

# On a Possible Relationship Between P. Vindob. K 9764 and K 9787

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In Stephen Emmel's reconstruction of the Coptic writings of Shenoute (obt. ca. 465), he isolated the textual material under consideration here as a homily to which he gave the title "Acephalous Work A 1," the incipit having been lost.<sup>1</sup> The four parchment codexes containing pieces of the proposed discourse, like other volumes which were once in the library of the White Monastery near Sohag, suffered extensive losses during centuries of neglect and abuse as monks lost interest in protecting the collection. As a consequence, although the work is attested by multiple copies, there are extensive lacunae in each, and even when the preserved documentation is merged, there are more than a few pages wanting. The relevant codexes are known today by the sigla GG, GM, ZJ and ZO.<sup>2</sup>

An important witness to the work in question is codex GG. Emmel surmised that the first 80 pages of this book must belong to the first homily in the fourth of eight volumes of Shenoute's *Discourses*.<sup>3</sup> It was also apparent to him that the subsequent extant textual material was not in Volume 4 of the *Discourses* and must be treated separately.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, he outlined for codex GG a second discourse which began within the lacuna between page 80 and page 87 of the codex and which came to an end about a hundred pages thereafter. Although much of the text, including the ending, was missing from GG, portions were found in the other three codexes. It was to this material that Emmel applied the ascription "Acephalous Work A 1" (hereafter A 1).

In this paper I deal with two damaged folios from codex ZJ, one of which, P. Vindob. K 9764, bearing the page numbers 101/102, lies within the boundaries of the aforementioned A 1. I argue below for an unattested seam in the lacuna preceding K 9764 that would split A 1 into two homilies and establish the text of K 9764 as the initial surviving portion of the second discourse. The other leaf, P. Vindob. K 9787, with its pagination wanting because of loss of the upper

margin,<sup>5</sup> has no parallel or connecting text from another manuscript, and its position in the codex has consequently remained uncertain. I propose to put K 9787 with K 9764 in the second of the discourses comprised by A 1, and I shall suggest its most likely location within this work.

It is known that A 1 consists of at least ten fragments,<sup>6</sup> and this count also yields ten lacunae, the first of which is the lost beginning, a text of unknown length but less than six pages prior to GG 87. The fourth of the ten fragments is ZJ 97/98,<sup>7</sup> and ZJ 101/102 (i.e., K 9764) is the fifth, leaving a short lacuna of only two pages between them. There is a significant difference in subject matter between the texts of fragments prior to K 9764 and those of K 9764 and subsequent leaves, and it is on this basis that I posit a seam within the missing ZJ 99/100. Hence, I begin with a characterization of the contents of the first four fragments, after which pertinent texts of subsequent fragments will be introduced and discussed.

### **The Discourse Prior to the Proposed Seam**

The first fragment of A 1, being only four pages of text,<sup>8</sup> does not provide a definitive idea of the author's intent. However, the second fragment,<sup>9</sup> commencing after a lacuna of about two pages, brings us to the heart of the message. The subject matter is clear enough; namely, it is sound instruction from the Scriptures that effects deliverance from wicked deeds. A translation of a lengthy excerpt follows.

Perchance (ZO 119) someone will say, "Who would ever dare to show contempt for God?" For truly it is a fearful thing to say that when you trespass the law, you show contempt for God. Do you not see that he who does not observe the commands, it is not God but himself alone for whom he shows contempt? For he who scorns God by his evil deeds, it's his own soul that he destroys. Indeed, the wicked things he has been doing will not encumber God, but if this sort of person does not remove himself from his sins, the shame from his wicked deeds will come back on him. It's not by some rejuvenating potion that the sores on a person are opened, but by a sharp razor. One thing is the time for the rejuvenating potion, another is the occasion for the tip of the razor. It's not some tool for smoothing that is taken to the branches and stubs which abound in trees, but the axe and the adze. One thing

is the occasion for the smoothing tool, another is the occasion for the adze and the axe. Most assuredly, there is no carpenter without a saw for cutting (ZO 120) and a cross-cut for sawing large timbers. Neither is it by water that iron is worked, but by fire and hammers. And likewise, one thing is the time for fire and hammers, another is the time for casting it into water and smoothing it with the file.

What I am saying then is this. Blessing and flattery by a teacher cannot move a heart to understand so that the person gives up his wicked deeds. But it's the sound message of instruction void of hypocrisy that has people exercise self-restraint and beckons them to do at once what is right, like the person who urges on the horse with his whip and the beast with his goad. But above all, one should rebuke the rich, the rulers and every one in authority that they may be ashamed because of the adornment of their [bodies (?)], about which they feel confident, from their gold rings, garments and their entire outward appearance, which is like bloom on grass that will in time wither. (ZO 121) They beautify boats which sink, and the elaborate decoration of the boats cannot keep them from sinking, nor can they be steered to avoid breaking. So too we should not praise one another while we are each sunk in sins. For it's not praise of one another that will save us from our wicked actions. Indeed, it's by instruction that a boat is safe. For if boats go aground and sink, with what are they pulled from where they went aground and sank? Is it with strong ropes that they are pulled out or with what they have been decorated? So too it's not flattery and blessing that will root us out from the filth of sin.<sup>10</sup>

What I am speaking of is that filth of which the saints spoke, not for their benefit but for our sake, "I was sunk in the filth of the abyss and powerless."<sup>11</sup> But it's by strong rebukes through God's word that we will come from our sins, for with difficulty we will understand. And thus too if a beast falls into a pit, it's not by the collars (ZO 122) and ornaments put on them that it is pulled out but by strong ropes.

So, it's not flattery that will bring us from the sin into which we have fallen, these things deeper than the pit, but it's the effective, empowering message and sound instruction that will bring us from the filthy mud of all our sinful actions, the very filth of which the saints said, not for their benefit but for our sake, "You brought us from the pit of misery and the filthy clay."<sup>12</sup>

After a gap of about five pages we have the relatively lengthy and yet unpublished text of the third fragment, GG 115–126.<sup>13</sup> The fourth lacuna of about eight pages presumably had much of the concluding section of the homily, for the text that comes next has the familiar ring of final thoughts by the abbot. In this segment (Z) 97/98, the fourth fragment)<sup>14</sup> Shenoute admonished the audience not to be disheartened by the hard times they have been facing. Of Jesus he said, “It’s he who nourishes us and will nourish us in famines,” for “It’s he who blessed five loaves, yea, seven, and thousands ate.” He added, “It’s he who will bless what is for those who trust him at all times and who take pains to edify themselves in gratitude.” His final words on the leaf are quotations. The first is from Job 2:10b: “Since we have received good things from the Lord, should we not bear the bad?” The final words of encouragement are taken from Hebrews 12:5b-6a: “Do not make light of the Lord’s discipline, nor be disheartened when you are rebuked by him” and “The one whom the Lord loves, he disciplines.”<sup>15</sup> With this the text breaks off. Presumably the homily came to an end shortly thereafter.

### The Discourse Following the Proposed Seam

In contrast to the exposition in the foregoing passages, K 9764 and subsequent texts are marked by an attack on and confrontation with Satan.<sup>16</sup> This is apparent almost immediately in K 9764, whose text bears the characteristics of a homily’s early paragraphs. It begins with a quotation taken from the prophet Joel (2:20b), the first part of which must be restored: [“I shall destroy his face in the first<sup>17</sup> sea and his backside in the] last<sup>18</sup> [se]a; his putrid odor<sup>19</sup> will rise, and his stench will rise.” Shenoute proceeded to explain the words “first sea,” “last sea,” “his face,” and “his backside.” Possibly oblivious to Joel’s militaristic implications, he said that “first sea” stands for the entire large company who died as unbelievers before the Savior came to the world. The “last sea” stands for Greeks, heretics, and “everyone who will see and disbelieve.”<sup>20</sup> Shenoute added that it is Jesus “who came and gave himself as a ransom for everyone.”<sup>21</sup> He continued the interpretation of Joel’s words by equating “his face” with the advent of Satan’s deeds on earth and “his backside” with the cessation of the devil’s silence.<sup>22</sup> As for “his putred odor” and “his stench,” the abbot said, “We shall be brought back to both<sup>23</sup> on the day this will be heard:

‘Remove yourselves from me, you accursed, to the everlasting flame which was prepared for the devil and his angels.’”<sup>24</sup>

Thereupon the abbot spoke directly to Satan, declaring that although the Savior was not recognized and trusted when he came, by means of the cross “he has weakened you” and “made you as powerless as corpses left (on a battlefield).” The unbelievers “shall be answerable to hell fire because it is they who go around seeking out your ungodly deeds, and you did not pursue them. For it’s dead you are.”<sup>25</sup>

Shenoute then reminded his congregation that it is wrong to disbelieve the scriptures, observing, “He annulled him who has the strength of death, that is to say, the devil,”<sup>26</sup> and “He annulled death but revealed life.”<sup>27</sup> Again he addressed the devil, “To be sure, hitherto sounds of roaring and rejoicing came from you over those whom you took as prisoners to a desert region—which is ungodliness—that is far from the divinity of the eternal God Almighty. But now the voice of him who came to the world, Christ Jesus, has preached forgiveness to the prisoners to bring forth those bound with fetters who sit in darkness in prison.”<sup>28</sup> It caused you to go about mad and beside yourself, mourning, crying out weakly<sup>29</sup> because he took you captive<sup>30</sup> and carried off all the spoils.”

K 9764 is one of six fragments of this second discourse which have survived. Together they yield the following synopsis of the work.

Lacuna 1: less than 2 pages.

Fragment 1: ZJ 101/102.

Lacuna 2: about 20 pages.

Fragment 2: GG [159]–[162].<sup>31</sup>

Lacuna 3: 8 pages.

Fragment 3a: GG 171–174.<sup>32</sup>

Fragment 3b: GM 225/226  
(parallel to GG 172:i.4–173:i.24).<sup>33</sup>

Lacuna 4: less than 2 pages.

Fragment 4: GM 231/232.<sup>34</sup>

Lacuna 5: 8 pages.

Fragment 5a: GM 241–248.<sup>35</sup>

Fragment 5b: ZJ 143/144

(parallel to GM 246:ii.8–248:ult.;

ZJ 144:i.28–ii.ult. extends the text of GM 248).<sup>36</sup>

Lacuna 6: 2 pages.

Fragment 6: Emmel's A 1 concludes in this fragment,  
viz., ZJ 147:i.1–ii.12 on the recto of a folio.<sup>37</sup>

At the end of the sixth of these fragments there is a subscript:<sup>38</sup>  
“By Shenoute, Discourse 3.” To Emmel its significance was not clear.<sup>39</sup>  
I suggest that it is a further indication that the third homily in codex  
ZJ, rather than the second, ended here.<sup>40</sup>

### The Placement of P. Vindob. K 9787

For P. Vindob. K 9787 to be regarded as part of the same discourse as K 9764, an investigation of its position is in order. This requires, first of all, a breakdown of the quires in this section of codex ZJ. I indicate the place in the ninth quire where I think K 9787 fits, the evidence for which will be given below.

Quire 7:	97–112
MS Copte 130.5, folio 55	97/98
<u>folio 2 wanting</u>	99/100
P. Vindob. K 9764 (flesh side)	101
(hair side)	102
<u>folios 4–8 wanting</u>	103–112
Quire 8: <u>all folios wanting</u> <sup>41</sup>	113–128
Quire 9:	129–144
folios 1–4 wanting <sup>42</sup>	129–136
P. Vindob. K 9787 (flesh side)	137
(hair side)	138
<u>folios 6–7 wanting</u> <sup>43</sup>	139–142
Pushkin MS 716	143/144

Quire 10:	145–160
<u>initial folio wanting</u>	145/146
MS Copte 130.4, folio 91	147/148
MS Copte 130.4, folio 92	149/150
<u>folios 4–8 wanting</u>	151–160

We should bear in mind that a seam occurs on the second folio of the tenth quire, and it is the textual material under consideration that ends at this point.<sup>44</sup>

K 9787 has remained unplaced, foremost, because there is the absence of textual continuity with an extant placed folio from codex ZJ. Nor is any part of its text parallel to that of a placed folio from another codex. The procedure I have followed in seeking a tenable placement for it is threefold. First of all, I have eliminated from consideration lacunae in the suspect discourse which for one reason or another cannot accommodate the folio. We need not consider the first and last lacunae (nos. 1 and 6), for each is a single leaf missing from codex ZJ, and the text of the folio in question does not bond with contiguous material. Lacuna 4 may be eliminated also, since it is a gap of about two pages between GG 174 and GM 231, and again K 9787 has no connection with the textual content of either. Thus, the options for putting K 9787 in this discourse are lacunae 2, 3 and 5. The first of these three gaps is so lengthy (twelve pages) that to place the leaf there would be nothing more than a guess, inasmuch as there is no close relation in content with the folios which bracket the gap other than the general theme of Satan's ability to seduce and beguile. We can eliminate lacuna 3 (eight pages), as well, because of the absence of specific textual similarities in fragments 2 and 3 to anything in K 9787.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, the remaining option, lacuna 5, is a viable choice, for the text of fragment 4 (GM 231/232) seems to have a very close relationship to that of K 9787.

Secondly, I have asked whether the leaf's flesh/hair configuration is acceptable in the remaining lacuna. Since the flesh side is the recto, the possibilities, unless precluded by other considerations, are folios 1, 3, 5 or 7 in a given quire. Lacuna 5 in the discourse falls within the range of the ninth quire of codex ZJ, and therein the relevant pages are 129/130 (folio 1), 133/134 (folio 3), 137/138 (folio 5), and 141/142 (folio 7). The seventh leaf is removed from consideration at once on two counts, *viz.*, lack of textual continuity with the extant

folio 8 (Pushkin MS 716) and no parallel in codex GM. I would expect folio 1 to overlap with the extant material in fragment 3, and the third folio should be parallel in part to fragment 4. Both the fourth and the fifth leaves in quire 9 of codex ZJ may be fitted into lacuna 5, but only the fifth would have the flesh/hair profile of K 9787. Therefore, if our folio belonged to quire 9, its pagination must be 137/138.

Thirdly, I have studied the two fragments from codex GM on either side of lacuna 5 for possible contextual links with K 9787. I see such a relationship with fragment 4 (GM 231/232), in which Shenoute, continuing the line of thought seen in GG 171–174 (fragment 3), expounds on the similarity of Satan to snakes in regard to the dens wherein they live. A viper either seeks a hole which other creatures have made or buries in loose sand all of its body except the upper part of its head. Likewise, the devil must have either an abode provided by an individual within himself or, as an alternative, concealment under defiling allurements. A translation of the text of GM 231/232 follows.

The ant creates a den for itself. The serpent, however, cannot dig and build a den for itself, for it has neither feet nor claws. Nor too has God endowed it to take a stick or twigs, not even a chip, in its mouth that it may create a den for itself. But dirty places and holes that it may find, it is they into which it enters when they are useful, and there it stays.

So too it is impossible for the devil and sin to enter an individual unless the person provides within himself a place for them, and by the wicked deeds which Satan has found there he makes this person's soul and heart a den, that he may continue upon these deeds within him. For not even in his strength did he leap on Judas, but it was he who by his deeds became a place for Satan's coming and going. Indeed, since the beginning, the devil's strength left him when the Lord God cursed him through the snake, yea, cursed the snake and him, saying, "You will go on your breast and belly."<sup>46</sup> But through the cross of Christ he became all the more as one who has died and stiffened. Since then, he lives no longer in any person, save those who sin.

Moreover, the viper has yet a ruse in the way it conceals its body in sand or dirt and uses its horns as a stinger, so that it stabs the



one who treads on it, and the poison will flow into him.<sup>47</sup> And he will die or suffer so much that he does not expect to recover, because he was not watchful and paid no attention to the snake's trail. So too the Spirit of Lust has a ruse in the way he hides himself in filth and madness [. . .].

In the first part of P. Vindob. K 9787 we meet sentiments that seem to flow logically from what was expressed in GM 231/232. At the outset Shenoute reminded his audience that scribes and Pharisees are like whitewashed tombs, within which

there are dead men's bones<sup>48</sup> and menstrual rags, there are serpentine dragons and scorpions and all kinds of reptiles, there are holes, there are dens. If there are houses, you snake, Satan, like Judas the betrayer and Caiaphas<sup>49</sup> and every other sort of godless person from the beginning until today, it is because they are at your disposal that you enter into them and do not come forth. There are also houses from which you are chased by many of those who [conte]nd with you, either the ang[el]s [or the] powerful [holy] spirit, that of the owner of the house,<sup>50</sup> Jesus.

As we see, the concern here is with people being used as the "den" or abode of the devil. Still, for those who have served Satan, Shenoute counseled, it is possible with the aid of angels and the Holy Spirit to evict him of whom God has said, "You are nothing,"<sup>51</sup> thus revealing him to his saints as he really is. Indeed,

the Lord Almighty previously revealed you to Job as you are, before he had brought on you the great holy and strong sword, before he had severed you one place after another, (O) dragon, serpent, twisted one. If then he revealed you to some after Jesus came, how then shall he reveal you after he teaches them about you being w[ea]k?

A less appealing alternative to putting K 9787 in the ninth quire of codex ZJ is a placement in lacuna 2, in particular, either folio 5 or 7 of quire 7 or folio 1 of quire 8. Such a position would make K 9787 the second extant leaf in the discourse. However, as I have noted above, such a placement amounts to little more than a guess.

## Notes

1. *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, Ph. D. diss., Yale University (New Haven, 1993), 1175–7 (Table 130).
2. For descriptions of each codex see Emmel, *Corpus*, 450–63, 504–8 and 515–17. Modern collections conserve only twelve folios of some fifty occupied originally in codex GG by the material under discussion. For codex GM there are seven folios known, and for ZO a mere five folios. Emmel was able to place eight leaves from codex ZJ in the work.
3. Emmel, *Corpus*, 889–92 and 1122–4 (Table 100).
4. Emmel, *Corpus*, 1001–2.
5. Both it and K 9764 are conserved in the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. For authorization to publish their contents I am grateful to Dr. Hermann Harrauer, Direktor of the Papyrussammlung, who accorded me generous hospitality at the collection during my several visits to Vienna.
6. Whether P. Vindob. K 9798 (codex GM 111/112), an unpublished leaf in the Papyrussammlung at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, belongs to this work or elsewhere is not clear, and for that reason alone I do not include it as an eleventh fragment. The question of its association with one or another of Shenoute's works was taken up by Emmel, *Corpus*, 462, 1124 and 1177.
7. MS Copte 130.5, folio 55, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (unpublished).
8. It comes from two manuscripts. GG 87–90 (unpublished) is conserved as I.B. 15, folios 17 and 18, at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. ZJ 65/66 (unpublished) has been accessioned as MS Copte 131.6, folio 64 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and the text is parallel to that of GG 87:ii.25–90:ii.17.
9. It has three witnesses. Principally, the text of ZJ 69–76 is known from I.B. 15, folios 19–22 in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples (ed. É. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Shenoudi: Texte copte et traduction française* [2 vols.; Paris: Leroux, 1914], 2:461.1–472.12). This text is augmented by some of the material in I.B. 15, folios 34–38 in the same collection (i.e., ZO 111/112 + 115–122; Amélineau, *Oeuvres*, 2:465.1–477.3), of which ZO 118:ii.19–122:ult. extends the text of ZJ 76. The rest of the text from ZO is parallel to ZJ 71:ii.14–73:i.1 and 74:i.25–76:ult. Parallel to ZJ 69:ii.21–71:i.6 is the text of GM 125/126, which is MS 1614, folio 3 (unpublished) in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Berlin.

10. Similar wording by Shenoute is seen in *Discourses 5*, Work 2 (codex XJ 95, Amélineau, *Oeuvres*, 2:76.3-4).
11. Psalm 68 (69):2.
12. Psalm 39 (40):3. The homily continues in a similar vein for the remainder of ZO 122, with which the second fragment ends.
13. MS Copte 130.4, folios 100–105, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
14. See n. 7.
15. Chapter 12:5b–6a (a slightly altered quotation of Proverbs 3:11–12a).
16. See the editions cited in nn. 31–37.
17. I.e., “eastern.” The author of the underlying Hebrew text was referring to the body of water to the east of Judea, which is the Dead Sea.
18. I.e., “western.” The Judean prophet was thinking of the western sea, viz., the Mediterranean.
19. Lit., “destruction,” but here a result of destruction.
20. Cf. John 20:29 and Acts 28:24. In Shenoute’s works see *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia* ed. Johannes Leipoldt with the assistance of W. E. Crum, 3 vols. (numbered 1, 3, 4), CSCO 41, 42, 73, *Scriptores Coptici* 1, 2, 5 (Paris: Reipublicae, 1906–1913), 3:109.22–23, 153.26–27 (both *Canon* 9), as well as University of Michigan MS 158, 15h:20–24 and 20f:3–6, ed. D. Young, *Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery: Works of Shenoute*, MPER 22 (Vienna: In Kommission bei Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1993), 156 and 164.
21. John 1:18b
22. In the prophet’s mind “face” refers to the forward formation of advancing infantry and “backside” has in mind the rear guard.
23. Lit., “it and it.”
24. Matthew 25:41.
25. Compare later in the discourse (GG 173:ii.29–30) “Once again, you are dead.”
26. Adapted from Hebrews 2:14c.
27. Adapted from 1 Timothy 1:10b.
28. See 1 Peter 3:19 and Jude 6. Cf. also Luke 4:18, quoting Isaiah 61:1.
29. Lit., “with sounds of weakness.”
30. Cf. Colossians 2:8.
31. University of Michigan MS 158, 15e–h (2 folios); Young, *Manuscripts*, 149–60 (no. 26), wherein I had assigned the wrong pagination and an incorrect position within its codex to this fragment.

32. University of Michigan MS 158, 15a–d (2 folios); Young, *Manuscripts*, 149–60 (no. 26). Traces of the quire number and associated horizontal lines remain on p. 174; hence it should be observed that the last two folios in the eleventh quire constitute this fragment, but the pagination has dropped by 2 from the 173–76 expected on the basis of earlier pages in the codex.
33. I.B. 9, folio 41, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; Amélineau, *Oeuvres*, 2:251.1–252.8.
34. I.B. 9, folio 42, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; Amélineau, *Oeuvres*, 2:252.9–254.4.
35. I.B. 9, folios 43–46, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; ed. Amélineau, *Oeuvres* 2:254.5–260.10.
36. Pushkin Museum MS no. 716; ed. A. I. Elanskaja, *Coptic Literary Texts of the Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow* (1991), 91–93. Republished as *Coptic Literary Texts*, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 13 (Budapest, 1994), 319–26.
37. MS Copte 130.4, folio 91, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Leipoldt, *Opera Omnia*, 3:90.4–20 (no. 27: “De omnipotentia Dei”).
38. ZJ 147:ii.13. Leipoldt, *Opera Omnia*, 3:86.15, as though it were the superscription to his no. 26, “De idolis vici Pnueit II,” rather than the subscript to his no. 27, “De omnipotentia Dei” (p. 90).
39. Emmel, *Corpus*, 1001.
40. The first discourse of this volume is presented by Emmel as “Acephalous Work A 4” (see *Corpus*, 1179–80, Table 132), which occupies more than 44 pages in ZJ, followed by a lacuna of nearly 20 pages. After this the text of A 1 begins, which is likely also the commencement of the second homily in ZJ. If there is another seam in the missing folio prior to K 9764, as argued here, the text of ZJ 147:i.1–ii.12 is surely part of a third work in the volume.
41. The text is seen in part in codex GG [159]–[162] and 171–174.
42. Parts of the text are supplied by GG 173–174 and GM 231–232.
43. The text is seen in part in codex GM 241–246.
44. There is a lack of evidence for a conclusion in a prior lacuna.
45. There is, however, a striking link between a brief assertion in fragment 4 (GM 231) and in fragment 3a (GG 171–174) a lengthy characterization of Satanic influence. In the passage from codex GM Shenoute said that “not even in his strength did the devil leap on Judas, but it was he who by his deeds became a place for Satan’s coming and going.” In the earlier piece we have an extensive depiction of beasts, one the cat and others perhaps demonic, leaping upon humans, which occurs in a context declaring how sorrowful it is to witness a person turning from righteousness to serve the devil. The abbot

then charged members of the congregation, “Yet you on your own persuade yourself to remain in servitude to the ruler of all wrongdoing.”

46. Adapted from Genesis 3:14b.

47. While it is true that the viper hides itself in the sand of a dune, it actually strikes by propelling itself forward in order to seize small quarry with its mouth or to sink its fangs in a larger intruder. Moreover, its horns are definitely not a stinger.

48. An allusion to Matthew 23:27 but not a precise quotation.

49. The pairing of these men as conspirators in the death of Jesus is seen elsewhere in Shenoute’s writings, e.g., P. Vindob. K 928, recto, lines 33–49, which is from *Discourses 5*, Work 5; see my forthcoming edition “Portions of a Coptic Discourse by Shenute (Vienna Incipit List No. 44)” in *JJP*.

50. For “the owner of the house” to be used as an attribute of Jesus is unusual; otherwise, see Matthew 24:43 (parallels: Mark 14:14, Luke 22:11) and, in a Shenoutean discourse, Museo Egizio di Torino, Cat. 63000, Cod. IV, fol. 69 verso, b 22-23, ed. H. Behlmer, *Schenute von Atripe: De Iudicio* (Torino: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1996), 146.

51. I.e., “insignificant.” Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:2. See B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), § 294.