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The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalēmenṭos*. A Short Note

Abstract

In the absence of any edition whatsoever, whether critical or not, what is known of the Ethiopic *Qalēmenṭos*, “Clement”, the seven-book *Revelation of Peter to Clement*, still mainly depends upon the contributions by A. Dillmann 1858, S. Grébaud 1911 ff. and A. Bausi 1992. Dillmann was the first to recognize the transpositions of contents that occurred in the only ms. at his disposal, i.e. Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1; he also realized that they had to be imputed to an undetermined antecedent; although Grébaud does not seem to have realized it, the same happens in ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, d’Abbadie 78. A larger analysis of the manuscript tradition of book II of the *Qalēmenṭos* yields further elements of evaluation and stimulates methodological reflections, on one side on the application of mechanical criteria to Ethiopic manuscript traditions, and on the other side on the possible existence of phenomena of “contamination”, with all its implications.

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In the absence of any edition whatsoever – whether critical or not (apart from very short fragments, the Ethiopic text has never been published entirely), – what is known of the Ethiopic *Qalēmenṭos*, “Clement”, the seven-book *Revelation of Peter to Clement*,¹ still

¹ General bibliography on *Qalēmenṭos*, complete list of mss. and other details may be found in: ቀለሙንጦስ: *Il Qalēmenṭos etiopico: La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente, I libri 3–7*, Traduzione e introduzione di A. Bausi, (Studi Africanistici: Serie Etiopica, 2), Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi, 1992; *idem*, ‘San Clemente e le tradizioni clementine nella letteratura etiopica canonico-lit-

mainly depends upon the contributions by A. Dillmann 1858, S. Grébaud 1911 ff. and – *si parva licet componere magnis* – myself 1992. This short note is based upon a preliminary investigation of the text of book II on a limited number of mss. Considering that the relations between the manuscripts seem relatively clear, I can offer here some preliminary conclusions of text-critical analysis. Even though it cannot be fully excluded that further and exhaustive investigations may yield different results, the steady structure of the work makes it rather unlikely that the proposed *stemma codicum* should be valid only for book II. I will limit myself to an outline of the main results. Evidence will be presented in more detail only in few cases. Neither the question of the relationship between the Ethiopic text and the Arabic *Vorlage*, nor any other question beyond the Ethiopic textual tradition of the work will be considered here.

Briefly resuming the state-of-the-art, we can say that Dillmann was the first to recognize the transpositions of contents that occurred in the only ms. at his disposal, i.e. Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1; Dillmann used the same ms. for sometimes extensive quotations of the *Qalēmentos* in his *Lexicon*.² Short excerpts of the work were then published in 1883–1888 and 1906 by C. Bezold, who used the same ms. as Dillmann, plus three additional mss. from London, British Museum (now British Library), Or. 751, 752 and 753.³ S. Grébaud gave a translation of books I–II, part of book III and of short passages from others, also with A. Roman, from ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, d'Abbadie 78.⁴ He did not elaborate upon the text of the ms., only noting a few problematic passages. In 1992 I accomplished the translation, first started by Grébaud, of books III to VII, on the basis of mss. London, British Library (furthermore: BL), Or. 751, Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) 1141, occasionally Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1; I also gave a tentative full list of 24 mss. – among which the remarkable ms. EML 1843, attesting only few fragments, also considered in the translation – with no attempt

gica', in: *Studi su Clemente romano: Atti degli Incontri di Roma, 29 marzo e 22 novembre 2001*, ed. P. Luisier, (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 268), Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2003, pp. 13–55, esp. pp. 18–21.

² A. Dillmann, 'Bericht über das äthiopische Buch Clementinischer Schriften', *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen: Nachrichten*, 1858, pp. 185–199, 201–215, 217–226; *idem*, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1865.

³ *Die Schatzhöhle*, syrisch und deutsch hrsg. v. C. Bezold, 2 vols., Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883–1888; *idem*, 'Das arabisch-äthiopische Testamentum Adami', in: *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, hrsg. v. C. Bezold, Gießen: A. Töpelmann, 1906, pp. 893–912.

⁴ 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine, III: Traduction du Qalēmentos' [par] S. Grébaud, *ROCh*, 16 (1911), pp. 72–84, 167–175, 225–233; 17 (1912), pp. 16–31, 133–144, 244–252, 337–246; 18 (1913), pp. 69–78; 19 (1914), pp. 324–330; 20 (1915–1917), pp. 33–37, 424–430; 21 (1918–1919), pp. 246–252; 22 (1920–1921), pp. 22–28, 113–117 and 395–400; 'Un passage démonologique du Qalēmentos', [trad. par] S. Grébaud & A. Roman, *JA*, 211 (1927), pp. 331–339; 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine, III: Traduction du Qalēmentos', [par] *idem*, *ROCh*, 26 (1927–1928), pp. 22–31; 'Un passage eschatologique du Qalēmentos', [trad. par] *idem*, *Aethiops*, 3 (1930), pp. 21–23; 'Le livre V du Qalēmentos', [trad. par] *idem*, *Aethiops*, 3 (1930), pp. 39–41; note that Grébaud's translation is quoted from the publications in periodicals – probably more accessible – and not from the offprint, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine: Le Qalēmentos, Version éthiopienne en sept livres traduite en français*, [par] S. Grébaud, *Livres premier et deuxième*, Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1913.

at their classification; in 2003 I listed additional mss. and bibliography in a short note.⁵ Last, but not least, a quite recent contribution of 2004 by D.V. Proverbio and G. Fiaccadori has brought another valuable witness of *Qalēmentos* to scholarly attention, ms. Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli), ms. 121, also with additional remarks on ms. d'Abbadie 78.⁶

The present attempt at evaluating the textual tradition of the *Qalēmentos* is based upon the twelve manuscripts which I had at my disposal: London, BL, Or. 751 [A]; Or. 752 [B]; Or. 753 [C]; EMLL 370 [D]; EMLL 1141 [E]; EMLL 2147 [F]; EMLL 4857 [G]; Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli) [K]; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, d'Abbadie 78 [P]; Ṭānāsee 175 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 64 [S]; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1 [T]; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 122 [V].⁷ The few important excerpts in ms. EMLL 1843 [Z] will be the subject of a separate note.⁸

⁵ Bausi 1992 and 2003; as it is clear from the title of *idem*, 1992 (Traduzione e introduzione), I have never considered the hardly-readable facsimile reproduction of ms. London, BL, Or. 751, fols. 32^{vb}-89^{vc}, to be a sort of edition of the text.

⁶ D.V. Proverbio & G. Fiaccadori, 'Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli)', *RANL*, ser. 9, 15/4, 2004, pp. 665-693.

⁷ Manuscripts of *Qalēmentos* examined here: London, BL, Or. 751 [A], 1721-1730 A.D., cf. Wright, *Cat BM*, pp. 211-213, no. 320; Or. 752 [B], 1721-1730 A.D., cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-215, no. 321; Or. 753 [C], 18th century, cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216, no. 322; EMLL 370 [D], 19th/20th century, cf. W.F. Macomber, *Cat EMLL II*, 1976, p. 83; EMLL 1141 [E], 20th century, cf. Getatchew Haile, *Cat EMLL IV*, 1979, p. 54; EMLL 2147 [F], 19th century, cf. *idem*, *Cat EMLL VI*, 1982, pp. 258 f.; EMLL 4857 [G], 20th century, cf. *idem*, *Cat EMLL X*, 1993, p. 338; Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli) [K], early 16th century, cf. Proverbio & Fiaccadori, *op. cit.*, pp. 665-677; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, d'Abbadie 78 [P], 18th century, cf. A. d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris: à l'Imprimerie Impériale, 1859, pp. 91 f.; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la Collection Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912, p. 52; C. Conti Rossini, *Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la Collection d'Abbadie. Extrait du Journal Asiatique (1912-1914)*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914, p. 65, no. 38; cf. also Proverbio & Fiaccadori, *op. cit.*, pp. 679-690, esp. pp. 679 f.: the ms. retains the colophon of an ancestor, though not necessarily the immediate ancestor, copied in 1487/88 A.D., which however can not be exactly located in the *stemma codicum*; note that the statement on its antecedent being "da identificarsi necessariamente con l'antigrafo di tutta la tradizione", cf. Bausi, *op. cit.*, 1992, p. 37, is implied by the hypothesis proposed by Getatchew Haile, 'Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Oriens Christianus*, 65 (1981), pp. 102-136, esp. pp. 103 ff., and discussed in detail in Bausi, *op. cit.*, 1992, pp. 37 ff.: it is not my own opinion; Ṭānāsee 175 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 64 [S], 14th century, cf. V. Six, *Aethiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee. Teil 3, Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen*, (VOHD, 20: 3), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999, pp. 230-232, but I would be inclined to assign this ms. to the 15th century; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1 [T], 1839 A.D., cf. H. von Ewald, 'Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen', *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 5 (1844), pp. 164-201, esp. pp. 180-183; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 122 [V], 19th century, cf. Enrico Cerulli, *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici. Introduzione, integrazioni e indici a cura di Osvaldo Raineri*, (SeT, 420: Cataloghi sommari e inventari dei fondi manoscritti, 8), Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2004, pp. 88 f.

⁸ Ms. EMLL 1843 [Z], 14/15th century, fols. 56^{va}-58^{ra}, cf. Getatchew Haile & W.F. Macomber, *Cat EMLL V*, 1981, pp. 354-356; cf. also Bausi, *op. cit.*, 2003, pp. 30 f., n. 4.

The choice of book II of the *Qalēmentōs* for the text-critical analysis was not incidental: (1) the remarks by Dillmann 1858 on the transposition of fols. 68–78 in ms. T concern this book;⁹ (2) moreover, even from Grébaud's translation it is evident that a transposition occurs in the same book in ms. P: cf. the end of the list of heresies on p. 70, ch. IX, § 5, ms. P, fol. 59^{va-b}: “le 29^{me} la secte des *Manbarniens*, des *Fenṭāniens*, des *Fatsiliqāniens*, des *'Argānyāsiens*; le 30^{me} la secte des *'El-Fāniens*; le 31^{me} la secte des *Demyāniens*; le 32^{me} la secte des *Semesiens*; le 33^{me} la secte de *Barqaṭāniens*”, which in the ms. is immediately followed by ch. IX, 6 in Grébaud's translation: “Dans ce jours-là, la famine sera supérieure à l'abondance, et sera grande dans toute la terre. O Pierre, lorsque le petit du lion reviendra” etc. The list of heresies is later resumed starting from heresy no. 35 in Grébaud 1913, p. 73, ch. ix, § 19, ms. P, fol. 63^{va}: “Le 35^{me} (ennemi) la secte des *Belkdāfniens*; le 36^{me} la secte des *Berditsāniens*; le 37^{me} la secte des *Niṭāniens*; le 38^{me} la secte de *Besenniens*” etc. A transposition must clearly have occurred in ms. P. The correct text must have had the continuous list of the 70 heresies with no interruption. In fact Grébaud 1913, p. 73, ch. IX, § 18, noted that in the passage immediately preceding the resumption of the list the text ends abruptly, ms. P, fol. 63^{va}: “C'est pourquoi entrèrent en lui la jalousie, l'indignation et la colère. Alors, il enverra ...”, and therefore he commented in the footnote: “Il y a ici une brusque solution de continuité dans le texte. Il est fait mention de la suite des hérésies, dont le commencement se trouve plus haut”.

The evidence of the manuscript tradition shows that the text sequence in Grébaud's 1913 translation is due to a transposition in ms. P; as a result, the list of heresies, from p. 70, l. 38, to p. 73, l. 41, ch. IX, §§ 6–18, has been inserted after p. 70, l. 37. In the original sequence the passage of §§ 6–18 had to follow after the end of § 25, on p. 76, l. 35: “Tout leur orgueil (consistera) à se raser la tête, à embellir le manteau (qui recouvre leurs) vêtements, et à se parer dans (la manière) de ceindre leurs reins”, and had immediately to precede p. 76, l. 36, ch. IX, § 26: “Dans (ces) jours-là (surgira un roi, dont) les armées entoureront cette région et s'empareront de tous les territoires de l'occident etc.” Therefore, according to the paragraphs of Grébaud's 1913 translation of book II, the correct sequence must be restored as follows: ch. IX, §§ 1–5, 19–25, 6–18, 26–28.

The very same transposition of contents as in ms. P occurs in ms. T. This transposition can be explained neither in P nor in T by displacement of folios. Therefore, as Dillmann had already recognized for ms. T, the transposition must be imputed to an undetermined, common ancestor of mss. P and T. The eventual evaluation of mss.

⁹ Dillmann, *op. cit.*, 1858, p. 186: “Die Abschrift ist mit großer Nachlässigkeit gemacht; ein Paarmal, nämlich Bl. 11–14 u. 68–78, ist wohl durch Versetzung einiger Blätter in der Mutterhandschrift der Text in Unordnung, doch kann das erstemal mit Sicherheit, das anderemal wenigstens mit annähernder Wahrscheinlichkeit die Ordnung wiederhergestellt werden”; the transposition in Grébaud's translation of book II had already been noted by Snow Hume, ‘The Pseudo-Clementines and the Apocalypse of Peter’, unpublished paper presented at the 1992 Meeting of the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne on Pseudo-Clementine literature, by comparison with Arabic texts of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, from mss. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ar. 165, 83 and 32.

ABCDEFGKSV has shown that the same error occurs in seven mss., i.e. CEF PSTV, which all result to be descendants from a common subarchetype γ, where the displacement must first have taken place at an early date, since also ms. S, a probably 15th-century ms., has it. Within the same manuscript family, very clear evidence shows that mss. PV in turn descend from a subarchetype π, mss. FT from a subarchetype τ, which fits in well with their geographical provenance, as both mss. FT come from Ankobar: ms. T was copied there at the initiative of L. K r a p f, who was well accustomed with this practice,¹⁰ while ms. F is still preserved in the church of Miṭāq Takla Haymānot, built at Ankobar in 1839 at order of King Sähla Sellāsē, as K r a p f himself reported.¹¹

As for the transposition of folios – a kind of error which already in the 15th century, at the dawn of philological studies, was recognized as a decisive *Leitfehler*¹² – we could wonder whether it, once occurred, could have subsequently been corrected at the initiative of some copyists on the basis of internal evidence. I consider it very unlikely, both in this very case, and on the basis of a general principle which we must admit for several Ethiopian textual traditions at least, i.e., that scribes neither do systematically change the received text, nor do they correct its evident errors in most of cases. This may not be true for all the texts and for all the literary genres: there are examples of corrections or changes due to cultural and literary needs. However, this does not seem to happen in the *Qalēmentos* textual tradition. The very tolerance of the error of transposition in mss. CEF PSTV, which are the majority of the mss., with various age and provenance, is an evidence. An additional factor to be considered is the contents of book II: the obscure historical apocalypse which occupies the final part of the book, and which is involved in the transposition, makes any restitution of the correct sequence of the contents more than problematic. However, a different kind of attitude of the copyists – as we can see in some other texts – could have resulted in attempts at correcting the transposition of the list of the heresies at least.

¹⁰ C.W. Isenberg & J.L. Krapf, *The Journals of C.W. Isenberg and J.L. Krapf*, London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1843, repr. (Travels and narratives, 34), London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1968, pp. 99 ff., where in the list of books mentioned by Habta Sellase there is also ‘Kalamentos’, no. 100; on Krapf’s practice, cf. *ibid.*, p. 100: “In the Church of St. George there are seventy books belonging to it. It is very difficult to get a book by purchase; if you wish to possess one, you must get it copied”; K r a p f’s copyist was ‘Wolda Zadek’, cf. *ibid.*, p. 91; *ibid.*, p. 181: “In an Aethiopic book, which a Debtera brought to me in order to change it, was written ‘Whoever shall sell this book, is cursed for ever’”; *ibid.*, p. 227: “A priest of Lasta came to see me, to whom I spoke very freely on the duties of a Christian and a Christian priest. Afterward the King’s painter came to see my book of pictures. In the evening, I wrote a letter to Bombay, and prepared a chest of Aethiopic Manuscripts for Ali Arab to take to Aden”; also Ewald, *op. cit.*, 1844, p. 171; R. Beylot & M. Rodinson, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, (Documents, Études et Répertoires publiés par l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes), Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Éditions & Turnhout: Brepols, 1995, p. 102, nos. 258–260.

¹¹ Isenberg & Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 85: “July 30 [1839] – This morning the Tabot-Altar – was brought with shouting into the Church of Tecla Haimanot, built by the present King. This is the second church which the King has built at Ankobar”; cf. also Richard Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, (ÄthForsch, 8), Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982, pp. 227 and 280.

¹² S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann: con una Presentazione e una Postilla di Elio Montanari*, (UTET Libreria), Torino: UTET, 2003⁴ [1963¹; 1981²; 1985³], esp. pp. 17 f.

We can not exclude, however, that the error may have been corrected one or more times in the subarchetypes of, or in the mss. ABDGK, *on the basis of external evidence*, i.e., by help of other manuscript witnesses which did exhibit the correct sequence. We still lack any statistical evaluation of the frequency of this practice in Ethiopic textual traditions, which is at the origin of what is technically termed *contamination*. On the basis of my personal experience, I can recount occasional occurrences, e.g., from the *Sinodos* and from the *Gadla Ḥawāryāt*: a few mss. of both works bear evidence of interlinear or marginal writings in order to record variant readings by collation and comparison with other mss. and/or in order to correct the previous text, or even of folios added in a second time to fill up lacunae.¹³ One example of very recent contamination in one ms. of the *Qalēmentos* itself, with no implication of the transposition in book II, will be commented upon below. Provided the clear subdivisions of the textual tradition and its substantially consistent character, as a preliminary conclusion I would say that it seems unlikely that the transposition in book II may have been corrected by recurring to contamination in any of the mss. ABDGK.

Mss. AB share a great number of conjunctive and separative errors that demonstrate dependence of mss. AB upon a common subarchetype α . The same is true for mss. DGK, which are thus dependent upon a subarchetype β of their own. Within the β family, a common subarchetype δ can be supposed for mss. DG. Therefore, the *stemma codicum* of *Qalēmentos* (as far as the mss. examined till now are concerned) seems to part into three upper branches, corresponding to the subarchetypes: α (A, B) // β (K, δ [DG]) // γ (C, E, π [PV], S, τ [T, ϕ {FG²}]). Interlinear and marginal writings by a later hand in ms. G, the readings of which I will call G² – the very beginning of a contamination process – may have been drawn from a source very near to ms. F, probably a lost intermediate ms. ϕ to be posed between τ and F. The existence of an archetype¹⁴ Ω of the Ethiopic manuscript tradition is certain: the *ex abrupto* and inconsistent ending of book I in all the mss., which can easily be compared with the Arabic version of the *Kitāb al-Mağāll*,¹⁵ is by itself sufficient evidence that all the Ethiopic traditions

¹³ *Il Synodos etiopico: Canonii pseudoapostolici. Canonii dopo l'Ascensione, Canonii di Simone Cananeo, Canonii apostolici, Lettera di Pietro*, 2 vols., ed. & trad. A. Bausi, (CSCO, 552–553, SAe, 101–102), Lovanii: Peeters, 1995, text vol., p. xxx; *idem*, 'Alcune considerazioni sul *Gadla ḥawāryāt*', *Istituto Universitario Orientale: Annali*, 60–61 (2000–2001, publ. 2002, pp. 77–114, esp. pp. 85 and 97, on the example of ms. Ṭānāsee 173 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 62 (Kebrān 62 on p. 97 is a misprint).

¹⁴ As is well known, the definition of archetype is problematic, but "latest common ancestor of the known witnesses" may well fit in with our case, cf. M.D. Reeve, 'Archetypes', *Sileno: Rivista di studi classici e cristiani*, 11/1–4 (1985), publ. 1986 = *Studi in onore di Adelmo Barigazzi*, Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1986, vol. II, pp. 193–201, esp. p. 200; cf. also *idem*, 'Shared innovations, dichotomies, and evolution', in: *Filologia classica e filologia romanza: esperienze ecdotiche a confronto: Atti del Convegno Roma 25–27 maggio 1995*, (Incontri di Studio, 2), ed. A. Ferrari, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1998, pp. 445–505, esp. p. 493, n. 87: "in a set of witnesses to a text, the archetype is the latest but for which none that survives would survive (not just 'none would survive': who can say?)".

¹⁵ The passage in Grébaud (trad.), *op. cit.*, (in n. 4), 1912, p. 144, book I, ch. XXIV, § 9: "Après lui, régna son fils Joram, alors qu'il était âgé de 32 ans"; cf. already Dillmann, *op. cit.*, 1858, p. 191; *Die Schatzhöhle*, hrsg. v. Bezold, 1883, pp. ix, 45 and 80, n. 158; further details in Bausi, *op. cit.*, 1992, p. 19, nn. 3 f.

depend upon one archetype. Therefore, the *stemma codicum* of the examined mss. may be represented as follows.

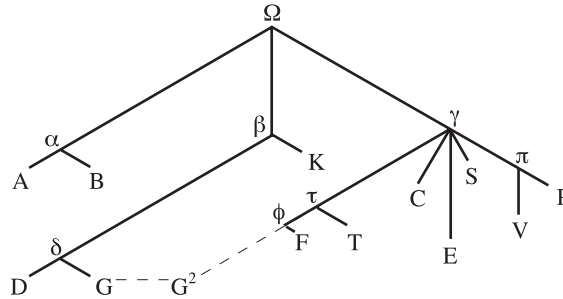


Fig. 1. Hypothesis of *stemma codicum* of Ethiopic *Qalēmentos* manuscript tradition.

If this hypothesis of *stemma codicum* is confirmed by further analyses, it will be possible to establish a critical text of the Ethiopic *Qalēmentos* through a largely mechanical procedure, by simply following the readings supported by the majority of the families α, β, γ.¹⁶ The relatively clear classification of the mss. also confirms that a reconstructive methodology may be applied to Ethiopic texts. Contamination is always possible, as is shown by the readings introduced in ms. G by the second hand G². Apart from this case, however, at least in this textual tradition, contamination is observed at work in ms. G, but need not be supposed, at least extensively, in other mss.

In the following appendix I provide only very few passages supporting the classification of the upper branches α, β, γ of the *stemma codicum*, as well as of the subarchetype δ. Many more could be given. I repeat that the evidence seems to be clear, and even more clear for the lower branches of subarchetypes π and τ. For the sake of simplicity, instead of presenting the full tradition in the quoted passages, I will use Grébaut's translation. Of course, this translation, based on ms. P, is used *only* for reference: it is not authoritative at all and the critical edition of the *Qalēmentos* will offer a far better text than that used by Grébaut. A sample text of the incipit of book II of the *Qalēmentos* is also presented.

Examples of Evidence to the Existence of Subarchetype α (AB)

Grébaut 1912, p. 245, ll. 21 f., ch. I, § 2: “*Saint Pierre versa de grosses larmes, [et me signa] du signe de la croix*”: only mss. AB, instead of the passage here inserted in brackets [], *wa'atabani*, have *wasahabani*, “and they pulled me”.

¹⁶ On mechanical traditions of Ethiopic texts cf. *idem*, ‘Il testo, il supporto e la funzione: Alcune osservazioni sul caso dell’Etiopia’, in: *StAeth S. Uhlig*, pp. 7–22, esp. pp. 18 f.; *idem*, *Current Trends in Ethiopian Studies: Philology*, in: *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Hamburg*, 21.–25.7.2003, ed. S. Uhlig, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, in press.

Ibid., p. 248, ll. 8–15, ch. II, § 2: “il y en a parmi eux qui sont un esprit pur, c’est-à-dire un esprit et du feu. Tous, il chantent, et (nous) glorifient avec une voix qui ne se tait pas. (Ils sont gradués) de degrés d’anges en degrés d’anges, à peu près comme entre le ciel et la terre que tu vois. (...) Les Séraphins et les Chérubins nous glorifient avec une voix qui ne se tait pas. [(Ils sont gradués) de degrés d’anges en degrés d’anges, à peu près comme entre le ciel]. Ils sont, chacun selon leur ordre, dans trois églises de lumière et de feu”: only mss. AB have the passage in brackets [], which is an erroneous repetition of the same passage of some lines above.

Grébaut 1913, p. 70, l. 35, ch. IX, § 5: “le 30^{me} la secte des *’El-Fâniens*”; *ibid.*, p. 74, l. 6, ch. IX, § 19: “le 52^{me} la secte de *Marqtiens*”: both passages are omitted by mss. AB alone.

Several exclusive omissions *per homoeoteleuton* by mss. AB are no evidence to a relationship. However, taken all together, they may be considered a significant clue too, cf., e.g. Grébaut’s 1912, p. 250, ll. 15–22, ch. II, § 7: “Vois, ô *Pierre*, [comment nous envoyons un peu de feu de la mer de feu qui est au-dessus du ciel (...) Nous congelons les eaux dans les nuages, et nous envoyons la grêle et la neige sur la terre. Comprends donc, ô *Pierre*,] que nous sommes les parents de toutes les créatures corporelles, que nous avons créées, (et sache) combien grand est leur nombre”: the passage in brackets is omitted by mss. AB alone.

Evidence to the Existence of Subarchetype β (K, δ [DG])

Grébaut 1912, p. 245, ll. 8–13, ch. I, § 2: “Alors, le *Saint Docteur Pierre* me dit: ‘O mon fils Clément, le mystère que tu me demandes de (te) révéler, est grand. Il ne faut pas qu’il soit révélé à tous les hommes. En effet, c’est *Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ* qui m’a exposé (ce) mystère avant son Ascension [dans les cieux. Il ne convient pas] que je te (le) révèle, car tu ne pourras pas le porter’”. The passage could also be interpreted as omission due to phonetic, more than graphic, *homoeoteleuton*: “Ascension [... il ne convient pas]”, *‘ergatu* [... *‘iretu*’]: however, as for mss. AB, the numerous exclusive omissions *per homoeoteleuton* shared by mss. DGK, although definitely no evidence to a relationship, taken all together may be considered a significant clue to relation; as in most of variant readings between G and φ, the second hand of ms. G, here called G², has restored the omitted text according to the reading that can be supposed for subarchetype φ.

Ibid., p. 246, ll. 33–35, ch. I, § 3: “Là où nous nous trouvons, [nous ne nous déplaçons pas d’une opération pour une opération, et] nous ne nous détournons pas d’un endroit pour un endroit”: the passage in brackets [] is omitted by mss. DGK, restored by G².

Ibid., p. 247, ll. 9 f., ch. II, § 1: “Nous n’avons pas de commencement, ni de fin. Nos jours ne sont pas connus, [car] nous étions avant les jours et les époques”: the conjunction in brackets [] is omitted by mss. DGK, restored by G².

Ibid., p. 248, ll. 33 f., ch. II, § 4: “Quatre animaux, qui ont [beaucoup] d’yeux, le portent”: the word in brackets [] is omitted by mss. DGK, restored by G².

Ibid., p. 251, ll. 33 f., ch. II, § 8: “Les mystères de ma miséricorde ne sont pas connus, et la langue ne peut pas les [exposer]”: the passage in brackets [], *zēnewoto* in all the other mss. G² included, is *ṭayyeqoto*, ‘fully understand’ in mss. DGK, that hardly fits in with *lessān*, ‘tongue’.

Ibid., p. 337, ll. 18–20, ch. III, § 2: “O *Pierre*, c’est moi qui ai planté l’arbre spirituel dans le paradis. [J’y ai fait] toutes (sortes) de bonnes (choses), afin d’accomplir en lui mon honneur et ma gloire”: the passage in brackets [], *wagabarku* in most of the other mss. G² included (only ms. S has *wa²agbā²ku*), is *wabārakku* in mss. DGK.

Ibid., p. 339, ll. 13 f., ch. IV, § 3: “Pour moi, je n’ai créé aucun (être) sans savoir auparavant tout ce qui surviendrait, [avant que je le créasse]”: the passage in brackets [], *ᵑemqedma ᵑeṭṭer kiyāhu* in most of the other mss. (only ms. S has *ᵑemqedma ᵑeṭṭero laliḥu*), is the erroneous *ᵑemqedma feṭṭrat kiyāhu* in mss. DGK; note that the passage is omitted by τ, and therefore G² has not restored the correct reading of the passage.

Ibid., p. 340, ll. 2–4, ch. V, § 3: “*Raphaṣl* et *Souryal* (sont chargés) d’annoncer (mes ordres); tous (deux) [ils se tiennent debout] auprès de ma demeure”: the passage in brackets [], *yeqawwemu* in all the other mss., is omitted by mss. DGK, restored by G².

Evidence to the Existence of Subarchetype δ (DG)

Grébaud 1912, p. 244, ll. 8 f., ch. I, § 1: “il me prit ainsi que *Jacques* [et *Jean*], fils de *Zébedée*, et *Sainte Marie*”; *ibid.*, p. 250, ll. 1 f., ch. II, § 6: “Comprends, donc, ô *Pierre*, par mon œuvre que je suis [le Seigneur], puisque la sagesse de l’Artisan de tous (les êtres) se manifeste par son art”: the passages in brackets [] are omitted by mss. DG; even in these cases, the second hand G² has restored the omitted text in ms. G; the evidence to the existence of subarchetype δ is more than abundant.

Evidence to the Existence of Subarchetype γ (C, E, π [PV], S, τ [T, φ {FG²}])

Grébaud 1913, pp. 70, l. 38 to p. 73, l. 41, ch. IX, §§ 6–18 originally followed the end of ch. IX, § 25, on p. 76, l. 35; probably due to displacement of some folios, the passage has been erroneously transposed after p. 70, l. 37: all mss. CEF PSTV share this transposition, which must have occurred in their common subarchetype γ, as stated above.

Sample edition of incipit of book II of *Qalēmentōs*

በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ₁ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ₂ ፡ አሐዱ₃ ፡ አምላክ₄ ፡ ቀዳሜ₅ ፡ ምሥጢራት₆ ፡
 ዘከሠተ ፡ ቅዱስ₇ ፡ ጴጥሮስ₈ ፡ ለረድኡ₉ ፡ ቀሌምንጦስ₁₀ ፡ ይቤ₁₁ ፡ ቅዱስ₁₂ ፡ ጴጥሮስ₁₃ ፡ ሶቦ₁₄ ፡
 ተፈጸመ ፡ አርብዓ₁₅ ፡ ዕለት₁₆ ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ ትንሣኤሁ ፡ ለእግዚእነ₁₇ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡
 እሙታን₁₈ ፡ ፈቀደ₁₉ ፡ ይዕርግ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ₂₀ ፡ ወይትመየጥ₂₁ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰብሐቲሁ ፡ ወግሩም ፡
 ማጎደሩ₂₂ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ዓርገ₂₃ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ዘይት₂₄ ፡ ቅዱስ₂₅ ፡ ወነሥኣኒ₂₆ ፡ ሊተ₂₇ ፡
 ወለያዕቆብ₂₈ ፡ ወለዮሐንስ₂₉ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ዘብዴዎስ ፡ ወለማርያም₃₀ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ወአዕረገነ ፡ ምስሌሁ₃₁ ፡
 ወጎደጎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ተርፋ₃₂ ፡ አርድእት ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ደብር₃₃ ፡ ወነፍሐ₃₄ ፡ ላዕሌነ₃₅ ፡ ወይቤለነ ፡
 ንሥኡ₃₆ ፡ ሀብተ₃₇ ፡ መንፈስ₃₈ ፡ ቅዱስ₃₉ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ ይቤለነ₄₀ ፡ ኢታጥርዩ ፡ ወርቀ ፡ ወኢብሩረ₄₁ ፡
 ወኢስንቀ₄₂ ፡ ለፍኖት ፡ እንተ₄₃ ፡ ተሐውሩ₄₄ ፡ ውስቱታ₄₅ ፡ ወኢትዱሩ₄₆ ፡ በትረ₄₇ ፡ ወኢትፍቅዱ₄₈ ፡
 ዘንተ ፡ ኩሎ₄₉ ፡ ወአእምሩ ፡ ከመ₅₀ ፡ ናሁ₅₁ ፡ ወሀብኩከመ₅₂ ፡ ሥልጣነ₅₃ ፡ ታንብሩ ፡ እደዊከመ₅₄ ፡
 ዲቦ ፡ ድውያን₅₅ ፡ ወይትፈወሱ₅₆ ፡ ወለዕለ₅₇ ፡ ሐንካሳን₅₈ ፡ ይረውዱ₅₉ ፡ ወለዕለ ፡ ምውታን₆₀ ፡
 ይትነሥኡ₆₁ ፡ ወሀብተ₆₂ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ይከውን₆₃ ፡ ለከመ₆₄ ፡ ሥልጣነ₆₅ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩላ₆₆ ፡
 ምድር₆₇ ፡ ወናሁ₆₈ ፡ ኣነ₆₉ ፡ እፌንወከመ ፡ ጎብ ፡ አዘዘኒ₇₀ ፡ አብ₇₁ ፡ ወበጸጋ₇₂ ፡ ወሀብኩከመ ፡
 ወናይተ₇₃ ፡ ሀብተ₇₄ ፡ ወአንትሙኒ₇₅ ፡ በጸጋ ፡ ሀብ₇₆ ፡ ወበጎብ₇₇ ፡ ተጋባእከመ₇₈ ፡ ወተዘከርከመ₇₉ ፡
 ስመ₈₀ ፡ ዚአዩ₈₁ ፡ ኣነ ፡ እሂሉ₈₂ ፡ ምስሌከመ₈₃ ፡

Grébaut 1912, pp. 244 f., book II, ch. 1, § 1.

Mss.: [A], fols. 20^{vc}-21^{ra}; [B], fol. 22^{rb}-va; [C], fol. 14^{vb}-c; [D], fol. 25^{ra}-b; [E], fols. 24^{vb}-25^{ra}; [F], fol. 28^{ra}-b; [G], fol. 22^{va}-b; [K], fols. 31^{vb}-32^{ra}; [P], fol. 42^{rb}-vb; [S], fol. 29^{ra}-va; [T], fol. 45^r-v; [V], fols. 20^{vc}-21^{ra}.

α = AB; β = DGK; γ = CEF PSTV; δ = DG; π = PV; τ = FT.

Compendia: *add.*: *addit*; *del.*: *delevit*; *dist.*: *distinxit*; *in m.*: *in margine*; *in r.*: *in rasura*; *om.*: *omittit*; *praem.*: *praemittit*; *s.l.*: *supra lineam*; *vac.*: *vacuum*.

¹ ወልድ T | ² *om.* T | ³ ጸ B CEπτ ጸ- G | ³⁻⁴ *om.* K | ⁴ *dist.* α π | ⁵ ቀዳሚ K S | ⁵⁻⁸ {*in m.* ዘከሠተ ፡ ጴጥሮስ F | ⁵⁻⁶ *om.* T | ⁶ ምሥጢር C ምሥጢራት K E | ⁷ *om.* CT | ⁹ *dist.* T | ¹⁰ *dist.* α Eπ ቀሌምንጦስ K | ¹¹ ወይቤ E | ¹² *om.* C | ¹³ *dist.* C | ¹⁴ ወሶቦ C | ¹⁵ ጸ- B β πτ {*vac.* } S | ¹⁶ ዕለተ S | ¹⁷ መድኃኒነ *add.* K CEπτ {*s.l.* መመ} *add.* G² | ¹⁸ *dist.* BKP እምውታን K C *om.* τ | ¹⁹ ወፈቀደ K *om.* S {*del.* ይርኣይ} *add.* E | ²⁰ ሰማይት τ | ²¹ ተመደመ S | ²² *dist.* α δ CEπST ማጎደር F | ²³ አዕረገነ CT አዕርገነ F ዓርጉ V | ²⁴ *dist.* V | ²⁵ *om.* β π *s.l.* G² ወእምዝ *add.* τ | ²⁶ ንሥኣነ T | ²⁷ ወሊተ E ላነ T | ²⁸ ለያዕቆብ τ | ²⁹ *om.* δ *s.l.* G² | ³⁰ ወለ K | ³¹ *dist.* K | ³² ተረፋ S | ³³ *dist.* P | ³⁴⁻³⁵ ወላዕሊነ ፡ ነፍሐ δ | ³⁵ *dist.* α | ³⁶⁻⁴⁰ *om.* δ {*s.l.* ንሥኡ ፡ ሀብተ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ። ወዓዲ ፡ ይቤለነ} G² | ³⁷ *om.* E | ³⁸ መንፈስ T | ³⁹ *dist.* K CEPST ቅዱስ T ወለእለ ፡ ጎደገሙ (፡፡ድ፡ A) ኃጢአተ (፡፡ት B) ይትኃደግ ፡ ሎሙ (*dist.* A) *add.* α | ⁴¹ ወኢብሩር K | ⁴² ወኢጽፍነት δ | ⁴³ እንዘ T {*s.l.* እንዘ} *add.* G² | ⁴⁴ ተሐውር D π | ⁴⁵ *dist.* P | ⁴⁶ ወኢትዱሩ F | ⁴⁷ ወርቀ δ {*s.l.* በትረ} *add.* G² | ⁴⁸ መነሂ *add.* δ | ⁴⁹ *dist.* V | ⁵⁰ እስመ E | ⁵¹ *om.* τ | ⁵² ወሀብከመ T | ⁵³ ከመ *add.* E | ⁵⁴ እደከመ B | ⁵⁵ ዱደን δ τV ድወያን K | ⁵⁶ ወይትፈወሱ (፡፡ወ {*n.l.* ሱ} A) α ወይትፈወሱ D ወትፈወሱ FGK ወይትፈወሱ S ወይትመየጡ ፡ ወይትፈወሱ V | ⁵⁷ ወ α ላዕለ ፡ πS | ⁵⁸ *dist.* P ጎካሳ CK | ⁵⁹ ወይረውዱ δ CEπ

ወይሩዱ F | ⁶⁰ መታን G ምወታን K | ⁶¹ *dist.* B K ወይትነሥኡ β CFπ | ⁶² ወሀብታተ C ወበሀብተ
 E | ⁶³⁻⁶⁴ ይኩን ፡ ላዕሌከሙ G ይከውን ፡ ላዕሌከሙ K ይከውከሙ π | ⁶⁵ ሥልጣን C | ⁶⁶ ኩሉ G
 γ | ⁶⁷ *dist.* K Cπ | ⁶⁸ ወሐሩ ፡ ባሕቱ α | ⁶⁹ *om.* Cτ | ⁷⁰ ፈነወኒ K | ⁷¹ *dist.* α E | ⁷² ወጸጋ
 DK በጸጋ τ; {*s.l.* ወጸጋ} G² | ⁷³ ወናየ B δ E ወናየተ CPτ | ⁷⁴ *dist.* A SτV | ⁷⁵ ወአንትሙ α
 አንትሙኒ E | ⁷⁶ *dist.* EV | ⁷⁷ ወኅበ δ | ⁷⁸ ተጋብከከሙ F | ⁷⁹ *om.* τ | ⁸⁰⁻⁸¹ {*in r.* ሰመ ፡ ዚአ}
 የ C ሰምየ δ በሰመ ፡ ዚአየ τ {*s.l.* በሰመ ፡ ዚአየ} *praem.* G² | ⁸² ህየ *add.* Cπ በህየ *add.* δ |
⁸³ *dist.* α GK CEπτ ህየ (*dist.* S) *add.* S.