

Plurilingualism in Traditional Eurasian Scholarship

Thinking in Many Tongues

Edited by

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The Making of Monolingual Dictionaries

The Prefaces to the Lexica of Hesychius (6th Century CE) and Photius (9th Century CE)

Filippomaria Pontani

We have seen above (Chapter 3.3) that Greek lexicography was not much interested in foreign languages. This can be discerned in the prefaces to two of the most important lexica of the Byzantine age, which also yield important information as to the complex paths by which these lexica—the heirs to a long-standing tradition of lexicographical inquiries—were realized.

1 Hesychius

A single fifteenth-century manuscript (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Gr. 622) is the only extant witness of what is perhaps the most complex and important extant lexicon of ancient Greek, composed by a certain Hesychius of Alexandria some time in the sixth century CE. Born at the end of a very productive season for Greek lexicography (the fifth-century *Etymologica* by Orus and Orion, the synonymical lexicon by John Philoponus, etc.), Hesychius's lexicon displays lemmata from a wide selection of literary texts, rather than focusing on one single author, as was more common in the Hellenistic age.

The prefatory letter to a certain Eulogius (the name, just as that of Hesychius himself, points to a member of the then-flourishing Christian community of Alexandria) is a very pregnant text, which explains in detail both Hesychius's goals and methods, and the ultimate genesis of his lexicon, resulting from the revision and expansion of an earlier work by Diogenianus, called *Periergopenetes*, itself the abridgment of the monumental lexicon in ninety-five books produced by Pamphilus in the first century CE (Pamphilus may have been the true initiator of lexica pertaining to a multiplicity of authors). What we have today is the result of a long textual transmission that went through the entire Byzantine age, and had at least three major effects: firstly, into Hesychius's original material were interpolated glosses from the roughly contemporary lexicon that goes under the name of patriarch Cyril of Alexandria; secondly, a heavy textual corruption marred many of the glosses, and this state

of affairs has posed a significant challenge to philologists ever since the *editio princeps* curated by Marcus Musurus for the Venetian press of Aldus Manutius in 1514; thirdly, many entries have been epitomized and mutilated, especially as concerns the naming of the sources, that is explicitly promised in the preface.

Leaving aside these issues, which still partly impair a full understanding of this work, it should be stressed that Hesychius's dictionary also includes a number of glosses that apparently or declaredly belong to Greek dialects, as well as a handful of others that stem from languages different from Greek (most of them however, if not all, found in literary sources): that these "foreign" items are not highlighted in the preface as a special bonus of Hesychius's vocabulary may imply that the intended readership did not perceive them as a particularly indispensable or useful feature.

Greek Text

Hesychius, *Lexicon*, Preface; excerpted from *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. 1, A–Δ, ed. Kurt Latte and Ian Cunningham (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

Ἡσύχιος γραμματικὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Εὐλόγιw τῷ ἐταίρω χαίρειν.

Πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παλαιῶν τὰς κατὰ στοιχεῖον συντεθείκασι λέξεις, ὧ πάντων ἐμοὶ προσφιλέστατε Εὐλόγιε· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς μόνας ὡς Ἀππίων καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρχιβίου· οἱ δὲ τὰς κωμικὰς ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὰς τραγικὰς ὡς Θέων καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ὁμοῦ δὲ πάσας τούτων οὐδὲ εἰς. Διογενιανὸς δὲ τις μετὰ τούτους γεγινὼς ἀνὴρ σπουδαῖος καὶ φιλόκαλος, τὰ τε προειρημένα βιβλία καὶ πάσας τὰς σποράδην παρὰ πᾶσι κειμένας λέξεις συναγαγών, ὁμοῦ πάσας καθ' ἕκαστον στοιχεῖον συντέθεικε· λέγω δὴ τὰς τε Ὀμηρικὰς καὶ κωμικὰς καὶ τραγικὰς, τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς λυρικοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι κειμένας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ <τὰς> παρὰ τοῖς ἰατροῖς τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις. συλλήβδην δὲ {ὁμοῦ} οὐδεμίαν λέξιν ἔσθ' ἣν παρέλιπεν οὔτε τῶν παλαιῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνου γεγενημένων. προέθηκε δὲ κατ' ἀρχὴν ἐκάστης λέξεως τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων στοιχείων τάξιν, ἵν' οὕτως εὐμαρεστέραν ἔχοι τὴν εὐρεσιν ἧς ἐπιζητεῖ τάξεως ὁ τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐντυγχάνειν προαιρούμενος. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσας οἶός τε ἦν παροιμίας εὐρεῖν, οὐδὲ ταύτας παρέλιπεν, ἐπιγράψας τὰ βιβλία Περιεργοπένητας, καὶ ταύτη χρησάμενος τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἡγεῖτο γάρ, οἶμαι, μὴ μόνους πλουσίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πένησι τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρησιμεύσειν τε καὶ ἀντι διδασκάλων ἀρκέσειν αὐτά, εἰ μόνον περιεργασάμενοι πανταχόθεν ἀνευρεῖν ταῦτα δυνηθεῖεν καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι.

ἐπαινῶ μὲν ἔγωγε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς φιλοκαλίας καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς, ὅτι χρησιμωτάτην πραγματείαν καὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις τῶν φιλολόγων ὠφελιμωτάτην χορηγίαν πρὸς ἅπασαν παιδείαν προεἶλετο παρέχειν. ἐβουλόμην δὲ αὐτὸν μήτε τὰς πλείους τῶν παροιμιῶν ψιλῶς καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὑποθέσεων τεθεικέναι, μήτε τὰς ἐζητημένας τῶν λέξεων οὐκ ἐχούσας τὰ τε τῶν κεκρημένων ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς τῶν βιβλίων ἐπιγραφὰς

1 Apion was one of the leading grammarians of the early imperial age (first century BCE–CE), and the author amongst other things of a precious volume of *Homeric Glosses*—only fragments remain: Neitzel, Linke, and Haas, *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Dionysius Thrax*. His teacher Apollonius, son of Archibius, also known as Apollonius Sophista, is the compiler of the only Homeric lexicon that is preserved from antiquity, if in abbreviated form: Bekker, *Apollonii Sophistae lexicon Homericum*.

2 Theon was an outstanding grammarian of the Augustan age, and in his *Words* (Λέξεις) he probably devoted a special attention to comic terms. His contemporary Didymus “Chalcicentus” of Alexandria, the most prolific of all Greek grammarians, wrote amongst other things fifty books of *Comic Words* and possibly as many of *Tragic Words*, and these works were very popular in the following centuries.

3 Little is known of this Diogenianus, who must have lived in the second century CE: he abridged the (lost) work *On Glosses and Names* by the first-century lexicographer Pamphilus

English Translation

Adapted from Charles Wall, *An Essay on the Nature, Age, and Origin of the Sanskrit Writing and Language* (Dublin: Graisberry, 1838), 45–47; Francesca Schironi, *From Alexandria to Babylon* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 47–50.

Hesychius, a grammarian of Alexandria, to his companion Eulogius, greeting.

Many others also collected in the order of the letters the words of the ancients, o most beloved Eulogius: some, however, only those of Homer, as Apion, and Apollonius son of Archibius;¹ some, separately those of the comic or of the tragic authors, as Theon, Didymus, and other such compilers;² but none of these all the words together. After them arose a certain Diogenianus, a man of industry and taste, who, having brought together the aforementioned books and all the words dispersed through all, united all of them into one compilation in alphabetic order;³ I mean, the Homeric, the comic, and the tragic terms, as well as those which occur in the lyric poets and in the orators; nor these only, but also such as are to be found in the works of the physicians and of the historians. In short, no word, as far as we are aware of, did he omit, whether of the ancients, or of the writers of his own time. He ordered each word by the three or four letters of its beginning, so that one who chooses to read these books can more easily find what he is looking for.⁴ And on top of this he did not omit any of the proverbs he was able to find, and he inscribed the entire work *Periergopenetes*, meaning the following: he thought, to my mind, that this work would be useful not only for the rich but also for the poor (*penetes*), and that it would serve them instead of a teacher, if only by their curiosity (*periergasamenoī*) they would be able to search for it everywhere and acquire one copy.

I must praise the generosity and the learning of this man, because he has chosen to offer an exceptionally useful work and a precious viaticum towards all instruction for the most serious of scholars. However, I would have wished that he had not simply quoted the majority of the proverbs without giving the context, and that he had not quoted the rare words without the name of those

(or its epitome by Iulius Vestinus), producing first a lexicon in five books called *Expressions of Any Kind* (Παντοδαπή λέξις), then the larger *Periergopenetes* (or *Manual for Those without Means*), as illustrated below in this same preface.

4 Several Hellenistic lexica were arranged thematically, although evidence of alphabetical ordering appears as early as the third century BCE: however, both in lexica attested in papyrus and in those transmitted by medieval manuscripts the ordering was generally by the first two or more rarely three or four letters of the word, a strict alphabetical sequence being the exception rather than the rule.

ἔνθα φέρονται, τὰς τε πολυσήμους αὐτῶν παραδραμεῖν καὶ ἀσαφεῖς παραλιπεῖν, δέον δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύταις ἐκάστης διαφόρου διανοίας τὴν παράστασιν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν χρησαμένων μνήμης παρασχεῖν. ἅτινα σύμπαντα καὶ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιμελείας δεηθέντα κατὰ δύναμιν τετύχηκε πάσης, ἐν δευτέρῳ κειμένης τῆς τῶν φιλεπιτιμητῶν μέμψεως. οὐ γὰρ ὀκνήσω μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Ἀππίωνος καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου λέξεων εὐπορήσας, καὶ τὰ βιβλία προσθεῖς Διογενιανοῦ, ὃ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ὑπάρχει πλεονέκτημα δαιτός, ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ γράφων ἐγώ, μετὰ πάσης ὀρθότητος καὶ ἀκριβεστάτης γραφῆς κατὰ τὸν γραμματικὸν Ἡρωδιανόν, λέξιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν παρέλιπον κειμένην ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστας οὐχ εὐρῶν προστέθεικα. ἐκείνην δὲ γραφὴν ἠξίωσα, ἥς εὕρισκον καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τέλος περιέχουσαν καὶ τὴν φράσιν μετὰ τοῦ δοκίμου σαφῆ. ταῖς παροιμίαις ἀποδέδωκα τὰς ὑποθέσεις· καὶ τῶν πλειόνων λέξεων καὶ σπανίως εἰρημένων οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν τῶν χρησαμένων τὰ ὀνόματα προσγέγραφα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς πάντων μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιγράφων προστιθεῖς, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ πονεῖν παραιτησάμενος, ὡς ἂν μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς μέμψιν ὀφλήσαιμι δικαίως τινά, καὶ οἷς ἐγκαλῶ Διογενιανῶ πεπτωκῶς φανείην. καὶ πληρώσας τὴν πραγματείαν, ὅσον εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ἐλήλυθε κρίσιν τέλος γεγενημένην, εἰ μὴ πού τις ἢ σαφῆς οὐσα λέξις ἢ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα παραλέλειπται, ἀπέστειλα πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀναμίλλητον φιλίαν, πεπεισμένος μὲν εἶναι τὸ κτῆμα μέγα, τὴν δὲ <φιλίαν τὴν> σὴν καὶ μειζόνων ἀξίαν ὑπάρχουσαν. εὐχομαι δὲ τῷ Θεῷ σωζόμενόν σε καὶ ὑγιαίνοντα χρῆσασθαι τοῖς βιβλίοις.

who used them or without the title of the works where they occur; and, finally, that he had not run over those of them which have many meanings and leave them unclear, since it is necessary even with these words to exhibit each different meaning by mentioning those who used them. All this needed our care, and received it in full according to our possibilities, in total disregard of the reproaches of the usual fault-finders. I shall not hesitate to state overtly that, having at my disposal the *Words* of Aristarchus, Apion and Heliodorus,⁵ and adding Diogenianus's book (which is the first and most significant delicacy of the banquet), writing in my own hand as correctly and as exactly as I could according to Herodian the grammarian,⁶ I did not omit any single word that was to be found in those books, but I even added many that I did not find in them. I validated the word-form whose meaning I found more accomplished and whose general sense was clear and acceptable. I gave the context of the proverbs, and, for the majority of the words, even those used rarely, I gave not only the names of those who used them, but also the titles of all the works where these words recur, adding them from the editions, without ever shirking hard work, so that I myself would not rightly deserve any blame nor appear to have fallen into the same faults I blame in Diogenianus. Once I finished the book, which achieved accomplishment as far as human judgment could discern (apart from cases of self-evident or useless words that have been omitted), I sent it to your unrivalled friendship, being convinced that, while the enterprise is big, your love deserves even greater goods. So I pray God that you might be alive and well when using this book.

5 Aristarchus of Samothrace, the greatest philologist of antiquity, developed a lively interest in Homer's vocabulary, see Schironi, *Best of the Grammarians*, 217–264; still more active in the lexicographical domain was his teacher Aristophanes of Byzantium. Heliodorus is probably the Homeric scholar often quoted by Apollonius Sophista in his Homeric lexicon, see Dyck, "The Fragments of Heliodorus Homericus," 1–64.

6 Herodian, the most important grammarian of the second century CE, wrote a large number of treatises starting from his (lost, though fragmentarily preserved) *General Prosody* (Καθολικὴ Προσῳδία): due to the success of his handbooks, he represented for centuries the standard norm for orthographical and grammatical correctness, see Dickey, "Catalogue of Works," 325–345; and Dyck, "Aelius Herodian," 772–794.

2 Photius

Perhaps the most learned man of the Byzantine millennium, Photius (810–893) is best known for having served twice, despite being originally a layman, as patriarch of Constantinople (858–867 and 878–886), and for having composed the *Myriobiblos*, a monumental collection of more or less detailed reviews of 280 books he had read. We owe the *Myriobiblos* a great deal of information about lost prose works from the ancient through the early Byzantine period, belonging to genres such as historiography, oratory, medicine, philosophy, theology, etc.

The *Lexicon*, whose fullest manuscript was found in November 1959 by Linos Politis in the monastery of Zavorda in Northern Greece (hence the need for a new edition that is now almost complete), is probably Photius's earliest work (he once ascribed it to the time “when I was quitting the age of childhood”); despite the interest aroused already among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century humanists by the many quotations of ancient literary sources, it is no substantially original achievement, and it rather owes its fame to the loss of most of its sources and predecessors. As so many vocabularies, it depends directly on a series of existing sources (chiefly the so-called *Synagoge*, or *Collection of Useful Words*, itself largely indebted to the sixth-century lexicon of Cyril; but many lemmata stem from rhetorical and Atticistic lexica), with a limited range of additional material.

Photius's lexicon belongs to the category of universal prescriptive lexica, i.e., those that do not aim to merely describe the heritage of a language, nor to discuss the etymologies of words (many such lexica, called *Etymologica*, were produced throughout the Byzantine age), nor to focus on one specific author or genre, but rather function as touchstones of orthographic and grammatical correctness for educated people who wish to write or speak in good Greek. Photius's lexicon thus pursues well into the Byzantine age a long-standing tendency (at work at least since the early imperial age) to codify the usage of fifth- and fourth-century BCE Attic authors as the touchstone for grammatical and stylistic correctness of speech: it runs along the lines of the tradition of Atticistic lexica such as those of Pausanias or Aelius Dionysius. Its interest in ancient words and texts is therefore subservient less to a “humanistic” interest in Hellenic literature *per se* than to the consolidation of a shared linguistic standard for Byzantium's learned elite.

In this frame, it is particularly important that Photius—much like Hesychius, see above—does not in the least refer to multilingualism in his preface, nor to the presence or contribution of lexical items deriving from languages other than Greek. What is at stake here is the stylistic diversity of the words

listed and explained, especially the opposition between those that belong to prose and the more “poetical” ones: Photius states that the study of ancient poetry (above all of Homer, the founding father of Greek culture, and of the comic writer Aristophanes, the most important source for spoken fifth-century Attic) can yield precious gems to interweave in prose discourse, and this is indeed what we find constantly happening in Byzantine rhetoric and prose-writing throughout the centuries.

Greek Text

Photius, *Lexicon*, Preface; excerpted from *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*, vol. 1: A–Δ, ed. Christos Theodoridis (Berlin: De Gruyter 1982).

ΛΕΞΕΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΝ ΔΙ' ΩΝ ΡΗΤΟΡΩΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΩΝ ΕΞΩΡΑΪΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ

〈Φώτιος Θωμά πρωτοσπαθαρίω και ἄρχοντι τοῦ Λυκοστομίου φιλάτῳ μαθητῇ χαίρειν〉

Αἱ τῶν λέξεων πλείους, περὶ ἃς τὸ ποιητικὸν νέμεται ἔθνος, εἰς τὸ ὠφελιμώτατον τοῖς βουλομένοις προσέχειν Διογενιανῶ συνέλεγγσαν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦκεν τὴν ἴσιν καὶ ὁμοίαν πραγματείαν ἐνστήσασθαι, ἀλλ' οὖν, ὅσα γε ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, οὐδενὶ τῶν πρωτείων οὗτος περὶ γε τὸν εἰρημένον πόνον ἐξίσταται. ὅσα δὲ ῥητόρων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀττικίζουσι γλῶσσαν καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰς τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα λόγον ἐποχεῖσθαι μέτρῳ συντελεῖν εἰσιν εὐ πεφυκυῖαι, ναὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσοφίας ὅσαι δέονται σαφηνείας, ταύτας δὲ ἄρα εἰ καὶ μὴ πάσας—οὔτε γὰρ ῥάδιον οὔτε ἀλαζονείας ἢ ὑπόσχεσις πόρρω, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς σχολῆς—ἀλλ' οὖν ἃς μάλιστά γε εἰδέναι προσήκει καὶ ἀναγκαῖον κεχρηῆσθαι συναγαγὼν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν σοι κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐποισάμην, οὐδὲ τῶν ποιητικῶν παντελῶς ἀποστάς· ἐπεὶ μὴδ' ὅσοι ταύτας συνειλόχασιν τῶν ἀρμοζόντων τῇ χωρὶς μέτρου φράσει παντελῶς ἀπέσχοντο.

ταύτην δὲ σοι ἄρα τὴν ὑπόθεσιν συνεταξάμην μνήμης τε ἅμα καὶ φιλίας ἀφοσίωσιν. διὸ εἰ καὶ τινὰς τῶν λέξεων περιέχει τὸ σύνταγμα, ἐν αἷς ἢ ποιητικῇ διατρίβει μούσα, περιττὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ φιλότιμον οὐδὲ νοθεῖον τὴν πρόθεσιν· ἐφ' ὧν τε γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πολιτικὴν φωνὴν εὐρεῖν δηλοῦσαν καθαρῶς τὸ ὑποκείμενον, οὐ ποιητικὴν μόνον ἀνάγκη λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ γλώτταν ἀπομάττοιο· τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν ὅτιοῦν ὀνόματι εἰπεῖν τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν χρεωδέστερον. ναὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λίαν σεμνὸς καὶ τὸν ὄγκον πεποιημένος κόσμον λόγος πολλάς, αἷς τὸ ποιητῶν ἐντείνεται μέτρον, τῇ οἰκείᾳ σπουδῇ φιλεῖ ὑποβάλλεσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅσαι σαφέστεραι μὲν εἰσι τῶν λέξεων, δοκοῦσι δὲ πως μνήμης δεῖσθαι τῆς ἀναγούσης αὐτάς εἰς τοὺς γεγεννηκότας, οὐδὲ τούτων κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τοὺς πατέρας ἀπεσιωπήσαμεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ ποῦ τις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀσάφεια τῇ τῶν λέξεων παραπλεκομένη ἐρμηνεία τὸ τοῦ λόγου διέφθειρε χρήσιμον, οὐδὲ ταύτην λελυμασμένην ἐγκατελίπομεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ σαφέστερον καὶ συνοπτικώτερον ἡρμოსάμεθα.

7 Nothing is known of this Thomas: as a *protospatharios* he held a high office at the Byzantine court; the identification of Lykostomion is debated, but it might refer to the Lower Danube and particularly to its estuary.

8 On Diogenianus, the second-century grammarian who realized an epitome (of Julius Vestinus's epitome) of the bulky lexicon in 95 books *On Glosses and Names* by Pamphilus (first century CE), see Hesychius's preface above.

9 This means every kind of prose (but on this topic see immediately below).

English Translation

Translated by Filippomaria Pontani.

Alphabetical collection of the words through which the works of orators and writers are most effectively adorned

⟨Photius greets his dearest pupil Thomas protospatharios, head of the Lykostomion⟩⁷

Most of the words used by the poets were collected by Diogenianus⁸ in a very useful way for those who wish to pay attention: even if many others came to the idea of composing a similar work, to my knowledge he does not yield the first place to anyone in this task. The words that give an Attic flavor to the language of orators and logographers, and are by nature well-suited to contribute positively to the speech that refrains from meter,⁹ as well as the terms of our religion that need clarification.¹⁰ Well, all these words I collected, not all in absolute terms (for such a promise would be neither easy nor free from pretentiousness, and anyway far greater than the time we have at our disposal), but as many as it is useful to know and necessary to use; I registered them alphabetically for you, without staying clear even of the poetic words, for even those who collected poetical words did not entirely abstain from those suitable for prosaic speech.

I wrote to you this memorandum for the sake of memory and devotion. So if the work contains some words inhabited by the poetic Muse, this is nothing superfluous or ambitious or conflicting with my purpose: for in situations where a prosaic word cannot be found to express properly the required meaning, it is not only necessary to pick up a poetic one, even if it should amount to a gloss:¹¹ it is better to be able to say something in words than not to be. Indeed, elevated speech, accustomed to high style, often inserts in its own texture many words bearing the meter of the poets. And even the clearer words seem to need some refreshing of memory that might attribute them to those who have generated them; hence, we did not omit the names of their fathers, as far as we could. And if some obscurity in ancient authors impaired the utility of the speech by interfering with the interpretation of words, we did not leave that mistake either, but we adjusted it for the sake of clarity and for better transparency.

¹⁰ This implies that Christian words are also included, and thus figure side-by-side with words from the pagan heritage.

¹¹ A “gloss” means in this context a difficult poetic word that is in absolute need of a lexical explanation.

Symbols

- < > editorial insertion
 { } found in the extant manuscript tradition but rejected by the editor as spurious, that is, as not belonging to the genuine text

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