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THE ELEMENTS OF SENECAN TRAGEDY IN CHORTATSIS' *EROPHILE*

Abstract: Over the decades preceding the Turkish conquest (1669) the Venetian Candia experiences the abrupt cultural boom due to its economic prosperity and immediate connections with the Renaissance culture of the West. One of the most prominent creative personalities of the day is Georgios Chortatsis, a playwright whose works are written under the influence of Italian Renaissance drama. The tragedies of this theatre are composed in the tradition of Seneca the dramatist, whose indirect influence the author of this paper traces in Chortatsis' *Erophile* too. At the same time it is *via* Italy that some elements of Stoic teaching reach Chortatsis - primarily the doctrine of "conflagration" of all things by means of cosmic fire and the successive reconstitution of the new universe, starting with the Golden Age. The contemporary historical moment, filled with the premonition of catastrophe, might have given rise to restoration of such a melancholy philosophy of history.

The original literary opus of Georgios Chortatsis (c.1550-c.1610), the founder of modern Greek drama, is a unique example of the historical palingenesis of a literary genre which - after a short climax and slow decline - was almost completely forgotten by the nation which had created its classical form.[1]

The migrations of the genre, however, followed the lasting "Odyssean" route which eventually led it to its native land: in the first place drama departed from Greece its destination being Rome. Then it was Roman descendants who inherited this genre recognizing in it the pure expression of their own Hellenic-Roman identity. Finally, it was the Renaissance Hellene Georgios Chortatsis who brought it to the shores of its mother country.

1 The Byzantine world does not seem to have had dramatic presentations resembling ones such as miracle and mystery plays ("sacre rappresentazioni") known to the Western Middle Ages (L. Politis, 1966, 227).

However, over centuries this land had changed her original countenance. Having experienced the rule of the Romans, Byzantines and Arabs, ever since the Fourth Crusade (1204), Crete had developed into a prosperous colony of the Venetian Republic. Since all the important islands which had been under "Latin" authority were consequently conquered by the Turks (1522 Rhodes, 1566 Chios, 1571 Cyprus), Venetian Candia remained the one refuge of Hellenic liberty. In spite of being surrounded by the encroaching danger,[2] it managed to preserve its political independence, prosperity and close connections with the metropolis for almost a century (up to 1669). Around 1600 this community with its small population[3] resembles in many respects the contemporary western, mainly Italian urban communities of the day. Here too the outdated forms of feudal economy were soon to be abandoned. The cities were characterized by their mixture of the old Veneto-Cretan nobility, attached to the estates in the mainland of the island on one hand, and the young and prosperous bourgeoisie that became oriented towards sea and sea-trade on the other. Apart from the so-called "people", urban population consisting of craftsmen and sailors, there was also rural population working on estates of the gentry, frequently engaged in public works on military fortifications.[4] Having conquered the Eastern Mediterranean by means of its galleons carrying the cargo of wine, honey, cheese, silk and cotton, the Venetian Crete managed to achieve the kind of prosperity and cosmopolitan openness which was capable of stimulating an awakening and sudden swing of art production.

The historical moment resembled to a certain extent the time when on the same soil - in the atmosphere of the similar threat coming from the East - the new literary genre had been born and had been booming for the first time. It was the drama: dynamic and 'dialectical', carried by the spirit of *agon* (which does not make either of the opponents get the upper hand). Two millennia later this very same atmosphere with its hectic optimism, that is characteristic of the epochs leading to the great historic turning-points, marked the decades following the Veneto-Turkish War (1569-1573) and the futile Navpaktos victory. It may not be incidental that this historical moment too found its spiritual expression in the drama, which in the same way as in the ancient times of its first historical boom, experienced the second boom for just a short while, covering the brief period of resurrected Helleno-Roman freedom.

I

Many sources of motley influences - Hellenic and Byzantine tradition, the Renaissance culture of the West and the local Cretan folklore, Greek and Latin (in the broader Byzantine and post-Byzantine sense of the word) - all of them were comprised in the character of Georgios Chortatsis, one of

2 Since 1648 Turks had already been the masters of some parts of the island.

3 This population lived in four cities: Iraklion, Chania, Rethymnon and Sitia. By the end of the Venetian period it numbered not more than 30.000 inhabitants (S. Xanthoudidis, 1939, 190).

4 S. Alexiou, 1985, 50-51.

the pioneers of modern Greek vernacular literature and a leading proponent of modern Greek drama. Nevertheless, the facts illuminating Chortatsis' life and his setting are barely sufficient to place the poet into an approximate time framework. They are furthermore completely insufficient if we try to define his social status, his possible benefactors, the audience and those who commissioned him to write.

We can safely state that the poet was born in Rethymnon, a small aristocratic town situated in the west part of the island. He is more likely to be one of the well-off bourgeois than a member of Veneto-Cretan nobility. According to Dr. S. Evangelatos,[5] the evidence for this statement lies in the omission of the aristocratic title on the front cover of the first edition of the tragedy *Erophile* (Venice 1637). The same scholar proposes that the poet should be identified as certain Georgios Gianni Chortatsis (*c.*1545-1610), Rethymniot citizen (cittadino) in the service of a Venetian nobleman Matteo Calergi. It is familiar that in the sixth decade of the 16th century a person under the name of Georgios Chortatsis was employed as Calergi's secretary ('scrivan'), which may have enabled him to improve his undoubtedly Italian education having at his disposal his master's extensive library.[6] According to this interpretation, it could be the very place where Chortatsis became fully conversant with the contemporary Italian dramatic literature. From the dedications to the poet's plays we come across some other names of influential friends of Chortatsis'. They were at the same time his patrons, all of them being members of the distinguished Veneto-Cretan aristocracy. One of them was Gianni Murmuris, a learned lawyer ('rhitoras') and owner of estates in Chania, to whom *Erophile* was dedicated.[7] The other one was Marcantonio Viaro, the patron of Cretan artists and commander of the cavalry regiment in Chania, whose name we find in the dedication to Chortatsis' pastoral comedy *Panoria*.[8] According to Prof. L. Politis,[9] the poet's Italian education was undoubtedly followed by corresponding Latin instruction testified by numerous quotations from Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, Martial, Terence and the others, which we find in his comedy *Katzourbos*.[10] His manner of using classical names - always in their Italian shape - suggests the poet's poor or hardly any knowledge of Hellenic authors (that is to say of classical Greek). Although incomplete, this education leads us to the supposition that Chortatsis most probably spent some time in Italy (Venice or Padua). There, following the example of his well-off countrymen, he may have attended some of the famous universities in northern Italy. Prof. L. Politis supposed that this stay probably took place among 1570 and 1575.[11] It is likely that it was here that young Chortatsis came into contact with the

5 S. Evangelatos, 1970, 193.

6 *Ibid.*, 197.

7 Dedication, 27 ff.

8 M. I. Manousakas, 1964, 268-72. Viaro's Dedication was published for the first time by Mrs Babi Ikonomou in: Ἄγνωστο χειρόγραφο τοῦ Γύπαρη, Ἐπιθεώρηση Τέχνης 17, 1963, 522-24.

9 In Introduction to his critical edition of *Katzourbos* (Iraklion 1964), p. 36.

10 Although the corresponding quotations could also be taken over from an unidentified Italian source, which would consequently throw doubt on Chortatsis' knowledge of original Latin authors (Chr. Dedousi, 1968, 261-62).

11 L. Politis, 1964, 34.

contemporary theatrical achievements of the Italian late Renaissance authors - Trissino, Giraldi, Calmo, Giancarli, Tasso, Groto, Guarini and the others.[12] Judging the available internal and external indications, Chortatsis' plays saw the light in the last decade of the 16th century, which must have been the years of the poet's creative maturity. The dates of publications of their Italian prototypes on one hand, and certain more or less overt allusions to current historical events of the day on the other, served as basic material for establishing their relative chronology.[13] Accordingly, the most probable chronological order of their composition would be as follows. Firstly, *Panoria* (known before as *Gyparis),* pastoral comedy whose model Prof. L. Politis located in an Italian pastoral entitled *La Calisto* by Luigi Groto.[14] The Chortatsis' play is dated *c.*1590 because some of the passages are clearly influenced by Guarini's *Pastor Fido,* printed in Venice 1589/90.[15] Secondly, induced by an allusion made in the *Panoria* dedication,[16] the scholars have reached the conclusion that *Erophile,* the only tragedy Chortatsis wrote, must have been composed some time after 1590.[17] Finally, we come to *Katzourbos,* the lively Renaissance comedy, which as the poet's final achievement Prof. L. Politis dates between 1595 and 1601.[18] Consequently, Chortatsis, who tried his hand at all the three main genres of the Renaissance drama, could be recognized as a true founder of modern Greek dramatic literature as a whole.[19]

Did the performances of Chortatsis' plays have the character of popular drama, resembling the ancient dramatic presentations, which never lost the features of religious ritual and communal offering to the theatrical god Dionysus - at least not in the century of their flourishing? However, certain authors consider these performances to have been written only "for the amusement" and "performed in private theatres in the halls of wealthy men and nobles, before audiences of invited guests".[20] But how is it possible to explain the enormous popularity of Chortatsis' poetry and his characters in the centuries that followed[21] and how to understand the existence of a great many number of popular variants of *Erophile*[22] - which could not have possi-

12 By seeing them on the stage or reading their first editions or copies.

13 On the objections to such methods of dating of Chortatsis' works see: R. Bancroft-Marcus, 1980, 23-24.

14 Printed in Venice 1583, L. Politis, (1964) 1966, 1001 ff.

15 The hypothesis was given by Prof. E. Kriaras in Introduction to the 1940 edition of *Panoria.*

16 In which the poet declares that *Erophile - Panoria's* "sister", as he names it (l. 47) - was completed at the time when the pastoral had already been composed.

17 However, this does not exclude the possibility of the poet's long but intermittent work on more than one of his texts simultaneously, as well as staging them before the actual completion of their composition.

18 In Introduction to his critical edition, L. Politis, 1964, 19, 30 ff.

19 L. Politis, 1966, 232-33.

20 R. Bancroft-Marcus, 1980, 25.

21 In Introduction to his edition of *Erophile* Prof. S. Alexiou, Cretan himself, reminds us of the fact that the heroine's name is to be found even today in some parts of the island. As far back as the 17th century it has been present there as a baptismal name, usually pronounced as Romfili (S. Alexiou - M. Aposkiti, 1988, 72-73).

22 Prof. S. Alexiou is listing a comprehensive bibliography of the articles dealing with the fate of *Erophile* in folklore (S. Alexiou - M. Aposkiti, 1988, 76-78). The most interesting among these are certainly the papers by W. Puchner, Ἡ Ἐρωφίλη στὴ δημώδη παράδοση τῆς Κρήτης, Ἀριάδνη 1, 1983, 173 ff., Th. Detorakis, Δημώδεις κρητικὲς παραλλαγὲς τῆς Ἐρωφίλης, Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ 26, 1986, 262 ff., and E. Doulgerakis, Ἀνέκδοτοι δημοτικαὶ παραλλαγαὶ τῆς Ἐρωφίλης καὶ τῆς Βοσκοπούλας, Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ 10, 1956, 241 ff.

bly happened so if the performances of Chortatsis' plays had had the character of exclusiveness. This definitely could not be the case with the two dramas of lively and popular character - *Panoria* and *Katzourbos* - but not even with *Erophile,* regardless of the fact that Chortatsis' play is a work of extremely high stylistic standards, imbued with rhetoric and intellectualism (which in every respect keeps abreast of the contemporary West European mannerism).[23] The examples set by Aeschylus, Pindar or Chortatsis' contemporary Shakespeare actually prove that 'high' stylistic demands in poetry cannot possibly diminish its 'popularity', that is to say its essential appeal to *demos* - in the most noble Hellenic sense of the word.

II

The first palpable data concerning the fate of *Erophile* are connected with the years of its first publication. That was the time when its author had not been among the living for quite a while. One should suppose that the first Venetian edition (1637), whose publisher was a Cypriot priest Matthaios Kigalas, was preceded by many performances, and that the manuscript of the tragedy certainly circulated among literary and theatrical people. Apart from numerous arbitrary interventions and 'improvements' of the Cretan idiom, that was the reason this edition was teeming with errors despite the fact that its editor assures us it was based upon Chortatsis' "autograph". In 1676 a new Venetian edition appeared whose publisher was Ambrosios Gradenigos, the curator of the Greek Department of Bibliotheca Marciana and teacher in the Greek community in Venice. Gradenigos was familiar with Kigalas' edition and its shortcomings. His text was based upon the West Cretan idiom, which was publisher's native language. Chortatsis' play had been circulating in the shape of various manual editions and copies by 1879: it was the year when *Erophile,* together with the other dramatic works of the Cretan theatre, came into light in K. N. Sathas' series Κρητικὸν Θέατρον printed in Venice. This edition, as well as the one from 1926 which was based upon it (with the preface by Prof. N. A. Veis), were pushed into background by the classic S. Xanthoudidis' edition, published two years later in Athens as the last, posthumous work of the great Cretan scholar. In recent time (1988) a good critical edition by Prof. S. Alexiou and M. Aposkiti appeared, whose main importance lies in the fact that the authors took into consideration the Birmingham manuscript (from *c.*1630, written in Latin characters), discovered 1971, now belonging to the Birmingham University Library.[24]

We are dealing with a typical late 16th century tragedy written in the tradition of Senecan drama - while the plays of Seneca the dramatist were characterized by all the traits of specific 'Roman baroque' (the so-called 'rich style') by which this poetry - rather unattractive to modern reader - was given

23 V. Pecoraro, 1986, 53, 61.

24 Dr. A. L. Vincent was writing about this still unpublished manuscript (MSS 13/i/17) in: Ἕνα χειρόγραφο τῆς Ἐροφίλης στὴν Ἀγγλία, Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ 22, 1970, 532. The more detailed description of the manuscript by the same: *A manuscript of Chortatses'* Erophile *in Birmingham, The University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12, 1971, 261 ff.

a decisive impetus to the Renaissance dramatic literature in Italy, England or Spain. It is here that we can find the entire usual apparatus of Senecan theatre: cruel tyrants and helpless victims, scenes of sadistic torture, the outbursts of destructive passion, psychological deviations and omnipotence of Fatum, whose design is announced by apparitions of those died by force. By means of grandiloquent tirades of the static personages poorly characterized and mostly reduced to types we are ceaselessly led through these extremely hard and exaggerated scenes. But even in this restricted framework of clichés it was possible for great creative individuals to find their way to achieve the work of significant dramatic and psychological credibility without departing from Seneca's stylistic determinants: Shakespeare's *Macbeth, Richard III* or Tasso's *Re Torrismondo* are fine examples of such successful and original revivification of Senecan style in circumstances of late Renaissance literary conventions.

Chortatsis' *Erophile* would also consistently obey the above mentioned principles of the Senecan theatre: it would not lack the high-flown language and formal perfectionism in composition of the verse,[25] as well as usual types, violence, ghosts and macabre dénouement.

The play consists of Prologue and five acts,[26] the first four ending in lyrical choruses whose reflections start from the most general ones just to finish each time in reconsideration of the particular situation which took place in the previous act.

In the prologue to the drama Charos, the allegorical figure of Death armed with a sickle, appears on the stage accompanied by lightning and thunder. Evoking the passed glory of the great kingdoms, all of them becoming sooner or later his loot, Charos will determine the gloomy tone of the entire play. Finally, he will inform us that we are in Memphis, on the court of Egyptian king Philogonos, simultaneously announcing the dark fate expecting the main characters of the play. Apart from Philogonos, they are King's daughter Erophile and Panaretos, the brave military commander who as a foundling of royal blood (the secret known only to Panaretos' confidant Karpophoros) happened to find himself on Egyptian court after his father had died in battle. Here Panaretos was growing up together with the little princess, girl of his age. The mutual devotion of the two children has grown into passionate love which was crowned with the clandestine marriage that took place without King's knowledge about it. The play turns to its dramatic point at the moment when Philogonos - the typical representative of the tragic *hybris* - decides to marry his daughter to one of the two suitors, who used to be his enemy in the battle (in acting this way he is driven by exclusively political

25 Rhymed decapentasyllables in dialogues. Dantesque terza rima in choral passages.

26 The acts are followed by four interludes ("intermedia") which are not connected with the plot. They are adaptation of Rinaldo and Armida episode from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, the fact which Bursian had already pointed out in the above-mentioned study. In the previous editions they were published together with the text of the tragedy. Prof. M. I. Manousakas provided their separate critical edition in: Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 1, 1947, 525-80. Prof. S. Alexiou and M. Aposkiti published them recently in a separate book (Γεωργίου Χορτάτση Ἡ ἐλευθερωμένη Ἱερουσαλήμ, τὰ Ἐντερμέδια τῆς Ἐροφίλης, Athens 1992) basing the new improved lection on the above-mentioned Birmingham MS.

reasons). The clandestine marriage comes to light and there is not a thing that could mitigate Philogonos' raging wrath. Everyone fails: his counsellor with his advice appealing for reconciliation, Erophile who implores her adamant father, as well as the ineffectively beseeching Chorus consisting of maidens, Erophile's companions. The king's vengeance is appalling: the ill-fated Panaretos dies after a long torture and gradual mutilation of his limbs. Finally, his head, arms and heart are laid in a golden vessel which is to be offered to Erophile as her father's 'wedding gift'. The princess commits suicide and the frantic rage of the maidens befalls upon King. They will kill him and throw his trodden body to the dogs in the same way Panaretos' was given to lions. The ghost of the King's brother rises from the underworld - it was Philogonos who murdered him in order to gain both the queen and the throne (the motif familiar from *Hamlet*). Now, overhanging his brother's dead body, he cries the words of joy at justice having been carried out at last.

III

The issue of *Erophile's* literary sources have been the object of scholarly interest ever since the publication of a significant study by C. Bursian in the seventh decade of the 19th century, its subject-matter being primarily Chortatsis' Italian models.[27] By means of the unique mixture of refined literary taste and scholarly meticulousness, the famous German Hellenist leads us to Chortatsis' key literary source, the Italian tragedy entitled *Orbecche* by Gianbattista Giraldi Cinzio (1504-1573), the poet and professor of philosophy and rhetoric at the University of Ferrara. *Orbecche* (published 1543 and for the first time staged 1541 in Ferrara) is the first of the nine Giraldi's plays, which is sure not to be the best and most typical one despite its flawless language and formal elegance.[28] Following the course of the two plays scene by scene Bursian perceives certain differences that are not very noticeable but which exhibit Chortatsis' originality and superior dramatic talent.

Orbecche is Chortatsis' link with the ancient tragedy. From the point of view of West European Cinquecento, the latter means exclusively one thing: the dramatic corpus of Lucius Annaeus Seneca (*c.* 4 B.C.-A.D. 65), the nine tragedies with topics taken from Hellenic myth, and a historical drama, praetexta *Octavia,* which was at the time considered to have been written by Seneca himself. Nowadays we know respectively little about the course of development of the ancient drama within the wide span covering the period from Euripides to Seneca. The indirect facts indicate the evident signs of decadence of the classic tragedy, noticeable as far back as the last decades of the 5th century.[29] The process actually began with the extinction of the chorus and its role of an active participant of the plot and its promoter, as well as the gradual dissolution of the myth and the rising interest in the psychology of the individual. All the traits which are recognizable in Euripides as well

27 C. Bursian. 1870. 549-635.

28 It is noteworthy that some of the poet's dramatic achievements were to serve as models to Shakespeare himself, so that *e.g.* Giraldi's *Moro di Venezia* is what the plot of *Othello* is based upon.

29 Cf. Aristotle. *Poetics* 1450b7-8. 1451b21-25. 1456a25-32. 1458b19-22.

are further more perceived in Euripides' later imitator Seneca too, only that the course of this development is here brought to its final and often absurd consequences. The chorus turns into lyrical interlude and loses any connection with the plot. The myth is reduced to a conventional rhetorical ornament and the psychological becomes completely typified and often gets distorted into the pathological. The dramatic action steps aside in front of the exuberant verbosity and manneristic eccentricities abundant in language bravuras.[30]

It is precisely the ancient tragedy that the Latin West of the 16th century is familiar with. So when the Furies and the ghost of the incestuous queen from the first act of Giraldi's *Orbecche* introduce us into the world of crime and destructive passions, what should be kept in mind is that the poet is here only consistently repeating the main motifs and the dramatic procedure of his Roman model, Seneca's *Thyestes* - with the inevitable ghost in Prologue (Tantalus), the bloodthirsty vindictiveness of the protagonist (Atreus) and the slaughter of (Thyestes') children in the gruesome finale. Introducing the odd (from the point of view of the dramatic economy quite superfluous) motif of the incestuous relationship between the queen and her son, which is actually the cause of her death, Giraldi is going even further in practising this Senecan poetics of the gruesome. According to Bursian, it is here that the subtle differences in the treatment of the same plot are lying, wherein the Greek poet's more refined sensibility and his subtler dramatic gift become more than evident. So the character of the queen is not present in *Erophile* (instead, Chortatsis introduces the ghost of the king's brother).[31] More than the unconvincing presence of the heroine's children is avoided, which used to be introduced only in order to justify the effectiveness of their massacre.[32] And finally, Chortatsis' heroine is not the one who kills her father, in the way Orbecche does, who in doing so somehow deprives us of a part of the compassion which we would otherwise feel for her misfortune unless she had remained only a victim.[33] Even the fact that Chortatsis' Philogonos himself reveals the clandestine matrimony of his daughter has greater dramatic power than the corresponding situation when the same revelation happens to come indirectly to the knowledge of Giraldi's Sulmone.[34]

30 F. Leo. 1878. 158.

31 C. Bursian. 1870. 595 ff.

32 It is hardly believable that the heroine could give birth to them and bring them up, her secret remaining permanently concealed on her father's court. Cf. S. Alexiou - M. Aposkiti. 1988. 33.

33 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

34 V. Pecoraro. 1986. 68 ff. - Prof. S. Alexiou (S. Alexiou - M. Aposkiti. 1988. 35-36) draws our attention to the great similarities between the dramatic structure of *Erophile* and the tragedy entitled *Filostrato e Panfila* by Antonio Cammelli (1436-1502), who used to live in Ferrara just as Giraldi did (in Appendix to his edition Prof. S. Alexiou gives us a brief plot of *Filostrato*, S. Alexiou - M. Aposkiti. 1988. 243 ff.). It was Sathas who was first to refer to this congeniality (K. N. Sathas. 1879. 81 ff.). Both Cammelli and Giraldi used the same source, a story taken from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (IV. 1), which served as a basis of both of the plots. Prof. S. Alexiou finds it interesting that, if Chortatsis happened to have had Cammelli as his model, the originality of the former would be questioned since the three or four of the above-mentioned motifs are not to be found in Cammelli's work either (S. Alexiou - M. Aposkiti. 1988. 36).
In his short paper from 1959 (Ἄνωστη πηγὴ τῆς Ἐροφίλης τοῦ Χορτάτση: Ἡ τραγωδία *Il Re Torrismondo* τοῦ Tasso, Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ 13. pp. 73 ff.) Prof. M. I. Manousakas established the origin of the strange vision that appears in Erophile's prophetic dream containing a dark path, forest, blood-stained wall and apparition which draws the girl into a cave (Act II, Scene 2, ll. 121-32). According to a Cretan scholar, it would be a place from Tasso's *Re Torrismondo* (Act I, Scene 1, ll. 38-50) where the heroine, princess Alvida - the same way as Chortatsis' Erophile - confides her ominous vision to her confident nurse.

Seneca's as well as the ancient influences in the broad sense of the word are particularly apparent in the four lyrical choruses of *Erophile's* that represent the peak of Chortatsis' poetry. It is here that the link with the ancient heritage is closer and more lively than elsewhere, despite the fact that the poet starts from the well-known commonplaces of the ancient and Renaissance literature. Each time the general concept is brought into connection with the particular situation of the dramatic action taking place in the previous act, and sometimes, as it seems, even a contour of a kind of melancholy philosophy of history can be traced, whose stimuli undoubtedly lie in the tragic circumstances of the contemporary historical moment.

The first chorus (Ἔρωτα, ἀπού συχνιὰ 'ς τσὶ πλιὰ μεγάλους) exalts the omnipotence of Eros, the deity who holds sway even over Zeus himself. Eros is the source of harmony and order in Nature. Even wild beasts and birds yield to his power. His dwelling-place is in ladies' eyes: Eros draws his strength from their beauty. Nevertheless he takes pleasure in torturing his subjects and victims wearing them out by means of love-grief. It is why he is justly called the unfair one. However, Panaretos who has been a faithful servant to this god deserved the reward worthy of his merits - Erophile's love. So, may not Erophile yield to her father's persuasions and marry one of the suitors. - Bursian thought[35] that in the hymn to Eros he could recognize the trace of the third stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone* (781 ff., Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν). However, Sathas[36] was in this respect referring to a passage from Oppian's *Cynegetica* (2, 410-425), while Dinakis[37] for the first time explicitly pointed to the so far overlooked analogies between Chortatsis' hymn and the Parodos of Seneca's *Phaedra* (274 ff., *Diva non miti generata ponto).*[38] These ancient and particularly Senecan influences, as it has already been mentioned, could not have been direct, and the immediate model of the hymn to Eros - the fact pointed out for the first time by Prof. V. Pecoraro in his paper on the sources of *Erophile's* choruses[39] - would be the third choric ode of Trissino's *Sofonisba* (1417 ff., *Amor, che ne i leggiadri alti pensieri),* whose train of thought and even individual phrases and expressions, conceits and poetic images Chortatsis follows with only minor divergences.

The second chorus (Ὦ πλήσια καλορίζικη καὶ πλήσια / χαριτωμένη τύχη) starts with the description of the Golden Age. It was the time when the Earth herself offered her fruits to people who had no experience in warfare and bringing one another under control. Goods were common and pride was still unknown to human race. The perfect happiness was ruling and love was free. But the moment Pride rose from the underworld, unhappiness fell upon

35 C. Bursian, 1870, 564.

36 K. N. Sathas, 1879, 66 ff.

37 S. Dinakis, 1912, 437.

38 It is naturally not the only place where Seneca celebrates Cupid's omnipotence over gods and mortals. In *Phaedra* those are also ll. 185 ff., in *Hercules Oetaeus* ll. 541 ff. and 551 ff. In Pseudo-Senecan *Octavia* it is Cupid who rules sea depths and sky drawing gods from their heights onto the earth (554 ff.) and making Zeus take on different shapes in order to get closer to mortal women (203 ff., 810).

39 V. Pecoraro, 1969, 371 ff.

the earth: differences, feuds and wars came into existence. It is Pride that conducts Philogonos' actions as well. If the Heaven and Zeus did not help out Erophile, she would be ruined. - This chorus, that according to Prof. V. Pecoraro[40] could be adaptation of the first choric ode of Tasso's pastoral comedy *Aminta* (656 ff., *O bella età dell' oro),* is based upon the old motif of the regular change and reconstitution of the great cosmic cycles and their successive stages marked with metal epithets: from golden, over silver and bronze, to iron. It was Hesiod in his *Works and Days* (106 ff.), who was the first one in the European literature to exploit the Golden Age myth, which is probably of West Asian origin.[41] But the most original treatment of the cosmic regeneration motif is carried out by Virgil in his famous Fourth Eclogue (4 ff.) which announces the birth of a divine boy and the re-establishment of the blessed Age of Saturn. However, Chortatsis' images greatly resemble the popular version of the myth given by Ovid *(Metamorphoses* 1, 89 ff.), which is also basis for Seneca's version in *Medea* (329 ff.) and *Phaedra* (525 ff.).[42] In *Octavia* (395 ff.) Seneca - a character in the play - evokes the times "when Saturn held the kingdoms of the sky . . . No wars the nations knew . . . in common was the use of every thing; and the glad Earth herself willingly laid bare her fruitful breast".[43]

The third chorus (Τοῦ πλούτου ἀχορταγιά, τσῆ δόξας πείνα), which represents the logical continuation of the second one, sings about cupidity and ambition as primordial causes of all the misfortunes that befell upon the world. The two are what destroys the family harmony, every friendship and love. If only they could retreat to the hell, from where they had come! The blessed Poverty, unfamiliar with envy and insatiability, would reign over the world. Finally, the Chorus anticipates gods' punishment of Philogonos, whose spirit is being torn apart by the two fatal passions.

The fourth chorus (Ἀκτίνα τ' οὐρανοῦ χαριτωμένη) begins with the hymn to the Sun, Helios, listing all the benefactions of his. He is being evoked to testify the misfortunes the Egyptian land went through, as well as of Panaretos' courageousness thanks to which it was saved. His love, however, got the saviour in danger of death: he is threatened by the same one who used to be saved by him. Let the Helios himself and all the elements help Panaretos, let them frighten the King and dissuade him from his ghastly scheme. - It was already Bursian who pointed out certain analogies between this chorus and the Parodos of Sophocles' *Antigone* (100 ff., Ἀκτίς ἀελίου, τὸ κάλλιστον) which are, to say the truth, quite general ones.[44] Seneca undoubtedly kept in mind Sophocles' hymn to Helios when he in the similar way made apostrophe to the Sun in the second episode of *Hercules Furens* (592 ff., *O lucis almae rector),* or in the second stasimon of *Phaedra* (959 ff., *O magna parens, Natura, deum)* which Dinakis[45] is referring to. However, Sathas[46] is pointing out the consequent parallelism between this and the first

40 *Ibid.*, 375.
41 A. Lesky, 1957/58, 121-22.
42 Cf. also: *Epist. ad Luc.* XC 5-12, 36-45.
43 Transl. by F. J. Miller in: *Seneca's Tragedies* II 1968, 439.
44 C. Bursian, 1870, 570.
45 S. Dinakis, 1912, 440.
46 K. N. Sathas, 1879, 68 ff.

choric ode of Trissino's *Sofonisba (Almo celeste raggio)*, what Chortatsis is sure to have used as his immediate source.

We will finally go back for a moment to the second chorus, the most interesting one from the point of view of those assumptions that have been mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

There is certain regularity with which the Golden Age motif becomes the subject of literary treatment whenever an epoch-making historical change takes place. Hesiod reaches for this myth at the moment when among the ruins of Homeric world the civilization of classical Greece is being conceived. Hellenistic poet Aratus *(Phaenomena* 96 ff.) returns to it at the dawn of Hellenism, and Virgil in terms of this myth announces, in his own particular way, not only a new stage in the history of Roman state, but in the world history as well. Seneca, sensing the embryos of decadence and destruction in the contemporary history of Rome (whose active participant and creator is) bestows upon this myth the particular Stoic character connecting it implicitly to the old learning of the cosmic fire (πῦρ τεχνικόν) in which the whole of the universe returns in regular intervals (ἐκπύρωσις, "conflagration") just to be reborn out of it over and over again in the completely identical shape (παλιγγενεσία or ἀποκατάστασις). Some of this learning, inherited from Heraclitus, must have reached the writer of *Erophile* through those intricate ways by which literary motifs travel from one literary epoch to another. Here it could have become the expression of a similar sensibility pregnant with a premonition of the historical ending and a melancholy call for patient stoical reconciliation with history.

ЕЛЕМЕНТИ СЕНЕКИНЕ ТРАГЕДИЈЕ У ХОРТАЦИСОВОЈ *ЕРОФИЛИ*

Р е з и м е

Поетско стваралаштво Крићанина Георгија Хортациса (*с.* 1550-*с.* 1610), родоначелника нововековне грчке драме, одвија се у атмосфери грозничавог активизма који је обележио последње деценије политичке самосталности млетачке Кандије, пре њеног коначног политичког слома и потпадања под турску власт (1669). Нагли економски успон и тесне културне везе са западном метрополом погодују цветању уметничке и књижевне продукције - нарочито оживљавању драме, која се, као и у време свог првог историјског буђења, и овај пут оглашава у атмосфери угрожености и страха пред судбоносном азијатском опасношћу. То је културно-историјски миље у коме настаје Хортацисов драмски опус, невелик по обиму, али довољно разноврстан да би у себи обухватио сва три кључна рода ренесансне драме - трагедију (*Ерофили*), комедију (*Кацурбос*) и пасторалу (*Панорија*).

Аутор чланка усредсређује се на најзначајније од ова три остварења, трагедију *Ерофили,* настојећи да у неким елементима њене драмске структуре и ширег идејног плана уочи посредне утицаје античке - управо Сенекине трагедије (што за ренесансну књижевност XVI в. има готово синонимно значење). Трагање за овим утицајима води нас преко Италије и ренесансне трагедије италијанских чинквечентиста, која је у основи обликована по угледу на Сенекин високо реторизовани театар крви, фатума и патолошких страсти. Први који је Хортациса везао за један италијански узор био је К. Бурзијан, немачки археолог, географ и филолог, који је

део живота провео у Грчкој проучавајући хеленску књижевност на модерном језику. У свом значајном чланку из 1870. године (*Erophile. Vulgärgriechische Tragödie von Georg Chortatzes aus Creta. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der neugriechischen und der italiänischen Literatur*, Leipzig) Бурзијан указује на велике подударности између Хортацисове *Ерофили* и трагедије *Орбеке* Ђанбатисте Ђиралдија Чинција (1504-1573), песника и професора реторике и филозофије из Фераре. У новије време, знања о Хортацисовим италијанским узорима обогаћена су новим и свестранијим увидима (Манусакас, Пекораро, Л. Политис и др.), нарочито кад је реч о хорским одсецима Хортацисове драме, који представљају без сумње највише лирске домете критског театра у целини. Тако други хор, можда најзанимљивији с књижевно-историјског становишта, пева о златном веку и потоњој моралној деградацији људског рода изазваној појавом Охолости. Овај прастари мотив, који се, под утицајем филозофске спекулације, развио у сложену доктрину о сукцесивном обнављању великих космичких циклуса и поновном успостављању свих ствари у потпуно идентичном облику - дакле, о "вечном враћању истог" (ἀποκατάστασις) - оживеће још једном у лирским медитацијама Хортацисове *Ерофили*, можда донекле и као израз духовне и политичке климе оптерећене 'епохалном' претњом с Истока и предосећајем историјског краја.

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