An Ancient Name of the Lyre

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One of the most amazing lexical insights of Hrozný in his Die Sprache der Hethiter may be seen in his Semitic etymology of a Hittite musical term that he discovered. While discussing the use of the logogram ḫūi-NAR “singer, musician”, he established that in KBo I 52 obv. 15-16 after the ideogram a noun that we now read as ḫūi-ki-nir-tal-la-aš1 follows, which he characterized as “synonym oder zumindest bedeutungsverwandt” in respect to the first one. He defined this Hittite word as the name of a profession related to Hebrew kinnōr “string instrument, harp, lyre” and to corresponding words in Aramaic, Syriac, Ancient Egyptian and also to the Greek word κινόρα. Hrozný thought that the Hittite noun contained a suffix ending in -la-, and that the word (which we would now read as kinirtallaš) might be translated approximately as “der (Mann) der Zither” (ib.). Subsequent Hittitological studies have confirmed this hypothesis, adding as support the equivalence seen in the mixed spelling ḫūi-NAR-li, KUB XX 43, 13. Friedrich continued the same interpretation as “Art Musiker; Zitherspieler” (?). The correspondence to the Hebrew term seemed established, but according to Friedrich the Hittite word “enthält wohl ein Kulturwort unbekannten Ursprungs für ‘Zither’”.

The word in question was spread with the instrument itself from the Western Semitic area no later than the middle of the III mil. B.C.3

The oldest evidence from the cuneiform archives of Ebla (Northern Syria) dates from the second half of the XXIVth c. B.C. In a list of words from

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1 Hrozný (1916, p. 52, fn. 1; the date 1916 on the title page of the first Lieferung is not usually taken into consideration in modern bibliographies, which instead give the date as 1917, referring to the complete edition of the whole book) read the third sign as -ri-, which is quite possible in general (Rüster, Neu 1989, p. 105, N 32), but wrong in this particular case. Accordingly his understanding of the form of the suffix was not correct.

2 Friedrich 1952, p. 110 (with other Hittitological references).

around 2340-2300 B.C., a Western Semitic word *kinnārum* is attested, which corresponds to the Biblical Hebrew name of the lyre *kinnōr*: GI(=ki)-na-ru₁₂-
um/rum/lum = Sumerian BALAG.⁴ Although the exact meaning of the corresponding Sumerian noun remains disputable, the translation “lyre, harp” for the Eblaite term seems definite. The early date of the attestation may be compared to musicological data on the Western Semitic origin of the sloped lyre.⁵ Although the term is attested in several Semitic languages, it seems indigenous only in Western Semitic.⁶ Around 1700 B.C. the term *kinnārum* is found in Mari in a text about two craftsmen supplying lyres for the king. Another derivative (semantically similar to the Hittite one) from this borrowed migratory cultural word is found in Alalakh in 1500-1400. There the word LÚ ki-in-na-ru-hu-li “lyre-player”⁷ is built with the Hurrian suffix -huli-designating a profession; the form ki-na-ra-a-i appears in the Hurrian ritual for Tašmišari (KUB XLVII 40 + XXVII 25).⁸ The word *kinnara*- in a cuneiform syllabic spelling (similar to that in Ebla and Mari) is also used in a cuneiform tablet with a Hurrian song from Ugarit. It has been supposed that in Ugarit the god of the lyre *Kinnāru* is attested.⁹ In Ugarit in Western Semitic Ugaritic texts the word appears as *knr* together with other names of musical instruments.¹⁰ The spread of the term to the Southern part of the civilized world of the II mil. B.C. is seen in Egyptian *knrr*, attested after the Amarna period.¹¹ As shown by Leopold Vorreiter in his study on Riesenlyren des Altertums, all of the Egyptian large lyres similar to the earlier Ancient Oriental ones are found

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⁷ Laroche 1980, p. 149.
⁸ Haas 1984, pp. 271-274.
⁹ Von Soden 1994, p. 245. This possibility is not mentioned in Gordon 1967.
¹⁰ See on the text RS 24.252: Gordon 1967, p. 421, N 1274. At this point in his textbook Gordon also mentions Akht C 19 (= RS 3.66 = KTU, I.19, I:8). But the interpretation of the form *knr* as “lyre” for this line is doubtful: Shifman 1993, pp. 182, 257.
¹¹ Ziegler 1979, pp. 116-117.
in Amarna at the time of Amenophis IV (Akhanayatin), i.e. 1350-1333 B.C. They may be considered one of those numerous elements of the new monotheistic Sun cult that can be connected with Near Eastern (probably Western Semitic-Canaanite and/or Hurrian\textsuperscript{12}) influence. An Ethiopian name of a lyre *kerar* \textless \textit{kenar}\textsuperscript{13} is connected to the more Southern-Eastern cultural area of Africa.

The same term seems to appear in some languages (mostly of the more Northern area) with an initial \textit{z}- evidently going back to a palatalized form of the \textit{k}- in the position before the front vowel \textit{i}. The oldest form of this type is attested in Hattic (already a dead language by the beginning of the II mil. B.C.): Hat. \textit{hun-zinar} “large stringed instrument, harp”, probably designating a large lyre of a type attested in Asia Minor in Alaça Hüyük already in the second half of the III mil. B.C. The Hat. term is probably related to North-Western Caucasian Adygh \textit{pšine-šxuo} “harp” (with the reverse order of the same elements), just as Hat. \textit{ippi-zinar} “small lyre” is etymologically identical to Adygh \textit{lepe-pšin} “lyre, harp”, Kabardian \textit{lepe pšine} “a stringed instrument for the fingers, accordion, balalaika”.\textsuperscript{14} These etymologies show that the term in this palatalized form had already spread at the time when Hattic still had (original or migratory) lexical contacts with (Proto-?) North-Western Caucasian (no later than the III mil. B.C.). Also in the Caucasus, a term \textit{jnar} is found in medieval Old Armenian texts, which is linked to the same Hattic term,\textsuperscript{15} although the voiced character of the initial affricate (usually coming

\textsuperscript{12} Leopold Vorreiter (1979a, pp. 33-34) has pointed to the similarity of a large sloped lyre from Amarna and a Hurrian one from Mardin (the area of Lake Van).

\textsuperscript{13} Duchesne-Guillemin 1989.

\textsuperscript{14} Ivanov 1982, pp. 160-161; 1985, pp. 41, 42, 49, NN 9, 13, 75.

\textsuperscript{15} First established in Mkrtschjan 1974, p. 316. On the Old Armenian term in its relation to the Western Semitic one see: Achaqian 1979, p. 129; Dzhaukyan 1967, p. 304; on the appearance of the corresponding musical instrument: cf. Gevorgian 1973, pp. 17, 20. If Old Armenian \textit{k’nar} “zither” comes from Middle Western Iranian \textit{kun(n)àr} (Bolognesi 1980, p. 28), this later loan-word would coexist with an older one in Old Armenian, just as different words coming from this lyre name coexist in Hittite texts.
from Indo-European \(^*\_\gamma^w_h\) seems peculiar (for Hattic, the voicing may not be shown in initial position in the cuneiform notation).

In Hattic texts the word zinar occurs only in these two compounds, but in Hittite rituals the word zinir is used very often in the meaning “music”. In many cases it is given as an announcement of a court official\(^{16}\) who might have spoken in the sacred language Hattic. At the same time the term might have been borrowed from Hattic, having acquired a broader meaning, as is not uncommon in loanwords.

It can be supposed that a borrowing from a similar source is also present in Akkadian zannaru, which denoted the lyre as an instrument of the goddess Ishtar/Inanna;\(^{17}\) this form is used in a local copy of the Sumerian-Akkadian list of the vocabulary in Meskene/Emar.\(^{18}\) The form zannar(u)- presents two interesting phonetic points. In addition to having an initial z-resulting from a palatalized \(^*k\)- (like the Hattic forms and the Old Armenian one), it presents a non-front vowel \(a\) that should go back to a former front vowel that had caused the palatalization, i.e. \(^*i\) or \(^*e\) (in Hittite and some other languages of the area, these two phonemes or the cuneiform syllabic signs expressing them are mixed up, probably reflecting a change \(^*e > i\)). These two features make it possible to suggest a Luwian origin for the word. But in Luwian, it is usually labiovelars that were palatalized before front vowels;\(^{19}\) thus one should suppose that an original Western Semitic migratory term had been borrowed into a Proto-Luwian dialect (no later than the III mil. B.C.)

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\(^{16}\) See the contexts in: Badalì 1998, pp. 28, 38, 79, 261.

\(^{17}\) Landsberger 1958, pp. 119, 123, 142. On the term “stringed instrument of Inanna” in Hittite texts see also: de Martino 1988, pp. 7, 11, 13.

\(^{18}\) Gurney, Lawergren 1988.

\(^{19}\) Ivanov 1999. A suggestion about the possible Luwian origin of the Hattic forms of the lyre terms was mentioned, but discounted immediately, by Lawergren 1998, p. 59, where the linguistic data were not discussed in detail. As another possibility, one may think of a borrowing of the term into Proto-Luwian before the satam change of \(^*k\>-z\)-; on the whole problem of the satam-type words common to Luwian and other non-Indo-European languages belonging to the North-Caucasian family, see the author’s article “Comparative Notes ...” in the present volume.
with a labiovelar $^*k^w$ < W. Semitic $^*k$, and was palatalized before a front vowel $^*e/i$ that later developed into a. A similar process can be suggested for Old Armenian, where an early change to a voiced labiovelar might have occurred due to a contamination with an original Indo-European term $^*gw^hwen-$, cf. the semantically similar onomatopoetic root in Slavic $^*zvel/on-$ “to sound, to ring”, Baltic $^*zvel/an-$ (> Lithuanian $^*žvange$tì “to ring”) < IE $^*g^hw^hwen-$; cf. also a phonosemantic “ideophonic” correspondence in Latin sonus, sonāre: Sanskrit svana- < IE $^*swenH-$ 20 A similar process might also have occurred in Luwian, but the voiced character of an initial consonant cannot be seen in the cuneiform writing. If these suggestions are accepted one could suggest a borrowing of a Luwian form with initial $^*z$- < $^*k^w/g^w$- into Hattic (again not later than the III mil. B.C.). But not all forms with an initial palatalized velar and affricate or spirant resulting from palatalization need go back to a single source. Thus a later Coptic name $^\sigma$INNPA of the same instrument seems to have Coptic $^\sigma$- from Egyptian palatalized $^*k$- (before $^*-i-$) as a result of an internal Coptic phonetic process typologically similar to the one that occurred independently in several of the languages described above.

In a recent article, Colin Renfrew has stressed the borrowed character of most of the Ancient Greek terms for musical instruments, giving names for lyres among the clear examples.21 Such terms as Homeric $^φορμιγξ$ “lyre”, with the same “Pre-Greek” expressive suffix -$^ιγ(ξ)$ as several other names of musical instruments (Homeric $^σκωρυμγξ$ “Pan’s pipe, shepherd’s pipe, tube”, $^σάλλπιγξ$ “trumpet, horn”, also $^φωτιγξ$ “fife”, attested in Plu. and Athen.) have usually

20 Typologically (but not genetically) the Northern Caucasian musical instrument name $^*dwenV-$ (> North-Western Caucasian $^*twane$ > Ubykh twane; Nikolayev, Starostin 1994, p. 406) is similar to such expressive onomatopoetic words. But as the meaning of this word in most of the Northern Caucasian languages is “drum” and since the initial consonant cluster with labiodental stop is not at all close to what is found in the words for “lyre”, there is no possibility of a historical connection between these forms.

21 Renfrew 1998, pp. 246-247, with references to archaeological data.
been considered Mediterranean or “Pelasgian”/Minoan loanwords. For σὐριγξ there is an interesting parallel in Old Armenian *sring, which confirms the migratory character of the name of the pipe, borrowed from a similar source after the time of the Armenian consonant shift. Homeric κιθαρις “stringed instrument; lyre” and later κιθάρα are also considered to be possible (Oriental?) borrowings. The other word for lyre λύρα, supposed to be attested in a recently-discovered Thebes tablet (TH Av 106.7) in the Dual form ru-rafta-rē24 (but later attested only since the Homeric hymns) also lacks a clear etymology. The Western Semitic and migratory Ancient Oriental name of the lyre borrowed into Greek in the form κινύρα differs from all the other names of musical instruments enumerated above, as its etymology now

22 Chantraine 1979, p. 398; 1984, pp. 1222, 986, 1070-1071, 1238. On the Pre-Greek character of the suffix see already Polivanov 1968, pp. 170 (written before 1937), 341; Van Windekens 1964; early literature on possible connections of these terms to the other Paleo-Balkanic Indo-European languages has been summed up in Katičić 1976, pp. 68, 139. Given the important Egyptian parallels pointed out by Renfrew (1988, p. 246) to the trumpet or horn referred to as σάλπιγξ, one might suggest a tentative connection of the word to Coptic ΤΑΠ < Egyptian tp < db [*dib] “horn” (Černý 1976, p. 191; Loprieno 1998, pp. 41, 42), but the reason for the change of the initial consonant and the absence of the sonorant lateral before -p- is unclear; compare, however, a comparable difficulty with the absence of the sonorant -r- in Coptic Sahidic BOINE / Bohairic ΟΥΩΙΝΙ “harp” < bynt < b(s)nt [*bajnVt] (Černý 1976, p. 24; on the initial [f-] in the Sahidic form see: Loprieno 1998, p. 248, fn. 60) if it belongs with φόρμις. In the latter case, the change *-rn- > -ρν- is found in the other possible Neo-Egyptian/Coptic-Greek comparisons: Ėrnstedt 1953, pp. 84-85, 174; 1959-1961. Medial *-r- and *-l- might have changed into -j/i- in an original Afroasiatic prototype of the Egyptian words for both “trumpet” and “harp” (on *-r/-*l- > -j-, cf.: Vergote 1945, pp. 130-134; Korostovcev 1967, p. 34), but these processes should have taken place in a very old period, and in that case the respective Greek forms should be compared not to the Egyptian/Coptic forms but to their hypothetical Afroasiatic/Semitic cognates.

25 For various explanations of the word (presumed to be a borrowing) see: Chantraine 1984, p. 651; Vorreiter 1977a.
seems clear. It was borrowed (probably at a later period than most of the other terms) from an Ancient Oriental language in which the initial *k- of the original Western Semitic term had not been palatalized.\textsuperscript{26} As stringed instruments of the lyre or harp type had become important not only for music and for the vocal performance they accompanied, but also for poetry and ritual in general,\textsuperscript{27} the links discussed above between their names in Greek and Ancient Oriental languages might indicate the integration of an entire widespread area where later European cultural tradition had been anticipated and prepared.\textsuperscript{28} Since musical technology was considered to be among the main aspects of the religious life of these societies, its international development spread on a scale and with a speed comparable to modern achievements in the most advanced fields of engineering. The existence of several names for the lyre seems to presuppose the necessity of reconstructing different types of this instrument. One should certainly distinguish among types with a different number of strings. The 4-stringed lyre called φόρμιγξ in Homeric texts differed from the 9- or 7-stringed one probably referred to as κιθαρίς.\textsuperscript{29} If the name λύρα first referred to a 4-stringed instrument, it was later shifted to a 7-stringed one. A famous native Greek (poetic) name was formed on the basis of a metonymy: lyre (made of tortoise shell) = tortoise, as seen in the Homeric hymns, cf. also, among numerous later examples, possibly Sappho fr. 118 L-P, V (103 Diehl): χέλω “Oh tortoise!” (= “Oh lyre!”).\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{26} From the data summed up above it follows that the source need not be assumed to have been restricted to Hebrew (as stated in Chantraine 1984, p. 533, with reference to Masson 1967, p. 69, fn. 2; Brown 1965).


\textsuperscript{29} West 1981, pp. 115-118. On later relations between terms cf. Nagy 1990, p. 86 (with references).

\textsuperscript{30} Snell 1981, pp. 46-47 (the text is considered to be doubtful); Chantraine 1984, p. 1253.
Martin West has attempted to define the modes used while singing Homeric texts to the accompaniment of an archaic 4-stringed lyre. According to his hypothesis, the old manner of singing continued archaic metrical and accentological schemes going back to the Indo-European past. Some of the names of the four strings themselves, as reconstructed by West (following previous scholarship), may go back to prehistoric times, as can be seen by comparing them with corresponding stems in cognate languages:

- **e** — ὑπάτη (χορδή) “the highest string, giving the most grave note”; Homeric ὑπατός “highest, supreme, most exalted = best”, epithet of Zeus; cf. ἐν πυρή ὑπάτη “on the top of the pyre”; the semantic function of the formation corresponds to that derived from the same root *(s)-up-* with a synonymous suffix (*-mo-)*\(^{33}\) in Latin summus < *(s)-upero-, Sanskrit upama- “the highest”, Avestan upama, cf. uparō “the highest”, Sanskrit upar-i, Avestan upairi, Old Persian upariy : Gothic ufar, Greek ὕπερ < *(s)-er-. From a comparison of the Greek series ὑπό : ὑπερός : ὑπατος to the Indo-European one *upo : *upero- : *upmo- (deduced from Sanskrit upa- : upara- : upama-, Latin s-ub : s-upperus : s-ummus, Gothic uf : ufar : auhuma) one may conclude that in Greek a *ũπ(α)μος has been ousted by ὑπατος.\(^{34}\) (The original root, which developed into a grammatical word in most other dialects — cf. Greek ὕπο, Sanskrit upa etc. — was preserved in the Hittite verb up- [3 sg. pres. up-zi “to rise (of the sun and stars)”].) □

- **f** — λίχανος (χορδή) “the second string from the top of a 4-stringed lyre, connected to the forefinger”, cf. λιχανός (δάκτυλος) “forefinger”;\(^{35}\) the usual (probably popular) etymology connects the word to the Indo-European

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\(^{32}\) Chantraine 1984, p. 1157 (with references to texts).


verb *leigʰ*- “to lick” (Greek λείχω, Sanskrit lehmi, Old Armenian liz-em; Latin lingō, Gothic bi-laignon, Old English liccion; Luwian < liki “salt-lick”36): thus the forefinger is the finger which is licked. But judging from Greek λιχάς (gen. λιχόδος) “distance between the thumb and the index finger”, these Greek terms were probably derived from an old measuring term also preserved in Proto-Slavic lixъ “additional, surplus, odd”, assuming that the phonetic shape of this form can be explained by an assimilation of voicelessness, i.e. lixъ < *leik-s- < *leigʰ-s-.

  • a — μέση (χορδή) “middle string of a 7-stringed lyre and the middle finger; the highest key of the lowest tetrachord”, originally the name of the middle finger and of the corresponding string of a 4-stringed lyre;37 Mycenaean me-sa-to, me-sa-ta, Homeric quasi-superlative (ἐν) μεσσάτω, Att. μέσατος “the second of three sons” (Arist. Wasps 1502, Men. Fr. 233); Homeric μέσ(σ)ος “in the middle of”, μέση ὁλι “in mid-sea”. From archaic mythopoetical contexts such as Homeric πρόσθε λέων, ὅπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέση δὲ χίμαρα (Z 181), one can deduce that the suffix *-yo- points here to the middle object inside a triadic relationship.38 The Indo-European stem *medh-yo-s to which the Greek word has been traced back is reflected in Sanskrit madhyas, Avestan maiḍya- “middle”, Old Armenian mēj; Latin medius, Oscan mefiāi “mediae”, Gaulish Medio-, Gothic midjis “middle”, Old Prussian median “forest” (from the mythological representation of the “middle world” in the sacred tree), Old Church Slavonic mežd-u “between”.39

36 The Glossenkeil points to the Luwian character of the word, which seems to confirm the development *gh > -g/k- in Luwian (cf. Ivanov 1999, pp. 35, 41); for another interpretation cf. Melchert 1994, p. 255 (according to whom the word should be Hittite, as in Luwian the phonetic result should have been different).


38 Ernout, Meillet 1994, p. 393.

39 The meaning of Hittite meyanni “half (?) of the year” (Chicago HD, vol. 3, fasc. 3, pp. 229-234, with bibliographical summary) might make a derivation from *medh-yo- attractive, but no other traces of such a phonetic development have been found.
• \(d\) — νεάτη/νήτη (χορδή) “the lowest string of the lyre, with the highest pitch”\(^\text{40}\) originally the fourth string of a 4-stringed lyre; it is usually supposed that the form has been derived from νεῖος, Att. νέος “new”, a word with correspondences in all the Indo-European dialects. Nevertheless, since the formal aspect of the derivation, on the one hand, is not entirely clear, and since, on the other hand, archaeological data point to the possibility of Egyptian-Greek contacts in the sphere of stringed instruments, it is interesting to note, by way of comparison, the identity of Greek νείατα πείρατα “ultima Thule” and Coptic NEAT “the utmost, extreme limit”\(^\text{41}\). If the Demotic Neo-Egyptian or Coptic word had been borrowed into Greek in the meaning “ utmost, extreme”, it might have been applied to the lowest string of a lyre, and then later reinterpreted on the basis of a popular etymology linking it to νεῖος/νέος.

In this series the first and the last terms are formed (or, if the last-mentioned hypothesis is accepted, reinterpreted as derived) with the suffix -ατο-ζ, used to designate an opposition between polar terms\(^\text{42}\). Mycenaean me-sa-to and related later forms testify to the wider use of this derivational category with the terms given above, at the earliest historical period. With one possible exception the entire series is based on a very old system of native terms. As Martin West has supposed, three new terms were coined (or used in a new meaning) in order to designate the strings of the later 7-stringed lyre. One of them seems as old as the most ancient form in the whole series:

• τρίτος “fourth (as a musical term)”\(^\text{43}\), according to West the third string in a 7-stringed lyre.\(^\text{44}\) The word was not only an ordinal numeral expressing the completion of a series,\(^\text{45}\) but also an important mythopoetical

\(^{40}\) Chantraine 1984, p. 740, with summary of various difficulties with the explanation of the form, based on work by Seiler.

\(^{41}\) Èrnstedt 1962, p. 514, with bibliography on the Demotic Neo-Egyptian etymology of the Coptic term. See above (fn. 21) on other such possible comparisons and on Èrnstedt’s work in this area.

\(^{42}\) Chantraine 1973, p. 262.

\(^{43}\) Chantraine 1984, p. 1131.

\(^{44}\) West 1981, p. 120.

\(^{45}\) Benveniste 1993, pp. 155-161.
term, as seen in the name of Athena Τριτο-γένεια, cf. τριτο-πάτορες as names of Athenian divinities,\textsuperscript{46} Τρίτων, Vedic Trita Aptya, Trita, Avestan Θρίτα, Θραέταονα, on the basis of which an Indo-European myth about a “Third” Brother has been reconstructed.\textsuperscript{47} The use of this ancient adjective in the series reconstructed by West, overloaded as the word is with mythological shades of meaning, seems intriguing. One might think of a possible link between archaic musical tradition and other areas of Indo-European culture.

Two other terms that had been added to describe the strings of a 7-stringed lyre were derived from existing terms by means of a preceding παρά, to denote an item following the other one. This grammatical element, which might be traceable to a frozen local case form of a “relative” noun (cf. Old Hittite para : peran < *pero-m “front side”\textsuperscript{48}), is attested since Mycenaean times, and has the meaning of a spatial indicator in Homer\textsuperscript{49} (as in constructions with the names of springs) as well as in later texts. The full 7-member series contains these three additions to the 4-member set (e, f, a, d) described above:

1. ἵππατη
2. παρ-ὑπάτη
3. λίχανος
4. μέση
5. τρίτη
6. παρά-νήτη
7. νήτη

\textsuperscript{46} Chantraine 1984, pp. 864, 1138.
\textsuperscript{48} The idea according to which Indo-European prepositions/postpositions/adverbs of this type may go back to forms of lost paradigms of “relative” nouns (in the sense of Fillmore’s case theory) had already been put forward by Meillet, especially in his \textit{Introduction}. This has been confirmed by the discovery of corresponding paradigms in Old Hittite.
\textsuperscript{49} Chantraine 1986, pp. 120-124.
The possibility of arriving at an older 4-member system by internal reconstruction is evident not only because of the transparently later combinations with παρά, but also because in a 4-member series the terms μέση and τρίτη are in complementary distribution.

Although the names of the lyre might have been borrowed, the details of the use of the instrument, as reflected in these terms for strings, are connected to an authentic indigenous tradition. Such a mixture of an Indo-European legacy with post-IE early Oriental influences seems typical for Greek culture not only in the sphere of music, but in other areas as well.

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References


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