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The Naples Fragments of Shenoute's 'De certamine contra diabolum'

THE CODEX

In *Oriens Christianus* 59 (1975), 60-77, I published with Klaus Koschorke and Stefan Timm an edition of the last part of a sermon by the most important Coptic author, the archimandrite Shenoute (died A.D. 451), which we called *De certamine contra diabolum*. The text is preserved in a manuscript owned by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale in Cairo (IFAO 1)¹. The first part of this sermon did not survive in IFAO 1 and, as far as we knew, also not among the many other fragments of Shenoute's writings which were taken from the White Monastery in Sohar and are now scattered in library collections in Western Europe, Egypt, and the United States.

In the introduction to our edition we pointed out that the incipit to the sermon appeared in a table of contents consisting of the incipits of the various sermons and speeches in IFAO 1, and written by a later hand on the verso of the last page of the codex². On the basis of this incipit — which translates "A loved one asked me years ago" — I was able to identify seven pages from the beginning of the sermon which come from a different codex with the same content as IFAO 1. Most of the surviving pages of this codex are now part of the Borgia collection of the Bibliotheca Nazionale in Naples. These folios of the "Naples Codex" were described and in part excerpted by Georg Zoega³; the text was edited and translated into French by E. Amélineau⁴.

1 The text of the surviving pages of the codex (pp. 175-375) was published by Émil Chassinat, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épître de Shenouti* (Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Tome 23), Le Caire 1911.

2 Neither Chassinat nor P. du Bourguet, who edited and translated two and a part of a third of the tractates in IFAO 1 (see notes 14, 16 and 20), recognized the list of incipits. Afterwards I discovered that Hans Quecke had properly identified the list in his article, "Ein Pachomiuszitat bei Shenoute", in: *Probleme der koptischen Literatur*, ed. P. Nagel (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg 1968/1), Halle 1968, p. 157. He already intimated some of the conclusions which are presented here more fully.

3 *Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Rome 1810 (reprint Hildesheim/New York 1973), pp. 455-470 (= Num. 194).

4 *Œuvres de Shenoudi I*, Paris 1907, pp. 365-441. Johannes Leipoldt used one folio (Naples Codex, pp. 277-8) in *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia III* (CSCO 42, script. copt. 2), Louvain 1960 (reprint of 1908), pp. 74-76.

The pages of the Naples Codex measure 25 by 31.5 cm. with two columns of 28 to 31 lines per page. Zoega assigned the writing to his class VIII.

Thanks to the fact that the content of the Naples Codex runs parallel to IFAO 1, it proved possible to arrive at a precise reconstruction of the content of these two fragmentary codices, and to find further attestation for the tractates contained in them. The pagination ratio between the Naples Codex and IFAO 1 proved to be a constant of 1 to 1.21, which made it possible to estimate the pagination of the incipits in the lost parts of the codices. I have been able to find the following information on each of the tractates:

1. *De idolis vici Pneueit I*

This is the famous sermon on Psalm 18:13-17 (17:14-18 LXX) which Shenoute preached at the so-called Water Church in Antinoe after his Christian supporters had prevented his trial on charges of temple plunder⁵. The incipit is found in the table of contents of IFAO 1, but the text, which must have occupied pages 1-108, is lost. This sermon would have covered the first ninety pages of the Naples Codex; of these pp. 15-18, 35-50, 55-56 and 83-84 survive⁶. One other fragmentary codex is known which included this sermon as its first tractate. A folio in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (P 130⁵ fol. 68) preserves the superscript and first part of the sermon⁷. The pagination of this folio is missing but it must involve pages 1-2. Two further fragments of this sermon, probably from the same codex, are preserved in the Bibliotheca Nazionale in Naples (pp. 19-28 and 37-44)⁸.

2. *Adversus diabolum*

The incipit of the second tractate is found in the table of contents of IFAO 1 as well as in the fragmentary incipit list of Shenoute's writings preserved in Vienna, where it occupies number 84⁹. The incipit translated: "Since it is necessary to pursue the devil". The theme of the struggle against the devil links this sermon with the preceding and following ones. The text must have occupied pages 109-20 in IFAO 1. In the Naples Codex the incipit would have been on page 90, while the ending is preserved on page 100. The

5 Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national-ägyptische Christentums*, TU n.F. 10, Leipzig 1904, pp. 179-80.

6 Edited by Amélineau, *Œuvres I*, pp. 365-387.

7 Leipoldt, *Sinuthii III*, pp. 84-86.

8 Zoega, *Catalogus*, pp. 517-8 (= Num. 208) and Amélineau, *Œuvres II*, pp. 134-43 and I, pp. 371-380.

9 Published by Carl Wessely in *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts I* (Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde IX), Leipzig 1909, pp. 167-8.

surviving fragment begins with page 97¹⁰. The ending of the sermon is also preserved on a folio from another codex in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (p. 239)¹¹. It is followed by a different tractate than in IFAO 1 and the Naples Codex¹².

3. *De certamine contra diabolum*

Only the last eleven pages (175-85) of this lengthy sermon survive in IFAO 1. The incipit can be estimated to have been on page 120. The Naples Codex preserves the beginning pages and two later folios (100-2 and 111-4) which are edited here¹³. The ending of the sermon can be estimated to have been on page 154.

4. *Adversus daemonem*

The text is fully preserved in IFAO 1 on pages 185-204. A fragment of the Naples Codex in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo preserves the last three pages (165-7) of this sermon¹⁴. The incipit would have been on page 154.

5. *Epistula ad servum quemdam daemonis*

The text is fully preserved in IFAO 1 on pages 204-16. The text of the letter in the Naples Codex survives on the Cairo fragment 8006 (pp. 167-76) and on a poorly preserved folio (pp. 177-8) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (P 1315 fol. 8)¹⁵.

6. *De disciplina ecclesiastica*

The full text is preserved in IFAO 1 on pp. 216-28. Also the copy in the Naples Codex is complete. The first page (178) is supplied by the Bibliothèque

10 Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 459 and Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, pp. 387-390.

11 Zoega, *Catalogus*, pp. 415-29 (= Num. 188), published by Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, pp. 211-12. He was unaware that he had edited and translated the ending of the same sermon twice.

12 The sermon must have begun approximately on page 230 of this codex. The order of tractates agrees with the Vienna list of incipits, for the tractate which follows it is number 85.

13 Zoega, *Catalogus*, pp. 460-3 and Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, pp. 391-397.

14 This sermon was edited by P. du Bourguet, "Diatribes de Chenouté contre le démon", *BSAC* 16 (1962), 17-71. The text of the sermon on the Cairo fragment was published by W. E. Crum in *Coptic Monuments*, Le Caire 1902, p. 3. The fragment is Nr. 8006 in the "Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire". It was also included by Leipoldt in *Simuthii* III, pp. 77-8; he gave it the less fortunate title *Adversus Saturnum I*.

15 The part on the Cairo fragment was published by Leipoldt under the title *Adversus Saturnum II* (*Simuthii* III, pp. 79-84); the Paris folio was published by Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, pp. 443-4. The letter was translated by John Barns, "Shenoute as Historical Source", in *Actes du X^e congrès international de papyrologues*, ed. J. Wolski, Warsaw 1964, pp. 151-9.

Nationale (P 131⁵ fol. 8), and the rest (pp. 179-88) are preserved among the folios in Naples¹⁶. There is a further folio of this tractate from another codex in the Bibliothèque Nationale (P 130⁵ fol. 23). It involves pages 177-8 and is equivalent to IFAO 1, pp. 121,32-123,17¹⁷.

7. *Ad Jobinum comitem*

The full text is extant in IFAO 1 on pages 228-50. Only the first part (pp. 188-194) of the address is preserved in the Naples Codex¹⁸. The ending would have been on page 208.

8. *Ad Flavianum ducem*

The full text is extant in IFAO 1 on pages 250-91. The table of contents on the verso of the last page of IFAO 1 and the Vienna incipit list treat this long address as three distinct items¹⁹. The reason for this is that Shenoute quoted his letter to Bakanos (pp. 260-263) in the body of the text which created the impression of three distinct parts²⁰. Of the Naples Codex two folios survive near the beginning of the tractate (pp. 211-4) and most of the third part including the ending (pp. 223-42)²¹. There are two folios in the Bibliothèque Nationale (P 130⁵ fol. 47 and 53) from two other codices (pp. 133-4 and 27-8) which correspond to IFAO 1, pp. 259,25-262,37 and 273,43-276,3.

9. *Ad Heraclammum ducem: de modestia clericorum et magistratuum*

The full text is extant in IFAO 1 on pages 292-319. Only the superscript and the first few lines survive in the Naples Codex (p. 242)²². Four folios of the same address from a different codex are in the British Museum (pp. 197-204).

16 The address was edited by P. du Bourguet, "Entretiens de Chenouté sur des problèmes de discipline ecclésiastique et de cosmologie", *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 99-141. He used Chassinat's edition of IFAO 1 as well as Zoega, *Catalogus*, pp. 463-5 and Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, pp. 397-406 which represent the Naples Codex. He was unaware of the Paris folio, since Amélineau had failed to make the connection with the Naples codex (*Œuvres* I, p. 444).

17 Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, p. 401-2.

18 Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 466 and Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, pp. 406-410 and 414-416. Amélineau mistook p. 213 for 193 and 214 for 194. This mistake was compounded when he numbered page 194 as 213 and page 193 as 214.

19 It must have involved numbers 34-36 of the Vienna incipit list. Nr. 34 was on the preceding page which is lost. For Nr. 35 only part of the incipit survives.

20 The first part, IFAO 1, pp. 250,35-260,16, was edited by P. du Bourguet, "Entretien de Chenouté sur les devoirs des juges", *BIFAO* 55 (1956), 85-109.

21 Zoega, *Catalogus*, pp. 466-9 and Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, pp. 410-14 and 416-34. His p. 193 is 213 and his p. 194 is 214.

22 Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 469 and Amélineau, *Œuvres* I, p. 435.

They correspond to IFAO 1, pp.292,50-300,17²³. This tractate is Nr. 37 in the Vienna incipit list.

10. *De bonis operibus* and *Pseudo-Liberius: Oratio consolatoria de morte Athanasii*

The full text is preserved in IFAO 1, pages 319-75. The table of contents on the verso of IFAO 1, page 375 and the Vienna incipit list treat this sermon as two distinct tractates, Nr. 38 and 39 in the Vienna list. Of the Naples Codex only three folios of *De bonis operibus* have been identified (pp.277-8, 287-8 and 293-4) and none of the *Oratio*²⁴. A section of *De bonis operibus* equivalent to IFAO 1, pages 333,35-337,55 was excerpted for a florilegium²⁵. The *Oratio* (IFAO 1, pp.366,34-375,26) is a full citation by Shenoute, introduced at the end of *De bonis operibus*, of what he believed to be an oration by pope Liberius on the occasion of the death of Athanasius. Of course, since Liberius died in 366, seven years before Athanasius, it could not have been written by him²⁶. The *Oratio* is also partially preserved on three folios from another codex in which it is treated as an independent tractate²⁷.

THE TEXT

Unfortunately, Amélineau's edition of the Naples fragments of *De certamine contra diabolum* is very untrustworthy. The many mistakes in his transcription of the text are due to his usual carelessness²⁸, but the serious shortcomings in

23 Coptic Ms. Nr.208 transcribed by W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1905, pp.90ff. The text was edited by Leipoldt, *Sinuthii III*, pp.33-37.

24 Zoega, *Catalogus*, p.470 and Amélineau, *Œuvres I*, pp.435-441.

25 Leipoldt called it *De Aethiopum invasionibus III* in *Sinuthii III*, pp.5-6, 69-77, 244-246. Of the nine fragments which he assigned to this florilegium G and J and possibly also H are actually not part of it but belong to *De bonis operibus*. G is British Museum Coptic Ms. Nr.207 (Crum, *Catalogue*, pp.89-90) and begins before the section excerpted in the florilegium; its text is parallel to IFAO 1, pp.333,20-336,13. J is a folio from the Naples Codex (pp.277-8).

26 I have published an edition of *Pseudo-Liberius: Oratio consolatoria de morte Athanasii* in *Le Muséon* 103 (1990), pp.43-65.

27 Bibliothèque Nationale P 1305 fol. 128 (pp.329-30; the *Oratio* begins on p.330) and Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples Casetta I.B.14, fasc.465 (pp.335-338). The Naples fragment was described and partially transcribed by Zoega, *Catalogus*, p.634. It is preceded in this codex by *Adversus Graecos de moribus hominum* (see Leipoldt, *Sinuthii, III*, pp.3-4, 41-44) which is Nr.69 in the Vienna incipit list.

28 Where he differs with Zoega's transcription the latter is always correct. Zoega transcribed of the Naples fragments of *De certamine* pp.100,30-101,19; 102,13-24; 111,1-114,57. Where Zoega departs from the manuscript (see my note for 101,6f.) Amélineau follows him. The serious shortcomings of Amélineau's edition of Shenoute's writings are well known. This necessitated a complete reediting begun by J. Leipoldt, with the help of E.W. Crum, in

his translation may find some excuse in Leipoldt's comment: "Im übrigen gibt dieses Schenutestück dem Übersetzer mehr als ein zur Zeit unlösbares Rätsel auf"²⁹. A reediting of this interesting and challenging piece is clearly warranted.

The text follows classical Sahidic orthography. The scribe used few supralinear strokes. They are found consistently on *nomina sacra* and sporadically as a syllable marker, limited largely to MNT and the final syllable of a word. If an initial mu or nu has syllabic value it never has a supralinear stroke but occasionally a supralinear dot.

Decorations separate the author's name from the descriptive title, and the superscript from the beginning of the sermon. The edited text follows the paragraphing of the manuscript. In the manuscript paragraphs are marked by an enlarged letter, usually the first one in the paragraph, written in the left margin of the column. Spacing within the line is used to separate some sentences or parts of sentences. This spacing has been indicated in the edited text.

A rosette was placed in the margin next to the incipit (100,37) no doubt to mark the liturgical annotation at the bottom of the page which is also preceded by a rosette and which reads "Apa Zenobios". The reference is most likely to the monastery founder Zanufius whose feast was celebrated on the sixth day of 'Amsir. It appears that the number marks the ninth liturgical annotation in the Naples Codex³⁰. Portions of Shenoute's writings are among the liturgical lessons included in the Coptic lectionaries³¹. They were listed in liturgical directories of which fragments survive³².

Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia III and IV, CSCO 42 and 73, script. copt. 2 and 5, Louvain 1960 and 1954 (reprint of 1908 and 1913).

²⁹ *Schenute*, p. 71, note 4.

³⁰ Other liturgical annotations preserved in the fragments of the Naples codex are:

p. 45, # 5 "concerning catechumens" (the marginal annotation in the parallel text, Zoega, Num. 208, p. 43 reads: "5 concerning catechumens being about to be baptized").

p. 167, # 15 "concerning the ninth day of Toubi, the day on which our father Shenoute caught the devil".

p. 182, without the expected number 16, "the second day of Pauni" (the marginal annotation in the parallel text, IFAO 1, p. 221 reads: "concerning John the Baptist and concerning the sun of Gibeon").

p. 188, # 17 "concerning the archangel Gabriel".

p. 225, # 21 "concerning the fast of 40 days" (i.e. lent).

p. 231, without a number, "concerning our father Pachomius" (for this see Quecke, "Pachomiuszitat", pp. 155-71).

p. 242, # 22 "concerning our father Apa Shenoute" (the marginal annotation in the parallel text in IFAO 1, p. 294 reads: "concerning our holy father Shenoute").

p. 287, # 27 "the feast of Apa Macarius" (the marginal annotation in the parallel text in IFAO 1 reads: "concerning Apa Macarius").

³¹ Nine of these are included in "The Homilies or Exhortations of the Holy Week Lectionary" edited by O. H. E. Burmester in *Le Muséon* 45 (1932), pp. 1-70.

³² See Quecke, "Pachomiuszitat", pp. 161-64. He prefers the Greek term "typikon" for these

There is also a rosette in the middle of 111,4 marking the quotation from Job 40:18a (23a LXX) "If the inundation comes he does not notice". Today there is no longer a marginal annotation visible in the manuscript, but Zoega reports the gloss "concerning the ascent of the water"³³. No doubt the reference is to the yearly inundation of the Nile at which time Shenoute's comments on Job 40:18a in *De certamine contra diabolum* 111,4-112,7 were to be read in the liturgy³⁴.

There are only two scribal errors in the fragments³⁵. The text was established on the basis a microfilm copy of the manuscript³⁶. Zoega's extensive excerpts from the fragments proved to be very accurate except for 101,6f. where he introduces a curious variant reading without specifying manuscript support³⁷; Amélineau follows Zoega in this reading.

THE SUPERSCRIPT

The Greek form of Shenoute's name in the genitive case (100,30) is found in the superscripts of many of the surviving tractates. Leipoldt's conclusion that this indicates that the writings so introduced were originally written in Greek is unwarranted³⁸. The Greek form in the genitive introduces all the Shenoute entries in the liturgical directories (typika). Even though some of Shenoute's letters and speeches must originally have been written in Greek, this is only clear from the occasion for which they were written.

Both the name and the descriptive title in the superscript are likely secondary editorial additions. The surviving folios of the sermon in the Naples Codex and in IFAO 1 do not reflect the content of the descriptive title. Since the beginning of the sermon is based on the Leviathan account in Job 40 and 41³⁹, it is possible that the title refers to something in the missing

liturgical directories. They include the incipit of the Shenoute reading followed by the incipit of the tractate. Marginal annotation in some of the codices containing Shenoute's writings facilitated finding the appropriate lessons. The advantage of numbering the annotations is not clear; the numbers are lacking in IFAO 1.

33 *Catalogus*, p. 468, note 102.

34 The obelus in the margin of 112,7 marks most likely the end of the reading.

35 See my notes for 101,52 and 112, 56.

36 I am grateful to Tito Orlandi for supplying me with microfilm prints and for his invaluable advice.

37 See my note for 101,6f.

38 *Schenute*, p. 71, note 5.

39 Job 40:15-23a in Hebrew = 40:15-23 in Greek = 40:10-18 in Coptic; 40:23b-24 is missing in Greek and Coptic; 41:1a and 2a in Hebrew = 40:25 in Greek = 40:20 in Coptic; 41:2b in Hebrew = 40:26 in Greek = 40:21 in Coptic; 41:3-11 in Hebrew = 40:27-32 and 41:1-3 in Greek = 40:22-28 and 41:1-2 in Coptic; 41:12 is missing in Greek and Coptic; 41:13-16b in Hebrew = 41:5-8 in Greek = 41:4-7 in Coptic; 41:16a and 17 are missing in Greek and Coptic; 41:18-34 in Hebrew = 41:10-26 in Greek = 41:9-25 in Coptic (41:23b, 29a and 22a

folios, perhaps extended comments on Job 41:7 (Coptic) “and a spirit (or wind) shall not pass through” combined with John 3:8. Shenoute’s point would have been that Satan cannot hinder the Spirit.

CONTENT

De certamine is part of a series of four sermons and a letter in the Naples Codex and IFAO 1 which focus on the need for Christians to struggle against the devil. Evidently they were grouped on the basis of the shared topic. Demonology was a frequent topic in early Christian literature and especially in monastic writings⁴⁰. Shenoute’s comments on the subject conform to a large extent to those found elsewhere in Patristic literature, but he makes a notable contribution in his own right. It is clear that he was familiar with Athanasius’ *Vita Antonii*, which speaks often about Antonius’ successful struggle against demons (chapters 6, 10, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, 51 and 70). Shenoute also follows the lead of *Vita Antonii* chapters 5 and 24 in interpreting the Leviathan figure in Job 40 and 41 as a description of the devil. He may have known some of the other writings of Athanasius, and perhaps the *Catecheses illuminandorum* by Cyril of Jerusalem, which often counsel the reader to fight against demons.

The *Vita Sinuthii* includes a legendary account of Shenoute’s own struggle with the devil. It was commemorated in the liturgy on the ninth day of Toubi. Apparently at that occasion the first part of the “Epistula ad servum quemdam daemonis”, the fifth treatise in the Naples Codex and IFAO 1, was read⁴¹. The passage in the *Vita Sinuthii* translates:

Furthermore it happened one day, when my father lived in the monastery, that, behold, the devil entered together with a multitude of demons. And he spoke to my father threateningly and wickedly. And my father, when he saw the devil, recognized (him) immediately. Forthwith he leaped up, he grabbed for him and seized him throwing him on the ground. And he put his knee upon him and cried out to the brethren who were with him, “Catch these others who follow him”. And immediately they (i.e. the demons) dissolved like smoke⁴².

It is likely that the sermon followed a public reading of the section on Leviathan in Job 40 and 41, and it is assumed that the dragon is the

are missing in Greek and Coptic). The Coptic version was translated from the Greek which often varies in meaning from the Hebrew.

40 For a summary see A. Kallis, “Geister (Dämonen) II. Griechische Väter”, *RAC*, IX, pp. 700-15.

41 See the liturgical annotation # 15 listed above in note 30. The rosette indicate that the reading starts at the beginning of the letter.

42 Translated from the text published by J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii vita bohairice* (CSCO 41, script. coptic, 1), Louvain 1951 (reprint of 1906), ch. 73.

Demon⁴³. Shenoute begins with the Greek etymology of the word δαιμόνιον. He is aware of the etymology δαίμων "knowing", suggested by Plato in *Crato* 398b, as well as the more common δαίομαι "to distribute"⁴⁴, though he gives them decidedly negative connotations (100,37-101,28).

The transition to the commentary on verses from Job 40 and 41 is rather abrupt. The link is supplied by "shamelessness" which, according to Shenoute, is closely associated with the name "demon" and a basic characteristic of the devil. He sees this implied in Job 40:13⁴⁵ which describes the Dragon (δράκων) as having ribs of iron. This makes it possible for the devil not to be ashamed when being trampled by the faithful, and to return time and again for another fight and another defeat. In this way the righteous have multiple chances of winning imperishable crowns. Indeed, one could say that "if there were no devil ... there would not be a difference between the pious and the impious" (101,28-102,43). This claim becomes the occasion for Shenoute to refute the view that "if Satan had not come into being every person would have been good" (102,44ff.).

Pages 103-110 are missing and it is uncertain which verses from Job 40 and 41 were commented on in this section, since Shenoute may not have commented on all the verses and did not treat them in order. On page 111,4 a commentary begins on the inundation mentioned in Job 40,18. Shenoute rejects the opinion that the inundation refers to the coming of Christ, or to the prayers of the faithful, or to the cross. Rather, he claims, it refers to the heresy of those who "do not confess the trinity". If their deeds increase, Satan takes no notice of them and heedlessly tramples upon them (111,4-112,47).

In the next section Job 41:17. 15b. 21a. 13b. 6b; 40:11. 16; 41:15a and 12 are all interpreted with reference to the enemies of God, i.e. heretics and idolaters. They are not able to oppose the devil and end up being his servants. The "terror which is around his teeth" (Job 41:5b) refers to idols which "instill fear in the foolish". Shenoute is familiar with idols for he has personally been involved in taking them from pagan houses (112,8-114,32)⁴⁶. In 114,33 a new section begins with a commentary on Job 40:26. It is impossible to say how far the commentary on the Dragon in Job continued in the lost section of 31 pages in the Naples Codex and IFAO 1. The final part

43 Shenoute often uses the name "demon" for the devil (cf. Leipoldt, *Schenoute*, p. 83). He is even identified with the pagan god Cronos whose temple was near Shenoute's White Monastery (du Bourguet, "Diatribes", p. 53).

44 Cf. *RAC*, IX, 600.

45 All references will be to the Coptic verse numeration. For the equivalent verse numbers in Hebrew and Greek see note 38.

46 See Leipoldt, *Schenute*, pp. 178-82.

of the sermon preserved in IFAO 1 continues on the theme of the struggle against the devil, but no longer with references to the book of Job⁴⁷.

The nineteen biblical quotations in the Naples fragments of *De certamine contra diabolum* conform closely to the published editions of the Sahidic Old and New Testament⁴⁸. They have been marked and identified in the translation; textual variants are discussed in the notes to the text and translation⁴⁹.

[30 CINOYΘIOY

ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΟ ΝΤΕΞΟΥCΙΑ· ΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΡΕΦΚΩΛΥ
ΜΠΕΠΝΑ |35 ΜΝ ΠΕΤΕΙΜΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΕΖΉ ΜΠΕΠΝΑ

ΑΟΥΜΕΡΙΤ ΧΝΟΥΪ ΖΑΘΗ ΝΝΕΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΦΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ |40 ΠΑΙΔΑΒΟΛΟC·
ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΡΑΝ· ΧΕ ΔΑΪΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΝΤΑΦΩΛΠ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΧΗΥ
ΜΠΕΙ|45 ΠΙΡΑCΜΟC ΤΕΝΟΥ·

ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΠΕ ΠΡΑΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΚΕΡΑΝ CΗΨ ΕΡΟQ

ΝΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΜΕΝ· Ν|50 ΡΕΦΧΕ ΨΒΩ· ΕΥCΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΚΟCΜΕΙ ΝΨΑΧΕ
ΕΤΖΟΥQ ΨΑΓΒΩΛ ΜΜΟQ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ||101 ΧΕ ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΤCΟΟΥΝ
Η ΠΕΤΠΩΨ ΝΖΕΝΜΕΡΙC ΕΧΜ ΠΟΥΑ |5 ΠΟΥΑ·

ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩΩΤ †ΝΑΟΥΨΩΒ ΟΥΒΕ ΝΕΥΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΑΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΔΑΙΜΩ-
ΝΙΟΝ ΠΕ |10 ΠΕΤCΟΟΥΝ· ΜΠΩΨ ΝΖΕΝΤΟΕ ΕΧΝ ΝΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ
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47 See K. Koschorke, S. Timm and F. Wisse, "Schenute: *De certamine contra diabolum*", *OrChr* 59 (1975) 60-77.

48 E. Amélineau, "The Sahidic Translation of the Book of Job", *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* IX, London 1893, pp. 470-72; J. Schleifer, "Sahidische Bibel-Fragmente aus dem British Museum zu London II", *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*. 164.6, Wien 1911, pp. 21-23; William H. Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago Manuscript*, Chicago 1931; L.-Th. Lefort, M. Wilmet et R. Draguet, *Concordance du Nouveau Testament sahidique*, CSCO 124, 173, 183, 185, 196, Louvain 1950-1960 (based on Pierpont Morgan manuscripts of the Gospels); H. Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialects*, Cambridge 1932.

49 Since Shenoute's writings include numerous, precise biblical quotations they are of great text-critical value for the Sahidic Old and New Testament (cf. Leipoldt, *Schenute*, pp. 83f.).

ΝΝΕΤΕΡΕΖΕΝCΗCΗC ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΖΝΑΑΥ ΜΜΙΩC | 50 ΕΥΠΗΤ ΝCΑ
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ΝΑΟΜCQ·

ΧΕ ΝΝΑΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΟΥΕΙΟΟΡ· ΕQ | 45 CΩΚ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΟΜ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ
ΟΥΖΡΨΙΡΕ ΕQΨΑΝΗ ΚΑΛΩC· QΝΑΤΡΕQΡ ΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΕ ΝCΕ | 50 ΨΟΟΠ ΑΝ·

μαλιστα· νειερωου ετσωκ ετε νερβηγε νε ναγαθον нне-
τογαав |55 τηρου· нтаγμεз пκαз τηρц ное ноγμοоу ефow

пзωв· он ноγωhre ωnm πε λес· ου |60 qnt з̄н тефoγepн ||112 те·
αγω εχотц an з̄н оγμερεз·

ετε παι πε ππωρψ εвол ннеφбix |5 етоγαав· наботпц·
н̄qтмазepатц оγвнq·

н еренетψαηλ εχνωχн ψпзi |10 се епχινχн· н̄н тетнχω ммос
an χε αqωχ̄н епτηρ̄ц зiтm песpос·

ene m̄n |15 ογκεραγνος гар пнт н̄сωq ефотц εвол· зiтн
тмнтзарψзнт мпχοεις зi пψе· |20 неγναχοос an πε χε αqи
м̄пнове мпкосмос· етве παι м̄птрeнp атсооyn |25 етeχαpис
м̄ппоyте·

μαρнкton δε εχм pentанχοоq· χε ерψантемhre |30 ψωπε
μεqа[i]сθaне· ете παι п[е] ерψаннезвнγ[е] н̄неттаеio м̄пейωт
еγχι оγa |35 епωhre· αγω netтаeio м̄пωhre· еγχι оγa
м̄пейωт еγψанаψai нзоγo епмо |40 оу н̄темhre меqаiсθaне
αγω меqр рооyψ наq етмzωм езpai εχн θαipесic· θαi |45 pесic
εте нceзomологeи an· н̄тетp̄iас

зiтн оу де он· αγχοос χε ерψан |50 зенлогхн тωмнт еpоq·
н̄неγp λaαγ наq· наψ нze еqнаоyωωme нqтppe зн |55 тс н̄тепpа-
xic н̄нетeнтo{o}γ нтооy он петqазepатц нназpаγ ||113 [nθ]e
ноy'ε'мнψ [ε]меqкim χε м̄н петт̄бom н̄невihн етм |5 мау ет̄
оγвнq етве χε ммн пicтic н̄знтoу

н еγnαm̄ψe мн петoγp зωв· н |10 [ε]γсωze епeи[пp]нψ наq
етχнp· еixω ммос етeγмнтатнаzte χε н̄тос пе пe |15 пpнψ
нταγχοос еpоq χε зензobелискос еγχнp пе пeqпpнψ

пeйтaкo· pωψe |20 етмооψe заөн ммoq εaαγ нxαχe ε̄ппоyте
з̄н тeγмнтaпicтoc н̄oe нταγχοос |25 χε еpептaкo пнт м̄пeqмto
εвол·

нтооy [o]n не теqмppe [ε]то н̄oe ноγw̄не |30 нcmipitнc αγω
теqзлπε αγω теqт̄пe етеретеqбom м̄н теqнomте [н̄зн] |35 тоy·
χε αγ[ap]nа εвол м̄ппоyте

нтооy он· не пxооyq мн пкаψ мн птpвheин |40 етqн̄котк
зapoоy αγω еqмтон ммoq н̄знтoу· εaqр пeγзнт нωne· н̄oe
м̄пωq |45 пeχaq гар χε απeqзнт xpo· н̄oe ноγωne·

αγω aqр тeγψγхн нxβвес· есxepo |50 з̄н ακαθαpcia н̄m н̄oe
нτωq· н̄oe нταγχοос χε зенxβвес не теqψγхн оγψaz н̄ |55 ka-
ταλλαia зi бол зi λa· ene м̄нтоy ψαχe εxω еpооy петннy
εвол з̄н ||114 pωoу· н̄oe нταγχοос етвн̄нтq· χε оγψaz петннy
εвол з̄н pωq |5 [αγ]ψ χε оγzote п̄ε [пк]ωте н̄неqовze н̄назp̄n
нетоyωψт an н̄ic м̄н γενοι |10 то· qр зote гар знтq м̄пqи езpai

ἡνεγδix ἀλλὰ οὐζοτε πε· νναζρν νετογωψτ |15 μπερεΐνε·
 ἡταγσαζq εξενζικων mn nxo nneytamion αγω zn neyzna |20 αγ·
 νογωμ· mn neyznaay ἡνω αγω zn ζαζ ἡznaay mn ζαζ ντοπος
 |25 η εις νερεΐνε τηρογ αν mn πεινε ἡνεqnaaxe ετ† ζοτε
 ἡναζρν ναθητ· qzn |30 νεΐδωλον η[ταν]qιτογ εβολ zn neyhi·
 ερωαν χοι nim ει εγμα ἡογωτ |35 nneyqi ζα ογωne νογωτ
 μπε[q]cat· kqi ντοκ ζα νεqωoxne mn νεqμοκmek [mn] |40 νεq-
 κακια τ[η]p[ογ] αγω κωωπ εροκ nnecbοoye· nnpεqtake ζητ·
 ἡρωμε νατνογτε |45 ντανχοος xε ἡτοογ πε πεqcat
 νεqωnbe· δε on ne nwaaxe nteyταπρο ετογxω |50 εροq nζητογ·
 ἡε νογκιαρα εαγcζογp πεzροoy· ἡnecoγελλε ζιtm πnoγτε
 |55 εβολ xε ογет· πεηταq† ταπρο ep[ο]oy· εcмоγ epoq

[Pages 115ff. are missing]

30 By Shenoute

How there is no one who exercises authority (ἐξουσία) over the Spirit (πνεῦμα) so as to hinder (κωλύειν) the Spirit (πνεῦμα); 35 furthermore, there is no one who knows the way of the Spirit (πνεῦμα).

A loved one asked me years ago, while inquiring about 40 the devil (διάβολος), "What is (the meaning of) this name 'demon' (δαιμόνιον) which was revealed to me during this 45 present trial (πειρασμός)?"

'Demon' (δαιμόνιον) is the name which is more contemptible than any other one. The Greeks ("Ἑλλην + μέν), the 50 spinners of tales, being eager (σπουδάζειν) to camouflage (κοσμεῖν) evil words, explain it thus: 101 'Demon' (δαιμόνιον) is he who knows, or (ἥ) he who distributes portions (μερίς) to each 5 one. I, however, shall contradict their words and say, 'demon' (δαιμόνιον) is 10 he who knows how to distribute portions to the ungodly, i.e. unfaithfulness (ἄπιστος), impurities, 15 incontinence, iniquities, and everything that is to be rejected. 20 Rather (+ δέ) to the saints 'demon' (δαιμόνιον) is a rejected and evil name with these other names joined 25 to it: foolish, senseless, shameless.

This is why 30 *his ribs* were referred to as "*they are of iron*" (Job 40:13), [for] he is not ashamed to be trampled, together with his vices (κακία), 35 by those who conquer him everytime they wage war (πόλεμος) against him, (and) pierce him with 40 their faith (πίστις). But (ἀλλά) after he flees from them he is overtaken, since they pursue him with their good (ἀγαθόν) deeds

(πρᾶξις) 45 to kill him, like those who with their swords and weapons 50 pursue their enemies to destroy them. Yet again (πάλιν) he <returns> shamelessly and dares (τολμᾶν) 55 to fight against them. It is the Lord God Almighty (παντοκράτωρ) who delivers him up to these punishments (τιμωρία), 60 thus — apart from (χωρίς) the fire of **102** Gehenna which is ready for him — to cause his righteous ones (δίκαιος) to pursue him all the time, 5 like flames of fire, with their long suffering (and) their endurance (ύπομονή).

If the one who contends 10 is victorious once for all, there is a single crown that he would receive. And since there are contests (ἄθλον) 15 of those who engage in sport events (ἀγών) and other contests (ἄθλον) of those who run in these race courses, — these namely: to *run thus* 20 *that you* (pl.) *may obtain* (it) (1 Cor 9:24b) — (so) there are imperishable crowns (and) there are other crowns which will perish. Thus 25 God put up with (ἀνέχειν) the devil (διάβολος), in order that his righteous ones (δίκαιος) may receive glory. Because 30 if there were no devil (διάβολος) fighting against you (sg.) there would also be no crown for you to receive, nor (οὐδέ) would there be a separation between 35 he who has conquered sin and he who has been conquered by sin, nor (οὐδέ) would there be a difference 40 between the pious and the impious person, and between the pure and impure (ἀκάθαρτος).

If those who *speak* 45 *perversions* (Prov 23:33), as it is written, (say): “If Satan had not come into being, indeed every person would have 50 been good”, then (+ δέ) those who, in contrast, reveal with their lips what is right will 55 say: “*O* (ὦ) *men*, *who are you to answer back to God* (Rom 9:20), the maker (δημιουργός) of everything. 60 Because just as all his works which we see are good ...

[pages 103-110 are missing]

111 them, and every godless nation (ἔθνος) that is doomed to destruction.

5 *If the inundation comes he does not notice* (αἰσθάνεσθαι) (Job 40:18). Do not say, “If the knowledge increases”, thus explaining the verse 10 with reference to the coming of Christ to the world (κόσμος), namely that it is the inundation, as I heard some fools (say). 15 Rather (ἀλλά) repudiate the foolishness of those, and know the truth!

Where is 20 all this darkness that is present at night, when the sun shines? (I say this) that you may know that it is not this. 25 If, therefore, the darkness disappears when the sun shines, how then would the beast (θηρίον), or (ἢ) 30 that dragon (δράκων), not weaken and loose footing when the Power and *the Light come into the world* (κόσμος) (John 3:19a)?

35 Nor (ἤ), surely, would you say, "A canal shall submerge him", — that is the prayer of an old 40 man and an old woman, who have an upright heart towards Jesus, will submerge him — lest I shall say that a canal which 45 flows forcefully is a youth who prays rightly (καλῶς). It would make him like things which 50 do not exist.

Most certainly (μάλιστα) flowing rivers, which are the good (ἀγαθόν) works of all the saints, 55 have filled the whole earth like much water. Also the task of a child is to crush a 60 worm with its foot, 112 and not to pierce it with a spear. That is to say, the spreading out of its holy hands 5 shall defeat him that he may not stand up against it. Or (ἤ) do those who pray without ceasing labour 10 in vain?

Nor (ἤ), surely, would you say, "He perished completely due to the cross (σταυρός)", for (γάρ) if 15 a thunderbolt (κεραυνός) were not pursuing him in order to obliterate him, through the suffering of the Lord on the tree, 20 it would not be said: "*He took away the sins of the world* (κόσμος) (John 1:29b). Therefore, let us not be ignorant 25 of the grace (χάρις) of God.

But (δέ) let us return to what we said: *If the inundation 30 comes he does not notice* (αἰσθάνεσθαι) (Job 40:18). This means if the deeds of those who honour the Father while blaspheming 35 the Son, and those who honour the Son while blaspheming the Father, if they increase more than the water 40 of the inundation, *he does not notice* (αἰσθάνεσθαι). And he takes no heed not to trample upon the heresy (αἵρεσις), the heresy (αἵρεσις) 45 that they do not confess (ὁμολογεῖν) the trinity (τριάς).

And (δέ) further as to what is said: *If 50 spears (λόγχη) meet him they will do nothing to him* (Job 41:17), how will he be restrained by, and be afraid 55 of the action (πράξις) of their owners? Before them (i.e. spears) also he *stands 113 like an immovable anvil* (Job 41:15b), for there is nothing that enables those wretched ones 5 to fight against him, because there is no faith (πίστις) in them. Would (+ ἤ) they fight against the one for whom they work, or (ἤ) 10 are they weaving this spiked mattress for him? I say this concerning their unbelief, for it is the 15 mattress of which it is said: *sharp spikes* (ὀβελίσκος) *are his mattress* (Job 41:21a).

This destruction 20 which goes before him is responsible for making them enemies of God in their unbelief (ἄπιστος), as it is said: 25 *destruction runs before him* (Job 41:13b). They are also *his ligaments which are like a 30 smyrite* (σμιρίτης) *stone* (Job 41:6b), and *his navel, and his loins in which are his power and his strength* (Job 40:11), 35 for they have [denied (ἄρνεῖσθαι)] God. They also are the *papyrus and the reed and the sedge* 40 *under which he sleeps* (Job 40:16), and in them he rests himself having turned their heart to stone like his own, 45 for (γάρ) it said: *His heart has become hard as stone* (Job 41:15a).

And he made their soul (ψυχή) into coal which burns 50 with every impurity (ἀκαθαρσία) like his own, as it is said: *Coals are his soul* (ψυχή) (Job 41:12a). A flame of 55 slander (καταλαλιά), lying and envy, which are indescribable, is what comes from 114 their mouth, (just) as it said of him: *A flame is what comes from his mouth* (Job 41:12b), 5 and *terror is around his teeth* (Job 41:5b). (Terror) in face of those who do not worship Jesus? Of course not (μὴ γένοιτο)! 10 For (γάρ) he is (only) afraid of the raising of their hands. Rather (ἀλλὰ) there is terror for those who worship 15 his likeness which has been painted on images (εἰκόν), and on the walls of their inner rooms (ταμεῖον), and on their 20 eating and drinking utensils, and on many things and in many places (τόπος). 25 Or (ἢ) are they not all his images and the image of his teeth which instill fear in the foolish? It (i.e. his image) is on 30 the idols (εἰδωλον) which we took from their houses!

If all ships came together, 35 they would not bear up under a single scale of his tail (Job 40:26). (And) you (sg.) would bear up under his scheming and his deliberations [and] 40 all his vices (κακία), and accept the teachings of deceivers, the godless men 45 of which we said that they are his tail? And (δέ) furthermore, his scales are the words of their mouth with which they sing 50 to him like a harp (κιθάρα) of which the sound of its melodies has been cursed by God. 55 For there is the One who has given a mouth to them to bless Him ...

[pages 115ff. are missing]

NOTES TO THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION

100,35f. Cf. John 3:8.

100,49 In Shenoute's writings "Ἕλληγν means normally pagan. Here the reference is to the ancient Greeks.

100,50 The "tales" are fables and myths which, according to Patristic authors, are devoid of truth.

101,6f. Zoega and Amélineau read **ανοκ ζω τῆναογωωβ ε'** "I, on the other hand, shall respond to". It is unclear on what basis Zoega adopted this reading.

101,13f. The Coptic has the plural "unfaithfulnesses" and "incontinences".

101,52 Ms. reads **με μομ**; Zoega wants to emend to **με τε** (*Catalogus*, p. 460, note 47), but the *status absolutus* is needed.

102,11-13 Cf. 1 Cor 9:24.

102,18-20 The quotation from 1 Cor 9:24b is awkwardly integrated into the sentence to indicate what kind of race is meant. Shenoute reads the Future II in 1 Cor 24b instead of the Future III read by H. Thompson (see Introduction, note 48).

102,21-24 Cf. 1 Cor 9:25.

102,55-58 Shenoute has changed the vocative in Rom 9:20 to the plural and omitted **ζωω**.

- 102,60ff. The complete sentence likely stated that since all God's works are good, so God's creation of Satan must also have had a good purpose.
- 111,1 For the *spiritus asper* with ἔθνος, ὀβελίσκος (113,16f.), and εἰκὼν (114,16f.) see A. Böhlig, *Griechische Lehnwörter im sahidischen und bohairischen Neuen Testament*, München 1953, pp. 111f.
- 111,1-4 This is very likely the ending of Shenoute's commentary on Job 40:25 "Do the nations (ἔθνος) feed upon him; do the peoples (ἔθνος) of the Phoenicians divide him"?
- 111,4-6 (= 112,28-31) Shenoute reads **ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲉⲓⲣ** in agreement with the fragment from the British Museum edited by Schleifer against **ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲉⲓⲣ** in the text edited by Amélineau (see Introduction, note 48).
- 111,7-14 It is unclear who the "fools" are who interpreted the inundation as the effects of the coming of Christ. The polemic fits Shenoute's general rejection of allegory (see Leipoldt, *Schenute*, pp. 73f.), though his own interpretation of the verse is not free from allegorization.
- 111,19-35 The point of the refutation is that just as darkness disappears before the light, so Satan was defeated at the coming of Christ. Since the quotation from Job 40:18 states that the Dragon, Satan, is not effected by the inundation, it cannot refer to the coming of Christ, or have another positive meaning, such as the prayers of the pious (111,38-43) or the cross (112,10-22).
- 111,29f. θηρίον and δράκων are used respectively in the Coptic and Greek text of Job 40:10 (LXX 15) and 40:20 (LXX 25).
- 111,35f. It appears that **ⲛ** (ἥ) introduces a rhetorical question (which continues the negative imperative in 111,7) expecting a positive answer: "Or you would not say that ... would you"? See also 112,11f., 113,8-10 and 114,25f.
- 111,43-50 This is an argument *ad absurdum* which fits Shenoute's fondness of ridicule (Cf. Leipoldt, *Schenute*, p. 177). His point is that if a canal is the prayer of an old person then a fast flowing canal is the prayer of a youth. However, fast flowing (irrigation) canals belong to "things which do not exist" (cf. 1 Cor 1:28) in Egypt.
- 111,51-112,10 Shenoute wants to make clear that he did not mean to disparage prayer in the previous paragraph, for prayers and good deeds are indeed like flowing rivers which fill the earth. These however, Satan cannot ignore, for even the prayer of a child is effective against him.
- 111,58-112,5 The same point is developed more fully in the last part of the sermon ("Schenute: De certamine", 15,36-16,26).
- 112,3f. Spreading of holy hands in prayer.
- 112,8-10 Cf. 1 Thess 5:17 and Phil 2:16.
- 112,11f. See the note for 111,35f.
- 112,12-22 The point is that Satan could not ignore the effect of the cross which pursues him like a thunderbolt (cf. 102,3-6 "pursue him ... like flames of fire").
- 112,14 Ms. uses the common abbreviation of **ⲥⲧⲁⲣⲱⲥ** with the tau-rho combined in the form of a cross.
- 112,21f. John 1:29b is understood to include the defeat of Satan. It is quoted with the same meaning in the last part of the sermon ("Schenute: De certamine", 17,39-46) which also makes clear that the Demon's continuing activities are allowed by God in order to give Christians a chance to share in Christ's victory (18,9-19,14).
- 112,24-26 By ignoring the defeat of Satan due to the cross one would be ignorant of the grace of God.
- 112,31-38 Cf. 1 John 2:23; the allusion is to the Arian heresy (Cf. "Schenute: De certamine", 16,27-32).

- 112,56 Ms reads **ΝΝΕΤΕΝΤΟΟΥ** probably due to dittography; lit. "those who belong to them (i.e. the spears)".
- 113,16-18 Shenoute read **ΧΗΡ** in Job 41,21a instead of **ΤΗΜ** read by Amélineau (see Introduction, note 48).
- 113,28 The Greek and Coptic read sing. "ligament" (σύνδεσμος).
- 114,5ff. Shenoute interprets the "terror around his teeth" in two ways, i.e. as due to being frightened and as causing fright.
- 114,15-32 The reference is to images of pagan gods, such as Cronos, which Shenoute claimed to be likenesses of the devil.
- 114,33-37 Shenoute read **ΝΝΕΥΡΙ** and **ΜΠΕΡΣΑΤ** with Schleifer instead of **ΝΝΕΥΕΥΡΙ** and **ΖΑ ΠΕΡΣΑΤ** read by Amélineau (see Introduction, note 48).
- 114,37ff. This is most likely not a statement of fact but a rhetorical question similar in form to Gal 3:3.
- 114,45f. Shenoute does not make this identification in the surviving fragments. Perhaps in the missing pages 103-110 there were comments on Job 40:12 which interpreted the Dragon's tail as godless deceivers.
- 115ff. The final 17% of the sermon survives in IFAO 1; it was edited by K. Koschorke, S. Timm, and F. Wisse, ("Schenute: De certamine", pp. 60-77).