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## An edition of two folios from a Shenoutean discourse against the devil

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach  
dozwolonego użytku.

Dwight W. Young

**AN EDITION  
OF TWO FOLIOS FROM A SHENOUEAN  
DISCOURSE AGAINST THE DEVIL**

**I**N A SEPARATE STUDY dealing with Shenoute's 'Acephalous Work A 1', which Stephen Emmel had isolated as a homily whose incipit has been lost,<sup>1</sup> I have contended that (1) the material actually encompasses two discourses and (2) certain unpublished fragments of codex ZJ in Vienna, viz. P. Vindob. K 9764 and K 9787, are remnants of the second homily.<sup>2</sup> The preserved pagination (101/102) of K 9764 permits the placement of the folio in its codex, and I have argued for an unattested seam in a short lacuna prior to it. Thereby I regard it as the first of the extant fragments of the discourse. K 9787, on the other hand, has the pagination missing, but in my prior article I have suggested a logical position for it. The present study is devoted to a diplomatic edition of the text of both folios with notes on certain readings, a list of the Greek words, and a translation accompanied by notes thereto.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. EMMEL, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 2 vols. (CSCO 599–600), Louvain 2004, pp. 685–687, 868–870 (Table 135).

<sup>2</sup> D. YOUNG, 'On a Possible Relationship Between P. Vindob. K 9764 and K 9787', [in:] *Essays in Honour of Frederik Wisse*. ARC. *The Journal of the Faculty of Religious Studies*, McGill 33, Montreal 2005, pp. 138–150.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Hermann HARRAUER, former Direktor of the Papyrussammlung at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, for permission to publish these two fragments.

## A SYNOPSIS OF THE HOMILY

Fourteen folios from three codexes – four from codex GG, six from codex GM, and four from codex ZJ – have enabled me to reconstruct seven fragments of the discourse:

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Lacuna</i> 1: | less than 2 pages   |
| Fragment 1:      | ZJ 101/102 <sup>4</sup>   |
| <i>Lacuna</i> 2: | about 14 pages in codex ZJ  |
| Fragment 2:      | GG [163]–[166] <sup>5</sup>   |
| <i>Lacuna</i> 3: | 4 pages in codex GG   |
| Fragment 3a:     | GG 171–174 <sup>6</sup>   |
| Fragment 3b:     | GM 225/226 <sup>7</sup> (parallel to GG 172:1.4–173:1.24)   |
| <i>Lacuna</i> 4: | about 2 pages in codex GG, and less than 2 pages in codex GM  |
| Fragment 4:      | GM 231/232 <sup>8</sup>   |
| <i>Lacuna</i> 5: | more or less than 2 pages in codex GM   |
| Fragment 5:      | ZJ 137/138 (?). <sup>9</sup> The suggested placement of K 9787, which arises from contextual similarities with the prior folio (GM 231/232), sets a gap of 34 pages in codex ZJ between the two folios edited herein. Other possible positions for the folio are in <i>lacunae</i> 2 and 3. <sup>10</sup> |

<sup>4</sup> P. Vindob. K 9764, Papyrussammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, edited below.

<sup>5</sup> University of Michigan 158, folios 15e–h; ed. D. YOUNG, *Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery: Works of Shenoute* (MPER 22), Vienna 1993, pp. 149–160 (no. 26). I have changed herewith the pagination and the position within its codex stated incorrectly in YOUNG, ‘A Possible Relationship’ (cit. n. 2), p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> University of Michigan 158, folios 15a–d; ed. YOUNG, *Manuscripts* (cit. n. 5), pp. 149–160 (no. 26).

<sup>7</sup> I. B. 9, folio 41, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; ed. É. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de Shenoudi: Texte copte et traduction française* II, Paris 1907–1914, pp. 251.1–252.8.

<sup>8</sup> I. B. 9, folio 42, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* II (cit. n. 7), pp. 252.9–254.4.

<sup>9</sup> P. Vindob. K 9787, Papyrussammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, edited below.

<sup>10</sup> YOUNG, ‘A Possible Relationship’ (cit. n. 2), pp. 144–146.

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Lacuna</i> 6: | more or less than 2 pages in codex GM   |
| Fragment 6a:     | GM 241–248 <sup>11</sup>  |
| Fragment 6b:     | ZJ 143/144 <sup>12</sup> (parallel to GM 246:11.8–248:ult.; ZJ 144:1.28–11.ult. extends the text of GM 248) |
| <i>Lacuna</i> 7: | 2 pages in codex ZJ   |
| Fragment 7:      | ZJ 147:1.1–11.12 <sup>13</sup>  |

At this point a seam occurs that indicates this is the end of a discourse. Since there is a lack of evidence for a conclusion in a prior *lacuna*, I accept this as the end of the homily in question.

#### A DESCRIPTION OF K 9764 AND K 9787

The *verso* of both parchment folios is the hair side, distinguishable mainly by color and better ink retention. On K 9764 there is also a small patch of grain. This leaf has suffered the more damage of the two. It has frayed edges; holes; extensive stains; breaks and lengthy tears, some of which have widened by *detrition*. The loss of most of the inner margin extends well into the written area. The loss of much of the upper margin has adversely affected part of top lines of text. A small piece (maximum 46 × 17 mm.) of the anterior half of the *bifolium* was still attached but has now separated from the leaf under consideration. The flesh side (*recto*) is rubbed and soiled, and an ancient repair appears in the left column, lines 22 and 23.

The hair side of K 9787 is soiled and rubbed, and the parchment has been badly damaged in other respects. There are frayed edges, several small holes and extensive stains. A crease runs vertically through the text. The leaf lacks

<sup>11</sup> I. B. 9, folios 43–46, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* II (cit. n. 7), pp. 254.5–260.10.

<sup>12</sup> Pushkin Museum no. 716; ed. A. ELANSKAJA, *Coptic Literary Texts of the Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow*, Moscow 1991, pp. 91–93. Republished as *Coptic Literary Texts (Studia Aegyptiaca 13)*, Budapest 1994, pp. 319–326.

<sup>13</sup> Copte 130<sup>4</sup>, folio 91, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; ed. J. LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia* III (CSCO 42), Paris 1908, p. 90.4–20, no. 27 *De omnipotentia Dei*.

pagination because most of the upper margin is wanting, a loss that extends well into the written area, particularly near the fold-edge, where the upper half of the inner margin is also absent. The lower corner at the fold has disappeared too and with it a few letters of the contiguous text.

The size of each folio is irregular. K 9764 measures a maximum 315 × maximum 263 mm, while K 9787 has a length of 308 mm and a width of 275 mm. The length of each was originally perhaps as much as 330 mm. The written area of K 9764 is about 242 × 192 mm and that of K 9787 is about 249 × 200 mm, in two columns (maximum widths 92 and 94 mm, respectively) of 31 lines each. The distance between the left edges of the two columns is 102 mm (K 9764) and 105 mm (K 9787). The height of ten lines is about 76 mm in the former, but it fluctuates between 78 and 82 mm in K 9787. For K 9764 the margins are 57 mm (lower), 53 mm (outer), 30 mm (inner) and 18 mm (upper, only in the outer half). For K 9787 the margins are similar: 51 mm (lower), 55 mm (outer) and 32 mm (inner), but of the upper margin a mere 7 mm remains, and that only in the center. We should expect at least 30 mm for the upper margins of both leaves.

#### AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS

As a sermon in which the abbot addressed Satan, the textual material of our two folios has affinities with a discourse in MS Copte 1 at the French Institute in Cairo,<sup>14</sup> viz., Shenoute's *Discourses* Volume 4, Work 4.

The folios are pricked in the outer margin and ruled lightly at intervals of four lines, with letters resting on the lines. The script is upright, with narrow e, o, and c, short p, q, and γ and rounded three-stroke m. Extension of γ occurs in top lines; the letter Ϸ is likewise extended there. Dittography, haplography and later insertion of omitted letters occur. A paragraph is set apart by an enlarged letter in the margin. In one case the letter is only slightly enlarged.

Raised points in either upper or middle position serve for logical punctuation. At the end of a paragraph we find either a raised point, a colon, or a colon bracketed by raised points or horizontal strokes, as well as a colon followed by a horizontal stroke, either curving or straight. Two-dot tremas or a short line in its stead are present.

Superlineation, which is sometimes a short line, appears also as a convex line. Connective superlineation is present. The circumflex familiar from earlier uncial manuscripts is not carefully distinguished from superlineation. An apostrophe occurs rarely to mark the end of a morph and may stand directly above a letter, where it is no different in appearance from the circumflex.

Except for red dots inside some letters and around punctuation, extraneous lines, red and silver highlighting of enlarged letters, and embellishments surrounding the pagination, there is no decoration.

In my copy of the texts □ is a space holder representing a gap in the writing, as in 101:1.22 and 102:11.8,22. Wider gaps in 101:1.23 and 102:11.23 are marked by □□.

## THE TEXT OF K 9764 K

*Recto*

|                     |    | ῥ̄λ̄                  |
|---------------------|----|-----------------------|
| CAÑZAH · ΠΕΨΤΑΚΟΝ   |    | ἸΤΕΨΙΝΩΘ :- ΠΕΨ       |
| ΛΕΪΕΖΡΑΪ · ΛΥΘΠΕΨΩ  |    | ΤΑΚΩΕΤ{ε}ΝΛΕΙΕΖΡΑΪ    |
| ἸΩΦΝΑΕΙΕΖΡΑΪ :-     |    | ΜἸΠΕΨΩἸΩΦΕΤΝΑ         |
| ⊕ΝΝΑΟΥΕΝΞΠΕΪΦΑΧΕ    |    | ΕΙΕΖΡΑΪ · ΣΕΝΑΚΤΩΝ    |
| ΕΒΟΛἸΑΩἸΞΕ · ΧΕΘΑ   | 5  | ΕΖΡΑΪΕΧΩΨΝΜΜΑΨ        |
| ΛΑССΑἸΦΟΡἸ · ΘΑΛΛΑ  |    | ΞΜΠΕΞΟΥΕΤΟΥΝΑΣΩ       |
| CAÑZAH · ΛΥΘΠΕΨΩ    |    | ΤἸΜΕΠΑΪ · ΧΕΣΑΞΕΤΗΥ   |
| ΜἸΠΕΨΠΑΞΟΥ :        |    | ΤἸΒΟΛἸΜΜΟΪ · ΝΕΤ      |
| ⊕ΛΑССΑἸΦΟΡἸ · ΠΕ    |    | ΣΖΟΥΟΡἸ·ΕΤΣΑΤΕΦΑ      |
| ΠΟΧΛΟΤΗΡἸ · Ἰ       | 10 | ΕΝΕΞ · ΤΑἸἸΤΑΥΣἸΤΩΤἸ  |
| ΤΑΥΜΟΥ · ΕΥΘἸΑΤ     |    | ἸΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ · ΜἸΝΕΨ    |
| ΝΑΞΤΕ · ΞΑΘἸΜΠΑΤΕ   |    | ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ :- ΕΒΟΛΧ      |
| ΠΨΩΤΗΡΕΪΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ·  |    | ⊕ΛΨΕἸΞἸΝΡΑΝἸΜΠΕΨΕ     |
| ⊕[ΛΑΛ]ΨCAÑZAH ΝΕΞΕΛ |    | ἸΩΤ · ΜΠΟΥΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ     |
| [ΛΗΝ]ΝΙΜ · ΜἸΞΑΪ    | 15 | ΕΡΟΨ · ΟΥΔΕἸΜΠΟΥΨΟΥ   |
| [ΡΕΤΙΚ]ΟСΝΙМ · ΜἸ   |    | ΩἸΝἸ · ΛΨΕἸΓΑΡ'ΛΨΑΛΚ' |
| [ΟΥΟΝ]ΝΙМ · ΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ |    | ἸΩΩΒ · ΞΙΤἸΜΠΕἸ-ἸἸ    |

|                     |    |                           |
|---------------------|----|---------------------------|
| [ḡσεερα]τῆναστε :-  |    | λυϑλαγαακ · ḡθε(ḡζεν)στατ |
| [πετεμ]ῆουπς        |    | βεσεγνηχεβολ · :-         |
| [τε]γυεε[ρ]οϑτηρου  | 20 | Ϸωχ[ες]εϷωωϷλεσι          |
| [π]εῆτοϷπῆουτε ·    |    | ϑουῆḡσεωουδε              |
| [π]ϷηρϷεῆουϷτ       |    | βολḡμοκ · ḡπατου          |
| [π]ετωϷϷοδπεḡ       |    | ωουε · ευναωουεεε ·       |
| [κ]ουνη{η}ḡμπεϷεῖϷτ |    | Ϸυμονονχεζεν[ζε]λλ        |
| [π]ενταϷεῖλαϷα[λ]Ϸ  | 25 | ηηηενετϷωζḡ[τ]αχ          |
| ḡσωτεζαουονḡημ ·    |    | ḡεροου · ḡελυϷω[ζḡ]       |
| ϷεϷδ · πεταρχḡ · ḡ  |    | ονḡπουεῖαλυταχη ·         |
| νεϷḡḡτασεβης        |    | λυϑσenaϷωπεḡ              |
| ḡταϷαρχḡḡμεεπ       |    | ενοχοσεπκωζḡ              |
| [καζḡ]ζητου · λυϑ   | 30 | ḡτγεzenna · · χεḡ         |
| [πεϷπαζο]γτεθαḡ     |    | τοουηετμοοϷεεγ            |

## Verso

|                    |    |                      |
|--------------------|----|----------------------|
| ḡβ                 |    |                      |
| κωτε · ευμουϷτ     |    | ῖϷ[·]ταϷεοειωḡου     |
| ḡσανεκḡḡτασεβης ·  |    | κḡβολ · ḡḡαῖχημα     |
| λυϑḡτακπωτ         |    | λωλοσ · εεḡνε(ε)βολḡ |
| αν · ḡσωου · εκμο  |    | νετμηρζḡḡευςναγζ ·   |
| ουτγαρ :- ουπαρ    | 5  | λυϑḡνετḡμοος · ζḡ    |
| ḡομιαπεεῖρατῆναστε |    | πκακε · εβολζḡḡḡ     |
| επεντατεγραφη      |    | ḡπεϷτεκδ · αστ       |
| χοοϷ · χεϷουϷσḡ    |    | Ϸε{ε}κμοοϷεεκλωε ·   |
| ḡπετεουḡḡḡπα       |    | λυϑεκποϷḡḡητ ·       |
| μαστεḡμαγḡḡμογ ·   | 10 | εκνεεπε · εκḡϷε      |
| Ϸεπαῖπεπαῖβολος    |    | βολ · ζḡzenεροουḡ    |
| λυϑχεϷουϷσḡ        |    | ḡḡτωβ · εḡβεχε       |
| μεḡḡμογ · αϷ       |    | αϷωολḡ · λυϑλαϷη     |
| ουϷḡḡεβολαεḡ       |    | ḡḡωωλτη[ρου]         |
| πḡḡḡḡτοικογ        | 15 | χενουϷρḡ[ḡenaῖ]      |
| μεḡḡḡḡ :-          |    | εβολ · χεπλ[ῖεḡḡ(?)] |
| Ϸωχεζαθηḡḡου       |    | πσωρḡḡεπ[αῖ · - (?)] |



K 9764 K recto  
Photo by Photoatelier of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek



|                   |    |                          |
|-------------------|----|--------------------------|
| ΑΞΡΟΟΥΝΛΞΗΜ·      |    | ϞΡΩΑΝΝΕΝ[ΤΑΥ]            |
| ΞΙΡΑΦΕΦΩΠΕἸ       |    | ϞΩΤḄΕΡ[ΟΟΥ . . .]        |
| ΞΗΤḄ · ΕΧḄḤΝΕἸ    | 20 | ΞἸΝΝΕΤ . . . . [ . . . ] |
| ΤΑΚϞΙΤΟΥ[·]ἸḄΘΕ   |    | ϞΟΥḄḤḤ · ΦἸΝ[ΕἸ]         |
| ἸΟΥΛΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΟΣ ·   |    | ΤΟΤΟΥἸḄḤΝΕΤ[ϞΩ]          |
| ΕΥΧḄΡΑἸΕΡΗΜΟΣ ·   |    | ΒΕἸϞϞΩΚϞϞ · ΕΥΝΑ[ΤΑ]     |
| ϞΤϞΤḄḤḤΤΑϞΕΒΗϞ    |    | ΜΟΥ · ΧΕΠΕΞΡΟΟ[Υ]        |
| [Τ]Ε · ΕΤΟΥΗΥΕΒΟΛ | 25 | ḄΠΕΤΛΟΒΕ · ΛΥḄ[ΟΥϞ]      |
| ḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤ        |    | ΦḄḄ · ΕϞϞΩḄḤḤḤ[ΕΤ]       |
| ΜἸḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤ       |    | ΝΛΟΥΛΖΟΥἸϞΩϞ ·           |
| ΝΕΞἸΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ · |    | ϞΩΧΕΛΑΚΩΒΕΞἸḤḤ           |
| ḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤ        |    | ΕΚΣΜḤḤḤḤḤḤ[Ο]ΥΟΕἸΦ       |
| ḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤḤ        | 30 | ΦΑΝΤḄϞϞ[ΩḄḤḤ(?)]         |
| ΕἸΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣΠΕḄḄ ·  |    | ΞΕΝΜΗΗ[ΦΕ . . . .]       |

*Notes on the Text of K 9764*

- 101:1.14        The superlineation in ἸḄ is superfluous.  
 101:1.19 & 21    The initial letter in each line may be restored also as Ḥ.<sup>15</sup>  
 101:1.22–23    The empty spaces are due to a flaw in the parchment.  
 101:1.24        A case of dittography in place of ΚΟΥἸḄ.  
 101:1.29        The verb's standard spelling is ΑΡΧΕἸ instead of ΑΡΧΗ.  
 101:1.31        For ḤΕ versus ΠΕ see the statement by Layton.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Codex XII 185:11.14–204:11.3, ed. É. CHASSINAT, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti* (MIFAO 23), Cairo 1911, pp. 19–38.

<sup>15</sup> I restore ΠΕ as the subject of a two-member nominal sentence, but it may also be taken as copular, with ḤḤḤḤ as the predicate in a nominal sentence. B. LAYTON, *A Coptic Grammar*, Wiesbaden 2000, § 278, points out that the latter type of sentence expresses 'an important announcement of identity'. For ḤḤḤḤ as the predicate he cites from Shenoute ΑΝΟΝ ΠΕ ḤḤḤḤ 'We and he are as one', seen in LEIPOLDT, *Opera* III (cit. n. 13), p. 22.18. Moreover, one may also legitimately restore ΝΕ instead of ΠΕ. This would require one to read the plural definite article at the beginning of the sentence and yield the meaning, 'It's all of them who have not trusted him'.

<sup>16</sup> LAYTON, *Grammar* (cit. n. 15), § 269: 'When subject and predicate are definite and they differ in number/(gender), the selection of ΠΕ, ḤΕ, or ΝΕ fluctuates, in some clauses



- 101:11.11 The copyist altered  $\overline{\text{n}\bar{\alpha}}$  to  $\overline{\text{n}\epsilon\bar{\alpha}}$  with a ligature, and the superlineation should be ignored.
- 101:11.13 Emend  $\overline{\text{n}\rho\text{AN}}$  to  $\overline{\text{p}\rho\text{AN}}$ .
- 101:11.18–19 Haplography reduced  $\overline{\text{n}\theta\epsilon\ \overline{\text{n}\rho\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{A}\text{T}\rho\epsilon\text{C}}}$  to  $\overline{\text{n}\theta\epsilon\rho\text{A}\text{T}\rho\epsilon\text{C}}$ .
- 102:1.10 The  $\gamma$  of  $\overline{\text{M}\rho\text{MAY}}$  was a later addition.
- 102:1.21 The  $\iota$  of  $\overline{\text{CIT}}$  was a later addition.
- 102:11.2–3 Read  $\overline{\text{A}\overline{\text{I}\chi\text{M}\text{A}\text{L}\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{C}}}$  in place of  $\overline{\text{A}\overline{\text{I}\chi\text{M}\text{A}\text{L}\text{O}\text{L}\text{O}\text{C}}}$ .
- 102:11.3 Haplography reduced  $\overline{\text{C}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\epsilon\ \text{E}\rho\text{O}\text{L}}$  to  $\overline{\text{C}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\epsilon\text{E}\rho\text{O}\text{L}}$ .
- 102:11.8 The  $\epsilon$  before  $\kappa$  arose by dittography.
- 102:11.11 The  $\rho$  before  $\rho$  was a later addition, centered above  $\overline{\text{n}\rho}$ .
- 102:11.12 Emend  $\overline{\text{E}\rho\text{V}\epsilon}$  to  $\overline{\text{E}\text{T}\text{V}\epsilon}$ .
- 102:11.15 The nominal sentence restored here is of Layton's 'Pattern 6',<sup>17</sup> wherein an explicit subject expands  $\overline{\text{p}\epsilon/\text{T}\epsilon/\text{n}\epsilon}$  of 'predicate  $\overline{\text{p}\epsilon/\text{T}\epsilon/\text{n}\epsilon}$ '.
- 102:11.22–23 The empty spaces are due to a flaw in the parchment.

### *A Translation of K 9764*

[I shall destroy his face in the sea afore<sup>18</sup> and his backside in the] (101) [se]a behind;<sup>19</sup> his putrid odor<sup>20</sup> will rise, and his stench will rise'.<sup>21</sup> How should we explain these words: 'the sea afore', 'the sea behind', 'his face', and 'his backside'? 'The sea afore' stands for the entire large company who died as unbelievers before the Savior came to the world. 'The sea behind' stands for every pag[an], every he[retic], and every[one] who will see [and dis]believe.<sup>22</sup> [It's he whom] all of them [have not] tr[usted], very 'God,

agreeing with one entity term and in other clauses with the other, as though number/(gender) had no influence'.

<sup>17</sup> LAYTON, *Grammar* (cit. n. 15), § 275.

<sup>18</sup> *I.e.*, 'eastern'. The reference was originally to the Dead Sea.

<sup>19</sup> *I.e.*, 'western'. The Hebrew author was speaking of the Mediterranean.

<sup>20</sup> *Lit.*, 'destruction', but here a result of destruction.

<sup>21</sup> *Joel* 2:20b, in which 'face' refers to the forward formation of advancing infantry and 'backside' has in mind the rear guard.

<sup>22</sup> *Cf. Job* 20:29. In Shenoute's works see LEIPOLDT, *Opera* III (cit. n. 13), pp. 109.22–23, 153.26–27, two texts from *Canon* 9, as well as University of Michigan 158, folio 15h:20–24 and folio 20f:3–6, ed. YOUNG, *Manuscripts* (cit. n. 5), pp. 156, 164.

the only son, he who is in his father's bosom',<sup>23</sup> he who came and 'gave himself as a ransom for everyone'.<sup>24</sup>

'His face' stands for the beginning of his<sup>25</sup> ungodly deeds with which he began to fill the [earth], and 'his backside' stands for the end of his keeping silent. (As for) 'his putrid odor' that will rise and 'his stench' that will rise, we shall be brought back to both<sup>26</sup> on the day this will be heard: 'Remove yourselves from me, you accursed, to the everlasting flame prepared for the devil and his angels'.<sup>27</sup>

Because he<sup>28</sup> came in the name of his Father, they did not trust him nor did they recognize him. For he came and weakened you<sup>29</sup> by the cross, and he made you like corpses left (on a battlefield). But since [they] defile themselves, they flow<sup>30</sup> from you, do they not, before they become dry?<sup>31</sup> They shall indeed be dry, not only because those who defile themselves [readi]ly — or too when defiled they did not wash at once — are [pag]ans and shall be answerable to hell fire, for it's they who go around (102)

<sup>23</sup> Joh 1:18b, placed here perhaps in apposition to ΝΤΟΥ. For the rendering 'very God' with the independent pronoun as a strengthener, I am indebted to Bentley LAYTON (letter of 14 August 2003).

<sup>24</sup> 1 Tim 2:6a.

<sup>25</sup> *I.e.*, the devil's.

<sup>26</sup> Lit., 'it and it'.

<sup>27</sup> Matt 25:41.

<sup>28</sup> *I.e.*, the Savior.

<sup>29</sup> *I.e.*, the devil.

<sup>30</sup> 'Flow' may signify deriving defilement from Satan's deceits.

<sup>31</sup> The verb 'be dry' denotes a state bereft of life or spiritual life. See especially the unpublished Shenoutean text of codex GM III:11.17–29 (P. Vindob. K 9798): ΝΑΦ ΝΖΕ ΝΦ ΝΑΦΟΥΕ ΑΝ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΑΝ ΝΠΑΙ: ΕΙΧΩ ΝΠΑΙ ΕΤΚΕΟΥ ΑΠ[Ι]ΟΥΔΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΕΛΦΟΥΕ ΜΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΧΕΛΧΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΜΟΦ ΝΤΚΑΙΝΗ ΦΑΝΤΕΦΦΜΜΟ ΕΤΚΕΠΑΛΛΑΙΑ (A tree deprived of moisture), 'how would it not become dry' (*i.e.*, wither and die)? 'Who would not admit this? What I mean is this: Why did the Jew die, having become dry' (*i.e.*, spiritually dead)? 'It's because, is it not, he rejected the New (Testament) to the point he alienated himself from the Old too'? Cf. also this passage from a homily in codex GP 100: ΕΚΦΑΝΚΑΑΝ ΝΣΩΚ ΓΑΡ ΤΝΝΑΦΟΥΕ 'If you (O Lord) forsake us, we will become dry' (*i.e.*, be without spiritual life), Louvre E. 10612, ed. H. GUÉRIN, 'Sermons inédits de Senouti', *RE* 11, 1904, p. 16:11.22–23 (cit. in W. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, p. 601b).

seeking out your ungodly deeds when you did not pursue them. For it's dead you are.<sup>32</sup>

It's wrong to disbelieve what the scripture says, 'He brought to naught him who has the power of death, that is to say, the devil',<sup>33</sup> and 'He annulled death but revealed life'<sup>34</sup> throughout the world. 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, 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>35</sup> It caused you to go about mad and beside yourself, mourning, crying out feebly because he took you captive and carried off all the spoils,<sup>36</sup> for [they are] indeed his, because t[his] is m[adness and (?)] error.

If those [who] listened to [them . . . ] of those who [ . . . ] recognize you, should inquit[re] of those who [mo]ck you, what they will te[ll] them is that (it's) the voice of him who is mad and [an er]ror leading astray those [who] will follow him. To be sure, you altered your voice for a time, resulting in l[eading] multi[tudes astray . . . ].

### *An Index of Greek Words in K 9764*

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| ἄγγελος    | ΙΟΙ:ΙΙ.Ι2                                      |
| αἰρετικός  | 2ΑἸ[ΡΕΤΙΚ]ΟC ΙΟΙ:Ι.Ι5–Ι6                       |
| αἰχμάλωτος | ΙΟ2:Ι.22; ΑἸΧΜΑΛΩΤΟC ( <i>sic</i> ) ΙΟ2:ΙΙ.2–3 |
| ἀρχή       | ΙΟΙ:Ι.27                                       |
| ἀρχομαι    | ΑΡΧῨ ( <i>sic</i> ) ΙΟΙ:Ι.29                   |
| ἀσεβής     | ΜῨΤΑCΕΒΗC ΙΟΙ:Ι.28; ΙΟ2:Ι.2,24                 |
| γάρ        | ΙΟΙ:ΙΙ.Ι6; ΙΟ2:Ι.5                             |
| γένενα     | ΓΕ2ΕΝΝΑ ΙΟΙ:ΙΙ.30                              |

<sup>32</sup> Compare later in the discourse (GG 173:ΙΙ.29–30) ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΚΜΟΟΥΤ 'Once again, you are dead'.

<sup>33</sup> Adapted from *Heb* 2:14c.

<sup>34</sup> Adapted from 2 *Tim* 1:10b.

<sup>35</sup> See 1 *Pet* 3:19, *Lk* 4:18 (quoting *Isa* 61:1), and *Jude* 6.

<sup>36</sup> This may be a play on the story about Abraham in *Gen* 14, which figured prominently in early Christian thinking (e.g., as the background for the discourse in *Heb* 7).

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| γραφή       | IO2:I.7  |
| δέ          | IOI:II.20; IO2:I.I4,29   |
| διάβολος    | IOI:II.II; IO2:I.II  |
| Ἑλλην       | 2EΛ[ΛΗΝ] IOI:I.I4-15; [2E]ΛΛΗΝ IOI:II.24-25                          |
| ἔνοχος      | IOI:II.29  |
| ἔρημος      | IO2:I.23   |
| ἦ           | IOI:II.2I,26   |
| θάλασσα     | IOI:I.5-7 ( <i>bis</i> ),9; [ΘΑΛΛΑC]CA IOI:I.I; Θ[ΑΛΛΑ]C CA IOI:I.I4 |
| Ἰησοῦς      | IC̄ IO2:II.I   |
| κόσμος      | IOI:I.I3; IO2:I.3I   |
| μέν         | IO2:I.I3   |
| μόνον       | see οὐ μόνον below   |
| οἰκουμένη   | IO2:I.I5-16  |
| οὐδέ        | IOI:II.I5  |
| οὐ μόνον    | IOI:II.24  |
| ἄλλος       | IOI:I.I0   |
| παντοκράτωρ | IO2:I.28   |
| παρανομία   | IO2:I.5-6  |
| πιστεύω     | IOI:II.I4; ΠIC[TE]YЄ IOI:I.I9-20                                     |
| σταυρός     | C̄-†OC̄ IOI:II.I7  |
| σωτήρ       | IOI:I.I3   |
| ταχύ        | [TA]XH IOI:II.25-26; TACH IOI:II.27                                  |
| Χριστός     | X̄C̄ IO2:I.3I  |
| χώρα        | IO2:I.23   |

## THE TEXT OF K 9787

In the upper margin of K 9787 the abbreviated name IC̄ ‘Jesus’ is seen, but the expected X̄C̄ ‘Christ’ to its right and the ornamentation between the two words has been lost. There is red and silver highlighting of the line above IC̄. Other features regarding decoration, script and punctuation are the same as described above in the section entitled ‘An Introduction to the Texts’.

*Recto*

|                   |   |                       |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------|
| [.....]           |   | [P̄X̄Z ?]             |
| [.....], [IC̄]    | 1 | ΝΑΓΓΕΛ[ΟCCEÏTEΟΥ (?)] |
| [.....], [IC̄]ΝΑC |   | Π̄Ν̄ᾹΝ̄CΟΜ [..] [..] |
| [.....]NIM · ENE  |   | ΤΑΠΧΟΕICM̄ΠΗÏC̄[.]    |

|                      |    |                        |
|----------------------|----|------------------------|
| [ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤ]ΕΥΣ · Μῆ    |    | ΕΒΟΛΑΝΧΕΜῆΟΥΛῆ         |
| [ΝΕΦΑΡΙΣΑ]ΙΟΣ·ΧΕΕΥΟῆ | 5  | ΝΑῖΡΩΦΕΕΦΟΤΚΕΒΟΛ·—     |
| [ΘΕῆῆῆΤ]ΑΦΟCΕΤΧΗZ    |    | ΑΛΛΑΕΒΟΛΧΕΖΑΠCΠΕ       |
| [ΝΑῖΕΤΝΕ]CΦΟΥΖΙΒΟΛ   |    | ΕΤΡΕΥΠΩΤΕΖΡΑῖ·Ε        |
| [ῆΝΝΑ]ZῆῆῆΡΩΜΕ       |    | ΧΩΚΤΗΡΟΥ·Ζῆ            |
| [ΖΙΖΟΥ]ΝΔΕ·ΕῖΚΗ·     |    | ΘΟΡΜΗῆΠΕΥCΩΝῆ          |
| [ΖΩCΑ]ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ    | 10 | ΕΛΥΠΩΤῆCΛΟΥΔΡΑ         |
| [. . .]ΝΑΥ·ΟΥῆΚΕΕCῆ  |    | ΚΩΝ·ΖῆΠΤ{Τ}ΡΕC         |
| ΚΩC·ΖΙΤΟΕΙCῆ         |    | ΕΙΕΒΟΛ·ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ·ΕΥ     |
| ΦῆΡῆ·ΟΥῆΔΡΑΚΩ-       |    | CΟΟΥΖ'ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥΕ·ΕΡΕ    |
| ῆΖΟΥ·ΖΙΟΥΟΟZΕ·       |    | ΠΟΥΛΠΟΥΛῆΡΩΖῆῆΜΟC·     |
| ΖΙΧΑΤCΕΝΙΜ·ΟΥῆ       | 15 | ΕΦΧΕΝΕΚΜΑῆΜΙΦΕ         |
| ΚῆΧΕῆΚΑΚΕ·ΟΥῆ        |    | ΝΕΝΑῖ·ΛΥῆΜῆῆΤΚ         |
| ΦΚΟΛ·ΟΥῆΒΗΒ·—        |    | ΒΕῆΜΑΥ·ΕΚΝΑΕΤΩΝ'.      |
| ΕΦΧΕΟΥῆῆῆΠΖΟΥ        |    | ΜῆΕΚΝΑΖΩΠ[Ρ]ῆ          |
| ΠCΑΤΑΝΑC·ῆΘΕῆῆΟΥ     |    | ΕΠΕΝΤΑCΧΟΟC·ΧΕΝΙΜ      |
| ΔΑCΠΕΠΡΟΔΟΤΗC'       | 20 | ⟨ΠΕΝ⟩ΤΑCΦΩΛῆΕΒ[ΟΛ]ῆΠΖῆ |
| ΛΥῆΚΑῖΦΑC·Μῆ         |    | ῆΤΕCΖῆCῆ·ΝΙΜ           |
| ΡΩΜΕΝΙΜῆΑΤΝΟΥ        |    | ΠΕΝΤΑCΒΩΚΕΖΟΥΝ         |
| ΤΕ·ΧΙΝῆΦΟΡῆΦΑZ       |    | ΕΝΚῆΒΕῆΠΕCΖΩΚ·         |
| ΡΑῖΕΠΟΥ·ΕΦΑΚΒΩΚ      |    | ΝΙΜΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΩΝ           |
| ΕΖΟΥΝΕΡΟΥ·Μῆ         | 25 | ΕῆΠΥΛΗῆΠΕCΖῆ·          |
| ΤῆΕΙΕΒΟΛῆΖΗΤΟΥ       |    | ῆΤΑΤΕCΜῆΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ        |
| ΧΕCΕΚῆΝΑΚ'·:—        |    | ῆΠΝΟΥΤΕΧΕΝΑῖ·ΕC        |
| ΟΥῆῆῆΟΝΕΥΠΗΤ         |    | ΟΥῆῆῆῆΜΟΚΕΒΟΛ          |
| ῆCΩΚ'·ΕΒΟΛῆΖΗΤΟΥ     |    | ῆΝΕCΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ·ῆ         |
| [ΖΙ]ΤῆΖΑZ·ΖῆῆΕΤ      | 30 | ΘΕΕΤΚῆῆΜΜΟC·ΧΕ         |
| [ΜΙΦ]ΕΝῆΜΑΚ·ΕῖΤΕ     |    | ῆΤΚῆΟΥΑΛΑΥ·:—          |

## Verso

|                    |   |                    |
|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| [Ρῆῆ?]             |   |                    |
| [. . . . .]ΑCΤΑῖ   | 1 | Π[ΕΕΙΒΤ . . . . .] |
| [. . .]ΜΕCΦΒΕῆΜΜΟΚ |   | ῆΤΟΥ[. . . . .]    |
| ΠΕΝΤΑCΧΟΟC·ΧΕ      |   | ΟΥῆῆ[. . . . .]    |





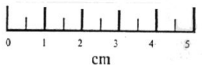
|                       |    |                          |
|-----------------------|----|--------------------------|
| Μ̄ΠΡΩΜΕΕϞΤ̄Ν̄         |    | ΑῩϜ̄Π[. . . . .]        |
| ΤΩΝΕΠΑΖ̄Μ̄ΖΑΛ̄Ι       | 5  | Τ̄Κ̄Μ̄ΜΟ[. . . . .]      |
| ΩΒ' · ΖΙΧ̄Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ      |    | Μ̄ΜΟΚ · Ϟ [ . . . . . ]  |
| ΠΕΝΤΑϞΧΟΟΣ · ΧΕΚ      |    | ΛΑΛΥΟΥΗΥϞϞ[ΟΛΜ̄]         |
| ΝΑΤΑΛΛ̄Ο̄Ν̄ΤΕΚΒΙΧ     |    | ΜΟϞ · Μ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΛΑ[ΑῩΖΗΠ]   |
| ΕΧΩϞ · ΕΛΚ̄Ρ̄ΠΜΕ      |    | ΕΡΟϞ · ΠΚΑΖ[ΤΗΡ̄Ϟ]       |
| ΕῩΕΜ̄ΠΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ·      | 10 | Μ̄Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΥΗ[Ζ̄Ν̄ΖΗ]       |
| ΕΤΩΟΟΠ·Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΕϞ        |    | Τ̄Ϟ · Ν̄ΤΑϞΤΑΜ[ΙΟΥΥ]     |
| ΣΩΜΑ·ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΤΡΕϞ        |    | Ν̄ΘΕ̄Ν̄Ν̄Ε̄ΙΛΑΛΥ ·       |
| ΣΩΤΕΩΩΠΕ·             |    | ϞΛΘΗΓΑΡ' Μ̄ΠΟΟῩ̄        |
| Π̄ΠΕΝΤΑϞΧΟΟΣ · ΧΕΝΙΜ  |    | ΤΑΠΧΟΕΙΣΠΑΝ              |
| ΠΕΝΤΑϞ†ΟΥΒΗ̄Ι         | 15 | ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ · ΟΥΟ           |
| Η̄ΝΙΜΠΕΝΤΑϞ           |    | ΝΖ̄Κ̄ΕΒΟΛΕΝ̄ΙΩΒ·         |
| ΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄Ϟ ΕΡΟ̄Ι · ΑϞΖΥ |    | Ν̄Θ̄ΕΕΤ̄Κ̄Ο̄Μ̄ΜΟΣ : –    |
| ΠΟΜΕΙΝΕ · ΠΚΑΖ        |    | ΝΕ̄Μ̄ΠΑΤ̄Ϟ Ε̄ΙΝ̄ΕΕΧΩΚ    |
| ΤΗΡ̄ϞΠΩ̄ΙΠΕ · Ν̄      |    | ΠΕ · Ν̄ΤΣΗϞΕΝΟΒΕ         |
| ΑΩ[Ν̄]ΖΕΚΝΑΩΖΩ        | 20 | ΤΟΥΛΑΒ·ΑῩϜ̄ΕΤ           |
| ΠΕΡΟϞ –:–ΚΑΝ          |    | ΧΟΟΡ · ΝΕ̄Μ̄ΠΑΤ̄ϞΩ       |
| ϞΚΩΑΝΒΩΚΕΖΡᾹΙ        |    | ΛΑΤ̄Κ̄ΠΕΜ̄Λ̄ · Μ̄Λ̄ · ΠΕ |
| ΩΛ(̄Ν̄)ΝΟΥΝ̄Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ    |    | ΔΡΑΚΩΝ · ΠΖΟϞ            |
| ΚΑΝΕΚΩΑΝΒΩΚ           |    | ΠΕΤΒΟ̄ΟΜΕ–:– Η̄          |
| ΕΖΡᾹΙΦΑΝΕΚΛΟ̄ΔΕ ·    | 25 | ϞΦΧΕΛΑϞΟῩΟ̄Ν̄Ζ̄Κ̄ΒΕ     |
| ΠΧΟΕΙ{ΕΙ}ΣῙΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ · |    | ΕΒΟΛ̄Ν̄ΖΟ̄ΙΝ̄ΕΜ̄Ν̄       |
| ΑῩϜ̄ϞΖΕΝ̄Μ̄ΠΗΥΕ      |    | ΣΑΤΡΕϞΕ̄Ι · ΕϞΝΛΟῩΟ̄    |
| Ν̄Μ̄ΠΗΥΕ ·:– Ν̄ΤΟϞ    |    | ΝΖ̄Κ̄ΒΕΕΒΟΛ·Ν̄ΑΦ̄Ν̄      |
| Γ̄ΑΡ'ΠΕΝΤΑϞΣ̄Ν̄Τ      |    | ΖΕ · Ν̄ΣΑΤΡΕϞΤΣΑϞ̄Ο̄     |
| ΠΕΜΖΙΤ · Μ̄Ν̄ΘΑΛΛΣ    | 30 | ΟΥΕΡΟΚ · ΕΚ̄Ο̄Ν̄Β[ΩΒ·]   |
| ΣΑ · Μ̄Ν̄ΠΡΗΣ · Μ̄Ν̄  |    | ϞΕΧΡΑΕ̄ΙΤ ΓΑΡ' [ . . . ] |

*Notes on the Text of K 9787*

- recto*:I.7      The restoration of ΝᾹΙ ΕΤ– is in accord with the reading of *Matt.*  
23:27 in *Papyrus Bodmer XIX*.
- recto*:I.IO     The letter ι was added later between the contiguous letters.



9787



K 9787 K verso  
 Photo by Photoatelier of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

- recto*:I.19 The letter o was added later between the contiguous letters.
- recto*:II.13 The final ε in ερηγε is perhaps by analogy with a noun plural formation such as εβηγε ‘works’.
- recto*:II.24 The morph π in πετ was imposed over an original η.
- verso*:I.13 The letter τ is a correction over the symbol ε.
- verso*:I.23 The correction is based on ϩαγεωκ εραϊ ϩαμπηγε ησεει επεχτ ϩαηουγν (*Psa* 106:26) versus ηημ πετναεωκ επεχτ επουγν (*Rom* 10:7).
- verso*:I.27 The morph εην exhibits vocalic expansion instead of εη.
- verso*:II.16 The ε in ενιωε is a vocalic expansion in place of η.

### *A Translation of K 9787*

(*recto*) [ . . . ]<sup>37</sup> against (?) the scribes and Pharisees, that they are like white-washed tombs, which are beautiful on the exterior but to no advantage<sup>38</sup> [with]in.<sup>39</sup> [ . . . ] the gospel [ . . . ] to them, there are dead men’s bones<sup>40</sup> and menstrual rags, there are serpentine dragons and scorpions and every sort of reptile, there are dark corners, there are holes, there are dens.

Since there are houses, (you) snake, Satan, like Judas the betrayer and Caiphaz<sup>41</sup> and every (other) godless person from the beginning until today, it’s because they are at your disposal that you enter them and do not come forth. There are also houses from which you are chased by many of those who [contend] with you, either the ang[el]s<sup>42</sup> [or a (?)]<sup>43</sup> powerful spirit,

<sup>37</sup> The first line is wanting, and little remains of lines 2 and 3. The translation begins with the last three letters in line 3.

<sup>38</sup> The Greek loan εἶκη came into the Sahidic New Testament from its six occurrences in the Greek text, all in the Pauline epistles.

<sup>39</sup> *Matt* 23:27, but not verbatim. For a precise quotation of part of the verse by Shenoute, see LEIPOLDT, *Opera* III (cit. n. 13), 166.3–5.

<sup>40</sup> Again the author draws upon *Matt* 23:27.

<sup>41</sup> Treating these men as coconspirators in the death of Jesus is seen elsewhere in Shenoute’s writings, e.g., P. Vindob. K 928, *recto*, lines 33–49, ed. D. YOUNG, ‘Portions of a Coptic Discourse by Shenute (Vienna Incipit List No. 44)’, *JfurP* 33 (2003), p. 271.

<sup>42</sup> The first two lines of column two are fragmentary.

<sup>43</sup> Regarding whether one should restore the indefinite article with ηη̄, consider

[ . . . ] that of (?) the owner of the house,<sup>44</sup> Jesus. Not that one of them is unable to<sup>45</sup> oust you, but that impelled by<sup>46</sup> their anger, they must all run at you while they are assembled, as though they pursue a dragon when it comes forth from them, with each striking it.

Since these are your battlegrounds and you have indeed nowhere else to go, surely you will not hide from him who said,<sup>47</sup> ‘Who has exposed the front of his covering? Who has pierced the folds of his mail?’<sup>48</sup> Who will open his jaws?<sup>49</sup>

God’s holy voice has said these things, revealing you to his saints as you are that you are nothing.<sup>50</sup> (*verso*) [ . . . ]<sup>51</sup> to mock you. He who said, ‘No person on earth is comparable to my servant Job’.<sup>52</sup> He who said, ‘You may raise your hand against him’,<sup>53</sup> when you had in mind the battle raging in his body, intending he not recover.<sup>54</sup>

ΞΠΟΥΠΝ̄Α ΕΦΟΥΑΒ Μ̄ΠΟΥΒΟΜ in *Acts* 10:38, and compare ΕΠΜΑ ΠΟΥΧΗΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΛΥΘ ΟΥΒΟΜ Μ̄ΠΝ̄Α ΕΦΟΥΑΒ ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΑΤΒΟΜ ΤΕΤΦΟΟΠ ΝΑΚ ‘Instead of an angel’s sword and a holy spiritual power, impotence is what you have’, ed. CHASSINAT, *Le quatrième livre* (cit. n. 14), p. 34 (codex XH 200:1.8–13).

<sup>44</sup> See also *Matt* 24:43 (parallels: *Mk* 14:14, *Lk* 22:11) and, in a Shenoutean discourse, Museo Egizio di Torino, Cat. 63000, Cod. IV, fol. 69 *verso*, b 22–23, ed. H. BEHLER, *Schenute von Atripe: De Iudicio*, Torino 1996, p. 146.

<sup>45</sup> This meaning occurs too in LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 13), III, p. 79.8; IV (CSCO 73), 110.14, 114.14; Codex BZ 333:1.22–23, ed. YOUNG, *Manuscripts* (cit. n. 5), p. 97.

<sup>46</sup> Lit., ‘in the impulse of’.

<sup>47</sup> *Job* 41:5–6a, on the supernatural monster Leviathan, which is part of Yahweh’s second discourse with the patriarch. For a slightly different rendering see Marvin POPE, *Job, Anchor Bible* 15 (3 ed.), Garden City, NY 1973, p. 335.

<sup>48</sup> Or ‘armor’.

<sup>49</sup> Lit., ‘Who will open the gates of his face’.

<sup>50</sup> See 1 *Cor* 13:2, 2 *Cor* 12:11.

<sup>51</sup> The first two lines are fragmentary. The translation begins in line 2.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Job* 1:8, 2:3.

<sup>53</sup> Based on *Job* 2:6.

<sup>54</sup> Other examples of ΕΩΤ Ε– in a negated clause are ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΤΡΕΦΚΑΛΥ ΕΩΤ ΕΧΕΛΑΛΥ ΝΦΑΧΕ ‘that he not let them say anything again’, LEIPOLDT, *Opera* III (cit. n. 13), p. 163.16–17, and Μ̄ΠΟΥΕΦΒ̄Μ̄ΒΟΜ ΕΩΤ ΕΤΦΟῩΝ ΕΞΡΑΙ ‘they could not get up again’, British Library Or. 3581 A, folio 92, *verso* 38–40; ed. A. SHISHA-HALEVY, ‘Unpublished Shenoutiana in the British Library’, *Enchoria* 5 (1975), p. 83.

He who said, 'Who has opposed me or stood against me and persisted? The whole earth is mine'.<sup>55</sup> How can you hide from him? Whether you descend to the depths of the earth or ascend to the clouds, the Lord Jesus is there; yea, he is in the highest heaven.<sup>56</sup> For it's he who created the north, the west,<sup>57</sup> the south and [the east].<sup>58</sup> . . . No[thing] is far [fro]m him; noth[ing is hidden] from him. The [entire] earth and those who [in]ha[bit] it, like trivialities<sup>59</sup> he cre[at]ed [them].

For hitherto it's such as you are the Lord Almighty revealed you to Job. Not yet had he brought on you the great holy and mighty sword.<sup>60</sup> Not yet had he severed you in place after place,<sup>61</sup> (O) dragon, serpent,<sup>62</sup> twisted one. So<sup>63</sup> since he indeed revealed you to some after he came,<sup>64</sup> how then shall he reveal you after he teaches them you are w[eak]? For they overcome [ . . . ].

*An Index of Greek Words in K 9787*

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| ἄγγελος | ἌΓΓΕΛ[ΟC] <i>recto</i> :II.1                      |
| ἀλλά    | <i>recto</i> :II.6                                |
| γάρ     | <i>verso</i> :I.29; II.13,31                      |
| δέ      | <i>recto</i> :I.9                                 |
| δράκων  | <i>recto</i> :I.13; II.10-II; <i>verso</i> :II.23 |

<sup>55</sup> *Job* 41:2b-3.

<sup>56</sup> Lit., 'the heavens of the heavens', as in *Psa* 148:4a.

<sup>57</sup> Lit., 'the sea'. The reference is to the Mediterranean, following biblical terminology (e.g., *Gen* 13:14). ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ could be employed also for 'south' in the points of the compass, as in *Psa* 106:3, referring to the Persian Gulf since the psalm was composed in Babylonia.

<sup>58</sup> Six broken lines follow at the beginning of column two.

<sup>59</sup> Bentley LAYTON has suggested this rendition (*letter* of 10 November 2006).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. ΟΥΝΟ6 ΝΗΗΘΕ 'a great sword' in *Apoc* 6:4.

<sup>61</sup> On the adverbial use of ΜΑ see LAYTON, *Grammar* (cit. n. 15), § 62 (b). For ΜΑ 'piece/part' see LEIPOLDT, *Opera* III (cit. n. 13), p. 202.8 ΖΕΝΜΑ ΝΧΟ ΖΕ ΕΧΘΟΥ 'wall fragments fell on them'.

<sup>62</sup> For the combination ΠΕΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΠΖΟΘ see *Apoc* 20:2.

<sup>63</sup> On Η before an ironic rhetorical question see LAYTON, *Grammar* (cit. n. 15), § 238.

<sup>64</sup> *I.e.*, following the incarnation.

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| εἰκῆ        | <i>recto</i> :I.9                           |
| εἶτε        | <i>recto</i> :I.3I                          |
| εὐαγγέλιον  | <i>recto</i> :I.IO                          |
| ἦ           | <i>verso</i> :I.I6; II.24                   |
| θάλασσα     | <i>verso</i> :I.30-3I                       |
| Ἰησοῦς      | Ἰ̄C̄ <i>recto</i> :II.3; <i>verso</i> :I.26 |
| Ἰούδας      | <i>recto</i> :I.I9-20                       |
| Ἰώβ         | <i>verso</i> :I.5-6; II.I6                  |
| Καϊάφας     | ΚΑΪΦΑΣ <i>recto</i> :I.2I                   |
| κὰν         | <i>verso</i> :I.2I,24                       |
| μῆ          | <i>recto</i> :II.I8                         |
| ὄρμη        | ΘΟΡΜΗ <i>recto</i> :II.9                    |
| παντοκράτωρ | <i>verso</i> :II.I4-15                      |
| πνεῦμα      | ΠΝ̄Ᾱ <i>recto</i> :II.2                    |
| πόλεμος     | <i>verso</i> :I.IO                          |
| προδότης    | <i>recto</i> :I.20                          |
| πύλη        | <i>recto</i> :II.25                         |
| σατανᾶς     | <i>recto</i> :I.I9                          |
| σῶμα        | <i>verso</i> :I.I2                          |
| τάφος       | [Τ]ΑΦΟΣ <i>recto</i> :I.6                   |
| ὑπομένω     | 2ΥΠΟΜΕΙΝΕ <i>verso</i> :I.I7-18             |

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