This is an English translation of the Syriac text published, with French translation, by M. Brière 'La légende syriaque de Nestorius' Revue de l'Orient Chrétien 15 (1910) pp, 2-25. A copy of the manuscript containing the text, Urmia 134, written in 1558, was commissioned by P. Bedjan and given to Brière to translate. In some respects it has the appearance of a highly abridged version of the much longer text published by F. Nau 'La seconde partie de l'histoire de Barhadbesabba 'Arbaia' Patrologia Orientalis 9 (1913) pp. 493 ff., a total of 32 chapters, which is followed by an account of the debate of Theodore with the Macedonians.

The numbers in brackets throughout the text are the page numbers of the Syriac text. The page numbers of the manuscript seem to be missing. The translation has been made largely from the French but the Syriac has been consulted throughout. Some of the notes contain the Greek forms of the Syriac words used.

It may be of interest to some to consult the Coptic version of the events at Ephesus in U. Bouriant 'Les actes coptes du Concile d'Éphèse' Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française 8 (1892), which not surprisingly gives a different account from the one provided in this text.

It is of no great importance but perhaps worth mentioning. There are two similes involving women that strike me as interestingly inappropriate in a text of this sort: on p. 4 Theodore of Mopsuestia likens Nestorius' zeal (which is, perhaps, code for overbearing arrogance) to a beautiful virgin, both of which can so easily be 'dishonoured by worthless men', and advises him to moderate it so as not to provoke them; and on p. 6 John of Antioch complains to Theodosius of the presence of Nestorius in a nearby monastery and wants him removed and points out that a city cannot have two bishops, in the same way that a woman cannot be shared by two men.

(2) The next of our texts is the history of the deeds of Saint Nestorius, bishop, and what was done unjustly against him by the dominance of the impious Cyril, as well as that of his divine actions.

I am ready to tell you, dearly beloved of Christ, and inform you of the dishonesty about his person that has been perpetrated at the hands of the Roman leaders and theopaschite bishops. They were bold enough to make ditches and lay traps for those who wanted to walk the stoneless smooth path.

1 Standard adjective used of Cyril
2 πρόσωπον
3 ܡܚܫܝ ܠܠܗܐ
They even went so far as to sacrifice to demons, such was their hatred of the person of Christ, against whom they had directed their audacious violence. Who would not weep to see that impious priests were failing to do the will of God and honour the mysteries that made them honourable and were busy hatching plots and murdering anyone who wanted to keep the divinity of the Son separate from suffering? Who would not be full of sorrow to see lying priests, saved by the blood of the One who has the same nature as we have, dare to affirm that this One, who had none of the properties of our nature, sacrificed himself and shed his blood to save us? They have conceived all manner of wicked plans against anyone who sought to proclaim the qualities fitting to this higher nature that is above suffering, and they have gone so far as to work their malevolence against them.

But among all whom they have dared to dishonour we wish to talk of this tower, remarkable, doctrinally solid, unshakeable, against whom all manner of subterfuge has been used and beneath whom all manner of cavities have been dug without being able to disconcert him or topple the rock on which it is built: I mean the blessed Nestorius.

This blessed man was from Germanicia, a place facing Cappadocia. The town is called Mar'ash and supplies the Roman empire with iron. His master and teacher was the blessed Theodore.

It is fitting that we relate briefly some of the facts of Theodore's life as well as the miracles he performed in order to establish his scientific credentials. He was from Antioch in Syria, from a good family. He was well educated in secular knowledge until the age of 25. When he was 26, his thoughts turned to the books of the Church, which he studied carefully, to receive enlightenment about profane knowledge. He thought of living in a monastery. Now, there was a monastery near Antioch full of worthy and religious men. He went to them and asked to live with them, but for a year they rejected his request: "There are already enough of us here, and it is not fitting to allow our number to grow." In the second year they wanted to test him to see if he was sincere. In the third year they wanted a guarantee from his parents that they would not reproach them. After all this, when they saw he would not give up, they took him in. How did he behave? He has made this in his treatise On the perfection of manners. He remained in the monastery for 21 years, studying the holy books, working on them and interpreting them.

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4, probably a more military structure than πύργος

5

6 Unknown work
(4) It happened that someone was required to hold a discussion with the Macedonians,\textsuperscript{7} who taught that the Holy Spirit was a creature that had been made. The chosen, that is the orthodox, said: "We have a man, a priest, who can debate this with you." They replied that they were unwilling to accept anyone but a bishop to debate. The orthodox devised a plan: during the night they ordained Theodore bishop of the Catholic Church and the following day they put him over all the bishops and he debated with the Macedonians and routed them convincingly.

The bishops agreed to send him to Mopsuestia, a small town where the cult of demons was strong. At that time there was no great city suitable for the Interpreter\textsuperscript{8} that did not have a bishop. Theodore made his way there and set about converting the residents from their error, and the pagans gathered together and said: "Before he makes us worship the Cross, come and let us all together worship our idol." They assembled and dug a hole in the wall behind the altar and put their idol in it. When the blessed one entered, as he usually did, to pray before the altar, the wall cracked and the idol fell before his feet. When those who had taken part in the action heard this, they started to blame each other, and all the townspeople received the grace of baptism.

And then the leader of the Jewish synagogue, who admired Theodore's knowledge, asked to be baptized by him, and he said: (5) "Wait and be patient. If see you that you are sincere. I will baptize you." The Jew came regularly to instruction and enjoyed it. When many days passed and the bishop did not see him, as he was used to doing, he asked to see if anyone knew where he was. He asked how long he had been dead and sighed and wept: "I am responsible before Christ for the blood of this man. How often he asked me to receive him into the Church and I did not accept him!" He then said to the archdeacon of his church: "Quickly, get a vase of pure water, oil of holy chrism and follow me to the grave." When he got there, he asked where the Jew was buried and found him. He prayed to Christ for the deceased, and the grave opened up immediately and Theodore and the dead man walked toward each other. Theodore made the sign of the Cross over him, administered the last rites, baptized him and administered the Mysteries to him, after which he said: "Do you want to stay or come back to this miserable world with us?" He replied: "I want to stay here." Theodore saluted him, buried him and went back full of joy. These are some of the things that have been reported about the Interpreter to confirm his apostolic teaching.

\textsuperscript{7} Macedonius became Bishop of Constantinople with the help of Arians in the mid-4th cent. The name given to them was Peneumatomachi (opponents of the Spirit)

\textsuperscript{8} Theodore's sobriquet.
Nestorius was a disciple of Theodore. He was a deacon of the church at Antioch. When the bishop who succeeded John in the see of Constantinople, in the time of Theodosius the Younger, died,⁹ the emperor heard that Nestorius was an able and educated man and had him brought by a courier horse.¹⁰ While he was being escorted, Nestorius said to the courier: "Allow me to enter and receive the blessing of the master who has conferred this honour upon me." He went (6) in to him and greeted him and stayed with him for two days. When he left to continue his journey, blessed Theodore accmpanied him to the shrine of St Thecla, where he took his leave of him and said farewell. While they were still together, Theodore said: "I know you, my son. No child has ever been born who is as zealous, and this is why I advise to you moderate your zeal in order to combat the opinions of others. Like a man who has a beautiful virgin¹¹ daughter and rejoices in her beauty but is afraid that she might be dishonoured by worthless men because of her beauty, I rejoice in your zeal and fear that you might be undone at the hands of the wicked." Nestorius replied: "Master, what do you mean? If you had lived in the time of Our Lord, he would have said to you: 'Do you too wish to go away?' The Lord has given us meat to eat: the stomach¹² that receives it is nourished and the one that does not fades." After many final pieces of advice, Nestorius resumed his journey, arrived at Constantinople and was ordained bishop by the emperor.

Nestorius immediately ordered the return of the bones of the blessed John, who had died in exile¹³ as a result of imperial hatred. When he arose to deliver his homily, he said: "Emperor, give me your empire purged of heretics, and I will give you the kingdom of heaven. Give me authority over the heretics, and I will make your Persian enemies your subjects." The congregation was not pleased by these words. Five days after his ordination he ordered Arian churches (7) to be burned. The fire consumed the dwellings of many, and this increased the resentment of many against Nestorius. But he gave them a spiritual drink, as if it had come from a spring. He also stopped the games, theatres, singing, concerts, dancing and the pleasures of the Romans. For this reason they conceived great hatred of Nestorius to the point where they took their furniture and threw it into the sea, saying:

⁹ Theodosius II (401-450) was the emperor who called the Synod of Ephesus and was responsible for the collection and compilation of laws known as the Theodosian Codex.

¹⁰ ܒܥܝܪܐ ܕܒܝܠܝܕܪܐ

¹¹ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ

¹² ܐܣܬܘܡܟܐ

¹³ ܐܟܣܘܪܝܐ

John Chrysostom was exiled twice: 403, at the Synod of the Oak by, among others, Theophilus of Alexandria and the Empress Eudoxia and 405. He died in exile in 407.
"We are doing this because of Nestorius." Although hated by the city Nestorius was honoured and loved by the emperor.

But the impious Cyril, when he saw the honour with which the remains of the one exiled by Theophilus and the situation of the blessed Nestorius, was consumed by bitter jealousy. He set about falsifying writings and homilies of Nestorius: each time he found the words 'God' and 'man', he removed 'God' and put 'man' in its place so as to be able to accuse him of having the same ideas as Paul of Samosata. He wrote a letter to Celestinus Pope of Rome and sent him the homilies he had falsified, saying: "Nestorius claims that God is an ordinary man, as Paul of Samosata\(^\text{14}\) claimed. Celestinus became precipitate in judgement as if his mind had been prejudiced by bribery.\(^\text{15}\) He wrote to Nestorius: "I have learned these words about you, that you believe that God is an ordinary man, as Paul of Samosata believed. I give you ten days to retract this. If after ten days your belief is unchanged, you will be stripped of your episcopacy (8) and relieved of all ecclesiastical duties." He saw the letter and considered the folly of this madman, he turned away and dismissed him,\(^\text{16}\) saying: "There is someone else who might win you over. Who has ever condemned the accused in the absence of accusers and indeed the accused himself?"\(^\text{17}\)

He informed the emperor immediately: "Cyril sent letters to Celestinus attacking me. Call a synod to examine my words and those of Cyril, and the one found guilty will be deprived of his rank." Theodosius, whose tendency was to indolence and softness, said this prayer: "A synod is not to be convened. I will inform the Pope, since he has dared to do this, that I am deposing him of his authority." Nestorius replied: "I will do nothing of the sort. This has no place in a judgement." After much prayer but without his agreement, Theodosius ordered a synod to be convened at Ephesus, a city rich in good things and, in addition, the relics of John the Apostle, which would be available to the synod and help them reach a judgement, for they were in Ephesus. When the synod took place, the emperor ordered John of Antioch to be the judge\(^\text{18}\) and Candidianus the comes. Nestorius and Cyril arrived at the same time as Candidianus. Cyril had arrived with a large retinue of monks and

\(^{14}\) Bishop of Antioch from 260 to 268. His doctrine was non-Trinitarian.

\(^{15}\) ܫܘܚܪܐ

\(^{16}\) I do not understand this passage, but the Syriac is: ܐܠ ܐܡܐ ܘܐܡ

\(^{17}\) I take this to be an indictment of Cyril's high-handedness.

\(^{18}\) ܕܝܢܐ
rustics, whom he had bribed to serve him as accomplices. John was delayed by the severe weather and was about to arrive - he was only three days' journey away - and he sent to the Synod to inform them: "I have been delayed by severe weather. But I am almost there and will come to the Synod as soon as I can." Cyril, when he found out that the judge was about to arrive and the Synod about to assemble, gave free rein to the jealousy and hatred he felt for the blessed one. (9) He went and bribed Memnon Bishop of Ephesus to help him. They went to the church without letting our people know. Pulcheria, the sister of the emperor, helped Cyril to do this. Because she did not keep her vow, Nestorius removed the ornament she had provided for the altar and ordered her image painted in the church to be blackened. When Nestorius saw that this had been done only because he was a bishop, he informed the emperor in writing and asked to return to his monastery in order to avoid a struggle over the see. But when Candidianus arrived and told the emperor of the trouble caused by Cyril, the emperor ordered Cyril to be exiled to the end of the world. While he was ratifying the edict and putting his signature on it as always, Nestorius' letter arrived and John, who had arrived at Ephesus, went to find the emperor and said to him: "Do not be upset if this man deposes himself from the episcopacy." When he saw the letter, the emperor became angry, tore it up and even broke the pen: "I asked him at the beginning not to call a synod, but he refused my request. Now I want the one who has offended him to be punished, and he does not agree to this. Let him go where he wants." He then ordered Nestorius to be given a courier horse and a litter to take him back to his monastery. After that the seven bishops returned each to his diocese.

Nestorius returned to his monastery and remained there for four years. As he had been brought up at Antioch, everyone there knew how clever he was. Since his monastery was so near the city, he was visited regularly by the townspeople, who benefited from his teaching. John was consumed by

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19 The first session was in held in late June, so it must have been a storm that delayed them.

20 This journey is the reverse of Paul's third missionary journey (Acts 18). An account of John's delay in attending the Synod from a Coptic perspective is provided in U. Bouriant 'is suggested that Nestorius asked John to delay his arrival.

21 Pulcheria seems to have identified very closely with the Virgin Mary, possibly using her 'virginity' as an instrument of political power. According to Sozomen Historia Ecclesiastica Bk 9 ch. 1, 'Pulcheria was the first to dedicate her virginity to God'. She had even asked Nestorius to use her dress as an altar covering and to put her portrait above the altar, but he refused and put it elsewhere; and it was when he heard rumours that she had been sexually active that he blackened her portrait, cf. Patrologia Orientalis 9 p. 565

22 Perhaps of Constantinople.

23 The 'man' in question is presumably Nestorius.

24 Several 'numerical units' of bishops are associated with Nestorius, e.g. the 16 bishops who accompanied him in April 431 to attend the Synod of Ephesus to be held at Pentecost of that year. I am not familiar with this one.
jealousy and told the emperor emphatically: "Two men cannot share one woman and one city cannot have two bishops. If Nestorius stays here, order me to be sent somewhere else." Urged on by his sister Pulcheria, the emperor ordered him to be sent to the land of Awasa, \(^{25}\) in the land of the children of Ham, as he tells us himself: "In truth we are living in the middle of a people who have no sense of smell." \(^{26}\) Nestorius spent three years in Constantinople and four in his monastery.

What did he do at Awasa? There is much to say. When Cyril saw that Nestorius had simply been sent into exile, that he was still alive and had suffered no harm, he sent a philosopher to insult him so that at least he would continue to suffer discomfort. The latter went to where Nestorius was and said to him: "Are you Nestorius?" "Yes, I am," he replied. "You dog, you are the one who has caused all this trouble in the empire with your false teaching and set yourself against Cyril." Nestorius replied: "You are right to call me a dog. This animal, when it wishes to please its master, barks at everyone. I too, when I wish to please Christ, bark at Cyril and the whole Roman empire for the sake of the truth."

Cyril, seeing that here too he had been vanquished, gave orders that 400 monks with their abbot should be brought to him from there. \(^{27}\) He hired them and equipped them to go and murder Nestorius: "The murder of Nestorius would be of greater value in the eyes of God (11) than all the fasts and all the good works you perform." They left, arrived at the monastery and called at the gate. The blessed one opened the gate and they said: "Where is Nestorius?" "He will be here in a moment," he replied. After discovering why they had come, he asked them to come in and began explaining his teaching about the nature of God, and how it cannot possibly suffer, as Cyril

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\(^{25}\) It is clear from the writing (ܐܘܣܐ) that this is based on the Gk form ὄασις, itself derived from the Coptic \(\text{ouaxe}/\text{Egyptian }\text{wh3t}\), which refers to a topographical depression with an underground water supply. There are seven in the Western Desert of Egypt. Nestorius was banished to Kharga in the far SW of the country (not very far from Libya) in 435, where there seems to have been a monastery (probably under the jurisdiction of Cyril) and there was a large cemetery at Bagawat, with imposing funerary chapels and splendid frescoes, which had been there since the 3rd cent. Nestorius himself is quoted by Evagrius the Scholastic (\textit{Historia Ecclesiastica} Bk ch.7) as having written to the governor of the Thebaid that he was liberated from his captivity at Kharga and was able to make his way to Akhmim (Panopolis). This would be more in keeping with the story told below of how Cyril sent 400 monks to murder him and how they left without doing so and then crossed the river by ferry. Kharga is about 130 miles from the Nile, a journey of several days not to be undertaken without considerable preparation. There seems to be a conflation of the two periods of exile.

\(^{26}\) \(ܩܢܐܠܣܘܩܐܗܕܡܐ\) Lit. 'the organ of smell not a possessor'. I do not understand it, but if it is from the \textit{Bazaar of Heracleides}, which Nestorius apparently wrote in exile, the context may help to elucidate it.

\(^{27}\) Cyril is said to have enjoyed the support of the monks of Egypt, cf. Socrates \textit{Historia Ecclesiastica} 7, 14, which speaks of large numbers of bellicose monks manipulated and armed by Theophilus and his successor Cyril. Since it was customary for the patriarch to be chosen from among the monks, the support of the monks for Cyril may not be entirely surprising.
maintains, and he said: "Come, let us pray until Nestorius comes." He got up and prepared a seat for himself and, while he was praying, made low bows to the monks. After he had finished, he sat down. They said to him: "Where is he? He has not come." Nestorius replied: "He will be here soon." He then resumed the conversation. "How dreadful it is to be consumed in advance by hatred of an innocent person." Once again he stood up, finished his prayer with a low heartfelt bow. He sat down and said to them: "I am Nestorius. Do as you wish with me." When they heard this, they bowed reverently. They threw themselves at his feet and begged his forgiveness: "This is a truly stainless doctrine we have heard from you." They then offered this prayer: "To assure you that your faith is in our eyes the true faith. We have bread and wine. Consecrate them and give them to us." After he had consecrated the Eucharist, they participated in the mysteries, received his blessing and left.

But Nestorius kept back their abbott and said to him: "I have something to say to you." The latter replied: "I cannot abandon my colleagues because they have to cross the river by boat and (if I stayed here) I would be alone and have no chance of crossing." He said: "Let them go and when you go, you will find a boat ready to cross, without any human help." When the monks had left, he began to speak with the abbott: (12) "How dreadful it is that someone should allow himself to accuse another without knowing if that person has done wrong or not. But if you did so, it was because of your intermediary that you asked for blood." They spoke for some time, and Nestorius blessed the abbot, who departed. When he reached the river, the head monk saw that his companions had crossed and that the ferry was tied up on the other bank. But as he approached the bank of the river, the ferry disengaged itself without any human intervention and sped across the river to the feet of the monk. Astonished by the prediction of Nestorius, the monk took his place in the ferry, which was immediately carried across and deposited the abbott on the other bank without human intervention of any sort. The monk was full of admiration and became a convinced believer in the teaching of Nestorius, which contributed to his own confirmation in the faith.

While he was in these places, barbarians came with their leader and took everyone prisoner,
including Nestorius. They took the prisoners with them and went back home, but there was a sort of desert separating their two countries. There was no water and no river. Everyone became thirsty and was in danger of dying. Some of the prisoners who knew Nestorius approached the leader and said: "One of your prisoners is man who enjoys great freedom of speech\textsuperscript{31} with God." The leader sent for Nestorius and said: "I understand that with the help of your prayers we might escape death. Your God is merciful (13) and does not want the death of man. So pray for us and now and save us." Nestorius replied: "If you want mercy, then show mercy to your prisoners." The leader said: "The prisoners are in your hands." Nestorius then gave the order to pray and prayed himself, asking God in his mercy to send water to quench the thirst of the barbarians and let them know how powerful he was and release the prisoners. At that moment a great river sprang up. So Nestorius was able to provide drink to the thirsty, redeem the prisoners and return home. Although there was a Roman law that said: "If anyone is sent into exile and taken prisoner and escapes from his captors. he may return to his place."\textsuperscript{32} But he did not want to.

One day a \textit{Patricius}\textsuperscript{33} was sent by the emperor on imperial business and had to travel by sea. When he arrived facing\textsuperscript{34} the monastery of Nestorius, while he was still in the ship, a great storm arose and he was unable to continue his voyage. He ordered the ship to be tied up and to wait until the storm had abated. He wanted a diversion, so he went to the monastery and called out at the gate. Nestorius came and opened the gate for him. The \textit{Patricius}, seeing that he was a blessed man, greeted him. Nestorius asked him the state of the empire and the peace of the bishops. The \textit{Patricius} replied: "Now that the troublemaker Nestorius is in exile, the empire and the bishops are at peace." Nestorius said: "Blessed be the Lord since the loss of this man means peace for all churches." He invited the \textit{Patricius} to sit next to him and began to teach him (14) about the Incarnation of the Lord from the Annunciation revealed by Gabriel to the recent troubles of the Church. He recounted all the events one by one and said, in passing, how deranged, odious and audacious it was to attribute suffering to the divine nature. When the \textit{Patricius} heard this, he was

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} \varepsilon\varphi\rho\nu\sigma\iota\iota\alpha. A useful study of this term as used in ancient writers has been made by G. Scarpat \textit{Parrhesia} (1964)
\item \textsuperscript{32} \varepsilon\nu\zeta\nu\nu\iota\alpha. Perhaps also 'position'.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Explained in Syriac as \textsuperscript{34} \varepsilon\nu\zeta\nu\nu\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\nu\nu. 'chief ruler'. It seems to be a title that was created under Constantine the Great.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
amazed and filled with admiration of his knowledge. He went to find his servants and said to them: "Thanks be to Christ that I have been delayed here because of the weather. It has not been a waste of time, for I have had the advantage of seeing the man of God who has made me understand what no-one has been able to make me understand, except for the apostles." The local people said to him: "Do you think that this man is as important as the Apostle Paul? Has no-one told you why you should scorn him?" He replied: "The one who scorns this man denies Christ." They said: "That's Nestorius." The Patricius covered his head with ashes and went to the monastery in tears and called out at the gate. Nestorius opened it as if he had been a solitary, the Patricius threw himself at the other's feet, asking for pardon for having acted without thinking. Nestorius said: "May Christ who knows people's hearts forgive you." The Patricius continued: "If you really forgive me, write me a letter for Bishop Dorotheus, who was exiled because of me, so that he might forgive me as you do." Nestorius said: "This will be of no use, for Dorotheus is dead." However, pressed by Nestorius, the Patricius wrote a letter and said to him: "Here. You will find him being taken to the graveyard for burial. When you meet him, ask him to pardon you too. Tell him also that I have preceded him by an hout." The Patricius abandoned his mission, mounted a fast horse and left. When he arrived (15) in the city, he saw a funeral procession and asked: "Who is that?" He was told: "It is Dorotheus, Bishop of Marcianopolis." He asked for the shroud to be placed on the ground and threw himself on Dorotheus' breast, weeping and moaning and begging his forgiveness: "Forgive me. Your friend has forgiven me, and he asked me to tell that he has gone before you." He then ordered the shroud to be replaced and the blessed one to buried with all honour.

After the Patricius had left and before his return, the blessed one, while performing his office, stopped. His face became troubled and he began to weep. His disciples asked him what was troubling him, and he said: "I have just learned that the soul of the wretched Cyril has departed without having retracted any of his blasphemies against the divine nature." They made a written note of the time and asked the couriers about their movements and learned that Cyril had died at the moment when Nestorius received his revelation.

On the death of Theodosius Marcian became emperor and ordered Nestorius to be recalled from exile together with the 26 bishops who had been exiled with him. His friends wrote to him to trust the emperor and return. He wrote in reply: "I rejoice in the emptiness of the desert" and so on.  

35 πρόσωπον

36 Taken from a letter written by Nestorius and cited in the history written by Barhadbesaba Patrologia Orientalis 9 p. 586.
Before the arrival of *Patricius*, an hour before the death of Dorotheus, as he had predicted, the blessed and courageous athlete\(^{37}\) departed for the one who crowns his friends, while the beads of sweat were still falling from his forehead. He had struggled courageously and unremittingly in his contest.

When the *Patricius* returned, the blessed one had died, as (16) he had foretold. He was joyful as one who had known his love and he would go after him and bring him back. It was he who made the announcement of Nestorius' death and gave an account of what he had done, of his own death and that of Dorotheus.\(^{38}\)

The emperor then ordered those of the exiles who were still alive to return and continue seeking after the true faith. The Roman bishops assembled, examined the faith and established the current faith, having changed it a little in relation to the previous faith.

The end of the narrative.

May the prayer of Nestorius be with the one who has written this in spite of his unworthiness and the one who reads it\(^{39}\) with a pure heart and the one who is fortunate enough to hear it. Amen.\(^{40}\)

\(^{37}\) ἀγωνιστής

\(^{38}\) I am not sure that I have properly understood this passage.

\(^{39}\) In view of what follows this probably means 'read aloud'.

\(^{40}\) The formula at the end of a prayer: ܐܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ