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Studies in Honour of Guido Avezzù

Edited by Silvia Bigliazzi, Francesco Lupi,
Gherardo Ugolini

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On the Sources of Petros Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia* (1720): Between Lodovico Dolce, Molière, and the Commedia dell'Arte*

Vayos Liapis

Abstract

This paper is concerned with what appears to be the earliest surviving modern Greek drama on a classical theme, namely *Iphigenia* by Petros Katsaïtis of Cephallenia (1660?-1742?). Though nominally a tragedy, Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia* is, in fact, best described as a tragicomedy, as it not only has a happy ending, but its latter part is unabashedly comic, even burlesque. For the 'tragic' portion of his plot (Acts 1–4 and part of Act 5), Katsaïtis depends largely on Lodovico Dolce's *Ifigenia* (1560). Halfway through Act 5, however, Katsaïtis' play takes a surprising turn to the comic by offering an unexpected happy ending: far from being sacrificed, Iphigenia is spared, and actually goes on to marry Achilles. Subsequently, the drama is invaded by stock Commedia dell'Arte characters, as well as by Italianised versions of some of Molière's characters. This is evidently a reflection of Katsaïtis' familiarity with performances, on Cephallenia, by travelling Italian troupes, which will have put on Commedia shows and Italian versions of Molière's plays. Katsaïtis' play is thus a document of literary influences and of theatre life in the Ionian islands at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century.

In the summer of 1720, the Ionian island of Cephallenia, or Kefalloniá, became the site of an unprecedented theatrical encounter. The spectre of Euripides, channelled through the medium of the Italian

* I hope that this paper, which concerns an early modern Greek play shaped by multiple Italian influences, will be deemed an appropriate offering by an Italophile Hellene to the distinguished Italian Hellenist who is the honorand of this volume. I am grateful to Silvia Bigliazzi for inviting me to contribute to this volume and for her suggestions, which improved both my argument and my translation of extracts from Dolce. I also wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to Gonda Van Steen and to Antonis K. Petrides for their perceptive reading of an earlier draft and for many salutary suggestions. All errors of fact or judgement are mine.

Renaissance playwright Lodovico Dolce, met the shadow of Molière, as well as a company of assorted Commedia dell'Arte characters. This rather remarkable feat was brought about by the Cephallenian poet and playwright Petros Katsaïtis.

The very existence of Petros Katsaïtis (1660?-1742?) was virtually unknown until as late as 1950, when the Greek scholar Emmanuel Kriaras published a critical edition, with introduction and notes, of that author's three extant works: to wit, the narrative poem *Lament for the Peloponnese* and the poetic tragedies *Thyestes* and *Iphigenia*.[1] These works are transmitted in a single manuscript source (MS. 28 of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Library), which had received a brief mention by Fotos Politis already in 1920,[2] and was described in 1939 by Antonios Sighalas (1890-1981), then Professor Extraordinarius of Papyrology and Palaeography at the University of Thessaloniki.[3] Sighalas, however, mentioned Katsaïtis only as the author of the *Lament for the Peloponnese*, and it is to Kriaras that we owe the discovery and scholarly study of Katsaïtis' two tragedies.[4]

1. A Sketch of Petros Katsaïtis' Life

A general outline of Katsaïtis' biography may be reconstructed

1 See Kriaras 1950. For a survey of Katsaïtis' work, with special emphasis on the *Lament for the Peloponnese*, see Carpinato 2005: 187-98; Liosatou 2015: 70-84.

2 Politis 1920 (non vidi), for which see Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 114, 131n1; Chassapi-Christodoulou 2002: i.226n211.

3 Sighalas 1939: 164-6 (*teste* Kriaras 1950: ς′n1). In 1940, Sighalas became Professor Ordinarius of Mediaeval and Modern Greek at the University of Thessaloniki.

4 First in Kriaras 1949 and then in Kriaras 1950, with critical edition of Katsaïtis' extant works, introduction, commentary, and glossaries (cf. Evanghelatos 1970: 51). As Kriaras (1950: ς′-η′) points out, the attribution of *Iphigenia* and *Thyestes* to Katsaïtis is beyond doubt: in *Iphigenia*'s dedication (to one Spyridon Katsaïtis, on whom see Evanghelatos 1995: 27*-8*n39), and in the concluding address to the reader, Katsaïtis explicitly names himself (Πέτρος ὁ Κατσαΐτης) as the author. Likewise, in *Thyestes*' dedication (to Count Metaxas of Cephallenia) Katsaïtis explicitly identifies himself as the author of that tragedy.

on the basis of the information he provides in his own works, and with help from extant notarial documents relating to the author or his family.[5] He was born on the island of Cephallenia (Kefaloniá), possibly around 1660; for not only was he old enough to take part in the "Morean War", or Sixth Ottoman-Venetian War in 1693 (the war lasted from 1684 to 1699),[6] but he is also named as his paternal uncle's heir in a will drafted in December 1682, with no mention of a guardian, which means that Katsaïtis will have been of age at that time (Evanghelatos 1995: 10*). He was the natural son of Stephanos (Stephanis) Katsaïtis and Eleni (family name unknown), who apparently never married each other, although Eleni later married one Antzolis Magdalinos (Evanghelatos 1995: 11*–12*).

The conclusion of the Sixth Ottoman-Venetian War with the Treaty of Karlowitz (January 1699) left the Venetians in possession of, *inter alia*, Cephallenia and the Peloponnese. However, the Venetians did not remain masters of the Peloponnese for very long: a renewed Ottoman offensive, known as the Seventh Ottoman-Venetian War, or the Second Morean War (1715–1718), led to the Venetians losing the Peloponnese to the Ottomans (Treaty of Passarowitz, 21 July 1718). It would appear that Katsaïtis had moved to the Peloponnese around 1690 or a little earlier, since he states in the dedication to the *Lament for the Peloponnese* that he had enjoyed "the maternal embrace" of his adoptive land "for more than twenty-five years" (79-80),[7] that is to say, until the capture of

5 For the following sketch of Katsaïtis' biography I have relied on Kriaras 1950: ς΄-ιβ΄ and on Evanghelatos 1995: 9*-30*; the notarial documents were brought to light by Evanghelatos 1995: 159-78, most of them having already appeared in the playbill of Evanghelatos' production of *Iphigenia* in 1979 (the play was produced under the mock-archaizing title *Iphigenia in Lixouri*, *Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Ληξουρίῳ*, Lixouri being the Cephallenian town where Katsaïtis was born).

6 In a notarial document dated 17 October 1693 (notarized by one Konstantinos Miniatis), Petros Katsaïtis entrusts his mother Eleni with the sum of 150 gold sequins (τζεκίνια, i.e. *zecchini*) for safekeeping, "because he too wishes to join the Armada" (επιδι καί αὐτος βουλετε να υπαγι εἰς την Αρμαδα), i.e. the Venetian armada fighting the Ottomans in the 'Morean War'. See Evanghelatos 1995: 12*, 162-3.

7 Εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ πιλιὸ χρόνους στὴν ἀγκαλιά της / μ' ἔθρεφε καὶ μ' ἐτίμησε κάλλι' ἀπὸ τὰ παιδιά της ("For twenty-five years and more, she [sc.

the Castle of Nauplion by the Ottomans in July 1715.

After the capture of the Castle of Nauplion, Katsaïtis, who had sought refuge within the city's walls together with many others, was taken captive and sold as slave to a Turkish aga on the island of Crete, which had been an Ottoman possession since 1669. In 1717, the aga allowed Katsaïtis, only two years after his capture, to leave in order to raise the funds required for his manumission. In order to do so, Katsaïtis returned to his native Cephallenia,[8] where he managed his finances ably enough to amass the required amount, probably by 1722, mainly by extracting legal compensation for property trespassed upon by neighbours and relatives during his absence, or by claiming debts owed him by his mother's estate.[9] It is at the Cephallenian town of Argostoli, where he settled at first,[10] that Katsaïtis composed his first extant tragedy, *Iphigenia*, dated 25 May 1720,[11] to be followed a year later by his *Thyestes* (July 1721).

As the natural son of a member of the lower aristocracy, Katsaïtis may not have enjoyed a formal education, but it is clear that he had excellent Italian,[12] was conversant with Italian lit-

the Peloponnese] nurtured me in her embrace and honoured me better than she did her own children"; Kriaras 1950: 204). For the date of Katsaïtis move to the Peloponnese see also Evanghelatos 1995: 12*. As we saw above (n. 6), Katsaïtis will have returned to Cephallenia, perhaps for a short visit, in 1693. A second visit to Cephallenia is attested for the period October 1698-January 1699: see Evanghelatos 1995: 12*-13*.

8 Katsaïtis will have returned to Cephallenia in the late 1717 or early 1718. A notarial document (Katsaïtis stands as guarantor for a house sold by his half-siblings) dated 22(?) October 1718 shows that Katsaïtis was on Cephallenia by that time: see Evanghelatos 1995: 15*, with n. 34.

9 For details, ascertained by means of previously unpublished notarial documents, see Evanghelatos 1995: 18*-20*.

10 See Evanghelatos 1995: 15*-16*.

11 The date and place are provided by Katsaïtis himself in the colophon to *Iphigenia* (Kriaras 1950: 117, ll. 19-21): Στὰ χίλια ἑφτακόσια εἴκοσι ἔγραψά το· / τσ' εἴκοσι πέντε τοῦ Μαγιοῦ ἐδῶ ἐτέλειωσά το / στὸ Ἀργοστόλι, πόλαχα ὕστερ' ὀκ τὴ σκλαβιά μου, / ὀπόλαβα εἰς τὸ Μοριὰ διὰ τὰ κρίματά μου ("I wrote this in 1720; I finished it on the 25th of May here at Argostoli, where I happened to be after my slavery, which I suffered in Morea [=the Peloponnese] because of my sins").

12 As is evident from the text of a petition written by himself in Italian and addressed to the Provveditore of Cephallenia (dated 14 November 1722):

erature (his *Iphigenia*, as we shall see, follows closely Lodovico Dolce's *Ifigenia*), with Cretan Renaissance theatre, with some (perhaps second-hand) classical learning, and with Biblical or ecclesiastic texts, as attested by the abundance of Biblical and classical exempla evoked in his work.[13] In his *Lament for the Peloponnese*, Katsaïtis also implies that he had attended performances of comedies in the Peloponnese (perhaps at Nauplion).[14]

2. Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia*: Preliminary Remarks

This paper will focus on the earlier of Katsaïtis' two tragedies, namely *Iphigenia*, a play which – as shown again by Emmanuel Kriaras in a publication subsequent to his edition of the play – is based largely on Lodovico Dolce's tragedy *Ifigenia*, first published in 1551 and re-edited several times, both individually and together with Dolce's other classicizing tragedies.[15] Dolce's *Ifigenia*, together with his *Giocasta*, *Medea* and *Hecuba*, were among the most notable Renaissance translations of Euripides; indeed, his *Giocasta* (an adaptation of Euripides' *Phoenician Women*) served as the model for one of the earliest English performances of Greek tragedy, namely George Gascoigne's and Francis Kinwelmershe's *Jocasta*, staged at Gray's Inn during the Christmas revels of 1566.[16]

see Evanghelatos 1995: 22*, 173-4.

13 See Evanghelatos 1995: 11*-12*. On Katsaïtis' education see also Puchner 1991b: 263-4; Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 115-17.

14 *Lament* II 689-90 (Kriaras 1950: 252): Ποῦ εἶν' οἱ κωμωδίες καὶ τὰ φεστίνια, / ποὺ ἐκάναν τῆς ξεφάντωσης τὴ φτήνια; ("Where are now the comedies and the entertainments, which made for an abundance of revelry?"). Cf. Evanghelatos 1970: 56 and 1995: 14*; Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 133n21.

15 See Kriaras 1961 for Dolce's play as the model for Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia*. Dolce's play was first published individually as Dolce 1551, with second and third individual editions to follow several years later (Dolce 1566b, 1597). The play was also published as part of a multi-play volume also containing Dolce's *Giocasta*, *Didone*, *Thieste*, *Medea* and *Hecuba* (Dolce 1560; 2nd ed. Dolce 1566a). In this paper, references to *Ifigenia* will follow the third edition (Dolce 1597). Further on Dolce's *Ifigenia* as embodying the aesthetics of Late Renaissance and Mannerism see Giazzon 2012 and 2014.

16 See Highet 1949: 121; Hall and Macintosh 2005: x. Further on

To my knowledge, Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia* is the earliest surviving specimen of the reception of classical Greek tragedy in modern Greek – a genre that was to have a long history in subsequent Greek authors. In this case, of course, the reception is mediated through Dolce: Katsaïtis does not seem to have been aware of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, of which Dolce's play is a rewriting.[17] A self-styled τραγέδια, or 'tragedy' (though in reality a tragicomedy, as we shall see), Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia* is composed throughout in rhyming iambic couplets, of the standard 15-syllable variety, whereas Dolce's *Ifigenia* is, largely, in non-rhyming 11-syllable-verses. The change of metrical form is in all likelihood to be attributed to Katsaïtis' familiarity with Cretan Renaissance theatre, in particular with Gheorghios Khortatzis' tragedy *Erofíli*, in which the dialogue is, as always in Cretan drama, in rhyming 15-syllable iambic couplets. It is possible that Katsaïtis came to know *Erofíli* during his two-year stay in Crete: poetic narratives based on the play entered the Cretan ballad tradition (probably through public readings of manuscripts or chapbooks), and all surviving versions of those narratives are composed in the usual 15-syllable verse with couplet rhyme. It is equally likely that Katsaïtis' familiarity with Erofíli stems from performances of the play on Cephallenia or nearby islands, perhaps in the form of *omilíes* (amateur open-air performances),[18] or from chapbooks.[19] It is noteworthy that Katsaïtis omits altogether Dolce's choral odes, perhaps because he felt that the precedent of *Erofíli* and other Cretan tragedies would have obliged him to compose the choral odes in the demanding

Gascoigne's and Kinwelmershe's play see Ward 2013: 62-71.

17 Cf. below n24. In the Epilogue to his *Iphigenia*, Katsaïtis, speaking *in propria persona*, mentions only the *Iliad* as a source for the Iphigenia myth (Kriaras 1950: 117): "Those of you who have read Homer's *Iliad* / will have heard of the war that took place in Troy / and will know very well the entire story / of Iphigenia, which I have turned into a tragedy." This is of course inaccurate since the sacrifice of Iphigenia is not mentioned in the *Iliad*.

18 See Puchner 1991a: 145-8; 1991b: 281; 1995: 61-5; and 2007: 253-4, with earlier bibliography; Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 117. There is evidence for a performance of *Erofíli* in 1728 (i.e. eight years after Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia* was composed) on the island of Zante (Zakynthos): see Puchner 1991a: 145.

19 A possibility raised by Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 117.

form of *terza rima*, a form which (one is tempted to speculate) was too great a challenge for Katsaïtis' rather mediocre poetic talents.[20] For a few examples of echoes from Renaissance Cretan literature in Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia* see n. 30 below.

Last but far from least, Katsaïtis' play was clearly intended for performance, and may have actually been performed, on Cephallenia. In the epilogue, Odysseus addresses the

> Worthy and honourable lords of Kefallonia,
> who have gathered in this place,
> and you, noble ladies, who took the trouble
> to gather today here in this place,
> out of the kindness of your heart and with so much eagerness,
> in order to attend a tragedy of the Greeks etc.
> (Kriaras 1950: 115)

And at the end of the epilogue, Odysseus, with conventional humility, thanks the audience for so generously deigning to watch such a humble spectacle, and requests their applause:

> But now break this silence, all of you together,
> and if our tragedy has been to your liking, do give us a sign.
> (Kriaras 1950: 116)

What is more, the play's fifth act, in which Katsaïtis breaks free from his model, is punctuated with authorial stage directions concerning the ceremony of Iphigenia's sacrifice (Kriaras 1950: 84-6), but also the buffoonish comings and goings of the comic characters in the play's farcical coda (Kriaras 1950: 96-7, 101, 103-7, 110-13). There can be no doubt, then, that *Iphigenia* was composed primarily for performance; and although Katsaïtis clearly did intend to have his play published as a book, his plans never came to fruition.[21]

20 On the limited role of the chorus in *Iphigenia* see further Puchner 1991b: 270-1. With regard to Katsaïtis' versification, Kriaras (1950: λδ′) points out that the author often has to resort to ungrammatical formations for the sake of the rhyme in his 15-syllable iambics, and that even so there remains a considerable number of imperfect rhymes throughout his work.

21 The MS is evidently prepared for publication, as shown by the extensive dedication to Spyridon Katsaïtis and by the colophon, which is ad-

3. Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia*: Plot and Structure

Prologue

The play begins with a lengthy, 216-word prologue, delivered by Agamemnon, who bemoans (1-78) the fact that men stand to lose face on account of female mischief, and then proceeds (79-216) to apply those remarks to the specific case of Helen's adultery and its effect on Menelaus, and to introduce the essentials of the plot (the Greeks' expedition in order to retrieve Helen, their tarrying at Aulis because of adverse winds, and Calchas' oracle to the effect that Iphigenia must be sacrificed). The Prologue appears to be of Katsaïtis' own making and displays his typical garrulity and repetitiveness; there is certainly nothing comparable in Dolce's *Ifigenia*.[22]

Act 1

In the opening dialogue between Agamemnon and an anonymous Servant, the king reveals that he has invited Clytemnestra and Iphigenia to Aulis on the pretext of the latter's imminent marriage to Achilles. However, he is now having second thoughts, as he cannot bear to sacrifice his own daughter, and asks the Servant to deliver a letter to his wife asking her to return to Argos. There follows a tense dialogue between Agamemnon and "Chalkias" (= Calchas), in which the king delivers a stock attack against seers, berating them for their hypocrisy and mercenary mentality. In the final scene, Calchas, alone, delivers a monologue voicing his suspicion that Agamemnon has decided to spare Iphigenia's life, and adding that the king's change of heart will provoke violent unrest among the Greek army.

This first act generally corresponds to the first act of Dolce's *Ifigenia*, except that Katsaïtis has omitted, as everywhere else,

dressed to the 'wisdom-loving *reader*' (φιλομαθὴ ἀναγνώστη): Kriaras 1950: 3-6, 117, respectively.

22 On the lengthiness of the Prologue as typical of the Italian and Cretan theatre of the time see Evanghelatos 1970: 60-1.

Dolce's choral odes, and has considerably shortened a number of that author's monologues. For example, he has radically shortened and rephrased[23] the genealogical exposition that Dolce took over from Erasmus' translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* (49ff.).[24]

Act 2

After a lengthy monologue by Odysseus about evil women in general and Helen's infidelity as the cause of the expedition against Troy in particular, there follows a dialogue between Odysseus and Menelaus, in which the latter reveals that the Greek army is indignant at their leader's unwillingness to sacrifice his daughter. In the following scene, Odysseus, alone, soliloquizes contemptuously about Menelaus' ridiculous uxoriousness as the ultimate cause of the war. There follows a brief dialogue between Odysseus and Agamemnon, in which the latter confirms his determination not to go ahead with the sacrifice, and a scene in which Menelaus berates his brother for his change of mind; Agamemnon, however, remains adamant. A Messenger announces that Clytemnestra, Iphigenia and Orestes have now arrived at Aulis, whereupon Agamemnon laments his harsh fate, and Menelaus, supposedly moved by his brother's tears, pretends to have changed his mind and advises his brother not to give in to pressure from the Greek army. Agamemnon, however, responds that he finds himself constrained to go ahead with the sacrifice, which must be kept secret from Clytemnestra. In the final scene, Menelaus, alone, confesses that he is unwilling to forgo vengeance for his wife's abduction, as this would compromise his honour.

At 740 lines, Act 2 is significantly longer than the corresponding act in Dolce's play (only 532 lines, including choral parts that have no counterpart in Katsaïtis). Notably, the dialogue between Menelaus and Agamemnon's Servant at the opening of Act 2

23 See Kriaras 1950: 17-18.

24 See Dolce 1597: 7^{v}; Erasmus 1507: xxxvii^{r}. On Erasmus' translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia* see Rummel 1985: 29-39. For a more detailed comparison between the first acts of Katsaïtis' and Dolce's plays see Chassapi-Christodoulou 2002: 229-31.

of Dolce's play has been replaced, in Katsaïtis, with scenes i-v (352 lines), containing Odysseus' prologue, two dialogues (Odysseus–Agamemnon, Agamemnon–Menelaus), and two monologues (Odysseus', Agamemnon's). It is unclear whether these five scenes are based on some unknown model, or whether they are Katsaïtis' own work. The latter possibility seems likelier, in view of those five scenes' prolixity and repetitiveness, which as we have already observed is a salient characteristic of Katsaïtis' style.[25] After all, Odysseus has no counterpart in Dolce (see further below, section 4).

As an illustration of Katsaïtis' style, I give below a rather characteristic example of his adaptation of Dolce's text. In Dolce, Menelaus' soliloquy, which concludes Act 2, is a 12-line piece, which has been blown by Katsaïtis (sc. 8) into a 33-line speech, mainly thanks to added passages about the importance of honour for Menelaus – a theme which recurs time and again in Katsaïtis.[26] Here is Dolce's text, followed by Katsaïtis' reworking in the original Greek; both extracts are accompanied by my own translation:

Dolce (1597) 20^{v}

MENELAO (*solo*) Lasso, che questo natural amore,
Amor di noi medesmi; è tanto, e tale,
Che spesso al proprio honor n'appanna gliocchi.
Ma, s'egli al fratel mio l'usato lume
Toglie; rimaner già non vuò d'oppormi
A quel ch'io debbo: cosi fo pensiero
Di far, ch'Ulisse con la viva forza
De l'eloquenza; che può, quanto vuole,
Tenti di persuader, quanto io non posso.

25 For instance, sc. 1 is a long-winded and repetitious monologue, in which Odysseus expatiates (otiosely, after Agamemnon's similar soliloquy in the prologue) on the 'evil woman' motif, offers a long series of Biblical and classical exempla, and adds, for good measure, the narrative of the stratagem he devised to avoid conscription, its discovery thanks to Palamedes' counter-stratagem, as well as the episode of Achilles' hiding, in feminine disguise, among the daughters of Lycomedes on the island of Scyros. In sc. 3 Odysseus, again, offers a variation of the same theme, namely Menelaus' ludicrous devotion to a bad wife. And sc. 5 is little more than an instantiation of perhaps the tritest gnomic theme, namely the mutability of fortune.

26 Cf. Grammatas 1987: 32, 39n57.

Acciò, che questo vitupero indegno,
Che ne la mia persona offende tutti,
Si tolga da la faccia di ciascuno.

[Alas, that this natural love for ourselves is such, and so great, that it renders us blind to our personal honour. But if it deprives my brother of his customary eyesight [i.e., discernment], I do not propose to stay here and evade my duty. Thus, I am thinking of having Ulysses, whose keen force of eloquence can do what it likes, exercise his power of persuasion, inasmuch as I cannot. Thus, this shameful opprobrium, which in my person offends everyone, shall be lifted away from everyone's eyes.]

Katsaïtis (Kriaras 1950: 41–2)

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ Τούτη ἡ ἀγάπη ἡ φυσικὴ πὄχομε στὰ παιδιά μας
ἔχει μεγάλη δύναμη στὸν νοῦ καὶ στὴν καρδιά μας,
ὁποὺ συχνὰ καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κουκλώνει
καὶ ὅλες μας τὶς στόχασες ἀπὸ τὸν νοῦ σηκώνει.
Μ' ἂν εἶν' κ' ἐτούτη ἐθάμπωσε τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου,
ἐγὼ δὲν θέλω τὴν τιμὴ ν' ἀφήσω τοῦ ἐμαυτοῦ μου.
Γιατὶ ἡ τιμὴ στὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι μεγάλη χάρη
κι' ὅποιος τὴν χάση δύσκολα θέλει τὴν ξαναπάρει.
Κ' ἐμὲ μοῦ τὴν ἐπήρανε κι' ἃ δὲν τὴν ξεγδικήσω,
δὲν εἶναι δίκιο δίχως της στὸν κόσμο πλιὸ νὰ ζήσω.
Τιμή μου, πλήσιε θησαυρέ, περίσσια ζηλεμένε,
μὲ τόσον πόθο ἀπὸ μὲ καὶ κόπο μαζωμένε,
πῶς ἄλλοι σ' ἐξοδιάσασι κ' ἐκαταστήσασί με
πτωχὸ πολλὰ ἀπὸ λόγου σου κ' εἰς εἶντα χρείαν εἶμαι!
Ἐχάσα σε καὶ δίχως σου δὲν χρήζω πλιὸ τὰ πλούτη,
μηδὲ μονάρχας ἤθελα νά 'μαι στὴ γῆν ἐτούτη.
Σ' ἀπόκτησα σὲ κίνδυνα βάνοντας τὴ ζωή μου
κι' ἄλλοι σ' ἐδαπανήσασι μὲ τόσην ἐντροπή μου.
Ἐγὼ ὁ πτωχὸς σ' ἀπόκτησα κι' αὐτὴ πού 'χα της δώσει
τοῦ θησαυροῦ σου τὰ κλειδιὰ ἤθελε μὲ κομπώσει.
Ἐγὼ ποῦρι σ' ἐκέρδαισα μὲ ἵδρωτα καὶ κόπο
κ' ἐκείνη μου σ' ἐσκόρπισε μὲ ντροπιασμένον τρόπο.
Μὰ τόσο αἷμα, τάζω σου, γιὰ σένα θὲ νὰ χύσω
νὰ θαραπάψω τὴν καρδιὰ κ' ἐσὲ νὰ πάρω ὀπίσω.
Τὸν Ὀδυσσέα θὲ νὰ βρῶ, ὁποὺ σ' αὐτὴ τὴν χρεία

μπορεῖ πολλὰ μὲ τὴν σοφὴ πολλή του εὐγλωττία
εἰς ὅ,τι ἐγὼ δὲν ἠμπορῶ ἐκεῖνος νὰ πασχίση
μὲ τὴν πολλή του ἐνέργεια στὸ νὰ παρακινήση,
– γιατὶ ἀγκαλὰ κ' ἡ ἐντροπὴ ὁπού 'ναι καμωμένη
σ' ἐμένανε, μὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὅλοι εἶναι βλαμμένοι –
γιὰ νὰ πλυθῆ κ' ἐξαλειφθῆ ἐτούτ' ἡ καταισχύνη
τελείως, εἰς τὸ γένος μας καθόλου ν' ἀπομείνη.

[This natural love we feel towards our children holds sway in our minds and in our hearts, so much so that it often pulls the wool over honour's eyes and removes the power of reason from our minds. But if it has blurred my brother's vision, *I* will not relinquish my own honour. For honour is a great favour to men, and whoever loses it finds it very hard to win it back. It was taken away from me too, and if I cannot avenge myself, then it would not be right for me to live in this world without it. O honour, great and envied treasure amassed by me with much desire and toil, how have you been spent by others, so that I've been deprived of you and left completely destitute! Now that I've lost you, I have no desire for wealth, nor do I wish to be a monarch on this earth. While I acquired you at my life's peril, others have wasted you, much to my shame. Yes, I acquired you, miserable that I am, but I was deceived by the very woman I had entrusted with the keys to your treasury. I managed to win you with much sweat and toil, and she squandered you in a shameful manner. But I promise you, I am going to shed much blood for your sake, in order to satisfy my heart and win you back. I am going to find Odysseus, who can achieve much in this matter, thanks to his wise eloquence, and can attempt, with his energy, to do what I cannot, (namely) urge others (for the dishonour done to me also affects all the others), so that this opprobrium is washed away, cleaned up completely, and no trace of it may attach to our family anymore.]

Act 3

Clytemnestra, Iphigenia and Orestes arrive at Aulis, only to meet a downcast Agamemnon, who attempts to explain away his dejectedness despite the supposedly festive occasion (Iphigenia's

wedding). The king tries to persuade Clytemnestra to go back to Argos, leaving her daughter behind, but the queen predictably refuses. There follows a meeting between Achilles and Clytemnestra, with the former declaring that he knows nothing about his impending wedding to Iphigenia. In the ensuing scene (iv), Agamemnon's Servant reveals to Clytemnestra and Achilles that the wedding is a ruse indented to lure Iphigenia to her death. Achilles asserts that he will never consent to his name being used as a pretext for such an evil act, and Clytemnestra begs for his protection. Achilles offers to speak to Agamemnon in the hope of persuading him to change his mind, and encourages Clytemnestra to do so as well.

Act 3 follows closely the structure and the wording of the corresponding act of Dolce's play; Katsaïtis has even allowed himself, contrary to his general practice of omitting choral parts, to keep, in sc. 5 (lines 467-70 and 535-8), two brief choral interventions also found in Dolce. On occasion, Katsaïtis is also (uncharacteristically) more economical than Dolce. For instance, in sc. 5, Katsaïtis has omitted from Clytemnestra's supplication to Achilles fourteen lines in which Dolce's heroine complained that she has no one except Achilles to turn to, given her husband's "harsh audacity and cruelty".[27] And in sc. 3, Clytemnestra's final response to Achilles is only four lines long (as opposed to eight in Dolce), and Achilles' reply to her is omitted altogether.[28] Here are, for easy reference and comparison, the relevant passages from sc. 3:

Dolce (1597) 26^{r}

Cl. Dunque creder debb'io, che in questa cosa
S'asconda inganno, e che beffata i sia?
Già di quanto io n'ho detto, mi rincresce;
E del mio vaneggiar prendo vergogna.
Restate in pace: c'hoggimai non posso
Non arrossir di riguardarvi in faccia,
Poscia ch'io trovo havervi detto cosa
Tutta fallace, e di menzogne piena.
Ac. Reina a me di tal favola auiene,

27 See Kriaras 1950: 56; Dolce 1597: 29^{r}-29^{v}.
28 For Katsaïtis' text see Kriaras 1950: 51; cf. Dolce 1597: 26^{r}.

Come adivien a chi novella ascolta
Non più intesa da lui: che quanto in essa
Ripensa più, più maraviglia prende.
Ma voi di ciò non vi turbate molto:
Che forse questo error potrà giovarci.
Intanto io me n'andrò cercando il vostro
Honorato marito, infin ch'io'l trovi.

[CLYTEMNESTRA Am I to believe, then, that some deception is concealed in this affair, and that I have been outwitted? I already regret what I have said about this, and I am ashamed of my ravings. Do not be upset: for I shall never help blushing when I look you in the eye, since I find that I have told you something completely fallacious and full of lies.
ACHILLES My Queen, to me this news comes as something that one hears for the first time, and that he does not understand: the more one thinks about it, the stranger it appears to him. But please do not upset yourself too much about this: this mistake may turn out to be of help. In the meantime, I shall go look for your esteemed husband, and try to find him.]

Katsaïtis (Kriaras 1950: 51)

ΚΛΥΘ. Λοιπὸν ἐπιβουλιὰ καμιὰ σ' αὐτὰ εἶναι κρυμμένη,
θὲ νὰ πιστεύσω καὶ ἔμεινα μὲ τοῦτα κομπωμένη,
ὥστε ποὺ ὅ,τι ἐμίλησα ψεματινὰ τὰ γνώθω
κ' ἐντρέπομαι νὰ σὲ θωρῶ· γιαῦτο τὰ μεταγνώθω.

[CLYTEMNESTRA I am bound to believe, then, that some deception is concealed in all this, and that I have been hoodwinked; so that I realize that everything I said is a lie, and I am ashamed to look at you; therefore, I regret all this.]

However, in at least one case, Katsaïtis' shortening of the original has resulted in a structural fault in the dialogue. In Dolce (1597: 26^{v}), there is a three-person dialogue, in which Achilles urges Agamemnon's Servant to reveal the distressing news he has just alluded to, and Clytemnestra chimes in, assuring the Servant that she will guard the secret closely; at which point, the Servant turns to Clytemnestra, begging her benevolent understanding. Now, Katsaïtis has omitted Clytemnestra's crucial intervention in

Dolce's three-person dialogue, incorporating its main thrust into Achilles' words (Kriaras 1950: 52); as a result, the Servant's address to Clytemmnestra in Katsaïtis comes across as abrupt and unmotivated.[29] Here are, for easy reference and comparison, the relevant passages, first Dolce's, then Katsaïtis':

Dolce (1597) 26^{v}

Ac. Di queste tue parole veder parmi,
Che n'habbia a uscir qualche novella acerba.
Cl. Non ti tardi a scoprir, quel che m'è ascoso,
Dubbio, ò timor, ch'io lo palesi altrui;
Ch'io ti rendo securo, che giamai
Non l'intenderà alcun per questa lingua.
S. Reina voi sapete, ch'io fui prima
Servo nudrito ne le vostre case etc.

[Achilles (*to the Servant*) From your words I seem to deduce that you are about to come out with some painful piece of news.
Clytemnestra (*to the Servant*) Do not delay to reveal what is concealed from me; let yourself not be prevented by doubt or by fear that I may disclose it to others. I assure you that no one will ever hear it from my mouth.
Servant (*to Clytemnestra*) O Queen, you know that I was once a servant raised in your house, etc.]

Katsaïtis (Kriaras 1950: 52)

Αχιλ. Λοιπὸν μὲ χώρις ἄργητα καὶ δίχως φόβο πέ μου·
ἐκεῖνο ποὺ κρατεῖς κρυφὸ τώρα φανέρωσέ μου·
καὶ θέλεις εἶσαι βέβαιος ποτὲ νὰ μὴν θελήση
νὰ τὸ εἰπῆ ἡ γλῶσσα μου σ' ἄλλον νὰ τ' ἀγροικήση.
Δουλ. Βασίλισσα, κατέχεις το τὸ πὼς ἀναθρεμμένος
ἐστάθηκα στὸ σπίτι σας καὶ πάντα μπιστεμένος κτλ.

[Achilles (*to the Servant*) Now then, tell me, without delay and without fear; do reveal to me what you have been hiding. And you may rest assured that my mouth will never tell this to anyone else's ears.

29 This is far from being the only dramatic fault of *Iphigenia*; for further criticisms see Puchner 1991b: 288-90, 291-6.

SERVANT (*to the Queen!*) O Queen, you know that I have been raised in your house and have ever been faithful, etc.]

Act 4

In the opening dialogue between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, the king pretends that Iphigenia is to officiate in the impending sacrifice, while Clytemnestra (apparently in an aside) states that she is aware of her husband's true intentions. Iphigenia appears before her parents, and Clytemnestra elicits Agamemnon's admission of the harsh truth. Assisted (improbably) by the infant Orestes, Iphigenia begs for her life to be spared, but Agamemnon replies that the sacrifice is the only way to appease Artemis. After a pair of lamentations by Clytemnestra and Iphigenia, Achilles reports that the Greek army is in turmoil because of his unwillingness to allow Iphigenia's sacrifice. In an abrupt volte-face, Iphigenia declares that she will eagerly go to her death to serve the Greek cause and win eternal fame. While praising the girl's noble spirit, Achilles urges her to change her mind, but she remains unmoved and, in the final scene, tries to console her mother. This act has perhaps the highest concentration of recognizable linguistic and stylistic influences from Cretan Renaissance theatre, in particular Gheorghios Khortatzis' tragedy *Erofíli*.[30] At

30 Thus, e.g., the phrasing of line 93 Ὤ τύχη μου ἀντίδικη καὶ ριζικὸ καημένο (Kriaras 1950: 63) harks back to *Erofíli* Act 5, 485 Ὤφου, πρικύ μου ριζικὸ κι ἀντίδική μου μοίρα. Also, the Chorus' prayer to Artemis as the moon-goddess in Katsaïtis (5.2.151-5, 171-5) recalls the first two stanzas of the chorus' address to the sun in the 4th choral ode of *Erofíli*: see Kriaras 1950: 86, 296. An interesting case of conflation between Dolce and Khortatzis is to be found in Iphigenia's qualification of her address to her father, to the effect that he does not deserve the paternal appellation: Κύρη, ἀκριβέ μου κύρη μου, καλὰ καὶ νὰ σὲ κράζω / κύρη μου δὲν ἐτύχαινε (Kriaras 1950: 63). Here, Katsaïtis takes his cue from Dolce (1597: 34^{v}): "Padre mio caro padre: / Benche dovrei tacere / Questo nome di padre" etc.; however, the phrasing puts one in mind of Khortatzis' *Erofíli* Act 5, 435 Ὤ κύρη μου, μὰ κύρη πλιὸ γιάντα νὰ σ' ὀνομάζω. Katsaïtis' Act 4 may also conceal echoes from other works of the Cretan Renaissance; for instance, Kriaras (1950: 294) has identified in Iphigenia's plea for her life, with its reminders of her father's past acts of

the same time, it follows Dolce's model quite closely, except that Clytemnestra's denunciatory speech against Agamemnon in sc. 2 has been reduced to 69 lines (111-80) from 138 lines in Dolce.[31]

Act 5

In this act, Katsaïtis veers away from Dolce to give his play a happy ending. After a meeting between Agamemnon and a number of Greek leaders (Odysseus, Menelaus, Achilles, Palamedes), Iphigenia offers herself willingly as a victim for the sake of Greece. The herald "Thalthybon" (Θαλθύβων, i.e. Talthybius) asks those present to offer a prayer, and the Priest prepares Iphigenia for sacrifice, while the Chorus intones a hymn to Artemis. Just before the sacrificial knife touches the girls' throat, however, a sudden tempest breaks out of nowhere. Enter the prophet Fenisos (Φενίσος), who reveals that Artemis does not wish for the sacrifice to go ahead, and denounces Calchas as a false and ignorant seer, who misinterpreted the goddess' will. Finally, Fenisos advises Agamemnon to marry off his daughter to a worthy husband and to sacrifice a deer in her place. Achilles asks for Iphigenia to be given to him in marriage, Agamemnon happily consents (but not before asking for the Greek leaders' approval), and everyone, including the happy couple, exit in order to prepare the wedding.

At this point (sc. 4-6), the play suddenly morphs into a frantic farce, with the acting space being invaded by an assortment of comic characters, most of whom are derived from the Commedia dell'Arte or from Molière (see further below, section 4). Capitan Kouviellos (Coviello), a *miles gloriosus*, claims that he has orders from Agamemnon himself to find Calchas and rip him apart as a punishment for his false prophecy. Calchas asks for protection from Barlakias (Barlacchia) and Skapinos (Scapino), and hides

affection towards her (lines 205-10, Kriaras 1950: 66), similarities with Isaac's pleas to Abraham in Vitzentzos Kornaros'(?) play *The Sacrifice of Abraham* 801-14. For further examples (not all of them compelling) see Puchner 1991b: 272-6. For echoes of *Erofili* in Katsaïtis' other classicizing tragedy, *Thyestes*, see Kriaras 1950: 301-4; Puchner 1991b: 276-80.

31 See Kriaras 1950: 64-6; Dolce 1597: 35^{r}-7^{v}.

himself in a sack, so that Skapinos may carry him safely home. Unaware of the trick, Capitan Kouviellos confronts the company and asks his henchmen to start beating and kicking the sack. In the following scene, Barlakias, charged by Achilles with buying dragées for the wedding but having no money, decides to offer the apothecary Sgaranellos (Sganarelle) a supposedly valuable mummy in return for a hundred florins' worth of dragées. The "mummy", however, will be, in fact, Skapinos hidden in a coffin. The "mummy" duly delivered, there follows a piece of broad comedy, in which Skapinos takes advantage of the apothecary's absence to eat the candies the latter had left on the pharmacy counter. In the final scene, the *senex amans* Tibourtzios (Tiburzio) meets two plebeian women standing outside Barlakias' house and tries to court one of them. Persuaded to go and dye his hair in order to look younger, Tibourtzios comes back with his hair dyed a garish blue.

Not only the concluding farce but also the former, non-comic, part of Katsaïtis' Act 5 have fundamental differences from the corresponding act of Dolce's *Ifigenia*. For instance, Iphigenia's last-minute rescue thanks to the intervention of a priestly figure has no counterpart in Dolce. As Pittas-Herschbach points out, it seems to be a device borrowed from pastoral tragicomedy, for example Giovanni Battista Guarini's immensely popular *Il Pastor fido* (1585), or one of its many spin-offs, including *L'Amorosa Fede* (1620) by the Cretan Antonio Pandimo (Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 119). In Guarini (5.6), the shepherd Mirtillo's sacrificial death is averted thanks to the intervention of the blind seer Tirenio; and in Pandimo's play (5.7), the seer Criseo prevents Erodafne's sacrifice at the last moment by revealing a hitherto unknown oracle.

In spite of his fundamental divergences from his principal model, Katsaïtis has also retained and transformed, in his Act 5, a few details from the corresponding act of Dolce's play. For instance, the revelation, in Katsaïtis, that Artemis requests a deer to be sacrificed in Iphigenia's stead is in all likelihood a development of the Servant's brief and incredulous mention, in Dolce, of 'certain claims' (cf. "alcuni affermano": Dolce 1597: 50^{v}) to the effect that Diana substituted a deer for Iphigenia at the last moment. Moreover, the same Servant's (Dolce 1597: 49^{v}) report of Iphigenia's words before the sacrifice – to the effect that she offers

herself willingly for the sake of Greece and that she requests only that no-one touch her veils – is rewritten in Katsaïtis as a piece of theatrical *action*, in which Iphigenia herself makes a similar request to the Greek leaders (Kriaras 1950: 84). Finally, the herald Talthybius' request that everyone pray for a favourable outcome (Dolce *l.c.*) is transformed again into stage business in Katsaïtis (*l.c.*): Talthybius' proclamation is accompanied by the sound of the trumpet—evidently the result of a literal reading of Dolce's "Taltibio . . . il publico trombetta" (where *trombetta* = "bugler", "herald" rather than "trumpet").[32]

4. Characters and Their Origins in Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia*

We saw in the previous section that, while Katsaïtis' principal source was undoubtedly Lodovico Dolce's *Ifigenia* (as already pointed out by Kriaras 1961), there are a number of deviations, especially in Act 5, which suggest that Katsaïtis either relied on his own devices or drew material from sources that cannot be immediately identified. At least some of these sources, however, are clearly of comic origin, as is evident from a number of characters in Act 5, who can be shown to derive principally from the Commedia dell'Arte and, in two cases, from Molière.[33] A brief survey of these characters is given below, with comments on their theatrical origins.

Capitan Kouviellos

Capitan Kouviellos (Καπιτὰν Κουβιέλλος) is obviously a slight-

32 See also Chassapi-Christodoulou 2002: 234 on Katsaïtis' transforming into stage business what is merely a piece of messenger narrative in Dolce.

33 For the echoes of the Commedia dell'Arte in *Iphigenia* see also Grammatas 1987, who sees the play as a parodic satire against the aristocratic establishment; see however the criticisms of Puchner 1991b: 320-3n507. In addition, the "mummy" trick in 5.5 may have been inspired by Giovanni Bonicelli's *Pantalon spezier* (1693), in which (2.23) Arlichino appears disguised as a skeleton referred to as a *mumia*, "mummy". The suggestion was made by Prof. Piermario Vescovo, *teste* Carpinato 2005: 192n20. For a critical edition of Bonicelli's play see Ghelfi 2014: 177-265, esp. 236.

ly Hellenized form of Capitan Coviello, one of the stock characters of the Commedia dell'Arte.[34] Admittedly, in the Commedia (especially in its Neapolitan variety), Coviello is usually a First Zanni, a wily scheming servant often appearing as a musician,[35] whereas in Katsaïtis he embodies the age-old figure of the *miles gloriosus*, the braggart soldier. However, there is some evidence pointing to an affinity between the Coviello and the Capitano of the Commedia, so much so that "in some records he is actually styled Capitan Coviello", as he is in Katsaïtis.[36]

Skapinos

In Katsaïtis' list of characters, Skapinos (Σκαπίνος) is accompanied by the qualification "da Trofaldin", i.e. "in the role of Trufaldino". In other words, Skapinos is intended to be a fusion of two Commedia types, Scapino and Trufaldino, the former a First Zanni type (the scheming and cowardly 'escape artist')[37] and the latter a Second Zanni type (the foolish servant).[38] Two characters named Trufaldino and Capitan Coviello appear in an anonymous 1672 *commedia* entitled *Trufaldino medico volante*,[39] although I cannot find, in that piece, any similarities with Katsaïtis' play beyond the coincidence of names.

34 See e.g. Katritzky 2006: 19, 26, 209, 219.

35 See Fava 2015: 111; Heck 2015: 259 fig. 27.2, 264-7.

36 Quotation from Nicoll 1963: 61. See also Pougin 1885: 254: "On assure qu'au commencement du présent siècle [i.e. the 19th century], le type de Coviello figurait encore parfois dans les canevas des marionnettes italiennes, où il remplissait un rôle assez semblable à celui de l'ancien Capitan". See also Oreglia 1968: 105, as cited in Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 134n28.

37 See e.g. Preeshl 2015: 116, 118.

38 See e.g. Fava 2015: 112; cf. Evanghelatos 1970: 74. On the fusion see Puchner and White 2017: 181-2. Since both Scapino and Trufaldino are Zanni types, their fusion is not as "foolish" as claimed by Puchner 1991b: 299.

39 See Toldo 1910: 259-60; Franchi 1988: 450.

Barlakias

As specified in the list of characters, Barlakias (Μπαρλάκιας) appears in the role of Finocchio ("da Finocchio"), the latter easily recognizable as a variant of the wily servant type.[40] However, the origin of the Barlakias figure itself is less easy to ascertain, and the problem of his origins has understandably perplexed scholars. I have been able to establish that Barlakias is, in fact, not derived from a theatrical character but from a historical figure. His name evokes that of Domenico Barlacchi, nicknamed "Il Barlacchia", who was a herald of the Florentine Signoria and a famous actor around the mid-sixteenth century. Barlacchi enjoyed high esteem in his time. He was a friend of Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino. He led a touring troupe that performed both in Italy and abroad, most notably at Lyons in 1548 before the French King Henri II, with a production of Bibbiena's classic *La Calandria*, which inaugurated the tradition of *Comédie italienne* in France. And he had, posthumously, a number of pleasantries and jests ascribed to him.[41] It was no doubt as the supposed protagonist of these pleasantries that Barlacchi was known to Katsaïtis, perhaps through chapbooks circulating in the Ionian islands.[42]

Tibourtzios

Like Barlakias, Tibourtzios (Τιμπούρτζιος), the name Katsaïtis uses for his *senex amans*, has no identifiable precedent in the Commedia, and has been left unexplained by students of Katsaïtis' play. However, it should have been obvious that the name is de-

40 See Nicoll 1963: 77; Preeshl 2015: 116.

41 See Speroni 1964: 252, 255-6; Cummings 2004: 105-6; Barasch 2005: 235; Plaisance 2008: 112, 117, 118, 122. Barlacchia's fame is evidenced by, *inter alia*, the fact that Machiavelli himself chose to sign his autograph copy of Lorenzo Strozzi's *Commedia in versi* in the words "ego Barlacchia recensui" ("I, Barlacchia, have examined and corrected this"): see Landon 2013: 55-6 for discussion. Recently, Stoppelli 2018 has argued for the attribution of the *Commedia in versi* to Machiavelli himself as opposed to Strozzi.

42 Thus, Barlakias is not "a complete fabrication", *pace* Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 118, who follows on this point Puchner 1991b: 299; 2004b: 144.

rived from Tiburzio, a character who (as far as I can ascertain) was first introduced by Giovanni Briccio in his comedy *Il Pantalone imbertonao* (Viterbo, 1617). There is, however, an important difference between Katsaïtis' and Briccio's Tiburzio figures: in Katsaïtis, as indicated above, Tibourtzios is identified as a γέρος ἀγαπητικός, or *senex amans*, whereas Briccio's Tiburzio is a young man, with his father Pantalone in the role of the *senex amans* and his son's rival in love.[43] This difference does not necessarily preclude Katsaïtis' dependence on Briccio, and *Il Pantalone imbertonao* also features, intriguingly, a Coviello, although the latter appears there in the role of a doctor rather than of the Capitano, as he does in Katsaïtis. The Tiburzio figure rose to prominence in the comedies of Carlo Goldoni,[44] which however cannot have been known to Katsaïtis, since Goldoni's theatrical activity, which began in the 1730s, postdates *Iphigenia*.

Sgaranellos and Porkoniakos

Katsaïtis' comedy also includes two characters of ultimately Molieresque origin, namely Sgaranellos (Σγαρανέλλος) and Porkoniakos (Πορκονιάκος). Obviously, these figures are derived from Molière's Sganarelle and Monsieur de Pourceaugnac, respectively. The latter is the title character of Molière's homonymous *comédie-ballet* (1669), while the former was introduced by Molière in his early comedy *Le Médecin volant* and was used by him repeatedly in many of his lat-

43 Cf. Jordan 2008: 60. Puchner's speculations about Tibourtzios' being derived from Molière's Thibaud (in *Le Médecin malgré lui*) or from the same author's M. Thibaudier (in *La Contesse d'Escarbagnas*) are baseless (2004b: 150).

44 For example, in his comedies *I Due gemelli veneziani* (1747); *Il Padre di famiglia* (1750); *Il Giuocatore* (1750). It is perhaps with Goldoni's plays in mind that Constantini (1750) 184 mentions 'Tiburzio' as a comic character. Goldoni's Tiburzio became influential: for instance, in Giuseppe Cirillo's *I Malocchi* (Naples, 1789), Don Tiburzio is identified as 'amante di Camilla'. Also, in Filippo Cammarano's *Rachele ed Ippolito o sia Il Comico inglese* (Venice, 1792), Tiburzio is identified in the list of characters as 'Buffo della Compagnia'. For Greek translations of Goldoni (from 1741 onwards) see Puchner 1984: 76-7.

er pieces, from *Sganarelle, ou Le Cocu imaginaire* (1660) onwards.[45] Interestingly, in Katsaïtis' list of characters, Sgaranellos is identified as "da specier e medico", i.e. "in the role of apothecary and doctor". As Evanghelatos was the first to see, this probably bespeaks Katsaïtis' familiarity with (an Italian version of) Molière's *Le Médecin malgré lui*, in which Sganarelle pretends to be a doctor.[46] Indeed, there is a number of striking similarities with Molière's play in Katsaïtis:

1. In Katsaïtis, Sgaranellos is called upon to provide a medicine for Porkoniakos' daughter, who has lost her voice (Katsaïtis, Act 5, 781ff.; Kriaras 1950: 104). The same ailment affects Géronte's daughter Lucinde whom Sganarelle is called upon to treat in Molière's *Le Médecin malgré lui* (2.5) (Forestier *et al.* 2010: 749-54).
2. Katsaïtis' Sganarellos prescribes the same medicine as his counterpart in Molière, namely bread soaked in wine.[47]
3. When Katsaïtis' Sganarellos invokes Aristotle's teachings in support of the treatment he proposes, Porkoniakos remarks that Aristotle "was a great man as I hear"; whereupon Sgaranellos raises his hand above his head and responds, comically, "Indeed, he was that much higher than me" (Act 5, lines 800-4; Kriaras 1950: 104). In Molière, Sganarelle cracks a similar joke: "*levant son bras depuis le coude*: Grand Homme tout à fait: un Homme qui était plus grand que moi, de tout cela" (Forestier *et al.* 2010: 751).
4. Katsaïtis' Sgaranellos declines the noun *poeta*, stating the name of the relevant case as he does so ("nominativo . . . genetivo"); similarly, his counterpart in Molière speaks dog Latin ("*Ossabandus, nequeys, nequer, potarinum, quipsa milus*"), declines "Bonus, Bona, Bonum", and reels off faux-Lat-

45 Molière also used Sganarelle in *L'École des maris* (1661); *Le Mariage forcé* (1664); *Dom Juan* (1665); *L'Amour médecin* (1665); and *Le Médecin malgré lui* (1666). See further Blackman 1947: 40-4, who argues for Sganarelle originating in the Zanni of the Commedia.

46 Evanghelatos 1970: 77n1, implicitly (and wrongly) criticized by Puchner 2004b: 168-9. Cf. also Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 134n30.

47 Katsaïtis: Act 5, ll. 788-91 (Kriaras 1950: 104); Molière: Forestier *et al.* 2010: 752-3.

> in grammatical terms higgledy-piggledy ("Quia substantivo, et adjectivum, concordat in generi, numerum, et casus") (Forestier *et al.* 2010: 751–2).

The first Italian translation of Molière's plays by Nicolò Castelli (pen name of Fr. Biagio Augustelli) was published in four volumes in 1698 in Leipzig, with *Sganarello* appearing in the first volume and *Il signor Porcognacco* in the third.[48] Katsaïtis may have had access to Castelli's translation, or (perhaps the likelier possibility) he may have attended performances of (adaptations of) Molière's plays by touring Italian troupes on Cephallenia.[49]

Touring Italian troupes will also have been responsible for the familiarity, evinced in Katsaïtis' play, with Commedia dell'Arte characters and plot types (see above). There is evidence for performances of Commedia plays on Corfu as early as 1560 by Antonio da Molino, a pupil of the great Ruzzante (Panayotakis 1998: 58 with n. 119). There is, of course, nothing remarkable in Commedia plays being performed in the Ionian islands during the period of Venetian rule,[50] just as they had been performed, again under Venetian rule, in Crete in the sixteenth century.[51] For the dissemination of the Commedia in the Ionian islands in later times (until the early eighteenth century) Katsaïtis' play is among the earliest and most important pieces of evidence; otherwise, the phenome-

48 See Castelli 1698; Toldo 1910: 202-3n3.

49 The latter possibility is the one privileged by Puchner and White 2017: 182. For possible cross-pollination between Molière and the *comédie italienne* see Puchner 1991b: 299-301; 2004b: 145-7, 162, 169-71; also, Puchner and White 2017: 182n35. Such cross-pollination will have taken complicated forms, as Puchner shows: thus, Molière's *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* shows influences from two Commedia dell'Arte scenarios, namely *Policinella pazzo per forza* and *Pulcinello burlato* (see e.g. Gaines 2002: 327); at the same time, Molière's play gave rise to spin-offs by or for Italian players in Paris, namely *La Coquette ou l'Académie des dames* (1691) by Jean-François Regnard and the anonymous *L'Infortuné mariage d'Arlequin* (1718), on which see Attinger 1950: 139, 250; Jacob 1843-4: iii.164, nos. 3366, 3367.

50 Cf. Grammatas 1987: 28-9.

51 See Panayotakis 1998: 58-9. For the participation of Greeks in Commedia dell'Arte performances in Venice see again Panayotakis 1998: 35-6.

non has left only indirect or disputable traces.[52] In all likelihood, Katsaïtis and his public will have been familiar with performances by touring Commedia troupes on Cephallenia or nearby islands; however, one cannot exclude the possibility of printed *scenari* circulating in the islands.[53]

Thalthybon

Thalthybon (Θαλθύβων, i.e. the herald Talthybius) appears also in Dolce's play. In Katsaïtis' list of characters (Kriaras 1950: 8), Thalthybon is identified as "trombetta", which may have resulted from Dolce's phrase "Taltibio . . . il publico trombetta" (1597: 49^{v}). As we saw above, an over-literal reading of this phrase by Katsaïtis (*trombetta* = "trumpet" rather than "herald") gave rise to a scene in which Thalthybon's proclamation before the Greek army is actually accompanied by the sound of a trumpet (Kriaras 1950: 84). However, there is also another possibility, namely that Katsaïtis had (perhaps only superficial) knowledge of Jean de Rotrou's *Iphigénie* (Rotrou 1641: [2]), of which the list of characters also identifies the herald Taltibie as "trompette".[54]

52 Such traces include: (i) Giacomo Casanova's report, in his *Histoire de ma vie*, that he hired a troupe of Commedia dell'Arte actors from Otranto for a number of performances on Corfu in 1745; but the report may be fictionalized; (ii) the loose, episodic structure of Savoyas Rousmelis' *Comedy of Pseudodoctors* (1745), featuring a false doctor speaking in Latin; (iii) the similarly loose structure of Demetrios' Gouzelis' comedy *Khássis* (*Χάσης*); (iv) the '*omilíes*' (amateur folk theatre associated with carnival festivities) of Zakynthos and, to a lesser extent, Cephallenia (attested only from the second half of the ninetenth century onwards), which feature the characteristic half-masks of the Commedia. For all of the above see Puchner 2004a: 104-7; cf. Grammatas 1987: 34; especially on the similarities between the comic portion of Act 5 of *Iphigenia* and Gouzelis' *Khássis* see Evanghelatos 1970: 59.

53 Cf. Puchner 1991b: 298-9, 2016: 46-7.

54 The coincidence was first pointed out by Kriaras 1950: ιζ′.

Fenisos

A similar possibility suggests itself with regard to yet another of Katsaïtis' minor characters, the prophet Fenisos (Φενίσος, προορατικός).[55] The origin of this character is hard to identify, as there is nothing comparable in Dolce. It is an intriguing possibility that Katsaïtis' choice of "Fenisos" was inspired by the name of Phénice, Clytemnestra's maid, in Michel Le Clerc's *Iphigénie* (1675). Surely, Katsaïtis' familiarity (if any) with that play will not have extended beyond the list of characters, since even a cursory reading of Le Clerc's piece would have revealed to him that Phénice is a female character.[56]

Odysseus

An important character, Odysseus has no counterpart in Dolce, although he is mentioned there on a couple of occasions in Act 2 – namely, when Menelaus fears that Odysseus may reveal Calchas' oracle to the Greek army, and when he thinks of enlisting the power of Odysseus' eloquence in order to change Agamemnon's mind.[57] It is possible that these sparse mentions suggested to Katsaïtis the idea of including Odysseus among his play's characters. Another possibility is that the idea came from one of the French *Iphigénie*s by Rotrou (1641), Racine (1674) or Le Clerc (1675), all of which feature Odysseus (Ulysse) as one of the characters. However, given that Katsaïtis will have had, at best, only a cursory knowledge of the French plays, it may be simply that he decided to include Odysseus as a means of engaging his Cephallenian audience. His play-script repeatedly stresses that Odysseus is

55 In the list of characters, Kriaras 1950: 8 prints "ΦΙΝΙΣΟΣ", perhaps an oversight. In his text (86ff.) he gives the correct form, Φενίσος.

56 *Pace* Puchner (1991b: 307-9), who is followed on this point by Pefanis (2005: 74n24), there is no evidence to support the claim that Fenisos is to be seen as a Christian priest, who gives the lie to the superstitions of pagan religion (represented by Calchas); see the counter-arguments advanced by Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 120-1.

57 See Dolce 1597: 19^{r} and 20^{r}, respectively.

king of Cephallenia (2.1, 2.2), and in one case (2.7) Odysseus' empty arrogance (φαντασιά) is attributed to his Cephallenian origin![58] The joke here is clearly meant as a jibe at the play's audience, and may be compared to, e.g., the Shakespearean Gravedigger's remark that Hamlet's madness will go unnoticed in England because "There the men are as mad as he" (*Hamlet* 5.1). Significantly, as pointed out in section 2 above, the epilogue to the play is delivered by Odysseus, who addresses it to the "Worthy and honourable lords of Kefallonià" (Κεφαλονῖτες ἄρχοντες, ἄξιοι καὶ τιμημένοι), stressing that he lords it over Cephallenia (identified metonymically through the Cephallenian place-names of Cranaea, Palike and Samos), Ithaca, Zakynthos and Leucas. He thus "accomplish[es] the full integration of the action and characters in the play with his own time and audience".[59] It is equally significant that in his dedication to Spyridon Katsaïtis (a relative of the author's, a member of the Ionian nobility, and a graduate of the University of Padua's Law School),[60] Katsaïtis parallels the dedicatee with Odysseus: "And even if you have a heartfelt longing for Achilles, I would have you stand as a new Odysseus. For in his greatness of soul he is similar to you, who have dedicated your life to your homeland".[61]

Palamedes

Like Odysseus, Palamedes has no counterpart in Dolce's play; he is also absent from the aforementioned French *Iphigénie*s. The only Palamedes-play early enough for Katsaïtis to have taken into account is Joost van den Vondel's *Palamedes*, published in Dutch

58 See Kriaras 1950: 25, 27 and 41, respectively. On Odysseus in Katsaïtis see also Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 126-7; on the emphasis on his Cephallenian origin see Puchner 1991b: 310-11.

59 Quotation from Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 127.

60 See Evanghelatos 1995: 16*-17*, 27*n39.

61 "Κι' ἂν εἶχες πόθο γκαρδιακὸ διὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, / ἐγὼ σὲ πέβω νὰ σταθῆς μὲ νέον Ὀδυσσέα. / Καὶ ἔχει μεγαλοψυχιὰ σὰν καὶ τὴν ἐδική σου, / ὁποὺ γιὰ τὴν πατρίδα σου ἔταξες τὴ ζωή σου": "Dedication", ll. 109-12 (Kriaras 1950: 6); see also Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 128-9.

in 1625,[62] but it is out of the question that Katsaïtis actually knew that play, since by all accounts he had only Greek and Italian. Intriguingly, Palamedes has a very limited speaking part in the last act of Katsaïtis' play, and only interacts (respectfully) with Agamemnon, never with Odysseus.[63] That Katsaïtis missed the opportunity of making dramatic capital out of Palamedes' traditional enmity with Odysseus (despite the fact that Odysseus in the play explicitly mentions Palamedes' discovery of his trick)[64] suggests that our playwright included Palamedes only as an afterthought, perhaps in order to evoke, through the mythic son of Nauplius, his own stay in the city of Nauplion, the fortress of which is still called Palamídhi (Παλαμήδι).[65] But all of this must remain in the realm of speculation for the time being, in the hope that a better explanation for the inclusion of Palamedes in Katsaïtis' play may be found.

5. Epilogue

This paper has focused on the textual sources of Petros Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia*, the earliest extant modern Greek play that engages with Greek tragic myth (albeit mediated by Italian Renaissance tragedy). We have surveyed the plot and structure of the play, glanced at its influences from Cretan Renaissance drama (section 2), and identified its numerous similarities with, as well as its divergences from, its principal model, Lodovico Dolce's *Ifigenia* (section 3). Finally, we have explored the origin of some of Katsaïtis' characters in the Commedia dell'Arte and in Molière (section 4). In this context, we have provided new arguments for the derivation of a couple of characters (Barlakias, Tibourtzios) whose origin was previously considered obscure. We have also suggested the possibility that two more characters (Thalthybon, Fenisos) may be derived

62 On Vondel's *Palamedes* see Bloemendal and Korsten 2012: Index, *s.v.* "Vondel, Joost van den – *Palamedes*".

63 See 5.1.99-108 and 5.3.347-50, in Kriaras 1950: 83-4, 91 respectively.

64 See 2.1.111-22; Kriaras 1950: 25.

65 As mentioned above, Katsaïtis had sought refuge from the besieging Turks within the walls of that very fortress in 1715.

from French Neoclassical tragedy (namely, Rotrou's and Le Clerc's *Iphigénie* plays), although in this case Katsaïtis' familiarity with the relevant texts will not have extended far beyond their respective lists of characters. Finally, we have speculated on the possible topical relevance of Odysseus and Palamedes.

The picture of Katsaïtis that emerges from this survey is one of an earnest dilettante trying to find his feet as a playwright. His dependence on his Italian model is obvious on every page, and when he departs from it the results are rather unremarkable (see, e.g., above on 2.1-5, which as argued there may be Katsaïtis' own invention). The most obvious and the most important of these divergences is, of course, the happy ending (Iphigenia's sacrifice averted), which as Pittas-Herschbach has shown is redolent of the ethos of pastoral tragicomedy, and the inclusion of loosely connected comic scenes populated by characters drawn from the Commedia dell'Arte or Molière. The happy ending, and the transition from tragedy to farce, are poorly motivated: as Katsaïtis himself admits in the Epilogue (Kriaras 1950: 117), he changed Iphigenia's end "from death to marriage" merely in order to provide "joy and entertainment" to his audience. In other words, *Iphigenia* tries, and fails, to strike a balance between, on the one hand, Katsaïtis' ambition to recreate the serious tone of Italian Renaissance tragedy and, on the other, to provide the kind of light-hearted, 'easy-viewing' theatrical entertainment that a segment of his (surely mixed) audience would no doubt have expected. It is conceivable that Katsaïtis soon realized the shortcomings of this approach, hence the unalloyed tragic tone of his next play, *Thyestes*, written one year later.

In view of the above remarks, it seems unlikely that *Iphigenia* bears out the relatively sophisticated readings some scholars have forced on it. For instance, Puchner and Pittas-Herschbach have attempted, in different ways and with different emphasis, to interpret *Iphigenia* as a political play, in which the Trojan enemies are a transparent stand-in for the Ottoman Turks, who had conquered the Peloponnese only a few years earlier and against whom Katsaïtis is trying to warn his compatriots.[66] Such

66 See Puchner 1991b: 306, 309-11; Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 128-31.

readings, however, rest on flimsy evidence and/or over-interpretation of the textual data. Thus, for instance, part of Puchner's case relies, improbably, on the presumed derivation of Φενίσος from Φοῖνιξ (Phoenix), on the basis of which he argues that Fenisos, by his near-homonymy to the mythical bird thought to regenerate from its ashes, symbolizes the 'reborn nation' of the Greeks (Puchner 1991b: 308); however, Fenisos' limited part in the play contains absolutely nothing to suggest a concern with Hellenic patriotism. Likewise, Odysseus' concluding advice to the audience, to the effect that they should always be ready to sacrifice their life for their homeland (Epilogue, ll. 32-3; Kriaras 1950: 116), is no more than a piece of conformist rhetoric, which need not conceal the topical references to the Ottoman threat Puchner detects in it (1991b: 310). Along similar lines, Pittas-Herschbach makes far too much of Katsaïtis' dedicatory address to Spyridon Katsaïtis with its emphasis on the latter's patriotism, or of his Iphigenia's (4.505-10) statement that a Greek failure to pursue the war would encourage the "barbarians" to put "the kingdom of the Greeks" under their yoke.[67] The emphasis on the dedicatee's patriotism need be no more than a conventional compliment, while Iphigenia's words are merely (as Pittas-Herschbach was aware) a slightly more forceful restatement of the corresponding part of Dolce's play, in which Iphigenia claimed that it would be "shameful" (*indegno*) to allow "the barbarians" to "curb the towering Empire of the Greeks".[68]

If this paper has achieved anything, it is to show that Petros Katsaïtis' *Iphigenia* is an early (and modest) experiment in incorporating into Greek tragic myth, as filtered through Italian Renaissance tragedy, diverse contemporary theatrical influences that will have been vividly felt in the Ionian islands (mainly the Commedia dell'Arte and Italianized versions of Molière). That the experiment did not yield outstanding results, and was not followed by later dramatists, makes *Iphigenia* all the more remarkable as an early, if solitary, landmark in the history of modern Greek drama.

67 Kriaras 1950: 75; Pittas-Herschbach 2002: 129.

68 "& è indegno / Sostener, ch'essi [*sc.* i barbari] in alcun tempo mai / Mettano freno a l'alto Imperio Greco": Dolce 1597: 43^{v}.

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