

## FRENCH AND ITALIAN ELEMENTS IN THE EROTOCRITOS

In 1935, Cartoian<sup>1</sup> drew attention to the fact that the plot of the *Erotocritos* was drawn from the old French romance of «Paris and Vienne», of which the standard critical edition is that of Kaltenbacher<sup>2</sup>. This romance is extant in seven manuscripts, of which the earliest is dated 1438, and several editions from 1487 onwards. In Italian there exist in manuscript three different translations, and no less than twenty-two printed editions, of which the first was published in 1482. Versions in Italian verse were composed by Mario Teluccini, of whose work there are two known editions, dated 1571 and 1577, and by Angelo Albani d'Orvieto, whose poem was printed in Rome in 1621. The evident popularity of the romance is further shown by its translation into other tongues—Spanish, Catalan, English, Flemish, Swedish, Latin, Armenian, and German.

Cartoian concludes rather doubtfully that the poem by Albano di Orvieto is «la source la plus directe du poème néogrec», but goes on «nous disons la plus directe parce que, sans doute, il y en a eu aussi d'accessoires, telle la version italienne en prose».

Kriaras<sup>3</sup>, entirely repudiates the Italian poem as the immediate source of the *Erotocritos*, and after an exhaustive comparison of the Greek with Kaltenbacher's text concludes that «the Cretan poet had to hand . . . the French romance itself, either in French or in an Italian translation». If this were true it would have the additional merit of settling finally the disputed authorship of the *Erotocritos*<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>) Cartoian, N. «Poema cretana Erotocrit în literatura românească și izvorul ei neconoscute». (Academia Romana, Memoriile secțiunii literari, seria III, tomul VII, mem 4). București 1935, and later in «Le modèle français de l'Érotocritos, poème crétois du XVIIe. siècle». (Revue de littérature comparée, (Avril - Juin 1936).

<sup>2</sup>) Kaltenbacher, R. «Der altfranzösische Roman Paris et Vienne», (Romanische Forschungen XV, Erlangen, 1904).

<sup>3</sup>) Kriaras, E. «Μελετήματα περί τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Ἐρωτοκρίτου», (Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch - Neugriechischen Philologie, Nr. 27, Athens, 1938).

<sup>4</sup>) See κατωτέρω.

This apparently well-founded conclusion ignores one difficulty. Kaltenbacher divides our existing sources into two groups. The first consists only of five French manuscripts, on which he bases his text: the second of all other material, including the Italian translations. The differences between the two groups are quite distinct, and those that affect the present question are as follows:

a) Group II is much more direct, omits the description of five dreams that occur in Group I, and generally curtails the narration of Paris' journeys and tournaments.

b) Group II omits the long prologue of Pierre de la Cypede, in which he states that he is the author of the work.

This study is intended to examine more closely the relation between the Paris et Vienne and the Erotocritos, and to try to resolve whether the Cretan poem is so closely affiliated to the Group I version as to overcome the inherent unlikeliness that a poet of Venetian Crete, undoubtedly bilingual, would base his work on French rather than Italian: and if it is so affiliated, whether any Italian elements in the Greek are strong enough for us to postulate the existence of a hitherto unknown Italian translation of the Group I text.

In the following section, references to the Erotocritos are given by book and line as in the Xanthoudides edition:<sup>5</sup> to the French text by page of Kaltenbacher's edition in *Romanische Forschungen*; and to the Italian by page of the Verona edition of 1603<sup>6</sup>. As this is not paginated, I have taken the page headed «*La Dilettevole et Bella Historia...*» to be page 1.

Since the Italian editions vary only in orthography and punctuation, I have used (of those available in the British Museum) the one nearest in time to the presumable date of the Cretan poem.

Dealing first with those places where the Erotocritos is closer to the Italian than to the French, we find the following examples, varying widely in their cogency.

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<sup>5</sup>) Xanthoudides, S. Βιτζέντζου Κορνάρου Ἐρωτόκριτος, Ἐκδοσις κριτική. Ἐν Ἡρακλείῳ Κρήτης 1915.

<sup>6</sup>) Paris, e Viena, Innamoramento bellissimo, nel quale si contiene il felice fine del loro Amore. Adornato di bellissime figure... In Verona, Per Francesco dalle Donne, MDCIII. (Br. Mus. 12403a 18).



1. *Περονῶν οἱ χρόνοι κ' οἱ καιροί, κ' ἡ Ρήγισσα γαστρούθη,*  
 . . . . .  
*μιὰ θυγατέρα κάμασι, κ' ἤφεξε τὸ παλάτι.* A 47, 51  
 . . . *ilz eurent une fille, qui fut de tres souverayne beaute.*  
 394

*Nè stette troppo tempo, che M. Diana fù gravida, et al tempo debito partorì una bella figliuola.* 2

F<sup>r</sup> does not mention the queen's pregnancy.

2. *Εἶχεν ὁ Βασιλιὸς πολλοὺς μὲ φρόνεψι καὶ πλούτη,*  
*συβουλατόροι νιου 'σανε οἱ μπιστεμένοι τοῦτοι*  
*μ' ἀπ' ὄλους εἶχεν ἀκριβό, πάντα σιῆ συντροφιάν του*  
*ἕναν, ὁπὸν Πεζόστρατον ἐκράζαν τ' ὄνομά νιου*  
*τοῦ παλατιοῦ ἦτο θαρρετός, ξεχωριστὸς παρ' ἄλλο,*  
*καὶ δίχως του ὁ Βασιλιὸς δὲν ἦκαν' ἕνα ζάλο.* A 71 - 76

*En cely temps avoit au Douphine unq noble et gentil homme de grant parage qui s' appelloit messire Jacques. Jasoit ce qu'il estoit baron, toutesfoiz estoit il homme liege au dauphin. Et si estoit chevalier de grant parente et renom et estoit moult puissant d' argent et avoit pluseurs chasteaulx et villes, si qu' il ne tenoit gueres moins de terre du douphin. Ledit messire Jacques estoit moult saige chivalier et le dauphin l' amoit moult.* 395

*Era in quel tempo nella Città di Viena un nobile Barone, ilqual era molto ricco di Castelli nel Paese del Dolf. chiamato per nome M. Giacomo . . . Questo M. Giacomo era amato molto dal Dolfino, e non faceva alcuna cosa in governare il suo Reame senza suo consiglio.* 3

«Δὲν ἦκαν' ἕνα ζάλο» has no parallel in F. However, a very similar phrase is found (referring to the Dauphin) in F,

*Tant l' amoit ledit roy, que en celuy temps ne faisoit riens sans son conseil...* 393

and the equivalent, in I

*...ne 'l Re faceva cosa alcuna nel Reame senza il suo consiglio.* 1.

<sup>1)</sup> Erotocritos — G.; French text — F; Italian text — I.

3. κ' ἤπασκεν ὅσον τὸ μπορεῖ νὰ βγῆ ἀπὸ τέτοια μάχη  
κ' ἤβανε μέσ' σιὸ λογισμὸ νὰ φεύγη ὄχ τὸ παλάτι,  
μά σφαλε, δὲν τὸν ἤφριν' ὁ καημός, πὸν τὸν ἐκράτει.

. . . . .

ἔτσι κι αὐτὸς ὅτι ἔκανε τὴν παίδα ν' ἀλαφροῦνη,  
καὶ νὰ βροη ἀέρα καὶ δροσά, πλιὰ ἄφτει τὸ καμίνι.

A 110 - 112, 119 - 120

*Paris serchoit chemin de soy eslonyer de Vienne, mes riens ne luy valoit la longnyer, quar quant plus la longnoit, et plus ardoit le feu d'amours.* 397

*Abenche molte volte Paris havesse fatta ferma deliberatione di non voler più seguitare questo amore, et dar luoco à tanti affanni, tuttavia non potesta; ma quanto più cercava nella mente sua abandonar Viena tanto più gli cresceva l'amore verso di lei, et credendo amorzare il fuoco gli aggiungeva più legne.* 4

«Μὲς σιὸ λογισμὸ» — «deliberatione», «nella mente». Compare also A 306, one of the *Erotocritos*' many metaphors of love as a fire, which is closer to I than to F:

κ' ἤβαν ὁ ἔρωτας κουρφα τὰ ξύλα σιὸ καμίνι.

4. Κι ὀληνυχτις ἀνάπασι δὲν εἶχε νὰ λογιάζη,  
ποιὸς εἶν' αὐτὸς, πὸν τραγουδεῖ, καὶ βαρνασιενάζει,  
καὶ μέρα νύχτα ἢ πεθυμιὰ πληθένει νὰ τ' ἀκούη,  
μὴ γνώθοντας, κι ὁ ἔρωτας ὄντι γελᾷ, μᾶς κρούει

. . . . .

Καὶ μὲ τὴ Νένα τζι συχνιὰ ἐμίλειε τοῦτα κεῖνα,  
πάντα γιὰ τὸν τραγουδιστὴ ἀθιβολὲς ἐκίνα.

A 465 - 468, 475 - 476

*...et tousjours luy [Vienne] croissoit la volunte et le desir de scavoir qui ceulx estoient, entant qu' elle mostroit a en porter grant poine et douleur.* 398

*...e pure più volte Viena diceva con la sua nutrice Isabella. Come può essere, che quasi ogni notte si sentino quì sù maravigliosi canti, et instrumenti? (se ben come giovane pura, et innocente, che ancora non havea sentito che cosa fossero le fiamme d' Amore pur li piaceva, conescendo, che per amor suo gli erano fatti tanti suoni) et stando più*



*volte in tali pensieri tutta si consumava per voler sapere  
qui fussero quelli che così mirabilmente sonavano.* 5

This section is difficult to analyse; G, although it expands greatly, puts the singing - contest and the ambush immediately together, while F and I separate them by a description of Vienne's growing excitement. The general impression is that G is closer to I, and this is strengthened by the bringing in of a conversation with the Nurse, (Isabella). But possibly «*ἡ πεθυμιὰ πληθύνει*», must be compared with «*Croissoit la volonte et le desir*».

5. *Κινοῦν καὶ πάσι τὸ ζιμιὸ κ' οἱ δέκα ἀρματωμένοι,  
καθένας τὸν τραγουδιστὴν ἤστικε κι ἀνιμένει.  
Εἰς ὄραν ὀλιγούτσικη, ὅπου ἴσανε χωσμένοι,  
θωροῦν το μ' ἓνα σύντροφο ἀξάφνου καὶ προβαίνει,  
κι ἀρχίζει πάλι τὸ σκοπὸ τὸ γλυκοζαχαρένιο,  
κ' ἐχτύπα τὸ λαγοῦτόν του σὰν τό ἔχε μαθημένο.  
Ἡ γλῶσσά ντου παρὰ ποτὲ ἐγένηκεν ἀηδόνι,  
καὶ τὸ μεσάνυχτο περνᾷ, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀγῆς σιμώνει.* A 557-564

*Quant ilz armes et ordenes, ilz salirent hors du palays  
et s' en alerent cacher environ la chambre du Dauphin.  
Apres matines Paris et Edoardo vindrent . . . ; quant ilz  
furent desoubz la chambre du dauphin ilz commensserent  
a chanter et a sonher, ainsi comme ilz avoient a coustu-  
me . . .* 399

*Venuta la notte seguente Paris con Odoardo . . . secondo  
l' usanza, sotto la camera del Dolf. sonando più maravi-  
gliosamente, che mai havessero fatto.* 5

G and I agree that at the last serenade the heroes sang more beautifully than ever. However, «*κίνοῦν καὶ πᾶσι*» must be compared with «*Ilz salirent...et s' en alerent*», which has no equivalent in I.

6. *Ἐτίτες ὁ Ρωτόκριτος ἀρχοντικὰ μιλεῖ τως  
καὶ φρόνιμα, ὡς ἐγνώρισε κ' εἶδε τὴν ὄρεξίν τως.  
Λέει τως: «Φίλοι κι' ἀδερφοί, . . . .»* A 599 - 601

*Paris . . . s' en vint aux chivaliers et leur dist tielx pa-  
rolles: «Messeigneurs . . . .»* 400

*Paris . . . si volto à quelli dieci huomini benignamen-  
te, e disse. Signori, e fratelli . . .* 6

ἀρχοντικά—benignamente; Φίλοι καὶ ἀδελφοὶ—Signori e fratelli.

7. σὰν τοὺς ἀποχαιρέτισε κ' ἐμίσειεν, θωροῦσι,  
 πὼς δὲ γρικᾶ μὲ τὸ καλό, κ' εἰς τὸ κακὸ θὰ μποῦσι.  
 Ἐφήκασιν τὸ ἀθιβολές, σὶ ἄρματα βάνου χέρα, A 607 - 609

*Les chivaliers respondirent: «Seigneurs, ne vous des-  
 plaise, quar se vous ne voules venir pour amour, il vous  
 fauldra venir pour force». Quant Paris les entendit, il se  
 tira arriere et mist le main a son espee... 401*

*Pur seguendo [Paris] la sua via, questi dieci huomini  
 si misero dinanzi a loro, e dissero. Fabisogno ò per amore,  
 ò per forza che veniate al Dolfino, et in questo parlare mes-  
 sero mano alle spade... 6*

Ἐμίσειεν — «segundo la sua via»: and in F, Paris draws first, while in G and I it is the guards who put their hands upon their swords.

8. Δυὸ πῆγα κ' εἴπασιν τού το ἀπὸ τοῖ πορευμένους,  
 κ' ἐθωροειέν τοις ὁ Βασιλιὸς ἄσκημα λαβωμένους· A 641 - 642

*... les chivaliers, qui foyz s' en estoient, vindrent de-  
 vant le dauphin et luy compterent tout leur fait et la desa-  
 venture, qui leur estoit advenue, dont il fut moult dolant  
 et courosse... 401*

*... i quali andorno la mattina con sua gran vergogna  
 avanti al Dolfino, mostrandoli le ferite c' havevano sopra  
 la persona. Vedendo questo il Dolfino comandò... 7*

«Ἐθώρειεν τοῖς ὁ βασιλιὸς» — «Vedendo questo il Dolfino».

9. Μέσα μου λέ' ὁ λογισμός, πὼς τοῦτος ὁ ἀντρειωμένος  
 εἰσὲ φωλιὰν ἀρχοντικὴν θὲ νά ν' ἀναθρεμμένος, A 701 - 702

*... erano fatte queste cose per amor suo; et da persone  
 gentile, e valorose. 7*

Not in F.

10. Ἐπέρασσε κ' ἡ δεύτερη [νύχτα] κ' ἡ τρίτη κατακρούει,  
 κι οὐδὲ τραγούδι οὐδὲ σκοπὸ οὐδὲ λαγοῦτ' ἀκούει.  
 Ὅσον ἐπέραν' ὁ καιζός, κ' οἱ νύχτες ἐδιαβαῖνα,  
 τόσον οἱ λογισμοὶ κρουφὰ τὴν ἐψυγομαραῖνα. A 785 - 788

*... a lei pareva cento anni, che non avesse udito so-  
 nare, e cantare, perch' ella non trouava altro rimedio al  
 suo dolore, e non pensava in altra cosa. 8*



I's distinction between music sung and music played has no equivalent in F.

11. Καὶ πάλ' ὁ Ρῆγας καθ' ἀργὰ ἤβανε νὰ βιγλίσου  
πολλοὺς νὰ τόνε πιάσουσι, γῆ νὰ τόνε γνωρίσου·  
καὶ σὰν οἱ δέκα ἔχασαι καὶ καταντροπιασιῆκα,  
κ' ἐπῆρεν ὄγιά λόγου ντως πολὺ καημὸ καὶ πρίκα,  
τριάντα πέμπει κάθ' ἀργά, καὶ τάσσει τως καὶ δῶρα,  
λέει τως νὰ γυρίζουσι ὀληνυχτὶς τῆ Χώρα.

Μὰ ὁ Ρώκριτος σὰ φρόνιμος δὲν πιάνεται σιὸ δίχτυ,  
καὶ τὰ λαγοῦτα καὶ σκοποὺς παράμερα τὰ ῥίχτει.

A 805 - 810, 813 - 814

... et disoit ensoy mesmes (les chivaliers) que a l' autre  
nuyt il y mettroit tant de gens, que ceulx, qui ceste chouse  
avoient faicte, seroient prys. Mes il faillit a son compte,  
car despuys Paris ne Edoardo n' y vindrent. 401-402

Vedendo questo il Dolfino comandò che la notte seguen-  
te andassero venticinque huomini armati, acciò non potes-  
sero scampare, ma niente valse questa provizione, perche  
mai più non se tornar a cantare, tenendo il fatto suo se-  
creto . . . 7

F has only the suggestion that more men should be set in ambush the following night; G and I expand this to a fact.

12. Θωρεῖς με ποῦρι, καλογιέ, γέροντας εἶμαι τώρα,  
καὶ νὰ μακρύνω δὲ μπορῶ μπλιὸ μ' ὄξω ἀπὸν τῆ Χώρα,

Ποῦρι δὲν ἔχ' ἄλλο παιδι σιὸν κόσμο παρὰ σένα,  
κ' ἐσὸν θὲ νὰ τὰ χαίρεσαι ὅ τ' ἔχω κοπιασμένα.

Τῆ μάννα σου μὲ λογισμὸ πολλὰ βαρὺ τὴν κοίνεις  
θυμῶνιάς σε, πῶς ἤσουνε, βλέποντας πῶς ἐγίνης.

A 835 - 836, 839 - 840, 847 - 848.

... hormai non posso più viver lungamente, per la  
grave infermità...io non hò altro figliuolo...habbi almeno  
qualche copassione alla tua misera, e dolente madre, la  
quale de gli' occhi suoi hà fatto due fonti di amare lagri-  
me...anzi sempre ringratia il Cielo, ilqual ti ha fatto here-  
de di tanta robba quanto tu aspetti dietro a me, come tu  
poi vedere. 14 - 15

These points from the father's appeal are not mentioned in F.

13. μ' ἀπήτης ἔμακρύνασι, κ' εἰς μέρη ἄλλα σῶσα,  
 νέφαλα μαῦρα σκοτεινὰ τὰ μάτια ντου κουκλῶσα,  
 κ' ἐμούλλωσε τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὸ κορμὶ ἀποροίχτει,  
 κ' ἤκλαιγε κι ἀνεσιτέναζε ὄλο τὸ μερονύχτι. A 1351 - 1354

*Et benche Paris havesse tanti honore, et piaceri per amor di Odoardo, pur nel suo cuore stava molto tristo, non mostrando di far più stima, nè conto alcuno di Viena, ma il cuore lo molestava giorno, e notte à tornar à vederla, et un hora gli pareva mille anni.* 32

F has no suggestion of Paris' sadness during his stay in Brabant.

14. κι ὁποῦ νικήση, ὄχ τὸ λαὸ νὰ ᾔχη τιμὴ μεγάλη,  
 κ' ἓνα στεφάνι ὀλόχρυσο νὰ βάνη στὸ κεφάλι,  
 ἓνα στεφάν' ὀλόχρυσο καὶ μαργαριταρένιο,  
 ἀποῦ τοῖ θυγατέρας του τὰ χέρια καμωμένο. A 1381 - 1384

*Et celluy qui myeulx se porteroit en celuy tournoyement gaigneroit ledit escut et chapeau d' or. . . . Le roy d' Angleterre y envoia une corone d' or, ou il avoit de perles et de pierres fines a grant foyson . . . et pourtant je vous fais assavoir que celuy qui mieulx se portera en ceste journee gaignera les troys banyeres et les enportera, et les joyaulx qui y sont, et au surplus la royne luy donra en seigne de victoire une belle couronne d' our.* 403, 418, 420

*. . . et che più valorosamente portarà le sue arme nel torniamento, haverà una bellissima ghirlanda fatta per le sue mani . . . Onde il Rè d' Inghilterra mandò . . . una bellissima corona tutta fornita di perle . . . Et il Dolfino mandò per la sua figliuola Viena un capello francese coperto di perle, e bellissime zoglie . . . et la Regina gli donarà una bella corona in segna di victoria.* 9, 17, 19

G, in combining the two tournaments which in F and I take place at Paris and Vienne, also combines the descriptions of the many prizes offered by the various kings and lords. It seems clear, however, that «ἀποῦ τοῖ θυγατέρας του τὰ χέρια καμωμένο» and «fatta per le sue mani» have no equivalent in F.

15. γιατί ἔρχονται γιὰ λόγου τζι μεγάλοι καβαλλάρου,  
 νὰ κονταροχτυπήσουσι καλὴν καρδιὰ νὰ πάρη [ἢ Ἄρετοῦσα]  
 A 1389 - 1390



... en celuy tournoyement vindroyent pluseurs jeunes homme pour l' amour de Vienne, pour laquelle chose Vienne y prandroit aucun plaisir. 402

... da tutte le parte del suo Reame et altri luochi dovessero venire molti nobil Baroni, et Cavalliere per acquistar l' honore, il pretio, e l' amore di così gentil damigella. 8

It seems that «μεγάλοι καβαλλάροι» is «Baroni, e Cavallieri», but «καλήν καρδιά νὰ πάρη» is matched in F and not in I.

16. Παρηγοριὰ κι ἀλάφρωσι ἐπῆρε νὰ τ' ἀκούση. A 1393

Ceste feste attendoit Vienne en grant devotion de cuer ct en grant volunte. 402 - 403

Vedendo<sup>s</sup> Viena l' ordine dato per il padre, in far si solenne festa, li piacque assai. 8

«'Ακούση» — «Vedendo», «παρηγοριὰ κι ἀλάφρωση» — «li piacque assai».

17. Μέσα σὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸ εἰς ἀρρωστία μεγάλη  
ἤπεσεν ὁ Πεζόστρατος μὲ κάηλα καὶ μὲ ζάλη  
ἐμπαινοβγαῖναν οἱ γιατροί, κι ὄλοι τὸν ἐφοβοῦντα,  
.....  
πέμπου καὶ τοῦ Ρωτόκριτου σπονδαχτικὸ μανιᾶτο.

A 1413 - 1415, 1420

... il advint que messire Jacques, pere de Paris fut malade en la cite de Vienne d' une fivre continue... dont il fut en grant perilh de mort. 443

... avvenne, che M. Giacomo suo padre gli mandò una lettera, notificandogli, come egli era fortemente aggravato d' una terribil febre, per la quale gli Medici dubitavano molto della sua vita;... 32

In F there is no mention of a letter and of the doctors.

18. Στὴν τέλειωσι τοῦ περβολιοῦ εὐρίσκειτο χτισμένη  
μιὰ κατοικία μὲ μαστοριὰ μεγάλη καμωμένη  
τούτ' ἦτον τοῦ Ρωτόκριτου, καὶ χῶρια τὴν ἐκράτει,  
μὲ στόλισες βασιλικὲς ὡσὰ Ρηγὸς παλάτι.  
.....

<sup>s</sup>) In the editions up to that of 1543, «vedendo» is replaced by «inteso», or «intese».

Ἡ μάννα ντου ἔχε τὰ κλειδιά, κ' εἶχεν του κι' ἀμνομένα,  
 νὰ μὴν ἀφήσῃ ἄκεῖ νὰ μπῆ ποτὲ ἄθροπο κιανένα.  
 Μὰ τότες τὸ λησμόνησε, κ' ἐθέλησε ν' ἀνοίξῃ,  
 καὶ τοῦ σπιτιοῦ τὴν ὁμορφιὰ καὶ σιόλισι νὰ δείξῃ.

A 1441 - 1444, 1447 - 1450

*Puis entrèrent en la chambre de Paris qui moult richement estoit adornee de belles tantes, et y avoit ung beau lit, richement couvert de beau drapt de soye, dont il souffroyt bien au roy de France.* 445

*Poi la madre di Paris tolsi le chiave della sua camera (che gli haveva lasciate) et apersela, e come furono aperti li balconi, tutta quanta riluceva di gran splendore, con un bello, et trionfante letto, che certamente non erà più ricco quello del Rè di Franza, nè così ben adornato.* 34

At this point F does not mention the fact that Paris' mother has the keys to his room.

19. Τὸ σιόλισμα τὸ σόθεμα, κι ὅ τι ἦσαν' ἐκεῖ μέσα,  
 ὄλα τὸ μυριορέγουντιαν, περίσσα τῶς ἀρέσα,  
 μ' ἀπ' ὄλες πλιὰ τὰ ρέγειο τοῦτι' ὄλα ἢ Ἄρειτοῦσα, A 1453-1455

*Queste donne guardavano quelle cose per una gran meraviglia, con grandissime piacere, in tal modo che non si poteano satiare, vedendo così mirabile cose; e massimamente Viena...* 34

Not in F. In particular, line 1455—«massimamente».

20. Κουρφᾱ καταρδινιάζει τον.... B 93  
 ... et quanto più secretamente puote, si mise in ordine... 10

Here, as in other places, a slight similarity of words is greatly strengthened by the similarity of position. Not in F.

21. Καλὰ κ' ἐπόνεσε πολλῶ, ὁ σίχος πὼς ἀλλάσσει,  
 καὶ χίλιοι χρόνοι φαίνονται ἢ νύχτα νὰ περάσῃ,  
 . . . . .  
 Ἐπόνεσεν εἰς τὴν καρδιὰ δαμάκ' ἢ Ἄρειτοῦσα,  
 B 1201 · 1202, 1205

*Viena aspettava con gran desiderio di sapere qual fosse quella donna....che un' hora gli pareva mille anni;...* 23

This passage is not in F. It is interesting to see that the equi-



valence of «χίλιοι χρόνοι» and «mille anni» is almost unconscious, as although they occur so close together, in G it is Roto-critos who is referred to, and in I, Viena.

22. Δὲ θεὸν νὰ χάνω τὸν καιρὸν κι ἄγνωστο νὰ μὲ πῆτε  
νὰ λέγω κεῖνα, ... Γ 617 - 618

*Molte altre parole disse Viena à Paris, lequali fariano troppe lunghe à narrare.* 52 - 53

F regrettably makes no such assertion.

23. Κι ὁ κύρις σου τὴν προξενειὰ κάμε νὰ τὴ μιλήσῃ  
τοῦ Ρῆγα, καὶ μὲ τὸν καιρὸν ὀλπίζω νὰ νικήσῃ.  
Γιατὶ πολλὰ τὸν ἀγαπᾷ, . . . Γ 691 - 693

*Et pour ce je veulh que vous me faictes requerre a monseigneur mon pere en nom de mariage, et puis nous verons qu' il s' en ensuyvra.* 484

*Si che voglio che facci dire a mio padre che me ti debba dare per moglie... Et parmi, che tuo padre debba esser quello che parli di questo fatto, il quale, come tu sai, è molto caro amico di mio padre...* 51 - 52

In G and I it is Aretousa and Viena who suggest that their lovers' fathers should make the proposal to the king. In F, although some intermediary is implied, it is not until afterwards that Paris decides to ask Messire Jacques to do him the service.

24. Δὲ στέκει μπλι' ὁ Ρωτόκριτος καιρ' ἄλλο ν' ἀνιμένῃ,  
μὰ φανερώνει τοῦ κυροῦ τὸ προᾶμα, καθὼς πηαίνει. Γ 759 - 760  
*Je le dy . . . que j' ay ame Vienne, la filhe du dauphin...* 486

*All' hora Paris incominciò a dire, come già molto tempo havea portato grandissimo amore a Viena.* 53 - 54

«Δὲ στέκει μπλιὸ» — «All' hora».

25. Σὰν ἤκουσεν ὁ γέροντας προᾶμα, τὸ δὲ λογιάζει,  
τοῦ φάνη μαῦρο νέφαλο, τὸ φῶς του σκοτεινιάζει  
τὰ μέλη ντου τρομάξασι, τὸ λίγον αἷμα χάθη,  
κι ὀλότυφλος ἐπόμεινε τὴν ὄρα κ' ἐβουβάθη. Γ 763 - 766

*Messire Jacques, qui entendit la folle requete de son filz, fut tant esbay qu'il ne scavoit que devenir...* 486

*Inteso M. Giacomo il parlare del figliuolo, hebbe tanto dolore, che non pote rispondere cosa alcuna...* 54

The word «ἐβουβάθη» is far closer to I than to F's «ne sca-voit que devenir».

26. *Μὲ φόβον ὁ Πεζόστρατος μισσεύγ' ὄχ τὸ παλάτι,*

. . . . .  
καὶ μὲ τρομάρα κ' ἐντροπὴ σιὸ σπίτιν του γιαγέρνει,  
καὶ τὸ μαντιᾶτο τὸ πρικὺν εἰς τὸν ὑγιόν του φέρνει,

Γ 937, 941 - 942

*Et lors messire Jacques, tout honteux...se party de la, et s' en vint a son hostel, ou il trova Paris...il luy compta la responce que le dauphin luy avoit fait. Si dist que en sa vie n'avoit receu tant de deshonneur comme a celle foyz.*

490 - 491

*Tornò Messer Giacomo à casa sua molto dolente, e disse à Paris l' aspra risposta, che'l Dolfino gli havea fatto.*

56

«Τὸ μαντιᾶτο τὸ πρικὺν» is equivalent to «l' aspra risposta». However, «ἐντροπὴ» obviously stems from «tout honteux», an idea which is much expanded in the French.

27. *᾽Ωρισ' ὁ Ρῆγας τὸ ζιμιὸ κάνει καὶ φέρνουσίν του  
ροῦχ' ἀποφόρια καὶ παλιά, καὶ ντύνει τὸ παιδίν του,  
κόβγει τα ὄς τὰ γόνατα καὶ κούντουρα τ' ἀφίνει,  
κι ἀσοῦσσουμη κι ἀνέγνωρη ἢ ᾽Αρειτοῦσα γίνη.  
Μὲ τὴν παλέτσα τὴ χοντροῦ καὶ μ' ἄχερα τοὶ κάνει  
στρωῶμα, . . .*

. . . . .  
Στὴν πλιὰ χειρότερη φλακὴ στὴν πλιὰ σκοτεινιασμένη,

. . . . .  
μ' ὄγκιὰ φωμὶ κι ὄγκιὰ νερό,...

Δ 577 - 582, 585, 588

*. . . une petite prison, qui soit toute desoubz terre, si que il ny puisse entrer si non unq bien pou de clarte...et saches que il leur fasoit petitement donner a menger. 538*

*. . . una stantia, che non havesse aere sotto terra...con gli vestimenti curti, senza letto, con un poco di paglia, si che stavano sopra la terra, et non gli dava se non pane, et acqua una volta al giorno. 93*

A very clear instance of the closeness between G and I.



28. θέλω καὶ νὰ μοιράσωμε τοὶ χῶρες ὅπ' ὀρίζω,  
καὶ νὰ ᾿σαι πάντα μετὰ μὲ κι ἀπήτης ξεψυχήσω,  
τέκνο καὶ κληρονόμο μου εἰς ὅλα νὰ σ' ἀφήσω,

Δ 1204 - 1206

ἔσὺ ᾿σ' ὁ κληρονόμος μου, ᾿ς ὅ τι κι ἂν ἀφεντεύγω. Δ 1524

. . . *però io voglio, e intendo che dapoi la morte mia vogliate accettarlo (lo Paris) per vostro Sig....* 128

Both these passages have the idea that Rotocritos and Paris will inherit the domain after the king's death. In F, the dauphin wishes to hand over his land immediately in accordance with his oath.

29. κατέχω πῶς σιὴ φυλακὴ βρῖσκεται τὸ παιδί σου,

. . . . .

ἔτοῦτο εἶν ὅπου ζητῶ, καὶ κάμε μου τὴ χάρι,  
τοὶ φλακισμένης μήνυσε ἄντρον τῆς νὰ μὲ πάρη.

E 201, 203 - 204

. . . *j'ay entendu qu' il tient emprisonnee sa filhe qu' il me doit doner a fame. Donc je le requier par son seremant et sur la foy qu' il m'a promis que incontinant la veulhe gecter hors de prison et la moy doner a fame ainsi come il m'a promys.* 599

*Il Frate andò, et disse al Dolfino per sua parte che gli volesse fare una gratia. Il Dolfino rispose che dimandasse...Paris gli disse, ritornate à lui, e ditegli, che gli piaccia volermi dare Viena sua figliuola, laquale egli tiene in prigione, per mia legittima sposa, e moglie, e perdonargli, per mio amore, il suo peccato.* 128 - 129

G and I agree that Rotocritos and Paris of their own initiative ask for the hand of the king's daughter. In F, Paris only asks for the fulfilment of the promise made in the prison of Alexandria.

30. ᾿Αγκαλιαστὴ τήνε κρατοῦν ὁ κύρις μὲ τὴ μάσσα  
τὴν ὄρα, πὸν τὰ χεῖλη ντῆς ἔτοῦτ' ἀνεθιβάνα  
μ' ἀγάπη τὴ γλυκοφιλοῦ, μὲ σπλάχνος τὴν εὐκοῦνται,  
τὴν περασμένη μάνιτα μπλιὸ δὲν τήνε θυμοῦνται.

E 1279 - 1282

*Et le dauphin dist que de Dieu et de luy soit elle par-*

*donnee. Si prist, Paris par le main, et le baysa en la boche, et Vienne apres.* 622

*Figliuola mia carissima di Dio, et da me ti sia perdonato, et abbracciandola, baciolla, et poi gli dette la sua benedittione.* 137

G and I preserve the same order of embrace, kiss, and blessing. It must be said however that at this point there is such divergence in the three accounts that the resemblance may be coincidental.

From the foregoing examples it will be seen that the author of the  *Erotocritos*  must have had the Italian text to hand. It has already been suggested however<sup>9</sup>, that there are some resemblances to points in the French which are not found in the Italian, and the following examples will show many more:

31. *καὶ μόνον ἓνα λογισμὸν εἶχαν πολλὰ μεγάλο,  
γιατ' ἦσανε χρόνους μαζί, καὶ τέκνο δὲν ἐκάμα,  
᾿ς ἔγνοια μεγάλη καὶ καημὸ τοί ᾿βαν᾿ αὐτὸ τὸ προᾶμα᾿  
κάροβοννο μέσ᾿ σιὰ σωθικὰ τοί ᾿βραζε νύχια μέρα,  
μὴν ἔχοντας κληρονομιά, σιμώνοντας τὰ γέρα᾿  
τὸν ᾿Ηλιο καὶ τὸν Οὐρανὸ συχνιὰ παρακαλοῦσα,  
γιὰ νὰ τ᾿ ἀξώση καὶ νὰ δοῦν παιδί, πὸν πεθυμοῦσα.* A 40 - 46

*... furent ensemble par l' espaise de sept ans sans avoir nulz enfans, dont ilz estoient en grant pensemant. Et nuyt et jour faisoient ouraysons, en priant Dieu de tout leur cuer que pour sa sainte pitie leurs vouldist donner enfant, qui fust hoir et seigneur de leur terre apres leur fin.* 393 - 394

*... stettero anni sette senza haver figliuoli, et perciò ne stavano molto adolorati, et dubitandosi che'l Reame dovesse rimaner senza herede facevano molte volte orationi a Dio che gli piacesse fargli tanta gratia, che avanti la sua morte havessero figliuoli.* 1 - 2

I has nothing to correspond with «*νύχια μέρα*» and «*nuyt et jour*». This common phrase would be of little importance were it not that it seems to have induced the rhyme «*σιμώνοντας τὰ γέρα*», which states an idea only implied in the other versions.

<sup>9</sup>) Examples 4, 5, 15, and 26.



32. γιατί ἄβαλα ἕνα λογισμό, καὶ στέκω ν' ἀφορμίσω  
 ἔς τόπον ψηλὸν ἀγάπησα,...

A 148 - 149

*Et aussi Paris . . . avoit en grant souscy, pansant que  
 tropt avoir assis son cuer en hault lieu.* 397

I has no equivalent to «τόπον ψηλὸν» and «hault lieu», though of course it has the same idea.

33. Ὁ Ρῆγας μιὰ ἀπὸν τοὶ πολλὰς ἐθέλησε νὰ μάθῃ,  
 ποιὸς εἶν αὐτός, πὸν τραγουδεῖ τῆς ἐρωτιᾶς τὰ πάθῃ  
 ἔτσι γλυκιὰ καὶ νόστιμα, πὸν ταίρ' ἄλλο δὲν ἔχει,  
 κ' ἐβάλθηκε νὰ τόνε δῆ καὶ νὰ τότε κατέχῃ.

Καὶ μιὰν ἡμέρα κάλεσμα ἤκαμε στὸ παλάτι, A 507 - 511

*Et moult avoit grant desir le douphin de savoir qui  
 estoient ceulx qui ce faisoient, et pour en aprendre aucu-  
 nes enseignes, ledit dauphin souvent fist ordener pluseurs  
 festes.* 397

. . . et per questo<sup>10</sup> il Dolfino fece far molte feste. 4

It will be seen that G preserves almost word for word the text that I abbreviates.

34. κ' ἐλόγιασε μὲ τοὶ πολλοὺς, πού ἴσανε καλεσμένοι,  
 πὸς νὰ ῥθῃ κι ὁ τραγουδιστής,...

. . . . .

ἄμ' ἤσφαλέν του ὁ λογισμὸς γιὰ τότες, καὶ κομπώθῃ,  
 κι οὐδένα ἔς κεῖνα πού ῥχισεν, ὄφελος δὲν ἐδόθῃ,  
 γιατί ποτὲ ὁ Ρωτόκριτος δὲ θέ νὰ τραγουδήσῃ  
 στὸ φανερό, μὴν τόνε ἴδῃ κιανεὶς νὰ τὸ γνωρίσῃ,

A 513 - 514, 517 - 520

*...pansant en son cuer que ceulx qui telles aubades luy  
 fasoient, estoient gens joyeuses et notables, et par ainsi ilz  
 vendroient a la feste, et lors a leur chanter et a leur jouer  
 il les conestroit. Mes de ceste chouse faillit a son cuider,  
 car Paris et Edardo, comme gentilz hommes ct saiges, et  
 comme ceulz qui bien vouloient seler leur fait, n'y vin-  
 drent point.* 398

I has no equivalent to this passage, and (as may be seen from this and the following passage) much curtails this part of the story.

<sup>10</sup>) i. e. because he took no pleasure in any other music.

35. Ὁ Ρῆγας βάνει λογισμό, πολλὰ βαθιὰ τὸν πιάνει  
 εἰντία ἔναι κι ὁ τραγουδιστῆς τοῖ νύχτας δὲν ἐφάνη.  
 Καὶ μ' ἄλλο τρόπο βάλθηκε, ποιὸς εἶναι νὰ κατέχη,  
 κι ὥστε νὰ μάθῃ καὶ νὰ δῆ, πλιότερη ἔγνοιαν ἔχει.  
 Καὶ κράζει μιὰν ἀργαρινὴ δέκ' ἀπὸ τὴν Αὐλήν του,  
 ὅπου πλερώνουνταν καλὰ νὰ βλέπουν τὸ κορμὶν του.  
 Λέει τως, Πιάστε τ' ἄρματα χωστὰ καὶ μὴ μιλήτε,  
 κι ἀμέτε σὲ παράχωστο τόπο, καὶ φυλαχτῆτε,  
 κι ὡς ἔρθ' αὐτός, πὸν τραγουδεῖ, καὶ παίζει τὸ λαγοῦτο,  
 γλήγορα φέρετέ τοτε εἰς τὸ Παλάτι τοῦτο. A 547 - 556

*Un jour se pansa qu'il failloit qu'il sceust ceste chouse. Le dauphin un jour fist venir ditz de ses chivaliers, et quant ilz furent venus devant luy, il leur dist:*

*«Messeigneurs, je veul que ceste nuyt apres matines vous alyes hors de ceste maison, et vous ales mettre a l'environ de ma chambre; et il viendront aucunes gens desoubz nostre chambre, qui ont a coustume de nous fere aubades. Quant ilz viendront, laissez les chanter et jouer, et quant ilz auront tout fait a leur plaisir, ales a eulx et leur dictes que ilz viengent parler a moy, et si els ne veulent venir, amenes les moy, bon gre ou mal gre. 399*

*Onde il Dolfino fece mettere dieci huomini in posta armata, quali dovessero star attenti, e quando ch'essi havessero compiuto di sonare, gli dovessero assaltare, et pigliarli, ò per amore, ò per forze, e menarli dinanzi à lui. 5*

«Βάνει λογισμό» — «se pansa» «ἀργαρινὴ» — «nuyt» «δέκ' ἀπὸ τὴν Αὐλήν του» — «ditz de ses chivaliers».

36. Ἡ Ἀρειτοῦσα τὰ ἄκουγε ἔιοῦτα, πὸν μιλοῦσα,  
 . . . . .  
 κ' εἰς ἔγνοια μεγαλύτερη καὶ παίδα τὴν ἐβάνα, A 663, 666

*. . . Vienne, qui les parolles escoutoit, en eust tres grant desplaisir. 402*

*. . . M. Viena, laquale sempre stava in amari dolori, e pensieri, considerando che pur erano fatte queste cose per amor suo;... 7*

«Ἄκουγε» — «escoutoit». In I there is only the implication in «queste cose».

37. Καβαλλικεύγουσι κ' οἱ δυὸ μιὰν ταρινὴ μιὰ σκόλη,



πάντε καμπόσ' ἀπόμακρὰ εἰς ἓνα περιβόλι, A 1135 - 1136  
 . . . ilz s'en alerent desporter tous deux hors de la ville  
 sur les champs. 439

There is no indication in I of where this conversation takes place.

38. Παράχωστα τὴ μάνναν του ἐθέλησε νὰ κρύξη,  
 τοῖ κατοικιᾶς του τὰ κλειδιὰ τοῦ ἤδωκε νὰ φυλάξη.  
 Λέει τοι «Μάννα, ἃ μ' ἀγαπᾶς, ἀθρώπου μὴν τὰ δώσης,  
 ἔς τόπο κουρφοῦ ἅμε βάλει τα, καὶ κάμε νὰ τὰ χώσης,  
 γιαι ἔχω μεσ' σι' ἀρμάρι μου κάποια χαρτιὰ γραμμένα,  
 ὅπου δὲ θέλω νὰ τὰ δῆ ἄλλο; δίχως μου ἴμένα.  
 Ἡ μάννα ὅπου τὰ μάτια τζι εἶν τὸ παιδὶ ἐκεῖνο,  
 τοῦ λέει, Γιέ μου τὰ κλειδιὰ ἀθρώπου δὲν τ' ἀφίνω,  
 κι ὁ κύρις σου κιαμιὰ φορὰ ἄν καὶ μοῦ τὰ ζητήξη,  
 δὲν τοῦ τὰ δίδω, κάτεχε, ποιὲ νὰ πὰ ν' ἀνοίξη A 1337 - 1346

*Si s'en vint a sa mere et lui dist: «Madame ma mere, vees cy les cle de ma chambre que je vous laisse: Et vous pryce que vous ne y laisses entrer personne que vous n'y soie, et que vous gardes et tenes les cle en lieu que personne ne les puisse trouver fors vous. Et vous supplie tant et si treshumblement comme je puys que entant comme vous ames mon bien et mon honeur que vous n'entres point en la petite garderobe, ne n'y laissent entrer nulle personne du monde pour chouse que peust avenir. «Sa mere luy respond que nul ne y entraroit et que in ne s'en dobtast. 443*

*Paris diede le chiavi della sua camera a sua madre, pregandola, per quanto amore gli portava, ch'ella non fosse ad alcuno aperta infino alla sua venuta, e così la madre gli promise si dare... 31*

The whole tone of G is much closer to F than to the very compressed Italian. In particular, «ἀρμάρι» —«garderobe».

39. Ἐθέλησε κ' ἡ Ρήγισσα νὰ πάη μιὰν ἡμέρα,  
 μ' ἄλλες πολλὲς τοῦ παλατιοῦ καὶ μὲ τὴ θυγατέρα,  
 κι ἀπονωρὶς τ' ἀπόγιομα συντροφιαστὲς κινουῦσι,  
 στοῦ Πεζοστράτη πήγανε, πῶς βροῖσκειται νὰ δοῦσι, A 1421-1424

*Quant vint a lendemain, elle [M. Diane] y ala, si mena avecques soy Vienne et Ysabeau et pluseurs aultres damoiselles. 444*

*Et un giorno di festa, apparechiata con molte donne,*

*andò [la Viena] a visitarlo, et fù ricevuta da lui, et dalla sua donna, con grandissimo honore.* 33

In G and F it is the queen (M. Diane) who goes to visit Pezostratos (M. Jacques) in his illness, accompanied by the princess. In I Viena goes alone.

40. μιὰν πορτοπούλλ' ἀπόχωση ἐξάνοιξεν ἡ κόρη,  
 κ' ἕναν κλειδί ἐκρέμουντο μ' ἕνα χρυσὸ βασιαῖ  
 ἐκεῖ κοντὰ σιὴν ἄνοιξι τοὶ πόρτας σιὸ 'να πλάϊ  
 τούτη τον τοῦ Ρωτόκριτου ἢ ἀκριβοκάμερά ντου,  
 Ἡ Ἀρειτοῦσα τὸ κλειδί πιάνει ζιμιὸ, κι ἀνοίγει,  
 σ' κεῖνον τὸν τόπον ἤκαμε πολλὰ ὁμορφο κυνήγι.  
 Ἐμπῆκε μέσα μοναχῆ, καὶ τ' ἀρμαριουῦ σιμῶνει,

A 1458 - 1461, 1467 - 1469

*... Vienne trouva la porte de la garderobe. Et elle voult entrer dedens, mes la porte estoit ferme a une clef. Lors elle commença a cerchier la clef par leans, si la trouva a ung clavel, ont la mere de Paris l' avoit mise. Tantost s' en vint vers la porte de la garderoube et ouvrit, si entrarent dedans, elle et Isabeau.* 448

*... et guardando trovorno un luoco, che andava in una guardacamera, con un salvarobba...* 35

G preserves the mention of the key, which I has lost in a very abridged passage. It should be noted in connection with this part of the story that when Viena sees the white trappings hanging in the outer room she immediately realises the identity of the unknown champion, and goes into the inner room only for confirmation. Aretousa and Vienne do not make their discovery until they see the poems and the trophies respectively

41. . . . δείχνει πὼς πονεῖ, κι ἀποκουμπᾶ σιὴν κλίνη.  
 Ἐζήτηξε νὰ κοιμηθῆ λίγο τὴν ὥρα κείνη,  
 γιὰ νὰ περάσῃ ὁ πόνος τσι, μὴν πὰ νὰ τοὶ πληθύνῃ  
 ὄλες ἀπόξω τσ' ἤβγαλε, καὶ τὴ Φροσύνη μόνο  
 μέσα 'θελε γιὰ συντροφιά, νὰ τοὶ βουηθᾶ σιὸν πόνο.  
 Δείχνει τσι κ' ἔμαντάλωσε...

A 1476 - 1481

*Lors s' en alla vers madame Dyaine . . . si luy dist : « Madame, saches que une si grant engoisse m' est venue si subitement au cuer... » elle voldroit ung peu reposer sur le lit de Paris. Tantost la firent mettre sur ledit lit, puis dame Dyaine salist hors de la chambre, et toutes les autres*



*damoiselles, fors seullement Ysabeau . . . elle dist a Ysabeau qu'elle alast fermer la porte par dedands...* 447

*. . . et disse à sua madre, che voleva alquanto riposarli, che gli era venuto angoscia al cuore, e che tutte andassero fuori, escetto Isabella. Andò Viena sopra il letto de Paris...* 35

The locking of the door occurs only in G and F.

42. Πιάνει φυλάσσει τὸ ζιμιὸ τὴν ζγουραφιὰν ἐκείνη  
καὶ τὰ χαριὰ τῶν τραγουδιῶ, κλέφτρα τοῦ πόθου γίνη,  
A 1571 - 1572

*Τὴν πόρτα ξεμαντάλωσε, καὶ βγαίν' ἢ Ἀρετιούσα,  
καὶ τότες γιὰ τὸν πόνο τζι ὄλες τὴν ἐρωτιούσα.*

*Λέει τως, «Δίγος ἦτινε, κι ὡς ἐπαρακοιμήθη,  
ἐπέρασε, κ' ἐσκόρπισε, καὶ μπλιὸ δὲν ἐγροικήθη.»*

*Ἦσομιξε μὲ τὴ μάγνα τζι, γιαγέρονει σιὸ Παλάτι,  
A 1601 - 1605*

*Tantost elle print les troys banyeres et tous les joyaulx . . . puyz elle prist l'escu de cristal . . . elles saillirent hors de la chambre . . . Madame Dyaine demanda a sa filhe commant elle se sentoit, et Vienne respondy qu'elle se sentoit bien, le Dieu mercy. Apres, quant il fut temps de partir, Madame Dyaine . . . s'en revint a son palays, aveccques toute sa compaignye.* 453

*. . . le Donne vennero alla porte della camera per vedere come Viena stava; Isabella rispose ch' ella stava molto bene . . . [Viena] tolse la bandiera bianca, ἔλε zoglie, il cappello, la corona, et la ghirlanda . . . et aperto l'uscio della camera trovò le Donne . . . Poi Viena, con sua madre se n' andorno à casa sua.* 37

In G and F the actions of Aretousa and Vienne are described in their natural order, i. e. (a) the theft, (b) exit from the chamber, (c) return to the palace. In I the order is (b), (a), (c), and the queen is suddenly mentioned for the first time — obviously an oversight on the part of the adaptor.

43. Τὸν κύριον τοῦ καλύτερα ἠῦρηκε δίχως βάρος,  
γιὰ δὰ δὲν ἐφοβούντινε νὰ τόνε πάρη ὁ Χάρος,  
Ἐπῆραν ὄλοι νιως χαρά,... A 1817 - 1819

*. . . et quant ilz furent venus, Paris trouva messire Jacques, son pere, qui estoit query de la maladie qu' il avoit heue, dont Paris en eust molt grant joye.* 454

*Tornati in Viena Paris et Odoardo, furno allegramen-  
le ricevuti dalli suoi parenti, et amici, mostrando egli  
grandissima allegrezza di suo padre, che era liberato dal-  
la infirmitade.* 38

«ηῦρηκε» — «τρονα».

44. Πάν' τὰ μαντάτα ἔδῶ καὶ ἔκει, κι ἀνεβοκατεβαῖνα,  
πὼς ἦρθεν ὁ Ρωτόκριτος, ἀπού λειπε σιὰ ξένα,  
καὶ φέρνει ἀέρας τῆ λαλιὰ τούτη σιὴν Ἀρειτοῦσα,  
χαρὰ μεγάλην ἤδειξε, τ' αὐτιά τζ' ὄντε τ' ἀκοῦσα,

A 1821 - 1824

*. . . les nouvelles allerent pars le palays que Paris et  
Edoardo estoient venus de Brabant nouvellement. Les no-  
velles vindrent ascavoir a Vienne . . . dont elle eust si grant  
joye, qu' om ne le vous pourroit dire.* 455

Not in I.

45. Κράζει τῆ μάνναν του ζιμιό, ρωιᾶ, ξαναρωιᾶ τη  
σὰν κείνη, π' ὄλα τὰ κλειδιὰ σιὰ χέρια ντης ἐκράτει  
Ἐκείνη μ' ὄρκους φοβεροὺς τοῦ λέει, . . .  
. . . . μηδ' ἦφρινα ποτέ μου  
κιανένα νά μπη δίχως σου, νὰ ζήσης καλογιέ μου.  
Μιὰν ὥρα μόν' ἦ Ρήγισσα ἦρθε κ' ἦ Ἀρειτοῦσα  
νὰ δούσινε τὸν κύρι σου, τὸ βάρος σὰν ἀκοῦσα.

A 1873 - 1875, 1877 - 1880

*Si s'en vint a sa mere et luy demanda qui estoit entre  
en sa chambre . . . A sa mere ne sovint plus de la visita-  
tion de madame Dyaine, si luy dist que personne n'y  
estoit entree.* 455

*. . . et la mattina si lamentò con sua madre, dicendogli,  
ch' ella haveva mal tenuta serrata la sua camera. La ma-  
dre si scusava verso il figliuolo, dicendo, che dappoi la sua  
partita, non era stata persona alcuna nella camera, non  
si ricordando che Viena gli fosse stata.* 38

In I Paris waits until the next day before he goes to see his  
mother.

46. Ὡρισ' ὁ Ρῆγας νὰ γενῆ ἓνα ψηλὸ πατάρι,  
ἐκεῖ πὸν θὲ νὰ μαζωχιοῦ νὰ τρέξου οἱ καβαλλάρου.

. . . . .  
Ἐκεῖ ἔτονε κ' ἦ Ρήγισσα, ἐκεῖ κ' ἦ θυγατέρα, (σιτὸ πατάρι)

B 97 - 98, 119



*Et (le dauphin) fist fayre pluseurs chaffaux, et en fist  
fayre unq ou Vienne devoit demorer...* 406

«πατάρι» — «chaffaut». It looks suspiciously as if the Italian translator did not know the meaning of this word, which is sufficiently rare not to occur in Fr. Godefroy's «Dictionary of Old French». Of the three occasions on which it occurs, he ignores the first completely, translates the second as «molti belli adornamenti», which bears no sense, and gets enough meaning from the context of the third—«le roy monta sur unq chaffault.. et dist ainsi.»—to translate as «il tribunale», of which the usual sense is the stand in a law - court. G, however, has the meaning exactly, as «πατάρι», «a scaffold».

47. Ἐξάμωσ' ὁ Ρηγόπουλλος σιὰ μάτια νὰ τοῦ δώση,  
μὰ τ' ἄλογόν του σιάθηκε, . . .  
. . . . κ' ἤσφαλε τ' ἄλογόν του, B 2327 - 2329  
. . . le chevalier . . . dist que se n'a pas este par faulte  
de luy, mes de son cheval... 425 - 426

Not in I.

48. κι ὁ Ρῆγας ἐκατέβηκε κάτ' ἀπὸν τὸ πατάρι  
ὀμάδι μὲ τῆ Ρήγισσα καὶ μὲ τῆ θυγατέρα. B 2454 - 2455  
*Le roy descendy de son chaffault, et la royne et tous  
les barons.* 430

Not in I. Cf. 46 above.

49. Ἐβάλθηκ' ὁ Ρωτόκριτος, κι ὁ πόθος τότε βιάζει,  
καὶ τοῦ κυροῦ ντου νὰ τὸ πῆ γοργὸ γοργὸ λογιάζει  
ἢ προξενειὰ νὰ μιληθῆ . . . Γ 719 - 721  
*Si se pensa que il se descovyroit a messire Jacques,  
son pere, avant que a homme du monde et luy requeroit  
que il feist la messagerye...* 485

See 24. Paris now decides to confide in his father; in exactly the same position G has a similar passage, which is in fact superfluous.

50. κι ἀρχίζει νὰ παρηγορᾷ μὲ σπλάχνος τὸ γονεῖ ντου. Γ 983  
*Paris le renconforta le myeuix qu'il peut.* 491

Not in I.

51. «γιά δέ, παιδί μ' εἰς κουζουλὸς πόσα μπορεῖ νὰ φέρη  
γρίκησε μιὰν ἀποκοιτιὰ κι ἀδιαντροπιὰ μεγάλη  
τοῦ Πεζοστράτη τοῦ λωλοῦ, πού ᾿ρθε ν' ἀναθιβάλη,

για τὸν υγιὸν του προξενειὰ ἄφοβα νὰ μιλήσῃ,  
νὰ μὴ δειλιάσῃ νὰ τὸ πῆ, μὰ νὰ τ' ἀποκοιτήσῃ. Γ 1024 - 1028

«Belle fille, voules vous que je vous compte de novel?  
Cest mauways chevalier, messire Jacques, le pere de Paris  
ha eu tant de hardiment qu'il m'est venu requerir que je  
vous doye doner a son filz Paris pour fame». 491

«O figliuola mia non ha havuto ardimento quel Villa-  
no, che ti hà fatto dimandar per moglie?» 56

G is much closer to the spirit of F.

52. ...καλλιὰ θανάτους ἑκατὸ τὴν ὥρα θέλω πάρει,  
παρ' ἄλλος μόν' ὁ Ρώκοιτος γυναῖκα νὰ μὲ πάσῃ.

Γ 1445 - 1446

*Et soyés seur, quar je vous dy vrayment que je ne puis  
morir que une foiz, mais s' il estoit possible que je deusse  
morir cent foiz, seroye contempte de recevoir la mort pour  
l' amour de vous.* 491

I has the same idea, naturally, but lacks the correspondence  
of «θανάτους ἑκατὸ» and «morir cent foiz».

53. Ἦγραφεν ὁ Πολύδωρος μαντᾶτα προικαμένα,  
πὼς βρίσκειται ἢ Ἀρειτὴ σιτὴ φυλακὴ κ' ἢ Νένα,  
καὶ τὰ κανεν ὁ κύρις της, ὅλα τ' ἀναθιβάνει, Δ 801 - 803

*Donc pour ceste occasion monseigneur son pere l'a fai-  
cte enprisonner, et Ysabeau avecques elle en une moll  
estrange prison, ont elles endurent assez de travailhz et de  
durtes.* 559

... gli (à Paris) fu appresentata la lettera di Odoardo.  
101

In I there is no description of the contents of this letter.

54. κ' ἤθελα ὀμπρὸς σιτὴ φυλακὴ νὰ κόπιαζες, νὰ πῆγες  
νὰ τήνε δῆς, ... E 237 - 238

*Toutesfoiz j'avoys pence que ce il plasoit à cest gentil  
home d' aller en la prison...* 604

In G and F it is the king and dauphin who suggest the vi-  
sit to the prison. The Italian seems badly abridged, and the vi-  
sit seems to occur without preparation.

55. Ἀπιλογᾶτ' ὁ Βασιλιός, λέει του, «Καλογιέ μου,  
μαγάρι μὲ τὴ γλῶσσά σου σήμερο βούηθησέ μου,  
κάμε τη νὰ τὸ συβασιῇ, κάμε τη νὰ θελήσῃ,  
νὰ πῆ τὸ ναὶ σιὸ γάμο σας, τὴν ὄργιτα νὰ σβήσῃ»



σιὸν πόλεμον μοῦ βοῦηθήσες, κι ἄ μοῦ βουηθήσης πάλι,  
χάρι πολλή κι ἀρίφρητη εἶναι κι ἡ μιὰ κ' ἡ ἄλλη. E 393 - 398

*Si verres se l'om pourroit tant fayre aucunement pour  
bonnes parolles, que ma filhe voulsist au mariage consen-  
tir, car certes, j' en seroye plus joyeulx que de riens qui  
me peust advenir.* 604

Not in I.

56. . . . ἀπόκουρφα βγάνει τὸ δαχτυλίδι,  
μὲ πονηριὰ κατὰχωσια σιτὴ χέρα τοῖ τὸ δίδει.  
Λέει ἰσ' [Φροσύνης]. Ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω μπλιὸ νὰ στέκω νὰ πειράζω,  
μιὰν προκαμένη σὰν κι αὐτὴ μὲ λόγια νὰ κουράζω.  
Τὸ δαχτυλίδι σοῦ δωκα, δῶς τοί το νὰ τὸ πιάσῃ,  
κι ἄς δῆ ὅλημέρα σήμερο, κι ἄς τὸ καλολογιάσῃ,  
κι ἂνὲ μὲ θέλ', ἄς τὸ κρατῆ, ἄλλιῶς ἄς τὸ γιαγείρῃ,

. . . . .  
Ἐτρομάξεν ἡ Ἀρετὴ, ἔτοιμο γνοιανὸ ν' ἀκούσῃ,  
καὶ μιάνει το σιὸ χέριν της, τὰ μάτια τὸ θωροῦσι,  
πὼς εἶν τὸ δαχτυλίδιν τοι μὲ τ' ἀκριρὸ ζαφείρι,  
πού δωκε τοῦ Ρωτόκοριου ἀπὸν τὸ παραθύρι.  
Τὰ μάτια σταματήξασι, καλὰ νὰ τὸ θωροῦσι,  
κι ἄλλοῦ δὲν ἐστραφήκασι, προἶμ' ἄλλο μπλιὸ νὰ δοῦσι  
ἀσπορίσανε τὰ χεῖλη ντης ἡ ἀναπνιά τζ' ἐχάθη,  
καὶ τὸ κορμί τζι κρύγιανε, τὸ στόμα τζι βουβάθη

E 523 - 529, 553 - 560

. . . le frere vint a Vienne et luy dist; «Madame, ce  
gentilhome dit ainsi, qu' il ne vouldroit nullement avoir  
fait force . . . mes dist que, se il vous playt, que vous vous  
veulhes encores anuyt myeulx adviser en vostre fait, et de-  
main nous en savres myeulx respondre de vostre inten-  
tion . . . Atant (Paris) mist la main a la bource et tira de-  
hors le petit dyamant . . . et quant il l'eust en la main, il  
s'aproucha de Vienne et le luy donna . . . Et puis prist  
l'anel que Paris luy avoit donne et le commença a regar-  
der, et tantost elle le recogneust. Et lors tout le sang luy  
affroy au cuer, et le cuer luy fremist dedans le ventre, si  
que elle ne scavoit ou elle estoit . . . Et puy, quant elle  
eust plus regarde l'aneil, elle affermoit que c' estoit celuy  
que une foys elle donna a Paris en nom de mariage.

612 - 614

*... et poi Paris comincio à parlare in lingua latina...  
vi prego caramente che per amor mio vogliate portar que-  
sto Diamante . . . Viena tolse questo anello . . . e riguar-  
dando molto sottilmente gli parve conoscerlo, e Paris dis-  
se «Madonna Viena, vi piace quell' anello?»* 134

Again it is the French narrative that is followed rather than the Italian, which compresses three stages of the action into one. Briefly the differences are :

In G the ring is given to the Nurse, and although it is known immediately, the idea that this may be Rotocritos is not accepted, and the recognition comes much later.

In F it is given to the Friar, and again the recognition of Paris does not take place for some time.

In I it is given by Paris to Viena, and the denouement takes place immediately.

In I, Viena shows no sign of this agitation.

57. ὦρες σὲ σκοτεινὴ φλακὴ τοῖ φαίνεται πὼς εἶναι,  
κι ὦρες πὼς ἐξευρύχθησε καὶ ζωντανὸς δὲν εἶναι,  
ὦρες πὼς τὸν εὐρήκασι σφραμένο μέσ' στὰ δάση, E 571 - 573

*... or vous je bien que mon songe est vray, se est que  
Paris est mort...* 614

I is missing as the need for this idea has been obviated.

58. Ὁ Πεζοστράτης τοῦ Ρηγὸς γονατιστὸς σιμώνει,  
κι ὅ τι κι ἂν εἶχε σιτὴν καρδιὰ τότες τοῦ φανερώνει.  
Λέει τ', « Ἀφέντ' ἃ σοῦ φταιξα εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνο,  
.....  
συμπάθησέ μου, Βασιλιέ, ... E 1461 - 1463, 1467

*Messire Jacques et sa fame se myrent a genoilz, et vont  
requerir mercy au dauphin de tout ce que oncques luy  
avoient mesfait.* 625

Not in I.

59. Κ' ἐκεῖνον ὁποῦ κόπιασε, ἄς τὸν καληνωρίζου,  
κι ἄς συμπαιθοῦ τὰ σφάλματα ἐκεῖνοι, πὸν γνωρίζου.  
.....  
Θωροῶ πολλοὺς καὶ πειθυμοῦ, κ' ἔχω το γοικημένα,  
νὰ μάθου τίς ἐκόπιασε εἰς τ' ἀπανωγραμμένα,  
κ' ἐγὼ δὲ θέ νὰ κουρφευτῶ, κι ἀγνώριστο νὰ μ' ἔχου,  
μὰ θέλω νὰ φανερωθῶ, κι ὅλοι νὰ μὲ κατέχου.  
Βιζένιζος εἶν ὁ ποιητὴς κ' εἰς τὴ γενιὰ Κορνᾶρος,



πὸν νὰ βροθῆ ἀκριμάτιστος, ὄντε τὸν πάρ' ὁ Χάρος.  
 Στὴ Στείαν ἐγεννήθηκε, στὴ Στείαν ἐνεθρόφη,  
 ἐκεῖ καμε κ' ἐκόπιασε εἰοῦτα, πὸν σᾶς γράφει.  
 Στὸ Κάστρον ἐπαντροεύηκε, σὰν ἀρμηνεύγ' ἡ φύσι·  
 τὸ τέλος τ' ἔχει νὰ γενῆ, ὅπου ὁ Θεὸς ὀρίση.  
 Οἱ στίχοι θέλου διόρθωσι καὶ σάσμ' ὅσο μπορούσι  
 γι' αὐτοὺς πὸν τοὺς διαβάζουσι, καλὰ νὰ τοὺς γρικοῦσι.

E 1525 - 1526, 1539 - 1550

*Si veul requerir et supplier a tous ceulx qui cestuy li-  
 vre liront que ce ilz y trouvoient escript aucune chouse  
 que ne fust bien seant, que ilz veullent a mes defaulx par-  
 donner et les reparer selon leur bon avisement, quar mon  
 sans n'est pas souffisant a telle besoigne bien traictier., et  
 aussi que je ne suis pas Francois de nature; ains fuz nes  
 et nouris en la cite de Marcelle. Et c'il vous plaist savoir  
 qui je suis: de Saint Pierre j'ay prins le non, de la Cype-  
 de pour sournon. Et fut encomance a escripre cest livre  
 l'an de grace mil CCCC trente deux le tiers jour du moys  
 de septembre.*

392 - 393

Is this signature imitated from the French? At first sight  
 the resemblances seem to show that it is; but it must be remem-  
 bered that at this time there were strong conventions both of  
 including one's name in a poem, and of apologizing to the rea-  
 ders for its faults. The apology, however, was more commonly  
 for errors in the printing than for the work itself, and I's  
 «Esortatione alle Donne» (which does not occur in previous edi-  
 tions) is rather an exception:

*«Voi Donne, che havete udita questa degna, et bella  
 Historia, prego che non imputiate lo Scrittore, se in alcu-  
 na cosa havesse fallito, pregovi bene che gli vogliate per-  
 donare...»*

#### IL FINE

It may be of interest to examine five such signatures from  
 medieval Greek poetry:

##### a) The Plague of Rhodes<sup>11</sup>.

ἀλλά γε καὶ τὸ ποίημα καὶ ὅσα διὰ στίχου  
 ἐγράφησαν βαβαὶ \*παπαί\*, διὰ τὸ θανατικὸν τῆς Ῥόδου,

<sup>11</sup>) The first three extracts are taken from Wagner Wilhelm, Ph. D. Carmina graeca medii aevi, Leipzig, 1874.

*Ἐμμανουήλ ὁ γράψας ἦν, ἀκμὴ καὶ ὁ ποιήσας,  
Γεωργιλλᾶς ἀκούεται, Λειμενίτης τ' ἐπίκλην.* 14 - 17

b) *The Disaster of Crete.*

*Μανόλης Σκλάβος μὲ σπονδὴ καὶ μὲ μέγαν κόπον  
τοῦτα τὰ δίστιχ' ἔβγαλλα διὰ θρηνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
Ὡς ἔδεπᾶ τελειώνονται, \*μισὸ καὶ κιντνᾶρι\*  
τὰ βέρσα τοῦτα πῶκαμα μὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χάρι.* 279 - 282

c) *Sachlikis' Counsel.*

*Σαχλίκης ἤμουν Στέφανος, τῶν πολιτικῶν ὁ Χάρος,  
καὶ ὅταν εἶχαν τίποτε, σὲ μέναν εἶχαν θάρος.* 364 - 365

d) *The Cretan War.*<sup>12</sup>

*Μ' ἄ ρέγεσαι κι' ἐπιθυμᾶς νὰ μάθης τ' ὄνομά μου,  
πᾶσ' ἀρειτὴν ἐσιόλισες τ' ἀδέλφια τὰ δικά μου.  
Μαοῖνον μ' ἐβαπίσασι, Τζάνες εἶν' ἡ γενιά μου  
καὶ Μπουνιαλῆ μὲ κράζουσι κι' εἶσι εἶναι τ' ὄνομά μου.*  
20, 27 - 30

e) *The Dream of Love*<sup>13</sup>.

*Ὡς ἔδεπᾶ ἐτελειώθηκεν ἡ ρίμα τοῦ Φαλιέρον  
τ' ἀφέντη, τοῦ μισέο Μαοῆ, τοῦ παλαιοῦ, τοῦ γέρον.* 339 - 340

Of these, (a), and possibly (d)<sup>14</sup> show the threefold division of Christian name, surname, and place of origin; (c) and (e) divide the name into two parts. This may well be the natural tendency in fifteen - syllable verse.

It would be possible to have altogether more confidence in the relation here of G and F, if it were not that one passage occurs at the beginning of the work and one at the end. Of the two points of resemblance, the method of naming and the phrase «*κι ἄς συμπαθοῦ τὰ σφάλματα*», the first is part of a convention not exclusive to these two poems, and the second is so natural that it is difficult to replace by any plausible alternative.

For all the pessimistic note of the last statement, it is not possible to deny that examples 31 to 58 demonstrate quite clearly that the poet of the  *Erotocritos*  used F familiarly and free-

<sup>12</sup>) Buniales, *The Cretan War*, ed. Xerouchakis, Tergesta, 1908.

<sup>13</sup>) Zoras, «*Marin Falier*», «*Κρητικά Χρονικά*» II, 1, 1948.

<sup>14</sup>) The origin of the name Μπουνιαλῆς is still uncertain, see Tomadakis, «*The Buniales family*» «*Κρητ. Χρονικά*» I, 1947.



ly, and that therefore the source of the poem is a double one, springing from both French and Italian.

This conclusion is so surprising that it must be rigorously examined.

Is it possible that, for all Kaltenbacher's assumption of the contrary, the Verona edition of 1603 is a freak, and that some other edition of the Italian would be able to reconcile the differences of F and I? Six other editions<sup>15</sup> show no material difference from that of 1603, and only in one place, (example 16), show any difference at all.

Is it possible that there was an Italian printed version, now lost, of the Group I text, which nevertheless included elements from Group II? While this cannot be disproved, it can at least be shown to be very unlikely. Once the 1482 translation into Italian was made, and while the law of copyright was still unknown, there was no reason whatsoever for a printer to go to the expense of commissioning a new version of an old and successful story. And it has been easily demonstrated that the poetic versions of *Paris e Viena* cannot have been used by the Greek poet<sup>16</sup>.

If we must abandon the possibility of a purely Italian source, can we find a version in another language that could avoid this difficulty of a dual origin? It is known that the French editions, although distinctly to be classed in Group II, have more affinity to F than is shown by the Italian. With this end in view, an examination was made of the Troyes edition<sup>17</sup> contemporary with that of Verona.

If the Cretan poet had taken this to be his main source, he would have had to diverge towards F in the points mentioned in the following examples: 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, and 58 and towards I in these: 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, and 27.

As these include quite major points of plot and narrative as well as mere similarities of wording, it appears that if we include the French edition among our sources we are solving no dif-

<sup>15</sup>) Venice, 1492; 1504; 1511; 1512; Milan 1515; and Venice 1543.

<sup>16</sup>) By Kriaras, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup>) Printed by Nic. Oudot at Troyes. No date, but probably about 1600.

ficulties, and only substituting a triple problem for a double.

We are thus left with two possibilities, neither of which is entirely satisfactory.

If the poet of the  *Erotocritos*  used those versions of the  *Paris et Vienne*  known to us, his poem can have come only from a comparison and simultaneous manipulation of two models, French and Italian. Were this true it would lead to a new and startling view of the work. Considered as manipulating, (in however masterly a fashion), a single model, the poet of the  *Erotocritos*  seems to approach plagiarist. When dual sources are revealed, he becomes a literary eclectic.

If however a single model was used, it would almost certainly have to be a manuscript of an Italian version, unknown to us, intermediate between Groups I and II. The date of this manuscript would be before 1482; and all the probabilities would indicate that the  *Erotocritos*  was written not long after this date, and before any wide distribution of the printed text. This conclusion, although inherently more likely than the other, conflicts with the accepted dating of the poem, of which by far the most convincing grounds are linguistic.

#### NOTE

I should have considered that Kriaras' assertion, that the Italian poetic versions could not have been the source of the  *Erotocritos* , was amply proved by the portions of the text he adduces. But Cartoian has defended his original opinion twice, first in  *Cercetari Literare*  3 (1939) pp. 349 ff<sup>18</sup>, and then in  *Cultura Neolatina*  4 - 5 (1944 - 5) pp. 122 - 132. This second article is known to me only by Kriaras' answer:  *Πηγές και επιδράσεις τοῦ «Ἐρωτοκρίτου»*  in  *«Νέα Ἑστία»*  488 (Nov. 1st., 1947) pp. 1297 - 9, but it contains some quotations from I which lead Kriaras to consider that this is closer to the Greek than F is.

GARETH MORGAN

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<sup>18</sup>) I am indebted to Prof. M. I. Manousakas for the loan of a translation of this article.