

CHAPTER 6*
APOLLONIUS OF TYRE

Or ellis of Tyre Apollonius . . .

that is so horrible a tale for to rede.

(Man of Law's Prologue 81 - 84)

The theologian Pachomios Rhousanos¹, writing from Crete an open letter to the Printers of Venice, complains of their reluctance to publish worthwhile works of piety and religion. Books of praise and devotion are rare, he says, but

«τίς δ' ἂν ἀριθμήσει τοὺς ἀπωλείας Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ ὑπερηφάνους Ὑπερίους καὶ Χάροντας ἀχαρεῖς ταρταρίους καὶ Ἑρωτικὰ σατανικά;»

In his choice of examples the monk undoubtedly influenced by his taste for playing upon words; but, by luck or by judgment, he has selected as his first target the book which above all others had «Innumerable» editions. We know of twelve, there might have been many more². The printed tradition of Apollonius lasted right down to the great hiatus in Greek typography, the first third of the nineteenth century when the occupation of Venice and the Greek Revolution between them smothered the production of Greek folk-books. In the forties and fifties others of the old repertoire were revived, first at Venice, and then by the new presses of Athens. Apollonius was never reprinted.

It had, however, survived three hundred years. The story of Apollonius had survived in a current written form longer in Greece than in any other part of Europe, so that its final disappearance was in the land which had seen its birth.

Though the Hellenistic romance of Apollonius is not extant in its original Greek, the Latin version made from it was one

*) «Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration», συνέχεια ἐκ τῆς σελ 270.

¹) Σ. Λάμπρος, Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων τῆς Βενετίας αἰτιάσεις τοῦ Kaisarίου Δαπόντε καὶ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου (NE 2 (1905)

²) Extant editions, all printed at Venice, are dated: 1534, 1553, 1564, 1579, 1603, 1610, 1624, 1628, 1642, 1696, 1745, 1778. See E. Legend Bibliographie Hellénique (complete series in 4 + 5 + 2 volumes, Paris 1885 - 1928).

of the most famous tales of the Middle Ages³. It survived some eight centuries of written tradition before it was printed in 1475, and has left over sixty manuscripts in the libraries of Europe. It was translated with varying fidelity into most European languages, and was incorporated in the great romantic collections of the *Gesta Romanorum*, Godfrey of Viterbo's *Memoria Saeculorum*, and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, English readers know it best as Shakespeare's *Pericles of Tyre*.

It seems sad that Acontianos's work, the last step in this triumphal progress, should have received such hard treatment at the hands of its critics. Wagner comments that «the language is very difficult, and seems to be the bad jargon of the islands⁴, and this judgment from so great a connoisseur of barbarism is hardly refuted by Smyth's answer that «on the contrary, the poem is well written, in the Cretan dialect»⁵. Krumbacher is austere silent. Haupt mutters «poetically worthless, linguistically crude»⁶. Klebs says that its only characteristic attribute is a broad garrulity. It is a sign of the indestructible vitality of the Apollonius legend that it should live for three centuries among the Greek people in the Cretan version⁷.

The moroseness of these comments comes perhaps not so much from informed judgment as from a lack of knowledge of Cretan dialect and convention, and a pardonable despair at the vilely-printed inanities of the Venetian chap-books Apollonius does not rank with *Erotocritos* in fluency of narrative, freedom of imagery, vigour of language: but in all these it carries the seeds of the mature Cretan style of the seventeenth century.

It has long ago been shown that the source of Acontianos's poem is the *Apollonio di Tiro* of Antonio Pucci, who

³) The exhaustive survey of the Apollonius-legend is E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus*, Berlin 1899. Klebs supplanted the many lesser works that he refers to, and since his time there has been hardly any new contribution to the subject.

⁴) W. Wagner, *Mediaeval Greek texts* (The Philological Society's extra volume, London 1870) Prolegomena p. xviii.

⁵) A. H. Smyth, *Shakespeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre* Philadelphia, p. 45.

⁶) M. Haupt, *Opuscula*, Leipzig 1876, vol. 3, p. 27.

⁷) E. Klebs, *op. cit.* p. 456.

lived from 1309 until 1383⁹. The apparentage is obvious in detail as well as, or rather more than, in general pattern. Pucci's poem is in 309 stanzas of *ottava rima*, divided into six books. Each book is conceived (though how much this is convention and how much reality is hard to say) as a «lay», a *cantare*, to an audience of *signori*, and the breaks between books are deliberately made at the most interesting points of the story. Thus Book I ends with Apollonius cast upon the rocks of Tripolis with no help in sight; Book II ends as his identity is revealed to the messenger who has come to recall him to his kingdom. Of this structure there is no trace in the Cretan poem. The story is continuous, in the narrative form usual to Byzantine and later Greek romance⁹.

Sometimes, it shows memories of the older unrhymed Greek Apollonius¹⁰. This is said to have been derived from an Italian prose version in Tuscan dialect; but at some points it too seems to be aware of Pucci's poem. However this may be, the date of the unrhymed poem is not affected. From its language it is a late Byzantine product, and the commonly accepted dating at c. 1400 is satisfactory enough. We can be certain, though, that here again we meet a poem which was intended for performance rather than reading. This can be seen from the signs in it of link - tune construction¹¹, and from the fact that

⁹) Enciclopedia Italiana s. v. Pucci, Antonio. For Pucci's version, E. Klebs op. cit. pp. 441 ff. Extant editions date from 1486 and there were three reprints before 1500 (A. H. Smyth op. cit. p. 39) Even earlier than this is the one found in a Paduan bookseller's accounts from the year 1480. «Apollonio di Tiro, (vulgare)». See R. Fulin Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana (Archivio Veneto XXIII. 2, (1882) p. 390 - 405). The earliest edition available to me was printed at Venice in (probably) 1560.

⁹) A plot of Apollonius of Tyre is given in chapter 8.

¹⁰) Newly edited by A. A. Janssen, *Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyrii (Indagationes Noviomagenses 2)* Amsterdam - Antwerp 1954, which has the relevant bibliography.

¹¹) *ἔγω διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην σου καὶ διὰ τὴν δούλευσίν σου*
τὴν ἐποιεῖς εἰς τὸ λουτρόν. 205
τὰ στάμνα πὺν ἔδωκεν ὁ κύρις Μαρκιῶνῃ
ἔγω νὰ τὰ πλερώνω 660 - 661
καὶ νὰ τὴν κορῶω εἰς χαράς, λογάριον νὰ σορεῦσω
διπλοῦν παρὰ τὸ πορνείον. 749 - 750

And elsewhere (see 11. 800, 745, 628 etc.).

the memories of it in the rime of Apollonius are confined to one section of the story (as if Acontianos had heard only the first evening of a bard's performance) and are of the sort more easily explained by recollection than comparison.

Verbal similarities are rare; for the older

νά μπήγουν τὸ κεφάλιν του ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ προχιόνια 43
we find

καὶ μπήξαν τὰ κεφάλια τως ἀπάνω σιὰ κοντάγια 103

The reward that Antiochus offers for Apollonius's head is in both poems a hundred gold pieces —

νά ἔχη χρυσίονους ἑκατὸν . . . 108

νά ἔχη ἑκατὸν χρυσὰ δουκάτα . . . 218

Pucci's villain offers «a thousand bezants».

In two other places Acontianos corresponds with the Greek bard, and not the Italian. In both Greek versions Apollonius returns from Antioch to Tyre and sails away again before the assassin Taliarcus is set upon his trail. In the Italian this order is reversed. Finally, when the wandering prince arrives at Tarsus with his cargo of grain, in the Greek poems he immediately gives the food to the starving inhabitants. Pucci makes him sell it to them at cost price,

. . . venderollo per quel ch'io lo comprai . . .

and only later does he have a change of heart and refund their money.

The Cre'tan poem is far from being a translation, or even a close copy, of Pucci's romance. The plot remains, often in close detail; but the treatment, the weight given to different episodes, the whole psychology of the piece is changed. This difference of attitude may best be illustrated by a comparison of a fairly long episode, the finding of Apollonius by the fishermen. In Pucci, this is the beginning of the second canto, after the usual invocation to Heaven and address to the audience:

*& si come del mare venne à uscire
parve che fussi forato di stampa
tutto dal capo al pie filava sangue
& sua sventura in tal maniera languie.*

*Al mar si volse & piangendo dicea
ò crudel mare perche non m' uccidesti*

*dapoi che cio che in questo mondo havea
per gran fortuna al mondo mi togliesti,
poi che deserto m'hai fortuna rea,
di scampar me gran peccato facesti
e affogato si sarè per dolore
che non che 'l vidde il detto pescatore.*

*Et quando il pescatore Apollon vide
andò ver lui con un tristo mantello,
& Apollonio con pietose stride
si raccomanda à lui come à fratello,
il buon homo con lui il mantel divide
& ei si leva & cuopresi con ello
che sol non v' era di saldo una spanna
& seco sel menò alla capanna.*

*Disse il pescator non c' è che mangiare
se noi non cominciamo un altro giuoco,
de duoi partiti l' un ti convien fare,
ò vuoi pescare, ò accendere il fuoco
disse Apollonio che non sa pescare,
ne cucinare, che mai non fu cuoco,
ma quel che ti piace tu m' insegnerai,
& io farò quel che comanderai.*

*Dapoi che del pescar tu non t' intendi
disse quel pescator, io v' andrò io
ch' i ti prometto che il cor tu m' accendi
di voglia di servire il tuo desio,
& tu instantly un gran fuoco raccendi
che io lo trovi acceso al tornar mio,
ma sel troppo aspettare ti rinresce
posati tanto ch' io rechi del pesce.*

*Et poi si mosse con sue vangaiuole
& andò in parte che molti ne prese,
& quando vide che n'ha quanti e' vuole,
ei ritorndò ad Apollon cortese,
& fra se stesso alquanto sene duole,
che Apollonio il fuoco non accese,*

*& egli disse, padre io mi ti scuso,
con ciosia cosa ch'io non ne sia uso*

Κι ἀμπώθει τον ὁ ἄνεμος κ' ἡ θάλασσα τὸν βγάνει
σ' ἓνα χαράκι σὲ γκρεμινὸν ἀπάνω τότε βάνει.
Τινὰς σὸδδὲν εὐπόρσεε ἀπ' ὄλους νὰ γλυτώση
παρὰ ὁ Ἄπολλώνιος ἔξω σιῆ γῆ νὰ δώση.
Κι ἀπὸ τὸν τόσον χιόνητον κείτεται κακωμένος
ἀπέσω σ' ἓνα γούργουθα ὡσὰν ἀποθαμένος.
Ἄπὸ τὸ βράχος ἦτοτε ὄλος ἐξεγδαρμένος,
σουσοῦμι δὲν τοῦ εἰσῦφερες ὡς ἦτον καμωμένος.
Καὶ τίς νὰ μὴν τὸ λυπηθῆ καὶ τίς νὰ μὴν τὸ κλάψη,
νὰ κείτεται ὁ βαρόμοιρος τᾶχη τὴν τόση βλάβη;
Ἄτυχε Ἄπολλώνιε, καὶ ποῦ ἔναι οἱ δουλευτάδες,
οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς χώρας σου, οἱ ἀκριβὲς δμάδες;
Ποῦ ἔναι τὸ στρώμα τῶμορφον ὀπού σουν μαθημένος,
κ' ἐδῶ εἰς τῶνα γούργουθα κείτεσαι ζαρωμένος,
κ' ἔχεις τὸ βράχος συντροφιά, τὴν θάλασσα κοντά σου,
προσκέφιλο νὰ κείτεσαι ἀπάνω σιὰ μαλλιά σου;
Μὰ σὰν ὁ Θεὸς δὲν ἤθελεν καθόλου νὰ τὸν χάση
ὄγια ν' ἀλιέψη εἰς ψαρᾶς ἦλθεν ἐκεῖ νὰ φιάση,
κ' εἶδεν τὸν Ἄπολλώνιον πὼς ἔναι ἐκεῖ θεμένος·
εἰρόμαξεν ὁ γέροντας ὡς ἦτον καμωμένος.
Ἐπόνεσέν τοτε πολλὰ κ' ἔκλαιγεν ὁ καῦμένος
«Κρῆμα σὶ τὸν τὸν ὄμορφον νὰ κείτεται πνιμμένος!»
Καὶ μετ' αὐτεῖνο πό κλαιγεν, καὶ πόνειεν ἡ ψυχὴ του,
βλέπει καὶ παρασάλευγε, καὶ κτύπα τὸ λαγκί του.
Ἐγλάκησε μὲ τὴν χαρά, κ' ἤφερεν ξυλαράκια,
πυροβολᾶ καὶ ἄφτει σιὰ ἀπάνω σιὰ χαράκια.
Ἐσίμωσέν τοτε κοντὰ ὄγια νὰ τὸν πυρώση,
ἴτις νὰ πέψη ὁ Θεὸς καὶ νὰ τότε γλυτώση.
Καὶ τὴν παλιογουνέλα του, ἐκείνην ὀποῦ φόρει
ἔβγαλε καὶ σκεπάζει τον σιῆν κρυότην ὀπὸ θώρει.
Δαμὶν ἀκροσυνήφερε, ἀνοίγει καὶ τὸ φῶς του,
καὶ τὸν ψαρᾶ στοχάζεται πὸ κάθετον ὀμπρός του.
Λέγει του· «Αὐτὸ τὸ μ' ἔκαμες ὁ Θεὸς νὰ σὲ πλερώση
καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν σὶ τὸ τέλος νὰ σοῦ δώση.
Ἐσοῦ σουν ὀποῦ γλύτωσες σήμερον τὴ ζωὴ μου
κι ἀνέστησές με ἀπὸ νεκρὸν κ' ἤφερες τὴν ψυχὴ μου»
λέγει ὁ ψαρᾶς· «νὰ σέβεσαι τὸν Κύριον νᾶχης χάρη,

πὸν μ' ἔφερεν ἐκ τὸ πουργὸν ἐδῶ νὰ πιάσω ψάρι».

 Ἐπειὶ ἀκροσυνήφερε ἦτονε μεσημέρι

 εἶδεν καὶ βροσκοτο μακρὰ ἐκ τὰ δικά του μέρη.

 Εἶδεν καὶ δὲν ἐμπόρειε πλεὸ σὰν ἦτιον μαθημένος

 νὰ ἴναι εἰς τόσην ἀτυχίᾳ πιωχὸς καὶ ξορισμένος,

 κ' εἶδεν τὸ πὼς εὐρίσκετον καθόλου ἐξυμμένος,

 καὶ ἀρχίνησεν ἀπὸ καρδιᾶς κ' ἔκλαιγεν ὁ καϋμένος.

 Μὲ χίλιους ἀνασιεναγμοὺς σηκώνεται, καθίζει,

 καὶ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν θεωρεῖ, καὶ τότες ἀρχινίζει

 «Ἦ θάλασσα, τόσον κακὸν ἔκαμες εἰς ἐμένα,

 καὶ νὰ μ' ἀφήσης ἐγδυμνὸν κ' ἴτις πιωχὸν σιὰ ξένα.

 Γιάντια λοιπὸν δὲ μ' ἔπνιγες, θάνατον νὰ μοῦ δώσης;

 Κριτὴμα μεγάλον μ' ἔκαμες ἴτις νὰ μὲ γλυτώσης!»

 Ἦς εἶδεν τόσην ὁ ψαῶς τὴν λύπην καὶ τὸ κλαῖμα,

 ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ μάτια του ἐκ τὸν καϋμὸν ἐδράμα.

 Μὰ πάλι τὸν παρηγοῶ «Ἄμὰ ἴδες τόση χάρη

 καὶ γλύτωσες, ἀνήμενε καὶ πᾶ νὰ πιάσω ψάρι

 Κι ἄφτε ὡσιόσον τὴν ἰσιᾶ, κ' ἴτις μπορεῖ νὰ βροῦμε,

 καὶ δόξαζε τὸν Κύριον κ' ἔρχομαι νὰ γενοῦμε».

 Ἐπῆγεν κ' ἔπιασεν πολὺν τόσον πὸν νὰ τῶς φθάσῃ,

 ἐγύρισε κ' εἰς ὄρδινα ἰῶβαλε νὰ τὸ φᾶσι.

(313 - 370)

It is interesting to note that Pucci and Acontianos claim to be very much in the same position :

. . . *Mi fu recato in questa lingua prima*
perche ciascun si bella storia intenda
& io à voi ve l'ho contato in rima
perche diletto ciaschedun ne prenda . . .

(in fine)

. . . νὰ γράψω τὸ βουλήθηκα καὶ νὰ τ' ἀνατιβάλω
 τῶδα γραμμένον πούπειτας κ' εἰς ῥίμα νὰ τὸ βάλω.

(26 - 27)

Καὶ τοῦτο ἐκινήθηκα διὰ τὰ πολλὰ του πάθη
 κ' ἔβαλα σιὸ Ρωμαϊκὸ καθένας νὰ τὸ μάθῃ

(1867 - 1868)

and it is true that both are expressing in a new popular style that which had been the preserve of only a small part of the people. But the century and a half which passed between Italian poem and Greek poem do not mean simply that there was a time - lag of one hundred and fifty years between the cultures of metropolitan Italy and provincial Crete. The popular virtues of the Cretan poem are much further removed from the Middle Ages. This fisherman episode shows just how real, how drama-

tically true Acontianos's poem is when compared with its model.

The hero is torn and flayed from head to foot by the assault of the rocks. In the Italian he merely stands up and laments: the Cretan interprets the fact and casts him unconscious on the shore, while the contrast between good fortune and bad, between what he was and what he is, is left in the mouth of the poet. Very properly, because this is the whole theme and unity of the poem. The wheel of fortune that Apollonius has in common with *Erotocritos*¹²

καὶ πάλι ὁ κύκλος ἔστρεψε καὶ γόρισεν ἀπάνω 9

and

μὰ σὰν ὁ κύκλος τοῦ καιροῦ πολλές φορές γυρίζει
ξανάστροφα κι ἀνάποδα κ' εἰς χαλασμόν ἀρχίζει 111 - 112

—this is the real morality of the work, if morality it may be called: and it is precisely the same as Pucci's attitude when in Tripoli Apollonius is recalled to his rightful kingdom—

. . . *ci siamo in su la ruota contentati;*
preghiamo i Dio che la ruota non volga
che poi nel fondo noi non sian trovati!

In those days of corsairs there must have been many Cretans who had seen a corpse on the shore; and that is the natural sequence of the Cretan version. But now the Italian is almost courtly Apollonius's attitude to the fisherman is shaded by a slight but pervasive sense of superiority. It is emphasized that he talks «come à fratello»; the fisherman is «il buon huomo»—in the same faintly condescending sense as «my good man». Cretan manners would have found this utterly remote. As for the idea that a Greek gentleman would not know how to light a fire and cook some fish, this would have been so ridiculous to his audience that Acontianos has very sensibly left it out. Pucci's readers were close enough to the courtly conventions to accept a helpless prince as a poetic possibility.

In the Italian the fisherman follows S. Martin and splits his cloak with the castaway. Again the romantic impracticality is shunned by Acontianos. His man is too sensible, and too Christian, and prefers to give his cloak whole. This rustic kindness

¹² See *Erotocritos* notes p. 378, for plentiful examples from Byzantine and Cretan poetry.

runs through the encounter. It is only when Apollonius has eaten, (the invitation is «για πιάσε να διακονηθῆς»—«help yourself») that the fisherman asks, and then with most characteristic Greek directness

«ἔδῶ σ' τοῦτα τὰ μέρη
πῶς ἔτυχεν ἢ μοῖρά σου ἐδίτις νὰ σὲ φέρῃ ;»

The same simplicity may be seen when Archistrata has been revived and is lodged in the physician's house. The Italian poem provides her with an array of maids and the food of her choice—

*In una zambra in sun' un ricco letto
fece metter la donna & ben servire
& delle cameriere al suo diletto
che fedelmente debbinla ubbidire
delle vivande non havier difetto
che mestier le facevon per guarire,
& dalle donne di quella cittade
era ben vicitata in veritade.*

She is treated as a princess, and it is a princess that she receives formal visits from the local ladies. In the Greek it is very different. There is no excess of luxury, and the motives for visiting her are simple curiosity and neighbourly charity:

Καὶ γιὰ νὰ τὴν κηδέψουσι κάμερον τὴ βγοδῶσαν,
καὶ σιρῶμαν ἄξιον τῆς τιμῆς γιὰ λόγον τῆς ἐστρωσαν,
καὶ μὲ τὰ ἴδια ἀκριβὰ σὲ σωτηριὰν ἐβύρθη,
κι ἀπὸ τὴν τόσην ἀρωσιὰν εὐφερεν κ' ἐγέρθη.
'Ἐκεῖ ἀνεμαζώνοντιαν γιὰ νὰ τήνε θωροῦσι
γοι ἀρχόντισσες, γιὰ σπλάχνος τῆς νὰ τὴν παρηγοροῦσι

1009 - 1014

Just as in these instances out-of-date and foreign attitudes have been assimilated to the Cretan scene, so in a few places foreign facts have been naturalised. In Pucci's poem Apollonius makes his name at Archistratos's court by winning the game of *palla*, «hand-ball». In Acontianos, his excellence is at dancing, and it is his solo improvisations that excite admiration, just as they would in a modern *pentozali*. And when Pucci's Tarsia goes out to play to the people of Mytilene—a scene which provides the frontispiece of the Italian poem's early editions—she plays upon a viol, seated upon a platform, to an audience

sitting as at a recital of chamber - music. The Cretan gives her a native lyra¹³ and sends her down to the market - place to sing couplets, *σιχόλογα*, to the passers - by.

There, her best songs are laments, *μοιρολόγια*, which move everyone to tears. In this there is no exaggeration. I myself have seen an old Cretan washerwoman in tears after her son had read to her the laments of Abraham's Sacrifice; and great as is the modern awe of death and its surround, it must be small compared with the emotion it produced in older times. Buondelmonti, writing about 1420, has left us this account of a Cretan's funeral¹⁴.

«After the man had left this life, singers went to his home, and standing before the corpse among the womenfolk burst out in lamentations. Then everyone was silent until they had praised the dead man in song. All the women took turns, and sometimes cursed the Fates. Finally they gave a last farewell, and allowed themselves to be taken weary to their houses. Then at last came that long night which they voluntarily live, a year or more, without light like animals on the ground. There on the ground they eat, and late and early never stop calling in shrill lament upon the man who has now descended to the shades. For three or four years they shun the church, and choose to be in darkness and in solitude».

This is not very different from the Prince in the darkness and filth of a ship's bilge.

Such dirges and laments are one of the chief adornments of Acontianos's poem. They are suggested in the Italian. Apollonius's lament on the seashore has already been quoted. It is as if the Cretan work has taken the suggestions of the more literary Italian and clothed them in the dread associations of the *mirologi*—

Ῥιμένα, τὸ παιδάκι μου, τὸ θάρορος κ' ἡ ὁδός μου,
ἀπαντοχῆ, κληρονομιά, ὁποῦσουνε τὸ φῶς μου. 1463 - 1464

¹³ So called in one variant reading (V 1111); in any case the *κιδάρα* must be a lyra because it is expressly stated that it is played with a bow (1408).

¹⁴ C. B o n d e l m o n t i u s, *Descriptio Cretae* (ed E. L e g r a n d in *Description des Iles de l' Archipel* (Publications de l' École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, serie 4e, vol. 14, Paris 1897)). See pp. 116 - 117.

Παιδί μου, κανακάρη μου, θάρρος κι ἀπαντοχή μου Θυσία 525

. . . πὸν τέτοιο γιὸ δὲν εἶδα,

ὁπὸν τὸν εἶχα θάρρος μου, ἀπαντοχή κι ὀλπίδα. Ἐρωτ. 1478 · 9

The plot provides enough opportunities for these laments, and to the modern reader it may seem that they are overweighted. The Cretan of the sixteenth century would have seen them as something very different; as passages that combined the most violent human emotions with the most familiar of aesthetic experiences. The laments of Apollonius provide at the same time some of its best poetry and one of the most important reasons for its long popularity.

The same cannot be said for the other main source of interruption to the narrative, the poet's moral and theological comments. The conversion to Christianity of this pagan history forms a fascinating study on its own. Pucci, for instance, blithely combines Archistrata's desire to become a servant of God with her entry into a temple of Diana. But, of all the versions of Apollonius it is the unrhymed Greek poem that makes the most consistent and detailed attempt to provide a Christian complexion¹⁵. Allusions to the Scriptures are rife. The Neptunalia of Mytilene become Easter, Apollonius visits the church of S. John the Divine at Ephesus, and Archistrata is Abbess of the Convent of S. Thecla. It seems very likely that Acontianos's religious interpolations stem from the earlier Greek version. They are nothing like as sweeping as those of the unrhymed poem. Apollonius is set on the road to the convent by no such excess as the vision of an angel, but by a simple dream. Even the most tedious moral precepts are given in an epigrammatic, almost poetical, style —

Τᾶστερα μετανοιώματα, ἔχ' ἀκοή δὲν ξάζου,

εἴκοσι πέντε στὸ σολδι ἕστερα τὰ ξεοδιάζου.

1439 · 1440

But generally it can be said that the poet's own comments are excrescences on the poem. That this might not be the judgment of a Cretan reader can be seen from the fact that «Lives of the Saints», and «A Letter of our Lord Jesus Christ» may still be bought at the tobacco - kiosks for a drachma apiece: and Marino - Zane Bunialis's verse pamphlet «An act of cōmpuct-

¹⁵) For a detailed account, see A. A. Janssen op. cit. pp. 25 · 26.

ion useful to every Christian», which was first published at Venice in 1684, is still hawked entire on the streets of Candia¹⁶.

While Acontianos has made many additions to the narration of the simple story, he has also pruned much away. It can be said unequivocally that all the omissions strengthen the plot. There is in the Italian a description running to a dozen stanzas of the celebrations at Mytilene after Tenagoras's marriage to Tarsia. This is completely missing in the Cretan, and rightly so; it holds up the course of a climax which can afford no delay.

Again, the scene in the hold of the galley is brilliantly improved by Acontianos. He minimises the narration of Tarsia's first visit to Apollonius and concentrates upon the dramatically important second one. Pucci describes the first in detail and so stales our interest in the second. The revelation of Tarsia's identity is handled by the Italian poem in an artificial bumbling narrative that embraces almost the whole story in seventy or eighty lines. The Greek deals with it in eight lines of natural outburst

« Ἄναθεμα τὸ σπῖτι σου, Στραγγίλιε τυράννο,
 ὀπούσουν ἢ κακὴ μου ἀρχὴ σὲ τοῦτα τὰ παθάνω!
 Ἄναθεμα τῆ μοῦρά μου, ἀνάθεμα τὴν ὥρα
 ὁ κύρης μου ὄντα μ' ἔφηκε σιτὴν ἰδικὴ σου χώρα!
 Ἄν τῷξευρον ὁ κύρης μου, δὲν μὲ ἔθελεν ἀφήσει,
 οὐδὲ τρομῆξειν ἤθεξε τιὰς νὰ μοῦ μιλήση.
 Κ' ἐδὰ πὸ καταστάθηκα ὄλοι νὰ μ' ὄνειδιζον
 σ' τόσα καταφρονέματα καὶ νὰ μὲ κοπανίζου». 1539 - 1546

which are in the exact cadence of folk-poetry. There is a whole body of modern *mantinades* on like themes

Ἄνάθεμά τη τὴ στιγμὴ κι ἀνάθεμα τὴν ὥρα . . .
 Ἄνάθεμά σε, μοῦρά μου, μοῦρά μ' ἀνάθεμά σε . . .¹⁷

and this whole passage is so close to the folk-idiom that some of the actual words have been retained in a modern folk-version of the story - a very rare occurrence¹⁸.

¹⁶) (M. Ζ. Μπουνιαλιῆς) Φυλλάδα τῆς ψυχῆς, Heracleion, n. d. (1930 - 1940?)

¹⁷) Π. Π. Βαβουλές, Ὁ κρητικὸς τραγουδιστής, Canea 1950, pp. 90, 103.

¹⁸) See, chapter 8.

In this scene may be noted an interesting change in psychology between Italian and Greek. When Apollonius was shown the grave which purported to be his daughter's he had said

*«Già io non credo che lei morta sia :
ma fe è morta, per mar voglio andare
come fortuna mi vorrà quidare».*

Now when he is attracted by Tarsia's personality on her first visit to him,

*«s'io farò mai in altro stato,
per tuo padre & signor tener mi puoi . . .»*

These moments of dramatic irony are quite absent from the Greek. May it be said that same quality seems to be lacking in Erotocritos? Certainly Cornaros seems to be following Acontianos's example in tautening and simplifying his model. The way in which the two great tournaments of Paris et Vienne become one in Erotocritos, and the omission of the five dreams of the Western romance, show in the seventeenth century exactly the same principles as had been laid down at the very beginning of the sixteenth.

There may seem to be yet another resemblance in the composition of Apollonius and Erotocritos: that neither was content with a single source. Cornaros used ideas from Theseus inserted in his quite different narrative¹⁹, and even for the main plot of his romance seems to have used two different versions of Paris et Vienne²⁰. Acontianos, it has already been shown, had some knowledge of the earlier Greek poem, as well as of his main source, Pucci. The situation becomes a little more complicated when we examine the two new episodes in the Cretan poem; the tournament and the tale of Polydorus.

The second may even be a later interpolation, so uneasily does it fit with the course of the narrative. Tarsia's treatment

¹⁹) See chapter 5.

²⁰) G. Morgan, French and Italian influences in the Erotocritos (K. X. 7 (1953) pp. 201 - 228). See p. 228. In this article I suggested that, however unlikely it seemed, it might be preferable to believe that there was an Italian Paris e Viena that combined elements from both the French and Italian versions that we know. This was always improbable. Now that Cornaros has been shown to have had his Teseide at hand while he was writing, it seems quite possible that he should have been using two forms of Paris e Viena simultaneously.

at the hands of Strangilios and Dionida is compared with the way in which Polydorus, youngest son of Priam, was murdered for his money by his brother - in - law, Polymestor of Thrace, to whose care he had been entrusted²¹. The reminiscence is appropriate; but the ancient story has been set in Tarsus (only in this episode called *Τάρσος*) to show how a tradition of inhospitality has survived. It seems quite out of character for a fifteenth - century writer to change classical legend in this way, and the probable solution is that there has been some confusion between the Italian «Tracia» and «Tarsia».

The other insertion is more mysterious. The tournament in which Apollonius defeats the knights of Archistratus's realm, and so shows his nobility, is clearly a genuine, and successful part of the Cretan poem. Yet it exists in no other part of the Apollonius corpus except in *Pericles of Tyre*, where Shakespeare, too, departs from his named authority, John Gower²². In *Pericles*, the tournament takes the place of the game of ball in the standard story; and at dinner the prince excels not at harping, but at dancing. The dancing may well be coincidence, induced in the English drama by stage requirements, but the tournament seems to be the product of a certain dis-

²¹) The immediate source of the story was presumably an Italian work. It is certainly not taken from the Byzantine account in Tzetzes (3. 75. 249 ff), nor from Vergil or Ovid (*Aeneid* 3. 45 ff *Metamorphoses* 13. 429 ff), for it combines points from both. Vergil does not mention the name Polymestor (the Greek has Polynestor) and Ovid has the body cast into the sea, not «σὶ δὲ χῶμαν ἀποκάτω».

²²) *Pericles of Tyre*, Act 2, Scene 2. Each knight appears with his shield, which has a most unheraldic device and motto:

*« . . . a withered branch that's only green at top,
the motto «In hac spe vivo».*

*A pretty moral;
from the rejected state wherein he is,
he hopes by you his fortunes yet may flourish».*

Compare the Lord of Egripos:

*Ἦτο μιά βρύση, κ' ἤτριχε νερὸ κρονοσταλλιασμένο,
κ' ἔνα δεντροῦ ἀνάδια τζη ψημένο μαραμένο,
δίχως βλαστοὺς δίχως ἀθούς δίχως καρπούς και μῆλα,
κ' ἤδειχνε πὼς ξεραίνονται οἱ κλώνοι και τὰ φύλλα.
Ἦσαν και γράμματα χρυσά εἰς τοῦ δεντροῦ τὴ μέση,
τὴν παραπόνουσι τοῦ νιοῦ και τὸν καημόν του λέει.*

Ἐρωτ. 2 207 - 212

satisfaction with Archistratus's easy acceptance of this unknown son - in - law. This uneasiness is particularly noticeable in the French versions. In the oldest «the princely wooers ..are rejected. They declare war. The princess asks Apollonius if he can fight. In the battle he distinguishes himself and saves the old king»²³. A sixteenth - century prose version makes Apollonius save the king's life in a boar - hunt²⁴, and a closely - related ballad of Jourdain de Blaives has the hero repel a Saracen invasion and slay the infidel leader²⁵. However we may explain it, it is clear that the Cretan poem's tournament is representing the tradition of an alternative, and equally satisfactory, plot. We have yet another demonstration of the period's literary unity. Again, as with Pothotsoustitonia we are forced to accept that neighbouring literary ideas come from opposite ends of Europe²⁶.

²³) A. H. Smyth, op. cit. p. 81.

²⁴) E. Klebs, op. cit. p. 416.

²⁵) A. H. Smyth, op. cit. p. 81.

²⁶) See above, chapter 4.

CHAPTER 7
THE APPEAL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The fall of Constantinople on May 29th 1453 was a catastrophe for the Greek lands under Western rule. Though their students now turned to Florence and Padua instead of to her impoverished colleges, yet in the folklore of the islands Constantinople was still the centre of the universe, the place of sophistication and authority, «The City» of the world. The end of Constantinople was the end of their hopes to return to Byzantine rule.

In Crete, the most rebellious of the Frankish lands, the memory of Byzantium was still fresh. The Cretan nobility was always proud of its descent from the twelve Byzantine lords whom Alexis I had sent out to possess the island. Charters and concessions from the Imperial Court were jealously handed down and copied¹. Forgeries were carefully made to include one family or another in the close circle, and Cretan nobles placed on their arms the two-headed eagle of Byzantium².

The soldiers and sailors, first of John Vatatses (1230) and then of Michael Palaeologue (1261), had fought side by side with the Cretans in their rebellions³; and when, in 1278, the Chortatzi were forced to flee from the island after their unsuccessful revolt, they took with them so many patriots that twenty years afterwards they were able to provide a regiment of three thousand Cretans to fight the Turks in Asia Minor⁴. Venetian peace treaties stipulated that the Cretans must abandon all hope of union with the Empire, but even so, when John Callergis proclaimed rebellion in 1364, it was the Byzantine flag he raised⁵.

Cretan churches were dated by the reigns of Byzantine emperors⁶, but the spiritual connexion with the city was not stron-

¹) E Gerland, *Histoire de la noblesse crétoise au moyen âge* Paris 1907, passim.

²) Σ Ξανθοουδίδης, *Ἡ ἐνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ* (TF 31, Athens 1939), p. 56.

³) *Ibid.* pp. 37, 45.

⁴) Pachymeres (CSBH II, 209. 5ff).

⁵) Σ. Ξανθοουδίδης, *op. cit.* p. 100.

⁶) G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti in Creta*, Venice 1905, vol. 4, p. 395.

ger than the commercial bonds. When the news of the disaster comes to the Commune of Venice, among the scenes of despair it is estimated that while the Serene Republic has lost two hundred thousand ducats in the pillage, a hundred thousand more have been lost by her «feudati e cittadini» of the Isle of Candia¹.

Such an event was naturally the inspiration of many literary works. Of these one of the best, and indirectly one of the most influential, was the *'Ανακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* — the «Appeal of Constantinople»².

It is a poem in 118 unrhymed political verses which shows a quite unassimilated mixture of opposite styles; of the uneven archaism of Byzantine moral poetry side by side with the unaffected idiom of the folksong.

A ship is coming down from the Bosphorus, off Tenedos³, when a galley hails her and asks for her news. The encounter between two ships is a common element in many folksongs, though normally it is the prelude to battle, not conversation—

Μπαίνουν κ' ἔλαμναν τὰ κουπιὰ ζερβὰ σὴ Μυτιλήνη,

«Στάσου καρὰβι ξακουτὸ . . .»

K 249.2

The news is that Constantinople has fallen, the supreme catastrophe, the «hail of thunderbolts», the «heart of the whirlwind». The compound adjective is found in an Acritic song from Crete

Σὰν τὴν ἀστραποχάλαζην εἶν' ἡ πορπατηξιάν του

K 305

Constantine the Emperor is dead.

Before he dies he sees how his allies are all in flight. He shouts to the Cretans to cut off his head, to save it from defilement. The words are the same as those used by the patriot

¹) G. Thomas, (Sitz. kon. bay. Akad. Wiss. (philos. - philol. Klasse) 1868) p. 37.

²) First published in E. Legrand, Collection de Monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique, nouvelle série, no. 5, Paris 1875; and then (as an appendix) in A. Ξηρουχάκις, Ὁ Κρητικὸς πόλεμος, Trieste, 1908.

³) The place would be significant to a Cretan audience. Tenedos had been depopulated for military reasons in 1383, and its inhabitants settled in Euboea and Crete. Measures were taken to settle them over the island, and a suburb of Candia was known as Tenedia. (F. Thiriet, Venise et l'occupation de Tenedos au XIV^e siècle, (Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française à Rome 65 (1953) pp. 219 - 245)).

Vlachothanasias three hundred years later at Naupactos¹⁰, or by Michelis Vlachos in Crete¹¹, and the treatment that Constantine seeks to avert is the same treatment as the klephts' remains actually suffered,

*τὰ κόψουν τὸ κεφάλιν μου, τὰ μπήξουν εἰς κοντάριν,
τὰ σκίσουν τὴν καρδίαν μου, τὰ φᾶν τὰ σωθικά μου,
τὰ πιῶν ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμά μου.* AK 53 - 55

The sun must not shine upon such evil

*Ἦλιε μου ἀνάτειλε παντοῦ, σ' οὐλον τὸν κόσμον φέγγε,
καὶ χύνε τις ἀκτινές σου σ' ὄλην τὴν οἰκουμένην* AK 57 - 58

The Cretan feast - songs extant show variants of this in the famous song about the slaves of Barbary:

*Ἦλιε μου, καὶ φεγγάρι μου, καὶ κοσμογυρευτὴ μου,
σ' οὐλον τὸν κόσμ' ἀνάτειλε, σ' οὐλην τὴν οἰκουμένην,
σιῶ Μπαρμπαρέσω τις ἀδές, ἦλιε, μὴν ἀνατείλῃς,
κι ἂν ἀνατείλῃς, ἦλιε μου, τὰ γοργοβασιλέμῃς,
γιὰ θὰ βραχοῦ οἱ γιαχιτῖνές σου ποὺ τῶ σκλαβιῶ τὰ δάκρυα.*

K 332. 1

The women of Constantinople are being led away as slaves, to perform menial tasks on the estates of their masters. Compare these haughty maidens with the Albanians of the Morea three and a half centuries later:

*Τοῦ Λάλα μὲ τὰ χρυὰ νερά, μὲ τις βαρειές κυράδες,
μὲ τις τρανές ἀρχόντισσες, τις καλομαθημένες,
ποὺ δὲν καταδεχόντανε τὴ γῆς τὰ τὴν πατήσουν,
πὸ φόρηγαν χρυσὰ σκουτιὰ καὶ κόκκινα σαλβάρια,
καὶ τὴν πῶς κατάντησαν κοπέλλες στοὺς ραγιαδες!
Φέρονν βαρέλια μὲ νερὸ καὶ ξύλα ζαλωμένες,
νᾶχουν οἱ Ἕλληνες νερό, φωτιὰ τὰ πυρωθεῦνε¹².*

Constantinople, the heritage of the Byzantine Emperors, has fallen, to a youth who is the precursor of Antichrist, the first agent of that reign of evil which is to precede the Second Coming and the Age of Gold.

The Appeal is in the form of a «threnos» or «monody»¹³,

¹⁰) N. Γ. Πολίτης, Ἐκλογαί... no 52, Athens 1932.

¹¹) K. 37.

¹²) N. Γ. Πολίτης, op. cit. no. 12.

¹³) Generally speaking, «threnos» is used of verse, and «monody» of prose, but this is not universally true.

a form characteristic of Byzantine literature, though not exclusive to it. Its descent from the «Lamentations» of Jeremiah is always clear. The prophet's own words are often incorporated, sometimes with acknowledgement, more frequently without. One of the most characteristic features is the apostrophe or reference, often dragged in most inappropriately, to Zion and its daughters. Such a lament might be upon the death of an individual, upon calamity or massacre, or even, as in Procopius, upon the collapse of the dome of S. Sophia; but by far the most common was the lament on the fall of a city¹⁴, published sometimes as an independent work, sometimes as an excursus in an otherwise straightforward narrative. Some of these are quite general jeremiads, while others embody historical, often eyewitness, accounts. In this tradition is the Appeal, whose sources, fortunately for our understanding of the way in which popular history is made, may readily be traced.

When Constantinople fell, one of its residents most sought after by the Turks was Isidore, Cardinal of Ruthenia, who was in the city as Pope Nicholas V's legate for the reconciliation of the churches proposed in the Synod of Florence. In the confusion, he changed clothes with a beggar, whose corpse was found and subjected to all ignominy; was then captured, and, not being recognised, bought his liberty for a few pieces of silver. When he reached safety, he wrote a Letter to all Christians¹⁵, «datum Cretae in domibus residentiae nostrae», on July 8th., 1453.

This letter has a formal condemnation of Mahomet II as the

¹⁴) e. g.

Syracuse (Theodosius the monk, PG 135, 53)

Salonica, in 904 (John Cameniates, PG 109, 525)

in 1185 (Eustathius of Salonica, PG 136, 9)

in 1230 (John Anagnostes, CSBH)

in 1343 (Demetrius Cydonius, PG 109, 639)

in 1430 (three anonymous works, ed. Σπ. Λάμπρος (Νέος Έλληνομνήμων 1908)

Athens (Anon. ed. G Destunis, Persami vy Attichyeskoy Athiny, St Patersburg, 1881)

Constantinople, in 1204, Nicetas Choniates, OSBH).

¹⁵) Edited together with the letters of Leonard of Chios and Godofridus Langus, in J. B. L'Écuy in *Narrationes de Capta Constanti-nopoli*. Paris 1823.

archenemy of Christianity, and its call to Christians everywhere to unite in defiance of the Turk, (whose supposed weakness is revealed in detail), is the first ancestor of similar appeals in the Lament of Constantinople assigned to Emmanuel Georgillas¹⁶, in Jacques du Clercq's Journal¹⁷, in Lauro Quirini's Letter to the Pope¹⁸, and in many subsequent works. But the body of the text consists of a description of the fall of the City and the pillage that followed; this account is undoubtedly used in the Appeal of Constantinople.

The Cardinal names Mahomet II as «Antichristi praecursor», just as the Appeal calls him «πρόδρομος Ἰαντιχριστου». The epithet had been applied, many centuries before, to apostasy in general, and the Arian heresy in particular¹⁹ then to the treachery of the Fourth Crusade²⁰: but it is in Isidore that it finds its first expression in this context.

The list of the enslaved is remarkably alike in both works. Isidore has:

«... tam nobiles quam populares, tam monachos et monachas consecratos, quam etiam alios simplices populares. Et feminas virtute praeditas et nobilitate, vituperose et indecorate detractas... Adulescentulos vero et adulescentulas, pueros et puellas, a parentibus segregabat, et divisim eos vendebat».

In Cretan,

*Ἄρχοντες, ἀρχοντόπουλοι, ἀρχόντισσες μεγάλες,
εὐγενικὲς καὶ φρόνιμες, ἀκριβαναθρεμμένες,
ἀνέγλυκες, πανέφημες, ἕπανδρες καὶ χηράδες,
καὶ καλογοιῆς καὶ γονικὲς παρθένες, ἡγουμένες,
ἄνεμος δὲν τις ἔδιδε, ἥλιος οὐκ ἔβλεπέν τις,
ἐπάλλαν κὶ ἀνεγνώθασι εἰς τ' ἅγια μοναστήρια,
ἡρπάγησαν ἀνηλεῶς ὡς καταδικασμένες,
πῶς νὰ τὲς πάρουν στὴν Τουρκιά, σκλάβες νὰ πουληθοῦσιν*

AK 71 - 78

¹⁶) In Wilhelm Wagner, Medieval Greek Texts. (The Philological Society's Extra Volume, London 1870).

¹⁷) In J. A. Buchon, Chroniques et Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, vol. X, Paris 1838.

¹⁸) In G. Degli Agostini, Istoria degli Scrittori Veneziani, Venice 1752, vol. I, pp. 205 ff.

¹⁹) S. Alexander of Alexandria (PG 18. 572) and Athanasius (PG 25. 409, 26 13).

²⁰) Nicetas Choniates, (CSBH).

In the description of the devastation of S. Sophia, there are these correspondences:

- a) ... *imagines...pedibus conculcarunt, deturparunt, et diripuerunt* . . .
 . . . τὰ καίουν τὰς εἰκόνας,
 τὰ σκίζουν, τὰ καταπατοῦν τὰ ἴλογουσα βεγγέλια.
- b) ... *et crucem Christi...dejecerunt et diripuerunt* . . .
 τὰ καθυβρίζουν τοὺς σταυροὺς, τὰ τοὺς κατατσακίζουν
- c) ... *sacris corporibus Sanctorum, quae laniabant et vastabant.*
 . . . καὶ τῶν ἁγίων τὰ λείψανα
- d) ... *sacras et sanctas stolas* . . .
 . . . τὴν εὐκόσμησίν των
- e) *Similia his, et in sacra pepla, hos est paramenta ecclesiastica* . . .
 . . . τὰ πέπλα τῆς τραπέζας
 τῆς παναγιάς, τῆς σεπιῆς, τὰ καθιερωμένα,
 τὰ σκεύη τὰ πανάγια . . .

And finally Isidore's polished horror, «Sed cum memoriae tradidero, totus tremo» is matched in

διαν εἰς νοῦν τὰ θυμηθῶ τῆς Πόλεως τὰ κάλλη
 σενάζω καὶ δδύρομαι καὶ τύπτω εἰς τὸ σιῆθος . . .

None of these resemblances is conclusive in itself; considered together, they show that the Appeal was written with the letter in mind, if not in hand. The Cardinal gave a special injunction that his words should be copied and broadcast. It is almost certain that they achieved wide distribution in Crete, where they were composed, and it is likely that they were translated into Greek. Wider fame than this was stolen from him by his companion and subordinate in Constantinople, Leonard of Chios, Archbishop of Mytilene, whose letter to the Pope *De capta Constantinopoli*²¹ dated August 16th, 1453, was plagiarised by Dolfin, and thus found its way into the historical tradition of Western Europe.

Leonard was the first to mention Constantine Palaeologue's famous appeal to his friends to kill him rather than let him fall into the hands of the Turks: «O quispiam . . . ne Majestas vafri»

²¹) In J. - B L' Écuy op. cit.

viris succumbat, meo gladio me transfigat» In view of Isidore's silence on this point, which would have suited so well the tenor of his exhortation, we may condemn it out of hand as a lie. Of the other tradition, that the Emperor's head was cut off by Mahomet, we can be little more certain; but we can at least see that it was a current belief in Crete shortly after the disaster, for in the Appeal we find it in poetic combination with Leonard's fabrication. The Emperor, as if forewarned, fears that the Turks will cut off his head—

να κόβουν τὸ κεφάλι μου, να μπήξουν σὲ κοντάρι

and his call to his comrades is therefore not to run him through with the sword, but to forestall the enemy, and take the royal head to Crete.

Who were these Cretans whom Constantine saw in flight?

For Phrantzes writes with admiration of the Cretan marines who held a tower of the wall long after the city had been taken²².

Nicolo Barbaro²³ was surgeon of the Venetian flotilla from the Black Sea which was caught in the Golden Horn by the siege. He describes the escape on May 29th of those seven ships that broke the chain barring the harbour and sailed from the City:

«... al mezo di con l' aiuto de misser domino dio, Misser Aluvixe Diedo, el capetanio de la Tana, si fexere vela con la sua galia, e poi la galia de ser Jeruolemo Morexini, e poi la galia de Trebixonda vizo patron ser Dolfen Dolfen . . . poi si leva la galia sutil de misser Gabriel Trivixan . . .».

One which did not escape was:

«la galia di Candia patron misser Zacaria Crioni el cavalier, quella si fo prexa, poi driedo queste galie si levo tre nave di Candia, le qual son, ser Zuan Venier, ser Antonio Filamati el galina²⁴». In his list of Venetian gentlemen who were saved he

²²) Phrantzes. (CSBH).

²³) N. Barbaro, *Giornale dell' Assedio di Constantinopoli*, ed E. Cornet, Vienna, 1856.

²⁴) «El galina» probably conceals the Cretan shipowner of the family of Yalinas, who is mentioned in a note in a British Museum manuscript (Add. 30460); where the three ships are those of Yalinas, Filomati, and Sguros. This note is, I believe, quoted in Γ. Μ. Ἀραμπατζόγλου, *Φωτίσιος Βιβλιοθήκη* part 2, which has not been available to me.

gives also the names of two brothers, Zuan and Alexandro Lolin, sons of «ser Angelo di Candia».

These ships were at Negropont in four days, and we may presume at Candia shortly afterwards. Aboard them were not only their depleted crews, but some part of the four hundred old men and women who had swum from the carnage of the city as the ships lay offshore²⁶. In this way the news of calamity was in Crete made more poignant by the company of those who had survived it.

Was it from these that the poet of the Appeal got the details of pillage unmentioned by Isidore and Leonard — the churches turned into stables, the use of the communion vessels for banqueting? Here we must look back to Nicetas Choniates's description of the earlier fall of the City²⁶, to the crusaders of 1204, who were to him so much worse than the Turks. They too were the forerunners of Antichrist, who «τὰ τιμαλφῆ δοχεῖτα τούτων διαρπάζοντες . . . εἰς σίτων κανᾶ καὶ οἴνον κεράσματα ταῖς ἑαυτῶν τραπέζαις παρέφερον» and whose «ἡμίονοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια σεσαγμένα μέχρι τῶν ἀδύτων εἰσέγοντο τοῦ νεώ»; and here again is distinct reminiscence of the Appeal's opening line: «ἐν στενωποῖς θρηνοὶ καὶ οὐαὶ καὶ κλαυθμοί, ἐν τριόδοις ὄδυρμοί».

Sometimes we can be moved by the sincerity of the eyewitness accounts; subsequent historians with their wanton distortion of fact, induce little but despair. It was natural for the folk-tradition to weave its legend around the fall. The weeping of the icons, the unknown queen at her liturgy, the priest reading the scriptures — all these were swift embroideries; the story of the communion vessels being taken up into heaven was extant before 1455²⁷. When the imagination passes from the circumstantial to the central episodes, we can only be amazed at the way in which, for instance, the Emperor's death comes in turn from wounds in the head, and in the shoulder, by suicide and by asphyxiation, in valour and in cowardice. It is useless to regret the fact that not one of our eyewitnesses in Constantinople was near the centre of events; the Italians being in Galata.

²⁶) See the narrative of Jacques Édaldy (Tetaldi) in E. Martène, U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, vol. I, 1819 - 1825, Paris, 1717.

²⁶) CSBH, pp. 757 ff.

²⁷) In the Lament of Constantinople. See chapter 3.

the Slavs at the Adrianople gate, and Phrantzes, by his own admission, in a ward distant from the attack». We must accept that our history of these things is traditional first, and accurate only by accident.

Of these historians²⁸, Ducas takes first place. His style was easy, and his vocabulary made concessions to the demotic; he was used by Phrantzes, by Critobulos of Imbros and by the poet of the Lament. He was translated into Italian in his own lifetime, and thus became for Western Europe the standard Greek authority on the last days of the Empire. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, to find that his account is based partly on so unhistorical a writer as the poet of the Appeal has been shown to be.

Constantine's

κόψετε τὸ κεφάλι μου, Χριστιανοὶ Ρωμαῖοι,

becomes «ὄν ἐστι τις Ἀριστιανὸς τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ»;». This is found in no other source. And the Emperor's foreboding that his head might be spitted on a pike (a fate which actually befell the head of the beggar taken to be Isidore) is converted by Ducas to fact. The royal head is nailed up in a public square, and afterwards strips of the skin are sent as tokens to the rulers of the East. Phrantzes, who might well have taken part in the ceremony, records that the Emperor was given Christian burial with all honour. No other authority mentions this nailing - up, while the more simple tradition of the decapitation was known to du Clercq, Chalcocondyles, Pusculus²⁹, and to the much later Hierax³⁰.

Ducas, of course, has read his Choniates: and so for him, for Phrantzes, and for Critobulos, the communion vessels are used for the looter's banquets. Only the more popular «δίσκουος», instead of «δοχεῖα», suggests a memory of the Appeal³¹. Such a memory is more obvious, when alone among the historians he

²⁸) The four Greek accounts of the capture are reprinted with notes in the quinquagesenary edition of Νέα Ἑστία (1 June 1953). The Italian version of Ducas is printed with the original in the CSBH edition.

²⁹) Ed. A. Ellisson, *Analekten der mittel. und neugr. Litteratur*, teil III, Leipzig 1857.

³⁰) K. N. Sathas *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, vol. 1., Venice, 1872

³¹) *διακοπήτηρα* K 70

brings in an account of the legend of the angel who was to appear in S. Sophia in the hour of its capture, and hand a sword to a young man who was to drive away the Turks and become the new Emperor. And when the Sultan's entry into the church is described, and he tells a muezzin to give the call to prayer, the infidel priest is described in the phrase «*πρόδρομος Ἀντιχρίστου*».

Perhaps the most certain evidence of borrowing is in the narration of the enslavement of the Greek men and women. Among the captives are «*παρθένοι, ἅς οὐχ ἑώρα ἥλιος*», so characteristically a phrase from popular poetry⁸² that we are not surprised when Critobulos after it, (in a context even more like that of the Appeal) to «*γυναῖκας νέας καὶ σώφρονας, εὐγενεῖς τε καὶ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων, τὰ πολλὰ οἰκουρούσας καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀήλιον προελθούσας ποίε*». Another variant is in the monody of Manuel Christonymos⁸³ — «*παρθένους ἐκ παρθενῶνων ἐξερχομένας, αἱ μὴ ὅ τι ποίε ἐστὶ πόλις ἤδεσαν*».

The last writer also makes use of another theme of the Appeal, the call to the Sun not to shine upon Constantinople; this is used in two other late monodies — one an anonymous fragment, and the other by John Eugenicos the Deacon⁸⁴.

Lastly must be mentioned a little threnos in forty-eight lines whose demotic associations are plentifully shown in spite of a conscientious use of «*γε*», «*τε . . και*», and «*πάνυ*». This earns its fame for three lines, one quite good,

ἀνδρῶν ταχὺς ὁ θάνατος, τῶν γυναικῶν αἰσχύνη,
one astonishingly bad,

Μαῦρον τε μῆνος τὰς κῆ καταλαμβάνει ταύτην,
and one blasphemous

Ἄλλ' ἐξεγέροθι, Χριστέ, ὡς ἐξ ὕπνου καὶ οἴνου,

but it also seems to show some influence of the Appeal. It mentions Constantine the Great as the founder of the City⁸⁵

⁸²) See A. Passow, *Popularia Carmina Graeciae Recentioris*. Leipzig 1860. nos. 378, 517, 519.

⁸³) Λ. Λάμπρος, *Μονωδίαί καὶ θρήνοι περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων (1908))*.

⁸⁴) *Ibid.*

⁸⁵) It might be noted that this sort of historical reference is characteristic of the Italian poems of this genre; A. Medin-L. Frati, *Lamenti Storici dei Secoli XIV, XV, e XVI*, voll. 3, Bologna, 1887-1890, has three poems on the fall of Constantinople. One of these, written by

καὶ ταύτην ἐπωνόμασεν εἰς ὄνομα τοιοῦτον
and has the significant

κλονοῦμαι, συνταράττομαι, συνέχομαι τῇ λύπῃ
ἐνθυμουμένου μου, λοιπόν, τῶν ἐν σοι γενομένων.

It would be possible, if rather tedious, to devise a scheme which showed the apparentage of themes and ornaments in the various «Laments» for Constantinople; and in turn to show their relationship to the laments for older happenings. The main result would be to demonstrate how very conventional the genre is, and how little it can be depended on for historic. In such a plan, the Appeal of Constantinople would have a very important place. This poem of mixed literary merit, saved for us in a single manuscript horribly scrawled by some foreigner, has originated a myth which is to become reputable history. It has taken the old theme of the virtues of a warrior's head, and applied it to Constantine Dragatzis in his last battle; then handed on the story in such a convincing form that later historians have adopted it and made it truth.

The reason for the disproportionate influence of this not very great poem may be the fact that it did make an attempt to combine history with folksong. It was a naive attempt; the two streams flowed separately and did not mix. But when compared with works of similar subjects which do not make this attempt - with the lament of Tamburlaine⁸⁶ (1402), or the Battle of Varna⁸⁷ (1444) — the Appeal of Constantinople stands out as a successful and memorable poem. «Memorable» is a deliberate description, for it is not only the main themes of the Appeal that are handed down in later works. It is more than coincidence that the rare adjective «lightningseared», which the Appeal uses for Constantinople, is in the Lament applied to «the day» and «noblewomen». This involuntary quotation is the best compliment that can be paid to the Cretan poem.

the Venetian, Frate Bernardino Cingalano, before 1500, has :

*«Di poi Constantinopol fu nomata
Da Constantin imperador possente,
Perche da lui la fu edificata».*

Another mentions Justinian as the builder of S. Sophia, and all abound in erudite historical allusion.

⁸⁶) W. Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi*, Leipzig 1874 pp. 23-31.

⁸⁷) E. Legrand, *Coll. de mon N. S.* 5 pp. 51 - 84.

CHAPTER 8
NERONPHILE, TARSIA, AND DOLCETTA

As an epilogue, we turn again to the theme of disintegration. The first chapters of this work dealt with the decline and fragmentation of the old Byzantine poetry; the rest with the reconstruction of Cretan poetry from varying materials, the process which was to lead in its perfection to the masterpieces of the seventeenth century. Now, *μὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τ' ἀλλάματα*, the building begins to crumble; and this chapter must be considered as a study in decay. This decay is less damaging than the first because we still possess in print many of the original works; and from a study of the way in which they are changed we may even gain valuable information about the nature of popular poetry.

The popularity of Chortatzes's tragedy *Erophile* has now lasted at least three centuries. We know — and it is one of our rare pieces of information about the Cretan theatre — that «it was performed several times in Candia, and was always successful»¹. Our informant is Nicholas Comnenos Papadopoulos, the historian of the Gymnasium of Padua where Chortatzes's nephews were educated. He was speaking from memory, and as he left Candia in 1665, at the age of fourteen², these performances must have taken place during the siege of the city and the last struggles of Crete against the Turks.

The repeated editions of *Erophile* through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tell their own tale, and there is twentieth — century evidence of some sort of performance in a much — popularised form during the carnival season in Epirus and Thessaly³. Meanwhile in Crete itself, the home of the tragedy, the tradition had not been lost. From Ano Meros, in the province of Amari, a poem of some ninety lines published in 1909⁴

¹) N. C. Papadopoulos, *Historia Gymnasii Patavini*, Venice 1726 vol. 2, p. 306.

²) K. N. Σάθας, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, Athens 1868, p. 474.

³) Σ. Ξανθοσουλίδης, ed. *Ἐρωφίλη*, Athens 1928, p. xxxii.

⁴) Αποπ. (N. Γ. Βλασιός;) *Ἀποσπάσματα ἐκ τῆς Ἐρωφίλης* (Κρητικὸς Λαὸς 1 (1909) 702).

covers in disjointed fashion most of the plot, and there is a presumption that the whole story was known to the reciter in prose: in this way it was told to the grammarian Hatzidakis when he was a child in Myrthio, on another side of Psiloritis⁶.

A new version, covering almost all the story, and including some seventy lines of verse, has recently been published⁷. It was collected among the Greek-speaking Turks who left Crete in the exchange of populations in 1923 and are now settled in the province of Smyrna. The Turks of Crete knew the folksongs and traditions of the island. Their singers and lyrists performed the *Erotokritos* just as the Greeks did; the poem was so well-known that it was translated into Turkish in 1873⁸. There is even presumption that further research into the poetry of this very important group would reveal material so far unrecorded. It is unlikely that it would include the patriotic and revolutionary songs which form so large a part of the standard collections of Cretan folk-poetry. In their place might be expected poems of Turkish sympathy, such as the rather ambiguous song of Glymidis Ali which has slipped into Kriaris's collection⁹. Many, perhaps most, of the Cretan «Turks» were in fact Greeks who had been forced by the savage and continuous persecutions of the nineteenth century to become Mohammedans.

Such are the antecedents of the tale of Panaretos and Nerophile, which follows. The prose parts are given in an abbreviated translation:

«Once there was a very rich king, who could not beget a child. In the spoils from a successful war he found a beautiful boy, Panaretos, whom he adopted as his heir; but on his return he found that his wife had given birth to a girl, Nerophile. The children were brought up as brother and sister, but one day the

⁶) Erophile, introduction, p. xxxi.

⁷) Ε. Ι. Δουλιγεράκης, *Δημοτικά παραλλαγαί τῆς Ἐρωφίλης καὶ τῆς Βοσκοπούλας*, (Κ.Χ. 10 (1956) 241 - 272), where there is copious and intelligent comment; and, also newly published, with very interesting details about performance, a folk-version from Amphilochia. See Γ. Θ. Ζώρας, *Πανάρετος* (ΕΕΒΣ) 27 (1957) 110 - 126 and p. 68, above.

⁸) Ν. Τομαδάκης, *Ὁ Ἐρωτόκριτος καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι* (Δρῆρος 1 (1937) 186 - 187).

⁹) Κ. 68.

secret was revealed to them by an old woman, and they fell in love.

The King suspected them, and one day saw them kissing in Panaretos's bedroom. He sent Ponaretos as messenger to offer two suitors to Nerophile. She was sitting in a window, telling her Nurse of a dream she had the night before :

The lines of *Erophile* are placed for comparison opposite the verse⁹. (See next page) :

⁹) The text as given by Mr Dulgerakis : my own copy, made some years ago, differs on some points.

- NEP. *Μὰ τὸν Πανάρετο θωροῶ κι' ἔρχεται 'θεν ἐμένα
κι' εἶναι τ' ἀμμάθια ντου κλιτὰ καὶ παραπονεμένα.*
- NEP. *Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, Πανάρε τὴν ψυχὴ μου,
γιὰ σένα ἐγεννήθηκε στὸν κόσμο τὸ κορμί μου.
Γιὰ σένα ἐγεννήθηκα, γιὰ σένα θὰ ποθάνω, 5
γιὰ σένα θὰ τὸν ἀρνηθῶ τὸν κόσμο τὸν ἀπάνω.*
- ΠΑΝ. *Δὺὸ προξενειὲς σοῦ φέρνω 'γώ, γλυκειά μου Νερωμφίλη
μηδὲ σιὴ μιὰ δίνω βουλή, μηδὲ σιὴν ἄλλη ἀχείλι.*
- NEP. *Δὺὸ προξενειὲς μοῦ φέρνουνε, Πανάρετε, καὶ πέ μου,
ποιὸς εἶν' ὁ πιά καλύτερος, νὰ δώσω τ' ἀφεδιές μου. 10*
- ΠΑΝ. *Δὲ βάνω 'γὼ εὐχαρισθιά στὸν ἕνα καὶ στὸν ἄλλο,
ἴσα 'χω καὶ τὸν πιά μικρό, ἴσα καὶ τὸ μεγάλο.*
- NEP. *Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, στολίδι τοῦ ψυχῆς μου,
εἰδὰ 'να ὄνειρο βαρὺ, ποὺ τράνταξ' τὸ κορμί μου.
Δὺὸ περιστέρια πλουμιστά, περίσσα πλουμισμένα. 15
σ' ἕνα ψηλότατο δεντρὶ ἦτανε φωλεμένα.
Κι' ἐπέρασεν ὁ κυνηγὸς κι' ἐσκοτίωσε τὸ ἕνα.
κι' ἐπόμεινε τὸ θηλυκὸ μόνο κι' ἀμοναχόντου,
καὶ ἐγύρισε τὰ νύχια του, γιὰ νὰ σφαγῆ ἀπατόντου.
Γιὰ νὰ σφαγῆ, γιὰ νὰ πνιγῆ, γιὰ τὴ καρδιάς τὰ μέρη, 20
γιὰ νὰ σφαγῆ κι' ἐκεῖνο μιὰ γιὰ τὸ δικό του ταῖρι.*
- ΠΑΝ. *Ὁ κύρης μὰς 'το κυνηγὸς κι' ἐμεῖς τὰ περιστέρια,
κόρη, καὶ νὰ 'το βολετὸ καὶ νὰ γενοῦμε ταῖρια.*
- The King sees this, and sends for the Nurse :
- ΒΑΣ. *Τὸ σύμβουλο ἐπέψαμε νὰ μάθῃ τὴν ἀλήθεια,
κι' ὁ σύμβουλος ἐκάθετο κι' ἔλεγε παραμύθια. 25
'Ἄμε καὶ φέρε μού τινε τὴ σκρόφα, ποὺ θαργιέται,
πὼς στὰ κρυφὰ καμώματα, ποὺ κάνει, δὲ θαργιέται.*
- The King hands Panaretos to the executioner. While Neromphile is coming, she says to the Nurse :
- NEP. *Ὁ κύρης μου μοῦ μῆνυσε νὰ τρέχω νὰ πηγαίνω,
δὲν εἶχαμε στὸ σπίτι μας χειρότερο σὰν κεῖνο.
Σπιθιά μου τρισκατάρατη καὶ τρισκαταραμένη, 30
γιατὶ στὰ βιάθη τοῦ γιαιοῦ δὲν εἶσαι βουλιασμένη.*
- She comes to her father :
- Τὴν ὀμιλία σου ἤκουσα καὶ τὴν ψηλότητά σου
κι' ἦρθα νὰ δῶ, ἀφεντιάκι μου, κι' εἶνιτὰ 'ν' τὸ θέλημά σου.*
- ΒΑΣ. *Καλῶς τὴ θυγατέρα μου, καλῶς τινε, νὰ κάμω,*

- NENA *Μὰ τὸν Πανάρετο θωρῶ καὶ μὲ τὴν ὥρα μπαίνει,*
κ' ἔχει κλιτὸ τὸ πρόσωπο, τὴν ὄψιν ἀλλαμένη. 3. 235 - 6
- ΕΡΩΦ. *Μὰ τὸν Πανάρετο θωρῶ κ' ἔρχεται σὰ θλιμμένο* 3. 45
- ΠΑΝ. *κ' ἔχει τὸ πρόσωπο κλιτὸ . . .* 3. 62
- ΕΡΩΦ. *Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, ψυχὴ μου* 5. 523
- ΕΡΩΦ. *μὰ γὴ ὁμορφὴ ἴμαι γὴ ἄσκημη, Πανάρετε ψυχὴ μου,*
γιὰ σέναν ἐγεννήθηκε στὸν κόσμον τὸ κορμὶ μου 3. 149 - 150
- ΠΑΝ. *δὺὸ προξενιὲς γιὰ λόγου σου τοῦ φέρασι, Κερά μου,* 3. 95
- ΒΑΣ. *σὲ τοῦτο διαφορὰ κιαμιὰ δὲ θέλω γὰ τοὶ βάλω,*
γιατὶ καλλιὰ δὲν εἶν' ὁ γεῖς τίβοτο' ἀπὸν τὸν ἄλλο. 2. 21 - 22
- ΕΡΩΦ. *Ἀνὸ περιστέρια πλουμιστὰ μοῦ φαίνετονε, Νένα,*
σ' ἓνα ψηλότατο δεντροῦ κ' ἐθώρου φωλεμένα. 2. 147 - 8
- ΕΡΩΦ. *καὶ τὸ ζιμιὸ τὴ μούρην του πρὸς τοῦ καρδιᾶς τὰ μέρη*
μπήχνην κι αὐτὸ καὶ σφάζεται γιὰ τ' ἀκριβόν του ταῖρι. 2. 157 - 8
- ΒΡΩΦ. *λούπη; μὴν εἶν' ὁ κύρις μου τρομάσω καὶ φοβοῦμαι,*
κ' ἐμεῖς τὰ περιστέρια αὐτὰ κι ὁμάδι σκοτωθσοῦμε. 2. 161 - 2
- ΕΡΩΦ. *Μᾶλλιος γιὰτὶ μοῦ μήνυσε μὲ τὸν Ἀρμόδι, κρίνω*
(γιατὶ ἄθροπο χειρότερο δὲν ἔχομ' ἀπὸ κεῖνο), 5. 277 - 8
- MANT. *᾽ὦ σπῖτι τρισκατάρατο, σπῖτι καταραμένο,*
γιάντια στὰ βάρη τοῦ γιαλοῦ δὲν εἶσαι βουλισμένο; 5. 1 - 2
- ΕΡΩΦ. *Τὸν ὀρισμὸν ἐγροίκησα τῆς Ὑψηλότητάς σου,*
κ' ἤρθα γὰ μάθω τὸ ζιμιό, τί ἴναι τὸ θέλημά σου. 5. 325 - 6
- ΒΑΣ. *Καλῶς τὸν ἄξιο μου γαμπρό, καλῶς τογε γὰ κάμω,*

- νὰ κάμω τὰ προπούμενα στὸν ἐδικό σου γάμο. 35
 NENA Ἐς κάμωμε, ἀφεντάκι μου, τούτ' ἢ φωτιά νὰ σβήση,
 σὰ σπύθα δίχως δύναμη στέκει νὰ τὴ γεμίση.
 ΒΑΣ. Πήγαινε, πήγαιν' ἀπὸ 'πά, κακὴ καὶ ξεπλυμένη,
 κι' ἐμένα ἢ θυγατέρα μου εἶναι ξετροξεραμένη.
 Ἄνοιξε θυγατέρα μου ἐκεῖνο τὸ βαρέλι· 40
 λέω κι' αὐτὸ τὸ χάρισμα καλὸ φανῆ σου θέλει.
- NER. Ἡ Νένα μου ἐμίσησε κι' ἐγὼ πολλὰ τρομάσω.
 Γιὰ τὸ θεό, ἀφεντάκι μου, καὶ πῶς θ' ἀνασκεπάσω.
 ΠΟΙΗΤ. Κι' ἀνεσκεπάζει καὶ θωρεῖ, εἶναι νὰ ἰδῆ ἢ καϋμένη.
 Κεῖνη τὴν ὥρα ζωντανὴ ἦτο γ(ῆ) ἀποθαμένη. 45
 NER. Κύρη μου δὲ σὲ λέω μπλιό, κύρη δὲ σ' ὀνομάζω
 μόν' ἄπονο κι' ἀνέπιστο καὶ σκύλο θὰ σὲ κρᾶζω.
 Κεφάλι μου ὠραιότατο, κεφάλι πλουμισμένο.
 τ' ἀπομεινάρι τοῦ κορμιοῦ ποῦ τὸ ἔχετε ριγμένο.
 ΒΑΣ. Τῶ lionταριῶ μου τό 'θωκα καὶ τῶ σκυλιῶ μου βρώση, 50
 γιὰτὶ δὲν ἦτονε προπεὶ χῶμα νὰ τὸ πλακῶση.
 NER. Ἄνοῦς βασιλιᾶ ἴκανε παιδί, ἄνοῦς μέγα βασιλέα,
 ἀπού 'το μεγαλύτερος ἀφέντης παρὰ σένα.
 Τοῦ Τραμουντάνα βασιλιᾶ, πού 'στε μεγάλοι φίλοι.
 ἐκείνουνὰ 'τονε παιδί, ὁ διπλοκακομοίρης. 55
 Κοντὸ τὴν ἀνεσπάσετε τὴ γλῶσσ' ἀπὸ τὰ χεῖλη;
 κοντὸ καὶ δὲν ἐφώνιαξε, γλυκειά μου Νερωμφίλη;
 ΒΑΣ. Κι' ὄντι τὴν ἀνεσπούσανε τὴ γλῶσσ' ἀπὸ τ' ἀχείλη,
 δυὸ τρεῖς φορὲς ἐφώνιαξε, γλυκειά μου Νερωμφίλη
 Ἐπὰ 'ναι κι' ἡ καρδοῦλα ντου, ἡ πολυματωμένη, 60
 ἀπὸν ματώθηκε γιὰ σὲ κι' ἦτονε πονεμένη.
 Ἐπὰ 'ναι κι' ἔβγαλε καὶ σύ, σκύλα, τὴν ἐδική σου,
 νὰ τὴν ἐσμίξειε τὰ δυό, σὰν τὸν πονῆ ἢ ψυχὴ σου.
 ΠΟΙΗΤ. Τὸ χαντζεράκι τζ' ἔβγαλε ἀπ' ἀργυρὸ φουκάρει,
 ψηλά - ψηλά τὸ πέταξε καὶ στὴ καρδιά τζη ἐβάρη. 65
 Καὶ ὄντι ἐξεψύχησε ἐβγήκε περιστέρι,
 κι' ἀπ' τὴν σφαμένην του καρδιά, τὸ πλουμιστό της ταίρι.
 Ζευγάρι ἐγενήκανε καὶ πέταξαν ὁμάδι.
 Κι' ὁ βασιλιάς ὡς νὰ τὰ 'δῆ τὰ θαύμασε, καὶ πάλι
 κάθε ταχύ, κάθε πρωτὶ καὶ κάθε ἀποβράδυ, 70
 ἦρχοντο κι' ἐθωρούσανε κεῖνο τ' ἀπομεινάρι.

- καθώς τυχαίνει, σήμερο τὸν ὄμορφόν του γάμο. 4. 647 - 8
 ΝΕΝΑ Βουλή σου δίδω, Ἀφέντρα μου, πρὶ ὁ κόσμος τὸ γροικήση,
 σὰ σπύθα δίχως δύναμη ν' ἀφήσετε νὰ σβήση 2. 33 - 34
- ΒΑΣ. Τὰ πράματα ἀπὸ βρίζουνται σ' ἐτοῦτο τὸ βατσέλλι,
 σίμωσε, δέ τα, χάρισμα πλήσιο φανῆ σου θέλει. 5. 367 - 8
 ΕΡΩΦ. τ' ἀμμάτια μου δειλιούσι,
 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ χάρισμα τρομάσσουν νὰ στραφοῦσι. 5. 381 - 2
 ΕΡΩΦ. Μισσεύγ' ἡ Νένα ἀπὸ δῶ, καὶ πλειότερα τρομάσσω 5. 331
- ΕΡΩΦ. Ὡ κύρι μου, μὰ κύρι πλιὸ γιάντα νὰ σ' ὀνομάζω,
 κι ὄχι θεριὸν ἀλόπητο κι ἄπονο νὰ σὲ κολάζω; 5. 435 - 6
 ΕΡΩΦ. Γλυκώτατό μου πρόσωπο, κεφάλι τιμημένο,
 ποῦ 'ναι τ' ἀπομονάρι σου κορμὶ τὸ σκοιτωμένο.
 ΒΑΣ. Θροφή ἐγίνη τῶ σκυλλιῶ, τῶ λιονταριῶ μου βρώση,
 γιὰτὶ δὲν ἦτο τὸ πρεπὸ χῶμα νὰ τὸ κονκλώση. 5. 417 - 420
- ΜΑΝΤ. Τῆ γλώσσάν του καὶ βγάνουν τη καὶ χάμαι τὴν πατοῦσι,
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτα τὸ ἄκουσα τ' αὐτιά νὰ πῆ «'Ερωφίλη» 5.148-9
 ΜΑΝΤ. καὶ τὰ πρικνά του χεῖλη
 δυὸ τρεῖς φορὲς ἀνοίξασι νὰ ποῦσιν «'Ερωφίλη». 5. 161 - 2
 ΕΡΩΦ. κρινῶ ἢ ἀγαπημένη
 νὰ 'ν' ἡ καρδιά πὸν πάντα τση μ' ἐβάστα φυλαμένη.
 ΒΑΣ. Τούτῃ 'ναι' κ' ἔβγαλε καὶ σὺ τώρα τὴν ἐδική σου
 καὶ σμίξε τηρε μετ' αὐτὴ ἂν τὴν πονῆ ἢ ψυχὴ σου. 5. 405 - 8

How does a work of sophisticated poetry become a folk-poem? The first essential is that it should contain folk - themes, so that it is close to tales and poems already in the popular repertoire. Its motifs must be archetypal to survive. The plot of *Erophile*, with its king's son living incognito in another king's court, its persecuted lovers, the warning dream, the presentation of mutilated limbs within a casket, and the suicide of the heroine, meets this requirement. These, and not the philosophy, are the bones of *Erophile*, and it is these that are retained in the abbreviated versions of *Smyrna* and *Amari*. Moreover, these folk - motifs already present draw to themselves others from the popular corpus. The king without an heir who at last begets a daughter; the children who are brought up as brother and sister until a mysterious old woman tells them the truth; the king's abuse of his daughter (cf. *Aretusa* in prison): all these are elements unknown to the tragedy. A comparable treatment is found in the fragmentary version of *Digenis* collected from Crete about 1870¹⁰. Its own heroic themes of wooing, the building of a tomb, and death, have been contaminated with the enchantment - theme from *Charzanis*. And very like the *Smyrna* version is the epilogue in which the lovers are turned into a reed and a laurel, so that a princess, seeing them, exclaims:—

«Γιὰ ἰδές τα τὰ μαργιόλικα καὶ τὰ μαργιολεμένα,
καὶ ζωντιανὰ ἀγαπιώτουσαν καὶ τώρα πεθαμένα»

The same «expansion» is seen in the way the abbreviated versions adopt certain characteristics of folk - poetry. The Messenger's words, that Panaretos's lips

δὴ τρεῖς φορὲς ἀνοίξασιν νὰ ποῦσιν «'Ερωφίλη»

are expanded to a question by *Erophile* and an answer by the King. The line

γὰ σέναν ἐγεννήθηκε στὸν κόσμο τὸ κορμί μου

is expanded with an echoing couplet in exactly the same way as one *mantinada* echoes another.

With the expansion of the themes goes the disintegration of the poetry. As the interest turns more and more to the plot of the story, as it becomes more of a folk - tale and less of a folk -

¹⁰) See chapter 2.

poem, the flow of the poetry is lost, and it becomes the exception to find two consecutive lines recognisable from the original. A greater proportion of the lines is of the «memorable», almost magical kind familiar from folk - poetry—

Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, ψυχή μου

and

Σπίτι μου τρισκατάρατο, σπίτι καταραμένο

—both these retained from the tragedy. And from the general fund of folk - song :

*Τὸ χατζεράκι τῆς ἄβγαλε ἀπ' ἀργυρὸ φουκάρκι,
ψηλά ψηλά τὸ πέταξε καὶ στή καρδιά τῆς βάρει.*

Similarly one of the few lines of verse in the abbreviation of *Digenis* is the universal

βασιλοπούλα ἀγνάντισε ἀπὸ ψηλὸ παλάτι.

Even the lines that are preserved are dislocated from their original order, are given to different characters, are spoken in different situations. A very much less developed state of the same phenomenon is seen in the modern version of *The Fair Shepherdess* gathered from Naxos, where some five hundred lines are abbreviated to less than a hundred¹¹. Here very few lines are added, and in general the order is much the same as that of the original. But some dislocations have been made, and one couplet in particular, (89 - 90, Naxos 30 - 31), is spoken at quite a different point in the plot, which it seems to change. The much better preservation of *The Fair Shepherdess* is mainly due to the fact that it is closer in time to its printed source¹², but it may also be partly explained by its eleven - syllabled metre, which is not as liable as the political verse to fluent variation¹³.

After the expansion of the themes and the disintegration of the poetry, the third element in this process may be called the «integration of the approach». It is a characteristic of the best

¹¹) Π. Μαρκάκης, Ἡ Βασκοπούλα, σάν δημοτικὴ παραλλαγὴ στὴν Ἀπεύραθο (Νάξου) (Φιλολογικὴ πρωτοχρονιά 1947, 137 - 114).

¹²) See Δ. Β. Οἰκονομίδου, Τρεῖς ἔργα τῆς κρητικῆς λογοτεχνίας ἐν Ἀπεύραθου - Νάξου (ΚΧ 7 (1953) 110 - 118), 114.

¹³) Newly published Cretan versions of *The Fair Shepherdess*, with full bibliography, are in Ε. Ι. Δουλιγεράκης op. cit.

folk - poetry, (closely connected with its tendency to speech instead of narrative), to centre the interest upon one point, and to tell the story in its relation to the chosen centre. In the West Cretan version of the well - known theme of The Husband's Return¹⁴, the centre of interest is the wife and her constancy. She bids her husband farewell, and he tells her

*Ἄ λείπω μῆνα μὴ λουσιῆς, καὶ χρόνο μὴν ἀλλάξης,
κι ἂ λείπω τὸ ντρανιράχρονο σὴν πόρτα μὴ προβάλλης*

The next words in the song are

*Ἦρθεν ὁ μῆνας τὰ λουσιῆ, κι ὁ χρόνος γιὰ ν' ἀλλάξη,
ἦρθεν καὶ τὸ ντρανιράχρονο σὴν πόρτα τὰ προβάλλη,*

and when she goes to the gate, her husband comes to meet her. There is no mention of his travels, of what he has done for thirty years. The interest is concentrated upon one point and everything else is subordinated.

Erophile is not an «integrated» play. It is arguable that the real hero of the play is the King, the father torn between his love for his daughter and his psychopathic rage at the dishonour she has brought him. The nominal heroine is a colourless person whose character has no variety, no richness of texture to capture anything but our most sentimental sympathy.

The action of the play, however, has a centre, the scene in which Erophile is given the casket containing Panaretos's head, hands, and heart; and it is this scene that has become the unifying element of the folk - versions. Going backwards from this point in the play we find that the moment from which it springs is Erophile's dream, and all that goes before it is stage-setting, preparation for the central action. Going forward from it, Erophile's suicide is the immediate result and all that comes after is an epilogue outside the interest. In the Smyrna version (if we exclude the folk - lore accretion of the «two doves») the range is precisely this - from dream to suicide. In the Amari version, which is not so highly developed, the episode of the king's murder is preserved, but the story still starts from the dream. Within this range neither version has anything superfluous except (in that now published) the explanation that Pa-

¹⁴) Ν. Ψάχος, 50 δημόδη ἄσματα Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης Athens 1930, pp. 70 - 71.

naretos was in fact of royal birth. And this, in itself one of the archetypal folk - lore themes present in *Erophile* (where its significance to the plot is almost nothing) is made even more mythical by the introduction of the mysterious King of the North Wind - *τὸν Τραμωνιάρα βασιλιᾶ*, who is a far - off echo of Panaretos's father King Thrasymachus.

In their different degrees both versions have «integrated» their approach to *Erophile*, have given it a unity. The Naxian *Fair Shepherdess* can show no such integration, for the simple reason that the original is so unified as not to admit of tautening. The elements of the fragmentary *Digenis*, however, are all centred upon one theme; the love of *Digenis*, pursued exactly from his wooing to his death, with only the tacked - on folk - lore epilogue outside the interest. The rest of the epic is ignored.

But pethaps the best - preserved instance we have of this integration of approach is found in the folk - versions of *Apollonius of Tyre*¹⁴, a subject which requires some more detailed attention because of the comparative unfamiliarity of the story. In its Cretan form the plot may be summarised as follows:

«King Antiochus of Antioch has committed incest with his daughter. To prevent her marriage he demands that all her suitors shall find the answer to a riddle, or otherwise be executed. Many die, but finally Prince Apollonius of Tyre, answers correctly, so revealing the King's dishonour. Antiochus tries to murder him, but Apollonius escapes with a single galley.

He comes to Tarsus in time to relieve a disastrous famine, and is much honoured; but its lord, Strangilios, is forced to send him away, for fear of Antiochus's anger. Apollonius is caught in a storm, his ship sunk, and he, the only survivor, flung up on the coast of Tripolis.

There he is befriended by a fisherman, and makes his way to the court, where his skill at dancing and playing bring him the post of tutor to the Princess Archistrata. They fall in love, and after many doubts in the King's mind Apollonius has to prove his nobility in a tournament. He wins and is married.

Now messengers bring the news that Antiochus is dead, and Apollonius has been chosen to succeed to his throne. But on the

¹⁴) See chapter 6.

voyage a great storm arises. Archistrata gives birth to a daughter, and apparently dies. Her body is thrown in a rich chest into the sea, and is washed up on the shore. A physician sees that she is alive, and revives her; and she first becomes a nun, and then abbess of a convent nearby.

Meanwhile Apollonius has sailed to Tarsus. His baby is christened Tarsia, and given to the care of Strangilios and his wife Dionida. She is brought up as their child, not knowing her true birth until it is revealed by her old nurse upon her death-bed. Soon after, Dionida becomes jealous of Tarsia because she has become more beautiful than her own daughter, and she persuades her husband to have her killed. A peasant is sent to kill her on the shore, but a pirate-galley suddenly appears and captures her. The peasant escapes, and claims that he has performed his task.

Tarsia is sold to Macarios, a whoremaster of Mytilene. But her virtues keep her virgin, and she gains money for her master only by singing and playing the lyre¹⁹. She is befriended by the lord of the country, Tenagoras.

Apollonius returns to Tarsus, is told that his daughter is dead, and is shown her grave. (This appears from the later narrative). In despair he puts to sea, and by chance arrives at Mytilene. Tarsia is sent for to entertain him and rescue him from his melancholy. At first he speaks harshly, and even strikes her, but from her words realises who she is. There is great rejoicing, and Tarsia and Tenagoras are married.

In a dream Apollonius is told to go to a certain convent to give thanks. When he gets there, he sees the chest in which Archistrata had been cast from the ship, and which has been hung up as an offering. At last the abbess recognises him for her husband.

He and his family sail on to Antioch and to Tyre, where Apollonius reassumes his honours, and then to Tarsus, where Stragilios and his wife are executed, and Tenagoras left as lord. Afterwards Apollonius and Archistrata sail back to Tripolis, where they live happily ever after».

It is readily seen that this plot justifies the existence of the

¹⁹) Called both *κιδάρα* and *λύρα*, but it is apparently played with a bow. See chapter 6, footnote.

Zacynthos proverb, used of a person who has suffered greatly, «ἐπέρασε τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὰ βάσανα»¹⁷. It is loose and episodic, and Apollonius, the central figure, is forgotten during the whole stories of Archistrata and of Tarsia. Therefore it is not surprising, that, just as Panaretos and Neromphile takes one integrating approach and abandons all the surrounding details, so all four folk-versions of Apollonius are in fact narratives of the tale of Tarsia.

There are many folk-tales which deal with this and similar stories¹⁸, but of these only four preserve the names of some of the characters, and also contain some verse. The first of these, collected in Cythera, has only four lines of verse amidst its prose narration¹⁹. Two more, of which both are Cretan and one is from Phourphouras, a village in Amari, very near to the place where the Erophile version was found, are almost exactly alike, and of about 180 lines²⁰. The Phourphouras version has the important information that at some points the reciter admitted that she has forgotten many lines, and supplied prose links. Lastly comes a poem from Heracleion itself, of fifty lines with prose links²¹.

We may proceed to an analysis of these four versions:²²

«There are king and queen, Apollonius and Archistrata, and the time comes for them to go on a journey.	C
Archistrata gives birth, seems dead, and is thrown into the sea in a chest.	C P V H
She is revived by an abbot	C

¹⁷) See Λαογραφία 2 (1910) p. 451.

¹⁸) See R. M. Dawkins, Forty-five stories from the Dodecanese, Cambridge 1950.

¹⁹) Σ. Ε. Στάθης, Τὸ παραμῦθι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου (with N. Politis's commentary) Λαογραφία 1 (1909) pp. 71 - 81.

²⁰) Π. Γ. Βλαστός, Νέαι ἀνακαλύψεις ποιήσεως λειψάνων κρητικῶν θεάτρον Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀρχιστράτη (with N. Politis's (?) comments) Κρητικὸς Λόγος 1 (1909) pp. 38 - 44, and ANON. Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀρχιστράτη ibid. 101 - 103, published by A. Voreadis.

²¹) Σ. Ε. Στάθης, Συμβολὴ εἰς τὸ ποίημα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τῆς Ἀρχιστράτης (Λαογραφία 1 (1910) pp. 683 - 5).

²²) C=Cythera; P=Phourphouras; V=Cretan version published by Voreadis; H=Heracleion. When these letters are italic the plot-element referred to is in verse.

(or by some fishermen)	P
and becomes a nun.	C
Tarsia is left with her nurse to be brought up by Strangilios and his wife	C P V H
Strangilios's ugly daughter is jealous, and her parents arrange that a slave should take Tarsia out in a boat and drown her. The slave has pity on her, and lets her land. She is stolen by brigands, and sold to a whoremaster. She keeps her virginity and is befriended by the prince	C
(or A prince sings Tarsia a mantinada and makes her foster - parents angry. She is given to a shepherd to be killed, but pirates descend.	H
She keeps her virginity, but is forced to sing and play to make money).	H
Apollonius returns to Tarsus with a load of corn	C P V H
and is told that his child is dead.	P V H
He sails away wherever the ship will take him	C P V H
(or He is shown Tarsia's supposed tomb, whence a mysterious voice tells him to go to Venice	P V H
and he sails away.	P V H
Tarsia is brought aboard the ship to rouse him from his melancholy.	C P V H
He treats her harshly.	C
She sings, to a guitar	C
(or a spinet)	P V
that she had been nine years with her nurse in Tarsus	V
when a prince sang her a mantinada, and she was harshly treated by her foster —parents. Her nurse had been poisoned, and Tarsia was given to a shepherd to be killed. But she was taken by pirates, and has been three years in captivity.	P V
«Her father is Apollonius and her mother	

Archistrata»,	C P V
and Apollonius recognises her.	C P V H
He gives her to the prince in marriage.	C P V
They go to the convent, and Archistrata	
is found».	C V H

The centre which the folk - versions have selected is the great moment of the recognition of father and daughter. Using the method adopted with Panaretos and Neromphile and going back in the narrative, we find that the point from which this climax comes is the birth of Tarsia and the «death» of Archistrata : and, apart from an insignificant prologue in the Cythera story, that is the beginning of our four folk - versions. Going forward from the recognition, its natural result and the close of the story of Tarsia is her marriage to the prince : and it is here that, in effect, our two best versions (PV) end. For the Voreadis poem deals with the later discovery of Archistrata in a perfunctory and undetailed fashion (three lines) which might just as well be prose. The approach is integrated, and the rembling original begins to take a shape and magnitude.

An interesting attempt at further integration has been made in H. The opening of the other two verse - narratives is in the familiar form

*Ἄφρονκρασιεῖτε νὰ σᾶς πῶ τραγοῦδι τὸ Ἄρχιστριάτας
ποὺ πῆρε Ἀπολλώνιος κι ἐγέννησε στὴ στράτα.*

which gives a misleading but normal opening. The Heracleion version takes the lines which in the others lead to the great climax of the recognition, and whose importance as the centre of the story is emphasized by the fact that they are the only verses retained in C :

Ὁ κύρης μ' Ἀπολλώνιος κ' ἡ μάνα μ' Ἀρχιστράτα,

so that the whole piece is given the unity of being narrated in the first person. Actually the convention breaks down with the reciter's memory — which would show, even in the absence of the original, which form is older — but the persistence of the integrative method is significant.

I have used the Song of Tarsia to illustrate one point in the development of Panaretos and Neromphile. The other factors of this development may also be seen : the expansion, which brings in the motif of the «voice from the tomb»;

and the disintegration of the verse. Very few lines from Apollonius are recognisable. We may note

*Ἀνάθεμα τὸ σπίτι σου, Στραγκίλιε τυρόννο,
ὀπούσουν ἢ κακή μου ἀρχὴ ἐισθῆτα νὰ παθάνω.
Ἀνάθεμα τῆ μοῖρά μου, ἀνάθεμα τὴν ὥρα
ὁ κύρης μου ὄντε μ' ἄφηκε στὴν ἐδική σου χώρα.*

AT 1539 - 1542

to be compared with the Cythera version's

*Ἀνάθεμα, Στρογκύλιε, ἐσένα καὶ τὴν ὥρα,
ποὺ μ' ἄφηκε ὁ πατέρας μου στὴν ἰδική σου χώρα.*

And

*Ἀπέθανεν ἢ Τάρσια, κ' ἔκαψεν τὴν καρδιά μας
ὄαν νᾶχεν πέσει τὸ κακὸ ἀπάνω στὰ παιδιά μας*

AT 1453 - 1454

which corresponds with

*Ἢ Τάρσια σου ἀπόθανε, κ' ἔκαψε τὴν καρδιά μου,
ὄαν νᾶχε ρίξ' ὁ Θεὸς φωτιὰ νὰ κάψη τὰ παιδιά μου*

P 75 - 76; similar in V.

But probably the most important result of this investigation is that by the seventeenth century Tarsia was already independent of Apollonius. In the «Rhyme» Tarsia plays the lyre; in the two best folk - versions she plays the spinet²³. And «spinets had already been abandoned at the end of the seventeenth century»²⁴. This fortunate evidence throws new light on the conditions of composition of these romances. It suggests, for instance, that Tarsia's poetic independence of its model may reflect a period when the improvisation of bards upon known stories was much more spontaneous and original than we know in Greece today. It suggests too that lost romances of the Frankish period may underlie many presentday folk - songs. Of these the most notable and certain is undoubtedly the romance of Dolcetta and Fiorentino.

The themes of Dolcetta and Fiorentino have more magic in them than those of Tarsia. They are in their present state so close to folk - tale that it would be very difficult to sift the motifs ringed about the titles King Leper and King Scaldhead, and analyse their relation to the original roman-

²³) σπινέτιο P σπερλέντιο V.

²⁴) Encyclopaedia Americana, New York 1949, s. v. «Piano».

ce²⁶. But the existence of this romance may be clearly proved by the application of the principles learnt from *Tarsia* and *Panaretos* and *Neromphile* to three folk-versions with a comparatively large proportion of verse.

The best of these comes yet again from Amari, from the village of Chordaki²⁶; so that all three of the romances that have come down to us have been gathered from a circle of mountains about five miles in diameter. It is from the Vlastos collection, and was recited by Maria Stratidaki in 1887. It consists of a long story in prose, with some 130 lines of verse in sizable passages. The second version is described simply as «from East Crete», and is a prose story with about seventy lines of verse from the parts included in the Chordaki text, but with considerable variations²⁷. The third is from Athens²⁸. It has about thirty lines of verse in short fragments among the prose.

The basic story of the romance, in a form fairly near what it must have originally had, may be told as follows:

«A king is a scald-pate, and the only cure is the blood of a prince. So he sends a fleet of his pirates, who with fine music entice aboard Fiorentino, only son of a great king, and take him to their master.

The king, shuts him in a tower, where he is attended by the king's daughter. She helps him to escape, and as they sail away

²⁶) A preliminary bibliography is given by N Politis in a book-review in *Λαογραφία* 2 (1910) pp. 146-8. For versions of the story see R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek Folktales*, Oxford 1953, p. 333, who is not quite accurate in saying that «in all the versions the latter part of the story is for the most part told in verse». Some versions have very little verse. Dawkins has missed the Sitia version mentioned below, and some four or five less important ones.

²⁶) Π. Γ. Βλαστός, *Ὁ μελισσοσιτέφανος* (Κρητικός λαός 1 (1909) pp. 78-9, 104-8). The title is taken from the name mentioned in the first line of verse, and has no other connection with the story. Vlastos says that in his collection (of which the greater part is still unpublished) he has another version of the same story under the name of *Dardan Datas*.

²⁷) Ε. Βλασσάκης, *Τὸ παραμῦθι τοῦ λεπροῦ βασιλιᾶ* (Κρητικός λαός 1 (1909) pp. 135-6, 167). Very close to this is the version from Sitia (Ε. Παπαδάκη, *Λόγια τοῦ Στειακοῦ λαοῦ*, Athens 1938, pp. 10-12), which, however, does not include any prose.

²⁸) Δ. Καμπούρογλου, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens 1889. See vol. 1, pp. 311-4.

together, the queen lays a curse upon them: that when Fiorentino is kissed by his mother he shall forget the princess, and his memory shall be restored only by a slap from his mother's hand.

When they reach the land of the great king, Fiorentino goes ahead to prepare for the princess's reception. He falls asleep; his mother kisses him, and he forgets his betrothed.

Fiorentino and two friends go hunting, and see the princess. One of them secretly sends her money to receive him, but she sends him away by a ruse, and the same trick is played on the second. When Fiorentino sends her money he is trapped in honey with which the princess has covered her stairs, and is sent away in disgrace.

The three friends realise the deception and summon her to court. There she tells the king that Fiorentino has been saved by her help, and stakes her life against his on the truth of her claim. The queen is prevailed upon to slap her son's face. He comes to his senses and remembers the princess. He is forgiven, and the pair are married with great celebrations».

In the absence of the original we find it difficult to examine the verbal relations of our three versions with their prototype. The disintegration of their verse must be guessed at from their degree of variation. The expansion of the poetry does not seem to have gone very far, and we have no parallelism to compare with that of the Lesbos version, three of whose five couplets run

Θυμᾶσι, Φλουρινίτι μου, μέσα σιῆ γάμαρά μου
ροδόσταμου σὶ πότιζα, ἔπιφτις καὶ μαζί μου;
Θυμᾶσι Φλουρινίτι μου, ἴδ᾽ ἴδα δὲ θυμᾶτι
ποὺ γίνηκτις ἐσὸν κλησᾶ τοῖ γὼ προσκύνησᾶ σι;
Θυμᾶσι Φλουρινίτι μου, ἴδ᾽ ἴδα δὲ θυμᾶσι
ποὺ γίνηκτις ἐσὸν λιμνά, τοῖ γὼ κουλόβησᾶ σι ;²⁹

In fact the fluency and skill of the poetry is considerable, and occasionally shows signs of a style rather different from folk-song. In

ΒΑΣ. Πάρε Τζωριζέια τὸ σπαθί.

ΤΖΩ. Πάρε το κι ἀπατό Σου.

Ἔτσι δριζέεις κάμε το, σκλάβος εἶν' ἐδικός Σου.

²⁹) P. Kretschmer, *Der heutige Lesbische Dialekt*, Vienna 1905. See p. 486

the division of the line points to (though by no means proves) a sophisticated origin. Its rather theatrical style is repeated in

Ἐν τον ἐδῶ πὸν πρόβαλε, τὸν Κώσιαν ὀμανίτη.

We may compare Fortunatos Act I. 360 — «Μὰ ἔν τον ἐδῶ πὸν πρόβαλε» — and Erophile Act III. 329 — «ἔν τον ἐδῶ πὸν πρόβαλε»⁸⁰. Both these evidences of a non-folk origin are absent in E and A⁸¹.

The expansion of the themes can be seen much more clearly. It is most marked in the East Cretan tale. There the queen is a witch, and the lovers escape by stealing her combs with the combings of her hair, her soap, and her basin. The combs become thickets in the pursuers' path, the combings hills and forests, the soap mud, and the water from the basin a river. In X, the Queen's curse has acquired two parallel variants, one of which is that the princess shall forget Fiorentino the moment his father kisses her. This is an obviously nonsensical expansion. The Athens version is almost free from such elements, but it is impossible to estimate how much this owes to the editor's habit of «preparing» his folk-tales⁸².

The third principle of our metamorphosis, the integration of the approach, is clear and easy. As a plot, the tale falls into two divisions, half in one kingdom, half in the other. But it is obvious that all three folk-versions have concentrated their attention upon the dramatic climax, the court scene where Dolcetta brings about the restoration of Fiorentino's memory. The moment from which the action flows to this court scene is not that of Dolcetta's deception of the three friends, for this triple deception is a self-contained episode with its own development and action. Rather, it is the moment — in itself a minor climax, a turning-point of the plot — when by chance the three discover the deception and decide to summon the princess to court. Fiorentino is apparently to be married: and one of his friends seems and —

«Τί ἔχεις Μέλισο - στέφανε καὶ χαμηλοκοιτάξεις;»

—and has to admit that he has no money to buy fine raiment

⁸⁰) For other examples see Erophile Glossary s. v, *ἐν*; though some of the references are not correct.

⁸¹) X - Chordaki; E - East Crete; A - Athens.

⁸²) See Διογραφία 4 (1912 - 3) pp. 341 - 3, 750 - 4.

for the feast, because he had spent it all on the courtesan Dolcetta.

So the action moves; now, in the best version, almost all in verse. The earlier half of the story is told by Dolcetta to the king, and so tied in to the integrated narrative. The action ends, immediately after the recognition, and the pardoning of Fiorentino, with the simple couplet

*Καὶ τότε τοὺς ἐπέστανε τοὺς δύο ἰωνε δμάδι,
κ' ἐμπήκανε κ' οἱ ἄλλοι δύο οἱ φίλοι του κουμπάροι.*

It seems that the end of the unity, of the folk - poem, in this case coincides with the end of the romance. But we must remember the way in which Apollonius and Archistrata sailed half the Mediterranean to tie the loose ends of their story. And it is tempting to think that Dolcetta and Fiorentino in some way solved the problem of the leper - king.

There is no doubt that this king is the Sultan of Cairo, and that his daughter is Dolcetta, though her name in X becomes Georgetta, in E Ciolcetta (*Τσολισέτα*), and in other versions even Dulciana and Falcetta. And Fiorentino is constant almost everywhere⁸³. The other names are more doubtful. Fiorentino's country is in E referred to as «*τοῦ Ταλαθιάς τὰ μέρη*». The interchangeability of λ and ρ, and the Cretan pronunciation of θ for τ suggest Taranto, and in this case X's Ἄφενιοταρῶνοι (referring to the three friends) might stand for Ἄφενιοταρανίνοι. But Ἄφενιοβαρῶνοι — «*Lords Baron*» — is an attractive conjecture. In E the two companions are called Stephanos and Yannis, in X only the first, Melissostephanos is named. In Sitia the names are Mesostephanos and Mesocostas, presumably from the Venetian «*Miser*»⁸⁴. The Athens version preserves much fuller names: the first is Stathinos Daleras, and the second Giordano Davellas. Finally in E, the name of Fiorentino's mother is given as *Ἰηγογληγοδώρα*; a curiosity which might well conceal «*Heliodora*».

The form of the folk - versions and the predominantly Italian names can leave no doubt of the existence of the romance of Dolcetta and Fiorentino, and of its dating at least

⁸³) But «*Vorvodinos*» in Laconia. See A. Θέρης, *Οἱ θρύλοι τοῦ Μυστρός (Παναθήναια 19 (1909) p. 189)*.

⁸⁴) But compare «*Melisso*» in *Decameron IX. 9*.

as far back as the seventeenth century. In some ways the sixteenth, or even the fifteenth century is more probable: later than this, a work of so widespread an appeal would almost certainly have been printed. All our evidence points to Crete as the place of origin: the existence there of the best versions, the high quality of the verse, and the points of resemblance with Cretan drama⁸⁵. It is fair that we should join this name to those of two certainly Cretan heroines, and so end our tale of Neromphile, Tarsia, and Dolcetta.

⁸⁵) Since I wrote this, Professor Manussakas has told me that as long ago as 1945 he recognised the existence of a sophisticated work behind the folk-tale of Fiorentino, and sketched out an essay entitled «An unknown drama of the Cretan theatre». One must, I think, admit the existence of a Cretan theatre in the sixteenth century. Erophone is unlikely to have sprung full-armed into existence; and as far back as 1541 it is recorded that Cretan actors were imported to Venice to take part in the production of a Veneto-Greek comedy by the Heptanesian Caravias (Κ. Ν. Σάθας, Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν, Venice 1879, vol. 1, p. 410). But it is very improbable that a Cretan comedy should be so very different from those extant. Katsurbos, Stathis, and Fortunatos are all Italian, Plautine, Manandrian comedies, observing the unities. The tale of Dolcetta and Fiorentino is a quite different sort of plot moving through time and space as a romantic, almost Alexandrian, narration.

APPENDIX I
THE PHANURAKIS MS.

The painter, Mr. Thomas Phanurakis of Heracleion, has very kindly allowed me to borrow and copy a notebook that is one of the most interesting documents of folksong that I have seen. It is written almost entirely by one Manusos Polentas, of Askyphou in the White Mountains, during 1926 when he was a prisoner in the jail at Kalami, on Suda Bay. This is the prison that accommodates all the sheep-thieves and brigands of Western Crete. Six months or so at Kalami seems to be part of the career of most men one encounters in the Madares.

Obviously Polentas, quite uneducated and with spelling so little contaminated by accepted ideas that it mirrors almost exactly the phonetic tricks of West Cretan dialect, set out to write as many songs as he and his fellow-prisoners knew. The result is amazingly rich. There are over a hundred and fifty feast-songs, twenty journey-songs, 1250 mantinades, the first 934 lines of *Daskaloyannis*, and a dozen or so historical ballads; one of these has been written in later by another man, at Askyphou (where the book clearly passed round various friends and relations) and refers to an ambush in the mountains in 1930.

The poems are interspersed with some full-page drawings of folk-themes, in ink and coloured pencil; a mermaid, *Erotas*, Saint George, Adam and Eve, a swordfish, and so on.

The main value of the manuscript is that it shows the extent of the common West Cretan repertoire. Individual items of interest include a new song on *Caramusas* (1680), an eleven-syllabled version of *Tataris*, and an Acritic beast-slaying wish a reference to a threeheaded monster playing on a *tambur*, as *Digenis* himself does in Cypriot songs. Very important is Polentas's division of the songs into tune-groups. Only once is any doubt shown about which tune is used for a song.

APPENDIX II
BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list includes all works referred to in text and footnotes. Greek and non - Greek alphabets are listed separately.

- P. Aretino, *I ragionamenti* ed. Anon., Paris 1882.
- N. Barbaro, *Giornale dell' assedio di Constantinopoli* ed. E. Cornet, Vienna 1856.
- Barlaam and Ioasaph* ed. G. R. Woodward - H. Mattingly, London 1914.
- S. Baud - Bovy, *La chanson populaire grecque du Dodecanèse I Les textes*, Paris 1936.
Sur la strophe de la chanson clephtique (Annuaire de l' Institut de Philologie et d' Histoire Orientales et Slaves 10 (1950) Παγκόσμια - Mélanges Henri Gregoire) pp. 53 - 78).
La strophe de distiques rimés dans la chanson grecque (Studia memoriae Belae Bartok sacra, Budapest 1956, pp. 365 - 383).
- P. Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses memorables, trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges*, Antwerp 1555.
- G. Boccaccio, *Il Corbaccio* (Opere volgari vol. 5), Firenze 1828.
La ruffianella «Lucca 1559» (actually about 1850, in an edition of 24 copies purporting to be an exact reprint of the original).
- G. Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, Venice 1829.
- C. Bondelmontius (Buondelmonti) *Descriptio Cretae* ed. E. Legrand in *Description des îles de l' archipel* (Publications de l' école des Langues Orientales Vivantes, série 4e, vol. 14, Paris 1897).
- J. Bosio, *Dell' istoria della sacra religione e ill. ma militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, Rome 1594 - 1602.
- C. M. Bowra, *Heroic poetry*, London 1952.
- F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l' époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1949.
- H. F. Brown, *The Venetian printing - press*, London 1891.
- J. - C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, Paris 1800.
- J. A. Buchon, *Histoire des conquêtes et de l' établissement des Français dans les états de l' ancienne Grèce*, Paris 1846.
Chroniques et memoires pour servir à l' histoire de France, London 1820.
- R. Cantarella, *Un poeta cretese del secolo XV : Stefano Sachlikis* (Atene e Roma, series 3, no 3, (1935) pp. 53 - 72). Translated into Greek in *Μύσων* 7 (1938) pp. 74 - 91.

- A. Castiglione, *A history of medicine*, New York 1947.
- J. Clough, *The secret enemy*, London 1954.
- F. Cornelius, (Cornaro) *Creta sacra*, Venice 1755.
Corpus scriptorum Byzantinorum historiae, Bonn 1828 etc.
- M. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, Basle 1584.
- A. d' Ancona, *Una poesia ed una prosa di Antonio Pucci* (II Propugnatore 2 (1869) pp. 397 - 438, 3 (1870) pp. 35 - 53).
Origini del teatro italiano Turin 1891.
- R. M. Dawkins, *A Cretan translation of Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Medium Aevum 1 (1932) pp. 109 - 125).
Forty - five stories from the Dodecanese, Cambridge 1950.
Modern Greek folktales, Oxford 1953.
- G. degli Agostini, *Istoria degli scrittori veneziani*, Venice 1752.
- H. D. de Grammont, *Histoire d' Alger sous la domination Turque*, Paris 1867.
- A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs*, Liège 1947.
- G. Destunis, (edits *Lament of Athens* in) *Persami vy Attichyeskoy Athiny*, S. Petersburg 1881.
Dictionnaire de la noblesse, Paris 1860 - 1893.
- C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Leyden 1688 (photographic reproduction, Paris 1943).
Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, Niort 1883.
- A. Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel - und neugriechischen Litteratur*, Leipzig 1860.
Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1933.
Encyclopaedia Americana, New York 1949.
- W. J. Entwistle, *European balladry*, Oxford 1939.
- L. Erk - F. W. Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, Leipzig 1893.
Les évangiles des Connoilles (Quenouilles), Lyon 1893.
- J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliothecae Graecae*, Hamburg 1726.
- X. Fielding, *The stronghold*, London 1953.
- R. Fulin, *Documenti per servire alla storia della tipographia veneziana* (Archivio Veneto 23. 2, pp. 390 - 405).
- E. Gerland, *Histoire de la noblesse crétoise au moyen âge* (Revue de l' Orient latin 10 (1903) pp. 172 - 247, 11 (1904) pp. 7 - 144).
- G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell' isola di Candia*, Venice 1905 - 1917.
- C. Gidel, *Étude sur la littérature grecque moderne*, Paris 1866.
- H. Grégoire, *Ὁ Διγενῆς Ἀργείας*, New York 1942.
- F. Hanna, (ed. *Spaneas* (Oxford) in) *Jahresbericht über das Akad. Gymnasium in Wien*, 1898.
- M. Haupt, *Opuscula*, Leipzig 1876.
- A. Hausrath, *Ein spätgriechischer Schwank und ein byzantinisches Vol-*

- Lebuch* (Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 87 (1938) pp. 85 - 94).
- W. Hertz, *Aristoteles in den Alexanderdichtungen des Mittelalters* (Abhandlungen der philos. - philol. Klasse der kön. bay. Akad. der Wissenschaften 19 (1892) pp. 3 - 105).
- D. C. Hesselting - H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, Amsterdam 1910.
- C. Hoeg, *Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque: L' étude linguistique*, Paris - Copenhagen 1926.
- E. Höpffner, *Les troubadours*, Paris 1955.
- R. Hutchinson, *The Lord of Patras* (K. X. I' (1956) 341 - 345).
- J. Irmischer, 'Ιάκωβος Τριβαλῆς' ποιήματα (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 1), Berlin 1956.
- A. A. Janssen, *Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyrii* (Indagationes Noviomagenses 2), Amsterdam - Antwerp 1954.
- E. Jurien de la Gravière, *Doria et Barberousse*, Paris 1886.
- C. Karofilas, *Une famille patricienne crétoise, les Vlasto*, New York 1932.
- E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus*, Berlin 1899.
- B. Knös, *Un miroir des femmes du XVIème s.* ('Ελληνικά 14 (1955 - 6), pp. 123 - 157).
- P. Kretschmer, *Der heutige lesbische Dialekt*, Vienna 1905.
- K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, Munich 1891 (first edition).
Eine neue Handschrift des Digenis Akritas (Sitz. kön. bay. Akad. der Wiss. philos. - philol. - hist. Klasse 1904 pp. 309 - 356).
Ein vulgärgriechische Weiberspiegel (Ibid. 1905 pp. 335 - 432).
- V. Lamansky, *Secrets d' état de Vénise*, S. Petersburg 1884.
- Sp. Lambros, *Ein byzantinisches Volkslied* (BZ 3 (1894) pp 165 - 166).
- J. B. L' Écuy, *Narrationes de capta Constantinopoli*, Paris 1823.
- E. Legrand, *Collection de monuments pour servir à l' étude de la langue neohellénique*, Paris 1874 etc.
Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire, Paris 1880 etc.
Bibliographie hellénique (complete series in 4 + 5 + 2 volumes), Paris 1885 - 1928.
- P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, Munich 1922.
- F. H. Marshall, *Four klephtic songs* (Είς μνήμην Σ Λάμπρου, Athens 1933 pp. 42 - 49).
- E. Martène - U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, Paris 1717.
- J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites*, Oxford 1956.
- A. Medin - L. Frati, *Lamenti stcrici dei secoli XIV, XV, e XVI*, Bologna 1887 - 1890.

- F. Miklosich-J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, Vienna 1860 - 1890.
- W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908.
- Z. Mocenigo, *Relazione...MDLXXXIX* (MKI 1 (1940)).
- G. Moravesik, *Byzantinoturcica II: Sprachreste der Turkvolker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Budapest 1943.
- F. Moresini, *Relazione...MDLXXXIX* (MKI 2 (1950)).
- G. Morgan, *French and Italian elements in the Erotocritos* (K. X. Z' (1953) pp. 227 - 228).
Three Cretan manuscripts (K. X. H, (1954) pp. 61 - 71).
- K. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, Paris 1870.
- H. Noiret, *La domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d' Athènes et de Rome 61 (1892)
Nouvelle biographie générale, Paris 1855.
- N. C. Papadopulus, *Historia gymnasii patavini*, Venice 1726
- C. D. Papadimitriou, *Ἀφήγησις παράξενος τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Σαχλίκη*, Odesa 1896 (in Russian).
- R. Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, Cambridge 1837.
- F. Pasqualigo, *Relazione.. MDXCIV* (MKI 3 (1953)).
- A. Passow, *Carmina popularia Graeciae recentioris*, Leipzig 1860.
- H. Pernot, *Chansons populaires grecques des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1931.
- F. Petrarca, *De' rimedi dell' una e dell' eltra fortuna, volgarizzati*, Bologna 1867.
- D. Pétropoulos, *La comparaison dans la chanson populaire grecque*, Athens 1954.
- Phanurakis MS. See appendix I.
- E. Picot, *Recueil général de sotties* (Société des anciens textes français) Paris 1902.
- G. Psychoundakis, *The Cretan runner*, London 1953.
- A. Quiller - Couch ed. *Oxford book of English verse*, Oxford 1912.
- S. Rang - F. Denis, *Fondation de la régence d' Alger*, Paris 1837.
- G. Reichenkron, *Steph. Sachlikis, Autobiograph und Moralist Formen der Selbstdarstellung* Festgabe für Fritz Neubert, Berlin 1956 pp. 363 - 377.
- E. Rohde, *Eine griechische Novelle* (Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 31 (1876) pp. 628 - 630).
- K. N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, Venice 1872.
- J. Schmitt, *La Théséide de Boccace et la Théséide grecque* (Bibliothèque de l' École des hautes études 92 (1892) pp. 279 - 345).
- Th. Siapkarakas - Pitsillidès, *Le pétrarquisme en Chypre: poèmes d' amour en dialecte chypriote*, Athens 1952.

- A. H. Smyth, *Shakespeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre*, Philadelphia 1898.
- E. A. Sophocles, *Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1914.
- J. W. Spargo, *Virgil the neoromancer* (Harvard studies in comparative literature 10), Cambridge (Mass.) 1934.
- K. Sudhoff, - C. Singer, *The earliest printed literature on syphilis (1495 - 1498)* Florence 1925.
- O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle*, Paris 1913.
La tariffa delle puttane di Vinegia ed. Anon, Paris 1883.
- F. Thiriet, *Vénise et l'occupation de Ténédos au XIVe siècle* (Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française à Rome 65 (1953) pp. 219 - 245).
- B. Thorlacius, *Protusiones et opuscula academica*, Copenhagen 1815.
- P. D. Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant*, London 1718.
- A. G. Tsopanakis, *Essai sur la phonétique des parlers de Rhodes*, Athens 1940.
- H. Waddell, *The wandering scholars* 7th. edition), London 1954.
- A. Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, London 1946.
- W. Wagner, *Medieval Greek texts* (the Philological Society's extra volume), London 1870.
Carmina graeca medii aevi, Leipzig 1874.
Ἀλφάβητος τῆς ἀγάπης, Leipzig 1879
- G. Waitz ed. *Concilium in Monte Romarico* (Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum 7 (1849) pp. 160 - 167).
- T. Wright, *The Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* Proceedings of the Camden Society, 1841).
Womankind in Western Europe, London 1869.
- T. Wright, *The Anglo-Latin satirist and epigrammatists of the twelfth century*, London 1872.
- A. Wulff, *Die frauenfeindlichen Dichtungen in den romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des XIII Jahrhunderts* (Romanischen Arbeiten 4), Halle 1914.
- F. Zambrini, *Le opere volgare a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV*, Bologna 1878.
- J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanisches Reiches in Europa*, Gotha 1856.
- Α. Ἀλεξίου, *Ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ Γαδάροῦ* (Κ. Χ. 9 (1955) 81 - 118).
- Σ. Ἀλεξίου, *Κρητικὴ ἀνθολογία*, Heracleion 1954.
Φιλολογικαὶ παρατηρήσεις εἰς κρητικὰ κείμενα (Κ. Χ. 8 (1954) σ. 238 - 272).
- Γ. Ἀραμπατζόγλου, *Φωτίειο βιβλιοθήκη*, Constantinople 1933 ?
- Π. Π. Βαβουλές, *Ὁ κρητικὸς τραγουδιστὴς*, Canea 1950.

- N. A. Βέης, *Νεοελληνικά δημώδη ᾄσματα ἐκ χειρογράφων κωδίκων* (Παναθήναια 10 (1910) σ. 211 - 216).
- Ε. Βλασσάκις, *Τὸ παραμῦθι τοῦ λεπροῦ βιοιλιὰ* (Κρητικὸς Λόγος 1 (1909) σ. 135 - 136, 167).
- Π. Γ. Βλαστός, *Ὁ γάμος ἐν Κρήτῃ* Athens 1893.
Νεῖα ἀνακαλίψεις ποιήσεως λειψάνων κρητικοῦ θεάτρου Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀρχιστράτη (Κρητικὸς Λόγος 1 (1909) σ. 38 - 44).
Ἀποσπάσματα ἐκ τῆς Ἐρωφίλης (Ibid. pp. 70 - 72).
Ὁ Μελισσοσιέφανος (Ibid. pp. 78 - 79, 101 - 108).
- Α. Βορεάδης, *Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀρχιστράτη* (Ibid. pp. 101 - 103).
- Ε. Ι. Δουλιγέρακης, *Τὸ κρητικὸ ᾄσμα τῆς Σουσάννας* (Κ. Χ. 9 (1955) σ. 334 - 376).
Δημοικαὶ παραλλαγὰί τῆς Ἐρωφίλης καὶ τῆς Βοσκοπούλας (Κ. Χ. 10 (1956) 241 - 272).
- Γ. Θ. Ζώρας, *Τζάνε Βεντρούμον ἱστορία Φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς Περηφανείας* (ΕΕΒΣ 24 (1954) σ. 291 - 314).
Πανάρετος (ΕΕΒΣ 27 (1957) 110 - 126).
- Α. Θέρσος, *Οἱ θρηνοὶ τοῦ Μυσσοῦς* (Παναθήναια 19 (1909) 2. 189).
Τὰ τραγούδια τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Athens 1952.
- Σ. Ἰωαννίδης, *Ἔπος μεσαιωνικὸν ἐκ τοῦ χειρογράφου Τραπεζοῦντος, ὁ Βασίλειος Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτης ὁ Καππαδόκης*, Constantinople 1887.
- Π. Π. Καλονάρος, *Βασίλειος Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτας*, Athens 1941.
- Δ. Καμπούρογλου, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens 1889.
- Β. Κυρνάρος, *Ἐρωτόκριτος* ἐκδ. Σ. Ξανθοῦδιδης, Heracleion 1915.
Ἐρωτόκριτος, introduction by Α. Πολίτης, Athens 1952.
- Φ. Κουκουλιές, *Μορφολογικὰ καὶ γραμματολογικὰ ζητήματα* (Glotta 25 (1936) pp. 159 - 166).
Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμὸς, Athens 1948 - 1952.
Περὶ τοῦ σιχούργημα «Συναξάριον τῶν ἐθνεγενικῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τιμωιῶν ἀρχοντισσῶν» (Κ. Χ. 7 (1953) σ. 55 - 60).
- Ε. Κριαρᾶς, *Μελετήματα περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Ἐρωτοκριτοῦ* (TF 27) Athens 1932.
- Α. Κριάρης, *Κρητικὰ ᾄσματα*, Athens 1921.
- Σ. Π. Κυριακίδης, *Ἡ γένεσις τοῦ διοτίχου καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰσομετρίας* (Διογραφία, παράρτημα 4).
- Σ. Λάμπρος, *Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων τῆς Βενετίας αἰτιάσεις Καισαρίου Δαπόντε καὶ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ῥουσάνου* (NE 2 (1905) σ. 337 - 351).
Μονωδίαί καὶ θρηνοὶ περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (NE 5 (1908)).
Δεκατρία δημώδη ᾄσματα μετὰ μουσικῶν σημείων (NE 11 (1914) σ. 423 - 432).
- Ι. Ε. Μαθιουδάκης, *Δημοικὰ τραγούδια Σελίνου* (Κρητικά 1 (1930) σ. 242 - 284).

- Ν. Μανούσακας, *Ἡ ρεθεμνιώτισσα σουλτάνα Εὐμενία Βεργίτιση σὶς εὐρωπαϊκὲς χαλκογραφίαις καὶ σὶὰ ἑλληνικὰ δημοτικὰ τραγούδια* (Κ. Χ. 5 (1952) σ. 349 - 384).
Ὁ ποιητὴς Γεώργιος Χοῦμνος, νοτάριος Χάνδακος (ΕΕΒΣ 21 (1951) σ. 280 - 282).
Τὸ τραγούδι γιὰ τὸ βασιλιά Ἐρροῖκο τῆς Φλάνδρας (Λαογραφία 14 (1952) σ. 3 - 52).
Περὶ ἀγνώστου Κρητὸς ποιητοῦ πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως, ὁ Λεονάρδος Ντελλαπόρτας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ (Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 29 (1954) σ. 32 - 44).
- Π. Μαρκάκης, *Ἡ Βοσκοπούλα, σὰν δημοτικὴ παραλλαγὴ στῆν Ἀπειράνθο* (Νάξου) (Φιλολογικὴ Πρωτοχρονιὰ 1947 σ. 137 - 144).
- Μ. Ο Μερλιέ, *Τραγούδια τῆς Ρούμελης*, Athens 1931.
- Μπάμπας - Παντζελιός, *Τὸ τραγούδι τοῦ Δασκαλογιάννη* ἐκδ. Β. Λαοῦρδας, Heracleion 1947.
- Φ. Μπουμπουλίδης, *Λαϊκὰ στοιχεῖα ἐν τῷ «Ζήνωνι»* (Κ. Χ. 7 (1953) σ. 127 - 137).
Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία, Athens 1955.
- Μ. - Ζ. Μπουνιαλῆς, *Φυλλάδα τῆς ψυχῆς*, Heracleion n. d. (1930 - 40?).
- Α. Π. Βουρδουμπάκης, *Κρητικὰ ἔγγραφα ἐκ τῆς ἐνετοκρατίας καὶ τουρκοκρατίας* (ΧΚ 2 (1916) σ. 339 - 424).
- Γ. Ν. Νάξος, *50 δημῶδη ἄσματα Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης*, Athens 1928.
- Ι. Α. Νοτοπούλος, *Τὸ κρητικὸ τραγούδι τοῦ Ὀμαλοῦ καὶ ἡ πατρόνα* (Κ. Χ. 12 (1958), 171 - 175).
- Σ. Ξανθοῦδίδης, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὸν Weiberspiegel* (BZ 16 (1907) pp. 470 - 478).
Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτας κατὰ τὸ χειρόγραφον Ἑσχωριὰλ (ΧΚ 1 (1913) σ. 523 - 572).
Ἡ ἐνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ἑνετῶν ἀγῶνες τῶν Κρητῶν (ΤΦ 34), Athens 1939.
- Α. Ξηρουχάκις, *Ὁ κρητικὸς πόλεμος*, Trieste 1908.
- Δ. Β. Οἰκονομίδης, *Τρία ἔθρα τῆς κρητικῆς λογοτεχνίας ἐν Ἀπεράθου - Νάξου* (Κ. Χ. 7 (1953) σ. 110 - 118).
- Ι. Ι. Παπαγρηγοράκις, *Συλλογὴ ξενογλώσσων λέξεων*, Canea 1952.
- Ε. Παπαδάκη, *Λόγια τοῦ στυακοῦ λαοῦ*, Athens 1938.
- Ι. Παπαδόπουλος, *Ἡ Κρήτη ὑπὸ τοὺς Σαρακηνούς* (ΤΦ 43), Athens 1918.
- Α. Παπαδόπουλος - Κεραμεύς, *Δημῶδες βυζαντινὸν ἄσμα αἰνιγματῶδες ἐκτιθέμενον διηγηματικῶς παραβολὴν ἵνα* (Λαογραφία 1 (1909) σ. 567 - 573).
- Γ. Δ. Παχτικός, *260 δημῶδη ἑλληνικὰ ἄσματα*, Athens 1905.
- Ν. Γ. Πολίτης, *Ἀκριτικὰ ἄσματα· ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Διγενῆ* (Λαογραφία 1 (1909) σ. 242 κ.ε.).
Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τραγούδια τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, Athens 1932.

- Κ. Ν. Σάθας, *Νεοελληνική φιλολογία*, Athens 1868.
Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν, Venice 1879.
- Γ. Σεφέρης, *Ἐρωτόκριτος*, Athens 1946.
- Κ. Σκόκος, *(Οἱ Μουσούροι)* (Ἡμερολόγιον 1892, Heracleion).
- Σ. Σπανάκης, ἔκδ. *Μνημεῖα κρητικῆς ἱστορίας*, Heracleion 1940 - 1958.
- Σ. Ε. Στάθης, *Τὸ παραμῦθι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου* (with N. Politis's commentary) (Λαογραφία 1 (1910) σ. 68 - 81.
Συμβολὴ εἰς τὸ ποίημα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τῆς Ἀρχιστρατής.
- Γ. Ταρσοῦλη, *Μωραῖτικα τραγούδια Κορώνης καὶ Μεθώνης*, Athens 1944.
- Ε. Σ. Τζιάτζιος, *Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακαϊσαναίων*, Athens 1928.
- Κ. Τσατσαρωνάκη, *Ἡ πρεσβυτέρα τοῦ παπᾶ Νικοδήμου Ταρμάρου* Νέα Χρονικά Ἡρακλείου, 5/6, 12/6, 19/6, 1949.
- Ν. Β. Τωμαδάκης, *Ὁ Ἐρωτόκριτος καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι* (Δρῆρος 1 (1937) σ. 136 - 137).
Συμβολὴ εἰς τὰς τοπωνυμίας τοῦ Σελίνου (Κρητικά 1 (1930) σ. 25 - 31).
- Ε. Κ. Φραγκάκη, *Συμβολὴ εἰς τὰ λαογραφικὰ τῆς Κρήτης*, Athens 1949.
- Α. Κ. Χατζηγιάκης, *Ἐκκλησίαι Κρήτης· παραδόσεις*, Rethymno 1954.
- Α. Χατζῆς, *Ἐνστάθιος Μακρομβολίτης καὶ Ἀκριτής* (Ἀθηνᾶ 54 (1950) σ. 134 - 176).
- Γ. Χορτάτζης, *Ἐρωφίλη* ἔκδ. Σ. Ξανθουδίδης (ΤΦ 9), Athens 1928.
- Ν. Ψάχος, *50 δημῶδη ἄσματα Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης* (see Γ. Ν. Νάζος), Athens 1928.

GARETH MORGAN