

and synoptic readings of individual lines, which are linked together; the synoptic edition of the four versions according to the base-manuscript principle with apparatuses for each version; and, finally, still at an experimental stage (Stolz 2016), a reading text of version *D (which Lachmann had already favoured) according to the base-manuscript principle, with variant readings of the other versions in the margin and a multilevel apparatus below the text.

Whereas in the early presentations of the project, attempts to elucidate manuscript relationships by means of tools which apply bioinformatic methods of cladistics/phylogenetics to textual relationships (see 5.1.3) were strongly emphasised (Stolz 2003), they are now more likely to be introduced in support of the results of research “according to strictly philological yardsticks” (Stolz 2016, 355; “nach streng philologischen Maßstäben”), in other words, stemmatics. Apart from the methodological problem of the transformation of an unrooted phylogenetic graph into an archetype-directed stemma (discussed in the case of *Parzival* by Chlench and Viehhauser 2014; in general, see Trovato 2017, 185–216; 5.5 above), which is indispensable (see the two illustrations in Stolz 2016, 356–357), the application of cladistics comes up first and foremost against practical limits, since it assumes the graphic normalisation of the manuscript texts that are to be compared (Chlench and Viehhauser 2014, 70–71) – an effort that can probably be made only in the case of smaller sections of text (in the case of Stolz 2016, 210 lines in twenty-one textual witnesses); compare the experiences in Romance studies (7.3.4).

Acknowledgement

The text was translated from the German by David Yeandle (King’s College London).

Further reading

The following publications offer further insights into the questions dealt with above: Bumke (1996, 1–88; on the tradition history and textual criticism of the courtly epic in the thirteenth century), Schröder (1998; opposing Bumke 1996 from the point of view of reconstructive editing), Heinzle (2003; basic questions in the edition of mediaeval German texts between reproduction and reconstruction), and Chlench and Viehhauser (2014; relationship between stemmatics and cladistics as exemplified by *Parzival*).

7.5 Ethiopic

Alessandro Bausi

The scholarly edition of Ethiopic (Gə‘əz) texts can be taken in many respects as a paradigmatic example of practices common in other linguistic and cultural areas of

Christian oriental studies as they have developed in the West since the Renaissance, particularly since the eighteenth century. It is a fact that, while the field of Christian Arabic and especially Syriac studies has, if not a longer, then definitely a richer tradition, Christian oriental studies shares some common basic features and has become a relatively coherent field at an academic level as well. For textual criticism and editing, the two main series, both established at the very beginning of the twentieth century and still active, the *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (since 1903) and the *Patrologia Orientalis* (since 1904), emblematically represent – albeit with some interruptions – a large part of the scholarly editorial activity carried out for the previous hundred years and longer. It is, however, important to stress a fundamental difference as far as ancient and late antique texts are concerned. Some traditions of the Christian Orient (Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian, to name the main ones) are important for the number and variety of transmitted texts (and the age of the relevant manuscripts), which are not limited to translations but also include many original texts. With only very few exceptions, however, most of the ancient (late antique) Ethiopic texts are translations from Greek, and therefore the philology of these ancient texts falls into the general typological class of editing translations (on which, see the several case studies in Macé et al. 2015 and some examples in 4.5 above).

7.5.1 Ethiopic philology within Christian oriental philologies

7.5.1.1 Ethiopic philology and manuscript studies

Despite the explosion of manuscript studies in recent decades, the issue of editorial practice – and particularly the utilisation of the stemmatic method in order to analyse or to edit and/or reconstruct texts – has not enjoyed much consideration in Christian oriental studies (an exception is *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*; Bausi et al. 2015). Some contributions from Ethiopian studies in the last three decades are an exception, as I will show below. The accentuation of the archaeological and material aspects of manuscript research has, to an extent, been a disadvantage for the critical approach towards texts. Moreover, while many Ethiopic texts were and still are edited without any clearly determined or declared methodological approach, this practice is better understood in terms of a pre-Lachmannian state of the art of editing rather than in terms of a critical rethinking of stemmatic and reconstructive practices. On the other hand, focusing on single documents, or on the statistical evaluation of the average text circulating at a particular time, has substantially shifted the target of philological research towards single cases or the definition of successive stages in a tradition. This can be seen as a complementary task to that of determining the earliest textual phase (it is, in fact, a history of the tradition), but in practice it is usually meant as an *a priori* rejection of text-critical analysis. This line of action has, in my view, not replaced

the stemmatic approach. Methodological considerations are further complicated by implications of political correctness in evaluating texts which, aside from their history and original form, have become accepted in a certain recension (*vulgata*) by institutions (typically, the national churches) which, in the opinion of some scholars, should be credited with a special status. This is, for example, the approach of the “Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament” (THEOT) project led by Steve Delamarter and Curt Niccum (see Jost 2015).

7.5.1.2 Main features of the transmission of Ethiopic texts

The first editorial methods applied to Ethiopic texts can be securely traced back to the environment of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, which was dominated by the cultural hegemony of the Church. A crucial role in the complex transmission of Ethiopic texts was played by the mediaeval adaptations of late antique written knowledge inherited from Greek-speaking Egypt and translated into Ethiopic early in the Aksumite period (ca. fourth to sixth century AD; for exemplary cases, see Bausi 2006a, 2015a, 2017a, 2018; Bausi and Camplani 2016). A decisive factor in prompting this mediaeval adaptation and revision was the presence of a new layer of Arabic-based texts, at times overlapping with and/or substituting the older ones. Also important was the fact that the literary language (Ethiopic, or *Gəʿəz*) remained the language of education and writing, but had no longer been a spoken language since the tenth century at the latest. This had implications for orthography (several phonemes merged in the course of time and orthographical interchanges occurred, also posing questions of standardisation and normalisation; see Bausi 2016a). Nonetheless, the methods of dealing with texts in premodern Ethiopia have not to date been studied sufficiently to be the subject of even a cursory presentation (for some first attempts, see Bausi 2017b; Brita 2014; Lusini 2004; Mersha Alehegne 2011a). Yet this phase cannot be ignored, since it is an important component in the history of the tradition of Ethiopic texts. Despite the presence of a substantial corpus of older Ethiopic translations from Greek models going back to late Antiquity, all Ethiopic texts are transmitted by mediaeval manuscripts (starting from the twelfth/thirteenth century) with the sole exception of the New Testament, which is also attested by two late antique manuscripts. Manuscripts from before the fourteenth century are still extremely rare. For texts dating back to the Aksumite period, the typology of transmission is not so different from that of Greek and Latin classical texts, which, aside from epigraphical and papyrological witnesses, are mainly attested by much later manuscripts. A different case is that of texts which were created later in mediaeval times and that may be much closer to their earliest manuscript witnesses. Yet there are extremely few, if any, cases of preserved autographs, and textual witnesses (manuscripts) rather distant in time from the creation of the texts are the norm.

7.5.1.3 The earliest phases of editing Ethiopic texts in context

Although they were vaguely known already in mediaeval times, the first close encounters of Western scholars with Ethiopic texts date from the Renaissance, when

representatives of Eastern Christian communities travelled to and dwelt in Rome under the protection of the pope. In the case of Ethiopians, the ecumenical councils which saw the participation of oriental delegations, such as the Council of Basle–Ferrara–Florence of 1431–1445, and the eventual establishment of a permanent Ethiopian community in Rome, played a decisive role in promoting the development of Ethiopian studies. The challenges of editing and printing Ethiopic texts started relatively early in time compared with other Christian oriental traditions. The first printed Ethiopic text (not by accident the psalter, the most commonly read Christian Ethiopic book) dates from 1513, with a second four-language edition in 1518, both edited by Potken in Rome (1513) and Cologne (1518). As early as 1548 and 1549, a two-volume edition of the New Testament was printed in Rome by the Ethiopian Tasfā Šəyon with help of Italian scholars. A few Ethiopic texts were also printed in the seventeenth century, but it was only with Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704) that text editing was carried out in such a way that it can be methodologically evaluated. Ludolf's edition of the psalter (Ludolf 1701) still stands out as an advanced example of method in some respects: Ludolf based his edition on three manuscripts and the two available prints, and was well aware of questions of normalisation and standardisation. He did not hesitate to reintegrate *ex nihilo* missing verses or hemistichs when they were attested by the Greek and Hebrew text and missing in the Ethiopic version, where he explained their absence as due to the inaccuracy of the copyist, so that, ultimately, he fundamentally based his edition on his own *iudicium* (Ludolf 1701, 2v–3v). Nonetheless, this edition of the psalter, also furnished with a commentary, is still of great importance because of the critical comparison with the Greek and Hebrew texts on which it is based. Ludolf's works represent the high point in Ethiopian studies within the context of oriental studies in the modern age, as cultivated by humanists like Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) or Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) and others, who had a strong interest in oriental cultures. This situation did not change with the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, after which the study of the Bible became even more important and had to be done in the original language in Protestant churches; this was a continuous source of impetus to oriental studies. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are also the period of the polyglot Bibles (from 1514 to 1657; see Wilkinson 2007), the last of which, edited by Brian Walton (1654–1657) in London, also includes an Ethiopic version of the psalter and of the Song of Songs along with a reprint of the New Testament from the Roman *editio princeps*.

7.5.1.4 Christian oriental studies in their connection with classical studies

The institutionalisation of oriental studies at European universities in the last decades of the eighteenth century (for example, in Germany at Göttingen) was undertaken in close connection with the extraordinary development of classical philology and still within the framework of biblical criticism. Theology still kept its central importance for oriental studies, and theologians in the Protestant tradition had to

learn Greek and Hebrew. Besides the interest in the biblical text, the interest in ancient Judaism played a major role in keeping this ultimately humanistic tradition of Christian oriental studies alive. The overwhelmingly strictly religious character of Christian oriental texts determined a unification of Christian oriental texts under the umbrella of *philologia sacra* – a largely neglected aspect of Saidian orientalism (cf. Said 1978). Within this framework, the German theologian (theology was one of the main sites of Semitic studies) August Dillmann (1823–1894) refounded Ethiopian studies in the nineteenth century. He carried out substantial editorial work, not limited to but certainly focused on biblical and apocryphal texts dating from Aksumite times and typologically characterised by large gaps between the time of creation (presumably from the fourth to sixth centuries AD) and the date of the earliest extant manuscript witnesses (fourteenth century at the earliest). In doing so, whenever possible Dillmann carried out a *recensio* and oriented his editorial practice, as Ludolf had done, towards the available text of the *Vorlage* that he identified for a work, for example the Septuagint in the case of the Ethiopic Bible, without any prejudicial preference for a given manuscript (either *codex optimus* or *codex vetustissimus*). Ethiopic texts as edited by Dillmann, as well as by theologians and scholars in biblical studies in the decades immediately after his period – at least Robert Henry Charles (1855–1931) should be mentioned, since he dedicated much of his efforts to Ethiopic texts (see Bausi 2016a, 54–64) – were considered in terms of contemporary practice in biblical textual scholarship, particularly Septuagint studies (Erho and Stuckenbruck 2013 offer an overview of the manuscripts used for editing major Ethiopic apocryphal texts, but much less on the methods used, for which see still Piovaneli 1987, 1988).

7.5.1.5 A splitting of traditions

Dillmann's activity was deeply rooted in the long history of oriental and biblical studies and *philologia sacra* (see 7.1), and we can say that, up to the end of the eighteenth century, most of the editors of oriental texts had substantially shared the same methods and approaches as were used in classical philology: orientalist and classicists belonged to the same academic milieu and their attitudes largely overlapped. Yet the new method applied by Karl Lachmann (1793–1851; see 7.2) developed in a way that would eventually create a profound gap between *philologia sacra* on the one hand and classical philology (i.e. the disciplines using the stemmatic method conventionally placed under the name of Lachmann) on the other. In this respect, the non-adoption of Lachmann's method by oriental (non-classical) studies is a real landmark: it is at this point that classical studies (including Septuagint and Greek New Testament studies, and patristics to a large extent; see Castelli 2011) and oriental studies started to diverge more and more. While in the nineteenth century classical philology became more and more elaborate, oriental studies tended to become weaker and gradually less up to date and less methodologically oriented, since the mainstream was dictated now by classical and particularly Greek studies.

As stated by Marchand: “In the early modern period, oriental philologists had pioneered many of these text-critical skills, but nineteenth-century orientalists almost by definition could not concentrate on one language; nor could they secularize their field with equal alacrity” (2009, 73).

If the development and secularisation of oriental studies at the end of the eighteenth century also marked the moment when oriental studies ceased to follow the development of the mainstream humanistic disciplines, one cannot disregard the fact that this was also due to some intrinsic features of the respective fields. Besides, the needs and starting point of oriental studies were completely different, since the majority of texts remained unpublished (somewhat similarly to mediaeval Latin and Byzantine studies) and only an absolute minority could be considered. It is not a surprise that, for a long time, publishing one manuscript (the most accessible but not necessarily the best, or “the best” if more were accessible, and so on), rather than editing a text, was the normal approach, and this trend has in many cases survived to the present day. In oriental studies, the content of a single manuscript – understood exclusively as a text-carrier – has remained for much longer than in other fields a self-justified and sufficient object of study and research.

It is impossible to provide here even a draft history of Christian oriental text editing from a proper methodological perspective (a very short, slightly more detailed overview can be found in Bausi et al. 2015, 4–9, from which most of the following examples are taken). One must limit oneself to quoting a few examples, among many possible others, of orientalists who were familiar with the questions being discussed in their time. One case in point is that of one of the fathers of modern Coptology, as well as an outstanding classicist, Georg Zoëga (1755–1809). Zoëga applied principles that were very similar to those proposed by Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) but which he developed independently and in parallel. In his case, however, the specifically fragmented character of Coptic documentation, usually represented by dismembered codices, oriented his research in a decisive way, but it did not confront him with principles of philological reconstruction starting from multiple witnesses. It is important to point out that Zoëga did not feel the need to go beyond *philologia sacra* – probably he could not and did not want to do so, for various reasons, some of them being obvious (he worked at the papal court). Rather, he understood the potential interest of the almost virgin field of oriental Christian apocrypha, which he started to explore as far as Coptic texts were concerned (see Bausi 2015b).

7.5.2 The base-manuscript edition, or “the normal way”

In the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, philological discourse and methodologies were mainly developed within the field of classical and Romance studies (see 7.3). It is a fact that, with a very few exceptions – usually due to

a stronger connection to biblical scholarship or classical studies – Christian oriental studies, even at the beginning of the twentieth century and later, by and large practised the base-manuscript method.

7.5.2.1 The base-manuscript method

As already mentioned, the practice of using a base manuscript was partly due to the particular kind of documentation being dealt with – very partially known and without the centuries-long research background of classical studies – but also reflected something akin to an acquired habit. All in all, it had little to do with the reasons put forward by Joseph Bédier (1864–1938) and his rethinking of the reconstructive Lachmannian method, and had much more to do with the continuation of a previous practice current in oriental studies, corresponding to what might be termed the “simple, normal way”. In pre-Lachmannian classical studies, the editor normally started from the *textus receptus* and an existing edition which he emended, and recourse to codices was occasional and optional. In oriental studies, however, the editor normally started from one manuscript, since most of the time the text in question was to be published for the first time and was available in that manuscript only.

Exceptions to this trend can probably be found in every subfield, but they have never become the norm. An interesting early example is that of the Syriacist Arthur Amiaud (1849–1889). In the year of his death, 1889, following in the footsteps of Gaston Paris (see 7.3) both in content and method, he published an edition of the Syriac *Alexis* legends with an attempt at reconstructing the earliest text, stating in his introduction (with an explicit reference to Paris and Pannier 1872 in Amiaud 1889, x n1):

Nous n'avons pas affaire [...] à des compositions personnelles [...]. Si l'on entreprenait de publier une famille de telles œuvres, où chaque auteur respectant seulement les grandes lignes de la légende l'a traitée pour tout le reste avec une liberté presque absolue [...], tout ce qu'on pourrait faire serait de donner chacune entièrement et séparément. Mais ici où nous n'avons [...] que des copies plus ou moins exactes mais toujours sincères d'un même texte, le devoir de l'éditeur est de chercher à retrouver l'original ou à le restituer au moins dans la mesure du possible, et c'est là le but que nous allons poursuivre maintenant au moyen de la comparaison et de la classification de nos manuscrits. (Amiaud 1889, ix)

[We have not to deal [...] with personal compositions [...]. If one undertook the publication of a family of such works, where every author respecting only the general features of the legend has dealt with all other features with absolute freedom [...], all that one could do would be to present each one entirely and separately. But here, where we have only more or less precise copies of the same text, the duty of the editor is to try to trace the original or to restore it as far as possible, and this is the target we are aiming at now through the comparison and the classification of our manuscripts.]

Later, in 1922, Albrecht Götze (1897–1971), later a great Hittitologist, examined the manuscript tradition of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, and on the basis of the extant

manuscripts he supposed the existence of an archetype, reconstructing its physical structure (columns and number of lines) as well as that of a hyparchetype. He also established subgroups on the basis of mechanical errors (loss of folia), and corroborated all this evidence with that of “verschiedene Lesungen und gemeinsame Neuerungen” [various readings and shared innovations], giving also a complex but clear *stemma codicum* (Götze 1922, 5–12).

In the second half of the twentieth century, Bernard Botte (1893–1980), the student of canonical oriental Christian liturgical texts, clearly advocated the consideration of versions as textual witnesses when undertaking the search for an original (see also Botte 1966, 177–179):

Les principes que je viens d'exposer ne sont pas neufs [...]. Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse procéder autrement sous peine de tomber dans la fantaisie. Il ne faut se fier aveuglément à aucune version. La question n'est pas de trouver “la bonne version”, pas plus que dans une édition critique d'un texte grec on ne doit chercher “le bon manuscrit”. Le tout est de faire un bon usage de tous les témoins. (Botte 1955, 168)

[The principles I have set out are not new [...]. I do not think one can proceed in any other way, without risking falling into fantasy. One cannot blindly trust any version. The question is not that of finding “the right version”, any more than in a critical edition of a Greek text one must look for “the right manuscript”. What is important is to make good use of all the witnesses.]

Hans Ferdinand Fuhs (Fuhs 1968, 31; see fig. 7.5-1 below, and later also Fuhs 1971, 25) has been credited with the first proposal of a *stemma codicum* for the edition of an Ethiopic text (Lusini 1988, 212n3), but the very first one was probably proposed by Louis Guerrier and Sylvain Grébaut in their edition of the *Testament of Our Lord in Galilee* in 1912 (Guerrier and Grébaut 1912, 173 [33]). Another early *stemma codicum* was proposed by Adolf Grohmann in his 1913 edition of several versions of the *Vision of Shenute*, particularly in the section dedicated to the Ethiopic tradition (Grohmann 1913, 198). Grohmann's contribution contains several interesting observations on the relationship of the manuscript witnesses (gained from applying a reconstructive method in order to determine the mutual relationships between them), as well as other observations concerning the establishment of the text, and presupposes reflection on the role of the introduction in a critical edition.

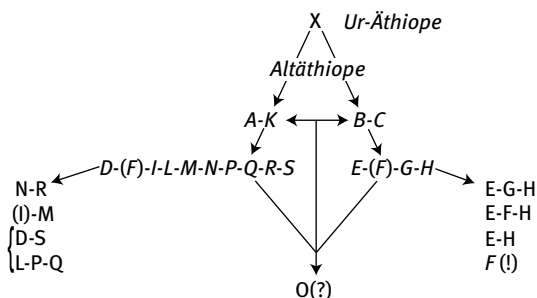


Fig. 7.5-1: *Stemma codicum* of the Ethiopic version of Micah. Source: Fuhs (1968, 31).

7.5.2.2 The purported reasons behind the base-manuscript method

Returning to the main series of text editions mentioned above, it is obvious that the base-manuscript method has largely been applied in them, with only very few exceptions. In the case of Christian oriental studies in particular, René Draguet's (1896–1980) credo of the base-manuscript method long dominated the *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (CSCO), which Draguet directed from the late forties (1948) until his death (see Mengozzi 2015). Draguet himself canonised his suggested method for Syriac texts in a controversial contribution (Draguet 1977), a major part of which was dedicated to technical concerns of layout and printing and very little to proper text-critical methodology. It recommended a simple reproduction of the best manuscript's text – taking into consideration its age and legibility – with all its errors included. Draguet's "best manuscript" is thus simply the most suitable for the representation of the form; it is not even the best manuscript a posteriori, that is, the manuscript most similar to the critically established text that emerges from a *recensio*. It is therefore different – one might say worse – than the *codex optimus* (or *codex vetustissimus*, and so on) of pre-Lachmannian philology, which was a base manuscript whose errors could be corrected *ope codicum* and *ope ingenii*.

Ethiopic texts were no exception to this trend. If one browses through the introductions to editions published in the CSCO and *Patrologia Orientalis* series looking for explanations of why this method was applied, one will be soon disappointed. I have carried out this task in two contributions where more details are provided (Bausi 2006b, 2008), and I will not repeat the predominantly discouraging results here. The consideration of later editions does not change this picture (see e.g. Bausi 2009, 2010a, 2015c). As an advisor for the CSCO series, I have myself experienced the difficulty of ensuring respect for minimal standards such as, for example, consideration of all known available manuscripts (all the more so when digital reproductions are easily accessible). Almost all editions in these series are introduced by the same formulaic considerations, in a few cases by additional short comments, often with hardly more than a couple of words; just one representative example is: "Vulgatur textus codicis A notatis variantibus in B" (Arras 1986, v) [The text of codex A is published, the variants from B being noted].

7.5.3 Ethiopic philology in the past thirty years

Little more interest has generally been displayed in using the so-called neo-Lachmannian approach (see 2.4) in oriental studies (see Witkam 1988, 2013). Among the exceptions, one should mention the edition of the Ethiopic version of the *Life of Saint Alexis* by the renowned orientalist Enrico Cerulli (1898–1988; see at least Bausi 2016b, 191–194, with further references), where different recensions as well as

individual authorial variations were distinguished, particularly in the more recent manuscripts, which Cerulli attributed to specific characteristics of this very widespread hagiographical text:

Les observations qui précèdent font voir que les mss de la Vie d'Alexis se prêtent peu à l'établissement d'un *stemma codicum* rigide; ils ne diffèrent pas en cela de ceux des compositions hagiographiques du moyen âge et en particulier du moyen âge oriental. Une critique prudente doit avoir égard à la fantaisie des scribes, aux préoccupations des monastères où furent copiés les mss, et aux habitudes mêmes des scriptoria. En ce qui concerne particulièrement l'Éthiopie, il faut tenir compte que les Actes étaient destinés à la lecture dans les monastères, où on les divisait en sept sections égales pour les sept jours de la semaine, ou encore entièrement, dans une séance unique, dans certains couvents ou églises à l'occasion de la fête du Saint. Toutes ces circonstances pouvaient aisément conduire à des additions, ou à des suppressions. (Cerulli 1969, xv)

[The preceding observations show that the manuscripts of the *Life of Alexis* lend themselves little to the establishment of a rigid *stemma codicum*. They do not differ in this from those of the hagiographical compositions of the Middle Ages and especially of the Eastern Middle Ages. Prudent criticism must have regard to the fantasy of the scribes, the preoccupations of the monasteries where the manuscripts were copied, and the very habits of the scriptoria. Concerning Ethiopia in particular, it must be borne in mind that the Acts were intended for reading in the monasteries, where they were divided into seven equal sections for the seven days of the week, or entirely in a single sitting, in certain convents or churches on the occasion of the feast of the saint. All these circumstances could easily lead to additions or deletions.]

Even in this case, however, Cerulli did not use a base-manuscript method. Although he distinguished three groups (ancient, intermediate, and modern) among the fifteen manuscript witnesses he used, he did not adopt any base manuscript for each of them. He edited what he thought was the most ancient version based upon the three manuscripts of the ancient group and provided the variants of all other manuscripts deviating from the older text form (fig. 7.5-2 below). Cerulli observes a tendency that is well known in hagiographical texts (for further references, see Bausi 2014a, 57n6), but it cannot be treated as a universal truth. But it is true in particular for texts which have a very rich manuscript tradition and enjoyed good fortunes and wide dissemination. This condition must be verified for each single case, and there is no getting around this.

In recent decades, remarkable achievements have, indeed, been reached in studies on the text of the Bible and apocrypha (e.g. the editions of the Gospels of Mark and Matthew by Zuurmond 1989, 2001, and of the Gospel of John by Wechsler 2005; the best overview is in Zuurmond and Niccum 2013), although even in this field the state of the art is very far from being uniform (cf. e.g. the editions by Tedros Abraha 2001, 2004, 2014; see also the general remarks in Bausi 2016a, 73–80). A scholar like Ernst Hammerschmidt (1928–1993), and even someone of the calibre of Edward Ullendorff (1920–2011), one of the editors of the Book of Enoch (Knibb and Ullendorff 1978), still justified the use of photographic reproductions for editing Ethiopic texts (for details and references, see Bausi 2016a, 53n28). Obsessed by the

[§ 4. Le pèlerinage à Jérusalem]

ወተንሥሉ፡ ቴዎዶስዮስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወብእሲቱ፡ መርኪዛ፡ ንግሥት፡ ወበጽሑ፡ ሊዮሩሳሌም ። ወሰለሉ፡ ወበጽሑ፡ ለእገዚአብሔር፡ ወሰምዐ፡ እገዚአብሔር፡ ጸሎቶሙ ።

ወተንሥሉ] ACDEGHJNOP ወተንሥሉ
 ቴዎዶስዮስ] NOPG om.
 ቴዎዶስዮስ፡ ንጉሥ] BJM ንጉሥ፡ ቴዎዶስዮስ, Z om.
 ወብእሲቱ፡ መርኪዛ] A ወመርኪዛ, L ወመርኪዛ
 መርኪዛ] NOP om.
 ንግሥት] GHMZ om.
 ወበጽሑ] D ወበጽሑ, N ወሐሩ፡ ውስተ, O add ምስለ፡ ብዙጎ፡ ሠራዊት፡ በዓቢይ፡ ገርማ፡ ወበጽሑ, Z add ውስተ
 ሊዮሩሳሌም] ABCDEHJLMOZ add ወቦሉ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ መካነ፡ ቀራንዮ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ተሰመይ፡ ቀራንዮ፡ ጎልጎታ፡ ዘተጸልበ፡ ውስቲታ፡ መድኃኒ፡ ዓለም፡ ሊዮሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዳግማይ፡ ሉዳም ። ወበህዮ፡ ሰገዱ፡ በብረኪሆሙ፡ ወለንቃዕደው፡ ለዕይንቲሆሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ ። ወተጉድዐ፡ እንገድዓቲሆሙ¹፡ በገዓር፡ ወበለንብዕ፡ ብዙጎ ። VARIANTES፡ ቦሉ] MZ add ውስተ, መካነ] BCJL ወመካነ, M ውስተ፡ ቀራንዮ] O add ጎልጎታ, እንተ] M ወእንተ, ይእቲ] AL om, ተሰመይ] EZM om, ቀራንዮ] AL om, Z መካነ, ተሰመይ፡ ቀራንዮ] BCHJ om, ጎልጎታ] M ወእንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ጎልጎታ, እንተ us...ad ጎልጎታ] O om, ዘተጸልበ] CO ጎበ፡ ተጸልበ, Z ዘተሰቀለ, EH ተረክበ፡ ውስቲታ] BJLM በውስቲታ, መድኃኒ፡ ዓለም] EJL om, M እገዚእነ, ውስቲታ፡ መድኃኒ፡ ዓለም] O በህዮ, እገዚእ፡ ውስቲታ, us...ad ሊዮሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ] ለዮሱስ፡ ክርስቶስሱ፡ ውስቲታ, መድኃኒ፡ ዓለም us...ad ሉዳም] BZ እገዚእነ፡ ሊዮሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዳግማይ፡ ሉዳም፡ ወመድኃኒ፡ ዓለም H ሊዮሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዳግማይ፡ ሉዳም፡ ወመድኃኒ፡ ዓለም, ዳግማይ፡ ሉዳም] ALMO add. መድኃኒ፡ ዓለም, J ዳግማዊ፡ ሉዳም, ወበህዮ፡ ሰገዱ] D ወሰገዱ, በብረኪሆሙ] BCJMOZ add. ጎበረ, ለዕይንቲሆሙ] J በለዕይንቲሆሙ፡, Z add ላዕለ, ውስተ] O ጎበ, ሰማይ] CHM add ላዕለ, ወተጉድዓ] BCEHJLOZ ወጉድዓ፡, A ወጉደጉዱ, M ወጉድድዱ (corr.), እንገድዓቲሆሙ] A om, በገዓር፡ ወበለንብዕ] ABCHJLMO በለንብዕ፡ ወበገዓር, ብዙጎ] H ብዙጎ, M ብዙጎን; በገዓር፡ ወበለንብዕ፡ ብዙጎ] Z በብዙጎ፡ ገዓር ፤ Cet épisode manque dans G et N de ወቦሉ us... ad ብዙጎ et dans P de ወቦሉ us... ad ሰለፍ

¹ Ms. እንገዳቲሆሙ

Fig. 7.5-2: Edition of the Ethiopic version of the *Gadla Gabra Krastos* [Life of St Alexis]. Source: Cerulli (1969, 6).

importance of documenting the evidence, these editors advised reducing editing to the making of facsimiles, and apparently attached much less importance to critical editing as a specific task of its own.

In 2015, almost forty years after the publication of the edition of the Book of Enoch, the former main editor, Michael A. Knibb, who had worked in consultation with Ullendorff, published an edition that marks a decisive change of trend. Knibb's edition of Ezekiel (Knibb 2014, 2015; see also Knibb 2017) has a long exemplary introduction that culminates in a *stemma codicum* where the main aspects of the manuscript tradition are tentatively represented (Knibb 2015, 37). Most of all, Knibb's edition does not apply any base-manuscript method and attempts instead to reconstruct the oldest attainable layer of the text. This decisive change is the

result of the debate and criticism of the base-manuscript method that have, to some extent, animated the past thirty years of Ethiopic text editing.

7.5.3.1 Paolo Marrassini and the application of a neo-Lachmannian approach

An important novelty for editing Ethiopic texts was represented by the work of Paolo Marrassini (1942–2013), one of the most outstanding scholars in Ethiopian studies of the past forty years (on him, see the introductory papers to his *Gedenkschrift*, Bausi, Gori, and Lusini 2014; Lusini 2014). Marrassini used with full awareness a neo-Lachmannian approach in a number of critical editions of Ethiopic texts, both original (hagiographical and historiographical) and translated ones (apocryphal writings, for example the Ethiopic version of the Apocalypse of Peter). Marrassini started with the edition of a hagiographical text in 1981 attested by four manuscripts (Marrassini 1981), for which he proposed a *stemma codicum* according to which he reconstructed a critical text (fig. 7.5-3). His work had the honour of being mentioned in the *Breviario di Ecdotica* by Gianfranco Contini as a first example of the stemmatic method in Semitic studies (Contini 1986, 66, in a section added to the first edition and entitled “Postilla 1985”). Moreover, besides producing a series of critical editions (at least Marrassini 1981, 1993, 1995, 2000, 2003), Marrassini defended his method in a series of methodological contributions where he approached, among other things, questions of criticism of form and substance and of the relationship between linguistics and philology, and addressed the question of the role of the introduction in a critical edition, and what to do with punctuation in manuscripts (Marrassini 1987, 1992, 1996, 2008a, 2008b, 2009). Even in Marrassini’s work, there are obviously points to be revised. It is, for example, apparent, in light of further research and when considering more manuscripts, that the manuscript tradition of the *Life of Kiros* (a very widespread hagiographical text) is much more complex than he had thought (Marrassini 2004; see Krzyżanowska 2015).

One specific aspect of Marrassini’s work is that of having established a school, both in Europe (pupils of his are philologists with chairs in Copenhagen, Hamburg, Naples, and Paris) and in Ethiopia. In fact, in Addis Ababa an MA and a PhD programme in philology were established and have started to yield encouraging results. More editions and studies based on the stemmatic method have been produced, and a few of them are also starting to be published, some of them in international series

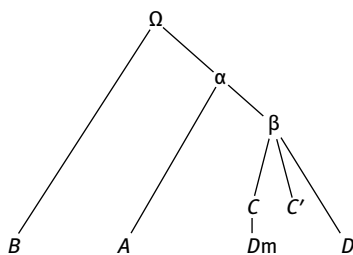


Fig. 7.5-3: *Stemma codicum* of the *Gadla Yoḥannās Mašrāqāwī* [Life of John the Oriental]. Source: Marrassini (1981, xxvi; revised according to the *errata corrigé*).

(Amsalu Tefera 2015; Hagos Abrha 2011). Pupils of Marrassini's pupils are doing the same (Brita 2007; Pisani 2013, 2015; Solomon Gebreyes 2019; Villa 2019), and more such editions are underway (cf. e.g. Hummel 2015, 2016; cf. also Mersha Alehegne 2011b; Yosef Demissie 2015). A few still-unpublished critical editions have also been produced as MA theses. The case of one thesis is remarkable: an MA thesis consisting of a new critical edition of the *Gadla Qawstos* (a hagiographical text already published by Raineri 2004), was published under the auspices of the national Orthodox Church of Ethiopia (Ḥərūya 'Ermyās 2014, 2014–2015). This is the first stemmatically reconstructed text ever published by the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥədo Church. In comparison with what was said at the beginning concerning the standards of traditional text editing (consider the case of a recent edition for which it was possible to determine the ancestor of the manuscript on which the editor produced his own personal redaction; Bausi 2017b), this definitely marks a new trend. The stemmatic method proves, even in these cases, invariably effective.

7.5.3.2 The past decade

Notwithstanding the many texts that have been published in recent decades, there have been very few contributions explicitly dedicated to questions of critical editing. In July 2003, a plenary session of the Fifteenth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Hamburg was dedicated for the first time to “Current Trends in Ethiopian Studies: Philology”. To my knowledge, the most relevant – but also the only – contributions of methodological character on Ethiopic philology remain, with very few exceptions, those by Marrassini or his pupils (Marrassini 1987, 1992, 1996, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Lusini 2005, 2017; Bausi 2006b, 2008, 2010b, 2014b, 2015a; as far as reflexes in Ethiopia are concerned, cf. Baye Yimam 2008; Hussein Ahmad 2008; Shiferaw Bekele 2008; Moges Yigezu et al. 2006).

If Marrassini's school has adopted and applied, where possible – it should be taken for granted that everyone is aware of the complexity of editing – a neo-Lachmannian approach (for one of the most recent examples, see Bausi 2017c and fig. 7.5-4 below), there are also different views. A scholar who has clearly expressed a different view on editing Ethiopic texts is Manfred Kropp. He has devoted extensive work and an important monograph to disentangling the manuscript tradition of the Ethiopic royal chronicles and related texts (Kropp 1989), and has published several text editions (Kropp 1988a, 1988b, 1994, 2016), preparatory essays (Kropp 1985, 2011), and focused reviews (among the recent ones where methodological remarks are clearly expressed, see Kropp 2015a, 2015b). In his footsteps, to name some other authors, Anaïs Wion has, for example, rightly criticised the standardisation carried out by Carlo Conti Rossini (1872–1949) in editing documentary texts (Wion and Bertrand 2011, on Conti Rossini 1909), although one may strongly disagree that this is a good example of the adoption of Lachmann as a model by scholars in Ethiopian studies (see Bausi 2017–2018). Finally, a contribution by Reinhard Meßner

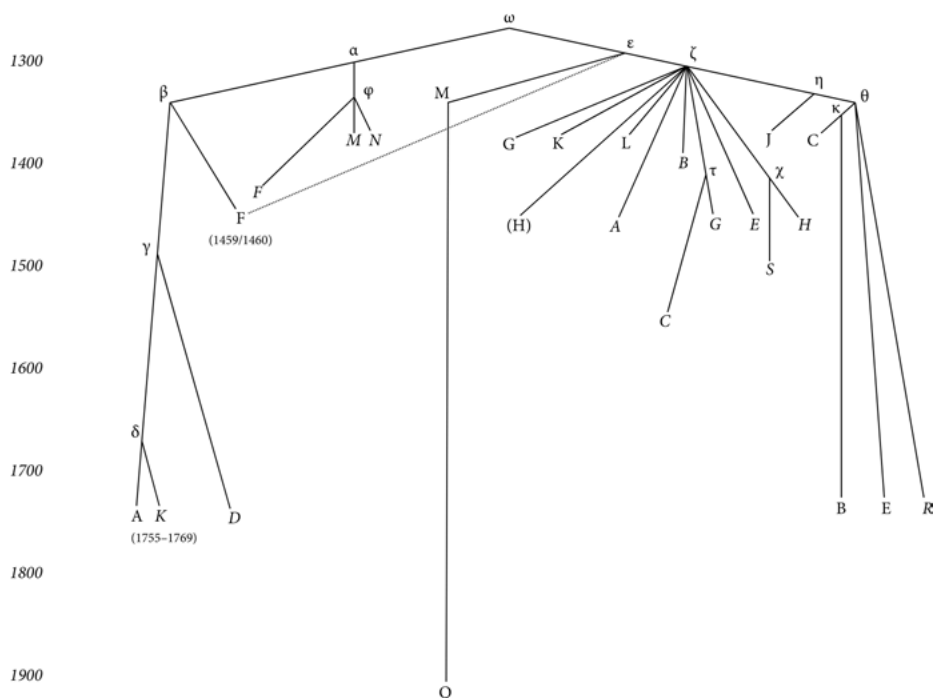


Fig. 7.5-4: *Stemma codicum* of the *Gadla 'Azqir* [Acts of Azqir]. Source: Bausi (2017c, 351).

(2007) on editing liturgical texts from the point of view of the researcher interested in “living texts” of liturgical use can also be mentioned.

Kropp, on the other hand, has expressed on several occasions a radically sceptical view of stemmatic and neo-Lachmannian approaches. He has noted, on the one hand, that, in his opinion, the practical results are in the end not far from what would result if a base-manuscript method were accepted; but, on the other hand, he has not clearly proposed a soundly based alternative method or even precisely motivated why the stemmatic method should not in principle be accepted, given all that it can offer. He also, even less correctly in my opinion, regards the solution of editing several distinct redactions to be contradictory to the stemmatic and reconstructive approach, something that was proposed for some portions of the *Gadla Libānos* (Kropp 2015a) where more authorial redactions clearly appear, each of them already attested by more witnesses. This is, by the way, a fortunate case where a conjectural emendation to the *editio princeps* (published by Conti Rossini 1903), which I could not have in the text as I would have wished due to the fierce opposition of the series advisor, eventually appeared to be the actually transmitted text when new manuscripts of the redaction in question were discovered (see Bausi 2003, 2014a).

All in all, the impression remains that some aspects of criticism of the use of the stemmatic method are rooted in a lack of familiarity with the method itself. We can be confident that what Paolo Trovato has undertaken with his remarkable book,

now already in a second edition (Trovato 2017), will also profit the textual criticism of Ethiopic and Christian oriental texts. All those who criticise the inanity of the effort required by the stemmatic approach without clearly adopting a position of their own, do not, in my view, touch upon the core of the problem: that without a stemmatic approach, when this method allows clear results (and there are definitely cases where it does), it is simply impossible to provide any sound assessment of the value of the individual witnesses. It should probably suffice to repeat here the words of Alphonse Dain: “Le concept de manuscrit de base, qui rencontre tant de faveur, est un concept antiphilologique” (Dain 1964, 171) [The concept of the base manuscript, which meets with so much favour, is an anti-philological concept].

In Dain’s usage – in case it is necessary to recall this – *le manuscrit de base* is really the base text methodologically speaking, and not the *manuscrit de surface*, that is, the “reference manuscript for the linguistic surface”, the “surface manuscript”, as in the neo-Lachmannian tradition (Trovato 2017, 346).

Further reading

A useful selection of further reading material and a general bibliographical orientation on Christian oriental philologies can be found in the chapter on textual criticism and text editing in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Bausi et al. 2015, esp. 324–327). The broadest, most systematic and updated information on the manuscript traditions of single Ethiopic texts and works is offered by the relevant articles in the five-volume *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (Uhlir 2003–2014), albeit with quite uneven approaches. Further information and bibliography on single texts can be found on the portal of the long-term project “Beta maṣāḥəft: Manuscripts of Ethiopia and Eritrea”, funded by the Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities through the Academy of Hamburg. Within the traditions of the Christian Orient, the Syriac domain is largely covered by the international project syriaca.org (*The Syriac Reference Portal*), and Coptic by the recently launched European Research Council project “PATHs: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature” at the Sapienza University of Rome, which has integrated data from previous projects. Caucasian traditions (Armenian and Georgian) are largely represented on the TITUS portal of the University of Frankfurt (titus.uni-frankfurt.de). For the delicate linguistic questions posed by Christian Arabic texts, see the contributions by Paolo La Spisa (2012, 2015).

7.6 Hebrew

Chaim Milikowsky

The major group of texts in Hebrew which will be discussed in this section is the rabbinic corpus, a collection of texts, each of which is related to one or more other