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YOSEF DEMISSIE, National Library, Addis Ababa

Article

Text Emendations in Ethiopic Manuscript NLM 27 (National Archives and Library Agency, Addis Abeba)

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by Alessandro Bausi

in cooperation with

Bairu Tafla, Ulrich Braukämper, Ludwig Gerhardt, Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg and Siegbert Uhlig

Bibliographical abbreviations used in this volume

AÉ Annales d'Éthiopie, Paris 1955ff.

ÄthFor Äthiopistische Forschungen, 1–35, ed. by E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, 36–40, ed. by S. UHLIG (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (1–34), 1977–1992; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (35–40), 1994–1995).

AethFor Aethiopistische Forschungen, 41–73, ed. by S. UHLIG (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2011); 74–75, ed. by A. BAUSI and S. UHLIG (*ibid.*, 2011f.); 76ff. ed. by A. BAUSI (*ibid.*, 2012ff.).

AION Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', Napoli: Università di Napoli 'L'Orientale' (former Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli), 1929ff.

BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London, 1917ff.).

CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1903ff.

EAe
S. UHLIG, ed., Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, I: A-C; II: D-Ha; III: He-N; in cooperation with A. BAUSI, eds, IV: O-X (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010); A. BAUSI in cooperation with S. UHLIG, eds, V: Y-Z, Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).

EMML Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa.
 JAH The Journal of African History, Cambridge 1960ff.
 JES Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa 1963ff.
 OrChr Oriens Christianus, Leipzig-Roma-Wiesbaden 1901ff.
 PdP La Parola del Passato. Rivista di studi classici, Napoli 1946ff.

PICES 8 TADDESE BEYENE, ed., Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Addis Ababa (26–30 November) 1984, I–II (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies–Frankfurt am Main: Frobenius Institut, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, 1988–1989).

PICES 10 C. LEPAGE and É. DELAGE, eds, Études éthiopiennes: Actes de la Xe Conférence internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris, 24–28 août 1988 (Paris: Société française pour les études éthiopiennes, 1994).

PO Patrologia Orientalis, 1903ff.

RIÉ É. BERNAND, A.J. DREWES, and R. SCHNEIDER, Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite, I: Les documents, II: Les planches (Paris: (Académie des inscriptions et belle-lettres) Diffusion de Boccard, 1991)

RRALm Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Roma, 1892ff.

RSE Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, Roma, 1941–1981, Roma-Napoli, 1983ff.

SAe Scriptores Aethiopici.

Text Emendations in Ethiopic Manuscript NLM 27 (National Archives and Library Agency, Addis Abeba)

YOSEF DEMISSIE, National Library, Addis Ababa

Introduction

Ethiopic manuscripts are the product of committed scribes.¹ For the scribe, writing is both a practical matter and an act of devotion. Working in the light from a doorway or in the shade of a tree, the scribe writes with a quire of parchment resting upon his knee for hours at a time. The largest book may take up to eighteen months to copy, while smaller books can be written in two months.² The laborious work of copying demands patience and great concentration.

Texts contained in Ethiopian manuscripts abound in variants made both intentionally and unintentionally in the course of the transmission. Some variants are errors, others are various types of corrections undertaken by the scribes in order to rectify what they considered as errors or to emend of the texts.

For over sixteen centuries a scribal community has thrived in Ethiopia and reproduced innumerable manuscripts. Errors introduced involuntarily by the copyist, or modifications introduced by them deliberately, resulted in progressive disfiguration of the texts.³ The unintentional errors may have been introduced due to tiredness, some errors seem to have been caused by visual difficulty during the copy process or by a lack of knowledge of the language, etc. Intentional variations were, of course, added deliberately.⁴

- ¹ Most scribes are unable to spend all of their time writing as they usually have other duties to perform for the church and often have a small plot of land and some animals to tend. Time is also required to make the parchment, black ink and pens. Considerable effort is needed to finish a book (Mellors and Parsons 2002).
- ² Sergew Hable Selassie 1981, 32–33. Generally speaking, Ethiopian scribes are not fast workers. The scribe has no desk, he sits on sheepskin or on a piece of wood. He uses his knee to support the vellum on which he is writing (Sergew Hable Selassie 1981, 31).
- ³ Marrassini 2008, 8.
- ⁴ 'The translators and scribes had a tendency to employ a variety of stylistic devices, which are well-known in the Ethiopic text. Most usual are statements reinforced by the addition of phrases, especially in recent manuscripts the central terms get additional attributes; and theological explanation sometimes creates significant revisions of the text. The considerable number of glosses, which found their way into the text of the Bible, indicates the extent to which scribes were employed in the work on the biblical text. Because of their open understanding of the biblical canon, they saw themselves in

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The scribes do not write down what they find in the model manuscript, rather they write what they think the meaning is, or they attempt to rectify the errors of others. These variants may occur not only in the process of copying, but may also be made later, by correctors or other scribes or by learned users of the manuscripts.

Signs of deliberate modifying of texts are common in Ethiopic manuscripts. Visually, they are manifested through erasing the original text,⁵ and through erasing the original text (cancelling it in different ways) and adding new passages. Both the main text and the additional text can be altered, and sometimes the emerging text is not easily readable, because of the density of the corrections. Also in the colophons, which are frequently found at the end of the text, the name of the scribe or the owner, or other data can be erased and left without any substitution, or erased and replaced with other dates or names.

General overview of manuscripts

Here below are examples of various types of emendations in some manuscripts preserved in the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency (ENALA).

- 1) NLM 440 *Mäṣḥafā Məʾəlad* ('Book of the Collection') and *Sənkəssar* ('Synaxarium'):- 44 x 33 cm, 260 folios, 3 cols, 35 lines, 1945 EC. The emendation was carried out through erasing the original text and adding new passages over the erasures, in a different, very recent hand. Since this manuscript is a dogmatic treatise, the emendation is carried out very carefully.
- 2) NLM 437 Mäṣhafä Ḥawi ('Book of Hawi'): 50 x 37 cm, 234 folios, 3 cols, 59 lines, 1916 EC; NLM 2 Orit (Octateuch): 31 x 24 cm, 202 folios, 3 cols, 34 lines, early twentieth century; NLM 17 Nägäśt (Old Testament, the Books of Kings): 20 x 16 cm, 132 folios, 2 cols, 29 lines. In these three manuscripts the emendation is done only by inserting the new readings interlineally, in a different recent hand.
- 3) NLM 306 Nägś ('Collection of hymns'): 20 x 17 cm, 154 folios, 2 cols, 15–23 lines, twentieth century, throughout the manuscript, some passages have been erased (scratched out) and new text has been written over the erasures, likely by a different hand in the same period. Some passages of the main text are cancelled with red lines encircling them.
 - a place to give the text in a more suitable form in the process of translating or reproducing it. This led to a substantial multiplicity of variants and to the growth of the text'; s. 'Bible', *EAe*, I (2003), 563–564 (S. Uhlig).
- ⁵ Palimpsests are rarely attested; they are obtained by washing off the ink, more than by erasing; s. 'Manuscripts', *EAe*, III (2007), 738–744 (S. Uhlig and A. Bausi), here p. 739.

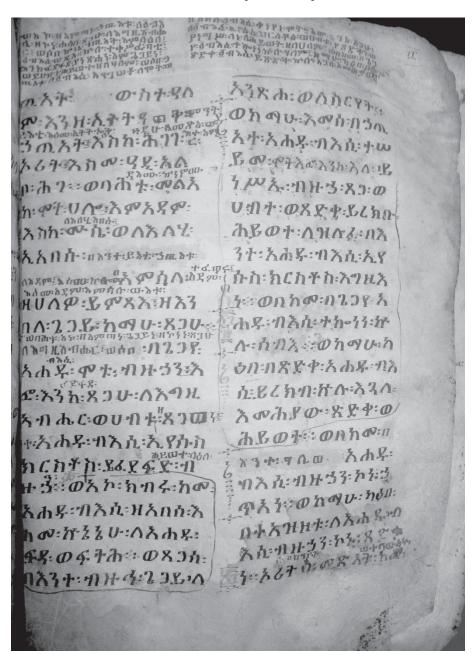


Fig. 1: MS NLM 27, f. 12^r

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4) NLM 625 *Gädlä Abib* ('Acts of Abib'): 32 x 24 cm, 117 folios, 2 cols, 22 lines, 1984 EC. A number of passages were erased (but remain visible) and the correct readings were written over the erasures in a very recent hand, cf. such passages as:

Original

has been corrected to

፬ ክንፊሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ መናፍስት ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ቤተክርስቲያን ፡ ፬ ክንፊሁ ፡ ለእግዚአ ፡ መናፍስት ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡

Basically, the interventions in the text visible in the manuscripts can be categorized into two types. The first type is represented by corrections done by the scribe of the main text, after finalizing the copying, to verify whether the text was copied correctly. The second and more common practice is represented by emendations performed at a later time, by other scribes, with the aim of modifying the content. As a rule emendation of the content occurs more frequently in manuscripts with biblical and theological texts.

The fifteenth-century Epistles of St Paul (NLM 27)

Among the Biblical manuscripts, the fifteenth-century codex containing the fourteen Pauline Epistles⁶ is a good example of extensive text erasing and text amending carried out at a later time, by a different scribe.

The manuscript was once the property of the monastery of Däbrä Ḥayq ∃stifanos; currently it is preserved in the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency (NALA) with the signature NLM 27. It was brought to Addis Abäba on 24 April 1946, by the then director of the Library aläqa Harägäwäyn Bäyyänä.

The front board of the volume is made of wood, and is possibly the original; the back board is made of a rough piece of thick leather. The parchment of the manuscript is solid and thick; the dimensions are 35.5×26 cm (outer dimension), 24×18 cm (writing surface), 144 folios. The text is written in two columns, twenty-two written lines to a column.

In the Ethiopian tradition, the scribes copy and bind the Epistles of Paul as one book. Occasionally, some scribes copy the full New Testament and bind it as one book.

⁶ The Epistles of St Paul consists of fourteen Epistles. Among the Epistles the letter to the Romans has been selected for study. The Romans has sixteen chapters, each chapter is divided into verses. The division of the chapters and verses are taken from the Bible.

The manuscript NLM 27 contains the following texts:

- 1. ff. 5^r–28^r: Epistle to the Romans;
- 2. ff. 29^r–54^r: Epistle to the Corinthians I and II;
- 3. ff. 55^r–70^r: Epistle to Timothy;
- 4. ff. 71^r–78^v: Epistle to Galatians;
- 5. ff. 80^r–87^r: Epistle to the Ephesians;
- 6. ff. 88^r–93^r: Epistle to the Philippians;
- 7. ff. 94^r–98^v: Epistle to the Colossians;
- 8. ff. 100^r–103^v: Epistle to the Thessalonians I;
- 9. ff. 104^r–105^r: Epistle to the Thessalonians II;
- 10. ff. 106^r–109^r: Epistle to Timothy I;
- 11. ff. 110^r 118^r: Epistle to Timothy II;
- 12. ff. 118^r–123^v: Epistle to Titus;
- 13. ff. 126^r–141^v: Epistle to the Hebrews.

Ff. 1–2 are guard leaves, and between the frontispiece miniature (see below) and the incipit of the Epistle to the Romans (f. 2^r–2^v), there is a loosely inserted leaf, which is a fragment of a Gospel (Mark 6:40–7:13), probably originating from a different manuscript (of comparable age, and written in a similar or perhaps even in identical hand). The last leaves are also of heterogeneous origin; in particular, two leaves show a miniature of St John (verso) and the incipit page of the Gospel of John (John 1), written in the same hand as Mark 6:40–7:13 on the two aforementioned guard leaves.

The manuscript NLM 27 has neither colophon nor marginal notes. Only on the top of f. 3^v there is a short note written in red ink: በተሉውው ፡ አበው ፡ መበአባ ፡ ሊባኖስ ፡ መበአባ ፡ ዓቢይይ.

In the margins near both text columns, there are numbers showing the division of the Epistles. Occasional marginal signs are in red. The incipit of each text is decorated with a fine headpiece executed in yellow, blue and red. Almost all those Epistles are preceded by a miniature (always on verso side) showing St Paul with a person related to the letter; the colors used are red, blue and yellow, with occasional orange. The miniatures occupy ff. 34°, 54°, 79°, 89°, 93°, 99°, 109°, 124°, 142°; while, ornamental designs are executed on ff. 5°, 29°, 55°, 80°, 88°, 94°, 100°, 104°, 106°, 110°, 126°.

The manuscript NLM 27 is datable to the fifteenth century, as its hand-writing and the use of punctuation signs fit the criteria for the 'square script' of the second half of the fourteenth-mid-fifteenth century: the letters' shapes becoming rectangular, with some being as broad as they are high,⁷ cf. NLM 27, f. 40^r:

⁷ Uhlig 1990, 43.

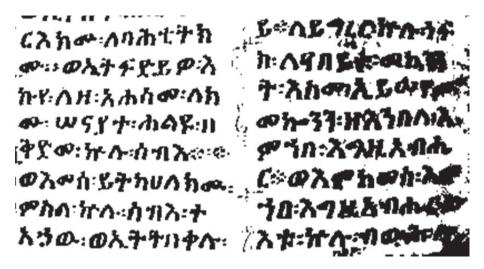


Fig. 2: MS NLM 27, f. 40^r

The manuscript NLM 27 is registered by UNESCO as a world literary heritage in the 1997 program, Memory of the World.⁸ The manuscript allows an insight into the fifteenth-century literary tradition of Däbrä Ḥayq ∃stifanos, the place where many texts were composed and copied.

The manuscript was probably copied by a traditional scholar of Gə°əz and the New Testament at the monastery of Däbrä Ḥayq Ḥstifanos. At a later time, the texts of all the Epistles were corrected again, by another scribe, possibly in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The later scribe has extensively intervened in the original text of NLM 27, mainly using the following techniques:

- 1) Inserting words or sentences above the original text (interlineally) which thus still remains readable, or in the margins of the folio (mostly top margin);
- 2) Erasing words or sentences, and writing correct readings in the line over the erasure (in rare cases, the correction may be only to the vowel marker of a single letter);
- 3) In a few cases, an extensive passage of the original text is to be discarded and is marked by a thin line (see figure); the better reading is written in the margin;

⁸ It is one of twelve precious manuscripts of the National Archive and Library Agency registered by UNESCO (see የኢትዮጵያ: ብሔራዊ: ቤተመዛግብትና: ቤተመጻሕፍት: ኤጀንሲ: በዓለም: የጽሑፍ: ቅርስት: ያስመዘገባቸውን: የጽሑፍ: ቅርስት: የያዘ: ህትመት: ግንቦት: 2006 ዓ.ም.).

4) Some isolated words in the original text have been erased (scratched out), with no alternative or correction inserted; we might assume that these erasings have been done by the aforementioned later scribe. There are not many cases of such erasings; they should probably be seen in connection with interventions of types 1–3.

In some places, the text has been changed quite considerably; this is indicated by the density and complexity of the emendations. Towards the end of the manuscript, the emendations are less numerous. Here below, are some examples of the corrections and emendations, found in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans (the first text in the manuscript).

1) – NLM 27: f. 5^{ra}: ... አመልክ ፡ በመንፌሰየ ፡ ... '... I serve with my spirit ...' (Rom 1:9)

The seventeenth-century scribe adds one word interlineally: ... አመልክ ፡ በ{ትንሉ ፡ } መንራስየ ፡ ... '... I worship with all my spirit ...'

- NLM 27: f. 5^{rb}: ... እስመ ፡ ኃይሉ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ውዕቱ ፡ ወያድንኖሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ... (Rom 1:16)
- "... because it is the power of the Lord, and saves all ..."

The seventeenth-century scribe adds interlineally: ... አስመ ፡ ኃይሉ ፡ ለእግዚ አብሔር ፡ ሙዕቴ ፡ {ዘየሐይዎሙ ፡} መያድንኖሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ... '... because it is the power of the Lord, which makes alive and saves all ...'

– NLM 27: f. 5^{rb}: ቦቴ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ ጽድቀ ፡ አግዚአብሔር ፡ ለአለ ፡ የአምኑ ፡ በአሚን ፡ ... (Rom 1:17) 'The righteousness of the Lord is revealed for those who believe with faith ...'

The seventeenth-century scribe adds interlineally: ወቦቱ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ ጽድ ቀ ፡ አግዚአብሔር ፡ {ወርትዑ ፡ አስመ ፡ ያጸድቆሙ} ፡ ለአለ ፡ የአምኑ ፡ በአሚን ፡ ...
'The righteousness of the Lord and His justice are revealed, because he makes righteous those who believe with faith ...'

– NLM 27: f. 5^{ra}: ወእስአል ፡ ከመ ፡ *ያርትዕ* ፡ አግዚአብሔር ፡ ፍኖትየ ፡ ... (Rom 1:10) 'And I will ask the Lord in order that he makes right my way ...'

The later scribe adds interlineally: ወእስአል ፡ ከመ ፡ ያርትዕ ፡ {ወይስሐኒ ፡} እግዚአብሔር ፡ ፍኖትየ ፡ ...

'And I will ask the Lord in order that he makes right and (?) my way ...'
On this verse the copyist made a graphical error or mistake because the verb

Bhh does not exist in the Gə az dictionary.

– NLM 27: f. 5^r ..., ወከማሁ ... እጽህቅ ፡ ከመ ፡ እምሀርክሙ ፡ ለክሙኒ ፡ እለ ፡ ብሔለ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ (Rom 1:15)

⁹ Additions are indicated by curly brackets {...}.

'But also I am eager in order that I teach you for you also, who are in the country of Rome'

The later scribe adds interlineally: ወከማሁ ፡ {ዓዲ ፡ ፌድፋደ ፡} እጽህቅ ፡ ከመ ፡ እመሀርከሙ ፡ ለከሙኒ ፡ እስ ፡ ብሔረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡፡

- 2) NLM 27: f. 10^{ra}: ... ከመ፡ በጸጋሁ። ይከውን። ህልወ። ይከውን። ተስፋ። ለተ ሉ። ዘርው። {ከመ። ያእምሩ። ከመ። አኮ። በገቢረ። ሕገገ። አሪት። ዘይጸድቁ። ዘእን በለ። ዳእሙ። በአሚን።} አብርሃም። ዘውእቱ። አበ። ተልነ። በከመ። ተጽሕፌ። (Rom 4:16)
- NLM 27: f. 11^{ra}: ... ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ አባሆሙ ፡ ለብዙ ኃን ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤሎ ፡ ዘርእከ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ወ ፡ {አምን ፡ አብርሃም ፡ ወኢናፊቀ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይሬኢ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ከመ ፡ ልሂቅ ፡} ከመ ፡ ደክመ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ በድን ፡ እስመ ፡ ምእት ፡ ከረምቱ ፡ ... (Rom 4:19)
- 3) NLM 27: f. 12^r (fig. 1): using thick black lines, the later scribe cancelled the entire passage Rom 5:16–18 and wrote in the upper margin:

ወአኮ ፡ በአምጣን ፡ ኃጢአቱ ፡ ለ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘኮን ፡ ሐሳበ ፡ ጸጋሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ኮንኔ ፡ ኃጢአት ፡ እምሳእለ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ወዲአ ፡ ኮሎ ፡ ተቀሥፌ ፡ ባቲ ፡ እንከ ፡ ፌድፋደ ፡ ያንጽሐን ፡ እምጌጋይን ፡ ወይሁበን ፡ ሕይወተ ፡ ዘለዓለም ። ወሶበ ፡ ኃጢአቱ ፡ ለ፩ ፡ በእሲ ፡ ... etc.

- 4) NLM 27: f. 17^{ra}: እንዘ ፡ ድኩማን ፡ ወኃጥአን ፡ ንሕን ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ዘመን **፡** [er]¹⁰ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ...
- NLM 27: f. 20^{ra}: አሳ ፡ {ሬሰዩ ፡ ወ}አርትው ፡ ታፍሰክሙ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ [er]¹¹ ፡ ዘናንሥሉ ፡.

The MS NLM 27 of Däbrä Ḥayq ∃stifanos is valuable because of its antiquity; furthermore, it was copied carefully probably by a scribe who was a scholar of the NT who would have an excellent knowledge of theology. Hence, the manuscript of Ḥayq has crucial importance for the study of the Ethiopic NT.

It is obvious that the corrections were made by imitating the text of other manuscripts, throughout all the chapters. However, in some chapters, the corrections are less numerous; for instance in ch. 1, ch. 9, ch. 10 and ch. 11. Especially in ch. 12, very few corrections have been made. Furthermore, in ch. 5, ch. 7 and ch. 8, only erasing has been done, and no new text has been added. On the whole, nearly 30 %–40 % of the original readings have been lost due to the second copyist's intervention.

Looking through the manuscripts, one wishes to pose a number of questions: Why did these emendations take place? What reasons did the second

¹⁰ Cf. Tedros Abraha 2001, 79.

¹¹ Cf. *ibid*.

copyist have for correcting the text? Is there any religious, ideological, stystylistic or linguistic difference between the original text and the emended one? The above questions imply that the manuscript of Hayq deserves to be studied thoroughly, in order to reconstruct the erased readings in a critical edition.¹²

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ቅዱስ ጳውሎስ መጽሐፍ ንባቡ ከነትርጓሜው ፤ 1948 EC (1954/1955 CE) ፤ ትንሣኤ ዘጉባኤ ማተሚ ያ ቤት ፤ አዲስ አበባ ።

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F. 29^r ..., **ወ**አት ፡ ባሕቲታ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ርብቃኒ ፡ ፀንሰት ፡ መንታ ፡ በአሐት ፡ ሩካቤ ፡ ለይስሐቅ ፡ አቡን ፡፡ (Rom 9:10) 'Even more to the point is what was said to Rebecca when she was pregnant by our ancestor Isaac'.

F. 30^r, እስመ : ከጣህ : ይቤ : መጽሐፍ : ያዕቆብሃ : አፍቀርኩ : መኤሳውሃ : ጸላአኩ : ከመ : ይኩን : ኀርየተ : ዘሠርዖ : እግዚአብሔር : እምትካት ። (Rom 9:13) 'Or as the scripture says elsewhere: I loved Jacob but hated Esau'.

MS NLM 27 introduces new passages which are not found in other versions of the Pauline Epistles in Tedros Abreha's critical edition (except one, MS E, which apparently belongs to the same group as NLM 27). The following readings may be given as examples:

Yosef Demissie

Abbreviations

MS: Manuscript R: Romans

NLM: National Library Manuscript R1.12: Romans chapter one verse twelve

NT: New Testament [er] Erased reading

Summary

The paper investigates the phenomenon of textual corrections in Ethiopic manuscripts at the example of some cases documented in the collection of the National Archives and Library Agency, Addis Abeba. The case-study of the MS NLM 27 (Pauline Epistles) is presented more in detail.