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Collecting manuscripts and scrolls in Ethiopia: The missions of Johannes Flemming (1905) and Enno Littmann (1906)

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At the beginning of the 20th century, Germany did not have a store of Ethiopian manuscripts as large as France's or England's, where collections had grown during the 19th century with, respectively, the acquisition of the Abbadie collection and the looting of the royal library at the Magdala fortress. In 1900, the core of German collections came from the first generations of orientalist and humanist, such as Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704), J.M. Wansleben (1636-1679) and Theodorus Petraeus (*ca.* 1630-1672) and, too, from less well-known collectors such as Petermann (vice-consul of Jerusalem *ca.* 1868) for the Berlin collection. Owing to the decentralized structure of the German state, original manuscripts from Ethiopia as well as copies made for orientalist and the latter's papers (later called *aethiopica*) were scattered among libraries in Berlin, Munich, Gotha, Göttingen, Rostock, Dresden and Frankfurt (for the manuscripts and papers of the three aforementioned scholars).² During the 19th century, the scholar and traveler Eduard Rüppel collected a valuable but small set of Ethiopian historiographic manuscripts in Gondär, which would be stored in Frankfurt. Protestant missionaries were also collecting a few manuscripts.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Royal Library in Berlin had fewer than nineteen manuscripts.³ The missions headed by Felix Rosen in 1905 and Enno Littmann in 1906 had the scientific objective of remedying this situation by collecting manuscripts for the Royal Library.⁴ This was nothing unusual. For instance, an assistant curator at the British Museum, R. Holmes, joined the British military expedition conducted by Lord Napier against King Tewodros in 1868 in

1 I would like to thank the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the Deutsches Ärchaeologische Institute in Berlin for their financial and logistical support during research in Berlin on this article.

2 For a description of each collection, see Wion, Derat and Bosc-Tiessé, 2008².

3 Dillmann, 1878.

4 Rosen, 1907, *Vorworts* and 254-255. See too the November 1905 letter of the director of the Royal Library, A. von Harnack, published in Bd. 1: 252.

order to bring back codices. The last official European expedition commissioned by a government to collect ethnological and cultural objects from Africa took place in 1930-1932: the French Dakar-Djibouti Mission headed by Marcel Griaule brought back about 350 manuscripts and scrolls from Gondär.

1.1 A diplomatic mission : Johannes Flemming's difficulties

In 1905, Johannes Flemming (1859-1914), chief librarian in Bonn, was selected to take part in a diplomatic expedition, headed by Felix Rosen, to Šäwa. He already had experience in Ge'ez literature, since, as early as 1894, he had been cataloging a few biblical Ethiopian codices as well as Hiob Ludolf's manuscripts, papers and letters, which were preserved in Göttingen.⁵ In 1901 and 1902, he made an annotated German translation of the *Book of Enoch*,⁶ which compared fourteen of the twenty-six manuscripts. From 1912 till his death in 1914, he headed the Manuscripts Department of the Royal Library in Berlin.⁷

During his four-month long trip from February to May 1905, Flemming purchased seventy manuscripts and ten scrolls.⁸ He published a short catalog upon returning.⁹ This collection has recently been cataloged in line with academic standards as part of the KOHD project.¹⁰ In the introduction to his catalog, Flemming briefly described his trip, a valuable description corroborated by Rosen's report on the mission.¹¹ Upon arrival, the mission stayed five weeks in Addis Ababa and met King Menelik. During the official ceremony organized for the German embassy, Flemming gave the monarch a set of books, including his own works, printed in Germany in Ethiopic characters. Impressed by their beauty (according to Rosen's report), Menelik declared that Flemming could work freely in the Ethiopian Royal Library and in church libraries in Addis Ababa and Entoto. Whether or not the king helped the German scholar, or how much, remains unknown. Flemming spent too short a time in these two places to order copies of texts from the Menelik scriptorium,¹² as Casimir Mondon-Vidhaillet had done a few years earlier.

At the end of the mission, Flemming was disappointed in his collection. He regretted the

5 Meyer, 1894: 308-314.

6 Flemming, 1902. The translation was published in 1901 in the fifth volume of *Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*.

7 The oriental and western manuscripts were stored in a single department before WW I. See Schubarth-Engelschall, 1986: 172

8 The scroll Or. quart. 1018(2) was used in Lögfren, 1962.

9 Flemming, 1906: 7-21.

10 Hammerschmidt and Six, 1983: 54-89, 198-266 and 275-301. M. Chaîne (1912:45-68) has made a short description of this collection without pointing out that Flemming had already made one a few years earlier.

11 Rosen, 1907: 158-60, 254-55, 261f, 338, 376f and 478 for all mentions of Flemming's studies on "Amharic" language and literature in Rosen's words, whereas Flemming studied Ge'ez..

12 Haile Gabriel Dagne, 1989.

mission's short duration since the lack of time for purchases did not make it easy to choose the codices to acquire. He also emphasized how hard it was to purchase manuscripts belonging to churches but how easy to tempt priests with thalers and buy private manuscripts. In fact, we notice that the collection counts a large number of privately owned manuscripts (*Me'eraf*, *Wedassé Maryam*, compilations of hymns and prayers, etc.). Given the impressive number of psalters offered for sale, Flemming ironically remarked that he could have brought back more than a hundred.

Flemming provided the following quantitative information about acquisitions: four volumes bought before reaching Addis Ababa, in the market place of Burka Gudo, near Bälči; eleven acquired in Addis Ababa and surrounding areas; eight in Däbrä Marqos (Mänkoror) where *ras* Bäşabé might have facilitated transactions; one in Dämbäça; five in Goğgam; four from the Däbrä Maryam and Q^wäräta churches near Lake Ṭana; three from Gondär; and thirty-three volumes as well as all ten scrolls in Aksum, even though the mission only stayed there one week.

This collection comprises seven manuscripts of the Old Testament (including the oldest codex in the collection — a 15th or early 16th century copy of the *Book of Jubilees*);¹³ seven manuscripts of the New Testament; seventeen hymn books; nineteen liturgical manuscripts; seven theological compilations; two texts on magic, one computation; ten scrolls; five hagiographic manuscripts (*Gädl* and *Miracles of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus*; *Gädlä Ewoştatéwos* followed by *Gädlä Abib*; *Gädl* and *Miracles of Wälättä Pétros*; *Miracles of Zar'ä Buruk*; and *Gädlä Kiros*); the *Miracles of Jesus*; two *Sewasew*; and two miscellaneous compilations.

Despite his visits to about sixty churches and monasteries, Flemming felt that the most important texts were already in the British Museum and the French National Library. There was probably nothing new to discover, he wrote pessimistically. He wanted to acquire enough material relevant to Ethiopian Studies for the Berlin Royal Library so that Germany could be “independent from foreign collections”,¹⁴ a political statement that does not square with scholarship in philology! He did manage to double the existing collection in Berlin. He admitted that a few of the documents were unknown to him, for instance, the *Miracles of Saint Zar'ä Buruk*, dated 1705 and purchased in Goğgam. This manuscript (Or. quart. 1015) was the unique source used for C. Jaeger's 1912 edition of the twenty-seven miracles performed by this saint.¹⁵ Although the collection contained no other *unica*, a few rare and interesting manuscripts are part of it.

One interesting work is *Mäzmurä Krestos* (Or. quart. 996, bought in Däbrä Marqos) with a

13 Ms. Or. fol. 3068. Baars and Zuurmond (1964:71ff) planned to base a new edition of the Book of Jubilees, on this manuscript along with others.

14 Flemming, 1906, p.9.

15 Edition of the Ge'ez text in: Jaeger, 1912. Translated by Ricci, 1979. Kinefe Righb Zelleke's inventory of hagiographies (1975: 101) has brought to light three *gädlät* and two compilations of the *Miracles of Zära Buruk* in Tigre, Eritrea, Bägemdér and Goğgam.

colophon that places the writing of the text during the reign of Śārṣā Dengel. Only four manuscripts of this specific text are known — *Mäzmurä Krestos* is a title used for three distinct texts. Getatchew Haile attributed this *Mäzmurä Krestos* (never published) to *abba* Bahrey, the author of the *History of the Galla (Zénahu lä-Galla)*.¹⁶ It is worth pointing out that an excerpt from the *History of the Galla* follows the *Mäzmurä Krestos*¹⁷ but in other handwriting and in an inserted quire. Maybe the *liq* who inserted *Zénahu lä-Galla* after *Mäzmurä Krestos* recognized a common authorship for both texts? This manuscript deserves further study in order to: investigate the contents of *Mäzmura Krestos*; authenticate *abba* Bahrey's authorship; and investigate this example of Ethiopian erudition and philology. The cover in finely carved wood is remarkable.

In Q^wäräta, Flemming purchased the *Acts of Wälättä Pétros* (Or. quart. 1014), the female saint who, it is said, founded the church. Wälättä Esraél, whom we recognize to be Queen Mentewwab's daughter, commissioned this simple but elegant codex. She married Yosédeq, the governor of Goğgam, and founded the church of Moṭa Giyorgis in 1767. Conti Rossini did not use this manuscript for his 1912 edition. An *ex-dono* (fol. 1) states that the manuscript had been purchased for one and a half birr by Amhä Iyäsus in the region of Wadla after the death of King Tewodros (1855-68) and then sent back to Wälättä Pétros's community in Q^wäräta. It is rare for a note to report that a manuscript has been restituted spontaneously. We might imagine that, in 1905, the church in Q^wäräta had enough versions of the acts of its patron saint to sell this copy.

1.2 Prices: From 100 thalers to a few cartridges

We know the prices of nine of the seventy manuscripts purchased during this four-month trip thanks to Flemming's notes jotted down on the guard-leaves in the codices. Most of these manuscripts are collections of prayers and hymns sold by private persons. During the first purchase in Burka Goda, an Oromo marketplace east of Addis Ababa, three codices were bought for the prices of three, twenty and twenty-five rub (i.e., quarters of a thaler) respectively: ms. Or. oct. 990 dating from Iyoas's reign (1755-1769), ms. Or. quart. 1008 and ms. Or. quart. 991 written in Däbrä Wägäg. Afterwards, prices were listed in thalers. In Addis Ababa, a small codex cost four thalers (Or. oct. 1004), three medium-sized ones cost 7, 9 and 11 thalers (respectively Or. quart. 1007, 1001 and 1003); and a big *degg^wa* was bought for the very high price of one hundred thalers (Or. quart. 1000). In Goğgam and Däbrä Marqos, Flemming purchased two medium-sized codices for 10 and 12 thalers (Or. quart. 993 and 1013).

16 Getatchew Haile, 2002: 38-44.

17 This last copy was not used for Guidi's edition (1907)

In his report,¹⁸ Felix Rosen explained that his caravan had donkey-loads of Maria-Theresa thalers, the usual currency in most parts of the country even though King Menelik had, a few years earlier, tried to place in circulation the “Menelik thaler” with a standardized set of smaller coins, unlike the Maria Theresa thaler which was subdivided in various ways depending on the region. But the population did not adopt the new coins. Only in Harrar was the new mähalläq (silver piaster, 1/16 of a Menelik thaler) in circulation. The half and quarter thalers (respectively, alad and rub) gained acceptance in Addis Ababa but nowhere else in the kingdom. In the northern regions, the Menelik thaler was not accepted.

Cartridges were the alternative to small coins. Cartridges for the French M. 74 Gras rifle were used throughout the country. To undertake transaction in a market, the German mission had to convert its thalers: one thaler for three rub and a few cartridges, or from ten to fourteen *mähalläk* in Harrar, or from nine to twelve new cartridges, or twenty cartridges that had been used once and then refilled, or thirty hollow cartridges, or from five to ten bars of salt. Rosen noted that someone traveling by foot could easily carry the equivalent of two or three thalers in cartridges. He also indicated prices. For example, a good *šama* cost eight thalers while a horse in Addis Ababa cost from twelve to fifteen thalers during peacetime. Given that Flemming spent from four to ten thalers for small to medium-sized manuscripts without paintings, he would not have thought that the market prices for “second-hand” codices were very expensive. A few months later, Enno Littmann had the opportunity to stay in the same place in Tigray for a longer time while working closely with local scholars. As a consequence, the prices he paid for manuscripts were much lower. The small codices cost from a few cartridges¹⁹ to two thalers.²⁰ Only four manuscripts cost more: four thalers each for a very beautiful codex of the Apocalypse in elegant *Gwelh* handwriting (Or. oct. 1264), an attractive *Arganonä Weddasé* from the early 16th century with a very interesting transitional palaeographic style, and a small but elegant *Gädlä Aragawi* in its leather box (*mähdär*). The highest price recorded by Littmann was six thalers for the *Acts and Miracles of Samuél of Gädamä Wali*, a simple codex of recent date that used to belong to *abunä Täklä Haymanot*, probably the superior of Aksum Seyon with whom Littmann had a cordial relationship. Known locally as *Dersanä Samuel*, it recounts an apparently different version of the life of Saint Samuel of Waldäbba than the one

18 Rosen, 1907: 169, 235-238.

19 For example, the very small codices in Littmann’s private collection, now in Halle. Manuscripts 23, 27, 35 and 38 were purchased for 4, 2, 2 and 3 cartridges respectively.

20 The prices were written on the guard-leaves: Ms. Or. oct. 1290, 1291, 1292, 1306 = half a thaler; Or. oct. 1268 = 1 thaler; Or. Oct. 1309 = 1 thaler and 5 cartridges; Or. oct. 1289, 1298 = 1,5 thalers; Or. oct. 1273, 1297, 1300, 1301, 1307 = 2 thalers; Or. oct. 1278 = 2,5 thalers; Or. oct. 1267 = 3 thalers. Littmann kept for his private collection very small manuscripts that had been purchased for but a few cartridges, such as numbers 23 and 27 now in Halle-an-der-Saale, as explained.

edited by B. Turaev.²¹

2. A longer scientific mission: Enno Littmann

This comparison of prices introduces the work of Enno Littmann in Tigray during the fall of 1905 as part of the so-called “Princeton expedition” and during the first four months of 1906 for the Deutsche Aksum expedition. During the time spent in Eritrea and northern Ethiopia from December to April 1906, Littmann built up a network of assistants and adapted to the culture of the Tigrean people. He first went to the northern highlands of Christian Ethiopia in November 1905, leading a mission sponsored by Robert Garrett (1875-1961), a trustee of Princeton University. This mission had, according to Littmann, three objectives: study the Tigray and Tigrinya languages; study the ruins and inscriptions at Aksum; and collect manuscripts.²² Littmann stayed in Gäläb during November and December, among the Mänsä. He already knew he would be heading the Deutsche Aksum expedition. His compatriots arrived at the end of December, came to Aksum, and then worked for the German mission till May 1906. Manuscripts were collected in northern Ethiopia during this period for both the American and German expeditions, and it is not easy to tell them apart. According to Littmann, he collected 149 manuscripts and 167 scrolls, and gave 48 manuscripts and 20 scrolls to the Royal Library in Berlin.²³ Apart from a few items kept in Littmann's private collection, the rest became part of Robert Garrett's manuscripts collection, who later donated them to Princeton in 1942 as part of the Garrett Collection. These three collections of Ethiopian codices were cataloged: in 1936 Littmann's private collection²⁴ and in 1983 the manuscripts stored in Berlin;²⁵ and from 1973 to 1988, Ephraim Isaac's description of the Princeton collection (for consultation in the reading room only).²⁶ How surprising that Littmann, who had written two small but accurate catalogs of Ethiopian manuscripts in Jerusalem, never worried about his gleanings from Aksum!

2.1 The Berlin collection

Did Littmann intend to complete the Flemming deposit and the original Berlin collection of Ethiopian manuscripts? Browsing the Littmann collection in Berlin, we discover: four biblical

21 Turaev, 1902. See, too, the introduction in Hammerschmidt and Six's catalog, which hypothesizes that the copyist had available at least two different versions of the saint's life. Attention is drawn to the similarities with the *Life of Zära Buruk* in Hammerschmidt and Six, 1983: 152.

22 Littmann, 1907: 151.

23 Littmann, 1907: 69. Only 48 manuscripts are still part of the Littmann donation in Berlin. Where did the other twenty scrolls disappear?

24 Kamil, 1936.

25 Hammerschmidt and Six, 1983.

26 Ephraim Isaac, 1973-1980 ; 1980-1988.

manuscripts including two original codices drawn from the New Testament (Or. oct. 1264, a fine late 15th- or early 16th-century copy of the *Apocalypse of Saint John*) and a copy of the *Mäṣḥäfä Dorho* commissioned for five thalers (*Book of the Cock* followed by a homily by Chrysostom on the wood of the Cross or *Dersanä Fäyatay*, Or. oct. 1308); five compilations of hymns, including a collection of *sälam* to Raguél (Or. oct. 1275) and a *Me'eraf* dating back to the time of Šärṣä Dengel (Or. oct. 1268); fifteen liturgical manuscripts; nine theological compilations (including the *Treatise of Evagrius*, Or. oct. 1307); four compilations of magic and one computation; five hagiographies and works of miracles (including *Life of Zä-Mikaél Aragawi*, probably acquired in Däbrä Damo); and nine miscellaneous manuscripts. This collection accounts for a quarter of all the manuscripts and scrolls acquired in Aksum and Tigray. In effect, Littmann apparently tried to select texts not already in the Berlin collection.

Two medieval manuscripts were purchased. One is *Life of Gäbrä Krestos* (Saint Alexis) followed by eight miracles of Mary (Or. oct. 1270).²⁷ This small codex has two miniatures in a crude geometric design. One depicts Saint Gäbrä Krestos; the other, the Virgin with Child. This oldest known account of this saint's life²⁸ might date back to the late 14th- or early 15th-century. The second medieval manuscript, in two volumes (Or. quart. 1165 and 1166), is a collection of homilies attributed to Retu'a Haymanot.²⁹

Also worth mentioning is a lovely *Weddasé Amlak* in *gwelḥ* handwriting that is of interest for art history and codicology because of the miniatures sewed on blank spaces in the manuscript (Or. quart. 1167). These miniatures were cut out of three *sensul* (accordion-like illustrated manuscripts) of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The original codex is ornate with ten, five and twelve images from these three *sensul* respectively.

2.2. The Princeton collection

Littmann's involvement with Princeton University was not of recent date. As early as 1900, he was part of an expedition sponsored by Robert Garrett to Syria and Palestine. During his trip to the Levant, he wrote a small catalog listing Ethiopian manuscripts in various monasteries in Jerusalem.³⁰ By 1901, he was a lecturer in Semitic studies at Princeton. The Littmann archives in Berlin contain a bundle of papers cataloging two Coptic, four Persian, seven Hebrew, five Ethiopic,

27 The *Miracles of Mary* were translated during Dawit's reign (1379-1413). This small codex suggests that they were already quite popular when it was copied.

28 Nevertheless E. Cerulli did not use it for his edition of the *gädl*, Cerulli, 1969.

29 There are other old manuscripts of this compilation of homilies, for example, a codex in the National Archives and Library of Ethiopia in Addis Ababa and the manuscript Paris BnF Eth. Abbadie 80.

30 Littmann, 1900 and 1902. The drafts of these two texts are preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Manuscripts Department, Nachlass 245 (Littmann), Kiste 76.

two Arabic and four Armenian manuscripts.³¹ As far as we know, these papers were never published, and they do not indicate the collections of which these manuscripts were a part. One hypothesis is that they might describe the early stages of the private collection of oriental manuscripts belonging to Robert Garrett, Littmann's mentor.

In a later account of his activities as a collector, Garrett recounted a humorous incident that happened in 1900: "I went to Egypt for about two months and did some scouting. Among the items picked up was a tiny prayer book in Coptic. On rejoining the archaeological party in Beirut, I asked Littmann to read it and tell me what it contained, for I was sure he could read all languages of that part of the world. When he failed to do it, we joshed him no end until finally, with some petulance, he said: 'When our trip is over, let me have the manuscript and I will give you a translation of it in three weeks'".³² This vivid description of the young — 25-year-old — Littmann depicts his enthusiasm for oriental languages, as well as his cordial relationship with Garrett.

In 1901, Garrett bought, on Littmann's advice, a large collection of Arabic manuscripts in Leyden. The approximately 2400 volumes were shipped to Princeton where they became part of the university library, since Garrett could not store them privately. Littmann was then hired to look after them and make an inventory. During the few years Littmann stayed in Princeton, Garrett acquired about five hundred Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Armenian manuscripts. The collaboration between the two men led to the creation of Princeton's Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures.³³ In 1905, as mentioned above, Garrett supported and furthered Littmann's mission in Northern Ethiopia and as a result, Littmann provided him with 101 manuscripts and 147 scrolls.³⁴ This collection is part of the Princeton University Library since 1942. Ephraïm Isaac's unpublished inventory of this collection is available for consultation in the reading room of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at Princeton University Library.³⁵ A 1980 article by Isaac sheds a little light on this collection; in particular, it contains a "Qerlos of some antiquity" and a copy of the *Book of Enoch* that R.H. Charles used for his 1912 edition.³⁶ Littmann's diary mentions that he and Pawlos Man Amano regularly made a list of the manuscripts purchased.³⁷ Unfortunately, this list has not been preserved in Littmann's private archives. Might it have been shipped with manuscripts to Princeton?

31 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Manuscripts Department, Nachlass 245 (Littmann), Kiste 76.

32 Garrett, 1949: 108.

33 Garrett, 1949: 109-110.

34 Littmann, 1907: 69.

35 Ephraïm Isaac, 1973-1980; 1980-1988. David Appleyard is completing the work on the collection of Ethiopic magic scrolls, including those in the Bruce Willsie collection. It should be on line in 2009 along with a preliminary list of Ethiopic codices (private communication of September 2008 from Don Skemer, Curator of Manuscripts, Princeton University Library).

36 Ephraïm Isaac, 1980: 37.

37 Voigt, 2007: 187, 189.

2.3 Littmann's private collection

For his private collection, Littmann kept 27 Ethiopian manuscripts, 22 scrolls and 10 *varia* as well as letters, coins and photos. The codices were acquired in: Jerusalem (1900), Tigray (1905-1906) and Cairo (1910-1911). He bequeathed this collection to the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG). It was stored in Mainz and then, after German reunification in 1989, moved to Halle-an-der-Saale along with most of the DMG collections.³⁸ Murad Kamil drew up a description of the collection in 1936, while he was Littmann's student.³⁹ In 1967, the scrolls on magic served as the basis for Ewald Wagner's pioneering article.⁴⁰ Many of the original codices are still to be found in this collection, but none are of special interest.

Littmann ordered a few copies to be made on paper. The *Roman of Alexander* (ms. 4) copied in Aksum or the history of Ethiopian monasteries in Jerusalem followed by a listing of the Ethiopian monks, deacons and nuns there with their geographic origin (ms. 7) are worth mentioning.⁴¹ In Aksum, Littmann worked with Pawlos Man Amano.⁴² Littmann's diary entry on 27 January 1906 relates that they were locked for their safety inside the *eqa bét* of Aksum Seyon by the book-keeper, Gäbrä Sellasé. But this freedom to devote themselves to their work did not last. A few days later, the priests of Aksum Seyon forbade Gäbrä Sellasé to allow the stranger to have access to the library.⁴³ Nonetheless, Pawlos wrote two manuscripts in Tigrinya for Littmann on "traditions". The "traditions from Aksum" (ms. 10) was probably a transcription of the oral traditions told by Gäbrä Wahed, an old priest whom Littmann described as "an authority regarding the history of the sacred city" of Aksum. This codex is now missing, but a partial translation of it was published.⁴⁴ Pawlos also copied a collection of songs and proverbs (ms. 11) in Tigrinya. Another informant of Littmann in Aksum was Gäbrä Mikaél Dabayu, with whom he copied in Tigrinya the *Gospel of*

38 These documents can be consulted at the Universität Martin-Luther, Zweigbibliothek der ULB, Vorderer Orient-Ethnologie.

39 Kamil, 1936. This catalog does not present the coins and letters. The collection, including the photographs, had previously been described by Simon, 1931-1932. Two manuscripts mentioned by Murad Kamil are missing today: ms. 10 and scroll 40. They might still be in Tübingen, see Beylot and Rodinson, 1995: 102. But where are these manuscripts stored? The first location was Littmann's private house in Tübingen; but following his death, his wife, Elsa, gave all his academic papers to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

40 Wagner, 1967.

41 Edited by Littmann, 1902: 103-04, 108-111.

42 Years later, he published two books: Pawlos Män Amano, 1917 E.C. and 1925 E.C.

43 See Voigt, 2007: 181, 185.

44 Littmann, 1913, vol. 1: 38-40. The published version contains stories about the Ark of the Covenant, Aksum, the dragon and King Kaleb. Unfortunately, the "story of the stelae", "traditions about the churches and districts of Axum" and a "contemporary history of Axum since the time of Tewodros" were not published.

Saint Mark and made an inventory of the Aksum Seyon library.⁴⁵ Other evidence of Littmann's exchanges with Ethiopian scholars comes from the list of books he ordered in January 1908 to be shipped to Ethiopia and offered to *däğazmač* Gäbrä Sellasé: "Scriptores Aethiopicis; Historia de Minas; Chronica de Susneyos; Conzelmann, Chroniques de Galawdéwos; Perruchon — Les Chroniques; Perruchon — Lalibala".⁴⁶

Littmann assisted Carl Bezold in making a critical edition of the *Life and Miracles of Saint Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus*. A synoptic article was published under Bezold's name but as a lecture read by Littmann.⁴⁷ It summarizes the contents of the *Life*; a much longer version can be found in the Littmann archives in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.⁴⁸ As photographic reproductions of manuscripts of the *Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qeddus* and various manuscripts in Bezold's handwriting show, Bezold had prepared and probably almost finished a German translation of the saint's *Life* (based on manuscript BL Or 701 with the variants of ms. Paris Eth. Abbadie 36). The collection in Halle also contains a fine, small manuscript of this *gädl* (ms. 5) that Littmann gave to Bezold for his edition.⁴⁹ Its text is quite different from BL Or 701. Marrassini, in his edition, notes that it is the only codex with a homily on the saint's childhood.⁵⁰

Thanks to the Rosen mission and the Deutsches Aksum expedition, Germany's collections of Ethiopian manuscripts increased significantly in size. It came to contain approximately 120 manuscripts and 30 scrolls. However these collections were not properly cataloged till the end of the 20th century. The main part of Littmann's collection is preserved in Princeton where it is still waiting for an inventory to be published.

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45 Nachlass 245, Kiste 43, "Arbeitsmaterialen".

46 Nachlass 245, Kiste 43, "Korrespondenz, vorn. mit der Generalverwaltung d. Kgl. Museen Berlin".

47 Bezold, 1916: 58-80.

48 Nachlass 245, Kiste 102.

49 Ms. B in Bezold's working papers.

50 Marrassini, 2003: xiii.

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