International Journal of Ethiopian Studies

The Ideology of Shebanization and the Birth of the Ethiopian Nation (13th - 16th century)

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This article is an inquiry on the medieval political ideology of Ethiopia that we call the Shebanization, which inspired the birth of the Ethiopian nation. This ideology was based on the national epic of Kəbra Nagast (Glory of Kings) that narrates the legendary visit of Queen Sheba to King Solomon (971-931 BC) of the Bible. It gives the Judaic origin to both the church and the state of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia. It highlighted the unity of the Christian kingdom under the promised Land of Ethiopia in the model of Israel. This legendary origin was intended to defend the widely spreading Muslim kingdoms that threatened to dominate the fragmented Christian polities. The Christians were limited in the narrow highlands of the Northern Ethiopia and part of Eritrea. The legend revitalized and united these Christian polities and strengthened them to confront the expanding power of Islam in the Horn of Africa. Eventually, it allowed them to establish intended unity and they created an unprecedented powerful kingdom in the Horn of Africa. This paper proposes how the shebanization process interrelated the multicultural peoples of the Horn to forge the birth of the Ethiopian nation in medieval period.

Key words: Ethiopia, Ideology, Muslim kingdoms, Shebanization

Introduction

The concept of *Shebanization* (አዜባዊነት) is rarely the object of scholarly research. A few, like Ethiopian medievalist Sergew Hable Selassie and Taddesse Tamrat, perceive it as *Sabaeanization*, founded on the migration of

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The *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (ISSN: 1543-4133) is published two times a year by **TSEHAI** Publishers | www.tsehaipublishers.com | Copyright © 2020 | Volume XIV, Number 1&2

the Sabaean people from South Arabia with advanced political systems and agriculture. They argue these Sabaean roots created a cultural conformity in the northern part of Ethiopia.[1] It is supposed that Sabaean people migrated and settled in northern part of Ethiopia around 1000 BC. Archaeologists attribute the beginning of Ethiopian civilization with the economic, religious, and political influence of this people. This diffusion theory is contested and new archaeological findings from the sites increased our knowledge of the mutual relationship among these peoples. For popular historical writers, the origin of Ethiopia state and the Queen of Sheba are indissociably one and the same.[2] In In local memories, Təgray, Amḥarā, and Shawā ruling families, traced their own ancestry back to the Queen of Sheba directly; the Lasta-Agaw rulers claimed to be descendants of the Queen of Sheba's servants; others, like the Goğğam kings, claimed their lineage to descend from the sister of the Queen of Sheba. Besides, in the south the Walāytā, the Kambātā, the Gurage, and later the Ināryā and Kaffā trace the origin of their leaders from the ruling families of northern Ethiopia.

The late American anthropologist Miriam Ma'at-Ka-Re Monges contributed an article on the concept of the *Shebanization* of knowledge. Based on the account of the national epic of the *Kəbra Nagast* and the folk stories of Queen of Sheba in Egypt and in Nigeria,[3] she supposes the root of the origin of her legend should be in African.[4] In the middle ages, it seems that the *Kəbra Nagast* circulated in Coptic and in Arabic languages in north-eastern Africa (Egypt, Mereo/Nubia, and Ethiopia). There are three views on the date of the translation of the *Kəbra Nagast*. First, the colophon of *Kəbra Nagast* dates its translation from the beginning of the twelfth century during the reign of King Lalibela (1190-1225) of Zāgwe kingdom.[5] Second, on refusing the mention of the colophon, scholars argue it would be translated in the sixth century and in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Examining from its historical perspectives, Irfan Shahid dates the *Kəbra Nagast* to sixth century[6] while most scholars (philologists and medieval historians), based on the philological standpoints, agree that the *Kəbra Nagast* was not fully written before the early fourteenth century.[7] Nevertheless, the Geez translation of *Kəbra Nagast* contains the local historical events of king Caleb's victories in South Arabia in 523 AD and 525 AD against Duh Nuwās (517-525AD), the Jewish king of Himyar. It also includes the military victory of king Amda Ṣeyon (1314-1344) over the Muslim kingdom of Hadya in 1316. The Colophon adds that the Geez translation was commanded by the governor of Entərtā (Endartā, Southern Təgray), Ya'əbika Egzi'ə. Ya'əbika Egzi'ə was defeat by the hand of King Amda Ṣeyon in 1322.[8] Therefore, the major part of the Geez translation of the *Kəbra Nagast* could be achieved before 1322 and it was probably fully complied during the reign King Amda Ṣeyon.

In the Ethiopian context, *Shebanization* is a process of assimilating diverse peoples of medieval Ethiopia to a unitary political ideology based on the visit (ca.1000 BC) of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon of the Bible. This "united heavenly kingdom" discourse was significant in how medieval Ethiopia conceptualized the legacy and origin of the church and state.[9] This association with the story of the *Kəbra Nagast* gives the Ethiopian kingdom's statehood and religion a Judaic origin. It continued to hold this identity for centuries. Though the creed of the Ethiopian Christianity traces back to the Coptic Church of Alexandria, the *Shebanization* also prompted religious teachings that originated in local traditions and independent readings of the Bible and developed the national Ethiopian Church, which crafted the nation of Ethiopia in this period. As we will see throughout our discussion, the interrelation of the local religious traditions and independent interpretations of the Bible represented an opposition to the influence of the Coptic Church of Alexandria.[10] For the purpose of this paper, I selected particular examples for better understanding of the topic, stemming from the central question: when and how did this ideology develop to become a common understanding of northern Ethiopia, later to be applied to the medieval kingdom of Ethiopia?

The Solomonic dynasty, a promoter of the *Shebanization*

It is believed that the so-called Solomonic dynasty can said to be the architect of the birth of the Ethiopian nation, though it was not the only founder of the notion.[11] The Solomonic dynasty is known for its long duration as rulers of the Christian kingdom that was sustained for more than seven hundred years in the Horn of Africa. The last king was dethroned in 1974. Beginning the twelfth century, the Christian north started to confront a significant risk to their dominance from Muslim kingdoms in the east and south Ethiopia. The anxiety prompted previously fragmented Christian kingdoms to unite as a single monolith in the Horn of Africa. The question I will investigate here is: how did this union occur and allow them to survive all these centuries? The first ideological component of the Ethiopian Christian identity to develop was the notion of a common identity irrespective of ethnic differences. The founders of the Solomonic dynasty were the Agaw, Entərtā (Southern Təgray), and Amḥarā, who occupied the central highland of the country. They were the most encircled Christian people, surrounded by Muslim Sultanates and the followers of local religions kingdoms, among others. The urgency to consolidate the Christian power was primordial for them. Thus, they rebelled against economically the weak Christian dynasty of the Zāgwe kingdom. The Zāgwe was positioned to be the usurpers of the legitimate power by the Aksumite descendants,''the Solomonic dynasty. The illegitimacy hypothesis had no foundation except the Kings of Zāgwe spoke locally Agaw.[12] The Amḥarā allied with Entərtā. These rivalries culminated by dethroning the last

king of Zāgwe, King Yətbārak in 1270 under leadership of King Yəkunno Amlāk (1270-1285).[13]

It is believed that King Yəkunno Amlāk, the founder of the Solomonic dynasty, continued to resolve the problem of legitimacy by appropriating the legend of the Queen of Sheba. He appointed himself as her true descendent and claimed the restoration of the so-called Solomonic dynasty based on the book later known as *Kəbra Nagast.*[14]

First, the *Kəbra Nagast* legitimizes the power of the inheritance of the Solomonic dynasty and it outlaws the Zāgwe kings, considered them as "none-Israeli."[15] Secondly, it institutes the holy city on the historic ruins of Aksum.[16] The *Kəbra Nagast* recounts how Menilek I was conceived from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba during her visit in 971-931 BC.[17] Menilek I was born and he went to visit his father in Israel. His father would have commanded the first born of his dignitaries would go with Menilek I and establish the second State of Israel in Ethiopia. Besides, the legend relates, the first born of the high priest would have brought with him the Ark of the Covenant, which justified the abandonment of the Kingdom of Solomon. The coming of the Ark with Menilek I narrated in the epic as a symbol of the will of God in electing the Ethiopian people and its king.[18]

The Promised Land narration marks therefore the creation of the political and religious institutions of Ethiopia that ruled until 1974. The Judaic myth and the local beliefs of the North and Christian religion syncretize on the ruins of Aksumite civilization.[19] This legendary discourse seems to have united the northern Ethiopian Christian people after long division and periodic conflicts. The Amḥarā, Təgray, Bāhr Nagāš, and the Šawā people emerge as the leaders of the Promised Land of Ethiopia.[20] The Zāgwe kings claimed the founding father of their dynasty was the son of the Queen of Sheba's maid, who would have also conceived a child with King Solomon.[21] In other words, the kings of Zāgwe were descendants of the half-brother of Menilek I. The Bage-Mədr region, in an unknown time, was said to be populated by Judaic people, which designated them as the true descents of Israel who accompanied Menilek I.[22]

Economically resourceful local religion believers of the western kingdom of Goğğam entered into the Christian Solomonic dynasty. The Goğğam kings had begun to count the origin of their dynasty through the sister of the Queen of Sheba. The story of Goğğam developed even that the Ark of the Covenant would have rested in this region before it was transferred to the holy city of Aksum.[23] The scarified stones made by the local religious believers were reinterpreted as the Judaic Origin, the *Həgä-Orit* (the Laws of Moses) to conform it to the monotheist practice.

Gradually, northern Ethiopian people identified their own Solomonic origin and the common ideology emerged among these diversified people. The Ark of the Covenant replica was conceived and disseminated to all converted areas

as the archetype of the presence of God among the people. Politically, people (individuals) from Muslim or the local religions followers origin were accepted in the common ideology as long as they entered into the *Shebanization* notion. This legend, therefore, had become the founding myth of the nation of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia: A common home for diverse people

The other transformation of the medieval Solomonic dynasty discourse was the shift in the way that the territories were listed in "imperial" title of their kingdom. The Solomonic dynasty also seems to have adapted the term "Ethiopia" along with the common ideology of the *Shebanization* to reinforce the unitary common denominator of the Christian people. Aksum and Zāgwe had perused similar representation of their respective kingdoms. The Aksumite kings used to list their territories as the "imperial" title of their kingdom.[24] The Zāgwe kings refer to their tribe and their regions.

In fact, listing the entitlements of a kingdom had been a long-time tradition in northern Ethiopia that dates back to the Da'amat time (980-150 BC). The king, called Lamana, listed that he was "the king of Da'amt, Sabean, Aberawian, Reds, and Blacks."[25] The Aksumite had followed the same style. For example, the trilingual (Greek, Geez, and Sabaean) King Ezana's pre-Christian inscription of victory over the vassal state of Bega lists the nine kingdoms, including Ethiopia, as one of his territories. In this inscription the term Ethiopia replaces the term "Habeshat" in the Geez and Sabaean languages. It is the only change remarked in the description of the imperial title of this inscription. The famous epigraphist R. Schneider notes in his article the use of "Ethiopia" to replace the term "Habeshat."[26]

Trilingual Inscription of King Ezana[27]

Greek	Geez	South Arabian
Aeizanas, king of the Aksumites, the Himyarites, Raeidan, the Ethiopians, the Sabaeans, Silei (Salhen), Tiyamo, the Beja, and Kasou, king of kings, son of the unconquered Ares.	Aksum, Himyar, Raydan, Habashat, Saba, Salhen, Tsiyamo, Kasu, and the Beja.	Aksum, Himyar, Kasu, Saba, Habashat, Raydan, Salhen, Siyamo, Beja; both of these add the phrase "king of kings, son of the unconquered Mahrem."

King Lalibela in the early thirteenth century also followed similar listing of his family, tribe, and regions. King Lalibela (the early twelfth century) calls himself "Lalibela son of Shanuda ["the Lion"] of the race of al-Nakb," and in another source add his throne-name, "Gabra Masqal," and an epithet, "*be'esi `azzal* [the strong man]."[28]

Munro-Hay believes the nature of the Aksumite imperial hegemony to be independent states bound in a loose federation only by their more or less

theoretical subordination to the Aksumite king of Kings.[29] It is thus evident that this loose organization would have contributed to the final fall of the Aksumite kingdom. Though the Amḥarā adapted the Aksumite ruins to monumentalize the notion of the *Shebanization* and to legitimize the Solomonic dynasty, they abandoned the imperial listing titles of the Da'amat and Aksumite legacies. The Amḥarā were located to the South of the seat of the Aksumite and the Zāgwe kingdoms. The Amḥarā were Christianized in the ninth century after the collapse of the Aksumite kingdom. But it is said that the Aksumite Kings were a refuge in the Amharā region. This disintegration of the Christian kingdom of Aksum brought the Amḥarā people onto the scene of the dynastic politics, which then led to the creation and vision of a strong centralized Christian state. They appeared to have consolidated power through their relatively strong economic power and better military organization.[30]

Obscuring Amḥarā and Habashat

The chief of Amḥarā, King Yəkunno Amlāk, took power in 1270 and he began to consolidate the Christians of the north as a united front against Muslim forces. For this reason, the Amḥarā are considered the leaders of the creation of the Ethiopian nation in the medieval time. More than any time, the Amḥarā in the end of the thirteenth century were encircled by Muslim kingdoms. Consequently, the Amḥarā reorganized the Christian north by integrating the legends of the Queen of Sheba into their new national identity. Their goal was therefore to establish a new strong state named Ethiopia. The internal sources do not mention either Amḥarā or Habeshat to represent the Christian Ethiopia in medieval period.[31] They used the term Ethiopia. The external Arabic sources continued to use the term Hābash by modifying Hābashat to represent Ethiopia. The Arab historians designated the Amḥarā either as Christians or the chief of the kingdom of Habesh.[32]

Therefore, the Amharā seems to conceal their identity and the term Habashat in favour of the term Ethiopia, its usage alluding to the Promised Land for imperial title. The term Amḥarā was not officially used to represent people except for the geographical location. Even the ethnic and regional origin of King Yəkunno Amlāk[33] is obscure as compared to the kings of the previous dynasties. Besides, the "Solomonic" dynasty also excluded the use of the term Habeshat from internal sources. This term was only used in the descriptions of Arab geographers in the middle ages and later European sources corrupted it to Abyssinia[34] to represent the north Christian Ethiopia. It seems there was an intentional shift from the descriptions of imperial listing style to that of a common name called the kingdom of Ethiopia. In fact, the *Shebanization* notion would be incompatible with a multi-state listing description because Ethiopia (the new Israel) should follow the image of the Promised Land of

Israel. In this way it fits in the discourse of the common ideology *Shebanization* to build a common house of Ethiopia.

From where could they adopt the entitlement of Ethiopia? First, most agree that the *Kəbra Nagast* story originated from the Bible. Generally, it is believed Ethiopians in the Bible refers to the peoples south of Egypt. We now know that the oldest four Ethiopian gospels written in Geez were compiled in the fifth century AD in Aksum.[35] Sources reveal the presence of the Ethiopian pilgrims in Jerusalem since the fourth century.[36]

Secondly, the Aksumite in different inscriptions (including South Arabian inscriptions) alternatively used the words Ethiopia and Habeshat. We will not detail the debate on the origins of the Habshat in this article. However, to say a few words, the Habeshat are believed to be migrated originally from South Arabia in 1000 BC, though the evidences are meagre.[37] Mounro-Hay suggests the Habeshat would have been the general name of small polities, which were not represented in the Aksumite imperial title lists.[38]

The Habeshat are also mentioned in the inscriptions as the people and sometimes soldiers settled northeast of South Arabia, next to the kingdom of Himyar.[39] Munro-Hay describes the finding of the Aksumite coins (in South Arabia), which refer to "the King of Habeshat" or "the King of Habeshates" in their legends. Therefore, the Habeshat could also be a tributary kingdom in the Aksumite Empire.[40] The Aksumite king began to officially use "Ethiopia" in place of "Habashat" before the introduction of Christianity. In European cartographic descriptions, the term Ethiopia vaguely represented several places and peoples since antiquities. It is believed to have represented different north-eastern African kingdoms to the south of Egypt, likely including Kush, Meroe, and later Christian kingdoms of Nubia and today's Ethiopia.[41]

Nevertheless, as E. Vangnon invokes, in first century AD, the Jewish historian and traveller, Flavius Joseph, had already described the people of Saba as part of Ethiopia in the Oriental Africa.[42] This description coincides also with the mentioning of the Aksumite kingdom in the book of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* around 60 AD.[43] Flavius Joseph's description also corresponds in some cases with the account of the Da'amat inscription that the Sabaean people were part of the Da'amat time (980 BC-150 BC) in northern Ethiopia.[44] Later in the fourth century, Saba was mentioned in South Arabia as one of the vassal Kingdoms of Aksum along with the Hymiar state.[45] Therefore, opening it for further studies, one can say that the usage of the word Ethiopia to represent a state originated from a precisely located place in the Aksumite kingdom. Probably, the usages of the term Ethiopia in place of Habashat would have been adapted by the new Solomonic dynasty. The term Ethiopia was already integrated by the Aksumite Kings into the Geez Bible. After all, most of the New Testament of the Bible was written in Greek. It was probably adapted to the *Kəbra Nagast* from this origin by the Solomonic dynasty. The popular

Greek sense of the term Ethiopia is a burned face people (to mean black), who lived in the South of Egypt. However, for this time, this inscription reveals that the term Ethiopia did not represent the burned face views of the land and peoples of the south of Egypt.

Meanwhile the term Habesha—from Habeshat—has never been abandoned from representing Ethiopia. To this present day, it has been designated as the alternate term for Ethiopians since the pre-Christian Ethiopia. But it often still describes the cultural expressions of Ethiopians (for instance, the Habesha food, the Habesha song, the Habesha cloth, the Habesha thinking, etc.). A parallel lineage can also be made to the Da'amat description of the people of Red and Black; this phrasing is still in use to distinguish Ethiopian skin colors.[46] It seems clear that the Solomonic dynasty intentionally promoted Ethiopia as an official imperial title for the purpose of creating a nation in the Biblical model of Israel (the Promised Land) without changing its ancient representations of the term Habeshat in medieval Ethiopia.

The *tābot*, the centre of the ideology of the *Shebanization*

The ideology of *Shebanization* of the Ethiopian State did not come from Christianity rather, it emanates from the symbolism of the Ark of the Covenant, the *tābot*[47] discourse that gave a symbolic Judaic origin to Ethiopian medieval state up until 1974. The origin of the *tābot* story is still enigmatic. The accounts of the *tābot* stories relied on the narration of the journey of the Queen of Sheba and her son Menilek I in 1000 BC, even though this story is contradicted within the Bible itself, as the Bible assures the presence of the *tābot* in the Temple of Solomon until 600 BC.[48] The story of the journey of the *tābot* entering Ethiopia following the way through the Nile River is equally vague.[49]

Above all, the term *tābot* was not invoked in the Aksmite inscriptions or in the Coptic liturgy of Alexandria, from where the Ethiopian Coptic church used to get its metropolitans (fourth century AD to 1959). This absence could suggest that the introduction of the *tābot* in the legend of the *Kəbra Nagast* could be the result of the great tribulation of the post-Aksumite period (seventh century to early twelfth century).[50] In other words, the *tābot* had been the ideological discourse of Christian Ethiopia since the post-Aksum periods.

Furthermore, the vivid Judaic practices in Ethiopia (Observance of Sabbath, or forbidden food, purification ritual of women, etc.) taken as the evidence of the Ethiopian Judaic influence is dubious. Christianity was the Aksumite state religion since the early fourth century. The Metropolitan of the Ethiopian Church came from Egypt up until 1960. Therefore, the Ethiopian church administration and liturgy were under strong directions of the Coptic Church, though the Ethiopian church continued to contest the Coptic pressure through rereading of the Old Testament. It is implausible to associate the Judaic elements as the direct influence of the external pressure from Jerusalem, which

was completely destroyed in 70 AD. Though the story of the presence of the Judaic people and their invasions of the city of Aksum is still important in the local memory of northern Ethiopia,[51] there is no evidence of their usage of the *tābot* tradition in their Judaic belief. The late introduction of the *tābot* tradition in the Orthodox Church of Ethiopia would have been as part of the Solomonic kings' consolidation scheme to attract the resistant chefs of the Jewish polity in Northern Western regions of Wagara, Səmen, and Ṣalamt.

Therefore, the development of the *tābot* was most likely local, rather than coming via the external influence of Egypt. First, the design of the Zāgwe *tābot* has striking similarities with the false windows and doors stories of the obelisks of Aksum. The four legs and the four holes on the Aksumite obelisk are evident on the *tābot* of Lalibela. We know the decorations of the rock hewn churches of Lalibela inspired the signs and symbols of the architectural designs of the Aksumite obelisks. We cannot rule out the similar possibilities that the *tābot* designs would have been inspired from the obelisks of Aksum.[52]

The knowledge of the Ark of the Covenant in medieval Ethiopia could have come from the rereading of the Bible. However, the multiplication of the *tābot* remains a strange practice which was unknown in the Old Testament. There is only one exclusive Ark of the Covenant of Moses. There is no biblical rationale for the duplication of *tābot* in different churches, let alone its replica in an individual church. The multiplication of the *tābot* in an individual church was introduced under king Zar'a Ya'eqob (1434-1468).[53] His chronicle reads that "He [King Zär'a Ya'eqob] further taught that one should not put in the churches one *tābot*, but two or several, and that among them there must be one consecrated to Mary."[54] The origin of the multiplication of the *tābot* seems to be originated from the followers of local religions practices. For example, King Zär'a Ya'eqob mentions in his book the displacement of the objects of the deities named *Dask* and *Dino*. The king accused his high officials for practicing the local religions within his Christian court.[55] He remarks that multiple deities were brought from different regions and they were worshipped in the same place. The deity *Dask* was brought from south and *Dino* was taken from the North.[56] This worship was supervised by the priests of these deities, though they were discredited as magicians by the king. Thus, the worship of multiple deities together in one place and duplication of multiple *tābot* could have been inspired from the local religions practices and brought into the medieval Ethiopian Church.[57] However, the liturgy of the *tābot* probably originated from the Bible readings of Ethiopian church erudite.[58] The duplication of several *tābot* applications at local levels might have attracted many local religions followers because it gave different representations and names of the *tābot* that would substitute deities worshipped in the same place. This would give the new converts the choice of picking a favorable *tābot* of a saint, angel, or martyr for the protection, prosperity, and wellbeing of their families and property. It

can be also viewed as King Zär'a Ya'eqob's reform strategy of replacing the deities worshiping place to a church.[59]

Thus, the hypothesis presented herein is that *Shebanization* was an elaboration of the indigenous religious practices to the monotheist discourse of the *Kəbra Nagast*. As we have said above, firstly, the *Kəbra Nagast* was a medieval Ethiopian epic used to build unity among ethnically divided Christian people of the northern Ethiopian medieval society in order to reverse the growing Muslim pressures from all directions in the period under discussion. Secondly, it was an ideological discourse to integrate the indigenous religious practices to Judaic stone sacrifices altar story as the practices of the fathers[1] of the Old testament. This seem to assure them as they were monotheist. It refused to perceive these local religious practices as polytheistic performs. Thus, the *Kəbra Nagast* monotheistic concept developed the common ideology among the Christian north in the medieval society. This same prototype was promoted to the other diversified ethnic peoples of the Horn to find a nation state in a model of the Promised Land of Israel. It was, however, spearheaded by military might since the advent of King Amda Ṣəyon (1314-1344).[60] It is also agreed that the *Kəbra Nagast* itself was elaborated to the interest of King Amda Ṣəyon. He is also credited for establishing many written institutions — above all the *Sər'at Mangsət* (alluded as the first Ethiopian constitution),[61] and the *Sər'at gəbr*.[62]

The *tābot* concept was conceived in Ethiopian middle age as a symbolic power that connected God, the King, and the people. The *tābot* aspired to hold the Ten Commandments, though the New Testament interpretation of *Sər'ata Qədse* modifies the model. Now the *tābot* and the two stone tablets of Ten Commandments are united to one.[63]

Lalibela Church tābot, out of use

A portable and miniature tābot (15th c.)

1. For example, Noah, Job, Abraham, Issac and Jacob.

Current annual procession of the epiphany, the mobile tābots carried on the head of priests. © Gill Penney.

The significance of the *tābot* is an emblem of the divine presence amid the people of the Promised Land and its kingdom. This harmony empowered the king and people to unite and work hand in hand to accomplish the final goal of the Promised Land of Ethiopia. According to the book of the regulation of the church, the *tābot* represent Christ,[64] who embraces all tribes and languages into the heavenly kingdom. Similarly, the multicultural people of the kingdom would equally hold together in the common agenda of the Promised Land of Ethiopia. The chronicles of King Zar'a Ya'eqob and his son, King Ba'eda Māryām, highlight the guardians (Chewa) used to sing in their own languages during kings' departure and return to the palace.[65]

The Zion of Aksum *tābot* model was replicated at the court of the king and it also was established at a village level. There is no church without the *tābot* in Ethiopia. The court and the medieval village had the same model of liturgy to forge the unity of the kingdom.[66] The Solomonic kings used to visit the ruins of Aksumite civilization as a royal symbol of the dynasty. Later King Zar'a Ya'eoqb corroborated it as the sacral place of the Kingdom. He celebrated his kingship unction for the legitimacy of his divine power. This tradition was followed by different kings of the post-sixteenth century and modern time kings.[67]

The inspiration of the *tābot* also determined the Ethiopian church architecture and the settlement pattern of the medieval royal court. The Aksumite cathedral seems rebuilt after the victory of King Kaleb over the Judaic king of Himyar in South Arabia in 525 AD. We know little, if this cathedral was dedicated to a *tābot* (angels or local saints). The supposed basilica architecture of the church remains unknown to the present day.[68] M. Heldman believes the Churches of Aksum cathedral, Medhani Alam (built by King Lalibela), and Ganata Māryām (built by Yekunno Amlak) had similar architectural designs, though it is impossible to compare them with Aksumite Cathedral.[69] The monolithic churches of Lalibela

and Ganata Māryām do not follow the three partitions of the Biblical tent of the tabernacle of Moses or the temple of Solomon.

E. Fritsch indicted in his article the gradual modification of the Ethiopian altar position within the church. This change could be due to the introduction of the *Kəbra Nagast* that made the *tābot* the centre of the Ethiopian church liturgy. The *tābot* worship instituted from the Temple of Solomon model inspired the Ethiopian church (church with a *tābot*). The Ethiopian church has adapted the three divisions of the Temple of Solomon or the reading of the Tabernacle of Moses. The church is divided into three sections: Qəne Māhlet, the public hall, *Qədəst*, the Holy place, and the *Maqdas,* the Holy of Holies, that correspond to the Temple of Solomon of the Bible. The Holy of Holies is never visible in Ethiopian church including to the king, nobilities, and common people. This model was replicated in the settlement pattern of the royal court of Ethiopia[70] that we will brief the impact of the temple structure on the spatial occupation of the royal camp of the medieval Ethiopia.

The King, the centre of the Kingdom

The medieval King was sacred for many reasons. He became King of kings momently he was ordained by the oil in the Zion of Aksum. He was portrayed as the king of justice.[71] Some kings were even considered as saints. Just as the *tābot* is located in the sanctuary of the Ethiopia church, the medieval king was the centre of his medieval camp. The medieval court of Ethiopia was itinerant from its beginning and followed particular spatial models to organize the royal camp. The king could displace his court, but he respected similar royal camp settlement patterns. The three enclosures were institutionalized in the early fourteenth century. The two regulations of the state, the *Sər'ata gəbr* and the *Sər'ata mangəst*, mention the settlement pattern of the court in a camping place. In the early sixteenth century, the chaplain of the Portuguese Embassy F. Alvarez wrote the premeditated settlement pattern of the enclosures of King Lebna Dengel.[72]

The term employed to represent an enclosure is *makābabya*, which can be defined the space where one can make a circular structure to achieve a certain objective.[73] For instance, Ethiopians make a circular house, a circular gathering for eating, meeting, or dancing. Sources provide the three enclosures pattern from outer to the inner, the *Katamā Daj*, *Jagol*, and *Magārağā*. These documents also highlight the settlement pattern; the rules of entrance, departure, and admittance were coded in the royal camp (*Katamā)*. During the voyage (*Gu'ezo*), the *tābot* was ported on the shoulder of the priests just as the kings were carried on the shoulders of the pages. The main entrances of the church and the royal camp were the west. The three enclosures always reflect the common spatial occupation. The princes and nobilities remained in the second enclosure of the church and the royal camp. The common people took the third enclosure both in the church and in the royal camp *(Katamā*). [74]

The people occupied the same structure in the church at prayer time and at the camp during services to the king. Therefore, in practical life, the contemporary dwellers of the royal camp (*Katamā*) had the similar spatial relationships. It was the way the medieval society interconnected their social order into one common space occupation. This model was perfectly to work alongside the common ideology of the *Shebanization*.

Space occupation order in the church and the royal camp in medieval Ethiopia

Space occupation	Church	Space Occupation Order at Church	Katamā/ camp/	Space Occupation Order at Royal Camp
Outer	Qəné Māhəlet	Common people	Katamā-daj	Common people
Middle	Qədsət	Priests, princes, Queens, Nobilities	Jagol	Princes, Queens, Nobilities
Center	Maqdas	Tābots (priests and Deacons)	Magārajā	The king and the pages

The *Shebanization* and medieval Ethiopian governors

The other paradigm of the *Shebanization* is related with the people and its administration. The Ethiopian state had been described as the multicultural society in sources (chronicles, travellers accounts, etc.). However, on the other side, based on the legendary account of the *Kəbra Nagast*, internal sources describe the administrators in the government had the same origin throughout the centuries. They were descendants of Israel. The *Kəbra Nagast* reads:

> [...] King Solomon returned to his house and gathered his counsellors, his ministers, and the elders of his royal household: he said to them, "I did not convince this child, now listen to what I say to you. Let us make a king in the country of Ethiopia with our children, to you who sit on my right and to my left likewise, that you children sit on his left as a council of elders. Come, all you counsellors and judges, give your children first born and we will have a second kingdom.[75]

The story goes on enumerating twelve men of Laws and twelve other counsellors who accompanied King Menilek I to Ethiopia and established the second kingdom of Israel after the abdication of the Queen of Sheba. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, F. Alvarez mentions that these governors of the Ethiopia were descendants of the dignitaries of Israel. F. Alvarez recounts:

> I said that I would relate what I heard of the officials that Solomon gave to his son when he sent him from Jerusalem to Ethiopia to his mother the Queen Sheba. I heard say that to this day these officials or officers are alive in the families of those that came, because they go in

> succession from father to son. They say first that when Solomon sent his son to the Queen Sabba, his mother, he gave him officials for his house; and he gave an office from each of the twelve tribes, such as chamberlains, porters, overseers, grooms, trumpeters, chief guards, cooks, and other officials necessary for the house of a great king or lord, and that these offices are still in those families descending from them. Thus, these officials honour themselves much as Israelites, and gentlemen, and our relations. All of them are in great number, because the sons of the chamberlain and their descendants, all of them are of that office; and so also the other officials all descend in the offices of their fathers and ancestors.[76]

The legendary account of the *Kəbra Nagast* achieved the goals of the Solomonic dynasty's aspiration at the end of the thirteenth century. The creation of a common ideology was the pillar for the preservation of the Christian Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa. For north regions and some south kingdoms, this narration intentionally bound the governors to a single ideology of the Promised Land of Ethiopia. F. Alvarez narrates that the confidential pages of the reigning king, however, were not the descendants of the Israelites because they were captives who practiced the local religions beliefs. F. Alvarez was fascinated by the story, but he did not recognize the process of the integration of the medieval kingdom of Ethiopia. In fact, the office of the pages corresponded with the notion of the integration of the captives in the Promised Land of Ethiopia. The *Shebanization* accepted all languages in the middle age once the conversion to Christianity was processed. The chronicles of King Zar'a Ya'eqob and Ba'eda Māryām mention the conversion of Muslims to Christianity who later took important offices.[77] For example, though the office of the *Rāq* Māssare is counted among the twelve men of laws,[78] a certain Sabradin (a converted Muslim) was the *Rāq Māssare* (the responsibilities of the banquet ceremonies) of the first wife of King Zar'a Ya'eqob, *gərra* Ba'ltihāt Ṣyon Mogassā.[79] Moreover, the chronicler of *Imam* Ahmad cursed several converted Muslim military leaders, who fought for the King.[80] Abba Embaqom, the eleventh *abbot* of Däbrä Libanos, was a foreign converted Muslim. Hence, the discourse of the Israel origin of these officials was only useful to unite the governance of the medieval state of Ethiopia.

Expansion of the spaces of the *Shebanization*

The *Shebanization* of northern Ethiopia gradually extended itself throughout the centuries. The best examples are the northern regions, which had already developed particular identities towards this notion of the Promised Land. Təgray had become the seat of the holy mountain (the Zion of Aksum) of the Promised Land of Ethiopia over the ruins of Aksum[81] while the Lāstā monolithic churches had developed to the second Jerusalem of Ethiopia.[82]

Their monolithic churches were inspired by the architecture and symbols of the ruins of the holy mountain of Aksum. The rival Solomonic and Zāgwe dynasties combined to become into the Promise Land of Ethiopia. Their kings were exalted as saints, at least since the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Obelisk of Aksum (c.300 AD)

Beta-Emmanuel (c. 12th c.)

The David star (15th c.) © Katie Hunt.

The pre-Christian obelisk architectural symbols were incorporated into the monolithic church of Beta-Emmanuel. Aksum and Lalibela are both places claimed to be the seat of the Zion and the second Jerusalem in medieval period. The Star of David was probably sculpted into the church of Lalibela in the fifteenth century.

The Goğğam region claimed to be the first resting place of the Ark of Covenant. The Amḥarā and Šawā remained the epicentres for the *Shebanization* without building monuments to it. However, the medieval royal camp was pitched and organized after the symbol of celestial Jerusalem. The number of

the gates of the royal camp and the supreme judges were thirteen, as Christ and his twelve apostles.[83] The camp had thirteen or fourteen gates. F. Alvarez describes twelves gates that corresponds with the main cosmic designation of the twelve Gates of the New Jerusalem. The twelves gates partitioned in six gates on the two sides of the medieval royal camp, where the king was the epicentre.[84]

The Bāhr Nagāš (Hamassen) had already been in favor of the *Shebanization* through its religious movement to practice the Observance of the Sabbath. The observance of the Sabbath was declared officially to the Christian Ethiopians in 1449. In fact, this movement united the religious controversies that divided the church for almost a century in Ethiopia. The division of regions due to religious controversies was curtailed by adopting the Sabbath, which was an Old Testament reading of the monastic erudite class that apparently supported the *Shebanization* notion of the common ideology. The folk traditions in the Southwest regions like Kambta, Walāytā, Gurāge, Kāffā, and Gāmo had already begun to count their ruling families' origin from medieval period of Təgray, the resting place of Ethiopian Zion, or from the northern Ethiopia at least in the end of the sixteenth century. The Ināryā and Kaffā regions later joined this northern origin discourse of their chiefs.[85] Besides, particular churches are also endorsed as the replica of the Ethiopian Zion of Aksum. The Tadbāba Māryām church in Amḥarā is called Zion in the chronicle of Galawdewos in the early sixteenth century. The churches like Gišan Māryām in Amḥarā, the Martula Māryām in Goğğam, and the Berber Māryām in Gāmo, the Zay Zion church in Waǧ all consecrated as the reproduction of the Zion of Aksum.[86] The Gāmo local beliefs of the stone altars were re-baptized to the *Həga Orit*, or the Laws of Moses. This idea developed within the people of Gāmo would have practiced Judaism on the stone altars before the introduction of Christianity in the middle of the fifteenth century.[87]

Modern paintings of the encounter of queen of Sheba and King Solomon

Shebanization *and lineal relations in Ethiopia* (*14th-16th century*)

In the Northern and central

Regions	lineal claims	Status	Privileges in the kingdom
Təgrāy	Menilek	Descendants of the legitimate son of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon	High office of *Behtwadad* Political marriage (Queens) Royal church-the seat of Zion
Zāgwe (Wāg-Lāstā)	Menilek's half-brother	Descendants of the son of the servant of Queen of Sheba and King Solomon	The second Jerusalem Political marriage (Queens)
Amḥarā – Shewa-Fätägar	Menilek	Descendants of the legitimate son of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon	Kings High office of *Behtwadad* Political marriage Royal church
Goğğam	Menilek's aunt	Descendants of the Sister of Queen of Sheba	Political marriage Royal church The resting place of the *tābot*
The Səmen-Ṣlamt	Menilek's descendants or crafts-men of King Solomon	Descendants of the handi-craftsmen of King Solomon	Political marriage Royal Church
Hāmāssen	Menilek I Craftsmen descendants	Descendants of craftsmen of King Solomon Birth place of Menilek I	High office of *Behtwaddad* Political marriage

In the Southwest

Regions	Folk origin of the ruling dynasties	Legendary historical claims
Gurage	Hamassen/descendants of King Zar'a Ya'eqob	Soldiers/ Daughters of the king
Ennarya	Təgray	King of Innary descendant of the brother of King Zar'a Ya'eqob, Conversion of ruling family to Christianity under King Sarṣa Dəngəl (1559-1597)
Walāytā	Təgray	Origin of the rulering families
Waǧ/ ZəwāyIsland/	-	Hiding place of Aksum Zion *tābot* (9th -13th)
Gamo	-	Berber Mary replica of Aksum Zion *tābot*

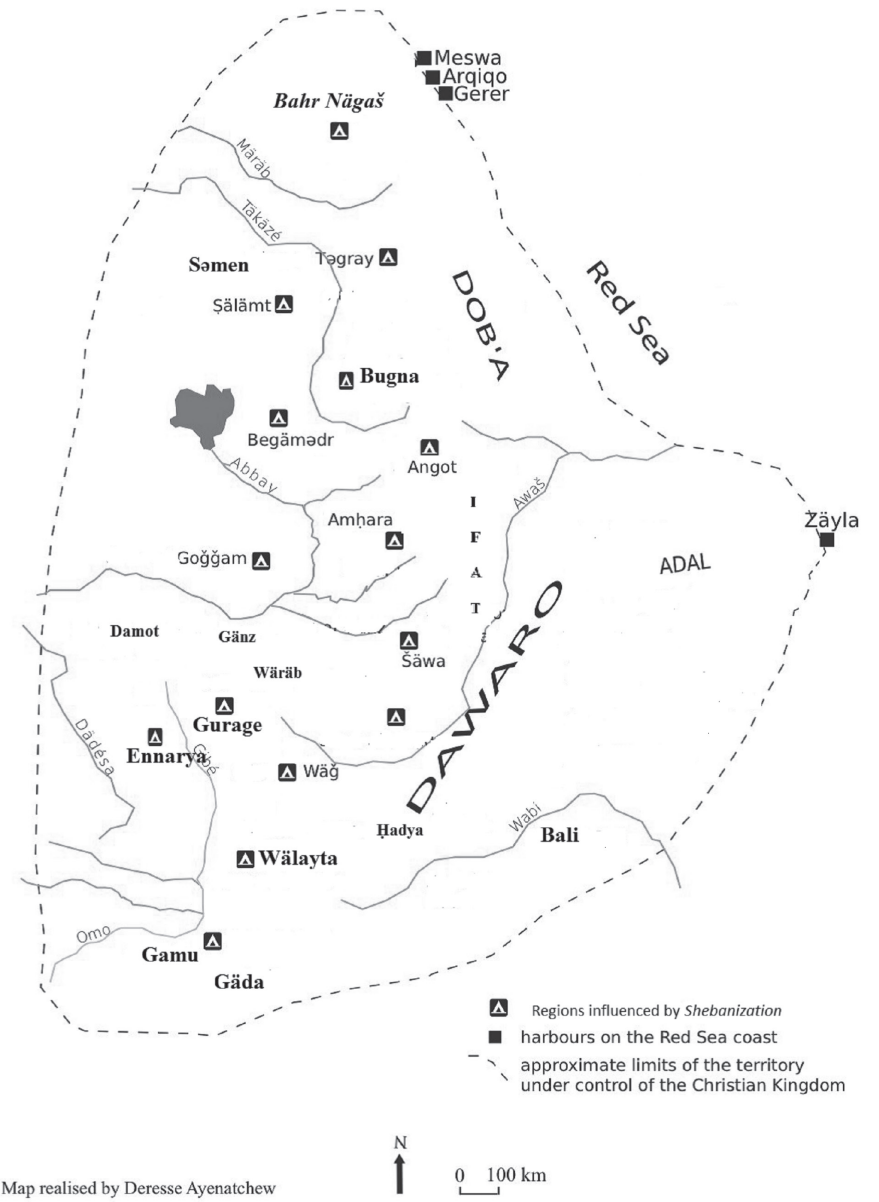
Conclusion

The medieval kings reconstructed their political power based on the legendary story of the Queen of Sheba and appropriated the historical Aksumite civilization to this legend. The founder of the "Solomonic" dynasty, King Yəkunno Amlāk, hurried to unite the Christian people to challenge the rising Muslim kingdoms in the south and in the east of the country. The highly threatened province of Amḥarā and the pockets of Shewa were rapidly consolidated behind the leadership of Yəkuno Amlāk. The Solomonic dynasty consolidated power by using the circulating story of the Queen of Sheba and later developed what we call the *Shebanization*. It had become the source of common uniting factor for weakened and fragmented Christian chiefdoms of the northern Ethiopia. The *Kəbra Nagast* (Glory of Kings) illustrated how a Solomonic king and his people enter the privilege of the Promised Land through Judo-Christianity; that story monumentalized the birth of the Nation of Ethiopia in the middle ages.

The Amḥarā embraced the term Ethiopia as the "imperial" title of their kingdom, abandoning the ancient regional listing titles of Aksum and Zāgwe. Ethiopia represented the common home of diverse, multicultural peoples of medieval Ethiopia. The ancient civilization of Aksum had become the seat of the holy *tābot* Zion, in Ethiopia. It is this privilege of the *tābot* designated Ethiopia as a Promised Land of God. It allowed the establishment of a *tābot* near the village that had a power to protect and bless the promised peoples and the King. The absence of the *tābot* both in the liturgy of the Coptic Christian church raises a new question how it was introduced into the Ethiopian church in the medieval period. We have already advanced a hypothesis the introduction of the *tābot* would have come from the local origin based on the reading of the Bible to fit it to the concept of *Shebanization*. The common spatial occupation had developed from circular concept into the common unitary notion of the Christian medieval society. The incorporation of Muslim and the local religions followers developed the Ethiopian diverse societies to a common ideological discourse of the *Shebanization*. The appropriation of the local religious worshipers' material cultures to Judaism and then Christianity facilitated the process of integration of the people into common ideology. In the process of *Shebanization*, the right to access to any high privilege had expanded beyond northern Ethiopia, which particularly inspired the local religions followers regions of the south western part of the medieval kingdom. Hence, the ideology of the *Shebanization* had partly assimilated the diverse peoples, steadily distancing them from the ethnic identities and bringing them to the notion of the utopia of the Promised Land of Ethiopia. The short victory years of the Muslim kingdom of Adal had exerted a strong lasting disorder in the medieval kingdom of Ethiopia in the early sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian Christian kingdom's Promised Land discourse of

Shebanization revived gradually and it governed the political ideology of the country until the eruption of the 1974 revolution of Ethiopia. Actually, the Promised Land discourse is the emblematic sermon of the old Orthodox and the highly growing Protestant churches in Ethiopia.

The Shebanization spaces in the medieval Ethiopia
(14th -16th)



Map realised by Deresse Ayenatchew

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5. Ibid.
6. Shahid, "The Kebra Nagast in the Light of Recent Research," *Le Muséon* 89, (1976): pp. 133-78.
7. Munro-Hay, "A Sixth Century Kebra Nagast?" *Annales d'Ethiopie* vol. XVII (2001) : pp. 43-58.
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9. The 3,000 years of Ethiopian government history is possibly inspired from the kingdom of Da'amat (980 BC-150 BC). It is evident also the Sabean people were recognized within the kingdom of Da'amat. The association of the Queen of

Sheba to African origin seems pertinent when we reexamine the period of the Da'amat kingdom.

10. Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, pp. 206-247.
11. Colin, *La Gloire des Rois*, p. 110.
12. Ibid., pp. 66-68.
13. Ibid.
14. Colin, *La Gloire des Rois*, p. 110.
15. Colin, *La Gloire des Rois*, p. 110.
16. Conti Rossini, *Documenta Ad Illustrandam Historiam, Liber Axumae*, Louvain (*CSCO,* scriptores Æthiopici, 8,1910), p. 37. The *Kəbra Nagast* does not mention directly the city of Menilek I but the so-called *Book of Aksum* describes the Solomonic dynasty associated its capital to Aksum.
17. Schneider, "Deux inscriptions Sudarabiques du Tigre," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 30, No. 5-6 (1973): pp. 387-389.This date corresponds to the time of the Da'amat kingdom. Sabean people (kingdom) were also mentioned as part of the Da'amat kingdom. This mention supports the Ethiopian three thousand years state history perfectly concurs to the legend of the Queen of Sheba.
18. Colin, *La Gloire des Rois*, p. 39.
19. Ibid.
20. Tekle Tsadik Mekuria, *Yä Ityopya Tarik*, pp. 30-54.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Munro-Hay, Aksum*: an African Civilization of the Late Antiquity*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1991. p. 190.
25. Schneider, "Deux inscriptions Sudarabiques du Tigre," pp. 387-389.
26. Schneider, "Notes sur les inscriptions royales aksumites," *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* 44 no. 5-6 (1987): pp. 599-616. See also, S. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: an African Civilization of the Late Antiquity*, p. 190.
27. King Ezana is known for his conversion to Christianity in the early fourth century. When he took power, he declared it as the official religion of his kingdom.
28. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: an African Civilization of the Late Antiquity*, p. 131.
29. *Ibid.* p. 190.
30. Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, pp. 156-205. See also Marie-Laure Derat, *Les domaines des rois d'Éthiopie (1270-1527)* (Paris : Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2003), pp. 19-84.
31. The main official sources include chronicles, hagiographies and legal documents.

32. Al-Umari Ibn al-absar Allah, Masalik fi mamalik el amsar, *L'Afrique moins de l'Egypte*, M. Gaudefroy-Demombunes (trad.), Paris, 1927. p. 19.
33. Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, pp. 66-67.
34. Maqrîzî, Taqî 'l-Dîn Ahmad b.'Alî. *The Book of the true knowledge of the kings in Abyssinia. 1965, G.W.B.* (trans), 1955, pp.1-30.
35. Bailey, "Research uncovers lost African school of painting," *Art Newspaper*, Number 252, December 2013, p. 10.
36. Munro-Hay, Aksum*: an African Civilization of the Late Antiquity*, p. 20.
37. Sergew Hable Sellassie. *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, pp. 26-34.
38. Munro-Hay, Aksum*: an African Civilization of the Late Antiquity,* p. 35.
39. Ibid., pp. 74, 78.
40. Ibid., p.74.
41. Vangnon, "Comment localiser l'Ethiopie ? La Confrontation des sources antiques et les témoignes modernes au XVe siècle," *Annales d'Ethiopie* 27, (2012); pp. 21-48.
42. Ibid. This corresponds to the biblical description of Ethiopia and Saba. International Bible Society: *The Holy Bible of the New International Version.* The Book of Isaiah, Chapter 43 verse, 3.
43. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: an African Civilization of the Late Antiquity*, p. 144.
44. Schneider, "Deux inscriptions Sudarabiques du Tigre," pp. 599-616.
45. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: an African Civilization of the Late Antiquity*, p. 190.
46. Schneider, "Deux inscriptions Sudarabiques du Tigre," pp. 599-616.
47. The *tābot* in the Ethiopian national epic (*Kəbra Nagast*) is the true Ark of the Covenant that was brought to Ethiopia by the legendary son of Solomon and Sheba, Menilek I around 1000 BC. The term *tābot* (pl. *tābotat*) is considered to have been borrowed into Geez from Jewish Aramaic. In Ethiopic, the term has two meanings, referring both to the altar tablet or slab that rests upon the altar chest. Occasionally, it may designate also the altar chest itself. In the Ethiopic Bible, it refers to where the Tablets of the Law were placed. In fact, the altar slab is also called Ṣəllat, which is traditionally considered to be the replica of the tablets of the Law, "representing" it in each individual church. *Tābot* is a mobile, portable altar-tablet. The *tābot* is a consecrated wood or stone tablet that is placed upon the permanent altar chest for the celebration of the Eucharist. This arrangement of dual components – fixed holy table and the portable altar stone or tablet – is much like the altar structure of the Coptic Church. See in detail: Emmanuel Fritsch, "The Altar in the Ethiopian Church: History, Forms and Meanings," in Eastern *Christian Studies* 12 (Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship: Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy Rome, 17-21 September 2008), (2012): pp. 443-510.
48. International Bible Society: *The Holy Bible of the New International Version.* Chronicles 2, Chapter 36: verse 7-20.

49. Muluken Tariku, trans., *The True History of the Tablets of Moses* (Amharic translation) (Addis Ababa, NP. 2012), p. 7. See S. Munro-Hay, *The Quest for the Ark of the Covenant: The True History of the Tablets of Moses* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).
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51. Levi, "Yodit," pp.88-90.
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53. Perruchon, *Les Chroniques de Zar'a Yâ'eqôb*, p. 81.
54. Ibid.
55. Getatchew Haile, "The epistles of the humanity of Emperor Zar'a Ya'eqob, (*Tomarä Təsbət*), *CSCO*, Louvain, 522-523, (Scriptores Æthiopici, 95-96), 1991, p. 54.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. For example, the observance of Sabbath was officially introduced into Ethiopian church in 1449 despite the opposition of the metropolitan office, the representative of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Egyptian Church never observed Sabbath as it is taken as the Judaic practice. The Sabbath practice was the result of independent readings of Ethiopian monks, not a Judaic influence. Taddesse Tamrat qualified it as the "religious nationalism" movement against the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Ethiopian kings battled many times to designate an Ethiopian patriarchate, which was only achieved in 1959. See Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, pp. 206-247.
59. Kur, *Actes de Merha Kerstos*. Louvain, *CSCO*, Vol. 330-331, Scriptores Æthiopici, (62-63), 1972. p. 46.
60. Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Dabra Haya 1248-1535," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 8, No.1 (January 1970): pp.95-96. See also J. Perruchon, "Histoire des guerres d'Amda Seyon, roi d'Ethiopie," *Journal Asiatique* 14 (1889): pp. 1-195.
61. The Rules and regulation of the State.
62. The Rules and regulations of the administrations of the royal banquets, tributes and taxes. For both rules and regulations : see Deresse Ayenachew, *Le Kätäma : La cour et le camp en Éthiopie (XIV*éme *–XVI*éme *siècle) : Espace et pouvoir*, pp. 33-48.
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65. Deresse Ayenachew, "The Evolution and Organization of the Čąwa Military Regiments in Medieval Ethiopia," *Annals d'Ethiopie* 29 (2014): pp. 83-95.
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67. Deresse Ayenachew, *Le Kätäma : La cour et le Camp royal en Ethiopie, espace et pouvoir (1270-1529)* pp.245-247. Sciarrino. *Le Ser'atä Qwerhät sur le Cérémonial éthiopien du Sacre des rois avant le XVI siècle*, mémoire de maîtrise, Université Paris 1, 1994.

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69. Marilyn E. Heldman. "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 22, Fasc. 3 (Aug., 1992), pp. 222-241.

70. Deresse Ayenachew, *Le Kätäma : La cour et le camp en Éthiopie (XIV*éme *–XVI*éme *siècle) : Espace et pouvoir*, A PhD. Dissertation, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2009.pp. 84-85.

71. Sciarrino, *Le Ser'atä Qwerhät sur le Cérémonial éthiopien du Sacre des rois avant le XVI siècle*, 1994. Pp. 45-46.

72. Deresse Ayenachew, *Le Kätäma : La cour et le camp en Éthiopie (XIV*éme *–XVI*éme *siècle): Espace et pouvoir*, Pp. 84-85.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Colin, *La Gloire des Rois*, pp. 36- 37. […] le roi Salomon retourna dans sa maison et réunit ses conseillers, ses ministres et les anciens de sa maison royal : il leurs dit « je n'ai pas convaincre cet enfant, maintenant écoutez ce que je vous dis : allons, nous faisons-le roi du pays d'Ethiopie avec nos enfants à vous qui siégez à ma droite et à ma gauche de même, que vous enfants siègent à sa gauche comme conseil des anciens : Allons, vous tous conseillers et juges, donnons vos enfants premières nés et nous aurons un deuxième royaume. English translation is mine.

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This paper is finalized as part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (Grant agreement No. 726206).