

This book presents a comprehensive study of the literature of the Cretan Renaissance and relates it to the historical, social and cultural context. Crete, ruled by Venice from 1211 to 1669, responded to the stimulus of contact with the Renaissance in a body of narrative, personal and dramatic poetry, written in the Cretan dialect and now regarded as an important influence on Modern Greek literature. These literary works are part of a more general phenomenon of cultural fusion which occurred in Crete and can be observed in art and architecture, as well as in learning. The historical background is related to an examination of the structure of Veneto-Cretan society, while the central chapters concentrate on the small but distinguished group of literary texts which have survived, among which drama is especially important, with examples of tragedy, comedy, pastoral and religious drama. Finally, there is a pioneering study of the interrelations of popular poetry and literature.

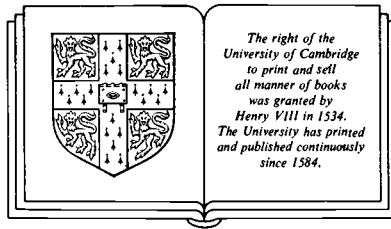
*Literature and society in
Renaissance Crete*

Literature and society in Renaissance Crete

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

New York Port Chester Melbourne Sydney

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521325790

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First published 1991
This digitally printed first paperback version 2006

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Literature and society in Renaissance Crete / edited by David Holton.

p. cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-32579-X

1. Greek poetry, Modern – 1453–1800 – Social aspects – Greece – Crete.

2. Greek drama, Modern – 1453–1800 – Social aspects – Greece – Crete.

I. Holton, David.

PA5639.C7L5 1991

889'.0994998'0902 – dc20 90–38360 CIP

ISBN-13 978-0-521-32579-0 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-32579-X hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-02851-6 paperback

ISBN-10 0-521-02851-5 paperback

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Preface

It is sometimes claimed that the Greeks needed no 'Renaissance', in the western sense, because they had never lost the knowledge of the language and the literary, philosophical and historical writings of their classical forebears. Indeed, the contribution of Greeks to the European Renaissance has frequently been analysed and debated. On the other hand, the term 'Renaissance' is now commonly used to refer to more than one period of cultural renewal in the history of the Byzantine Empire. In the title of this book 'Renaissance' is both chronological and cultural: it serves to delineate a period in which a part of the Greek-speaking world came into direct contact with the culture of the Italian Renaissance. The Cretan Renaissance is no more nor less than the reception and creative exploitation of aspects of Italian Renaissance culture from the fourteenth century to the Baroque on the island of Crete.

As an important constituent part of Venice's maritime empire from 1211 to 1669, Crete gained access to the momentous intellectual and cultural upheavals then taking place in Italy. El Greco is the classic case of a Cretan who was able to exploit the possibilities offered by an intimate knowledge of the two cultural traditions, the Greek (or Byzantine) and the western. Other Cretan painters, however, demonstrate more clearly the process of cultural intermingling that we are concerned with here. The main focus of this book is the literary counterpart of these painters' techniques: the works of Cretan poets and playwrights, writing in the vernacular, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, with particular emphasis on the last hundred years of Venetian rule.

It would be unhelpful, given the relative obscurity of our subject, not to offer some background information about the historical events and the political, social and economic structures which shaped the lives of Cretans and Venetians living on the island in this period: these are the subjects of Chapter 2. The purely intellectual aspects of the Cretan Renaissance are rather poorly documented (whereas for society and economy in particular the archives have preserved a mass of material). However, our intention to include a chapter on education and learning was unfortunately frustrated by circumstances beyond the control of the scholar who had undertaken to write it. The omission of a special chapter devoted to Cretan art and architecture also requires explanation: the subject is simply too vast and important to be summarily dealt with in a single chapter. A whole book, with appropriate illustration, would be needed to give a comprehensive account of the works of art and their producers and consumers, utilising the wealth of new documentary evidence

Preface

which has been published and analysed in the last few decades. The reader will find brief discussions of learning, education and art in Chapters 1 and 2, with suggestions for further reading.

The Cretan literary texts discussed in this volume are little known outside a small circle of academic specialists. Few have been translated into English (although at least one major translation project is in progress) or indeed into other European languages. The two major studies of Cretan Renaissance literature, by Embiricos (1960, in French) and Manousakas (1965, in Greek), have in many respects been superseded by newer researches, which have redated several texts and provided important literary and stylistic studies. In a rapidly expanding field, the collected volume has distinct advantages over the restricted perspective of a single author. However, while individual contributors to this volume have been left free to apply their own approaches and methodologies (with a consequent diversity which, it is hoped, will broaden the reader's perception of the material), at the same time the editor has sought to co-ordinate the various chapters so as to produce a comprehensive coverage of the subject. For the non-specialist, basic information, including plot summaries, has been provided, and all Greek quotations are translated; the specialist will also find full references to the sources and secondary literature. The bibliographical guide both supplements the discussion of detailed points (such as the transmission of the texts) and offers a critical evaluation of published research.

Quotations from medieval and Modern Greek literary texts are usually taken from the most recent edition and adapted to the single-accent system used officially in Greece since 1982. (Since Cretan texts were often written in the Latin alphabet, there is little point in preserving the complex clutter of the historical system of accents.) Transliteration of proper names presents inevitable problems: the system adopted here preserves some phonetic distinctions which other systems ignore, but no claim is made for absolute consistency or logicity. The main town of Crete, the modern Irakleio (Heraklion), is referred to as either Candia or Kastro.

The volume would not have seen the light of day without the support and encouragement of many friends and colleagues. My greatest debt is, of course, to my seven co-authors, whose co-operation, forbearance and enthusiasm made the project possible. Several colleagues read sections of the book in draft, replied to specific queries, or offered advice and suggestions. In particular I wish to record my thanks to Robert Browning, Anthony Bryer, Jean Chothia, Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou, Robin Cormack, Peter Mackridge, Nikos Panagiotakis and Dia Philippides. Any remaining errors, omissions and shortcomings are of course the responsibility of the editor.

Finally, it is a pleasant duty to record that generous financial assistance towards the costs of publication of this volume was provided by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Greece and the London Hellenic Society. I am also indebted to the Master and Fellows of Selwyn College for grants towards secretarial expenses.

DAVID HOLTON



Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean

The Cretan Renaissance

DAVID HOLTON

The island of Crete, situated at the crossroads of three continents, has experienced three long periods of foreign occupation in medieval and modern times. The Arab occupation, from 827 to 961, left almost nothing in the way of material remains and little or no evidence of cultural interchange. The Arabs fortified the main town with a deep defensive ditch which gave its name to the town: El Khandak, or in Greek Chandax. In the form Candia this appellation came to be applied to both the town and the whole island in the later Middle Ages. The second occupation, by the Most Serene Republic of Venice, is by far the longest of the three and the subject of this book. It lasted from 1211, when the Venetians finally succeeded in taking possession of the prize for which they had paid 1,000 marks to Boniface of Montferrat, until the Fall of Candia in 1669, after a siege lasting twenty-one years. Thus began the third period of occupation, by the Ottoman Turks, which was to end only in 1897. The physical evidence of the Turkish occupation is, of course, still visible in Crete today: domestic architecture and fortifications, as well as much of the paraphernalia of everyday life, bear witness in Crete, as in other parts of Greece, to the centuries of Ottoman domination. But while there are undoubted similarities between Greek and Ottoman culture at a popular level, there was remarkably little contact at the level of higher culture. This is in marked contrast to the situation which had developed by the end of the Venetian period of Cretan history; the nature and extent of cultural cross-fertilisation in the period now generally referred to as 'the Cretan Renaissance' will be a recurring theme in the pages which follow.

Throughout the history of the Greek-speaking people there have repeatedly been periods of intense cultural activity generated by contact with an outside culture, whether of the East or of the West. This happened for the first time in the so-called orientalisising period of archaic Greece (c. 750–650 B.C.), in which contact with eastern culture, particularly that of the Phoenicians, precipitated rapid and far-reaching developments in art, religion and literature, as well as in material culture. Again in the Hellenistic period, renewed contact with the East played a large part in the evolution of a new literary form, the novel (Hägg 1983: 100–1). The Christianisation of Greek culture following the conversion of Constantine the Great is again an example of fruitful interaction with an external stimulus. In all these cases we are not dealing with a cultural 'takeover' by outsiders, but an opening-up of traditional cultural

forms and attitudes in response to the impact of unfamiliar beliefs, aesthetic conventions and techniques. The old is not swept away, but adapted to a new and challenging set of conventions.

The impact of Venetian culture on Crete was neither immediate nor decisive. In fact it is only in the last hundred years or so of Venetian rule that the processes we have been describing come to fruition, principally in the fields of painting and dramatic, pastoral and narrative poetry. It would be truer to say that Venice acted as a channel for the dissemination of the achievements of the Italian Renaissance to Crete, as happened in other Venetian possessions in Dalmatia and the Greek islands. None the less, Crete is the place *par excellence* where the meeting of the West with the Greek East took place.

For Venice Crete was primarily of importance as a trading base and stopping-point on her routes to the East. She acquired the privilege of free trade in Crete from the Byzantine Emperor John II shortly after 1126 (Nicol 1988: 81, 85–6). As a direct result of the Fourth Crusade Venice became master of ‘a quarter and a half of a quarter’ of the Byzantine Empire. The Republic’s possessions in the aftermath of the commercial coup of 1204 included not only Crete, but also the Ionian islands of Corfu, Lefkadha, Ithaca, Zakynthos and Kefallonia, the Western Peloponnese including the ports of Methoni and Koroni (Modon and Coron), parts of Euboia (Negroponte) and the islands of Salamis, Aigina and Andros. The number and extent of Venetian possessions underwent considerable ebb and flow in the following centuries, but among the more important territories held for part of the period which concerns us were Cyprus (1489–1571), Nafpaktos (Lepanto, 1407–99), Patras (1408–13, 1417–19), Monemvasia (1464–1540), Nafplio (1388–1540), Kythira (Cerigo, 1363–1797) and Naxos (1437–1500 and 1511–17).¹ The events of 1204 made Venice a maritime empire, within which Crete occupied a vital strategic position for four and a half centuries.

The political, administrative and social history of the Venetian occupation of Crete is dealt with in Chapter 2 of this volume. Here we shall merely highlight some aspects of the intellectual and cultural contacts between Crete and Venice, as background to the detailed discussion of Cretan literary activities which are the subject of the succeeding chapters.

The cultural and intellectual traditions of Crete at the beginning of the Venetian period are essentially those of Byzantium.² Given the turbulent history of the first two centuries of Venetian rule in Crete, it is hardly surprising that there is little evidence of intellectual contacts between native

1 It would be difficult to depict, on a single map, the extent of Venetian possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean. The territories concerned changed hands at various different dates, some of them several times. In addition there were islands held by Venetian families, for example in the Cyclades, but not ruled directly by Venice.

2 It is indicative that the names of Byzantine emperors continued to be mentioned in inscriptions in rural Orthodox churches for two centuries after the conquest.

Cretans and Venetians in this period. The Greeks, smarting under the harsh ecclesiastical policies of Venice and economic and political repression, for the most part continued to identify their religious and cultural attitudes with those of Byzantium. Literacy, on the available evidence, was at a low ebb, although the healthy first signs of an emerging vernacular literature are noted as early as the last decades of the fourteenth century (see Chapter 3). In general Venetian intellectuals who found themselves in Crete remained as ignorant of the learned Greek language as Cretans did of classical Latin and its literature. Nevertheless, there are sporadic indications that the study of classical Greek and its literature continued in Crete in the fourteenth century. Most significant is the information that around 1350 a Greek from Calabria by the name of Leontius Pilatus spent several years in Crete improving his knowledge of Greek. Leontius was later associated with Petrarch (to whom he briefly gave Greek lessons) and through him came to know Boccaccio well (see Pertusi 1961/2). The inference is that Leontius found in Crete facilities for studying classical Greek which were not available in Southern Italy. The existence of numerous manuscripts of classical and Byzantine authors copied in Crete in the fourteenth century is further evidence that by the second half of the century, if not earlier, Crete had become an important cultural centre. We may note in passing the interesting case of Petros Philarges, who received his basic education from the Franciscans in Crete before going on to study in the West. After studying at Oxford and Padua (1357) he taught as a professor in the University of Paris, and at the end of his career was elected pope as Alexander V (1409–10), the only Greek to ascend the papal throne since early medieval times (Geanakoplos 1976: 194, 201, 209).

In the fifteenth century Crete figures in the itineraries of numerous scholars in transit from Byzantium to the West, where they contributed significantly to the development of Renaissance scholarship as teachers of Greek, manuscript copyists and editors and correctors for the printing-houses of Venice and other European cities. Others, like Michael Apostolis, settled in Crete (in his case not without reluctance and frequent complaint). Apostolis (1420–80) fled from Constantinople to Crete after the Fall and spent most of his remaining years there, teaching, copying manuscripts and training young copyists in the *scriptorium* which he founded in Kastro. He also made frequent journeys to Constantinople to collect manuscripts and visited Italy several times. His son Arsenios (1468/9–1535) continued his work in Crete before emigrating to Italy. He was active as a copyist in Florence and as an editor/publisher in Venice, from where he revisited Crete (1497–9), probably to collect manuscripts for Aldus Manutius. Another Constantinopolitan who sought temporary refuge in Crete after the Fall was the young Ianos Laskaris (Janus Lascaris, 1445–1534). Befriended by the Venetian prefect of Crete Thomas Celso, he went on to Venice ‘lured by the gifts distributed by Bessarion to promising young Greeks’, to become one of the foremost scholars of his generation (Geanakoplos 1962: 49).

These and other refugees from the Byzantine Empire undoubtedly played a part in the rapid growth of scholarly activity which has been noted in Crete in the second half of the fifteenth century, although the role of Venetian administrators as patrons and the growing interest in Greek scholarship in Venice itself are also significant factors (Geanakoplos 1962: 51). At the same time there was a growing number of native Cretans who evinced scholarly inclinations and contributed to this movement, both in Crete itself and in Venice and beyond. In the early part of the fifteenth century, a group of scholars gathered around the learned Ioannis Symeonakis, *protopapas* of Candia. A productive copyist, he continued the best traditions of Byzantine scholarship and numbered among his pupils a major Italian scholar, Rinuccio of Arezzo. Others of his group were George of Trebizond (born in Crete in 1395), who later distinguished himself in Venice as an Aristotelian scholar and teacher of Latin, and the copyist Michael Lygizos, who composed one of the first commentaries on Thucydides. Cretan copyists of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries played a significant role in the dissemination of classical texts to the West, many of them also functioning as teachers of Greek and as editors.

Venice was the natural destination of large numbers of Greek scholars, both from the Byzantine lands and from Crete and other Venetian possessions. There had been Greeks living in Venice since the city's infancy, but it is only from the fifteenth century that it is possible to speak of an organised Greek community. The fact that many parts of the former Byzantine Empire were now under Venetian rule, with consequent ease of communications, drew many Greeks to the Serenissima in the years before and after the Fall of Constantinople. By 1478 it is estimated that there were already some 4,000 Greeks living in Venice. According to one report (perhaps exaggerated) their numbers had swollen to 15,000 by 1580 (Geanakoplos 1962: 60-1).³ The community's relations with the Venetian authorities were in large measure determined by the prevailing ecclesiastical climate; intolerance and persecution frequently manifested themselves when an issue of policy arose. From 1456 onwards the Greeks repeatedly petitioned for the right to establish their own church; finally, in 1539 the cornerstone of the Church of San Giorgio dei Greci was laid and in 1573 the building was completed.⁴

From an analysis of the membership registers of the Greek Confraternity or *Scuola* (established in 1498), we have valuable information about the origins and occupations of Greeks living in Venice. In the years from 1498 to 1530 Greeks of Cypriot origin constituted the most numerous group among the

3 At its peak about 1570 the total population of Venice numbered nearly 190,000 (Lane 1973: 333).

4 From 1470 the Greeks, officially Uniates, had been allowed the use of a side-chapel in the Church of San Biagio; from 1527 they worshipped in a temporary church (see Geanakoplos 1962: 62-6, with some inconsistencies). For a detailed account of the establishment of the Greek church in Venice see now Manoussacas 1989.

membership of the *Scuola*, followed by Cretans. Between 1533 and 1562 the Cretans took third place behind Greeks from Nafplio and Corfu. A wide variety of trades and professions is represented: tailors, sword-makers, gold workers (*tiraori* and *battiori*), barbers and barber-surgeons, cloth-workers (*cimadori*), painters and craftsmen of all kinds, *specieri* (who purveyed perfumes, spices, oil, wax etc.), caulkers, builders and carpenters are the occupational groups who participated most actively in the affairs of the *Scuola*. Among women members we find nuns, seamstresses, wet-nurses and house-keepers, although the largest group describe themselves as housewives. We also find a significant number of scholarly men, including copyists, printers and teachers. Finally there are numerous mercenary soldiers (*stradioti*), sailors and merchants (see Mavroeidhi 1976). Since male membership of the *Scuola* was limited (initially to 250), these registers do not present a complete picture of the Greek community of Venice, but they do indicate the range and diversity of the Greeks' participation in the economy of sixteenth-century Venice.

The newly established printing industry provided employment for many Greek scholars and artisans. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century Venice was the busiest centre of printing in the whole of Europe; it produced over half the books printed in Italy before 1500. It was the presence in Venice of a substantial number of skilled Greek copyists and textual scholars, together with the fact that Venice was an important centre in the trade of Greek manuscripts, that led Aldus Manutius to establish his printing-press there in 1490.⁵ The first book containing Greek characters to be printed in Venice was the 1471 edition of the *Erotemata* of Manuel Chrysoloras. Between 1471 and 1476 Nicolas Jenson printed a number of Latin texts which contained Greek quotations, but the first printed book entirely in Greek was produced not in Venice (as was once thought), but in Milan. This was another grammatical work, the *Epitome* of Konstantinos Laskaris, printed in 1476 with type designed by the Cretan Dhimitrios Dhamilas (da Milano) (Vranoussis 1986: 31–3). Venice was, however, the location for another pioneering venture in Greek printing. In 1486 the Cretans Laonikos Kavvadhatos, *protopapas* of Chania, and Alexander, the son of George the priest, of Candia, each printed a Greek work: the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia* and a *Psalter*. Laonikos was a pupil of the renowned Michael Apostolis, but little else is known about these two enterprising Cretans; they do not appear to have printed any more books.

The establishment of the Aldine Press is of course a major landmark in the history of Greek printing. Before Manutius began his work, only a dozen Greek books had been printed in the whole of Italy. His first editions were probably the *Hero and Leander* of Musaeus and the *Galeomyomachia* of

⁵ A further practical consideration may have been the existence of a flourishing paper industry at nearby Padua.

Theodore Prodromus, produced in 1494. From then until 1515, with a lull from 1506 to 1508 because of the troubled political situation, he was engaged in the printing of classical Greek texts – although he also produced important editions of Latin and vernacular authors, including Dante, Petrarch and Bembo. For his Greek editions he soon had a competitor in the person of the Cretan Zacharias Kalliergis, whose first publication is dated 1499. Unlike Aldus, Kalliergis was concerned exclusively with Greek books. His first four publications, produced in 1499 and 1500 in partnership with the wealthy Cretan Nikolaos Vlastos, were all editions of lesser known works on the Greek language, philosophy and medicine. For the first of these, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, another Cretan, Markos Mousouros, acted as editor.⁶ Kalliergis was living in Padua from 1501, but he resumed printing in Venice in 1509 with three books of an ecclesiastical nature. His preface to his edition of the *Horologion* is addressed ‘to all Orthodox Christians everywhere’, and marks the beginning of an important project to print a series of liturgical texts for the use of Orthodox Christians. Kalliergis was prevented from completing this programme himself. The baton passed to Andreas Kounadhis, a merchant from Patras, who in 1521 entered into an agreement with the da Sabbio family of printers to produce a series of Greek editions. By 1523 three editions had appeared: a *Psalter*, a *Parakletike* and a *Triodion*. Despite the death of Kounadhis in that year, the da Sabbio found other backers and continued their work until the middle of the century, producing more than seventy Greek editions. Most importantly they were responsible for the first concerted attempt to print editions of literary works in vernacular Greek.

The first vernacular text had in fact appeared in print in 1509. It was a Cretan poem, the *Apokopos* of Bergadhis (see further Chapter 3). Until recently it was thought that the first edition of this work was published in 1519. The discovery of a copy of a 1509 edition, printed in Venice⁷ by Nikolaos Kalliergis, the son of Zacharias, has radically revised the early history of Greek printing, at least as far as vernacular works are concerned (see Layton 1990). A second edition of the *Apokopos* issued from the da Sabbio press in 1534. Other Cretan works printed by the da Sabbio family include the *Theseid*, *Apollonios*, the *Chapbook of the Donkey* and *Belisarios*.

The inauguration of the printing of demotic literature is an important development in Modern Greek cultural history. The connection with Venice made this possible. Vernacular works by Cretan poets, and indeed by poets from the Ionian Isles, Koroni and elsewhere, could now reach a wide audience throughout the Greek-speaking world. These works, and the liturgical texts, provided the Greeks with their principal reading matter, and also teaching material for acquiring basic literacy, over the next two or three centuries.

6 On Mousouros (c. 1470–1517), the most influential of the Greek scholars who pursued careers in the West, see Geanakoplos 1962: 110–66.

7 For a recent discussion on the problem of the date and provenance of the first edition of the *Apokopos* see Luciani 1987, now superseded by Layton 1990.

Another magnet attracting Greeks to Northern Italy was the pursuit of higher education at the University of Padua. Venice had no university of her own, so it was at Padua that her future lawyers, doctors and grammarians acquired their training. It was not until 1463 that a Chair of Greek was established at Padua, the first occupant being the Athenian Demetrius Chalcondyles (1463–71). His successors included the Cretan humanist Markos Mousouros (1503–9); he taught many of the major scholars of his generation, who flocked from all over Europe to hear his lectures. Cretans came to Padua in considerable numbers to seek higher education and professional training. It is estimated that more than a thousand Cretans studied there between 1500 and 1700, and that at least half of the Greeks studying there before 1669 were of Cretan origin. Some fifty-one Cretans are listed in the register of graduates for the sixteenth century (making them by far the largest group of Greeks who graduated from Padua); this figure ignores the much larger number of students who did not proceed to their final examinations (Ploumidhis 1974a: 72). Smaller numbers of young Cretans studied at Verona, Bologna, Ferrara and Milan, while from 1577 others, mainly from the poorer classes, attended the College of St Athanasius in Rome, founded by Pope Gregory XIII exclusively for Greek students. (Between 1577 and 1669 about a third of its students came from Crete.)

Thus far we have been concentrating on the opportunities opened up by the link with Venice for Greeks, and Cretans in particular, to study and work in Italy. What of Crete itself? The existence of private tutors offering rudimentary education in the principal towns of Crete is well documented (see Chapter 2). Soon after the Fall of Constantinople a school was founded in Candia, under the control of the Greek Uniates, on the instructions of Cardinal Bessarion. This school continued to function throughout the sixteenth century, but its rigid Catholic orientation meant that Orthodox parents would have been reluctant to send their children there. In 1501 a group of Candiot nobles petitioned the authorities to appoint a public teacher of Latin and Greek, but apparently to no effect.⁸ Cretan parents therefore had to choose between private tutors, some of whom opened their own schools in the cities, or the school endowed by Bessarion. Notwithstanding the lack of public educational facilities, by the sixteenth century there is evidence of a generally high level of intellectual and cultural activity in Crete. Students returning from Padua or Rome, Venetian officials and visiting scholars combined to create in Crete a cultural life not too far removed from that of the Italian cities. Literary societies, or academies, eventually existed in each of the three main cities of Crete. The first, the Academy of the Vivi, was established in Rethymno in 1562 by Francesco Barozzi (1537–1604). A Veneto-Cretan noble, Barozzi had studied and taught at Padua before returning to Crete, where he

⁸ It was not until the last decades of Venetian rule that such a teacher was appointed; see Panagiotakis 1988: 178.

wrote and published a number of works on mathematics and played a leading part in the intellectual life of the island. His important collection of manuscripts, the *codices Barocciani*, is now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Panagiotakis 1974; see also Bancroft-Marcus 1982/3). The Academy of the Stravaganti was founded in Kastro by Andrea Cornaro in 1591 and has left behind a body of publications and manuscript poetry (Panagiotakis 1968; Panagiotakis and Vincent 1970). It is now widely believed that Vitsentzos Kornaros, the poet of the *Erotokritos*, was the brother of the Academy's founder and himself a member (see further Chapter 9). Finally, Chania had its Academy of the Sterili, which was certainly in existence in 1632 and may have been functioning for several years, or even decades, before that date (Bancroft-Marcus 1982/3: 49–50). Although there is little direct evidence to connect native Cretans with these academies, it is possible that they provided one of the most important fora for Italian–Greek cultural interchange. Further archive research may shed more light on their activities and the extent to which native Cretans participated in them. For the moment we may simply conclude that the existence of such academies, modelled on the Italian institution, is evidence for a high level of cultural activity in the Cretan towns in the last century of Venetian rule.

Contact with Venice also had a far-reaching effect on Cretan painting, which was of course rooted in the Byzantine tradition. In the second half of the fourteenth century new techniques in fresco painting were already being developed. Towards the end of that century and in the early part of the fifteenth the tradition was renewed with the arrival of craftsmen from Constantinople, contributing distinct classicising tendencies to Cretan painting.

In the years after the Fall of Constantinople we may note the development of a 'composite style', in which traditional Byzantine iconographic elements were blended with elements from the Italian Renaissance. The work of the major fifteenth-century painter Angelos Akotandos⁹ (who used to be dated a century later) already shows the presence of secondary Italian influence grafted on to the Palaeologan tradition. After 1453 many Constantinopolitan painters established themselves in Crete and adapted to the somewhat different expectations of their clients there. By now fresco painting is in decline, and Cretan painters turn their attention to the portable icon; by the end of the fifteenth century there was a flourishing export trade in Cretan icons (Cattapan 1972). The work of Andreas Ritzos (active 1451–92), who produced icons in both Byzantine and Italian styles, had a far-reaching influence on contemporary and later artists. But the tradition of fresco painting did not die out. In the first half of the sixteenth century its principal exponent is Theophanes the Cretan;

9 Akotandos left a fascinating will, in Greek, written in 1436 just before he set off on a trip to Constantinople; in it he gave instructions for the disposition of his paintings and the tools of his trade in the event of his death (Manousakas 1961b).

assisted by his two sons, he was in great demand throughout Greece, and notable examples of his work survive in monasteries of the Meteora, Mount Athos and elsewhere.

In the sixteenth century a number of Cretan artists enriched the tradition, several of them having no difficulty in accommodating the Renaissance and Mannerist tastes of their patrons. Michael Dhamaskinos (born 1530–5, died after 1591) is among the most successful. Born in Kastro, he worked in Venice, and perhaps elsewhere in Italy, as well as in Crete; about a hundred of his paintings survive. His work is distinguished by an eclectic blending of Byzantine and Italian elements, in which however the essential Byzantine conception of the icon remains recognisable. His contemporary Dominikos Theotokopoulos, better known as El Greco (1540/1–1614), received his initial training in Crete before setting off in 1567 to seek his fortune in Venice and, eventually, Toledo. Already described as '*maestro*' in documents of 1563, Theotokopoulos, like Dhamaskinos, learned to paint in both western and Byzantine styles. By 1566, still in Crete, he had produced icons in the Byzantine tradition, as a document of that year proves (Constantoudaki 1975). At the age of twenty-seven, however, he opted for the West, while Dhamaskinos remained attached to the Cretan tradition, which he enriched immeasurably with elements drawn from a variety of Italian artistic schools. The other major figure of the sixteenth century is Georgios Klontzas (active 1562–1608). His icons are noted for their miniaturist technique, crowded with people and Renaissance-style buildings.

In the generation after Dhamaskinos and Klontzas, some Cretan painters, such as Ieremias Palladhas, Emmanouil Lambardhos and Viktor, consciously rejected Italian models, returning to early sixteenth-century techniques, while others continued the dialogue with western styles. Theodoros Poulakis, a native of Chania, succeeded in producing work in both conservative and westernising styles, the latter echoing the Baroque. Like many artists of his generation (for example, Emmanouil Tzanes Bounialis), particularly after the beginning of the Cretan War, Poulakis left Crete to pursue his profession in more congenial surroundings, in his case first Venice and later Corfu, where he died in 1692.

The variety and richness of Cretan painting cannot be adequately discussed in the brief space available here. In recent years much new evidence has come to light about the artists themselves, their patrons and their methods of working, as a result of archival research. We now know, for example, a good deal about their organisation, from the sixteenth century if not before, in professional guilds (see Konstandoudhaki-Kitromilidhou 1981). Information is also coming to light about the existence in Crete of private collections of both religious and secular art. All this says much about the vitality of Cretan art and its significance in the cultural life of the Cretan urban centres.

The mingling of two cultural traditions which characterises Cretan painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is also evident in architecture.

Sebastiano Serlio and Palladio, whose ideas were known in Crete chiefly from their highly influential books, left their mark on many buildings of the time, monastic, public and domestic.

In the field of music, although the evidence is more fragmentary, a somewhat similar process seems to have been at work. Western polyphonic music was not only performed in the monasteries and churches of the Cretan cities, but also exercised an influence on the development of Orthodox church music in Crete. The only Cretan composer of the Venetian period known by name is the Catholic priest Frangiskos Leondaritis (c. 1518–c. 1572). He probably acquired his early musical training in Italy, and from 1536 he was organist of the Catholic church of St Titus in Kastro. He returned to Italy in 1549, becoming a *cantore* in the choir of St Mark's Cathedral in Venice. Later his career took him briefly to Padua and then to Germany, where he entered the service of the Duke of Bavaria, Albert V. In 1564 and 1566 he published in Venice two collections of motets; other works of his, including three masses, survive in manuscript. He returned to Crete in 1568 and resumed his former office as a canon of St Titus. Leondaritis's career is in many ways a fascinating parallel to that of El Greco – indeed he was known as '*il Greco*' in Italian musical circles – with the difference that he returned to his native island at the end of his life. Leondaritis's case is unique in Cretan musical history: we know of no other composer who successfully adapted to western music. None the less, evidence is now emerging that Cretan music, both ecclesiastical and secular, experienced a creative dialogue with its western counterpart; the process was not greatly dissimilar in kind to what was happening in literature and painting (Panagiotakis 1988: 291–315).

Our primary concern in this book is with literature. Here we shall not discuss specific works in any detail, but rather try to identify some significant characteristics of the literary production of Crete between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries and to provide some basic information on its language and metre. Most commentators divide Cretan literature into two periods: the first from the late fourteenth century to about 1580, the second spanning the last ninety or so years of Venetian rule. The latter period is easily characterised: Cretan literature comes under the influence of the Italian Renaissance and reaches its maturity in verse dramas covering all the neoclassical types practised in Italy: comic, tragic, pastoral and religious. In addition we find examples of pastoral poetry and epic-romance, for which Guarini and Ariosto are the Cretans' principal masters.

The earlier period is more difficult to sum up because the range of genres practised is as varied as the poetic competence of the writers. Some works, particularly those of a moralising or didactic kind, can be viewed as a continuation of late Byzantine vernacular poetry. Others reveal an awareness of developments in western poetry, for example the genre of the love dream. Themes characteristic of the folk tradition, such as exile or the Underworld, appear frequently in the work of early Cretan poets, some of whom are also

indebted, to an extent, to the techniques of oral poetry. But to draw dividing lines between 'medieval' and 'Renaissance' is both difficult and misleading. The very substantial body of Cretan poetic texts, many of them still inadequately edited, represents a wide spectrum of poetic tastes and skills, and probably also the interests and cultural levels of diverse reading – and listening – publics.

The greater part of this poetic corpus is composed in the standard fifteen-syllable metre of late medieval Greek verse. The exceptions include a small number of texts in octasyllables (the satirical poem *Praise of Women*, the *Lament of Fallidhos*), and from the last century of the period, when Italian influence was at its greatest, a pastoral idyll (*The Shepherdess*) in hendecasyllabic quatrains with couplet rhyme, and the choric odes in the tragedy *Erofilis*, which are also in hendecasyllabics but with *terza rima*.¹⁰ However, the metre which dominates Cretan Renaissance poetry, as indeed all Greek vernacular verse from the twelfth century onwards, is the fifteen-syllable, commonly referred to as 'political' verse (*politikos stichos*).¹¹ The line is divided by a normally obligatory caesura into an eight-syllable and a seven-syllable; in the first hemistich there must be a stress on either the sixth or the eighth syllable and there is a compulsory stress on the penultimate syllable of the line. Since no word normally has more than one stress, the number of stresses depends on the number of words in a given line, or rather on the number of 'content' words (since articles, most prepositions, particles and some other monosyllables are normally unstressed). A typical political verse might therefore have four or five stresses, which, if they fall on even numbered syllables, will give the line its 'regular' iambic pattern e.g.

ζωσμένος ήμουν άρματα, σαγιττες και δοξάριν. (Bergadhis, *Apokopos* 8)

I was girded with weapons, arrows and bow.

In this case there are main stresses on the second, sixth, eighth and fourteenth syllables, with a somewhat weaker stress on the fourth syllable (part of the verb 'to be'). However, when the optional stresses fall on the odd numbered syllables, usually the first or third of each hemistich, the metrical effect is varied:

Έποικα σχήμα σιωπής, κ' έσεισα το κεφάλιν. (*Apokopos* 153)

I made a gesture of silence and shook my head.

Τότες έκραξε αλέκτορας κι εμένα ξύπνησέ με. (Falieros, *Love Dream* 117)

Then the cock crew and woke me.

¹⁰ The choric odes of the tragedy *King Rodholinos* employ a variety of poetic forms: three of the five odes are sonnets in hendecasyllabic verse (see Chapter 6). More complex metrical forms are found in the Cretan version of the *Pastor Fido* (see Chapter 4) and in the *Lament for Crete* by Gerasimos Palladhas (see S. Alexiou 1969a: 233–4).

¹¹ For bibliography on this metre see M. Alexiou and Holton 1976, and for discussions of recent views on its origin and structure L. Politis 1981 and Beaton 1989: 94–7.

In the last example the stresses fall on the first *and* third syllables, creating a deliberately violent effect (van Gemert 1980b: 175).

The other principal factor affecting the musicality of the verse is the treatment of final and initial vowels in adjacent words. Apocope and aphaeresis, by which one of the two vowels is lost, are common enough even in early Cretan vernacular poetry; synizesis, when two different and distinct vowels merge into a single metrical syllable, is a more subtle phenomenon, which poets use to a greater or lesser extent according to taste and skill. When employed several times in the same line, synizesis can create a sensuous effect, e.g.

Σήμερο ἀπόμεινα ἀφοβῆ, δὲν ἔχω πλιό ἵντα ἄπιζει.

(Kornaros, *Erotokritos* v 1021)

Today I am bereft of all fear, I have nothing left to hope for.

When the meeting of two adjacent vowels is not resolved either by the disappearance of one of them or by synizesis, the result is hiatus. Some earlier (or less skilful) poets seem not to have been troubled by this phenomenon, which is certainly avoided by poets like Kornaros and Chortatsis except in very controlled circumstances:¹²

καὶ γνώθω | ὅτι | ἐρχεται ἀπὸ τῆ θύμησὴ μου. (Falieros, *Story and Dream* 94)

and I know that it comes from my own thoughts.

The advent of rhyme in Greek poetry had a major effect on the structure and organisation of the verse-form. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we find both rhymed and unrhymed poems; by the sixteenth century couplet rhyme has become the norm and, indeed, the extent of its dominance is seen from the fact that several older poems, mostly of the romance type, underwent revision to become ρυμᾶδες (rhymes), in conformity with the taste of the times.¹³ The first systematic use of rhyme in Greek poetry appears in the late fourteenth century in the work of the Cretan poet Stefanos Sachlikis. Sachlikis's work falls into three metrical categories, all in the fifteen-syllable verse: unrhymed, stanzas with multiple rhyme (usually of four lines, but longer and shorter rhyme-groups are also found), and rhymed couplets. The emergence of the couplet form as standard may well have been due to Sachlikis.

The study of rhyme in medieval and Modern Greek poetry is still in its infancy and consequently the practices of the poets we are concerned with here have been only partially investigated. Because the fifteen-syllable metre has a feminine cadence, perfect rhyme always covers two syllables, e.g. φύλλα – μήλα. If the rhyme extends back beyond the penultimate vowel to the preceding consonant(s) or even further, the rhyme is often called 'rich', e.g. μαγειρεύεις – γυρεύεις. Apart from this phonetic definition of richness of

12 On legitimate hiatus in Kornaros's *Erotokritos* see S. Alexiou 1980: πζ'–πη'.

13 For a detailed examination of the transference of an unrhymed poem (the *Belisarios* romance) to rhymed couplets, see Bakker 1987.

rhyme, a different, grammatical, index is sometimes used. Since Greek is a highly inflected language it is a simple matter to rhyme words of the same part of speech and grammatical paradigm. Here are some examples from the *Apokopos*: κοντάριν – δοξάριν (neuter nouns), τόπου – κόπου (masculine nouns in the genitive), ορέχθην – εδέχθην (aorist passive), γυρίζουν – μυρίζουν (present active). The more the rhyme diverges from such 'easy' patterns, the more 'rich' it is considered.

The scope for different and varied treatment of metrical stress, elision and synzesis, rhyme and enjambement is very considerable. This is not the place to make generalisations about how successful the Cretan poets were in the techniques of versification; however, it may be noted that it is not simply a case of growing sophistication with the passage of time. Already in the early fifteenth century the poems of Marinos Falieros indicate a considered system of metrical practices; on the other hand the extensive poetic works of Marinos Tzanes Bounialis (died c. 1686), despite their lyrical qualities and expressive language, exhibit a relatively low level of subtlety in terms of metrical structure and rhyme. By contrast, the dramas of Georgios Chortatsis, written at the end of the sixteenth century, indicate a quite manneristic preoccupation with the niceties of versification (Alexiou and Aposkiti 1988: 52–6).

The literary works we are concerned with in this book are all written in some form of the vernacular.¹⁴ By the end of the Venetian period the Cretan dialect, in both its eastern and western forms, has emerged as a sophisticated literary vehicle, refined by such poets as Kornaros, Chortatsis and Foskolos. It is the language of the comedies which approaches most closely the spoken idiom of the time, as would be expected, while the form of Cretan dialect employed in tragedy, pastoral and narrative poetry has undergone some kind of stylisation. Some of these poets admit elements of learned vocabulary, but without in general violating the morphology and phonology of the dialect. In those works written before the middle of the sixteenth century things are rather different. Cretan dialect elements are certainly to be found in the vocabulary and morphology of these poets, but their language is less systematic and often not greatly different from the mixed language of vernacular verse composed in other parts of the Greek world.

In comparison with the rather substantial corpus of Cretan vernacular poetry, the volume of creative prose-writing in the popular language is small and of much smaller literary significance. The prose texts which have survived are mostly of a didactic character, for the most part seeking to explain and exemplify religious beliefs in simple, everyday language. The earliest example of this kind is by the Corfiot Ioannikios Kartanos, published in Venice in 1536 under the title *The Flower of the Old and New Testaments*.¹⁵ Among Cretans who produced noteworthy prose-writings particular mention should be made

14 A selection of epigrams written in archaic Greek by scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including several Cretans, is conveniently available in L. Politis 1975–7: II, 140–8.

15 An extract of Kartanos's work is edited by Kakoulidhi 1986, prefaced by a brief account of the significance of sixteenth-century vernacular prose-writing.

of Dhamaskinos Stoudhitis (died 1577), Ioannis Morezinos, Maximos Margounios (1530–1602) and Meletios Pigas (1535–1602). The work of Morezinos (died 1613), an Orthodox priest of Kastro, is impressive for its combination of scriptural interpretation and story-telling, with a considerable narrative facility (Kakoulidhi 1970). It was never printed, but circulated widely in manuscript and was evidently very popular. The very secondary position occupied by vernacular prose-writing requires some explanation. In part it is the result of the *diglossia* inherited from Byzantium: the vernacular was an acceptable medium for personal poetry from the twelfth century onwards, but prose-writing required a more elevated linguistic form. It is also significant that vernacular verse extended to many genres which might have been the domain of prose: romance, didactic and religious writing, and even history. The tradition left little room for the cultivation of literary prose. Furthermore, such prose-writing as did exist has found little favour with modern scholars, who have preferred to devote their attentions to the more respected, and respectable, poetic texts. Recent attempts to rescue the prose-writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from oblivion will perhaps rectify the balance.

Between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries we can therefore observe an upward movement in the status of the vernacular; we might compare the rise of English in the period from the Norman Conquest to the age of Chaucer. The parallels are quite striking: in both cases we have to do with a colonial situation in which the conquerors speak a different language (Norman French or Italian), while the native population has both a vernacular and a formal or learned language. Of course the extent to which English was influenced by contact with French is much greater than the influence of Italian on Cretan dialect, which is mainly restricted to vocabulary. It is, however, noteworthy that the common language of Crete was Greek, that is Cretan dialect, and by the end of our period the use of Italian was more or less restricted to the realms of administration and culture. Educated men would of course be bilingual, but it is clear from documents of the sixteenth century that women, even from noble Venetian families, would usually know only Greek. Greek was written in both the Greek and Latin alphabets, and a number of manuscripts of literary works survives in Latin script.

The factors which led to the full acceptance of the Cretan dialect in poetry deserve further investigation. It coincides, in the sixteenth century, with a movement in Italy to elevate several of the local vernaculars, including Venetian, to the status of written languages (Cochrane 1988: 19–23). The intense debate taking place on the 'language question' in Italy cannot have escaped discussion among Cretan intellectuals and writers. Also relevant are the efforts of the Corfiot Nikolaos Sofianos to raise the educational level of his compatriots, particularly those living under Ottoman rule. An essential part of Sofianos's educational programme was the use of the vernacular; to this end he established his own printing-press in Venice and published, in 1544, his

translation into simple Greek of the Pseudo-Plutarchan *Paidagogos*.¹⁶ For the present we lack direct evidence to link these developments to the intellectual climate in Crete in the mid-sixteenth century; but within a few decades Cretan literature enters a period of creative ferment, in which the local dialect becomes the vehicle of dramatic and poetic works of a quality which has led to the general use of the term 'Cretan Renaissance'.

In using this expression we do not imply that there was such a thing as a 'Greek Renaissance', comparable to what had already happened in the West. It is not a revival of ancient Greek learning (since that tradition had never died in the Greek East). The Cretan Renaissance is the result of an extraordinary cross-fertilisation of cultures that took place in a society that, by the sixteenth century, had developed a homogeneous character of its own, neither Greek nor Italian, but Cretan. The literature and art of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Crete owed much to the models of the Italian Renaissance, but they have a distinct quality of their own. Cretan Renaissance literature is not Italian literature translated into Greek, for it was also nourished by a native literary, and folk, tradition which sprang from Byzantine roots. This is equally true of painting and the other arts. The Cretan Renaissance is therefore to be seen as a local realisation and exploitation of that surge of creative energy which spread in all directions from Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

When Crete fell to the Ottomans in 1669 all this artistic and literary activity virtually ceased. Cretan refugees carried with them to the Ionian Islands and elsewhere their icons, manuscripts and other precious possessions. In Corfu and Zakynthos the tradition survived; the Cretan plays continued to be read and performed, and new ones were written; intellectual and poetic traditions continued to be cultivated. A continuous thread of literary activity links the Cretan Renaissance with the nineteenth-century School of the Ionian Isles, which developed around the imposing figure of Dhionysios Solomos, the first major poet of modern Greece. Solomos himself records that 'there is no woman who does not know' *The Shepherdess*, the Cretan idyll of the sixteenth century; that he also knew and admired the *Erotokritos* is clear from echoes of its style and versification in various of his poems.

Indeed the Cretan works continued to be read and enjoyed by a wide audience throughout the Greek-speaking world, mainly thanks to frequently reprinted 'popular' editions down to the nineteenth century.¹⁷ The earliest surviving Greek bookseller's catalogue, dated 1712, includes among the ninety-seven titles it lists: *The Shepherdess*, *Erotokritos*, *Erofilis*, the *Sacrifice of Abraham* and the *Cretan War* and a devotional poem (*Κατάνυξις ωφέλιμος διά κάθε χριστιανόν*) of Bounialis, as well as earlier Cretan works such as the

16 Sofianos also wrote a grammar of the vernacular, which, however, remained unpublished until 1870. Th. Ch. Papadhopoulos 1970 edits the grammar and the *Paidagogos* with extensive introduction. On the intellectual circle of Sofianos see Ziogas 1974.

17 Some information about these editions will be found in the relevant sections of the Bibliographical guide.

romances *Apollonios* and *Imberios* and the satirical *Chapbook of the Donkey* (Manousakas 1986). Ninety years later the English traveller E.D. Clarke came across a catalogue of Greek books printed in Venice in which most of these texts reappear (Clarke 1816–24: vi, 631–9). It is clear that a certain corpus of Cretan poetic and dramatic works found a stable place in the reading matter of Greek speakers for more than two centuries. Further evidence of the popularity of Cretan literary texts is offered by the fact that some of them, such as *The Shepherdess* and *Erofilis*, had a new lease of life in oral tradition.¹⁸ There is also a long-standing tradition in Crete of recitation from memory of extracts from the *Erotokritos*, and in the nineteenth century there were popular performances of dramatised episodes from the poem in various parts of Greece (S. Alexiou 1985b: λζ').¹⁹

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the often negative comments of scholars on these texts testify to a very different attitude (see Chapter 10). However, since the time of Palamas and the demoticist movement of the late nineteenth century Cretan Renaissance literature has found a secure place in the canon of Modern Greek literature, and has been creatively exploited by poets such as Sikelianos, Seferis, Ritsos and Prevelakis. In the post-war period almost all the Cretan plays have been produced on the Athenian stage, and several works have also provided inspiration for artists and composers.

The meeting of East and West which took place in Crete in the period of Venetian rule engendered a process of cultural cross-fertilisation which had far-reaching consequences for the development of Modern Greek art and literature. This 'Golden Age', despite its geographical and temporal limitations, deserves to be seen as a vital and revitalising part of the Modern Greek cultural tradition.

¹⁸ See further pp. 100 and 146–8.

¹⁹ Fauriel (1824–5: 213–17) includes an extract from the *Erotokritos* in his anthology of Greek folk poetry, with the justification that it and other passages from the poem were sung in the islands as independent songs; furthermore (he suggests), although it is the work of an educated poet, the *Erotokritos* has many affinities with folk poetry.

The historical and social context

CHRYSSA MALTEZOU

Historical outline 1204–1669

The following summary account of the political, social and economic history of Crete during the period of Venetian domination is intended to serve as a background for a fuller understanding of Cretan literature and of the development of Cretan intellectual life in general. After a brief historical outline we shall examine the administration of the island, the social and economic structures, relations between the Orthodox and Catholic communities, the organisation of towns and villages and, finally, the private life of the inhabitants of Venetian Crete.

Crete had already ceased to belong to the Byzantine Empire on the eve of the Fourth Crusade. Alexios Angelos, son of Isaak II, had sought the help of the crusaders in restoring his father to the Byzantine throne; to this end he had ceded the island of Crete to the leader of the Fourth Crusade, Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat.¹ However, on 12 August 1204, a few months after the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders, Boniface made a treaty with the Doge's representatives in Adrianople, in order to win Venetian support in his quarrel with the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders, and thus Boniface in his turn ceded Crete to the Most Serene Republic of Venice (Tafel-Thomas 1856–7: I, 512–15). Under the treaty of 1204, the so-called *Refutatio Cretae*, Venice acquired for a trifling sum a major centre of sea-borne trade and communication, while Boniface secured the protection of one of the strongest naval powers in the Eastern Mediterranean.

After safeguarding her rights in the area, Venice was exercised by the more general problem of how to establish her rule over the former territory of the Byzantine Empire; for the moment the occupation of Crete was more theoretical than real. Thus, when Genoese pirates attempted to seize the island in 1206, they met with no difficulty. In a short time the central and eastern part of the island came under their jurisdiction, while their leader, Enrico Pescatore, titular Count of Malta, was able to add to his existing titles that of *dominus*

¹ In the Treaty of Adrianople (1204) between Venice and Boniface of Montferrat, the latter states: 'de insula Creta, qui michi data vel promissa sive concessa fuit per Alexium Imperatorem, filium Ysachij quondam defuncti Imperatoris' (concerning the island of Crete, which was given or promised or conceded to me by the Emperor Alexios, son of the late Emperor Isaak) (Tafel-Thomas 1856–7: I, 513; cf. Cervellini 1908: 262–78; Borsari 1963: 11).

Creti.² The Genoese seizure of Crete provoked an immediate reaction from Venice. The struggle between Venetians and Genoese for control of the island lasted until 1211. The Venetians, determined to establish themselves as masters of the island at all costs, had already in 1209 stationed there the first Duke of Crete (*Duca di Candia*), Giacomo Tiepolo (Borsari 1963: 23). Pescatore, unable to continue the war with Venice despite reinforcements sent out from Genoa, was obliged to abandon his claims early in 1211 and to make terms with the Republic (Gerola 1902: 149; Borsari 1963: 24 and n. 56). With the departure of the Genoese in 1211, the period of Venetian rule in Crete gets under way and is to last until 1669.

As the Ottoman Turks extended their sway in the East in the centuries that followed, Crete often attracted the attention of predators: at first isolated incursions of pirates, but later, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, organised Turkish raids. In the spring of 1522 many inhabitants of Ierapetra were taken prisoner; in 1527 two ships anchored off the region of Chania were plundered after a pirate attack (Ploumidhis 1974a: 13 n. 3). In 1538, during the third Veneto-Turkish war (1537–40), the Turkish fleet under Hayreddin Barbarossa sacked and pillaged a number of villages and forts (Bradford 1969: 160–1; Krandonelli 1985: 397–8), while during the fourth Veneto-Turkish war (1570–1), which led to the Turkish conquest of Cyprus, Crete experienced further sufferings. This time Turkish ships landed troops at Soudha harbour, plundering ensued on a large scale, and many Cretans were taken captive. In June 1571 the Turkish fleet moved on Rethymno, which was immediately evacuated on the order of the Venetian authorities. After setting fire to the town and pillaging the surrounding districts, the Turks departed with large numbers of prisoners and much booty (Giannopoulos 1978: 121ff.).

The Turkish threat intensified in the following century. Determined to seize once and for all the only military base the West still held in the otherwise Ottoman basin of the East Mediterranean, and thus to secure mastery of the sea-routes, the Turks soon found the opportunity they were waiting for to launch an attack on Crete. In 1644, off the island of Rhodes, a naval force of Knights of St John captured a Turkish ship carrying officials on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Accusing the Venetians of giving refuge to the raiders, the Turkish authorities declared war.³ In 1645 the Turkish fleet sailed for Soudha harbour and from there proceeded to besiege the fortress of Chania. On 29 August Chania was surrendered and a year later the Turks also captured Rethymno. In 1648 the siege of the town of Candia began and lasted twenty-one whole years – an event with few parallels in world history. The commander-in-chief of the Christian forces at this critical moment of confrontation between Christianity and Islam was Francesco Morosini, the last defender of Candia. Fighting alongside him were the relief forces sent by the Knights of Malta, the

2 On the brief occupation of Crete by the Genoese see Gerola 1902: 134–75; Platon 1952; Borsari 1963: 21–5.

3 For further information on the Cretan War (1645–69), one of the most dramatic military events of the seventeenth century, see Vakalopoulos 1968: III, 483–99; Chasiotis 1974.

Pope, Spain, France, Tuscany and the Duke of Savoy. Despite the vigorous resistance of the Venetians, the Cretans and their allies, however, Candia could not withstand the Turkish assaults. Faced with the military superiority of the Turks and the expectation of defeat, Morosini was obliged to choose the diplomatic course. After several days of hard negotiations, on 16 September 1669 Venice signed the treaty which turned Crete, with the exception of Gramvousa, Soudha and Spinalonga, into an Ottoman possession. Under the treaty, the Venetians paid no compensation and were permitted to take with them not only weapons, but also their valuables and their archives. Thanks to this, the precious archive of the *Duca di Candia* was saved from destruction and transferred from Crete to Venice, where it still exists.

The dramatic struggle which shook the Christian West and culminated in the surrender of Candia to the Turks, the abandonment of the city by the Greek population, the plundering of treasured possessions and the desecration of churches, was described in spontaneous, exciting but unpretentious style by the Rethymniot Marinus Tzanes Bounialis in his lengthy verse composition *The Cretan War*. At the end of the poem, the town of Candia is personified, lamenting its surrender to the Turks:

Ω Κάστρο μου περιδοξο, τάχατες όσοι ζούνε,
τάχατες να σε κλαΐσινε και να σ' αναζητούνε;
Έπρεπε όλ' οι Καστρινοί μαύρα για να βαστούσι,
να κλαίγουνε καθημερνό κι όχι να τραγουδούσι:
άντρες, γυναίκες και παιδιά και πάσα κορασίδα,
να δείχνου πως εχάσανε τέτοιας λογής πατρίδα.

(S. Alexiou 1969a: 229)

O my glorious Kastro, do they who still live / weep for you and ask after you? / All the people of Kastro should put on black / and weep day after day, and sing no more; / men, women and children and every maiden / should let it be seen what a fatherland they have lost.

For the Venetian Republic the capture of Crete by the Turks was a severe blow, not only because she lost her most important colony in the Mediterranean, but principally because her prestige in the East was lessened as a result. The immediate consequence of the Turkish conquest was the emigration of many of the island's inhabitants, who, preferring flight to servitude, sought refuge either in other Greek lands still ruled by Venice or in the countries of Western Europe. Large numbers of Cretans found refuge in the Ionian Isles, where they transplanted their culture and traditions and played a major part in the intellectual awakening and general cultural development of the Heptanese in the succeeding centuries.

Administrative and social structures in Venetian Crete

With the expulsion of the Genoese from Crete in 1211, Venice succeeded in wresting control of the island once and for all from her great rival Genoa. But

the conquest of the island could not be completed immediately, because the Venetians now had to deal with resistance from the native population, which openly proclaimed its opposition to foreign occupation and rebelled in a series of uprisings which plagued the Serenissima for centuries. The problems of completing the conquest of Crete obliged the Venetians to set up there a system of military fiefs, combining feudal rules with elements of its strictly centralised administrative machinery. Thus on the one hand Venice adopted the system of military colonialism, while on the other it organised its possession administratively, adapting the model of the metropolis. The well-known edict *Concessio Insulae Cretensis* issued by the Doge Pietro Ziani in 1211 granted lands to Venetian settlers in return for military obligations, while the island was divided, like Venice itself, into six *sestieri*, each named after one of the corresponding Venetian districts (Santi Apostoli or Cannaregio, San Marco, Santa Croce, Castello, San Polo, Dorsoduro).⁴ The colonists were divided into two categories: the *milites*, who received as their fiefs the *cavallerie*, with the obligation to maintain a troop of cavalry, and the *pedites*, who were allocated less extensive fiefs, the *serventerie*, with the obligation to keep a troop of infantry. The feudatories had rights of possession and exploitation of the land in return for military and financial obligations to the state, but they had no political power (Santschi 1976a: 52–7). Just as in Venice the Doge and his counsellors constituted the supreme authority, so in Candia, that ‘other city of Venice in the Levant’ (*alia civitas Venetiarum apud Levantem*),⁵ the Duke and two *consilarii* were at the top of the hierarchy and formed the local administration (*regimen*). The overall military administration was entrusted to the *capitano* of Candia, higher functionaries, the *rectores*, took charge of military and civil justice, while at the lowest administrative level were the *castellani*. From the mid-sixteenth century a wider jurisdiction was assumed by the *Provveditor General del Regno di Candia* (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 11–15; Thiriet 1975a: 190ff.; Ploumidhis 1974a: 22ff.). The civil rights of the colonists were limited to participation in local councils, the Council of the Feudatories (*Consilium Feudatorum*), the Great Council (*Consilium Maius* or *Maggior Consiglio*) and the Council of the Pregadi (*Consilium Rogatorum* or *Consiglio dei Pregadi*). All these bodies were mainly consultative in character and operated in association with the Duke and his counsellors (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 13; Santschi 1976a: 52–8). The division of the island into *sestieri* lasted until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Crete was reorganised into four administrative districts (*territorii*), each split into *castelli* or *castellanie*. The fourfold division of the island (Candia, Rettimo, Canea, Sittia) remained in force until the end of Venetian rule (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 15–16). The Venetians used the name Candia to refer both to the capital, which was also known as Chandax or Kastro, and to the whole island (cf. Tomadhakis 1951a: 235–7).

4 See Tafel–Thomas 1856–7: II, 129–36; cf. Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 8–11; Santschi 1976a: 28ff.

5 The town of Candia is referred to thus in a decision of the Venetian Senate dated 1455. See Thiriet 1958–61: III, 205–6, no. 2994.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the social situation in Crete is essentially that of the contemporary Byzantine world: on the one hand there is a growing concentration of property, whether of the Church or of individuals, into larger units, and on the other a tendency for the properties of medium or small independent landholders to diminish. In the particular case of Crete its geographical situation, which isolated it from the rest of the Greek world, combined with the agricultural character of its economy and society, had favoured the advance of the powerful landowners towards autonomy. Two documents dating from the twelfth century offer evidence that the indigenous ruling class had large estates before the Venetian conquest; in these documents (copies of which, though not the originals, have survived) Konstandinos Dhoukas, the governor of Crete, grants and confirms the heritable landholdings of certain Cretan families.⁶ A further document, of dubious authenticity, purports to relate that the Byzantine Emperor Alexios II Komnenos parcelled out Crete among twelve noble families. The names of the twelve Cretan families are linked with those mentioned in the other two documents.⁷ Whether or not the documents are genuine, the situation they describe definitely existed: these families indeed possessed vast estates and their social and economic power and influence increased as imperial control weakened. Consequently, the Venetian conquest constituted more of a threat to the properties of these families, while the small independent landholders were less threatened. It is interesting to note that the Venetians themselves used the Greek term *archondopoulo* to refer to the local nobility; and the legend of the Twelve *Archondopouloi* lived on in the memory of the Cretan people until the end of the Venetian period. Centuries after the fall of the Byzantine capital Cretans bearing the names of the old aristocratic families of the island – Melissinos, Skordhilis, Vlastos – regarded themselves as *nobili del impero* and handed on from father to son the belief that they were related to the Byzantine emperors.⁸ Considerable property was also owned by monasteries and the

6 The two disputed documents have been published by Gerland 1905–8: 21–41; cf. Xanthoudhidhis 1939b; Borsari 1963: 16; Brand 1968: 106–9; N. Oikonomidhis 1969: 199–200.

7 The document is published by Gerland 1905–8: 7–16; cf. Sifakas 1948: 129–40, where an unsuccessful attempt is made to prove the authenticity of the document.

8 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, the well-known Florentine cleric, who visited Crete in the fifteenth century, includes in his work *Descriptio Insule Crete* the story of the settlement of the twelve *archondopouloi*, as it was related to him by a Cretan priest; see Buondelmonti 1981: 187–9. For a Greek translation see Aposkiti 1983: 78; for comments on Buondelmonti's work as edited by van Spitael (1981), see Tsoungarakis 1985. The legend is also mentioned in 1594 by Filippo Pasqualigo, captain of Candia and *Provveditor* of Chania, in his report to the Venetian Senate: 'Nè vi è alcun dubbio, che quando li contadini, per natura superbi et altieri, massime facendo alcuni di quelle prole potenti, professione di essere legalmente discesi da Nobili dell'Imperio Constantinopolitano, che però si chiamano Arcondopuli, che vuol dire nobiletti, non saranno sottoposti al comando de' cavallieri non si potrà sperare per conseguenza obedientia ne servizio di sorte alcuna' (There is no doubt that the peasants, being by nature proud and haughty, especially some of the powerful of that breed who claim to be legitimately descended from the nobles of the Constantinopolitan Empire (they call themselves "Arcondopuli", that is to say "little nobles"), will not be subjected to the orders of the *cavallieri*; there can in consequence be no possible hope of obedience or service of any kind) (Spanakis 1940–76: III, 154–5).

Church, accumulated from state or individual benefactions. Among such lands were the estates (*metochia*) of the great monastic foundations from outside Crete: the *metochi* of St Catherine of Sinai and that of St John the Divine of Patmos. Both these *metochia* derived from imperial benefactions.⁹

When Venice took control of Crete, she thus had to face a population which numbered among the ranks of its nobles (*archontes*) many capable leaders who, in conjunction with the Church, exercised considerable influence over their compatriots. It was natural, therefore, that after the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 the local populace should turn to Cretan nobles and clergy, who were the only forces capable of undertaking the struggle against the foreign conquerors. The Cretans reacted with a series of uprisings, which compelled Venice to modify the original form of social organisation she had planned to introduce in the island, and to abandon the policy of excluding the local element from the feudal system which she had established. The local *archontes*, ignored by the Venetians at the beginning of their occupation, succeeded, thanks to the various rebellions, in obtaining recognition of their landholdings and their former privileges, and, moreover, secured their integration in the Venetian system and equal economic status with the foreign feudatories. None the less, the incorporation of Cretan nobles in the feudal hierarchy was a gradual process: privileges were granted only to those who had actually rebelled, not to the general body of the Cretan nobility. However, in order to understand the character of the Cretan revolutions, we must bear in mind that, in addition to the social factor which was the basic motivation, there were also religious and ideological factors which were certainly important to the Cretan people as a whole. Although we cannot of course speak about a national consciousness in the modern sense, the fact that some of the revolutionary movements were concerned with the restoration of the Byzantine state indicates that the social groups which took part in the uprisings linked together the concepts of empire and Orthodoxy. The religious feeling of the inhabitants, heightened by their differences with their Catholic conquerors, is initially confused but progressively comes to be identified with a 'national consciousness'.¹⁰ Finally, the complex problem of the Cretan revolutions can only be examined in close connection with the revolutionary spirit which characterises all social levels of the Cretan population. For it was not only the great landowners who took up arms, but also the clergy and the *paroikoi* (dependent peasants).¹¹

9 On the Patmian *metochi* in Crete see Vranousi 1980: 206–16; N. Oikonomidhis 1969: 200–1; Maltezou 1970: 349ff. For a bibliography on the Sinaitic *metochi* of Candia see Tsirpanlis 1964: 3 n. 3; cf. Mertzios 1952: 131–2; Amandos 1953: 35ff.

10 On the formation of a national consciousness in the Latin-ruled territories more generally see Thiriet 1975b.

11 On the Cretan uprisings see Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 27ff; Borsari 1963: 27–66. See also the rather inaccessible study of Sokolov 1958 (in Russian, but there is a French summary in *Byzantinoslavica* 21 (1960) 367; cf. also *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 202). For further bibliography on particular uprisings see the Bibliographical guide.

The first uprising against the Venetians took place in 1211, immediately after the first military colonists had established themselves in Crete. The Cretan rebels, headed by the Agiostefanites, quickly overran East Crete, but were then defeated by Marco Sanudo, Duke of the Archipelago, who had been summoned by Giacomo Tiepolo, Duke of Crete. However, Tiepolo refused to fulfil his promises to Sanudo and the latter joined forces with the Cretan *archontes*, particularly the Skordhilis family, and turned against the Venetians. Hefty reinforcements soon arrived from Venice, and as a result, at the end of 1212 or the beginning of 1213, Sanudo decided to make a pact with Tiepolo. The agreement between Sanudo and the Duke of Crete marks the end of the first uprising against the Venetians, with neither the Duke of the Archipelago nor the Cretan rebels receiving substantial benefits or losses. The terms of the treaty are of interest for the later development of relations between Sanudo and the local population: up to twenty Cretan *archontes* were permitted to leave Crete, with the Duke of the Archipelago, and to settle in his lands (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 27–32; Borsari 1963: 33–6; Fotheringham 1915: 92ff.).

The pretext of the second Cretan uprising was the theft of horses and fodder belonging to the *archon* Ioannis Skordhilis Skantzeas by the Venetian castellan of Bonriparo, Pietro Filocanevo. The rebels, headed by the Skordhilis and Melissinos families, began attacking the Venetians and the uprising spread throughout West Crete. In this critical situation, Venice was obliged to take a conciliatory line, in the knowledge that violence would not serve to restore peace to the island. In 1219 the new Duke of Crete, Domenico Delfino, signed a treaty with the rebels, bestowing on the two leaders, Konstandinos Skordhilis and Theodoros Melissinos, fiefs previously assigned to Venetian colonists. In addition seventy *paroikoi* were given their freedom, a general amnesty was proclaimed, and the monks of the Patmos *metochi* of St John in Stylos were left unharmed. The importance of the 1219 treaty is clear: in initiating the system of treating with Cretan rebels, Venice for the first time admitted representatives of the local nobility to the Venetian establishment. Thus the *archontes* not only ceased their hostility towards the Venetians but also swore allegiance to the Serenissima (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 32–5; Borsari 1963: 36–9). A few years later, in 1224, the Serenissima once more came to terms with the Melissinos brothers after they had taken up arms again and granted them the fiefs of Venetian colonists (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 36–7; Borsari 1963: 39–40).

None of these early uprisings was as serious or far-reaching as the revolt which began in 1228 with the support of the Nicaean Emperor John Vatatzis. Incited by the *anatolikai*, as the Nicaean troops are referred to in the sources, the rebels, headed by the local archontic families of Skordhilis, Melissinos, Dhaimonoianis and Dhrakondopoulos, captured Rethymno, Castel Nuovo and Mylopotamos, but were eventually forced to abandon their attempt to unite Crete with the Empire of Nicaea and to make a treaty with the Venetians. Under the treaties of 1234 and 1236 the privileges of the Cretans

were reconfirmed and the fortresses which the *anatolikai* had seized were surrendered to the Venetians.¹² None the less, the reconquest of the Byzantine capital by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261 was seen as a serious threat to the Serenissima. The Emperor encouraged the Cretans in rebellion and sent agents to the island, with the aim of detaching Crete from Venetian rule. The movement ended in failure, largely because of the cautious and wavering attitude of certain *archontes*, and because the Byzantine Emperor was pursuing a policy of equilibrium between Venice and Genoa. In 1265 the rebels agreed terms with the Venetians, under which their existing properties were confirmed and at the same time they were granted new fiefs (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 45–8; Borsari 1963: 47–51). A few years later, in 1272–3, a further rebellion broke out under the Rethymniot brothers Georgios and Theodoros Chortatsis. This uprising, in which a number of clergy took part, came to an end in 1278. Defeated, the Chortatsis brothers sought exile in Constantinople, where they were received by the Emperor, who settled them on the Asia Minor coast (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 49–55; Borsari 1963: 52–4).

The most important of the Cretan rebellions broke out in 1283, under the leadership of the powerful *archon* Alexios Kallergis. An ambitious and talented man with a keen understanding of the wider political situation, he came to realise that the union of Crete with the Byzantine Empire was unattainable. He therefore sought to extract from Venice privileges that would enable him to create an autonomous state, at the same time damaging the prestige of the Republic. Once he had secured the co-operation of a number of local families and inspired the confidence of the clergy and *paroikoi*, he assumed control of the rebellion and made repeated guerrilla attacks on the Venetian troops. In 1299, after hostilities lasting more than fifteen years, the Serenissima recognised the hegemony of Kallergis in exchange for an oath of loyalty and obedience to the Venetian Republic. The treaty of 1299 not only consolidated the privileges of the Cretan *archontes* within the Venetian establishment, but also brought substantial benefits for the Orthodox clergy and the *paroikoi*.¹³ In 1381, moreover, Venice granted the privilege of Venetian nobility to Alexios's son, Georgios Kallergis.¹⁴ This single instance of Venetian nobility being bestowed on a Greek, unparalleled in the whole period of Venetian rule, shows that Venice was obliged to accept a member of the Cretan aristocracy as the equal of her own subjects.

The rebellious activities of the Cretans against their Venetian conquerors continued in the following centuries (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 72–81). Among the rebellions of the fourteenth century that known as the St Titus uprising (1363–4) is of particular interest because it indicates how close relations had become between the local population and the Venetian colonists. Resentful of

¹² See further Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 37–43; Borsari 1963: 40–5; Maltezou 1989.

¹³ See Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 55–72; Borsari 1963: 55–65. The treaty of 1299 is published by Mertzios (1949).

¹⁴ Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze diverse, 675/2 (cf. Panagiotakis 1968: 46).

the heavy burden of taxation imposed by the metropolis, the Venetian feudatories, headed by the two great Venetian families of Gradenigo and Venier, allied themselves with the Cretans, who were led by the Kallergis brothers, and proclaimed revolution. Their aim was to set up an independent republic under the protection of the island's patron St Titus. The uprising ended in failure, but it is significant in that it demonstrates on the one hand the tendency of the Venetian feudatories to make themselves independent of the metropolis, and on the other the collaboration of the foreign settlers with the indigenous population for reasons of common interest. However, the rebels were declared traitors and rebels (*proditores rebelles*) and beheaded.¹⁵ Also of importance – because they occurred just a few months after the Turkish capture of Constantinople – are the rebellion of Sifis Vlastos (1453–4), so called after its chief instigator, and the subsequent revolutionary conspiracy of the years 1460–2. The causes of these two movements, which were betrayed and ended in failure, must be sought in the religious policy adopted by the Venetians at this time in order to impose on Crete the terms of the Council of Florence. None the less, it is possible, as has been accurately observed, that the Cretans envisaged the creation of a free Greek state rising from the ashes of the Byzantine Empire (Manousakas 1960 and 1964a).

The periodic revolts continued in the sixteenth century. In 1526–8 Giorgi Gadanoleo-Lyssogiorgi led an uprising in West Crete (Papadhia-Lala 1983), which much later became the subject of an historical novel, *Κρητικοί Γάμοι* (*Cretan Wedding*, 1871): the author, Spyridhon Zambelios, based his work on documentary evidence about the revolt, which is connected with the decline of the feudal system in Crete. Interpreting the evidence in the spirit of his own time, Zambelios presented the hero of his book as the promoter of the liberation of the whole Greek world. Finally, an uprising in the town of Candia in the period 1563–8 is referred to by the traveller Peter Villinger, but his version is not confirmed by other sources. According to Villinger, who relied on accounts told to him by others, the cause of the revolt was a minor episode between a Cretan butcher and a Swiss mercenary, who refused to pay for a piece of meat he had taken. The conflict between Cretans and soldiers spread to Chania, and finally the Duke had to intervene in order to restore order. It is interesting to note in the traveller's account that the butcher, in defending himself, spontaneously describes the foreigner as 'franco scillo', in other words 'Frankish cur' (Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1967: 575–6).

Cretan society after the Venetian conquest was divided into three levels.¹⁶ The highest social level consisted of the nobles and the feudatories (*nobili veneti, feudati*), who were colonists, or descendants of colonists, and Catholic.

15 Among works worth consulting on this uprising are: Jegerlehner 1903; Theotokis 1928; Thiriet 1956.

16 On the social divisions of Venetian Crete see Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 125–42; Manousakas 1949; Moatsos 1974: 208–9; Ploumidhis 1974a: 44ff.; Giannopoulos 1978: 37–68; Papadhia-Lala 1985.

The title of noble was inherited, but in order to keep it the nobles had to fulfil certain conditions and to prove their title in Venice. A second category of aristocracy consisted of the Cretan nobles (*nobili cretensi*), who were of Venetian origin and had acquired the title of noble in the colony. This form of nobility (*nobilitas cretensis*), which was bestowed by ducal decree in return for military, financial or other services, was also granted to descendants of the old local ruling families, the *archondoromaioi*. Nobles who had reached the age of twenty-five constituted the *Maggior Consiglio*, a deliberative body which assisted the Duke and his counsellors in the administration of the island.

The second social level consisted of the bourgeois (*cittadini, burgenses*), who were a particular social group with specific obligations and rights. Public employees, merchants, notaries, craftsmen, artists, lawyers and doctors fell into this class. The bourgeois enjoyed the privilege of taking part in embassies to Venice in defence of their interests. At the lowest social level were the peasants (*contadini*), who were divided into 'unregistered' (*agrafi*, literally 'unwritten'), freemen (*franchi*) and *paroikoi* (*parici, villani*). The last were further distinguished as villeins of the state, the church or the feudatories, depending on who their master was. The majority of the inhabitants of the villages were Greeks, whereas the Latin element was concentrated in the urban centres, villages close to the towns, or particularly fertile and prosperous regions. Unlike the nobles, who were exempt from any obligation to provide personal labour (*angaria*, that is *corvée*), and the bourgeois, whose duties were limited to military service, payment of a small tax and providing accommodation for foreign mercenaries serving in Crete, the peasants both paid taxes and were liable to *angaria* and *caniscia*. The *angarie* mainly involved the peasant in working with his draft animals a number of days without payment whenever the feudal lord required it; the *caniscia* were gifts which the peasants had to make to the feudatories from their produce (fruit, hens, meat etc.), usually three times a year (Christmas, Carnival and Easter) (Thiriet 1967: 50-1).

In discussing the policy followed by the Venetians in Crete, we have underlined those areas to which they particularly gave their attention. In general terms, their policy was to strengthen their control by means of successive waves of military settlers, to organise the colony on the administrative model of the metropolis, to put down the repeated Cretan uprisings, and to establish relations with the Greek nobility.

The religious question

The problem of greatest concern to the local populace during the first centuries of Venetian rule was the religious question, which was not only an ecclesiastical matter but involved political considerations as well. The Orthodox faith of her subjects was yet another obstacle preventing the Serenissima from imposing her authority. Venice's policy was quite clear: to secure control she had to sever all links between the local population and the

Byzantine Orthodox hierarchy. Aware, however, of the influence enjoyed by the clergy over the Cretan people, she allowed the church's representatives just as much freedom as was necessary to neutralise their opposition. So on the one hand she permitted the Orthodox to perform their religious obligations in freedom, while on the other hand she refused to acknowledge the dependence of the Orthodox clergy of Crete on the Patriarchate of Constantinople. A Latin archbishop replaced the Orthodox one, while the Cretan church, stripped of its wealth and lands, was made subject to the *protopapades* and *protopsaltes*, public officials who were paid a salary by the state, to which they declared their loyalty. Since there were no Orthodox higher clergy on the island, those who sought to become priests had to go outside Crete in order to be ordained. To prevent contact with higher clergy in Turkish-ruled territory, the Venetian authorities decreed that candidates for the priesthood should go to the adjacent parts of the Peloponnese, and later to the Ionian Islands, in order to be ordained.¹⁷

The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople attempted to strengthen the faith of the Orthodox Cretan people and to boost their morale by offering spiritual advice or by sending out bishops and exarchs. This was the purpose of the mission of the distinguished theologian Joseph Vryennios to the island in 1381. About a decade earlier the Archbishop of Athens and *proedhros* (president) of Crete Anthimos had been arrested while on a similar mission and had died in prison.¹⁸ Vryennios's banishment from the island and the strict measures imposed by Venice on the Orthodox clergy during this period indicate that the Venetians were determined not to allow the Patriarchate of Constantinople to intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of Crete, in case this should lead to political interference. Typical of this resolve is the decision of 1360, which forbade those who wanted to be ordained to leave Crete without special permission, but also banned the entry into Crete of priests and monks from other Greek lands. Only itinerant priests (*viandantes*) were allowed to stay in Crete, for a period not exceeding two months, after first informing the appropriate authorities of their arrival (Thiriet 1966–71: I, 247–8, notes 668–9 and 322; 1966: 205). Even more indicative are two subsequent decisions of the Duke of Crete. The first, dated 1418, condemned to lifelong exile the Constantinopolitan music teacher and cantor (*psaltis*) Ioannis Laskaris, because he had commemorated the name of the Patriarch of Constantinople during a violent episode which took place in Candia in the Church of Bethlehem (Manousakas 1960/1: 87–94, 102–27). The second decision, of 1419, committed to prison the priest Michael Kalofrenas, the well-known scholar and copyist, the painter Nikolaos Filanthropinos and the hieromonk Arsenios, confessor of the Monastery of St Anthony of Maroulas in Candia. The 'crime'

17 For the most important studies of the ecclesiastical history of Crete during the Venetian period consult the Bibliographical guide; cf. also Manousakas 1971a: 278–84 and nn. 192–232.

18 On Vryennios's activities in Crete see Tomadhakis 1947, 1949 and 1959a.

of the first two was to travel to Constantinople, where they had met the Patriarch and the hieromonk Joseph Vryennios; the third had conducted a correspondence with the Patriarch on ecclesiastical matters relating to Crete (Manousakas 1960/1: 94–101, 128–44).

The later union of the two churches and the ideological division of eastern Christianity had immediate consequences in Crete, where the Venetian authorities attempted to impose the decisions of the Council of Florence. Pope Eugenius IV lost no time in sending the Latin Archbishop Fantino Valaresso to Crete as apostolic plenipotentiary. Valaresso was entrusted with instigating the necessary reforms consequent on the Union of the Churches. A year later, in 1440, the Ecumenical Patriarch Mitrofanis III sent an encyclical to the priests in Crete informing them of the agreement between the two churches and urging them to commemorate the name of the Pope in the liturgy. Venice, always with an eye to her own interests, and under pressure from the wider political situation, particularly the increasing Turkish threat, encouraged the Pope's unionist policy, thinking that this would prevent internal problems in her Mediterranean possession. However, the immediate result of this religious policy was a violent reaction on the part of the majority of the Greek population, which insisted on preserving the same religious position as that which existed in the Byzantine Empire. The anti-unionists of Constantinople then despatched to the island the nomophylax and chartophylax of Crete, Paisios, to continue the work begun by Anthimos the Confessor and Joseph Vryennios. But Paisios was arrested by the Venetian authorities shortly before the Fall of Constantinople and imprisoned for his anti-unionist activities; on his release he was obliged to leave Crete and to abandon his mission (Tomadhakis 1951b: 110–44; Manousakas 1960: 19–22; Tsirpanlis 1967a: 27–51).

In his efforts to impose the Union of Florence, the Pope had the assistance of Cardinal Bessarion, the former Orthodox metropolitan of Nicaea, now a cardinal of the Catholic Church and, from 1463, titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. Convinced that the union of the churches was a basic prerequisite for the liberation of the Greek lands, Bessarion played a leading role in the joint attempt of Venice and the Holy See to seek out pro-Latin Greeks. The Cardinal left a bequest, which continued until 1669, for the support of sixteen Uniate priests of Crete, whose task was to propagate the Uniate faith among the Cretan people. The results of this policy were meagre: the Cretans treated the purveyors of papal propaganda with scorn and derision (Tsirpanlis 1967a: 126ff.). Giacomo Foscarini, who served as *Provveditor General* of Crete in the mid-sixteenth century, refers to the priests who benefited from the bequest in typically disparaging terms: 'indeed they know neither what is faith nor what is a Catholic, and none deserves the money' (in effetto non sanno ne qual che sia fede, ne qual che sia cattolico, ne alcuno merita li denari) (Spanakis 1969a: 145–6). The stern measures adopted by Venice to crush opposition to the Union show her fears and anxieties about the whole situation. In 1454, following the revolt of Sifis Vlastos, the Council of Ten prohibited for a period of five years the ordination of Cretan priests who were hostile to the

Union and had taken a leading part in the revolt. 'Clare videtur,' the decision declares, 'papates fuisse magnam causam istius proditionis . . . et huiusmodi papates, conservatores sectae graecorum, fuerunt semper magna causa malorum in illa insula' (Manousakas 1960: 33, 100 lines 71-4). (It is patently clear that the *papadhes* were a major cause of this treason . . . and *papadhes* of this sort, preservers of the Greek rite, have always been a principal cause of evils in this island.) In 1458 the Venetian authorities ordered the Duke of Crete to expel a deacon who had come to Crete from Constantinople to proclaim the Orthodox faith and disobedience to the Florentine Union, on the grounds that his preaching had aroused 'scandal, unrest and dissension among our faithful' (scandalum et novitatem ac seditionem inter illos nostros fideles) (Thiriet 1975a: 432 and n. 1). Again, in 1461, the Council of Ten commanded the local authorities of Crete to observe and interrogate the refugees who had arrived in large numbers from Constantinople, and to deport any they regarded as suspect (Thiriet 1975a: 432-3). Decisions of the same year led to the arrest and interrogation of the Constantinopolitan Ioannis Argyropoulos, on the basis of information that he was conspiring against Venice, the deportation of the *protopapas* of Rethymno Petros Tzangaropoulos, and the persecution of the hieromonk Neofytos, the last two because they had connections with the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Manousakas 1960: 115, 122).

In the following years the official policy of Venice on religious matters continued to be identified with that of the Vatican. From the middle of the sixteenth century, however, there was a radical change of policy regarding the religious situation in Crete. This change had its causes in the general situation in the Greek East, which was a matter of great concern to the Venetian Republic. After the surrender to the Turks of several important Venetian possessions (Nafplio, Monemvasia and especially Cyprus), and as the Turkish noose closed ever tighter, Venice realised the failure of her policies in Crete, since she could rely on neither the help of the Catholic Church nor the co-operation of the local population for the defence of the island against the Turks. Venice's political interests required her to adapt to the new situation and to pursue a religious policy favourable to the Orthodox population, in order to gain the Cretans' confidence and their support in the struggle against the Turks. In the context of this new religious programme, there was no longer any reason for her to encourage the Uniates, whose presence on the island was far from advantageous to her plans. It is consequently understandable that the bequest of Bessarion could not fulfil its purposes in the new pro-Orthodox climate.¹⁹

Economic activity

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, as the Turkish threat to her possessions grew, Venice implemented a series of liberalising measures, which

19 On the change in Venice's religious policy see the analysis of Tsirpanlis 1967a: 149ff.

were to result in the peaceful co-existence of the Catholic and Orthodox communities of Crete. In granting religious freedoms to her Cretan subjects the Serenissima aimed to win them over to her side, recognising that without the co-operation of the local element there was no possibility of averting the Turkish menace. The metropolis no longer treated Crete as a colony, but as a part of the Venetian state; the new relationship was that of capital and province (Thiriet 1975a: 444; cf. Panagiotakis 1981: 332). The positive measures taken by Venice led to a new social reality, in which the local population was emancipated economically. As a result the old economic and social structures of the Cretan towns were overthrown. The fundamentally medieval society based on a developed form of feudalism had in any case already fallen into decline. The fiefs had been fragmented and many of them had passed into the hands of Cretans, even of non-members of the nobility (cf. Panagiotakis 1981: 333 and n. 9). At the same time the old system of cultivation based on large feudal holdings farmed by *paroikoi* had been abandoned and the feudal relationship had been replaced by hired labour in the lands which belonged to the state. With the dissolution of the old medieval social order a new social group began to develop which would gradually organise itself into a flourishing urban society. It has been rightly observed that the social and economic conditions which existed in Crete in this period were comparable to those of the cities of Western Europe which had produced the Renaissance.²⁰

The importance of the Cretan ports for the development of Venetian trade and commerce was considerable. Commercial relations existed with Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, Armenia, Chios, Rhodes and the Venetian and other Frankish possessions in the Aegean. Moreover, for the part played by Crete in the spread of Venetian commercial activity in Asia Minor we have a variety of information from treaties negotiated in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries between the Dukes of Crete and the Emirs of Mentesche and Aydin (Zachariadou 1983). The main exports of Crete were wine, oil and cheese. The Cretan wines (*malvasie*, *moscatelli*, *vini dolzi*)²¹ were renowned: they were shipped as far as the commercial centres of Moldavia and Southern Poland (Patrinelis 1974), as well as to Flanders, Portugal and England. Indeed, during the reign of Henry VIII the export of wine to England had increased to such an extent that it was found essential to appoint an English consul in Candia (Lowder 1952: 97–102). Cretan cheeses were exported all over the Greek world, while the export of olive-oil reached 500,000 *mistata* in a good year. Wheat, which grew in abundance in the Mesara plain,²² was frequently shipped to the poorer areas of Romania, as well as to Karpathos, Santorini and Kythira. Crete also produced various other Mediterranean-type crops, such as

20 On the flourishing urban class of the Cretan towns see S. Alexiou 1965, 1974b and 1985a; Panagiotakis 1981: 332–8.

21 For studies of viticulture and wine-production in Venetian Crete see Papadhakis 1977; Topping 1981.

22 On the wheat-trade see Zachariadou 1977 and Laiou 1982: 183–5.

cotton, honey, wax, raisins and fruit. From the West, cloth, glass, paper and nails were imported, while spices, medicinal herbs, gum arabic, salt fish and caviar came from the East. Moreover, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the slave trade reached its height (Verlinden 1962). As a transit station for Venetian trade, the port of Candia was the great stopping-off point for the East. Its warehouses, piled high with goods of all kinds (silks, spices, cereals) destined for the markets of East and West, frequently held so much merchandise that Venice had to send ships to load up goods for which there was no storage space (Thiriet 1961/2: 346–7).

From the moment Crete became a channel for commercial communication between East and West, the local population began to participate in trading activities, gradually acquiring a position of importance in the economic life of the island. Documents from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mention the names of Cretans who negotiated shipping and commercial loans or formed partnerships with Venetians and Jews; and in the following centuries references in the sources to shipowners, merchants and sailors with Greek names increase at an amazing rate.²³ It is sufficient to recall that among the ships which went to the aid of the besieged Byzantine capital in 1453 were three Cretan vessels, under the command of Sgouros, Gialinas and Filomatis (Manoussakas 1960), and that in Cretan folk songs of the period, as well as the comedies *Fortounatos* and *Stathis*, we meet with Cretan merchants, Cretan ships and Cretan sailors (S. Alexiou 1985a: 56–61). Abundant evidence of the Cretans' seafaring abilities also emerges from the reports of the Venetian *Provveditori* and other higher officials of the Serenissima (cf. Spanakis 1940–76: I 23). Of equal interest is the information provided by the sources about the organisation of the sailors of Candia into a fraternity (*scuola di marinari titulata la Misericordia*), based at the Church of St Nicholas, the patron saint of all seafarers, which was particularly active in the social life of the town (Konstandoudhaki-Kitromilidhou 1981: 124ff., especially 134–42). A document of 1569, preserved in the acts of the notary Michael Maras, is noteworthy: it records that Manoussos Theotokopoulos, son of the late Zorzi, warden of the sailors' fraternity (βαρδιάνος της σκόλας των ναυτών), authorised Zuanne Dapyra, ship's captain, to represent the fraternity in Venice, by collecting subscriptions and soliciting charitable donations (Mertzios 1961/2: 301).

The mobilisation of the urban class resulted in economic prosperity and a general raising of living standards. The products of Cretan industries became much sought after in foreign markets. From the wood-carving workshops of Crete came iconostases, crosses and altar-doors for the churches of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Mount Athos, Cairo (Kazanaki 1974: 258–60, 265–6, 269–77), Patmos (Fatourou 1962: 31–6), and Sinai (Chatzidakis 1953: 17), while furniture carved from cypress wood, chests, boxes, caskets and small tables were

23 Laiou 1982; S. Alexiou 1985a: 56–7; Ploumidhis 1974a: 117–21; Panagiotopoulou 1974: 301, 309ff.

exported to Naples and Apulia (Xirouchakis 1940: 291). Painting also enjoyed a continuous tradition on the island. A host of information from archive sources made available in recent years sheds light on the activities of the numerous painters (*sgourafoi* in the Cretan dialect), who worked mainly in the town of Candia, leases of workshops, commissions and prices of religious and secular works.²⁴ The strengthening of the economy and the increased commercial and shipping activity led gradually to considerable prosperity for the inhabitants of the Cretan towns.²⁵ The accumulation of wealth in the houses of the Greek bourgeoisie is particularly evident from notarial documents, dowry contracts and wills detailing the number and variety of garments, furnishings, icons and jewelry, so that a full picture emerges of the financial resources the bourgeoisie had at their disposal. 'The wealth of the nobles and the bourgeois', the report of a Venetian official of the last decade of the sixteenth century records, 'is apparent from their expensive clothes, festivals, feasts and funerals, which are performed with unusual lavishness' (cf. S. Alexiou 1965: 26). Furthermore, the luxury of the women's clothing so impressed a seventeenth-century Dutch traveller that he remarked: 'The women wear aprons of silk and very fine lace. Their fingers are full of diamonds, while they themselves are adorned with pearls which they wear round their necks, on their heads and on their sandals' (Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1967: 606–7).

This brief survey of the economic situation of Crete during Venetian rule indicates that the island, thanks to its privileged geographical position at the centre of trade routes, had developed into an important centre of commerce and a crucial zone of shipping communications. Research has also shown that the Greek population participated in the economic life of the island, penetrating the social and economic structures of the Venetian conquerors.

Symbiosis of Greeks and foreigners

With the removal of religious differences, and with the scope for Cretans to engage in economic activities on an equal footing, the Greek and Venetian populations of Crete gradually progressed towards peaceful co-existence and cultural cross-fertilisation. The lengthy symbiosis of the two peoples produced a common Veneto-Cretan culture. On the one hand, as time went on, the Venetians who had put down roots in Crete were increasingly influenced by the physical and human environment. The Cretans, for their part, as heirs to a rich intellectual and artistic tradition, succeeded in assimilating and reshaping the foreign influences, grafting onto the Byzantine tradition the cultural

24 There is a large bibliography on this subject; see especially Mertzios 1961/2: 256–308; Cattapan 1968 and 1972; Konstandoudhaki 1973, 1975 and 1977; Paliouras 1973; Chatzidakis 1977; Kazanaki-Lappa 1981; Konstandoudhaki-Kitromilidhou 1981.

25 On the wealth of the Cretan bourgeoisie see Andoniadhi 1965, 1967 and 1968; cf. Maltezos 1983/4: 69ff.

borrowings which came from the Renaissance West. This remarkable process was to culminate in a distinct Cretan civilisation. Ultimately it is the Cretan element, with its numerical superiority and inexhaustible cultural tradition, which predominates.

Mixed marriages between Greeks and Venetians are mentioned in the sources from the end of the thirteenth century onwards. In 1293, fearing that the ownership of land might pass into Greek hands, Venice forbade the Latin feudatories to marry Greek women. The fact that this decision was taken at a time when the island was in a state of upheaval, owing to the rebellion of Alexios Kallergis, clearly shows that mixed marriages were already a reality, despite the conflict between the two peoples (Cessi 1950: 337 §27; cf. Jacoby 1976: 30). A few years later, in 1299, under the treaty with Kallergis, the Serenissima was obliged to concede to him and his fellow rebels the right to contract mixed marriages (Mertzios 1949: 269). Furthermore, instances of villeins seeking to prove that they were the illegitimate offspring of a *homo, latinus, liber et franchus* (free Catholic), and therefore themselves entitled to be regarded as free men, according to their fathers' condition, reveal that extra-marital liaisons between Greeks and Venetians were not uncommon from the first centuries of Venetian occupation onwards. In 1319, for instance, Scopelleto Tiepolo succeeded in proving that he was the son not of Johannes Prematesti, a villein of the state, but of Giacomo Tiepolo, who had been Duke of Crete in 1298, and a Greek villein Herini Xerokalichena (Santschi 1972: 113; cf. Jacoby 1976: 30). We find mixed marriages not only between Venetian men and Greek women of the lower social orders, but at all levels, as the inevitable result of the daily contacts between the two communities. The examples of Georgios Gialinas, Ioannis Gialinas and Stefano Bon are illustrative of the situation at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. Georgios Gialinas, who married a member of the Gradenigo family, was notable for his flourishing commercial activities, in partnership with Venetians, during this period (Topping 1976: 18; cf. Laiou 1982: 195). Ioannis Gialinas must be a member of the same family, which played an important part in Cretan economic life (Laiou 1982: 194–6); he too is reported to have married a foreigner, Rosa Secreto (Santschi 1976b: 250 n. 1145). As for Stefano Bon, he was a notary in Candia in 1303–4, a profession which would have brought him into daily communication with the local population; he learnt Greek, married a Greek woman, employed Greek nurses for his children, and had a daughter with the Greek name of Pothiti (Laiou 1982: 197–8).

The extent to which Venetian families had become linguistically assimilated and lost their Catholic religion is emphasised in the reports of Venetian officials of the Senate in the last centuries of Venetian rule, and in numerous other sources of the period. The *Provveditor General* Giacomo Foscarini writes in the last decades of the sixteenth century: 'Among the noble Venetians, many are those who have no memory of their noble descent . . . who preserve

nothing but their surname and their few remaining fiefs . . . They have completely forgotten the Italian language and, since there is no possibility of hearing mass according to the Latin rite in any of the island's villages, they are obliged, while staying in their village . . . to baptise their children, to marry and to bury their dead in accordance with the Orthodox rite and Greek customs. And these are the Venieri, Barbarigi, Morosini, Boni, Foscarini – families in all respects Greek . . .’ (Spanakis 1969a: 134 n. 1). In 1584 Giulio Garzoni mentions that the Venetian nobles could be called Greeks, because their Italian descent had become obsolete (Giannopoulos 1978: 41 n. 1). ‘Many of these families,’ the Duke of Crete in 1610 remarks in his turn, ‘have become extinct, several have returned to the motherland, and others from neglect or poverty have withdrawn to the villages, changed occupations and become poor peasants’ (Spanakis 1950: 316). Further, in 1602 the *Provveditor General* Benetto Moro had noted in his report: ‘There is no quarrel on matters of religion, since both communities live freely in their own rites, and the Greek notables and others of their rite often go to Latin churches to hear mass, and the Latins frequent the churches of the Orthodox. The clergy of both rites are respected by all. But the thing which most indicates the respect of the Greeks for the Latin rite is their general devotion to St Francis. At his festival they all rush to visit his church and in the most serious illnesses of their children they are accustomed to dedicate them to this saint and to dress them in the [Franciscan] garb and cap . . . In Sfakia, moreover, there are many Greeks who out of devotion to the saint give his name to their children’ (Spanakis 1940–76: iv 86–7; Lassithiotakis 1981: 150–4). Earlier sources also bear witness to the mutual tolerance between Catholics and Orthodox and the fact that many Catholics went over to Orthodoxy. Suffice it to mention that in 1410 the Catholic Giorgio Capello became a priest ‘according to the custom and practice of the Greeks’ (*secundum morem et consuetudinem Grecorum*) (Thiriet 1966: 209 and n. 3) and that Cristoforo Buondelmonti, while travelling in Crete, was not only given hospitality at Orthodox monasteries but also said mass in an Orthodox church on Mt Giouktas (Buondelmonti 1981: 147, 156). Furthermore, in 1422 the Venetian Senate, through its ambassador Francesco della Siega, drew the attention of the Pope to the significant fall in the number of Latin clerics in Crete and the loss of the faithful to the Orthodox Church (Thiriet 1958–61: II 192 n. 1832 and 1975b: 194).

Local customs and above all the Greek language – the *altera lingua* of the Latins – are the links binding Cretan society together. The poet and lawyer Leonardhos Dellaportas, born (according to his autobiography) in ‘famous Kastro’ in the first half of the fourteenth century, but whose surname and baptismal name attest the distant Italian origins of his family, wrote in Greek and proudly proclaimed himself an Orthodox Christian and a Cretan (‘χριστιανός ορθόδοξος και κρητικός’) (Manussacas 1966: 284–5; see, however, Chapter 3 p. 56). Francesco Barozzi, who wrote a prose satire in Cretan dialect (Panagiotakis 1974: 240), refers to the island, in 1562, as ‘his poor

fatherland' (*povera patria*); and in 1550 the well-known Veneto-Cretan scholar Thomas Trivizanos, who signed himself 'the Cretan' (Θωμάς Τριβηζάνος ο Κρης), describes Greek as 'our language' (ημετέραν γλώτταν) (Canart 1971: 229; cf. Kallergis 1980: 115). Daniel Furlano, the sixteenth-century Rethymniot scholar, whose family was of Italian origin, in referring to the intellectual tradition of Hellenism, includes himself among the humanists who had a deep sense of the historical continuity of Greek tradition (Manousakas 1974: 200). The Venetians, as the *Provveditor General* Zuanne Mocenigo stressed in his report of 1589, used the Greek language and lived, most of the them, 'alla greca' (Spanakis 1940–76: I 13). The Hellenisation of the Venetians is also noted by many foreign travellers who visited the island during the Venetian period. Thus, Hans Schürpf (1498) and Melchior Sendlitz (1556) affirm that Greek was the language spoken on the island, while Henry Castela (1600–1) records that 'almost all the inhabitants of the island follow the Greek way of life' (les habitants de ceste isle vivent presque tous à la façon des Grecs) (Hemmerding-lliadou 1967: 563, 572, 595).

Towns and villages

The architectural appearance of Venice, with its *piazze*, *campi* and imposing buildings, served as an ideal model for the planning of the Cretan towns. Immediately after the establishment of Venetian rule in the island, the Serenissima saw to it that public buildings were erected and at the same time considerable sums were expended on the defence needs of the island. The document of 1252, by which the Venetian Senate assigned the territory and town of Chania to the colonists, records that the *capitaneus* and his counsellors were required to retain open areas, or squares, for common use and to erect walls (plateas pro domo et domibus comunis et ruga magistra et ecclesia seu ecclesiis et municionibus hedificandis . . . et muros dicte civitatis facient capitaneus et consiliarii hedificari) (Tafel-Thomas 1856–7: II 472). Thus, buildings began to be constructed in the main towns of Crete, which became 'famous throughout the world' (*per totum mundum famosa*),²⁶ in imitation of those of the metropolis: administrative buildings, arcades (*loggie*), fountains, grain warehouses (*fondachi*), barracks, inns, customs houses, dockyards (*arsenali*), isolation hospitals (*lazzaretti*) and other buildings, which defined and transformed the architectural character of the island. In the sixteenth century the whole island was fortified with new defences, based on the latest techniques of fortification, to deal with the threat of foreign incursions. The fortifications of the Cretan towns are among the best examples of Renaissance fortress architecture surviving in Greek lands.²⁷

26 So the island is described in documents of 1346; see Ratti Vidulich 1976: 51 no. 93 and 57 no. 103.

27 Among studies on the fortifications of Crete the following are worthy of mention: Dhimakopoulos 1973; Steriotou 1979, 1981 and 1984.

The centre of civil and ecclesiastical authority was the square of Candia, where the ducal palace – residence and official seat of the Duke – was located, as well as the Church of St Mark (Xirouchakis 1934: 131; S. Alexiou 1960: 102–8), the clock²⁸ and the *campanile* which summoned officials to their work (Theotokis 1941: 147, 163); but a major role in the social life of the urban centres was played by the *loggia*.²⁹ It was here that the nobles met for discussion, and here also public proclamations were made (see below p. 39). And during the St Titus revolt of 1363 the Venetian and Cretan rebels assembled in the *loggia* to proclaim Crete an independent republic under the protection of St Titus (Andoniadhi 1961/2: 355).

The construction of fountains to solve the water supply problem of the towns was a matter of particular concern to the Venetians. Fountains of architectural and sculptural distinction were erected in the squares, such as the Morosini fountain in Candia and the Rimondi fountain in Rethymno (Xanthoudhidhis 1964: 63–6; Dhimakopoulos 1970: 322–43). The *Provveditor General* Francesco Morosini, whose name is linked with the construction of an aqueduct to supply Candia, described the project in detail in his report of 1629. ‘On the feast day of our blessed patron St Mark’, he writes, describing the blessing and inauguration of the fountain which bears his name, ‘the people saw water flowing into the square of Candia from eight mouths or pipes, and it was then blessed with great solemnity by the most holy archbishop, together with the Latin clergy, and the *protopapas* in company with the Greek clergy, in the presence of a great multitude and of the army, who applauded and praised God and the Serenissima’ (Spanakis 1940–76: II 38–9). This fountain is the work of a local Rethymniot artist, Thomas Frabenetto; it is decorated with representations from Greek mythology, tritons, dolphins, hippocamps, nereids and cupids (Spanakis 1940–76: II 42; S. Alexiou 1985a: 44). An indication of the importance attributed to the project by the authorities is the fact that in 1638 a special medal was struck with a bust of Morosini on one side and Zeus on the other (Xanthoudhidhis 1964: 65).

The Venetian authorities also gave their attention to the cleanliness of the towns. Decrees of 1317 and 1319 forbade the inhabitants of Candia to deposit rubbish outside their houses after sunset, on penalty of a fine of six *grossi*. Rubbish had to be transported outside the town (*extra portas*) and the ‘wardens of the night’ (*domini de nocte*) were to see that the decrees were enforced (Ratti Vidulich 1965: 60 no. 168, 61 no. 170, 89 no. 242, 90 no. 244). On 13 September 1319 the occupants of eight houses in a street which had become choked with rubbish were required to pay the appropriate fine themselves,

28 In 1463 Giacomo Barbarigo, the newly-elected Duke of Crete, was authorised to buy a ‘horologium’, transport it to Candia, and place it ‘super platea ad usum et commoditatem istius communitatis’ (above the square for the use and convenience of that community) (Thiriet 1966–71: II, 242 no. 1644).

29 On the *loggia* of Irakleio (Candia) see Spanakis 1939, and on that of Rethymno, Dhimakopoulos 1974 (where relevant bibliography will be found).

unless the offender identified himself (Ratti Vidulich 1965: 89–90: no. 243). In 1323 the dumping of rubbish outside the walls of the town was also prohibited (Ratti Vidulich 1965: 130–1 no. 343). Finally, by a decree of 1360, it was decided that twelve refuse-men should collect the rubbish in four carts (*carete*), paid for by contributions from all the inhabitants according to their means. The refuse-collectors were to tour the streets every day, announcing their arrival with a trumpet (*sonando unum cornum*), gather up the rubbish and deposit it outside the town in a place known as ‘Megali Coprea’ (literally, great dunghill). Every Saturday the inhabitants were also obliged to clear rubbish from the front of their houses and shops, in order to keep the streets clean (Jegerlehner 1904: 460–1).

In the last centuries of Venetian rule the population of Crete was around 200,000 (Spanakis 1958: 324). In the towns lived the feudatories, who occupied themselves mainly in selling their produce and collecting revenues due to them, as well as in other commercial activities; the *cittadini*, who were engaged in trade, or were public employees, doctors, lawyers and notaries; and people from the lower classes pursuing a variety of other occupations. Among the many trades mentioned in the sources are those of builder (*murarius*), carpenter (*marangonus*), caulker (*calafatus*), cooper (*butarius*), goldsmith (*aurifex*), tanner (*cerdo*), shoemaker (*calcarius*), furrier (*peliparius*), painter (*pictor*, *depentor*), chest-designer (*dissegnator di casse*), chest-maker (*casseler*), saddler (*sellarius*), arrow-maker (*arcerius*), and tailor (*sartor*).³⁰

A mass of useful information about the position of women in Cretan society emerges from the surviving documents. The study of all this material leads us to the conclusion that the women of Crete took full advantage of the possibilities afforded them by the social and economic conditions pertaining in the urban centres during Venetian rule. In the notarial archives documents of many kinds bear witness to the activities and position of women: marriage agreements, dowry contracts and valuations, wills, contracts of sale, leases, credit notes, apprenticeship agreements, contracts of work, partnership agreements, powers of attorney, etc. In most cases the social class to which the woman belongs is apparent in the notarial documents. A woman of noble family is designated as the daughter of ‘the noble *archon*’ (του ευγενή αρχο) or as ‘the most noble *archontissa*’ (ευγενεστάτη αρχόντισσα) if she is married, while a woman of the bourgeoisie is simply described as the wife (*κερά* or *γυνή*) of so-and-so, usually with a mention of her husband’s occupation. The suffix -poula attached to the father’s name (Pateropoula, Tzangaropoula) is used to form a patronymic for unmarried women; married women, on the other hand, take their husband’s name with the suffix -aina (Kallergaina, Varouchaina). Childhood was reckoned as lasting to the age of twelve and adulthood began at eighteen, at which age women acquired legal rights. The

30 Tables listing the various occupations are given by Mertzios 1961/2: 230; Santschi 1969: 60–4; Paliouras 1973: 102 n. 8; Maltezou 1983/4: 73ff.

women of Crete tended to marry young, often before the age of fifteen (Maltezou 1983/4: 65 and n. 10). Dowries consisted mainly of movable goods; although there are some mentions of property changing hands as part of a dowry contract, usually it was to pass to the male offspring of the couple. It was essential for the bride-to-be to be present when the dowry contract was drawn up and to consent to its terms. It was, of course, customary for marriages to be arranged, with match-makers handling all the negotiations between the families. Despite the absence of specific information in the notarial documents, the arrangements made in a notarial act of 1419 may be regarded as typical: in it Gabriel Gradonico of Candia empowers his brother Michael, also of Candia, and Alessandro Barbo, a resident of Venice, to find a suitable bride for him (Maltezou 1983/4: 65 n. 12).

If in the texts of marriage agreements, wills and dowry contracts the woman's interests are centred on the family hearth, whether her father's or her husband's, the documents relating to work and business partnerships throw light on the activities of women outside the narrow environment of the family. Work contracts entered into by women mention the following occupations: wet-nurse (*baiula*, *nutrix* or βυζῆστρα), maid-servant (*famula*), weaver (*textrix*), seamstress (*juparia*), furrier (*pepilaria*), shoe-maker (*sutrix*) and tavern-keeper (*tabernaria*). A comparison of the average annual remuneration of women and men in the same occupation, based on the evidence of notarial documents of the fourteenth century, reveals that men were much better paid than women. A maid-servant was paid 4.2 *hyperpyra* a year, while two male servants received 8.7 and 14.5 *hyperpyra* respectively, twice or three times the woman's wage (Santschi 1969: 60, 67; cf. Maltezou 1983/4: 74). On the other hand there were some highly-paid women's occupations. A wet-nurse, for example, earned about 15 *hyperpyra* a year; compare that with the 12.5 *hyperpyra* paid to a blacksmith. An unpublished agreement of 1420 provides details of the terms of employment of a wet-nurse. Sofia Moussourena of Flambanochori was employed for two years by Thomas Francesco, a resident of Candia, as wet-nurse for his daughter. She agrees to live in his house, suckle and rear his daughter 'according to the custom of wet-nurses' (*secundum usum baiularum*), for a remuneration of 30 Cretan *hyperpyra*. It is specified, however, that if her milk is insufficient to suckle the child for the whole period of two years, the employer is entitled to dissolve the contract and to pay her only for such time as she has suckled the child (Maltezou 1983/4: 74).

Women were, however, also active in the field of commerce. Either on their own or in partnership with others, they both invested capital and engaged in commerce on their own behalf. The following examples are of interest: in 1271, Evdhokia, wife of Johannes Kalyvitis of Candia, made over the sum of 70 *hyperpyra* to her brother-in-law for a period of one year 'for engaging in commerce and making of profits' (*ad negociandum et lucrandum*), in return for half of the profits (Maltezou 1983/4: 74). In 1301 the notary Stefano Bon

entrusted a sum of money to Kyranna Rafelino and her brother-in-law Leo Kavallaropoulos for commercial undertakings (Maltezou 1983/4: 75–6).

Finally, there is another category of women who figure among the clientèle of the notaries, that of nuns. Women who had chosen the monastic way of life, both ordinary nuns and abbesses representing their convents, are mentioned as buying and selling on behalf of their convent, renting monastic dwellings, and certifying the receipt of various benefactions bequeathed to their convents. Also noteworthy are the documents relating to transactions between nuns and painters. The case of Evgenia Trapezondiopoula, a nun at the convent of St John Mesambelitis in Candia, is particularly interesting: after the painter Francesco Kavertzas had painted an icon of the Second Coming, she paid the balance of his fee in market produce (Konstandoudhaki 1975: 75 and n. 301, 118–21; cf. Maltezou 1983/4: 77). Nuns also provided elementary education, receiving in return a specified portion of revenues due to the nunnery (Dhetorakis 1980: 234–5; cf. Maltezou 1983/4: 77–8).

In a series of decrees (*ordines*) of the fourteenth century, which constituted a kind of charter for the various occupations, Venice laid down her policy for bringing the trades and professions under state control. These decrees were issued in the name of the Duke and the local authorities and were announced by the public herald (*gastaldio, prece ministerialis*), in the *loggia* near the ducal palace (*lobio Sancti Marci, columna Sancti Marci*), in the main street (*ruga magistrata*), at the *borgo*, the *judecha* (Jewry), and outside the town gates (*extra portas civitatis*); where appropriate, they were sometimes also announced in the other towns and even in the villages (Ratti Vidulich 1965: ix–x). In view of the great interest which these decrees have as regards the functioning and organisation of the trades, we give below a few examples relating to the bakers, butchers, blacksmiths and goldsmiths. The bakers, men or women (*pancogoli, pancogole*), were required under the decrees of 1313, 1316, 1320, 1326 and 1371 to produce bread from wheat provided by the state (*frumento comunis*), to have a licence to pursue their trade, to sell their bread in the square and anywhere else they chose, and to ensure that their bread was well baked, of a specified weight and that it bore the official seal (*bullatum bulla comunis*).³¹ Under a decree of 1320 the butchers (*beccarii*) had to take an oath before the authorities (*iurandum secundum usum*), who would grant them stalls (*banchos*); further, under a decree of 1342, both Christian and Jewish butchers were obliged to declare to the chamber of justiciaries (*camera iusticiariorum*) the place, date and person from whom the animals were bought, and the animals' distinguishing marks (*signa*). Finally, in 1360 it was decreed that those who sold pork in the market, which was near the Church of the Virgin *de macello*, were to sell it at specified prices and after first weighing it by balance (*bellancia*) and steelyard (*statera*).³² The

31 Ratti Vidulich 1965: 7–8 no. 7, 53 no. 148, 54–5 no. 152; Jegerlehner 1904: 470–1.

32 Ratti Vidulich 1965: 106 no. 287; Jegerlehner 1904: 471–2.

blacksmiths (*fabri*), under a decree of 1321, were required to have a permit from the authorities in order to transport or sell iron objects such as anchors, nails etc.; the harbour officials (*portarii de ripa*) were to oversee the implementation and observance of this decree in connection with the export of anchors, while ship-owners (*patroni ligni*) had to be particularly careful when transporting anchors on their ships, because ignorance of the decision was not regarded as an excuse. In 1351, furthermore, it was decreed that blacksmiths who had workshops in Candia and the *burgo* should deliver each week to a state official a specified number of horseshoes and nails, for purchase at fixed prices.³³ As for the goldsmiths, a decision of 1360 obliged these craftsmen to take an annual oath to practise their craft faithfully (*de exercendo fideliter artem suam*); they were also to carry out their transactions in public places (*in stacionibus comunis super platea comunis*), and not in their homes or in any other place, to stamp their goods with a special seal or mark (*bulla vel signo speciali*) peculiar to their workshop, to register this mark with the authorities, who would enter it in a book, and to make their silver or gold artefacts in accordance with the correct proportions of metal; finally, they were forbidden to send any apprentice or assistant to the town or *burgo* to buy silver or other materials they needed in their work, on penalty of a fine for the goldsmith and a whipping for the assistant (Jegerlehner 1904: 477–8).

Valuable information on various aspects of the organisation of the trades and professions (such as conditions of work, wages, the age of apprentices) may be gleaned from apprenticeship contracts. In 1539, to take a typical example, Maria, widow of the barber *mastro*-Georgis Karpoforos, apprenticed her son Nikolaos to *mastro*-Strato Rosso, also a barber, for a period of nine years, to teach him his trade. The master was obliged to provide the apprentice with food, clothing and shoes, and at the end of the period of apprenticeship to give him the tools of his trade (Kiskiras 1968: 14). In 1630 Avgoustis Perkoulianos, barrel-maker, entrusted his son Filippo to the hieromonk Ieremia Pallada, painter, who undertook to teach him painting and also reading and writing for a period of five years. The remuneration of the teacher was fixed at fifteen Spanish *real*, to be paid in three instalments (Kazanaki-Lappa 1981: 256–7).

Much information is available in documents of the Venetian period about private houses in Crete, and in particular about their internal decoration and furnishing. The Cretan house usually consisted of a reception room (*portico*), other rooms (*camere*), a courtyard (*aula*), kitchen and *magazeno* (a ground-floor storeroom which often also served as a shop, warehouse or workshop).³⁴ The portable icon, as an object of devotion but also as a work of art, was to be found everywhere, in both wealthy and poor houses and even in work-

33 Ratti Vidulich 1965: 112 no. 300; Jegerlehner 1904: 474–5.

34 On the houses in general see the interesting information compiled from archive sources by Imhaus 1973; Ploumidhis 1974b: 281ff.; Gasparis 1982. On the architecture of the houses, particularly those of Rethymno, see the noteworthy study of Dhimakopoulos 1977.

shops (Konstandoudhaki 1975: 36–7 n. 2, 39). Among items of furniture there is frequent mention of chests made of cypress wood, walnut or fir, carved, painted and often gilt; these chests were used to store clothing, jewelry etc., but they were also decorative objects in their own right (Konstandoudhaki 1975: 85). In the houses of the nobility we find chairs covered with rose-coloured velvet, Persian carpets and gilt stools (Spanakis 1955: 423ff.). In many of the houses of the aristocracy there were ceilings painted with the family coat of arms (Konstandoudhaki 1973: 366–7). Mention should also be made of the libraries that existed in Cretan houses. The library of Antonios Kallergis, for instance, a great bibliophile and manuscript collector of the sixteenth century, is well known: in addition to works by Greek and Latin classical and Christian authors, it contained many books on history, medicine and religion, works of Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, Aretino, Bembo, Ariosto, Ficino and others (Panagiotakis 1968: 54–5). Furthermore, from the will of Andrea Cornaro, made in 1611, we learn of the size and content of the collection of books which was distributed between his residence in Candia and his country-house at Thrapsano (Spanakis 1955: 450ff.). Among the books of the doctor Zuanne Roditi, listed in 1647 in an inventory of his possessions, were the works of Galen, dictionaries of medicine (τζη γηατρικης), other medical books and the text of Aristotle (τεστο του Αρηστοτελος). ‘These books,’ the inventory records, ‘are in a large strong-box (φορτζερη, from Italian *forziere*) in the small room’ (Konstandoudhaki 1975: 123).

In contrast to the population of the urban centres, particularly Candia, which acquired both economic prosperity³⁵ and a distinct cultural activity, in the countryside the peasants continued to endure the exploitation of their feudal lords and the oppression of the higher officials of the state. Particularly onerous was the forced labour imposed on peasants by the Venetian authorities in connection with public works or fortification building; galley service was also a heavy burden. The wretched conditions under which the rural population lived, with the exception of the *gonicari* (hereditary freemen) and *privilegiati* who were exempt from the various *angarie*, are described at length in the reports of successive *Provveditori Generali*. The comment of Zuanne Mocenigo (1589) is typical:

Anyone who has not seen the wretchedness of those people is unable to believe it . . . And if it were possible for your Serene Highness and your Excellencies to see, as I have seen, those unfortunates when they came to discharge the . . . *angarie* (for they did not bring with them, and perhaps did not have in their houses, anything more than that which they gave to settle the *angarie*), I am more than sure that you would have been

35 It should be stressed that the archival information so far collected refers exclusively to the economic prosperity of the urban society of Candia itself. Relevant information for the other Cretan towns is scanty. The notarial archive of Chania, which would have added significantly to our knowledge, has unfortunately not survived. From the sources we possess, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, it appears that the economic position of Chania was not particularly flourishing (see Papadhia-Lala 1982 and 1985: 59ff.).

moved to the depths of your soul, and even more so if we consider that these unfortunates raise with their sweat and their blood those very walls which will shut them out in time of need and they will be left to the disposal of the enemy, while the walls will protect those who make no contribution in money or labour of any kind towards their erection. (Spanakis 1940-76: I 42-3)

A few years earlier, in 1584, Giulio Garzoni noted that the peasants were 'obliged to provide cocks and hens for every door (*per porta*) ... Even when they have built their houses themselves, the only right they have is to take the door with them when they move. The feudal lords who are concerned for their own advantage make a door to every room in order to increase the gifts in kind (*regalie*)' (Xirouchakis 1934: 238-9; cf. Giannopoulos 1978: 53 n. 2). The same sad situation is confirmed by Alvise Giustinian in 1591:

The peasants of Crete are governed with harshness and severity by some feudal lords, castellans and other powerful persons who have authority over them, and from the ill-treatment and extortion they undergo they have been reduced to complete poverty and lack of all things ... There are fief villages in which the land the peasants are to hold is not marked out, and so the feudal lord sometimes gives them less, sometimes more. The peasants, however, are obliged, even if they do not want the land, to leave their homes, though they have built them themselves, and to go and live elsewhere. And so, with the increase in the rent from year to year, if they keep the land at a higher charge than it is worth their labours are wasted, or if they refuse to keep it they lose every improvement which they have made to the house and the land. In either case they are driven to utter misery. (Giannopoulos 1978: 51)

As a result of the oppressive policies of Venice towards the lower social orders, and her inability to find a vital solution to these problems by taking the radical measures demanded by the critical political situation, the peasants were either indifferent to the prospect of a change of master or even reacted favourably to enemy attacks on the island. The Venetian sources indeed note the pro-Turkish sympathies of the peasants. The comment of Zuanne Mocenigo is typical: '[The peasants,] considering that it is not possible to sink into a worse state than that in which they live today, burst into cries of pain and despair ... Some of them, contemplating their wretchedness and lamenting their fate, have uttered these words: "In the end we shall prefer to go and find those dogs," meaning that they will prefer to go and live in Turkish regions' (Spanakis 1940-76: I 35-6). As early as 1571, when the Turkish fleet landed at Soudha, laid waste a number of villages in the Chania district and set fire to Rethymno, the peasants rose in rebellion and determined to negotiate with the Turkish pasha with a view to joining forces (Giannopoulos 1978: 132).

Despite these threatening signs, and despite the efforts of certain officials to improve the position of the peasants, the conditions under which they lived were not ameliorated. It is clear that there was a considerable difference between the attitude of the agricultural population towards Venice and that of

the town-dwellers, who, feeling themselves secure under the protective rule of the city of St Mark, took an active part in the Cretan War alongside the Venetians. Iseppo Civran writes in his report of 1639: 'I found the noble Venetians, the noble Cretans and even the bourgeois ready for the defence. All vie with one another and are willing to offer even their own lives' (Spanakis 1969b: 441; cf. Maltezos 1983: 146).

Everyday life

The lengthy symbiosis of Cretans and Venetians and, in general, the familiarity of the Cretans with western civilisation had a direct effect on various aspects of their daily life. This influence is observed in dress, food, the names of household articles, and the way in which they entertained themselves. In Candia the women had their dresses made *αλά φορεσιτιέρα*, that is, according to the foreign fashion, and the young men wore a *καπέλλο γενοβέζε* (Genoese hat) and *φεραρόλι αλά φραντσέζε* (cloak in the French style) (S. Alexiou 1965: 25). Damasks and gold and silver brocades came from Venice and Lombardy (*πανίν Πιαζεντίνο*) (Koukoules 1940: 40) and were used to make women's dresses. Both men's and women's clothing had reached such a height of luxury in the fourteenth century that the Venetian authorities issued an edict in 1339 prohibiting the wearing of velvet or gold brocade dresses, and the use of embroideries, gold or silver ribbons, tassels, pearls and other such decorative attachments (Jegerlehner 1904: 464–6). However, this ban, which was applicable to Venetian women as well as Cretans and Jewesses, failed to produce the desired results, as later sources indicate. In order to show off their financial resources, which were quite equal to those of the Venetian feudal lords, the leading families would often order expensive and extravagant dresses from Venice itself. Thus, in 1444 the young Quirina Kallergi asked her uncle Francesco Dandolo to bring back from Venice a gold-brocaded dress and a cloak (*pelanda*) of purple silk-velvet (Maltezos 1986).

The Cretan cuisine also succumbed to western influence. Among other dishes that might be found on the Cretan table were tripe, rissoles (*polpette*), pasta (*μακαρούνια* or *μακαρούνες*), mortadella (*μουραδέλλες*) and salcicotto (*σαλτσιτσιούνια*) (Koukoules 1940: 60–1; S. Alexiou 1965: 26; Papadhakis 1978: 59ff.). As has already been mentioned, various parts of the Cretan house were given Italian names (*portego*, *camaretta*, *loggetta*); so too with furniture (*scrittoria*, *poltrone*) and household utensils (*scutella*, *piadena*) (cf. Koukoules 1940: 34–8). It is also noteworthy that from the early sixteenth century many houses in Candia had pictures, furniture, mirrors and other objects of Flemish art (*alla fiamenga*) (Konstandoudhaki 1975: 48, 75). Even musical instruments, such as the clavicembalo and the trumpet, came from the West and could be heard at dances and festivals along with the traditional Cretan *lyra* (S. Alexiou 1965: 26). Furthermore, the mutual tolerance of Catholics and Orthodox led to many Cretan children being baptised according to the Orthodox rite but

with a Catholic godfather, which explains why many Orthodox Cretans had Venetian names, such as Polo, Tommaso, Giakoumis (Giacomo), Alevizos, Bella, Zambia, Regina or Benetta (S. Alexiou 1965: 43). Finally, the fashion for coats of arms, which quickly spread among bourgeois as well as noble families, is also of western origin. Cretan students at Padua had their coats of arms painted or sculpted on the wall of the university building, proudly mentioning their place of origin (*nobilis cretensis, cydoniensis, rethymniensis*) (Gerola 1928/9: 239ff.).

On religious or secular festivals grand processions attracted large audiences of Orthodox and Catholics alike. One such ceremonial celebration occurred on the anniversary of the quelling of the 1363 uprising; another was the *laudo*, the acclamation of the Doge of Venice and the Duke of Crete (S. Alexiou 1965: 45). On the feast of Corpus Domini (the second Thursday after Whitsunday) there was another procession, in which all the guilds took part, parading through the streets of Candia with their insignia. During this festival the ducal palace was decked out with flags and coats of arms, and the captain of the harbourmaster's office was required to offer tar for the lighting of fires in the squares, while sails were set up in the square as awnings for the procession to pass under (Konstandoudhaki-Kitromilidhou 1981: 136 n. 6, 140–1 and n. 5). At Carnival time, and in honour of the *Provveditori Generali*, a joust (*γκιόστρα, bariera*) would often be held in the main towns. There was, for instance, a grand joust in Candia in 1588 in honour of the departing *Provveditor General* Zuanne Mocenigo, and another took place in Chania in 1594 (Panagiotakis 1968: 73 and 1975: 113). Again, large crowds would gather to watch the procession of the famous icon of the Mesopanditissa, which was kept in the cathedral church of St Titus and revered by both Orthodox and Catholics. The traveller Wolfgang Stockmann (1606) reports that the icon was carried once a week by Orthodox Christians from St Titus to the Church of the Virgin of the Angels, where a *litaneia* was held before the icon was returned to its normal resting-place. He also notes that in summer Orthodox and Catholics would carry the icon to the Monastery of the Saviour, where they offered prayers to the Virgin to bring rain (Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1967: 597). It is noteworthy that the Panagia Mesopanditissa is depicted on the banner of Francesco Morosini, the last defender of Kastro at the time of the Cretan War and later Doge of Venice.³⁶

In this famous 'Description of Crete', Cristoforo Buondelmonti refers to the Cretan songs (*creticas cantilenas*) which he heard sung by sailors and oarsmen; he was greatly impressed by the melody of these songs and notes that they were renowned throughout the Greek world.³⁷ Cretan songs and dances are also mentioned by two travellers of the early seventeenth century. The first, Wolfgang Stockmann, confirms that the Cretans were fond of singing

³⁶ On this banner, which is displayed in the Museo Correr, see Vokotopoulos 1981.

³⁷ Buondelmonti 1981: 122; cf. the foreword to the Greek translation of Aposkiti 1983: 14–15.

and sang so tunefully that it was a pleasure to listen to them; the second, the Englishman George Sandys (1610), records that the Cretans were excellent dancers (Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1967: 601–2). Singing, drinking and dancing were, then, the usual entertainments of the Cretans at their feasts and festivals. Because these festivals attracted large numbers of local people, the Venetians, fearing that they might lead to insurrection against the authorities, issued a decree in 1334 banning the carrying of weapons by persons attending the festivals ('illi qui iverint ad ista panegiria'), and also prohibited the sale of wine. The same decree also forbade the *feudati* and the *burgenses*, and even their children, to attend such *panegiria*, on pain of a fine of ten *hyperpyra* (Jegerlehner 1904: 453).

Evidence for the Cretan custom of lamenting the dead is preserved in official Venetian documents as well as travellers' accounts. Thus, the decrees of 1317 and 1365 prohibited the lamentation of the dead on pain of one month's or ten days' imprisonment and a fine of ten *hyperpyra* for anyone who allowed it to take place in his house.³⁸ The same prohibition was repeated in 1467, by decree of the synod of the Latin Archbishop of Crete Gerolamo Lando (Xirouchakis 1933: 61–2; cf. Koukoules 1940: 26). Buondelmonti relates that, while attending a funeral, he saw women following the bier, beating their breasts, lacerating their faces with their nails, tearing their hair continuously and groaning, and then a large crowd of women singing dirges (Buondelmonti 1981: 136–8). A similar scene is described by the traveller Daniel Ecklin, who toured Crete in 1552. The Greeks, he writes, have different customs. First of all they kiss one another, frequently exchange greetings and address one another with 'God be with you'. The women, when one of their own people dies, cry out, beat their breasts and tear out their hair by the roots (Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1967: 572, cf. 581, 607).

Cretans, Latins and Jews, of whatever social class, were passionately fond of games of chance. Stefanos Sachlikis, the fourteenth-century poet who wasted his fortune on gambling, women and high-living, gives us much fascinating information about the habit,³⁹ while from a series of decrees of the fourteenth century dealing with the mania for gambling we learn of Venetian attempts to bring games of chance under state control by introducing a monopoly. It was forbidden, for instance, to play games of chance (*ludum taxilorum*, *ludum qui dicitur cavrabeco*, *ludum tabullarum*, *ludum ad çonòs*, *ad postadelles*, *ad scacos*, *ad açarum*⁴⁰) at night, in private houses, in shops, in Kastro, within five miles of Kastro, at the Exoportò, at the harbour or in the streets (Jegerlehner 1904: 457; van Gemert 1980a: 61–2). These prohibitions did not apply to professional

38 Jegerlehner 1904: 466–7; Ratti Vidulich 1965: 58 no. 161; cf. Koukoules 1940: 26.

39 There is a useful section on gambling in van Gemert's study of the poet Sachlikis (1980a: 59–62), from which much of the information given here is drawn. See also Koukoules 1940: 21–4.

40 Jegerlehner 1904: 457; Ratti Vidulich 1965: 147 no. 381, 188 no. 460, 189 no. 462; van Gemert 1980a: 62 n. 125.

gamblers (*publici baraterii* or *ribaldi*), who were under the control of the authorities (Ratti Vidulich 1965: 123–4 no. 329; van Gemert 1980a: 62). A decree of 1325 forbade Leonardo, a cloth-shearer (*cimator*) and the wife of the cobbler (*sutor*) Marcus Rapacinus to use their houses as gambling clubs (Ratti Vidulich 1965: 159 no. 400). In 1320 a fine of one *hyperper* was to be levied on anyone who played with Guillelmus Brexianus, a furrier (*pelliparius*), or lent him money, because – as the decree states – ‘he plays and wastes his substance’ (*ludit et consumat bona sua*).⁴¹ From 1351 the playing of games of chances was permitted in Kastro in three specified places: the *loggia* (*in lobio*), the place known as *malcantone* (that is, a neighbourhood of ill repute, probably where the taverns and brothels were located) and in the street which ran between these two locations (*ruga media inter lobium et malcantonem*) (Jegerlehner 1904: 457; van Gemert 1980a: 62 and n. 125, 65). Another decree, enacted in 1361, laid down that backgammon and chess boards (*tavlerii*) were to be returned to those who hired them out ‘after the first evening bell’ (*post sonum prime campanae*) (van Gemert 1980a: 118–19).

If such games of chance were a favourite pastime of adults, children often amused themselves with stone-fights, which frequently ended in injuries and even death. According to our sources, the children would gather in particular parts of Kastro (*in burgo et extra burgum Candide*), divide themselves into two opposing sides, and proceed to hurl stones at one another with slings, or simply with their hands (*lapides cum sarandegolis et cum propriis manibus*). In 1369, after a number of children had been injured and one had been killed, the Venetian authorities banned this dangerous sport, and fixed a penalty of a whipping or a fine, depending on the age of the offender (Jegerlehner 1904: 456; Koukoules 1940: 11). Sword-fighting or *σκιμίδα* (from the Venetian *scrimida*) was also apparently a popular pastime, for children as well as adults (Koukoules 1940: 11 and n. 4). There is a reference in a notarial document of 1538 to a teacher of *scrimida* in Candia by the name of Andrea Salivano, who undertook to teach the art of sword-play to one Frangia Meli for a remuneration of nine *hyperpyra* and to Manea Polo for ten *hyperpyra* (Mertzios 1961/2: 255–6).

Conclusions

By the end of the sixteenth century Crete was ceasing to be merely a bridge to the Greek East and reorienting itself to assume a new historical role: as a centre for the cultivation and dissemination of Greek letters. Towards the close of the fifteenth century the distinguished humanist and cardinal Pietro Bembo had composed, in Greek, a speech exhorting his compatriots to undertake the rescue of Greek letters. Addressing the Venetians, he urged them to be grateful to the gods for granting them the opportunity of conserving and

41 Ratti Vidulich 1965: 103–4 no. 281; cf. a similar prohibition dated 1322, *ibid.* 121 no. 322.

transmitting Greek education, which was now threatened. The study of Greek letters is for us (he writes) a very easy matter, for we rule over not a few Greek cities and islands and consequently have at our disposal both people and books, in order to approach Greek education. It is necessary (he continues) to approach the works of antiquity in their own language and to combine Latin education with Greek (A. Pertusi, in Folena 1980: 185–9). Among the Greek possessions which Bembo here refers to in a general way, Crete was the most important: for more than four centuries she was politically linked with the powerful Venetian state and shared its fortunes; and in Crete Greek and Latin education merged on fertile soil. If in the early centuries the Greek and foreign elements inevitably clashed, because of the many problems which the conquest created for both peoples, in later years a peaceful co-existence may be observed. After the absorption of the Venetian settlers into its social body, this Greek territory under Venetian rule, compared with corresponding Western European cities of the time, presents many similarities and analogies as regards both administrative, economic and social structures and intellectual stimuli and aspirations, comparable to those which in Europe led to the Renaissance. The basic features of Cretan society are, on the one hand, the common cultural outlook of its members and, on the other, its intensely Greek character. With cultural roots which ran deep, this society was not merely the recipient of the pronouncements of the Renaissance which shook the western world, but, as a culturally independent society, an active and innovatory force in the creation and dissemination of a distinct culture and civilisation.

Literary antecedents

ARNOLD VAN GEMERT

Venice has been called the 'hinge' of Europe (McNeill 1974), the place where East and West met, a trade centre with a strongly international orientation, but also, from a cultural point of view, an intermediary between the worlds of West and East, and especially the Greek East.

From the end of the fourteenth century onwards Greek scholars, fleeing from the Byzantine Empire threatened by the Ottoman Turks, took refuge in Venice. In their wake came the manuscripts, texts and copyists which the dawning Renaissance required; at a later stage, other scholars and educated people, attracted by the demands of the Venetian printers, arrived to offer their services as translators of classical Greek texts, editors, correctors, printers and composers. On the other hand many humanists travelled to the Greek world; the Venetian colony of Crete had a constant demand for civil servants, teachers, doctors, scholars, bishops, abbots and conventuals, as well as singers and poets to entertain them, and of course all of these brought with them the manuscripts and books they needed. At a certain moment the products of the Venetian printers, especially liturgical and religious editions and literary texts in the vernacular, but also the classics, began to flood the Greek market.

The capital of Crete, Kastro, occupied a position in relation to the whole island (and in some ways to the rest of Greece) similar to that of Venice in relation to its empire: centre of government, seat of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Crete, residence of those members of the Venetian nobility who had their estates in Central and Eastern Crete, the fixed port-of-call for the Venetian merchant fleet and pilgrims, and especially in the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century an important centre for the slave trade; Kastro also had a substantial Jewish colony and, from 1364 onwards for some decades, hundreds of German and North Italian mercenaries.

This new cosmopolitan centre (and to a lesser degree also the other Cretan towns Chania and Rethymno) developed an urban culture of its own. These changes did not, of course, involve the termination of existing Cretan cultural life: dancing and singing at weddings and patronal festivals (*πανηγύρια*), dirges at funerals (*μοιρολόγια*), songs sung at various occasions and to accompany certain activities, the performances of itinerant singers and poets. All these continued to exist and we shall see that the first known Cretan poet, Stefanos Sachlikis, makes use of such songs and their language and metre.

A new element, however, is introduced: as a result of the Venetian policy

of preventing contact with and influence from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, Crete becomes progressively detached from the Byzantine religious, cultural and educational tradition. From as early as the first half of the fourteenth century we know of the existence of schools and teachers of Latin or Italian and Greek (Pertusi 1961/2). That these schools were not exclusively for the children of the Venetian nobility of the island and civil servants becomes apparent from the fact that at such a western-type school two sons of craftsmen are engaged as *repetitores*. The first Cretan poets, Sachlikis and Dellaportas, both representatives of the Cretan bourgeoisie of Kastro, state in their autobiographies that they attended school for many years, Sachlikis 'from childhood on till I became of age' (i.e. the age of fourteen: *Autobiography* 31-5), and Dellaportas, as he tells us, 'from childhood on I went to school and learnt Italian and Greek' (*Dialogue* 1209-10).

This does not mean that Byzantine culture and education were eradicated; that tradition continued during the whole period of Venetian rule. Crete retained its function as a hinge between Venice and the Greek world in this respect also. However, Byzantine culture lost its monopoly position and its influence on whatever was written in Greek. In its place, spoken Greek (which also served as a literary language) and western culture acquired equal, or even superior, status.

The descendants of the Venetian nobility and bourgeoisie, not only through their education but to a greater degree because of regular contacts with Venice itself, kept themselves well informed about new trends in the fields of fashion, music, song, dance and literature. These contacts always remained very close. For example, in 1397, some 180 years after the establishment of the Falier family in Crete, Marco Falier and his two sons are represented in Murano at the division of the inheritance of Fantino Falier, which had to be apportioned between the male members of the house of Falier (Lazzarini 1963: 220-1). Marco's second son, the poet Marinos Falieros, lived for four years in Venice (1450-55). In 1570 his great-grandson Zuane Falier bequeathed all his possessions to his next of kin in Venice on condition that he was prepared to settle in Crete. Similar close ties must also, of course, have existed between the branches of other families.

Apart from these personal and commercial contacts, the constant stream of civil servants contributed to an excellent mutual knowledge of cultural matters. Marco Giustinian, a brother of the poet Leonardo Giustinian, was captain of Crete in the years 1421-23 and Duke of Crete from 1432 until 1435 (Leonardo himself refused election in 1439). The Cretan poet Marinos Falieros must have been well acquainted with Leonardo's (Italian) works, at least with his *contrastis* and *laudi*. Lorenzo de Monacis, who was high chancellor (*cancellarius*) of Crete in the years 1388-1428, drew in his *De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetiarum* on the Byzantine historians Niketas Choniates, George Akropolites and George Pachymeres (Pertusi 1965).

Living in Crete may have meant for most Venetians a kind of banishment, but for those who did live in the island there must have been plentiful

opportunities, and a great desire, to keep themselves informed about cultural life in Venice and elsewhere.

Stefanos Sachlikis

Stefanos Sachlikis, the father of Cretan literature, was born in Kastro around 1331. His parents were of Greek origin, but it is possible they had become Roman Catholics. His father belonged to the well-to-do bourgeoisie of Kastro and had a fief of more than four and a half *serventarie* in different parts of Crete. His main activities were in leasing out land; he was also a member of the Senate.

After his father and sister fell victim to the plague of 1348 that brought destruction to Crete, as elsewhere in Europe,¹ Stefanos was left sole heir to the family property. As he relates in his poetic *Autobiography* (and as is confirmed by the archives), he dissipated a large part of his inheritance with the easy women of Kastro (and perhaps on gambling) and through them landed in jail (c. 1370); he spent a long time (1371–82) in the country living on the only fief left to him, the village of Pendamodhi, and was appointed an advocate by the Duke of Crete, a position he certainly held in 1382/3 and 1391, and possibly in other years too. After December 1391 the Venetian archives give no more information about Sachlikis. He must have died shortly after, and certainly before 1403 (van Gemert 1980a: 36–58).

As is the case with many of his contemporaries, his life was marked by the Black Death of 1348. His work was directly influenced by it. When his friends abandoned him, and when Koutagiotaina, his companion in his debaucheries, filed a complaint against him, in jail he seizes every weapon at his disposal. In a pseudo-heroic song *Ἐπαινος τῆς Ποθοτσουτσουνιάς (Praise of Pothotsoutsounia)*² Sachlikis lets the heroine brag about her sexual skills, her life and her successes to five female brothel-keepers who are visiting her to discuss their business. This poem of ninety-seven verses, written in the metre and rhythm of the heroic poetry of the Akrites, the frontier-guards of the Byzantine Empire, is in keeping with the oral tradition of Crete. It must have been a great success: according to his own statement his song became a 'hit' with the school-going youth of Kastro (*Autobiography* 111–12):

Και τὰ ἔγραψα εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν δια τὰς ἀρχαῖες μαυλίστριες
καὶ τὰ παιδία τοῦ σχολειοῦ πολλὰ τὰ τραγουδοῦσαν.

And what I wrote in jail about the expert madames
even the schoolchildren often sang.

1 Over 40% of the members of the Senate of Crete died from it.

2 According to one interpretation Sachlikis refers to the heroine by her real name 'Potha Tzoustounia' – a corruption of 'Justinian' (the only manuscript usually writes Pothatzoustounia in one or two words). Others maintain that, as the heroine of Sachlikis's poems is Koutagiotaina, she is given here the nickname Pothotsoutsounia = Psolopotha = 'cocksick'. For the interpretations see Morgan 1960: 218 and n. 34. On this problem see now Panajotakis 1987: 225–8 (Panajotakis 1987: 12–14).

Sachlikis wrote the song using the techniques of oral composition, but in a very personal manner: a mixture of the third and first person with frequent questions and changes of speaker.

Still in jail he begins a series of didactic poems with a strongly realistic, accusing tone, which have as their subjects:

- 1 friends (prison as a touchstone of their loyalty): 201 verses (1 MS)
- 2 the jail: 65 verses (3 MSS)
- 3 the prison warders: 74 verses (3 MSS)
- 4 my warder: 37 verses (3 MSS)

The first poem is the longest, the most moralising and most literary of the four. Sachlikis refers to written sources (the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus, King Solomon). On the other hand, at the transitions between the different parts he always emphasises the fact that the poems were meant to be heard (not read):

Ημπόρουν δια την φυλακήν να πω ακόμη κι άλλα,
αμή σχολάζω, αφήνω τα να πω και να μιλήσω.

I could say even more about the jail,
but I stop, leave off telling and talking about it.

In comparison, however, with the *Praise of Pothotsoutsounia* the language has become less formulaic. Listeners used to an entirely different language and subject matter must have had some difficulty in becoming accustomed to these poems. This would be especially true of the first poem about friends; in comparison with the following poems it is too long, too moralising and too literary.³

The nature of the three shorter poems is much more realistic and satirical. The direct and indirect literary references (to the *Alexander Romance* and Manasses), comparisons and images, the questions posed to himself and his audience are present here too, but the realistic descriptions and dialogues become more prevalent, especially in the case of the last poem about his warder, who always eats with him (at Sachlikis's expense, of course) and also invites his mates, mercenaries from Lombardy and German-speaking regions, Λουμπάρδους και Τουδέσκους (W 355), in his best Italian: 'veni bevve un tratto' (come and drink a while) (W 359).

This phenomenon of '*plurilinguismo*', together with Sachlikis's turning towards the Cretan dialect as a literary language, is a conscious break with the existing literary and oral tradition in the Greek world. A similar development is taking place at the same time in Northern Italy, in the region of Venice.⁴ The result is that these works are more direct, more easily understandable,

3 In the strongly oral manuscript of Montpellier this poem is missing. The Naples manuscript has in its place the *Autobiography*. One gets the impression that Sachlikis himself, during a revision towards the end of his life, left the poem out and replaced it with his satirical description of the peasants and advocates.

4 For a discussion of its use in Northern Italy, see Paccagnella 1983: 103–67, especially 118–21.

with situations and characters recognisable in the surroundings in which they were written, and more realistic with distinctly comic effects.

These characteristics are even more evident in Sachlikis's long poem *H Βουλή των Πολιτικών* (*The Council of the Whores*). In the extant manuscripts it follows the poem about the warder without any interruption. It consists of three parts:

- 1 *About the Whores:* W 378–439, P 603–75
- 2 *The Council of the Whores:* W 440–674, P 676–811
- 3 *The Tournament of the Whores:* W 675–712

We have in fact three separate poems, the first and the last of which have come down to us with many gaps. Outwardly they share the characteristic that they use rhyme – for the first time in Greek literature – predominantly four-line rhyme, with here and there also two-, three- and five-line rhyme-units.⁵

As far as the contents are concerned the first poem looks rather like a continuation of the previous works. It is mostly a description of the behaviour of the whores and of Sachlikis's own experiences with one of them, Koutagiotaina, the wife of Koutagiotis. However, the tone has altered from realistically descriptive with some satirical features to downright vindictive. This element, present – though hidden – in previous poems, here becomes explicit:

Αλλά θαρρώ να γδικιωθώ σ' όσα κακά πανθάνω. (W 383)

But I think I will take revenge for all the misery I have to suffer.

At the end of the poem this wish becomes a fervent hope:

να δω την Κουταγιώταινα στις Βλάσταινας το κάρος
και να την δέρνη και ο Φουτρής, δια να 'χη μέγα βάρος,
κι ύστερον να την κάψουσιν και να την πάρη ο Χάρος.

that I may see Koutagiotis's wife on the wagon of Vlastaina,
and Foutris, the hangman, beating her because she is so heavy,
and that they may burn her afterwards and Charos may come to fetch her.

The actual *Council of the Whores* tells how the easy women of Kastro come together to discuss the formation of a 'brotherhood' or guild, headed by a *πριόρα* (prioress) or *καπετάνιος* (captain). Each of the various members of the prospective guild (over eighty women, each mentioned by name) is described in a few lines. Koutagiotaina is chosen as leader and escorted home while they sing a ditty about her – a kind of signature tune, perhaps:

Γαμιέται η Κουταγιώταινα κι ο σκύλος της γαυγίζει
και κλαίσι τα παιδάκια της κι εκείνη χαχανίζει.
Η χήρα η Καψαμπέλαινα είναι όπου την μαυλίζει

⁵ Attempts to smooth down these irregularities are contrary to its popular form and its origin in the Italian *frottola*. See van Gemert 1980a: 73–4.

και τρω την ως το κόκκαλον, δια να την συργουλίτζη.
 Στου Κουταγιώτη την αυλή κέρατα ξεφυτρώνουν,
 κόπελος έν' στο σπίτιν του, δι' αυτούνον εξεστρώνουν
 και λέγουν της: 'Πολιτική, διατί δεν σε γκαστρώνουν;'

Koutagiotaina is screwing while her dog barks
 and her little children cry, but she laughs her head off.
 The widow Kapsampelaina is her protectress
 and eats her to the bone, exploiting her.
 In the garden of Koutagiotis horns are growing.
 Her lover is at home, he finds his bed unmade
 and to her they say: 'Madam, how come they don't get you pregnant?'

At a festive gathering the next day they promise unconditional loyalty to the *priora* and decide to ask the government of Crete for a separate area to practise their profession. Payment will be made centrally to the *priora*. When they are sneered at by the government and chased away, Koutagiotaina suggests they get all the women to fornicate and offend the properly married ones. This they did also with Mrs Sachlikis. And Koutagiotaina even came to see Sachlikis in jail!

Of the last poem in this series, *The Tournament*, only short sections are preserved in two manuscripts. They follow *The Council* immediately. From the first verses one might gather that the women ride on each other:

Έδε φαρίν η Φράραινα και ιπαρίν η Μαρούλα
 και μούλα καλοστόλιστη οπού 'ναιν η Περούλα.

Look what a steed is the friar's woman and what a mare that Maroula,
 and what a decked-out mule is Peroula.

Later they seem to ride real horses; they injure one another badly and slink off licking their wounds. Here too Koutagiotaina is the *priora*.⁶

The comical/satirical effect of this body of realistic descriptions of named women and their protectors, interrupted by jocular remarks, songs, dances, decrees and oaths of loyalty, is greatly enhanced by the polystich rhyme. For the ear used merely to metrical verses this must have been a revelation. To all this we may add the references to known persons and events ('the unlucky bishop who had slept with Nikoletta', 'the wife of Noufri who did it for a *grosso*', 'Frantziskina who spoke churchy and Jewish', 'the niece of Pilataina who specialised in Roman Catholic monks'), the shocking vocabulary and, finally, the appropriate form of presentation. For, like his earlier poems, these texts are also intended for recitation. Sachlikis himself travelled with them to the large towns of Crete, as he mentioned in a later addition at the end of his *Council of the Whores*:

6 On problems of text and genre see now Panajotakis 1987: 236–61 and (in Greek) Panagiotakis 1987: 22–44.

Literary antecedents

Και δι' αὐτο τούτην την βουλὴν εἰς ὅλους ἔγραψά την,
στο Ρέθεμνος κι εἰς τα Χανιά παντοῦ κουδοῦνισά την·
κι ἐγὼ την Κουταγιώταινα παντοῦ μαντάτευσά την
καὶ την Βουλὴν των πολιτικῶν παντοῦ διαλάλησά την.

And that is why I have written about this Council to all,
in Rethymno and Chania everywhere I have advertised it
and everywhere I have brought shame upon Koutagiotaina
and the Council of the Whores I have proclaimed everywhere.

It is evident that Sachlikis made use of the satirical songs that were sung when a woman, suspected or guilty of adultery, was led through the streets and put in the pillory. Certain strophes could be seen as such. But the irregular rhyme and the lively description of the neighbourhood point to influence from the Italian *frottola*, as Sachlikis must have known it, via Francesco di Vannozzo. The same comic–realistic elements, which already point towards a more theatrical form, are also found in the latter's *Frottola del maritazo*.

The second period of Sachlikis's literary activity comes fifteen to twenty years later, after his unsuccessful retirement to the country (1371–82) and a somewhat flawed career as an advocate in Kastro. In that period (c. 1390) he probably also revised his earlier work.

He now uses a new form of rhyme: couplet rhyme – a form which will stay in use for centuries after Sachlikis's death as the pre-eminent form in vernacular poetry. Compared with the satirical, sneering nature of the polystich, this rhyme-form strikes one as quieter and more aloof, which suits the tone of this later work.

The *Συμβουλὲς στο Φραντζισκὴ* (*Advice to Frantziskis*), addressed to the son of a good friend, is meant to be read.⁷ After an introduction that illustrates his wasted efforts with a long row of *adunata*, he advises the young man to be wary of three great dangers: the night life of the large town (V 48–107), gambling (V 108–224) and the 'secret' whores (V 225–403). The middle section, about the epidemic proportions which gambling had assumed, corresponds with the situation in Kastro and elsewhere, which the authorities frequently took action to combat. In the Venetian regions of Northern Italy poems about the gambling fever were written by, among others, Francesco di Vannozzo.

Sachlikis's last poem, known in only one manuscript, is his so-called *Autobiography*, the *Αφήγησις παράξενος του ταπεινοῦ Σαχλίκη* (*Remarkable Story of the humble Sachlikis*). He gives a chronologically arranged survey of his life, limiting himself almost entirely to the blacker pages of it. Historical events, names of persons or places are not mentioned. His surroundings have been eliminated; his own guilt has also been removed; everything was caused by Τύχη, *Fortuna*, who is also made responsible for the ultimate failure, his career as an advocate.

7 The differences between the manuscripts also seem to be smaller.

Stefanos Sachlikis is an extraordinarily intriguing person, a transitional figure between two worlds and two attitudes, medieval and modern, Crete and Venice. His poems also reveal the transition from oral to written and from unrhymed to rhymed. Although one has the impression that nearly all of his *oeuvre* looks forward to the Renaissance, in his last work he draws back again into the Middle Ages.

Leonardhos Dellaportas

Leonardhos (or Linardhos) Dellaportas (c. 1330–1419/20) is the most unfairly treated of all the Cretan poets. Of his work, discovered in 1953 after five and a half centuries, only a very small part has been published; but about the poet himself we are well informed.

From the biographical data given in the longest of the preserved poems and from research in the archives we know that he was born in Kastro around 1330, the eldest son of Georgios and Moscana Dellaporta. The family belonged to the *cittadini* (bourgeoisie); they were merchants and had some property in lease at Gournes and other villages in Central Crete. Although they did not belong to the nobility, Leonardhos received a good education and learned at school *φράγκικα και ρωμαίικα* (Italian and Byzantine Greek). His emphatic declaration that he is 'Ορθόδοξος' does not prove that he really was Greek Orthodox: Roman Catholics also called themselves 'orthodox'.

Still fairly young (1351), he went to Venice as a small-time merchant and in order to see the world. With brief intervals he spent the following decades outside Crete, serving Venice in various ways; in later years he went as an envoy to the Turkish Sultan Murat I, the Despot of the Morea Theodoros Palaiologos, the Sultan of Tunis Aboul Abbas Ahmed (the last two in 1389) and the Emir of Palatia Elyas Bey (1403). As a reward he was appointed an advocate in Kastro in 1389. This profitable position he held until some time after 1403, when he was put in jail for three months on the accusation of a woman. From 1411 until his death (shortly before June 1420) he was director of the hospital of St Lazarus in Kastro (Manussacas 1966: 283–300; Manousakas and van Gemert 1987: 94–5, 154–61), a position held by his brother Emmanuel before him (from 1383).

Dellaportas's *oeuvre* includes four works of altogether more than 4,200 verses. The only poem published in its entirety (168 verses) is a metrical version of a prose work ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian (Manousakas 1972/3: 60–74). Apart from this, a short *Supplications* (92 verses) and a fairly extensive metrical version of the Passion (794 verses) have come down to us. These three poems and also his main work were probably written, or at least begun, in jail (between 1403 and 1411) (Manussacas 1966: 305–6).

This main work, which is also his longest (3,100 verses) and most interesting, is the *Διάλογος Ξένου και Αληθείας* (*Dialogue between an Unfortunate Man and Truth*). It is a dialogue between the poet and the personification of Truth,

who appears to him in jail in a number of successive visions and instructs him in the first part (vv. 388–1431) on the inconstancy of everything worldly, on friendship and on the corruption of judges. In the course of this conversation, Dellaportas gives a short autobiography (vv. 1200–1376). The second part (vv. 1432–2275) is a discussion about the nature of women, Dellaportas offering examples of bad women, while Truth opposes him, suggesting examples of good women. This remained a favourite subject in the Greek world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸ In the third part Truth speaks about the seven deadly sins in the framework of the question ‘How should one live?’ (cf. Falieros, *Advice*) and, asked where the sinners and the just find themselves after death, she gives an explanation.

As would be expected of someone with his education, Dellaportas draws on a wide range of written sources: the Bible, Byzantine authors (Kedrenos and Philippos Monotropos, from whose *Dioptra* he borrowed 400 verses), popular literature (including the *Spaneas* and *Livistros and Rodhamni*) and also western literature, from which he derives the story of the Matron of Ephesos and a legend of Virgil (Manussacas 1966: 300–7). ‘Western’ one could also call the vision, the personification, the autobiography and the concept of the seven deadly sins. References to recent Italian history do not necessarily point to written sources but could have reached Dellaportas by word of mouth.

An author whom Dellaportas certainly knew and to whose work he seems to react indirectly is Stefanos Sachlikis. Their lives run partly parallel: they are contemporaries, both land in jail around 1363–4 because of opposition to the authorities, and because of a woman they find themselves in jail for a longer period of time, where they start writing. In their work the parallel lines continue: friendship, the corruption of advocates and/or judges, the genre of the literary autobiography, a certain misogyny. However, alongside the colourfulness and the fiery, innovatory urge of Sachlikis, Dellaportas is a pallid figure. Sachlikis gets his material from life and oral Greek, and possibly also Venetian, sources and he is still relatively young (forty years of age) when he writes his poems of revenge. Dellaportas, on the other hand, is around seventy-five and is, or poses as, a law-abiding citizen who bases himself on the Bible and other written texts; his tone is didactic, but more than anything else, injured.

As a historical person, Dellaportas is a representative of the new Crete of around 1350, out of which also arose the St Titus uprising (1363–4), of the beginning of the Renaissance, full of the spirit of enterprise. The moment he

8 Other texts on this theme are: *The Life of the noble Women and most honourable Gentlewomen* (475 rhyming *versus politici*, often in four-line rhyme), written after Sachlikis and perhaps after Pulci’s *Il Morgante* (Venetian edition 1478); the *Praise of Women* (735 rhyming trochaic seven- and eight-syllables, varying from two to six rhyming verses), which passed down together with the former – some scholars consider them to be one work; Tzane Vendramos’s *History of the good and evil Women* (first edition Venice 1549) and some later reworkings of the Byzantine poem *Spaneas*.

starts to write, however, he opts for tradition, more Byzantium than Western Europe, and rejects the two innovations of Sachlikis: rhyme and a more dialectal language.

Marinos Falieros

Marinos Falieros is the third Cretan poet we can date with certainty: he was born a little before July 1397 and died in 1474. He was the second son of Marco Falier (Falieros), the only heir of the Cretan branch of the noble Venetian family of Falier. This family was among the first group of colonists sent to Crete in 1211. Marinos Falieros was one of the two greatest landowners of Central and East Crete. His mother, as well as his wife, came from the ruling nobility of the Cyclades. He married his children to members of the Venetian nobility, both in Venice itself (Morosini) and in Crete (Venier, Demezzo, Quirini, Muazzo, Corner). One of his sons-in-law was the humanist Lauro Quirini.

Falieros is the author of two kinds of works: two love dreams and three religious or religious–didactic works. It seems probable they were all written between about 1418 and 1430, the love poetry being the earlier of the two types.

The *Ιστορία και Όνειρο* (*Story and Dream*), a large-scale love dream, dates from the time of his engagement and marriage to Fiorenza Zeno (c. 1418). The rather realistic genre of the love dream, in the form in which it is known mainly from German and Dutch literature (van Gemert 1980b: 42–5), contains the dreamed visit of or to the beloved, the advances of the man and the awakening at daybreak by a cock, a guard or sounds from outside. To this genre Falieros adds theatrical form with three scenes and four *dramatis personae*: Falieros, narrator and lover; Moira, a combination of Fortune and match-maker; Athousa, the beloved (her name is the Greek translation of Falieros's fiancée's name, Fiorenza); and Pothoula (Cupido?) her servant.

Scene 1, vv. 9–172, place of action: the bedroom of Falieros; characters: Falieros and Moira.

Scene 2, vv. 173–394, place of action: the back-door of Athousa's house; characters: Falieros, Moira and Pothoula, with a short dialogue between Pothoula and Athousa within the house.

Scene 3, vv. 395–748, place of action: the window of Athousa's house; characters: all four persons. The greater part is a dialogue at the window, a *contrasto*, in which Falieros tries to persuade Athousa with words and gestures to let him in.

Και με την άλλην άπλωσα και πιάνω τον λαιμόν της
και προς εμέν την ήφερα δίχως τον ορισμόν της.
Και με το ναι και τ' όχι της με τ' άσπρον της τραχήλι
εδάκασα κι εφίλησα τα νόστιμά της χείλη
και το γλωσσάκι έπασχα να γλυκοπιπιλίζω
και τούτη μου τριζίνευγε, για να την σιργουλίζω.

Literary antecedents

Και με την δολερήν αυτήν και σιδερήν καδένα
όλα τα πλια ακριβότερα ήσαν περιορισμένα. (447-54)

And with my other hand I reached and took hold of her neck
and brought her to me against her will.
And while she nodded yes and no with her white neck,
I bit and kissed her lovely lips
and tried sweetly to suck her little tongue,
and she resisted playfully to make me seduce her.
And those accursed iron window-bars
kept all her most precious parts beyond my reach.

Finally they swear an oath of mutual love and he asks Athousa to open the door. At that moment he awakes, bitten by a flea:

Και μέσα 'ς τούτην την χαράν την δε μπορώ ξεικάσω,
γιατ' είχα των πολλών χρόνων την πείναν να χορτάσω,
ήλθεν εἰς ψύλλος άπονος κι εκαρδιοδάκασέ με
και από την εξεφάντωσιν την είχα εξύπνησέ με. (749-52)

And in the midst of that joy which I could not imagine,
because I had not satisfied my hunger for many years,
there came a heartless flea and bit me to the heart
and woke me from the pleasure I was enjoying.

Without doubt the dialogue form of the *contrasto* points in the direction of Falieros's slightly older Venetian contemporary Leonardo Giustinian (c. 1385-1446), whose *canzonette* were recited (the *contrasti*) or sung at weddings and feasts. Giustinian's *Contrasti*, the best known of which, *Amante a sta fredura* (*Beloved, in this cold*) of 695 verses, takes place on two successive evenings, have a natural theatricality (Folena 1980: 304-25, especially 317-19). Was the combination of this with the realistic love dream Falieros's own invention? Was he inspired by some still unknown work by Giustinian or one of his followers, in which both elements had already been brought together? Direct influence on Falieros of a German work must be excluded, as he surely did not know German and there is no evidence for the presence of Germans in Crete after 1390. Could it have been intended for Falieros's own wedding?

In one manuscript only, another short and simpler love dream (130 verses) has been handed down after this *Story and Dream*. The beloved pays a visit to the poet, accompanied by Cupid. In a later reworking an attempt was made to add the character of Moira/Fortune to the dialogue of the two lovers. Here the awakening takes place not as a result of a flea-bite, but on the crowing of a cock. It could be that the original version (88 verses) is by Falieros, although vocabulary and morphology show dissimilarities with the larger work.

A real *contrasto* without the dream frame is found in the best Falieros manuscript, but without an author's name, immediately before the *Story and Dream*. Entitled *Words (or Rhyme) of a Girl and a Boy (Ριμάδα κόρης και νιου)*, it is a story in the style of Boccaccio.

Κόρη και νιος δικάζεται από 'να παραθύρι
 μια νύκτα ως οπδώσεν τς αυγής το σημαντήρι·
 ο νιότερος ζητά φιλί κι η κόρη δακτυλίδι,
 κι ο νιος το δακτυλίδιν του της κόρης δεν το δίδει. (1-4)

A girl and a boy are quarrelling at a window
 one night until the dawn bell rings;
 the boy asks for a kiss and the girl for an engagement ring
 and the boy refuses to give the girl his ring.

When the girl persists in refusing him, he stops visiting her for a long time and then one night penetrates as far as her room, behaves badly towards her and leaves laughing and sneering. The poem ends with the girl cursing him.

Α βουληθής να μ' αρνηθής και να μ' αλησημονήσης,
 εις την Τουρκιά, στα σίδερα, πολλά ν' αγανακτήσης,
 σε τούρκικα σπαθιά βρεθής, σε Κατελάνου χέρια,
 τα κριάτα σου να κόψουσι με δίστομα μαχαίρια. (163-6)

If you are determined to spurn me and forget me,
 may you suffer much in Turkey, in prison,
 may you fall among Turkish swords and into Catalan hands,
 may they cut up your limbs with two-edged daggers.

As far as atmosphere and subject matter are concerned, the *Rhyme* fits in with the erotic *oeuvre* of Falieros, but there are no reliable grounds for ascribing it to him. It is among the best works of early Cretan literature. A date in the early part of the fifteenth century, contemporary with Falieros, seems the most likely possibility.

Falieros's other literary activity, his religious poetry, is of several distinct types. There are three fairly short works, probably all written in the years 1421-30: a dramatic *Planctus Mariae*, a *Poem of Comfort to his Friend Benedetto da Molin* and *Advice of a Father to his Son*. All three are written in paired rhyming *versus politici*, as are all Falieros's poems.

The *Ρίμα Παρηγορητική (Poem of Comfort)*, consisting of 302 verses, dates from around 1425; it is addressed to his friend Benedetto da Molin, like Falieros a member of the Venetian nobility of Crete, who had lost his wife, children and property at one stroke. Falieros tries to convince him that man, as the only being endowed with intellectual faculties, must understand the instability of the world, death as a liberation and the goodness and clemency of God. It is the only example in early Cretan literature of the *consolatio*, a genre that was quite widespread in Europe.

The *Λόγοι Διδακτικοί του πατρός προς τον υιόν (Advice of a Father to his Son)*, consisting of 326 verses, was written after 1421. It consists of a more general part based on Christian teaching on the deadly sins and the cardinal virtues, and a more practical part based on the well-known letter of Bernardus Silvester(?) (usually attributed to St Bernard of Clairvaux) *De cura rei familiaris*, addressed to Raymundus, Lord of the Ambrosian Castle. Besides

quoting *verbatim* from the letter and paraphrasing it, Falieros also writes from his personal experience, issuing a warning to beware of the peasants and suggesting adjustments to the Cretan social reality of his day. Thus he pays much attention to the choice of a wife and the education of children. In the sixteenth century the whole poem was incorporated in a longer work of the same name by Markos Dhefaranas of Zakynthos, which was printed in Venice in 1543 (Bakker and van Gemert 1977a: 27–8).

Falieros's last work, the *Θρήνος εις τα Πάθη και την Σταύρωσιν του Κυρίου και Θεού και Σωτήρος ημών, Ιησού Χριστού* (*Lamentation of the Virgin on the Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ* (404 verses), again shows his preference for the dramatic form. It is a *Planctus Mariae* with many speaking characters. Falieros says he saw a painting with a crucifixion scene on which the words spoken by those present came out of their mouths in Hebrew letters. At his request a Jew, Tzadok, translates these words. The speaking characters present at the Crucifixion scene are Mary (who delivers two-thirds of the text), John, Martha, Mary Magdalene, Christ, Prophonius, the Jews, Longinus and a centurion. Between the Crucifixion and the Deposition there is a short interlude (vv. 323–36) comprising a conversation between a certain Christophilos and Tzadok. In the character of Mary her maternity, the suffering of Christ and her own suffering, and the accusations against the Jews are strongly emphasised, while John has a generally moderating role. This dialogic or dramatic lamentation again reminds us of Leonardo Giustinian. We know of *Laudi dialogate*, intended for Good Friday, written by him and his circle (Folena 1980: 323–6).

Although there exist 'Laments of the Virgin Mary' in Greece too, the painting Falieros mentions in his introduction forces us to look towards Western Europe, to the crowded crucifixion scenes of the late Middle Ages, where Hebrew, or pseudo-Hebrew, characters are sometimes used.

The person of Falieros and his works are also very interesting for another reason: only in his case can we be absolutely sure that a Venetian nobleman, whose family had been living in Crete for over 200 years, used the Greek language of his surroundings and the traditional Greek metre in order to write a variety of poetic works: advice to his son, words of comfort to his friend, a love dream for his fiancée and a lamentation of the Virgin for another occasion. Assuming that Marinos Falieros was not a total exception (the cases of his friend Benedetto da Molin, of Bergadhis and possibly of Pikatoros point in the same direction), we can regard it as almost certain that at the beginning of the fifteenth century the Venetian colonists in Crete not only spoke and understood Greek, but also used it for writing and reading.

As far as themes are concerned, Falieros's work betrays no influence at all from Byzantium. He takes his inspiration from the western, Italian literature of Leonardo Giustinian, and a version (probably in Italian) of the *De cura rei familiaris* by pseudo-Bernard. The origin of his *Poem of Comfort* must be found in the same milieu.

Bergadhis

Under Venetian and Turkish rule the *Apokopos* of Bergadhis was one of the most popular poems in Greek. We know of more than ten Venetian editions. In recent years there has been a considerable renewal of interest in the poem. But although scholars agree on the work's great merit, everything else about it is uncertain. The title and the name of the author are known only from the laudatory distich at the beginning of the Venetian editions (which, we can be quite sure, was not written by the author himself):

Απόκοπος του Μπεργαδῆ, ρίμα λογιωτάτη,
την ἔχουσιν οἱ φρόνιμοι πολλὰ ποθεινοτάτη.

Apokopos of Bergadhis, a very learned rhyme,
which the wise consider greatly to be desired.

The title *Απόκοπος* (= exhausted) is based on the expression *από κόπου* (from toil) in the first line (the third line of the editions). The author's surname, as it appears in the opening distich (no first name is given), points in the direction of the Veneto-Cretan noble family of Bragadin or Bregadin of Rethymno. We may, however, have to do with a bourgeois family that happened to have the same name.

The poem consists of 556 verses (278 pairs of rhyming distichs) in the Venetian editions (first edition 1509); only 440 verses, however, are original. Its subject is a dreamed descent to the Underworld; the framework of the dream is only mentioned in one distich. The end, that is the awakening, was lost in the various adaptations the text later underwent.

The dream falls into three sections. Vv. 5–66: in the early morning the poet finds himself on a lovely plain; he is on horseback and pursuing a deer. At midday the animal disappears as if by a miracle. The hunter rides slowly on to the centre of the plain and dismounts near a tree. At the top of it he notices a bees' nest; he climbs up and treats himself to the honey, but then he feels the tree shaking:

Και δυο, μ' εφάνην, ποντικοί το δέντρον εγυρίζαν,
ἄσπρος και μαύρος, με σπουδήν του εγλείφασιν την ρίζαν. (49–50)

And I dreamed that two mice were running around the tree,
a black one and a white one, hurriedly gnawing at its root.

He sees that the tree is no longer in the centre of the plain but at the edge of a deep pit. As it gets darker and darker and night sets in, at the bottom of the pit he sees a dragon waiting for him with wide-open jaws, which finally devours him. He finds himself in a sunless tomb, the Underworld.

Και εφάνη μ', εκατήντησα στου δράκοντος το στόμα
ἔμπήκα εις μνήμα σκοτεινόν, εις γην και ανήλιον χάμα. (65–6)

And I dreamed I ended up in the dragon's mouth
and entered a dark tomb, beneath the earth, a sunless world.

Literary antecedents

Vv. 67–276: dialogue between the poet and two young men, who come to talk to him as envoys of the dead. The main subject is their enquiry about how things are in the world above and specifically whether or not they are remembered, in particular by their widows and mothers. The poet hesitates but then answers this last question with an attack – familiar in late-medieval literature – on widows, and on the clergy who have their eye on the possessions of the dead and their widows. This part is concluded by a dirge on the unfaithfulness of women and a wish to be able to return to the world above.

Χριστέ, να ράγην το πλακί, να σκόρπισεν το χώμα,
να γέρθημαν οι ταπεινοί από τ' ανήλιον στρώμα!
Να διάγειρεν η όψη μας, να στραφην η ελικιά μας,
να λάλησεν η γλώσσα μας, ν' ακούσθην η ομιλιά μας! (243–6)

O Christ, would that the tombstone could split, the earth be scattered,
and we humble folk rise from our sunless bed!
Would that our looks could return, our bodies come back,
our tongue speak, our words be heard!

Vv. 277–452: at the request of the poet the two young men tell their story: they come from a large city, the opposite of Rome (Constantinople?).

Ήτον αντίθετον σκαμνίν της βασιλείας [εκκλησιάς;] της Ρώμης
και της αλαζονείας αγγειόν και της διπλής της γνώμης. (301–2)

It was the opposite throne to the kingdom [Church?] of Rome
and a vessel opposite to [?] its arrogance and duplicity.

During a sea voyage to visit their sister, who had married in a far country, they were shipwrecked. On arrival in the Underworld they came across their sister with a baby: in a dream she had learned of the death of her brothers, miscarried and died.

Vv. 453–66, 481–2: when the poet announces he is about to leave, hordes of the dead come rushing towards him with letters for the living. The poet flees before they can reach him.⁹

On the basis of language, metre and rhyme, and partly of the subject matter, most scholars now accept a dating of the poem at the beginning of the fifteenth century (1400–20) (van Gemert 1979: 36).

Research into Bergadhis's sources has revealed his great familiarity with the written and oral literature of his time, a literary assimilation of Western European, as well as Greek, elements.

The images of the white and the black mice (day and night) gnawing at the roots of the tree (44–50) and of the pit with the waiting dragon (55–62) are borrowed from the fourth parable of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (the man and the unicorn). The introductory scene of the hunt (5–14) has been completely changed, however: instead of being chased by a unicorn and consequently ending up in the pit, in the *Apokopos* man himself is the hunter, who in the

9 For a different analysis see Chapter 10, pp. 252–62.

morning of his life pursues a wondrous deer and in the evening runs the risk of becoming the victim of the attacking bees.

Is this merely a literary reversal of the traditional episode, a procedure Bergadhis regularly applies in the rest of his work also, or should we see in this chase a reference to the sacred hunt (cf. the Eustathius legend) that brings the hunter to understanding, or to the hunt for love (Kechagioglou 1984: 250, n. 18)?

The distortion or even reversal of familiar literary motifs, referred to above, manifests itself strongly in the actual Underworld scene. The description of the two dead young men as *μαύροι και αραχνιασμένοι* (black and covered with cobwebs) in verse 73 agrees with the traditional Greek conception of the dead (Saunier 1984: 299). In verses 78–85 we have a reference to the traditional western literary image of the traveller through the Underworld under divine or august guidance, in the tradition of Dante:

Και δίχως πρόβοδον εδώ στο σκότος πώς οδεύεις;
Πώς εκατέβης σύψυχος, συζώντανος πώς ήλθες; (78–9)

And without escort how are you travelling here in the darkness?
How did you descend still with your soul, how did you come here alive?

In verses 105–8 the dead ask for letters, a theme familiar from the dirges – requests to the dead given to a messenger to the Underworld. This theme, however, is reversed at the end of the poem (verses 460 and following) and accentuated more strongly, as the dead want to give letters to the messenger for delivery to the living.

This reversal of themes from dirges is typical of the whole dialogue between the narrator and the two young men. The dead have not reached *λήθη* (forgetfulness), but have their memory intact, while the living forget their dead. The widow, pictured as faithful in folk poetry, is accused of being the opposite (vv. 160–96). The tendency to spare the dead and to keep sad news hidden from them is violated. The lament of the living, who wish for the earth to open itself (vv. 110–11, 243ff.) becomes a dirge of the dead with the same content (Saunier 1984: 300ff.). It is evident that later borrowings of folk poetry from the *Apokopos* are out of the question; what we have here is the reaction of a literary author to existing non-literary material (see further Chapter 10).

The story the two young men tell about their journey to visit their far-away sister and their simultaneous death has often been connected with the Italian *novelistica* (van Gemert 1979: 35–6), but its function in the whole work has not yet been sufficiently researched. The brothers' praising of their native city (Constantinople?), which is a reversal of the well-known accusations against Constantinople (van Gemert 1979: 33–4; Kechagioglou 1984: 253); reminiscences of the song 'Του νεκρού αδερφού' ('The Dead Brother') (Saunier 1984: 308) and of a dirge of the mother of Charos (Manousakas in S. Alexiou 1963a: 234, v. 312), which foreshadow the tragic end of the story; and finally

the dirge sung in the Underworld by the dead daughter for her still living parents (vv. 404–20), all show the same technique indicated in the other episodes of the dream.

Now that the work has been freed from later interpolations and additions, there is general agreement that the *Apokopos* is not an edifying or moralising poem (it was recommended as such from the 1648 edition onwards). Because the original ending is missing, researchers have come up with often widely differing interpretations: a poem about the transitoriness of life (S. Alexiou 1963a: 200ff.); a pessimistic dream-story of unhappiness and failure in love (Kechagioglou 1984: 252); a satirical dialogue, almost Byzantine in character, but aimed at those who forget their dead, at evil women and at the clergy (Lambakis 1982: 167).

This last interpretation is too one-sided and does not do justice to the work. For Kechagioglou's juxtaposition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadhis and the love dreams of Falieros, both seen as love dreams but with the *Apokopos* as an utterly pessimistic counterpart to the still rather optimistic dreams of Falieros, one may find some support only in the hunting scene as far as the descent into the Underworld.

If Bergadhis's work is meant as a reaction to a certain genre, it has to be seen as a poem about life and death with a fierce attack on traditional Underworld poems, such as the *Ρίμα Θρηνητική* (*Mournful Rhyme*) of Pikatoros and related works. In contrast with the frightening hunting adventure (with the narrator as the prey) in Pikatoros's *Rhyme*, the *Apokopos* has a delightful hunting scene (with the narrator as the hunter); while Pikatoros has the terrifying figure of Charos as a guide, in the *Apokopos* there is a complete absence of Charos or any other guide; in place of the traditional medieval physical torments of Hell and/or the Underworld, Bergadhis substitutes the psychological pain and suffering of the dead (thus, rightly, Saunier 1984: 299). One can even see Bergadhis's story of the two young men and their sister as a reaction to the Creation Story as told by Charos in Pikatoros's poem.

The *Apokopos* is a very modern anti-edifying, anti-traditional Underworld dream, with many realistic elements that characterise Cretan literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One might summarise its didactic message as a kind of *carpe diem*: enjoy the beauty of life on earth; the only dependable ties of love are those between parents and children, brothers and sisters. The suffering of the dead is psychological in nature: the knowledge that life goes on and forgets you, while you are left only with your memories.

Ioannis Pikatoros

Only one work has come down to us from the pen of Ioannis Pikatoros of Rethymno: the *Ρίμα Θρηνητική εις τον πικρόν και ακόρεστον Άδην* (*Mournful Rhyme on the bitter and insatiable Hades*). It is a dream of a visit to the Under-

world and a guided tour by Charos himself. The poem ends abruptly at verse 563 and the remainder is lost.

As usual (cf. *Apokoros*) the dream is referred to only very briefly:

Ὡς πικραμένος με χολήν, διατί πολλά εγρύπνου,
έθηκα ν' αποκοιμηθώ, να πάρω αέραν ύπνου.
Εφάνισθή μου κείτοντα ... (1-3)

As one embittered and melancholic, because I had long been awake,
I lay down to sleep, to find some relief in slumber.
As I lay there I dreamed ...

The transition to the Underworld is brought about by having the narrator walk through a narrow valley where, in the midst of herds of wild animals, he sees a dragon. He runs away with the dragon in pursuit and in his panic he even crosses a river of blood teeming with floating skulls and monsters. A voice warns him that he is now in the territory of the dragon:

Φωνή μόφάνη κι ήκουσα: "Αθλιε, πόθεν ήλθες
οπόν' το σπίτι του θεριού, η κατοικιά του δράκου
και το μπα κι έβγα της αυλής του Χάρου του κοράκου." (38-40)

And I dreamed I heard a voice: 'Wretched one, do you know where you are?
Here is the house of the monster, the dwelling of the dragon,
and the entrance and exit of the court of Charos, the raven.'

Taking refuge in a cavern he is pushed into the jaws of the dragon by a black-robed figure and ends up in the Underworld. The entrance is guarded by a three-headed dragon. Charos, dressed in black and equipped as a hunter, rides up and down on horseback. He is covered in blood like a murderer.

After this fairly lengthy introduction (5-99) a dialogue develops between the narrator and Charos. With Charos as a guide the narrator is taken around the Underworld, crosses the wild river by means of a bridge that is as narrow as a hair and descends into the deep pit where sojourn the dead, both good and evil together (100-288). Charos answers the narrator's outraged reproaches by saying that he is only the executor of God's decrees, that man carries death within him.

Δίχως αυτεινον τίποτεσ δεν δύνομαι να κάμω
ουδ' εξουσιάζω τίποτασ ένα κουκάκιν άμμον. (368-9)

Without Him I cannot do anything,
nor have I authority over anything, not even a grain of sand.

As a teacher-theologian he tells the story of the Creation up to and including the expulsion from Paradise and Adam's lament (289-556). The poem breaks off at the beginning of the description of the earthly paradise.

The poet must have belonged to the bourgeoisie of Rethymno or possibly to the noble Venetian family of the Picatori, which until the end of the sixteenth century still had feudal property in the vicinity of Amari in Western

Crete. It seems that, in addition to paintings of the Last Judgement and Death, Pikatoros based his work mainly on αλφαβητάρια (alphabet poems), dialogues between Man and Death and other edifying literature. Certain parts of this poem, of which only one manuscript has come down to us, seem to have survived in Crete (see below, pp. 74–5).

The dating of the poem is uncertain (the *terminus ante quem* is the dating of the sole manuscript (1516–20)), as is its relationship with the *Apokopos* and the poem *Old and New Testament* (see below, note 12). Usually it is placed rather vaguely in the fifteenth century or at the beginning of the sixteenth. If we are right in interpreting Bergadhis's *Apokopos* as an attack on Pikatoros's *Rhyme* (and not simply on the whole genre), then Pikatoros and his work must be dated much earlier, before the time of composition of the *Apokopos*, that is c. 1400.

Other Underworld poems

These two Underworld dreams are not the only works on this theme preserved from medieval Greek literature. Clearly the subject enjoyed considerable popularity.

To the fifteenth century belongs the *Ομιλία του νεκρού βασιλιά* (*Speech of the dead King*), a short vision in 137 verses, the last 49 of which are a later addition: in a deserted ruined church the skeleton of a former king lectures the narrator on the transitoriness of all worldly things.¹⁰ The manuscript is known to have been written before 1513, so the original is thought to date from the end of the fifteenth century; but as far as language and metre are concerned it could well be older. The similarities to the *Apokopos* and the *Mournful Rhyme* are too superficial to indicate a direct dependence.

The fear of death and the Last Judgement dominates the *Ρίμα περί του θανάτου* (*Rhyme concerning Death*) (148 rhyming verses), probably written before 1493. It is a mixture of Christian faith and popular belief, in which we also come across the 'bridge as narrow as a hair' referred to in both Pikatoros's poem and the *Poem of Comfort* of Falieros (Bakker and van Gemert 1972: 129–30).

In the so-called *Poem of Tzamblakos* the transitoriness of worldly things is illustrated by means of the *Τροχός του Χρόνου*, the Wheel of Time or of the Year,¹¹ which carries people up to the throne of the blind king Ploutos (Wealth) and subsequently drops them into the mouth of a dragon. Like Charos in Pikatoros's poem, Time explains to the narrator that he merely executes God's decrees; he then pushes Tzamblakos into the jaws of the dragon, at which point he wakes up. This dream, prefaced by a distich

10 A similar theme is found in the so-called *Πένθος θανάτου* (*Mourning for Death*), apparently written by Gioustos Glykys (or Glykos) of Koroni in 1520 (ed. Zoras 1970).

11 With similar meaning the 'Wheel of the World' figures in an early fifteenth-century alphabet-rhyme (Kakoulidhi 1964: 97–101, no. 14).

strongly reminiscent of the *Apokopos*, has a double layer of dreams. In his dream Tzamblakos receives a letter from a certain Perakis (= little Pe(t)ro), in which the above scene is pictured. From verse 65 on the person of Tzamblakos himself is included in the dream.

Και αφόντις τους εχώνευσεν η κεφαλή του δράκου,
εγύρισε το βλέμμα του σ' εμένα, του Τζαμπλάκου. (65-6)

And when the head of the dragon had devoured them
[i.e. those who fell from the Wheel],
he turned his gaze on me, Tzamblakos.

This poem consists of 106 rhyming verses; its date is unknown. The name of the author and possibly the language seem to point to Northern Greece, but the name also occurs in Crete and certain dialectal forms could also be West Cretan. The fact that the author uses rhyme seems to decide the issue in favour of Crete, with a date of composition probably in the fifteenth century.¹² It is evident that the poet was inspired by paintings and/or illustrations.

Religious prose and verse

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many translations of Latin religious texts into the vernacular appeared in the West. This phenomenon does not manifest itself in the Greek world of that time – possibly because the distance between the formal Greek of the church and the liturgy and the language of everyday life was not so great that people could not understand the former, or because the sacredness of the texts (and the 'vulgarity' of the vernacular) created some resistance to their being translated.

Sermons in a simpler language (to become more common in the sixteenth century¹³) were written by the monk Nathanail, or Nilos, Bertos, who was active in the years after the Fall of Constantinople in Crete (Ierapetra) as well as Rhodes. The large number of manuscripts (15) that contain all or a great part of the fifteen sermons (Panagiotakis 1984: 101-4, 125) is indicative of their popularity and of the need that existed for such texts.

Another attempt to make the teachings of the church more readily available to the less educated is the verse translation of the books of Genesis and Exodus with the title *Η Κοσμογέννησις* (*The Creation of the World*) or *Παλαιόν δια στίχων* (*Old Testament in Verses*) by Georgios Choumnos (2,832 rhyming

12 We have left out of account three works which have come down to us in a seventeenth-century manuscript and, because of the language, are probably to be dated around 1600: a Cretan *Apocalypse of the Virgin*, the *Vision of a Monk* (Lambakis 1982: 46-50) and the so-called *Παλαιά και Νέα Διαθήκη* (*Old and New Testament*), in which Charos, compelled by man's sinfulness, appears to the narrator (not in a dream) and takes him on a tour of his realm (Lambakis 1982: 193-214). The dialogues between Man and Charos (Kakoulidhi 1964: nos. 10-11) are also of later date.

13 See Dhimaras 1985: 89 ff. on the writings of Dhamaskinos Stoudhitis, Alexios Rartouros, Meletios Pigas, Maximos Margounios and Kyrillos Loukaris.

verses). Dependence on the Byzantine *Παλαιά* or *Ιστορία Παλαιού* is still uncertain, the recent (non-definitive) edition notwithstanding. The author of this mediocre work, transmitted in no fewer than five manuscripts, is to be identified with either a notary who was active in Kastro between 1464 and 1500 or a goldsmith who is mentioned between 1430 and 1472.

While the need for translations was not apparently so great at that time for the Orthodox population of Crete, the problem was much more critical for the Roman Catholics and, especially, the Uniates. The gap between Latin and the language of the Catholic sections of the population, to a large extent Hellenised or rather Creticised, had become so great as to make it necessary for members of the lower clergy, a large number of whom were born on the island, to take action.

Ioannis Plousiadhinos (c. 1429–1500), also known as Joseph of Methoni, where he was bishop from 1492 to 1500, was one of the most fervent defenders of the Union of Florence (Fedalto 1973–8: III, 283–4, nos. 707–8). Apart from his numerous learned treatises on the Council of Florence, he also wrote a *Lamentation of the Mother of God on the Passion of Christ* (182 unrhymed verses; it seems he considered rhyme still to be the province of entertainment literature) as a counterpart to the popular ‘Μοιρολόι της Παναγίας’ (Lament of the Virgin) (Bouvier 1976 mentions eleven Cretan versions) intended for the Good Friday service, and sixty-one model sermons for Lent, translated from Latin.

A true parallel to the prayer-books current in Western Europe (in the Dutch-speaking regions more than fifty are still extant) are the texts contained in folios 73–100 of the Codex Marcianus Graecus IX. 17 (1247) of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. These leaves, written c. 1493, mainly contain prayers and hymns by Andreas Sklentzas (c. 1440–c. 1510), the Roman Catholic priest and canon of the Chapter of the Cathedral of St Titus in Kastro. Amongst them are Greek versions of *Adoro te, devote, Ave verum* and *Ave sanctissima Maria*, translations of which are also frequently found in western prayer-books. For the Greek world, the most interesting feature of this prayer-book is that it was written on the order of a woman:

Μανούσος ἐν' οὐδ' ἔγραψε καὶ κερα-Λένη οὐδ' ἔχει,
τῆς βασιλείας σου, Χριστέ, κάμε τὴν νὰ μετέχη.

Manouil [Grigoropoulos] is the copyist and Kera-Leni the owner –
O Christ, grant her a share in Your kingdom.

and that the copyist changed the originally masculine form of the person praying to a feminine form.¹⁴

Apart from translating short Latin prayers, Sklentzas also wrote a number of hymns himself on saints who at that time were the object of special

14 Approximately 40% of all the Dutch prayer-books that have been preserved were written on the order of a woman or were first owned by a woman (van Gemert 1988: 111).

veneration in the Roman Catholic Church: St Francis (54 verses) and Mary Magdalene (230 verses). The latter hymn consists of a succession of biblical data concerning three female figures who in the Roman Catholic view of those days were seen as one person: Mary Magdalene. It is comparable to the *Βίος του αγίου και μεγάλου Νικολάου* (*Life of the holy and great Nicholas*) of Moscholeos Theologitis, which describes the life of Saint Nicholas; this work is of about the same length (268 verses) and written in a similar mixture of learned and more popular language. It was probably first published around 1570. The author is to be identified with one Moscholeos Theologitis of Kastro, who flourished either *c.* 1480 or *c.* 1550 (van Gemert 1982/3: 489–93).

Συμφορά της Κρήτης (*The Catastrophe of Crete*) by Manolis Sklavos is a short poem of 284 verses (the poet himself refers to 300 verses; a gap of sixteen verses could exist after verse 102). Its subject is the major earthquake of 29–30 May 1508, and it seems that the poem was written in the same year. Half of it is an account of the catastrophe in Kastro, together with people's reactions to it, and a description of a storm on 5 June (vv. 9–142). In the second part the author ascribes the disaster to the sinfulness of the Cretan people; he exhorts them to ask God for forgiveness and to pray for the victims. In between he places a dialogue between the poet and Crete personified (vv. 169–206):

Ω Κρήτης, τις να στο 'χεν πει εδέτις να χαλάσης
και τα παλάτια τα ψηλά με μια ροπή να χάσης; (169–70)

O Crete, who could have said that you would be destroyed in this way
and that you would lose your lofty palaces at one stroke?

Τα τέκνα μου μ' εχάλασαν από την βλαστημιά τους
κ' εχάλασαν τα σπίτια μου ποού 'σαν γονικά τους! (183–4)

My children destroyed me with their cursing
and destroyed my houses that were their patrimony.

He also opposes a physical interpretation of the earthquake based on Aristotle (vv. 207–14). At the end (vv. 277–82) he mentions his name.

The poet gives the time and date of the earthquake with very great precision: two o'clock on the night of Monday 29–30 May 1508, solar cycle seventeen, lunar cycle six, the moon's age twenty-eight, the then Duke being Hieronimo Tonado (sc. Donato), the *Capitan General* Marcello and the *consiglieri* Sovranzo and Querini (vv. 9–15, 97–102). Apart from these four, representatives of the Venetian regime, he also allows other nobles to speak as victims (vv. 67–96). Of the churches that were destroyed he mentions only the Roman Catholic monastery of San Francesco and the church of Saint Demetrios (probably the one that belonged to the Uniates).

Manolis Sklavos (a very common name in Crete and in Kastro itself) was apparently well acquainted with the Greek text of the Old and New Testaments; he quotes John Damascene, knows the work of Joseph the Hymno-

grapher (ninth century) and perhaps also that of Ioannis Pikatoros. Evidence for the fact that he was a man of wide reading is also supplied by the dialogue between the narrator and Crete personified and his opposition to the Aristotelian explanation of the earthquake propagated by some.

The author is a believer who prefers the biblical/Christian interpretation of the earthquake to the physical explanation and sees it in the first place as punishment for the sins of his fellow Cretans (the Duke of Crete Hieronymus Donato also sees the earthquake as a 'proof of divine judgement' (*divini iudicii signum*)), but he is neither fanatically anti-Roman Catholic, nor anti-Orthodox. In the light of this evidence, the supposition of the poem's most recent editor that the author was a monk is quite unnecessary.

Cretan literature in Venetian editions

At the beginning of the sixteenth century some Venetian printers, usually Italian, in pursuit of new markets, began to direct their attention to the Greek world. They ventured to publish both religious/liturgical texts and popular light literature in the vernacular.

It is a fact that of the original Cretan works discussed above hardly any came to be printed. And yet they almost all met the basic requirements: vernacular works selected for printing had to be rhymed, not too long, and, in the words of one early editor, 'beneficial and fair'. Was it that these Cretan texts had become antiquated, that their themes were not likely to inspire confidence in the printer-bookseller, or was it because those printers who specialised in the field of popular Greek literature worked with scholars from the Ionian Islands and not from Crete?

Of Marinus Falieros's works only his *Lamentation of the Virgin* was printed, and that only once (1544, Th.I. Papadhopoulos 1984: no. 4798), while his *Advice of a Father to his Son* was printed indirectly, incorporated in Markos Dhefaranas's work of the same title (1543, 1644, Th.I. Papadhopoulos 1984: nos. 1974, 1975). Theologitis's *Life of St Nicholas* was printed thanks to another Cretan poet established in Venice (probably shortly after November 1568, reprint 1626; Panagiotakis 1979: 125–6; Th.I. Papadhopoulos 1984: no. 4325). By a fortunate coincidence Plousiadhinos's *Salutations of the Mother of God* was from 1512 onwards included in Konstantinos Laskaris's *Grammar* (Manousakas 1965: 11 and n. 3).

Out of all the non-religious literature only Bergadhis's *Apokopos*, partly due to the interpolations and the epilogue, had the qualities to become a popular chapbook, indeed one of the most popular. After its first edition of 1509 (see Layton 1990), we know of at least nine Venetian editions printed before 1800 (Kechagioglou 1982: 31; Th.I. Papadhopoulos 1984: nos. 1033–42).

If these were the only contributions of Crete to the printing of chapbooks, then the gap between the years 1510 and 1570 would be extraordinarily large. Apart from the fact that almost no original work in the vernacular seems to

have been written in Crete in these years, one would have to assume that neither were older ones printed.

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, however, and the first part of the sixteenth, some late Byzantine works in the vernacular were adapted to meet the new literary requirement of rhyme. These anonymous rhymesters were by all appearances not intentionally preparing their works for printing, but simply adapting them to the new taste of audiences and the reading public. In most cases there are a few decades between the presumed date of 'rhyming' and the first edition. So in Greek literature the innovation brought about by the printing-press does not imply or coincide with a transition from rhymed texts to prose and from listener to reader. This development is a relatively recent one.

Five texts are known to have been rhymed in these years. Four of them probably originate from Crete. The fifth, the *Tale of Alexander*, the so-called *Rimadha*, is the work of an anonymous poetaster from Zakynthos, who adapted a prose text (Holton 1974: 41–50). The other rhymesters had a metrical text as their direct model (and so were confronted with a less difficult task).

Among these four rhymed versions are two romances, a beast-fable and a didactic-historical poem of topical interest.

The so-called *Rimadha of Belisarios* (1,000 verses) is one of four versions of the late fourteenth-century *Tale of Belisarios*. This rhymed version, which must be dated between 1453 and c. 1490, tells essentially the same story as the older versions: Belisarios, a man of lowly social origins, becomes the most capable general of the Greeks, the only person able to avert the fall of Byzantium, but falls a victim to the envy of the nobility of Constantinople, who finally persuade the Emperor to blind him. While in the older versions the work ends with a warning against the Turks, in the *Rimadha* the Fall of Constantinople and the situation after 1453 are taken for granted.

Around 1490 the Rhodian poet Emmanouil Limenitis used the *Rimadha of Belisarios*, in addition to other sources, to produce his own version of the tale. As Limenitis drew on several Cretan poets (Bergadhis, Falieros) in his works, and as rhyme is rare outside Crete before 1500, the recent editors assume that the *Rimadha* was written in Crete. It was very popular in the early years of Greek printing (six editions between 1525 or 1526 and 1577), but then suddenly disappeared. Belisarios and Byzantium had lost their topical interest.

The *Imberios* or *Story of the Admirable Imberios*, son of the king of Provence (1,046 verses), is the last offspring of the medieval Greek version of the French romance *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne*. For the unrhymed version five manuscripts survive, while for the rhymed version we have only the Venetian printing. This *Imberios* is usually dated to around 1525. The first known edition is of 1543 (Layton 1981: 133–5). We know of at least thirteen editions before 1800 (Th.I. Papadhopoulos 1984: nos. 2119–30). It achieved its greatest popularity in the first half of the seventeenth century (five editions). The same holds true for the other two texts to be discussed here.

Literary antecedents

The *Apollonios* or *Very Fair Tale of Apollonios of Tyre* (1,894 verses), according to the best manuscript, was finished on 1 January 1500 in Chania by a certain Gavriil Akondianos. This rhymed version of the well-known western romance has not yet been sufficiently studied. So it is not clear whether this poem is a reworking in rhyme of the older Greek metrical version or an independent translation of Antonio Pucci's *Istoria d'Apollonio di Tiro*. The *Apollonios* is transmitted in three manuscripts of the early sixteenth century and at least fourteen Venetian editions (Kechagioglou 1982: 74; Th.I. Papadhopoulos 1984: nos. 451–63). The *editio princeps* was formerly thought to be that of 1534, but an earlier edition, dating from 1524, has recently been identified (Kechagioglou 1986a: 145–53 and 1988: 459–61).

The *Delightful Tale of the Ass, the Wolf and the Fox*, better known as the *Chapbook of the Donkey* (540 verses) is one of the latest¹⁵ in a series of fascinating beast-fables (*Tale of the four-footed Animals*, *Book of the Birds*, *Book of the Fishes*). It is a rhymed version of the late Byzantine *Life of the Estimable Ass*, but is more than a simple adaptation, as are most of the other rhymed versions. The story tells with wit and humour how the donkey was forced by the fox and the wolf to leave his pasture. They embark in a Cretan harbour. At sea the donkey is sentenced to death, because he confesses that he had once eaten a lettuce leaf without vinegar. At the end, however, he manages to outfox the wolf and the fox. The *terminus post quem* seems to be the date when syphilis came to be known in Crete as '*mal francese*' (c. 1497). The first edition is of 1539. Of the ten other editions known before 1800, five were printed in the years 1600–49 and four in the second half of the eighteenth century (Th.I. Papadhopoulos 1984: 2327–37).

Table 1 *Editions of some rhymed poems first printed in the first half of the sixteenth century*

Title							number		MSS	total
	1500–49	1550–99	1600–49	1650–99	1700–49	1750–99	editions	of		
<i>Apokopos</i>	3	2	2	2	1	—	10	2*	12	
<i>Belisarios</i>	2	4	—	—	—	—	6	2*	8	
<i>Apollonios</i>	2	3	6	1	1	1	14	3	17	
<i>Donkey</i>	1	—	5	—	1	4	11	—	11	
<i>Imberios</i>	1	2	5	1	2	2	13	—	13	
<i>Rimadha of Alexander</i>	1	1	3	2	3	2	12	1*	13	
<i>Trivolis, King of Scotland</i>	1	1	5	2	1	8	18	—	18	

* Including a manuscript which is in fact a copy of a printed edition.

¹⁵ The short Cretan poem the *Cat and the Mice* (114 verses) tells the story of a cat which pretends to be dead and thus succeeds in catching the mice. The work is transmitted in a manuscript which contains copies of printed editions. Of this specific poem, however, no edition is known.

Early Cretan literature and oral tradition

As was emphasised above (pp. 51–6), Sachlikis has one foot still in the world of oral tradition. He is an educated man, who in his early work draws on oral poetry (Akritic songs, satirical songs about adulteresses, whores or deceived husbands), but on the other hand also recites or sings his own works. His *Praise of Pothotsoutsoumia* was an immediate hit, even with children of school age. His other poems were no doubt also recited and/or sung by others for quite some years. In 1455 and 1466 we come across the name Sachlikis as a nickname for a fisherman called Georgios Makrygenis¹⁶ in Kastro. Would his poems have kept their popularity and topicality that long? Morgan (1960: 207–9) even assumes that the copyist of the Montpellier manuscript, a certain 'Fra Noel de la Bro, Knight from Rhodes', whom he identifies with the Knight Hospitaller of Rhodes Martin de la Broue, 'was not copying any written original, but was taking down from hearing' during his stay in Kastro at the beginning of 1523. As we still lack a full study of this manuscript and a thorough comparison with the other versions, we must accept this as a possibility (see also Panajotakis 1987: 230–1 and Panagiotakis 1987: 17–18).

In the case of the *Apokopos* we probably have a comparable situation. Bergadhis draws from popular beliefs, customs and songs concerning death (Saunier 1984) and may himself have been the source for other dirges. This two-way relationship reminds one of the connection between *Digenis Akritis* and the Akritic songs (Beck 1971: 71).

However, in the Greek world it would be more normal for folk poetry to be influenced by 'learned' poetry and for written works to live on in folk literature in part or in their entirety. Certain themes from this early period seem to have had a lasting popularity: beast-fables and death.

Eideneier (1984) has drawn attention to the off-shoots of the *Tale of the four-footed Animals* and the *Life of the Estimable Ass* or the *Chapbook of the Donkey* in Cypriot folk songs. A similar case is the *Cat and the Mice* for which Banescu and others find parallels in Cretan folk songs (Manousakas 1965: 23 and n. 2).

The *Dialogue between Man and Death* (Kakoulidhi 1964: 36–41, no. 10), which has come down to us in a Venetian edition of 1586 and three manuscripts (the most recent one of 1818 from Cyprus), is known from at least three Cypriot oral versions. The alphabet-rhyme *Ἀνθρωπε, τι ἔναι τα κοπιὰς* (*Man, why do you struggle*) (Kakoulidhi 1964: 54–5, no. 15) has also been preserved orally in Crete, as well as in two manuscripts.

More interesting is the Cretan song edited by the German Marie-Espérance von Schwartz (= *Ἐπις Μέλαινα*) in Athens in 1873, which she had taken down in Crete. In it there is a visit to the Underworld with the characters of

16 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notai di Candia, busta 106 (Nic. Gradenigo), libro 16, s.n., verso-recto, d. 20.1.1455, and busta 279 (Franc. Vlaco), fo. 23or, d. 12.2.1466.

Cerberus and Charos, borrowed from the *Mournful Rhyme* of Ioannis Pikatoros (first edition by Wagner 1874; cf. vv. 82–103) and from the Prologue of Charos of Chortatsis's *Erofilii* (first modern edition by Sathas 1879; cf. Prologue 9–10, 15–18). It is curious that in one and the same song there are borrowings from two 'learned' poems and that Cerberus, a person alien to the Modern Greek Underworld, and Charos have been preserved with classical features unknown to Greek popular belief.

The only text with a different subject to survive is the *Rhyme of a Girl and a Boy*. Pernot published a song of thirty-six verses from Corfu which shows great similarities, and also a shorter version from Epirus (Pernot 1931: 107–12). Kriaris gives a short version in a different metre (twenty-seven verses) preserving only the initial dialogue, which takes place at a fountain (Kriaris 1920: 369–70).

Thus until quite recently a considerable part of this early Cretan literature survived in the Greek world, either through the sieve of the Venetian printers or in oral tradition.

Final remarks

Quantitatively early Cretan literature is quite poor in comparison with other Western European literatures: many works that exist in almost every language of the western world have not been handed down in Modern Greek. They may not even have existed. As far as Cretan literature is concerned, there were three possible sources of inspiration for the poets: (1) Byzantine tradition in the learned or vernacular language; (2) the (oral) folk poetry of the Greek, and especially the Cretan, world; (3) Western European tradition, which came to be known in Crete almost exclusively through Venice.

The only possibility (apart from oral tradition) for the Cretan works to be preserved was in manuscript or printed form through Venice or its possessions in the Greek world, principally the Ionian Islands. Greek literature in the vernacular was printed exclusively in Venice; nearly all the existing manuscripts of Cretan works have been preserved outside Greece (with the exception of works of Dellaportas, Tzambلاكos and Bertos).

Thus the circumstances which in Western Europe were responsible for the loss of many written and printed texts also hold good for Greece. To these factors, such as the perishable nature of the material, changes of taste, the effects of fire, war and natural disasters, must be added shipwreck, the rather late development of interest in Greek texts in the vernacular by the Venetian printing-presses, and their selection of the texts with almost the sole criteria that a manuscript had found its way to Venice and that the Venetian censors had no objection to it. In two ways Venice played a decisive role in the development and conservation of Cretan literature: only through Venice could works popular in Western Europe reach Crete and only through Venice could works written in Crete be printed.

In this chapter I have emphasised that most printed Cretan works were reworkings, rhymings, of originally Byzantine texts. Only rarely can any real charm or literary merit be attributed to these rhymed versions. Usually the rhymesters restricted themselves to a mere redoubling or extending of the original rhyme-word or rhyming half-line, by means of parallel half-lines or a variation of the rhyme-word, which in Greek can easily be achieved with verbal and nominal endings and with the use of the possessive pronoun (see Bakker 1987). Generally the rhyme remains very poor. The only exception seems to be the *Chapbook of the Donkey*, which offers a fluent narrative whose rhyme constitutes a real improvement over the original.

It is remarkable, and perhaps characteristic, of the Cretan/Greek world that the systematic transition from rhyme to prose, a transition which often accompanies the transition from listening to reading, from manuscript to printed form, does not manifest itself during this period. Although we have some (Heptanesian) prose texts, usually translations of contemporary Italian works, printed in the early years of Greek printing, during the following centuries prose continues to be a very rare phenomenon in entertainment literature. Only in a few texts was this transition from rhyme to prose realised: the *Tale of Alexander* (first edition c. 1680, but in manuscript form dating from the fifteenth century) and the *Digenis Akritis* (eighteenth century). The public to which these texts addressed themselves seems to have remained essentially a public of listeners.

Apart from these rhymed versions of late Byzantine texts the religious and edifying works of this period (Dellaportas, Bertos, Plousiadhinos, Choumnos, Theologitis) have no great literary value. Considering the great number of manuscripts of Choumnos and, especially, Bertos one may speak of a marked popularity in certain circles. In a way Bertos's Sermons are of interest as predecessors of the widely read and frequently printed Sermons of Dharmaskinos Stoudhitis and others (see p. 68). As for language and style they are unremarkable.

Above (pp. 74–5) we have spoken about the interaction of personal and oral literature. It is clear that it was not the most refined literary works which survived in the oral tradition, but rather those elements or motifs that were in harmony with popular tradition. Pikatoros's figures of Charos and Cerberus, a dialogue with Charos, and the quarrel of a boy and a girl all fitted well into oral literature and survived. This last, the *Rhyme of a Girl and a Boy*, deserves to be mentioned both for its literary value and for the recurrent discussion of its origins, the one side asserting the existence of an Italian model (Baud-Bovy 1936: 201–5) and the other stating that there is nothing western about its tone (Knös 1962: 225). The poets who drew, among other things, from popular belief and Cretan oral tradition will be evaluated below.

The third category of poems sought its inspiration in Italy. In comparison with their Italian parallels or models, some of the works are not much inferior.

Noticeable in this 'Italianising' group is a tendency to realism, the comical and satirical, and an interest in the small detail of everyday life.

Sachlikis sought and found his model in di Vanozzo and in the other autobiographical rhymes of his day, but it is recognisably the culture and society of fourteenth-century Crete that is being described, on the basis of very acute observations. His depictions of the prison, the prison warder, the gamblers, the whores and the advocates are no mere commonplaces familiar to late medieval literature. Although the comparison often made with François Villon and Rabelais (Knös 1962: 218) is too far-fetched, his poems have a liveliness and a strange charm thanks to their surprising use of Cretan dialect, rhyme and dialogue form. This tendency to realistic depictions with comic-satirical elements is more strongly apparent in his merciless description of the rural population of Crete some twenty-five years after the great plague of 1348. It is surprising to see how this Cretan townsman, a product of one or two generations of city life, has become totally estranged from his kinsmen in the country.

One is less surprised to find, in a more mitigated form, this kind of warning in Falieros's *Advice of a Father to his Son*, where one notes the same realism, combined, however, with a large dose of common sense. Compared with his model, the letter of pseudo-Bernard to a western townsman, and with the older versions of the Byzantine *Spaneas*, Falieros is much more specific as far as matters essential to a well-to-do nobleman of Crete are concerned: the choice of a wife and his relationship with her (especially the division of responsibilities), the attitude to servants, peasants, his wife and children, the raising of girls as well as boys, the choice of a son-in-law, the second marriage.

Some of Sachlikis's realism may be found in Falieros's *Story and Dream* and in the *Rhyme of a Girl and a Boy*. In contrast with the courtly love of the romances of chivalry, most of which are probably not much older than Falieros's works, one finds here a purely physical love, which after a mutual oath of love is not consummated in the *Story and Dream*, while in the *Rhyme of a Girl and a Boy* the boy rapes the girl after a cynical tirade against (monogamous) marriage. Another element showing Falieros's more modern attitude is his undermining of the personifications. His Pothoula (Cupido?) and Moira (Fortune) have only the appearance of superhuman power and are reduced to perfectly human characters (the maidservant and the matchmaker), figuring in a dialogue at the window full of comic-realistic features. These elements, together with the development of the dialogue in the direction of an early kind of comedy, show his debt to Venice. In comparison, however, with the known works of Leonardo Giustinian, the realism and the dramatic element are more strongly emphasised and developed in Falieros's work.

Although in his best work, the *Story and Dream*, Falieros uses metre and rhyme with considerable imagination and variety (van Gemert 1980b: 87-90), the poem in its entirety, and especially its language, is stiff and lacking in

musicality. Where Giustinian in Venice already has a long tradition to fall back on, Falieros stands at the beginning of an evolution which will reach maturity more than a century later.

The masterpiece of this early stage of Cretan literature is undoubtedly Bergadhis's *Apokopos*. Concentrated in it are a number of features mentioned above as characteristic of the best works of this period: a strong dream-like character, the superior way in which existing literary and folkloric motifs are adopted, adapted and inverted, a good structure, realistic and theatrical elements – in short a successful synthesis of western literary tradition and Greek popular literature. No other original Cretan work of this period was as influential as the *Apokopos*.

A direct influence of any of these texts on the poems and theatrical works of the 'high' period of Cretan literature has not been established. At the very most one can speak of some analogies with *Apokopos* and *Apollonios* in the *Erotokritos* (S. Alexiou 1980: ξα', n. 61). Even Marinos Tzanes Bounialis in his *Dispute between Candia and Rethymnon* does not know of any poet anterior to Achelis and Chortatsis.

Nevertheless the contribution of the poets of this first stage of Cretan literature is important. They developed the Cretan dialect into a literary language; they introduced and tried out the rhyming distich of the *versus politicus*; and they implemented, long before the Fall of Constantinople, a reorientation of Greek/Cretan literature, bringing it into contact with Italian and other western literature of the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance.

The pastoral mode

ROSEMARY BANCROFT-MARCUS

The pastoral mode is represented in Cretan literature by Chortatsis's rural comedy *Panoria*, the anonymous Cretan adaptation of Guarini's *Pastor Fido* and the poetical idyll *The Shepherdess*. To these can be added an interesting pastoral episode in the *Erotokritos* and the play *L'Amorosa Fede*, which was composed in Italian by a young Cretan author, apparently for performance in Crete, and has a local setting, theme and political message.

I Mount Ida, the Cretan Arcadia

The pleasures of the countryside have always been dear to Crete's residents, ever since the Minoans worshipped the Great Goddess of nature and adorned their walls and pottery with scenes of pastoral life. Now that the island's natural luxuriance is being pinched to a thin strip between the deforested uplands and the increasingly urbanised lowlands, it is hard, especially for summer visitors, to realise how fertile it was in Venetian times. The seaside plains, the foothills and plateaus were planted with orchards, vineyards, olive-groves, cornfields and vegetable plots, while the upper meadows, cypress-dominated forests and rocky mountain slopes yielded abundant game (deer, wild goat, hares and wildfowl) to be shot with bow and arrow, netted or snared, as well as culinary and medicinal herbs such as dittany, reputed to heal wounded deer. Despite recurrent shortages of corn, which had to be made up by imports, there was a sufficient surplus of other products to supply a flourishing export trade, most notably in the famous Cretan wines.¹

The landowning and bourgeois classes of Venetian Crete, which eventually included prosperous families of both Italian and Greek descent, lived very comfortably on the products of an antiquated 'feudal' system which exploited the agricultural labourers to the point where they were at times ready to welcome the Turks.² Descriptions of Crete as a pastoral paradise such as we find in the literature of the Cretan Renaissance are always slanted from the

1 On economic conditions generally, see above, Chapter 2, pp. 29–32, and the corresponding section of the Bibliographical guide. See also the travellers' impressions of Crete quoted in Warren 1972.

2 See Giannopoulos 1978: 62 and 132. Another cause of bitter discontent among the agricultural workers was the Venetians' practice of requiring them to serve as rowers in the galleys and to perform forced labour on the fortifications.

point of view of the well-off, for whom the countryside represented not backbreaking drudgery, but relief and retreat from the noise, smells, hard work and worry of life in the towns.

For example, Marinos Tzanes Bounialis, writing just after the fall of Kastro in 1669, laments his lost homeland as a little world of intellectual and literary aspiration and of innocent pastoral pursuits. He recalls the happy hours which prosperous Cretans would spend in the countryside, mounted on horses and mules and accompanied by dogs and hawks; the tall country villas to which they retired in summer, with their orchards and their gardens stocked with roses and lilies, their fields and vineyards, their nurturing springs; the vigorous dancing of the 'faithful servants' who leaped high into the air and fired off guns; the singers and the players of violin, lute and cittern, who made music all night long, while nightingales fluttered about them (Nenedhakis 1979: 622-3).

Another Cretan exile, Giovanni Papadopoli, reminisced about Crete as it used to be before the Siege in much the same terms. He gives an interesting account of the privileged position held by Mount Ida as a favourite summer retreat.³

During the summer this mountain was quite delightful, as much for its coolness as for its abundance of meat and game of all kinds, especially since it was common land (*luoco in commune*) where everyone could go to relax, catch fowl and converse with friends without obstacle or hindrance; it was pleasant also to chat with the local inhabitants, who were simple and, you might say, untouched by civilisation (*semplici e come fossero salvadici*). Although these villagers were obliged to pay an annual tribute to certain individuals who claimed to be their feudal lords, they were free of any other obligation.

Long before Papadopoli, travellers had been impressed by the physical environment of the Mount Ida region. The Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti, who visited the island in 1415, describes the landscape as well wooded, with many orchard trees, watered by a hundred springs, around which clustered populous villages (van Spitael 1981: 185-7). Both Fynes Moryson, who visited Crete in 1596, and William Lithgow, who followed in 1610, note the abundance of cypress trees and medicinal herbs on the mountain (Warren 1972: 70, 73). George Sandys, arriving in 1611, adds that 'it fostreth nothing that is wild, but Hares, Red Deer and the Fallow' (Warren 1972: 74). Evidently, then, at the time when the Cretan pastorals were being written, the forests of Ida and their deer population were in a flourishing state, and allusions to them are not merely a matter of literary commonplace.

The chief feudal seigneurs in the area were the Calergi or Kallergis family, who claimed descent from the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros Phokas, and were famous for their role in anti-Venetian rebellions in the thirteenth and

3 Papadopoli fos. 113v-114r. I am indebted to Alfred Vincent for a copy of his transcript of this work, as well as for many helpful suggestions, especially on bibliography, incorporated into this chapter.

fourteenth centuries. In 1381 a branch of the family was admitted to the Venetian nobility, while being allowed to retain their Orthodox faith. Over the generations the Calergi acquired enormous wealth and influence, and were revered as champions of the Greek Orthodox population (see above, Chapter 2, p. 24).

Already in 1415 Buondelmonti was told that the Calergi were 'regarded not as men but as gods in this land'; moreover, 'fugitives, whatever their status, take refuge here, are conducted to Lord Matheus Calergi and are most kindly treated' (van Spitael 1981: 185-6). Nearly two hundred years later, their status continued to impress travellers such as Sandys, who remarked that Mount Ida 'is the inheritance of the Calargy; a family that for this thousand years have retained a prime repute in this island' (Warren 1972: 74-5). In view of the Calergi connection, Mount Ida perhaps represented for Cretan Greeks a symbol of the liberty from Venetian rule for which they never ceased to yearn.

Proof that Italian-speaking residents of Crete were also aware of Mount Ida's rustic delights and essential Greekness is provided by a fascinating poem in *ottava rima* by a writer who gives his name (or pseudonym?) as Giovanni Carolo Persio (see Panagiotakis 1975). It describes an actual joust (one of many real-life Cretan precedents for *Erotokritos* II) celebrated in Chania at Carnival time, shortly before 13 April 1594. Persio, secretary to the Rector of Chania, devoted most of the poem to an account of the joust's nocturnal 'introduction', at which many *tableaux vivants* and interludes were presented. The high point of the entertainment, in more senses than one, was announced by a melody so sweet that the spectators fell instantly silent: and into the harbour-side square trundled Mount Ida, complete with rocks and dittany, and drawn by torch-bearing satyrs. Around the mountain hunters, hawks and dogs were engaged in chasing birds and hares. On its summit sat a handsome young shepherd, white-clad and garlanded, watching his sheep; he sang some verses in Greek. 'But Fortune always mingles the bitter with the sweet', and the mountain suddenly burst open to reveal a horrible one-eyed monster as big as a lion, snaky-tailed, scaly-backed, with huge claws, long teeth and a mouth that breathed fire (Persio, fos. 59v-62r in the first version of the poem). The Greek verses sung by the shepherd are omitted from both the extant copies of the Italian poem, though space is left for their subsequent insertion. The omission is presumably due to ignorance of Greek; though it is perhaps symptomatic of the low status of contemporary Greek literature that it was not considered essential to have the verses inserted into the manuscript.

In Vitsentzos Kornaros's romance *Erotokritos* (see Chapter 9), Mount Ida appears in an unexpected and poignant pastoral digression nested within the description of the stormy, black-clad champion of Crete, Charidhimos of Gortyni. Though the last of the champions to arrive, he is the one with whom Kornaros's readers would have identified themselves, as a symbol of Cretan Christendom. The story related about him explains the emblem he wears, a

quenched candle, and lends romantic depth to his valorous and honourable character. He is destined to foreshadow the tournament with a single combat in which he kills the Karamanite (= Ottoman Turk), ancestral enemy of Crete; after that he will go on to defeat Dhrakomachos, Nikostratos and Tripolemos in three jousts, and will be eliminated from the final contest only by lot. He will retire disappointed of the prize, but undefeated and having found a friend in Nikostratos. Kornaros's narration of his previous tragic bereavement, which led to his adoption of a warrior's career, is reminiscent of the pastoral myth of Procris and Cephalus, but lacks the verbal pun on Aura (breeze, mistaken for a girl's name) on which the plot turns in Ovid's version (*Metamorphoses* 7).

One day, Charidhimos saw a beautiful young girl doing embroidery at a window, and fell in love with her. Though she was beneath his rank he persisted in wooing her. The two spent a rapturous honeymoon together, mainly on Mount Ida:

Συχνιά περιδιαβάζασι, κάθ' ὥρα εξεφαντῶνα
 ὄρες σε δάση, σε βουνιά, κι ὄρες σ' γιαλού λιμνιάνα,
 μα πλιά συχνιά παρά ποθές στην Ἴδα εκατοικούσα,
 κείνο τον τόπο ορέγουνταν, εκείνον αγαπούσα.
 Εκεί ἦσα κάμποι και βουνιά και δάση και λαγκάδια,
 χορτάρια, λούλουδα, φυτά και βρύσες και πηγάδια·
 δέντρη μ' αθούς και με καρπούς και δροσερά λιβάδια,
 μετόχια με πολλούς βοσκούς κι ἀρίφνητα κουράδια. (Erot. II 631-8)

They went on frequent pleasure-trips and sported
 now in the woods and hills, now on the seashore.
 Most often, though, they sojourned on Mount Ida;
 this place they loved, this held in strong affection.
 There they found hills and plains, ravines and forests,
 grasses and flowers, plants and springs and fountains,
 trees with blossom and fruit, and dew-fresh meadows,
 farms with abundant flocks and many shepherds.

Unfortunately, the girl became jealous of a certain shepherdess who used to tend her father's flocks nearby; unjustly so, for Charidhimos had eyes only for his sweetheart. She became sick with jealousy, and during an open-air siesta, seeing the shepherdess with her flock nearby, she crept from the prince's side and hid to see whether her suspicions were justified. The young man woke to find the girl gone and was at first alarmed for her safety; then, reasoning that she had gone home, he decided to go hunting (!). A nearby bush quivered. Fitting an arrow to his bow, he shot at the movement; but when he went to collect his game, he found his beloved dying with his arrow in her breast. His friends dissuaded him from suicide, and he resolved to devote the rest of his life to feats of jousting, always bringing his trophies to honour her tomb.

Mount Ida appears even in this harrowing little history as a kind of Arcadia, a place of freshness and beauty, where one could hunt or spend an idyllic

honeymoon, untroubled by the evils of urban civilisation. In view of all this, it is hardly surprising that Ida should have been chosen as the setting for two important Cretan pastoral plays: *Panoria*, by Georgios Chortatsis, and the Italian play *L'Amorosa Fede*, by Antonio Pandimo.

2 The biography of Chortatsis⁴

Chortatsis has long been known to be the author of *Erofilo*, since his name appears on the title-page of early editions. It was not until comparatively recently that he was recognised to be the author of the pastoral comedy *Panoria* and the urban comedy *Katzourbos* (more correctly *Katzarapos*). The discovery of the Dhapergolas manuscript with a 'signed' Dedication both identified the playwright as Chortatsis and gave *Panoria* (formerly known as *Gyparis*) its proper title (Manousakas 1963b: 261–2). The patron to whom Chortatsis sent his pastoral, Marcantonio Viaro, was one of the two cavalry captains of Chania and a leader of society, a Hellenised Venetian noble whose scholarly and virtuous character is extolled in the dedicatory epistles addressed to him by the learned bishop Maximos Margounios and the scholar Daniel Furlanos (published by Manousakas 1963b: 280–2). Chortatsis's own 'Dedicatory epistle' seems to express liking as well as respect. His rather less warm dedication of *Erofilo* to the Cretan noble Giannis Mourmouris, a doctor of law also resident in Chania and noted as an arbitrator in disputes between Cretans and Venetians (Xanthoudhidhis 1939a: 148), perhaps hints at the possibility of publication, an ambition which the playwright does not seem to have realised in his lifetime.

Chortatsis is believed to have been of bourgeois status because his name is not recorded in contemporary lists of Rethymniot nobles, though the Chortatsis family originally possessed Cretan nobility and descended from a Byzantine clan. Evangelatos (1970a) has discovered documents referring to a number of men with this name, all roughly contemporary with Chortatsis's works. He believes that the poet can be identified with one of these, a certain Georgios Chortatsis who is mentioned as secretary (*scrivano*) to the influential landowner Matteo Calergi. This secretary was evidently the son of a citizen of Rethymno called Giannis Chortatsis, who held land on lease from the Calergi estates. Born about 1545, Georgios was working as secretary to Matteo Calergi as early as 1565, and continued to serve the family until and after Matteo's death in 1572. He himself died shortly before 11 May 1610 (Evangelatos 1970a: 214–15).

Matteo Calergi was a prominent figure in Cretan society, and indeed in that of Venice – he had married the granddaughter of a Doge. After the outbreak

⁴ Readers interested in the work of this important writer should also consult Chapters 6 (on tragedy) and 5 (on comedy), with relevant sections of the Bibliographical guide. The first collected edition of his works is being prepared (with English translations) by the writer of this chapter.

of war with Turkey in 1570, he aided the Venetian government by recruiting men from his domains for service in the galleys and at the fortifications. When villagers in the Rethymno area rose in revolt in the critical early months of 1571, Calergi persuaded them to lay down their arms, though in his subsequent report on the affair he showed sympathy for the villagers, and laid the blame on their oppressive Veneto-Cretan landlords (Giannopoulos 1978: 131–7). He was rewarded by the unprecedented honour of a place on the Venetian Senate; but within a few months he died, in circumstances which have led to suspicions of a political assassination (Panagiotakis 1968: 56).

In a document of 1596 published by Evangelatos (1970a: 223–4), a Georgios Chortatsis, son of Giannis, from Rethymno (very probably to be identified with the secretary), is involved in transactions which concern, among others, the noblemen Francesco Barozzi from Rethymno and Andrea Cornaro, son of Vincenzo, from Sitia. This Francesco Barozzi is presumably the one who was instrumental in founding the first Neoplatonic Academy in Crete, the *Accademia dei Vivi*, in 1562; hence the document suggests contact between Calergi's secretary and one of the leading intellectuals of Renaissance Crete, who also, incidentally, took an interest in the theatre.⁵

3 *Panoria* (Πανώρια)

Summary

Dedication Chortatsis addresses *Panoria* (the play) as his shepherdess daughter brought up on Mount Ida. She is now to leave her rural seclusion and go to Chania to enter the service of Marcantonio Viaro, to repay the kindness which he showed Chortatsis when in Rethymno. Viaro will welcome her with delight and order lovely costumes to enhance her beauty. She will soon be joined there by her sister, a tragic princess (*Erofilis*), whose rank she should not envy; her own destiny, to marry Gypris, will be a happier one.

*Prologue of Apollo*⁶ The Sun, an admirer of the beautiful and noble ladies of the audience, promises them a delightful entertainment. He is the God who nourishes all Earth's creatures, created the jewels the ladies are wearing, and gilds their hair. He recounts the story of his vain pursuit of Daphne, whose virtue Zeus saved by trans-

5 On Barozzi and the Academies, see Panagiotakis 1966, 1968 and 1974, Panagiotakis and Vincent 1970, Bancroft-Marcus 1982/3. The Andrea, son of Vincenzo, Cornaro mentioned here can probably be identified with a cousin of the founder of the *Accademia degli Stravaganti*, Andrea, son of Giacomo Cornaro. It is the brother of this latter Andrea, Vincenzo, son of Giacomo Cornaro, who is now widely believed to have been the poet of *Erotokritos*. See Panagiotakis 1981: 345 n. 58.

6 The speaker identifies himself in v. 37 as Ἥλιος, the Sun god; the heading in the Dhapergolas MS names him as Απόλλωνας. The authenticity of this Prologue has been doubted. In the introduction to his second edition of the play, Kriaras (1975b: 13–14) considers the question to be open, but he does not print the text of this Prologue. It can be found in his earlier edition of *Panoria* (1940b) and in Sathas 1879. The present author is preparing an improved edition with English translation. On the question of this Prologue's authenticity, see p. 86 below.

The pastoral mode

forming her into a bay-tree (*daphne*). When sadly revisiting the transformed Daphne, and culling a wreath for his hair, he learned of the imminent double wedding of the two noble shepherds. It is to witness this marriage that he has brought the ladies to Mount Ida.

Prologue of Joy The Goddess of Joy, though dressed as a mere shepherdess, has the mission of spreading laughter throughout the world. Once she dwelt in cities, visiting weddings and festivals; people then shared what they had and enjoyed frequent diversions. Now, however, city-dwellers have become mercenary, violent and mean, so Joy has deserted them and withdrawn to the peace of the countryside, where she attends the shepherds' weddings, hunts, dances and picnics. The ancient virtue of honour is still alive among country-folk, as the audience will see in the entertainment to follow. Though passionately in love with their sweethearts, these shepherds would not dream of offending their modesty even when alone with them in the woods. Unrequited lovers should learn by their example to avoid despair, for present sufferings sweeten future bliss.

Act I (Sc. i) Gyparis, a wealthy and handsome young shepherd, reveals in a monologue his desperate love for the proud and beautiful Panoria, who takes delight in making him miserable. He is joined by Alexis, his friend, who loves her companion, the gentle Athousa; Alexis's problem is that he is too timid to declare his love in case he loses her friendship. (Sc. ii) Frosyni, an ugly old woman, comes on stage; she is dreaming of restoring her lost beauty by means of a magic ointment. (Sc. iii) Gyparis appeals to her to help him win Panoria over; she promises to do her best. (Sc. iv) Alone, Frosyni exposes the hypocrisy of coy women; they spend all their time beautifying themselves to attract lovers, whose attentions they then pretend to disdain.

Act II (Sc. i) Giannoulis, an elderly (and happy) widower, speaks with feeling of the torments suffered by men with insatiable, nagging wives. He is worried about his daughter Panoria, not yet returned from her morning hunt; has she fallen prey to some shepherd? (Sc. ii) Panoria enters in a bad temper, having lost the deer she was chasing. Wishing she were more like her dead mother, a model housekeeper (!), Giannoulis warns of the dangers in the woods. Heedless, Panoria decides to wait for Athousa. (Sc. iii) After refreshing herself at the spring, she falls into a deep sleep. (Sc. iv) Gyparis, wandering restlessly like a wounded deer, finds his sweetheart lying in the grass. While attempting to steal a kiss, he awakens her. (Sc. v) Alarmed and furious, Panoria accuses Gyparis of designs on her honour. He tries to calm her rage by a mixture of pleas and masterfulness, and asks her to marry him. Though evidently curious about love, Panoria stubbornly refuses him and departs. (Sc. vi) Gyparis weeps bitterly. Observed by Athousa, he resolves on death, bidding adieu to the world, his friends and his sheep. Athousa acts just in time to prevent his suicide. Sorry for him, she promises to speak to Panoria on his behalf.

Act III (Sc. i) Frosyni scolds Panoria for her cruelty to Gyparis; Panoria insists that she prefers hunting to marriage. Frosyni discourses on the joys of love with illustrations drawn from nature in the springtime. She paints a rosy picture of wedded bliss with Gyparis, and a grim one of the consequences of rejecting him. Panoria makes rude and sulky retorts and finally runs away. (Sc. ii) Frosyni resolves to employ other methods to make her fall in love. (Sc. iii) Giannoulis now arrives, in search of a runaway goat; Frosyni teases him by pretending a wolf is eating it. Giannoulis makes agriculturally-

phrased advances to her, while she casts aspersions on his capacities. Changing the subject, she urges him to exert his parental authority to make Panoria accept Gyparis. (Sc. iv) Next, Alexis speaks a monologue; his love for Athousa is at last overcoming his timidity, like a river bursting its banks. (Sc. v) Meeting her lost in a reverie about Panoria's hard-heartedness, he tells her 'a certain shepherd' is hopelessly in love with her. Athousa replies innocently that she intends never to marry, and is horrified when Alexis faints. Revived with water, Alexis eloquently pleads his suit. Athousa is shocked by his transformation from friend to suitor, and forbids him to renew the topic.

Act IV (Sc. i) Giannoulis is nostalgic for his youth; even Frosyni finds him ugly now! He eavesdrops as Athousa, returning with Panoria from a hunt, reinforces her wavering resolution to refuse Gyparis with assertions of male perfidy. Exasperated, Giannoulis berates both girls for their folly in turning down two eligible suitors who are asking no dowry. He threatens to beat them and they flee, leaving him to curse girls (Sc. ii) for the trouble they cause. (Sc. iii) Gyparis and Alexis vie in extravagance of lamentation, pitied by Frosyni. At her suggestion they consult the nymph Echo, who prophesies that they will win their sweethearts if they sacrifice in Aphrodite's temple. (Sc. iv) They persuade the Priest of Aphrodite with generous offerings to intercede for them. He opens up the temple, puts on his vestments and invokes the Goddess's pity for the suffering lovers. Beautiful harmonies signal the descent from heaven of Aphrodite and Eros. Moved by the shepherds' plight, the Goddess dispatches her son to shoot the girls with his bow and make them yield to love. Frosyni, Gyparis and Alexis thank her and the Priest.

Act V (Sc. i) Eros defends himself in a monologue against his calumniators; he is the origin of all good things and all noble ambitions. He reigns in young girls' charms, rewarding lovers according to their constancy. The shepherds are soon to receive their merited reward, for he has shot their sweethearts. (Sc. ii) Panoria confesses to Athousa that her feelings towards Gyparis have strangely altered; now she yearns to be united with him. Athousa's heart, too, has melted towards Alexis. (Sc. iii) Frosyni, to punish them for their former cruelty, refuses to arrange their marriage, pretending that the lads have sworn to forsake them. The girls are plunged into despair. (Sc. iv) Giannoulis, however, is delighted by their deference to his authority. He forces Frosyni to tell the truth, and the girls are greatly relieved to hear their suitors are as keen as ever. (Sc. v) Gyparis and Alexis approach, unsure of their reception, and Giannoulis announces the joyful news. He presides over the betrothal first of Gyparis to Panoria, then of Alexis to Athousa; the girls beg their lovers' forgiveness, and the couples embrace as Frosyni weeps for joy. All depart to celebrate the wedding; Gyparis takes a lingering farewell of the pastoral scene, and Alexis thanks the audience for their attention.

Georgios Chortatsis's pastoral comedy – or eclogue (εγλογία), as he calls it (V 421) – is easily the happiest, most original and most distinctively Cretan production of the Cretan Renaissance. It has a Dedication and two Prologues. The Prologue of Joy was written specifically for *Panoria*; the Prologue of Apollo, almost certainly also the work of Chortatsis, was written to introduce an entertainment for ladies, perhaps originally the five mythological interludes associated with texts of *Panoria*, which may have been attached to the play at a later date. The original act-pieces were probably musical. Without inter-

ludes, the five-act play plus Dedication and Prologue of Joy (2,722 lines by my count) would take about two and a half hours to perform.

Chortatsis speaks through the mouthpiece of the Prologue of Joy when he describes his disgust with the materialism and quarrelsome violence of urban life, probably that of Kastro. For him, Mount Ida represents the last bastion of a former (pre-Venetian?) Golden Age of pastoral felicity; no wonder Joy deserted the cities and went to dwell on its sunny slopes. He describes the inhabitants thus:

αλλά οι αθρώποι τς αρετές τσι παλαιές κρατούσι,
και δίχως πρίκες κι όχθριτες, δίχως ζηλιές και φόνους,
περνούσι τς εβδομάδες τως, τσι μήνες και τσι χρόνους,
κι αναπαημένοι στέκονται σ' αγάπη πάντα ομάδι
σ' εκείνο απού χαρίζει η γης και δίδει το κουράδι.

(*Panoria*, Prologue of Joy 58–62)⁷

But here men have preserved the ancient virtues,
and far from quarrels, envy, murders, woes,
they pass their weeks, their months, their years untroubled;
in peaceful harmony they dwell, content
to live on what the earth and beasts can yield them.

In *Erofilo* too (Choric Odes II and III), Chortatsis associates false pride and *nouveau-riche* or aristocratic snobbery with the cities, and contented poverty with the countryside. It may be that he privately blamed the Venetian colonists for the importation of materialistic vices, and associated Mount Ida with the ancient Cretan virtues, including that love of festival so dear to a playwright's heart.

The sources of *Panoria* have been much discussed. Contrary to the belief of earlier scholars, who overestimated the influence of Giraldo's *Orbecche* on Chortatsis's *Erofilo* (Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 27–9), there is no single direct model for *Panoria*, which is no more derivative than any Italian play of the period; indeed, it is considerably more original than Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, especially in view of the fact that any borrowed motifs had to be translated into Cretan verse; translation was then properly regarded as a creative art. Kriaras (1940b: 20–62) proved direct influence from Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*; I have postulated that the influence of the latter is less pervasive (Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 29–30). It is likely that *Panoria* was under completion when *Pastor Fido* was published (1589/90). There are reminiscences of other works in the Dedication, Prologues and the main play. L. Politis (1949, 1966, 1969) believed that he had found in Grotto's *Calisto* the main model of the play; Chortatsis probably did take from it the motif of one timid and one bold lover pursuing two reluctant sweethearts (*Calisto* I iii and iv are very

7 Quotations from *Panoria* and the accompanying English versions are based on my forthcoming bilingual edition. My editions will employ a stress-based variant of the monotonic accent system. In these particular passages the text is substantially the same as that of Kriaras 1975b.

close to *Panoria* III iv and v), as well as other motifs, but he rejected the Italian play's essential lewdness (two nymphs are raped by two gods who then hand them over to their mortal lovers). The name 'Panoria' may have been derived from the adjective 'all-beautiful' (cf. *The Shepherdess* 9, πανώρια λυγερή, πανώρια κόρη), reinforced by the name 'Panurgia' in Grotto's other pastoral play *Pentimento Amoroso*, the direct source of the scene where Gyparis finds Panoria sleeping in the grass and attempts to kiss her (II iv); Menfestio in the Italian play meditates rape, steals one kiss and wakes Panurgia trying to steal a second. Chortatsis wanted his shepherds chaste and honourable (see *Panoria*, Prologue of Joy 63–74); this is important evidence of independent Cretan aesthetic criteria.

Even in the 'birds and bees' lecture imitated from Tasso's *Aminta* (*Panoria* III i), Chortatsis treats the situation in an individual way. Panoria does not listen politely like Tasso's relatively decorous heroine; she argues back, she is cheeky and pert, a realistic adolescent girl. Later she is portrayed in a towering rage which it takes all Gyparis's determined wooing to soothe, however temporarily (II 245–54). Chortatsis's mastery of style and metre to illustrate character and tone is demonstrated by the contrast between Panoria's short, fiery fulminations and Gyparis's long, tranquillising poetic images, each of which alludes to her anger and pleads for its cessation. He urges his suit with a mixture of masterfulness and eloquence few girls could resist. Giannoulis's shrewd guess (IV 89–92) that the girls secretly enjoy being wooed is confirmed by the fact that Panoria deliberately prolongs that scene by her naïve (or ironical?) question (II 347–8) about the nature of love. Having thus raised her lover's hopes, she brutally dashes them (II 367–72), and the scene terminates with Panoria stalking off, leaving Gyparis to lament alone. There is nothing insipid or sentimental about this heated exchange.

In Italian pastoral plays of the period, rural life is present only as a decorative background to stories in which shepherds and shepherdesses represent the aristocrats of the ducal courts, particularly of Ferrara. There is no attempt at a realistic depiction of country pursuits. In Chortatsis's *Panoria*, too, the characters are socially superior to the ordinary shepherd or farm labourer, presumably so that upper-class Cretan audiences could better identify with them; but there are no nymphs or satyrs. Though Giannoulis is unwilling to pay dowry for Panoria and does his farm work himself, he is not without status in the community, being one of the *μπορεμένοι* ('well-to-do': V 370). Young Gyparis has a flock of two or three thousand sheep, with a fortune in their silver bells alone (I 379–81); he owns land and has under-shepherds to tend his flocks (III 29–32); Panoria, as his wife, would not have to spoil her beauty by labouring in the fields like the wives of other shepherds (III 221–4).

Despite this distancing from the less prosperous majority, Chortatsis frequently reminds his audience of the hard work performed by country people, as if to prevent them being either idealised or despised. This element of realism distinguishes his pastoral from those of his Italian counterparts. He brings in

the information obliquely. For example, he enumerates the daily tasks of a country housewife in a homily addressed by Giannoulis to his daughter, exalting the domestic skills of her dead mother:

Ολημερνίς εμάζωνε χόρτα από το λιβάδι,
γή έπλαθε, γή εκοσκίνιζε, γή έφαινεν ως το βράδυ,
γή έραφτε, γή έξαινε μαλλιά, γή τη ρασάν επάτει,
γή ολημερνίς την έβλεπες τη ρόκα τζη κι εκράτει·
κι εκλωθε τόσα ονόστιμα, κι έτσι πολλά πιτήδεια,
απού εκοιμούμου μοναχάς θωρώντας την αφνίδια.
Τς αίγες θυμούμαι κι άρμεγε καλλιιά παρά κιανένα·
πριχού ν' αρμέξω μιαν εγώ, δυο 'χεν αυτή αρμεμένα. (II 93-100)

All day she combed the fields for cooking-herbs,
or baked, or sorted beans, or wove till nightfall;
she sewed, or carded fleeces, or trod wool,
or else all day you saw her ply her distaff;
she knitted, too, so neatly and so fast
that I dozed off just watching her deft fingers!
I never saw her match for milking goats;
before I'd finished one, she'd milked a couple.

Since the audience is aware from Act II Sc. i of Giannoulis's true feelings towards his late wife, this sermon cannot be taken too seriously, and it continues with an element of sexual innuendo. Nevertheless, the audience has absorbed some facts about the hard life led by industrious Cretan peasants, for whom Chortatsis seems to have felt both sympathy and admiration. Other agricultural occupations such as ploughing and propagating vine-shoots become the subject of Aristophanic jokes on the capacities of elderly men and women in Act III Sc. iii. I know of no contemporary pastoral play which employs realistic rural metaphors to such good effect; in this respect *Panoria* stands alone and again proves the existence of an independent Cretan Renaissance with its own artistic criteria.

4 *Pistikos Voskos* (Ο Πιστικός Βοσκός. *The Faithful Shepherd*)

Brief summary (not every scene is summarised)

Arcadia is suffering under the wrath of Artemis. In bygone times, a certain Loukrina had been unfaithful to Amintas, a priest of the goddess; ever since, Artemis has demanded the annual sacrifice of a virgin and the execution of any woman convicted of infidelity. Apollo's icon has prophesied that her wrath will only be appeased when a couple of divine descent unite in love and when the pity of a Faithful Shepherd wipes out the woman's unfaithfulness.

Silvios, son of the priest Montanos and a descendant of Herakles, has been formally betrothed to Eroprikousa, daughter of Dhidhymos and a descendant of Pan, in hopes that by their union Arcadia may be saved. But Silvios, an immature young hunter, is

not interested in girls; his only desire is to kill a wild beast which has been terrorising the Arcadian countryside. He is being pursued by the gentle and lovesick Dorinda, who finds his dog in the woods and offers to return it provided he rewards her with a kiss (I ii). With typical callousness, after an ecstatic reunion with his dog, he goes off leaving poor Dorinda unrewarded (I iii).

Silvios's fiancée Eroprikousa is being wooed by the shepherd Myrtilos. He has loved her for years; he describes (II i) how he once disguised himself in his sister's clothes to gain access to her entourage; he was thus enabled, during a girlish kissing contest, to steal from her a luscious kiss. Though she has shunned him since discovering the deception, she secretly returns his love. A virtuous maiden, she considers herself as bound to Silvios.

Koriska, an immoral woman who has contrived to become Eroprikousa's bosom friend, is also in love with Myrtilos, and vows that if she fails to seduce him she will become his and Eroprikousa's enemy. At the request of Myrtilos's friend Ergastos, Koriska persuades Eroprikousa (II v) to agree to an interview with her unhappy lover, hoping that her virtue will be undermined by Myrtilos's pleas. She arranges a game of blind-man's-buff, during which Eroprikousa, her eyes bandaged, is teased and buffeted by her companions (III ii); finally, believing she has caught Koriska, she removes the blindfold to find herself in Myrtilos's embrace. Eroprikousa is only prevented from instant flight by his threat to kill himself. Myrtilos eloquently pleads his suit (III iii), begging her not to be so cruel as to deny him a reply. She reminds him of her engagement, and bids him respect her honour, leave her alone, and prove his love by refraining from suicide. Heavy-hearted, he departs. Believing herself alone (III iv), Eroprikousa confesses her sympathy with his sufferings since she shares his pain. Koriska tells her she has overheard the whole (III v), and scandalises Eroprikousa by suggesting a secret liaison with Myrtilos. Eroprikousa asks her to find an honourable way of preventing her marriage to Silvios, and Koriska tells her to hide in a nearby cave, where she will be able to gather evidence of Silvios's infidelity to her with a shepherdess and thus obtain release from her engagement.

After praying to Artemis, Eroprikousa enters the cave, observed by Myrtilos. Koriska, having failed to seduce him, has misled him with a similar lying story of Eroprikousa's infidelity. Misunderstanding Eroprikousa's prayer (III vii) that soon she may be united with her beloved shepherd (meaning Myrtilos) and infuriated by what he assumes to be a mocking allusion to his own devotion, he follows her into the cave (III viii) determined to kill her lover when he arrives, and then himself. Myrtilos is heard expressing his belief in Koriska by the Satyr, who is insanely angry with her since she evaded his clutches by leaving her blonde wig in his hands. Certain that Myrtilos has followed Koriska into the cave for a guilty assignation, the Satyr wrenches a branch off a tree and levers up a huge boulder with which he blocks the cave mouth (III ix). At once he hastens off to bring the priests to the cave's other entrance, telling them an act of immorality is taking place within. In this way, Eroprikousa is caught in the cave with Myrtilos. Koriska is jubilant; her rival will be executed, and Myrtilos will be hers (IV iv).

Meanwhile, Silvios has hunted down and killed the wild beast under the admiring gaze of Dorinda, dressed like the other shepherds in a rough wolf-skin. She describes Silvios's valour to his servant Linkos, who is sympathetic to her love; then she curls up in a bush to sleep off her fatigue (IV ii). Silvios is given a triumphal reception by the hunters and shepherds, who sing paeans to his courage and to Artemis, and carry the

beast's head as an offering to the temple (IV vi). His head turned by their praises, Silvios calls Aphrodite a whore, her worshippers useless debauchees and Eros a bastard; only the servants of Artemis do glorious deeds such as his own (IV vii). Eros retorts as an echo that Silvios is to be made to fall in love immediately. Just then Silvios sees a stirring in the bushes, glimpses wolf-skin and lets fly an arrow, only to discover that he has wounded Dorinda, perhaps fatally. Linkos upbraids him for his carelessness, but Dorinda is more forgiving (IV viii). She refuses to take her revenge, though he kneels before her with bared breast imploring her to kill him. His heart melted at last, Silvios takes her home to be his bride; her wound, however, is dangerous.

Eroprikousa is hauled off bound to the temple, escorted by the priest Nikandros. Despite her protestations of innocence, appearances are against her, and Koriska is nowhere to be found. Her trial is accelerated because of bad omens in the temple, and she is judged guilty and sentenced to be sacrificed. Myrtinos, however, offers himself to die in her place. Eroprikousa resists, insisting that she wishes to die, but is overruled by the Priest who declares Myrtinos's offer legal. She is kept under protective surveillance while Myrtinos is brought out to be sacrificed in the open air.

Kalogonos, an Arcadian by birth who has spent his life abroad, has just returned to his homeland hoping to be reunited with his son Myrtinos, whom he sent there to recover from an illness (V i). Seeing the sacrifice in progress, he discovers with horror that the victim is his son (V iv). Though Montanos, the Priest, attempts to continue the sacrifice regardless, Myrtinos involuntarily breaks his vow of silence in pity for his father's grief, and the preparations must be recommenced. Alone with Kalogonos (V v), Montanos reproaches him for his interference. Kalogonos tries to dissuade him from the sacrifice by claiming that Myrtinos is of foreign birth and therefore ineligible as a victim. After some testy cross-talk, he explains that though he himself is of Arcadian origin, Myrtinos is his son by adoption only. Twenty years ago he found a baby boy floating in a crib under a myrtle on an island in the river Alpheios; a rustic who came in search of the child presented him to Kalogonos because of a prophecy that the baby's father might one day kill it. Montanos, who had lost his first-born when the river burst its banks, realises that Myrtinos is his own son, and interrogation of his servant Dhameas reveals that it was he who gave Kalogonos permission to adopt the boy. Since it now appears that Myrtinos is Arcadian, Montanos is heartbroken; he must sacrifice his son at the very moment of finding him again. Kalogonos sympathises with his distress.

Just then, the blind prophet Klisarchos arrives (V vi) demanding to speak to the father of Myrtinos, whom he hails as most fortunate of sires. Good omens have been seen in the temple, and it has been revealed to him that Myrtinos is the Faithful Shepherd whose pity is destined to appease Artemis's wrath. He urges Montanos to arrange without delay the marriage of Eroprikousa and Myrtinos, since they must be the divinely descended couple of the oracle. Since Myrtinos's original name was Silvios, Eroprikousa's engagement vows apply equally to Myrtinos, and she is not guilty of infidelity. By their union, Arcadia's ancient felicity will be restored. Montanos and Kalogonos are overjoyed.

Koriska is sincerely delighted by news of Dorinda's recovery, thanks to the devoted care of Silvios, who extracted the arrow-shaft manually and forced the wound to eject the arrow-head by a poultice of medicinal herbs (V vii). Their wedding is now being celebrated. She is less pleased when Ergastos informs her (V viii) that far from being executed, Eroprikousa is now the joyful bride of Myrtinos.

The manuscript's text ends abruptly here, as the last folio is missing. The final scenes can be reconstructed in outline from the Italian original, assuming that the Cretan translator made no major changes:

The happy couple pass by on their way to their nuptial home, escorted by shepherds singing wedding-hymns. Touched by their evident bliss, Koriska confesses her wickedness, confirms Myrtilos's faith in Eroprikousa's unstained honour, and obtains their willing forgiveness.

The play known as *O Pistikos Voskos* ('Bistikos' is more authentic, attested at V 189) is an excellent rendering into the Cretan dialect of Giambattista Guarini's pastoral tragicomedy, *Il Pastor Fido*. Guarini's pastoral was already famous by the time of its publication in 1589/90. It was composed in the years 1581-4 and was publicly read and discussed in Ferrara. These readings gave rise to criticism of the play's 'hybrid' genre, neither tragedy nor comedy and without proper classical precedent, by the Cypriot professor Jason Denores (Panagiotakis 1985); Guarini defended his play in treatises published between 1585 and 1590. It is believed that no full-dress performance took place before publication, though notes survive in Guarini's hand on the staging of the play, with provisional cast lists. The play is not easy to perform due to its length and technical difficulties deriving from Guarini's lack of theatrical experience, but it was immensely popular.

The Cretan translation, which surpasses the Italian original in lyricism and performability, is much longer than *Erofilo*, totalling some 8,500 lines (8,133 lines are extant by my count) even without prologue, choric odes and interludes. The lines are a mixture of heptasyllables and hendecasyllables with occasional rhyme (e.g. ABCDEE or ABCDEFGF); a more formal scheme is found in the Ballet of Blind-Man's-Buff, as we shall see. It is a remarkably accurate translation, a testimony to the clarity and vigour of the Cretan dialect used as a literary medium, and a model of metrical virtuosity.

The author seems to have intended his play to be performed, not simply used as a 'crib' for Guarini's play. He adapted the names of many of the characters, not to disguise his source, but to avoid inappropriate phonetic connotations (e.g. Tirenio becomes Klisarchos because it might suggest τυρί, cheese!) or to preserve the sense of programmatic names (Amarilli becomes Eroprikousa).

The Cretan author evinces superior aesthetic sense in suppressing scenes or passages of dubious literary or theatrical value, such as the misogynistic monologue of Corisca's rejected suitor Coridone (*P.F.* IV vii), the ill-natured invective of Mirtillo against Amarilli before her infidelity has been proved (III viii), and Guarini's autobiographical digression on the evils of court life (V i). He has greatly reduced the frequency of mythological allusion and other pedantries (e.g. the reference to Berenice's Lock and the lesser loves of Pan); a passage with astrological connotations has also been omitted, I believe deliberately. Latinate expressions are replaced with natural idiom; abstractions are personalised; confusing double negatives are replaced with positive statements.

Tedious explanations of characters' movements, necessary only in a reading text, are reduced or removed. The oracle is transformed into a miraculous talking icon. All this proves that unlike Guarini, who wrote from the standpoint of a scholar and a reader, the Cretan author was perpetually conscious of audience impact.

An example of his metrical sophistication is his version of the 'Ballo di Cieca' scene (III ii), where a chorus of maidens playing blind-man's-buff bandy verses with a blindfold heroine, watched longingly by her hidden lover. Guarini employed in this scene an unusually high incidence of free rhyme, but his metrical scheme is otherwise unchanged. The Cretan author has turned the speeches of the Chorus into impressive formal set pieces (a taunting song to Eros, whom the Blind Man symbolises) by employing for them hendecasyllabic lines only, rhymed in *terza rima* (ABA BCB CDC DED ...) like the choric odes of *Erofilii*. The heroine's speeches form a delightful contrast, with their unpredictably long and short lines.

The Cretan poet shows signs, too, of creative originality; without departing from the spirit of his model he often develops the lyrical potential of a passage to a much greater degree than Guarini. For example, where the Italian reads simply 'Almen non mi negar gli ultimi baci' (At least do not deny me the last kisses) – the heroine is addressing her absent father, wishing she could see him before she is sacrificed – the Cretan poet extracts every ounce of pathos from the situation in a much longer passage:

Κύρη, έλα την καημένη
να μ' αποχαιρετήσεις
πριχού με σφάζου, οϊμέ, πριχού με κάψου,
πρι τον καημένον άθο
στον άνεμο σκορπήσου.
Κύρη, έλα στο καημένο
το πρόσωπον ετούτο πρι αποθάνει
ν' αφήσεις το 'στερό σου
φιλί, το θάνατό ντου να γλυκάνει.

(IV 265–73)

Father, come, bid farewell
to me in my distress,
before they slaughter me, alas! and burn me,
before they scatter my
poor ashes to the winds.
Father, come close, on this
poor face, before I die,
bestow one final kiss
to make my dying sweet.

All these divergences owe nothing to the extant manuscript drafts of Guarini's play; the Cretan poet was definitely working from a printed edition, probably the first. The date 1590 may thus serve as *terminus post quem* for the Cretan work. Slight reminiscences of the Italian work are to be found in Chortatsis's

Panoria and *Katzourbos*, believed on good evidence to have been finished in the 1590s, and it has been shown that the language of one such passage in *Katzourbos* is remarkably similar to that of *Pistikos Voskos* (Papatriandafyllou-Theodoridhi 1971). In my opinion Niki Papatriandafyllou-Theodoridhi (1971 and 1978) was justified in postulating that the Cretan translation of *Pastor Fido* might be the work of Chortatsis.

A possible *terminus ante quem* for *Pistikos Voskos* is provided by a poem scribbled on the frontispiece of a manuscript of Andrea Cornaro's *Rime Amoroze* (Museo Correr, MS Correr 275 – see Panagiotakis 1968: 62). It is dated 1611 and entitled *Per il Pastor fido recitato in Candia per opera del Capitano Livio Paolasso da Udine* (On the Faithful Shepherd performed in Candia by the agency of Captain Livio Paolasso of Udine). Because the title is in Italian, it has been assumed that the play was Guarini's. But if the play had been the Cretan version, Cornaro would still have given its title in Italian in an Italian poem. The poem can be deciphered with some difficulty; its supposed speaker is Guarini's play, describing its fortunes in foreign countries (the punctuation is mine).

Di bel Cigno gentile
 In riva al Po nacqui, PASTOR FEDELE
 A la mia Ninfa bella,
 Bella sì, ma crudele;
 Cruda no, ma ritrosa
 Nella scola amorosa.
 Hebbi sotto benigna amica stella
 Il primo latte, e i primi nodrimenti;
 †Posci' udi avvanzerato†
 Fra le vicine che lontane genti
 Volar il sonar mio chiaro e già noto.
 Hor nel almo paese
 Onde hebbe scettro il folgorente Giove,
 Nobil, chiaro, cortese,
 Fù che quel peregrina alma Fenice
 A vita più felice mi rinove;
 E s' oda il suon de' miei passati amori
 Tra vaghe Ninfe, e tra gentil Pastori.

Born of a handsome gentle Swan (=Guarini) on the banks of the Po was I, a Shepherd Faithful to my beautiful nymph, beautiful, yes, but cruel; cruel, no, but bashful in the school of love. Under a benign and friendly star I took my first milk, my first nourishment; †then I heard in advanced old age† my famous and already well-known music fly among the nearby and distant peoples. Now in the sweet country (=Crete) where thundering Jove once wielded his sceptre – noble, famous, courteous – that life-giving foreign Phoenix has renewed me to a happier life; and the sound of my past loves is heard among pretty Nymphs and gentle Shepherds.

There are three distinct phases in the play's progress: its early fortunes in Italy; its growing popularity in foreign countries; and its 'renewal' in Crete. If the

performance was merely a revival of the Italian play, why should this have been separated from the second phase? The subject of the verb 'rinove' is not the producer, but the 'foreign Phoenix'. According to Evangelatos's identification, Georgios Chortatsis died in 1610; this performance may have been a posthumous one celebrating his translation of Guarini's play into Cretan verse.

Chortatsis was fond of punning on his own name in his plays, and there is one passage in *Pistikos Voskos* where there may be a pun on his Christian name and γιωργός (cultivator), involving a slight distortion of the sense of the Italian. The Chorus is praising Silvios for killing the boar which was terrorising the farmlands of Arcadia:

Ω δυνατό παιδάκι δοξασμένο,
ογιά το ποιον οι κάμποι
που εστέκασινε δίχως
γιώργεμα, κι οι γιωργοί, πιάνουσι πάλι
τσι πρώτες τως τιμές, τα 'μορφα κάλλη! (IV 49–53)

O fanciul glorioso,
per cui le ricche piagge,
prive gia di cultura e di cultori,
han ricovrato i lor fecondi onori!

Greek O powerful, glorious youth, on whose account the fields which had been idling without cultivation, and the cultivators, receive again their former honours, their beautiful charms!

Italian O glorious youth, by means of whom the rich fields, once deprived of cultivation and cultivators, have recovered their fertile honours!

In the Greek, the word 'cultivators' is transferred to the main clause so that it is they, not just the fields, who are to recover their former glory – rather an odd image for farmers. This passage may be evidence that Georgios Chortatsis wrote the Cretan translation of *Pastor Fido* in his old age.

The play demands lavish spectacular effects, evidence for which is preserved among Guarini's drafts in the form of a prop list (there are also provisional cast lists). The scene where the Satyr blocks the cave mouth requires a large branch to be broken off a tree and used as a lever to move the huge rock into place. A trick arrow appearing to pierce Dorinda's side and a trick blindfold, through which Amarilli can see, are needed. Men had to be found able to do a good Echo and imitate the song of the nightingale, and a large and beautiful dog had to be trained. The altar was to be constructed in ancient style, painted with gold masks and festoons; the victim, Mirtillo, was to be clad in a red mantle and bound with white fetters; gold and silver vessels and a silver-handled sacrificial knife were also required for the scene of the sacrifice.

Whether read or witnessed in performance, the convoluted plot of this play, of which Guarini was inordinately proud, would have been a major attraction for the story-loving publics of both Italy and Crete. Despite the purists' objections, the mixture of comic and tragic genres provided variety.

There is the sensuous description of the stolen kiss, even more erotic in its Cretan version; the gentle comedy of Dorinda's pursuit of Silvios; the bawdy comedy of the Satyr's pursuit of Koriska; the tragic laments of the unjustly condemned heroine; the solemnity of the sacrifice scene, with its suspenseful denouement. There is much in Guarini's play to appeal to Cretan audiences specifically: a Greek setting, omens, dreams and prophecies, cures by healing herbs which they would have associated with dittany, and so on. For Cretans, the 'Arcadian' landscape and way of life described here would have at once recalled the Mount Ida region.⁸

5 *L'Amorosa Fede*

Summary

The people of Mount Ida in Crete were compelled by the King of Knossos to send a tribute of seven maidens to be devoured by the Minotaur of the Labyrinth. An oracle predicted that the wrath of Neptune would endure until a maiden offered for sacrifice was liberated by her faithful lover. A certain Aminta had been secretly betrothed to Erodafne, supposed daughter of Licastro, who saved her from a monster by dressing her for a time as a shepherd and pretending she was dead. Aminta, grief-stricken, departed, but returned later under the name of Tersillo. Erodafne fell in love with him for his resemblance to Aminta, and Cinisca, a wicked woman also infatuated with Tersillo, finding that their meeting was unavoidable, tricked him into believing Erodafne was alive, but another man's wife. He was only saved from suicide by Erodafne's intervention. When he accused her of inconstancy, she realised he was Aminta and the lovers were reunited. But Eurota, Tersillo's father, had promised to marry his son to Arethusa, daughter of the High Priest Cosmeta. She, however, resisted the match, being a devoted huntress. The time came round for payment of the tribute; among the unfortunate maidens chosen was Erodafne. Hearing of this, Tersillo offered himself in her place, and was allowed by the King of Knossos to fight the Minotaur. He killed the monster, thus liberating Ida from the Knossian tribute. During his absence Erodafne offered herself as a sacrifice to Neptune. Licastro revealed her to be the daughter of the High Priest who had believed her dead. She would nevertheless have been slaughtered by her true father's unwilling hand if Tersillo had not returned in time to stay the fatal blow. Despite her objections, he again offered to take her place. The prophet Criseo arrived with the glad news that the oracle referred to Tersillo and Erodafne and that the sacrifice was unnecessary; the happy pair were thus enabled to marry. Meanwhile Laurino, Arethusa's despised lover, wrongly believing his sweet-

⁸ By a curious coincidence, the Mount Ida region includes the famous monastery of Arkadhi, halfway between the peaks Kedhros and Kouloukounas, which are mentioned in *Panoria*. Although its name is probably derived from a founder called Arkadhios rather than directly from 'Arcadia' (Manousakas, quoted in Spanakis (n.d.: 79), the resemblance is none the less striking. The abbot responsible for renovating the monastery's church and creating its fine baroque façade (dated 1587) was called Klimis Chortatsis, perhaps a relative of the poet (Spanakis n.d.: 80).

heart to have died, stabbed himself. Arethusa, repenting of her cruelty, went to weep over him and he revived; they too were married. As for Cinisca, she went back to Knossos to continue her licentious career.

This *tragicommedia pastorale*, in a mixture of seven-syllable and eleven-syllable verses with occasional rhyme, was written for the wedding of Calerga, daughter of Giovanni Calergi, with Francesco Quirini, Count of Temenos and Dafnes, which took place in 1619.⁹ The play (whose title means 'Fidelity in love') was printed in Venice in 1620 by Giacomo Sarzina, in a beautiful small-format edition, with elegant engravings illustrating the Prologue of Love and each of the five acts, as well as a portrait of the author aged eighteen and a title-page incorporating the double-headed eagle crest of the Calergi with a cross and the motto EN TOYTΩ NIKA. The author, Antonio Pandimo, was the son of a Kastro lawyer (Manousakas 1971b: 10), and evidently wrote his pastoral comedy while a young student in Padua. The finely executed portrait in the edition shows a fresh-faced, fair-haired young man in a lace collar. Below the portrait is an image of the Phoenix, symbol of the resurrection of Greece, which also features on Pandimo's family crest as preserved at the University of Padua (illustrated in Manousakas 1971b: 15). The play is prefaced by encomiastic verses from a number of authors, with repeated references to Pandimo's Greek background. Thus in an eloquent 'Sonnet on the Author's portrait', Giovanni Antonio Cavalli writes: 'This is the image of that man who with his divine song and gifted pen seems to recall the Greek Empire . . . to its former splendour.'

The Byzantine references in the engravings and prefatory poems accord well with the content of the play. For Pandimo's pastoral carries a strongly pro-Greek political message. (Indeed it is possible that pastoral in general was associated in part with Cretan yearnings for emancipation from Venetian rule, expressed less openly, perhaps, in other works.) As Sathas remarks (1879: με'), it is astonishing that Venetian censors allowed the play to be published.

Pandimo's aim, however, was not really seditious; he wished to arouse pity for Crete's plight, disguising the modern reality of subjugation to Venice as a past state of servitude to the King of Knossos (= the Duke of Candia). It is significant that the King is shown in a sympathetic light as one bound to exact a tribute to feed to the Minotaur to appease angry Neptune, but prepared to arm Tersillo to free Ida from the monster. The Idaeans of the story stand for native-born Cretans oppressed by taxation and military burdens imposed from Venice and exacted by the authorities in Kastro; they long for a return to their ancient state of glorious liberty (probably the Byzantine era which preceded the Venetian colonisation of the island). Giovanni and Calerga

9 Vincent 1968: 174. The information that the play was written for the wedding (*nelle nozze*) of this couple is given on the title-page. Vincent points out, however (in a personal communication), that the edition does not unequivocally state that a performance took place.

Calergi might well have sympathised with Pandimo's liberationist sentiments, in view of the historical role of their own distinguished family, discussed above.

The play as a work of literature has many beautiful passages, but is heavily derivative and awkwardly put together. The plot is, of course, based on Guarini's *Pastor Fido* and the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur; but Tersillo is the hero of the oppressed people of Ida, not the Athenians. Borrowed elements are differentiated by transposition of sex and situation. In Guarini's *Pastor Fido* it is the hunter Silvio who is averse to love (I i); in Pandimo's play it is the huntress Arethusa (*Am. Fed.* I. i) who boasts of her hunting exploits and blasphemes against Eros. The much admired Ballet of Blind-Man's-Buff in Guarini is acted onstage, while the kissing game is merely reported; in Pandimo, this is reversed. The triumph scene is *L'Amorosa Fede* celebrates not Silvio's killing of the boar, but Tersillo's killing of the Minotaur; in both scenes the monster's severed head is displayed. The sacrificial victim in *L'Amorosa Fede* is a girl, not a youth; like Mirtillo, Erodafne is saved by the intervention of an adoptive father who reveals that the Priest is the true parent, and by the seer's arrival to say that the oracle has been fulfilled.

It is possible that Pandimo studied Guarini's *Pastor Fido* partly with the aid of the Cretan translation, *Pistikos Voskos*. He certainly knew Chortatsis's *Erofilo* and *Panoria* and plundered them for imagery. For example, Erodafne's invocation of the souls in hell (p. 45) recalls that of Panaretos, *Erof.* II 431-4; Cinisca's image of the Tree of Love (pp. 49-50) begins like *Erof.* I 187-94. The image of the wounded deer (p. 48) recalls *Pan.* II 145-56; that of the river in flood (p. 53), *Pan.* III 395-403; Tersillo's suicide speech (pp. 82-3) recalls that of Gyparis at *Pan.* II v and is interrupted in the same way; Cinisca's resolve to apply her magic arts (p. 93) may provide a clue to the content of Frosyni's monologue, *Pan.* III ii, which I believe to have been bowdlerised; Laurino's temptation to kiss the sleeping Arethusa (pp. 96-7) recalls *Pan.* II iv (the address to the grasses on which she lies is modelled on *Pan.* II 197-238), but there is nothing comparable to Panoria's glorious tantrum; Laurino's speech 'Se doppio gran tempeste . . .', imitating *Pan.* II 251-62, is therefore less well motivated. There are other echoes, but these are the most notable.

Unlike Chortatsis, Pandimo did not succeed in welding his borrowings (or literary allusions) into an organic whole, and his plot is rather contrived; for example, he skates over the circumstances in which Licastro adopted Erodafne. The scene liaison is poor, with many characters appearing just as others depart in search of them, and too many scenes where a character is in hiding. Laurino spends half the play lurking in the bushes. Too many scenes introduce a development of the action which is only subsequently explained. There is very little humour and no bawdiness, and no real attempt at characterisation. The chief interest of the piece resides in its relevance to contemporary Crete and the evidence it affords of the contribution of Cretan sources to works destined for the Italian-speaking public.

6 *The Shepherdess (Η Βοσκοπούλα)*

Summary

One fine spring morning, a shepherd going to feed his flocks meets a shepherdess whose beauty pierces his heart, so that he falls in a faint before her. The girl revives him with water from a spring. Seduced by his courteous expressions of gratitude, she confesses that she has fallen in love with him. Delighted, he spends the afternoon with her in the meadow. When night begins to fall, she invites him to her cave, where he may eat and sleep in comfort, since it is too late for him to return to his own dwelling. The lovers set off hand-in-hand; blossom falls on her pretty hair, and they plight their troth in rings made of twigs. When they reach the cave, the stars are out and the night breeze is blowing.

As the girl prepares the simple repast, the shepherd admires her neat domestic arrangements: cooking-pots and dairy utensils hung on the walls, gleaming in the light of fire and lamp; a stone slab for a table, where she sets out bread, cheese, cold lamb and an ornamented flask containing wine. The clean, airy cave is perfumed by the herbs and flowers she has planted at the entrance, which is screened by a curtain of ivy. Above all, there is an inviting bed with dainty coverlets. The shepherd is alarmed by the sight of a man's sharp knife hanging on the wall, but the girl reassures him that her only male relative is an aged father, away for a week cutting stone for the new sheep-pen. Emboldened, the shepherd asks for a kiss with the draught of wine she offers him; the meal is punctuated by kisses, after which they retire to bed. The blushing dawn finds them still in each other's arms.

For a week, they spend their nights together, separating to tend their flocks during the day and returning stealthily to the cave in the evening. The night before her father's return, the shepherdess bids her lover a sad farewell, imploring him not to forget her and to come back in a month's time, when her father will again be absent. He swears that he will never forsake her, and departs heavy-hearted. But before the day fixed for their reunion, the shepherd falls ill of a debilitating fever. He tries to set off but is forced to go back when the stick supporting his tottering steps breaks. When he finally recovers enough strength for the journey, his nights are disturbed by evil dreams and premonitions.

As he draws near the cave, the voice of the spring seems to be warning him of calamity. The cave is sadly transformed, muddy and covered with cobwebs. He asks an old man guarding flocks on a nearby hill what has become of the shepherdess. Sighing, the old man reveals that he is her father, and that his daughter is dead of grief, believing herself deserted by her lover. Night after night she had wept for him, dwindling away like a candle. She had left a message for him if he should return: she died loving him still, and asked him to mourn for her. The old man consoles with the shepherd, who he had hoped would be his son-in-law.

The bereaved lover curses his fate and wishes for death. He asks to be led to her tomb, and vows to find himself a dark cave to dwell in; if only he could have reached her in time to explain! He abjures all other girls, his friends and family. He will live in the wilderness henceforth accompanied by no one but his pet lamb. May no shepherd go out to tend his flocks any more, may the birds cease to sing, may the springs dry up and the tender grasses wither away!

This charming pastoral idyll in 476 hendecasyllabic lines (arranged in quatrains rhyming AABB) is of unknown authorship. It seems to have circulated in manuscript for some time before its publication in Venice in 1627. The editor has this to say in his somewhat limping verse Epilogue:

Here ends the story of the Shepherdess, all her actions, and even if many other written copies have been found, everyone should know that they are erroneous. Only this (text) is the best of all that have been found to date; it was therefore selected by me, the Apokoronite Nikolaos Dhrymitinos from Crete, with great pains, and printed in the region of Venice, for everyone who wishes to learn to avoid loves and torments of the flesh. For from it one can cull a rose as if from a thorny stem, and take warning from the sorrowful life and end of the poor Shepherdess . . .

The poem's deceptive simplicity of style led many earlier readers to mistake it for a folk song (S. Alexiou 1971b: 47). And indeed, together with other Cretan literary works, it became part of the repertoire of singers who attached the words – in abbreviated and modified form – to a suitable melody and passed them on as part of the oral culture (Dhoulgerakis 1956). In both oral and written form it became one of the most famed and best loved pieces of popular literature in pre-revolutionary Greece. Solomos was influenced by it, and Byron is thought to have used it in the tale of Haidee in *Don Juan* (S. Alexiou 1971b: 58). Nowadays the work is known to be thoroughly literary in character, inspired by Italian *pastorella* poems and marked by Petrarchistic hyperbole, sometimes rather laughable (e.g. the swoon of the lovestruck shepherd and his cuddling of the pet lamb). To offset these artificialities, there are beautiful descriptions of the Cretan countryside which the lovers traverse in honeymoon progress. The shepherdess's cave is depicted with a vivid attention to detail suggesting real-life observation (and a degree of botanical lore!):

Εστράφηκα στο σπήλιο κ' εσυνήρου
την ομορφιάν, οπού 'χε γύρου γύρου·
κι απ' όξω είχε σαν περιπλοκάδι,
οπού το περιπλέξαμεν ομάδι.

Απ' όξω με μυρτιές, με ροσμαρίνους,
με γούδουρους, με βιόλες και με κρίνους
τό 'χενε το κοράσο στολισμένο
κ' εμύριζε το σπήλιο το καημένο.

(157–64)¹⁰

I turned my eyes to see the cave, beholding
the loveliness there was all round about it;
outside it trailed a twining plant like ivy
and she and I together interwove it.

Outside, the maid had planted myrtle-bushes,
rosemary and St John's wort, violets, lilies,

10 For suggested emendations to the first of these stanzas, see S. Alexiou 1975b: 224.

The pastoral mode

to decorate her dwelling and adorn it;
the humble cave was scented with their perfume.

Was Dhrymitinos justified in considering this poem a cautionary tale? At the outset it reads like an erotic fantasy; the tone is light-hearted, occasionally comic. As early as the sixth stanza, however, the Loves take up their arrows to inflict upon the lover κρίση την αιώνια (eternal torment), which will begin from the moment when the lover recognises that he is responsible for his sweetheart's death:

Για σφάλμα και για πάθητα δικά μου
έβαλα εις τον Άδη την κερά μου. (421–2)

The story could, then, be construed as a warning of the dangers of casual seduction.

The shepherd and shepherdess are aware that their relationship is an illicit one. The young man's apprehensions upon seeing in the cave a recently sharpened knife, hinting at an absent and potentially vengeful male protector; the care the lovers take to avoid detection, creeping back to the cave each night by separate routes; the shepherdess's scant regard for her father's authority; the blushing of the dawn after their first night of love – all these elements speak of a guilty liaison, not an idyll of free love in the springtime.

The shepherd seems to belong to a higher social order than the shepherdess, who is initially impressed by the courtliness of his thanks; their relationship is like that of landlord to tenant, the girl repeatedly stressing her subjugation to his will. His amazed admiration of the cleanliness and order of the shepherdess's dwelling, its perfumed airiness, are more appropriate to a fastidious nobleman or townsman than to a youth of the same social context as his sweetheart. The fact that the young girl's father never reproaches him for seducing her, and that he does not appear to have promised her marriage, may indicate that the so-called shepherd stands for a seigneur with all the rights of his kind.

The story is narrated in the first person by the shepherd hero. It is through his eyes that we perceive the shepherdess, and we share his delight when she proves so amenable to his desires. Only during his faint – and did he really faint? – does she speak and act independently of his perceptions. The account of her tearful farewell is again slanted from the shepherd's point of view, and the story of her decline and death is related as he heard it from her father. His expression of grief, at first addressed to the father, becomes merged into a first-person lament and finally into an impersonal conclusion.

The structure of the poem is almost theatrical, relying in large part on quotation of speeches (266 lines). The limited number of characters – hero, heroine and father – recalls the maximum number normally onstage in each scene of a neoclassical play (except the finale). The father resembles the Messenger of tragedy who recounts the sad or violent event which precipitates the

denouement. The effect of this technique is to make the action very present to the reader. It is more than likely that the poet had some theatrical experience.

Unlike the tragicomedies discussed earlier in this chapter, *The Shepherdess* begins in happiness and ends in tragedy, and the darkening of the picture is the more impressive because unexpected. The omens, at first barely perceptible, become more and more sinister as the shepherd retraces his steps. The pleasant cave is transformed into a symbol of the girl's untimely death and decay, with its mire and cobwebs. The conclusion of the poem, with its *kommos* calling for inversion of the natural order of things, echoes the imagery of the beginning; the tender reeds which spoke of love, youth and the springtime (v. 4) are doomed to wither in death (v. 476).

Conclusion

The Cretans' achievements in the pastoral mode are very considerable. The surviving works include, as we have seen, examples of sensitive, accurate poetical translation, delicate lyricism, earthy humour and barely disguised political allegory. Above all, they gave pastoral a new resonance by transferring it from the Italians' distant, mythical Arcadia to their own Cretan Mount Ida, where real shepherds still lived in what seemed to city-dwellers a kind of primeval simplicity, under the benign guardianship of the Byzantine eagle of the Calergi.¹¹

11 Ida is explicitly mentioned as the setting of *Panoria*, *L'Amorosa Fede* and the Charidimos episode in *Erotokritos*. A model of the mountain was used in the pastoral episode in the joust described by Persio (see p. 81 above). In *The Shepherdess* the setting is not made explicit, although it resembles Mount Ida. The seventeenth-century manuscript version published by Thomas Papadhopoulos contains a puzzling reference to της Δαμάς η βρύση, which Menelaos Parlamas has suggested may derive from a mishearing of an original τῷ Ἴδα[ς] μας η βρύση (Papadhopoulos 1966: 357).

Comedy

ALFRED VINCENT

One of the achievements of Cretan writers in the Venetian period was the creation of urban comedies in Modern Greek.¹ Three works survive: *Katzourbos* (or *Katzarapos*) by Georgios Chortatsis, the anonymous *Stathis* and *Fortounatos* by Markos Antonios Foskolos. The first two date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, while *Fortounatos* was composed during the Siege of Kastro, around 1655. All three were apparently intended for stage production (Puchner 1983d).

The aims of this chapter are to provide a general introduction to the Cretan comedies, to discuss briefly their relation to literary antecedents (and in particular to Italian comedy), and finally to explore parallels between their dramatic 'world' and the 'realities' of Cretan society as illustrated (but how faithfully or completely?) in historical documents.

The three surviving plays do not give the full story of comedy in Venetian Crete. Writing at the end of the seventeenth century, Giovanni Papadopoli mentions that Greek comedies were regularly performed during Carnival, at least until the Siege of Kastro.² Parts of a lost play may in fact have survived as passages of verse embedded in the folk-tale of the *Forgotten Bride*.³

At Carnival Cretans could witness a kind of 'street theatre'. Papadopoli (fo. 127r-v) describes how men would parade the streets masked and dressed like the Flemish sailors from the wine-merchants' ships, gabbling in imitation

1 For general bibliography on Cretan comedy see the Bibliographical guide. I would like to thank Dr Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus for reading this chapter and making many valuable suggestions. All weak points in the final version are, of course, my own responsibility.

2 (Papadopoli), *L'Occio*, fos. 66r-v. The author of this unpublished description of life in Venetian Crete is not named in the manuscript, but he can be identified, from references in the text to his sons Nicolò and Michele, as the Ducal Secretary and Notary Giovanni Papadopoli, father of the historian of Padua University Niccolò Papadopoli Commeno. The word *occio* in the title is a variant of *ozio* (leisure). The second volume of the manuscript is a chronicle of the Cretan War. Professor Panagiotakis has located a further manuscript entitled *Memorie della Guerra di Candia*, whose author's name is given as Giovanni Commeno Papadopoli, in the library of Syracuse University, New York (Leopold von Ranke MS no. 77).

3 See Manusakas and Puchner 1984. Morgan (1960: 420-5) believed the fragments to derive from a narrative poem. However, as early as 1955 Professor Manousakas had argued for the more convincing view that the lost work was in fact a comedy (see Manousakas 1965: 39-40). Morgan (1954: 63-4) has also suggested that a Prologue preserved in the Nanian manuscript of Cretan texts belonged originally to a lost comedy, and that the satirical poem *O Φαλλίδος* (*The Bankrupt*), found in the same manuscript (Xanthoudhidis 1927b), could have been intended as a dramatic monologue.

Dutch, with particularly amusing results when they came across the 'victims' of their masquerade.

Performances of Italian comedies were also not unknown. Well before 1600, the famous Venetian actor, poet and musician Antonio da Molino, spent some time in Corfu and Crete, and according to a contemporary he amused himself while there by taking part in comedies.⁴ The founder of the Accademia degli Stravaganti, Andrea Cornaro, scribbled a note in one of his manuscripts about a comedy entitled (*La Spia* (*The Spy*)), probably referring to a *commedia dell' arte* performance (Panagiotakis 1968: 62 n. 32). His counterpart in the Accademia dei Vivi, Francesco Barozzi, was also interested in comedy, although a production which he apparently organised may have taken place in Italy rather than Crete (Bancroft-Marcus 1982/3: 64–5).

The surviving works share a number of conventional features, most of which are also typical of neoclassical comedy in Italy and elsewhere.⁵ Their action is set in Kastro, at a time close to the date of writing, and the main characters belong to the urban 'middle classes'. In all three plays the happy ending is precipitated by the discovery of a character's long-lost child. The comedies' action covers less than a single day, thus observing the 'Aristotelian' unity of time (see Radcliff-Umstead 1969: 3ff.). *Katzourbos* and *Fortounatos* have a typical neoclassical arrangement of prologue and five acts, the last of which ends in a brief address to the audience by one of the characters. *Stathis*, as preserved in the manuscript, has only three acts; however, it has been cut down from a much longer text.

The manuscripts of the comedies contain interludes on themes from classical mythology or from conflicts between Christian Europe and the Muslim East. The interludes are treated in a separate chapter of this book, and will not be discussed in detail here. It is worth remembering, though, when considering the overall effect of the plays, that performances may have included interludes whose themes, style and setting would have made a complete contrast to the comedy proper.

Like almost all Cretan drama, the comedies are written in rhyming couplets of political verse, apart from a few lines where the Schoolmaster quotes Italian poetry or delivers his own 'extempore' Italian *ottava* (*Stathis* III 145–6, *Katz*. IV 363–70, *Fort*. IV 279–86). The use of verse marks a break with the Italian practice, where prose was the normal medium for comic theatre from the

4 See Vincent 1973b. The interpretation of this passage in Coutelle 1971: 45 n. 4 (also referred to by Manusakas and Puchner 1984: 160 n. 676) is based on an incorrect reading of a text by Molino; the meaningless phrase *come diesco* should be read as one word, *comediesco* (from *comedia*).

5 For general information on Italian neoclassical comedy, see Herrick 1960 and Radcliff-Umstead 1969. The older but more detailed survey by Sanesi (1954) is still useful, and for a convenient collection of texts see the two volumes edited by Borsellino (1962 and 1967). Important recent studies are those of Baratto 1975 and Guidotti 1983. On Renaissance literary theory see Weinberg 1961.

early sixteenth century. Political couplets had, of course, a long tradition in Greek culture in areas such as verse romance and in folk song.

These, then, are some ingredients common to all three plays. The way they are combined and mixed with others varies widely, so that the three comedies are in fact very different works – as we shall see when we examine each separately. In *Katzourbos* the element of farce is prominent; *Stathis* is a lyrical comedy of romantic intrigue with some farce-like scenes, while *Fortounatos* projects a moral message combined with plenty of robust humour.

Katzourbos (Κατζούρπος)

The plot of *Katzourbos* is fairly simple.

Young Nikolos is in love with Cassandra, presumed daughter of the courtesan Poulisena. He has a middle-aged rival, Armenis, who plans to steal his own wife's gowns in order to pay Poulisena for her 'daughter's' favours. However, Cassandra loves Nikolos and gives him her bracelets to pawn so that he too will have ready cash for Poulisena. The bawd now plans to deceive Armenis by having her maid Annousa receive him in a darkened room in place of Cassandra, while Nikolos and the real Cassandra will be enjoying a night of love.

However, Poulisena's rival Anneza informs Nikolos's father Giakoumos that his son is squandering money at Poulisena's; he assumes Nikolos has been stealing from the family coffers and determines to have him arrested. Anneza also informs Armenis's wife of her husband's intentions. When Armenis arrives at Poulisena's door his outraged spouse apprehends him with the aid of their maid-servant, drags him home and locks him in his room – from which he escapes through the window.

Meanwhile, Armenis's servant Moustrouchos has discovered that Cassandra is not really Poulisena's daughter, but was born in Naxos, enslaved by Turks and bought by Poulisena's late husband. Moustrouchos deduces that Cassandra must be Armenis's own lost daughter, who was separated from her parents years ago when the whole family was captured by Turks. Soon her identity is confirmed. Giakoumos storms in, still raging against his son, but he is pacified on hearing the truth. All parties agree to the marriage of Nikolos and Cassandra, and the play ends with a happy celebration.

Further comic episodes are interwoven with this story line. The braggart captain Koustoulieris tries to woo Poulisena and is repeatedly made to look ridiculous (Act II Scene ii, Act III Scene viii). The pedantic Schoolmaster hovers on the edge of the action offering unheeded advice. At one point he too becomes a suitor of Poulisena, and is unceremoniously rejected (Act IV Scene xii). The rather loose attachment of episodes featuring the braggart and the pedant is a characteristic of all three works.

The denouement which hinges on the rediscovery of a long-lost child is also a feature of all three Cretan comedies, and indeed it was a commonplace in the Italian theatre. But in *Katzourbos* the initial situation and its development seem comparatively lacking in verisimilitude. Unlike her counterparts in *Stathis* and *Fortounatos*, Cassandra has retained the Christian name given her by her par-

ents; and yet Armenis and his wife do not seem to have suspected that this Cassandra might be the lost daughter for whom they have been searching. Moreover, although Cassandra knows her parents' name, she has never mentioned it to Poulisena, nor has Poulisena asked her (V231-4). In the scenes of Act V where Cassandra's identity is finally established, there is an unusual amount of awkwardness and redundancy, together with some stylistic abnormalities, all of which stem, perhaps, from a later 'editor' (Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 21).

The main motivating force in *Katzourbos* is Eros. The manuscript actually includes a Prologue in which the mischievous child-god boasts of his power – an appropriate beginning, although this too was evidently a later addition to Chortatsis's text (L. Politis 1964: 95). The play presents a series of variations on the theme of Eros, from the youthful passion of Nikolos and Cassandra to the comic infatuation of Armenis and the ridiculous attempts at wooing by the blustering Koustoulieris and the latiniloquent Schoolmaster. Eros's power is brutally exploited by Poulisena and her colleagues, and its effects are ridiculed by the various servant characters.

As in the other two comedies, lyrical poetry on themes of love contributes to the overall aesthetic effect. Nikolos and Cassandra express their feelings in imagery reminiscent both of Cretan *mandinadhes* and of the more lyrical plays such as *Panoria*:

Πρόβαλε, κορασιδα μου, πρόβαλε, πεθυμιά μου,
να δώσεις φως στα μάτια μου και δρόσος στην καρδιά μου. (II 157-8)

Maiden, come forth, come forth, my sweet desire,
bring light into my eyes, refresh my heart.

Το χιόνι ν' άψει δύνεται σαν ίσκα η ομορφιά σου,
και να μερώσεις τα θεριά μπορείς με τη θωριά σου. (II 179-80)

Your beauty can make snow flare up like tinder,
and with a glance you can subdue wild beasts.

However, the purely lyrical passages are comparatively brief; rather more prominent are those in which Eros is used as a source of humour. The comic aspects of a lover's behaviour are often made obvious by his servant, who acts as a foil. This treatment is not reserved solely for the comic characters Armenis and Koustoulieris; Nikolos too is a frequent victim. In Act I Scene i the young man sets up a dawn serenade under the window of his beloved, while his servant Katzarapos grumbles at being dragged out breakfastless to listen, and parodies his master's lyrical flights with a down-to-earth 'love'-song of his own:

ΝΙΚ. Με το γλυκό κιλαδισμό τον ήλιο προσκαλούσι
κάθε πουρνό όλα τα πουλιά να βγει να τονε δούσι ...

ΚΑ. Με το μοσκάτο το γλυκό και μ' όμορφη λογάδα
κάθε πουρνό οι φρόνιμοι διάχνουσι την κρυάδα ... (I 133-6)

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- ΝΙΚ. With singing sweet the birds invite the sun
each daybreak to emerge that they may see him . . .
- ΚΑ. With muscat sweet and with delicious wine
each daybreak wise folk keep the cold at bay . . .

Humour of a different kind is created by the Schoolmaster's jargon – a macaronic mixture of erratic Latin, Venetianised Italian and Italianate Cretan which is his trademark in all three plays, and which leads, naturally, to comic misunderstandings:⁶

- Ο giovine malae indolis, fin quando δε σκολάζεις
τούτες τις στράτες που κρατείς; Non pensi, δε λογιάζεις . . . (II 237–8)
- O wicked youth, how long will you persist
upon this path? Won't you *penser*, consider . . .

There is also a fair amount of visual humour in *Katzourbos*. Captain Koustoulieris forces his servant Katzourbos to fence with him until a tap from Katzourbos's scrap-iron sword blunts his appetite for battle (II 61–86); Pou-lisena cools him off with a shower from her chamberpot (III 466–70) and the Schoolmaster knocks him down with a copy of Martial (IV 390–4). The Schoolmaster himself is sent sprawling by his pupil Nikolos (IV 204). Particularly comic episodes are the 'arrest' of Armenis by his wife and maid-servant, and his subsequent escape (V 50–70). A common feature of all these jokes is the humiliating reversal of roles – the captain in particular is repeatedly worsted by totally unmilitary characters.

Stathis (Στάθης)

In summarising the plot of *Stathis* we are faced with a serious problem. The text provided by the single known manuscript is far from complete; it has suffered severe pruning at some point in its transmission, by an 'editor' whose scissors were sharper than his critical sense. Among the parts affected are the expository scenes in Act I, where the initial situation of the two pairs of young lovers would have been explained. Various other passages essential to the smooth unfolding of the plot have been cut down or removed.

In recent years the plot's original shape has been established on internal evidence from the surviving text.⁷ The broad outlines are as follows:

The student Chrysippos hopes to marry Lambrousa, the daughter of an ageing lawyer known by his title the Doctor (Dottores). The old man is in favour of the match. He himself is planning to marry Fedra, daughter of the Cypriot Stathis. Fedra, however, is in love with Chrysippos and she believes that Chrysippos has been visiting her at

⁶ In translating we try to suggest the flavour of this jargon by a garnish of gallicisms.

⁷ The conclusions of S. Alexiou 1954a and Manousakas 1954 are conveniently summarised by Martini 1976: 17–22. When writing her introduction she did not have available Vasileiou's 1974 study; she mentions it briefly in a note on p. 53.

night and has given her his ring. In reality her visitor was not Chrysispos but his friend Pamfilos.

To avoid marriage with the Doctor, Fedra tells her father of the night visits and the ring she has received from 'Chrysispos'. Furious at Chrysispos's 'crime' – which is further aggravated by his commitment to Lambrousa – Stathis decides to have him arrested.

At this point Chrysispos's guardian Gavrilis arrives in Kastro, only to find that the boy has been imprisoned by the Duke. Pamfilos, however, asks to be punished in place of his friend. Gavrilis now informs his old acquaintance Stathis that Chrysispos is actually Stathis's own long-lost son Chrysis, who was captured by corsairs as a tiny child. The true identity of the young man who has been visiting Fedra is also revealed. The misdemeanour is forgiven, and plans are made for the marriages of Chrysispos to Lambrousa and Pamfilos to Fedra.

As preserved in the manuscript, *Stathis* is introduced by a brief Prologue in the form of a speech by the god of love – also found, with variants, in *Panoria* Act V Scene i. Between the three acts there are two interludes, discussed elsewhere in this volume.

Interwoven with the main plot are a series of comic episodes involving the braggart soldier, referred to in the manuscript as (the) Bravos. (Following Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus, I refer to him by the Elizabethan term the Bravo.) This character is himself a candidate for Fedra's favours – even though he is married – and has appealed to the matchmaker Flourou for assistance. In one of the lost scenes it appears he was lured into Stathis's house only to be comically humiliated and beaten. Another diversion in the original text was an attempt by the Schoolmaster to seduce the Bravo's wife, which led to his being shut up in a latrine and given the inevitable thrashing (Vasileiou 1974).

Compared with *Katzourbos* and *Fortounatos*, the plot of *Stathis* is relatively complex, with its two pairs of lovers, its intrigue and its twin sub-plots featuring the soldier and the Schoolmaster. Its resolution is brought about by the chance arrival of a new character, Gavrilis, at a critical moment – a common device in neoclassical comedy.

Given the mutilated condition of the text, one can only guess at how skilfully the play was originally constructed. However, in the surviving sections the author seems well in control of the material. At the beginning, Chrysispos's servant Aretas believes that his master is in love with Fedra and is visiting her by night; Chrysispos's explanation of the true situation (see I 37–44) would have put the audience in the picture and set up a situation of dramatic irony, since the other characters (apart from Pamfilos) remain in ignorance until the final scenes. Suspense is also created early on by the announcement of the imminent marriage of the Doctor to the unwilling Fedra. It reaches a climax after Fedra tells her father of her secret betrothal to 'Chrysispos' (II 297–304); her confession leads immediately to Chrysispos's arrest and imprisonment (III 106–7).

The element of lyricism is developed more intensively in *Stathis* than in *Katzourbos*. The main characters lament their sufferings at the hands of love

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in poetical monologues – without interruption by cynical servants – using imagery reminiscent of *Erotokritos* or *Erofilis*. Thus Pamfilos bewails his plight in a series of blanced paradoxes:

Σ' ένα χιονάτο κι όμορφο λιμώνα η ψυχή μου
ράσσει τη νύχτα με χαρά και μ' αναγάλλιασή μου,
και την ημέρα σφαλιχτή την όμορφή ντου αγκάλη
κρατεί, κι εις άγρια κύματα μ' αποζυγώνει πάλι·
γλυκότετην ανάπαψη μου φέρνει το σκοτίδι,
και κρίση και τυράννηση πάλι το φως μου δίδει·
μέσα στο φως τυφλώνομαι και χάνω την οδό μου,
και το σκοτάδι έχω φως καθάριο κι οδηγό μου. (I 303–10)

By night my soul finds mooring in a fair
and snow-white haven – oh, what joy! what bliss!
which keeps its fair embrace tight closed by day
and sends me forth into the raging seas.
Darkness bestows on me a sweet repose,
the dawn brings pain and torment yet again;
in daylight I am blind and lose my way,
the darkness is a shining light to guide me.

In general the treatment of the young lovers in *Stathis* is sympathetic and romantic. Chryssippos's servant Aretas is helpful and understanding towards his master (see Act I Scene i) – quite unlike the mocking Katzarapos. Even Pamfilos is allowed to redeem his fault by owning up when his friend is wrongly arrested (III 157–60).

Humour is based mainly on type characters such as the Schoolmaster, the soldier, Flourou, various servants, and the Doctor. Verbal humour is well developed in the surviving scenes, showing the same taste for paradox and parallelism that is displayed in the structure of the plot. An amusing example is the scene where the servant Petroutsos mocks the 'letters' (Latin letters) on which the Schoolmaster prides himself:

Το πρώτο γράμμα ο γάιδαρος, καημένε, ερμήνεψέ σου
ah! ah! ah! ah! φωνιάζοντας, κι εκαταμούτζωνέ σου·
και τ' άλλο πάλι γεις κριός σου ερμήνεψε, εκείνο
απού, σα βάλεις δυο απ' αυτά, *be be* θα πούσι, κρίνω. (II 145–8)

A donkey taught you letter number one:
it brayed *ah! ah! ah! ah!* – and sucks to you!
You learned your second letter from a ram:
put two together and you get *beh! beh!*

Fortounatos (Φορτουνάτος)

The plot of *Fortounatos* is the simplest of the three:

Fortounatos has been brought up by the merchant Giannoutsos, who discovered him as a baby, sixteen years ago, in a ship recovered from corsairs. Giannoutsos wants to

learn the identity of the young man's parents before arranging a suitable marriage for him. Fortounatos, however, is in love with Petronella, daughter of the widow Milia. Although Petronella returns Fortounatos's love, her mother plans to marry her, for mercenary reasons, to the rich but elderly Dr Louras. Negotiations are carried on through the matchmaker Petrou; Louras mentions to her that he had a young son captured by corsairs sixteen years ago. Meanwhile, Giannoutsos has realised that he cannot further delay Fortounatos's marriage, so he asks the young man's friend Thodhoros for help in finding a match. Thodhoros appeals to Petrou, and hears from her about Louras's lost son. He guesses the child must be Fortounatos, and this is soon confirmed. Overjoyed at recovering his son, Louras gladly gives his blessing to the marriage of Fortounatos and Petronella.

As usual, various comic episodes are loosely attached to the main plot. Captain Tzavarlas is trying to woo Milia and falls victim to a practical joke set up by Petrou: he is induced to enter the widow's house dressed as a beggar, only to receive a beating from Milia's brother the Friar (Act IV Scene i). His quest for revenge leads to further humiliation. Other scenes feature Fortounatos's pedantic teacher, who has told tales to Giannoutsos about the boy's alleged amorous escapades (Act I Scene iii).

Although the main themes are similar to those of *Stathis* and *Katzourbos*, the arrangement of the expository scenes produces a different emphasis. Fortounatos's love for Petronella is not mentioned at all in Act I. In the first scene, between him and Giannoutsos, the emphasis is on his dependent position as a foundling and foster-child; Giannoutsos has heard rumours that Fortounatos is neglecting his studies and getting into bad company, and scolds him severely. After the exposition of Louras's infatuation for Petronella in Scene ii, the third and last scene of the act returns to the topic of Scene i when Fortounatos confronts the Schoolmaster, the source, he believes, of Giannoutsos's misinformation. The romance between Fortounatos and Petronella is first introduced in Act II Scene ii. The play, then, is not *simply* a story of love; it foregrounds the overall change in the 'fortune' of the young hero, the captive child who became free, rich and happy.

Fortounatos claims to convey an explicit moral message. This is set out in the Prologue, consisting of a monologue by Tychi (Fortune), who presents herself as a *moral* force: she reserves her aid for those who have earned it through their own efforts (lines 19–22, 73–88). After citing examples from ancient history, Tychi turns to Kastro for contemporary cases of her bounty. She embarks on a long digression, praising the inhabitants for their prowess both in letters and in warfare, and prophesying their speedy deliverance from the Turkish invaders (lines 90–118). Returning to her main theme, she says that here in Kastro she has brought many poor men to positions of power and wealth as a reward because

αφέντες να δουλεύασι μεγάλους, από ορίζα
ταχιά και αργά, και ανάπαψη καμιά δεν εγνωρίζα ... (127–8)

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they'd work for powerful masters, day and night
at their command, without a moment's rest . . .

Fortounatos, she says, is an example; the comedy will show:

για τς αρετές του τσι πολλές, τσι διάξεις του τσι πλήσες,
τσι χάρες του τς αμέρητες, τσι τάξεις τσι περίσσες,
πώς από σκλάβο ελεύτερο και πλούσον έκαμά το
κι εισέ ανιπόλπιστες χαρές και δόξες έφερά το. (139-42)

how for his many virtues and fine manners,
his countless qualities, his gentle ways,
from being a slave I made him free and wealthy
and brought him unhoped-for happiness and success.

The import of Tychi's words for the citizens of besieged Kastro is obvious: future bliss is held out as a reward for strenuous efforts and obedience to those in command.

To what extent, though, is Tychi's teaching borne out by what follows in the play? Fortounatos's respectful obedience to his guardian derives at least partly from the knowledge that misbehaviour could result in disinheritance (II 221-4), and he and Petronella are certainly prepared to exchange vows – and rings – without their elders' consent (III 471-90), which would be considered a serious breach of filial duty. Nevertheless there is no counterpart here to the nocturnal meetings between Pamfilos and Fedra in *Stathis*, nor to those negotiated in *Katzourbos*. And although the Prologue's pronouncements are not reiterated specifically in the course of the play, various characters speak generally of the role of Tychi or Riziko (Destiny) in shaping events (e.g. II 241-52, V 295, 313-14). The name of the hero is itself, of course, significant – Giannoutsos chose it because he wished his foster-son to be blessed by good fortune (IV 575-6).

The converse of Tychi's message is the idea that sins are punished in this world. This is a moral which could be drawn from the story of the Trojan War, the subject of the four interludes which follow the comedy in the *Fortounatos* manuscript; it is in fact explicitly stated by Aeneas as he flees from his burning city at the end of the fourth interlude (lines 191-2). There is an obvious parallel between the siege of Troy and that of Kastro, within which *Fortounatos* was evidently meant to be staged.

However, if, as seems likely, the interludes were meant to be performed between the acts of the play, this ominous warning would not be the final impression left by *Fortounatos*. Act V ends with a farewell speech from Bozikis, in which he wishes the audience: 'κι ο Θιος να σας αξώσει χρόνους πολλούς και λευτεριά στα σπίτια σας να δείτε' ('and may God grant you long life and freedom in your homes', V 412-13) – echoing Tychi's prophecy in the Prologue.

So although *Fortounatos* is certainly not a detailed moral allegory, it does present itself as illustrating an *explicit* message – one, moreover, which would

clearly correspond to the ideological needs of the Venetian administration in Kastro during the siege.

The two young lovers in *Fortounatos* are presented as sympathetic and serious characters, whose lyrical speeches on the theme of their love are a prominent feature of the play. Although these passages do not have the rich imagery and the neatly balanced structure characteristic of *Stathis*, nevertheless Foskolos is able to give an impression of spontaneous emotion, even when using a well-worn motif:

Έρωτα, ἔς ποιο σκολεῖό ᾽πραξες, καὶ πῶχεις μαθημένα
τόσω λογῖώ μπερδέματα, φρικτά, καταραμένα;
Ποιο δάσκαλον ἔτσι ἀπονο ἠύρηκες νὰ σε μάθει
νὰ δίδεις πρίκες, βάσανα, κρίσεις, καημούς καὶ πάθη ... (II 101-4)

O Love, where did you go to school, to learn
so many kinds of hateful, fiendish tricks?
Who was the cruel master you found, to teach you
to give tears, troubles, torments, sorrow, suffering ...

The element of humour in *Fortounatos* arises largely from the ridiculous behaviour of the ageing would-be lover Dr Louras, and from the exploitation of secondary characters such as the Schoolmaster, the captain and the servants.

As in the other comedies, some use is made of visual humour, often of a fairly boisterous kind. Louras is laid flat by the Schoolmaster at III 231-6, and Tzavarlas receives two beatings in the course of the play (IV Scene i and V 376). Costume is used for comic effect when the dandyish captain is persuaded to visit Milia disguised as a beggar (III 753-75), and when Louras tries to impress Petronella with an (exaggeratedly) stylish outfit which makes him look – as Bozikis puts it – like an old donkey with new trappings (IV 461-76).

Despite the fact that the plot of *Fortounatos* observes the moral proprieties and its milieu is thoroughly respectable, its comic scenes are full of bawdy innuendo and scatological humour. In a gag which Alexis Solomos considers unique in the history of theatre (1973: 136), Bozikis not only farts on stage but turns round and speaks to the offending organ:

Σώπασε! Μὴ μιλεῖς ἐσὺ ὄταν ἐγὼ δηγοῦμαι,
αδιάντροπε, γὴ φράσσω σου τὴν τρύπα σου, φοβοῦμαι. (V 61-2)

Shut up! Don't interrupt me when I'm talking,
you cheeky thing, or I'll have to stuff your hole.

The combination of harmless filth with a serious morality has many precedents in the history of comedy from Aristophanes to Ruzante and Bruno. Linos Politis (1964: οβ'-ογ') notes a modern parallel in the Greek shadow-theatre. The flaunting of normally unmentionable bodily functions is characteristic of the spirit of the Carnival (see Kiourtsakis 1986), with which the Cretan comedies may have had a direct connection.

The author of *Fortounatos* prefaced his manuscript with a dedicatory letter

(in verse) to the nobleman Nicolo Demezo, in the heading of which he identifies himself as Markos Antonios Foskolos. Documents brought to light in Venice since the mid '60s have provided a mass of information about this man (Vincent 1967, 1968, and 1980: 18'-κδ'). Foskolos was born about 1597 and died in Kastro early in March 1662. He owned lands at Kainourio Chorio, fifteen kilometres south-east of the city, where traces of the family residence have survived (S. Alexiou 1985d). He divided his time between his estates and the capital, where he also had a residence. Although Foskolos did not technically belong to the Venetian nobility, he was a member of the feudal class. The family was of Venetian origin and retained the Catholic religion. Nevertheless, in language and to a large extent in culture they seem to have been assimilated to the Greek-speaking majority.

Foskolos's education was typical for a man of his social position. He had learned Italian and some Latin, and had at least a nodding acquaintance with the classics and the law. He evidently had some knowledge of Italian theatre and perhaps of Ariosto. But an equally important part of his culture was the Greek literature of Crete, both oral and written. It is characteristic that one of the three surviving manuscripts of *Erofilo* is in Foskolos's handwriting (Vincent 1970a).

We do not know whether Foskolos was a member of a Cretan Academy. He was at least acquainted, though, with Francesco Zeno, a member of the resuscitated Accademia degli Stravaganti, who became Bishop of Capodistria, and whose rich library contained some Cretan texts (Panagiotakis 1968: 93). Foskolos also had dealings with the learned Orthodox abbot Gavriil Pandogalos and with a certain Antonio Pandimo who can probably be identified as the author of the Italian pastoral play *L'Amorosa Fede*.

During the Siege of Kastro Foskolos was, of course, cut off from his estates. He left Crete for a time, but by 1652 he had returned to spend his last years in the besieged city. During this period he played an active role on the Feudal Council, held various administrative positions, and also found time to write his comedy.

Connections

The three Cretan plays are clearly related to the branch of Italian theatre known as 'learned' or literary comedy, *commedia erudita* (see note 5 above). Emerging around 1500 and developed by writers such as Ariosto, Machiavelli, Aretino and Bibbiena, learned comedy was particularly cultivated by the princely courts and the Academies. Although set in a contemporary, urban milieu, the plots derived typically from ancient Roman comedy, with an admixture of material from Italian prose *novelle*. Conventions and techniques also owed much to ancient practice and to Renaissance interpretations of ancient literary theory (Weinberg 1961).

The Cretan works share all the basic conventions of Italian literary comedy:

the distribution of the action over five acts, the division into scenes, the prologue, the unities of place and time, the contemporary, urban, middle-class setting, and the use of characters which are largely stereotyped but do not have fixed names and masks like those of *commedia dell' arte*. The individual characters of the Cretan comedies have familiar counterparts in the *commedia erudita*: the ardent, romantic young lovers, their rich but ageing rivals (who may be doctors like Louras or lawyers like the Doctor in *Stathis*), the pedantic schoolmaster, the braggart captain, the matchmaker, the courtesan and the various servants. Even the Friar, a minor character in *Fortounatos*, has numerous precursors in the *erudita*, the most famous being Machiavelli's Frate Timoteo in *La Mandragola*.

The more stereotyped figures of Cretan comedy have quite specific traits in common with their Italian counterparts. Thus the pederastic tendencies ascribed to the schoolmaster in *Katzourbos* (II 220–2) and *Fortounatos* (IV 307–8, for example) are common among their Italian colleagues (Radcliff-Umstead 1969: 200), while braggart soldiers on the Italian stage show pretensions to learning much like their Cretan comrades (Boughner 1954: 90–5).

The Cretan plots use motifs which were part of the stock-in-trade of *erudita*. Thus the theme of the young person who is discovered to be the long-lost child of another character is used to precipitate the happy ending in innumerable Italian comedies, while the finale involving plans for a wedding or weddings is almost a *sine qua non* of the ending of an *erudita* play. There are also numerous shared features of dramatic technique.

And yet there are also major differences. In the *commedia erudita*, much of the author's inventiveness – and the audience's interest – was directed towards the plot, which was usually complex and ingenious. Crafty servants devise outrageous tricks to fulfil their masters' amorous aspirations, disguises and mistaken identities proliferate, and two or more 'intrigues' may develop simultaneously. To some extent the plot of *Stathis* resembles those of the *erudita*, although it is not particularly complex by their standards. In *Katzourbos*, however, the plot is very much simplified, and this applies even more to *Fortounatos*. It is also, incidentally, a feature of the pastoral comedy *Panoria* and the romance *Erotokritos*.

As regards specific 'sources' of the Cretan plots, Pecoraro (1986) argues persuasively that *Stathis* derives its structure extensively, and probably directly, from the comedy *L'Amante furioso* (published in 1583) by Raffaello Borghini – though with considerable simplification and adaptation. *Katzourbos*, however, and even more *Fortounatos*, differ so radically from the *erudita* norm in the simplicity of their structure that it seems very unlikely that they preserve the outlines of individual plays. If the two authors did derive their plots from specific *erudita* works, they must have followed them extremely freely – so much so that the concept of an overall 'model' is hardly applicable.

However, there are cases where individual scenes, dialogues or other features can be shown to derive from specific Italian works. A comic scene in

Katzourbos, where the schoolmaster recites an extempore poem in honour of the braggart captain, is adapted in large part from a scene in G.B. Marzi's *La Fanciulla* (first published in 1571; see Vincent 1966). Among other things, Chortatsis 'lifted' his Italian verses word for word from Marzi. Regarding *Stathis*, Pecoraro (1974) has shown convincingly that comic dialogues in Act I Scene iii and Act III Scenes i and iii (again, scenes which feature the soldier, his servant and the schoolmaster) are based on episodes in Sforza degli Oddi's *La Prigione d' Amore* (first printed in 1590). Pecoraro adds (p. 89, n. 2) that in Oddi's play, as in *Stathis*, these scenes bear little relation to the main plot; the weight given to independent, farce-like episodes is characteristic of *erudita* comedies around this time. Oddi's play may also have suggested the episodes where Chryssippos is arrested and Pamfilos gives himself up to be punished in place of his friend (Pecoraro 1974: 100). The works by Oddi and Borghini both represent a type of *erudita* known as 'serious' comedy (see Herrick 1960: 186–92), which was popular in the late sixteenth century and whose general tone is perhaps reflected in *Stathis* and *Fortounatos*.⁸

The branch of Italian Renaissance comedy best known to modern audiences is probably not the *erudita* but the *commedia dell' arte*.⁹ Unlike other types, *commedia dell' arte* was created by professional actors; in fact 'profession' or 'guild' is the meaning of *arte* in this context. We have seen (p. 104) that a *commedia dell' arte* troupe may have been in Crete around 1600, and there is certainly no reason why professional players should not have visited the island. Italian troupes were touring Europe from Toledo to the Thames, and they could break through language barriers by their skill as clowns and mimics (K. McKee in Scala 1967: xvi–xvii).

However, there is nothing in the Cretan plays that could *only* have been learned from the *commedia dell' arte*. And the really distinctive features of the Italian professional comedy are entirely absent from the surviving Cretan works. For a *commedia dell' arte* play had no fixed text; it was created by improvisation on an outline or scenario. Its characters were basically a set of stock figures recurring in play after play, each with a distinctive name, mask and costume, such as Pantalone, the hook-nosed Venetian merchant with his tight red trousers, and Arlecchino, the archetypal servant, with his patchwork-patterned suit.

8 Also interesting are the parallels noted by Pecoraro (1969/70) between *Katzourbos* and passages from plays by Giambattista Della Porta, especially *L'Olimpia* (first published in 1589); on Della Porta see Clubb 1965. Bancroft-Marcus (1980a: 30–1) also emphasises parallels with Della Porta, and mentions several other plays – Piccolomini's *L'Amor costante* and *Alessandro*, Bentivoglio's *Il Geloso*, Varchi's *La Suocera* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido* – which may have provided ideas for individual scenes. On *Fortounatos* the parallels noted with D'Ambrà's *Il Furto* (Vincent 1980: μζ'–μν') are not extensive. *Il Granchio* by L. Salviati (1566) has a founding hero called Fortunio whose sweetheart is named Petronella; however, this does not mean that the play was the 'source' of *Fortounatos* in any significant sense. All these minor parallels – and many more could be mentioned – simply attest to the Cretans' acquaintance with a variety of *erudita* works.

9 On *commedia dell' arte*, see Sanesi 1954, Pandolfi 1957–61, Lea 1962, Scala 1967.

Politis suggested that the antecedents of Cretan comedy are to be sought in the 'Venetian' comedy which is sometimes regarded as intermediate between *erudita* and *commedia dell' arte*.¹⁰ Its best known representative was the actor-playwright Angelo Beolco (c. 1496–1542), better known as Ruzante after the Paduan peasant character who features in many of his plays. The features of *Katzourbos* in particular which Politis considered to derive from 'Venetian' comedy are the simplified plot, the emphasis on comic type-characters (rather than plot situations) as a source of humour, and the liking for knockabout comic action. But his arguments do not really prove a connection. It is true that a simplified plot is a feature of some of the 'Venetian' plays; however, in these cases the authors depart radically from neoclassical motifs and conventions, producing works totally different from the Cretan comedies.¹¹ In any case, the movement of emphasis away from the 'intrigue' is a feature of other Cretan genres besides urban comedy. In their treatment of characters too, the 'Venetian' playwrights, unlike the Cretans, depart from the neoclassical norm; Ruzante made a speciality of his Paduan peasants, while others bring in a variety of regional types. Multidialectalism is another distinctive feature of the 'Venetian' plays, which has no parallel in Cretan comedy. As for Politis's third point, there were plenty of precedents for comic action in mainstream *erudita*; one example is Marzi's *La Fanciulla*, with which, as we have seen Chortatsis was familiar.

Pecoraro (1969/70: 182–3) has drawn attention to the fact that the *Katzourbos* manuscript describes the play as a *κομῆδία ρεδικολωῶζα*, which is a transcription into Greek letters of the term *commedia ridicolosa*, used of a particular type of comedy popular in the early seventeenth century. This was written comedy, but with many of the features of *commedia dell' arte*.¹² Pecoraro regards the rudimentary plot of *Katzourbos*, and its emphasis on the exploitation of type characters and comic 'action', as elements deriving from *commedia ridicolosa*. However, the early date of *Katzourbos* creates a problem for this theory, and in any case its similarities to *ridicolose* comedies are hardly great enough to imply a direct connection. Indeed, the most distinctive features of the Italian plays, such as the frequent use of only three acts, of *commedia dell' arte* masks and of a variety of regional dialects, have no parallel in the Cretan comedies – apart from the three-act structure of *Stathis*, which probably derives from non-authorial 'editing'. The word '*ridicolosa*' in the *Katzourbos* manuscript may have been added after Chortatsis's time by a copyist who had encountered the term in Italian texts. It may be that whoever used this word to

10 See L. Politis 1964: *να'–νγ'*. An up-to-date and authoritative account of the 'Venetian' playwrights is given by Padoan 1982. In English one may consult Herrick 1960: 43–59 and Radcliff-Umstead 1969: 209–30. See also Carroll 1985. The edition of Ruzante's complete works by Zorzi 1967 provides a parallel Italian translation.

11 Examples are the anonymous *La Venexiana* and Ruzante's *Bilora* and *Parlamento de Ruzante che iera vegnù de campo*.

12 Pecoraro's bibliography on *commedia ridicolosa* can now be supplemented by the monograph by Mariti 1978.

describe *Katzourbos* intended it not in the narrower sense noted by Pecoraro, but simply to contrast with the term *κομῆδία παστοράλ* (pastoral comedy) used in the heading to the text of *Panoria* in the same manuscript (described in L. Politis 1964: οδ').

It seems safest, then, to conclude that the Italian plays which formed the starting-point for the Cretan writers belonged not to the 'Venetian' or *ridicolosa* types, but rather to mainstream literary comedy, and especially, perhaps, to the *erudita* of the late sixteenth century.

The existence of elements common to two or even all three Cretan comedies – including verbal echoes as well as more general similarities in plot motifs, plot construction, structure within scenes and the characterisation and deployment of stock comic figures – has been noted by various critics and discussed in detail by Politis in his edition of *Katzourbos* (pp. ξβ'–ογ'). He concludes that 'although the poet of *Stathis* certainly knew *Katzourbos*, it was not his principal model. At many points he is original, and like Chortatsis he too was undoubtedly familiar with the Italian comedies of his time, by which he was directly influenced' (p. ξστ'). Foskolos, on the other hand, 'seems much more influenced by and more directly dependent on *Katzourbos*' (p. ξστ'), though he too was familiar with Italian comedy and took much material from it (p. ξθ'). Although Politis's observations are valuable, he tends to exaggerate the similarities between the Cretan plays (especially *Katzourbos* and *Fortounatos*), and his points are not always completely accurate.¹³ However, it is undeniable that the writers were to some extent following a common 'recipe', and it is also more or less certain that Foskolos drew some ideas specifically from *Katzourbos*.

To complete the picture of the comedies' Cretan connections we should mention that *Fortounatos*, the latest of the three, contains very clear verbal echoes of *Erofilis* and rather less obvious reminiscences of *Panoria*; there are also clear parallels with *Erotokritos* in Act III Scene v, where the young lovers exchange rings (Vincent 1980: μγ'–με').

As well as their literary 'sources', the Cretan comedies also incorporate elements from Cretan traditional culture. For example, they contain various expressions which appear to be proverbial, and some of these are attested in independent sources on Cretan folklore. In *Fortounatos* this popular wisdom is a feature of the characterisation of the homely matchmaker Petrou (Vincent 1980: λη').

What conclusions should we draw from this study of literary linkages? To condemn the Cretans as 'unoriginal' for their use of Italian and Greek 'sources' would be an anachronistic application of a modern (or perhaps romantic?) concept of originality. It would be more appropriate to praise their initiative

13 It is not true, for example, that Foskolos's Bozikis rejects an offer of marriage as Katzarapos does in Chortatsis's play, or that there are significant verbal parallels between *Fort.* II 430 and *Katz.* II 340.

and skill in applying lessons learned from Italian drama in order to introduce neoclassical comedy to a Greek audience. As regards the similarities *between* the three plays, these seem to be the product of a rather cautious experimentation, in which the authors preserved a basic framework which had proved effective in the past, but filled it out in different ways so as to create three quite individual works. However, the three extant plays do not represent the whole story of comic theatre in Venetian Crete, and it may be partly fortuitous that they all follow a similar neoclassical pattern. The *Forgotten Bride* represents – if its editors are correct – a very different type of comic drama.

Cretan society in the comedies

What is the relation between the world depicted in the comedies and the society of Venetian Crete? Obviously art never offers an unmediated ‘reflection’ of ‘life’; its images are always moulded by, among other things, the conventions of a particular genre. But these conventions may vary from those of realism and naturalism, which claim to offer a comparatively direct image of a specific society, to those of much more stylised genres such as the Greek shadow-theatre. At what point on the continuum should we place Cretan comedy?

Naturally we should not assume that the comedies provide a ‘photograph’ of Venetian Crete simply because the texts themselves claim to represent contemporary Kastro. Any attempt to treat them as a direct source on Cretan life and society should be regarded with caution at least. On the other hand, it may be equally misleading to assume that their picture is ‘merely’ conventional.

In order to answer our question, we need not try to separate the ‘realistic’ from the ‘conventional’ features in the comedies – since a ‘conventional’ element may perfectly well correspond to contemporary experience; rather, we need to compare the world of the comedies with data from independent documents, in order to identify elements which, irrespective of their ‘conventionality’ or otherwise, agree with what the other sources have to say about Cretan society. In the following pages we will attempt to apply this method in a preliminary and partial survey.

The young male protagonists in all three plays have been brought up in middle-class, urban households which appear to be reasonably prosperous – able, for example, to afford some education for their sons.

At least three of the parental figures can be identified as merchants. In *Fortounatos* the hero’s guardian Giannoutsos is specifically described as such in Foskolos’s list of characters. His profession is relevant to the plot, since he had discovered the infant Fortounatos in a boat he had purchased from Maltese Knights, who had themselves captured it from Turkish corsairs (IV 559–76).

The editor of *Stathis*, Martini (1976: 73), describes two characters, Gavrilis and Stathis, as ‘merchants’ in the *dramatis personae* which she prefixed to her

edition. Although their profession is not indicated in the manuscript, the information they give about their past justifies Martini's assumption. Gavrilis reminds Stathis of the time they were both at Κελί in Moldavia (III 315); this port, the modern Chilia, was a major terminus for ships bringing Cretan wines for transportation by land into Poland (A. Pippidi 1974: 268–9). Gavrilis also mentions a trip he made to Monemvasia, where he visited the ship of a Turkish acquaintance, and discovered on board a captive whom he recognised as Stathis's servant, together with a baby (Chrysippos) (III 321–36). He induced the Turk to release the prisoners and took them home with him to Zakynthos. The simplest explanation of these travels is to assume that Gavrilis and Stathis were both engaged in trade.

The profession of Giakoumos, Nikolos's father, in *Katzourbos* is not made clear. In one stage-direction and in the list of characters (neither of which is definitely authorial) he is described as a τσιταντίνοσ – a member of the body of *cittadini* or 'citizens', which included numerous merchants, professionals and artisans. His overriding concern for the safety of his money would be natural in a businessman, and early audiences would probably assume that was his profession. The fact that he owns a farm outside the city run by a tenant or bailiff (μετοχάρης) who brings him produce (I 70–4), does not contradict this, since many city-dwellers owned some farm land.

Armenis in the same play is another character whose exact status is not made explicit. Kidnapped in a Turkish raid on their home island of Naxos – something which many Naxiots experienced in real life (Vakalopoulos 1968: 240) – Armenis and his wife were ransomed by a kindly Cretan, who 'treated us like his own brother and sister' (IV 427). After being, presumably, dependants of their benefactor for some years, they eventually inherited his fortune, and since then have apparently lived in reasonable comfort. The word used for 'fortune', πρᾶμμα, could refer to any combination of money, movable goods, or real estate.

These characters, then, correspond to the very significant number of Cretan townspeople who made their living from commerce, rents or a combination of the two (see Chapter 2 above).

A second group of characters – the soldier, the teacher, the lawyer and the doctor – differ from the first in that their profession is made the basis of a highly stylised characterisation, following a tradition developed in *commedia erudita*. Nevertheless, they also correspond to important groups in Cretan society, and even some of the details of their treatment in the comedies can be paralleled in contemporary documents.

Common to all three plays is the braggart soldier, who presents himself as a paragon of military expertise and valour, but proves an incompetent coward when put to the test. Tzavarlas in *Fortounatos* gives some information on his previous career: he claims to have given a helping hand to Don Juan II in military operations in Spanish-occupied Southern Italy and Sicily, and then to have accompanied the same leader at the siege of Portolongone in Elba in

1650 (II 23–50). There he claims to have heard (rather belatedly, one would think!) about the Turkish invasion of Crete and the capture of Chania, which took place in 1646; he hurried over at once, arriving ‘in a few days’ (II 86) to assist in the island’s defence.

These Cretan Falstaffs also like to make a show of their culture, comparing themselves to the heroes of classical antiquity, the Old Testament or modern literature (see, for example, *Katz*. IV 354, *Stathis* I 83–6, *Fort*. II 57–8). However, their learning, like their valour, proves to be rather superficial: they fail to understand the Schoolmasters’ latinate speeches, and Koustoulieris in *Katzourbos* (IV 371) even mistakes the pedant’s Italian for Spanish. Another trait shared by at least two of the braggarts is the belief that they are irresistible to the ladies (*Fort*. III 736–46, *Katz*. II 91–2). Tzavarlas’s name may be an ironic reference to this delusion; it apparently derives from the Venetian *zavariar*, ‘to send crazy’, with the feminine object pronoun *la*.

A large military presence was a fact of life in the Cretan towns, even before the Turkish invasion. The soldiers and their officers were an extremely diverse group of professionals including Italian infantrymen, Cretan artillery specialists and the *stradioti*, cavalry from Northern Greece, Albania and Dalmatia. In addition there was the Cretan militia with its Italian officers and the feudal cavalry whose commanders were members of the local nobility.

Many of the Italian soldiers in Crete were men of some education – like the famous Neapolitan writer Giambattista Basile, who did a tour of duty on the island around 1600–7 (Manusakas and Puchner 1984: 47). Prosperous Cretans were prepared to employ these men as tutors to their children (Spanakis 1940–76: II 50). Clearly the educational pretensions of the soldiers in the comedies had analogies in real life, as well as being a trait shared with some of their Italian literary counterparts (Boughner 1954: 90–5).

In the comedies, however, all three soldiers appear to be perceived as Cretans, or at least Greeks, rather than foreigners. The much-travelled Tzavarlas even claims to own land in the island (*Fort*. II 435–40).¹⁴ It is a fact that many Greeks chose a military career and some, indeed, became extremely distinguished soldiers. These included members of aristocratic Cretan families, such as the Kallergis, or of eminent families from former Venetian possessions in the Peloponnese, such as the Mourmouris and Evdhaimonogiannis clans (see Chasiotis 1970: 96 n. 3 and 140 n. 3). Some Cretans made their name overseas as soldiers of fortune, venturing as far afield as Peru and Mexico (Kyrris 1974). Nearer home, a Cretan captain Calogera served in the campaigns of the Wallachian prince Michael against the Turks, carrying out in real life what Koustoulieris threatens to do in *Katzourbos* II 15–18 (see D.M. and A. Pippidi 1974).

¹⁴ However, it was apparently possible for an Italian soldier to become a landowner in Crete. The daughter of Markos Antonios Foskolos married a certain Captain Piero Vidal, of Venetian birth, who owned an estate at Koxari not far from her father’s village (Vincent 1968: 130–2).

However, soldiers were not always popular in Crete, especially among the poorer townspeople who often had to provide billets for them in their already overcrowded houses. Violent incidents between townspeople and soldiers were not unknown, despite the vigilance of the Venetian authorities (Gianopoulos 1978: 83–4). The comic humiliation of the braggarts in the three plays would no doubt have appealed to these feelings of resentment.

Another shared character is the pedantic Schoolmaster; in *Stathis* he has the suitably erudite name Ermogenis, while in the other two plays he is simply known by his title. At first sight all three might seem grotesque figures, far removed from real life, as they flaunt their learning in a trilingual macaronic jargon, replete with classical tags and allusions and even an occasional quotation from Ariosto.

Contrary to what one might expect, the pedagogues' effusions contain hardly any traces of the archaising Greek which post-Byzantine scholars still used in their writings. The phonology and morphology of the Schoolmasters' speeches are not easily distinguishable from those of other characters. In vocabulary, however, there is a difference. The Schoolmasters show a distinct liking for assimilated Italian loan-words, including various verbs of mental or verbal process such as εξαμινάρω (examine), εσερσιτιάρω (exercise), κονκλουντέρω (conclude) – in addition, of course, to the continual switching into Italian and/or Latin.

All three appear to regard themselves basically as 'teachers of letters' (δασκάλοι τῷ γραμματῷ, see *Katz*. IV 317). Each of them is apparently involved with some kind of private school – Foskolos's pedant graces his with the name 'gimnasium' (IV 303). In *Stathis* young Chrysippos has apparently come all the way from Zakynthos to study with the learned Ermogenis in Kastro (III 345–6). From *Stathis* II 145–56 it is clear that the 'letters' taught by Ermogenis are those of the *Latin* alphabet, which were in fact widely used in Crete for the writing of Greek as well as Italian and Latin.

Foskolos's pedant professes a particularly broad linguistic expertise:

και ποσεντέρω γράμματα volgare και λατίνα,
ρωμαίικα και φράγκικα, σπανιόλα και φραντσόζα ... (IV 260–1)

and I'm learned in Italian and in Latin,
colloquial Greek, Venetian, Spanish, French ...¹⁵

But all three Cretan pedants boast of more than a passive knowledge of 'letters'. Fortounatos's schoolmaster claims:

κι είμαι ποέτας φυσικός in verso et in prosa. (IV 262)

and I'm a natural *poète* in verse *and* prose.

¹⁵ The rendering of φράγκικα as 'Venetian' (as distinct from 'literary' Italian) is merely a guess. The same word is used to refer to a non-literary kind of Italian in contracts for the provision of instruction, mentioned below. But it may be wrong to credit the pedant with such fine linguistic distinctions – perhaps he is simply repeating the sense of *volgare*.

Both he and his colleague in *Katzourbos* compose extempore *ottave* in Italian to honour the Captain (*Fort.* IV 279–86, *Katz.* IV 363–70). All three regard themselves as expert orators, and in *Katzourbos* and *Stathis* they give a demonstration of their skill until silenced by other characters (*Katz.* IV 247–68, *Stathis* III 135–42, cf. *Fort.* IV 266). At the end of each play the Schoolmaster is engaged as notary to prepare the marriage documents which will clinch the happy denouement (*Katz.* V 441–6, *Stathis* III 449–58, *Fort.* V 389–90).

The Cretan pedants play a continuous game of cultural name-dropping which extends well outside the confines of language and literature. The teacher in *Katzourbos* makes explicit his claims to be a true Renaissance humanist:

Θέλεις Φιλοσοφία;
 Θέλεις την Αριθμητική; Θέλεις Αστρονομία;
 Logica και Rhetorica και Umanità κατέχω,
 τάρι στη Matematica κάτεχε πως δεν έχω. (IV 323–6)

D' you want Philosophy?
 D' you want Arithmetic? Astronomy?
 I am versed in Logic, Rhetoric, all the Arts;
 in Mathematics I really have no equal.

Obviously the characterisation of the three Schoolmasters is stylised and has much in common with the *pedanti* of Italian comedy. And yet there are many points of contact with Cretan realities. Recent research has shown that there was no lack of teachers and educational establishments in the Cretan towns. Many Cretans from prosperous families were educated primarily in Italian and Latin; the latter was an essential prerequisite for study at an Italian university, while Italian was the main language of the Venetian administration in Crete and enjoyed considerable social prestige. The playwright Foskolos actually wrote a brief marginal note on his manuscript in Italian (see Vincent 1980: critical apparatus on p. 4); this does not indicate that Italian was his principal or maternal language, but simply that he was in the habit of using it as a written medium.

The financial and legal arrangements for private instruction are illustrated in contracts published by Mertzios (1961/2: 253–6) and Dhedorakis (1980). Thus in 1646 it is agreed that the notary Tzortzis Protonotaris will teach the son of Maneas Sevastos 'to read and write in Italian and Modern Greek . . . *not* Latin or Ancient Greek, and only the essentials, nothing superfluous' over a period of four years (Dhedorakis 1980: 250–2). Other contracts refer to lessons in φράγκικα μαρκαντζικά – 'commercial Italian' – clearly showing the purpose of this type of instruction (Mertzios 1961/2: 254).

Protonotaris is also an example of how in real life, just as in the plays, a person could combine the roles of teacher and notary – a phenomenon known also from other sources (Vincent 1980: 187–8). The teacher who doubles as orator also has parallels in Italian comedy, reflecting the way the learned

humanists were utilised by their political employers (see Radcliff-Umstead 1969: 169). No doubt the same combination of roles was familiar in Crete, where oratory was also highly valued; for an example, see Zaridhi-Vasileiou 1980.

The language of Cretan notarial documents written in Greek has much in common with the Schoolmasters' curious hotchpotch. Again Protonotaris's documents are a good example. Although he offers himself as a teacher of Greek, his language shows few signs of influence from the Greek scholarly tradition. The few learnedisms that he uses are basically notarial clichés, themselves often modified by the structures of the Cretan dialect which is the basis of his written language. But what strikes one most in the language of Protonotaris and his colleagues is the large number of Italian (or Venetian) loans. Some of these are technical terms or words particularly relating to notarial activities, such as *ινστρουμέντο* (document), *α τέμπο ντέμπιτο* (at the proper time) or *προμετάρει* (promises). But there are a great many which could, one imagines, have been replaced by a Greek alternative. Why not *τάσσει*, for example, instead of *προμετάρει*? The frequency of loan-words is perhaps due partly to the notary's habitual use of Italian in his work and partly to the prestige of Italian as the language of power.

Academic learning is also part of the characterisation of the Doctor of Law in *Stathis*. However, he does not parade his pedantry like the Schoolmasters – at least, not in the reduced version of *Stathis* transmitted by the manuscript. When he does refer to his profession, he uses an Italianate technical vocabulary, reflecting the fact that Cretan lawyers were normally trained at Padua or some other Italian university.

The last of the 'learned' characters is Fortounatos's rival in love, the ageing physician Dr Louras. Like the Schoolmasters, he is inordinately proud of his abilities. His rivals, he says, could not cure *Milia*

γιατί δεν ήσα πράτικοι, καθώς η τέχνη θέλει,
μηδ' εστουδιάρα Γαληνό, μηδέ κι Αριστοτέλη,
Αντρόμαχο, Εσκουλάπιο, Αβιτσένα, Μιτρινιάτη,
Διοσκόριδη το θαμαστό και το σοφό Ιπποκράτη. (I 155–8)

for they had not the skill our art requires,
nor had they studied Galen, Aristotle,
Andromachus, Asclepius, Avicenna, Mithridates,
the great Dioscorides, the wise Hippocrates.

Like the lawyer, Louras uses a vocabulary which reflects an Italian training, with the occasional Italian loan-word such as *sciencia* and *εσερπτιάρω* ('exercise', I 164). However, unlike the Schoolmasters, he reserves this technical vocabulary for medical topics, rather than displaying it at every possible moment. His language is not made an object of fun in itself.

Louras is to some extent a stereotyped character with antecedents in the *commedia erudita*. Even the medical authorities he so proudly enumerates might

seem to reflect tradition rather than reality, as they are all ancient or medieval; four of them are mentioned in a similar context in Ercole Bentivoglio's comedy *Il Geloso* (c. 1539), Act I 117–18.

But once again this apparently 'conventional' feature can be paralleled in documents. During the Siege of Kastro a well-known Cretan doctor, Athanasios Prikis, was still appealing to Avicenna and Hippocrates as authorities on the plague (Pendogalos 1978: 79–80). An inventory of the possessions of a wealthy doctor in Kastro, Tzouanes Rodhitis, made in 1647, includes editions of Galen, Avicenna, Hippocrates and Dioscorides, as well as more modern works (Konstandoudhaki 1975: 123). Conceivably the lack of modern names in Louras's book-list may have caused amusement to members of an audience who were 'in the know', but they probably would not have disputed the relevance of his ancient authorities.

Cretan doctors generally studied for their degrees in Italy, so acquiring that veneer of Italian culture displayed by Louras. Medicine could be a lucrative profession, as is evidenced by the inventory of Rodhitis's possessions, which include a prodigious number of books, pictures, furniture and silver utensils. A similar impression is given by the biography of Ioannis Kassimatis, an eminent doctor, scholar and Protestant evangelist of the sixteenth century (Panagiotakis 1982).

The merchants and professionals portrayed in the comedies include a remarkable number of non-Cretan Greeks. There are people from Naxos (the Armenis family), Zakynthos (Gavrilis whose father, however, was Cretan), Cyprus (Stathis – though his ancestors were from Crete) and Kefallonia (Louras). However, they are not treated as regional type-characters like, for example, the Venetian merchant Pantalone in *commedia dell' arte*. Their non-Cretan origin is not a major element in their characterisation, and their dialect does not appear to be different from that of the other, Cretan, characters. Although Kastro was indeed a cosmopolitan town, it may be that the playwrights were motivated in this case not so much by 'realism' as by structural necessity – by the need, that is, to construct a 'lost child' story with some degree of plausibility.

The households depicted in Cretan comedies all have at least one or two servants. In return for being constantly at their employers' beck and call, they expect to receive free board and clothing. The male servants (at least) also expect a regular wage, which may or may not be paid in practice (*Stathis* I 177–214, *Fort.* III 53–8). After arranging his son's marriage to Lambrousa, Stathis offers to set up his servant Folas in marriage to Alexandra (III 540–1), and in *Katzourbos* a similar proposal is made to the servants Moustrouchos and Annitsa (V 456–9). In general the position of servants resembles that of family dependants rather than modern employees. Although they frequently mock their masters, they are not actively disloyal or rebellious; nor, on the other hand, do they take a leading role in concocting intrigues as often happens in Italian comedies.

Notarial documents give a rather similar picture of the lives of servants. A

contract of 1637 shows Foskolos hiring the services of Giannis Plevris for the period of a year. His remuneration consists of board, clothing, shoes and 120 *hyperpyra* (Vincent 1968: 171–2). For female servants the typical conditions may have been slightly different. Three documents from Kefallonia show girls being taken on for fifteen or eighteen years, or until marriage; they are to receive a small lump sum as a dowry (Pendogalos 1975: documents 8, 14 and 18). Foskolos dowered his maid Kali with a legacy of 1000 *hyperpyra* in cash and household goods, plus a bed complete with linen, on condition that she remain in the household for four years after his death (Vincent 1968: 162–3). There is no mention of a wage, though she is to receive ‘dresses and blouses’ and, presumably, board and lodging. Clearly household service over a period of years was a common way for a poor family to amass a dowry for their female offspring. But the system of remuneration in board and clothing would give employers plenty of opportunity for the miserly behaviour Agoustina complains of at *Fort.* V 27–32.

The documents give many indications of friendly if paternalistic relations between employers and servants. In the houses of the aristocracy servants formed – ideally – a large band of faithful retainers. Papadopoli (fos. 73r–74v) describes how noble ladies would ride out from town to their estates for the harvest, surrounded by a merry retinue of villagers, *bravi* and servants, with the villagers singing to the accompaniment of bagpipes. A rather similar picture is given by Bounialis (429.4–8, p. 623 in Nenedhakis’s 1979 edition). To judge from wills of the Cornaro family, it seems to have been customary to leave small legacies to various household employees (see for example Spanakis 1955: 402–3, 433–6, 444–7).

The situation of Kassandra in *Katzourbos* is different from that of the hired servants. Brought to Kastro as a child slave, she was bought or ransomed by Poulisena’s late husband, who intended her as a servant for his wife (V 175). Poulisena declares that she treats Kassandra like her own child, though in practice, of course, she intends to exploit her sexually. The list of characters in the manuscript describes her as Poulisena’s *ψυχοπαίδα* – the word used for the servant girls in Kefallonia mentioned above.

Three women characters, Petrou in *Fortounatos* and Flourou and Alexandra in *Stathis*, play the role of go-between in the protagonists’ love-affairs. Professor Politis believed that Petrou was based on the bawds of Italian comedy and *Katzourbos*, only partly assimilated to Cretan conditions (L. Politis 1964: οα’–οβ’). It is a fact that Foskolos describes her as a ‘ρουφιάννα και προξενήτρα’ (bawd and marriage-arranger) in his list of characters. But her activities are simply not those of a procuress, as the first word implies. Perhaps the word could refer to anyone who went beyond sanctioned limits in bringing lovers together. There are hints of this wider usage at *Stathis* II 175 and 195, and in the description of Frosyni as a ‘ρουφιάννα’ in the Nanian manuscript’s text of *Panoria* (see Kriaras 1975b: 40).

These three characters all perform odd errands for the households of *Stathis* or *Milia* (*Stathis* I 51–4, *Fort.* II 499–502). Although their exact status is

uncertain, they clearly belong to a lower social stratum than the protagonists' families; Flourou is in fact sister to the Bravo's servant.

In *Katzourbos*, middle-class households rub shoulders with a garish 'underworld' of courtesans and procuresses. Poulisena receives lovers herself and intends to exploit her 'daughter' Cassandra and her servant Annousa. She is aided and abetted by the more experienced Arkolia, and hindered by her ageing rival Anneza.

Professor Politis believed that in his treatment of Poulisena Chortatsis was influenced by foreign source-material and was not giving a realistic picture of Cretan society (L. Politis 1964: α'–οβ'). The aspect which he regards as unrealistic is not the portrayal of prostitution as such – for he recognises that it existed in Kastro – but rather, I think, its partial integration into 'polite' society. Poulisena's house is adjacent to Armenis's, and in the finale the Armenis couple seem to have become firm friends with her. It may well be that dramaturgical needs and conventions have taken precedence here over 'realism'. Significantly, perhaps, the same 'incongruity' (if such it is) can be seen in Ariosto's *Cassaria* (Radcliff-Umstead 1969: 66).

As Politis says, prostitution certainly did exist in Venetian Crete. The 'meretrici' of Kastro are mentioned by Papadopoli (fo. 64v), and a passage in Bounialis (284.26) seems to imply that convicted prostitutes were still punished by being dragged through the streets in public disgrace. But detailed information seems to be lacking. It is impossible to say how far Poulisena's establishment corresponded to anything in real life.

If the actual characters of Cretan comedy are drawn mainly from the middle urban ranks, the presence 'offstage' of other levels of Cretan society is frequently felt. Thus the Duke of Crete is mentioned as the intended recipient of a speech by the Schoolmaster at *Stathis* III 135–42 and *Katz*. IV 247–68. In *Stathis* Act III Scene i the Bravo describes an exploit which he claims took place in the ducal palace: showing off his prowess against ten adversaries at once, he sent their swords flying with such violence that crowds thronging the stairs and courtyard fled in terror, advocates threw their papers to the winds, and the Duke dislocated his jaw with laughter.

The feudal landowners are mentioned in a similarly jocular but friendly tone. Probably Foskolos expected some to be present at performances of *Fortounatos*. When Tzavarlas puts forward his plan to defeat the Turks, his servant wryly comments:

Στέκετε με παρηγοριά, αφέντες φεουντάδοι!
Γλήγορα σάσε βγάνομε και πιάνετε λιβάδι. (III 23–4)

Be comforted, O lords of feudal rank!
Soon we shall get you out to your estates.

The *καβαλιέροι* mentioned by the Bravo as forming an admiring audience for his display of valour in the ducal palace (*Stathis* III 19, 26) are no doubt to

be understood as feudal landowners. It is characteristic that they are not themselves the Bravo's victims. Throughout the comedies the Veneto-Cretan aristocracy is never made the object of humiliation or insult.

The comedies' 'field of vision' very rarely extends to the peasantry who made up the vast majority of Crete's population. There is no Cretan equivalent to Ruzante's realistic Paduan rustics. The urban setting of the comedies is not itself the reason for this; Ruzante's peasants are often shown as visitors or immigrants in the town. It is difficult to imagine a Ruzante flourishing in the harsh and polarised agrarian situation of Venetian Crete. When peasants do appear in Cretan literature, it is in the 'Arcadian' world of pastoral. *Panoria's* setting is, characteristically, among the shepherd communities of Mount Ida, which seem in real life to have been comparatively privileged and hence suitable for an idyll of escape (Papadopoli fos. 112v-14v).

The artisans and labourers who made up a large proportion of the urban population are represented 'offstage' in the comedies, as are the feudal landowners. Thus in two of the comedies the mistress of a household sends garments to the *μαστόρισσα* (seamstress) for refurbishing according to current fashions (*Stathis* I 53-6, *Fort.* III 95-6). The position of the woman dressmaker in Cretan society is illustrated fleetingly in the will of the lady Eleneta Demezo (1643), who makes a legacy of forty Cretan ducats to her *mastorissa* Anezina - mentioning her in a list of servants and occasional employees who are to receive small sums 'for the sake of my soul' (Mavromatis 1979b: 231).

A major role in the Cretan textile industry was played by Jews, who lived in a special quarter of Kastro near the Dhermata sea-gate (Papadopoli fo. 51r). Milia in *Fortounatos* intends to go there (V 6-8) to shop for the material known as *canevazeta*, which Papadopoli mentions as a textile produced in Crete (fo. 71r).

Central to the plot of all three plays are the institutions of marriage and the family. A crucial issue is the freedom or otherwise of young people to choose their own partner in marriage. In theory, as Petronella tells Fortounatos,

το θες και θέλω εγρίκησα και κάνουσι το γάμο (III 474)

I've heard it's the 'Will you?' and the 'I will' that make the marriage

referring to the fact that theoretically two people could not be married against their wishes. Their consent had to be sought and given in a formula which involved (in Catholic marriages) the Latin words *vis* (Do you wish?) and *volo* (I do) (cf. Vincent 1968: 126 and 132). In practice, though, parents in the comedies expect their children to comply with their own plans. Petronella's mother Milia is totally cynical about marrying her daughter to the rich but elderly Louras:

Ετούτος ένα γέροντας, και ίντα μπορεί να ζήσεις;
Ακόμη ένα χρόνο, δυο. Και απείτις μπουμπουρίσει
πιάνομε τα τονρέσα του.

(II 495-7)

He's an old man. How long's he got to live?
 Another year or two. And when he croaks
 we'll get his money.

The young people are under great pressure to conform to their elders' wishes. However much she protests, Petronella is totally dependent on her mother and in a very weak position – as Fortounatos knows (III 415–18). In Fortounatos's own case, the fear of disinheritance restrains him from doing anything to displease his guardian. In *Stathis* too the elderly Cypriot treats his daughter's marriage as a legal arrangement which he initiates and to which she is simply expected to conform.

The attitudes of these parents to their childrens' marriage correspond to contemporary experience. Papadopoli describes how it was normal for parents to arrange their offspring's marriage; he himself was betrothed at the age of thirty-four to a woman he did not even know by sight (fo. 65v). The contradiction between the need for the consent of both parties and the actual power of the parents is reflected in marriage contracts of the period, both Greek and Italian, where the parent or guardian undertakes to *ensure* that his daughter will accept the chosen bridegroom (cf. Vincent 1980: 180).

It would be easy – if space allowed – to multiply the examples of how the society depicted in the comedies has analogies in independent documents. But it should by now be clear that, however strong the element of convention, the comedies really do depict a society which urban, middle-class Cretans would have recognised as – more or less – their own.

The attitudes conveyed by the Cretan comedies on social and political issues are not ones which would offend either the more prosperous urban classes or the Venetian administration. Although comedies were performed at Carnival, as Papadopoli tells us, the surviving ones show little or no sign of the social protest often associated with Carnival celebrations (see Burke 1978 and Carroll 1985). Nevertheless, their repeated humiliation of pompous posers is clearly in the spirit of Carnival, and the final victory of youthful love is an assertion of humane values.

Tragedy

WALTER PUCHNER

There are three extant tragedies in Cretan literature, if we exclude Francesco Bozza's *Fedra* (1578), which was written in Italian (Zoras 1972; cf. Puchner 1980a: 89f.); they are: *Erofilii* by Georgios Chortatsis, *King Rodholinos* by Ioannis Andreas Troilos and the anonymous *Zinon*. Unlike the Cretan comedies they can hardly be compared with one another and belong to different levels of style, ranging from late Renaissance via Mannerism to Jesuit baroque. Common characteristics are confined to formal dramaturgical conventions: the prologue, the five-act structure and the use of choric odes. The usual metre is the political verse with rhyming couplets. Only in the choric odes (in *Zinon* also in otherwise elevated passages of text) are other metres used, such as hendecasyllabics in *terza* and *ottava rima*. Interludes are found only in the versions of *Erofilii* (see Chapter 7).

I *Erofilii* (*Ερωφίλη*)

(a) *Basic information*

This classicising tragedy of 3,205 verses is by far the most famous, the most often published (as a chapbook in Venice) and the most performed tragedy of the Cretan theatre.¹ It also has the most intensive *Nachleben* in literature and folklore. The play was written in Rethymno around 1600 or shortly before² and has Georgios Chortatsis as its author.³ The author was well known in his

1 Evidence for successful performances of *Erofilii* in the seventeenth century, in beleaguered Kastro, is provided by Nicolaus Papadopolus Comnenus, who was born in 1651: 'Edita est ac, ut memini, saepe in urbe Creta publica data semper placuit' (1726: II, 306).

2 This has been the accepted scholarly opinion since Xanthoudhidhis 1928. However, Bancroft-Marcus (1980a: 24) dates the play to c. 1573–c. 1587 (see further below). See also S. Alexiou and Aposkiti 1988: 50, where a dating c. 1595 is proposed.

3 This is confirmed by several sources, not only the Venetian editions. Marinos Tzanes Bounialis mentions the work in his *Cretan War*, where the town of Rethymno names 'Georgios Chor-takios' as one of its famous sons (Xirouchakis 1908: 588). In the dedication of the *Panoria* in the Dapergola manuscript, after identifying himself (vv. 35–6), Chortatsis refers to his other heroine *Erofilii* (vv. 47–50). (For the interpretation of the passage, which is beyond doubt, see Manousakas 1963b.) The same passage allows us to conclude that *Panoria* precedes *Erofilii*, at least as far as the composition of the dedication is concerned (for modifications see Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 22ff.). Chortatsis's authorship of the *Erofilii* is also confirmed by the Chiot scholar Leon Allatios (1651: 116). It is interesting to note that, at the time, Allatios was not certain whether the work had been published (Bancroft-Marcus 1978: 2). On the Chortatsis family see Manousakas 1956a and 1962c; Evangelatos 1970a.

own time but we do not know much about him now: Evangelatos identified him with a Georgios Chortatsis, son of Gianni, who was born c. 1545 or earlier, and died in 1610. This Georgios was secretary to the Veneto-Cretan aristocrat Matteo Calergi, but this identification must remain a hypothesis (Mavromatis 1980), since the evidence is inconclusive.⁴ Certainly the identification would fit quite nicely into the general picture for several reasons (Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 25f.). This is also true of attempts to link Chortatsis with the Academy of the Vivi in Rethymno (S. Alexiou 1979a): the role of the Cretan academy in the organisation and performance of theatrical plays seems to be proved.⁵ Be that as it may, the thought that such a masterpiece of dramaturgy could not have been created without a period of theatrical preparation cannot be rejected (S. Alexiou 1979a).

The plot: Filogonos, King of Egypt, murdered his brother in order to gain the throne and then married his widow. Apart from his natural daughter, Erofilii, he also brought up in the palace a boy of royal blood, Panaretos. When he grew up Panaretos showed his prowess in battle by saving the kingdom from enemy attack. At the beginning of the play Panaretos and Erofilii have fallen in love and secretly married. But the King wants to give Erofilii in marriage to another, the son of a King, and chooses Panaretos to act as an intermediary. The secret union comes to light and Filogonos has Panaretos killed after cruelly torturing him, and then – feigning acquiescence to the wedding – offers his unsuspecting daughter the severed head, heart and hands of her lover in a casket as a wedding gift. After the disclosure of the gruesome gift Erofilii chooses to commit suicide. The chorus of handmaids, led by Erofilii's nurse, Nena, overthrow the cruel King and kill him (Puchner 1980a: 95f.).

This bloody fairy-tale plot is fashioned after the Italian exemplary tragedy *Orbecche* by G.B. Giraldio Cinthio (1547) (Bursian 1870).⁶ Nevertheless it stands on its own, is better motivated psychologically, dramatically more concise, and free of the rhetorical academicisms of Italian Renaissance tragedy (Embricos 1956). Part of the second act is modelled on the tragedy *Il Re Torrismondo*, written by Torquato Tasso towards the end of his life, after his stay in a sanatorium (1587); thus we have a firm *terminus post quem* (Manousakas 1959).⁷ The four interludes of the play consist of the Rinaldo–Armida

4 For a schematic biography see Evangelatos 1970a: 214–15; cf. Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 24ff. and, for an overview, Eleftheriou 1980. See also S. Alexiou and Aposkiti 1988: 40–7.

5 See Panagiotakis 1966, 1968 and 1974; Panagiotakis and Vincent 1970; also new, still unpublished documents discovered in the Venetian archives by the same scholars. The theory that the Vivi had a preparatory role in the birth of the Cretan theatre (S. Alexiou 1979a) is taken even further by Bancroft-Marcus (1982/3), who believes that Chortatsis was an actor in his own plays, which contained bilingual allusions to the Academy and its members. See further below.

6 In the Reformation tragedy *Orbecche* there is for the first time no theme from ancient mythology.

7 This dating is of course modified by Bancroft-Marcus's model of more than one phase of writing (1980a: 24), for which there is no firm evidence. The *terminus post quem* of c. 1587 is also given by Bakker and van Gemert 1983: 83. The latest editors also claim, with Sathas, a dependence on the *Filostrato e Pamfila* of Antonio Cammelli il Pistoia (S. Alexiou and Aposkiti 1988: 35–6, 243–6).

episode from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581), which was often dramatised in Italy.⁸ For the establishment of a *terminus post quem*, however, this sequence of playlets is irrelevant because the interludes basically form their own repertoire independent of the play,⁹ although many scholars believe that they, too, are by Chortatsis.¹⁰ The choric odes contain, in the opinion of older scholarship, motifs drawn from the Italian tradition of reading Seneca, especially from the *Phaedra* (Dheinakis 1912), and, as has been conclusively shown, from the choric odes of Tasso's *Aminta* (Bursian 1870; Pecoraro 1969) and the *Sofonisba* by G.G. Trissino (Sathas 1879; Pecoraro 1969). A further analogy appears to exist in Act I Scene 4 with the *Orlando Furioso* (canto 45, I, 2, 4) by L. Ariosto (Spadaro 1975).

(b) *Dramaturgical analysis*

Let us now analyse the plot scene by scene: the Prologue, spoken by Charos, has leitmotifs of the fickleness of fortune and wealth, and dwells on the theme of *memento mori*. I 1 is Panaretos's monologue about the pangs of love; I 2 is an extensive expository dialogue between Panaretos and his friend Karpoforos (almost 500 verses), unfolding the prehistory of the secret love affair (see Puchner 1980b: 134 for the *giostra* motif; cf. Puchner 1979: especially 12); in I 3 the King discusses with his Counsellor his wish to arrange a marriage for his daughter; in I 4 the Counsellor deliberates on the inconstancy of power and fortune; the act ends with the first choric ode: a hymn to Eros.

II 1: The King reveals his exaggerated love for his only daughter in a monologue (this is the reason why he has not so far given her in marriage); in II 2 Erofilis tells Nena, her nurse, about her prophetic dream of two doves being attacked by a bird of prey; in II 3 Nena considers the difficulty of Erofilis's situation in a monologue; in II 4 Nena eavesdrops on Panaretos, who is extremely worried about the proposals of marriage made by two princes; she then informs him of Erofilis's reaction to the suitors; II 5 is another monologue by Panaretos, lamenting over his fate; in II 6 the King orders him to convey the proposals of marriage to his daughter; II 7 is a monologue by Panaretos, in which he again laments his fate and expresses his fear that his beloved may not remain constant; the second choric ode is a hymn to rural life and a condemnation of pride.

III 1: Erofilis soliloquises on the joy and sorrow of Eros; III 2 is the only dialogue of the two lovers: between joy and grief, Erofilis swears an oath of eternal loyalty and Panaretos expresses his concern for future developments; in

8 1600 Aleardi, 1600 Villifranchi, 1607 Calderari, 1629 Orazio Persio, 1629 Franc. Miedelchin, 1639 Ben. Ferrari, 1642 Arcanio Pio etc.

9 See Puchner 1980a: 110ff.; Pecoraro 1972; Bancroft-Marcus 1977.

10 For example, Politis 1978: 69. For a contrary view, particularly in relation to the fourth interlude, see Puchner 1980a: 114f. These interludes were printed for the first time in the second edition of 1676.

III 3 Panaretos, alone, is torn to and fro between Eros and his fear of death; in III 4 the shade of the murdered brother of the King returns from the Underworld and vows revenge; in III 5 the King extols his good fortune and his power, while the invisible shade in turn promises death and ruin for him; the third choric ode is a condemnation of the lust for wealth.

IV 1: Nena and the Counsellor are in the middle of a conversation: the King has overheard the lovers talking and thrown Panaretos in chains; in IV 2 the Counsellor meditates on the absolute power of Eros; in IV 3 the King, raging about his suffering as a father, his desire for revenge and his damaged honour, is warned by the Counsellor to calm himself, but in vain; in IV 4 Erofilia with the chorus of maidens, confronts the King: she admits her guilt, praises Panaretos's services to the kingdom, and finally lapses into begging, which only enrages the King more and makes him disown his daughter; in IV 5 the Counsellor tries in vain to change the King's mind; IV 6 is a monologue of the King about the stain on his honour and his plans for revenge; in IV 7 Panaretos is brought before him and defends himself by referring to his services to the kingdom and his royal descent, but he fails to convince the King, who has him led away; the fourth choric ode is a prayer to the sun to darken its light.

V 1 opens with the chorus of maidens listening to a long messenger's report about the painful martyrdom inflicted on Panaretos by the King; he had torn out his tongue and eyes, cut off his hands and taken out his heart, in order to give them to Erofilia in a casket as a wedding gift; in V 2 the cruel King prepares himself for the meeting with his daughter; in V 3, full of dark premonitions, Erofilia parts from Nena; the King at first agrees to the wedding and makes Erofilia open the wedding present, then gloats over his speechless daughter's pain and is pleased with the success of his revenge; Erofilia disowns her father; V 4 is Erofilia's monologue before she commits suicide; in V 5 the chorus and Nena lament their mistress; in V 6 the cruel King, unmoved by the report of his daughter's death, is killed by Nena and the chorus, and the shade of the King's brother appears briefly from Hades; Erofilia is carried out with honour, and the body of the King is dragged from the stage during the final short choric ode (Solomos 1973: 39ff., Puchner 1981b: 40ff.).¹¹

The dramaturgical structure and assemblage of characters are very simple (see the configurational matrix in Puchner 1981b: 64 and 1983b: 228): each of the three main characters has his or her own confidant: Panaretos –

11 For this last scene there are a number of divergent readings in the various witnesses, particularly the Birmingham manuscript. Bancroft-Marcus (1980a: 33) would place the appearance of the ghost – very plausibly – at the end. At the same time several new scene-divisions would be necessary. Bancroft-Marcus believes that the scene-division, which varies from text to text, is 'unlikely to be authentic in its present edited forms' and should be revised along consistent neoclassical principles, with a new scene heading at each entrance or exit (or death) of a character (1980a: 36f.). This would, of course, lead to a rather unclear splitting of scenes (Puchner 1981a: 107).

Karpoforos,¹² Erofilo – Nena, King – Counsellor. In the first three acts each character also appears on his or her own: Panaretos's doubts about the future fidelity of Erofilo (the possibility that she might give in to the proposals) are only resolved in the scene in which she swears eternal love (III 2); his role as *postillon d'amour* contains strong accents of tragic irony. From the third act onwards the lovers become a single unit in the action and the basic antithesis of the play comes to the surface: the opposition between the lovers and the King. The inner doubts are followed by external difficulties, as with full dramatic force Chortatsis stages the destruction of each protagonist. The illusion of doubts of love (Panaretos) is followed by the illusion of a turn to the good (in V 3, the scene with the casket containing the gruesome wedding gift, Erofilo is in tragic illusion) and the illusion of the Machiavellian philosophy of power (the King's victory over Eros is revealed as an infringement of justice). The absolute power of Eros transcends class divisions (although it turns out that Panaretos is in fact the son of a King). The development of the plot can be described as the King proceeding from right to wrong, from happiness to disaster,¹³ as the lovers proceed from doubt and illegality to certainty and legality. The two groups of characters are linked and separated by the 'intermediaries': Karpoforos (only in the exposition), Nena and the Counsellor. While the last two are loyal at the beginning of the plot, as long as the King is right in his conception of honour, as the plot develops they increasingly help the lovers, who justify themselves by appealing to Eros's absolute power over social distinctions (which turn out to be non-existent in any case), until Nena herself with the chorus of maidens destroys the unjust tyrant.¹⁴

The basic dramaturgical structure is roughly reflected in the size of the roles of the speaking characters: Panaretos is given nearly 700 verses (over one fifth of the play), Erofilo about 520 verses and the King about 495. This rhetorical superiority of Panaretos is connected with the necessary imparting of informa-

12 After the first act, where he performs the function of 'cue-bearer' in the exposition of the prehistory, Karpoforos admittedly makes no further appearance, which must be seen as a dramaturgical weakness of the tragedy. In the folk versions his inglorious role is further 'developed': he frequently becomes the betrayer of Panaretos (see section (f) below).

13 None the less, Morgan's interpretation is too one-sided; he writes: 'It is arguable that the real hero of the play is the king, the father torn between love for his daughter and his psychopathic rage for the dishonour she has brought him. The nominal heroine is a colourless person whose character has no variety, no richness of texture to capture anything but our most sentimental sympathy' (1960: 411). But this is to misunderstand the basic antithetical structure of the play. The psychological development from caring father to raging tyrant is anyway shown as already complete at the beginning of the fourth act, without any transitional stage. The psychological interest in the King cannot be greater than that in Erofilo: the King, also living in illusion, is in the end the mere instrument of fate, without dramaturgical colouring. Throughout, the lovers are depicted as more varied and rounded characters than the *innamorati* of comedy (Puchner 1983b: 191).

14 In the folk theatre versions of West Greece, the fact that Panaretos is really of royal birth so there has been no offence of *lèse-majesté*, is further developed (cf. section (f) below).

tion in the exposition, as well as with his monologues expressing doubt about Eros, which he pronounces in his role as conveyor of the marriage proposals. This becomes immediately clear when the role is broken down by acts: I 341½ verses, II 168, III 143, IV 3, V 0. His 55 speeches give him an average length of reply of about 12½ verses (i.e. relatively wordy). Roughly reciprocal is the development of Erofilis's spoken role: I 0, II 102, III 99, IV 151½, V 166; altogether 52 speeches with an average of nearly 10 verses per speech (if one deducts the suicide monologue it is much less). Erofilis grows in the second half of the tragedy into the real opponent of the King. Her presence on stage is, despite her fewer words, dramaturgically more effective. In keeping with the development of the conflict, the role of the King also has an ascending line: I 26, II 62, III 28, IV 189, V 177½; with altogether 66 speeches (more than any other character) his average reply is only 6.7 verses (half that of Panaretos). These figures reflect his 'biting' remarks and 'speechless' rage in the fourth and fifth acts (Puchner 1986).¹⁵

Essential for the structure of the play and the aesthetics of reception (also especially for the work's oral tradition, see section (f) below) are the dramaturgical 'suspense curves' (Puchner 1981b: 48ff., 1983b: 229ff.). The following could be mentioned as the most important: (1) Charos's prophecy in the prologue that 'today' (the Aristotelian unity of time) all the protagonists will descend to him in Hades (Prologue – V 6). With this the outcome is already anticipated, and the audience's interest can be shifted from the 'what' to the 'how' of the action. (2) The desire for revenge by the shade of the King's brother (III 4 – V 6). (3) The secret love of the couple and its discovery (I 2 – IV 1). (4) The subsidiary plot of the courtship is divided into two tracks: (a) the King's pretended joy at the imminent wedding of his daughter (I 3 – IV 1; even in IV 7 he greets Panaretos sarcastically as 'dear bridegroom'), and (b) the totally unjustified fear of Panaretos for Erofilis's constancy (II 6 – III 2, oath of love). (5) The motif of the unrecognised king's son (I 2, when Karpoforos reassures Panaretos that he need not fear future developments because he is the son of a king, to IV 7, when the King refuses to believe him). (6) The prophetic dream of Erofilis and its dreadful fulfilment (II 2 – V 4, the suicide).

15 This configuration of characters presents a relatively low density of communication: 277 unused opportunities for dialogue are opposed to 53 meetings of characters on stage, which is equal to a ratio of about 5:1 (Puchner 1981b: 48). This tendency towards monologue can be shown by another statistic: of the total of 29 scenes thirteen are monologues (45% of the play). Scenes with more than two characters on stage are found only in the fourth and fifth acts (increasing density of configuration), as Chortatsis progressively involves the chorus of maidens in the plot. The presence on stage by scenes shows a different picture from that of the size of speaking part: the King leads with twelve appearances, followed by Panaretos with nine, Nena and the Counsellor with seven each and Erofilis with only six. In this 'concealment' of the title character something of Chortatsis's dramaturgical skill is revealed. We hardly have a continuous presence on stage in Erofilis's case, but we do have it for Panaretos in the second act (four consecutive scenes), for the King and the Counsellor (five scenes each in the fourth act, of which three come together) and for Nena in the second act (three scenes).

(7) The audience's curiosity about the change in Nena's attitude from cautious reserve to selfless support (II 2 – V 6). (8) The suspense created by the extreme reactions of the King after his discovery of the secret marriage (IV 1 – V 1). (9) Panaretos's death and the gruesome wedding gift of his limbs (V 1 – V 3). (10) Finally a 'blind' motif: Karpoforos's promise to help his friend (I 2 – ∞, Karpoforos does not appear again). These suspense curves (for a graphic presentation, see Puchner 1981b: 65 and 1983b: 231) capture the audience's attention especially at their starting-points, their climaxes and towards their resolutions, and thus offer a differentiated picture of the play's emotional structure.

An essential criterion of dramaturgical skill is the imparting of information in the exposition of the play as well as at the beginning of each scene. The central expository scene of the tragedy is I 2, between Panaretos and Karpoforos. A technical problem the playwright has to solve is not to let Panaretos, as the giver of information, talk alone, but to simulate a 'natural' conversation with a confidant. The skill with which Chortatsis masters this task (in comparison with the exposition scene in the *Rodholinos*) is indicated by a quantitative analysis of the sequence of exchanges: with a total of 57 exchanges (the scene, containing 474 verses, is the longest of the tragedy and one of the longest in Cretan theatre), the dialogue of the friends proceeds relatively quickly during the first third (average speed 4.94 verses); in the second third it drags considerably (average speed 10.84), and in the last third it is a touch more fluent again (9.16), especially in the last ten exchanges (5.2). Chortatsis thus imparts a varied structure to this enormous exposition scene by means of changes in the pace of the dialogue. This dramaturgical technique in the exposition can also be shown by the relative size of speaking part of informant and cue-bearer: Panaretos 301.5 verses, Karpoforos 172.5 – a well-balanced, natural conversation. But here, too, variety is predominant: in the first third of the scene the ratio is reciprocal to that of the scene as a whole (Panaretos 33.5, Karpoforos 60.5; the friend asks questions and urges the hero to reveal the secret of his sorrow), then it turns round drastically in the 'slowed-down' middle part (Panaretos 158, Karpoforos 48; the hero of the drama offers the necessary prehistory), while the ratio of speeches in the last third settles to that of the whole scene (5: 3) (Panaretos 110, Karpoforos 64).

The shorter second exposition scene of the tragedy (II 2), between the two women, shows a similar relation in the sizes of speeches: Erofilis 102, Nena 60. The dialogue is much more fluent and restless (average speed in the first three-quarters 4.77), and stagnates only in the last quarter (12.66), where Erofilis relates her prophetic dream. The way in which the changes of dialogue speed are handled stimulates interest and manifests aesthetic structures which are specific to this author. Chortatsis also alternates almost symmetrically between dialogue and monologue (I: M/D/D/M, II: M/D/M/D/M/D/M, III: M/D/M/M/D, IV: D/M/D/D/D/M/D, V: D/M/D/M/D/D).

Related to the dramaturgical analysis is the use of traditional techniques like the announcement of characters about to arrive on stage, which Chortatsis does with particular skill (compared with other Cretan and Heptanesian dramatists). Because these information strategies are tied to linguistic formulas, they will be treated in the next section.

(c) *Aesthetics of language and metrics*

We do not have a systematic aesthetic and metrical analysis of the language of *Erofilis*, and there exists no extensive study of Chortatsis's dramaturgical style.¹⁶ This, of course, reflects the state of basic research, which is in many respects unsatisfactory (uncertainties about chronology, biographical data, meanings of words etc.). The only work which is really oriented towards the aesthetics of language is the dissertation of Pidhonia (1977) on archaizing and learned word forms in Chortatsis's vocabulary. Pidhonia also offers interesting studies of morphology and syntax (for criticism see Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 38). One particularly obvious feature of our play is the existence of complex periods which go beyond the metrical unit (i.e. the unit of sense is not confined to a distich, a verse or half-verse as in folk song).¹⁷ In other respects the metrical structure is the same as in folk song (political verse, but with couplet rhyme, which is restricted to certain types of folk song).¹⁸ This fact gives rise to some interesting rearrangements in the Cretan ballad tradition of *Erofilis* (see section (f) below).

The division of a single verse between two speakers is found eighteen times in *Erofilis* (compared with four times in *Rodholinos* and thirty-four in *Zinon*); this is a stylistically effective means of bracketing communication (a domain of comedy, of course).¹⁹ The particular rhyme formations of *Erofilis* include a syntactically complex κρινω placed at the end, usually in rhyme with εχεινω,²⁰ which is also frequently found in *Rodholinos* (Puchner 1983b: 185).²¹ We also have accumulations of ομαδι/Αδη and κλω/γαμο (Puchner 1983b: 183); the latter is preserved by Katsaitis (Puchner 1983a: 678) and in a popular

16 There are many relevant remarks in Bancroft-Marcus 1978 and S. Alexiou 1954a, 1954b and 1969b, and some rather impressionistic judgements in Politis 1978, Dhimaras 1985, Embiricos 1956 etc. The poetic quality of the choric odes is stressed by Kriaras 1935 and Politis 1952a.

The glossary of the Xanthoudhidis edition (1928) is inadequate (Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 37ff.); a much better one is offered by S. Alexiou and Aposkiti 1988.

17 See especially Kyriakidhis 1978: 245-80 and 348-61.

18 The eleven-syllable line of the choric odes may be found in Cretan folk songs, but rather rarely (Luber 1880).

19 At the end of Erofilis's suicide monologue the breaking-off of the verse creates a ghostly pause (on the different readings see Bancroft-Marcus 1978: 189; see also note 24 below).

20 I 211, 274, II 27, 105, 273, III 356, IV 201, 348, 449, 615. In rhyme with σωτεινω: I 442, IV 358, V 244.

21 *Rodh.* I 33⁶, 39¹⁶, II 47²², 50¹⁶, 59¹⁶, 62⁴, 73²¹, IV 94²⁵, 108¹² (references to page and line of the facsimile edition). Cf. also Katz. I 138, 349, II 264, *Zinon* IV 226, *Stathis* I 297, II 148, Int. I 34, *Sacrifice* 1134.

proverb.²² Chortatsis uses such easily memorised rhyme forms associatively, in order to achieve the effect of tragic irony or symbolic bathos. For example, the rhyme words *κάμω/γάμο*, in the sarcastic salutation formula for the unwanted bridegroom whom the King is to kill, have already been used in II 365–6 when the King expresses the joyous wish to see his daughter married:

Τόσα με σφίγγει η πεθυμιά κ' η όρεξη να κάμω
τούτ' από μένα τον πολλά πεθυμημένο γάμο.

So much does my yearning and my wish constrain me to make
this marriage, greatly desired by me.

The same rhyme words, which express the essence of the distich (*κάμω/γάμο* ('(that) I make/a marriage')), turn perversely into painful memory in IV 647–8, for the wedding has in reality already taken place and the King sees himself cheated as a father. Another example of this associative handling of rhyme – *ψυχή μου/κορμί μου* ('my soul/my body'), as an expression of psychosomatic unity – is used only by Erofilis (Puchner 1983b: 191f.) and that in three places: III 149–50, at the climax of her declaration of love in the key scene III 2,²³ in the suicide monologue (V 465–6) and in her final dying cry:

Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, ψυχή μου,
βούθηθα μου τση βαριόμοιρης και δέξου το κορμί μου. (V 523–4)²⁴

Paneretos, Panaretos, Panaretos my soul,
help me in my grievous fate, and receive my body.

Here two critical points in the plot relating to the King's daughter are linked by a formula: the symbolic union of Eros and Thanatos is banished in

22 This is the couplet with which the King greets Panaretos, with heavy irony:

Καλώς τον άξιο μου γαμπρό, καλώς τονε, να κάμω
καθώς τυχαίνει σήμερα τον όμορφό του γάμο. (IV 647–8)

Welcome to my worthy son-in-law, welcome! May I make
a proper marriage for him today, as is fitting.

A. Solomos reports that at the 1934 and 1961 performances of *Erofilis* these words always raised laughter from the audience (1973: 221 n. 46). The couplet is retained in the Cretan *Erofilis* ballads (Puchner 1983b: 193), and also used repeatedly, in a similar context, in the *Ifigeneia* of Katsaitis (Prologue 163–4, I 105–6, IV 211–13, V 341–2, 648–9). Traces of the same couplet are also found in a proverb from Naxos (Zevgoli 1950–6: III, nos. 648–9).

23 ... μα γή όμορφή 'μαι γή άσκημη, Πανάρετε ψυχή μου,
για σένα εγεννήθηκε στον κόσμο το κορμί μου. (III 149–50)

But whether I am beautiful or ugly, Panaretos my soul,
my body was born into the world for you.

The context of the psychosomatic connection has already been prepared in III 114:

πως μια ψυχή 'ναι μετ' αυτό κ' ένα με το κορμί του.

That she is one soul with him and one with his body.

24 In some variants of the text the second verse is broken off in the middle, so that the rhyme is left open (Bancroft–Marcus 1978: 189).

the rhyme 'my soul/my body'. No wonder that this distich lives on in the tradition of the Cretan *Erofilii* ballads²⁵ and *mandinadhes*.²⁶ The use of rhyme for emotional effect is one of the most subtle elements of Chortatsis's poetry.

Chortatsis's dramaturgical instinct can also be seen in the use of stereotyped formulas. The announcement formula $\mu\alpha$ τον (την) . . . θωρώ/συντηρώ ('but I see/behold X') occurs often in *Erofilii* (Prologue 137-8, I 35-6, II 235-6, 257-8, 363-4, 371-2, III 45-6, 61-2, IV 135-6, 147, 233-4, 645-6, V 223-4, 264-5, 321-2, 595-6) and in *Panoria*, and it is also taken over in the oral ballad tradition (Puchner 1981a: 110ff.). This announcement of a character coming on stage is usually made in the last distich before the change of configuration, or in the second from last (V 223-4), or the third from last (I 35-6); elsewhere there are four distichs to go before the entrance (V 595-6), or five distichs (IV 233-4, the dejected Erofilii enters the stage very slowly), while in III 61-2 the change of configuration only takes place after seven distichs of the newcomer's unnoticed presence on stage (for a summary see Puchner 1983c: 79ff.).

The announcement can also stand at the beginning of the scene or in the middle of it (II 371-2, IV 147, V 321-2). Chortatsis uses the announcement technique as the occasion for pre-information on what is to come, as well as for creating the atmosphere for the future meeting of the characters. The 'seams' of the configuration become moments of dense indirect imparting of information on events of a reflective and emotional nature (the index of how informed the audience is of what is going on in the world of the stage is after all one of the qualitative aesthetic criteria of classical dramaturgy). Here are a few examples to illustrate this multi-functionality of announcement verses. The usual formula goes something like this:

Μα τον Πανάρετο θωρώ κ' έρχεται σα θλιμμένο,
και το μαντάτο το πρικό θε να 'χη μαθημένο. (III 45-6)

But I see Panaretos coming as one dismayed,
so he must have learnt the bitter news.

The passage marks the end of Erofilii's monologue on the joys and pains of Eros and the beginning of the great (and only) love scene in the third act. The situation is differentiated as far as information is concerned: Erofilii believes that Panaretos has heard about the negotiations for her marriage, which is indeed true. But Panaretos has further reason to be depressed (known only to

25 See Puchner 1983b: 191f.

26 Cf.

Κάλλιά 'χω σε με θάνατο παρ' άλλη με ζωή μου,
γιατί για σε γεννήθηκε στον κόσμο το κορμί μου.
(Lioudhaki 1971: 61 no. 260)

I would rather have you in death than another in life,
because my body was born into the world for you.

The suggestive rhyme ψυχή μας/κορμί μας is also preserved in *mandinadhes* (Lioudhaki 1971: 79 no. 17).

himself and the audience): the King's command to talk to Erofilia about the matter of the suitors, for which Fate has chosen him, and his fear (expressed in the second act) that Erofilia might accept one of these offers of marriage and leave him. To the audience who have just listened to Erofilia's monologue this worry seems rather unfounded. There is an information differential which may be expressed thus: audience → Panaretos → Erofilia. In the following scene Panaretos does not immediately notice Erofilia (a frequently used means of giving information on secret thoughts and inner feelings to the audience as well as to characters present on stage). He explains in six couplets his feelings and his suicide plan. Erofilia is horrified to hear her lover's dark mood (and recognises that she is only partly informed), expresses her surprise in a couplet (III 59–60) and, bursting into tears, runs towards him, as becomes clear from Panaretos's next lines:

Μα την κερά μου συντηρώ κ' έρχεται προς εμένα
κ' έχει το πρόσωπο κλιτό, τ' αμμάτια θαμπωμένα. (III 61–2)

But I see my lady coming towards me,
with downcast face and darkened eyes.

The dramatic beginning of the great love scene, which is to lead to Erofilia's oath of fidelity beyond death, is thus skilfully contrived. An important suspense curve is concluded (the feared success of the marriage mediations undertaken by Panaretos) and there can no longer be any doubt about the emotions of the protagonists. (So ends the first part of the tragedy; in the second part, the main theme is the emotional world of the King.) The love scene thus covers a mutual information deficit which leaves both characters 'in illusion': it explains to Erofilia the deeper background of her lover's desperation and at the same time dispels his fears about her fidelity. The quirk of Fate that, of all people, Panaretos is the go-between in the negotiations is ineffectual; the internal conflicts of the first part dissolve in Eros, whereas the external ones of the second part will lead to catastrophe (parallelism of Eros–Thanatos).²⁷

The announcement technique is also used by Chortatsis in a contrary way: presumptions and beliefs are expressed which turn out to be false. The audience's foreknowledge thus creates a tragic irony:

γιατί θωρώ το Βασιλιό περίσσα μερωμένο
κι ολόχαρος σε καρτερεί, κ' εις έγνοια πλιο δε μπαίνω. (V 321–2)

For I see the king much calmed
and waiting for you joyfully, and I am no longer worried.

27 For another example of this announcement technique see IV 233–4, where the Counsellor, in conversation with the King, breaks off when he sees Erofilia approaching, very slowly and obviously in great despair (she finally appears on stage eight verses later). The last half-verse of the couplet not only vividly illustrates the feelings of the Counsellor in the face of this tragic situation, but also half-foreshadows the ending of the following scene (IV 4), in which the King refuses to listen to Erofilia's pleading. The announcement formula thus becomes in addition a moment of suspense stimulation.

The words are spoken by Nena early in the casket scene (V 3), which begins with a long period (54 verses) of simultaneous presence on stage: the King is on stage (with the casket containing the head and limbs of Panaretos), the audience is already informed of his gruesome plans. Erofilis is announced by him at the change of configuration (V 265–6); she enters with Nena and tells her of her premonitions (she feels 'as if her limbs had been severed' V 267) on the way to the King, who listens with surprise to their dialogue and thinks Panaretos's death is already known to her. This remark of the King is overheard by Nena, although she does not take in its meaning, and his presence on stage is then noticed (Puchner 1983c: 80); Nena quickly advises Erofilis to calm down and arrange her hair, for she sees that the King is expecting her mistress calmly and cheerfully; seeing him dispels her worries, she tells Erofilis. Immediately afterwards the King will dismiss Nena and the terrible scene of the opening of the 'wedding gift' will take place: Erofilis, fortified by her father's dissimulation, still lives in the illusion of a happy ending, while in fact her lover is already dead and dismembered. The discrepancy of information between audience, King and Erofilis is here a most powerful aesthetic stimulus and supplies the underlying emotion of the whole scene up to the opening of the casket: this apparent turn to the good is introduced and made possible by the above words of Nena, who thus gives an emotional counterweight to the (all too true) premonitions of Erofilis. At this point a short but emotionally intensive suspense curve begins – the dimension of the tragic illusion under which Erofilis lives (the King only *seems* to take part in this 'illusion'), which is resolved only with the opening of the casket. The interlocking of realities contrived by the King is seen through only by the audience, while Nena's observation, based on the (normal) assumption that someone's facial expression is a true reflection of his inner mood, opens and makes possible this tragic illusion.

Even from these examples it is clear that Chortatsis does not use the announcement formula for entering characters mechanically, but builds it skilfully into the dialogue and plot, loading it with essential indirect information which can in many cases even determine the plot. Apart from the basic function of indirect stage directions recording the change of configuration, the formula takes over a wealth of emotion-stimulating and suspense-strategy functions, which constitute a complex network of allusions, prolepses, analepses and similar effects of an emotional and causal nature, in which the high aesthetic quality of the dramaturgical architecture of the tragedy is apparent. Information discrepancies act as stimuli which give the play – despite its simple structure, limited number of characters and low density of configuration – a rich emotional shading (in the way the audience identifies with, or is distanced from, the action) and secure the keen interest of the audience in the progress of the plot (even though it is anticipated in the Charos prologue and the monologue of the ghost) (Puchner 1981a: 116ff.).

Furthermore, there are formulas for sudden, unexpected entrance, such as

Εν τον εδῶ που πρόβαλε ('See who has come forth') (cf. III 329, I 71), which remain conventional in Cretan and early Heptanesian theatre²⁸ down to the popular 'homilies' of more recent times. The exit formulas too are used by Chortatsis in a dramaturgically skilful way to supply information (see, further, Puchner 1981a: 121ff.).

Bancroft-Marcus (1982/3) has expressed the opinion that certain phrases like ζωντανός στον Άδη ('alive in Hades') or ζωντανός στον κόσμο ('alive in the world') contain bilingual puns and cryptograms relating to the Academy of the Vivi. This hypothesis needs further examination and is difficult to prove or disprove, since we do not know enough about Chortatsis, the Vivi or the performance of his plays. The assumption of such cryptograms builds on several more hypotheses, whose validity has yet to be proved (see also section (e)). The possibility of such allusions being understood in a theatrical performance seems rather limited; moreover, such a rationalistic playfulness does not quite seem to fit the personality of the poet Chortatsis.

(d) Staging

The *Erofilii* can easily be performed on the formal Serlian stage of the sixteenth century (Puchner 1983d: 45). Serlio's architectural work was known in Crete.²⁹ The new Birmingham manuscript gives particulars of the set: 'I schigni representari ti Ghora ci Memfis' (the scene represents the town of Memphis) (Vincent 1970a). The text itself records what could be seen in the way of central-perspective painting on angle wings: Charos in the Prologue refers to 'these pyramids of yours' (54), 'this lofty and noble palace' (99) and explains to the audience that 'this is the famous Memphis, so renowned for its great pyramids' (113–14). The Shade coming up from the Underworld in the third act also describes the scenery: 'I see mountains and plains' (257), 'this lofty house' (261), 'these doors' (265–6), 'these thrones' (266); in the fourth act the Counsellor observes rather rhetorically: 'I see these walls, doors, columns, theatres, lofty temples and images of the gods' (583–4).³⁰ So we can safely assume a conventional Renaissance stage, the sort of one-location stage described by Serlio, with a panorama of Memphis and the King's palace in the centre. There are, however, indications that this painted perspective picture of a town can temporarily have other symbolic spatial functions: (1) a public *piazza* or a street in the middle of the stage (in scenes I 1, 2, II 3, 4, 5, 7, III 4, 5, IV 1, 2, V 1, 3); (2) a location signifying the throne room of the palace (with a table for the casket), probably to be located on the right or left side of the front stage, where the angle wings run parallel to the apron (for scenes I 3, 4,

28 Cf. Katz. I 240, Pan. IV 349, V 73, Fort. I 360, *Evgena* 517, *Pseftogiatrī* II 249.

29 Especially his *Il secondo libro di prospettiva* (Paris 1545). For knowledge of Serlio's work in Crete see Dhimakopoulos 1971 and 1972; Fatourou-Isychaki 1983: 108 and *passim*.

30 The word 'theatres' is certainly to be understood in its Byzantine usage (hippodromes, public places etc.); see Mango 1981: especially 341ff.

II 1, 6, IV 3, 4, 6, 7, V 2, 3, 4, 5, 6); and (3) on the opposite side a place which denotes Erofilo's room in the palace (for scenes II 2, III 2, 3, V 3). These symbolic *loci* are not painted on the angle wings, but marked by props (e.g. the King's throne). This temporary division of the one-location stage into three different *loci* does not contravene the conventions of classicising drama and its dramaturgical techniques in the motivation and marking of the actors' entrances and exits. Such a latent division of the stage is also indicated by an analysis of the eavesdropping scenes and the 'simultaneous presence on stage' (Puchner 1983c). This is also apparent from V 3: Nena and Erofilo set out from the latter's room to reach the throne room, where the King expects them; passing the stage *piazza* in the centre they stop several times, watched by the King ('Τι πράμα συντυχαίνουνσι, κι αργούσι να σιμώσου;' ('What are they discussing that makes them so slow to approach?') 305); then he can hear what they are saying (307–319) and comments on what he has heard (320–1); Nena hears his comments (322ff.) and finally sees him (325–6), which indicates that the women have reached the *locus* where he is (the throne room). In the rest of the play the conventions of the one-location stage are followed throughout: two exits are necessary, one to the right and one to the left at the front of the stage; Charos, the Shade and the Furies from the Underworld come through a trap-door in the centre of the stage. The Corsini *scenari*, which are very close to actual practice, have many sketches of such stage architecture painted in perspective, in one case even with a throne in the middle of the street, on which a *zanni* sits eating and drinking (Nagler 1969). The use of real three-dimensional props in front of painted scenery of the Serlio type seems not to have been unusual (Puchner 1978: 84ff.; 1983d: 45f.).

The chapter on 'stage-craft' in Bancroft-Marcus's unpublished dissertation offers some essential information (1978: 183ff.), especially about gesticulation, pauses etc. The difference in stage-directions between individual versions of the text is interesting: sometimes they contradict the indirect *didaskalia* of the dialogue, and in any case they are often dysfunctional and redundant. In many instances they seem to be later (Heptanesian) additions by copyists and amateur performers, but this whole question is still in need of thorough investigation before firm conclusions may be drawn.

(e) *Ideological message and historical background*

The underlying mood of the play is a medieval *memento mori* philosophy, the all-present transitoriness of *vanitas vanitatis*, which Charos, as the personification of death, expresses in the Prologue. Nothing can withstand his might, neither wealth nor power, neither happiness nor wisdom:

Το ψες εδιάβη, το προχθές πλιο δεν ανιστοράται
σπίθα μικρά το σήμερα στα σκοτεινά λογάται. (Prol. 75–6)

Yesterday is gone, the day before yesterday is no longer remembered,
today is reckoned as but a small spark in the darkness.

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And at the end of the Prologue:

Σα σπῖθα σβήν' η δόξα σας, τα πλούτη σας σα σκόνη
σκορπούσινε και χάνουνται, και τ' όνομά σας λιώνει
σαν να 'τον με το χέρι σας γραμμένο εις περιγιάλι
στη διάκριση τση θάλασσας, γή χάμαι στην πασπάλη. (Prol. 133-6)³¹

Like a spark your glory is put out, like ashes your riches
are scattered and lost, and your name,
as if it had been written by your hand on a seashore
or in the dust, fades away at the sea's bidding.

The attachment to wealth, power (μπόρεση) and traditional law is part of this futile endeavour:

Ώφου κακό μου ριζικό, κ' ίντά 'θελα τα πλούτη (II 49)
Alas for my evil fate, what did I want with riches?

Compare also, from the final words of the chorus:

γιατί όλες οι καλομοιρίες του κόσμου και τα πλούτη
μια μόν' ασκιά 'ναι στη ζωή την πρικαμένη τόση,
μια φουσκαλίδα του νερού . . . (V 671-3)

For all the world's good fortune and riches
are but a shadow in this bitter life,
a bubble in the water . . .

The King, who boasts of his wealth (III 344, 351) and his power, is living in illusion; the third choric ode begins with a condemnation of wealth:

Του πλούτου αχορταγιά, τση δόξας πείνα,
του χρυσαφιού ακριβειά, καταραμένη,
πόσα για σας κορμιά νεκρά απομείνα. (III 373-5)³²

Insatiable desire for wealth, hunger for glory,
accursed avarice for gold,
how many bodies have been left dead for your sake!

The dynamic of inconstancy is depicted by the medieval and Renaissance image of the wheel of Fortune:

γή ανέν κ' η τύχη σαν τροχός δεν ήθελε γυρίζει
κ' εκείνους απού κάθουνται ψηλά να μη γκρεμίζη. (I 561-2)

or if fortune were not to turn, like a wheel,
and topple those who sit on high.

31 The leitmotiv of 'sparks without strength' appears again at II 34, when Nena advises Erofilo to let her passion go out 'σα σπῖθα δίχως δύναμη' ('like a spark without strength') (see Puchner 1983b: 199).

32 This motif of the impermanence of wealth is also found in the popular *mandinadhes* (Lioudhaki 1971: 251 no. 36 and 252 nos. 41 and 46).

Another aspect of the human illusion is *περηφάνεια* (immodest pride) (II 504), in opposition to the fundamental principle of *ασύστατη μου μοίρα* (my fickle Fate) (III 269). Scene III 5, containing the King's boastful monologue (cf. *ουδεμιὰ καλομοιριά με τη δική μου μοιάζει* (there is no good fortune to resemble mine) III 357), while the Shade of his murdered brother hovers beside him, is extremely didactic with its baroque juxtaposition of images.³³

The Renaissance philosophy of the absolute power of Eros rises above this medieval-baroque preoccupation with death and vanity as a 'life-loving' concept, already celebrated by the Chorus in the first choric ode. The real opponent of Thanatos (fate, *moira*) is Eros, who recognises no social distinctions or conventions. The King behaves unjustly when he contravenes the laws of almighty Eros (he becomes a tool of Charos), and the maidens of the Chorus punish him for this infringement. (It is again worth noting how Chortatsis involves a conventional literary element, the chorus, in his emotion-stimulating technique (*Affektdramaturgie*): from being a literary convention in the first three acts it develops into the decisive character in the plot at the end of the play.)

There are not many historical or geographical clues in the tragedy: Filogonos is King of Egypt, Panaretos the son of the King 'της Τζέρτζας' (probably Georgia), while one of the suitors is from Persia, which is viewed as a hostile country (II 383ff.).³⁴ Zeus, Pluto and Hades are invoked, but also God. The geography here mentioned is essentially archaising and East Mediterranean (just as in the *Erotokritos*), perhaps not without contemporary allusions ('Persian' may be an archaising term for a Turk). Bancroft-Marcus suggests that the play is a veiled political allusion to the murder of Matteo Calergi (Panaretos) by Marino Cavalli (Filogonos) in 1572 (and, furthermore, that it contains a didactic message for the Venetian administration about the governance of Crete), but this presupposes, firstly, the identification of the poet with Calergi's secretary and, secondly, the dating of the play to soon after 1572, both of which are interdependent and cannot at present be proved (the *terminus post quem* of 1587 is taken to refer to a revision: Bancroft-Marcus 1978: 54ff.).

(f) *Nachleben*

Erofilii must already in the seventeenth century have had an extraordinary impact on men of letters and among the common people. Its influences on

33 The rather unorganic, late and surprising appearance in the third act of the Shade, who accuses the King of fratricide, the strange entrance of the Furies (through the trap-door), which for a moment introduces a spectacular note into the play, and also the problem of the correct placing of the four-line speech of the Shade at the end of the tragedy (see Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 33) lead one to wonder whether the Shade might not be a later dramaturgical addition, belonging to a different stylistic layer: the baroque addiction to phantoms and extravagant optical effects. As yet there is no further evidence for such a hypothesis.

34 In the *Evgena* of Montesele, 'Persia' is about a day's journey from Zakynthos (Puchner 1984a: 114).

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other works of Cretan literature cannot be overlooked, as for example the sententious distich

Τα γέλια με τα κλάηματα, με την χαράν η πρίκα
μιαν ώραν εσπαρθήκασι, κι ομάδι εγεννηθήκα. (III 1-2)

laughter and weeping, grief and joy
were sown at the same time and born together,

which is found slightly altered in the *Erotokritos* (V 755-6) and in *Zinon* (V 59-60).³⁵ While it seems certain that the *Zinon* has borrowed from the *Erofilii* (compare also IV 554 with *Zinon* II 49-51: Pidhonia 1972: 279),³⁶ the question of the origin of the *Erotokritos* passage cannot be settled conclusively in view of the complex controversy about the dating of that poem.³⁷ At all events several connections have been established (Pidhonia 1972: 279ff.), since the key verse για σέναν εγεννήθηκε στον κόσμο το κορμί μου (for you my body was born into the world) (III 150) occurs in the same form in the *Erotokritos* (III 1400).³⁸ In the *Evgena* (1646) there is an echo of the κάμω/γάμο rhyme (244); since Montselese knows the *Panoria* (1173-8), the presumption of such a connection is not unfounded.³⁹ Influence of *Erofilii* has also been detected in *King Rodholinos* (Aposkiti 1987: 27-8). The poet of the *Fortounatos* (1655) not only is the copyist of the Birmingham *Erofilii* manuscript (Vincent 1970a), but is also indebted to Chortatsis's tragedy in many respects (*Fort.* I 192-3 is taken almost *verbatim* from *Erof.* I 175-6).⁴⁰ *Erofilii* was also known to Orthodox priests of Chios who wrote religious plays in the second half of the seventeenth century (as yet unedited). The two tragedies of Petros Katsaitis are also dependent on *Erofilii* to a significant extent: in the *Ifigenia* there are several allusions to key verses of *Erofilii* (Puchner 1983a: 678-80), Katsaitis remembering especially the rhymes; in the *Thyestes* the construction of the prologue in particular resembles that of the Charos prologue of *Erofilii*, and many other correspondences can be found in the fifth act (Puchner 1983a: 681-3). During the period of Katsaitis's theatrical activity, in 1728 to be precise, a performance of *Erofilii* was given in a patrician's house in Zante (Puchner 1978: 77). An entry in the

35 Kriaras supposes that all the passages have a common origin in a proverb (1938: 16).

36 Cf. also *Zinon* II 368. In the *Zinon* there is a series of further echoes from *Erofilii*: *Prolog.* 5, 25, I 102, 107, 111, 115, 192, 227, 249-50, 260, 367, II 97, 243, 320, 389-90, III 69-70, 183, 257, 326, IV 225, 259, V 106, 339, 373-4. These signs of indebtedness require a full account, since they are of various kinds.

37 For the most recent research see Mavromatis 1982 and Evangelatos 1985a (and Chapter 9 here).

38 See n. 26 for the occurrence of the same verse in a *mandinadha*. There is a further compelling similarity between *Erotokritos* and *Erofilii*: *Erof.* III 111: Πάσα κιανείς απ' αγαπά, δικάδ' χει να φοβάται (everyone who loves is entitled to be afraid); *Erot.* IV 1817: Πάντα φοβάται οπ' αγαπά, πάντα δειλιά μη χάσει (he who is in love always fears, is always anxious lest he lose (his beloved)).

39 *Evgena* 224: Να τότε κάμω ογλήγορα αυτεινονε τον γάμο (that I may quickly make this marriage). For the identical verses from *Panoria* see Vitti 1965: 105. For a further borrowing from *Panoria* in the *Evgena* see Karagianni 1970.

40 Numerous further examples are given by Vincent 1980: μγ'-με'.

notarial archives of Lefkadha for 1771 records that there existed a chapbook (φυλλάδα) with the title *Erofilii and Panaretos* (Moullas 1964: 190ff.), which perhaps already indicates a 'homily' treatment of *Erofilii* in the Heptanese (Puchner 1976: 234f., n. 10). This tradition of performing *Erofilii* in popular adaptations in the Heptanese is reliably attested in our sources until the late nineteenth century (see bibliography in Puchner 1983b: 175 n. 2), but the texts themselves have not survived.

The survival of *Erofilii* in popular tradition is a phenomenon of particular interest (Puchner 1980b: 141ff.): in addition to adaptations made in Romania (D. Oikonomidhis 1952/3) it entered the Cretan ballad tradition and the traditional folk theatre of Central Greece. Of the Cretan ballad tradition seven variants are known so far (Puchner 1983b).⁴¹ The variants are all written in the usual decapentasyllables with (not always successful) couplet rhyme. They are for the most part written in dialogue, with inserted narrative passages, often consisting of verses borrowed from folk songs. The relationship between the variants is complex. The plot starts in all variants with *Erofilii*'s prophetic dream anticipating the unhappy outcome of events (II 147–8ff.). Further critical points which remain in most variants are the King's message (V 277–8), the wooing entrusted to *Panaretos* (III 95ff.), the declaration of love (III 149–50), the confrontation with the King (IV 647–8), parts of the messenger's account of *Panaretos*'s torture and death (V 113, 118, 193ff.), the casket scene between *Erofilii* and the King (V 325ff., 329ff., 331f., 367f., 385f., 393f., 417ff.), the King's dismissal of *Erofilii* (V 435f.) and her suicide (V 523–4), as well as the murder of the King in some variants (V 642f.). In almost all cases these are very emotional passages for the audience (spectators/listeners/readers) or terse formulations which can be easily remembered. From the point of view of *Affektdramaturgie* it is often the beginning or end of a thematically important suspense curve within the dramaturgical structure of the play. Heightened attention (suspense) and emotional involvement through stimulation to identify oneself with the characters seem basic preconditions for the process of memorising in the oral tradition. The memory process is also regulated by metre and the force of rhyme (in this case identical in drama and folk song); Chortatsis's complex periods, however, are often broken up, and the verse is then reproduced in its unadulterated form only where the syntactical unit and the sense unit extend over at the most one verse or one distich. Otherwise we find more or less successful reconstructions of the verse, in which case it is often the beginning of the verse or a central noun important

⁴¹ They are: (1) an older version from the district of Amari with 93 verses (Vlastos 1909); (2) the version of a Turco-Cretan from Smyrna with 71 verses (Dhoulgerakis 1956); (3) a version from the district of Rethymno with 49 verses (Megas 1960); (4) one from Eastern Crete with 63 verses (Dhetorakis 1976: 100f.); (5) one from the area of Pedhiada with 42 verses (Dhetorakis 1976: 101f.); (6) one from the district of Rethymno with 19 verses (Dhetorakis 1976: 102); and (7) a version from Amari with 24 verses (Dhetorakis 1976: 103). Versions (4), (5) and (7) have been examined and compared (Dhetorakis 1974), and the whole of the tradition has been studied in its relationship to the tragedy (Puchner 1981b, 1983b). Dhetorakis 1986a gives three new versions of the Cretan ballad of *Erofilii*.

for the meaning which survives, or – even more often – the original end-rhyme. Such reformations, again channelled by metre and force of rhyme, may also incorporate verses from other folk songs known to the singer; sometimes this results in serious deviations from the plot, which can lead to logical inconsistencies or in turn make more transpositions and corrections necessary (Puchner 1980b: 143f.). Apart from this specific ballad tradition there are traces of *Erofilí* found in Cretan historical songs, *mandinadhes* and proverbs (Koukoules 1954; Puchner 1983b: 213ff.); parts of the Charos prologue are also inserted in laments (Melaina 1873: 28, 1–6; Mavromatis 1978).

From the West Greek folk theatre tradition of *Erofilí*, which was apparently brought from the Heptanese in the nineteenth century (Polymerou-Kamilaki 1976/7: 236ff.), six versions dating from c. 1880 to the present and ranging in length from eight distichs up to about 150 verses are known and published under the title ‘Panaratos’: from Ioannina (Fotopoulos 1977, Salamangas 1957), Arta (Vastarouchas 1975, Zoras 1975), Karpenisi (Konstas 1966, 1976), Amfilochia (Zoras and Kretsi-Leontsini 1957, Schmidt 1965: 369ff.), Grammatikou in the district of Missolongi (Polymerou-Kamilaki 1976/7) and Fanari in the Thessalian plain (Polymerou-Kamilaki 1980). In the shortest version the *Erofilí* text has only eight distichs (Konstas 1966; Puchner 1976: 237); it is performed in the context of improvised carnival scenes.

There is, however, an even more compressed version in which the ‘re-ritualising’ of a theatrical form to a mere carnival custom is fully carried out (Puchner 1985a: 66): there was a kind of customary procession which used to take place in the Zagori villages north of Ioannina around 1915. Two men would dress up and one would say to the other:

Πανάρατε, Πανάρατε, Πανάρατε, παιδί μου,
έχω δυο λόγια να σου πω, δυο λόγια να σου κρίνω.
Ο βασιλιάς, πατέρας σου, ζητεί να σου μιλήσει.

Panaretos, Panaretos, Panaretos, my child,
I have two words to say to you, two words to speak.
The king, your father, desires to talk to you.

The Panaretos character then approaches the king, who says:

Σκύψε πάρι αυτό το βουτσέ [βατσέλι] και μη φοβήσαι.
Bend down, take this urn and do not be afraid.

‘Panaretos’ does as he is told and as soon as he lowers his head the king kills him. The bystanders then kill the king. This scene is repeated at every house and the performers receive sweetmeats (Polymerou-Kamilaki 1976/7: 230, n. 26). The performers had no idea that this was a play. Chortatsis’s tragedy is reduced to the death-resurrection pattern (of the bridegroom or the Arab) of the rural Greek carnival scene.⁴²

42 The material from all parts of Greece is collected in Puchner 1977.

The elaborated variants (120–50 verses) go back to manuscript tradition, and are performed by young men at carnival time. The plot usually starts with the Charos prologue – Charos is often dressed just like the Arab of the rural Greek carnival, festooned with bells and with blackened face,⁴³ and he also keeps the audience in order. The character of the friend, Karpoforos, is split up into a traitor, Karpoforos, and an avenging officer, Triskataratos, who, instead of the nurse and the chorus of maidens (in the play), who are missing here, will eventually kill the cruel king. Change of location is marked by symbolic changes of position; the decapitation takes place by a lowering of the head (Erofilis, mostly called βασιλοπούλα (princess), sometimes simply νύφη (bride), is also beheaded by the king). In one village version the dead lovers are even called back to life by Charos (in the carnival scenes this is usually done by the ‘doctor’).⁴⁴

This highly interesting tradition of folk theatre is in need of further, more thorough, research, especially since the borrowings from the text do not coincide at all with those of the Cretan ballad tradition. This provides important insights into the *Affektdramaturgie* of the tragedy as well as into the mechanisms of oral and written tradition (Puchner 1983b: 235). We may perhaps add that *Erofilis* is one of the few firm bridges between literary and oral culture in modern Greece and that the tragedy itself, together with its varied reception history, is an essential part of modern Greek cultural tradition (see further in Chapter 10).

II *King Rodholinos* (Βασιλεύς ο Ροδολίνος)

(a) *Basic information*

The second Cretan tragedy, *King Rodholinos*, was also quite well known in its time,⁴⁵ but has since fallen into oblivion.⁴⁶ The play is some 3,230 verses long and its author is Ioannis Andreas Troilos (born c. 1590–1600, died after 1648). Troilos came from a well-known bourgeois family of Rethymno, and before 1645 he had been a fairly important official of the Venetian authorities of the

43 On this Arab figure see Puchner 1977, index under ‘Araber’.

44 Polymerou-Kamilaki 1976/7: 248. On the ‘doctor’ figure see Puchner 1977, index under ‘Arzt’.

45 Troilos and his tragedy are also mentioned by Bounialis in his *Cretan War*:

Ἰωάνν’ Ανδρέα Τρώιλον με χάρες θε να πλύνω,
γιατί έβγαλε κ’ ετύπωσε το ‘Ρήγα Ροδολίνο’.

(Xirouchakis 1908: 558, lines 13–14)

Ioannis Andreas Troilos I will shower with favours,
because he produced and printed ‘King Rodholinos’.

46 The play was probably never performed. This at least is indicated by verse 24 (my numbering) of the ‘Dedication to the Readers: σε θέατρα δεν άφηνα να βγαίνει να γυρίζει (I did not allow it to appear in theatres and go around) (see also Solomos 1973: 201).

town. After the fall of Rethymno to the Turks in 1646 we find him in Venice, where he had his tragedy printed in 1647.⁴⁷

The play is set, like *Erofilo*, in Memphis and based on the conflict between friendship and love. Rodholinos, King of Egypt and a friend of the King of Persia, Trosilos, has asked Aretas, King of Carthage, for the hand of his daughter Aretousa, not for himself, but for Trosilos, to whom Aretas has refused his daughter because of an old enmity. Trosilos had fallen in love with her at a tournament, at which he had emerged as the victor and received the prize from the hand of the king's daughter. During the journey by sea to Egypt, where Rodholinos was to hand over the bride to his friend, an erotic relationship began to develop between them while they were shipwrecked on a remote island. Aretousa was, of course, under the impression that she was with her future bridegroom. Trosilos now sets out for Memphis in order to collect the promised bride from his friend, while Rodholinos has thoughts of suicide, since he cannot bear the conflict between marital love and friendship. His counsellor Erminos suggests a sensible solution: he should keep Aretousa himself (Trosilos would happily forego her for friendship's sake), and give him instead his sister Rodhodhafni. She, however, being an Amazonian follower of Diana, has to be persuaded by the queen mother Annazia to submit reluctantly to the yoke of matrimony. Trosilos, who has arrived outside the town with his retinue, sends bridal gifts to Aretousa, who slowly begins to suspect the connections. When Rodholinos's guilty and reserved manner is finally explained to her by the King's declaration that she is destined to be the bride of his friend, who has a prior claim on her, she takes poison and dies. Rodholinos, having declared his love for her as she dies, then kills himself. Rodhodhafni dies of shock and Trosilos, who finally appears after having been informed of events by a letter from Rodholinos, falls on his sword. The queen mother Annazia then appears joyfully on stage to prepare the double wedding of her children, and learns of the deaths of all the protagonists (Manousakas 1965: 34f.; Puchner 1980a: 97).

This most extensive play of the Cretan theatre represents a treatment of *Il Re Torrismondo* (1587) by Torquato Tasso (Voutieridhis 1933: 218–23, Manousakas 1955).⁴⁸ The setting has moved from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean, and the incest between brother and sister has been eliminated. Otherwise the plot follows its model fairly faithfully, with the exception of the addition of Rodhodhafni, who also commits suicide, and the suicide of Trosilos, thus increasing the number of corpses at the end of the play. Troilos drops ten scenes from his model (all from the last three acts) and adds eleven of his own. He also adds the prologue of 'Fate' (Μελλούμενο) in hendecasyllabic *ottava rima* and the choric odes (mostly in the same metre), of which three are written in sonnet form; these original compositions show Troilos to be a capable poet (Manousakas 1962a; 1976: xxiiiiff.). The text contains no interludes for performance between the acts. Critical judgements have par-

47 Documentary sources for the playwright's life will be found in Manousakas 1963c and Dokos 1971, and summarised in Manousakas 1976: xv–xviii and Aposkiti 1987: 15–17.

48 This had already been established by Xanthoudhidhis in his unpublished introduction to the planned critical edition (1928) (see Manousakas 1976: xiv, xxi).

ticularly highlighted the lyrical—poetic qualities of the play and drawn attention to its dramaturgical weaknesses (e.g. Manousakas 1965: 35).

(b) *Dramaturgical analysis*

The dramaturgical structure is on the whole relatively similar to that of *Erofilí*, although the configuration of characters is slightly different. The triangular structure has been broken by Troilos (also compared with his Italian model) and, by introducing the king's sister Rodhodhafni, who is to be married to his friend Trosilos in place of Aretousa, a symmetrical structure with two couples is aimed at. The queen mother Annazia is added as a contrasting figure: instead of the double wedding (as in *Panoria*) she can only lament over the quadruple suicide. In her ideological discussion with Rodhodhafni (II 4), who follows the cult of the Amazons and does not want to get involved in marriage, many an argument of Frosyni from the *Panoria* is reflected (III 1). The *cantus firmus*, however, is provided by the conflict between love and friendship in the protagonist Rodholinos. This conflict is developed with great verbosity and leads without any real inner necessity to the quadruple suicide. The play is structured on the basis of monologues: the density of interaction (i.e. percentage of used possibilities for dialogue – the value is calculated as the number of scenes multiplied by the number of speaking characters) is only 11.8% in comparison with nearly 17% in *Erofilí* (Puchner 1986: 220). The only scenes with more than two participants in the dialogue are IV 7, V 3 and V 8 (a similar thing happens in *Erofilí* towards the end of the play, as the chorus becomes important for the plot). The number of monologues in the whole play is roughly the same as in *Erofilí* (12 monologues and 31 scenes), but not the average length of the replies, which is very high with 13.87 verses (as opposed to 9.79 in *Erofilí*). The dialogue speed in the *Rodholinos* is 11.05 verses (6.86 in *Erofilí*), with this propensity for monologue being concentrated mainly on the character of King Rodholinos: his average length of reply is 23 verses (as opposed to 10 verses for Panaretos, the comparable figure in *Erofilí*).

This extreme concentration on the main character, who is in many ways similar to Panaretos in the configuration of characters, also becomes clear from an analysis of the speaking roles: with 714 verses of speech, Rodholinos has nearly one quarter of the play; in the distribution of his speaking role by acts a gradual diminution to zero may be observed, similar to that of Panaretos in *Erofilí* (I 340 verses, II 96, III 187, IV 82, V 0). He has to carry the main burden of the exposition, which is much more extensive in Troilos's play than that of Chortatsis. With altogether 35 speeches Rodholinos has an average length of 20.4 verses per speech, which indicates his doubting, brooding and hesitant character, with a strong propensity for monologue. His 'fiancée' Aretousa has only 524 verses (16.21% of the play), which is about the same as *Erofilí*, but the distribution of her speeches by acts is not reciprocally sym-

metrical to that of her fiancé's, as is the case in Chortatsis's tragedy: she has to aid the exposition in the first act with 162 verses, and not until the third and fourth acts (174 and 188 verses respectively) does her fate develop towards her suicide. The denouement of the voluntary death of the main protagonists takes place in the fourth act (together with the dramaturgically weakly motivated suicide of the king's sister, Rodhodhafni), followed in the fifth act by the (even less motivated) suicide of Trosilos. The burden of the exposition is also shared to a great degree by the king's counsellor Erminos with a speaking role of 408 verses (the third largest part in the play, larger than those of the other royal characters); the distribution of his part by acts is as follows: I 158, II 58, III 76, IV 0, V 116 (in the last act he communicates the tragic news to Trosilos). Aretousa's confidante has only 245 verses, the queen mother Annazia 298 and Rodhodhafni 178 (the last two take part in a subsidiary plot with the aim of making Trosilos accept Rodhodhafni as his wife instead of the promised Aretousa). The fifth act brings several characters on stage who have almost as extensive speaking parts, especially Trosilos with 166 verses, who, however, puts an end to his life as soon as he is introduced into the play. The structural weaknesses of exposition and denouement become more obvious in a detailed analysis of the configuration.

It is evident that Troilos imitates Chortatsis's exposition technique in the first act, but the result is far less skilful: the distribution of speaking parts between Rodholinos and Erminos (I 1) is proportionally similar to that between Panaretos and Karpoforos in *Erofilii* I 2: of 498 verses 340 fall to Rodholinos and 158 to his counsellor. Rodholinos's role in the exposition is somewhat more stressed. The scene also takes a different course: King Rodholinos launches immediately into his problems (we miss the counsellor's promptings, psychologically so well placed by Chortatsis), and Erminos gains the upper hand with his advice towards the end of the scene. The corresponding exposition scene of the female characters (here also I 2), between Aretousa and Sofronia, her nurse and adviser, allocates 152 verses to Aretousa and 58 to Sofronia, while Troilos uses the same technique as in the opening exposition scene: Aretousa immediately discloses her problems in extended speeches without any urging, while her nurse catches up towards the end of the scene with advice and attempts to calm her down (Puchner 1986). The collocation of two consecutive exposition scenes reveals Troilos's uncertain handling of the imparting of information.

A close dramaturgical analysis could show up further weaknesses of theatrical composition (see also Solomos 1973: 61–82). In addition to the Italian model, the *Erofilii* played a major part in the conception of plot and characters (see e.g. the beginning of the third act, which like the fourth act of *Erofilii* brings on stage a conversation which has already started). Troilos also follows Chortatsis's frequent use of simultaneous presence, where one character on stage does not immediately notice the other.

(c) *Aesthetics of language and metrics*

The frequency of monologue and, related to it, the rather casual approach to supplying information dramaturgically, naturally favour lyrical digressions. And indeed there are verses of great poetic beauty and elegance in the *Rodholinos*, especially in the choric odes. These qualities have often been stressed by scholars (e.g. Manousakas 1965: 35). The choric ode against suicide, which is written in quatrains of hendecasyllables and heptasyllables with ABBA rhyme, deserves to be quoted in full; it is among the earliest examples of manneristic *concettismo* in the Greek baroque (Vitti 1978: 90f.):

Θερίο μηδ' ερπετό ποτέ συντρέχει
τον ίδιον απατό του
να 'χει το θάνατό του,
μα τη ζωή φυλάσσει όσο κατέχει.
'Ανθρωπος το κακό του δεν απέχει,
μ' όλο απ' η φύση γνώση
τού 'ταξε να του δώσει,
μα εις τ' 'Αδου το λαρύγγι άφρονα τρέχει.
Η φύση εμάς λοιπό είναι μητρυγιά μας
και μάνα ηγαπημένη
των ερπετώ απομένει,
ψηφώντας τόσα λίγα την υγεία μας.
Μα, οϊμέν', εγώ ως θωρά, η αχορταγιά μας
κ' η όρεξ' η τυφλή μας
εις πάθη προσκαλεί μας,
κ' αιτιά 'ναι του θανάτου η πονηριά μας.

Neither beast nor serpent contributes
of its own accord
to bring about its death,
but guards its life as best it knows.
Man does not avoid what is evil for him,
though nature promised
to give him knowledge,
but runs senselessly into the jaws of Hades.
Nature, then, is stepmother to us,
and remains the beloved
mother of serpents,
with so little regard for our health.
But, alas, as I perceive, our insatiability
and our blind appetites
summon us to sufferings,
and our wickedness is the cause of our death.

The typical formulaic verses for the entrance and exit of characters which we find in Chortatsis are used infrequently (Puchner 1981a), but Troilos does

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employ favourite end-rhymes like ομάδι/Αδη etc. and the syntactically complex κρίνω placed at the end of the verse.

(d) Staging

The problems of staging *Rodholinos* are of only academic interest, since the play was probably never performed (see n. 46). The tragedy could be performed without difficulty on a Serlian single-location stage, with the urban panorama of Memphis as background, just as in *Erofilii*. At two points here, too, a temporary division of the stage space is required. In both cases it is entering messengers who pause in order to impart information to the audience. In II 2 the messenger Safos enters the stage as King Rodholinos is delivering his monologue (subject: the plan to marry his sister Rodhodhafni to his friend Trosilos). The messenger, obviously from the opposite side of the stage, interrupts the monologue, in order to inform the audience: 'Όλη τη νύκτα πορπατώ να φτάξω εδώ εις τη χώρα (I have been walking all night to reach this city); he then asks the chorus the way to the palace and receives the answer (2 verses); Rodholinos continues his monologue for another two verses, and only then does the messenger's speech begin. The second case has a similar structure (III 7): the messenger Tzimoskos appears and describes at great length the preparations for the weddings (56 verses); only then does he notice the chorus of generals and ask them the way to the King's residence; the chorus's answer simultaneously announces the arrival of the King. In both cases we do not really have simultaneous stage presence, since the stage area for a short time signifies two different, separate locations (there was already a transition to this 'arrangement' in *Erofilii* V 3); it is not a question of the characters not noticing one another, because the possibility of communication does not exist (Puchner 1983c: 83f.).

(e) Ideological message and historical background

The King's dark, brooding nature, his inner conflict, his icy behaviour towards his lover etc. are no longer governed by the 'all-powerful Eros' philosophy of the Renaissance, but clearly belong to the psychopathology of baroque man. In the prologue, which is spoken by 'Fate', the leitmotifs are already sounded: *memento mori*, the curse of wealth, the prophecy of the death of the four young people. The Amazonian ideology of Rodhodhafni is exposed as unnatural (as in *Panoria*); Rodhodhafni envies the daughters of poor families, who can choose their husbands freely (as does Erofilii). The last choric ode again breathes the dark atmosphere of blind Heimarmene. The tendency towards reflection before action, towards philosophising before the event, is characteristic of the whole tragedy. The hesitant, split, brooding protagonist fails to exploit the possibilities for solving his problem, which he himself

caused by his previous thoughtless actions. The nightmarish loneliness and the glimmer of the subconscious shining through – all this makes the character of Rodholinos very modern; it is baroque psychodrama. There are no external enemies, the characters love one another, but nevertheless they all perish. The friends never meet, but none the less their conflict is their undoing. In this world of sensitive, broken characters the queen mother Annazia is really the only figure depicted in a rectilinear way; she knows what she wants, she is the only real opponent of fate: she is the one who lives longest in the illusion of the imminent double wedding and whose fall into reality is the more tragic as she must outlive her children.

Despite the descriptive delight in detail there is not really much historical background: Egypt, Persia and Carthage are merely mythological–geographical ciphers (like the Scandinavian countries for Tasso), conventional throughout Cretan literature. No scholar has so far asserted the existence of specific historical or political allusions.

III *Zinon* (Ζήνων)

(a) *Basic information*

The historical tragedy *Zinon* (2,195 verses) represents an action-packed ‘*Haupt- und Staatsaktion*’ of the baroque and departs in its dramaturgical structure from the two other Cretan tragedies. It deals with a Byzantine subject borrowed from the Byzantine chronographers: the reign and downfall of the Emperor Zeno (474–91). As its model it has the Latin tragedy of the same title by the English Jesuit Joseph Simons (1595–1671).⁴⁹ Its author is unknown. Whether we should seek him in Catholic circles (Panagiotakis 1955) and whether he was a Kefallonian (Evangelatos 1968) remain open questions; he is probably to be found among the Greek former students of the Jesuit college of St Athanasius in Rome (Puchner 1980c). The *terminus post quem* has recently been fixed as 1631, the date of the first performance of the Latin model in the College of St Omer (Puchner 1980c), no longer as 1648, the year of its *editio princeps*. In 1683 there seems to have been a performance of the Greek play in Zakynthos.

The play describes the intrigues and crimes perpetrated by the Byzantine Emperor Zinon (Zeno) and his cousin Longinos, in order to gain and secure power. First the co-Emperor Vasiliskos, who is still a minor, is dethroned; his father, General Armakios, is executed on the basis of a staged putsch which is imputed to him, and the patriarch Pelagios, who resists the conspirators, is accused of idolatry, put on trial and also executed. But then the wheel of Fortune turns: the courtier Anastasios bribes the army and storms the palace

49 On the personality of the famous Jesuit father, who ended his career as the English provincial, see Sotuellus 1676: 526–7 and Sommervogel 1896: vii, cols. 1214–15.

during an uproarious feast. Longinos flees, but is hounded to death by the ghosts of the murder victims. Zinon is walled into his grave, alive but totally drunk (Manousakas 1965: 35–6, Puchner 1980a: 98–9).

The horror play follows its Latin model fairly faithfully, with the exception of the simplification of the detailed stage instructions and the removal of inserted pantomime scenes in the prologue (Bouboulidhis 1955b, Evangelatos 1968). The Latin model, which was widely known as a Jesuit exemplary tragedy in the seventeenth century (with no fewer than six printed editions), also exists in a German version (which makes Pelagios the main character), as well as an English and two Italian ones (Puchner 1980c).

(b) *Dramaturgical analysis*

The work has abandoned the classicising structure of late Renaissance tragedy, and even the most basic conventions are in the process of dissolution: the prologue is turned into a prologue scene, the unity of place of the single-location stage is violated, the choric odes at the end of each act are eliminated. Furthermore there are no interludes for performance between acts. The tragedy is action-filled and spectacular, rather than lyrical and rhetorical. An abundance of characters appears in relatively short scenes; the plot is no longer a one-track one, but develops along several tracks. The dramaturgical structure of the baroque '*Haupt- und Staatsaktion*' has much in common with early Elizabethan tragedy: an addiction to ghosts, gory deeds and atrocities, allegorical pantomime dumb-shows, heavenly apparitions etc. The many parts are without exception male, as laid down in the *Ratio studiorum* for Jesuit college performances.

The totally different aesthetic pattern also becomes apparent in the quantitative analysis of the dialogue: the frequency of monologue is much lower than in other Cretan tragedies (only seven out of 35 scenes), the average length of reply is seven verses (half of that of *Rodholinos*), and if one subtracts the monologues the dialogue speed comes down to 4.56 verses (approaching the dialogue speed of the Cretan comedies) (Puchner 1986). Scenes with several characters are frequent (one can even talk of a trend towards crowd scenes): I 5 with seven characters (the scene of the crown council), II 3 with four, II 5 with five, II 8 with four plus the captains (a banquet), IV 4 with three, IV 5 with seven, IV 6 with nine (the patriarch's ecstasy and the apparition of the angel), IV 8 with three, V 1 with three, V 4 with eight (the gruesome symposium with the apparition of the ghosts), V 6, V 7 and V 8 with three each. In addition there are pleading choruses, dance and ballet insertions, guards and soldiers, crowds of citizens. There are no fewer than 30 speaking parts; the average size of the 35 appearances is only 57 verses. This no longer accords with the classicising pattern, any more than do the changes of scenery and the appearance on stage of large numbers of people. The distribution of the speaking parts follows the plot: 474 verses fall to Zinon, 370 to his

co-Emperor Longinos, 231 to their successor Anastasios, while the dominating figures of the victorious general Armakios and the patriarch Pelagios have only 126.8 and 136.33 verses respectively. Zinon, with a total of 94 speeches, has an average length of reply of 5.04 verses, while in comparison the average for Panaretos in *Erofilos* was ten verses, and for Rodholinos as high as 23. The complex episode structure of the historical *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* becomes obvious from a simple configurational matrix, but because of the many characters and scenes it is too extensive to be depicted here (cf. Puchner 1986: 217).

The handling of the prologue deserves special attention. The anonymous playwright makes skilful use of the prologue for the purposes of exposition, while treating the classicising conventions with extreme freedom. The monologue of Ares (Prologue 1–106) is followed by a conversation with the three goddesses of the Underworld (107–62), in which Dionysos also joins, as the god of wine. The prologue is extended into the exposition scenes of the first act, since the opening monologue of the shade of Vasiliskos (I 1–50) really has the function of a prologue (as will be the case later with the tragedies of Katsaitis).

(c) *Aesthetics of language and metrics*

The lower linguistic quality of the *Zinon* compared with the other Cretan tragedies has often been stressed, but the play's theatrical merits have not often been noticed (Puchner 1980c). The work shows its real virtues only on stage. The dominant means of expression is not language, but the spectacular, the theatrical: action, music, dance, pantomime, stage effects, battles and so on. The aesthetic unity of *Zinon* emerges not from an examination of language or from reading, but from theatrical performance. The tragedy is more of a spectacle than a poem.

The linguistic influence of *Erofilos* is important (cf. n. 36 and p. 145 above). The entrance and exit formulas of the Cretan theatre still hold good (Puchner 1981a). As for the use of Cretan dialect, the essentials have already been mentioned. The metres are handled somewhat more freely.

(d) *Staging*

The adapter of the Latin model was at all events an experienced man of the theatre.⁵⁰ This emerges from the symptomatic analysis of stage-directions by Evangelatos (1968), who compares them with the Latin model.⁵¹ In order to reconstruct the stage, which can no longer be a Serlian single-location stage,

50 This fact reinforces the view that the author was a graduate of the Greek Jesuit college in Rome, where a kind of passion play was performed as early as 1580 (Puchner 1985b: 193).

51 Here a distinction must clearly be made. The four English manuscripts mainly have more simple stage-directions than the printed editions. Evangelatos makes his comparison only with the printed editions (Puchner 1980c).

we are, however, in need of more thorough investigations. The Latin model was performed in Rome on a stage divided into three parts with a uniform wide *proscenium* (Puchner 1980c: 246). For the first performance in St Omer, however, the usual stage of a touring company with a *proscenium* and a main scene seems to have been sufficient, separated by a *siparium*, which allows the action to alternate from scene to scene (Puchner 1983d: 49). For the necessary quick change of scenery we can imagine the triangular *telari* used by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola as early as 1583. The stage terminology is also rather confusing: *prospettiva*, *porta reale*, *scena* etc. Many matters here are still in need of clarification. The frequent mention of stars and sunrise and the reference to the scene darkening (μαυρίζει η σένα) etc. indicate lighting effects which require indoor performance (Puchner 1983d: 50).

While there are no real eavesdropping scenes in either *Erofilo* or *Rodholinos*, the anonymous author of *Zinon* uses them as a means of characterisation, and this he does in a visual, didactic way following the production principles of Jesuit dramaturgy. Longinos eavesdrops on the council in the fifth scene of the first act, while Zinon is trying to oust the young emperor Vasiliskos and put Longinos in his place (I 251–366). The speeches are interrupted by remarks of Longinos from his hiding-place (I 257, 287–8), as he reacts angrily to the accusations of his enemies, until in the end he can restrain himself no longer (I 367–8) and bursts from his hiding-place into the hall with his sword drawn. Here the eavesdropping is associated with the shiftiness of the eavesdropper; his comments and his emergence from hiding characterise his unrestrained fury and cowardly fear of criticism (Puchner 1983c: 73f.). The simultaneous stage presence which Chortatsis employed so skilfully is not used at all.

(e) *Ideological message and historical background*

The author of the tragedy certainly has theological knowledge (see the third verse of the Prologue: εκείνος όπου τσ' ορανούς κινά, μα δεν κινάται (he who moves the heavens but is not moved)); the gloomy philosophy of fate is otherwise the same as in the other tragedies, perhaps even more didactic. Sin, pride and greed for power are punished. An essential detail leads to the assumption that the play is perhaps a historical key-play with recent allusions: in the Latin model Pelagios is a *patricius* (patrician), whereas in the Greek version (and only there) he is described as *πατριάρχης* (patriarch). Sathas (1879: κ') and Bouboulidhis (1955b: 42) explain this as a 'mistake' by the adapter, but this seems rather unlikely if one considers the level of linguistic knowledge at this time (cf. the Italian *patrizio*) (Puchner 1980c: 280).⁵² Could he have wanted to draw a parallel between Pelagios's death and the violent end of the patriarch Loukaris in 1638, which created a sensation in Crete?

⁵² Pelagios is consciously conceived as a patriarch: cf. 'Εγώ τη βάρκα του Χριστού κρατώ να μη βουλιάξει' ('I hold Christ's boat lest it sink') (I 333).

If this hypothesis is right (although, admittedly, it needs corroboration), it would offer a clue for the closer dating of the Greek play.

(f) *Nachleben*

As the laudatory verses in the Prologue suggest, the play was performed in Zakynthos at the beginning of 1683. There are some clues as to the background of this performance: from about 1680 the Catholics of the island had wanted to found a Jesuit college for the education of their children; the performance, in honour of Paolo Minio, may well have been connected in some way with this aim (more detailed discussion in Puchner 1980c: 279).

Conclusions

The three tragedies of the Cretan theatre all have specific Italian or (in the case of *Zinon*) Latin models, and they are adapted in a more or less creative way; however, they are the works of three very different dramaturgical personalities and exhibit important differences in structure and quality of language. While *Rodholinos* is inferior to *Erofilis* mainly because of its dramaturgical weaknesses (its author has not mastered the demands of classicising drama and makes excessive use of the monologue), the *Zinon* follows other aesthetic models, the historical 'state tragedy' of the baroque. Baroque confusion and pathology are, it is true, already reflected in the psychology and characterisation in *Rodholinos*. What unites all three plays is linguistic similarities, common formulas and emblems, and dramaturgical techniques and conventions, which, however, show signs of degeneration in the *Zinon*. The *Zinon* already points towards different theatrical conventions, linking the Cretan plays with the work of the eighteenth-century Heptanesian dramatist Petros Katsaitis. The general line of development is clear. Further research and new critical editions are, however, needed to enable Cretan tragedy to attain its rightful place in the history of Renaissance and baroque drama.

Interludes

ROSEMARY BANCROFT-MARCUS

Eighteen interludes, miniature dramas ranging in length from about 40 to 200 lines, survive from the heyday of the Cretan theatre. These spectacular play-lets, with their cloud-chariots and dragons, their sonorous orations and lovers' endearments, seem deliberately designed to test and exploit an impressive body of human and technical resources. They may have functioned as a training-ground for Cretan poets, actors, dancers, musicians and stage-managers. Despite their supposedly subordinate position as interval-pieces for full-length plays, they are not devoid of artistic merit, and contain many fine passages of poetry and interesting characters.

The Greek word *ντερμέδιο* comes from the early Italian *intermedio*; the English 'interlude' comes from the late Latin *interludium*.¹ Both words mean essentially a short dramatic sketch, performed in the intervals either of a banquet or of a play in several acts. As Cretan plays are five-act, interludes tend to be found in sets of four. Interludes in Crete differed in some respects from most Italian ones. They are not mere decorative 'fillers'. Their structure is less formal and symmetrical; there is less obvious allegory; spectacle, though important, is not central. Instead, the action is more complex, one interlude often containing several episodes, and the verbal aspect is relatively more developed. Character and motive, dialogue and soliloquy are handled as in a fully fledged play, with the songs, dances and combats peculiar to the genre as practised in Crete fitting naturally into the story. The technical term *μορέσκα* (from *moresca*, 'Moorish dance')² is found only in Cretan stage-directions. It means there either a combat between two groups of four men, especially Christians versus Turks, or simply 'dance' or 'mime'.

Interludes seem to have been as popular in Crete and the Ionian Islands as they were in Italy and France between the late fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Crete the vogue for dramatic interludes as act-pieces began around 1600, and plays written before this date tend to have music or choric odes in the intervals.³

1 Hartmoll 1967: 471; Harvey 1967: 417; *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, s.v. *intermezzo*.

2 The *moresca* was originally danced by men with blackened faces ('Moors'). A version of it, danced by ladies and gentlemen of Verona, is featured in Zeffirelli's film *Romeo and Juliet*, with bells attached to the dancers' wrists. The English morris dance fuses elements of the *moresca* with a German sword dance.

3 Chortatsis's *Panoria* may originally have had musical intermezzi; see the direction *Εἰς τοῦτο ἀγκικιώνται σὸν ἄρε ἀπομέσα* (At this point music is heard from within) after Act II (Kriaras

Of the eighteen extant interludes, ten at least are almost certainly the work of Georgios Chortatsis; the others are of unknown authorship, dating to the seventeenth rather than the sixteenth century. The *Fortounatos* quartet on the Trojan War has been shown by Pecoraro (1972)⁴ to derive partly from Marino's *Adone*; so it must postdate 1616. The other Trojan War interlude in *Stathis* does not fit into the series and must be by another author; it is an excellent piece of work. The schematic Judgement of Paris scenario found with mythological interludes does not share their source and could be Hep-tanesian, perhaps a summary of the *Fortounatos* interlude on the same theme. The *Erofilii* quartet about Rinaldo and Armida was shown by Bursian (1870) to be adapted from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581); another interlude, about Sofronia and Olindo, was demonstrated by Manousakas (1947) to stem from the same source, and could originally have belonged with the others, forming perhaps a literary tournament of the 'castello'⁵ type, since it concludes with the capture of a city. (The *Fortounatos* interludes fit this category also.) Five of the mythological interludes found in texts of *Panoria* and *Katzourbos* have a common source in Dell'Anguillara's *Metamorfosi d'Ovidio* (1561). These could have been composed quite early; however, traces of Tassian influence in them suggest that they were written near the time of the others, perhaps in the 1580s. The likelihood that Chortatsis wrote the Tassian group is supported by the existence of passages influenced by *Gerusalemme Liberata* in *Panoria* and *Erofilii* (and also *Stathis*).⁶ The mythological interludes may originally have been introduced by the Prologue of Helios (= Apollo), where the myth of Apollo and Daphne is recounted very much as it appears in Anguillara's *Metamorfosi*.⁷ Since Helios addresses himself exclusively to the ladies, it may be that the whole entertainment, prologue and half-a-dozen interludes, was a ladies' tournament (*torneo di dame*) such as that for which Tasso wrote a prologue in Ferrara.

Venetians adore spectacle; and Venetians transplanted in Crete seem to have retained their zest for masquerade. The Chania joust of 1594 described by Persio in his *ottava rima* poem⁸ was preceded by a spectacular nocturnal introduction featuring a succession of pageants or *tableaux vivants*, for example

1975b: 114). *Erofilii* and Troilos's *King Rodholinos* are already provided with interludes in the shape of choric odes.

4 Following a hint in Vincent 1980: 189, n. 2.

5 *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, s.v. *torneo*.

6 *Panoria* III 573-8 = *Gerusalemme Liberata* XVI 22; *Erofilii* V 445-66 = *Ger. Lib.* XIX 105-9; *Stathis* II 277-80 is a joke based on *Ger. Lib.* XV 25-6. To the best of my knowledge these parallels have not been previously noted.

7 Pecoraro (1972) cites a prologue of Apollo by Fulvio Testi (for a 1639 production of *La Filli di Sciro*) which has an image of the patroness's beauty eclipsing the sun's rays and a glancing allusion to Apollo's pursuit of Daphne (but not her transformation). The direct source of the Cretan prologue seems to be Dell'Anguillara's *Metamorfosi* I; there are shared details, such as the concept of laurels being 'born into the world'.

8 See Chapter 4, p. 81.

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the forest of Ardennes, the fortress of Palma, Mount Etna with Vulcan's forge and the Cretan Mount Ida. The future combatants presented themselves in couples either dressed as knights or costumed as historical or mythological personages. Sometimes one character spoke explanatory or allegorical verses in Italian. The story of Perseus and Andromeda (see below on interlude 11) was performed in what seems to have been a rather typical Italian interlude:⁹ Perseus swoops through the air with the head of Medusa; he spies the beautiful Andromeda bound nude to a rock; the marine monster comes to devour her; he fights it by air and sea, and finally kills it; Time and the Four Seasons array Andromeda as a bride, Time speaking an allegorical verse. The interlude is purely pictorial and lacks the lively dialogue and human interest of those written in the Cretan dialect. The joust introduction as a whole is important evidence that materials, equipment and expertise for dramatic illusion were not lacking in Venetian Crete. Though effects for the Cretan interludes would not have been as lavish as for Italian ducal court entertainments, there is no need to assume *a priori* that their production was amateurish.

The Chania joust took place in a field beside the harbour; but the Cretan interludes were definitely performed on a stage. Care is taken to avoid overcrowding what must have been quite a small acting space – big enough for the eight participants in a *moresca* combat, or for one or two knights to fight a dragon, but not big enough for both the Greek army and the Trojan women. The erection of a stake and pyre had to be done on a precise spot; presumably there was a device there to hold the stake upright. The descent of a cloud-chariot (worked by pulleys) demanded an otherwise empty stage. The stage is carefully cleared of both live and dead characters at the end of each interlude, sometimes by demons or supernatural intervention, indicating that there was no proscenium curtain to lower (stages may have been erected on a temporary basis in noblemen's *palazzi* or gardens). For special occasions such as society weddings, backcloths could have been provided by Cretan painters, trained to work in both the Italian and Byzantine styles; and consorts of musicians and singers were available for the incidental music. We do not know who the actors were, but it is probable that they were Hellenised Venetians and Cretans of the upper bourgeoisie and nobility, with the female choruses and dancers supplied from local boys' schools.

Summaries

Because the interludes are relatively unknown, and three have not even been published, it seems worthwhile to furnish individual summaries, indicating the principal speeches and visual effects. Each interlude is divided into several 'scenes' or phases in the action, rather as a full-length play is divided into

⁹ For bibliography on contemporary Italian interludes, see Pecoraro 1972: 394, n. 47; Bancroft-Marcus 1977: 41–3.

acts and scenes, the transitions clarified by stage-directions. The authenticity of these is questionable, but contrary to the practice in the full-length plays (where action is generally explained within the dialogue), explicit stage-directions were certainly provided by the original authors at various points. Some directions may have been corrupted or omitted in the course of textual transmission.

The Erofli interludes (4)

1. *The enchanted garden.* Source: Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* IV–V, especially IV 1–17; XIV 62–8; XVI 26–31. Scene: Armida's garden (built by the demons) with fruit-trees and a fountain. Pluto harangues his underlings, recalling their fall from heaven and Christ's invasion of hell; God has now sent the Crusaders to take Jerusalem from the Turks. However, the sorceress Armida has seduced the Christian champion Rinaldo. The demons disperse to disguise themselves as beasts, song-birds and attendant maidens. / Armida and Rinaldo land in a cloud-chariot; she welcomes him to her domain. / Her 'maidens' greet their new master. / A chair is brought for Rinaldo and his armour is exchanged for revel-costume, while a love-song is sung offstage. / Armida invites Rinaldo to refresh himself with fruit, wine and water. At dusk all withdraw, dancing, to her palace.

2. *The rescue of Rinaldo.* Source: *Ger. Lib.* XIV 69–79; XV 3–5, 44–50, 65–6; XVI 14–15, 25–35, 64–70. Scene: the approach to the garden. Fortune conducts the Crusaders Carlo and Ubaldo to Armida's hideout, giving them a golden wand and warning them not to eat or drink. / A song bids them abandon all care. / Two beautiful girls invite them to take off their armour and be enrolled as Armida's knights of love. Refusing their allurements, the knights order the demons to hell, routing others in *moresca* combat. / Six maidens spread a rug and cushions on the stage, scattering flower-petals. / Armida enters with Rinaldo, apologising for being called away; he lies docilely down to sleep, lulled by a love-song. / The knights, approaching, are menaced by two monsters; swordplay failing, they kill them with the wand. / They rouse Rinaldo and reproach him for cowardice. Repentant, Rinaldo strips off his shameful costume and departs with the Crusaders. / Armida returns and finds him gone. Vowing to avenge his desertion, she summons demons, who destroy the garden and carry her off in pursuit.

3. *Armida's appeal.* Source: *Ger. Lib.* XVII, especially 43–53. Scene: the walls of Jerusalem, outside its gate. Armida appeals to the Turkish King Soliman for a champion to behead Rinaldo, promising herself and her wealth as reward. Tisaphernes and Adrasto vie for the honour; the King quiets their quarrel, offering additional rewards to any soldier who kills Rinaldo. They withdraw within the city. / Goffredo urges the Christian troops to fight to liberate the Holy Sepulchre. / Rinaldo with three companions challenges the Turks to combat; they display a shield on the walls in token of acceptance. / Four Turks emerge and fight a *moresca* combat with the Crusaders. Victorious, Rinaldo gives thanks. / Demons remove the corpses of the Turks.

4. *The liberation of Jerusalem.* Source: *Ger. Lib.* I 21–3; II 82–4; XX 141–2. (The bloody end of the siege is considerably mitigated, perhaps following a hint in XIX

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51–2. Line 108 translates Virgil's *Aeneid* VI 853, 'parcere subjectis et debellare superbos' ('To show mercy to the conquered and vanquish the proud'.) Scene: outside Jerusalem. Goffredo exhorts his troops to the final effort. Rinaldo and the Crusaders raise the battle-cry. / Soliman's herald brings a message: if four Turks can defeat four Christians, Goffredo must depart; otherwise the city will be surrendered. Goffredo entrusts the battle to Rinaldo. / The Crusaders kill their Turkish opponents in a *moresca* combat, and Rinaldo rejoices. / Goffredo praises his exploits. The Crusaders call for surrender. / Soliman brings out the keys to the city and his treasury, humbly imploring mercy. Goffredo grants him leave to depart with his household and treasure; he is content to have recovered Jerusalem. Soliman thanks him and escorts the conquerors into the city.

Interludes associated with texts of Panoria and Katzourbos (8)

5. *Sofronia and Olindo*. Source: *Ger. Lib.* II 1–54. Scene: Jerusalem, with pyre (later). The Turkish King of Jerusalem, urged on by his magician Ismen, threatens to burn the Christian community because an icon has been stolen out of the mosque. / Sofronia, a beautiful maiden, confesses to the theft on condition her fellow Christians are spared. The King sends for wood for her pyre. / Ismen relays the King's suggestion that she should deny Christ and enter his harem; she refuses. / The pyre is erected by the Janissaries, who strip off her dress and tie her to the stake. / Olindo, a young Christian, recognises Sofronia and tells the King she is innocent, for *he* stole the icon. Sofronia insists that *she* should die. / The King adopts Ismen's suggestion and has Olindo bound back-to-back with Sofronia. / Olindo wishes for a closer union with her; she advises him to set his thoughts on heaven. Clorinda, a warrior maiden entering the King's service, pities the pair. She solicits their release, claiming that both are innocent; the King yields. / The couple, released, thank their benefactress. / Sofronia accepts Olindo's proposal of marriage; they go home hand-in-hand.

6. *Glaucus and Scylla*. Source: Giovan Andrea dell'Anguillara's *Metamorfosi d'Ovidio* (1561), XIII 253–XIV 27. Scene: pastoral, with fountain. The sea-god Glaucus is in love with Scylla, who spurns his advances. He has come to implore the witch Circe for aid. / Circe greets him seductively. Hearing his tale, she offers herself in place of Scylla, but Glaucus turns her down. She promises him her help, and conjures demons from hell to enchant the spring, fires indicating the spell's success. / Alone, Circe reveals that she plans to change Scylla into a bitch. / Scylla appears with her companions; the maidens dance. She goes to wash and is transformed into a bitch. / Glaucus laments, realising Circe's betrayal; the dog attacks him. A storm arises with rain and thunderbolts; all flee.

7. *Jason and Medea*. Source: Anguillara VII 1–53. Scene: pastoral, with spring. Jason having yoked the savage bulls, Medea shows him a magic stone and herbs, with which he is to master the warriors and dragon. He promises to make her his Queen. / The warriors sprout from the planted seed and enter, intent on murdering Jason. He throws the stone among them; they fight each other till all are dead. / The fire-breathing dragon emerges; Jason subdues it with the herbs, and takes the Golden Fleece. / Medea comes to urge instant flight; her father knows of her treachery. / Jason goes ahead to the ship, while Medea resuscitates the warriors with spring-water to guard their retreat.

8. *The sacrifice of Polyxene*. Source: Anguillara XIII 144–77 (see discussion below). Scene: near Troy (shore?), with Achilles' tomb. The Greeks cannot return home, having sacked Troy, because of stormy seas; Agamemnon and Odysseus wonder if a god is offended. / Achilles' ghost demands the sacrifice of Polyxene upon his tomb. / Agamemnon hesitates to kill Priam's last surviving child, but yields to the insistence of Odysseus and Achilles' fiery son Pyrrhus. / Alone, Agamemnon pities Priam's fallen fortunes. / Polyxene is brought in, proud and regal. Odysseus and Agamemnon try to reconcile her to her sacrifice; she is glad to die, but pities her mother. / Calchas adorns her with the sacrificial wreath; she quails, but rallies. / Requesting that her body be given to Hecuba, she kneels on the tomb. / Pyrrhus slaughters her. Agamemnon prays for calm seas. / Hecuba enters with her women, broken by grief. Learning of the sacrifice, she almost faints. / Hecuba and the women mourn Polyxene and take her body away for burial.

9. *Politarchos and Nerina*. Source: possibly *Ger. Lib.* IV 43–9, 73; VII 17–18. Scene: woods. Politarchos, with three faithful retainers, is looking for his fiancée, the Princess Nerina, a fugitive from her kingdom. / While they search the woods, Nerina appears dressed as a shepherdess; she is escaping a forced marriage with a shepherd, and is afraid the knights she saw may have been sent by her father to kill her. She decides to ask for news of Politarchos in a disguised voice. / The knights ask her if she knows where Nerina is. She recognises Politarchos, who exclaims at her altered appearance. She relates how bandit shepherds captured her and stole her royal robes and want to marry her to their chief's son; she fears they may attack. / Nerina's shepherd suitor comes with three companions, demanding her return. Politarchos asserts his prior claim. / Shepherds and knights fight a *moresca* combat. The shepherds are vanquished and flee. / Politarchos and Nerina depart for the ship; her father is dead, and they will rule her country together.

10. *Pyramus and Thisbe*. Source: Anguillara IV 31–145, with a possible hint from *Ger. Lib.* XIX 110–13. Scene: woods, spring. Thisbe has come to meet Pyramus, planning to elope since their feuding parents forbid their marriage. A wild beast rushes at her; she flees. / Pyramus finds Thisbe's bloodied veil and assumes she has been eaten by lions. He stabs himself. / Thisbe finds him unconscious. He revives sufficiently to explain, then swoons. / Believing him dead for her sake, Thisbe resolves to die likewise. / A voice from the skies tells her Pyramus can be cured by dittany, and that their parents are reconciled. / Thisbe gathers dittany and makes a poultice and infusion which heal Pyramus's wound. / They go to find a clearing and await their parents.

11. *Perseus and Andromeda*. Source: Anguillara IV 411–44. Scene: woods. Perseus finds a beautiful girl tied among the trees, weeping. / She tells him she is the Princess Andromeda, doomed to be eaten by a monster for her mother's sins. Perseus vows to save her. / Andromeda prays as Perseus fights and kills the huge beast. / Revealing his identity, he asks her to marry him. She consents, for he has proved his worthiness.

12. *Judgement of Paris*. Source: possibly interlude 16, but the theme was well known. Scene: woods, spring. Hermes tells Paris Zeus requires him to present the golden apple to the fairest goddess; Paris willingly agrees. Hera promises him a share of the world if he will choose her; Athene, victory in war; and Aphrodite, a beautiful girl. At first hesitant, Paris awards the prize to Aphrodite.

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The Stathis interludes (2)

13. *Tselepis and the Christians*. Source: unknown (period of the Siege?). Scene: pastoral. The Turkish captain Tselepis, with three companions, has captured a weeping Christian girl. / Four Christian soldiers accuse the Turks of being thieves rather than honourable soldiers. Turks and Christians fight a *moresca* combat; the Turks are defeated. / Tselepis begs for mercy; the Turks are hauled off for punishment.

14. *Priam and Menelaus*. Source: the Trojan War tradition. Scene: Troy. Palamedes, Ulysses and Menelaus demand the return of Helen and her treasures to the Greeks. Priam orders Helen to be brought in to make her own answer. / Menelaus speaks to her privately, begging her to come back to him; he will not blame or harm her. (Lacuna?) / Helen, weeping, tells Priam she will kill herself if forced to leave Troy. / The King feels bound to abide by her decision, though Ulysses and Menelaus threaten to burn Troy. / Priam's counsellors argue, one urging him to return Helen, the other objecting that this would look like cowardice. The King will not break his promise to Helen, thus initiating the Trojan War.

The Fortounatos interludes (4)

15. *The Apple of Discord*. Source: G.B. Marino's *Adone* II 40–179; see Pecoraro 1972: 400, n. 56. Scene: the dwelling of the gods. The goddesses are disputing over a golden apple inscribed 'To be given to the fairest'. Hera takes her stand upon her queenly status; Pallas (Athene) upon her wisdom and honour; and Aphrodite upon the power of love. Zeus warns in vain that the apple is designed to cause strife. Apollo supports Pallas's claim, Ares Aphrodite's. Zeus decrees that a more impartial judge than himself should be appointed: Paris, Priam's son, reared as a shepherd on Ida. Hermes is dispatched with the apple.

16. *The Judgement of Paris*. Source: as for interlude 15. Scene: Mount Ida (near Troy). Paris is waiting for his sweetheart Neno when Hermes tells him of Zeus's decree. The goddesses persuade him to obey. They state their case: Hera tempts him with worldly wealth, power and kingdoms; Pallas promises wisdom and valour; and Aphrodite the loveliest girl in the world. Paris gives Aphrodite the apple. She tells him where to find Helen. Hera calls him a lecher and Pallas threatens the loss of his future realm; but Aphrodite promises her protection.

17. *The pursuit of Helen*. Source: reminiscences of Chortatsis (see discussion). Scene: the temple of Aphrodite, outside the walls of Troy. Paris and Helen, just landed, discuss their hopes and fears and pray to Aphrodite. / The goddess's icon trembles; the heavens open amid thunder and lightning; and Aphrodite appears (in the sky?), warning that Menelaus is pursuing them. The heavens close. They take refuge in the city. (Removal of the temple?) / Menelaus enters with Ulysses and two soldiers, all heavily armed. A trumpet is blown for a parley; a Trojan herald appears. Menelaus demands the punishment of Paris (guilty of breach of hospitality and theft) and Helen's return, otherwise Troy will be burnt. / Hector and three Trojan soldiers emerge, refusing to give back Helen and demanding the return of Priam's sister Hesione. Greeks and Trojans fight an indecisive *moresca* combat. Two heralds part the combatants as night falls.

18. *The Trojan Horse*. Source: *Aeneid* II. Scene: the gate and walls of Troy, with (later) the Horse. Agamemnon and Priam parley; neither will return Helen or Hesione. / A *moresca* combat is fought between four Greeks under Achilles and four Trojans under Hector. Again it is a draw. / Agamemnon's soldiers drag in the wooden Horse. Agamemnon tells Priam he is abandoning the nine-year siege, and asks that the Horse be offered to Pallas, to calm the seas for their departure. / Laocoon distrusts the enemy's gift, but Priam insists on its being taken into Troy. / Since the gate is too low to admit the Horse, they knock it down. / Sinon signals from the walls that the Greek soldiers hidden within the Horse have emerged. Agamemnon passes with his troops through the broken gate into Troy. / The sack of the city is suggested by fire and smoke visible above the walls and thin cries of women and children. / Aeneas comes out, bearing the Penates, with his aged father, his wife and two children. Anchises begs to be left behind to die, but Aeneas takes him up on his shoulders. They depart for exile, Anchises grieving for the fate of Troy.

The Tassian interludes

Comparison of Chortatsis's Cretan interludes with the Italian poems in *ottava rima* that inspired them, shows him to have been first and foremost a dramatist, then a poet and orator. Though he 'translates' some especially effective speeches, the vast majority of the dialogues are his own invention, occasionally developed from a brief allusion to a speech or conversation in narrative form. He selects episodes for their theatrical potential, both sensory and intellectual, and in his adaptation never loses sight of that elusive quality called 'audience appeal', which verges at times on sensationalism or melodrama. He takes pains to identify new characters and explain essential background facts; to indicate, often within the dialogue (as secure from tampering or loss), the actors' movements, expression and gestures; to make good use of the limited stage space; and to stimulate eye and ear, brain and heart. Following Horace's precepts (*Ars Poetica* 333–44), he aimed both to delight and to benefit his audiences, inculcating moral lessons while pleasing with an irresistible blend of romance, character, lyricism, rhetoric and spectacle.

Tasso in his *Gerusalemme Liberata* had set out to exalt his patron, Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, by an account of the First Crusade (1095–9) featuring the exploits of his supposed ancestor, the warrior Rinaldo. The Crusader leader Godfrey of Bouillon successfully liberated Jerusalem from Moslem rule after a long siege, thus enabling Christian pilgrims to worship freely at the Holy Sepulchre. This was difficult of access in the late sixteenth century, and many Christians, especially after the Battle of Lepanto, dreamed of a new crusade to liberate Jerusalem, and also Constantinople, from their Ottoman rulers. Since Crete was especially vulnerable to Ottoman attack, and was viewed by some as the heir of Byzantium, Chortatsis's interest in the theme is very understandable. It was probably for this reason that he called his King of Jerusalem Solimanos, though he must have known (since he knew the whole poem inside out) that Tasso called him Aladino; Solimano, also called 'il Soldan', is

the King's general. In view of the nobility of character he ascribes to King Solimanos in interludes 3–5 (stressing his insistence on keeping promises), his portrait was probably drawn from the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (d. 1566), called by Moslems 'The Lawgiver' and famed for his justice.¹⁰ The King in interlude 5 is not called Solimanos in the dramatic personae, but is presented in the same relatively sympathetic light. Similarly, the 'infidel' rulers of the city are called 'Turks'.

The Rinaldo and Armida interludes can therefore be interpreted as a call to a crusade (cf. *Ger. Lib.* I 4). But it is a highly idealistic kind of crusade, demanding absolute standards of knightly virtue and a minimum of bloodshed and rapine. The two *moresca* (= mimed) combats in interludes 3 and 4 are, of course, symbolic of full-scale battles; but Goffredo's magnanimity in allowing Solimanos to depart unscathed with his family and his treasures contrasts astonishingly with the bloody end of Tasso's epic, where King Aladino dies biting the soil in the final pitched battle, and the Crusaders kill, loot and rape until called to order by their commander. Chortatsis was developing hints in Tasso of a 'humane' way of fighting; but one wonders whether he was also influenced by personal disapproval of the Crusader attack on Constantinople in 1204, which incidentally led to the ceding of Crete to the Venetians.

Adaptation of a stage text from an existing work of literature always involves simplification, and Chortatsis has greatly simplified the locations in the Rinaldo and Armida interludes. The speech of Pluto which acts, as Pecoraro observes, as the story's prologue, comes from a council of demons in hell; Chortatsis has transferred the council to Armida's garden, on the pretext that the demons have just constructed it. (In Tasso she builds her mountain-top kingdom by spells alone, 'per incanto'.) The Crusaders in Tasso are equipped with a wand (to subdue the wild beasts), a map (to guide them through a maze) and an adamantine shield (to show Rinaldo his dissipated reflection); Chortatsis's Crusaders are armed only with their normal weapons and the wand. Later, Armida's appeal to the King of Jerusalem is adapted from her address to the King of Egypt at his camp in Gaza; Chortatsis has ignored the contribution of the Egyptian forces to the final battle, fought after the entry into Jerusalem but before the freeing of the Sepulchre. The simple opposition of Christian to Turk is all that is necessary.

Though Chortatsis would naturally have had to match his costumes and sets to the budget available, study of Tasso can provide clues to his initial visual conception. Tasso describes the council of demons in lurid theatrical terms: Pluto occupies the centre stage with his sceptre and is huge, horned, red-eyed and bull-voiced; the lesser demons, with snaky hair and long tails or in the semblance of Harpies etc., dispose themselves to left and right. The garden is portrayed as a place of still and mobile waters, variegated plants, trees and herbs, sunny hillocks, shady valleys and caves – a typical Italian 'grotesque'

¹⁰ See Harris and Levey 1975, s.v. Sulayman I.

landscape garden. Chortatsis's conception is more like a Cretan orchard with fruit-trees and a fountain. The scene of Armida's appeal to the King of Egypt, seated in state, is impressively sketched in Tasso; she enters, clad as an archer upon a jewelled chariot, beautiful but menacing. Here, however, Chortatsis had other ideas; the chariot was not practicable with so many people onstage, and Armida is in non-military dress, probably sumptuous and seductive.

Armida's maids-in-waiting are not present in Tasso's garden. Chortatsis has developed this chorus from an apparition of Armida in the Enchanted Wood later in the poem,¹¹ preceded by nymphs who dance, sing and bid Rinaldo welcome. The honorific reception accorded to Rinaldo in the garden may owe something to reminiscence of formal welcoming ceremonies for Venetian officials visiting Crete, often organised by the local Academy. But the garden chiefly represents the evils of sensual pleasures and the perils of magic. Though Armida's sincerity is sometimes in doubt in Tasso, especially in the early episodes, he seems to forget at times that she is a sorceress in league with the Devil. Not so Chortatsis, for whom her falling in love with Rinaldo excuses nothing. His Rinaldo does not promise, immediately after his rescue, to be her knight; nor does he pursue her off the battlefield, prevent her suicide, catch her swooning in his arms, and promise to marry her if she converts to Christianity. Chortatsis's Armida remains consistently the wicked seductress who plotted to keep the Christians out of Jerusalem; once her champions have been killed (interlude 3), the threat she posed is dealt with and she is mentioned no more. Rinaldo has to earn his destiny by renouncing everything he found in the garden, sex, music, luxury, feasting and idleness; only thus can he be a worthy Christian knight, fulfilling the requirements of celibacy and asceticism. Perhaps Chortatsis had discussed with Antonios Achelis¹² the military and religious order of the Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, who in 1565 successfully fought off an Ottoman attack on Malta.

The Sofronia and Olindo episode occurs early in Tasso's epic, before the Siege is under way, and seems designed to show the plight of the 'enslaved' Christian community of Jerusalem. The Cretan interlude could have been composed for performance within the Armida and Rinaldo series, perhaps after interlude 2 where there is a scene change,¹³ as a 'cameo' illustrating holy as opposed to profane love. The story begins in Tasso with Ismen's request to have a Christian icon of the Virgin Mary placed in the mosque, for thus, he believes, the city can be defended against the Crusaders. The icon is taken from the Christian church, but disappears as soon as it is put in the mosque, presumably by divine agency. The tyrannical old King suspects the Christians of the theft; furious, he orders their destruction by fire and sword. But just

11 *Ger. Lib.* xviii 26–31.

12 Achelis was the author of a poem about the Siege of Malta (printed Venice 1571; modern edition by Pernot 1910). Since both were natives of Rethymno and wrote verse in the Cretan vernacular, it is highly likely that they were acquainted.

13 The enchanted garden gives way to an exterior view of Jerusalem.

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then Sofronia, a Christian maiden, appears and declares she knows the thief's identity. Aladino, eyeing her charms, volunteers the promise that only the thief will be punished if she reveals it. He is astounded when she confesses that she took and burned the icon herself to save it from desecration. Outraged, he has her tied to a stake for burning. Olindo, who is secretly in love with the virtuous maid, recognises her and tells the King she is mad and he is the guilty party. Sofronia protests that the punishment is rightfully hers. The King decides that both should die. Clorinda, a warrior maiden, arrives and takes pity on the couple; she requests their pardon as advance payment for her services against the Crusaders. Reluctantly, he grants her boon, but has the lovers exiled from Palestine.

Chortatsis has greatly improved this edifying story of potential martyrdom by adding to it an element of mystery (who took the icon?) and rendering the characterisation more interesting. The interlude begins when the icon has already vanished; the King has decreed that unless the thief owns up, all the Christians will be burnt. Ismen, presented as the evil genius of an otherwise reasonable monarch, urges him to instant reprisals; the Christians are in league with the Crusaders and stole the icon to confound his spells. (Chortatsis refuses the notion that a Christian icon would defend a pagan regime.) The King, though angry, insists on waiting out the appointed time. Sofronia exacts his promise to spare the other Christians before confessing. He bullies her with preemptory questions (Tasso's King is milder at this point), and when she insults his religion sends soldiers for wood for her pyre. Then comes a scene without parallel in Tasso: the King's proposal, made through Ismen, to take her into his seraglio if she will abjure her faith and worship Mohammed. She remains faithful to Christ, though this means her death. Ismen nudges the King into pronouncing her death sentence and supervises the erecting of the stake.

The arrival of Olindo and his contest with Sofronia are roughly as in Tasso, but the speeches are humanised by touches of love; even Sofronia, whom critics of Tasso have called frigid, betrays a dawning love for Olindo, imploring him to 'spare his dewy youth'. The King avows himself at a loss to know which of the two to believe; it is Ismen who proposes burning them both. So the lovers are bound back-to-back at the stake, a touching spectacle. Olindo laments Sofronia's fate and their unconsummated love, while the saintly maiden reproves his worldly thoughts and bids him look to heaven. (Tasso's Olindo weeps, while Sofronia, silent but firm, gazes raptly upwards.) Clorinda's arrival is neatly dealt with by Chortatsis with a minimum of exposition. She solves the mystery in part by explaining to the King that Sofronia's confession was motivated by love of Christ, Olindo's by love of Sofronia. Her suggestion that Mohammed contrived the disappearance because he dislikes icons in mosques is unconvincing to a Christian audience, who will naturally think of a different explanation. She routs the nefarious Ismen with her scorn of a victory won by spells rather than valour. The King

graciously pardons the couple and lets them go free to their homes. The court retires after the lovers have expressed their gratitude, and Sofronia gladly accepts Olindo's proposal of marriage. Thus romantic and religious constancy are rewarded, and two examples are provided of female heroism, virtue and intelligence to set against the schemings of Armida.

Interlude 9, though not, I think, the work of Chortatsis, has a plot which may have been suggested by elements of Tasso's epic. In *Ger. Lib.* IV Armida tells a lying story about fleeing from a wicked uncle who plans to deprive her of her realm; she refuses marriage with his son, and her mother's ghost warns her that he means to kill her. Later (VII) the virtuous princess Erminia, who is hopelessly in love with Tancredi, escapes from her captors in a borrowed suit of armour, takes refuge with a kindly old shepherd and his wife and dresses as a shepherdess. There is a slight resemblance between the names Erminia and Nerina.¹⁴ In essence, however, the interlude is a romantic story of lovers finding each other after a long separation, with an element of military propaganda in the jibe about the shepherds' unskilfulness in arms. This would be appropriate both for raw recruits from the Cretan countryside and Venetian fief-holders too lazy to practise their military skills. It was vital for the residents of Crete to be able to defend the island against Ottoman invasion, and Foscarini (in Crete 1574-7), in common with other Venetian *Provveditori Generali*, laid great stress on the training of cavalry and infantry. The Rinaldo and Armida interludes, too, may have had such a propaganda purpose in view. But the sweetness of the coating conceals the pill.

The Anguillaran interludes

The adaptation technique is basically the same as for the Tassian interludes, but the tone is rather more frivolous, with the exception of the Polyxene interlude (no. 8) to be discussed at the end. Unlike Anguillara, Chortatsis was not restricted by any need to produce a faithful rendering of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; he was looking for delightful dramatic sketches, not necessarily featuring transformations, which the Cretan audience would enjoy. He therefore felt himself free to take certain liberties with the plot.

The story of Glaucus, Circe and Scylla is told by Anguillara at some length. Scylla, a beautiful maid of Messina, is listening to the confidences of the sea-nymph Galatea when Glaucus spies her and falls in love. He pays court to her, relating the story of his transformation into a sea-god, but she runs away, put off by his strange appearance (long green beard, fish-tail etc.). The Cretan version (interlude 6) begins where Glaucus comes to consult the witch Circe. The two locations in Anguillara – the seashore near Messina and the promon-

¹⁴ See Bancroft-Marcus 1977: 11 and Pecoraro 1972: 398, n. 53. Pecoraro points out that the name Nerina occurs in Tasso's *Aminta*, from which Chortatsis derived material for *Panoria* and *Erofilii*.

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tory of Latium where Glaucus lives – are coalesced for the purposes of ‘unity of place’ into a pastoral setting with a fountain, the scene of the other mythological interludes.

The tone of the interlude is one of tongue-in-cheek tragicomedy. Glaucus introduces himself as a lovelorn sea-god; he implies that he is visibly wet, as if fresh from swimming. Circe in her greeting evinces a certain susceptibility to his rank and good looks. (Anguillara finds it necessary to expound her amorous disposition in a narrative parenthesis; Chortatsis characterises through dialogue.) When Glaucus pleads for a spell to make Scylla desire him, Circe brazenly offers herself instead, boasting of her divine descent, skills in sorcery and multitude of lovers. Glaucus tries to be tactful; he praises Circe’s beauty (Anguillara’s Glaucus is less gallant), but says his heart is already given to the beautiful Scylla. Clearly Scylla’s virginal charms outweigh Circe’s other qualifications.

Since Anguillara relates the rest of the story in narrative form, Chortatsis has invented the subsequent speeches and also introduced many changes in the action. In the Italian version, Circe at once sets out to avenge herself on Scylla and speaks not another word to Glaucus, who watches and follows her as she concocts a foul potion, runs across the sea, and pours the stuff into the bay where Scylla likes to swim. The hapless Scylla bathes and is transformed from the waist down into a hairy dog or bitch, rabid with canine fury. In the Cretan interlude, the audience is not at first told that Circe’s intentions are evil, though her hypocrisy shows in jarring phrases which Glaucus is too dense or besotted to notice. She enchants the spring, since Scylla washes and drinks there, by invoking demons from hell by name; this and the weird lights signalling the success of her spells are changes made with obvious theatrical motivation. Sending Glaucus away, the witch reveals her diabolical plan to transform Scylla into a bitch. Her promise to make Scylla follow Glaucus like a bitch in heat is now seen to have been a concealed threat. She exits to leave the stage free for a charming and contrasting spectacle of innocent girlhood: Scylla enters with her friends (another female chorus; Chortatsis was fond of them, witness *Erofilii*) and they dance at some length. The fatal moment approaches; Scylla goes to the spring to refresh herself. The actual transformation seems to have been covered by the other maidens crowding round behind her; it seems to have been entire (was a trained dog involved?). When Glaucus returns, the Chorus point out his altered sweetheart, who somewhat ludicrously attacks him. His laments, as he realises Circe’s duplicity, are cut short by the thunderstorm which drives everyone offstage. This interlude is mainly one of spectacle, but the portrayal of Circe’s malignity and Glaucus’s credulity is excellently done, and functions as an object lesson in what happens if one has recourse to sorceresses (of whom there were many in contemporary Crete).¹⁵

15 Cf. *Stathis* II 73–5.

In interlude 7, Chortatsis has again adapted a mainly narrative account in Anguillara into a spectacular little drama with subtle touches of characterisation. The Argonauts in the Italian version, led by Jason, arrive at Colchis and ask the King for the Golden Fleece. Before obtaining it, they have to yoke two fierce bulls, plough the ground, sow it with dragon's teeth, defeat the warriors who will then sprout up, and send the guardian dragon to sleep. Medea, the King's daughter, falls in love with Jason, who takes advantage of her infatuation to gain her help (she is a herbalist). After a wrestle with her conscience, she consents on condition that he marries her when they get to Greece. She then instructs him in the magical lore necessary to win the Fleece. The watching Argonauts cheer as Jason deals with the bulls, warriors and dragon. Taking the Fleece and Medea with them, they sail away.

The Cretan interlude begins after the bull-yoking and before the sowing, unless the yoking was originally enacted before the dialogue commences. Medea is instructing Jason how to proceed, and asks him for assurances of his love. Jason's reply abounds in expressions relating to 'binding' and sounds somewhat stifled; his sincerity is in doubt. It is not clear at what point he sows the 'seeds', but soon the warriors come onstage brandishing their swords. Jason frankly quails; making no attempt to fight them, he throws the magic rock which turns their blades against each other. (The corpses presumably pile up in a corner, leaving room for the beast-combat.) The dragon appears; again Jason is terrified and subdues it 'without effort' by throwing magic herbs at it. This pusillanimity and reliance on magic contrast unfavourably with the valour of the Crusaders in interlude 2, who attempt to kill the monsters with swords before using the golden wand.

Medea reappears to urge him to instant flight, and suggests resuscitating the warriors to cover their retreat. Without turning a hair, he says 'Just as you please, my dear', and leaves her to get on with it. Medea bids the corpses rise, sprinkling them with spring-water from her mouth; they get to their feet, no doubt with suitably spine-chilling pantomime, and follow her offstage. Apart from the obvious theatrical effect of such a scene, it gives an inkling of Medea's future career, which Jason is not going to enjoy. There is nothing like it in Anguillara; the closest parallel is a version of the myth in which she slows her father's pursuit by cutting her young brother into pieces and scattering them. As far as the Italian poet was concerned, Medea was more sinned against than sinning, an unfortunate girl exploited by an unscrupulous stranger. Chortatsis has little sympathy to waste on witches.

Interlude 10 is derived from the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe, as recounted in Anguillara by Alcinoe to her sisters, who all weep deliciously at its pathos. (Perhaps this supports the hypothesis that these interludes were destined for a ladies' tournament, introduced by the Prologue of Apollo.) The couple were desperately in love, but prevented from marrying by their feuding parents. Through a chink in the adjoining wall (cf. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) they planned their elopement. Pyramus has the house-keys copied, and they steal

Interludes

out of their homes at dead of night, intending to meet in a wood and travel to a distant town. Thisbe arrives first, but runs away from a bloody-mawed lion, which mauls her bundle of clothes and fallen veil. The bloodstained garments lead Pyramus to conclude that Thisbe has been devoured, and he stabs himself, his blood staining the white fruit of the tree overhead. Thisbe finds him there, dying, and falls on his sword, gasping out their story to a passer-by. Their parents, reconciled in their grief, bury the couple in a marble sepulchre, and the fruit of the mulberry tree is red for evermore.

Chortatsis begins the interlude where Thisbe reaches the rendezvous. After her exposition speech, he follows Anguillara quite closely (including some word plays on blood which one would have preferred him to omit), using the lovers' suicide speeches. Despite Pyramus's sensible appeal to Thisbe not to follow his example, she is about to plunge in the knife when a celestial voice halts her, explaining that their parents are reconciled and Pyramus's wound is not mortal, but can be cured with dittany. This motif may have been suggested by Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, where Erminia (a herbalist) binds her lover Tancredi's wounds with her hair only because she has no dittany or saffron. Dittany (*dictamnus*) was believed to grow only on the slopes of Mount Dicte in Crete, and the legend of its healing powers over arrow wounds in deer was very widely known. Once Pyramus is restored to health, they go in search of a less wooded spot in which to wait for their parents (and their wedding). This very Cretan 'happy ending' may have been an experiment in the new genre of *tragedia di lieto fine* invented by Giraldi, whose tragedy *Altile*, a happy-ending remake of *Orbecche*, was known to Chortatsis.¹⁶

Interlude 11 is a rather frivolous damsel-in-distress spectacle with a rousing beast-combat. In Anguillara, Perseus is flying over Ethiopia on his winged steed Pegasus when he sees a lovely girl bound naked to a rock by the seashore. He learns from her broken, shame-faced utterances that she is the Princess Andromeda, doomed to be devoured by a sea-monster to expiate her mother's arrogance. As the enormous whale approaches, Andromeda shrieks and her parents lament. Perseus offers himself as her rescuer to her parents, on condition that they grant him her hand in marriage; they accept (Andromeda is not consulted). Perseus harries the whale from Pegasus, eventually leading it far out to sea and petrifying it with the Gorgon's head (used later by the Nereids to make coral). He returns to applause from the watching multitude and claims his bride. After making thank-offerings to the gods, they celebrate the marriage-feast.

As in the case of interlude 6, Chortatsis transfers the scene from the seashore to a pastoral setting; his Andromeda is chained between two trees. She may be scantily clad, since she keeps her face at first modestly lowered. Having heard her tale, Perseus refuses to believe that her death is the gods' will and declares himself her champion. He fights the monster (lion? dragon? boar?) with the

16 Bancroft-Marcus 1978: 143-4.

valour of a Christian knight. Only when he has killed it does he introduce himself as the son of Zeus (by Danae) and grandson of Anchises, and claim her hand. Andromeda willingly consents, since they are both of noble family!

Interlude 8 has been reserved till last because its tone is tragic and its subject historical, rather than mythological. It is in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* because of Hecuba's transformation, through grief, into a dog. Achilles' ghost appears to Agamemnon after the sack of Troy in a vision, demanding the sacrifice of Polyxene. After consultation with the priest Calchas, he sends men to take the girl from her mother's embrace, for only thus can the seas be calmed. Polyxene enters proudly and, noticing Achilles' son Pyrrhus staring at her, challenges him to sacrifice her; but no man's hand is to sully her virgin purity, and her body is to be given, not sold, to Hecuba for burial. But it is Calchas who sacrifices her, and the body is taken by the Greeks to the Trojan women. Hecuba mourns at considerable length, with invectives against Achilles; finally, insane, she attacks the Greeks and turns into a dog.

The Cretan interlude opens with a discussion among the Greeks of the reason for the angry seas preventing their return; Agamemnon and Odysseus agree on the necessity for a propitiatory sacrifice. Suddenly the ghost of Achilles appears from his tomb and addresses them all, demanding the sacrifice of Polyxene. Agamemnon hesitates, not wishing to deprive Priam's widow of her last remaining child. Odysseus insists that it is necessary, and Pyrrhus threatens violence if his father's request is not honoured. Agamemnon yields and, while the others are fetching the girl, muses alone on the tragedy of the human condition as exemplified by Priam's fate. The details of Priam's life evince independent knowledge of the Trojan War stories, and there may also be a foreshadowing of the fate awaiting Agamemnon:

Στη βασιλείά ντου εκάθeto, πλούσος και μπορεμένος,
 κι απ' ολωνά τω βασιλιά του κόσμου ζηλεμένος·
 τράντα παιδιά 'χεν άχαρος κι εθώρειεν ομπροστά του,
 κι ολημερνίς πασίχαρη εστέκετο η καρδιά του·
 όλοι τον προσκυνούσανε, κι όλοι τον εδουλεύγα,
 και χίλιοι τα θελήματα να κάμου του, γυρεύγα·
 και σ' ένα ανοιγοσφάλισμα των αμματιά ντου αντάμι,
 χίλιοι στρατιώτες έτρεμαν ομπρός του σαν καλάμι.
 Κι εις τό 'στερο, σ' ίντά 'πεσε! Πρώτα είδε σκοτωμένα
 ομπρός του τα παιδάκια του τα πολυαγαπημένα·
 κι ύστερα απόθανε κι αυτός στο αίμα των παιδιά ντου,
 κι η γης ετούτη εχόρτασε το αίμα το δικό ντου·
 κι η χώρα του ερημάκτηκε, πένθος εκαταστάθη,
 και τ' όνομά τζη εβούλιαξε, κι η ευγενεία τση εχάθη. (Interlude 8, 61-74)

Once Priam sat enthroned in wealth and might,
 The envy of all kings throughout creation;
 His thirty children gladdened his regard,
 And all day long his doomed heart knew contentment;

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Everyone paid him homage, served him well,
And thousands strove to carry out his wishes;
And, at a single blinking of his eyes,
A thousand soldiers shook like reeds before him.
Then what a fall was his! First he beheld
His darling little children killed before him;
Then he died too, in his own children's blood;
This very earth gorged itself on his life-blood.
His realm collapsed, reduced to grief and woe;
Troy's noble name, her pride, was sunk and ruined.

When Polyxene is brought in, he speaks to her firmly but sympathetically, trying to reconcile her to her fate (in Anguillara there is merely an allusion to the necessity of the victim's willingness). She agrees that death is preferable to slavery, but asks mercy on her mother's account. Agamemnon tells her that he once had to sacrifice his own daughter (Iphigeneia); again, this is not derived from Anguillara. Polyxene has a pathetic moment of shrinking when Calchas places the sacrificial wreath on her head; Calchas tells her she will go to heaven (a Christian anachronism, perhaps necessary to comfort the audience). She mounts Achilles' tomb, and Calchas calls on Pyrrhus to sacrifice her. The young man addresses her roughly and attempts to fling her on her knees; she recoils from his defiling touch. Then, kneeling of her own accord, she speaks her last words (here Anguillara is followed closely), and Pyrrhus plunges in the knife. Chortatsis has followed her challenge to its logical conclusion. The dispatch of the maiden by this bloodthirsty young man, with his personal motive, greatly enhances the emotive power of the sacrifice, especially to those who know that it was Pyrrhus who killed one of her brothers and her father.

Agamemnon pities the dead girl and prays that Achilles will now relent. When Hecuba enters, her tottering steps supported by her handmaids, he breaks the news to her briefly, and the Greeks leave the women to mourn. Chortatsis wisely keeps Hecuba's lament brief and poignant, without curses, insanity or undignified transformations. Polyxene is carried to her funeral by the sorrowing women, her request not to be touched by man's hand respected.

Chortatsis has constructed, on the basis of a bald narrative and three speeches, a mini-tragedy of great pathos and surprising depth, with implications that reach behind and beyond the mere act of sacrifice. He may have been influenced for Agamemnon's soliloquy by Goffredo's musings on the 'harsh tragedy of the human condition' in Tasso's *Ger. Lib.* XX 73, or by the account of Priam's death, with its comment on his catastrophic fate, in Virgil's *Aeneid* II 506–58, especially the last five lines. Since the form of the names is Greek, not Italian (e.g. Odysseus for Ulisse, Polyxene for Polissena, Ekavi for Hecuba), it may be that he had read Homer in Greek, not necessarily in Loukanis's sixteenth-century vulgarisation (facsimile reprint Walton 1979).

His use of the chorus and sense of tragic decorum suggest that he had read the Greek tragedians also, perhaps especially Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, Sophocles' *Antigone* and Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. It is noteworthy both in *Erofilo* and the Chortatsian interludes that the Cretan audiences had no objection to the enacting of violent death on-stage, though perhaps they would have recoiled, as Horace did, from the butchering of children ('ne pueros coram populi Medea trucidet' ('Medea should not murder her children in the sight of the audience'), *Ars Poetica* 185).

The Fortounatos interludes

Comparative criticism cannot be performed for those non-Chortatsian interludes lacking a known source; their general character is evident from the summaries. However, the relationship between the first two interludes of Foskolos's *Fortounatos* and Giambattista Marino's *Adone* is well worth exploring, since Pecoraro cites convincing parallels demonstrating direct rather than indirect influence. There are also structural similarities and passages of close paraphrase which support his hypothesis, though the differences are far more striking than the resemblances.

Adone is an abstruse intellectual work in twenty cantos of *ottava rima* stanzas which abound in allegorical symbolism. Despite its many beautiful descriptive passages, it makes dull reading today, seeming intended for perusal by scholar-philosophers who might then discuss its significance with colleagues in an academic seminar. The Cretan interludes, though not devoid of a philosophical element, are considerably less oblique and more lively, with speeches designed to present the salient facts in a concise and palatable manner, as well as to illustrate the contrasting claims of the three goddesses and the personalities of the speakers. The interludes are stage-oriented, meant for performance before an audience consisting both of intellectuals and of the comparatively ignorant.

In Marino's poem, the Judgement of Paris (Canto II) is one of many cosmetic anecdotes loosely attached to the story of Adonis. The three goddesses symbolise the choice between the life of action (Juno), contemplation (Minerva) and sensual pleasure (Venus); Paris makes the usual human choice in favour of the third. The poet relates how Discord flung onto the table where the gods were feasting a golden apple inscribed 'To be given to the fairest', thus provoking a quarrel between the goddesses. Juno's claim is supported by her husband Jove, Minerva's by her brother Apollo and that of Venus by her lover Mars. Jove disqualifies himself as judge, since he is related to all three contestants, and decrees that Paris, son of King Priam of Troy, should award the prize. The goddesses, arrayed in their best, are escorted by Mercury to the wooded slopes of Mount Ida in Phrygia where Paris is living as a shepherd and dallying with Oenone (Enon in Italian, hence Νένω in Cretan). Mercury tells him of Jove's decree, and Paris reluctantly accepts the commission. Each

goddess makes a speech declaring her right to the apple; to each Paris makes a courteous but non-committal reply. Unable to decide, he asks them to disrobe. Venus readily obliges; the others follow suit under protest. Paris takes each aside for a private interview, during which Juno promises him worldly power and glory, Minerva invincibility in battle and Venus Helen. Paris gives the apple to Venus, who exults in her triumph. Juno and Minerva curse him with future misfortune, but Venus promises her continued protection.

Structurally, the Cretan interludes are quite close to *Adone*; the speeches follow in much the same order, though the arguments adduced are usually different. The Cretan author was concerned with the dramatisation of the story, and his exposition is neat and unobtrusive. The goddesses make only one speech in support of their claim, concluding in each case with the promises made in the private interviews; both claim and bribe are public. There is no stripping (*Adone* was criticised for having a salacious element!); evidently the goddesses were already as lightly clad as Cretan modesty would tolerate. Passages of verbal imitation do not necessarily appear in the same sequence, and it is clear that the Cretan author used *Adone* merely as a source for a scenario; there is no question of plagiarism. There are certain differences in the speeches of the goddesses (called Hera, Pallas and Aphrodite). Juno's claim that the Sun worships her beauty is not used, because the Sun was identified with Apollo by Cretans, and Apollo supports Pallas; nor is her power stressed as it is in *Adone*. Pallas takes her stand on virtue; this is much more developed in the Cretan, where she is associated with wisdom and valour. Whereas Venus simply states that she is beautiful, Aphrodite stresses her power, in a speech reminiscent of *Panoria* IV 277–96. The goddesses in *Adone* are strikingly arrogant in comparison with their Cretan counterparts: 'The apple is hardly worth my acceptance'!

The first and second pairs of interludes in *Fortounatos* (15–16 and 17–18) are linked by the common characters Paris (bringing Helen to Troy) and Aphrodite (who warns the guilty pair that Menelaus is hot on the trail). The enmity of the slighted goddesses is now becoming evident, and Aphrodite's protection will not suffice to save Troy. Paris's yielding to the temptations of carnal lust (like Rinaldo, without his conversion) and his father Priam's stubbornness in refusing to return Helen, will bring about the destruction of Priam's realm, which Paris hubristically expected to inherit (interlude 17).

Evidence in favour of Foskolos's authorship of these interludes – not a foregone conclusion, since they are attached at the back of the comedy text and have a separate textual provenance – is provided by echoes of Chortatsis in the interludes. Foskolos's comedy is steeped in reminiscences of *Panoria*, *Erofili* and the Tassian interludes. Interlude 15 has echoes of the arrival of Rinaldo and Armida in the garden (interlude 1) and of the Aphrodite scene in *Panoria* IV; the *moresca* combats of interludes 16 and 17 are like those of interludes 3 and 4; and interlude 16 has reminiscences of Goffredo's orations. The verse has the imperfections of Foskolos, too much hiatus and occasional

lameness; on the other hand, the fast-moving qualities of the comedy are found enhanced in the interludes. The relatively archaic language is to be attributed to the change of genre, interludes being heroic, comedies frivolous. The speeches are well argued and non-derivative, suggesting experience of forensic rhetoric.

As in interludes 3–4, the bloody combats between Greeks and Trojans are reduced to two *moresca* combats fought by four warriors on a side. The story of the fall of Troy, depicted in the second half of the last interlude, is based on Virgil's *Aeneid* II (cf. above on interlude 8), with the action greatly simplified and telescoped. Sinon's guileful story and Laocoon's horrible death are passed over in silence, though Laocoon's warning to beware the Horse is used. Vincent noted that it paraphrases Virgil's 'timeo Danaos et dona ferentes' ('I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts'); it is interesting that the word for 'Greeks' is replaced by that for 'enemies', avoiding the slur (offensive to Cretan audiences) and making the concept more generally applicable.

In Virgil, Aeneas persuades his father only with difficulty to accompany him into his destined exile, the deciding factor being a shooting star; the Cretan interlude compresses this into two touching speeches, vaguely reminiscent of *Aeneid* II 639–49 and 707–10. In the interlude, Aeneas emerges from the city with his father, wife and two children; in Virgil, he sets off with Anchises, Creusa and Iulus, but loses Creusa on the way, and when he returns meets her ghost who bids him seek his destiny. The interludes, unlike the *Aeneid*, were not written to exalt the founding of Rome, but to illustrate the causes and pathos of the fall of a city. The fall of Troy was caused by Paris's sin; the city sacked, the survivors are doomed to exile. Anchises' concluding couplet makes this plain: 'Alas, how crimes sink civilisations, wreck kingdoms and scatter them to the wind!' These interludes accompany a comedy written c. 1655, seven years into the Siege of Candia which, despite the valiant resistance of its defenders, ended in capitulation to the Ottomans and exile for many Kastriots. It seems very likely that they were written by Foskolos between 1648 and 1655, at a time when those locked in the city believed the siege to be a punishment for their past sins.

Religious drama

WIM BAKKER

On the island of Crete there is no trace to be found of the tradition, so well known in Western Europe, of the mystery play.¹ Only three texts have so far been discovered that in certain respects (and to different degrees) remind one of the genre of religious drama. One of these is the *Θρήνος εις τα Πάθη και την Σταύρωση του Κυρίου και Θεού και Σωτήρος ημών, Ιησού Χριστού* (*Lament on the Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord, God and Saviour, Jesus Christ*), by Marinos Falieros (c. 1395–1474). It is a dramatically developed *Planctus Mariae* of 404 verses, more than two thirds of which is taken up by the lamentations of Mary. The remaining speakers are Martha, John, Mary Magdalene, Christ and some others, among whom the Jew Tzadok holds an important position. It is he who, at the request of the poet and his friends, translates the Hebrew words spoken by the persons represented in the painting of the Crucifixion scene before them.² The second religious text that shows some resemblance to theatre and which also stems from the first half of the fifteenth century,³ is the anonymous *Λόγοι παρακλητικοί εις τα τίμια και άγια πάθη του κυρίου ημών Ιησού Χριστού και θρήνος της υπεραγίας Θεοτόκου* (*Supplications at the holy passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and lament of the holy Virgin*). In the 112 verses which have survived⁴ the poet tells the story of the Passion following the text of the Gospel rather slavishly (especially that of St Matthew). Of interest, however, is the fact that he does not tell his tale in a narrative form, but in dialogue, alternating the speaker parts with introductory phrases in prose, mostly in the present tense, but sometimes in the past,⁵ which makes one wonder whether these phrases were meant as stage-directions or as advice directed towards the reader. Both this text and the one written by Falieros

1 As to the existence of any form of religious drama in Byzantium our knowledge is poor and very uncertain. The certainty with which, for example, Pernoud 1965 and Bréhier 1970: 348–54 speak on this subject is entirely unfounded. See Baud-Bovy 1975 and Puchner 1984b: 15–92.

2 For the edition – a new one is being prepared by Bertrand Bouvier of the University of Geneva – and further particulars see the Bibliographical guide, section 1(d).

3 Or somewhat later (which applies especially to the *Λόγοι παρακλητικοί*), but certainly not as late as the first part of the sixteenth century, as was assumed by the editors Manousakas and Parlangei (1954: 113; see the Bibliographical guide, section 1(d)).

4 The second half has been lost; according to the editors (Manousakas and Parlangei 1954: 114), the whole text would not have exceeded 300 verses.

5 Something similar is found in the so-called *Cyprus Passion* (ed. by Mahr 1947). For the latest views on this problematical text see Puchner 1984c: 91–107.

may have nothing to do with the theatre, but the influence of the theatre certainly makes itself felt. There will be no certainty on this point until the models (or sources) of these works have been discovered, models which beyond question must be looked for in the West, especially in Italy.⁶

It appears, therefore, that there are no *theatrical* precursors in the Greek world to what may be considered the masterpiece of religious drama – our third text – the *Θυσία του Αβραάμ* (*Sacrifice of Abraham*). Unlike the other two, it may be regarded as a play and its position within Western European tradition can be firmly established. Although the play does not have a prologue or an epilogue and has been handed down to us without division into acts and scenes,⁷ it certainly does not bear any resemblance to the vast and often formless mystery plays, which during the Middle Ages were so popular in Western Europe.⁸ Seen from the viewpoint of structure and handling of the story it is just like any other of the many biblical plays which, soon after the beginning of the Renaissance, started to develop strict act and scene structure and careful plot organisation under the influence of the comedies of Plautus and Terence and, later, of the tragedies of Seneca.⁹

The *Sacrifice of Abraham* is a short play of 1,144 fifteen-syllable verses,¹⁰ arranged in rhyming couplets, written in the eastern variety of the Cretan dialect. Its textual transmission is rather unsatisfactory. On the one hand we have a manuscript written, as was customary at that time, in Latin characters on the island of Zante, which means that it must have been copied from a manuscript brought over by Cretan refugees who fled from their island in 1669. On the other hand there is a whole series of editions, the first being the one published by Andonios Vortolis (Venice 1713). We have positive proof, however, of the existence of an earlier edition by Nikolaos Sarros (Venice

6 For Italian influences in the poetry of Falieros see Bakker and van Gemert 1977b: 28–30, and van Gemert 1980b: 38–48. For the religious text discussed above see also Chapter 3 herein, p. 61.

7 And, furthermore, without the name of the author, a fact which surely cannot be considered as a strong piece of evidence for its being a product of the Renaissance! On the absence of a prologue, epilogue etc. see below pp. 184–6.

8 Until recently the *Sacrifice of Abraham* was actually regarded as a mystery play. See, for example, Solomos 1973: 36. For some examples of mystery plays on the Abraham theme see Bibliographical guide, section 1(b), and for some studies on the mystery play in general section 1(a) (Craig, Kinghorn and Prosser).

9 They were written all over Western Europe, but mainly in France, Holland and the German-speaking countries. See further Bibliographical guide, section 1(a) (Blackburn, Herford, Le Hir and Reckling). For examples of biblical plays on the Abraham theme see Bibliographical guide, Section 1(c).

10 These are the 1,160 verses of the edition of Tsantsanoglou (the numbering of which is followed throughout, as currently being the most accessible edition) minus ten verses which are generally considered spurious (also by Tsantsanoglou: see vv. 1141–2, 1145–6 and 1155–60) and six verses (207–8 and 273–6) which, according to the view of the author of this chapter, should not be regarded as belonging to the original text (cf. also Megas 1954).

1696).¹¹ Both branches of the tradition are imperfect: the manuscript, because, besides having one page missing (= 70 of the 1144 verses) and showing scores of minor errors, it appears, from its many omissions (in total 80 verses) and additions (44 verses), to have undergone extensive modification;¹² the edition, because the text of the manuscript the first editor must have had in front of him (and which beyond question was different from the one we have) was subjected to the treatment usual at that time: the editor adapted it so as to make it more accessible to the general public, mainly by replacing the majority of the typically Cretan dialect forms, words and expressions with more standard Greek ones. This is why Megas in his critical edition (1954) as a rule followed the text offered by the early editions in determining the number of verses and their content, but had to have recourse to the manuscript in order to give the correct Cretan flavour to his text.¹³

The *Sacrifice of Abraham* must have been very popular, but not as a play. Neither branch of the tradition shows any marks of a division into acts and scenes; although in both the speaking characters are indicated, it is only in the editions that (a few) stage-directions have been preserved; the manuscript has none. On the title-pages of the editions it is not referred to as a play, but as a 'ἱστορία ψυχωφελεστάτη' ('a story most beneficial to the soul'),¹⁴ and ten 'edifying' verses of plainly religious import have been appended to the last scene, as if to underline this. These verses are not present in the manuscript, where the text ends with six other verses, in the third of which we read "Ὅσοι κί αν τη διαβάζουσι . . ." ('All those who may read it') meaning the *Sacrifice of Abraham*), a further indication that the man who added these verses to the text regarded it as a story, not a play.¹⁵

Although only one manuscript has been preserved,¹⁶ we can be sure about the popularity of this work. Apart from the fact that we have (or know of the existence of) thirty-seven editions between 1696 and 1874, there is evidence

11 For more information on the manuscript and the editions see Bibliographical guide, sections 3(b) and (c).

12 Megas, in preparing his critical edition (see Megas 1954 and Bibliographical guide, section 3(c)), made a thorough examination of the manuscript, but he did this only in order to be able to decide what had been written by the author and what not. He forgot, however, to ask important questions such as why the play was adapted, with what intentions and by how many and what kind of people. On this subject, and for a discussion of the text history of the first editions, see Bakker 1990.

13 See Megas 1954, especially pp. 55–8; Tsantsanoglou 1971 and Tomadhakis 1971 (see Bibliographical guide, section 3(c)) in their non-critical editions take a slightly different course by paying more attention, the one more so than the other, to the readings of the manuscript. A new critical edition will be published by the author of this chapter and his colleague A.F. van Gemert within a few years. For the reasons why such an edition is necessary see Bakker 1978/9: 23–5.

14 It is not referred to as a drama until 1836, when in the edition of Frangiskos Andreolas the title-page for the first time calls it a 'δράμα ἱερόν' (a sacred drama). See Alisandhratos 1966.

15 For alterations in the text of the manuscript which are clearly introduced in order to change the theatrical text into a reading text see Bakker 1990, Ch. 3. A7.

16 There is yet another manuscript, the so-called Κολλιβά manuscript, but this is a written copy of an early edition.

that these chapbooks found their way all over Greece and that people read them, learning by heart the text of whole sections of the work and using its verses in other poems.¹⁷ Moreover, it passed into other languages, finding a translator in Serbia and two in Turkey about 1800 or somewhat later.¹⁸

We do not know whether this play was ever staged in Crete, either during the lifetime of the poet or later. The first performance in Greece we know of took place in 1855 on Zante (see Puchner 1976). After that it had to wait again until 1930, when Fotos Politis mounted a production in Athens.¹⁹

The *Sacrifice of Abraham* is an anonymous work. The only allusion to its possible author occurs in the first two of the extra six verses at the end of the manuscript, mentioned above, but it is so vague that it creates questions rather than answering them: 'It (presumably the *Sacrifice of Abraham*) was composed in verses in the year 1635 by a Cretan.' The quality of the six verses is such that today everyone agrees that they cannot have been written by the author himself. And, anyway, why did he not give his name? Many scholars nowadays hold the view that the words 'it was composed' (which actually in the original mean simply 'it was done') do not refer to the composition, but to an adaptation of the poem by some scribe, who hides himself behind the phrase 'by a Cretan'.²⁰

Most scholars believe that the conjecture first voiced by Xanthoudhidhis that the author of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* is Vitsentzos Kornaros, the author of the *Erotokritos*, is correct (Xanthoudhidhis 1915: cxviii–cxxx), although conclusive proof is lacking. The two works were composed in the same period and show many similarities in vocabulary and manner of expression; furthermore they have a number of verses and half-verses that are either identical or show a remarkable similarity.²¹ Once scholars who took part in this discussion had accepted, some completely, others with reservations, that the poets were one and the same, it was only to be expected that a second question would arise: which work precedes the other? First the debate centred around the similarities of the two poems and their respective prototypes, scholars trying to prove, not always with the precision and feeling for detail necessary in such matters, that passages common to the two works have their origin in only one of the prototypes; later, attention was focussed on the question which of the two poems shows the greater maturity. Given the total difference in genre between the two, this question (which in fact should be: In which work does the poet show a greater maturity?) is an extremely delicate one and should be handled with the utmost subtlety; it can be discussed only when a complete

17 For more particulars see Bibliographical guide, section 3(g).

18 The Turkish translation, of course, was meant for Greeks living in Turkey who had forgotten their Greek. See further Bibliographical guide, section 3(h).

19 For further particulars on performances see Puchner 1980a: n. 194.

20 For a different view on this point see Evangelatos 1985a: 77 and n. 164. See also Bibliographical guide, section 3(a) and Bakker 1990: n. 100.

21 For a complete list of these verses and half-verses see Megas 1954: 70–2.

analysis has been made of the language, style, metre and rhyme of the two poems,²² and when the poet's (or poets') stance with respect to the prototypes of the two works has been fully examined. The discussion on this subject petered out after 1960, perhaps because scholars had come to a deeper understanding of what was observed above, but probably also because about that time new impetus was given to research concerning the person of Vitsentzos Kornaros.²³ And indeed, what would be gained by working on the question whether the *Sacrifice of Abraham* was the work of Kornaros, if nobody knew exactly who this Kornaros was?

All this means that until such time as research has been carried out along the lines described above, we cannot say with any measure of certainty either who the poet of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* was, or exactly when the play was composed.²⁴ The only definite dates we have at our disposal are the *terminus ante quem* (or, possibly, even the *tempus quo*) 1635 and the *terminus post quem* 1586, the year that Luigi Grotto published his *Lo Isach* for the first time.²⁵

That Grotto's *Lo Isach* is the model for the Cretan poet's play has been established with absolute certainty since 1928, when Mavrogordato pointed this out in his now famous article (1928). *Lo Isach*, a *rappresentazion* as Grotto called it,²⁶ was composed in the characteristic form of the late Italian Renaissance (or mannerism rather) of the second half of the sixteenth century. The play opens with a prologue and is divided into five acts, the first four of which end in a choral song; it closes with an epilogue.

Here follows a short summary of the story:

The drama begins with the appearance of an Angel, who, after waking up Abraham from his sleep, commands him in the name of God to sacrifice his only and beloved son Isaac. Abraham, shocked and bewildered, at first beseeches God not to ask something so horrifying of him, but soon afterwards realises that it is impossible to resist God's will. In the meantime his wife Sarah has woken up. When she asks what is the matter with him he tries to hide the terrible news, but when she keeps insisting, he tells her what is expected of him. After a short lament she loses consciousness.

Fearing that after her recovery she will try to hold him back, Abraham decides to depart as soon as possible. But then a servant girl arrives and brings him the message that Sarah has revived and is asking for him. After a long conversation between the two parents Sarah seems to submit to the will of God.

Abraham wakens Isaac and thus the two of them, accompanied by two male servants, start the long journey to the mountain where, according to God's command, the sacrifice must take place. Sarah remains behind inconsolable.

22 Fortunately the first steps towards such an analysis have been taken: see the work of Dia Philippides, *Bibliographical guide*, section 3(j).

23 See further Chapter 9 herein.

24 For the whole discussion see *Bibliographical guide*, section 3(a).

25 Later editions are those of 1605 (Venice), 1605 (Serravalle di Venezia), 1607 (Orvieto) and 1612 (Venice). They differ from the first edition only on some minor points.

26 It should rather be called a *tragedia di lieto fin*: see Bakker 1978: 113–14.

After travelling for three days they reach the mountain, at the foot of which they leave the two servants. Only after reaching the top does Abraham tell his son what sacrifice is to be made. After a long struggle Isaac gives his consent, but when Abraham is on the point of killing his son, the Angel makes a second appearance and tells him that the trial is over. Prayers of thanks are offered and a ram is slaughtered instead of Isaac. Then father and son descend quickly and send one of the servants ahead to bring Sarah the good news. When finally they themselves arrive, there follows a happy scene, full of joy and gratitude.

This summary covers the content of Grotto's drama as well as of the Cretan play. Furthermore, when we discover that in 61 verses of the first 200 (covering Grotto's first act) the poet of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* follows Grotto's text to a considerable degree, we may conclude that, if the Cretan play is not a direct translation, it is at least an adaptation that follows its model rather closely. On further examination, however, of these 61 verses (indicating the degree of correspondence with the Italian verses by A = direct translation, B = choice of words influenced by the Italian text, C = contents identical or similar, D = possible influence of the Italian text on the contents), one finds that there are only 4 A-correspondences, 5 B, 3 C and 49 D. Furthermore, many of these 'corresponding' verses correspond also with verses occurring in other plays on the same subject,²⁷ and the majority of the identical and similar verses are those which indicate an action that takes place (or is going to take place) on the stage or a change in the plot of some other kind. It is not surprising that, in the sections of the two plays where the same or nearly the same plot is followed, similar and sometimes even identical expressions are used.²⁸

The question whether the *Sacrifice of Abraham* is a translation of *Lo Isach* can thus be answered negatively. But at the same time it is clear that the Cretan poet has followed Grotto's plot fairly closely. He seems not to have taken the trouble to develop his own plot but to have contented himself with what he was offered by his model. As a creative artist, he seems to have taken a keener interest in matters other than plot. However, the poet has not merely borrowed Grotto's plot and added a few ideas of his own; he has in fact introduced many modifications, first of all in what may be called 'the filling out', the *internal* plot. His characters are different from the outset and also in the ways in which they are developed. Secondly, he has introduced changes into the action, that is into the *external* plot, causing a modification of the structure of the play.

The *Sacrifice of Abraham* is not divided into acts and scenes, at least not in the sources known to us. Moreover, the Cretan poet has dropped the prologue, the epilogue and the choric odes, which are all present in his model. Finally,

27 Which means that the Cretan poet did not necessarily borrow them from Grotto, or from anyone else, but may have created them himself. For some examples see Bakker 1978: 39, n. 24.

28 For the whole discussion on the identity or similarity of verses of the two plays, see Bakker 1978: Ch. 2.

he has not observed the *regula* of the three unities: there is neither unity of place (the action takes place in and outside Abraham's home, but also on and at the foot of mount Moria), nor unity of time (instead of at the most twenty-four hours the action covers at least six days). But we should not therefore believe that the play is without structure and rambles on like the old mystery plays.²⁹

The Cretan poet ignores the unities of place and time but in this play these unities can be achieved only if the poet chooses a later 'point of attack'³⁰ – if he omits the scenes which take place around Abraham's house at the beginning as well as at the end of the play. The Cretan poet, however, was not in a position to do this, because he clearly wanted to show his public Abraham's inner struggle from the beginning (the moment the *mandatum* is brought to him by the Angel) until the end. How was this point handled by Grotto? The answer is rather unexpected: not even Grotto, who for the rest strictly adheres to the traditional form, tried to maintain the unities of place and time! In his drama the first two acts take place at home, but in the third act three scenes take place at home, one on the way to mount Moria and one at the foot of the mountain. In the fourth act the mountain is the place of action, and in the fifth the scene moves back to a spot near Abraham's home. It is not surprising that Grotto did not maintain the unities of place and time within his whole play, because the subject matter is not appropriate, but it is remarkable that he did not even try to do so within each act, particularly the third one.

The omission of prologue, epilogue and choric odes by the Cretan poet might be explained by the supposition that both prologue and epilogue were lost in transmission. As to the prologue, however, if the poet had added one, the editors (of the Venetian editions) and the scribes (both of the extant manuscript and of those no longer extant) would have preserved it, because in this way they could have informed the readers – for thus they identified their public (see p. 181) – where and when the action takes place. In the play, however, the poet does not make a single allusion (apart from the names of the characters) to the time and place of the action. It is to be expected of a poet who finds such things unimportant or considers it absolutely necessary to leave such allusions out, that he would regard a prologue as something superfluous. Moreover, he clearly makes good this omission by giving the audience an ample exposition of the situation, the characters and their mutual relations in the first ninety-four verses.³¹ Considering the general religious-didactic

29 Fotos Politis, who was responsible for the first performances of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* in Athens in 1930, held this view and stated that in form this play presents a complete contrast to the other plays which were created in Crete at that time; that is, it is utterly primitive (Megas 1954: 114). His brother Linos Politis, on the other hand, believed that the exceptional form of the play was not caused by its primitiveness, but by the fact that the poet was in search of new, revolutionary forms (L. Politis 1960: 367).

30 For this term see Levitt 1971: 24–34.

31 See especially verses 43–50. Cf. also Terzakis (in Tsantsanoglou 1971: 21), who speaks of an exposition 'εν δράσει' ('within the action'). As to the idea that the presence of a prologue is a sure sign of a text intended for performance, this is refuted by Puchner (1984b: 154).

content of the play, both editors and scribes might have been expected to have retained an epilogue stating the moral of the play. The *Sacrifice of Abraham* does, however, have an epilogue within the play, spoken by Abraham, where, incidentally, he does not expostulate with the audience on their behaviour (this has already been done, although indirectly, by the Angel (vv. 947–70, especially 967–70)) but gives a clue to the central meaning of his struggle and thus of the play. For structural and artistic reasons the addition after this of a formal epilogue would have been overdone and superfluous.

We may thus conclude that the poet himself omitted prologue and epilogue. The unity of his play must have been more important to him than the demands set by the conventional dramatic form.

As to the choric odes, it is not strange that the poet leaves them out, if one considers that in the play itself he tries to avoid letting his characters speak about or comment upon their feelings. When he does introduce such words and thoughts they become an integral part of the play. He is careful to omit any word or action which is not an effective link in the chain of cause and effect. The chorus of Renaissance drama did exactly the opposite.

A third reason, finally, why the *Sacrifice of Abraham* is thought to be either primitive or revolutionary is that it is not divided into acts and scenes.³² Whether this poet was a primitive who knew nothing about structure, or, perhaps, a revolutionary searching for new forms, it should be observed that, although he basically follows Grotto's plot, he inserts several new scenes, especially in the middle part. These are a scene in which Abraham and Sarah have an argument about which of them will dress Isaac (vv. 447–84), a scene in which Isaac is woken up (vv. 485–500), a scene during which Abraham dresses Isaac (vv. 516–30), a scene where Isaac says goodbye to his mother (vv. 531–50) and, lastly, a scene somewhat later, during which a discussion takes place between Abraham and his two servants (vv. 589–744).

The story as it is given in Genesis has two moments of vital dramatic interest: the *mandatum* brought by the Angel and the sacrifice. There is nothing in between. This is the reason why many plays dealing with the theme of Isaac's sacrifice are weak and lacking tension in the middle part. They always have two dramatic highlights: the moment following the *mandatum*, when Abraham has to choose between his relationship to God and his paternal feelings, and the scene preceding the sacrifice, when Isaac is pleading for his life.³³ In his *Lo Isach*, however, Luigi Grotto found a solution. He filled up the

32 Many attempts have been made at introducing such a division: Hesselring (1919b), Pernot (1916: 233) and Xanthoudhidhis (1927a) decided upon a division into two acts, while Mavrogordato (1928: 81) and Megas (1954: 82ff.) preferred one into four acts – but all of them must be rejected. It is curious that in dividing the play they chose two or four instead of five acts: five was the traditional number at the time and, besides, this tradition was followed by the poet of the prototype as well as by the other Cretan playwrights.

33 This is the case in the English mystery plays, in the French *Sacrifice d'Abraham*, in Feo Belcari's *Rappresentazione di Abramo ed Isaac*, in *Abraham sacrificant* of Théodore de Bèze and also in the

weak middle part by putting the struggle between Abraham and Sarah about whether their little son should be sacrificed or not in the third act.³⁴ The consequence of this, however, is that his second act becomes a dry and lifeless piece with no dramatic focus, which it should have had according to the then prevailing rules for dramatic composition. It contains no more than 123 verses and incorporates merely two scenes. Although his third act thrives on what it has taken from the second (Abraham's struggle with Sarah), it ends rather miserably. The fourth scene contains only a short dialogue between Abraham and Isaac (thirty-four verses) and the fifth, and last, scene would have been better left out: in it the two servants who had accompanied father and son on their journey to the mountain and have now been left at its foot, need thirty lines to relate that they are not really interested in what causes their master's sadness and finally lie down to sleep. The worst error, however, that Grotto committed in adding these last two scenes to the third act in order to expand it, is that after the third scene, when Abraham, his son and his servants have left home, there must be a change of scene right in the middle of an act!

The 'primitive' Cretan poet must have perceived the structural weakness of Grotto's solution and did something one would not have expected of a 'revolutionary': he followed the rules! It is obvious that he inserted the short scenes into what might be called his second act (the second struggle between Abraham and Sarah, the waking up and dressing scenes and the farewell scene) not only to add intensity to the atmosphere he tries to create in the rest of his play, but also to give more weight to his 'second act'. The poet's purpose in adding the discussion between Abraham and his servants is also clear. Sofer and Simban, whose presence in *Lo Isach* is a purely formal affair,³⁵ are informed of what is hanging over their master's head and by their very significant contribution to this scene add an extra dimension to the atmosphere of love and the spirit of self-sacrifice that is characteristic of the whole play. The Cretan poet, moreover, achieves something else: his play does not have two culminating points, as *Lo Isach* has, but three: Abraham's struggle with Sarah ('second act': vv. 201–560), his struggle with Simban and Sofer (new, 'third act': vv. 561–750) and finally his struggle with Isaac ('fourth act': vv. 751–1050). Thus each 'act' has its own culminating point, its own dramatic ten-

German Abraham dramas (for these plays see Bibliographical guide, sections 1(b) and (c)). In de Bèze's drama, which apart from the prologue and epilogue consists of three acts (I, 476, II, 125, III, 322 vv.), the weakness of the middle part becomes apparent not only from the number of verses, but also from the contents: the second act merely consists of a choral song (cf. Keegstra 1928: 41–2). See also Reckling 1962: 87. Reckling mentions the interesting fact that the Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) gave up composing an Abraham drama precisely because he could not cope with the problems raised by the dramatically weak middle part (ibid. pp. 88–9, 123).

34 Another poet who chose this solution was Jakob Pontan (1542–1626) in his drama *Immolatio Isaac* (Ingolstadt 1594). See Reckling 1962: 87. For the rest his play differs so much from that of Grotto that there can be no question of his being influenced by the Italian work.

35 For the handling of the servants' parts in general see Bakker 1975: n. 38 and Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.2.

sion, because the three mentioned above are preceded by the *mandatum* and Abraham's first reaction ('first act': vv. 1–200) and followed by the homecoming and the meeting of Sarah and Isaac ('fifth act': vv. 1051–150). By structuring his play in this way, the Cretan poet has filled up the empty space in the middle of the story; just by using the servants, he tried to give his audience an idea of what he must have considered the heaviest part of Abraham's struggle with his inner self: the three days' journey to mount Moria.³⁶ He was not able to represent this journey on the stage, but the way he found to suggest it is unique. If ever he was a revolutionary it was here! By inserting a few scenes he has managed to fill up the middle of the drama to such an extent that when introducing a division into acts one is forced to draw the dividing line between the second and the third acts at a different point from that in *Lo Isach*. The struggle between Abraham and Sarah, which in Grotto's play takes place in the third act, automatically becomes part of the second act, which is also enlivened by the addition of the short scenes; the dramatic action in the third act is centred around the struggle with the servants, which at the same time may be regarded as the highest point of the *epitasis*, the point, namely, where the great change in Abraham's thinking takes place, a change completely missing from the third act of *Lo Isach*.

From all this one can assume that the poet conceived his work as divided into acts and scenes. In the surviving texts of his drama no sign of such a division can be found, but we also know that the people responsible for transmitting the *Sacrifice of Abraham* to us did not regard it as a play, or did not want to regard it as such.³⁷

Is the *Sacrifice of Abraham* to be regarded as a story or as a drama, as an 'ιστορία ψυχοφελεστάτη' or as a 'δράμα ιερόν' (see p. 181 and note 14)? Does it appear from the text that the poet has occupied himself consciously with the composition of a play meant to be performed? Some scholars have doubts on this point.³⁸ Recent studies have, however, firmly established the theatricality of the play,³⁹ and Puchner has solved the great problem of the structure of

36 Cf. Origen viii 3 (Bibliographical guide, section 2(b): "Vade in terram excelsam." ... Quo hoc spectat? Ut dum ambulat, dum iter agit, per totam viam cogitationibus discerpatur, ut hinc perurgente praecepto, hinc vero unci affectu oblutante crucietur' ("Go to the mountain." ... What is the purpose of that? That, while he is walking, while he is making the journey, he may be torn apart by his thoughts, that he may be tormented and pulled to pieces urged on by God's demand, and held up by his love for his only son."). Cf. also one of the sermons of Meletios Pigas, pp. 199–200 (Bibliographical guide, section 2(b)): 'Μηδὲ καν στρατὸν σύντομον τοῦ δείχνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρὰν καὶ βουνώδη, δια νὰ μακραίνει περισσότερο το πάθος καὶ νὰ βαραίνει τίς θλίψεις τῆς πατρικῆς ἐκείνης καρδίας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ' ('And it is not a short road that He shows him, but a long and steep one, in order that his sorrow may last longer and the anguish be aggravated in that father's heart of Abraham').

37 See p. 181. A tradition like that of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* reminds one irresistibly of the way the plays of Shakespeare were printed. The 'Quartos' (published during his lifetime) and the 'Folio' (published after his death by his fellow actors) often have no subdivision into scenes, and sometimes not even into acts. Nor are there 'place headings' at the beginning of each scene, something that is also missing in the Cretan play.

38 See Evangelatos 1972: 1', 1989, and Sachinis 1980: 62ff.

39 See Bakker 1975 and 1978. See also Puchner 1983d: 48.

the scenic space⁴⁰ by pointing out that the main scenery for many religious performances was 'il monte', the mountain.⁴¹ Thus we may regard the *Sacrifice of Abraham* with some degree of certainty as having been written for the stage and even put forward the hypothesis that it was actually performed near its time of composition.⁴²

Now that we have seen that there are no major differences between the Cretan play and its model as far as the development of the plot is concerned, that is, the alternation of speakers and the sequence of situations, and that the Cretan poet has introduced some significant modifications into the dramatic structure, we can proceed to discuss the characters of the play and the relations between them.

Some scholars have criticised the *Sacrifice of Abraham* because in their view it does not contain sufficient action.⁴³ It is a fact that it lacks physical movement, as does *Lo Isach* for that matter, but we should consider that although external action is indispensable, the essence of drama lies in the internal action – within the characters. That our poet did not do anything unusual in shaping his drama and his characters the way he did is shown by the fact that in the other works left to us from the so-called 'flowering' of Cretan literature there appears to be a similar tendency to lay more emphasis on the inner, psychological development than on outward action.⁴⁴ In our discussion about the characters, then, we shall also have to pay attention to the question whether there is internal action or inner development of these characters.

When Sarah takes an active part in the play, this adds a new dimension to the action: the mother of the child enters the stage and Abraham has a new difficulty to overcome. Sarah's entrance becomes even more interesting when one realises that here the playwright lacks the support of the Bible story, so that he has to be independently creative. This fact may well explain why Sarah

40 For a discussion of this problem by Terzakis see Tsantsanoglou 1971: 17ff.

41 See Puchner 1983d: 49: '(It was) a solidly built structure, often opened to reveal a grotto . . . On this conventional set the *Sacrifice of Abraham* can easily be played. Abraham's house with the two bedrooms right and left could be located in the large opening of the mountain; it closes after his and his son's departure and reopens before their return. The sacrifice takes place on the top of this stage-mountain. Abraham's long walk possibly happens in front of and on the sides of the closed mountain.'

42 The author of this chapter has completed a study on some positive and some negative indications present in the manuscript in which the play has been handed down to us, which might suggest that there actually was an original performance. See Bakker 1990, Ch. 3, A8, but see also n. 34 there.

43 See Melas 1953: 72, and Embiricos 1960: 182–4. But see also Terzakis (in Tsantsanoglou 1971: 20–2 and 26–7), who refutes their opinion.

44 Even in Cretan comedy the emphasis is on the characters, not on intrigue. See L. Politis 1964: μθ'. Furthermore, this tendency is not limited to Cretan drama: see, for example, Kinghorn 1968: 13, who makes the following observation on the development of English drama: 'A play which derives most of its interest from what its characters say and lacks physical movement may be less "dramatic", but since Marlowe wrote *Tamburlaine* English drama has developed linguistic sophistication to such an extent as to compel playwrights to depend for communication upon the resources of the language rather than upon visual effects.'

makes her appearance on the stage rather late in history. We see her make her first entrance in the fairly late French mystery play *Le Sacrifice de Abraham à huit personnages* and the so-called *Dublin play*.⁴⁵ In these plays, however, she is not informed about what is going to happen, and the same holds good for the *Abraham sacrificant* of de Bèze.⁴⁶ The only dramas known where she is told of the purport of the Angel's message are Hans Sachs's drama *Die Opferung Isaac*,⁴⁷ *Lo Isach* and the *Sacrifice of Abraham*. Also there are some homilies in which the role of Sarah is represented by means of a fictitious lament, that is a lament which she would have uttered if Abraham had informed her,⁴⁸ and also the kontakion *On Abraham and Isaac* by the Byzantine poet of the sixth century Romanos the Melode.⁴⁹

It is quite clear how Sarah's function was seen by Grotto: she had to be an obstacle for Abraham. In fact she is the only obstacle between him and the fulfilment of God's wish, leaving aside, of course, Abraham's own paternal feelings. As soon as she, after resisting forcefully, has resigned herself to the sacrifice, her part becomes less important.

Sarah as she is characterised in the *Sacrifice of Abraham* is quite different from the Sarah in *Lo Isach* and elsewhere. She trusts her husband and loves him; in the course of the play she realises more and more what the command means to him and, thus, without knowing it, she carries him through. We should not think, however, that the poet makes a simpleton out of her, meekly following her husband and giving in without a fight. The difference is that she fights *for* the life of her son, not *against* Abraham. The difference between Grotto and the Cretan poet is that Grotto makes the mother the opponent of the wife, whereas the Cretan tries to see her as one person, whose heart is rent asunder not by opposing roles, but by the threat to the life of her child, who is also Abraham's child.

In the way Sarah is presented to us by the Cretan poet she constantly reminds us of that other mother in Christian tradition, the Παναργία, the mother of Christ. He does this, for instance, by making her utter three laments, or rather a tripartite lament, during her second encounter with her husband. She utters this lament, which is interrupted by reactions on the part of Abraham, first in what may be called their bedroom (vv. 345–66), then in a place a little closer to Isaac's bed (vv. 381–96) and finally at his bedside (vv. 413–32). The distance separating her from her child runs parallel to the different time-levels of the events she is thinking about. So she concludes the first part in which she concerns herself with the future with the following words:

Τάσσω σου, υγιέ μου, τον καιρό που θέλω ακόμη ζήσει
να μην αφήσω κοπελιού γλώσσα να μου μιλήσει,

45 For both plays see Bibliographical guide, section 1 (b).

46 See Bibliographical guide, section 1 (c). See also Bakker 1978: Ch. 3, n. 5.

47 See Bibliographical guide, section 1 (c). See also Reckling 1962: 45–8 and 151–4.

48 These are especially the homilies of 'Ephrem the Syrian' and of Gregory of Nyssa, who clearly imitates 'Ephrem'. For the texts see Bibliographical guide, section 2 (b).

49 See Bibliographical guide, section 2 (b).

Religious drama

μα να θαρούν τα μάτια μου πάντα τση γης τον πάτο,
και να θυμούμαι πάντοτε το σημερινό μαντάτο. (363-6)

I promise you, my son, that during the rest of my life
I won't let another child speak to me,
but that I'll move around with downcast eyes,
always remembering today's message.

Resignation has already set in: she is thinking of a future without Isaac. After some verses spoken by Abraham she turns to the happy past, remembering it in a predominantly narrative section, which opens with the famous verses:

Εννιά μήνες σ' εβάσταξα, τέκνο μου, κανακάρη,
ἔς τούτο το κακορίζικο και σκοτεινό κουφάρι.
Τρεις χρόνους, γιε μου, σου ἔδιδα το γάλα τω βυζώ μου,
κι εσύ ἔσουε τα μάτια μου, κι εσύ ἔσουε το φως μου.
Εθάρουν κι εμεγάλωνες οσά δεντρού κλωνάρι
κι επλήθαινες στην αρετή, στη γνώση και στη χάρη. (381-6)

Nine months I carried you, my child, my darling,
in this unlucky, dark and gloomy body.
Three years, my son, I gave you the milk from my breasts
and you were my light, the apple of my eye.
I watched how you grew as the twig of a tree,
how you increased in virtue, wisdom and grace.

And in the third part she recalls the very recent past, so near that it merges with the present:

Ολόχαρον οψές αργάς σ' ἤθεκα, καλογιέ μου,
και με χαιράμενη καρδιά ἤμου παρά ποτέ μου·
ἤστεκα κι εκαμάρανα του ὕπνου σου τη ζάλη,
κι ερέγουμου να σε θαρώ, κι εἶχα χάρά μεγάλη.
Εποκοιμούσου, τέκνο μου, παίζοντας μετά μένα,
ἔς πολλή χηράν ευρίσκουμου παρά ἄθρωπο κιανένα. (425-30)

How happy you were when I put you to bed last night, my son,
and my heart was full of joy, more than ever.
I stood there watching with love and pride the peace of your sleep
and I enjoyed seeing you and my heart was filled with happiness.
You fell asleep, while you were playing with me,
and I was happier than any other human being.

We may be sure that this tripartite structure with its parallels of spatial and temporal distance, with its dynamics of an ever-growing resignation, alternating with cries of despair on the part of Sarah and a monotonous repetition of Abraham's *Passacaglia* theme of realism and submission,⁵⁰ is not accidental. It reveals too many traces of the old, traditional form of the lament. And by

⁵⁰ Verses 367-80, 397-402; then the lament is interrupted by Sarah's resignation and Abraham's response (vv. 403-8 and 409-12). In all these verses Abraham does not say much more than 'Don't cry, the child is his, not ours.'

using it the poet consciously evoked the old, traditional image of the eternal mother, the Greek mother.⁵¹

Another significant difference between Grotto and the Cretan poet is that, whereas Grotto's Sarah only gives her consent on condition that the sacrifice will be postponed, the Cretan Sarah unconditionally resigns herself to the death of her child (vv. 403–8). But the Cretan poet advances still further: by extending and elaborating the scene where Sarah says farewell to Isaac, he creates an opportunity to show a further development. He brings her together with her child, just the two of them.⁵² And when Isaac asks her why she is crying so much, she has to find an answer, without being aided or checked by the presence of her husband. Instead of the true, but meaningless 'I cry because you have to leave' of Grotto's Sarah, she finds this:

Δεν έχω, γιε μου, τίβοτις, μη γνοιάζεσαι, να ζήσεις,
καλόκαρδος εις το βουνί άμε να προσκυνήσεις. (537–8)

Nothing's wrong with me, my son, don't worry, please don't,
go cheerfully to the mountain to worship.

This evasive answer, which at the same time is an extremely positive-sounding exhortation, is much more genuine than the white lie of Grotto's Sarah. There is more than resignation in it: she gives up her child, she really makes the sacrifice. She helps her child to start out cheerfully on his way to death, because she knows it cannot be otherwise.

Thus we have the image of Grotto's Sarah, an unreal person, impossible to define, as she flits from one extreme to another, from a loving wife to a skilful debater, from a loving mother to a cursing woman, from a tigress to a lamb. And in contrast to her the other Sarah, a loving and trusting wife, a pious woman, but a mother in the first place: a *living* human character capable of progress and development, brought out in the subtlest shades of meaning of which a living language is capable.⁵³

In his homily *On Abraham and Isaac* 'Ephrem' informs us that Abraham left the two servants he had taken with him at the foot of the mountain, 'so he would not have to deal with some typically slavish action',⁵⁴ and Gregory of Nyssa depicts Abraham as 'being afraid that they would get some ignoble and slavish idea'.⁵⁵ Not surprisingly, therefore, the Fathers of the Church did not pay much attention to the servants. The same holds good for the mystery plays and the biblical dramas of medieval times and the Renaissance period. In the former they are usually left out, and although they are always present in the

51 See M. Alexiou 1974: 131ff., especially 133, 142–3 and 144–5.

52 The 'corresponding' scene in *Lo Isach* is played by Abraham, Sarah and Isaac, so that the atmosphere becomes false and unreal: there are two who know and one who does not.

53 For more particulars on Sarah see Bakker 1978: 45–51.

54 PG 56.540 (see Bibliographical guide, section 2(b)).

55 PG 46.569D (see Bibliographical guide, section 2(b)).

latter, they play only a minor part, which consists of little more than functioning as attendants.

Grotto uses the servants in the same way, as mere attendants. In the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, however, they are not presented as 'normal' servants (cf. Embiricos 1960: 174), but as members of the family, who ask questions and want to know why things have to be done – in short, meddle in other people's business and behave in the sort of concerned way that might be expected of Greek servants!

In *Lo Isach* there is only one scene (III 5) in which the servants come somewhat to life, the moment when they have been left behind by Abraham and Isaac. The one asks the other whether he can imagine what is going on. Why was the mistress so sad and why couldn't Abraham bear to look at his son without crying during the long journey from home to the mountain? After some thirty verses they decide that they are not able to answer these questions and that it is far better to lie down in the shade of the bushes and take a nap. Which accordingly they do. We have seen earlier (pp. 186–8) that the Cretan poet has made this essentially redundant scene of Grotto's extremely effective by causing the servants to voice their suspicions face to face with their master. With their logical observations and ethical remarks they are instrumental in bringing Abraham to the highest level of faith, something which comes naturally to them in view of their previous behaviour. The episode is unique: it occurs in none of the other plays. It is clear, I believe, that the immediate cause of its creation must be looked for in the scene composed by Grotto, but there is a possibility that the Cretan poet was influenced, either directly or indirectly, by another source, a homily of Pseudo-Chrysostom,⁵⁶ where we find a description of a fictitious confrontation between the servants and their master.⁵⁷

Isaac is always presented as an obedient, submissive child, wherever one looks in the tradition of mystery plays and biblical drama. Obedience seems to have been considered an indispensable trait of Isaac's character. The basic reason for this must be sought in the typological exegesis of the part he plays: quite early in Christian thought Isaac had become one of the main prefigurations of the suffering Christ.⁵⁸ And thus resistance and rebellion are not thought of as possible traits of his character.

Sometimes the situation he is in and his reactions are entirely or almost entirely ignored. This occurs when the temptation of Abraham is conceived of as a test of his faith. We find this in Origen, Ambrose, Augustine and also in the works of the representatives of the Reformation, for instance, Luther and Calvin. Another possibility is that Isaac immediately resigns himself to the

⁵⁶ PG 56.550–2 (see Bibliographical guide, section 2(b)).

⁵⁷ For the whole discussion see Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.2.5.

⁵⁸ See Lerch 1950: 106ff. See also Lévy 1912 and Daniélou 1950: 97–111.

sacrifice. This, of course, is the case when his obedience and thus the *praefiguratio Christi* are emphasised, which happens in the majority of the mystery plays. And, finally, he may be presented as responding in a more natural way, as praying for his life to be spared. In this case, too, he ends up by resigning himself to the sacrifice and being obedient, but much is gained: we at least see him struggling.

This latter presentation of Isaac's character is given by Grotto as well as by the Cretan poet. Isaac entreats Abraham to spare his life and thus makes it even more difficult for the father to do what he is supposed to do. But here the resemblance stops; for the rest there are only differences, the principal one being that Grotto, notwithstanding the pattern he has chosen, treats Isaac as an almost secondary character, whereas the Cretan Isaac's part is essential.

The first time we meet him in *Lo Isach* occurs when he is woken up by his father. We hear him say 'Who is it who calls me?' and 'I'm coming', and finally he makes his appearance with the words 'Here I am'. Besides, he asks permission to put two questions, 'Where are we going?' and 'Why are you so sad?', the latter addressed to his mother. If we gather the impression that he is a very obedient and submissive child, this is, I presume, precisely what Grotto wanted. The Cretan poet introduces Isaac in an altogether different way. He goes out of his way to make his audience visualise him by adding some scenes centred around him and in which he manages to show us that Isaac is a child.⁵⁹ And is he obedient? Indeed he is, except that we do not find in him the wooden obedience of the boarding-school pupil shown by Grotto's Isaac.⁶⁰

The poet of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* has, of course, his reasons for taking an altogether different view of Isaac's character and creating an intelligent, sensitive boy for his audience. On the one hand he tries to emphasise the fact that he is only a child, but on the other he makes every effort to make him not simply a passive character, a will-less victim, but someone with a mind of his own, acting his own part, the part of a child it is true, but also the part of a member of the family who, just like Abraham and Sarah and, for that matter, the servants too, takes part in the sacrifice. In doing this the poet does not see him as a prefiguration of Christ: in this play there is no trace of the typology found not only in *Lo Isach*, but in the majority of the plays on this subject.⁶¹

Why does the Cretan poet emphasise so strongly the fact that Isaac is his father's fellow-worker in making the sacrifice? In answering this question we have to concern ourselves with the central episode of the whole story, the Akedah, the 'Binding of Isaac'. Twice, in verses 793 and 797, Abraham asks his son to stretch out his hands in order to be bound, but Isaac does not comply.

59 For a full discussion of the figure of Isaac as a child see Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.3.4. See also Baud-Bovy 1938a: 740-1.

60 He is fairly slow in waking up and shows some reluctance: verses 491-4 and 499-500. See also Embiricos 1960, who is of another opinion (p. 175), and Bakker 1978: Ch. 3, n. 52.

61 For a full discussion of how important it is to Abraham (and to the poet) that he and his son make the sacrifice *together*, see Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.3.6.

Later, however, when he has been told that his mother, too, knows about the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands of his own accord and says:

Δέσε με, κύρη μου, σφικτά και στάσου να σου δείξω,
όντας ταράσσω στο σφαγί, μη λάχει να σ' αγγίξω
και πέσω 'ς τέτοιο φταίσιμο στον αποχωρισμό μου
και βρω το βάρος στην ψυχή 'ς τό 'σφαλα στανικώ μου. (841-4)

Bind me firmly, father – wait, I'll show you;
I might stir while you slaughter me, and I shouldn't touch you,
for that would be a terrible mistake at my leaving
and it would weigh on my soul, however accidentally I did it.

Isaac makes the sacrifice himself, the victim consents; he asks to be bound firmly, for he is afraid that, reacting from the thrust of the knife, he will kick and resist and in doing so touch his father, thus giving rise to the impression that the victim is unwilling. This is what the Cretan poet wants to prevent at all costs; he does not want us to see Isaac either as a will-less or as an unwilling victim, but as someone who of his own accord takes an active part in the sacrifice.⁶²

Unlike Agamemnon,⁶³ who can refuse to sacrifice his daughter for the common good, Abraham is not capable of choosing for his son,⁶⁴ which means that he is, in terms of drama, a character of limited scope. Of course, all kinds of reactions are to be expected of him, ranging from silent submission to despair and open revolt against God, but in the end Isaac will always be sacrificed.

How does a man reach the point of sacrificing his own son? What kind of man is he? What was Abraham's response after hearing the *mandatum* given by the Angel and how and where did he find the strength to take his son with him to the top of the mountain in order to sacrifice him? The Bible story does not give much help. It merely tells us that Abraham got up and left (Gen. 22.3), and only two utterances attributed to him have been preserved. One (v. 5) is addressed to his servants: 'Καθίσατε αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ὄνου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδάριον διελευσόμεθα ἕως ὄδε καὶ προσκυνήσαντες ἀναστρέψωμεν πρὸς ὄμας' ('You stay here with the donkey; the boy and I will continue our

62 There is only one work in which Isaac's willingness to be bound and sacrificed is as greatly emphasised as in the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, that is the *kontakion On Abraham and Isaac* of Romanos the Melode. See for this and for the motif of the 'willing victim' Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.3.7. See also M. Alexiou 1990.

63 For 'Abraham drama' versus tragedy see Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.4.1. and 4.3.

64 Cf. Kierkegaard 1985: 104: 'Thus surely Abraham must have now and then wished that the task was to love Isaac in a way meet and fitting for a father, as all would understand and as would be remembered for all time; he must have wished that his task was to sacrifice Isaac for the universal, so as to inspire fathers to illustrious deeds – and he must have been well nigh horrified by the thought that for him such wishes were merely temptations and must be treated as such; for he knew that it was a solitary path he trod, and that he was doing nothing for the universal but only being tested and tried himself.' Cf. also Reckling 1962: 121-2.

journey and, after worshipping, we will come back to you'), the other (v. 8) to Isaac: "Ὁ Θεὸς ὄφεται ἑαυτῷ πρόβατον εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν, τέκνον" ('God will provide himself a lamb for the sacrifice, son'). The Fathers of the Church, relying on this story and presumably influenced by the idea that it should be regarded as a prefiguration of the sacrifice of Christ, have followed the same line: Abraham immediately obeys and goes on his way, putting his *amor dei* before his *amor carnis*.⁶⁵ They obviously regard Abraham's act as an extraordinary achievement, for by means of a 'fictitious' response which they put into his mouth they try to show how any other person would have reacted to such a *mandatum*.⁶⁶ As to the nature of the temptation their opinions are divided: some of them regard the *mandatum* as a test of Abraham's obedience and of his faith, others believe that only one of these qualities is being tested (see Lerch 1950: 50–1, 70–2, 79).

In the mystery plays with their liturgical–religious objectives it is Abraham's obedience that is emphasised, just as in the biblical dramas written at a later date by Roman Catholics. The dramatic advantages offered by the contrast between *mandatum* and *promissio* (God's promise regarding the auspicious future, through Isaac, of Abraham and mankind in general) are not employed before the Reformation. It is natural that Protestant playwrights, committed as they were to the *sola fide* doctrine, put all the emphasis on Abraham's faith.

Grotto does what one might expect of him and follows the Roman Catholic pattern: his Abraham immediately accepts God's command. What does the Cretan poet do? How does he finally bring his Abraham to the point of sacrificing his own son? To put it in more general terms: does the *Sacrifice of Abraham* build up tension by means of a mounting conflict? Spyros Melas denies it, saying that from the moment Abraham hears God's command, there is a static situation without any dramatic progress.⁶⁷ Several scholars hold the opposite view and have attempted to argue that the Cretan poet has really tried to create in Abraham a character who is engaged in a conflict and who, by a slow and often interrupted development which is made visible in the action (in Abraham's contacts with other characters) and suggested by the underlying 'action of depth',⁶⁸ finally reaches the point of sacrificing his

65 For the opposite forces of 'love for God' and 'love for the flesh' = Isaac operating within Abraham, see Origen GCS 29.3 (p. 79).

66 'Ephrem': PG 56.539, Greg. Nyss.: PG 46.568D, Basil of Seleucia: PG 85.105C–108B, Chrys: PG 45.1025. See also Romanos the Melode 41, γ' 4ff. (For the texts see Bibliographical guide, section 2(b).) All these pseudo-responses are introduced or followed by phrases such as 'οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἀντεῖπεν ὁ δίκαιος' ('the righteous man, however, did not give any such reaction', 'Ephrem') or 'πῶς οὐκ εἶπας;' ('How is it possible that you didn't say?', Romanos). Origen is one of the few who does not insert such a pseudo-response in his homily on Abraham, but he confesses (1, p. 78): 'tanti patriarchae cogitationes non valeo perscrutari nec scire possum' ('I am not capable of penetrating into the thoughts of such a great patriarch, nor can I know them'). See also M. Alexiou 1990.

67 Melas 1953: 72. Embiricos (1960: 182–4) is of the same opinion.

68 For this term see van Laan 1970: 116: 'Therefore he (sc. the author) unavoidably creates an action of depth consisting of the abstractions, emotional impressions, general ideas, analogous

son.⁶⁹ The Cretan poet clearly understands that Abraham is a champion of the faith only *after* the event, *after* the sacrifice, and thus he makes him start his journey at the foot of the mountain, not at the top, as Grotto does. The Cretan Abraham does not start by accepting the sacrifice in a jubilant song in which Christ is prefigured, but by renouncing God Himself in the crucial question:

Κι εδά ποια νά 'ναι η αφορμή κι ήλλαξες το σκοπό σου,
κι επέρασε το σπλάχνος σου, κι επλήθυνε ο θυμός σου; (49–50)

And now, what is it that made you steer another course,
what happened to your mercy that it has changed into anger?

Abraham is deficient in faith: he puts a question-mark after the *promissio*, assuming that God has changed his ordinances. But in the end, after advancing many steps, but also after many setbacks, caused especially by his confrontations with Sarah, he has grown. In his confrontation with the servants at the foot of the mountain, he becomes the self-confident champion of the faith, who does not just submit to the *mandatum*, who is not a will-less instrument in the hands of God, but who is going to make the sacrifice as his fellow worker, applying himself to the task whole-heartedly. He rises far beyond the reaches of hope (vv. 479–82) and trust (vv. 503–4) and becomes a visionary, and as such sees all things in relation to one another: beyond the molehills of human sorrow he perceives the mountains of God's designs.⁷⁰

That Abraham, through the discussion with his servants, has reached such a high level, does not mean that he is now going to kill his child with the *ἀπάθεια* of a Stoic. He remains realistic and is aware of the fact that what must soon be committed is an atrocious act. He also knows that for Isaac it will be a terrible shock and that he still has to find a way of preparing him (vv. 760–3). It is not surprising, therefore, that soon after this (vv. 765–6) Isaac notices that his father is crying.

When finally the moment has come for Abraham to raise the knife, the poet is still eager to point out that Abraham, for all the *πνευματικότητα* he has achieved, has not become some crazy fanatic. He is not insensitive, his feelings are not numb; he reckons with the possibility that, if at this moment Isaac gives the slightest hint of pain or distress, he will not be able to take the final step:

experiences, mythic parallels and cosmologies in relation to which the characters and their affairs must be seen.' See also pp. 148–9 and 155.

69 See Terzakis in Tsantsanoglou 1971: 20–2 and 26–7, and Psichari 1930: 614. For a more thorough discussion of this inner conflict see Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.4.5.3.

70 Cf. Origen GCS 29.3, p 79: '... ut fide elatus terrena derelinquat et ad suprema conscendat' ('... so that he, elevated by his faith, would leave all earthly things behind and rise up to the highest'). Abraham has reached the state of the *πνευματικός*, which, in the works of Origen, is considered the final stage of the Christian who aspires to the ideal of perfection. See Völker 1931: 141 and also 93, 117 and 119.

Μηδέ φωνιάζεις, τέκνο μου, κι εμένα θανατώνεις,
μ' ας εἰς' απομονετικός, τον πόνο σου να χώνεις. (941-2)

Don't shout, my son, you would kill me;
suffer in silence, hide your pain.

Some scholars have held that the characters in the *Sacrifice of Abraham* are one-sided and conventional (e.g. Embiricos 1960: 183): Abraham, the loving father and understanding husband, Sarah, the loving mother and faithful wife, Isaac, the obedient son who loves his parents fervently, the devoted servants who share their master's sufferings and are prepared to walk through fire for him. It is all love and nothing but love.⁷¹ It is understandable that people see our poet as inspired by considerations of convention. I do not agree. The characters may be one-sided, but they cannot be qualified as conventional. We have seen that our poet had little room for manoeuvre in creating his characters: tradition had already created them. Yet he has availed himself of every opportunity to remodel them according to his own wishes. He has given Abraham's struggle against the *amor carnis* an altogether new dimension and in shaping the figure of Isaac he has kept aloof from even the slightest trace of typology, despite the fact that he emphasises the willingness of Isaac to cooperate. The fact that the Cretan Sarah gives her consent for the sacrifice and the way in which she does this already make her different from the traditional, conventional Sarah. And as to the servants, there is no other drama on this theme in which they play such a significant role.

What do we know now about the poet except that his name might be Vitsentzos Kornaros (pp. 182-3)? One of the things we have found out is that he is less interested in plot than in characterisation (p. 184), that he is not very concerned about formal traditions like prologue, epilogue and chorus (pp. 185-6), but that he is otherwise very keen on structure (pp. 186-8). Another question that deserves our attention is whether our poet, apart from following his model *Lo Isach*, gives the impression of being influenced by Italian literature.

It is not possible to identify or even point out with certainty any other sources from which the poet draws his inspiration, but in the preceding pages it has become clear, I think, that such sources should be looked for in the Greek world, not in Italy.⁷² When considering the characters, we see in the figure of Abraham the presence of typically Greek ideas. There is, for instance, the special way in which the Cretan poet treats the relationship between obedience and faith and the contrast between *mandatum* and *promissio*.⁷³

71 Sachinis has paid much attention to the element of love in this play. It is one of the reasons why he calls it an 'οικογενειακό δράμα' ('family play') (1980: 74ff.); see also Bakker 1978: Ch. 4.4.

72 See also Bakker 1978: Ch. 4, n. 13.

73 The Cretan Abraham is identical with Grotto's (and in general with the Roman Catholic)

Another element is the ancient ideal of the 'πνευματικὸς ἀνὴρ' ('spiritual man'), which we find in the works of Origen, from where it spread in all directions including Western Europe; but there one never finds it connected with the story of Abraham. Further we find in the Abraham character a great emphasis on the doctrines of free will and synergism, which have always been of concern to the Orthodox Church.⁷⁴ What may be taken as a unique trait in the Isaac character is, for instance, the great emphasis on the fact that he is willing and even co-operates in making the sacrifice.⁷⁵ What is also typically Greek is that Isaac's salvation is understood as a resurrection, first by Abraham (vv. 479–82), then later by Isaac himself (vv. 1123–4) and the other characters.⁷⁶ The part of the servants has been worked out along altogether new lines: in none of the other plays on this subject is their role so important as in this work. Their increased participation in the drama, their treatment by the poet as well as by his characters, may again be considered typically Greek.⁷⁷ About Sarah we need not say much. It has always been the standard view that she is entirely Greek. I need only refer to the tripartite lament she utters (see pp. 190–2) and the fact that scholars have often commented on the close relation between this lament and folk poetry.⁷⁸

Was our poet, who wrote about a religious subject and who, at least according to what we have just said, may have used several religious and theological sources, a person with a major interest in religious affairs? It is certainly true that the subject matter is religious,⁷⁹ but one wonders whether the same can be said about the poet's point of view. His interests do not seem to be primarily religious/theological, as opposed to the other dramas on this subject, for the following reasons:

- 1 The poet does not appear to be at all inhibited by the patterns and rules set by tradition: (a) The second appearance of the Angel (vv. 227–38), which he introduces in order to urge Abraham on at a moment when Abraham's inner development has come to a standstill, is unique.⁸⁰ (b) The discussion

Abraham to the extent that the contrast between *mandatum* and *promissio* is not strongly emphasised, at any rate not so strongly as would be the case with a Protestant author; he starts his journey to the mountain with the greatest obedience. The *Sacrifice of Abraham*, however, inclines to the 'Protestant' view in allowing much more space to Abraham's faith and its implications than a Roman Catholic author would ever do. The Cretan poet adopts a middle position in the dogmatic controversies in which Europe was involved at that time and which are also reflected in drama, and especially in drama dealing with this subject, since it gave authors a wonderful opportunity to emphasise either Abraham's strict obedience or his faith (*sola fide*). The explanation for the middle position of our poet, of course, is his adherence to the Orthodox faith. For his Orthodoxy see Bakker 1978: Ch. 4, n. 26.

74 See further Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.4.5.3.3.

75 For the view that this should be considered a Greek feature see Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.3.7.

76 See Bakker 1978: Ch. 3, n. 134.

77 See p. 193, and Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.2.4.

78 Cf. Psichari 1930: 616, but also M. Alexiou 1974: 77.

79 As it is also certain that he must have been a religious man. See Terzakis in Tsantsanoglou 1971: 24–6 and Bakker 1978: 97–8.

80 See further Bakker 1978: Ch. 2.5.2.

with the servants, created to fill up the middle section of the play and to help Abraham reach the final stage of his development, and the position the servants take up in the play in general are also unique. (c) The poet omits the 'address to the servants', which in the homilies as well as in the plays is of crucial importance, because it is one of the two utterances of Abraham preserved in the Bible story (see p. 195). (d) He has changed the other utterance preserved in the Bible story – the one in which Abraham tells his son that God will provide a lamb himself (see p. 196) – into 'I shall take care of that myself.'⁸¹

- 2 The *Sacrifice of Abraham* does not show any trace of typology, although that has always been considered one of the most important elements in the story.⁸² This can only mean that the poet's interest in the story was not held by theological and doctrinal issues.
- 3 When placing the *Sacrifice of Abraham* beside other plays on the same subject, one realises that the poet, apart from using the traditional names, nowhere alludes to the period or the place in which the events take place. Our poet leaves out all information of this kind.⁸³ It does not seem to interest him. It is as if his Abraham is any Abraham, or rather a Cretan Abraham, and the action does not take place in the Holy Land, but in Crete.
- 4 Our poet is not primarily interested in the doctrinal background to the question why Abraham agrees to kill his son, but tries to answer the question *how* a father can reach that point. Furthermore, the poet is only concerned with the beloved son, and not about what has been promised *through* him. We may also mention the psychological approach to the subject, that is the concept of Abraham's struggle as an attempt to make the sacrifice of his own free will and in a joyous mood. And finally there is the emphasis on the fact that the victim willingly co-operates with the sacrifice, although here the poet's motives are not related to typology. Considering these two latter points, we may conclude that the poet must have found the concept of a genuine sacrifice extremely important.⁸⁴

Thus we see that the poet does not occupy himself with matters of theology and doctrine, but is primarily interested in people, in their motives and feelings, in their mutual relations and in their relationship with God. Primarily his play brings out a human problem, not a theological truth. His special interest is not in God and the miracles he works, but in man.⁸⁵ According to Grotto and others, God's inscrutable and marvellous ordinances are miracles, but the Cretan poet tries to point out that the greatest miracle of all is the fact that *a man* wants to sacrifice his own son.

81 See Bakker 1978: Ch. 3.4.5.3.4 and for more such points *ibid.* 95–6.

82 So also *Lo Isach*. See further note 58.

83 He also leaves out all the biblical references made by Grotto, which are quite numerous: see Bakker 1978: Ch. 4, n. 25.

84 For a full discussion of these points and others, see Bakker 1978: 95–7.

85 See also Psichari 1930: 620 and Sachinis 1980: 74ff.

But if our poet's intentions were not primarily religious, what then was it that he wanted to show to his audience? All praise is due to God! This appears to be the kernel of Grotto's message. Grotto is not interested in the problem of how Abraham develops into a man who sacrifices his son. His Abraham does not go through that development at all nor does Isaac get the opportunity to give his consent. The only problem seemingly is: how can Isaac be saved, a problem already solved by tradition. It is the Angel who brings the solution and thus, in fact, functions as a *deus ex machina*. For Grotto the central issue of Abraham's struggle is that he (nearly) kills Isaac, although he does not want to. This is nothing more nor less than the slavish, unconditional and automatic obedience of a puppet, who, setting aside his own will, totally submits to the will of God. Such obedience is regarded as a good deed. And it takes only one step further to consider the repeal of the *mandatum* as a fruit of this obedience.

We have seen that the Cretan poet conceives of Abraham as a totally different character. His Abraham is also obedient, but this seems not to be enough, for his Abraham understands that what is expected of him is a *sacrifice*. For this reason he has to struggle until he achieves a trust and a faith in God so great and firm that his own will becomes identical with God's. Look no further than the statement he makes near the end of the play, which may be regarded as its most central observation:

Κι ό,τι του δώσεις του Θεού νά 'ναι από καρδιάς σου·
την όρεξή σου συντηρά, όχι το χάρισμά σου. (1147-8)

Whatever you give to God, let it come from your heart:
it is your desire He looks at, not *what* you give Him.

These verses denote what Abraham, in the course of the drama, has learned to realise and understand. Already in verse 94 he prays:

και τη θυσία σου ζητάς σωστή να σου τη δώσω

(Give me the strength) to make the sacrifice you ask in the *right* way,

but it takes him much time and trouble before it dawns upon him what it really means to make a sacrifice 'in the right way' and before he adopts the required attitude. It is this struggle the poet tries to represent on the stage. True sacrifice is a mental experience: at the end Isaac is really sacrificed, and for that very reason it is only then that Abraham receives him (back). Whoever sacrifices his son will keep him. It is this idea that Sarah is inwardly digesting when she stands in silence and does not react, at least not visibly, at the homecoming of her child (vv. 1125-6).⁸⁶ Therefore at the end of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* there is also genuine joy and real happiness, whereas there is none in *Lo Isach*: Grotto's Isaac has not been sacrificed. Even if the Angel had not arrived, there would have been no sacrifice, but plain murder. In the

⁸⁶ See also Bakker 1978: Ch. 3, n. 31.

Cretan play, however, the arrival of the Angel is only incidental: there is no need for a *deus ex machina*, the problem has already been solved. It makes no difference whether the actual sacrifice takes place or not. It has already been made by Sarah (vv. 527–8; see p. 192), by Isaac (v. 841: p. 195) and by Abraham himself. Verses 1147–8 contain the central meaning of the play: they could easily be put above it as a motto, for the poet's subject is not God's will, but Abraham's. At the beginning one may have the impression that the poet's main character is God; soon, however, it is Abraham who becomes the central figure.

But did our poet then not have any religious or didactic intentions at all? This question is justified, I think, in the case of a poet who does not put Abraham down as a *τύπος*, as an extraordinary example of obedience, as Grotto and others do, but who makes a clear effort to characterise him as an ordinary man who at a particular moment in his life has to fight a struggle of extraordinary importance. The poet must have had his special reasons for making the struggle between the *amor carnis* and the *amor dei* the main issue of his play, a struggle Abraham can only win through his faith in God and his understanding of what sacrifice means. For this struggle is not something special that happens only to Abraham, but something everybody has to go through. Not everyone has to sacrifice his own son or plunge himself into the utter darkness which is created in Abraham's heart by the unbridgeable gulf between *promissio* and *mandatum*. The question 'How shall man live?', however, is everyone's question, and that is why our poet represents Abraham as he does, not as the matchless champion of faith or the 'athlete of obedience', but as a common man, as a father with a family, who because of his faith and his willpower gains an insight into what man owes to God and how, if one wants to make a gift, this gift should be made.⁸⁷

The *Sacrifice of Abraham* has great qualities; in it we find a sensitive and complete integration of learned, religious and popular strands, European (= Italian) as well as Greek, and next to that an extremely creative rehandling of the age-old theme of religious sacrifice. A play consists, however, of more than its paraphrasable contents. The full content – what the play really says – depends in the final analysis on its form, on the specific language that gives the paraphrasable content its particular shape and meaning. Here we meet the greatest quality of the play: its poetry, its fifteen-syllable verses which flow with such naturalness and simplicity that one can learn them by heart very easily (see p. 182), its warmth and directness of expression, which sometimes comes so close to the phrasing of Greek folk song that people wonder which came first.⁸⁸

87 For more on the poet's intentions see Bakker 1978: Ch. 4.

88 On these points all scholars who have concerned themselves with this play heartily agree: see Bibliographical guide, section 3(f). For a first serious approach to the language, metre and rhyme of this work see Philippides 1986.

Religious drama

This, however, does not mean that our poet is a simple man who wrote some kind of folk poetry and whose poetics are comprehended and seen through as easily as his language. On the contrary, he has made his play into a work of art, into a closely knit structure that is so well considered that nothing can be removed or transferred without detracting from the total effect. A whole network of cross-references has been woven into the play, which forms a key design consisting of scores of small details, all interrelated. Certain words, phrases and ideas are repeated over and over again, by different speakers and in different circumstances, and therefore in ever changing shades of meaning. All these images, symbols and allusions form patterns, all of them created to make a certain impression on the audience and so giving rise to all sorts of mental associations which in the end make the play into what it is: a masterpiece.⁸⁹

89 Research on this subject has only just started: see previous note. For a few examples of this technique see Bakker 1978: Ch. 5.3.2, Philippides 1986: 195–8, 212–15, and Bakker 1988.

Romance

DAVID HOLTON

The romance genre is represented in Cretan literature of the mature period (c. 1580–1669) by a single work, the *Erotokritos* of Vitsentzos Kornaros. However, there are several works in Greek dating from the immediately preceding centuries which belong to the category of ‘romance’ and which were certainly known in Crete (and in some cases reworked in Cretan versions). Furthermore, the genre has a lengthy and continuous history in Greek, a brief survey of which will provide the necessary background to our examination of the *Erotokritos*.

The genre of romance, now increasingly referred to by the more modern, inclusive, term ‘novel’ (the terminology in any case postdates the works themselves), is essentially a creation of the Hellenistic age.¹ The earliest surviving novel is Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, probably dating from the first century B.C.; but the best known and most influential examples of the genre date from late antiquity, from the period known as the ‘Second Sophistic’, when Greek culture experienced a significant revival under the Roman Empire. *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, the *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon of Ephesus and *Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius all belong, as far as may be determined, to the second century A.D. Somewhat later (perhaps in the fourth century) Heliodorus wrote his influential *Ethiopica*, the longest and stylistically most complex of the ancient novels. Longus’s work differs from the others in that it is a pastoral, set entirely on the island of Lesbos (Mytilene), with nature as a central theme and the basis of the action. It is a story of the gradual discovery of love and sexuality by two innocent ‘children of nature’. In all the other novels the setting ranges across wide areas of the ancient world, a world which stretches from Sicily to Syria and Palestine, and from Asia Minor to Egypt and Ethiopia. Travel and adventure are dominant themes of these stories, which have as their basic plot the separation of a pair of lovers by various acts of violence and misfortune, which culminate in their eventual reunion. Eros is the presiding deity, but Tyche (Fortune) repeatedly exerts her influence to keep the lovers apart through a series of adventures which may involve them in attacks by robbers, being carried off into slavery by pirates,

¹ The term ‘romance’ tends to be retained for the medieval genre, while many classical scholars now refer to the ancient ‘novel’. For general bibliography on ancient and medieval forms of the genre in Greek, see the Bibliographical guide.

shipwreck, presumed death and trials of fidelity and chastity, until all the obstacles to their love are finally removed. Religion, magic and dreams are also recurring elements, to a greater or lesser extent, in these works, which (together with others now lost, or surviving only in fragments) clearly had a large popular following and answered to a particular need of the reading public in the confused world of the late Hellenistic and early Christian centuries.

One other work demands our attention at this point, because of its later fortunes in European literature. *Apollonius of Tyre* is first encountered in a Latin version dating from the fifth or sixth century (*Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*), but the possibility that it is a translation of an earlier, Greek, novel cannot be ruled out. The resemblances to the extant Greek romances, especially the *Ephesiaca*, are striking, despite the intrusion of Christian elements and folk-tale motifs. We shall consider this novel further when we meet it again in a Cretan context.

No new works of the romance type, if we exclude the *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (a Christianised version of the life of the Buddha, formerly attributed to John Damascene), were composed until the twelfth century.² Within a few decades four novels of very similar plot structure to those of late antiquity were written in the milieu of the Comnenian court. Their titles alone bear witness to their authors' conscious renewal of the earlier tradition: *Rodanthe and Dosicles* by Theodore Prodromus, *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eustathius Macrembolites, *Aristandros and Callithea* by Constantine Manasses (surviving only in fragmentary form) and *Drosilla and Charicles* by Nicetas Eugenianus. Macrembolites follows Tatius in his use of a first-person narrator, dreams and stylised rhetorical descriptions (ἐκφράσεις), while the other three are more attracted by the compositional techniques of Heliodorus. All four are set in the pre-Christian world of late antiquity, with Eros and Tyche as the dominant influences in the protagonists' adventures. Their language too is basically that of the earlier romances, by now far removed from the everyday spoken Greek of their readers. Until recently modern scholars have almost always dismissed these works as slavish imitations, devoid of originality or other redeeming features, artificial and pedantic. There is, however, a significant innovation in form: Prodromus, Eugenianus and Manasses all use verse, the first two the Byzantine adaptation of the iambic trimeter, Manasses the fifteen-syllable 'political' verse (which is to become the predominant metre of vernacular

² There is evidence that the novels of late antiquity continued to be read in the Byzantine period. Photius, in the ninth century, included a summary of the *Babyloniaca* of Iamblichus (probably second century A.D.) in his *Bibliotheca* and discusses the relative merits of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, as does Michael Psellus in the eleventh century. The official attitude of the Church was naturally disapproving, but there was a tradition that both Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius were converted to Christianity and became bishops – most probably a fabrication to justify their popularity. However, in the early and middle Byzantine periods the demand for narrative fiction was largely satisfied by a new genre – the hagiographical novel (Beck 1977: 62).

poetry). And Macrembolites, while adhering to the prose form of his mentor Achilles Tatiüs, exaggerates his style to the point of playful (and clever) parody. Recent attempts to rehabilitate the twelfth-century novels have shown that, for all their remote ancient setting, they contain allusions to contemporary reality and their authors were men of literary accomplishment and skill, according to the taste of their times.³

We may usefully ask why works of secular fiction suddenly appear again in Greek after a hiatus of many centuries. It has been noted that the romance genre tends to flourish in periods of rapid change (Beer 1970: 78). The Hellenistic age which created it, twelfth-century France, Elizabethan England and the late eighteenth century were just such periods. In Byzantium too the twelfth century was an era of major social, economic and political upheaval. The romance, with its tendency to idealise (but also to instruct), with its invocation of a past age or a socially remote world, and above all with its escapism, provides entertainment and wish-fulfilment in an uncertain world. We may consider also the possibility of cross-cultural contact between East and West in the twelfth century. The Crusades began around 1080. About 1150 a group of three romances appear in France, all based on classical themes, the so-called *romans d'antiquité*. It is difficult to dismiss as coincidence the simultaneous emergence (or re-emergence) of the genre at the two extremes of Europe.

In the West the *romans d'antiquité* are succeeded by Arthurian romance and the romance of chivalry. In the Greek world we can trace a direct connection between the twelfth-century learned novel and a group of vernacular romances dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. All these texts are in the fifteen-syllable *politikos stichos* which Manasses had introduced into the learned genre. Most of their titles contain the names of a pair of lovers, and the names themselves are strongly reminiscent of those of the heroes and heroines of the two earlier phases of the Greek novel: *Kallimachos and Chryssorroi*, *Velthandros and Chrysantza*, *Livistros and Rodhamni*. Again their plots centre on the separation and complicated adventures of a pair of lovers; their settings are vaguely ancient, aristocratic, geographically imprecise. There are elaborate descriptions of palaces and gardens. Travel plays a major role and the protagonists are at the mercy of Eros and Tyche (or Moira). But there are new elements too: folkloric and fairy-tale motifs (most notably in the case of *Kallimachos and Chryssorroi*) and clear signs of western influence. Details of dress, hairstyle, feudal relationships and tournaments all indicate some degree of familiarity with western romances of chivalry. In the case of two of these romances we can speak of adaptations of known western originals: *Florios and Platziastora* from *Fleur et Blanche fleur*, and *Imberios and Margarona* from *Pierre de Provence et la Bella Maguelonne*. But it is extremely difficult to disentangle

³ See M. Alexiou 1977 on *Hysmine and Hysminias*, and more generally Hunger 1968 and 1978 and Beaton 1988 and 1989.

the Greek and western elements, because both traditions depend ultimately on a common inheritance of the clichés of classical antiquity (E. Jeffreys 1981: 117).

So far we have left out of account the best known narrative poem of early Modern Greek literature, *Digenis Akritis*. Even though it is often characterised as an epic, because of its emphasis on heroic deeds, its 'nationalistic' content and its rhapsodic structure, it too contains many features of romance. Its bipartite construction, with each section of the narrative culminating in the union of a hero and heroine, is reminiscent of western romance (Beaton 1988: 141); in the Greek romance tradition it looks back to the late antique novel (particularly *Leucippe and Clitophon*) and forward to the vernacular romances, especially the fifteenth-century *Achilleid*, whose hero is, in Hesselings's apt phrase (1919a: 9), 'un Digenis baptisé d'un nom classique'.

The mixed language of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century romances has presented scholars with seemingly insuperable problems.⁴ The lack of consistent dialect features or other indications of provenance means that none of these works (with the exception of *Kallimachos*, which has probable connections with Constantinople) can be attributed with certainty to a specific region in the Greek world. The Peloponnese, with its Franco-Greek racial and social intermingling, would be a strong candidate. These vernacular romances, as 'products of the dissolution of the fabric of Byzantine society' (E. Jeffreys 1981: 118), are certainly more likely to have originated and flourished on the fringes of the Byzantine world than at its centre. Claims have been made for a Cretan provenance in the case of a number of them, most notably *Livistros and Rodhamni* (Manousakas 1963a: 297–8, n. 6). A version of *Digenis Akritis*, that represented by the Escorial manuscript, was copied by a Cretan scribe (S. Alexiou 1985c: κβ'). In the fifteenth or early sixteenth century some of these romances were re-fashioned in rhyming couplets to conform to a new taste and there is considerable evidence that Crete was the place where this fondness for rhymed narrative poems (ριμάδες) developed most strongly and most successfully (see Chapter 3). The much-travelled romanticised biography of the Byzantine general Belisarius, incorporating material of a legendary, oral nature, was reworked in rhyme by a Cretan before 1490 and printed in Venice in 1525 or 1526 and repeatedly thereafter (Bakker and van Gemert 1988: 53–7). A similar thing happened in the case of the *Apollonius* romance: the Cretan rhymed version is dated to 1500 and is variously attributed to Gavriil Akondianos (in two of the manuscripts) and Konstandinos Temenos (in the chapbook editions, the first of which was probably printed between 1524

4 They employ a wide range of grammatical forms with total inconsistency; archaisms, neologisms and dialectal peculiarities occur side by side. Stylistic and structural affinities with oral poetry suggest a possible solution: although none of the surviving texts is itself a genuine oral composition, the corpus as a whole represents the written remains of a style developed for oral purposes. The language is essentially a *Kunstsprache*, based on the spoken language but admitting a wide range of variation (see E. Jeffreys 1981).

and 1526; see Kechagioglou 1986a). *Imberios and Margarona* likewise exists in a rhymed version as well as an older unrhymed one; the adaptation into rhyme probably took place in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and it was first printed in 1543 (Layton 1981: 133–5).

It is reasonable to assume that manuscripts of these vernacular romances circulated in Crete from at least the fifteenth century. Printed editions greatly augmented the circulation of these same stories, now in rhymed form, in the sixteenth century. There can be little doubt that the Cretan reader of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had access to a number of Greek verse texts belonging to the romance genre.

In the West, by this time, the romance had distinguished itself into 'aristocratic' and 'popular' types (Beer 1970: 6). The old chivalric romance continued to command a readership, but a new type of romantic epic had emerged of which the most notable and influential example is Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516). Ariosto took his material from the *chansons de geste* and courtly romances and stood it on its head, as Cervantes was to do a century later in his monumental prose work *Don Quixote* (published 1605–15). If Ariosto's work is an ironic re-writing of the romance of chivalry, *Don Quixote* is an outright parody of the idealised world of the romance, and at the same time the most influential precursor of the modern novel. Among the many 'rediscoveries' of the Renaissance were the old Greek romances of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius and Longus. Thus the modern novel, at its birth, owes much to the example of the very first works of narrative fiction.

These two separate strands of Greek and western narrative fiction come together in the *Erotokritos*. As we have seen, Kornaros's poem has behind it a lengthy tradition of narrative literature in Greek, however much or little of this tradition was directly known to the Cretan poet.⁵ But while the *Erotokritos* can be viewed as the culmination of the medieval Greek romance, its relationship to Western European literature is fundamental both to its evaluation as a work of the Renaissance and to the vexed questions of the identification of its author and the date of its composition. We shall consider later some aspects of its relationship with the *Orlando Furioso*. Before we deal with the problem of its main source, we shall present a brief synopsis of the plot.

I. After many years of childlessness, King Iraklis of Athens and his queen Artemi have a daughter, Aretousa. As she grows up, she is often in the company of the young Rotokritos,⁶ son of the King's counsellor Pezostratos. Rotokritos falls in love with the

5 For a suggestion that Kornaros was familiar with several of the late medieval romances, most probably in their rhymed, chapbook version, see Holton 1988a; it is also possible that he knew Longus's novel (see below p. 229).

6 In the text of the poem the hero's name (which means 'tormented by love') always appears as Ρωτόκριτος or Ρώκριτος, while the title of the first printed edition (but not the manuscript) has the form with initial vowel. We observe this distinction: *Erotokritos* for the poem, Rotokritos for the protagonist. On the subject of names we may note that those of the royal couple closely resemble the ancient Herakles and Artemis, but with a change of declension and stress (Ηράκλης, Αρτέμη) (cf. S. Alexiou 1980: οζ'). In its Italian form the King's name is quite

princess and confides in his friend Polydhoros. He serenades Aretousa without revealing his identity, and with Polydhoros fights ten of the King's men sent to capture him, killing two of them. Aretousa begins to pine for the unknown singer, while Rotokritos, at the instigation of Polydhoros, journeys to Egripos to try to forget his passion. During his absence Aretousa discovers his identity while on a visit to his sick father. On his return Rotokritos finds that his love poems and painting of Aretousa are missing from his room. Since only she had entered during his absence, he knows that his secret is out. Far from being angry, she appears to reciprocate his affections with stolen glances.

II. A tournament is organised by Iraklis with the twin purposes of providing entertainment for his daughter and finding her a suitable husband. Princes and noblemen come from many lands to take part; they are introduced one by one and their appearance is described in detail. The last to arrive is Charidhimos, the ruler of Gortyn in Crete. A pastoral 'interlude' relates his tragic love for a girl whom he married and accidentally killed while hunting. On seeing him the Karamanite Spitholiondas accuses him of having a sword stolen from his father by the Cretan's father, and challenges him to a duel. The Cretan consents and kills the Karamanite in a fierce encounter. When the tournament resumes the next day, the King appoints three 'champions' – Kypridhimos of Cyprus, the Cretan Charidhimos and Rotokritos – to meet the other ten knights in one-to-one mounted combat. Rotokritos fights first and defeats Filaretos of Mothoni, Iraklis of Egripos and Dhrakokardhos of Patra. Next the Cypriot overcomes Dhimofanis of Mytilene, Andromachos of Anapli, Glykaretos of Axia (Naxos) and Pistoforos of Byzantium. Finally the Cretan warrior defeats his allotted opponents: Dhrakomachos of Koroni, Nikostratis of Macedonia and Tripolemos of Sklavounia. Pistoforos, despite his defeat, is awarded the prize for the most elegant and handsome participant. Lots are cast to determine which two of the three champions will meet in the final joust. Fate decrees that the Cretan will be excluded and he retires angrily. Rotokritos jousts with the Cypriot, defeats him, and receives the victor's crown from the hands of Aretousa.

III. Their love now becomes more daring: they meet secretly at night and talk through a barred window. Rotokritos is emboldened to ask his father to approach the King and seek Aretousa's hand in marriage. Iraklis reacts vehemently to such presumptuousness: a marriage with a commoner is totally unacceptable and Rotokritos is punished by being sent into exile. After a passionate farewell, in which the couple exchange rings and swear eternal love, Rotokritos leaves Athens.

IV. Realising Aretousa's complicity in the affair, Iraklis throws her and her nurse Frosyni into a dungeon. After three years in exile, Rotokritos learns that Athens is at war with Vlachia; his face blackened and unrecognisable, he makes several raids on the enemy inflicting heavy casualties. In one foray he saves Iraklis's life and is offered half his kingdom as a reward. Later he successfully fights a duel with the Vlach champion Aristos (his name means 'best'), and thus saves the Kingdom of Athens from its enemies.

common during the Renaissance: we may recall Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara (1471–1505), who was an important patron of the arts; the poet Boiardo was his minister and Ariosto also received his patronage. One of his daughters, Beatrice, was among the most cultivated women of her age and herself a noted patron of artists, poets and intellectuals. Such contemporary associations might repay further investigation.

V. Iraklis shows his gratitude by offering Rotokritos (who is still disguised) all his realms, but the latter asks only for the King's daughter's hand in marriage. At first, Aretousa does not recognise him and rejects his advances, but finally, after testing her fidelity by relating his own death, he reveals himself to her and then to the King. Iraklis has no choice but to consent to the marriage, and Rotokritos and Aretousa reign happily for many years.

Since 1935 we have known with complete certainty that this plot derives from the French romance of chivalry *Paris et Vienne*. This fifteenth-century romance by Pierre de la Cypède derives ultimately from a Catalan work, via a Provençal intermediary. The French work was printed in 1487 and by the end of the sixteenth century had been translated into no fewer than eleven languages. It proved particularly popular in Italy and, given the fact of Venetian colonial rule in Crete, it may safely be assumed that Kornaros knew the work from one of the Italian versions which circulated in manuscript and printed form.⁷ There are two main contenders: a prose version first printed in 1482, and a verse adaptation by Angelo Albani, entitled *Innamoramento di due fidelissimi amanti*, printed for the first time in 1626. If the latter is the direct source of *Erotokritos*, then the Cretan poem must have been composed after 1626.

Approaching the problem from a different angle, scholars have also tried to identify the poet and relate him to datable documentary sources. Vitsentzos Kornaros is a fairly common name in Crete in the relevant period. Our starting-point must be the internal evidence offered by the poem. The poet identifies himself at the end of his work in six precisely worded lines of verse:

ΒΙΤΣΕΝΤΖΟΣ εἶν' ὁ ποιητής καὶ στὴ γενιὰ ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ,
 πὺν νὰ βρεθῆ ἀκριμάτιστος, σα θὰ τὸν πάρῃ ὁ Χάρως.
 Στὴ Στεῖαν ἐγεννήθηκε, στὴ Στεῖαν ἐνεθράφη,
 ἐκεῖ ἴκαμε κ' ἐκόπιασεν ἐτοῦτα πὺν σὰς γράφει.
 Στὸ Κάστρον ἐπαντρεύτηκε σαν ἀρμηνεύγει ἡ φύση,
 τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἔχει νὰ γενῆ ὅπου ὁ Θεὸς ορίσῃ. (v 1543–8)

VITSENTZOS is the poet, of the family KORNAROS
 – may he be found without sin when Charos comes to take him.
 He was born in Siteia, in Siteia he grew up,
 it is there that he made and laboured at these writings.
 In Kastro he married, as nature counsels,
 his end will be accomplished where God decrees.

There is only one Vitsentzos Kornaros known from archival sources who fits these biographical details. He was a member of the noble Veneto-Cretan family of Cornaro (or Corner), son of Giacomo and brother of the historian and

7 Older views, based on inadequate study of the textual tradition, that Kornaros worked from a text close to the French romance (Kriaras 1938), or that he used either two sources or, more probably, a (lost) Italian version intermediate between the French romance and the Italian prose version (Morgan 1953) must now be set aside in the light of recent more systematic research.

littérateur Andrea. Andrea Cornaro was the author of an unpublished history of Crete and president of the literary society (*accademia*) of the Stravaganti in Kastro. Vincenzo Cornaro (in the Italian form of his name) was born in 1553 and died in 1613 or 1614, which would rule out any connection with Albani's work. And indeed a recent detailed examination of all the relevant extant versions of *Paris et Vienne* has shown that it was the Italian prose romance which served as the model for the plot of *Erotokritos*.⁸

The problem seems now to have been satisfactorily resolved, and as a consequence we can date the composition of *Erotokritos* to approximately 1590–1610.⁹ The Cretan poem is far from being a mere translation of the Italian prose romance. The basic outline of the plot remains recognisably the same, and there are some significant coincidences of detail which enable us to affirm a dependent relationship. However, Kornaros has made substantial changes in the order of events, has suppressed some episodes of his model and introduced new ones of his own, and, more importantly, has altered the whole ethos of the medieval romance of courtly love to suit his Renaissance conception of society and morality. Since Kornaros's poem is set in 'times past, when the Hellenes ruled and their faith had neither foundation nor root' (19–20), the Christian character of the Italian romance has been systematically removed, as has its *courtoisie* (idealisation of woman, the absence of carnal desire, the mysticism). Among other alterations in the plot structure, Kornaros has conflated the two jousts of his model into one, which he locates later in the story. He has added: Rotokritos's feigned illness on his return from Egripos and Aretousa's present of symbolic apples, the story of the Prince of Crete (based on the myth of Cephalus and Procris), and Rotokritos's invented story of how he came by the ring (for details of these and other major changes, see Mavromatis 1982).

In comparison with the Italian prose romance, Kornaros's version of the story is better motivated, more tightly organised and more coherent, thanks to a reduction in the number of main characters and the avoidance of repetition. Most significantly, he has adapted the story to the thought-world of the Renaissance, enabling his characters to function credibly and dynamically (as we shall see below) and imbuing his poem with elements of humanistic

8 For a full analysis see Mavromatis 1982. His findings are contested by Evangelatos (1985a), who continues to argue that *Erotokritos* is at least partly dependent on Albani's poem, and must therefore be dated after 1626. (See the Bibliographical guide for further details of the controversy.)

9 S. Alexiou (1985b: 17) now regards 1600–10 as the probable period of composition. On the evidence of the 'epilogue' (quoted above) the poem cannot have been completed before Kornaros's marriage to Marieta Zen in about 1587. It would be too literal-minded to insist that the poem was written (in Siteia) before he settled in Kastro (no later than 1593). He could have worked on it in Siteia after this date during periodic visits to his country estates. The only secure *terminus ante quem* is the date of his death. There is some evidence for believing the religious drama *The Sacrifice of Abraham* to be by Vitsentzos Kornaros (no other works of his are known, except for a few poems in Italian). On the attribution of the play to Kornaros see Chapter 8.

enquiry, a scientific interest in natural phenomena, and a penetrating analysis of the states of mind of the protagonists (cf. S. Alexiou 1980: $\alpha\alpha'$ – $\alpha\beta'$).

In the unique manuscript of the *Erotokritos*, the text is continuous apart from a few 'titles' indicating the beginning of specific episodes. However, the other branch of the textual tradition, represented by a series of Venetian (and later Athenian) printed editions, divides the poem into five parts, or books.¹⁰ I have argued elsewhere that this division is integral to the poet's conception of his work (Holton 1988b), and it has also been noted by other commentators (e.g. S. Alexiou 1980: $\eta\eta'$) that there is an alternation of mood in successive books of the poem. In Books I, III and V the emotional and the dramatic predominate, as the romantic theme progresses from the awakening of love, via its expression (and the consequent separation of the lovers), to recognition and union. The second and fourth books are more concerned with physical conflict: the tournament at Athens and the war against Vlachia. Furthermore, and most significantly, the five-part structure reflects the form of neoclassical drama: the first two 'acts' contain the exposition and the initial steps towards a satisfactory outcome (Rotokritos's demonstration of his manly prowess); the third involves the heroes in obstacles and complications (exile, imprisonment); the fourth presents the means of redress (Rotokritos wins the favour of the King); and the final part brings the resolution of the conflict and the happy end (cf. S. Alexiou 1980: $\alpha\alpha'$).¹¹ The dramatic nature of the poem's conception is also underscored by the extensive use of dialogue and monologue in which the protagonists reveal their feelings and argue the rights and wrongs of their situation.¹² Some 42% of the whole poem is in the form of direct speech, while the speakers' names are indicated, in the printed editions and, usually, in the manuscript, after the manner of a dramatic text. But the *Erotokritos* is a narrative poem, not a play, with comments on the action and linking narrative supplied by a narrator, expressly designated as the 'poet' ($\pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$). By allowing his characters to speak directly, with a minimum of introduction and descriptive comment, the poet creates the illusion of a dramatic work, although naturally the unities of time and place are not observed.

Stylios Alexiou has written aptly of the poem's 'daring mixing of genres' (1980: $\alpha\alpha'$). In an age preoccupied with illusion and reality, summed up by the dictum 'All the world's a stage', it is not surprising that dramatic elements should make their appearance in other genres. In the *Erotokritos* the description of the joust contains several theatrical touches (for example, the appearance of the Lord of Sklavounia on the jousting-field is accompanied by artificial thunder and lightning (II 259), and the Lord of Koroni emerges from scenery painted to look like a cave (II 237–44). In Book III, the proportion of dialogue

10 On the textual tradition of the poem see the Bibliographical guide.

11 The plot of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* has also been analysed as a drama in five acts (Perry 1967: 141ff.).

12 But it should be noted that at some of the most dramatic moments direct speech is avoided; see Holton 1988b: 162–3.

reaches its highest point, with nearly 62% of the total verses in the form of direct speech. At this critical mid-point in the story, the dramatic quality of the poem is intensified: only six characters are given direct speech (Aretousa, Frosyni, Rotokritos, Pezostratos, King Iraklis and Polydhoros, in descending order of the number of verses allocated to each); the main exchanges, between Aretousa and Frosyni (vv. 45–360, 423–526, 1079–1336, 1617–42), Pezostratos and Rotokritos (731–885, 945–1002), Pezostratos and Iraklis (859–936), Aretousa and Iraklis (1017–46) and Rotokritos and Aretousa (1335–1552), trace the stages in the *epitasis*, or intensification of the plot. In a succession of dramatic and emotional scenes we are led rapidly from Aretousa's growing passion for Rotokritos, confided to the fearful Frosyni, to Rotokritos's banishment and its effects on his grieving parents.

If the *Erotokritos* is basically a love story, many other themes are woven into the plot and contribute to the poem's rich and varied tapestry. The principal themes are announced by the poet in his opening lines (in the manner of epic poets from Homer and Virgil to Ariosto and Tasso):

Του κύκλου τα γυρίσματα που ανεβοκατεβαίνουν
 και του τροχού που ώρες ψηλά κι ώρες στα βάθη πηγαίνουν,
 και του καιρού τ' αλλάγματα που αναπαημό δεν έχουν,
 μα στο καλό κ' εις το κακό περιπατούν και τρέχου
 και των αρμάτων οι ταραχές, έχθρητες και τα βάρη,
 του Έρωτα η εμπόρεση και της φιλικιάς η χάρη,
 αυτάνα μ' εκινήσασι τη σήμερον ημέρα
 ν' αναθιβάλω και να πω τα κάμαν και τα φέρα
 σ' μια κόρη κ' έναν άγουρο που μπερδευτήκα ομάδι
 σε μια φιλιάν αμάλαγη, με δίχως ασκημάδι. (11–10)

The turnings of the circle, which rise and fall,
 and of the wheel, which travels now aloft, now below,
 and the changes caused by time, which have no rest
 but rush onward to good and evil,
 and the clashes of arms, hostilities and tribulations,
 the power of Eros and the charm of friendship
 – all these moved me this day,
 to recount and tell of their effect
 on a girl and a boy who became involved
 in an innocent love that had no stain.

The instability of human fortune, war, and love in all its aspects are, then, the dominant themes. Fortune, often symbolised by the medieval image of the wheel, is frequently mentioned as a causal factor – and a source of hope. It is a commonplace in medieval and Renaissance Greek poetry, as well as in folk poetry, and as such it has the reassuring ring of the familiar. Fate or destiny (μοίρα or ριζικό, though the two are virtually interchangeable) can be blamed for unexpected failure, as for example in the tournament. In the joust between Glykaretos and Kypridhimos Fate takes a hand and causes the former's horse to stumble:

Romance

Μα ακούσετε, το ριζικό πώς ήρθε να μοδιάσει,
στο δεύτερο κοντάρεμα δε θέλει να τσ' αφήσει. (II 1713–14)

But hear how fate came to set an obstacle,
unwilling to allow them to meet in a second tilt.

Fate is also much involved in the vicissitudes of the relationship between Aretousa and Rotokritos. Frosyni wishes that she could endure the torments of fortune (here Τύχη) in her mistress's place (III 119–20). Time and destiny are brought together in Aretousa's words to Rotokritos when they meet at the window:

σε χέρι γή σε μάγουλο ποτέ δε θες μου γγίξει,
ώστε να φέρουν οι καιροί γλυκός καιρός ν' ανοίξει,
να το θελήσει η Μοίρα μου κι ο κύρης να τ' ορίσει,
αλλιώς ποτέ δεν το θωρείς, ο κόσμος κι α βουλήσει. (III 683–6)

You will never touch me on the hand or cheek
until the seasons bring a beginning of fair weather,¹³
until my Fate wills it and my father so decrees,
otherwise you will never see it, even if the world should sink in ruin.

Later, when she hears the fictitious story of her beloved's death from the disguised Rotokritos, Aretousa blames her Fate for the cruel torments she has undergone (v 1006ff.), concluding that it no longer has the power to inflict any worse suffering on her:

Σήμερα απόμεινα άφοβη· δεν έχω πλιο ίντα λπίζει·
το ριζικό δεν το ψηφώ· η Μοίρα δε μ' ορίζει.
Μοίρα, δε σε φοβούμαι πλιο κι ό,τι κι α θέλης κάμε,
κι α με γυρεύγης να με βρης, λέγω σου πως επά 'μαι. (v 1021–4)

Today I am bereft of fear; no longer have I anything to hope;
I do not heed destiny; Fate has no power to command me.
Fate, I fear you no longer, do what you will,
and if you seek to find me, I tell you: here I am.

Despite the frequent allusions to fate and destiny throughout the poem, the poet ends not, as he might have done, with a recapitulation of the wheel theme, but with a more humanistic call to patience and hope:

Για τούτο οπού 'ναι φρόνιμος, μηδέ χαθή στα πάθη·
το ρόδο κι όμορφος αθός γεννάται μες στ' ακάθι . . .
Και κάθα είς που εδιάβασεν εδά κι ας το κατέχη:
μη χάνεται στα κίντυνα, μα πάντα ολπίδα ας έχη. (v 1519–20, 1523–4)

Therefore, whosoever is wise, let him not waste away in sufferings;
the rose, lovely flower, is born among thorns . . .
So let everyone who has read this now understand:
let him not waste away in adversity but always have hope.

13 The word used here for 'weather' and 'seasons' (plural) is the same as that for 'time'.

The related theme of time (καιρός) as an agent of change is also frequent. Time changes what was in the beginning a small spark of love into a burning passion, as Rotokritos describes to his friend Polydhoros with a wealth of imagery in a long speech (I 251–346). The basic idea is stated plainly and simply:

Αρχή ήτονε πολλά μικρή κι άφαντη δίχως άλλο,
μα το μικρό με τον καιρόν εγίνηκε μεγάλο. (I 297–8)

The beginning was very small and, indeed, insignificant,
but what was small has with time become great.

The idea is elaborated with many similes and a variety of verbs or adverbs indicating the gradual passage of time: *αγάλια–αγάλια* (little by little), *επλήθαινε* (it increased), *με τον καιρό* (with time), *κάθ' ώρα μεγαλώνει* (it grows with every hour). On the other hand, time is a healer and a bringer of forgetfulness, at least so Frosyni fondly hopes:

Πούρι ο καιρός ας προπατή, ας πηαίνη κι ας περάση,
μήπως και ξελησιμονηθή ο πόθος, σα γεράση. (I 1711–12)

But let time march on, proceed and pass away,
and perhaps the desire will be forgotten, when it grows old.

She secretly expresses the hope that Rotokritos may find another girl to love, while he is away from Athens, and she concludes:

κι όλα τα πράματα ο καιρός χαλά και μεταλλάσσει. (I 1732)¹⁴

Time destroys and alters all things.

The theme of time, which so much fascinated the baroque age, permeates Kornaros's poem, but in his exploration of the theme it is the virtues of patience and hope which he wishes to stress,¹⁵ rather than the *memento mori* of Chortatsis's *Erofili*. It is, after all, a romance not a tragedy, and the reader is assured from the outset of a happy ending:

γιατί όποιος δίχως πιβουλιά τον πόθο του ξετρέχει,
εις την αρχή α βασανιστή, καλό το τέλος έχει. (I 15–16)

For whoever pursues his desire without guile,
even if he is tormented at first, shall have a fair end.

The other two principal themes announced by the poet, the 'clashes of arms' and 'the power of Eros', contribute in large measure to the overall form

14 In her dungeon Aretousa, musing on her fate, will pick up the same theme of the power of time to change and destroy, with images of withering flowers, shattered glass and vanishing smoke (IV 605–8). There is in the poem a vast range of imagery associated with time, which requires a full investigation.

15 The fullest exposition is when Frosyni comforts Aretousa (who has just parted from Rotokritos) with an extended discourse on the theme 'time heals all things' (III 1623–42; cf. Vitti 1978: 100).

of the poem by their concentration in alternate books, as we have already seen. However, the themes of love and war are by no means separate. Love is the motivating force for Rotokritos's participation in the tournament and it is the cause of the sufferings of both Aretousa and Rotokritos in Book iv.¹⁶ Rotokritos is also called upon to show his prowess in Book I when the King sends soldiers to lie in wait for the mysterious serenader. The various feats of arms which Rotokritos performs in Book II and Book IV constitute the trials to which the hero must submit in order to achieve his goal. They are the means by which Rotokritos earns the right to regal status and marriage with a princess.

These are the poet's stated themes, but we can identify a number of other recurrent ideas. Perhaps the most important is social distinctions, the reason why the liaison of Aretousa and Rotokritos is unacceptable to King Iraklis.¹⁷ The theme is first made explicit when Rotokritos confides in his friend Polydhoros, and the latter expresses his horror at the 'impossible and unseemly things' (πράματα ανημπόρετα κι άμοιαστα I 168) that Rotokritos is pursuing; he goes on to voice the conventional view that one should 'know one's place' (I 187-90). He foresees an unhappy outcome, for both Rotokritos and his father, if Rotokritos persists in his course (I 193-4), and he sums up:

γιατί `ναι διαφορά πολλή στον ένα από τον άλλο:
εσένα λέσινε μικρό, το ρήγα λεν μεγάλο. (I 217-18)

For there is a great difference between the two:
you are called 'small', the King 'great'.

Frosyni offers similar admonitions to Aretousa, stressing the great gulf that separates royalty from ordinary people:

κερά μου, επά δε βρίσκονται ωσάν εσάς μεγάλοι.
Επά όσοι κατοικούσινε εις τα περίγυρα, ούλοι
σκλάβοι είναι του αφεντάκη σου κ' εσέ, κερά μου, δούλοι. (I 682-4)

My lady, here there are no other great people like you.
Those who live in the environs are all
slaves of your father and yourself, my lady - servants.

Frosyni and Polydhoros represent the voice of social convention; one must marry within one's own class. Aretousa at first seems to accept the conventional view that equates high accomplishments with noble birth, but argues that the songs of her unknown serenader prove him to be a 'branch of a lofty tree':

16 It is Eros too that gives Rotokritos the strength to fight and overcome the ten soldiers sent by the King to capture him. The poet here inserts a set piece on 'the wonders that Love performs' (I 543-52).

17 The same theme is a dominant one in the *Erofilii*, although there Panaretos is in fact of royal blood; see Chapter 6, especially pp. 133-4.

γιατί σ' ανθρώπους χαμηλούς χάρες δεν κατοικούν·
πάντα στους μεγαλύτερους γυρεύουσι να μπούσι. (I 659–60)

For the graces do not dwell in lowly folk;
they always seek to enter greater people.

Later, when she discovers the singer's identity, she is forced to change her view (cf. I 1529–30), but Frosyni, embodying the wisdom of experience and propriety, continues to urge Aretousa that her behaviour does not befit a king's daughter.

Pezostratos, the father of Rotokritos, is also a representative of established convention, but he allows himself to be persuaded, against his better judgement, to approach the King on his son's behalf. He assembles a forceful argument (III 899–910): in olden times riches and kingdoms were regarded by the great as a source of trouble; they attached more importance to virtue than to wealth. So they married their children to people of lower estate who possessed knowledge, bravery and beauty. Wealth and dominions are destroyed by time, but knowledge and the true gifts of nobility are worth more than these:

οὐδ' ὁ τροχός δεν ἔχει ἐξάν, ὡς θέλει να γυρίση,
τη γνώση και την ἀρετὴ ποτέ να καταλύση. (III 909–10)

Nor does the wheel (of fortune), when it decides to turn,
have power to destroy knowledge and virtue.

This appeal to a Golden Age, linked with the themes of time and fortune, cuts no ice with the King, who now determines quickly to marry Aretousa to someone of her own station. The theme returns when Aretousa, imprisoned for her refusal to submit to the marriage, curses her fate and wishes that she had been born poor and, consequently, free to marry a poor man. Then she would not have had to suffer the 'thousand sorrows and torments' that afflict her as a King's daughter (IV 717–30).

Eventually Rotokritos's courage and prowess in battle win him recognition from King Iraklis, who is gratefully prepared to accept him as his son and heir, although he is still ignorant of his true identity (IV 1201–6). When Rotokritos is unmasked, Iraklis keeps his promise and in blessing the marriage concedes:

Δεν εἶναι ρήγας σαν ἐμᾶς, μα ἡ χάρη του εἶναι τόση,
που ρήγα τότε κρᾶζουσι σε δύναμη και γνώση. (V 1423–4)

He is not a king like us, but his charm is such
that he is called a king in might and knowledge.

In the end, then, personal qualities are deemed to count for more than the accident of birth.

The prominence of this theme leads us to ask whether it might not have had a particular contemporary relevance. The events of the War of Cyprus (1570–73) had seriously worried the Venetian authorities in Crete, who must have

realised that it was only a matter of time before the Turks launched an all-out attack on the island. The loss of Cyprus left Crete as the last major Venetian stronghold in the Eastern Mediterranean, but even more disturbing was the Turkish landing on the north coast of Crete in June 1571. The main fear was that in the event of war the Greek population would side with the Turks against their Venetian overlords. We therefore observe a relaxation of some of the restrictions placed on native Cretans and an attempt to reform the decayed feudal system. If we equate the King and Queen of Athens with the Veneto-Cretan nobility of the *libro d'oro* and Rotokritos with the rising urban class, Kornaros's poem may be seen as a plea for a greater utilisation of the talents of the bourgeoisie in the Venetian administration and, in general, a more open and tolerant attitude on the part of the nobility.¹⁸

The final theme which needs to be discussed is that of exile. It is not surprising that a poem which belongs to the romance genre should involve a banishment as a crucial plot-lever: this is an obvious means of separating the lovers, though not the normal one in either the Hellenistic or the Byzantine novel. In *Paris et Vienne* the two lovers flee together from the wrath of the girl's father. The banishment seems to be an innovation of Kornaros's; in no other version of *Paris et Vienne* is the hero ordered to leave his city, and given an ultimatum of four days in which to do so (Mavromatis 1982: 167–9). Rotokritos actually endures exile twice, the first time voluntarily, in order to try to forget Aretousa, and the second time as a result of his father's proposal of marriage. The first allusion to the theme is at 1 183–6, when Polydhoros suggests to Rotokritos that a trip in foreign parts would be the best means of avoiding the dangerous liaison. A few verses later Polydhoros raises the possibility that banishment is the likely result of the socially unacceptable courtship Rotokritos is pursuing (1 193–6). The suggestion is renewed after the armed combat with the King's soldiers, and Rotokritos at last agrees.¹⁹ The separation of the two lovers fails, however, to fulfil the purpose which Polydhoros and Frosyni both hope for, but it does provide Aretousa with the opportunity to enter Rotokritos's room and discover the identity of her secret admirer. When he returns and learns that Aretousa has found his poems, he is afraid to resume his visits to the palace. If the King has been informed there will be no alternative but for him to go into exile again:

να ξοριστώ, να πορπατώ σ' τση ξενιτιάς τη στράτα. (1 1916)

to be banished, to tread the path of exile.

An important connection is thus made: the King's knowledge of the hero's affection for Aretousa will necessarily involve exile. This, of course, actually

18 This argument was advanced by Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus in an unpublished lecture given at Cambridge in 1985.

19 Polydhoros's speech urging Rotokritos to leave Athens (1 1229–78) is worthy of close attention, particularly for its set-piece description of the merits of foreign travel (1 1233–44).

happens in Book III, at the mid-point of the whole poem, when Pezostratos has approached the King on his son's behalf, and ironically after Rotokritos has threatened to exile *himself* if Pezostratos refuses to help him (III 837–42). The theme of exile pervades the fourth and fifth books: the disguised Rotokritos is referred to as ο ξένος (the stranger/foreigner) or το ξένο παλληκάρι (the foreign warrior); and Aretousa uses as a pretext for refusing to marry Pistoforos her unwillingness to be separated from her parents in ξενιτιά (foreign parts/exile).

Why does Kornaros make so much of this theme? The poem is basically concerned with the interaction of wills and emotions, and a development towards tolerance, harmony and understanding. The quest of Rotokritos is for personal fulfilment and the place in society for which his virtues and abilities fit him. His spiritual state is very much that of Renaissance man, the exile seeking to return to his intellectual homeland, to be reunited with the classical genius. A sense of exile is necessary before the synthesis can be achieved. It is only by becoming an exile that Rotokritos can be integrated in his society.

The various themes which we have identified²⁰ interact in multiple ways throughout the poem. In examining these themes we have also seen, to some extent, the richness of the characterisation of the poem.²¹ There is no doubt that of the two protagonists Aretousa is more fully and more sympathetically portrayed: 29% of the total dialogue in the poem is assigned to her, whereas Rotokritos receives only 19% (Holton 1988b: 163; cf. Seferis 1981: 502; Sherrard 1978). It is through the dialogue that the characters' psychological development is depicted via the whole gamut of emotions, from doubt to certainty, from fear and anxiety to obstinate strength, from despair to confident hope.²²

In her conversation with Frosyni, Aretousa stresses that she is no longer a child: she has progressed from toys to needlework and books, but these no longer give her pleasure; for she has fallen in love with the unknown singer (I 975–1026). She argues logically that the songs and painting she has discovered in Rotokritos's room prove that he loves her, she confesses honestly that she has become a slave to love (I 1613ff.), but she is confident that all the obstacles will eventually be removed:

20 The list could be extended; for example, Kornaros refers so often to nature and the natural world, almost always from a rationalistic, Renaissance view-point, that we could call this another 'theme' of the poem. One example must suffice: Polydhoros reminds Rotokritos that what distinguishes man from the animal world is the faculty of reason (ο λογισμοσμός) (I 1161–84, especially 1175–6). On Kornaros's tendency to 'explain' natural phenomena scientifically see S. Alexiou 1980: οβ'.

21 The subject has been covered rather extensively by recent commentators, but is far from exhausted. Seferis 1981 and Sherrard 1978 are particularly relevant.

22 The central importance of Aretousa is underlined by the fact that Frosyni is given 18.3% of the total dialogue, mostly in conversation with Aretousa, whereas Rotokritos's friend Polydhoros receives only 8.1% of the dialogue.

Romance

Κι άνθρωπος, σαν του βουληθή να κάμη το ξετρέχει,
όποιος διατάσσει, όποιος μιλεί, όφκαιρο κόπον έχει.
Θωρώ πως με τον κύρη μου σ' μάχη μεγάλη εμπαινω,
μα εγροίκτησα τω φρόνιμω και τω γραμματισμένω
κ' είπασι κι αρμηνεύγουσι πως σαν τελειώση η μάχη,
αγάπη και γαλήνωση στο τέλος της θε να 'χη·
κι α φέρνη η μάχη ανάπαψη, η όχθρητα καλοσύνη,
έτσι κ' η μάχη του κυρού μερώνεται κ' εκείνη. (III 163-70)

When a person has determined to pursue a certain goal,
anyone who urges or advises him against it is wasting his time.
I am aware that I am entering on a great conflict with my father,
but I have listened to the words of the wise and the learned
and the advice they give is that, when the conflict subsides,
the end will bring love and serenity;
and if conflict leads to respite, and hostility to kindness,
so also will the conflict with my father be assuaged.

Throughout her imprisonment, near to despair though she is, she never once doubts her love for Rotokritos, defiantly declaring to her father that nothing will make her submit to the marriage he intends for her:

μα ουδέ φλακή ουδέ σίδερα ουδ' εκατό θανάτοι
θέλουσι κάμει να με πας σα νύφη στο παλάτι.
'Ό,τι κριτήρια βρίσκονται δότε τα στο κορμί μου
κι ας τάξω πως δε μ' έσπειρες και τέκνο σου δεν ήμου. (IV 491-4)

But neither prison nor iron bars nor a hundred deaths
will enable you to lead me to the palace as a bride.
Inflict on my body whatever tortures may be found,
and let me consider that you never begot me and I was not you child.

And Aretousa does have to suffer, far more than Rotokritos, and not only from her father but at the hands of Rotokritos himself. In testing her fidelity he becomes positively cruel; when she has heard the fictitious tale of his death, she curses her fate, cries that there is nothing left for her to live for, and ends with the wish that she had died at his side:

για να σου κάμω συντροφιά, να πηαινώμεν ομάδι,
το δεν εκάμαν τα κορμιά, να κάμου οι ψες στον Άδη. (V 1047-8)

to keep you company, that we may go together,
that what our bodies have not done our souls might accomplish in Hades.

Aretousa is no mere symbol of fidelity, but a warm-blooded human being in the grip of an obsessive passion. Nor is she a passive victim: she discovers for herself the identity of the singer, opposes her father's wishes by rejecting Pistoforos, and refuses the advances of the disguised Rotokritos. Her trial is every bit as real as the physical tasks which Rotokritos is called upon to perform, even though her role may appear more passive.

By comparison Rotokritos is more of a conventional hero, displaying bravery and skill in combat and eventually winning the hand of his beloved. But his actions are by no means always laudable; he is far from being a stereotyped hero. At times his love-lorn moping is irritatingly pathetic:

Ταίρι να κάμω έτοιμα κερά εμπόρεση δεν έχω:
το θέλουν άλλοι να μου που γνωρίζω και κατέχω·
κι απείτις σ' πράματα ψηλά δε φτάνει η μόρεσή μου,
σκιας με τα καμωσούδια τση ας θρέφω το κορμί μου. (II 75-8)

I have no power to make such a lady my wife:
what others wish to tell me I know and understand;
and since my ability falls short of lofty objectives,
let me at least sustain my body with her handiwork.

In his dealings with his father he has recourse to emotional blackmail (threatening to leave home if Pezostratos will not present his suit to the King), and we have seen that he goes almost too far in testing Aretousa's constancy. However, his character does have many positive aspects: he repeatedly risks his life in defending his country against a foreign enemy; he responds politely to the threats of Dhrakokardhos in the joust; and he shows great affection for his parents. If he is a less substantial figure than Aretousa, it is because Kornaros has created in her no ordinary heroine.²³

The subordinate characters are much less fully drawn and, on the whole, have more conventional roles to perform. Polydhoros's function is mainly concentrated in Book I, and consists largely of urging Rotokritos against his foolhardy passion; but he also accompanies him on his nocturnal journeys to sing below Aretousa's window and he assists bravely in the fight against the King's soldiers. In Book II, after trying in vain to dissuade Rotokritos from taking part in the tournament, he plays the part of a squire, preparing the outfit which Rotokritos will wear. When Rotokritos goes into enforced exile, Polydhoros is left behind to keep his friend informed by letter of developments in the palace. (A trusty servant called Pistendis acts as courier.) Later, Polydhoros accompanies King Iraklis into battle and the two are rescued by the disguised Rotokritos. After Rotokritos has been wounded in the duel with Aristos, Polydhoros visits him often and forms a close attachment to him:

Μια κάποια αγάπη εκίνησε με τρόπο κουρφεμένο
στο στήθος του Πολύδωρου προς τον αρρωστημένο·
κ' έρέγετο να του γροικά κ' εσύχιαζε να πηαίνη
εις το παλάτι να θωρή πώς πάει και πότες γαίβει.

23 The many similarities with Erofilis and Panaretos in Chortatsis's tragedy have frequently been remarked (note also the obvious resemblance of the names). Erofilis too is the dominant partner (although Panaretos has the greater share of the dialogue), while Panaretos is weak and indecisive. On the relationship between the two works see Xanthoudhidis 1915: cxxiv-cxxvi, and Kriaras 1938: 15-16.

Κ' εφαινούντο του ο Ρώκριτος ήτον, όντε του εμίλειε,
και σπλαχνικά συχιά συχιά στο στόμα τον εφίλειε . . . (V 113-18)

But a kind of love stirred secretly
in Polydhoros's breast towards the sick man;
and he took pleasure in listening to him
and often went to the palace to see how he was and when he might recover.
And when he spoke to him he had the impression that it was Rotokritos,
and oftentimes he would kiss him tenderly on the lips . . .

The irony, at the expense of Polydhoros, is maintained until after Rotokritos has identified himself to Aretousa; Polydhoros marvels that Aretousa should have agreed to marry 'another man' and is distressed that he has not heard from his friend for more than two months (v 1167-78). When Rotokritos finally neutralises the magic potion with which he had disguised himself, Polydhoros still finds it difficult to believe that it is really his friend (v 1449-54). The bond which had developed between them was an instinctive attraction of like-minded souls which had nothing to do with physical appearance. Throughout the poem the relationship of Rotokritos and Polydhoros is one of affection and trust; the opposing forces of reason, restraint and social convention, on the one hand, and uncontrolled passion, on the other, are finally united. It is this relationship above all that fulfils the promised theme of της φιλιάς η χάρη (the charm of friendship).

Aretousa's relationship with her nurse Frosyni is rather different. As we have seen, Frosyni also represents social convention, but her greater years enable her to speak with the wisdom of experience:

Εγώ γνωρίζω, εγώ θωρώ κ' εγώ γροικώ ίντα ζάλη
έχου όντε πράσσουν οι μικροί εκεί που 'ναι οι μεγάλοι. (III 111-12)

I know, I see and I understand what delusion
results for those of lowly estate who interfere in the affairs of the great.

She makes much use of proverbial modes of expression, she shows compassion, respect and affection towards her charge, but she cannot stop herself from occasional harsh outbursts of impatience:

Γροίκα ανοστιά, γροίκα αρρωσιτιά, γροίκα δαιμόνου οδύνη! (I 968)

Listen to the vulgarity of it, the sickness, the demonic affliction!

For all that, she remains loyal to Aretousa's best interests, arranges the secret meeting of the lovers at the window and, later, pleads with the King on Aretousa's behalf. Despite the conventionality of her role, she is depicted realistically and credibly, particularly through her many extended conversations with Aretousa.

The King plays a similar role as the representative of wisdom and order, but his character undergoes great shifts in the course of the poem: from paternal love and concern to offended dignity *vis-à-vis* Aretousa, and from pride and

affection to tyrannical hostility towards Rotokritos, and then (in contrast to Filogonos in the *Erofilii*) back to fatherly tenderness towards the couple. At the end he is magnanimous enough to admit that he may have been in the wrong:

Γιε μου, ας πάψουσιν όλα τα περασμένα,
γῆ εγὼ ἴσφαλα γῆ εσὺ ἴσφαλες, ας εἶν' συμπαθημένα. (v 1391–2)

My son, let all that is past be laid to rest,
whether I erred or you did, let everything be forgiven.

The character of Pezostratos, Rotokritos's father, is less fully depicted but here too there is a dynamic. It is noteworthy that Pezostratos is given the last speech of the poem. Ostensibly his purpose is to seek the King's forgiveness, but in the process he gently reproves him for his past words and actions:

Θωρεῖς τα εδὰ τα λόγια μου το πως εβεβαιώσα,
Θαρρῶ να τα μετάνιωσες τα μου ἴτε αυτεῖνη η γλώσσα. (v 1469–70)

Do you see how my words have been confirmed?
I imagine you will have regretted the things your tongue uttered.

But forgiveness is the keynote. Pezostratos draws a veil over the past, in words that recall the poem's opening:

Μα ετούτα όλα περάσασι κι ας τάξω πως δεν ἴσα,
απείς θωρῶ και τα κακά σ' τόσα καλά εγυρίσα
κ' οι μάνητες επάψασι κ' η ὄχθηρητα ετελειώθη
και το μαντάτο το πρικύ μ' ἄλλο γλυκύν ελειώθη. (v 1479–82)

But all these things are past – let me suppose they never happened –
for I see that the evil has turned to such good,
the anger has ceased and the hostility has been brought to an end,
and the bitter message has faded into another, sweeter one.

The tournament is among the most discussed and analysed parts of the *Erotokritos*. Our analysis will also serve to enlarge our picture of the poem's thematic content and its historical, political and cultural background. Why is so much space devoted to this episode? In the French original there are two tournaments, but they occupy a relatively small proportion of the whole and they are differently motivated (the hero has first to fight for his beloved in order to win her heart; Mavromatis 1982: 186). Kornaros's single tournament, positioned later in the development of the plot, is expanded to fill the whole of Book II, that is some 2,454 verses, nearly a quarter of the poem's 9,982 verses. However, the jousting is not to be seen as a digression or interlude in the *Erotokritos*, but rather as an integral section contributing to our understanding of the relationship between the protagonists and leading directly to the dramatic events of the poem's central book.

Two particular factors lead us to seek some symbolic interpretation of the joust, beyond the graphic pageantry and the advancement of the love theme:

first, the fact that it takes place on the Venetian national festival of 25 April²⁴ (as the King has already declared in his proclamation: I 1337–44); secondly, the central episode of Book II, after the arrival of the combatants but before the opening of the joust proper, is the duel between the Cretan warrior Charidhimos and the Karamanite Spitholiondas (II 987–1180). Since Karamania is located in Asia Minor, and Spitholiondas is clearly despised as an uncouth, 'barbarous' Turk, it is tempting to seek some allegorical meaning in this meeting of representatives of the Ottoman Empire and the poet's native Crete.²⁵ Proceeding along these lines, scholars have attempted to interpret the whole joust in terms of a historical, 'national' allegory. Partly because of uncertainties about the precise dating of the poem, partly as a result of an 'ethnocentric' viewpoint, such speculation has failed to generate a totally convincing view of the deeper significance which the joust is believed to hold. But let us first discuss the participants and their places of origin.

Many of the princes and rulers who take part in the spectacle come from lands which have at some time been historically linked to the Venetian colonial Empire. Methoni (or Mothoni) and Koroni, the twin ports at the south-west corner of the Peloponnese, were of crucial importance in the Venetian trade routes for nearly three centuries. Occupied after the Fourth Crusade and heavily fortified, Modon and Coron (as the Venetians called them) became the 'two eyes of the Republic' (Lane 1973: 43), at which all vessels returning from the Levant were ordered to stop and exchange news of pirates and convoys. Their importance, both as way stations and as ports of loading for the region's products, continued until they were captured by the Turks in 1500. To some extent Venice made up for this loss by taking firm possession of Zakynthos and Kefallonia (McNeill 1974: 136) but the disasters of the Turco-Venetian War of 1499–1503 represent a turning-point in Venetian history (Lane 1973: 242). Although the two ports shared a common historical fate, Kornaros appears to conceive of them separately and differently: Filaretos of Mothoni is portrayed as honourable and brave (II 187–200), while Dhrakomachos of Koroni, an impressive and fearsome warrior (his name means 'dragon-fighter'; the dragon was a common symbol for the Turk – see Danielsen 1985: 105), threatens the Cretan Charidhimos with ill-tempered boasting before their encounter on the jousting-field (see especially II 1839–54). Why this distinction? Is it purely for literary reasons – to create variety in the narrative – or did Kornaros have in mind some difference in contemporary attitudes towards the two former colonies? If the latter, then it may be noted that whereas Mothoni fought a bloody battle to the death, Koroni surrendered

24 This is of course the feast-day of St Mark, patron saint of Venice. It may also be significant that the beginning of the joust proper is signalled by a fanfare of twenty-five trumpets (II 1303; see Danielsen 1985: 93).

25 The Turkoman principality of Karamania existed from 1390 to 1468, when it was incorporated in the Ottoman state, but the term continued to be used for the area and its inhabitants (see S. Alexiou 1980: 06').

voluntarily to the Turks a week after the fall of its sister port (Danielsen 1985: 104).

Anapli (Nafplio) is another former Venetian possession which was once a major stopping-off point on the Republic's trade routes. Acquired in 1388, along with Argos, it was often the target of Turkish expansionism in the Aegean until it was finally surrendered in 1540 after a long siege (Mallett and Hale 1984: 228–32). Its loss was a significant element in the gradual decline of Venetian influence in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Lord of Anapli, Andromachos, stands apart in the joust for his boastful and threatening attitude to his Cypriot opponent (II 1589–96). On the first charge the horses of both are brought to their knees; they charge again and this time Andromachos is unseated and therefore, according to the rules of the joust, eliminated, although he is eager to fight again. Interestingly, the Athenian spectators favour him rather than the Cypriot, who has declared himself an enemy of Eros, and the crowd rushes to his aid when he is unhorsed. No satisfactory explanation has been offered for this ambivalent treatment of the knight from Anapli.

Egripos, known to the Venetians as Negroponte (the main town of the ancient Euboea), is another lost territory of the Venetian Empire: acquired at the time of the Fourth Crusade, it was a port of call for galleys returning from Constantinople. In 1470 the Sultan Mehmet successfully attacked Negroponte, Venice's main base in the Northern Aegean, partly thanks to a tactical mistake by the Venetian Captain General. The Turkish fleet then withdrew, but in 1479 Venice formally ceded Negroponte to the Ottomans (Lane 1973: 236 and 358–9). Iraklis, the Lord of Egripos, is matched with Rotokritos in the joust. After boasting of his prowess, he jousts twice with his opponent and they are on the point of beginning a third charge when the three elders appointed as referees stop the contest, on the grounds that Iraklis had swayed in the saddle, dazed by the impact of the second charge (II 1429–42). Two other points are worth noting: first, it is to Egripos that Rotokritos goes in his two periods of exile; Kornaros conceives it as being some days' journey from Athens (IV 785) and it has been suggested that he was unaware that it was an island (Xanthoudhidhis 1915: 372). However, it is inconceivable that his geographical knowledge should have been so slender, living as he did in a major port of a maritime empire (S. Alexiou 1952: 367). Secondly, the name of the lord of Egripos coincides with that of the King of Athens. Is this a compositional flaw, or does it conceal some, as yet unexplained, symbolic purpose?

The territories we have examined so far were all vital ports on the Venetian trade routes, fortified and garrisoned, but eventually unable to withstand the Turkish advance. A more recent, and even more serious, loss to Venice was the island of Cyprus. Venice had had access to Cypriot ports since the twelfth century but it was only in 1489 that she extended her realm there, when the widow of the last Lusignan King, the Venetian-born Caterina Cornaro, abdicated in favour of the Republic (Lane 1973: 298). For eighty years Cyprus

remained an economically valuable possession of Venice; its loss in 1571, in the context of a three-year war with the Turks, was a grave blow to Venetian morale, for which the victory at Lepanto was small compensation. The Cypriot Kypridhimos is one of the three 'champions' selected to receive the challenges of the other ten, and it is he who is finally defeated by the overall victor, Rotokritos. He fights four other contenders, more than either of the other two champions, but his attitude to Eros, as revealed by his emblem (II 511–16) and his argument with Dhimofanis of Mytilene (II 1533–56), makes him unpopular. When he clashes violently with Andromachos of Anapli, it is the latter who has the spectators' sympathy (II 1645–6).

The Cypriot plays a major part in the tournament, as might befit the former importance of Cyprus among Venice's Mediterranean possessions, but his scornful attitude to love (despite the fact that he comes from the island where Eros was born, as he explicitly acknowledges at II 1549) incurs the audience's displeasure.²⁶

There is one other participant whose place of origin may be seen as having Venetian associations, and that is the Lord of Macedonia, Nikostratis (or Nikostratos). It has been suggested that Macedonia here stands for its chief city Salonika, which was briefly held by Venice between 1423 and 1430 (Danielsen 1985: 106). It is true that the Venetians continued to have commercial interests in Salonika well after their short-lived occupation (Thiriet 1975a: 4), but the identification of the city with the whole region of Macedonia is difficult to accept. The most obvious association of Macedonia is with the person of Alexander the Great, known particularly through the many versions of the *Alexander Romance* which circulated in many languages throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. It is possible that the Modern Greek Alexander poem, first printed in Venice in 1529, was among the Greek chapbooks read by Kornaros (Holton 1988a: 150–2). At all events the association with Alexander was, in all probability, the main reason for the choice of Macedonia (cf. Xanthoudhidhis 1915: 373–4; S. Alexiou 1952: 386). Before his joust with the Cretan warrior Charidhimos, Nikostratis addresses him with great courtesy and respect (II 1947–54). Charidhimos in his turn calls the Macedonian 'βασιλιού παιδί, ψηλού δεντρού κλωνάρι' (A King's child, branch of a tall tree) (II 1961). After giving one another assurances of friendship, they joust twice inconclusively, but on the third charge the Cretan unseats Nikostratis, though without injuring him. Before departing the field, Nikostratis tells of the respect which his late father had held for the Cretan's father: he had witnessed the argument with the Karamanite's father. What are we to make of this special relationship between the representatives of Crete and Macedonia? If the Macedonian is meant to remind us of Alexander, suggests Mavrogordato (1929: 24), 'the story of the Macedonian's friendship for the Cretan's father becomes a simple allegory of ancient Hellenic grandeur and future hopes'.

26 For a view of the Cypriot as a tragic hero see Kourmoulis 1961/2.

Danielsen has argued that the argument over the sword of Spitholiondas's father refers to the Battle of Lepanto (1985: 107–8). If this is so, it is appropriate that a Macedonian, as a descendant of Alexander, should receive the role of praising the exploits of the Christian forces at Lepanto.

Two Aegean islands, Naxos (Axia) and Mytilene, are represented in the joust by the sympathetically portrayed figures of Glykaretos and Dhimofanis. Naxos enjoyed close relations with Crete, although, together with other islands of the Southern Cyclades, it actually formed an independent Duchy under the Sanuto and, later, Crispo families. Though owing no allegiance to the Republic, the island was thoroughly Venetian in character. Indeed members of the Venetian nobility remained in Naxos long after its subjection to the Turks in 1564.²⁷ For a mythological connection between Crete and Naxos we need look no further than the story of Theseus and Ariadne: Ariadne was, of course, abandoned on Naxos by Theseus after he had slain the Cretan Minotaur. In the tournament the Lord of Axia is pitted against the Cypriot Kypridhimos. Before and after their joust they address one another in friendly terms. The Naxian's defeat, as a result of his horse stumbling, is attributed to fate rather than his inferiority in the art of jousting and they part in mutual respect and affection (II 1737–48). Recent history might suggest to Kornaros's contemporaries that relations between Cyprus and Naxos should be anything but cordial. After the Turkish conquest of Naxos, the Dukedom was nominally assumed by the Jewish financier Joseph Nasi, whose commercial operations constituted a serious threat to Venetian trade (Lane 1973: 301). It was generally held that Nasi was the main instigator of the Turkish attack on Cyprus in 1571. Why, then, should Kornaros dwell on the friendship of the Naxian and the Cypriot? It is at least possible that in stressing the nobility, modesty and politeness of Glykaretis he wished to dissociate Naxos from Nasi's self-interest and anti-Venetian activities.

Mytilene never fell within Venice's sphere of influence. For more than a century it was ruled by the Genoese Gattilusi family, before coming under Turkish control in 1462. Although other islands in the Northern Aegean formerly ruled by the Gattilusi did come briefly under Venetian domination (Limnos, Imbros, Samothraki), this fact cannot explain the presence at the tournament of an ἀφεντόπουλος (little lord) of Mytilene – if Venice's interests are the primary criterion for inclusion.²⁸ Some other explanation must be sought (cf. Xanthoudhidhis 1915: 373). In the parade of the jousters, Dhimofanis of Mytilene is the first to appear. The description of his person, his horse, his dress and his device and motto is brief, but it sets a standard pattern for the presentation of the other participants. He is ὁμορφος,

²⁷ See Danielsen 1985: 100–2, where an explanation (not entirely convincing) is offered for the *politesse* of Glykaretos.

²⁸ Danielsen suggests, rather weakly, that the Mytilenean personifies Venetian interests at the entrance to the Dardanelles, but admits that his inclusion 'causes a certain embarrassment' (1985: 108–9).

αξαζόμενος κ' ερωτοδιωματάρης (handsome, capable and possessed of a lovely charm) (II 146). His emblem depicts a wounded deer standing on the top of a mountain and striving to pluck out the fatal arrow.²⁹ The effect is tragic as the motto underlines:

Δέτε και λυπηθήτε με εις τα ἔχω παθωμένα:
 ἰδρωσα κ' επαράδειρα ἔτσι ψηλά να σώσω
 κι ως ἦσωσα, ελαβώθηκα, στέκω να παραδώσω. (II 154–6)

See and pity me in my sufferings;
 I toiled and struggled to reach this height,
 and when I reached it I was wounded, I am about to die.

As with the majority of emblems worn by the knights, there are also romantic connotations. As we have seen, the Mytilenean is matched in the joust with Kypridhimos of Cyprus, the sworn enemy of Eros; an argument takes place between them when Dhimofanis rebukes the Cypriot for this cruel treatment of Cupid (expressed by his emblem). The function of Dhimofanis in the joust seems to relate to the issue of 'enslavement by love', rather than to any historical or political considerations. As Mytilene is the island of Daphnis and Chloe, we may suspect a connection with the Hellenistic novel, which may have been known to Kornaros.³⁰

A special place in the tournament is allocated to the representative of the Byzantine Empire. The son of the King (Πήγας) of Byzantium, Pistoforos, is described in majestic terms. His dress is regal, he is preceded by a large retinue of grooms and horsemen, and he is treated with deference and respect. The King of Athens rises slightly from his throne and bows respectfully (a mark of honour shown to none of the other jousting knights) (II 421–6). Furthermore, not only is Pistoforos awarded the jewelled chaplet (τζόγια) reserved for the most skilful and graceful jousting knight, but even during the tournament the King has him in mind as a suitable bridegroom for Aretousa (II 1826). His name, Pistoforos, indicates that identity of religion and state which characterised Byzantium. Venice's interests in the Byzantine Empire, and particularly in its capital Constantinople, were of course long-standing. The Venetians' special trading privileges there date from 1082; after 1453 the former Byzantine capital remained a highly significant part of Venice's commercial nexus. The entry of Pistoforos is in marked contrast to that of the Karamanite who arrives immediately before him. They represent opposite poles of civilisation and barbarity, though we should remember that the Karamanite's animosity is directed towards the Cretan.³¹

29 For possible Cretan associations, see Morgan 1967: 246–7.

30 Note the similarity of the names Daphnis and Dhimofanis (Demophanes) and the fact that the Mytilenean knight is described as 'the beardless lad' (τ' αγένειο παλληκάρι: II 159). The father of Daphnis is called Dionysophanes. See further Holton 1988b: 164 n. 25.

31 This is made clear from the moment the Karamanite arrives on the scene ('σπού ἔχεν ἐχθρητα πολλή με το νησί της Κρήτης' (who had great enmity with the island of Crete): II 320), even though there has been no mention of Crete or a Cretan participant in the joust at this point.

We are left with two combatants, both depicted as hostile and uncouth: Tripolemos of Sklavounia and Dhrakokardhos of Patra. 'Sklavounia' implies a region inhabited by Slavs, and within the Venetian sphere of influence this is most likely to be the Dalmatian coast. Certainly the Slav community of Venice itself came mainly from Dalmatia. Tripolemos is a braggart and bully, who comes to a humiliating end when he and his horse are thrown to the ground by the Cretan, to the amazement and delight of the spectators (II 2155–8). The Sklavonian is probably to be seen as a type borrowed from Venetian comedy (the *schiaivone*, or *esclavon* Dalmatian mercenary – see S. Alexiou 1980: πᾶ') but the possibility of other contemporary allusions cannot be excluded.³² Finally, Patra would suggest to a contemporary audience the Turkish *paşalik* of the Peloponnese, which had its seat at Patra after 1571 (cf. S. Alexiou 1980: οθ'; Danielsen 1985: 105).³³ Dhrakokardhos of Patra is, then, a Turk, which explains his friendship with the Karamanite and the generally unattractive picture which Kornaros paints of him.

After this survey of the combatants it is time to consider an overall interpretation of the tournament. Our basic question must be whether the presentation of the tournament reveals a coherent world view, and if so whether it is a Greek one or a Venetian one – for these are the two principal standpoints which scholars have adopted.³⁴ All the place names referred to in the joust – with the exception of Karamania – are located in the Southern Balkan peninsula or the Eastern Mediterranean basin. The fact that this area coincides with the territory of present-day Greece is irrelevant. Many, but not all, of the places mentioned had at some stage been under Venetian suzerainty.³⁵ but by the time Kornaros was writing the only one still under Venetian control was Crete itself. If the joust is an exaltation of the Venetian Empire it can only be

32 Less convincing is the suggestion that the Sklavonian comes from the formerly Slavophone south-east corner of the Peloponnese, and specifically that he personifies the fortress town of Monemvasia, which was in Venetian hands from 1464 to 1540 (Danielsen 1985: 102–3).

33 Another view is that the Lord of Patra symbolises the Albanian element of the Peloponnese (Hutchinson 1956).

34 For example, S. Alexiou (1952: 363) regards the world of *Erotokritos* as 'an ideal world, such as a Greek of the seventeenth century might conceive, an ideal Greek world'; more recently he has written that the poet aimed at creating 'an ideal poetic world, systematically "hyperchronic", located in the Greek East' (1985b: κβ'). According to Kriaras (1965: 8), 'as regards the presence of national sentiment in Kornaros, we are not, I think, entitled to doubt it. The episode of the Karamanite and the Cretan Charidhimos constitutes the first relevant proof.' Even more explicitly Embiricos (1960: 225–6) claims that the world of *Erotokritos* 'c'est le monde grec ... Son poème est déjà – on peu s'en faut – le répertoire de l'irrédentisme hellénique.' On the other hand Danielsen (1985: 112–13) opposes the standard 'Greek' view and concludes: 'il nous semble logique d'admettre que l'univers tel qu'il nous paraît dans "le livre de la joute" de Kornaros reflète le monde vénitien'.

35 This also applies to Athens, which was ruled by Venice from 1394 to 1402 (Miller 1908: 354–62). But the reason for the choice of Athens as the setting for the poem is its ancient reputation for learning (cf. I 25–6). The philosophical and artistic supremacy of Athens was of course a commonplace of the Renaissance. However, there is nothing else in the poem to suggest that *ancient* Athens is the setting; rather we are reminded of the Athens of the later Middle Ages, ruled by Frankish dukes in an atmosphere of chivalry (cf. Kriaras 1965: 6).

a celebration of its *past* territorial greatness. But why should it be a 'celebration' of anything? It is a romantic poem which systematically creates an ideal world, in which pagan Athens, Byzantium and the Frankish kingdoms and duchies co-exist without disharmony (cf. S. Alexiou 1980: οδ'–οε'). The unity derives from the internal coherence of the poem, and particularly of the tournament, which creates a kind of microcosm for the whole plot. Thus, we find that in his jousts Rotokritos has to defeat opponents who represent the three great obstacles which confront him in his quest for fulfilment with Aretousa: Filaretos of Mothoni (whose emblem shows him pining for a Nereid's beauty – II 192) represents the theme of unrequited love, the first phase of Rotokritos's progress; Iraklis of Egripos (with an emblem depicting a tree withered from lack of water – II 208–10) symbolises separation from that which one desires – and indeed his territory is the very place in which Rotokritos spends his two periods of exile; Dhvakokardhos of Patra, unattractive, warlike and fierce, and moreover a friend of the Karamanite, is a real enemy whom Rotokritos must employ all his skill and courage to defeat, just as he will have to triumph in a real war against the Vlachs. But the true hero of the tournament is the Cretan,³⁶ even though he is excluded by fate from taking part in the final joust.³⁷ I have argued elsewhere that the Cretan Charidhimos is an *alter ego* of Rotokritos, having in mind the many points of contact (similarities or direct oppositions) in the way the two warriors are depicted (Holton 1988b: 166). The Cretan is a kind of knight errant (cf. II 739–44), which is very similar to the role that Rotokritos assumes when, in exile, he resolves to help the King of Athens in his war against the Vlachs (IV 873ff.). As for the Cypriot, the third of the champions, all his opponents are associated in some way with love, and the theme of Eros dominates their jousts.³⁸ Kypridhimos, coming from the island of Aphrodite, thus gives expression to the feminine element (despite his own antithetical views). We can see the trio of champions, who each have to perform a separate series of difficult tasks from which only two will emerge to contend with one another, as paralleling the structure of the main plot.³⁹ Further indication that we are dealing with a primarily artistic rationale for the structuring of the tournament comes from the inclusion of a Lord of Mytilene (an island associated in literature with the theme of young love), the pastoral interlude derived from

36 He has more speeches and more lines than any other character in Book II; he is the subject of the pastoral 'interlude'; and his combat with the Karamanite occupies a central position in the book (Holton 1988b: 165–6).

37 This is clearly necessary for the plot, since Rotokritos himself must win; but in a Cretan poem it would be inappropriate for the Cretan to be defeated by anyone.

38 Dhimofanis of Mytilene challenges him for his attitude to Eros; Andromachos of Anapli has for his emblem a beautiful girl who outshines the sun; the emblem of Glykaretos actually incorporates Eros; Pistoforos of Byzantium hopes to win a girl, and of course he will later be a suitor for the hand of Aretousa.

39 In the main plot the three protagonists are Aretousa, Rotokritos and the mysterious 'stranger' (i.e. Rotokritos in disguise). For a fuller exposition of this view see Holton 1988b, especially pp. 163–7.

the myth of Cephalus and Procris, and the manifold influence of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and other works of Italian Renaissance literature. This is not to say that there is no allusion to contemporary or recent historical realities. The places chosen for inclusion in the joust create, to an extent, a map of Venetian political and commercial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, with the emphasis on towns which had a significant fortress (cf. S. Alexiou 1980: ος'–οζ').⁴⁰ There may well be an allusion to the Battle of Lepanto in the episode of the stolen sword and the whole Karamanite–Cretan opposition undoubtedly represents a contemporary situation. However, we should guard against any interpretation of the joust in ethnic terms, because of the danger of applying modern concepts of national identity to a late Renaissance context. The joust in the *Erotokritos* is a colourful poetic elaboration of the dominant themes of love and feats of arms; it furthers the main plot by enabling Rotokritos to show himself worthy of his princess and, particularly, it introduces local interest in the person of Charidhimos and his encounter with the Karamanite.⁴¹

No reader of *Erotokritos* can fail to notice the abundance of imagery which gives the poetry its special flavour. Extended similes, of a Homeric kind, are particularly striking. Here is a characteristic example from the duel between Rotokritos and Aristos:

Ωσάν ανθός και λούλουδο πῶχει ομορφιά και κάλλη
 κ' είναι στον κάμπο δροσερό, με μυρωδιά μεγάλη,
 κ' έρθη τ' αλέτρι αλύπητα, βαθιά, το ξεριζώση,
 ψυγή ζιμιό και μαραθῆ κ' η ομορφιά του λειώση·
 χλωμαίνει αν είναι κόκκινο, κι άσπρον αν εν, μαυρίζει
 και μπλάβο αν είναι, λειώνεται ζιμιό και κιτρινίζει·
 χάνει ομορφιά και μυρωδιά, κάλλη και δροσερότη,
 γερά ζιμιό και ψύγεται και πλιο δεν έχει νιότη·
 έτσι ήτο και στον Άριστον, όντεν η ψη του εβγήκε,
 με δίχως αίμα, άσπρο, χλωμό, ψυμένο τον αφήκε. (iv 1889–98)

As when to the blossom and flower, which has such beauty
 and loveliness,
 and stands fresh in the field with its powerful fragrance,
 the plough comes, pitilessly, deeply, and uproots it,
 at once it withers and fades and its beauty dissolves;

⁴⁰ There are, however, some important omissions: none of the Ionian Isles is mentioned, although Corfu, Kefallonia, Zakynthos and Kythira were all Venetian colonies at the time *Erotokritos* was written, as was the Aegean island of Tinos. One may suspect that, with the exception of Crete, current Venetian possessions are *deliberately* excluded to avoid contemporary reference or an apparently 'modern' setting.

⁴¹ Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus has suggested, in an unpublished lecture, that the champions in the joust are disguised portraits of members of the Academy of the Stravaganti. Since none of the theories advanced hitherto provides a fully satisfactory explanation for the choice of participants, the idea is worth considering; but final judgement must await the publication of her promised article.

it turns pale though once red; and if it is white it darkens,
 or if blue it is at once drained and turns yellow;
 it loses its beauty and fragrance, loveliness and freshness,
 grows old at once and withers and has no more youth;
 so it was with Aristos when his soul emerged
 and left him bloodless, white, pale, withered.

The simile, like many others, is drawn from the *Orlando Furioso*, and indeed this particular one derives ultimately from Homer, via Virgil (Xanthoudhidhis 1915: CXXIII; cf. Trypanis 1981: 571). This simile is a relatively straightforward and clear one: the fallen knight is compared to a flower cut down by the plough with particular reference to the loss of colour, freshness and youthful vigour.⁴² Other similes are much more elaborate, sometimes incorporating other similes or metaphors before returning to the initial point of comparison:

Ωσάν το ναύτη όντεν ιδή κακό καιρό κι αρχίση
 η θάλασσα ν' αρματωθή να τόνε πολεμήση,
 κ' έχη άνεμον εις τ' άρμενα άγριο και θυμωμένο ...
 και πολεμούν τα κύματα και δίδουσι του ζάλη,
 μπαίνοντας απ' τη μια μερά, σκορπώντας εις την άλλη,
 κι ώρες στο νέφος τ' ουρανού με το κατάρτι γγιζή
 κι ώρες στα βάθη του ο γιαλός να θε να τον ρουφήξη ...
 και το τιμόνι μοναχάς όχι άλλη ολπίδα να 'χη,
 απάνω κάτω να βοηθή, σαν άντρας να μαλώνη,
 και να 'ρθη κύμα με βροντή, να πάρη το τιμόνι,
 ν' αποριχή κι ολπίδα πλιο κιαμιά να μηδέν έχη,
 να χάση ό,τι κι αν ήμαθε κ' εκείνα οπού κατέχει·
 έτσι κι ό,τι είπε η Αρετή ...

(IV 651-67)

Like a sailor, when he sees bad weather ahead and the sea
 begins to arm itself to do battle with him,
 and he has a wild and angry wind in his sails ...
 and the waves do battle and make him giddy,
 coming in on one side and scattering to the other,
 and now he touches the clouds of the sky with his mast,
 now the sea seeks to suck him into its depths ...
 and he has no other hope but the rudder,
 striving upwards and downwards, like a man quarrelling,
 and a wave comes with a thunderclap, seizing the rudder,
 he abandons himself and has no other hope,
 forgets all that he has learnt and whatever he knew;
 so it was with what Aretousa said ...

42 Among other extended similes see I 1535-44 (Aretousa likened to a blind man), I 2123-32 (Rotokritos compared to a traveller fording a stream), I 1810-16 (Rotokritos, finding his painting missing, likened to a mother discovering that her baby is dead), IV 1165-76 (Rotokritos rushing into battle like a hawk swooping on the prey), V 1107-16 (Aretousa restored to her former beauty as a flower is revived by the sun's warmth after frost).

At times the syntax seems almost out of control, reflecting the utter despair of Aretousa when her father cast her in prison; the crowded imagery contributes effectively to the depiction of her confused mental state.⁴³

Much of the poem's imagery is related to love, which is repeatedly likened to a plant growing or to a fire. These rather commonplace images are treated with great variety and resourcefulness by the poet. There is a Petrarchan element in some of this, but one also senses the presence of a folk-song way of thinking, if not direct influence of the Greek folk songs. The love imagery is both simple and sophisticated at the same time, with every aspect of the comparison teasingly drawn out. Further indication of the poet's sophistication is given by his use of emblematic imagery, the *emblemata amatoria* which were so popular in the West from the sixteenth century onwards. Love (Eros) is depicted not only as a wanton boy (a representation familiar since antiquity), armed with bow and arrows or blindfolded, but in a whole host of other guises: Love the Cook, Love the King, Love the Spider, Love the Blacksmith. Some of this emblematic imagery is found in the devices of the contestants in the tournament (for example, Love the Blacksmith is the emblem of the Lord of Mothoni); but mostly it occurs in the first and third books, in which the emotions of the protagonists are most fully explored. On the other hand, the simile is the predominant type of image in Books IV and V. An appreciation of the emblematic nature of much of the imagery adds a further dimension to our understanding of the rich complexity of *Erotokritos*. It has been observed that Kornaros 'thinks emblematically and writes for an audience that appreciates his emblematic imagery' (Morgan 1967: 262).⁴⁴

Another aspect of *Erotokritos* which has received insufficient attention is Kornaros's use of irony. Some instances of dramatic irony have already been noted.⁴⁵ Vitti (1978: 100ff.) has drawn attention to Kornaros's 'trick' in combining the idealised, fairy-tale world of his romance with a stoical attitude to time and the deceptiveness of worldly things. The reader can both participate in this imaginary world and be well aware of the deception which is being practised. 'This subtle irony,' Vitti concludes, 'is part of the *docta ignorantia* which is at the root of [Kornaros's] creative urge and renders pleasantly acceptable the moral simplifications of the perfect society which he invents for his characters.' *Erotokritos* is a work of fiction; it is related by an omniscient narrator, who, from the moment he announces his themes and exemplary

43 Another complex pattern is that of the metaphor extended by similes, e.g. I 175–80. (For a full discussion of sea imagery in the *Erotokritos* see Bakker and Philippides 1988.)

44 However, Morgan goes too far when he attempts to date the poem on the evidence of the occurrence of specific emblems. For reservations and further comments see the annotations of Panagiotakis to his Greek translation of Morgan's article (Morgan 1971), and see further S. Alexiou 1980: 95–97.

45 See above pp. 220 and 223. A particularly striking case is Rotokritos's 'prophecy' to Aretousa that she will hear of his death in a foreign land (III 1365–6), as she in fact does, from his own lips, when he returns from exile after defeating the Vlach champion and puts her fidelity to the test. Rotokritos can hardly 'know' that this will happen.

purpose, enters into an overt relationship with his audience. The pseudo-historical setting of the poem (I 19–26) and the idealised emotions of the protagonists create a fairy-tale atmosphere which is at odds with, and is ironised by, the narratorial stance. A few examples will make this clear. After a series of extravagant images describing the effects of Eros on her, Aretousa associates the cause of her suffering with Rotokritos himself:

Ο Ρώκριτος είν' Έρωτας κι αν και φτερά δεν έχει.
μηδέ θαρρής κ' εχάσε τα, πού βρίσκονται κατέχει
εις την καρδιά μου τα 'πεψε κ' εκεί 'ναι τα φτερά του,
γιαύτος πετά και φεύγει μου, μα εγώ 'μαι εκεί κοντά του. (III 253–6)

Rotokritos is Eros, although he has no wings;
and do not think that he has lost them – he knows well where they are:
he has dispatched them to my heart, and there his wings remain;
that is why he flies away and flees me, but I am there beside him.

This bizarre intrusion of apparent rationality into Aretousa's highly emotional state is surely to be interpreted ironically. Again, when Rotokritos is about to put Aretousa to the ultimate test, the poet addresses him directly:

'Αδικον είν', Ρωτόκριτε, ετούτα να τα κάνης,
βλέπε μ' αυτάνα έτος' άδικα να μην την αποθάνης.
Θωρείς τη πώς ευρίσκεται, μ' ακόμη δεν πιστεύεις;
ίντ' άλλα μεγαλύτερα σημάδια τση γυρεύεις; (V 723–6)

It is wrong of you, Rotokritos, to do these things;
take care that you do not kill her so unjustly.
You see what a condition she is in, but still you do not believe.
What further greater signs do you require from her?

There are ironic elements too in the long drawn-out recognition scene (e.g. v 1063–8, 1078–80, 1103–6), in addition to the intense situational irony of the whole episode.⁴⁶ Finally, the poet playfully refuses to describe the details of the couple's wedding-night:

Εγώ δε θέλω και δειλιώ να σάσε πω με γράμμα
τη νύκτα πώς εδιάξασιν, ίντά 'πα κ' ίντα εκάμα.
Μπορείτε από τα παρομπρός που 'χετε γρoικημένα
εσείς να τα λογιάσετε και μη ρωτάτε εμένα.
Τα 'πασι, τα μιλήσασι κ' εις ό,τι κι αν εγίνη
κιανεις δεν ξεύρει να το πη μόνον οι δυο τως κείνοι. (V 1497–1502)

I am unwilling and shrink from telling you in writing
how they spent the night, what they said and did.
You yourselves, from what you have heard above,
can imagine it – do not ask me.

46 Further examples of Kornaros's irony are noted by Vitti 1978: 100–4 and S. Alexiou 1986: 271 n. 2.

The things they said and uttered and everything that took place
nobody knows but the two of them.

The narrator is coyly teasing the reader here, very much as Ariosto does in the *Orlando Furioso*.⁴⁷ Unlike Ariosto, Kornaros does not refer directly to himself⁴⁸ or his immediate circle (he is not writing for a patron); but the reader is none the less aware of the presence of a narrator, who invites him to enter into a conspiracy, often at the expense of his characters. While seeming on one level to present a credible, realistic story of love and manly deeds, every so often he distances himself from it by means of deft touches of irony.

Compared with the labyrinthine plot of the *Orlando Furioso*, the structure of the *Erotokritos* is relatively simple. It has none of Ariosto's lengthy and complex digressions, with the exception of the Cretan's story in Book II (which in any case has a close relationship with the main plot). None the less, Kornaros's manifold indebtedness to Ariosto is clear,⁴⁹ not only in specific images and ideas, but also in the conception of the narrative. The apparent simplicity of the plot and narrative style is belied by the highly organised underlying 'structure', and by a sophisticated relationship between the narrator and his text.

At the end of the poem, in the 'epilogue', the narrator clearly identifies himself with his protagonist: just as Rotokritos has successfully passed through all the trials of love (his name means 'tried by love') and reached happiness and fulfilment, so the author's ship has survived all the perils of the voyage and come safe to harbour, to the confusion of his calumniators:

Σ' βάθη πελάγου αρμένιζα, μα εδά ἴρθα στο λιμνιώνα,
πλιο δε φοβούμαι ταραχή ουδέ μάνητα χειμώνα.
Θωρώ πολλοί εχαρήκασι κ' εκουρφοκαμαρώσα
κι όσοι εκλουθούσα από μακρά, εδά κοντά εσιμώσα.
Η γης εβγάνει τη βοή, ο αέρας και μουγκρίζει
και μια βροντή στον ουρανό τσ' οχθρούς μου φοβερίζει·
εκείνους τους κακόγλωσσους που ψέγουν ό,τι δούσι
κι απόκεις δεν κατέχουσι την άλφα σκίας να πούσι. (V 1531-8)

I was sailing in deep waters but now I have come to harbour,
I no longer fear winter's storm or fury.
Many people have rejoiced, I see, and taken a secret pride,
and those that watched from afar have now drawn near.
The land raises a shout, the air roars,
and in the sky a thunder-clap terrifies my enemies:

47 Two examples of particular reference to the present context will be found at *O.F.* 7.29-30 and 14.63; but the phenomenon we are concerned with is a more general one.

48 Except, of course, in the 'epilogue'.

49 Points at which Kornaros appears indebted to Ariosto are listed and discussed by Xanthoudhidhis 1915: cv-cxiv (relying on information from K. Theotokis) and Kriaras 1938: 107-34. For a brief discussion of the relationship of the two poems see S. Alexiou 1980: ξθ'.

those malicious slanderers who find fault in everything they see
and yet do not even know how to say the alphabet.⁵⁰

And just as Rotokritos is at last able to reveal his true identity and claim credit for his deeds, so Kornaros can finally announce his name and lineage (v 1543–8).

With the *Erotokritos* the Greek genre of romance/novel reaches a new and sophisticated stage of development in the age of the Renaissance. From origins in antiquity it has passed through a variety of medieval manifestations to emerge, revived by contact with the West, in Renaissance Crete. Simultaneously 'modern' and traditional, the *Erotokritos* continues to be read and admired by the ordinary reader as well as serving as a source of inspiration for the educated poet. Its enduring qualities have often been acknowledged; but it is only in the last few decades that the critical gaze of literary and philological scholarship has analysed and illuminated the subtle artistry with which Kornaros transformed a medieval French romance into a Greek literary monument of the Renaissance.

50 Are we to see this as a taunt against those members of the Venetian nobility who refused to learn the language of their Cretan subjects? (Such an interpretation would not be incompatible with the acceptance of these lines as deriving from a literary *topos*; see S. Alexiou 1986: 279 n. 1.)

Literature and popular tradition

MARGARET ALEXIOU

It is the purpose of this chapter to re-examine the role of popular tradition in the composition, transmission and reception of some of the Cretan literary texts written between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The objectives, necessarily limited, will be: first, to give a brief review of the debate so far, and to situate it within its historical and intellectual contexts; second, to attempt a redefinition of the terms most frequently used, as well as of their underlying assumptions, in order to work out new methods and approaches which will draw on the considerable recent research into western medieval and Renaissance culture; third, two texts will be analysed, not with a view to identifying isolated 'literary' and 'popular' elements, but so as to suggest how certain cultural and historical factors operated in favour of new combinations – oral and literary, sacred and secular, Byzantine and Italian – which challenged traditional stereotypes and led to the creation of a qualitatively different kind of literary text; finally, the principles and methods applied will be summarised, in the hope that they may provide a basis for a systematic study of Cretan Renaissance literature as a whole.

i The interpretation and reception of Cretan literature: an overview

A review of the transmission and reception of Cretan literature reveals that controversy has always tended to centre around its 'popular' versus 'literary' character. A summary of the major arguments to date, however, will indicate some significant changes in concerns and assumptions.

There is ample evidence that some, at least, of the products of the Cretan Renaissance found favour both with the literary élite and with the less educated classes in their own time. To take the best known example, Georgios Chortatsis: Bounialis, in his poem written immediately after the fall of Kastro (1669), the *Cretan War*, attributes to his personified figure of the city of Rethymno the proud boast that she has produced Chortatsis, famous for his verses and poems (ed. Xirouchakis 1908: 508). Two editors of his *Erofilii*, Kigalas (1637) and Gradhenigos (1676), describe him as 'most learned among scholars', 'most learned and noble', 'the chief of poets' (Xanthoudhidhis 1928: iii); while the Chiot historian Lione Allacci (Leo Allatius) includes him in his *Diatriba de Georgiis* (Allatius 1651: 441), mentioning his personal knowledge

of the *Erofilii* from manuscripts and by reputation, although deploring the vulgarity of its language. A comment by the Cretan historian Niccolò Papadopoli Comneno suggests that the popularity of the *Erofilii* was not confined to the educated classes: 'edita est ac, ut memini, saepe in urbe Creta publica data, semper placuit' (it was published and, as I recall, often performed publicly in the main town of Crete and always gave pleasure) (Papadopolus Comnenus 1726: II, 306). The case of Chortatsis illustrates that a reputation for learning and scholarship, based, some three to six decades after his death, on the quality of his dramatic compositions, was by no means incompatible with popularity among a wider audience or with his use of Cretan dialect.

The fortunes of Kornaros's *Erotokritos*, different in detail, tell a similar tale: according to the Cretan editor of the first Bortoli edition (1713), the work was considered of sufficient value by Cretan refugees, after 1669, to have numbered among possessions transported by them to the Ionian Isles, while he himself commends the Cretan idiom of the poem as 'composed in the natural Cretan tongue, and made common to the whole island and in other regions' (Xanthoudhidhis 1915: xx–xxiii). That Bortoli aspired to sales and profit, in addition to his claims of 'fiery love and piety which from a child I have for the Race of the Romaioi', as he states in the dedication to the first edition, is suggested by the preface to the second edition (1737), where the *Erotokritos* is contrasted with texts designated for 'philologists and scholars' (such as etymological and other lexica, thesauri) and described as likely to appeal to 'the rest, who for entertainment and leisure (δια ψυχαγωγίαν και περιδιάβασιν) read the odd simple book' (ibid. xxiv, S. Alexiou 1980: 10'). Thenceforth, it seems to have been the common fate of Cretan texts to pass into the despised obscurity of the Venetian chapbook, a fact which should be attributed not merely to the deterioration of editing and publishing methods, but also to a more general trend on the part of the élite away from works considered 'vulgar', either in language or in appeal.¹ The only scholars to have taken a serious interest in Cretan texts in the eighteenth century came from outside Greece, as is illustrated by the way in which the London manuscript of the *Erotokritos* reached the hands of Lord Harley, on whose behalf it was to be purchased (apparently for ten guineas) in 1725 by H. Wanley from a young Greek from Corfu called Nikolaos Rodhostamos, who informed him on

1 The *Erotokritos* was printed at the Glykys Press in ten editions between 1758 and 1847: see S. Alexiou 1980: κζ'; Veloudis 1974: 99 ff. Comparable details for the *Sacrifice of Abraham* are provided by Bakker 1978/9. *The Shepherdess* likewise passed through frequent Venetian editions before its first modern edition by Legrand (1869–70), see S. Alexiou 1971b: 59–60. It is common, and by no means unjustified on philological grounds, to condemn these Venetian editions for their egregious errors and their unaesthetic modifications of the Cretan idiom. What is too often ignored is the popular appropriation of texts at a time when they were overlooked by the educated classes. Thus S. Alexiou 1971b: 57 dismisses as irrelevant from his introduction to the *Shepherdess* its popularised folk versions, except as an example of the vulgarisation of learned works. For the most recent discussion of evidence for the circulation and public recitations of Cretan works in Turkish-occupied Greece, see A. Politis 1982: knowledge and enjoyment of them were by no means confined to the literate.

one occasion that the poet was still alive in Smyrna, and on another that he was born in Philippopolis (Xanthoudhidhis 1915: x, XIII, S. Alexiou 1980: κ᾿).

From the time that Cretan texts passed into popular readership, they were largely ignored by the Greek intelligentsia. Kaisarios Dhapontes notes sourly that the only 'success' of the *Eratokritos* is to have been printed four times between 1713 and 1748, and to enjoy the doubtful honour of serving as bedside reading for 'the many' (Xanthoudhidhis 1915: CXXXVII).² The English travellers E.D. Clarke and W.M. Leake testify to its widespread popularity as far afield as Yenikale on the Crimaean Bosphoros and throughout Greece (Clarke 1816–24: II 99); while Leake, despite disparaging comments on what he considers the poet's Homeric aspirations (based probably on patchy understanding of the Greek), devotes considerable attention and space to the work, providing several insights into the poem, 'the most esteemed, and most elaborate, that I have heard of in the language', as well as useful information regarding its popularity (Leake 1814: 101–16).³ But for Greek scholars at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were no redeeming features: Korais refers, in a letter of 1805, to 'the *Eratokritos*, and other such abortions of wretched Greece'; in 1818, D. Foteinos's attempt to render it into anodyne puristic verse ended in poetic butchery and failure; while I.R. Neroulos condemned the *Eratokritos*, *The Shepherdess*, the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, and other such works for their 'slavish imitation of Italian literature and tedious verbosity', lacking entirely in 'character, ethnicity and local colour. Not a single trace can be found in them of the study of the ancients, nor any knowledge of the rules. Some sparks of poetic zeal form the only value of these ugly compositions, which rightly sank into oblivion' (Néroulos 1828: 153). Rangabé and Sanders in their history of Modern Greek literature are less vituperative, noting the combination of Italian Renaissance elements with 'the language of the uneducated people of Crete' (1884: 7–15).

The reasons for Greek learned rejection of Cretan literature during the major part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries stem from three chief factors, which contributed to its rehabilitation by the demoticists: use of vulgar language (Cretan dialect); adherence to Italian models; apparent ignorance of ancient Greek, at a time when the prevailing climate of classicism in Greece, resistant to the emerging movement of Romanticism in Europe, was slow to appreciate the qualities of a more 'popular' literature. A full reversal of this negative assessment came only after the nationalist struggle for

2 In similar vein, the Zakynthian theologian Pachomios Rousanos wrote an open letter to the Printers of Venice in the mid-sixteenth century, complaining of their reluctance to publish works of piety and religion, while producing countless editions of popular romances, Underworld poems and 'satanic love poems' (Lambros 1905: 346–9).

3 'It still enjoys the highest repute in Crete, and the islands, but has fallen into discredit in more enlightened parts of Greece' (116). Having listed the 'Poetical Compositions' (99–100), Leake provides an extensive summary and evaluation of the *Eratokritos* (101–16), a résumé (with citations) from Chortatsis's *Erofilis* (117–22), and of the *Shepherdess* (122–7): 'this is a very favourite poem'.

demoticism was under way in the 1880s. Thus, what for his predecessors were limiting factors, proved positive for one of the first 'modern' editors of Cretan texts, K.N. Sathas:

I refer to the *Erotokritos* alongside the demotic songs, because both these brotherly monuments constitute the only clear mirror in which is reflected, unbastardised and without a trace of scholastic make-up, not only our national language, but also the heart of the Greek nation. When historical consciousness is developed among us, too, and the beginnings of our nationhood (εθνικότης) and of the national language are sought, the songs and the *Erotokritos* will be honoured equally with the Homeric poems, because assuredly these, and only these, constitute the rusted, but true, link of modern Hellenism, joining us to the golden chain of our forebears (1868: 603).

A new link between the demotic tradition and Homer had been forged!⁴ Since Sathas's work, the process of the demoticist appropriation of Cretan literature has been completed, tending always to minimise the Italianising elements (admitted to be present, but in native Cretan or Hellenised garb), and to exaggerate what they regarded as the 'truly national spirit' of the works. This led to a disproportionate swell of critical ink on eulogies, with minimal work on sources. An interesting exception is Jean Psichari, who, although he shared – or, rather, helped pave the way for – demoticist prescriptions for literature as the 'mirror and soul of the Greek nation', devoted a short but seminal study (perhaps, significantly, in French and not in Greek) to the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, more literary than linguistic in orientation, which anticipates poetic use of an Italian model where none was then known (1930: 612–27). By and large, however, the demoticists' attempt to wrest the hegemony of Greek literary tradition from the purists was concerned with Cretan texts, as with folklore, primarily as a link between the great classical past and the demotic poets, or as national masterworks. This coincides with the (belated) manifestation in Greece of the romantic adulation of the 'folk' as Creators of Art.⁵

It is in this wider historical and cultural context that the controversy which rekindled after the Second World War, regarding the 'popular' versus 'literary' elements in Cretan literature needs to be viewed, since it is evident that many of the disagreements between the rival camps were fuelled by extra-literary preconceptions similar to those of the early demoticists. The first focal point of conflict concerns the 'character' of Cretan literature: is it 'national' (Tomadhakis 1945) or 'Renaissance' (L. Politis 1958)? Kriaras, equating 'national' with 'popular' and 'Renaissance' with 'aristocratic', 'artificial', 'oriented towards antiquity', correctly notes that the style (ύφος) of Cretan

4 Similar eulogies from Greek and European writers (including Kostis Palamas) are cited by Xanthoudhidhis 1915: CLIII. Their significance for the demoticist movement is analysed by Tziouvas 1986: 211–23.

5 For Greece, see Herzfeld 1982: 53–122; M. Alexiou 1985; for Europe, see Cocchiara 1981: 168–210; Burke 1978: 1–22.

literature differs from that of Renaissance Italy, but mistakenly attributes this difference (without detailed analysis) to its λαϊκότροπος (*volkstümliche*) character, concluding that this popular tone excludes the possibility of western models, reflecting rather 'a folkloric colouring which leads us to the purely popular tradition inherited from Byzantium'.⁶ Thus the question of popular/literary is polarised into the rather different problem of Greekness/non-Greekness, with connotations of the 'purity' of the former and the 'derivativeness' of the latter (Kriaras 1953: 298–314).

Meanwhile, S. Alexiou was pioneering a new position: the fact that the *Erotokritos* was loved by the people did not necessarily mean that they had a part in its composition; the best works of Cretan literature coincide precisely with the highest intellectual achievements and with a conscious orientation simultaneously towards the West and antiquity; such poets were hardly likely to be 'popular' (S. Alexiou 1952). Two years later, he reinforced his refutation of Kriaras's view of Cretan literature as 'popular creation' (λαϊκή δημιουργία) on the following grounds: the Cretan dialect in which they are composed gives a false impression of local peasant colour, based on an anachronism, whereas in fact it is a sign of sophistication and maturity, not spontaneity; many apparently 'folkloric' elements may have crept in during the period of popular chapbooks, when the works were forgotten by the élite; both in style and content, the major Cretan texts show conscious variation and manipulation of linguistic registers inaccessible to the 'folk', and an awareness of the values of the Italian Renaissance and of ancient Greek culture. After conceding briefly that 'the gap between learned (λόγια) and popular (λαϊκή) tradition may not have been so great in seventeenth-century Crete as we imagine today', he concludes unequivocally that the bourgeoisie was the main creator of the Renaissance in Crete, as elsewhere, and that 'the wretchedness of the rural population renders very improbable the view that the peasants played, or could have played, an active role in the formation of Cretan culture in the period concerned. This culture in all its manifestations has primarily a bourgeois character, and this because only in the cities did there exist a suitable foundation for cultural development' (1954c: 95).

Although Alexiou is undoubtedly correct in his major assessment that Cretan culture flourished in the cities, thanks to mercantile and intellectual (hence bourgeois) contacts with the West, it is important to note that the conflict now shifts from 'national'/'foreign' to 'bourgeois'/'peasant' and 'urban'/'rural'. It is tacitly assumed that the townsfolk had a culture radically

6 It is interesting to note that at about the same time, nationistic fervour extended also to discussion of the Byzantine epic romance, *Digenis Akritis*, see Grégoire 1942: introduction. His study in turn fuelled much patriotic poetry and drama composed on Akritic themes during the Resistance (e.g. by Sikelianos and Kazantzakis), and provides an example of how the composition and interpretation of literary texts, past and present, become enmeshed with contemporary issues, especially at times of national crisis: see Said 1978 for general points, Kechagioglou 1986b for *Digenis Akritis*.

different from the countryfolk, and that, since the latter were economically and socially too oppressed to *produce* literary works, they therefore lacked a culture which could have contributed significantly to the peculiar direction which Renaissance literature took in Crete. In fact, the dichotomy urban/rural may be as false and misleading an anachronism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as is popular/learned; nor is there any evidence that 'oppressed' peoples possess no culture which can contribute significantly to the culture of the 'leisured' classes.⁷

A third polarisation arises at about the same time, with Megas's edition of the *Sacrifice of Abraham*: oral or literary? Already in 1929, F. Politis had attempted to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the poet's obvious education and his exploitation of 'folk' sources (1938: II, 50-3, 236-40). Megas (1954: 132) citing Politis extends the argument with examples of proverbial phrases, popular laments and motifs which show affinities with modern folk tradition. Although he does not exclude the possibility that the anonymous poet drew from his own contemporary folk tradition (133-4), he tends on the whole to the conclusion that the modern Cretan laments and *μᾶντινῳδες* (improvised distichs) derive from the play (138). Similar conclusions are reached with regard to popular elements in Bergadhis's *Apokopos* by S. Alexiou (1971b: 13). In both cases, the derivation of modern Cretan songs from the literary texts is assumed rather than demonstrated, and is taken as an indication of the 'eternal values' of Cretan literature. Once again, the 'folk' are assigned a purely passive role in the process of composition and transmission.

A different approach was pioneered by Morgan in his study 'Cretan poetry: sources and inspiration' (1960). In the first chapter, 'The folk songs', he outlines as his objective the attempt to disentangle the twin sources of literary and traditional inspiration in Cretan texts, and then proceeds to reconstruct a hypothetical folk corpus of Venetian Crete on the basis of the repertoire of songs which can be assumed, on datable historical and linguistic evidence, to have existed in Crete during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Although his analysis brings to light many deep-seated parallels between medieval and Cretan literary texts and the modern folk tradition, it falls prey to the misconceptions inherent in the historical-diffusionist school, in assuming that a folk tradition comprises a fixed and specific corpus of songs, stories, tales, proverbs etc., the origins and evolution of which can be historically dated and geographically located, rather than as a *generative system* of composition, in which elements can be recombined in numerous ways.⁸ He also views the passing of literary texts into folk tradition (as, for example, *Digenis Akritis* and the Akritic songs) as part of 'the process of disintegration and fragmentation of oral poetry', as it passed from 'its sophisticated origins in the surrounds

7 See Burke 1978: 23-63, 149-77 for a redefinition of 'popular culture' and documentation of its complex interaction with literary texts during the Renaissance and early modern periods. Bausinger 1980: 41-55 provides a recent critique of relevant bibliography.

8 See Beaton 1980: 13-56 for a cogent analysis of this process in the folk songs.

of rich men towards popularity with the commons' (1960: 69). Similarities between the verses of Sachlikis, the Ptochoprodromic poems and *Spaneas* are attributed to conscious borrowing, without the possibility being considered of a traditional stock of motifs, images and formulas (Chapters 3–4). Finally, the process of transformation of 'high' literature to 'low' popular verse is considered, primarily with reference to the *Neronfili*, a version of Chortatsis's tragedy covering the main plot and including some seventy lines of verse, which was collected from Greek-speaking Turks in Smyrna after the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations in 1923. On the one hand the text is regarded as a 'case study of decay'; on the other, it is shown how certain potentially folk-tale elements in the play are assimilated and reintegrated with traditional narrative modes.⁹

Since Morgan's study, the question of 'popular tradition' in Cretan literature has rarely been posed specifically, although statements as to its 'national character', 'Cretan colour' and 'literary sophistication' continue without analysis of the inherent contradictions. Scholarship has shifted the focus to questions of date and authorship, but has rarely moved outside the concept of literary history as the canonised tradition of masterpieces. Meanwhile, the view that Cretan literature is the product of an educated and sophisticated élite remaining largely untouched by popular culture, is implicitly or explicitly accepted. Only one recent attempt has been made by Saunier (1984) to raise the question of popular tradition in the *Apokopos*, and to define a systematic comparative method. Saunier succeeds both in demonstrating in general terms the significance of the problem, and in analysing in impressive detail Bergadhis's subtle, allusive and extensive use of folk motifs, which he proves (insofar as the matter is susceptible of proof) cannot be derived from the poem. His careful methodology and precise analysis provide a model for further studies in the same and other fields of Greek literature, as he indicates in his conclusion.

At the present juncture, the wider implications of the use of popular tradition need to be more fully clarified. Until recently, the debate has taken place within the confines of Modern Greek literary history, with the result that it has formed a minor aspect of a different game, namely the search for a national consciousness and the establishment of a literary canon. H.R. Jauss locates histories of national literature as a genre in the nineteenth century, their highest goal being 'to represent in the history of literary works (*Dichtwerke*) the idea of national individuality on its way to itself' (1982: 3). The major features of the Cretan debate conform to this pattern, with the following

9 Puchner 1983b, basing his study of *Erofili* in Cretan popular tradition on no less than thirteen versions from Crete, Roumeli, Epiros and Thessaly, demonstrates convincingly that divergences from Chortatsis's text, and the differences between Cretan and other versions, cannot be explained in simple, linear terms (as implied by Morgan's analysis), but are determined by specific regional, historical and generic factors. Further studies of this kind would help correct the common assumption that literary texts are sacrosanct, hence popular texts which deviate from them are considered 'contaminated', without regard to context of performance. On the need to develop aesthetic criteria for evaluation of folk texts, see Herzfeld 1985.

factors adding to the confusion: first, use of popular tradition is taken to indicate either the origins of the text *in* folk poetry, or its composition by a poet 'of the folk', hence incompatible with signs of education (Megas 1954; S. Alexiou 1971b; Bancroft-Marcus 1978); second, it is assumed that literary texts operated according to rules quite distinct from those of oral tradition, hence works displaying elements of both are designated as 'mixed' or hybrid, or else the result of faulty scribal transmission; third, social factors are permitted, on the one hand, to exclude the peasantry from a creative role on grounds of oppressed status, while, on the other, to rest the prestige of the texts as literature on the assertion that they reflect the soul of the Greek people (S. Alexiou 1952, 1954; Kriaras 1953). These assumptions, stemming from the kind of nationistic approach to literary history rejected by Jaus, involve the use of terms which are not clearly defined: culture is categorised as 'high'/'low', 'learned'/'popular', 'archaising'/'vernacular', 'literary'/'oral', 'urban'/'rural', as if these categories were exclusive and unchanging entities. It is time to propose a different model.

ii Towards a new methodological approach: some lessons from the West

Since, for historical reasons, Greek literary criticism has remained largely isolated from developments in Western European medieval and Renaissance scholarship, a brief summary of major advances in recent years in areas relevant to the present discussion will help provide a framework for our analysis.

First, with the spread of literacy and the rise of the vernaculars in Western medieval Europe from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, there begins a long, complex and uneven period of close interaction between oral and written patterns of thought, in which literacy gradually interpenetrates, rather than replaces, oral modes of composition and reception (Ong 1982, 1984; Stock 1980, 1984; Havelock 1984; Bäuml 1984). This process was at its most complex and variable from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, affecting the production not only of literary texts, but also of the whole range of legal, administrative and religious documents (Stock 1980; Clanchy 1979; Wickham 1985). Only by the sixteenth century, at the height of the European Renaissance, can writing be said to have established itself as the form which dominated modes of composition; even then, oral elements persist, while oral modes of reception continue virtually unchanged until the establishment of the printed chapbook (Stock 1984: 15–17; Ong 1984: 1–6). Thus, the text may be orally composed and performed by the 'author' on a series of occasions and to different audiences (in which case the form and content will vary) until committed at a later stage to writing, in rare cases by the author, but far more commonly dictated to one or more scribes (*scriptores*). The resulting text(s) will then be subject to numerous copies, redactions and revisions, each with substantial interpolations, omissions and modifications, since even the

scribe who copies a written text, as opposed to one who takes it down from oral performance or dictation, retains oral habits. In the rare cases attested of the author actually composing and writing simultaneously, as with Eadmer of Canterbury, the process is described as a laborious one of 'dictating to oneself' (*dictitare*) (Clanchy 1979: 218).

A second mode of composition, which became increasingly frequent, was for the processes of composition and performance to separate: the author might dictate to a scribe, whose text was then read out by performers to a series of audiences separated in place and time. In this case, the possibilities for 'contamination' between composition of the text and its commission to writing, while they still existed, were greatly reduced. The more popular a text – that is, the more frequently performed and copied – the greater the likelihood of scribal interference (Bäumli 1984: 37–45).

Third, the text may preserve the illusion of oral performance, even though composed and committed to writing independently of the oral context. This stage outlasts the introduction of the pre-print book, which often begins and ends with a direct address to the reader/listener. The book, or manuscript, is regarded less as an object in itself, but as a means of communication, often figuratively depicted or spoken of as an envoy, despatched by the author to address the audience, like a speaker, as in the case of several of Chaucer's poems (Ong 1984: 2). The oral context is maintained as a literary fiction, but just for that reason may reproduce structural and stylistic features associated with orality: repetitions, redundancies, rhetorical and proverbial expressions, formulaic patterns and phrases, 'ring-composition' and so on.¹⁰

These examples of attested modes of composition and reception in the medieval and early Renaissance West, although necessarily schematised, have important implications for the study of narrative techniques, in particular for the application of the oral–formulaic theory to medieval vernacular texts. As Bäumli's recent study has shown, formulaic density may be significant for the mode of performance or process of transmission, but it cannot, in view of the number of variables outlined above, provide a reliable indicator of oral composition. Nor is the textual critic who aspires to reconstruct the 'original' version of a text likely to find it a rewarding venture, however many (or few) copies survive. Finally, even though patterns of oral–literary transition followed lines different in detail in the Greek-speaking East from the Latin West, the same principles can be seen to apply to the extant Greek evidence.

The complex interaction between orality and literacy between the twelfth

10 Greek examples include the carefully crafted proems to the four twelfth-century Ptochoprodromic poems, where the author enhances his pleas to his patrons for money by playing on the oral/written dichotomy (M. Alexiou 1986). The sixteenth-century Cretan *Chapbook of the Donkey*, with its address to the 'noble audience' (*ἀρχοντες*) begs them to give ear to his tale; as does, most strikingly, the Cypriot author of the sixteenth-century *Tale for the Lament of Renowned Cyprus*: 'Whoever knows letters and can write with a pen, / let him come and stand by me, and I will recite / for him to write laments, so you will all grieve' (cited in M. Alexiou 1974: 90).

and fifteenth centuries had a deep and long-lasting impact on the kinds of text produced, performed and transmitted. The poet continues to draw largely on a memorised store of oral techniques as to both material and means of expression. Even if the level of literacy permits allusion to other literary texts (whether within or outside the native culture), the poet must, to succeed, operate within the system of expectations relevant to the age: that is, aim to evoke the audience's horizon of expectations, even if only to modify, vary or destroy it (Jauss 1982: 22–3). Thus, it is not until a literate audience has become well established over several generations that texts begin to enter into an 'interpretative conversation' with their textual past (Stock 1984: 24). This form of intertextuality is fully developed in the West as a distinctive feature of Renaissance culture, where new dimensions are provided by conscious reference to classical antiquity, as opposed to medieval learned tradition; in Greek, for reasons which will be touched on later, examples can be found from at least the twelfth century.

What this means is that 'popular culture' during the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance is rather different from romantic and modern preconceptions. As Burke has shown in his extensive survey (1978), the very concept arose only when it was no longer shared by everyone, that is, from the latter half of the eighteenth century (Herder's *Kultur des Volkes* as opposed to *Kultur der Gelehrten*). Redefining Redfield's model of the 'great' and 'little' traditions, he documents the extent to which the educated élite, especially before the eighteenth century, participated in popular culture through festivals and carnivals, while poets continued to enjoy and appropriate folk songs, ballads and legends (1978: 25–7). Many of the nobility were illiterate, particularly women, who often acted as mediators between 'literary' and 'popular' culture, absorbing songs, stories and proverbs from peasant nurses (28). The 'great' tradition did not *exclude* the 'little' tradition until the mid-eighteenth century (in the West – in the Greek East it has not done so yet).¹¹ Conversely, the 'little' tradition is nowhere near as unified and homogeneous as Redfield's model might suggest, incorporating as it does both town and country, together with the many sharply defined cultures within each (30–63). It is

11 Many distinctive qualities associated with Modern Greek poetry can be explained by the prestige enjoyed by the folk tradition and the consequent prioritisation of orality over textuality. It is true that the conscious fostering of folklore by the nationalist/demotocist movement since the 1880s has led to serious under-development in some areas of creative and critical writing (see Tziouvas 1986: 342–419). However, it would be unhistorical and short-sighted to see the phenomenon only in negative terms. First, apart from its intrinsic value, Greek folk culture has played a positive role in Greek literary composition from the Cretan Renaissance onwards, that is, prior to the existence of Greece as a nation state, and independently of crusading Hellenism. Second, after a time of excessive textuality in western modernism and post-modernism, when the American literary establishment, for example, is rediscovering the value of its Indian and Afro-American heritage, the Greek case can prove instructive precisely because there has always been a lively interaction between the oral and the written traditions.

romantic nationalism which first 'invents' the term 'folk', and then limits its reference to the rural peasantry. 'In 1500,' Burke concludes, 'the educated classes despised the people but shared their culture. By 1800 they no longer participated spontaneously but rediscovered an admiration of it as exotic and natural' (286).

Burke's study shows the dangers of transferring present preconceptions onto the Renaissance and medieval worlds. It may be impossible for the literary critic to escape completely from the limitations of the age (Wellek 1963: 17–20; Jauss 1982: 30), but an attempt must be made to bridge the distance, so easily blurred by the evolutionary–organicist approach to literary history, which divides the past into closed literary periods, interprets achievement as the result of biographical circumstances, and measures originality in terms of individual genius. When faced with texts distant from our own time, the critic cannot *escape* from literary history, but can, at least, reshape contours and horizons, replacing the concept of a gradual, linear evolution of continuity and fixed tradition with a dynamic theory of conflicting and competing genres, models and schools (Jauss 1982: 105–9).

None of the studies of western literature to which I have referred acknowledges the existence of post-classical Greek, let alone Cretan Renaissance literature. Which aspects can be utilised, and which need modification, in view of the differences between East and West, which may have been exaggerated due to western ignorance of Greek and to Hellenist *Angst*, to preserve the disciplinary domain distinct?

The first difference concerns the nature of the inherited canon: whereas in the West, overtly pagan classical texts tended to be excluded, in the Byzantine East, close adherence to ancient Greek models formed an integral part of the educational system: knowledge of classical texts, and the ability to manipulate them, was a prerequisite for social advancement in the absence of a hereditary pattern for imperial and administrative office (Browning 1983: 44–6). For the West, the rediscovery of classical antiquity performed a revitalising function in Renaissance literature; for the East, in areas under western control (Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes), it was Italy rather than antiquity which facilitated the rupture with the past necessary for breakthrough. In both cases, there was a reaching out beyond existing horizons.

The second difference concerns the extent of the gap between written and spoken forms. By the twelfth century, the vernacular tongues had emerged distinct from the Latin all over Europe, the lines between the two being clear. In the Greek East, edges were more blurred: although archaising forms of Greek (*koine*, ecclesiastical, Atticising) remained until the twelfth century the only accepted medium, practicalities dictated flexibility, at least in certain kinds of text. From the tenth century there arose the *topos* that to 'speak clearly' involved a compromise. There is virtually no century for which there exists no textual documentation for a varied range of linguistic registers,

from high Atticising to near-spoken Greek. As a result, the linguistic gap between élite and populace was less manifest than in the West, where the chirographically controlled learned language was relatively impenetrable by spoken vernaculars.

One consequence of this difference is that when vernacular verse begins to emerge in twelfth-century Constantinopolitan court circles, there is a very wide range of lexical, morphological and syntactic forms, while archaisms are never absent. It is less likely that this peculiar form of Greek derives from a literary *Kunstsprache*, beneath which lies a lost oral tradition, than that it is due to the uncertainties in attempting to write, for the first time, in a kind of Greek hitherto reserved for speaking: interference from the 'high' language and a tendency to standardise dialect features was an inevitable result of greater interpenetration between 'high' and 'low'. The impetus for use of the vernacular seems to have come from court circles; while the first vernacular verse shows a degree of sophistication and self-awareness frequently overlooked (M. Alexiou 1986).

One of the prerequisites for the development of a vernacular literature is the spread of literacy across a wide range of functions, giving rise to a new class of relatively unskilled scribes, whose task was not to compose, but to take down from dictation all kinds of legal and administrative documents. In the case of Crete, the existence of such documents showing dialectal features is attested from the end of the twelfth century, with a rapid increase from the later thirteenth century (Bakker and van Gemert 1977b). From the start, where Greek rather than Italian is used, it is a form of Cretan dialect, often written in the Latin alphabet and according to the phonological rules of Italian. Comparable developments can be traced in other areas, such as Cyprus, Naxos, Rhodes, the Ionian Isles, which were under western rather than Byzantine control. Some kind of break with the Greek alphabet facilitated the recording of a form of vernacular much closer to the spoken language. This mode, preferred by many poets throughout the Cretan Renaissance, is not to be attributed to ignorance of the Greek alphabet, but to a preference for a distinct graphical system for a different form of the language (Vincent 1980: ξδ'-ο'). It is no accident that the first literary texts in dialect are found in areas outside Byzantine control, where a break with the past and contact with the West facilitated the emergence of a qualitatively different kind of vernacular literature.

A final difference concerns the absence of vernacular models. In adapting Italian texts to native soil, the Cretan poets had no Dante or Chaucer on whom to draw, only Byzantine literature, predominantly moralising if not archaising, and popular Cretan tradition, which must be understood in a wider sense than the 'folklore' of today. Byzantine moralising and didactic genres, in anodyne language and narrative style, predominated. Yet around 1400, there flourished on the island of Crete a number of poets who utilised conventions only in order to question them.

iii Bergadhis's *Apokopos*: a challenge to conventions?

The descent to the Underworld, familiar as a literary theme since Homer, enjoyed a resurgence of popularity in late medieval literature of both East and West. There is no need to seek a common cause for this phenomenon, or even a direct link between the two, since similarities are likely to be due to parallel and interacting developments rather than to specific influence of one upon the other. Besides, in the Greek East, the theme had never disappeared, and was subject to continual remoulding due to the synergy of literary, religious and popular traditions. Among the innumerable literary products on this topic, Bergadhis's *Apokopos*, a lyrical poem comprising just under 500 verses of rhymed couplets, surely ranks as one of the gems of European literature. The poet, probably a member of the Veneto-Cretan nobility, was in a unique position to exploit simultaneously contemporary Italian literature and local Cretan culture, combining elements of each to create a poem which breaks out of Byzantine genre conventions, and, at the same time, challenges traditional assumptions about the nature of the obligations of the living towards the dead. It is a text which, in Jauss's terms, succeeds both in violating the predominant Byzantine mode of moralising vernacular verse, and, while operating within the 'horizon of expectations and rules' familiar to his audience from earlier texts, in playfully disturbing their preconceptions by 'confront[ing] them with a question whose solution is lacking in officially sanctioned morals' (1982: 23-4, 44): Bergadhis evokes literary, religious and popular conventions in order to elude and subvert them.

Nothing certain is known of the poet except his name, which provides the only clue to his noble Veneto-Cretan origins (S. Alexiou 1971b: 14, van Gemert 1979: 29). The date of composition, previously thought to have been during the last decades of the fifteenth century, has been revised, convincingly if not quite irrefutably, to around 1400, thereby coinciding with other Cretan poets of similar lineage who composed innovative literary texts at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (van Gemert 1979). Not surprisingly, in view of the gap between probable date of composition and first extant edition (1509), the text is not free of problems, although some have been exaggerated by philological insistence that medieval poems on fantastic themes should conform to our standards of rationality and consistency. What is certain is that the *Apokopos* is the earliest known vernacular text to have passed into printed form, and that it enjoyed unbroken popularity in chapbook form until its first modern edition in 1870 by E. Legrand.

Before embarking on a detailed analysis, I should like to indicate briefly the wealth and diversity of the Greek exploitation of the descent theme since the end of antiquity. These should not be regarded as potential *sources*, but as part of the heritage formative to the 'horizon of expectations' available to poet and audience as distinct from Dante's. By the end of antiquity, Lucian's Atticising prose dialogues of the second sophistic had established a model for the Under-

world theme as a means of elaborate satire on a wide range of topics – literary, social, moral and above all on the vanity of popular superstitions (Robinson 1979). His non-Christian sentiments were never approved, but Lucian remained, throughout the Byzantine period, one of the most admired and frequently copied of ancient writers, not least for his stylistic excellence. By the twelfth century, his dialogues on the Underworld had provided inspiration for the anonymous but learned *Timarion*, which, as I have argued elsewhere, is a humorously subversive satire on twelfth-century society (M. Alexiou 1982/3, cf. Baldwin 1984). More vituperative, but no less satirical, is the *Mazaris* poem of the thirteenth century, which makes explicit the dream device already implicit in the *Timarion* (Tozer 1892; Lambakis 1982: 88–112). By the fifteenth century, the descent theme was established in association with a dream device in vernacular poetry of a kind usually classified as moralising/didactic (ηθικοδιδασκική), an association which probably owes something to the long-established religious genre of apocalyptic visions and descent.¹² Nor should it be forgotten that the theme of Christ's descent to Hades proved strong throughout Byzantine hymnography and art, while scenes of the Torments of Hell and the Last Judgement became increasingly popular – and prone to western influence – in later Byzantine art.

The *Apokopos*, then, belongs in theme and genre to a flourishing Greek convention, composed at a time and in an area (Crete around 1400) where literary experimentation with Italian and western models is known to have existed. My analysis of the poem will include both summary and commentary, highlighting overall structure and subtle manipulation of other texts. In dealing with popular tradition, I shall follow Saunier's example of paying close attention not only to verbal correspondences but also to divergences in context, tone and underlying system of belief and ritual (1984).

The narrative is episodic rather than sequential in structure, divisible into five unequal sections: (i) *dream and descent* (1–66); (ii) *arrival in Hades: the dead question the poet* (67–126); (iii) *poet's reply: the living forget the dead* (127–276); (iv) *poet questions the dead and hears their story* (277–452); (v) *poet's departure* (453–90).

The first section opens abruptly: there is no moralising on the world as *vanitas vanitatum*, as in the *Πένθος Θανάτου* (*Grief for Death*) and other poems;¹³ and we are transported straight into the poet's dream world, where

12 Hymnographic and religious evidence is summarised and discussed by Lambakis 1982: 40–81; on the popularity of the theme in Crete, see Dawkins's edition and translation of the *Apocalypse of the Virgin*, written in Cretan dialect and Latin script (1948). The intermingling of Christian, popular and learned motifs characteristic of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries is further apparent in the *Dialogue between Man and Charos* (= Death), edited by Moravcsik 1931 and discussed by M. Alexiou 1978, where Charos assumes the role of Christian moraliser.

13 See poems discussed by van Gemert in Chapter 3, pp. 65–71. Even if we accept Lambakis's plausible suggestion that the *Πένθος Θανάτου* and *Ρίμα Ὁρθνητικὴ* were intended as Orthodox correctives to the *Apokopos* (1982: 169–70), the theme of life as *vanitas vanitatum* was an established Byzantine convention which Bergadhis consistently subverts.

intense but timeless and inconclusive activity, marked by repeated use of the imperfective aspect, leads to loss:

Μιαν από κόπου ενύσταξα, να κοιμηθῶ εθυμήθην·
έθεκα στο κλινάρι μου κ' ύπνον αποκοιμήθην.
Εφάνιστή μου κ' έτρεχα 'ς λιβάδιν ωραιωμένον,
φαρίν εκαβαλλίκευγα σελλοχαλιωμένον·
κ' είχα στην ζώσιν μου σπαθίν, στην χέρα μου κοντάριν,
ζωσμένος ήμουν άρματα, σαγίτες και δοξάριν·
κ' εφάνη με οκ' εδίωχνα με θράσος ελαφίνα·
ώρες εκοντοστένετον και ώρες με βιαν εκίνα.
Πουρνόν του τρέχειν ήρχισα τάχα να βάλω χέρα
κ' έτρεχα ώστε κ' ετσάκισεν το σταύρωμαν η μέρα·
κ' ευθύς από τα μάτια μου εχάθηκεν το λάφιν
και πώς και πότε εχάθηκεν εξαπορώ του γράφειν. (3-14)

One day after toil I grew weary and longed for sleep.
I lay down on my bed and fell fast asleep;
I thought I was giving chase in a lovely meadow,
I was riding a horse, saddled and reined;
at my belt was a sword, in my hand a spear;
I was accoutred with weapons, bow and arrows;
and I seemed to be boldly chasing a doe.
At times she stood still, at times she moved swiftly.
In the morning I began to gallop, supposing to catch her,
giving chase till day broke its crossroads,
but all at once the doe was lost from my sight
— how and when she vanished I cannot write.

A slow, measured pace replaces former haste (15: perfective έπαυσα), as the poet gives up his quest, and allows himself to indulge a sense of wonderment at the beauties of the world (18) by contemplating a luscious meadow with a fruit-bearing tree at its centre, where he tethers his exhausted horse (19-28). On closer inspection, there is a bees' nest at the tree's summit, and desire for the honey prompts him to climb (με βιαν πολλήν και κόπον 37). Greedily he devours the sweet yet unsatisfying honey, but the bees retaliate, causing him to fear the tree's fall, which he now sees to be imminent due to the work of two mice, one white, one black, who have been steadily gnawing at its roots (38-50). Suddenly night has fallen, and the tree is no longer in the meadow, but on the edge of a precipice over a well: at its bottom, a dragon with opened jaws waits to receive him. The tree subsides, birds and bees fly upwards, while the poet enters the womb-like tomb of the interior, and finds himself in Hades (51-66).

Many stock allegorical elements are present here: morning, noon and evening as symbols of the three stages of manhood (youth, middle age, old age, van Gemert 1985); the wild chase of the doe, reminiscent of the sacred hind with the Cross between its horns which must be caught and tightly held if it

is to reveal its holiness;¹⁴ the sensual temptation of honey, which must be as firmly resisted as the sweetness of womankind;¹⁵ the black and white mice, symbols of night/day, evil/good; the open-mouthed dragon at the base of the well into which the tree collapses. But despite the rich potential, these motifs are exploited to intensify the lyrical, almost wonder-tale quality of the narrative, not to point out any allegory. Such symbolism as exists could be argued to be sexual rather than moral in nature. As in the modern *paramythia* where the protagonist finds him/herself in the Underworld, the means of transportation is magical, like the rabbit-hole in *Alice in Wonderland*.¹⁶ In the second section, the poet is beset by a host of dead who rush to greet him. Two young men emerge from the crowd and importune him with questions:

Και δύο μ' εφάνην κ' ἤλθασι μούροι και αραχνιασμένοι,
 ως νέων σκια και χαραγή, μυριοθορυβουμένοι.
 Κλιτά μ' εχαιρετήσασιν, ἡμερα μ' εσυντύχαν

- 14 In the Byzantine romance *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, for example, man is pursued by a rhinoceros or unicorn (= Death), falls into a pit (= the world and its fatal traps) dripping with honey (= the pleasures of the world causing man to forget his salvation), where he finds a plant, which is being gnawed at by two mice, one white, the other black (= day and night, good and evil); at the bottom of the pit is a dragon (= mouth of Hades). Unlike the *Apokopos*, this is an allegory whose meaning is carefully spelled out. The legend of the chase of the hind is associated in eastern and western hagiography with Saint Eustathius (Eustace), where the sacred hind with the Cross between its horns has to be pursued and held with persistence and resolution for its sanctity to be revealed and salvation secured; see Delahaye 1966: 212–39. The motif of the sacred hind has passed into the Akritic cycle of folk songs (but not the epic), where, in a version from Evia, Digenis's sacrilege in killing the hind becomes the cause of his own death; see N. Politis 1909: 224–5, no. 10. It seems unnecessary to postulate any specific western origin for the transformation of the allegory of a rhinoceros chasing a man into a tale of a man chasing a hind across a meadow (van Gemert 1979: 29, 35), except to note that the motif was common not only among Germanic peoples, but also in the Iberian peninsula (Deyermond 1979: 265–83) and in the Fenian legends of Celtic mythology, where, as in Bergadhis's poem, the chase is associated with a visit to the other world (Nagy 1986: 38, 104–5). References include several owed to the kindness of Jan Ziolkowski.
- 15 The tasting of honey as sensuality was a Byzantine topos by no means restricted to *Barlaam*: Neophytos Enkleistos, for example, twelfth-century holy man from Cyprus, records an encounter with a 'truth-loving man', whose task it was to fill small pots with honey, but who firmly resisted the temptation to taste it by convincing himself that it was as bitter as gall, for, he explained, if once he gave way to the pleasures of the senses, he might be further tempted to taste womankind, leading to his soul's damnation! The story, in an unpublished extract from the Codex Coislin Graecus 287, fos. 88a–88b (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), has been transcribed by Catia Galatariotou, to whose kindness the reference is owed, in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis (1985: II, 142–3).
- 16 Lambakis (1982: 164–5, 182–6) cites numerous parallels in Byzantine and other contemporary poems; however, the sudden transformation in the *Apokopos* is closer in tone to certain folk songs and wonder tales; see, for example, 'Voice of the Dead from the Tomb', where the temptation to taste the apples from a tree on a precipice leads the protagonist as if by magic to a deserted churchyard full of tombstones, from one of which a voice from the dead complains to him for unwittingly treading on his head (Ioannou 1970: 50–1); see also 'The Navel of the Earth' and other wonder tales of the world below (an enchanted world, not to be confused with Hades, the land of the dead), where descent is effected by a secret staircase, hidden cranny or magic well. See Dawkins 1953: 89–91, 259–60 for texts and for a comparison between Greek wonder tales, Irish legends and Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*.

κ' ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου ἐπάρθηκα, τί ἀποκριθὴν οὐκ εἶχα.
Λέγουν μου· 'Πόθεν καὶ ἀπὸ πού; Τίς εἶσαι; Τί γυρεύεις;
Καὶ δίχως πρόβοδον ἐδῶ στο σκότος πῶς οδεύεις;
Πῶς ἐκατέβης σύψυχος, συζώντανος πῶς ἤλθες
καὶ πάλιν στὴν πατρίδα σου πῶς νὰ στραφεῖς ἐκεῖθες;
Οπού στὸν Ἄδην κατεβὴ οὐ δύνата διαγεῖρειν
μόνον ἡ Νεκρανάστασις μπορεῖ νὰ τον εγεῖρη.
Τα χνώτα σου μυρίζουσι καὶ τὰ λινά σου λάμπουν,
νὰ εἶπες λιβάδι ἐτρεχεῖς καὶ μονοπάτια κάμπου·
ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον ἔρχεσαι, τῶν ζωντανῶν τὴν χώραν!'

(73–85)

Two black and cobwebby figures came up, so I thought,
the shadow and outline of young men, in much turmoil.
They greeted me humbly, they talked to me gently.
I was struck with fear, knew not what to reply.
They ask me, 'Where are you from? Who are you? What do you
seek?
And how do you move here in the dark without a guide?
How did you get down here with soul intact, still alive
and how will you get back to your homeland again?
No one who comes down to Hades can make his way back;
only the Resurrection of the Dead can wake him up.
Your breath smells of life, your clothes are shining,
as though you had been chasing over a meadow and paths of a plain:
You come from the world, from the land of the living!'

His smell quickens in them the lost world of the senses, and they are
tempted to enquire of him:¹⁷

Εἰπέ μας ἀν κρατεῖ οὐρανός κι ἀν στέκει ὁ κόσμος τώρα·
εἰπέ ἀν ἀστράπτει καὶ βροντά καὶ ἀν συννεφιά καὶ βρέχει
καὶ ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμός ἀν κυματεῖ καὶ τρέχει·

17 There is a general resemblance between this scene and Dante's *Purgatorio* Canto v 2, where one shade recognises the Poet as still alive on account of the shadow cast on him by the sun, but is forbidden to converse with him. While a connection cannot be proved, it should not be ruled out simply because the details vary. Similarly allusive reference to other literary descents might be postulated: the poet's weariness, which forms the starting-point of the poem (3–4), the surprised curiosity with which the dead greet him (77–9), and his closing fright at the hosts of dead who crowd round him (481–2), are also framing devices for Homer's *Odyssey* xi, where Odysseus is first greeted in wonder by his mother in almost identical terms (155–6), then claims weariness in the midst of his tale but is persuaded by Alkinoos to continue on the grounds that his audience has learned nothing as yet of the heroes (267–72); and his final panic at being beset by tribes of dead in their tens of thousands, causing him to depart in haste for the safety of his ship (627–35). Finally, the detail of the wet clothes which the young men ask their sister to feel as proof that their tale is true (401–2) has a precedent in Virgil's *Aeneid* vi. 370, where Palinurus, drowned in a storm, tells Aeneas how he was dragged to the Underworld by his wet clothes. It is by no means inconceivable that Bergadhis was familiar with these three classic descents, and wished to give a different twist to his own tale by varying a few details to emphasise that unlike Odysseus, Aeneas and Dante's Poet, his own narrator has neither motive nor mission for his trip: without a guide, he is free to encounter not famous people but two nameless and timeless young men – and, of course, to tease the dead.

και αν είναι κήποι και δεντρά, πουλιά να κιλαδούσι
 και ανέ μυρίζουν τα βουνιά και τα λαγκάδια αχούσιν.
 Είναι λιβάδια δροσερά, φουσά γλυκός αέρας,
 λάμπουσιν τ' άστρη τ' ουρανού και αυγερινός αστέρας;
 Και ανέ σημαίνουν οι εκκλησιές και ψάλλουν οι παπάδες
 και αν γέρνονται και την αυγήν ν' άφτουσι τες λαμπάδες.
 Παιδιά και να μαζώνονται νέοι το καλοκαίριν
 και να περνούν τες γειτονιές κρατώντ' από το χέριν
 και μετά πόθου την αυγήν να παρατραγουδούσι
 και σιγανά να περπατούν, με τάξιν να περνούσι;
 Γίνονται γάμοι και χαρές, παράταξες και σκόλες;
 Φιλοτιμούνται οι λυγερές, τάχα και χαίροντ' όλες;

(86-100)

Tell us if the sky still holds, if the world still stands:
 Say if there is still thunder and lightning, clouds and rain;
 and whether the River Jordan [Milky Way] still meanders and
 flows;
 are there still gardens and trees, birds that sing,
 are the mountains still scented and do valleys resound?
 Are there cool fields, does the wind blow sweetly,
 do heaven's stars shine beside the Morning Star?
 Do church bells still ring, and do priests chant?
 Do they lie down to rest and light candles at dawn?
 And do young men get together in summertime,
 passing through neighbourhoods clasped by the hand,
 singing with passion right through to the dawn,
 and walk in quiet as they pass by in file?
 Are there weddings and rejoicings, celebrations and holidays?
 Are young women courted and happy as always?

At this point their infatuation with nature and culture shifts to a note of doubt: do the living still remember us? Does the poet bring us news and letters from our dear ones? (101-9). After a brief invocation to the earth to shatter so that the sun can shine on them alike, they resume their questions as to the leisure activities of the living (Sundays, holy days, baths, hunting, social order) (110-27).

Both the formulaic structure and the thematic content of the dead young men's questions can be paralleled in proverbial sayings, folk distichs and songs of the Underworld from all parts of Greece, as well as in other vernacular poems from the twelfth century onwards (Lambakis 1982: 166, 184-5; Saunier 1984: 301-7). As Saunier has indicated, it is not credible that the *Apokopos*, however popular, could have provided the source for such diverse mythical themes still fundamental to the folk tradition. At the same time, there are marked differences in tone and context: Bergadhis's dead lack reticence, persisting in and elaborating upon questions properly posed by the living to the dead prior to burial, which are aimed at deferring the loved ones' departure,

though the impossibility of their return is in the end accepted.¹⁸ The poet, too, dwells on the joys of life in a manner which can only intensify the grief of the dead, in contrast to the folk mourner, who is careful to conceal the truth:

Αυτού που βούλεσαι να πας, κι όπου ξεπερατιέσαι,
αν εύρης νιους χαιρέτα τους, και νιες κουβέντιασέ τους,
κι αν εύρης και μικρά παιδιά γλυκά παργόρησέ τα.
Μην κάμης νιες να κλάφουνε και νιους ν' αναστενάξουν,
μην κάμης και μικρά παιδιά και θυμηθούν τη μάννα.
Μην πης πως έρχεται Λαμπρή, πως έρχονται γιορτάδες.
Πες του Χριστού πως χιονίζει και τη Λαμπρή θα βρέχη,
και την ημέρα τ' ση Θωμά θα σέρνουν τα ποτάμια.
Πως δε θα βγούνε τα παιδιά με τες γλυκιές μαννάδες,
ούτε θα βγουν τ' αδρόγενα τα πολυγαπημένα. (N. Politis 1914: 207 (183))

There where you wish to go and where you cross,
if you find young men, greet them; if young girls, speak with them,
and if you find small children too, comfort them sweetly.
Do not make young girls weep and young men sigh,
do not make small children remember their mother.
Do not say that Easter is coming, that festivals are here.
Tell them it snowed at Christmas and will rain at Easter,
and on Saint Thomas's day the rivers will flood.
that children will not go out with their sweet mothers,
that couples much in love will not walk out.

In the third section, the poet gives his reply: the world simply forgets. At first, his response is a brief, factual affirmation of their questions: yes, the world still stands etc.: some people enjoy life, others grieve (he is only telling them the truth they know, even if they do not like it). When pressed further as to the behaviour of widows, the poet first assumes reluctance (149–54), which not unnaturally has the effect of sharpening their curiosity, then maliciously tells them more than they want to know: the living wish to think only of themselves, not to remember their dead; as for the widows, they have taken the lovers they always desired (during *your* lifetime, he underlines), they bestow their husbands' clothes, horses and property upon these men, and go on to produce children by them (169–80). To reinforce his point, the poet makes use of proverbial expressions appropriate to other contexts, as well as

18 Saunier (1984: 304–5) rightly points out that these inversions can only be explained as a literary variation of the folk tradition, not the other way round. In fact, the folk mourner is ambivalent on the question of return from Hades: her pleas with the dead to return, promising all the good things of life and warning of the loneliness and suffering in Hades, achieve the desired result of an assurance from the dead that they have accepted their lot (M. Alexiou 1974: 181, 238).

introducing the popular theme of the 'adulterous wife'.¹⁹ There follows an account of those widows who feign sanctity by taking the veil, but in fact enjoy secret but regular 'intercourse' (the Greek *συντυχαίνω* implies both verbal and sexual forms) with monks over their very gravestones – a mischievous elaboration on the widespread theme of the *Brave Youth's Grave* (Saunier 1984: 307 and n. 16 above). As for those (very few) widows who genuinely mourn, barring doors and bolting windows, they are beset by priests (like birds of prey over carrion) who want not their spiritual welfare but their goods for the church:

Κυρά, και είντα σε φελά να κάθεσαι στο σπίτιν,
 και νά 'σαι εις τα σκοτεινά, σαν όρνιθα στην κοίτην;
 Κυρά, κατέβα εκ τα ψηλά, κατέβα από τ' ανώγεια
 και πήγαινε στην εκκλησιάν, ν' ακούς Θεού τα λόγια!
 Τον βιον, οπού σου βρίσκεται, πράγματα, τα φυλάσσεις,
 απόθεσέ τα εις εκκλησιές, εις μιον, κυρά, ν' αγιάσεις!
 Μη σε πλανέση συγγενής, φίλος μη σε κομπώση!
 Χαρά, οπού βάλ' εις εκκλησιά κ' έχει πτωχού να δώση!

(209–16)

Woman, what good does it do you to sit by yourself at home,
 dwelling in darkness like a broody hen?
 Woman, come down from your pinnacle, get down from on high,
 and get thee to church to hear God's words!
 The wealth you enjoy, the goods you store up,
 give them to the church, for at once you'll win sanctity!
 Don't let kinsman lead you astray, nor boy-friend trick you!
 Joy to whoever invests in the church and can give to the poor!

Here, two rituals fundamental to folk practice are alluded to, but changed: before her husband's burial, the widow is formally invoked (by female relatives) to 'climb down from on high' and divest herself of the tokens of her married status (wedding ring, bridal garland, *μπουγαζί* or bright-red hem); after burial, she is supposed to shut herself (or else her female relatives will do it for her) inside her home where she will be of no danger to living menfolk.²⁰ Our poet shifts context and blame for both acts onto the church. In reply to

19 For texts, see Ioannou 1970: 81–5; for further documentation and discussion see Saunier 1979: 137–63. Details in these and other songs comparable to those in Bergadhis include the importance of a man's horse, weapons, clothes and wife as prime symbols of prowess and status; hence, in some Akritic songs, Digenis murders his wife on his own deathbed when she finally confesses that she will not remain a widow, but will marry instead the young man she always preferred (Crete: N. Politis 1909: 242, nos. 32–3), or he may even cut up his own oxen and livestock (as well as his wife!) lest another man take possession of them (Macedonia: *ibid.* 239, no. 29).

20 Saunier 1984: 300–1: the textual parallels are so close as to dictate a connection with the folk tradition, which is attested from many regions as well as being firmly grounded in ritual practice, see N. Politis 1914: 210, no. 190: Κυρά, που κάθεσαι ψηλά, κατέβα παρακάτω, / και κάτσε με τις άμοιρες, και κάτσε με τις χήρες / και τίναχ' το κεφάλι σου, να γκρεμιστή η κορώνα, / τίναξε και το δάχτυλο, να πέση η αρραβώνα, / και βγάλ' τα κατακόκκινα, και φόρεσε τα μαύρα. / Τα κόκκινα είναι της χαράς, τα μαύρα είναι της λύπης.

the poet, the dead young men wail and lament, asking only one further question: how do our poor mothers endure such behaviour? Answer: they have no control, having lost their light/sight along with their sons, belonging themselves only to the world of the Dead (227–36). The poet thus subtly blames the dead for the condition of their mothers! In a brief narrative intervention, the dead make the sign of silence (cf. 153), then turn to lamentation (more appropriate to their mourners), praying Christ to shatter graves so that they may return to the world, enjoy life, and spy on their relatives, especially their wives who gave such false promises as to ransom their husbands' bodies with their own (254).²¹ With a final gesture of lamentation (cheek rested on palm), they conclude with a misogynous diatribe (257–72) which again seems to exploit a folk motif.²²

In the fourth section, the tone changes, as the poet (who has carefully avoided answering the same questions when put to him by the young men) asks them who they are, how and when they got down to Hades. Sorrowfully, one of the two young men replies, describing their homeland (*πατρίδα*) in liturgical but ambivalently hyperbolic terms as the land of plenty, but also of arrogance and deceit, where tournaments are stronger than armies;²³ their

21 The theme of a wife's ransom of her husband from death is attested in songs from the Pontos and Thrace (Ioannou 1970: 46–8); it is analysed by Saunier (1972: 341–2) and by M. Alexiou (1983: 88–90), who links it with the more widespread theme of 'death before marriage'. Saunier (1984: 303–4) points out that the prayers of the dead for the earth to shatter is another inversion of a folk motif, where it is the bereaved who make this prayer so they may behold their loved ones; see Pasagianis 1928: 28, no. 57.

22 In some laments, a dialogue between living and dead takes place in which the dead are made to accept their exclusion from former property: – 'Αρχοντες πού 'ναι τα γρόσια σας, πού 'ναι τα σκουτιά σας; / – Τα γρόσια μας τ' αφήκαμε κι άλλοι τα ξεφραντώνουν / και τα σκουτιά τ' αφήκαμε κι άλλα κορμιά τα λειώνουν (Pasagianis 1928: 13). The closest analogy to the *Apokorpos* is in a lament cited by N. Politis (1914: 228, no. 222), where a girl who wishes to return from Hades is told by other dead that her father is in the tavern drinking, her mother on the streets gossiping, her brothers and sisters out playing, her cousins out dancing, and that no one is thinking of her; her deep sigh from Hades causes all sites of such inappropriate activity on earth to burn up. The desire of the dead to maintain contact with the living world is also expressed in the Kleftic songs 'Dhimos's Tomb' and 'The Kleft's Tomb', where the dying hero asks for two windows to be left in his grave, so that he can keep a share in the upper world (A. Politis 1973: 87–90, nos. 38–9). The particular affront which Bergadhis's narrator inflicts on the dead is to confront them, as a living man, with the truth they already know and hate, as he says himself (160).

23 The sense of lines 289–302 is not always clear, although in my view stylistic arguments, such as the repetition of *πατρίδα* in three consecutive lines (289–91), are insufficient proof of textual corruption (van Gemert 1979: 31). Tentatively, I would translate: 'Learn, from our homeland we are of noble lineage, / and if you ask which homeland, we'll tell you next. / Our homeland is where wealth is: / they ate fish [only] as against nature and as a result of famine. / A wild place, impassable, a forest for birds; / there, conceit was shown and arrogance grew; / [a place] where the tournament vanquished the army of the world; / and where the better fortune of the world held sway. / It was the mirror of heaven, it was the ikon of the world / and as at dice it threw sixes by holding onto the one [i.e. by cheating: the one is on the reverse side of the six]. / It was the judgement of wisdom, the moon of sovereignty, / the source of riches and the steed of the army. / It was the seat opposite the kingdom of Rome, / vessel of audacity and duplicity. / In that [homeland] our father was first man in the City, / shining like the sun in the morning and like the moon in darkness' (thanks acknowledged to Wim Bakker for advice

father, first in the city, had married their only sister abroad, and now sends the two sons to visit her (possible allusion to the 'Song of the Dead Brother?').²⁴ There follows an account of the elaborate preparation of the ship (at twice the normal wage) and the festivities, with songs, instruments and traditional wishes for a safe return (310–35).²⁵ After this propitious start, a storm arises at midnight (a motif traditional to star-crossed lovers in romance) which sends them prematurely to Hades, where Charos greets them (364–8). Shortly afterwards, they are joined by their sister, who died at the same instant in childbirth, leaving their parents, despite wealth and position, to reap only death from their high hopes. Their news is exchanged by lively dialogue-within-dialogue, in the course of which the two brothers ask their sister to feel their wet clothes as evidence that their tale is true (401–2). The conversation is interrupted by a fierce guard who drags the girl away to 'pay Charos his due' (438), followed by five bat-like creatures who screech at them hideously.²⁶ As to the poet's question, 'When did all this happen?', they cannot say, since there is no sun in Hades and therefore no sense of time (447–52). As with the poet's dream, if there is intended to be any 'moral' in the young men's tale, such as the decline of the great and the wicked or the fate of overweening cities, it is subservient to the fairy-tale quality of the narrative, where literary, religious and popular elements are intertwined but placed in a different perspective and context.

In the fifth, concluding section, the poet announces his decision to leave. The young men summon up the rest of the dead to bring whatever letters and

on several points). Despite obscurities, the use of repetition and liturgical praise-forms to paint an ambivalent picture is clearly ironical. There has been much discussion of the 'real identity' of the homeland, usefully summarised by van Gemert 1979: 33–4, who supports the case for Constantinople with historical evidence on the terminology of her dispute with Rome; and by Lambakis 1982: 182, who prefers to regard the city as fictional. In my view, both are correct: all the indications are for the city as Constantinople, but the subtlety would have been lost if Bergadhis had been more explicit. In any case, 1453 as a *terminus ante quem* is indicated for the poem's date of composition, since there would have been little point in such ambivalence after the Fall of Constantinople to the Turks.

- 24 Saunier (1984: 308) points out that in addition to the thematic resemblances (sister married abroad is visited by brother(s)), the praise of the father in the poem (304) evokes that of the daughter in the folk ballad: [her mother] washed [the girl's] hair in darkness, combs it by moonlight, see N. Politis 1914: 138, nos. 92, 4–5. The allusion cannot be proved, but it is plausible in general terms, since the existence of the ballad theme at the time is indicated by the number and diffusion of its variants (Saunier 1979: 29–30). The dramatic potential of the juxtaposition is even greater if the city of which the father is 'first man' is, indeed, Constantinople: once a proud leader, his progeny die premature and obscure deaths. In the poem, as in the ballad, marriage of a daughter abroad leads to the extinction of the family line.
- 25 The details are compatible with those of a lament on the Siege of Rhodes (1480); see Herzfeld 1972. The ambiguity of the exaggerated preparation and prayers for a safe return from the voyage is heightened by their association with death and destruction.
- 26 The episode is considered a possible interpolation by van Gemert 1979: 31, on the grounds that demons are incompatible with Bergadhis's conception of Hades, and make no other appearance in the poem. At the same time, the prominence of demons in the iconography of Crete during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is attested by Madherakis 1981, and Garidis 1985: 29–30; while the theme of a girl in Hades who is obliged to serve Charos at a moment's notice is found in folk laments; see N. Politis: 1914: 227–8, nos. 220–1 (Lefkas, Zakynthos).

messages they may have for their relatives (another reversal of traditional belief, where it is the living who send messages to the dead *via* the latest comer, and from where it is known that 'no post returns');²⁷ a whole army (φουσσάτο) of dead draws near, no longer indiscriminate shades, but discernible as warlords, noblemen on foot and on horseback, orators, notaries with stools, loving couples on their marriage-beds, deacons and priests, all clamouring to give the poet their letters, some still wet with ink, others unsealed (465–80). The poet takes fright; it is now his turn to flee, and we are reminded of the initial chase by his observation that the dead make 'small rapid leaps like the hind's' (464). They shout after him:

‘Ἐπαρ’ πιττάκια, εκράζασιν, βάστα χαρτιά, λαλούσαν
και ως από λόγου μας γραφές αυτές βάστα μετ’ έσου
από τον Άδη τον πικρόν και βλέπε μη σου πέσου.
Λάλησε και από λόγου σου· ειπέ τους πονεμένους·
Τους εις τον Άδην έχετε από καιρόν θαμμένους,
τον ουρανόν στερεύουνται, τον ήλιον ου θωρούσιν
το χώμαν έχουν σάβανον, την γην στολήν φορούσιν.’ (484–90)

‘Take our letters,’ they cried, ‘hold on to our papers,
and carry these writings of ours with you
from bitter Hades – take care not to drop them.
Speak yourself, and tell the bereaved:
those you have buried in Hades in time past
are deprived of the heavens, behold not the sun,
they have the soil as shroud, the earth as raiment.’

Recent discussion has drawn attention to numerous ‘inconsistencies’ and ‘illogicalities’ in the closing section: (1) the reference to ‘daybreak’ (435) is inconsistent with lack of sun and time in Hades pointed out by the same speaker (449–52); (2) the apparent segregation of men and women in Hades (437–8) contradicts the appearance of loving couples (467, 472); (3) the bat-like demons (435–44) conflict with the general picture of ‘life’ in Hades elsewhere in the poem, and are more likely to be an interpolation from a religious source; (4) the parade of the dead with physical accoutrements (465–80) is inconsistent with the poet’s initial description of the dead as ‘black and cobwebby’, ‘shadow and outline’ (73–4); (5) the closing appeal of the dead (484–90) is loosely attached to the preceding verses, making a weak ending to the poem (S. Alexiou 1963a: 188–91, 201; van Gemert 1979: 30–2). Comparing dream endings in other poems, Byzantine and Cretan, van Gemert (1985) suggests obelising verses 435–44 and 465–80, reconstructing the closing line

27 Cf. Passow 1860: 264, no. 371. 4–10: Κλάψετε μάτια μ’, κλάψετε, να σούρετε ποτάμι, / να γένη λίμνη και γιαλός, να πάη στον κάτω κόσμο / για να βρεχούντ’ οι άβρεχοι, να πιουν οι διψασμένοι, / να βάλουν κ’ οι γραμματικοί νερό στο καλαμάρι / να γράψουνε τα βάσανα των πολυαγαπημένων, / όπου περνούν τον ποταμό και πίνουν το νερό του / και λησμονούν τα σπίτια τους και τ’ ορφανά παιδιά τους.

as:

I took fright on seeing them and turned before they reached me, and I woke up.

He may be correct: the textual parallels to dream endings are instructive, if not conclusive evidence for how Bergadhis wished to close (as we have seen, he was no slavish imitator). However, the objections to 'substantial dead' apply not only to lines 465–72, but also to the notion of the dead writing letters, of resting palms on cheeks and producing tears, let alone wearing wet clothes! And, without the graphic detail, the poet's shock (ἐφριξα 482) lacks the physical sensation (equivalent to fleas, sunrise, cock-crow, sensual pleasure in other dreams) which causes him to wake up. Do we have to be reminded that it is a dream? And is it not entirely consistent with a dream that what are initially perceived as insubstantial shades should at the end be revealed in full clarity? The textual problem of how we think Bergadhis intended to close may, in the end, be a matter of personal choice rather than of philological proof; but the device of ending with the appeal of the dead has the twin advantages of reversing popular tradition (where mourners reproach the departed dead with forgetting the joys of living), and, more important, of thereby converting the dead into macabre 'authors' of the poem, since its writing transmits their message.

Is there meant to be a 'moral', and if so, what is it? That the living forget the dead, rather than the other way round, is hardly a moral, since the poet takes obvious delight in reminding the dead of the joys of life, while the only punishment the living can expect for their behaviour is – death. And where does our poet get his just deserts, after getting into Hades *without a guide* for a sight-seeing trip as a result of over-indulging the pleasures of the senses? Perhaps he did not wake up, after all . . .

Whatever answer we wish to impose on this open-ended text, it seems that Bergadhis has played to the full with the literary, religious and popular texts familiar to him, not in order to preach a moral, but to question some established conventions, including the Christian concept of reward for the good and punishment for the wicked (contrast *Πένθος Θανάτου* and *Ρίμα Θρηνητική*), and equally the utility and sincerity of traditional beliefs and practices supposedly venerating the dead. If only the dead knew, the poet seems to be saying, what people on earth really *do* after the death of loved ones, rather than what they – or the church – profess to believe, then . . . perhaps they should enjoy life while they have it even more? And so the 'moral' is doubly reversed, while the only lesson to be learned from the tale of the two young men, timeless and anonymous as they are, is that virtue and innocence go unrewarded in the after-life.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that the poet's evident familiarity with popular tradition is in no way incompatible either with sophisticated literary treatment, or with a radical challenge to conventional assumptions, but fully in accordance with the kind of freedom exercised by other Cretan poets of the time.

iv. *The Sacrifice of Abraham: towards the integration of literary, religious and popular traditions?*

Recent scholarship may fall short of identifying the date and authorship of the *Sacrifice*, but it has demonstrated beyond doubt the poet's craftsmanship, both in his adaptation of the Italian model, Grotto's *Lo Isach*, and in his manipulation of recurrent words, motifs and images (Bakker 1978, 1988; Philippides 1986). It is from this premise that I wish to examine his exploitation of popular tradition: rather than enumerate, in folkloristic detail, the isolated parallels, I shall attempt to demonstrate that certain motifs and images, deeply rooted in Greek perceptions of death, are integral to the play's dramatic and poetic design.

As with the theme of forgetfulness in Bergadhis's *Apokopos*, the interrelated themes of *death as departure/journey* and *death as marriage* are so fundamental to the ritual and metaphorical process in Greek tradition that there is no question of their being invented by the poet (M. Alexiou 1974: 118–28, 189–93; 1983; Danforth 1982). All dead are prepared in their best clothes for burial as for an important journey, while the young and unmarried are not only ritually adorned in wedding attire, but addressed in laments in mediating metaphors of marriage and departure. Conversely, marriage for the departing bride is lamented as both separation from her kinsfolk, involving a metaphorical journey to foreign lands and as a form of death (Saunier 1968: I–II, IX–X; M. Alexiou and Dronke 1971; M. Alexiou 1974: 189–93). In the *Sacrifice*, the fact that Isaac is young and unmarried, his death believed imminent, but revealed independently to each of the characters, gives the poet considerable freedom and scope for metaphorical and literal levels of signification.

The Angel's *mandatum* (μαντάτο) is brutally lacking in metaphor:

Ανέβα το προθυμερά κι εις την κορφή σα φτάσεις,
σφάξε το τέκνο, κάψε το, και βλέπε μη δειλιάσεις. (17–18)

Climb it [*sc.* the mountain] willingly, and when you reach the peak,
slaughter the child, burn it, take care not to be a coward.

In response, Abraham visualises in detail the physical torment for himself that such an act will entail, closing his soliloquy with a prayer:

Κι εσύ, Θεέ, που τ' όρισες, δώσ' δύναμη κι εμένα
να κάμω τ' ανημπόρετα σήμερα μπορεμένα,
να τότε δω άθος να γενει, να μην αναδακρλώσω
και τη θυσία οπού ζητάς σωστή να σου τη δώσω. (91–4)

And you, God, who ordained it, grant strength to me
to make the impossible possible this day,
to see him become ashes and not to shed tears,
and to give to you as is proper the sacrifice you ask.

When forced to confide in Sarah, who unwittingly utters 'the truth' (Isaac's death) as the least imaginable cause of his distress – the impossible made

possible – he can only repeat the Angel’s words:

Κάτεχε πως αφέντης μας και πλάστης και Θεό μας
 θυσίαν απεθύμησε να κάμω τον υγιό μας·
 τον Ισαάκ μου ζήτηξε κι όρισε δίχως άλλο
 να τότε σφάξω κι εις πυρή φωτιά να τότε βάλω·
 και θέλει με τη χέρα μου όλα να τα τελειώσω
 κι απάνω σε ψηλό βουνί ευκαριστιά να δώσω. (155–60)

Know that our Master and Creator and our God
 has desired me to make a sacrifice of our son;
 he has asked me for Isaac and has ordained straightway
 that I slaughter him and set him on a burning fire.
 And he wishes that I conclude all things with my own hand
 and that I give thanks on a high mountain.

After a brief but passionate lament (171–90), Sarah falls into a dead faint (191–290), during which time the Angel’s voice is heard again by Abraham, urging him to act immediately, while Sarah is safely out of the way.²⁸ His obedient compliance and feverish activity are interrupted with her servants’ news that she has recovered:

Τρέξε να πας στ’ αφέντη μας, πέ του καλό μαντάτο,
 πως η κερά ν’εστάθηκεν απού τον άδη κάτω. (293–4)

Ada to Tamar

Run to our master, tell him good news,
 that our mistress has risen from Hades below.

The ‘good news’ (the impossible made possible, the resurrection of the dead, which foreshadows Isaac’s return from the mountain) is not welcomed by Abraham, now seriously obstructed in the fulfilment of his Master’s command by a further, and much longer, confrontation with Sarah (305–560), which delays the external action but deepens the significance of the sacrifice by means of Sarah’s imagery, traditional to the funeral lament.²⁹ In her confusion as she comes round, she asks:

28 There has been much discussion on the second appearance of the Angel, which is unique to this play (Bakker 1978: 23, 41 and this volume p. 199). It is clearly intentional on the dramatist’s part; but could it not be interpreted as an inner voice of Abraham’s own, or a ‘temptation dream’, as the servants later call the Angel’s first command (663–6)? The Angel had specifically told Abraham not to expect a second command (21); while the haste to depart ‘before Sarah gets up’ provides a solution to Abraham’s dilemma which appears to conflict with the dramatist’s perception of God’s will. It is possible that the Cretan poet’s ‘innovation’ at this point represents a rehandling of a tradition traceable back to Ephrem that God had explicitly instructed Abraham not to divulge news of the sacrifice to Sarah; see M. Alexiou 1989.

29 There are three laments in this section (345–66, 381–96 and 413–32), in which Sarah addresses Isaac as if almost oblivious of Abraham’s presence. Each has a tripartite structure, according to patterns traditional to the folk lament. In the first, after a series of three cries (όφου!) at set points in the line, she turns to impassioned questions, reproaching Isaac for his imminent desertion, and closing with a vow never to allow another child to speak to her. For analysis of these structural devices in the folk lament, see M. Alexiou 1974: 131–65, 182–4. Traditional

Εἰς ποῖαν οδὸν να πορπατεῖ το κανακάρικό μου,
καὶ τίς μου το ξενίτεψε το φῶς των ομματιῶ μου; (319–20)

On what road is my darling one walking,
and who has exiled for me the light of my eyes?

Understanding her words literally, as referring to the journey Isaac is about to undertake with his father, her servants seek to reassure her by telling her that Abraham is at her side, armed with a knife and issuing orders! Addressing her formally as his 'beloved wife' (γυνή 335), but also sternly as father to daughter (343), he bids her not to torment him with useless lamentation, but to endure patiently the sacrifice commanded by the Creator of his own gift and creation, their son. In reply, Sarah asks him whether he realises that he will lose his own light/sight by killing his son, then turns to the sleeping Isaac:

ὦφου, παιδί τσ' υπακοῆς, πού μέλλεις να στρατέψεις;
ἴ ποιόν τόπο σ' εκαλέσσασι να πας να ταξιδέψεις; (319–20)

Alas, child of obedience, where are you about to travel?
To what place have they invited you that you set out on this
journey?

The theme of the journey, already implied, refers here to his death, but it carries also the allusive suggestion of marriage.³⁰ Before she wakens him, she utters a blessing traditional to marriage and death, followed by a vow (to deny the fact of his birth) which can be paralleled almost word for word in a modern Cretan lament (and therefore probably derived from the play), and, more significantly, in modern Thracian wedding laments:³¹

Ἄγομε, νοικύρη μου, ἴπειδή ο Θεός το θέλει,
ἀμε καὶ νά ἴ η στράτα σας γάλα, δροσές καὶ μέλι·
ἀμε που να σε λυπηθεῖ ο Θεός, να σ' απακούσει,
γλυκειά φωνή εἰς το βουνί σήμερα να σου πούσι.
Κι ας τάξω, δεν το γέννησα, μηδ' εἶδα το ποτέ μου,
μά ἴαν κερὶν αφτούμενο εκράτουν κι ἴσβησέ μου. (403–8)

imagery includes the identification of light and sight and the idea of death as a journey (ibid. 187–92). The second lament is shorter, but also conforms to a known ritual type: contrast between past and present is balanced by contrast between self and addressee, and concluded by a more general call for a reversal of fate (ibid. 165–81). In her third lament, Sarah opens with an address to Isaac, again in images of light, life and sight, which Abraham's brutality will quench, and closes by drawing attention to her own future – blindness and darkness. Thus, the poet succeeds in giving conscious artistic expression to conventional structures and images in a way calculated to impress his audience, while dramatically he creates a new, internalised focalisation of the conflict which Abraham's haste had sought to bypass.

³⁰ The stereotyped question used by Sarah, *Where are you setting out for?* is found in laments for marriage and exile, as well as for death; see Danforth 1982: 85–115.

³¹ Denial of birth, signifying no return to former status and enforced recognition of a new 'foreign' relationship, operates on a deeper level than the verbal one, and finds expression in wedding laments sung by the bride, who complains as she takes leave of her natal family that she must now take a 'foreign mother' (ξένη μάνα); see Saunier 1968: 13ff.

Sarah to Abraham

Let us go, master of my house, since God wills it,
 go, let your path be milk, dew and honey;
 go, may God have mercy on you, listen to you,
 may they speak to you with sweet voice on the mountain today.
 And let me suppose I did not give it birth, never saw it,
 but was holding a lighted candle which was quenched for me.

Ας τάξω, δε σ' εβύζασα, δε σέ 'δα 'γω ποτέ μου,
 κ' έναν κεράκι αφτούμενο εβάστουν κ' ήσθησέ μου. (Megas 1954: 137)

Mother for son (death)

Let me assure myself I did not give it suck, never saw it,
 but was carrying a small candle and it was quenched for me.

Δός μου μάνα μ' το χέρι σου, δός μου και την ευχή σου,
 και πες πως δε μ' εγέννησες και δε μ' έχεις παιδί σου.
 (Thrace; Saunier 1968: chapter 2)

Daughter to mother (wedding)

Give me your hand, mother, give me your blessing too,
 and say you never gave me birth and have me not as your child.

Instead of hardening her heart, as instructed by Abraham (450), she announces her intention of dressing Isaac immaculately, as for a wedding in Hades:

Σωπαίνω κι άφης με, Αβραάμ, κ' εγώ να το ξυπνήσω,
 να το στολίσω το φτωχό και να τ' ομορφοντύσω.
 Κάλεσμα τόχου σήμερα και γάμον εις τον άδη,
 κι άφης να καταρδινιαστή, να μη το βρούν ψεγάδι. (451-4)

I am silent, so let me, Abraham, wake him up,
 adorn the poor thing and dress him finely.
 They have invited him today for a wedding in Hades,
 so let it be arranged well that no fault is found in him.

The dressing theme (our poet's innovation) provides the opportunity for further realistic touches throughout the rest of the scene, which are the more effective because they also operate on an allusive level of which the characters, but not the audience, are unaware. As Sarah brings out the festive clothes, she imagines them blood-stained at the end of the day, while it is now Abraham's turn to suggest that God may, in the end, prove merciful (480-2), a view which she has previously considered (405-6), but now rejects, citing a popular proverb (484).³² At this point Abraham takes up the 'death as marriage' theme as he entices the sleepy child with promises of a revelry (497-8: the verb

32 'Παρηγοριά των πελελώ δίδουν οπδχου γνώση.' A literal translation would be 'those who are wise give comfort to the crazed', taking των πελελώ as an objective genitive; or 'those who are wise give comfort of the crazed', taking it as possessive. The closest parallel I have been able to trace is a Cypriot proverb: Παρηγοριά στον άρρωστο ώσπου βγει η ψυχή του (Give comfort to the sick until his soul comes out). The sense is that of a 'Job's comforter'.

ξεφαντώνω, like *χαρά*, connotes 'marriage'). Isaac replies that he would rather get up at his normal school time (500). Once more, Abraham tries to reassure Sarah of possible comfort (*παρηγοριά*) on their return, a word used throughout Greek tradition for the funeral feast after burial (M. Alexiou 1974: 46); this time Sarah responds with an extended simile drawn not from popular laments but from the harsh reality of execution: she will wait for him with the same expectations as a prisoner waits to be led out by the hangman (505–12). Isaac, when fully awakened, becomes aware of his mother's agitation from the fact that she has not dressed him, and promises to bring home for her apples and scented branches, adding that if his schoolmaster asks for him, she is to say he will soon be home (539–40). In reply, Sarah gives him some juicy pears for the journey (543–6). Once more, there are possible resonances of popular tradition which give to this tender exchange additional poignancy: Isaac thinks he is going to a revelry (*ξεφάντωση*), but Sarah knows otherwise; unwittingly, he promises to bring her precisely those gifts (apples and scented branches) which are prominent among offerings given to the dead before their last journey to the grave (M. Alexiou 1974: 42–3). It is also worth noting that the theme of absence from school is central to the gruesome ballad 'The Mother Murderess', where the mother, surprised in adultery by her son's unexpected return from school, entices her son into the cellar with nuts and fruits, butchers him 'like a lamb', then seeks to allay her husband's fears for the missing son by sending him to the school to look for him:

– Μα πού 'ναι ο Κωσταντίνος μας και τ' αρχοντόπουλό μου;
– Ακόμα δεν εσκόλασε κι ακόμα δεν εφάνη.
Βιτσιά βαρεί του μαύρου του, στο δάσκαλο πααίνει·
– Γειά σου χαρά σου, δάσκαλε, κι εσείς οι μαθητάδες,
μα πού 'ναι ο Κωσταντίνος μας και τ' αρχοντόπουλό μου;
– Το Κωσταντίνο ασκόλασα να πάει να γιοματίσει,
να πάει να φάει και να πιεί και πίσω να γυρίσει·
και πίσω δεν εγύρισε να μάθει το κοντύλι.

(Ioannou 1970: 87, lines 28–35)

– But where is our Konstantinos and my little nobleman?
– He has not come home from school yet, he has not appeared.
He spurs on his horse, he goes to the teacher.
– Greetings, joy to you, teacher, and to you pupils,
but where is my Konstantinos and my little nobleman?
– I sent him home to go for his meal,
to go and eat and drink and then come back again,
but he has not returned to learn his lesson.

Neither of these allusions is susceptible of proof, yet both are possible and appropriate, and provide an example of the kind of resonances available to a poet sensitive to popular tradition.³³

33 On the antiquity of the ballad theme, see Saunier 1979: 155–8. In the play it is the father, not the mother, who will be guilty of enticement and murder of his son.

In the second 'act' (561–756), the three-day journey to the mountain-top can be seen both as stage action and as suggestive of the liminal state between life and death, unmarried and married status, Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. The significance is ritual as well as dramatic. When urged by his servants to disclose to them the cause of his distress, Abraham resorts to subterfuge:

Μαρτύροι θέλετε βρεθεί εις του παιδιού το γάμο. (624)

You will be witnesses at the wedding of my son.

Simban and Sofer, intelligent servants intent on dissuading him from what they regard as an unnatural and irrational sacrifice, ignore this, and the theme does not recur until the third act (757–1022), which takes place at the scene of sacrifice. Abraham hesitantly breaks the news to Isaac:

Γιε μου, πνοή τση ζήσης μου, μπλιο σου δε θες γιαγειρει,
επόδες τη τη μάννα σου και τον καημένο κύρη. (787–8)

My son, breath of my life, you will return no more,
you have seen for the last time your mother and wretched
father.

There is only one journey with no possible return, that of death. Isaac understands, and asks in reproach:

Τούτ' ήτον η ξεφάντωση, τούτο το περιβόλι,
οπού μ' εκάλειες να χαρώ την περασμένη σκόλη; (803–4)

Was this the revelry, this the garden
which you summoned me to enjoy this holiday?

This is followed by Isaac's realisation (840) that he is to be the lamb and his father Charos, a motif already introduced by Sarah (442). His questions before his final prayer reiterate, more insistently, the grim truth behind the promises of revelry and wedding:

Και πού με κράζεις, κύρη μου, νά 'ρθω να γονατίσω;
'ς ποιό γάμο, ζ' ποιά ξεφάντωση και θες να μην αργήσω; (873–4)

And where do you call me, my lord, to come and kneel?
to what wedding, what revelry, that you would have me not
delay?

But the poet does not stop there: as Isaac struggles to come to terms with his fate, he recalls the dressing theme in a new context, realising that his mother will never come to dress him again (905–6), then tells Abraham to assure her that he met Hades gladly (928 ολόχαρος – a play on Charos?), and finally asks that both Abraham and Sarah regard his friend Eliseek as their son in his place (935–6), something Sarah has already excluded in general terms as unacceptable (363–4). Isaac's plea has a precedent in Christ's appeal from the Cross to Mary to take John as son, and to John to take Mary as mother (John 19. 26–7: cf. folk versions of the Virgin's Lament cited in M. Alexiou 1975: 136–7),

where its function is to negate the separation caused by death; conversely, but by means of a parallel structure, in the modern wedding laments the bride is required to deny her kin in order to seal her marriage (Saunier 1968: Chapter 2). After the Angel's intervention, the dramatic tension is not released, as might be expected, but focussed on a new source of anxiety, the need to return as swiftly as possible to Sarah (1009–14).

The theme of joyful news (καλά μαντάτα, χαρά) pervades the last 'act' (1023–154); again, the metaphorical as well as literal levels of signification are fully exploited. On the dramatic level, haste is dictated by fears for Sarah's safety, and provides occasion for comic touches from the servants, as Ada's appeal to her weak legs to carry her swiftly is interrupted by the appearance of Sofer gesticulating and laughing in the distance (1051–64). Having reassured her all is well (χαρές), he leaves her to make her way back at her own pace and rushes on towards Sarah, now seated anxiously at the roadside waiting for news (1085–92). From this point onwards, the full ritual and religious significance of joyfulness becomes apparent: first Tamar, then Simban present Isaac to Sarah with congratulations appropriate to the occasions of birth and marriage:³⁴

– Κερά, καλώς το ἴδέκτηκες, το τέκνο συντροφιάζει
καλά μαντάτα μας βαστά, χαρές, χαρές φωνιάζει.

– Κερά, τα συχαρίκια μου, επά 'ναι το παιδί σου,
επά σιμά 'ναι η ζήση σου κι η παρηγόρησή σου. (1097–8, 1101–2)

Tamar

Mistress, may you receive him well, the child is with us
bearing good news, shouting joyfulness, joyfulness.

Simban

Mistress, my congratulations, here is your son,
here close by is your life and your consolation.

Not only has the impossible been made possible (return of dead from Hades 1106), but Sarah's exultation (1109–10) recalls Mary's at the nativity (e.g. Romanos *On the Nativity* II, 1–2; ed. Grosdidier de Matons 1964), while Abraham points explicitly to the resurrection of Christ, due to be celebrated on the morrow (1139–40). Death has become rebirth.

Before attempting to draw any conclusions on the dramatic and religious functions of the poet's exploitation of the traditional conflation of death, marriage and rebirth, I should like briefly to consider a selection of leitmotifs which run parallel to the theme. Among the lesser motifs in the play, those of hardness of heart and Abraham's internal conflict can be shown to be inter-linked both with each other and with the theme of death as marriage/journey. On hearing the Angel's command, one of Abraham's first questions (inter-

34 Cf. Foskolos's *Fortounatos*. V Scenes 3 and 5, where a marriage and the discovery of a lost child are acclaimed in similar terms.

rogative) is:

Όφου, με ποιαν αποκοτιά να μπει στην όρεξή μου,
με τίνος λιονταριού καρδιά να σφάξω το παιδί μου; (37–8)

Alas, with what daring can it enter my appetite,
with what heart of a lion can I slaughter my son?

In other words, he will need the heart of the fiercest of man's animal foes to fulfil the *mandatum*. Before breaking the news to Sarah, he enjoins her (subjunctive) to make her heart into stone so as to feel no pain as a result of her actions: να κάμης πέτρα την καρδιά, να μη σου δώσει πόνο ('You should make the heart stone so as to give you no pain' 137). Sarah agrees to comply ('to make my heart as a stone' 140); then, after her faint, Abraham prays for an iron heart (σιδερή καρδιά) to equip him for the ensuing war (212: κι ας είχα σιδερή καρδιά στον πόλεμον ποού 'μαι), as expressed in the determination ('to make my heart a lion's and my hand of iron' 268). He transfers the wish for an iron heart to Sarah when he commands her (imperative), before waking Isaac 'but make your heart iron and leave lamentations' (450), reiterated as 'And make your heart stone at our departure' (502) only after he has indicated the extent of his internal conflict, expressed in traditional terms of war and family strife strikingly similar to a modern Epirot bridal lament:

Πόνος παιδιού, πόνος γυνής με πολεμούν ομάδι·
τση Σάρρας θλίψη, δάκρυα με βάνουν εις τον άδη. (327–8)

Pain for the child, pain for the parent fight me at once
Sarah's tears and grief send me to Hades.

Κι εδώ πονώ κι εκεί πονώ, δεν ξέρω τί να κάμω·
εδώ πονώ τη μάνα μου κι εκεί την πεθερά μου·
εκεί πονώ τ' αιταίρι μου, εδώ τον αδερφό μου. (Saunier 1968: 5)

Bride

My pain is here, my pain is there, I know not what to do.
Here for my mother, there for my mother-in-law;
there for my partner, here for my brother.

It is Isaac who next observes the hardening process in his father: Πέ μου, τί παραπόνεση σκληβώνει την καρδιά σου; ('Tell me, what complaint hardens your heart?' 574), while his servant Sofer reminds him (695–702) that the cost of the battle will be 'heavy grief', repeating both Abraham's arguments (52) and Sarah's (431–2) as Abraham arms himself for the fray (752). In the following act, Abraham prays, alone with his son and God, for strength, acknowledging his human frailty:

Κύριε, δώσ' μου δύναμη σήμερο να νικήσω
γιατ' εις μεγάλο πόλεμο μπαίνω να πολεμήσω.
Μηδέ μου παραπονεθείς, αν κλαίω και θρηνούμαι·
τη σάρκα την αθρωπινή βαστώ, και τυραννούμαι. (779–82)

Lord, give me strength this day to conquer,
for I join forces in great battle.
Do not complain, though I weep and lament.
I bear human flesh, and am tormented.

It is as if Abraham, having summoned the courage to obey the Angel's command, now protests and replies to the initial injunction that he perform the deed 'without grief or complaint' (22): *amor carnis* and *amor Dei* are not so easily reconciled, especially as Isaac cries out to his father not to burn but bless him in final greeting:

Και βλόησέ μ' από καρδιάς και δώσ' μου την ευκή σου
κι ας κλάψουσι τα μάτια σου, κι ας με πονέσ' η ψή σου. (847–8)

Bless me from your heart and give me your prayer,
and let your eyes weep, and let your soul grieve for me.

The theme of caressing slaughter is repeated (889), opposing that of the iron heart, except that Isaac makes a last appeal to God to turn Abraham's heart into 'a stone of endurance' (910) at the moment of sacrifice.

The final reprieve is welcomed, as we have seen, as an occasion for joy as at birth, but also as the result of mortal combat (1038), God's judgement (1046), Abraham's victory (1070), the end of torment (1128); yet it is not perceived as a straightforward need to subjugate flesh to spirit: Abraham, left to his own devices (and to the Angel's second voice), would have repressed the pull of the flesh and bypassed the reactions of Sarah, servants and Isaac, succumbing to bestial audacity in subservience to the Master's will. It is only through the mediation of metaphor, expressed initially and consistently by Sarah, that God's ultimate and gentler will is accomplished. Metal as a symbol of obduracy, the lion as daring, have been proverbial of male behaviour throughout Greek tradition; while stone, signifying endurance and patience, has been commoner for the female.³⁵ Such imagery, although not exclusive to Greek,

35 Comparable imagery is also found in Grotto's play, but it is worth drawing attention to its independent history in Greek, in view of what Thomson calls the 'consistency and interdependence of Greek poets in their use of metaphor' (1966: II. 34). On proverbial allusions in Aeschylus's *Choephoroe* 925: *ἔοικα θρηνεῖν ζῶσα πρὸς τύμβον μάτην* (my pleas are vain – warm tears on a cold grave), he notes, with references (ibid. 237–8): 'Just as gold was the symbol of wealth, pure gold of the righteous man . . . , bronze of war, silver of mercenary service, so iron, which was proverbially the hardest of all metals . . . , stood for all that was obdurate or intractable in the heart of men.' Iron was frequently associated also with adamant and stone, although stone could be developed in a different direction as a symbol for the gravestone, the futility of weeping beside it and the need for endurance (Niobe). The elaboration of this cluster of images is traced from Homer through the tragedians, later rhetoricians and prose-writers, from whom it passed into Byzantine tradition and popular poetry. For the lion as a symbol of man's bestial cruelty, see King 1986: 18–28, 38–9. The point of these parallels is not to prove their exclusive 'Greekness', still less a conscious exploitation of ancient literature, but to suggest that metaphor, in the hands of an expert dramatist (as in the folk tradition), operates as an allusive system integrally related with wider themes rather than as extraneous decoration (see M. Alexiou 1974: 185–205, Danforth 1982: 78–29). And, since metaphor is inseparable from language, the means by which a metaphorical tradition is transmitted is unconsciously as well as consciously determined.

is consistently exploited on many levels, and gives a different perspective on Sarah's role in the conflict.³⁶

To sum up: the Cretan poet has infused his biblical subject with a new and (for his audience) disturbing dimension, that of ritual and belief surrounding marriage and death *within their own families*, thereby emphasising the contemporary relevance of Abraham's sacrifice. The dramatic functions of the poet's integration of popular elements with a biblical theme are: to extend the conflict from the plane of God *versus* Abraham to conflict within the whole household; by the resolution of that conflict through love and openness, rather than by force and deceit, to release tensions between divine and human, sacred and profane, male and female; by exploiting systematically, within an established religious context, popular metaphors of mediation between death, marriage and rebirth, to reassert the sacredness of folk ritual. In this sense, the play seems to reaffirm a distinctively eastern awareness of woman's power in the divine plan, which stands in marked contrast to her greater subservience in western sources, whether Catholic or Protestant. Popular tradition is exploited no less than by Bergadhis, despite the differences in poetic function, which may be as varied as it is among contemporary poets.³⁷

v. Some concluding comments

I have dwelt on two texts in some detail to suggest that use of popular elements can be integral to the conscious artistry of Cretan poetry and drama. In answer to the possible objection that these works are exceptional, and that the same degree of literary assimilation of popular tradition cannot be found in, for example, texts as divergent as the *Chapbook of the Donkey* and the plays of Chortatsis, let me try to indicate the lines which future research might take.

First, with regard to the considerable output, from the late fourteenth

36 I have dealt separately and at length with the possibility that the Cretan poet was working within a rich and distinctive eastern tradition of the sacrifice theme, extant in Greek, Syriac and Hebrew sources from the fourth century A.D. and extending (in some cases) to the sixteenth century, where Sarah's initial protests and lamentation, together with her eventual acquiescence and Isaac's willingness to be sacrificed, contribute essentially to the final homecoming, and that this tradition was transmitted in both oral and literary forms (M. Alexiou 1989). New material on which my argument is based includes two remarkable fifth-century Syriac *memre* (verse homilies), recently discovered, edited and translated by Brock (1986). It emerges that many 'new departures' in the Cretan play can be paralleled in earlier texts belonging to this eastern tradition; and that, if Sarah's role had been ignored in the West until Grotto's *Lo Isach*, in the East it had never ceased to attract attention.

37 For example, the ways in which poets from Palamas and Sikelianos to Seferis, Elytis and Ritsos exploit the folk tradition are different, but each shares a common perception of its potential contribution to a distinctively *Modern Greek* poetic identity, rooted in nineteenth-century nationalism and the emergence of folklore as a discipline, and therefore to some extent *conscious*. The same cannot be true for literature composed before the formation of Greece as a nation state, and it is this that gives the study of popular elements in Cretan Renaissance poetry and drama a special theoretical and historical significance beyond the interpretation of particular texts; see my concluding comments.

to mid-sixteenth centuries, of religious and moralising verse, legendary and fabulous tales, historical poems, we are speaking of a different *level* of literary composition from, say, the poems of Bergadhis, Sachlikis, Falieros, *The Shepherdess*, let alone the dramas of Chortatsis or Kornaros's *Erotokritos*. They lack the mark of artistic individuality, the attempt to break out of conventions, which, if defined as the hallmark of the Renaissance, has important antecedents in the twelfth century. At the same time, precisely because they represent a 'lower' level of literary production, they can act as valuable indicators for the wider public's 'horizon of expectations'. In consequence, the following questions need to be asked of these texts: how often were they reproduced, whether in manuscript form or as printed chapbooks, and for how long can their circulation be documented after the Fall of Crete in 1669? What evidence is provided *within the texts themselves*, for the implied audience, whether for oral recitation, dramatic performance or reader of text? What elements, not necessarily oral-formulaic, can be paralleled (a) in other poems, (b) in folk songs preserved since the nineteenth century? To what extent do these texts conform to or reinforce established traditions and genres? If answers could be given for some, at least, of these questions, greater insight might be gained into the complex oral-literary interaction during the late medieval and Renaissance periods. Findings might then be compared with, for example, evidence from Cyprus and Rhodes, which, while lesser in quantity and quality, nevertheless shows the same pattern of literacy and interaction with contemporary Italian and western trends.³⁸

Second, with more 'elevated' compositions, such as the *Shepherdess*, the plays of Chortatsis, Kornaros's *Erotokritos* (texts assertive of their individuality), what elements, formulaic or otherwise, can be found to compare or contrast with (a) contemporary and earlier texts, including classical, (b) modern folk tradition, (c) the Italian Renaissance, and how is their literary quality to be judged as a result? For example, Chortatsis's *Panoria*, a pastoral 'tragic-comedy', is indebted to no known model, while making extensive use of Italian works. Is the play, probably intended for the author's patron on the occasion of his sisters' wedding, a celebration of marriage, or does it subvert pastoral conventions, both by the careful manipulation of stock comic devices and verbal humour, and through the juxtaposition of the idealised young lovers and their realistically portrayed elders, who preach to the young an ideal to which they themselves do not attain? The *Katzourbos*, arguably the most urbane and literary of the comedies, contains the same comic ingredients of humour, obscenity and wisdom, underlining the hatred and rivalry in intrafamilial disputes (servants not excluded) which the poet of the *Sacrifice*

38 Texts worth analysing from this perspective include the sixteenth-century Cypriot love poems in a variety of verse forms, which incorporate popular motifs and images into the adaptation and translation from Italian models (ed. Siapkarakas-Pitsillides 1975) and the various manuscript collections of love poems often referred to as 'Rhodian' (ed. Hesselings and Pernot 1913).

manages to sublimate. As for the *Erofili*, Italian sources, precedents and parallels have been fully documented, whereas the extent to which the system of imagery, differently elaborated by and for each of the characters, draws on folk tradition, remains to be explored. The tragedy is constructed as point-counterpoint between deeper conflicts – power and love, wilfulness and vacillation, traditional values and change – resolved in the *Sacrifice* through Sarah's mediation and averted in Kornaros's *Erotokritos* by recourse to romance devices. The fact that it has 'come down' to us also as an orally transmitted tale, including the *Neronfili*, offers a rare opportunity to study the processes by which oral tradition appropriates and assimilates a literary work, and thereby of understanding its internal rules of operation.³⁹ But it is Kornaros's *Erotokritos* which has won the most universal popular appeal, sung in couplets on Crete and retold elsewhere as a folk-tale before its canonisation as a literary text, perhaps because it is such a perfect blend of sophisticated literary romance, proverbial wisdom and rich folk imagery. It can be defined, without literary evaluation, as the most formative text both as a literary and linguistic model and for the formation of modern Greek perceptions of self, occupying a position in later Greek literature comparable to that of Dante or Shakespeare, with the difference that, while relatively unknown outside Greece as a literary text, it has retained its own life in popular culture.

Third, and in conclusion: it may not be possible to determine precisely the extent to which Cretan poets and dramatists drew on their contemporary folk tradition, which can only be reconstructed hypothetically and in general terms; yet the study of their interaction is relevant to an appreciation of how the texts function, *per se* and as literary productions, as well as to our knowledge of other Renaissance literatures, where the contribution of popular culture cannot be so fully measured because it has been less richly preserved.

39 These brief comments are discussed and substantiated in M. Alexiou 1989. On the position of women in the society of Renaissance Crete, see Bancroft-Marcus 1983.

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Chapter I The Cretan Renaissance

1 General

Much material on Cretan history, society, literature, scholarship and art of the Venetian period is to be found in Volume x of the multi-volume *History of the Greek nation* (Vakalopoulos and others 1974). Of particular relevance are the sections by G. Ploumidhis (history, the Church, administration), S. Alexiou (society and economy, literature), N. Moschonas (the Greek community of Venice), I. Chasiotis (the Cretan War), A. Angelou (education) and M. Chatzidhakis (art). Another collected volume, Panagiotakis 1988, contains detailed studies by Chryssa Maltezou (history), N. Panagiotakis (education, music), S. Alexiou (literature), M. Borboudhakis (art), G. Amargianakis (Byzantine and traditional music) and N. Kondosopoulos (Cretan dialect).

A general survey of Cretan history and, to some extent, culture, from the Minoan civilisation to the Second World War, is offered by Dhetorakis 1986b, with useful bibliography. In English there is an outline history of Crete from 1204 to 1669 in Cheetham 1981: 274–301, with brief information on literature and the arts. Llewellyn Smith 1973 includes entertaining and informative chapters on Venetian Crete.

2 Intellectual life

Geanakoplos 1962 and 1976 offers studies of a number of Cretan scholars active in the West, and a more general survey of the interactions of Greek and western thought and culture. On the Cretan academies see Panagiotakis 1966, 1968 and 1974, Panagiotakis and Vincent 1970, and Bancroft-Marcus 1982/3. The history of the Greek Confraternity of Venice is surveyed by Manoussacas 1989: 321–33, with a wealth of bibliographical information; see also Geanakoplos 1962: 53–70. Vranoussis 1986 is a wide-ranging essay on intellectual contacts with the West after 1453, with particular reference to the circulation of manuscripts and printed books. The most recent comprehensive study of Greek printing is Koumariou, Dhroulia and Layton 1986, with ample documentation and bibliography. Follieri 1969 and L. Politis 1977 contain important research findings on the printing of early Modern Greek literary works.

3 Art

Cretan painting is not yet covered by any one comprehensive study, but Embiricos 1967 and Chatzidakis 1976 contain much basic information. The survey of Borboudhakis

in Panagiotakis 1988: 233–88 is poorly organised but well illustrated. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides discusses the market for Cretan icons in Acheimastou-Potamianou 1987: 51–3; this is an exhibition catalogue in which Cretan painting is well represented (with good bibliography pp. 201–5). Bibliographies on Cretan art will be found in Panagiotakis 1988: 288 and Dhetorakis 1986b: 503–4 (and on the Cretan churches and monasteries pp. 501–3). Important documents on El Greco are published by Constantoudaki 1975; Panagiotakis 1986 examines the Cretan period of El Greco's life and incidentally provides much information about the cultural and social background.

4 Literature

The only comprehensive studies of Cretan Renaissance literature are those of Embricos 1960 and Manousakas 1965, both now somewhat outdated by newer research. Sections on Cretan literature will be found in the 'standard' histories of Modern Greek literature: Dhimaras 1985, Vitti 1978, L. Politis 1973, 1978 and 1985. For a valuable study of Cretan literature in relation to its cultural and social context see S. Alexiou 1985a. Vitti 1974 relates Cretan literature to its European Renaissance context. Solomos 1973 offers a somewhat idiosyncratic view of Cretan drama, from the point of view of a director. For prose-writing the only substantial studies are to be found in Knös 1962 and Kakoulidhi 1970 (see also the literary histories of L. Politis and Vitti, and the Bibliographical guide to Chapter 3). On the reception of Cretan literature there are useful remarks in S. Alexiou 1985b: λζ'–μβ' (mainly on *Erotokritos*) and Tziouvas 1986: 220–8, but a detailed study is lacking. Bibliography on individual works and genres will be found in subsequent sections of the Bibliographical guide.

Chapter 2 The historical and social context

A useful guide to scholarly research on the history of Venetian Crete is provided by Manousakas 1971a, divided into various subject areas (political history, economy, church, art etc.). Much valuable information is to be found in documents preserved in the State Archives of Venice (*Senato Misti*, *Senato Mar*, *Maggior Consiglio*, *Consiglio dei X* and other series); of particular importance for Crete are the notarial archives (*Notai di Candia*) and the archive of the Duke of Candia, which was transferred to Venice in 1669 by Francesco Morosini. The greater part of this highly important material remains unpublished and unresearched.

Published source materials

The principal published collections of Cretan documents are Noiret 1892 (documents from the *Senato Misti* and *Senato Mar* series, published entire or in French summary); Gerland 1899 (a summary catalogue of the archive of the Duke of Candia with some representative documents published as an appendix); and Theotokis 1933 and 1936–7 (selected documents of the *Maggior Consiglio* and the Senate, some edited in their entirety, others in summary only). Documents concerning Crete are also included, in French summary, in the collections of summaries of the decisions of the Venetian Senate and other bodies published by Thiriet 1958–61 and 1966–71.

From the notarial archives, the acts of the notaries Pietro Scardon, Benvenuto de

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Brixano, Leonardo Marcello, Zaccaria de Fredo and Pietro Pizolo have been published by the *Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia* as follows: *Imbreviature di Pietro Scardon (1271)*, ed. A. Lombardo (Turin 1941); *Benvenuto de Brixano, notaio in Candia (1301-1302)*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca (Venice 1950); *Leonardo Marcello, notaio in Candia (1278-1281)*, ed. M. Chiaudano - A. Lombardo (Venice 1960), *Zaccaria de Fredo, notaio in Candia (1352-1357)*, ed. A. Lombardo (Venice 1968); *Pietro Pizolo, notaio in Candia (1300; 1304-1305)*, vol. 1-2, ed. S. Carbone (Venice 1978-85).

The same *Comitato* has also published various documents from the archive of the Duke of Candia: *Bandi 1313-29* (Ratti Vidulich 1965), *Quaternus Consiliorum 1340-50* (Ratti Vidulich 1976) and *Ducali e lettere ricevute 1358-60, 1401-5* (Thiriet 1978). From the same archive the Greek Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies at Venice has published, in French summary, the series *Sentenze Civili* and *Memoriali* (Santschi 1976b).

A variety of valuable material on the history of the island in the last centuries of Venetian rule is offered by the reports of the *Provveditori Generali* and other Venetian officials, published (original text with Greek translation) by Spanakis 1940-76 under the title *Monuments of Cretan History* (in Greek). Interesting information is also contained in the writings of the various travellers who visited Crete during the Venetian period (see Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1967). Finally, isolated documents of Cretan interest have been published by various scholars in the journal of the Greek Institute of Venice, *Θησαυρίσματα* 1-19 (1962-82). This periodical, in which a significant amount of archive material has been published, has done much to promote research on the history of the Greek lands under Venetian rule.

Secondary works

Indispensable for a general orientation on the subject are the studies of Xanthoudhidhis 1939a, which remains useful, and Thiriet 1975a (a work of synthesis covering the history of Venetian 'Romania' from the twelfth to the fifteenth century). On the short-lived occupation of Crete by the Genoese we have only the brief study of Gerola 1902. On the initial colonisation of Crete by the Venetians see the article by Cervellini 1908 and the book by Borsari 1963. Also of value is the monograph of Santschi 1976a, which examines the problems connected with the imposition of a feudal system, drawing on Venetian documents concerning the military settlements.

The Cretan uprisings have been studied by many scholars: see especially Thiriet 1956 (on the uprising of 1363); Manousakas 1960 (the revolt of Sifis Vlastos); Borsari 1963 (the Cretan revolts of the thirteenth century); and Papadhia-Lala 1983 (the revolt of Gadanoleo-Lyssogiorgi).

There are several illuminating studies of Cretan society: Xanthoudhidhis 1912; Mertzios 1961/2; S. Alexiou 1965 and 1985a; Panagiotakis 1968; and Papadhia-Lala 1985. For further useful evidence see Ploumidhis 1974a and Giannopoulos 1978 (where there is an interesting description of the condition of the peasantry in the sixteenth century). We lack, however, a comprehensive and systematic investigation of the many problems concerning the divisions of society, which remain unclear. On the trades and professions practised in Crete in the fourteenth century see Gasparis 1989.

On the important topic of religion and the relations between Orthodox and Catholics we possess a large number of publications. The following are noteworthy: Tea

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1912/13; Tomadhakis 1947, 1951b, 1959b and 1969/70; Hofmann 1952; Manousakas 1961a; Tsirpanlis 1967a and 1967b; Fedalto 1973–8: I, 312–52; Chaireti 1974; and Thiriet 1966 and 1981.

For several excellent studies of agricultural development, the ports, towns and the countryside we are indebted to Thiriet: 1961/2 (on the town of Candia and its commercial importance in the first half of the fifteenth century), 1967 (on the condition of the peasantry and on agriculture in the Greek lands ruled by Venice), 1972 (on the Cretan towns and countryside in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and 1974 (on Rethymno and its hinterland in the fifteenth century). The work of Zachariadou 1983 is also significant for our knowledge of the relations between Crete and the Emirates of Aydin and Mentеше.

Finally, we may note the contributions of Jacoby 1976 and Topping 1976 to the study of the symbiosis of Greeks and foreigners. Also of importance is the article of Laiou 1982, which uses the evidence of notarial documents to examine the economic activities of Greeks and their role in urban society in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Chapter 3 Literary antecedents

I General studies

(a) *General*: Manousakas 1971a provides a comprehensive review of research on Venetian Crete up to that date, much of it relevant to the literary developments discussed in this chapter. The same author's study of Cretan literature (1965) remains fundamental for basic information on the texts; but on matters of chronology, see now Bakker and van Gemert 1983, where the latest results of research into the dating of Cretan texts, particularly of the earlier period, are summarised in tabular form.

(b) *Histories of literature*: L. Politis 1985, in German, is reliable and up-to-date, although the English edition of the same work (1973) remains useful. Dhimiras (most recent edition 1985) is the 'classic' history of Modern Greek literature, or rather of ideas, but the chapter on Cretan literature is short and rather weak. Works that concentrate on the earlier period of Modern Greek literature include Manousakas 1965 (see above), Beck 1971 and, in Greek, 1988 (a reliable handbook for the period to c. 1500), and Knös 1962 (now rather antiquated). Embiricos 1960, in French, is concerned exclusively with Cretan Renaissance literature and remains useful for its translations and the author's personal evaluations of the texts. S. Alexiou 1974a provides a good survey of the early period of Cretan literature, but on matters of chronology it is now superseded. Among specialist studies we may mention Morgan 1960, which remains very inspiring as to the Italian 'sources and inspiration' of Cretan literature, but must be used with great care; Lambakis 1982 offers a bibliographically very useful and reliable survey of the various texts dealing with descents to the Underworld.

(c) *Anthologies and collections of texts*: Wagner 1874 is an important collection of medieval Greek texts, which includes the first editions of many Cretan works. S. Alexiou 1969a is the best anthology of exclusively Cretan texts. The best anthology of

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Modern Greek poetry is L. Politis 1975–7 (with later revised editions), the first two volumes of which contain several Cretan texts of the earlier period.

(d) *Popular culture*: Papadhakis 1976 is a doctoral dissertation on popular culture in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Crete, using literary texts as its principal evidence; it partially replaces the now outdated study of Koukoules 1940, but is too restricted.

(e) *Folk poetry*: among collections of Cretan folk poetry we may mention Jeannaraki 1876 and Kriaris 1920, both rich in material but now outdated. Dhedorakis 1976 contains much interesting material, while Lioudhaki 1971 (= 1936) is the best collection of two-line Cretan folk poems, the so-called *mandinadhes*.

(f) *Venetian editions*: the pioneering bibliographical work of Emile Legrand is still indispensable: for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Legrand 1885–1906, for the seventeenth century Legrand 1894–1903 and for the eighteenth century, up to 1790, Legrand 1918–28. The supplements and corrections which have so far been published (usually in periodical articles) are incorporated in the short-title catalogue of Th.I. Papadhopoulos 1984 and 1986. Koumariou, Dhroulia and Layton 1986 is a lavishly illustrated and well-documented monograph on Greek printing from 1476 to 1830. A list of sixteenth-century printings of Greek vernacular texts, complete at the time of compilation, will be found in L. Politis 1977.

2 Editions and studies of individual texts

(a) Stefanos Sachlikis

Editions: Wagner 1874 includes all Sachlikis's works except the *Praise of Pothotsoutsounia* and the *Autobiography*. However, this attempt to produce a critical edition from two totally different witnesses (MSS P and M) must be regarded as a failure. Papadimitriou 1896 (in Russian) seems to offer a reliable text; it is based on MS N and includes all Sachlikis's poems except the *Poem on Friends* and *The Tournament of the Whores*. From the same manuscript, the *Advice to Frantziskis* has been edited by Vitti 1960, while the same poem was edited from a now lost transcript of MS P by Legrand 1871. On this fourth MS see now Panajotakis 1987: 262–77; Panagiotakis 1987: 45–58. Professor Panagiotakis is preparing a synoptic edition of all three extant manuscripts. His two recent articles deal with the transmission of Sachlikis's works, especially the manuscript tradition, and include a synoptic edition of *The Tournament of the Whores* (Panajotakis 1987: 238–9; Panagiotakis 1987: 24–5).

Studies: Manousakas 1965: 19–21 gives basic information and references to the older secondary literature. On Sachlikis's life and his literary models see now van Gemert 1980a, where the main documents relating to the poet and his age are published. Morgan 1960: 203–52 offers some interesting, but in many respects exploded, ideas on Sachlikis's work. Also of relevance is the section on Francesco di Vannozzo and his works in Folena 1980: 495–512.

(b) Leonardhos Dellaportas

Editions: some small fragments of his work have been edited in S. Alexiou 1969a: 27–9 and L. Politis 1975–7: 1, 156–8. M.I. Manousakas is preparing an edition. The one poem published in its entirety, the *Ypommistikon*, is edited by Manousakas 1972/3.

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Studies: for a short study of the poet and his works see Manussacas 1966. Manousakas and van Gemert 1987 publish documents relating to his life. On misogynous literature in the late medieval Greek world (including Crete) see Morgan 1960: 221–36.

(c) Marinos Falieros

Editions: the *Poem of Comfort* is edited, on the basis of three MSS, by Bakker and van Gemert 1972. Critical editions of the two love dreams have been produced by van Gemert 1973 (doctoral dissertation with introduction in Dutch) and 1980b (revised introduction in Greek, with complete *index verborum*). The didactic poem *Advice of a Father to his Son* is edited by Bakker and van Gemert 1977a; for the Dhefaranas poem which plagiarises this work, see Karaiskakis 1934. Mystakidhis 1922 provides an unreliable edition of the *Lamentation of the Virgin*, based on a transcript of the Venetian edition of 1544 made by a pupil of Martin Crusius.

Studies: Bakker and van Gemert 1972: 74–102 and 1977a: 3–62; van Gemert 1973: 1–186 and 1980b: 7–96. For biographical data on Falieros, with the texts of the most relevant documents, see van Gemert 1977: 7–70. On Leonardo Giustinian and his work see Folena 1980: 304–25.

(d) Bergadhis, *Apokopos*

Editions: S. Alexiou 1963a is a good edition with introduction, notes and glossary; it is based mainly on the Venetian edition of 1534, a facsimile of which is published by Kechagioglou 1982 with a valuable introduction. In the light of recent critical studies and observations (see below) a new edition is needed.

Studies: the older literature is summarised by Manousakas 1965: 16–17. Van Gemert 1979 proposes an earlier dating and the deletion of some passages; van Gemert 1985 deals with the interpolations at the end of the poem. Kechagioglou 1984 proposes a structuralist approach and a thoroughly new interpretation. Also relevant are Lambakis 1982: 163–70 and Saunier 1984.

(e) Ioannis Pikatoros, *Mournful Rhyme on the bitter and insatiable Hades*

Edition: Kriaras 1940a, with a short introduction, notes and glossary.

Studies: Lambakis 1982: 171–4. On the oral tradition of some parts of the work see Mavromatis 1978 and 1979a.

(f) Other Underworld poems

Speech of the dead King

Edition: Manousakas 1963a, based on the sole MS. The editor is doubtful about the authenticity of the Epilogue (vv. 89–137). Lambakis 1982: 170–1 rejects the lines.

Rhyme concerning Death

Edition: Kakoulidhi 1967: 133–7.

The Poem of Tzamblakos

Edition: Gedheon 1883; reprinted with some additional errors by Zoras 1956.

Studies: Lambakis 1982: 174–5; Theocharidhis 1959 deals with the Northern Greek family of the Tzamblakones. For eighteenth-century paintings of this kind see Hetherington 1974: 83, 110.

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Alphabet-rhyme

Edition: Kakoulidhi 1964: 97–101 edits from just one MS of the thirteen that have been preserved.

Study: Kakoulidhi 1964: 50–4.

The Cretan *Apocalypse of the Virgin*

Edition: Dawkins 1948 edits from one MS only, presumably not a definitive edition.

Studies: Dawkins 1930; Lambakis 1982: 46–50 and 71–2, n. 92.

Old and New Testament

Studies: the poem remains unedited, but Megas 1930 quotes some 222 lines in his brief study. Lambakis 1982: 193–214 discusses the similarity with Pikatoros's work and considers the *Old and New Testament* to be anterior. His only argument is its better organisation.

(g) Religious prose and verse

Nathanail/Nilos Bertos

Editions: Schartau 1974 offers an inadequate edition of the fourteen sermons, based on four of the fifteen known MSS. Aposkiti-Stammler 1974 gives an unreliable edition (from one manuscript) of three poems *Στιχοπλοκία εις τουτονί τον έβδομον αιώνα* (*Versification on this the seventh Age*) (1395 vv.), *Περί μοναχών και χηρεμένων* (*On Monks and Widowers*) (232 vv.) and *Περί χηρευομένων* (*On those who are widowed*) (112 vv.), and a prose text *Περί ιερέων και πνευματικών* (*On Priests and Confessors*).

Study: Panagiotakis 1984, especially pp. 101–4, on the manuscript tradition of Bertos's works.

Georgios Choumnos

Editions: Marshall 1925, based on the British Museum MS only; Megas 1975 uses all five MSS, but neither the text nor the introduction are of an acceptable standard (see the review of G. Kechagioglou in *BZ* 71 (1978) 70–4).

Studies: Manousakas 1951 (on the identification of the poet); Megas 1975: 3–38.

Ioannis Plousiadhinos (= Joseph, Bishop of Methoni)

Edition: Vasileiou 1980 (based on Plousiadhinos's autograph and one copy).

Studies: on the person of Plousiadhinos: Manoussacas 1959, but more detailed research needs to be undertaken in the archives of Venice and Rome. On the 'Laments of the Virgin': Bouvier 1976.

Andreas Sklentzas

Edition: Kakoulidhi 1967 provides a reliable edition of the one MS, but the commentary is rather thin.

Studies: Panagiotakis 1984 discusses the MS, its scribes and the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Crete. Van Gemert 1988 considers the person of Sklentzas and parallels with Western European prayer-books. Further research is required on the originality of five of his seven poems.

Moscholeos Theologitis

Edition: Legrand 1880: 321–30, based on the sole surviving Venetian edition of 1626.

Studies: Panagiotakis 1979 (see especially pp. 125–6) concludes that the Cretan poet Nikolaos Papadhopoulos was probably responsible for the first edition (dated after

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November 1568). Van Gemert 1982/3 examines the poet's name and the language and style of the poem.

Manolis Sklavos, *The Catastrophe of Crete*

Edition: Bouboulidhis 1955a, from the sole MS; the edition falls short of the required standard (see the review by E. Kriaras in *Ελληνικά* 14 (1956) 494–502).

(h) Other works

Rimadha of Belisarios

Edition: Bakker and van Gemert 1988 give a synoptic edition of the four extant versions, three unrhymed ones and the *Rimadha*.

Studies: Bakker and van Gemert 1988: introduction. On the way the unrhymed text was turned into rhyme: Bakker 1987.

Imberios

Editions: Legrand 1880, based on the Venetian edition of 1638. The unrhymed version is edited by Kriaras 1955: 215–49.

Study: Jeffreys 1974, on the manuscript tradition.

Apollonios

Editions: there is no modern critical edition. A facsimile of the Venetian edition of 1553 is given by Kechagioglou 1982: 93–150. The unrhymed version was edited by Wagner 1874: 112–23.

Studies: Kechagioglou 1982, 1986a and 1988: 459–61; Manousakas 1965: 25, nn. 1–4.

Chapbook of the Donkey

Editions: L. Alexiou 1955; see the observations by L. Politis 1958: 305–13 and S. Alexiou 1959: 289–95. The unrhymed version is edited by Wagner 1874: 112–23. P. Vasileiou is preparing a new edition of both versions.

The Cat and the Mice

Edition: Banescu 1935, from the one extant MS.

Study: Manousakas 1965: 23 and n. 2.

Dialogue between Man and Charos (Death)

Edition: Kakoulidhi 1964: 89–96, nos. 10 (from the Venetian edition of 1586, three MSS and oral tradition) and 11 (one MS).

Study: Kakoulidhi 1964: 36–42.

Rhyme of a Girl and a Boy

Editions: Pernot 1931: 72–87 (based on two MSS, with French translation); L. Politis 1975–7: II, 109–13 (containing the greater part of the poem).

Studies: Manousakas 1965: 24; Pernot 1931: 106–12 (especially on its oral tradition). For its attribution to Falieros see van Gemert 1980b: 23.

Chapter 4 The pastoral mode

General

Information and bibliography on the pastoral mode (both poetry and drama) in European literature can be found in Clubb 1965, Della Valle 1973, Ettin 1984, Greg

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1959, Herrick 1962 (particularly useful for Chortatsis's Italian sources) and Levin 1969. Forster 1969 is useful on the Petrarchistic style.

General information on the Cretan pastoral works can be found in the histories of Modern Greek literature by Dhimaras 1985, Knös 1962, Vitti 1978 and L. Politis 1973, 1978, in the introduction to Modern Greek literary studies by Mastrodimitris 1983, and in the overviews of Cretan literature by Embiricos 1960, Manousakas 1965 and Puchner 1980a. For bibliography see Manousakas 1964b and Kaklamanis 1981.

A general comparison between *Panoria*, *The Shepherdess* and their Italian counterparts is offered by L. Politis 1966 and 1969. The topic of Arcadianism in the Greek theatre is studied in a broader chronological perspective by Grammatas 1987.

The staging of pastoral plays is discussed in De' Sommi 1968 and Vince 1984, and with reference to Crete in Bancroft-Marcus 1978 and Puchner 1983d.

Panoria

1 *Manuscripts and editions*

There are now three known manuscripts:

- (a) *N*, part of the Nanian codex in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (= Marc. gr. xi 19, colloc. 1394, fos. 147-77);
- (b) *A* in the National Library, Athens (= Athen. graec. 1978; fos. 5-78); and
- (c) *D* in the possession of Father Marios Dhapergolos at the Church of the Akathistos, Aixoni (Glyfadha). This manuscript was first made known by Oikonomou 1963. It confirms that the play's author was Georgios Chortatsis (which was already suspected, although *N* and *A* do not name him), and that its original title was *Panoria*, not *Gyparis*. The first known printed edition is that of Sathas 1879: 177-282, based on manuscript *N* and entitled *Gyparis*; see the critique by Xanthoudhidhis 1921: 75-83.

The critical edition by Kriaras 1940b, still under the title *Gyparis*, uses both *N* and *A*. Its introduction deals at length with the sources (with emphasis on Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*), giving useful quotations from them. For reviews, see Manousakas 1964b: 38-9 (item 166) and Sachinis 1972/3, answered by Kriaras 1975a.

Kriaras's revised edition 1975b uses *D* as well as *N* and *A*, and presents the play as a work of Georgios Chortatsis, with the title *Panoria*. It includes a useful brief introduction and notes, and a useful glossary. For reviews, see Kaklamanis 1981: 65-6 and S. Alexiou 1976b.

An English translation (based on Sathas 1879) was published by Marshall 1929.

2 *Studies*

Much of the scholarly work published so far consists of textual studies and reviews; see Xanthoudhidhis 1921, Kriaras 1936a, 1936b, 1964a, 1975a, 1976, Panagiotakis 1954, S. Alexiou 1954b, 1975b, 1976b, Karagianni 1970, Sachinis 1972/3, Pidhonia 1972, 1977 (a monograph on learnedisms in Chortatsis), Bancroft-Marcus 1978, 1980a, 1980b, Tsopanakis 1979 and Vasileiou 1988.

3 *On Georgios Chortatsis*

Almost no biographical information was available on Chortatsis before the important work by Evangelatos 1970a. Although the identification of Calergi's secretary with the

playwright remains a hypothesis (Puchner 1980a: 95 n. 3), it is an extremely plausible and attractive one; see also Bancroft-Marcus 1978 and 1980a.

The Faithful Shepherd

This work is transmitted in a single manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (= Marc. gr. IX 24, colloc. 1472), in a seriously corrupt text with lacunae. It has been published only once, by P. Joannou 1962, under the title *Ο Πιστικός Βοσκός*. The text of the edition is flawed by serious omissions and errors of transcription and interpretation; the Introduction (pp. 1–28) is inadequate and the glossary (pp. 259–308) sketchy. For reviews and observations see Kaklamanis 1981: 66–7, Schreiner 1964, Kriaras 1966 and Joannou 1967. A new edition is being prepared by the author of this chapter. (Extracts presented here are taken from this edition.)

Comparatively little research has been published on this play; see however Papatriandafyllou-Theodoridhi 1971 and 1978, Hohlweg 1980 and Bancroft-Marcus 1981. For the Italian original, English-speaking readers can consult the elegant edition by Whitfield 1976, which gives in parallel the 1647 translation by Fanshawe. A second Greek translation of Guarini's play was published by the Zakynthian M. Soummakis in 1658; see the article by Kriaras 1964b.

L'Amorosa Fede

Copies of the first edition (Pandimo 1620) are held in the British Library, the Marciana etc. No other editions are known.

The work is discussed at some length by Sathas 1879: μ'–νε'. See also Kriaras 1940b: 79–87, 110 and Stergellis 1970: 99–103, 143–4. Documentation on the play's author, Antonio Pandimo, has been made known by Vincent 1967: 56, 70, 72, 74–7 and 1968: 136, 174 and by Manousakas 1971b.

The Shepherdess

The first edition of 1627 was reprinted as early as 1638, and reprints continued to appear at frequent intervals over the next two centuries. There have been numerous modern scholarly editions – the earlier ones are discussed by S. Alexiou 1963b: ιδ'–κ'.

The standard critical edition is that of Alexiou 1963b; it is based on the 1627 text, and includes an informative introduction, notes and glossary. The text is reprinted in Alexiou 1971b, with an abbreviated introduction and glossary. A third edition by Alexiou 1975a (with collaborators) includes a translation and introduction etc. in Italian.

Although the 1627 editor mentioned the existence of a large number of manuscripts, only one seventeenth-century manuscript is now known. This was copied by the Chiot scholar Leo Allatius, probably in Rome and around 1650, from a source independent of the printed text; it is presented and published in Papadhopoulos 1966.

Modern oral versions of *The Shepherdess* are listed in Dhoulgerakis 1956; the list could no doubt now be extended.

In addition to the Italian version mentioned above, *The Shepherdess* has been translated into Latin (in 1698, see S. Alexiou 1963b: νβ'), and English (Marshall 1929).

Chapter 5 Comedy

General

Introductions to Cretan comedy can be found in the histories of Modern Greek literature by L. Politis 1973, Dhimaras 1985 and Vitti 1978, and in Mastrodhimitris 1983: 98–100. The more detailed survey in Manousakas 1965: 36–40 is still useful, although naturally it needs updating. Pontani 1980 is also still worth reading. Solomos 1973: 120–46 provides useful comments from a quite different point of view, that of a director. Extracts with introductory notes are included in the anthologies by Bouboulidhis 1955c, L. Politis 1975–7, S. Alexiou 1969a and Mastrodhimitris 1984.

Critical bibliography on the comedies is available in the valuable surveys by Manousakas 1964b and Kaklamanis 1981. Extremely useful too is the critical review of research on Georgios Chortatsis and his works by Bancroft-Marcus 1980a, which deals not only with *Katzourbos* but also with *Stathis*, since this comedy is also attributed to Chortatsis by some scholars.

There is a comparative dearth of overall studies on Cretan comedy and of systematic research on specific aspects. For general information on the individual plays, readers of Greek should consult the introductions to the critical editions by L. Politis 1964, Martini 1976 and Vincent 1980. On the language of the comedies there is little apart from the introductions and glossaries in individual editions, the frequently misleading study by Nourney 1961 on Latin and Italian elements, and the thesis by Pidhonia 1977 on learned elements in the language of Chortatsis. On stage-craft there is valuable material in Puchner 1983d. For the relation of Cretan comedy in general to Italian literature see L. Politis 1964: μβ'–νγ', Pecoraro 1969/70, Vincent 1972, and the references in the Connections section of Chapter 5. On the prologues of Cretan comedy (especially *Fortounatos*), see Pecoraro 1972.

Katzourbos

Katzourbos is preserved in a single manuscript, now in the National Library at Athens (L. Politis 1964: ια'–ιζ', οδ'–πα'). Its editor, Professor Politis, believed that this copy was made on the island of Kefallonia during the Cretan War (1645–69). Between the five acts of *Katzourbos* it provides a set of four mythological Interludes, discussed in Chapter 7. The manuscript also contains a text of *Panoria*, again filled out with Interludes, the first three of which are actually extracts from *Katzourbos* (II 1–92, IV 269–316 and IV 115–268).

The manuscript has been known since 1879, but the play remained unpublished until 1964. The critical edition by Politis which appeared in that year is a valuable study resource, with its comprehensive introduction, notes and glossary.

The author is not named in the manuscript. His identity has been deduced from a passage in Bounialis's *Dispute between Kastro and Rethymno*, written near the end of the Cretan War, in which the town of Rethymno speaks of her 'son' Georgios Chortatsis, famed for his poetry (L. Politis 1964: κ'–κδ'):

κι έκαμε την Πανώριαν του με ζαχαρένια χειίλη,
μαζί με τον Κατζάραπον, την άξιαν Ερωφίλη.

and he made his Panoria with sugared lips,
together with Katzarapos (and) the worthy Erofilii.

The name Katzarapos is almost identical to that of Nikolos's servant in the comedy, and it is fairly certain that Bounialis is referring to this play. His replacement of the name Katzourbos by Katzarapos may have been a lapse of memory, understandable with two such similar words. It is quite likely, though, that *Katzarapos* was the original title, as Evangelatos has suggested (1970b: 38), for Nikolos's servant delivers the final farewell to the audience and in general has a more prominent role than the Captain's man Katzourbos.

On these names see L. Politis 1964: κδ' and ρ', and Symeonidhis 1977. 'Katzourbos' is attested much later as a surname (derived perhaps from a nickname) in a document from Zakynthos dated 1818, which refers to a certain Spiro Cazzurbo (see Kolyva-Karaleka 1982: 44).

The dating of Chortatsis's comedy has been based on the assumption that the dramatic 'present' in the comedies is close to the time of composition. This is demonstrably true of *Fortounatos*, and seems very likely for the other two. In *Katzourbos* the most precise clues are given by Koustoulieris, who at one point proposes to go to Moldavia and become a comrade-in-arms of 'the renowned Michael' (του πανετού Μιχάλη) in his struggle against the Turks (II 16–18) – a reference to Prince Michael the Brave who was at war with the Sultan between 1595 and 1601. A little later Chortatsis's braggart threatens to pluck out the beard of Sultan Mehmet – clearly a reference to Mehmed IV who reigned from 1595 to 1603 (see L. Politis 1964: ιζ'–ιθ'). The references to Michael and Mehmet would both seem rather out of place if the relevant personages were already dead.

Research on *Katzourbos*'s Italian antecedents has been published by Vincent 1966 and Pecoraro 1969/70. Dhedhousi 1968 has made an interesting comparison between *Katzourbos* and Latin comedy. Some of the results of Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus's extensive research on Chortatsis's works have been published in her review article (1980a).

Stathis

The surviving manuscript of *Stathis* is a copy made in the Ionian Islands in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century by a certain Tzanetos Avouris (Martini 1976: 62). Avouris also copied or acquired a number of other Cretan texts, which were eventually bound together with other works in a single volume. This codex later came into the possession of the Nani family and is now held in the Marcian Library at Venice.

The play was first published by Sathas in his *Κρητικόν Θέατρον* (1879). Unfortunately he did not solve the numerous problems caused by errors and lacunae in the manuscript. Of the various textual studies published after Sathas's edition, the most important are those of Manousakas 1954 and S. Alexiou 1954a, which established the original shape of the plot. An improved edition was published anonymously in the periodical *Θέατρο* in 1962 (vol. 1 no. 4, pp. 48–63). The critical edition by Lidia Martini, published in 1976, provides a systematically established text and useful philological analysis, notes and glossary. However, the peculiar problems of *Stathis* have by no means all been solved. See further Vasileiou 1979, Pecoraro 1979 and Kriaras 1980–1. The programme of the 1988 production of *Stathis* by the Δημοτικό Περιφερειακό Θέατρο Κρήτης includes a complete text of the play as adapted for performance by the producer Spyros Evangelatos.

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The date of *Stathis* is uncertain. Evangelatos 1974: 87–8 has shown that it cannot have been written before 1585, since this is the date of publication of a work on etiquette by Scipione Romei alluded to in the comedy. A later limit is implied if Pecoraro 1974 is correct – as he seems to be – in identifying Sforza degli Oddi's comedy *La Prigione d'Amore* (1590) as one of the sources of *Stathis*. A date of around 1590 for the action of the play seems to be implied by the fact that the character Stathis left his home in Cyprus after the Ottoman conquest (1570–1), when his son Chrysis (Chrysippos) was still a baby (Evangelatos 1974: 89–92).

Another much-discussed clue is Gavrilis's remark that on arriving at Kastro by ship he was allowed to enter the town immediately, without being delayed by quarantine regulations. Evangelatos 1974: 92–3 argues that this could not have happened during the plague years of 1592–5, nor, probably, for some time after, since precautions were still being taken as late as 1602; he therefore places *Stathis* before 1592. By contrast Martini 1976: 29–30 suggests that Gavrilis's remark proves that the lack of quarantine problems was a *novelty*, implying a date *after* 1602. However, these arguments are not conclusive unless we can be sure that quarantine regulations were causing delays throughout the ten-year period. Also, we should not take for granted that the fictive date corresponds *precisely* to the time of writing, and that such details exactly reflect contemporary conditions.

At any rate, in view of the *terminus post quem* provided by Oddi's play and the apparent lack of later sources or allusions, it seems safe to assume that *Stathis* was written some time between 1585 and about, say, 1610.

The manuscript of *Stathis* gives no indication of the author's name. The remark by Folas at the end of the play, that the words of the comedy are δικά του κι όχι ξένα (his own and no-one else's) probably means that the writer intended to assign himself this role in a performance. It need not mean that the playwright himself was named or nicknamed Folas, as Sathas assumed (1879: κ'), although that possibility cannot be ruled out: there is the famous parallel of Angelo Beolco (c. 1496–1542), the Paduan actor-playwright known as Ruzante, from a peasant character in his plays which he made famous by his acting.

Some scholars are now arguing that *Stathis* should be attributed to Georgios Chortatsis (Evangelatos 1973: 93, Martini 1976: 32–4). The grounds, apart from chronology, are similarities with *Katzourbos* in language, style, phraseology, the treatment of stock characters and the author's education and cultural background as evidenced by the plays. Unfortunately, detailed stylistic analyses are not available, and some of the similarities invoked are fairly general. At this level it would be just as easy to point out *differences* between the plays. And where similarities do exist, we have to consider whether they could not be due to direct imitation, to common sources, or simply to a common 'recipe'. Vasileiou 1979: 532–3 argues against Martini's case for the attribution, referring among other things to an unpublished stylometric study of his own.

Fortounatos

The single known manuscript of *Fortounatos* has long been recognised as an authorial copy because of the numerous revisions made on it in the original hand (Vincent 1980: ve'–ξ'). This has been confirmed by comparison with autograph documents by Markos Antonios Foskolos – including his will – discovered in the Venetian archives. As the

only known autograph of a Cretan work, the *Fortounatos* manuscript is a unique document for linguistic and cultural history.

After Foskolos's death his manuscript was taken to the Ionian Islands. There it came into the possession of Tzanetos Avouris, who incorporated it into his collection of Cretan literary manuscripts. Avouris made minor revisions to the text, perhaps with some kind of production in mind. Eventually, as we have seen, the whole collection was acquired by the Marcian Library.

A practical edition with brief introduction and glossary was published by Xanthoudhidhis in 1922. The critical edition by Vincent 1980 is based on a fresh study of the manuscript, and includes a more extensive introduction, notes and glossary (see also review by Puchner 1983e.) The theatre programme prepared by Evangelatos 1985b contains the complete text as abridged and adapted for the Αμφι-Θέατρο production of that year.

Earlier studies generally dated Foskolos's comedy to the last years of the Siege of Kastro (Xanthoudhidhis 1922, Morgan 1954). However, we now know that the author died early in 1662 (Vincent 1968). Moreover, it is possible to decipher the date which he appended to the Dedication: 1655 *Iugliu istas* 8 (July 8th 1655), even though this was later deleted, probably by the author himself (Vincent 1968: 121 n. 11). Presumably the comedy was written before this date, though a few revisions were perhaps made afterwards. The latest specific event referred to in the comedy is the Spanish siege of Portolongone in 1650 (II 23–50).

Chapter 6 Tragedy

Bibliographies

Composite bibliographies on the Cretan tragedies will be found in: Manousakas 1953a, Manousakas 1964b (*Erofilii* nos. 55–89, *King Rodholinos* nos. 90–106, *Zinon* nos. 107–15), Vincent 1973a and Kaklamanis 1981 (*Erofilii* nos. 43–63, *King Rodholinos* nos. 64–6, *Zinon* nos. 67–8). For a bibliography of seventeenth-century Venetian printed editions of Cretan works see Dhaskalopoulos 1976–7.

Erofilii

(a) *Manuscripts and early printed editions*: the *editio princeps* of 1637 (reprinted 1648) was transliterated by Matthaïos Kigalas from a MS in Latin characters, now lost. The text, with emendations of its editor, is bad. The second Venetian edition of 1676 (and several times reprinted), edited by Amvrosios Gradhenigos and printed by Glykys (see Veloudis 1974), is based on a better MS in Cretan dialect and contains four interludes (see Legrand 1918–28: I, no. 345, II, no. 775; Ginis and Mexas 1939–57: I, no. 292, III, no. 10056). Cod. graec. 590 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich is a corrupt seventeenth-century copy originating from Kefallonia; it was used by Bursian 1870. The Historical and Ethnographical Institute of Athens possesses a MS (Θ 62 (16)) in Latin characters found in 1873 by E. Legrand in the library of the Veronese nobleman Giulio Saibante (see Pecoraro 1978 and, for a description, Jeffreys 1977: 260f.). It is in East Cretan dialect with four interludes, but lacks the prologue and dedication, I 1–379 and V 110–end. It was edited, in Latin characters, by Legrand 1881: 335–99. The

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University of Birmingham MS (13/i/17) is written in the hand of M.A. Foskolos (Vincent 1970a, 1970b). In East Cretan dialect, it offers the best text of the play, with detailed stage-directions. For a survey of the MSS and early printed editions see Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 14–15.

(b) *Editions*: Sathas 1879: 283–467, based on the 1772 reprint of the Gradhenigos edition; Legrand 1881: 335–99 (see above); Veis 1926, based on Sathas 1879, with notes on the variant readings of the Legrand MS. Xanthoudhidhis 1928 is based on Gradhenigos and Sathas, but also Legrand and the Munich MS (but not Kigalas or the then unknown Birmingham MS – for criticisms see Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 19). His introduction (pp. γ'–μζ') is the first systematic and scholarly study of the play. Solomos 1961a (second impression 1966) reprints the Sathas text with his own introduction. Solomos 1969 (reprinted 1971) offers the text with variants from the Xanthoudhidhis edition. Detziortzio 1976 is a reprint of the Xanthoudhidhis edition without the introduction and commentary. On the editions since 1965 see Kaklamanis 1981: 56, nos. 43–5 and for editions to 1879 see Ladhogianni-Tzoufi 1982: 27f. Extracts of the tragedy, with brief introductions, are also reproduced in anthologies: L. Politis 1975–7: III, 19–58; S. Alexiou 1969a: 106–19; Bouboulidhis n.d.: 35ff.; Mastrodimitris 1984: II, 206–42. The new edition of S. Alexiou and Aposkiti 1988 takes into account readings of the Birmingham MS and offers a much improved text; but it is not a *scholarly*, critical edition with apparatus criticus, which remains a desideratum. There is an English translation by Marshall 1929: 101–233, with an introduction (now out of date in many respects) by J. Mavrogordato.

(c) *Studies*: the first phase of research concentrated on mainly philological studies, dealing with matters like authorship, dating, identification of the Italian model and linguistic and metrical analysis (see Puchner 1978: 77). Bursian 1870 identified the Italian model, which he regarded as being of higher quality (this opinion corrected by Embricos 1956). Sathas's (1879) edition of four Cretan works was the starting-point for a series of philological studies: Teza 1895, Krumbacher 1897: 872, Psichari 1889: 52–7, 259–86, Hatzidakis 1892: 274, Dheinakis 1912 (on the Italian model), Dheinakis 1923 (corrections). This phase ended with the systematic introductions of Veis 1926 and Xanthoudhidhis 1928 (see also the encyclopaedia articles of L. Politis 1929 and Xanthoudhidhis 1929).

The second phase of research encompassed mainly textual corrections and linguistic matters: Kriaras 1935 (pp. 239–51 corrections and notes on interpretation, 252–65 on the choric odes and 266–81 on the aphorisms), L. Politis 1952a (on the first two odes and other passages), S. Alexiou 1954a and 1954b (discussed by L. Politis 1958 with a reply by S. Alexiou 1959). Textual corrections are also offered by S. Alexiou 1969b and Papatriandafyllou-Theodoridhi 1972.

After the Second World War interest develops in the *Nachleben* of the *Erofilii* in Greek folk culture (see references and discussion in the text) and in theatrical aspects of the play. Xyngopoulos 1956 assumes the existence of an illuminated MS of the tragedy, now lost. Embricos 1956 underlines the higher aesthetic quality of *Erofilii* in comparison with its Italian model. Manousakas 1956a and 1962c publishes new documents on the Chortatsis family (see also Tsikritsi-Katsanaki 1976: 305–8 and Evangelatos 1970). L. Politis 1959 discusses the personality of the poet and Kriaras 1969a analyses the extent of his education. Manousakas 1959 identifies a new source (Tasso's *Il Re*

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Torrismondo) and sets a new *terminus post quem* of 1587. Zoras 1972 repeats Sathas's (1879: οα') hypothesis that the *Erofilis* is dependent on the *Fedra* of Francesco Bozza. Other influences are examined by Pecoraro 1969 (G.G. Trissino's *Sofonisba* and Tasso's *Aminta*), Spadaro 1975 (the *Orlando Furioso*) and Bancroft-Marcus 1978 and 1980a: 29 (Giraldi's *Altile*). The dissertation of Pidhonia 1977 investigates archaisms. Problems of staging and reception are the concern of L. Politis 1961, Solomos 1961b (see also Solomos 1961a: 7–19 and 1973: 39–60), Puchner 1978 (stage-directions, the prologue, the set), Bancroft-Marcus 1978: 176ff. (stage-craft) and 183ff. (staging) and 1980a: 32ff., Puchner 1983d: 43–6 (scenic space). Dramaturgical analyses will be found in Puchner 1981a (especially on entrance and exit formulas), 1981b: 64–5 (configuration and tension structure), 1983b (plot structure and development, metrics, rhyme etc., and the *Nachleben* of the tragedy in oral tradition), 1983c (eavesdropping scenes, the simultaneous presence on stage of characters who fail to notice one another) and 1986 (soliloquies, monologues and dialogue structure). Summaries of the current state of research will be found in Manousakas 1965: 31–4, Bancroft-Marcus 1980a: 34ff. ('Special desiderata for future research') and Puchner 1980a: 95f. and 1982: 214ff. See also the standard histories of Modern Greek literature and specialist works on Cretan literature: Knös 1962: 235ff., Lavagnini 1959: 80ff., 1969: 93ff., Embiricos 1960: 141ff., Valsa 1960: 118–44, Voutieridhis 1966 (and 1976): 180ff., L. Politis 1973: 54ff., 1978: 68f., Dhimaras 1985: 76ff., Vittì 1978: 88ff. etc.

King Rodholinos

(a) *Text*: only one copy of the Venetian *editio princeps* of 1647 is known to have survived. Mentioned by Brandis 1842: III, 84, it was acquired by Joannes Gennadius in Frankfurt in 1910 and is now in the Gennadius Library in Athens. No MS has been found.

(b) *Editions*: Xanthoudhidhis was preparing a critical edition in 1927 but died before he could complete it (Manousakas 1976: xiv). Extracts from the tragedy were published in a critical edition by Manousakas 1953b (three short passages) and 1962a (Acts III and IV, on the occasion of the play's première at the National Theatre in Athens). Manousakas 1976 provides a complete facsimile of the 1647 edition, with a foreword by F.R. Walton (pp. ix–xii) and introduction by M.I. Manousakas (pp. xiii–xxvi). A complete critical edition has now been provided by Aposkiti 1987, with brief notes and extensive glossary, permitting a new aesthetic evaluation of the play.

(c) *Studies*: the existence of the Gennadius exemplar soon stimulated basic research: Lowe 1935 (description and analysis), Voutieridhis 1933: 218–23 (identification of the Italian model), Laskaris 1935a and Laskaris 1935b. Camariano 1936 summarises the findings of Lowe and Voutieridhis (reply by Laskaris 1938a and Laskaris 1938b). After the Second World War a new wave of investigation begins: Valsas 1952 (unsatisfactory edition of dedication, address to readers and prologue), Manousakas 1953b (edition of brief extracts), Manousakas 1955 (on the Italian model). The 1962 première is the starting-point for aesthetic criticism (Chourmouziotis 1962, Lekatsas 1962, Solomos 1962 (see also 1973: 61–82)) and further research (Manousakas 1962a: 9–12, 1962b). Manousakas 1963c publishes documents of 1618, 1619 and 1639 relating to the play-

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wright. Since the research summary of Manousakas 1965: 45f. few studies have appeared: Dokos 1971 publishes documents concerning Troilos from 1633–4; Manousakas 1976: xiii–xxvi reviews the results of research on the play (see also Puchner 1980a: 97f. and Papageorgiou 1979); a new dramaturgical analysis is offered by Puchner 1981a: *passim*, 1983c: 79, 83f. and 1986: *passim*. The bibliography up to 1979 is described and analysed by Manousakas 1964b: 90–106 and Kaklamanis 1981: nos. 64–6.

Zinon

(a) *Text*: Sathas 1879: 1–102, based on the Venice MS (Marc. graec. cl. xi, cod. xix, collocazione 1394, fos. 117r–145v) with many errors and distortions. A critical edition is still a desideratum.

(b) *Studies*: Sathas 1878 and 1879 identifies the Latin model, assumes a *terminus post quem* of 1648, and classifies the tragedy as a ‘mechanical imitation’ (1879: 18), a verdict which is still repeated (Solomos 1973: 83–101). Sathas assumes that the play was performed in Kastro, but this is mere conjecture (see Puchner 1978: 81). Xanthoudhidhis 1921: 66–71 shares Sathas’s opinion and elaborates the theory that ‘Καλομάτης ο Φραγγιάς’ was the author of the play. Manoussacas 1952 firmly rejects this theory and provides basic information about Simons and his exemplary tragedy (Sommervogel 1896: col. 1214–15, Zeidler 1891: 34–119). Corrections to the text of Sathas are offered by Xanthoudhidhis 1921, Dheinakis 1923, Kourmoulis 1933, Kriaras 1936a, and – later – S. Alexiou 1954b: 264–6, Panagiotakis 1955 and Martini 1978. For a systematic comparison with the Latin model see Bouboulidhis 1953 (also dealing with folkloric elements in the Greek text) and, especially, 1955b (see the critique of Panagiotakis 1955). Panagiotakis (1955: 311) proposes a new *terminus post quem* of 1634, when a performance of the Latin play was given in Rome. S. Alexiou 1954b assumes that the Greek version was made from an Italian translation of the Latin original. Romas 1964 (see especially p. 107) discovers in the prologue some dedicatory verses addressed to Minio, *Proveditor General* in Zakynthos from 1681 to 1683, but dismisses them as a later addition, although they suggest a performance in Zakynthos at this time. Evangelatos 1968 dates this performance to January or February 1683 and maintains that the play was written in 1682 by a Kefallonian Catholic. Martini 1978 finds flaws in the argument, which cannot be regarded as proved. Puchner 1980c gives new insights into the Latin model: it was one of the best known Jesuit dramatic works of the seventeenth century, written and performed at St Omer in 1631, and played many times at the Collegium Anglorum Societatis Jesu in Rome. There is also a German version (*Pelagius*, 1642) and an English one (*The Imperial Tragedy*, 1669). Puchner 1983/4 summarises the problems which *Zinon* raises. As yet there is no sound evidence to exclude the tragedy from the corpus of Cretan theatre (*pace* Vitti 1978: 95f. and L. Politis 1978: 69).

Chapter 7 Interludes

Editions

Interludes 1–4 (*Erofilii*): Xanthoudhidhis 1928: 34–41, 61–7, 84–9, 119–23; see Εισαγωγή κ’.

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Interludes 5–9: Manousakas 1947. Good study and edition of five interludes from the Athenian codex of *Panoria* and *Katzourbos*.

Interludes 10–12: three unpublished mythological interludes from the Dhapergolas manuscript of *Panoria*. Professor Manousakas kindly allowed me to use his transcription in 1970. I have since received a copy of the MS from Father Marios Dhapergolas. Interludes 13–14 (*Stathis*): Martini 1976 gives the text of the two interludes on pp. 95–7 and 116–21, with notes on pp. 163 and 177–8.

Interludes 15–18 (*Fortounatos*): Vincent 1980, four interludes on pp. 108–34, with notes on pp. 188–93. See also Εισαγωγή μη'–νε'.

Studies

Bursian 1870 identified the source of the *Erofilii* interludes as Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Interludes 1–4 were translated by Marshall 1929; Mavrogordato's introduction (ibid. 33–43) summarises them with some critical remarks. Manousakas 1947 showed that Tasso's epic also inspired interlude 5, and identified Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the indirect source of interludes 6–8. Bancroft-Marcus 1977 demonstrated the direct source of the latter to be Dell'Anguillara's *Metamorfofi d'Ovidio* and performed comparative studies. Pecoraro 1972 compared spectacle in Italian and Cretan interludes, identified the direct source of interludes 15 and 16 as Giambattista Marino's *Adone*, and drew attention to the structural similarities of the *moresca* combats in interludes 17–18 and 3–4. Solomos 1973 commented on the Cretan interludes from a producer's viewpoint. Puchner 1978 made interesting observations on the stage-directions. Varopoulou 1984 recorded a performance of selected Cretan interludes at the Theatre Averoff, Athens, by the troupe Θεατρική Συντεχνία. Manousakas gave an excellent communication on the Cretan interludes at the Sixth Cretological Conference in 1986, an early version of which I saw in 1970. Interludes as a genre have received little scholarly attention, but see Vince 1984: Chapter VI, and the references in n. 1 of this chapter.

Chapter 8 Religious drama

I Religious drama

(a) Religious drama of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance

The following studies will be found useful by the reader who wishes to explore the medieval and Renaissance background: Blackburn 1971, Craig 1955, Herford 1886, Le Hir 1974, Kinghorn 1968, Prosser 1961 and Reckling 1962.

(b) Mystery plays on the theme of Abraham's sacrifice

For editions and studies of individual mystery plays see the following: de Bartholomaeis 1943: II, 237–55 (Feo Belcari, *Rappresentazione di Abramo ed Isaac*); Toulmon Smith 1884 (the Brome play); Deimling 1892: Part I, 72ff. (the Chester play); Brotanek 1899 (the Dublin play); Halliwell 1841: no. v (the Hegge play); de Rothschild 1879: II, 18–79 (the *Sacrifice d'Abraham* and the *Sacrifice de Abraham à huit personnages*); England and Pollard 1897: no. 4 (the Wakefield play); Purvis 1962: no. 10 (the York play).

(c) Biblical plays on the theme of Abraham's sacrifice

The relevant plays with date and place of original publication are as follows: Théodore de Bèze, *Abraham sacrificiant, Tragédie francoise, Genève 1550*, edited by J.G. Fick

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(Geneva 1874); Luigi Grotto, *Lo Isach. Rappresentatione nova* (Venice 1586, 1605, Orvieto 1607, Venice 1612); Andreas Lucas, *Eine schöne und tröstliche Comoedia, in Reimweis gestellt, wie Abraham seinen Son Isaac, aus Gottes befehl, zum Brandopffer opffern solte* (Leipzig 1551); Hans Sachs, *Tragedia, mit neun Person zu agirn. Die Opfferung Isaac: Das dritt und letzt Buch. Sehr herrliche schöne Tragedi, Comedi und Schimpfspil* (Nurnberg 1561); Mavro Vetranić, *Posvetilište Abramovo* (in *Pjesme*, 2 vols. (Zagreb 1871/2)). For the plays of Schopper (1551), Frey (1560), Rollenhagen (1569), Stymmel (1579), Pontan (1594), Schlue (1606) and Schmucker (1629) see Reckling 1962.

(d) Religious 'drama' in Crete before the Sacrifice of Abraham

The text of Marinos Falieros's *Lament on the Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord* is edited by Mystakidhis 1922. There is a study by Manousakas 1956b and further information will be found in van Gemert 1980b: 21–2. The anonymous *Supplications at the holy passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and lament of the holy Virgin* is edited by Manousakas and Parlangei 1954.

2 The theological and homiletic background

(a) Theological treatises on Abraham's sacrifice

Relevant information will be found in: Kierkegaard 1985, Völker 1931, Lerch 1950, Miner 1977 and Green 1975.

(b) Homilies and other religious writing on Abraham's sacrifice

The following texts are relevant: from the *Patrologia Graeca*: 'Ephrem' (56.537–42), Chrysostom (50.737–46), Gregory of Nyssa (46.568–73), Pseudo-Chrysostom (56.546–54); for Origen's *In Genesim Homilia VIII* see GCS 29; the liturgical poetry of Romanos is edited by Maas and Trypanis (1963); the *Salvation of Sinners*, by the Cretan monk Agapios Landhos (first edition Venice 1641, reprinted 1851: Second Book, Chapter 1); another Cretan, Meletios Pigas (1535–1602), wrote sermons in simple demotic language (see Valetas 1958: 116–17, 197–201). For some more, recently discovered, texts see M. Alexiou 1990.

3 The Cretan Sacrifice of Abraham

(a) Authorship and dating

The first scholar to express the opinion that the *Errotokritos* and the *Sacrifice of Abraham* are the work of the same poet was Xanthoudhidhis 1915: cxviii–cxxx. Further correspondences between the two works were pointed out by Zoras 1937. Kriaras 1938: 135–44, 153–4 adds to the list of similarities and accepts as probable the arguments for common authorship; he regards the *Errotokritos* as the earlier work. This view is accepted by Baud-Bovy 1938a. Megas, in his first critical edition 1943: 35–43, rejects the idea of common authorship but accepts that the *Errotokritos* is the earlier work. Zoras 1945: 95–108 regards the *Sacrifice* as anterior to the *Errotokritos*. Kriaras 1947 refutes the arguments of Megas (against a common authorship) and of Zoras (on the relative dating) and accepts 1635 (the date at the end of the Marcian manuscript) as the actual date of composition. L. Politis 1952b: 19–23, and 1960 accepts the case for a common poet and regards the *Sacrifice* as the earlier work, written in 1635. In his

second edition, Megas 1954: 67–79 accepts, with some hesitation, the identification of the poets of the two works; his view of the anteriority of *Eratokritos* is now expressed more reservedly. Finally, Kriaras 1960 insists that the *Eratokritos* was composed first, but is more cautious about the identification of the two poets.

(b) *The textual tradition*

There are two manuscripts: Marcianus graecus cl. xi, cod. 19 (1394), fos. 210r–31r, and the so-called Kollyva manuscript, which is a copy of an early edition. Both are described and analysed by Megas 1935. The Venetian editions are discussed by Megas 1943: 11–27 and used as the primary source in his first critical edition, while the manuscript is treated as of secondary importance. Zoras 1945 finds similarities between *Lo Isach* and verses of the *Sacrifice* which occur only in the Marcian manuscript. Against Zoras's view, Megas 1946 insists that the verses found only in the manuscript are spurious. Bakker 1978/9 studies the relationships between the Venetian editions and proposes which of these should be used for reconstituting the text. A full evaluation of the manuscript and editions is given by Bakker 1990; he also analyses why and by whom the various alterations were introduced.

(c) *Editions of the Sacrifice of Abraham*

The first extant printed edition was published in Venice in 1713 by Andonios Vortolis (or Antonio Bortoli). However, the existence of an earlier edition of 1696 is confirmed by a Turkish translation made from it in 1783 by the priest Papa-Andreas of Kayseri, and printed in Greek letters ('*Karamanlidhika*') in 1800 and 1844; see further Megas 1954: 139–48, Salaville 1955 and under (h) below. For the numerous re-editions of the Greek text see Bakker 1978/9.

The first modern critical edition to make use of the manuscript is by Megas 1943; see (b) above. Megas revised his edition, with extensive introduction, brief commentary and glossary, in 1954; his text is based on the Marcian manuscript and the edition of 1713 (as well as later Venetian editions and the Kollyva manuscript, which derives from a printed edition). Tsantsanoglou 1971 provides an edition without apparatus criticus, based on the text of Megas 1954, with some alterations resulting from critical reviews of that edition; it also contains an introduction by A. Terzakis and a glossary. Also based on Megas is the edition of Tomadhakis 1971, with introduction and glossary, but the text differs from Megas's at many points with more importance attached to the readings of the manuscript. A new critical edition is being prepared by Bakker and van Gemert.

(d) *The model of the Sacrifice of Abraham*

The first to identify Luigi Grotto's *Lo Isach* as the model of the *Sacrifice* was Mavrogordato 1928. Zoras 1945 makes a detailed comparison of the two plays. Bakker 1975 points out that the Cretan poet made a conscious effort to give his play a different structure from Grotto's, but notes that there are also indications that the *Sacrifice* was conceived as a play in five acts. In a detailed study Bakker 1978 compares the *Sacrifice* with its direct model *Lo Isach*, with respect not only to lexical content, but also to plot, structure, characterisation and ideology. He further determines its position in relation to mystery plays and biblical plays on the same subject from Western Europe, to homilies of the Church fathers on Abraham and to Romanos's *kontakion*.

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(e) *Relationship between Romanos and the Sacrifice of Abraham*

Baud-Bovy 1938b points out correspondences between passages of the Cretan play and a *kontakion* of Romanos, but rejects the idea of direct influence. Bakker 1978: 102–3 and Tsantzaridou 1984 are of the same opinion.

(f) *Analytical studies*

Psichari 1930 offers a short aesthetic analysis, now partly out of date, but showing evidence of a remarkable degree of understanding. Megas discusses many aspects of the play in his introduction 1954; see especially the sections on the thematic content (pp. 79–81), the structure (pp. 82–7) and the characters (pp. 87–95). Embiricos 1960: 172–88 is full of admiration for the work's poetic qualities but critical of it as drama. Angelos Terzakis provides a brief but judicious introduction (in Tsantsanoglou 1971: 9–33). Solomos's study 1973: 24–38 is interesting, particularly as he sees the play from the angle of a theatrical director, but also full of unfortunate errors. Sachinis 1980 emphasises two aspects of the play: the human element (the *Sacrifice* is not a religious drama but a 'family drama') and the narrative element (was the *Sacrifice* actually written for the stage?). Bakker 1975 and 1978 comments on the unique qualities of the work as a play, comparing it with its direct model and other works on the same theme. Hadas 1980 examines the *Sacrifice* as a Jewish subject realised in Greek drama. Bakker (1988, drawing on material from Philippides 1986) offers a first approach to the poetics of the play through the study of the use of the word *mandato*.

(g) *The later popularity of the play*

On oral transformations of the *Sacrifice* in Crete and elsewhere, see D. Oikonomidhis 1953: 112–14, Megas 1954: 134–8, Protopapa 1960 and Puchner 1976. Bakker 1978/9 provides a list of thirty-seven known editions of the play in the form of popular chapbooks from 1696 to 1874.

(h) *Translations*

The Cretan play was translated into Serbian by V. Rakić (1750–1818) (see Vukadinović 1936; for a French résumé of this article see Lascaris 1938c) and into Turkish by Papa-Andreas (see under 3(c) above) and again by another priest, Papa-Sofronios, from Sitti (printed in 1836). On the Turkish translations see Salaville and Dalleggio 1958: 108–11 (no. 30), 236–9 (no. 81) and 280–1 (no. 106) and Bakker 1978/9: 25ff. In this century translations have been made into Dutch (Hesseling 1919b), French (Valsa 1924) and English (Marshall 1929). A new English translation, more attuned to modern requirements, has recently been published: Karampetsos and Nittis 1989.

(i) *Stage performance*

For analyses of performance aspects of the play see Puchner 1981a, 1982: 216–19, 1983d: 48–9 and 1984b: 140–57.

(j) *Language, style, metre and rhyme*

A study of the language of the play is offered by Megas 1954: 58–67. Philippides (1981) presents details and some preliminary findings of her concordance project. The complete concordance is now available in Philippides 1986, together with tables of word frequency, a *rimario*, reverse index etc., and a pioneering essay indicating how the concordance can be used to investigate various aspects of style. Philippides and Frangioni

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1988 examine patterns in the rhyming couplets of the *Sacrifice*. Philippides 1988a and 1988b extends this research to compare the rhyme of the *Sacrifice* with that of Book 1 of the *Erotokritos*.

(k) Bibliography

Annotated bibliographies listing editions and studies of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* will be found in Manousakas 1964b: 24–52 and Kaklamanis 1981: 68–70; Puchner 1980a: 105–9 reviews the findings of recent research on the play.

Chapter 9 Romance

1 The Greek romance

On the novel in antiquity Hägg 1983 provides a readable and reliable survey, with useful plot summaries and suggestions for further reading. He also covers some aspects of the medieval romance and the rebirth of the novel in the late Renaissance. Anderson 1984 deals particularly with the technique of the ancient novelists.

For the learned Byzantine novel of the twelfth century a good general guide is given by Hunger 1978: II, 119–42. E. Jeffreys offers a succinct survey of the vernacular romances (1981) and a critical account of recent research (1979). Beaton gives a brief account of both the learned and vernacular traditions (1988) and a stimulating full-length study of the medieval Greek novel (1989). Texts of several of the vernacular romances are available most conveniently in Kriaras 1955.

The bibliography on *Digenis Akritis* is enormous. Beck 1971: 63–97 gives a handy conspectus of theories about the ‘epic’ corpus, with a rich bibliography. The text of the Grottaferrata manuscript, with English translation and introduction, is to be found in Mavrogordato 1956, while S. Alexiou 1985c provides a reliable edition of the Escorial version with an authoritative introduction and select bibliography (pp. 275–86). On the textual tradition and relations between the ‘epic’ and the Akritic folk songs, see especially L. Politis 1970 and S. Alexiou 1979b. Beaton 1982 discusses whether *Digenis Akritis* was originally an oral poem. Several relevant studies will be found in E. and M. Jeffreys 1983. Purely literary studies are disappointingly few, but among recent contributions Galatariotou 1987 examines structural oppositions in the Grottaferrata version, and Beaton 1989 examines *Digenis Akritis* in the context of the medieval Greek romance tradition, seeing the poem as a ‘proto-romance’.

2 *Erotokritos*

(a) Bibliographies

There is no comprehensive critical bibliography covering the extensive scholarship on the *Erotokritos*, although all the major studies and editions of the poem contain discussions of relevant earlier research. Manousakas 1965: 46–51 includes most of the important older bibliography in his brief presentation of the *Erotokritos*. Vincent 1973a: 14–15, supplementing Manousakas (the bibliography of Manousakas 1964b, on Cretan theatre, in any case excluded *Erotokritos*), lists publications up to 1973 and makes suggestions for further research (pp. 21–3). A wide range of bibliographical information will be found in the introductions to the editions of S. Alexiou and in his bibliography sections (1980: 529–40; select bibliography, updated, in 1985b: ζ’–θ’).

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(b) *Manuscript, editions and translations*

The sole manuscript of the *Erotokritos* is in the British Library in London (Harleianus 5644). It is an illustrated manuscript, written in the Ionian Isles and bearing the date 1710. It was acquired by Lord Harley in 1725. For a description and evaluation see S. Alexiou 1980: κ'–κζ'. On the 121 miniatures which illustrate the manuscript see Laourdas 1952 and Xyngopoulos 1956. The poem was first printed by Andonios Vortolis (Antonio Bortoli) in Venice in 1713. Two copies of this edition are known: one in the Gennadius Library in Athens, with some missing leaves (described and discussed by S. Alexiou 1980: ιγ'–ιθ'); a second, complete copy has recently come to light in the Biblioteca Civica of Verona (Stevanoni 1985). The text was reprinted in Venice in 1737 (see S. Alexiou 1980: ιθ'–κ'). The many subsequent reprints attest to the poem's popularity but are of no importance for the establishment of the text. The first modern critical edition was made by Xanthoudhidhis 1915. Although much of the volume, including the text, has now been superseded (for discussions of the defects of the edition see S. Alexiou 1971a; 1980: κθ'–μϵ'), the introduction and glossary can still be consulted with profit. L. Politis 1952b, and later editions, reprints Xanthoudhidhis's text and provides a useful introduction. The need for a new edition had long been felt when S. Alexiou published his authoritative text (1980), with lengthy introduction, notes and glossary. Alexiou's edition has also circulated in a 'popular' paperback (1985b), without the apparatus criticus and notes and with a different introduction. Both the manuscript and the printed tradition are used for the establishment of the text; Alexiou rightly attaches much greater importance to the edition of 1713 than had Xanthoudhidhis (see S. Alexiou 1971a). An Italian translation of the poem, based on Xanthoudhidhis's edition, with a brief introduction and useful analytical index of the characters, was published by Màspero 1975. Mavrogordato 1929 gives a lengthy English summary, rather than a translation, of the poem, with introduction and discussion of various issues, including authorship and dating (now largely out-dated). A full English translation in rhymed verse is offered by Stephanides 1984.

(c) *General studies*

Most of the standard histories of Modern Greek literature and similar works include a section on the *Erotokritos*, e.g. Dhimaras 1985: 81–5; L. Politis 1973: 63–7 and 1978: 77–82; Mastrodimitris 1983: 103–8. Vitti's presentation (1978: 97–104) is exceptionally valuable, with illuminating comments on literary aspects of the poem and on its Renaissance background. (For anthologies which include Cretan texts with, usually, some general introductory material, see the Bibliographical guide to Chapter 1.) Embiricos 1960 is one of the very few full-length works on Cretan literature, with a long chapter on the *Erotokritos* (pp. 205–57); not all of his views can now be sustained. Stevanoni 1985 offers a variety of interesting suggestions which would warrant further investigation. A brief, but judicious, discussion is offered by Trypanis 1981: 567–72; reprinted in Stephanides 1984: 19–23.

(d) *Authorship and dating*

The problem of the identification of the particular Vitsentzos Kornaros who composed the *Erotokritos*, and, as a corollary, the approximate dating of the poem, is inextricable from the issue of the work's primary source (see below). Older theories, including those of Sathas and Xanthoudhidhis, can now be set aside (see S. Alexiou 1979c for details). The current controversy can be said to begin with the publication by Spanakis 1955 of the will of Andrea Cornaro, dated 1611 and preserved in the Venetian archives.

Spanakis proposed the identification of our poet with the brother of Andrea, mentioned in the will as the intended recipient of part of Andrea's library. Further discoveries in the Venetian archives (Panagiotakis 1968; Panagiotakis and Vincent 1970) brought to light Italian poems bearing the name Vincenzo Cornaro, and linking him with the Accademia degli Stravaganti. The fact that Vitsentzos Kornaros is the signatory of notarial documents written in Greek (see Panagiotakis 1968) seems to confirm his competence in the language; other evidence also suggests that he was more at home in Greek than Italian. The arguments for the identification of this Vitsentzos/Vicenzo with the poet of the *Erotokritos* are assembled by Panagiotakis 1981. The case was accepted by S. Alexiou 1979c, but other scholars, including L. Politis, continued to prefer a later date of composition. Most vociferous in opposing the identification is Evangelatos, who argues that the poem was completed after 1655 (1981: 100; cf. 1985a: 75) and that the poet flourished 'just before or around the middle of the seventeenth century' (1985a: 124). He proposes that the character of the Karamanite in Book II is based on a historical person, a Turk active in Crete from 1655 to 1668 (*ibid.*), but he has yet to publish his detailed argument. However, although the evidence is purely circumstantial, most scholars now accept the identification of the poet with Vincenzo Cornaro, son of Giacomo and brother of Andrea, who lived from 1553 to 1613/1614. For a summary of the known facts of his life see S. Alexiou 1985b: ιγ'–ιε'. For his encounter with the English traveller Fynes Moryson see Warren 1972. Further documents relating to the Kornaros family have been published by Mavromatis 1986a. It still remains to fix the date of composition more precisely. S. Alexiou 1985b: ιζ' proposes 1600–10, while Mavromatis 1983: 199 ventures the hypothesis that Kornaros produced a first draft of his poem in Siteia before 1587–90, and revised it and added the epilogue between 1601 and his death; but there is no compelling evidence to support this view. For the moment we may simply conclude that the poem was completed within a decade or so either side of 1600.

(e) Sources

The primary source of the poem, that is of its basic story line, is the French romance *Paris et Vienne*, almost certainly in an Italian translation or adaptation. This discovery was first made by Christoforos Filitas (who died in 1867), but remained unnoticed in his unpublished papers for nearly a century (Angelou 1953). The discovery was made afresh by the Romanian scholar Cartoian (1935; 1936), and since then scholars have sought to ascertain which of the versions of the romance (in French, Latin and Italian) served as Kornaros's main source. Various theories were then advanced (e.g. Kriaras 1938, 1973; Morgan 1953, 1981; Mâspero 1971) but without any consensus being reached. The article of Panagiotakis 1981 is important for pointing the way towards a solution of the problem, but the first systematic analysis of all the relevant texts of the romance was undertaken by Mavromatis 1982 for his doctoral thesis. He concludes, convincingly, that the *Erotokritos* is dependent for its plot on one of the printed editions of the Italian prose version of the romance, probably that of 1543 or a later sixteenth-century one. However, Kornaros may also have read, in his schooldays, the Latin version of Jean de Pins (1516) and retained some recollection of it. Evangelatos 1981 argues on the basis of similarities with Angelo Albani's poem *Innamoramento di due fidelissimi amanti Paris e Vienna* (first published 1626) that Kornaros knew this work; he has devoted a whole book (1985a) to undermining Mavromatis's findings. For a summary of the controversy, and a restatement of his own position, see Mavromatis 1986b.

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Among secondary sources of the *Erotokritos*, the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto is by far the most important, as was already noted by Xanthoudhidhis 1915: cv, relying on Theotokis. Kriaras 1938: 107–34 devotes a chapter to analysing points of similarity between the two works. Further ‘echoes’ of Ariosto, and also of Dante, were pointed out by Spadaro 1966a, 1966b, who also argues that, contrary to some scholars’ claims, Kornaros was not familiar with Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1966b). The main points of contact between Ariosto and Kornaros, as regards details of plot, are summarised by S. Alexiou 1980: ξθ’. Martha Aposkiti 1981 draws attention to further similarities with Ariosto, as well as with the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo and Berni’s rewriting of it. She has also identified significant resemblances with the *Adriana* of Grotto (Aposkiti 1986, developing a suggestion of Mavrogordato 1929: 59). Possible Greek secondary sources have also been investigated, particularly the Venetian chapbooks (Holton 1988a, with relevant bibliography, to which should be added S. Alexiou 1954b: 254ff.). The relationship with the *Sacrifice of Abraham* has been the object of special study; see the Bibliographical guide to Chapter 8.

(f) *Literary studies*

Older studies now offer little of value, but some promising new approaches to the poem have been developed in recent years. The essay of Seferis 1981: 1, 268–319, 497–510, first published in 1946, marks the first stage in a thorough critical evaluation of the *Erotokritos* and remains essential reading. A seminal article by S. Alexiou 1952 casts light on many aspects of the poem and, although some of his views have been revised, contains a wealth of ideas and philological analysis. For the controversy between S. Alexiou and Kriaras concerning the ‘character’ of the *Erotokritos*, see Chapter 10 of this volume. Morgan 1967 and 1971 opened up a new line of investigation by pointing out emblematic features of the poem, particularly in the tournament (for criticism see S. Alexiou 1980: ϩς’–ϩη’). Kapsomenos 1983 examines the poetics of the *Erotokritos* and in another article (1985) applies structuralist principles to the plot, with some interesting conclusions. Another approach to the analysis of the poem’s ‘organisation’ is offered by Holton 1988b. Danielsen 1985 analyses the historical and ‘national’ background to the tournament in Book II, concluding that the picture presented is that of the Venetian world of the time, but he tends to ignore important literary considerations. Holton 1987 examines the theme and motif of exile. Bakker and Philippides 1988 analyse Kornaros’s use of sea imagery and offer illuminating comments on the function of this motif in relation to the poem’s structure. Ricks 1988 argues the need for a close critical reading of the work and makes observations on its style. S. Alexiou 1985b: μδ’–μϵ’ briefly examines the prospects for applying some modern theoretical approaches to the poem, and provides a useful conspectus of critical evaluations (ibid.: 337–63).

(g) *Language and metre*

There is no comprehensive study of the language of the poem, although there is no shortage of philological notes on particular passages. Chatzidhakis (in Xanthoudhidhis 1915: 458–68) gives a general, but unsystematic, account of the main features of Kornaros’s language (but based on Xanthoudhidhis’s text). Bakker 1971 examines in detail one particular feature, the relative pronouns. Kriaras 1969b identifies archaising elements. L. Politis 1952b: 44–6 gives a very brief summary of the main characteristics of the poem’s language and metre. The comments of S. Alexiou 1980: πβ’–ϩ’ on language and metre are pertinent and valuable. His earlier articles on the language

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and versification provide more detailed information (1971a, 1973, 1976a). Philippides 1988a and 1988b offers a preliminary investigation of the rhyming patterns of the *Erotokritos* and the *Sacrifice of Abraham*. The computerised concordance to the *Erotokritos* now being prepared by Philippides and Holton will generate the basic data for more comprehensive linguistic and metrical studies.

(h) *Reception*

Some of the basic material for a full study of the poem's reception, including musical settings and theatrical adaptations, has been assembled (see especially S. Alexiou 1980: ρ'–ρ', with relevant bibliography; 1985b: λζ'–μβ'). Among the few studies of particular writers' indebtedness to the poem, we may mention Chatzigiakoumis 1968 (for Solomos), Peri 1976 (Seferis) and Charalambakis 1985 (Seferis and Elytis, chiefly on linguistic influence). A comprehensive study of the poem's reception is a desideratum.

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Abbreviations

BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* 29 (Leipzig 1920)

PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris 1857–66).

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