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Edited by Adam J. Goldwyn, Ingela Nilsson  
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## READING THE LATE BYZANTINE ROMANCE

The corpus of Palaiologan romances consists of about a dozen works of imaginative fiction from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries which narrate the trials and tribulations of aristocratic young lovers. This volume brings together leading scholars of Byzantine literature to examine the corpus afresh and aims to be the definitive work on the subject, suitable for scholars and students of all levels. It offers interdisciplinary and transnational approaches which demonstrate the aesthetic and cultural value of these works in their own right and their centrality to the medieval and early modern Greek, European and Mediterranean literary traditions. From a historical perspective, the volume also emphasizes how the romances represent a turning point in the history of Greek letters: they are a repository of both ancient and medieval oral poetic and novelistic traditions and yet are often considered the earliest works of modern Greek literature.

ADAM J. GOLDWYN is an assistant professor of English at North Dakota State University, where he specializes in Byzantine literature, Mediterranean studies and classical reception. He is the author of *Byzantine Ecocriticism: Women, Nature and Power in the Medieval Greek Romance* (2017).

INGELA NILSSON is Professor of Greek and Byzantine Studies at Uppsala University. Her research interests concern all forms of narration and literary adaptation, and the tension that such procedures create between tradition and innovation. Such perspectives are at the centre of her recent monograph *Raconter Byzance: la littérature au 12e siècle* (2014).

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# READING THE LATE BYZANTINE ROMANCE

A Handbook

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**Efthymia Priki** was awarded her Ph.D. in Byzantine studies from the University of Cyprus in 2016. Her thesis, which she is now in the process of turning into a book, deals with dreams of initiation, focusing on *Livistros and Rhodamne*, *Roman de la Rose* and *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. She has given talks and has published articles related to comparative literature, dream narratives and text/image studies. She has taught medieval and Byzantine literature at the University of Cyprus and the Vladimirov Kafkarides School of Drama.

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articles on the role of animals in Palaiologan literature and is now part of the Premodern Body Research Group at the University of Edinburgh. She is currently working on concepts of beauty and the production and trade of cosmetics in Byzantium.

**Kostas Yiavis** is currently an assistant professor of comparative literature at the University of Thessaloniki. He is interested in the ways in which literature both disturbs and validates seemingly more powerful discourses. His first two books are a critical edition of the sixteenth-century romance *Imperios and Margarona* (2018) and a popularising version of it with an added theoretical emphasis on the phenomenology of pre-modern writing (2019). Yiavis will next publish the essays of Kostis Palamas, a major nineteenth–twentieth-century critic and poet.

## *Acknowledgements*

The present volume goes back to a conference held at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 27–29 November 2014, entitled ‘Romance Between East and West: New Approaches to Medieval Greek Fiction’. The conference was generously financed by the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond). We are very grateful to the Foundation for its financial support and to the Institute for hosting the conference. A special thanks to Eleni Androvic for helping us with all the practicalities and to the then director of the Institute Arto Penttinen.

The aim of the conference was to open up new avenues of exploration for the so-called Palaiologan romances, to account for new scholarly developments and to encourage comparative, cross-disciplinary and theoretical approaches. Not all papers that were presented at the conference are included in the volume, and some of the contributors did not attend the conference. The call for papers and the conference remain, though, the source of inspiration for the majority of chapters, and we would therefore like to thank all those who were present in Athens and contributed to the interesting and stimulating discussions. We are grateful also to those contributors who agreed to join the volume at a later stage.

Adam Goldwyn wishes to thank Dumbarton Oaks, where much of the work was completed during a 2016/17 research fellowship, the other fellows and in particular Elena Boeck, then director of Byzantine Studies. He would also like to thank his colleagues at North Dakota State University for the collegial and supportive environment they provide.

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We are grateful to the anonymous reviewers for critical and fruitful remarks, adding to the final shape of the volume. We would also like to thank Carolina Cupane, who has offered useful advice on the structure and scope of the volume, and Michael Sharp, who encouraged us to publish the volume and supported us every step of the way. Last but not least, many thanks to copy-editor Martin Barr, whose sharp eye saved us from many blunders and whose geniality encouraged us to the very end.

## *Note on the Late Byzantine Romances and Their Editions*

Readers who approach the late Byzantine romances for the first time may be confused by the fluctuant boundaries of the corpus,<sup>1</sup> as well as the varying use of titles and spelling of those titles.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the textual situation of several of the romances, surviving in different versions that are edited separately and read as different works, may seem unusual and the dating of several works is still tentative. In this volume we have standardized the transliteration of titles and names,<sup>3</sup> but have left it to the contributors to use the editions they prefer and indicate the dating for which they argue. We hope that the cross-references will help readers to navigate among the different chapters, but we should also like to offer an annotated list of titles and what may be seen as standard editions of the romances discussed in this volume. Translations into modern languages have also been included. Our list is organized according to tentative dating and does not divide the romances into ‘originals’ and ‘translations’ or ‘adaptations’. For further details of dating and textual transmission, readers may consult the more detailed discussions of the individual chapters.

### ***Livistros and Rhodamne – also Tale of Livistros and Rhodamne (Mid-Thirteenth Century)***<sup>4</sup>

J. A. Lambert (ed.), *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* (Amsterdam 1935) (E).

<sup>1</sup> For instance, some of the standard works, such as Beaton 1996 and Agapitos 2004, do not define the corpus according to the same criteria. See also Cupane 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Again, standard works tend to use different titles and different spelling; cf. for example Cupane 2016 with Agapitos 2004. As for Byzantine names beyond the Palaiologan romances, they are in this volume transliterated according to their spelling in the *ODB*, whereas we use the Latinized spelling of ancient Greek names and places (i.e. Photios, but Herodotus).

<sup>3</sup> Following, in principle, Agapitos 2004 and 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Dating according to Agapitos 1993. Cf. Cupane 2004: 440 and 2016: 101. See also Lendari 2007: 65–71. On questions of versions and manuscripts, see Agapitos 2006: 67–93 and Lendari 2007: 56–64. See also Chapter 4 in the present volume.

xiv *Note on the Late Byzantine Romances and Their Editions*

- P. A. Agapitos (ed.), *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης. Κριτική έκδοση τῆς διασκευῆς «ἄλφα»* (Athens 2006) (α).
- T. Lendari (ed.), *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης (Livistros and Rodamni): The Vatican Version. Critical Edition with Introduction, Commentary, and Index-Glossary* (Athens 2007) (V).
- G. Betts (trans.), *Three Medieval Greek Romances: Velthandros and Chrysandza, Kallimachos and Chrysorroï, Livistros and Rodamni* (New York 1995), 95–192.
- C. Cupane, ‘Il romanzo’, in *La cultura bizantina*, ed. G. Cavallo. (Rome 2004) 407–53.
- ‘Una passeggiata nei boschi narrativi. Lo statuto della finzione nel “Medioevo romanzo e Orientale”’, *JÖB* 63 (2013): 61–90.
- ‘In the Realm of Eros: The Late Byzantine Vernacular Romance – Original Texts’, in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. C. Cupane and B. Krönung. (Leiden and Boston 2016) 95–126.

***War of Troy (Second Half of Thirteenth Century)*<sup>5</sup>**

- M. Papathomopoulos and E. M. Jeffreys (eds.), *Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος (The War of Troy). Κριτική έκδοση με εἰσαγωγή καὶ πῖνακες* (Athens 1996).

***Velthandros and Chysantzza (Late Thirteenth Century)*<sup>6</sup>**

- E. Kriaras (ed.), *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα* (Athens 1955), 101–30.
- C. Cupane (ed.), *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini: Callimaco e Crisorroë, Beltandro e Crisanza, Storia di Achille, Florio e Plaziafiore, Storia di Apollonio di Tiro, Favola consolatoria sulla Cattiva e la Buona Sorte* (Turin 1995), 227–305 (revised version of Kriaras 1955 with Italian trans.)
- J. M. Egea (ed.), *Historia extraordinaria de Beltandro y Crisanza. Estudio preliminar, texto griego, traducción, notas y comentarios* (Granada 1998) (with Spanish trans.).
- G. Betts (trans.), *Three Medieval Greek Romances: Velthandros and Chrysandza, Kallimachos and Chrysorroï, Livistros and Rodamni* (New York 1995), 5–32.

***Kallimachos and Chysorrhoe (First Half of Fourteenth Century)*<sup>7</sup>**

- E. Kriaras (ed.), *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα* (Athens 1955), 29–83.

<sup>5</sup> Dating according to Jeffreys 2013; for a detailed discussion, see Chapter 8 in the present volume. The *War of Troy* was included in Beaton 1996, but excluded in the discussion by Agapitos 2004: 14; in the present volume it is argued that it belongs among the Palaiologan romances (see Chapters 7, 8 and 12).

<sup>6</sup> Dating according to Agapitos 2004: 13.

<sup>7</sup> This is one of the few Palaiologan romances that may perhaps be attributed to a specific author: Andronikos Komnenos Palaiologos, a cousin of the ruling emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos

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- M. Pichard (ed.), *Le roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe* (Paris 1956) (with French trans.)  
 C. Cupane (ed.), *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini: Callimaco e Crisorro, Beltandro e Crisanza, Storia di Achille, Florio e Plaziaflore, Storia di Apollonio di Tiro, Favola consolatoria sulla Cattiva e la Buona Sorte* (Turin 1995), 47–213 (revised version of Kriaras 1955 with Italian trans.).

***Tale of Achilles – also Achilleid (Mid-Fourteenth Century)*<sup>8</sup>**

- D. C. Hesseling (ed.), *L'Achilleide byzantine publiée avec une introduction, des observations et un index* (Amsterdam 1919) (N and L).  
 O. L. Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Version of the Achilleid* (Copenhagen 1990) (O).<sup>9</sup>  
 P. A. Agapitos, ‘Η χρονολογική ακολουθία των μυθιστορημάτων Καλλίμαχος, Βέλθανδρος καὶ Λίβιστρος’, in *Ἀρχές τῆς νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας. Πρακτικά τοῦ δευτέρου διεθνοῦς συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi* (Βενετία 1991), ed. N. M. Panagiotakis, 2 vols. (Venice 1993) vol. II, 197–234.  
 P. A. Agapitos, ‘Genre, Structure and Poetics in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances of Love’ [SO debate], *Symbolae Osloenses* 79 (2004): 7–101.  
 P. A. Agapitos, ‘In Rhomaian, Frankish and Persian Lands: Fiction and Fictionality in Byzantium’, in *Medieval Narrative Between History and Fiction: From the Centre to the Periphery of Europe, c. 1100–1400*, ed. P. A. Agapitos and L. B. Mortensen. (Copenhagen 2012) 235–367.  
 R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 2nd edn, revised and expanded. (London and New York 1996).  
 C. Cupane (ed.), *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini: Callimaco e Crisorro, Beltandro e Crisanza, Storia di Achille, Florio e Plaziaflore, Storia di Apollonio di Tiro, Favola consolatoria sulla Cattiva e la Buona Sorte* (Turin 1995), 324–442 (revised version of Hesseling 1919 with Italian trans.).  
 R. Lavagnini, ‘Tales of the Trojan War: Achilles and Paris in Medieval Greek Literature’, in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. C. Cupane and B. Krönung. (Leiden and Boston 2016). 234–59.  
 O. L. Smith (ed.), *The Byzantine Achilleid: The Naples Version. Introduction, Critical Edition and Commentary by Ole L. Smith; Edited and Prepared for Publication by P. A. Agapitos and K. Hult* (Vienna 1999) 13–74 (N).

(1282–1328). For a recent discussion, see Cupane 2016: 95–7. See also Chapter 3 in the present volume.

<sup>8</sup> Dating according to Agapitos 2004, following Smith 1999. For a brief discussion of manuscripts and a detailed summary of the plot, see Lavagnini 2016: 240–4.

<sup>9</sup> Revised version (without critical apparatus) reprinted in Smith 1999: 155–76.

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***Apollonios of Tyre – also The Story of Long-Suffering Apollonios of Tyre (Mid-Fourteenth Century)***<sup>10</sup>

- A. Janssen (ed.), *Narratio neogreca Apollonii Tyrii*. Diss Nijmegen 1954 (with Latin trans.).
- C. Cupane (ed.), *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini: Callimaco e Crisorro, Beltandro e Crisanza, Storia di Achille, Florio e Plaziafiore, Storia di Apollonio di Tiro, Favola consolatoria sulla Cattiva e la Buona Sorte* (Turin 1995), 567–633 (revised version of Janssen 1954 with Italian trans.).
- G. Kechagioglou (ed.), *Απολλώνιος της Τύρου. Υστερομεσαιωνικές και νεότερες ελληνικές μορφές. Κριτική έκδοση με εισαγωγές, σχόλια, πίνακες λέξεων–γλωσσάρια και επίμετρα* (Thessaloniki 2004).
- F. Rizzo Nervo, 'Le versioni greche medievali dell' Apollonio di Tiro', in *Seminario l'Apollonio di Tiro nelle letterature euroasiatiche dal Tardo-antico al Medioevo*, ed. F. Beggato and S. Marinetti. (Soveria Mannelli 2002) 151–66.

***Florios and Platziafiore (Second Half of Fourteenth Century)***<sup>11</sup>

- D. C. Hesseling (ed.), *Le roman de Phlorios et de Platzia Phlore* (Amsterdam 1917) (L).
- E. Kriaras (ed.), *Βυζαντινά ήπποτικά μυθιστορήματα* (Athens 1955), 141–96 (V and L).
- A. di Benedetto Zimbone 'Ancora su Florios e Platziafiore: un esempio di edizione', in *Ενθύμησις Ν.Μ. Παναγιωτάκη*, ed. S. Kaklamanis and A. Markopoulos-Mavromatis. (Irakleio, 2000) 269–90.
- C. Cupane (ed.), *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini: Callimaco e Crisorro, Beltandro e Crisanza, Storia di Achille, Florio e Plaziafiore, Storia di Apollonio di Tiro, Favola consolatoria sulla Cattiva e la Buona Sorte* (Turin 1995), 464–565 (revised version of Hesseling 1917 with Italian trans.).
- F. J. Ortolá Salas and Florio y Platzia Flora (eds.), *Una novela bizantina de época paleóloga* (Madrid 1998) ('mixed' edition with Spanish trans.).<sup>12</sup>

***Tale of Troy – also Byzantine Iliad (Late Fourteenth–Early Fifteenth Centuries)***<sup>13</sup>

- L. Nørgaard and O. L. Smith (eds.), *A Byzantine Iliad: The Text of Par. Suppl. Gr. 926* (Copenhagen 1975).

<sup>10</sup> Dating according to Rizzo Nervo 2002 and Kechagioglou 2004. On the many versions in different languages of this text, see Chapter 6 in the present volume.

<sup>11</sup> Dating according to Agapitos 2004: 13.

<sup>12</sup> On the problems of 'mixed' editions such as Kriaras and Ortolá Salas, see Agapitos 2004: 13, n. 14, referring (for the specific case of Florios and Platziafiore) to di Benedetto Zimbone 2000.

<sup>13</sup> Dating according to Agapitos 2004: 13. For a detailed summary of the plot, see Lavagnini 2016: 246–8.

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***Alexander and Semiramis (First Half of Fifteenth Century)*<sup>14</sup>**

- U. Moennig (ed.), *Die Erzählung von Alexander und Semiramis* (Berlin and New York 2004) (**B** and **S** with German trans. of **B**).

***Old Knight (First Half of Fifteenth Century)***

- P. Breillat (ed.), 'La Table Ronde en Orient. Le poème grec du Vieux Chevalier', *Mélanges d'archéologie et histoire* 55 (1938): 308–40.  
 F. Rizzo Nervo (ed.), *Il Vecchio Cavaliere* (Soveria Mannelli 2000).  
 R. H. Martin (trans.), 'Palamides, and Other Knights of the Round Table, in *The Tristan Legend: Texts from Northern and Eastern Europe in Modern English Translation*, ed. J. Hill. (Leeds 1977), 30–46.  
 A. Goldwyn, 'Arthur in the East: Cross-Cultural Translations of Arthurian Romance in Greek and Hebrew, Including a New Translation of 'Ο Πρέσβυς Ἰππότης (The Old Knight)', *LATCH* 5 (2012): 75–105.

***Imperios and Margarona (Mid-Fifteenth Century)*<sup>15</sup>**

- W. Wagner (ed.), *Histoire de Imberios et Margarona: Imitation grecque du roman français Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne. Publiée pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Vienne* (Paris 1874) (**V**).  
 S. P. Lambros (ed.), *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers* (Paris 1880), 239–88 (**O**).  
 Jeffreys, E. and M. Jeffreys, 1971. 'Imberios and Margarona: The Manuscripts, Sources and Edition of a Byzantine Verse Romance', *Byzantion* 41: 122–60.  
 E. Kriaras (ed.), *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα* (Athens 1955), 215–49 (unrhymed version).<sup>16</sup>  
 K. Yiavis (ed.), *Imperios and Margarona: The Rhymed Version* (Athens, in press).

***Teseida – also The Marriage of Theseus and Aemilia (Late Fifteenth Century)*<sup>17</sup>**

- E. Follieri (ed.), *Il Teseida Neogreco. Libro I. Saggio di edizione* (Athens and Rome 1959) (partial edition).

<sup>14</sup> Dating according to Agapitos 2004: 13.      <sup>15</sup> Dating according to Agapitos 2004: 13.

<sup>16</sup> Problematic 'mixed' edition of several versions and fragments; see Agapitos 2004: 13, n. 17. On the complex textual situation, see Jeffreys and Jeffreys 1971. See also Chapter 5 in the present volume.

<sup>17</sup> According to Agapitos 2004: 14, the Greek *Teseida* is 'barely connected to the Byzantine tradition' and probably catered to a Greek audience in Italy. The *Teseida* was one of the few vernacular Greek texts to be printed in Renaissance Venice; see Káklamanis 1997.



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- S. Kaklamanis, 'Από τὸ χειρόγραφο στο ἔντυπο Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Αἰμιλίας', *Thesaurismata* 27 (1997): 147–223.  
 B. Olsen (ed.), 'The Greek Translation of Boccaccio's *Theseid* Book 6', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 41 (1990): 275–301 (partial edition).

In addition to this more or less stable core of twelve Palaiologan romances, some other texts that are more loosely connected to the corpus are discussed in the present volume and therefore deserve to be mentioned and listed here. One is the *Digenis Akritis* (ed. Jeffreys 1998), previously dated to the twelfth century and by Beaton referred to as a 'proto-romance', but here treated as narratologically and thematically related to the Palaiologan romances, at least in its version **G** (dated to the late thirteenth or even fourteenth century). Another is the *Alexander Romance*, the immensely popular fictional biography that survives in numerous versions and translations from late antiquity onwards.<sup>18</sup> Usually treated very differently in scholarship, the different versions among the varied manuscripts may be said to straddle the learned and vernacular traditions, representing an impressively long span of storytelling. Frequently mentioned in several chapters in the present volume and often referenced in the discussion of the Palaiologan romances more generally are also the four Komnenian novels, which therefore deserve to be listed below. Finally, two allegorical poems are often mentioned in relation to the romances: the anonymous *Consolatory Fable about Bad and Good Fortune*, probably from the first half of the fourteenth century and written in the vernacular register, and the *Verses on chastity* by Meliteniotes, composed in learned Greek in the middle of the same century. Our first list may then be complemented with the following.

**Komnenian Novels (Twelfth Century)<sup>19</sup>**

- F. Conca (ed.), *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo. Teodoro Prodromo, Niceta Eugeniano, Eustazio Macrembolita, Constantino Manasse* (Turin 1994).  
 E. Jeffreys (trans.), *Four Byzantine Novels: Theodore Prodromos, Rhodanthe and Dosikles; Eumathios Makrembolites, Hysmine and Hysminias; Constantine Manasses, Aristandros and Kallithea; Niketas Eugenianos, Drosilla and Charikles* (Liverpool 2012).  
 'Byzantine Romances: Eastern or Western?', in *Renaissance Encounters: Greek East and Latin West*, ed. M. Brownlee and D. Gondicas. (Princeton 2013) 221–37.

<sup>18</sup> For editions and details of the many versions, not included in the above list, see Chapter 10 in the present volume.

<sup>19</sup> For the sake of convenience, only the Conca edition is included here. For other editions and issues of dating, see Jeffreys 2012. On the Komnenian novels, see also above, n. 11.

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***Digenis Akritis* (Twelfth Century/Version G of Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries)<sup>20</sup>**

E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions* (Cambridge 1998).

***Consolatory Fable about Bad and Good Fortune* (First Half of Fourteenth Century)**

- S. P. Lambros (ed.), *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers* (Paris 1880), 289–311 (O).  
 S. P. Lambros (ed.), ‘Λόγος παρηγορητικὸς περὶ Δυστυχίας κατὰ κώδικα τῆς Λειψίας’, *Neos Hellenomnemon* 3 (1906): 407–432δ [sic] (L).  
 C. Cupane (ed.), *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini: Callimaco e Crisorro, Beltandro e Crisanza, Storia di Achille, Florio e Plaziafiore, Storia di Apollonio di Tiro, Favola consolatoria sulla Cattiva e la Buona Sorte* (Turin 1995), 635–91 (revised version of Lambros 1906 with Italian trans.).

***Meliteniotes, Verses on Chastity* (Mid-Fourteenth Century)<sup>21</sup>**

- P. Miller (ed.), ‘Poème allégorique de Meliténiote, publié d’après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Impériale’, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques* 19.2 (1858): 1–138.  
 M. L. Dolezal and M. Mavroudi (partial English trans.), ‘Theodore Hyrtakenos’ *Description of the Garden of St. Anna* and the Ekphrasis of Gardens’, in *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. A. Littlewood, H. Maguire and J. Wolschke-Buhlman (Washington, DC 2002), 151–8.  
 S. Schönaauer, *Untersuchungen zum Steinkatalog des Sophrosyne-Gedichts des Meliteniotes mit kritischer Edition der Verse 1107–1247*. (Wiesbaden 1996).

Many other texts from various stages of the Greek language, along with western and eastern romances, are mentioned in the course of the following chapters,<sup>22</sup> but we hope that this brief introduction to the most frequently discussed late Byzantine romances and related texts will help the reader to navigate both this volume and the secondary literature to which the respective chapters refer.

<sup>20</sup> On the dating of the manuscript and the potentially Palaiologan context of *Digenis*, see Chapters 9 and 11 in the present volume. Agapitos 2004: 14 excluded *Digenis* from his discussion due to the dating and to the secondary role of the love story in the overall plot.

<sup>21</sup> On the complex textual situation, see Schönaauer 1996. For a recent and detailed discussion, see Cupane 2013: 84–90.

<sup>22</sup> In the following chapters, editions are indicated for all Byzantine and medieval texts, while more widely known Greek and Latin texts of the ancient tradition are expected to be easily located and available in various editions and translations.