

MICHAEL JEFFREYS  
M. A. Ph. D.  
Ἑποτρόφου τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς

DIGENIS AKRITAS MANUSCRIPT Z

In 1948 Stilpon Kyriakides published a collection of brief studies on *Digenis Akritas*<sup>1</sup>. The longest was an examination of relationships between the poem's three major surviving versions, those represented by one manuscript each, Grottaferrata (G) and Escorial (E), and that which seems to be the ancestor of the other extant Greek manuscripts—especially the verse texts of Trebizond (T) and Andros/Athens (A) and the prose version published by Paschalis (P). Kyriakides' discussion was based on a tabular presentation of the same long passage from each version (TAP being represented by A since T is in lacuna). The table is set out to leave similar verses from each text in a straight line across the page. He claims that: Τὰ κείμενα οὕτω διατεταγμένα ὁμιλοῦσι μόνα των εἰς τὸν προσεκτικὸν ἀναγνώστην<sup>2</sup>. Their message is unexpected, but simple: 'Ὡς βλέπει ὁ ἀναγνώστης, ἡ διασκευὴ Ἄνδρου ὅτε μὲν ἀκολουθεῖ τὴν διασκευὴν Esc., ὅτε δὲ τὴν διασκευὴν Gr.<sup>3</sup>. After ten more lines of discussion—which form a fairly accurate plan for the argument of the present paper—Kyriakides concludes that A is making a compilation from two texts like G and E. This theory was repeated, with another briefer example, in the Forschungsbericht which he presented to the Eleventh International Congress of Byzantinists in 1958<sup>4</sup>.

The idea has not been well received. Most subsequent studies have ignored it<sup>5</sup>, and other reactions may be summed up in a recent comment of L. Politis<sup>6</sup>: the proposal is unlikely in itself, based on only one episode when a major manuscript is in lacuna, and is not the only

---

1. Ἀκριτικά μελέται, *Miscellanea G. Mercati* III, Vatican 1946, 1-32, especially 11-22 (henceforward abbreviated as «Kyriakides, Μελέται»).

2. Μελέται, 11.

3. Μελέται, 17.

4. Forschungsbericht zum Akritis-Epos. *Berichte zum XI Intern. Byzant. Kongr.*, Munich 1958, II 2, 3-5.

5. H.-G. Beck, for example, in the very thorough treatment of the problems of *Digenis* in his *Geschicht: der Byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Munich 1971, 70, makes only a passing reference to the view of Kyriakides at the end of his comments on the stemma of Grégoire. (His book will be abbreviated henceforward as «Beck, *Volksliteratur*»).

6. Digenis Akritas. A propos de la nouvelle édition de l'épopée byzantine, *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 334 (henceforward «Politis, Review»).

conclusion to be drawn from the evidence presented. Recently, however, it has achieved an important success: it has been adopted by Erich Trapp as a fundamental principle of his «synoptic» edition of the three oldest versions of *Digenis*<sup>1</sup>. Trapp assumes that the case has already been proved by Kyriakides, and never discusses the question from first principles. He does provide a long and persuasive example from the beginning of the poem, showing once again that the lost ancestor of TAP (which he calls Z) drew alternately from a manuscript of the G version and another of the E version<sup>2</sup>. Unfortunately the example is only convincing to those who have turned from his introduction — where it appears as one of many arid lists of references — to examine the process in action in his text.

Early reviews of Trapp's work suggest that Kyriakides' idea will still not meet easy acceptance<sup>3</sup>. More than one of the reviewers were plainly so absorbed in their criticism of other features of the text and its introduction that they had little space or sympathetic judgement left for this aspect. Work on the present paper was begun in a similarly hostile spirit. But my scepticism was combined with a belief that an opinion shared by the only two scholars to have attempted parallel editions of the poem's manuscripts<sup>4</sup> should not be brushed aside without more detailed consideration. This attitude has been changed, by careful analysis of Trapp's text, to a complete acceptance of the compilation theory. I hope that the following pages will add further arguments

---

1. *Digenes Akrites*. Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen, Vienna 1971 (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 8) (Henceforward abbreviated as «Trapp»). This edition has been used for the symbols referring to the extant manuscripts and versions, and for all references to the text. In the interest of clarity, I have even standardised quotations from earlier scholars to Trapp's terminology and line-numbering).

2. Trapp, 28-9.

3. Of the notices which have come to my attention, only Politis, Review, has given any serious discussion of the compilation question (334-5), and he has rejected it. Cf. P. Charanis in *Balkan Studies*, 13 (1972), 168-9; J. Darrouzès in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 30 (1972), 350-1; H. Eideneier in *Südostforschungen* 31 (1972), 515-9; E. M. Jeffreys in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 92 (1972), 253-5; A. P. Kazdan in *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 35 (1973), 276-7; P. Lemerle in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 16 (1973), 348-50; O. Mazal in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 23 (1974), 350-1; I. Rochow in *Byzantinoslavica* 34 (1973), 71-3; C. A. Trypanis in *Gnomon* 45 (1973), 614-6.

4. Kyriakides had begun work on a similar edition to that of Trapp, but he stopped on the publication of P. P. Kalonaros' collected edition of the manuscripts (Athens 1941); see Kyriakides, *Μελέται*, 1, and Politis, Review, 327.

to those already used in its support. But their main purpose is to concentrate attention on a discovery which has been unjustly neglected, to provide words for the example of Kyriakides which has not succeeded in speaking for itself, to put flesh on the unconvincing bones of Trapp's list, and to secure acceptance for that which they have already proved.

It is impossible to avoid a paragraph on the manuscripts, though they have been described many times before<sup>1</sup>. The oldest, G, is now dated by Father Petta, librarian of Grottaferrata, to the second half of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth<sup>2</sup>. Its 3850 lines are comparatively well-organised and even in quality: it has provoked trust and suspicion in roughly even proportions, so that some critics call it a good reflection of a rather learned original, while others attack it as a treacherous reworking of a more popular text<sup>3</sup>. The second oldest manuscript E, probably written in the second half of the fifteenth century, gives a text of 1855 lines which is superficially very bad. It is full of obvious mistakes, hypermetric lines, and gaps in sense. In spite of this, perhaps even because of this, it has attracted support as a true, though corrupt and lacunose, picture of a popular original version<sup>4</sup>. Most of the textual analysis has been carried out by acknowledged partisans of G or of E, and their mutual antagonism over the linguistic level of the original version has dominated the whole discussion. The third version, Z, is now represented by T, A and P, all probably of the seventeenth century: thus the version which Kyriakides and Trapp say was *compiled* from texts like G and E must now be *reconstructed* by an editor from three late manuscripts — a fruitful source of confusion. It fills 4442 verses in Trapp's edition — more than the 3182 of the lacunose T but less than the 4778 of A, which has some obvious insertions. Z contains nearly every episode found in G or E, and others now missing in both. In spite of this fullness, however,

---

1. The clearest general description, referring to more detailed work on special topics, is given by L. Politis, L' *épopée byzantine de Digénis Akritas*. Problèmes de la tradition du texte et des rapports avec les chansons akritiques. *Atti del Congresso Internazionale sul tema: La poesia epica e la sua formazione*, Rome 1970 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, anno 367 (1970), Quaderno 139), 551-6 (henceforward «Politis, L' *épopée*»).

2. Reported with favourable comment by Politis, L' *épopée*, 554.

3. Generally in favour of G: Hesselung, Kalonaros, Mavrogordato, L Politis; against: Krumbacher, Kyriakides, Danguitsis. For details, see Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 66-7.

4. For attitudes in favour of E and against, the names in the previous note should be reversed.

it is not usually regarded as a reliable means for the recovery of the original *Digenis*. The extant witnesses to its text are late in date, and metrical analysis confirms that T reflects a later redaction of the text than G, and that A is later than T<sup>1</sup>. T, A and P share passages, not found in G or E, which read like inept comments or recapitulations inserted by a redactor<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps the most disturbing problem with Z is the practical question of the editorial reconstruction of the text: T may be used, where it is extant, as the best surviving reflection of Z. T's lacunas must be filled from A, which is obviously at a lower level in linguistic sophistication, and less faithful to Z. P is a useful check on A, in spite of its prosaic form. As well as the manuscripts, Trapp has occasionally used Akritic folk-songs or popular Byzantine laments for the reconstruction of Z. He usually employs this rag-bag of sources with considerable skill: but the result is a text which is embarrassing to read, particularly where the comparatively formal language of T suddenly slips into the colloquialism of A, and vice versa<sup>3</sup>.

Because of the literary inadequacy of Z as edited, it has been suggested that the attempt to reconstruct it was too ambitious, that it might have been better to edit T, for example, with its lacunas filled by A but marked by a change in type-fount<sup>4</sup>. This suggestion makes the assumption that the purpose of a «synoptic» edition is to produce texts which are acceptable in literary terms. I do not agree: I think that the best possible reconstruction of Z, in spite of its unevenness, is a useful tool of philological and historical research. Furthermore, as may be seen from his apparatus, Trapp has made hundreds of small corrections to T, based on the theory that Z was a compilation of a G-text with an E-text. If that theory is correct, these changes give numerous small insights into the nature of Z which would have been missed in a simple edition of T. But there is one final argument against the critical combination of any of the manuscripts which has wider implications, and must be discussed at greater length.

C.A. Trypanis believes that each of the manuscripts of the poem

---

1. C. Danguitsis, Le problème de la version originale de l'épopée byzantine de Digénis Acritas, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 5 (1947), 188; Politis, L'épopée, 560-3.

2. Trapp, 26-33, lists a number of the most obvious cases, which he ascribes to the redactor of Z.

3. See the criticisms of Politis, *Review*, 350-1.

4. *Ibid.*, 350.

represents a separate recording from oral tradition<sup>1</sup>. In that case, their variants would be nothing more than the changes noted by every collector of oral narrative poetry who has taken down the same poem twice. Trypanis claims that, as a result, conventional methods of textual criticism are not appropriate to this poem, since the connection between the manuscripts is not textual, but involves the memory and creative faculties of oral performers. This idea is attractive, and is strongly supported by some of the features of the E version, which must have been performed orally<sup>2</sup>. A.B. Lord has found signs of formulaic diction in *Digenis*, particularly in manuscript E, of the type used by oral poets in Yugoslavia<sup>3</sup>. My own contribution to this question has taken the form of a detailed study of formulas in another demotic poem, the *Chronicle of the Morea*, where this feature of oral poetic style is extremely prominent — much more frequent than in any text of *Digenis*<sup>4</sup>. I am quite sure that oral composition has played an important part in the creation of many popular Byzantine poems which now survive in written form, *Digenis* among them. But I am not convinced that all the surviving texts of this poem are the direct result of oral composition or transmission. One must compare the low formulaic content found by Lord — which I can confirm by preliminary samples of my own — with the high levels of the *Chronicle of the Morea*<sup>5</sup>. Even in the latter case the different manuscripts, in spite of constant variation within their respective lines, stride on in parallel, line for line, on page after page of Schmitt's edition. Such a combination of large-

1. *Gnomon* 45 (1973), 614-6.

2. G. Morgan, Cretan Poetry. Sources and Inspiration, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 14 (1960), 44-68; cf. Politis, *L' épopée*, 569-71.

3. *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge, Mass. 1960, 207-221 (henceforward «Lord, *Singer*»).

4. Formulas in the Chronicle of the Morea, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), 164-195.

5. My results for formulas in the Chronicle range from 31.7 to 38.4 percent, depending on the definition of formula used. Both figures exclude patterns of repetition less than half a line in length. Lord's samples are too small to permit the establishment of percentages like these; but if a similar lower limit for formula size is imposed, they point to much smaller figures than for the Chronicle. The only exception is manuscript E, where Lord's seven-line sample (1265-71, Chart XV, p. 215) shows five repeated half-lines. This would place that manuscript within the percentage range obtained for the Chronicle. It must be pointed out, however, that the sample, as well as being small, includes a line and a half of strange repetition (1269-70=1277-8). This is not characteristic of the text, and inflates the formulaic percentage beyond what I think it should be.

scale uniformity with small-scale variation cannot surely have been the result of oral re-creation. With this in mind, we must be careful about making more daring assumptions about the oral composition of less formulaic material, like *Digenis*. Then there is the question of language: G and T especially seem to show a concern for grammatical and syntactical regularity unlikely in a poem derived directly from an oral source.

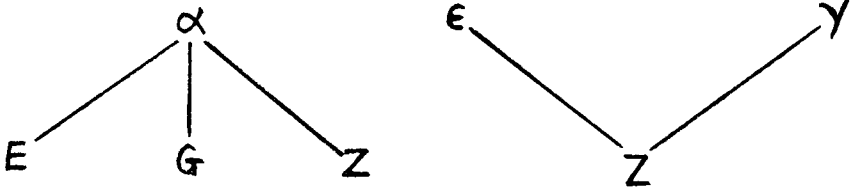
Until more work is done on the positive evidence in favour of an oral connection between the surviving manuscripts, there is little more that can be said. There exists also, however, a negative argument, based on the inadequacy of ordinary methods of textual criticism to explain the differences between the versions and their various manuscripts. This point of view will be tested by implication throughout this paper, and will be mentioned in its conclusion. I believe that it is possible to prove the compilation theory for the origin of Z in purely textual terms, with carefully defined concessions to the variations inevitable in any mediaeval Greek popular textual tradition. Such an argument is its own vindication. If its conclusions are convincing, it is strong evidence against the hypothesis that the texts concerned derive from oral transmission, especially when that hypothesis is not supported by unequivocal evidence on technical questions like formulas. For these reasons, I make no apology for presenting here detailed stemmatic analysis and careful examination of verbal changes from one text to another, although the relevance of such methods to texts like *Digenis* is often questioned. The success of the argument will be the chief theoretical justification for its use.

There is no need to examine the whole of the elaborate stemmata which have been presented to express the relationships between all versions of the poem<sup>1</sup>. We are not directly concerned here with the Oxford rhymed version, the Russian texts, or the folk-songs, nor with different layers of historical material found in the major versions. Our

---

1. Stemmata for *Digenis* may be found in S. Kyriakides' review of the first five articles of Grégoire in *Λαογραφία* 10 (1932), 661 (written before he adopted the compilation theory); P. P. Kalonaros in volume I of his edition (Athens 1941), p. λστ'; H. Grégoire in 'Ο Διγενής Ἀκρίτας, New York 1942, 301; idem, Notes on the Byzantine Epic, *Byzantion* 15 (1940-1), 103; and in his reply to C. Danguitzi in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 6 (1948), 31; A. Pertusi in *La poesia epica bizantina e la sua formazione, Atti del Convegno* etc. (see p. 165 n. 1 above), 544; Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 71; Trapp, 46; Politis, Review, 335.

interest must be confined to the basic patterns of relationships between E, G and Z. Stripped to their essentials, the alternatives are these:



On the left is the conventional pattern, seen for example in the studies of Beck and Politis, on the right is the proposal of Kyriakides and Trapp. ε and γ are written there, instead of E and G, because Trapp is suggesting a compilation between two manuscripts closely related to G and E, not the surviving manuscripts themselves<sup>1</sup>. I have made no attempt to picture the origins of γ and ε, though there must have been a connection between them. This is a subject outside the scope of the present paper.

A little reflection on the two stemmata will show how difficult our task is likely to be. In a tradition made up of three versions, one may only make direct progress in the discussion of a stemma by discovering that two versions are linked against the third, whether by agreement or by complete lack of agreement in significant error. But the conventional stemma above is in effect an admission of failure to find links of this sort: the other proposal, by introducing the possibility of random choice and even of recomposition by the redactor of Z, opens the recension in an alarming way. No simple patterns of agreement found in these texts could give us the basis for the acceptance of one of the two stemmata and the rejection of the other: they would cause us to sweep away both and to replace them with something better.

We are saved from stemmatic despair by the redactor of Z. He did not attempt to hide his activity and thus to obscure the textual tradition of *Digenis* for ever. He probably added a brief introduction,

---

1. Trapp, 26-41. The *Zwischenstufen* which he assumes (g between γ and Z, e between ε and Z, E' between e and E) will be ignored here, because they would put impossible verbal strains on a discussion which is already complex. I do not think that any of them can be proved to have existed, though this is not the place to attack them. This discussion will be written as if Z were compiled from ε and γ—in fact, at times, when the argument is difficult to follow and the distinction between εγ and EG is irrelevant, I have expressed myself as if the sources were E and G themselves.



in which he gives his name as Eustathios<sup>1</sup> and twice insists that his aim is to give the whole story of Digenis in all its details<sup>2</sup>. He seems to have worked in a simple and methodical way, trying to be faithful to his models by omitting as little as possible of the information with which they provided him, but feeling quite free to add extra lines of his own. In doing his work, he left three clear signs of his existence. First, where his models agreed, he nearly always accepted what they gave and copied it out fairly accurately. Second, where his models disagreed, his desire for completeness sometimes led him to include conflicting details of the same event from two distinct descriptions, or contradictory information about the same person. Third, when combining material from both his models, he frequently copied a few lines from one, then a few from the other, then returned to the first, and so on. Each of these three processes is quite natural and easy to understand in the case of a redactor. But each causes features in the texts which are difficult to reconcile with the conventional stemma.

The three habits of the compiler of Z will provide the framework for this paper. Each will be discussed in turn, and the relevant evidence will be collected and sifted, both on the basis of the compilation proposed by Kyriakides and Trapp, and by the conventional stemma. Though the volume of evidence varies, the conclusion in each case will be the same — acceptance of the compilation theory and rejection of the conventional view. The combined weight of the three cases seems to me decisive.

Where Z's models agreed, he usually accepted their combined version and copied it out fairly accurately into his text. Translated into practical terms, this means that where E and G on the left-hand page of Trapp's text are similar or identical, we should expect to find the same words in Z, edited on the right-hand page. E and G, the close relatives of the models, should rarely agree significantly against Z, the compilation. A careful watch must be kept on Trapp's *apparatus criticus*, for his editorial interventions, made on the assumption that Z is a conflation of the other two texts, have sometimes, naturally, prejudiced the evidence in favour of that assumption. It is also necessary to follow up the references in the fourth column of his text, where he

---

1. Εὐσταθίου πρὸς τινὰ Μανουὴλ προσφιλέστατον αὐτοῦ δέκα λόγοι περὶ τοῦ Διγενοῦς Ἀκρίτου καὶ τῶν γονέων (superscription to Z; Trapp, 73).

2. Z 2, 6.

gives parallel lines found elsewhere in E, G and Z. In compressing three freely variable versions into the tight framework of a «synoptic» edition, Trapp has been compelled in some cases to print on different pages lines which derive from the same original passage, but have been displaced in the transition from one text to the next<sup>1</sup>.

A supporter of the conventional stemma may begin the search for parallels between E and G — and even those not reflected in Z — fully confident that he will find large numbers. E and G are the earliest surviving Greek manuscripts of *Digenis* by a margin of perhaps a century. Z is a reconstruction from three later manuscripts, which has been severely criticised for its unevenness. The textual traditions of other demotic Greek poems suggest that every copying appears to cause changes, in the linguistic form of the text if not in wording and details of the story<sup>2</sup>. These factors should all tend to make E and G rather closer to each other than to Z. It would be no surprise to find that two manuscripts which are older, and which have both been supported as valuable records of the original version, agree frequently against a third text which is a dubious mixture of three later manuscripts, none of which has been much praised for consistency or authenticity.

Anyone who examined the texts with these attitudes would immediately be disappointed. Any level of agreement between E and G is comparatively rare — much less common, for example, than EZ and several times less common than GZ. What is more, when agreement of word or sense is found between E and G, Z includes the same word or sense with great regularity. If one reads EG, looking for similarities, and comparing any similar phrases with Z, one begins to sense that this is the way in which the text of Z was made: so often can one predict the latter version from agreement between the two former manuscripts.

Regrettably, it is extremely difficult to prove the importance of a textual practice which is very frequent. In a demotic textual tradition, with its constant changes, regular patterns of agreement occur so frequently that it is only meaningful to collect examples of exceptions. I have compared the three versions very carefully along the lines

---

1. E. g. E 625-33=Z 269-77 (not an accidental displacement but an attempt to give information about the emir on his first appearance); G 1089=Z 1410; G 2676-9=E 1331-6; G 2883-4=Z 3453 and 3455, etc.

2. The scribal habits of the copyists of vernacular manuscripts deserve a special study. There are a few remarks in Formulas in the Chronicle of the Morea, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), 194.

suggested here, and found many hundreds of parallels of every kind where similarity between E and G is followed by a similar phrase in Z. Here the redactor found that his models agreed, and followed them. I have listed, however, only the exceptions, numbering about a hundred, many of them extremely slight. These are cases where the redactor, breaking his regular pattern, made changes in the text in spite of the combined authority of his models<sup>1</sup>.

Even among these hundred cases there are many which are not significant exceptions to Z's usual manner of work, as I shall explain. First, there are several cases where the similar version of E and G is very tightly expressed, and it seems that Z, sensibly, wrote two lines where they had given only one. He rejected, for example, the zeugma of G 3517 *χεῖρας τε πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐκτείνασα καὶ ὄμμα* (cf. E 1795 *εὐθέως πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐκπετάσας*); he writes (4363-4): *εἶθ' οὕτως πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐξάπλωσε τὸ μάτι<sup>2</sup> / τὰ χέρια ψηλὰ ἐσήκωσε, θρηνητικῶς ἐβόα<sup>3</sup>*. A compressed line in the intepretation of a dream also demands more explanation: E 320 *περιστερὰ τὸ ἀδελφι μας, μὴ τὸ κακοδικήση*, G 458 *περιστερὰν τὴν ἀδελφὴν μήπως τὴν ἀδικήση* becomes Z 725-6 *περιστερὰ, ἦν ἐβλεπες, ἐστὶν ἡ ἀδελφή μας, / καὶ θεωρεῖτε, βέλτιστοι, μὴ τὴν κακοποιήση*. In these cases and a few others<sup>4</sup>, parallel words and constructions in E and G are changed and lengthened for extra clarity. One must distinguish other examples where an extra line is inserted apparently not for clarity but only for extra length and weight<sup>5</sup>. These editorial changes by Z are not so easily explained away as those which aim at the clarification of a difficult phrase. Not all improvements of

1. Here and in what follows I shall argue on the assumption that the compiler used two models, ε and γ. Trapp's third source (29-33) will be ignored. Since it is postulated largely in an attempt to explain the origin of the passages in Z not found in E or G, its omission will have a negligible effect on discussion of the relationships of E, G and Z.

2. Here, and tacitly elsewhere, I have corrected orthographical variants in Trapp's text where I regard them as significant lapses of taste (here 'μάτι is replaced by μάτι). I have made no audible changes. The corrections follow similar, but less radical, principles to those used by Politis, Review.

3. Note, however, that the problem is resolved in another way in P 409/11 *ἔπειτα ἐστάθη κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ὕψωσε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ὄμματα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν...*

4. Z 1257-8, cf. E 604 and G 959 - where Z has inserted a line in G, which is already one line longer than E; Z 2165-6, cf. E 1031 and G 1757; Z 2193-4, cf. E 1050 and G 1773 - where Z has decided that the ambiguous *σέλλαν* of E and G must be the saddle of a horse rather than a throne.

5. Z 1851-2, cf. E 853 and G 1393; Z 1966-7, E 911 and G 1551; Z 2916-7, cf. E 1161 and G 2476.

contorted lines involve the insertion of extra lines. An example is the comment of the κόρη to Digenis when he sings outside her window before carrying her off: E 851 *καὶ τὸ λαβοῦτο σου, τὸ κρούεις, ἔβλεπε, ποῦ τὸ κρούεις*, G 1392 *τὴν δὲ κιθάραν, ἣν κρούεις, δοκεῖς, τὸ ποῦ εἶσαι, οὐκ οἶδας*. Z 1850 has simplified both construction and meaning: *τί κρούεις τὴν θαμπούρα σου ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ὥρα*; Digenis' challenge to the Apelatai to attack him on horseback: E 1228 *ἐλᾶτε καβαλλάροι*, G 2534 *δεῦτε καὶ καβαλλάροι* was rejected by Z 3044 in favour of *δεῦτε μετὰ τῶν ἵππων*. Since the same change is made from G 2563 to Z 3077, we must assume that Z felt a need to explain that *καβαλλάροι* here means «on horseback».

A similar wish to clarify and to explain has caused Z to make a few more definite changes in passages which he does not understand or cannot approve. The statement that God sent Digenis on earth (ὡς) *διὰ τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους* (E 695, G 1110) has been given a much easier and more concrete sense in Z 1443 *διὰ τοὺς ἀπελάτας*. Elsewhere, his changes often have a more moral tone. One of Digenis' frequent claims that he wishes to be alone is made at the end of a prayer asking God to end the day quickly so that he can go to carry off the κόρη. His words *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μονώτατος βούλομαι πορευθῆναι* (G 1325, cf. E 786 *ὅτι καὶ εἶμαι μοναχὸς καὶ μόνος θέλω ὀδεύειν* — a line which Z probably did not notice, as I shall suggest later<sup>1</sup>) sound in the circumstances like a cynical attempt to deceive the Almighty. Z 1762 replaces them with a line which is more honest, but no less cynical: *ἐπειδὴ περιμένει με ἡ εὐγενικωτάτη*. Similar motives sometimes seem to provide a complete explanation for changes made by Z<sup>2</sup>, sometimes only a partial reason<sup>3</sup>.

Another group of alterations made by Z against EG is composed of metrical «improvements». It has long been noticed<sup>4</sup> that the dif-

1. See pp. 178-9 below.

2. At Z 784 (cf. E 358 *καὶ σφάξω τὸν ἑαυτὸν μου*, G 504 *καὶ σφάξω ἑμαυτὸν μου*), Trapp has chosen for his text of Z *καὶ νὰ σφαγῶ ἀτός μου* (A), presumably because of its similarity of meaning to EG. But the change from active to passive makes the words much less meaningful. I prefer *νὰ σφαγῶ ἢ νὰ σφάξω* (T, cf. P 331/25-6 *καὶ ἢ θέλω σφαγῆ ἢ θέλω σφάξει*), which could easily have been the source of A. In that case, Z would have replaced a suicide threat by a more manly challenge to fight the problem out to the death. Z 3678-83 also explains a little and softens the crudity of Maximo's offer of herself to Digenis at E 1556 and G 3102.

3. Pretty girl prisoners in E 253 and G 372 are omitted from Z, as is a reference to the tomb of the Prophet in E 533, G 747 (for other aspects of de-Islamization see p. 190 n. 1 below). The blunt coupling of worldly success and Christian burial in Digenis' oath of E 898 and G 1511 is removed in Z 1950.

4. First by Sathas and Legrand in their initial edition of T (Paris 1875), 268.

ferent versions of *Digenis* have an unusually high proportion of accents on syllables three and eleven of the fifteen-syllable line — an accentuation which later went so out of fashion that it could be regarded as a mistake. It was first pointed out by Danguitsis<sup>1</sup>, and has recently been confirmed by Politis and Tiftixoglu<sup>2</sup>, that the highest proportion of these «anapaestic» or better «trochaic» accents is found in G, less in T and less still in A. Very frequently a line may be found in G with these trochaic accents, then «improved», with the accents removed, in T or A. This change seems to be made by the Z group of manuscripts even when the reading of G is confirmed by E. Thus it is an exception to Z's usual practice of accepting the common reading of EG, but an exception which may be explained and justified by external circumstances.

For example, in the prayer of *Digenis*' wife to be spared the sight of her husband's corpse, she asks for death herself if he cannot be saved: E 1840 εἰ δ' οὐ, κέλευσον, δέσποτα, πρῶτον ἐμὲ τεθνάναι, with an accent on 3, or G 3541-2 εἰ δ' οὐ, κέλευσον, ὁ Θεός ὁ δυνάμενος πάντα / πρὸ τούτου τελευτῆσαι με καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφεῖναι, of which the first line has accents on both 3 and 11. Z 4402 makes changes which avoid both trochaic accents: ἢ πρόσταζόν με, κύριε, πρότην ἐμὲ τεθνάναι. A few lines later she pictures *Digenis*' hands (E 1844) δεδεμέναις σταυροειδῶς, νεκρικὰ συσταλμέναις, with accents on 3 and 11, or δεδεμέναις σταυροειδῶς, μενούσας ἀκινήτους (G 3545), with an accent on 3. Z restores orthodox accentuation with καὶ σταυρωμέναις νεκρικῶς, στήν γῆν ἐξάπλωμέναις (4406) On a smaller scale, E 534 τῆς μητέρας του λέγει and G 767 τῆ μητρὶ οὕτως λέγει (both with accents on 11) have compelled Z 1041 to extend the phrase to a whole line: εἶπε πρὸς τὴν μητέρα του τοῦσδε τοὺς λόγους πάλιν<sup>3</sup>.

1. Le problème de la version originale de l'épopée byzantine de Digénis A-critas, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 5 (1947), 188.

2. Politis, L' épopée, 560-3; V. Tiftixoglu, Digenes, das Sophrosyne-Gedicht des Meliteniotes und der byzantinische Fünfzehnsilber, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 67 (1974), 1-63.

3. Metrical reasons are probably solely responsible for changes in the following cases also: E 119 κοινὸν τάφον (accent on 3), G 227 τάφον ἓνα (3), cf. Z 439; E 143 στρατηγός (11), G 268 στρατηγοί (11), cf. Z 489; E 255 καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου (3), G 383 ὁ ἀδελφός μου, ὁ θεός σου, ὁ Μουρσῆς ὁ Καρόης (3 and 11), cf. Z 619; G 444 ὁ γὰρ ὕστερος (3), cf. Z 711; G 534 συγγενεῖς (11), cf. Z 815; G 1537 ὀρθωθεῖς cf. Z 1957; G 1625 σφικτὰ δῆσας τὰς χεῖρας του, χαμηλὰ προσκυνήσας (3 and 11), cf. Z 2051; G 1755 ἐὰν ξένοι (3), cf. Z 2162; E 1321 αὐτὰ ἔλα (3), G 2666 ταῦτα πάντα (3), cf. Z 3196; G 3566 ἐν μιᾷ ὥρᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκ συνθήματος ὥσπερ (3 and 11), cf. Z 4417. In cases

Sometimes matters are not so simple, as in the case of the bear cubs during Digenis' first hunting. G 1059 ἀρκοπούλλια δύο (cf. E 669 εἶχαν καὶ δύο κουλούκια, which involves a rather different construction) are changed to μετὰ μεγάλης τόλμης in Z 1388, presumably because the line in G has an accent on 11<sup>1</sup>. Later when the mother bear turns to defend her cubs, Z cannot assume their existence, as do E 678 and G 1073. Z 1405 has to introduce them. For some reason even now he mentions only one. When the emir restores his future wife to her brothers, he swears μὰ τὸν μέγαν προφήτην in E 160<sup>2</sup> and G 278 that she has not kissed him nor even spoken to him (G 279) — or, less likely, that he has not spoken to her (E 161). His oath leaves an accent on 11 in both E and G. Z cannot at first find an alternative, so he replaces the oath by the weak καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τούτην (498). By the next line, however, he has found another oath which does not break the conventional metrical pattern: μὰ τὸν λαμπρὸν προφήτην. He inserts this, and omits the phrase about speaking which has been noted, in its different forms, in E and G — perhaps relieved that he does not have to reconcile these differences. There are several other cases where the existence of a trochaic accent on the third or eleventh syllable, while it does not provide a total explanation for a change made by Z, must have unsettled the compiler and thus acted as a partial reason<sup>3</sup>. This metrical discussion must end with a warning that it must not be pushed too far. More than once, lines with trochaic accents in E or G or both are replaced by lines in Z which introduce new accents of the same

where metrical «faults» are mentioned here from only one manuscript, there is evidence in the wording of Z that the compiler was working in that passage from the manuscript concerned.

1. Or perhaps a failure in comprehension: see N. Eideneier, Διορθωτικά στὸ κείμενο τοῦ Διγενῆ τῆς Κρουτοπέφρας, Ἑλληνικά 23 (1970), 306, on IV 108. Note that Z 1388 is reconstructed from A and P; see Trapp, apparatus, ad loc.

2. This half-line, too, has been reconstructed; see Trapp, apparatus, ad loc.

3. G 395 τὰ τερπνά (3) — which Z 632 can only solve by writing σοῦ τὰ τερπνά κοράσια — may well have caused a change in the word-order of the previous line of Z; G 631 τὰς ἡμέρας (3), cf. Z 875, and E 983 τὸν ὁ κόσμος (11), cf. Z 2068-9, occur in phrases which resemble common clichés and, as I shall suggest, are therefore already a little unstable; G 2918 κονταρέαν (3) may combine with the awkward repetition κοντάριν... κονταρέαν (E 1530) as the reason for the differences in Z 3483; E 1556 κ' ἐσὺ μόνος (3) may be added to Z's horror at Maximo's proposal (see p. 173 n. 2 above) to cause Z 3678-83; E 1638 εἰς τοῦ δένδρου τοὺς κλώνους (11) and G 3177 ἐν τοῖς κλώνοις (3) may have contributed to the reasons why the parrots in the garden are omitted in Z (but see p. 178 below); G 3492 τὸν ἀήτητον (11) could have led Z to omit Charon from Digenis' announcement of his coming death.

kind<sup>1</sup>. Here the compiler may have been driven to make changes by finding trochaic accents in his models: but his failure to exclude similar accents from his own work throws doubt over the validity of the argument.

Mediaeval Greek vernacular poetry is full of formulaic clichés of phrase and idea, which result, I believe, from the use of this linguistic level and the political verse for orally composed poetry. The existence of formulas is one of the most disruptive features in any textual tradition, for it suggests to the scribes the freedom to vary their texts as they copy them, as oral poems are varied in performance<sup>2</sup>. It is also very easy to replace a formula by another, in this tradition at least. For *Digenis*, this is particularly relevant for phrases used by parents to children, of the type τέκνον μου πολυπόθητον or ὃ τέκνον μου γλυκύτατον. This easy substitution sometimes leads to more cases of the rejection by Z of the combined reading of EG<sup>3</sup>. Suspicions must be raised whenever one of the disregarded readings of Z's models is a formula, or when the formula appears in Z itself<sup>4</sup>.

In another case, the existence of a cliché will explain an apparent change by Z, in combination with criticism of Trapp's reconstruction of that text. κοντάριν ἐμαλάκιζεν βένετον, χρυσωμένον is one of the few lines showing exact identity between E (17) and G (135). The same line recurs at Z 3447 and 3642, and may be called a cliché in this poem. But Z 311, parallel to the EG line given above, is καὶ τὸ κοντάρι ἤστραπτεν σάν Βενετιᾶς χρυσάφι—the reading of A, chosen by Trapp because T is not extant at this point. But the prose text of P gives τὸ δὲ κοντάριν ἦτον γαλάζιον χρυσωμένον. With Βενετιᾶς preserved in A and χρυσωμένον

1. G 286 ἦν ἰδόντες (3), cf. Z 508 ὡς οὖν εἶδεν (a case where for no obvious reason the subject of the verb in EG becomes its object in Z, and vice versa: cf. also G 287 and Z 511); G 1076 νὰ τοῦ δώση (11) and 1077 ἐκ τὴν μέσην (11), cf. Z 1408 καὶ κλειδώσας (3); G 1112 ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐλέγασιν ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἱ θεῖοι (3 and 11) cf. Z 1445 δεινὴν λέαιναν (11) (where Z's change may also reflect doubts on the number of uncles present: cf. N. Eideneier, *op. cit.*, 307, on IV 61).

2. See p. 171 n. 2 above.

3. E 220 τέκνον μου ποθεινότατον, G 360 ὃ τέκνον ποθεινότατον, Z 596 ὃ τέκνον μου παμπόθητον (cf. A 633 ὃ τέκνον μου ποθεινότατον): E 531 τέκνον μου πολυπόθητον, G 740 ὃ τέκνον μου γλυκύτατον, Z 989 οἰέ μου ὃ παμφίλτα τε: an illuminating collection of such phrases may be found in Lord, *Singer*, 212).

4. Several examples may be found in the text and notes to these pages. Another is E 1139 νὰ τὸν θωρῶ, νὰ χαίρωμαι τὰ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς μου (=E 808), which happens to coincide in one word (χαίρω) with G 2439 against Z 2876; at another point Z seems to have decided that G was mixing its clichés: E 460 ὡς ὄμβροι τοῦ Μαῦτου, G 575 ὡς ὄμβρος ἐκ καρδιάς, Z 856 ἐκ βάθους τῆς καρδιάς.

in P it is not impossible that Z accepted the whole cliché from E and G. I would at least propose βένετον, χρυσαμένον for the second half of Z 311.

This is not the only place where Trapp's text is open to criticism based on his own stemma. E 68 μὴ ἔλθατε τὸ ἐπάνμορφον ρυάκιν, G 194 διέλθετε εἰς τὸ ὑπαύχενον, εὐρήσετε ρυάκιν, Z 390 ἀπέλθατε στὸ πάμμορφον ρυάκιν, νὰ ἰδῆτε. To correct E, Trapp has accepted a suggestion of Grégoire and Letocart<sup>1</sup>, made on the basis of G: διέλθατε τὸ ἀνήφορον, εὐρήσετε ρυάκιν. But connection between E and G in Trapp's stemma is distant and rather weak, passing through the archetype. I would propose διέλθατε στὸ πάμμορφον ρυάκιν, νὰ ἰδῆτε, on the basis of Z, with which the connection is close and direct, passing through the compilation; ἐπάνμορφον (E) is better explained.

Z 3392 (from A) καὶ στὸ μερὶ ἐλάβωσεν τὸ ἄλογόν μου ἐκεῖνος, E 1455 καὶ κονταρέαν μ' ἔδωκεν τὴν φάραν στὰ μηρία, G 2843 κονταρέαν ἐν τῷ μηρῷ τιτρώσκει μου τὸν ἵππον. Trapp's note shows indecision, though he has not indicated uncertainty in the text: «melius P 388/29 καὶ ἔδωκεν κονταρέα τὸ ἄλογόν μου εἰς τὸ μερὶν, cf. G 2843 et E 1455». By Trapp's stemma, the readings of E and G could only have reached P through Z: his text here is thus almost certainly wrong, but there is no basis for a decisive choice of alternative reading. There are several other cases where the readings of P seem to confirm EG against Trapp's text of Z: usually, however, the points of similarity are too brief to suggest a complete new reading in Z<sup>2</sup>.

In order to be influenced by agreement between E and G, the redactor would first have to notice it. Trapp's text now provides an easy means of finding corresponding lines between them—but anybody

1. H. Grégoire - M. Letocart, Trente cinq corrections au texte de Digenis selon P Escorialensis, *Byzantion* 14 (1939), 211-2.

2. E 70 ὡσὰν τὰς ἐλαλοῦμαν, G 196 εἰς ἃ ταῖς ἐλαλοῦμεν Z 392 (from A) τοὺς λόγους μας ν' ἀκούσουν, P 321/24 ἐκεῖνα ὁποῦ τοὺς ἐλέγαμεν: E 390 τὴν πίστιν του, G 534 συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πίστιν, Z 815 (from T) γένος καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, P 332/23-4 τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα του: E 396 κατάραν τῆς μητρός σας, G 539 κατάρας τῆς μητρός μας, Z 820 (from T) τὴν μητρικὴν κατάραν, P 332/30 τὴν κατάραν τῆς μητρός σας: E 794 καὶ κρέμασε, G 1329 καὶ κρέμασαι, Z 1766 (from A) καὶ θὲς αὐτῷ, P 352/36 καὶ κρέμασε: E 1074 τρεῖς μῆνας, G 1882 τρεῖς μῆνας, Z 2246 (from A) καὶ τριμνηαῖον γὰρ καιρόν, P 362/4 τρεῖς μῆνες: E 1207 μὴ τοῦτος εἶν', τὸν λέγουσιν, ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης; G 2523 μὴ οὗτος ἐνι, ὃν λέγουσι, Βασίλειος Ἀκρίτης; Z 2975 (from T) μὴ ἐνι οὗτος ὁ Διγενὴς, ὃν λέγουσιν Ἀκρίτην; (cf. A 3054 μὴ οὗτος εἶν'...), P 379/19 μῆνα εἶναι ἐτοῦτος, ὁποῦ λέγουσιν ὅτι εἶναι ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης; E 1435 ὅπου, G 2817 ὅπου, Z 3365 (from T) ἐθα, P 388/5 ὅπου: E 1841 μὴ ἴδω τοῦτον ἄφωνον κατακειμένον, ἄπνου, G



who has tried to make textual comparisons without Trapp's help will bear witness to the problems faced by the compiler of Z. There are several passages of a few isolated verses, particularly in E, which are printed by Trapp pages after the last lines in that version and pages before the next: sometimes they are also out of order in E. Elsewhere, single lines are printed on their own opposite their parallels in other versions, half a page away from the passage of which they now form a part. Trapp is here making valuable progress in the archaeology of the text, particularly in the important relationship between E and G. But he gives us a deceptive omniscience about textual parallels, which cannot have been available to Z: the latter was, as far as can be seen, a conscientious compiler, not a scholarly editor.

E 1536-42 is a good example. Three pages separate it from E 1535, and one and a half pages from E 1543. Yet E 1539 *καὶ νὰ νοήσης, ἄγουρε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνδρείαν*, is identical to G 3010 but for the vocative *πάγκαλε* for *ἄγουρε*. Z omits this line between 3604-5, and shows no sign of having seen the rest of E 1536-42. This omission cannot, however, be called a departure from Z's usual mode of work, for it is most unlikely that he ever noticed the similarity between E 1539 and G 3010. Equally unlikely to have been compared by Z, but for a different reason, are E 1638-9 *κ' ἐκρέμασεν χρυσόκλημαν εἰς τοῦ δένδρου τοὺς κλώνους / κ' ἔχουν ὠραίους ψιττακοὺς καὶ κηλαδοῦν καὶ λέγουν* and G 3177 *ἐν τοῖς κλώνοις οἱ ψιττακοὶ ἦδον περὶ τὰ δένδρα*. Their unattractive metrical features mentioned in p. 175 n. 3 above are probably not the reason why they were omitted in Z. These lines are buried in long passages describing Digenis' garden and palace, which show no other significant verbal parallels between E and G. Elsewhere, there is more direct proof that Z failed to find all the parallels between E and G: E 1336 *ἴσως κἄν ἐκαυχῆσατο ἐκείνους οὐ μὴ τοὺς δέιρη* and G 2679 *εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐκαυχῆσατο, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντας ἀνείλε*, which must come from the same original line, are reflected twice in Z at 3234 and 3209 respectively. Finally there is a longer isolated passage of 14 lines, E 785-798, which I do not think that Z can have noted in copying the equivalent lines G 1324-31. These lines

---

3543 *μὴ ἴδω τοῦτον ἄφρων νεκρὸν ἐξηπλωμένον*, Z 4403 (from A) *ἵνα μὴ κατακείμενον καὶ ἄπνουν ἴδω τοῦτον*, P 410/5 *διὰ νὰ μὴν τὸν ἰδῶ νεκρὸν ἠπλωμένον*. A less cogent example: E 1457 *κ' εὐθύς ἐκοντογύρισα καὶ βλέπω τον καὶ φεύγει*, G 2846 *ἐπιστραφεὶς τὸν γέροντα φευγόμενον κατεῖδον*, Z 3394 (from A) *ἐπεγυρίσθην πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔβαλε τοῦ φεύγειν*, P 388/31 inserts *καὶ ἐγὼ ὡσάν τὸν εἶδα ὅτι φεύγει ἔτσι...* (a similar omission of the idea of seeing at Z 1448, cf. E 703, G 1115).

contain five small parallels between E and G not given in Z's text<sup>1</sup>—a sudden and unacceptable increase in the number of exceptions to his usual methods of compilation. This same isolation of lines in one of the models has probably caused further exceptions<sup>2</sup>, and may have contributed towards others<sup>3</sup>.

Some apparent changes made by Z probably result from misreading or misunderstanding of EG. E 603, for example, has *ὁ ἔρων τίττει τὸ φιλὶν καὶ τὸ φιλὶ τὸν πόθον*, while G 956-7 have the same thought in an expanded but hardly clearer form *ρίζα γὰρ οὗτος (sc. ὁ ἔρων) καὶ ἀρχὴ καθέστηκεν ἀγάπης, / ἐξ ἧς φιλία τίττεται, εἶτα γεννᾶται πόθος*. It seems to me that Z has misread *φιλὶν* as *φυλῆ*, and has combined two texts like the above: he writes *ρίζα γὰρ οὗτος πέφυκεν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀγάπης, / ἐξ ἧς φυλῆς τοῦ ἔρωτος γίνεται καὶ ὁ πόθος* (1254-5), and then rephrases the next lines as well. E 1301 is a challenge to the Apelates to return with fresh soldiers for a new attack—those who have not seen Digenis in action: *ὅπου οὐκ οἶδαν πεῖραν μου* (cf. G 2627 *τοὺς μὴ εἰδότες πεῖραν μου*). Z 3146 responds with a phrase which is similar, but senseless: *ποῦ δὲν οἶδασιν πόλεμον*, probably a misreading. A third case is part of an imprecation against the emir pronounced by his wife, in case he ever embraced another woman: E 471 *ἄλλην νὰ περιλάβῃς*, G 581 *εἰ περιλάβῃς ἄλλην*. This phrase is missing in Z, I assume because the compiler did not understand it: Politis has pointed out a similar case, G 416 *εἰ περιλάβουν ἄλλους*, where he assumes that the text was misunderstood by Z 657 *πῶς μέλλουσι παραλαβεῖν ἄλλοι τὰ τέκνα τούτου*<sup>4</sup>.

Although this discussion of changes made by the compiler in his models has been conducted in terms of E, G and Z, it is important to remember that in Trapp's view we have direct access to none of the manuscripts involved in the compilation: Z has to be reconstructed from later texts, and its models, ε and γ, were not, it seems, exactly the same as E and G. Thus lacunas and other textual changes must

1. E 786, G 1325, cf. Z 1762; E 789, G 1326, cf. Z 1763; E 793, G 1328, cf. Z 1765; E 794, G 1329, cf. Z 1766; E 795, G 1330, cf. Z 1767.

2. E 505 would be hard to find in relation to G 699 and Z 940; E 891, cf. G 1465 (omitted by Z after 1911); E 1074, cf. G 1852 and Z 2246 - where in any case the reading of P throws doubt on Trapp's text of Z (see p. 177 n. 2 above).

3. The moslem detail of E 533 may not have been noticed in connection with G 747, nor Maximo's attack of E 1529 with G 2917; both are omitted by Z.

4. L' *épopée*, 559. For another view (that Z could not accept that the newly christian emir should be jealous over his moslem wives) see N. Eideneier, *op. cit.*, 304, on II 108 f.: but cf. Z 698-9.

have had a considerable effect on the picture presented here, both causing apparent omissions in Z which cannot now be explained, and perhaps concealing others. Only one significant lacuna, however, is clearly demonstrable: between Z 868-9 there is a break in the text of Z which Trapp has skilfully traced to a lacuna in  $\gamma$ , the manuscript of the G family which Z was using<sup>1</sup>. Within this gap fall two thematic parallels between E and G, E 472-3=G 588 and E 474-5=G 602-5, which Z thus had no opportunity of noticing and including in his text. There is probably also a smaller lacuna left in Z by homoioteleuton from G 697-9, so that the compiler appears to simplify the introduction to the emir's hunting which he found in EG.

Most of the hundred or so verbal and thematic parallels between E and G not reflected in Z have been mentioned or referred to in the discussion above. Many have been fully explained by difficulties of textual reconstruction—the problems faced by Z in comparing the models for his compilation, and the difficulties encountered by Trapp in his edition. Others have been traced to motives like clarity of expression and metrical accuracy, which caused the compiler to make exceptions to his usual policy of respecting the combined readings of his models. Many of the hundred, however, still remain. Nineteen of those mentioned above (pp. 172 n. 5, 173 n. 3, 175 n. 3, 176 nn. 1, 4, 177 n. 2 (ad fin.), 179 n. 3) have been marked as inadequately explained by the suggestions made there. There are ten more unimportant but unexplained cases where the parallel between E and G is restricted to single words: ἀκολουθῶ E 276, G 404; ψυχὴ E 316, G 454; ὀνειδίξω E 360, G 506 and E 849, G 1390; εὐτραπέζω E 456, G 568; στρατηγός E 496, G 676; μάγουλον E 688, G 1086; ἀδέλφι E 864, G 1404; κοντάρι (twice) E 1448, G 2837 (for a similar change see E 1530 and Z 3483); καλός E 1843, G 3544. Five more small parallels depend on similarity of meaning or construction almost without verbal identity: E 82, G 203, cf. Z 406-7; E 118, G 226 (missing in Z but cf. Z 406 and similar thoughts at Z 411 and 434); E 350, G 496, cf. Z 774; E 1176, G 2491, cf. Z 2935; E 1195, G 2515, cf. Z 2966. As similarly trivial but unexplained changes one may mention the clumsy contraction of two lines into one at E 37-8, G 152, Z 338; a reference to the baptism of the emir's mother and household at E 601, G 938-40, where there are no verbal identities; twelve mules in the wedding present given to Digenis by his parents at E 1065, G 1852; a change of person from rather crude direct

1. Trapp, 28.

speech to more sophisticated third-person narrative at E 1468-72, G 2874-6, Z 3427-31; and the transfer of the golden trappings of Maximo's horse to the Amazon herself at E 1480, G 2888, Z 3441-3.

There are seven exceptions which I regard as significant:

1. The existence of a dowry for Digenis' wife, already separated from the property due to her brothers (E 986, G 1658).
2. Instructions to Digenis to take his musical instrument and play it a little—differently expressed in Z (E 1133, G 2434, Z 2871).
3. Maximo's strong army (E 1345, G 2710).
4. Equipment to be brought by the Apelates who are summoned (E 1395, G 2769).
5. An attack by Melemitzes (E 1447, G 2836).
6. Charon in Digenis' announcement of his coming death (E 1770, G 3492).
7. Lazarus, in a list of those raised from the dead by Christ (E 1815, G 3530).

At the end of this long discussion of trivial textual connections, we must conclude that agreement of EG against Z is not common at any level, and that significant agreement has been found, after a careful examination, to be rare. In the light of the stemma proposed by Kyriakides and Trapp, we have tested the compiler's work, on the assumption that he was looking for agreement between his models, and accepting into his text phrases on which they agree. Considering the length of *Digenis*, we have found rather few exceptions.

The assumptions which have so far been dominant will now be set aside for a few pages, and discussion will return to the conventional stemma. The framework of a compiler and his models must be replaced by that of three versions, E, G and Z, of different dates but equal stemmatic status, each with independent access to  $\alpha$  at the head of the surviving textual tradition of *Digenis*. We have already found that EG rarely agree against Z: that is, the two versions which are apparently the most authentic and derive from older manuscripts do not often agree against that which is reconstructed from later and less obviously trustworthy texts. This insight must now be put into perspective and applied to the generally accepted stemma of the poem.

Our conclusions on the lack of agreement between E and G against Z will be much more valuable if we can compare them with other similar details concerning other textual relationships. It would be useful to collect more statistical data about the whole poem: how

often, for example, do EZ agree against G or GZ against E? In a classical text such concepts would not be difficult to define, and it would be an easy, though time-consuming task to collect the statistics. In a mediaeval vernacular textual tradition, however, the problems are much more serious, as we have seen in the detailed discussion of the last few pages. Generally the scribes of these texts seem to have aimed at the accurate reproduction of their models, and one suspects that they would defend themselves against any accusation that they were making changes. It is the concept of accuracy itself which is different, in early vernacular Greek as in the early vernacular manuscripts of western European languages<sup>1</sup>. An accurate copy for these mediaeval scribes, when they were copying vernacular verse, did not exclude the replacement of one cliché by another similar in meaning, or a metrical «improvement», or the substitution of a more popular word or grammatical form for its equivalent in a more formal style, or *vice versa*, or even the expansion into two lines of a thought which was hard to understand when expressed in one. Smaller changes, like the insertion or omission of euphonic elements, are so common that the scribes cannot have noticed them. As I have already suggested, the copyists probably recognised in these texts the language and metre of a tradition of oral poetry which allowed performers similar freedom. Whatever the reason, the strict methods by which statistics are gathered in classical textual criticism<sup>2</sup> are inappropriate here. The numbers of manuscript disagreements found in *Digenis* would be greatly inflated by changes which occur as an inevitable consequence of the poem's textual genre. Most of the examples found would have no relevance to the problems of *Digenis*: they would only demonstrate that we are dealing with a mediaeval vernacular text.

In an attempt to overcome this problem and to reach a satisfactory statistical evaluation of the manuscript relationships, I have used a method which would be viewed with horror by any classical textual critic. I have worked carefully through Trapp's text, marking lines where, in my opinion, two or more of his three parallel versions show convincing signs of derivation from the same original line. As evidence for such a derivation I have demanded two significant common

---

1. A useful comparative examination of the attitudes of copyists in a number of mediaeval vernaculars may be made by reading the two volumes of H. Hunger, etc., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung*, Zurich 1961.

2. See, e.g., the suggestions of M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 37-9

words and a general agreement in meaning, or more complete similarity in wording if there is a change in meaning. Where experience shows that a learned word in one text is regularly reflected by the same popular equivalent in another, these have been counted as significant common words. Trapp's apparatus and the references in the fourth column of his text have again been examined, for the same reasons as those given above<sup>1</sup>. This methodology, by its very nature, is imprecise and subjective. Fortunately it is based on Trapp's text, which provides all the material for anybody who wishes to check and evaluate the results presented here. These results show wide and significant differences between the manuscript relationships, too great to be invalidated by unsatisfactory elements in the method. Any of the following numbers could be raised or lowered by a quarter without causing serious changes in the conclusions.

The basic figures, expressed with the necessary approximation, are as follows. Lines showing no common source with any parallel lines in another version: over 1200 in E, about 1600 in G, over 2000 in Z. Lines where two versions show common derivation while the third is missing or differently expressed: under 25 lines for agreement of EG against Z; nearly 400 for EZ against G; over 1800 for GZ against E. Lines where all three versions seem to share a common source: just over 200.

The first use we may make of these statistics is to confirm the significance of the long discussion above over the rarity of agreement of EG against Z. The total number of cases where EG agree for the purposes of these statistics may be found by adding the number of times when all three texts agree (just over 200) to those when EG agree against Z (under 25). On about 90 percent of these occasions (i.e. just over 200 out of 227), Z also shows significant agreement. This figure is high, particularly if one remembers that several lines among the remaining 10 percent, as has been shown above, are not significant exceptions. This is useful positive support for a tendency which we have so far examined only through its exceptions. Comparative figures: proportion of agreements of EZ with which G also agrees: around 35 percent; proportion of agreements of GZ with which E also agrees: just over 10 percent.

But the figures given above, in spite of their lack of precision, will allow us to go further in examining textual relationships. Let us

---

1. See pp. 170-1 above.

first restate them in proportional terms. Leaving aside lacunas, more than 40 percent of the lines of G and Z, and nearly 70 percent of E, are idiosyncratic to the version in which they are found - that is, they do not recur in recognisable form in another version. In contrast to these high figures, cases of agreement between all three versions make up little more than ten percent of the shortest version E, down to under 5 percent of the longest, Z<sup>1</sup>. Parallels restricted to only two texts are frequent, but vary considerably in number. Agreement of GZ against E accounts for about half of G, and around 40 percent of Z; agreement of EZ against G covers more than 20 percent of E and nearly 9 percent of Z; but, as we have seen, the oldest surviving manuscripts, E and G, rarely show a common source against Z: such lines, according to these rough statistics, make up just over one percent of E and a little more than a half of one percent of G. In this form these statistics will best perform their main function, the evaluation of the conventional stemma.

The chief purpose of a stemma is to provide a means for the reconstruction of the archetype of a text or, at least, of as much of the archetype as can be recovered. The chief test which may be made on it is a practical attempt to use it in such a reconstruction. I should like to examine the conventional stemma of *Digenis* by making it the basis for an investigation of  $\alpha$ , the head of the surviving textual tradition<sup>2</sup>.

For more than 200 lines of the poem, where EGZ are all similar, we may make firm predictions about the shape of  $\alpha$ . These statements will usually be of limited use to the potential editor, who would generally be left with several difficult problems of detail unresolved. In the following line, for instance:

E 211 ἔτεκον παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην

1. These pairs of percentages refer to the same number of cases of agreement. The difference in each case derives, of course, from the different lengths of the manuscripts against which the number is evaluated.

2. I have no hesitation in making a practical test of the stemma given by Politis (Review, 335), because he concludes from it «... nous savons, en fin de compte, assez d'éléments nous permettant de sentir une restitution, ne fût-ce que partielle, de cet hyparchetype». Beck's «Stammbaum» (*Volksliteratur*, 71) was probably drawn up with the aim of illustrating manuscript relationships, not of proposing a practical means of reconstructing the archetype. Even an illustration, however, must be examined to see if it is correct: it seems to me that a practical test of this sort may reasonably be used.

G 356 καὶ ἔτεκε τὸν Διγενῆ Βασιλεῖον Ἀκρίτην

Z 583 κ' ἐγέννησεν τὸν εὐγενῆ Βασιλεῖον τὸν Ἀκρίτην

we may be sure that these three forms derive from a single line in  $\alpha$ , and we may make some firm predictions about that line—for example, that its last word was Ἀκρίτην. But no editor reconstructing  $\alpha$  could feel secure about the text which he printed for this line, whatever combination of readings he chose. Nevertheless, since EGZ all fall within the limits of similarity used to collect our statistics, one may predict that  $\alpha$  was similar to them, within the same limits.

Furthermore, when only two of the surviving versions show this degree of similarity, our prediction about the original will be only slightly less firm. Here is an example:

E 1 κρότοι καὶ κτύποι κὶ ἀπειλαὶ μὴ σὲ καταπτόησουν

G 106 μὴ κρότοι δειλιάσωσι, πληγαὶ σε ἐκφοβήσουν

Z 291 καὶ κρότοι, κτύποι, ἀπειλαὶ μὴν σὲ καταπτόησουν

Again these texts are surely reflecting a single line in  $\alpha$ , and in spite of the differences of G, which has only one significant word in common<sup>1</sup>, the parallelism of EZ must derive from  $\alpha$ , and give us a basis for predicting the text of  $\alpha$ . Thus more than 2250 lines where two of the texts agree against the third must be added to more than 200 lines where there is agreement between all three versions, making a total of nearly 2500 lines in which predictions may be made about the general shape of  $\alpha$ .

Let us continue this speculation, remembering its slender theoretical base but noting the large numerical differences from which conclusions are drawn. If we analyse these nearly 2500 lines of predictions, we find that only around 600 are reflected in E, more than 2000 in G and nearly all in Z: only in those cases, under 25 in our statistics, where EG agree against Z are we able to make a prediction for  $\alpha$  which is significantly different from the text of Z. Thus E is found to be missing or defective in about 75 percent of this large sample of predicted lines, G in about 12 percent, and Z in less than one percent. E is shown as a very inadequate manuscript, a judgement which will be no surprise even to its supporters. More striking, however, are the results from G and Z. G is apparently much more defective than Z, since our statistics, imprecise as they are, show about 16 times as many lines

1. Trapp's text accepts Tsopanakis' conjecture μὴ κρότοι for the μικρόν τι of the manuscript. If (with N. Eideneier, *op. cit.*, 301, on I 134-5) we retain the manuscript reading, we are left with the same conclusion but no common words.



missing or differently expressed. Cases like the second example quoted above, where G seems to have made changes in  $\alpha$ , which may be reconstructed from E and Z, are surprisingly common.

This is not all. If we make another comparison between our two oldest manuscripts, E and G, we find that both show similarity to our predicted text for a large number of lines: more than 2000 in G, and about 600 in the case of E. But in spite of the age of these manuscripts, and the faithfulness to the predicted text of  $\alpha$  shown by both in many passages, there seems to be some unexpected pressure at work preventing them from including the same lines of  $\alpha$ . Between them, they include all 2500 of the lines which may be predicted in  $\alpha$ , for none may be based on the evidence of Z alone: but our statistics show them overlapping for only 227 lines.

For the final point in this discussion of the conventional stemma we may leave the imprecise statistics on which it has been based, and return to the more comprehensive study which preceded it. There, cases where EG agree in any way against Z, including many trivial examples, were found to number only about a hundred. They were carefully discussed in the framework of the Kyriakides-Trapp stemma. The picture that emerged was simple and reasonable: the compiler of Z was looking for agreement between E and G, and writing out into his text any agreed phrases which he found. Many of the hundred proved not to be significant: they were places where the compiler made changes, in spite of the combined witness of EG, only because their text was not clear, for example, or because he wished to make a metrical correction. We were left with some forty trivial but valid exceptions to Z's policy of respecting agreement between E and G, and seven more important examples, none more than two lines in length.

If these hundred exceptions are examined in the framework of the conventional stemma, their role is found to be quite different, but still very important. They are the only cases where E and G agree against Z, where therefore Z can be proved to have changed  $\alpha$ . As such, they are the key to all progress in the search for the text of  $\alpha$ . A potential editor of  $\alpha$  would have to correct Z by EG in all hundred cases or at least in all cases where similarity between E and G has sufficient verbal precision to permit the reconstruction of the reading of  $\alpha$ . In this frame of reference, the distinction between significant and insignificant exceptions disappears, for all hundred cases are changes made by Z which must be reversed to recover  $\alpha$ . For the whole of the rest of the text, on the other hand, it is impossible to escape from

the choice of Z for the overall organisation of the narrative, the order of the episodes, and probably for the omission and inclusion of controversial passages. Z is the most comprehensive of the versions, and, as we have seen, seems somehow to act as a bridge between the different areas of  $\alpha$  covered by G and E respectively. A text which is apparently about sixteen times more accurate than its nearest rival at points where we can check it will naturally have tyrannical influence also in areas where we cannot.

Within the framework taken from Z there is room for correction from the other two versions. By our statistics, there are more than 200 lines where  $\alpha$  must be reconstructed from all three versions when they have similar wording, nearly 400 lines where there are parallel texts of EZ, and over 1800 parallel lines of GZ. The authority of Z, at least in cases where its own textual reconstruction seems secure, will usually prevail over its rivals. But the hundred exceptions are again of crucial importance—here particularly those found not to be significant for the compilation stemma. If, for instance, there are a dozen examples among the hundred of the «improvement» of trochaic accents, then this kind of change will be established as a characteristic of the text of Z. It should be possible to find many more cases, in areas covered by only two versions, where Z has an «improved» version and the original trochaic reading may be found in E or G. Similar arguments may probably be available in connection with extra explanatory lines, and with misreadings.

Starting from the discovery that agreement of EG against Z is rare in *Digenis*, we have now sketched the implications in some detail for both the proposed stemmatic patterns. For the stemma of Kyriakides and Trapp, this lack of agreement is largely irrelevant—or perhaps slightly favourable, since it provides the compiler of Z with a rational programme of action: he looked for agreements between E and G and used them in his compilation. The exceptions are so unimportant that they hardly need to be mentioned in a conclusion. For the conventional stemma, however, our initial discovery has pointed towards two potential problems. First, E and G, the oldest manuscripts, both faithful to  $\alpha$  for many lines, are made to disagree mysteriously over the areas of  $\alpha$  which they choose to include. Second, the possibility of progress in the reconstruction of  $\alpha$  is almost totally reduced to the acceptance of the text of Z, with a few improvements. Though T, A and P are not usually regarded as authentic reflections of the original, the evidence we have found in their favour is very strong. Of

the three versions, this is the only one against which the others are not often found in agreement, as we have found by a comprehensive count of examples. Supplementary statistical examination, which was full, though of its very nature not precise, suggested that Z, where it could be checked, was missing or seriously wrong less than once in a hundred lines, a record many times more accurate than that of G.

The second working habit of the compiler of Z may fortunately be illustrated and discussed more briefly and simply. It will be easiest to begin within the frame of reference of the conventional stemma, and by quoting a long passage from Z, the version which, as we have seen, becomes dominant according to that stemma. This is an area of the text where the lines of Z seem particularly difficult to challenge, because most of them are supported by E and G, which, however, give hardly any confirmation to each other. The context of the passage is as follows. The emir has stolen a Christian girl from Cappadocia, and her brothers have followed him to rescue her. After one of the brothers defeats him in single combat, he sends them on a fool's errand to look for their sister. They are directed to a pile of badly mutilated female corpses, and so they lament their sister's death, as well as the fact that they cannot recognise her body for proper burial. After burying all the bodies in a common grave, they return to the emir.

- Z 440      αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑποστρέψαντες στὸν ἀμηρᾶν ἀπῆλθον  
καὶ παρευθὺς ἐξέλευσαν καὶ οἱ πέντε τὰς σπάθας  
(T 41)      καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ οὕτως τὸν συντυχαίνου  
(T 47)      θερμὰ κινουῦντες δάκρυα ἐκ μέσου τῆς καρδίας·  
(T 42)      «ὦ ἀμηρᾶ, πρῶτ' ἀμηρᾶ καὶ κύων τῆς Συρίας,  
Z 445      τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἣν ἤρπασες, μηδὲν μᾶς τὴν στερήσης,  
εἰ δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἄθεσμα, πάντως ἐθανατώθης.  
Οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν χωρὶς αὐτῆς ἀποστραφῆναι θέλει,  
(T 46)      ἀλλὰ σφαγῶμεν ἅπαντες διὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μας».  
(T 48)      Ἄκουσας ταῦτ' ὁ ἀμηρᾶς μεγάλως ἐπτοήθη,  
Z 450      ἤρξατο τοὺτους ἐρωτᾶν «Τίνες καὶ πόθεν εἴστε;  
ποίου γένους ὑπάρχετε ἀπὸ τῆς Ρωμανίας;»  
Καὶ τότε ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς οὕτως ἀνταπεκρίθη·  
«Ἡμεῖς, ἀμηρᾶ, λέγοντες τυγχάνομεν ἀρχῆθαι  
ἐκ χώρας ἀνατολικῆς, ἐξ εὐγενῶν γονέων·  
Z 455      ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἄαράν ἐκ τῶν Δουκῶν τὸ γένος  
κατάγεται τῶν θαυμαστῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν Κιναμαάδων,

- καὶ Μουσελῶμ ὁ ἐξακουστός πατήρ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς μας,  
 ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἡμῶν αὐτὴ ἀπὸ τῶν κυρ Μαγίστρων  
 τὸ γένος ἐκκατάγεται τῶν πλουσίων ἐκείνων.
- Z 460 Δώδεκα θεῖους εἶχαμεν καὶ ἐξαδέλφους ἕξι.  
 Ὁ πατήρ μας ἐξορισθεὶς διὰ τινὰς μωρίας  
 ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας γε λαὸν τοῦ συναθροῦσαι·  
 ἐκεῖνοι ἂν σὲ εὔρισκον, κόσμον οὐκ ἐθεώρεις.  
 Οὐδαίς ἡμῶν ἐτύγγανεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ,  
 καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖ ἐτύχομεν, οὐ μὴ συνέβη τοῦτο,  
 οὐδὲ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἡμῶν ἐκ χειρῶν σου ἠρπάγη,  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν οἶκον μας εἶχετε προσεγγίσει.  
 Πέντ' ἀδελφοὺς ἐγέννησεν ἡ μήτηρ μας, οὐς βλέπεις·  
 μίαν εἶχαμεν ἀδελφήν, τὸ γέννημα ἡλίου,...
- Z 465

Trapp's apparatus: 446 πράξης T 450 εἴστε A 484: ἦτε T 453 ἔχγονοι pro λέγοντες coni. Eberhard 458 Μαγίστρων Karolides et P 323/18 461 μας A 495, G 241, Eberhard: ἡμῶν T 464 ἀποδημία T, corr. Lampros.

Lord justifiably finds in this passage strong confirmation that oral composition has played a part in the formation of the text of *Digenis*<sup>1</sup>. That a group of brothers should bury a pile of bodies with every sign of accepting the fact that their sister is among them, then rush from the grave-side to demand her from her captor, is a contradiction unlikely in a purely literary text, but of a type which is quite frequent at the junction of two themes in an oral poem. This may be classed with the later case where the emir asks his wife to come home secretly to his mother, but later, after the conflict and confusion resulting from her brother's dream, he goes off without her, with no mention of a change of plan<sup>2</sup>. These are striking incongruities, which occur, with different wording, in all the manuscripts, and must be attributed to factors of confusion far back in the poem's history.

There are two other problems in this passage, however, for which answers must be sought at a much more superficial level. First, why is there such a confusion of emotions and attitudes in the interview between the emir and the brothers? Second, why is the descent of the brothers' father given as from two different families, the Doukai and the Kinnamoi? Neither of these problems, admittedly, has arisen from the text of Z in isolation. If this were the only surviving version of

1. *Singer*, 217.

2. G 421-441, Z 663-695, cf. G 628, Z 873: see Lord, *Singer*, 217.

*Digenis*, both these difficulties would be ascribed to deliberate choice by the poet, or perhaps to minor effects of the distorting pressures noted above in the comments of Lord. Both have become significant problems mainly because of the existence of obvious and compelling solutions.

There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the combination of drawn swords and heartfelt sobs in the approach of the brothers to the emir, or in a speech which begins with an insult and a threat to kill him, ends in a rhetorical request to be killed, and provokes a reaction of fear. It is perhaps surprising that this rather unsophisticated poet should have used some degree of psychological subtlety to express the emotional confusion of the scene. Without the evidence of E and G, however, our reaction would be to praise the poet rather than to look for the solution to a problem<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, of the ten lines 440-9, six (442-5 and 447-8) are strongly confirmed by similar lines in E or G, while there is weaker support for three others (440-1 and 449), and even the remaining line (446) may be paralleled by a line in E with some similarity in meaning but no verbal identities. At first glance, therefore, there is nothing disturbing about the relationship of Z to E and G. We must note, however, that if the conventional stemma has any meaning, Z must in these lines be a fairly accurate picture of  $\alpha$  in general outline and in much of its wording.

Doubts begin to arise when the other two versions are examined independently. It soon becomes obvious that, if we remain within the conventional stemma, the psychological subtlety of the poet has been found unacceptable both by E and by G. E reflects the ten-line passage

---

1. Two previous reactions to this question may be noted. C. Danguitsis, *Le problème de la version originale de l'épopée byzantine de Digenis Acritas*, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 5 (1947), 198, (referring to the similar interview at G 70 - 83, not found in Z) regards G as an inefficient reworking of the text: «Cette façon de se comporter de nos cinq héros est inadmissible dans une épopée qui avait la prétention d'être le symbole de l'héroïsme pour toute la Grèce de cette époque» (see Politis, *L'épopée*, 565, note 38). Politis' own explanation, while it is free of such absurdity, is not convincing. He sees a contrast between the approach of the brothers to the emir in G, weeping piteously, and an aggressive attitude in T, which he ascribes to a policy of reducing the pro-Arab feeling obvious in G. In fact, the anti-Arab lines of T are not the invention of any of the Z manuscripts, but derive from E; equally, the humble phrases of G are still present in the text of T, although the order of the lines has been changed a little. From the point of view of T, this is not an ideological change, but a compilation.

by seven lines in which the aggressive side of the brothers' attitude is dominant:

- E 120      Κ' ἐστράφησαν στὸν ἀμηρᾶν μετὰ κακῆς καρδίας,  
 ἔλυσαν τὰ φηκάρια τοὺς κι οἱ πέντ' ἐξεσπαθῶσαν  
 καὶ καταπρόσωπα αὐτὸν οὕτως τὸν συντυχαίνουν·  
 «᾽Ω ἀμηρᾶ, πρωτοαμηρᾶ καὶ σκύλε τῆς Συρίας,  
 τὸ ἀδελφιν μας, τὸ ἔρπαξες, μηδέν μας τὸ στερεψῆς·  
 E 125      ἢ δεῖξε μας τὸ ἀδελφι μας ἢ κόπτομε τὴν κεφαλὴν σου».  
 Κι' ὡς εἶδεν τούτους ὁ ἀμηρᾶς, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐφοβήθην,...

G, on the other hand, has six lines which give no hint of an aggressive approach, or of a reaction of fear by the emir:

- G 228      καὶ θρηνοῦντες ὑπέστρεφον πρὸς ἀμηρᾶν εὐθέως  
 θερμὰ κινοῦντες δάκρυα ἐκ μέσης τῆς καρδίας·  
 G 230      «Δός, ἀμηρᾶ, τὴν ἀδελφὴν, εἰ δ' οὐ, θανάτωσόν μας·  
 οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἄνευ αὐτῆς ὑποστρέφει ἐν οἴκῳ,  
 ἀλλὰ σφαγῶμεν ἅπαντες διὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μας.»  
 Ἀκούων ταῦτ' ὁ ἀμηρᾶς, ὀρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς θρήνους...

These two texts give totally different impressions, implying widely divergent attitudes on the part of the brothers, mirrored in the reaction of the emir. The similarities between them in wording are negligible—only a word or two derived from the general situation which they share (E 120 cf. G 228, E 123 cf. G 230, E 126 cf. G 233). Yet neither copyist has used much of his own invention: both have made up their texts largely of lines from  $\alpha$ , which, as we have suggested, must have been quite similar to Z in this area of the poem. E 120-1 adds very little to Z 440-1, though there is considerable change in wording; E 122-4 is very close to Z 442, 444-5; E 125 has something in common with Z 446, while E 126 is rather closer to Z 449. The passage in G begins with some similarity between G 228 and Z 440, followed by an almost identical pair of lines G 229 and Z 443. G 230 is not really reflected in Z, but G 231-2 are very similar to Z 447-8. G 233 is a mild version of the emir's response, while Z 449 shares a reaction of fear with E.

By the conventional stemma, therefore, we are forced to imagine a series of events which is quite difficult to believe. Starting from lines of  $\alpha$  which must have included both the aggressive and the supplicatory elements now visible in the text of Z, the textual tradition

must have divided into three versions. Z preserves  $\alpha$  fairly accurately. E rejected most of the mild words and preserves only the violent phrases; G banished all thought of aggression, and has a version which is entirely passive. By chance, aided by a natural dualism in the original text, G and E have divided  $\alpha$  in such a way that they hardly overlap. This is a striking coincidence, to say the least, but not incredible.

The emir, whether pitying the brothers' groans (G), or terrified by their threats (EZ), reacts by asking who they are, where they come from and what is their ancestry (E 127-8, G 234-5, Z 450-1). Six lines after the end of the ten-line passage discussed above, the eldest brother explains that their father is «descended from the splendid family of the Doukai, from the Kinnamoi». Now there are presumably several ways in which one man may claim allegiance to two families, as well as the possibility that somebody involved in the poem's textual history believed that the two families were somehow connected, perhaps by the rather shadowy Kinnamoi being a branch of the Doukai<sup>1</sup>. But this reading of Z (455-6) is simultaneously confirmed and undermined in much the same way as the previous passage. E 131 says that their father was born from τῶν Δουκῶν τὴν γενεάν, not mentioning the Kinnamoi, while G 237 knows of descent from the Kinnamoi without a reference to the Doukai. Once again the conventional stemma demands that  $\alpha$  must have included both names: but it makes the further and less acceptable demand that, of the three textual versions, Z preserved  $\alpha$  fairly accurately, E remembered the first name without the second, G remembered the second without the first. Thus another coincidence of a precisely similar kind is piled on top of the first. There is also a third, weaker, example in the same speech: Z has two rather ineffectual parallel statements explaining that the emir had been lucky in the timing of the raid in which he had carried off his future wife. If their twelve uncles, six cousins and their exiled father had found him, the emir would not have escaped alive (Z 460-3), and in fact if any of the brothers themselves had chanced to be on the spot, the emir would not have reached their house (Z 465-7). The language of the first statement is largely from E, particularly in its last line ἐκεῖνοι ἂν σὲ εἶχαν εὐρεῖ, Σοφίαν ποτ' οὐκ ἐθεώρεις (E 136). This line is missing in G, which thus runs both statements together. The second statement in Z is all from

---

1. On the Kinnamoi, see Kyriakides in *Λαογραφία* 10 (1932), 638, note 3, and A. Garzya, *Farsi e un opuscolo inediti di Michele Psellos*, Naples 1966, 25.

G, for it is missing in E. The textual implications here are similar, though less sharply defined, to those of the previous two cases.

There are three other strong but isolated examples of the same phenomenon, collected by Trapp in his introduction<sup>1</sup>:

1) During the single combat between the emir and one of the brothers, the former is given advice by his followers, of whom it is said that *μίαν φωνήν ἀφήσασιν*. Their words begin:

«Μὴν τρέμης, κύριε ἡμῶν, μὴν δειλιᾶς, αὐθέντα,  
πίασε μόνον τὸν ἄγουρον, ταχέως νὰ νικήσης... (Z 346-7),

and end:

καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ζήτησον, τὸν πόλεμον ν' ἀφήσης,  
διότι εἶναι δυνατὸς πολλά, μὴν σὲ καταπονέσῃ». (Z 351-2).

As we have come to expect in such cases, the first part of the speech is reflected in E, the second in G.

2) Later, messengers arrive from the emir's mother with a secret letter for her son. They camp some distance away from the emir's new home, so as not to be discovered, and send the letter with an oral message about departure<sup>2</sup>. But the Emir's brothers-in-law are warned in a dream of the messengers' arrival, and go out to meet them, asking the pointed question:

«Καλῶς ἦλθετε, ἄρχοντες, ἰέρακες γαμβροῦ μας,  
τί ὧδε ἐπέζεύσατε, οὐκ ἦλθετε εἰς οἶκον;» (Z 732-3).

The messengers are apparently surprised into the truth:

Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες τί ἀνταποκριθῆναι  
ἄκοντες, μὴ βουλόμενοι, τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγουν  
(φόβος γὰρ ἀπροσδόκητος ἀλήθειαν ἐκφαίνει,  
ὁ δὲ γε προσδοκώμενος γεννᾷ ἀπολογίαν): (Z 734-7).

Their reply is given in one line, which, in spite of all this preparation, is a lie<sup>3</sup>:

«Ἐχθὲς παρεβραδύναμεν καὶ ἐμείναμεν ὧδε».

This one line is found at E 329, but not in G; the lines about telling the truth are all in G, with no reflection in E.

1. Trapp, 28.

2. Z 645-52.

3. Compare Z 649 νὰ μὴ φανερωθῶσιν.



3) Digenis' future wife, as he is carrying her off from her home, hears the noise of pursuit behind them. She shouts to him:

«'Αγωνίζου, ἀθέντα μου, μὴν μᾶς ἀποχωρίσουν,  
 ἄφες μ', ἀθέντα καὶ καλέ, ἐδῶ νὰ ἀποθάνω,  
 ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ἔποισα, κακῶς ἀποθανοῦμαι·  
 ἐσὺ ἔχεις μαῦρον καλόν, τὸν σεαυτὸν σου σῶσον». (Z 2013-6).

Naturally, neither of the other versions shares the serious contradiction between the first verse and the rest. The first line is very like G 1577, the rest like E 945-7. E and G show no point of contact in their versions of her cry. Here then are three more cases where Z must apparently reflect  $\alpha$ , in spite of its inconsistency. Each time there is a dualism in Z which must derive from  $\alpha$ ; E and G have in each case accepted one side of the dualism and rejected the other, so neatly that there is no overlap of wording between them.

It is time to leave the conventional stemma, which is showing signs of collapse, and to suggest how the data examined here fit the second working habit assumed for the compiler of Z: where his models disagreed, his desire for completeness sometimes led him to include conflicting details of the same event from two distinct descriptions, or contradictory information about the same person. We may begin from the comments of A. Pertusi on the double family of Digenis' grandfather, as discussed above: «Ma come può essere Aaròn della famiglia dei Dukas e dei Cinnami allo stesso tempo? È chiaro: di quella dei Dukas, perché così afferma E 131, di quella dei Cinnami perché così afferma G 237 e 1005»<sup>1</sup>. Thus a scholar studying the text of *Digenis* from the point of view of genealogy, finds that the text of Z at this point can only be explained by assuming a conflation of the other two versions. This theme runs through the whole of his study: «Quali le conclusioni? In TA(PO) si tratta evidentemente di una contaminazione: il rimaneggiatore del prototipo di TA(PO) si trovava di fronte a due recensioni del poema assolutamente inconciliabili quanto ai particolari della genealogia di Digenis, molto simili alle recensioni conservate in E e in G»<sup>2</sup>.

This conclusion seems to me certain in the case of Digenis' grandfather and his family, and capable of extension to each of the other

1. Alcune note sull' epica bizantina, *Aevum* 35 (1962), 27.

2. *Ibid.*, 30; cf. also the stemma in *La poesia epica bizantina e la sua formazione*..... (see p. 168 n. 1 above), 544.

situations mentioned above. In each case, we have been forced to conclude that  $\alpha$  in the conventional stemma contained material reflecting a mixture of two opposing attitudes; why not assume rather that the compiler of Z was faced with two models which offered him a choice of these two attitudes? Rather than assuming that both E and G made changes in  $\alpha$ , why not accept that Z included contradictory attitudes from his models? Above all, rather than believing that E and G divided  $\alpha$  so precisely as to leave hardly a word in common between them, why not admit that the versions of E and G were originally autonomous, that two texts similar to them were the models from which the compilation of Z was made? In these passages at least the theory of Kyriakides and Trapp has so decisive an advantage in economy that it must be right.

It must be pointed out in conclusion that the textual agreements visible in the lines quoted and discussed here are not exceptions to the general practice of the poem. We have found here no case of agreement of EG against Z, and few examples of agreement of EG under any circumstances. EZ against G and GZ against E have been the most common patterns in these passages. A glance at the statistical information listed above will show that these features are typical. In stating our conclusions from those statistics, as seen from their impact on the conventional stemma, reference was made to an «unexpected pressure at work preventing E and G from including the same lines of  $\alpha$ »<sup>1</sup>. I suggest that we have discovered here *in parvo* the reason for the phenomenon which was troublesome *in extenso*: E and G do not include the same lines of  $\alpha$  because they represent the distinct models from which  $\alpha$  was created, and  $\alpha$  is not the original, but merely a false name for the compilation Z, based on a stemma which must itself be false.

The third habit of the compiler of Z is a natural and almost inevitable result of a compilation—that the attention of the compiler should sometimes pass directly from one of his models to the other. We have already seen several examples in this recent discussion: there are for instance eight sharp changes of model in the long quotation from Z on pp. 188-9 above<sup>2</sup>, and these are largely responsible for

---

1. See p. 186 above.

2. After Z 442 to G; after Z 443 to E; after Z 446 to G; after Z 454 to E; after Z 455 to G; after Z 456 to E; after Z 464 to G; after Z 467 to E.

the confusion and contradictions which we have found there. Further, compare these two passages:

οἱ μὲν φιλοῦσι χειῖρας του, ἄλλοι τὴν κεφαλὴν του.  
 Οἱ πέντ' ἑκαβαλλίκευσαν, στὸν ἀμηρᾶν ἐτρέξαν  
 καὶ εἶπον λόγους πρὸς αὐτόν, πῶς τὸν παρακαλοῦσιν·  
 αἴΩ ἀμηρᾶ καὶ ἔξαρχε ἀπάσης τῆς Συρίας,  
 ἀπόδος ἡμῖν τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ὡσπερ ἡμῖν ὑπέσχου... (Z 367-71).

οἱ μὲν φιλοῦσι χειῖρας του, ἄλλοι τὴν κεφαλὴν του.  
 Κ' οἱ πέντ' ἑκαβαλλίκευσαν, στὸν ἀμηρᾶν ὑπάγουν·  
 τὸν δ' ἀμηρᾶν ἀμφοτέροι θερμοῶς παρακαλοῦσι·  
 αἴΩ ἀμηρᾶ πρωταμηρᾶ καὶ πρῶτε τῆς Συρίας,  
 δός, ἀμηρᾶ, τὴν ἀδελφὴν, καθὼς ἡμῖν ὑπέσχου.

The first was written by the redactor of Z, as part of his compilation. The second has been made by me out of Trapp's texts of E and G, by drawing alternate verses from each: its first line is G 175, the second E 55, then G 176, E 56 and G 177. The similarity of the results is suggestive about Z's methods here.

For manipulation by the compiler of larger blocks of source-material, it is interesting to examine the scene where the emir preaches to his mother and converts her and their whole household to Christianity. Z 1042 begins with lines which are reminiscent of E 535 ff., though Z is more concise. Close verbal parallels begin at Z 1046 and E 542, and end at Z 1052 and E 548, where Z makes a sharp switch to the version of G. After a line of transition, Z 1054 is a direct reflection of G 770. Z follows G fairly closely for more than 30 lines in a metrical version of the creed, though he shows increasing impatience by leaving gaps after 1077, 1080 and 1082. The last parallel line is Z 1086 ἐνθα κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὄδυρμὸς καὶ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων (very similar to G 806), after which Z is moved to add ὁ ἰοβόλος σκόληξ τε, τάρταρος καὶ τὸ σκότος (Z 1087). Now the mechanics of the compilation become very obvious. Z 1088-90 are almost unchanged from E, and 1091-2 from G. After this, the compiler returns less sharply to E, for Z 1095 is taken from E 554 and Z 1097-8 from E 555-6. By Z 1102, however, he is again copying from G (811).

A striking fact in nearly all these cases is the way Trapp is compelled to waste paper in printing E and G. When Z is drawing from E, the column for G is often blank, because there is no rejected parallel

passage in that version, and when Z is following G there are usually similar gaps in E. This is an indication of the compiler's desire to omit as little as possible of what he found in his models. When he can, he appears to fit them together as a mosaic of single lines or as larger blocks. The most extreme and most interesting pattern of this kind has had its impact on most of the pages of Trapp's text which include all three versions, at least where there is some similarity in the text which they present. In the purest form of the pattern, Z provides a continuous text on the right-hand page, while E and G escort it alternately from their columns on the left-hand page. Thus when there is an apparent lacuna in E, of one line or a hundred, G often provides a passage of about the right length to fill it. When E resumes, G will often stop, leaving its own apparent lacuna to be filled by approximately the right number of lines of E, and so on<sup>1</sup>.

This suggestion of lacunas has led away from the compilation theory back to the conventional stemma, and to one of its major problems. If we assume that agreement in phrasing between two of the surviving versions is a sure means of predicting the general shape of the hyparchetype  $\alpha$ —and, as repeatedly stated here, I can see no other meaning for the conventional stemma—then we are compelled to cut large numbers of lacunas in E and G<sup>2</sup>. One passage which demands particularly comprehensive surgery is the first 20 lines of the long quotation from Z given above (Z 440-59, paralleled by E 120-33 and G 228-38). Within these lines there is good stemmatic evidence for three lacunas in E (of two, one and one lines respectively)<sup>3</sup> and for five in G (two of two lines and three of one)<sup>4</sup>.

What is more, the word «cut», used above for the establishment of these lacunas, was carefully chosen. Both E and G are convincing as they are written. Not one of these eight lacunas could have been suspected without reference to the text of Z, and nobody has ever sug-

1. This pattern occurs frequently on a small scale towards the beginning of the text, where the compiler was examining his models very carefully. See especially Trapp, pp. 92-3 and 98-9. Later the blocks are larger: good examples may be found on pp. 142-5, 162-5 and 204-7.

2. The use of the word «lacuna» in the context of a text often thought to have independent versions is somewhat contentious. It is to be defined as «a line or lines from a predictable hyparchetype missing in one of the versions derived from that hyparchetype».

3. One line after 122, two after 125, one after 131.

4. Two lines after 228, two after 230, one after 235, one after 236, one after 237.

gested that lines have been left out at any of these points: they are simply gaps left in the texts in Trapp's edition. But if the conventional stemma were valid, these missing lines could only be described as lacunas, with reference to the predicted text of  $\alpha$ . What else may they be called, in a passage of which half is attested by EZ and the other half by GZ? It seems to me impossible to examine pages 98-9 of Trapp's edition - which include this passage - without concluding that there are only two conceivable explanations: either there has been a compilation, or Z reflects the approximate shape of  $\alpha$ , so that E and G must be cut into pieces by lacunas, as Trapp has divided them in printing his text. There is no possibility of compromise, whether based on the doctrines of oral poetry or on the variations of a demotic textual tradition.

On this basis, there are at least a hundred «lacunas» in each of E and G which have remained unnoticed by previous editors and writers of textual corrections, where these versions have omitted lines from  $\alpha$ . Such cases are easy to find. Take, for example, any gap in Trapp's text of G at a point where E and Z have similar lines. Examine the relationship of GZ in lines just before and just after the gap. Very often it is immediately obvious that a passage of agreement between GZ has been broken, more or less cleanly, by a sequence of lines where Z agrees with E. Usually all three texts read quite normally and convincingly, and no textual changes would be suspected before the versions were carefully analysed. But what can the gap in G represent, by the conventional stemma, if not a lacuna?

Furthermore, of the hundreds of lacunas I have mentioned, there are large numbers linked together in a striking way. At least 36 times, by my counting<sup>1</sup>, the end of a lacuna in E corresponds almost exactly to the beginning of a new lacuna in G, or *vice versa*. A further 51 examp-

---

1. Z 318-9=G 142, E 18; Z 334-5=G 150, E 32; Z 350-1=E 48, G 159; Z 367-8=G 175, E 55; Z 380-1=G 185, E 63; Z 381-2=E 63, G 186; Z 402-3=G 202, E 78; Z 423-4=E 106, G 209; Z 455-6=E 131, G 237; Z 463-4=E 136, G 243; Z 718-9=G 453, E 315; Z 737-8=G 469, E 329; Z 1090-1=E 551, G 807; Z 1355-6=E 663, G 1027; Z 1383-4=G 1056, E 666; Z 1386-7=G 1058, E 668; Z 1393-4=G 1060, E 673; Z 1395-6=E 674, G 1061; Z 1790-1=G 1346, E 803; Z 1804-5=G 1350, E 821; Z 1986-7=G 1572, E 919; Z 2013-4=G 1577, E 945; Z 2053-4=E 975, G 1627; Z 2058-9=E 977, G 1630; Z 2065-6=G 1638, E 981; Z 2067-8=E 982, G 1639; Z 2147-8=G 1739, E 1021; Z 2151-2=E 1023, G 1742; Z 2179-80=G 1766, E 1041; Z 2190-1=E 1049, G 1771; Z 2228-9=E 1069, G 1862; Z 2236-7=E 1073, G 1864; Z 2942-3=G 2498, E 1182; Z 2945-6=E 1184, G 2499; Z 3302-3=G 2759, E 1375; Z 3352-3=G 2811, E 1412.

les give a similar picture<sup>1</sup>, made less precise by vagueness of wording or an extra line of transition. Thus we are asked to believe in a coincidence which has appeared before in this discussion, that the text of  $\alpha$  has in each case been divided so neatly between E and G that there is almost no gap in the lines to which they witness, nor yet much overlap between them.

In a few cases, most of them given above, it could be suggested that there is a motive for the division of the text of  $\alpha$  into two distinct branches. In the speech quoted above, for example, where the oldest of the emir's future brothers-in-law tells him about their family tree, any hyparchetype common to all the surviving versions must have provided contradictory information about the family of Digenis' grandfather.  $\alpha$  must have claimed that he was descended from both the Kinanmoi and the Doukai. If this were so, it would not be surprising that two textual branches should each choose to preserve one half of the contradiction and to ignore the other. But most of the passages listed here correspond more closely to the situation in the five-line passage above which I put together out of E and G. Here  $\alpha$  would seem to have been unified, if a little diffuse, and there is no obvious reason for the division into two distinct textual branches. The lack of overlap between E and G in these cases can only be ascribed to chance.

There is no point in prolonging this discussion, or enlarging any further upon the absurdity of the hypotheses which it is examining. It so happens that here the most reasonable and economical assump-

---

1. Z 342-3=E 42, G 155; Z 360-1=G 168, E 53; Z 361-2=E 53, G 170; Z 368-9=E 55, G 176; Z 369-70=G 176, E 56; Z 370-1=E 56, G 177; Z 408-9=G 204, E 85; Z 411-3=E 87, G 205; Z 432-3=G 218, E 107; Z 442-3=E 122, G 229; Z 443-4=G 229, E 123; Z 446-7=E 125, G 231; Z 454-5=G 236, E 131; Z 456-7=G 237, E 132; Z 467-8=G 246, E 137; Z 649-50=G 410, E 285; Z 662-3=G 420, E 295; Z 664-5=E 297, G 422; Z 680-1=G 436, E 299; Z 682-3=E 300, G 437; Z 683-4=G 437, E 301; Z 692-4=E 308, G 440; Z 738-9=E 329, G 470; Z 827-8=G 546, E 399; Z 1051-4=E 548, G 769-70; Z 1086-8=G 806, E 549; Z 1351-3=G 1026, E 658-9; Z 1800-2=E 818-9, G 1347-8; Z 1841-2=E 843, G 1385; Z 1865-6=E 865, G 1407; Z 1881-2=G 1422, E 876; Z 1884-6=E 880, G 1423; Z 1939-41=G 1506-7, E 893; Z 1942-3=E 894, G 1508; Z 1946-8=G 1510, E 896-7; Z 1969-70=E 913, G 1553; Z 2009-10=E 943, G 1573; Z 2012-3=E 944, G 1577; Z 2051-3=G 1625-6, E 975; Z 2086-7=E 989, G 1669; Z 2104-5=G 1700, E 993; Z 2111-3=E 999, G 1705; Z 2150-1=G 1741, E 1023; Z 2195-6=G 1774, E 1051; Z 2210-1=E 1058, G 1807; Z 2921-2=E 1165, G 2479; Z 2979-80=G 2527, E 1211; Z 3129-30=E 1286, G 2613; Z 3148-9=E 1302, G 2629; Z 3309-10=E 1392, G 2766; Z 4352-3=G 3509, E 1794.

tion about a compiler's method of work coincides with a ridiculous series of conclusions drawn from the conventional stemma. The choice between the two patterns is simple. We must assume that Z was a compiler whose eye sometimes switched directly from one of his models to the other, and reject a conventional stemma which demands hundreds of unnoticed lacunas in E and G which repeatedly coincide in their beginnings and ends.

A detailed discussion has reached a dry and uninspiring conclusion, demonstrating that one proposed stemma for *Digenis* is probably right and that the other is wrong. What are the practical consequences of this theoretical judgement?

It seems to me that Trapp, who has taken up the compilation theory and provided us with the foundations on which to base its proof, is much less reliable as a guide to its use. He has removed from the back of Akritic scholarship the confusing weight of the Z texts, by demonstrating that they represent a compilation from manuscripts like E and G, which are thus identified as twin sources of the surviving textual tradition. But then he has reimposed most of the Z material, by the highly questionable assumption that the compiler had a third source, which gave him, it seems, more direct access to the archetype than by the E-version or by the G-version<sup>1</sup>. Trapp has given a sound theoretical basis for the detailed comparison of G and E, to discover the connection between them: but he has then confused the picture by printing a stemma full of «Zwischenstufen», whose unprovable existence will impede further research<sup>2</sup>. He has provided for the first time a scientific means for the investigation of the history of the text, but in his conclusions has combined these hard-won results with others which derive from dubious assumptions about the Russian versions, the folk-songs and Z's third source<sup>3</sup>. His introduction contains much valuable material side by side with much which is unacceptable.

Among the conclusions which seem to me inevitable on the basis of the compilation theory are several which disagree completely with

---

1. Trapp, 29-33.

2. Trapp, 46; see the criticisms of Politis, Review.

3. E.g. the prologue of Z (found only in A) is ascribed to the archetype via the third source, on the evidence of two weak parallels with the Russian version and another with a folk-song (Trapp, 51). Had Trapp persisted with analysis of the Greek texts, he could have found much firmer evidence for the opposite assumption: that the prologue was composed by the redactor of Z.

those of Trapp. For example, I believe it can be proved that the compiler himself composed the so-called «astrological prologue» of his text, or at least that he did not derive it from another text of *Digenis*. Equally, I think it almost certain that the compiler had in his hands the extant text of E, rather than one of the Zwischenstufen which Trapp suggests<sup>1</sup>. But the most important result of the compilation proof will be to remove from most of the textual history of *Digenis* the aura of mystery and separateness which has prevented any serious development since the original publication of the manuscripts. This special treatment must be restricted to the problem of the origins of the E version, where Gareth Morgan has proved that oral performance, if not oral composition, has played an important part<sup>2</sup>. Elsewhere, I hope that this paper has demonstrated a textual, rather than an oral, connection between the manuscripts.

The compilation theory, by encouraging detailed textual analysis, is likely to have an unfortunate effect on the literary quality of studies of *Digenis*, which will tend to degenerate from the exciting prose of Grégoire into lists of references to manuscript differences. But there will be a major gain, more than enough to compensate for the lowering of literary standards. At last it will be possible in some cases to make definitive steps forward in investigation of the poem, to confirm some of the numerous theories proposed and to reject others. This new analytical framework will permit genuine discussion in an area of study where there has so far been little more than the stating of opposing hypotheses.

---

1. I hope to discuss both of these subjects elsewhere.

2. See p. 167 n. 2 above.