

amte Ibn Faḍlallāh¹ (gest. 1349 n. Chr.) und ihm folgend al-Maqrīzī² (gestorben 1442 n. Chr.) Mar'adī irrig als Hauptstadt des äthiopischen Königreiches.

Eine angehängte Bibliographie (S. 349-370) mit einem Verzeichnis der Abbreviaturen, Handschriften, Quellen und Studien sowie ein Index (S. 373-379) zu ausgewählten Stichwörtern beschließen das insgesamt sehr anregende Buch, dem man die ihm gebührende Verbreitung wünscht.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Richard Caulk, "Between the Jaws of Hyenas". A Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876-1896). Edited and with an introduction by Bahru Zewde (= Aethiopistische Forschungen 60), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2002, 688 Seiten, 3 Abb., ISBN 3-447-04558-2, 74,00 Euro

Twenty years have passed since the untimely death of Ethiopian historian Richard Caulk. Many scholars have known about the large unedited manuscript dealing with the reign of Minilik II which he left behind. It has now appeared in print with the title "*Between the Jaws of Hyenas*". A *Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876-1896)*.

We are indebted to Professor Bahru Zewde, Addis Ababa University, for having undertaken the tremendous task of editing the manuscript – reportedly some 2,000 pages! Bahru has also written an introduction which turns out to be a very useful summary of the close to 700 pages of the book. "*Between the Jaws of Hyenas*" is almost certainly the most comprehensive study in English of the activities of Europeans in Ethiopia during the two decades preceding the battle of Adwa 1896.

Caulk has made extensive use of all types of sources: governmental, ecclesiastical, and private archives, manuscripts of Ethiopian chronicles and biographies, theses and articles, both printed and unprinted. The bibliography indicates that his work is based on very wide reading. Drafted largely while Caulk was a member of the department of history of Addis Ababa University, where he taught for almost a decade, the story is clearly told from within the Ethiopian context, "between the jaws".

The content is a very detailed narrative of the activities of all the Europeans involved in Ethiopian affairs during the period covered. One gets the impression that no single explorer, missionary or businessman has gone unmentioned, above all no businessman. In other words this is *the* reference book for anyone who needs or wants information on the Europeans involved in Ethiopia at the time. The comprehensive index of persons and places is most helpful. For a wellknown person such as Pietro Antonelli you find 238 pages quoted, for a place like Obok no less than 125. As a narrative of those 20 years of foreign penetration in Ethiopia Caulk's book is not likely ever to be matched.

Nevertheless one is left with a slight feeling of dissatisfaction. Twenty years have passed since the manuscript was produced. Caulk had deserved to be heard 20 years ago, or to have had the opportunity to consult more primary materials in the Italian archives. In all probability he had

1 Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī, *K. Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, faks. ed. F. Sezgin, Frankfurt/M. 1988, Bd. 4, S. 25; französische Übersetzung M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Faḍl Allah al-'Umarī, Masālik el abṣār fī mamālik el amṣār I: L'Afrique, moins l'Égypte*, Paris 1927 (Bibliothèque des Géographes Arabes, 2), S. 23.

2 al-Maqrīzī, *K. al-Ilmām bi-aḥbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām*, ed. Fr. Th. Rinck, Leiden 1790, S. 2 unten.

the same problems with access to the Italian materials as this reviewer. Not only where the authorities in Rome in the 1970s still reluctant to allow scholars from Addis Abeba free access to the materials on Ethiopia, but a rather chaotic situation with regard to classification and cataloguing of the materials made research very time-consuming. Today when huge sections of the Italian materials dealing with Ethiopia have been made available through the comprehensive collection of microfilms at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies of Addis Ababa University the situation is quite different. Compared with 20 years ago an enormous amount of primary source material is easily accessible to scholars.

But obviously Richard Caulk cannot be blamed for any of this. He did much of his research under the circumstances prevailing during the decade when he served as teacher at the History Department of Haile Sellassie University. As his colleague during the years when the History Department was developed into a very successful teaching unit he played a crucial role as a very inspiring teacher, always able to give life to the important personalities involved in the political and diplomatic events of the time. It is this ability to tell an interesting tale which distinguishes his book. It has led to a narrative which requires a certain amount of concentration to follow. So much the better. I would like to close my review by expressing gratitude to a former colleague and friend for his fruitful cooperation during years together in Addis Abeba.

Sven Rubenson

Hacik Rafi Gazer, *Die Armenische Kirche in Sowjetarmenien zwischen den Weltkriegen : Anatomie einer Vernichtung*, Münster u. a. (Lit) 2001 (= Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte, Band 14), 393 Seiten, ISBN 3-8258-5555-4, 40,90 Euro

Der Verfasser stellt in dem Buch, das auf seine Habilitationsschrift für die theologische Fakultät in Halle an der Saale zurückgeht, die Geschichte der Armenischen Apostolischen Kirche in Sowjetarmenien in den Jahren 1920 bis 1938 dar. Er stützt sich dabei auf Bestände verschiedener staatlicher Archive und des Matenadaran in Erevan sowie des Archivs des Katholikats von Kilikien in Antelias. Nicht zugänglich war ihm das Archiv des Rates für Religiöse Angelegenheiten (Materialien ab 1943) und offenbar auch das des Katholikats in Edschmiadzin, das sicherlich von besonderem Interesse wäre; natürlich kann dies dem Verfasser nicht zum Vorwurf gemacht werden. Vermutlich wären auch in russischen Archiven interessante Schriftstücke zu finden.

Eine solche auf Archivalien beruhende eingehende Arbeit war erst nach dem Ende der sowjetischen Ära möglich, weil die Bestände erst seitdem zugänglich sind. Die Untersuchung des Verfassers ist sehr zu begrüßen, weil über diese dunkle Epoche in der langen Geschichte der armenischen Kirche bisher wenig Zuverlässiges bekannt war.

Nach der Einleitung und einem Forschungsüberblick ist die Arbeit in vier Hauptteile gegliedert: A) Das Katholikat aller Armenier in den Anfangsjahren der Sowjetrepublik Armenien (Kapitel III bis IX); B) Die Lage in Edschmiadzin und in den einzelnen Diözesen 1920-1926 (Kap. X-XIII); C) Organisation und Aufbau der Gottlosenverbände und staatliche atheistische Propaganda (Kap. XIV-XV), D) Die Amtszeit des Katholikos Hōrēn I. (1932-1938) (Kap. XVI-XX).

Die Darstellung ist eine Geschichte von Unterdrückungen, Repressalien und atheistischer Propaganda, die keineswegs nur von den russischen Eroberern ausging, sondern an der auch Armenier maßgeblich beteiligt waren. Die antikirchliche Gesetzgebung begann bereits 1920 mit der Enteignung des gesamten kirchlichen Eigentums und dem Ausschluß der Geistlichen aus dem öffentlichen