

Alessandro Bausi

# Writing, Copying, Translating: Ethiopia as a Manuscript Culture<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Introduction

Beginning with the remote past of the Aksumite kingdom (1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, an “African civilization of Late Antiquity”), the Ethiopian cultural area offers a peculiar case study for the “manuscriptology” of ancient, medieval and modern times. Historically a land of written civilizations since the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, the areas nowadays corresponding to the highlands of Eritrea and Northern Ethiopia witnessed the early introduction of the parchment roll and codex, the latter having been strongly fostered by the Christianization of the country in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. Taking advantage of the safe, dry climate of the Abyssinian highlands, which makes chemical treatment quite unnecessary, manuscript production has enjoyed a steady run of centuries, down to the present day. Even now, parchment is still produced in several areas of the region. Mainly an object of interest to historians, philologists and linguists as precious repositories of written historical and linguistic data, the Ethiopian manuscripts written in Ethiopic (especially literary texts), and to a lesser extent in Amharic (especially documentary texts), Arabic and Harari (in Islamic contexts), have not yet become a topic of codicological study within the frame of modern, so-called “manuscript archaeology”, nor have they been properly assessed from a comparative or quantitative perspective. The estimated number of manuscripts ranges from a minimum of 25,000 to 200,000, and the figure may even be higher if we take into account the treasure of still unexplored and hardly accessible manuscripts preserved in the Tegray monasteries, the “cradle” of Ethiopian civilization. Despite the relatively recent age of most Ethiopic manuscripts (among which only two or three Four Gospels books may predate the 12<sup>th</sup> century), several archaic features which Ethiopian culture has inherited from Mediterranean Late Antiquity make codicological evaluation all the more desirable. Nowadays, however, observable

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank most sincerely the organizers of the Workshop in “Manuscriptology”, October 8–11, 2007, University of Copenhagen, Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, for having offered me the unique opportunity to put forward a wide range of problems pertaining to a variety of disciplines. I would like to extend my thanks to Dmitry Bondarev, who has so competently and patiently taken care of the editorial revision of this paper, as well as to the anonymous reviewer for his equally patient and careful reading. Usual disclaims apply, *i.e.* the final text is entirely my own responsibility.

features (or even features traceable to medieval times) cannot be mechanically identified as archaic traditional practices. Ethiopian production of parchment and codices must have been of primary importance even in ancient times, bearing in mind that Islamic sources unanimously accredit the “invention of the codex” to African people and that the Arabic term *muṣḥaf* ‘codex’ (almost entirely associated with the Qur’an codex) was borrowed from Ethiopic. Ink production is an important material aspect of manuscript studies. Ethnographic observation of surviving examples, as well as philological and linguistic data (*i.e.* study of terminology) attest to the absence of metallic ink in Ethiopia, although it was widely used both in other Christian and in Islamic provinces in course of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium CE. Yet much is expected from reliable laboratory analyses. As far as transmission is concerned, Ethiopic manuscripts reveal substantially “mechanical” textual traditions. This strongly clashes with both the purported predominance of orality in Africa and (as an assumed consequence) copyists’ arbitrariness in transmitting texts. Documentary texts may present peculiar transmission phenomenology. Yet, copyists’ actual attitude to the transmitted texts can only be ascertained through manuscript collation, which has not yet been extensively done for most printed editions of Ethiopic texts. I will present a panoramic view of the state of the research on Ethiopic manuscripts, and then a particular case study of “manuscript philology” that focuses on “gaps”, “adjustments” and “normalization” in the chain of traditional textual transmission.

## 2 A long written tradition

The peculiarities of manuscript production in Ethiopian culture find their origin in the very late introduction of printing, whose extensive use does not predate the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The existence of a writing tradition three millennia old is no doubt the most paradoxical and exotic aspect of Ethiopian civilization (historically understood) in the context of Africa south of the Sahara.<sup>2</sup> Geographically included in, though not corresponding to the political boundaries of the present independent states of Eritrea and Ethiopia, the geographic area of Ethiopian civilization is one of extreme linguistic and anthropological variety. The long continuity of the South-Semitic written tradition has made it the subject of linguistic, philological and historical studies which have been relatively consistently focused on long-lasting cultural features, from the origins of the civilization through ancient

---

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Munro-Hay 1991; Brakmann 1994; for an updated and comprehensive presentation of all the main topics in Ethiopian Studies, see *EAE*.

and medieval times to the premodern and – in some respects – the modern ages. The earliest evidence of writing in the area is represented by monumental and cursive Sabaic inscriptions which date to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE (probably the 8<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries). These bear witness to the strong influence of the South Arabian civilization then flourishing on the opposite side of the Red Sea, which probably settled on African soil over an earlier South-Semitic substratum also of Asiatic origin.<sup>3</sup>

Mentioned in various sources since the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, the “Kingdom of Aksum” – named after its capital city in Northern Ethiopia, in present-day Tegray – reached its peak of power in the period from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, after centuries of development. It represented – in ways not yet really clear – a well rooted Semitic civilization, increasingly penetrated by the Greek culture circulating along the shores of the Red Sea since the Hellenistic age. Near-Eastern South-Arabian, African and Asiatic components all influenced it, alone, mutually, and in combination. Starting from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century at least, evidence of inscriptions (until the 5<sup>th</sup> century) and coins legends testifies to the use of Greek as well as Ethiopic (also known as Ancient Ethiopic or Ge’ez).<sup>4</sup> A South-Semitic language easily distinguished from South-Arabian (whose alphabet – not the language – was occasionally used in royal inscriptions), Ethiopic was destined to be the only written language of the Kingdom for a millennium and a half, well after it had ceased to be spoken or had become a different language, Tigrinya (probably around the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup> century). As will be shown, the language change had its “manuscriptological” consequences for the transmission of Ethiopic texts.

Conversion to Christianity, introduced in Ethiopia in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE and, as Cosmas Indicopleustes attests in his *Topographia Christiana*, widely established throughout the East by the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup>, had a major and lasting impact on Ethiopian culture. The Ethiopian Church, whose official language was always Ethiopic, remained subordinate to the Egyptian Church of Alexandria, whose official language was initially Greek, later Coptic and finally Arabic, almost without interruption until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> Aksum reached the height of its glory as the main military partner of the Byzantine Empire in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, when South Arabia had also been under Aksumite control for some decades. The emergence of Islam in the 7<sup>th</sup> century followed by the occupation of the African coasts in the 8<sup>th</sup>, dramatically put an end to Ethiopia’s central role in the trade routes along the

---

3 Cf. Marrassini 2003b. For inscriptions, cf. Bernand / Drewes / Schneider 1991; Bernand 2000; cf. also Avanzini 2007a; Müller 2007; and Marrassini 2014.

4 Cf. Fiaccadori 2007a; Avanzini 2007b; Frantsouzoff 2007; Fiaccadori 2007b.

5 The Ethiopian Church became completely autocephalous only in 1959 with Patriarch Bäselyos, cf. Chernetsov 2005.

Red Sea, as well as to its intense relationship with other areas of Christian culture. In the following centuries, the core of the Christian kingdom moved progressively southwards from Aksum to Lālibalā, the rockhewn capital of the Zāgʷē dynasty in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, until it reached Amharic-speaking areas, where it has been mainly based since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. At the southern limits of the kingdom, Addis Ababa, the present capital of Ethiopia, was founded at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, the heritage of Aksum deeply marked the history of the whole Ethiopian area. The Christian kingdom played a hegemonic role in the region until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It is surprising, however, that *maṣṣaf*, the most general Ge'ez term for 'manuscript, book, writing' in all its meanings, was borrowed into Arabic, where *muṣṣaf* became a technical term for a Qur'anic codex. This seems to imply that Ethiopian production of parchment and codices must have been of major importance even in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, and that the Arabs, "people of the Book" *par excellence*, adopted the use of the codex from the Ethiopians, who had received it in turn from the late antique Near-Eastern and Mediterranean world. This hypothesis is confirmed by a relatively ancient Islamic tradition attested in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century by Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiẓ in his *Fakhr al-sūdān 'alā l-biḍān* ('The boasts of the Blacks over the Whites').<sup>6</sup>

As an "African civilization of Late Antiquity", the Aksumite kingdom participated intensively in cultural movements and exchanges between the Near East, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea during the first Christian centuries, right down to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. More than that, modern Ethiopia has faithfully retained some features of this cultural environment: be they religious practices, literary texts, artistic motifs or elements of material culture. The same happened well after the medieval age in other areas of the Christian Orient, of which Ethiopia has been an integral, though remote component for centuries. Yet, due to its long isolation, it is likely that archaic elements are more easily to be found in Ethiopia than in other countries.<sup>7</sup>

In the script used in the earliest Ethiopic monumental inscriptions, round letter-forms proper of soft text-carriers are more prevalent than in the comparable South-Arabian inscriptions. This seems to demonstrate that manuscript writing, probably on parchment rolls and codices – there is no evidence for the

---

6 Cf. Uhlig / Bausi 2007a, 739b; Bausi 2008a, 521, n. 44.

7 Cf. Marrassini 1999, 238.

use of papyrus in Ethiopia<sup>8</sup> – was introduced in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century at the latest.<sup>9</sup> The ancient and deeply rooted practice of parchment manuscript production was certainly favoured by the dry, healthy climate of the Abyssinian highlands which makes use of chemical treatment rather unnecessary. Parchment has been the main medium for transmitting written knowledge (including documentary texts) for over 1500 years, up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In some areas it remains in use to the present day.<sup>10</sup> Since the country's Christianisation, Ethiopic manuscripts have been responsible for the diffusion and transmission of a literary *corpus* translated from Greek into Ethiopic which is instrumental to Christian practice: including the Bible with several Apocrypha and various patristic writings (theological, liturgical, hagiographic, homiletic, and monastic works). This Aksumite corpus survived in the course of time through complex processes of transmission. Some parts survived through copying, while other texts (starting in the 13<sup>th</sup> century) came down to us as translations from Arabic into Ethiopic. All these were transmitted on parchment. Interestingly, from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards copyists probably did not speak the language of the texts that they were copying.

During the obscure and scarcely documented period between the Aksumite (the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries and beyond) and post-Aksumite ages (which began in the 12<sup>th</sup> century), written culture was affected by traumatic events with a consequent loss of whole *corpora* of texts. Besides material factors, this was probably due to changes in linguistic standards. That is, translated texts had become virtually unintelligible even to the clergy. The combined effects of linguistic change on the one hand, and both decline in literary culture and long textual transmission by copying on the other, led to extensive textual corruption. In consequence, ancient Aksumite translations were either superficially revised or transformed by complex and unexpected processes (what I will briefly present below is evidence of one such case), abandoned or even totally replaced with newer ones.<sup>11</sup> No wonder that the traditional teaching transmitted in ecclesiastical schools has sometimes no understanding of ancient texts or of the practices mentioned therein, the memory of which has definitely vanished. This past – in a way, a “classical past” rooted in the Aksumite period – can be recovered only if it is com-

---

**8** The very recent description of the Four Gospels Books of Abbā Garimā by its restorer, however, includes the important remark that the binding of the first of the two manuscripts bears traces of deteriorated papyrus: and this, as far as we know, would be the first evidence for papyrus as book material in Ethiopia, cf. Capon 2008, 7; Mercier 2009, 112; Bausi 2011a.

**9** Cf. Cohen 1931, 131; on palaeography, cf. also Grohmann 1915; Drewes 1955; Schneider 1983; 1986; 1995; Uhlig 1988; 1990; Getatchew Haile 1996; Lusini 1999a; Bausi 2004a; 2008a; Böll 2007; Uhlig / Bausi 2007b. Cf. also Bausi / Nomsitsin 2014.

**10** Cf. Mellors / Parsons 2002a; 2002b; 2003.

**11** Cf. Bausi 2005a; 2005b; 2006a; 2006b; 2006c.

pared with its late antique original context; also, it is better understood if contrasted against other ancient Christian and Christian oriental traditions – for both of which, in turn, the contribution of Ethiopian studies may be of extraordinary importance.

It would not make sense to study Ethiopic manuscripts without considering the cultural context in which they originated: namely that of Late Antiquity and the Christian East. The myth that Ethiopian Studies is a self-sufficient field and/or a minor part of African Studies has often helped to obscure one essential truth: that the mere existence of its manuscript tradition clearly shows that Ethiopian civilization was deeply influenced by Mediterranean, Byzantine and Near Eastern cultures. The preservation of ancient techniques and their application by modern copyists, however, have attracted the attention of only a few scholars.<sup>12</sup> Notwithstanding some recent initiatives, Ethiopic manuscripts have not yet become a subject of codicological study within the frame of modern “manuscript archaeology”,<sup>13</sup> nor have they been properly examined from a comparative or quantitative (chronological distribution, format, size typologies etc.) perspective.

Present-day manuscript production practices, even those showing features traceable to medieval times, do not have any absolute or paradigmatic value, nor can they be mechanically interpreted as reflecting ancient traditional practices. This does not, however, mean that no archaic features were retained in manuscript production and other aspects of Ethiopian social and religious life. Manuscript production simply underwent its own – mainly internal – development over time. This can be illustrated by the following examples.

It is commonly said that one and the same person took care of all phases of manuscript production, from parchment preparation to writing and binding; something observed nowadays, and still customarily taught in a few surviving traditional schools. However, we have evidence for other modes of book-production as well. The Gə‘əz term *berhānnā*, probably a pseudo-etymological spelling, as in Amharic, for the original *berānnā*, specifically means ‘parchment’.<sup>14</sup> The colophon of a manuscript in Pistoia’s Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 5, fol. 195rb, which dates to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (1437/1438) during the reign of King Zar’a Yā’qob (1434–1468) and belongs to a series of monumental Biblical “Ooctateuchs” (i.e. Genesis, Leviticus, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy,

<sup>12</sup> A short documentary has also been produced in 2001, cf. Sobania / Silverman 2000.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Maniaci 2002; Agati 2003; 2009; Géhin 2005. Cf. now Balicka-Witakowska / Bausi / Bosc-Tiessé / Nosnitsin 2014.

<sup>14</sup> The term is etymologically unclear: either from \**brh* ‘be light, be clear’, or (more likely) from Latin *membrana*, through Greek μεμβράνα.

Joshua, Judges and Ruth) of large size (195 foll., 2 cols., 465 × 350 mm), offers an interesting piece of evidence. The colophon reads:<sup>15</sup>

The Book of Ruth from the Octateuch has been finished. And this book was written in the ninetyeth year of Mercy: it was started in the month of Yakkātīt and finished in the month of Naḥāsī, [while] our King [was] Zar’a Yā’qob and our Metropolitan *abbā* Bartalomēwos. It was Our Father Gabramāryām who had it written: let God write his name on the golden pillar by a bejewelled pen in the Heavenly Jerusalem with all his [spiritual] sons for ever and ever. Amen. Malka Šēdēq wrote the Book of Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua, while I myself, Pāwlos, wrote the other [books]. If we added or omitted anything, either wittingly or not, forgive and bless us for ever and ever. Amen. And bless the makers of parchment, because they laboured much.

The colophon demonstrates that in this case the ‘parchment makers’, *sarāḥta berānnā*, were definitely distinct from the copyists, who are mentioned by their names, Malka Šēdēk and Pāwlos. Moreover, the making of the book was “team work”, because at least two copyists took part in it. They probably worked at the same time, as can be guessed from a codicological analysis of the manuscript: Malka Šēdēq’s portion of the text (Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua, on foll. 93–173) is written on a separate set of quires and the whole work took no longer than six/seven months. On the other hand, Pāwlos is mentioned again in a caption (on fol. 5v) as the artist of an illustration that shows Moses with Joshua and Aron receiving the Tablets of the Law: although we do not know how frequent such illuminations were at the time, copyist-painters are not at all frequent today.<sup>16</sup>

Another example of manuscript production by “team” is the long *subscriptio* (fol. 574v), with a colophon to a second, even more monumental manuscript (576 foll., 3 cols., mm 489 × 390) preserved in the monastery of Dabra Bizan (Eritrea). The manuscript, which contains the so-called *81 Canonical Books* (the whole Bible plus apocryphal and canonico-liturgical writings) is dated to the reign of King ’Eskender (1478–1494) at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (1491/1492). As the abbot Tawalda Madḥen, who donated the manuscript to the monastic community, declares in the long and elaborated *subscriptio*:<sup>17</sup>

We have entrusted this book to the Lord, to Mary his mother and to all the angelical and human ranks, to all our forefathers, living and dead, and to this church, so that they should preserve it. May this word of the Lord preserve this church and this community from the burning of fire, from earthquake, from the assault of the enemy, from the stirring of wind,

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Fiaccadori 1993, 162–163; description and bibliography also in Lusini 2002, 161–163, with erroneous shelfmark «Ms. Martini etiop. n. 2 (= Zanutto n. 5)»; cf. also Bausi 2008a, 522, n. 49.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Uhlig / Bausi 2007a, 739b; Bausi 2008a, 522.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Bausi 1997, 34–39, manuscript no. 6; the quotation on p. 36 [tr.], and p. 39 [text].

from lightning and thunder, and from every fraudulence of the enemy. As to this book, it is a source of pride, and [no similar one] is found anywhere else. Preserve it carefully and respectfully.

The statement of the abbot makes it clear that the completion of this book was important for two reasons: its monumentality visibly represented the richness and power of the community as well as its devotion and loyalty to the religious faith. In this respect, the presence in the manuscript of the apocryphal and canonico-liturgical writings besides the Bible has its own specific importance. By virtue of having realised the book, the abbot feels entitled to ask for a particular intercession in favour of the monastery. In this case, the manuscript displays the patronage of the monastic community and attests to its ideological identity.

The third case shows how dogmatic, monastic, and political controversies are sometimes reflected in centuries-old manuscripts. At the same monastery of Dabra Bizan, a wonderful 15<sup>th</sup>-century *Maṣḥafa berhān* ('Book of the light') has been preserved. The work is a compilation of doctrinal and historical materials written on the initiative of King Zar'a Yā'qob and primarily intended to settle the violent monastic disputes in the course of which Dabra Bizan sided with the party opposed to the King.<sup>18</sup> A note in the manuscript states that the codex was donated by the King to Pētros, the community's future abbot, on the occasion of his visit to the royal court in Sēwā in the year 1457/1458 (fol. 271va):<sup>19</sup>

This book is the *Maṣḥafa berhān* donated by our King Zar'a Yā'qob to Dabra Bizan when Our Father Pētros descended from the land of Sēwā, having taken this book in the year of Mercy 110. May he write in the Heavenly Jerusalem the name of Our Father Pētros, shepherd of the flock. For ever. Amen.

As we have it now, some specific portions of the historical narrative in the work (a sort of "official" history of the recent past) have however been censored, having been washed away and erased from the codex, no doubt on the initiative of some rebellious monks.

The passion of the Ethiopian saints for books is a hagiographic commonplace, and certainly reflects their holy devotion to the Holy Scriptures and to the books of Divinity.<sup>20</sup> Some of them, however, seem to go slightly further, being animated by a special bibliophilia: this is the case of some saints of the house of

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Getatchew Haile 2003; 2013; Derat 2005a.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Bausi 1997, 25–34, manuscript no. 6, figs. 1–8; the note on p. 28 [tr.], and p. 33.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Bausi 1992, 41–46; for Dabra Ḥayq 'Estifānos – on which, cf. also Derat 2005b – cf. Bausi 2006b, 538.



'Ēwoṣṭātēwos (ca. 1273–1352),<sup>21</sup> but also of Baṣalota Mikā'el, a 14<sup>th</sup>-century saint<sup>22</sup> who, according to his *Gadl* ('[Spiritual] Combat'), wandered among monasteries in search for books:

First he arrived at Makāna Dāmmo and remained there reading the books of the New and of the Old [Testament]; he also studied their interpretation with intellectual eagerness: so that the skin of his tongue fell off, like the sheath of a knife; but he did not abandon his reading because of this. Then he departed and arrived at the house of 'abbā Maṭā': he received the benediction of the blessed Libānos and remained a few days being vigilant in the reading of books. Then he left and arrived at Makāna Qefryā, and from there he left to Makāna Qwa'at, from Makāna Qwa'at to Makāna Ba'alatabēhat, from Makāna Ba'alatabēhat to Makāna Maqalē, from Makāna Maqalē to Makāna Gēfē by Gabra Nāzrāwi, his beloved. And wherever he arrived, he built a cell for himself and stayed up day and night reading the Scriptures: he supplicated the Lord in fasts and in prayer so that He might reveal the secret of their mystery. (Conti Rossini 1905, 19.22–20.3 [text], 17.26–18.5 [tr].)

## 3 Some data and the *status quaestionis*

### 3.1 Panorama

Beginning from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, modern research has clearly distinguished various branches within the general field of manuscript studies, each with its own methodology and scope, based upon the fundamental distinction between the text and the bearer of the text.<sup>23</sup> Codicology or “manuscript archaeology” studies hand-written books as artefacts with specific reference to their material constituents and techniques of production. Manuscript illuminations and drawings are the subject of art history. Palaeography deals with the peculiarities of writing and its general development and dating (which, historically, was always the primary aim of palaeography), but also with the general “act of writing” in all its contexts and reflexes. Textual criticism or philology has refined its methods in the search for reliable criteria with which to establish the original readings of texts, taking advantage of recent developments in other fields attested, for example, by the emergence of such specific sub-disciplines as “codi-

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Fiaccadori 2005a; 2005b; Lusini 2004, 230–237; Tedros Abraha 2009, 188–189.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Samuel Wolde Yohannes / Nosenitsin 2003 (the reference on p. 494b to manuscript EMLL no. 1843 is to be corrected into EMLL no. 2134).

<sup>23</sup> The assertion that these areas of research should be subsumed in a single discipline of “manuscript studies”, though not unheard-of, certainly has a radical edge today, and needs justification.

colological stemmatics” or “material philology”.<sup>24</sup> These new fields of research are concerned with establishing the links between manuscripts and the texts they transmit. They also trace the history of each single manuscript, its material structure and/or the influence particular copies may have exerted within a single textual tradition. So far these recent disciplinary subdivisions have seldom been applied in Ethiopian manuscripts studies.

### 3.2 Number of manuscripts

Among basic issues that still need definitive assessment is the question of the total number of manuscripts, both inside and outside Ethiopia and Eritrea. The exact number of Ethiopic manuscripts in the Ethio-Eritrean region is not known. The estimated figure of ca. 200,000 (excluding scrolls) seems realistic and cannot be dramatically reduced if one considers the minimum number of manuscripts necessary for every church to be able to carry on its normal religious and liturgical practice (the estimated number of parishes ranges from at least 13,000 to 32,350). Large manuscript collections are often preserved in monastic libraries, especially in the still understudied Tegray churches and monasteries that formed the “cradle” of Christian civilization in Ethiopia.<sup>25</sup>

The number of manuscripts abroad may run to several thousand. Most are catalogued. The four biggest collections in Europe are the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Città del Vaticano), the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), the British Library (London), and the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung (Berlin). The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (also the first to have been catalogued) has well over one thousand (about 1,082) catalogued manuscripts plus a number of still uncatalogued collections including many items each. The Bibliothèque nationale de France has over one thousand manuscripts and scrolls. The British Library (the first to have been catalogued according to modern standards in 1848) has at present at least 624 manuscripts. The Berlin

---

<sup>24</sup> Cf., e.g., Cavallo 1998; Gonçalves 1998; Zufferey 1998; Pecere 1998; Del Corso 2007. For one of the many essays on the “digital philology” cf. Ciula / Stella 2007. Cf. also Bausi et al. 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. for details Bausi 1996, 14–23; 2004a, 8; 2008a, 510–515; 2009a; 2011b; Bausi / Uhlig 2007a; cf. also the important research project “Māzgäbä Səəlat”, edited by Michael Gervers and Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, with an immense database at <<http://ethiopia.deeds.utoronto.ca/>>; and now the even more important projects Ethio-SPaRe led by Denis Nonsitsin <<http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/ethiostudies/ethiospare.pdf>> and “The Ethiopian Manuscript Imaging Project, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Saint John’s University, Collegeville, MN”, led by Steve Delamarter <<http://www.hmml.org/Vivarium/sgd.htm>>. By the Ethio-SPaRe project, see now Nonsitsin 2013a; 2013b.

Library preserves 328 manuscripts and an important microfilm collection of 182 items. As far as microfilms are concerned, the collection of the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (Addis Ababa and Collegeville, Minnesota) with its 9,238 manuscripts is the most important; moreover, the first 5,000 items have been catalogued in printed form, with other manuscripts being described in an online catalogue.

### 3.3 Manuscript cataloguing

To discuss methods and the state of the art in Ethiopic manuscript cataloguing would require a paper by itself.<sup>26</sup> A full list of collections and catalogues, with minor omissions, has been compiled by Robert Beylot and Maxime Rodinson in 1995; an updated online version – not without some inconvenient elements, misunderstandings and errors – was prepared by a team of French researchers (Anaïs Wion, Marie-Laure Derat, Claire Bosc-Tiessé) in 2006.<sup>27</sup> For information on a number of collections which can be considered of minor importance only from the point of view of the number of manuscripts, old repertories (such as the wonderful bibliography by Silvio Zanutto of 1935) are still useful.<sup>28</sup> Catalogues usually reflect only a certain angle on manuscript studies. Some put more weight on philological aspects, such as description of the text, identification of its antecedents and parallels, and the manuscript's place in its textual tradition, while others focus on material or “archaeological” aspects of the manuscripts. From this perspective, a rather recent catalogue of 23 manuscripts deposited in public and private collections of the United Kingdom should be used with circumspection: though seemingly “progressive” and up to date in its detailed description of material aspects, it lacks similarly detailed description of the texts and has insufficient references to parallel versions and general repertories, with the con-

---

<sup>26</sup> I devoted one to the subject on the occasion of an international workshop in Montepulciano (Siena) on the manuscripts of the Mediterranean area (Bausi 2007a, with updated bibliography); add the descriptions of two manuscripts by Gianfrancesco Lusini, in Scialabba / Palma 2007, 24–25 (manuscript no. 1, Lentini [Siracusa], Parrocchia di Sant'Alfio e Santa Maria La Cava, Biblioteca “Don Sebastiano Castro”, manuscript inv. 3373), and 72–73 (manuscript no. 26, Siracusa, Biblioteca Alagoniana, manuscript cod. XXIII); and the list of nine manuscripts in Bucarelli 2007, 20–41 (manuscripts nos. 25–33).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Beylot / Rodinson 1995; Wion / Derat / Bosc-Tiessé 2006a; 2006b, 2008; cf. Bausi 2007a, 100–104.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Simon 1931–1932; and esp. Zanutto 1932.

sequence that the description does not constitute a good basis for philological research.<sup>29</sup>

### 3.4 Oldest manuscripts

Although the introduction of Christianity in Aksum certainly implies early diffusion of manuscripts, at least for the purpose of religious services and liturgical practice, none dating to that period are as yet known. The oldest preserved manuscripts which can confidently be dated go back to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, but manuscripts survive in considerable quantity only from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Christian tradition tends to attribute the scarcity of manuscripts predating the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the destruction of Christian heritage brought about in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> by the Islamic leader Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. The wars with Islam must seriously have affected the survival of Christian manuscripts, although the extent of the damage cannot be determined with any certainty. The intentional destruction or substitution of texts, the custom of burying manuscripts together with their owners, and poor preservation conditions in monastic libraries, have also been adduced to explain the scarcity of ancient manuscripts. The conflict with the Jesuits in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the full restoration of traditional cult in the Gondarine kingdom may also have occasioned a substantial revival of manuscript production.<sup>30</sup>

Three Four Gospels books from 'Endā 'Abbā Garimā (I, II and III) are considered to be the oldest known Ethiopian manuscripts. Their dating, however, is still uncertain and a matter of discussion: it ranges, according to different scholars, from the 7<sup>th</sup> or even the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries up to the 14<sup>th</sup>, with the earliest dating (*i.e. ante* the 7<sup>th</sup> century) supported by the style of the illuminations (Canon tables) and radiocarbon dating.<sup>31</sup> While in several cases internal evidence is provided by a colophon or a *subscriptio*, in this, as well as in other cases, the manuscripts can

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Delamarter / Demeke Berhane 2007; cf. Bausi 2007a, 104–106. Definitely much better, the new catalogue by Getatchew Haile / Melaku Terefe / Rundell / Daniel Alemu / Delamarter 2009 and Delamarter / Melaku Terefe 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Uhlig / Bausi 2007a, 739b–740b; Bausi 2008a, 518–520. The question whether more recent destructions – such as those caused by the Italian invasion and occupation in 1935–1941 – might also have played an important role has, curiously enough, remained totally unattended so far.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Leroy 1960; 1968; Macomber 1979, 1–11; Davies 1987, 293–297; Zuurmond 1989, part II, 44–52; 2001; Heldman 1993, 129–130, nos. 52–53; Mercier 2000, 36–45, with the result, respectively, of 430–650 CE and 330–540 CE for the two analysed parchment fragments; Bausi 2004b; Wechsler 2005, ix–xi; Bausi 2005d; 2008a, 549–551; Capon 2008; Mercier 2009; Bausi 2011a. The recent conference “Ethiopia and the Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity: The Garimā Gospels in the

unfortunately be dated only on the basis of palaeographic evidence, for which, however, only uncertain epigraphic parallels or art-historical features of the illustrations are available.

### 3.5 Codicology

In the absence of a specialist monograph devoted to the codicology of Ethiopic manuscripts apart from a short, but useful booklet published by Sergew Hable Selassie (1981), Ethiopian codicology is still in its infancy.<sup>32</sup> Two basic types of Ethiopic manuscripts are traditionally distinguished according to overall format, both of which are prepared on parchment according to fixed traditional procedures: a) the scroll, usually not calligraphic and almost exclusively used for magical texts and for paintings but not (as in Jewish culture) for sacred texts or large works, and b) the codex, usually with wooden binding and leather cover. Palimpsests are rarely attested; they are obtained more often by washing off the ink than by erasing. Manuscripts are almost without exception on parchment. Paper manuscripts are rare and very recent (from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> or the 20<sup>th</sup> century), apart from exceptions easily explained by the context of production. Collections of Ethiopic manuscripts copied by Ethiopian copyists for European scholars sometimes have many European paper manuscripts. Quires are normally composed of four bifolia in older manuscripts; fascicles of five bifolia seem to have prevailed since the 17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> centuries. “Gregory’s rule” (“flesh side on flesh side and hair side on hair side”) is consistently observed. Although dimensions and other metric data of the manuscripts (number of columns, size of the writing, width of the margins etc.) should be studied as components of the general *mise en page*, no statistical study is yet available for Ethiopic manuscripts, apart from very limited sample studies.<sup>33</sup> On this provisional basis, one can say that the dimensions of the manuscripts range from 10–12 cm to more than 40 to 50 cm in height. The most ancient manuscripts usually organize text in two columns; from the 16<sup>th</sup> century the three-column model tends to become frequent and later on prevails in large format manuscripts. As a rule, the Psalter is copied in one

---

Context”, held in Oxford on 2–3 November 2013 seems to have provided further elements supporting the early date of the manuscripts I and III.

**32** Cf. Sergew Hable Selassie 1981; Balicka-Witakowska 2007, 749a–752a; Bausi 2008a, 525–546. Cf. now the book, in Amharic, by Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010; Nosnitsin 2012; and most of all Balicka-Witakowska / Bausi / Bosc-Tiessé / Nosnitsin 2014.

**33** Cf. Delamarter / Demeke Berhane 2007, ix–x, and especially Getatchew Haile / Melaku Terefe / Rundell / Daniel Alemu / Delamarter 2009, xxviii–xxx, where some useful statistics on the fascicular structure of the described manuscripts are given.

single column. Guidelines are not drawn with ink but rather with a dry point by scoring the writing surface. Paragraph marks are very simple until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century when they become more elaborate. Geometrical ornaments and interlacing (*ḥarag*) also developed from the 14<sup>th</sup> century; this kind of ornamentation enjoyed a special revival in imperial *scriptoria* in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> Black (or dark brown, typical of the earliest manuscripts) and red inks are very common; other colours are also used, especially in ornaments; one special case of “negative” writing (black ink is erased to obtain “white” writing using the colour of the parchment) is attested in the colophon of an Octateuch, Bible House Library, Ethiop. 1, 284r.<sup>35</sup> One prevalent Ethiopian binding techniques seems to be of a specific type, technically termed “chain-sewing with two threads”. Manuscripts are usually provided with wooden covers, very often covered with ornamented leather according to traditional styles.<sup>36</sup>

A particular question concerning the material aspects of the Ethiopian manuscript book is that of ink production. Although there has been no extensive laboratory analysis, present-day practice as observed by ethnographers, as well as philological and linguistic data (*i.e.* study of terminology) would attest that metallic ink was not common in Ethiopia, whereas it began to be used and tended to prevail both in Islamic and in Christian areas of the Mediterranean world in the course of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium CE. Aksumite Ethiopic *māya ḥemmat* (‘ink’) literally means ‘water of soot’, and the earliest documentary text ever found, a feudal deed issued by King Lālibalā and dating to 1205/1209, mentions the office of *qāla ḥemmāt*, probably (if *ḥemmāt* stands for *ḥemmat*) ‘voice (or: word) of the soot’, with reference to his scribes or secretaries who read and recorded texts.<sup>37</sup> If analyses and further research will confirm these preliminary results, Ethiopian manuscript production could have preserved late antique practice through to the present day.<sup>38</sup>

**34** Cf. Balicka-Witakowska 2005.

**35** Cf. Cowley 1982, 71; at present, the manuscripts are preserved in the Cambridge University Library, cf. Beylot / Rodinson 2005, 46–47.

**36** Cf. Bozzacchi 1996; Szirmai 1999, 45–50; Bartelt / Hammerschmidt 1976; Proverbio / Fiacadori 2004, 666, n. 3; Balicka-Witakowska 2007; Bausi 2008a, 543–546.

**37** Cf. Conti Rossini 1901, 187.16, doc. no. 6; 2008a, 524; additional references in Bausi 2005c; 2010e.

**38** Cf. a first attempt by Wion 2004, 107, that confirms that Ethiopian black ink is carbon-based. On the occasion of the workshop “Digital Approaches to Manuscript Studies”, Hamburg, July 23<sup>rd</sup>–24<sup>th</sup> 2010, in the frame of the European Science Foundation Research Networking Programme “Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies” (COMSt), Steve Delamarter presented the paper “X-Ray spectroscopy and a Fourier Transform-infrared analysis of Ethiopian Inks”, providing laboratory evidence for the use of iron gall ink in an 18<sup>th</sup>-century Ethiopian manuscript.

### 3.6 Palaeography

Apart from the study of writing in the strict sense,<sup>39</sup> the modern concept of palaeography denotes both the analysis of the relationship within a single “data carrier” between texts of different status and, beside the material aspects of manuscript-making, the social context presupposed by their production and use. We have some information about how copyists in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century imperial *scriptoria* (adequately furnished with libraries and places of traditional religious education) were trained. Their education included some knowledge of Ethiopic and calligraphy. The special figures of the *dabtarās* (learned laymen who are the best bearer of traditional religious knowledge) play an important role in manuscript production, although it has been observed that copying skills are not of pivotal importance for them and other learned people of the church, writing being considered a task of lower prestige. This circumstance may also explain why autograph manuscripts are extremely rare, only beginning to emerge alongside private and official letters and documents in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The central role in the production of manuscripts was played by the monastic communities, and monasteries have also been – and in many cases still are – the main repositories. Manuscripts are rarely preserved in specially devised places (“libraries”): usually they are considered “precious objects”, and are inventoried and preserved in the same place as liturgical objects, paintings, clothes, textiles, crosses, and other paraphernalia. In some cases, manuscripts were entrusted to an *‘aqqābē maṣāḥeft*, ‘keeper of the books’, who is responsible for their care; in many cases written inventories have also been drawn up. Old lists of books (attested from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century) are normally used by scholars in order to establish the *terminus ante quem* of literary works and/or the relative degree of interest of monastic communities towards them.<sup>40</sup> Inventories of items and books often appear as *additiones* (“additional notes”), on blank pages and/or in spaces not completely used up by the text, at the beginning or more usually at the end of the manuscripts. Unlike the colophon, these notes of various types (personal and historical records; sentences and judgements on controversies; lists of important people, saints, foreign words, and months; prayers and short hymns; calendric remarks; *fatina ber’*, ‘pen trials’) do not directly refer to the main manuscript text. The practice of *additiones* may be considered very old, as we find such notes (almost contemporary with their production) even in the most ancient manuscripts. The Bible (particularly the Four Gospels, *Wangēla warq*, ‘Golden Gospel’) and manuscripts of the *Gadl* (‘Spiritual Combat’) of the founder of a monastic

---

<sup>39</sup> Cf. bibliography above.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Bausi 1996, 20–21; 2008a, 546–547.

community are frequently found to include documents of special interest, such as feudal deeds attesting benefits, historical records etc. In some cases, fascicles containing important feudal deeds are rebound together (e.g., in the “Golden Gospel” of Dabra Libānos of Šemazānā, in this case, together with a recent copy of the same deeds).<sup>41</sup>

### 3.7 Philology

The analysis of the scribes’ attitude towards their texts and the understanding of the typology of textual transmission may have some important implications for editorial methodology today. All the great scholars in Ethiopian Studies have *also* been editors of texts, though (with few exceptions) not necessarily up-to-date with, or sensitive to, the questions of text-critical method involved in that work.<sup>42</sup>

In general, with some unavoidable simplifications, one can say that in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Romanists and Classical philologists adopted the methods developed by earlier New Testament editors, and brought to completion the slow ongoing evolution towards a “progressive” critical reconstructive method. This method, often called the “Lachmannian” approach, comprises the following stages: a) a complete survey of all the direct and indirect witnesses to the text under examination (*recensio*); b) the identification of their genealogical relationship established on the basis of conjunctive errors (*Leitfehler*); c) the reconstruction of an original or archetype text, using the majority reading of the manuscript families; d) a critical edition of what is believed to be a hypothetical reconstruction of the original text by the editor.<sup>43</sup> As is well known, the Romanist Joseph Bédier (once a pupil of Gaston Paris) advanced a drastic criticism of the reconstructive method. According to him, an overwhelming majority of the pub-

---

<sup>41</sup> Bausi 1996; 1997; 1998a; Lusini 1999b; exhaustive bibliography can be found in Bausi / Dore / Taddia 2001, 155–165; Bausi 2004a, 19–21; 2006d, 102–105; 2007b, 81, n. 4; further additions in Bausi 2010e. Cf. now also Nosnitsin 2007; Derat 2009, 2010; Bosc-Tiessé 2009, 2010; Wion 2009; Crummey 2011; Deresse Ayenachew 2011; Wion 2011a; 2011b; Wion / Bertrand 2011; Bosc-Tiessé / Derat 2011; Kropp 2011a; 2011b; Fiaccadori 2012; Wion 2012, *passim*; Kropp 2012; 2013; Nosnitsin 2013c; Fiaccadori 2014.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. details in Bausi 2006a; 2008b; 2010a; for the “normalization” of Ethiopian Studies, cf. Marrassini 1986, 172–173; 1993, 4–6. Paolo Marrassini is responsible for marking a new philological trend in Ethiopian Studies in a number of pathbreaking contributions: Marrassini 1981; 1987; 1992; 1996; 2000; 2003a; 2008a, 268–269, 272–273; 2008b; 2009; cf. also Lusini 2005; Shiferaw Bekele 2008; useful considerations are to be found also in Mantel-Niečko 1987.

<sup>43</sup> Any critical edition should of course distinguish clearly between manuscript tradition and critically established text – what has been called, e.g., “Befund” and “Bearbeitung” by Hahn 2001, 52.



lished *stemmata codicum*, or genealogical branches, of the manuscripts were two branched (*silva portentosa!* ‘a most unnatural branching’, as he put it). Bédier concluded that selection of preferred variants was a matter of personal judgment, and that the reduction of genealogical branches to binary oppositions was instrumental in making editorial choice more subjective. Moreover, such genealogical reconstructions must, he concluded, have produced editions containing texts that had never existed. From 1913 on, Bédier proposed and formalized what he termed the “base manuscript” method.<sup>44</sup> This involved publishing the text of a single selected manuscript, considered by the editor the best, and calling upon the remaining manuscripts only where they provide better readings of what from the editor’s point of view are problematic passages.

In reaction to Bédier, the Classical philologists Giorgio Pasquali (following Paul Maas, who had remained largely unaffected by Bédier’s ideas), his pupil Sebastiano Timpanaro and the Romanist Gianfranco Contini reasserted the importance of philological reconstruction.<sup>45</sup> In fact, there is no alternative to the modern reconstructive (or so-called “Neo-Lachmannian”) method, unless “transcribing” is understood as editing.<sup>46</sup> In Bédier’s view, one negative consequence of this method would be that every new edition would have a different text. To this criticism, G. Contini replied:

The likely absence of stable readings is for Bédier a vice, the complaint against which, though fundamental, is not as a point salient enough: continuous dynamic improvement cannot be viewed as something that is not a positive quality. This progressive approximation to the truth, a truth that is, so to speak, fractional in comparison with the presumed inherent truth of each single witness, a truth that involves a diminution of error, seems to represent a method worthy of the name of science.<sup>47</sup>

---

**44** Already known, but not usually extensively practiced, even before the development of the Lachmannian method – when the correction of an already edited texts (‘vulgata’) by eventually using additional manuscripts was the normal practice, cf. Timpanaro 2005 – under the name of “*codex optimus* ‘best manuscript’”, or *codex vetustissimus* “‘most ancient manuscript’ method”.

**45** Cf. the invaluable “reader in the history of Philology” by Stussi 2006, esp. his “Introduction” (7–45) and selected writings on text-critical methodology by Gaston Paris, Joseph Bédier, Alberto Varvaro, Gianfranco Contini, Cesare Segre, Sebastiano Timpanaro, Alfredo Stussi, Neil Harris, Andrea Bozzi (47–232) with updated bibliography (235–240); cf. also the recent English translation of Timpanaro 2005, to be read together with Fiesoli 2000.

**46** Cf. Milikowski 1999, 147–148; cf. also Reeve 2000, 197.

**47** “L’assenza eventuale di lezione stabile è un vizio per Bédier, della cui denuncia è questo un punto portante, non abbastanza rilevato; ma il continuo miglioramento dinamico non si vede come non sia una qualità positiva. Questa marcia di avvicinamento alla verità, una verità per così dire frazionaria in opposizione alla verità presuntamente organica dei singoli testimoni, una verità come diminuzione di errore, sembra un procedimento degno della scienza”. Cf. Contini

To my knowledge, there has been much less work on the history of Islamic manuscripts philology.<sup>48</sup> With regard to other Oriental traditions, I am not aware of detailed studies in the history of editorial technique. But there is, as far as I can see, much to be learned for example from Indic philology.<sup>49</sup>

As far as Ethiopic and other Christian Oriental texts are concerned, one might reasonably ask whether the method of the “base manuscript”<sup>50</sup> (still

---

1977, 963b; repr. in Contini 1986 [with a “Postilla 1985” on pp. 64–67], 3–63, esp. p. 33; repr. in Contini 2007, I, 3–62, esp. p. 30; again in Contini 2014, 39.

**48** Cf. some references in Marrassini 1987, 348–349; 2007; Bausi 2006a, 544; 2008b, 22–24. The recent, comprehensive volume by Pfeiffer / Kropp 2007, is useful to get an overall idea of the “state of the art”, even though many of the contributors do not really focus on the methodology of textual criticism, whereas those who do with a few exceptions (Peacock 2007; Berschin 2007; Kleinlogel 2007), seem to go little further than the paradigmatic and rather disappointing conclusions expressed by Witkam 1988, who rightly criticized the mechanical application of stemmatic methodology to “Middle Eastern” literary traditions (Arabic, Persian, Turkish), yet totally ignored the fact that Classical and Romance philologists (cf. Pasquali 1954 and Contini 2007) developing the so-called “neo-Lachmannian” approach have provided a refined revision of mechanical stemmatic methodology, and that the seemingly specific problems troubling editors of “Middle Eastern” texts which are listed by Witkam (“The ‘unique’ manuscript”, “The edition of texts preserved in numerous manuscripts”, etc.) are almost exactly the same (the only exception being “The edition of the *Qurʾān*”) as those usually debated by Romance philologists; in a way, Endress’s 1982, 274 statement (“Auch die von Paul Maas: *Textkritik* ... erarbeiteten Grundsätze sollen bei der Edition arabischer Handschriften mehr Beachtung finden”), still makes sense: the reconstructive methodology should be considered insufficient only *after* attempts to apply it have been fully exhausted. For more nuanced position, see now Witkam 2013; and more in general, Bausi et al. 2014.

**49** Cf. Bharati 1988; Jha 1993; various contributions in Gärtner / Krummacker 2000; Thaker 2002; cf. also for further references the very interesting and exemplary article by Isaacson 2009.

**50** For a short survey and critical evaluation of recently edited Ethiopic texts, cf. Bausi 2006a, 544–546; 2008b, 24–28; 2010f; Marrassini 2009. The survey could be easily expanded: e.g., one can note that Getatchew Haile 1982, 69, even if almost unwittingly, appreciably applies *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* to justify the use of a unique base-manuscript (EMML no. 6275); on the contrary, Gori 2001, 472 (probably on the initiative of the series editor Lanfranco Ricci), deals with the unique manuscript witness to the text he is publishing as if it were the autograph, even though it is not (“Il criterio fondamentale che ci ha costantemente guidato nella nostra edizione è quello della massima aderenza alla forma e al contenuto del manoscritto della *Silloge*. Di quest’ultimo, abbiamo dunque rispettato con la scrupolosa cura le forme grafiche peculiari, anche quando errate ortograficamente, e le scelte morfologiche e sintattiche dell’autore, anche se sbagliate grammaticalmente” (“The fundamental principle which we have constantly followed in our edition is that of most adherence to form and contents of the manuscript of the *Sylogē*. Of the latter, we have therefore scrupulously respected the peculiar graphic forms, even where their orthography was manifestly wrong, and the morphological and syntactical choices of the author, although grammatically erroneous”); Gori 2003, 75, states that: “Data la relativa nitidezza della grafia in cui è stato scritto il testo dallo scriba Rāda Asrass, e la non grande difficoltà di lettura

largely accepted in these circles and seen by Alphonse Dain as an antiphilological concept<sup>51</sup>), continues to be practiced by force of habit, or, following the more recent critical rethinking of the reconstructive method, is justified by purported special characteristics of the Ethiopic textual traditions themselves. But although the peculiarities of the Ethiopic textual traditions have yet to be adequately described, and better editions are needed to accomplish this task, we still must face the question which of the two critical methods should be employed for editing the texts. The “base manuscript” method is by “anti-reconstructionists” in several fields justified by intrinsic, culture-specific reasons.<sup>52</sup> I will now try to discuss which method is best justified by the features specific to the Ethiopic textual tradition.

Leaving aside the distinction – in my opinion, a fundamental one – between texts of Aksumite time on the one hand, and those of the medieval period which developed in a cultural environment which remained more or less homogeneous down to the present day on the other, a point worthy of attention is the degree of freedom the copyist allowed himself in copying the text. A high degree of freedom would lead to “fluidity”, “variation” or “instability” and make the restoration and the reconstruction of the text an impossible or simply a meaningless task.

In fact, some editors typically oppose the reconstructive methodology with an empirical procedure based on “common sense”. Some also support their own sceptical attitude towards reconstructive philology by quoting “internal evidences”, like, e.g., the following exemplary passage from the Amharic *andemtā* (Amharic commentary) on *Maṣḥafa Qeddāsē*, ‘Book of the Mass’, with reference to the Ethiopic (Ge‘ez) text:

*maṣḥafmeṣṭir yetṭanaqqaqāl enṅi andennā bezu, sētennā wand, ruqennā qerb ayṭṭanaqqaqem*  
 (“the book takes care of the deep sense [*meṣṭir*]; on the contrary it does not take care of singular and plural, masculine and feminine, far away and near”). (Garimā 1925/1926, 12b.)<sup>53</sup>

---

che essa presenta, non si è ritenuto necessario ritrascrivere con mezzi informatici il contenuto del manoscritto, ciò che avrebbe provocato, per altro, oltre che un notevole dispendio di energie e di tempo, anche il rischio di introdurre degli errori involontari” (“In consideration of the relative clearness of the handwriting of the scribe Rāda Asrass, and of the fact that it is easily readable, we have not considered necessary to transcribe by informatic devices the contents of the manuscript, which could have caused, among other things, besides the considerable waste of time and energy, the insertion of unintentional errors”). The latter statement is quite disconcerting: if the principle were consistently applied, no critical text could in fact ever be printed; for similar approaches, cf. detailed references in my contributions quoted above.

51 Dain 1964, 171, “un concept antiphilologique”.

52 Cf. Reeve 2000, 197; Bausi 2006a, 546–548.

53 Quoted by Tedros Abraha 2007, 120, n. 9. Tedros Abraha is a very active present-day scholar and editor of Ethiopic texts, cf. Tedros Abraha 2001; 2004; 2007; 2009; cf. also Bausi 2010f.

If this attitude was consistently present in older times, they say – a fact still to be verified, notwithstanding the statements of some authors who mainly refer to the observation of present day practice<sup>54</sup> – Ethiopic textual transmission must have been “fluid”; and any attempts at a critical reconstruction of textual traditions, at least in their minor details, would be futile.

A closer examination of another quotation from the *andemtā* commentary on the Pauline Epistles, *Letter to the Romans* 5,2,<sup>55</sup> however, reveals how ambiguous and complex the attitude of traditional Ethiopian scholars really is:

*maṣḥaf meštir biṭanaqqeq enḡi* (“although the book takes care of the deep sense [*meštir*]”) *zayebē ayṭanaqqeqemennā* (“on the other hand, it does not take care of the expression [*zayebē*]”): “*enta bātti qomna*” *belo* (“after having said *enta bātti qomna* [‘in which we have stood’]”) “*we’etu mekhena*” *ala* (“he said *we’etu mekhena* [‘that [[masc.]] is our boast’]”); *yeččewem mammakiyāččen nāt* (“and this [[fem.]] is [[fem.]] our boast”) “*wawe’etu mekhena*” *bil* (“if it says *wawe’etu mekhena* [‘and that [[masc.]] is our boast’]”), *yekawem mammakiyāččen naw* (“and this [masc.] is our boast”). (Maḥari Terfē 1955/1956, 70.)

The commentary might not appear perfectly clear, but what is to note here is that some phrases which are identical in contents, only differ in grammatical gender. Although this variance does not affect the sense at all, the variant phrases have been listed one after the other, collected in the *andemtā* commentary text as attesting *different utterances* which have been considered worth recording (typically in the style of the oral commentary, as usually happens in the *andemtā*):

after having said “in which we have stood”, he said “that [[masc.]] is our boast”, “and this [[fem.]] is [[fem.]] our boast”, if it says “and that [[masc.]] is our boast”, “and this [masc.] is our boast”.

54 Cf. Heyer 1970, 143: “To be able to keep in mind not only the sacred text but the *Tergum* of the Fathers is considered more honourable... If the sacred text, when it is being read aloud, deviates from the way it is in the Mamher’s memory, he will intervene and correct the Ge’ez text from his memory. What the Mamher knows by heart is of greater value than all that is written”. I myself have witnessed to the application of such a principle while visiting Eritrean monasteries.

55 Cf. δι’ οὗ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχίκαμεν [τῆ πίστει] εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην ἐν ᾗ ἐστήκαμεν, καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ; “Through him we have obtained access to this grace in which we stand, and we rejoice in our hope of sharing the glory of God”; *zaba’enti’ahu tamarāhna westa zātti ṣaggāhu ’enta bātti qomna wawe’etu mekhena wabātti nessēffo sebḥata ’Egzi’abeḥēr*, cf. Tedros Abraha 2001, 82.

The modern critical edition of the *Letter to the Romans* and of its Amharic *andemtā* commentary<sup>56</sup> reproduces as its base text the same modern edition printed in 1948 (Maḥari Terfē 1955/1956). Yet the editor's Italian translation reads<sup>57</sup>:

Il libro sta ben attento al contenuto profondo, ma non al testo; dopo aver detto «*sulla quale stiamo*» c'è infatti da aggiungere «*è il nostro vanto*». (Tedros Abraha 2001, 541.)

("The book is preoccupied with deep meaning, but not with the text; after having said «*on which we stand*», it must be added<sup>58</sup> «*it is our own boast*»").

As it appears, the Italian translation omits the second part of the Amharic text – seemingly, a repetition – which is different only as far as the grammatical gender (*yeččewem* [fem.] versus *yeḳawem* [masc.]) is concerned. Indeed, the traditional Ethiopian scholar who first edited the printed *andemtā* text thought it necessary to give an account of the variation and was more sensitive to the gender distinction than the modern European scholar and translator. The practice demonstrates that traditional Ethiopian textual scholars can be, as it seems, attentive also to very minor, purely formal details, like variations of grammatical gender, which are also considered, recorded and included in the commentary text, even though they do not actually affect the sense.

Another example useful when we consider the attitudes of traditional copyists to their texts can be drawn from the manuscript tradition of the *Qalēmtoṣ*, the seven-book *Revelation of Peter to Clement*, certainly translated from an Arabic *Vorlage* probably in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>59</sup> I have extensively collated twelve manuscript witnesses of the text and tried to sketch a *stemma codicum* (see

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Tedros Abraha 2001, 267 [text], and 541 [tr.], nn. 13–14, also with reference to the passage by Heyer 1970, 143.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Tedros Abraha 2001, 541, with n. 14: "Il testo su cui il commentario si basa ha ommesso «*è il nostro vanto/la nostra gloria*»; il commento vuole riparare. È da notare la singolarità del principio: «la disattenzione può essere perdonata al testo ma non al commento». Per l'interprete etiopie sarebbe blasfemo dire, «il testo è monco, corrotto» o cose simili, quindi si fa uso di circonlocuzioni onde trovare una via d'uscita dalle problematiche testuali" ("The text on which the commentary is based has omitted «*it is our boast/our glory*»; the commentary intends to amend it. The peculiarity of the principle must be noted: «the slip can be excused in the text but not in the commentary». The interpreter would consider it blasphemous to say «the text is mutilous, corrupt» or similarly, therefore circumlocutions are used in order to find a way out of textual problems").

<sup>58</sup> In fact, the editor seems to have misunderstood the omographs *ala*, "he said", for *alla*, "there is", because he translates, *ibid.*: "c'è infatti da aggiungere".

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Bausi 2006e; 2010b.

Figure 1).<sup>60</sup> Manuscripts *F* and *T* belong in the main branch  $\gamma$  (one of the three subarchetypes) and immediately descend from a common antecedent  $\tau$ , which also fits in well with their geographical provenance, as both were written in the town of Ankobar. Manuscript *G*, belonging in the main branch  $\beta$ , is a 20<sup>th</sup>-century copy in a paper exercise book,<sup>61</sup> made originally by an Ethiopian scholar for his personal use (when microfilmed it belonged in the private library of *mamher Šemrata Ab Qašalā, Dasē, Wallo*), but which bears marginal and supralinear annotations that can be identified as  $G^2$  readings. These annotations belong to a hand, different from the original copyist's, which apparently corrected the text of *G* according to the readings of  $\varphi$ , the common antecedent of both *F* and  $G^2$ . It is important that the extensive marginal and supralinear notes and corrections in  $G^2$  not only deal with large omissions or major textual variations, but also with minor ones (such as slightly different, yet actually equivalent, syntactical constructions, or synonymical variant readings and the like) that do not affect the fundamental meaning of the text. The scope of this paper will not allow me to expand on this in more detail. Instead, I will elaborate on how variant readings can reveal the real attitude of the copyists.

A passage in the second book of the *Qalēmentos* states that “the Devil deceives Adam”: all the manuscripts have the same text (*Diyābelos yāseh(ħ)eto la-‘Addām*), except for manuscripts *F* and  $G^2$  which have “the Devil deceives the world and Adam” (*Diyābelos yāseh(ħ)eto la-‘ālam wa-la-‘Addām*), “the world and” being in manuscript *G* a supralinear reading of  $G^2$ . Both the majority text and the variant reading of manuscripts *F* and  $G^2$  give a possible text, but the point is not that of ascertaining which is the primary or original reading (according to the general *stemma*, it is no doubt the shorter one). As in hundreds, if not thousands, of other cases, even in this one the second scribe of the manuscript *G* who wrote the marginal and supralinear text  $G^2$  verified and established his reading by comparison of the *G* text with an unknown manuscript source depen-

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Bausi 2006e, where a detailed description of the manuscript tradition is given. The *stemma codicum* may be summarized as follows: from archetype  $\Omega$  three branches stem through three distinct subarchetypes:  $\alpha$ , independent witnesses: mss. *A* and *B*;  $\beta$ , witness: ms. *K* and sub-subarchetype  $\delta$ , from which mss. *D* and *G* stem in turn; and  $\gamma$ , from which mss. *S C E* and sub-subarchetypes  $\pi$  and  $\tau$  directly stem: in turn, from  $\pi$  mss. *P* and *V* stem, and from  $\tau$  ms. *T* and a sub-sub-subarchetype  $\varphi$ ; finally, ms. *F* is derived from  $\varphi$ . The reason why  $\varphi$  (a seemingly unnecessary intermediary between  $\tau$  and *F*) needs to be postulated will become clear in a while (s. below). Only manuscripts *F* (EMML no. 2147), *G* (EMML no. 4857) and *T* (Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1) will be considered here.

<sup>61</sup> This clearly appears from the microfilm of the manuscript, which I have examined, but it is not noted in the printed catalogue where the manuscripts is described, cf. Getatchew Haile 1993, 338.

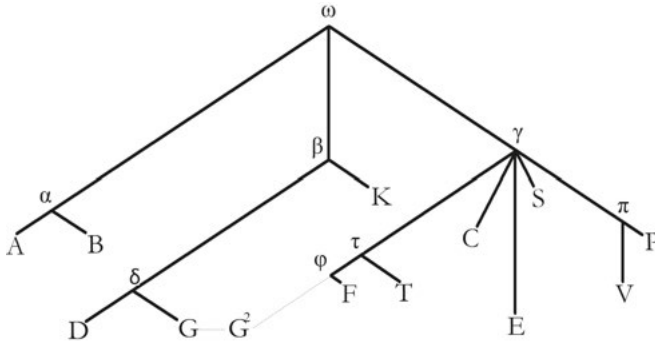


Fig. 1: *Stemma codicum* of the *Qalēmentos*.

dent upon the antecedent  $\varphi$ , from which  $F$  and  $G^2$  derive.<sup>62</sup> But it is important to note that the second hand  $G^2$ , far from attempting at *revising* and *correcting* the text, only intended to *collate* it extensively. The copyist or scholar responsible for the  $G^2$  readings was probably interested in recording and amassing variants. We have seen above that the traditional Ethiopian scholar who edited the printed *andemtā* text gave account in detail even of gender variations which did not affect the meaning: the same did here the copyist of  $G^2$  with his annotations, according to the very same methodological principle which has given birth to the *andemtā* commentaries.

This example shows that mediaeval Ethiopian scribes, much like their European brethren, used multiple textual sources (so-called “contamination”). It is also instructive from the point of view of the history of the textual transmission in the proper philological sense. Ethiopian manuscript transmission is on the whole stable, and the textual tradition of each single text can be established on the basis of reconstructive principles. Scribes do not *systematically* change the received text *by their own judgement*, neither do they *systematically* correct its errors, although this may in some cases happen, of course.<sup>63</sup> In the present case,

<sup>62</sup> The fact that even manuscript  $T$  does not have the small addition (as in other occurrences) demonstrates that the manuscript source is  $\varphi$ , not  $\tau$ : cf. above the description of the *stemma codicum*.

<sup>63</sup> According to Zuurmond 1989, part I, 39-40 (“Some 500 Ethiopic Gospel manuscripts are known today. Only rarely one of them is identical with another for more than a couple of verses. By far the largest number of variant readings obviously stems from internal corruption. It is hardly exaggerated to say that every Ethiopian scribe in his own way is an ‘Editor’. The average Ethiopian scribe must almost permanently have mixed the text he was copying with the text as he had it in mind, or even with the text of another manuscript to which he had immediate

the copyist of  $G^2$  simply collates the text and amasses variants, yet, he does not try to establish the correct text. Ethiopian copyists *usually* accepted and tolerated even extremely corrupt texts,<sup>64</sup> which is consistent with the conception of an average copyist as not necessarily a man of learning.<sup>65</sup> This, I think, opens the way not only for the application of mechanical text-critical reconstructive methodology, but also to a better understanding of how written culture was transmitted in traditional Ethiopia.

## 4 A case study: The Aksumite Collection

I have devoted myself for some years to a research project which aims to recover an older layer of the Ethiopic literature that dates back probably to the Aksumite age. The targeted texts are those multi-textual works that are likely to retain Aksumite texts translated from a Greek *Vorlage*, such as the so-called *Sinodos* (or *Senodos*),<sup>66</sup> a *corpus canonum* of canonico-liturgical character, and hagiographic collections. This research has led to editions of the Ethiopic versions of the *Epistle* 70 by St. Cyprian of Carthage, the *Acts of Phileas* (largely corresponding to the Greek text on P. Chester Beatty Library XV, one of the two papyrus witnesses known so far, the latter being P. Bodmer XX), the *Teaching of the 318 Nicene Fathers on the right faith and the monastic life*, the *Canonical answers* by Peter of Alexandria.<sup>67</sup> While this research was being conducted in 1999, I was asked to prepare a description of a manuscript recently found which looked very old and contained canonical texts (Figure 2). The description was prepared at once, but

---

access”). This statement seems exaggerated, and certainly not true for most of the non-Biblical textual traditions.

**64** It should be obviously better investigated, following the stimulating suggestion of the anonymous editorial reviewer, “How does it compare with other traditions? Is it a function of the perceived authority of the text, or of the poor skills of the copyist?” But this cannot be the task of an overview paper like this, in the given conditions of philology of Ethiopic texts. Yet I fully agree with the general statements that “the value assigned to particular classes/genres of religious literature (Bible; commentary; other genres) might help to establish how social attitudes to/use of texts may have affected copyists’ behaviour”, and that “‘variation’ itself is a complex phenomenon with different causes in different textual traditions depending on social factors and the ways in which texts are generated/regenerated and used”.

**65** Cf. Bausi 2008a, 526–530.

**66** Exactly so, not ‘*Synodus*’: *Sinodos* (or *Senodos*) is the transcription of the Ethiopic word; cf. Bausi 2010c.

**67** Cf. Bausi 1998b; 2002; 2004c; 2005e; 2006f; for the *Acts of Phileas* cf. now Schenke 2010a; 2010b; Bausi 2010g; 2014.



the study of the texts was troubled by a series of problems which now seem to be finally resolved. An edition is being prepared, and the texts will soon be put at everyone's disposal. Meanwhile, increasingly detailed descriptions of the contents, also covering some linguistic aspects, and partial editions have appeared.<sup>68</sup>



Fig. 2: Manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection*, foll. 17v–18r, after restoration (foll. 16v–17r according to a preliminarily reconstructed numbering, cf. Bausi 2011c, 30–33). *Traditio apostolica*, 3:3–4; 7; 8:1–8; 13; 11; 10:1–3. Picture by Ethio-SPaRe project.

In its present form, the manuscript (witnessing to what I have called the *Aksumite Collection*) contains thirty-six Ethiopic texts of various length (some are very short), including writings of the Church fathers (patristic literature), liturgical texts (rituals and prayers for church service), canonical texts (ecclesiastic rules and conciliar canons), and one historical text. Although different in content, it much resembles the so-called *Sinodos*, a very influential collection of normative and liturgical texts translated from Arabic in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, still in use and much revered in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥedo Church. But whereas the bulk of the Ethiopic canonical and liturgical texts known at present, the *Sinodos* included, was believed to derive, through a complicated and patchy sequence of translations, from medieval and late Arabic textual recensions (made since the 14<sup>th</sup> century), with only occasional earlier texts surviving (*i.e.* some liturgical texts

68 Cf. all details in Bausi 2006b; 2006c; 2009b; 2011c; 2012; 2013.

appear to be archaic and Greek-based, although they are mixed with the Arabic-based later ones), the new manuscript clearly reaches back to the oldest known layer of the early Christian (not only the Ethiopian) canon law and liturgy. Beside remarkable linguistic elements, the manuscript provides for the first time evidence that the development of a textual tradition may be traced in non-Biblical Ethiopic texts to such a degree of detail.

It is difficult to imagine that the *Aksumite Collection* is an isolated case and it is reasonable to assume that the number of the preserved Aksumite texts is relatively low thanks to a process of replacement, in which the old translations from the Greek (marked by linguistic and cultural peculiarities) were supplanted by new translations from the Arabic. We cannot, however, establish whether the revision of the texts was accompanied by parallel and consistent updating of codicological features, or whether the older models kept exerting their influence.<sup>69</sup>

Some other characteristics of the manuscript are also worth mentioning. This is probably the oldest non-Biblical Ethiopic manuscript known so far. It shares some palaeographic and linguistic features with the other older Ethiopic manuscripts (including the two Four Gospels manuscripts from 'Abbā Garimā).<sup>70</sup> As to the content of the *Aksumite Collection*, I will mention two texts.

The first is a new Ethiopic version of the so-called *Traditio apostolica*, 'Apostolic tradition', definitely the most important Christian canonico-liturgical text, once attributed to Hippolytus of Rome. Its Greek original being lost, it has survived only in a number of versions in Latin, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic, and in rearrangements in Greek, Syriac, Arabic, of which the most archaic and faithful is a Latin version preserved in the *scriptio inferior* in the palimpsest manuscript

---

**69** In this context, the case of the *Maṣḥafa tēfut*, a manuscript consisting of the Octateuch, Four Gospels and *Sinodos*, dating from the 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> centuries, that was accurately reproduced (directly from the original model or from an intermediary copy) by order of King Iyāsu I (1682–1706) is remarkable: cf. Bausi 2008, 539.

**70** Certain striking and so far never observed morphological affinities with verbal patterns of Tigrinya, the language at present spoken in the highlands of Tegray and Eritrea, spoil the monolithic structure of classical Ethiopic, where, except for a few examples in the causative prefix and pronoun morphology of epigraphic texts, no morphological variations had never been recorded before. One could make a number of observations on the linguistic and palaeographic aspects of this new document, and elsewhere I have already dealt with some philological and linguistic peculiarities. A partial list of the latter includes non-application of the laryngeal rules, phonetic change from *diyā-* to *zeyā-*, *ē*-ending (fifth order) forms in isolated prepositions and plural relative pronoun, peculiar pattern of imperfect of the passive *t*-stem (*ye-t-qattal*, instead of *ye-t-qattal*), *a*-prefix (first order) in causative-of-the-reflexive *ast*-stem (*yasta-*, instead of *yāsta-*), cf. Bausi 2005a. Among a number of other linguistic features I can mention for example frequency of the nominative gerundive (as in Tigrinya) as opposed to accusative gerundive (as in Ethiopic and Amharic).

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Codex LV (53). But the Ethiopic text of the *Traditio apostolica* as previously known to us from other sources, is quite different from the text in the *Aksumite Collection*, the latter being clearly a new *independent* witness to the archetype. Although the two Ethiopic versions share few common passages and are thus in a complex relationship, numerous correspondences with the Latin testify to the new text's belonging to the oldest recoverable textual phase of the *Traditio apostolica* and, at the same time, point to conjunctive errors (or innovations) of all the other witnesses. Moreover, as a large portion of the Latin text is lost, the new Ethiopic version represents a great step forward in our knowledge of the archetype of the *Traditio apostolica*; a problem that has challenged philologists for more than a century since Edmund Hauler's publication of the Latin text in 1900.<sup>71</sup>

The second text is even more important. Probably prefixed to the collection as an introduction, it contains a *History of the Alexandrian Episcopate*, mutilated in some parts.<sup>72</sup> The text is exceptional from two points of view: first, it is the first Ethiopic text of intentionally historical character dating from Aksumite period (with the exception of the epigraphical texts written by the initiative of the Aksumite kings); second, the historical fragments may be identified as belonging to a lost Greek *History of the Alexandrian Episcopate* (not to be confused with the later Copto-Arabic *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*), whose existence scholars from Tito Orlandi onward have traced in later texts, the most important of which are the Latin excerpts in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Codex LX (58). The new Ethiopic manuscript provides by far the most important evidence for the reconstruction of the original text, of which, for long passages it is the unique witness.<sup>73</sup> The anonymous author of this *History* had access to materials drawn from the Alexandrian archives and some documents from the archive have been incorporated into the narrative. The narrative starts with the founding of the Alexandrian episcopal seat by Saint Mark and the early bishops, continuing with the events under the episcopate of Peter and his immediate successors down to the outbreak of the so-called "Melitian schism" and the story of Arius the priest.

---

71 Cf. Bradshaw / Johnson / Phillips 2002; Bausi 2009b; 2010d; 2011c.

72 The bishop of Alexandria was also head of the Egyptian Church from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onward.

73 At present, a critical edition, translation, and codicological and historical commentary both of the Ethiopic and Latin versions is underway, by myself for the Ethiopic text and by Alberto Camplani for the Latin witnesses; cf. also the papers by Alberto Camplani, "Methodological Considerations on the Sources about the Patriarchate of Alexandria in Late Antiquity", and Alessandro Bausi, "New Ethiopic Documents for the History of Christian Egypt", jointly presented at the "Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies", Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate, September 14–20, 2008, now printed, Bausi / Camplani 2013. Cf. also Camplani 2003, 38–39; 2004, 154–162; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009.

The details it provides, including lists of bishops and their respective dioceses recorded for the episcopates of Maximus (264–282), Theonas (282–300) and Peter (300–311), provide unparalleled and hitherto unknown documentation for the history of early Christian institutions in Egypt. Furthermore, quotations from this *History* which survived in a few later Ethiopic texts are marked as passages from the *Synodicon of the Law*. This is probably the name under which the collection had been known until the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the Ethiopic literary tradition.

The existence of these and other ancient Latin versions of texts parallel to ancient Ethiopic versions in the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona is noteworthy: it seems that archaic and outdated texts have in this case been preserved in “peripheral” areas of the Christian world.

The manuscript confirms the pre-eminence of religious, literary and cultural relationships between Egypt and Aksumite Ethiopia, and definitely proves the existence in an early period of translated canonical and liturgical texts. The language of the newly discovered texts is mainly a word for word rendering of the Greek original; it is also a valuable source for Aksumite Ethiopic. Remarkable features pointing to dialectal (probably Tigrinya) peculiarities may be due to the copyists or redactors – less likely to the translator(s) – and deserve careful scholarly scrutiny. Some parts of the collection were reused and included in later Ethiopic works which were being translated anew from Arabic, such as the *Sinodos*. The complex and unexpected “philological” processes attested in the *Aksumite Collection* textual tradition call for new methods of analysing and interpreting the Ethiopian literary tradition. The new evidence also strongly reasserts that neither the study of the Christian Orient nor that of Antiquity and Late Antiquity (Eastern and Western) is possible without taking into consideration the contribution of the Ethiopic sources.

## List of sigla and abbreviations

EMML = Collegetville, Minnesota, Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John’s Abbey and University.

EAe = Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: A–C; II: D–Ha; III: He–N; (ed. in cooperation with Alessandro Bausi) IV: O–X, Alessandro Bausi (ed. in cooperation with Siegbert Uhlig) V: Y–Z. *Supplementa Addenda and Corrigenda Maps Index*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014.

## References

- Agati, Maria Luisa (2003), *Il libro manoscritto. Introduzione alla codicologia* (Studia archaeologica 124), Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider [repr. 2004].
- Agati, Maria Luisa (2009), *Il libro manoscritto da Oriente a Occidente. Per una codicologia comparata* (Studia archaeologica 166), Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider.
- Avanzini, Alessandra (2007a), "Inscriptions", in: *E Ae* III, 152a–153a.
- Avanzini, Alessandra (2007b), "Gə'əz inscriptions in Ethiopia/Eritrea in antiquity", in: *E Ae* III, 159b–162a.
- Balicka-Witakowska, Ewa (2005), "Ḥarag", in: *E Ae* II, 1009a–1010a.
- Balicka-Witakowska, Ewa (2007), "Preparation of manuscripts", in: *E Ae* III, 749a–752a.
- Balicka-Witakowska, Ewa / Bausi, Alessandro / Bosc-Tiessé, Claire / Nosnitsin, Denis (2014), "Codicology of Ethiopic manuscripts", in: Bausi et al. 2014.
- Bartelt, Ernst / Hammerschmidt, Ernst (1976), "Die Technik des äthiopischen Handschrifteneinbandes", in: Herbert Franke / Walther Heissig / Wolfgang Treue (eds.), *Folia Rara. Wolfgang VOIGT LXV. diem natalem celebranti ab amicis et catalogorum codicum orientalium conscribendorum collegis dedicata* (VOHD Suppl. Band 19), Wiesbaden: Steiner, 6–10.
- Bausi, Alessandro (1992), "Alcune considerazioni sul «Sēnodos» etiopico", in: *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 34 [1990], 5–73.
- Bausi, Alessandro (1996) "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea [I. Dabra Māryām]", in: *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 38 [1994], 13–69.
- Bausi, Alessandro (1997), "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea [II. Dabra Bizan]", in: *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 39 [1995], 25–48.
- Bausi, Alessandro (1998a), "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea [III. Dabra Libānos. Dabra Abuna Beṣu'a Amlāk. Dabra Marqorēwos]", in: *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 41 [1997], 13–56.
- Bausi, Alessandro (1998b), "L'Epistola 70 di Cipriano di Cartagine in versione etiopica", in: *Aethiopica* 1, 101–130.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2002), *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla samā'tāt* (Supplemento n. 92 agli Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli), Napoli: IUO.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2004a), "Il testo, il supporto e la funzione. Alcune osservazioni sul caso dell'Etiopia", in: Verena Böll et al. (eds.), *Studia Aethiopica in Honour of Siegbert Uhlig on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 7–22.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2004b), "Some short remarks on the Canon tables in Ethiopic manuscripts", in: *Studi Magrebini* 26 [1998–2002] = Carmela Baffioni (ed.), *Scritti in onore di Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua* (Centro di Studi Magrebini), Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", 45–67 [revised version of the article with the same title printed in: Birhanu / Pankhurst 2003, 120–139].
- Bausi, Alessandro (2004c), "La versione etiopica della *Didascalia dei 318 niceni* sulla retta fede e la vita monastica", in: Enzo Lucchesi / Ugo Zanetti (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), Genève: Patrick Cramer, 225–248.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2005a), "Ancient features of Ancient Ethiopic", in: *Aethiopica* 8, 149–169.

- Bausi, Alessandro (2005b), “Etiopico *‘ellē*: a proposito di un’ipotesi recente”, in: *Scrinium* 1 = Denis Nosnitsin et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica. In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg: Byzantinorossica, 3–11.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2005c), “Däbrä Libanos”, in: *E Ae* II, 28a–29b.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2005d), “Იnda Abba Gärima”, in: *E Ae* II, 284a–286a.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2005e), “Note aggiuntive sull’*Epistola 70* di Cipriano: versione etiopica e versione siriana”, in: Michele Bernardini / Natalia L. Tornesello (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Giovanni M. d’Erme. Saggi di colleghi e amici in occasione del suo compleanno*, I (Series Minor LXVIII), Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, 99–109.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2006a), “Current Trends in Ethiopian Studies: Philology”, in: Siegbert Uhlig et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the XV<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Hamburg July 20–25, 2003* (Aethiopistische Forschungen 65), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 542–551.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2006b), “The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic ‘Corpus canonum’”, in: Siegbert Uhlig et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the XV<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Hamburg July 20–25, 2003* (Aethiopistische Forschungen 65), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 532–541.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2006c), “La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica”, in: Adamantius 12 = Alberto Camplani (ed.), *Il Patriarcato di Alessandria nella tarda antichità e nel Medioevo*, Bologna: Morcelliana, 43–70.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2006d), “Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*”, in: *Aethiopica* 9, 102–146.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2006e), “The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalēmentōs*. A Short Note”, in: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 59/1 = Witold Witakowski / Laura Łykowska (eds.), *Wälättä Yohanna. Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niečko on the Occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> Year of Her Work at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Warsaw University, Warszawa: Elipsa*, 47–57.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2006f), “La versione etiopica delle *Risposte canoniche di Timoteo I* attribuite a Pietro di Alessandria (*CPG* II, nr. 2520)”, in: *Scrinium* 2 = Basil Lourié / Alexej V. Muraviev (eds.), *Universum Hagiographicum. Mémoial R.P. Michel van Esbroeck, s.j. (1934–2003)*, St. Petersburg: Société des études byzantines et slaves, 41–57.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2007a), “La catalogazione come base della ricerca: il caso dell’Etiopia”, in: Benedetta Cenni / Chiara Maria Francesca Lalli / Leonardo Magionami (eds.), *Zenit e Nadir II. I manoscritti dell’area del Mediterraneo: la catalogazione come base della ricerca*. Atti del Seminario internazionale. Montepulciano, 6–8 luglio 2007 (Medieval Writing, Settimane poliziane di studi superiori sulla cultura scritta in età medievale e moderna 2), Montepulciano (SI): Thesan & Turan S.r.l., 87–108.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2007b), “Un indice dell’*Evangelo d’oro* di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)”, in: *Aethiopica* 10, 81–91.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2008a), “La tradizione scrittoria etiopica”, in: *Segno e Testo. International Journal of Manuscripts and Text Transmission* 6, 507–557.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2008b), “Philology as Textual Criticism: ‘Normalization’ of Ethiopian Studies”, in: *Ethiopian Philology. Bulletin of Philological Society of Ethiopia* 1/1 [November 2008], 13–46.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2009a), “Una civiltà del manoscritto”, in: Giuseppe Barbieri / Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell’Etiopia cristiana*. Ca’

- Foscari Esposizioni 13 marzo – 10 maggio 2009, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia – Friuladria Crédit Agricole – Regione del Veneto, Vicenza: Terra Ferma, 183–186.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2009b), “The ›so-called *Traditio apostolica*‹: preliminary observations on the new Ethiopic evidence”, in: Grieser / Merkt 2009, 291–321.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2010a), “Philology (research in)”, in: *E Ae IV*, 142a–144b.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2010b), “Qälemāntos”, in: *E Ae IV*, 251b–253b.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2010c), “Senodos”, in: *E Ae IV*, 623a–625a.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2010d), “Traditio apostolica”, in: *E Ae IV*, 980a–981b.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2010e), “Wängelä Wärq (Golden Gospel)”, in: *E Ae IV*, 1130b–1132a.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2010f), review of Tedros Abraha 2009, in: *Aethiopica* 13, 2010, 244–253.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2010g), “A Case for Multiple Text Manuscripts being ‘Corpus-Organizers’”, in: *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter* 3, 34–36.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2011a), “Intorno ai Vangeli Etiopici di Abbā Garimā”, in: *La Parola del passato* 65, 2010 [2011], 460–471; Engl. minor version: “The ‘True Story’ of the Abba Gärīma Gospels”, in: *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 1, 17–20.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2011b), “Die äthiopische Manuskriptkultur – The Ethiopian Manuscript Culture”, in: Jörg B. Quenzer (ed.), *Ausstellungskatalog „Manuskriptkulturen / Manuscript cultures“* [Catalogue of the exhibition: „Faszination Handschrift: 2000 Jahre Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa“, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 17 November 2011 – 8 January 2012] = *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter* 4, 2011, 52–60.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2011c), “La ‘nuova’ versione etiopica della *Traditio apostolica*: edizione e traduzione preliminare”, in: Paola Buzi / Alberto Camplani (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt: literary production and intellectual trends. Studies in honour of Tito Orlandi* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 125), Roma: Augustinianum, 19–69.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2012), “Una ‘lista’ etiopica di apostoli e discepoli”, in: Alessandro Bausi / Antonella Brita / Andrea Manzo (eds. in cooperation with Carmela Baffioni / Ersilia Francesca), *Aethiopica et Orientalia. Studi in onore di Yaḡob Beyene* (Studi Africanistici, Serie Etiopica 9), Napoli: Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo, 2012, I, 43–67.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2013), “Liste etiopiche di vescovi niceni”, in: Peter Bruns / Heinz Otto Luthe (eds.), *Orientalia Christiana. Festschrift für Hubert Kaufhold zum 70. Geburtstag* (Eichstätter Beiträge zum Christlichen Orient 3), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 33–73.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2014), “The Coptic Version of the *Acta Phileae*”, in: *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 8, 11–13.
- Bausi, Alessandro / Camplani, Alberto (2013), “New Ethiopic Documents for the History of Christian Egypt”, in: *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum. Journal of Ancient Christianity* 17/2–3, 195–227.
- Bausi, Alessandro / Dore, Gianni / Taddia, Irma (eds.) (2001), *Materiale antropologico sul “Rim” in Etiopia ed Eritrea – Anthropological and Historical Documents on “Rim” in Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Il Politico e La Memoria), Torino: Editrice L’Harmattan Italia.
- Bausi, Alessandro / Nosnitsin, Denis (2014), “Ethiopic Palaeography”, in: Bausi et al. 2014.
- Bausi, Alessandro et al. (eds.) (2014), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction* (print-on-demand and online edition, forthcoming).
- Bernard, Étienne (2000), *Recueil des Inscriptions de l’Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, III. Traductions et commentaires, A. Les inscriptions grecques, Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.

- Bernard, Étienne / Drewes, Abraham Johannes / Schneider, Roger (1991), *Recueil des Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Introduction de Francis Anfray, I. Les documents; II. Les planches*, Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
- Berschlin, Walter (2007), "Lachmann und der Archetyp", in: Pfeiffer / Kropp 2007, 251–257.
- Beylot, Robert / Rodinson, Maxime (1995), *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Documents, Études et Répertoires Publiés par l'Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes 46), Paris: Centre National de la recherche Scientifique, Éditions – Turnhout: Brepols.
- Bharati, H.L.N. (1988), *An introduction to Indian textual criticism and modern book publishing* (CIIL occasional monographs series), Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Birhanu Teferra / Pankhurst, Richard (eds.) (2003), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*. Addis Ababa, 5–8 November 2002, [Addis Ababa]: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University.
- Böll, Verena (2007), "Die äthiopische Schrift im Spiegel der Religion", in: Sophia G. Vashalomidze / Lutz Vashalomidze (eds.), *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt. Gesammelte Studien zu Ehren Jürgen Tubachs anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstags* (Studies in Oriental Religions 56), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 251–273.
- Bosc-Tiessé, Claire (2009), "Gouverner et définir un territoire: géopolitique, art et production manuscrite au Lästā entre 1667 et 1768", in: *Annales d'Éthiopie* 24, 87–148.
- Bosc-Tiessé, Claire (2010), "Sainteté et intervention royale au monastère Saint-Étienne de Ḥayq au tournant du XIII<sup>e</sup> et du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'image de Iyasus Mo'a dans son Évangile", in: *Oriens Christianus* 94, 199–227.
- Bosc-Tiessé, Claire / Derat, Marie-Laure (2011), "Acts of Writing and Authority in Bəgwəna-Lasta between the Fifteenth Century and the Eighteenth Century: A Regional Administration Comes to Light", in: *Northeast African Studies* 11/2, 85–110.
- Bozzacchi, Giampiero (1996), "La legatura etiopica", in: Marina Regni / Piera Giovanna Tordella (eds.), *Conservazione dei materiali librari, archivistici e grafici*, I (Documenti 3), Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C., 333–339.
- Bradshaw, Paul F. / Johnson, Maxwell E. / Phillips, L. Edward (2002), *The Apostolic Tradition. A Commentary* (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Brakmann, Heinzgerd (1994), *Tò parà toῖς βαρβάροις ἔργον θεῖον. Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn: Borengässer.
- Bucarelli, Osvaldo (ed.) (2007), *Museo Archivio Giuseppe Vedovato. Pontificia Università Gregoriana*, Roma: Gangemi Editore.
- Camplani, Alberto (2003), "Momenti di interazione religiosa ad Alessandria e la nascita dell'élite egiziana cristiana", in: Luigi Perrone et al. (eds.), *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition. Origene e la tradizione alessandrina. Papers of the 8th International Origen Congress*. Pisa, 27–31 August 2001, I (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 164), Leuven: University Press, 32–42.
- Camplani, Alberto (2004), "L'autorappresentazione dell'episcopato di Alessandria tra IV e V secolo: questioni di metodo", in: *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 21/1, 154–162.
- Camplani, Alberto (2006), "Lettere episcopali, storiografia patriarcale e letteratura canonica. A proposito del *Codex Veronensis LX (58)*", in: *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 3/1, 117–164.
- Camplani, Alberto (2007), "L'*Historia ecclesiastica* en copte et l'historiographie du siège épiscopal d'Alexandrie. À propos d'un passage sur Mélitios de Lycopolis", in: Nathalie Bosson / Anne Boud'Hors (eds.), *Actes du Huitième Congrès International d'Études Coptes*.



- Paris, 28 juin – 3 juillet 2004, II (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 163), Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 417–424.
- Camplani, Alberto (2008), “La funzione religiosa del vescovo di Alessandria: a proposito di alcune recenti prospettive di ricerca”, in: Sergio Pernigotti / Marco Zecchi (eds.), *Sacerdozio e società civile nell’Egitto antico*. Atti del terzo Colloquio. Bologna – 30/31 maggio 2007 (Università di Bologna, Dipartimento di Archeologia, Archeologia e Storia della Civiltà Egiziana e del Vicino Oriente Antico, Materiali e Studi 14), Bologna: Editrice La Mandragora, 149–165.
- Camplani, Alberto (2009), “Pietro di Alessandria tra documentazione d’archivio e agiografia popolare”, in: Grieser / Merkt 2009, 138–156.
- Camplani, Alberto (2011a), “Un’antica teoria della successione patriarcale in Alessandria”, in: Paola Buzi / Daniela Picchi / Marco Zecchi (eds.), *Aegyptiaca et Coptica. Studi in onore di Sergio Pernigotti* (BAR International Series 2264), Oxford: Archaeopress. Publishers of British Archaeological Reports, 59–68.
- Camplani, Alberto (2011b), “A Syriac fragment from the *Liber Historiarum* by Timothy Aelurus (CPG 5486), the *Coptic Church History*, and the Archives of the Bishopric of Alexandria”, in: Paola Buzi / Alberto Camplani (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt: literary production and intellectual trends. Studies in honour of Tito Orlandi* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 125), Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 205–226.
- Capon, Lester (2008), “Extreme bookbinding – a fascinating preservation project in Ethiopia”, in: *Skin Deep* 26 [Autumn 2008], 2–11.
- Cavallo, Guglielmo (1998), “Caratteri materiali del manoscritto e storia della tradizione”, in: Ferrari 1998, 389–397.
- Chernetsov, Sevir (2005), “Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwahədo) Church. History from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> cent. to 1959”, in: *EAE* II, 421a–424a.
- Ciula, Arianna / Stella, Francesco (eds.) (2007), *Digital Philology and Medieval Texts* (Arti Spazi Scritture 4), Pisa: Pacini editore.
- Cohen, Marcel (1931), *La grande invention de l’écriture et son évolution*, I. Texte, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo (1901), “L’*Evangelo d’oro* di Dabra Libānos”, in: *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 5<sup>a</sup>, 10, 177–219.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo (1905), *Acta S. Baṣalota Mikā’el et S. Anorēwos* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium [repr. 28–29], Scriptorum Aethiopicis ser. 2, 20 [repr. 11–12]), Paris [repr. Lovanii: In aedibus E. Peeters, 1961–1962].
- Contini, Gianfranco (1977), “Filologia”, in: *Enciclopedia del Novecento*, II, Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 954–972.
- Contini, Gianfranco (1986), *Breviario di ecdotica*, Milano – Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1986 [repr. Einaudi Paperbacks, Letteratura 222, Torino: Einaudi, 1990, 1992].
- Contini, Gianfranco (2007), *Frammenti di filologia romanza. Scritti di ecdotica e linguistica* (ed. Giancarlo Breschi), I–II (Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, Fondo Gianfranco Contini, Archivio romanzo 11), Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini.
- Contini, Gianfranco (2014), *Filologia* (ed. Lino Leonardi) (Introduzioni), Bologna: il Mulino.
- Cowley, Roger W. (1982), “Ethiopic [Manuscripts]”, in: M. Rosaria Falivene / Alan F. Jesson (eds.), *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Bible House Library*, London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 66–121.
- Crummey, Donald (2011), “Gondar Land Documents: Multiple Copies, Multiple Recensions”, in: *Northeast African Studies* 11/2, 1–42.

- Dain, Alphonse (1964), *Les manuscrits. Nouvelle édition revue* (Collection d'études anciennes publiées sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé), Paris: Société d'Édition «Les Belles-Lettres» [2<sup>nd</sup> edition; 1<sup>st</sup> edition 1949; 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 1973].
- Davies, Donald M. (1987), "The dating of Ethiopic Manuscripts", in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46/4, 287–307.
- Del Corso, Lucio (2007), "Il progetto PSI on-line: applicazioni informatiche per una filologia materiale dei testi papiracei", in: Ciula / Stella 2007, 165–174.
- Delamarter, Steve / Demeke Berhane (2007), *A Catalogue of Previously Uncatalogued Ethiopic Manuscripts in England. Twenty-three Manuscripts in the Bodleian, Cambridge, and Rylands Libraries and in a Private Collection* (Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 21), Oxford: Oxford University Press on Behalf of the University of Manchester.
- Delamarter, Steve / Melaku Terefe, *Ethiopian Scribal Practice 1: Plates for the Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project* (Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies Series Volume 2), Eugene, Oregon: Picwick Publications.
- Derat, Marie-Laure (2005a), "Les homélies du roi Zar'a Ya'eqob: La communication d'un souverain éthiopien du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", in: Alain Bresson / Anne-Marie Cocula / Christophe Pébarthe (eds.), *L'écriture publique du pouvoir* (Ausonius Éditions Études 10), Paris – Bordeaux: Diffusion De Boccard, 45–57.
- Derat, Marie-Laure (2005b), "Däbrä Ḥayq ʿƏstifānos", in: *EAE* II, 24a–25b.
- Derat, Marie-Laure (2009), "Du Beg'wenā au Lāstā. Centre et périphérie dans le royaume d'Éthiopie du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", in: *Annales d'Éthiopie* 24, 65–86.
- Derat, Marie-Laure (2010), "Les donations du roi Lālibalā. Éléments pour une géographie du royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie au tournant du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", in: *Annales d'Éthiopie* 25, 19–42.
- Deresse Ayenachew (2011), "The Southern Interests of the Royal Court of Ethiopia in the Light of Bərbər Maryam's Ge'ez and Amharic Manuscripts", in: *Northeast African Studies* 11/2, 43–58.
- Drewes, Abraham Johannes (1955), "Problèmes de paléographie éthiopienne", in: *Annales d'Éthiopie* 1, 121–126.
- Endress, Gerhard (1982), "Handschriftenkunde", in: Wolfdietrich Fischer (ed.), *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, I. *Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 271–296.
- Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā, *liqa gubā'ē* (2010), *Ṭentāwi yaberānnā mašāḥeft azzagāḡāḡat* ('The ancient manner of preparing parchment books'), Addis Ababā: Yuniḡarsity Prēss 2002 A.M. (in Amharic, with English "Post-face" by Anaīs Wion, 298–304).
- Ferrari, Anna (ed.) (1998), *Filologia classica e filologia romanza: esperienze ecdotiche a confronto*. Atti del Convegno Roma 25–27 maggio 1995 (Incontri di Studio 2), Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo.
- Fiaccadori, Gianfranco (1993), "Bisanzio e il regno di 'Aksum. Sul manoscritto Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", in: *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 7, 161–199.
- Fiaccadori, Gianfranco (2005a), "Ewostateans", in: *EAE* II, 464a–469a.
- Fiaccadori, Gianfranco (2005b), "Ewostatewos", in: *EAE* II, 469a–472b.
- Fiaccadori, Gianfranco (2007a), "Greek Inscriptions", in: *EAE* III, 158a–159b.
- Fiaccadori, Gianfranco (2007b), "Gə'əz inscriptions in Ethiopia/Eritrea in medieval and modern times", in: *EAE* III, 163a–165a.

- Fiaccadori, Gianfranco (2012), “Per la cronologia di un atto «feudale» del *neḡuś* Lālibalā”, in: *Crisopoli. Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 14 (nuova ser. 2) [2013], 201–204.
- Fiaccadori, Gianfranco (2014), “Archives and libraries”, in: *E Ae* V, 244a–248a.
- Fiesoli, Giovanni (2000), *La genesi del lachmannismo* (Millennio medievale 19), Firenze: Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- Frantsouzzoff, Serguei A. (2007), “Gə‘əz inscriptions in South Arabia”, in: *E Ae* III, 162a–163a.
- Garimā (*Mamher*, later Abuna Mikā’ēl, ed.) (1925/1926), *Maṣḥafa Qeddāsē. Kaqadmo abbātoč siward siwwārrad yamaṭṭāw nebābennā tergʷāmēw*, Addis Ababā [1918 ‘ā.m.].
- Gärtner, Kurt / Krummacher, Hans-Henrik (eds.) (2000), *Zur Überlieferung, Kritik und Edition alter und neuerer Texte. Beiträge des Colloquiums zum 85. Geburtstag von Werner Schröder am 12. und 13. März 1999 in Mainz* (Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur 2000, 2), Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Géhin, Paul (ed.) (2005), *Lire le manuscrit médiéval*, Paris: Armand Colin.
- Getatchew Haile (1982), “On the Writings of *Abba* Giyorgis Säglawi from Two Unedited Miracles of Mary”, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48, 65–91.
- Getatchew Haile (1993), *A catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville*, vol. X: *Project Numbers 4001–5000*, Collegeville, Minnesota: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John’s University.
- Getatchew Haile (1996), “Ethiopic writing”, in: Peter T. Daniels / William Bright (eds.), *The world’s writing systems*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 569–576.
- Getatchew Haile (2003), “Māṣḥafā bərhan”, in: *E Ae* I, 533a–534a.
- Getatchew Haile (2013), *The Homily of Zār’a Ya’əqob’s Māṣḥafā Bərhan on the rite of Baptism and Religious Instruction* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 653–654, Scriptorum Aethiopicum 114–115), Lovanii: In aedibus Peeters.
- Getatchew Haile / Melaku Terefe / Rundell, Roger M. / Daniel Alemu / Delamarter, Steve, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project. Volume 1: Codices 1–105, Magic Scrolls 1–134* (Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts and Studies Series Volume 1), Eugene, Oregon: Picwick Publications.
- Gonçalves, Elsa (1998), “Appunti di filologia materiale per un’edizione critica della poesia profana di Alfonso X”, in: Ferrari 1998, 411–427.
- Gori, Alessandro (2001), “La ‘Silloge’ di Šah Zakkāryās”, in: *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie*, ser. 9<sup>a</sup>, 13/4, 447–583.
- Gori, Alessandro (2003), “La ‘Silloge’ di Šah Zakkāryās sull’Islam. Versione amarica”, in: *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie*, ser. 9<sup>a</sup>, 16/2, 51–319.
- Grieser, Heike / Merkt, Andreas (eds.) (2009), *Volksglaube im antiken Christentum. Prof. Dr. Theofried Baumeister OFM zur Emeritierung*, Darmstadt: WBG [Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft].
- Grohmann, Adolf (1915), “Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der äthiopischen Schrift”, in: *Archiv für Schriftkunde* 1/2–3 [1914–1918]/[1915], 57–87.
- Hahn, Michael (2001), “On editing codices unici”, in: François Grimal (ed.), *Les sources et le temps. Sources and time. A colloquium*. Pondicherry, 11–13 January 1997 (Publications du Département d’Indologie 91), Institut français de Pondichéry: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 49–62.

- Hauler, Edmund (1900), *Didascaliae Apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina. Accedunt canonum qui dicuntur apostolorum et Aegyptiorum reliquiae*, Fasciculus prior: *praefatio, fragmenta, imagines*, Leipzig: Teubner.
- Heldman, Marilyn (with Stuart C. Munro-Hay, ed. Roderick Grierson) (1993), *African Zion. The sacred art of Ethiopia*, New Haven / London: Yale University Press.
- Heyer, Friedrich (1970), "The Teaching of *Tergum* in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", in: *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*. Addis Ababa 1966, II, Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Haile Selassie I University, 140–150.
- Isaacson, Harunaga (2009), "Of Critical Editions and Manuscript Reproductions: Remarks apropos of a Critical Edition of *Pramāṇaviniścaya* Chapters 1 and 2", in: *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter* 2, 13–20.
- Jha, Vashishtha Narayan (ed.) (1993), *Problems of editing ancient texts* (The Vrajajivan Indological studies 1), Delhi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratisthan / Varanasi: Sole distributor, Chaukhamba Vidyabhavan.
- Kleinlogel, Alexander (2007), "Variants and Invariants: The Logics of Manuscript Tradition", in: Pfeiffer / Kropp 2007, 259–268.
- Kropp, Manfred (2011a), "Notes on Preparing a Critical Edition of the *Śar'atā māngāśī*", in: *Northeast African Studies* 11/2, 111–140.
- Kropp, Manfred (2011b), "Zwei Fassungen der Beurkundung eines Stiftungsakts (Kirche Dārāsge Maryam, Sämen 1834 oder 1838 n. Chr.)", in: *Oriens Christianus* 95 [2013], 156–174.
- Kropp, Manfred (2012), "The good old law. Literacy and orality in the practice of Ethiopian royal law", in: *Folia Orientalia* 49 (= *Festschrift Andrzej Zaborski*), 253–267.
- Kropp, Manfred (2013), "Zwei Dokumente aus dem Archiv des äthiopischen Hofrichters *liq* Aṭqu (Erste Hälfte des 19. Jh. in Gondar)", in: Peter Bruns - Heinz Otto Luthe (eds.), *Orientalia Christiana. Festschrift für Hubert Kaufhold zum 70. Geburtstag* (Eichstätter Beiträge zum Christlichen Orient 3), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 235–264.
- Leroy, Jules (1960), "L'Évangélique éthiopien du Couvent d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", in: *Cahiers archéologiques* 11, 131–143.
- Leroy, Jules (1968), "Un nouvel évangélique éthiopien illustré du monastère d'Abba Garima", in: André Grabar (ed.), *Synthronon, Art et Archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 2), Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 75–87.
- Lusini, Gianfrancesco (1999a), "Questioni di paleografia etiopica", in: *Scrittura e civiltà* 23, 407–417.
- Lusini, Gianfrancesco (1999b), "Scrittura documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḥuḥān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", in: *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 42 [1998], 5–55.
- Lusini, Gianfrancesco (2002), "I Codici Etiopici del Fondo Martini nella Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", in: *Aethiopia* 5, 156–176.
- Lusini, Gianfrancesco (2004), "Copisti e filologi dell'Etiopia medievale. Lo *Scriptorium* di Dabra Māryām del Sarā'ē (Eritrea)", in: *La Parola del Passato* 59, 230–237.
- Lusini, Gianfrancesco (2005), "Philology and the Reconstruction of the Ethiopian Past", in: Walter Raunig / Steffen Wenig (eds.), *Afrikas Horn. Akten der Ersten Internationalen Littmann-Konferenz 2. bis 5. Mai 2002 in München* (Meroitica 22), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 91–106.
- Macomber, William F. (1979), *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts from Abbā Garimā, Aṣatan (Church of St. Mary), Axum (Church of Zion), Dabra Bizan, Dabra Dāmo, Dabra Libānos, Gunda Gundē, Kebrān, Lālibalā (Church of the Savior of the World; Emmanuel Church), Maqalē, Ura, Kidāna Meḥrat, Monastery of Dabra Dāgā (Church of St. Stephen), Monastery*

- of *Lake Zewāy, Dabra Maryam, National Library and Haiq from microfilms in the collection of Dr. Donald Davies, De Land, Florida and Godfrey, Ontario, and of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's University, Colledgeville, Minnesota, Colledgeville, Minn.*: Privately reproduced.
- Maḥari Terfē, liqa liqāwent (ed.) (1955/1956), *Yaqeddus Pāwlos Maṣṣḥaf nebābu kannaterg*“āmēw, Addis Ababā [1948 ‘ā.m.].
- Maniaci, Marilena (2002), *Archeologia del manoscritto. Metodi, problemi, bibliografia recente. Con contributi di Carlo Federici e di Ezio Ornato* (I libri di Viella 34), Roma: Viella [repr. 2005].
- Mantel-Niečko, Joanna (1987), “Some Thoughts on the Role of the Contemporary Philologist. Based on the Experience of an Ethiopian Philologist”, in: *Orientalia Suecana* 33–34 [1984–1986] = Tryggve Kronholm / Eva Riad et al. (eds.), *On the Dignity of Man. Oriental and Classical Studies in Honour of Frithiof Rundgren*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 285–294.
- Marrassini, Paolo (1981), *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes l’Orientale. Edizione critica con introduzione e traduzione annotata* (Quaderni di Semitistica 10), Firenze: Istituto di linguistica e di lingue orientali, Università degli Studi.
- Marrassini, Paolo (1986), “Studi di Etiopistica”, in: *Atti del Convegno Gli studi africanistici in Italia dagli anni ’60 ad oggi*. Roma, 25–27 giugno 1985, Roma: Istituto Italo-Africano, 167–173.
- Marrassini, Paolo (1987), “L’edizione critica dei testi etiopici: problemi di metodo e reperti linguistici”, in: Giancarlo Bolognesi / Vittore Pisani (eds.), *Linguistica e filologia. Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale di Linguisti*. Milano, 12–14 settembre 1984 (Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese 18), Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 347–356.
- Marrassini, Paolo (1992), “Interpunzione e fenomeni demarcativi nelle lingue semitiche”, in: Emanuela Cresti / Nicoletta Maraschio / Luca Toschi (eds.), *Storia e teoria dell’interpunzione. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*. Firenze, 19–21 maggio 1988 (Università degli Studi di Firenze, Dipartimento di Italianistica), Roma: Bulzoni, 501–520.
- Marrassini, Paolo (1993), *Lo scettro e la croce. La campagna di ‘Amda Seyon I contro l’Ifāt (1332)* (Studi Africanistici, Serie Etiopica 4), Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi.
- Marrassini, Paolo (1996), “Problems of Gə‘əz philology”, in: Petr Zemánek (ed.), *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures. Memorial Volume of Karel Petráček*, Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 371–378.
- Marrassini, Paolo (1999), “Gli apocrifi etiopici: alcune osservazioni”, in: Nello del Gatto (ed.), *Corso di perfezionamento in Storia del Cristianesimo Antico diretto da Luigi Cirillo e Giancarlo Rinaldi. Atti*. Napoli marzo-giugno 1996 (Serie Didattica 2), Napoli: E.Di.S.U. Napoli 2 – Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 238–266.
- Marrassini, Paolo (2000), “Some philological problems in the ‘Miracles’ of Gabra Manfas Qeddus”, in: *Aethiopia* 3, 46–78.
- Marrassini, Paolo (2003a), “Vita”, “Omelia”, “Miracoli” del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 597–598, Scriptorum Aethiopicum 107–108), Lovanii: In aedibus Peeters.
- Marrassini, Paolo (2003b), “The Semites in Abyssinia: Onomastic and Lexicographical Notes”, in: Leonid Kogan (ed.), *Studia Semitica* (Orientalia: Trudy Instituta vostočnyx kultur III / Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute III), Moscow: State University for the Humanities, 141–151.

- Marrassini, Paolo (2007), “Le discipline orientalistiche all’Istituto di Studi Superiori di Firenze”, in: Nicoletta Maraschio (ed.), *Firenze e la lingua italiana fra nazione e Europa. Atti del convegno di studi*. Firenze, 27–28 maggio 2004, Firenze: Firenze University Press, 157–164.
- Marrassini, Paolo (2008a), review of Rainer Voigt (ed.), *Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert / Ethiopian Studies in the 20th Century. Akten der internationalen äthiopischen Tagung*. Berlin 22. bis 24. Juli 2000 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 2), Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2003, in: *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 65/1–2, 267–274.
- Marrassini, Paolo (2008b), “Salient Features of Philology: The Science of Establishing Primary Sources”, in: *Ethiopian Philology. Bulletin of Philological Society of Ethiopia* 1/1 [November 2008], 4–12.
- Marrassini, Paolo (2009), “Problems in Critical Edition and the State of Ethiopian Philology”, in: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 42, 25–68.
- Marrassini, Paolo (2014), *Storia e leggenda dell’Etiopia tardoantica. Le iscrizioni reali aksumite. Con una appendice di Rodolfo Fattovich su “La civiltà aksumita: aspetti archeologici” e una nota editoriale di Alessandro Bausi* (Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico), Brescia: Paideia.
- McCordle, John W. (1897), *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian monk* (Works Issued by Hakluyt Society 98), London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society.
- Mellors, John / Parsons, Anne (2002a), *Ethiopian Bookmaking* (Bookmaking in Rural Ethiopia in the Twenty-First Century), London: New Cross Books.
- Mellors, John / Parsons, Anne (2002b), *Scribes of South Gondar* (Bookmaking in Rural Ethiopia in the Twenty-First Century), London: New Cross Books.
- Mellors, John / Parsons, Anne (2003), “Manuscript and Book Production in South Gondar in the Twenty First Century”, in: Birhanu Teferra / Pankhurst 2003, 185–199.
- Mercier, Jacques (2000), “La peinture éthiopienne à l’époque axoumite et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in: *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles Lettres. Comptes Rendus*, 35–71.
- Mercier, Jacques (2009), “Restoration of holy treasures and installation of a new museum”, in: Jacques Mercier / Daniel Seifemichael Feleke (eds.), *Ethiopian Church. Treasures and Faith*, [Paris:] Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church [Archange Minotaure], 108–124.
- Milikowski, Chaim (1999), “Further on editing Rabbinic texts”, in: *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 90/1–2, 137–149.
- Müller, Walter W. (2007), “Sabaic inscriptions in Ethiopia and Eritrea”, in: *EAE* III, 156a–158a
- Munro-Hay, Stuart C. (1991), *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Nosnitsin, Denis (2007), “Historical Records from Ethiopia: A Trilingual Document From Aṣḥī Däbrä Gännät Sällase, Ṭəgray”, in: *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* 41 (2007) = *Proceedings of the Workshop “European Schools of Ethiopian Studies; Poland & Germany”*. October 18–20, 2006, Warsaw University, Warsaw, 17–47.
- Nosnitsin, Denis (2012), “Ethiopian Manuscripts and Ethiopian Manuscript Studies: A brief overview and evaluation”, in: *Gazette du livre médiéval* 58/1, 1–16.
- Nosnitsin, Denis (2013a), *Churches and Monasteries of Ṭəgray. A Survey of Manuscript Collections* (Supplement to Aethiopica 1), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Nosnitsin, Denis (2013b), *Ecclesiastical Landscape of North Ethiopia* (Supplement to Aethiopica 2), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Nosnitsin, Denis (2013c), “The Charters of the Four Gospels Book of Däbrä Ma’šo”, in: Nosnitsin 2013b, 118–131.

- Pasquali, Giorgio (1954), *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze: Le Monnier [2<sup>nd</sup> edition; 1<sup>st</sup> edition 1934; repr. 1962; Milano: Mondadori, 1974; Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1988].
- Peacock, Andrew (2007), “The Mediaeval Manuscript Tradition of Bal’ami’s Version of al-Ṭabarī’s *History*”, in: Pfeiffer / Kropp 2007, 93–105.
- Pecere, Oronzo (1998), “Una pista di attualità nelle ricerche del filologo classico”, in: Ferrari 1998, 507–515.
- Pfeiffer, Judith / Kropp, Manfred (eds.) (2007), *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts. Proceedings of a symposium held in Istanbul*. March 28–30, 2001 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 111), Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission.
- Proverbio, Delio Vania / Fiaccadori, Gianfranco (2004), “Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli)”, in: *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 9<sup>a</sup>, 15/4, 665–693.
- Reeve, Michael D. (2000), “*Cuius in usum?* Recent and future editing”, in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 90, 196–206.
- Samuel Wolde Yohannes / Nosnitsin, Denis (2003), “Bäṣälötä Mika’el”, in: *EAE* I, 493b–494b.
- Schenke, Gesa (2010a), “Ein koptischer Textzeuge der *Acta Phileae*”, in: Hermann Knuf / Christian Leitz / Daniel von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 194), Leuven / Paris / Walpole, MA: Uitgeverij Peeters and Department of Oosterse Studies, 609–615.
- Schenke, Gesa (2010b), “P.Köln 492: Das Martyrium des Phileas von Thmuis”, in: Ch. Armoni et al., *Kölner Papyri (P.Köln) Vol. 12* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 7/12. Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), Paderborn / München / Wien / Zürich: Schöningh, 188–192.
- Schneider, Roger (1983), “Les origines de l’écriture éthiopienne”, in: Stanislav Segert / Andrés J.E. Bodrogligeti (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday November 14th, 1981 by friends and colleagues*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 412–416.
- Schneider, Roger (1986), “La première attestation de l’alphabet éthiopien”, in: *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d’Études Chamito-Sémitiques (GLECS)* 24–28/2 [1979–1984], 239–241.
- Schneider, Roger (1995), “À propos de la vocalisation de l’écriture éthiopienne”, in: *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d’Études Chamito-Sémitiques (GLECS)* 31, 107–108.
- Scialabba, Marzia / Palma, Marco (eds.), *Manoscritti nella provincia di Siracusa* (Quaderni della Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali di Siracusa, Servizio per i Beni Bibliografici e Archivistici, Cataloghi 2), Siracusa: Lombardi editori.
- Sergew Hable Selassie (1981), *Bookmaking in Ethiopia*, Leiden: Karstens Drukkers B.V.
- Shiferaw Bekele (2008), “Interface between Philology and History: The Search for Medievalist Historians”, in: *Ethiopian Philology. Bulletin of Philological Society of Ethiopia* 1/1 [November 2008], 47–55.
- Simon, Jean (1931–1932), “Répertoire des bibliothèques publiques et privées contenant des manuscrits éthiopiens”, in: *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 28, 178–193.

- Sobania, Neal W. / Silverman, Raymond A. (dirs.), *The Parchment Makers: an Ancient Art in Present-Day Ethiopia*, 1/2" VHS videocassette, color, 19 min. Hope College (Holland, Michigan) and Sola Scriptura (Orlando, Florida).
- Stussi, Alfredo (2006), *Fondamenti di critica testuale. Nuova edizione* (Manuali, Filologia e critica letteraria), Bologna: Il Mulino [2<sup>nd</sup> edition].
- Szirmai, J.A. (1999), *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbindings*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Tedros Abraha (2001), *La lettera ai Romani. Testo e commentari della versione Etiopica* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 57), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Tedros Abraha (2004), *The Ethiopic Version of the Letter to the Hebrews* (Studi e testi 419), Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Tedros Abraha (2007), *Il Gädl di Abuna Demyanos santo eritreo (XIV/XV sec.). Edizione del testo etiopico e traduzione italiana* (Patrologia Orientalis 50/2, fasc. 223), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Tedros Abraha (2009), *I Gädl di Abunä Täwäldä-Mädehn e di Abunä Vittore. Edizione del testo etiopico e traduzione italiana* (Patrologia Orientalis 51/2, fasc. 227), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Thaker, Jayant Premshankar (Gen. ed. Mukund Lalji Wadekar) (2002), *Manuscriptology and text criticism*, Vadodara: Oriental Institute.
- Timpanaro, Sebastiano (2005), *The genesis of Lachmann's method* (ed. and tr. Glenn W. Most), Chicago / London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Uhlig, Siegbert (1988), *Äthiopische Paläographie* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 22), Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Uhlig, Siegbert (1990), *Introduction to Ethiopian paleography* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 28), Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Uhlig, Siegbert / Bausi, Alessandro (2007a), "Manuscripts", in: *E Ae III*, 738a–744a.
- Uhlig, Siegbert / Bausi, Alessandro (2007b), "Palaeography", in: *E Ae III*, 101a–104b.
- Wechsler, Michael G. (2005), *Evangelium Iohannis Aethiopicum* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 617, Scriptorum Aethiopicum 109), Lovanii: In aedibus Peeters.
- Wion, Anaïs (2004), "An Analysis of 17th-Century Ethiopian Pigments", in: Manuel João Ramos / Isabel Boavida (eds.), *The Indigenous and the Foreign in Christian Ethiopian Art. On Portuguese-Ethiopian Contacts in the 16th–17th Centuries. Papers from the Fifth International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*. Arrábida, 26–30 November 1999, Aldershot, Hants / Burlington: Ashgate, 103–112.
- Wion, Anaïs (2009), "Le *Liber Aksumae* selon le manuscrit Bodleian Bruce 93: le plus ancien témoin d'un projet historiographique sans cesse réactivé", in: *Oriens Christianus* 93, 135–171.
- Wion, Anaïs (2011a), "Promulgation and Registration of Royal Ethiopian Acts in Behalf of Political and Religious Institutions (Northern Ethiopia, Sixteenth Century)", in: *Northeast African Studies* 11/2, 59–84.
- Wion, Anaïs (2011b), "La langue des actes éthiopiens à l'épreuve de la modernité: un recueil de chartes royales daté de 1943 (église de Maḥdärä Maryam, Bägémder)", in: Jean-Marie Bertrand / Pierre Boilly / Jean-Philippe Genet / Pauline Schmitt Pantel (eds.), *Langue et Histoire* (Homme et Société 39), Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 123–152.
- Wion, Anaïs (2012), *Paradis pour une reine. Le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs, Éthiopie, xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Histoire ancienne et médiévale 112), Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Wion, Anaïs / Bertrand, Paul (2011), "Production, Preservation, and Use of Ethiopian Archives (Fourteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)", in: *Northeast African Studies* 11/2, vii–xvi.



- Wion, Anaïs / Derat, Marie-Laure / Bosc-Tiessé, Claire (2006a), *Inventaire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, Paris <<http://www.ext.upmc.fr/urfist/menestrel/medethiopie.htm>>.
- Wion, Anaïs / Derat, Marie-Laure / Bosc-Tiessé, Claire (2006b), “Les manuscrits éthiopiens sur «Ménéstrele»”, in: *Gazette du Livre Médiéval* 48 [printemps 2006], 62.
- Wion, Anaïs / Derat, Marie-Laure / Bosc-Tiessé, Claire (2008), *Inventaire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*. <<http://www.menestrel.fr/spip.php?rubrique694>> (seen on July 10th, 2009).
- Witkam, Jan Just (1988), “Establishing the stemma: fact or fiction?”, in: *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 3, 88–101.
- Witkam, Jan Just (2013), “The Philologist’s Stone. The Continuing Search for the Stemma”, in: *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 6, 34–38.
- Wolska-Conus, Wanda (ed.) (1968), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie chrétienne*, I. *Livres I–IV* (Sources chrétiennes 141), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Zanutto, Silvio (1932), *Bibliografia etiopica in continuazione alla «Bibliografia etiopica» di G. Fumagalli. Secondo contributo: Manoscritti etiopici*, Roma: A cura del Ministero delle Colonie, Sindacato Italiano Arti Grafiche Editore.
- Zufferey, François (1998), “Philologie matérielle et codicologie: l’enseignement des chansonniers provençaux”, in: Ferrari 1998, 429–442.
- Zuurmond, Rochus (1989), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopicum: The Synoptic Gospels*, Part I: *General introduction*, Part II: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 27), Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Zuurmond, Rochus (2001), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopicum. The Gospel of St. Matthew* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 55), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

