

GREEK AND LATIN IN SYRIAC SCRIPT

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ABSTRACT

This article surveys the manuscript evidence for instances of Greek and Latin Garshuni texts. This evidence includes Greek and Latin texts written in either the Syriac script or Christian Palestinian Aramaic script, and one example of a Syriac text written in Greek script.

Syriac manuscripts containing extended passages of Greek in Syriac script are rare, and this is even more so the case with Latin. In the present contribution attention is primarily focused on three examples of Greek in Syriac script, and one each of Greek in Christian Palestinian Aramaic script, and of Latin in Syriac script. At the end, by way of contrast, a striking modern example of the reverse, Syriac in Greek script, is briefly introduced.

A. GREEK IN SYRIAC SCRIPT

A passage in Oswald Parry's *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, published in 1895, mentions a remarkable example to be found in a Gospel manuscript which alas appears not to have survived the twentieth century. After listing the manuscripts he had seen in Dayro d-Kurkmo (Deyrulzafaran), Parry stated that Midyat was the

only other place with a library that he was able to see, and he comments:¹

The most interesting book at Midhiat is a small copy of the Gospels in most exquisite Estrangeli characters, but in the Greek language, which is valuable as showing that the present custom of writing the current language in Syriac character is an old one. The book belongs to the ninth century, and is written on fine vellum; it contains many words, on whose transliteration the writer was doubtful, in Greek letters on the margin, and would form a valuable guide to the pronunciation of Greek at that date.

One wonders what was the fate of this precious document.

Curiously enough it was also from Midyat that another manuscript comes, containing, this time, only a limited amount of Greek in Syriac script. The manuscript, said to be of the eighth or ninth century, but probably representing the usage of the sixth or seventh century, was published by Rahmani in the third volume of his *Studia Syriaca*, on the basis of a modern copy (Charfet, Fonds patriarcal 87).² The text in question is the Rite for the reception of a bishop; while the main text is in Syriac, the parts contributed by the Archdeacon and Deacon are in Greek, but written in Syriac characters. The length of the passages in Greek, however, is always very short, the longest being only of five or so words at a time. A few other manuscripts of this sort can be found, notably Vatican Borgia Syriac 13, of the twelfth century, and in some of the liturgical scrolls among the 'New Finds' from St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.³

¹ O. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery* (London, 1895), p.338.

² I.E. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca* III. *Vetusta Documenta Liturgica* III (Charfet, 1908), pp.1-4. The document is of considerable liturgical interest; for this aspect, see especially G. Khouri-Sarkis, 'Réception d'un évêque syrien au sixième siècle', *L'Orient Syrien* 2 (1957), pp.137-84, R.F. Taft, *The Great Entrance* (OCA 200; 1975), pp.40-42, and 'Worship on Sinai in the first Christian millennium', in E.J. Gerstel and R.S. Nelson (eds), *Approaching the Holy Mountain. Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai* (Turnhout, 2010), 156-61.

³ E1N, E3N, E19N. Contrast E22N where both Greek and Syriac scripts are employed. Bilingual manuscripts, with Greek and Syriac translation juxtaposed, seem to be extremely rare; X239N, among the Greek 'New Finds', would seem to be an example.

The three examples of manuscripts containing Greek in Syriac script which are briefly described below are all liturgical and of Syrian Orthodox or Melkite provenance; each has a slightly different way of representing the Greek vowels, and it is in this respect that they are likely to be of some interest for the developments in the pronunciation of particular Greek vowels, since the manuscripts belong to a period, *ca.* ninth to eleventh centuries, for which there is not very much good evidence.

(1) The first example is a fragment of the Anaphora of St James in the National Museum in Damascus.⁴ The text, consisting of two bifolia, has been published, with photographs, by Sauget⁵ who dated the script (Estrangelo with occasional Serto features) to between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. The first surviving folio opens in the middle of the pre-Sanctus prayer; this, as well as the post-Sanctus prayer, is in Syriac, but at the point where the priest introduces the Sanctus, raising his voice, the language turns to Greek, and it is Greek that the reply of the people is given. From the words of Institution onwards (the text reaches up to the Fraction⁶ and Consignation) all is in Greek, apart from the rubrics which throughout are in Syriac.

The treatment of Greek consonants follows the standard practice found in the vast majority of Greek loanwords in Syriac,⁷ where Greek *theta* is represented by Syriac *tau*, and Greek *taw* by Syriac *teth*, and Greek *kappa* is represented by Syriac *qoph* and Greek *chei* by Syriac *kaph*. The doubling of Greek letters is ignored.

⁴ At least until the present crisis it was on view in one of the public galleries.

⁵ J.-M. Sauget, 'Vestiges d'une célébration Gréco-Syriaque de l'Anaphore de Saint Jacques', in C. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, L. van Rompay (eds), *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History offered to A. van Roey* (OLA 18 (1985), pp.309-45; he discusses the transliteration of the Greek on pp.310-14. Cf. also S.P. Brock, in Ph. Christides (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek* (Cambridge, 2007), p.825.

⁶ The wording includes the phrase 'we break the heavenly bread', which was the source of much controversy in Syrian Orthodox circles in the late eighth and early ninth century, a point discussed by Sauget, 'Vestiges', pp.335-45.

⁷ For a detailed study see A.M. Butts, *Language Change in the Wake of Empire: Syriac in its Greco-Roman Context* (Dissertation, Chicago, 2013), pp.88-128 (and pp.128-181 for vowels).

For **vowels** the practice, which is reasonably consistent, is as follows:

Alaph: a distinction is made between *alaph* with a point above (Ⲁ), which represents Greek *alpha*, and *alaph* with a point below (ⲁ), which represents Greek *epsilon* and the diphthong *alpha* + *iota* (ε, αι), these two being already pronounced in the same way.

Waw: without any points can represent, not only both Greek *omikron* and *omega* (ο, ω), but also *upsilon* (υ) and the diphthong *epsilon* + *upsilon* (ευ). *Waw* with a point above (Ⲱ) once represents *omega*, while *waw* with two points below (ⲱ) regularly represents the diphthong *omikron* + *upsilon* (ου).

Yodh represents *eta*, *iota* and the diphthong *epsilon* + *iota* (η, ι, ει), all of which would have been pronounced [i].

Combinations of two Syriac letters are also found; thus:

Alaph + *waw* (Ⲁⲱ) are used for the following:

- (1) occasionally this combination represents Greek *omega* (ω);⁸
- (2) it may represent the diphthong *alpha* + *upsilon* (αυ);
- (3) it may represent the diphthong *epsilon* + *upsilon* (ευ).

Alaph + *yodh* (ⲀⲚ) represents initial *eta* and initial *epsilon* + *iota* (η, ει).

Yodh + *waw* with two points above (Ⲱⲱ) represents Greek vowels *upsilon* and the diphthong *omikron* + *iota* (υ, οι); examples in lines 1, 9, 11 and 17 of Sample I. Both of these Greek were probably still pronounced [ü], and had not yet merged with [i].

The Greek rough breathing is represented for *ύιός* but not for *ἡμεῖς* etc.; there is one example of a pseudo-correction, ܐܢܘܡܢܗܫܘܡܝܢ = ἀνυμνήσωμεν.

⁸ Compare the similar use of Armenian *ayb* + *bin* (այւ) to represent *omega*.

Sample I

Damascus Fragment:

	!ωαυοιακω ωαυβ ρκω ραυκ ιυβ	Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
	ωω ρκαυω αβ ρβωθωρκα ρ	ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου
	αβωι ρκω ωω ρεωρκα ρκ αβωρκα	ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου γεννηθήτω
	αυρκα ρκ ωωκ ωω ρκαυρκα αβ	τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ
5	ρκαυκ αβωρκα αβ ωω ωβ ρκ ρκ	καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν
	!ωω ρκαυκ ωω ρωωρκα αβ	τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σή-
	ρβωρκα ρβ !ρκαυκ ρκ αβωρκα	μερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα
	ρκαυκ ωωρκα ρκ ωωκ ραυκ	ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν
	ρκ ρκ ραυκ ωρβωρκα ωαυβ	τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ
10	ιω ωβ ρκαυκ ωωρκα ωβ	εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρ-
	ωρκαυκ ρκαυκ ρβ ρβω ραυκ	ασμὸν κύριε, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς
	ιδω ρβω ρωω ρωω αβ ρκ	ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. The priest prays the
	ρκαυκ ωωρκαυκ ιωκω ρκαυκ ρκ	prayer after the Our Father in heaven, thus
	ρκ ρκ ρεωρκα ρκ ρβωκ ωω ρκ	ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ
15	ωαυβ αβ ρκαυκ ρκ ρκ ωωρκαυκ	δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ Πατρὸς
	ωαυβωρκα ωω ρκ ρκ ρωω αβ ρκ	καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος
	ωαυκ ωβ ρκ ρκ ρκ ρκ	νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς
	ρκαυκ αβ ωρκαυκ	αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

In tabular form we have for the Greek vowels (for the consonants, see Table III):

Table I

α	ⲁ
αι	ⲁⲓ
αυ	ⲁⲓ
ε	ⲉ
ει	,
ευ	ⲉⲓ
ο	ⲟ
οι	ⲟⲓ
ου	ⲟⲓ
υ	ⲟⲓ
ω	ⲟⲓ

(2) The second example is provided by Sinai Syr. 27, to which Mingana Syr. 659 and British Library Or. 8610.II and Hiersemann

500/48 belong;⁹ the contents are Troparia, and the date is perhaps eleventh century.

The consonants follow the same pattern as in the Damascus fragment, with three exceptions: (1) the doubling of Greek consonants is represented; (2) *psei* may also be represented by *beth* + *semkath*; and (3) Greek *chi* is represented by Syriac *shin* when it precedes the front vowels [e] or [i]. This latter feature (e.g. Sample II, line 1) is also found in the representation of Greek loanwords in many Melkite liturgical manuscripts (e.g. ⲥⲧⲓⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲕⲓⲗⲃⲟ) as well as in several Greek dialects.

For the representation of Greek vowels there are several differences and some refinements:

Alaph: again there is the differentiation between Greek *alpha* and *epsilon/alpha + iota* (α , $\epsilon/\alpha\iota$), the latter being designated by *alaph* with the vowel sign *rboso* placed beneath it (ⲁⲣⲑⲟ).

Waw denotes both *omikron* and *omega* (both would have been pronounced the same),¹⁰ though on occasion *omega* is represented by *waw* with a small supralinear *omega*. *Waw* with a line under it (ⲱ) represents the Greek diphthong *omikron + iota* ($\omicron\iota$); examples are in lines 7 and 9 of Sample II. *Waw* with < placed beneath it represents both *upsilon* and the diphthong *omikron + upsilon* (υ , $\omicron\upsilon$); examples are in lines 1, 3, 5 and 6 of Sample II.

Yodh represents *eta*, *iota* and *epsilon + iota* (η , ι , $\epsilon\iota$), as in the Damascus fragment.

The following combinations are found:

Alaph + *waw* (ⲁⲱ) represent the diphthongs *alpha + upsilon* ($\alpha\upsilon$) and *epsilon + upsilon* ($\epsilon\upsilon$), though for the latter *alaph* + *yodh* + *waw* (ⲁⲱⲩ) is sometimes found.

⁹ See P. Géhin, 'Manuscripts sinaïtiques dispersés III: les fragments syriaques de Londres et de Birmingham', *Oriens Christianus* 94 (2010), pp.33-4, 49. A more detailed study of the representation of Greek in Syriac script in this manuscript, by P. Géhin, is to appear in J. den Heijer, A. Schmidt, and T. Pataridze (eds.), *Scripts beyond Borders* (Leuven, forthcoming).

¹⁰ Thus they are frequently confused in Greek manuscripts of this period.

Alaph + *yodh* (ܐ, ܐ) represents initial *eta* and initial *epsilon* + *iota* (η, ει).

The Greek rough breathing is represented for Υἱοῦ, but not for ἡμεῖς etc.

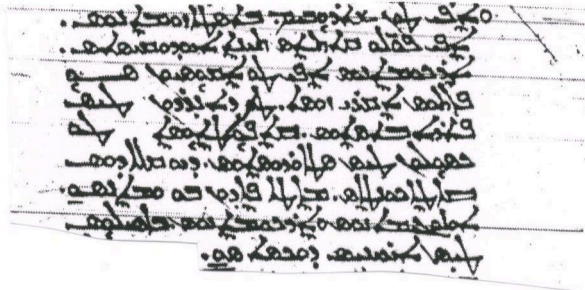
It will be noticed that *waw* with sublinear < covers both *upsilon* and the diphthong *omikron* + *upsilon* (ου); thus, in contrast to the Damascus fragment, *upsilon* is differentiated from the diphthong *omicron* + *iota* (οι).

Though the Greek rough breathing is not represented for the article, elsewhere it is occasionally denoted by *be*.

Sample II

Sinai Syr 27 (from last folio of quire 15)

(a)



(b)

ܐܘܪܝܢܐܝܬܐܢ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܐܠܦ ܡܪܐ	ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβιμ βασταζόμενος
ܡܥܡܪܝܢܐܢ ܩܒܠܐ ܡܪܬܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܪ	ἐπὶ πάλου καθεσθῆναι εὐδοκήσας
ܩܐ ܡܥܡܪܐ ܐܠܦ ܡܪ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬ	ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκούσιόν σου
ܡܠܦ ܐܝܪܝܢܐ ܐܠܦ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ	πάθος ἐκρίζῳσαι τὸ δένδρον τῆς
5 ܐܠܦ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬܐ	παραβάσεως καὶ φυτεῦσαι τὸ
ܡܥܪܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܠܦ ܐܠܐܡܐ	ξύλον τῆς σταυρώσεως διὸ κλάδους
ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬ ܐܝܬܐ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬܐ	κατέχοντες μετὰ παιδων βοῶμεν σοι
ܡܥܪܝܢܐ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܥܪܝܢܐܝܬܐ ܐܠܐܢ	εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος βασιλεὺς
ܩܐ ܡܥܪܐ ܡܥܪܝܢܐ ܡܠܦ	τῆς εἰρήνης δόξα σοι

(3) Among the ‘New Finds’ at the Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai, are a number of liturgical scrolls which combine both Greek and Syriac languages; in some of these (notably E9N, E22N) the Greek is in Greek script,¹¹ while in others short passages in Greek are given in Syriac script.¹² More extended prayers in Greek but written in Syriac script are found in Sinai Syr. E18N.¹³

Unlike the Damascus fragment and Sinai Syr. 27, no diacritical signs are employed to differentiate between Greek vowels, and for the Greek consonants there are several distinctive representations, thus:

kappa is represented by *kaph*, and not *qoph* (thus, for example, *καί* features as ܟܐܝ);

pei is sometimes represented by *beth* (see lines 1 and 4 of Sample III), presumably under the influence of Arabic.

sigma is represented by *zayn* when it precedes *mu*;

tau may be represented by (1) *teth*, as would be expected; or (2) by *tau*, or (3) by *dalath* when it follows *nu* (see lines 1-2, 4 of Sample III), as in Modern Greek.

A further feature anticipating Modern Greek pronunciation is provided by the representation of *epsilon* + *upsilon* (ευ) by *alaph* + *pe* (ܐܦ), an example of which is to be found in lines 2-3 of Sample III.

The observations here on the usage in E18N are necessarily limited to a transcription of the short text that is available in the photograph in Mother Philothea’s Catalogue.¹⁴

Sample III

Sinai Syr E18N

ܡܥ ܐܦ ܡܡܝܪ ܡܬ ܝܬ	ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ σύμ-
ܐܦܥܐ ܐܡܝܐ ܡܡܝܪ	παντος κόσμου εὐστα-
ܡܡܝܪ ܐܦ ܐܦ ܐܦ ܡܡܝܪ	θείας τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ θεοῦ
ܡܡܝܪ ܐܦ ܡܬ ܐܦ ܡܡܝܪ	ἐκκλησίῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων
ܐܦ	ἐν[ώσεως

¹¹ This also applies to the Melkite Vatican Syr. 41.

¹² See note 3, above.

¹³ This also seems to be the case in E9N.

¹⁴ Philothée du Sināï, *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sināï* (Athens, 2008), p.64.

In view of the brief character of the Sample of E18N that is all that is available, the limited evidence from this text is given in Table III, in combination with that from the Damascus fragment and Sinai Syr. 27, in order to bring out the distinctive characters of each. As will become clear from section B, below, some of the distinctive features of E18N, such as the representation of π τ and $\alpha\upsilon/\epsilon\upsilon$, will turn up again in Section B, with Christian Palestinian Aramaic.

Table III

	Damascus	Sinai 27	Sinai E18N
α	ܐ	ܐ	ܐ
β	ܒ	ܒ	
γ	ܓ	ܓ	
δ	ܕ	ܕ	ܕ
ϵ	ܐ	ܐ	ܐ
ζ	ܝ	ܝ	
η	ܚ, ܚ	ܚ	ܚ
θ	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ
ι	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ
κ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ
λ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ
μ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ
ν	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ
ξ	ܝܒ	ܝܒ	ܝܒ
\omicron	ܐ	ܐ	ܐ
π	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ ܦ
ρ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ
σ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ ܥ
τ	ܬ	ܬ	ܬ ܬ ܬ
υ	ܝܐ ܐ	ܐ ܐ	ܝܐ ܐ
φ	ܦܐ	ܦ	ܦܐ
χ	ܟܝ	ܟܝ ܟܝ	ܟܝ ܟܝ
ψ	ܝܒܐ	ܝܒܐ ܝܒܐ	
ω	ܐ ܐܐ	ܐ ܐܐ ܐܐ	ܐ ܐ
$\alpha\iota$	ܐܐ	ܐܐ	ܐܐ
$\alpha\upsilon$	ܐܐܐ	ܐܐܐ	ܐܐܐ
$\epsilon\upsilon$	ܐܐܐ	ܐܐܐ ܐܐܐ	ܐܐܐ
$\epsilon\iota$	ܐܐ, ܐܐ	ܐܐ	ܐܐ, ܐܐ
$\omicron\iota$	ܐܐ	ܐܐ	ܐܐ
$\omicron\upsilon$	ܐܐ	ܐܐ	ܐܐ

B. GREEK IN CHRISTIAN PALESTINIAN ARAMAIC SCRIPT

An important witness to the practice of writing Greek in a Semitic script is provided by British Library, Or. 4951, a collection of Melkite ordination services,¹⁵ making use of four different languages, Arabic (in Syriac script), Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic,¹⁶ and Greek in Christian Palestinian Aramaic script. On ff.43v-69v there is a second set of ordination services in a mixture of Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Greek in Christian Palestinian Aramaic script, an earlier set of ordination services having been provided in Syriac (ff.16r-26r). The text of ff.43v-69v has been edited by Black in his *Rituale Melchitarum*,¹⁷ but the passages of Greek in Christian Palestinian Aramaic have been represented in Greek script, and so the discussion here is based on a transcription of the text illustrated in his Plate II (f.55r). Black does, however, provide a helpful discussion of the system used for representing Greek in Christian Palestinian Aramaic script.¹⁸

As was the case with E18N, the representation of the Greek **consonants** has a number of distinctive features, thus:

delta: while normally *dalath* is used for delta, initial *delta*, especially when close to another *delta*, is represented by *teth* with two supralinear points (Ϣ); see lines 6, 8-9. 21-22 of Sample IV for examples.

theta is represented by *tau* with a supralinear point (ϣ), thus distinguishing it from *tau* when it represents Greek *tau* (as it often does; see below). Line 2 provides an example.

kappa is normally represented by *kaph*, rather than *qoph*, thus following the practice found in E18N; thus regularly for *καί*, and further examples will be found in lines 2 and 5 of

¹⁵ On its liturgical significance, see H. Brakmann, 'Die altkirchlichen Ordinationsgebete Jerusalem', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 47 (2004), 108-27.

¹⁶ This is used for the 'Liturgy of the Nile' (ff.16v-42v), published by G. Margoliouth, 'The Liturgy of the Nile', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1898, pp.677-731.

¹⁷ M. Black, *Rituale Melchitarum. A Christian Palestinian Euchologion* (Stuttgart, 1938).

¹⁸ Black, *Rituale Melchitarum*, pp.27-28.

the Sample. Several cases, however, are to be found where *qoph* is used for *kappa* (e.g. in lines 7, 8-9, 12).

xei is represented by *kaph* + *sadhe* (ܚܝ; rather than *kaph* + *semkath*, as is regularly found in Syriac); see line 7 of the Sample.

pei is represented either by *beth* (as lines 3, 23 of the Sample), or by reversed *pe* with two points above it (as line 22).

sigma, when intervocalic, is sometimes represented by *sadhe*, rather than the normal *semkath*; see lines 12, 21.

tau is represented by *teth* when it is followed by *alpha*¹⁹ or *omega* (see lines 6, 21), but by Syriac *tau* when other vowels follow.

chei is represented by *kaph* with two supralinear points (ܚܬ), thus providing a distinction between it and *kaph* when it represents *kappa* (as is frequently the case). When *chi* is followed by the front vowels [e] and [i], it is represented by *shin*, as was the case in Sinai Syr. 27. An example will be found in line 16 of Sample IV.

The representation of Greek vowels likewise shows several distinctive features.

Alaph normally features with one of four different diacritical features; thus (1) *alaph* with two supralinear points (ܐܬ) represents *alpha*; (2) *alaph* with two sublinear points (ܐܢ) represents *epsilon* and *alpha* + *epsilon* (ε, αι); (3) *alaph* with a small supralinear *omega* may represent *omega* (see lines 6, 11 of Sample IV); and (4) *alaph* with a small supralinear *omikron* may represent *omikron* (see line 8 of the Sample).

Waw represents both *omikron* and *omega*, though the latter may also be represented by *waw* with a small supralinear *omega* (see line 15 of Sample IV); *waw* with a back slant above it may also represent both *omikron* and *omega* (thus both *omikron* and *omega* may be represented in several different ways). *Waw* also represents *omikron* + *upsilon* (ου), as in

¹⁹ Line 7 of Sample IV, however, provides an exception.

lines 2-3. Occasionally *ou* is also represented as *waw* + *he* (𐤌𐤎), though no example occurs in the Sample.

Yodh represents not only *eta*, *iota* and *epsilon* + *iota* (𐤆, 𐤇, 𐤈), but also *upsilon* (see lines 6 and 10 of Sample IV) and the diphthong *omikron* + *iota* (𐤆, 𐤈), indicating that the shift in the pronunciation of *u* and *oi* from [ü] to [i] had taken place.

The combination *alaph* + *pe* with two point above the *pe* (𐤀𐤌) represents both *alpha* + *upsilon* (𐤀𐤌) and *epsilon* + *upsilon* (𐤀𐤌), thus again anticipating the Modern Greek pronunciation [ef]; examples will be found in lines 9, 21 and 21 of Sample IV.

The combination *waw* + *he* represents both *ou* and *ω*.

Rough breathings are not represented, even with 𐤆𐤈𐤌 (thus f.51v 𐤌𐤎𐤌).

Finally, it will be seen that a prosthetic vowel (represented by *alaph*) is provided before initial consonantal clusters (e.g lines 5 and 17 of the Sample).

Sample IV

Christian Palestinian Aramaic: BL Or. 4951, f. 55b-56a

	ܝܬܝܢ ܠܥܝܢ ܠܝܬܝܢ ܠܝܬܝܢ	τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	παρὰ σοῦ
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	δέσποτα πολύτροπος ἡ χάρις
5	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	εἰς πᾶσαν χρεῖαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	σου δεδῶρηται. σὺ καὶ τὴν δια-
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	κονικὴν καταδείξας λειτουργίαν
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	ἀρμόζων μέλη μέλεσιν διδασ-
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	κάλους διακόνους ἱερεῦσι
10	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	λειτουργούς. σὺ δὲς τὴν διακονικὴν
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	χάριν τῷ δούλῳ σου τὸν N καὶ
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	κατασῶσον αὐτὸν ὑπερέτην
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ σου μετὰ
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	πίστεως ἀληθοῦς καὶ
15	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	ἀγάπης τελείας τιμίως
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	καὶ ἀνεπαισχύντως ἐπιτελεῖν
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	τὸ σὸν ἐπίταγμα προκόπτειν
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα χαρίσματα
	ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ	δυναμούμενον αἰεὶ πρὸς τε-

20

[illegible]

Table IV

α	$\pi \bar{\pi} \pi$	π	$\bar{\pi} \cup$
β	\cup	ρ	$\bar{\pi}$
γ	$\bar{\pi} \pi$	σ	$\pi \theta$
δ	$\pi \pi$	τ	$\pi \pi \pi$
ε	$\pi \pi$	υ	π
ζ	π	χ	$\pi \pi$
η	π	ψ	$\pi \pi$
θ	$\pi \pi$	ω	$\pi \pi \pi \pi \pi \pi$
ι	π	$\alpha\iota$	π
κ	$\pi \pi$	$\alpha\upsilon$	$\pi \pi$
λ	π	$\epsilon\iota$	$\pi \pi$
μ	π	$\epsilon\upsilon$	$\pi \pi$
ν	π	$\omicron\iota$	π
ξ	$\pi \pi$	$\omicron\upsilon$	$\pi \pi$
\omicron	$\pi \pi \pi$		

C. LATIN IN SYRIAC SCRIPT

In 1549 the Syrian Orthodox priest Mushe of Mardin,²⁰ then in Rome, copied out the *Missale Romanum* (and some other short liturgical texts) in Syriac script for the benefit of another oriental cleric then in Rome, the Ethiopian bishop Sahyun.²¹ This manu-

²⁰Mushe subsequently worked with J.A. Widmanstetter on producing the first printed edition of the Syriac New Testament (published in Vienna in 1555).

²¹For the background, see J. Leroy, 'Une copie syriaque du Missale Romanum de Paul III et so arrière-plan historique', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 46 (1970/1), p.353-82.

script, now British Library, Harleian 5512, provides by far the most extensive example of Latin in Syriac script.²²

Mushe had the advantage, not available to the men behind all the previous examples, of having available the Syriac vowel symbols for Latin a, e, i, o, and u, as well as the use of *qushshaya/rukakaka* to distinguish the hard or soft pronunciation of *beth*, *gamal*, *dalath*, *kaph*, *pe* and *tan*.

Thus in the case of the consonants, *beth* with a supralinear point (*qushshaya*) represents Latin b, while *beth* with a sublinear point (*rukakaka*) represents Latin v.

Similarly *pe* with a point above represents Latin p, while with a point below it represents Latin f.

Kaph with a supralinear point (ܕ) represents both Latin c and q.

It is interesting to note that the Italian pronunciation of -ci- and -ti- is witnessed, respectively, by the use of *shin* with three sublinear triangular points (ܥ) and *tan* + *semkath* (ܥܐ).

Sample V

Latin: BL. Harl. 5512

ܐܕ ܬܝܠܒܝ ܐܢܝܡܐ ܡܝܥܡ	ad te levavi animam meam
ܕܝܘܣ ܡܝܘܣ ܝܢ ܬܝ ܥܝܬܝܢܐ ܢܝܢ	deus meus in te confido, non
ܝܪܘܒܝܫܥܡ;	erubescam;
ܢܝܩܝܬܝܢܐ ܡܝ ܐܢܝܡܝܥܝ ܡܝ;	neque irrideant me inimici mei;
ܐܬܝܢܝܡ	etenim
ܐܝܢܝܩܝܬܝܢܐ ܥܕܐ ܕܬܝ ܥܝܬܝܢܐ ܢܝܢ	universi qui te exspectant non
ܥܝܬܝܢܐ ܢܝܢܝܬܝܢܐ.	confundentur.
ܝܢ ܢܝܡܝܢܝܢܐ ܦܬܪܝܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ	in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus
ܫܢܝܝܢܐ ܐܡܝܢ	Sancti Amen

Table V

a	ܐ	ܐ	o	ܐ
b	ܕ		p	ܦ
c	ܕ	ci ܥ	q	ܕ
d	ܕ		r	ܝ
e	ܐ	.. ܐ	s	ܥ

²²W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1838* (London, 1870), pp.214-5. Other examples contain only short texts, such as the Ave Maria in the Maronite Vatican Syr. 477 (f.116v) of the sixteenth/seventeenth century.

f	ⲑ	t	ⲧ
g	ⲕ	u	ⲟ
(h)		v	ⲛ
i	ⲓ, ⲛ	x	ⲭ
(k)			
l	ⲗ	gratia	ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ
m	ⲙ		
n	ⲛ		

D. SYRIAC IN GREEK SCRIPT: A MODERN EXAMPLE FROM CYPRUS

One place where the Greek and Syriac languages have met over at least the last half millennium is in the Maronite community in Cyprus. Among the earlier Maronite liturgical manuscripts from Cyprus, Vatican Syr. 477, of the sixteenth/seventeenth century, contains two passages (ff.5r-6r and 73r-74r) where, in the course of the marriage service, exhortations are given to the bridal couple in Greek, but written in Syriac script, thus conforming with the examples in Section A. This is not surprising, seeing that Maronite priests, probably coming from the mainland, would have been more familiar with Syriac than with Greek script. What is intriguing is that the reverse is the case in a modern liturgical printed book published for use in the Greek-speaking Maronite community in Cyprus, and edited by the noted liturgical scholar Mgr Butrus Gemayel when he was Archbishop of Cyprus (1988-2008). Running to 264 pages, the book contains the main liturgical services for the year, with texts in Greek, Syriac and Arabic, all in Syriac script.²³

Unlike the case of Vatican Syr. 477, written for the use of the priest, the printed book is specifically intended for the use of Greek-speaking Maronite laity in Cyprus, and a Modern Greek translation is juxtaposed alongside the Syriac text in Greek characters, as in Sample VI below, with three stanzas of the well-known hymn 'In your light we see the light', taken from p.6 of the edition.

²³ I am most grateful to the Revd Professor Joseph Moukarzel, of the Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik, for kindly sending me a pdf of the text. The date of publication appears to be 1993.

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Comparison of the Syriac text with the Modern Greek translation will quickly show that the translation is extremely free, and indeed can hardly be called a translation at all for the second and third verses!

Table VI

ܐ	-	ϕ	ϕ
ܐ	μπ	ϐ	σ
ܐ	γ	ϐ	κ
ܐ	ντ	ܐ	ρ
ܐ	χ	ܐ	σ
ܐ	ο	ܐ	τ
ܐ	ζ	ܐ	ο
ܐ	χ	ܐ	α
ܐ		ܐ	ε
ܐ	γ	ܐ	ου
ܐ	χ	ܐ	ι
ܐ	λ		
ܐ	μ		
ܐ	ν		
ܐ	σ		
ܐ	-		

*

The aim of this contribution has primarily been concerned just to draw attention to these little-known documents, which are potentially of considerable interest both from socio-linguistic point of view, and from that of the history of the Greek language. In the case of the Maronite texts of Section D, the reason for the shift from Greek in Syriac script to Syriac in Greek script is clear: the

former was for the use of only the priest, while the latter was for the benefit of the Greek-speaking laity. In the case of the examples in Sections A and B, the situation is less clear, though in each of the four examples the text will have been intended for use only by the clergy, and not by the laity; furthermore, one assumes that the clergy using these texts were very familiar with both languages, for without a good knowledge of Greek it is often not easy to read that language in Syriac script, especially as the word division is sometimes incorrect. The choice of script will thus probably have primarily been dictated by the script in which the copyists were first trained to write, and which the clergy, who would be using them, had first learn to read. By contrast with the other examples, the *Missale Romanum* in Syriac script in Section C was almost certainly never intended for practical use.

In the case of the Damascus fragment, the rubrics are in Syriac, as are some of the prayers, but the most important parts, and the responses of the people, are in Greek, and the Greek is much more than just fossilized short phrases. This suggests that the fragment is a witness to a period of transition from the use of Greek in the liturgy to that of Syriac. Sauget took this feature to point to a Melkite origin for the fragment, despite the fact that the inclusion of the phrase 'we break the heavenly bread' was a feature whose presence is best attested in the Syrian Orthodox tradition. Perhaps one should not rule out the possibility that there were still Greek-speaking Syrian Orthodox communities in certain localities of Syria as late as the tenth century.²⁵

Sinai Syr. 27, with a collection of troparia, will have had a more limited, and very probably a monastic, context, and one that would suit a multilingual milieu such as St Catherine's monastery, which, especially in the thirteenth century, had a strong presence of Syriac-reading monks, usually originating from different localities in Syria. This will also apply to E18N, which was almost certainly a product of that monastery.

The case of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic manuscript, Or. 4951, is more uncertain, though it too could have originated for use in the same monastery, from which the large majority of surviving

²⁵ It should also be remembered that the late tenth and first half of the eleventh century was the period of the Byzantine reconquest of north west Syria.

manuscripts in that dialect come. But in any case the scribe will have originated from Palestine, rather than Syria.

It is to be hoped that the extensive Greek texts in Syriac script that are to be found in both Sinai Syr. 27 and British Library Or. 4951, will one day receive the attention of a specialist in the history of medieval Greek. Although most of the vowel changes to which these texts witness had already taken place before the time of the Arab conquests, and much earlier than the date of the manuscripts, the texts do, however, seem to provide some interesting sidelight on the shift in the pronunciation of upsilon from [ü] to [i], which is generally recognized as having taken place well after the other Greek vowel shifts.²⁶ In this connection it is unfortunate that the manuscripts in question all lack any precise date, though the Damascus fragment is pretty certainly the earliest, perhaps belonging to the tenth century. The other two examples in Section A are certainly later, and Sauget's date of eleventh/twelfth century for Sinai Syr. 27 seems reasonable.²⁷ The Christian Palestinian Aramaic manuscript of Section B is likely to belong to a similar date.

In summary, the information that is likely to be of relevance for the history of the Greek language in the medieval between approximately the tenth and the twelfth/thirteenth century is as follows:

(a) Vowels

-As would be expected by the end of the first millennium AD, all the witnesses in Sections A and B treat α and ϵ alike.

-The Damascus fragment employs the same symbols for υ and σ , implying that these still represented [ü], and differentiates them from $\sigma\upsilon$.

-Sinai Syr. 27 employs the same symbol for both $\sigma\upsilon$ and υ , differentiating these from $\sigma\iota$, which itself is differentiated from η , ι , $\epsilon\iota$.

-In view of its lack of diacritical marks for the vowels, E18N is not of any help on this issue.

²⁶ See in general R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969), and especially H. Tonnet, *Histoire du grec moderne. La formation d'une langue* (Paris, 1993), pp.27-8, 44-6.

²⁷ Sauget, 'Manuscripts sinaitiques dispersés, III', p.33.

-Both E18N and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic text represents the pronunciation of $\alpha\upsilon$ and $\epsilon\upsilon$ as [af], [ef].

-In the Christian Palestinian Aramaic text υ and oi are treated in the same way as η , ι , and ϵ , indicating that the shift [ü] to [i] had by now taken place.

(b) Consonants

-The pronunciation of χ as [š] before front vowels is found in Sinai Syr. 27, E18 and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic witness.

-E18N witnesses to the shift [nt] to [nd].

Although the corpus of Greek liturgical texts written in Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic scripts is not nearly as extensive or important as the edition of a vernacular Greek translation of the Pentateuch printed in Hebrew script in Constantinople in 1547,²⁸ it nevertheless deserves some attention.²⁹

²⁸ D.C. Hesseling, *Les cinq livres de la Loi* (Leiden/Leipzig, 1897); on it, see N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden, 2000), pp.180-2, and especially Tonnet, *Histoire du grec moderne*, pp.92-101.

²⁹ Closer in time and character would be the examples of rubrics in Greek language but written in Hebrew script in several Passover Haggadah fragments from the Cairo Geniza, for which see N. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 51; Tübingen, 1996), pp.50-53, 62-3; in the same volume de Lange publishes a vernacular Greek translation of Qohelet, also written in Greek characters (pp.,71-78).