Getatchew Haile (editor and translator), The Homily of Zär'a Ya'əqob's Mäṣḥafä Bərhan on the Rite of Baptism and Religious Instruction (= CSCO 653–654 Scriptores Aethiopici 114–115), Leuven (Peeters) 2013, Vol. 1: xix, 117 p.; ISBN 978-90-429-2752-0; vol. II: viii, 85 p.; ISBN 978-90-429-2753-7, 79,00 €

The Mäshafä Bərhan (Book of Light)<sup>1</sup> is a bulky apologetic and disciplinary composition. Like most Ethiopian theological treatises its main characteristic is a strongly worded discussion, aimed at asserting, justifying and propagating the Orthodox Täwahədo Faith. The Mäshafä Bərhan has also proved to be a brilliant political tool, instrumental in bringing under the control of the court the various centrifugal souls of the reign. It can be considered the Magna Charta of Zär'a Ya'əqob's two-faced regime: appeasement, for instance, with the monastic "house of Ewostatäwos", and all-out war against presumed or real pretenders of the crown (including his own children and wives), against the Stephanites, the Michaelites and against traditional religious practices. The settlement of the controversy around the "Sabbaths" (in 1451) which split the Church down the middle for more than a century is one of the greatest accomplishments of Emperor Zär'a Ya'aqob. The theologico-political template which brought together the intractable players and that sorted out the speciously thorny issue of a double Sabbath (labeled "48 hours Sabbath") observance is laid down at length in the Mäshafä Bərhan. Carlo Conti Rossini and Lanfranco Ricci, editors of the Mäshafä Bərhan rightly consider the book an important source of information for the theological debate of that time as well as providing historical facts. Professor Getatchew Haile brings back to the fore a landmark of Gə'əz literature. A long standing acquaintance with the literature that goes under the name of Zär'a Ya'əqob as well as with related issues, and not least, easy access to the rich patrimony of EMML are vantage points that enable Professor Getatchew Haile to offer editions of texts which are primary sources. As I have repeatedly said in the past, he deserves sincere gratitude from the community of researchers for his tireless, prolific, life-long scholarly commitment. In the "Acknowledgement", Professor Getatchew thanks "the authorities of CSCO for accepting this study for their prestigious series", adding: "my special thanks go to Professor Dr. Alessandro Bausi, who as the editor of the Ethiopic section, read thoroughly my translation against the text and corrected several errors and mistakes". The Homily of Zär'a Ya'əqob's-Mäshafä Bərhan on the Rite of Baptism and Religious Instruction is a title selected by Professor Getatchew Haile, the editor and translator of the material which according to internal evidence can be placed together with the vast Corpus featuring under the name of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob (1434–1468). The text begins with a message from the Egyptian bishops Mika'el and Gäbrə'el, duly highlighted on pp. 1-2 (tx.) and p. 1 (tran.). The title of the book under review reflects an ample portion of the contents of the volume. The Preface says that "the text presented here is one more homily or dərsan of the same Emperor of the Mäshafä Bərhan, microfilmed by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML): EMML 200, fols. 9v-82v (A), out of 139 fols.; EMML 691, fols. 11r-71v (B), out of 113 fols.; and EMML 1192, pp. 26-163 (C), out of 273 pp" (tx. p. VII). There is a lapsus on p. X (tx.) whereby it is written EMML 1196 instead of EMML 1192. All three manuscripts were copied in the 20th century. The peculiarity of the text is that it does not appear in Carlo Conti Rossini and Lanfranco Ricci's edition of the Mäshafä Borhan. In footnote n. 2 (tx.), the editor states that "none of the two copies of the Mäshafä Borhan known after Conti Rossini-Ricci's publication, Cerulli 250 and EMML 7001, contains the present homily". The three manuscripts are described in pp. VIII-XI. The editor declares: "When a letter or more of an expression is missed in all the three manuscripts, I have taken the liberty to restore them in the body of the text, putting the restorations in brackets" adding immediately after: "These could be individual letters or words or even more than a sentence". Co-authorship? In fact, there are two types of brackets: square brackets [] and braces {}. The reader is not told in advance the reason for employing the two. From the history of textual transmission we learn that often marginal glosses were liable to be gradually incorporated into the text by copyists. Here they are already in the text, albeit with brackets that can easily be dropped. Manuscript EMML 1192 is deemed as "the richest of all in having erroneously copied words and in providing senseless corrections" adding "any note I made on these could be wrong" (p. X). Concerning manuscript A "the base for editing this text", the editor says that "it is un-

<sup>1</sup> Mäṣḥafā Ṣəlmāt (Book of Darkness) for dissidents who were persecuted by the king of Ethiopia Zär'a Ya'əqob (1434–1468).

fortunate that A's Vorlage has not been traced to this day". A few lines below we read: "The language of the text in all three manuscripts is definitely that of the post eighteenth century" (p. XI). The method of the editor's intervention in the grammar of the text is laid down in the following two statements: "Since dropping the object marker '-a' when the noun is in the possessive case (e.g. オケル): ዕሜትስ:, for "ተከ:, A, fol. 9r) has become so common in post seventeenth-century Gə'əz, I have not attempted to make a note on such occurrences. Furthermore, the copyists do not consistently distinguish  $\omega_{\bullet}$  from  $\omega_{\bullet}$ . In this edition, they are reproduced as the grammar allows" (p. XI). Which grammar? Spelling promiscuity is found virtually everywhere in Gə'əz manuscripts. Editors of the caliber and experience of Professor Getatchew Haile can easily provide a fair spelling instead of forms like አድ "hand" for ዕድ "man"; ሬሥት "to grow old" for ሬስዐ "to forget"; ርዕየ "to graze" for ርእየ "to see". These are a few examples of a widespread orthographic idiosyncrasy ravaging the text. I wonder whether a Greek text with mismanaged spirits, accents or with promiscuity, for instance, of  $\varepsilon$ - $\eta$ :  $\vartheta$ - $\tau$ ;  $\kappa$ χ; κσ-ξ; ο-ω; or Arabic י for בֹ ; etc. would be tolerated. The editor states: "Punctuation and paragraphing are mine" (p. XII). In the critical apparatus of the text, there are several orthographic variants whose relevance is not clearly perceptible. Common tachigraphies are registered as variants. P. 79 (tx.) n. 836, reads: "There could be a Christological reason for its omission: The error of Arius is said to have been based on this source". Are conjectures such as this one in their right place? And what is the input of this information in the context of this work? On the issues of authorship and authenticity, Professor Getatchew cuts the Gordian knot cryptically: "it cannot be reasonably doubted" that the homily "was part of the Mäshafä Bərhan or at least produced at Zär'a Ya'əqob's court" (p. XII). The editor's arguments to uphold these claims are basically two: the style of the text and the affinity of the issues. There is a third (unmentioned) datum which plays in favour of an original written in the 15th century. It is a long excerpt from an old recension of Acts of the Apostles which will be discussed later. While objections can be made to style as a proof of authorship, as style can be imitated at any time, the second element is compelling. The homily is a reiterated call, addressed to the clergy for a dynamic evangelizing mission to Christians and to non-Christians; a plea to preach the Gospel and fight "pagan" practices. The document is an authoritative witness to the missionary openness and zeal of the Orthodox Täwahdo Church. This text together with similar ones disayows the misconception that even though it has had the privilege of being one of the earliest Christian communities in the world, the Orthodox Täwahdo Church has not been a missionary church. In the Homily, pride of place is reserved to the Didascalia Apostolorum, Testamentum Domini and Sinodos as sources of church legislation and supreme arbiters in cases of dissension and conflict. As in the Mäshafä Bərhan, here too there is a handsomely elaborated defense and legitimization of Enoch and Jubilees by evoking witnesses from the Bible itself, vis-à-vis dissidents who questioned their place in the biblical canon. The dissidents do not have a name or a face, a truculent ploy to deliver rivals to oblivion if not to an outright damnatio memoriae. The elbow rubbing did not affect dissenting clergy alone. Amenable priests and deacons too were hit hard by Zär'a Ya'əqob's threatening rhetoric: "The Apostles were not titled nəburanä əd nor were their heads crowned by worldly kings, nor did they receive decorative regalia of appointment. They did not preach either sitting in their residences, titled nəburanä əd, eating delicious food like you, O priests and deacons" (p. 53 tra.). The diatribe on the veneration of the Sabbaths is an issue which has had its apex and lasting approval during the reign of Zär'a Ya'əqob (in 1451). The "quaternarians" belong to the same fray of alleged "anti-Trinitarian" groups fiercely fought by Zär'a Ya'əqob. One other major point which locates this text in Zär'a Ya'aqob's climate of religious-cultural revival is the glowing prestige allotted to the መካካ : ትምህርት "house of teaching"<sup>2</sup>, an institution that flourished even in areas far off from the heartland of political power. The regulations of the monastery of Däbrä Maryam in Särayä (Eritrea) during Zär'a Ya'əqob's time had the same mandatory provisions to attend assiduously "the house of teaching", with sanctions (physical punishments) against deserters3. The benefit of the doubt should be accorded to the fact that there are direct speeches introduced by an oftrehearsed formula: "I, Zär'a Ya'əqob, whose regnal name is Qwästäntinos, have ordered ..." (p. 46 tra.). Last but not least is the Marian devotion which in Zär'a Ya'aqob's tenure had taken a new turn,

<sup>2</sup> On the house of teaching, cf. Sir 51:23 which mentions the οἶκος παίδεας to be attended even without pay Sir 51:25.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tedros Abraha, I Gädl di Abunä Täwäldä-Mädehn e di Abunä Vittore, edizione del testo etiopico e traduzione italiana, Patrologia Orientalis n. 227, Brepols 2009, especially pp. 152–153.

widening the piety to the "Mother of God". Accordingly, religious loyalty consisted in "keeping the oath in God the Father, his Son Jesus Christ, the Holy Paraclete and Mary, the virgin in two ways" (p. 70 tra.). On the other hand, there are some elements that would lead to contemplate a time of composition of the text, subsequent to Zär'a Ya'əqob's tenure. The name of "Muhammud" (p. 43 tx.), is not explicitly mentioned in the (edition of) Mäshafä Bərhan and very rarely in the rest of Zär'a Ya'əqob's writings. "Eating meat of animals slaughtered by Muslims in the name of 'Muhammud' and fish caught by pagans" (p. 43 tx.) will be tantamount to taboo, a decisive marker of religious affiliation, especially in concomitance with Ahmäd Grañ's campaign and even more so in its aftermath. Nonetheless, it is clear that in this Homily, as in the Mäshafä Borhan the person and the ideology of Zär'a Ya'aqob hold an overwhelming position. The document testifies to a staunch sense of collective identity. Priests are reminded that their country "is a country of Christians, and her kings and governors are Christians ... And you live in a Christian country" (p. 49 tra.). There is an ambition that would have dreamed of re-writing history: "... the gracious people of Ethiopia of the orthodox faith, who are the See of Mark" (tra. p. 57). The See of Mark is Egypt. The homily registers interaction with Rome, Greece and Constantinople. It says: "emissaries of these countries come to us - and behold, they are in our country. We question them, and they tell us about their faith. We too, send emissaries to their countries. Our emissaries tell us about their faith". A few lines after, there is the account of a miracle that would have taken place at the Tomb of Our Lord, in Jerusalem (p. 56 tra.), Ouotations and allusions from the Bible are the backbone of Go'ez religious writings. In the pursuit of the archetype, or of the text as it circulated in the second century, New Testament textual criticism has made a fruitful use of lectionaries. The same procedure is useful in the quest for "reconstructing" the transmission of the Gə'əz Bible. The long passage from Acts of the Apostles, namely, from 27:2b to 28:6 (pp. 72–77 tx.; pp. 49-52 tra.) is a blessing in disguise. As stated above, it can be considered as an important clue to dating the original composition of the Homily. One of the main characteristics of this text is its concision<sup>4</sup>; many of its parts fall into the category of lectio brevior, an element which textual criticism normally considers a mark of antiquity, therefore of more reliability. There is a homeoteleuton from the end of 27:38 to v. 39 (from  $\Omega hC$ ). For the rest, the statement (in n. 240 p. 52) that Acts 27:2– 28:6 is "quoted corruptly", should have been based on a survey of the textual transmission of the pericope. While a detailed analysis of the passage can wait for a while, here, I limit myself to make a few points only. If the forms of proper nouns can have a say on the origin of a text, it can be assumed that in 27:3; \$\phi\_6m.7\$ for 18.8 (صيدًاء = ) in 27:3; \$\phi\_6m.7\$ for አቅራጥስ (= اَقْرِيطُس ) in 27:7 would exclude an Arabic mediation. They are reproduced exactly as they appear in the Greék, with their accusative ending: Σιδῶνα and Κοήτην. This text far from being "corrupt", is a witness of an early translation into Gə'əz of the Acts of the Apostles. 27:12 says: ዘአንጻረ: ባሕሪ: Λ.05 "which is in front of the southern sea". The Greek text reads: βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον "facing southwest and northwest". A.I is a perfect transcription of λίβα, the accusative masculine singular from λίψ, λιβός (a hapax legomenon in the New Testament) "the southwest". Λ.  $\mathbf{0}$  is registered in Gə'əz lexica. Dillmann<sup>6</sup> says: " $\Lambda$ , $\eta$ : nomen peregrinum, scilicet  $\lambda i \psi$ , Acc.  $\lambda i \beta \alpha$ , i. e. africus. Deut. 1,7. 33,23; Jos 15,2; Kuf 13; forma Λ,Λλ: (λιβός) Jos. 15,2". There is an entry in Kidanä Wäld Kəfle's grammar and dictionary<sup>8</sup> as well: ሊባ፤ (ጽርአ ። ዕብ : ኔጌብ ፤ ዳርም ። ዕረ : ጅኑብ)፤ የማእዘን : ስም ፤ ንኡስ : ማእዘን ፤ ደቡብ ፤ ከዚያውም : የደቡብ : ምሥራቅ ፤ በደቡብና : በምሥራቅ : መካከል : ያለ ፥ የባሕር : ትይዩና : አንጻር ። "Liba is a Greek entry ... meaning 'south' ". Professor Getatchew Haile renders ዘስንጻፈ: ባሕረ: ሊባ "which is facing northwest". There is a footnote n. 233 (tra.) which reads: "How 'bahrā liba' stood for 'northwest' (χῶρος) is not clear". It is even more unclear the translator's decision to ignore Gə'əz and Amharic Lexica and to

<sup>4</sup> It is a feature observed by Montgomery in his cursory appraisal of the text of Acts of Paris, Bibl. Nat. aeth. 26 [Zotenberg 42], of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. J.A. Montgomery, "The Ethiopic Text of Acts of the Apostles", *Harvard Theological Review* 27 (1934), pp. 169–205, here p. 181.

This reading is attested in the above mentioned Paris manuscript, cf. Montgomery, p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> A. C. F. Dillmann, Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae, Lipsiae 1865, col. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Dillmann does not mention Acts 27:12.

<sup>8</sup> Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, Mäṣḥafä säwasəw wägəs wämäzəgäbä Qalat Ḥaddis "A Book of Grammar and Verb, and a new Dictionary", Addis Ababa 1948 (EC), p. 555. Cf. also, W. Leslau: "south, southwest, sirocco", Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic), Wiesbaden 1987, p. 304.

choose the path of a radical autarchy, at the expense of the text's truth. Montgomery's English translation of Acts 27:12-17, from a 15th cent, manuscript of Acts, corresponds perfectly to the text of the Homily9. As far as the figure of the shipwrecked persons in Acts 27:37 is concerned, the witnesses do not speak with one voice. The overwhelming majority of the manuscripts reads διακόσιαι εβδομήκοντα εξ "two hundred seventy six". Among these, there are old and authoritative uncials, like the codex Sinaiticus (X), of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent.), codex Ephraemi rescriptus (C, of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent.),  $\Psi$  (8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> cent.) and, at least 21 minuscules belonging to a period between the 9th and 14th centuries. The manuscripts of the Byzantine family, the lectionaries, eight manuscripts of Vetus Latina, the Vulgate, read "276 people". Among the ancient translations in Syriac, the Peshitta and the Harklensis, almost all of the Bohairic exemplars, the Gə'əz, the Armenian and the Georgian versions read "276 people". One notable exception is the codex Vaticanus (B of the 4th cent.) which reads ώς διακόσιαι έβδομήκοντα έξ "around 76". This (mis)reading is present in the Sahidic version 10. Professor Getatchew Haile's lapidary footnote n. 238, p. 51 (tra.), declaring that "... the source for 'seventy-six' is the Greek Vorlage" has to be compared with the data above. None of the printed Go'oz texts of the Acts of the Apostles 27:37 has the figure 76; it does not feature in the andomta commentary as a variant 11. Acts 27:16 ΦΛω-β (instead of the majority's form Καῦδα) appears in the codex Vaticanus and in the codex Sinaiticus, 28:3 ἔγιδνα "viper, snake" reads Φ9ητ "viper, serpent, horned serpent" (attested in the Paris codex), a native word replaced by the more common hcw: Psc "snake" (in Walton), and by the arabizing  $\Lambda \mathcal{FP}$  "viper", in the more recent editions (Da Bassano, Platt). The "handling" of biblical issues in this publication and in prior ones leaves much to be desired. Most of the Gə'əz Old Testament derives from the Septuagint, an information that should have been given at the beginning of the work. If the text edited by Professor Getatchew Haile counts four books of the Kings (cf. p. 44 tx.), it means that it is in tune with the Greek Version of the Old Testament which names 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings (e.g. on p. 26 of the tra.). There is no need to give a double numbering to the Psalms as the Gə'əz text follows the Septuagint's numeration. Some basic expressions need to be clarified either in the introduction or in the first occurrence. One of such key concepts is Textus Receptus referred to the New Testament. Erasmus of Rotterdam's 1516 Textus Receptus, the first printed edition to be known by this name, cannot be a term of comparison for the Gə'əz textual transmission. There is a consensus among biblical scholars that most of the Bible was translated from Greek into Gə'əz by the end of the eighth century and as such both Novum Testamentum Graece and the Greek New Testament include the Ethiopic versions among the old witnesses of the New Testament. Furthermore, unless specified, the word Vorlage alone, predicated to the biblical texts, remains an empty shell. The first footnote of the translation says: "Torah" is my [the italics is of the reviewer] translation of "Orit"; i.e. "the eight Books of Moses". While the NRSV is a reliable English version of the Old and New Testament, an editor of Gə'əz texts needs to consult and refer to editions (when possible, critical editions) of the Bible in Gə'əz. 2 Esd (Sutu'el) in n. 144.264.275 is better known as 4 Esdra (cf. Da Bassano's 1918 edition; Michael Edward Stone, Fourth Ezra: a commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra, Fortress Press, Minneapolis 1990). The English version of the Homily is a free translation. There are many additions and omissions, from the beginning throughout the homily. Most of them do not harm the integrity of the original. In the first page: ወይእዜኒ : አክብሩ : ክልኤሆን : ወረስይዎን : ለአግዚአብሔር # "But now, honor both Saturday and Sunday and dedicate them to God". Neither the "base text" nor the collated manuscripts have "Saturday and Sunday". It is an editorial gloss. Readers would be better off with "offering the Eucharist" instead of the hyper-literal "raising Communion" (p. 33 and ff.). In fact, ዕርንተ : ቍርባን I is explained as ቍርባንን : ተቀብሎ : መስጠት I ማቀበል " "The celebrant first

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Montgomery, op. cit., p. 183.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. G. W. Horner, The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic. With Critical Apparatus, literal English Translation, Appendix and Registers of Fragments, vol. VI, Oxford 1922, p. 636. For an attempt at sorting out the source of the numerical divergences in the manuscripts, cf. B. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, Stuttgart <sup>2</sup>2001, p. 442.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Walton's Polyglotta, p. 276; Gə'əz New Testament by Da Bassano, Asmara 1918, p. 276; for the *andəmta*, *Śālāśtu Māṣaḥəftā Ḥaddisat*, p. 187.

communicates himself and then distributes the Eucharist to the assembly  $^{12}$ ".  $^{12}$ ".  $^{12}$ " :  $^{12}$ መቀ፡ስ የንምንያ (p. 81 tx.) is rendered with: "Rom (Rom), (New) Rome (Romya), Greece (Sar), and Constantinople (O"estentenva)" (p. 56 tra.). I fail to understand the reason for the transliteration, C.90 : CPB : CBB are various forms of the same city, Rome (DillLex, col. 1412). New Rome or Nea Rhome/Nova Roma is the title that according to tradition, Emperor Constantine gave to Constantinople in 330<sup>13</sup>. "Chrism" is "explained" in n. 322 with "meron": both terms are Greek. As already pointed out, the adamant rejection of Go'az lexica turns to be a disadvantage to readers. There are several instances of Gə'əz and Amharic terms (and in one case of Təgrəñña ነይቶት = lords, tx. p. 84) which although available in dictionaries are put in transliteration, both in the body and in the footnotes. The Amharic terms transliterated in the body text of the translation and subjected to a needless speculation in n. 290 are present in T. Leiper Kane's, Amharic-English Dictionary, Wiesbaden 1990, p. 2187. "Embalmment" (pp. 18-19) is a procedure aimed at preserving a corpse from decay, while ግንዘት, is simply wrapping a dead body mostly with linen but also with dried leaves. As a matter of fact, on p. 33 "embalmment" is rightly substituted with "shrouding". Some biblical quotations have been identified and a few biblical allusions highlighted; many more are left out. "Isaiah did not stop preaching until they cut him with a saw" (p. 55 tra.), is drawn from the Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah, chap. 5:11-13<sup>14</sup>. P. 25, n. 109 refers to Jubilees 4:32 rather than 3:27. Typing errors are not many, though not as few as one would have expected: on p. 33 adoration is twice used for adornation and on p. 44 Paternicon is used twice for Patericon (probably due to computer automatic "correction". Both volumes have a General Index at the end. In the translation there is also an "Index of Scriptural Citations" which include the Testamentum Domini, Didascalia and the Synodicon, texts which are included in the Canon of biblical books in the Ethio-Eritrean Orthodox Täwahdo Churches even though they have never been published together with the New Testament. The Bibliography consists of six books in the text, and of eight books in the translation.

Tedros Abraha

La vita e i miracoli di Libānos. Editi e tradotti da Alessandro Bausi. Lovanii: Peeters, 2003. (Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. 595. 596. = Scriptores aethiopici. 105. 106.). ISSN 070-0398. [Textus:] XXX, 225 S. ISBN 90-429-1160-3. 90,00 €. [Versio:] XXXVII, 137 S. ISBN 90-429-1161-1, 70,00 €

Die hier publizierten Texte sind der editorische Versuch, die drei bisher bekannten Versionen des gädl "»Vita« des Heiligen Libanos zusammen mit den beiden bekannten Sammlungen seiner tä'ammər »Wundertaten« und einer der ihm gewidmeten mälkə' »körperbeschreibende Lobeshymne« in einer komplexen Edition zu präsentieren.

Die inhaltliche und historische Bedeutung der Texte läßt sich wie folgt umreißen (vgl. Libanos Encyclopaedia Aethiopica. 3. 2007. 558b–560b (Alessandro Bausi)): Libanos, mit anderen Namen Mäţa' oder Yəsrin zählt zu den wichtigen Missionaren und Begründern des äthiopischen Mönchtums in aksumitischer Zeit. Neben den Kloster in Šəmäzana, Akkälä Guzay, Eriträa, das seinen Namen trägt, soll er weitere Kirchen und Klöster begründet haben. Der räumliche und zeitliche Rahmen, die Umstände seines Wirkens in Verbindung mit seinen Zeitgenossen werden in den verschiedenen Versionen seiner Biographien einerseits unscharf und stereotyp im vorgegebenen Schema eines Heiligenlebens dargestellt. Andererseits widersprechen sich die Texte des öfteren, schon was den zeitgenössischen äthiopischen König von Aksum angeht. Libanos soll in Qwəstəntənya »Konstantinopel bzw.

- 12 Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, *Mäshafä säwasəw wägəs wämäzəgäbä Qalat Haddis* "A Book of Grammar and Verb, and a new Dictionary", Addis Ababa 1948 (EC), p. 709. Cf. also, W. Leslau, p. 304.
- 13 In official sources one of the earliest attestations of the name *Nea Rhome* is canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople I (381), cf. P.P. Joannou (ed.), *Discipline Générale Antique* (II°–IX° s.), Codificazione canonica orientale. Fonti, t. I, I, fasc. 9, Grottaferrata (Roma), 1962, p. 48.
- 14 P. Bettiolo et alii (eds.), Ascensio Isaiae. Textus, Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum 7, Turnouht 1995, p. 75.