

The Martyrdom of Arianos and the Four Protectores in an Unpublished Christian Palestinian Aramaic Palimpsest, St Catherine Monastery (Sinai, Arabic NF 66)*

[El Martirio de Ariano y los Cuatro Protectores en un
palimpsesto arameo cristiano palestinese inédito, Monasterio
de Santa Catalina (Sinai, Arabic NF 66)]

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Abstract: Among the New Finds in a storage chamber in St Catherine's Monastery 1975 a number of Christian Palestinian Aramaic palimpsests came to light. Some of them feature martyr stories that have been rarely attested, and for one the Greek text witnesses are missing. Two fragments contain the martyrdom of Arianos and the Four Protectores.

Keywords: Apollonios; Arianos; Christian Palestinian Aramaic; Hagiography; Martyrdom; Patristic; Philemon; St Catherine.

Resumen: Entre los Nuevos Hallazgos en un almacén del Monasterio de Santa Catalina en 1975 vieron la luz una serie de palimpsestos arameos cristianos palestineses. Algunos de ellos recogen historias de mártires rara vez atestiguadas, y en un caso los testimonios del texto griego están perdidos. Dos fragmentos contienen el martirio de Ariano y los Cuatro Protectores.

Palabras clave: Apolonio; Ariano; arameo cristiano palestinese; hagiografía; martirio; patrística; Filemón; Santa Catalina.

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1. Background

The Martyrdom of Philemon, Apollonios, and Arianos and the Four Protectores has been known in Armenian, Coptic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic¹ (BHO 973), Ethiopic, Syriac, and in the main transmission in Greek and Latin. In the Christian Palestinian Aramaic and in Syriac transmission the texts have not been fully preserved.

The Syriac manuscripts were described by Anton Baumstark in his history of Syriac Literature in his usual short style,² but they were omitted in BHO 973. Of all Syriac testimonies only the beginning part of the Martyrdom of Philemon survived in an early Syriac manuscript, London, BL, Add 17.204, fols. 2v-7v, written on vellum in a bold *Estrangela*, and is dated to ca. 5th century according to Wright's *Catalogue*.³ The critical edition with references to the transmission in other languages was published by Sebastian P. Brock in the memorial volume for Father Devos.⁴

The other two surviving Syriac manuscripts seem to be of a later date and are catalogued under Vatican, sir. 160, fols. 146r-152v⁵ on vellum in *Estrangela*, and Vatican, sir. 161, fols. 113r-116v on vellum in *Estrangela*. Both manuscripts are not dated and come from Deir es-Surian. They contain the complete martyrdom story.⁶

The Greek can be only consulted in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I (Antwerp, 1668), pp. 895-899 under *Martyrium S. Thyrsi et*

¹ Is listed in BHO 973 as Syriac.

² Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (A. Marcus und E. Webers: Bonn, 1922), p. 94.

³ See William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. III (Trustees of the British Museum: London, 1872), p. 1081 [DCCCCXXXIV, no. 2].

⁴ Sebastian P. Brock, "The Earliest Syriac Manuscript of the Martyrdom of Philemon and Companians", in U. Zanetti and E. Lucchesi (eds.), *AEgyptus christiana: mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste* (Patrick Cramer: Geneva, 2004), pp. 29-42.

⁵ A copy and translation of the text was kindly made available to me by Sebastian P. Brock for the study of these two fragments.

⁶ See Stephanus E. Assemanus and Joseph Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum manuscriptorum*, P. I, vol. 3 (Reliquos codices Chaldaicos sive Syriacos; Rome, 1759), p. 322 [CVX, no. 21]; p. 327 [CVXI, no. 24]. Both manuscripts are now electronically accessible on the website of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana under digi.vatlib.it.

sociorum and the *Patrologia Graeca* 116, cols. 537-560 (BHG 1514), as there does not exist any critical edition yet. A similar situation exists for the Latin transmission, which can be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March I, pp. 751-756 (BHL 6803).⁷

Apart from the Ethiopic, Greek, Latin, and Syriac a Coptic version (BHO 110) is extant, which diverges quite considerably from all other transmissions, and can be read in the comprehensive article by Francesco Rossi.⁸

The first two Christian Palestinian Aramaic versions that came to our attention contained only parts of the Martyrdom of Philemon in a continuous text. They do not derive from the same manuscript, but belong to the early language period. One has been preserved in an original manuscript from St Saba (CSRP^g = St. Petersburg Syr. 16, fol. 28, 56-57),⁹ which was taken by the Georgian scribe Iovane Zosime from St Saba to St Catherine's Monastery in the 9th century to be re-used for a Georgian text.¹⁰ The legible parts of the remaining fragment that were not integrated in Land's edition of 1875, were recently published.¹¹ The second version derives from the Cairo Genizah and was edited by Agnes S. Lewis with her sister Margaret D. Gibson in

⁷ Laurentius Surius, *Vitae Sanctorum ex probatis authoribus & MSS. codicibus, primo quidem per ... L.S. ...editae vero multis Sanctorum vitis auctae, emendatae, & notis marginalibus illustratae*, 1522-1578 (Cologne: Sumptibus Ioannis Kreps & Hermanni Mylij, 1617), p. 255 under 14. December [Martyrium Sanctorum Martyrium Thyrsi, LVCII, Callinici, Philemonis, Apollonii et Reliquorum].

⁸ Francesco Rossi, "Un nuovo codice copto del Museo Egizio di Torino contenente la vita dis. Epifanio ed i martiri dis. Pantoleone, di Ascla, di Apollonio, di Filemone, di Ariano e di Dios con versetti di vari capitoli del «Libro di Giobben»", *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei anno CCXV, Serie quinta, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. 1 Memorie (Rome, 1893), pp. 1-136.

⁹ See Christa Müller-Kessler, "Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus (CSRG/O/P/S): A Collection of Christian Palestinian Aramaic Manuscripts", *Le Muséon* 127 (2014), pp. 263-309, esp. 300-301.

¹⁰ Sebastian P. Brock, "Sinai: A Meeting Point to Georgian with Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic", in *The Caucasus between East and West* (Sak'art'velos Xelnacerta E'vronuli C'entri: Tbilisi, 2012), pp. 482-494.

¹¹ See Müller-Kessler, "Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus", p. 301.

1900.¹² The new additional readings by me were incorporated into a text file within the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*.¹³

It does not come as a surprise that the third and final part of the Martyrdom with Arianos and the Four Protectores has now surfaced on two Christian Palestinian Aramaic folios under the Arabic manuscript Sinai, Arabic NF 66, having the Life of St Stephen the Sabaite as the upper text, and is dated to 901.¹⁴ One Arabic folio consists of two merged previous Christian Palestinian Aramaic folios, i.e. one recto and one verso and *vice versa*.

This early version in Christian Palestinian Aramaic dates approximately to the 6th century AD and is clearly written by a different scribal hand¹⁵ than that of Cambridge, University Library, T-S 12.750 and T-S 12.749r + T-S NS 329.698r,¹⁶ and St. Petersburg, Syr. 16 (CSR^m). Not only is the scribal hand different, but also the number of lines vary in all three manuscripts and the kind of parchment used is

¹² First edition in Agnes S. Lewis and Margaret D. Gibson, *Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in the Tylor Schechter Collection* (C.J. Clays: London, 1900), pp. 74, 93, and with corrections in Agnes S. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca* (C.J. Clays: London, 1902), pp. 133-134 after the suggested identification by Friedrich Schulthess, "Review of Lewis and Gibson 1900", *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 163 (1901), pp. 204-206, esp. 204. Listed in Michael Sokoloff and Joseph Yahalom, "Christian Palimpsests from the Cairo Geniza", *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 8 (1978), pp. 109-132, esp. 121.

¹³ See under www.cal1.cn.huc.edu.

¹⁴ In Ioannis E. Meimaris, *Κατάλογος τῶν νέων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ Ὄρους Σινᾶ* (Mount Sinai Foundation: Athens, 1985), p. 35, the manuscript is indicated there as being a palimpsest with "Syro-Palestinian" and Greek underneath, but nothing is visible on the photo juxtaposed on p. 34, whereas on a photo in Alain Desreumaux, "Les manuscrits araméens christo-palestiniens du nouveau fonds du monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Sināi", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (2010), pp. 1317-1328, esp. 1322, fig. 2, one sees the Christian Palestinian Aramaic undertext of another martyrdom, but with the same scribal hand.

¹⁵ See Early Manuscript Electronic Library (EMEL) under www.sinaipalimpsest.org.

¹⁶ Two good photos are found in Nehemya Alloni, *Geniza Fragments of Rabbinic Literature: Mishna, Talmud and Midrash with Palestinian Vocalization* [in Hebrew] (Makor: Jerusalem, 1973), pp. 70-71, and now under the Friedberg Collection project www.jewishmanuscript.org. It looks that also T-S 12.757 belongs with these fragments on account of the script, but it has another martyrdom as content.

of a different making,¹⁷ whereas Arabic NF 66 has 20 lines and the Cambridge fragments have only 15 lines per column with a bold script, and CSRP^m has 22 lines and a small uneven script type. The Christian Palestinian Aramaic text in Arabic NF 66 deviates considerably from the Greek and Latin versions as appearing in the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Patrologia Graeca* and differs from the Syriac Vatican versions too.

It hints to a translation of an early Greek forerunner, but in the absence of a critical Greek edition one can hardly judge the position of Christian Palestinian Aramaic in the history of the textual transmission.¹⁸

¹⁷ The codicological description becomes more and more vital in the study of the dispersed oriental manuscripts to obtain a certain idea of their previous internal relation. With the recent catalogues from St Catherine Monastery and Deir es-Surian by Sebastian P. Brock and Luc van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi Natrun (Egypt)*, (Peeters: Louvain, 2014) and the digital enterprise of EMEL within the Sinai Palimpsests Project Digital Release for St Catherine Monastery's library, one cannot go any more on the base of the contents to piece together the scattered original manuscripts. See for example for Syriac the excellent introductory overview by Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, *Syriac Codicology*, in A. Bausi *et al.* (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (COMst, 2015), pp. 252-266 and a number of other articles on this matter by Paul Géhin, "Manuscrits sinaïtiques dispersés I: les fragments syriaques et arabes de Paris", *Oriens Christianus* 91 (2006), pp. 23-43; Paul Géhin, "Manuscrits sinaïtiques dispersés II: les fragments théologiques syriaques de Milan (Chabot 34-57)", *Oriens Christianus* 91 (2007), pp. 19-20; Paul Géhin, "Manuscrits patristiques syriaques des Nouvelles découvertes du Sinaï", *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 6 (2009), pp. 67-93; Paul Géhin, "Manuscrits sinaïtiques dispersés III: les fragments syriaques de Londres et de Birmingham", *Oriens Christianus* 94 (2010), pp. 14-55; also Sebastian P. Brock, "Ktabe Mpassqe: Dismembered and Reconstituted Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic Manuscripts: Some Examples, Ancient and Modern", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 15 (2012), pp. 7-20 as well as Grigory Kessel, "Membra disjecta sinaitica I: a reconstitution of the Syriac Galen Palimpsest", [in print]; Grigory Kessel, *Membra disjecta sinaitica II: Three Syriac Fragments*, *Harvard Library Bulletin* 25 (2014), pp. 30-54; and the scattered Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus in Müller-Kessler, "Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus", pp. 263-309. And there is bound to be much more material from the New Finds in St Catherine.

¹⁸ See BHG 1514 and Hippolyte Delahaye, III. Les Passions des martyrs d'Égypte, *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922), pp. 114-154, esp. 115-116, 128.

The manuscript has twenty lines per column. The punctuation is three dots for a full sentence and for a half or sub clause, but only two dots before direct speech. The scribe of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic undertext of Arabic NF 66 often tended to write very densely in some lines, cramming more letters into a line than usual. This causes problems in the reading and discerning the spaces between words. Noteworthy is the intentional spelling of *'r:b't'* in fol. 3(I) r a1 with a supralinear dot on the *aleph* and in *'r:b'ty* fol. 3(II) v b1 with *yod* instead. There seems to be a kind of method behind this varied spelling¹⁹. It is worthwhile to point out that in initial position no dot is written on the *aleph* to denote /e/, /i/, but always in final position. The *taw* in *'t* 'sign, portent' carries a dot on top to distinguish it from the pronoun *'t* 'you'. No noteworthy surplus *plene* spellings occur, even in the imperfect prefixes, which points to a very early date of the manuscript. Greek proper names and words including loans from Latin are always transliterated into Christian Palestinian Aramaic in the expected fashion, *'wsy* οὐσία, *'y'nws* Ἀρρίανός, *[dyw]ql̄tynws* Διοκλητιανός, *tywt̄kws* Θεότυχος, *Pl̄tyn* παλάτιον (< Latin). The external Aramaic morpheme endings are employed with the Greek words *dl̄ryn'* < δελφίς²⁰, *Pr:wtyqtwr'* < πρωτέκτορ, *Pr:wtyqtwry'* for προτέκτορας, *qyr:sy'* < καιροῦ (Gen.). The scribe used the variant form *-nh* in the 1 plural independent personal pronoun and in the possessive suffixes.

¹⁹ This is for example also the case with every second *šw'* and *šwy* in an unpublished homily fragment of Georgian NF 19, fol. 59.

²⁰ Internal representation of ε in Christian Palestinian Aramaic is rare and seems to be restricted to pronounced Greek ε as in *myl'n* < μέλαν and in *ty'trwn* < θέατρον, see Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, Teil 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1991), p. 40.

The sequence of the two merged folios in Christian Palestinian Aramaic is the following:

Sinai, Arab NF 66, fol. 3(I) r	§ 3.11 [Greek, AMS]
Sinai, Arab NF 66, fol. 3(I) v	§3.12 [Greek, AMS] ²¹
Sinai, Arab NF 66, fol. 3(II) r [v Arabic MS]	§ 3.12 [Greek, AMS]
Sinai, Arab NF 66, fol. 3(II) v [r Arabic MS]	§ 3.12 [Greek, AMS]

2. Text and Translation

Arab NF 66, fol. 3(I) r [Latin in *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I, p. 756,²² § 3.11; Greek in *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I, p. 899; PG 116, p. 553, § 42]

1. 'r:b't'. <i>Pr:wtyqtwr:y'</i> <i>w'mr:w : lyt</i> <i>hw hrš 'l'</i>	the four Protectores and they said, 'He is not a sorcerer ²⁴ , but	<i>qšy' l'[lh']</i> <i>dyšwzb y' t'[h]²³</i> <i>'ry'nw[s]</i> <i>hygmwn'</i>	difficult for G[od] to save the prefect Arianos,
5. <i>brnš dhl</i> <i>mn 'lh' :</i>	a human being fearing God. For a sign	<i>d'tkpt mnk</i> <i>w'trmy</i>	who was fettered by you and was thrown

²¹ It looks as if the Christian Palestinian Aramaic division corresponds to the Greek as in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March. Unfortunately, the part of the fragment is damaged right at the beginning of the new chapter.

²² Οἱ Προτίκτορες εἶπον. Τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα οὐκ ἔστι μαγεία, ἀλλὰ σημεῖον ἀναστάσεως. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεράπων Ἀρειανὸς βληθεὶς ὑπὸ σου μετὰ δεσμῶν ἐν τῷ χάσματι καὶ ἐπιχωσθεὶς ἀνηνέχθη τῇ δυνάμει τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν περικειμένων αὐτῷ δεσμῶν ἐλυτρώθη· οὕτως καὶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος πιστεύσας ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐπὶ τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν, κἄν ἀποθάνῃ πάλιν ἀναστήσεται· κἄν ὑποκατω ὀρέων ἢ πετρῶν συλληφθῆ ἰσωθήσεται τῇ βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔτοιμοί ἐσμεν τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπομεῖναι θάνατον, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπολαύσωμεν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Κύριον.

²³ There is only room for a *he*, since the script does not run beyond the column.

²⁴ Syriac understands it differently *l' mt! dhrš' hw* 'not because he is a sorcerer'.

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	<i>'t. gr dqym'</i>	of resurrection	<i>lpht' :. l'</i>	into the pit. He (God)
	<i>dmy:tyn 'wd'</i>	of dead ones he demon-	<i>hw 'sq</i>	did not bring
	<i>dhw' 'mr</i>	strated, since he said to us	<i>yth mn</i>	him up from
10.	<i>ln dkwl brnš</i>	that every human-being	<i>pht' : wšr'</i>	the pit, and released
	<i>drhys 'l</i>	who trusts in	<i>yth mn</i>	him from your
	<i>'lh' : 'wp</i>	in God, also	<i>kptyk :. lbdyl</i>	fetters. Therefore
	<i>'n m'yt :.</i>	if he is dead,	<i>kdn 'wp</i>	we also
	<i>twbn q'ym</i>	he is again	<i>'nh msr:yn</i>	deliver
15.	<i>hw : d'wp</i>	resurrected, also	<i>pwgr:ynh</i>	our bodies
	<i>thwt</i>	under	<i>lmwt' 'm</i>	to the death with
	<i>twr:yn 'n</i>	mountains, if	<i>'ry'nws</i>	the prefect
	<i>yh' : '.</i>	he will be, or	<i>hygmwn'</i>	Arianos,
	<i>thwt šn:nn [:.]</i>	under rocks.	<i>lbdyl dtwbn</i>	so that we may rise
20.	<i>lyt hy</i>	It is not	<i>nqwm 'mh :.</i>	again with him.'

Arab NF 66, fol. 3(I) v²⁵ [Latin in *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I, p. 756 § 3.12; Greek in *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I, p. 899²⁶; PG 116, p. 556 §§ 43-44]

<i>[w]' 'rgz</i>	(12) [And] the [k]ing	<i>mwt' gr</i>	For the death,
<i>[dyw]qlytynws²⁷</i>	[Dio]cletian	<i>dnsb</i>	which Arianos
<i>[m]lk' 'l</i>	was enraged about	<i>'ry'nws</i>	took,
<i>'rb'ty^(sic)</i>	the four	<i>'twn nsb:yn</i>	you will take

²⁵ The script of the verso side shines through in the right hand column.

²⁶ [12] Ὁ δὲ Βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς κατὰ τῶν Προτικτόρων, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Ἐι ἐν τῷ καιρῷ, ἐν ᾧ ἡγαπατέ με καὶ συνδιήγετέ μοι, πᾶν αἴτημα ὃ τί ἂν ἠτήσατε παρ' ἐμοῦ ἔδωρούμην ὑμῖν· πόσω μᾶλλον μισήσασι με τὸν ἄξιον ὑμῖν αἰτησαμένοις θάνατον ἐτοιμῶς παρέξω; Ἦν τοίνυν εἴληφεν ἀπόφασιν Ἀρειανὸς ὃ ποτε Ἠγεμῶν τῆς Θεβαΐδος γῆς, τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς λήψεσθε. Ἀπεκρίθη Θεότυχος, ὃ ἐντιμότερος τῶν τεσσάρων Προτικτόρων, καὶ λέγει τῷ Βασιλεῖ. Ὁ Θεὸς, πρὸς ὃν ἀπερχόμεθα, πᾶν πονηρὸν ἐξελάσει ἐκ τῆς καρδίας σου Βασιλεῦ, ὅτι ἐπληροφόρησας ...

²⁷ Restored according to Arabic NF 66, fol. 1(II) ra9 *dywqlyty'nws*.

5.	<i>Prwtyqtwry'</i>	Protectores	<i>'mh</i> :.	with him.
	<i>w'mr lhwn</i> :	and said to them,	<i>'gyb dy</i>	But Theotychos,
	<i>bqyr:sy'</i>	'In previous	<i>tywtykws</i>	the Protector,
	<i>qm:yy kd</i>	times when	<i>Prwtyqtwr'</i>	the one who was
	<i>hwytwn 'my</i>	you were with me	<i>hdn dhw'</i>	the respected
10.	<i>bPltyn : kwl</i>	in the palace, all	<i>myqr bhwn</i>	among them,
	<i>m' dhwyt:wn</i>	what you	<i>w'mr :ykl</i>	answered and said:
	<i>š':lyn hwyt</i>	asked I	<i>hw 'lh'</i>	'God is able (to do)
	<i>yhb lkwn</i> :.	gave you,	<i>hdn d'nh</i>	this so that we
	<i>lbdyl dhwytwn</i>	because you	<i>'t:ydyn dny:zl</i>	are ready to go
15.	<i>mḥ:byn ly</i>	loved me	<i>lwth dyrym</i>	to him to lift
	<i>km' bn lm</i> ^(sic)	as ... Why	<i>mn lbk kwl</i>	from your heart
	<i>kdw [...]</i> ^{twⁿ} ²⁸	do you now ...,	<i>mqm'</i>	every evil
	<i>š':lw b'yd'</i>	ask through the hand	<i>bys' d't</i>	thing, which you
	<i>mwt' : 'n'</i>	(for) death. I	<i>mḥšb</i>	think about
20.	<i>šm' lkwn</i> .	heard you.	<i>'lynh</i> ²⁹ : <i>d'bdt</i>	us, since you did

Arab NF 66, fol. 3(II) r³⁰ [verso in the Arabic MS; left hand column is cut off; Latin in *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I, p. 756, chapter 3.12; Greek in *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I, p. 899, § 3.12;³¹ PG 116, p. 556, § 44 middle]

1.	<i>ln ṭbw rb'</i>	us a great favour,	[.....]
	<i>yhb ln mn</i>	giving us of	[.....]

²⁸ Some individual letters are not clearly discernable in ll. 16-17. A restoration is difficult, since the Christian Palestinian Aramaic text diverges here from the Greek and Syriac.

²⁹ *d't mḥšb 'lyhn* is missing in Syriac.

³⁰ The second column of the second folio (II) is cut off and merged with folio (I).

³¹ καὶ ἐχαρίσω ἡμῖν τὸν εὐκταῖον καὶ τίμιον θάνατον· ἀλλὰ ἀξιῶ καὶ αἰτῶ αἴτημα παρασχεθῆναι μοι παρὰ σου. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Βασιλεὺς, Ποῖον τοῦτο; Θεότυχος εἶπεν· Ἵνα κελεύσης πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν μου καὶ τὰ χρήματα γενέσθαι ...

	<i>mwtnth</i>	the gift	[.....]
	<i>dhdn mwt' .:</i>	of this death.	[.....]
5.	<i>hwrn dy</i>	But another	[.....]
	<i>š'.l' 'n'</i>	question I	[.....]
	<i>š'.l mnk .:</i>	ask of you.'	[.....]
	<i>mlk' dy 'gyb</i>	But the king answered	[.....]
	<i>w'mr : m'</i>	and said, 'What	[.....]
10.	<i>š'.l' 't</i>	do you ask	[.....]
	<i>š'yl mny .:</i>	of me?'	[.....]
	<i>'gyb dy</i>	But the Protector	[.....]
	<i>tywtykws</i>	Theotychos	[.....]
	<i>Prwtyqṭwr'</i>	answered	[.....]
15.	<i>w'mr : b''.</i>	and said, 'I beg	[.....]
	<i>'n' dyzdbn:wn³²</i>	that my possessions	[.....]
	<i>qny:ny kwlh.</i>	and all my	[.....]
	<i>'wsy' dyly</i>	wealth can be sold	[.....]
	<i>kwwl m'</i>	and all what	[.....]
20.	<i>dly bt:wn[y]</i>	I have in [my] chambers.	[.....]

Arab NF 66, fol. 3(II) v [recto in the Arabic MS; right hand column is cut off; Latin in *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I, p. 756, chapter 3.12; Greek in *Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. I, p. 899, § 3.12³³; PG 116, p. 557, § 45]

1.	[.....]s	'r:b'ty	the Four
	[.....]'	<i>Pr:wtṭyqṭwry'</i>	Protectores
	[.....]	<i>b'r:b'{'y}'</i>	into four

³² The sentence *b'' 'n' dyzdbn:wn* is omitted in Syriac.

³³ ... προσέταξεν ἐνενεχθῆναι καὶ ἑτέρους τέσσαρας σάκκους ἔχοντας ἕξ ἡμισείας ἄμμον, βληθῆναι δὲ τὸν τε Ἀρειανὸν καὶ τοὺς Προτίκτορας ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀσφαλισθέντας ἐπιμελῶς ῥιφῆναι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. ... δελφίνος ὑπεισελθῶν ...

[.....]	<i>sq:yn 'm</i>	sacks (filled) with
5. [.....]	<i>ḥl' dhw'</i>	sand, which was
[.....]	<i>bhwn :. kn dy</i>	in them. But
[.....]	<i>wkwt 'wp</i>	also likewise
[.....]	<i>l'ry'nws</i>	the prefect
[.....]	<i>hygmwn'</i>	Arianos
10. [.....]	<i>yrm'. bsq'</i>	would be thrown
[.....]	<i>ḥmšy' :</i>	into the fifth sack,
[.....]	<i>wy:tṭm'wn</i>	and they would be
[.....]	<i>bym' wbh.</i>	drowned in the sea.'
[.....]	<i>bš't'</i>	And at once they were
15. [.....]	<i>'tr:mw lym' :. ³⁴</i>	thrown into the sea.
[.....]	<i>wh' nwn'</i>	And hark, the fish,
[.....]	<i>dmt'mr</i>	which is called
[.....]	<i>dlpyn' qbl</i>	the dolphin, received
[.....]	<i>ḥmyštyhwn :</i>	the five,
20. [.....]	<i>l'b ṛ mn</i>	outside of

³⁴ Ll. 3-15 deviates in Syriac.