

The Martyrdom of Lacaron

Coptic and English

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This is the first of the Bohairic Coptic texts published by I. Balestri and H. Hyvernât *Acta Martyrum* (CSCO, 1907): the Martyrdom of Lacaron pp. 3 to 23. A Latin translation was published by Balestri and Hyvernât 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 1810.¹

The term **παρρησία** 'free speech' occurs several times in the text,² as it does in other martyrological and hagiographical texts. Probably the most useful work for the reader to consult is Giuseppe Scarpât *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'.

1 G. Zoega *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris 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. (**ⲛⲉⲛ**) + def. art. (**ⲡ**) + verbal noun prefix (**ⲭⲓⲛ**) + caus. infin. (**ⲑⲣⲉ**) + 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 **ⲉⲧⲁ-**, 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. (**ⲉⲛ**) + def. art. (**ⲡ**) + caus. infin. (**ⲧⲣⲉ**) + subj. + verb, thus in the first example on p. 1 para. 1: 'in their being brought/when they were brought' is

ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲭⲓⲛⲑⲣⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ (Bohairic) and **ⲉⲛⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ** (Sahidic)

The second construction is expressed in Sahidic by **ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-**, 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 (**ⲭⲓⲛ**) and in Sahidic predominantly feminine (**ⲉⲛ**).

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)

*†μαρτυρία нте πιαγος μαρτυρος нте πхс ἀπα
λακαρων нем нн тнроу етаχхωк евоλ немαq етаq-
хωк евоλ мπεqαγωη нем теqαολхсис етταиноут нсоу-
iā мпавот пaонп¹ хен оуqиринн нте φ†т амин

*Cod. Vatic.
Copt. 68,
fol. 1 r°.

5 Λαγωπι δε хен †μαζῑн проппи нте аюкaн-
тиaнoс πioтpo нaнoмoс еpe aριaнoс oι нзнгемωн
εaнтинωoу етаqαλнн етеqαезωpиoн aqepзнт epнc
aqāmoni етaнeυpω нте ciωoут oтoз aqтaлoq
aqзωa езpнн етпoλic eqwinι нca нixнcтиaнoс
10 xε зina нтoтyмeωи нниiαωaлoн етбaхeм пizнгe-
мωн де aqзeмci зi пiтeαδpоn aqepкeлeγтiн eope
нн етoзi epaтoу зитзн мmoq epпapaстaн нaq
нниxнcтиaнoс тнpoу хен пxинepoтeнoу де пexе
пizнгeмωн нωoу xε тeтeннaepoтyciā ннинoут† нтe
15 πoтpo yан мmon aтepoтō тнpoу хен oтхpωoу
нoтoт eγxω мmoс xε тeннaepoтyciā aн ннaинoут†
eēmωoут² oтoз нboт† етcoq *aλλa aнoн зaн-
xнcтиaнoс мпappнciā oтoн нтaн мпeннoут† хен
тфe нeoq eөнaepвoнoиn epoн хен тoтнoу де aqep-
20 кeлeγтiн eepoтoωaι нтaфe мпimнy хен pωc нтcнqι
aγxωк eвoλ нтoтμαρτυριā aγзωa epωωи eнифн-
oтi хен oтωoу

*L. 1 v°.

Οτοз мeнeнca нaι a πiπpoпecιтoс † мпeqoтoι
epizнгeмωн пexaq нaq xε пaбс пizнгeмωн oтoн
25 oтмaтoι мпaиmα qyмeωи ннинoут† aн aλλa eq-
†yωωy нωoу xε зaннoут† aн нe oтaдe qωтeм
aн нca тeккeлeγтic eγxω мmoс xε āнoк oтxнc-

¹ Sic. Lege πaонп. — ² γ supra lineam.

The martyrdom of the holy martyr of Christ Apa Lacaron³ and all those who completed it with him. He completed his contest⁴ and his glorious struggle on the 14th of Paope⁵ in peace of God. Amen.

It happened in year 18 of Diocletian⁶ the lawless emperor, when Arianus was governor of Antinoe⁷, that he boarded his vessel⁸ 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 theatre⁹ 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*¹⁰ 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 the 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 Lennaios' *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 **ΛΕΖΩΡΙΟΝ**: *luserium*, 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.

τῖανος πῖζηγεμων δε ἀφῃωντ ἀφ' ὁυτέρπαρ ἀσταν
 ὕμοφ ναφ ἥεν τ' οὔνοφ ἀ πῖπροπеситос ἐнφ ψαροφ
 ἥен πῖζῖн' ὁу' енφ δε ὕпемѳо и πῖζηгеμων пexаφ
 наф хе нῖи пe пекран ἀφ' ὁу'ω ἥхе пῖагῖос пe-
 хаф наф хе еψωп екψῖпῖ ἥса паран ета наῖот 5
 тнῖφ ероῖ λαкарων пe паран ката сарз паран
 зωф е'терполн'тесѳе ἥн'тφ пe φн етаχѳа змeφ
 ἥен пῡс ἡс пexе пῖζηгеμων наф хе екхн ἥен
 оу'нр нроупῖ ἀφ' ὁу'ω нхе апа лакарων пexаф
 наф хе т'хн ἥен ἡа нроупῖ и φооу пexе пῖζηге- 10
 мων наф хе оу' те *текиѳпн ἀφ' ὁу'ω нхе пῖа-
 карῖос пexаф хе анок оу'матῖ еῖхн ἡаратφ
 н'оу'оу'ро еψаφвωλ евоλ т'ноу' де еῖнаерматῖ ἡа-
 ратφ н'оу'оу'ро наѳвωλ евоλ поу'ро нте нῖоу'рωоу'
 оу'оу' пѳс ἥте нῖѳс¹ ἡс пῡс пexе пῖζηгеμων наф 15
 хе еѳве оу' аххω нсωк нтекметматῖ матамῖ
 т'ноу' хе нѳок оу'ремѳων ἀφ' ὁу'ω нхе пῖагῖос
 апа лакарων пexаф наф хе исхе хоу'ω еѳмῖ
 е'тмeмнῖ хе анок оу'евоλ ѳων анок оу'ремтхeλῖ
 еῖзнк еφноу'мерон нсῖωоут еѳве φаῖ еῖоу'ω еерматῖ 20
 тоῖ ипоу'ро ннатѳе нем напказῖ паѳс ἡс пῡс
 поу'ро нте нῖeωн тнроу' оу'оу' аῖωе ннῖ савоλ
 н'тметматῖ еψасвωλ евоλ нтeстакo т'ноу' де
 анок оу'хрнстῖанос ὕпаррнсῖа еῖнп еф'т ἥте тѳе
 паѳс ἡс пῡс 25

Ἀφ' ὁу'ω наф ἥхе пῖζηгеμων хе аpῖѳсῖа ἥнῖ-
 н'оу'т нтахаκ евоλ нзоу'ѳ де хе нѳок оу'матῖ
 оу'оу' ак'т оу'ве нῖоу'рωоу' аkerѳмoлогῖн хе анок
 оу'хрнстῖанос λοιπον тeнoу'ω еѳрекψeнзнт ἡарок

¹ Апок., 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 ¹¹is the 'one who has been called in Jesus Christ'.* The governor said: *How old are you ?* Apa Lacaron replied: *I am 14 today.*¹² 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,¹³ 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 Medjel¹⁴ attached to a division¹⁵ 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, so¹⁶ we want to be merciful to you*

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 **ⲉⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** has a wide range of meanings and the most suitable here is Crum 33a meaning (p).

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

15 *numerus*

16 **ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲓⲟⲛ**

υμιν υμωκ *ζινα ντεкерουσια ντεκωωπι εκται- 'f. 2 v.
 νογт нгоуѡ аqероуѡ нхе апа лакарων пexаq
 υπιζημεων хе егѡвз анок хехас еіеранаq
 ѡпогро нте нιοгρωу тггρω еѡриѡ нтотq уи-
 5 хлом нте туетаѡмѡу ѡпериехї наκ ѡ πιζημεων
 хе хнауерзал υμοι хен нексахи ѡпланос терка-
 тафронин ѡмок нем нексахи егѡуѡгт еѡве томо-
 логїа нте паѡс нс пхс

Аqероуѡ нхе πιζημεων пexаq нниматоι хе
 10 зитq ѡхен хнтq нтетензїотї ероq хен занмоут
 ѡмасї оуѡз нтетенхос наq хе сѡтен¹ нса пїоуа-
 зазні нте немѡсег нѡгρωу аqероуѡ нхе пїа-
 гїос апа лакарων хен оуметреирауу еqхѡ ѡмос
 хе таентолн анок еѡрисѡтеи нса нїоуазазні
 15 нте пїнїуѡт нѡгро ѡмнї паѡс нс пхс фaї еѡнозеи
 нѡгон нївен етергенпїс ероq пїζημεων де аqѡроу-
 зїотї ероq уате пeqсноq зeї ехен пказї еqхѡ
 ѡмос хе аpїѡυcїа ѡперїоу нкаκѡс хен нахїх
 аqероуѡ нхе пїагїос апа лакарων пexаq уи-
 20 ζημεων хе ѡ пγнpї нτaνομїa оуон нтан ѡфт
 пенвонѡс фaї ете оуон ухѡи² υμοq еервонѡїн ерон
 оуѡз qнаназїен евоа хен некхїх оуѡз³ нтеq-
 таκѡѡннѡу⁴ нем нетен*кеугρωу насевнс аqерке- 'f. 3 r.
 лeγїн еѡроуауq επїερїнταpїон нceзѡκї υμοq
 25 уате пeqмазт зeї епеснт зїхен пказї оуѡз а
 пeqсноq хѡкеи ѡпeqсѡма тггq пїаκeос де апа
 лакарων аqqаї хa таївасанос хен оуметхѡpї
 аqеркелeγїн де он нхе пїζημεων нceзїтq επїу-

¹ Sic. Lege сѡтеи. — ² хѡи add. in margine a 1^a m. — ³ о alter.
 s. l. — ⁴ о 1^{um} add. s. l. a 1^a m. Sic. Lege нтеqтаκѡннѡу.

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 confession¹⁷ 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.*¹⁸ 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

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

¹⁸ This phrase occurs 4 times in the text.

ТЕКО УАТЕҚСОБНИ ДЕ АҚНАЕРВАСАНИЗИН ЫМОҚ НАУ
НРНТ ДЕ ЕНЕСОҚ ГАР ҺЕН ПЕҚІНИ

ҺЕН ПІЕХАРЗ ДЕ ЕТЕММАХ АҚОҒОНЗҚ ЕРОҚ НХЕ ПӘС
ПЕХАҚ НАҚ ДЕ УАПИ НХАРЗНТ Ұ АКАРҰОН ДЕ
АНОК ПЕ ПӘС ІНС ПХС БРО УМОК ОҒОЗ ЖЕИНОУТ 5
АНОК ТҰОП НЕМАК ҺЕН НЕКӨЛҰҢС ТНРОҰ ЕӨНА-
УАПИ ЫМОК ТҰРК ЫМОИ УИИИ УМОИ ДЕ ХНАЕРУАИ
НЕИ НИ ЕӨҒАВ НТНИ ҺЕН ІҰНН НТЕ ТҒЕ ОҒОЗ ПЕ-
КРАН НАБІҰОҰ ЗІХЕН ПКАЗІ ТНРҚ ОҒОЗ ТЕКУАРТҰРІА
НАУАПИ НСОУТ ҺЕН ПІКОСМОС ТНРҚ БРО УМОК ОҒОЗ 10
ЖЕИНОУТ ПАІРНТ АҚЕРАСПАЗЕСӨЕ ЫМОҚ НХЕ ПІСО-
ТНР АҚТ НАҚ НТЗІРННН АҚЗУА ЕПҰАИ ЕНІФНОҰІ
ҺЕН ОҒҰОҰ НЕИ НЕҚАГГЕЛОС ЕӨҒАВ ПІМАКАРИОС ДЕ
АПА АКАРҰОН АҚУАПИ ЕҚОИ НУРҰИС ЫПІЕХАРЗ ТНРҚ
УАТЕ ПІОҒУАНИ УАИ ЕҚТАХРНОҰТ НЗНТ ҺЕН ПІ- 15
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ЕТА УАРП ДЕ УАПИ АҚЕРКЕЛЕҰІН НХЕ АРИАНОС
* Г. 3 10. ПІЗНГЕМОН ЕӨРОҒҰАРҰ НАҚ ЫПІВННА * ДЕ ЗІНА
НТОҒІНИ НАҚ ЫПІАГИОС АПА АКАРҰОН НТЕҚСОУТЕИ
ЕРОҚ ЕТАҒІНИ ДЕ УПІАГИОС ДЕ НТОҒОЛҚ ЕПІВННА 20
НАҚМОУИ ПЕ ЕҚЕРҰАЛИН ЕҚХА УМОС ДЕ ФТ МАЗӨНК
ЕТАВОҢӨІА¹ ОҒОЗ НАЗМЕТ ҺЕН ПЕКРАН² АҚОҒАЗ-
САЗНИ НХЕ ПІЗНГЕМОН ЕӨРОҒСОНЗ ЫПІАГИОС ЕӨҒ-
БЛОХ НВЕНИПІ³ ОҒОЗ НСЕАОҒОНЗ⁴ НРҰҚ ҺЕН ЗАНЕБҰҒ
НВЕНИПІ НСЕҚУАХІ ННЕҚНАХЗІ НЕИ НЕҚУОЛ НОҒАИ 25
ОҒАИ НСЕХАУ НОҒТАТЗ ЕҚВЕРВЕР ЕҢРНІ ЕРҰҚ НЕИ
ПЕҚСМАА МЕНЕНСОС ОН АҚОҒАЗСАЗНИ ЕӨРОҒВОЛҚ ЕВОЛ
ЗІ ПІБЛОХ НВЕНИПІ НСЕАУҒ ЕПІЕРИИТАРИОН НСЕЗУКИ

¹ Ps. LXIX, 2. — ² Ps. LIII, 3. — ³ Ms. НВЕНИПІ. — ⁴ Sic. Lege нсе-
аоҒОН.

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

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 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.*²⁰ 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.

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

ἄλλοι ἀφωυ εἶον νῆε φη εἶοταβ μαρτυρος εἶχα
 υἱος δε παῖς ἰη̄ς πῆς παζμετ εἶον ἥεν παῖσι
 τηροῦ εἶναυτ¹ οὔτος ἀφερκελεῖν εἶροῦνι νοτεζε
 νζουτ нсеωqt ἡπερσωα εἶοῦν εἶρος ἥεν ζανιqt
 5 εἶωνοῦ нем ζανверони εἶωου етаχίρι δε υπαίρητ
 ἡπερесоανесое епτηрq οὔτος ἀφερκελεῖν εἶροῦ-
 κωτ нем तेζε нζουт ἥεν ζанманганон етоqt
 εἶοῦн εἶρος δε ζина нте неqμελос тηроῦ вωа εἶон
 нтохер иφρηт нотωωω нте пкази пмакариос δε
 10 ἀπα λακαρων παqtωοῦноῦ² ἥα παivasanos тηроῦ
 ἥен оуметхωри мененса пай δε ἀφερκελεῖν нῆе
 пизнгеуон нсезитq епiωтеко οὔτος нсе* тахроq ἥен * f. 4 r.
 нпедес ἡвенипи.

Не а περσωт μοζ нтполis тһре пе δε οὔρω-
 15 ми нте φт пе ере п̄с ωон немαq не οὔон οὔζим
 ἥен тполis ере песωһри ἥен ткои еqсхαι нем неq-
 теβнωοῦι οὔτος ἀqzeи нῆе οὔай εἶон ἡһнтоῦ³
 аqмоῦ саtotq етассωтеи δε еөве пiагiос ἀπα
 λακαρων астωнс асωе нас епiωтеко астωвз ἄλλοι
 20 εсха υἱος наq δε ттзо ерок пмаρτυρος ἡте
 πῆς ζина нтекервоһ̄ein ероi δε наре пакоῦхи нωһри
 схаи ифооῦ ἥен неqтеβнωοῦι аqzeи ἡῆе οὔай ἥен
 нпмасi аqмоῦ пмакариос δε ἀπα λακαρων етаq-
 наγ епесөеbiō нем песрωкz пexαq нас δε bi
 25 ἡпайωвωт нтһи нтехаq ехен тафе ипмасi нте-
 хос υπαίρηт δε ἥен φран нiη̄ς πῆς пωһри ифт
 етонῆ φη етайуеп һici езрһи ехен пeφран еἶοταв
 тωнк δzi ератк тсζим δε асωаи ипiωвωт асоῦ-
 азq ехен тафе ипмасi есха υἱος δε ἥен φран

¹ Sic. Lege εἶναυτ. — ² Sic. — ³ 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.²¹ 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*

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

¹ Sic. Deinceps semper cum \mathfrak{Z} . — ² Ms. hic repetit $\epsilon\tau\mathfrak{Z}\sigma\tau\pi$ $\epsilon\eta\sigma\gamma\mu$. — ³ Ms. $\mathfrak{H}\epsilon$.

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 begged²² 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.²³ 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.

²² The verb used is **ΟΥΩΦΤ** Crum 504b

²³ I take **ΑΡΧΩΝ** to be some sort of public official and **ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ** to refer to 'public' taxes cf. Moulton and Milligan o. 145. The Coptic preposition **e-** means 'against' cf. for example Matt. 6, 12 **ΧΩ ΝΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ** 'forgive us our debts':

Κεσζιμι δε ον εςζοτι εϋογν εογον ογδεμων
 νεμας αγραϋτε εϋρηι νχε πιδεμων αρωϋ εβολ
 ερω μμοc κε ττωβζ ὕμοc παγιoc απα λακα-
 ρων ὑπερερβασανιζιν ὕμοι ανοκ τναῖ εβολ νϋντε
 5 ανοκ δε ανοκ ογζο νογζορ ϋεν παινι ιc ιγ γαρ
 νρουπι τωον ϋεν ταicζιμι εcωον ννι ὕμανογοz
 επιαν τναῖ εβολ νϋντε τνογ αρωογῶ ἥχε πι-
 αγιοc απα λακαρων πεχαq ἥννι ετζοτι εϋογν κε
 μαρεντωογν ντενγλῆλ αρωωνq νχε παγιoc απα
 10 λακαρων αρωωρϋ ννερωix εβολ αρωωζ υπαιρητ
 ερω μμοc κε παδc ιηc πχc cωτεμ επατωβζ βιτq¹
 ντοτ βιcμν ενδερμωογῖ μαρε ογον νιβεν εμ κε
 ἥθοc πε φτ ετβici ἥννι ετθεβινογτ² ογοz φβονθοc
 ἥννι ετε ὕμοντογ² βονθοc ὕμαγ φν εταρωωρϋ
 15 εβολ ντερωφε εϋογαν αρωαχροc ογοz αρωαcεα μμοc
 ϋεν πωαcεα ντε ζανcιογ φν εταqῖϋι ἥννιτωογ
 ϋεν ογϋι ογοz ννἄρωογ ϋεν ογμαϋι³ φν εταq-
 ογωνz εβολ ϋεν ἠνεχι ὕμαριᾶ τπαρθενoc νατω-
 λεβ δεχας ερωcωτ υπγενoc τηρω ἥννιρωμ φν εταq-
 20 ογονzq εβολ ννεqαποcτολοc εϋογαν ερωγζιωϋ
 ὕπερωαν ετcμαρωογτ κε ντογcμογ ερωc ογοz
 νcετῶογ ντεκνιϋτ ὕμεταγαθοc εϋογαν ετερωγ-
 ωνι⁴ επικοcμοc τηρω *πωογ νακ παδc ιηc πχc *f. 5 v.
 ϋα ενεz ντε νιενεz τηρω αμν ϋεν πχινερωρω δε
 25 ὕπιαμν ατογοzεμ ἥcωq τηρω κε αμν ογοz ϋεν
 τογνογ α πιδεμων ρωητ ντcζιμι αqῖ εβολ νϋντε
 ὕφρητ νογϋαz νχωμ νιρωμ δε τηρω ετχн
 ϋεν πϋτεκο αρωϋ εβολ εγχω μμοc κε ογαι πε φτ
 ὕπιαγιoc απα λακαρων μμον κεογαι εβηλ ερωq

¹ τq add. s. l. a 1^a m. — ² γ s. l. — ³ Cf. ls. XL, 12. — ⁴ ε̇ alter.
 add. s. l. a 1^a 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.*²⁴ *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,*²⁵ *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.*

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 НАΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΙΣ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΡΒΝΑΖ СОЛП
 ΕΒΟΛ ΑΓΓΙ ΨΑ ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΑΓΓΖΟ ΕΡΟQ
 ΕQXΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΜΑΤΑΛΒΟΙ ΠΩΣ ΧΕ ΤΗΟCΙ ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ
 ΔΕ ΑQCOYΤΩΝ¹ ΠΕQΤΗΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΑQΕΡCΦΡΑΓΙΖΙΝ ὤΜΟQ
 ΕQXΩ ὤΜΟΣ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΖΙΟΥΓΙ ΝΤΕΚΧΙΧ ΕΗΟΥΝ ΗΕΝ ΠΕΚ- 5
 ΑΛΟΧ ΟΥΟΖ ΗΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ ὤΠΧC ΧΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΗΕΝ
 ΠΧΙΝΘΕQΖΙΟΥΓΙ ὤΠΕQΒΝΑΖ ΕΗΟΥΝ ΗΕΝ ΠΕQΑΛΩΧ² ΑQΕΝQ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕQCOYΤΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ ὤΦΡΗΤ ὤΠΙΚΕΟΥΑΙ ΠΙΜΝΨ ΔΕ
 ΕΤΖΟΤΠ ΕΗΟΥΝ ΗΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΕΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΦΗ ΕΤΑQΨΩΠΙ
 ΑΥΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΝΟΥΤ 10
 ΨΟΠ ΗΕΝ ΤΦΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΚΑΖΙ ΕΒΗΛ ΕΙΗC ΠΧC ΦΤ
 ΝΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ

ΑΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΗΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΕQCΩΤΕΜ ΕΘΒΕ
 * L. 6 r. ΝΙΧΟΜ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΨΦΗΡΙ ΕΤΕQΓΙΡΙ ὤΜΩΟΥ * ΗΧΕ ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ
 ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΑQΕΡΚΕΛΕΥΙΝ ΕΘΡΟΥΕΝQ ΝΑQ ΕΧΕΝ 15
 ΠΙΒΝΙΑ ΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΑΙΗCΙ ΕΙΤΑCΟ
 ΕΡΟΚ ΑQΕΡΟΥΩ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ὤΠΕΡ-
 ΤΑCΟ ΕΡΟΙ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΕΝΑQCΑΧΙ ΝΕΜΑQ ΠΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕQΖΟ
 ΕΡΟΥΩΙΝΙ ὤΦΡΗΤ ὤΦΡΗ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΝΑQ ΧΕ
 ΑΡΙΘΥCΙΑ ὤΠΕΡΜΟΥ ὤΚΑΚΩC ὤ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΑQΕΡΟΥΩ 20
 ΝΧΕ ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΝCΑQ ΜΕΝ ΝΑΚΤΑCΟ
 ΕΡΟΙ ΠΕ ὤΦΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΩQ ὤΠΕΡΤΑCΟ³ ΕΡΟΙ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ
 ΔΕ ΤCΕΒΤΩΤ ΕΘΡΙΜΟΥ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΑΩC ΙΗC ΠΧC ΝΤΑΙΝΙ
 ὤΠΑCΩΜΑ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΝΟΥΘΥCΙΑ ὤΦΤ CCHНОУТ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ
 ὤΠΕΡΕPΖΟТ ΗΑΤΖΗ ὤΦΗ ΕΘΝΑΗΩΤΕВ ὤΠΕΤΕΝCΩΜΑ 25
 ΤΕΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΨΥΧΟΜ ὤΜΩΟΥ ΕΗΘΕΒΕC⁴ ΑQΕΡ-
 ΚΕΛΕΥΙΝ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΕΘΡΟΥΑΨQ ΕΠΠΕΡΙΝΤΑΡΙΟΝ
 ΝCΕΖΩΚΙ ΜΜΟQ ΨΑΤΕ ΠΕQΜΑΗТ І ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝ ΤΕQΝΕΧΙ
 ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑQQΑΙ ὤΝΕQΒΑΛ ΕΠΨΩΠΙ ΕΤΦΕ ΕQXΩ

¹ Sic. Lege ΑQCOYΤΕΝ. — ² Sic. Lege ΠΕQΑΛΟΧ. — ³ ο s. l. — ⁴ Μт.,
 λ., 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,²⁶ 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.*²⁷ 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:

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

²⁷ Matth. 10, 28

ἄμος ἔσται ἐροῖ παῖς ἡς πῦρ ἡτεκοῦσθαι ἡνι
ἡνεκνίωτ' ἡαρχηαγενος¹ εἰσοῦαβ ἡχανῆ ἡτερερ-
βοῖθιν ἐροῖ ἡεν ταῖουνοῦ ἡαναγκῆ

ἡεν τοῦνοῦ ἔετῆματ' ἡε ἡχανῆ ἡαρχηα-
5 γενος ἀφ' ἐβον ἡεν τφε ἀφζιοῦτ' ἡνεμῆατ' ἡπι-
αῖκεος εἰοῦν εἰτεφνεχί ἡκεσον οὔοδ ἀφενφ ἐπεσнт
ἐβон ζι ἡερσηтарιον² ἡμον ζαῖ ἡφωλζ ἡен 'f. 6 r.
ἡεφσωῖα οὔδε ἡμον ζαῖ ἡτακο ῥоп ἡμοφ ἀν
ἐπτηρφ ἡκεστῶριον³ ἡен πῑνθροῦнаτ' ἐπιαγγελος
10 ἐταφζιοῦτ' ἡνεμῆατ' εἰοῦн εἰτεφνεχί ἀγναζτ' ἐφτ'
ἡен τοῦноῦ ἀγβωλ ἐβон ἡνιῖωκ ἐнаγμнр ἡμωῦ
ἀγχατ' ἡаратφ ἡпизнгеμωн ἀγωῦ ἐβон ἐγῶ
ἡμος ἔε ἀнон ζανχρησtиaнoс ἡπαρρηсiа ἐннп
ἐφτ' ἡпiагiос ἀпа λακαρωн тоте аrianε³ πiзнге-
15 μωн ἀφῶнт пexаφ нωоῦ ἔε ἐтаρεтeннaт' εоῦ
ἀγepоῦω пexωоῦ наφ ἔε φн ἐтаннаτ' εpоφ тeн-
ῡтаmo ἡмоk εpоφ ἀн ссhнoῡт гар ἔε ἡπεpῶ
ἡнетeнaнaмнi ἡпeмθo ннeῡaт' ἡнпωс нceзωмi
εῡωῦ нноῦбаaт'x оὔοδ нceкoтoῦ нceфeῖθeн-
20 нoῦ⁴ ἀφepоῦω н῔e аrianос пexаφ нωоῦ ἔε ω
нiтaлeпωpос ἡн тeтeнcωoῡн ἀн ἔε пeтeнcωmа
χн ἡен наxix ἀγepоῦω н῔e нiкeстωнaриoс пe-
xωоῦ наφ ἔε φн εῖтeзнaк aрiтφ нан нтeнзнῡ
ἀн ἡа нeквaсaнoс εоῡтoн ἡтан ἡмаτ' ἡпῗс пeн-
25 нoῦт eφῡoп нан нboῖθoс⁴ аrianос ἔε πiзнгеμωн 'f. 7 r.
ἀφῶнт ἡен оὔῡвoн ἀφepкeлeγiн εθpоῡῡωкi нoῦ-
φoсca нceмaзс ἡχpωи ἡен τοῦноῦ а нн εἰсоῦαβ
qоxоῦ εῖрнi ἐпiχpωи ἡмагaтoῦ φaи пe пiрнt

¹ Sic. — ² Sic. Lege νικεστῶναριον. — ³ Sic, et ita saepe deinceps.
— ⁴ 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 executioners²⁸, 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."*²⁹ 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

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

ΕΤΑΥΧΩΚ ἸΝΟΥΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΤΓΕΝΝΕΟΣ
ΑΥΘΙ ΜΠΙΧΛΟΜ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΑΥΖΩΑ ΕΝΙΦΗΟΥΪ ΉΕΝ
ΟΥΩΟΥ

ΤΙΣΥΝΚΑΘΕΔΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ὕΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΧΕ ΠΑΘΕ
ΑΚΩΑΝΧΑ ΠΑΙΜΑΓΟΣ ΧΕ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΉΕΝ ΤΑΙΠΟΛΙC 5
CΕΝΑΝΑΖΤ ΕΡΟQ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΧΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΉΕΝ ΤΑΙ-
ΠΟΛΙC ΙC ΖΑΝΜΗΥ ΝΨΦΗΡΙ ΑQΑΙΤΟΥ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΑΙΡΑΝ
ΧΕ ΙΗC ΦΑΙ ΕΡΕ ΝΙΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΧΟΝΤ ΕΠΙΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗΡQ
ΕΘΒΗΤQ ΜΑΡΕΝCΟΒΤ ΝΑQ ΝΖΑΝΒΑCΑΝΟC ΕΥΖΩΟΥ
ΕΖΟΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΘΒΑ ΝΚΩΒ ΝCΟΠ ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΔΕ ΝΑΡΕ 10
ΤΧΑΡΙC ΝΤΕ ΦΤ ΕΡΟΥΩΙΝΙ ΉΕΝ ΠΕQΖΟ ΠΕ ΝΑQΕΡΨΑ-
ΛΙΝ ΠΕ ΕQΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΜΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΧΕ ΦΤ ὕΠΕΡΧΑΡΩΚ
ΕΠΑCΜΟΥ¹ ΧΕ ΡΩΟΥ ΝΝΙΔΝΟΜΟC ΑΥΨΟΥΨΟΥ ὕΜΩΟΥ
ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΩΙ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΕQΧΩ ΔΕ ὕΠΙΔΜΗΝ ΑQΕΝΚΟΤ
ΟΥΟΖ ΑQΖΩΡΠ 15

ΉΕΝ ΤΦΑΨΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΕΧΩΡΖ ΑQΤΩΝQ ἸΧΕ ΦΗ
ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΑQΨΑΝΑ ΜΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΕQΧΩ
f. 7 v. ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΠΘΕ ΑΚΩΑΝΑΟΥΩΝ ΝΝΑCΦΟ*ΤΟΥ ΡΩΙ ΕQΕ-
ΧΩ ΜΠΕΚCΜΟΥ² ΟΥΟΖ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΉΕΝ ΤΦΑΨΙ ΜΠΙΕΧΩΡΖ
ΨΑΙΤΩΝΤ ΝΤΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΕΝ ΝΙΖΑΠ ΝΤΕ 20
ΝΕΚΜΕΘΜΗ³ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΕQΚΗΝ ΔΕ ΕQΤΩΒΖ ΝΧΕ ΠΙ-
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ Α ΠΙΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΕΡΠCΜΟΤ
ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΕ ΦΤ ΑQΪ ΨΑ ΠΙΔΓΙΟC ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ
ΑΚΤΑΨΕ ΝΕΚΤΩΒΖ ὕΠΕΜΘΟ ὕΦΤ ΑQΟΥΟΡΠΤ ΖΑΡΟΚ
ΕΘΡΙΤΑΧΡΟΚ ΧΕ ΑΡΕΨΑΝ ΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ CΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΟΚ 25
ΝΡΑCΤ ΝΤΕQΨΕΝΚ ΕΖΑΝCΑΧΙ ΕΚΕΕΡΟΥΩ ΝΑQ ΑΘΝΕ
ΧΡΕΨΡΕΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΟΥΟΖ ΧΝΑΧΕΜΖΗΟΥ ΜΦΤ
ΝΤΕ ΤΦΕ ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΑQΕΜΙ ΧΕ
ΠΙΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΠΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ CΑΖΩΚ CΑΒΟΛ ὕΜΟΙ

¹ Ps. cviii, 1. — ² Ps. l, 17. — ³ Ps. cxviii, 62.

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

The assessor³⁰ 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,*³¹ *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,*³² *it will bless you and In the middle of the night I will arise and appear to you on the tribunal of truth.*³³ 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*³⁴ *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,*

30 On the 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 πσατanas πιζηπερεтис нте τανομiα υμον μερις
 нтак ηεν ниеβiαiк нте пхс пωпρι υφτ егонη ηεν
 пхиноре пιαβoлoс cωтeи eφpaн ипхс aφep
 υφpиt нoтyаz нxрoи aφepaнaхωpиn eвoλ зaрoq
 5 пиаκαpиoс ae aпa λaкapωн пexaq нзpи
 ннтq xе мapenωωпи eпpωic нтoвz xе нне п-
 xaxi нaиaвoлoс epзaλ υμον

ηεν пхиноре пιζηгeμoн зeиci зi пивнiа aφep-
 кeлeтiн eopoyini нaq ипиаκαpиoс aпa λaкapωн
 10 ηен пхинopoyeнq ae пexе пιζηгeμoн нaq xе
 тoтyω *aн eopeкepoтciа ипapиt aλλa eioтyω *f. 8 r.
 eopeктaлo нoткoтxи нaтyвaнoс eпyωи υuaγaтq
 exen тyнoтi aнoк тnaхaк eвoλ зiнa нтeкepевoλ
 ннивacанoс φи eθoтaв ae пexе ипιζηгeμoн xе
 15 eкoтyω eepзaλ υμoи ηен neкcaxi нкoλaκiа нaи
 eтtхoнт υфt нeи neqaγγeлoс eθoтaв тoтe пιζη-
 гeμoн aφepкeлeтiн eopoyini нoтcтнψeλioн eopoy-
 тzeиco ипиаκαpиoс aпa λaкapωн зixωq oтoз
 нceini нзaниqт eтyнoт нceтoсoт eθoтн eпcωиa
 20 ипiaγιoс aφepoттoс нoтaи ηен пeтcφip нoтiнaи
 yateqī eвoλ ηен пeтcωиa нтeттoс eπicтнψeλioн
 нeи keoтaи ηен пeтcφip нxaбн oтoз keoтaи oн
 ηен пeтaнкeφaлoс yateqī eвoλ ηен neqaнaг-
 keoн нceωqт eθoтн eπicтнψeλioн пexе пιζηгeμoн
 25 нaq xе λaкapωн мapeqī нxе пeкнoтt φaи eтeк-
 нaзt epoq нтeтнaзмeк eвoλ ηен нaxix нтaнay
 eтeтxoи

ηен тoтнoт ic oтaγγeлoс нтe пeс aqī eвoλ
 ηен тфe *aφωи нниqт eвoλ ηен¹ пcωиa υφн *f. 8 v.

¹ Ms. repetit eвoλ ηен.

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 vigilant³⁵ 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 bench³⁶ 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 genitals³⁷ 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

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

36 *subsellium*

37 **ἀναγκαῖον**

εΘΟΥΑΒ ΑΗΤΟΣΟΥ ΉΕΝ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΤΟΤΕ
 ΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΑΗΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΗΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ
 ΤΝΟΥ ΔΙΕΜΙ ΧΕ ΠΕΚΝΟΥΤ ΕΤΕΚΨΕΜΨΙ ΜΜΟΨ ΟΥΝΟΥΤ
 ΕΗΧΕΜΧΟΜ ΠΕ ΕΨΩΠ ΑΗΨΑΝΤΑΛΒΟΙ ΤΝΑΖΤ¹ ΕΡΟΨ
 ΑΨΕΡΟΥΩ ΝΧΕ ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΠΕΧΑΨ 5
 ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΤΕΜΙ ΧΕ ΧΝΑΝΑΖΤ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΘΒΕ ΠΑΙΜΝΨ
 ΕΤΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΨ ΜΠΑΙΜΑ ΤΝΟΥ ΤΝΑΤΩΒΖ ὙΠΑΒ² ΙΗΣ
 ΠΧ³ ΦΑΙ ΕΤΨΩΠ ΝΝΑΙΨΙΣΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΕΨΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΖΙΝΑ
 ΝΤΕΨΤ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΙΤΑΛΒΟ ΜΠΑΙΚΕΣΟΠ ΟΥΟΖ ΉΕΝ ΤΟΥ-
 ΝΟΥ Α ΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΟΥΑΖ ΤΕΨΧΙΧ 10
 ΕΧΕΝ ΠΕΨΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΨ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΉΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ ὙΠΑΒ²
 ΙΗΣ ΠΧ³ ΦΑΙ ΕΤΨΕΜΨΙ ΜΜΟΨ ΕΚΕΟΨΩΝΖ ΝΤΕΚΧΟΜ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΙΜΝΨ ΤΗΡΨ ΕΜΙ ΧΕ ΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ ΦΤ
 ὙΜΟΝ ΚΕΟΥΑΙ ΕΒΗΛ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΣΕΤΨΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ
 ΉΕΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ Α ΝΠΨΤ ΨΩΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΠΣΩΜΑ 15
 ΜΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ὙΦΡΗΤ ΝΟΥΜΩΟΥ ΕΑΨΖΕΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΚΑΖΙ
 ΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΗΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΗΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΜΜΟΝ
 ΝΟΥΤ ΜΦΡΗΤ ΜΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΝΕΜ ΤΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΡΕ
 * f. 9 r^o. ΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΨ ΤΑΖΗΟΥΤ ΕΡΑΤΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΤΟΥ * ΧΕ
 ΕΘΒΗΤΟΥ Α ΠΙΟΥΧΑΙ³ ΤΑΖΟΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΨΕΡΟΥΩ ΝΧΕ 20
 ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΧΝΑΙ ΟΝ
 ΕΝΑΧΙΧ ΝΚΕΣΟΠ

ΑΨΧΩΝΤ ὩΧΕ ΠΙΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΝΙΚΕΣΤΩΝΑ-
 ΡΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΔΝΙΟΥΤΙ ΝΗΙ ὩΖΑΝΒΑΣΑΝΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ¹
 ΝΤΕΤΕΝΧΑΨ ΜΠΕΨὙΘΟ ΝΤΑΕΡΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΙΝ ΜΜΟΨ ὩΨΗΤΟΥ 25
 ΨΑΤΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΠΕΨΝΟΥΤ ΝΑΨΝΑΖΜΕΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΝΑ-
 ΧΙΧ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΘΡΟΥΤΙΝΙ ΔΕ ΝΝΙΒΑΣΑΝΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ὙΠΕΜΘΟ
 ΜΦΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΨΕΡΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΙΝ ΜΜΟΨ ΠΕ ΉΕΝ
 ΟΥΜΕΘΑΤΝΑΙ⁵ ΟΥΟΖ ὙΠΕ ΟΥΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ ΝΤΩΟΥ ΒΟΖ ΕΠΕΨ-

¹ Sic. — ² ΉΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ Ὑ redundant? Cf. tamen p. 142, l. 18. —
³ οὐ add. s. l. rec. m. — ⁴ γ s. l. — ⁵ Sic. Legge ΟΥΜΕΤΑΘΝΑΙ.

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.*³⁸

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

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'.

σωα νιανμιος δε ατχατοτογ¹ εβον ετερβασανι-
 ζιν υμογ ισxen γωρη γα ρογζι ετερβασανιζιν
 υμογ ογοζ υπερερεσθανесθε επτιρηγ нхе φη
 εοογав πιζηγεων δε αqωνт εμαγω αqτωνq
 5 αqωλι υπисκεγος² нтотq нотαι нникестωнаριос
 хе зина eqназιογi exen тафе uπμακαριос απα
 λακαρων ηен тоγнот α пискеγος etηен теqχιx
 еревон нтотq αqzei exen теqафе uπn uμογ ογοζ
 α теqафе epπαγгн epоq пмакариос δε απα ла-
 10 каρων αqсωvi пexαq хе αλнөωс пiψαλμос нте
 λαγiα хе μεθнотx αn eqxω uμос * хе нн etт ne- f. 9 v.
 μαν нөωот пе etαγθевiδ огоζ αγzei³ ογοζ ере
 нотснqι оγωи нсωот огоζ нотсoнeq eteηou-
 ηen
 15 Αqepoγw нхе πιζηγεων ογοζ пexαq хе γε
 πικратос нте нiρωμeос nem пaпoλλων пiniγт
 ннотт ере λακαρων epзωв ηен oγμεταxω αqep-
 келeyиn нхе πιζηγεων εepoγini naq нотxαλiα
 нγε пexαq нниανμιος хе зιογi uπaиμaγос eηoγn
 20 epоq нтetenoyacq ηен теqиnт ηен пxиnөpoyзιογi
 δε uπμακαριос eηoγn epиxαλiα нсесωк exωq
 αqηci εμαγω ne α пeqсωиa γар зiάpχн
 uφωpα επeqapнот пе тоте пμapтγpос εοογав
 αqqai нneqβαλ epγωи etφε αqтωвз⁴ uπαиpнт
 25 eqxω uμос хе φт cωтem epαтωвз uπεpχαpωк
 ēpoi пōс хе āнoк oγγeиμo āнoк oгоζ eioi нpeи-
 нxωиaι тнpт uφpнт ннакеiот тнpоγ⁵ тнoγ хе
 пōс φт нте нixом uπεpoyei cαвoλ uμoi⁶ uπεp-

¹ Lege uπoтχα...? — ² Ms. нпискеγος. — ³ Cf. Ps., xxvi. 2. —
⁴ ω s. l. — ⁵ Ps. xxxviii, 13. — ⁶ Postea i perperam emendatum in κ.

body. The executioners³⁹ did not stop⁴⁰ torturing him from morning to evening.⁴¹ 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.*⁴²

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*⁴³ *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*

39 δῆμιος

40 For ἀυχάτοτοϋ (they stopped) read ἡπουχάτοτοϋ (they did not stop)

41 The phrase **ΕΥΕΡΒΑΚΑΝΙΖΙΝ ἡμοϋ** 'they torturing him' is repeated after **ΡΟΥΖΙ** '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 **ΟΥΕΙϞΕ** (Crum 492a)

^a f. 10 r⁹.

10

^a f. 10 v^o.

¹ o alter. s. l. — ² χ add. s. l. a 1^a m. — ³ Sic. Dele ἐπὶ ῥαδι. Lege ἐπὶ ῥαδιον. — ⁴ Antea scriptum οὐχὶν, dein prima manu emendatum. — ⁵ χ add. s. l. a 1^a m. — ⁶ ε 1^{ma} add. s. l. a 1^a 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*

πινυ τήρῃ ἐρεώρην υἱοκ μενεσως δε ἀφτῶνῃ
 ἀφὸςι ζιτῇ¹ ὑπίζηγεων νευ πινυ τήρῃ πε-
 χαῖρ νὰρ ἦχε πιανομος ηζήγεων χε τῶογν
 υἱοκ ἀν υἷαυε νὰκ εβὼλ γάροι ἀφεροῦῶ νχε φη
 5 ἔθογαν πεχαῖρ νὰρ χε εῶβε οὔ εκχῶ υἱος ῶ
 πωηρι υπιαβονος χε τῶογν² ὑἱοκ ἀν υν
 ἀνοκ ἀν πε φη ἐτακороγочасῃ ογος ἀφί γάροι
 ἦχε παῶς ιης πχς πανοῦτ³ ἀφῶλι ἦναμελος ἀφ-
 τομοῦ ἔνογερνοῦ ἀφτοῦност ἀφогорпт γάροκ
 10 χε нтагупи νὰκ νευ неогрвоу νανομος

Τότε πινυ τήρῃ ἐτὸςι ἐράτῃ ἀγῶγυ εβὼλ
 εὔχῶ υἱος χε οὔαι πε φτῖ υπιαγιος ἀπα λακα-
 ρων ὑἱον κεοῦαι εβηλ ἐροῖ φαι ετε πεφραν
 μιν γα ενεζ ἦτε νιενεζ πιζήγεων δε πεχαῖρ
 15 ὑπινυ ἐτὸςι ἐράτῃ χε ὑπερψοортер ναιτнроу
 ἐταγῶπι ἦεν ογμεταχῶ ιсхе ὑἱον⁴ μαρεν-
 γυенῃ ἐγαν^{*} μινι εῶωп нтегхемхом ἦαιτοῦ iē 'f. 11 r'.
 теннаназт γων επεφноῦт ἀφεροῦῶ νχε πιαγιος
 ἀπα λακαρων πεχαῖρ ὑπίζηγεων χε аrietin
 20 υἱοι ὑφῃ ἐτεκοῦαγῃ πεχε πιζήγεων νὰρ χε
 ειοῦγῶγ εῶρε παисендalion ἐθῆεν⁵ νὰβἀαγх
 γωпи ἦтевнн некесон гина ἦтаназт επекноῦт
 ἦεν τοῦноῦ δε ἀ πιαγιος φωργῶ νнегхix εβὼλ
 ἀφγῶλῃ εῖχῶ υἱος χε φт φη ἐтагθаміо нтфе
 25 νευ пкази νευ γωв нивен етенгнтоῦ⁶ φη ἐтаг-
 огωрп ипекмоногеннс ἦωηρι επікосиос ἀφт ναν
 ὑпегсωма νευ пегсноῖ γαтегсωт υἱον εβὼλ
 ἦен неннові екебі ипатωвз нтот ὑφооу нтекоῦ-
 ωнз εβὼλ нтекхом ὑпемѳо ὑпайггpаннос νευ

¹ ζι add. s. l. a rec. m. — ² Antea τῶογν, dein prima manu emen-
 datum. — ³ γ s. l. — ⁴ Ms. ἦυον. — ⁵ Sic. — ⁶ n 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 seen ? 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

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 bought 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.*⁴⁴

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

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.

ἀπὰ λακάρων πεχὰρ ὑπὸ ζηγέμων καὶ ἡνεσῶσιν
 ἡμοί¹ εὐρίερ φαί ἐνεξ σῆνοϋτ γὰρ καὶ ἡμον ὠχον
 ἡμωτεν εἰ ἐβόλῃεν ἑτραπέζα ἡτε πῶς ἡμὸν ὀα-
 νίδεμων² πὶ ζηγέμων καὶ ἀρῶντ ἥεν οὐκ ἔβον
 5 ἀφ' ὅτα δ' αὖτις εὐροτάοϋων ἡρώκ ἡσεῶσι ἡνιάκ ἡσε-
 σατοϋ εἶοϋν ἐρώκ

* ἥεν πῆνον ὁρῶσιν καὶ ἐγὶρ ἡναι ἡνὰ πεχε³ ἡ. 1. 2.
 πὶ ζηγέμων ἡνὰ καὶ ὦ λακάρων ἀ τεκπαροϋσία³
 κῆν ἡφοϋτ ἡλζρεν⁴ πεκνοϋτ πῆμακαριος καὶ πε-
 10 χὰρ ἡνὰ καὶ ὦ πατε πεκράϋι χῶκ ἐβόλ ὦ πῆχαχ
 ἡτε φτ οὐχὸς πῶφῆρ ἡνίδεμων φῆ εἰμοσῑτ ἡνι-
 μετῶανζῶν. ἡτε φτ φῆ εἰτοι ἡνεμὸ ἐνιπολῆτια
 ἡτε ἡν εἰοτάβ τῆροϋ ἥεν τοῦτοϋ ἀρῶντ ἡχε
 πὶ ζηγέμων ἀφ' ὅτορπῑ ἐπὶ ὠτεκο ἐτα ὠωρπ καὶ ὠω-
 15 πῑ ἀφ' ὅτοϋτῑνι ἡπῆμακαριος ἀπὰ λακάρων⁵ ἐβόλ ἥεν
 πῶτεκο ἡσεενῑ ἡνὰ ζῖχεν πῆβῆμα πεχε πῆμακα-
 ριος ἀπὰ λακάρων ἡῆρῆνι ἡῆντῑ καὶ οὐ ὅν πε ἐτε
 παῖδνομος ἡναιῑ ἡνι

Ἐταῖφοξ καὶ ἐπῆβῆμα πεχε πὶ ζηγέμων ἡνὰ καὶ
 20 ἀριϋχσία ὦ λακάρων ἀριϋχσία ἡνινοϋτ⁶ ὑπερ-
 μοϋ ἡκακῶς ἥεν ἡαχῖχ ἀφ' ὅτοϋτῑ ἡχε πῆμακα-
 ριος ἥεν οὐκ ἡν ἡμετρεμράϋω πεχὰρ ἡνὰ καὶ καὶ
 τῆαερϋχσία ἀν πετεζῆνακ⁷ ἀριτῑ ἡνι ῥῶον ἡμῆνι
 ἡχε πανοϋτ⁸ ἐφ' ἐρβονῶν ἐροί ἐφοί ἡφῆρῑτ νοϋσῶντ⁹
 25 ἡαταμάντινον ἐρῑῶτ ἐταϋϋχῆν ἡμὸν πασῶμα
 ἐϋσον ἀφ' ὅτοϋτῑ ἡχε πὶ ζηγέμων πεχὰρ ἡνὰ καὶ καὶ
 ὦ λακάρων ἐκεράναγκάζιν ἡμοί εὐρίερβασανι-

¹ Ms. ἡμοί. — ² I Cor., x, 21. — ³ Sic. Lege τεκπαρρησία. —
⁴ Ms. ἡλζρεν, dein emendatum a rec. m. — ⁵ Sic. Lege λακάρων.
 — ⁶ N 3^m add. s. l. a 1^a m. — ⁷ Ms. πεετεζῆνακ. — ⁸ γ s. l. — ⁹ Ms.
 νοϋσῶντ. dein в supra π 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.*⁴⁵ The governor became extremely angry and ordered his mouth to be opened and the the meat stuffed into it.

When they stopped doing this to him, the governor said: *Lacaron, your open speech*⁴⁶ *before your God has stopped today.* Lacaron replied: *Do not rejoice too soon,*⁴⁷ *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*⁴⁸ *surrounding my soul and my body together.* The governor said to him: *Lacaron, will you force me to punish*

45 1 Cor. 10, 21

46 For **παρουσία** read **παρρησία**

47 Lit. 'before your joy is complete' **ἵπατεπεκραψι χωκ 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.

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 column, prayed as follows: *My Lord Jesus Christ, the first martyr,*⁴⁹ *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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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

49 Title used by Gelasisus 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

ἡφῆ εἰσοῦαβ ἐπιστῦλος ἀγῶε νῶου ἀγχιῇ ὑπα-
 γιος ἐφῶζι ἐρατῇ σαπеснт ὑπιστῦλος ἀγερῶφῆρι
 εὐαῶα ἀγῶε εἰσα εὔχῳ ὕμος χε ἀνοη ζαν-
 χριστιανος ὑπαρρησιᾷ ἥνπ¹ ἐφ[†] ὑπαγίος ἀπα λα-
 5 καρῶν οὔοζ ἀγῶα εἰσα ἥνπῶκ ἐναγῶερ
 μῶου ἀγῶατοῦ εἰοῦν ἥεν πρὸ ὑπὶζηγεμῶν πε-
 χε πὶζηγεμῶν νῶου χε ἀρετενναῦ εἰοῦ ζῶτεν
 χε ἀρετενσι[†] ἥνετενῶκ εἰσα ἀρετενοῦαζῶη-
 νοῦ ἥσα φ[†] λακακῶν πεχε νιματοί ναῖ χε φῆ
 10 ἐτάνναῦ ἐροῖ τετνναταμῶκ ἐροῖ ἀν χε νῶοκ
 οὔγεμῶ ἐρον ἀγερῶα νχε πὶζηγεμῶν πεχαῖ
 νῶου χε καῖν γεφαλῆ τῶαχῇ νεμῶτεν νκαῶως
 τετενσαχῇ νεμῇ ἥκακως * ζῶα ρῶ τεμῇ ἀν χε
 ἀνατᾶποφασίς ἐρωτεν ναῶ νρη[†] χε ὑπετενβί
 15 ὑπῶμε

Πιμακαριος δε ἀπα λακακῶν πῶωιχ ἥτε
 πῶς ἥεν πῶινῶρεφῶτεμ ἐναί ντοτῇ ὑπὶζηγεμῶν
 πεχαῖ ἥνιματοί χε χεμνοῦ[†] χε ρῶν νεμᾶν νχε
 παῶς ἡνς πῶς οὔοζ παρη[†] ἀγῶαβ εἰσα ὕμος
 20 χε соиε εἰρηῇ εἰωῇ παῶς ἀνοκ νεμ насннῶу ἐτῶ-
 ζι ἐρατοῦ νεμῇ τῶου ζῖνα ἥτε πεκραν εἰσοῦαβ
 βῶου ἥεν τῶου δε ἀγερσφραγίζῖν ὑπὶκαζῖ νχε
 πιμακαριος ἀπα λακακῶν ἥεν τεγῶιχ νοῦιναμ
 ἥεν τῶου α οὔπῶγῇ μῶου² ῶοῦδ ἐπῶωι
 25 εσοῦοῶ μφρη[†] νοῦχῶν οὔοζ ἀγῶμε νῶου
 ἐφραν ὑφῶτ³ νεμ πῶπᾶ εἰσοῦαβ νιματοί δε πε-
 χῶου ὑπὶζηγεμῶν χε ις φ[†] ἀγῶιτεν νεμῶα
 ὑπερβαπτισμα εἰσοῦαβ ἀκναῦ ἐροῖ ννεκβαλ μᾶ-
 ἀποφασίς ἐρον εἰρενῶε νᾶν савоа μῶοκ ἀγῶωνт

¹ Sic. — ² γ s. l. — ³ Supple νεμ πῶνρι.

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 !⁵² I speak well with you. You speak badly to me. To be sure⁵³ 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 on 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.*

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

53 A Greco-Coptic phrase: **ⲕⲟⲗⲱⲥ ⲣⲱ**

νξε πιζηγεμων πεχαq xe τοχαgcagni εφογωλι
 ντοχαφε ντσηqι cατοτογ δε αγωλι ντοχαφε
 νcoγαι ὑπιᾱβοτ¹ εωoγτ αγχωκ ὑπογαγων εβολ
 αγβι υπιχαου νατλωμ ηεν νιφνογι

* Γ. 14 r. * Πενενca ναι δε τηρογ πεχε αριᾱnoc πιζηγε- 5
 μων υπιᾱγιoc απα λακαρων δε αριoγciᾱ ἡνινογτ
 υπερμογ ἡκακωc ηεν ναχιx xe νθοκ ογcαβε πε-
 xe πιαγιoc ναq xe ανοκ ογcαβε ἡcνογ νιβεν xe
 ειγωι νca εμετογρο ὑπαῶc ιηc πχc φαι τνογ
 ετναωε ератq нтаβι υπιχαου ναττακο ναι 10
 етаqωτεμ еρωγ νxe πιζηγεμων αqηραxpeх
 ннеqнаxgi εηρη еxωq πεχαq ναq xe icxe χна-
 cωτεμ νcωι αν ντεκiρι μφн ета νιογρωγ²
 οχαgcagni μμοq³ τερκελεγιν εφογωλι ντεκαφε
 ηεν τσηqι 15

Πιμακαριοc δε ηεν πxιnερεqωτεμ етеqаπο-
 φacic αqωωπι еqωепзμοг ντοτq ὑφτ ηεν τογ-
 νογ δε α νιματοι τ υπιχαμoc еρωq αγенq епиα
 етеqнаxωк εβολ νηηтq ἡθοq δε πεχαq ννικес-
 τωнаριοc δε αριaneχεcεε ὑμοι νογκογχι нтаτ 20
 νογпроceγχн μφτ oγoγ αγωωγτ ероq ἡxe ογ-
 νioγт ὑμнω еqоω πιμακαριοc δε απα λακαρων
 αqφωρω ннеqχιx εβολ αqτωβg ὑπαipηт еqω
 μμοc xe παῶc ιηc πχc oγι ератк nemнi ντεκτxом

* Γ. 14 v. νнι *ωατxωк εβολ υπααγων 25

Πicωτηρ δε ιηc αqоγонгq ероq ηεν τογноγ
 ὑπε gλι εμi ероq εβηλ епиαгиoc μμaγатq πεχε
 φн εθογав ὑpicωτηρ xe παῶc oγoγ πανογт ic
 гнппе акcωтеμ ероi ηεν πxιnεpιτωβg ὑμοκ τноγ

¹ Ms. ὑπιᾱ tantum in fine lineae. — ² γ alter. s. l. — ³ Ms. μμοq.

The governor became angry and said: *I order them to be beheaded by the sword*, which was done instantly. On the 1st day of Thôout⁵⁴ 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 shortly⁵⁵ 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 thanking⁵⁶ God. At that moment the soldiers put a narrow bridle⁵⁷ 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 Him⁵⁸ except the saint alone, who said to Him: *My Lord and my God, you have heard me praying to you. Now*

54 The first month of the Coptic calendar.

55 Coptic: **†NOY Ɛ†NAWE ƐPATQ** 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 **ACƆƆƆƆƆ ƐCƆƆƆƆƆ** to be inchoative. The same periphrasis is used in the Sahidic version of Lk. 7, 38, where **ACƆƆƆƆƆ ƐC†ƆƆ** translates the Greek Imperfect (κατεφίλει), which can be understood as continuing 'she began' (ἤρξατο) in the early part of the sentence. The faithful Bohairic translator has followed the Greek: **NACT†FI**.

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' (**ƐƆƆƆ**), 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.

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:⁵⁹ 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 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 bless⁶⁰ 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,⁶¹ 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 agapê⁶² 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

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 **ΤΟΠΟΣ**. This contrasts rather sharply with the views of someone like Shenoute.cf., for example, the admirable discussion in Caroline T. Schroeder *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe* (2007) ch. 4.

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

61 Coptic: **ΕΥΘΕΝΕΡΦΗΕΥΙ** cf.Crum 201a. Crum is not certain what **ϥΕ** 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.

ὑπεκναί εἰρην ἔχων· ντεκςμοῦ εἰρων· ντεκχω
νωῶ· εἰς ἡνοῦνοβι ἀνοκ· ὧ πασῶτηρ ἐκεῖ· νη
ἡνοῦτον· νη οὐαπαγσις· κατὰ πεκνιῶτ· ἡνα
ἀνοκ· ἡα· πιταλεωρος· φτ· πιαιρῶ· πιρεφτβεχε
νοῦτον· νιβεν· εἰσαζτ· εῖοκ 5

Ἦεν· πχινῶρεφχωκ· εἰς ἡναίσα· ἡχε· πιμακα-
ριος· ἀπα· λακαρων· πεχε· πςῶτηρ· να· ἡε· ὅρο· ὑμοκ
αὔκην· γαρ· ἡχε· νεκῆσι· τηρῶ· τωρκ· ὑμοι· ὑμιν
ὑμοι· ἡε· νη· ἐτακχοτοῦ· τηρῶ· τῆαχοκοῦ· εἰς
νη· ἡε· ἐτε· ὑπεκερποῦμε· τῆααίτο· τῆαχω 10
ἡνααγγελος· εἰρῶ· ἐπεκςῶ· ὑπεζοῦ· νη· πς-
*f. 15 v°. χωρ· *εἰ· ὑπερφμε· νη· εἰ· ἐπεκτοπος· εἰ·
μο· νη· τῆαμο· εἰ· φο· φο· κατὰ· πεφ-
ὑ· να· ἡε· ἐτακχοτοῦ· να· ἡε· πςῶτηρ· αἰερ-
α· πα· εἰ· μο· αἰ· ἐ· ἐ· ἡε 15
οῦ·

Πιμακαριος· ἡε· αἰκοτ· ἐνικεστῶναριος· πε·
νω· ἡε· αἰ· ἡε· εἰς· ντετε· ἡε·
τοῦ· αἰ· ἡε· νικεστῶναριος· πιμακαριος· ἡε·
ἀπα· λακαρων· αἰ· πε· εἰς· αἰ· 20
ντε· εἰ· αἰ· ντε· εἰ·
εἰς· ν· ὑ· ὑ· αἰ·
ν· ν· ἡε· π· ἐ· α· π· τηρ·
· εἰ· εἰ· πα· ἡε· ἐ·
· τ· ὑ· ὑ· ἀπα· λακαρων· πςῶτηρ 25
· ἡε· ντε· ἐ· ν· ν·
· εἰ· ν· αἰ· ἡε·
· ἡε· ν· τηρ· αἰ·
· αἰ· ἐ·

¹ 1 1^m add. s. l. a 1^m m. — ² Sic. Lege αἰκοτ.

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 rest⁶³ 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

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

οχοῦ πενσῶτηρ ἰη̄ς η̄χς φαί ετε εβολ ζιτοτq ερε
πῶοx ερπρεπὶ ναq μεμ πεqῶτ μαγαθοῦ μεμ πῖ-
πῖνα εοοxαβ ηρεqτανῆο πῶα εμεῖ ητε με̄μεῖ τηροx
αῖην

5 πῶς ναὶ πῖxωv εταqεῖxαι xαηx ὡς αἰτοὶ αῖην

and Our Saviour Jesus Christ from whom the glory appropriate to Him and His Good Father and the life-giving⁶⁴ Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

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

64 The phrase τὸ ζῳοποιόν 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