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An Approach to Intertextuality in Classical and Late Medieval Literature

In different languages, cultures, literary genres and authors we can detect the same themes, topics, situations and characters, and, what is the most interesting aspect, the same linguistic and formal devices. The purpose of this paper is to show a sample of examples taken from Classical and Late Medieval texts – written in as much European languages as possible – by means of which the intertextual play is firmly established.

Keywords: Intertextuality, reception, comparation, Classical, Medieval

Ai grandi maestri torinesi, Paola Cifarelli e Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone

These pages are devoted to the subject of intertextuality in different European literatures as consequence of the wide reception of narrative motifs, which in many cases are not attested in high genres, but they are in other closer to a popular audience. For the sake of brevity, but also because of our aim for reality, theorical explanations will be largely reduced. Therefore, we will briefly discuss a short sample of motifs.

Gnomology

Our path through the Classical and Late Medieval European literature will begin with the genre of gnomology. Moreover, our first texts will come from an external tradition, that of the Greek *Septuaginta*, behind which the Hebrew culture lies. Let us read the following two proverbs:

κρεῖσσον οἰκεῖν ἐν τῆ ἐρήμῷ ἢ μετὰ γυναικὸς γλωσσώδους καὶ μαχίμου καὶ ὀργίλου, better to live in a desert than with a talkative, quarrelsome and nagging wife¹; and ὥσπερ δρόσος ἐν ἀμήτῷ καὶ ὥσπερ ὑετὸς ἐν θέρει, οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν ἄφρονι τιμή, as dew in harvest, and as rain in summer, so honour is not seemly for a fool². Both proverbs – among many others, as a matter of fact – express condemnatory ideas, but what is interesting is the association of two concepts: bad wife and mistimed rain. From now on, the literary reception of this association will lead to the constitution of a topic. Therefore, many centuries later the Liber consolationis et consilii written in 1246 by Albertano da Brescia gives this advice: Tre cose caccian l'uomo fuori di casa: lo fumo, la casa mal coperta, e la ria femina³.

Probably a few years or maybe decades later, the misogynist poems entitled Συναξάριον τῶν εὐγενικῶν καὶ τιμιωτάτων ἀρχόντισσων displays the following lines:

ἀκόμη λέγει τρία κακὰ εἰσὶν, τὰ διώχνουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐβγαίνουν ἀπὲ τὰ σπίτια τους καὶ ἔχουν πικρίες μεγάλες ἤγουν ὁ καπνὸς καὶ ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἡ σκληρὴ γυναῖκα. διὰ τοῦτο, ὅσον ἠμπορεῖς, κτύπα τὴν πέντε δέκα. Yet he says: there are three misfortunes that chase men, so that they leave their homes and suffer from big bitterness: vizenders smoke, rain, and a bad wife. For this reason, as much as you can, beat (her) five times ten times.⁴

It is easy to remark that the Byzantine poem shows the same phraseology, even in the same order, already used by Albertano da Brescia. The Majorcan Telm Turmeda (1355-1423), formerly Franciscan friar and later converted to Islam, inserted the proverb in the gnomological sample entitled *Llibre de tres*, a late 14th-century work:

¹ *Prov.* XXI 19.

² Prov. XXVII 15.

³ Gelli (ed.), Albertano da Brescia. Liber consolationis et consilii, 20.

⁴ Anonymous, Συναξάριον τῶν εὐγενικῶν καὶ τιμιωτάτων ἀρχόντισσων, ll. 285-288.

Tres coses giten hom de casa: fum, pluja e mala fembra⁵. A second Catalan author, the Valencian physician Jaume Roig, in his poem L'Espill – since authorship uses to be attributed to him –, partially retakes the saying: com a fumosa / casa plujosa / e descoberta⁶.

The proverb is also attested, for instance, in Portuguese, Romanian and French:

Fumo, goteira e mulher faladora, põem os homes pela porta fora (Portuguese). Trei lucruri te scot din casa: fumul, muierea rea si picatura (Romanian). Trois choses sont qui chassent l'homme de sa maison: la fumée, la goutière et la femme mauvaise (French).

From the former examples it seems quite evident that the ancient roots of the proverb remain so clear as its wide diffusion.

Laws of courtesy & strategies of seduction

The late Classical literature was the chronological frame in which the genre of novel appeared as an autonomous reality among the other prose genres. Of course, love was its most conspicuous motor of the plot, as well as the main feature in creating the characters and designing the situations and scenarios. One of its secondary topics was the request of a king to his daughter to serve at the table a young hero, obviously a good candidate to marry her. This ceremonial of *courtoisie* involves and displays several strategies to approach both future lovers to each other, to show their mutual confidence and even some intimacy, and of course to make visible the devotion of the bride to her bridegroom. Actually, this topic was only *in nuce* at our attested Greek novels, for its elements were not yet joined in a well established construction. See the following passage of *Leucippe and Clitophon*:

Αἱ μὲν δὴ κατήγοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ αὐταῖς ὁ πατὴρ μέρος τι τῆς οἰκίας ἀποτεμόμενος, εὐτρεπίζει δεῖπνον. καὶ ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἦν, συνεπίνομεν κατὰ δύο

⁵ Llibre de tres XXVI. See Conca & Guia, "Estudi paremiològic del Llibre de tres", 21-22.

⁶ Roig, Espill, 11. 13599-13601.

τὰς κλίνας διαλαχόντες, οὕτω γὰρ ἔταξεν ὁ πατήρ, αὐτὸς κὰγὼ τὴν μέσην, αἱ μητέρες αἱ δύο τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾳ τὴν δεξιὰν (2) εἶχον αἱ παρθένοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ταύτην ἤκουσα τὴν εὐταξίαν, μικροῦ προσελθὼν κατεφίλησα τὸν πατέρα, ὅτι μοι κατ› ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνέκλινε (3) τὴν παρθένον. [...] 4 Ὠς δὲ ἦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, παῖς εἰσέρχεται κιθάραν ἀρμοσάμενος, τοῦ παρὸς οἰκέτης [...]. 5 Τοῦτό μοι μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξέκαυσεν· [6] ὑπέκκαυμα γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας λόγος ἐρωτικός. Such was the manner of their arrival. My father then set aside for their use a part of the house, and ordered dinner to be made ready. When the hour for it came, we sat down two on each couch. My father arranged that he and I should occupy the middle one, the two mothers that of the left, and the two maidens the righthand one. I was overjoyed when I heard of this arrangement, and I could hardly restrain myself from publicly embracing my father for thus putting the girl under my very eyes. [...] After it was over, a young slave (one of my father's servents) came in with a lute ready tuned [...]. This story, as he sang it, at last set my heart more fiercely ablaze: for love stories are the very fuel of desire. Γ

The constitution of the topic makes that it is the girl who will serve the boy, or even sing and dance for him. This is now an example taken from the Byzantine novel *Hysmine and Hysminias*, composed by Eustathios Makrembolites:

καὶ τὰ περὶ τροφὰς καὶ τρυφὰς τί δεῖ κατὰ μέρος φιλοκρινεῖν; Ύσμίνη παρθένφ τῆ θυγατρὶ Σωσθένης οἰνοχοεῖν ἐγκελεύεται ἡ δ' ἀνεζώσατο τὸν χιτῶνα, ἐγύμνωσε τὰ χεῖρε μέχρις ἀγκῶνος, τὴν περὶ ταύτας ὀθόνην μηρίνθῳ λεπτῆ περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἀναδήσασα, καὶ παρακαθίσασα τῆ περιστερῷ τὰς χεῖρας ἐνίπτετο, τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πτηνοῦ καθυπουργοῦντος τῷ λειτουργήματι. Εἴτά τι σκεῦος ἀργυροῦν ἀναλαβομένη περὶ τὸ ῥάμφος ἄγει τοῦ ἀετοῦ καὶ περὶ μόνην ῥοπὴν ἐπλήρωσεν ὕδατος· οὕτω κατὰ κρουνὸν τὸ ὕδωρ κατέρρει. καὶ περὶ τὸ σκεῦος ἐκτίθησι τὰ ἐκπώματα καὶ καταπλύνασα ταῦτα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς τε καὶ φιλοκάλως γίνεται πρὸς τῷ λειτουργήματι.

And what need is there for me to make careful distinctions over delicacies and delights? Sosthenes instructed his daughter, the maiden Hysmine, to pour the wine. She girt up her tunic, she bared both her arms to the elbow, she tied with a fine cord about her neck the light fabric that was round them and, sitting by

⁷ A.T. I 5, 1-5 (transl. S. Gaselee).

the dove, washed her hands, using the bird's beak as an aid in this action. [2] Then, taking a silver pitcher, she holds it to the eagle's beak and in an instant filled it with water, so vigorously did the water gush forth. She sets cups around the pitcher and, after washing them carefully and attentively, she applies herself to the task.⁸

Our next example belongs to a different genre, that of the Medieval *fabliau*. The poem is entitled *Des III chevaliers et del chainse* and it was written by Jacques de Baisieux. This is the section where the topic appears:

Après i out tournoiement, là ont donné main parement et main mangier cortois et riche. Li bachelers n'ot pas cuer niche, ki à la dame estoit maris; largece amoit plus ke Paris n'amaist onkes nul jor Helaine; cort tint ki ne fu pas vilaine. Tot chil ki vorent i mangierent et orent kant k'il sohaidierent. tant ke por boire et por mangier. La feme al seignor del mangier servit, o li maintes pucelles. Li chevaliers plaiiés noveles sout ke la dame sert à table à sa cort ki est honeurable.9

The topic does not reflect a simple table protocol established within a court ceremonial, for it is attested in different traditions. This is a passage from the Spanish narrative poem entitled *Libro de Apolonio*, a text widely known among the scholars because of its important reception of the Classical literature¹⁰:

⁸ Eustathios Makrembolites, *Hysm. & Hysm.* I 8, 1-2 (transl. E. Jeffreys).

⁹ Jacques de Baisieux, Des III chevaliers et del chainse, ll. 317-332.

¹⁰ Redondo, "La presencia de la literatura griega en el *Libro de Apolonio*", 199-210.

Enbio sus siruientes al malo a dezir que dijese a Tarsiana quel viniese seruir;

leuarye tal ganançia, sil pudiese guarir, qual ella pudiese de su boca pedir.

[...]

'Tenemos un buen omne, senyor destas companyes,

Omne de gran fazienda, de ryç e de manyas:

Es perdido con duelo por perdidas estranyes,

Por Dios, quel acorrades con algunas fazanyas'. 11

In the Catalan novel *Curial e Güelfa* a great lord tells her daughter to serve as cupbearer of the hero:

E sì ordonà que en la taula principal no seguessen sinó la duquessa sa muller e Curial, e que no servissin sinó dones, entre les quals ordonà que la duquessa delliure, que filla sua era major, e havia nom Cloto, fos mestre d'ostal; la altra filla donzella, la qual Laquesis era anomenada, lo servís de vi. 12

Therefore, from the ancient novel the motif was transmitted not only to the Byzantine novel, but also to other narrative genres.

Love comes through the eyes of the lovers

Our third topic is maybe one of the best attested all along both the literary and the popular tradition. The topic says that love arrives through the eyes when the lovers meet for the first time. Most, not to say all, of the elements that constitute the topic were already developed in the Greek classical literature, and they achieved a nearly definitive shape in the Hellenistic poetry¹³. This is an example taken from the novel of Xenophon Ephesius, the *Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes*:

ἐνταῦθα ὁρῶσιν ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἀλίσκεται Ἅνθεια ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἁβροκόμου, ἡττᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἔρωτος Ἁβροκόμης καὶ ἐνεώρα τε συνεχέστερον τῆ κόρῃ καὶ

¹¹ Libro de Apolonio, ll. 484a-d e 487a-d.

¹² Curial e Güelfa I 97.

¹³ Pattoni, "L'inno a Eros nel primo stasimo dell'*Ippolito* euripideo", 141-169.

ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ὄψεως ἐθέλων οὐκ ἐδύνατο· κατεῖχε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐγκείμενος ὁ θεός. 2 Διέκειτο δὲ καὶ Ἄνθεια πονήρως, ὅλοις μὲν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ Άβροκόμου κάλλος εἰσρέον δεχομένη, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν παρθένοις πρεπόντων καταφρονοῦσα· καὶ γὰρ ἐλάλησεν ἄν τι, ἵνα Άβροκόμης ἀκούσῃ, καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἐγύμνωσεν ὰν τὰ δυνατά, ἵνα Άβροκόμης ἴδη· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδεδώκει πρὸς τὴν θέαν καὶ ἦν αἰχμάλωτος τοῦ θεοῦ.

Then they saw each other, and Anthia was captivated by Habrocomes, while Love got the better of Habrocomes. He kept looking at the girl and in spite of himself could not take his eyes off her. Love held him fast and pressed home his attack. And Anthia too was in a bad way, as she left her appearance sink in, with rapt atention and eyes wide open; and already she payed no attention to modesty; what she said was for Habrocomes to hear, and she revealed what she could of her body to Habrocomes to see. And he was captivated at the sight and was a prisoner of the god.¹⁴

The topic is also present in the novel of Chariton, *Chaereas and Callirrhoe*:

Έκ τύχης οὖν περί τινα καμπὴν στενωτέραν συναντῶντες περιέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, τοῦ θεοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τήνδε τὴν συνοδίαν, ἵν ἐκάτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ ὀφθῆ. Ταχέως οὖν πάθος ἐρωτικὸν ἀντέδωκαν ἀλλήλοις.

So by chance they ran into one another at a narrow bend in the road and met, the god orchestrating this encounter so that each could see the other.¹⁵

The last of the big five, Heliodorus of Emesa, will afford a last example of the topic in the genre of the ancient Greek novel:

όμοῦ τε γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἑώρων οἱ νέοι καὶ ἤρων, ὥσπερ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκ πρώτης ἐντεύξεως τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπιγνούσης καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατ΄ ἀξίαν οἰκεῖον προσδραμούσης. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀθρόον τι καὶ ἐπτοημένον ἔστησαν καὶ τὴν δῷδα ὁλκότερον ἡ μὲν ἐνεχείριζεν ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέχετο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀτενεῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ κατ΄ ἀλλήλων πήξαντες ὥσπερ εἴ που γνωρίζοντες ἢ ἰδόντες πρότερον ταῖς μνήμαις ἀναπεμπάζοντες· εἶτα ἐμειδίασαν βραχύ τι καὶ κλεπτόμενον καὶ μόνη τῆ

¹⁴ X.E. I 3, 1-2 (transl. Anderson).

¹⁵ Char. I 6 (transl. Trzaskoma).

διαχύσει τοῦ βλέμματος ἐλεγχόμενον. Έπειτα ὅσπερ καταιδεσθέντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐπυρρίασαν, καὶ αὖθις, τοῦ πάθους οἶμαι καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐπιδραμόντος, ἀχρίασαν [...].

For as soon as the young people saw each other, at the same moment they loved each other, as though the soul recognised its fellow and hastened towards its destined mate. At the first they stood still suddenly, as if in amaze. Then she slowly handed him the torch, and he likewise received it, viewing one another with steady eyes, as if either had seen or known the other before and was now trying to remember where. This done, they smiled a little, but secretly, so that it could hardly be perceived save by the softness of their glance. Afterwards, as though they were ashamed of what they did, they blushed; and then, within a while, when this affection, as I think, had gripped their hearts, they became pale. 16

We now turn into the late Medieval novel *Pierres i Magalona*, in this case after its Catalan version¹⁷. These are two passages of the novel:

-Jo he en tant gran manera posat lo meu cor en aquell bon cavaller que aquest altre dia guanyà les justes, **que jo li tinch tant amor que no puch menjar ni beure ni dormir,** que si jo fos segura que fos de noble llinatge y condició, lo pendria per marit.¹⁸

-Jo us dich que la mia ventura és aquesta y no pot ésser en altra manera, car aquest ame y vull e jamés altre home no auré, perquè lo meu cor y lo meu pensament és en ell **des que'l viu per primera vegada**, y sé qu'és vingut ací per amor de mi.¹⁹

As in the ancient novel, the topic of the immediate effect of love on the engaged young girl and boy makes that, from the very first time that they met each other, they feel a mutual eternal attraction that while being unaccomplished provokes a continuous malady.

¹⁶ Hldr. III 5 (transl. Underdowne, revised by Wright).

The extant versions are written in Catalan, French, German, Italian and Spanish. The most recent study on the novel is the doctoral thesis of Vicent Pastor, *El Pierres de Provença català. Estudi i edició crítica de l'imprés de 1650*, 2018.

¹⁸ Pierres i Magalona, VII 19-21.

¹⁹ Pierres i Magalona, IX 9-12.

Phrases, formulas, winged words

In some cases, the topic belongs to a minor category, that of formulae, although some are rather full themes by themselves. What is interesting for the purpose of this paper is the pattern of translation-formulae that comes into a literary tradition after a borrowing from another language. The Byzantine Greek Novel $I\mu\pi\epsilon\rho\iotao\varsigma$ και Μαργαρώνα, often alluded to as an example of the Greek imitation of Western narrative models, shows the following line:

τυραννικῶς αὐθέντευαν ὡς φυσικοὶ αὐθέντες. They exerted the power in a tyrannic way, like natural owners. 20

The phrase 'natural owner' is related to the legal language, so that to a certain extent it could be far from the influence of a simply literary attraction. A dialogue presented by means of a dream, *Le Quadrilogue invectif*, written by Alain Chartier in 1422, will give us the French version of the formula:

[...] Ilz veulent debouter vostre prince droiturier et **seigneur naturel** que voz vies et voz corps sont tenuz defendre et tendent occuper le siege royal pour vous defouler soubz leur tirannie.²¹

Other instances also originate in translation processes, but their nature is not formulaic. Moreover, they do not belong to any technical language, and for this reason their presence must be explained just in terms of literature: in terms of reception and imitation. In the Catalan novel *Tirant lo Blanc*, a masterpiece for which we have suggested the existence of Greek models, a *novella* embedded in the main narrative contains the following passage:

Era vengut allí un lapidari de la gran ciutat de Domàs e d'Alcaire, i portava moltes joies per a vendre, en especial portava un balaix molt gran e fi, del qual

²⁰ Ιμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρώνα, 1. 40.

²¹ Alain Chartier, Le Quadrilogue invectif.

demanava **seixanta mília ducats**; e lo Rei li'n dava trenta mília; e no es podien concordar²²

One of the possible sources of this *novella* is included in the Italian sample of short stories entitled *Il Novellino*. But the corresponding passage does not fix the exact amount of the jewel: *Un giorno venne che lo re adunò sue pietre preziose e rimandò per questo prigionero greco, e disse: 'maestro, tu se' di grande savere, e credo che di tutte le cose t'intendi²³.*

The Greek reception of this *novella* is attested by the poem entitled Πτωχολέων, which shows a double manuscript tradition. The branch represented by the manuscripts of Vienna and Napoli gives us this text:

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εις εξήκοντα χιλιάδας
επουλήθεκεν ο λίθος
ο πανθαύμαστος εκείνος
that wonderful stone was sold in sixty thousand.<sup>24</sup>
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The other branch shows a different amount, seventy thousand ducats instead of sixty thousand. The change was due to the metre, in order to complete the required sequence of eight syllables:

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[...] κι ετιμήθηκεν ο λίθος 
εβδομήκοντα χιλιάδες 
ολοστρόγγυλα δουκάτα 
and the stone was appraised in seventy thousand ducats.<sup>25</sup>
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What is interesting here is that *Tirant lo Blanc* is closer, at least regarding this detail, to the Byzantine poem than to *Il Novellino*.

Not surprisingly, given the intense contact between the Byzantine and the Catalan culture and its reflect on literature, the novel *Tirant lo Blanc* contains many syntactic and lexical borrowings to generally

²² Tirant lo Blanc CX.

²³ G. Tasso (ed.), *Il Novellino*, Venezia 1844, 7.

²⁴ Ptokh. (Vienna & Napoli), ll. 311-313.

²⁵ Ptokh. (Athos), ll. 143-145.

unidentified sources written in Greek. This is a double example of the interaction of both languages and literatures:

La una galera trobà's a sobre vent, e Déu volgué que **pre**s en una illa petita, e allì es restaurà. La galera de Tirant e l'altra eren a sota vent, no pogueren **pendre** en la illa, ans romperen los timons de caixa, e la galera de Tirant se descosí, e l'altra galera, qui prop li venia, tota se n'obrí e entrà-se'n la gent i ella en l'aigua de dolor: tots se negaren, que negú escapar no pogué.²⁶

The phrase *pendre en la illa*, *to arrive on an island* is unknown before the novel as well as later on. It is an odd construction without any exact parallel in other Roman languages, in which the idiomatic use lays on the verb *tocar*, actually used in other passages of the novel:

E digueren-li com aquesta nau venia d'Alexandria e de Barut e que havien **tocat** en l'illa de Xipre; emperò que en Rodes no havien pogut **tocar** tanta era la multitud dels moros que la tenien assetjada per mar i per terra.²⁷

The only language where the idiom is possible is Greek indeed, in which we find the common oral and written sentence πιάνω στο νησί. Kriaras gives as an example the sentence το πλοίο πιάνει κάθε εβδομάδα στο νησί, the ship arrives every week to the island²⁸.

The second borrowing deals with the phrase *aigua de dolor*, which only exists, as far as we know, in Greek expressions such as νερό της αρνησιάς, νερό της λησμονιάς, and so on²⁹.

Byzantine Greek, French, Catalan, Italian... The Homeric expression ἔπεα πτερόεντα, winged words, seems the best to explain how the old

²⁶ Tirant lo Blanc, CCXCVI.

²⁷ Tirant lo Blanc, C. See also chapter CXII: Prengueren aquí aiguada, e les fustes ben avituallades de tot lo que mester havien, sens **tocar** en Sicília ni en altra part, aplegaren alba de matí davant la gran ciutat de Trípol de Suria, e negú de tota l'armada no sabien on anaven sinó sol lo Rei; mas com veren aturar la nau del Rei, e tothom s'armava, presumiren que allí venien.

²⁸ Kriaras, Νέο Ελληνικό Λεζικό, 106.

²⁹ Kriaras, Νέο Ελληνικό Λεζικό, 397.

formulas attain new horizons, both in the geographical space and in the literary as well.

Madness forces someone to go away and live alone in a far forest

The Callimachean *Hymn to Artemis* alludes to a myth whose protagonists are maiden that become foolish:

η μέν τοι Προῖτός γε δύω ἐκαθίσσατο νηούς, ἄλλον μὲν Κορίης, ὅτι οἱ συνελέξαο κούρας οὔρεα πλαζομένας ἀζήνια, τὸν δ' ἐνὶ Λούσοις ἡμέρη, οὕνεκα θυμὸν ἀπ' ἄγριον εἵλεο παίδων.

[...] For surely to you Proetus dedicated two shrines, one to Koria, because you gathered up his daughters who were wandering in the Azanian mountains, and the other in Lousoi, to Hemera, when you took away the wild spirit from his daughters.³⁰

The version transmitted by Pausanias coincides in the main motif, although it is told within a more general frame:

ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους μανία ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐνέπεσεν, ἐκφοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὃ Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθάονος ἔπαυσε σφᾶς τῆς νόσου, ἐφ᾽ ῷ τε αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βίας Ἀναξαγόρα τὸ ἴσον ἔξουσιν.

[...] For in the reign of Anaxagoras, son of Argeus, son of Megapenthes, the women were smitten with madness, and straying from their homes they roamed about the country, until Melampus the son of Amythaon cured them of the plague on condition that he himself and his brother Bias had a share of the kingdom equal to that of Anaxagoras.³¹

In both legends we find maiden and women as protagonists of the plot, a feature which suggests that their gender is closely related to the

³⁰ Call. III 234-236 (transl. S.A.Stephens).

³¹ Paus. II 18, 4 (transl. W.H.S. Jones & H.A. Ormerod).

root of their insanity.³² A probable reason for the divine punishment lies in a challenge launched by these maiden and women because of some intimate behaviour or carnal conduct. If so, a more detailed account of the matter could have developed the erotic theme which dominates the motif in our Medieval texts. In the Italian *Novellino*, even if there are major changes in the small details of the subject, the main feature remains of a human being turned into a wild beast that lives deep in the forest and avoids any contact with people:

Ed allora lo celabro li si rivolse, e diventò passo ed incontanente se ne va forsennato per la foresta gridando e abbaiando e stracciando suoi panni: e sì era tutto fuori del senno, che non conosce nè se nè altrui. E così andò tre dì, che non mangiò, nè bevve, di foresta in foresta; ora innanzi, ora indietro, ed ora in qua, ora in là, come ventura lo porta, faccendo assai follie e di molto male; e quando egli trovava alcuna fontana, vi si restava, e cominciava a fare maraviglioso pianto, e non diceva nulla e non mentovava persona. E durando in questa maniera, era diventato tutto magro e pallido, che pareva una bestia, così era peloso, e non mangiava senon erbe e frutti selvatiche, tanto che molti cavalieri che l'andavano cercando, no'l trovano, e quei, che l'hanno trovato, no'l conoscono. E così toglie amore il senno e l'onore.³³

Therefore, the last reason which explains the origin of the illness is love. Our gap between Callimachus and Pausanias, on the one hand, and the late Medieval romances, on the other, cannot be replaced with reconstructions and hypotheses. This means that we can trace back our literary tradition from two distant ages till two not too far apart points, but there is between them not a direct junction line. Maybe this line will appear, neatly distinguishable and perfectly drawn, if we enlarge our scope area to other cultures that received the Greek literary creation.

Coming back to the late Medieval literature, the chivalry romance *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, by Chrétien de Troyes, presents the following topic, quite exactly the same as in our Greek aforesaid examples:

³² On the religious background of the theme see Nikolaïdou-Arabatzí, "Maiden choruses in the epinician odes of Pindar and Bacchylides: 'poet's choral I'", 39-40.

³³ Il Novellino, 165.

Porqant mes ne li sovenoit
De rien que onques eüst feite.
Les bestes par le bois agueite,
Si les ocit; et se manjue
La venison trestote crue.
Et tant conversa el boschage,
Com hom forsenez et salvage.³⁴

It is nonetheless the case that Chrétien de Troyes had the Homeric *Odyssey* in mind when just afterwards he united in a single passage two very known topics of the epic: the rescue of the shipwrecked hero when some maiden find him, nude and alone; and the recognition of him because of an ancient wound³⁵.

A late Medieval novel, the *Història de l'esforçat cavaller Partinobles*, displays the same motif, situation and characters:

E aprés lo Compte se'n tornà en lo desert, que son criat no ho sabé; y quant fonc en les serres d'Ardenya, trobà los cavalls que encara estaven lligats, e ell los deslligà perquè poguessin anar a llà a hon volguessen; aprés lo Compte se'n davallà al peu de la montanya, y allí trobà una font, y veent que era lloc molt aspre y desert, deslliberà de estar allí per fer molt major y més gran penitència del que havia fet fins allí.³⁶

[...]

E estant allí, veeren eixir entre los arbres un animal molt gran e lleig; y Urraca anà envers ell, y veu que tenie semblança de persona; y ella li apartà los cabells de davant la cara, que eren molt llarchs; y veent Urraca que tenie cara de

³⁴ Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, 11. 2822-2828.

³⁵ Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, Il. 2882-2903: *C'un jor le troverent dormant (En la forest .ii. dameiseles / Et une lor dame avoec eles / De cui mesniee eles estoient. /Vers l'ome nu que eles voient / Cort et descent une des trois; /Mes mout le regarda einçois / Que rien nule sor lui veïst / Qui reconuistre li feïst; / Si l'avoit ele tant veü / Que tost l'eüst reconeü / Se il fust de si riche ator / Com il avoit esté maint jor. / Au reconoistre mout tarda / Et tote voie l'esgarda / Tant qu'an la fin li fu avis / D'une plaie qu'il ot el vis; / C'une tel plaie el vis avoit / Messire Yvains, bien le savoit, / Qu'ele l'avoit assez veü. / Por la plaie l'a coneü, / Que ce est il, de rien n'en dote.*

³⁶ Història de l'esforçat cavaller Partinobles, cap. XXXII.

persona y anava a quatres cames, estigué molt espantada; y senyant, li demanà de part de Déu que li digués qui era, y ell respòs: Jo só un traÿdor.³⁷

In short, we have found the motif of a healthy and young person who loses his/her mind after some personal trouble, bound by a supernatural power, and for this reason becomes a wild beast. It occurs in the Hellenistic and Imperial Greek literature and in the Late Medieval and Renaissance Western European literature³⁸. Many scholars think of this motif as an Arthurian topic, since it is also attested in the characters of Tristan and Lancelot. A different explanation comes from our observations on this subject.

The lover who inadvisably ate the heart of his beloved

The Welsh tale entitled *Culhwch and Olwen* shows a different variant of the precedent topic, in which it is not love, but the ingestion of the heart of his own father, that provokes the state of wildness:

[...] and he captured Pet son of Nethog, and Nwython, and Cyledyr Wyllt, his son, and he killed Nwython and cut out his heart, and forced Cyledyr to eat this father's heart, and because of this Cyledyr went mad.³⁹

This last story is contaminated with the motif of the revenge accomplished by means of a ritual of cannibalism: the heart of someone blamed and damned and finally murdered is offered to his most close person – his lover, if an erotic theme is at the core of the plot. The origin of the revenge motif can be found in the myth of Thyestes and his sons, who were killed by Atreus and later served in banquet to their father⁴⁰. It is many centuries later attested in several Medieval texts, viz. the *Lai de Guiron* inserted in the chivalric romance *Tristan et Iseut*, dated from the 12th century; the lyric cycle of the author known as *Le chatelain de*

³⁷ Història de l'esforçat cavaller Partinobles, cap. XXXIV, 2.

³⁸ A complete analysis of the character in the genres of the Medieval and the Renaissance novels in Sequero, *Edició comentada de la Història de l'esforçat cavaller Partinobles*, 418-429.

³⁹ Culhwch and Olwen (transl. Will Parker).

⁴⁰ Apoll. *Ep.* II 12-14.

Coucy – end of the 12th century –, the French fabliau Lai d'Ignaurès, also known as the Lai du prisonnier, and the Catalan Vida de Guillem de Cabestany – first quarter of the 13th century – which is the direct source of a major work, Boccaccio's Deccamerone⁴¹, and later of a less diffused collection of tales, Il novelliere, a work of Giovanni Sercambi⁴². A poem by Dante offers a much more stylized version⁴³.

Long time ago Hauvette suggested that the exact parallel for this whole plot was in India⁴⁴. The love novel is constructed on three characters, the king Rasalu and his wife the queen Kokla, and the king Hodi, who falls in love with her⁴⁵.

Just a couple of quotations will make clear how much precise is the parallel between the European – in this case the Catalan version, for it is not submitted to the exigences of metric – and the Indian texts. See for example the opinion of the lady when she enjoys such a tasty food:

'Sabeu què és això que heu menjat?' I ella digué: "No, sinó que era una vianda molt bona i saborosa'.

What food, dear heart, have you brought me here? Methinks no venison was ever so dainty and sweet as this.

And this is her reaction after knowing what had happened:

I ella va córrer cap a un balcó i es deixà caure a baix, i així va morir.

Saying this, she sprang to her feet and ran quickly up the battlements, whence she beheld, lying far beneath her, the headless body of Râja Hôdi. Then, with a

⁴¹ The story is told in *Decc*. IV 9, the ninth tale of the fourth day, Quarta giornata, Novella nona. The motif, however, brings up also the main elements of the plot of another tale in this same day, the first novel. The Catalan source was suggested by Paris, "Le roman du Châtelain de Coucy", 343-373.

⁴² Renier (ed.), *Novelle inedite di Giovanni Sercambi*, 338-341. The tale, nr. 96 of the collection, is entitled "De praua amicitia et societate".

⁴³ Dante, *La vita nuova*, sonetto I.

⁴⁴ Hauvette, "La 39^e nouvelle du *Décaméron* et la légende du coeur mangé", 184-205.

⁴⁵ For an English version of the Indian novel, which was orally transmitted, see Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjab with Indian's Nights Entertainment*, 124-144.

cry, she threw herself over; but before her body had reached the rocks below her breath had gone out of her, and so fell dead the Râni Koklâ.

Vincensini states that the topic had such a wide diffusion because of its polygenetic origin that it must be recognised as universal⁴⁶. However, the presence of the topic in Medieval Europe and modern India retakes a pattern already known, discussed and verified, that of the common Indo-European heritage. Otherwise explained, why this plot is not found in other cultures? Moreover, scholarly attention has been devoted to the role accorded to the speaking birds⁴⁷. Although this role, as well as its actor, uses to belong to the genre of the fable, it is also attested in myths and wonderful tales of Indo-European origin where birds of very coloured plumage appear, provided with the divine gift of prophesy, and predisposed to help and protect a hero⁴⁸. In our opinion, a more cogent account of our evidencies is that which bands them together according with a historically established literary tradition.

The forest that became an army

Our following example belongs to the plain domain of mythology, and its protagonist is a forest that by means of an extraordinary shapeshifting that includes the adoption of a human character becomes an army of wooden warriors and fights against the enemy. Now our first step will be found in a different genre, historiography, viz. the *Histories* of Livy. Here the facts are presented in a rationalized way from the perspective of the Roman historian:

Cum eae res maxime agerentur, nova clades nuntiata aliam super aliam cumulante in eum annum fortuna, L. Postumium consulem designatum in Gallia ipsum atque exercitum deletos. Silva erat vasta — Litanam Galli vocabant — qua exercitum traducturus erat. Eius silvae dextra laevaque circa viam Galli arbores ita inciderunt ut immotae starent, momento levi impulsae occiderent. Legiones duas Romanas habebat Postumius, sociumque ab supero mari tantum

⁴⁶ Vincensini, Pensée mythique et narrations médiévales, 358.

⁴⁷ Bloomfield, "On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction", 349-361.

⁴⁸ Redondo, "El sobrenatural a 'Frayre de Joi i Sor de Plaser", 124.

conscripserat ut viginti quinque milia armatorum in agros hostium induxerit. Galli oram extremae silvae cum circumsedissent, ubi intravit agmen saltum, tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt; quae alia in aliam, instabilem per se ac male haerentem, incidentes ancipiti strage arma, viros, equos obruerunt, ut vix decem homines effugerent. Nam cum exanimati plerique essent arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum, ceteram multitudinem inopinato malo trepidam Galli saltum omnem armati circumsedentes interfecerunt paucis e tanto numero captis, qui pontem fluminis petentes obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte interclusi sunt. Ibi Postumius omni vi ne caperetur dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo quod sanctissimum est apud eos intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro caelavere, idque sacrum vas iis erat quo sollemnibus libarent poculumque idem sacerdoti esset ac templi antistitibus. Praeda quoque haud minor Gallis quam victoria fuit; nam etsi magna pars animalium strage silvae oppressa erat, tamen ceterae res, quia nihil dissipatum fuga est, stratae per omnem iacentis agminis ordinem inventae sunt.

Just as these measures were being taken, a fresh disaster was reported—for fortune was piling one upon another for that year —namely, that the consul designate, Lucius Postumius, had perished, himself and his army, in Gaul. There was a huge forest, called Litana by the Gauls, by way of which he was about to lead his army. [7] In that forest the Gauls hacked the trees to right and left of the road in such a way that, if not disturbed, they stood, but fell if pushed slightly. [8] Postumius had two Roman legions, and had enlisted from the coast of the Upper Sea such numbers of allies that he led twenty-five thousand armed men into the enemy's territory. [9] The Gauls had surrounded the very edge of the forest, and when the column entered a defile they pushed against the outermost of the trees that had been hacked near the ground. As these fell, each upon the next tree, which was in itself unsteady and had only a slight hold, piling up from both sides they overwhelmed arms, men and horses, so that hardly ten men escaped. [10] For after very many had been killed by tree-trunks and broken branches, and the rest of the troops were alarmed by the unforeseen calamity, the Gauls under arms, surrounding the whole defile slew them, while but few out of so many were captured, —the men who were making their way to a bridge over a river, but were cut off, since the bridge had by that time been occupied by the enemy. [11] There Postumius fell fighting with all his might to avoid capture. Spoils taken from his body and the severed head of the general were carried in triumph by the Boians

to the temple which is most revered in their land. [12] Then after cleaning the head they adorned the skull with gold according to their custom. And it served them as a sacred vessel from which to pour libations at festivals and at the same time as a drinking cup for the priests and keepers of the temple. [13] The booty also meant no less to the Gauls than the victory. For although a large part of the cattle had been crushed by fallen trees, still everything else was found strewn the whole length of the column of the slain, since nothing was scattered by flight. 49

One of our keys for the interpretation of the text lies in the linguistic quotation given by its author: *Litanam Galli vocabant* – sc. *silvam* –, says Livius, when he tells us the authentic name of the forest. The analysis of Guyonvarc'h makes clear that the forest fulfills a similar purpose to that of the river Styx, insofar as both prelude the close arrival of death⁵⁰. This same mythical scheme is attested in other Classical sources on the Celtic area⁵¹.

Were this the only account on the theme of the fighting forest, nobody would say that there is a myth behind the plot and not merely a war resource. In the 10th century, the fourth *Mabinogion* of the Welsh poem entitled *Kat Godeu* (= *Llyfr Taliesin* VIII) tells how the hero Gwydion transformed a forest in an army. Actually, the model was the battle of Coed Celyddon – the *silva Caledonia* alluded to in the *Historia Brittonum* LVI–, that is to say, the seventh exploit in the whole list of twelve battles fought by the King Arthur, just as Heracles had to accomplish twelve labours⁵². This is the passage of our interest:

There was a calling on the Creator, Upon Christ for causes, Until when the Eternal

⁴⁹ Tit. Liv. XXIII 24, 6-11 (transl. F.G. Moore).

⁵⁰ On the Celtic noun *Letauia, cf. Guyonvarc'h, "Notes d'étymologie et de lexicographie Gauloises et Celtiques XXVIII, 133", 490-494.

García Quintela, "El Río del Olvido", 75-78; "Las puertas del infierno y el río del olvido", 148-149. Another Classical source discussed in this paper is Strab. III 3, 5.

We follow Haycock, "The Significance of the 'Cad Goddau' Tree-List in the *Book of Taliesin*", 298; Sims-Williams, "The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems", 52; Green, *Concepts of Arthur*, 64.

Should deliver those whom he had made.

The Lord answered them,

Through language and elements:

Take the forms of time prinncipal trees,

Arranging yourselves in battle array,

And restraining the public.

*Inexperienced in battle hand to hand.*⁵³

In the fields of myth and legend, the so-called Arthurian matter is not more than the Celtic – and Germanic – reception of the Indo-European tradition. Otherwise said, the Arthurian matter was just the vehicle for transmitting our motif, not at all its origin. We come back again to the *Història de l'esforçat cavaller Partinobles*:

Y quant ella sabé la intenció dels dits reys, encontinent partí de son castell ymeté's en un núvol, com avie acostumat, y anà als regnes dels dits reys y, arribant allí, ella devallà del núvol y cavalcà en un palafrén. Y anà a la cort dels dits reys dient-los que hisquessen defora ab tot llur poder de gent de armes, que ella los esperava en una montanya prop de allí. Y sabent los reys tot açò, encontinent se aparellaren y anaren a dita montanya y, quant ella los veé venir, que estava sola, encontinent encantà totes les herbes y arbres de dita montanya de manera que semblave fos tot gent d'armes.⁵⁴

The chronological distance between Livius and the late Medieval novel will not obscure such a clearcut parallel presence of our motif in literary works belonging to different genres, periods, and cultures.

The lover is struck by the beauty of the girl

As a transversal subject, love themes can easily appear in most of the literary genres, and for this reason they pervade texts belonging to epic, lyric and dramatic poetry, long and short narrations, and gnomic literature. This motif is of course universal in content: the boy looks for the very first time to the girl and is amazed at her beauty. Yet the formal

⁵³ Kat Godeu (transl. W. F. Skene).

⁵⁴ Història de l'esforçat cavaller Partinobles, cap. I 5.

expression of the theme adopts selected terms and literary resources as well that configure a very concrete pattern, as we will show.

Our first example is taken from the *Iliad*, that is to say, from an epic poem. We usually think of Homer as a poet living close to the aristocracy, always fascinated by the heroic deeds of kings and chiefs of a hierarchical society ruled by power and ordered accordingly with the glory stamp attributed to everyone. Yet the Homeric creation includes a manifold combination of literary materials. Under the framework of epic, the Homeric poems embed passages coloured with a different tone, dramatic, lyric, or even rhetoric⁵⁵. This is an example of a quite different poetic tone:

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ώς ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν

And when he beheld her, then love encompassed his wise heart about.<sup>56</sup>
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From the Homeric epic the motif arrived to the Callimachean epyllion, a lyric rather than epic genre. This is a line from *Hecale* where love is replaced by fight, according with the principle of *variatio in imitando*:

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\dot{\omega}ς ἴδον, \dot{\omega}ς ἄμα πάντες ὑπέτρεσαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη etc. When they saw it they all trembled and shrank. <sup>57</sup>
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It will be not surprising to find the motif in Roman poetry after the renewal accomplished by the *neoterici*. This is a passage from the Vergilian *Eclogues*:

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Saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala (dux ego vester eram) vidi cum matre legentem. Alter ab undecimo tum me iam ceperat annus: iam fragiles poteram a terra contingere ramos. Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!
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⁵⁵ See for example Hölscher, *Die Odyssee: Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman*.

⁵⁶ Hom. *Il*. XIV 294 (transl. A.T. Murray).

⁵⁷ Call. *Hec.* frg. 62, l. 3, ed. Montes Cala, *Calimaco. Hécale*, 1987, 51 (transl. C.A. Trypanis). Other Hellenistic examples are Theocr. II 82 e III 42, Bion I 40-41.

Once with your mother, in our orchard-garth, a little maid I saw you—I your guide—plucking the dewy apples. My twelfth year I scarce had entered, and could barely reach the brittle boughs. I looked, and I was lost. 58

This beautiful and charming motif, so closely imitated by Vergil in form and content, emerges after a long lapse of time in the Byzantine novel *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe*:

Εἶδον ἐκείνην τὴν καλήν, ἐρωτικὴν τὴν κόρην συμπαίζουσαν μετά τινος, ἐρωτικὰ φιλοῦσαν καὶ πῶς τὴν εἶδα, μάννα μου, τὸ πῶς εἰπεῖν οὐκ οἶδα I saw that beautiful lovely girl playing with someone else, devoted to love games; and how I saw her, mother, I do not know how to tell you. 59

It seems quite unprovable to elucidate if this motif is actually at work in later periods, in which the appearance of the girl provokes the same reaction of astonishment and admiration in her future lover:

Nove fiate già appresso lo mio nascimento era tornato lo cielo de la luce quasi a uno medesimo punto, quanto a la sua propria girazione, quando a li miei occhi apparve prima la gloriosa donna de la mia mente, la quale fu chiamata da molti Beatrice li quali non sapeano che si chiamare. Ella era in questa vita già stata tanto, che ne lo suo tempo lo cielo stellato era mosso verso la parte d'oriente de le dodici parti l'una d'un grado, sì che quasi dal principio del suo anno nono apparve a me, ed io la vidi quasi da la fine del mio nono. Apparve vestita di nobilissimo colore, umile e onesto, sanguigno, cinta e ornata a la guisa che a la sua giovanissima etade si convenia. In quello punto dico veracemente che lo spirito de la vita, lo quale dimora ne la secretissima camera de lo cuore, cominciò a tremare sì fortemente, che apparia ne li menimi polsi orribilmente; e tremando disse queste parole: 'Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur michi'. In quello punto lo spirito animale, lo quale dimora ne l'alta camera

Verg. *Buc*. VIII 37-41 (transl. J.B. Greenough).

⁵⁹ Andronikos Komnenos, Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη, ll. 1175-1177 (our translation). Ed. Cupane, Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini, 128.

ne la quale tutti li spiriti sensitivi portano le loro percezioni, si cominciò a maravigliare molto, e parlando spezialmente a li spiriti del viso, sì disse queste parole: "Apparuit iam beatitudo vestra". In quello punto lo spirito naturale, lo quale dimora in quella parte ove si ministra lo nutrimento nostro, cominciò a piangere, e piangendo disse queste parole: 'Heu miser, quia frequenter impeditus ero deinceps!'. **D'allora innanzi dico che Amore segnoreggiò la mia anima**, la quale fu sì tosto a lui disponsata, e cominciò a prendere sopra me tanta sicurtade e tanta signoria per la vertù che li dava la mia imaginazione, che me convenia fare tutti li suoi piaceri compiutamente.⁶⁰

There is no difference between the widely known passage of the *Vita Nuova* and the following example taken from other novel, the Catalan version of *Pierres de Provença*:

Y allí ell ficave los ulls y lo cor estave molt encés e inflamat de sobre de amor que li tenie, y deÿa entre si mateix que en tot lo món no y vie més gentil dama que la delicada Magalona, ni més dolça, ni més graciosa, ni de tal continença i que benaventurat serie aquell qui estaria bé en la seua gràcia, emperò allò reputava ser impossible per a ell.⁶¹

It is not necessary to go further, since the evidence is beyond any doubt clear after the testimonies quoted above, among many others that could have been also listed. The point of our paper lies in the presentation of a sufficient sample of motifs attested in a variety of literatures – Ancient and Byzantine Greek, Catalan, French, Italian, Latin, and Spanish –, genres – epic poetry, lyric poetry, including such mixed genres as Hellenistic epyllion and Medieval *fabliau*, erotic novel, chivalric novel, historiography, short story, wisdom literature and paroemiography –, and periods, covering from the Archaic Age till the Late Middle Age. Not otherwise can be explained the literary history of Europe.

⁶⁰ Dante, Vita Nuova II.

⁶¹ Pierres de Provença VI, 15-18.

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