More Greek Philosophers Among the Copts

The Notes of Some Philosophers (MONB.BE) and the 'Wisdom that is Outside' in Pseudo-Evodius of Rome's Homily on the Passion and Resurrection

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The Notes of Some Philosophers (MONB.BE) and the "Wisdom from Outside" in Pseudo-Evodius of Rome's *Homily on the Passion and Resurrection*

Dylan M. Burns

1. Introduction

The *Homily on the Passion and Resurrection of Pseudo-Evodius of Rome* (cc 0149; henceforth, *Pass. Res.*) is one of the most important and fascinating of the Coptic apocrypha sometimes referred to in scholarship today as the "apostolic memoirs."[1] It is difficult to date this work with much confidence, but scholars tend to focus on the composition of the text in the mid-late sixth century CE, while the earliest dated manuscript containing it may belong to the eighth century.[2] *Pass. Res.* appears to have been one of the most popular of these Coptic apocrypha. As of writing, scholarship has identified seven manuscripts of

[1] See above all the pioneering study of Alin Suciu, *The Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon: A Coptic Apostolic Memoir*, WUNT 1/370 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017). On Coptic apocrypha in general, see Hugo Lundhaug, "The Fluid Transmission of Apocrypha in Egyptian Monasteries," in *Coptic Literature in Context (4th–13th cent.): Cultural Landscape, Literary Production and Manuscript Archaeology*, ed. Paola Buzi, PaST Percorsi di Archeologia 5 (Rome: Quasar, 2020), 213–27, and the preface to this volume. While *Pass. Res.* clearly is related to the phenomenon of the "apostolic memoirs," it also lacks one of the category's most prominent features: the pseudepigraphic cliché of manuscript discovery. On "manuscript discovery" in the apostolic memoirs, see Suciu, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 77–78; for the theme in Coptic revelatory literature, see Dylan M. Burns, "From the 'Gnostic Dialogues' to the 'Apostolic Memoirs': Literary and Historical Settings of the Nag Hammadi Apocalypses," in *Dreams, Visions, Imaginations: Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Views of the World to Come*, ed. Jens Schröter, Tobias Nicklas, and Armand Puig i Tàrrech, BZNW 247 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2021), 372–73.

[2] A *terminus post quem* is provided by Ps.-Evodius's heavy use of Byzantine forensic terminology otherwise not extant before the sixth century CE; see Anne-Catharine Baudoin, "'Et les enseignes s'inclinèrent': possibles allusions aux *Actes de Pilate* dans quelques homélies coptes," in *Gnose et Manichéisme. Entre les oasis d'Égypte et la route de la soie. Hommage à Jean-Daniel Dubois*, ed. Anna van den Kerchove and Luciana Gabriela Soares Santoprete, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Sciences religieuses 176 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 528. Other suggestions for dating the text include ca. 550 CE, on the basis of liturgical traditions in manuscripts of *Pass. Res.* (Stephen J. Shoemaker, "The Sahidic Coptic Homily on the Dormition of the Virgin Attributed to Evodius of Rome. An Edition from Morgan MSS 596 & 598 with Translation," *AnBoll* 117 [1999]: 245–47); the Patriarchate of Damian (578–604), on the basis of post-Chalcedonian themes (Mark Sheridan, "A Homily on the Death of the Virgin Mary Attributed to Evodius of Rome," in idem, *From the Nile to the Rhone and Beyond: Studies in Early Monastic Literature and Scriptural Interpretation*, Studia Anselmiana 156 [Rome: Sankt Ottilien, 2012], 146–47); and a later *terminus post quem* of the mid-seventh century CE, on the supposition that there was no need to compose Coptic literature like *Pass. Res.* until after the Arab Conquest (Tito Orlandi, "Cycle," *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 3:668). Alin Suciu has dated a leaf of *Pass. Res.* (CLM 1714; see following note) to the early eight century CE, on palaeographical grounds. For further discussion, see Dylan M. Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius of Rome, *On the*

the work. Only one, Morgan Library & Museum, M.595 (CMCL siglum MICH.BR, henceforth referred to as M.595), is complete;[3] two further manuscripts, GIOV.AM (CLM 57; one of the papyrus codices produced at This, today kept at the Museo Egizio in Turin) and MONB.OI (CLM 570; a parchment codex once deposited at the White Monastery), also contain significant portions of the text.[4] It is not difficult to understand why this work was popular: it presents itself as an Easter oration presented by Evodius, (ostensible) bishop of Rome, on the passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, celebrating not only Easter Sunday but the conversion to the Church and baptism of a wealthy, local Roman Jew named Didymus.[5] It is an exciting and excited sermon whose chief theme is the exoneration of the Romans from guilt for the passion and death of Jesus, for which the Jews alone are to blame.[6]

Yet Ps.-Evodius (as I shall henceforth refer to the author of *Pass. Res.*) covers many topics, and is prone to educated digressions of the sort that provide a wealth of data for modern scholars spelunking in these musty books. One pivotal passage offers a spirited

Passion and Resurrection. A New Translation with Introduction and Notes," in vol. 2 of *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, ed. Tony Burke (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020), 41–86, 53–54.

[3] On M.595 in general, see Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols., Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 4–5 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 1:345–50. For codicological analysis of this manuscript, see ibid., 349, as well as https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/243. The text of *Pass. Res.* in M.595 was established by Paul Chapman, "Homily on the Passion and Resurrection Attributed to Evodius of Rome," in *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, ed. Leo Depuydt, CSCO 524 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 79–106; for translation of the text, see Paul Chapman, "Homily on the Passion and Resurrection Attributed to Evodius of Rome," in *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, ed. Leo Depuydt, CSCO 525 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 83–114; for a more recent translation of the M.595 text of *Pass. Res.*, see Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius."

[4] For codicological analysis of GIOV.AM, see https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/57. The text of GIOV.AM was published by Francesco Rossi, "Trascrizione con traduzione italiana dal testo copto di un sermone sulla Passione del nostro Signore Gesù Cristo con vari altri frammenti copti del Museo Egizio di Torino," *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 42, ser. 2 (1892): 111–43. The texts are in need of re-editing, and the translations provided by Rossi are best avoided; for an early, scathing criticism, see Robert Atkinson, "On Professor Rossi's Publication of South-Coptic Texts," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 3 (1893–1896): 24–99 (I thank Hugo Lundhaug for the reference). Nonetheless, Rossi's edition of GIOV.AM remains important in the absence of a newly-established text, and it is Rossi's numbering (not ordering) of the folia that is employed here for purposes of reference. Recognizing that GIOV.AM contains a version of *Pass. Res.*, Enzo Lucchesi established an important collation of Rossi's numbered folia, ordering them with respect to the parallel text in M.595 – see his "'Martyre' de Zacharie et protévangele de Jacques," *Mus* 101 (1988): 65–76. A collation of this same material was later furnished by Paul Chapman, "Appendix I," in *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, ed. Leo Depuydt, CSCO 524 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), x–xiv.

For codicological analysis of MONB.OI, see Alin Suciu, "A British Library Fragment from a Homily on the Lament of Mary and the So-Called Gospel of Gamaliel," *Aethiopica* 15 (2012): 53–71; https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/570. The remaining four manuscripts of *Pass. Res.* are CLM 1714 (a second parchment codex from the White Monastery); MONB.LY (CLM 511; a third parchment codex from the White Monastery); John Rylands Library, MS Coptic no. 76 (a papyrus codex); F 1976/4.31 (a parchment codex).

For collation of all of the manuscripts of *Pass. Res.* and further references, see Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 43–46, as well as the NASSCAL entry at https://www.nasscal.com/manuscripta-apocryphorum/homily-on-the-passion-and-resurrection-by-evodius-of-rome/. These accounts owe much to Alin Suciu, who shared invaluable advice and intimate knowledge of the manuscripts of *Pass. Res.*

[5] For the literary frame of the text, see *Pass. Res.* §§intro, 2, 7, 19, 75–76, discussed in Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 41–43, 49–50.

[6] The Jews cry, "Crucify him! His blood is upon us and our children!" (*Pass. Res.* § 47, tr. in Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 71; see further § 26, 53; Burns, op. cit., 48–50).

defense of the composition of extra-canonical works (*Pass. Res.* §§ 40–45).[7] Another section (*Pass. Res.* § 83) quotes a lost (fabricated?) oracle uttered by a Greek seer predicting the crucifixion.[8] A third section of the text attempts to illuminate Ps.-Evodius's argument that it is the Jews who are responsible for Christ's torture and death by quoting what he calls "the wisdom that is outside" (ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲃⲟⲗ). Jesus has been arrested and brought to Pilate and the Sanhedrin for cross-examination (*Pass. Res.* §§ 16–26); unswayed by the Jews' request that he have Christ crucified, he confronts Jesus alone in the praetorium and is confounded by him (*Pass. Res.* § 27). Pilate shifts strategy and offers to crucify the criminal Barabbas in Jesus's stead, a proposition to which the Jews respond by crying, "Release the guilty one! Execute the innocent one!"[9] Pseudo-Evodius explains:

> For it is the custom of the Jews to argue with (ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲓⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ) the God who does what is good for them! … So now that I have reached this point, dear Christ-loving congregation, and seen the audacity of the Jews, I have become distraught. I also wanted to digress a bit, and bring forth something unexpected (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲟⲝⲓⲥ) from the wisdom that is outside (ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲓ ⲃⲟⲗ), putting the Jews to shame because they have become abominable to Scripture.[10]

The phrase "wisdom that is outside" is an early Christian expression for the "pagan wisdom" of the Greeks – i. e., wisdom that comes from outside the Bible.[11] And so Ps.-Evodius here relates several vivid, if at turns obscure, sayings "from the wise ones" (ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ) about returning kindness with spite; human cruelty; malicious speech; and especially hypocrisy.

As I worked on my annotated translation of *Pass. Res.* for the volume *New Testament Apocrypha: More Canonical Scriptures. Vol. II* (henceforth *NTA II*), I was unable to find any clear parallels or sources to Ps.-Evodius's sayings "of the wise ones from outside."[12] I only "got lucky" after the volume went to press, when I happened upon an article of Walter Till describing, transcribing, and editing several leaves in Vienna (Vienna K 944, 945, and 946) that relate sayings of whom he dubs "Greek philosophers among the Copts."[13] The leaves belong to a 10th–11th-century parchment miscellany copied at the White Mon-

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[7] On this passage, see recently Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 47–48; Lundhaug, "Fluid Transmission," 216.

[8] On pagan oracles in Coptic apocrypha (including *Pass. Res.*), see the pioneering article of Roelof van den Broek, "Four Coptic Fragments of a Greek Theosophy," *VC* 32 (1978): 118–42; further, Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 51–52.

[9] *Pass. Res.* §§ 29 M.595 fol. 35r, col. ii, l. 2–4, tr. in Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 66.

[10] *Pass. Res.* §§ 32–33 M.595 fol. 35v, col. i, l. 31–col. ii, l. 29, tr. in Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 66–67.

[11] Cf. PGL 503b, s. v. ἔξωθεν, B.2; for further references, see Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 51, n. 48. It then not exactly the case that "at least from the end of the 5th cent., they [i. e., gnomic collections of dicta philosophorum – DMB] were not perceived any longer as 'pagan'" (Paola Buzi, "Remains of Gnomic Anthologies and Pagan Wisdom Literature in the Coptic Tradition," in *Beyond Conflicts: Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and Egypt between the I^st^ and the 6^th^ century CE*, ed. Luca Arcari, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 103 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017], 131–51, 142). Rather, Ps.-Evodius here understands 'pagan' wisdom as 'external' to Coptic tradition, but nonetheless something that can be usefully appropriated.

[12] Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 67, n. b: "the 'wise men' cited in what follows are otherwise unattested, to the best of my knowledge."

[13] Walter Till, "Griechische Philosophen bei den Kopten," in *Mélanges Maspero II*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 67 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1934), 165–75.

While this volume was under review, it came to my attention that Paola Buzi pointed out the parallel

astery (CLM ID 6378; CMCL siglum SIUD.AC, formerly MONB.BE, a designation I continue to use here) that includes selections from a variety of ascetic and sapiential works, including, apparently, a collection of sayings of Greek philosophers.[14] This section of the Coptic text is introduced with the heading Notes of Some Philosophers (ϩⲉⲛⲥⲩⲛⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̀ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ).[15] True to the title, the text depicts Greek philosophers uttering cryptic and amusing sayings of sapiential content, some of which are also known from Diogenes Laertius.[16] Some sayings are ascribed to the philosophers Anacharsis, Diogenes, and Dios (K944r, l. 2–944v, l. 13), several of which concern women. The text then introduces further sayings uttered by "another philosopher," "another one," and "another philosopher" (K944v, l. 14–946r, l. 9), focused the themes of betrayal, particularly by friends. Some of these sayings – those assigned to "another philosopher" and "another one" (944v, l. 14–945r, l. 25) – are those offered by Ps.-Evodius as "the wisdom that is outside" in *Pass. Res.* §§ 33–34.[17] The parallel text may be organized as follows (the numbering and titles of the sayings are my own invention, in the service of reference):

Saying 1: Dogs and lions (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 35v, col. ii, l. 33–36r, col. i, l. 20 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. i, l. 16–col. ii, l. 14 vs. K 944v, ll. 14–22)

Saying 2: Blood for wine (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, ll. 21–24 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 15–19 vs. K 945r, ll. 21–22)

Saying 3: Sweet human flesh (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, ll. 25–30 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 19–24+ vs. K 945r, ll. 22–25)

Saying 4: Speaking ill of friends (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, l. 31–col. ii, l. 7 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, ll. 1–13 vs. K 944v, l. 23–945r, l. 2)

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between Till's Notes of Some Philosophers and two of the sayings in Pseudo-Evodius's *Pass. Res.* ("dogs and lions," and "speaking ill of friends" – see below) in Buzi, "Remains," 140–42.

[14] It is not clear at the present stage of research (September 2022) if the leaves hitherto taken to belong to MONB.BE actually belong to two separate codices; thus, the CMCL siglum for the manuscript is currently *sub iudicio* (SIUD). The question of if MONB.BE actually comprises two codices or not is immaterial to the present study, which is concerned strictly with the Vienna leaves that include the Notes of Some Philosophers. For codicological analysis of MONB.BE, see https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6378. I thank Alin Suciu and Paola Buzi for sharing with me valuable information on this codicological unit, which was of great help in orienting my own approach to it. On MONB.BE, see further Buzi, "Remains," 140–41.

[15] K 944r, l. 2, tr. following Till's rendering of the title, "Aufzeichnungen von Philosophen" ("Griechische Philosophen," 171). The word σύγγραμμα can denote all manner of written composition (LSJ 1661a), but the pithy content of the συγγράμματα given in MONB.BE invites a rendering along the lines of that suggested by Till (and has support in LSJ, op. cit.). While it is certainly the case that the text transmits *dicta philosophorum* (thus Buzi's rendering of the title: "Sayings of some Philosophers" – "Remains," 141), the title clearly designates the text as wisdom that has been copied down in writing.

Till also presents a glossed selection of this text – including part of Ps.-Evodius's "wisdom that is outside," the saying here dubbed "dogs and lions" – in his *Koptische Grammatik (Saïdischer Dialekt). Mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnissen* (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1970), 267–70. I thank Ivan Miroshnikov for the latter reference.

[16] Christian Bull is working on a new edition, translation, and interpretation of this evidence.

[17] The rest of the extant Notes of Some Philosophers (K 945v, l. 5–946r, l. 9) includes an interesting parable involving three friends and being summoned to the king, in keeping with the previous sayings' running theme of friendship and betrayal. It is followed by an "interpretation" (ⲉⲣ[ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲁ]) of the parable, presumably of the Christian scribe (K946r, l. 9–25). In the present article I omit further discussion of this section of MONB.BE, as Ps.-Evodius does not draw upon it.

Saying 5.i: Letter to a friend on hypocrisy and bad speech, i: the sword and the crowd (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595 fol. 36r, col. ii, l. 7–36v, col. i, l. 5 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, l. 14–col. ii, l. 23* vs. K 945r, ll. 3–14)

Saying 5.ii: Letter to a friend on hypocrisy and bad speech, ii: lying to one's face (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595 fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 5–14 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 24*–fol. 13r, col. i, l. 6* vs. K 945r, ll. 14–18)

Saying 6: Wisdom superior to any "wisdom" (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595 fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 14–18 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 13r, col. i, ll. 7*–11* vs. K 945r, ll. 18–20)

The present contribution offers a synopsis of the relevant sections of the Coptic text of M.595, GIOV.AM, and MONB.BE, along with translation, textual notes, and analysis. A synoptic comparison is worthwhile for several reasons. First, M.595's text of *Pass. Res.* §§ 33–34 is sometimes difficult and, in several cases, corrupt. The parallel evidence from GIOV.AM does much to clarify matters, but significant portions of the leaves in question (GIOV.AM fols. 8, 13) are damaged. The text in MONB.BE is generally superior in clarity, and resolves a number of questions in *Pass. Res.* §§ 33–34 as regards both orthography and syntax. Second, while M.595 is of great utility for reconstructing and even restoring much of the lost text of GIOV.AM, it is clear that the Turin manuscript's text of *Pass. Res.* often varies from the Morgan manuscript, and in this section, its Coptic is closer to that of MONB.BE; thus, the Vienna leaves with the Notes of Some Philosophers are an invaluable resource for reconstructing what we can of the text of GIOV.AM at *Pass. Res.* §§ 33–34. Third, the manuscript of M.595 is in exceptionally fine condition in this section, while MONB.BE here has many lacunae. The closeness between the passages and the supplemental witness of GIOV.AM permits confident restoration to nearly all of the lacunae of this part of MONB.BE. Finally, the conclusion to this article will discuss how synoptic comparison of *Pass. Res.* and MONB.BE's Notes of Some Philosophers illuminates Ps.-Evodius's methods in his use of preexisting sources, and permits some hypotheses about the relationship between M.595 and the GIOV.AM manuscripts.

2. Synopsis of the Coptic Text of the *Wisdom that is Outside* (M.595, GIOV.AM) and the Notes of Some Philosophers (MONB.BE)

1. Dogs and lions (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 35v, col. ii, l. 33–36r, col. i, l. 20 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. i, l. 16–col. ii, l. 14 vs. K 944v, ll. 14–22)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
35v, col. ii, l. 33ⲁⲟⲩⲁ	8r, col. i, l. 16ⲁⲧⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ	944v, l. 14ⲁⲕⲉⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ
ϩⲛ ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲭⲟ[34]ⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ	[17]ⲛⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲭⲟⲟ̄ⲥ̄ [18]ⲭⲉ	ⲭⲟⲟⲥ · ⲭⲉ
ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲣ ⲡ	ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲣ	ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲣ ⲡ
36r, col. i, l. 1ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ	ⲡⲉⲧ[19]ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ	ⲡⲉⲧ[15]ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ
ⲙⲛ [2]ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩ[3]ⲙⲟⲩⲓ	ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ[20]ϩⲟⲟⲣ̄ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈	ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ · ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ·
ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲧⲣⲩ[4]ⲫⲁ	[21]ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲧⲣⲩⲫⲁ	ⲉϩⲟⲩⲉ (ⲉ)ⲧⲣⲩ[16]ⲫⲁ
ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧ[5]ⲱⲡ	[22]ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧ[23]ⲱⲡ	ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲉⲡ
ϩⲙⲟⲧ· [6]Ⲉⲱⲭⲉ	ϩⲙⲟⲧ—— [24] Ⲉⲱⲭⲉ	ϩⲙⲟⲧ · ⲉⲱⲭⲉ
ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ ⲅⲁⲣ	ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ̄ [25]ⲙⲛ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈	ⲡⲉⲩ[17]ϩⲟⲟⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲓ̈ ·
[7]ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲟⲡⲉ	ⲥⲉ[26]ⲛⲁⲱⲟⲡⲉ	ⲱⲁⲩⲱⲟⲡⲉ

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
ⲛ̀ⲛ̄[8]ⲛⲛⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲣⲉⲣ	[ⲛⲓⲛⲏ[27]ⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲩ]ⲣⲁ̣ⲣ[ⲉⲣ	ⲛ̀ⲓⲛⲏⲥⲧ̈ⲟⲥ · [18]ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲣ̀ⲣ
[9]ⲉⲧⲏⲛⲧⲱⲃⲏⲣ	[8r, col. ii, l. 1][ⲉⲧ]ⲙⲛ[ⲧ]ⲱⲃ[ⲏⲣ	ⲉⲧⲏⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲏⲣ
ⲏ[10]ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲁⲛⲱ̄	ⲏ] [2]ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲁⲛⲱ	ⲛ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲁⲛⲱ
ⲙⲙⲟⲩ [11]ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁⲑⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ	ⲙⲙⲟ[3]ⲟⲩ—— [4]ⲡⲁⲙⲏⲑⲏⲧⲟⲥ	ⲛ̄ⲙⲟ[19]ⲟⲩ · ⲁⲡⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ
[12]ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ [13]ⲭⲉ	ⲛ[5]ⲧⲟϥ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ [6]ⲭⲉ	ⲛⲧⲟϥ · ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ
ⲙⲉⲩⲣⲁⲣⲉⲣ ⲉⲧⲙⲛⲧ[14]ⲱⲃⲏⲣ·	ⲙⲉⲩⲣⲁⲣⲉⲣ ⲉ[7]ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲱⲃⲏⲣ	ⲙⲉⲩ[20][ⲉ]ⲁ̣ⲣ̀ⲣ ⲉⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲃⲏⲣ ·
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲕ[15]ⲟⲛⲧⲥ̄ ⲉⲕⲣ̄	[8]ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧⲥ̄ [9]ⲉⲕⲣ	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲕⲟⲉⲛⲧϥ ⲉⲕ[21][ⲉ]ⲣ
ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁ[16]ⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲙⲛⲁϥ·	ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ [10]ⲛⲁϥ	ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲁϥ ·
ⲉϥ[17]ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲱⲣⲡ̄	ⲉⲩⲱⲟ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ [11]ⲧⲱⲣⲡ	ⲉⲩⲱⲟ̈ⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲧⲱⲣ̀ⲡ
[18]ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲏ̈· ⲁⲩⲱ [19]ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲕ	ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲏ̈ [12]ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲕ	[22]ⲛ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲏ̈ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲕ
ⲉϥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ[20]ⲟⲓϫ	ⲉϥⲣⲁ̈ⲓ [13]ⲉⲛⲟ̈ⲓϫ	ⲉϥⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟ̈ⲓϫ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲉ	ⲙⲡⲉⲕ[14]ϫⲁϫⲉ̄	ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲉ ·:——

2. Blood for wine (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, ll. 21–24 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 15–19 vs. K 945r, ll. 21–22)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36r, col. i, l. 21Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓ	8r, col. ii, l. 15Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲓ	945r, l. 21ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲟⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ
ⲡ[22]ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ· ⲭⲉ	[16]ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ	ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ · ⲭⲉ
ⲁ̣ϫⲁ̣ϩ † [23]ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲧ	ⲁ[17]ϩⲁ̣ϩ † ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲡⲟⲧ	ⲁ̣ϫⲁ[ϩ † ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲧ]
ⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ [24]ϩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲧ	ⲛ̄]ⲥ[18]ⲛⲟϥ ϩⲁ ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲡⲟⲧ]	[22]ⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ ϩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲧ
ⲛⲏⲣ̄ⲡ	[19]ⲛⲏⲣ̄ⲡ	ⲛⲏⲣ̄ⲡ ·

3. Sweet human flesh (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, ll. 25–30 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 19–24+ vs. K 945r, ll. 22–25)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36r, col. i, l. 25Ϫⲩⲱ	8r, col. ii, l. 19ϪⲨ[ⲱ	945r, l. 22ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟ̄	ⲟⲛ] [20]ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ [ⲟⲩⲟⲛ	ⲟ̣[ⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ][23]ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
[26]ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲁϥ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲉⲩ]ⲟⲩⲙ [ⲁϥ ⲛⲣⲱ][22]ⲙⲉ	ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲙ ⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
[27]ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲗⲟ ⲉⲛ̀ⲣⲱϥ	ⲉ[ⲩⲉⲟⲗⲟ ⲉⲛ][23]ⲣⲣ̣[ⲩ	ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲗ̄ⲟ [ⲉⲛ][24]ⲣⲱϥ ·
[28]ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲣ ⲙⲛ	ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉ] [24] ⲛ̣[ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲣ̄]	ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲩⲉ̀ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲟⲟⲣ ⲙⲛ̄
[29]ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ [30]ⲉⲛ	(± 2 lines missing)	ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲣⲉ · ⲉ̣[ⲧⲟⲩ][25]ⲱⲙ ⲉⲛ̄
ⲧⲡⲁⲉⲥ		ⲧⲡⲁⲉⲥ

4. Speaking ill of friends (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595, fol. 36r, col. i, l. 31–col. ii, l. 7 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, ll. 1–13 vs. K 944v, l. 23–945r, l. 2)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36r, col. i, l. 31Ⲡⲉϫⲉ	8v, col. i, l. 1[Ⲡⲉϫ]ⲁ̀ⲩ	944v, l. 23[ⲡ]ⲉϫⲁϥ
ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ [32]ⲉⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ·	ⲟ̣ⲛ̣ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ [2]ⲛⲛⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ	ⲛ̀ⲥⲓ ⲕⲉⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ
ⲭⲉ ⲛ̀[33]ⲑⲉ	ϫⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ	ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉⲛⲛⲁ[34]ⲁϫⲉ	[3]ⲉⲧ̣ⲉⲱ̣[ⲁⲣⲉ]ⲛⲛⲁ[4]ⲁϫⲉ	ⲛ̄ⲑⲁ[24][ⲣⲉⲛ]ⲛⲁϫⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲛ̀ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉϩ [col. ii, l. 1]ⲣⲟϫⲣϫ ϩⲓⲧⲧ̄ⲙ	ϩⲣⲟ̄ⲭ̄[5]ⲣⲉϫ ϩⲓ̈ⲧⲙ	ϩⲣⲟⲟⲣⲉⲟ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲙ

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
пелѐλ [2] ⲣⲙ̄ⲭ̄· таї те θε	пелѐλ̄ [6] ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲭ̄· таї те θε	пе[25][лел ⲣⲙ]ⲭ · таї те θε
ⲉϣⲁ[3]ⲣⲉпλас ⲙ̄прωⲙе	ⲉте[7]ϣⲁрепλас ⲙпрω[8]ⲙе	ⲛ̄ϣⲁрепλас ⲛ̄прω[26][ме
[4]таⲣⲉ	ⲉттаγо ⲙпⲣа̄ⲛ	т]аγо ⲙ̀прап
печϣвнр	[9]ⲙпⲉ̣т[[…]][10]ⲣⲓтоγωч	ⲙпечϣвнр ·
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[5]ⲣⲁⲣтнч ан·——	ⲉчⲣⲁⲣ[11]тнч ан тако——	ⲛ̀ⲛ 945r, l. 1ⲣⲁⲣтнк ан
[6]ⲁγω	[12]ⲁγω	ⲁγ[ω
ⲛⲛоγⲉⲓте ⲣⲛ̀	ⲛ̄ⲛ̄оγⲉⲓ̈те [13]ⲣⲛ	ⲛⲛоγⲉⲓте ⲣⲛ
[7]течϣоγωвε ·	течϣоγωвε	течϣоγ]2ωвε ·

5.i. Letter to a friend on hypocrisy and bad speech, i: the sword and the crowd (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595, fol. 36r, col. ii, l. 7–36v, col. i, l. 5 vs. GIOV.AM 8v, col. i, l. 14–col. ii, l. 23* vs. K 945r, ll. 3–14)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36r, col. ii, l. 7ⲉⲓта [8]ⲟⲛ пеⲭⲉ	8v, col. i, l. 14ⲉ̈ⲓта ⲟⲛ пеⲭⲉ	K 945r, l. 3
кеоγа̀ ⲣⲛ̀ [9]нефιλософос	кε[15]оγа ⲣⲛ нефῒλο[16]софос——	ⲁкеоγа ⲟⲛ ⲭоос ·
ⲉⲛ[10]сⲣаї ϣа печϣвнр	[17]ⲉⲛсⲣаї ϣа печ[18][ϣ]внр	ⲉⲛсⲣаї ϣ[а пϣвнр]
[11]ⲉⲛⲣⲁⲣтнч ан· ⲭⲉ [12]ϯоγⲉⲙ̀ наγ	ⲭⲉ ϯоγⲉⲙ̀ [19][наγ	[4]·> ϯоγωϣ ⲉнаγ
ⲉнⲁϭλоо[13]тε ⲉγсолϭ	ⲉ]нⲁϭλооте [20][ⲉγсол]ϭ	ⲉнⲁϭλооте ⲉ̣γ[солϭ]
ⲉтснче [14]нтоотⲟ̄ ⲛ̄пετⲣω[15]·тⲃ̄	ⲉтснче [21][мпет]ⲛ̣ⲁⲣωтв	[5]ⲣⲙ̀ тснвε ·
ⲛ̄ноϊ· ⲉⲣоγо ет[16]ранаγ ⲉпвал	[22][мноι ⲉⲣ]ⲟ̣γо ⲉ[23][…]	ⲉⲣоγⲉ наγ ⲉпвал
ⲙ̀пⲁ[17]ϣвнр ⲉⲛϭωϣⲧ̄ ⲉ[18]ⲣоγⲛ	н [24](± 3 lines missing)	ⲙ̄[пⲁϣвнр] [6]ϭωϣт ⲉⲣоγⲛ
ⲣⲙ̄ паⲣо· [19]н ⲉⲛса кеса ⲉⲛтаγе	8v, col. ii, l. 1* (1 line	ⲣⲙ̄ паⲣо ⲉⲛⲣⲙ̄ кеⲥа · ⲉ̣[чхι
[20]катоιгорια ⲙ̀сωϊ [21]ⲣⲙ̀ тннте	missing?) [2*]ⲥ̣[ωι ⲣⲛ тннте	ка]7тнгорϊа ⲙ̀сωϊ · ⲣⲙ̄ тннте
ноγмн[22]нϣε· ⲉвол ⲭⲉ	ноγмн][3*]нϣ[ⲉ vac] [4*]ⲟⲃвол ⲭⲉ	ноγмнӈ[ϣε] [8]ⲭⲉ
[23]Ⲩтаⲓ̄ну ⲙ̀ⲟι птаї̈о	чтаⲉ[ιноγ] [5*]ⲙ̀ⲟї̈ птаⲉї̈о	чтаϊ̈ну ⲛ̄ⲟι птаї̈о ·
[24]ⲉтереоγа ⲛаταaч [25]ⲛак ⲣⲛ	ет[ⲉ][6*]реоγа ⲛаταaч [7*]ⲛак ⲣⲛ	ⲉ̀тереоγа ⲛ[аταaч] [9]ⲛак ⲣⲛ̄
тⲙ̀нте [26]ноγсооγⲥ̄с·	тннте [8*]ноγсооγⲥ̄с	тннте ноγмннϣε ·
ⲉач[27]вареι ⲙ̄ⲙок ⲉⲙатε	ⲉа[ч][9*]вареї̈ ⲙмок [ⲉ][10*]ⲙатε	ⲉ̀ачва[реι м][10]мок ⲙ̀ⲙатε
[28]ⲣⲙ̀ оγхι ⲛⲥонⲥ̄ [29]ⲛⲉоγо	ⲣⲙ̄ оγⲭ̣[ι н][11*]ⲥонⲥ̄ ⲛⲉоγо	ⲣⲙ̄ оγхϊ ⲛⲥонⲥ̄ · ⲉ̀ⲉоγⲉ
ⲉпⲉтнатаγе [30]ⲣⲉнсωϣ ⲉроϊ	ⲉ[12*]петнатаγе [13*]ⲣⲉнсωϣ ⲉроϊ	п[етна][11]таγе ⲣⲛ̄сωϣ ⲉрок
ⲣⲙ̀ [31]тннте ноγмннϣε·	ⲣⲙ̄ [14*]тннте ноγсо[15*]оγⲥ̄с	ⲣⲙ̄ тннте ноγс[ооγⲥ̄с]
[32]ⲁγω ⲛⲭарⲓсе наї	ⲛⲛ̄харї̈[16*]ⲍⲉ наї	[12]ⲁγω ⲛⲛ̄харϊ̈zе нак
[33]ноγмнтр̄ро· ⲉвол [34]ⲭⲉ	ноγмн[17*]терⲟ̄ —— [18*]ⲉвол ⲭⲉ	ноγмнтр̄нао [ⲉвол] [13]ⲭⲉ
петнасоϣ̄т	петна[19*]ϣоⲟⲥ̄т	петнасоϣт
36v, col. i, l. 1наγ{н}ⲁаt	наγⲁаt	наγⲁаt ·
ⲉнн ⲣⲱме [2]ⲣⲁⲣтнϊ̈· ⲁγω		
ⲉнн [3]ⲣⲱме сωтⲙ̄ [4]оγн ⲟⲉ	[20*]ⲉнн̄ⲣⲱме сω[21*]тⲙ̄ оγн ⲟⲉ	оγⲉн ⲟⲉ
ⲉтрⲁⲣωттⲡ̄ [5]ⲉроч	ⲉтрⲁ[22*]ⲣωттⲡ ⲉроⲩ̄	ⲉ[трⲁ][14]ⲣωттⲡ ⲉроч
ⲛ̀кесоп·	ⲛ̀кⲉ[23*]соп——	ⲛ̄кесоп ·

5.ii. Letter to a friend on hypocrisy and bad speech, ii: lying to one's face (*Pass. Res.* §34, M.595, fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 5–14 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 24*–fol. 13r, col. i, l. 6* vs. K 945r, ll. 14–18)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36v, col. i, l. 5Πετερεϩενρωμε	fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 24*πετερερωμε	K 945r, l. 14ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲣ[± 3]
ⲛⲁ6ⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ	25*ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙⲛⲟⲓ 26*[ϩⲙ]	15ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲙ̇ⲛⲟⲓ ϩⲙ̄
ⲧⲉⲩ7ⲁⲫⲟⲣⲙⲏ· ⲉⲱⲱ8ⲡⲉ	ⲧⲉⲩⲁ̣ⲫ[ⲟⲣⲙⲏ] 27*	ⲧⲉⲩⲁⲫⲟⲣⲙ[ⲏ] 16ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱ9ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ 10ⲛⲑⲉ	(± 1 line missing)	ⲙ̀ⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲑⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ ⲉⲱⲁⲩ11ⲕⲟⲧⲩ	fol. 13r, col. i, l. 1*(± 3 lines	ⲛⲟ[ⲩϩⲟ]17ⲟⲣ
ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁ ⲃⲟⲗ	missing) 4*[± 5 ⲕⲁ ⲃⲟ]ⲗ̣	ⲙ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ ⲃ̣[ⲟⲗ
12ⲛ̀ⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ϩ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ 13ⲁⲛ	5*[ⲛ̀ⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩ]ⲫⲛ̣ϩ̣ ⲉ̣ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ	ⲛ̀ⲧⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲫ̣[ⲛϩ̣ ⲁⲛ] 18ⲉⲣⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓ14ⲟⲛ·	6*ⲙⲛⲁⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ̄	ⲙ̀ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ ⲙ̀ⲛⲁⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓ[ⲟⲛ]

6. Wisdom superior to any "wisdom" (*Pass. Res.* §34, M.595, fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 14–18 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 13r, col. i, ll. 7*–11* vs. K 945r, ll. 18–20)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36v, col. i, l. 14ⲡⲗⲏⲛ	13r, col. i, l. 7*ⲡⲗⲏⲛ	945r, l. 18[ⲡⲗⲏⲛ]
ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ 15ⲉⲥⲙⲡⲉⲧⲡⲉ	ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓ̈ⲁ· 8*ⲉⲥⲛⲧⲡⲉ̄	19ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓ̈ⲁ ⲉⲥⲉⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲉ
ⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ 16ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ	ⲙⲛⲛⲧ9*ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̈ⲓ̈ⲙ ⲡⲉ	ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ] 20ⲡ̣ⲉ̣
ⲧⲣⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ 17ⲉⲣ	[[ⲧ]]ⲣ	ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲣ
ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ	ⲡⲉⲧ10*ⲛ̣ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ	ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ
ⲛ̄18ⲛⲉⲥϧⲁϧⲉ·	ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣ̄ 11*ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ	ⲛ̣[ⲛⲉⲥϧⲁϧⲉ]

3. Synopsis of Translation of the Coptic Text of the *Wisdom that is Outside* (M.595, GIOV.AM) and the Notes of Some Philosophers (MONB.BE)[18]

1. Dogs and lions (*Pass. Res.* §33, M.595 fol. 35v, col. ii, l. 33–36r, col. i, l. 20 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. i, l. 16–col. ii, l. 14 vs. K 944v, ll. 14–22)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
35v, col. ii, l. 33One of the	8r, col. i, l. 16The book of one of the	l. 14Another
wise men said, "It is	wise men said, "It is	philosopher said, "It is
better to do	better to do	better to do
36r, col. i, l. 1good for a dog and a	good for a dog and a lion	good for a dog and a lion
lion than to spoil an ungrateful	than to spoil an ungrateful	than to spoil an ungrateful
man. For, as far as dogs	man. For, as far as dogs	man. For, as far as dogs
go, while	and lions go,	and lions go, while
they are serious	they shall be [serious	they are serious
about keeping	about keeping]	about keeping
the friendship of	8r, col. ii, l. 1[the friendship of]	the friendship of
whoever feeds them, the	whoever feeds them. The	whoever feeds them, the
unruly person, on the	stupid person, on the	unruly person, on the
other hand, not only fails	other hand, not only fails	other hand, not only fails

[18] The translation of M.595 offered here is that of Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," with several corrections inspired by comparison with GIOV.AM and especially MONB.BE. The corrections are italicized here.

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
to keep the friendship, but you find that while you do favors for him, he seeks to rob your house and then deliver you unto the clutches of your enemies!"	to keep the friendship, but you find that while you do favors for him, he seeks to rob your house and deliver you unto the clutches of your enemy!"	to keep the friendship, but you find that while you [do] favors for him, he seeks to rob your house and deliver you unto the clutches of your enemies!"

2. Blood for wine (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, ll. 21–24 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 15–19 vs. K 945r, ll. 21–22)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36r, col. i, l. 21	8r, col. ii, l. 15	945r, l. 21
And the wise one also said, "Many have given a cup of blood for a cup of wine."	Another wise one also said, "Many have given a [cup of] blood for a [cup] of wine."	Another wise one also said, "[Many] have [given a cup] of blood for a cup of wine."

3. Sweet human flesh (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, ll. 25–30 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 19–24+ vs. K 945r, ll. 22–25)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36r, col. i, l. 25 And also, "There are people who consume human flesh that is sweeter in their mouth than is (flesh in the mouth of) the dog, and (in the mouth of) the vulture who eats from the prey."	8r, col. ii, l. 19 [And also], "There are [people who] consume [human flesh that [is sweeter in [their mouth than is (flesh in the mouth of) the dog] (± 2 lines missing)	K 945r, l. 22 And [also, "There are] people who consume human flesh that is sweeter [in] their mouth than is (flesh in the mouth of) the dog, and (in the mouth of) the vulture [who eats] from the prey."

4. Speaking ill of friends (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595, fol. 36r, col. i, l. 31–col. ii, l. 7 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, ll. 1–13 vs. K 944v, l. 23–945r, l. 2)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36r, col. i, l. 31 And another one of the wise men also said, "Just as the teeth of men 36r, col. ii, l. 1 gnash because of sour grapes, so does the tongue of man grip his friend *who* is not beside	8v, col. i, l. 1 Another one of the wise men [also said], "Just [as] the teeth of men gnash because of sour grapes, so does the tongue of the man who speaks the name of the intimate who is not beside	K 944v, l. 23 Another philosopher said, "Just as [the] teeth of men gnash because of sour grapes, so does the tongue of [man] speak the name of his friend who is not beside

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
him,	him spoil,	you,
and becomes dry in his throat."	and becomes dry in his throat."	and becomes dry in his throat."

5.i. Letter to a friend on hypocrisy and bad speech, i: the sword and the crowd (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595, fol. 36r, col. ii, l. 7–36v, col. i, l. 5 vs. GIOV.AM 8v, col. i, l. 17–col. ii, l. 23* vs. K 945r, ll. 3–14)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36r, col. ii, l. 7And again another one of the philosophers, writing to his absent friend, has said, "I would rather see my kidneys smeared on the sword in the hand of him who slays me, than that I see the eye of my friend staring into my face, or being someplace and making allegations about me in the middle of a crowd. For the respect that one will accord you in the middle of a group of people – when he has previously burdened you unjustly – is honored more than (that of) whoever will utter insults against me in the midst of a crowd and then grants me a kingdom. For as for whoever will insult me 36v, col. i, l. 1on my own, with no one beside me and no one to hear, there is a way for me to reconcile with him again.	8v, col. i, l. 14And again another one of the philosophers, writing to his friend, said, "I would rather [see] my kidneys [smeared] on the sword [of the one who will] slay [me, than] (± 3 lines missing) 8v, col. ii, l. 1*(1 line missing?) [about me in the middle of a crowd.] For the respect that one will accord you in the middle of a group of people – when he has previously burdened you unjustly – is honored more than (that of) whoever will utter insults against me in the midst of a crowd and then grants me a kingdom. As for whoever will insult me on my own, with no one to hear, there is a way for me to reconcile with him again.	945r, l. 3Again, another one, writing [to the friend], has said, I would rather see my kidneys [smeared] on the sword than see the eye of [my friend] staring into my face, being someplace [and making] allegations about me in the middle of a crowd. For the respect that one [will accord] you in the middle of a group of people – when he has previously [burdened] you unjustly – is honored more than (that of) [whoever will] utter insults against you in the midst of a [crowd] and then grants you riches. As for whoever will insult me on my own, there is a way for [me to] reconcile with him again.

5.ii. Letter to a friend on hypocrisy and bad speech, ii: lying to one's face (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595, fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 5–14 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 24*–fol. 13r, col. i, l. 6* vs. K 945r, ll. 14–18)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36v, col. i, l. 5	fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 24*	945r, l. 14Moreover,
As for any person on whose account people shall mock me,	As for any person [on whose account] someone shall mock me,	[whenever?] someone on his account mocks me,

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
I shall not be like a dog, returning to its own vomit. I shall not reveal to him my mystery.	(± 1 line missing) fol. 13r, col. i, l. 1*(± 3 lines missing) 4*[vomit. I shall] not [reveal to him] my mystery.	I shall not be like [a dog], eating its own [vomit. I shall not reveal] to him my mystery again.

6. Wisdom superior to any "wisdom" (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595, fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 14–18 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 13r, col. i, ll. 7*–11* vs. K 945r, ll. 18–20)

M. 595	*GIOV.AM*	*K*
36v, col. i, l. 14Rather, it is a wisdom superior to all wisdom that one does good for his enemies.	13r, col. i, l. 7*Rather, it is a wisdom superior to all wisdom to do good to whoever does you ill.	945r, l. 18[Rather], it is a wisdom superior to [all wisdom] that one does good [for his enemies].

4. Notes on the Coptic Text and Translation

This section will briefly state the gist of each saying in its immediate context (i. e., the sayings of Greek philosophers), and then offer commentary on the Coptic text, with particular attention to the use of the synopsis for clarifying and translating the passages, as well as the relationship of the three manuscripts to one another (a question explored in the conclusion to this study).

1. Dogs and lions (*Pass. Res.* § 33, M.595 fol. 35v, col. ii, l. 33–36r, col. i, l. 20 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. i, l. 1–col. ii, l. 14 vs. K 944v, ll. 14–22). The meaning of this saying is straightforward: while the loyalty of an animal can be reliably won by providing food, the loyalty of a human being is more capricious. In fact, generosity is often rewarded with malice.

GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. i, ll. 25–27: ⲥⲉ[26]ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ [ⲛⲓⲛⲏ[27]ⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲩ]ϩⲁϩ[ⲉϩ ⲉ]: Tentative reconstruction with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 116: ⲥⲉ|ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ.., not noting the traces of three letters (here taken to be part of ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ) on the line below. The fact that col. ii, l. i of fol. 8r clearly permits [ⲧ]ⲙⲛ[ⲧ]ϣⲃ[ⲏⲣ] (as already recognized by Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117) – the following word in the parallel text of M.595 and MONB.BE – is key to the restoration of col. i, l. 27. More importantly, it permits the inference that the top extant line of col. ii is in fact the first line of the column (since the parallels gives us reason to suppose zero intervening text between ⲛⲓⲛⲏⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉ- and ⲧⲙⲛⲧϣⲃⲏⲣ), and therefore one may with relative surety number the lines of the rest of the column, from which numbering for col. i opposite may be estimated.

GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, l. 1: [ⲧ]ⲙⲛ[ⲧ]ϣⲃ[ⲏⲣ]: Restoration Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117, confirmed by the parallel texts in M.595 and MONB.BE.

M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, l. 11: ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁⲑⲏⲧⲟⲥ: This otherwise unattested form is problematic; GIOV.AM. gives ⲁⲙⲏⲑⲏⲧⲟⲥ (ἀμάθητος, "ignorant, stupid"). In *NTA II*, I suggested emend-

ing the M.595 text to ⲡⲁⲧⲁⲓⲥⲑⲛⲧⲟⲥ, "senseless person" perhaps an instance of metathesis.[19] However, the text of MONB.BE shows any such emendation to be completely unnecessary. Rather than ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁⲑⲛⲧⲟⲥ, K 944v, l. 19 gives ⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲁⲑⲛⲧⲟⲥ, instantly recognizable as the (otherwise, to my best knowledge, unattested in Coptic) Greek loanword ἀδιάθετος, "unruly." ⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁⲑⲛⲧⲟⲥ is an irregular orthography for ⲁ̈ⲓⲁⲑⲛⲧⲟⲥ. No emendation to M.595 is necessary, and the translation in *NTA II* should be corrected to "the *unruly* person, on the other hand, not only fails to keep this friendship …"

GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 13–14: ⲡⲉⲕ[14]ϫⲁϫⲉ̄: While the Turin MS has the singular, both M.595 and MONB.BE have the plural (ⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲉ).

2. Blood for wine (*Pass. Res*. § 33, PM 595 fol. 36r, col. i, ll. 21–24 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 15–19 vs. K 945r, ll. 21–22). Again, generosity (offering someone wine) is sometimes not returned in kind, but with violent behavior: giving a cup of blood for a cup of wine.

K 945r, l. 21: ⲁ̣ϩⲁ[ϩϯ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲧ]: Restoration based off of parallel text in M.595. It presupposes 30 letters for the line, but this is in itself not unordinary in this section of MONB.BE (K 944v, l. 22 has 31 letters). Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ[

GIOV.AM 8r, col. ii, ll. 17–18: ⲟⲩ[ⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛ̄][18]ⲥⲛⲟϥ: Restoration Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117, confirmed by the parallel texts in M.595 and MONB.BE.

3. Sweet human flesh (*Pass. Res*. § 33, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, ll. 25–30 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, l. 19–24+ vs. K 945r, l. 22–25). Some people are so violent in their thoughts that they may not only be compared to dogs and vultures feeding on carcasses; they exceed these beasts' taste for human blood.

GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, l. 19: ⲁ̣ⲩ[ⲱ ⲟⲛ]: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ⲁⲩ ….

GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, l. 20: ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ [ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉϥ]: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ….

K 945r, ll. 22–23: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟ̣[ⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ][23]ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟ̣[[23]ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ

GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, l. 21: ⲟⲩⲛ [ⲁϥ ⲛⲣⲱ]: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ⲟⲩⲛ … . .

GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 21–22: [ⲣⲱ][21]ⲙⲉ ⲉ[ⲩⲉⲟⲗⲟ ⲉⲛ]: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ⲙⲉ ⲉ … . .

GIOV.AM fol. 8r, col. ii, ll. 23–24: ⲣⲱ̣[ϥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉ] [24]ⲡ̣[ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲣ̄]: While a ⲣ and ink traces of ⲱ are clearly visible on col. ii, l. 23, as well as ink traces of ⲡ on l. 24, these are not noted by Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117. The fragment breaks off here, but through comparison with col. i, one can estimate that ± 2 further lines are missing – certainly enough room to complete the saying with text comparable to that found of M.595 and MONB.BE. By all indications, fol. 8v, col. i, l. 1 proceeds immediately to introduce the following saying ("speaking ill of friends"), so we may assume that "sweet human flesh" terminates at the bottom of fol. 8r, col. ii.

[19] Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 67, n. e (an error compounded by the typo *ataithētos* for *ataisthētos*!).

K 945r, ll. 23–24: ϵϥϩοϫ̅ϭ̅ [ϩϧ][24]ϸϣϥ: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ϵϥϩοϫ̅ϭ̅ [[24]ϸϣϥ

4. Speaking ill of friends (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595 fol. 36r, col. i, l. 31–col. ii, l. 7 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, ll. 1–13 vs. K 944v, l. 23–945r, l. 2). Speaking ill of a friend who is not present is wrong; the tongue of the man who exercises such "bad speech" grows sour and dry in the mouth, like sour grapes.

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, line numbering: The line numbering of this column is estimable given parallel text in M.595 and MONB.BE. ⲛⲥⲓ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ, the topmost visible text on the column, is preceded by several letters, and then introduces the saying "speaking ill of friends." Since fol. 8r, col. ii appears to have had enough space to complete the saying immediately preceding ("sweet human flesh"), it seems most likely that the partially preserved line at the top of fol. 8v, col. i is the first line of the column.

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, l. 1: [Ⲡⲉϫ]ⲁ⸌ϥ ⲟⲛ̣ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: … ⲛⲥⲓ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ. Fourteen letters is a fair amount of text for a single line in GIOV.AM, but parallels can be adduced in the manuscript (e. g., fol. 6v, col. ii: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲟ̅ⲩ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲁⲩ). The scribe occasionally capitalizes the first letter of a new line and pushes it back into the margin, marking transition or emphasis (cf. the capitalized Ⲡ of ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ in fol. 8r, col. ii, l. 15: Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲓ). In any case, ink traces for the the reconstructed ϥ and the little alpha clearly written above it are sure, inviting the reconstruction offered here.

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, ll. 3–4: ⲛⲑⲉ [3]ⲉⲧⲉϥ[ⲁⲣⲉ]ⲛⲛⲁ[4]ⲁϫⲉ: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595: ⲛ̀ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲉⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲁϫⲉ. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ⲉⲡϣ … ⲡ. ⲛⲁ|ⲁϫⲉ. Cf. MONB.BE: ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ϣⲁ[ⲣⲉⲛ]ⲛⲁϫⲉ, where we meet a form of the relative aorist where the conjugation base ϣⲁⲣⲉ- is preceded by a nasal infix.[20] Till seems to understand ⲛ̄ϣⲁ[ⲣⲉ] as such in his translation of the passage in MONB.BE ("So wie [die] Zähne des Menschen zu knirschen pfle[gen] …" – Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 173). Ivan Miroshnikov observes that this form of the relative aorist appears only in Sahidic manuscripts produced in the Fayyūm, which may indicate that the codicological unit in MONB.BE to which the Notes of Some Philosophers belongs may come from the Fayyūm. The manuscript has additional features which recall productions of the Fayyūm scriptoria, such as the supralinear stroke reduced to a dot and the enlarged ϕ.[21]

K 944v, ll. 24–25: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ[25][ⲗⲉⲗ ϩⲙ]ⲭ̣: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168.

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, ll. 9–10: ⲙⲡⲉ̣ⲧ[[…]][10]ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ: cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ⲙⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧ[ⲉ]. The parallel texts in M.595 and MONB.BE both have ⲡⲉϥϣⲃⲏⲣ here. The papyrus of GIOV.AM is scratched, and what at first looks like a ⲧ jumps out (likely the impetus for Rossi's reconstruction ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ). Yet following ⲙⲡ one can see the ink trace for ⲉ. ϣⲃⲏⲣ does not seem possible to reconstruct here, but Ivan Miroshnikov suggests that ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ ("one who is close, i. e., intimate; neighbor" – Walter Ewing Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1939], 444b) is a near-synonym.

[20] Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, 226 (§ 462).
[21] Personal communication, March 2021.

M.595 36r, col. ii, ll. 4–7: ⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲡⲉⲛϣⲃⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄[5]ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲛ ⲁⲛ·—— [6]ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲙ̀ [7]ⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲩⲱⲃⲉ: The sense of this passage as given in M.595 appears to me to be corrupt: the translation in *NTA II* reads "Just as the teeth of men gnash because of sour grapes, so does the tongue of man *grip his friend, and is absent* and becomes dry in the throat." Fortunately, the parallel texts in GIOV.AM and MONB.BE clarify the verb ⲧⲁϩⲉ. K 944 here gives [ⲧ]ⲁⲩⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϣⲃⲏⲣ (cf. also GIOV.AM, discussed in the following note); ⲧⲁⲩⲟ, "say, utter (the name of his friend)" certainly is more straightforward than ⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲡⲉⲛϣⲃⲏⲣ, "touch, grip, reach (his friend)."

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, ll. 8–11: ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ̄ [9]ⲙⲡⲉ̣ⲧ[[...]][10]ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ ⲉϥϩⲁϩⲧⲏϥ[11]ⲧⲏϥ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲕⲟ: The phrase "is not beside him" is here given with the circumstantial ⲉϥϩⲁϩⲧⲏϥ ⲁⲛ, and refers to the intimate (ⲡⲉ̣ⲧ[[...]] ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱϥ), not the tongue. Cf. the negative circumstantial in M.595: (ⲉ)ⲛϥϩⲁϩⲧⲏϥ ⲁⲛ; MONB.BE: ⲙ̀ⲡϥϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲛ; the translation of M.595 in *NTA II* ("... grip his friend, and is not beside him") should be corrected to "grip his friend, *who* is not beside him." ("Absent" rather than "is not beside him" in *NTA II* needs no correction, but the more literal rendering given here helps draw out the slightly different text in MONB.BE; see following comment.) Secondly, in M.595 and MONB.BE, the infinitive for the conjugation base ϣⲁⲣⲉ- is ⲧⲁϩⲉ or [ⲧ]ⲁⲩⲟ, respectively; but in GIOV.AM, ⲧⲁⲩⲟ is prefixed with relative ⲉⲧ-, whose subject is ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ. The aorist conjugation base still requires an infinitive, which is supplied by ⲧⲁⲕⲟ, in l. 11. Altogether, saying 4 here reads: "just as the teeth of men gnash because of sour grapes, so does the tongue of the man who *speaks the name of the intimate who is not beside him spoil*,[22] and it (the tongue) dries up in his throat" – the most coherent of the three versions of the saying. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ϩⲁϩ|ⲧⲏ(ϥ) ⲧⲁⲕⲟ.

K 944v, l. 26–945r, l. 1: ⲙ̀ⲡϥ[945r, l. 1]ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩ[ⲱ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲙ̀ ⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲩ]²ⲱⲃⲉ: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲁ[...]ⲱ[...]. Note that MONB.BE here has the second-person "not beside *you*" (ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲕ ⲁⲛ) instead of "not beside *him*" (ϩⲁϩⲧⲏϥ ⲁⲛ). Cf. also below, on K 945r, ll. 1, 12–13.

5.i. Letter to a friend on hypocrisy and bad speech, i: the sword and the crowd (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595 fol. 36r, col. ii, l. 7–36v, col. i, l. 5 vs. GIOV.AM 8v, col. i, l. 14–col. ii, l. 23* vs. K 945r, ll. 3–14). The writer of this "letter" is disgusted by so-called friends who flatter him and offer him gifts ("kingdom" or "wealth") in private, and then speaks ill of him in public. Friendship demands the opposite: kind speech about one's comrade in public, and confrontation and criticism only in private.

K 945r, l. 3: ϣ[ⲁ ⲡϣⲃⲏⲣ]: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ϣ[

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, l. 19: [ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ]ⲛⲁⲥⲗⲟⲟⲧⲉ: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ... ⲛⲁⲥⲗⲟⲟⲧⲉ

[22] Cf. Wilhelm Riedel and Walter Ewing Crum, *The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria: The Coptic and Arabic Versions*, Text and Translation Society (London; Oxford: Williams and Norgate, 1904), 105 (cit. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 405a), on (ⲡⲛⲣⲡ) ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲣ ϩⲙ̄ⲝ, "(wine) that does not spoil nor become sour."

K 945r, l. 4: ⲉⲩ[ⲥⲟⲗⲟ]: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲉⲩ[

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, l. 20: [ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲗ]ⲟ ⲉⲧⲥⲛϥⲉ: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: … ⲟⲉ ⲧⲥⲛϥⲉ

K 945r, l. 5: ⲙ̄[ⲡⲁϣⲃⲛⲣ]: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲙ̄[

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, l. 21: [ⲙⲡⲉⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲁϩⲱⲧⲃ: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595. The phrase does not appear in MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: … . ⲛⲁϩⲱⲧⲃ

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. i, ll. 22+:[22] [ⲙⲛⲟⲓ ⲉϩ]ⲟⲩⲟ ⲉ[23] […]ⲙ [24] (± 3 lines missing): Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: … . ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉ. Rossi does not indicate the ⲙ clearly visible at the end of l. 23, nor the ink traces of the letter (most likely ⲙ) clearly visible at the end of l. 24. Given the parallel texts from M.595 and MONB.BE, it is likely that ± 3 lines are missing, amounting to 25 or 26 lines for the column.

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. ii, ll. 1*–3*: (1 line missing?) [2*]ⲥ̣[ⲱⲓ ϩⲙ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛ][3*]ⲛⲫ̣[ⲉ vac] Rossi does not indicate the existence of what are taken here to be l. 1–3, despite visible ink traces. Given the length of the lacuna at the bottom of fol. 8v, col. i, it is impossible to securely establish the number of lines in col. ii. For ease of reference, I have numbered the visible lines of this column, marking them with an asterisk to designate uncertainty. In any case, the fact that there would be adequate space in the papyrus for a line opposite to col. i, l. 1 above what is here denoted col. ii, l. 2* does invite the hypothesis of a line above col. ii, l. 2*. The ink traces on col. ii, l. 2* and 3*are helpful. Col. ii, l. 2* begins with curved ink traces that indicate ⲉ, ⲟ, or ⲥ. ⲛⲫ at the beginning of col. ii, l. 3* is sure, thanks to the visible lower tail of the ⲫ. A tentative restoration of the rest of col. ii, l. 2* and 3* based upon the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE is therefore possible and given here. There is no need to restore more text beyond ⲛⲫⲉ in l. 3*; the following line begins with a coronis and a capital letter, allowing that the scribe left space in l. 3*.[23]

K 945r, ll. 6–7: ⲉ̣[ϥϫⲓ ⲕⲁ][7]ⲧⲛⲅⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ̈: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595 (ⲉϥⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲓⲅⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ). For the phrase ϫⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲛⲅⲟⲣⲓⲁ, see the *Encomium on Apa Mena*, PM M.590 fol. 53r, col. i, ll. 16–18: ⲙⲡⲉⲣϫⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲛⲅⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ.[24] Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲉ̣[[7]ⲧⲛⲅⲟⲣⲓⲁ

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 4*: Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϥⲧⲁⲉ[ⲓⲛⲟⲩ]: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϥⲧⲁ(ⲓⲛ)

K 945r, l. 8: ⲛ[ⲁϯⲁⲁϥ]: restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲛ[

K 945r, ll. 9–10: ⲉⲁϥⲃⲁ[ⲣⲉⲓ ⲛ][10]ⲙⲟⲕ: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲛ[

[23] On paratextual features and decorations in M.595, see Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts*, 1:349–50.

[24] Text in James Drescher, *Apa Mena: A selection of Coptic texts relating to St. Menas, edited, with translation and commentary* (Cairo: Société d'Archéologie Copte, 1946), 41, reference courtesy of the Database and Dictionary of Greek Loanwords in Coptic (DDGLC) project.

K 945r, ll. 10–11: п[єтна]^{11}таγє: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: п[

K 945r, l. 11: ноγс[ооγϩ̄с]: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of GIOV.AM (ноγсооγϩ̄с); cf. M.595 (ноγминщє). с[ооγϩ] is also plausible. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ноγс[

K 945r, l. 11: таγє ϩ̄нсωщ єрок: The second-person is here used, while M.595 and GIOV.AM both use the first-person. Cf. also above, on K 945r, l. 1 and below, l. 12.

K 945r, l. 12: н̄qхаρїzє нак: The second-person is here used, while M.595 and GIOV.AM both use the first-person. Cf. also above, on K 945r, l. 1, 11.

K 945r, l. 12–13: оγмн̄нтр̄мнао [євол] ^{13}хє: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Both of these manuscripts of *Pass. Res.* have мн̄нтрро ("kingdom") instead of мн̄нтр̄мнао ("wealth"). Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: оγмн̄нтр̄мнао[

GIOV.AM, fol. 8v, col. ii, ll. 18*–21*: пєтна^{19*}щоо$\overline{\text{сс}}$т нαγαατ ^{20*}ємн̄ ρωмє сω^{21*}тн̄: MONB.BE does not have the phrase "with no one to hear," while M.595 does and adds a further phrase, "with no one beside me."

K 945r, ll. 13–14: є[тра]^{14}ϩωтп єроч: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Cf. Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: є[^{14}ϩωтп

K 945r, l. 14: н̄кєсоп: this adverbial phrase appears in all three texts, but only in MONB.BE is it followed by another adverbial phrase that one would expect to see in first position (н̄ϩоγє єрос). In M.595 and GIOV.AM, the following nominal phrase is the subject of the following sentence. It is unlikely that l. 14 here has two adverbial phrases in a row (н̄кєсоп н̄ϩоγє єрос) introducing the following saying, which invites taking н̄кєсоп as the final phrase of "letter to a friend, i: the sword and the crowd." If this is so, the translation of this passage of *Pass. Res.* (M.595) in *NTA II* should be corrected to: "there is no way for me to reconcile with him *again* (н̄кєсоп). As for any person …"

5.ii. Letter to a friend on hypocrisy and bad speech, ii: lying to one's face (*Pass. Res.* § 34, M.595 fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 5–14 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 24*–fol. 13r, col. i, l. 6* vs. K 945r, ll. 14–18). The writer of this "letter" will not make the same mistake twice – like a dog returning to its own vomit – of sharing his friendship with someone who speaks ill of him in his absence.

K 945r, ll. 14–15: н̄ϩоγє єрос єр[± 3]^{15}ρωмє сωвє: The syntax demands a conjugation base in l. 14's lacuna for the infinitive in l. 15 (сωвє). Perhaps єр[єоγ]^{15}ρωмє? It is not clear that the ink traces of a vertical stroke of the final letter before the lacuna at the end of l. 14 necessarily indicates т, *pace* Till, "Griechische Philosophen," 168: н̄ϩоγє єрос єт[

GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 26*: [ϩн] тєцаф[ормн]: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and MONB.BE. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 117: (ϩн) тєцаф[…]

GIOV.AM fol. 13r, col. i, l. 1*: (± 3 lines missing): Ink traces indicate one more line under fol. 8v, col. ii, l. 26*. If the parallel texts in MONB.BE and M.595 are reliable guides, there are 3 or 4 lines' worth of letters missing from where the lacuna begins on GIOV.AM fol. 8v, col. ii (аформн) and where text picks up again on fol. 13r, col. i (н̀ннаоγωнϩ). (M.595's text here has 42 letters; MONB.BE's text, ± 38 letters, depending on how one restores some

of the text; most lines in GIOV.AM have 9–12 letters.) The (very) provisional numbering suggested here for fol. 13r, col. i, adopted for ease of reference, presumes that there are three lines of text missing at the top of the column, before the first line with a visible ink trace at the end (what appears to be a ⲗ).

M.595, 36v, col. i, ll. 10–11: ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲣ ⲉϣⲁⲩ[11]ⲕⲟⲧⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲕⲁ ⲃⲟⲗ: A biblical allusion (Prov 26:11; 2 Pet 2:22) – not all the "wisdom that is outside" seems to be "outside," after all. As Ivan Miroshnikov observes, the phrasing in M.595 is closer that in 2 Pet 2:22 (sa) than is the version in K 945 (ⲟ[ⲩⲥⲟ]ⲟⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ ⲃ̣[ⲟⲗ]), "[a dog] eating its own [vomit]." One may hypothesize that the author or a transmitter of the Notes altered the biblical allusion (perhaps to downplay its biblical overtones?), but Ps.-Evodius "restored" the reference.

GIOV.AM fol. 13r, col. i, l. 5*: [ⲛ̀ⲑⲁⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ: Restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595. Cf. Rossi, "Trascrizione," 121: . . . . . ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ

K 945r, ll. 17–18: [ⲛ̀ⲑⲛ]ⲁ̣ⲟ̣ⲩⲱ[ⲛⲍ ⲁⲛ] [18]ⲉⲣⲟⲩ: Restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Cf. Till "Griechische Philosophen," 168: [· · · ·]ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲓ̣[

K 945r, l. 18: ⲁ̀ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ: cf. Till "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲁ̀ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲛ, probably a typographical error. The reading adopted here is clear in the photograph of the leaf available to me.

6. Wisdom superior to any "wisdom" (*Pass. Res.* §34, M.595 fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 14–18 vs. GIOV.AM fol. 13r, col. i, ll. 7*–11* vs. K 945r, ll. 18–20). Above all, one should treat one's enemies with kindness.

K 945r, l. 18: [ⲡⲗⲏⲛ]: restoration with reference to the parallel texts of M.595 and GIOV.AM. Cf. Till "Griechische Philosophen," 168: [

K 945r, l. 19: ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲧ[ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ]: restoration with reference to the parallel text of GIOV.AM. Cf. Till "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲧ[

M.595, 36v, col. i, ll. 16–17: ⲡⲉ ⲧⲣⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ [17]ⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ: crasis (ⲡⲉ ⲉ-ⲧⲣⲉ-).

GIOV.AM fol. 13r, col. i, ll. 9*–10*: ⲡⲉ [[ⲧ]]ⲣ ⲡⲉⲧ[10*]ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ: Again, crasis (ⲡⲉ ⲉ-ⲣ̄-). The ⲧ before ⲣ in l. 9 appears to have been erased by the scribe, which leaves ⲡⲉ as the copula of a nominal sentence (as in M.595 and MONB.BE) rather than the articulated relative clause described by Rossi, "Trascrizione," 121: ⲡⲉⲧⲣ ⲡⲉⲧ|ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ

K 945r, l. 20: ⲛ̣[ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲁⲭⲉ]: restoration with reference to the parallel text of M.595. The restoration proposed here has 31 letters on the line (similarly fol. 944v, l. 22). Cf. Till "Griechische Philosophen," 168: ⲛ̣[

5. Conclusions

ⲛⲁ̈ⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲓ ⲃⲟⲗ, as Pseudo-Evodius concludes (M.595 fol. 36v, col. i, ll. 18–20). Our conclusions regarding the import of the above synopsis and textual notes are as follows:

Together with GIOV.AM, MONB.BE helps clarify a number of obscurities in the text of *Pass. Res.* as given in M.595. For example, MONB.BE shows that the ⲁⲧⲓⲉⲁⲑⲉⲧⲟⲥ person (with regard to whom one should rather favor dogs and lions) is in fact ⲁⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲧⲟⲥ, "un-

ruly." Saying 4 ("speaking ill of friends") as given in M.595 is corrupt – at best obscure, with a sense most easily understood with reference to GIOV.AM and MONB.BE. The intended sense must be something like the text as given in GIOV.AM: "just as the teeth of men gnash because of sour grapes, so does the tongue of the man who speaks the name of the close friend who is absent spoil, and it (the tongue) dries up in his throat." ⲧⲁϩⲟ (M.595 fol. 36r, col. ii, l. 4) appears to be a corruption of ⲧⲁⲩⲟ, given in GIOV.AM and MONB.BE. MONB.BE's introduction of saying 5.ii ("lying to one's face") with an adverbial phrase in first position indicates that ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ (M.595 36v, col. i, 5; GIOV.AM 8v, col. ii, l. 23*) is probably best read as the final phrase of saying 5.i ("the sword and the crowd") – thus, "… reconcile with him *again*." If one compares the three versions of these sayings in the synopsis, with the possible exception of saying 4, the version in MONB.BE is usually the one whose meaning is most clear.

M.595 and GIOV.AM often agree with one another with respect to MONB.BE, giving the impression of having utilized a text like that found in MONB.BE as a source and expanded upon it. In sayings 4 ("speaking ill of friends") and 5.i ("the sword and the crowd"), MONB.BE uses the second-person on three occasions where both manuscripts of *Pass. Res.* agree in using either the third- or first-person (K 945r, ll. 1, 11–12). "The sword and the crowd" gives this impression in several other passages: here, both *Pass. Res.* manuscripts gloss the bloody sword belonging to "him who slays me"; both have "kingdom" instead of MONB.BE's "wealth"; and, in the description of the correct way to criticize a friend (not in that friend's absence, but "on my own," i. e., personally and with no one else around), both insert "with no one to hear" (with M.595 adding further "and no one beside me"). On the other hand, GIOV.AM's syntax and sense are often closer to MONB.BE, which shows us that the version of *Pass. Res.* extant in M.595 has undergone some change and perhaps corruption. In "dogs and lions," M.595 prefers ⲙ̄ⲡ ⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ while GIOV.AM and MONB.BE have ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲣ. We have already discussed GIOV.AM and MONB.BE's ⲧⲁⲩⲟ instead of M.595's ⲧⲁϩⲟ in saying 4, "speaking ill of friends." GIOV.AM and MONB.BE give identical text for saying 2, "blood for wine." M.595 describes the addressee friend of saying 5.i as "not beside him, i. e., absent" (ⲉⲩϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲩ ⲁⲛ – fol. 36r, col. ii, l. 11), a phrase absent in the parallel texts.

The complex of evidence under review in the present contribution shows us a particularly fluid case of textual transmission in the manuscript culture of Coptic apocrypha.[25] However, I will throw caution to the wind, and offer the hypothesis that Ps.-Evodius made use of a Coptic text consisting of sayings of philosophers, a Coptic text that is excerpted in MONB.BE under the *superscriptio* "Notes of Some Philosophers." If this is the case, then there existed a Coptic text of pithy apopthegms of Greek "philosophers" and "wise men," some of which we know from Diogenes Laertius, prior to Ps.-Evodius's literary activity. It is not easy to date *Pass. Res.*, but scholars have tended to gravitate towards the mid-sixth century CE, the period for which Ps.-Evodius's exuberant legal vocabulary furnishes a

[25] On textual fluidity, see recently Hugo Lundhaug and Liv Ingeborg Lied, "Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology," in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, TUGAL 175 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 1–19; with regard to Coptic apocrypha in particular, now Lundhaug, "Fluid Transmission," esp. 220–22.

terminus post quem. If they are right, then the lost Coptic "Notes of Some Philosophers," some version of which is excerpted in MONB.BE and adapted by Ps.-Evodius in M.595 and GIOV.AM, would have a *terminus ante quem* of roughly the mid-sixth century CE. The hazards of dating lost texts set aside, the general picture of Ps.-Evodius as an author who uses and adapts pre-existing sources should not suprise us. Van den Broek observed long ago that the author of *Pass. Res*. appears to know (or at least invoke the authority of) a set of Pagan oracles predicting the triumph of Christianity and the failure of Paganism, a source used by other Coptic authors as well.[26] The extensive and rehabilative treatment of the figure of Pilate in the text seems to presume his engagement with, or at least knowledge of, some version of the *Acts of Pilate*.[27] Ps.-Evodius repeatedly spices his text with reference to legends and lore that envince his deeply literate personality and interests, as well as his access to books.[28]

Yet there are also cases where M.595 and MONB.BE agree against GIOV.AM. M.595 and MONB.BE have nearly identical text in the first half of saying 1 ("dogs and lions"), and finish with "your friends" (plural) instead of "your friend" (singular) in GIOV.AM. In the same saying, both manuscripts use the Greek loanword ἀδιάθετος in describing the ungrateful man, even if the form is not as clear in M.595; GIOV.AM uses a different word that makes sense (ἀμάθητος), giving the impression that a scribe of GIOV.AM (or its exemplar) replaced it with a more common synonym which the reader may have been more likely to recognize and used a different one that expresses the clearly intended meaning. Particularly important is saying 4 ("speaking ill of friends"), the only saying where a manuscript of Pass. Res. (GIOV.AM) offers a more clear sense than does MONB.BE. The most plausible hypothesis I can offer to account for these observations is that GIOV.AM preserves for us a version of *Pass. Res*. that tries to "correct" or clarify the Coptic text of Notes of Some Philosophers extant for us in the florilegium MONB.BE and in its adaption in M.595. One wonders if a similar kind of clarification is introduced at the end of saying 6 – which reads more like a Christian scribe's comment on Pagan "wisdom" than the remark of a Greek sage – where GIOV.AM changes the text from the gospel injunction to do good for one's enemies (Matt 5:44; Luke 6:27) to a more specific phrase that may also better fit the flow of the narrative of *Pass. Res*.: "… to do good to *whoever does you ill*."

Indeed, examination of the synopsis set out here may also illuminate how Ps.-Evodius adapted his sources to fit his own rhetorical ends. The sequence of the sayings in *Pass. Res*. is slightly different: sayings 2 and 3 (in the ordering of *Pass. Res*.) – "blood for wine" and "sweet human flesh" – come in MONB.BE *after* sayings 4 ("speaking ill of friends") and 5 ("letter to a friend, i–ii"). Why?

It cannot be excluded from the outset that the version of the source with which the author of *Pass. Res*. was working simply had a different numbering of the sayings than we find in MONB.BE's Notes of Some Philosophers. A second possibility is that the author of *Pass. Res*. intentionally tinkered with the sequence of the sayings, in the interest of developing his darkest theme: anti-Judaism.[29] The author of *Pass. Res*. introduces the "wis-

[26] Van den Broek, "Four Coptic Fragments," 138–41.

[27] Baudoin, "Et les enseignes," 523–31, followed by Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 42.

[28] See further Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 51–53.

[29] Cf. Van den Broek, who shrewdly observed long ago that the instrumentalization in Coptic apocry-

dom that is outside" at a very specific narrative juncture, namely the Jews' rejection of Pilate's suggestion that the guilty Barabbas be crucified in stead of Christ, who could then be released to the Jews on account of his innocence. In Ps.-Evodius's telling, the Jews insist on the crucifixion of the innocent divinity who created the universe and whose laws they have consistently failed to follow. The sayings he quotes from "the wise who are outside" are meant to concern people who are not just difficult or trivially bad, but truly evil and capable of responding to the most gentle beings with terrible viciousness; while the Romans and even the Greeks are to be regarded as having been misguided, until they were corrected by the ministry, passion, and resurrection of Christ. As Ps.-Evodius himself states:

> Now, the wise who are outside have said these things, and they apply to the Jews. But let me not be blamed because I have said things from beyond Scripture! For they are fools, the Jews whom I have censured by recourse to sages. Moreover, the Jews are beyond the Greeks. For the Greeks, despite not having read the Scriptures, nonetheless uphold their own laws … And they do not rebel against the teaching of Christ … But the Jews! – as for them, their comrades, you see, are those demons.[30]

The author of *Pass. Res.* may have noted that the sayings (2) "blood for wine" and (3) "sweet human flesh" from the Notes of Some Philosophers include references to violent behavior, and moved them up in the sequence of sayings of "the wise" for emphasis, given the ostensibly violent and cruel character of the Jews.

As far as the passion goes, Ps.-Evodius's "wisdom that is outside" illustrates that Jesus offered the Jews "a cup of wine"; they returned it with "a cup of blood" – his own, at that. For Ps.-Evodius, comparing Jews to beasts is eminently reasonable, for Jews are "people more base than beasts" (*Pass. Res.* §16; see also §§48, 75). Thus, it is no stretch to view the Jews as more hungry for sweet human flesh than even dogs and vultures. The saying (1) that it is better to do good to a dog or lion than to an unruly person is meant to imply that it is wiser to do good to a dog or lion than to a Jew; similarly, just as one should not speak ill of absent friends (saying 4), the Jews should not have spoken ill of Christ while he waited in the praetorium to be sentenced by Pilate. The "letter to a friend" (saying 5), then, may illustrate not only the right way to confront one's comrade, but the way that the Jews should have dealt with the appearance of Christ in their midst: directly, and with openness and respect, rather than with ferocity and plots. But it is a "wisdom beyond all wisdom to do good to whoever does you ill" (so GIOV.AM), and this is precisely how Jesus responds to Pilate's threat to crucify him:

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pha of Pagan prophecies ostensibly attesting to the truth of Christianity is always directed against the Jews: "These new fragments of the once flourishing 'theosophical' literature reveal something of the history of the genre to which they belong: originally composed with the intention of winning hesitating Greeks for the Christian religion by explaining the uprooting of the pagan cults as a historical necessity which had already been foretold by pre- and anti-Christian Greeks, they finally became a Christian argument in the Jewish-Christian controversy in so far as they showed that the Greeks had done what the Jews were still refusing to do: to believe the prophecies of their own prophets" ("Four Coptic Fragments," 141–42).

[30] *Pass. Res.* §35 M.595 fol. 36v, col. i, l. 18–col. ii, l. 18, tr. in Burns, "Pseudo-Evodius," 68.

I am without sin, dear governor, and I want to die for the sins of the entire world, so that I may purify it. I want to draw the burden upon myself, so that my creation, relieved, may enter the kingdom, without anything that shall restrain them.[31]

Do the murderous Jews of this Coptic apocryphon merit having good returned for their ill deeds? Do they belong to "the entire world," in Ps.-Evodius's telling? The answer seems to be yes, but only if – like Didymus, the wealthy, local Roman Jew whose baptism is part of the occasion for this Easter sermon (*Pass. Res.* §intro) – they become Christians.

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