

SCRIBES AND MANUSCRIPTS OF BYZANTINE
VERNACULAR ROMANCES:
PALAEOGRAPHICAL FACTS AND EDITORIAL IMPLICATIONS*

The prevailing opinion about the scribes of manuscripts of the vernacular romances is that they were more or less uneducated and that they interfered in a «creative» way with the texts they were copying out. This opinion stems from (a) the complete irregularity in spelling, accentuation, word-division and punctuation in the codices, and (b) specific features of the romance texts, such as phonological and grammatical differences within the manuscripts of a single work, differences of vocabulary, different versions of a text with fluctuating length and differentiated imagery. Consequently, the scribes have been considered, both by Byzantinists and Neohellenists, as a category of their own, since all these phenomena present in the manuscripts have so far been discussed on an insufficient knowledge of the palaeographical and codicological facts, an approach which is detrimental to any philological and literary work. This misguided opinion about the scribes and their habits has resulted in a series of misconceptions about the nature and history of the texts¹.

In the present study we attempt to demonstrate that these scribes should be perceived as what they really were, namely professionals. Consequently, there are no reasons why they should be thought to have had working habits different from their colleagues writing religious or classical texts. In addition, we shall illustrate the results of these misconceptions on the edition and literary interpretation of the romances by using the palaeographical evidence of the rubrics. For the sake of clarity, we shall

* The present article is a revised version of a paper given at the 4th International Congress on Greek Palaeography (Oxford, August 1993). The authors would like to thank the following libraries that gave their permission to publish specimina from manuscripts in their possession: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit (Leiden), British Library (London), Biblioteca Nazionale (Naples), Oxford Bodleian Library, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna).

1. For a general discussion of these problems we refer to P. A. Agapitos & O. L. Smith, *The Study of Medieval Greek Romance: A Reassessment of Recent Work* [Opuscula graecolatina 33], Copenhagen 1992.

limit ourselves to the period from the middle of the 15th to the end of the 16th centuries, when the majority of relevant manuscripts were written².

It is probably a mere coincidence that we have only a few documented cases of well known professional scribes writing vernacular texts, but two such cases are Nicolaos Sophianos and Dimitrios Zinos³. This lack of information about the identity of the scribes should be seen also as the result of the comparative neglect that this palaeographical aspect has suffered from. Further, it should be kept in mind, when judging the small number of identifiable scribes in the manuscripts of the romances, that we are dealing with a restricted number of codices, approximately 35⁴. However this may be, a case can be made for the majority of the scribes to have worked within recognised styles and canons.

In turning now to our material, let us begin with the scribes' supposed lack of education. A closer look into the actual manuscripts proves that the scribes were not unlearned persons, and that they knew their classical grammar as well as their contemporary colleagues did. The enormous variations we referred to above are not to be ascribed to their lack of education, but to the lack of rules for the writing of the vernacular language. An excellent example is the MS Vat. Barb. gr. 172 from the late 16th century containing as its main text *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, as well as a fragment of *Livistros and Rhodamne*, written by the same scribe throughout⁵. In the learned text we see the scribe copying with significantly less errors of the above-mentioned types, whereas in the vernacular text these errors appear in the usual proportion. Here is the opening of the vernacular section on f. 2r in diplomatic transcription:

Εἴτων ἡ πρώτη φρώνεσης, καὶ εἶχεν τὸ σχήμαν τοῦτο·
 νὰ στέκεται ἡ εὐγενεὶς, καὶ τὸ ἕναν τῆς τὸ χέρειν·
 κλητὸν εἶχεν εἰς τὸ μέτόπον· καὶ ἕνα δάκτηλο δῆχνει·

2. Unfortunately, no catalogue of the manuscripts of vernacular texts has so far been made. For an incomplete and partly outdated listing of the romance manuscripts see the respective entries in H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII.2.3], Munich 1971, 117-147.

3. For these scribes see Ernst Gamillscheg – Dieter Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 1. Teil: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*, Wien 1981, A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten 69 (Zinos), 165f (Sophianos); 2. Teil: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs*, Wien 1989, A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten 66 (Zinos), 162f (Sophianos).

4. For this number see entries in Beck, *ibid.* For a list of manuscripts actually quoted in the present paper see the appendix.

5. *Codices Barberiniani Graeci II. Codices 164-281* recensuit Iosephus Mogenet (In *Bibliotheca Vaticana* 1989), 8-9. For an edition and discussion of the fragment see P. A. Agapitos, «Ἐνα ἀκόμη σπάρραγμα τοῦ μυθιστορήματος *Λιβίστρος καὶ Ροδάμνη*: ὁ βατικανὸς κώδικας Barb. gr. 172», *Ελληνικά* 43 (1993) 337-359.

τοῦ λογιμοῦ τὸ ἄπιρον τὸ ἀκέρειων φρῶνημάν της·

This should be contrasted with the following passage from the opening of the learned text on f. 5r, also in diplomatic transcription:

Μυθικὴ βίβλος ἐξινδικῆς σοφίας, πρὸς ενεχθεῖσα πρὸς περσικὴν παιδείαν· αἰ-
νιγματοδῶς, συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις· πρὸς βιωτικὴν σύντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις· ἢ
μεταβληθεῖσα πρὸς γλῶτταν τῶν ἐλλήνων· ἐξ ἀραβικοῦ, καὶ βαρβαρώδους ὕθλου·

Consequently, lack of grammatical knowledge cannot be postulated for the scribe; the explanation of these irregularities has to be sought in the nature of the language itself. Therefore, when looking at the scribes of vernacular texts, it must be kept in mind that they have the basic language education needed for their work. One might even go so far as to suggest that it is the unprofessional scribes who should be considered exceptions⁶.

To take a brief overview of the various hands represented in our material, we will begin with the Hodegon style⁷. This style can be found in the MS Naples iii. B. 27 from the end of the 15th century, which contains, among other texts, versions of the *Achilleid* and the *Imperios and Margaron*⁸. One might compare the scribe's *ductus* with the work of Ioasaph of the Θεοτόκος τῶν Ὀδηγῶν and other scribes from this scriptorium (*Pl. 1-2*)⁹. The similarity of the Naples manuscript to the general impression of the Hodegon style becomes obvious. In addition, following specific characteristics should be pointed out¹⁰: the NW-SE orientation (α, δ); majuscule α; ligatures δεξ, εξ, ρο; majuscule λ. Other characteristics of the Naples hand may be found in other representatives of the Hodegon style, as for in-

6. Such a case is, for example, the hand writing out from memory four verses from the *Livistros* in the Vat. gr. 885, f. 255v (on the whole issue see P. A. Agapitos, «Ἡ ἔμμεση παράδοσι τοῦ δημώδους μυθιστορήματος *Λίβιστρος καὶ Ροδάμνη*», *Ελληνικά* 42, 1991-92, 71-73).

7. On the Hodegon style scribes see Linos Politis, «Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὀδηγῶν», *BZ* 51 (1958) 17-36 and 261-287 with plates.

8. On the manuscript and its problems see Agapitos – Smith, 54 with n. 123 with further bibliography.

9. For further published specimens of the Hodegon style see Ruth Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands A.D. 400-1600*, Oxford 1981, pl. 59; Ernst Gamillscheg – Dieter Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 1. Teil*, Vienna 1981, C. Tafeln, no 208; Alexander Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy. Volume 2: Plates*, Urbana – Chicago – London 1972, no. 189. For the Naples manuscript see H. Schreiner, «Die einleitenden Überschriften zu den von der gleichen Hand überlieferten Texten in Cod. Neap. Gr. III. AA. 9 und Cod. Neap. Gr. III. B. 27», *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966), Tafel iv-vi.

10. For an analysis of the palaeographic characteristics of Ioasaph's style see Herbert Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 1. Teil: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*, Vienna 1981, B. Paläographische Charakteristika, 90 (no.208).

stance the large α ¹¹.

The script of the Naples codex can also be compared to Renaissance professional scribes from the so-called Cretan school, represented by such scribes as Georgios and Manuel Gregoropoulos and Thomas Bitzimanos¹².

A further example of a script containing most of the characteristics of the Hodegon style is the part of the famous MS Vienna, theol. gr. 244 from the early 16th century, preserving on ff. 227r-245r the *Belisarios* (*Pl. 3*)¹³. Similar is the hand found in the Par. gr. 2910 from the early 16th century, transmitting *Livistros and Rhodamne*, and which, though presenting certain characteristics of its own¹⁴, is still within the Hodegon style¹⁵. A less florid variation of the style may be seen in the MS Naples iii. Aa. 9 from the early 16th century, containing among other a version of the *Livistros*, the *Historia Ptochleontos* and *Sachlikis*¹⁶. Mention should also be made of the first part of the Par. gr. 2898, dated to 1500, transmitting the Greek translation of Boccaccio's *Theseid*¹⁷, as well as the MS London, British Library Add. 8241 probably from the late 15th century, containing versions of the *Achilleid* and *Florios* (*Pl. 4*)¹⁸.

For the humanist cursive hands that become dominant in the late 15th and early 16th centuries¹⁹, we may give two examples from the al-

11. See Politis, pl. 24 (Ioannes Plousiadenos).

12. For specimina of these scribes see Gamillscheg – Harlfinger, op. cit., no 58 (Georgios Gregoropoulos), 141 (Bitzimanos), 249 (Manuel Gregoropoulos).

13. Until the publication of the Vienna catalogue of the *theologici graeci*, we may refer to Agapitos – Smith, 68 n. 167 and 93 n. 233 for the manuscript.

14. The script of the Paris codex is much more irregular and less well spaced. The almost complete absence of the majuscule alpha is a further difference.

15. For a description of the manuscript see M. Chatzigiakoumis, *Τὰ μεσαιωνικά δημόδια κείμενα. Συμβολή στη μελέτη και την έκδοσή τους. Α': Λίβιστρος, Καλλίμαχος, Βέλθανδρος*, Athens 1977, 60-63, and specimina of the hand op. cit., pl. ii-iii.

16. The codex has been described by Chatzigiakoumis, op. cit., 44-46 (with pl. vi-vii), and more recently by G. Spadaro, «Testi medievali greci in demotico tramandati in codici napoletani», *Italoellenica* 1 (1988) 49-74. Spadaro strangely follows Schreiner in identifying the scribe of the codex with the scribe of the other famous Naples vernacular manuscript iii. B. 27. For a discussion of the hand in iii. Aa. 9 and Schreiner's theory see Agapitos – Smith, 54 n. 123.

17. For a description and dating of the manuscript see Birgit Olsen, «The Greek Translation of Boccaccio's *Theseid* Book 6», *CIMed* 41 (1990) 281. For specimina of the manuscript see E. Follieri, «Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del cinquecento», *Contributi alla Storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*, Firenze 1969, 119-164, fig. 8 and 9.

18. For a summary description see O. L. Smith, «The Byzantine *Achilleid*. Texts and Manuscripts» in: Hans Eideneier (ed.), *Neograeca Medii Aevi. Text und Ausgabe. Akten zum Symposium Köln 1986*, Cologne 1987, 315-324, and Agapitos – Smith, 67 n. 165.

19. The development of Greek bookhands in this period has now been summarily analysed by Dieter Harlfinger, «Zu griechischen Kopisten und Schriftstilen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts», in: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine, Paris 21-25 octobre 1974* [Colloques inter-

ready mentioned Vienna, theol. gr. 244, a manuscript written by several scribes. The scribe who wrote the *Poulologos* (ff. 84r-89v) writes in a sort of transitional style between the formal Hodegon style and the humanist cursive²⁰. Further removed from a formal script style, we have the scribe writing out the *Florios* part on ff. 211r-222v (*Pl. 5*).

Another example of a transitional style is the hand of the scribe of the vernacular part (ff. 22r-213v) of the famous Escorial Ψ. iv. 22 from the late 15th century²¹, containing the E versions of *Digenis* and *Livistros*, as well as the *Poulologos*, *Porikologos* and *Psarologos*²². This transitional style can in certain respects be compared to the early *ductus* of Ioannes Rhosos²³.

On the other hand, as examples of typical humanist writing from the 16th century we have manuscripts like the Vat. Pal. gr. 426 transmitting the *Theseid*, written probably in the hand of Dimitrios Zinos (*Pl. 9*)²⁴. Another case is the hand of the already mentioned Vat. Barb. gr. 172, who writes in a style similar to the scribe Hierotheos from the end of the 16th century (*Pl. 6*)²⁵.

Finally, mention should be made of less calligraphic humanist hands, like, for instance, the Leiden, Scalig. 55 from the first quarter of the 16th century transmitting *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* and the S version of *Livistros*, the Vat. gr. 2391 from the first half of the 16th century, containing the V version of *Livistros*²⁶, and the Oxford codex of the *Achilleid* Auct. T. 5. 24²⁷.

It has become obvious, even from this brief presentation, that the

nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 559], Paris 1977, 327-362.

20. Specimen of this hand can be seen in Isavella Tsavari, *‘Ο Πουολόγος. Κριτική έκδοση με εισαγωγή, σχόλια και λεξιλόγιο* [Βυζαντινή και Νεοελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη 5], Athens 1987, unnumbered plate at the end of the book.

21. For the date see Agapitos – Smith, 29 n. 53.

22. For a summary description with extensive bibliography on E see Helma Winterwerb (ed.), *Porikologos* [Neograeca Medii Aevi 7], Cologne 1992, 88-89. For specimina of the manuscript see Chatzigiakoumis, op. cit., pl. viii-ix.

23. For a specimen of Rhosos's hand (dated 1457) see Harlfinger, op. cit., 346 Abb. 5. For basic information about Ioannes Rhosos see Gamillscheg – Harlfinger, op. cit., A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten, 104-105 no. 178.

24. On the identification with Zinos see Agapitos – Smith, 71 n. 176.

25. For Hierotheos see Gamillscheg – Harlfinger, op. cit., no. 152.

26. For both manuscripts see Chatzigiakoumis, op. cit., 35-37 and 80-81 with pl. iv-v and x-xi respectively.

27. The second scribe in this MS also wrote Oxford, Auct. T. 5. 20 and Auct. T. 5. 21. For a specimen see S. Lambros, *Collection des romans grecs*, Paris 1880, facsimile of Auct. T. 5. 20, f. 1v-2r. The additions in the reprint of Coxe's catalogue do not mention the *Achilleid* MS as being partly in the same hand, probably because the existence of two hands in the MS was overlooked.

manuscripts of the vernacular romances are to be placed firmly within the context of professional manuscript production of their time. The attempt, therefore, to explain the specific features of the texts by referring to scribal practices peculiar to these manuscripts cannot stand. One such feature is the rubrics which have been thought to be later additions composed by the scribes as redactors of the texts²⁸, and, therefore, omitted by some editors as not being integral parts of the texts²⁹. In order to expose this fundamental methodological error, we will proceed to analyse this question in more detail.

The rubrics in the manuscripts of the vernacular romances are headings written in red ink by the text scribes in their usual *ductus* and embedded in the text³⁰. They vary in length from one half-verse to maximum three lines³¹; they are mostly in 15-syllable verse, although sometimes they are in prose.

Such rubrics can be found in all extant manuscripts of the vernacular romances, except for one case, the manuscript Par. gr. 2909 from the first half of the 16th century, containing *Belthandros*, *Belisarios A*, *Sachlikis*, *Spaneas*, *Halosis Konstantinoupoleos* and *Thanatikon tes Rhodou*³². In the *Belthandros* text we find only the rubricated title and an introductory five-line prose rubric on f. 1r, as well as the two verses ending the prologue (vv. 23-24) written out in red ink on f. 3r. This suggests that originally there were rubrics in the text, but that they were omitted, either by the scribe himself or by his exemplar, in order to make the appearance of the *Belthandros* consistent with the other texts which never had any rubrics³³. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that the rubrics are as a rule

28. For the most recent formulation of this opinion see R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 6], Cambridge 1989, 102 in connection with his discussion of the *Kallimachos*. For discussion of and reference to older literature see further P. A. Agapitos, *Narrative Structure in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances. A Textual and Literary Study of Kallimachos, Belthandros and Libistros* [Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 34], Munich 1991, 96 n. 157.

29. For example, D. C. Hesseling, *L'Achilleide byzantine publiée avec une introduction, des observations et un index* [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeling Letterkunde, N.R. 19.3], Amsterdam 1919, or E. Kriaras, *Βυζαντινά ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα* [Βασική Βιβλιοθήκη 2], Athens 1955, both of whom relegate the rubrics, while not even reporting all of them, to their respective apparatuses.

30. In some cases there is an attempt by the scribe to employ a more formal mode of writing, thus giving an impression slightly different from the main text (see, for example, Naples iii. B. 27, f. 76r, reproduced in Schreiner, *op. cit.*, Tafel xxix).

31. An extraordinary exception is the six-line rubric found in the N version of the *Achilleid* after l. 20.

32. For a description of the manuscript see Chatzigiakoumis, *op. cit.*, 213-215.

33. The fact that vv. 23-24 are written in red ink is not mentioned by Kriaras. These two verses, however, are not a rubric. Coming at the end of the prologue, they signal in the form of

written in the text column; in one case alone can they be found in the margin, namely in the Vat. gr. 2391 of the *Livistros*³⁴. Of course, it happens from time to time either that rubrics are written out in black ink as if they were part of the narrative text proper, or that one or two lines of the narrative text proper appear in red ink. Here is an indicative example of a rubric written in black ink, from *Livistros* N 268-271. The manuscript transmits verses 270a-b in black ink, although it is obvious that they form a rubric. Because of that they were omitted by Wagner in the *editio princeps* of this version³⁵:

Καὶ μὲ τὰς τόσας τὰς πολλὰς ἐρωτονουθεσίας
 ὀκάμποτε εἰς τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἤλθαμε τὴν κατοῦνα
 270 καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐσέβημεν τῆς Ἐρωτοκρατείας.
 270a Ὁ Λίβιστρος εἰς ὕπνον του τὰς χάριτας τὰς εἶδεν
 270b καταλεπτὸν ἐκφράσσει τας καὶ λέγει τας μετὰ πόνου.
 Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰς πόρτας τῆς αὐλῆς ἐφάνη μου ὀκάτις...

As an example of a verse from the narrative text proper written in red ink we refer to the *Achilleid* N 1080-1084:

ἔτρεμεν ἡ καρδία του βλέπων τοσοῦτον κάλλος,
 περιλαμβάνει τὴν γλυκειά, συχνοκαταφιλεῖ τὴν,
 καὶ ἡ κόρη τὸν νεώτερον ἐπεριπλάκην τον.
 1082a ἠῦρεν καιρὸν τὸν ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὁ μέγας
 πλὴν οὐκ ἐθέλησεν ποσῶς τὸν ἔρωταν πληρῶσαι,
 ἵνα μὴ πάλιν γένηται θερμότερος ὁ πόθος.

In the manuscript line 1082a has been written in red ink, although

an authorial intervention the shift into the main narrative. This is part of a convention, as can be seen from the parallel cases in *Kallimachos* 23 and *Livistros* N 25-26. In the latter texts these verses are followed by rubrics indicating the rhetorical device used (*Kal.* 24, *Liv.* N 26a), a fact which suggests that such a rubric existed in *Belthandros*, but was omitted and substituted by the red ink verses of the narrative text proper.

34. There are a few regular rubrics in the text proper, and the marginal rubrics were added when the scribe for some reason found out that he wanted to mark with initial capital letter the beginning of the sections. One might guess that he either had rubrics in his *Vorlage* but started out after the first one at the beginning to omit them, and then at a later stage when he revised his work, he decided to include rubrics. They have clearly been added as an afterthought in all sorts of places.

35. See W. Wagner, *Trois poèmes grecs du Moyen-Age*, Berlin 1881. Jacoba A. Lambert, *Le roman de Libistros et Rhodamné publié d'après les manuscrits de Leyde et de Madrid avec une introduction, des observations grammaticales et un glossaire* [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeling Letterkunde, N.R. 35], Amsterdam 1935, included the rubric, as well as a transcription error of Hesselings's, since she used his material instead of the actual manuscript. We quote the passage directly from N.

the sense of the passage clearly shows that the line must be regarded as part of the main narrative³⁶. These inversions prove that the exemplars used by the scribes contained the rubrics in the text column. Further confirmation can be had from the observation that scribes will leave blank spaces to be filled out in red ink and forget to finish their work, as it has happened, for example, in the case of the MS Par. suppl. gr. 926 containing the *Byzantine Iliad*³⁷. Here, the text of the rubrics practically disappears after f. 12v³⁸. All of this concurs with the Medieval concept of page lay-out, where any heading appearing in the text column was considered an integral part of the transmitted text.

A further indication that the rubrics are an organic part of the romance text is the fact that when a romance is transmitted in more than one manuscript, the rubrics consistently appear in the same place. An excellent example is *Livistros and Rhodamne* that has come down to us in three versions, namely α (=S N P), E and V respectively³⁹. In version α the rubrics appear only in the first half of the text, but consistently in the same place. In the other two versions the rubrics appear throughout the text, in the first part of which they are still at the same positions as in version α . This suggests that the redactors (and not the scribes)⁴⁰ of the other two versions felt the need to include rubrics, exactly because they were considered an indispensable part of the text.

At this point in our argument we want to emphasise a fact that has so

36. In his edition, Hesselung put line 1082a in the apparatus, regarding it as a rubric, thus distorting the meaning of this central episode. For a discussion of the implications see O. L. Smith, «Some Features of Structure and Narrative in the *Byzantine Achilleid*», *Ελληνικά* 42 (1991-92) 89. For further examples of these types of inversion in copying the text see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure*, 97 n. 159.

37. On the manuscript see Renata Lavagnini, *I fatti di Troia. L'Iliade bizantina del cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 926*. Introduzione, traduzione e note [Quaderni dell'Istituto di Filologia Greca della Università di Palermo 20], Palermo 1988, 17-26.

38. A further example is fragment W of *Livistros*, where the scribe started copying out the text at the beginning of a new gathering, leaving space for the ornamental bar, the title rubric and the initial capital, but broke off his work. On the question see Agapitos, «Ἐμμεση παράδοση», 62-65.

39. On the three versions and their manuscripts see P. A. Agapitos, «*Libistros und Rhodamne*: Vorläufiges zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der Version α », *JÖB* 42 (1992) 191-208, and id., *Narrative Structure*, 28-36.

40. In order to avoid misunderstandings, we should emphasize that the redactor may of course be identical with the scribe, as, for example, in the case of the *Theseid* in Vat. Pal. gr. 426 where Zinos as redactor wrote out the text to be printed in the 1529 chapbook edition. The important point to be held in mind, however, is that we have no evidence that the scribes consciously edited the text they were copying. The work of a redactor is to be sharply distinguished from the copying of the professional scribe, and we think that a redactor can be seen behind not only the peculiar versions of the *Livistros*, but also the N and L versions of the *Achilleid*.

far passed unnoticed: rubrics of the same character are extant in all manuscripts transmitting the learned verse romances of Theodoros Prodromos and Niketas Eugeneianos, the older class of which manuscripts belongs to the 13th and 14th centuries⁴¹, long before any preserved manuscript of the vernacular romances was written⁴². Therefore, we can be absolutely certain that the rubrics were an accepted feature of the genre. In this connection, it is interesting to note that no rubrics are to be found in the extant manuscripts transmitting the various versions of the *Digenis Akritis* and the *Belisarios*. This is presumably a genre distinction between «erotic» and «epic» narratives. In addition, the adaptations of Western romances, as e.g. *Imperios and Margarona* and *Florios and Platziaflora*, had been supplied with rubrics, now only partly extant and omitted in the standard modern edition⁴³. The inclusion of rubrics continues even in the printed texts of the 16th century, for example, in the first edition (1529) of the rhymed version of the vernacular Alexander romance⁴⁴.

The integral nature of the rubrics established, we want to take a brief look at their function. They basically serve three purposes: aesthetical, practical and literary.

Obviously, the aesthetical purpose of the rubrics is to offer a simple decoration to the text. This is achieved in two ways. First, elaborate rubrics will open and close the text; often at the beginning of the text they will stand below horizontal ornamental bars in the form of intertwined tree branches and knotted ropes⁴⁵. In some cases, one finds more elaborate *campi* that may cover as much as one third of the written space⁴⁶. At the end of the text the scribe will often give a different lay-out to the page by shaping the text in the form of a cross or a clepsydra, in which cases the

41. These are Venice, Marc. gr. 412 (13th c.), Vat. gr. 121 (13th c.), Heidelberg, Pal. gr. 43 (14th c.). For standard editions of the two romances see *Theodori Prodromi de Rhodantes et Dosiclis amoribus libri IX* edidit Miroslaus Marcovich, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1992, and Nicetas Eugeneianos, *De Drosillae et Chariclis amoribus* edidit Fabricius Conca [London Studies in Classical Philology 24], Amsterdam 1990.

42. None of the extant manuscripts can be securely dated before the fall of Constantinople. The earliest datable manuscript is the vernacular part, and only this part, of the Escorial Ψ. iv. 22, which has watermarks most probably dated a. 1485 (see Agapitos – Smith, 29 n. 53).

43. For rubrics in the *Florios* see Agapitos – Smith, 68-69; for rubrics in the *Imberios* see Kriaras's apparatus at 188, 483 (partly in Italian), 585 etc. On the question «adaptation versus translation» see Agapitos – Smith, 65-72.

44. David Holton, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. The Tale of Alexander. The Rhymed Version. Critical Edition with an Introduction and Commentary* [Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 1], Thessaloniki 1974, 52-53, discusses the rubrics most sensibly, but then, under the burden of the *communis opinio*, he proceeds to relegate them to the apparatus.

45. For specimina see Schreiner, op. cit., Tafel xxviii and xxxi.

46. See Schreiner, op. cit., Tafel xxix.

closing rubric will sometimes form the basis of the figure (*Pl. 7-8*)⁴⁷. Second, the rubrics embedded in the main text create a varying alteration of black/brown and red, especially when combined with the initial capital that opens each new section. The Paris manuscript of the *Livistros*, to mention but one example, includes initial letters written in red for each verse; since the text is written out as prose, the red letters appear interspersed in the text column, giving an extremely vivid impression⁴⁸. Another use of the initial red letter can be seen in the Naples manuscript of the *Livistros*, where, the text having been written as verse, the red letters appear along the left margin, creating a more formal impression⁴⁹.

Beyond the aesthetic aspect, the rubrics serve two specific practical purposes; they provide the reader with an optical impression of the general structure of the text, while serving at the same time as a guide in the search for specific passages.

Last, but surely the most important, is the literary function. At their basic, the rubrics, either in prose or in verse, will give a brief description of the section to follow, be it a summary of the main plot element or an indication of the rhetorical device used. As prose examples we may refer to *Florios* after line 110 (Brit. Libr. Add. 8251, f. 81v) *κάθεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα νὰ παρηγοροῦν τὴν κόρην*, or *Kallimachos* 348a Pich. Ἐκφρασις τοῦ καμινίου. For examples in verse, see *Ach.* 614a Hess. Ἐσέμπηκεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν, or *Livistros* S 864 Lamb. Πολύθλιβον, πολύπονον πιττάκιν τοῦ Λιβίστρου.

For our purpose, the most significant type of rubric is the one that gives information to the reader not to be found elsewhere in the text, or that is indispensable for the understanding of the development of the plot. As an example of a rubric providing new information, we refer to the *Achilleid* 1267ab Hess. Λόγους παραπονετικούς τῆς κόρης Πολυξένης / στὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα τὸν φοβερόν, τὸν δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν. The name of the female protagonist is not mentioned anywhere else in the text. In the *Byzantine Iliad* 199ff we find a rubric that gives information indispensable for the plot. In the scene where the companions of Paris are about to give him their oath of loyalty, he addresses them, but there is no speech-frame formula giving the name of the speaker (the rubric is printed in italics): καὶ ὅλοι ὀρθοὶ ἐστάθησαν ὡς ἔπρεπεν ἀξίως / καὶ προσκυνοῦν τὸν πάραυτα ὡς φυσικὸν αὐθέντη.

47. The cross form can be found in Hodegon-style manuscripts; see, for example, Nigel Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Hands. Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pl. 71.

48. See Chatzigiakoumis, op. cit., pl. iii, where, however, the black and white reproduction gives a somewhat false impression.

49. See Schreiner, op. cit., Tafel xxviii, and Chatzigiakoumis, op. cit., pl. vi.

/ Λόγοι Πάρι πρὸς τοὺς νέους ἐκείνους. / συντρόφοι μου καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συνα-
νάθροφοί μου κλπ. Without the rubric, the reader would not know who
speaks⁵⁰.

A further category are rubrics that give clear information about the structure of the text. An extraordinary example is the chapter division provided by rubrics in the *Livistros*, a chapter division connected with the external temporal structure of the text⁵¹.

Coming to the end of this brief presentation and summing up the results of our research, we believe to have established the following: (1) vernacular manuscripts are not different from other, (2) the scribes did what all scribes were expected to do, namely copy their exemplar, (3) the current opinion about «creative» scribal interference, exemplified in the problem of the rubrics, must be rejected. There can be no doubt, we think, that our results, based as they are on incontrovertible palaeographical and codicological arguments, should have serious consequences: from now on, any editorial or interpretative attempt in the field of the vernacular romances will have to be placed on a completely new basis.

APPENDIX: *List of manuscripts quoted*

Escorial, Ψ. iv. 22, c. 1485

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Scaligeranus 55, first quarter of 16th c.

London, British Library, Additional 8241, late 15th c.?

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, iii. Aa. 9, early 16th c.

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, iii. B. 27, late 15th c.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. 5. 24, 16th c.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus gr. 2898, c. 1500

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus gr. 2909, first half of 16th c.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus gr. 2910, early 16th c.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément gr. 926, 16th c.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Vaticanus gr. 2214, 16th c.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Vaticanus gr. 2391, first half of the 16th c.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Barberinianus gr. 172, late 16th c.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Palatinus gr. 426, first quarter of 16th c.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, theol. gr. 244, early 16th c.

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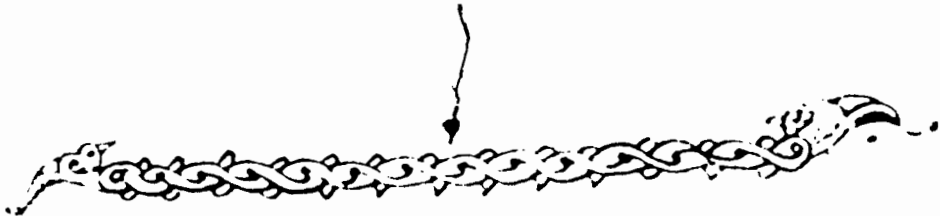
50. For a more detailed discussion of the literary typology of the rubrics see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure*, 95-103.

51. For a full discussion see Agapitos, *Narrative Structure*, 269-271.

δεκάτου γούροι· οὕτως δ' ἄντα πεκρίθ ποδὲ κ' ἄ
 νηστίεσιν συμβουλήσ· καλὴ δ' ἔμα ἡ στρατιωτικὴ
 ἀρχὸν τῶν ἑβουλήσασ· ἀλλὰ γινέωμ καὶ δ' ἴωα
 τοῦ δ' ἐμα ἐργον τοῦτομ· τοῖς ἀμίσχυροις καὶ
 σαθροῖς δέδωται τὸ ὄζ' ἀφ' ἡμης· εἰ γὰρ καὶ νίκ^{ος}
 ποιήσω μὲν δ' ἐβ' ἡ τροπὴ μασ θ' ἄναι· ἀπήσασιν
 πέντε συμβουλήν ἡ μὲν φανὰ τοῖς δ' ὄσοιω·
 τρεῖς ἀλλοιὰ ἀλλά γ' αἰσὸν τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ τὸ καθ'
 ἄπο ἑκατόν· εἰχθὲν καβαλαρίοις· ἑπτοὺ ἀχιλέως
 δ' ὡδεκαεῖσιν τοῦ πολέμου ἀλάμα· ἀπο τρεῖ
 ἀκομτασ ερρῶν γ' ἐνέωμ πολεμαρχῶν· καὶ ἐκείνοσ
 με τοῖς δ' ὡδεκα πάλιν ἀλάμα ἀλάμ· τὸ φουσα
 τομ τὸ Γερον μ' ἀσέκεται ὄζ' ὄχος·
 κίνησὸν μασιωτικὴ καλῶν τακτικὰ δ' ἄνδ' ὀρωμ' ἄ· δ'
 φού το ὄρνεο μ' ἐκράζ' ἐν ἐκ τοῦ κατουμο τὸ πημ· ἑ
 πρὸς τὸ ἡλιο ἀμ' ἀτελμα πηλίσια ἄλου σὶν τὸ κάστρον·
 αἰ βίγλας τοῖς ἐβ' ἡσὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου·
 καὶ ὑπ' ἄσιν δ' ἐμε τ' ἀσπυδ' ἡς μεγάλης· λέγωω
 τ' ἀσυχάρικια· φουσα τὸν ἰδω μὲν πολίτησ κί
 π' ὄ μὲν ὀμ' ἀσέκαμτομ· καὶ πρ' ὀβ' ἡ θείαν ἐξ' ἔχ' τ'
 τοῦ τοῦ τ' κασπυδίου·
 ὄρ' ὄ ὡρ' ἑ ζει ὄ βασιλάε, μ' ἀρ' ἡ αὐτῶ θ' ὄ φουσα τ'
 ὡρ' ἑ ζει ἀλάμα θωμ αὐτ' ἑ ἀκόσ' ἑ ἀπ' ἡ μ' ἑ τ' ἑ

ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἑπίσκοπον· ἐπίσκοπος· πρὸς τὸν ἑπίσκοπον·

Δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν λαόν·
 ὅς κ' προσφίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἑμὲ
 τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὅτι το αὐτὸ δὲ ἀρ' ἡμεῖς καὶ
 ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀνεβαίνομεν τοῖς ἑσπέραις, ὅτι τῆς ἡμέρας
 τῆς προσευχῆς τῆς βράστης· καὶ τὸς ἀμνηστῶν
 ἐκκοιχίας ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχῶν, ἐμαστὰς βίος·
 ὅς φίθει καθ' ἑμὲ, πρὸς τῆς θύρας τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 τῆς ἀποστολῆς ἡμεῖς· τοῦ αἰτίου ἐλεημοσύνης,
 παρὰ τῶν ἑσπέραις σωζομένων ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἑσπέραις· ὅς
 ἰδὼν ἡμεῖς τὸν ἑπίσκοπον ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς, κρῖν τὰ ἐλεημοσύνης· ἀποστολῆς
 δὲ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτὸν σὺν τῶν ἡμεῖς, ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς· ὅς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς· πρὸς
 δὲ κῆτι παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς· ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς·
 ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς· ὅς δὲ
 ἡμεῖς· τὸν ἑπίσκοπον ἡμεῖς· ἐν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς, ἡμεῖς καὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς· ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
 τῆς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς, ἡμεῖς· ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ αἰβλάς καὶ τὰ ἡμεῖς· ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς καὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς· ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς· ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς· ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς ὅλος ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς τὰ ἡμεῖς· ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν· ὅτι οὗτος
 ἡμεῖς πρὸς τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης καθ' ἑμὲ ὅτι τῆς



Δὴ γὰρ ἔρασε τὴν τοῦ θαυμαστῆ
 ἰατρικῆς τοῦ ἀρχαίου βιβλίου.
 • θαυμαστὴν παρὰ λόγον ἰσομφορὰν
 γὰρ ἐλύθη ἀπαράλατος
 ὁ δὲ κἀὶ πικρία • βῆτην
 μετὰ τὴν ῥομαίω τὸν κροῦτ' ἐκίη •
 βασιλέως σίου τριανού μηδίου αὐτο
 κρατάρ • καὶ ἦν ὁ φθόμος πλεῖστος
 ἐς τοὺς ῥωμαίους ἐσέβη • ἐπὶ αὐτῷ
 πάντας ἰζαρχῆς • ὁ φθόμος οὐκ ἐλύ
 τῆν • ἐς βασιλεῖς ἐσέβηται πλοῦ
 τῶν ἐκείνους • χῆρες καὶ κα
 αρεῖ δούλοισιν αἰγῶνται τῶν ἀνῶν •
 αἰετῶν τοῦ φθόμου τοῦ πολοῦ ἐχάσαν
 τὴν ἡμέραν • ἰστον ὁ καπτός θαυμα
 στὸς ἐξ ἡμέρας ἀνδρῶν κτήσας •
 ἐπιστάτος ὁ νόματι τῆ δόξα τῶν ῥωμαίων •

ἔκαστος ἐκαστοῦ ἑμοῦ
 ἔσθαι μακρόν το· ὅταν μὰ θεῶν
 μάλουσιν ἕψαι μασηκὴ κόρη
 τίς ἐμεῖο πού μιν ὀυαση γὰρ πῆ
 ἔσθαι γὰρ τῆ· ὁ λογισμὸς τρομα
 στή το τα γὰρ φαι καὶ ἕγρωσα
 τὸ πῶς γὰρ τῆ τα κατὰ τοῦ
 τρού ἐκεί μου πορφύρου χρουσο
 μαρ μερον ἔκαμε σπῆν τρού λω
 με ἔσθαι σφύρου καὶ σφῆρου, καὶ
 ἔμορφουσ αἰ μαρ ἄρδουο·
 τὰ πλάρα καὶ κίττι θεσῆ, ὅ τῆ μ
 πορῶ γὰ τα ἐπαινέσω ὅ ταν το
 ἔκαστος ἐφῆκα ἔκαστος ἐφῆκα ἔκαστος
 το το καμῆν ἕκαστος ἐφῆκα ἔκαστος
 ζυλαπῶδες καὶ το θερμορῶδες

+ πείτιω δὲ δὲ ἀγέτω -
 Ἐἴ ποτε κίρῳ τοῦ φάριος καὶ ἴχθυος ἔχρημασθῆτο. τὰς βλάστησιν ἔλατο. ἢ τὸ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα
 ἴχθυος τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα
 τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα
 τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα -

Ἐἴ ποτε κίρῳ τοῦ φάριος καὶ ἴχθυος ἔχρημασθῆτο

Ἐἴ ποτε κίρῳ τοῦ φάριος καὶ ἴχθυος ἔχρημασθῆτο. τὰς βλάστησιν ἔλατο. ἢ τὸ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα
 ἴχθυος τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα
 τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα
 τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα τὸ κίρῳ ἢ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔχρημα -

Ἐἴ ποτε κίρῳ τοῦ φάριος καὶ ἴχθυος ἔχρημασθῆτο

Ἐἴ ποτε κίρῳ τοῦ φάριος καὶ ἴχθυος ἔχρημασθῆτο

Plate 6. Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Barberinianus gr. 172, f. 2r.

παρακαλεί ο ἀχιλλεύς τὸν ἑρῶτα μὲν ἰοῦ μετὰ
 ἔρωτος ποῦ τὰ πόδες σου τὰ ἔδωκεν ἐμένα· ἔ
 ἔρωτος πόνη δὲ δῶκα μὲν τὴν ἔδειξες ἔμμενα,
 παρακαλῶ ἄστυ τὸ μὲν, φθάσον ὡς πρὸς τὴν
 κόρην· καὶ βάλα εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τὴν ἄμην
 ἔδῃ κλήμου· πόθον καὶ πόρον βαπορεῖν ἄεν
 θυμῷ ἔμμενα· μάλα θείκα τὴν δῶκα μὲν ἔ
 τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν ἔχει· καὶ μάλα ἀρσζομέβε
 ται πρὸς τὸ ποταμὸν ἄκρως· ταῦτα τὰ ῥοῖ
 ἀχίλλεῦ ὄχιλλε μετὰ δακρύων· εἰς τὸν φθικτὴν
 τὸν θωμάσων τὸν ἑρῶτα τὸν μέγα· ἔρε
 χαν τὰ ὠμμά τῃ τῆσιν ὡς τρέχει τὸ ποταμὸν·
 καὶ ἔσθον εἰς τὴν κλήμω τὸν ἀμείαθητος κα
 θόλου· τρέχουσιν οἱ ἄρουροι τοῦ καίθωνε
 φέρουσιν τὸν· λέγουσιν τὴν ἔχον δῶκα τὴν
 τὴν ἔχον τὸ σε φάνει· ἐκείνος οὐκ ἔσθον τὴν
 μάλα ὄμοιοι· +

παραδοξά βαζιλικῶν σου πύλα βοσίου
 ἔκρη δὲ τὸ ἀειλιμὸν, ὡρὰν ἀπὸ τὸν ὄμα· εἰς
 τὰς σκιάς ἄειρεν τὸν ἔσθον δένδρον ἀποκέτω·
 καὶ γύρω θήσιν εἰσεκαμάβα ἰτῆσιν ὄλας· ὄ
 λας καλαῖς διγλυκαῖς ἀρχῶν τῶν θυγατέρων·
 ἔρε τὴν πύλασιν ἰσχυροῦ δῶκα ἀπαραδοξάσιν· τὸ

κίφιλοφρονοσάμενος αὐτοῦσ' οὐκ ἀφ' ἑώρα·
 μοῖραν τὴν ἀστρατηγικὴν ὀρίσθη τοῦ
 βουσάτου τόματους ἀποσω
 σουσιν ἐν θῶδ' κίβ' ὀλι
 θώσιν τὴν ἴσ' ὀδρα
 κερτόκαπρονχοί
 ποί, ὀδὸν κρα
 τουσ' ἠδο
 μικάται
 τρέχ' ὀ
 σιν
 κίμετ' ἔχουθε
 ρίαις μετὰ τὴν κίβ'
 τος παλῆς, μετὰ χαρὰς με
 γάλῆς: Ἰδού κί τοῦτο φθάνεισιν
 κί πάλιν εὐφρωσῆναι, ἀφ' ἑ τοῦ κίβ' ἔχου
 τί τος μῶνοι κατὰ τὴν φώσιν, κί μετὰ
 φίτων τοῦ βῶδ', αὐτοῦ τοῦ κίβ' ἔχου τούμας εὐρί
 θησῶν ἴσ' τὴν χαρὰν, κί τὴν καλὴν τὴν πο
 τῶν, ἀπαλαχθῆναι τούμας: κί τὴν ἴσ' ὀ
 κρασ' ὀδῶναι.

κίβ' ἔχου ἠγούφ' χοιπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν παρὸν βιβλίον
 μετὰ θελήσεως: χῆθ' ὀ τοῦ κίβ' ἔχου

Τέλος:
 λέγει·

ἀμὴν·

Τέλος
 φεβ'.

ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἄπο μόνου ἀπομείναντες, κείθεν θυβὰ ἀἶμα,
 δάϊως ἐβουλήθησαν, γίγνασθ' ἀβὸν μὲν τάρμα. —
 καὶ αἰμὲν λοιπὸν ὄρεσμον, ἀφ' ὧν εἰσὶν ἄρεσι,
 οἰκόν γὰρ πολεμίσωμε, κίχασίως γὰρ σφαδόντες.
 Ἐπιμοσ ἡμε γὰρ σὴ, ἐκείν' ὅπου θεγής.
 λοιπὸν καμπόσω βαρσάκω, τάρματι γὰρ φορέσω.
 καὶ τὰ λὸγ' ὁμοῦ ὕσασθ', δίσωμ γὰρ ἔορθασω,
 καὶ τότ' εἰς γὰρ ποιήσωμε, τ' εἴ τι πιθυμάης.
 Ὁ νοῦς ~~πο~~ σὸ καμορίστ' ἔκτος, ὅπου σε σβουλέβη,
 ἰστρον θέλη κλάση γὰρ, ἀπὸ τῆς σθεσινέβη. —
 κίχασθ' ἄμα δ' ὄρεσμον, ὁ ἔμωσος σθεσινέβη, § 7
 αὐτὸ γὰρ καὶ ἰστρον, τ' εἴ τι γὰρ ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση.
 Τὸ ἄλλο γὰρ ὄρεσινιασθ', τ' εἴ τι γὰρ ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση,
 καὶ αὐτὸ ἔκτος ἔκτος, πῖλ' ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση.
 καὶ αἰμὲν αὐτὸν ἔκτος, λέγων ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση,
 που κείν' ὅπου ἰστρον, ὄρεσμον ἔκτος.
 Λέγων ἰστρον ἔκτος ἔκτος, ἔκτος ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση,
 ἰστρον ἰστρον ἔκτος ἔκτος, ἰστρον ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση. —
 δίσωμ ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση, ἰστρον ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση,
 ἰστρον ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση, κίχασθ' ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση.
 ἢ γὰρ καὶ ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση, ἰστρον ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση,
 ἰστρον ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση, ἰστρον ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση.
 καὶ αἰμὲν ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση, καὶ αἰμὲν ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση,
 τ' εἴ τι ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση, κίχασθ' ἰστρον γὰρ κλάση.