

"the inquiry," and that Zār'a Ya'aqob's disciple did not make use of another principle, although he was a different author.⁴

The authorship of these very original *Treatises* was challenged in 1920 by Carlo Conti Rossini⁵ who claimed to have identified the real author in Padre Giusto d'Urbino, an Italian scholar who worked in Ethiopia in the XIX century and who copied the two manuscripts of the *Ḥatātas* which are extant in the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris. His arguments are mainly extrinsic, as the recent age of the manuscripts, the name Zār'a Ya'aqob that would hide the baptismal name of Giusto d'Urbino: Jacopo, Giusto's knowledge and love of the Ethiopic language and literature, and the information on Islam which would have been taken from the Ethiopic translation of *Les soirées de Carthage* made by Giusto himself. In 1934, arguments, mostly linguistic, were brought forward by Eugen Mittwoch to apply to the second as well as to the first *Treatise*.⁶ From that moment on, nearly all interest was lost for the *Ḥatātas*, which were no more considered "as the jewel of Ethiopian literature"⁷ but as a mystification.

Two Ethiopian scholars, Dr. Amsalou Aklilu and Ato Alemayyehu Moges, have taken over the whole question of authenticity:⁸ the first in the light of the value of the testimonies in favour of authenticity given by Antoine d'Abbadie and Giusto d'Urbino himself, and of the lack of value of Tāklā Hayman^{wot}'s testimony which was the starting point of Conti Rossini's investigation, in the light also of the "nonreligious" character of the *Treatises* (concerning the recent age of the MSS), and of the order of words in Zār'a Ya'aqob's sentences; the second in the light of Biblical quotations, of the *qən'ye gə'əz* that is used, of the *qən'ye* culture that explains the singularity of the *Ḥatātas*, and of the knowledge of Islam they exhibit.

I have investigated both the internal and external types of evidence. A statistical investigation (of both the quantitative and the qualitative-quantitative kinds) yield the duality of authors which is denied by the opponents of the Ethiopian authorship. The Biblical quotations of Giusto d'Urbino have nothing in common with those of either *Ḥatāta*.

Five unknown letters by Giusto d'Urbino have been found in Rome. A letter by Giuseppe Sapeto vindicating the memory of Giusto d'Urbino against the insinuations of Tāklā Hayman^{wot} together with documents concerning the whole

controversy, have also been collected and published. In Matraia the baptismal record shows that the baptismal name was Giovanni Iacopo. A complete dossier of original letters and a memoir of Giusto d'Urbino were discovered in Lucca. Investigation has been made into all the *gə'əz* works of Giusto d'Urbino: MS. 16 of the Società geografica italiana, Ms. 134 of the Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, MSS. d'Abbadie 216 and 217 of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris and MS. Ethiopian 165 of the Vatican Library.

The study of all these sources yields:

1. that Giusto d'Urbino does not share the ideas that are expressed in the *Ḥatātas* at the time he is supposed to have written them;
2. that his knowledge of *gə'əz* in general and of the *qən'ye* in particular appalling — and hence cannot be the perfect Ethiopic language of the *Ḥatāta*
3. that Giusto's scribe who has copied one of the two MSS of the *Ḥatāta* (MS. 215) did not know *gə'əz* well enough to be its author under the editorship of Giusto.

If these conclusions are valid, the Ethiopian authorship of the *Ḥatātas* is established, and the conclusion follows that MODERN PHILOSOPHY, in the sense of a personal rationalistic critical investigation, BEGAN IN ETHIOPIA with Zār'a Ya'aqob at the same time as in England and in France.

In 1976, I presented the first complete English translation of both *Treatises* together with a discussion of the problem of authorship.⁹ The *gə'əz* text used in this translation followed d'Abbadie's manuscript No. 215 (sigla: DAB 215). Since DAB 234 is a copy of the former, only the principal MS was used. A critical edition of this MS was made by Enno Littmann.¹⁰

In 1948 Ethiopian Calendar, 1955 Gregorian Calendar, *Zāmānfās Qāda Abreha* published the Ethiopic text.¹¹ The author has orally stated that he used the Paris MS.

Littmann has given a Latin translation which was published in Vol. 18 of the *CSCO*, Vol. 2 of *Scriptores Aethiopici*, 1904.

9 Claude Sumner, *Ethiopian Philosophy*, Vol. II, *The Treatise of Zār'a Ya'aqob and of Wāldā Ḥəywāt. Text and Authorship*. Printed for Addis Ababa University by Commercial Printing Press, Addis Ababa, 1976. The English translation has previously been published in two installments:

1 "The Treatise of Zār'a Ya'aqob and of Wāldā Ḥəywāt. English translation of the Treatise of Zār'a Ya'aqob." *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, Vol. LIII. II (1971), pp. 344-71.

2 "The Treatise of Wāldā Ḥəywāt." *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, Vol. III-IV (197) pp. 272 - 407.

10 Enno Littmann, *Philosophi Abessini*. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vol. 18, *Scriptores Aethiopici*. Paris, Presses républicaines, 1904, Vol. Ethiopic Text.

11 *Zāmānfās Qāddus Abreha, Ḥatāta Zār'a Ya'aqob 'Aksumawi Wāwāld Ḥəy'ənfrazawi*. [Asmara, Arti grafice eritree,] 1948 E.C., 1955 G.C.

4 See the epilogue to *The Treatise of Zār'a Ya'aqob* added by Wāldā Ḥəywāt, 28:8-10.

5 Carlo Conti Rossini, "Lo Hatata Zar'a Ya'aqob e il padre Giusto da Urbino." *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Series V, Vol. XXIX, 1920, pp. 213-23.

6 Eugen Mittwoch, "Die amharische Version der Soirées de Carthage mit einer Einleitung: Die angeblichen abessinischen Philosophen des 17. Jahrhunderts." *Abessinische Studien*, Heft II. Berlin und Leipzig, Verlag von Walter de Gruyter, 1934.

7 C. Conti Rossini, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

8 አምላክ አክሊሉ (ዶክተር) Dr. Amsalou Aklilu, ዘርዳ ያዕቆብ ረሳስተው "Zera Yacob le philosophe." *ጅርክ Tarik*, gazette d'information archéologique, historique et littéraire, publié par l'Institut éthiopien d'archéologie. No. 1 (1963), pp. 11 - 13.