

The Apocalypse of Peter in Context

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(eds.)

PEETERS

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER IN CONTEXT

STUDIES ON EARLY CHRISTIAN APOCRYPHA

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AELAC</i>	<i>Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi</i>
<i>AYBD</i>	<i>Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
<i>BDAG</i>	<i>Bauer's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Journal of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research</i>
<i>CAe</i>	<i>Clavis aethiopica</i>
<i>CANT</i>	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i>
<i>CAVT</i>	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti</i>
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i>
<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
<i>EMIP</i>	<i>Ethiopian Manuscript Imaging Project</i>
<i>EMML</i>	<i>Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library</i>
<i>EncDSS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>GCAL</i>	<i>Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HMML</i>	<i>Hill Museum & Manuscript Library</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEastCS</i>	<i>Journal of Eastern Christian Studies</i>
<i>JECH</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian History</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

<i>LDAB</i>	<i>Leuven Database of Ancient Books</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Liddell-Scott-Jones</i>
<i>MGS</i>	<i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek</i>
<i>NASSCAL</i>	<i>North American Society for the Study of Christian Apocryphal Literature</i>
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RIÉ</i>	<i>Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i>
<i>RSCr</i>	<i>Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo</i>
<i>SLA</i>	<i>Studies in Late Antiquity</i>
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>ThWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ThWQ</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Qumran-Aramäisch</i>
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>
<i>V(ig)C(hris)</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZWT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

XIII. On the Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Maṣḥafa Qalemāntos* (*Book of Clement*, CAe 1957): News From Eritrea*

ALESSANDRO BAUSI

The research undertaken since the early 1990s up to 1997 by the Missione Italiana in Eritrea, led by Irma Taddia and funded by the Italian Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR) through the University of Bologna, with participation of myself and Gianfrancesco Lusini, was primarily aimed at collecting written documentary evidence relevant for the history of the land tenure, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth century.¹ This research project was carried

* The research for this note was funded: by the Langzeitvorhaben im Akademienprogramm (long-term project in the program of The Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities), through a project of the Academy of Hamburg, ‘Beta maṣāḥəft: Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung’, at Universität Hamburg (2016–40); by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany’s Excellence Strategy, EXC 2176 ‘Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures’, project no. 390893796 (2019–25); by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC, at University of Oxford and at University College, London), and by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, Research German Foundation, at Universität Hamburg), project no. 672619, ‘Demarginalizing Medieval Africa: Images, Texts, and Identity in Early Solomonic Ethiopia (1270–1527)’ (2020–24). The research was conducted within the scope of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies (HLCEES) and of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), at Universität Hamburg. For some suggestions I would like to thank Paola Buzi. As always, the responsibility for any error and hypothesis remains exclusively with the

out in the short period between two Ethiopian-Eritrean wars when it was possible to western scholars, albeit already with strong limitations, to access directly the actually untouched and little known manuscript treasures hosted in Eritrean churches and monasteries.²

The research on this still virtually unexplored repository of textual heritage of huge importance for the history of the region and its literary and textual tradition in general, is presently committed, as it has to be, mainly to the care of Eritrean institutions.³ These have

author. The transcription of the Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) texts is according to W. Leslau, *Comparative dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden, 1987), also adopted by the project ‘Beta maṣāḥəft’. For the references to the *Clavis aethiopica* (CAe), see <<https://betamasaheft.eu/works/list>>.

¹ For extensive references see the comprehensive publication of the conference proceedings by A. Bausi *et al.* (eds), *Materiale antropologico sul “Rim” in Etiopia ed Eritrea – Anthropological and Historical Documents on “Rim” in Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Torino, 2001), with all details to date. For the sense of the relationship between land tenure and documentary texts recorded in manuscripts, see A. Bausi, ‘Documentary Manuscripts and Archives. The Ethiopian Evidence’, *Studi Magrebini*, NS 12–13 (2014–15, pub. 2017–18 = A. Straface *et al.* (eds), *Labor limae. Atti in onore di Carmela Baffioni*, Napoli) II, 63–80, and A. Wion, ‘L’authorité de l’écrit pragmatique dans la société chrétienne éthiopienne (xv^e–xviii^e siècle)’, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 74/3–4 (2019) 559–89.

² For an overview, see A. Bausi, ‘Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell’Eritrea [I. Dabra Māryām]’, *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 38 (1994, pub. 1996) 13–69; *id.*, ‘id. [II. Dabra Bizan]’, *ibid.* 39 (1995, pub. 1997) 25–48; *id.*, ‘id. [III. Dabra Libānos. Dabra Abuna Beṣuʿa Amlāk. Dabra Marqorēwos]’, *ibid.* 41 (1997, pub. 1998) 13–56; G. Lusini, ‘Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḥuḥān e Dabra Şegē, Sarāʿē, Eritrea)’, *ibid.* 42 (1998, pub. 1999) 5–55.

³ For the state of the art see A. Bausi and G. Lusini, ‘The philological study of the Eritrean manuscripts in Gəʿəz. Methods and practices’, in Zemenfes Tsighe *et al.* (eds), *International Conference on Eritrean Studies*, I. *Literature, Linguistics, Philology, History, Discourse Analysis, Education, Socio-cultural Issues, Gender, Law, Regional Dynamics, and Tigrinya Literature* (Asmara, 2018) 125–41. For current work, for example, on one of the treasures of Eritrean manuscript collections, that is the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos, at Ham, see N. Valieva and P.M. Liuzzo, ‘Giving Depth to TEI-Based Descriptions of Manuscripts. The Golden Gospel of Ham’, *Aethiopica* 24 (2021) 175–211; and on the medieval inscription in the same site,

already undertaken systematic surveys which remain still unpublished though.⁴ Lack of qualified staff and human power, and the complex relationships with the religious institutions, have not yet allowed to reach the kind of results one hopes will be achieved in the near future. In particular, systematic coverage of manuscript collections by digitisation campaigns has neither been carried out nor planned, whereas basic conservation measures are being put in place, with traditional methods and doubtful results. Paradoxically, the work has proceeded at a better pace with the investigation of manuscripts in non-western collections abroad, for example in Egyptian institutions. These collections are supposed, as is to assume in the light of recent researches, to have had deep relationship to Eritrean institutions, even though it remains unclear to what extent this special relation can be projected backwards in the past.⁵

Among the several manuscripts from monastic collections that the MIE documented in the 1990s, still in the pre-digital era (most of the notes were copied by hand and manuscript descriptions carried out on the spot, in the absence of sophisticated equipment and

variously dated from the ninth to the thirteenth, and now to the tenth century, see A. Bausi, ‘“Paleografia quale scienza dello spirito”. Once more on the Gəʿəz inscription of Ham (RIÉ no. 232)’, in J.B. Quenzer (ed.), *Exploring Written Artefacts. Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, I (Berlin–Boston, MA, 2021) 3–33.

⁴ For some activities undertaken, see M. Villa, ‘Monastic libraries in Eritrea. An agenda for the future’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici Serie terza*, 2 (49) (2018 = G. Lusini, ed., *The Eritrean Cultural Heritage. Facts and Projects. Italo-Eritrean Workshop*, Napoli–Roma, 2018) 157–81; A. Bausi et al., ‘Training Activities. Eritrean Manuscript Studies Summer Training Programme (Asmara, 25 August – 3 September 2019)’, *ibid.*, Serie terza, 4 (51) (2020) 193–94. For an interesting discovery that is an outcome of these field researches and cooperation activities, see A. Bausi and A. Desreumaux, ‘Une *ṭablītō* syriaque orthodoxe en Érythrée datée de 1295/1296: un témoin des «métropolitans syriens»?’, *Aethiopica* 24 (2021) 233–44.

⁵ See now in particular D. Nosnitsin and D. Reule, *The Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Egyptian Monastery of Dayr as-Suryān. A Catalogue* (Wiesbaden, 2021) xiv–xxii; for the general issues of the Egyptian-Ethiopian-Eritrean relationships see the comprehensive PhD dissertation by M. Ambu, *Du texte à la communauté: relations et échanges entre l’Égypte copte et les réseaux monastiques éthiopiens (XIII^e–XVI^e siècles)*, Thèse pour l’obtention du titre de Docteur en Histoire (Paris, 2022).

at times access clearance and microfilming permission), there was also an ancient witness of the *Revelation of Peter to Clement* or *Ethiopic version of the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, which is best known in the Ethiopian-Eritrean tradition as *Maṣḥafa Qalemāntos* (*Book of Clement*) or simply (and here henceforth) *Qalemāntos* (*Clement*, CAe 1957).

As is well known, this work must be clearly distinguished from the (Greek-)Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* (CANT 317). Theologians and specialists of early-Christian literature call ‘Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*’⁶ the initial portion (partly corresponding to the *Greek Apocalypse of Peter*) of a treatise, *The second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead* (CAe 1127), which, along with the next treatise that follows in the manuscripts, *A speech on the glorious and arcane mystery of the judgment of sinners and a dispute concerning this speech* (CAe 2132), composes a substantial Ethiopic pseudo-Clementine dossier, for which only two manuscript witnesses are known.⁷

The Ethiopic *Qalemāntos* is still unpublished, even though there have been some progresses in the last years in the study of its manuscript tradition. More interest, however, as is to be expected, has raised, particularly for the ideological content, its partial *Vorlage*, that

⁶ This is not the subject of the present note and I will not spend much time to elaborate on this. The concept is absolutely essential and was first set forth clearly by R.W. Cowley, ‘The Ethiopic Work which is believed to contain the material of the ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, *JThS* NS 36 (1985) 151–53. For a balanced presentation and further general references, see P. Marrassini, ‘Peter, Apocalypse of’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden, 2010) 135b–37a.

⁷ MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éthiopiens, d’Abbadie 51 (a codicologically complex manuscript dating from the fifteenth/sixteenth century), and MS Lake Tānā, Tānāsee 35 = Kebrān 35 (dating from the eighteenth century). For all further details concerning the manuscripts, see my contribution A. Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition of the Ethiopic dossier of the “Apocalypse of Peter”’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016, pub. 2017) 179–96, which to my knowledge still provides the most detailed and reliable state of the art on the manuscript tradition, editions, and translations of the two Ethiopic treatises. A further translation of the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* is provided by E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019) 66–73; what I think of this translation is reserved for a review of this monograph that is in preparation.

is, the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter to Clement*, which is attested in a variety of recensions and still awaits a detailed and in-depth philological analysis.⁸ Interest has also raised in particular the use of the Arabic apocalyptic text in the context of the Crusades.⁹

As already stated, the Ethiopic *Qalemāntos* corresponds only partially to the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter to Clement*, in particular as far as the books III–VII are concerned, whereas books I–II have a closer correspondence to Arabic texts.¹⁰ The studies carried out so far confirm the existence of a stable structure and manuscript tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalemāntos*, whose matter is distributed in seven books.

⁸ See the overview in the Introduction of my translation of Books III–VII of the *Qalemāntos*, A. Bausi, ቀሌጠንቦስ: *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7. Traduzione e introduzione* (Napoli, 1992), with coverage of the Arabic tradition as well, and detailed bibliographic indications, including numerous reviews. Essential contributions on the Arabic remain E. Bratke, ‘Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-aethiopischen Petrus-Apokalypse’, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 36 (1893) 454–93; M.D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, 1. *Kitāb al-Magāll, or the Book of the Rolls* (London–New York, NY, 1901) i–xi, 1–55 (Arabic numbers), 1–58; A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies. Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni*, III, 2. *Apocalypse of Peter* (Cambridge, 1931) 93–449; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, I. *Die Übersetzungen* (Città del Vaticano, 1944) 271–72, 283–92; G. Troupeau, ‘De quelques apocalypses conservées dans des manuscrits arabes de Paris’, *Parole de l’Orient* 18 (1993) 75–87 at 76–77; B. Roggema, ‘Biblical Exegesis and Interreligious Polemics in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter – The Book of the Rolls*’, in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden, 2007) 131–50; P. La Spisa, ‘À propos de l’*Apocalypse de Pierre arabe* ou *Livre des Révélations (Kitāb al Mağāl)*’, in A. Bausi et al. (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini* (Wiesbaden, 2014) 511–26.

⁹ See C. Conti Rossini, ‘Il libro dello Pseudo-Clemente e la crociata di Damietta’, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9/1–2 (1921) 32–35; M. Lewy, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge. Wandel eines frühislamischen Motivs in der Literatur und Kartografie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2018) 130–34; B. Weber, ‘Damiette, 1220. La cinquième croisade et l’*Apocalypse arabe de Pierre* dans leur contexte nilotique’, *Médiévales. Langues, Textes, Histoire* 79/2 (2020) 69–90.

¹⁰ Besides Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, see a more concise presentation of the relationship in id., ‘Qālemāntos’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden, 2010) 251b–53b.

The work is available in its entirety in complementary French (books I–II, and part of the III, plus excerpts from other books) and Italian (books III–VII) translations.¹¹

The manuscript tradition of the *Qalēmāntos*, in fact, albeit stable and very far from the fluid transmission typology that characterizes the corresponding Arabic apocalypse, still poses problems. A comprehensive critical edition is still *in votis*, and some studies have only highlighted some aspects of the manuscript tradition.¹² The manuscripts I was able to analyse are the following, with the sigla I will

¹¹ See S. Grébaud, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmāntos’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 16 (1911) 72–84, 167–75, 225–33; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 17 (1912) 16–31, 133–44, 244–52, 337–46; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 18 (1913) 69–78; all repr. in id., *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmāntos. Version éthiopienne en sept livres traduite en français*, I. *Livres premier et deuxième* (Paris, 1913); S. Grébaud, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmāntos’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 19 (1914) 324–30; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 20 (1915–17) 33–37, 424–30; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 21 (1918–19) 246–52; id., ‘id.’, *ibid.* 22 (1920–21) 22–28, 113–17, 395–400; S. Grébaud and A. Roman, ‘id.’, *ibid.* 26 (1927–28) 22–31; iid., ‘Un passage démonologique du Qalēmāntos’, *Journal Asiatique* 211 (1927) 331–39; iid., ‘Un passage eschatologique du Qalēmāntos’, *Aethiops* 3/2 (1930) 21–23; iid., ‘Le livre V du Qalēmāntos’, *ibid.* 3/3 (1930) 39–41; Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, with translation of book III–VII and further details. For books I–II, I will refer to the books (capital Roman), paragraphs (small Roman), and verses (Arabic numbers) of the French translation in Grébaud, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmāntos*; and for books III–VII to the books (capital Roman) and paragraphs (Arabic numbers) of my Italian translation.

¹² For details on available manuscripts, I refer here to Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, 15–17; id., ‘The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalēmāntos*. A Short Note’, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 59/1 (2006 = W. Witakowski and L. Łykowska (eds), *Wälättä Yohanna. Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niećko on the Occasion of the 50th Year of her Work at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Warsaw University*). 47–57; id., ‘Qalēmāntos’; A. Bausi, ‘The Ethiopic *Book of Clement*. The Case of a Recent Ethiopian Edition and a Few Additional Remarks’, in A.C. McCollum (ed.), *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History. Festschrift for Getatchew Haile Presented by his Friends and Colleagues* (Wiesbaden, 2017) 221–37; see also id., ‘Writing, Copying, Translating. Ethiopia as a Manuscript Culture’, in J.B. Quenzer *et al.* (eds), *Manuscript Cultures. Mapping the Field* (Berlin – Boston, MA, 2014) 37–77 at 57–60.

henceforth use to refer to them: MSS London, British Library, Orient. 751 [A], 752 [B], and 753 [C]; Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML),¹³ nos 370 [D], 1141 [E], 2147 [F], and 4857 [G]; Monumento Nazionale di Casamari, Veroli, MS 121 (MNC-020) [K];¹⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éthiopien, d'Abbadie 78 [P]; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung, Ṭānāsee 175 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 64 [S]; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1 [T]; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 122 [V].

A recent Ethiopian edition, with Gəʿəz text along with an Amharic translation, has been published a few years ago in Addis Ababa. This edition (*The Book of Clement of Rome in Gəʿəz and Amharic*) represents the individual attempt by the scholar Gabra Yoḥānnəs Gabra Māryām without any formal support from the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥədo Church institution, to make the text of the *Qaleməntos* accessible in the original text and in an interpretive Amharic translation.¹⁵ The edition does not match any scholarly standard and is marked by apparent flaws; one cannot exclude that the editor and translator has to some extent adapted, rearranged, and even rewritten the text. In the absence of detailed information, it is impossible to

¹³ The EMML manuscripts can be also consulted, along with manuscripts from many other collections, in the Reading Room (<https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/>) of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML), at Collegeville, MN, where they are provided with permanent links (<https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/> plus number).

¹⁴ On MS K, one of the oldest manuscripts available, see D.V. Proverbio and G. Fiaccadori, 'Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli). "Appendice" di G. Fiaccadori: Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropolitani Yeshāq, Yāʿqob e Mārḳos d' Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)', *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie nona, 15 (2004) 665–93; A. Bausi, 'La tradizione scrittoria etiopica', *Segno e testo* 6 (2008) 507–57 at 514–15, n. 15; and lastly A. Brita *et al.*, 'Three Collections of Gəʿəz Manuscripts Recently Surveyed in Italy. An Inventory', *Aethiopica* 20 (2017) 167–89 at 184 (MS MNC-020).

¹⁵ See Yoḥānnəs Gabra Māryām, መጽሐፈ ቀሌሜንጦስ ዘሮም በግእዝና በአማርኛ (*Maṣḥafa Qaleməntos zaRom bagəʿəzənnā baʿamārəññā*, 'The Book of Clement of Rome in Gəʿəz and Amharic', Addis Ababā, 2008).

determine which are the manuscript sources on which the editor based his edition and if any manuscript actually corresponds to that text.¹⁶

Based on extensive collation of book II, it appears that the majority of the manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos* – seven out of twelve collated textual witnesses – are marked by a large transposition which seems to be due to a mechanical error: due to the transposition of leaves, a long lists of heresies is interrupted by the insertion of an abrupt passage, whereas the list is later resumed. With all evidence, this transposition demonstrates the existence of a subarchetype as a common ancestor of the branch of the tradition that shares that innovation.¹⁷ The same error also affects the Ethiopian printed edition.¹⁸

I finally come to the main point of this modest note. The manuscript of the *Qalemāntos* that the MIE documented was examined in 1992 in the monastery of ʿĒndā ʿAbuna Yonās Tähtāy, also known as Dabra Dəḥuḥān, in the Eritrean region of Sarāʿe.¹⁹

The manuscript was summarily described on the spot, copying some passages, and taking the few notes which the little time and the

¹⁶ See for further details Bausi, ‘The Ethiopic *Book of Clement*’. The survey of the printed edition has shown that the source text of the edition can be placed close to MSS F and T. In the same contribution I also considered three further manuscripts: the seventeenth-century MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 237, with book VII only on ff. 5r–16r; the fifteenth-century MS Jerusalem, Library of the Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarchate, JE 300 E (with shelfmark 119), with excerpts on ff. 61r–84r from books II, III, IV, and VII: ff. 61r.16–70r.15: II,iv,2–viii,12; ff. 70r.15–72r.10: IV,1–5; ff. 72r.10–76v.20: III,48–59; ff. 76v.20–80v.13: IV,6–14; ff. 80v.13–83r.16: IV,69–73; ff. 83r.16–84r.1: VI,69–71; and the fourteenth-fifteenth century MS EMLL no. 1843, definitely the oldest manuscript witness, with five excerpts on ff. 56va–58ra from book III: III,1–5; III,60; III,99; III,114; III,165–67.

¹⁷ See details in Bausi, ‘The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalēmāntos*’, 47–57.

¹⁸ See id., ‘The Ethiopic *Book of Clement*’, 222–24.

¹⁹ See G. Lusini, ‘Däbrä Dəḥuḥān’, in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, II (Wiesbaden, 2005) 20b; the hagiography of the founder of the monastery, ʿAbbā Yonās, was published in the meanwhile, see Tedros Abraha, *Gädlä Abunä Yonas Zä-Bur. Eritrean Saint of the 15th Century. Geʿez text edited and translated* (Turnhout, 2015); on the saint, see also A. Bausi, ‘Yonas of Bur’, in A. Bausi and S. Uhlig (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, V (Wiesbaden, 2014) 92b–94a.

limited access to the manuscript allowed. The description appeared in the first Italian report of the MIE activities in 1993.²⁰ I reproduce it here in English:²¹

Qaleməntos. Parchment. Fifteenth century (at the latest); 31 × 18 cm; 166 ff.; 2 cols; 29–30 lines (sometimes more). Most of the leaves are detached and the quire structure is therefore not determinable. The codex is in a poor state of preservation; the beginning of the text is mutilous, some sheets are browned. Undecorated wooden cover. F. 166r: *zātti maṣḥaf zawahaba beta krəstiyān Ta[ta]mqa Madhən kama [yəza]k-kərwəwo 'ahawihu bamoto wabahəywato tasaffəwo baṣalotəkkəmu* ('This is the book that gave <to> the church Taṭamqə Madhən so that his brothers remember him, and in <their> life having hope in your prayer'). It contains the *Qaleməntos*: f. 1r: book I (beginning is wanting); f. 41r: book II: *basəma* [etc.] *qadāmi məsrāta zakāsāta qəddus Pētros. larad'u Qaleməntos* [etc.] ('In the name [etc.] First announcement that Saint Peter revealed to his disciple Clement'); f. 61r: book III [[in fact: book V]]: *basəma* [etc.] *śər'at zaqəddəst. beta krəstiyān zana-garo 'Əgzi'əna wamadhanina 'Iyasus Krəstos laPētros* ('In the name [etc.] Rule of the holy Church which our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ told to Peter'); f. 66v: book IV [[in fact: book III]]: *basəma* [etc.] *nəqəddəm nəṣəḥəf* [sic] *ḥayla wata'ammər za'ar'aya 'Əgzi'abəḥer* ('In the name [etc.] We start to write the power and miracles which the Lord showed'); f. 102r: V libro [[in fact: book IV]]: *basəma* [etc.] *nagar zatanāgaro Pētros rə'əsa ḥawāryāt* ('In the name [etc.] Speech which Peter head of the Apostles spoke'); f. 133r: book VI: *batr zazabaṭo laSaytān Krəstos wə'ətu wabatra Muse 'ənta gabrat ta'amməra baqāla 'Əgzi'abəḥer baqadāmi ḥəgg 'ar'ayā tə'mərta masqal yə'əti baza saqa-ləwo laKrəstos* ('The rod by which Christ beat Satan is the rod of Moses, which accomplished miracles by the word of God in the first Law, at the image of the sign of that Cross on which Christ was crucified'); f. 148r: book VII *śāləs nagar watə'əzāz ba'ənta nəssəḥa la'əlla*

²⁰ See A. Bausi *et al.* (eds), 'Materiali di Studio dal Särə'ē (Eritrea): le istituzioni monastiche e la struttura della proprietà fondiaria', *Africa* (Roma) 48/3 (1993) 446–463 at 462–63. Documentary texts taken from manuscripts at the monastery were published by Lusini, *Scritture documentarie*, 5–55.

²¹ Note that the books of the *Qaleməntos* were at the time simply numbered on the basis of their sequence, as it was not possible to consider any further evidence. Based on the evidence collected later in 2019, I provide here in double square brackets [[]] the correct identification of the book number, according to what we know at present of the manuscript transmission. I also add in round brackets the translation of some passages.

gab'u ('Third speech and order concerning the penitence of those who have repented').

On 2 September 2019 I was able to examine directly in Asmara²² for a few hours the same manuscript I had seen and summarily described twenty-seven years before, on 21–22 October 1992, at the monastery of Dabra Dəḥuḥān.²³ The occasion was provided by the fact that the entire library of the monastery of Dabra Dəḥuḥān had been temporarily moved to Asmara for conservation and microfilming measures, at the care of the local Research and Documentation Centre, which hosted a summer school offered by the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies of the Universität Hamburg in cooperation with the Eritrean institutions. The manuscript was conventionally given the shelfmark DDAY-005,²⁴ but I will use here the siglum X when listing it along with other manuscript witnesses of the *Qalemāntos*. Here follows a new description of the content of this manuscript, compared with the available French and Italian translations, according to the sequence of the leaves.

The manuscript appeared in relatively better conditions in comparison to the state I observed in 1992, insofar that it was entirely reordered, and also rebound, furnished with a new red tooled leather cover over the wooden boards, with textile pastedowns. Yet, the binding had not taken into account the textual evidence and, as I will show in a moment, the coherence of the sequence was disregarded. One leaf appears to have gone lost, since the manuscript consisted of 165 leaves, against the 166 recorded in 1992 (if the counting was correct); pagination had been added on recto and verso (per each page) from 1 to 330. The size could be better specified: 316 × 207 × 97 mm. Two decorated *incipits* of chapter are found on pp. 169 (f. 85r) and 299 (f. 147r).

On f. 1r, which serves as an endleaf, a modern title in abbreviated form is found, which identifies the contents of the manuscript as:

²² My warm thanks go to Susanne Hummel and Denis Nosnitsin, who were part of the team who participated in the event and helped me to access the manuscript.

²³ See A. Bausi and G. Lusini, 'Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 36 (1992, pub. 1994) 5–36 at 15–16.

²⁴ DDAY being an acronym for Dabra Dəḥuḥān 'Abbā Yonaś.

ma(ṣḥafa) sərʾat za be(ta) krəstəyān ('Book of the rule of the church'). This could be an interesting clue on how traditionally the *Qaleməntos* is perceived, that is, more a work of canon law (predominant matter of books III–VII) than an apocalyptic writing (matter of books I–II). The title, however, could also have a more practical explanation, as is common in inventories of books, that is, the first text in the manuscript (here book V of the *Qaleməntos*) identifies the manuscript for the sake of inventorying it.²⁵ The *incipit* of book V is in fact the following: *basəma ʾab* [etc.] *śərʾat zaqəddəst. beta krəstiyān. zanagara ʾəgziʾəna wamadḥanina ʾiyasus krəstos la pētros* ('In the name of the Father [etc.] Rule of the holy Church that our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ told to Peter').

The content of the manuscript is the following:

- f. 1r: title: *ma(ṣḥafa) sərʾat za be(ta) krəstəyān* ('Book of the rule of the church'); f. 1v: blank;
- ff. 2–7ra: book V;
- f. 7rb: on the second line, part of the trinitarian formula, with first line left empty, probably to be later rubricated; lines 3–12 are erased;
- ff. 7va, 8, (lacuna of one leaf,) 47–48, 9–38, 45–46, 39–42: book III;²⁶ note that the passage on ff. 9ra.12–11vb.2, between III,21 and

²⁵ See on this T. Erho, 'The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia', in P. Nicelli (ed.), *L'Africa, l'Oriente mediterraneo e l'Europa. Tradizioni e culture a confronto* (Milano, 2015) 97–118; A. Bausi, 'Ethiopia and the Christian Ecumene. Cultural Transmission, Translation, and Reception', in S. Kelly (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden, 2020) 217–51 at 230–33.

²⁶ Details: f. 7v: III,1–4; f. 8: III,4–8; lacuna of one leaf: III,8–12; f. 47: III,12–16; f. 48: III,16–21; f. 9 (f. 9ra.1–11): III,21; ff. 9ra.12–11vb.2: passage with no correspondence in the available translations; f. 11vb.2–end: III,22–23; f. 12: III,23–27; f. 13: III,27–29; f. 14: III,29–31; f. 15: III,31–34; f. 16: III,34–41; f. 17: III,41–44; f. 18: III,44–48; f. 19: III,48–52; f. 20: III,52–56; f. 21: III,56–62; f. 22: III,62–68; f. 23: III,68–73; f. 24: III,73–79; f. 25: III,79–84; f. 26: III,84–88; f. 27: III,88–94; f. 28: III,94–98; f. 29: III,98–104; f. 30: III,104–10; f. 31: III,110–18; f. 32: III,118–23; f. 33: III,123–31; f. 34: III,131–37; f. 35: III,137–40; f. 36: III,140–46; f. 37: III,146–50; f. 38: III,150–55; f. 45: III,155–62; f. 46: III,162–66; f. 39r: III,166–69; ff. 39v–40r: non digitized: presumably, III,169–77; f. 40v: III,177–79; f. 41: III,179–86; f. 42r–vb: III,186–91.

- III,22, has no apparent correspondence in the available translations, but it belongs to the *Qalemāntos*: it is found in at least four more manuscripts which, I assume, preserve the primary text, whereas the others share the omission and must depend from a common subarchetype, at least as far as this book is concerned;²⁷ from III,22 the text goes according to what all manuscripts I could check attest;
- ff. 43–44, 104–132r: book IV;²⁸
 - ff. 49–84rb: book I: acephalous with one leaf with *incipit* missing; otherwise complete;²⁹
 - f. 84rb–va: commemoration of the patriarchs;³⁰ f. 84vb: blank;
 - ff. 85–98, 102–103, 100–101, 99: book II; with a few transpositions; mutilous: the last paragraph at the end is missing;³¹ it is

²⁷ The passage is not found in MSS AB EF P T V; the passage is found in MSS C, ff. 25ra.31–26rc.15; D, ff. 40ra.24–41va.23; G, ff. 40ra.23–42rb.8; K, ff. 92vb.26–95rb.19; and S, ff. 72va.28–75ra.27. Note that this variant in MS S had not escaped a cataloguer of the stature of Veronika Six, who observed ‘Der Text von Bl.72va, Zl.28 (nach den zehn Geboten) bis 75ra fehlt in der Übersetzung von GPsCl VIII (Nr.8)’, that is Grébaut, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmāntos’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 20 (1915–17) 33–37, 424–30 (as is also missing in Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, 50–51, between III,21 and III,22), see V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, III. *Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften Deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen* (Stuttgart, 1999) 231.

²⁸ Details: ff. 43–44: IV,1–8; ff. 104–132ra: IV,8–164.

²⁹ Details: lacuna of one leaf: I,i,1–3; f. 49: I,i,3–ii,3; f. 50: I,ii,3; f. 51: I,ii,3–iii,3; f. 52: I,iii,3–6; f. 53: I,iii,6–iv,3; f. 54: I,iv,3–v,2; f. 55: I,v,2–vi,3; f. 56: I,vi,3–vii,1; f. 57: I,vii,1–3; f. 58: I,vii,3–4; f. 59: I,vii,4–viii,2; f. 60: I,viii,2–ix,3; f. 61: I,ix,4–x,2; f. 62: I,x,2–xi,2; f. 63: I,xi,2–xii,3; f. 64: I,xii,3–xiii,2; f. 65: I,xiii,2–xiv,2; f. 66: I,xiv,2–3; f. 67: I,xiv,3–xv,4; f. 68: I,xv,4–xvi,5; f. 69: I,xvi,5–11; f. 70: I,xvi,11–xviii,1; f. 71: I,xviii,1–xix,2; f. 72: I,xix,2–xx,2; f. 73: I,xx,2–xxi,1; f. 74: I,xxi,1–5; f. 75: I,xxi,5–8; f. 76: I,xxi,8–xxii,3; f. 77: I,xxii,3–7; f. 78: I,xxii,7–11; f. 79: I,xxii,11–xxiii,5; f. 80: I,xxiii,5–10; f. 81: I,xxiii,10–xxiv,1; f. 82: I,xxiv,2–4; f. 83: I,xxiv,4–9; f. 84: I,xxiv,9.

³⁰ This commemoration is present in other manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos*, see edition and translation from MSS C and D, in Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, 179–80.

³¹ Details: f. 85: II,i,1–2; f. 86: II,i,2–3; f. 87: II,i,3–ii,1; f. 88: II,ii,1–4; f. 89: II,ii,4–7; f. 90: II,ii,7–8; f. 91: II,ii,8–iii,2; f. 92: II,iii,2–iv,3; f. 93: II,iv,3–vi,1; f. 94: II,vi,1–vii,1; f. 95: II,vii,1–viii,1; f. 96: II,viii,1–6; f. 97:

important to note that also this manuscript shares the transposition error that affects a list of heresies in book II, and thus depends from that same subarchetype as other manuscripts, at least as far as this book is concerned;³²

- ff. 132r–146: book VI;
- ff. 147–165ra: book VII; contrary to what is found in other manuscripts, part of the manuscript transmission, including MS X, introduces this book giving it as: *śālās nagar watə`əzāz ba`ənta nəssəħa la`əlla gab`u. fəkkāre rā`y śālās nagar zarə`ya pētros walda yonā* ('Third speech and order concerning the penitence of those who re-entered (the community). Interpretation of the vision, third speech, which Peter son of Jonah saw').³³

The distribution of this variant does not reflect the stemmatological classification based on the transposition in book II, but: 1) we cannot exclude that the indication of a 'third speech' at the beginning of the seventh and last book of the work was independently removed by more copyists, since it disturbs the sequence;³⁴ 2) we cannot exclude

II,viii,6–12; f. 98: II,viii,12–ix,6 (note: on this leaf there is the transposition of the list of heresies: this manuscript has the same arrangement as those with the transposition); f. 102: II,ix,6–12; f. 103: II,ix,12–17; f. 100: II,ix,17–22; f. 101: II,ix,22–25; f. 99: II,ix,25–28; the last paragraph at the end (within II,ix,28), is missing.

³² The transposed passage is II,ix,6–18: the French translation by Grébaud, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmentos*, that follows MS P, has this wrong sequence: II,ix,1–5, 6–18, 19–25, 26–28, whereas the correct textual sequence is: II,ix,1–5, 19–25, 6–18, 26–28. The wrong sequence, besides P, is also found in MSS C E F S T V. Manuscripts not affected by this wrong sequence are MSS A B D G K.

³³ The indication that this is a third speech is missing, for example, in MSS A B E (in MS A f. 80vc, book VII has the following *incipit*: *basəma`ab* [etc.] *zəntu rā`y zarə`əya sām`on walda yonā* [etc.], 'In the name of the Father [etc.] This is the vision that saw Simon son of Jonah'; see Bausi, *Il Qalēmentos etiopico*, 155); the indication is present in MSS C D F G K P S T V, as well as in MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 237, with book VII only.

³⁴ See for example the comment by Veronika Six, who took this indication in MS S as a copyist's slip, Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*, III, 231, 'Das siebente Buch ist versehentlich Bl.39va als *śālās nagər* ... bezeichnet' (*nagər*: sic).

that for different parts or books of the work a different stemma applies; 3) we cannot exclude that this indication is itself an innovation: it would then be the introduction of a paratext, or better, paracontent, in the form of an explicatory title.³⁵

From this description of the manuscript, which takes into account the numerous transpositions of leaves, there emerges the following possible sequence of texts, distributed in at least five blocks:³⁶

- A) ff. 49–84rb: book I: acephalous: one leaf with *incipit* is missing; otherwise complete; f. 84rb–va: commemoration of the patriarchs;
- B) ff. 85–98, 102–103, 100–101, 99: book II: with a few transpositions; mutilous: the last paragraph at the end is missing;
- C) ff. 2–7ra: book V; ff. 7va, 8, 47–48, 9–38, 45–46, 39–42: book III;
- D) ff. 43–44, 104–132r: book IV; ff. 132r–146: book VI;
- E) ff. 147–165ra: book VII.

The evidence of the textual sequence, even in the absence of a codicological analysis, which was not possible for the time being, shows that the sequence of the books is at great variance with what is known from all other manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos*. In particular, even though it is possible that blocks A and B were arranged in this sequence, which would give: books I and II at the beginning, there is no doubt that what is usually known as book III could not follow, because it is preceded in block C by book V, and the sequence book V–book III is certain in this manuscript (book III ends on the recto of the same leaf on the verso of which book V begins).

³⁵ For ‘paracontent’ see G. Ciotti *et al.*, *Definition of Paracontent* (Hamburg, 2018); and for the title, see the last of a series of contributions by Paola Buzi on the Coptic manuscript tradition, P. Buzi, ‘Preliminary Remarks on Coptic Biblical Titles (From the Third to the Eleventh Century)’, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 3/1 (2017) 5–22, with further references.

³⁶ It is not possible to apply a consistent codicological description, because it was not possible to analyse the quire structure of MS X, but the source of inspiration for this approach, with the notion of ‘blocks’ separated by caesurae (in this case, the coincidence of beginning and/or end of textual units with sets of leaves) obviously is the well known contribution by J.P. Gumbert, ‘Codicological Units. Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex’, *Segno e testo* 2 (2004 = E. Crisci and O. Pecere (eds), *Il codice miscellaneo, tipologia e funzioni*) 17–42.

Yet, it is possible that what we know as book VII, indicated as ‘third speech’ in this as well as other manuscripts, could follow immediately book II, and then be in fact a third book; this arrangement could reflect an older layer of the tradition. As for books III, IV, V, and VI, the sequence in the leaves allows for two possibilities only: either C-D, that is books V, III, IV, VI; or D-C, that is books IV, VI, V, III.

More in general, we note contradictory evidence, which requires further examination and possibly also the consideration of phenomena of contamination: 1) the transposition in book II is an innovation shared by MSS C E F P S T V X, against MSS A B D G K; 2) the omission of a passage in book III is also an innovation shared by MSS A B E F P T V, which must depend from a common subarchetype, against MSS C D G K S X; and 3) the title of book VII as ‘third speech’ opposes manuscript witnesses with this indication, that is MSS C D F G K P S T V X, to those without this indication, that is MSS A B E.

The availability of digital surrogates of further manuscripts of the *Qalemantos*, new or already known from preliminary inventories, but still uncatalogued or only summarily catalogued, provides evidence that shall be the subject of another contribution. To only sum up a few preliminary conclusions of a cursory analysis of some of them:

- 1) the transposition in book II (like MSS C E F P S T V X) is also shared by the following manuscripts: MSS EMMML nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843;³⁷ MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḳos, DM-035;³⁸ MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḥāy Church, 012;³⁹ MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039;⁴⁰ MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA

³⁷ These four manuscripts are all uncatalogued and accessible at the HMML permanent link (<https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/>) nos 200044; 200134; 201178; 201511.

³⁸ Digitised by Mersha Alehegne, whom I thank for letting me access this uncatalogued material.

³⁹ The microfilm of this manuscript was digitised by the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project, Project Director Steve Delamarter (George Fox University, Portland, Oregon, USA), for The IES Digital Collection of Ethiopian Manuscripts, in cooperation with the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University.

⁴⁰ The manuscript was catalogued by Ted Erho, and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 533861. This manuscript has

- 00139 (C1-IV-124);⁴¹ MS EMLL no. 6976 is not complete and some portions, including books I and VII, are missing, but it has the transposition in book II.⁴² Only the following two manuscripts (like MSS A B D G K) do not have the transposition: MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249);⁴³ and MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011;⁴⁴
- 2) the omission of the passage in book III (like MSS A B E F P T V) is also shared by the following manuscripts: MSS EMLL nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843; MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḡos, DM-035; MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḡāy Church, 012; MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039. The following manuscripts (like MSS C D G K S X) do not have the omission: MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124); MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249); MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011; MS EMLL no. 6976;
 - 3) the following manuscripts (like MSS A B E) do not title book VII ‘third speech’: MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḡāy Church, 012; MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039; MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249). The following manuscripts title book VII ‘third speech’ (like MSS C D F G K P S T V X): MSS EMLL nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843; MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḡos, DM-035; MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124); MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011. MS EMLL 6976 lacks book VII.

Note that MSS EMLL nos 6281, 6495, 7651, 8843, and MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḡos, DM-035, all share the same three textual features 1), 2), and 3) as MSS F P T V. MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḡāy Church, 012, and MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039 share features 1)

also the commemoration of the patriarchs, considered as an additional book, thus obtaining an arrangement in eight books.

⁴¹ Metadata were provided by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 500187.

⁴² The manuscript was catalogued by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 200601.

⁴³ Metadata were provided by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 138203.

⁴⁴ Digitised by Mersha Alehegne, whom I thank for letting me access this uncatalogued material.

and 2), but do not title book VII ‘third speech’. MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayašā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124), has the same features as MSS S (and X, aside from the order of books), that is transposition of the passage in book II and title of book VII as ‘third book’. MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011, like MSS G K, has no features 1) and 2), and titles book VII ‘third speech’. MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249), has no features 1) and 2), but does not title book VII ‘third speech’.

Concerning other EMLL manuscripts inventoried as *Qaleməntos*, note that no. 7364 is not a *Qaleməntos*;⁴⁵ and no. 8753 is the same as MS S (= Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung, Tānāsee 175 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 64). Other EMLL manuscripts could not yet be checked.⁴⁶

What I have presented here, at the example of the Ethiopic *Qaleməntos*, confirms what is well known and has been even recently repeated more times: the libraries of Eritrea and Ethiopia are a mine of historical and philological information. They host an essential documentary source for the investigation of the Eritrean and Ethiopian past and literary tradition, including all entanglements with other cultural areas and literatures, not only of the last two centuries, but even more, from the earliest attested writing evidence onwards – considering the related epigraphic sources, at times connected to church settlements, spanning over two millennia.

Having had the privilege to take part in several of the field trips (from 1992 to 1997) carried out by the Missione Italiana in Eritrea, the importance and vastness of the extant materials became immediately apparent. Among the tantalizing aspects of a research that was

⁴⁵ The manuscript is a Four Gospel manuscript, with acephalous prefatory materials; on f. 1r there is in fact the last part of a *List of apostles and disciple* (CAe 6241) that mentions also Clement, see edition and translation in A. Bausi, ‘Una “lista” etiopica di apostoli e discepoli’, in id. *et al.* (eds), *Æthiopica et Orientalia. Studi in onore di Yaḡob Beyene* (Napoli, 2012) I, 43–67 at 64–65, § 20.

⁴⁶ The following EMLL manuscripts already listed in Bausi, *Il Qalēməntos etiopico*, 16, were not yet available in an accessible format: MSS nos 6732, 7391 (= Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library of Ethiopia, 422), 8123, 8295, 8549, 8572, and 8578. To this list I was able to add here no. 6976.

still carried out in the pre-digital age was the fact that, despite the large amount of material examined, it was impossible (not permitted and not even technically feasible, in consideration of the available equipment) to collect materials by microfilming to be eventually analysed under better conditions, unless to a very limited extent. If, despite all these constraints, the outcome of this research was a not negligible collection of significant documents, it was nonetheless impossible to approach a more sophisticated level of investigation, in particular to fathom the phenomenology of the manuscript tradition of medieval works in Gəʿəz as attested in Eritrean institutions.

Thanks to recent developments and initiatives undertaken, it appears to be possible to go beyond this limit.⁴⁷ The case I have tried to enlighten here is, if not the first, one of the first analyses of a manuscript tradition of a Gəʿəz work, the (*Maṣḥafa*) *Qalemāntos* or *Book of Clement*, that compares the evidence emerged from a manuscript witness preserved in an Eritrean institution with the tradition known from other institutions of the Christian kingdom of the highlands. It is intended, not only as a contribution of philological character on the text of the *Qalemāntos*, but also as a diagnosis on the assumed role monastic networks had in medieval times, in spreading ideas, novelties, and knowledge, which we can still trace going through the books that are extant: not only at the macroscopic level of the evidence of added historical notes, but also in the small textual variations at a microscopic, almost molecular level.

In this case, the books sequence of the *Qalemāntos* attested by MS X (DDAY-005) of Dabra Dəḥuhān provides an undoubtful evidence of the existence of an arrangement of the work that is not the same as that known for all other manuscripts considered. Although the same manuscript shares an innovation in book II which determines its dependence from a subarchetype common to other manuscripts, it also preserves the primary reading in book III, with a relatively long passage that is omitted by some manuscripts. This state of facts still poses the question of the intentionality of an anomalous sequence of

⁴⁷ Efforts by the Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', and more recently by the Universität Hamburg, which I represent, supported by and in cooperation with Eritrean institutions, mark a first step. To give an idea of how much is still to be done, to my knowledge there are at least six further manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos* kept in Eritrean institutions.

books (either I, II, VII, V, III, IV, and VI; or I, II, VII, IV, VI, V, III) in the light of an explicit paratextual indication of book VII as ‘third speech’, which, in turn, is also shared with other manuscripts of the *Qaleman̄tos*.