

ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ
ΣΤΥΡΙΔΩΝΟΣ
ΛΑΜΠΡΟΥ

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ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΙΤΩΝ
ΣΤΥΡΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΥ

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΑΚΟΝ ΠΑΝΙΠΛΩΝ
ΤΟΜΕΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ
ΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
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THE *RHODOLINOS* OF JOANNES ANDREAS TROILOS

The existence of a seventeenth-century Greek tragedy, Βασιλεύς ὁ Ρωδολίνος, written by one Joannes Andreas Troilos, was known to Legrand, but in spite of all his efforts he was unable to discover a copy of it in any library¹. The great French bibliographer drew his information from a passing reference to the play by Christian August Brandis, who seems to have been the last to see and, if we may judge from his statement, to read the *Rhodolinos*. In the published account of his sojourn in Greece as adviser to King Otho, Brandis recorded some impressions of later Greek literature and to his brief characterization of the *Erophile* added the following note: *Von ähnlichem Gehalt ist Βασιλεύς ὁ Ρωδολίνος, τραγωδία συντεθεμένη παρὰ Ἰωάνν. Ἀνδρέα τοῦ Τρωίλου. Ἐνετίησιν, 1647*². All subsequent references to the play are derived from this note of Brandis. Vretos lists it with a note to the effect that he is indebted for his reference to Koumanoudis, who in turn had obtained his information from Brandis³. Legrand had also discovered an earlier mention of the play in the *Poeti antichi raccolti da Codici Mss. della Biblioteca Vaticana e Barberina* of Leo Allatius, who merely lists *Rodolino di Gio. Andrea Troilo* among *alcune Tragedie, tra' quali mi passorno per le mani*⁴.

Of this rare work, since Brandis known only by title, the Gennadeion of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens possesses probably the only copy in existence. Anticipating my publication of a new edition of the play, I take this opportunity to present a short discussion of it as a slight but sincere tribute to the memory of the great scholar, whose wide interests embraced every phase of Greek culture, and who would undoubtedly have welcomed this addition to the small number of known Cretan dramas which form so interesting a chapter in the post-Byzantine history of Greek literature.

The small octavo volume, bound in half-vellum, which contains the *Rhodolinos*, was purchased by the late Dr. Joannes Gennadius in October, 1910, from Joseph Baer & Co. of Frankfurt-am-Main for the sum of twenty-five shillings. It consists of 136 pages, the first 32 of which are unnumbered,

¹ *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au XVIIe siècle*, II (Paris, 1894), pp. 37-38, No. 388.

² *Mittheilungen über Griechenland*, Dritter Theil (Leipzig, 1842), p. 84 note.

³ *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία, Μέρος Β'* (Athens, 1857), p. 32.

⁴ P. 30 of the original edition, Naples, 1661; p. 39 of Galletti's re-print, Florence, 1847. The latter, which I have used, reads *Proilo*, clearly a misprint for *Troilo*.

pagination beginning with page 33. The first 16 leaves are likewise uncut, while the edges of the remainder have been smoothly trimmed and stained.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, Ο'
ΡΩΔΟΛΙΝΟΣ
 ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΘΕΜΕΝΗ.

ΠΑΡΑ
 ΓΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΕΑ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΩΓΙΛΟΥ.

Con licentia de' Superiori, & Privilegio.



ΒΝΕΤΙΝΣΙΝ, Γραφὶς Ἰωάννου Ἀνδρέου Τρωίλου

ΧΑΡ.

Plate I. The *Rhodolinos* of Joannes Andreas Troilos.
 Title-Page of the Original Edition.

The printing is clear and easily legible, although the text shows the misprints and orthographical inconsistencies so common in all Venetian *Volksbücher*. There is nothing to give a clue as to the former ownership of

the volume, but Dr. Gennadius very plausibly conjectured that it may well be the very copy which Brandis used.

The title-page reads as follows: Βασιλεύς, ὁ | Ρωδολινος | Τραγωδία Συνθε-



ΠΡΑΞΙΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ:

ΣΚΗΝΗ ΠΡΩΤΗ.

ΕΡΜΗΝΟΣ.

Ὅτι ὡρεῖς τὸ κερθίκου τὸ πισικὸ γυρίσω
 Τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἄσυσσάν, ἀθὲνὰ σωτηρήσω
 Θωρῶ, πῶς ἄπο καταθῆναι εἶναι εἰς τὸ φεικᾶ
 Τινὰς, εἰς ὅπ πεθυμᾶ, κ' ἐλπίζειν ἀχειχάει
 Μὴ δὲ κινεῖς ἐμπόρεσι, μεῖσυσσιν ἀσωση
 Τὴ γνώμῳτου, σὲ σωῶρα χαρᾶς, ἀθμελιώσῃ
 Ἄμ' ὅλοι σ' ὅλους τζή κωροῦς εἰς ὄν Ἄερα κτίζου,
 Γεῖς τὸ μαλὸ με δὶχως ται Ποδοτασ ἀρμηρίζου,
 Κ' ἡτύχη ἀειπαίξει τζή με ψωματὴν πρᾶξῃ,
 Κίτ' ἡ πῆς Λειμωῖα, σέρνει τζή σὸ βράχος ἀτζή ράξῃ
 Κίσκεῖ ἄλλοι πνίγουνται γαμιάν, ἄλλοι γυμνοὶ ἀπὸ μῆκῃ
 Γ' ἡ ἀπίτης δώσου κ' εἰς ἡ γῆ, καβότου κ' ἰδοθῆναι
 Ἄωπλια πολλὰ, κ' ἀμίτρετα καλαῖχα γνωρισμῆα,
 Σὲ ξένους, κ' εἰς ἐφίλους μου, μᾶγλιος ἀπὸ εἰς ἰμῆα
 Γιατῶ τὴν κατᾶσαι ἀσᾶσα κωροῦ, καὶ τοπο,
 Κακὴ ἀδχεφῶριτα ὅλον ὠ θὰ λῆσι τζή ἀνθρώπω,
 Πρῶτα σὴ πρῶτη ζῶη τζή κοπεγλιῶ ὄνται εἶνα
 Μικράκια, δὶχως νόποι, ἕτα καλὸ ἴχου κείνῃ
 Πάλι σὴ γνῶτη τὴ λολὴ ποῦ μόννοια δὲ κατεχει,
 Μὴδὲ γτωρίζῃ οὐδὲ πρᾶως τὸ δρομον ἀποῦ τρέχει
 Β 7 ὅτι

Plate II. The *Rhodolinos* of Joannes Andreas Troilos.
 Specimen Page of the Text.

μενη. | Παρὰ | Ἰωάννου Ἀνδρέα τοῦ Τρωίλου. | Con licentia de' Superiori, & Pri-
 vilegio. | (Wood-Cut) Ἐνετίησιν, παρὰ Ἰωάννη Ἀντωνίω τῷ Ἰουλιάνῳ ἀρχιζ | 5.

⁵ See Plates I and II for a reproduction of the title-page and a specimen page of text.

Of the author of the play almost nothing is known. Legrand cites a reference to him in the *Φιλονεικία τοῦ Χάνδακος καὶ τοῦ Ρεθέμνου* of Marinos Tzanes Bounialis, where the following distich appears:

Ἰωάννην Ἀνδρέα Τρωῖλον μὲ χάραις θὲ νὰ πλύνω,
Γιατὶ εὐγάλε κι' ἐτύπωσε τὸν ρεῖγα Ῥωδολίνο ¹.

The city of Rethymno speaks these lines in the poem and from this Legrand concluded that Troilos was a native of this Cretan city. This is corroborated by our edition. In some introductory stanzas addressed to the poet by Νικόλαος ὁ Φιορέντζας reference is made to the poetical genius of Troilos which has brought glory to Rethymno, τὴν ἄξα μας πατρίδα. The name of the poet is also found among the signatures of the witnesses on two documents from the archives of the Greek college in Rome. On the first, given in Rethymno on March 20, 1630, appears the name of *Il sign. G. Andrea Troilo*, while on the second, dated November 4, 1630, the name appears in the form of *L'illustre sign. Gian. Andrea Troilo* ². In 1630 then the poet was old enough to appear as a witness to a public document, and, if the titles are more than merely formal, seems to have been a personage of some importance in his own community. There are no references to contemporary events either in the play itself or in the introductory poems. Although the book was published only a year after the capture of Rethymno by the Turks, not even the slightest allusion is made to that event.

After the title-page follows a very eulogistic dedicatory poem of seventy-two verses πρὸς τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ περιφανέστατον κύριον, κύριον Θωμᾶ τὸν Φλαγγήνην, τὸν ἐξοχώτατον καὶ εὐγενέστατον ῥήτορα, καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους δόξαν ³. In verses addressed to his readers Troilos disclaims the title

¹ Quoted from Legrand, *op. cit.*, II, p. 37, where the original orthography is retained. The poem of Bounialis appears as an appendix to his *Διήγησις διὰ στοιχείων τοῦ δεινοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κρήτῃ γενομένου*, Venice, 1681. A longer passage—the speech of Rethymno—is reprinted by Legrand, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 394-399.

² Legrand, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 186-187. I have also found references to two other contemporary members of the Troilos family. Nikolaos Troilos, a Cretan ἐκ Ῥεθύμνου, was a student at the Gymnasium of Padua during the seventeenth century. v. Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία* (Athens, 1868), pp. 418 and 420. A certain *Girolamo Troilo Retimnese* was a contributor to a collection of verse published at Padua in 1653, according to Legrand, *op. cit.*, V, p. 72. The volume in question is entitled: *Trofei Riportati dal Molt. Illustr. & Excellentiss. Sig. Spiridione Bua Nobile Corfioto . . .* In Padova, per Pietro Luciani [1653]. This same Girolamo is mentioned in two inscriptions of Padua from 1652 and 1654. In the second he appears as *Hieronimus Troilus Rhetymnensis cons(iliarius) et assess(or)*. v. Grotto dell'Ero: *Cenni ed iscrizioni dell' Università di Padova* (Padua, 1841), p. 45.

³ For his biography v. Sathas, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-327 and Papadopoli, *Historia Gymnasii Patavini* (Venice, 1726), II, p. 136.

of poet and apologizes for the shortcomings of his work. Two short poems are contributed by a fellow-citizen of the poet, Νικόλαος ὁ Φιορέντζας¹. The first, an epigram of six verses, was evidently written for the sake of a play on words: «O fortunate Rhodolinos, who died for the love of his friend *Trosilos* and has been brought to life again by *Troilos*». In the second poem tribute is paid to the genius of the poet, who has not only won enduring fame for himself by his tragedy, but has also brought glory to his native city.

After this introductory material, which occupies seven pages, the tragedy proper begins with an enumeration of the characters:

Τὰ πρόσωπα ὅπου μιλοῦσιν εἰς τὴν τραγωδίαν.

Ῥωδολίνος	Βασιλεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου.
Ἑρμῖνος	Σύμβουλος.
Ἀρετούσα	Βασίλισσα.
Σωφρώνια	Νένα τῆς.
Ἀννάζη	Βασίλισσα μάνα τοῦ Ῥωδολίνου.
Ῥωδοδάφνη	Θυγατέρα τῆς.
Σάφος	Μαντατοφόρος τοῦ Τρωσίλου.
Χορὸς τῷ στρατάρχῳ τοῦ Ῥωδολίνου.	
Τζημόσκος	Μαντατοφόρος Ἀφρικάνος.
Λευκίππη	καὶ
Ἑλίσα	Δοῦλαις τῆς Ἀρετούσας.
Τρώσιλος	Βασιλεὺς τῆς Περσίας.
Χορὸς τῷ στρατιώτων του.	
Ἀλμὲκ	καὶ
Νορμοὺς	Δοῦλοι του.
Φιλαλήθιος	Δοῦλος τοῦ Ῥωδολίνου.

Πρόλογος, τὸν ὁποῖον κάμνει τὸ Μελλούμενο.

Ἡ σκηνὴ σημαδεύει τὴ Μέμφη πόλι βασιλικὴ τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

In the prologue Fortune addresses the people of Memphis and predicts to them the destruction of their city along with the death of its king. As a cause for the ruin that is to come upon them she cites their love of

¹ The priest Νικόλαος ὁ Φιορέντζας or Φλορέντζας was a native of Rethymno, who in 1640 became a teacher at the Greek school in Venice. v. Sathas, *op. cit.*, p. 417 and Veludo, *Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετία*, 2nd ed. (Venice, 1893), p. 111. He is mentioned in the following lines of Bounialis' poem:

Κι' ὕστερα πάλιν σοῦ ἴδωκα Φιορέντζα τὴν τιμὴ μου,
Παπᾶ τὸν κύρ Νικόλαον ὅπου ἔτονε ψυχὴ μου.

Legrand, *op. cit.* II, p. 395.

gold, which has led them to the commission of every kind of crime. This common-place is developed at considerable length, strangely enough, since greed for wealth plays no part in the tragedy itself and has not the remotest connection with the catastrophe. A few words about the tragic outcome lead over to the play itself.

The theme of the *Rhodolinos* is the conflict between the claims of love and friendship in the bosom of the King, a conflict which is resolved by the death of all the leading characters. The subject and general spirit of the tragedy, as well as certain external features, place it in the same class with the contemporary *Erotokritos* and *Erophile*, by which it may have been influenced, or which it may have influenced. Like them it is «an Elizabethan tragedy of love and blood»¹. It lacks the happy ending of the *Erotokritos* while it is free from the gruesome details of the *Erophile*. Its heroine has the same name as the heroine of the former, and its scene is laid in Memphis as in the latter. It has no *intermedia*, but short choral odes are inserted between the five acts. The play runs to 3128 lines, having less than a third of the length of *Erotokritos*, and about the same length as *Erophile* exclusive of the latter's *intermedia*. It is written in the usual *political* verse of fifteen syllables arranged in rhymed couplets, and shows essentially the same Cretan dialect as the other dramas of the same period.

When the play opens we find Rhodolinos tormented by the pangs of a guilty conscience. After much hesitation he finally confides in his aged counsellor, Herminos, and we learn that as a young man he had left his country to seek adventure in foreign lands, where he had met and formed a lasting friendship with Trosilos, the young prince of Persia. As faithful brothers-in-arms they traversed many lands and finally arrived at Carthage, where Trosilos fell madly in love with Aretousa, the daughter of the king. Her father, however, refused her hand to Trosilos, because the Persians in time past had ravaged his country and in a battle in Mauretania his only son had fallen by the hand of Trosilos. The latter then persuaded Rhodolinos to seek the hand of Aretousa for himself, in order that he might later resign her to his friend. Rhodolinos reluctantly consented to the ruse and easily won the consent of the king of Carthage. Together the betrothed couple set out on their journey to Egypt. On the homeward voyage, however, a violent storm arose and they were forced to seek refuge in a small harbor. Here, under cover of the darkness, they yielded to temptation and Rhodolinos proved unfaithful to the trust of his friend. Now he is a prey to remorse and yet his love for Aretousa is so great

¹ Mavrogordato in Marshall and Mavrogordato, *Three Cretan Plays* (Oxford, 1929), p. 31 (= *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVIII, 1928, p. 85).

that he cannot endure the thought of giving her up. Herminos tries to comfort him and, since the king of Persia is already on his way to Memphis to claim his bride, he suggests that Rhodolinos give him in place of Aretousa his sister, Rhododaphne. The King doubts that a love such as that of Trosilos for Aretousa can so easily change its object, but accepts the plan and prays that Heaven may favor it.

In the second scene Aretousa relates to her nurse the ominous dreams which have been disturbing her nights and filling her days with anxiety. She is troubled by the fact that she has yielded to Rhodolinos in secret love, all forgetful of a vow that she had made to give herself to no man who had not previously sworn to avenge the death of her brother. Nurse advises her to forget thoughts of revenge, since the slayer of her brother is her husband's friend and «the will of a husband is a wife's law». Aretousa is also at a loss to understand the coldness and neglect of her lover after his earlier passion. Sophronia left alone laments the instability of human fortune and hopes for a better turn of affairs. The Chorus in a short ode expresses the same thought.

At the beginning of the second act Herminos in a lengthy soliloquy bewails the sad state of human affairs and the vanity of human desires. He is joined by Rhodolinos, who tells him that he has spoken to his mother of their plans for Rhododaphne and has enlisted her support. They are interrupted by the appearance of Saphos bearing a message from his master, Trosilos, announcing his speedy arrival. When the messenger has left the stage, Rhodolinos gives utterance to the remorse with which the words of Saphos have filled him. Like Sisyphos he is struggling against impending destruction, and, torn between his love for Aretousa and his devotion to his friend, he sees no drug to heal his trouble except death.

In the next scene Annazia tells Rhododaphne to adorn herself as befits her rank to do honour to the king of Persia, who is coming for the royal wedding, in order that she may find favor in his sight. Rhododaphne replies that she is not interested in pleasing any man, since she desires nothing more than to live unwed and free. Her mother finds this attitude incomprehensible and paints in glowing colors the happiness of married life. Rhododaphne remains unconvinced, but yields reluctantly to her mother's persuasions and enters the palace to deck herself with her royal ornaments. Annazia remains alone to give expression to her joy in being the mother of such children and to anticipate the happy outcome of the day. In direct contrast to the hopeful mood of the queen, the Chorus sings a dirge for Memphis, whose fortunes are under the influence of an evil star.

In Act Three Annazia reports to her son her success in persuading Rhododaphne to accept the thought of marriage with Trosilos. Rhodolinos

expresses his gratification and gives directions to make all in readiness for a royal reception. Herminos is instructed to meet Trosilos, to delay his coming to Memphis, and, if possible, to win his consent to a match with Rododaphne. In a short scene with Aretousa Rhodolinos asks her to forget her past enmity with Trosilos and to receive him as a friend. Aretousa promises compliance with the desires of her husband and assures him of her complete devotion. When she has left him, Rhodolinos again gives expression to his great love for her and his conviction that only death can release him from his predicament. He is interrupted in his monologue by the arrival of Tzimoskos, a messenger from Carthage, who brings the news that the aged king has just died and has left the kingdom to Aretousa and Rhodolinos.

In the last scene of the act Aretousa tells her nurse of the gifts which she has received from the Persian king. Among them is a crown, which she recognizes as one she has given in time past to an unknown victor in a tourney at Carthage. She now knows that the unknown knight was Trosilos. She is at a loss how to receive the gifts and fears the jealousy of Rhodolinos. Sophronia tries to reassure her.

The first scenes of Act Four are no more than a series of monologues. First appears Rododaphne to lament the sad fate which awaits her in marriage with Trosilos. In sharp contrast is the exultation of Annazia and her joy in the good fortune of her children. Aretousa in despair breaks the news to Sophronia that Rhodolinos has told her with his own lips that he is going to resign her to his friend. This is a serious flaw in the structure of the play. We have not been prepared for the decision of Rhodolinos and certainly the poet has missed an opportunity for a dramatic scene by not presenting this fateful interview of the lovers on the stage. Aretousa leaves with the statement that death is her only refuge, and Sophronia is left to bewail the sad fate of her mistress. She is soon joined by Leukippe who comes with the tidings that Aretousa has taken poison. The dying queen is brought in by her attendants and takes an affectionate farewell of her nurse. Still protesting her affection for Rhodolinos she is led from the stage.

Act Five opens with the arrival of Trosilos attended by Herminos, who presents to him all the advantages to be derived from a union with Rododaphne. Trosilos remains unconvinced and insists upon seeing Rhodolinos, in whose friendship he still reposes all confidence. The Chorus of generals is expressing its anxiety, when Leukippe returns to tell them that Aretousa is dead and that Rhodolinos has killed himself with his sword at her side. The last interview of the lovers and the manner of their death are related in great detail and with considerable power of dramatic narration. The news is also imparted to Annazia with the addition

that her daughter, Rhododaphne, has also died of grief. In Scene Four Philalethios appears with a letter from Rhodolinos to Trosilos, who has been attracted by sounds of lamentation from the palace. When Trosilos has read the letter and learns that Rhodolinos has taken his own life to atone for the wrong he has done their friendship, he is overcome with grief and falls on his sword. His body is discovered by his retainers, Almek and Normous, and the Chorus points the moral,— the vanity of all things human.

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ
 ΤΟΜΕΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ
 ΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ
 ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤΗΣ: ΕΠ. ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ Σ. ΠΕΤΣΙΔΗΣ