

# HOMILIES OF APHRAHAT THE PERSIAN SAGE AND THEIR GEORGIAN TRANSLATIONS

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*Abstract.* During my research on the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus, I encountered the homilies of Aphrahat the Persian Sage, since their authorship in the Armenian translation was ascribed to the first Syrian ascetic, Jacob of Nisibis, hero of the first chapter of Theodore's *Historia Philothea*. It incited me to discover the Georgian translations of the *Demonstrations* and analyze their reliability. This article represents a preliminary study of both homilies of Aphrahat rendered into Georgian: the 10<sup>th</sup> century Georgian translation of Homily VI, rendered by an anonymous translator from an Armenian source, and the modern rendition of Homily VIII translated by Lasha Bezhanishvili from English.

<sup>1</sup> Aphrahat is mentioned by Abu l'Hassan bar Bahlul, Eliya bar Shinaya, Grigor bar Ebraya, Abd Isho bar Berika (AbouZayd 1993, 53-55).

<sup>2</sup> Some scholars believe, Aphrahat was a convert from Zoroastrianism and Jacob, consequently, his Christian name (AbouZayd 1993, 55).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Demonstration 14.1 in PS 1, 573-74.

tions’’),<sup>4</sup> the only known work from Aphrahat’s writings, represents one of the most ancient religious texts of the Syriac Christian Church and deals with the central topics of Christianity: faith, love, prayer, resurrection, ascetic vows, fasting, etc.<sup>5</sup> The *Demonstrations* consists of 23 homilies composed in 336-337 (I-X hom.), 343-344 (XI-XXII hom.) and 345 (XXIII hom.), tied together by alphabetic acrostic. The Syriac text of the homilies was edited twice: by William Wright (1869, *editio princeps*, only Syriac text) and Joannes Parisot (1894 and 1907, Syriac text with the Latin translation) after three manuscripts: BL Add. 17182 (I-X hom. – 474; XIII-XXIII hom. – 512),<sup>6</sup> BL Add. 14619 (6<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>7</sup> and BL Or. 1017 (1364).<sup>8</sup>

The *Demonstrations* was rendered already at an early stage, being ascribed to different authors in the translations. There are 19 homilies rendered from Syriac into Armenian<sup>9</sup> (the translation is dated variously to c. 430,<sup>10</sup> the first<sup>11</sup> or the second<sup>12</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century) and 3 homilies rendered into Ethiopic (*Ge’ez*), nos V, VIII and XVII;<sup>13</sup> in both versions the work is ascribed to Jacob of Nisibis, who died in 337/338 prior to the composition of the second half of Aphrahat’s homilies (XI-XXIII). The five

<sup>4</sup> The word has a meaning of “an example,” “sermon” and “exhortation” in the homilies (2.15,17,20; 20.6,7) and of “an appearance, showing forth, manifestation; a token, example, specimen; a demonstration, argument” in the *Syriac Dictionary* (Payne Smith 1976, 609).

<sup>5</sup> For more on the homilies and their translations see: AbouZayd 1993, 51-107; Vööbus 1958, 173-78; Lehto 2010; Pierre 1988 and 1989.

<sup>6</sup> The manuscript handwriting is Estrangela. It lacks folia from the I, V, VI, VII homilies and entire XI and XII homilies. The author is mentioned in the colophone on 99r, as Առաք Տիգրան (Wright 1871, 403-04).

<sup>7</sup> The manuscript is written in Estrangela. It lacks few lines from the beginning of the I homily. The rest of the text is preserved in full. The author of the *Demonstrations* is indicated on 1v, between the columns, by a later hand, as Առաք Տիգրան (Wright 1871, 402, 401-403).

<sup>8</sup> The manuscript handwriting is Jacobite script. The author of the *Demonstrations* is indicated as ,Առաք Տիգրան Տաղաւոր Թ Ապրահատ Ջակ Բիշոփ օ Մար Մատթայ ( “[Persian] Sage Aphrahat Jacob bishop of the convent of Mar Mattai,” 160r; Wright 1871, 401).

<sup>9</sup> Antonellus 1756 (Armenian text with the Latin translation); Lafontaine 1977.

<sup>10</sup> Sasse 1879.

<sup>11</sup> Bonwetsch 1907, 4.

<sup>12</sup> Lafontaine 1977, IX.

<sup>13</sup> Pereira 1906, 877-92 (only Ethiopic text). Pereira’s edition follows Par. aeth. 146 (17<sup>th</sup> century, 245v-252r) and BL Or. 818 (18<sup>th</sup> century, 187r-191r). For more on the Ethiopic translation see: Baarda 1980-1981, 632-40.

homilies (II, III, IV, VI, IX) of Aphrahat, translated into Arabic, are attributed to Ephrem the Syrian.<sup>14</sup> There are only two homilies of the *Demonstrations* rendered into Georgian and one of them is ascribed to a different author:

1. The 10<sup>th</sup> century Georgian translation of Homily VI (መኅንጂ የፌትሃዎች “Demonstration on the Sons of the Covenant”), titled *სახ&gt; ადაምისა* (“Example of the Covenant,” or, after Gérard Garitte, “Forma Promissionis”),<sup>15</sup> is ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome.<sup>16</sup>
2. The second translation is the modern Georgian rendition of Homily VIII titled *მკვდართა აღდგომაზე* (“On the Resurrection of the Dead”).

**HOMILY VI.** The first important notes on the old Georgian rendition of Aphrahat’s VI homily were provided by Gottlieb Bonwetsch. He deduced that the author of the Georgian translation was not Hippolytus of Rome, but Aphrahat the Persian Sage.<sup>17</sup> Bonwetsch briefly compared the Georgian text to the German translation of Aphrahat’s *Demonstrations*,<sup>18</sup> noted certain differences<sup>19</sup> and indicated that the source of the Georgian text was an Armenian rendition.<sup>20</sup> The translator of the Georgian version is unknown.

The old Georgian translation was edited twice: 1) Garitte, Gerard. 1964. “La version géorgienne de l’Entretien VI d’Aphraate.” *Le Muséon* 77: 301-66; 2) *Shat’berdis K’rebuli X sauk’unisa*, edited by B. Gigineishvili and E. Giunashvili. The Monuments of the Old Georgian Literature. Vol. I. Tbilisi: Metsnireba, 1979, 304-19. The text was edited after three manuscripts in both editions: S 1141 (the so-called “Shatberdi Collection,” cop-

<sup>14</sup> Sauget 1979, 61-69; Yousif and Samir 1986.

<sup>15</sup> Garitte 1964b, 301-66, 308.

<sup>16</sup> „თქ්ማლი წმიდისა და ნეტარისა მამისა ჩუენისა იპოლიტესი მთავარებისკობისა; სახ&gt; ადაምისა” (“Sermo sancti et beati patris nostri Hippolyti archiepiscopi; *forma promissionis*”, Garitte 1964b, 308).

<sup>17</sup> Bonwetsch 1907, 3-4; Garitte 1964b, 301; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 42.

<sup>18</sup> Bert 1888; Bonwetsch 1907, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Bonwetsch 1907, 4.

<sup>20</sup> “Eine Vergleichung zeigte, daß es sich um nichts anderes als eine treue Übersetzung dieser Schrift ins Georgische (vermittelt durch eine armenische Version) handelt,” Bonwetsch 1907, 4. After the short foreword (3-12) the Georgian text is edited with its German translation (12-35). For more on this see: Garitte 1964a, 82-87; repr. Garitte 1980, 480-85; Garitte 1964b, 303.

ied in 973-976 in the monastery of Shatberdi in Tao-Klarjeti, 203v-215r), Ath. 11 (10<sup>th</sup> century, 275v-288r) and Jer. 44 (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, 235r-245v).<sup>21</sup> The mss S 1141 and Jer. 44 lack folia,<sup>22</sup> the Ath. 11 is the only manuscript that preserves the *Demonstration* in full and represents the text most faithful to the original. G. Garitte, describing the manuscripts, admitted that “les manuscrits J [= Jer. 44] et T [= S 1141] d'une part, et le manuscrit A [= Ath. 11] d'autre part représentent deux branches nettement différenciées de la tradition; des trois témoins, c'est A qui conserve le texte le meilleur et le plus fidèle à l'original; il est exempt de nombreuses omissions, modifications et corruptions qu'ont subies J et T; ces deux derniers manuscrits sont proches parents, mais n'ont pas entre eux de liens de dependence directe; J est moins corrompu que T et a conserve maintes leçons attestées par A contre T.”<sup>23</sup> G. Garitte applied to his edition the Latin translation, the most precise translation available. He briefly touched upon the relationship between the old Georgian and Armenian renditions, though he did not define the Armenian manuscripts’ recension that served as a source for the Georgian translation.

ARMENIAN TRANSLATION AS THE SOURCE OF THE GEORGIAN TEXT. The homilies of Aphrahat, according to G. Garitte, were translated from Syriac into Armenian after approximately the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The early version, preserved in a relatively large number of manuscripts, was published by Antonelli.<sup>24</sup>

There are two editions of the Armenian translation of the *Demonstrations*: 1. Antonellus, Nicolaus. *Sancti Patris Nostri Jacobi Episcopi Nisibeni Sermones*. Roma: Typis Sacrae Congregations de Propaganda Fide, 1756.<sup>25</sup> The edition was made on the basis of a single manuscript, Vat. Borg. arm. 59 (18<sup>th</sup> century, c. 1740),<sup>26</sup> where authorship is ascribed to Jacob of Nis-

<sup>21</sup> The Georgian text is also preserved in the cod. A 165 (17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, 705-31), a copy of S 1141. It had not been considered in the editions.

<sup>22</sup> S 1141 lacks folia between ff. 205/206 (1.18/3.1), Jer. 44 lacks the last part from 17.7 (Garitte 1964b, 302).

<sup>23</sup> Garitte 1964b, 304-05.

<sup>24</sup> Sasse 1879, 24-26; Garitte 1964b, 303.

<sup>25</sup> The edition has been reprinted in 1769 (Gallandius 1769, vol. 5, iii-clii), in 1765 (Venice) and 1824 (Constantinople).

<sup>26</sup> Lafontaine 1977, IX, XII. The cod. Vat. Borg. arm. 59 is copied from Venice, Mechitarists’ Library, cod. arm. 1551. There are two columns on each folia of the Vat. Borg. arm. 59, writ-

ibis.<sup>27</sup> A few important lacunas, alterations, and orthographic mistakes were identified in this edition;<sup>28</sup> 2) The most recent critical edition of the Armenian translation belongs to Guy Lafontaine.<sup>29</sup> The text was edited after the 12 most important manuscripts of the 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the earliest ones dating from the 13<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Venice, Mechitarists' Library 254/526), 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> (Venice, Mechitarists' Library 194) and 1623 (Tubingue, Königsberg University Library, arm. Ma XIII 95).<sup>30</sup> This edition is applied with the Latin translation by Lafontaine. It represents an almost word-for-word rendition and is indeed precise and reliable. As for the Armenian translation, Lafontaine admits that, comparing it to the Syriac original, in

ten by the same hand, a column of the Armenian text and a column of its Latin translation, the translator of the Latin text being Khachatur Aragelean (Խաչատր Արագելան), mentioned in the 1v of the ms: "Sermones de variis rebus Sancti Jacobi Nisibensis Episcopi, ex Lingua Armena traducti in linguam Latinam, a Cacciature Arachiel Sacerdote, et doctore armeno, Missionario Apostolico pro Armeni venetiis degentibus" (Lafontaine 1977, XII-XIII, IX; Lafontaine also quotes Tournebize 1924, col. 1436-38). Lafontaine indicates that Antonelli in his edition published both texts of the manuscript, Armenian and its Latin translation, and supplied them by his own notes and commentaries (Lafontaine 1977, XII).

<sup>27</sup> In the foreword Antonelli questions the authorship of Jacob of Nisibis, nevertheless, to affirm it, he indicates to Athanasius of Alexandria and to Gennadius (*Lives of Illustrious Men*, ch. 1), who ascribes the homilies to "Jacob, surnamed the Wise, bishop of Nisibis" (Antonellus 1756, I-X), and finds out arguments to support his thesis from the *Demonstrations* themselves (Antonellus 1756, X-XVI). The foreword includes the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter, "Vita Sancti Jacobi Episcopi Nisibeni", from the *Historia Philothea* by Theodore of Cyrus, and fragments from the writings of Armenian authors (Antonellus 1756, XIX).

<sup>28</sup> Lafontaine 1977, IX, XXIII.

<sup>29</sup> Lafontaine 1977, 1979, 1980. The edition, relying on the ms Erevan, Matenadaran 497 (1671), has the same order of homilies as that of the *Patrologia Syriaca*, and after XI homily, in XII-XIX *Demonstrations*, it differs from the order of Antonelli: Dem. 12A (of Lafontaine) = Dem. 14.1-3 (of PS), Dem. 13 = Dem. 19, Dem. 14 = Dem. 13, Dem. 15-18 = Dem. 15-18, Dem. 12B = Dem. 14.4-till the end; Dem. 19 = Dem. 12 (Lafontaine 1977, VII, XXIV).

<sup>30</sup> The twelve manuscripts of Lafontaine's edition are the following: E – Erevan, Matenadaran 496 (1669); F – Erevan, Matenadaran 497 (1671); N – New Julfa 387 (1797); R – Tubingue, Königsberg University Library, arm. Ma XIII 95 (1623); S – Rome, Vatican Library, arm. B 59 (1740); T – Rome, Vatican Library, arm. V 9 (1719); U – Venice, Mechitarists' Library 98 (18<sup>th</sup> century); V – Venice, Mechitarists' Library 194 (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries); W – Venice, Mechitarists' Library 360 (18<sup>th</sup> century); X – Venice, Mechitarists' Library 562 (18<sup>th</sup> century); Y – Venice, Mechitarists' Library 1357 (18<sup>th</sup> century); Z – Venice, Mechitarists' Library 254 (anc. 526) (13<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries) (Lafontaine 1977, VI, X-XVII). Lafontaine examines another 14 Armenian manuscripts in his "Post-scriptum" and admits that they do not adduce any new element to the edition (1977, XXV-XXVII).

some parts it is obscure and the translator didn't properly understand the source.<sup>31</sup>

The old Georgian translation, with the exception of several notable differences, entirely follows its Armenian source, representing a near word-for-word translation and maintaining the lexical calques from the Armenian text in the corresponding sentences. These calques are: „ՁՅԱՐԺՅԹԸ“ (ասպարէս, “stadium,” 6.1),<sup>32</sup> „ՆԱԿԵՐԾՈ“ (սահապէս, “forefather,” 6.3),<sup>33</sup> „ՔՅԱՅՅՈ“ (ձաշակ, “bowl,” 6.11),<sup>34</sup> „ԾՐԲՈ“ (բուն, “beginning, nature,” 6.14),<sup>35</sup> „ՔՅՈՒԹՃԸ“

<sup>31</sup> "Du fait que les Démonstrations de l'Aphraate syriaque sont un texte savant, d'une compréhension pas toujours aisée, on comprend que le traducteur arménien ait été quelquefois embarrassé pour bien saisir le sens de son modèle; il en résulte que le texte arménien est dans certains passages obscure, voire incompréhensible" (Lafontaine 1977, IX).

<sup>32</sup> ጥና በመስረት የሚከተሉ ስለ ስርጓሜ ሲሆን ንብረቱ የሚከተሉ ይችላል (“Qui optat in stadium ad certandum descendere, contra adversarium suum erudiatur”), “Որ անցանելու աշխարհին, ուղյ հնարյա ախտանին իբրյ” (“Qui abit in stadium, disceat remedia adversarii sui”), „Թոմելո թծոտցօք անշրջեն մե, Պայզողբեսա թթռողուոս ոչըօթեսա զրմալցթուցի” (“Qui curret in-stadio, dolositatem adversarii (litt. bellatoris) sui caveat”; PSL 1, 248<sup>21-23</sup>/250; Lafontaine 1979, 9, 4<sub>12-13</sub>/10, 3<sub>16-17</sub>; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 3067-8; Garitte 1964b, 316, 15).

<sup>33</sup> Համբարձու Տիգրան, Պատմակ, Խո (‘‘Zamri princeps erat tribus Simeon’’), ‘‘Նահապետ էր Զամբրի Շմալովնեան զինին’’ (‘‘Princeps erat Zambri Simeonis tribus’’), ‘‘Տաճար օրո Յաթքո Ցընծըսա մաս Եցքա Տշմոնօնևս’’ (‘‘Princeps erat Zambrı super tribum Simeon’’, PS 1, 260<sup>ss</sup>/259; Lafontaine 1979, 82-65; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 308<sup>ss</sup>; Garitte 1964b, 324, 4).

რიტება“ (დამართოსტხან, “truth,” 6.1),<sup>36</sup> „მუშაკი“ (მշაկ, “worker,” 6.1),<sup>37</sup> „აგარაკი“ (აყარა, “hamlet, farm,” 6.1) and „ვაჭარი“ (ქადაგასასა, “merchant,” 6.1).<sup>38</sup> The usage and meaning of these calques are the same in the

რეტრ ბაქ თუ თუ თუ რა რა რა (“ad naturam suam, ad Christum, vadens”), “ტერაჟ ჲ  
pnubzhip ალ ქემუსუ” (“et abit ad naturam suam ad Christum”), „და მივიღის ბუნად  
თვესა ქრისტესა“ (“et it ad-principium suum Christum”; PS 1, 295/296<sub>9-10</sub>; Lafontaine 1979,  
25<sub>14</sub>/15<sub>8</sub>, cf. Antonellus 1756, 222; Gogineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 315<sub>35</sub>; Garitte 1964b,  
351, 6). It should be noted that „ბუნი“ in the *Old Georgian Dictionary* is interpreted as  
„ნამდვილი“ (“true, inhabitant,” Abuladze 1973, 37).

<sup>36</sup> There are three examples of this calque in 6.1. The first one reads:  
რა რა რა რა რა რა (“Sal efficiamur veritatis”), “Եղիցოւ ალ ძამართოსტხანი” (“Simus  
sal veritatis”), „ვიქმნეთ მარილ ქვემარიტების“ (“Fiamus sal veritatis”; PS 1, 241<sub>2</sub>/242; Lafon-  
taine 1979, 1<sub>16-17</sub>/1<sub>16</sub>; Gogineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 304<sub>18-19</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 310, 3). The next one: რა რა რა რა რა რა (“quae est vinea vera”), “ეს სა ჩემს է აქე  
ძამართოსტხანი” (“quod ille ipse est vinea veritatis”), „რამთუ იგი თავადი არ ვნაზი  
ქვემარიტი“ (“quae ille ipse est vinea vera”; PS 1, 244<sub>19</sub>/243; Lafontaine 1979, 3<sub>12</sub>/2<sub>17-18</sub>; Gi-  
gineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 305<sub>19</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 313, 9). The third passage says:  
რა რა რა რა რა რა რა (“Accingamus lumbis nostris  
veritatem”) (lumbos nostros aequitate et veritate A), “Պնդեսუր զմէօ մեր  
ძამართოსტხანի” (“Comprimamus lumbos nostros veritate”), „მოვიმტებიცნეთ წელნი  
ჩუენი ქვემარიტებისა და სიმართლითა“ (“Confirmemus lumbos nostros per-veritatem et  
iustitiam”; PS 1, 244<sub>3-4</sub>/243; Lafontaine 1979, 2<sub>21-31</sub>/2<sub>6</sub>; Gogineishvili and Giunashvili 1979,  
304<sub>38-39</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 311, 7).

<sup>37</sup> The first example reads: რა რა რა რა რა რა (“Solentes operarii efficiamur”), “Եղիցოւ  
უշაկ ძრავენსუ” (“Simus operarii diligentes”), „ვიქმნეთ მუშაკ მაღლ-მოქმედ“ (“Fiamus  
operarii celeriter facientes”; PS 1, 244<sub>13-14</sub>/243; Lafontaine 1979, 3<sub>8</sub>/2<sub>13-14</sub>; Gogineishvili and  
Giunashvili 1979, 305<sub>6</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 312, 9); The second one: რა რა რა რა რა რა რა (“nec simus operarii otiosi”), “Ալ իցოւ უշაկ դაտაրկ” (“ne  
simus operarii otiosi”), „ნუმცა ვართ მუშაკ მოცალე“ (“ne simus operarii vacantes”; PS 1,  
244<sub>16-17</sub>/243; Lafontaine 1979, 3<sub>10</sub>/2<sub>15-16</sub>; Giunashvili and Gogineishvili 1979, 305<sub>8</sub>; Garitte 1964b,  
312, 9).

<sup>38</sup> The Georgian text preserves few examples of the last two calques:  
რა რა რა რა რა რა რა (“Qui rura et mercatum amat”), “Որ սիրէ զազարაկ և  
զվաճառ” (“Qui amat agros et mercatum”), „რომელսა უყუარს აგარაკები და სავაჭროა“  
("Qui diligit agros et mercatum"; PS 1, 248<sub>9</sub>/247; Lafontaine 1979, 4<sub>4-5</sub>/3<sub>5</sub>; Gogineishvili and  
Giunashvili 1979, 305<sub>39</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 315, 14). The next one reads:  
რა რა რა რა რა რა რა რა (“Qui cupit mercator  
fieri villam sibi cum thesauro qui in ea est emat”), “Որ կամ ქადაგასასა լինե, գնեցէ

Armenian and Georgian translations, indicating once again that the Armenian translation is the source for the Georgian text. The following sentence represents an additional proof: the Syriac **ମେଷ୍ଟେତିସି** ("maiestatis"), which means "greatness, grandeur, magnitude, importance, majesty,"<sup>39</sup> is rendered in the Armenian translation as **մեծութեանց** "grandeur/majesty," "wealth."<sup>40</sup> In the Georgian text the second meaning, "wealth," is translated (that is, "wealth of divinity," not "maiestate," as it is rendered by Garitte).

6.1. **ମେଷ୍ଟେତିସି ରୁତ ଚାତମ ନୀତାଗ : ମେଷ୍ଟେତିସି ତଳାପିଲ୍ କୁଳି**

("Ipsius orationem cum puritate proferamus, ut ea ad Dominum *maiestatis* accedat").

"Կացցուք յաղաթս նորս սրբութեամբ, զի մոցեն առաջի մեծութեանց [in fine verbi < ն T, < ցն UVX] աստուածութեանն" [in fine verbi < ն ENSTWXY].

("Oremus ad-eum cum-sanctitate ut (preces) intrent coram *magnitudine divinitatis*").

"Յօլողացուցութ մօսა մօմարտ Խօֆմօգութ, Ռաօտա Մյցուցութ Քօնա՛նց Տօմօջօդրյա զմբուցքն մօսօսան."<sup>41</sup>

("Oremus ad eum cum-sanctitate, ut intremus coram *maiestate* [lege: *divitiae* V. J.] *divinitatis eius*").<sup>41</sup>

It is firmly established with other examples where the Georgian translation follows the Armenian source and not the Syriac that the Georgian text

*զազարուկին և զազանձն որ ի նմա*" ("Qui vult mercator fieri, vendat *agrum* et thesaureum qui in eo (est)", „Ռոմելու Մբօցք Յշշար-Կողաք, օցօքն Ացարչո Սացահօտայրութ“ ("Qui volet negotiator esse, emat *agrum* cum thesauro"; PS 1, 248<sub>14-15</sub>/247; Lafontaine 1979, 4<sub>8-9</sub>/3<sub>11-12</sub>; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 306<sub>2-3</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 315-16, 4). Another example: **ମେଷ୍ଟେତିସି ରିତୁ ଲୋହା ରୁତ ରାତାନ୍ତ ତୁମ କାହା କାହା** ("Qui se convivio parat, ne se excuset, nec *Mercator* fiat"), "Որ զանձն իր հրամակեաց յընթրիս, մի հրամակեաց և մի լիցի վաճառուկուն" ("Qui se ipsum invitavit in caenam, ne se-excuset et ne fiat *Mercator*"), „Ռոմելո Ռତ օହନ୍ Ֆୁର୍ରା ମୂଳ Ֆୁର୍ରା ବୋଦାଵା, ନ୍ଯ ଓୁନ୍ଧାଯନ୍ Յଶରୋଦାଦ ଅମାଲ ସାଙ୍ଗେଲୁସ“ ("Qui ipse invitatus est ad-cenam (litt. ad-panem) caelestis sponsi, ne se-excuset, *ad-negotiandum* in-hoc mundo; PS 1, 249<sub>10-12</sub>/250; Lafontaine 1979, 4<sub>21-22</sub>/3<sub>25-26</sub>; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 306<sub>17-18</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 317, 17).

<sup>39</sup> Payne Smith 1976, 526.

<sup>40</sup> Khoudabashyan 1986, II, 141.

<sup>41</sup> PS 1, 241<sub>20-22</sub>/242; Lafontaine 1979, 2<sub>13-14</sub>/1-2; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 304<sub>30-31</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 311, 6. Cf. "Oremus ad eum cum sanctitate, ut preces nostrae intrent ante *Majestatem Divinitatis*" (Antonellus 1756, 205).

was rendered from the Armenian. However, there is a long list of readings where the Georgian text does not reflect the Armenian source but matches the Syriac, where in the corresponding sentences the Armenian text lacks words, passages, and even sentences. The following two sentences have no correspondence in the Armenian translation but are represented in the Georgian:

6.1. ~~אָלֶה לְמִזְבֵּחַ~~ אָלֶה לְמִזְבֵּחַ

(“Arma sumamus ad certamen, praeparationem Evangelii”).

„აღვიდოთ ჩუენ საბრძოლი ღუაწლისამ, განმზადებულებამ სახარებისამ.“

(“Suscipiamus nos arma proelii, praeparationem evangelii”).<sup>42</sup>

**6.1. גנטים נטutrליים וטלאים מוגנים מושפעים על גנטים אחרים**

(“Qui sponsi convivium praestolatur, convivia huius saeculi ne diligat”).

„რომელსა სწადის ხილვაც ზეცისა მის სიძისაც, უბიწოდ იპყარნ  
თავი თვალი ყოველსა ჟამსა.“

(“Qui cupit videre caelestem sponsum, immaculatum teneat (litt. prehendat) se ipsum omni tempore”).<sup>43</sup>

The Georgian translation lacks certain phrases which are, however, preserved in the Armenian text.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, there is a long additional

<sup>42</sup> PS 1, 245<sub>6-8</sub>/246; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 305<sub>21-22</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 314, 11.

<sup>43</sup> PS 1, 249<sub>7-8</sub>/250; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 306<sub>15-16</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 317, 17.

<sup>44</sup> The lacking phrases of 6.1 are:

(1) ጥሩ መሠረት ተመርጓለሁ ይሁን ስለ ከዚህ ተከታታይ የዚህ ተቻል ተስፋ ሲ (”Qui centum denarios non exigit, ei myriadē talentorum Dominus eius dimittet”), ”በሮ ነገ ልማዕና ክህ ዘመኑ ምላከናውን, የዚህ የወሰኑ የወጪ ተከታታይ የዚህ ስለ ተቻል ክህ” (”Qui non exigit centum denarios, myriadē talentorum dimittet ei Dominus eius”; PS 1, 251/249<sub>26</sub>-252; Lafontaine 1979, 4<sub>1</sub>/4-2); (2) የዚህ የወሰኑ የሚከተሉ ወገኖች ሲ የሚፈልጉ ሲ የዚህ በቻል ስለ የዚህ ተቻል ተስፋ ሲ (”Qui pecuniam Domini sui super mensam [nummularii] collocavit, non vocabitur servus nequam”), ”በሮ ወጥላሁን የወሰኑ የወጪ ተከታታይ የዚህ ወገኖች ሲ ተከታታይ ስለ የወጪ ምላቅ” (”Qui ponit argentum Domini sui ad nummularium, non vocabitur ille servus malus”; PS 1, 252<sub>1-3</sub>/251; Lafontaine 1979, 5<sub>1-2</sub>/4-3).

(3) **କୁଳାଳ ପରିମାଣ ନିଯମଙ୍କ ଏବଂ ଉତ୍ତରାଜ୍ୟ ପରିମାଣ ନିଯମଙ୍କ**

sentence in the Georgian version that does not correspond to either the Syriac original or the Armenian rendition, and since the Georgian text, in general, represents the literal translation, this sentence must not have been augmented but rendered from the Armenian source:

- 6.1. „და მივართუათ მას შესაწევნელი აღთქუმად, სიმართლე და ვერწმუნეთ აღთქუმას. და განვირნეთ ცეცხლსა მას უშრეტა.“  
 (“et afferamus ei adiutoriam promissionem, iustitiam, et fideles-simus promissioni et effugiamus ignem inexstinctibilem”).<sup>45</sup>

THE REVISION. The aforementioned differences draw our attention to the recensions of the source of the Georgian rendition – the Armenian translation. The editor of the Armenian text, Lafontaine, specifies five recensions: the UV (both include 1-9 hom.), EF (19-19 hom.), WY (18-18 hom.), NSTX (NST – 19, X – 17 hom.), and RZ (R - 19; Z – 8.8, 10.5) recensions.<sup>46</sup> From these recensions the lacking parts of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> chapters<sup>47</sup> of the Armenian version are preserved only by the UV recension. The rendition of the aforementioned part of the Armenian text is represented in the Georgian translation; nevertheless, the Georgian text shows a number of differences from the source. Thus, in the following sentence, the Syriac ﻦَلَّا („qui apparebit“) is translated into the Armenian as “յայտնութեան նորա” (“apparitionis eius”), the reading of the V ms being: “լարութեան նորա և յայտնութեան” (“virtutis eius et apparitionis”). The Georgian „ցամոჩիօնցիօն մօսօնօ“ (“apparitionis eius”) follows the main text of the translation and not the reading of the V ms:

(“Qui confidentiam in Dominum suum reposuit, arbori iterum similis erit super flumen constitutae”), “Որ յոյ իր ի տէք է, դպրձեալ նման է ծառոյ որ հաստատեալ է ի վերայ սիզոյ” (“cuius spes in Domino est, rursus similis est arbori quae fermata est super gramen”; PS 1, 253/254:2; Lafontaine 1979, 4:17-18/4:19-20); (4) ուսու ուսու սկզբան շարագան շարագան (“Quem Sponsus invitavit, praeparet animam suam”), “Որ իրափեսաւ առ փեսայն, հանդիպեսց զանձն իր” (“Qui invitatus est apud Sponsum, paret se ipsum”; PS 1, 253:5/254: Lafontaine 1979, 5:19-20/4:21-22).

<sup>45</sup> Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 305:35-37; Garitte 1964b, 315, 13.

<sup>46</sup> Lafontaine 1977, XIX-XXI.

<sup>47</sup> More than half of the first 2 chapters, from almost the beginning of the first chapter till the middle of the second, is missing in most of the Armenian manuscripts (cf. Antonellus 1756, 205; Lafontaine 1979, 2:17-61/2:3-4:33).

6.1. **לְהַזְנוּתָה** [לְהַזְנוֹתָה] וְ**עֲמָקָה**: זֶבֶחַ לְהַזְנוֹתָה וְלְעֲמָקָה

(“Oculos nostros ad superna [ad excelsa caelorum A] extollamus, ut splendorem *qui apparebit* contemplemur”).

“Ամբարձութ զաշ մեր ի բարձունս զի տեսցուք զծագել լայտնուրեան նորա” [լարութեան նորա և լայտնութեան V].

(*"Extollamus oculos nostros ad excelsa ut videamus splendorem apparitionis eius"* [virtutis eius et apparitionis]).

„აღვიხილნეთ თუალნი ჩუქნნი მაღლად, რამთა ვიხილოთ ბრწყინვალება გამოჩინებისა მისისაც.“

(“Elevemus oculos nostros ad-excelsum, ut videamus splendorem apparitionis eius”).<sup>48</sup>

In another sentence, the Georgian „ღმერთან“ (“God”), ღმლო (“God”) of the Syriac original, corresponds to “Աստուած” (“God”) in the Armenian main text, while the readings of the UV recension are “պրիսոնու” (“Christ” V) and “պրիսոնու և” (“Christ and” U):

6.1. የጊዜ ተስፋኑ ስራ ገዢዎች፡ ገዢዎች ተስፋኑ ስራ ገዢዎች

(“Simus misericordes sicuti est scriptum, ut Deus nostri misereatur”).

“Եղիցուք ողորմածք [ $f < p \text{ U } -$ ], որպես և գրեալ է, զի ողորմեացի մեզ Ասսուած [քրիստոն V, քրիստոն և U].”

(“Simus misericordes, sicut et scriptum est, ut misereatur nostri Deus” [“Christ” V, “Christ and” U]).

„ვიქმნეთ მოწყალე, ვითარდა წერილ ას, რამთა შეგწყალნეს ჩუენ ღმერთმანა.“

(“Fiamus misericordes, sicut est scriptum, ut misereatur nostri Deus”).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> PS 1, 245<sub>16-17</sub>/246-247; Lafontaine 1979, 326-27/232-33; Gineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 305<sub>28-29</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 314, 12.

<sup>49</sup> PS 1, 240<sub>17-18</sub>/239-242; Lafontaine 1979, 1<sub>13-14</sub>/1<sub>13-14</sub>; Gineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 304<sub>15-16</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 309, 3.

the Georgian version differs from the Syriac ḥuš ("our Lord"), as well as from the Armenian "տեսան մերում"/"տեսան մերոյ" ("Domini nostri") of the main text and the readings of the U and V mss in the same sentence, and says „օգլուս ոշեօս“ ("Domino suo").

6.1. ուսավ ի՞ւ բանա : բո՞ւ կ բա՞ ռու

("Simus vasa honoris, ut nos Dominus ad utilitatem suam re-quirat").

"Եղիշուք անալթք պիտանացուք տէսան մերում. Շահեսուք զամենայն տուրս մեր" [պատուի պիտանացու ի պէս տէսան մեր] UVs].

("Simus vasa utilia Domino Nostro; quaestum faciamus in omnibus, quae nobis data sunt" ["honoris utilia ad necessitate Domini nostri UVs]).

„Յօյմեց քյշ ձշօտեած, Տաչմար օգլուս ոշեօս.“

("Fiamus vas pretiosum, utile Domino suo").<sup>50</sup>

The Georgian translation frequently shows itself to be closer to the Syriac A manuscript version (BL Add. 14619, 6<sup>th</sup> century). Thus, for example, in the next sentence, the Georgian „სიմართლօთ“ ("iustitiam") has no correspondence in the Armenian text and reflects the reading of the Syriac A ms: ռեւութ ( "aequitate").

6.1. բու կ բա մա լու բա : բու կ մա ս

[A ա հա լո բա լո բա ու բա]

("Accingamus lumbis nostris veritatem, ne debilis in agone inveniamur" [lumbos nostros aequitate et veritate ne forte inveniamur A]).

“Պնդեսուք զմէս մեր ճշմարտութէամք, զի մի լքալ զտանիցիմք ի պատերազմ.”

("Comprimamus lumbos nostros veritate ne relict i inveniamur in praelio").

,մօջոմթզօթյոտ Բյոլոն Բյոյնո Ջըմմարությօթյօտա და Նօմարտլօտա, რաօտա արա დայնուլ զօթօնյոտ Ծյանլսա մաս ծրծոլօտասաս.“

("Confirmemus lumbos nostros per-veritatem et iustitiam, ut non dissolute inveniamur in-praelio belli").<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> PS 1, 241<sub>6-8</sub>/242; Lafontaine 1979, 234/119; Antonellus 1756, 204; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 304<sub>21-22</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 310, 4.

In the next example, the Georgian „ვისუათ“ (“aequiremus”) also corresponds to the reading of the Syriac A ms, հեամս (“habeamus”), contrary to the main Syriac text (վումս “vocemus”) and to the Armenian version (կոչեցուք “vocemus”).

6.1. ՀԵԱՄՍ ԵՎ ՏԵՇ ՏԵՇ ՏԵՇ ՏԵՇ ՏԵՇ : ՏԵՇ ՀԵ Լ [A ՀԵԱՄՍ] ՀԵԱՄՍ ՀԵ ՀԵԱՄՍ

(“Patrem neminem vocemus (*habeamus* A) nobis super terram,  
ut simus filii Patris qui in caelis est”).

“Հայր մի կոչեցուք Եթիկի զի լիցուք որդիք հաւըն երկնաւորի.”

(“Patrem ne vocemus in terra, ut simus filii Patris caelestis”).

„մամազ արա ვისუատ շնորհանսա ზեզա, րաօտա զօյթեցտ შզօլ մամօսա  
մօս ზեզատաօսա.“

(“Patrem non aequiremus super terram, ut fiamus filii Patris  
caelorum”).<sup>52</sup>

However, not all the readings of the Syriac A ms have correspondences in the Georgian text. The next sentence serves as an example:

6.1. ՀԵԱԽԵՎ ՈԽ ՀԵ [A ՈԽԵՎ] ՈԽՎ ՀԵՎ ՀԵՎ ՈԽՎ ՈԽՎ , ԹԵԱԽ ՀԵ

(“Qui templum Dei vocatus est, *corpus suum* [animam suam  
A] ab omni purget immunditia”).

“Որ կոչեցաւ տաճար Աստուծոյ, սրբեցէ զմարսին իւր յամենայն  
պղծութենէ.”

(“Qui vocatus est templum Dei, purificet *corpus suum* ab omni  
immunditia”).

„Ռոմելո օֆոզա Ծածրագ ღմրտօնսա, წմօճագ օձպրենօն յօռթօնօ  
տշենօ յոշլուսացան ծօլլիջեծօնսա.“

(“Qui vocatus est templum Dei, ut purum teneat (litt. pre-  
hendat) *corpus suum* ab omni foeditate”).<sup>53</sup>

Thus, the 10<sup>th</sup> century Georgian translation of the VI homily, rendered by an anonymous translator from the Armenian source, mostly represents its faithful rendition, though it also reveals a number of significant differ-

<sup>51</sup> PS 1, 243/244<sub>4-5</sub>; Lafontaine 1979, 2-3/2<sub>6-7</sub>; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 304<sub>38-40</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 311, 7.

<sup>52</sup> PS 1, 244<sub>24-25</sub>/246; Lafontaine 1979, 3<sub>15-16</sub>/2<sub>20-21</sub>; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 304<sub>14-15</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 311, 7.

<sup>53</sup> PS 1, 251<sub>18-20</sub>/251<sub>10-12</sub>; Lafontaine 1979, 4<sub>8-9</sub>/5<sub>7-8</sub>; Gigineishvili and Giunashvili 1979, 306<sub>35-36</sub>; Garitte 1964b, 318-19, 20.

ences from the Armenian text edited by Lafontaine, as well as from his UV recension that stands closer to the Georgian translation. Along with that, contrary to all Armenian recensions, the Georgian version maintains some correspondence to the Syriac A ms recension (BL Add. 14619, 6<sup>th</sup> century) reflected in the Georgian text, presumably through the unknown Armenian source – the recension, not considered in Lafontaine’s edition.

**THE VIII HOMILY** of Aphrahat's *Demonstrations* is rendered from English into modern Georgian by the young historian and researcher of the Bible and Church history, Lasha Bezhanishvili. The translation is titled წმინდა აფრაհატი, სკარსი ზრძები. მცვდართა აღდგომაზე ("Saint Aphrahat, Persian Sage. On the Resurrection of the Dead"). The text is published in 2011, on the website of *wordpress.com*.<sup>54</sup> The source of the translation is the English precise and word-for-word rendition of the work, titled "Of the Resurrection of the Dead," published by J. Gwynn in the *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (= NPNF), 2<sup>nd</sup> series, vol. 13 (1898). The English rendition of the text is more precise in comparison with the Latin translation of Parisot, with its additions,<sup>55</sup> omissions,<sup>56</sup> and minor alterations.<sup>57</sup> The Georgian translation, as the translator notes, is not intended for schol-

<sup>54</sup> <http://documentsingeorgian.wordpress.com/2011/11/08/წმინდა-ათონაში-სპარსი-ბრ/>

<sup>55</sup> For example: ﻦِسْـيـاـنـاـتـاـنـوـرـاـ،ـوـدـيـلـيـنـاـ ﻢـلـمـاـنـاـ ﻪـلـمـاـنـاـ ﻭـاـنـاـ ("Qui talia reputat stultus insipiensque homo est"), cf. NPNF's rendition: "Whosoever reflects thus is foolish, and without knowledge" (8.2). Another sentence in the same chapter: ﻦـيـسـيـنـاـ ﻢـلـمـاـنـاـ ﻪـلـمـاـنـاـ ﻭـاـنـاـ ("Insipiens, semen quod seminas, nisi prius moriatur non vivificatur"), "Thou fool, the seed which thou sowest unless it die is not quickened" (8.2, PS 1, 363/364, NPNF).

<sup>56</sup> **נִשְׁתַּחֲוָה בְּעֵד חֶלְמָה** (“Assiduis controversiis inquirunt”), cf. NPNF’s rendition: “At all times controversies arise *on this matter*.<sup>10</sup> Another example: **כְּפָרָה כְּפָרָה נִשְׁתַּחֲוָה מִלְּפָרָה** (“Corpus enim istud conficitur et destruitur”), cf. NPNF’s “For lo! The body wears out and is corrupted” (8.1, PS 1, 361/362).

<sup>57</sup> ("Et si sepulchrum ingressus fueris, ubi mortui centum sepulti fuerint, pugnum *cineribus* implere inde non poteris"), cf. "And when thou enterest a tomb in which a hundred dead men are buried, thou findest not there an handful of dust." Next example: ሰመስና የመሰን በመሰን እንደ ስራ ስራ የመሰን የመሰን ("et quod seminas non speciem *huius* quod in herbam crescit"), cf. "and that which thou sowest is not like that which grows up into blade" (8.1, PS 1, 361/362, 363/364).

arly use, and though the meaning of the text is well rendered, there are additions, omissions, and alterations, of which the most significant are the following:

## 1. Additions:

The Georgian translation in the following sentence for the passage “of whom, after a long time elapses, there remains nothing at all there” says: „მათი ფიზიკური სხეულიდან არაფერი რჩება“ (“of whose physical body nothing remains”), includes an addition to clarify the meaning of the text.

8.1. **תְּלִקְבִּים** לְעֵגֶל וְלַמְּלָאָה לְבָנָה גְּדוּלָה

(“*Sin minus, hi centum mortui qui in eodem tumulo conditi sunt, de quibus, post longum temporis spatium, nil omnino illuc superset*”).

*"And if it is not so, these hundred dead that were buried in one tomb, of whom after a long time elapses there remains nothing at all there."*

„და თუ ასე არაა, მაშ რატომ ხდება რომ ეს ასი გარდაცვლილი რომლებიც დამარხულ არიან საფლავში, მათი ფიზიკური სხეულიდან არაფერი რჩება?“

(And if it is not so, thus *why does [it] happen* that these hundred dead who are buried in a tomb, *of whose physical body nothing remains?*)<sup>58</sup>

## 2. Omissions:

The important term “spiritual” is omitted in the passage:

8.1. የፌዴራል የፌዴራል ተከራክር ስለሚከተሉ ነው

(“at corpus induent caeleste et *spiritales* formas”).

"but they will be clothed in a heavenly body and *spiritual* forms."

„მაგრამ შეიმოსებიან ციური სხეულებით და ფორმებით.“

(but [they] will be clothed with heavenly bodies and forms).<sup>59</sup>

### 3. Alterations:

In the next example, the second part of the passage “and that which thou sowest is not like that which grows up into blade” is altered as „და როცა თესავ, მომავალ სხეულს კი არ თესავ“ (“and when thou sowest, [you] don't sowest the future body”).

<sup>58</sup> PS 1, 361<sup>13-14</sup>/362; NPNF, 375; The English translation of the VIII homily's Georgian text, here and below, belongs to the author of this article.

<sup>59</sup> PS 1, 361<sub>10-11</sub>/362; NPNF, 375.

8.2. በመስቀል የዕለታዊ ሪፖርት ነው እና የሚከተሉት ጥንቃቄዎች አለበት ይህንን የሚያሳይሩ ይችላል.

(“et quod seminas non speciem habet huius quod in herbam crescit, sed nudum granum est tritici, aut hordei, aut alicuius ceterorum seminum”).

*"and that which thou sowest is not like that which grows up into blade, but one bare grain of wheat or barley or some other seedling."*

„და როცა თესავ, მოგავალ სხეულს კი არ თესავ, არამედ შიშველ  
მარცვალს, სულიერთია, იქნება ეს პურისა თუ სხვა მარცვლეულის  
თესით.“

(and when thou sowest, you do not sowest the future body, but bare grain, it does not matter, whether it will be a seedling of wheat or of other cereals).<sup>60</sup>

4. Two phrases of similar meaning are rendered as one:

לְסִלְמָה תַּעֲשֶׂה וְתַחֲזֶה מִצְבָּה יְהוָה כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

(“et unicuique seminum datur proprium corpus; Deus autem semen tuum corpora induit sicut vult”).

"And to each one of the seeds is given its own body. But God clothes thy seed with its body as He wills."

„მაგრამ დერთი აძლევს მას სხეულს, როგორიც ნებავს, თვითეულ თესლს – საკუთარ სხეულს.“

(But God gives to it a body, whatever [one He] wills, for single seed – [its] own body).<sup>61</sup>

There are additions, omissions, and alterations throughout the entire text. In total, the translation of the VIII chapter of the *Demonstrations* is significant since it represents the only rendition of this homily in Georgian and since it is the only modern translation of Aphrahat's *Demonstrations* in Georgian. The rendition is good enough to read and understand the content of the text, though for a scholarly use it must be treated with caution.

<sup>60</sup> PS 1, 364<sub>11-14</sub>/363; NPNF, 375.

<sup>61</sup> PS 1, 364<sub>14-17</sub>/363; NPNF, 375.

CONCLUSION. At this stage of our preliminary study, it can be stated that from two Georgian translations of the homilies (VI and VIII) by Aphrahat the Persian Sage, the translation of the VI homily rendered by an anonymous translator in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, essentially represents a faithful and word-for-word rendition of the Armenian source. Nevertheless, the Georgian text reveals significant differences from the recensions edited by Lafontaine, even from the UV recension that stands closer to it, and maintains correspondences to the Syriac A ms recension (BL Add. 14619, 6<sup>th</sup> century) reflected in the Georgian, presumably through the unknown Armenian source, – the recension, not considered in the edition of Lafontaine. The second, modern translation of the VIII homily, *On the Resurrection of the Dead*, rendered by Lasha Bezhanishvili from the English source, is good enough to understand the content of the text, though for scholarly purposes it must be referred to with caution, since, having the English translation as the direct source, it is not always sufficiently precise.

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