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The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church



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The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

ROGER W. COWLEY



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*Microfiche

(in wallet at end of volume)

The microfiche contains the Geez text of THRGWAME QÄLÄMSIS reproduced from MS. A (British Library MS. Orient 13830, volume 2, pages 116-92), together with

- 1. List of the variant readings of MS. B
- 2. Selected variants from MS. X
- 3. Selected variants from text D.

^{*}now available for download from www.cambridge.org/9781107460782



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PREFACE

The aim of this study is to describe the traditional Biblical and patristic Amharic commentary material of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and to present in translation a sufficient sample of the Amharic, and also the Geez, commentary material, that its character can be clearly seen. Accordingly, the study is divided into three parts – a general introduction, an annotated translation of a Geez commentary, and an annotated translation of an Amharic commentary. The book chosen for parts II and III is the Apocalypse of John, for the following reasons:

- (a) the *andəmta* commentary on the Apocalypse is extensive, and includes material culled from a variety of sources,
 - (b) the text of this andamta commentary has been printed,1
- (c) a critical edition of the Geez text of the Apocalypse is available,²
- (d) a Geez commentary on the Apocalypse, which is among the sources of the *andomta* commentary, is available.³

No other part of the andomta corpus at present satisfies all these criteria, though there are many parts of it which will repay further study (notably Matthew, and also Genesis, Psalms, Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Hosea, John, Hebrews, the Liturgy, Woddase Maryam, and Philoxenus).

In order to limit the scope of this study, the following matters have been excluded:

- (a) critical consideration of the textual history of Geez and Amharic texts,
- Liqä liqawnt Mähari Tərfe, Mäşahəftä haddisat sostu, A.A., 1951 E.C. pp. 347-484.
 Hofmann, J., Die äthiopische Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse, C.S.C.O., vols. 281 and 282, also vol. 297, Die äthiopische Johannes-Apokalypse kritisch untersucht.
 I.e. Tərgwame Qälämsis, part II of this book.



x Preface

- (b) matters relevant to the Ethiopian understanding of the Bible, but outside the actual commentary tradition, such as the representation of Biblical stories in art,
 - (c) the semantic content of the religious vocabulary,1
- (d) comparison of Ethiopian exegesis with other exegetical traditions,
- (e) detailed consideration of the theology of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Study of this commentary material has lagged behind the study of other branches of Ethiopian literature, probably because of its restricted availability, wide extent, and difficulty. It is hoped that this study will begin to redress the balance, and facilitate further work in this field. It is, however, very inadequate; the world of the andamta commentaries, like that of the rabbinic commentaries, is a world in which a person's whole life may be lived, and such a tradition is clearly not to be sufficiently described in one volume.

I am most grateful to the very many people who have assisted me in my studies, in particular to all teachers and students of commentary in Gondar, Ethiopia, especially Abunä Indrayas, Aläqa Mänkar Mäkwännən, Mämhər Kəflä maryam Yəmär, Mämhər Ḥaddis Mädhane, Mämhər Gäbrä əgzi'abəher Gäbrä həywät; in Makalle to Abunä Yohannəs and Mäl'akä Məhrät Yared Gərmay; in Addis Ababa, to Liqä Səltanat Habtä maryam Wärqnäh; to all who have done scribal work for me, especially Mänbäru Färrädä, Mogäs Getahun and Haylä maryam Bäläw; to the staffs of the British Library (especially Mr. E. Silver), the Ethiopian monastic library in Jerusalem, the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, the National Library, A.A., and the Holy Trinity Cathedral Library, A.A.; to the editorial staffs of the journals which have published articles for me; to all who have discussed problems with me, and supplied information, especially Professors E. Bosworth, G. Goldenberg, E. Hammerschmidt, F. Heyer, C. F. D. Moule, H. J. Polotsky, S. Strelcyn and E. Ullendorff, Drs P. Alexander, S. Brock, D. George, Getatchew Haile, W. F. Macomber, R. Pankhurst, and Sərgəw Ḥablä səllase,

¹ For which see Gebre Yessus Wolde Mikael, *Investigation into the Religious and Cultic Vocabulary of the Ethiopic (Geez) Bible Version*, Ph.D. thesis (in Hebrew), April 1977, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

² Previous studies, in addition to my own, are Heyer, F., 'The Teaching of Tergum in the Ethiopian Church' in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, vol. II, Addis Ababa, 1966, pp. 140-50, and *Die Kirche Äthiopiens*, Berlin and New York, 1971, pp. 132-45, and Alaka Imbaqom Kalewold, *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*, New York, 1970, especially pp. 29-32.



Preface xi

Msgr J. M. Sauget of the Vatican Library, Fr Dr E. Eising, *Qes* Färrädä Ayyälä, *Abba* La'əkä maryam Asrat, and Sister Kirsten Pedersen; to Dr A. Irvine, who taught me Amharic; and to those who have helped with typing, especially my wife.

This study was submitted, together with some journal articles on the same subject, in 1979 in application for the degree of B.D. at Cambridge University. I acknowledge with gratitude the award of the degree, and the kindness of the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Divinity in allowing me to incorporate in the published work various corrections and additions, of the Publications Committee of the Faculty of Oriental Studies in accepting the work for publication, and of Cambridge University Press in the production of it.



ABBREVIATIONS

(Page numbers in brackets refer to the pages on which fuller explanations will be found)

A Andəm (p. 3) A.A. Addis Ababa

AC Andomta commentary (p. 3)

ACD Amharic Church Dictionary (in Amharic), ed. Sergew

Hable Selassie

Acts Acts of the Apostles

AM Arägawi mänfäsawi, writings of John Saba (p. 12)

Amh. Amharic (language, version, text)

ASCT Cowley, 'Additional sources for a copula TT in old

Amharic', Israel Oriental Studies, VII, 1977, pp.

139-43.

BAC Cowley, 'The Beginnings of the andom Commentary

Tradition', *JES*, x, 2, pp. 1–16.

Bar. Baruch

Baumstark Baumstark, A., Geschichte der syrischen Literatur,

Bonn, 1922, repr. 1968.

B.L. British Library (London)B.N. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris)

ch./Ch. chapter
Chr. Chronicles
Col. Colossians
Cor. Corinthians

C.S.C.O. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium

Cyr. Writings of Cyril of Alexandria
Cyr E Cyril of Alexandria, *Astogubu* (p. 12)
Cyr P Cyril of Alexandria, *Päladyos* (p. 12)

Cyr T Cyril of Alexandria, Täräfä Qerəllos (p. 12)



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Abbreviations xiii

Dan. Daniel

Dt. Deuteronomy

Did. (Ethiopic) Didascalia

E Explanation (i.e. section of TQ headed fakkare)

E.C. Ethiopian calendar

Ecc. Ecclesiastes
Ecclus. Ecclesiasticus

EMML Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, A.A.

En. Enoch

EOCCL Cowley, 'The Identification of the Ethiopian

Octateuch of Clement', OKLS, band 27, heft I,

pp. 37-45

Eph. Ephesians

Ep.Jer. Epistle of Jeremiah

Est. Esther Ex. Exodus

Ezra K Ezra Kala', 1 Esdras

Ezra Sutu'el, Ezra Apocalypse (p. 7)

Ez. Ezekiel

FN Fətha nägäst, 'Law of the kings'

Gal. Galatians
Gen. Genesis
Gk. Greek

Graf G., Geschichte der christlichen arabischen

Literatur, Studi e Testi, no. 118 (vol. 1) and no. 133

(vol. II)

Guidi Guidi I., Storia della letteratura etiopica, Rome,

1932

H. Hatäta, an explanation in a commentary HA Haymanotä abäw, 'Faith of the fathers'

Hab. Habakkuk Hag. Haggai

Heb. Epistle to the Hebrews

HMML Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville,

U.S.A.

Hofmann Hofmann J., Die äthiopische Übersetzung der Johannes-

Apokalypse, C.S.C.O., vol. 281

Hos. Hosea

HWS Həruy Wäldä səllase, Yähəywät tarik, A.A., 1915

E.C.

Int. Introduction



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xiv Abbreviations

Is.	Isaiah	
Jas.	James	
Jdg.	Judges	

JE Jerusalem Ethiopic (MSS preserved in Jerusalem)

Jer. Jeremiah

JES Journal of Ethiopian Studies, A.A.

Jn. John
Jon. Jonah
Josh. Joshua
Jub. Jubilees
Jud. Judith
Kgs. Kings

KWK Kidanä wäld Kəfle, Maşhafä säwasəw wägəss

wämäzgäbä qalat haddis, A.A., 1948 E.C.

Lam. Lamentations
Lev. Leviticus
Lk. Luke
LXX Septuagint

MA Aklilä bərhan Wäldä qirqos, Mäşhetä amin, A.A.,

1946 E.C.

Macc. (The Ethiopian books of) Maccabees (p. 7)

Mal. Malachi

MEHI Cowley, 'Mämhər Esdros and his Interpretations',

Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of

Ethiopian Studies, Tel Aviv (forthcoming).

Mic. Micah Mk. Mark

MK Mäṣḥafä kidan, Book of the Covenant (pp. 11-12)
ML Aklilu bərhan Wäldä qirqos, Märḥa ləbbuna, A.A.,

1943 E.C.

MM Mäşahəftä mänäkosat, books of the monks (p. 12)

MS. A Geez MS. of TQ (p. 65ff.) MS. B Geez MS. of TQ (p. 65ff.)

MS. D Text contained in MS. Berlin (Dillmann) 63 (p. 68ff.)

MS. R MS of AC to Paulines, Catholic epp. and Rev.

(pp. 160, 165)

MS. X Geez MS of TQ, contained in EMML 2082 (p. 65ff.) MS.(S) manuscript(s); when added to a reference, it means

that the matter referred to is found in certain manuscripts, but not in the printed edition.

MW Mäqdəma wängel (p. 1)



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Abbreviations xv

MY Mar Yoshaq, writings of Isaac of Nineveh (p. 12)

Nah. Nahum

Nat.Lib. National Library, A.A.

Neh. Nehemiah NT New Testament

NTIAC Cowley, 'New Testament Introduction in the

Andemta Commentary Tradition', OKLS, band 26,

heft 2/3, pp. 144-92

Num. Numbers Ob. Obadiah

OKLS Ostkirchliche Studien, Würzburg

OT Old Testament

OTIAC Cowley, 'Old Testament Introduction in the

Andemta Commentary Tradition', JES, vol. XII

no. 1, pp. 133-75

P Filkosyus, writings of Philoxenus of Mabbug (p. 12)

Pet. Peter

P.G. Migne Patrologia, series graece

Phil. Philippians Phm. Philemon

PIAC Cowley, 'Patristic Introduction in the Ethiopian

Andemta Commentary tradition', OKLS, band 29,

heft 1, pp. 39-49.

pl. plural

PN Cowley, 'Preliminary notes on the balaandam

commentaries', JES, vol. IX, no. I, pp. 9-20

P.O. Patrologia Orientalis, Paris

Pr. Proverbs
Ps. Psalms

Qal. Qälemənţos, the Ethiopic 'Clement'

Qid. AC on Qoddase, the liturgy

QidM AC on Mästäbqwa', prayers attached to the liturgy

QidTH AC on TH
Rev. Revelation
Rom. Romans
Rt. Ruth
s. singular
Sam. Samuel

SAO Cowley, 'Scholia of Ahob of Qatar', Le Muséon,

1980, tome 93, pp. 329-43.

Sin. Sinodos



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xvi Abbreviations

Song of Solomon

T. Tarik, a historical pericope

Tag. Tägsaş, one of the 5 books of Solomon (p. 8)

TBar. Täräfä Barok (IV Baruch)

TH Təmhərtä həbuʻat
Thess. Thessalonians
Tim. Timothy
Tit. Titus

TO Targwame Orit, Geez commentary on Octateuch

(pp. 36, 38)

Tob. Tobit

TP Targwame Pawlos, Geez commentary on Pauline epp.

(pp. 37-8)

TQ Tərgwame Qälämsis, Geez commentary on

Revelation (pp. 38, 65)

T.V. Textual variant

TW Tərgwame Wängel, Geez commentary on Gospels

(p. 37)

Ullendorff Ullendorff, E., Ethiopia and the Bible, London, 1968

v. verse Wisd. Wisdom

WM Wəddase Maryam (p. 13)

YaWD Dərsan of Yohannəs afä wärq (p. 13) YaWT Tägsaş of Yohannəs afä wärq (p. 13)

YwK Yosef wäldä Koryon, 'Josippon's History of the Jews'

(p. 10)

Zech. Zechariah Zeph. Zephaniah

Note: Bible references, unless otherwise specified, follow the Revised Standard Version, except that the Ps. references in the translation of ACRev., and in the footnotes that refer directly to ACPs., follow the Geez (and LXX) enumeration. Biblical references in the footnotes to Part I are to the Biblical AC, and not to the Biblical text.



I

THE ANDAMTA COMMENTARY CORPUS, ITS CHARACTER, PROVENANCE, AND DEVELOPMENT