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Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*

ALESSANDRO BAUSI, Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”

Non è necessario spendere molte parole per illustrare l’importanza della raccolta di documenti pubblicati e tradotti nel 1909–10 da C. Conti Rossini sotto il titolo complessivo di *Liber Aksumae*¹. Come noto, si tratta di una collezione di atti feudali e di altri testi e documenti storici², tramandati sia

¹ KAROLUS CONTI ROSSINI, *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam*. I. *Liber Axumae*, 2 voll. (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium s. altera, 8; rist. 54 e 58, Scriptorum Aethiopicum 24 e 27, Parisiis: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1909–10; rist. Louvain: Peeters, 1961–62); la grafia *Liber Axumae* è nel frontespizio, mentre si trova *Liber Aksumae* nell’introduzione, cfr. le pp. 1 sg. del testo e della trad. Conti Rossini mostrò attenzione costante al *Liber Aksumae*, cfr. il suo protostudio, “Donazioni reali alla cattedrale di Aksum”, *L’Oriente*, 2 (1895), pp. 35–45, non solo, ovviamente, per attingervi preziose informazioni, ma anche per precisarne l’interpretazione con note e commenti di dettaglio, cfr., a puro titolo d’esempio, ID., “Sud-ar. *asad* = et. *anbasā* ‘uomo d’arme’”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 24 (1910), pp. 337–44; cfr. anche i “Documents additionnels pour le Liber Axumae”, nel ms. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, fondo Conti Rossini 44, cfr. STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de l’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fonds Conti Rossini et fonds Caetani 209, 375, 376, 377, 378* (Indici e sussidi bibliografici della biblioteca 9, Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1976), pp. 133–37.

² Per una bibliografia degli studi sugli “atti feudali” etiopici rimando alle indicazioni in ALESSANDRO BAUSI, “Il testo, il supporto e la funzione. Alcune osservazioni sul caso dell’Etiopia”, in VERENA BÖLL *et alii* (eds.), *Studia Aethiopica in Honour of Siegbert Uhlig on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), pp. 7–22, spec. pp. 19 sg., con rinvii ulteriori; si aggiungano ANAÏS WION, “The Manuscripts Library of Qoma Fasilädäs Monastery”, in BAYE YIMAM *et alii* (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies at the End of the Second Millennium. Proceedings of the XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. November 6–11, 2000, Addis Ababa*, 3 voll. (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies – Addis Ababa University, 2002), vol. I, pp. 275–300; MANFRED KROPP, “Four G^welt documents of ‘Amdä Şeyon from the Archive of the church of Däbrä Egziabeher-Ab on Amba Geshe (with an additional note on the name Bätärgelä Maryam)”, *Afrique et Histoire*, 2 (2004), pp. 213–34; ID., “Vier g^welt-Urkunden von König ‘Amdä-Şeyon aus dem Archiv der Kirche Däbrä-Ēgzi’abəher-Ab von Amba-Gəše”, in WALTER RAUNIG – ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE (Hrsg.), *Äthiopien zwischen Orient und Okzident. Wissenschaftliche Tagung der Gesellschaft ORBIS AETHIOPICUS – Köln, 9.–11.10.1998* (Orbis Aethiopicus. Beiträge zu Geschichte, Religion und Kunst Äthiopiens Band IV, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004), pp. 39–63; MARILYN E. HELDMAN – MONICA S. DEVENS, “The Four Gospels of Däbrä Mä‘ar: Colophon and Note of Donation”, *Scrinium*, 1 (2005) = DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed. in collaboration with SERGEI FRANTSOUZOFF – LEONID

come appendice nei mss. del *Kebrā Nagašt*, e con tale nome tradizionalmente noti in Etiopia, sia in forma isolata. J. Bruce attribuì il nome di *Maṣḥafa Aksum*, “Liber Aksumae”, al complesso di testi nel manoscritto da lui raccolto, comprendente il *Kebrā Nagašt* propriamente inteso e la collezione di testi a seguire, e tale nome fu mantenuto poi da A. Dillmann nel suo catalogo della Biblioteca Bodleiana di Oxford, ove i mss. di Bruce confluirono. Conti Rossini riservò invece restrittivamente il termine *Liber Aksumae* ad indicare la sola appendice di documenti. Essi si distinguono in tre parti: (I) notizie sulla chiesa di Aksum e sulla città; (II) atti feudali di donazione; (III) documenti storici e atti giuridici. L’edizione di Conti Rossini si basa sui mss. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, d’Abbadie 97 (per la I e II parte), 152 (II e III parte), 225 (I, II e III parte)³, e Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 93 (I e II parte)⁴, integrati per la I e II parte con documenti acquisiti direttamente in Eritrea ed in Etiopia.

Nella prospettiva di studi futuri, non sarebbe certamente inutile una riedizione sia del *Liber Aksumae* che di altre collezioni simili, anche in vista di un chiarimento su base filologica della genesi e stratificazione della raccolta, e delle intenzioni che ne hanno regolato l’articolazione nel suo complesso, ma-

KOGAN – BASIL LOURIE, *Varia Aethiopica. In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)* (Saint Petersburg: Byzantinorossica, 2005), pp. 77–99; MANFRED KROPP, “«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als imago imperii und notitia dignitatum in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zār’a Ya’qob im Condaghe der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154”, *ibid.*, pp. 115–47; ID., “Asylrecht und Pfründe für die zukünftige Residenz: Die Zeugenfassung der Privilegirkunde des Ras Wube für die Marienkirche von Dārāsge aus dem Condaghe der Hs. BL Or 481, fol. 3v”, in *Studia Semitica. Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee Volume* (Journal of Semitic Studies Book Supplement Series 16, Manchester: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 193–206; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, “Una pagina di storia eritrea: *kabasā* tra linguistica e filologia”, in BOGDAN BURTEA – JOSEF TROPPEL – HELEN YOUNANSARDAROU (Hrsg.), *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica. Festschrift für Rainer Voigt anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar 2004* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments 317, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005), 243–52.

³ ANTOINE D’ABBADIE, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d’Abbadie* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1859), pp. 108–10, 165 e 218 sg.; MARIUS CHAINE, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la Collection d’Abbadie* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912), pp. 62 sg., 92 sg., 129–31; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la Collection d’Abbadie. Extrait du Journal Asiatique (1912–1914)* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), pp. 203–05, nrr. 203, 204 e 205.

⁴ C.F.A. DILLMANN, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis. Pars VII. Codices Aethiopici* (Oxonii: E Typographeo Academico, 1848), pp. 68–76, nr. XXVI.

gari con il corredo di un commento aggiornato⁵. Oggi, benché ancora lontani dal disporre di strumenti onomastici e toponomastici adeguati, qualcosa si è pur fatto, e l'incrocio dei dati ricavabili dal *Liber Aksumae* con gli indici di testi e repertori pubblicati nel frattempo darebbe certamente informazioni importanti. Di questa opera futura, questo indice è solo un primissimo passo.

Come la *Storia d'Etiopia* del grande etiopista, anche il *Liber Aksumae* ha visto la luce senza il corredo di un'indice che ne rendesse l'utilizzazione agevole e fruttuosa, come del resto è stato a lungo la norma per i testi pubblicati nel *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. Poco dopo che un indice della *Storia d'Etiopia* fu pubblicato da E. Ullendorff nel 1962⁶, anche del *Liber Aksumae* apparve nel 1965 una traduzione inglese a cura di W.G.B. Huntingford della parte relativa agli atti feudali di donazione, con aggiunta di alcuni documenti supplementari, corredata di una introduzione e di una serie di appariti esplicativi e di indici⁷. Quanto qui pubblicato si distingue dagli

⁵ Per alcuni contributi recenti significativi, cfr. ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 16 (1983), pp. 105–14, spec. p. 114, n. 5, che ipotizza una derivazione da Dabra Bizan degli "Annali" storici nel *Liber Aksumae*; ID., "Notes éthiopiennes. III", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 31/2 (1998), pp. 129–43 (3. Quelques remarques sur le *Liber Axumae*); tra gli innumerevoli altri contributi che offrono qualche connessione su elementi di dettaglio con il *Liber Aksumae*, a puro titolo di esempio, cfr. ANDREA MANZO, "Doccioni con decorazione a protome leonina nell'Etiopia antica", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 43 (1999 [2000]), pp. 113–31: il termine etiopico per "doccioni" è certamente *masraba māy* (cfr. l'indice); e su *berota eben* (cfr. l'indice), V.M. LUR'E, "Iz Ierusalima v Aksum čerez chram Solomona: arhaičnye predanija o Sione i Kovčege Zaveta v sostave *Kebra Negest* i ich transljacija čerez Konstantinopol" ["From Jerusalem to Aksum through the Temple of Solomon: archaic traditions related to the Ark of Covenant and Sion in the *Kebra Nagast* and their translation through Constantinople"], *Christianskij Vostok*, 2 (VIII) (2000 [2001]), pp. 137–207, spec. pp. 198–201; BERTRAND HIRSCH – FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE-AYMAR, "Aksum après Aksum. Royauté, archéologie et herméneutique chrétienne de Ménélik II (r. 1865–1913) à Zär'a Ya'qob (r. 1434–1468)", *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 17 (2001), pp. 57–107; cfr. anche *Aksum: Mäṣṣafä Aksum*, a c. di GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, in SIEGBERT UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica. Volume 1. A–C* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003), pp. 185 sg.

⁶ EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Index of C. Conti Rossini's 'Storia d'Etiopia'", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 18 (1962), pp. 97–141.

⁷ Cfr. GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia* (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure 1, Addis Ababa – Nairobi: The Institute of Ethiopian Studies – The Faculty of Law of Haile Sellassie I University, in association with Oxford University Press, 1965); gli apparati, alle pp. 85–110, comprendono "The topography of the charters", "Survey of monasteries and churches to which land is granted in the charters" e "Glossary of official titles"; gli indici, alle pp. 121–31, comprendono "Index of officials", "Index of grantors", "Index of grantees",

indici di Huntingford sia perché comprende *tutti* i nomi propri (toponimi e nomi di persona, con le sole limitazioni più sotto indicate) ed alcuni termini notevoli, sia perché è relativo a *tutte le tre parti* del *Liber Aksumae*.

* * *

L'indice è stato redatto sul *volume di traduzione*: la scelta non è stata dettata da esigenze di comodità, ma da quella di seguire, per coerenza, l'interpretazione di nomi e termini, spesso oggettivamente difficile ed incerta, adottata da Conti Rossini, e che solo nella traduzione pienamente si esplica. Sono stati indicizzati nomi propri (toponimi e nomi di persona) e alcuni termini di cariche o *Realien* ritenuti di maggior interesse; per la valutazione della rilevanza di questi ultimi esiste un oggettivo margine di arbitrarietà. Nomi e termini sono stati verificati sulla edizione del testo etiopico; nel caso di termini tecnici, che Conti Rossini talvolta ha trascritto e talaltra ha tradotto o parafrasato, essi sono stati sempre indicizzati secondo la trascrizione, anche se l'occorrenza nell'indice rimanda in diversi casi alla loro traduzione o parafrasi, nel volume di traduzione. Non sono stati indicizzati i nomi di Maria, di Pietro e Paolo, di Ario e di Simon Mago invocati nelle formule di scongiuro; non sono stati indicizzati nemmeno i nomi, assenti nel testo etiopico, ed integrati da Conti Rossini, in corsivo, nella traduzione. Sono stati invece indicizzati i nomi e i termini riportati da Conti Rossini nelle sue preziose annotazioni – tali occorrenze sono ovviamente distinte da quelle del testo etiopico (cfr. sotto) – quando è sembrato che l'informazione fosse significativa (sempre esclusi, ovviamente, i nomi nei riferimenti bibliografici): naturalmente, anche per questa valutazione esiste un oggettivo margine di arbitrarietà.

I numeri romani (I, II e III) fanno riferimento alle tre parti di cui si compone il volume di traduzione del *Liber Aksumae* nella traduzione di Conti Rossini: parte I: pp. 3–19; parte II: pp. 20–80; parte III: pp. 81–103. Il nome in cifra araba che segue dopo il punto fa riferimento al numero assegnato al documento, con numerazione progressiva separata in ciascuna parte. Per alcuni documenti in doppia recensione, la seconda recensione è marcata dalla

“Index of chiefs and districts”, “Index of lands granted by charter”, e “Index of titles”; una trad. di *excerpta* dalla I parte del *Liber Aksumae* era già apparsa in CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Prester John of the Indies. A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John being the narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520 written by Father Francisco Alvares. The translation of Lord Stanley of Alderley (1881) revised and edited with additional material*, 2 voll. (Hakluyt Society second series 114–115, Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1961), vol. II, pp. 521–25.

lettera “b” (documenti II.5b, II.7b, II.17b, II.24b e III.8b). I numeri tra parentesi tonda fanno riferimento al numero di pagina ed alla linea (solo la prima linea, nel caso di nomi o termini su più linee), sempre del volume di traduzione. Es.: Abār Samaqā: II.10(25.18) = parte II, documento nr. 10, p. 25, linea 18. La lettera “n” indica che il nome o termine indicizzato si trova nelle annotazioni che seguono alla traduzione del documento indicato. Es.: Abrehā Širē: II.89(76.n) = parte II, documento nr. 89, p. 76, annotazioni relative al documento.

Ai fini dell’ordinamento alfabetico dei nomi sono stati considerati equivalenti e quindi accorpati rispettivamente i grafemi: ’, ‘; h, ḥ, ḥ; s, ś; ṣ, ḍ. Le due coppie: s, ś; ṣ, ḍ non sono state distinte nella scrittura, e risultano qui sempre trascritte: “s” e “ṣ”. “’” e “‘” iniziali sono state indicizzate sotto la vocale seguente. Le forme dei nomi e dei termini sono di norma quelle della trascrizione di Conti Rossini, salvo adeguamenti minimi. Es.: labiovelari con “k^w”, anziché con “ku” ecc.; “Şeyon” per “Şyon”; alcune geminazioni sono state razionalizzate. Nomi che risultavano trascritti in modi diversi sono stati uniformati. Es.: G^werē in II.3(21.14) e G^werrē in II.18(29.7). I toponimi in “Ad” e varianti (“Ād”, “Ad”, “Addi” ecc.) sono indicizzati sulla base del loro secondo elemento.

Questo indice non è e non vuol essere un esempio di metodo e di rigore. Elaborato inizialmente come semplice strumento di lavoro per uso personale, è sembrato che potesse, con qualche adeguamento, essere pubblicato e messo a disposizione di tutti, per agevolare l’utilizzazione del *Liber Aksumae*, testo ricchissimo di informazione storica, toponomastica, prosopografica, ed anche linguistica, ed inteso qui non solo come testo, ma anche come *libro*, come *opera scientifica*, nella forma che gli ha conferito l’interpretazione ed elaborazione di Conti Rossini.

Pur essendomi sforzato di ridurli al minimo possibile, nell’indice si troveranno certamente degli errori; si troveranno anche scelte discutibili, incoerenze, e magari inutili complicazioni. Come in altri casi simili, chi verrà poi farà meglio.

* * *

Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*

- ° °
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Summary

To the difference of previous partial indexes of *Liber Aksumae* (e.g., by G.W.B. Huntingford), the present one puts together all the proper names and noteworthy terms occurring in the famous publication by C. Conti Rossini of 1909-10. The index refers to the translation volume and is intended as a simple working tool for all those (archaeologists, historians, philologists, linguists etc.) who may be interested in retrieving informations preserved in one of Ethiopia's richest 'archival' documentary sources.