and the minutes of meetings (AP-005-005-002), there is a letter written and

sent by Pedersen to the members of this institute, in which she harshly criticizes the organization and teachings provided at the Ethiopian Archdiocese of Jerusalem (AP-005-005-005).

**Box AP-006:** Associative and missionary organizations: Documents related to Pedersen's involvement in various associative and missionary organizations.

File AP-006-001:

Documents related to Pedersen's involvement (correspondence, internal documents) in The Jerusalem Rainbow Group; 1 file; 2 sub-files; Dates: 1984–2007.

Files AP-006-002 and AP-006-003:

Documents related to Pedersen's involvement in Catholic Women's Ordination (CWO), Women's Ordination Worldwide (WOW), and Catholic Women's Network; 2 files; 7 sub-files; Dates: 1995–2007.

File AP-006-004:

Documents related to Pedersen's involvement (documents produced) in the Christian Information Centre, Jerusalem; 1 file; 2 sub-files; Dates: 1975–1995.

File AP-006-005:

Documents related to Pedersen's involvement (correspondence, internal documents) in the School Pension for Ethiopians in Jerusalem, operated by the Danish Evangelical Mission; 1 file; 3 sub-files; Dates: 1980–1985.

Files AP-006-006 and AP-006-007:

Documents related to Pedersen's involvement (correspondence, internal documents, documents produced) in the Israel Interfaith Association, the Ecumenical Circle of Friends (ECOF), the Student Christian Forum, the Center for Biblical Formation, the Jerusalem Institute for Inter-Religious Relations and Research, and in the project to erect a memorial stone in memory of the Scandinavian monks Svein and Eskill; 2 files; 5 sub-files; Dates: 1977–1993.

In addition to the minutes of meetings in which Pedersen was involved, membership lists and other documents produced by these organizations, this box also contains very interesting documents related to the creation of the School Pension for Ethiopians in Jerusalem: These include minutes of meetings (AP-006-005-001), correspondence with members of the school committee and with applicants (AP-006-005-002), as well as rental contracts and the school's statutes (AP-006-005-003).

**Box AP-007:** General Correspondence 1.

File AP-007-001 until file AP-007-005:

Correspondence sent and received by Pedersen for the years 1968, 1970–1985, ordered by year; 5 files; 17 sub-files; Dates: 1968–1985.

**Box AP-008:** General Correspondence 2.

File AP-008-001 until file AP-008-006:

Correspondence sent and received by Pedersen for the years 1986–2004, 2010–2012, ordered by year; 6 files; 20 sub-files; Dates: 1986–2012.

Pedersen used to keep a copy of the letters she sent, so these two boxes contain both the letters she received and those she sent. The set is simply ordered by year, with no distinction between Pedersen's letters and those she received. These boxes contain all her scientific correspondence, particularly with Ethiopian specialists. Among the hundreds of letters, let us note for example one of the first letters she sent to Richard Pankhurst on 18 March 1979, informing him that she had found the archives of the lawyer Nathan Marein, who defended Ethiopians in Jerusalem in 1930s and 1940s (AP-007-002-001), or the one she wrote to Ezio Tonini, director of the Centro Studi Etiopici in Asmara, on 7 February 1990, to complain about the delay in publication of her article on Dayr as-Sulṭān (AP-008-003-001). There is also a major lacuna: correspondence between 2005 and 2010 is missing, probably due to the growing use of e-mail.

**Box AP-009:** Documents from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem.

File AP-009-001:

Correspondence and documents concerning consular activities and assistance to Ethiopians in Israel, ordered by year; 1 file; 4 sub-files; Dates: 1969–2001.

File AP-009-002 until file AP-009-004:

Correspondence and documents concerning Ethiopian real estate and possessions in Israel, including the Dayr as-Sulṭān monastery and the monastery at Bethany; 3 files; 9 sub-files; Dates: [1926, 1929] 1963–1994.

File AP-009-005:

Correspondence concerning banking, telephone and communications, and electricity; 1 file; 3 sub-files; Dates: 1972–1984.

File AP-009-006:

Correspondence and documents concerning Jerusalem Ethiopian community employees and equipment; 1 file; 3 sub-files; Dates: 1969–1993.

File AP-009-007:

Correspondence and documents concerning the organization of religious and official ceremonies; 1 file; 4 sub-files; Dates: 1971–1984.

File AP-009-008:

Protocol correspondence; correspondence with other religious institutions; correspondence with the cultural and scientific world; miscellaneous correspondence; 1 file; 6 sub-files; Dates: 1972–1998.

**File AP-009-009:**

Correspondence with Ethiopia; correspondence and miscellaneous documents; 1 file; 5 sub-files; Dates: 1973–1995.

Pedersen was hired in 1970 by the Ethiopian Archdiocese of Jerusalem to give lessons to members of the community and also to help with secretarial work, notably translating Hebrew documents. She held this role until 1981, then occasionally until 1986 and a few times in the 1990s. Here, then, are copies of the letters she had to deal with, either by answering them herself, under the name of Krestos Semra, or on behalf of the prior or archbishop, as well as the internal documents necessary for her work at the time. Together, the documents provide a picture of the daily life of the archdiocese in Jerusalem: consular activities, real estate activities, and correspondence with local authorities and with the city's other religious institutions. Among these are documents concerning the conflict between Ethiopians and Copts about Dayr as-Sulṭān, such as court judgments, translated into English and Amharic, dating from 1967, 1971, and 1976 (AP-009-003-002). Also noteworthy is the correspondence between the archdiocese and the city authorities concerning the visit of Ethiopian patriarch Täklä Haymanot in 1980 (AP-009-007-002).

**Box AP-010:** Copies of archival documents.

**File AP-010-001 until file AP-010-005:**

Copies of documents from the archives of lawyer Nathan Marein, who represented the Ethiopian government in the courts in Jerusalem, and biographical documents on Nathan Marein; 5 files; 9 sub-files; Dates: 1928–1980.

**File AP-010-006 until file AP-010-009:**

Photocopies of documents from the archives of the Ethiopian community of Jerusalem; 4 files, 19 sub-files; Dates: 1884–1973.

**File AP-010-010 until AP-010-014:**

Photocopies of documents from other archival collections; 5 files; Dates: 1924–1968.

This box contains copies made by Pedersen of the historical sources she used for her work on the Ethiopians in Jerusalem. Most of these sources were collected in Jerusalem and are particularly difficult to access today. Among this collection of archival documents, photographs, manuscripts, maps, and plans, we find here photocopies of the archives of lawyer Nathan Marein, who defended the case of the Ethiopians in Jerusalem in 1930s and 1940s. These archives, found by Pedersen in the archives of the Ethiopian community of Jerusalem, contain court decisions concerning the conflict between the Ethiopians of Jerusalem and the Italian government between 1939 and 1941 (see AP-010-001, AP-010-002 and AP-010-

003). These archives were used and quoted by Pedersen in her book *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, published in 1983.<sup>65</sup> We also found a copy (bound photocopies) of the Amharic manuscript written in Jerusalem by the Ethiopian monk Wäldä Madhān Arāgawī (AP-010-007), about which I will say more below, as well as that of part of manuscript JE692, corresponding to pages 234–290 and including the text entitled ታሪክ፡የደረ፡ሥልጣን፡ኦርእስተ፡ነገር (*Tarik yāDer Śālṭan ar’əstā nāgār* ‘History of Dayr as-Sulṭān; the main point’), which was written by an anonymous author and is undated. These two texts have been analyzed repeatedly by Pedersen.<sup>66</sup> The box also contains a photocopy of a handwritten text in Amharic, dated 1890 EC (= 1897/1898 CE) (AP-010-006-001b), on the acquisition by the Ethiopian archbishop of Jerusalem of the building now used as his residence in the old city, quoted by Pedersen.<sup>67</sup> The copies of two other texts from the community’s archives, not quoted in Pedersen’s works, are present: a handwritten text in Arabic and Amharic on the succession of monks in the Ethiopian monastery in Jerusalem, dated 1878 EC (= 1885/1886 CE) (AP-010-006-001a), and a fragment of a handwritten text in Gə‘əz on the building permit for the Ethiopian church Däbrä Gännät in Jerusalem, dated 1302 AH (= 1884/1885 CE) (AP-010-006-001c). We also find here a copy of the English translation of the Ottoman firman granting authorization for the construction of the Däbrä Gännät church in Jerusalem, dated 1885 (AP-010-006-003b), as well as two photographs of four documents in Arabic relating to the purchase of the land for the Däbrä Gännät monastery, accompanied by an explanatory handwritten note in English and Amharic, undated (AP-010-006-003a).

#### **Box AP-011: Personal Life of Pedersen.**

##### **File AP-011-001:**

Documents related to the preparation and publication of Pedersen’s autobiography in Danish entitled *De flygtige år* (Unitas Forlag, 1996), and its English version with the title *The Fugitive Years*; 1 file; 4 sub-files; Dates: 1996–2003.

##### **File AP-011-002:**

Correspondence and documents relating to Pedersen’s entry into the Order of St. Brigid (1950), then to the abandonment of her vows (1962) and its consequences; 1 file; Dates: 1950–1967.

<sup>65</sup> Pedersen 1983, 104–121.

<sup>66</sup> Pedersen 1983, 13–14, 40–46; Pedersen 1986, 419–426; Stoffregen Pedersen 1999b, 157–166.

<sup>67</sup> Pedersen 1983, 47.

Files AP-011-003 and AP-001-007:

Administrative papers and other documents on the life of Pedersen and her family; 2 files; 6 sub-files; Dates: 1899–2006.

File AP-011-004:

Documents relating to the exhibition and sale of icons painted by Pedersen; 1 file; Dates: 1986–1997.

File AP-011-005:

Documents and publication relating to the tribute ceremony for Pedersen's 70th birthday; 1 file; Date: 2002.

File AP-001-006:

Periodicals and newspapers clippings: articles about Pedersen (Sister Abraham); 1 file; 2 sub-files; Dates: 1991 until c.2010.

File AP-011-008:

Photographs; 1 file; 14 sub-files; Dates: [1932–1962?] 1968–2005.

This box contains documents documenting Pedersen's personal life. Here one can find the original typescript of her autobiography in Danish (AP-011-001-001) as well as its English translation (AP-011-001-002). There is also a file containing the correspondence she had with the ecclesiastical authorities when she left monastic life in 1962 (AP-011-002). This box also contains Pedersen's will, dated 1990 (AP-011-003-003). Photographs are also collected here, such as those taken by Pedersen at the dedication ceremony of the Ethiopian church Däbrä Sälam in Bethlehem on 15 April 1990 (AP-011-008-008). This box also contains newspaper clippings corresponding to articles published in the daily and weekly newspapers about Pedersen.

**Box AP-012:** Study notebooks of Pedersen.

File AP-012-001 until file AP-012-006:

Study notebooks by Pedersen, from university courses, with themes, ordered by year; 73 notebooks; Dates: 1965–1984.

This box contains Pedersen's study notebooks, in other words, the handwritten notes she took during her university courses as a student, both in Copenhagen and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. All are titled after their subject, and most are written in Hebrew. The majority of these notebooks deal with Hebrew literature, biblical and Talmudic studies, as well as African history and literature.

**Box AP-013:** Research notebooks of Pedersen.

Files AP-013-001 and AP-013-002:

Research notebooks relating to the preparation of books, articles, or presentations, with research notes; 45 notebooks; undated.

File AP-013-003:

Thematic research notebooks; 17 notebooks; undated.

This box contains Pedersen's handwritten research notebooks, which contain her working notes, handwritten parts of her books, articles, and lectures, as well as her notes and comments on historical sources and the texts she studied. Of particular interest are the 12 notebooks relating to her research into the exegesis of the Psalms of David. Among them is the English translation of the Gə'əz and Amharic texts (AP-013-001-001a). There are also the 7 research notebooks used during the preparation of her 1983 book on the Ethiopians of Jerusalem (AP-013-001-002). A further 24 notebooks contain handwritten versions (as well as comments related to) of various lectures, often mixed within the same notebook. Among them is a notebook in which Pedersen provides an English translation of the text written by Wäldä Madhən Arägawī (AP-013-002-017). Finally, other notebooks are thematic. Of particular interest are the five notebooks containing a German translation of the *gädlä* Täklä Haymanot, based on Budge's edition (AP-013-003-005).

**Box AP-014:** Various study and research notebooks by Pedersen.

Files AP-014-001 and AP-014-002:

Study notebooks about languages; 24 notebooks; no date.

File AP-014-003:

Various research notebooks; 24 notebooks; no date.

File AP-014-004:

Notebook with personal writings; 5 notebooks; Dates: 1950–1984.

The notebooks in this box are primarily those used by Pedersen as exercise books for language learning (Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek), but also notebooks with notes on various subjects. Of particular interest are the three notebooks containing a diary written in 1964 (AP-014-004).

**Research perspectives**

The entry of these books and archives in the EBAF library provides students and researchers with documentation on Ethiopia, on Ethiopian Christian literature, and on the history of the Ethiopians in Jerusalem, in a city where such information has been scarce and hard to come by. It also makes available the works of Pedersen, and documents on the life of a local figure. But above all, it offers real prospects for new historical and sociological research. To illustrate, I offer an example in which the inventory of Pedersen's archives enables me to correct an error that I myself made.

New developments about the manuscript of Wäldä Mādḥən Arägawi

The book I co-authored with Magdalena Krzyżanowska and Vincent Lemire, entitled *The Monk on the Roof*, published in French in 2020 and in English in 2022, provides an edition and analysis of a text written in Jerusalem by the Ethiopian monk Wäldä Mādḥən Arägawi, found in the archives of the Ethiopian Orthodox community in Jerusalem. In it, I asserted that Pedersen did not have access to the original manuscript.<sup>68</sup> Looking at her archives, I realize now that this is a mistake. It is true that in her book published in 1983, then in her article published in 1986, she claimed not to have had access to the original manuscript.<sup>69</sup> She then explained that she had had access to the text, thanks to the edition made by Mäkwännən Zäwde in the book published in 1972/1973 by Yä'İyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət ('Jerusalem Memorial Association'),<sup>70</sup> and that she also relied on a description of the manuscript and its contents, written in Italian by an anonymous author on few sheets of paper found in the community's archives. But in her archives, I found a complete copy of Wäldä Mādḥən's manuscript (AP-010-007) as well as an undated notebook containing her translation of it from Amharic into English (AP-013-002-017). It is clear that from 1994 onwards, Pedersen had access to the original manuscript. In 1996, she reported on the characteristics and contents of this manuscript in a presentation entitled 'A 19th Century Manuscript about the History of the Ethiopians in Jerusalem', given at the Second International Conference on the Christian Heritage of the Holy Land, at the Swedish Christian Centre, Jerusalem (see AP-004-006-015). A first draft of this presentation exists in another notebook (AP-013-002-024). This presentation was subsequently published in 1999.<sup>71</sup> She spoke again about this manuscript, more succinctly, in 2007 during her presentation entitled 'Amharic Literature from Jerusalem in the 20th Century', at the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies held in Trondheim (see AP-004-006-018). A more careful search might have saved me from making a mistake. I am glad that the presentation of the Pedersen archives is an opportunity for me to apologize for this error and correct it.

This new fact raises two questions: did Pedersen's study of the original manuscript change her analysis of this text? And if so, should our analysis be modified? In 1983, and again in 1986, she stated that the manuscript had been written in 1883 EC (= 1890/1891 CE), following Mäkwännən Zäwde's assertion, based on a date provided by Wäldä Mādḥən himself in his text.<sup>72</sup> In her new analysis in 1996,

<sup>68</sup> Ancel et al. 2020, 46–47; Ancel et al. 2022, 55.

<sup>69</sup> Pedersen 1983, 13–14 fn. 35; Pedersen 1986, 424–425.

<sup>70</sup> Yä'İyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət 1972/1973, 97–109.

<sup>71</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1999b.

<sup>72</sup> Pedersen 1983, 13–14 fn. 35; Pedersen 1986, 425. See Yä'İyārusalem mättasäbiya dərəḡḡət 1972/1973, 97.



she was much more cautious: she still believed that the author began his work in 1890/1891 but added that he would have finished it around 1903, during the mandate (1902–1906) of the Ethiopian abbot of Dayr as-Sulṭān, Fāqādā Egzi'ə, who is mentioned at the end of the manuscript. The nuance is important, but I still disagree with her on this point. Indeed, she did not see that Wäldä Madhən's text was based on an older text, a translation of which can be found in Willy Hentze's book, published in 1906.<sup>73</sup> So, when he gives the date 1883 EC (= 1890/1891 CE), Wäldä Madhən is not dating his own work but this older text that he will transform and complete.<sup>74</sup> Analysis of the information in the text suggests that Wäldä Madhən wrote his text between 1903 and 1904.<sup>75</sup>

Another change can be seen in Pedersen's analysis. Wäldä Madhən's text recounts an episode involving a person called Abrəham Ġuhəri, a Copt who is said to have deprived the Ethiopians of part of the Dayr as-Sulṭān monastery. In 1983 and 1986, but also in 1988 and 1994, Pedersen dated this episode to 1774.<sup>76</sup> In doing so, she followed the analysis of the anonymous author of the Italian description. She therefore decided not to follow that of Mäkwännən Zäwde, who gives the date 1775 EC.<sup>77</sup> Studying the original manuscript, she realized that a date was indeed indicated for this episode, but that it was not in Wäldä Madhən's handwriting. In fact, this date had been added in the margin with a ballpoint pen. Moreover, the date is not 1774, but 1775 EC.<sup>78</sup> However, this did not really change her analysis: for her, this episode did indeed take place at the end of the eighteenth century. She simply noted the modern addition in her 1996 contribution and changed the date accordingly, from 1774 to 1775 EC in a publication of the same year.<sup>79</sup> Yet, curiously, this had no impact on the 'Jerusalem' entry she wrote for the *Encyclopedia Aethiopica*. In the latter, she continued to date the event to 1774.<sup>80</sup> Here again, Pedersen's new view of the manuscript does not change my opinion. During our editing of the text, we had of course also noticed this modern addition of a date in the margin, but with a completely opposite conclusion: this

<sup>73</sup> Hentze 1906, 177–182.

<sup>74</sup> Ancel et al. 2020, 54–58; Ancel et al. 2022, 64–69.

<sup>75</sup> Ancel et al. 2020, 101; Ancel et al. 2022, 125.

<sup>76</sup> Pedersen 1983, 13; Pedersen 1986, 424; Pedersen 1987–1988, 39; Stoffregen Pedersen 1994d, 27. Curiously, in another publication in 1994, the date provided is 1774 EC rather than 1774 CE: see Stoffregen Pedersen 1994e, 20.

<sup>77</sup> Yä'İyərusalem mättasäbiya dərəġġət 1972/1973, 103.

<sup>78</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1999b, 161.

<sup>79</sup> Stoffregen Pedersen 1996c, 29.

<sup>80</sup> 'Jerusalem', *E Ae*, III (2007), 273a–277a (K. Stoffregen Pedersen), 275.

addition must cast doubt on the relevance of the proposed date. Thus, after analyzing the text, we have shown that it is highly probable that this event should be dated 1820 and not the eighteenth century.<sup>81</sup>

Let us add one more thing: Pedersen's archives reveal the author of the short note in Italian that she found in the archives, which describes Wäldä Madhən's text. In fact, a photocopy of this note can be found among other paper sheets (five sheets in all) that were written by the same hand (AP-010-006-002). There is no doubt that these lines in Italian were written by Archbishop Philippos himself. One of the pages is even dated 1951. This seems logical. According to Petridis' and Tedeschi's reports, Archbishop Philippos' first memorandum, dated 1955, already mentioned the episode involving Abṛəham Ġuḥari and dated it, without explaining why, to 1774.<sup>82</sup> Why Pedersen did not mention this fact remains a mystery to me.

A 'springboard' for the study of contemporary Ethiopians history in Jerusalem

These disagreements about the Wäldä Mādhen's manuscript should not overshadow, or diminish, the considerable importance of Pedersen's work for our knowledge of the Ethiopians of Jerusalem, not to mention her contribution to Ethiopian exegesis or her major role in popularizing knowledge of Christian Ethiopia among a wide audience. Pedersen's archives can be seen as a 'springboard' for the study of Ethiopians in Jerusalem. Indeed, all historical researchers have, in their drawers or more recently on their hard drives, documents they have collected but never had the time to study, publish, or comment on. They even have documents that have only been used once, but which merit further study. Pedersen was one such researcher. Her archives offer a wealth of documents that should be studied or re-studied, with the invaluable help of her work.

The Gə'əz and Amharic manuscripts that she collected in the community archives in Jerusalem (AP-010-006) are obviously among these. Although she quoted one of them very briefly,<sup>83</sup> the manuscripts on the monks' succession to Jerusalem (dated 1886), on the acquisition of the archbishop's residence (1884–1885), and on the construction of Däbrä Gännät in Jerusalem (1897–1898) deserve closer attention. In addition, the copy of the English translation (from Osmanli) of the Ottoman firman granting authorization for the construction of the Däbrä Gännät church in Jerusalem, dated 30 Rajab 1302 AH (= 15 May 1885) (AP-010-006-003b), is very interesting and must be compared with the only known version in Arabic.<sup>84</sup> Lastly, the documents from the archives of lawyer

<sup>81</sup> Ancel et al. 2020, 111–114; Ancel et al. 2022, 138–143.

<sup>82</sup> Petridis 1961, 50; Tedeschi 1964, 134.

<sup>83</sup> Pedersen 1983, 47.

<sup>84</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥīm 'Abū Ḥusayn and Šāliḥ Sa'dāwī 1998, 15–16.

Nathan Marein (AP-010-001, AP-010-002 and AP-010-003), described and used by Pedersen,<sup>85</sup> deserve to be examined in conjunction with those from the Italian historical diplomatic archives, preserved in Rome.

But these archives also offer something else, beyond Pedersen's research work. Because she was employed by the Ethiopian Archdiocese, we have access to a fairly extensive set of documents from this institution, covering the period from 1970 to 1983 (AP-009). We have here the material needed to understand the daily life of the archdiocese during this period, its organization, the number of its members and employees, its work (consular in particular), its estate, and its internal problems. Various member lists are thus available for the period (AP-009-001-004). The consequences of the 1974 revolution are visible, for example: the Ethiopian consulate in Jerusalem was closed, and the archdiocese took over consular authority for Ethiopian nationals in the city. Also noteworthy is a letter written by Archbishop Matewos on 28 November 1974 and sent to members of the Administrative Military Committee of Ethiopian Government (known as the *dārg*), in which he protests against the death sentences handed down to prisoners in Ethiopia (AP-009-002-002). The whole set documents the recent history of the Ethiopian archdiocese. These archives also help to tell the story of the conflict between the Ethiopians and the Copts. This conflict, which took a new turn when the Ethiopians took possession of the two chapels attached to the Holy Sepulchre in 1970, is documented here thanks to first-rate documents such as the court reports given in 1971 and 1976 (AP-009-003-002).

#### An open window to recent social history of Jerusalem

In addition, these archives enable us to assess the degree of involvement of the Ethiopian community in the daily life of Jerusalem, both socially and religiously, politically and economically. Thus, they enable us to look far beyond the sole Ethiopian community in Jerusalem and to study the social and economic context of the city in the 1970s and 1980s. The archdiocese's consular activity offers an insight into the formalities carried out by Ethiopian nationals wishing to settle in Israel (see AP-009-001). Their goals and their desire to become part of Israeli society are thus visible, as are the solidarity networks set up to help them. This consular activity of the archdiocese combines with the personal role of Pedersen, whose support for the Ethiopians also generated many documents that shed light on the social networks and organizations mobilized by the various actors in this Ethiopian insertion in Jerusalem (see AP-006-005). The documents preserved in these archives enable us to study the official and unofficial trajectory of Ethiopian Christian immigration to Jerusalem and increase our knowledge of the city's social context at that time.

<sup>85</sup> Pedersen 1983, 104–126.

The archives linked to the archbishopric activities demonstrate an obvious fact that needs to be reiterated: the Ethiopian Christian community is active in the social, religious, and economic life of Jerusalem. It is not an isolated island, not even a ‘little piece’ of Ethiopia in a foreign land, but a part of the city’s society. The activities of the archdiocese correspond to its place in the social and economic life of the city: it is an organization that employs people, Ethiopian and non-Ethiopian alike (see AP-009-006); it is a consumer (of electricity, food, materials, housing) (see AP-009-005); it is also a landlord, whose tenants, overwhelmingly non-Ethiopians, are accountable to it, and which itself is accountable to the municipality (see AP-009-002). Most of the archdiocese’s contacts are non-Ethiopian: administrative services, banking, telephone and energy services, health services, police, etc. And the archdiocese’s activities are part of a political, social, and economic framework that applies to all the city’s inhabitants, not just Ethiopians. In this way, the archives here document daily life in Jerusalem, regardless of religion. On the religious side, these archives show that all ceremonies and decisions by the archbishopric in that matters had to be adapted to the context of a city with many different Churches (see AP-009-007 and AP-009-008). They also show the framework established by a political authority, the State of Israel, which has controlled the Holy City since 1967. These documents are therefore of prime importance for understanding the context of Jerusalem in the 1970s and 1980s.

Last but not least, Pedersen’s own story documents the academic and ecumenical networks at work in Jerusalem at that time. Moreover, the documents presented here help to contextualize the production of knowledge in Jerusalem at that time. And so, for example, we can determine not only the key role of the Hebrew University, but also that of other, smaller organizations, such as the Biblical study program organized by the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion or the Christian Information Centre, which had an academic but also a religious mission, allowing us to question their influence on the discourse on the history of the city elaborated at that time. These documents also shed light on the constraints and challenges of historical research in Jerusalem. One example: Pedersen is well aware that her work has consequences for the legal evolution of the conflict between Copts and Ethiopians, as she explains in a letter to the Ethiopian consulate, dated 22 August 1986 (AP-004-002-002).

## Conclusion

Pedersen’s legacy is therefore double: thanks to her publications and her work, she has enabled a better understanding of the Ethiopian Church and the Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem; but thanks to her archives, she enables researchers today to go even further. The availability of her books and the documents that make up

her archives offers research perspectives not only about the history of Ethiopians in Jerusalem, but also about the activities of the Ethiopian archdiocese in Jerusalem during the 1970s and 1980s, the sociological evolution of Jerusalem, and the context of the production of scholarly knowledge in the city during this period.

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## Summary

Catholic nun and historian, Kirsten Pedersen (1932–2017), also known as Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen and Sister Abraham, is renowned for her scholarly work on the history of Ethiopian Christianity. Located in Jerusalem, her archives (books and documents) were inventoried by the Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem (CRFJ) in 2023 and then donated to the library of the École Biblique et Archéologique (EBAF) in Jerusalem. The aim of this article is firstly to provide an overview of Pedersen’s archives to encourage all researchers to consult them. Providing biographical and bibliographical elements about Pedersen, this paper describes the more interesting books and printed materials owned by her as well as provides a short description of the archival boxes, highlighting the most remarkable documents. Furthermore this paper aims to show the scientific interest of these archives, suggesting some of the research prospects open to researchers thanks to the documents preserved in them.