

The Martyrdom of Lacaron  
Coptic and English

Anthony Alcock

This is the first of the Bohairic Coptic texts published by I. Balestri and H. Hyvernat *Acta Martyrum* (CSO, 1907): the Martyrdom of Lacaron pp. 3 to 23. A Latin translation was published by Balestri and Hyvernat in the CSCO series in 1908, and details of the manuscripts from which they have been taken are to be found there (pp. 5 to 9).

The texts are in manuscripts that all bear the designation Cod. Vat. Copt., followed by a classification number. Copies of the texts were made by Raphael Tuki (1701-1787), an orthodox Copt who converted to Roman Catholicism as a young man, taught Coptic language and culture in Rome for 30 years and was consecrated Catholic Bishop of the Fayyum in 1761. These copies were used by Georg Zoega when he compiled his catalogue of Coptic mss in the Borgia Museum in 1810.<sup>1</sup>

The term **παρρησία** 'free speech' occurs several times in the text,<sup>2</sup> as it does in other martyrological and hagiographical texts. Probably the most useful work for the reader to consult is Giuseppe Scarpat *Parrhesia greca e parrhesia cristiana* (2001), which is essentially a lexicographical study of the term and how it is used. On the subject of speech, I have italicized all direct speech in the text.

I hope that this work may be useful to those in the early stages of reading Coptic. The language and structure of the text are relatively simple: there is a good deal of repetition of vocabulary, involving 'he said' and 'he replied', which is to be expected in a report based on the court proceedings that took place before the martyrdom, albeit one that has been 'written up'.

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1 G. Zoega *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitis adservantur* (1810)

2 First instance on p. 1 of the text.

The protagonists are Arianus, usually referred to as simply the 'governor' and Lacaron, whose name is accompanied by his title and adjectives.. The exchanges between them follow a pattern: the governor says little while the speeches of the martyr become progressively longer, culminating in an extraordinary prayer at which Jesus is present, either invisible to or unrecognized by the onlookers.

As an essentially narrative text temporal clauses are relatively common. These are rendered in two ways:

(1) prep. (**ὑεν**) + def. art. (**πι**) + verbal noun prefix (**κιν**) + caus. infin. (**θηε**) + subj. + verb.

A. Mallon *Grammaire Copte* ed. M. Malinine (1956) §§ 266ff has a useful section on this construction. In § 272 he points out that it is used mostly in cases where one event precedes another, less often when the two events are simultaneous.

(2) the verbal prefix **ετα-**, which is also used for the 2nd Perf. and Past Relative,

The first construction occurs 25 times and the second construction occurs 6 times.

Both are quite different from Sahidic, which deals with the two constructions as follows::

The first construction is expressed by the prep. (**QN**) + def. art. (**πι**) + caus. infin. (**ΤΗΕ**) + subj. + verb, thus in the first example on p. 1 para. 1: 'in their being brought/when they were brought' is

**ὑεντικινερογενογ** (Bohairic) and **ζηπτρεγεντογ** (Sahidic)

The second construction is expressed in Sahidic by **ΝΤΕΗΕ-**, which is not, as far as I know, attested in Bohairic.

Another point that may be of interest to the student is that the verbal noun prefix in Bohairic is predominantly masculine (**κιν**) and in Sahidic predominantly feminine (**σιν**).

Dictionaries consulted

Crum: W.E. Crum *A Coptic Dictionary* (1939)

LSJ: H. Liddell, R. Scott and H. Jones: *Greek-English Lexicon* (1940)

Lampe: G. Lampe *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1961)

Moulton-Milligan: J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan *Vocabulary of the New Testament illustrated from papyri* (1929)

<sup>4</sup> Τιμαρτύρια ήτε πλαγιος υπαρτύρος ήτε πάχε απαλλακτων ήται η τηρού επαγγώκ εβολ ήταναρ επαγγώκ εβολ υπεραγών ήται τεραστίας επτάπιοντ ήσουτα υπαρτόν πλοηπή<sup>1</sup> ήται ουδιρίηνη ήτε φέτη αλην

Cod. Vatic.  
Copt. 68,  
fol. 1 r°.

Οὗτος μὲνένα τι προπεσίτος τὸ μπεζογόι  
επιχρημάτων πεζαῖς ναὶ τὸ παῖς πιχρημάτων οὐκον  
οὐκατοι ἀπαιμα ψευμῷ οὐκινοῦται τὸν αλλα εφ-  
τψωψ νωρὶ τὸ διανοῦται τὸν οὐδὲ ψωτεῖ  
τὸν τεκκελεύσις εφάω μιος τὸ ἀνοκ οὐχρη-

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Lege παօπη. — <sup>2</sup> ρ supra lineam.

CORT = 6 = 1

*The martyrdom of the holy martyr of Christ Apa Lacaron<sup>3</sup> and all those who completed it with him. He completed his contest<sup>4</sup> and his glorious struggle on the 14th of Paope<sup>5</sup> in peace of God. Amen.*

It happened in year 18 of Diocletian<sup>6</sup> the lawless emperor, when Arianus was governor of Antinoe<sup>7</sup>, that he boarded his vessel<sup>8</sup> and sailed south. He tied up on the banks of Asyut and made his way up to the city in search of Christians that they might worship the defiled idols. The governor sat in the theatre<sup>9</sup> and ordered those standing before him to bring him all the Christians. When they were brought, the governor said to them: *Will you sacrifice to these imperial gods or not ?* They all said in unison: *We will not sacrifice to these lifeless gods and defiled abominations. We are openly Christians and our God is in heaven. He will help us.* At that moment he ordered them all to be beheaded by the sword. They completed their martyrdom and went up to heaven in glory.

After this the *praepositus*<sup>10</sup> made his way to the governor and said to him: My lord governor, there is a soldier here who does not worship the gods but scorns them as non-divine beings and does not obey your order, saying: *I am a Christian.*

3 I am unable to find this name elsewhere.

4 The language used of martyrs resembles that used of athletes and, like the winning athlete in a contest, the prize involves a 'crown', financial reward and immortality in poetry being replaced by eternal life in heaven.

5 Paope is the second month of the Coptic calendar. According to the Julian calendar it starts on September 28/Gregorian calendar October 11

6 The emperor who presided over the Great Persecution, which began in 303. It was so closely associated with Diocletian (one of four emperors between c. 285 and 311) in Egypt that the Christian calendar, known as the Year of the Martyrs, starts not with the persecution itself but the accession date of Diocletian (284)

7 Arianus is named in the earliest known martyrological text as the governor of Thebaid, an area stretching from Thebes (mod. Luxor) to Antinoe (mod. Shekh 'Ibada) cf. P. van Minnen 'P. Duke inv. 438: Martyrdom of Stephanos of Lenaios' *Analecta Bollandiana* 13 (1995): 13-38, who dates it to the 4th cent. The emperors named in the text are Valerius Constantius (year 14) and Maximinus (year 2). I have read only the English translation of this article posted by the author on the WWW.

8 **λεζωπίον:** *lusorium*, which can have the meaning 'pleasure vessel'.

9 On the survival of an amphitheatre at Asyut cf. Charles Poncet *Voyage to Ethiopia 1698-1700* English tr. 1709 p. 3 : 'I beheld the ruins of an ancient and magnificent amphitheatre'

10 The Greek term is a transliteration of the Latin *praepositus*. LSJ cite a 4th cent, papyrus text where it is a military title.

ΤΙΑΝΟΣ πιθηγειων δε αρχωντ αφερογερπαρασταν  
 άισοφ ναφ ̄εν τουγνού & πιπροπεσίτος ενφ ψαροφ  
 ̄εν πχινερογενφ δε ἀπειμεθο μπιθηγειων πεχαφ  
 ναφ δε ηιι πε πεκραν αφερογω ̄ήδε πιαγιος πε-  
 χαφ ναφ δε εψωπ εκψινι ̄ίσα παραν ετα ναιοτ<sup>5</sup>  
 τηιφ εροι λακαρων πε παραν κατα σαρζ παραν  
 ρωφ ετερπολιτεγεσθε ̄ήηητφ πε φη εταγθεδψεφ  
 ̄εν πχς ιης πεχε πιθηγειων ναφ δε εκχη ̄εν  
 ουηρη προωπι αφερογω ̄ήδε απα λακαρων πεχαφ  
 ναφ δε τχη ̄εν ιά προωπι υφοογ πεχε πιθηγε-<sup>10</sup>  
 ων ναφ δε ογ τε \*τεκιόπη αφερογω ̄ήδε πιαδ-  
 καριος πεχαφ δε ανοκ ουματοι ειχη ̄αρατφ  
 ηογογρο εψαφβωλ εβολ τνογ δε ειναερματοι ̄α-  
 ρατφ ηογογρο ναθωωλ εβολ πογρο ητε ηιογρωογ  
 ογογ πετη ητε ηιστ<sup>1</sup> ιης πχς πεχε πιθηγειων ναφ<sup>15</sup>  
 δε εθεε ογ ακχω ηιωκ ητεκμετματοι ματαιοι  
 τνογ δε ηεοκ ογρεμεων αφερογω ̄ήδε πιαγιος  
 απα λακαρων πεχαφ ναφ δε ισδε χογωψ εέμι  
 ετμεθηι δε ανοκ ογεβολ θων ανοκ ογρεμτχει  
 ειζηκ εφνογμερον ηιωογτ εθεε φαι ειογωψ εερμα-<sup>20</sup>  
 τοι υπογρο ηηατφε ηεη ναπκαζι παετη ιης πχς  
 πογρο ητε ηιεων τηρογ ογογ διψε ηηι σαβολ  
 ητμετματοι εψαφβωλ εβολ ητεστακο τνογ δε  
 ανοκ ογχριστιανος μπαρρησια ειηπ εφτ ̄ήτε τφε  
 παετη ιης πχς<sup>25</sup>

Αφερογω ̄εν δε πιθηγειων δε αριθγια ̄ηηι-  
 ηογτ ηταχακ εβολ ηγογδ δε δε ηεοκ ουματοι  
 ογογ ακτ ογεε ηιογρωογ ακερόμολογιν δε ανοκ  
 ογχριστιανος λοιπον τενογωψ εερεκψενζητ ̄αροκ

<sup>1</sup> Apos., xiv, 16.

The governor became angry and had him brought before him. The *praepositus* brought him before the governor, who said: *What is your name?* The saint replied: *If you are asking what my name according to the flesh is, it is Lacaron. But the name in which I live <sup>11</sup>is the 'one who has been called in Jesus Christ'*. The governor said: *How old are you?* Apa Lacaron replied: *I am 14 today.*<sup>12</sup> The governor asked him what he did. The saint replied that he was a soldier with a mortal king, but from now on it was his intention to be a soldier with an immortal king,<sup>13</sup> the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Jesus Christ. The governor asked him: *Why have you left your soldiering? Tell me now where you are from.* The saint replied: *Since you wish to know where I am from, I am from Medjel<sup>14</sup> attached to a division<sup>15</sup> in Asyut. For this reason I wish to become a soldier of the king of those in heaven and those on earth, my Lord Jesus Christ, king of all the aeons. I have left my soldiering, which is mortal and corruptible. I am now openly a Christian, belonging to the God of heaven, my Lord Jesus Christ.*

The governor answered: *Sacrifice to these gods and I will let you go, especially because you are a soldier. You have opposed the emperors by confessing that you are a Christian, so<sup>16</sup> we want to be merciful to you*

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11 Acts 23, 1

12 For a soldier who joined the army aged 14 cf. E. Birley 'Some Roman Legionary Centurions' ZPE 79 (1998): 115

13 The verb ΒΩΨ ΕΒΩΨ has a wide range of meanings and the most suitable here is Crum 33a meaning (p).

14 E. Amélineau *La géographie de l'Égypt copte* (1893) p. 243

15 *numerus*

16 ΧΟΙΠΟΝ

ΑΙΩΝ ΉΙΟΚ \*ΣΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΚΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΤΕΚΓΕΩΤΗ ΕΚΤΑΙ-<sup>1. 2 v.</sup>  
 ΗΟΥΤ ΝΖΟΥΧ ΔΦΕΡΟΥΘΗ ΗΧΕ ΔΠΑ ΛΔΚΑΡΩΗ ΠΕΧΔΑ<sup>2</sup>  
 ΣΠΙΖΗΓΕΩΣΗ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΩΒΩ ΔΗΟΚ ΖΕΧΔΣ ΕΙΕΡΔΗΔ  
 ΉΠΟΥΡΟ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΟΡΙΔ ΗΤΟΤΗ ΑΙ-  
 ΧΛΟΗ ΝΤΕ ΤΗΕΤΑΘΙΟΥ ΆΠΕΡΜΕΥΗ ΗΔΚ Ω ΣΠΙΖΗΓΕΩΣΗ  
 ΔΕ ΖΗΔΑΣΕΡΔΑΛ ΉΙΟΙ ΉΕΝ ΝΕΚΣΑΧΙ ΆΠΛΑΝΟΣ ΤΕΡΚΑ-  
 ΤΑΦΡΟΝΗ ΉΙΟΚ ΝΕΗ ΝΕΚΣΑΧΙ ΕΤΣΟΥΣΙΤ ΕΟΒΕ ΤΟΜΟ-  
 ΛΟΓΙΔ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΣΤ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ

ΔΦΕΡΟΥΘΗ ΗΧΕ ΣΠΙΖΗΓΕΩΣΗ ΠΕΧΔΑ<sup>3</sup> ΝΝΙΜΑΤΟΙ ΔΕ  
 ΣΙΤΗ ΈΔΕΝ ΉΗΤΗ ΝΤΕΤΕΝΣΙΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΦ ΉΕΝ ΣΑΝΙΟΥΤ  
 ΉΙΑΣΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΕΤΕΝΧΟΣ ΝΔΑ<sup>4</sup> ΔΕ ΣΩΤΕΝ<sup>1</sup> ΝΔΑ ΠΙΟΥΔ-  
 ΣΑΣΝΙ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΝΙΣΕΥ ΝΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΔΦΕΡΟΥΘΗ ΗΧΕ ΠΙ-  
 ΓΙΟΣ ΔΠΑ ΛΔΚΑΡΩΗ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΤΡΕΨΡΔΑΨ ΕΦΔΩ ΉΙΟС  
 ΔΕ ΤΔΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΔΗΟΚ ΕΘΡΙΣΩΤΕΝ ΝΔΑ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΣΝΙ  
 ΝΤΕ ΠΙΝΙΨΤ ΝΟΥΡΟ ΉΙΗΙ ΠΑΣΤ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΦΔΙ ΕΘΝΟΣΕΝ  
 ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΔΕΛΠΙΣ ΕΡΟΦ ΣΠΙΖΗΓΕΩΣΗ ΔΕ ΔΦΕΡΟΥ-  
 ΣΙΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΦ ΣΔΑΤΕ ΠΕΨΝΟΦ ΖΕΙ ΈΔΕΝ ΠΚΑΣΗ ΕΦΔΩ  
 ΉΙΟС ΔΕ ΔΡΙΘΥΣΙΔ ΆΠΕΡΜΟΥ ΝΚΔΚΩΣ ΉΕΝ ΝΔΙΚ  
 ΔΦΕΡΟΥΘΗ ΗΧΕ ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΠΑ ΛΔΚΑΡΩΗ ΠΕΧΔΑ<sup>5</sup> ΣΠΙ-  
 ΖΗΓΕΩΣΗ ΔΕ Ω ΠΨΗΡΙ ΝΤΑΝΟΜΙΔΑ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΤΑΝ ΉΦΤ  
 ΠΕΝΒΟΗΘΟΣ ΦΔΙ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΣΔΧΟΗ<sup>2</sup> ΉΙΟΦ ΕΕΡΒΟΗΘΙΝ ΕΡΟΝ  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΦΝΑΝΔΑΣΜΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΝΕΚΣΙΔ ΟΥΟΖ<sup>3</sup> ΝΤΕΨ-  
 ΤΑΚΟΘΗΝΟΥ<sup>4</sup> ΝΕΗ ΝΕΤΕΝ<sup>5</sup> ΚΕΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΝΔΕΒΗΗ ΔΦΕΡΚΕ-<sup>6. 3 r.</sup>  
 ΛΕΥΤΙΝ ΕΦΡΟΥΔΑΨ ΕΠΙΕΡΜΗΤΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΔΕΩΚΙ ΉΙΟΦ  
 ΣΔΑΤΕ ΝΕΨΜΑΗΤ ΖΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΣΙΔΕΝ ΠΚΑΣΗ ΟΥΟΖ Δ  
 ΠΕΨΝΟΦ ΖΩΚΕΗ ΆΠΕΨΩΣΑ ΤΗΡΗ ΠΙΔΙΚΕΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΠΑ  
 ΛΔΚΑΡΩΗ ΔΦΦΔΙ ΉΔ ΤΔΙΒΔΑΝΟΣ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΤΖΩΡΙ  
 ΔΦΕΡΚΕΛΕΥΤΙΝ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΗΧΕ ΣΠΙΖΗΓΕΩΣΗ ΝΔΕΩΣΙΤΗ ΕΠΙΨ-

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Lege σωτεα. — <sup>2</sup> ζου add. in margine a 1<sup>o</sup> m. — <sup>3</sup> ο alter.  
 s. l. — <sup>4</sup> ο 1<sup>ο</sup> add. s. l. a 1<sup>ο</sup> m. Sic. Lege ΝΤΕΨΤΑΚΕΘΗΝΟΥ.

*in particular so that you might sacrifice and receive honour.* Apa Lacaron replied: *I beg you that I may please the King of all Kings in order to receive the crown of immortality from Him. Do not think, governor that you will be able to deceive me with your lying words. I despise you and your empty words because of my confession<sup>17</sup> of my Lord Jesus Christ.* The governor answered and said to the soldiers: *Throw him on his belly and whip him with calf sinews and tell him to listen to the command of our lord emperors.* The holy Apa Lacaron answered mildly: *It is my command to listen to the orders of the great king of truth, my Lord Jesus Christ, who saves everyone who hopes in Him.* The governor had him flogged until his blood flowed upon the earth, saying: *Sacrifice. Do not die a painful death at my hands.*<sup>18</sup> The holy Apa Lacaron answered and said to the governor: *Son of lawlessness, we have God as our helper, who is able to help us. He will save us from your hands and destroy you and your fellow impious rulers.* The governor ordered him to be hung on the stake and flayed until his insides fell to the ground and his blood soaked his entire body. The just Apa Lacaron bore this torture with fortitude. The governor also ordered him to be thrown into

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17 This word **ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ** also towards at the end

18 This phrase occurs 4 times in the text.

ΤΕΚΟ ΣΩΤΕΡΟΣΟΝΙ ΔΕ ΑΓΝΑΕΡΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΙΝ ἄιοφ ΝΔΥ  
ΝΡΗΤ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΣΑΦ ΓΔΡ ΚΕΝ ΠΕΦΙΝΙ

ΣΕΝ ΠΙΕΧΑΡΘ ΔΕ ΕΤΕΙΠΑΖ ΛΦΟΥΟΝΣΦ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΔΕ ΠΩΣ  
ΠΕΧΔΑΦ ΝΔΦ ΔΕ ΣΩΠΙ ΝΔΑΡΣΗΤ ΖΛ ΛΔΚΑΡΩΝ ΔΕ  
ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΩΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΒΡΟ ΣΙΟΚ ΟΥΟΣ ΣΕΙΝΟΜΤ 5  
ΔΝΟΚ ΤΣΟΠ ΝΕΜΑΚ ΚΕΝ ΝΕΚΘΛΥΨΙΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΘΑ-  
ΣΩΠΙ ΣΙΟΚ ΤΩΡΚ ΣΙΟΙ ΣΙΙΝ ΣΙΟΙ ΔΕ ΖΗΔΑΕΡΣΔΙ  
ΝΕΙ ΝΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΤΗΙ ΚΕΝ ΙΔΗΙ ΝΤΕ ΤΦΕ ΟΥΟΣ ΠΕ-  
ΚΡΑΝ ΝΔΙΩΟΥ ΣΙΔΕΝ ΠΚΑΔΙ ΤΗΡΦ ΟΥΟΣ ΤΕΚΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΔ  
ΝΔΣΩΠΙ ΝΕΩΙΤ ΚΕΝ ΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΦ ΒΡΟ ΣΙΟΚ ΟΥΟΣ 10  
ΣΕΙΝΟΜΤ ΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΔΦΕΡΑΣΠΑΖΕΣΦΕ ΣΙΟΦ ΝΔΕ ΠΙΣΩ-  
ΤΗΡ ΔΦΤ ΝΔΦ ΝΤΣΙΡΗΝΗ ΔΦΣΩΑ ΕΠΑΨΩΙ ΕΝΙΦΗΟΥΓΙ  
ΚΕΝ ΟΥΔΟΥ ΝΕΙ ΝΕΦΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕ  
ΔΠΑ ΛΔΚΑΡΩΝ ΔΦΣΩΠΙ ΕΦΟΙ ΝΦΡΩΙΣ ΣΠΙΕΧΑΡΘ ΤΗΡΦ  
ΣΩΤΕ ΠΙΟΥΩΙΝΙ ΣΦΑΙ ΕΦΤΔΑΧΡΗΟΥΤ ΝΣΗΤ ΚΕΝ ΠΙ- 15  
ΕΡΟΥΟΤ ΕΤΑ ΠΩΣ ΕΡΣΜΟΤ ΣΙΟΦ ΝΔΦ

ΕΤΑ ΣΩΡΠ ΔΕ ΣΩΠΙ ΔΦΕΡΚΕΛΕΥΤΙΝ ΝΔΕ ΔΡΙΔΝΟΣ  
πιζηγεων εθρογφωρψ ΝΔΦ ΣΠΙΒΗΜΑ \* ΔΕ ΣΙΝΑ  
ΝΤΟΥΙΝΙ ΝΔΦ ΣΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΔΠΑ ΛΔΚΑΡΩΝ ΝΤΕΦΣΩΤΕΜ  
ΕΡΟΦ ΕΤΑΥΙΝΙ ΔΕ ΣΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥΟΛΨ ΣΠΙΒΗΜΑ 20  
ΝΔΦΜΟΨΙ ΠΕ ΕΦΕΡΨΔΛΙΝ ΕΦΔΩ ΣΙΟΙ ΔΕ ΦΤ ΣΑΦΘΗΚ  
ΕΤΑΒΟΗΘΙΑ<sup>1</sup> ΟΥΟΣ ΝΔΦΜΕΤ ΚΕΝ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ<sup>2</sup> ΔΦΟΥΔΑΣ-  
ΣΔΝΙ ΝΔΕ ΠΙΖΗΓΕΩΝ εθρογσων ΣΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΣΟΥ-  
ΔΛΟΣ ΝΒΕΝΙΠ<sup>3</sup> ΟΥΟΣ ΝΣΕΔΟΥΩΝΣ<sup>4</sup> ΝΡΩΨ ΚΕΝ ΣΑΝΕΒΟΥ  
ΝΒΕΝΙΠ ΝΣΕΦΩΔΙ ΣΝΕΦΝΔΔΖΙ ΝΕΙ ΝΕΦΨΟΛ ΝΟΥΔΙ 25  
ΟΥΔΙ ΝΣΕΧΑΨ ΝΟΥΤΑΤΣ ΕΦΒΕΡΒΕΡ ΕΗΡΗΙ ΕΡΩΨ ΝΕΙ  
ΝΕΦΣΩΜΑ ΣΕΝΕΝΣΩΣ ΟΝ ΔΦΟΥΔΑΣΔΝΙ Εθρογσωλψ ΕΒΩΛ  
ΣΙ ΠΙΔΛΟΣ ΝΒΕΝΙΠ ΝΣΕΔΨΦ ΕΠΙΕΡΜΗΤΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΣΕΦΩΚΙ

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxix, 2. — <sup>2</sup> Ps. lxx, 3. — <sup>3</sup> Ms. ΝΒΕΝΙΠ. — <sup>4</sup> Sie. Λεγε ΝΣΕ-  
ΔΟΥΩΝ.

prison until he decided how he would punish him, for he was handsome in appearance.<sup>19</sup>

That evening the Lord appeared to him and said: *Be strong, Lacaron, for I am the Lord Jesus Christ. Be victorious and take strength. I am with you in your future tribulations. I pledge that you will celebrate with my saints in heavenly Jerusalem and your name will be glorified on earth and your martyrdom will be become famous in the whole world. Be victorious and take strength.* In this way the Saviour embraced him. He gave him the sign of peace and departed to heaven in glory with His holy angels. The blessed Apa Lacaron kept a vigil that evening until the following day, strengthened by the joy with which the Lord had blessed him.

When day dawned, Arianus the governor ordered a tribunal to be set up for him so that the saint might be brought to him that he might hear him. The saint was brought singing Psalms: *God, attend to my help and save me in your name.*<sup>20</sup> The governor ordered the saint to be chained to an iron bed, and his mouth to be opened with iron forceps and his teeth to be removed one by one and molten lead poured on to his mouth and body. He then ordered him to be removed from the bed and hung on a stake and flayed.

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19 The nexus between these observations is not easy to understand: does the governor want to be careful not to destroy his appearance or is that exactly what he wants to do?

20 Ps. 69, 1

Νε α περσωιτ μορ οντπολις τηρε πε χε ουρω-  
15 ιι ιντε φή πε ερε πότε ψηφ νεμαρι ον ουγον ουγεζιι  
ηεν τπολις ερε πεσψηρι ηεν τκοι εψχαι νειι νεψ-  
τεβνωογι ουγορ αψει ιχε ουγαι εβολ ιηητογ<sup>3</sup>  
αψιογ σατοτφ εταξσωτει χε εθε επαγιος απα-  
λακαρωη αστωης αψε ιας επιψτεκο αστωβ υιορ  
20 εεχω υιος ιαρι χε ττχο εροκ πιμαρτγρος ιτε  
πχε ξινα ιτεκερβοηειν εροι χε ιαρε πακουχι ιψηρι  
εχαι υφοογ ηεν νεψτεβνωογι αψει ιχε ουγαι ηεν  
νιιασι αψιογ πιμακαριος χε απα λακαρωη εταψ-  
ναγ επεσθεβιο νειι περωκ ρεχαι ιας χε οι  
25 υπαιψωτ ιηηι ιτεχαι εχεν ταφε υπιιασι ιτε-  
χος υπαιρητ χε ηεν φραλ ιηηι πχε πψηρι υφή  
ετονη φη εταιψεπ ιιιι ερηι εχεν περωλ εθογαβ-  
τωηκ δρι ερατκ τεζιι χε αψωαι υπαιψωτ ασογ-  
αρη εχεν ταφε υπιιασι εεχω υιος χε ηεν φραλ

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Lege εօν&ωγτ. — <sup>2</sup> Sic. — <sup>3</sup> γ s. l.

The holy martyr cried aloud: *My Lord Jesus Christ, save me from all this harsh punishment.* The governor ordered a bronze cow to be brought and his body to be nailed to it with quantities of long nails and fine needles.<sup>21</sup> Through all of this the saint was completely unconscious. The governor ordered the bronze animal to be drawn by machines attached to it so that all the saint's limbs would come apart and become like the dust of the earth. The blessed Apa Lacaron continued to bear all of this punishment with fortitude. Afterwards the governor ordered him to be thrown into prison in iron shackles.

His fame spread through the entire city that he as a man of God who had the Lord with him. There was a woman in the city whose son was in the fields ploughing with his beasts. One of them fell down and died instantly. When she heard about Apa Lacaron, she arose and went to him in prison and begged him, saying: *I beg you, martyr, that Christ may help me, because my younger son was ploughing the fields today with his animals and one of them dropped dead.* The blessed Apa Lacaron, when he saw her humility and fervour, said to her: *Take this staff of mine and put it on the head of the beast, like this, and say: "In the name of Jesus Christ the Son of the living God for whose holy name I have received this pain, arise and stand."* The woman took the staff and placed it on the head of the beast, saying: *In the name*

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21 **BEPONI** may be a Greek word. The only word I know that is similar is the Mod. Greek πηρόυνι 'fork'.

ΝΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΦΤ ΑΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΆΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΤΩΝΚ ΟΣΙ  
ΕΡΑΤΚ ΉΕΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΦΤΩΝΨ ΑΦΟΣΙ ΕΡΑΤΨ ΕΦΟΝΗ  
ΠΙΑΗΨ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΨ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΦΗ ΕΤΑΦΨΩΠΙ  
ΑΓΤΩΟΥ ΜΦΤ ΝΕΙ ΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΆΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ

ΟΥΟΣ ΙC ΚΕΟΥΔΙ ΕΦΟΤΠ<sup>1</sup> ΕΗΟΥΝ ΝΕΙ ΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΆΠΑ 5  
ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ \* ΕΡΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΙΨΩΝ ΣΙΩΤΨ ΑΦΟΥΨΩΨΤ  
ΙΙΟΨ ΕΦΔΨ ΙΙΟΨ ΖΕ ΑΚΨΑΝΟΥΨΩΨ ΟΥΟΝ ΖΧΟΨ  
ΙΙΟΚ ΕΤΑΛΒΟΙ ΑΦΕΡΟΥΨΩΨ ΝΖΕ ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΔΑΒ ΠΕΧΑΨ  
ΝΑΨ ΖΕ ΖΗΔΤ ΖΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΖΧΟΨ ΖΠΑΝΟΥΤ ΕΤΑΛ-  
ΒΟΚ ΑΦΕΡΟΥΨΩΨ ΝΖΕ ΠΙΡΨΩΙ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΔΕΙΨΩΝ ΖΕ ΖΕ ΤΗΔΤ<sup>10</sup>  
ΖΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΖΧΟΨ ΙΙΟΨ ΑΦΤΩΝΨ ΝΖΕ ΠΙΔΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ  
ΑΦΨΛΗΛ ΕΦΔΨ ΙΙΟΨ ΖΕ ΠΑΣΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΠΑΝΟΥΤ  
ΕΣΕΨΩΠΙ ΑΠΑΙΡΨΩΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΨΝΑΤ ΟΥΟΣ ΑΦΟΥΧΑΙ  
ΝΖΕ ΠΙΡΨΩΙ ΙΣΔΕΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΙΨΑΥ ΟΥΟΣ ΝΗ  
ΕΤΖΟΤΠ ΕΗΟΥΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>2</sup> ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΦΗ ΕΤΑΦ-  
ΨΩΠΙ ΑΓΨΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΔΨ ΙΙΟΨ ΖΕ ΟΥΔΙ ΠΕ ΦΤ ΑΠΙ-  
ΔΓΙΟΣ ΆΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΙΙΟΨ ΚΕΟΥΔΙ ΕΒΗΛ ΕΡΟΨ ΦΔΙ  
ΕΤΣΩΤΕΙ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΨΩΨ ΕΠΨΩΨ ΖΔΡΟΨ ΉΕΝ<sup>3</sup>  
ΠΟΥΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΨ

ΟΥΟΣ ΙC ΚΕΔΡΨΩΝ ΕΦΖΟΤΠ ΕΗΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΨΤΕΚΟ ΕΘΕΒ<sup>40</sup>  
ΖΑΝΔΗΙΙΟΣΙΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΟΨ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΕΨΝΑΥ ΕΦΗ ΕΤΑΦ-  
ΨΩΠΙ ΑΦΤΩΝΨ ΑΦΟΥΨΩΨΤ ΝΝΕΝΔΑΛΔΑΥ ΑΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ  
ΆΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΑΦΤΖΟ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΦΔΨ ΙΙΟΨ ΖΕ ΤΖΟ  
ΕΡΟΚ ΠΙΒΨΚ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΣ ΣΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΚΤ ΝΗΙ ΖΠΙΨΩΨ  
ΕΘΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΝΟΣ ΠΙΔΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΆΠΑ ΛΑ-  
ΚΑΡΩΝ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΕΨΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΨΝΑΤ ΕΤΣΟΥΤΨΩΝ ΑΦΕΡ-  
ΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΙΝ ΖΠΚΑΖΙ ΉΕΝ ΠΕΨΤΗΒ ΝΟΥΓΙΝΑΙΙ ΑΦΨΩΠΙ ΝΖΕ  
ΟΥΨΩΟΥ ΕΨΕΚΗΑΤ ΟΥΟΣ ΑΦΤΨΩΨ ΝΑΨ ΉΕΝ ΦΡΔΝ  
ΑΦΙΨΩΤ \* ΝΕΙ ΠΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΙ ΠΙΠΝΑ ΕΘΟΥΔΑΒ

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Deinceps semper cum ε. — <sup>2</sup> Ms. hic reperit ΕΤΖΟΤΠ ΕΗΟΥΝ.

— <sup>3</sup> Ms. ίε.

*of Jesus Christ the God of the holy Apa Lacaron, arise and stand.* At that moment he arose and stood. When the multitude saw what happened, they gave glory to God and the holy Apa Lacaron.

Now, there was someone in prison with Lacaron and he was possessed by a demon. He begged<sup>22</sup> Lacaron, saying: *If you wish, you can heal me.* Lacaron replied: *Do you believe that my God can heal you?* The man possessed by the demon answered that he believed it. The saint arose and prayed: *My Lord Jesus Christ, my God, let it be with this man according to his belief.* The man was healed instantly. All those in the prison, when they saw what happened, cried aloud: *One is the God of the holy Apa Lacaron. There is no other God but Him, the one who listens to all those cry up to Him with their whole heart.*

There was also a city official in the prison for debt in the matter of public taxes.<sup>23</sup> When he saw what happened, he arose and kissed the feet of the holy Apa Lacaron and begged him: *Servant of Christ, baptize me as a Christian.* When Lacaron saw his upright belief, he made the sign of the cross on the ground with his right thumb, and water came pouring out. He baptized the man in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

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22 The verb used is ογωψτ Crum 504b

23 I take αρχων to be some sort of public official and ΔΗΜΟΙΟΝ to refer to 'public' taxes cf. Moulton and Milligan o. 145. The Coptic preposition e- means 'against' cf. for example Matt. 6, 12 ρω νετερον ναν εβοι 'forgive us our debts':

Κεστι ότι ον εεχοτι εὗρην εούτον ουλεώνι  
 νεπας αφράτος εὕρη πή πλεων αφωψ εβολ  
 εψχω μιος χε ττωβε ώμοκ παγιος αλα λακα-  
 ρων ὑπερερβασανίζιν ώμοι ανοκ τηλι εβολ ηντις  
 ανοκ χε ανοκ ουχο νογχορ ἥεν πλινι ισ πΓ γαρ  
 προσπι τψοπ ἥεν ταιστι εεψοπ ηνι ώμανογχος  
 επιδη τηλι εβολ ηντις την αφερογχο ηχε π-  
 αγιος απα λακαρων πεχαφ >NNΗ ετχοτι εὗρην χε  
 παρεντωγην ητεψληλα αφτωνη ηχε παγιος απα  
 λακαρων αφφωρψ ηνεψχια εβολ αφτωβε υπαίρητ  
 εψχω μιος χε πασι ιης πχς σωτει επατωβε βιτφ<sup>1</sup>  
 ητοτ δισην ενδεριωγι ιαρε ουον ηνεν Ἔι χε  
 ήθοκ πε φΤ ετβισι ηνη ετθεβινογτ<sup>2</sup> ουχ φβονθος  
 ηνη ετε ώμοντογ<sup>2</sup> βονθος ώματ φη εταφφωρψ  
 εβολ ητεψφε εθογαβ αφταχρος ουχ αψολσει μιος  
 ἥεν πσολσει ητε ψανσιογ φη εταφιψι ηηνιτωογ  
 ἥεν ουψι ουχ ηηάρωογ ἥεν ουχαψι<sup>3</sup> φη εταφ-  
 ουγωνε εβολ ἥεν θεχι ώμαρια τπαρθενος ηατθω-  
 λεβ χεχας εεψεψτ υπγενος τηρφ ηηνιρωαι φη εταφ-  
 ουγωνεψ εβολ ηνεψαποστολος εθογαβ εερογχιωιψ  
 υπεψραν ετσιαρωογ χε ητογιμογ εροκ ουχ  
 ησετψογ ητεκνιψτ ώμεταγαθος εθογαβ εερογ-  
 ωινι<sup>4</sup> επικοσμος τηρφ \*πιψογ ηακ πασι ιης πχς . f. 5 v.  
 ψα Ἔνεψ ητε ηιένεψ τηρογ αηην ἥεν πχινθεψχω χε  
 ώμιαηην αγοχοζεη ησωψ τηρογ χε αηην ουχ ἥεν  
 τουγνογ & πιλεων ρωψτ ητεψι αφι εβολ ηντις  
 ώφρητ ηογψαψ ηχρωαι ηιρωαι χε τηρογ ετχη  
 ἥεν πιψτεκο αγωψ εβολ εψχω μιος χε ουαι πε φΤ  
 ώμιαγιος απα λακαρων μιον κεογαι εβηλ εροφ

<sup>1</sup> τφ add. s. l. a 1<sup>st</sup> m. — <sup>2</sup> γ s. l. — <sup>3</sup> Cf. Is., xl, 12. — <sup>4</sup> ē alter.  
 add. s. l. a 1<sup>st</sup> m.

There was also a woman possessed by a demon. The demon cast her down and cried out: *I beg you, Lacaron, do not torture me. I will come out of her. I have the face of a dog.*<sup>24</sup> *I have been inside this woman for 13 years and she has been my dwelling place. I will now come out of her.* Lacaron replied to the inmates: *Let us arise and pray.* He arose and spread his hands and prayed: *Lord Jesus Christ, listen to my prayer, receive it from me, give voice to my tears. Let everyone know that you are the exalted God of the humble and the helper of those who have none, the one who has expanded His holy heaven and made it firm and adorned it with stars, who has hung the hills in scales and the rivers in a balance,*<sup>25</sup> *the one who appeared in the womb of Mary the Immaculate Virgin that He might save the entire race of mankind, who appeared to His holy apostles that they might preach His blessed name that you might be blessed and that glory may be given to the your great holy goodness which is alight to the whole world. Glory to you, my Lord Jesus Christ forever and ever. Amen.* When he said the 'Amen', they all repeated it after him. At that moment the demon cast the woman to the ground and came out of her like a flash of fire. All the people in the prison cried out: *One is the God of Lacaron and there is none beside Him.*

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24 The term 'dog-face' brings to mind the jackal Wepwawet ('opener of the ways'), who led the deceased into the underworld in the pharaonic period.

25 Is. 40, 12

Цененса нац де он іс огруші ере пефблаз соалп  
евол ағі үшін піагіос апа лакаршн ағтжо ероқ  
еңдік шиос же шаталбоі піс же тұсін пішакаріос  
де ағсоутшн<sup>1</sup> пефтів евол ағерсфрагізін шиод  
еңдік шиос нац же әючі нтеккіх өһогн ңен пек-  
алох огоз ңен фран үпхс жнауғадаі огоз ңен  
пхинөрекшілікпеблаз өһогн ңен пефалаш<sup>2</sup> ағенқ  
евол еғсоутшн евол үфриң үпікесуғадаі пішіш де  
етхотп өһогн ңен пхинөротнан өфи етадышапі  
алыш евол тироғ өзіш шиос же шион ноз<sup>3</sup> 10  
шоп ңен тфє оздағ әзіден пкағы өвніл еїнс пхс фт  
напа лакаршн

Аріанос де пізигемшн ңен пхинөрекштес өзів  
\* 6 г. Ніхом нем нішфірі етепірі шиоду \* ңже піагіос  
апа лакаршн ағеркеңеүін еоруғенq нац әзен 15  
півшш пізигемшн де пекағ нац же алісі өйтасо  
ерок ағероғш нац піагіос пекағ нац же үпер-  
тасо ероі ан же өнәғсақі немағ пе ере пефшо  
ероғшині үфриң үфри пеке пізигемшн нац же  
аріуетіа үпершоң ңқакшы үлакаршн ағероғш 20  
ңже фи өзіншаб пекағ нац же нсағ мен нақтасо  
ероі пе үфооғ де әзір үпертасо<sup>3</sup> ероі ан же аноқ  
де ғсевтшт еорішоң әзен паст інс пхс нтайні  
үпасшша өзрі нозштіа үфт сеңеноғт гар же  
үперершт үатшн үфи өнәйштес үпетеншша 25  
тетенштүхн де шион шхом шиоду өзіншес<sup>4</sup> ағер-  
кеңеүін ңже пізигемшн еоруғдашq епіершнтаршн  
нсөзшкі шиод үштік незмаңт і евол ңен теңнеді  
пішакаріос де ағдай ңнеғвал епшәні етфє еңдік

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Lege ағсоутен. — <sup>2</sup> Sic. Lege пефблаз. — <sup>3</sup> о. с. I. — <sup>4</sup> Мт.,  
х. 28.

And then there was a man whose arm had been cut off. He came to Lacaron and asked him: *Heal me, Lord. I am in pain.* The blessed one stretched forth his finger and made the sign of the cross, saying: *Put your hand to your shoulder and, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, you will be made whole.* When he put his arm to his shoulder, he was able to hold out his arm, like everyone else. The multitude of the inmates,<sup>26</sup> when they saw what happened, cried out: *There is no God in heaven or on earth except Jesus Christ the God of Apa Lacaron.*

Arianus the governor, when he heard about the miracles and wonders performed by Apa Lacaron, ordered him to be brought to the tribunal. The governor said to him: *I have taken pains to spare you.* The saint replied: *Do not spare me*, his face illuminated like the sun as he was speaking to the governor, who said to him: Sacrifice. *Do not die a painful death, Lacaron.* The saint replied: *Yesterday you were going to spare me, but today do not spare me, for I am prepared to die for my Lord Jesus Christ. I have brought my body as a sacrifice to God. For it is written: Do not be afraid of the one who will kill your body. Your soul, it is impossible for them to kill it.*<sup>27</sup> The governor ordered him to be hung on the stake and his body flayed until his insides came forth from his belly. The blessed one raised his eyes to heaven, saying:

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26 For the form **զօտն** with this meaning see Crum 531b

27 Matth. 10, 28

άπος χειροτεμένοι πάσι της πλήθεως ήταν οι πολεμοί που  
άπεκτησαν παραγγελίαν την εποχή της πολιτείας της Αθηναϊκής  
πόλης.

ἩΕΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΤΕΙΣΙΑΤ ΙΩ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΗΑΓ-  
5 ΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΓΙ ΕΒΟΙ ΉΕΝ ΤΦΕ ΑΓΓΙΟΥΤΙ ΉΝΝΕΙΣΑΗΤ ΗΠΙ-  
ΔΙΚΕΟΣ ΕΙΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΦΝΕΧΙ ΝΚΕΣΟΠ ΟΥΟΣ ΑΓΕΝΨ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ  
ΕΒΟΙ ΣΙ ΠΙΕΡΑΝΤΑΡΙΟΝ \* ἄΙΙΟΝ ΣΙ ΙΦΩΛΩΣ ΉΕΝ \* τ. 6 ρ.  
ΠΕΨΕΩΜΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΙΙΙΟΝ ΣΙ ΗΤΑΚΟ ΣΙΟΠ ΙΙΙΟΨ ΑΝ  
ΕΠΤΗΡΨ ΝΙΚΕΣΤΩΡΙΟΝ<sup>2</sup> ΉΕΝ ΠΑΙΝΟΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΠΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
10 ΕΤΑΓΓΙΟΥΤΙ ΗΝΝΕΙΣΑΗΤ ΕΙΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΦΝΕΧΙ ΑΥΝΑΣΤ ΕΦΤ  
ΗΕΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΑΥΒΑΛ ΕΒΟΙ ΝΝΙΗΩΚ ΕΝΑΥΜΗΡ ΙΙΙΙΟΥ  
ΑΥΧΑΥ ΗΑΡΑΤΨ ΗΠΙΖΗΓΕΨΩΝ ΑΥΩΨ ΕΒΟΙ ΕΥΔΩ  
ΙΙΙΟΣ ΖΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΣΑΝΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΙΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ ΕΝΗΠ  
ΕΦΤ ΙΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΡΙΑΝΕ<sup>3</sup> ΠΙΖΗΓΕ-  
15 ΙΙΙΟΝ ΑΓΔΩΝΤ ΠΕΧΔΑΨ ΝΩΟΥ ΖΕ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΥ ΕΟΥ  
ΑΥΕΡΟΥΨ ΠΕΧΔΩΟΥ ΝΑΨ ΖΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΨ ΤΕΝ-  
ΨΤΑΙΟ ΗΙΙΟΚ ΕΡΟΨ ΑΝ ΣΣΗΝΟΥΤ ΓΑΡ ΖΕ ΗΠΕΡΧΩ  
ΗΝΝΕΤΕΝΑΝΑΗΙ ΗΠΕΜΘΟ ΝΝΙΕΨΑΥ ΙΗΠΩΨ ΗΣΕΩΨΙ  
ΕΔΩΟΥ ΝΝΟΥΤΒΑΛΑΥΧ ΟΥΟΣ ΗΣΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΗΣΕΦΕΙΗΝ-  
20 ΝΟΥ<sup>4</sup> ΑΓΕΡΟΥΨ ΝΖΕ ΑΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΕΧΔΑΨ ΝΩΟΥ ΖΕ Ζ  
ΝΙΤΑΛΕΠΨΡΟΣ ΙΗ ΤΕΤΕΝΨΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΖΕ ΠΕΤΕΝΨΩΗΑ  
ΖΗ ΉΕΝ ΝΑΣΙΧ ΑΥΕΡΟΥΨ ΝΖΕ ΝΙΚΕΣΤΩΝΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΕ-  
ΧΔΩΟΥ ΝΑΨ ΖΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΕΨΝΑΚ ΑΡΙΤΨ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΕΝΨΗΨ  
ΑΝ ΖΑ ΝΕΚΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΉΤΑΝ ΙΙΙΑΥ ΙΠΧΣ ΠΕΝ-  
25 ΝΟΥΤ ΕΨΙΟΠ ΝΑΝ ΝΒΟΗΘΟΣ \* ΑΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΙΖΗΓΕΨΩΝ \* τ. 7 ρ.  
ΑΓΔΩΝΤ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΔΙΒΟΝ ΑΓΕΡΚΕΛΕΥΤΙΝ ΕΕΡΟΥΨΩΚΙ ΝΟΥ-  
ΦΟΣΣΑ ΗΣΕΙΑΣ ΗΧΡΩΗ ΉΕΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ & ΝΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ  
ΦΟΣΟΥ ΕΗΡΗΙ ΕΠΙΧΡΩΗ ΙΙΙΑΥΔΤΟΥ ΦΔΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΡΗΤ

<sup>1</sup> Sic. — <sup>2</sup> Sic. Lege ΝΙΚΕΣΤΩΝΔΡΙΟΝ. — <sup>3</sup> Sic, et ita saepe deinceps.  
— <sup>4</sup> Mt., vii, 6.

*Listen to me, my Lord Jesus Christ, and send me your great holy archangel Michael that he may help me in my hour of need.*

At that moment Michael the archangel came out of the heavens and put the entrails of the saint back into his belly and brought him down from the stake. There was no disfigurement on his body and nothing at all wrong was with him. The executioners<sup>28</sup>, when they saw the angel put back his entrails, believed in God. At that moment the armour they were wearing, they placed at the feet of the governor and said: *We are Christians openly and we belong to the God of Apa Lacaron*. Arianus became angry and said: *What have you seen ? They replied: What we have seen we are unable to tell you, for it is written: "Do not place precious things before swine lest they trample them with their feet and turn around and tear you to pieces."*<sup>29</sup> Arianus replied: *You wretches, do you not know that your life is my hands ?* The executioners said to him: *Do whatever you will to us and we will not be crushed by your tortures, for we have Christ our God as our helper.* Arianus became extremely angry and ordered a ditch to be dug and filled with fire. At that moment the saints spontaneously hurled themselves into the fire. This is how

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28 *quaestionarius*. A vivid account of the role of these people and others in a trial is provided by J. Dillon *The Justice of Constantine* (2012) p. 123

29 Matth. 7, 6

ΕΤΑΥΔΩΚ ΝΤΟΥΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΤΓΕΝΝΕΟΣ  
ΑΥΓΙ ΑΠΙΧΛΟΙ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΑΥΓΩΑ ΕΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ ΉΕΝ  
ΟΥΓΩΟΥ

ΠΙΣΥΝΚΑΘΕΔΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΑΠΙΣΗΓΕΙΩΝ ΧΕ ΠΑΪΣ  
ΑΚΩΔΑΝΧΑ ΠΑΙΜΑΓΟΣ ΧΕ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΉΕΝ ΤΑΙΠΟΛΙΣ<sup>5</sup>  
ΣΕΝΑΝΔΑΣΤ ΕΡΟΨ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΔΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΗΕΝ ΤΑΙ-  
ΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΣ ΣΑΝΙΑΗ ΝΨΦΗΡΙ ΑΨΑΙΤΟΥ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΑΙΡΑΝ  
ΧΕ ΙΗΣ ΦΔΙ ΕΡΕ ΝΙΟΥΓΡΩΟΥ ΖΟΝΤ ΕΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΨ  
ΕΘΒΗΤΨ ΑΔΡΕΝΣΟΒΤ ΝΔΨ ΝΣΑΝΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ ΕΥΓΩΟΥ  
ΕΖΟΤΕ ΝΔΙ ΝΟΥΓΕΒΑ ΝΚΩΒ ΝΣΟΠ ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΓΑΒ ΔΕ ΝΔΡΕ<sup>10</sup>  
ΤΧΑΡΙΣ ΝΤΕ ΦΤ ΕΡΟΥΓΩΝΙ ΉΕΝ ΠΕΨΖΟ ΠΕ ΝΔΨΕΡΨΔ-  
ΛΙΝ ΠΕ ΕΨΔΩ ΣΙΟΣ ΑΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΔΕ ΦΤ ΑΠΕΡΧΑΡΩΚ  
ΕΠΑΣΜΟΥ<sup>1</sup> ΔΕ ΡΩΟΥ ΝΝΙΔΝΟΜΟΣ ΑΥΨΟΥΓΨΟΥ ΑΙΙΩΟΥ  
ΕΘΡΗΙ ΕΔΩΙ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΕΨΖΩ ΔΕ ΑΠΙΔΑΗΗ ΑΨΕΝΚΟΤ  
ΟΥΟΣ ΑΨΖΩΡΠ<sup>15</sup>

ΗΕΝ ΤΦΔΨΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΕΨΩΡΖ ΑΨΤΨΝΨ ΝΔΕ ΦΗ  
ΕΘΟΥΓΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΑΨΨΛΗ ΑΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΕΨΔΩ  
ΣΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΪΣ ΑΚΩΔΑΝΔΟΥΨΩΝ ΝΝΑΣΦΟ<sup>2</sup>ΤΟΥ ΡΩΙ ΕΨΕ-  
ΔΩ ΑΠΕΚΣΜΟΥ<sup>2</sup> ΟΥΟΣ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΗΕΝ ΤΦΔΨΙ ΑΠΙΕΨΩΡΖ  
ΨΔΙΤΨΝΤ ΝΤΑΟΥΨΩΝΖ ΝΔΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΔΕΝ ΝΙΣΔΠ ΝΤΕ<sup>20</sup>  
ΝΕΚΙΙΕΩΗΗΙ<sup>3</sup> ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΕΨΚΗΗ ΔΕ ΕΨΤΨΒΖ ΝΔΕ ΠΙ-  
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ & ΠΙΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΕΡΨΜΟΤ  
ΝΟΥΓΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΦΤ ΑΨΙ ΨΑ ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΔΕ  
ΑΚΤΑΨΕ ΝΕΚΤΨΒΖ ΑΠΕΨΘΟ ΑΦΤ ΑΨΟΥΟΡΠΤ ΖΔΡΟΚ  
ΕΦΡΙΤΑΧΡΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΡΕΨΔΝ ΠΙΣΗΓΕΙΩΝ ΣΩΤΕΗ ΈΡΟΚ<sup>25</sup>  
ΝΡΑΣΤ ΝΤΕΨΨΕΝΚ ΕΖΔΑΝΣΑΧΙ ΕΚΕΕΡΟΨΩ ΝΔΨ ΑΒΝΕ  
ΧΡΕΨΡΕΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΣΗΤ ΟΥΟΣ ΖΗΑΔΕΨΖΗΟΥ ΑΦΤ  
ΝΤΕ ΤΦΕ ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΓΑΒ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΑΨΕΨΙ ΔΕ  
ΠΙΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΔΨ ΔΕ ΣΑΨΩΚ ΣΑΒΟΛ ΑΙΙΟΙ

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cixii, 1. — <sup>2</sup> Ps. l, 17. — <sup>3</sup> Ps. cxviii, 62.

they nobly completed their martyrdom and received the immortal crown and went up to heaven in glory.

The assessor<sup>30</sup> said to the governor: *My lord, if you leave this magician Lacaron in the city, everybody here will believe him. Look, he has already performed many miracles using the name 'Jesus Christ', the one who angered rulers of the whole world. Let us prepare tortures for him, ten thousand times worse than these.* The saint gave thanks to God. With a shining face he continued to sing psalms, saying: *God, do not stop blessing me,<sup>31</sup> for lawless rulers have gloried over me.* When the 'amen' was said, he lay down and slept.

In the middle of the night Apa Lacaron arose and prayed: *Lord, if you open the lips of my mouth,<sup>32</sup> it will bless you and In the middle of the night I will arise and appear to you on the tribunal of truth.<sup>33</sup>* When he stopped praying, the devil in the form of an angel of God came to the saint and said: *You made many requests before God. He has sent me to you to fortify you, so that when the governor hears<sup>34</sup> you tomorrow and asks you certain things, you will reply without murmuring in your heart and you will receive the benefit from the God of heaven.* Apa Lacaron knew he was the devil and told him: *Go away from me,*

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30 On thes uses of the term συγκάθεδρος cf. Lampe 1267a

31 Ps. 108, 1

32 Ps. 50, 17

33 Ps. 118, 62

34 Essentially the same meaning as the English 'hear' in a judicial context.

ω πεστάνας πιζηπερετης ήτε τάνοιαλ ἀμον μερις  
ντάκ 旱εν πιεβιδικ ήτε πχς πιψηρι αφτ εγονή 旱εν  
πχινορε πιδιαβολος σωτει εφραν απχς αφερ  
αφριτ 旱ογγαρη πχρωι αφεραναχωριν εβολ 旱ροφ  
5 πισακαριος λε απα λακαρωη πεκαφ 旱ρη  
旱ητη φε παρεψωπι ενρωις ητωβε 旱ε 旱ηε πι-  
χαλι ναιαβολος ερχαλ ἀμον

旱εν πχινορε πιζηγειωη δει πινηα αφερ-  
κελεγιν εφροτινη ναφ απισακαριος απα λακαρωη  
10 旱εν πχινορογενη φε πεχε πιζηγειωη ναφ φε  
τογωφ \*αν εφρεκερετησια απαριτ αλλα ειογωφ \*f.8r.  
εφρεκταλο πογκουχι ναυβανος επψωι ἀμαγατη φε  
εχεν τψηνοτι αλοκ τηλχακ 旱ολ δινα ητεκερεβολ  
旱ηιβασανος φη εθογαβ φε πεχε ἀπιζηγειωη φε  
15 εκογωφ εερχαλ ἀμοι 旱εν νεκαλι νκολακια ναι  
εττχωητ αφτ νει νεψαγγελος εθογαβ τοτε πιζη-  
γειωη αφερκελεγιν εφροτινη πογγυνψελιον εφρογ-  
τχεισο απισακαριος απα λακαρωη διχωφ ογοφ  
旱ηεινη 旱ηανιφτ εγψηνη νσετοσογ εηογη επιψηα  
20 απιαγιος αφερογτωη πογαι 旱εν πεψφιρ πογιναη  
ψατεφι εβολ 旱εν πεψωηα ητεψτωη επιψγνψελιον  
νει κεογαι 旱εν πεψφιρ νχαδη ογοφ κεογαι οη  
旱εν πεψανκεφαλος ψατεφι εβολ 旱εν νεψαναγ-  
κεον νσεωφτ εηογη επιψγνψελιον πεχε πιζηγειωη  
25 ναφ φε λακαρωη παρεφι 旱ε πεκνογτ φαι ετεκ-  
ναστ εροφ 旱ηεψηαζμεκ εβολ 旱εν ναχιχ ηταναγ  
ετεψχου

旱εν τογνογ ισ ογαγγελος ητε πστ αφι εβολ  
旱εν τφε \*αψωαι 旱ηηηφτ εβολ 旱εν<sup>1</sup> πεψωηα αφη \*f.8v.

<sup>1</sup> Ms. repetit εβολ 旱εν.

*Satan, the servant of lawlessness. You have no share of the servants of the living Christ.*

When the devil heard the name of Christ, he became like a flame of fire and withdrew from him. Apa Lacaron said to himself: *Let us continue to be vigilant<sup>35</sup> and ask that the enemy not deceive us.*

When the governor sat down at the tribunal, he ordered Apa Lacaron to be brought to him. When he was brought the governor said to him: *I do not wish you to sacrifice like me but I want you to offer up a only little incense on the altar. I will release you from tortures.* The saint said to the governor: *You wish to deceive me with your words of flattery, which cause anger to God and His angels.* The governor then ordered a bench<sup>36</sup> to be brought and the saint to be made to sit on it. Fine nails were brought and the saint was pierced with them, one of them in his right side until it came out of his body and he was fixed to the bench, and another one in his left side and another in his head until it came out of his genitals<sup>37</sup> and he was attached to the bench. The governor said: *Lacaron, let your God in whom you believe come and save you from my hands and let me see His power.*

At that moment an angel of God came down from heaven and took the nails away from the body of the

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35 Coptic occasionally uses the so-called periphrastic form, **ΜΑΡΕΝΦΩΤΠ ΕΝΡΩΙC**, which I understand to have progressive or continuous meaning here. See also note 55

36 *subsellium*

37 ἀναγκαῖον

εθογάβ ἀρτοσογ ἱεν πσωια ὑπιχηγειων τοτε  
πιχηγειων ἀρωψ εβολ ερχω υιος ρε λακαρων  
τνογ διει ρε πεκνογτ ετεκψειωι υιοφ ουγογτ  
ερχεικομ πε εψωπ ἀρψανταλβοι τναρτ<sup>1</sup> εροφ  
ἀρερογω νχε φη εθογάβ απα λακαρων πεκαφ 5  
ναφ ρε τέωι ρε χναναρτ αν αλλα εθε παιηηψ  
ετοζι ερατφ ωπαιηα τνογ τνατωβρ υπαστ ιης  
πχς φαι εψωπ ηηαιηιοι εχεν πεφραν εθογάβ χινα  
ντερτ νακ ωπιταλβο ωπαικεσοφ ουροφ ἱεν τογ-  
νογ & φη εθογάβ απα λακαρων ουροφ τεφδια 10  
εχεν πεψωια τηρφ πεκαφ ρε ἱεν φραν υπαστ<sup>2</sup>  
ιης πχς φαι εψειωι υιοφ εκεογωνξ ητεκχοι  
εβολ χινα ντε παιηηψ τηρφ ρει ρε ηεοκ πε φτ  
υιον κεογαι εβηλ εροκ ηετωφ ωπεκραν εθογάβ  
ἱεν τογνογ & ηηηφτ φωδι εβολ ἱεν πσωια 15  
ὑπιχηγειων υφρητ ηογηων εαψχει εχεν πκαδι  
πιχηγειων ρε ἀρωψ εβολ ερχω υιος ρε υιοφ  
νογτ υφρητ ωπιαπολων ηει ταρτεωις ναι ερε  
πικοσμοφ τηρφ ταρηνογτ ερατφ εβολ χιτοτογ \*ρε  
εθεητογ & πιοχαι<sup>3</sup> ταροφ ουροφ ἀρερογω νχε 20  
πιαργιοφ απα λακαρων πεκαφ ναφ ρε χναι οη  
ηηαχια ηκεσοφ

Ἄρχωντ նχε πιχηγειων πεκαφ ηηικεστωνα-  
ριοφ ρε ηηιογι ηηι նշանβασηηιηριοφ հηաψων<sup>4</sup>  
ητετενχαι ωπερմօο ηταερβաσանիզիν υιοφ նիηտογ 25  
աժենար ρε πεկνոγτ նայնացմεφ εβολ ἱεν նա-  
ճիք իεν πխնεրοցին ρε ηηιվասանիշիոֆ υպեսօ  
սփη εθογάβ ουροφ նայերբասանիզին υιοφ πε իεն  
օչուօթնαι<sup>5</sup> ουροφ υլε օչվասանօս ηտաօց ճօց էպεց-

<sup>1</sup> Sie. — <sup>2</sup> իեν φραն ա redundant? Cf. tamen p. 142, l. 18. —

<sup>3</sup> οր add. s. l. rec. m. — <sup>4</sup> γ s. l. — <sup>5</sup> Sie. Lege օչմետձօն&.

saint and pierced the governor with them. The governor cried out: *Lacaron, I now know that the God you worship is a powerful God. If you heal me, I will believe in him.* The saint replied: *I know you will not believe, but because of the many people standing here, I will beg my Lord Jesus Christ to grant you this cure this time too.* At that moment Apa Lacaron placed his hand all over his body and said: *In the name of my Lord Jesus Christ whom I worship, will you show your power so that all these people may know that you are God and there is none beside you and that they may glorify your name.* At that moment the nails sprang from the body of the governor like water falling upon the earth. The governor cried aloud: *There is no god like Apollo and Artemis, these upon whom the entire world depends, for I have been healed because of them.* Apa Lacaron said to him: *You will come into my hands once again.*<sup>38</sup>

The governor became angry and said to the executioners: *Bring me many instruments of torture and place them before him that I may torture him with them until I see whether his God will rescue him from my hands.* When they brought the instruments of torture and placed them before the saint, as they were mercilessly torturing him, no torture of theirs touched his

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38 The governor has used the phrase 'my hands' more than once in the texts to express the control he has over Lacaron. With this statement the martyr seems to be reversing the discourse, which of course infuriates the governor. In the next paragraph he even smiles as the governor is 'hoist with his petard'.

σώμα ΝΙΔΗΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΥΧΑΤΟΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> ΕΒΩΛ ΕΥΕΡΒΑΣΑΝΙ-  
ΖΙΝ ἄιορ ισχεν φωρπ ψά ρογδί ΕΥΕΡΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΙΝ  
ἄιορ ούος ἀπεφερεσθανεσσε επτηρφ ήχε φη  
εεογδαβ πιθηγεων δε λαφωντ ειαψω λαφωνη  
5 λαφωλι ἀπικευος<sup>2</sup> ΝΤΟΤΦ ΝΟΥΔΙ ΗΠΙΚΕΣΤΩΝΙΑΡΙΟΣ  
χε ςινα εφναζιογι εχεν ταφε ιπιακαριος απα  
λακαρων ȝεν τουγνου & πικευος ετγεν τεφχιχ  
ερεβολ ήτοτφ λαφει εχεν τεφαφε ιων άιορ ούος  
& τεφαφε ερπλαγη εροφ πιακαριος δε απα λα-  
10 καρων λαφωντ πεχαφ δε λανθως πιψαλιος ήτε  
λαγια δε ιεθνουχ αλ εφχω ιιος<sup>3</sup> δε ηη εττ ηε-<sup>4</sup> ιιγν.  
ιαν ΝΟΩΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΓΘΕΕΒΙΟ ούος λαφει<sup>5</sup> ούος ερε  
ΝΟΥΣΗΙ ουχι ήισου ούος ΝΟΥΣΟΘΝΕΦ ΕΥΕΗΟΥ-  
ηει

15 Δαφερογώ ήχε πιθηγεων ούος πεχαφ δε ψε  
πικρατος ήτε ΝΙΡΩΙΕΟΣ ΝΕΙΙ παπολλων πινιψή  
ήνουτφ ερε λακαρων ερχων ȝεν ουμεταχω λαφε-  
κελεγιν ήχε πιθηγεων εφερογινι ΝΑΦ ΝΟΥΣΔΛΙΑ  
ηψε πεχαφ ήηιδηιος δε ςιογι ιπαιαγος εηογν  
εροφ ήτετενογασφ ȝεν τεφαιτ ήεν πχινερογχιογι  
δε ἀπιακαριος εηογν έπιχαλια ήιεσωκ ειαψ  
λαφηιοι ειαψω ΝΕ & πεφωνα ΓΑΡ ΣΙΔΡΧΗ  
άφωρχ επεφαρνογ ΠΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΙΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΕΟΓΔΑΒ  
λαφαι ΝΝΕΦΒΑΛ ΕΠΨΩΙ έτφε λαφων<sup>6</sup> ήπαιρητ  
25 εφχω άιος δε φτ σωτει επατων<sup>7</sup> ήπερχαρωκ  
έροι πστ δε λνοκ ογψειο λνοκ ούος ειοι ήρει-  
ήλωιι ΤΗΡΤ ήφρητ ήηακειοτ ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>8</sup> ΤΝΟΥ δε  
πστ φτ ήτε ΝΙΧΟΜ ήπερογει ΣΑΒΟΛ άιοι<sup>9</sup> ήπερ-

<sup>1</sup> Lege ἀπογχα...? — <sup>2</sup> Ms. ἀπικευος. — <sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps., xxvi. 2. —

<sup>4</sup> ω s. l. — <sup>5</sup> Ps. xxviii, 13. — <sup>6</sup> Postea i perperam emendatum in κ.

body. The executioners<sup>39</sup> did not stop<sup>40</sup> torturing him from morning to evening.<sup>41</sup> The saint did not feel anything at all. The governor became very angry. He arose and took the implement from one of the executioners that he might strike the head of the blessed Apa Lacaron. At that moment, the implement in his hand escaped from him and fell upon his own head, wounding his head. The blessed Apa Lacaron smiled and said: *Truly the Psalm of David does not lie when it says that those who fight with us are those who have been humiliated and fallen, consumed by their swords and their arrows broken.*<sup>42</sup>

The governor replied and said: *By the power of the Romans and Apollo the great god Lacaron is performing magical tricks.* He then ordered a wooden wheel to be brought and said to the executioners: *Put this magician on it and saw it*<sup>43</sup> *in the middle.* They put the saint on the wheel and dragged him on it. He was in great pain, for his whole body had started to divide into two. The martyr then lifted up his eyes to heaven and prayed: *God hear my prayer. Do not be silent to me, Lord, for I am a stranger and complete exile as my fathers too were. Now, Lord God of Hosts, do not remain distant from me. Do not*

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39 δήμιος

40 For αγχατοτογ (they stopped) read μπογχατοτογ (they did not stop)

41 The phrase εγερβασανιζιν μιογ 'they torturing him' is repeated after πογι 'evening' and is not translated here.

42 Two Psalms referred to: 26, 2 and 36, 15, but more an allusion than a citation.

43 Verb ογεισε (Crum 492a)

χατ ἐμογ ψατατψιπι ὑπαιδνομοс по̄т ф† нтє  
ніхом екет ὑпир† нні εθріզді һа нівасанос нтє  
пайдносиос нѣгнгемшн εθве пекран εθоузаб ж€  
'f. 16 r. ڦина нтакіші нозпаррнса надрак \*по̄т ф† нтє  
піептнрқ піреңшенгнт оуоғ ннант екеопт нел 5  
ніесшоу нтє пекоғі оуоғ<sup>1</sup> шахом нні падс һен  
некаретн нозшнни

Ναι δε εφάω μιωούς ος πᾶς ινές αρχοντερός εροφ  
ἡν τούτου πεδαὶ ναὶ δε βρο μικρὸν πιμπτύ-  
ρος εθογάβ φιεντίτ ἀπαιωτή οὐρανὸς μιους ψα- 10  
ροι οὐταμοκ επεκχλομ μενενσως οὐτεκτάσεοκ  
επιβημα οὐτεκεραγωνιζεσθε<sup>2</sup> ἐδεν παραν οὐτεκτψι-  
πι ἀπαιανομος οὐγηειων πισωτηρ δε αρώλι  
αφη εθογάβ επψωι ενιφηογί αρταμοφ επωρανι  
επωρανιον<sup>3</sup> οὐτε τφε αρερασπαζεσθε μιοφ νει η 15  
εθογάβ τηρού ουροφ αρταμοφ επεψερονος νει περ-  
χλομ νει τεψτολη οὐρού ουροφ πεκωού ναὶ  
ηδε ηη εθογάβ τηρού ην ουσιη<sup>4</sup> πογωτ δε  
βρο μικρὸν πιμπτύρος εθογάβ πιψωιδ οὐτε πογ-  
ρο πᾶς χναβί μπχλομ οὐτακο οὐτε θιετιμπτύ- 20  
ρο οὐτεκερκληρονοιη οὐνιαγραθον οὐτε θιετογρο  
ονιφηογί

λαψωπι λε πενεντα ορε ποτε ταυοφ εναιτη-  
ρογ αφεντ επεστη επικοσμος εχεν πιχαλια αφωλι  
·f. 10 v. ηνιισελος ιτε φη εθογαβ \*αφτομογ<sup>5</sup> ενογερνογ<sup>6</sup> 25  
ογοζ αφτογνοση ηκεσοπ υπε γλι μπετρωογ ψωπι  
μιοφ επτηρη πεχε ποτε λε ναφ λε τειρηνη νακ  
μαψε νακ ιτεκτωπι μπαιλονομος ηνηγεωων ορε

<sup>1</sup> ο alter. s. l. — <sup>2</sup> κ add. s. l. a 1<sup>ο</sup> m. — <sup>3</sup> Sic. Dele ἐπωρᾶνι. Lege ἐπωρᾶνιον. — <sup>4</sup> Antea scriptum οὐχιτ, dein prima manu emendatum. — <sup>5</sup> γ add. s. l. a 1<sup>ο</sup> m. — <sup>6</sup> ε 1<sup>ο</sup> add. s. l. a 1<sup>ο</sup> m.

*let me die until I shame this lawless wretch. Lord God of Hosts, give me the strength to bear this torture of the impious governor for the sake of your holy name that I may find openness of speech in your sight, Lord God of All, the merciful and charitable, may you count me among the sheep of your fold and give me strength, my Lord, in your virtues of light.*

As he was saying this, the Lord Jesus appeared to him at that moment. He said: *Courage, holy martyr, beloved of my good father. Come to me and I will show you your crown. You can then go back to the tribunal and fight for my name and shame the lawless governor.* The Saviour took the saint up to heaven. He showed him the heavens and embraced him with all the saints and showed him his throne, his crown and his garment of glory. The saints all said to him in unison: *Be victorious, holy martyr, the champion of Christ the King. You will receive the immortal crown of martyrdom and inherit the good things of the kingdom of heaven.*

It happened that after the Lord had shown him all these things He brought him back down to earth to the wheel, took the limbs of the saint, put them back together again and raised him once again in perfect condition. The Lord said to him: *Peace to you. Go and shame this lawless governor, the*

πικιώ τηρφ εροεώριη οικοκ οινονσως λε αρτωνη  
αρόδι ζιτζη<sup>1</sup> ἀπιχηγεων νει πικιώ τηρφ πε-  
καρ ηλη πανομος ηχηγεων λε τσωογη  
οικοκ & η παγιε ηλη εβολ ζαροι αρερογω ηλη φη  
ηθογαβ πεκαρ ηλη λε εοβε ου εκχω οικος ω  
πιγηρι οπιχιαβολος λε τσωογη<sup>2</sup> οικοκ & η  
ανοκ & η φη ετακερογογαση ουρος αρι ζαροι  
ηλη παβι ιης πης πανογη<sup>3</sup> αρωλη ηναμελος αρ-  
τομογ ένογερηνογ αρτογηνοτ αρογορπη ζαροκ  
λε ητατηηη ηλη νει ηεκογρωνογ ηανομος

Τότε πίσημα τηρεῖ ετόχι εράτη αγωγή εβολ  
ευχώ μιαος δε οὐδαὶ πε φέτη μπιαγιος ἀπα λάκα-  
ρων ἄπον κεούται εβνα εροφ φαι ετε πεφράν  
μην ψα ενεργή ήτε νιενεργή πιζηγειων δε πεζάρη  
15 ἀπισημα ετόχι εράτη δε ἀπερψθορτερ ναΐτηρου  
εταγγιωπι ἡεν ουμεταχω τιχε ἄπον<sup>4</sup> μαρε-  
ψενηρ εζαν<sup>5</sup> μηνιν εψωπ ητεφχεικομ ηλιτου γέ.<sup>6</sup> Ε. 11. 1.  
τενναναρθή ζων επεφνογήτ αφερογώ ηδε πιαγιος  
ἀπα λάκαρων πεζάρη ἀπιζηγειων δε ἀριετίν  
20 μιαοι ἀφη ετεκούταψη πεζε πιζηγειων ηδη δε  
ειογωγή εθρε παισενδαλιον ἐθηεν<sup>5</sup> ηδάλαγα  
ψωπι ητεβνη νκεσοπ ζινα ηταναρθή επεκνογήτ  
ἡεν τουγνου δε α πιάγιος φωρψ ηνεψχια εβολ  
αψψλη εψχω μιαος δε φέτη φη εταφθασιό ητφε  
25 νει πκαρθη νει ζων ηιβεν ετενηητογ<sup>6</sup> φη εταφ-  
ογωρη πηεψιλονογενης ηψηρι επικοσμος αψτη ηαν  
ἀπεψιωνα νει πεψνοφ ψατεψωτη μιον εβολ  
ἡεν ηεννοβι εκεσι πηατωβρη ητοτ ἀφοογ ητεκού-  
ων εβολ ητεκχομ ἀπεψθο ἀπαιτγραννος νει

<sup>1</sup> ει add. s. l. a rec. m. — <sup>2</sup> Antea τεωρη, dein prima manu emendatum. — <sup>3</sup> γι s. l. — <sup>4</sup> Ms. ητεον. — <sup>5</sup> Sic. — <sup>6</sup> η add. s. l. a rec. m.

*the entire multitude looking at you.* Later he arose and stood before the governor and the entire multitude. The lawless governor said to him: *I do not know you. Go away from me.* The saint replied and said to him: *Why do you say this, you son of the devil ? Am I not the one you had sown ? My Lord Jesus came to me, took my limbs and put them back together. He raised me and sent me to you that I might shame you and your lawless emperors.*

The entire multitude standing there then cried out: *One is the God of the holy Apa Lacaron. There is none beside Him, whose name remains forever and ever.* The governor said to the crowd standing by: *Do not be disturbed. All these things that have happened through magic, haven't they ? Let us ask him to perform some wonders. If he is able to perform them, then we too will believe in his God.* Apa Lacaron said to the governor: *Ask me what you want.* The governor said to him: *I want this sandal on my foot to become an animal once again that I might believe in your God.* At that moment the saint spread his hands and prayed: *God who created heaven and earth and everything in them, the one who sent His only-begotten son to the world, gave His body and blood to save us from our sins, receive my prayer today and reveal your power before this tyrant and*

παίμηψ τηρφ ετκωτέροι σίνα ήτε πεκράν εθογάβ  
σιώου ήτε παίμηψ τηρφ εσι δε ώμον νούτ  
ψωπ ἔβηλ επός φή πιπάντοκρατωρ νει πεψιμονο-  
πενης<sup>1</sup> ἡσυχρι νει πιπάνα εθογάβ ψα ενερ ήτε  
πιένερ δαην

5

Ἔεν πχινερεψκην εψχω ηναι ήχε πιπάκαριος  
απα λακαρων & πιεωνγί εττοι ερατφ υπιχηγε-  
ων<sup>2</sup> ψωπι ώφρητ νούμασι υπεμεο υπιχηγεων  
νει πιμηψ τηρφ τοτε πιχηγεων πεκαρ ώπιμηψ  
τηρφ δε υπιχος ηντεν δε ερε λακαρων ερχων  
Ἔεν ραν<sup>3</sup> ρβνογί ωμαγια ουορ ώεν τογνουρ αφερ-  
κελεγιν<sup>4</sup> εερογνωτεν υπιμασι ουορ ησειτ ηνερδ-  
ψογί ηνιογχωρ πιχηγεων δε αφερκελεγιν εερογινι  
ηδαρ νογχηνι αφερογωαπ εβολ ώπλαρ υπιμακα-  
ριος απα λακαρων εταρι δε ήχε πιχηνι πεχε  
πιχηγεων ηδαρ δε δι ηδακ υπαίχελψιρι ητεκωαπ  
υπεψλαρ εβολ δε τηαψδαι αν δα παψδαι ηνερδ-  
αι

Ἔεν πχινερογωαπ εβολ ώφλαρ ώφη εθογάβ  
πεκαρ ώπιχηγεων δε ετακωαπ εβολ ώπλαρ  
δε σίνα ηταψτεμαδι ηκεσοπ<sup>5</sup> τνογ δε αιδι<sup>6</sup>  
ηη νογλαρ υπάντικον φαι ετε ώμον ψχοι  
ωμοκ εροφ νει πεκιωτ πιδιαβολος αφερογω ήχε  
πιχηγεων πεκαρ ώπιαργιος απα λακαρων δε  
σωτεν ησωι ητεκχειτπ<sup>7</sup> εβολ δεν ηιαψογί  
ετχη σίχεν ηιψηνογί ουορ ητεκωρ εβολην  
πιηρπ ητε ηιψησια ανοκ τηαχακ εβολ ητεκψε  
ηδαρ σίνα ητεκερεβολ εηιβασανος πιπάκαριος

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Lege... γενης. — <sup>2</sup> Post ώπι trium litterarum litura. —

<sup>3</sup> Ms. αφερκελεγι. — <sup>4</sup> ε add. s. I. a rec. m. — <sup>5</sup> i alter. add. s. I. a  
i' m. — <sup>6</sup> Ms. ητεκχειτπ.

*this entire multitude around him so that your holy name might be glorified and all these people might know that there is no God but the Lord God the Almighty and His only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.*

As the blessed Apa Lacaron finished his prayer, the sandals on the governor's foot once again became a calf before the governor and the entire multitude. The governor then said: *Did I not tell you ? Lacaron is performing magical tricks.* At that moment he ordered the calf to be killed and its corpse thrown to the dogs and a doctor to be brought to cut out Lacaron's tongue. When the doctor arrived, the governor said to him: *Take this boy and cut his tongue out, for I can no longer listen to him.*<sup>44</sup>

When the tongue of the saint was cut out, he said to the governor: *You have cut out my tongue so I will not be able to speak again. Now I will take a spiritual tongue, against which neither you nor your father the devil has any power.* The governor replied to Apa Lacaron: *Listen to me and taste of the meat on the altar and drink of the wine of sacrifice. I will release you so that you can go and escape from this torture.* The blessed

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44 Lit. 'I will not be able to bear the number of his words.' This is the only instance known to me in a Coptic martyrological text of a doctor brought in to perform a surgical procedure on a martyr.

απα λακαρων πεχαρι απιγησων κε ηνεσμωπ  
αποι<sup>1</sup> εοριερ φαι ενερ εσηνουτ γαρ κε απον ψκον  
απωτεν εσι εβοληεν Ττραπεζα ητε πος ηει οδ-  
νιλεων<sup>2</sup> πιγησων κε αρχωντ իεν ογάνων  
3 αρογαρεαρη εερογαρων ηρωαρη ησεωλι ηηιαρη ησε-  
σατογ εηογη ερωαρ

\* Ήεν πχινορογκην δε εγίρι ηναι ναρ πεχε τ. 19 r.  
πιζηγεωσων ναρ δε ώ λακαρων & τεκπαρογσια<sup>3</sup>  
κην αφου γ ναρεν<sup>4</sup> πεκνογτ πιμακαριος δε πε-  
χαρ ναρ δε υπατε πεκραγι χωκ εβολ ώ πιχαξι  
ντε φτ ουρ πιψφηρ ηνιδεωσων φη εωσοφ ηνι-  
μετψανδρεν<sup>5</sup>. Ντε φτ φη ετοι ηψεωσο ενιπολητια  
ντε ηη εθογαβ τηρογ ήεν τογνογ αρχωντ νχε  
πιζηγεωσων αρογορπι επιψτεκο ετα ψωρπ δε ψω-  
πι αρορογινι υπιμακαριος απα λαρων<sup>5</sup> εβολ ήεν  
πιψτεκο ησεην<sup>6</sup> ναρ γιχεν πιβηα πεχε πιμακα-  
ριος απα λακαρων ηηρη ηηητη δε ου οη πε ετε  
παιάνουμος ναριη ηηι

Εταφος δε επιβητα πεχε πιζηγεων ναφ χε  
20 αριθυσια ω λακαρων αριθυσια ηνηνογ<sup>6</sup> απερ-  
μογ ηκακως ιεν ναδιχ αφερογω νχε πιπακα-  
ριος ιεν ογαιη αμετρεμαραγ<sup>7</sup> πεχαφ ναφ χε  
7ηναερθυσια αν πετεζνακ<sup>8</sup> άριτρη ηνη φηοπ νειη  
νχε πανογ<sup>9</sup> εφερβονθειν εροι εφοι αφρητη νογσοβ<sup>10</sup>  
25 ηταπαντινον εφκωτη εταψυχη νειη πασωμα  
εγσοπ αφερογω νχε πιζηγεων πεχαφ ναφ χε  
ω λακαρων εκεραναγκαζιν υποι εφερβασανι-

<sup>1</sup> Ms. Αιανοί. — <sup>2</sup> I Cor., x, 21. — <sup>3</sup> Sic. Lege τεκπάρησις. —

<sup>4</sup> Ms. ΗΔΩΡΑΝ, dein emendatum a rec. m. — <sup>5</sup> Sie. Lege ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ.

<sup>— 6</sup> N 3<sup>rdm</sup> add. s. l. a 1<sup>st</sup> m. — <sup>7</sup> Ms. πεστεξηακ. — <sup>8</sup> γ s. l. — <sup>9</sup> Ms.

NOXCONT. dein B supra n appositum.

Apa Lacaron said to the governor: *God forbid that I will ever do this ! For it is written that you cannot receive from the table of the Lord and that of the demons.*<sup>45</sup> The governor became extremely angry and ordered his mouth to be opened and the meat stuffed into it.

When they stopped doing this to him, the governor said: *Lacaron, your open speech<sup>46</sup> before your God has stopped today.* Lacaron replied: *Do not rejoice too soon,<sup>47</sup> enemy of God and companion of the demons who hates the mercy of God and is a stranger to the practices of all the saints.* At that moment the governor became angry and sent him to prison. On the following day he had Apa Lacaron brought to him from the prison to the tribunal. Apa Lacaron said to himself: *What is this lawless one going to do me ?*

When he reached the tribunal the governor said to him: *Sacrifice to the gods, Lacaron. Do not die a painful death at my hands.* The blessed Apa Lacaron replied mildly: *I will not sacrifice. Do as you wish with me. My God is with me, helping me, like an adamantine wall<sup>48</sup> surrounding my soul and my body together.* The governor said to him: *Lacaron, will you force me to punish*

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45 1 Cor. 10, 21

46 For παρούσια read παρηνσία

47 Lit. 'before your joy is complete' Μπατεπιεκράψι χώρι εβολ

48 Coptic **COBT**. I can find no Scriptural allusion to any such structure and I wonder if the writer of this text might have been familiar with the tradition in the Alexander Romance of an adamantine wall to keep out Gog and Magog, the forces of barbarism mentioned in Rev. 20, 8. This external threat may have found some resonance in the late Classical period. as the people known as the Huns began to appear as a threat to the 'civilisation' of the Roman Empire.

ζιν<sup>1</sup> μιοκ<sup>2</sup> επιχούρο γίτεν νέκσαχι ετχορ τνογ δε  
 f. 12 v. δριθγιά νταχακ εβολ \*πιμακάριος δε ἀπεψαχι  
 νεψαφ πεχε πιχηγεων ναφ δε εψωπ χογωψ  
 εθριχα χάνκουχι νεχοογ νακ ψατεκερσκεπτιν  
 μιοκ ψαταιοι πιμακάριος δε πεχαφ ναφ δε<sup>5</sup>  
 δικην ἔερσκεπτιν<sup>3</sup> μιοι ἀπαται<sup>4</sup> νακ ἐπαιψα λοι-  
 πον φη ετεχνακ δριτψ νηι πασωψα ψεν δεν νεκ-  
 διχ ταψυχι δε νεψ παπνα ναπασ<sup>5</sup> ιης πχς

δεν παινθε πιχηγεων σωτει εναισαχι ντοτψ  
 ψπιαγιος απα λακαρων αφερκελευτιν εθρογαψ<sup>10</sup>  
 εογιτυλλοс нсахвп нг нэхоог ншатои δε ачир  
 νаф κата фотадзасні ψпіхнгемшн ψи εθоуав  
 δε αла лакаршн αцтввз εцдші εпістүллос εцжш  
 миос ψпайрн<sup>6</sup> δе пас<sup>7</sup> ιηс πχс πищорп ψшартұрос  
 миагатп ψи εтои нст εніевон δен течхом нноут<sup>15</sup>  
 εкесоуарп<sup>8</sup> ψарои ψекаггелос εθоуав εθреңервоң-  
 ғи<sup>9</sup> εрои наи δе εцжш миоу нжε φи εθоуав αпа<sup>10</sup>  
 λакаршн іс оугаггелос нтє пст αцдзі εратп са-  
 пшши миоц αцволп εвoл δен пистүллос αцжац  
 εпеснт αцтадзоц εратп αбнe շлι ψпетжшоу<sup>20</sup>  
 паггелос наф δе бро ψиоц оуоց нтекшшопи ноз-  
 f. 13 r. ρашн нжарі ω πищвих нтє πχс \*αцжшн<sup>11</sup> гаρ  
 εюгн εрок нжε пахк εвoл ψекагшн наи δе  
 εтаджшотоу<sup>12</sup> наф нжε паггелос нтє пст αцерас-  
 пазесөе миоц αцжшал εпшши εніфноу<sup>13</sup> εре πагиос<sup>25</sup>  
 сонс нсаш

δен пахк δе ψпиаぢг нэхоог αφеркеleуtиn  
 εцжш миоц δе миже нштеп анау εпайтaлepшрос  
 δе շара αцмoу ψан ψи ншатои δе εтaчiшi

<sup>1</sup> In add. s. l. a 1<sup>st</sup> m. — <sup>2</sup> Ms. μιοι, dein emendatum a rec. m. —

<sup>3</sup> Sic. — <sup>4</sup> Sic. — <sup>5</sup> In ms. bis positum. — <sup>6</sup> Ms. &, omissio πα.

*you even more with your resolute words ? Sacrifice now and I will let you go.*

When the governor heard these words of Apa Lacaron, he ordered him to be hung from a column by his head for three days. The soldiers did to him as the governor ordered. Apa Lacaron, suspended from the colum, prayed as follows: *My Lord Jesus Christ, the first martyr,<sup>49</sup> who is the Lord of Aeons with His divine power, will you send me your holy angel to help me.* As he said this, an angel of the Lord appeared and stood above him. He released him from the column and brought him down and set him on his feet without any trace of harm.<sup>50</sup> The angel said to him: *Be firm and you will be strong, gladiator of Christ, for the completion of your contest is near.* After the angel of the Lord had said this, he embraced him and went up to heaven, the saint looking after him.<sup>51</sup>

On completion of the third day the governor said: *Go and see this wretch, whether he is dead or not.* The soldiers who had suspended

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49 Title used by Gelasius Cyzicenus the 5th cent, church historian, whose work can be found in J.P. Migne *Patrologia Graeca* 85 1280D. For the recent revival of the idea of Jesus as the First Martyr (as distinct from Stephanos [crown]) cf. for example S. Patterson *Beyond the Passion* (2004)

50 Lit. 'evil'.

51 Acts 1, 10

αφι εορτάς επιστύλος αγῷε οἴωντος αγκιστί ἀπά-  
γιος εφόδη ερατὶ ταπεστί ἀπιστύλος αγερψφίρι  
επαψώ αγωψ εβολ εγκω ἀμος δε ἀνοη σαν-  
χριστιανος ἀπαρρησια ἦτοι εφτ ἀπαγιος απα λα-  
5 καρων ουρος αγβωλ εβολ ἔπιησκ επαγψηρ  
οιων αγσατου εβογην δεν προ ἀπιχησων πε-  
χε πιχησων οιων δε αρετηναγ ἕογ σωτεν  
δε ἀρετενιτ ἔπετενησκ εβολ ἀρετενογαζη-  
νογ ἔπα φτηλακαρων πεχε πικατοι ναρ δε φη  
10 ετανναγ εροφ τενναταμοκ εροφ αν δε νοοκ  
ογψευστο ερον αφερογώ ηδε πιχησων πεχαρ  
οιων δε καρη γεφαλη τσαχι νειωτεν νκάλως  
τετενσαχι νειωη ἔκακως \*χολως ρω τεωι αν δε τ. 135.  
αιναταποφασις ερωτεν ναψ νρη δε ἀπετενεί  
15 ἀπωμε

<sup>1</sup> Sic. — <sup>2</sup> γι s. l. — <sup>3</sup> Supple ηει πψηρι.

the saint from the column, they went and found the saint standing at the foot of the column. They were extremely surprised and called out: *We are Christians openly and we belong to the God of Lacaron.* They took off their armour and threw it in the face of the governor, who said to them: *What have you seen that you have thrown your armour away ? Have you attached yourselves to the God of Lacaron ?* The soldiers said: *What we have seen we will not tell you, for you are a stranger to us.* The governor: *Damn it !<sup>52</sup> I speak well with you. You speak badly to me. To be sure<sup>53</sup> I do not know how to punish you, because you have not yet received baptism.*

The blessed Apa Lacaron, the gladiator of Christ, when he heard this from the governor, said to the soldiers: *Find strength, for my Lord Jesus Christ is with us.* Thus he prayed: *Look down on me, my Lord, on me and and my brothers here with me now so that your holy name may be glorified.* At that moment the blessed Apa Lacaron made the sign of the cross on the earth with his right hand and a spring of water came pouring out, as white as snow and he baptized them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The soldiers said to the governor: *God has made us worthy of His holy baptism. You have seen it with your own eyes. Pass sentence on us that we may leave you.*

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52 The oath is: κακή κεφαλή 'bad head'.

53 A Greco-Coptic phrase: ζολως ρω

ΝΔΕ ΠΙΣΗΓΕΙΩΝ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΔΕΣΔΝΙ ΕΘΡΟΥΛΗ  
ΝΤΟΥΔΑΦΕ ΝΤΣΗΠΙ ΣΑΤΟΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΥΩΛΗ ΝΤΟΥΔΑΦΕ  
ΝΣΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΠΙΔΒΟΤ<sup>1</sup> ΘΘΟΥΤ ΔΥΔΑΚΗ ΑΠΟΥΔΑΓΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΔΥΣΙ ΑΠΙΧΛΟΥ ΝΑΤΛΩΗ ΉΕΝ ΝΙΦΗΟΥΓΙ

\* Ι. 14 γ. \* ΖΕΝΕΝΣΑ ΝΔΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΧΕ ΔΡΙΔΑΝΟΣ ΠΙΣΗΓΕ- 5  
ΙΩΝ ΑΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΔΕ ΔΡΙΕΥΣΙΔΗ ΝΝΙΝΟΥΓΤ  
ΑΠΕΡΜΟΥ ΝΚΑΚΩΣ ΉΕΝ ΝΔΙΔΙΔΗ ΔΕ ΝΕΟΚ ΟΥΣΑΒΕ ΠΕ-  
ΧΕ ΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΝΔΑΨ ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥΣΑΒΕ ΝΣΗΟΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΔΕ  
ΕΙΣΙΝΙ ΝΔΑ ΘΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ ΑΠΑΒΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΦΑΙ ΤΝΟΥ  
ΕΤΝΑΨΕ ΕΡΑΤΨ ΝΤΑΒΙ ΑΠΙΧΛΟΥ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΝΔΙ 10  
ΕΤΑΨΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΩΟΥ ΝΔΕ ΠΙΣΗΓΕΙΩΝ ΔΦΗΡΑΔΡΕΩ  
ΝΝΕΨΝΑΔΖΙ ΕΗΡΗΙ ΕΧΩΨ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΔΑΨ ΔΕ ΙΣΧΕ ΧΝΑ-  
ΣΩΤΕΜ ΝΣΩΙ ΔΝ ΝΤΕΚΙΡΙ ΑΦΗ ΕΤΑ ΝΙΟΥΡΩΟΥ<sup>2</sup>  
ΟΥΔΕΣΔΝΙ ΑΙΙΟΨ<sup>3</sup> ΤΕΡΚΕΛΕΥΤΙΝ ΕΘΡΟΥΛΗ ΝΤΕΚΑΦΕ  
ΗΕΝ ΤΣΗΠΙ

15

ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΕΨΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΕΨΑΠΟ-  
ΦΑΣΙΣ ΔΦΨΩΨΙ ΕΨΨΕΠΨΜΟΤ ΝΤΟΤΨ ΑΦΤ ΉΕΝ ΤΟΥ-  
ΝΟΥ ΔΕ Δ ΝΙΜΑΤΟΙ Τ ΑΠΙΧΛΑΜΟΣ ΕΡΩΨ ΔΥΘΕΝΨ ΕΠΙΜΑ  
ΕΤΕΨΝΑΔΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΗΤΨ ΝΕΟΨ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΝΙΚΕΣ-  
ΤΩΝΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΡΙΔΝΕΧΕΣΟΕ ΑΙΙΟΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΖΙ ΝΤΑΤ<sup>20</sup>  
ΝΟΥΨΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΑΦΤ ΟΥΟΨ ΔΥΘΕΩΨΤ ΕΡΟΨ ΝΔΕ ΟΥ-  
ΝΙΨΤ ΑΙΗΨ ΕΨΩΨ ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ  
ΔΦΨΩΡΨ ΝΝΕΨΔΙΔΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΦΤΩΒΣ ΑΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΕΨΔΩ  
ΑΙΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΑΒΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΟΩΙ ΕΡΑΤΚ ΝΕΜΗ ΝΤΕΚΤΧΟΥ  
\* Ι. 14 γ. ΝΗΙ \*ΨΑΤΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΠΑΔΓΩΝ

25

ΠΙΣΩΤΗΡ ΔΕ ΙΗΣ ΔΦΟΥΤΟΝΨ ΕΡΟΨ ΉΕΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ  
ΑΠΕ ΔΛΙ ΕΗΙ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΒΗΛ ΕΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΑΙΑΖΑΤΨ ΠΕΧΕ  
ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΙΣΩΤΗΡ ΔΕ ΠΑΒΣ ΟΥΟΨ ΠΑΝΟΨΤ ΙC  
ΣΗΠΠΕ ΔΚΣΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΟΙ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΕΡΙΤΩΒΣ ΑΙΙΟΚ ΤΝΟΥ

<sup>1</sup> Ms. απιά. tantum in fine lineae. — <sup>2</sup> γ alter. s. l. — <sup>3</sup> Ms. αινοψ.

The governor became angry and said: *I order them to be beheaded by the sword*, which was done instantly. On the 1st day of Thôout<sup>54</sup> they completed their contest and received the unfading crown in heaven.

After all these things Arianus said to Lacaron: *Sacrifice to the gods and do not die a painful death at my hands, for you are an intelligent person*. The saint replied: *I am an intelligent person at all times, for I seek the the kingdom of my Lord Jesus Christ, this one to whom I am going shortly<sup>55</sup> to receive the indestructible crown*. When the governor heard this, he ground his teeth and said to him: *Since you are not going listen to me and do what the emperors command, I order you to be beheaded by the sword*.

When the blessed one heard his sentence, he started thanking<sup>56</sup> God. At that moment the soldiers put a narrow bridle<sup>57</sup> on his mouth and brought him to the place where he was to die. He said to the executioners: *Bear with me a little that I may offer a prayer to God*. A large crowd gathered. The blessed Apa Lacaron spread his hands and prayed as follows: *My Lord Jesus Christ stand by me and give me strength that I may complete my contest*.

The Saviour Jesus appeared to him at that moment. Nobody knew Him<sup>58</sup> except the saint alone, who said to Him: *My Lord and my God, you have heard me praying to you. Now*

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54 The first month of the Coptic calendar.

55 Coptic: **ተኝነት ይቻልበ ይዋጥቅ** I have used the Present Continuous in English quite deliberately, because one of its meanings is the future that has been arranged.

56 I understand **አፈወጥጥ ይፈወጪምዎት** to be inchoative. The same periphrasis is used in the Sahidic version of Lk. 7, 38, where **አፈወጥጥ ይርተጥ** translates the Greek Imperfect (κατεφύλει), which can be understood as continuing 'she began' (ῆρξατο) in the early part of the sentence. The faithful Bohairic translator has followed the Greek: **ናርተቃል**.

57 I take it that the Greek word is χαμός. None of the dictionaries I have consulted (LSJ, Moulton and Milligan and Lampe ) are especially helpful: LSJ supplies words of which it might be the equivalent meaning 'curved' and 'narrow'. Since this device is attached to 'his mouth' (**ይዋቅ**), I have used the term 'bridle', but this is not the meaning of the Greek word. The same word in Mod. Gk. means 'loss, destruction'.

58 It is not entirely clear to me whether this means that only Lacaron could see Jesus and knew who He was or whether the onlookers could see Him too but did not know who He was.

χε πάσε Ττέρο εροκ εορεκχωκ ηη εβολ ἄφι ετ-  
ναερετίν αιοφ ὑποτκ χε νοοκ ογρεψψενζητ ογος  
ηηλιτ πισωτηρ χε πεκαφ ναφ χε φι ετεκοταψη  
Τηλαχοκ νακ εβολ αφερογώ ηχε πισακαριος απα  
5 λακαρων πεκαφ ναφ χε πάσε ειερέτιν αιοκ χε  
ηηεκχω απασωια ἔτακο یεν πικαぢι αλλα εκε-  
ρωις ἐροφ εφογοκ ἕσεκωτ εχωφ νογιαρτγριον  
ογος ηη εσακωτ ἅπαμαρτγριον εκετ ηωογ ητψε-  
βιο ννογιци یεν ιῆιη ητε τψε ογος ἕτεκόπου  
10 ηειη ηη εθογαβ ητακ εψωπ αρεψαν ογαι τριη  
επατοπος ητεψχοκ νακ εκεσιογ εροφ ηειη πεφη  
τηρφ ω πάσε ἅπενορε ψαι ηχιιων ογαι ψαι ητεψ-  
ηωογι ψε ειογη επατοπος ηηε δωχεη ηηωικ ογαι  
πηα λακαθερτον یωντ ειογη επιμα ετογηλαχω  
15 ἅπασωια ἕηητφ αρεψαν ογαι εψψωνι یενχινψωνι  
ηιβεη یē ογαι ερε ογδειων ηειηαφ ی ειογη επα-  
τοπος ητεψογωψτ εχεη πασωια \*εκεερχαριζεσε\*<sup>1</sup>. 151°.  
ηωογ ἅπιταλβο φι εθασχαι ἅταμαρτγρια<sup>2</sup> ω  
πάσε εγψενερψψεγι ναφ εκεφωη ἅπιχιρογραφον  
20 ητε ηεψνοβι ἕτεκναδψογ εβολ ψα ηιχορχ<sup>3</sup> ετψωογ  
ητε πιλιαβολος ογος ητεκχω ἅπεκσιογ ηειη πεκ-  
ναι ηειη τεκχιρηηη ηηη<sup>4</sup> εβολ یεν πογιανψωπη  
τηρογ ογος εκερωις ερωογ ητεκχαι ἅπογραν  
επψωιι ἅψωηη εκεσιογ εογον ηιβεη εθασωτεη  
25 εταμαρτγρια ηειη ηη εθατ ηογαγαη<sup>5</sup> یεν πε-  
ψοογ ητε παερψψεγι εκετ ηωογ ἅπογψεχε ογος  
ητεκχωκ ηηογετηηια ηωογ εβολ ητεκναδψογ  
εβολ ψα πετψωογ ηιβεη ογον ηιβεη εθαψηεη یici  
ητογι επατοπος ηεογωψτ εχεη πασωια εκεχωψ

<sup>1</sup> Ms. ηητα.... — <sup>2</sup> Sic Lege ηιχορχ. — <sup>3</sup> Sic. Lege εγψηη.

— <sup>4</sup> γ s. l.

*my Lord I beg you to complete for me that which I asked of you, because you are merciful and charitable. The Saviour said to him: I will do as you wish. The blessed Apa Lacaron said:<sup>59</sup> I beg you, my Lord, not to let my body rot in the earth but to keep it whole and build a shrine over it and glorify those who build the shrine in in heavenly Jerusalem in exchange for their efforts and count them among your saints. If one makes a pledge to my shrine and fulfils it, may you bless<sup>60</sup> him and his entire household. Lord, do not let any storm or any animals enter my shrine. Let no polluted adulterers or unclean spirits approach the place where my body is laid. If one sick of any sickness or if one possessed by a demon comes to my shrine to worship my body, may you grant them a cure. The one who writes my martyrdom, as an aide-mémoire,<sup>61</sup> may you separate the writer from his sins and save them from the evil snares of the devil and your blessing and mercy and peace be enduring in all their dwellings and may you watch over them and write their name in the Book of Life and bless every one who hears my martyrdom and those who provide an agapê<sup>62</sup> on the day of my commemoration. May you give them their wages and fulfil their requests and save them from all wickedness, all those who in pain come to my shrine and worship over my body. May you pour forth*

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59 What follows seems to me an extraordinary prayer, in which Lacaron emphasises the somewhat 'pharaonic' emphasis on the preservation of the physical body in **ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ** or **ΤΟΠΙΟΣ**. This contrasts rather sharply with the views of someone like Shenoute.c.f., for example, the admirable discussion in Caroline T. Schroeder *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atri* (2007) ch. 4.

60 The verbal prefix (**επε**) used here and subsequent sentences is what A. Mallon *Grammaire Copte* 4th ed. (1956) calls 'futur énergique'. It follows the frame verb in the previous sentence: 'I beg'. It is not the so-called Optative (**μαρε**)

61 Coptic: εγψενερφμεγι cf.Crum 201a. Crum is not certain what ψε means. Lacaron's reference to himself and the composition of his martyrdom seems extraordinarily arrogant.

62 A commemorative meal, in this case held on the feast day of the martyr at the shrine, which caused people like Shenoute a certain amount of disquiet because of the rumours of inappropriate behaviour on these occasions.

ΑΠΕΚΝΑΙ ΕΣΡΗ ΈΧΩΥ ΝΤΕΚΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΩΥ ΝΤΕΚΧΩ  
ΝΙΩΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΟΥΓΝΟΒΙ ΔΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΠΑΣΩΤΗΡ ΕΚΕΤ ΝΗΙ  
ΝΝΟΥΓΝΤΟΝ ΝΕΙΙ ΟΥΔΑΝΔΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΝΙΩΤ ΝΝΔΑΙ  
ΔΝΟΚ ΉΑ ΠΙΤΔΛΕΠΩΡΟΣ ΦΤ ΠΙΛΑΡΩΜΙ ΠΙΡΕΦΤΒΕΧΕ  
ΝΟΥΓΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΘΝΑΖΤ ΕΡΟΚ

Ἡεν πχινθρεψδωκ εβολ ἡναισαχι ἡχε πιπακά-  
ριος απα λακαρων πεχε πισωτηρ ναφ χε δρο ὑιοκ  
αγκην γ&ρ ἡχε νεκ̄ηισι τηρου τωρκ ὑιοι ὑαιν  
ὑιοι χε νη ετακχοτου τηρου τηλαχοκου εβολ  
νη χε ετε ὑπεκερπογμεγι τηλαίτου τηλαχω  
ἡνδαλγγελος εγρωις επεκσωια ὑπιεζουτ νει πιε-  
χωρδ \*εγσι ὑπερφμεγι ννη εθναι επεκτοπος εγινι  
ὑιοι νηι τηλασμου εφογαι φογαι κατα πεζ-  
ὑιωσα ναι χε εταφχοτου ναφ ἡχε πισωτηρ αφερ-  
ασπαζεσει υιοι αφεωι επιψωι ενιφηογι ἡεν 15  
ογχωι

Πιπάκαριος δε ἀφκοτῷ εὐκέστωναριος πεχαὶ  
νησοὺς δὲ αἰγαῖνι<sup>1</sup> χωκ εβολ οὔτε τενδιάκονια ἡεν  
τούγνους ἀγί οὔτε οὐκέστωναριος πιπάκαριος δε  
ἀπα λακαρών ἀφσογτῶν<sup>2</sup> πεψμούτ εβολ ἀγῶνι<sup>20</sup>  
οὔτε φέ εθογαβ ἀφχωκ οὔτε φόμολογια εθανες  
εβολ οὐσιά μπιαβοτ παδην ἀφψωπι οὔτε οὐ-  
νιψή οὐγωνι δην πιπα ετεμαγ & πιπα τηρψ  
ψεψ σθοινογψι εβολ εθε παψαι οὐνιαγγελος εταγί<sup>3</sup>  
ούα τψχη μπιπάκαριος ἀπα λακαρών πισωτηρ<sup>25</sup>  
δε ἀφσι οὔτε φψχη εηφηογί οεμαψ οεμ οεφαγγε-  
λος εθογέρ οεωψ ουοψ ἀγί οεβολ ιαχωψ οὔτε  
πχωρος οηνι εθογαβ τηρογ Δηρασπαζεσε ε μποψ  
ψατογολψ εηογη εηπολις μπενερ ουοψ πεννοψ

<sup>1</sup> 1 1<sup>st</sup> add. s. I. a 1<sup>st</sup> m. — <sup>2</sup> Sic. Lege & georten.

*your mercy on them and bless them and forgive them their sins. I too my Saviour, my you forgive me my sins and give me rest<sup>63</sup> in accordance with your great mercy, I who am a wretch, God who loves man and rewards everyone who believes in Him.*

When the blessed Apa Lacaron had finished his speech, the Saviour said to him:*\* Be strong. All your troubles are over. I swear to you myself that everything you have said I will do. The things you have not mentioned I will do them. I will leave the angels to look over your body day and night, receiving the memory of those who come to your shrine and bringining it to me. I will bless each one according to his worth.* After the Saviour had said this, He embraced him and went up to he heavens in glory.

The blessed one returned to the executioners and said to them: *Come and complete your service.* At that moment the executioners arrived. The blessed Apa Lacaron stretched out his muscle and his holy head was taken off. He completed his good confession in the 14th of Paope. A great light appeared in that place. The whole place was suffused with perfume because of the number of angels who had come for the soul of the blessed Apa Lacaron. The Saviour took his soul with Him and His angels who were following Him. The chorus of all the saints went before him and greeted him until he was taken to the city of Our Lord and Our God

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63 A Coptic and a Greek word (**ΜΤΟΝ** and **ἀνάπαυσις**) with the same meaning are used and it seems pointless to use two English words

... ( 23 ) ...

οτος πενσωτηρ ιησ ηχε φαι ετε εβολ ειτοτη ερε  
πιθωτ ερπρεπη ηαρη νευ πεφιωτ ηαγδοσ νευ πι-  
πηλ εουταβ ηρεφτανηο ψα ενερη ητε ηιένερ τηρογ  
λιηηη

5 πες ηαι ωπηκωβ εταφεηαι ζαηη ηε ηατοι λιηηη

and Our Saviour Jesus Christ from whom the glory appropriate to Him and His Good Father and the life-giving<sup>64</sup> Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

Lord have mercy on the wretch who wrote this, Chael son of Matoi. <sup>65</sup>Amen

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64 The phrase τὸ ζωοποιόν occurs in connection with the Holy Spirit in the Creed adopted at the Council of Constantinople in 381.

65 The lexical item also means 'soldier' but here it is clearly a proper name cf. Crum 190b