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Article

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The *Ystoria Ethyopie* in the
Cronica Universalis of Galvaneus de la Flamma (d. c.1345)*

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Introduction

The *Cronica universalis* written by Galvaneus de la Flamma (Galvano Fiamma, d. c.1345) contains a section named *Ystoria Ethyopie*. According to the writer's statements, this section depends on a *Tractatus de mappa Ianuensi quam composuit sacerdos Sancti Marchi de Ianua*: this *sacerdos* is easily identifiable as a Genoese priest named Giovanni da Carignano (d. c.1330), who drew a famous planisphere of the Mediterranean area. The *Tractatus de mappa*, as quoted by Galvaneus, reports surprising pieces of news about an event which has been known so far only by a later and scarcely reliable source, namely the *Supplementum cronicarum* of Giacomo Filippo Foresti (first edition 1483): the supposed embassy sent by an *imperator Ethyopie* to Western Europe, apparently the first diplomatic contact between these two areas in the Middle Ages.¹

* The authors are very grateful to Samantha Kelly for having generously discussed several passages of this contribution and provided useful insights. Many thanks also to Vera Fravventura, Rossana Guglielmetti, Giulia Greco, and to all the students taking part in the didactic project of the Università degli Studi di Milano on Galvaneus de la Flamma (see below). Usual disclaimers apply and the authors remain the only responsible for any error and view expressed in this contribution. The two authors have jointly worked, focusing each of them on aspects of their respective competence, Paolo Chiesa on the Latin context and sources, and Alessandro Bausi on the Ethiopian ones. For the latter aspects, the research was carried out within the framework of the project TraCES: From Translation to Creation: Changes in Ethiopic Style and Lexicon from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages (2014–2019), funded by the European Research Council, European Union Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Advanced Grant agreement no. 338756, and the long-term project Beta maṣāḥəft: Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung, funded within the Academies' Programme, coordinated by the Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities, under survey of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Hamburg (2016–2040). The au-

Galvaneus de la Flamma was a Dominican friar, who lived in Milan and was bound to the Visconti family, which held at the time the lordship of the city.² He wrote several literary works in Latin, mainly of historical matter, gathering different sources with little critical judgment nor effective method. His worth as a historian is related to the sources he exploits. The *Cronica universalis* is believed to be one of his later works, perhaps his last, and was left unfinished. The original plan, as set out in the prologue, aimed to include the history of the whole world from Creation to Galvaneus's times, in fifteen books, but the actual work is significantly shorter: the narrative stops at the middle of Book IV, ending with the biblical king Joas (4 Kings 11–12). There is no evidence that Galvaneus proceeded beyond this point.³

Sante Ambrogio Céngarle Parisi firstly identified Galvaneus's *Cronica universalis* and drew attention to it in 2013.⁴ The work is still unpublished; an edition is forecasted, in the context of a scientific and educational programme promoted by the Università degli Studi di Milano. It is preserved in a single manuscript held by a private owner, who kindly gave permission to photograph it (the leaves of the *Ystoria Ethyopie* are attached: Figs. 1–5).⁵ The manuscript was written in Milan at the very end of the fourteenth century by a copyist named Pietro Ghioldi (Petrus de Guioldis), who was also responsible for transcribing other historical works of Galvaneus;⁶ he apparently aimed to provide a serial edition of Flamma's chronicles, and this was perhaps an 'official' task, as suggested by the high-level features of the manuscripts. Ghioldi's copies are often defective, not so much because of his inadequacy as a copyist, but rather because he had to deal with inconsistent models: he is believed to have used some work-in-progress manuscripts of Flamma himself, not always easy to read, enriched by marginal notes and flyleaves. Therefore Ghioldi made many mistakes in transcribing uncommon words (such as personal names), and left unresolved several problems in the general structure of the book (duplications of sentences, absence of chapter numbers, incongruous internal cross-references, etc.). That said, he

thors came to know through a kind message of Verena Krebs of her forthcoming article too late to discuss her theses in this contribution (see Krebs forthcoming).

¹ For a more comprehensive discussion about Galvaneus's text and its sources see Chiesa 2018.

² For biography and literary works of Galvaneus de la Flamma see Tomea 1996; Chiesa 2016a; Zabbia 2018.

³ For a summary description of Galvaneus's *Cronica universalis* see Chiesa 2016b.

⁴ Céngarle Parisi 2013, 43–45.

⁵ On the previous story of the manuscript see Céngarle Parisi 2013, 71–72 and 131–138; Céngarle Parisi 2015.

⁶ Chiesa 2016a, 83–87.

was a professional copyist, and quite correct where Latin sentences were easily understandable, or when the direct model was unambiguously readable.

The *Ystoria Ethyopie* is a section of *Cronica universalis*' third book, which includes the third age of the humankind (from Abraham to David), according to the traditional Augustinian and Orosian partition. The narrative is structured on the grid of biblical chronology, which Galvaneus complements with secular history and mythology. A digression from the main narrative line provides the context for the *Ystoria Ethyopie*. After the Trojan War—Galvaneus says—some Trojan princes escaped to different lands. This serves as the occasion for a long geographical excursus. Galvaneus is mainly interested in describing exotic areas, such as the Far East or the islands in the Ocean; he relies on traditional authorities (e.g. Isidorus and Solinus), but even more on recent accounts of travellers such as those of Marco Polo, Odoricus of Pordenone, and John of Montecorvino, who went to China in the late thirteenth or the early fourteenth century. Furthermore, he is aware of medieval notion of climate bands and of contemporary discussions about the habitability of non-temperate lands. The *Ystoria Ethyopie* (Chapters 373–378 of *Cronica universalis*' third book) is the last section of the geographic excursus; it follows a narrative on Saint Brendan's voyage in the Atlantic Ocean, and is followed in turn by the mention of the biblical king Saul, which brings the narrative back to its biblical framework.

As we mentioned above, this Ethiopian embassy reported by Galvaneus has been known until now only from the later and shorter narration by the Italian friar Giacomo Filippo Foresti (1438–1520). In the eighth book of his historical encyclopaedia entitled *Supplementum cronicarum*,⁷ he briefly reported some of the information we find now in the *Cronica universalis*; the passage is well known to scholars.⁸ Foresti names as his source a priest of St Mark's church in Genoa (*sacerdos quidam Genuensis Sancti Martii prepositus*), who had written a treatise named *Mappa* (*tractatum edidit quem et Mappam nominavit*). This is obviously the same author and the same work quoted by Galvaneus, with slight differences in the title. All the information

⁷ First edition: Venice, per Bernardinum de Benaliis Bergomensem, 1483 (GW M10969; ISTC ij00208000); the 'Ethiopian' passage is in Book VIII, fols 17v–18r. Second edition, with variants: Brescia, per Boninum de Boninis de Ragusia, 1485 (GW M10965; ISTC ij00209000); the 'Ethiopian' passage is in fols 153v–154r. On the work see Krümmel 1992.

⁸ Skelton 1958; Lachat 1967; Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 5–8; Beckingham 1989; Baum 1999, 227; Baum 2001, 137–138; Salvatore 2010, 602; Kurt 2013, 307–309; Salvatore 2017, 1–3; Knobler 2017, 35–37.

reported by Foresti occurs also in Galvaneus's account, which is anyway much more rich and comprehensive. Although it is impossible to exclude that both narratives rely, independently from one another, on the Genoese *Tractatus*, a more economical assumption is that Foresti was quoting and summarizing Galvaneus's *Cronica*. Scholars have looked upon Foresti's report with a degree of scepticism,⁹ due both to its late date and the total absence of external supports on the reported facts: no reference to an 'Ethiopian embassy' has so far emerged neither in papal or in any Spanish royal archives, where they were expected to be found. Flamma's narrative, however, is much earlier and much more detailed, and cannot be considered as a mere fiction by an imaginative man—nor Galvaneus was such a kind of writer. The discovery of this new text makes Foresti's account negligible, except as a checking tool, and demands that we review in a different light the slippery news about the embassy.

The source reported by Flamma (and by Foresti too), the *sacerdos Sancti Marchi*, must be identified with Giovanni da Carignano, an important figure in the history of cartography.¹⁰ Giovanni was the priest of the Genoese church San Marco in molo ('St Mark at the pier'), located in the harbour area, from 1291 to c.1330; he drew a famous planisphere—sometimes considered the first medieval product of this kind—which was destroyed in World War II and is now accessible only in mediocre photographic reproductions.¹¹ The *Tractatus* was apparently a supplementary tool to a map (that one that we know, or another whose existence we are not aware of): the priest consigned to it geographic information, which, for its nature or length, could not be included on the map. Some scholars, relying exclusively on Foresti's words, assumed that the title *Tractatus* might refer to the map itself, stressing the fact that some inscriptions are drafted on it;¹² but the much longer quotations by Flamma negate this assumption.

Some of the information on Ethiopian matter reported by Galvaneus seems to be reflected in the map by Angelino Dulcert, drawn in Maiorca in 1339, in the Catalan romance *Libro del conoçimiento de todos los reynos* (c.1390?), and in the so-called '*Itinerarium* by Antoniotto Usodimare', a fif-

⁹ See, inter alia, Fischer 1886, 119; Revelli 1937, 252–253; Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 8; Beckingham 1994, 80–81; Beckingham 1989; Kurt 2013, 308; Weber 2013; Kelly 2016, n. 1; Salvatore 2017, 2–3; Knobler 2017, 36.

¹⁰ For a bibliography about Giovanni da Carignano see Chiesa 2018, 83.

¹¹ The most accessible is the copy preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Florence (Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 2), available online (<http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/>).

¹² Beckingham 1989, 340–341; Hirsch 1990, 78 and n. 41; Fiaccadori 2009, 29.

teenth-century Genoese collection of geographic topics that was likely derived from maps.¹³ This fact suggests that all these sources depend, directly or indirectly, on Giovanni da Carignano's *Tractatus de mappa*: the cartographer Dulcert is believed to be a Genoese who migrated to Maiorca, and his maps are recognized to be connected to that of Giovanni da Carignano. Astonishing and exciting is the final mention of an oceanic voyage by two Genoese galleys, which sailed through the Strait of Gibraltar.¹⁴ Here the account of Galvaneus echoes a reference in the *Annales Ianuenses*, with slight differences (for example, Galvaneus identifies the admiral as *Hubertus de Savig<n>ono*, while the *Annales* mention a *Tedisius Auriae* as shipowner and two brothers from the Vivaldi family as masters of the galleys), but the fate of the expedition is reported quite differently in the two works. The *Annales* declare to know nothing about the destiny of the sailors after their transit along the Atlantic coast of North-West Africa. Galvaneus (obviously relying on the *Tractatus de mappa*) reports that, according to the Ethiopian ambassadors, the Genoese were forced to land in order to acquire food; they committed robberies, were arrested, and were brought to the Ethiopian emperor, who freed them in the name of their shared Christian faith and granted them honours. However, they gave up coming back to their homeland for the dangers of the journey. A fascinating narrative, most probably false, but still significant in the construction of a Genoese mythology of oceanic journeys.

Here is the Latin text of the *Ystoria Ethyopie*,¹⁵ with an English translation. The notes to the translation are intended to offer a detailed commentary on passages of the text in view of its understanding and evaluation.

¹³ Chiesa 2018, 87–91.

¹⁴ Chiesa 2018, 100–107.

¹⁵ First edited in Chiesa 2018, 66–69, with a short critical apparatus. We maintain the orthography of the manuscript, also transcribing the underlining where it occurs.

Text

373. De Ethiopia christianorum et imperatore Ethiopie qui est maior nostro imperatore. Fol. 277rb

Sicut supradictum est, secundum quod dicit Ptholomeus, sub utroque tropico, videlicet Cancrī et Capricornī, sunt due Ethiopie. Et sub tropico Cancrī circa equinoctialem Ethiopia est duplex. Una dicitur orientalis, altera dicitur occidentalis.

In utraque Ethiopia sunt Ethiopes christiani. Eorum imperator

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 373,3 *As we said, according to Ptholomeus, two Ethiopias exist, each located under one of the Tropics (Tropic of Cancer and Tropic of Capricorn). The Ethiopia situated under the Tropic of Cancer is twofold: one of them is named Eastern Ethiopia, the other Western Ethiopia.*] Galvaneus recalls ('as we said') a previous passage (*Cronica universalis*, III 276, fol. 259rb), in which he wrote: *Ptholomeus in libro de spera qui est introductorius Almagesti [...] dicit quod sub duplici tropico Cancrī et Capricornī sunt due Ethiopie. Et Ysidorus dicit quod sunt due Ethiopie citra equinoctialem, una in oriente, alia in occidente in Mauritania* ('Ptolemy in the *Book of Sphere*, an introduction to *Almagest*, [...] says that, under Tropic of Cancer and Tropic of Capricorn, two Ethiopias exist. And Isidore states that two Ethiopias exist on this side of equator, the first eastward, the second westward in Mauritania'). Actually, Ptolemy states the duplicity of Ethiopia, twofolded in ἑῶα Αἰθιοπία and ἑσπερία Αἰθιοπία, in his *Ἀποτελεσματικά* (II 3, 8; Hübner 1998, 96–97), and in more complicated way in his *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* (IV, 7–8; Müller 1901, 754–787). In their completeness, these works remained unknown in the occidental Europe until the fifteenth century; nevertheless, many contents of them circulated inside geographic and cosmographic treatises in Arabic, which were translated in Latin since the twelfth century (Gautier Dalché 2009, 87–142). A twofold Ethiopia is reported by many medieval encyclopedists, like Isidore of Seville (*Etym.*, XIV 5 16, expressly quoted by Galvaneus), Honorius Augustodunensis (*Imago mundi*, I 33), Vincentius Bellocensis (*Speculum historiale*, I 77), Bentius Alexandrinus (*Chronicon*, XII 141), Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*De proprietatibus rerum*, XV, s.v.), all writers who are usual sources of the *Cronica universalis*; furthermore, a twofold Ethiopia is represented in several medieval maps, including Giovanni da Carignano's one. As a matter of fact, Isidore speaks of two Ethiopias 'northern of the equator' (*citra equinoctialem*); the second statement by Galvaneus—that two Ethiopias exist *sub utroque tropico, videlicet Cancrī et Capricornī*—is based on an allegation by the *Liber de sphaera*, that is the *De sphaera mundi* by John of Holywood (Iohannes de Sacrobosco), a widespread treatise which actually was used as a propaedeutic approach to the *Almagestus*. John of Holywood (Thorndike 1949, 107) states first that *Ethiopia vel aliqua pars eius est citra tropicum Cancrī*; then, discussing a passage from Lucan's *Bellum civile*, argues that *illa pars Ethiopie de qua loquitur Lucanus est sub equinoctiali circulo*, that is southern of the equator. Galvaneus recalls this statement in another passage of the *Cronica universalis* (III 275, fol. 258va), where he says that *in tractatu de spera dicitur quod Etyopia est sub linea equinoctiali*. It is well known that Ptolemy's indications about Ethiopia

Translation

373. *About the Christian Ethiopia, and the emperor of Ethiopia, who is more powerful than our emperor is.*

As we said, according to Ptholomeus, two Ethiopias exist, each located under one of the Tropics (Tropic of Cancer and Tropic of Capricorn). The Ethiopia situated under the Tropic of Cancer is twofold: one of them is named Eastern Ethiopia, the other Western Ethiopia.

In both Ethiopias live Christian Ethiopians. Their emperor is named

are rough, postulating a physical connection between two Indias, that is the Asian Indian peninsula and further Indias, one of the latter corresponding to north-eastern Africa; see the discussion in the still classic contribution by Thélamon 1981, 31–83, *passim*; Mayerson 1993; and a detailed analysis in Schneider 2004, 337–340; for the later periods see Rouxpetel 2012. More recent contributions to the topic are to be found in the volume edited by Bianchetti and Bucciattini 2014; see also Geus 2014. However, the geographic references by Galvaneus, although inaccurate, show no traces of the current medieval confusion between Ethiopia and India; in his narrative such element only appears in the emergence of some topics related to Prester John.

7 *In both Ethiopias live Christian Ethiopians.*] The text clearly states that the emperor rules over both Christian Ethiopians, that is those of Eastern Ethiopia and those of Western Ethiopia. It is difficult to say whether this depends and expands on the concept of more Indias as presented before or alludes to distinct Christian communities including some knowledge of Malabar Christians.

Their emperor is named emperor of the Christian Ethiopians] For the first part of what appears to be considered here a royal title, that is, ‘emperor of the Christian Ethiopians’, there is no clear evidence that supports its utilization by Ethiopian kings at any time. For example, in the documents from the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos dating from the first half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century (see Conti Rossini 1901; Derat 2018, 46–62, this latter also on further documents from Lālibāla’s early thirteenth-century reign), the king is simply introduced as ‘the king’ (*nəgus*). For the royal titles in Aksumite times, see Marrassini 2014, 270–271, and for its re-emergence in the *Chronicle of ʿAmda Šəyon*, see Marrassini 1993, 46–47, 141–142. Who the emperor could be in this context, strictly depends on how to take position on chronological and historical questions. Admitting of, without conceding, the reliability of the account concerning the letter and the embassy, we get the following picture: the letter, not necessarily the Ethiopian embassy mentioned below (§ 376), should date between c.1300 (or later, since the date could be a copyist’s error) and 1312; the embassy eventually failed not before 1312 to meet the ‘king of Spain’, if the king was Ferdinand IV of León-Castile (1285–1312, see Beckingham 1982, 341, and Chiesa 2018, 93), due to the death of the king; the embassy visited Pope Clement V in Avignon, not later than 1314, when he died; and possibly remained in Italy even later, visiting Rome and coming back to Genoa (Chiesa 2018, 91–95). This clearly points to King Wəḍəm Raʿad (r 1299–1314) as the only possible candidate to be the author of the letter and to have sent the embassy, if any such embassy was actually sent. As first

dicitur imperator Ethyopum christianorum et sclavus | crucis Christi, et comuniter vocatur magnus imperator orientis christianorum
 10 spata; qui est christianus et est maior dominus mundi, quia habet Fol. 277va

APPARATUS TO THE TRANSLATION | 373,10¹ Because of the occurrence of the same expression in the letter to the king of Spain (§ 376), this is supposed to be the meaning of the sentence.

noted by Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 7–8, the name of the king appears to resurface as ‘Voddomaradeg’ in the Italian letter of Prester John to Emperor Charles IV printed by Del Prete 1857, 9: ‘Al nobilissimo signore messer Carlo per la grazia di Dio Imperadore famoso de’ Romani e sempre augusto, il vostro fratello Re Voddomaradeg figliuolo dello eccellentissimo Re d’Etiopia, di Salonio, di Tobbia, di Nubbia, di terra di Bettesi e di Moritorio, e Preste Gian e dell’India maggiore e minore’.

373,8 *slave of Christ’s cross*:] For the second title, ‘slave of Christ’s cross’, there are instead parallels: ‘slave of the cross’ (i.e. *gabra masqal*) was extensively used as a royal name by several medieval Ethiopian kings, while no actual ‘King Gabra Masqal’ is historically attested in ancient and late antique time, although the name occurs as that of a half-legendary king, son of King Kāleb, in later traditions, for which, however, there is no corroborating historical evidence, either numismatic or epigraphic. King Gabra Masqal is sometimes identified, without certain evidence though, with W^cZB, the mid-sixth-century epigraphically-attested historical son of King Kāleb: but W^cZB bears the royal name of Gabra Krəstos, ‘slave of Christ’ (RIÉ 192, l. 9, see translation and commentary in Marrassini 2014, 259–266), possibly simply a ‘humbling title’, also born by King ‘Ezānā (RIÉ 271, l. 10, in Greek δούλος Χριστοῦ) and King Kāleb (RIÉ 191, l. 11, in Gəʿəz), see ‘W^cZB’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 1197b–1198b (G. Fiaccadori). The royal name Gabra Masqal was eventually born by King Lālibālā, King ‘Amda Šəyon (r 1314–1344), and King Yəšhaq (r 1414–1429/1430); see ‘Gābrā Māsqāl’, *E Ae*, II (2007), 623b–624b (S. Munro-Hay and Red.), where (p. 624b) the name is also attributed to Wədəm Rāʿad, yet without providing any specific source. There is no mention of this royal name in the respective article on ‘Wədəm Rāʿad’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 1177a–b (M.-L. Derat), and to my knowledge: which does not rule out the possibility that this might have been the actual royal name of Wədəm Rāʿad.

people address him by the title of ‘Great Emperor.] There is no matching evidence for the title of ‘great emperor’, unless we assume, as is possible, that the title alluded to that of ‘king of kings’, that is *nəguša nagašt*, whatever is the precise meaning that is provided to it, either ‘king of kings’ or ‘king from kings’. The earliest attestation of the title in the probably equivalent Greek form is the inscription of Sembrouthēs, to be dated at the latest in the third century CE (RIÉ 275, ll. 1–4, βασιλεὺς ἐκ βασιλέων Ἀξωμιτῶν μέγας Σεμβρούθης; see Marrassini 2014, 194–196; among the several contributions on the topic, see at least Caquot 1957, 206–207; Vycichl 1957, 199–201; and Fiaccadori 2004, with further references). The qualification of ‘great’, present in the inscription of Sembrouthēs and of very controversial interpretation, does not appear in later titles. Also in this case, however, it is easy to think of an influence from the letter

emperor of the Christian Ethiopians and slave of Christ's cross; people address him by the title of 'Great Emperor, Sword of the Eastern Christians'.¹ He is Christian and is the most powerful lord in the world; he rules 10

of Prester John, who presents himself as *dominus dominantium* (Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 185, § 1, reprinted from Zarncke's 1879 edition of the Latin text of the letter of Prester John to Manuel I Komnenos).

9 *Sword of the Eastern Christians*'. There are no Ethiopian parallels for the title of 'sword of the Eastern Christians' (keeping in mind that a translation 'great emperor of the Eastern Christians, sword', taking 'sword' as a title, cannot be completely ruled out): if the noun for 'sword', *Gəʿəz sayf*, is used in royal names, like Sayfa ʾArʿad (r 1344–1371), see 'Säyfä Arʿad', *EAE*, IV (2010), 568a–b (M.-L. Derat), there is no element that can be easily reconducted to a royal title 'sword of the Christians' or even 'sword'. The whole expression, either 'sword of the Eastern Christians' or 'sword', however, appears to resonate the expectations of liberation from the Muslims (not without having in mind Matt. 26:52, *omnes enim qui acceperint gladium gladio peribunt*, alluded to for example by Jacques of Vitry, see Lewy 2017, 93, n. 402; Lewy 2018, 126, n. 409) that were agitated in the apocalyptic literature developed from the seventh-century *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius* on (a useful synthesis is provided by Greisiger 2014), and revitalized in early thirteenth century (Lewy 2017, 93–96; Lewy 2018, 130–134), see for example in one of the recensions of the *Book of Clement* (Mingana 1931, 244), 'With him I have placed *Michael* the man of the golden sword and the holder of the spear'. We should also remind that around the years when Giovanni da Carignano might have written his *Tractatus*, there were attempts to establish an alliance between Mongols and Christians against the Muslims, see Jackson 2014, 173: 'Öljeitü's letter in 1307 was delivered by Tommaso Ugi of Siena, his *ildüchi* ("sword-bearer")'; Lewy 2017, 144 (also Lewy 2018, 198), 'Das Bündnisangebot der Gesandten des Ilchans Öljeitü (1304–1316), die 1307 Venedig mit dem "Schwertträger" des Ilchans Tuman (alias Tommaso Ugi di Siena) erreichten und sich in den Sommermonaten 1307 am päpstlichen Hof Clemens' V. aufhielten, steigerten womöglich die Hoffnung auf eine mögliche *recuperatio* und ermunterten Verfasser, Strategien eines neuen Kreuzzugs zu entwerfen'; or King David, whom Oliver of Cologne calls *malleus Asie* (see tr. in Andenna et al. 2009, 122–123, § 56; Lewy 2017, 112; Lewy 2018, 154). See also Knobler 2017, 9–29.

10 *He is Christian and is the most powerful lord in the world; he rules 74 crowned kings, and also more than 300 powerful barons. All these kings are Christian and baptized, except 12 kings who are Muslim and worship Mohammad.*] The figures concerning kings, barons, and muslim kings cannot be compared with any contemporary evidence or report, but the general idea, that the king of Ethiopia reigns over a certain number of other kings or rulers, belongs to the traditional representation of the kingdom and royalty, as described by travellers and as systematically reported for example by Ludolf 1681, Book II, Ch. i, §§ 23–24, and Book II, Chs xvii–xviii; see also Vycichl 1957, 200–201. Obviously, the most likely explanation here is to think of an influence from the letter of Prester John, see Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 185, §§ 9 and 13, and *ibid.* 195, § 73.

sub se LXXIII reges de corona, et ultra hoc habet plus quam CCC maximos barones; et sunt omnes isti reges christiani et baptizati, exceptis XII regibus qui sunt saraceni et adorant Bachometum.

15 Quando populi qui sunt sub regibus et principibus christianis baptizantur, statim post baptismum fit puero in fronte cum uno ferro calido unum signum, quod est signum proprium illius regis vel principis sub cuius dominio ille puer vel puella nata est. Et hoc fit ut quando sunt magni non possint fugere ad alium dominum
20 quin cognoscatur, et tunc potest repeti et domino suo restitui.

Ex hoc manifeste concluditur quod ille imperator Ethiopum christianorum est maior quam sit imperator christianorum occidentis, quia noster imperator non habet sub se nisi XXII reges de corona qui obediant ipsi vel ecclesie Romane. Insuper sunt alii reges
25 christiani qui non obediunt ecclesie Romane vel imperatori Romanorum, numero octo. Ergo reges christiani, tam obedientes ecclesie quam inobedientes, sunt in universo XXX reges christiani. Ergo ille imperator Ethiopum habet sub se LXII¹ reges de corona christianos, plures quam imperator Romanorum habeat; et ultra hoc habet
30 sub se XII reges sarracenos de corona.

APPARATUS TO THE TEXT | 373,28 ¹ The number is *XLII* in the manuscript, but the calculation requires a correction (the *reges* are seventy-four: obviously sixty-two Christian and twelve Muslim).

74 crowned kings, and also more than 300 powerful barons. All these kings are Christian and baptized, except 12 kings who are Muslim and worship Mohammad.

When people subjected to these Christian kings and princes are baptized, immediately after the baptism the child's forehead is marked with a symbol impressed by a hot iron; and this particular symbol specifically identifies the king or prince ruling the land where the boy or girl is born. They do so in order to avoid that, once grown-up, they escape to another lord: if it happens, fugitives can be recognized, captured and given back to their respective lord.

These facts clearly show that the emperor of Christian Ethiopians is more powerful than the emperor of Western Christians. Actually, our emperor rules no more than 22 crowned kings, who are subject to him or to the Roman Church; in addition, there are other eight Christian kings, who are not subject to the Roman Church or the Roman emperor; therefore, 30 Christian kings—both subject to the Roman Church, and not subject—are 30 in total. However, the emperor of Ethiopians rules 62 Christian crowned kings, more than the Roman emperor rules; in addition he rules 12 Muslim crowned kings.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 373,¹⁴ *When people subjected to these Christian kings and princes are baptized, immediately after the baptism the child's forehead is marked with a symbol impressed by a hot iron; and this particular symbol specifically identifies the king or prince ruling the land where the boy or girl is born.* [The branding as a baptism with fire of Christian Ethiopians is a well-known custom that early became a commonplace in descriptions of Ethiopians: the earliest evidence appears to be from the thirteenth century, by the *Magister* Thietmar, and with more certainty in Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina* (tr. in Andenna et al. 2009, 129–130, § 63; on the *Historia Damiatina* see also Smith 2013), who was in Egypt between 1218 and 1221, see Cerulli 1943–1947, I, 44, 51, 58 and *passim* for the later reports and evidences; on the passage of Oliver of Cologne see also Kelly 2015, 1233–1234. This branding, that consisted in a cross on the front and possibly of additional signs near the eyes and on the arms, was usually interpreted as a baptism with fire; Cerulli 1932, 28–33, however, on the basis of fifteenth-century literary sources, underlined, on the one hand, its meaning of consecration either to Saint Mary or to other saints and of rejection of pagan practices, and, on the other hand, its patent similarity with pagan practices as well as with the branding of slaves. While the last part of Galvaneus's passage on branding takes into account this latter possibility, the *Cronica universalis* appears to be the only source stressing the not unlikely meaning of tribal belonging associated with branding.

²¹ *These... 29 kings.*] This passage appears to be a comparative remark by Galvaneus de la Flamma.

Item est sciendum quod iste imperator continue pugnat contra sarracenos et ubique subiugat ipsos et prosternit, sed non obedit ecclexie Romane, quia inter nos et ipsum sunt sarraceni qui non permittunt aliquem ex eis ad | nos transire nec nos ad illos trans- Fol. 277vb
35 meare. Alia ratio qua re non veniunt ad nos est quia inter nos et ipsos non solum sunt sarraceni, imo sunt deserta maxima que in pluribus septimanis transiri non posunt, nisi homo portet secum cibum et potum super equos, tam pro se quam pro equis suis. Et illa deserta sunt plena arena subtilli quasi esset farina, et quando ventus
40 perflat in arena fiunt procelle, quasi ibi esset mare. Et si homo vel equus ibi caderet statim suffocaretur.

Hec scripta sunt in Tractatu de mappa Ianuensi quam composuit sacerdos Sancti Marchi de Ianua.

374. De papa christianorum Ethiopie qui est maior nostro.

Est in ipsa Ethiopia christianorum non solum imperator christianus, imo similiter est ibi et papa christianissimus, satis maior et potentior quam sit papa Romanus. Quod sic patet: dicitur enim in
5 Tractatu de mapa supradicto quod illi christiani habent unum pa-

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 373,30 *You have also to know, that this emperor continuously fights against the Muslims, and everywhere subdues and defeats them.*] This statement defines a generic condition and cannot be referred to any specific event. We know of course of the expedition against the sultanate of Ifāt led by King ʿAmda Šəyon in 1332 (see Marrassini 1993), as well as, from the very little we know, of a peaceful agreement, with subjection of a sultan to King Wəḍəm Raʿad, in 1299, first year of his reign (see the facts in Cerulli 1943, 281–284, based on a report of the Coptic writer al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī-ʿl-Faḍāʿil; and the quite arbitrary elaboration in Taddeesse Tamrat 1972, 130–132). In general, the relationships between Christians and Muslims in the Ethiopia of the time cannot be reduced to a chronicle of wars, conquests, and defeats. New perspectives towards a better understanding of the relationship between Christian and Islamic polities have been opened in particular by the recent archaeological investigations of Islamic settlements, see Fauvelle et al. 2017; see also the essays by A. Chekroun and B. Hirsch in Kelly forthcoming. It is however true that Christian Ethiopians in their encounters with the West are reported to portray themselves as the champions in the fight of the Muslims, usually because the issue is addressed by their interlocutors. See also below concerning the letter sent by the king of Ethiopia (§ 376). That the kingdom of Wəḍəm Raʿad marked a high point in the conflict is a hypothesis that cannot be necessarily corroborated with positive evidence; see Chiesa 2018, 94, n. 87, who refers to the different opinions of Salvatore 2010, 600–603, in favour of a strong anti-Islamic policy of Wəḍəm Raʿad, and the different view by Knobler 2017, 37; also Baum 2001, 135–136, and ‘Wəḍəm Rāʿad’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 1177a–b (M.-L. Derat).

You have also to know, that this emperor continuously fights against 30 the Muslims, and everywhere subdues and defeats them. Nevertheless, he doesn't obey the Roman Church, because Muslims are settled between us and him; they don't let anyone through, so there isn't anyone who passes from them to us, nor does anyone go from us to them. There is another reason why they don't come to us: between us and them there are not only 35 Muslims, but also vast deserts. The journey takes many weeks; travellers must carry on horseback things to eat and to drink, both for themselves and for the horses. These deserts are full of sand, thin as flour; when the wind blows on the sand, produces storms, almost as if there were a sea. If people or horses fall down, they soon suffocate. 40

All this is written in the *Treatise on the Map* of Genoa, provided by a priest of the church of St Mark in Genoa.

374. *About the pope of the Ethiopian Christians, who is more powerful than our pope is.*

In this Christian Ethiopia not only lives a Christian emperor: there is also a pope, perfectly Christian, far greater and more powerful than the Roman pope is. The evidence is as follows. The aforesaid *Treatise on the* 5

38 *These deserts are full of sand, thin as flour; when the wind blows on the sand, produces storms, almost as if there were a sea.*] The 'sea of sand' appears in the letter of Prester John, but it has a fabulous character that is completely alien to the text as it can be read in Galvaneus; see Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 189, § 31.

374,5 *The aforesaid Treatise on the Map says that the Ethiopian Christians have a patriarch, named Preytzan.*] On the legend of Prester John, see the informative overview, 'Prester John', *EAE*, IV (2010), 209b–216a (G. Fiacadori). The form 'Preytzan' reflects here quite closely the element *žān*, etymologically disconnected from the various vernacular forms of 'John' (Italian 'Gianni', French 'Jean', etc.), and related instead to a Cushitic root for 'elephant' that was eventually adopted also in Ethiopian personal names and in the address formula to the king, see 'Žanhoy', *EAE*, V (2014), 138b–140b (A. Bausi). The peculiarity and importance of this passage consists in the identification of the *Preytzan* ('Prester John') with the patriarch, as head of the Church, for which we do not have any parallel, since all other sources portray Prester John as *rex and sacerdos*. This identification of Prester John with the head of the Church could be due to the necessity of harmonizing the notion current at the time of an Ethiopian Prester John already placed in Africa—attested at the earliest since the mid-thirteenth century in the continuation of the *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium* dated between 1252 and 1295, see Cerulli 1943–1947, I, 77–79; also Fiacadori 2005, 45–48—with the quite distinct and concrete notion of a historical Ethiopian king as conveyed either by an embassy or by direct or indirect information. This passage therefore demonstrates the relative degree of independence of Galvaneus's (and Giovanni da Carignano's) narrative from the *Letter of Prester John*.

triarcham qui dicitur Preytzan et recognoscit papam Romanum esse dominum suum; et est paratus obedire, si posset ad nos venire vel nuntios mittere, sed non potest propter causas supradictas. Iste patriarcha habet sub se CXXVII archiepiscopos christianos, et qui libet archiepiscopus habet sub se XX episcopos; ergo sunt in universo inter archiepiscopos et episcopos MMVI^cLXVII.²

Ex hoc conicitur quod ille patriarcha habet episcopos sub se M et centum vel id circa plures quam habeat papa Romanus. Et hoc sic probatur, | quia in libro qui dicitur Pontificale ecclesie Romane Fol. 278ra
15 non inveniuntur, inter archiepiscopos et episcopos obedientes ecclesie Romane vel non obedientes, nisi VII^cLXXX vel id circa. Ex hoc manifeste concluditur quod christiani sunt plures ultra mare quam citra mare, et quod christiani sunt plures cunctis nationibus mundi, ut infra dicitur.

375. De ritu Ethiopum christianorum.

Ecclesie istius Ethiopie in multis locis sunt cohorte ex auro

APPARATUS TO THE TEXT | 374,11 ² The number is *MMVI^cXLVII* in the manuscript, but the calculation requires a correction ($127 \times 21 = 2667$). However, in contrast to what we said in the previous paper (Chiesa 2018, 74), the number of the bishops reported by the manuscript of the *Chronica universalis*, namely XXI, must be wrong: the calculation is right with the number 20 ($127 \text{ archbishops} + [127 \times 20] \text{ bishops} = 2667$). Foresti reports the number 20, and this is supposed to have been the reading of the source (Giovanni da Carignano's *Tractatus de mappa*). The number 21 is assumed to be a mistake either by Flamma or by the copyist Ghioldi.

Map says that the Ethiopian Christians have a patriarch, named Preytzan, who accepts the Roman pope as his lord; he readily would obey him, if he could come or send his ambassadors to us; yet he can not, for the aforesaid reasons. This patriarch rules 127 Christian archbishops; every archbishop rules 20 bishops;² therefore archbishops and bishops are 2667 in total. 10

From these numbers we deduce that the patriarch rules about 1100 bishops more than the Roman pope rules. That is quite clear, because the book entitled *Pontificale of the Roman Church* records only around 780 archbishops and bishops, including both those who obey the Roman Church and those who do not. We obviously conclude that there are more 15 Christians across the sea than on this side, and that Christians are the largest nation in the world, as we will say.

375. *Rituals of the Christian Ethiopians.*

In several places, the churches of this Ethiopia are covered by pure gold.

APPARATUS TO THE TRANSLATION | 374,10² See the apparatus to the text.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 374,7 *who accepts the Roman pope as his lord;*] The primacy of Rome, the see of Peter, is rooted in the pseudo-apostolic literature and from this transmitted to the Copto-Arabic and Ethiopian canon law; see the so-called apocryphal *Canons of the Council of Nicaea* (Mauro da Leonessa 1942, 48 (ed.), 76 (tr.)), ‘Canone 37° – Del numero dei patriarchi. – Nel mondo quattro siano i patriarchi (come) quattro sono i fiumi, quattro i venti, quattro le operazioni dell’uomo. Poichè questo quattro è consistenza del mondo tutto. E tra essi chi eccelle sia il titolare della cattedra di Pietro di Roma, come comandarono gli Apostoli’.

9 *This patriarch rules 127 Christian archbishops; every archbishop rules 20 bishops; therefore archbishops and bishops are 2667 in total.*] As is well known, there was no patriarch for Ethiopia at the time, since the Ethiopian Church depended from the Patriarchate of Alexandria as a consequence of the early establishment of an episcopate at Aksum held by Frumentius, who was appointed by Athanasius, in the mid-fourth century, according to the narrative by Rufinus (for which see below, § 375). The Ethiopian Church was formally ruled by a metropolitan (*pāpās*), see Munro-Hay 1997; Munro-Hay 2005; ‘Pappas’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 113a–114b (S. Kaplan). The only explanation for this notice is either an exaggeration influenced by other sources or the equation of other ranks and functions, such as that of abbot and others, to the rank of archbishop and bishop. Moreover, the *Letter of Prester John* is very likely to resonate here, see Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 195, § 74. An emulative exaggeration from an Ethiopian source could also not be excluded.

11 *From... 17 say.*] Also this passage appears to be a comparative remark by Galvaneus de la Flamma.

purissimo. Baptizant illi sacerdotes suos parvulos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, sicut facit ecclesia Romana. Cellebrant sicut et nos, hoc excepto quia dicunt Pater Noster ante elevationem corporis Christi. Sacerdotes portant semper ad collum unum orarium plicatum; dyacones portant orarium extensum ante et retro in brachio sinistro; subdyacones semper portant manipulum in brachio sinistro. Et omnia ista fatiunt ut cognoscatur differentia inter

- 375,2 *In several places, the churches of this Ethiopia are covered by pure gold.*] Extremely refined and decorated churches are well known from this time, but there is no evidence of golden roofs in church buildings. This passage also belongs to exaggeration, emulation, imagination, or contamination from other sources. See a parallel from the *Letter of Prester John*, Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 192, § 57.
- 375,3 *Priests baptize children in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, as the Roman Church baptizes.*] Even in this case, it is for us not easy to determine which was exactly the baptismal formula used at the beginning of the fourteenth century and try to assess the reliability of this statement. For an overview see ‘Baptism’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 468b–470b (E. Fritsch and U. Zanetti), that focuses on the present-day practices and gives (p. 469a) the formula used today, that is ‘N.N., I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit’. One of the oldest sources on baptismal liturgy is the ritual in MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Et. 4 (fols 123ra–144ra for baptism and fols 143ra–147vb for the confirmation), an undated manuscript hypothetically going back to the fourteenth century on palaeographic grounds and once preserved in the convent of Santo Stefano dei Mori. This manuscript was used as a basis for the *Modus baptizandi, preces et benedictiones quibus Ecclesia Ethiopum utitur* published along with a Latin translation by Tasfā Šeyon in 1549, later republished by Grébaut 1927–1928, 108–131 (text of the baptismal ritual, from fols 122ra–143ra of the manuscript), and 155–184 (translation). The formula occurring in the translation of the *Modus baptizandi* (‘Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Paracliti. Amen’) is in fact an adapted translation of the Gəʿəz text (p. 131, ll. 774–778, fol. 142rb of the manuscript: አጠምቀክ፡ በሰሙ፡ አብ፡ አሜን፡ ፡ ወካዕበ፡ ይብል፡ ፡ አጠምቀክ፡ በሰሙ፡ ወልድ፡ አሜን፡ ፡ ወሥሉስ፡ ይብል፡ ፡ አጠምቀክ፡ በሰሙ፡ ሙንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፡ ጳጳሱ፡ ጳጳሱ፡ አሜን፡ ፡), as clearly remarked by Grébaut (1927–1928, 183 and n. 2): ‘Ici Tasfâ-Šeyon n’a pas traduit littéralement le texte. Voici la traduction littérale de la forme éthiopienne du sacrement de Baptême: *Baptizo te in nomine Patris. Amen. Baptizo te in nomine Filii. Amen. Baptizo te in nomine Spiritus Sancti Paracliti. Amen.* Il est évident que Tasfâ-Šeyon a voulu se rapprocher de la forme latine: *Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*’. Yet a more matching evidence is provided by the most ancient *Baptismal Order* (*Šərʾata təmqat*) known so far, that is transmitted within an undated manuscript of the so-called *Aksumite Collection* that almost certainly predates the thirteenth century and contains late antique materials. The *Baptismal Order* is also found in a refurbished form in the manuscripts of the standard canonical liturgical collection, that is the *Sinodos* (for all details see Bausi 2006, 60 on the *Baptismal Order*; Bausi forthcoming; further references on the *Aksumite Collection* in Bausi and Camplani 2016,

Priests baptize children in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, as the Roman Church baptizes. The ritual of the Holy Mass is the same as ours, except for their saying the ‘Our Father’ before the Eleva- 5 tion of the Body of Christ. Priests wear a folded tippet around their necks; deacons wear a tippet, extended front and back on their left arms; subdeacons always wear maniples on their left arms. They dress like this to point

249–264). The corresponding passage on the names of the Trinity is found in the manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection* on fols 42vb–43ra, with the usual linguistic and palaeographic features, አጥምቀክ፡ (sic pro አጠምቀክ፡) በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ መንፈስ፡ ወበበ፡ አሐዱ፡ አስማቲሆሙ፡ ለቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ ይበል፡ ዘይጥመቅ፡ (sic pro ዘይጠመቅ፡) አሜን፡, “I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit”, and for each of the name of the Trinity let the one who is being baptized say: “Amen”. If this was the formula still in use in the early fourteenth century, there is a broad but not a complete correspondence with the Roman formula: the Ethiopian formula does not mention the Paraclete, like the Roman one, but intercalates the ‘Amen’ after each person of the Trinity. Evidence based on eyewitnesses dates only from the sixteenth century: an acute observer of the rite of baptism was Alvares, who was in Ethiopia in the years 1520–1526 (see for example Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, I, 109–110).

4 *The ritual of the Holy Mass is the same as ours, except for their saying the ‘Our Father’ before the Elevation of the Body of Christ.*] The liturgy of the mass in the Ethiopian tradition still prescribes the ‘Our Father’ before the Elevation as described here, see the detailed analysis in ‘Qəddasē’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 271a–275b (E. Fritsch), where (p. 274b) the ‘Our Father’ holds place no. 65 in the ritual sections and the Elevation-Invocations (‘Epiclesis’) has no. 71, that is, it does not immediately precede it; similar considerations in Beckingham 1989, 342, n. 15, based on information provided by Roger W. Cowley. For the passage quoted *ibid.* by Beckingham, from Góis 1540, 77–78 (n.n.), *pro qua quadam missa, nullum precium aut mercedem accipimus, in quo ministerio sacramentum Eucharistiae non ostenditur, ut hic video fieri*, see text and translation in Uhlig and Bühring 1994, 133 and 255. See also Fritsch 2019 for the earliest Gəʿəz liturgical documents attributed to the late antique period, that did not yet prescribe the ‘Our Father’.

6 *Priests wear a folded tippet around their necks; deacons wear a tippet, extended front and back on their left arms; subdeacons always wear maniples on their left arms.*] The veracity of this description is likely, but positive evidence is lacking since it is difficult to compare it in detail with any Ethiopian *Realien*. The tippet can be certainly identified with the special way in which the *šammā* is worn: ‘The distinctive mark of the priest’s C[lothing] is the way the *šammā* is worn: it is draped around the shoulders and either drawn up over the chin or down over the head leaving only the eyes exposed’, see ‘Clothing: Ecclesiastic vestments’, *EAE*, I (2003), 761b–763b (Merdassa Kassaye), here p. 762a: it is however difficult to further distinguish the details in subdeacons’ clothing. There is no doubt that this kind of details could have interested much Giovanni da Carignano as a priest.

10 eos, et homines seculares fatiant eis reverentiam secundum ipsorum statum et ordinem.

Habent in maxima reverentia beatam Virginem, et beatos apostolos Petrum et Paulum, et beatum Iohannem Baptistam, et beatum Paulum primum heremitam, et beatum Antonium, et abbatem
15 Macharium, et omnes alios heremitas qui fecerunt penitentiam in partibus illis. Item habent in magna reverentia omnes apostolos et

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 375,11 *They most worship*] Some, but definitely not all, of the venerated Christian characters who are here mentioned obviously belong to the core of the common Christian belief and heritage. It is possible, however, to discern, for each of them, substantial supporting evidence that allows to determine the reliability or the respective traditions reported, all fitting in the very beginning of fourteenth-century Ethiopia.

the Holy Virgin,] The special veneration of Saint Mary in the Ethiopian Church is well known; see for an overview, with further references, ‘Mary’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 808a–b (Getatchew Haile); ‘Mary: Mariology’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 808b–811b (Getatchew Haile and D. Nosnitsin); ‘Mary: Church and popular veneration of St. Mary’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 811b–814a (U. Zanetti); ‘Mary: Marian literature’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 814a–817b (Getatchew Haile and D. Nosnitsin). It is usually believed that the high point of Mary’s veneration dates from the period of King Zar’a Yā’qob (r 1434–1468), who is also the author of liturgical reforms that attributed a special role to Marian readings. The corpus of Marian literature, however, probably included also Greek-based texts that could have been current at the time, before the massive introduction of new translations from the Arabic: among the former, there is a recension of the *Covenant of Mercy*, see ‘Kidānā məhrāt: Māṣṣafā kidānā məhrāt’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 396b–397b (S. Weninger), that belongs to a Byzantine nucleus of Marian literature, see Cerulli 1957.

out their different roles, and to induce lay people to honour them according to their degrees. 10

They most worship the Holy Virgin, the Apostles Peter and Paul, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Paul the first hermit, Saint Antony, Saint Macarius, and all other hermits who did penance in that land. They greatly worship

Saint John the Baptist,] The devotion towards John the Baptist in the Ethiopian Church, as shown by the abundant literary tradition, is extremely rich, see an overview in ‘John the Baptist: John the Baptist in Ethiopian literature’, *EAE*, III (2007), 288b–291b (A. Bausi). The Baptist is commemorated also in the most ancient homilies, although no positive evidence of translations from Greek has emerged so far.

12 *Saint Paul the first hermit,*] Paul the first hermit, and especially Antony and Macarius, with Pachomius, not mentioned here, are considered by Christian Ethiopians the direct ancestors of the earliest Ethiopian monks and monastic genealogies trace back to them the origin of the monastic practice in the country (see for example Lusini 2004, 255, 256, 258, and *passim*). The *Life of St Paul the first hermit* probably belongs to the earliest stock of Gəʿəz translations (see for this Bausi 2017), carried out not later than the sixth-century (see Pereira 1903; 1904). The witness by Galvaneus would be important in that it attests, at a time—early fourteenth century—when we assume that the body of monastic literature was still considerably limited, the precise awareness and importance of this only heritage.

Saint Antony,] Like Paul the first hermit, there is a large consensus that even the Gəʿəz version of the *Life of Antony* belongs to the earliest layer of Gəʿəz literary tradition and in all likelihood depends on a Greek *Vorlage*, see Leloir 1984; Zarzeczny 2013; Witakowski 2015. A recently discovered single-leaf fragment from the *Life of Antony* (portion corresponding to MS London, British Library, Or. 692, fol. 141vb, l. 28 to fol. 142rb, l. 9) with very archaic palaeographical features, likely to be dated previous to the thirteenth century, confirms this assumption.

Saint Macarius,] Like Antony, his disciple Macarius has a fixed role in Ethiopian monasticism. The Ethiopic hagiographical dossier on Macarius is still little studied (see Toda 2007, who has investigated Arabic and Arabic-based models). A specific investigation of the textual dossier on Macarius, that will also clear the date of the creation or translation of texts, is presently carried out by M. Ambu within the framework of a dissertation project at the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, on Egyptian and Ethiopian Monasteries (13th–16th centuries): textual, iconographical and monastic circulations.

spetial|ter beatum Matheum, quia ipse primo predicavit Ethio- Fol. 278rb
 piam; item illum eunuchum regine Candacis quem beatus Philipus
 baptizavit, quia ipse fuit primus episcopus ipsorum.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 375,14 especially Saint Matthew, because he was the first to preach in Ethiopia;] The tradition attributing the conversion of Ethiopia to the preaching of Saint Matthew first appears in the central text on the Christianization of Ethiopia, that is Rufinus's *Historia ecclesiastica*, X, 9 (see Schwartz and Mommsen 1908, 971, ll. 22–25): *In ea divisione orbis terrae, quae ad praedicandum verbum dei sorte per apostolos celebrata est, cum aliae aliis provinciae obvenissent, Thomae Parthia et Matthaeo Aethiopia eique adhaerens citerior India Bartholomaeo dicitur sorte decreta*. The tradition was eventually developed in the apocryphal *Passion of Matthew* of Pseudo-Abdias (CANT 270; BHL 5690; Conti Rossini 1928, 145, for a brief dismissal of the reliability of the tradition; Thélamon 1981, 55–60), but does not appear in the Ethiopian narratives of Christianization, even though Rufinus's text, through Socrates, is at the basis of all Gəʿəz texts on Frumentius (see Marrassini 2014, 59–74; Villa 2017). A cautious and sound explanation would be to attribute this statement on Matthew in connection with the Christianization of Ethiopia to the perusal of western Latin sources (from Rufinus and/or Pseudo-Abdias, see Alibert et al. 2005, 812–813 and *passim*): this latter became early common knowledge (see the sources from the early thirteenth century collected by Cerulli 1943–1947, I, 60, in a passage of Jacques of Vitry, and 87, on Burchard of Mount Sion, and later frequently repeated) and was eventually developed in early modern times, first in Portugal and eventually in South America, into the devotion of Matthew's disciple, Iphigenia (or Ephigenia, see Sauget 1966) from the Pseudo-Abdias's collection, coupled with the Ethiopian saint 'Elesbao', that is, Kāleb, as a pair of Ethiopian 'black saints' (see Pereira de Santa Anna 1735–1738; Oliveira 2008; Faü 2015). In the unlikely hypothesis that the tradition reported by Galvaneus derives directly from Ethiopian reports, one could explain the repetition of a passage on the Apostles, after the mention of Peter and Paul, as a misunderstanding of Matthew with Saint Maṫāʿ, or Saint Libānos, who was one of the evangelizers of northern Ethiopia, see 'Libanos', *E Ae*, III (2007), 558b–560b (A. Bausi); or that the so far unparalleled tradition of Matthew as an evangelizer of Ethiopia has to be explained through the influence, ultimately exerted by Rufinus, through one of his Greek continuators, like Socrates of Constantinople, eventually translated into Gəʿəz (see Périchon and Maraval 2004, 190, ll. 5–9, Ἡνίκα οἱ ἀπόστολοι κλήρω τὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορείαν ἐποιούντο, Θῶμας μὲν τὴν Πάρθων ἀποστολὴν ὑπεδέχετο, Ματθαῖος δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, Βαρθολομαῖος δὲ ἐκληρούντο τὴν συνημμένην ταύτῃ Ἰνδίαν), and later lost (this would not be without parallels, difficult to justify in this case, though).

also all the Apostles, especially Saint Matthew, because he was the first to preach in Ethiopia; the same for Queen Candaces's eunuch, who was converted by Saint Philip, because he was the first bishop of them.

15 *the same for Queen Candaces's eunuch, who was converted by Saint Philip, because he was the first bishop of them.*] The reconnection of Candace with Ethiopia goes back to Acts 8:26–40, where is narrated the episode of the meeting of the Apostle Philip with the eunuch of Queen Candace: this is the New Testament episode that most clearly mentions an 'Ethiopian' and 'Ethiopia' as well, in the general sense current at the time (see Thélamon 1981, 57–58; misguiding in some points is the entry 'Candace', *EAE*, I (2003), 679a–680a (R. Grierson and S. Munro-Hay); Marrassini 2014, 38–41). Another matter, of course, is to establish what was meant precisely, but it is a fact that Candace was the name of the queen of Meroe. Besides the Latin *Passion of Matthew* of Pseudo-Abdias, §§ 3–4, that mentions an Ethiopian eunuch, whose name was Candace (see Alibert et al. 2005, 816–817), also lists of Apostles and disciples (see Dolbeau 2005; Dolbeau 2012b; recently Guignard 2015; Guignard 2016) attest this traditional connection of the episode with Ethiopia: among these lists the most ancient so-called *Anonymous List I*, in MS Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LI (49), fols 156v–157v, has a counterpart also in an Ethiopian text certainly relying on a Greek model (see Bausi 2012b, 46, n. 19, Gəʿəz text on p. 62, § 19); here follows an English translation of the Gəʿəz text: '16. Qirəsqis was in the land of Galātyā. The eunuch of Kandake, queen of ʾItyopyā, in the land of ʾArābiyā, that is land of Gəbš, and in ʾAprobane, in the island, in the region of ʾItyopyā: here he became martyr', that matches very well the Latin text, here in its own orthography: *Crescens gallia eunuchus Candaces reginae ethiopum arabia felici et taprobana insula quae in mare rubro est, et sermo tradit quod martyr ibi fuerit* (Turner 1913, 64, ll. 15–19, with text largely reconstructed). There is no reason, however, to think that in Galvaneus this tradition relies primarily on Ethiopians' reports. The tradition is a firm point in the earliest Ethiopian traditions of Christianization, see for example the long and complex narrative on the religious history of Ethiopia in early fifteenth-century Giyorgis of Saglā's *Book of the Mystery* (see Yaqob Beyene 1990, 116–120 (ed.), 70–72 (tr.)), where however the eunuch is not a bishop. It regularly occurs in the reports collected from Ethiopians in the fifteenth century, where the episode is immediately put in connection by the Ethiopians themselves with traditions on the Queen of Sheba: see in particular the reports to Flavio Biondo from the Ethiopian delegation to the Council of Florence in 1441 (on the several versions, see Cerulli 1933b, 351–354; a further vulgar version is published in Cardini 1972; see also Cardini 2014). What in fact is to be taken very seriously in this narrative by Galvaneus and presumably in his source as well, is what it does not contain, that is, any reference to the Queen of Sheba. In fact, we know that the most complex form of the tradition on the Queen of Sheba, but also that for which we have the earliest evidence, is the *Kabra nagāst*, or *Glory of Kings*, the creation/translation of which is placed on sound grounds in the time range 1314–1322 (see 'Kəbrä nāgāst', *EAE*, III (2007), 364a–368a (P. Marrassini); Bausi 2016, 96–107), that is, after the arrival of the hypothetical Ethiopian embassy in Europe.

376. De littera quam scripsit imperator Ethiopum regi Yspanie.

Imperator istius Etyopie imperii, in signum quod sit christianissimus, portat vexillum album, et in medio vexilli est crux rubea, et in quolibet quadro vexilli est una stela rubea. Sigillum eius habet sic scriptum: ‘Magnus imperator Etyopum orientis servus crucis

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 376,1 *The letter which the emperor of the Ethiopians wrote to the king of Spain.*] See the overview ‘Spain, relations with’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 717b–719a (W. Smidt), to be corrected in some points though, since (as pointed out by Samantha Kelly, whom we thank for this) no letter addressed to a ‘king of Spain(s)’ is known so far. For the earliest phase of the first half of the fifteenth century, see details in Garretson 1993. Concerning the understanding of the title of ‘king of Spain’ (with thanks to Rodrigo García-Velasco, contacted on 18 June 2019): sometimes kings did invoke the term ‘Hispania’ to gesture at a peninsula-wide authority they did not actually possess; they did so under the title ‘*imperator totius Hispanie*’ (followed by ‘*rex*’ with reference to their respective domains). Conversely, allusions to ‘*rex Hispanie*’ during the Middle Ages only appear in texts written by foreigners. On the use of the title of ‘*imperator totius Hispanie*’, see Sirantoine 2012. For more general overviews of this complex issue, see Maravall 1954 and Maravall 1967.

3 *The emperor of this Ethiopian empire has a white flag with a red cross in the middle, meaning that he is very Christian; a red star is drawn in each quadrant of the flag.*] The mention of an Ethiopian flag as reported by the *Cronica universalis* by Galvaneus, if true, is by far the earliest attestation of an Ethiopian flag. The history of the Ethiopian flag has been sketched by Chojnacki 1963; 1969; and 1980–1981 (there is regrettably no specific article in the *EAE*), but the information for the period preceding the sixteenth century, when indirect evidence is provided by a few royal chronicles and by travellers, is almost completely absent. Unverified traditions (as reported in Morié 1904, 37–39) are not reliable, as rightly pointed out by Chojnacki 1963, 52, who concludes that ‘banners’ were already known before the chronicles of the sixteenth and the documents of the seventeenth centuries, but are not mentioned before (*ibid.*), and Ethiopians used banners, probably imperial, at the beginning of the seventeenth century when there was a strong Jesuit influence at the court of King Susānyos (r 1609–1632): James Bruce described the banners which were characteristic of eighteenth-century Ethiopia as ‘a globe surmounted with a cross and fixed on a staff to which a piece of cloth in the form of a swallow tail was attached’ (Chojnacki 1980–1981, 36–37). The hypothesis of a late emergence of any flag is stated also by Haberland 1965, 294 (‘Fahnen, Standarten oder andere Feldzeichen waren dem Süden ebenso wie dem Norden ursprünglich fremd’). Even the supposed earliest mention of a flag (‘*alamā*’) in the *Chronicle of Galāwdewos*, Ch. 72 (see now Solomon Gebreyes 2019, 83 (ed.), and 49 and n. 253 (tr.), § 167), appears to refer to the ‘insignia’ of the Muslims. Contrary to what is stated by Haberland 1965, 123, red is not necessarily the ‘royal colour’ attributed by Alvares to royal tent and umbrella, see Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, II, 413, where ‘red tents [...] are only pitched for great festivals or receptions’.

376. *The letter which the emperor of the Ethiopians wrote to the king of Spain.*

The emperor of this Ethiopian empire has a white flag with a red cross in the middle, meaning that he is very Christian; a red star is drawn in each quadrant of the flag. On his seal is written: 'The great emperor of Eastern 5 Ethiopians, servant of Jesus Christ's cross'. In every letter he sends, he

5 *On his seal is written: 'The great emperor of Eastern Ethiopians, servant of Jesus Christ's cross'.]* Like for the flag, this is by far the earliest attestation of the mention of an Ethiopian royal seal; it would antedate by two centuries the earliest one, recorded in the article 'Seals', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 585a–587a (E. Sohler), with further references, for the period preceding the sixteenth century.

6 *In every letter he sends, he draws three red crosses at the top, and other three red crosses at the end. His letters are closed with a golden seal.]* Like for the flag and the seal, even for the protocol of royal letters very little is known previous to the sixteenth century, see 'Epistolography', *E Ae*, II (2005), 340b–342a (S. Chernetsov), where the influence of Arabic epistolography in this respect is stressed. Yet, as also Pankhurst 1973, 179–181 remarks, 'The influence of Christianity led to the apparently fairly common practice in Ethiopia of beginning letters with some form of representation of the Cross. An early letter, written by Lebna Dengel's son, Emperor Gälawdéwos (1540–1559) to King João III of Portugal in 1543, and now housed in Lisbon, begins with an intricate and fully representational drawing of the Crucifixion. Drawings of this kind, no other example of which is extant, required both time and artistic skill, and therefore presumably could only have been used for communications of unusual importance. The superscriptions of epistles of lesser moment must therefore have necessitated simpler representation of the Cross'. The two earliest preserved examples date from the mid-fifteenth century. MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. et. 2, fols 3ra–4vb, contains a letter sent in his eighth year of reign (1442) by King Zar'a Yā'qob to the monastic community of Jerusalem. The letter was first published and translated into Latin by Ludolf 1691, 301–304 (see also full transcription and Latin translation in Grébaut and Tisserant 1935–1936, I, 779–781); the intertwined horizontal banner (*harag*) that opens the first page culminates in three crosses. An almost coeval document, albeit not a royal letter, that has the same kind of decoration—three knots in form of three crosses within an intertwined banner—is the letter sent by the Abbot Niqodemos to Pope Eugenius IV and dated to 11 October 1440. The letter is preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cassetta Cesarini, Doc. XVII (accessible online under the 'Documenti del Concilio' at <http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaRicerca/index.jsp>, identifier: IT:FI0100_Documenti_Concilio_17, see Baldi 2017, 299–300, no. 10, who also remarks 'Sul margine superiore una fascia (mm 40 × 210) con decorazione riservata, a inchiostro nero con tre croci a intreccio' and that the letter was folded once vertically and thrice horizontally, '1 piegatura verticale e 3 orizzontali'). The document was published and studied by Cerulli 1933a, 57–80 ('I. La partecipazione etiopica al Concilio di Firenze del 1441 e due bassorilievi del Filarete'), who observed that the 'documento ha il numero XVII ed è segnato col numero 8 (anticamente 300)' (Cerulli 1933a, 58, n. 2, with facsimile

Christi Yesu'. In omnibus suis litteris in principio facit tres cruces rubeas et in fine littere facit alias tres cruces. Et sigillat litteras suas aurea bulla.

Ipse enim anno domini MCCC scripsit litteras istius tenoris, 10 quas portaverunt XXX ambaxiatores. Littera in principio habuit tres cruces rubeas, postea dicebat sic: 'Fratri nostro magno regi Yspanie christianorum occidentis, imperator Ethiopum christianorum orientis sclavus crucis Yesu Christi, salutem et gaudium. Tibi scribo tamquam fratri, recognoscens quod ex uno patre Adam nati 15 sumus et quod ex uno fonte baptismatis renati summus. Quia ergo multipliciter fratres sumus, scilicet secundum naturam et secundum gratiam, ideo debemus alter alterius onera portare, sicut dicit apostolus Paulus, ut sic adimpleamus Christi legem. Unde nos tibi significamus quod, sicut tu es spata christianorum occidentis, ita et 20 nos summus spata christianorum orientis. Et quia ego extirpavi sar-

on p. 65, fig. 2, Gəʼəz text on pp. 61–63, ancient Latin translations on pp. 63–64 and 66, and Italian translation on pp. 66–68). The correct date of the letter, that presupposes a textual emendation, was established by Tedeschi 1983. The text of the letter is republished in Raineri 2003, 33–34 (letter no. 5, with facsimile from Cerulli 1933a on p. 33), with a few bibliographic complements, and the translations (from Cerulli 1933a) in Raineri 2005, 24–31 (letter no. 5). See also 'Florence, Council of', *EAE*, II (2005), 554a–555a (A. Martínez). One can also observe that three red Chi-Rho christograms (☩) frequently appear at the end of the *Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus* in Ethiopian Gospels (for the Ethiopic version of the *Epistle*, see Bausi 2015).

376,9 ad 1300, he wrote a letter of this kind, which was brought by 30 ambassadors of him.] Errors in dates and figures are not uncommon in the manuscript of Galvaneus's *Cronica universalis* and this date should therefore be taken with great caution. Moreover, it was more the rule than the exception that letters delivered from Ethiopia to Europe dated from years earlier. In this case, the time range from the writing of the letter up to its delivery by the embassy would fall within the period of reign of the most likely candidate, that is King Wəḍəm Raʿad (r 1299–1314). Well known case is that of two 1524 letters of King Ləbna Dəngəl brought by Francisco Alvares, as an ambassador of the king of Ethiopia, to Pope Clement VII: the letters were finally delivered to their addressee nine years later at Bologna, in Paolo Giovio's Latin translation. Ləbna Dəngəl also returned to Clement VII on that occasion the exemplar of the Bull of Union *Cantate Domino* promulgated in 1442 at the Council of Florence that had been sent by Pope Eugene IV to King Zarʾa Yāʿqob, in whose archives 'it had been kept "unchanged" (*incorruptum*) until then', as stated in the *Legatio David Aethiopiae Regis...* (Bononiae apud Iacobum Remolen Alostensem, 1533), *in nostris archivis proavi nostri* ('in the archives of ours, of our great-grandfather'); on all this,

draws three red crosses at the top, and other three red crosses at the end. His letters are closed with a golden seal.

AD 1300, he wrote a letter of this kind, which was brought by 30 ambassadors of him. This letter had three red crosses at the top, then said so: 'To our brother, the great king of Spain, king of the Western Christians, I, the emperor of the Ethiopians, the Eastern Christians, servant of Jesus Christ's cross, wish health and happiness. I write to you as to a brother, in acknowledgment that we both were born from the same father, Adam, and we both were reborn through the same fount, the baptism. Since we are 15 brothers for several reasons, both in nature and in holy grace, consequently we must carry each other's burdens—as Apostle Paul says—in order to fulfil the law of Christ. Therefore, we inform you that we are the sword of Eastern Christians, as you are the sword of the Western Christi-

see 'Archives and libraries: I. Archives', *E Ae*, V (2014), 244a–248a (G. Fiaccadori), esp. p. 247a.

10 *This letter had three red crosses at the top,*] For the three crosses at the top, see above.

'To our brother, the great king of Spain, king of the Western Christians,] The question of the role taken here by a 'king of Spain', identified as 'king of the Western Christians', is probably to be connected with the role assigned to 'someone who would come from Spains', prompted by late apocalyptic Copto-Arabic literature (first of all in the so-called *Book of Clement*, alluded to by Jacques of Vitry and Oliver of Cologne, see tr. in Andenna et al. 2009, 123–124, § 57; Lewy 2017, 101–105; Lewy 2018, 139–147) widespread during the Crusade of Damietta, that had substantial reflexes also in the West. The merit of establishing this connection first goes to a short note by Conti Rossini 1921, who commented a passage from the *Chronicon S. Martini Turonense* (MGH, *Scriptores*, 26 (1882), 468, l. 3, *ad annum* 1221; see also Lewy 2017, 115, n. 491; Lewy 2018, 157, n. 512; see also Andenna et al. 2009, 37–38), regarding the unsuccessful expedition to Cairo, and reporting the mood and expectation of the legate of the Pope, Cardinal Pelagius, who had been deeply impressed by the reading of an apocalyptic book: *Movebat eum precipue liber quidam ab ipso inter manubias hostium repertus, in quo continebatur, quod lex Marchometi sexcentis annis tantummodo duraret menseque Iunio expiraret, et quod de Hyspaniis veniret qui eam penitus aboleret; et ideo legatus, qui de Hyspaniis natus erat, illum librum verissimum estimabat.* The importance of this historical context for the development of the Prester John myth had been well considered already by Zarncke 1876, 5–22. On the *Book of Clement*, see 'Qālemāṅṅos', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 251b–253b (A. Bausi), with further references; Roggema 2007; La Spisa 2014; Lewy 2017, 40–82; Lewy 2018, 134–139; and on the subsequent European tradition, see Lewy 2017, 83–175; Lewy 2018, 139–169.

17 *we must carry each other's burdens—as Apostle Paul says—in order to fulfil the law of Christ.*] Cf. Gal. 6:2, *alter alterius onera portate*, in the *Vulgata* version, without any special variant in the Gəʿəz version (see Maḥari Tərfe 1955/1956, 403).

racenos de latere meo, et XII reges sarracenorum gladio subiugavi,
 et multos | ad Christi fidem converti et baptizari feci, et modo in pace vivo et quiete, audiens quod multas habes guerras cum sarracenis tuis, ideo tibi mitto quod conscideres si per aliquam viam, per
 25 mare aut per terram, possum tibi mittere subsidium, et ego tibi prestabo magnum succursum. Bene valle in Christo'. Ista littera in fine habuit tres cruces rubeas et erat sigillata aurea bulla. Rex autem Yspanie tunc temporis mortuus erat et nichil ulterius actum est. Tunc supradicti XXX ambaxiatores, invento quod rex Yspanie ob-
 30 ierat, iverunt Avinionem ad pappam Clementem, qui ipsos docuit dicere missam Romano <more>,³ videlicet dicendo Pater Noster post elevationem corporis Christi, et multas litteras rescripsit illi imperatori Ethiopie.

Postea ipsi XXX embaxiatores iverunt Romam visitare corpora
 35 apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Postea iverunt Ianuam et ibi in scriptis

APPARATUS TO THE TEXT | 376,31 ³ *more* is lacking in the manuscript.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 376,23 *I invite you to consider if I can send to you some kind of support, by land or by sea; I am able to do that, and it could be a great help to you.*] The quite questionable ability of the king of Ethiopia to send support even by sea is rooted in the received Ethiopian medieval tradition of the Ethiopian sixth-century expedition in South Arabia, as retold in the *Martyrium Arethae*, the translation of which from an Arabic model is probably to be dated at the latest to the second half of the thirteenth century. The tradition surfaces also in the report on the interview of the Ethiopians on the occasion of the Council of Florence in 1441, as written down by Flavio Biondo, in Cerulli 1933b, 350–351 (from Nogara 1927, 26–27, § 47): *Interrogati an rex eorum, requisitus a summo pontifice tamquam Christi vicario, immissa exercituum quos habet tantis parte, Saracenos Hierosolyma et Sacrae Telluris civitatibus atque locis, in quibus tam multa Deus Homo pro humani generis salute fuerit operatus, pelleret, responderunt: eum procul dubio quicquid pontifex iusserit effecturum; et, ut etiam id exemplo suaderent, auditum nobis alias factum naraverunt: in proxima regno Aethiopum insula fuisse regem Iudaeorum gentis potentissimum, qui Christianos ita cohabitantes, sicut Iudaeos nobiscum facere nunc permittitur, ferro et omnimoda crudelitate ad occidionem trucidari curavit; Constantinopolitanumque imperatorem, ea horribili clade audita, ad regem Aethiopiae dedisse litteras ignaviam exprobrantes, quod, qui tam potens esset, deletae ab hoste impurissimo gentis christianae iniuriam negligens non sumeret ultionem; et commotum Aethiopem, ingenti in Iudaeum adducta classe, illum cum tota gente simili internecone ita delevisse, ut nullos in hodiernum diem Iudaeos ea insula aut proximae habeant regiones.* For the Gəʿəz version of the *Martyrium Arethae* and related Ethiopian traditions, see Bausi

ans. I eradicated Muslims from my side, I subjugated with the sword 12 Islamic kings, I converted many people to the Christian faith, and I had them baptized. Now I live in peace and quiet; but I heard that you are at war with your Muslims. Therefore, I invite you to consider if I can send to you some kind of support, by land or by sea; I am able to do that, and it could be a great help to you. Our salutations in Christ'. The letter ended with three red crosses, and was closed with a golden seal. However, at that time the king of Spain was dead, and nothing more was done on this matter. When the ambassadors knew that the king of Spain was dead, they went to Avignon to Pope Clement; the Pope taught them to celebrate mass according to the Roman rite, namely saying the 'Our Father' after the Elevation of the Body of Christ, and he wrote many letters to the emperor of Ethiopia.

Then the ambassadors went to Rome in order to visit the graves of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Then they went to Genoa, where they left a writ-

and Gori 2006, 103–110; Bausi 2010; Bausi 2012a, xv–xvi; ample information on all sources in Marrassini 2014, 83–178.

- 25 *The letter ended with three red crosses, and was closed with a golden seal.*] For the three crosses and the seal, see above.
- 26 *However, at that time the king of Spain was dead, and nothing more was done on this matter.*] This passage provides a chronological constraint for the date of the embassy and would place it after the death of Ferdinand IV of León-Castile (7 September 1312). See Chiesa 2018, 93.
- 28 *When the ambassadors knew that the king of Spain was dead, they went to Avignon to Pope Clement;*] This passage provides a second chronological constraint for the date of the embassy and would place it between the time Pope Clement moved the papal seat to Avignon in 1309 and his death on 20 April 1314. Combining this and the former constraint would give us a time range for the whereabouts of the embassy around Avignon between a *terminus post quem* of 7 September 1312 and a *terminus ante quem* of 20 April 1314. This does not exclude that the embassy could have started before and ended later.
- 29 *the Pope taught them to celebrate mass according to the Roman rite, namely saying the 'Our Father' after the Elevation of the Body of Christ,*] Concerning the position of the 'Our Father' in the Mass, see above.
- 31 *he wrote many letters to the emperor of Ethiopia.*] If these letters were actually written, we do not have any evidence for them, as is the case for other letters and documents. We have however indirect evidence that preservation of foreign correspondence in archives was a current practice in the fifteenth century at the latest, see above (§ 376, concerning the letter sent by the king of Ethiopia).
- 34 *Then... 36 here.*] This is a key passage that states that everything that is written 'here' (*hic*) depends on a written report of the ambassadors. We may doubt that this is true and the question has also to be posed as to what exactly 'here' means.

dimiserunt multa de factis sue contrate, et illa omnia que nunc scripta sunt hic. Postea iverunt ad sanctum Iacobum de Galitia. Inde per mare redierunt in regionem suam.

377. Quod soldanus sarracenorum est subditus christianis Ethiopie.

Hic imperator christianus Ethiopie bellum indixit soldano sive imperatori saracenorum et misit ei quosdam babuinos doctos ar-

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 377,2 *The Christian emperor of Ethiopia waged war to the sultan, that is, the emperor of Muslims.*] Concerning the motif of the war against the Muslims, see above (§ 373).

3 *He sent against him some baboons trained to shoot arrows by bows, and said: 'I will gather an army of such baboons only, by which I will defeat you and all your army in the battlefield.'*] The first thought concerning this passage is that it could reflect the folkloric motif of the 'Army of apes' (Thompson 1975, no. B268.1, 'Army of apes. Hindu: Keith 128; India: Thompson-Balys; Chinese: Werner 328 (monkeys)'), that is literally canonized in the Indian *Rāmāyana* (many thanks to Cinzia Pieruccini for this information). If not, it might to some extent reflect, expand on, and exaggerate some points of a true report, if we consider, on the one hand, the role played by monkeys in Ethiopian cultural history, where they function 'as an emblematic symbol for certain ethnic units', see 'Monkey(s): Cultural history', *EAE*, III (2007), 1003a–1004a (D. Bustorf), here 1003a; and, on the other hand, the well-known usage of applying names of animals to special military corps. We know that this latter practice is early attested since the fourteenth century, with a few examples that could surface already in the Aksumite period: see *dāken* and *dāk^wen*, 'elephants' or 'troops on elephants' in two inscriptions of King 'Ezānā, RIÉ 187, ll. 21 and 24, and RIÉ 188, l. 10 (see Marrassini 2014, 227 and 229); see 'Army: The army of the Aksumites', *EAE*, I (2003), 347a–348a (S. Munro-Hay); and the *tak^wālā*, 'jackals', mentioned in the *Chronicle of 'Amda Šəyon* (see Marrassini 1993, 64, 65 and 109, 110, in this latter passage glossed as 'the strong (ones)'); see 'Military units and organization: II. Military units and organization until the 19th cent.', *EAE*, V (2014), 430b–433b (R. Pankhurst and A. Martínez d'Alòs-Moner). Arcers are also known from the same *Chronicle* (Marrassini 1993, 112, 113 and 116, 117). An interesting document from the first half of the sixteenth century issued by King Ləbnā Dəngəl (r 1508–1540) evokes events from the time of 'Amda Šəyon, when the king deployed particularly brutal and merciless troops consisting of *halastyotāt*: see Conti Rossini 1909, 30–31, no. 29 (ed.); Conti Rossini 1910, 36, ll. 6–10 (tr.), 'et afin que l'orgueil de leur cœur fut brisé et leur gloire couverte de honte, il établit sur leur pays *des êtres* qui n'appartenaient pas à la famille d'Adam et Ève, qui s'appelaient *halastyotāt* ou, en langue tigrāi, *ahbāy* (*singes*)'; text of the gloss (p. 31, ll. 5–6): ሐላስቲዮታት ፡ ወበነገረ ፡ ትግራይ ፡ አሀባይ ፡ 'halastyotāt and in the language of Təgrāy (i.e. Təgrəññā) "monkeys"'. On the document and the episode see also Taddesse Tamrat 1972, 73–74, who interpretes the gloss as meaning 'bastards of mixed or low origins' and thinks of special corps intended to establish a military

ten report on many facts of their country, including everything is written 35 here. Then they went to Saint Jacob in Galicia; then returned home.

377. *The sultan of the Muslims is subject to the Christians of Ethiopia.*

The Christian emperor of Ethiopia waged war to the sultan, that is, the emperor of Muslims. He sent against him some baboons trained to shoot

colony, as was customary in similar cases. If the meaning of *halastyo* (singular) in context is indisputable in the quoted passage, quite different is for its etymology and range of meanings: Dillmann 1865, 67a gives that of ‘onager’, ‘wild ass’ attested in ancient translations like the Bible, but he also reports from Hiob Ludolf’s informant °Abbā Gorgoryos and travellers as well, ‘*simiae* speciem, anglice *baboon*’. Besides the Bible, the term also occurs in the Greek-based Gəʿəz version of the *Physiologus*, still for ‘onager’, see Hommel 1877, 8, 38 (ed.), 54, 92 (tr.), Chs IX and XLV; translation also in Conti Rossini 1951, 23 and 49, ‘asino selvatico’, corresponding to two Greek chapters πρὸ ὀνάργου; see now also Zambon 2018, 80–81 and 116–117, Chs IX, ‘asino selvatico’, and XLVI, ‘scimmia’ (*hobay*). The meaning of ‘monkey’ is however confirmed by a passage from a miracle (no. 8) appended to the *Life of Libānos*, see Bausi 2003, 55, § 228 (with further references in the annotation): ‘Un *halasteyo* entrò per la finestra della chiesa e prese dell’olio che usavano per l’illuminazione, volle mangiarne e morì all’istante—lo *ha<la>steyo*, che nella lingua di Aksum si dice: *wa<āg>* (piccola scimmia)—lo tirarono fuori dalla chiesa e lo appesero dove chiunque veniva lo potesse vedere’. The passage also occurs in the Gəʿəz–Amharic edition of the text, *Gadla °Abuna Libānos* 2014–2015, 135, where it is also added that the animal ‘took with its hands the oil that they used for the illumination’, and *halastayo* is rendered with the Amharic *toṭā*, ‘monkey’. In the *Life of Buruk °Amlāk* Conti Rossini 1938, 9 (text on p. 44, l. 18) rendered it with ‘cinocefali’. Obviously, the connection with the narrative in Galvaneus’s text is not so immediate, but there is the possibility that at the basis of the narrative there is the usage of a special name of troops. What is to be further stressed is that the expectation of a king provided with fierce troops able to effectively fight against the Muslims is also related to the apocalyptic context emerged following the Crusade of Damietta, see again the *Chronicon S. Martini Turonense* (MGH, Scriptores, 26 (1882), 468, ll. 4–7; also Lewy 2017, 113, n. 484; Lewy 2018, 155, n. 504; Conti Rossini 1921, 34), *Ex alia parte Acconensis episcopus publice predicabat, quod David rex utriusque Indie ad Christianorum auxilium festinabat, adducens secum ferocissimos populos, qui more beluino Sarracenos sacrilegos devorarent*. The quite different motif of mythological arcers, derived from Solinus, is present in the Latin letter of Prester John, see Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 186, § 14. Similarly, one of the Hebrew letter to Prester John (Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 60–61, §§ 140–141) mentions ‘some nation which have the body of a man but the head is like the head of a dog’ (in Hebrew, *m°wmb ḥt šš lhm nwf °dm °p hr°š šhy° kmw r°š klb*), identified with the ‘cynocephali’, but there is no context indicated for the deployment of such corps.

5 chubus sagitas iacere; et dixit: 'Ex his babuynis tantum exercitum
 congregabo quod te cum toto tuo exercitu in campo superabo'.
 Soldanus autem, nimis perterritus, statuit ei tributum singulis an-
 nis, et inter alia promisit christianos Ethyopie sine omni | tributo Fol. 278vb
 ad Christi sepulcrum libere accedere, quod usque hodie servatur.
 10 Et sic patet quod imperator sarracenorum est tributarius christia-
 norum.

Cum autem quadam vice embaxiatores istius imperatoris ad sol-
 danum venirent pro tributo recipiendo, et crucem Christi ante se
 deferri facerent, et introytu civitatis crux propter porte depressio-
 15 nem ingredi non posset nisi inclinaretur, embaxiatores crucem no-
 luerunt inclinare. Unde oportuit quod porta civitatis frangeretur,
 et sic crux erecta intravit ad locum ubi soldanus erat. Et istud fuit
 signum maxime servitutis sarracenorum ad christianos Ethyopie.
 Omnes autem peregrini Ethyopie qui ad Christi sepulcrum vadunt
 20 portant unam crucem ferream in manu, et in fronte habent unam
 crucem factam cum uno ferro calido.

378. Quod Ianuenses iverunt in Ethyopiam.

Non solum ex ipsis ad nos pervenerunt supradicti embaxiatores,
 imo etiam ex nostris aliquando ad ipsos transierunt, prout ipsi
 XXX embaxiatores in civitate Ianuensi narraverunt. Certum est
 5 enim quod anno Domini MCCLXXX due gallee Ianuensium, in

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION | 377,5 *The sultan was frightened; he payed an annual trib-
 ute, and promised (amongst other things) that Christians of Ethiopia could go free to
 the graveyard of Christ, without any fee—a rule enforced until now.*] The tradition
 concerning the power of the king of Ethiopia to impose a tribute on Egypt was wide-
 spread and well known both in Egyptian and Ethiopian sources; starting from the
 fourteenth century it is connected with the legend on the power of the king of
 Ethiopia to block or divert the course of the Nile, see Cerulli 1932, 33–37, and before
 him Guidi 1926, 360 and 366; Pankhurst 2000; 'Nile: The Nile in history: imagination
 and exploration', *E Ae*, III (2007), 1178b–1181a (W. Smidt), esp. pp. 1178b–1179a; We-
 ber 2016; and Weber 2019. Extensive documentation is collected by Cerulli
 1943–1947.

10 *It happened once that the ambassadors of the Ethiopian emperor went to the sultan in
 order to collect the tribute. Some men carried a cross before them.*] These traditions
 have an extremely precise counterpart in the report of Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who
 travelled to Jerusalem in 1345–1347 (Cerulli 1943–1947, I, 132–133, doc. no. 18):
 'Quelli d'India e di Tiopia sono tutti a una fede, ma quelli d'India sono molti pochi gli
 Cristiani; ma quelli di Tiopia sono grande generazione e sono tutti neri. Questa gene-
 razione sì ama più noi Cristiani Franchi che nulla altra generazione e volentieri si con-

arrows by bows, and said: 'I will gather an army of such baboons only, by which I will defeat you and all your army in the battlefield'. The sultan was frightened; he payed an annual tribute, and promised (amongst other things) that Christians of Ethiopia could go free to the graveyard of Christ, without any fee—a rule enforced until now. Therefore, it is clear that the emperor of Muslims is subject to the emperor of Christians.

It happened once that the ambassadors of the Ethiopian emperor went to the sultan in order to collect the tribute. Some men carried a cross before them. When they arrived in front of the walls of a city, they find the gate was too small to get the cross through without bending it. The ambassadors did not want to bend it; therefore, the city gate was demolished, and they were able to bring inside the cross, upright, until to the sultan. This was a sign of the high bondage of Muslim to Christians of Ethiopia. All Ethiopian pilgrims who go to the graveyard of Christ carry in their hands an iron cross, and have a cross in their foreheads, carved by a hot iron.

378. *The Genoese went to Ethiopia*

Actually, not only Ethiopian ambassadors came to us, but also some of us once went to them, according to what was reported in Genoa by those 30 ambassadors. No doubt that AD 1290 two galleys [sailed] from Genoa,

giungerebano con noi Latini, ma lo Soldano di Babilonia non lassa mai passare nullo Latino verso loro solamente perchè non trattino di fargli guerra. Ma questi di Tiopia passano e vengono in Egitto, e in Terra di Promissione senza pagar tributo al Soldano e possono portare la croce scoperta per tutta Saracina, et anca entrano nel Santo Sepolcro senza pagare tributo; che nulla gente ae questa grazia, se non costoro di Tiopia; e questo si fa lo Soldano e intesi che lo fa per paura, imperò che lo signore di Tiopia è lo maggiore Signore del mondo'. These motives frequently reappear in other later sources (for example Philippe of Mézières, Cerulli 1943–1947, I, 156–157, and others). In the Latin letter of Prester John, Ullendorff and Beckingham 1982, 191, § 47, crosses are brought by the marching army.

17 *All Ethiopian pilgrims who go to the graveyard of Christ carry in their hands an iron cross, and have a cross in their foreheads, carved by a hot iron.*] See again the parallel in Niccolò da Poggibonsi's report above, followed by the remark on the branding (Cerulli 1943–1947, I, 133, doc. no. 18): 'e lo loro batesimo si fanno col ferro caldo; uno segno in fronte'.

378,1 *The Genoese went to Ethiopia*] There is no evidence from Ethiopian sources corroborating the reliability of this narrative. The facts reported in this last paragraph are partially mentioned only by few Genoese sources, see Chiesa 2018, 100–107. No parallels at this moment are found in Ethiopian sources.

quibus erant plus quam VI^c viri christiani et aliqui clerici <...>⁴; et
ipsarum galearum admirati sunt dicti Ubertus de Savigono et
[...]⁵. Hii transierunt per strictum Yspanie et navigantes mare
Athlanticum pervenerunt ad Ethiopiam que est ultra equinoctia-
10 lem. Et cum deficerent eis | victualia, descenderunt ad terram et Fol. 279ra
cuncta que inveniebant diripiebant, eo quod fame perirent; et capti
fuerunt et ducti sunt ad imperatorem Ethyopie supradictum; qui
audito quod essent christiani et subditi ecclexie Romane, ipsos li-
benter vidit et multum ipsos honoravit et posuit eos in magnis offi-
15 tiis. Et numquam redierunt Ianuam, quia per mare non fuerunt au-
si redire propter pericula que nullus homo poset cogitare; nec per
terram potuerunt redire quia sarraceni sunt in medio, qui totis viri-
bus prohybent quod christiani non vadant in Ethiopiam nec
Ethyopes veniant ad nos, timentes ne ligam facerent contra sarrace-
20 nos, quia sarraceni omnes essent mortui. Embaxiatores supradicti
imperatoris Ethyopie qui fuerunt in Ianua, qui viderunt ipsos Ian-
uenses in Ethyopia, ista narraverunt.
Explicit ystoria Ethyopie.

APPARATUS TO THE TEXT | 378,6 ⁴ A verb (supposedly meaning ‘to sail’) lacks in
this sentence. | 8 ⁵Blank space in the manuscript (about twenty letters).

with more than 600 Christians and some clergymen on board; commanders of the galleys were Ubertus de Savigono and [...]. These men went through the strait of Spain, and sailing the Atlantic Ocean reached the Ethiopia which lies south of equator. When lacking food, they landed and plundered the country, robbing whatever they found because of starving. Then they were arrested and brought to the emperor of Ethiopians. When he knew that they were Christian and subject to the Roman Church, he welcomed them and gave them many honours and high offices. They did not come back to Genoa, because they did not dare facing the inconceivable dangers of sea return; neither they could come back by land, because Muslims are in the middle: they prevent with all their forces both Christians going to Ethiopia, and Ethiopians coming to us, because they fear both could make an alliance against them, and they all would be destroyed until dead. The ambassadors of the Ethiopian emperor who were in Genoa saw these Genoese in Ethiopia and reported such pieces of information.

Here the Ethiopian History ends.

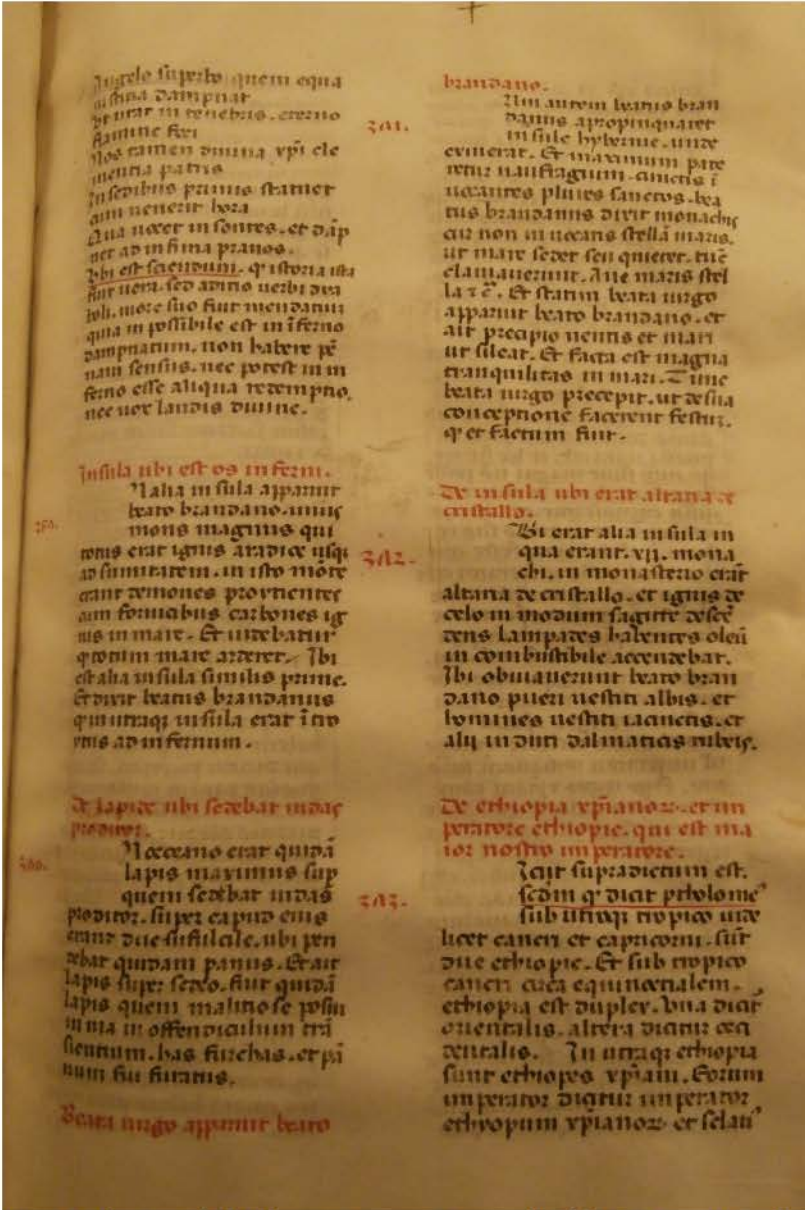


Fig. 1 Galvaneus de la Flamma, *Cronica universalis*, fol. 277r (private collection, with kind permission of the owner).

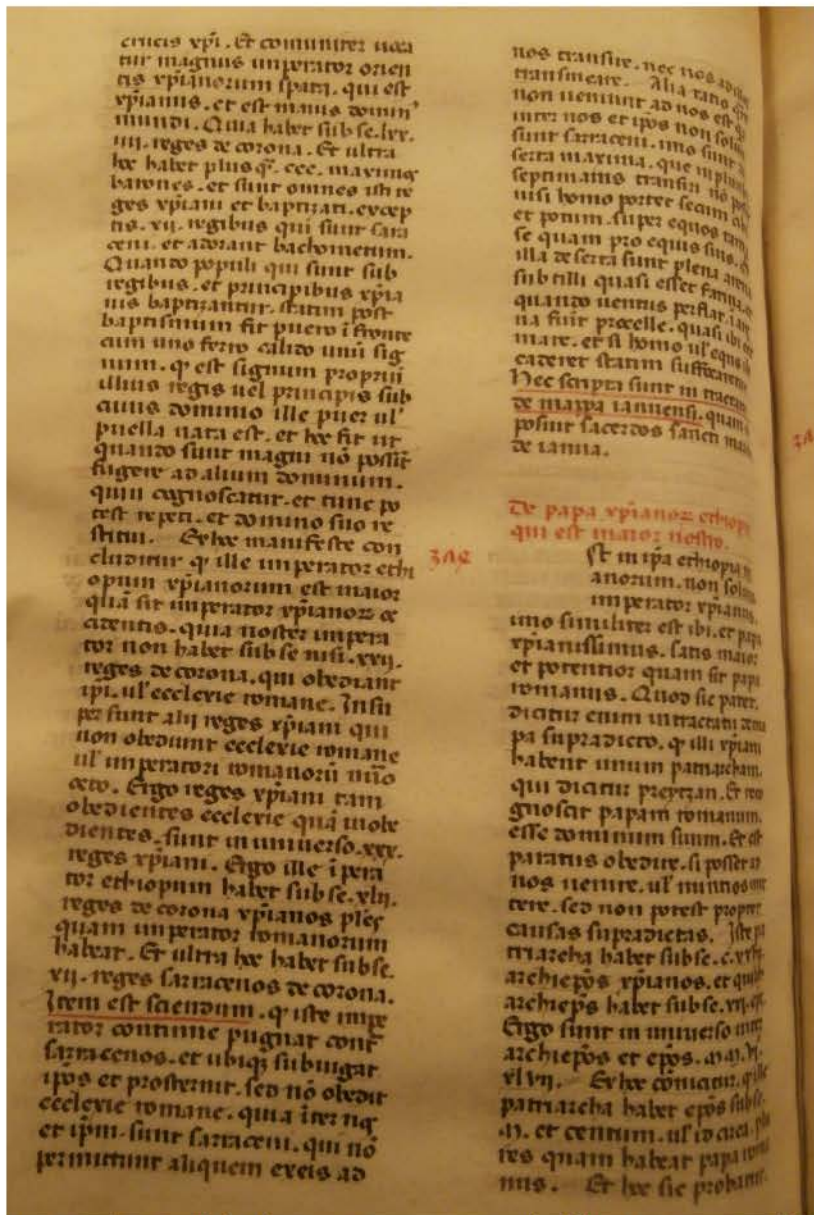


Fig. 2 Galvaneus de la Flamma, *Cronica universalis*, fol. 277v (private collection, with kind permission of the owner).

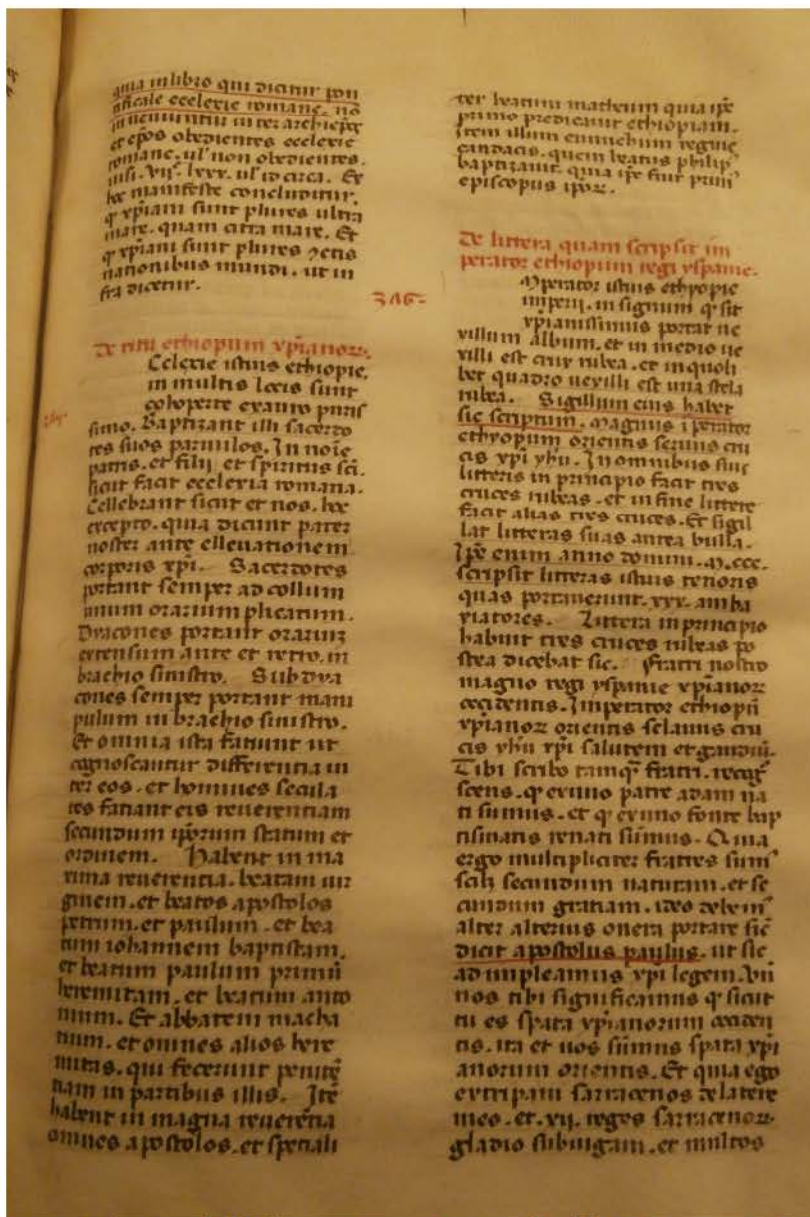


Fig. 3 Galvaneus de la Flamma, *Cronica universalis*, fol. 278r (private collection, with kind permission of the owner).

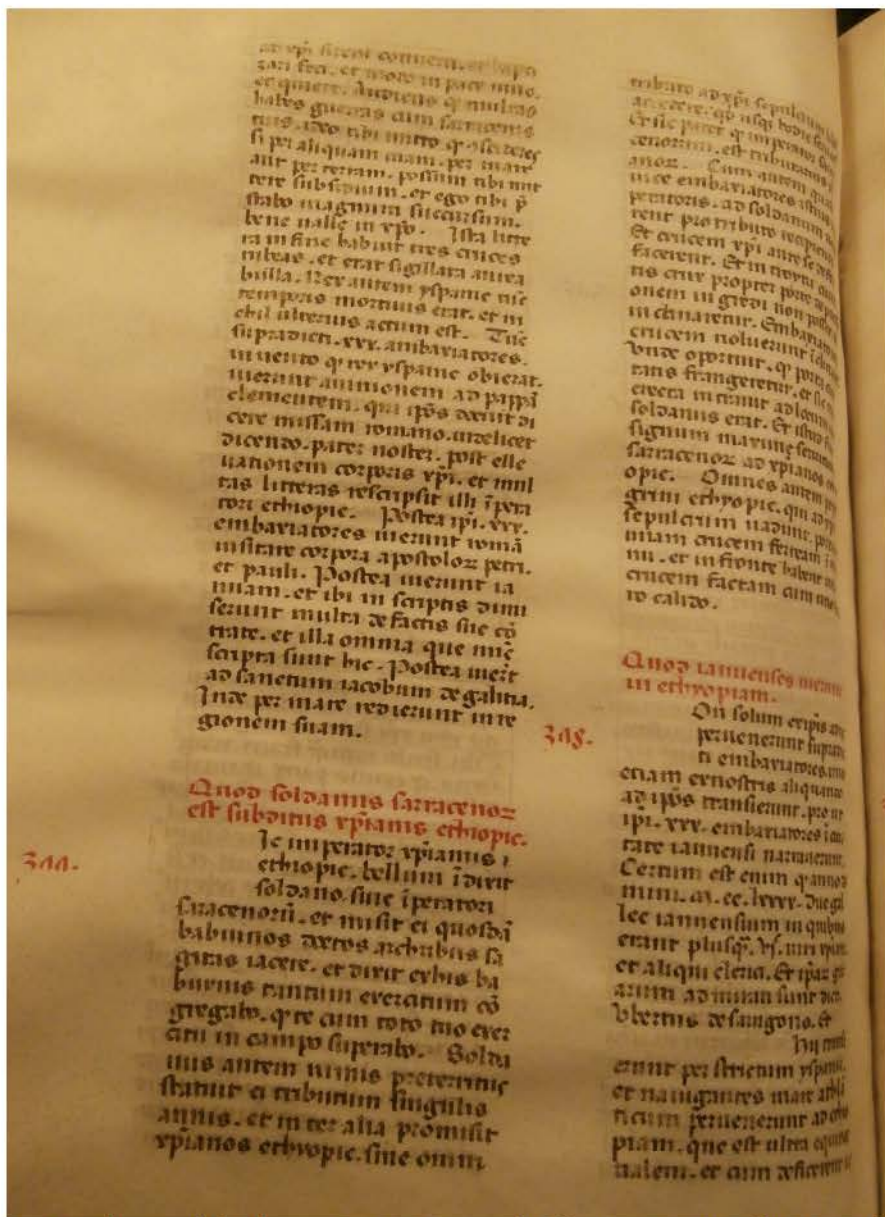


Fig. 4 Galvaneus de la Flamma, *Cronica universalis*, fol. 278v (private collection, with kind permission of the owner).

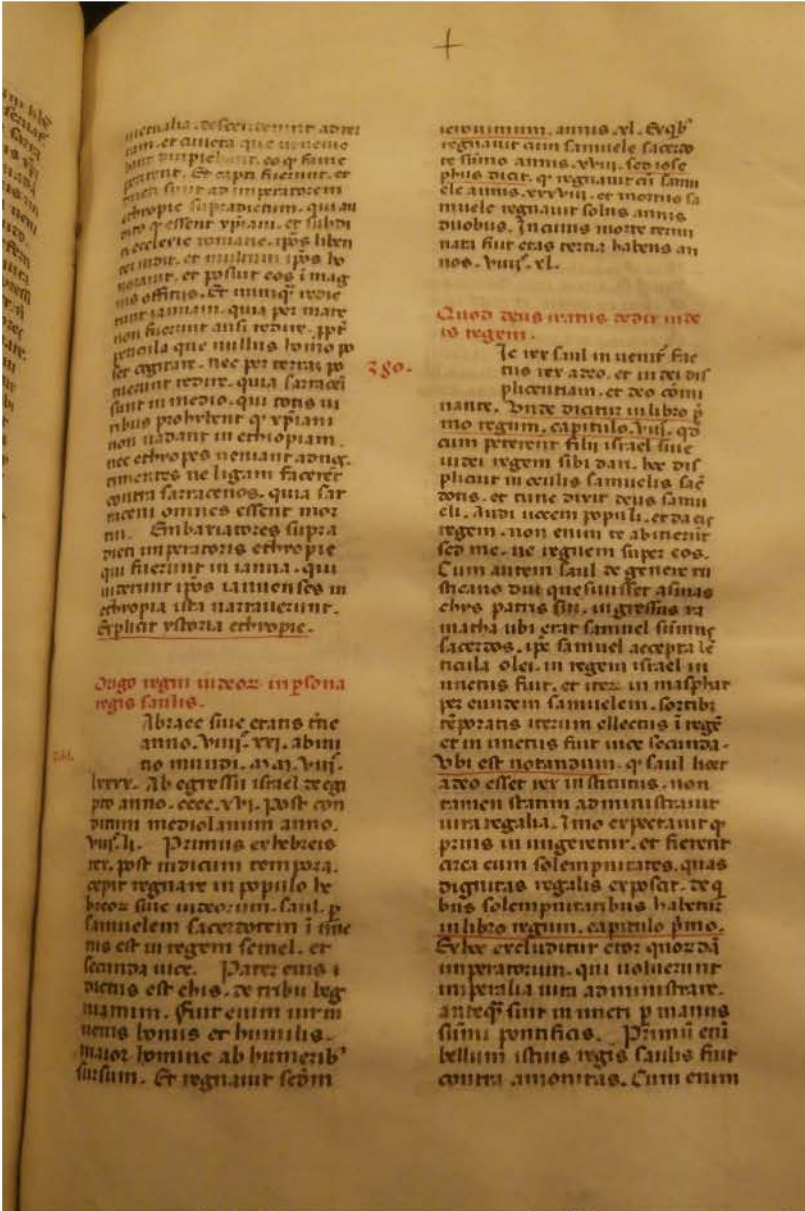


Fig. 5 Galvaneus de la Flamma, *Cronica universalis*, fol. 279r (private collection, with kind permission of the owner).

A Few Concluding Remarks

If the epilogue of the section on Ethiopia in the *Cronica universalis* can be framed within the Genoese *mythopoiesis*, it remains to be assessed whether we can take as an ascertained historical fact the event that is central in Galvaneus's *Ystoria Ethyopie*, that is, an Ethiopian embassy to a king of Spain, eventually diverted to Pope Clement V, who visited Rome, Genoa, and even Saint Jacob in Galicia. Against the historical reliability of the embassy there is not only the absence of any mention in the papal archives that corroborates its historicity,¹⁶ but also several features of the purported Ethiopia of the time,¹⁷ as it emerges depicted from the narrative, that, on the one hand, patently do not all match what we know of early-fourteenth century Ethiopia, and, on the other hand, appear to resonate ideas and sources that we are able to some extent to identify precisely. Therefore, we can take for granted that Giovanni da Carignano's claim (as we assume was truly reported by Galvaneus) of basing his section on Ethiopia on a true account redacted in Genoa by the Ethiopian ambassadors—'everything' that 'is written here' depends on 'a written report on many facts of their country' (*ibi in scriptis dimiserunt multa de factis sue contrate, et illa omnia que nunc scripta sunt hic*, § 376)—must be taken at best as a generous approximation. Moreover, Giovanni da Carignano's work, his *Tractatus de mappa*, must have naturally invited to gather geographically related information from different provenience and sources, from classical authors of antiquity to contemporary reports and eyewitnesses. Among the literary discernible influences there is certainly a version of the *Letter of Prester John*. Less visible, but also discernible in Galvaneus's text, are ideas related to an Ethiopian salvific king, as retold in the Coptic-Arabic apocalyptic literature in vogue at the time of the Fifth Crusade (or Crusade of Damietta, 1217–1221) and reflexes of which later reached Europe. It is only in this literature, to our knowledge, that the expectation of 'someone from Spain' who will abolish the Muslim faith is reported, in a European source though. Paradoxically, one cannot even exclude that such ideas also influenced Ethiopians in turn, in Ethiopia or possibly on their way to Europe, which would explain the surprising redaction of a letter addressed by a king of Ethiopia to a king of

¹⁶ See Chiesa 2018, 91–95, where the absence of any records from the papal court concerning the embassy is tentatively explained, without concealing the problem, with the vacancy between the death of Clement V (20 April 1314) and the election of his successor John XXII (7 August 1316).

¹⁷ Chiesa 2018, 95–100; single points are considered in the commentary to the translation.

Spain. Yet, we know definitely too little of the Ethiopian international diplomacy of the early fourteenth century, presumably at the time of King Wädəm Ra'ad, to be able to say more on the framework in which such an embassy would have taken place.

Once said this, the Ethiopia described by Galvaneus (and we assume, that of Giovanni da Carignano as well) still retains a precise body of detailed information on liturgical customs, religious traditions, possibly on the royal protocol, that are not easy to explain disregarding the possibility that they derive from direct or indirect Ethiopian sources or informants and even reflect authentic *Realien*. As the notes to the translation try to demonstrate, since we lack parallel sources and since this document is the earliest to report apparently reliable information on Ethiopia, disentangling the genuine from the non-genuine is highly risky and uncertain.

A sound assessment on the embassy narrative should state that there is no conclusive positive evidence of its indisputable reliability, even though if not the presence, the voice at least, and some echoes of Ethiopians' words and thoughts must have been directly or indirectly conveyed to Giovanni da Carignano, as we can read them in Galvaneus's *Cronica universalis*. At this early date the image of the Ethiopians on the European scenes was already subject to several layers of ideological construction and influenced by contradictory identifications and explanations: Galvaneus's (and Giovanni da Carignano's) Ethiopia has definitely a Prester John who is not a king, but a patriarch, in the attempt to solve contradictions with a sustainable compromise keeping together different ideas current at the time. Some of these ideas or some details might have originated within a strictly Ethiopian context and been unduly extended to a wider scenario, through pilgrims' and travellers' reports: this is a path of investigation that deserves to be properly explored in further researches to come.

Abbreviations

BHL = Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, I: A–I; II: K–Z, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 6 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1900–1901).

CANT = Geerard, M., *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

EAe = S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: A–C; II: D–Ha; III: He–N; in cooperation with A. Bausi, ed., IV: O–X; A. Bausi in cooperation with S. Uhlig, ed., V: Y–Z. *Supplementa. Addenda et Corrigenda. Maps. Index* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).

GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>, accessed on 1 July 2019.

ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search, accessed on 1 July 2019.

MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*, <https://www.dmgh.de/>, accessed on 1 July 2019.

RIÉ = É. Bernand, A. J. Drewes, and R. Schneider, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite, Introduction de Fr. Anfray*, I: *Les documents*; II: *Les Planches* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1991); É. Bernand, id., III: *Traductions et commentaires*, A: *Les inscriptions grecques* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2000).

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Summary

The section named *Ystoria Ethyopie* in the *Cronica universalis* written by Galvaneus de la Flamma (d. c.1345) depends, according to the writer's statements, on a *Tractatus de mappa* whose author is easily identifiable as Giovanni da Carignano (d. c.1330), who drew a famous planisphere of the Mediterranean area. The *Tractatus de mappa*, as quoted by Galvaneus, reports surprising pieces of news about the Ethiopia of the time and in particular on an event which has been known so far only by a later and generally disregarded source, namely the *Supplementum cronicarum* of Giacomo Filippo Foresti (first edition 1483): the supposed embassy sent by an *imperator Ethiope* to Western Europe at the time of Pope Clement V, that would be the first diplomatic contact between these two areas in the Middle Ages.

The Latin text of the *Ystoria Ethyopie* is edited with an annotated English translation that intends to provide a detailed critical assessment of the document. If no conclusive evidence in favour of the existence of the embassy emerges and the depiction of Ethiopia in the *Ystoria Ethyopie* appears to be in several passages influenced by contemporary ideas and expectations, there is no doubt that reliable information on early-fourteenth-century Ethiopia was directly or indirectly conveyed to Giovanni da Carignano, as we can read it resumed in Galvaneus's *Cronica universalis*.