

# LATIN WORDS IN CLASSICAL SYRIAC

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## ABSTRACT

*This study analyzes the more than one hundred Latin words that are found in Syriac texts, not translated from Greek, written through the beginning of the eighth century. The study aims to provide an exhaustive collection of these words categorized by date in which they are first attested in Syriac. This diachronic approach makes it possible to observe changes over time in the contact between Syriac speakers and the Greco-Roman world. Attention is also paid to other languages of the Near East in which a Latin word is found, including various dialects of Aramaic as well as other languages, such as Mishnaic Hebrew, Armenian, and Coptic, in an effort to contextualize the presence of the Latin words in Syriac. Finally, the study hopes to make explicit that almost all of the Latin words in Syriac reached Syriac via Greek.*

## INTRODUCTION

The Syriac language contains loanwords from a variety of languages. The largest number of loanwords in Syriac comes from Greek.<sup>1</sup> There are in fact more than eight hundred Greek

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\* I would like to thank the following people who helped with this study: Sebastian Brock (University of Oxford), Dexter Brown (Yale University), Simcha Gross (Yale University), Kristian Heal (Brigham

loanwords attested in pre-eighth-century Syriac texts that were not translated from Greek.<sup>2</sup> Many more are to be found in translated texts from this period or in later Syriac literature (whether translated or not). The next largest group of loanwords in Syriac derives from the various Iranian languages.<sup>3</sup> Some of these Iranian words were inherited in Syriac, finding their source in earlier Iranian languages, e.g., Syriac **ܓܵܲܲ** *gazzā* ‘treasure’ (*LS2* 111; *SL* 223), which derives ultimately from Old Persian *\*ganza-* via an earlier dialect of Aramaic,<sup>4</sup> whereas others were transferred from an Iranian dialect contemporaneous with Syriac, e.g., Syriac **ܫܾܰܲܲ** ‘messenger’ (*LS2* 81; *SL* 142) from an Iranian dialect such as

Young University), George Kiraz (Beth Mardutho: Syriac Institute), Lucas Van Rompay (Duke University), and Janet Timbie (The Catholic University of America). I am especially grateful to Geoffrey Moseley (Yale University) for helping to sort out the etymological relationship between some of the Greek and Latin words. The following abbreviations are employed throughout the study: CPA = Christian Palestinian Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; LJLA = Late Jewish Literary Aramaic; MH = Mishnaic Hebrew; SA = Samaritan Aramaic; TgChron2 = Targum Chronicles 2 (ed. Le Déaut 1971); TgEsth1 = Targum Esther 1 (ed. Grossfeld 1983); TgEsth2 = Targum Esther 2 (ed. Grossfeld 1994); Tglob = Targum Job (ed. Stec 1994); TgJon = Targum Jonathan (ed. Sperber 2004); TgLam = Targum Lamentations (ed. Sperber 2004); TgProv = Targum Proverbs (ed. Diez Merino 1984); TgPsJon = Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (ed. Clarke 1984); TgSong = Targum Song of Songs (ed. Sperber 2004). Abbreviations for lexicographical tools are explained at the end of the study.

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek, including loanwords, see Butts 2016. For previous literature, see Schall 1960 (with a valuable Greek-Syriac index in Voigt 1998) as well as a number of indispensable studies by Brock, especially Brock 1967, 1975, 1982, 1994, 1996, 1999-2000, 2004, 2005, 2010. A bibliography on Greek loanwords in Syriac is available in Voigt 1999-2000.

<sup>2</sup> A comprehensive collection of the Greek loanwords in Syriac continues to be a *desideratum*. The present author is currently compiling a glossary of Greek loanwords in Syriac up to and including Ya'qub of Edessa (d. 708).

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed analysis, see Ciancaglini 2008.

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion in Ciancaglini 2008: 142 with further bibliography.

Pahlavi *bayaspān* (CPD 17).<sup>5</sup> Syriac also inherited a number of words ultimately from Akkadian.<sup>6</sup> This is, for instance, the case with Syriac ܫܰܪܸܾܻܶ *štarā* ‘deed, document’ (*LS2* 773; *SL* 1549), which derives ultimately from Akkadian *šatāru* (*CAD* Š2 221-225) via an earlier dialect of Aramaic.<sup>7</sup> Akkadian also served as a bridge for Sumerian loanwords in Syriac, such as Sumerian É.GAL ‘big house’, which is found in Akkadian as *ekallu* ‘royal palace’ (*CAD* E 52-61) and which eventually made its way into Syriac as ܻܵܲܳ *hayklā* ‘palace, temple’ (*LS2* 174; *SL* 340-341).<sup>8</sup>

One etymological source of words in Syriac that has not received significant attention in the secondary literature is Latin.<sup>9</sup> More than one hundred Latin words are found in Syriac texts, not translated from Greek, written through the beginning of the eighth century. The present study aims to provide an exhaustive collection of these categorized by the date in which they are first attested in Syriac.<sup>10</sup> This diachronic approach makes it possible to observe

<sup>5</sup> Again, see the discussion in Ciancaglini 2008: 126-127 with further bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> A foundational resource on Akkadian loanwords in the various Aramaic dialects, including Syriac, is Kaufman 1974.

<sup>7</sup> See Kaufman 1974: 101.

<sup>8</sup> See the discussion in Kaufman 1974: 27 as well as Mankowski 2000: 157 (on Hebrew).

<sup>9</sup> Schall (1960: 244), for instance, lists only fourteen examples in his appendix on Latin words in Syriac.

<sup>10</sup> In the lists that follow, the earliest text attesting the word in question that is known to the present author is cited with a heading in bold giving the century of composition. Consider, for instance, the following Greek loanword: ἔθος (*LJ* 480) > ܣܷܴܻܰ ‘custom’ (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 84.26 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; *LS2* 184; *SL* 356). To the present author’s knowledge, this word is not found in Syriac until the sixth century when it occurs in the *Life of Yuhanon of Tella* by Eliya, which was edited by Brooks. Throughout this study, citations of Latin words in Syriac are systematically provided with references to *LS2* and *SL*; the English translations in this study derive from *SL*, though with minor adaptations, such as *curator* for Sokoloff’s hybrid *courator* that combines Greek κουράτωρ and Latin *curator*. The determination of the earliest occurrence of a given word was facilitated by two large ‘databases’: the Oxford-BYU Syriac Corpus and Sebastian Brock’s more than two

changes over time in the contact between Syriac speakers and the Greco-Roman world. An effort is also made in this study to list other languages of the Near East in which a Latin word is found, including various dialects of Aramaic as well as other languages, such as Mishnaic Hebrew, Armenian, and Coptic.<sup>11</sup> The broad attestation of a Latin word across a number of different languages indicates that the word in question was widespread across the Roman and then Byzantine Near East.

Before looking at the Latin loanwords in Syriac, a brief word is needed on the use of Latin in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. Prior to the establishment of Roman control of Edessa in the late second century and again in the third century,<sup>12</sup> Greek was the

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thousand card files listing Greek loanwords in Syriac. I would like to thank Kristian Heal (Brigham Young University), who provided me with a Beta-version of the Oxford-BYU Syriac Corpus. In addition, I am grateful to Sebastian Brock (University of Oxford), who allowed me to digitize his card files over several weeks in August of 2011.

<sup>11</sup> For comparative Aramaic data, the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL), accessible online at <<http://cal.huc.edu/>>, is essential. For Greek and Latin loanwords in the various dialects of Jewish Aramaic as well as post-Biblical Hebrew, see *GLLTMT*, which is, however, outdated and should be used with caution. For Latin words in Classical Ethiopic, see Weninger 2000. There is no study dedicated solely to Latin words in Armenian, though Greek loanwords in Armenian are analyzed in Hübschmann 1897: 323–389 and Brockelmann 1893. For Greek loanwords in Coptic (including those ultimately of Latin origin), the Database and Dictionary of Greek Loanwords in Coptic (*DDGLC*) will be an indispensable resource (see <<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~ddglc/>>). I would like to thank its director Sebastian Richter (Universität Leipzig), as well as his team, especially Dylan Burns (Universität Leipzig), for sharing a Beta-version of their lemmata list. Readers should note that the references in this study to *DDGLC* are provisional and may well change as that project progresses.

<sup>12</sup> The dating formulae in the Old Syriac documents provide the most important information for the last set of these dates (the most convenient edition of these texts is Drijvers and Healey 1999: 232–248; for further bibliography, see Butts Forthcoming B). P. Dura 28 shows that the Abgarid dynasty must have come to an end in 212/213 when the city became a Roman *colonia*. On the basis of P. Euphrates 19, which states

language of international communication and commerce throughout the Seleucid Empire. The Roman Empire did not significantly alter this.<sup>13</sup> In general, the Roman Empire did not force the Greek-speaking provinces to adopt Latin. Rather, Greek remained the official language of empire in the eastern provinces. Latin had a more restricted use, being employed primarily in military matters as well as in certain legal contexts.<sup>14</sup> The distribution of Greek and Latin in a Roman city in the Eastern provinces from the first centuries of the Common Era can be illustrated by the more than 150 documents discovered at Dura-Europos, an important military outpost on the Euphrates until its destruction in 256 CE. A majority of the documents from this site are written in Greek or Latin, though there are also texts in Iranian or Aramaic (including Syriac).<sup>15</sup> The documents from the archives of the Cohors Vicesima Palmyrenorum (a Roman military troop) are primarily in Latin (P.Dura 54-150). All of the texts associated with official military business are in Latin, including reports (P.Dura 82-97) and rolls and rosters (P.Dura 98-124). The famous *Feriale Duranum*, which is a calendar of official religious observances, is also in Latin (P.Dura 54). Correspondences by military officials are primarily in Latin though some are in Greek (P.Dura 55-81). Finally, judicial business and receipts from the archives of the Cohors Vicesima Palmyrenorum are primarily in Greek though a few are in Latin (P.Dura 125-129). In contrast to the predominance of Latin in the archive of the Cohors Vicesima Palmyrenorum, a vast majority of the texts found outside of this archive are in Greek (P.Dura 1-52). Thus, all of the texts from the

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that 28 Dec. 240 is the 2nd year of King Abgar, it can be established that the dynasty was restored in 239 (or late 238) under Abgar X, son of Ma'nu. Finally, it seems that Edessa must have reverted to a *colonia* by 242 on the basis of P. Euphrates 20, which gives 1 Sept. 242 as year 30 of the *colonia*. For further information, see Brock 1991; Ross 1993; 2001; Teixidor 1989.

<sup>13</sup> See Rochette 2010: 289-290.

<sup>14</sup> Latin was, for instance, used in more official and bureaucratic legal matters, such as law codes. In addition, Latin was the language of education at the law school in Berytus.

<sup>15</sup> All of the texts are edited in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959.

registry office are in Greek (P.Dura 15-44), which include individual documents, such as a gift, loans, deeds of sale, deposits, a marriage contract, and divorce contracts. The lists and accounts are also in Greek (P.Dura 47-53) as are the texts associated with civil administration (P.Dura 12-14). Two letters are also in Greek, one of which may be an official letter (P.Dura 45) and the other of which is from a soldier (P.Dura 46). The documents from Dura-Europos, thus, illustrate the degree to which Latin was restricted to the military and even then to official military matters. Greek, in contrast, was used by the military in some correspondences as well as in day-to-day legal matters. Outside of the military, Greek was the language for a vast majority of tasks. Thus, Greek would have been the language of the Roman Empire with Latin restricted more or less to official military matters in Syria and Mesopotamia.

Given the restricted use of Latin in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia, it is necessary to explain how more than one hundred Latin words are found in Syriac texts, not translated from Greek, written up to the beginning of the eighth century. It seems that most of the Latin words in Syriac were not transferred directly from Latin into Syriac but rather that Greek served as a bridge between Latin and Syriac.<sup>16</sup> That is, Greek is usually the immediate source for Latin words in Syriac.<sup>17</sup> In some cases, the phonology of the Syriac form is an indication that the word was transferred via Greek. The *n* in Syriac ﺍﻨـ ‘palace’ (*LS2* 574; *SL* 1199), for instance, indicates that the immediate source was Greek παλάτιον (*LLGE* 85; *LSJ* 1291) and not Latin *palatium* (*OLD* 1284; *LD* 1291).<sup>18</sup> In addition, a majority of the Latin words found in Syriac

<sup>16</sup> So already Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1975: 90; 1996: 255; 1999-2000: 443; 2005: 23; Ciancaglini 2008: 7; Healey 1995: 83; Rochette 2010: 292; Schall 1960: 243-244; Wasserstein 1995: 134.

<sup>17</sup> Immediate source refers to the language from which a lexeme was transferred to the recipient language whereas ultimate source is a reflection of a word's etymology (for this distinction, see Butts 2016: §4.7, building on Wohlgemuth 2009: 51). A similar situation is attested for other Aramaic dialects; all of the Latin words in Palmyrene Aramaic, for instance, likely arrived by way of Greek (Brock 2005: 23).

<sup>18</sup> There are occasional cases in which the phonology points to Latin as the immediate source. The initial voiced bilabial stop of Syriac **ܒ** is

are also attested in Greek as loanwords. It is interesting to note in this regard that many of the Latin words in Syriac are attested in the Greek documentary record from Egypt.<sup>19</sup> In addition, almost all of these Latin words are found in Byzantine Greek.<sup>20</sup> This suggests that these Latin words were used in the Koinē Greek of the Eastern Roman Empire, and it is in this way that many of them entered Syriac.

### LATIN WORDS FIRST APPEARING IN SYRIAC BEFORE THE FOURTH CENTURY

Latin words that first appear in pre-fourth century Syriac, including the Peshiṭta Old Testament,<sup>21</sup> are as follows:<sup>22</sup>

- (1)    a. Latin *caldaria*, *caldarium* (*LD* 268) > καλδάριον (*GLBRP* 621) > ܟܻܻܵ ‘pot’ (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 27:3, 38:3; 1 Sam 2:14; 1 Kg 7:40; 2 Kg 25:14; Jer 52:18; *LS2* 693; *SL* 1402; see also Joosten 1998: 40; rare)
- b. Latin *candela* (*OLD* 264; *LD* 276) > κανδήλη, κανδῆλα

‘tower’ (*LS2* 92; *SL* 130) suggests, for instance, that the immediate source is Latin *burgus* (*OLD* 245; *LD* 255) and not Greek πύργος (*LSJ* 1556) (see also Schall 1960: 50-51).

<sup>19</sup> A lexicon of the Greek documentary record from Egypt is available in *LLGE*.

<sup>20</sup> For a lexicon of Byzantine Greek, see *GLBRP*.

<sup>21</sup> The Syriac Old Testament is cited according to the Leiden edition where it exists and otherwise according to the British and Foreign Bible Society’s edition (1905-1920).

<sup>22</sup> Several of the words in (1) are first attested in the *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Wright 1871: 2.171-333). Both the date and original language of this text are disputed. It, however, seems likely that the text was composed in Syriac (see the discussion in Attridge 1990), and that the date of composition is the first half of the third century (see the discussion in Bremmer 2001: 73-77). The Syriac original was translated into Greek at an early date (the Greek text is edited in Bonnet 1903: 99-291). The content of the Syriac text that is now extant shows signs of revision, often bringing it more in line with the emerging orthodoxy. The language of the Syriac text, however, contains a number of early forms (see Wright 1871: 2.xiv-xv), which indicate that the language belongs to the earliest period of Syriac. Thus, Latin words found in this text are included in this section.

- (*LSJ* 874; *PGL* 700; *GLBRP* 626) > **ןַדְלָה** ‘lamp, torch’ (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 232.20 [ed. Wright 1871: 2.171-333]; *LS2* 676; *SL* 1379-1380; see also Brock 1996: 255; 1999-2000: 443; *GLLTMT* 552), also in JPA **קַנְדִּיל** (*DJPA* 496) and Mandaic *qandila* (*MD* 401), as well as Armenian **կանդել** (*NDAE* 325; see also Hübschmann 1897: 337, 354; Brockelmann 1893: 9), Arabic *qandil-*, *qindil* (*BK* 820; *AFA* 95),<sup>23</sup> Coptic **καντηλε** (*DDGLC* 1027; see also Förster 2002: 375), Sogdian PL *qndylt* (Sims-Williams 1988: 152; via Syriac), and Classical Ethiopic *qandil* (*CDG* 434; see also Weninger 2000: 144)
- c. Latin *carrarius* (*OLD* 279) > **καρίο** ‘driver’ (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 238.7, 9, 13; 241.16 [ed. Wright 1871: 2.171-333]; also in 2 Macc 9:4; *LS2* 689; *SL* 1417; very rare)<sup>24</sup>
  - d. Latin *carruca* (*OLD* 279; *LD* 295) > **καρούχα**, **καροῦχα**, **καροῦχον** (*LSJ* 879; *GLBRP* 630; *PGL* 703) > **καρούιο** ‘chariot’ (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 14:6; Josh 11:4, 6, 9; 24:6; 1 Kg 10:25; 20:33; Is 66:20; *LS2* 696; *SL* 1403; see also Brock 1996: 255; 1999-2000: 444; Joosten 1998: 40), also in JPA **כַּרְכֵּין** (*DJPA* 503), as well as Coptic (*DDGLC* 3228)
  - e. Latin *cassis*, accusative singular *cassida*, *cassidem* (*OLD* 282; *LD* 297) > **κασσίς** (*GLBRP* 632; *LLGE* 50; *PGL* 704) → accusative singular **κασσίδα** > **κασσίδη** ‘helmet; azure of the sky’ (**Pre-4th cent.** Job 38:29; 41:12; *LS2* 679; *SL* 1307; see also *GLLTMT* 556; rare), also in MH **הַסְּפָר** (Jastrow 1395) and Coptic **κασίς** (*DDGLC* 2879; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 15)
  - f. Latin *cella* (*OLD* 295; *LD* 309-310) > **κέλλα** (*GLBRP*

<sup>23</sup> For the vowel assimilation \**a* > *i* / \_CCī in *qindil*, see Fox 2003: 267 n. 1. Compare the development of the Proto-Semitic nominal patterns \*C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>īC<sub>3</sub> to \*C<sub>1</sub>iC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>īC<sub>3</sub> (Fox 2003: 267-268) and \*C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>īC<sub>3</sub> to \*C<sub>1</sub>iC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>īC<sub>3</sub> (Butts 2011: 92-95) in Arabic. A similar assimilation rule is also found in Ugaritic (Huehnergard 1987: 269-270).

<sup>24</sup> See Latin *carrum* ‘two-wheeled wagon’ (*OLD* 279; *LD* 295) > **κάρρον** (*LSJ* 880).

- 657; *LLGE* 51; *PGL* 741) [→ κελλίον (*GLBRP* 658; *LLGE* 52; *PGL* 741)] > **مَدْنَى** ‘cell’ (**Pre-4th cent.** *Num* 25:8; *LS2* 668; *SL* 184, 1371-1372; see also *Schall* 1960: 104-105, 224; *Joosten* 1998: 40; *Brock* 1996: 254; common throughout Syriac), also in CPA *qly'* (*DCPA* 374; *LSP* 180), LJLA PL קולין (*PsJon Gen* 6:14; *Jastrow* 1327), and JBA קִילְעָא (DJB<sub>A</sub> 1013), as well as Arabic *qilliyat-* (*BK* 808; *AFA* 275), Sogdian *qlyt'* (with alternative orthographies) (*Sims-Williams* 1988: 152; via Syriac; see also *Brock* 1975: 82), and Coptic **κελλά** (*DDGLC* 1103; see also *Förster* 2002: 403)
- g. Latin *circus* (*OLD* 326; *LD* 343-344) > κίρκος, κίρκας (*LSJ* 953; *LLGE* 55; *GLBRP* 665) > **ڪِرْكِيْس** ‘ring’ (**Pre-4th cent.** *Ex* 26:6, 11, 23, 24, 26, 27; 36:13, 18; 39:33; *LS2* 701; *SL* 1415; see also *Brock* 1999-2000: 444; 2005: 17; *GLLTMT* 571),<sup>25</sup> also in CPA *qrrqws* (*DCPA* 367), JPA קָרְקָס (*DJPA* 507), SA קָרְכָס (*DSA* 800), and LJLA ڪِرْكِيْس (TgPs 69:13; *Jastrow* 1886-1903: 1426), as well as MH گرگیوت (Jastrow 1426), Armenian կրկես (*NDAE* 364; see also *Hübschmann* 1897: 360), and Classical Ethiopic *kirkos* (with alternative orthographies) (*Weninger* 2000: 144)
  - h. κλῆθρον (*LSJ* 957) > Latin *clathri*, *clatri* (*OLD* 333; *LD* 350) > Late Latin *crathi* (attested in the *Appendix Probi*; ed. *Baehrens* 1922: 8 [s.v. *In*. 209]) > **لَعْنَى** ‘grated cover’ (**Pre-4th cent.** *Ex* 27:4, 5; 38:4, 30; 39:39; *LS2* 700; *SL* 1416; see also *Nöldeke* 1904: §84 [p. 58 n. 1]; very rare)<sup>26</sup>
  - i. Latin *collarium*, *collare* (*OLD* 350; *LD* 365) > κολλάριον (*GLBRP* 675; *LLGE* 56; *LSJ* 972) > **قِلْقَلَة** ‘iron collar’ (**Pre-4th cent.** 1 Chr 20:3; 2 Sam 12:31; *LS2* 671; *SL*

<sup>25</sup> This word should be added to *Joosten* 1998: 46-47.

<sup>26</sup> This word should be added to *Joosten* 1998: 46-47. *Sokoloff* (*SL* 550), building upon *Brockelmann* (*LS2* 288), sees Late Latin *crathi* as the source of **لَعْنَى** ‘gridiron’ via dissimilation. Alternatively, however, *Joosten* (1998: 39-40) has suggested that **لَعْنَى** derives from Latin *craticula* (*OLD* 499; *LD* 478), though he points out the lack of a possible Greek intermediary for this derivation.

- 1330; see also *GLLTMT* 508), also in TgJon (Ezek 19:9; Jastrow 1330) and JPA קולר (*DJPA* 479), as well as MH קולר (Jastrow 1329) and Coptic (*DDGLC* 4941)
- j. Latin *colonia* (*OLD* 355; *LD* 370) > κολωνία, κολωνεία (*GLBRP* 676-677; *LLGE* 56; *PGL* 766; *LSJ* 974; see also Mason 1974: 5, 6, 62, 109) > **مَدِينَةٌ** ‘colony’ (**Pre-4th cent.** P.Dura 28.4; P.Euphrates 20.4 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 232-248]; *LS2* 669; *SL* 1329; see also Schall 1960: 40, 42; *GLLTMT* 546-547), also in Palmyrene *qlhy'* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 406; see also Brock 2005: 18) and JBA קָלְנִיָּה (*DJBA* 1021)
  - k. Latin *denarius* (*OLD* 514; *LD* 545) > δηνάριον (*GLBRP* 356; *LLGE* 40; *LSJ* 388) > **دِنَارٌ** ‘gold denarius’ (**Pre-4th cent.** P.Dura 28.ii (abbreviation), 9; P.Euphrates 19.ix, 16, 17, 18, 22 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 232-248]; P.Euphrates 7.29; 10.22 [ed. Feissel, Gascou, and Teixidor 1997]; *LS2* 160; *SL* 297; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443; Schall 1960: 41, 98), also in Palmyrene *dnr'*, *dynr* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 356; see also Brock 2005: 14), Judean Aramaic *dynr* (*DNWSI* 256), Hatran Aramaic *dnr* (*DNWSI* 256; Contini and Pagano 2015: 133), TgJon PL דינרא (2 Kg 5:5), JPA דינרא (*DJPA* 147), JBA دِنَارٌ (*DJBA* 334), Mandaic *dinara* (*MD* 108), CPA *dynr* (*DCPA* 86; *LSP* 45), LJLA דינרא (TgPsJon Ex 30:13; Jastrow 1886-1903: 302), as well as Arabic *dinar-* (*BK* 737; Lane 919; *AFA* 191-192; *FVQ* 133-134), Punic *dn̄y'* (*DNWSI* 256), Armenian դենար (*NDAE* 139; see also Hübschmann 1897: 346; Brockelmann 1893: 11), Coptic (*DDGLC* 2679), Pahlavi *denār* (*CPD* 26), Bactrian δ(δ)ιναρο (Sims-Williams 2013: 228), Classical Ethiopic *dinar* (*CDG* 138; see also Weninger 2000: 145), etc.
  - l. Latin *legio* (*OLD* 1013-1014; *LD* 1047) > λεγιών, ληγιών, λεγεών, λεγιώνη (*LSJ* 1033; *LSJ Suppl.* 194; *GLBRP* 707; *LLGE* 65; *PGL* 794; see also Mason 1974: 5, 6, 7, 8, 65, 138, 163-165) > **لِجَانٌ** ‘legion’ (**Pre-4th cent.** Num 24:24; *LS2* 358; *SL* 673; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443; Schall 1960: 97; Joosten 1998:

- 40), also in Palmyrene *լցոն* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 376; see also Brock 2005: 18), TgJon PL (Ez 30:9), CPA *լ(y)ցոն* (*DCPA* 199, *LSP* 101), JPA (*DJPA* 281), LJLA *լցոնա* (TgJob 15:24; Jastrow 1886-1903: 692), as well as MH (Jastrow 692), Armenian լեզեն (NDAE 255; see also Hübschmann 1897: 337, 352; Brockelmann 1893: 13), Classical Ethiopic *legewon* (with alternative orthographies) (*CDG* 308; see also Weninger 2000: 142), and Coptic *λεγεων* (*DDGLC* 2740; see also Lefort 1950: 158)
- m. Latin *piscina* (*OLD* 1383; *LD* 1380) > φισκίνα (*PGL* 1485; du Cange 1688: 2.1679), πισκίνη (*GLBRP* 891; *PGL* 1082) > **ܦܲܵܶܳ** ‘pool’ (**Pre-4th cent.** Neh 3:15, 16; *LS2* 585; *SL* 1215; see also *GLLTMT* 450), also in CPA *പ୍ରସିନ* (*DCPA* 336; *LSP* 160), as well as MH (Jastrow 1168) and Coptic (*DDGLC* 5265)
  - n. Latin *ponto, pontonium* (*OLD* 1403; *LD* 1397) > **ܚܲܵܶܳ** ‘ferry boat’ (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 174.8; 185.11 [ed. Wright 1871: 2.171-333]; *LS2* 579; *SL* 1204; very rare)
  - o. Latin *sextarius* (*OLD* 1751; *LD* 1688) > ξέστης (*LSJ* 1189-1190; *GLBRP* 790; *LLGE* 76-77) > **ܩܲܵܶܳ** ‘vase, urn; measure’ (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 16:33; Judg 6:19; *LS2* 679; *SL* 1387; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; *GLLTMT* 535; Joosten 1998: 40), also in Palmyrene *ܩܲܵܶܳ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 406; see also Brock 2005: 19), JPA *ܛܲܵܶܳ* (*DJPA* 498), CPA *ܩܲܵܶܳ* (*DCPA* 372; *LSP* 181; Baillet 1963: 383-384), JBA **ܩܲܵܶܳ**, **ܩܲܵܶܳ** (*DJBA* 1014), LJLA **ܩܲܵܶܳ** (TgPsJon Ex 30.24), as well as Armenian *պւեսն* (NDAE 753; see also Hübschmann 1897: 389; Brockelmann 1893: 22, 35), Coptic **ܟ݁ܵܶܳ** (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 1495; see also Lefort 1950: 186; Behlmer 1997-1998: 20; Förster 2002: 555-556), and Arabic *qisṭ-* ‘a measure; a measure for corn; a mug’ (Lane 2523; *AFA* 205)
  - p. Latin *strata* (*OLD* 1826; *LD* 1758 [s.v. *sterno*]) > στράτα, στρᾶτα (*LSJ Suppl.* 281; *GLRP* 1014; *LLGE* 108) > **ܪܲܵܶܳ**, **ܪܲܵܶܳ** ‘street; road’ (**Pre-4th**

- cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 239.7 [ed. Wright 1871: 2.171-333]; *LS2* 34; *SL* 71; see also *GLLTMT* 82-83; Schall 1960: 244), also in *LJLA* אִיסְרָתָא (TgPsJon Num 20:19; Jastrow 91), *JPA* אִיסְרָת (DJP<sub>A</sub> 52), and *SA* *sr̥b* (*DSA* 611), as well as Arabic *ṣirāt-* (Lane 1678; *FVQ* 196)
- q. Latin *subsellium* (OLD 1848; *LD* 1781) > συμψέλλιον, συμψέλια (GLBRP 1060; LLGE 109; LSJ 1690) > **סְבֵּלֶת**, **סְבֵּלָה** ‘bench’ (**Pre-4th cent.** 2 Chr 9:11; *Acts of Thomas*, 218.3 [ed. Wright 1871: 2.171-333]; *LS2* 491; *SL* 963, 1032; see also *GLLTMT* 408-409; not common), also in *JPA* סְבֵּל, סְבֵּלָה (DJP<sub>A</sub> 386) and *JBA* אַלְמָנָה (DJBA 827), as well as *MH* (Jastrow 1015) and Coptic (DDGLC 5439; 5769)
  - r. Latin *sudarium* (OLD 1859; *LD* 1790) > σουδάριον (GLBRP 1001; LLGE 106; LSJ 1621; see also Benveniste 1969: 213-217) > **סְדָרָה** ‘cloth; turban, tiara’ (**Pre-4th cent.** Jer 13:1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11; *LS2* 461; *SL* 976; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; *GLLTMT* 373-374), also in *JBA* סְדָרָה (DJBA 792), CPA *swdr'* (DCPA 282; LSP 133), *JPA* סְדָר (DJP<sub>A</sub> 370), and *LJLA* סְדָרָה (TgPsJon 21.15), as well as *MH* (Jastrow 962) and Coptic *σωδάριον* (DDGLC 2584; see also Lefort 1950: 276; Behlmer 1997-1998: 25)
  - s. Latin *tabellarius* (OLD 1897-1898; *LD* 1831) > ταβελλάριος (GLBRP 1067; LLGE 109; LSJ 1752; see also Mason 1974: 4, 6, 90-91) > **טְבֵלָרָה** ‘keeper of records’ (**Pre-4th cent.** 2 Sam 15:1; 2 Kg 11:4; Prov 24:34; 2 Chr 30:6, 10; *LS2* 266; *SL* 510-511; see also Brock 1992: 229 n. 4; 1999-2000: 444),<sup>27</sup> possibly also in *LJLA* טְבֵלָרָה (TgProv 24.34)
  - t. Latin *trulla* (OLD 1981; *LD* 1905) > τροῦλ(λ)α (GLBRP 1097; LLGE 113; LSJ 1827) > **טְבֵלָה** ‘iron spoon or pan’ (**Pre-4th cent.** Num 4:7; *LS2* 289; *SL* 549; see also Joosten 1998: 40; very rare)

A number of the Latin words that are attested in the earliest phase of Syriac literature continue to be common throughout the

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<sup>27</sup> See also **טְבֵלָה** ‘keeper of records’ (5n) below.

later history of Syriac, such as **مَدْنَى** ‘cell’ (1f) and **جَذْنَى** ‘gold denarius’ (1k). Several of the words in (1) are, however, very rare in Syriac, including **سَهْنَى** ‘driver’ (1c), **صَنْتَهْنَى** ‘grated cover’ (1h), **فَلْهَنْى** ‘ferry boat’ (1n), and **كَلْهَنْى** ‘iron spoon or pan’ (1t). Some, if not all, of these words are likely to be closer to Fremdwörter than they are to Lehnwörter.<sup>28</sup> That is, some of them may have remained foreign words in Syriac and were not integrated as loanwords.

In almost every case in (1), a possible Greek intermediary is attested between Latin and Syriac. The only exceptions to this are: **רֵזֶן** ‘driver’ (1c), **מְטָה** ‘grated cover’ (1h), and **פַּלְגָה** ‘ferry boat’ (1n). It is interesting to note that each of these is, as just mentioned, very rare in Syriac. It is possible that the Greek intermediary is simply unattested with these words or alternatively that the Latin words reached Syriac without a Greek intermediary, possibly as learned Fremdwörter. In cases in which a possible Greek intermediary is attested, the Greek is often also found in the documentary record from Egypt and/or in later Byzantine Greek (this is shown by the numerous references to *LLGE* and *GLBRP* in (1)). This suggests that these Latin words were used throughout the Koine Greek of the Eastern Roman Empire.

Several of the Latin words found in the earliest layer of Syriac literature are also found in other dialects of Aramaic. In some cases, these words may have been transferred into Aramaic at an earlier period and then inherited in Syriac. This is especially the case for words that are attested already in the earliest period of Syriac as well as in an Aramaic dialect prior to the second century CE (Middle Aramaic or earlier).<sup>29</sup> Words in (1) that fit this criterion include:<sup>30</sup> **درنه** ‘gold denarius’ (1k), **لجن** ‘legion’ (1l), **ريله** ‘iron collar’ (1i), and **دلو** ‘vase, urn; measure’ (1o). It is likely that these words were transferred into Aramaic at an earlier period.

<sup>28</sup> For this distinction, see, e.g., Brock 1975: 81; 1996: 261 n. 35; Butts 2016: §4.5; Ciancaglini 2008: 5, 23–25; Haspelmath 2009: 43; Joosten 1998: 42–43; Mankowski 2000: 8; Schall 1960: 9.

<sup>29</sup> For this criterion, see Butts 2016: §4.9.

<sup>30</sup> For a full listing of Greek words that were likely inherited in Syriac, see Butts 2016: Appendix 1.

and then inherited in Syriac. In addition, some of the words in (1) are not only attested in Aramaic dialects, but also in non-Aramaic languages from Late Antiquity, such as Mishnaic Hebrew, Armenian, and Coptic. Consider, for instance, Latin *denarius* (1j), which is found in various dialects of Aramaic, including Palmyrene Aramaic, Judean Aramaic, Hatran Aramaic, Targum Jonathan, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic, Syriac, and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic, as well as in non-Aramaic languages, such as Coptic, Arabic, Punic, Armenian, Pahlavi, and Classical Ethiopic. This wide distribution illustrates the prominence of this word across the Roman Near East.

The words in (1) fall into a number of well-defined semantic groups. The largest semantic group is that of tools and utensils: **לְמַדָּה** ‘lamp, torch’ (1b), **לְמַעַלִּים** ‘iron spoon or pan’ (1t), **לְמַעֲשָׂה**, **לְמַעֲשָׂה** ‘bench’ (1q), **לְמַיִּין** ‘pot’ (1a), **לְמַלְאָה** ‘cell, tent’ (1f), and **לְמַמְּתָה** ‘vase, urn; measure’ (1o). The word **לְמַמְּתָה** ‘vase, urn; measure’ (1o) also falls into a category of coins, weights, and measures, along with **לְמַדָּה** ‘gold *denarius*’ (1k). Several words in (1) belong to a semantic group related to architecture and the house: **לְמַעַם** ‘pool’ (1m), **לְמַעַם** ‘ring’ (1g), and **לְמַעַם** ‘grated cover’ (1h). A semantic group of clothing is found with **לְמַעַם** ‘cloth; turban, tiara’ (1r) and **לְמַעַם** ‘helmet; azure of the sky’ (1e). Another semantic group concerns transportation: **לְמַעַם**, **לְמַעַם** ‘street; road’ (1p), **לְמַעַם** **מַעַם** ‘ferry boat’ (1n), **לְמַעַם** ‘chariot’ (1d), and **לְמַעַם** ‘driver’ (1c). Perhaps surprisingly and especially in comparison to later periods, the number of words related directly to Roman officials or personnel is small, being restricted to **לְמַעַם** ‘keeper of records’ (1s). There are, however, a couple of words related to the army, including instruments of torture: **לְמַעַם** ‘legion’ (1l) and **לְמַעַם** ‘iron collar’ (1i). There is one term that is clearly related to Roman administration: **לְמַעַם**, **לְמַעַם** ‘colony’ in (1j).

#### LATIN WORDS FIRST APPEARING IN THE SYRIAC NEW TESTAMENT

While this study is primarily concerned with Latin words that occur in Syriac texts not translated from Greek, it is necessary to look

briefly at Latin words that occur in the New Testament, since many of these also appear in later Syriac compositions. The following Latin words are first attested in Syriac in the New Testament:<sup>31</sup>

- (2) a. Latin *assarium* (OLD 186) > ḥσσάριον (*GLBRP* 264; *LLGE* 31; *LSJ* 260) > ܐܲܣܾܵܶܳ ‘*assarius*, small copper coin’ (**NT** Mt 10:29 [SP]; Lk 12:6 [SP]; *LS2* 38; *SL* 80; see also Brock 1967: 394; 2005: 12-13), also in Palmyrene ܻܰ (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 341; see also Brock 2005: 12-13), Hatra ܻܰ (Contini and Pagano 2015: 129); CPA ܻܰ (*DCPA* 24; *LSP* 16), and JBA אִיסָּרָאֵל (*DJBA* 123), as well as Armenian ասպին (Hübschmann 1897: 341; Brockelmann 1893: 34), Coptic (*DDGLC* 2653), and Classical Ethiopic ወሱንያን (with alternative orthographies) (*CDG* 44; see also Weninger 2000: 145)
- b. Latin *caesar* (OLD 254; *LD* 265) > καῖσαρ (*GLBRP* 616-617; *LSJ* 860; see also Mason 1974: 58) > ܻܰ ‘Caesar, emperor’ (**NT** Mt 22:17 [SCP], 21 [SCP]; Mk 12:14 [SCP], 16 [SCP], 17 [SCP]; Lk 2:1 [SCP]; 3:1 [SCP]; 20:22 [SCP]; Jn 19:12 [P], 15 [P]; Acts 11:28; 17:7; 18:2; 25:8; Phil 4:22; *LS2* 680; *SL* 1388; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443; Schall 1960: 40, 83), also in Judean Aramaic *qysr* (*DJA* 77-78), Palmyrene *qysr* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 406; see also Brock 2005: 17), Nabataean Aramaic *qysr* (*DNWSI* 1018-1019; Healey 1995: 81), JPA קַיסָּר (*DJPA* 491), JBA كيسار (*DJBA* 1014-1015), CPA *qysr* (*DCPA* 372; *LSP* 179), as well as Armenian կայսր (*NDAE* 524; see also Hübschmann 1897: 337, 354; Brockelmann 1893: 13-14), Coptic (*DDGLC* 2969), Arabic *qaysar* (*BK* 846), Sogdian *qysr* (Sims-Williams 1988: 145), Bactrian κησαρο (Sims-Williams 2013: 228), etc.

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<sup>31</sup> The Syriac Gospels are cited according to Kiraz 1996, with the siglum C referring to the Curetonianus ms., S to the Sinaiticus ms., and P to the Peshitta. Other texts of the New Testament are cited according to the British and Foreign Bible Society’s edition (1905-1920). For Latin words in the Syriac New Testament, see already Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443-444.

- c. Latin *centurio* (OLD 300; LD 316) > κεντυρίων, κεντορίων, κεντουρίων (*LSJ* 939; *GLBRP* 659; *LLGE* 53; *PGL* 744; see also Mason 1974: 5, 60, 163) > **مَدْنَجَةٌ** ‘centurion’ (**NT** Mt 8:5 [CP], 13 [CP]; 27:54 [SP]; Mk 15:39 [SP], 44 [SP]; Lk 7:2 [SP], 6 [SP]; 23:47 [SCP]; *LS2* 677; *SL* 1382-1383; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443; *GLLTMT* 529; Schall 1960: 97), also in Nabatean Aramaic *qntryn* (*DNWSI* 1015; Healey 1993: 209, 264; 1995: 77), Palmyrene *qtrywn* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 405-406; see also Brock 2005: 17), and CPA *qntrywn* (*DCPA* 377; *LSP* 181), as well as MH קִיטְרָן (Jastrow 1353), Coptic **κΕΝΤΗΡΙΩΝ** (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 1106; see also Lefort 1950: 135-136; Förster 2002: 405), and Classical Ethiopic *qantorāhi* (*CDG* 436; see also Weninger 2000: 142)
- d. Latin *custodia* (OLD 478; LD 504-505) > κουστωδία, κοστωδία (*LSJ* 987; *LSJ Suppl.* 184; *GLBRP* 687; *LLGE* 63) > **καλύπτω** ‘guard’ (**NT** Mt 27:65 [S], 66 [S]; *LS2* 679; *SL* 1387; very rare; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46),<sup>32</sup> also in CPA *qstwdy'* (*DCPA* 378; *LSP* 182), as well as Coptic **κΟΥΣΤΩΔΙΑ** (*DDGLC* 2985; see also Lefort 1950: 148)
- e. Latin *fascia* (OLD 677; LD 726) > φασκία (*GLBRP* 1136; *LLGE* 114) > **κάλυμμα** ‘bandage used to wrap a corpse’ (**NT** John 11:44 [SP]; *LS2* 585; *SL* 1215), also in TgJlon פְּסִיקִיא (Is 3:24; Jastrow 1196), CPA *p̄sqy'* (*DCPA* 336; *LSP* 160), and JPA פְּסִיקִי (*DJPA* 432), as well as MH פְּסִיקִיא (Jastrow 1196), Coptic φασκία (*DDGLC* 2839; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 28), and perhaps Arabic *fāsqiyat-* ‘a certain way of tying a turban’ (*BK* 594; Lane 2453)
- f. Latin *flagellum* (OLD 708; LD 755) > Late Latin *fragellum* (attested in the *Appendix Probi*; ed. Baehrens 1922: 6 [s.v. ln. 77]) > φραγέλλιον (*GLBRP* 1147; *LSJ* 1952) >

<sup>32</sup> Fränkel (*AFA* 282) connects this with Arabic *qusṭās-* (apparently a *hapax legomenon*).

**ܟܼܾܻ** ‘whip’ (**NT** Mt 27:26 [SP]; Jn 2:15 [P]; *LS2* 592; *SL* 1227; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; *GLLTMT* 477-478; *DGLLT* 153-154),<sup>33</sup> also in CPA *prgl* (*DCPA* 339; *LSP* 161), as well as MH **פְּרָגֵל** (Jastrow 1214) and Coptic (*DDGLC* 2632)

- g. Latin *libertinus* (*OLD* 1025; *LD* 1059) > **λιβερτῖνος** (*LSJ* 1047; *GLBRP* 714) → PL **λιβερτῖνοι** > PL **لُحْتَلِّيَّة** ‘freedmen’ (**NT** Acts 6:9; *LS2* 357; *SL* 688; see also Schall 1960: 194; not common), also in Coptic **λιβερτῖνος** (*DDGLC* 4703; see also Lefort 1950: 159)
- h. Latin *lorarius* (*OLD* 1043; *LD* 1078) > **ܪَبَّادَ** ‘harness or saddle maker’ (**NT** Acts 18:3; *LS2* 361; *SL* 679; very rare)
- i. Latin *macellum* (*OLD* 1057; *LD* 1091-1092) > **μάκελλον** (*GLBRP* 728; *LLGE* 70; *LSJ* 1074) > **مَكَلَمَ** ‘meat-market’ (**NT** 1 Cor 10:25; *LS2* 400; *SL* 821; see also *GLLTMT* 349), also in JPA **מַקְלִין** (*DJPA* 326), as well as MH **מַקְוִין** (Jastrow 829), Armenian **մակելղնն** (*NDAE* 447; see also Hübschmann 1897: 363; Brockelmann 1893: 23), and Coptic **μακελλος** (*DDGLC* 5029; see also Lefort 1950: 169)
- j. Latin *mille* (*OLD* 1109; *LD* 1144)<sup>34</sup> > **μίλιον, μείλιον** (*GLBRP* 760; *LSJ* 1134) > **مَسَافَة** ‘one-thousand paces; mile-stone’ (**NT** Mt 5:41 [SCP]; Jn 11:18 [S]; *LS2* 383; *SL* 752; very common; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443; *GLLTMT* 335; Schall 1960: 100), also in Palmyrene *m(y)l* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 380; see also Brock 2005: 18), JBA **مِيلَانَ** (*DJBA* 667), CPA *myl* (*DCPA* 220; *LSP* 109), JPA **מִיל** (*DJPA* 304-305), LJLA PL **מִילִין** (TgPsJon Ex 12:37), as well as MH **מִיל** (Jastrow 773), Armenian **մղոն** (*NDAE* 480; see also Hübschmann 1897: 365; Brockelmann 1893: 11-12), and Coptic

<sup>33</sup> Fränkel (*AFA* 282) connects this with Arabic *farjawn-, firjawn-* ‘comb’ (*BK* 563; 2361).

<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the source is *miliūm*, a back-formation from the plural *milia*.

- (*DDGLC* 2752)<sup>35</sup>
- k. Latin *modium* (*OLD* 1123; *LD* 1155) > μόδιος (*GLBRP* 763; *LLGE* 73; *LSJ* 1140) > **መመ** ‘corn measure, peck; container’ (**NT** Matt 5:15 [C]; *LS2* 375; *SL* 721-722; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 36, 58, 63; Schall 1960: 36, 58, 63), also in Palmyrene *md'* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 378; see also Brock 2005: 18-19), CPA *mwdy'* (*DCPA* 211; *LSP* 107), JBA **מַדְיָה** (*DJBA* 645), JPA **מוֹדִי** (*DJPA* 294), as well as Armenian **մոն** (*NDAE* 482; see also Hübschmann 1897: 366) and Coptic **μօδίօն** (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 1432; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 19; Förster 2002: 527)
  - l. Latin *praetorium* (*OLD* 1448; *LD* 1436) > πραιτώριον (*LSJ* 1458; *LSJ Suppl.* 257; *GLBRP* 915; *LLGE* 93; *PGL* 1126-1127; see also Mason 1974: 5, 78) > **חַזְבָּן** ‘governor’s residence’ (**NT** Mt 27:27 [SCP]; Mk 15:16 [SCP]; Jn 18:28 [SCP], 33 [SCP]; 19:9 [SCP]; Acts 23:35; Phil 1:13; *LS2* 574, 596; *SL* 1199, 1237; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; *GLLTMT* 455-456), also in CPA *թիւրի* (*DCPA* 332; *LSp* 158), JPA **פֶלְטוּרִין** (*DJPA* 435), and LJLA **פֶלְטוּרִין** (*TgLam* 4.1), as well as MH (Jastrow 1180), Armenian **պլեսոր** (*NDAE* 619; see also Hübschmann 1897: 375; Brockelmann 1893: 31), and Coptic **πραιτώριον** (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 1812; see also Lefort 1950: 252-253; Behlmer 1997-1998: 24; Förster 2002: 668)
  - m. Latin *quaestionarius* (*OLD* 1535; *LD* 1502) > κυαστιωνάριος (*GLBRP* 694; *LLGE* 63)<sup>36</sup> > **መመ** ‘torturer’ (**NT** Mt 27:65 [P], 66 [P]; 28:11 [P], 12 [P] [these may be corruptions of **መመ** (Brock 1967: 405)]; also in Aphrahat,  *Demonstrations*, 1.705.24 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; *LS2* 679; *SL* 1387; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; *DGLLT* 173-175; *GLLTMT* 514; Schall 1960: 96), also in MH **קוֹסְטִינֵר** (Jastrow 1336) and Coptic (*DDGLC*

<sup>35</sup> For possible Arabic reflexes, see *AFA* 282-283.

<sup>36</sup> Brockelmann (*LS2* 679), followed by Sokoloff (*SL* 1387), gives the Greek intermediary as κουεστιονάριος, which is not, however, found in the Greek lexica.

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- n. Latin *speculator* (OLD 1802; LD 1739) > σπεκουλάτωρ (*GLBRP* 1003; *LLGE* 106; *LSJ* 1626; see also Mason 1974: 4, 85) > **מַחְמָלֵטֶן** ‘executioner’ (**NT** Mk 6:27 [SP]; *LS2* 36; *SL* 75; see also Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; *DGLLT* 133-135; *GLLTMT* 92-93, 409), see also LJLA אַסְפָּקָלְטוֹר (TgEsth2 5:2; Jastrow 1886-1903: 56), JPA אַסְפָּקָלְטוֹר (*DJPA* 68), CPA **()שְׁpqlwr** (*DCPA* 23; *LSP* 15), as well as MH אַסְפָּקָלְטוֹר (Jastrow 1017) and Coptic **επεκογλατωρ** (*DDGLC* 3056; see also Lefort 1950: 278)
- o. Latin *talaria* (PL) (OLD 1901; LD 1835) > ταλάριον (*LLGE* 110) > PL **תַּלְלָיִם** ‘sandals’ (**NT** Mk. 6:9 [P]; Acts 12.8; *LS2* 278; *SL* 535), also in TgJon טַלְרִי (1 Kg 2.5; Jastrow 1886-1903: 538), as well as Armenian տառաղան (NDAE 692; see also Hübschmann 1897: 383; Brockelmann 1893: 32)
- p. Latin *uncinus* (OLD 2090; LD 1929) > ὥγκινος (*GLBRP* 793; *LSJ* 1196) > **מַסְנָךְ** ‘hook; anchor; sailors’ sounding line’ (**NT** Acts 27:28, 29, 40; Heb 6:19; but not common until the fifth century; *LS2* 9; *SL* 20; see also Brock 1999-2000: 444 with n. 23);<sup>37</sup> also in Coptic ቅጥንኖስ (*DDGLC* 1509; Förster 2002: 561)

<sup>37</sup> Two corrections to the lexica are in order here: 1. Brockelmann (*LS2* 9), followed by Sokoloff (*SL* 20), analyzes **מַסְנָךְ** in 124.22 of the *Julian Romance* as ὠκεανός ‘ocean’; this, however, does not fit the context: **מַסְנָךְ** **וְאֵת** **הַיְמָן** **בְּעֵינָיו** **אֲנָשִׁים** **בְּנֵי** **הַמְּדֻבָּרִים** **בְּנֵי** **הַמְּדֻבָּרִים** ‘For, Lord, your Divinity knows that our town holds the faith that your fathers handed down to it, like **an anchor**, in the soul of its inhabitants, and it will not forget this kingdom of yours’ (*Julian Romance*, 124.22-24; ed. Hoffmann 1880). Already Gollancz (1928: 134 [correct Sokoloff’s reference from pg. 136]) interpreted the word as ‘anchor’. Note that Narsai refers to faith as an anchor (**מַסְנָךְ**) on several occasions, e.g., **מַסְנָךְ** **וְאֵת** **הַמְּדֻבָּרִים** **בְּעֵינָיו** **אֲנָשִׁים** ‘with the anchor of faith, let us moor the ships of our minds’ (ed. Mingana 1905: 1.326.24-327.1; see also Brock 1999-2000: 444 n. 23). 2. Brockelmann (*LS2* 9), followed by Sokoloff (*SL* 20), relates **מַסְנָךְ** in the *Life of Rabbula*

To these words that first appear in the New Testament, the following can be added that appear in the New Testament but are first attested in earlier Syriac (see (1)):

- (3)    a. **ܟܻܸܵܶܳ** ‘gold denarius’ (1k) occurs in Mt 18:28 (SCP); 20:2 (SCP), 9 (SCP), 10 (SCP), 13 (SCP); 22:19 (SCP); Mk 6:37 (SP); 12:15 (SP); 14:5 (SP); Lk 7:41 (SCP); 10:35 (SCP); 20:24 (SCP); Jn 6:7 (SCP); 12:5 (SP); *passim*  
 b. **ܟܻܸܵܶܳ** ‘legion’ (1l) occurs in Mt 26:53 (SP); Mk 5:9 (SP), 15 (P); Lk 8:30 (SCP)  
 c. **ܟܻܸܵܶܳ** ‘cloth; turban, tiara’ (1r) occurs in Jn 11:44 (SP); 20:7 (SP); Acts 19:12  
 d. **ܟܻܸܵܶܳ, ܟܻܸܵܶܳ** ‘colony’ (1j) occurs in Act 16:12  
 e. **ܟܻܸܵܶܳ** ‘vase, urn; measure’ (1o) occurs in Mk 7:4 (SP), 8 (P); Heb 9:4

A number of the Latin words attested in the Syriac New Testament continue to be common throughout the later history of Syriac. Several are, however, very rare in Syriac, including **ܠܻܸܵܶܳ** ‘harness or saddle maker’ (2h) and **ܚܻܸܵܶܳ** ‘meat-market’ (2i). Both of these may well be Fremdwörter. In addition, it should be noted that **ܠܻܸܵܶܳ** ‘harness or saddle maker’ (2h) is the only word in (2) for which a possible Greek intermediary is not attested.

Three quarters of the words in (2) occur in another language from the Roman Near East, whether Aramaic or not, and a number of them are in fact attested in multiple languages. This suggests that these Latin words were Wanderwörter spread throughout various languages of the Roman Near East.

The words in (2) fall into well-defined semantic groups. The largest group is that of Roman officials or personnel: **ܟܻܸܵܶܳ**,

(161.14; ed. Overbeck 1865: 157–248) to Greek ὄγκιος (*LJ* 1196), which itself derives from Latin *uncinus* (*OLD* 2090; *LD* 1929). Bowersock (2000: 260), however, has shown that the Syriac is better understood as Greek ὠκεανός ‘ocean’ (*LJ* 2031) based on the well-attested use of ὠκεανός as an acclamation (see Peterson 1929; Robert and Robert 1958: 207 [s.v. 105], both with additional references). Doran seems to have misunderstood Bowersock when he states, “Literally, the Syriac reads ‘hooks’, ‘anchors’, but Bowersock has pointed out that the Greek behind the Syriac was a well-known acclamation” (2006: 67 n. 6).

Executioner’ (2n), PL **لُتْقَادُون** ‘freedmen’ (2g), **صَنْبُونَسْ** ‘centurion’ (2c), **مَنْفَعَة** ‘guard’ (2d), **مَنْفَعَة** ‘torturer’ (2m), and **إِيَّا** ‘Caesar, emperor’ (2b). Related to this category is also **نِيَّافِيَّة** ‘governor’s residence’ (2l). In addition, another word is related to torture: **كَلْيَا** ‘whip’ (2f). All of these are clearly associated with Roman administration. Another semantic group is that of tools and utensils: **كَوْكَار** ‘hook; anchor; sailors’ sounding line’ (2p), **كَوْكَار** ‘corn measure, peck; container’ (2k), and **كَوْكَار** ‘bandage used to wrap a corpse’ (2e). The word **كَوْكَار** ‘corn measure, peck; container’ (2k) also falls into a semantic group of coins, weights, and measures, along with **أَسَارِيَّة** ‘assarius, small copper coin’ (2a) and **حَمْدَة** ‘one-thousand paces; mile-stone’ (2j). Two words are related to commerce: **لَهْلَهْ** ‘harness or saddle maker’ (2h) and **حَمَالَة** ‘meat-market’ (2i). Finally, one term is related to clothing: PL **كَلَّلَ** ‘sandals’ (2o). In contrast to the words in (1), most of the words in (2), if not all of them, are connected with Roman culture in one way or another, whether through administration and rule or everyday items.

#### LATIN WORDS FIRST APPEARING IN FOURTH-CENTURY SYRIAC

A small number of Latin words first appear in Syriac in the fourth century<sup>38</sup>:

- (4) a. Latin *caesarianus* (OLD 254; LD 265) > **καισαριανός** (*GLBRP* 617; *LSJ* 860; see also Mason 1974: 6, 58) > **مَنْتَهَى** ‘of the caesars’ (4th cent. Aphrahat, *Demonstrations*, 1.220.15, 17 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; *LS2* 680; *SL* 1388; see also Schall 1960: 83-84, 95; very rare)
- b. Latin *indulgentia* (OLD 888; LD 928) > **ἰνδουλγεντία**

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<sup>38</sup> Several of the words in (4) are first attested in the *Book of Steps*, which has traditionally been dated to the fourth century. It should be noted, however, that in a recent paper Smith (2014) has argued that this text more likely stems from the fifth century. If this is in fact the case, then **فَلَامِن** ‘palace’ (4e), **نِيَّافِيَّة** ‘axe’ (4g), and **كَوْكَار** ‘hymns’ (4h) should be moved to the list in (5).

- (GLBRP 601) > **مَغْفِرَةٌ** (corrupt) ‘amnesty’ (**4th cent.** Aphrahat, *Demonstrations*, 1.589.6 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; LS2 155; SL 295; only here)<sup>39</sup>
- c. Latin *moneta* (OLD 1130; LD 1161) > μονήτα, μονῆτα (GLBRP 766; LLGE 73; PGL 880; see also Mason 1974: 68) > **مَهْدَى**, **مَهْدَى** ‘coin; money; coin die’ (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Madraše against Heresies*, 81.3; 166.24 [ed. Beck 1957]; not uncommon in Syriac; LS2 395; SL 781; see also Brock 1999-2000: 443-444; GLLTMT 326-327), also in JPA מָנוֹת (DJPA 295)
  - d. Latin *orbita* (OLD 1264; LD 1276) > **مَرْجِيَّة** ‘orbit (?)’ (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 2-5, 138.38; 139.2 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; LS2 45; SL 20; only here)
  - e. Latin *palatum* (OLD 1284; LD 1291) > παλάτιον (GLBRP 832; LLGE 85; LSJ 1291; see also Mason 1974: 74) > **فَلَطِينٌ** ‘palace’ (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 293.16; 525.7 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; LS2 574; SL 1199; see also GLLTMT 457-458), also in JPA פַלְטִין (DJPA 435) and CPA *płtyn* (DCPA 332), as well as MH (Jastrow 1180), Armenian պալատ(ն), պալատ(ն) (NDAE 590; see also Hübschmann 1897: 337, 370; Brockelmann 1893: 14), Coptic (DDGLC 2556), and (possibly) Arabic *balāṭ-* ‘palace’ but more commonly ‘pavement’ (BK 160) and less likely *balad-* ‘country, region’ (BK 158-159; Lane 247),<sup>40</sup> see also Hatra PL *płty*<sup>3</sup> ‘palace servants’ (Contini and Pagano 2015: 137)
  - f. Latin *patronus* (OLD 1311; LD 1316-1317) > πάτρων (GLBRP 866; LLGE 88; LSJ 1349; see also Mason 1974: 5-7, 12, 152) > **مَنْظُورٌ** ‘patron’ (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 389.11; 392.18 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Ephrem, *Commentary on Diatessaron*, 64.21 [ed. Leloir 1990]; LS2 565; SL 1183), also in JPA פָטְרָן (DJPA 429), as well as Coptic πατρών (DDGLC 1698; see also Förster 2002: 631)
  - g. Latin *securis* (OLD 1722; LD 1655-1656) > σεκούριον,

<sup>39</sup> Note, however, **مَغْفِرَةٌ**\* ‘indulgence’ in (6w) below.

<sup>40</sup> For discussion of these two Arabic words, see AFA 28; FVQ 83-84.

- σικούριον, τζικούριον (*LSJ* 1589; *GLBRP* 988, 1080) > **άξιας** ‘axe’ (4th cent. *Book of Steps*, 773.11 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; *LS2* 496; *SL* 1007; see also *GLLTMT* 391; rare), also in *JPA* סִקּוֹר (DJP*A* 376) and *LJLA* (TgPs*Jon* Deut 19:5; Jastrow 1886-1903: 986), as well as Arabic *sāqūr-* (*BK* 1352; Lane 1706; *AFA* 84-85) and Armenian սակուր (ND*AE* 629; see also Hübschmann 1897: 316)

h. Latin *statio* ‘lit. standing’ (*OLD* 1814; *LD* 1751) > στατίων, στατιών (*GLBRP* 1006; *PGL* 1251; *LSJ* 1634; *LLGE* 107) > **الصلوة** ‘hymns’ (4th cent. *Book of Steps*, 181.10; 185.7, 16, 18; 309.6; 312.17, 18; 748.27; 924.5; 932.2 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; *LS2* 32; *SL* 69; see also Schall 1960: 244; rare), calqued on στάσεις (*PGL* 1251; *LSJ* 1634)

Among these words, only حِدْبَنْ ‘coin; money; coin die’ (4c) is very common, though حِلْذَنْ ‘patron’ (4f) and حِلْمَنْ ‘palace’ (4e) each occur a number of times throughout later Syriac literature. Both حِدْبَنْ, حِدْبَنْ ‘coin; money; coin die’ (4c) and حِلْمَنْ ‘palace’ (4e) are also attested in other languages of the Roman Near East. The remainder of the words in (4) are very rare, and a couple of them are probably *hapax legomena*, e.g., حِلْذَنْ (corrupt) ‘amnesty’ (4b) and حِيَّنْ ‘orbit’ (4d). These two words are more likely to be Fremdwörter than Lehnwörter. This may also be the case with حِمَّتْ ‘of the caesars’ (4a), حِيَّنْ ‘axe’ (4g), and حِلْلَوْنْ ‘hymns’ (4h), which are only attested rarely in later Syriac literature. Out of all of these rare words, only حِيَّنْ ‘axe’ (4g) is attested in another language of the Roman Near East.

For most of the words in (4), a possible Greek intermediary is attested. This is not, however, the case for ~~Ἄστρος~~ ‘orbit’ (4d). Again, it should be noted that this word is rare in Syriac and may well be a Fremdwort rather than a Lehnwort. This word is, thus, similar to the words discussed in (1) for which a possible Greek intermediary is not (yet) attested.

The words in (4) fall into several well-defined semantic groups. The category of Roman officials or personnel is found with عَلَيْهِ ‘patron’ (4f). Related to this category are حَلَمْ ‘palace’ (4e) and حَسْبَنَ ‘of the caesars’ (4a). A tool is found in حَسْبَنَ

‘axe’ (4g), and ܣܸܻܲܰ, ܣܸܻܲܰ ‘coin; money; coin die’ (4c) falls into the category of coins, weights, and measures. A religious term is found in ܣܸܻܲܰ ‘hymns’ (4h). Finally, the two rare words ܸܻܲܰ (corrupt) ‘amnesty’ (4b) and ܸܻܲܰ ‘orbit’ (4d) do not fall into as clear of semantic categories as the other Latin words in Syriac.

### LATIN WORDS FIRST APPEARING IN FIFTH-CENTURY SYRIAC

The number of Latin words first appearing in fifth-century Syriac is larger than the number first appearing in the fourth century:<sup>41</sup>

- (5) a. Latin *birrus* (*LD* 239)<sup>42</sup> > βίρρος (*GLBRP* 309; *LSJ* 316) → accusative singular βίρρον > ܸܻܲܰ, ܸܻܲܰ ‘toga, cloak, patriarch’s chlamys’ (5th cent. *Life of Rabbula*, 184.26 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; 6th cent. Barhadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 115.10 [ed. Nau 1932]; Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 527.2 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 69; *SL* 143, 187),<sup>43</sup> also in MH בִּירּוֹס (Jastrow 166) and Coptic ܤܸܻܰ (DDGLC 389; see also Förster 2002: 137)
- b. Latin *cervical*, *cervicarium* (*OLD* 305; *LD* 322) > ܸܻܲܰ ܸܻܰ ‘clerical vestment’ (5th cent. *Life of Rabbula*, 184.27 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; *LS2* 566; *SL* 1188; see also Schall 1960: 214), also in Armenian Փիլոն (NDAE 728; Hübschmann 1897: 387) and MH פִּינָּס (Jastrow 1165; Krauss 449). The Latin is originally a loanword from the Greek. There are, however, a few Greek forms in the *Editict of Diocletian* (φαίνουλα, παίνουλα, and πένουλα) that seem to have been loaned back into Greek from Latin. See the discussions in Frisk 1954-1972: 981-982; Ernout, Meillet, and André 1985: 474; Beekes 2010: 2.1545; *TLL* X.1.68.

<sup>41</sup> Perhaps also φαινόλης (*LSJ* 1912; *GLBRP* 1132) > Latin *paenula* (*OLD* 1282; *LD* 1289) > φαίνουλα, παίνουλα, πένουλα, or the like > ܸܻܲܰ ‘clerical vestment’ (5th cent. *Life of Rabbula*, 184.27 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; *LS2* 566; *SL* 1188; see also Schall 1960: 214), also in Armenian Փիլոն (NDAE 728; Hübschmann 1897: 387) and MH פִּינָּס (Jastrow 1165; Krauss 449). The Latin is originally a loanword from the Greek. There are, however, a few Greek forms in the *Editict of Diocletian* (φαίνουλα, παίνουλα, and πένουλα) that seem to have been loaned back into Greek from Latin. See the discussions in Frisk 1954-1972: 981-982; Ernout, Meillet, and André 1985: 474; Beekes 2010: 2.1545; *TLL* X.1.68.

<sup>42</sup> It should be noted that this is a loanword in Latin, probably from Celtic (Adams 1977: 77).

<sup>43</sup> Fränkel (*AFA* 51) suggests a connection with Arabic *burnus*-hooded cloak’ (*BK* 118; Lane 196) via a dissimilation from \**burrus*- . For the unlikelihood of such a dissimilation, however, see Butts Forthcoming A.

- > **مَلِحْمَنْ** ‘pillow, cushion’ (**5th cent.** *Life of Rabbula*, 185.2 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; **6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 48.6 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; *LS2* 667; *SL* 1367-1368; see also *GLLTMT* 176; rare), also in **JBA** גָלוּפְקָרִיה (DJBA 285) and **LJLA** קָלוּפְקָרִיה (TgPsJon Deut 24:13; Jastrow 1886-1903: 247), as well as **MH** קָלוּבְקָרִין (Jastrow 247)
- c. Latin *comitatus* (OLD 360; LD 374) > **κομιτάτος** (*LSJ Suppl.* 181; *GLBRP* 677; *LLGE* 58) > **مَحْتَفَرْ** ‘retinue, suite’ (**5th cent.** Rabbula of Edessa, *Works*, 219.18 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 210-248, 362-381]; *LS2* 672; *SL* 1363; not common; see also Brock 1996: 255), also in **JPA** קָוְמִימַתּוֹן (DJP<sub>A</sub> 482, 844), as well as Coptic **κομιτάτον** (*DDGLC* 1172; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 17; Förster 2002: 432)
- d. Latin *dux* (OLD 582; LD 621) > **δούξ** (*GLBRP* 395; *LLGE* 41-42; *LSJ* 447; see also Mason 1974: 3, 6, 11, 39) > **מַחְזָה** ‘leader’ (**5th cent.** *Martyrdom of Shmona, Gurya, and Habbib*, 5.16 [**מַחְזָה**; ed. Burkitt 1913: 3\*-43\*]; **6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 39.23 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 175.20 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 153; *SL* 281),<sup>44</sup> also in **JPA** דָוָקָס, דָוָקָס (DJP<sub>A</sub> 140-141), **JBA** זָכָרָא (DJBA 317-318), and **LJLA** PL.CON (TgEsth1 5.11; Jastrow 1886-1903: 285), as well as Armenian լուրի (NDAE 149; see also Hübschmann 1897: 346; Brockelmann 1893: 36) and Coptic **ΔΟΥΞ** (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 578; see also Förster 2002: 210)
- e. Latin *exceptor* (OLD 634; LD 676) > Greek ἐξκέπτωρ, ἐξκήπτωρ (*GLBRP* 484; *LLGE* 44; *LSJ Suppl.* 121) > **مَالِعَمَّانِي**, **مَالِعَمَّانِي** ‘amanuensis, scribe’ (**5th cent.** *Martyrdom of Shmona, Gurya, and Habbib*, 14.20; 41.20 [ed. Burkitt 1913: 3\*-43\*]; *Acts of Sharbel*, 61.23 [ed. Cureton 1864: \*41-\*63]; *LS2* 19; *SL* 45; see also Schall 1960: 244; not common), also in **JPA** אִיסְכְּבָטָר (DJP<sub>A</sub> 52-53), as well as Armenian սկեպտոր (NDAE 643; see also

<sup>44</sup> See also **מַחְזָה** ‘military command’ (6q) below.

- Hübschmann 1897: 379; Brockelmann 1893: 37)
- f. Latin *fabulator* (OLD 665; LD 713) > **فَلَجْلَجْنَةٌ** ‘storyteller’ (**5th cent.** *Acts of Sharbel*, 52.18 [ed. Cureton 1864: \*41-\*63]; LS2 569; SL 1193; only here)
  - g. Latin *falsus* (OLD 673-674; LD 722) > φάλσον (GLBRP 1134; PGL 1470) > **فَلَفَلْ** ‘false’ (**5th cent.** Rabbula of Edessa, *Works*, 220.11 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; LS2 575; SL 1202; very rare; see also Brock 1996: 255)
  - h. Latin *famulus* (OLD 676; LD 725) > φάμουλος (GLBRP 1134) > **فَحْلَلْ** ‘servant’ (**5th cent.** Ishaq of Antioch, *Mēmre*, 1.286.3 [ed. Bickell 1873-1877]; LS2 577; SL 1204; only here), also in LJLA (TgSong 1:15; Jastrow 1185)
  - i. Latin *forma* (OLD 722-723; LD 768) > φόρμα, φόρμη (GLBRP 1149; LLGE 115; LSJ Suppl. 308) > **فَرْمَةٌ** ‘imperial edict’ (**5th cent.** Ishaq of Antioch, *Mēmre*, 1.440.1 [ed. Bedjan 1903]; LS2 598; SL 1170; rare), also in Coptic (DDGLC 5997)
  - j. Latin *galearius* (LD 800) > γαλ(λ)ιάριος (LSJ 337; LLGE 38) > **فَلَنْتَ** ‘galearius, military servant’ (**5th cent.** Ishaq of Antioch, *Mēmre*, 1.234.8 [ed. Bedjan 1903]; *Julian Romance*, 132.6; 158.21 [ed. Hoffmann 1880]; LS2 118; SL 237-238; see also GLLTMT 168; not common), also in JPA גּוֹלִיָּר (DJPA 123) and LJLA גּוֹלִיָּר (TgEsth2 6.12; Jastrow 221-222)
  - k. Latin *mansio* (OLD 1074; LD 1109) > **فَصَفَّدَةٌ** ‘journey of ten parasangs’ (**5th cent.** Balai, *Mēmre on Joseph*, 210.8 [ed. Bedjan 1891]; Narsai, *Mēmre*, 1.183.7 [ed. Mingana 1905]; Yohannan Ihidaya, *Letters*, 1.148 [ed. Strothmann 1972]; Ya‘qub of Serugh, *Mēmre*, 1.99.10; 1.504.9; 2.341.14; 4.140.21; 5.16.11 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; LS2 396; SL 790; see also Brock 1967: 424; 1996: 255; 1999-2000: 444 with n. 25)
  - l. Latin *orarium* (LD 1274) > ὡράριον (GLBRP 1186; LLGE 117; PGL 1557) > **فَرِيَار** ‘type of garment, stole’ (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Mēmre*, 1.350.19 [ed. Mingana 1905]; LS2 45; SL 23; see also Benveniste 1969; Brock 1999-2000: 444; Schall 1960: 244), also in Sogdian *vr̥r'* (Sims-

Williams 1988: 148; via Syriac; see also Brock 1975: 82; 1999-2000: 444 n. 24), Armenian որար, ուրար (*NDAE* 530; see also Hübschmann 1897: 369; Petit, Van Rompay, and Weitenberg 2011: 162-163 n. 519), and Coptic (*DDGLC* 5342)

- m. Latin *sacer*, PL *sacra* (*OLD* 1674; *LD* 1610-1611) > σάκρα (*GLBRP* 977; *PGL* 1221; *LSJ* 1581; see also *LLGE* 100) > **՚ԻՌԱ** ‘imperial letter, imperial archives’ (5th cent. *History of Shem'on bar Sabba'e*, 791.2; 811.14, 24; 814.1, 2, 3, 5; 815.17; 818.8, 11 [ed. Kmosko 1907]; *LS2* 495-496; *SL* 1041; see also Brock 1975: 104-106),<sup>45</sup> also in Armenian PL սակերպ (*NDAE* 629; see also Hübschmann 1897: 376; Brockelmann 1893: 26) and Coptic (*DDGLC* 6193)
- n. Latin *tabularius* (*OLD* 1899; *LD* 1832) > ταβουλάριος (*GLBRP* 1067; *LLGE* 110; *PGL* 1370) > **՚ՎԱՆՈՎ** ‘keeper of records’ (5th cent. *Teaching of Addai*, 1.13; 2.8, 16, 25; 3.11; 4.10, 21; 5.5; 31.19; 53.3 [ed. Howard 1981]; *LS2* 267; *SL* 509; very rare outside of this text)<sup>46</sup>
- o. Latin *uncia* (*OLD* 2090; *LD* 1929) > ούγκια (*GLBRP* 823; *LSJ* 1268; *LLGE* 79)<sup>47</sup> > **՚ՈՒԿՈՒ** ‘ounce’ (5th cent. *Life of Rabbula*, 182.10 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; 6th cent. Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 46.23 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; *LS2* 30; *SL* 18), also in JPA אַיְקָנָא (*DJPA* 40), CPA וָקֵיָּה (*DCPA* 106; Baillet 1963: 384), and JBA أَيْقَنَاء (*DJBA* 93), as well as Armenian ունկի (*NDAE* 576; see also Hübschmann 1897: 369; Brockelmann 1893: 25), Arabic ՚iqiyat- (*BK* 69; *AFA* 201), and Coptic (*DDGLC* 1591)
- p. Latin *velum* (*OLD* 2024; *LD* 1965-1966) > βῆλον,

<sup>45</sup> This word was not included in the first printing of *SL* but was added in the second printing.

<sup>46</sup> See also **՚ՎԱՆՈՎ** ‘keeper of records’ (1s) above.

<sup>47</sup> It should be noted that the ultimate etymological relationship between the various Greek and Latin forms is not entirely clear. Nevertheless, it is likely that Greek ούγκια in Late Antiquity is a loanword from Latin *uncia*. In general, see still Rosen 1964.

- οὐῆλον (*GLBRP* 307; *PGL* 295; *LSJ Suppl.* 68) > **↷א**, **↷בָא** ‘veil, curtain’ (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Mēmré*, 2.133.1 [ed. Mingana 1905]; *Acts of Sharbel*, 59.13 [ed. Cureton 1864: \*41-\*63]; **6th cent.** Ya‘qub of Serugh, *Memré*, 1.23.8; 1.48.4; 1.106.11; 4.13.6 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; *LS2* 185; *SL* 358; see also Brock 1999-2000: 444; *GLLTMT* 235-236), also in JPA **וְוִילָה** (*DJPA* 169), JBA **בְּלָא** (*DJBA* 220), and LJLA **וְוַיְלֵי** (*TgPsJon Ex* 27:9), as well as MH **וַיְלֵן** (Jastrow 373) and Coptic (*DDGLC* 4757)
- q. Latin *veredarius* (*OLD* 2035; *LD* 1973) > βερεδάριος, βερηδάριος, ούερεδάριος (*GLBRP* 306; *LLGE* 34, 79) > **↶אֲנָשָׁן צְלָמָן** ‘letter carrier’ (**5th cent.** *History of Shem'on bar Sabba'*, 806.4 [ed. Kmosko 1907]; *LS2* 75; *SL* 141; see also *GLLTMT* 155-15), also in JPA **בֶּלְדָר** (*DJPA* 104), as well as MH **בּוֹלְדָר** (Jastrow 171), Coptic (*DDGLC* 4751), and Arabic *barid-* (*BK* 108; Lane 185; see also Ullmann 1997)
- r. Latin *veteranus* (*LD* 1982) > ούετ(ε)ρανός, βετρανός (*GLBRP* 823; *LSJ* 1269; *LSJ Suppl.* 233) > PL **↷מְגַנְתָּאָר** ‘magnates’ (**5th cent.** *Letter from Cosmas to Simeon the Stylite*, 4.646.9 [ed. Bedjan 1890-1897: 4.644-648]; *LS2* 8; *SL* 14; see also *GLLTMT* 30-31; only here), also in Palmyrene *w̄rn* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 361; *DNWSI* 297; see also Brock 2005: 19-20), Targum Jonathan *׃tt̄r̄un* (*Is* 9:13), Hatran *wn̄rn'* (Contini and Pagano 2015: 129)

A few of these words are relatively common in later Syriac, such as **↷אָז** ‘leader’ (5d) and **↷חַמְשָׁה** ‘journey of ten parasangs’ (5k). Most of these words are, however, never too common. Some of them are in fact very rare, such as **↶אָפָל** ‘false’ (5g) and **↷חַמְלָאָה** ‘keeper of records’ (5n). In fact, several of the words in (5) seem to be *hapax legomena* in Syriac: **↶אָלָלָה** ‘storyteller’ (5f), **↷חַמְלָאָה** ‘servant’ (5h), and PL **↷מְגַנְתָּאָר** ‘magnates’ (5r). Thus, in comparison with the words in (1) and especially (2), relatively more of the words in (5) are likely to be closer to Fremdwörter than they are to Lehnwörter.

A number of the words in (5) are found in another dialect of Aramaic or another language from the Roman Near East. This

includes: **ܬܾܻܻ**, **ܬܾܻܻ** ‘toga, cloak, patriarch’s chlamys’ (5a), **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘pillow, cushion’ (5b), **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘retinue, suite’ (5c), **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘leader’ (5d), **ܻܻܻܰ**, **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘amanuensis, scribe’ (5e), **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘galearius, military servant’ (5j), **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘imperial letter, imperial archives’ (5m), **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘ounce’ (5o), **ܻܻܰ**, **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘veil, curtain’ (5p), **ܻܻܻܰ**, **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘letter carrier’ (5q), and PL **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘magnates’ (5r). The Latin words lying behind these Syriac words thus seem to have been spread across the Roman Near East. Compared with the words in (1) and especially (2), fewer of the words in (5) are attested in another dialect of Aramaic or another language from the Roman Near East. This indicates that Syriac is one of the languages of the Near East that was most affected by its Greco-Roman context.

The only words in (5) for which a likely Greek intermediary is not attested are **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘storyteller’ (5f) and **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘journey of ten parasangs’ (5k). As already noted, **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘storyteller’ (5f) appears to be a *hapax legomenon* in Syriac, and thus it may well be a Fremdwort. In contrast, **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘journey of ten parasangs’ (5k) is fairly common in Syriac, but no Greek intermediary seems to be attested.<sup>48</sup>

Several of the semantic groups attested with the words in (1), (2), and (4) are also found with the words in (5). The largest semantic group is Roman officials or personnel: **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘leader’ (5d), **ܻܻܻܰ**, **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘amanuensis, scribe’ (5e), **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘galearius, military servant’ (5j), **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘keeper of records’ (5n), **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘letter carrier’ (5q), and PL **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘magnates’ (5r). In addition, there are several terms related to this semantic group: **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘retinue, suite’ (5c), **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘imperial edict’ (5i), and **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘imperial letter, imperial archives’ (5m). All of these are clearly related to Roman administration. There are also two terms that fall into a semantic group of coins, weights, and measures: **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘journey of ten parasangs’ (5k) and **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘ounce’ (5o), as well as two terms related to clothing: **ܻܻܻܰ**, **ܻܻܻܰ** ‘toga, cloak, patriarch’s chlamys’ (5a) and **ܻܻܻܻܰ** ‘type of garment, stole’ (5l). A couple of words belong to a semantic group of household items:

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<sup>48</sup> Brock (1967: 424; 1996: 255) already noted that no Greek intermediary is attested for this word.

‘pillow, cushion’ (5b) and **كِلْمَة**, **كِلْمَة** ‘veil, curtain’ (5p). Interestingly, three of the very rare words do not fall into well-attested semantic groups: **حَالِمَة** ‘storyteller’ (5f), **عَاملَة** ‘servant’ (5h), and **فَاسِدَة** ‘false’ (5g). This is probably another indication that these are closer to Fremdwörter than Lehnwörter.

LATIN WORDS FIRST APPEARING IN SIXTH-CENTURY SYRIAC

The sixth century saw a large increase in the number of new Latin words in Syriac:

- (6) a. Latin *annona* (OLD 135-136; LD 125-126) > ἀννώνα, ἀννώνη (LSJ 145; LSJ Suppl. 35; GLBRP 172; LLGE 28-29; see also Mason 1974: 5, 6, 22) → accusative plural ἀννώνας > **መዓኔ** ‘yearly produce’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 339.9 [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 29; SL 60; see also GLLTMT 66; rare), also in CPA PL አንዱስ (DCPA 20; LSP 13) and JPA אַנְוֹנוֹ (DJPA 65), as well as Armenian անոն (Hübschmann 1897: 340) and Coptic ላኩዎንዳ (DDGLC 164; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 5; Förster 2002: 60)

b. Latin *balnearius* (OLD 224; LD 220) > **ብርሃን** ‘bath attendant’ (6th cent. Barhadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 92.12 [ed. Nau 1932]; LS2 78; SL 162; rare)<sup>49</sup>

c. Latin *campus* (OLD 263; LD 275) > κάμπος (GLBRP 625; LLGE 49; PGL 700) → accusative singular κάμπον > **ሙቀው** ‘plain’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 300.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 673; SL 1379; see also GLLTMT 510; rare), also in JPA מַמָּק (DJPA 496)

d. Latin *cancellarius* (LD 276) > **ካርጂዕለላሪዮስ** (LSJ 848; LSJ Suppl. 162; GLBRP 610; LLGE 48; PGL 681; see also Mason 1974: 4, 58) > **ሙኒስትራሪ** ‘notary’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 543.2; 545.6 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 679; SL 1386; only

<sup>49</sup> A possible Greek intermediary does not seem to be attested, but note βαλανεύτρια ‘bath-woman’ (*GLBRP* 172).

- here)
- e. Latin *cancellus* (OLD 264; LD 276) > κάγκελ(λ)ος (*LSJ* 848; *LSJ Suppl.* 162; *GLRP* 610; *LLGE* 48) > **مَنْدَل** ‘trellis, grating’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 266.23 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 679; *SL* 1386; see also *DGLLT* 192; *GLLTMT* 533-534; rare), also in JPA קָנְקָל (DJP*A* 498) and LJLA קָנְקָל (TgPsJon Ex 27:4), as well as MH קָנְקָל (Jastrow 1394), Armenian կանկեղ (Hübschmann 1897: 354), and Coptic (DDGLC 973; see also 4891 and 6049)
- f. Latin *capsa* (OLD 273; LD 288) > κάψα (*LSJ* 873 [s.v. κάμψα]; *GLRP* 656) > **مَهْفَع** ‘basket’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 415.4 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 685; *SL* 1395; rare), also in LJLA אַפְסָה ‘box’ (TgPsJon Deut 31:26; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1339), Mandaic *kbaṣiata* ‘cages, dovecotes’ (MD 202), and JBA קְפֵץָה ‘bird cage’ (DJBA 1033), as well as MH אַפְסָה (Jastrow 1403), Coptic καψά (DDGLC 1093; see also Förster 2002: 400), and Arabic *qafaṣ-* ‘bird cage’ (BK 789; Lane 2551; AFA 118-119)
- g. Latin *castrum*, PL *castra* (OLD 282; LD 299) > κάστρον (*GLRP* 632; *LLGE* 50-51; *PGL* 704-705; see also Mason 1974: 5, 59, 138) > **كَسْتَرْمَة**, **كَسْتَرْمَنْ** ‘fortified place’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 327.20 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 35.4, 6; 326.11 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 66.19 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; *LS2* 680; *SL* 1387; see also *GLLTMT* 557), also in CPA *qṣtrwn* (DCPA 379; LSP 182), JPA הַסְטָרָה (DJP*A* 498), and LJLA עַמְּדוֹתָהָן קָסְטָרָסָה ‘their fortresses’ (TgPsJon Gen 25.16), as well as MH אַרְטָסָה (Jastrow 1396) and Coptic καστρόν (with alternative orthographies) (DDGLC 1047; see also Förster 2002: 383)
- h. Latin *castrensis* (OLD 283; LD 298) > καστρήσιος, καστρένσιος (*GLRP* 632; *LLGE* 50; *LSJ Suppl.* 168; see also Mason 1974: 4, 59) > **كَاسْتِرِيَّة** ‘palace

steward' (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 546.2; 547.10, 13; 552.7 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 680; SL 1388; only here)

- i. Latin *centenarium* (OLD 298; LD 1969: 315) > κεντηνάριον (LSJ 939; GLBRP 659; PGL 744) > **centenarius** **مَنْظَرٌ** ‘hundredweight’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 43.7 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 212.11; 430.10, 13; 432.3; 548.12; 550.7 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 676; SL 1382; see also GLLTMT 532-533), also in JPA קִינְטָרִי, קִינְטָנִיר (DJP<sub>A</sub> 491) and JBA (DJBA 1014), as well as Armenian կենտինար (NDAE 342; Hübschmann 1897: 356), Coptic **KENTHNAPION** (with alternative orthographies) (DDGLC 1105; see also Förster 2002: 404), and Arabic *qintār-* (Lane 2559; AFA 203)
- j. Latin *chartularius* (LD 326)<sup>50</sup> > χαρτουλ(λ)άριος (LSJ 1980) > **خَاتِلَانْ** ‘archivist’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 48.28 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 543.2; 545.9 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 344; SL 650), also in Armenian քարտուղար (NDAE 748; see also Hübschmann 1897: 388) and Coptic (DDGLC 2358)
- k. Latin *comes* (OLD 359; LD 373-374) > κόμης, κόμες (GLBRP 677; LLGE 57-58; PGL 766-767; LSJ 975; see also Mason 1974: 3, 6, 11, 62) > **come**, **come**, **come** ‘governor’ (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 66.14; 68.13; 69.6, 8; 87.22; 90.21; 93.5 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 67.6 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 459.2 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 673; SL 1334; see also Nöldeke 1873: 500-501 n. 5; GLLTMT 509), also in Judean Aramaic *qwms* (DNWSI 1004), JPA קומיס (DJP<sub>A</sub> 482), and JBA קומא **קומיס** (DJBA 999), as well as MH קומיס (Jastrow 1333),

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<sup>50</sup> It should be noted that the stem of this Latin word is a Greek loanword, i.e., χάρτης (LSJ 1980) > Latin *charta*, *carta* (OLD 309; LD 325).

Armenian կոսէ (NDAE 354; see also Hübschmann 1897: 359; Brockelmann 1893: 14), Coptic **κομής** (with alternative orthographies) (DDGLC 1171; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 17; Förster 2002: 431-432), and Arabic *qūmas-* (*BK* 812)<sup>51</sup>

- l. Latin *cubicularius* (OLD 463; LD 486) > κουβικούλ(λ)άριος (GLBRP 685; PGL 779; LSJ Suppl. 184) > **ئەمەنەم، ئەمەنەمەن** ‘chamberlain’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 67.13, 27 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 25.3; 431.1, 7; 432.4; 433.10; 436.4; 437.2, 3; 439.2; 535.6; 546.2; 552.6 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 644; SL 1309; see also Brock 1996: 255), also in Coptic (*DDGLC* 4954)

m. Latin *curator* (OLD 474; LD 501) > κουράτωρ (GLBRP 686; LLGE 62; PGL 773; LSJ 986; see also Mason 1974: 5, 6, 63) > **იაჭიათ** ‘curator, an official responsible for financial matters’ (6th cent. Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 59.20 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 69.12 [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 695; SL 1344), also in Armenian կորատոր (Hübschmann 1897: 360) and Coptic **کوغراتور** (*DDGLC* 1196; see also Förster 2002: 438)

n. Latin *diarium* (OLD 536; LD 569) > διάριον (GLBRP

<sup>51</sup> Latin *comes* also occurs in Syriac spelled with a final *s*, i.e., سَمِّعَ, in texts that are post-Islamic (see, e.g., Nöldeke 1873: 496.9). The emphatic *s* could be explained as the result of assimilation of the feature [+emphatic] (for similar assimilations, see Butts 2016: §5.2.6). Alternatively, سَمِّعَ with empathetic *s* could be a loanword from Arabic *qummuṣ-* (so Nöldeke 1873: 500–501 n. 5). Regardless, these examples that have a secular meaning of governor should probably be distinguished from others that occur in a monastic sense (for citations of several examples with a monastic sense, see Van Rompay 2015: 558–559). The examples with a monastic sense, which are usually spelled with the empathetic *s* and only rarely with non-emphatic *s*, almost certainly derive from (Christian) Arabic *qummuṣ-*, which is traditionally connected with Greek ήγούμενος and not Latin *comes* (see Graf 1954: 93).

- 369; *LLGE* 40; *LSJ* 409) > PL **κῆπος** ‘stipend, pay’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 11.24 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 152; *SL* 300; not common)
- o. Latin *domesticus* (OLD 570; *LD* 607-608) > δομεστικός, δομέστικος (*GLBRP* 392; *LLGE* 41; *PGL* 380; *LSJ Suppl.* 97) > **καθησσάριος, καθησσάριον** ‘*domesticus*, a Byzantine imperial guard soldier’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 9:19 [**καθησσάριον**] [ed. Brooks 1935]; Pseudo-Zacharias, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2.60.4 [**καθησσάριον**], 6 [**καθησσάριον**] [ed. Brooks 1919-1924]; *LS2* 158; *SL* 283), also in Coptic **ΔΩΜΕΣΤΙΚΟΣ** (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 4817; see also Förster 2002: 208)
  - p. Latin *donativum* (OLD 572; *LD* 610) > **καλήσκον** ‘largess, gift’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 137.4 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 160; *SL* 284; very rare)
  - q. Latin *ducatus* (OLD 576; *LD* 615) > δουκάτον, δουκάτον (*GLBRP* 394; *PGL* 384) > **στρατός** ‘military command’ (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 87.2 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; *LS2* 163; *SL* 287; only here)<sup>52</sup>
  - r. Latin *excubitor* (OLD 637; *LD* 680) > ἔξκουβίτωρ (*LSJ Suppl.* 121; *GLBRP* 484; *LLGE* 44-45) > PL **στρατόπεδες** (*sic*; without *syāmē*), **στρατόπεδα**, **στρατόπεδο** (*sic*; with two *syāmē*), **στρατόπεδα** ‘Excubitors, Byzantine palace guards’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 15.28; 30.10; 168.10 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 28.13 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 493; *SL* 78, 1037; see also Schall 1960: 244; only with this author), also in Coptic (*DDGLC* 5404)
  - s. Latin *exercitus* (OLD 641) > ἔξέρκετον (*GLBRP* 482; *LLGE* 44; *PGL* 495; *LSJ Suppl.* 121) > **στρατός**

<sup>52</sup> See also **στράτης** ‘leader’ (5d) above.

- t. ‘army’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 279.13 [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 19; SL 45; rare), also in Coptic (*DDGLC* 6219) Latin *follis* (OLD 719-720; LD 765) > φόλλις (*LSJ* 1949; *GLBRP* 1149; *LLGE* 115) > **ፋልላ** ‘follis, obole’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 526.8, 9, 10 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 575; SL 1202; see also *GLLTMT* 426), also in JBA אֲסָל פּוֹלִיל (DJBA 889), as well as Armenian փող (NDAE 731; Hübschmann 1897: 387), Coptic φολλίς (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 2318; see also Förster 2002: 853-854), Arabic *fals-*, *fils-* ‘small copper coin’ (BK 630; Lane 2440; AFA 192), and Classical Ethiopic *falus* (*CDG* 160; see also Weninger 2000: 145)

u. Latin *fossa* ‘camp, army’ (OLD 728; LD 774) > φόσσα (*GLBRP* 1150) > **ፋስ**, **ፋርስ** ‘army’ (**6th cent.** Ya‘qub of Serugh, *Mēmṛē*, 5.202.14; 5.229.15; 5.297.2 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; LS2 580; SL 1208; see also *GLLTMT* 432), also in MH אַסְוֵה ‘ditch’ (Jastrow 1144), Armenian փող ‘ditch, pit’ (NDAE 733; see also Hübschmann 1897: 337, 387; Brockelmann 1893: 13), and Coptic φωσσά (*DDGLC* 5540; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 28)

v. Latin (*vir*) *illustris* (OLD 830) > ἱλλούστριος (*GLBRP* 597; *PGL* 673; *LSJ Suppl.* 158) → nominative plural ἱλλούστριοι > **አዲስታሪ** ‘bearers of title *vir illustris*’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 165.15 [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 22; SL 50; only here), also in Coptic ዘለዕጽጥሬ (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 951; see also Förster 2002: 346)

w. Latin *indulgentia* (OLD 888; LD 938) > ἵνδουλγεντία (*GLBRP* 601; *PGL* 674) > **ኩሳንሳሁስ\*** ‘indulgence’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 165.3 [ms. **ኩሳንሳሁስ**] [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2

- 28; *SL* 59; only here)<sup>53</sup>
- x. Latin *lectica* (OLD 1012; *LD* 1045) > λεκτίκιον (*GLBRP* 709; *LLGE* 66; *LSJ* 1037) > ~~لُكْتِقْيَة~~ ‘small litter’ (**6th cent.** *Life of Aba I*, 270.9; 271.13 [ed. Bedjan 1895: 206-287]; Qiyore of Edessa, *Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts*, 111.19 [ed. Macomber 1974]; *LS2* 370; *SL* 697; see also Brock 1975: 106-108; *GLLTMT* 319), also in MH ~~غَرْثَلَ~~ (Jastrow 718), Armenian լիտիպ (*NDAE* 260; see also Hübschmann 1897: 353), and Coptic (*DDGLC* 4992)
  - y. Latin *lecticarius* (OLD 1012; *LD* 1045-1046) > λεκτικάριος (*GLBRP* 709; *LLGE* 66; *LSJ Suppl.* 194) > ~~نَصِيفْلُمْ~~ ‘priest who carries funeral biers’ (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 88.24 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; *LS2* 370; *SL* 697; see also Schall 1960: 196)
  - z. Latin *legatum* (OLD 1013; *LD* 1047) > ληγάτον, ληγάτον, λήγατον (*GLBRP* 712; *LLGE* 66; *PGL* 799; *LSJ Suppl.* 196; see also Mason 1974: 65-66) > ~~لَهَّلَكْ~~ ‘bequest’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 258.8 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 358; *SL* 688; see also *DGLLT* 104-105), also in MH ~~غَنَّاجَلَ~~ (Jastrow 692) and Armenian լիղաս (Hübschmann 1897: 352)
  - aa. Latin *libellus* (OLD 1022-1023; *LD* 1056) > λίβελλος (*GLBRP* 714; *LLGE* 66-67; *LSJ* 1047; see also Mason 1974: 6, 66) → accusative singular λίβελλον > ~~لَهَّلَكْ~~ ‘deposition, written accusation; letters of resignation of office’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 41.29 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 356; *SL* 687-688; see also Schall 1960: 193-194), also in Coptic (*DDGLC* 5002)
  - bb. Latin *magister* (OLD 1062; *LD* 1097) > μάγιστρος (*GLBRP* 726; *LLGE* 69; *PGL* 819; *LSJ Suppl.* 201; see also Mason 1974: 67) > ~~مَاجِيْسْتَرْ~~ ‘magister’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 315.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*,

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<sup>53</sup> Note, however, ~~عَمَلَكْلَة~~ (corrupt) ‘amnesty’ in (4b) above.

28.13 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 374; SL 708), also in Armenian մագիստրու (NDAE 446; see also Hübschmann 1897: 362; Brockelmann 1893: 23) and Coptic **μακειστωρ** (with alternative orthographies) (DDGLC 5026; see also Förster 2002: 490)

- cc. Latin *magistrianus* (LD 1098) > μαγιστριανός (GLBRP 726; LLGE 69; PGL 819) > **መንድር** ‘magistrianus’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 207.3 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 375; SL 708), also in Coptic (DDGLC 5766)
- dd. Latin *mandatum* (OLD 1071; LD 1106) > μανδᾶτον (GLBRP 731; LLGE 70; PGL 825) > **ማንዴ** ‘command’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 162.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 395; SL 780)
- ee. Latin *mantle, mantile* (OLD 1075; LD 1110) > μαντήλιον, μαντίλιον, μανδήλη (LSJ 1078; GLBRP 732) > **ማንዴ** ‘towel, handkerchief, shroud’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 540.6 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 395; SL 780), also in Arabic *mandil-, mindil-* (BK 1228; AFA 84),<sup>54</sup> Coptic **ΜΑΝΤΕΛΕ** (with alternative orthographies) (DDGLC 5793; see also Förster 2002: 499), and Classical Ethiopic *mandil* (CDG 348-349; see also Weninger 2000: 143),
- ff. Latin *metatum* (LD 1140 [s.v. *meto*]) > μήτατον, μητᾶτον (GLBRP 758; LLGE 72) > **ማተ** ‘house, dwelling’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 329.3 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 382; SL 752; only here)
- gg. Latin *notarius* (OLD 1192; LD 1217) > νοτάριος (GLBRP 786; LLGE 74-75; PGL 922-923; see also Mason 1974: 69-70) > **ናጥሪ**, **ናጥሪ** ‘notarius, a Byzantine official’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 94.5 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 187.2; 188.6, 10; 213.7 [ed.

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<sup>54</sup> For the vowel assimilation \**a* > *i* / \_CC*i* in *mindil*, see fn. 23 above.

- Brooks 1923-1925]; Eliya, *Life of Yuhanon of Tella*, 85.15; 87.24 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; *LS2* 427; *SL* 898, 911), also in Armenian նօսար (NDAE 540; see also Hübschmann 1897: 368) and Coptic ΝΟΤΑΡΗΣ (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 1486)
- hh. Latin *optio* (OLD 1260; *LD* 1273) > ὀπτίων (*GLBRP* 814; *LLGE* 78; *LSJ* 1242; see also Mason 1974: 5, 71) > ~~رَجُلُوكَ~~ ‘army paymaster who distributes rations to soldiers’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 133.1 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 40; *SL* 84; only here), also in Coptic οπτιών (*DDGLC* 1565; see also Förster 2002: 585)
- ii. Latin *ostiarius* (OLD 1276; *LD* 1284) > ὁστιάριος (*GLBRP* 820; *LLGE* 79) > ~~رَجُلُوكَ~~ ‘porter’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 464.10, 11 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 30.10 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 33; *SL* 69; see also Schall 1960: 244; only here)
- jj. Latin *paganus* (OLD 1282; *LD* 1290) > παγάνος (*GLBRP* 829; *LLGE* 83; *PGL* 1990; *LSJ* 1284) > ~~رَجُلُوكَ، رَجُلُوكَ~~ ‘commoner, peasant’ (6th cent. Philoxenos, *Discourses*, 1.192.14 [ed. Budge 1894]; Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 133.3 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 556; *SL* 1154; see also *GLLTMT* 421), also in JPA פָגָן (*DJPA* 424), as well as MH פָגָן (Jastrow 1134) and Coptic πακανος (*DDGLC* 1606; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 21; Förster 2002: 599)
- kk. Latin *papilio* (*LD* 1299) > παπιλιών, παπιλεών (*GLBRP* 839) > ~~رَجُلُوكَ~~ ‘pavilion’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 298.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 586; *SL* 1217; see also *GLLTMT* 474-475; rare), also in MH פְפִילֵיָן (Jastrow 1204) and Coptic (*DDGLC* 5218; 6117)
- ll. Latin *paraganda* (*LD* 1301)<sup>55</sup> > παραγαύδιον

<sup>55</sup> The Latin word is ultimately from Old Iranian \**parayauda-* (Ciancaglini 2008: 236-237 with additional references).

- (*GLBRP* 840; *LLGE* 86) > **¶גָּדְעָה** ‘bordered garment’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 69.4 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 592; *SL* 1226; see also *GLLTMT* 477; Ciancaglini 2008: 236-237; basically only here), also in *JPA* (*DJPA* 443), Mandaic *br guda* (*MD* 69; see also *AFA* 51), and *LJLA* פַּרְגָּוֹד (TgPsJon Ex 26:31; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1214), as well as MH פַּרְגָּוֹד (Jastrow 1214) and Coptic (*DDGLC* 5221)<sup>56</sup>
- mm. Latin *patricius* (*OLD* 1310; *LD* 1315) > πατρίκιος (*PGL* 1052; *GLBRP* 865) > ﺞَنْسَنْ ﻫَ ‘patrician’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 42.10 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 157.12; 189.7; 191.10 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 565-566; *SL* 1184), also in CPA *þtryqyns* (*DCPA* 327), as well as Armenian պատրիկ (NDAE 605; see also Hübschmann 1897: 371; Brockelmann 1893: 14), Coptic πατρίκιος (*DDGLC* 1696; see also Förster 2002: 630), Classical Ethiopic *baṭriq* (with alternative orthographies) (*CDG* 114; see also Weninger 2000: 142), and Arabic *baṭriq* (*BK* 136; Lane 217-218)
- nn. Latin *porta* (*OLD* 1407; *LD* 1400-1401) > πόρτα (*GLBRP* 911; *LLGE* 91) > ¶בִּיאָ ‘gate’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 566.9 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 595; *SL* 1170; rare), also in Coptic (*DDGLC* 5305)
- oo. Latin *posca*, *pusca* (*OLD* 1409; *LD* 1969: 1402) > φοῦσκα (*LSJ* 1952; *GLBRP* 1151)<sup>57</sup> > ¶כְּוָסָא ‘vinegar and water mixed’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 530.7 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 46.25 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; *LS2* 585; *SL* 1167), also in Coptic φογκά

<sup>56</sup> For a potential Arabic reflex, see *AFA* 45-46.

<sup>57</sup> Brooks (1925: 530 n. 3) notes the Latin *posca* but was unable to identify a potential Greek intermediary. Brockelmann (*LS2* 584), followed by Sokoloff (*SL* 1167), gives the Greek intermediary as πόσκα, which is not, however, found in the Greek lexica.

- (*DDGLC* 2324; see also Förster 2002: 857)
- pp. Latin *praepositus* (*LD* 1426) > πραιπόσιτος (*GLRP* 914; *PGL* 1126) > **መልዕክቃ** ‘*praepositus*, chamberlain in the court of the Byzantine empire’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 67.28 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 546.8; 548.2 [ms. **መልዕክቃ**; ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 604; *SL* 1248-1249), also in Coptic πρεποσίτος (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 1811 as well as 5303; see also Förster 2002: 668), compare also the abstract Armenian պրոպոսիտութիւն ‘rank of *praepositus*’ (Hübschmann 1897: 375)
- qq. Latin *praetor* (*OLD* 1448; *LD* 1436) > πραίτωρ (*GLRP* 915; *LLGE* 92; *PGL* 1126; see also Mason 1974: 3, 6, 7, 78) > **መልክ** ‘*praetor*’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 161.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 596; *SL* 1237; only here)
- rr. Latin (*comes rerum*) *privatarum* (*OLD* 1461; *LD* 1447) > (κώμης τῶν) πριβᾶτων (*GLRP* 917; *PGL* 1131; see also Mason 1974: 79) > **መልክ** ‘private treasury of emperor’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 72.27 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 591; *SL* 1238; basically only here), see also JPA **פְּרִיבָט** ‘private bath’ (*DJPA* 446)
- ss. Latin *protector* (*OLD* 1503; *LD* 1477-1478) > προτέκτωρ, πρωτήκτωρ (*GLRP* 957; *LLGE* 96; *PGL* 118; see also Mason 1974: 4, 11, 82) > **መልክ** ‘*protector*, a military officer at the Byzantine court’ (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 467.2 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 596; *SL* 1231; see also Schall 1960: 218; not common); see also Coptic (*DDGLC* 6294)
- tt. Latin *quaestor* (*OLD* 1534-1535; *LD* 1502-1503) > κυαίστωρ, κυαισίτωρ (*GLRP* 694; *LLGE* 63; *PGL*

- 784; see also Mason 1974: 3, 6, 63) > **quaestor**, Byzantine head of judiciary' (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 24.29<sup>58</sup> [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 655; SL 1322; see also DGLLT 184; not common), also in MH קייטור (Jastrow 1327) and Coptic (*DDGLC* 5790)

uu. Latin *sacellus* (LD 1610) > σάκκελλα (GLBRP 976; LLGE 100) → σακέλλιον (PGL 1221) > **ムヘル** 'public treasury' (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 136.24 [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 494; SL 1040; only here), compare also Coptic (*DDGLC* 1924)

vv. Latin *scala* (OLD 1698; LD 1638) > σκάλη, σκάλα, σκᾶλα (GLBRP 991; LLGE 104; LSJ 1603) > **ムヘル** 'ladder' (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 29.4 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 494; SL 1039; very rare), also in Coptic σκαλα (DDGLC 1975; see also Förster 2002: 733)

ww. Latin *scrinium* (OLD 1710-1711; LD 1648) > σκρίνιον (GLBRP 998; LLGE 105; PGL 1242) > **ムヘルニス** 'box, chest of documents' (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 162.1 [ed. Brooks 1935]; LS2 37; SL 79; only here)

xx. Latin *sella* (OLD 1728; LD 1663) > σέλλα (GLBRP 983; LSJ 1590) → σελλίον (GLBRP 983; LSJ 1590) > PL **ムヘルニス** 'small chair; latrine, toilet' (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 74.11 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 392.5 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; LS2 71, 476; SL 149; 1001; see also GLLTMT 383), also in JPA סילון (DJPA 374-375), as well as Armenian սելին (NDAE 636; see also Hübschmann 1897: 378); compare also Coptic (*DDGLC* 1946)

yy. Latin *stabularius* (OLD 1812-1813; LD 1749) > **ムヘルニス** 'stable-master' (**6th cent.** Yuhanon of

<sup>58</sup> Brockelmann (*LS2* 679), along with Sokoloff (*SL* 1322), also lists 114.22, but the edition does not contain the word.

- zz. Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 519.10, 13; 520.3, 13 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 32; *SL* 67-68; not common) Latin *stabulum* (OLD 1813; LD 1749-1750) > στάβλον (*GLBRP* 1005; *LLGE* 107; *LSJ* 1631) > **stable** (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 519.2, 5 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 32; *SL* 67; see also Schall 1960: 244), also in *LJLA* אַסְטָבָלוֹן (*TgChron2* 32.28), as well as MH אַסְטָבָלָא, אַסְטָבָלָה (Jastrow 89), Arabic *ṣṭabl-*, *ṣṭabl* (*BK* 32; Lane 64; *AFA* 123-124), and Coptic **στάβλον** (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 2022, 5910; see also Förster 2002: 746)

aaa. Latin *tractatus* (OLD 1955; LD 1882-1883) > τρακτάτον (*GLBRP* 1087; *PGL* 1398) > **negotiation** (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 73.2; 319.8 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 292; *SL* 557)

bbb. Latin *tremis* (LD 1895) > τριμήσιον (*GLBRP* 1092; *LLGE* 113; *LSJ* 1820) > **tremissus (coin)** (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 525.11; 526.2, 3, 9 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *LS2* 289; *SL* 552; see also *GLLTMT* 273; not common), also in *JPA* טריימיסין (*DJPA* 231), as well as Armenian տրմէս (NDAE 710; see also Hübschmann 1897: 385) and Coptic **τερμεσε** (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 2217; see also Förster 2002: 819-822)

ccc. Latin *tribunus* (OLD 1972; LD 1897) > τριβοῦνος (*GLBRP* 1090; *LLGE* 112; *PGL* 1407; see also Mason 1974: 6, 7, 94) > **tribune, military commander** (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 309.22 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 459.1; 668.9 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; but already in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, 184.17 [ed. Wright and McLean 1898]; *LS2* 287; *SL* 552), also in Armenian տրիբուն (NDAE 710; see also Hübschmann 1897: 385;

- Brockelmann 1893: 37), Coptic τέρβογνος (with alternative orthographies) (*DDGLC* 2215; see also Behlmer 1997-1998: 27; Förster 2002: 819), and Classical Ethiopic *trebunas* (with alternative orthographies) (*CDG* 597; see also Weninger 2000: 142)
- ddd. Latin *velarium* (*OLD* 2022; *LD* 1964) > βηλάριος (*GLBRP* 307) > ܣܵܲܶܰ ‘curtains’ (6th cent. Ya‘qub of Serugh, *Mēmré*, 1.28.3 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; *LS2* 185; *SL* 357; only here), also in Armenian վեղար ‘hood, cowl’ (*NDAE* 674; see also Hübschmann 1897: 337, 383; Brockelmann 1893: 37)
- eee. Latin *vestiarium* (*OLD* 2048; *LD* 1981) > βεστιάριον (*GLBRP* 306) > ܣܵܲܶܰ ‘wardrobe’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 269.6 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 80; *SL* 163; only here), also in Coptic ປິຕິຢັບ (DDGLC 379; see also Förster 2002: 133)
- fff. Latin *vestarius* (*OLD* 2048; *LD* 1981) > βεστιάριος (*GLBRP* 306; *LLGE* 34; see also Mason 1974: 12) > ܣܵܲܶܰ ‘person in charge of wardrobe’ (6th cent. Yuhanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 94.17 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *LS2* 80; *SL* 163; only here)

The sixth century attests the largest increase in the number of new Latin words in Syriac. This increase is, however, largely due to a few authors and texts, especially Yuhanon of Ephesus (d. 581), who is known to have resided for a number of years in Constantinople, which was Greek speaking, but whose imperial court was officially Latinate.<sup>59</sup> In fact, the following words in (6) are only found in the works of Yuhanon of Ephesus or texts derived from them: ܣܵܲܶܰ ‘notary’ (6d), ܣܵܲܶܰ ‘palace steward’ (6h), PL ܵܲܶܰ (with alternative orthographies) ‘Excubitors, Byzantine palace guards’ (6r), ܵܲܶܰ ‘bearers of title *vir illustris*’ (6v), ܣܵܲܶܰ\* ‘indulgence’ (6w), ܵܲܶܰ ‘house, dwelling’ (6ff), ܵܲܶܰ ‘army paymaster who distributes

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<sup>59</sup> For Yuhanon of Ephesus, see Harvey 1990.

rations to soldiers' (6hh), **porter** (6ii), **bordered garment** (6ll), **praetor** (6qq), **private treasury of emperor** (6rr), **public treasury** (6uu), **box, chest of documents** (6ww), **wardrobe** (6eee), and **person in charge of wardrobe** (6fff). A number of additional Latin words are found primarily, though not exclusively, in Yuhanon of Ephesus. The Latin loanwords in Yuhanon's writings may be due to the particular sociolect of Syriac that was in use in Constantinople by Yuhanon and his audience, which was more influenced by the imperial language of Latin as well as by Byzantine Greek.<sup>60</sup>

Several of the words in (6) are not uncommon in Syriac, such as **fortified place** (6g), **governor** (with alternative orthographies) (6k), **curator, an official responsible for financial matters** (6m), and **tribune, military commander** (6ccc). The vast majority are, however, rare. Many of these rare words may be closer to the Fremdwort side of the Fremdwort-Lehnwort continuum. This is especially the case for words limited to the sociolect of Syriac used in Constantinople by Yuhanon of Ephesus and others.

The words in (6) continue the trend, seen with the previous list in (5), that the Latin source words are not as widely attested in other languages of the Roman Near East. In fact, in well over half of the words in (6), the Latin word is attested in Syriac but not in any other dialect of Aramaic as well as not in another language of the Roman Near East, such as Mishnaic Hebrew, Armenian, or Coptic. This is indicative of the fact that Syriac underwent a more intense period of contact with the Greco-Roman world at this period than many of the other languages of the Near East did.

In a vast majority of cases, a possible Greek intermediary is attested for the Latin words in (6). A Greek intermediary is not, however, attested for the following words: **bath attendant** (6b), **largess, gift** (6p), and **stable-master** (6yy). None of these words is very common.

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<sup>60</sup> The *Ecclesiastical History* of Pseudo-Zacharias (6th cent.) is similar in this regard (ed. Brooks 1919-1924).

The semantic groups attested in (6) are similar to those found in the earlier periods, though they are much more connected to Byzantine culture. By far the largest semantic group revolves around Byzantine officials and personnel: سَنْتَنْ ‘bath attendant’ (6b), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘notary’ (6d), مَهْلَكَنْ مَهْلَكَنْ ‘palace steward’ (6h), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘archivist’ (6j), مَهْلَكَنْ (with alternative orthographies) ‘governor’ (6k), مَهْلَكَنْ مَهْلَكَنْ ‘chamberlain’ (6l), iābiān ‘curator, an official responsible for financial matters’ (6m), مَهْلَكَنْ، مَهْلَكَنْ ‘domesticus, a Byzantine imperial guard soldier’ (6o), PL مَهْلَكَنْ (with alternative orthographies) ‘Excubitors, Byzantine palace guards’ (6r), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘bearers of title *vir illustris*’ (6v), لَمْلِيُّونْ ‘priest who carries funeral biers’ (6y), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘magister’ (6bb), مَهْلَكَنْ مَهْلَكَنْ ‘magistrianus’ (6cc), مَهْلَكَنْ، مَهْلَكَنْ ‘notarius, a Byzantine official’ (6gg), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘army paymaster who distributes rations to soldiers’ (6hh), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘porter’ (6ii), مَهْلَكَنْ مَهْلَكَنْ ‘commoner, peasant’ (6jj), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘praepositus, chamberlain in the court of the Byzantine empire’ (6pp), iābiān ‘praetor’ (6qq), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘protector, a military officer at the Byzantine court’ (6ss), iābiān ‘quaestor, Byzantine head of judiciary’ (6tt), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘stable-master’ (6yy), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘tribune, military commander’ (6ccc), and مَهْلَكَنْ ‘person in charge of wardrobe’ (6fff). In addition to these personnel terms, there are several other words that are directly related to Byzantine administration: مَهْلَكَنْ ‘largess, gift’ (6p), مَهْلَكَنْ مَهْلَكَنْ\* ‘indulgence’ (6w), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘bequest’ (6z), لَعْنَةَ ‘deposition, written accusation; letters of resignation of office’ (6aa), and مَهْلَكَنْ مَهْلَكَنْ ‘negotiation’ (6aaa). Several words fall into a semantic group associated with the military: مَهْلَكَنْ ‘military command’ (6q), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘army’ (6s), مَهْلَكَنْ، مَهْلَكَنْ ‘army’ (6u), and مَهْلَكَنْ ‘command’ (6dd). As in the earlier periods, there is a semantic group of tools and utensils: مَهْلَكَنْ ‘ladder’ (6vv), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘basket’ (6f), and مَهْلَكَنْ ‘box, chest of documents’ (6ww), as well as one of coins, weights, and measures: مَهْلَكَنْ (with alternative orthographies) ‘hundredweight’ (6i), مَهْلَكَنْ ‘tremissus (coin)’ (6bbb), and مَهْلَكَنْ ‘follis, obole’ (6t). There are also several items related to commerce more broadly: مَهْلَكَنْ ‘yearly produce’ (6a) and مَهْلَكَنْ ‘stipend, pay’ (6n). Two words also relate to the treasury: مَهْلَكَنْ ‘private treasury of emperor’ (6rr) and

**هَفْلِي** ‘public treasury’ (6uu). A semantic group concerning architecture and the house is more common than the earlier periods: **هَفْلِك** ‘trellis, grating’ (6e), **هَفْلِي** ‘house, dwelling’ (6ff), **هَفْلِيَّت** ‘pavilion’ (6kk), **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘gate’ (6nn), **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘stable’ (6zz), **هَفْلِيَّة** **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘small chair; latrine, toilet’ (6xx), **هَفْلِيَّة**, **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘fortified place’ (6g), and **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘curtains’ (6ddd). As in the previous periods, there are also several terms related to clothing: **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘towel, handkerchief, shroud’ (6ee), **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘bordered garment’ (6ll), and **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘wardrobe’ (6eee), as well as one term related to transportation: **هَفْلِيَّة** **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘small litter’ (6x). Finally, there is one item related to the physical world: **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘plain’ (6c), and one item related to food and drink: **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘vinegar and water mixed’ (6oo).

#### LATIN WORDS FIRST APPEARING IN SEVENTH-CENTURY SYRIAC

A much smaller number of Latin words first appear in seventh-century Syriac:

- (7) a. Latin *calendae*, *kalendae* (OLD 989; LD 1022) > **καλάνδαι** (*LSJ* 866; *GLRP* 621) > **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘the first day of the month, esp. of January’ (7th cent. Ya‘qub of Edessa, *Canons*, 29.11 [ed. Kayser 1886]; *LS2* 669; *SL* 1307; see also *GLLTMT* 546), also in *JBA* קָלְנָדָא (DJBA 1021) and *CPA* *qlnd* (*DCPA* 375; *LSP* 180), as well as Armenian PL կաղանդր (NDAE 320; see also Hübschmann 1897: 354; Brockelmann 1893: 22) and Classical Ethiopic *qalendes* (with alternative orthographies) (*CDG* 429; see also Weninger 2000: 144)
- b. Latin *pagus* (OLD 1283; LD 1290) > **πᾶγος** (*GLRP* 829; *LLGE* 84) > **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘village’ (7th cent. Isho‘yahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 164.18 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; *LS2* 556; *SL* 1154; rare)
- c. Latin *tabula* (OLD 1898-1899; LD 1832) > **τάβλα**, **τάβλη** (*GLRP* 1067; *LLGE* 109; *LSJ* 1752) > **هَفْلِيَّة** ‘plank, table, altar; gaming board’ (7th cent. Ya‘qub of Edessa, *Letter 18*, 60.13; 62.2 [ed. Rignell 1979]), but already in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*,

297.17 ['gaming board'] [ed. Wright and McLean 1898]; *LS2* 266; *SL* 510; see also *GLLTMT* 254–255), also in JPA טבלָה (*DJPA* 220), as well as MH טבלָא (Jastrow 518), Armenian տապեղ ‘table game’ (*NDAE* 691; see also Hübschmann 1897: 383; Brockelmann 1893: 27), and Coptic ταβλѧ (*DDGLC* 2143; see also Förster 2002: 791)

The seventh century sees a sharp decline in the introduction of new Latin words in Syriac via Greek. The contrast is especially stark compared with the sixth century, which represents the peak of the introduction of Latin words in Syriac. This probably reflects a decline in the contact between Greek and Syriac between the sixth and seventh centuries. There is a possible Greek intermediary attested for all three of the words introduced in this period. The semantic groups attested differ somewhat from the earlier periods. One term is related to the previously seen semantic group related to the house, e.g., τάβλѧ ‘plank, table, altar; gaming board’ (7c), but another word falls into the category of social political relations, e.g., τάπλα ‘village’ (7b), and yet another is related to the calendar, e.g., τηράντη ‘the first day of the month, esp. of January’ (7a).

## CONCLUSION

More than one hundred Latin words are found in Syriac texts, not translated from Greek, written up to the beginning of the eighth century. This fact has been obscured in the standard Syriac lexica. In his *Lexicon Syriacum*, Brockelmann does not provide a Latin etymology for more than a dozen of these.<sup>61</sup> This is striking given

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<sup>61</sup> These are as follows: τάρδη ‘ounce’ (5o), ταύτημα, ταύτημα ‘executioner’ (2n), ταύτημα ‘box, chest of documents’ (6ww), ταύτημα ‘army paymaster who distributes rations to soldiers’ (6hh), ταύτημα, ταύτημα ‘letter carrier’ (5q), ταύτημα, ταύτημα ‘toga, cloak, patriarch’s chlamys’ (5a), ταύτημα ‘stipend, pay’ (6n), ταύτημα ‘keeper of records’ (5n), ταύτημα ‘iron spoon or pan’ (1t), ταύτημα ‘magistrianus’ (6cc), ταύτημα ‘public treasury’ (6uu), ταύτημα ‘imperial letter, imperial archives’ (5m), ταύτημα ‘bordered garment’ (6ll), ταύτημα ‘whip’ (2f), ταύτημα ‘pillow, cushion’ (5b), ταύτημα ‘pot’ (1a), ταύτημα ‘grated cover’ (1h).

that Brockelmann wrote his *Lexicon* in Latin. Sokoloff's English translation of Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* is even worse in this regard, with more than twenty-five additional words lacking an indication of their Latin origin.<sup>62</sup> Even a specialized work such as Schall's *Studien über griechische Fremdwörter im Syrischen* neglects to mention the Latin origin of several words in Syriac.<sup>63</sup> This study has aimed to help rectify this situation by collecting all of the Latin words that occur in Syriac texts not translated from Greek up to and including Ya'qub of Edessa (d. 708).

The Latin words in Syriac fall into a number of well-defined semantic groups. The following lists organize the Latin words by semantic groups.

With the exception of the last word, Sokoloff also fails to provide a Latin etymology for these words in his *SL*.

<sup>62</sup> These are as follows: **مَوْسِك** 'hook; anchor; sailors' sounding line' (2p), **مَوْسِك** 'army' (6s), **مَوْسِك** 'bearers of title of "illustrious ones"' (6v), **مَيْسَر** 'assarius, small copper coin' (2a), **مَوْسِك** 'tribune, military commander' (6ccc), **مَوْسِك** 'negotiation' (6aaa), **مَوْسِك** 'archivist' (6j), **مَوْسِك** 'bequest' (6z), **مَوْسِك** 'legion' (1l), **مَوْسِك** 'deposition, written accusation; letters of resignation of office' (6aa), **مَوْسِك** 'small litter' (6x), **مَوْسِك** 'house, dwelling' (6ff), **مَوْسِك** 'one-thousand paces; mile-stone' (2j), **مَوْسِك** 'command' (6dd), **مَوْسِك** 'cloth; turban, tiara' (1r), **مَوْسِك** 'small chair; latrine, toilet' (6xx), **مَوْسِك** 'vinegar and water mixed' (6oo), **مَوْسِك** 'palace' (4e), **مَوْسِك**, **مَوْسِك** 'army' (6u), **مَوْسِك** 'pool' (1m), **مَوْسِك** 'pavilion' (6kk), **مَوْسِك**, **مَوْسِك** 'chamberlain' (6l), **مَوْسِك** 'curator, an official responsible for financial matters' (6m), **مَوْسِك** 'cell' (1f), **مَوْسِك**, **مَوْسِك** 'centurion' (2c), **مَوْسِك** 'helmet; azure of the sky' (1e), **مَوْسِك** 'guard' (2d), and **مَوْسِك** 'of the caesars' (4a).

<sup>63</sup> Though mentioned in the main text of his monograph, a Latin form is never mentioned for the following words, and they are also not included in his list of Latin words on p. 243-244: **مَدَنْيَة** 'gold denarius' (1k), **مَوْسِك** 'deposition, written accusation; letters of resignation of office' (6aa), **مَوْسِك** 'corn measure, peck; container' (2k), **مَوْسِك** 'one-thousand paces; mile-stone' (2j), **مَوْسِك** 'cell' (1f), **مَوْسِك** 'colony' in (1j), **مَوْسِك** 'centurion' (2c), and **مَوْسِك** 'Caesar, emperor' (2b).

### Officials or Personnel (especially Roman or Byzantine)

PL <b>مَنْجُونَ</b> ‘magnates’ (5r)	<b>مَاجِيْسْتَرْ</b> ‘magister’ (6bb)
<b>مَانْجُونَ</b> , <b>مَانْجُونَ</b> ‘amanuensis, scribe’ (5e)	<b>مَاجِيْسْتِرْ</b> ‘magistrianus’ (6cc)
PL <b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘bearers of title <i>vir illustris</i> ’ (6v)	<b>مَنْجُونَ</b> , <b>مَنْجُونَ</b> ‘notarius, a Byzantine official’ (6gg)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘stable-master’ (6yy)	PL <b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> (with alternative orthographies) ‘Excubitors, Byzantine palace guards’ (6r)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘porter’ (6ii)	<b>فَارِسَةَ</b> , <b>فَارِسَةَ</b> ‘commoner, peasant’ (6jj)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> , <b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘executioner’ (2n)	<b>فَارِسَةَ</b> ‘patron’ (4f)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘army paymaster who distributes rations to soldiers’ (6hh)	<b>پَرْتَقَلَةَ</b> ‘praetor’ (6qq)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> , <b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘letter carrier’ (5q)	<b>پَرْتَقَلَةَ</b> ‘protector, a military officer at the Byzantine court’ (6ss)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘bath attendant’ (6b)	<b>پَرْتَقَلَةَ</b> ‘praepositus, chamberlain in the court of the Byzantine empire’ (6pp)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘person in charge of wardrobe’ (6fff)	<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> , <b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘chamberlain’ (6l)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘galearius, military servant’ (5j)	<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> (with alternative orthographies) ‘governor’ (6k)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘leader’ (5d)	<b>پَرْتَقَلَةَ</b> ‘curator, an official responsible for financial matters’ (6m)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> , <b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘domesticus, a Byzantine imperial guard soldier’ (6o)	<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> , <b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘centurion’ (2c)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘keeper of records’ (5n)	<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘notary’ (6d)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘keeper of records’ (1s)	<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘guard’ (2d)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘tribune, military commander’ (6ccc)	<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘torturer’ (2m)
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘archivist’ (6j)	
PL <b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘freedmen’ (2g)	
<b>مَهْلُوكَةَ</b> ‘priest who carries funeral biers’ (6y)	

**يَافِعُونَ** ‘quaestor, Byzantine head of judiciary’ (6tt)

**مَوْلَانِيَّونَ** ‘palace steward’  
(6h)  
**إِمَارَة** ‘Caesar, emperor’ (2b)

### Roman or Byzantine Administration

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة\*** ‘indulgence’  
(6w)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘largess, gift’ (6p)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة، كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘negotiation’ (6aaa)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘bequest’ (6z)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘deposition, written accusation; letters of resignation of office’ (6aa)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘imperial letter, imperial archives’ (5m)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘imperial edict’ (5i)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘palace’ (4e)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘governor’s residence’ (2l)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة، كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘colony’ (1j)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘retinue, suite’ (5c)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘of the caesars’ (4a)

### Military (including torture)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘army’ (6s)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘military command’ (6q)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘legion’ (1l)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘command’ (6dd)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة، كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘army’ (6u)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘whip’ (2f)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘iron collar’ (1i)

### Tools and Utensils

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘hook; anchor; sailors’ sounding line’ (2p)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘box, chest of documents’ (6ww)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘iron spoon or pan’ (1t)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘corn measure, peck; container’ (2k)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘axe’ (4g)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة، كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘bench’

(1q)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘ladder’ (6vv)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘bandage used to wrap a corpse’ (2e)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘cell, tent’ (1f)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘lamp, torch’ (1b)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘vase, urn; measure’ (1o)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘basket’ (6f)

**كَلْمَانْسَرَة** ‘pot’ (1a)

## Architecture and the House

- stable** (6zz)  
**curtains** (6ddd)  
**veil, curtain** (5p)  
**plank, table, altar; gaming board** (7c)  
**house, dwelling** (6ff)  
**small chair; latrine, toilet** (6xx)  
**gate** (6nn)  
**palace** (4e)

- pool** (1m)  
**pavilion** (6kk)  
**governor's residence** (2l)  
**ring** (1g)  
**pillow, cushion** (5b)  
**trellis, grating** (6e)  
**fortified place** (6g)  
**grated cover** (1h)

## Clothing

- type of garment, stole** (5l)  
**wardrobe** (6eee)  
**toga, cloak, patriarch's chlamys** (5a)  
PL **sandals** (2o)  
**towel, handkerchief, shroud** (6ee)

- cloth; turban, tiara** (1r)  
**bordered garment** (6ll)  
**helmet; azure of the sky** (1e)

## Transportation

- street; road** (1p)  
**small litter** (6x)

- ferry boat** (1n)  
**chariot** (1d)  
**driver** (1c)

## Coins, Weights, and Measures

- ounce** (5o)

- assarius, small copper coin** (2a)

<b>gold denarius</b>	‘gold <i>denarius</i> ’ (1k)	<b>journey of ten parasangs</b>	‘journey of ten parasangs’ (5k)
<b>tremissus (coin)</b>	(6bbb)	<b>follis, obole</b>	‘follis, obole’ (6t)
<b>corn measure, peck; container</b>	(2k)	<b>(with alternative orthographies)</b>	(with alternative orthographies)
<b>coin; money; coin die</b>	(4c)	<b>hundredweight</b>	‘hundredweight’ (6i)
<b>one-thousand paces; mile-stone</b>	(2j)	<b>vase, urn; measure</b>	‘vase, urn; measure’ (1o)

### Commerce

<b>yearly produce</b>	‘yearly produce’ (6a)	<b>meat-market</b>	‘meat-market’ (2i)
<b>stipend, pay</b>	(6n)	<b>public treasury</b>	‘public treasury’ (6uu)
<b>harness or saddle maker</b>	(2h)	<b>private treasury of emperor</b>	‘private treasury of emperor’ (6rr)

### Religious

**hymns** ‘hymns’ (4h)

### Food and Drink

**vinegar and water mixed** ‘vinegar and water mixed’ (6oo)

### Physical World

**plain** ‘plain’ (6c)

### Socio-Political Relations

**village** ‘village’ (7b)

### Calendar

**the first day of the month, esp. of January** (7a)

There are a handful of words that do not fall into clear semantic groups, all of which are very rare in Syriac.<sup>64</sup>

A vast majority of the Latin words in Syriac were not transferred directly from Latin into Syriac but rather find their

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<sup>64</sup> These include: **orbit** ‘orbit’ (4d), **storyteller** ‘storyteller’ (5f), **false** ‘false’ (5g), and **servant** ‘servant’ (5h).

immediate source in Greek. In many cases, a potential Greek intermediary is attested, especially in the Greek documentary record from Egypt and/or in Byzantine Greek. The fact that most Latin words in Syriac reached Syriac via Greek has not been represented accurately in the Syriac lexica. In several cases, Sokoloff (*SL*) has added a Greek intermediary to the presentation in Brockelmann (*LS2*).<sup>65</sup> In a number of cases, however, both Brockelmann (*LS2*) and Sokoloff (*SL*) neglect to mention a probable Greek intermediary from Latin to Syriac.<sup>66</sup> Thus, these two lexica often imply that a Latin word was transferred directly into Syriac. This is unlikely. In addition, both of these lexica fail to indicate clearly the direction of transfer, often simply listing Greek and Latin forms without specifying that a word was transferred from Latin into Greek and only then into Syriac. The present study hopes to have made explicit that Latin words in Syriac almost always reached Syriac via Greek.

The diachronic approach employed in this study has made it possible to observe changes over time in the contact between Syriac speakers and their Greco-Roman context. A number of Latin words are already found in the earliest period of Syriac (pre-fourth century) as well as in the Syriac New Testament. Several of these words were transferred into Aramaic at an earlier period and then inherited in Syriac. Others reached Syriac (*via* Greek) due to the Roman presence in Syria and Mesopotamia already in the early centuries of the Common Era. The fact that many of the Latin

<sup>65</sup> These include: **كَفَلَ** ‘stable’ (6zz), **كَاهِنٌ** ‘priest who carries funeral biers’ (6y), **حَدَّافٌ** ‘towel, handkerchief, shroud’ (6ee), and **كَهْوَافٌ** ‘bandage used to wrap a corpse’ (2e).

<sup>66</sup> These include: **ኩዎች** ‘type of garment, stole’ (5l), **ተፋዕዱዎች**, **ተፋዕዱዎች** ‘amanuensis, scribe’ (5e), **መልዕዱዎች** ‘hymns’ (4h), **የጤዎች** ‘porter’ (6ii), **ተከለዎች**, **ተከለዎች** ‘street; road’ (1p), **ክርስቲያን** ‘wardrobe’ (6eee), **የቅረቡ** ‘person in charge of wardrobe’ (6fff), **አውጭ** ‘military command’ (6q), **የሰራዎች** ‘curtains’ (5ddd), PL **የእሳት** ‘sandals’ (2o), **ብርሃን**, **ብርሃን** ‘coin; money; coin die’ (4c), PL **መጠቀሙ** (with alternative orthographies) ‘Excubitors, Byzantine palace guards’ (6r), **የጊዜዎች** ‘axe’ (4g), **መረጃ** ‘village’ (7b), **የጊዜ**, **የጊዜ** ‘commoner, peasant’ (6jj), **ተገዥ** ‘gate’ (6nn), **መጋዙ** ‘imperial edict’ (5i), **የጊዜ** ‘patron’ (4f), and **የጊዜ** ‘servant’ (5h).

words in the Syriac of this period are also attested in other languages of the Near East, whether Aramaic or not, indicates that they were widespread throughout the Roman Near East. Many of the Latin words that are found in the earliest period of Syriac (pre-fourth-century) as well as in the Syriac New Testament were likely a deeply ingrained part of the Syriac language by the time of fourth-century authors, such as Aphrahat (fl. 337-345) and Ephrem (d. 373).<sup>67</sup> The fourth century saw only a small addition in the number of Latin words in Syriac. A number of these words are rare throughout the history of Syriac, and a couple of them seem to be *hapax legomena*. The presence of rare words, and especially *hapax legomena*, suggests that Syriac speakers continued to be in contact with the Greco-Roman world in the fourth century. At the same time, however, the paucity of new Latin words in this period indicates a relatively low degree of contact. Contact between Syriac and the Greco-Roman world seems to have increased in the fifth century, when the number of new Latin words in Syriac rises. The appearance of a number of Latin words that are closer to Fremdwörter than they are to Lehnwörter corroborates such an increase in contact. It is also the fifth century that sees more Latin words in Syriac that are not found in other dialects of Aramaic or in other languages of the Roman Near East, pointing to an increase in contact between Syriac and the Greco-Roman world relative to that of other languages and cultures. The sixth century represents the zenith of new Latin words in Syriac pointing to a climax in contact between Syriac culture and the Greco-Roman world. The sixth century continues two trends from the fifth century: the appearance of a large number of Fremdwörter as well as the rise in the number of Latin words in Syriac that are not found in other languages of the Near East. Both of these trends point to a high degree of contact between Syriac and the Greco-Roman world in the sixth century. This is perhaps best illustrated by Yuhanon of Ephesus and his particular sociolect of Syriac, which contains numerous Latin words. The seventh century sees a sharp decline in the number of new Latin words in Syriac. This is at least partly due to the absence of a figure such as Yuhanon of Ephesus in this

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<sup>67</sup> For further arguments along this line, see Butts 2016: §10.3-10.4.

period. It may, however, also be due to a decrease in contact compared to the sixth century. When analyzed diachronically, the Latin words in Syriac can serve as a thermometer – to borrow a metaphor of Brock – to gauge the changing degrees of contact between Syriac and the Greco-Roman world in Late Antiquity.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Brock 1999-2000.

## Latin Index

<i>annona</i> (6a)	<i>custodia</i> (2d)	<i>modium</i> (2k)
<i>assarium</i> (2a)	<i>denarius</i> (1k)	<i>moneta</i> (4c)
<i>balnearius</i> (6b)	<i>diarium</i> (6n)	<i>notarius</i> (6gg)
<i>birrus</i> (5a)	<i>domesticus</i> (6o)	<i>optio</i> (6hh)
<i>caesar</i> (2b)	<i>donativum</i> (6p)	<i>orarium</i> (5l)
<i>caesarianus</i> (4a)	<i>ducatus</i> (6q)	<i>orbita</i> (4d)
<i>caldaria, caldarium</i> (1a)	<i>dux</i> (5d)	<i>ostiarius</i> (6ii)
<i>calendae</i> (7a)	<i>exceptor</i> (5e)	<i>paenula</i> (fn. 41)
<i>campus</i> (6c)	<i>excubitor</i> (6r)	<i>paganus</i> (6jj)
<i>cancellarius</i> (6d)	<i>exercitus</i> (6s)	<i>pagus</i> (7b)
<i>cancellus</i> (6e)	<i>fabulator</i> (5f)	<i>palatium</i> (4e)
<i>candela</i> (1b)	<i>falsus</i> (5g)	<i>papilio</i> (6kk)
<i>capsa</i> (6f)	<i>famulus</i> (5h)	<i>paragaunda</i> (6ll)
<i>carrarius</i> (1c)	<i>fascia</i> (2e)	<i>patricius</i> (6mm)
<i>carruca</i> (1d)	<i>flagellum</i> (2f)	<i>patronus</i> (4f)
<i>carrum</i> (fn. 24)	<i>follis</i> (6t)	<i>piscina</i> (1m)
<i>cassis</i> (1e)	<i>forma</i> (5i)	<i>ponto, pontonium</i> (1n)
<i>castrensis</i> (6h)	<i>fossa</i> (6u)	<i>porta</i> (6nn)
<i>castrum</i> (6g)	<i>galearius</i> (5j)	<i>posca, pusca</i> (6oo)
<i>cella</i> (1f)	<i>illustris</i> (6v)	<i>praepositus</i> (6pp)
<i>centenarium</i> (6i)	<i>indulgentia</i> (4b), (6w)	<i>praetor</i> (6qq)
<i>centurio</i> (2c)	<i>lectica</i> (6x)	<i>praetorium</i> (2l)
<i>cervical, cervicarium</i> (5b)	<i>lecticarius</i> (6y)	<i>privatarum</i> (6rr)
<i>chartularius</i> (6j)	<i>legatum</i> (6z)	<i>protector</i> (6ss)
<i>circus</i> (1g)	<i>legio</i> (1l)	<i>quaestionarius</i> (2m)
<i>clathri, clatri</i> (1h)	<i>libellus</i> (6aa)	<i>quaestor</i> (6tt)
<i>collarium, collare</i> (1i)	<i>libertinus</i> (2g)	<i>sacculus</i> (6uu)
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<i>cubicularius</i> (6l)	<i>mansio</i> (5k)	<i>sextarius</i> (1o)
<i>curator</i> (6m)	<i>mantele</i> (6ee)	<i>speculator</i> (2n)
	<i>metatum</i> (6ff)	<i>stabularius</i> (6yy)
	<i>mille</i> (2j)	

<i>stabulum</i> (6zz)	<i>tabularius</i> (5n)	<i>uncinus</i> (2p)
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<i>subsellium</i> (1q)	<i>tremis</i> (6bbb)	<i>veredarius</i> (5q)
<i>sudarium</i> (1r)	<i>tribunus</i> (6ccc)	<i>vestiarium</i> (6eee)
<i>tabellarius</i> (1s)	<i>trulla</i> (1t)	<i>vestiarius</i> (6fff)
<i>tabula</i> (7c)	<i>uncia</i> (5o)	<i>veteranus</i> (5r)

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كـ	كـ	(6aaa)
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كـ	كـ	(6aa)
كـ	كـ	(2g)
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كـ	كـ	(6x)
كـ	كـ	(6bb)
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كـ	كـ	(2k)
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كـ	كـ	(6dd)
كـ	كـ	(6ee)
كـ	كـ	(5k)
كـ	كـ	(2i)
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كـ	كـ	(1q)
كـ	كـ	(1r)
كـ	كـ	(6xx)
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מְלָכָת (6qq)	מְלָכָה, מְלָכָת (6h)
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### ABBREVIATIONS OF LEXICOGRAPHICAL RESOURCES

- AFA* Fränkel, S. 1886. *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im arabischen*. Leiden.
- BK* Biberstein-Kazimirski, A. de. 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris.
- CAD* Gelb, I. J. et al. 1956-2011. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago.
- CAL* Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon, accessible online at <<http://cal.huc.edu/>>.
- CDG* Leslau, W. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden.
- CPD* MacKenzie, D. N. 1971. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London.
- DCPA* Sokoloff, M. 2014. *A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* (OLA 234). Louvain.
- DDGLC* *Database and Dictionary of Greek Loanwords in Coptic* (<<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~ddglc/>>), cited by lemma number.
- DGLLT* Sperber, D. 1984. *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature*. Jerusalem.
- DJA* Sokoloff, M. 2003. *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*. Ramat-Gan.
- DJBA* Sokoloff, M. 2002. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat-Gan.
- DJPA* Sokoloff, M. 2002. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (2nd ed.). Ramat-Gan.
- DNWSI* Hoftijzer, J. and K. Jongeling. 1995. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. Leiden.
- DSA* Tal, A. 2000. *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*. Leiden.
- FVQ* Jeffery, A. 1938. *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*. Baroda.

- GLBRP* Sophocles, E. A. 1900. *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. New York.
- GLLTMT* Krauss, S. 1899. *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, Vol. 2. Berlin.
- Jastrow Jastrow, M. 1886-1903. *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. New York.
- Lane Lane, E. W. 1863-1893. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. London.
- LD* Lewis, C. T. and C. Short. 1969. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford.
- LLGE* Daris, Sergio. 1991. *Il lessico Latino nel Greco d'Egitto* (2nd ed.). Barcelona.
- LS2* Brockelmann, C. 1928. *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed.). Halis Saxonum.
- LSJ* Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott (revised by H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie). 1996. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford.
- LSJ Suppl.* Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott (revised by H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie; edited by P. G. W. Glare). 1996. *Greek-English Lexicon. Revised supplement*. Oxford.
- LSP* Schulthess, F. 1903. *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*. Berolini.
- MD* Drower, E. S. and R. Macuch. 1963. *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford.
- NDAE* Bedrossian, M. 1875-1879. *New Dictionary. Armenian-English*. Venice.
- OLD* Glare, P. G. W. 1982. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford.
- PGL* Lampe, G. W. H. 1961. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford.

- SL* Sokoloff, M. 2009. *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum.* Winona Lake – Piscataway.
- TLL* *Thesaurus linguae Latinae.*

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