

THE LIFE (GÄDL) OF TÄKLÄ HAYMANOT
AS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF
POPULAR RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN ETHIOPIA

István Ormos

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

The lives of saints contain rich material concerning the secular history of a given country, the history of its church, the ethnography of its various peoples, their everyday life, customs, habits, popular beliefs, their *Weltanschauung*, etc. The interpretation of this source material is, however, fraught with considerable difficulties. A vast corpus of scholarly literature deals with the various aspects of this mesh of problems¹; here we would like only to draw the attention of the reader to some of them. Hagiography is different from historiography in so far as it aims at the moral and religious edification of the reader first of all, and not at the recording of events for their own sake. As a rule, the more time that has elapsed between the death of a saint and the composition of his *vita*, the less reliable the data in it will be. Pious, benevolent or fraudulent later changes, emendations, distortions, even falsifications and free inventions abound in them. Saints also show a marked tendency to coalesce with each other, to multiply by fission, and even to appear in different shapes by way of sequential metamorphosis².

As far as Ethiopian hagiography is concerned in particular, two remarks shall be made, both of which are intended to underline the importance of hagiography. First, it should be stressed that we lack authentic chronicles of important early periods of the history of the country. This goes for the era of our saint, Saint Täklä Haymanot, too (c.1215-

¹ See e.g. Delehayé 1955; Klyučevskiy 1988; Wilson 1985.

² Cf. e.g., Delehayé 1955:187. ("On prétend avoir découvert que, sous une forme, très épurée il est vrai, l'Église continue à offrir ses hommages à Aphrodite, à Venus, à la déesse du plaisir charnel et de la fécondité animale.") See below.

1313) (Tadesse 1972a:121), because detailed Ethiopian chronicles do not occur before the 16th century, and even one of the first descriptions that exist about the military campaigns of an Ethiopian monarch comes from the reign of ʿAmdä Šeyon (reigned 1314-1344), who rose to power just after Täklä Haymanot's death³. Second, the ratio of hagiographical works is high in medieval Ethiopian literature, which on the whole consists mainly of ecclesiastical literature. Consequently – apart from the chronicles, the number of which is rather low – the lives of saints can perhaps be considered as the most important source for what is available of “secular” material, the interpretation of which is, however, not always easy (Tadesse 1970a).

In the present paper an endeavour will be made to contribute to the study of the *vita* of Täklä Haymanot⁴ as a historical source as well as a source for our knowledge of the practices of popular religion of the

³ Černetsov 1984:3-15; Kračkovskiy 1936:4f.; Kropp 1986:359-372.

⁴ Gädlä Täklä Haymanot is known in two *major* versions (Huntingford 1966; Turayev 1902:81ff). 1) The longer Däbrä Libanos version was composed in the early 16th century but survives in 18th century manuscripts only. It was edited on the basis of a single manuscript (*Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, ed. Budge). 2) The considerably shorter Waldebban version was composed in the 1st quarter of the 15th century and survives in one single manuscript from the same century (*Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, ed. Conti Rossini). In addition to these two, 3) the *Synaxarium* contains a short version which is basically an extract of the Däbrä Libanos version (*Synaxarium* 1241-1246; *Täklä Haymanot/Senkesar*. Cf. Turayev 1902:52). 4) There is also an extensive Portuguese summary of the Däbrä Libanos version from the 17th century (Huntingford 1966:35). 5) There is a printed Ethiopian edition from 1946 A.M. [= 1953/54 A.D.], which I have not seen but which most probably contains the Däbrä Libanos version. 6) The existence of a so-called Däbrä Ḥayq version has been reported recently in a 16th century manuscript (Macomber 1986:391). If it is really a third version unknown until now, then it may deserve our attention especially in view of the well-known antagonism of the monasteries of Däbrä Libanos and Däbrä Ḥayq (Cerulli 1965; Tadesse 1972a:160-173). In 1894 Conti Rossini made a census of the manuscripts of the *gädl* accessible at that time and found that in addition to the single manuscript containing the Waldebban version, there were 13 manuscripts containing the Däbrä Libanos version, and also two Arabic manuscripts containing the Däbrä Libanos version (*Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, ed. Conti Rossini 98ff). A new census would be highly desirable, especially with regard to the manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (Macomber 1986).

time, by discussing one particular wonder of our venerable saint, aducing parallels and attempting a tentative explanation of it. This wonder can be found described in Chapter CIII of the Däbrä Libanos version: "Now in those days a most wonderful thing happened, for the young men and monks, and the young women and nuns were in the habit of sleeping together in the same bed, and they had no knowledge whatsoever of the commerce between male and female in connection with evil desire in their minds, for our father the holy man Takla Hâymanôt prevented Satan from touching his children. And when at midnight the monks and nuns rose from their beds to pray, a man would take up the raiment of a woman and say, 'This is mine,' and similarly a young woman would take up the raiment of a man and say, 'This is mine,' and they drew together, each towards the other, because there was no sinful desire in them, and because they were like little children. And none ever heard a rumour that any shameful act was committed by them during the whole time of the life of our father the holy man Takla Hâymanôt the blessed one"⁵. We shall be concerned here with two constituent parts of this wonder: 1) the mutual exchange of clothes between monks and nuns; 2) the cohabitation of monks and nuns in the same bed.

1) At first sight the behaviour of the pious monks and nuns is somewhat striking. Investigations, however, very soon show that related phenomena are not so rare as one might be inclined to suppose. Similar religious practices are known from classical antiquity. The mutual exchange of clothes between males and females is reported from Argos during the festival of *hybristika*⁶. On the island of Cyprus, men and women would exchange clothes during festivities in honour of Aphrodi-

⁵ *Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, ed. Budge 88f. [Eth.] = 218f. [transl.].

⁶ Burkert 1977:388f.; Nilsson 1906:371; Plutarch, *Mulierum Virtutes* 205.18-21 [245Ef]; Polyaeus, *Strategicon* 313.5-18 [VIII.33]; RE IX,33.29-62. Cf. also Stadter 1965:45-53, esp. 50.

tos, himself an androgynous deity, the male form of Aphrodite⁷. Some sources describe this deity as a bearded Aphrodite: he had the physical appearance of a man, wore the clothes of a woman, had a sceptre in his hand, and popular belief considered him to be a man and a woman at the same time⁸. Unilateral reversal of clothes is also reported in several cases. On Cos, the bride was awaited and received by the bridegroom clad as a female⁹, whereas in Sparta the bridegroom was awaited and received by the bride clad as a male in the nuptial chamber¹⁰; in Argos she also wore a beard¹¹. On Cyprus, we are told, a youth would lie down and behave like a woman in labour as part of the cult of Aphrodite¹². Again on Cos, we hear of a priest clad as a woman offering to Heracles¹³. Lucian of Samosata recounts the annual festival of Atargatis (one of the main deities of Northern Syria in Hellenistic times, who in Roman times became popular as Dea Syria), during which in an orgiastic procession the novices of the goddess emasculated themselves with their own hands at the peak of the orgy and then put on female clothes and ornaments¹⁴.

⁷ Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 181.26f. [3.8.3]; Nilsson 1906:373.

⁸ Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 181.24ff. [3.8.2]; Engel 1841 II,226ff.

⁹ Nilsson 1906:371, 451ff.; Plutarch, *Aetia Graeca* 352.23ff. [304E].

¹⁰ Nilsson 1906:371f.; Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 248 [XV.3].

¹¹ Plutarch, *Mulierum Virtutes* 205.26f. [245F]; RE VIII,715.12f.

¹² Nilsson 1906:369, 373; Plutarch, *Theseus* 42 [20.4]; RE VIII,715.13-17. For further parallels and about this custom in particular, see RE II,808.46-54.

¹³ Nilsson 1906:371 [fn. 5], 451f.; Plutarch, *Aetia Graeca* 352.4-25 [58; 304C-E]; RE VIII,715.21ff.

¹⁴ Lucian, *De Syria Dea* 745 [51]. Haussig 1965 I,244f.; Nilsson 1941-1950 II,614-630, esp. 616f. A vivid yet hardly flattering picture of the activities of these priests is given by Apuleius in *The Golden Ass*; Apuleius, *Asinus Aureus* 54-72 [VIII.24-IX.10]. About the goddess, see also RAC I,854-860 [F. R. Walton: *Atargatis*] and RE IV,2236-2243 [Franz Cumont: *Dea Syria*]. About the priests, see also RAC VIII,984-1034 [G. M. Sanders: *Gallos*] and RE VII,674-682 [Franz Cumont: *Gallos*, 5]. For further examples of the exchange of clothes in classical antiquity, see Delcourt 1958:5-27.

In the Old Testament we find a strange prohibition in Deuteronomy 22,5: "A woman shall not put on that which befits a man, and a man shall not wear the clothes of a woman, because whoever does so, is an abomination to the Lord thy God". It is usually interpreted as the prohibition of an alien pagan cult or related religious practices (Kautzsch 1922:300; Rad 1964:101), but the supposition of foreign influence is not absolutely necessary¹⁵.

Similar cases are known in Islam, too. It is common knowledge that in Egypt, prior to his circumcision at the age of five or six years, sometimes later, a Muslim boy will be "paraded by his parents through several streets in the neighbourhood of their dwelling. (...) He generally wears a red Kashmeer turban but in other respects is dressed as a girl, (...)" (Lane 1981:64). The same authentic description of everyday life in Cairo in the first half of the 19th century gives a vivid picture of two classes of professional dancing boys, who pursued their profession dressed more or less like females (*ibid.* 376ff)¹⁶. In 1979 the present writer attended a marriage feast in Cairo (Abdin) where a professional male singer appeared dressed in a neutral way which, however, reminded one more of a female than of a male; he was an enormous success with the guests at the wedding party.

It is also well known that Shamans in Northern Asia often appear in female attire (Zolla 1981:82f).

The emergence of androgynous deities is no doubt connected to this phenomenon. Thus on Cyprus we hear of the bearded Aphroditos,

¹⁵ Cf. Wolff 1977:163ff. For the whole question, see Hoffner, jr. 1966:332ff.; Robertson Smith 1892:365; Ullendorff 1979:430 [fn.19], 435. It may be of some interest to quote here what the famous medieval Jewish exegete, Rashi (died 1105), had to say on this passage: "*The apparel of a man shall not be on a woman* - so that she look like a man, in order to consort with men, for this can only be for the purpose of adultery (unchastity). *Neither shall a man put on a woman's garment* in order to go and stay unnoticed amongst women. Another explanation of the second part of the text is: it implies that a man should not remove by a depilatory the hair of the genitals and the hair beneath the arm-pit; Rāšī, *Pērūš* 108f.

¹⁶ For the same period see also Nerval 1984:307ff.

also called Venus barbata (Nilsson 1906:373; RE I,2794.67), but most of the time this androgynous deity is simply called Aphrodite (*ibid.* VIII, 716.19-24). In Rome we hear of Venus almus¹⁷. In medieval and modern Europe, too, we encounter cases like those of Paula barbata, Wilgefortis or Liberata; Saint Kümmeris is venerated in the Tyrol (Austria, Italy) and in Wallis/Valais (Switzerland): girls pray to her bearded figure before their wedding (Réau 1958-1959:1342-1345; Usener 1879:XXIII). A statue of Saint Wilgefortis can be found in Westminster Abbey: it shows the bearded figure of "a Christian girl who miraculously developed a beard to save herself from the assault of her heathen persecutor. The saint is here associated with learning (the book) and with the reconciliation of duality (the T-shaped cross)" (Zolla 1981:26). The main androgynous deity in classical antiquity, however, is Hermaphroditus, but his cult can be regarded as a rather late acquisition of Greek religion (Nilsson 1941-1950 I,491 [fn.2]). The same motif surfaces in the field of philosophical literature in Aristophanes' speech in Plato's *Symposium* (189c-193d)¹⁸.

A most remarkable example of the metamorphosis of an androgynous deity and its reappearance in Christian disguise is adduced by Usener, who has shown convincingly that Saint Pelagia of Antioch, whose legend dates back to the 2nd quarter of the 5th century and in which the reversal of clothes plays a considerable role, is none other than Aphrodite in new apparel: her name, Pelagia, is in fact one of the most common adjectives of our deity (Usener 1879:XXI). Her legend runs as follows: Pelagia, also called Margarito on account of her precious pearl jewellery, the first and foremost dancer of Antioch, who became rich through ineffably abominable sins, once by mere chance (which turns out to be God's guiding hand) happens to enter a church where Bishop Nonnus, an ardent ascetic follower of the strict rules of Pachomy, is preaching of the heavenly judgement and of the attainment

¹⁷ Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 181.1 [3.8.3]; RE I,2795.28f.

¹⁸ Cf. Gauss 1958:89-93 and also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ* VI,379.

of eternal bliss. She is overwhelmed by his fiery words, is subsequently baptized, and even succeeds in resisting the temptations of the devil, who approaches her in the shape of an old friend. She then puts on the clothes of a man and makes a pilgrimage to the Mount of Olives in this attire, settles there in a cell under the name of the pious monk Pelagius, spends all her time in excruciating exercises of atonement, and, after three years, ascends to heaven (*ibid.* VI)¹⁹. Another Saint Pelagia was also revered at Antioch: a virgin of 15 years, Pelagia sees that her house has been surrounded by soldiers. She asks them for some delay, just enough to get dressed properly. She puts on her nuptial dress, combs her hair and then commits suicide, most probably by throwing herself down from the roof or out of the window. The furious soldiers, feeling deprived of their booty, set out now to pursue the mother and the sister of Pelagia, who miraculously find themselves surrounded by a river and drown in the whirling flood. A third Pelagia, that of Tarsus, is also known in the Greek Church (Usener 1879:Xf). Tyrus also had its own Pelagia (*ibid.* XVf). The names of two saints with similar lives, Marina and Anthusa, are also regarded by Usener as adjectives of Aphrodite (*ibid.* XII., XXff). Further saints with different names (Margarita, Athanasia, Reparata, Maria, Eugenia, Euphrosyne, Matrona) but similar lives, mostly involving reversal of clothes, are no doubt appearances of the same figure and thus remote descendants of our androgynous deity, Aphrodite (*ibid.* XIII-XIX; cf. also fn. 1 above). We can now go one step further and adduce an even stranger example of the various stages in the development of the shapes of Saint Pelagia along the lines sketched here. In the 10th century Hrotsvit (Roswitha) of Gandersheim, of Saxon descent (born c.935), composed a legend in verse entitled "Passio Sancti Pelagii", in which she narrates the story of a young Christian hostage from Galicia in Spain, who is martyred by the Caliph of Cordova for refusing to submit to his advances²⁰. This story, in

¹⁹ For the Ethiopic version, see Guidi 1932:33.

²⁰ Hrotsvitha, *Opera* 130-146. Cf. also *ibid.* 123-129 and Cerulli 1970.

which the androgynous goddess Aphrodite, after a series of stages of metamorphosis, surfaces as a Christian youth, is also remarkable as a piece of evidence concerning the interaction of Islam and Christianity, of how followers of the two faiths saw each other in the High Middle Ages²¹.

If we turn now to the possible explanations of these phenomena, we find that the most widely accepted interpretation of the (ex)change of clothes involves the reference to magical practices²². This is no doubt true of the Egyptian pre-circumcision procession where the boy "generally wears a red Kashmeer turban, but in other respects is dressed as a girl, with a yelek and saltan, and with a kurs, safa, and other female ornaments, to attract the eye and so divert it from his person. These articles of dress are of the richest description that can be procured; they are usually borrowed from some lady, and much too large to fit the boy" (Lane 1981:64). It is also true of the youth behaving as a woman in labour, or of the various cases connected with marriage; for the case in question here, my colleague dr. Alexander Fodor has suggested to me an explanation along similar lines involving magic. It has been convincingly argued, for instance, that marriage is a very dangerous event of grave importance, at which the participating parties are highly susceptible to the influence of demons and evil spirits. Among the factors rendering both parties highly vulnerable to the influence of evil spirits and demons is the important fact that they are subjected for the first time in their lives to the genital excretions of the opposite sex. The excretions in question, especially those of the woman, are in many cultures looked upon as bringing harm to whoever comes into contact

²¹ Homeyer points out that this motif is a literary topos; Hrotsvitha, *Opera* 138 (commentary to lines 204-207). For a similar accusation on the Ethiopian scene, although brought forward by a remarkable Ethiopian Christian, who was born and educated as an Arab (most probably Iraqi) Muslim, see Enbaqom, *Anqasa Amin* 95f., 195, 209, 259. In general, see Daniel 1966:141-146.

²² Lane 1981:64; Nilsson 1906:372f.; Nilsson 1941-1950 I,55f.; RE IX,33.59f.; Schimmel 1986.

with them. The point in exchanging clothes would here be to make it impossible for the demon, the evil spirit or the evil eye, to recognize the bride and the bridegroom and thus to harm them. A similar explanation for the transvestism of the Egyptian Muslim boy about to be circumcised is current among the indigenous population in Egypt (see above). Another widespread attempt at the interpretation of these phenomena sees some sort of initiation rites in them, marking the transition from one social or age group, or social status, to another. It is stressed in this context that marriage ceremonies, for instance, are in part, or were even more, perhaps exclusively, social events with the whole community participating in them. This would also account for the explanation of the Egyptian precircumcision procession. Here the question could be asked: why is it only or mainly men who are affected by these practices? In this context the considerably higher value and greater importance of men in most societies is stressed. Still others would regard at least some of these phenomena as welcome opportunities for the venting of unbridled sexual desires, allegedly so characteristic of the Semitic peoples (Nilsson 1906:373). It is hinted here that most occurrences of these phenomena in classical antiquity tend to betray some sort of Middle Eastern connection or origin.

It may be argued, however, that the whole question is much more complex. It may well be that at least some of these cases are to be explained along the lines of magic originally; however, the whole question deeply relates to one aspect of the personality of the participants, sex, which can justly be regarded as one of the mightiest urges of human nature as well as one of the most taboo. Consequently, any open and flagrant infringement of the taboos in this field, even when tolerated or even prescribed by society in certain situations, will no doubt make the participants extremely conscious of the uniqueness and exclusiveness of the events in question. At the same time rituals very often tend to lose their original motive and meaning for the participants; after the lapse of a certain period of time one is no longer aware of the original purpose of the ritual. Also, more than one factor will usually be involved in these phenomena, with perhaps one of them predominating over the

others. We do not want to delve here into this controversial network of highly intricate problems involving such disparate, yet closely interconnected elements as the phenomenology of religions, the psychology of the unconscious, comparative ethnography, comparative history of religions, anthropology as well as cultural history, and even biology, especially genetics. Just to mention one problem involved here: the question of the genetic determination of sexual behaviour is of the utmost importance in our case, that is, the question of how far the sexual behaviour of a person is genetically determined and how far it is acquired by learning and imitation. We cannot even venture to sketch all these problems here nor is it necessary for our limited aim of attempting to interpret the wonder in question. Hermann Baumann has conducted an extensive survey of the phenomenon of the exchange of clothes in various cultures with special interest in primitive societies (Baumann 1955:45-59). As a result of his investigations he came to differentiate between eight major types of the exchange of clothes between the sexes, with four and three sub-types respectively within types 1 and 2, amounting to 13 major types in all (*ibid.* 49). Now, accepting this differentiation, we will be inclined to classify our wonder under No. 6: "Exchange of clothes between the sexes as a sign of fighting off demonic powers", yet Nos 3, 5, 7 and 8 may also be relevant to a lesser degree, at least in the case of certain participants.

But why does all this happen at midnight? Probably, through its close relationship to the height of darkness, midnight is the point of time at which human beings are most vulnerable to the deeds of demons, evil spirits and of the devil himself (Gunkel 1926:404 [ad Ps. 91,5f]). In the New Testament, darkness is the domain of evil (Lk 22,53; Acts 26,18; Col 1,13; Ephes 6,12). The ghost of Hamlet's father also appears at midnight. Consequently, it is quite conceivable that our pious monks and nuns would try to avert the machinations of evil spirits and demons during midnight prayer by way of exchanging clothes and thus making it impossible for the evil spirits and demons to recognize them. Some of them, however, may have found it fun (No. 8 Baumann), others may have regarded this event as the expression of a perverted state

(No. 5 Baumann), in others again erotic motives may not have been completely absent (No. 7), still others may have found this event a welcome occasion for stepping out of the bonds of sexuality in general (No. 3 Baumann).

A remarkable parallel can be adduced from the life of another saint to support our interpretation above: the story in question involves monks, nocturnal prayer in the church, clothes, or rather their absence, and magic. Saint Bă-şălotă Mika'el²³ in one of his conflicts with King ʿAmdä Şeyon (reigned 1314-1344) manages to protect a woman from the advances of the king in the following way: he orders his monks to gather in the church at night, there they are told to undress and spend the whole night naked in fervent prayers. Some carry out prostrations, as many as they are able to, others shed tears profusely, others stand erect like columns. The king falls ill with a severe illness and is on the verge of death, but suddenly realizes the cause of his illness, lets the woman go and sends a messenger to Saint Bă-şălotă Mika'el with this information, begging the saint to pray for him. At daybreak Saint Bă-şălotă Mika'el orders the monks to get dressed and the king is healed in due course²⁴. What we have here before us is no doubt the exercise of moribific influence at a distance, where all the constituent parts of this magical rite – the prayers, the various bodily movements (or their absence), the site (the church), the special part of the day (night), and the clothing (its absence) all seem to play an essential role in the effectiveness of the rite.

²³ 2nd half of the 13th c. – 1st half of the 14th c. His *gädl* was composed at the end of the 14th c. or in the 15th c. and was published from a manuscript from the end of the 15th c. (*Gädlä Ābunä Bă-şălotă Mika'el* 1f.; see also Taddesse 1972a:112-117, 177f).

²⁴ *Gädlä Ābunä Bă-şălotă Mika'el* 36.24-38.24. Dr. Ida Fröhlich reminds me of the distant similarity between this event and the story of Abraham and Sarah in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (Coll. XIXf.; *Dead Sea Scrolls*). Though this may be true, yet the basic difference between our story and the *Genesis Apocryphon* is that while there Abraham asks God to intervene, in our case we are facing a distinctly magical procedure; *Genesis Apocryphon* XIXf.; 23-27. Cf. also the famous triplet in *Genesis* 12,10-20; 20; 26,1-11 and also Ginzberg 1946-1947 I,220-225.

2) We shall now turn to the second constituent part of our wonder. In the *gädl* we read that the monks and the nuns in Täklä Haymanot's monastery slept together in the same bed (the nice illustration to this wonder in the MS Oriental 723 in the Magdala Collection in the British Library shows this event clearly), but of course no sinful deed happened among them whatsoever. The practice of the monks and nuns sleeping together in the same bed does not seem to be in keeping with the well-known tenets of monasticism in general²⁵. As far as Ethiopia is concerned, the Ethiopian version of the *Rules of Saint Pachomy* prohibits monks and nuns from even entering each other's monastery or nunnery, and rejects fornication²⁶. The same ideas are reflected in the *Fethä Nägäšt*, too²⁷. Both the *Rules of Pachomy* and the *Fethä Nägäšt* have held important places in the cultural history of Ethiopia; nevertheless, their influence upon actual practice should not be overestimated: "on ne peut citer aucun monastère éthiopien qui ait été organisé selon la 'Règle de S. Pachôme'" and "il n'y a aucune Vie de S. Pachôme dans les manuscrits éthiopiens connus actuellement" (Simon 1941:301). Civil as well as ecclesiastical life seems to have been subjected to unwritten traditional customary law much more than to the regulations of the *Fethä Nägäšt* (Hammerschmidt 1975), and of course for the period of Täklä Haymanot the *Fethä Nägäšt* is devoid of any relevance since it was not translated into Ethiopic (Ge'ez) until the 17th century (Cerulli 1968:176f.; Guidi 1932:78f). Our knowledge of the history of Ethiopian monasticism is scanty; about the early periods (before the 13th century) we know practically nothing²⁸. For later periods there exist various collections of monastic regulations so far unedited, among them the

²⁵ *Apophthegmata* 489 (s.v. "Unreinheit"); Heussi 1949:116ff. (#28); *id.* 1956:41ff. (#8.2); Schmidt 1963:126-129 (#12.2); Thümmel 1988:116-122.

²⁶ *Šer'ät* 60.9-16, 62.24-63.2, 63.9-19, 65.10-18, 66.24-67.5, 67.16ff.

²⁷ *Fethä Nägäšt* 106f. (No. 356), 113 (No. 377), 119f. (Nos 404, 406), 121 (No. 413).

²⁸ Conti Rossini 1928:156-165; Simon 1941:301. Cf. also Kaplan 1986.

apocryphal so-called *Rules of Saint Anthony*. What we do know is that life in monasteries will have been regulated by the respective traditional norms of each community in question, but of these norms scarcely any study has so far been made²⁹. Thus data furnished by the lives of various saints will be of great help in the reconstruction of daily life and practices in monasteries in early times.

Returning to the question of the cohabitation of monks and nuns, we find it attested in other *gädls*, too. Saint Änorēwos, a senior disciple of Täklä Haymanot and the *mäggabi* (oeconomus) of the monastic community, is reported to have persuaded Täklä Haymanot of the preferability and necessity of terminating the practice whereby the meals of the monks were prepared and served by nuns, who apparently stayed with them under the same roof. Instead, he installed (male) *disciples* (*ärde'et*) not only to fulfil this function but to provide for all their needs. This regulation, of course, enraged the nuns. A woman of dubious morals tried to calumniate Saint Änorēwos accusing him of fornication, and of being the father of her expected child. The saint was put in chains, but through divine intervention the truth came to light, the woman was punished by God whereupon she confessed her false accusation and the saint was exalted. Thereupon, perhaps under the impact of this event, the saint convinced Saint Täklä Haymanot of the necessity of expelling the nuns from the monastery, because in his opinion it is better both for monks and nuns to live apart; it is only in this way that the temptation to fornicate can be eliminated from the monastery: "Can fire remain hidden among wood?" Täklä Haymanot found this an excel-

²⁹ Cerulli 1958:260f., 264f.; Hammerschmidt 1975:62f.; Tadesse 1972a:108-112. One source creates the impression that these rules may have been rather vague. In the *gädl* of Äbunä Tadēwos, a contemporary of Täklä Haymanot, the companions of the young Tadēwos are trying to dissuade him from becoming a monk: "If you are alone in the desert, what will you eat and drink being without a woman, because in our country there is no law for the monks, of what one should do, because no one has been sent to our country, the place of monks, who could teach the rules of monasticism"; *Gädlä Tadēwos* 86a22-b22 (accepting the editor's emendations and slightly modified). See also *ibid.* 22-32.

lent new idea, gave it his blessing and decided that this rule should be followed forever³⁰.

On another occasion Saint Bă-șălotă Mika'el (see above) reproaches King 'Amdä Şeyon (see above) for allowing monks and nuns "to help each other" (apparently to live together): in his view monks should remain apart because "it is not desirable for fire and (dry) grass to be in one and the same place". The king agrees and dispatches a herald to announce all over the country that it is forbidden for monks and nuns to live together (*Gädlä Ābunä Bă-șălotă Mika'el* 36.8-19).

In another illuminative story we read of a monk who invites Saint Bă-șălotă Mika'el to stay with him so that that they shall lead a solitary and tranquil life together. The saint replies: "If you have a nun, I will not stay with you". The monk denies this. Thereupon the saint suggests: "If you do not have a nun, then it does not behove us to stay here but we should move to another place". (The interpretation of this sentence is not clear: was it perhaps so customary for monks in that area to have "their" nuns that anyone infringing upon this unwritten law would be considered deviant and forced to move somewhere else?) In due course, however, when the monk is away, "his" nun turns up and confesses all their sins to a priest of the saint, who in turn sends her away entrusting her to the care of one of his disciples. When the monk returns and discovers what has happened, he demands from the saint: "Give me my nun back!" The saint flatly refuses: "You will not get your nun back", whereupon the monk flies into a rage. The saint asks him: "What have you lost that you are so furious with me?" And here the story ends (*ibid.* 40.5-41.1).

At that time monasteries seem to have been not all that well guarded and secluded: in the life of Saint Ānorēwos already referred to, we read of the dangers that monks were subjected to. There was a woman who accurately observed where Saint Ānorēwos went, where he stayed and where he slept. One day when he was still in bed, she fell upon him, whereupon the saint exclaimed: "Tiger! Tiger!" The woman fled

³⁰ *Gädlä Ānorēwos* 71.12-73.21. Cf. also Tadesse 1972a:115f.

in terror and hearing his shouts the monks came running to him, and he told them that he had been attacked by a tiger; he said nothing about the woman (*Gädlä Änorēwos* 72.5-13). (This is the woman referred to above who later accused him of being the father of her baby, whom - the *gädl* expressly tells us - she had actually conceived by someone else.) When the king grants Änorēwos permission to return to his monastery Şegaga from the exile, he is accompanied by numerous monks and nuns (*ibid.* 89.20ff). During his renewed exile he founds a monastery in Geddem, where numerous monks and nuns take the monastic vows under his guidance (*ibid.* 90.24-30).

In the *gädl* of Iyäsus Mo^{ca} (died 1292)³¹ we are informed that the most important demand³² of our saint is that the king should expel all women from the tiny island where his monastery, the monastery of Saint Stephen, is situated; this demand is repeated in the relatively short *gädl* several times: apparently it was considered by its author to be of the utmost importance³³. It may be significant to note that in all these cases the *gädl* speaks of women and not of nuns; finally it becomes clear that this usage is not due to negligence on the part of the author: when complying with the saint's wish the king orders the women to leave the island, at the same time he invites them to the royal camp. (Certainly he would not invite nuns there!) Some follow his invitation, while some others remain on the shore of the lake and *become* nuns (*Gädlä Iyäsus Mo^{ca}* 30.5-20). In recounting the history of the monastery the author tells us that for 400 years men were not separated from women (*ibid.* 19.26ff). In all probability this means that there used to be women on the island who were not necessarily nuns and who apparently had regular contact with the monks, but whose presence, perhaps owing to the

³¹ About his person, see Cerulli 1965:I-XVI; Kur 1975:92; Tadesse 1970b:88-91; *id.* 1972a:158-167. The extant version of his *gädl* comes from the 2nd half of the 15th century, see Cerulli 1965:XV.

³² On the pact between King Yekuno Ämlak (reigned 1270-1285) and Iyäsus Mo^{ca}, see Cerulli 1965:I-XVI; Tadesse 1972a:161-167.

³³ Cerulli 1965:XI; *Gädlä Iyäsus Mo^{ca}* 25.12-18, 28.3ff., 30.5-20, 33.21-25.

small size of the island, was felt to be most disturbing by Saint Iyäsus Mo^{ca}.

All these data seem to support the idea that at least in earlier times representatives of both sexes were not segregated in at least certain Ethiopian monasteries³⁴. This situation contradicted the official morals of the Church: the sources at our disposal unanimously extol the virtue of chastity³⁵. Thus there seems to have been a gradual development toward the segregation of the sexes, with official Church morals gradually gaining ground. On the other hand, there may have been contrary tendencies too: in the surviving fragments of the *gädl* of Märqorēwos (died 1419)³⁶ we read that in the beginning monks and nuns were strictly segregated by him: he settled them in different places (*Gädlä Märqorēwos* 32.31-33.6); women were not allowed to enter the monastery of Saint Märqorēwos (*ibid.* 37.16-19). Later on, however, the situation changed: during the reign of Yoḥānnes (reigned 1667-1682), when Täklä Iyäsus was abbot, the *gädl* reports that "in accordance with the wish of this king and the wish of our father Täklä Haymanot, women and men stayed together, but earlier the rules of our father Märqorēwos were not like this" (*ibid.* 49.19-22).

Why was the Church so lenient? Where are the roots of this custom to be sought? The answer can probably be found in the way Ethiopia was christianized. The spread of Christianity went hand in hand with the rapid (mainly southward) expansion of the Ethiopian feudal state. During this process enormous masses of formerly pagan popula-

³⁴ See also Cerulli 1958:262f.; Tadesse 1972a:115f.

³⁵ Cf., for instance, the remarkable figure of Märḥä Krestos (15th c.): *Gädlä Märḥä Krestos* 12.15-13.17, 24.6-25.4, 114.4-9, 18, 133.17-20. See also *Gädlä Isayeyas* 246.19f.; *Gädlä Ēwostatēwos* 26.11-19; 108.6-16, and also the relevant parts of *Fethä Nägäšt* (*Fethä Nägäšt* 103-107). The segregation of the sexes as prescribed by the *Rules of Pachomy* also presupposes a positive judgement of celibacy, see fn. 13 above. On celibacy, see Heussi 1949:110 [#26q, r], 180 [#46i].

³⁶ He was a follower of Ēwostatēwos, on whom see Černetsov 1982:85-99; Tadesse 1972a:206-219.

tions were baptized regularly, but owing to their quantity and the speed of the process, their devotion to the new faith, even their knowledge of its tenets, was only nominal in most cases. As a consequence of this state of affairs, numerous pagan beliefs and practices were preserved in Ethiopian Christianity (Conti Rossini 1928:163ff.; Hammerschmidt 1965:145f): no doubt many peculiar, sometimes even shocking episodes in the *gädls* owe their origin to the basically pagan milieu. "A baby-son of a woman submissively preparing the annual feast to commemorate one of Tekle Haymanot's holy days falls into the fire; but he is delivered from burning by the saint. On the other hand, a woman, who refused to prepare the feast had her dough turned into feces. Tekle Haymanot wrathfully destroys the crops and kills the animals of all disobedient farmers while he blesses those of his followers. A recalcitrant farmer is on one occasion made to burn to death. Besides the desperate need of economic support that the clergy felt, only the relative novelty of Christianity in the area and the intensive opposition it must have faced among the pre-Christian populations in those early days can explain the crudity and the extreme bad taste of some of these alleged miracles!" (Tadesse 1982:198). In order to gain converts, the Christian clergy was also not unwilling to make "concessions to the established pagan ways of local people. [...] A tradition relates that Filepos, one of the disciples of Täklä Haymanot, instructed his followers to be rather lenient towards their new converts and not to insist on a strict application of rigorous religious practices. [...] Abba Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus, whose monastery of Zekwala [in the vicinity of modern Addis Ababa] was often physically located on the frontiers of Christianity, Islam, and paganism, is said to have been given a promise³⁷ by God that 'even murderers ... and even those who worship idols and even those who commit perjury shall be pardoned for your sake if they observe your *täzkar* [=feast]'"³⁸. Among the miracles of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus fol-

³⁷ On the *kidan*, see Kur 1984.

³⁸ Tadesse 1972b:146f. About the whole process, see Černetsov 1982:42-57, 71-85; Tadesse 1972a:156-205, esp. 156ff., 168-171.

lowing his *gädl* we find a rather bawdy story. In it the saint punishes a woman for her libidinous way of life by having a snake enter her body once when she is urinating. The snake lives inside her causing a lot of trouble, including biting off her husband's penis, whereupon he dies at once. After a while the woman begins to hold the *täzkar* (feast) of the saint and she gets her reward in due course: the saint expels the snake from her body (*Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus* 95f. [No. 4]). The spread of monasticism must be seen in this context, too: no doubt celibacy and the segregation of sexes must have seemed a strange, not to say nonsensical, stupid idea to the indigenous local population, who, in the words of *Gädlä Filepos*, "lived by eating, drinking, and fornicating all their lives" (*Gädlä Filepos* 3.7f). Even nowadays Ethiopians have an uncomplicated, healthy attitude towards sex: they regard it as an essential and normal constituent of human life and do not make a lot of fuss about it, they just practise it, and it may not have been different in former centuries, either. As for the relative licentiousness of Ethiopians in the past, we know quite a lot about the matrimonial habits of monarchs, especially when they created some sort of a scandal. These examples are, however, difficult to judge, because quite often political motives may have played a role in them, too³⁹. On the other hand, the extent of

³⁹ For instance we possess rather detailed information on the matrimonial habits of King 'Amdä Šeyon, which public opinion considered as outrageous even by Ethiopian standards: the king practised polygamy (the number of his wives amounted to 14), married one or two of his own sisters and also took a concubine of his father to himself. When accused on account of this last deed, he countered with the argument that in fact the person in question had not been his father because he had been conceived during an amorous affair between his mother and the brother of his (alleged) father. The clergy was not impressed by this argument. (*Gädlä Ābunä Bā-sälötä Mike'el* 25.16-29, 28.4-29.31; *Gädlä Ānorēwos* 82.3-12, 83.31-84.5. Cf. Černetsov 1982:42-57; Tadesse 1972a:116ff). 'Amdä Šeyon's son, Säyfä Ar'ad (reigned 1344-1371) followed suit: after having concluded a solemn pact with the Metropolitan Ya'qob in which he obliged himself to observe strict monogamy, he soon went back on his word and married his stepmother and had three wives (*Gädlä Ānorēwos* 85.4-86.13. Cf. Tadesse 1972a:117f). On account of his great services regarding the propagation of the Christian faith, King 'Amdä Šeyon is revered among the saints of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (Hammerschmidt 1967:54f). His death is commemorated by the Church on the 30th of the month Hedär; *Synaxarium* 308 (under his

present-day prostitution is clearly the outcome of the Italian-Ethiopian War, although its roots can be traced to the royal camps of medieval times (Pankhurst 1974). Some modern phenomena of “double morals” can be regarded as being due to the coexistence of vestiges of ancient pagan practices and Christian morals: the Church rejects divorce, yet this open prohibition is circumvented in various ways and divorce is actually widespread and tolerated by the Church⁴⁰; official Church morals prescribe conjugal fidelity and virtuousness, yet promiscuity is rampant and accepted; official high morals expect an Amhara youth to enter the conjugal bond chaste and untouched, yet he is in fact commonly expected to have had premarital sexual experiences (*ibid.* 83, 99f).

Thus there can be no doubt that the habit of monks and nuns to sleep together in Gädlä Täklä Haymanot reflects the actual state of affairs at that time, and is not an invention of the author of the *gädl*. As far as the sleeping in the same bed is concerned, it was not possible to discover parallel motifs in other *gädls*; it may be stressed, however, that it appears in the shorter Waldebban version of our *gädl*, too⁴¹, and its acceptance on our part as a historically true fact is in conformity with the general tenor of our interpretation. But what transforms this habit of the monks and nuns into a wonder in the eyes of Ethiopians is – beyond doubt – the (alleged) fact that absolutely nothing happened between them.

throne-name Gäbrä Mäsqäl).

⁴⁰ Hammerschmidt 1967:141f.; Levine 1972:100-104.

⁴¹ *Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, ed. Conti Rossini 115b-116a(F.27r). In the very short version of the *Synaxarium* we read that Täklä Haymanot's monks and nuns lived in the same house committing no sins and that they would pray and attend the holy offering together (*Täklä Haymanot/Senkesar* 39.3-7). Budge's translation has a different text but the relevant lines are not missing (*Synaxarium* 1245).

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

- Apophthegmata* = *Weisung der Väter. Apophthegmata Patrum, auch Gerontikon oder Alphabeticum genannt*. Übersetzt von Bonifaz Miller. 2. Auflage. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1982.
- Apuleius, *Asinus Aureus* = Apulée, *Les Métamorphoses*. Tome III. Deuxième édition. Texte établi par Paul Vallette. *Collection des Universités de France*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956.
- Enbaqom, *Anqaša Amin* = ሄንባዓም, *Anqaša Amin (La Porte de la Foi). Apologie éthiopienne du Christianisme contre l'Islam à partir du Coran*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction Emeri Johannes van Donzel. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969.
- Fethä Nägäšt* = *Fethä Nägäšt Nebab-enna Tergwamēw*. Äddis Äbeba: Berhan-enna Sälam, 1962 A.M. [= 1969-1970 A.D.].
- Gädlä Äbunä Bä-šälotä Mika'el* = *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. - Acta S. Basalota Mika'el et S. Anorēwos* edidit Karolus Conti Rossini. Réimpression anastatique. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vol. 28; Scriptorum Aethiopicum, Tomus 11 [Textus]*. Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1962.
- Gädlä Änorēwos* = see *Gädlä Äbunä Bä-šälotä Mika'el*.
- Gädlä Ēwostatēwos* = *Gädlä Qeddus Ēwostatēwos. Vita et Miracula Eustathii. Monumenta Aethiopiae Hagiologica, V*. Edidit B. Turaiev. *Fasciculus III. Zapiski Istoriko-Filologičeskago Fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta. Čast' LXV; Vĭpusk IV*. Sanktpeterburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk, 1902.
- Gädlä Filepos* = *Gädlä Filepos zä-Däbrä Libanos. Vita Philippi Dabralibaniensis ad fidem Manuscripti Orient. 728 Musei Britannici edita. Monumenta Aethiopiae Hagiologica*. Edidit B. Turaiev. *Fasciculus I. Zapiski Istoriko-Filologičeskago fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta. Čast' LXV; Vĭpusk II [!]*. Lipsia: F. A. Brockhaus / Sanktpeterburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk, 1902.

- Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus* = *Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus. Tä'ämmerä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus. Bā-ge'ez-enna bā-āmareña. Mälke'ä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus. Äddis Äbeba: Täsa Gäbrä Sellasē zä-behēra Bulga, 1974 °Amätä Mehrät [= 1981-1982 A.D.].*
- Gädlä Isayeyas* = Ferenc, Aleksander. *Les actes d'Isaïe de Gunda-Gundē. Annales d'Éthiopie.* 10.1976.243-294.
- Gädlä Iyasus Mo'a* = *Actes de Iyasus Mo'a abbé du couvent de St-Etienne de Hayq* édités par Stanislas Kur. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vol. 259; Scriptorum Aethiopicum, Tomus 49 [Textus].* Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1965.
- Gädlä Märḥa Krestos* = *Actes de Marḥa Krestos* édités par Stanislas Kur. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vol. 330; Scriptorum Aethiopicum, Tomus 62 [Textus].* Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1972.
- Gädlä Märqorēwos* = *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. - Acta Marqorēwos* edidit Karolus Conti Rossini. Réimpression anastatique. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vol. 33; Scriptorum Aethiopicum, Tomus 16 [Textus].* Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1962.
- Gädlä Tadēwos* = *Die Vita des Abuna Tādēwos von Dabra Märḥām im Tānāsee.* Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar von Veronika Six. *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 18.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975.
- Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, ed. Budge = *The Life of Takla Hāymānôt and the Miracles of Takla Hāymānôt.* Edited and translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. London. Privately printed for Lady Meux. 1906.
- Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, ed. Conti Rossini = Conti Rossini, Carlo. II "Gadla Takla Hāymānot" secondo la redazione waldebbana. *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Anno CCXCI. 1984. Serie Quinta. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Volume II. Parte 1a - Memorie.* Roma 1896.97-143.
- Genesis Apocryphon* = *A Genesis Apocryphon. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea.* Description and Contents of the Scroll, Facsimiles, Transcription and Translation of Columns II, XIX-XXII by

- Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press of the Hebrew University and Heikhal ha-Sefer, 1956.
- Hrotsvitha, *Opera* = Hrotsvithae *Opera*. Mit Einleitungen und Kommentar von Helene Homeyer. München & Paderborn & Wien: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1970.
- Lucian, *De Syria Dea* = Luciani Samosatensis *Opera* ex recensione Guilielmi Dindorfii. Parisiis: Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, 1840. 733-747.
- Macrobius, *Saturnalia* = Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobius *Saturnalia* apparatu critico instruxit Iacobus Willis. Lipsiae: Teubner, 1963.
- al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ* = Maçoudi, *Les prairies d'or*. Texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille. Tome sixième. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1928.
- Plutarch, *Aetia Graeca* = Plutarchi Chaeronensis *Moralia* recognovit Gregorius N. Bernardakis. Vol. II. Lipsiae: Teubner, 1889.321-353.
- Plutarch, *Lycurgus* = Plutarch's *Lives* with an English translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Vol. I. *The Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press & William Heinemann, 1959.204-303.
- Plutarch, *Mulierum Virtutes* = Plutarchi Chaeronensis *Moralia* recognovit Gregorius N. Bernardakis. Vol. II. Lipsiae: Teubner, 1889.198-249.
- Plutarch, *Theseus* = Plutarch's *Lives* with an English translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Vol. I. *The Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press & William Heinemann, 1959. 2-87.
- Polyaenus, *Strategicon* = Polyaeni *Strategicon* libri octo. Recensuit E. Woelfflin. Lipsiae: Teubner 1860.
- Rāšī, *Pērūš* = *Chumash* with *Targum Onkelos*, *Haphtaroth* and Rashi's *Commentary*. Translated into English and Annotated by Rabbi A. M. Silbermann in collaboration with Rev. M. Rosenbaum. *Devarim*. Jerusalem: The Silbermann Family, 5745.

- Šerät* = *Šerät zä-əzzäzo mäl'äkä Egziäbehēr lä-Äbba Pakwemis*. Dillmann, Augustus. *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1866.57-69. [Reprinted in] Dillmann-Bachmann 1986.
- Synaxarium* = E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928. [Reprint:] Hildesheim & New York: Georg Olms, 1976.
- Täklä Haymanot/Senkesar* = Dillmann, Augustus. *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1866.36-39. [Reprinted in] Dillmann-Bachmann 1986.

B. Secondary sources

- Baumann 1955 = Baumann, Hermann. *Das doppelte Geschlecht*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Burkert 1977 = Burkert, Walter. *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche. Die Religionen der Menschheit, 15*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Černetsov 1982 = Černetsov, Sevir Borisovič. *Efiopskaya feodal'naya monarhiya v XIII-XVI vv.* Moskva: Nauka.
- Černetsov 1984 = *Efiopskie hroniki XVI-XVII vekov. Vstuplenie i zaključenie, perevod s efiopskogo i komentarii Sevira Borisoviča Černetsova*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Cerulli 1958 = Cerulli, Enrico. "Il monachismo in Etiopia". *Il monachismo orientale*. Atti del Convegno di Studi Orientali che sul predetto tema si tenne a Roma, sotto la direzione del Pontificio Istituto Orientale, nei giorni 9, 10, 11 e 12 Aprile 1958. *Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 153*. Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1958.259-278.
- Cerulli 1965 = [Cerulli's Foreword to] *Gädlä Iyäsus Mo'a*.
- Cerulli 1968 = Cerulli, Enrico. *La letteratura etiopica*. Terza edizione ampliata. *Le letterature del mondo*. Firenze & Milano: Sansoni & Accademia.

- Cerulli 1970 = Cerulli, Enrico. "Le Calife 'Abd Ar-Rahmān III de Cordoue et le martyr Pélague dans un poème de Hrotsvitha". *Studia Islamica* 32.69-76.
- Conti Rossini 1928 = Conti Rossini, Carlo. *Storia d'Etiopia*. Parte prima. Dalle origini all'avvento della dinastia Salomonide. "Africa Italiana" - Collezione di monografie a cura del Ministero delle Colonie, III. Milano: A. Lucini & C.
- Daniel 1966 = Daniel, Norman. *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image*. Edinburgh: University Press [reprinted].
- Delcourt 1958 = Delcourt, Marie. *Hermaphrodite*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Delehaye 1955 = Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*. 4e éd. *Subsidia hagiographica*, 18a. Bruxelles: Soc. des Bollandistes.
- Dillmann-Bachmann 1988 = *Anthologia Aethiopica*. Augustus Dillmann: *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*. Johannes Bachmann: *Aethiopische Lesestücke*. Ergänzungen und Nachträge von J. Simon, M. Cohen, I. Guidi, R. Basset. Herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Ernst Hammerschmidt. Hildesheim & Zürich & New York: Georg Olms.
- Engel 1841 = Engel, Wilhelm Heinrich. *Kypros. Eine Monographie*. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- Gauss 1958 = Gauss, Hermann. *Philosophischer Handkommentar zu den Dialogen Platons*. Zweiter Teil; zweite Hälfte. Bern: Lang.
- Ginzberg 1946-1947 = Ginzberg, Louis. *The Legends of the Jews*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.
- Guidi 1932 = Guidi, Ignazio. *Storia della letteratura etiopica*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Gunkel 1926 = *Die Psalmen*. Übersetzt und erklärt von Hermann Gunkel. 4. Auflage. *Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*. II. Abteilung, 2. Band. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hammerschmidt 1967 = Hammerschmidt, Ernst. *Äthiopien. Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Hammerschmidt 1975a = Hammerschmidt, Ernst. "Äthiopische Klöster". *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients* herausgegeben von

- Julius Assfalg in Verbindung mit Paul Krüger. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975.62f.
- Hammerschmidt 1975b = Hammerschmidt, Ernst. "Fethä nägäst". *Ibid.* 114f.
- Haussig 1965 = *Wörterbuch der Mythologie. I.1: Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*. Herausgegeben von Hans Wilhelm Haussig. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag.
- Heussi 1949 = Heussi, Karl. *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*. 10. Auflage. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Heussi 1956 = *Abriss der Kirchengeschichte*. 4. Auflage. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger.
- Hoffner, jr. 1966 = Hoffner, jr., Harry A. "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity. Their Use in Ancient Near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals". *Journal of Biblical Literature*. 85.3.326-334.
- Huntingford 1966 = Huntingford, G. W. "The Lives of Saint Takla Hāymānot". *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. 4.2.35-40.
- Kaplan 1986 = Kaplan, Steven. "The Rise of the Monastic Holy Man in the Early Solomonic Period". *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference: Tel-Aviv, 14-17 April 1980*. Edited by Gideon Goldenberg. Rotterdam & Boston: A. A. Balkema, 343-357.
- Kautzsch 1922 = *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*. Übersetzt von E. Kautzsch. Vierte, umgearbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von A. Bertholet. Erster Band. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Klyučevskiy 1988 = Klyučevskiy, Vasilij Osipovič. *Drevnerusskiye žitiya svyatih kak istoričeskij istočnik*. Moskva: Soldatenkov, 1871. [Reprint:] Moskva: Nauka.
- Kračkovskiy 1936 = Turayev, Boris Alexandrovič. *Abissinskie broniki XIV-XVI vv.* Perevod s efiofskogo pod redaktsiey I. Yu. Kračkovskogo. *Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Trudi Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, 18. Moskva-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR. [Kračkovskiy's Foreword is on pp. 3-7.]
- Kropp 1986 = Kropp, Manfred. "An hypothesis concerning an author or compiler of the 'Short Chronicle' of the Ethiopian kings". *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference: Tel-*

- Aviv, 14-17 APRIL 1980*. Edited by Gideon Goldenberg. Rotterdam & Boston: A. A. Balkema, 1986, 359-372.
- Kur 1975 = Kur, Stanislaw. "Iyäsus-Mo'a". *Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography*. Volume I.: From Early Times to the End of the Zagwé Dynasty c. 1270 A.D. Editors Belaynesh Michael, S. Chojnacki, Richard Pankhurst. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies & Addis Ababa University, 92.
- Kur 1984 = Kur, Stanislaw. "Le Pacte du Christ avec le Saint dans l'Ha-giographie Éthiopienne". *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Lund, 26-29 April 1982*. Edited by Sven Rubenson. Addis Abeba: Institute of Ethiopian Studies / Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies / East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University. 125-129.
- Lane 1981 = Lane, Edward William. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians Written in Egypt During the Years 1833-1835*. First Published in 1836. This Edition Published in 1895. [Reprint:] The Hague & London: East-West Publications / Cairo: Livres de France.
- Levine 1972 = Levine, Donald N. *Wax & Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*. Fifth Impression. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Macomber 1986 = Macomber, W. F. "The present State of the Micro-film Collection of the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library". *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference: Tel-Aviv, 14-17 April 1980*. Edited by Gideon Goldenberg. Rotterdam & Boston: A. A. Balkema, 389-396.
- Nerval 1984 = Nerval, Gérard de. [*Voyage en Orient.*] *Oeuvres Complètes, II*. Édition publiée sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et de Claude Pichois. *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Nilsson 1906 = Nilsson, Martin P. *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung, mit Ausschluss der attischen*. Leipzig: Teubner.

- Nilsson 1941-1950 = Nilsson, Martin P. *Geschichte der griechischen Religion. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, V.2.1-2*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Pankhurst 1974 = Pankhurst, Richard. "The History of Prostitution in Ethiopia". *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 12.2.159-178.
- RAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Hrsg. v. Theodor Klauser. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1950-
- Rad 1964 = *Das fünfte Buch Mose. Deuteronomium*. Übersetzt und erklärt von Gerhard von Rad. *Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk, Teilband 8*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*. Neue Bearbeitung. Herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Karl Mittelhaus, Konrat Ziegler. Stuttgart & München: J. B. Metzler & Alfred Druckenmüller, 1894-1980.
- Réau 1958-1959 = Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien. Tome III: Iconographie des Saints*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Robertson Smith 1892 = Robertson Smith, William. *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. A Course of Lectures on Biblical Criticism*. Second Edition Revised and Much Enlarged. London & Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.
- Schimmel 1986 = Schimmel, Annemarie. "Kleidung: I. Religionsgeschichtlich". *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Dritte, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Ungekürzte Studienausgabe. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1986. 1646ff.
- Schmidt 1963 = Schmidt, Kurt Dietrich. *Grundriss der Kirchengeschichte*. 4. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Simon 1941 = Simon, Jean. "Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la 'Chrestomathia Aethiopica' de A. Dillmann". *Orientalia N. S.* 10. 285-311. [Reprinted in Dillmann-Bachmann 1988.]
- Stadter 1965 = Stadter, Philip A. *Plutarch's Historical Methods: An Analysis of the Mulierum Virtutes*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Tadesse 1970a = Tadesse Tamrat. "Hagiographies and the Reconstruction of Medieval Ethiopian History". *Rural Africana* 11.12-20.

- Taddesse 1970b = "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248-1535". *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 8.1.87-117.
- Taddesse 1972a = Taddesse Tamrat. *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Taddesse 1972b = Taddesse Tamrat. "A Short Note on the Traditions of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church (14th and 15th Centuries)". *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 10.1.137-150.
- Taddesse 1982 = "Feudalism in Heaven and on Earth: Ideology and Political Structure in Medieval Ethiopia". *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Lund, 26-29 April 1982*. Edited by Sven Rubenson. Addis Abeba: Institute of Ethiopian Studies / Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies / East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1984.195-200.
- Thümmel 1988 = Thümmel, Hans Georg. *Die Kirche des Ostens im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert. Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, I.4*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.
- Turayev 1902 = Turayev, Boris Alexandrovič. *Izsledovaniya v oblasti agiologičeskikh istočnikov Efiopii. Zapiski Istoriko-Filologičeskago fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta. Čast' LXV, Vypusk I*. S.-Peterburg: M. Stasyulevič.
- Ullendorff 1979 = Ullendorff, Edward. "The Bawdy Bible". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42.3.425-456 [= *id. Studia Aethiopica et Semitica. Äthiopistische Forschungen*, 24. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1987.236-267.].
- Usener 1879 = *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia*. Hrsg. v. Hermann Usener. Bonn: Adolph Marcus.
- Wilson 1985 = *Saints and Their Cults*. Edited by Stephen Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolff 1977 = Wolff, Hans Walter. *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments*. Nachdruck der 3. Auflage mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Chr. Kaiser Verlages München. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.
- Zolla 1981 = Zolla, Elémire. *The Androgyne. Fusion of the Sexes*. London: Thames and Hudson.