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Shenoute's Sermon *The Lord Thundered*:  
(An Introduction and Translation)

Shenoute's discourse, *The Lord Thundered*, has drawn attention as a source for understanding the endurance of Egyptian traditional religion in Christian Egypt. We seek to add clarity to the ongoing discussion of this text by publishing here a translation that accounts for all the extant MSS. Most of the portions of the MSS are available in various editions by Leipoldt, Amélineau, and Young, but are nowhere published as a literary unit. On the basis of Emmel's tables, our translation collates the parts into a readable whole from which readers are encouraged to refer to earlier Coptic editions (and in the case of unpublished portions, to the MSS themselves). Far from claiming to solve all of the textual and historical problems of *The Lord Thundered*, we consider this translation a starting point for further research. In several instances we have corrected previous editors' misreadings of the MSS, and we have considered their translations in our efforts to best render Shenoute's nuanced style. Through ongoing attention to this, we have learned that knowledge of the Bible is absolutely crucial for understanding Shenoute's language, which is thickly imbued with biblical quotes and allusions. Our aim has been to preserve his sermonic style of repetition and comparison, and to identify as many biblical references as possible.

This sermon deserves careful examination as a source at the center of the debate over the extent to which so-called "paganism" was viable in the fifth century. Partly in reference to *The Lord Thundered*, David Frankfurter remarks:

He [Shenoute] marched into villages to plunder temples and destroy cultic images, and inveighed against popular religious practices as simple as the lighting of celebratory lamps ... Shenoute provides important evidence for the continuity of traditional Egyptian piety at the village level ... While admitting a considerable degree of political topoi in his presentation, one can find references to the gods Min and Petbe (otherwise hardly documented for the Roman period), [and] to domestic celebrations of an Egyptian spirit of supernatural beneficence ("Shai") ...<sup>1</sup>

1 David T. Frankfurter, "Shenoute," in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), 691.



In his book, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, Frankfurter uses *The Lord Thundered* several times as important evidence for the endurance of paganism in the time of Shenoute (c. 348-466).<sup>2</sup> He interprets the *Sitz im Leben* of *The Lord Thundered* as an occasion in which “pagan” priests of “Panopolis had enough political acumen and self-confidence to haul Abbot Shenoute before a magistrate in Antinoopolis.”<sup>3</sup> But Mark Smith is not convinced of Frankfurter’s methods or interpretations, insinuating that Frankfurter is someone “obsessed with the need to find a pagan lurking under every bed in the Panopolite nome.”<sup>4</sup> Smith’s critique of Frankfurter’s research, though overly dismissive, is a valuable warning against the pitfalls of the “uncritical use of literary, often highly rhetorical, sources as historical evidence.”<sup>5</sup> This translation should contribute to a more critical view of *The Lord Thundered* as a literary source.

2 David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), see pp. 63, 78, 117, 132, 138, 201, etc. *passim*. We should note here that substantial portions of *The Lord Thundered* appear in translation in Caroline T. Schroeder, “Disciplining the Monastic Body: Asceticism, Ideology, and Gender in the Egyptian Monastery of Shenoute of Atripe” (Ph. D. diss., Duke University, 2002), pp. 247, 256, 259, 260, 264, 275, 280, 282, 283, and 291-298.

3 Ibid., 201.

4 Mark Smith, “Aspects of the Preservation and Transmission of Indigenous Religious Traditions in Akhmim and its Environs During the Graeco-Roman Period,” in *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, ed. A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. Van Der Vliet (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 247.

5 Ibid., 245.



TABLE OF MANUSCRIPTS<sup>6</sup>

| PARAGRAPH           | DU   | GG  | YQ                     |
|---------------------|--|---|------------------------|
| 1-7                 |  | BN130 <sup>5</sup> , f. 68/<br>Leip. 3: 84-86                             |                        |
| <i>gap 2 pages</i>  | <not extant>   | <not extant>  | <not extant>           |
| 8-18                |  | GB-CU1699K ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> -4 <sup>v</sup><br><unpublished>            |                        |
| <i>gap 2 pages</i>  | <not extant>   | <not extant>  | <not extant>           |
| 19-25               | IT-NB IB4 ff. 23-24/<br>Amélineau 1: 365-368<br>[Zoega 455-6]  |   |                        |
| 25-26               |  | BN131 <sup>5</sup> , f. 65 <sup>v</sup> and <sup>r</sup><br><unpublished> |                        |
| 26-41               |  | IT-NB IB7, ff. 4-8/<br>Am. 2: 134-143<br>[Zoega 517-18]                   |                        |
| <i>gap 2 pages</i>  | <not extant>   | <not extant>  | <not extant>           |
| 42-45               |  | AT-NB 9341 <<2 pgs>><br>(Young pp. 146-8)                                 |                        |
| <i>gap 2 pages</i>  | <not extant>   | <not extant>  | <not extant>           |
| 46-73               | IT-NB IB4, ff. 25-32/<br>Amélineau 1: 368-383<br>[Zoega 456-7] | IT-NB IB7, ff. 9-12<br>(In same Amél.)                                    |                        |
| <i>gap 3 pages</i>  | <not extant>   | <not extant>  | <not extant>           |
| 74-76               | IT-NB IB4, f. 33/<br>Amélineau 1: 383-385<br>[Zoega 457-8]     |   |                        |
| <i>gap 15 pages</i> | <not extant>   | <not extant>  | <not extant>           |
| 77-81               |  | AT-NB 9313 <<2pgs>><br>(Young pp. 146-8)                                  | BN 130 <sup>5</sup> 83 |
| <i>gap 6 pages</i>  | <not extant>   | <not extant>  | <not extant>           |
| 82-84               | IT-NB IB4, f. 34/<br>Amélineau 1: 385-387<br>[Zoega 458-9]     |   |                        |
| 84-86               |  | AT-NB 9693 <<2pgs>><br><unpublished>                                      |                        |

6 This table is derived from Stephen Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (CSCO 599-600, subs. 111-112, Louvain 2004), pp. 415-418, 429, 430, and 806-808. For his description of the text, see p. 618, 619.



TABLE OF THEMES AND KEY TERMS  
(in the sequence in which they appear in the sermon)

| THEMES .....  | PARAGRAPH<br>NUMBERS | THEMES .....  | PARAGRAPH<br>NUMBERS |
|---|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| Pneueit.....  | 1                    | Repentance and Obedience .....                        | 39-41                |
| Satan's Fall .....                                      | 3                    | Listening to Scripture .....                          | 43-46                |
| Demons .....  | 4-8                  | Ezekiel 37:1-14 .....                                 | 47                   |
| Children of Satan .....                                 | 9                    | Dry Bones and Faith .....                             | 48                   |
| Children of God .....                                   | 10-11                | Pagans, Heretics, Manichaeans,<br>and Jews .....      | 49                   |
| The Fire of Gehenna .....                               | 12                   | Resurrection .....                                    | 49                   |
| Casting Down Temples .....                              | 13                   | Children of the Devil .....                           | 50-51                |
| Co-Workers of Satan .....                               | 14                   | Vanity, Heretics, and Satan .....                     | 52-54                |
| Co-Workers of God .....                                 | 15                   | Life and Death .....                                  | 55                   |
| Many Idols .....  | 16                   | Resurrection: Future and Present .....                | 56-57                |
| One God .....   | 17                   | Resurrection: The Penitent and the<br>Thankless ..... | 58-60                |
| Worship of the Elements .....                           | 18                   | Woes against Heretics .....                           | 61-67                |
| The Dead and Living .....                               | 19-20                | Fidelity to Baptism .....                             | 64                   |
| The Seed of Unrighteousness .....                       | 21                   | Fidelity to the Eucharist .....                       | 68                   |
| Trusting in Men or the Lord .....                       | 22-23                | Worship of Celestial Bodies .....                     | 69                   |
| Christ's Manifestation through<br>the Virgin Mary ..... | 24                   | Worship of Materials .....                            | 70                   |
| Satan's Manifestation through<br>Heretics .....         | 25-26                | Worship of the Creator .....                          | 71-72                |
| Friends of God and Friends of Satan .....               | 27                   | Powerlessness of Pagan Gods .....                     | 73-74                |
| God's Kingdom and Amente .....                          | 28                   | Kronos, Petbe, and Rhea .....                         | 75                   |
| Sacrifice: Righteous and Unrighteous .....              | 29                   | Zeus, Ares, Ptah, and Apollo .....                    | 76                   |
| Casting Down Idols .....                                | 30                   | Resurrection: its Veracity .....                      | 77                   |
| Laughing at Temples .....                               | 31                   | Rejecters of God .....                                | 78                   |
| Light and Darkness .....                                | 32-33                | Powerlessness of False Gods .....                     | 79-81                |
| Demise of Heretics .....                                | 34-35                | Threshing of the Heretics .....                       | 82                   |
| Vanity .....  | 36-37                | Aristophanes' Plays .....                             | 83                   |
| Unlawfulness .....                                      | 38                   | God's Wrath .....                                     | 84-86                |



## Introduction\*

1. [GG1 = L. III: 84]<sup>1</sup> These are the words which Shenute said in an *instruction* in the days when he came from Antinoe in the *time* [L. III: 85] when the *idolatrous* priests *accused* the Christians, having taken them to the *post* of the governor on the day their temple in Pnueit was destroyed.

## The Sermon

2. "The Lord thundered from heaven and the exalted one raised His voice. He sent arrows and he sharpened them and he increased the lightnings, and he overturned them. *Springs* of water appeared and the foundations of the *world* were revealed."<sup>2</sup>

3. I shall speak this way, *grieving* and troubled at heart: how great is the grief of those grieving over us, because it is Satan who fell to the ground from heaven like lightning.<sup>3</sup> He reckons himself – among those sinning through him – as strong, while he is weak.<sup>4</sup> *For* if he has power, he has it through those giving him a place in them, to the point that he makes great wickednesses dwell in them – especially the *pagans*<sup>5</sup> and the *heretics* – the sons of the *dragon* [which is perverted],<sup>6</sup> about which the [*prophets*] spoke, [GG2 = L. III: 85] "Serpents and the sons of serpents that fly."<sup>7</sup>

4. Granted, the *demons* are accursed with all their works. *But* I will speak a word of scorn, shame, rebuke, and judgment upon you: all who are unfaithful

\* Note on translation conventions: We italicize translations of Greek words, lacunae of entire lines are represented with braces – [ ] – in a special way (see footnote 13), unreadable characters or words also appear in braces, and interpretive glosses are bracketed with < >.

1 Bracketed manuscript and edition references in this translation include the codex and its pagination [GG1] as reconstructed by Stephen Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (CSCO 599-600, Subs. 111-112, Louvain 2004), especially pp. 36-45, and either the modern edition and page number [L. III: 84] or the library, manuscript, and folio number for unpublished material [GB-CU1699K f. 1 recto]. Thus, [GG2 = L. III: 85] marks the beginning of a page in the ancient manuscript, which is found on page 85 of Leipoldt's edition. In contrast, [L. III: 85] simply marks the beginning of a new page in the published edition. We have been guided by the reference system used by Bentley Layton, "Social Structure and Food Consumption in an Early Christian Monastery: The Evidence of Shenoute's *Canons* and the White Monastery Federation A.A.D. 385-465," *Muséon* 115 (2002): 54.

2 Psalm 17:13-15 (all Psalms noted acc. to LXX). See also Zechariah 9:14.

3 Isaiah 14:12, Luke 10:18.

4 Matthew 12:29, Mark 3:27.

5 Literally, ΝΕΓΑΛΛΗΝ, translated throughout as "pagans."

6 Isaiah 27:1.

7 Isaiah 30:6.



to their *creator*. That is to say that the *demons* knew the Lord at that time and bowed, worshiped him, and cried out [L. III: 86] in a loud voice, "What do you want with us, Son of the Most High God?"<sup>8</sup> And further, [they were] crying out, "You are the Christ, the Holy One of God," who already[....] not permitted to speak. *But* as for you, you did not know Him.

5. The *demons* trembled and confessed Him out of fear, and they bowed to him, as it is written in the holy *gospels*. *But* you – enemies of the truth – did not enter into the knowledge of His divinity.

6. The *demons* entreated him not to *torture* them before the time, and also that he let them go into the pigs.<sup>9</sup> *But* you yourselves did not beseech him in order that he would endow you with knowledge of him, so that you would escape the unquenchable fire.

7. Those who became demon-possessed, the paralyzed, and the blind. ... [end of Leipoldt]<sup>10</sup>

<Approximately 2 pages missing in Codex GG>

8. [GG5 = GB-CU 1699K f. 1 recto]<sup>11</sup> and which are paralyzed<sup>12</sup> from your head to your feet. [You are un]able [to obey] the word [of the Lord] *but* now [■] – *perhaps one line unreadable* – down [to] him [....] to do a single good thing [...] because the true physician is not with you to cure you.

9. Your father, *however* – Satan, having separated from those in heaven, fell down upon the earth, he became completely crushed, and he became [use]less. You also separated from [the Christ]ians: [You fell] from [right]eousness; [You were crush]ed [completely.] [col. b] [You became useless] [ ], [ you ], [ ], [ the (?) ], [ Satan (?) ], [ Angels]<sup>13</sup> and all the holy ones.<sup>14</sup> You also: You are estranged from the *catholic church* which exists on earth; and you are estranged from [the] feast of the Christians. Behold, "this is your portion and this is your lot," as it is written<sup>15</sup> – while you have chosen to serve many gods and you slave for them in every *evil* matter because sins

8 Mark 1:24. See also Matthew 8:29, Luke 4:34, 41; 8:25.

9 Matthew 8:31, Mark 5:12, Luke 8:31, 32.

10 Gap of two pages wanting (see Emmel, p. 429 for index of Codex GG, pp. 3, 4).

11 See footnote 1 for MS referencing.

12 Cited, Crum 388a.

13 The MS columns present lacunae. In our translation, each bracketed segment (separated by a comma) represents one line of lacuna in the MS. With the size of each bracketed segment we are roughly approximating the amount of space that the missing text would fill in our English translation. Such lacunae appear in paragraphs 9, 11, 13, 25, 26, and 85.

14 Hebrews 12:22.

15 Wisdom 2:9.







become hateful<sup>30</sup> to everyone who *believes* in God. As it is written, “Whoever hates you, O Lord, I hated them. I have wasted [GG8 = GB-CU 1699K f. 2 verso] [away over y]our enemies. I have hated them with a great hatred. They became enemies to me.”<sup>31</sup>

12. Moreover, the fire of *Gehenna* will *possess* you all together: you and those who are perverted – who commit *impiety* of your sort, when you destroy their good hearts with your wicked words. Edify yourselves<sup>32</sup> now, and cordon yourselves <off>, with the *demons*; walk in the darkness; and do the deeds of those ones. If this is what you chose for yourselves, may the Lord [col. b] wipe you out all at once, since you are truly “men of blood and guile.”<sup>33</sup> You are “*evil and deceitful* men who *advance* in wickedness.”<sup>34</sup> And further, “your ignorance is apparent to everyone;”<sup>35</sup> your “minds are corrupted,”<sup>36</sup> according to the *scriptures*, and you are rejected persons in everything.<sup>37</sup> It is against the Christians that you dispute “like Janes and Jambres, who stood against Moses.”<sup>38</sup> It is for yourselves that you prepared the fire of *Gehenna* [by] your [evi]l deeds.

13. [ ] to you [now] [and tremble] [before] the Christ[ians, while] fleeing [GG9 = GB-CU 1699K f. 3 recto] from place to place, while they chase you away from the *catholic church*, just as those who chase foxes through vineyards;<sup>39</sup> and while they destroy your *places*<sup>40</sup> and your temples, just like those who destroy foxes’ dens; and while they cast down your gods, breaking them to reveal your shame. And you will realize that “your mind is ashes.”<sup>41</sup>

14. Truly, according to what is written, O “senseless sons and those who are despised: that belong to the name and the glory dried up from the earth,”<sup>42</sup> you have no wise ones, [like] the sons of God who are *faithful* to Him from the end of the earth to the limit [of the] [col. b] [*world*].<sup>43</sup> Because He is God – there being no other besides Him – it is impossible to liken another one to

30 ΕΤΕΤΝΟΜΜΕCΤΕ, cited Crum 187b. (HT L. 1)

31 Psalm 138:21,22.

32 ΚΩΤΕΡΩΤΗ “turn” or “surround” your mouth, or “edify yourself.” If the the text is in error, options would include: ΚΩ ΡΩΤΗ, meaning “be silent,” or ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΩΤΗ, meaning “turn self” (i. e., “repent”).

33 Psalm 5:6.

34 I Timothy 3:13.

35 II Timothy 3:9.

36 II Timothy 3:8. Sim., I Timothy 6:5.

37 Cited, Crum 794b.

38 I Timothy 3:8.

39 Song of Songs 2:15.

40 ΝΕΤΝΤΟΠΟC.

41 Wisdom 15:10.

42 Job 30:8.

43 ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ?



Him.<sup>44</sup> Or, do you not see since “you destroyed your shame, because you had a *harlot's*-face,” as it is written.<sup>45</sup> *Truly*, your deeds expose you because you are “co-workers”<sup>46</sup> of Satan and you are “pastures”<sup>47</sup> of that one, and you are “temples” for *demons* to do their wicked deeds through you,<sup>48</sup> while supporting “the *mystery of lawlessness*” which “*operates*”<sup>49</sup> in you and your [GG10 = GB-CU 1699K f. 3 verso] whole unbelieving race.

15. *But* as for the Christians, *according* to what is written, they are “co-workers of God,” “pastures of God,”<sup>50</sup> “temples of” the Lord Jesus; in them he dwells, and in them he moves, “being unto them God.”<sup>51</sup> And as for them, they are for him “sons and daughters, just as the Lord *Almighty* himself said.”<sup>52</sup> And it is a *seed* blessed by God.<sup>53</sup> And further, “a kingdom,” and, “an holy priesthood,” and it is [col. b] “an holy *nation*, a people for life,”<sup>54</sup> as it is written. It is a *seed* of God, never unfaithful to the one who created them, as it is written: “The sons of God do not sin since the *seed* of God is in them.”<sup>55</sup>

16. *But* you, O *heretics*, you are a *seed* that has been scorned by the Lord God; you are the sons of destruction who *call* upon the wooden *idols*, and the stones, and the other works of human hands. Your gods are many and they are without number. *But* there is not a single [one] among them who [is able to do] that which is [GG11 = GB-CU 1699K f. 4 recto] good, or do evil so that one would be afraid of them. *As for* you: not only if you do evil while away from your gods will they not be able to recognize you; *but* even if you do it in their presence – in the place where you serve them – they will not be able to *punish* you, nor will they be able to honor one of those serving them.

17. *But* as for the Christians, “it is a single God who exists for them, the Father, and a single Lord, Jesus, the Christ:”<sup>56</sup> this one whose fear filled the [whole] earth [ and ], [col. b] fear Him. And there is no one who will be able to hide from Him. He fills heaven; He fills the earth, *according* to the *scriptures*.<sup>57</sup> “He is up in the heavens and He is upon the

44 Isaiah 45:5.

45 Jeremiah 3:3.

46 This is a contrasting analogy to the one presented in I Corinthians 3:9, which has identical phraseology.

47 Cf. AT-NB 9313, l. 19-23 (= Young, pp. 146-8), re. sin pasturing the sinner.

48 Contrasting with Ephesians 2:10.

49 II Thessalonians 2:7.

50 I Corinthians 3:9.

51 Very close paraphrase of II Corinthians 6:14.

52 II Corinthians 6:18.

53 Various referents: Psalm 36:26, Isaiah 61:9, 65:23, I Peter 2:5,9, Galatians 3:29, Acts 3:25.

54 I Peter 2:9.

55 I John 3:9.

56 I Corinthians 8:6.

57 Cf. Jeremiah 23:24.



earth,” as it is written, “and all that He desires He did.”<sup>58</sup> Those sinning against Him He scorns, and those doing good before Him He blesses. Those who die in their disbelief and evil, He throws into the fire of *Gehenna*. But those who die among those *believing* in him – (those) who do good – he takes them into eternal life.

18. *But, perhaps* you for your part, [GG12 = GB-CU 1699K f. 4 verso] O *wretches*, you fear and tremble greatly. *But* you also commit sin. You serve and you worship the darkness as god; and the light and the *air*, and the wind, and the water, and the fire, and the places of the rising of the sun and the moon and the stars of heaven; and all the others which you worship. “Powerless and destitute *elements*” are what you are under. “Days, and months, and seasons, and years are what you observe.”<sup>59</sup> You are diviners: [*col. b*] augurs, casters of the evil eye, enchanters, wizards, potion makers, astrologers, dreamers, liars, takers of false oaths, murderers, the *sexually licentious*, *catamites*, and adornment lovers.<sup>60</sup> You wish that your face be beautiful. You give care to the *flesh* as regards to *lust*.<sup>61</sup> You are braggarts, *despisers*, boastful men, blasphemers, arrogant men, *traitors*,<sup>62</sup> God-haters, cruel ones,<sup>63</sup> merciless, *evil* .....

<Approximately 2 pages missing>

19. [DU15 = Amél. I: 365] ... *law[less]*, you did not acknowledge the wonders of God since you did not acknowledge him, so that you might know: The Lord is great, and He is a wonder, performing wonders, as it is written.<sup>64</sup> You are *tombs* full of dead *demons*. Destruction and darkness are your deeds, while it is not possible for you to speak the truth, since you do not have it. *For* it is you to whom the written word says, “Will you do your wonders among the dead? Will they speak your mercy in the *tombs*, and your love down in perdition? Will your wonders be recognized in the dark, and your *righteousness* in a land you have forgotten?”<sup>65</sup> And it is you about whom the written word says, “The dead [Amél. I: 366] are not the ones who will bless you, O Lord, *nor* anyone who will go down to Amente.

58 Psalm 113:11.

59 Galatians 4:9,10.

60 Cited, Crum 435b.

61 Cf. II Peter 2:10.

62 II Timothy 3:4.

63 II Timothy 3:3.

64 Cf. Psalm 85:10.

65 Psalm 87:10,11.



20. *But* we, “the living” – Christians – are “the ones who will bless you from now to eternity.”<sup>66</sup>

21. *Again*, you are the ones to whom the written word says, “Will an Ethiopian change the color of his [DU16 = Amél. I: 366] *body*, or will a leopard change its spots which are on it?”<sup>67</sup> Thus you, for your part, O pagans<sup>68</sup> and heretics, will not be able to do the good. You are doers of wickedness. *Nor* will you be able to know God and his Christ Jesus, since you have learned to worship many gods. *For* just as – according to the scriptures – “grapes are never harvested from a thorn bush, *nor* are figs ever gathered from thistle,”<sup>69</sup> so it is in your case: there is no *thought or deed of righteousness* in you. *For* it was not in vain that the holy prophets said angrily, “Pour out your *wrath* upon the *nations* that did not know you, and upon the kingdoms that did not *call* upon your name,”<sup>70</sup> since they *afflicted* your children – the Christians – *bringing charges* against them before the *rulers and govern* – [Amél. I: 367] *ors*, just as their *evil seed* who – from the beginning – had *afflicted* all the *ancient, righteous prophets*. Who did not recognize you – O heretics – namely, that you are *partners* [DU17 = Amél. I: 367] of those whom God killed at that time in a *flood*? You are *seed* of the men of Sodom and Gomorrah, and you are the *seed* of the *Pharaoh*, king of Egypt. You are the *seed* of everyone who fought against God in their *unbelief*, since the beginning.

22. It is you who trust in men: those whose eyes you are able to shut with *gifts* and guileful words, in order that they *assist* you. *But* it is upon yourselves that you incite the curse, which is written in the *scriptures* of God; and it is over yourselves that you empower it, as it says, “The man whose *hope* is in man is cursed.”<sup>71</sup>

23. *But* as for the Christians, it is they who trust in the Lord and set their hearts on him, in order that He *assist* them. It is in their good things that they are *zealous*, so that He would make them *worthy* of the saying, which is written: “The man who sets his heart on the Lord is blessed, and the Lord will be *hope* for him.”<sup>72</sup> The Son of God is the “first-born of all the creation,” and “it is through Him that the whole universe came to be” – [DU18 = Amél. I: 368] “those in heaven and those on earth.”<sup>73</sup>

66 Psalm 114:15 (Budge), 113:25, 26 (LXX).

67 Jeremiah 13:23.

68 ΝΞΕΛΛΗΝ.

69 Matthew 7:16.

70 Psalm 78:6 and Jeremiah 10:25.

71 Jeremiah 17:5.

72 Jeremiah 17:17.

73 Colossians 1:15-16.



24. But I will offer up<sup>74</sup> for you your abominations, and I will tell you what you do not want to hear. You are those who blaspheme, [saying]<sup>75</sup> “he was not manifested<sup>76</sup> through the *Virgin* Mary,” while I say that the Lord Christ Jesus, the God of the Christians, chose an holy *virgin*. She “did not ‘know’ a husband,” as it is written.<sup>77</sup> He was manifest through her womb and He designated Joseph as a father for Himself, though He is father of the universe. And further, He said, in His love toward those who are His, “The one who does the will of my father who is in heaven – this one is my brother and my sister and my mother.”<sup>78</sup>

25. But [as for] you, O *heretics*, Satan chose you for himself: polluted and defiled men, resembling him in every *impurity*, in order that he be manifest through you. And it is you who are in travail with him, and he has *spoken boldly* about you, since you do his will in every *impiety*.<sup>79</sup> [GG17 = FR-BN 131<sup>5</sup> f. 65 verso] It is he whom heaven and all those in heaven *tolerate*. The *heretics* accept him [GG18 = FR-BN 131<sup>5</sup> f. 65 recto]

[                    ], [                    ], [                    ], [                    ]<sup>80</sup> the man (?) [who is among] [Christians] through [Jesus] in their (?) [deeds] and he himself [was clothed], as [it is] written, “Clothe yourselves with our Lord Jesus the Christ.”<sup>81</sup>

26. But Satan, for his part, continually dwells in the person who is among the *heretics*; and it is he who clothes them and all their *offspring*, empowering them in all haughtiness. And the Christians are continually in travail, *according* to what is written, in works [col. b] [                    ], [                    ], [                    ], [                    ], [                    ], [                    ], forget[                    ], heart[                    ].<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, the prophets and all the Christian fathers, through their *righteousness*, were worthy to have *angels* appear to them, and they spoke with them so that they would enjoin their Christian children to keep the *regulations* of God. For through the *lawlessness* itself of the false *wise ones* of the *heretics*, the demons [GG19 = Amél. II: 134] dwelled in them. They filled books for

74 Cited, Crum 591a. Cf. Amélineau I, p. 386.

75 Here begins the GG parallel in BN 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 65<sup>v</sup>. N. B., the recto and verso are reversed in this MS.

76 “Manifest” is used to translate *ὡς* in this extended contrast between the virgin birth and Satan’s use of sinners.

77 Luke 1:34.

78 Matthew 12:50.

79 End of DU in Amélineau.

80 See footnote 13 for our method of representing lacunae.

81 Romans 13:14.

82 See footnote 13.



them with abominable words, so that the Lord will destroy them and their remnant. As it is written, "The remnants of the *impious* will perish."<sup>83</sup>

27. Through the *righteousness* of all the *righteous* they were called Friends of God: like Abraham, the friend of God,<sup>84</sup> and like the *apostles*, whom the Lord called "my friends."<sup>85</sup> Now on the one hand, through the *lawlessness* of the *heretics*, Satan appointed them as friends for himself: <both> them and their *philosophers* who grow hair<sup>86</sup> like women.

28. It is the Lord Jesus, for His part who desires, *according to* what is written, that those who *believe* in Him and love Him, who keep His words, be with Him in His kingdom, so that they would see Him in His glory and rest with Him<sup>87</sup> forever.<sup>88</sup> But Satan, on the other hand, *according to* his will, is *eager* to see all the *heretics* with him down in the fiery furnace "which was prepared for him and his *angels*,"<sup>89</sup> as it is written, [Amél. II: 135] so that the *heretics* about whom he boasts, "They are mine!," will see his shame is theirs down in Amente forever.

29. "In *faith*," *according to* what is written, Abraham did not spare his [GG20 = Amél. II: 135] beloved son because of his love for God, but "he offered up <sacrifice>, being *tested*."<sup>90</sup> Now, as for the *nations* "pouring out the blood of their sons and their daughters to the *demons*," as it is written in the Psalms,<sup>91</sup> from your *seed* there were unbelieving and *impious* kings since the beginning, like Gog and Og<sup>92</sup> and those like them, and Herod the king: this one whom the Lord reckoned as a fox<sup>93</sup> of your own sort.

30. From the *seed* of the Christians there were *believing* kings, *righteous* kings from the beginning until now, such as David, Solomon, and Hezekiah, and all the *ancient* and *righteous* kings, the kings and *rulers* who destroyed your temples and cast down<sup>94</sup> your *idols*. They belong to the Christians. The setting up<sup>95</sup> of your gods from the beginning occurred [Amél. II: 136] for a destruction of your *souls*, and the casting down of your *idols* at this time has now made you *wretched* since those that you set up for yourselves [GG21 =

83 Psalm 36:38.

84 Genesis 15:6; Romans 4:3; Galatians 3:6; II Chronicles 20:7; Isaiah 41:8; James 2:23.

85 John 15:14.

86 Cited, Crum 623b.

87 Scribal error reads **NMMA**Υ. Instead, read **NMMA**ϣ.

88 John 14.

89 Matthew 25:41.

90 Hebrews 11:17.

91 Psalm 105:37, 38.

92 See Psalm 134:11, 135:20; and Ezekiel 38:2-4.

93 Luke 13:32.

94 Cited, Crum 443a.

95 Cited, Crum 456b.



Amél. II: 136] as gods were crushed and broken<sup>96</sup> when the Christians pulled them face-down on the ground, laughing and mocking your foolishness, shouting, bringing out melodies<sup>97</sup> like those who sing with a *cithara* when their hearts rejoice within them over the destruction of those which they worshiped, saying thus [reproach]ing you: "Baal fell. Dagon was crushed. Their handiwork is for *wild animals*, and domestic beasts bear them, bound like a load of dirt."<sup>98</sup> And further, "*Idols of the nations* are silver and gold, they are works of human hands;"<sup>99</sup> "may their makers and everyone believing in them become like them."<sup>100</sup> And again, "All the gods of the *nations* are *demonic idols*."<sup>101</sup> [Amél. II: 137]

31. Now these and many others always sing *psalms* to the blessed God, rejoicing over the comfort of their mother, the holy *church*, which they see filled with multitudes of *people* who believe in *God* and His Christ Jesus, prostrating themselves, worshipping [GG22 = Amél. II: 137] the Lord according to what is written, "Come let us worship and bow down to Him, and weep before the Lord, He who created us, since He is our God, we are His people."<sup>102</sup> And it is they who laugh at your temples which were abandoned,<sup>103</sup> and all your other places in which you offer up *sacrifices* to empty things. The *journey* of our God Jesus the Christ happened to destroy your temples; it happened to populate the *catholic church*. It happened for you, to scatter; it happened [for them] to gather in His holy *people*. Likewise, the *cross* of the God of the Christians, Jesus, became for them an eternal life and it happened in order to destroy your service to them.

32. It is the Christian children of the King, the Christ, the Lord Jesus, who are in "the light of life,"<sup>98</sup> as it is written. But the *heretics*, for their part, and all the *impious nations* [Amél. II: 138] are "in the [dark]ness."<sup>104</sup> Like a man who en[tered] into a dark place, darkness spread over him, making him invisible to those seeking him, so too are the *leaders* of the unbelieving *nations* [GG23 = Amél. II: 138] since the beginning, having been swallowed<sup>105</sup> in the dark *place* which is Satan. And they went astray in his corners,<sup>106</sup> his streets, and his *storehouses*, while all the *lawless* darkness had spread over them by appearing

96 Cited, Crum 513a.

97 Cited, Crum 477a.

98 Isaiah 46:1,2.

99 Psalm 134:15.

100 Psalm 134:18.

101 Psalm 95:5.

102 Psalm 94:6-7.

103 Cited, Crum 746a.

104 John 8:12.

105 Cited, Crum 386a.

106 Cited, Crum 108a.



among them and by filling them with darkness, like houses built underground, having no little ray<sup>107</sup> of light in them.

33. For God abandoned them, the true light Jesus, this one who sheds light on His Christian sons who have the light, *believing* in the light and walking in the light always.<sup>108</sup> "The darkness did not grasp them," as it is written.<sup>109</sup> *Now* just like a man who has fled from a deserted, dark place to a bright *place*, where a multitude of *cities* surrounds him, so too also are our *ancient* fathers Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, those before them, and those after them who all fled from the *error* which is in the world to the true knowledge. They were under [Amél. II: 139] "the shadow" of the Lord, [GG24 = Amél. II: 139] "the God of heaven."<sup>110</sup> And *according* to what is written, just as "a light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not grasp it,"<sup>111</sup> thus are all their *seed* from the beginning up to now, shining through the good deeds. The darkness of the whole *race* of the *heretics* "could not prevail against them."<sup>112</sup>

34. It is you to whom the written word says, O *heretics*, "the teeth of the sinners you wore down,"<sup>113</sup> and, "your tongue and your heart are empty."<sup>114</sup> "You perished through your plots, according to the magnitude of your iniquities."<sup>115</sup> The Lord destroyed you, since you made Him angry. Your "memory was destroyed openly."<sup>116</sup> You were "sunk in the destruction which you carried out."<sup>117</sup> You "became old" and the *demonic* "sons of strangers; you became crippled in your paths."<sup>118</sup> The Lord "will overturn you and He will not build you up."<sup>119</sup>

35. "The words of your mouth are *lawlessness* and guile. You did not desire to know the good in order to do it, having pondered *lawlessness* upon your bed, having [Amél. II: 140] stood on every wicked path; and *evil* you did not hate."<sup>120</sup> "Your heart gathered [GG25 = Amél. II: 140] *lawlessness* for you."<sup>121</sup>

107 Cited, Crum 85a.

108 Alluding to John 1:9, 12:36, and I John 1:7.

109 John 1:5. Shenoute changes the object from third person singular to plural. The text often substitutes different pronominal objects and subjects in using biblical quotes, while otherwise quoting word for word.

110 Psalm 90:1.

111 John 1:5.

112 Matthew 16:18.

113 Psalm 3:7.

114 Psalm 5:9.

115 Psalm 5:10.

116 Psalm 9:6.

117 Psalm 9:15.

118 Psalm 17:45.

119 Psalm 27:5.

120 Psalm 35:3,4.

121 Psalm 40:6.



"You perished before the face of God"<sup>122</sup> and His Christ Jesus. "Coals fell down upon you" from Him; "He sent you down into a fire,"<sup>123</sup> since you are "a senseless *people* who have angered His name."<sup>124</sup>

36. Your "vainglory went up to Him many times;"<sup>125</sup> "you raised your horn up to heaven; you spoke to God with violence."<sup>126</sup> Because of this, "He *struck* you down *as* an enemy, having handed you over to reproach forever."<sup>127</sup> "A wind," which is the wrath of the Lord "breathed upon you." You "were dry" and "the whirlwind," which is His *wrath*, "will carry you like sticks."<sup>128</sup> "For it is *yet* a little while," and you "will not exist" at all.<sup>129</sup> For you are ignorant that you were shamed greatly. You perished little by little with all your *seed*.

37. How were you destroyed like a broken <piece> of wood, O sinners who rejoice over vanity? And in what way do you perish, enemies of the Lord? Is it not because the *Spirit* of the Lord which is in the *prophets* fights against you? *Behold*, "your enemies will be destroyed and [GG26 = Amél. II: 140] everyone who does a *lawless* [Amél. II: 141] deed will be brought to naught."<sup>130</sup>

38. Furthermore, "it is sinners who perish upon the earth."<sup>131</sup> And, "the *unlawful* will be wiped out," "the good ones will remain upon the earth," "and the saints will remain upon it."<sup>132</sup> How much will the "*unlawful* person" show that he is a hater of good, if we do not *repent* after hearing all these words – these which are testimonies to us and belong to the *scriptures* – from the "*lilies* growing in the field" and other *insignificant* things?<sup>133</sup>

39. The wool is changed into a number of forms and colors by those working with it, *but* as for "the *impious*, he remains in his *evil*," as it is written.<sup>134</sup> He did not turn, through all the words of God, towards *love*, truth, and all good. On the one hand, "God spoke many times in many ways,"<sup>135</sup> with his saints whom he *apprised* about all his desires. *But* it was a single time at which he commanded Noah to create the *ark*, and he completed his work, and was

122 Psalm 67:2.

123 Psalm 139:10.

124 Psalm 73:18.

125 Psalm 73:23.

126 Psalm 74:5.

127 Psalm 77:66. Note the Egyptian context of this Psalm, in 77:51.

128 Isaiah 40:24.

129 Psalm 36:10.

130 Psalm 91:9.

131 Psalm 103:34.

132 Proverbs 2:21,22. Cf. Psalm 36:38.

133 Matthew 6:28, Luke 12:26,27.

134 Ecclesiastes 7:16.

135 Hebrews 1:1.



[GG27 = Amél. II: 141] saved from the *wrath* which came down upon the earth: he and his whole house and many different flying creatures, different beasts, and domesticated animals.

40. *But* we did [Amél. II: 142] not obey. It is we who do evil after all these words from God that would make us do *justice*, by which we might be saved. *And* it was a single time that God told Abraham to offer up his beloved son and he acted *promptly*, according to the will of the Lord, because he loved him more than his son. *But* we did not obey him up until now in all his words that would make us "*present our bodies*" to him "*as sacrifices*" in all purity and all truth.<sup>136</sup> *Nor* did the *angels* say many words to Lot in order that he flee from those *cities* which the Lord burned in a fire from heaven through God, *and* he did what was commanded him in an instant. *But* we did not obey God in all His words that would make us flee from every evil to every *good* and true deed. *And* furthermore, it was a single message which God spoke to his *disciples*: [GG28 = Amél. II: 142] "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men," and they *promptly* left their nets, their boats, their father, and the hired men, and they followed him.<sup>137</sup> And thus, they received these great honors and these great glories from him [Amél. II: 143] through wondrous deeds.

41. *But* we did not obey Him in all His words that would make us renounce our *lusts* and all our sins so that we would become worthy of his mercy and his blessing. To whom will I bear witness so that he will hear: The saints and *righteous* ones – from our *ancient* fathers and the *prophets* up to our fathers the *apostles* – did not disobey God in doing all His desires. *But* they even *encouraged* others, teaching them His ways, as it is written, "I will teach these *lawless ones* your ways and the *impious ones* will return to you."<sup>138</sup> Further, we were *incapable* of doing his will of our own accord, as children who will *inherit* the kingdom of their Father who is in heaven, *nor* did we obey his words and his *scriptural* teachings, these which compel us to *subordinate*

<Approximately 2 pages missing><sup>139</sup>

42. [GG31 = Young: 144] ... the end of the earth," says the Lord.

43. And further, "Listen to me and you will eat my *good things*, and your *souls* will be well nourished by my *good things*. Pay heed with your ears and

<sup>136</sup> Romans 12:1.

<sup>137</sup> Matthew 4:19,22; Mark 1:19,20. This quote includes the Markan material not found in Matthew.

<sup>138</sup> Psalm 50:13.

<sup>139</sup> See Emmel, p. 429, for his index of Codex GG, missing one leaf (pp. 29-30).



follow my ways. Listen to me and your *souls* will live on *good things*.”<sup>140</sup> All *scripture* from Genesis down to the last words of the *New Testament* are calling all of us to listen to God and not to sin, *or*, having committed sin, to turn ourselves to him so that he will heal our wounds, as it is written, he is “the healer of those wounded in their hearts, who binds their wounds.”<sup>141</sup>

44. The earth [*col. b*] which is thirsty *often longs* for rain to “come down upon it many times,” as it is written.<sup>142</sup> And further, “The deer loves to stop at the *spring* of water,”<sup>143</sup> and also, “The young lions roar for prey, seeking their food from God.”<sup>144</sup> But we ourselves did not pay heed to the words of the Lord until now, correctly, so that we do them and not just hear them. Nor did our “*souls* thirst for the living God,”<sup>145</sup> so that we would pursue Him. And we did not cry out to Him truly until now, so that He would give us food. As it is written, “He gave food to those who fear Him,”<sup>146</sup> not just food [GG32 = Young: 145] of the *flesh*, but “solid food, of the *mature*,”<sup>147</sup> as it is written.

45. At the command of God, the wooden staff turned into a snake in the hand of Moses, and the snake turned into a staff.<sup>148</sup> But for our part, we did not obey his command so that we turn from our evil deeds to good deeds, so that we ourselves – ignorant and disobedient sinners – would not always escape the saying that is written, that “Ephraim became like a *loaf* unturned.”<sup>149</sup> Whoever listened [*col. b*] to these [messages] *well, according* to what is written, he observed them. Listen to what comes after them: “There is an hour coming when those who are dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and they will live.”<sup>150</sup> And they will come forth<sup>151</sup> from their *tombs*. Further, *just as* at the time he called out once, “Lazarus, come forth”<sup>152</sup> and the one who had died came out bound, so too he spoke one time when the son of the *widow* in Nain arose.<sup>153</sup> And further still, he spoke once, then the daughter of the *leader of the synagogue* arose.<sup>154</sup> And the *prophets*, further.

140 Isaiah 55:2,3.

141 Psalm 146:3.

142 Hebrews 6:7.

143 Psalm 41:1. Budge: 2ONBE, Shenute: ΠΥΓΗ.

144 Psalm 103:21.

145 Psalm 41:2.

146 Psalm 110:5.

147 Hebrews 5:14.

148 Exodus 4:4.

149 Hosea 7:8.

150 John 5:25.

151 John 5:29.

152 John 11:43.

153 Luke 7:11-17.

154 Luke 8:41-56.



<Approximately 2 pages missing>

46. [DU35 = Amél. I: 368] ... all our *lawlessness*.

47. O this great wonder without measure! The scattered bones, the bones that were burned in a fire, the *bodies* that the *beasts* [Amél. I: 369] and the birds ate, the *bodies* that became decomposed on earth: they will hear the voice of the Son of God and they will come together, each one to its own part.<sup>155</sup> Sinews will come upon them, *flesh* will come upon them, skin will stretch out over them, a *spirit* will enter into them, and they will live, arise, and stand before the one who *commanded* them. Just as Ezekiel the prophet said,

"The hand of the Lord was upon me; it brought me by the *spirit* of the Lord; it set me in the midst of the field, and this was filled with human bones, and it made me go around all of them. Behold, they were very numerous on top of the field, being very dry. The Lord said to me, 'Son of Man, will these bones live?' I said, 'Adonai, O Lord, you are the one who knows.' He said to me, 'Prophecy over these bones and [DU36 = Amél. I: 369] say to these dry bones,' 'Listen to the word of the Lord: this is how the Lord Adonai spoke to me: 'say to these bones, Behold, I will put into you a *spirit* [Amél. I: 370] and you will live. I will put upon you sinews, I will bring upon you *flesh*, I will stretch skin over you, I will insert a *spirit* in you, you will live, and you will know that I am the Lord.'" I *prophesied* just as He had commanded [me], and there was a sound after I *prophesied*. Behold, there was an earthquake; the bones went forth toward each other. I looked and behold, sinews came upon them, *flesh* came upon them, skin stretched over them, *but* there was no *spirit* in them. And He said to me, 'Prophecy over the *spirit*; prophecy son of man and say to the *spirit*, "Thus Adonai the Lord said, 'O *Spirit*, come from your four winds and blow into these dead people, [DU37 = Amél. I: 370] and they will live.'" And I prophesied as He had commanded me, and the *spirit* came into them. They lived, they arose, and they stood, being a very great multitude. He said to me, 'Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. As for them, they say, "Our bones were dry, what we expected perished, it separated from us." Because of this, *prophecy* and say to them, "Thus Adonai [Amél. I: 371] the Lord said, 'Behold, I will open your *tombs* and I will bring you out of them, my *people*, and I will take you into the land of Israel. You will know that I am the Lord in my opening of your *tombs*. I will bring you out of them, my *people*, and I will put a *spirit* into you, and you will live and I will give you rest in your land, and you will know that I am the Lord. I spoke and I acted,' says Adonai the Lord."'"<sup>156</sup>

See the commandment of God that will cause the dead to arise in an instant.

48. *Now* pay attention [DU38 = Amél. I: 371] also to your irreverence, O men who continue in their sins. O this hardening of heart which grips us. Each of the dry bones will know what is its own and they will go toward each other and none will mix with what belongs to another one. *But* the bones will go toward each other; sinews will come upon them, *flesh* will come upon them, and skin will stretch over them. A *spirit* will come into them, and they

155 Cited, Crum 526b.

156 Ezekiel 37:1-14.



will live. *But* as for us, we did not listen until now, so that each one of us would leave from his wicked deeds, these in which we toss and turn like the dry bones<sup>157</sup> discarded<sup>158</sup> [Amél. I: 372] in the *tombs*. The sinews will come upon the dry bones. *Flesh* will come upon them. Skin will stretch over them. *But* the *perception*, the good thought, and the *faith* became dry among all the *heretics*,<sup>159</sup> and they “fell to the ground like leaves.”<sup>160</sup>

49. The *spirit* will come into all the dead and they will live. *However*, the Holy *Spirit* of God abandoned the *pagans*<sup>161</sup> and the *heretics*. [DU39 = Amél. I: 372] An evil *spirit* choked them<sup>162</sup> in their unbelief and their blasphemies towards God and his Christ, and all their other abominations. It is not just those who have been dead four days (having stunk like *Lazarus*)<sup>163</sup> who will rise, lest you say, O *Manichee*, that it is a small wonder that the Lord Jesus performed. *But* it is a great wonder since they will all arise, from the first *righteous* one Abel – he is the one whom Cain killed – down to those who die in the end. But you, will you not be ashamed to arise from the dead and believe in the one who created you, O *heretics* who serve empty things in blindness.<sup>164</sup> *But* even more, the Jew who is dead and buried in the *evil* of his father the *devil*.

50. He <the devil> was not satisfied<sup>165</sup> with [Amél. I: 373] being a *stumbling block* for those who wish to blaspheme the Lord Jesus up until now, just as at that time they mocked him with their words in their *unbelief* when they surrounded him, as it is written,<sup>166</sup> with their hateful words while he hung on the wood [DU40 = Amél. I: 373] for their *transgressions*. It is to them and everyone who does not believe in him at any time that the Lord Jesus spoke angrily, “You are from your father the *devil*.”<sup>167</sup>

51. *For* that one who was exalting himself in his pride came saying, “I will ‘make myself equal to God;’<sup>168</sup> ‘I will resemble the Most High.’<sup>169</sup>” But he did

157 Here begins MS Naples IB7, 382, p. 109 (= GG37–44).

158 Cited, Crum 248a.

159 Cf. Matthew 23:27.

160 Proverbs 11:14.

161 **ΝΖΕΛΛΗΝ**.

162 Variant phrase in GG found after, “.. choked them,” (ΕΤΕΠΑΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΠΕ, “which is the *devil*”).

163 John 11:39.

164 We have translated the negative perfect **ΜΠΕΤΝ**- in the English future here. Cf. Amél. I: 372.

165 Cited, Crum 651b.

166 Matthew 27:39–44; Mark 15:29–32; and Luke 23:35–38.

167 John 8:44.

168 Cited, Crum 606b. Philippians 2:6 – Quoting the *kenotic hymn* to contrast the Devil's pride with the humility of the Christ.

169 Isaiah 14:14.



not realize that he will come "down to Amente," according to what is written, "and the moth will be spread over him"<sup>170</sup> and he will be covered by the worm."<sup>171</sup>

52. For their part, all the *heretics* who blaspheme against God and his Christ came forth, as it is written, "being proud, clothed with their violence and their iniquity,"<sup>172</sup> exalting themselves above the Christians, equating themselves with them as *righteous*, while being *impious*. They did not *understand* that the Lord Jesus will chase them like a shepherd chasing wolves away from his flock until he humiliates them and he makes them become scarce<sup>173</sup> among his people. Satan [Amél. I: 374] said, "I will make myself equal to God."

53. The *heretics*, for their part, thus learned [DU41 = Amél. I: 374] from that one, to say before the Christians, "Remove yourselves from us since we are holy," while they are *impure*. The blessed Christian flock of sheep heard the voice of the Good Shepherd, Jesus, and they followed him in every deed of *righteousness*, just as he said, "As for me, my sheep hear my voice."<sup>174</sup>

54. Now the *heretics*, for their part, heeded the thought of the enemy outsider.<sup>175</sup> They followed him in all *deceit*. The Lord Jesus "poured himself out; he took the *form* of a servant," while being "the Lord of everything," as it is written, and "he humbled himself, he became obedient to death."<sup>176</sup> Likewise, the Christians for their part "followed his teachings," as it is written.<sup>177</sup>

55. How beautiful is the man living in the *body* in the face of his observer! But rather, how ugly<sup>178</sup> is he before his observer while dead, and cast in the *grave*! Thus, further, how beautiful is the man in the presence of God who sees him existing in sinlessness! And also, how ugly is he [DU42 = Amél. I: 374] before him who sees him in his evil! For those who see [Amél. I: 375] dead *bodies* whose *parts* were destroyed and have fallen off<sup>179</sup> one by one, are just like God <who> sees the *parts* of the *bodies* of those committing sins, having been destroyed, and they have fallen away<sup>180</sup> one by one to the evil in which every man dies. And just like the *parts* of dead *bodies* <are> in the mouths of beasts, so too the *parts* of those dead in sin are in the mouth of

170 Cited, Crum 769a.

171 Isaiah 14:11.

172 Psalm 72:6.

173 Cited, Crum 322b. Crum mistakenly identifies **CBOK** as qualitative (= **COBK/CΛBK**), while it is written **CBOK** in both MSS.

174 John 10:27.

175 Cf. John 10:5.

176 Philippians 2:7, 8, and 11. Galatians 4:1.

177 II Timothy 3:10. Sim. to I Timothy 4:6. Pronouns in this text are different than in the Bible.

178 Cited, Crum 252a.

179 Cited, Crum 637b.

180 Cited, Crum 276a.



*lawlessness*. Who is the person who will desire to die before the *time* which is set for him by God for all the days of his life? *But* the one persisting in his iniquities, not wanting to leave them, loves death in all evil, with the result that he is repaid *according to* his deeds.

56. Who among those living in leisure will not want to live into their old age? In this way, furthermore, who among the *believers* will not want to live in *righteousness* in all sinlessness until he goes to God: the one who will repay him *according to* his [DU43 = Amél. I: 375] *righteous* and true deeds? *For* it is our Lord Jesus who died for us so *that* we would arise not only *bodily* from death on the last day, *but so that* [Amél. I: 376] we arise also now from the death of sin.<sup>181</sup>

57. If one of the *ancient* saints were with us now, while there are dead people dwelling at length<sup>182</sup> in their burial place, and having decomposed in the earth, and he were to say to them, "Arise," and they would live: *on the one hand*, some among them would glorify him, *while on the other hand*, others would condemn him. What will he do to them except *graciously grant* eternal life to those who are worthy (*on the one hand*), who lived *uprightly*! *But* as for the *unclean ones*, for their part <what will he do except><sup>183</sup> clothe them with shame and give them to death again!

58. So too are men who are dead in sin, having persisted in evil and having been destroyed in every *impurity*, [when] it so happens that they arise from the death of sin at the command of the one who died for us and arose. *On the one hand*, some of them persevered in *repentance*, glorifying [DU44 = Amél. I: 376] God as a salvation and a blessing. *On the other hand*, others became thankless<sup>184</sup> and did not acknowledge the one who did good for them.

59. What is the honor that the Lord Jesus will give to those who "honored him in their true labors," as it is written, and "the first"<sup>185</sup> *fruits* of their *righteousness*,<sup>186</sup> [Amél. I: 377] except that he *graciously grant* them immortality and that they not die in sin from this time; *and* also, that they live in *righteousness* and, further, that they arise *bodily* living forever?

60. *But* on the other hand, what is the scorn with which he will condemn those others, except that he hand them over again to their *impurities* and, further, that he give them up to Amente because of their sins, when they arise at the *resurrection*? Who among those fearing God will see dead people in

181 Cf. Romans 6:23.

182 Cited, Crum 530b.

183 The Coptic is a single sentence construction that applies this same phrase to both contrasting conditions.

184 Cited, Crum 682a.

185 Cited, Crum 738b.

186 Proverbs 3:9.



their *tombs* and not grieve? Likewise, further, which *prophets* or which *apostles* will see all *heretics* dead in their *impieties* and not grieve over them? Who among those who have sinned will desire [DU45 = Amél. I: 377] to go down to Amente after they arise from the dead? Thus, further, who among those who arose from the death of all evil, and having *repented* over all their *lawlessness*, will desire to return to their evil again? Who among those who will be worthy of the mercy of the Most High will not want to enter into life when they arise from the dead? Thus also, who among those who fear [Amél. I: 378] the Lord will arise from the death of evils and not want to persevere in all goodness?

61. Who would not say, "A dog that returns to its vomit is *unclean*?"<sup>187</sup> So too, who would not say that the *pagan* who will receive *baptism* in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and would return to his *error* and his disbelief is an abomination before God? Who will not say, "Woe," to all *heretics* who are unbelieving in God and [DU46 = Amél. I: 378] Christ Jesus, and did not *repent* up until now?

62. Woe to a *magician* or a *potion mixer* or an enchanter partaking of the *body* and the blood of the Lord! They did not abandon their evil deeds.

63. Woe to a *pagan* or a Jew or any other *sect*<sup>188</sup> sneering<sup>189</sup> at and mocking the *mystery* of God<sup>190</sup> and all the deeds of *righteousness* in every deed that the Christians do!

64. Woe to every one [Amél. I: 379] who will receive the holy *baptism* of the Lord while being of two minds!

65. Woe to whoever puts his hand to his mouth, kissing it, saying, "*Greetings, Sun*" or, "*Victory, Moon,*" blessing the creations and glorifying them instead of the Creator, though it is fitting for every person to glorify God the *Almighty*, the one who has caused them to shine upon the earth!

66. Woe to a man or a woman giving thanks to the *demons* saying, "Today is the worship of Pshai,"<sup>191</sup> or "Pshai of the village," or "Pshai of the house," while lighting lamps for those empty things, and offering incense<sup>192</sup> in the name of *phantoms*!<sup>193</sup> But the one saying Jesus [DU47 = Amél. I: 379] the Son of God is not a god, just like this son of *pestilence* said, may his tongue be bound to the toes<sup>194</sup> of his feet on the day of his *distress*, and may he be cast

187 Proverbs 26:11.

188 ⲁⲓⲡⲉⲥⲓⲥ.

189 Cited, Crum 110b.

190 See Colossians 2:2.

191 Cited, Crum 544a.

192 Cited, Crum 601a.

193 See Frankfurter, 63 and 138.

194 Cited, Crum 397b.



into the depth of Amente, and may the abyss swallow him, says the one who is witness to what he says, and the one who observed him.

67. Curse the one who worships or pours forth libation or offers *sacrifice* to any other *creatures* whether those in heaven or those on earth or those in the waters, says the one who speaks in his temple.<sup>195</sup> [Amél. I: 380]

68. Curse him, curse them, because “what they sacrifice” or what they do, “they are sacrificing them to the *demons*, not to God.”<sup>196</sup> For if those of this sort had become worthy to know the one who created them, they would have obeyed his *servant* saying, “I do not want you to be *partners* with the *demons*.”<sup>197</sup> Further, if only the word of truth would not find some separated from the *faith* and mixed with the *pagans* and *heretics*, and find fault with them since “it is not possible for you to partake <both> of the *supper table* of the Lord and the *supper table* of the *demons*, it is not possible for you to drink <both> the cup of the Lord and [DU48 = Amél. I: 380] the cup of the *demons*.”<sup>198</sup> It is to those who say, “We became Christians,” that I am speaking. So, “Will you provoke the jealousy of the Lord?”<sup>199</sup> Were you not satisfied<sup>200</sup> with the time that you spent in ignorance?

69. Woe to whoever will worship “the sun and the moon and the whole *host* of heaven,”<sup>201</sup> trusting in them as god! But they are not gods, rather they are creations in the hands of God who created them to shine down upon the earth, as it is written, “the one who made these great [Amél. I: 381] illuminators – the sun that *rules* over the day, the moon and stars that *rule* over the night.”<sup>202</sup>

70. Woe to whoever will worship wood, stone, or any other thing at all subject to human handiwork: wood, stones, and clay among them<sup>203</sup> and the rest of the *materials*; and flying things, crocodiles, *wild beasts*, domesticated animals, and various other *living things*! “Great are the works of the Lord,”<sup>204</sup> as it is written. The wonders that are manifest, God created them; and what he spoke, [DU49 = Amél. I: 381] he made them all happen. They are sufficient for the *believers* to rebuke the *unbelievers*, by means of them, over their

195 Perhaps Shenoute is referring to himself in the third person.

196 I Corinthians 10:20.

197 I Corinthians 10:20. See also paragraph 21 (DU16 = Amél. I: 367, l. 3) for a similar use of **KOINΩNOC**, “partners.”

198 I Corinthians 10:21.

199 I Corinthians 10:22.

200 Cited, Crum 651a.

201 Jeremiah 8:2. Also sim., Acts 7:42.

202 Psalm 135:7-9.

203 Cited, Crum 686b. See Frankfurter, 132, for another translation of **ΧΛΕΟΥΝ**.

204 Psalm 110:2.



unfaithfulness, since they did not *believe* in the Lord, the one who alone created these wonders. "His mercy is eternal,"<sup>205</sup> as it is written.

71. The Lord God *Almighty* "created heaven and earth and the *sea* and all those therein."<sup>206</sup> The *pagans* are unfaithful to him, "worshiping the creature," renouncing "the one who created" all these things.<sup>207</sup> The Lord God of the powers made a single light, which is the sun, shine on the whole *universe*. And the moon he made shine in the night, waxing and waning, and all the stars for the manifestation of the glory [Amél. I: 382] of his divinity.

72. And yet the *pagans* are unfaithful to him, serving and worshiping what is empty, human handiworks, *according* to what is written: "The *idols* of the *nations* are silver and gold, they are human handiworks."<sup>208</sup> The Lord God of glory made the water support the [ear]th *according* to [what is written: "He] [DU50 = Amél. I: 382] laid the foundation of the earth upon the water."<sup>209</sup> All *heretics* are unfaithful to him, serving and worshiping many gods, while being godless, having renounced the God who created them. The Lord God *Almighty* "set up heaven like a vault and he stretched it like a tent," *according* to the word of the *prophet*,<sup>210</sup> for the manifestation of the greatness of his power. *Although* He established the *firmament* at His command, the *pagans* are unfaithful to Him, [serving and worshiping false gods (?)].

73. Look at the wisdom of the *believers* who serve and worship the God for whom nothing is impossible. Take heed, however, of your foolishness, O *pagans* who serve and worship those without power [Amél. I: 383] to move at all – *let alone* to do an amazing deed. *But* perhaps, *therefore*, some will say among those serving the created things that are in heaven, that they have power in the manifestation of their light upon the earth. Let them be shamed by the words written in ....<sup>211</sup>

<4 pages missing>

74. ... [DU55 = Amél. I: 383] and save you from the *wrath* of God that will come down upon you. Where are the crocodiles and all those that are in the waters, those which you serve? Where is the sun and the moon and the stars that God placed to shine down upon the earth? Having *gone astray* for your

205 Psalm 135. This phrase is the refrain of each verse.

206 Psalm 145:6.

207 Romans 1:25.

208 Psalm 114:1 (Greek, 113:12).

209 Psalm 135:6.

210 Isaiah 40:22. Amélineau: *ПРОЧНѢ*. MS, *ПРОФНѢ*.

211 See Emmel, p. 415, for his index of Codex DU (pp. 51-54).



part, you worshiped them *as* God.<sup>212</sup> Let them come and save you from the curse and the reproach and all the *affliction* that is coming down upon you from God. Where is Satan and all the other *demons* with him – this one who turned aside your dark heart to make you serve him in many likenesses, in the *guise* of all your *idols*? Let him arise, or you yourselves rise, and save yourselves from the *wrath* of God which is coming down upon that one, and you all together down in Amente!

75. Where is Kronos, namely [Amél. I: 384] Petbe?<sup>213</sup> He is the one who waylaid his parents, while they were with one another. He cut off<sup>214</sup> the *private parts* of his father with a sickle,<sup>215</sup> *according* to what is written in your books, and further, he [DU56 = Amél. I: 384] swallows the sons whom he begot, *according* to your fables.<sup>216</sup> Let him arise and *save* you from every *affliction* that is coming down upon you from God. Is this not one of your gods? You will be destroyed with him, all together through the *wrath* of God because he, *on the one hand*, was regarded as God though he is a polluted man. You, *on the other hand*, made him your god, who teaches you the *lawless things* that he practices, in the same way that those who serve him among the *pagans*, offer up a man to him as a *sacrifice*. And further, it is those serving *Rhea*, this one of whom you say that she is the mother of all those you serve, who are becoming *effeminate*, so that your mother will be satisfied with them.

76. Where is *Zeus*, or his son *Ares*: [Amél. I: 385] the one who took the form of a *wild boar*<sup>217</sup> for the manifestation of his *impurity*? And *Hephaistos* who is *Ptah*, and *Apollo* the polluted *player of the cithara* who *fornicates* with a host of women, and the defilers of boys

<Approximately 15 pages missing><sup>218</sup>

77. ... [GG69 = Young: 146/147] revealed from heaven will focus upon you and you will be filled with *the chastisements* of hunger and the thirst that will burn like a fire in the heart of your wretched *flesh*, this, of which you say, "It will not arise." *But* again, it will arise and you will receive from your *body*

212 See Frankfurter, 78, for his long quotation of portions of the text extending from paragraph 67 to this point in paragraph 74.

213 Cited, Crum 399a.

214 Amélineau,  $\lambda\sigma\varphi\omega\omega\tau$ . MS,  $\lambda\eta\varphi\omega\omega\tau$ .

215 Cited, Crum 668b. See Frankfurter, 117.

216 Cited, Crum 610b. See paragraph 9 for similar usage of  $\omega\beta\omega$  – "old women's *tales*."

217 Cited, Crum 299a.

218 See Emmel, p. 415 for his index of Codex DU (pp. 57-82); see also Emmel, p. 807, 808 for his table aligning the codices DU and GG.



according to your impieties. "Sin reigned in your *body*"<sup>219</sup> upon the earth and it shepherded you. The fire and the worm will be filled with your demise. Death will shepherd you in Amente,<sup>220</sup> as it is written.

78. "The Lord who sets the fallen upright," [who *rai*]ses those who fell, and who "causes those struck down to stand:"<sup>221</sup> You did not make him [*col. b*] a helper for you.<sup>222</sup> Who will raise you, or who will set you upright? Your gods of wood and stone and the rest? [...] they are unable to move? *Rather*, they are perishing and further, they will perish. As for the Lord Jesus, who will save those *hoping* in him from the coming *wrath*, you did not make him a helper for you.

79. Who will save you from that *wrath*? So *thus*, [is it] the sun, the mo[on], and the stars [...] you wor[ship] not [only] because "the sun and [the moon] will be dark, and [the] stars will not shed their light,"<sup>223</sup> but also "the sun will turn to darkness and the moon to blood,"<sup>224</sup> according to the scriptures. And further, "the stars will fall [GG70 = Young: 147/148] from heaven like grape leaves."<sup>225</sup> For<sup>226</sup> like a man who has lit<sup>227</sup> lamps at the hour he wants, or lights to shine on what is in his house; and further, he extinguished <them> at the hour he wants – so too, God created the sun and the moon and the stars at the time he willed so that they shi[ne] on a[ll] those exist[ing] on [the earth]. And it is also at the time he wills that he will make them turn: *on the one hand*, the sun to become darkness, the moon blood, and the stars in [*col. b*] heaven not to shed their light.

80. So *then*, is it fitting to greet<sup>228</sup> lamps or lights which a man has lit<sup>229</sup> to make them shine on what is in his house? Or rather, is it fitting to greet<sup>230</sup> the one who lit them? Thus further, it is more fitting to worship<sup>231</sup> God and to

219 Romans 6:12.

220 Psalm 48:14, not an exact quote.

221 Psalm 145:8 and 144:14, respectively.

222 Psalm 117:6ff., and Hebrews 13:6.

223 Joel 2:10, 4:15.

224 Joel 2:31.

225 Isaiah 34:4. Meaning of  $\epsilon\rho\eta\omega$  uncertain: See Crum 298b.. See also De Iudicio, f. XLI (p. 114), in Behlmer p. 92 (col. a, l. 8) for the use of  $\epsilon\rho\eta\omega$  as an ingredient used for libations to Satan at a temple in Atriye.

226 Here begins the brief parallel of YQ, found in FR-BN 130<sup>5</sup>, f. 83.

227 YQ =  $\chi\epsilon\rho\omicron$  ('kindled'); GG70 (= Young: 147) =  $\chi\eta\omicron$ : this spot is not readable in our photo of GG70.

228  $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\tau$ . See earlier, paragraph 65 (DU46 = Amél. I: 379), regarding greeting the sun and moon.

229 All sources,  $\chi\epsilon\rho\omega\omicron\gamma$ .

230 See note 226.

231 The same word,  $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$ , is translated above as "greet," since  $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$  carries both the senses of "worship" and "greet" in Coptic.



give thanks to Him (since he appointed lights to shine on what is in the whole *universe*), than it is to worship the sun, the moon, and the stars, or to give thanks to them. *For* e[ven] th[ey] themselves obey the one who cre[at]ed the[m]. They shine [upon]<sup>232</sup> [YQ111 = FR-BN 130<sup>5</sup> f. 83 verso] the earth by His command.

81. *But* as for you, O “men of blood and guile,”<sup>233</sup> you are also dis[obe]dient ...]

<Approximately 6 pages missing><sup>234</sup>

82. ... [DU83 = Amél. I: 385] threshing floor.<sup>235</sup> Is it not you? Who is it that gathered you together? Is he not God? *And* what is this that is moved or incited by God since the beginning? Is it not the *church* (and her children) to whom<sup>236</sup> the word says, “Arise and thresh them, O daughter of Zion; your horns I will make into iron and your hooves I will make bronze so that you would, through [the]m, destroy *nations* and scatter<sup>237</sup> many *people*.”<sup>238</sup> *For* it is not the stubble that will oppose the new saw-edged wheels of the wagon.<sup>239</sup> It is not the *heretics* and godless *nations* that will oppose the children of the *church*, those whom God girded with power,<sup>240</sup> as it is written. *But* further, [Amél. I: 386] He made them like ‘new saw-edged wagon wheels’ threshing all the *heretics* and every *pagan*, according to the *scriptures*: “Behold, I created you like new saw-edged wagon wheels threshing, and you will thresh the mountains”<sup>241</sup> – which are your mindless *wise ones* – “grinding the hills,” which are your foolish *poets*. These <are the> ones who were taught ‘shameful words,’<sup>242</sup> worthless melodies, and [DU84 = Amél. I: 386] *demonic* teachings leading you astray from the truth.

83. *Not just* these, *but* also they produce the sound of birds, having filled books for them and you with *idle* words,<sup>243</sup> “Tinx, tinx,” or “Kouax, kouax,” while saying, “We are producing the sound of birds.” Because of this, they

232 End of GG; the following is from YQ (see note above).

233 Psalm 5:6. See paragraph 12.

234 See Emmel, pp. 429, 430 for his index of Codex GG; see also Emmel, p. 807, 808 for his table aligning codices DU and GG.

235 Amélineau, **ΧΝΟΥΟΥ**. MS, **ΧΝΟΟΥ**. Cf. Luke 3:17.

236 Amélineau omits **ΕΡΟΣ**, found in MS.

237 Cited, Crum 605b.

238 Micah 4:13.

239 Cited 47b. Amélineau, **ΝΟΥΒΟΛΤΕ**. MS, **ΝΤΛΒΟΛΤΕ**. Paraphrase of Isaiah 41:15.

240 Psalm 17:32 (Paraphrase).

241 Isaiah 41:15.

242 Colossians 3:8.

243 **ΝΘΛΧΕ ΝΑΡΓΟΝ**, see paragraph 9 (GG6 = GB-CU 1699K f. 1 verso) for same usage.







[                    ], [                    ]. Why do you stand back [1 line missing] you did not enter the sheepfold which united the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*<sup>258</sup> who knew the true shepherd Jesus. They *believed* in Him and they followed Him.

86. O how greatly will those who *believed* in Christ from among the *Jews* reproach the *Jews* on that day, who did not [col. b] [believe] up to [now.] And further, how greatly will those who *believed* among the *Gentiles* reproach the *Gentiles* who did not *believe* in Him. Blessed are those who were not enabled to do *magic* by Satan and his *demons*, since they are the ones worthy to become children of Abraham<sup>259</sup> according to what was spoken through God, "I made you father of many nations."<sup>260</sup> And of what sorts are those who immediately obeyed that voice which says, "The Ethiopians will be first to extend their hands to God."<sup>261</sup> Are they not *Gentiles*? ...

258 ΝΖΘΘΝΟC.

259 Cf. Galatians 3.

260 Romans 4:17; Genesis 17:5.

261 Psalm 67:32.



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