THE RECEPTION OF AESCHYLUS IN ITALY: TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION AND PERFORMANCE

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Abstract

The present thesis seeks to address the neglect of Aeschylus' reception in Italy. By putting Aeschylus back into the history of Classics in Italy, it becomes clear just how central a role this playwright (and in particular his *Prometheus Vinctus* and *Oresteia*) has played in the history of Italian theatre, in the forging of a strong national identity, and in the history of Italian scholarship.

In its seven chapters, this work fills a gap in the reception history of Aeschylus by ranging widely across the Italian histories of performance, translation and adaptation over five different centuries. Chapter One begins with the first translations of Aeschylus' plays, from the first published in 1556 to two others that remained long unknown; Chapter Two focuses on the oft-neglected importance to theatre and the translation of the classics of Alfieri's retelling of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*; Chapter Three is about eighteenth- and nineteenth-century translations of Aeschylus' plays and their importance in the forging of an artificial and aristocratic language for translation, a language that still burdens some translations of the classics today. Chapters Four and Five retrace the birth (1914–1921) and subsequent growth under Fascism (1924–1939) of the longest running modern festival of ancient drama at the ancient theatre of Syracuse, organised by the entity that is today known as INDA. Chapter Six focuses on the revolutionary and precursory work of Manara Valgimigli in re-conceptualising philology as essentially a 'rethinking' of humankind, always oscillating between past and present, because always in the making. Finally, Chapter Seven analyses the ground-breaking production of the 1960 *Oresteia* directed by Vittorio Gassman and Luciano Lucignani with a translation by Pier Paolo Pasolini.

This journey through five different centuries not only reveals how Aeschylus' reception has contributed widely to Italian classical scholarship, intellectual history and history of theatre; it also contextually allows for the writing of an 'unclassical' – i.e. 'uncommon' and 'unknown' – account of not just Aeschylus, but of the 'classic' generally in Italian theatre, scholarship and translation.

Acknowledgements

The topic of this thesis originated from a dialogue I had with Professor Giorgio Ieranò around five years ago, when he pointed out to me the lack of a complete survey on the reception of Aeschylus in Italy and the importance of undertaking one, given the prominence of the playwright in the Italian repertoire. At the beginning, the project comprised Aeschylus' reception from the end of the eighteenth to the first half of the twentieth centuries only. However, when I first discussed the scope and time period of the thesis with my supervisor, Professor Fiona Macintosh, she suggested that Italy may in fact defy the common assumption that Aeschylus was only fully rediscovered in the second half of the eighteenth century. Following up on her prompting, I began my survey with the sixteenth century and proved her right: there was indeed serious evidence for a reception history of the ancient playwright in the early modern period in Italy.

My first expression of gratitude thus goes to Fiona Macintosh, who has not only guided me through this four-year journey with patience and dedication, but always challenged me with stimulating questions, questions that helped shape my work as it is now. I am also grateful to everyone at the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD): Zoë Jennings, Dr Claire Kenward, Dr Marchella Ward, and Dr Justine McConnell and Professor Oliver Taplin, in particular, for their valuable comments and suggestions on some of the chapters.

Indeed, I visited and benefited from many different archives thanks to college and/or faculty scholarships as well as the kind permission of the archive directors: I spent time at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, where I discovered a manuscript containing a sixteenth-century translation of *Eumenides*; the Alfieri

Archives in Asti, thanks to its director, Dr Carla Forno; at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, where I was able to examine some of Felice Bellotti's notes on Aeschylus; the INDA Archives in Syracuse, with the kind assistance of its director Elena Servito; and the Biblioteca Civica Tartarotti, where Angela Romagnoli granted me permission to look at Ettore Romagnoli's library and possessions (postcards, photos, letters and notes).

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Table of Contents

Abstract 2

Acknowledgements 4

Table of Contents 6

Notes on Nomenclature, Translations and Texts 7

List of Abbreviations 7

Introduction 9

Chapter One Relocating Aeschylus in sixteenth-century 'volgarizzamenti' 31

Chapter Two Alfieri, Aeschylus and the reform of Italian tragic theatre 62

Chapter Three Classicising Aeschylus: from stage to page 101

Chapter Four Performing Aeschylus under the Lion Gate 142

Chapter Five Aeschylus, modernity and the new 'classical' ideal 174

Chapter Six Aeschylus 'our contemporary': Greek tragedy, historicity and philology 213

Chapter Seven Aeschylus, 'Africa' and the 'post-classic' 242

Afterword 271

Appendix A Aeschylus in Translation, Performance and Adaptation (1556-1960) 280

Appendix B Classical Performances under Fascism (1924-1939) 305

Appendix C Photos from Productions 310

Bibliography 391

Notes on Nomenclature, Translations and Texts

The spelling of proper names from Greek and Roman myths has been adapted to the traditional spellings used in the fourth edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

Abbreviated references to ancient works and editions of ancient works are those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, where possible.

When referring to ancient Greek or Latin works in the original language, I have used the most recent edition published in the Oxford Classical Texts series.

All translations from the Italian are mine; I have not translated passages from translations/adaptations or from poems.

List of Abbreviations

AFI: Archivio Fondazione INDA

APGRD: Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (www.apgrd.co.ax.uk)

BI: *Biblioteca Italiana* (www.bibliotecaitaliana.it)

CDS: *Cross Database Searchtool* (www.brepolis.net/BrepolisPortal/default.aspx)

D: Documents

DLD: *Database of Latin Dictionaries* (www.brepolis.net/database–of–latin–dictionaries/)

IL: Istituto Luce

INDA: Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico

OND: Organizzazione Nazionale Dopolavoro

OVI: *Corpus OVI dell'Italiano antico Opera* (www.ovi.cnr.it).

PR: Press Release

TO: *Tommaseo–Bellini Online* (www.tommaseobellini.it/#/)

VAC: *Vocabolario dell'Accademia della Crusca Lessicografia della Crusca in Rete* www.lessicografia.it)

Introduction

> It was my intention to expose a text, a text which had to be as central as possible. […] I wanted a text which could present itself in an authoritative and catalysing form; something to which I should bow and humble myself whilst incorporating the tremendous mystery therein by 'contact'. I was interested in a high-level, rhetorical, heroic and anagrammatic conflict. I wanted a text academically respectful of the ritualistic spirit of Aeschylus' theatre, one that could reflect the idea of an immense body. Yet, this body had to sink down and disappear completely only to re-emerge at times as those enormous cetaceans do when they catch their breath.[1]

Thus wrote Romeo Castellucci on his company's (the *Socìetas Raffaello Sanzio*: 1981–present) production of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, entitled *Orestea (una commedia organica?)* ('Oresteia [an organic comedy?]'). The epigraph appeared in an article published in 1997 in *Theaterschrift*, a multilingual journal, which attested to a move towards an internationalisation of theatre production and took the lead in a discussion about the development of a new theatre aesthetics. From the 1980s onwards, new 'formats of theatre' have indeed flourished, as Freddy Decreus has argued; and they have integrated post-dramatic 'radical forms of physicality' into an (Artaudian)[2] anti-representational and (Deleuzian)[3] anti-Cartesian '"open-form" of dramaturgy'.[4]

It is within this theoretical framework that we should analyse Castellucci's adaptation of Aeschylus' 'text', which premiered on 6 April 1995 in Prato and has since toured all over the world, within and beyond Europe.[5] The play was recently re-staged at the Teatro Argentina in Rome on 4–6 October 2016 on the occasion of the

[1] Castellucci (2001) 157.
[2] Cf. Artaud (1938).
[3] Deleuze (1968) and (1969). The latter is particularly relevant to our discussion as it begins with an exploration of the paradoxes in Lewis Carroll's novel, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1869), a central text in Castellucci's adaptation of Aeschylus' trilogy, and one of the lenses (or one of the 'looking-glass[es]', to quote another of Carroll's novels [1871], which also features in Castellucci's work) through which he 'reads' the *Oresteia*; cf. Castellucci (2001) 157.
[4] Decreus (2010) 124.
[5] On the various international stagings of Castellucci's production, cf. APGRD ID 4641; Valentini (1997); Bierl (2004) 127–48; Ferraresi (2016); Ferraresi and Marino (2016).

RomaEuropa Festival, a performance that gave rise to much controversy since the *Eumenides*, due to a 'procedural error', was not part of it. As the press reported, the company had apparently failed to obtain permission to bring 'exotic animals' onto the stage.[6] The proscribed animals were the monkeys chosen to embody the Erinyes in the last twenty minutes of the performance, but they were not the only animals that the production had chosen to bring on stage.

As a symbol of 'chaos',[7] Castellucci argues, animal 'bodies' make their appearance throughout the production in conjunction with the abnormal and 'organic' bodies of the actors. The world of the living is prolonged through a 'hyper-technology'[8] (*téchne*) that pervades it and 'englobes' it into one continuous flux. Similar to the 'streaming whole', i.e. to the experience of 'a neurological condition in its chaotic and preconscious existence', on which Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* was based, in Castellucci's *Orestea* the body is the 'organic' result of the 'living' and the 'machine' intertwined.[9] The 'chaotic' and 'preconscious' comprise the (Lacanian) maternal, a dominating energetic force that is in conflict with the paternal.[10]

Clytemnestra is a 'Moby Dick', an 'abyssal creature that drags everything down with her' (**fig. 1**);[11] Electra is an overweight, half-naked child in a tutu; Cassandra is another rounded body enclosed in a glass case.[12] The 'male', on the other hand, is a

[6] Ferraresi and Marino (2016).
[7] Decreus argues for a 'theatre of chaos' in radical post-dramatic interpretations of traditional tragedies such as Castellucci's *Orestea*, which 'herald[s] the end of humanism and result[s] in an apparent theatre of chaos, in fact a multiplicity of theatrical forms that in one way or another relied upon Artaud's idea of theatre as plague' (2010, 124).
[8] Ferraresi (2016).
[9] Thus Castellucci in an interview: 'These are untamed animals, they are simply called on stage to be what they are. They do not have to do anything, because their element is disorder' (Ferraresi 2016).
[10] The artist draws this opposition between the maternal and the paternal worlds in Aeschylus' trilogy from Johann Jakob Bachofen's reading from 1861 (cf. Bierl 2004, 132).
[11] Cf. Castellucci in 'Appunti di un Clown' ('A Clown's Notes') included in the theatre programme (cf. Castellucci 1996, 9–10 and 2001, 158).
[12] Thus Castellucci in his notes: 'White, obese women. The trilogy. – White, naked slim teenagers. The trilogy' (1996, 14).

weak, fully dependent 'body': Aegisthus is a hit man, a leather-clad torturer who enjoys playing king; Agamemnon is a Down Syndrome actor (**fig. 2**), who arrives as a 'messiah of the whole performance' to establish the 'monarchy of beauty';[13] Apollo is a phocomelic actor without arms (**fig. 3**); and Orestes and Pylades are all-white with tragically thin bodies, wearing clown masks (**fig. 1**).[14]

The Coryphaeus is a human rabbit – a 'rabbit or a hare appears in the fated hunt that Agamemnon brings to completion before the tragedy'[15] (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 137), explains Castellucci – who is in charge of reciting Aeschylus' lines. He is the 'Great Master' who has come to 'impart' the 'harsh lesson of Tragedy' to twelve gypsum statuettes of rabbits 'of the size of a small dog' (**fig. 4**).[16] He, his rabbit/Chorus and Iphigenia/Alice are the products of the strange alliance between Lewis Carroll's novel *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.[17] It is through the lens of a fable-like story that Castellucci's tragedy begins, perhaps in order to tone down the 'most violent tragedy' ever written.[18]

With his abnormal characters, body-machine fusions and iconographic and inter-textual insertions, Castellucci proclaims not just the death of (Western) tragedy, emblematised by the butchered 'body' of a goat which symbolises Agamemnon's corpse and dominates the stage in *Choephoroe*;[19] he also systematically kills off the Aeschylean 'corpus/body' by deconstructing (explicitly or implicitly) some of the most important moments in the tradition of this pivotal text. Indeed, the presence of

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[13] Ibid., 11–12.
[14] It is only through the 'tragic man's irony, "without a soul" [Walter Benjamin], that it is possible to think of pure silent violence', argues Castellucci in discussing Orestes (1996, 11).
[15] Castellucci (2001) 156.
[16] Catellucci describes the role of the rabbit in a detailed account of his production published in 2001 (2001a, 97).
[17] Castellucci (1996) 8 and (2001a) 97–101 and 115–19.
[18] Castellucci (2001) 156; cf. also Castellucci (1996) 5.
[19] Castellucci (2001a) 128–30.

two horses as a symbol of Agamemnon and Cassandra's arrival,[20] as well as Hermes and his donkeys on the backdrop at the beginning of *Choephoroe* as a sort of bucolic intermezzo,[21] cannot but recall the grandeur of the first open-air performances at the theatre of Syracuse in 1914 and 1921 (see further Ch. 4). Their presence on stage, however, is now stripped of their soothing and majestic function; it signifies in fact the death of the 'archaeological' (and realistic) kind of reworking of Greek tragedy that prevailed in the first decades of the twentieth century.

The few passages from the original text are taken from two renowned translations, one by Manara Valgimigli and the other by Ezio Savino. 'I have adopted Valgimigli and Savino', Castellucci explains, 'as these were the closest to my childishly scholastic idea of Attic theatre, so serious and so antiquated'. His interest lies in the 'dead' nature of the text, in its 'dreamy ashes'.[22] Castellucci thereby contextually dis-assembles the work of Valgimigli, a revolutionary figure in the reception history of Aeschylus' tragedy. The philologist had centred his preliminary theoretical thinking about a text's survival on Aeschylus and advocated a logocentric vision of tragedy (see further Ch. 6), one clearly at odds with that of Castellucci, which was predicated on the supremacy of the 'soma'.[23]

Even more striking are Castellucci's references in some of his plot choices to earlier readings of Aeschylus' trilogy. Orestes in the emaciated body of a clown is a 'Hamlet' who cannot make up his mind on the 'matricidal gesture':[24] a metallic arm

[20] Ibid., 109.
[21] Hermes is presented as a statuesque, naked figure covered in white powder, holding a caduceus-like staff (cf. Ch. 5) and herding two albino donkeys: he 'subsumes the typical poses of those funerary bas reliefs of classical art' (Castellucci 2001a, 123).
[22] Ibid., 156.
[23] 'Soma and Logos' or 'the blood and right word' (Clytemnestra and Erinyes) and the logos and justice word (Apollo, Athena)' represent the two opposing worlds displayed throughout Castellucci's performance (1996, 8).
[24] Castellucci (2001a) 7.

attached to his body performs the killing.[25] In addition to being another instance of the organic and the mechanical intertwined into an 'organic' whole, the scene also functions as a meta-reference to those seventeenth- and eighteenth-century versions of the Orestes–Electra myth, which, in order to conform to *bienséance*, had rendered Orestes' matricidal gesture involuntary. Vittorio Alfieri's *Oreste* is one such example (see further Ch. 2). The allusion here is clearly part of Castellucci's technique of deconstruction, overturning the original intent: the artist does not evade Orestes' 'matricidal gesture' to make it conform to the dictates of the strict neo-classical coda; rather, he exposes this neo-classical canon to ridicule. The undecided, Hamlet-like Orestes does not just kill his mother *accidentally*: a mechanical protuberance *decides* for him, whilst he becomes a conscious spectator of the actions of (what is attached to) his own body.

But it is probably the last play of the trilogy that offers Castellucci the best chance to overturn and decompose the Aeschylean 'body'. Castellucci, as we have heard, plays on the maternal-paternal opposition through his deployment of particular bodies on stage: the feminine, Clytemnestra as 'Moby Dick' above all, dominates the effeminate and ephebic masculine. It should not come as a surprise, then, that Castellucci not only heavily abridges the *Eumenides*, which symbolises the victory of the paternal, by relegating it to the last twenty minutes of the performance; he also reverses the final play's meaning. As Orestes is released 'with equal votes' from his prison cell,[26] Athena – another plump body with white wings on her back – disappears soon after as if swallowed into darkness, whilst in the background some blurred footage of old pornographic scenes plays as in a peepshow. Then, as though in the

[25] Ibid., 135–7.
[26] Castellucci (2001) 157.

midst of a primordial tempest, Clytemnestra comes back on stage and holds Orestes in her arms whilst the light fades out and the darkness with which the performance began looms over mother and son as well as everyone else once again. In other words, Clytemnestra wins: the matriarchal re-establishes itself over the patriarchal.[27]

In this sense, as Bierl has noted,[28] Castellucci puts himself deliberately at odds with a highly significant production of Aeschylus' trilogy that brought the hitherto scholarly text fully into the theatre and especially into the public realm: the Gassman–Lucignani–Pasolini's 1960 *Orestiade* at the Greek theatre in Syracuse. In contrast with their teleological and political readings of the trilogy, which gave special prominence to *Eumenides* as the final act in the establishment of Western democracy (see further Ch. 7), Castellucci 'stay[s] with Clytemnestra'.[29] He 'stays' with the chaotic, bodily abnormality of the maternal. The reference is all the more pointed if read together with Castellucci's statement that any 'attempt' at actualising a play is 'vain and insufferable'.[30] To make a text 'contemporaneous' is a 'fake, all the more pathetic if poets do it', concluded the artist whilst glancing at Pasolini.

In many ways, Castellucci's adaptation also inserts itself into 'the wake of activities of the Italian *enfant terrible* Carmelo Bene'; in other words, into his programmatic intent to 'dismantl[e] collective identities'[31] by means of deconstructing a major text, i.e. a 'classic'.[32] The 'classic', as a site for a 'subconscious collective memory', as outlined by Italo Calvino in one of his definitions of the term,[33] is

[27] Cf. Ibid., 158.
[28] Bierl (2004) 128.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Castellucci (2001) 158.
[31] Decreus (2010) 135.
[32] Cf. Valentini (1997) 63.
[33] Calvino (1991) 13.

problematised here by Castellucci with respect to its 'classical' values and 'universal' meanings and is thus made to undergo a 'deconstructive process'. As with postcolonial challenges to the sovereignty of the 'classic',[34] the aim here is to dismantle well-established cultural identities.[35] And yet, paradoxically, this 'dismantling' and contextual 'reshaping' of identities is a movement towards liberation that speaks only to an elite in Italy.

As the journalist Anna Bandettini has recently claimed, Castellucci has been crowned, everywhere from Amsterdam to Tokyo, as 'one of the most important theatre directors' internationally.[36] The artist, in fact, is especially appreciated abroad, and in France in particular, where he was named *Chevalier des Arts et des Lettres* by the Minister of Culture of the French republic in 2002 and an 'associate artist' by the artistic directors of the Festival d'Avignon, Hortense Archambault and Vincent Baudriller, in 2008. Though Italy has formally recognised his importance at the Venice Biennale, awarding him the *Leone d'Oro* for his entire career on 2 August 2013, Castellucci has kept away from major Italian theatres for twenty years; the Teatro Argentina is one of the very few that invites him back to his homeland regularly. When asked about Italy in a 2013 interview, Castellucci stated that though he does not 'like to play the victim', he does feel like 'someone who lives in exile'. 'If I were French', he continued, 'I would already have my own theatre'.[37] The disregard of Castellucci in Italy, together with the poor reception of his *Orestea*, limited as it was to a handful

[34] Lianieri and Zajko (2008) 17.
[35] More consistently since the end of the twentieth century, postcolonial and translation studies in the field of classics have begun to explore and problematise the very nature of the classics' (multiple) pasts and their historical function in these pasts (Lianieri and Zajko 2008; Goff 2005; Hardwick and Gillespie 2007).
[36] Bandettini (2013).
[37] Ibid.

of experts, can partly be explained by the fact that post-dramatic theatre has not enjoyed much prominence in Italy. However, in the case of his *Orestea*, in particular, the lack of enthusiasm can be traced back to the very peculiar relationship that Italy has developed with this Aeschylean 'classic' trilogy and the 'classic' more generally.

In a way, Castellucci's adaptation of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* reproduces a long-standing conflict between two co-existing forces that strongly characterise this special bond. On the one hand, there exists in Italy a visceral familiarity with classical theatre, deeply engrained in the country's DNA, and with Aeschylus in particular as a founding figure. This perceived ancestral affiliation with the 'classic' no doubt accounts, in many ways, for Castellucci's choice of Aeschylus' foundation trilogy as *the* text with which to 'expose' and de-throne Western tragedy and 'representational theatre' in general. On the other hand, Castellucci's work, known and speaking to a select few who have benefited from the education provided by the liceo classico, emblematises the perceived elitism of certain cultural appropriations of Aeschylus/the 'classic' itself, which continues to operate within Italian culture.

The 'classic' between democracy and elitism

This dualism between, on the one hand, a widespread familiarity with the Graeco-Roman 'classic' – whose 'cultural tradition' in Italy 'lives on also and especially outside of the classroom', as Antonio Gramsci observed in 1932[38] – and, on the other, an elitism concerning the Graeco-Roman 'classic' that is endemically embedded into Italian society and is exemplified in the school system and the 'elitist' liceo classico

[38] Gramsci (1977) 1545–6.

in particular, has recently been at the centre of heated debates. The 'classic' in the Italian context refers both literally to the Graeco-Roman texts, which were the first to gain 'classic' status, as well as to Calvino's definition, which affords such a status both to ancient *and* modern works of recognised value.[39]

Federico Condello in his book *La scuola giusta. In difesa del liceo classico* ('The right school. In defence of the liceo classico'; 2018) draws a detailed picture of the state of the liceo classico,[40] which is clearly symptomatic of the problematic and ambivalent rapport that Italy has with the 'classic'. In today's discussion, there seems to be a divide between those who argue for the dismantling of the liceo classico, as an emblem of an outdated, irrelevant and pre-modern world, in favour of a stronger focus on the teaching of sciences; and those, supposedly defenders of the liceo classico, who propose to make it more 'student-friendly' by reducing the study of antiquity to the acquisition of factual (rather than linguistic) knowledge.

Condello convincingly argues against the first view – namely the alleged 'un-modernity' and outmodedness of the liceo classico – by showing that more than 46 percent of its students' subject choices at university are outside the humanities. He presents evidence that these students perform well in the predominantly non-humanities subjects they choose to study, even those in the hard sciences, in which they sometimes do better than those who attended a secondary school whose main goal is indeed to form 'scientists'.[41]

[39] See further below and Chs. 1 and 2 for the emergence of a distinction between the Graeco-Roman and the modern 'classic', which insterestingly takes root when Italy enters a literary *querelle* with France.
[40] Condello (2018) 78–94.
[41] Cf. Condello (2018) 154–66. All in all, Condello concludes, 'the liceo classico, [teaching] just futile humanity, or the irksome ancient languages, in fact splendidly prepares its students, who are ready to compete for excellent grades on what would seem the least favourable grounds' (165).

Yet, it is the argument against the second view, against the proposal to lighten the workload and transform the liceo classico into a school for only the few would-be classicists and philologists of the future, that is particularly interesting. In other words, as Pierre Judet de la Combe has recently put it, addressing similar debates in France, this pedagogy-driven view would reduce the subjects of Greek and Latin to the study of a 'sympa, accessible et bigarrée' antiquity, which is not only detrimental to a deep understanding of the texts, but also deprives these subjects of their much broader educational potential.[42] As Condello shows in his research, the study of Greek and Latin has effects well beyond the simple learning about antiquity and is in fact credited with providing critical tools valid for any field a student might choose in the immediate future.

Moreover, making this 'sympa' antiquity the main object of the liceo classico would also have the effect of self-selecting its student population even more than it does so already. If the study of Greek and Latin is considered to possess no more value than the possibility of absorbing information about classical civilisation, then the liceo classico will be for those few students who already have a specific interest in the subject and would like to pursue it at university level, something that only a handful of well-off families would advise their children to undertake because of the relatively under-valued (financially and socially) professions to which this choice would lead.

Against such an (unintentionally but effectively) elitist move, Condello demonstrates the liceo classico's importance to Italian society, both in the past and present. Whilst it has always been historically true that students attending this school are from well-off and/or well-read families,[43] the philologist explains that maintaining

[42] Judet de La Combe (2016) 49.
[43] Condello (2018) 216–54.

the liceo classico as it is (with hardcore 'unsympathetic' antiquity amongst its teaching objects) means giving credit to that 'formidable and successful experiment of scholastic democracy' that this type of school has represented since its beginnings, aimed as it was 'at making available a heritage that had been part of an elite culture for centuries'.[44] The hope is that this genuinely comprehensive institution, which contains in itself an engine for social change, can be preserved in its 'democratic' form and be widened to *divers*ify instead of *class*ify-ing its student population.[45]

The 'classical' school, at the same time democratic by nature and yet by and large privileged de facto, perfectly captures the nature of the reception history of Aeschylus and/or the 'classic' texts in Italy. In this history, the 'classic' becomes contested ground for the continuous re-definition of a collective past, by means of either elevating and classicising it or familiarising and universalising it, with all the political and social implications that these two positions entail. This thesis probes these multiple re-definitions of and responses to Italy's classical heritage through a diachronic analysis that encompasses the translation, adaptation and performance history of that 'immense' and 'founding' body that comprises Aeschylus' tragedies.

Aeschylus in translation, adaptation and performance

The thesis works within anglophone classical reception studies, pioneered by Charles Martindale in 1993 in his *Redeeming the Text*.[46] The originality of Martindale's model was to combine reception theory, mostly associated with Hans Robert Jauss[47] and

[44] Ibid., 94.
[45] The pun here refers both to 'social class' and the proposed narrowing of its curriculum. For more on the relationship between Classics and Class, see Hall and Stead (2015).
[46] Martindale (1993).
[47] Jauss (1982).

French post-structuralist literary criticism.[48] Along with Martindale's foundational text, Helmutt Flashar's *Inszenierung der Antike: Das griechische Drama auf der Biihne der Neuzeit 1585–1990*,[49] which, though by and large focused on German-speaking responses to Greek plays, initiated the now well-established research field into the reception history of Greek drama in modern cultures. The present work is grounded in classical performance reception and is very much a product of the APGRD.[50] With its diachronic breadth, it also resembles to some extent the research that has been conducted on the reception of Greek tragedy in Britain by Edith Hall and Fiona Macintosh,[51] which spans classical scholarship, intellectual history and the history of theatre.

No one has ever written a reception history of Greek drama – and Aeschylus' tragedies in particular – in Italy, the undertaking that is at the heart of this study. The research closely follows the careful work done by Claire Lechevalier on Aeschylus' afterlife in French culture,[52] which has proved invaluable, as there are many overlaps and contacts between Italian and French responses to Aeschylus. It fills the gap in the reception history of Aeschylus in Italy by ranging widely across the histories of performance, translation and adaptation. By doing so, on the one hand, it responds to Martindale's call that the 'chain of receptions' connected to an ancient work be at the heart of the study of classics;[53] on the other hand, it heeds the exhortation of modern

[48] Martindale (1993) 7.
[49] Flashar (1991); see also Erika Fisher-Lichte (2004) on the creation and importance of the classical *Bildung* in Germany.
[50] See also Hall and Harrop (2005).
[51] Hall and Macintosh (2005).
[52] Lechevalier (2007).
[53] Martindale (1993) 7.

literary specialists like Stuart Gillespie[54] that translation, and – I would add – adaptation and performance need to become part of literary history.

There is a real sense in which the creative processes involved in the adaptation, translation and performance of a dramatic text can be productively understood as existing on a continuum. As Linda Hutcheon has argued, both translation and adaptation involve a 'transaction between texts and languages'[55] just as much as performance does with respect to theatre's set of rules and 'codes', i.e. theatre's 'language'. Both translation and adaptation, moreover, represent, in Susan Bassnett's terms, 'an act of intercultural and intertemporal communication',[56] which is also shared and embedded in the performance process. In this sense, all three activities can be described as acts of 'translation' of some sort.

The 'relocating' activity that permeated sixteenth-century 'volgarizzamenti' (Ch. 1) is emblematic in this respect, as it points to the inevitable collision of 'translation' with 'adaptation' that occurs when writers grapple with Aeschylus' plays under the sway of 'performance', which was considered the ultimate goal of the undertaking. It was only with the introduction of limitations on any free engagement with Aeschylus (and the 'classic' more generally), achieved by means of a more normative and restrictive definition of the very term 'translation', that a divorce between script, (encompassing adaptation: Ch. 2), and translation *stricto sensu* of Aeschylus/the 'classic' (now confined to the realm of philology: Ch. 3), was finally effected. A patent step in the direction towards some kind of annulment of this divorce took place when Aeschylus returned to the realm of performance (Chs. 4–7) and was

[54] Gillespie (2001) vii.
[55] Hutcheon (2006) 16.
[56] Bassnett (2014) 10.

thereby invested with new meaning (Ch. 6). Now outside of academia (both physically and conceptually), Aeschylus' works have unleashed their new social and existential potential (Ch. 7).

Yet, even when 'translation' of Aeschylus encompasses the terms 'adaptation' and 'performance', it does not simply describe a phenomenon that has taken place between ancient and (Italian) modern cultural texts. In its broadest sense, translating Aeschylus has entailed the shaping of Italian identity, resulting in that 'immense [classical] body', whose centrality is so prominent that Castellucci uses it to embark upon his deconstructive project.

Each chapter here has as its object a detailed analysis of the features of some particular 'appropriating' movement or 'incorporating' process,[57] which is at the heart of the continuous and vital activity of 'restaging' and 'relocating' this 'body'. By scrutinising the means by which the Aeschylean corpus has been re-sited and re-contextualised, each chapter also inevitably touches on debates about the development and survival of Italian culture per se and of the 'translational' practices that took root in Italy. Therefore, the analysis of the translations (*largo sensu*) are an essential part of and heavily indebted to translation studies.[58]

Alongside its diachronic spread, this work also situates the various Italian responses to Aeschylus synchronically, within a wider European context. It has generally been maintained that Aeschylus was only fully rediscovered towards the end of the eighteenth century.[59] However, this claim, as will be seen, is only partially true for Italy, where there exists an almost uninterrupted history of engagement with

[57] Steiner (1975) 296–7.
[58] Cf. Bassnett (2014); Venuti (2012).
[59] Macintosh (2013a) 322.

Aeschylus from before the *Settecento* to the present. The productions database of the APGRD, albeit by no means exhaustive, revealingly lists 19 performances of Aeschylus' plays in Italy between 1450 and 1800,[60] as compared to seven in England and France, two in Germany, one in Greece and none in the Netherlands, Spain or Portugal. Thus, 52.7 percent of the productions of Aeschylean drama from that period took place in Italy, and these 19 performances constitute 38 percent of the total number of productions of Aeschylus' plays that have ever been staged in Italy. In short, there is strong evidence of a relationship between Aeschylus and Italy prior to 1800, a relationship that not only dictates the terms of future interpretations of Aeschylean plays, but also contains the seeds of Italy's problematic and ambivalent rapport with the 'classic' more generally.

As part of a wider political project, sixteenth-century Aeschylus served to create and support a set of texts that could function as 'canonical' for Italy. Whilst mapping scholarly translations onto the classical tradition so as to give prominence and prestige to their own literary endeavours, the Italian humanists also acknowledged their distance from their source texts so as to validate them as new works. Within this theoretical framework, any distinction between translation and adaptation was not only irrelevant but even pernicious because it limited the very creation of a national canon (Ch. 1).

A quest for the systematisation and normativisation of what had entered the canon came to the fore under neo-classical influence. The term 'classic' entered the

[60] See, also, further Appendix A, which lists all the translations, adaptations and productions of Aeschylus' tragedies between 1556 and 1960 that I was able to find by means of combining multiple bibliographical sources.

third edition of the Accademia della Crusca's *Dictionary* in 1691,[61] and it was no coincidence that this word was officially defined in this period, only a year after the establishment of the literary academy charged with the task of re-routing Italian literature back onto the severe and strict tracks of neo-classicism. This modern corpus was then Italianised in the eighteenth century, in an effort to resist French influence so that Italian literature, through the Academy of Arcadia, might be able to compete with the French. Alfieri's tragedies were at the heart of this programmatic and nationalistic intention to Italianise theatre (Ch. 2).

Between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, after the narrowing of translation practice into a more limited and controlled activity, the term 'classic' too underwent a change in meaning: it now specifically referred to Graeco-Roman antiquity, i.e. it began to define more neatly the 'fundamentals of Western civilisation'.[62] It occurred no less than forty-one times in the epistles of Vincenzo Monti, a pivotal figure in the shaping of a classicising, highbrow language for translation of the 'classic'.[63] Opposed to the Romantic, the Greek and Roman 'classic' had now acquired an elevated status, which resulted in a socially and linguistically elite status for its cultural appropriations.

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[61] Cf. VAC (1691) 344: 'It is said of an excellent and perfect thing, almost first-class. Latin: *classicus, familiam ducens*'.

[62] Ferroni (2006). The TO (Lemma 1465), Fortini (1978) 193 and Ferroni (2006) quote a passage from a certain Segni, whose given name was Alessandro according to the TO, Agnolo according to Fortini, and Bernardo according to Ferroni, whom two of these three sources credit with the first use of the term 'classics' to refer to Greek and Roman authors specifically and as separate from the moderns (thus in Fortini and Ferroni: 'classichi e toscani', but the quote is different in the TO, where 'classics' is used for both the ancients and the moderns: 'classici, toscani e latini'). Unfortunately, I could not retrieve the original to see what it actually has and which Segni it is – the TO is the only source to give a full bibliographical reference for the quote ('Segn. A. pros. fior. 4. 3. 315'), but I could not find anything of the sort. Fortini gives the year (1581) of a treatise that indeed Agnolo Segni wrote, but which (as far as I could see) does not contain the reported phrase. The first clear mention of 'classics' in the sense of the Greek and Roman authors seems to be by Giovan Battista Marino some decades later (1620, but see 1667, 26).

[63] The nineteenth century as a whole sees the highest number of occurrences of the term, even more than the twentieth.

It is during this same period, in perfect consonance with the paradoxical and ambivalent relationship of Italy to the 'classic', that discussions towards a democratisation of the classical heritage via the 'classical' secondary school also took place (though the name 'liceo classico' was juridically normalised only in 1939 under Fascism).[64] As Condello argues, the classical school after Italy's political unification (1861) represented a 'programmatic example of the ideological apparatus of the State'.[65] It was, in fact, 'invested with an eminently political mandate: the creation of an extended national conscience and an extended middle elite to enlist in the ranks of the newly-born Reign'.[66] The classical legacy, part of the 'prevailing literary, linguistic and historical component'[67] of the school, was devoted to creating and consolidating national identity (Ch. 3).

Aeschylus returning to the realm of performance at the end of the nineteenth century should be read along the lines of a further and slightly different democratisation of the 'classic' in the direction of both a nationalistic (this time targeting Germany) as well as cosmopolitan re-interpretation of it. D'Annunzio and his theatre project along with the beginnings of the now more than hundred-year-old festival of Greek Drama at the ancient theatre of Syracuse were key to this re-interpretation. Harkening back to an idea of theatre of and for the people à la Romain Rolland and to the European reawakening of the Nietzschean 'spirit' of tragedy in open-air productions, and also prompted by the 'primitive', 'titanic' and pre-classical Greece of Heinrich Schliemann's archaeological discoveries, Greek drama was used as vehicle for making that heritage available and popular (Ch. 4).

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[64] Condello (2018) 27.
[65] Ibid., 122.
[66] Ibid., 121–2.
[67] Ibid., 122.

With the advent of Fascism, the relationship between Aeschylus and Italy showed both its democratic and elitist guises at the same time. Whilst Gentile with his reform of the secondary school system (1923) was putting a cap on the possibility that just anyone could access the classical heritage (and thus change their social status) by means of high taxes and arduous exams,[68] Mussolini was spurring intellectuals and theatre practitioners on to spectacularise and massify that same heritage so as to educate, or better, ideologically mould Italy's citizens.[69] And if the governing body tasked with organising classical performances in the theatre in Syracuse was multiplying its activities and venues all over Italy to feed the 'classic' to the masses, its president, Biagio Pace, was arguing for confinement of the scientific knowledge grounding the classical world to the hands of a few connoisseurs, so as to model a more appropriate (and ideologically-shaped) 'phantom' of the 'classic' (Ch. 5).

Post-war Aeschylus/the 'classic' by and large resulted in its essential de-colonisation from the grips of Fascism. The insistence on historicising the 'classic' and the need to refrain from dangerous discourse upon its modernity led to a radical rethinking around the very nature of this well-established heritage. The precursory forms of this change were already at work at the beginning of the century in a strand of philology that was heavily informed by Italian idealism (Ch. 6) and later moved on to integrating a more markedly Marxian interpretation of history and literature (Ch. 7). The year 1960, at the dawn of a pivotal moment in the history of theatre[70] and in the

[68] Thus commented Gramsci in 1932 (but see Gramsci 1977, 1547, also quoted in Condello 2018, 225) with regards to Gentile's school reform: 'The most paradoxical aspect is that this new type of school seems and is brought forth as democratic, whilst not only does it perpetrate social differences, but it crystallises them in Chinese characters'.
[69] Ibid., 107.
[70] Brockett and Franklin (2014) 518.

reception of Greek drama in particular,[71] signalled the definitive democratisation of Aeschylus/the 'classic' and the possibility of reclaiming the texts in diverse and iconoclastic ways.

Synopsis

Chapter One explores Aeschylus' reception in sixteenth-century Italy and focuses on three forgotten translations. The first version of any Aeschylean play to be published in Italy is a Latin translation of *Prometheus Vinctus* (1556) by Coriolano Martirano, which almost disappeared without a trace because it was considered a 'betrayal' of the original. The second is the first Italian – and European – vernacular translation of the same play by Marcantonio Cinuzzi (1578), which remained in manuscript form until 2006. The third translation, which I discovered in a manuscript held at the National Library of Florence, is a vernacular translation of the *Eumenides* (c. 1580), which represents the first, albeit incomplete, translation of one of the three plays of the trilogy into the vernacular in Europe. By the end of the sixteenth century, we can observe continued interaction between scholars and theatre practitioners with respect to two Aeschylean plays, the *Prometheus Vinctus* and the *Oresteia*; we can also discern during this period the key factors that influence translators and writers in subsequent centuries – patronage, religion, and dramaturgical translatability – albeit in different forms and behind different masks.

Chapter Two focuses on Alfieri's two masterpieces: his *Agamennone* and *Oreste* (1783). With the dawn of the seventeenth century, there was a proliferation of

[71] Cf. Hall (2004a) 12.

adaptations of Aeschylus' tragedies in various performance media: ballet, opera, and academic drama. Yet, it is really through these two plays, Alfieri's adaptation of the *Agamemnon*, which draws both on Seneca and Aeschylus, and his *Oreste*, a retelling of the *Choephoroe* via Voltaire's *Oreste*, that part of Aeschylus' trilogy lives on in the Italian theatre. By the 1820s, when Alfieri's tragedies had completely disappeared from the European repertoire, they survived in Italy because of the political usage that was made of them, directed at promoting and enhancing Italian nationalism – first by the patriots of the Risorgimento and later by the Fascists. Indeed, Alfieri's adaptations, as mediated via Pierre Brumoy's abridged versions of Aeschylus' plays (1730), guaranteed the survival of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in a newly accessible form for almost a hundred and fifty years.

Chapter Three attests to the surprising burst of translations of Aeschylus' plays between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this chapter, I discuss Melchiorre Cesarotti's translation of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinctus* (1754) and the two main translators of Aeschylus in nineteenth-century Italy: Felice Bellotti (1821), who was the first to provide a full translation of Aeschylus' plays, and Giovanni Battista Niccolini (1815–1871). Whether exploited as a playground for the development of a theory of translation (Cesarotti), or directed towards a deliberately foreignising (neo-classical) syntax (Bellotti) or an all-encompassing harmonious (Romantic) language (Niccolini), Aeschylus before his Syracusan premiere in 1914 was confined to the page. In the comparison I draw between Cesarotti and Bellotti first, and between Bellotti and Niccolini second, it emerges that in the first decades of the nineteenth century a new language of translation, and translation of the 'classic' in particular, began its journey towards what some contemporary translators of Greek tragedy have

called 'traduttese':[72] a highly poetic language, even when not required by the text itself, not necessarily philologically bound to the original, and so refined as to be difficult to comprehend.

Chapters Four and Five are centred on the most important performances and translations of Aeschylus' plays in the first decades of the twentieth century: those produced for the Syracuse festival. The festival had its beginnings in 1914 with the staging of *Agamemnon* and was later given formal recognition with the establishment of the National Institute for Ancient Drama at Syracuse (INDA) in 1925. Chapter Four discusses the first performances – *Agamemnon* (1914) and *Choephoroe* (1921). In this chapter, I argue that the first performances of Aeschylus' plays at Syracuse were informed and influenced by the archaeological discoveries of pre-historic and pre-colonial Sicily by the famous archaeologist Paolo Orsi, as well as by Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenae. Yet, it was especially the long-term project, begun with D'Annunzio and his *Città Morta*, to give Italy a new Renaissance that prompted the early Syracusan performances. Indeed, this nationalistic side of the project prevailed in the 1920s when Mussolini saw in the festival the political and cultural potential to promote a strong national identity, which was already evident in *Septem contra Thebas* (1924) and *Agamemnon* (1930), both at the heart of Chapter Five. Under the apparent 'anonymity' or 'communality' of the new Fascism-aligned board of directors, INDA began laying the foundations for the construction of a new vision of the 'classical world', a new ahistorical, aerodynamic modernity, of which the *Agamemnon* in 1930 is a clear example.

[72] Condello (2012) and (2014).

Chapter Six begins with a survey of the reception of post-war Aeschylus, which culminates in the INDA production of his *Oresteia* in 1948, but focuses on the revolutionary and precursory work of one of the most important scholars of twentieth-century Italy: Manara Valgimigli. Through analysis of some of his most relevant speeches and essays, his re-conceptualisation of philology as essentially a 'rethinking' of humankind, always oscillating between past and present, because always in the making, is scrutinised. His Hegelian, via Croce and Gentile, re-definition of philology as a discipline about criticism and its history also allows him to re-formulate the very nature of the 'classic', not just as an everlasting and universal object, but as a historically-layered open text, a site for that 'plural stereophony of echoes, citations, references' which Roland Barthes advocates.[73] Such a text accrues value and meaning every time it is interpreted. This so-called historical approach is evident in the 1948 *Oresteia*, for which Valgimigli provides the translation and acts as co-director.

The final chapter begins with an analysis of another groundbreaking performance of Aeschylus' trilogy, that of Gassman–Lucignani–Pasolini, before moving on to examine Pasolini's translation techniques more specifically and his peculiar relationship with 'Africa' as an 'in-between' space to deconstruct and re-define the 'classic', in particular. Through his references to Mathilda Beauvoir's Haitian dance group as well as the Africa of his *Appunti per un'Orestiade Africana* ('Notes for an African *Oresteia'*; 1968–1969), the 'classic' provides fertile ground for re-conceptualising and rethinking society as well as for wresting eternal and absolute emotions. Once again, it is Aeschylus' *Oresteia* that functions as a milestone in the process of exploring the multiple meanings of the 'classic' in Italy.

[73] Barthes (1977) 160.

Chapter One

Relocating Aeschylus in sixteenth-century 'volgarizzamenti'

In 1737, a plagiarist named Giovanni Crisostomo Scarfò re-printed as his own a *liber rarissimus*, a copy of which is preserved in the Vatican library and which contains some otherwise forgotten versions of Greek tragedies and comedies translated into Latin by Coriolano Martirano and published by his nephew in 1556.[1] Alongside translations of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, this 1737 volume includes the first version of any Aeschylean play published in Italy, a tragedy that is regularly revisited in Italy in varying forms throughout the centuries: the *Prometheus Vinctus* (see further Ch. 3).[2]

Some thirty years later, in 1767, appeared the first monumental account of all the Italian 'volgarizzamenti', a controversial defining 'label' which later scholarship attached to Italian translations from ancient text, entitled *Biblioteca degli volgarizzatori*. The author was Filippo Argellati, an avid collector of manuscripts in eighteenth-century Florence, who listed under Aeschylus' entry two works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: a *Prometheus Vinctus* by Antonio Cinuzzi

[1] Ironically, it is thanks to Scarfò that Martirano's works were brought back to life: his *Nubes* and *Christus* were reprinted in 1781 and 1786 respectively, translated into the vernacular, and performed: cf. Martirano (1781), and Martirano (1786). See Fanelli (2009) 349–62 for the *Nubes*; and Fanelli (2009) 362–6 and Pometti (1897) 159–72 for the *Christus*. Very little research has been undertaken on Martirano's works: *Prometheus, Electra* (Sophocles)*, Medea*, and his unpublished version of the *Iliad* are the only translations to which a few scholars have dedicated some attention (cf. Mund-Dopchie 1978, Mund-Dopchie 1984, and Gruys 1981, 67–70 on *Prometheus*; Sarközy 1999 on *Electra*; Pometti 1897, 175–83 on *Medea*; Fabbri 2002 on the *Iliad*). For a detailed reception history of Martirano's translations, see Di Martino (2019) 125–7.

[2] Scarfò (1737).

(1578),[3] which remained in manuscript form until 2006, and an anonymous translation of *Eumenides*, incomplete[4] and still unpublished.[5]

These first eighteenth-century attempts to uncover earlier traces of Aeschylus' presence in Italy should not come as a surprise, since this was a pivotal moment in the reception of the founding father of ancient theatre, who was only at this point being properly re-discovered (see further Ch. 2). Memory of these earlier attempts at interpreting Aeschylus' tragedies was – and still is – so scant that Scarfò could pass off Martirano's works as his own. It also allowed Michel Angelo Giacomelli in 1754, in the preface to his translation of *Prometheus Vinctus* (see further Ch. 3), to claim that he was providing the first Italian translation of one of Aeschylus' plays.[6]

This chapter demonstrates that there is not only evidence of an almost uninterrupted history of Aeschylus' re-workings from the early modern period onwards, but that these forgotten sixteenth-century versions anticipate in many ways the political and ideological refigurations of Aeschylus in subsequent centuries.

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[3] Though the dedicatory letter accompanying the translation dates to 4 February 1578, the translation seems to be a product of Cinuzzi's youth and thus located before 1540, and probably between 1530 and 1535; cf. Blasina (2006) 8, 13.

[4] The translation is of *Eum.* 1–63 and 94–134 only. It remained undiscovered in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence until I found it in 2016.

[5] Argellati (1767) 27–8. In another massive account of all the Italian 'volgarizzamenti', Jacopo Maria Paitoni (1774) 27 notes that the anonymous translation of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* belongs to the *Operette raccolte da Monsignor Girolamo da Sommaja* (on whom cf. Haley 1977, 14–87), which we know from Mazzatinti's inventories include a series of inscriptions, epigrams, Latin and Italian poems, as well as other historical and literary documents gathered by this clergyman in 1611 (Mazzatinti 1905–1906, 65), now preserved at the National Library of Florence under the shelf-mark magl. VII, 346, 447v–450r and 453v–455r. It is possible to fix a relatively short period of time in which the translation could have been written: the *terminus ante quem* is of course 1611 and the *terminus post quem* must be 1557, the date of Vettori's edition, which the anonymous translator seems to have followed in his translation (the anonymous reads θεομυσῆ at line 40, one of Vettori's emendations to the text [cf. Galistu 2006, 125], and two scholia only published in Vettori's edition: one to στάζοντα χεῖρας, *Eum.* 42 [cf. Smith 1976, 45] and one to δυσφιλῆ, *Eum.* 54 [cf. ibid.]).

[6] Thus in Giacomelli (1754) III: 'D'Eschilo […] non sappiamo che sia stata mai Traduzione alcuna nella nostra lingua volgar favella pubblicata'.

Between translation and adaptation: 'volgarizzamento'

The reason for the lengthy neglect of these early versions lies partly in the puzzling nature of the texts, neither translations tout court nor fully original works since they are too heavily indebted to their (classical) models. In this period, the majority of 'volgarizzamenti' are published under the translator's name and titled 'tragedia';[7] Martirano's translations are called *poemata* in the preface.[8] There was at the time no real distinction between translation and original work. Italian scholars have generally referred to such texts as 'volgarizzamenti' (literally 'put into the vernacular' or 'vernacularisations'); and the 1767 monumental account explicitly refers to them as 'volgarizzamenti'.[9]

Yet the term 'volgarizzamento', though employed since the thirteenth century,[10] did not make its entry into the Crusca's *Dictionary* until its third edition in 1691,[11] whilst the verb 'volgarizzare' was surprisingly very common before and after the sixteenth century.[12] This verb had appeared in the Crusca's *Dictionary* since its first edition in 1612 and was identified with the action of 'traslatare' ('relocating')[13] what

[7] See, for example, Dolce (1551) 2–3; (1557) 1–2; Cinuzzi represents an exception when, in his preface, he fully acknowledges his to be a translation of Aeschylus' play ('Tradussi il presente poema': Blasina 2006, 33); yet, as will be seen, his version is as much a reworking of Aeschylus' play as Dolce's works are of Euripides and Seneca.
[8] Cf. Martirano (1556) i.
[9] Cf. Argelati (1767).
[10] Cf. the word in BI.
[11] In VAC (1691) 1807, the term was defined as the product of 'volgarizzare. Lat. *Versio*'.
[12] The search for vulgari* ('vulgari', 'vulgarimenti', 'volgaris(s)/çare') in OVI produced 50 occurrences, all concentrated at the end of the fourteenth century; volgari* ('volgariz(z)/ç/s/are' and its forms, 'volgari', 'volgarizzatore') produced 110 occurrences from 1268 to the end of the fourteenth century; volgh* ('volghare', 'volgharemente', 'volgharizz/z/are' and its forms) occurred 14 times from 1294 to the end of the fourteenth century. The verb 'vo/u/lg/(h)/ariz(z)/ç/s/are' and its various forms occurred 14 times in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In BI, it appears that the term only occurred three times in the sixteenth century, never in the seventeenth, twice in the eighteenth, and 33 times in the nineteenth century.
[13] In the same edition, the meaning for this word appears as 'trasportare di luogo a luogo' ('to carry from one place to another'): VAC (1612) 902.

had been written in a dead language ('la scrittura di lingua morta') into one that was spoken ('in quella, che si favella'). In short, 'volgarizzare' meant 'relocating' the Latin and Greek classics into the realm of a new, national literature.[14]

'Volgarizzare/volgarizzamento' refers in fact to a much earlier and 'precocious' translating activity, which was common in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy, an activity that had begun alongside the formation of the 'vernacular'.[15] As Alison Cornish argues, it pinpointed the move 'between an already well-established literary language' (not necessarily a dead one) 'into one that [was] not yet'.[16] It was a practice of domestication devoted to 'popularising' (*vulgus*) and simplifying texts to make them available to illiterate people. A 'volgarizzamento' was a work in progress, a patchwork of different texts, and was thus 'provisional' by nature and subject to 'continual revision'; it was a phenomenon of reading and reception.[17]

Only after the period of Latin humanism, with its project of translating texts from Greek into Latin, was the goal of 'volgarizzamento' narrowed to rendering into one language what had been said in another.[18] Thus, when 'vernacularisation re-emerge[d] on the other side of humanism', Cornish argues, 'it [was] a different project', one that represented a powerful instrument of cultural prestige and state propaganda and was part of a politically motivated programme of affirming national language and cultural prestige.[19]

With the advent of printing and the subsequent publication of the newly rediscovered classical authors, humanists became increasingly eager to translate Greek

[14] Ibid., 951.
[15] Cornish (2013) 10. Cf. also Folena (1994) for a history of 'volgarizzamento'.
[16] Cornish (2013) 11.
[17] Ibid., 14; cf. also 21: 'Volgarizzamento is a space of reader-initiated reception and transmission'.
[18] Cf. Ibid., 16.
[19] Ibid., 168–9.

and Latin texts into the vernacular[20] (rarely into Latin, the language of the Church) as a way of founding a new national repertoire grounded in the 'classical' tradition. In line with translation practices elsewhere in this period, as has been noted, the 'primary end' of this hectic 'relocating' activity resided in the appropriation of the Greek and Latin classics and sometimes resulted in a total reconstruction of these texts for a different context.[21]

A new project: the 'volgarizzamento'–'tragedia'

The sudden proliferation of ancient texts in translation was closely intertwined with the privileging of one particular genre that became the preferred source of inspiration for a group of intellectuals in sixteenth-century Italy: tragedy, and Greek tragedy in particular.[22] Italian humanists provided a considerable number of 'volgarizzamenti' (mostly taken from Euripides and Sophocles) and, as part of this 'volgarizzamento' project, also wrote more or less 'original' texts, which were later categorised as Italian Renaissance Tragedy.

Amongst them, a small group of scholars displayed their preference for the Greeks, willing to draw on them rather than on Seneca or on the medieval *sacra*

[20] Scholars, who completely threw themselves into this new frenetic activity of translating the classics, also had to face the problem of justifying their use of the vernacular, which was criticised by many as inappropriate for rendering the ancients properly without 'betraying' them. See, in particular, Bernardo Daniello's defence of his translation of Virgil's *Georgics* (Daniello 1549, 1–8).

[21] Gillespie (2011) 36. As Outi Merisalo explains, 'the translation strategies employed do not represent a clear rupture with those employed in the late Middle Ages'; the major difference between these two historical periods lay in 'the dissemination and import of Renaissance translations', which were far greater in number than those available earlier. 'All the translators', she continues, 'were able to use translation to develop the vernacular into an instrument comparable to Latin in a way that considerably improved upon similar efforts made by their medieval predecessors' (Merisalo 2015, 76). The *means* and *ends* of translating were quickly undergoing a huge transformation, which would not have been possible if medieval scholars had ceased their activity of 'tradere', 'passing down' the classics – through their mediation – to posterity.

[22] See in particular Di Maria (2005) 428–43 and (2002); Herrick (1965).

rappresentazione: Giangiorgio Trissino, Giovanni Ruccellai, Lodovico Martelli and Alessandro Pazzi were amongst the 'Grecians', who differed from the more commonly known 'Italian tragedians' in that they used the 'Greek' (Attic) structure (prologue, parodos, episodes, stasimons and *kommós*) in writing their plays.[23] Most Italian tragedies from this period were, in fact, composed according to the 'Latin model', which consisted of a separate prologue followed by five acts, each containing a concluding comment from a chorus, who spoke in varied lyrical metres, whilst the rest of the action between the characters was in 'endecasillabi sciolti' ('loose hendecasyllables').

For Italian tragedians, the distinction between a new play and a translation was illusory, for a sort of 'recodification' of the original, both in structure and content, was considered a necessary stage through which the text had to pass.[24] Indicative in this regard are the titles of some of the works produced in this period, which oscillate between a close transposition of the original titles and more creative ones: amongst the tragedies by the prolific Alessandro Pazzi de' Medici, for example, there appeared *Ifigenia in Tauris* (1525) and *Ciclope* (1525), but also *Dido in Carthagine* (1524; based on *Aen*. IV); Lodovico Dolce published, amongst other tragedies, *Hecuba* and *Thyeste* (1543), *Ifigenia in Aulide* (1551), *Medea* (1557), *Troiane* (1567; based on both Sen. *Tro.* and Eur. *Tro.*), but also *Didone* (1547; based on *Aen.* IV),[25] *Giocasta* (1549; based on Eur. *Phoen.*),[26] and *Marianna* (1565; based on Joseph *Antiquit. Iud.* XI, 191).

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[23] Cf. Herrick (1965) 44.

[24] Along with the revitalisation of the tragic genre, sixteenth-century humanists wanted to renovate theatre itself by defining 'the social, physical and economic organisation of theatres and theatre performances'; see Andrews (2006a) 31.

[25] Dido was a tragic story particularly dear to Italian tragedians (Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinzio [1504–1563] published a *Didone* in 1541): cf. Tomassini (1996) xx.

[26] Cf. Montorfani (2006).

That the new 'tragedia' was in fact innovative did not matter insofar as it fell into the wider 'volgarizzamento' undertaking, which no longer identified with a move from the literate to the illiterate, or even from the 'clergy' to the 'court', but was now to be understood as a highbrow political and theoretical framework into which scholars inscribed their works. Whilst retaining the inherently 'appropriating' nature that it was born with in the late Middle Ages, 'volgarizzamento' also subsumed the task of forming a canonical set of texts derived from the Greek and Latin classics.

It is precisely in this sense that we should read the three 'volgarizzamenti' of Greek drama presented in this chapter – Martirano's *Prometheus*, Cinuzzi's *Prometeo* and the anonymous translator's *Eumenides* – as an essential part of a wider endeavour, the purpose of which was to establish the tragic genre itself in Italy. This is why Martirano's Latin version is included and analysed as a 'volgarizzamento' of the same nature as Cinuzzi's and the anonymous translator's Italian version; the term was not intended to be understood in its strictly etymological sense ('put into the vernacular'), but rather in this new, broader meaning of constructing a national repertoire via the 'relocation' of the Greek and Latin classics. To this end, the 'volgarizzatori', whilst acknowledging the classical sources employed in their 'volgarizzamenti' or 'tragedie' – by this time equally acceptable and even interchangeable terms – also stressed the inevitable distance and the many differences between their texts and their classical models (see below). The aim was twofold: by mapping their works onto the classical tradition, the scholars gave prominence and prestige to their literary endeavours; and, both by acknowledging their distance from the source texts and the 'relocating' nature of their versions, they validated their texts as parts of the national repertoire, as 'tragedie' with new owners.

'Dramaturgical' translatability

One of the main features of these 'tragedie'/'volgarizzamenti' was their dramatic potential. Every translation, however long/short, which claimed to be a re-working of a tragedy, was conceived for the stage, regardless of whether the performance actually occurred. As Pazzi de' Medici reminds us in the preface to his *Dido in Carthagine* and *Iphigenia Taurica*, tragedy is a poem 'ordinato per la recitazione ne i magnifici spectacoli' ('meant to be performed in magnificent spectacles'); in translating *Iphigenia*, he professes to have maintained Euripides' 'dispositione' of matters, along with the general meaning of the play, without, however, constraining his version to the rigid laws of translation ('leggi del tradurre') as he strove to render the 'substantia' ('substance') of Euripides' lines.[27] In similar vein, we read that Lodovico Dolce is presenting *Iphigenia* 'con altra lingua e altra forma' ('in another language and form'), and his *Medea* 'con nuovi panni […] vestita' ('newly clothed').[28] Yet, Giambattista Giraldi offers probably the most eloquent statement in this respect, when, in the prologue of his tragedy *Altile*, he legitimates his 'disobedience' to the rules of tragedy passed down by the ancients as something that the Greeks themselves would have done in order to 'servire a l'età, a gli spettatori', 'soddisfare a questi tempi, a' spettatori, a la materia nova', i.e. accommodate the tastes of their contemporaries.[29]

Within this highly performative context, Cinuzzi, a member of the *Accademia senese degli Intronati*, which in the first decades of the sixteenth century was beginning its theatrical activity, dedicates his Italian translation of Aeschylus'

[27] Solerti (1887) 47–8.
[28] Dolce (1551) 57; Id. (1557) 2.
[29] Giraldi (1586) 1–2; on this matter, see especially Di Maria (2002) 17–34.

Prometheus Vinctus to the Duke of Urbino Francesco della Rovere, hoping that – being a tragedy 'non horribile per ispargimenti di sangue né di crudeltà' ('not too horribly soaked in bloodshed') – the Duke would stage it in the future, on one of those festive occasions which punctuated Italian court life. Having translated 'in verso sciolto da rima', as more consonant with a performative context, Cinuzzi also declares to have invented – and signalled so in the manuscript – the choral odes 'per ornamento et conferenti a la materia de la favola' ('as a suitable ornament for the *fabula*').[30] The language employed, the ways in which the choral odes are adapted to express his own interpretation of the tragedy, and the systematic elimination of excessively complicated stage-machinery (such as the Nymphs' chariot, or the griffin on which Oceanus was supposed to enter), all testify to Cinuzzi's theatricalisation of his script.[31]

By contrast, Martirano's intentions regarding the final destination for which his Latin translations were designed are not as obvious, because his plays were published without his permission.[32] It is not, however, purely speculative to allege some kind of performable purpose behind what scholars have usually seen as a mere technical exercise.[33] Hints in this direction are Martirano's addition of some lines, here and there, that could be interpreted as stage directions. One occurs before Oceanus' entrance (*PV* 283), when the Chorus utter:

> Atque ipse en pater tempori adest tibi
> Oceanus pede propero. Cernin'?
> Eccum. Licet audire loquentem.[34]

[30] Blasina (2006) 33. See Porro (1981) 491–2 in particular for an explanation of the usual treatment of choral odes in sixteenth-century 'volgarizzamenti'.
[31] See Blasina (2006) 24–5.
[32] Martirano's plays were published against his will by his nephew, Marzio, who explains in detail his struggles before eventually deciding to publish them. They had apparently been destined for the fire (see the dedicatory letter in Martirano 1556).
[33] See, amongst others, Pertusi (1966) 217; and Bertana (1905) 38–9.
[34] Martirano (1556) 168.

They are announcing their father's entrance, and – most importantly – they are letting readers/spectators know that Oceanus is their father.[35]

The other example occurs after the first stasimon, when the Chorus recite a few lines as if they wanted their audience to reconnect with the protagonist:

> Sed quid repente corde suspirium elicis?
> Obducta et atris fronte nubibus taces?[36]

After the choral ode in which the Chorus bemoan Prometheus' fate, they want to re-establish a dialogue with the Titan, and they do so in a theatrical way.[37]

Just as Martirano's and Cinuzzi's translations provide evidence of performable translations, the anonymous version of the *Eumenides* also implies a performative context. Between lines 33 and 34 of the Greek, the anonymous translator, to whom I refer as T henceforth, includes a stage direction mostly taken from the scholia, upon which he depends throughout his translation to unravel the complexity of Aeschylus' language. T explains:

> Qui resta per un poco la scena sola, perché non era comparso il coro, et la sacerdotessa entrò nel tempio, trova Oreste, et le Furie acanto addormentate, tornata fuori spaventata segue:

T adapts and combines two scholia and inserts them into his translation in the form of a stage direction so that his hypothetical audience may reach a better understanding of the prophetess's words to come. First, he explains that the scene 'remains empty for a little while'; then the Pythia 'enters the temple'.[38] She sees 'Orestes and the Furies,

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[35] Mund-Dopchie (1978) 174 believes that Martirano added them only to clarify that Oceanus is their father. Martirano certainly intended to inform his readers about Oceanus' relationship with the Chorus, but what is notable is that he does so within the 'rules' of Greek theatre, through 'spoken' stage directions.
[36] Martirano (1556) 171.
[37] Martirano's *Prometheus* as a whole is an abridged version of Aeschylus' drama, 877 lines in total compared to Aeschylus' 1093. The choral odes, in particular, appear much shorter than the Greek.
[38] See Smith (1976) 44: παρ' ὀλίγον ἔρημος ἡ σκηνὴ γίνεται· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ χορός πω πάρεστιν, ἥ τε ἱέρεια εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναόν.

who have fallen asleep next to him', and then comes 'out of the temple, scared', after which T continues with the translation.[39]

Another example is at lines 129–30:

> **Choro**
> *Qui fanno doppie strida, et dicono:*
>
> Guai à lui, guai a lui
> Piglialo, piglia, piglia, piglia
> Mostrami l'empio, mostrami
>
> (**Xo.** μυγμὸς διπλοῦς ὀξύς)
> λάβε λάβε λάβε λάβε· φράζον.[40] (130)

Clytemnestra's ghost has just reproached the Chorus for letting Orestes run away, hence they redouble their whining (μυγμὸς διπλοῦς), this time 'intensified' (ὀξύς), and then repeatedly shout 'catch him' (λάβε; φράζον). T reproduces line 129 quite faithfully as a stage direction and finishes it with an introduction to the Chorus' line ('et dicono'; 'and they say').[41] T then prolongs their shouts to make them sound more frantic and theatrical: 'woe to him, woe to him, take him, take him, show me the unholy one, show me!'.

Patronage, politics, and religion

Dramaturgical translatability, however, represents only one of the multiple functions these translations perform: additionally, they appeal to patronage, which consequently demands a political clothing for the translation; and they have a religious function,

[39] See ibid., ἰδοῦσα γὰρ Ὀρέστην ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τὰς Ἐρινύας κοιμωμένας, ἕξεισι τεταραγμένη τετραποδηδὸν ἐκ τοῦ νεώ.
[40] The Greek text for *Eumenides* employed in this chapter is taken from Vettori (1557).
[41] 'They say' is possibly inferred from the scholium to <λάβε>]: ὀνειροπολοῦσαι διώκειν Ὀρέστην τοῦτό φασιν (see Smith 1976, 48).

which inevitably guides the process of interpreting the text, and which continues to exert influence in the following centuries.[42]

All three translations are soaked in religious references, in a way that is sometimes difficult to unravel. To understand the sort of influence that religion exerts on the anonymous translator of *Eumenides*, a look at a short passage inserted after line 19 of the Greek will suffice. The prophetess has just recalled how Zeus inspired Apollo with seercraft, after which T adds:

> E ben ch'obliqui sien suoi detti e storti,
> Pur son da Giove: il profeta è suo figlio.

These two lines convey a concept absent in the Greek text: 'however unclear and twisted his sayings are', T makes his Pythia utter, 'they come from Jupiter' and 'the prophet', Apollo, 'is his son'. This addition represents a warning to the audience to heed what comes from God, in an attempt to promote respect and reverence towards the divine, which obviously reflects a sixteenth-century Christian mentality. T makes almost imperceptible changes, which nonetheless 'clothe', to use Dolce's words, his translation in a religious and sacred aura.[43]

Cinuzzi's and Martirano's political and religious implications are easier to grasp, as both texts survive in their entirety. They display very different readings of the play, yet both of these will dominate nineteenth-century readings: Cinuzzi's vernacular version maintains very little of the harshness of the Aeschylean Zeus and thus prefigures those nineteenth-century scholars who believed that our sympathy with

[42] Appeal to patronage, politics, and – most importantly – religion significantly influenced scholars from the Renaissance onwards. Edmon Cary, whilst discussing Dolet's pamphlet on translation, reminds us that 'the Reformation, after all, was primarily a dispute between translators […], the Sorbonne and the king were equally concerned with it' (Cary 1963, 7–8).

[43] Another example is at lines 43–5, where Orestes' olive-branch wreathed with wool is described as 'green' ('un ramo verde / d'oliva'), the colour of 'hope' in Christian terms, and as coming directly from heaven ('dal ciel origin hebbe', as a translation of ὑψιγέννητον: *Eum.* 43), the origin of all things.

Prometheus could not correspond to the poet's intention, since 'Prometheus is a rebel against the supreme and holy God'.[44] Being rather politically orientated, Cinuzzi's translation is as much about upholding divine authority as it is about writing for his patron. Martirano's *Prometheus*, by contrast, foreshadows some of the most evocative readings of the play belonging to the so-called Romantic period, such as those of Goethe, Shelley, or Byron, representing an icon for defiance, in a struggle against a tyrannical Zeus.

As a bishop imbued with philosophical studies, Martirano found himself drawn to revive this particular Aeschylean play which resonated in him as a tragedy with so many potential Christian and moral implications.[45] Cinuzzi, on the other hand, was involved in the preaching of Lutheran propaganda against the Catholic Church, for which he was imprisoned in 1578, the date written on the dedicatory letter that accompanied the translation of his *Prometeo*. He, in fact, unearthed this translation dating from his youth, to dedicate it to the Duke of Urbino, when he visited Florence, hoping to avoid prison with the Duke's intercession.

From the prologue of both translations, it is already possible to grasp their interpretations of Prometheus' character. Necessitas is the name under which Martirano condenses Κράτος and Βία, dehumanising the character, who only knows what *needs* to be done. In her harsh speech, she addresses Prometheus as *nefandus et detestabilis*, which translates the Greek λεωργόν. The Greek term, which, according

[44] Dodds (1986) 31. On the figure of Prometheus during the Romantic period, see Ch. 3.

[45] The myth concerning the figure of Prometheus, in fact, from Late Antiquity onwards had been conflated in the Christian tradition, in a 'moral interpretation', which saw in Prometheus 'a prefiguration of the true God' (Raggio 1958, 49). Late-antique Biblical illustrations, as well as Italian illustrated editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, represented him as the first sculptor of men, referring to him as a sort of parallel to God. And this God-like Prometheus was then corroborated by Boccaccio, Marsilio Ficino, Charles de Boulles (see Ibid., 53–6).

to Mark Griffith, comes to mean simply a 'criminal', is rendered with adjectives full of Christian and moral implications: *nefandus*, *detestabilis* and *impudens*.[46] Necessitas then prefigures how Prometheus, *fractus malis* ('destroyed by evils'), will learn that it is *dangerous* to deceive Zeus (*Saturnium quid sit pericli fallere*).

Vulcan's reply follows promptly, retracing *PV* 12–15, but Necessitas' speech right after is one of those additions which have made scholars deny Martirano's version the label 'translation':

> **Vulcan**: Necessitas invicta, surda, pervicax:
> in te Iovis sortita sunt finem horrida
> præcepta; nil ut increpandi sit loci.
> Ego propinquum sanguine his iugis Deum,
> Veteremque amicum figere haud quaque audeo
> **Necessitas**: Oblitus ergo vertice ab celso aetheris
> Quum pronus exturbaris? Haud levior manet
> Te casus illo, ni obsequeris naviter.[47]
>
> **ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ** Κράτος Βία τε, σφῷν μὲν ἐντολὴ Διὸς
> ἔχει τέλος δὴ κοὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔτι,
> ἐγὼ δ' ἄτολμός εἰμι συγγενῆ θεὸν
> δῆσαι βίᾳ φάραγγι πρὸς δυσχειμέρῳ.[48] 15

In an adjectival accumulation in asyndeton, a feature characteristic of Martirano's Latin translation, Vulcan addresses Necessitas as *invicta*, emphasising the process of dehumanisation which this character clearly undergoes; *surda*, 'insensitive', 'soulless'; *pervicax*, 'obstinate', as Fate/Necessitas always proves to be.[49] Prometheus, in Vulcan's words, represents a *vetus amicus*, an expression that stands instead of the

[46] Griffith (1983) 82. The CDS of the DLD gives interesting statistics for these three words (*nefandus, detestabilis,* and *impudens*), the usage of which almost tripled during the Middle Ages as compared to their occurrences in Late Antiquity and Antiquity.
[47] Martirano (1556) 164.
[48] Both Mund-Dopchie (1978) 165 and Gruy (1981) 69 provide some textual evidence that Martirano's starting point for his translation was Robortello's edition (1552), although he followed the Aldine (1518) for some words. In the dedicatory letter, Cinuzzi mentioned a 'source for the tragedy' ('fonte della tragedia'; Blasina 2006, 3), which Blasina (2006) 19–23 has convincingly identified with the ms. L (Laur. 32.2, ca. 1310), possibly employed together with the Aldine.
[49] The term *pervicax* is of Senecan memory, an author most dear to Martirano, though it has been used by others as well. Lycus says that Megara is *pervicax* after her repeated refusal to marry him (Sen. *Her.* 501); *pervicax* is also the dreadful *clades* that falls upon Oedipus' citizens (Sen. *Oed*. 57), as is the gaze that can only see smoke coming from Troy's destruction, as Eurybates reports in the *Agamemnon* (Sen. *Ag*. 458).

Greek συγγενῆ θεόν, 'kindred god'. The choice of this phrase is a first hint towards Martirano's humanisation of Prometheus and of those who stand with him: *amicitia* more than kinship is what binds the two gods and is the real reason Vulcan is reluctant to tie Prometheus to the rocks.

Necessitas' answer is even more interesting – she cruelly reminds Vulcan of his duty again, if he does not want to end up like his 'friend', to which Vulcan replies that: *AMICITIA, sanguisque res nimium efficax*, which translates *PV* 39 (Ηφ. τὸ συγγενές τοι δεινὸν ἥ θ' ὁμιλία). Again, where the Greek reaffirms the importance of τὸ συγγενές ('bonds of kinship') and ὁμιλία ('closeness'), Martirano reaffirms the importance of 'friendship'. In case his readers are still uncertain as to whether he has translated the Greek as *amicus* on purpose the first time round, they can now be reassured of the importance of this concept, because Martirano capitalised the entire word. A moral bond deeper than the bonds of blood ties the two gods together.

A few lines after, Vulcan employs the usual rising climax to respond to Necessitas' repeated order to complete his duty: *crudelis usque tu, peratrox, et rapax*, which renders *PV* 42 (Ηφ. αἰεί γε δὴ νηλὴς σὺ καὶ θράσους πλέως) possibly even more intense and emphatic. In response to this, Necessitas utters words that only remotely recall those of the Greek: *tu ineptus es, vecorsque: qui in cassum ingemas*.[50] Merciless as she is, Necessitas cannot understand Vulcan's mercy, and calls him 'foolish', even 'insane'. And, again, in rendering *PV* 69 (Ηφ. ὁρᾷς θέαμα δυσθέατον ὄμμασιν), Martirano presents the usual accumulation of

[50] Cf. *PV* 43–4: σὺ δὲ / τὰ μηδὲν ὠφελοῦντα μὴ πόνει μάτην.

adjectives: *horrendum, atrox, crudele spectaclum aspicis*, says Vulcan when he finishes tying Prometheus to the rock.

Cinuzzi's ideological standpoint in this 'fight' between Prometheus and the gods, instead, is best illustrated by the first choral ode 'del Traduttore' ('of the translator'):

> Giove è quel gran Signore
> Che 'l tutto nutre et regge, et saggio parte
> Altrui l'odio et l'amore
> Questo gradisce et quel manda in disparte
> Che ben conosce quale
> Di ben fia degno et qual d'eterno male.
> L'ascoso suo consiglio
> Saper sol può colui che saper puote
> Perchè 'l candido giglio
> Nasca di fetida herba, e il delfin nuote,
> Perché natura pose
> Pungenti spine a canto l'alme rose.
> Dunque ciascun s'inchini
> A lui che 'l tutto sa, ciascuno humile
> I segreti divini
> Honori et tema et con pensier gentile
> Ognun canti di Giove
> La gran potenza di varie voci et nuove.

Inserted right before Oceanus' entrance, this choral ode *corrects* the negative comments about Zeus that have been made before, especially by Vulcan. 'Giove' is referred to as a 'great lord', who governs everything and issues both love and evil; his 'gran potenza' ('great power') depends on his infinite knowledge, which is not accessible to anyone but those who *can* know: his superior knowledge represents the very source of his strength. Everyone has to respect him. In fact, by redeeming Zeus' relationship with his subalterns, the poet is implicitly drawing parallels between himself, or any other subject, and the Duke, in a sycophantic attempt to ingratiate himself with power, which would potentially mean avoiding prison.

Another interesting passage in this respect is *PV* 324, where the Greek shows how even the diplomatic Oceanus sees Zeus as a τραχὺς ('harsh, violent') μόναρχος

(‘monarch’), who wields power οὐδ’ ὑπεύθυνος, (‘not subject to judicial review’). Not surprisingly, Martirano amplifies the concept in five dense lines:

> Invictus ille, invictus est rerum Arbiter,
> Dominusque: celso corde, cedere nescius.
> Ille pede mundum versat; ille turbidis
> Ventis et atris obsitus nimbis caput,
> Curru polum sonante fulgentem quatit.[51]

Invictus, a term that has already been interestingly used for Necessitas, Zeus is *Arbiter* of all things. He is a *Dominus* characterised by a ‘haughty heart’, ‘unable to yield’; he ‘turns’ the world ‘with his foot’, and, covered with ‘turbid winds’ and ‘black’ clouds, he ‘shakes’ the sky, which ‘shines’ with his ‘wide-sounding chariot’. If we think that Martirano’s translation is often a condensed and abridged version of the Greek text, it is remarkable that here we find five lines for only one in the Greek. Dreadful descriptions of Zeus’ power are by no means new to Latin literature (cf., i.e., Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.5–12). Yet, this passage is not only an homage to Latin literature; it also represents another nod towards Martirano’s interpretation of Zeus and his subalterns as inhuman.

Cinuzzi, on the other hand, translates the line without even rendering τραχὺς or οὐδ’ ὑπεύθυνος; he does eventually translate the word μόναρχος, but only at the end of Oceanus’ speech, within what should be *PV* 327–29:

> Conviensi a chi con opre o con parole 445
> Contra ’l monarca del gran mondo ardisce.

If my interpretation is correct, then, it appears by no means coincidental that Cinuzzi uses the term now, precisely when Aeschylus has Oceanus warning Prometheus that ‘a penalty is imparted on a foolish tongue’ (cf. γλώσσῃ ματαίᾳ ζημία προστρίβεται: *PV* 329). Prometheus, or – we could venture – any Italian subject, should be aware that

[51] Ibid., 169.

he must not dare to do or to mention any improper deed or word against any monarch, any ruler.

Cinuzzi's translation of the first stasimon corroborates this interpretation:

> Signor da la cui mano
> Da la cui possanza
> Ogni salute, ogni gran ben depende,
> Da', tua mercé, speranza
> Che l'opra di Vulcano
> Che di Iapeto il figlio, ahi, tanto offende
> Ch'a morte empia s'arrende
> Divenga manca et frale
> Onde libero sia
> da ogni aspra pena ria
> Et torni in gratia sua Giove immortale.

For the first time, the poet seems to distinguish the person of Zeus from that of God. The Chorus address their prayers to God, so that he shall loosen Vulcan's chains and reconcile Prometheus with the 'immortal' Zeus. With 'Signore' (Lord) Cinuzzi means the Christian God, who can interfere between Zeus and his subjects. Who is Zeus then? He is said to be 'immortal', but seems much closer to impersonating that 'temporal power' from which the poet is hoping to obtain protection.

There is one last passage that eventually leaves no doubt about the interplay of politics in Cinuzzi's translation:

> De l'huom sono due stati
> L'uno è servo e soggetto,
> L'altro commanda et libero esser vuole.
> Natura et dio gli han dati
> A l'humano intelleto
> Per servirsi de l'una e l'altra prole
> In honor lor non per menzogne o fole.
> Dunque chi servo nasce
> Serva lieto et sol brami
> Gradir a quel cui solamente deve.
> Del ben servir si pasce
> L'animo, et fa che t'ami
> Il tuo signor, onde non fia qual leve
> Nebbia il servitio tuo ma pondo greve.

Where the Greek has the Chorus simply reacting to what they have just learned from Io, sympathising with her despair, Cinuzzi philosophically adjusts the speech and transforms the Chorus' words into a treatise on monocratic power. Human beings have been divided into two main kinds: the 'servants' and the 'rulers'. 'Nature' and 'god' have provided them with a 'human intellect' so that they can honour them. He who was born 'servant' shall undertake to accept and perform his duty to his upmost; and he will gratify with his life the only person he must: his 'ruler'. By gratifying him, the servant will gratify himself, not least because his 'signor' ('his master') will then love him. Disobedience, on the other hand, leads to 'pondo grave' ('great sufferings'). Cinuzzi ends the ode by informing the reader that Prometheus still has the chance to reassert himself in this gratifying relationship with Zeus; the alternative, however, will result in a 'mournful life, full of sufferings' (1041), a predictable consequence of 'disobedience'.

Cinuzzi's *Prometeo*, as it clearly emerges from this last passage, in addition to having a strongly political meaning, can also be read as prefiguring his conversion to the protestant Church: Prometheus, the Church, but also the 'servant', should obey Zeus, the 'ruler', but also God, in total dedication that requires maximum justice, and the rejection of any kind of corruption, of which the Catholic Church, especially in Rome, was accused. Cinuzzi's exaltation of monarchy, in this way, fuses with that of God. In other words, what Cinuzzi probably saw in the Lutheran theses was the perfect realisation of a union between his hope for the purest justice and God.

On the other hand, Martirano voluntarily decides to exaggerate the Aeschylean portrayal of Zeus, or that of the gods who collaborate with him, presumably because Zeus here represents not the divine so much as the tyranny of the secular world.

Strange as it might seem, though, he effects this critique of secular power by enhancing his praise for one of the most 'pagan' mythical figures from the classical world, Prometheus, thus prefiguring Romantic readings of Aeschylus' play. Hence, what is interesting about his translation is that Martirano refuses to adjust those parts that could have been 'dangerous' because offensive to God, in his desire both to avoid a mere Christianisation of the play and to emphasise the humanity of his Prometheus.

Translational approaches in Cinuzzi, Martirano and the Anonymous translator

This chapter began with a discussion of the general dismissal of these 'volgarizzamenti', which occurred in part on account of their undefinable nature, located somewhere between actual translations and adaptations. The three 'volgarizzatori' analysed here often depart from the original: sometimes they cut, enlarge or modify their source for dramaturgical purposes; sometimes they alter it so as to accommodate their own particular (religious and/or political) interpretation. Yet, often, the modifications to the original subscribe to the more general feature of any 'volgarizzamento' – a highly creative approach to the source text. The characteristics of this creative attitude may vary from author to author, yet one can identify common traits across different translations, such as referencing other literature corpora (Greek, Latin, or Italian) so as to map their works onto the literary tradition; or adapting, combining and reworking various ancient sources, as the examples below demonstrate.

<u>i) Merging Ovid into Aeschylus: Cinuzzi and his portrayal of Io</u>

Though Cinuzzi's definition of his own work is that it is a 'translation' of Aeschylus' play with invented choral odes, his *Prometeo* is indeed a re-creation of the original, or

better, a 'conflation of texts', which he has disguised under the label 'translation'.[52] A clear example of this occurs at lines 842–932, which are littered with references to Aeschylus' text, but represent in fact a reworking of Io's story as told by Ovid (*Met.* 568–746).[53]

Cinuzzi heavily adapted the whole of the third episode (*PV* 561–886; Cinuzzi 769–1014). Amongst the many divergences from the original, there exists a rather patent one that inevitably re-shaped the entire passage: Inachus appears instead of Io in Cinuzzi's version and it is he who engages in a dialogue with Prometheus concerning his daughter's fate. Yet, whilst down to 830 (*PV* 630) Cinuzzi keeps Aeschylus' text in the background as a main source, albeit adapted to accommodate the introduction of this particular character, he then replaces Io's *rhesis* (*PV* 640–86) with a long speech by Prometheus, which also incorporates Prometheus' prophecies to Io (*PV* 700–41; 786–817 and 823–76).

Even if Prometheus' actual words are an adaptation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, their form and function within the translation are eminently Aeschylean. As a matter of fact, not only does Cinuzzi abridge, adjust and modify Ovid's account; he makes it conform to the overall Aeschylean context. First, Prometheus informs Inachus of Io's (Ovid-derived) past sufferings (Cinuzzi 831–47; 850–914) just as in Aeschylus' play Io recounts hers (*PV* 640–86), followed by Prometheus' proving his prophetic skills to her (*PV* 826–43); then Prometheus notifies Inachus of the (Ovid-derived) wanderings

[52] Blasina (2006) 9.
[53] Ovid's story was indeed much more known to a sixteenth-century audience than Aeschylus'. On the rich reception of Ovid and his *Metamorphoses*, especially in the Renaissance, cf. Stanivukovic (2001) 3–18.

his daughter will have to endure in the Aeschylean form of a prophecy (Cinuzzi 916–32). In short, Ovid's story is adapted to an (adapted) version of Aeschylus' play.

The following passage is an example of the sort of blending that occurs between these two ancient sources in Cinuzzi's reworking:

> Pr. Poscia che dal timor percosso et punto
> Dal precetto di Giove al fin mandasti
> Fuor del palazzo tuo la figlia amata
> Ella uscì d'Argo, e'l suo camino indrizza
> Ove il caso la mena, et non lontano
> Dal natio nido suo fatta era anchora
> Ch'ella s'accorge in un che con veloci
> Passi verso di lei correr s'affretta.
> Questi era Giove sotto human sembiante
> Tutto acceso d'amor che per costei
> Sentia nel cuor mille saette et mille.
> Tutta tremente ella sen fugge, et l'ale
> Sbigottita disia, ma Giove ardente
> Sen ride, e intanto la circonda et cinge
> Di folta nube et spessa, ond'ella i passi
> Fermò che non vedea dove voltarli,
> […]
> Giove si chiuse in quella nube et quivi
> Colse d'amore i dolci frutti seco.

In the first part of his speech (831–4), Cinuzzi's Prometheus draws on Aeschylus: the 'fear' engendered by Zeus' orders ('dal precetto di Giove'; κἀπὶ Δωδώνην: *PV* 658)[54] guided Inachus' decision to force his daughter out of the country ('mandasti / fuor del palazzo tuo la figlia amata / ella uscì d'Argo'; ἔξω δόμων τε καὶ πάτρας ὠθεῖν ἐμὲ: *PV* 665). Before putting Aeschylus aside and picking up Ovid, Cinuzzi nicely combines Ovid's storyline with Aeschylus' words. Disguised as a man ('sotto human sembiante'), an invention of Cinuzzi's, Zeus approaches the nymph as in Ovid (*Met.* 588 ff.): he is 'burning with love for her' ('tutto acceso d'amor che per costei') as in Aeschylus (*PV* 650: πρὸς σοῦ τέθαλπται) and (literally) 'feeling that thousands and

[54] At line 805, however, Cinuzzi mentioned the oracle as coming from Apollo (cf. ὁ δ' ἔς τε Πυθὼ: *PV* 658).

thousands of arrows [have made it through] his heart' ('sentia nel cuor mille saette et mille'), again as in Aeschylus (*PV* 649: ἰμέρου βέλει).

Io tries to run off – alas, in vain ('ella sen fugge'; *fugiebat enim*: Ov. *Met.* 852) –: an 'inflamed' ('ardente') Zeus 'laughs' at the attempt ('sen ride') whilst 'surrounding and encircling her with a thick and dense cloud' ('la circonda et cinge / Di folta nube et spessa'; *deus inducta latas caligine terras / occuluit*: *Met.* 599–600). She then 'held off her steps', for she 'could not see where to turn' ('ond'ella i passi / Fermò che non vedea dove voltarli'; *tenuitque fugam*: *Met.* 600). And, after a brief interruption in which Inachus spurs Prometheus on to finish the story, Cinuzzi's Titan explains how Zeus, hidden in this cloud, 'caught the sweet fruit of love' ('colse d'amore i dolci frutti seco'), a much nicer rendering of Ovid's *rapuitque pudorem* (*Met.* 600) and in line with Cinuzzi's softened portrayal of Zeus.

ii) Latinising metaphors: Martirano and Vulcan's first speech

Martirano's style of adaptation emerges most clearly when he renders metaphors and images from the Greek. In such cases, he often departs from the original in order to find the metaphor's equivalent in Latin literature.[55] Even his characterisation of Κράτος and Βία is probably modelled upon Horace's *saeva* and *dira Necessitas*, who constrains mortals *and* immortals by her plans (Hor. *Carm*. 1.35.17; 3.24.6). A clear

[55] Martirano was well acquainted with many Latin authors thanks to his education: he frequented the school founded by the famous humanist and scholar Aulo Giano Parrasio as did his beloved brother Bernardino, whose fame spread throughout the south because of his political involvement in the Reign of Naples (cf. Pometti 1897, 79–98). From the first decades of the sixteenth century, a circle of humanists gathered around the figure of Parrasio in the so-called 'Accademia Cosentina': Antonio Telesio, author of the important treatise *De coloribus libellus*; Antonio Cesario, commentator on Livy; Cesario's brother Paolo, an expert on Horace and Plato; Cimino, responsible for the edition of Flavio Sosipatro's *Ars grammaticalis*, discovered by Parrasio; the poet Galeazzo di Tarsia and many others, who also found in Leucopetra, the Greek name chosen for Martirano's 'villa', a concrete place to share their interest in the ancient authors (cf. Fanelli 1996, 56–60).

example of Martirano's creative process in transposing images is the passage below, taken from Vulcan's first speech:

> […] Phoebus ex arce aeris
> radiis petet te interdiu flammantibus.
> et quum profusis caeca nox umbris ruet;
> ustus pruinis membra nocturnis gemes.
> flos decolorque et tabidus cutis fluet
> caloribus, duroque perdomitus gelu.
> Diras querelas, atque lamentabiles
> luctus ciebis: aura quos ludens feret
> per maria nigris agitata fluctibus. 56
>
> […] σταθευτὸς δ' ἡλίου φοίβῃ φλογὶ
> χροιᾶς ἀμείψεις ἄνθος· ἀσμένῳ δέ σοι
> ἡ ποικιλείμων νὺξ ἀποκρύψει φάος
> πάχνην θ' ἑῳαν ἥλιος σκεδᾷ πάλιν· 25
> […]
> πολλοὺς δ' ὀδυρμοὺς καὶ γόους ἀνωφελεῖς
> φθέγξῃ· 34

The translator elaborates on the Greek text to create new meanings, or, more properly, to adapt the Greek meanings to Latin. *PV* 22–5 occupies six lines in Martirano's translation. *Phoebus*, taken from the Greek φοίβῃ, which even though here is used as a simple adjective, becomes the subject and generator of a new image imbued with Greek mythology. The god will chase Prometheus from the sky, *arce aeris*, a quasi-quotation from Ov. *Met.* 15.832 (*arces aetherias*), 'with inflamed rays', *flammantibus radiis*, and when the 'blind night will fall' with 'generous shadows', Prometheus, *ustus*, 'burnt' – which hearkens back to the Greek σταθευτός – 'will lament in the nocturnal dews' over his body.

Now, *caeca nox* could be seen as a misinterpretation of ἡ ποικιλείμων νὺξ, which literally means 'the spangled-garb night'.[57] However, the pair *caeca nox* is too recurrent in Martirano's beloved Latin authors for its use to be a coincidence here

[56] Martirano (1556) 164.
[57] So does Mund-Dopchie (1978) 169.

(Catull. 68 B 44; Cic. *Mil.* 50.6; Lucr. 1.1115–16, to cite three amongst others), especially when in Ov. *Met.* 11.521, a work particularly well known to Martirano, the sky disposing of the sun's 'flames', and the *caeca nox* 'pressing' on it with its shadows, are mentioned together.

After these first few lines, Martirano returns to *PV* 23, where the Greek has it that the 'skin's bloom' (χροιᾶς ἄνθος) of Prometheus will 'be altered'; i.e., the colour of his skin will change. *Flos*, a translation of the Greek ἄνθος, is accompanied by the explanatory expansion *decolorque et tabidus cutis*, which along with the main verb *fluet* and the agent *caloribus* offers a perfect description of what will happen to Prometheus. The highly tragic and emphatic prefiguration then continues in asyndeton with the addition of *duroque perdomitus gelu*. Not only will the heat of the sun's rays discolour the Titan's skin, but the bitter cold of the night will 'putrefy' it, in a realistic and horrific image that recalls Seneca's tragedies.

Cutting out *PV* 26–32, Martirano offers a quite close translation of lines 33–4, to conclude Vulcan's speech tragically with a new image, employed to render the Greek adjective ἀνωφελής as 'unprofitable, useless'. Prometheus' laments will be 'transported' by the wind through the sea, 'agitated by black waves'. Once again, *aura feret* is an expression taken from Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.64, although transposed into a different context. Martirano plays with famous expressions from Latin literature, adapting them to his own needs.

The translation is littered with all kinds of images; sometimes Martirano faithfully transposes them from the Greek, and other times he searches for new ways of phrasing the same concept in a way that is more apt to Latin, in order to convey the

maximum tragedy within a few lines.[58] The very last line of his translation is an example of this indomitable search for the tragic. Here Prometheus, instead of uttering 'look on me, how unjustly I suffer!', finishes with one of the most effective lines of the translation: *o tellus, tuque, obrute in imo / telluris Saturne barathro, aspicis, ut me Iuppiter urget?*[59]

iii) Grafting *Eumenides* onto Italian literature: the Anonymous Translator and the prologue

Even though it is indeed only a small passage of the translation that has survived, T's translational practices emerge rather prominently. The overall tendency is towards an explanatory translation of the Greek original. To this end, for example, T eliminates, adapts or expands most geographical references. The 'Delian shore and rock' (λίμνην Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα, *Eum*. 9) become a vague 'pond' and 'cave' ('stagno e caverna'), just as the 'Corycian hollow rock' (Κωρυκὶς πέτρα / κοίλη: *Eum.* 22) loses its geographical connotation and becomes a simple 'hollow cave' ('cav'antro'). The adjective characterising 'Pallas' shores', ναυπόρους: 'ship-frequented' (*Eum*. 10), is expanded into three dense lines, which aim at poeticising and typifying the place more generally: 'porti di Pallade, ove sempre / trovan tranquill'il mar, sereno il cielo / le navi che si dan in preda all'onde' ('Pallas' harbours, where ships which have been

[58] An example of faithful translation is that of *PV* 394–6: *Et iam mea haec pennata quadrupes diu / lacessit auras aetheris, cupiens fugae: / ut membra solitis flectat in praesepibus*. An example of a reworking of the original is *PV* 878–86: *perii misera en iterum / calamis resonans Argus oboritur. / Iterum furiis agitor: gelido / rursus quatior membra pavore. / Acris en oculos rabies occupat: / Mensque suis e sedibus excidat: / Moderari nec valeo linguae / infelix, sub vortice nigro / tantorum demersa malorum*. The use of *furor*, and *infelix* at the beginning of a line, immediately reconnects us with his beloved Virgil and Seneca, to cite only two; with plastic expressions like *acris en oculos rabies occupat and mensque suis e sedibus excidat*, in order to conclude with the highly tragic *demersa*, 'immerged in a black/evil vortex of so many sufferings', he reworks the Greek to create dense new Latin lines.
[59] Martirano (1556) 182.

prey to the waves always find a calm sea'). The 'places on Parnassus' (Παρνησοῦ θ' ἕδρας: *Eum.* 11) are curiously replaced with 'riva di Parnaso' ('Parnassus' shore'), a recurrent image-expression in Italian literature identified with poetry itself.[60]

At times, T also inserts explanatory glosses adapted from the scholia to clarify references to mythological names or stories. This is the case, for example, with the mention of Hephaestus' children at line 13:

> […] e fanno
> Grand'honor sempre i figli di Vulcano
> Che stirpando le belve, e i fieri mostri
> E svegliendo le selve, e i lor alberghi
> Apron sicura strada à viandanti
> E di selvaggia, incolta, ond'et aspra
> Rendon la terra colta, vaga, et alma
>
> […] αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα
> κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, χθόνα
> ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην.

As before with the adjective ναυπόρος, T then constructs five lines on κελευθοποιοί, 'road-makers', and the expression χθόνα / ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην ('making tame the wild land'). In a sequence of two highly lyric lines, which have the same metrical rhythm and word disposition, T's prophetess explains how Hephaestus' sons, 'abruptly eradicating wild beasts and feral monsters' ('stirpando le belve, e i fieri mostri'), and 'uprooting forests, and their natural habitats' ('svegliendo le selve, e i lor

[60] The expression harkens back to the recurrent image of Parnassus' spring Castalia as a source of poetry. In Dante's *Commedia*, the metaphor of Parnassus inhabited by Muses and its inspirational springs occurs quite often, and in topical moments: in *Pg.* XXII 64–5, Stazio explains how Virgilio with his poetry brought him to Purgatory, saying 'Tu prima m'invïasti / verso Parnaso a ber ne le sue grotte', where poetry is identified with the act of drinking water sprung from Parnassus' caverns; in *Pg.* XXXI 140–1, it is said that a poet is he who 'palido si fece sotto l'ombra / sì di Parnaso, / o bevve in sua cisterna'; and finally, in *Pd* I 16, 36, Dante invokes the help of both the apexes of Parnassus in beginning the third *Cantica*. The metonymy of Parnassus for poetry becomes then a topical image, to the point that the geographical connotations of the mountain fade out to cede their place to those that are purely mythical. In a fifteenth-century poem (Burchiello, *Rime* XXI, 9), the same expression as was used in the translation occurs, 'su per la riva di Parnaso'; in Chariteo (*Rime* CLIII; *Metam.* I), the image employed is conceptually equal, only worded in a different way; indeed, many are the poets who used Parnassus as a metaphor for poetry.

alberghi'), 'make the road safe for wayfarers' ('apron sicura strada a viandanti'). Hence, T's Pythia concludes with a symmetrical sequence of two pairs of three adjectives: the land that was 'savage, untamed, thereby harsh' ('selvaggia, incolta, ond'et aspra')[61] becomes 'tamed, beautiful, and fertile' ('colta, vaga, et alma'), by which T subtly references Italian literature.[62]

The whole translation is in fact embedded in adaptations or quotations from famous *loci* in Italian authors: two examples are at lines 37 and 39. The prophetess has entered the temple and seen the horrific creatures profaning it. She is now 'running on her hands' (τρέχω δὲ χερσίν: *Eum.* 37) 'with no quickness in [her] limbs' (οὐ ποδωκείᾳ σκελῶν: *Eum.* 39). As an expansion on οὐ ποδωκείᾳ σκελῶν, T renders 'and I come in a slow and tardy pace' ('e vengo a passi tardi, e lenti'), a direct quotation from Petrarch (*Canz*. XXXV, 2). Some lines later, harkening back to the old age of the prophetess, T cites another image from Petrarch (*Canz*. XVI 5–6),[63] which sees the prophetess 'dragging her antique lip' to the altar ('trahend'inver […] quest'antico fianco'), a very plastic picture that poetically elevates the passage.

Thus, with this expedient of quoting recurrent expressions from Italian literature, together with the explanatory glosses, insertion of stage directions and adaptation of mythological references, T effects a twofold end: on the one hand, he grafts his

[61] Both the combinations 'terra aspra' and 'terra selvaggia' seem to occur quite often in Italian literature from the early thirteenth century onwards, with the former prevalent over the latter, whereas 'terra incolta' does not enjoy as much appreciation as the other two (cf. BI).

[62] In early Italian literature, the most recurrent adjective combined with 'terra' is 'alma', followed by 'vaga', which – in almost all of its occurrences with 'terra' from sixteenth-century literature – means 'beautiful, desired'; therefore, we shall interpret 'alma' as 'fertile' and not merely 'beautiful'. Finally, the expression 'terra colta', probably because of its limited poetical potential, shows the same statistics as 'terra incolta' mentioned in the previous note (cf. BI).

[63] The sonnet describes an old man, 'vecchierel canuto e bianco', living out the last days of his life. The image becomes somehow topical to depict the hardship of an old man who is about to die, and we find it again, amongst others, in Tasso, *Galalto*, act II, scene II: 'ed a gran pena / per l'estreme giornate di mia vita / trar posso il fianco debole ed antico'.

translation onto the Italian corpus; on the other, he familiarises his contemporaries with the Greek text and story, just as Martirano was doing with quotations from Latin poets and Cinuzzi by incorporating Ovid's better-known story of Io.

Narrowing translation practices: from 'volgarizzamento' to 'traduzione'

Putting our three translations into the wider picture of 'translation theory' that flourished at this time alongside practical activity, it is perhaps surprising to find the first signs of that rigid concept of 'fidelity' that will be taken up later, especially by nineteenth-century scholars (see further Ch. 3). The titles of early treatises on translation testify to this: *De interpretatione recta* (1424–1426) by Leonardo Bruni; *La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre* (1540) by Etienne Dolet; and *Dialogo del modo de lo tradurre d'una in altra lingua secondo le regole mostrate da Cicerone* (1556) by Fausto da Longiano. Yet, whilst both Bruni and Dolet emphasise the importance of understanding the language of the source text and warn against the *verbum de verbo* translation, privileging *sensum exprimere de sensu* (cf. Jer. *Ep.* LVII 5), Fausto da Longiano, on the other hand, seems more schematic and normative in his definition of translation. Indeed, he reprehends those 'translations' that fall into the category which he designates 'metafrasi'.[64] Bending to his own ends the Ciceronian preaching *nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator* (Cic., *De.opt.gen.or.* 14), da Longiano overturns Cicero's words, claiming that translation *stricto sensu* is that which 'expresses the sentences, preserves the order of things, and maintains the speech

[64] See Guthmuller (1990) 36. Interestingly, the category Da Longiano criticises for being too loose as compared to the original is called 'metafrasi', which instead becomes the most 'literal' in Dryden's tripartite scheme of translation in his 'Preface to *Ovid's Epistles*' (1680); in Dryden, 'imitation' rightly stands for a looser appropriation of the ancient text.

figures of the original text', in order to 'keep the virtue, strength and value the words have in the original text'.[65] In other words, the would-be translator should render the source text *ut interpres* and not *ut orator*.

Fausto da Longiano's treatise, then, strongly testifies to the birth of a new quest amongst Italian scholars: the need for a systematisation and establishment of some patterns so as to enable an assessment of the 'volgarizzamenti' that truly correspond to the 'right' translational criteria. Da Longiano's rigid definition of the translation process, condemning as 'unfaithful' most of his contemporaries' works, pioneered a 'dogmatic' way of 'receiving' the ancients, imposing limits on potential creativity. Da Longiano's definition defies humanist practice, which, precisely because they shared a real *veneration* for the newly discovered texts and needed them to validate their own, treated the classics with a great deal of freedom – abridging, enlarging, adapting them and adding new parts. The humanists synthetically *adapted* them to their own time and taste, as did Cinuzzi, Martirano and T.

Da Longiano's strict demarcation between translation and original work aimed at putting an end to the 'volgarizzamento' project. When the verb 'to translate' appeared for the first time in the 1612 edition of the *Crusca*'s Dictionary, it was reported that 'translating' was then what 'volgarizzare, or traslatare' had been before, thus pinpointing in 'volgarizzare' an outdated yet similar activity to the more modern 'translation'.[66] It was indeed this new, limiting definition of translation that would predominate in the following centuries and open the path to neo-classicism.[67] As a

[65] Da Longiano (1990) 38.
[66] VAC (1612) 896. Cf. also the TO (1879): 'Nowadays, translating is said for volgarizzare, traslatare'.
[67] It seems that this new normative trend exploited by scholars from the 1560s onwards facilitated the development of a binary attitude towards the appropriation of the classics: one that resembled what the French would later call *belles infidèles*, according to the definition that philologist Gillet Ménage applied to Nicolas Perrot d'Abalncourt's translations in 1654, a concept that would inform most

matter of fact, although 'volgarizzamento' did not cease to exist as a term, it did as a theoretical framework within which to decode and radically re-invent the ancient sources. 'Tragedia', or 'Italian theatre', and Greek tragedy, that of Aeschylus in particular, would have to wait for Alfieri to come together again on stage (see further Ch. 2); but translation of Greek tragedy, now the exclusive preserve of philologists, would have to wait much longer to reconnect once more with theatre practice (see further Ch. 4).

seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian re-workings; the other, which more closely recalls the activity that recent translation theory would ascribe to a 'foreignisation' of the target language, i.e. a more 'literal' way of rendering the source text in all its nuances. These two contrasting attitudes towards the classics were especially prevalent in Italy, albeit something very similar was said to be happening in seventeenth-century France (see Hayes 2008, 2), as well as in England, though delayed by several decades and appearing more as a chronological succession of the two, when the publication of Alexander Fraser Tytler's *Essay on the Principles of Translation*, whilst agreeing with some assumptions put forward by the *belles infidèles* school, bent the course of translation practice towards a more 'literal' approach, with the aim of reaching 'a balance between the conflicting claims of the SL [source language] and TL [target language] orientations' (Windle and Pym 2011, 11).

Chapter Two

Alfieri, Aeschylus and the reform of Italian tragic theatre

It is commonly believed that by 1620, together with the 'volgarizzamento' frenzy, tragic theatre disappeared from the Italian stage giving way to other forms of spectacle, which were making inroads and gaining in popularity.[1] Maurice Slawinski reports that only 81 titles, out of 'the suggested 3000 dramatic texts', were published as tragedies in the seventeenth century.[2] Partly responsible for the absence of Italian tragedies and tragedians during this period was the influence of French tragic theatre, which by the end of the century had received innumerable translations into Italian, especially of Racine's and Corneille's plays. In these translations, the French neo-classical tragedies were reduced from five to three acts, their verse form replaced by prose, and their plots intermingled with comic scenes; they were, indeed, tweaked, cut, and replaced by happy endings; and these translations eventually supplanted Trissino's regular tragedy.[3]

The job of re-routing Italian tragedy back onto the severe and strict tracks of classicism fell to the Academy of Arcadia, established in Rome in 1690, with the programmatic intent of clamping down on the baroque, exuberant, extravagant modes of both making poetry and doing theatre, and of returning to the classics as Italian tragedy's only source. It is no surprise, then, that one of the major concerns of the Arcadians was to 'cacciar di nido i francesi' ('pull the French out of their nest'),[4] especially with regards to tragic theatre.

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[1] Cf. Kennard (1964) 197.
[2] Slawinski (2006) 130–1.
[3] For the influence of French tragic theatre in Italy, see especially Meregazzi (1906) and Ferrari (1925). For a detailed account of theories and tragedies in eighteenth-century Italy, see Mattioda (1994) and Doglio (1972) CXII–CXXXVIII.
[4] Doglio (1972) CXIII.

Intertwined with the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* was another *querelle* that had begun with the publication of Dominique Bouhours's *Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l'ésprit* (1688), which triggered many responses from Italian scholars. Bouhours's accusation was mainly that Italian literature was overly imbued with rhetoric and baroque mannerism. For Italian scholars and writers, then, opting for the ancients coincided also with restricting Italian literature and theatre productions to Italian writers alone, in order to compete with French dramatists in particular. In other words, much as what happens with D'Annunzio and the Germans at the end of the nineteenth century (see further Ch. 4), 'cacciar di nido i Francesi' meant re-evaluating the classics from a strictly Italian perspective and discarding foreign texts, or better, re-creating the Italian repertoire so as to compete with other European countries. Vittorio Alfieri, a count from Piedmont, succeeded in writing what were to become canonical plays in the subsequent two centuries. And, not surprisingly, the ancient author he chose to assist in this nationalisation of Italian theatre was Aeschylus.

Alfieri published his first tragedies in 1783, amongst which were both *Agamennone* and *Oreste*. Although his plays had many detractors, complaining that the language was antiquated and overly shaped by the Florentine dialect, they were instantly recognised as revolutionary and original, so much so that they immediately entered the European theatrical repertoire.[5] Not only were his plays translated and performed well into the first decades of the nineteenth century, their politically oriented plots, which highlight the clash between tyrannical power and individual

[5] For a detailed analysis of the reception of Alfieri's tragedies, see Binni (1954) 193–243, Doni (2002), and the exchange of letters between Alfieri and many of the most important scholars of his time (Paolo Maria Paciaudi, Agostino Tana, Giovanni Maria Lampredi, Francois Gabriel La Porte du Theil, Melchiorre Cesarotti, Antonio Bosi, and Girolamo Tiraboschi), collated in Alfieri (1978). As Tiraboschi rightly noticed, 'so strong a reaction would not have been stirred had Alfieri's tragedies lacked any merit, especially such a distinctive one' (Alfieri 1978, 537).

freedom, also heavily influenced opera, as well as dance performances of the period.[6] This is especially true of his *Agamennone* and *Oreste*, which informed Onorato Viganò's and Francesco Clerico's famous ballets revolving around Agamemnon's death and Orestes' revenge.[7] And if in 1775, after a performance of Jean Georges Noverre's *Agamennone vendicato* at the Royal Ducal Theatre in Milan, the local newspaper could claim that a programme of the ballet was needed because the 'audience had never heard of Clytemnestra or Orestes, neither did they know who Agamemnon, Aegisthus or Electra were', this was certainly not the case ten years later, when Clerico's and Viganò's *Agamemnon* and *Orestes* were acclaimed and applauded by audiences now well-versed in the story, thanks to the tragedies of Alfieri.[8]

In France, alongside translations of Alfieri's plays, there is strong evidence that his *Agamennone* heavily influenced Louis Jean Népomucène Lemercier's *Agamennon* (1797), as the critic Abel Francois Villemain pointed out in his *Cours de littérature française* (1840).[9] In England, by 1815, all of Alfieri's tragedies had appeared in English translation, though it is mostly through the poet Lord Byron and the use that he made of Alfieri's 'reformed' tragedies, that Alfieri enjoyed widespread appreciation in England.[10]

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[6] For the influence of Alfieri's tragedies on opera, see Sacchetti (2002) 795–803.
[7] The following are the ballets by Clerico and Viganò which draw on the Agamemnon–Clytemnestra and Orestes–Electra myths and which are especially influenced by Alfieri's retelling of the *Oresteia* as well as by other plays (including: Voltaire's *Oreste* [1750] and Gasparo Gozzi's *Elettra* [1743], the latter drawing on Longepierre's *Electra*): Viganò's *La morte d'Egisto ossia le Furie d'Oreste* (1794) and Clerico's *Il ritorno di Agamennone* (1789), performed in 1793 and 1794 as *La morte di Agamennone* and in 1801 as *Agamennone*. See Onesti (2016) 164–83 and Zambon (2011) 137–41 for Onorato Viganò, and Onesti (2016) 184–211, and 206–11 in particular, for Francesco Clerico.
[8] Onesti (2013) 22.
[9] Villemain (1840) 296–301. For the reception of Alfieri in France, see Del Vento (2005).
[10] For Alfieri's influence on Byron, see Ferreccio (2011) 123–65; for Alfieri's reception in England, see Lindon (2002) 64–75.

Because of Alfieri's rather 'energetic' style, where the hendecasyllable is broken and halting in its straining after dramatic effects, and with his indomitable striving for freedom, Alfieri and his *Oreste* in particular became icons for patriots of the Risorgimento: the liberal and independent movements in Italy (and elsewhere) had discovered in him and in his plays the perfect Muse for their own political needs.[11] Whilst it is not surprising to find a peak in performances of Alfieri's *Oreste* during the insurrections for Italian independence, it is rather unexpected to discover that right in the middle of the rise of Fascism (in the 20s and 30s) *Oreste* did not disappear at all: on the contrary, *Oreste* became the one 'canonical' play by Alfieri that was included in the 'truly' Italian repertoire (Ch. 5; Appendix A).[12] After the war, Alfieri's *Oreste* was again the subject of many important productions, amongst which Luchino Visconti's 1949 production with Vittorio Gassmann in the lead (Ch. 7; Appendix A) and Giovanni Testori's 1988 static production, in which Alfieri's broken and harsh hendecasyllabic verse took centre-stage and reduced the actors to total immobility.[13]

In short, Alfieri's *Oreste* in particular served as a patriotic and political tragedy for the nineteenth-century fight by patriots for Italy's independence; it spoke equally to fascist and anti-fascist intellectuals; finally, in more recent years, both *Oreste* and

[11] Cf. Binni (1954) 206–18, where it is stated that there is 'perhaps not even one *letterato* in the nineteenth century, in whose works Alfieri's name did not appear at all' (216), evidencing the sort of heroic myth that had been created around the eccentric figure of Alfieri.
[12] Alfieri's *Oreste* was in fact translated and used in other countries as well for patriotic purposes: in Spain, Portugal, even in Brasil, *Oreste* played a highly important political role before suddenly disappearing (cf. Parducci 1942, 31–152; and Rossi 1942, 153–88). For a detailed study on Alfieri's reception during Fascism, see Maccari (2006/2007). The Archive and Centre of Study in Asti devoted to Alfieri was established by Royal Decree in 1937 with the name 'Centro Nazionale di Studi Alfieriani'; its name has recently been changed into 'Fondazione Centro Studi Alfieriani'. The first annals on Alfieri include an opening article by Vincenzo Buronzo, who proposes a clear, programmatically fascist reading of Alfieri and his tragedies as the model for how such studies should be conducted at the 'Centro' (cf. Buronzo 1942, 11–28).
[13] Cf. Montano (1998) 129–39.

Agamemnon[14] have become tragedies about existentialism, psychoanalysis, and lost identities. If anything, Alfieri's contradictory reception history tells us that his plays were and are 'open texts': at the heart of his tragedies, the playwright proposes similar struggles to those engaged in by the ancients, involving the battle between individual freedom and some overweening power (human or divine). To borrow an expression that has been used about the relationship between Shakespeare and his sources, at the heart of the analysis in this chapter is an examination of what Alfieri 'remembered' or 'misremembered' from antiquity; what he 'appropriated' in order to create his plays.[15] Various political readings of Alfieri's tragedies have in fact drawn scholars to exalt Alfieri the man and overlook Alfieri the poet, which has had the result of delaying serious study of his tragedies until very recently.[16] Scholarship, in this sense, has long failed to account for the prominent role that Alfieri (and his sources) has played in the Italian repertoire over many years. This chapter seeks to put Alfieri back into both Italian and European theatre history.

A 'primitive' theatre: Brumoy, Alfieri and his theatre of reform

It was in the summer of 1775, during Alfieri's sojourn in Cesana, on the border with France, that the fledgling playwright supposedly read the 1730 edition of the French Jesuit Pierre Brumoy's *Théâtre des Grecs*, a text that has been recently restored to the canon of the most influential sources for the reception of ancient drama in eighteenth-

[14] If Alfieri's *Agamennone* counts no more than seven performances in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from the 1950s to the present it has been staged eight times, beginning with Orazio Costa's production in 1952 and ending with Marco Viecca's in 2017 in Asti.
[15] Burrow (2013) 5; Maguire and Smith (2015) 19.
[16] Binni (1954) is right in attributing such a dichotomy between Alfieri–man and Alfieri–poet to Romanticism, which attempted to establish how traditional rather than (proto)Romantic Alfieri's works were. And if the *poet* was clearly not as Romantic as the Romantics wanted him to be, the *man* was instead a 'beacon of intellectual and political freedom' (Pizzamiglio 2006, 204).

century Europe.[17] Alfieri had the chance to read not only Brumoy's 'analyses raisonnées' of Aeschylus' plays, but also the Jesuit's detailed essays on ancient theatre more generally. Brumoy's invitation to his reader to 'become an Athenian',[18] to let go of modern preconceptions in order to appreciate fully the aesthetics of ancient theatre and his insistence on the simplicity, even naivety of Greek theatre, 'toute semblable à l'action réelle',[19] clearly left an indelible trace on Alfieri's memory. Moreover, Brumoy's praise of Aeschylus' 'mouvements naturels',[20] and of the dominance of action over 'les paroles',[21] of passions and sentiment over discourse, was of special importance to Alfieri, whose originality is built exactly on the very idea of 'primitive' theatre.

Alfieri's return to a 'primitive' theatre was absolutely in line with the programme of the Academy of Arcadia: the thoroughness with which the Arcadians had taken up the reading and interpretation of the classics – and of Aristotle's *Poetics* in particular for tragedy[22] – was directed towards renewing Italian literature by means of following the spirit of the ancients, a 'restoration of the civic ideals regained within the classics'. In translating the classics especially, such 'a yearning for a return to nature' was

[17] Cf. Sensi (1990) 41. On Brumoy's influence on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European drama, see *Anabases: Traditions et réceptions de l'Antiquité* 14 (2011). Alfieri could read Greek only from 1795; however, neither the plots nor the Latin translations of some Greek tragedies (even if the latter were impossible to track down) were unknown to him before then: he informs us of this himself when – in his autobiography – he affirms that alongside Seneca's tragedies, he was also reading 'literal translations from the Greek tragedians into Latin', which he found more faithful and less tedious than the Italian translations available to him (Alfieri 1951, 189). In terms of adaptations, on the other hand, although only the thirteen-volume edition of Brumoy's *Théâtre des Grecs* (1785–1789, expanded by André-Charles Brotier; see Del Vento 2002, 567) appears in his Parisian library, it is certain that he had access to Brumoy's 1730 condensed version of Aeschylus' tragedies (cf. Alfieri 1951, 195).
[18] Lechevalier (2011) 77.
[19] Brumoy (1730) cited in ibid., 80.
[20] Ibid., 81.
[21] Ibid., 82.
[22] For Aristotle's influence on eighteenth-century classical tragedy, see, amongst others, Muratori (1706) and Gravina (1715).

embedded within the programmatic intent of re-establishing the supremacy of Italy as the country of *lettere* through the classics.[23]

Alfieri's theatre, then, perfectly in tune with the Arcadian manifesto and its polemic against baroque mannerism, was a theatre of reform: this reform entailed a drastic reduction in the number of characters, an elimination of confidants, a reduction of the action to a single subject, namely to what was understood to be *the* conflict in ancient drama – tyranny versus individual freedom. It is not by chance, then, that Alfieri plunged into his reading of Brumoy's abridged versions of the Greek tragedians, and turned to Aeschylus in particular, the founder of that 'primitive' theatre to which he was eager to return so as to re-establish Italian theatre. For Alfieri shared with Brumoy a twofold attitude towards the ancients: on the one hand, it was necessary to become one with the ancients, to 'become an Athenian'; on the other, however, like Brumoy, he was well aware of the intrinsic impossibility of escaping his own time and so set about rephrasing the ancients for his contemporaries. 'Think with the classics', wrote Alfieri in one of his works, 'with your intellect and soul catapult yourself, if you can, into the Greek and Roman worlds; write, if you know how as though you were read by them; but live, and speak to and with your contemporaries'.[24] Brumoy had provided his analyses of ancient tragedies alongside detailed comparisons with the modern dramas they inspired; now Alfieri, in constant dialogue with his contemporaries, gave public readings of his tragedies, where he challenged scholars

[23] Fanti (1980) 5.
[24] Alfieri (1991) 58–61.

from the Arcadia to judge them from a theatrical perspective, according to theatrical criteria.[25]

The defeat of human will power: **Agamennone** *between Aeschylus and Seneca*[26]

Agamennone is the third of nineteen tragedies, whose 'idea' (the first of the so-called 'three breaths' in Alfieri's creative process)[27] dates back to the 19 May 1776. It is a play that critics have always been prone to recognise as purely Senecan.[28] However true this might be on a superficial (and linguistic) level, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, mediated via Brumoy, plays as significant a role in the creation of Alfieri's masterpiece as does Seneca's eponymous tragedy.[29]

Clytemnestra, dramatically involved in inner and lacerating dilemmas, is paradigmatic of this imaginary agon that Alfieri has with Brumoy's Aeschylus and through which he produces one of the most psychologically tormented characters of eighteenth-century drama. The originality of his Clytemnestra is in fact only achieved through this painstaking, constant emulative comparison with Brumoy's Aeschylus.

Clytemnestra 'ondeggi sempre' ('may be always fluctuating'), Alfieri says in the 'idea': her continuing change of mind between her love for Aegisthus and her duties

[25] To scholars like Cesarotti or Lampredi, who both criticised Alfieri's harsh verse, Alfieri would answer that the ultimate judge of the effectiveness of his lines was the audience, for he wrote his tragedies to be acted, not read (cf. Alfieri 1978, 275, 459).
[26] NB: I have quoted page numbers for everything that is not in Alfieri's published final version of his tragedies *Agamennone* and *Oreste*, which are referenced by act, scene, and line numbers as found in the 1967 editions of the tragedies; I have also referenced other eighteenth-century plays by act and scene only, as line numbering may vary from edition to edition.
[27] See Alfieri (1951) 201–2 for his own definition of his 'three breaths', which consist of the 'idea' ('idea'), the 'stesura' ('put in writing'), and the 'verseggiatura' ('put in verse').
[28] Cf., amongst others, Paratore (1974), Goffis (1998), Traina (1999), Casini (2003), Domenici (2013a), and Perdichizzi (2015).
[29] On Aeschylean influences in Alfieri's *Agamennone*, see Branca (2005) and Di Martino (2019a). James Thomson's *Agamemnon* (1738) is also most probably a source for Alfieri's *Agamennone* (cf. Hall and Macintosh 2005, 124).

as a parent and as a wife is, in fact, the hallmark of her character, as in Seneca. Yet, in the early stages of the tragedy, there are no signs of this professed love for either Electra or Orestes. Eloquent in this respect is the first draft of Act 1, scene 3, which later Alfieri deleted from the 'idea' itself, where Electra speaks of a rumour reporting Agamemnon's death. Hearing this, Aegisthus does not pretend to hide his hatred for the supposedly dead king anymore and claims that he will lay hands on the throne in response, to which Electra proudly declares that she will never obey him. Clytemnestra herself, then, 'la minaccia d'ogni pena se ardisce contrastare' ('threatens her with all kinds of punishment, should she [Electra] dare fight him').[30]

Also in the 'stesura' of this scene, the second 'breath' in Alfieri's creative process, Alfieri retains the traits of a ruthless Clytemnestra who menaces to imprison her own daughter in response to Electra's reproaches about her (not yet concretely realised) affair with Aegisthus:

> **Clit**. Taci una volta: sappi ch'io non sol ti son Madre, ma Regina insieme. Non mormorasti in quel giorno fatale al mio riposo in cui quell'Agamennone a tutti sì sacro, immolò la propria Figlia […]
> **El**. Ma per ordine degli Dei, per la salute di tutti si portò quel misero Padre ad un tanto eccesso: t'han forse ordinate gli Dei di tradire il tuo Sposo vivo?, e d'insultarlo estinto?
> **Clit**. Omai più non soffro l'insolente tuo dire. Una prigione oscura ed eterna sarà la ricompensa ben degna.[31]

In a dialogue that closely recalls the harsh tinctures of the androgyne model of Aeschylus' Clytemnestra, the queen employs the same menace that Aegisthus utters in Seneca's play: *abstrusa caeco carcere et saxo exigat / aevum* (Sen. *Ag.* 988–9).

These tart tones completely disappear in the later versions; there is, in fact, a gloss upon the whole scene, whereby Alfieri, feeling the pinch of an excessively severe Clytemnestra, advises she be less threatening with Electra, and less temperamental.[32]

[30] Alfieri (1967) 86.
[31] Alfieri (1967) 101.
[32] See Ibid., 100: 'Clitennestra con Elettra minacci meno, ed osservi gradazione'.

And again, another note near the queen's intimidating threat of binding Electra in prison suggests 'più dolce' ('softer').[33]

All the most visible modifications of Clytemnestra's character in dialogue with the Aeschylean source point to creating a most complex persona, who confounds the spectator's expectations, since her sayings and actions seem contradictory. Fluctuation and instability, however, are both traits that Clytemnestra acquires through the different writing stages.

An example is Act 1, scene 4, a scene wholly devoted to Agamemnon's return and his interaction with the queen and Electra. The scene is all but absent from Seneca's play (in which Agamemnon is very much in the background, his presence being relegated to less than thirty lines: Sen. *Ag.* 782–807), but more elaborate in Aeschylus' play, save in the case of Electra who does not appear. In Alfieri, the queen is questioned over her alleged 'distress and uncertainty' by the king, to whom, at first, Electra responds with an account of the different rumours they have heard regarding his shipwreck; thereafter the queen herself utters:

> **Clit.** Signor mi mancano i detti ad esprimerti ciò ch'io sento nel core: esprimerti, ridirlo non può lingua umana. Lascia che un cotal poco io mi riabbia, non si può dal dolore alla gioja passare in un punto. Mille, e mille son le cose che dirti vorrei, eppur nessuna ne trovo onde principiare. Agli Dei fia necessario di correr ben tosto a ringraziarli dell'inaspettato tuo arrivo; a pregarli di condurre d'or innanzi più felici giorni; più stabil pace, più sicura quiete.[34]

Clytemnestra seems rationally to decide to cover up her clear disappointment at Agamemnon's return by launching at him all that she has suffered during his absence.

Some linguistic similarities to Brumoy's summary of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, lines 855–905, would suggest that this provides Alfieri's subtext for the passage. It is

[33] Ibid., 101.
[34] Alfieri (1967), 109.

'un assez long discours', as Brumoy describes it, wherein Clytemnestra tells how she had to endure 'solitude, bruits sachez, nouvelles affligeantes, alarmes continuelles' (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 861–5), to the extent that she 'a même attenté plus d'une fois sur la vie, que des secours cruels lui ont conservée'. Agamemnon's 'imprévu' return, though, has now washed all her sufferings away.[35] The shift between 'dolore' ('pain') and 'gioia' ('joy') resonates with the agitated description of contradictory news and alarms in Brumoy; and Agamemnon's 'inaspettato' ('unexpected') return also recalls Brumoy's 'imprévu', which Aeschylus never qualifies as such in his play. The final 'verseggiatura' – the last of the 'three breaths' in Alfieri's creative processs – shrinks the whole passage in an eloquent and muttered 'Io mesta?' ('I, afflicted?'), followed by ellipses – an almost obsessively recurring Alfierian stylistic choice. The emotion-swing from sadness to joy ('diversi repentini affetti') is retained in the first answer of Clytemnestra, albeit reported in a much more frantic way, which has the result of diminishing the (Aeschylus-derived) dissimulation involved in the previous drafts.[36]

Agamemnon's reaction to Clytemnestra's behaviour in the 'stesura' is plain and reasonable: once alone with his daughter, he enquires over the 'visi taciturni e immoti, tremanti' ('taciturn, static and shuddering faces') of his people, and, above all, about his wife, 'incerta e confusa' ('uncertain and confused'). She seems to him to have spoken 'composte parole', 'studiati pomposi detti' ('poised words', 'elaborated and pompous sayings').[37]

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[35] Brumoy (1749) 294–5.
[36] Here is what the final version looks like: 'Signor:… vicenda in noi rapida troppo / oggi provammo… Or da speranza a doglia / sospinte, or dal dolore risospinte / a inaspettato gaudio… Il cor mal regge / a si diversi repentini affetti' (II, iv, 198–202).
[37] Alfieri (1967) 110.

These polished (and deceitful) words that Agamemnon rebukes his wife for, or, as in the 'verseggiatura', the 'composti studiati accenti' ('poised and elaborated inflection'; III, i, 26), are taken directly from Brumoy's 'manières étudiées', which Agamemnon is reported to have detected in Clytemnestra.[38] The expression occurs again after Agamemnon has surrendered to Clytemnestra and agreed to walk on the red carpet, yielding victory to his wife: this battle, Brumoy comments, is 'de politesse affectée'; and yet, when Agamemnon exhorts the queen to treat Cassandra as her equal, she responds 'avec son affectation ordinaire' (and Brumoy continues to summarise Aesch. *Ag.* 958–60).[39] Brumoy's insistence on this 'affectation' must have been inferred both from the Aeschylean Chorus' repeated allusions to 'disaffected citizens of Argos who may pretend to welcome <Agamemnon> warmly but are really his enemies', as Sommerstein points out (Aesch. *Ag.* 787–98),[40] and the king's answer to this precise warning (Aesch. *Ag.* 832–40). Whilst Aeschylus' passage only implies any reference to Clytemnestra's behaviour through tragic irony, Brumoy explicitly links it with the queen.[41]

These 'affected' words are also translated into another dialogue that has been heavily reworked throughout Alfieri's creative process. This occurs in Act 3, scene 4, after Agamemnon has discovered that Aegisthus now resides in the palace and has granted him one day to leave. In the 'stesura', Clytemnestra addresses Agamemnon as 'sposo' ('husband'), – later changed to 'signor' ('master'), a more distant and cold

[38] Brumoy (1749) 297, 296; cf. also Alfieri (2002) 130.
[39] Ibid., 298.
[40] Sommerstein (2008) 90.
[41] Agamemnon's rather direct speech in response to Clytemnestra's open invitation to step on the red carpet might also be a reference point for Brumoy's 'affectation'; however, in Aeschylus the king stresses the unsuitability for a man to be praised like a god, especially by a woman; the deceitfulness of Clytemnestra is implied in the request, but explicated, albeit not directly referring to her, only by the Chorus and Agamemnon beforehand (the whole play is in a way a de-folding of hints at Clytemnestra's artificial behaviour; Aeschylus begins to drop them from the start, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 18–19).

manner – and urges him to meet with the citizens and sacrifice in thanks to the gods.[42] Hence, when told that Agamemnon would have appreciated it if she had informed him of Aegisthus' presence in the palace, Clytemnestra rationally explains that she did not believe it important. In the final version, instead, a more psychologically unstable Clytemnestra, divested of her cold and harsh (Aeschylean) tinctures, utters disconnected words, imbued with the now familiar ellipses that reveal her clear reticence: 'Signor,… fra tue tant'altre cure… / io non credea, ch'ei loco…' ('Master, amongst all your worries, I did not think that him, here…'; III, iv, 266–7). But there is more: when Agamemnon enquires whether Clytemnestra would beg for Aegisthus' mercy, the 'stesura' reports this interesting exchange of lines between the two:

> **Clit**. Io per lui pietà? E vuoi ch'io t'insegni a Regnare? Che altro può far Clitennestra se non approvare quanto fai; se non contribuire per quanto è in sua possa alla tua massima felicità?
>
> **Ag**. Al Trionfo dunque m'avvio; ma non crediate già che Agamennone insuperbito per la vittoria obbliar possa le umane vicende.[43]

Not surprisingly, Clytemnestra's deceiving words disappear in the later versions as does Agamemnon's eloquent answer.

In addition to being another instance of those 'studiati accenti', on which Alfieri plays, the passage seems a direct reaction to the Clytemnestra–Agamemnon dialogue in Aeschylus' tragedy. Clytemnestra, in order to be credible before the eyes of Alfieri's contemporaries, is in no position to suggest to her king how he should rule, as she does in Aeschylus; in fact, Agamemnon's warning to his people, in Alfieri, that he is not to

[42] It is interesting that she mentions the obligation to sacrifice again, exactly as she did when Agamemnon returned; the passage in the 'stesura' is, in fact, a Romanised version of the Chorus' description of the sacrifices set up by Clytemnestra all over the palace, once she heard the good news of Troy taken (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 84–96, which is thus reported in Brumoy's *Agamemnon*: 'les autels, dit le Vieillard, sont parfumés de libations; les lampes brillent de feux', Brumoy 1749, 284): 'i sacri altari / fuman d'incenso già: di fior cosperse / le vie, che al tempio vanno' (III, iv, 256–8). In the 'stesura', 'il carro trionfale' was part of the picture too (Alfieri 1967, 113).
[43] Alfieri (1967) 114.

grow in hubristic behaviour needs to be read in opposition to the Aeschylean king ceding to his wife's requests.

Interestingly enough, this very Aeschylean passage was later criticised by Alfieri himself, when he was engaged in the reading of all Greek tragedies in the original language in the last years of his life. *Perobscura, perinopportuna, et perridicula*, writes Alfieri, is the comparison which the queen draws between Agamemnon and Geryon (Aesch. *Ag.* 870), as are the epithets that Clytemnestra attaches to her husband in lines 896–901, which Alfieri judges as ridiculous.[44] Clytemnestra and Agamemnon's stichomythic exchange on whether to step on the red carpet or not is 'long' and even faintly 'irritating' in content.[45] *Perasiatica* is the expression Alfieri employs to describe Clytemnestra's sycophantic and seemingly adulatory lines to her husband (Aesch. *Ag.* 970–2); whereas, taking his cue from the Chorus' astonishment (Aesch. *Ag.* 1399), Alfieri deems her *crudelitas et impudentia* as *gratuita*, *nec homini data*, a *crudelitas* which is well demonstrated in her speech after the murder (Aesch. *Ag.* 1372–94).[46]

These later considerations concerning the character of Alfieri's Clytemnestra acquire even more significance if viewed against Brumoy's frequent off-stage reflections on the play. On Clytemnestra's first response to Agamemnon in the carpet scene, for example, Brumoy writes that Aeschylus 'marque bien la caractère dangereux de Clytemnestre prête à tuer son époux' and shows just how refined is the tragedian's art, which makes his character 'parler … conformément à leurs passions même cachées'. Agamemnon's attempt to refuse his wife's ostentatious welcomes, on

[44] Domenici (2013) 233.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

the other hand, portrays 'le contraste d'une femme détestable, ou plutôt d'une Furie avec un Roi pieux & populaire'.[47] Whether this is the Aeschylean Agamemnon that modern commentators would recognise or not, Alfieri's Agamemnon is indeed a pious and popular king. Yet, Brumoy explains how the carpet-scene prepares

> Le Spectateur à concevoir de la compassion pour l'un, & de l'horreur pour l'autre: artifice qui règne depuis le commencement, sans qu'on ait encore aucun fondement légitime de deviner l'attentat que Clytemnestre médite.[48]

Brumoy's account of Aeschylus' depictions of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, however overly simplistic, is clearly meant to enhance Clytemnestra's wickedness over a faultless Agamemnon, albeit, as he states, Aeschylus' ability is to guide the spectator progressively through a succession of 'artifice'.[49]

Alfieri's Clytemnestra starts off being the deceitful Clytemnestra of Aeschylus' play, *gratuita* in her *crudelitas*, but is then gradually stripped of the sycophantic traits of the androgyne Aeschylean queen, transforming into a character who arouses both 'compassion' and 'horror' in the spectator, to adopt Brumoy's reading of Aristotle's terms. Alfieri himself, when reasoning over his own play, acknowledges the complexity of emotions that, in the end, Clytemnestra succeeds in stirring: depending on whether the spectator believes in the force of fate that instils crazed passions in human beings, or whether he or she assesses her character in ethical terms, Clytemnestra will be either pitied or despised.[50] In his agonistic relationship with Aeschylus, the Greek model is essential and necessary to creating Alfieri's own Clytemnestra.

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[47] Brumoy (1749) 296.
[48] Ibid., 296–7.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Alfieri (1978) 97–8.

To counter Clytemnestra's fluctuating but clearly culpable character, Alfieri depicts a pious Agamemnon, a thoughtful leader of the Greeks and an impeccable husband and father. It is again Brumoy's Aeschylus that lurks behind this portrayal. In summarising the Chorus' account of Iphigenia's death (Aesch. *Ag.* 205–49), Brumoy argues that here Aeschylus 'balance en père, […] qui se détermine en Roi'.[51] Alfieri's Agamemnon responds to his Aeschylean equivalent: where Aeschylus' king sets his parental duties aside in order to allow the royal ones to prevail, Alfieri's, in a sort of ascendant climax of questions to Electra whom he questions alone regarding his wife's 'studiati accenti', places his parenthood above everything else:

> Men ch'ella madre, genitor m'era io?
> Ma pur, sottrarla a imperversanti grida,
> Al fier tumulto, al minacciar di tante
> Audaci schiere, al cui rabbioso foco
> Era un oracol crudo esca possente,
> Poteva io solo? Io sol, fra tanti alteri
> Re di Gloria assetati e di vendetta,
> E d'ogni freno insofferenti a gara,
> Che far potea? Di un padre udiro il pianto
> Que' dispietati, e sì non pianser meco:
> Ch'ove del ciel la voce irata tuona,
> Natura tace, ed innocenza il grido
> Innalza invan: solo si ascolta il cielo (III, i, 66–81).

In an emphatic positioning of the words, which will later become a stylistic hallmark of translation of Greek drama in the nineteenth century (Ch. 3), Agamemnon breaks into a touching apology, in which he asks whether he is 'less a father' than Clytemnestra is 'a mother'.[52] Moreover, the description that follows – the 'imperversanti grida' ('the raging cries'), 'il minacciare di tante audaci schiere' ('the

[51] Brumoy (1749) 285.
[52] Agamemnon's insistence on himself being a 'father' can also be read in response to the predicative *pater* in line 166 of Sen. *Ag.* (*cum stetit ad aras ore sacrificio pater quam nuptiales!*). This, together with the mention of Calchas' oracle, which is also present in Aeschylus' passage, probably represents the only evidence of Seneca's subtext in this specific account of Iphigenia's death. Sen. *Ag.* 162–73 are, however, the subtext for Alf. *Ag.* I, ii, 95–110.

threating of many audacious ranks'), and, ultimately, the oracle – shows a completely powerless Agamemnon, who is left with no other choice than to agree to the sacrifice, albeit his consent to the sacrifice is never made explicit. 'Poteva io solo?' ('could I, alone?'), he rhetorically asks more to himself than to Electra.

The narration then continues, and instead of the cruel description of Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter, of a father becoming executioner (cf. Aesch. *Ag*. 220–1 especially), and Iphigenia's πατρῴους cries (Aesch. *Ag*. 228), we witness Agamemnon's 'pianto' ('crying') in the presence of those 'dispietati' ('ruthless'), who did not share his pain. In Alfieri, the φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς (Aesch. *Ag*. 230), 'war-loving chieftains', thus become responsible for Iphigenia's death. Where Aeschylus has them 'naturally' (θέμις, Aesch. *Ag*. 217) longing for 'a sacrifice to end the winds / and for the blood of a maiden' (Aesch. *Ag*. 214–17),[53] Alfieri describes them as 'tanti alteri / Re di Gloria assetati e di vendetta, / E d'ogni freno insofferenti a gara' ('many haughty kings, mad for glory and vengeance, and, one more than the other, intolerant of any obstacle'). Interestingly, there is no mention of the Greek leaders being keen to have the sacrifice, nor any allusion to them being 'war-loving' and assisting the whole scene in Brumoy's account.[54] There is, however, a trace of this detail of Iphigenia's death in a play that Alfieri may or may not have been familiar with: James Thomson's Aeschylean/Senecan *Agamemnon* (1738).[55] 'Indignant, kindled at your Sister's Rape, / On her old native Foe demanding Vengeance, / On faithless Asia' are the 'Twenty Kings beneath my Banner' at the moment of the sacrifice (II, ii). Thomson's Agamemnon too starts with 'Why will my Clytemnestra add new Stings / To what

[53] Sommerstein (2008) 25, 27.
[54] Cf. Brumoy (1749) 285–6.
[55] For a thorough analysis of the interplay of Aeschylus and Seneca in Thomson's play, see Vedelago (2018).

here rankles but too deep already?' (II, ii), as in Alfieri (III, i, 66–7); and his Agamemnon's speech is as convincing as it is in Alfieri.[56]

If indeed Agamemnon is faultless and his role in Iphigenia's sacrifice is minor, then Clytemnestra's reasons to murder him are narrowed down. In this regard, it is interesting to look at the various writing stages of Clytemnestra's final decision to murder him. Neither in the 'idea' nor in the 'stesura' is it necessary for Aegisthus to mention Cassandra as an incentive for her to act against Agamemnon, as in Seneca (Sen. *Ag.* 254–9). In the 'idea', the prophetess does not even make her appearance, whereas, in the 'stesura', Aegisthus eventually brings her up, but only after Clytemnestra has already planned to kill her 'aborrito' and 'crudele' husband ('abhorred and cruel').[57] From the first version of the 'verseggiatura' to its final one, however, Alfieri feels the need to insert her as a motive for Clytemnestra's resolution. The queen's utterance 'Atride pera' ('may Agamemnon die') first appears after Aegisthus has intelligently insinuated the death-possibility, but before any mention of Cassandra, whom Aegisthus will employ to advocate Agamemnon's infidelity;[58] in the last stages, instead, the resolved 'Atride pera' comes only after Aegisthus has explained how the prophetess has come to steal her place and become the queen, closely retracing Seneca's narrative.[59]

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[56] Particularly striking are some linguistic and narrative similarities between Thomson's and Alfieri's Aegisthus–Clytemnestra dialogues, which would lead to the conclusion that Alfieri knew Thomson's *Agamemnon*. Although there is no record of this tragedy in Alfieri's Parisian or Roman library, Alfieri was familiar with the author – since he held an edition of his *Poems*, and one of *The Seasons* (see Del Vento 2002, 561, 564) – as well as with French translations of British theatre. It is possible that on one of his first journeys to England (1768 and 1770), he came to know about the play. See Hall and Macintosh (2005) 99–127, and 124–7 in particular, on the rich reception of Thomson's *Agamemnon* in Europe.

[57] Alfieri (1967) 118. Note that both adjectives disappear from later versions.

[58] See Alfieri (1967) 230 and 232.

[59] See Ibid., 235 and Alf. *Ag.* IV, i, 129–32; cf. also Thomson (1738) II, vi.

If, however, the Cassandra–motive does play a role in Clytemnestra's decision at this point in the plot, it soon becomes completely meaningless, due to Agamemnon's clarification on the matter. In Act 4, scene 4, Agamemnon directly asks Clytemnestra to reveal the source of her pain to him, and, believing that it is Iphigenia's death for which she has never forgiven him, he begins to defend himself, when the queen suddenly changes the topic and confesses how it is Cassandra that makes him less favourable to her eyes. To which Agamemnon replies:

> O cielo!
> Cassandra? O donna, or che mi apponi? E il credi?
> Dell'arsa Troja (il sai) fra noi divise
> Le opime spoglie, la donzella illustre,
> Cui patria e padre il ferro achivo tolse,
> Toccava a me. Di vincitor funesta,
> Ma usata legge, or vuol che in lacci avvinta
> Io la strascini in Argo: esempio tristo
> Delle umane vicende. Io di Cassandra
> Ben compiango il destino: ma te sola
> Amo. Nol credi? A te Cassandra io dono,
> Del vero in prova: agli occhi miei sottrarla
> Tu puoi, tu farne il piacer tuo. Ti voglio
> Sol rimembrar, ch'ella è di re possente
> Figlia infelice; e che infierir contr'essa
> D'alma regal saria cosa non degna (IV, iv, 269–83).

Agamemnon's speech is quasi-disarming in its sincerity and openness: he reaffirms his love for Clytemnestra over Cassandra, who has only been awarded to him, but can be hers, if that is of any comfort to her. The resonance with Aeschylus' play is especially present in the last part, where Agamemnon exhorts Clytemnestra to treat Cassandra, 'figlia infelice' ('unhappy child'), according to her royal station ('re possente; d'alma regal'), which Alfieri probably derives from Brumoy's 'il rehausse le mérite de cette Princesse malheureuse qui était fille de Priam'.[60] Agamemnon pities Cassandra's fate and warns Clytemnestra how shameful it would be if she raged

[60] Brumoy (1749) 298.

against her, a warning that closely retraces Aesch. *Ag.* 951–2, fully translated in Brumoy.[61]

Alfieri, little by little, rules out all the possible superficial motives that lead Clytemnestra to the act of murder, only to enhance the sole, main reason that has driven her throughout the tragedy: her crazed love for Aegisthus and her entrapment into her blind passion. Even Iphigenia's death takes second place in her interior battle: it is left out when the queen resolves to stab Agamemnon during the night. Iphigenia may indeed represent the first cause for which Clytemnestra developed a strong hatred for Agamemnon (II, i, 95–111), but ultimately it is the fear of losing Aegisthus that spurs her on in her evil plan. Her soliloquy just before the assassination explains this very well, when she endeavours to find fault in Agamemnon, yet realises that his only fault is being married to her:

> Delitti invan ti appongo: ah no, non ami
> Cassandra tu: più ch'io nol metro m'ami;
> E sola me. Niuno hai delitto al mondo,
> Che di essere mio consorte (V, i, 14–17).

If she was about to back down on the murder, it is only because she worries lest even Aegisthus despise her for that 'atrocidate immensa' ('great atrocity'; IV, i, 12) that she has promised to commit. In the end, decisive in her final resolution is Aegisthus' lie about how Agamemnon has discovered their affair and ordered his death, which Aegisthus declares to anticipate himself by suicide if she does not kill Agamemnon. The sole thought of her lover's death eventually pushes her to commit the murder. 'Necessario è il delitto' ('necessary is the crime'; V, ii, 117), she utters, and 'amor' will give her the strength, Aegisthus reassures her (V, ii, 118–19).

[61] Ibid., 297–8.

In a frantic and broken speech that takes place after her husband's death, she begins to grasp what she has done:

> … Gronda il pugnal di sangue;… e mani, e veste,
> e volto, tutto è sangue… Oh qual vendetta
> di questo sangue farassi!... già veggo,
> già al sen mi veggo questo istesso ferro
> ritorer,… da qual mano!... Agghiaccio,… fremo,…
> Vacillo… Oimè!.. forza mi manca,… e voce,…
> E lena… Ove son io?... che feci?... Ahi lassa!... (V, iv, 154–60).

There is no trace of the Aeschylean cruelty in exultation for her crime, nor of Seneca's queen, who then turns to Electra to complete her mission. Rather, when a triumphant Aegisthus joyfully utters that Orestes will be next, Clytemnestra murmurs: 'Oreste?... oh cielo! Or ti conosco, Egisto…' ('Orestes?... Oh heavens! Now I know you, Aegisthus…'; V, vi, 172). She has finally come to 'know' him, recognise him for who he is. The verb is of incredible linguistic power in that it eventually unveils Clytemnestra's blindness, which has been a recurrent motif in the tragedy, taking the Senecan *caeco amore* (Sen. *Ag.* 118) to the extreme.[62]

Clytemnestra's maddened passion works as inner drive, as an inner curse even that eventually prompts her to kill her husband. Always referred to as 'fiamma' ('fire'), which can be seen as an extension of Seneca's *flammae medullas et cor exurunt meum* (Sen. *Ag.* 132), her passion is so pervasively destructive that even when momentarily brought back to reason by Electra, Clytemnestra realises that she is doomed to love him:

> **Clit**. Ma e chi son io? Di Leda
> Non sono io figlia, e d'Elena sorella?
> Un sangue stesso entro mie vene scorre.
> Voler d'irati Numi, ignota forza

[62] Electra repeatedly accuses her mother's sight of being occluded by an irrational passion: 'amor t'acceca' ('love blinds you'; I, iii, 211) are the words that burst out from her mouth, revealing how she 'knows' about her and Aegisthus; 'accecata madre' ('blinded mother'; II, ii, 95) is what she calls her with Aegisthus, 'knowing' that he is only exploiting Clytemnestra's love; and, interestingly, Clytemnestra too finds blindness in Electra ('cieca'; II, ii, 97), just as Aegisthus has inferred that Electra has not yet 'known' his heart.

Mal mio grado mi tragge… (III, i, 251–5)

More than predetermination by blood, it is human perdition that corresponds to this 'ignota forza' ('unknown drive'): when talking to Aegisthus, who is falsely proposing to set out in order to save her honour, Clytemnestra replies that 'Numi, ragion, fortuna, invano tutti all'amore mio contrastano' ('gods, reason, fate, all vainly oppose my love'; II, i, 62–3). Although fully aware of the 'impurity' of this flame ('impura fiamma', as she calls it; II, i, 68), she cannot but follow it: she is enslaved to it. She 'knows' that it will lead to self-destruction, yet – when she sees in Electra the ultimate obstacle to pursuing the realisation of her love – she begs her to leave her alone, 'co' pensieri miei, con la funesta fiamma / che mi divora' ('with my thoughts, and the baleful flame that is devouring me'; III, v, 319–20). Clytemnestra's entrapment within an irrational but dominant force represents one of Alfieri's achievements throughout the various writing stages. Her mutation as a character is the reason for Alfieri's adjustments to Electra's final words: with the shifting from 'O dell'Averno spietata Furia' ('Oh ruthless Fury from Avernus'),[63] to 'Iniqua donna' ('unfair woman'; V, v, 167), along with the removal of 'cruda' ('cruel') when she asks Clytemnestra to hand her the knife:[64] Electra in a way exempts her mother from intentional homicide.

Alfieri's originality lies in the subtle and modern transformation of the major role played by fate in his sources into an inner force that guides Clytemnestra to perform what she would not choose, but is nonetheless doomed to commit.[65] Alfieri's *Agamennone* is not so much about the dichotomy between a tyrannical power and the striving for freedom, as in many of his plays, which probably accounts for its poor

[63] The expression (Alfieri 1967, 274) dwells on Brumoy (1749) 296.
[64] Ibid., 276. Cf. also Branca (2005) 96.
[65] Cf. Branca (2005) 96: 'the tragedy of fates and heroes tends to become a tragedy of tormented human beings, unsure between abnormal passions, but in a domestic atmosphere'.

reception history until very recently; rather, it is about the complete defeat of human willpower. Indeed, the gods make their appearance in the play, but as puppets themselves of the actual puppeteer, Clytemnestra. She is true to her forebear because she willingly *decides,* yet she knows the self-destruction that will ensue. Clytemnestra starts off as an Aeschylean-like queen, only to soften gradually and eventually to emerge as a psychologically unstable, fluctuating character who is both rational, because conscious, yet equally irrational, because unable to yield to reason, and who not only Electra, but the reader/spectator too, feels the need to exonerate.

Inner drives and human freedom: **Oreste** *between Brumoy and Voltaire*

The general theatrical privileging of Alfieri's *Oreste* over his *Agamennone* can first be explained by the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars and theatre practitioners' widespread familiarity with the plot of Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*. This general acquaintance stems from the fact that Sophocles treated the same myth in his *Electra*, a play that had been frequently translated and adapted for performance since the sixteenth century and that had been recently elevated above Euripides' *Electra* in André Dacier's edition of the *Poetics* (1692).[66]

Another important reason for the privileging of *Oreste* over *Agamennone* refers to the content of *Oreste*, which lends itself easily to political readings, a characteristic that was especially handy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italy, where there was a strong yearning for unification and for an end to the country's political

[66] The edition was accompanied by a translation of both Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Electra*; cf. Hall and Macintosh (2005) 153.

fragmentation, as well as for the extirpation of foreign influence.[67] The plot was also a preferred source for eighteenth-century French tragedies, amongst which was one of Alfieri's main sources for his play, Voltaire's *Oreste* (1750);[68] it was probably the most influential Greek tragedy in Britain at that time.[69] It is not by chance, then, that Alfieri, so viscerally libertarian by nature,[70] jumped at the chance to colour Aegisthus the tyrant with paradigmatically harsh tinctures in his *Oreste*.

Indeed, Alfieri depicts a 'cruel' tyrant (I, iii, 209), who is prone to committing new crimes to remain king. He is made to employ anachronistic expressions such as 'ragion di stato' ('reasons of state'; I, iv, 192), when insisting to Clytemnestra at the beginning of the play that they dispose of Electra, because she causes turmoil. 'Necessità' ('necessity'; I, iv, 271) of the same nature wants Orestes dead, as he explains it to the queen. Pylades qualifies him as 'inquieto' ('agitated'; II, i, 98) as all tyrants are: incapable of trust, they live in terror.[71]

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[67] See for example Becelli (1728) and Gozzi (1747). For more on some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian operatic retellings of the Orestes–Electra myth, see Di Martino (2019b).

[68] Recalling the events of 1777, Alfieri confesses to have found Voltaire's *Oreste* amongst his books in Turin, as he was searching through his library: disposing of the book at once, he enquires about the quality of the play to his friends; according to his report, his friend Gori Gandellini advised him to avoid reading the tragedy, at least until he had written his own play (Alfieri 1951, 206–7). For a close comparison between the two tragedies, see in particular: Bertana (1903) and (1904); Perdichizzi (2004); Santato (1988) and (2011).

[69] For *Electra* in eighteenth-century Britain, see Hall and Macintosh (2005) 152–82.

[70] It is precisely when he is writing *Agamennone* and *Oreste* that Alfieri writes a treatise on tyranny, which has much in common with the latter tragedy in particular. As has been noted (Alfieri 2009, 98), strikingly similar to Alfieri's treatise is Pylades' description of the subjects as completely deprived of their freedom and obsequious towards their masters: 'che speri? / Che in cor di serva plebe odio od amore / Possa eternarsi mai? Dai lunghi ceppi / Guasta avvilita, or l'un tiranno vede / Cadere, or sorger l'altro; e nullo n'ama, / E a tutti serve; ed un Atride obblia, / E d'un Egisto trema' (II, i, 84–90). In the treatise, Alfieri speaks of those subjected to a tyrant as a 'people who does not perceive a state of servility on their part', who does not possess 'any idea of political freedom' (Alfieri 1985,109).

[71] Indeed, the politicisation and often exaggerated portrayals of rulers drawn from Greek tragedy was a trait that Italian tragedy shared with opera as well. In an operatic play entitled *Il Mitridate Eupatore* (1707), the librettist Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti re-writes Orestes' murder of Clytemnestra with the help of Electra disguised under different names and with the addition, amongst other things, of a love twist. Particularly interesting is his portrayal of the Aegisthus figure (Farnace in the play): a greedy and ruthless tyrant who would do anything to secure the reign for himself, not at all dissimilar to Alfieri's Aegisthus (see, for example, Farnace/Aegisthus' counsellor's words to his king, which recall Clytemnestra's above-quoted words [I, iv, 199–201]: 'Molto t'inganna, o altier, molto t'accieca / la cupidigia, la superbia, e l'uso / d'impune violenza'; II, vi). The character of Aegisthus/Farnace also

In his depiction of Aegisthus, Alfieri is once again inspired by Brumoy's Aeschylus. An example of this is at lines 848–54, when Aegisthus states that he wants to question the messenger bearing the news of Orestes' death, after which Brumoy adds:

> C'est une précaution qu'a pris le Poète pour marquer la caractère des Tyrans, qui ayant tout à se reprocher, vivent toujours dans la crainte, & en même temps pour suspender l'esprit du spectateur par ce nouvel obstacle.[72]

The quotation resonates with what Clytemnestra tells Aegisthus when he insists on the necessity of killing Orestes: 'tu fra 'l sospetto, / Io fra' rimorsi, e in rio timore entrambi, / Trarrem noi sempre incerta orrida vita' (I, iv, 199–201). There is no possibility to live in peace, when power is obtained through terror. 'Crainte' makes Aegisthus doubt the messenger: instead of 'éclater sa joie comme dans Sophocle', Brumoy continues, 'sa politique défiante lui fait dire qu'il est sacheux de répandre de pareils bruits, s'ils ne sont éclaircis & fondés'.[73] As much as in Aeschylus, then, Alfieri portrays a most distrustful tyrant.[74]

To make it even more apparent that his reading of the play is political, with tyrannical power and individual freedom at its centre, Alfieri also adds an interesting plot twist, mostly drawn from Voltaire's play. By the end of the play, when everything seems to be lost with the imprisonment of both Orestes and Pylades, the guards revolt against Aegisthus and unchain the prisoners. This act resembles an actual popular revolt, which is a theatrical expedient we see again in Gassman–Lucignani–Pasolini's

provides Roberti with the chance to include some harsh lines on monarchy in his play, perhaps a reflection of Italy's political fragmentation (see, for example: 'Il mondo mal sospetta / finezza, inganno, ed arte, / ne l'opre dei gran re. / Egli di rado aspetta / da chi nel trono ha parte, / giustizia, onore, e fé'; II, ii).

[72] Brumoy (1749a) 17.

[73] Ibid., 18.

[74] See especially III, v, 171–5, where Clytemnestra utters: 'Tu da feroce ambizion di regno, / tu, da vendetta orribile guidato, /quant'io ti dava, un nulla reputavi, / financh'altro a tor ti rimanea. Chi vide / sì doppio core, e sì crudele a un tempo?'.

1960 *Orestiade* at the Greek theatre in Syracuse (see further Ch. 7). In the chaotic circumstances of the people's revolt against the perfidious tyrant, Orestes rushes over the stage looking for Aegisthus, whom he finds, only to strike his mother first without even noticing.

As mentioned, this last scene is heavily indebted to Voltaire's play: no mention of the people rebelling against the tyrant is made before Aegisthus imprisons Orestes and Pylades, whereas in the French version the uprising is prepared for from the beginning through Pammène, a character forged upon the old, loyal servant of Agamemnon in Sophocles' *Electra*. A clear calque from the French play is the name of Aegisthus' right-hand man in Alfieri, Dimante, Dimas in French, whom the king charges with guarding over Orestes and Pylades. Orestes' seemingly accidental striking of his mother too draws upon Voltaire. The fact that the tragic hero *happens* to commit matricide *accidentally* is not at all surprising since the dictates of *bienséance* that had dominated theatre since the late seventeenth century: all eighteenth-century Orestes figures unintentionally commit matricide.[75]

Yet, however central is the conflict between tyrannical power and individual freedom to Alfieri's *Oreste*, it is also an interesting continuation of that introspective and rather modern treatment of the play's characters, which he initiated with his *Agamennone* through his emulative competition with Brumoy's Aeschylus. Clytemnestra's character presents unmistakable shared traits with her portrayal in *Agamennone*, as well as others drawn from Voltaire's play. Her internal dilemma

[75] Brumoy well captures the reason for avoiding Orestes' intentional matricide in his summary of *Choephoroe*: 'il faut convenir que cela a quelque chose de trop barbare pour nos mœurs, quelqu'adoucissement qu'Eschyle semble y apporter. Oracle tant qu'on voudra, c'est toujours un fils qui tue une mère, & une mère suppliante. Sophocle est un peu moins dur en ceci qu'Eschyle & Euripide' (Brumoy 1749a, 20).

recalls the French tragedian's conflicted queen, who displays that internal division between the role of mother and wife that Alfieri broadens and insists upon throughout the whole tragedy. Thus, Voltaire reflects on his Clytemnestra:

> Rien n'est en effet plus dans la nature qu'une femme criminelle envers son époux, & qui se laisse attendrir par ses enfants, qui reçoit la pitié dans son cœur altier & farouche, qui s'irrite, qui reprend la dureté de son caractère quand on fait des reproches trop violents, & qui s'apaise ensuite par les soumissions et par les larmes.[76]

Such is Alfieri's Clytemnestra too, only more flickering and psychologically unstable. When speaking with Electra in the first act, his Clytemnestra reveals how she has now come to *know* who Aegisthus really is and asks for forgiveness. Yet, even in making amends for Agamemnon's murder, she cannot but still remark on her love for Aegisthus, whom she identifies as the actual person responsible for her husband's death:

> Oh rimorsi!.. oh dolore!.. ahi lassa!.. E pensi
> Ch'io con Egisto sia felice forse? (I, ii, 49–50)
>
> […] Il colpo appena
> Dalla man mi sfuggia, che il pentimento
> Tosto, ma tardo, mi assalia tremendo. (I, ii, 70–3)
>
> Mi abborro più, che tu non m'odj… Egisto
> tardi il conobbi… Oimè!.. che dico? appena
> Estinto Atride, atroce appien quant'era
> Conobbi Egisto; eppure ancor lo amai. (I, ii, 96–9)
>
> […] Misera madre io sono! (I, ii, 121)

With the usual (theatrically effective) ellipses and reticence, Clytemnestra admits her unhappiness with Aegisthus, yet – as she will explain to Electra later in the tragedy (cf. III, i, 14–15) – neither is she happy without him. It is in this sense that we need to read her actions and words: lingering in a sort of inner, lacerating limbo, life is intolerable.

[76] Voltaire (1750) 12.

Clytemnestra's dilemma is perfectly captured by Electra in dialogue with Orestes:

> Pentita, eppur di rinnovare il fallo
> capace forse, ove la indegna fiamma,
> di cui si adira ed arrossisce, il voglia:
> or madre, or moglie; e non mai moglie, o madre: (II, i, 309–12)

'Moglie' or 'madre': notwithstanding her motherly solicitude towards her children, she is incapable of reconciling the two spheres of her life, which are destined to remain separate. Electra's fitting depiction of Clytemnestra's situation responds to Voltaire's: 'Je suis épouse et mère' (V, v), a line uttered by the queen, when she promises to guard over Orestes while he is in prison. Alfieri's queen, in a way, demonstrates how these two roles are distinct.

Yet, Alfieri's Clytemnestra, in the end, acts as though she has made a choice: when defending Orestes from Aegisthus' threats, her son gives her the chance to prove herself a mother, handing her the knife to kill the tyrant. 'Sol ch'io potessi / Trarmi dall'empie mani; oh figlio!...' ('if only I could extract myself from the impious hands, ah, son!'; IV, iv, 298–9), she replies. That 'ignota forza', which eventually led her to murder Agamemnon, is now entangling her in rejecting Orestes' challenge. Orestes' question is plain and reasonable: 'ami tu Egisto? L'ami; o sei madre di Oreste?' ('do you love Aegisthus? Do you? or are you Orestes' mother?'; IV, iv, 249–50). If cornered, Clytemnestra will pick Aegisthus.

That her maddened passion for the cruel tyrant represents the actual force that guides her through the tragedy is made clear several times in the 'stesura'. In Act 3, scene 4, when begging Aegisthus not to kill the imprisoned Orestes, Clytemnestra declares that she is even ready to dispose of her child to secure Aegisthus' power (ironically her pretext for killing Agamemnon), which she knows would in turn secure

her being with him. Either prison or exile, she suggests, in order to pacify her lover.[77] And, again, in the 'stesura' of Act 1, scene 4, she concedes, almost as if she were revealing something to herself, that it is solely for him that she eliminated the only obstacle to realising their love: Agamemnon.[78] Though disenchanted with Aegisthus' true feelings for her, 'pur nel mio petto io nutro / troppo ancor verace e viva fiamma' ('I still nurture in my heart a most vivid and truthful love for him'; I, iv, 218–19), she admits, almost *in spite of* herself. 'Amo Egisto, pur troppo' ('I love Aegisthus, regrettably'; III, iii, 20), she declares when alone, before Orestes and Pylades bring the news of her son's death.

Alfieri makes it clear from the beginning of the tragedy that it is Clytemnestra's *choice* to continue to love Aegisthus, and that she *can* indeed escape from his grips. In other words, instead of portraying the gods as responsible for the disastrous present, Alfieri explains that it is only through human actions that one can change the present, thus essentially internalising the tragic dilemma of his characters, Clytemnestra's *in primis*, finally discharging the gods from any supervisory power over men. Electra[79] expounds it to Clytemnestra at the beginning of the tragedy:

> […] Ancor rappreso
> sta su queste pareti orride il sangue,
> che tu spargesti: ah! Fuggi: al tuo cospetto,
> mira, ei rosseggia, e vivido diventa.
> Fuggi, o tu, cui né posso omai, né debbo
> madre nomar: vanne; […] (I, ii, 37–42)
>
> Già già l'irata sua terribil ombra
> sorge a noi contro, e te respinge addietro (I, ii, 46–7)[80]

[77] Cf. Alfieri (1967) 127.
[78] Cf. Ibid., 112–13: 'Potei nel petto d'uno sposo immerger lo stile a tradimento; ma quello sposo, m'avea trucidato la Figlia; pareami perché l'amor di te m'accecava, un odioso Tiranno; era un ostacolo al mio impuro amore; scellerate ragioni; ma ragioni insomma per cui il delitto commisi'.
[79] Alfieri's Electra is probably the one character who most diverges from its French counterpart: 'impulsive, headstrong, indiscreet', Electra's 'impuissantes armes' (I, i) are an impediment for the smoothness of the actions (cf. Lindemann 1978, 123).
[80] Cf. also Voltaire's mother–daughter dialogue in I, iii.

It is again Brumoy's Aeschylus who has inspired Alfieri to construct such detailed visions associated with Agamemnon's shadow: when summarising lines 33–41 of the *Choephoroe*, Brumoy over-interprets Clytemnestra's 'songe affreux', which he claims is 'suscité sans doute par l'ombre courroucée d'Agamemnon'.[81] That 'terribil ombra', which linguistically brings us back to Thyestes' *detestabilis umbra* (Sen. *Thy*. 23–4), is only the first of a series of visions centered on Agamemnon's shadow. Just a few lines after the above passage, Electra foresees how Clytemnestra's punishment in the underworld will be to 'sostenere del trucidato sposo […] gl'irati minacciosi sguardi' (I, ii, 57–8; 'sustain the furious and threatening look of the slain husband'). And yet, a 'terribil vista', Clytemnestra recounts, appeared to her as soon as she killed Agamemnon: a horrific shadow, very Senecan-like in its description, whose hands are filled with 'negro sangue' (I, ii, 83; 'black blood') that is thrown at her.

The whole initial atmosphere does, in effect, recall Aeschylus' *incipit*: Orestes' prayer to the underworld, as well as Electra's cry for justice, and the Chorus' lament, all contribute to the creation of a most tenebrous and dreadful setting. The insistence on 'darkness' (I, i, 5, 'tenebre di sangue'; I, ii, 70, 'tenebroso Averno'), both linked with visions from the underworld, find their French (and Greek) equivalent in 'd'épaisses ténèbres', which translates Aesch. *Ag*. 51.[82] And when Electra first refers to her mother, she addresses her as 'iniqua', a term that Brumoy employs to describe the 'iniquities' of the Chorus' master, which they must nonetheless accept (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 78–9).[83] 'Iniquo' (II, ii, 308) is also Aegisthus, says Electra, when asked by her brother whether their mother would work towards or against their vengeful plan.

[81] Brumoy (1749a) 3.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

Blood and revenge are the forces that drive Orestes, the character who is most indebted to Brumoy's Aeschylus. If revenge seems to be his only thought, his 'furor' hinders him from completing his task properly.[84] 'Furor' is indeed the hallmark of his figure: 'al tuo furor, te riconobbi Oreste' ('I have recognised you from your frenzy, Orestes'; II, ii, 224) utters Electra in the recognition scene;[85] it is this same 'furor' that arouses suspicions in Aegisthus when he listens to Orestes and Pylades' account of Orestes' death: 'Ma che? Lo sguardo / ardente in me d'ira e furor tu figgi?' ('What? [Why] are you fixing your burning gaze of rage and frenzy on me?'; IV, ii, 153). Inevitably assimilated to Clytemnestra precisely in his yielding to the same 'furor' that drove Clytemnestra to the act of murder, Orestes is guided through (unconscious) matricide. As Barsotti points out, 'exactly the fact that he performs this ultimate deed against his mother *outside of himself*, as though in his subconscious, is revealing of his internal scission'.[86]

This 'internal scission' was present in Brumoy's account and description of the Orestes figure in Aeschylus' play too. After the tragic hero has disentangled the content of the oracle to Electra and the Chorus, whereby Aeschylus endeavors 'd'assaisonner un autre parricide pour le rendre supportable par la nécessité de le commettre', Brumoy summarises the repeated invocations of Orestes, Electra, and the Chorus as 'un combat entre l'horreur naturelle du crime, & le desir effrené d'une

[84] Such is Voltaire's Orestes too: 'fier, implacable, aigri par son malheur; / Digne du sang d'Atrée, il en a la fureur' (I, v), as Aegisthus describes him. Yet, Alfieri takes his 'furor' to the extreme. Where Voltaire is also concerned with presenting a noble hero, characterised by lofty feelings, Alfieri's efforts are all directed towards depicting the abyss of human nature.

[85] It should be noted that Alfieri retraces Aeschylus' dramaturgical choice of staging the recognition scene at the beginning. Years later, when commenting on how the three Greek tragedians designed their recognition scene, he praises Aeschylus' *oeconomia* in it and esteems his version the best out of the three tragedians: *in Aeschylo multum simplicior, et, si primam hanc esse memineris, melior videbatur* (Domenici 2013, 235).

[86] Barsotti (2001) 110.

vengeance qui paroit légitime'.[87] One can see, he continues, vengeance as 'dominant' in Orestes' character, to the extent that Orestes 'dit qu'il prend le parti de plonger le poignard dans le sein de sa mère; il ajoute en soupirant, & de mourir après elle', which renders lines 435–8 of Aeschylus' play.[88] Alfieri dislocates these very last lines within a dialogue between Orestes and Pylades, where the latter, whilst trying to make Orestes see reason, prompts this outburst from the former: 'uccidere prima e morir poscia' ('kill first, and then die'; II, i, 103–4). Interestingly enough, years later, when devoted to reading Aeschylus in the original language, Alfieri will provide line 438 with a translation that fully reproduces this same line from his *Oreste*.[89]

Orestes' battle 'entre l'horreur naturelle du crime' resurfaces in his ambivalent feelings towards his mother. Her presence, he tells Pylades after seeing her for the first time, arouses 'orror misto d'ira e pietade' ('horror mixed with hatred and pity'; IV, i, 16–17);[90] and when asked to explain, he eloquently answers:

> Piú di me forte,
> non so qual moto. Il crederesti? in mente
> da pria mi entrava di svenarla; e tosto
> mi assalia nuova brama, d'abbracciarla:
> quindi entrambe a vicenda. – Oh vista! oh stato
> terribil, quanto inesplicabil!... (IV, i, 19–24).

Orestes gives a very detailed description of his internal dilemma: 'svenarla' ('cutting her veins') on the one hand, or 'abbracciarla' ('embracing her') on the other. It is important to note that Orestes' desire to kill her, instead of arising from and being

[87] Brumoy (1749a) 13.
[88] Ibid., 14.
[89] Cf. Domenici (2013) 104.
[90] Orestes employs the same substantive ('orror': 'horror') when he discovers that *he* has slain his mother: 'orror mi prende'. Pylades' closing words reiterate that 'orror' now referred to the 'laws of fate' ('d'orrendo fato inevitabil legge!'; V, xiii, 195–6).

dictated by an external force as in Voltaire (III, i),[91] is the result of his inner battle, his human feelings.[92]

An insistence on fierce vengeance together with the depiction of an incendiary Orestes whose 'furor' transpires as a guiding force against his mother prepare the ground for matricide, which comes eventually but not so unexpected and gratuitous as it does in other eighteenth-century French dramatists. Voltaire, for example, who has initially instilled ambiguous sentiments within Orestes during his first meeting with Clytemnestra, does not develop this motif any further, to the extent that when the queen mentions the oracle which stated that Orestes would cause her death, her son utters: 'Qui? Lui, madame? Un fils armé contre sa mère!' (III, vi). Alfieri's artifice concretises this motif, by translating the imposed oracular pronouncement into an inner, unknown force that will lead to the fulfilment of the oracle, only this time *in spite of* Orestes. Fully aware of the inconvenience of meditated matricide, Alfieri avoids it on a superficial level, but in fact designs it as naturally arising from the course of events and from inner drives.

It is 'furor' that rips Orestes apart when he *accidentally* strikes his mother down. Where Voltaire's Oreste disclaims responsibility: 'Non, ce n'est pas moi; non ce n'est point Oreste' (V, ix), when he realises that he slew his mother, Alfieri's character, as though he knew, declines into instant madness:

> **Pil**. Trafitta...
> **Or**. E da qual mano?
> **Pil**. – Ah! Vieni…

[91] Cf. Voltaire (1750) III, i: 'leurs serpents, leurs flambeaux, leur voix sombre et terrible / m'inspiraient un transport inconcevable, horrible, une fureur atroce; et je sentais ma main / se lever, malgré moi prête à percer son sein'.
[92] Orestes' 'furor' has even been softened in Alfieri's final version. In the 'stesura' of Act 4, scene 3, in fact, when Orestes and Pylades are both claiming to be Orestes, Orestes addresses his mother as being 'più odiosa sei che 'l Tiranno' ('more hateful than the Tyrant'; Alfieri 1967, 133), words which have been stirred up by the usual 'furore', 'rabbia', 'livore'.

El. Tu la uccidesti.
Or. Io parricida?...
Pil. Il ferro
vibrasti in lei, senza avvederten, cieco
d'ira, correndo a Egisto incontro…
Or. Oh quale
Orror mi prende! Io parricida? – Il brando,
Pilade, dammi: io 'l vo'…
Pil. Non fia.
El. Fratello…
Pil. Misero Oreste!
Or. Or, chi fratel mi noma?
Empia, tu forse, che serbato a vita,
e al matricidio m'hai? – Rendimi il brando,
il brando;... oh rabbia! – Ove son io? che feci?...
Chi mi trattien?... Chi mi persegue?... Ahi! dove,
dove men fuggo?... ove mi ascondo? – O padre,
torvo mi guardi? a me chiedesti sangue:
e questo è sangue;... e sol per te il versai (V, xiii, 179–92).

The broken hendecasyllable split between the characters effectively renders Orestes' quick path to 'knowledge', which eventually covers him with darkness: in what could resemble a maieutic (even psychoanalytical *ante litteram*, perhaps) dialogue, he acknowledges the truth ('io parridica?; 'me, patricide?'). 'Cieco d'ira' ('blinded by rage')[93] – note the enjambment –, Orestes finally *sees*, only to fall into frenzy thereafter.

The treatment of the gods and the oracles comes as especially interwoven with such an external-to-internal shift concerning Orestes' figure. Unlike Voltaire's play, the gods in no way forbid Orestes to reveal himself to Electra, which in the end seems to be causing Orestes' matricide as a punishment for Orestes' break of his oath.

[93] Blindness was indeed a main feature of Clytemnestra's character too in *Agamennone*: even if that has been forgotten, Alfieri sends enough linguistic signals in this second tragedy so that the thread that is embroidering the two characters together is discernible. 'Cieca troppo' ('too blind': I, iv, 253) is Aegisthus' reproach to Clytemnestra when she seems reluctant to harm Orestes; blinded are Orestes' 'moti' ('actions'; II, ii, 237), says Pylades after his impulsiveness has disclosed their identity to Electra; finally, 'cieca madre' ('blind mother'; V, v, 73), utters Electra, as soon as the queen rushes after Aegisthus to save him. Even though Aegisthus too is susceptible to 'furor', he is not subjected to it in the same way as both Clytemnestra and Orestes are. Aegisthus' 'furie' (I, ii, 101) are those of a cold calculating king, who would admittedly do anything to secure his power. 'Crudo' is the obsessively recurrent adjective that describes him throughout the play, which makes him rather similar to the 'maître absolu' (I, iii) of Voltaire's work.

Voltaire, then, justifies Orestes' deed on grounds of a reaction of the gods to his disposal of the oracle, an elaborate expedient to conform to *bienséance* and prove the irrationality of the gods. As far as Alfieri's *Oreste* is concerned, instead, the gods are relegated to the background, not actually able to modify the course of actions. Save a few occurrences of the oracles, for the rest of the tragedy, vengeance is always referred to as arousing from Orestes' *human* understating of *human* justice: 'giustizia eterna fia l'alta base' ('eternal justice shall be the foundation'), he utters to Pylades, because Aegisthus' blood 'a me è dovuto' ('is due to me'; II, i, 66–7). Aegisthus is right in saying that Orestes 'vive del feroce desio d'alta vendetta' ('lives by fierce desire of ultimate vendetta'; I, iv, 206–7). It is the much (Senecan-like) concrete presence of an unavenged Agamemnon that stirs him up to homicide:

> Ma non ti sta, come a me sta, su gli occhi
> un padre ucciso, sanguinoso, inulto,
> che anela, e chiede, e attende, e vuol vendetta (II, i, 90–3).

There are striking linguistic similarities between such lines and Aegisthus' opening in Alfieri's *Agamennone*: 'sanguinoso' and 'inulto' both qualified Thyestes' umbra when it appeared to Aegisthus asking for 'vendetta' (I, i, 13), which was going to be exacted only through 'odio e furor', reported Aegisthus by the end of his monologue (I, i, 20). The same terms occur again in *Oreste* after Pylades has essayed to restrain the tragic hero's 'furor', when Orestes erupts into:

> […] Dell'iniquo sangue
> Non serberà dentro a sue vene stilla:
> Tu il berai tutto, ombra assetata; e tosto (II, ii, 256–8).

Aegisthus' blood will be poured on to Agamemnon's parched shadow to drink up – a rather horrific image that, again, recalls Alfieri's *Agamennone* (I, i, 13–14) and its Senecan inspiration (Sen. *Ag.* 16–17). Agamemnon's ghost will make its appearance

once more when Orestes is yet devoured by madness in a speech dense with cross references:

> […] O Padre,
> torvo mi guardi? A me chiedesti sangue:
> e questo è sangue;… e sol per te il versai. (V, xiii, 190–2)

Blood-centred, glancing at the repeated images of Agamemnon's shadow asking for vengeance, these final words eventually reveal to Orestes his most hidden intentions: human justice has been done, yet at the expense of his humanity.

Overall, in both his *Agamennone* and *Oreste*, Alfieri magisterially transposes the craggy Aeschylean representation of the gods and fixity of character onto his Clytemnestra and Orestes, for whom they become tyrannical inner forces that lead them to perform acts they otherwise would not. Especially impressive is the modernity of Clytemnestra in both plays, distinctly different from the general eighteenth-century portrayal of her character.[94] Indeed, by laying human responsibility onto her and thus making her an impeachable mother and wife, Alfieri becomes an essential conduit to the twentieth-century feminist and fully Aeschylean Clytemnestra.[95] Both Clytemnestra and Orestes can emerge as all-round characters, internally tormented and eventually unable to yield to reason because Alfieri has relegated the gods to the background. Where Voltaire, for example, is intent on unveiling the irrationality of the gods, Alfieri essentially internalises the tragic dilemma within his characters and finally discharges the gods from any supervisory power over men. In the end, Alfieri's characters become examples of human failure: through them, Alfieri cunningly criticises the idolisation of human reason, whilst showing that it is impossible for humans to rely on anything else.

[94] For Clytemnestra in Thomson's play, see Hall and Macintosh (2005) 99–127.
[95] Cf. Hall (2005) 54.

Alfieri's legacy in the Aeschylean tradition

Neither Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* nor his *Choephoroe* was frequently translated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a matter of fact, *Agamemnon*, translated for the first time in 1796, received only two other translations in the nineteenth century (Ch. 3), whilst *Choephoroe*, translated for the first time in 1821, had to wait until the first decade of the twentieth century to be taken up by any other scholar for translation.[96] And if translations of these two Aeschylean plays were scant indeed, their presence on the stage was almost non-existent: the *Oresteia* was performed for the first time in Italy in 1906, but it was only in 1914 that the *Agamemnon* and in 1920 that the *Choephoroe*, both staged at the ancient theatre in Syracuse, received scholarly translations for performance (Ch. 4).[97]

Instead, productions of Alfieri's *Agamennone*, and *Oreste* in particular, were the sole on-stage representatives of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* for more than a century. One of the reasons for their immediate entry into the Italian canon was the particular usage that was made of these powerful retellings. Indeed, if by the 1820s Alfieri's tragedies had completely disappeared from the European repertoire and remained only in the Italian one, it was because his plays were exploited for specifically *Italian* political purposes, directed at promoting and enhancing Italian nationalism, first by the patriots of the Risorgimento, and later by Fascism. Even if employed and distorted by Italian propaganda throughout the centuries, however, Alfieri's retelling of Aeschylus' trilogy allowed this ancient story to survive for almost 150 years on the Italian stage.

[96] Cf. Marotti (1796); Bellotti (1821); Marrone (1906).
[97] Cf. Marrone (1906). It is even arguable that it was because of the major theatrical success of Alfieri's *Oreste* between 1918 and 1920 (cf. Appendix A) that the future INDA decided to stage Aeschylus' *Choephori* in 1921.

But there is more. Alfieri's importance for a study on Aeschylus' reception is not limited to the history of theatre. As will be seen in the next chapter, his legacy would continue also in the language of most prominent Italian translators in the nineteenth century. Partly modelled upon the loose hendecasyllables of Melchiorre Cesarotti's *Poesie di Ossian* (see further Ch. 3),[98] Alfieri's tragic verse stands apart from what preceded it.

Ironically, part of the novelty of Alfieri's language resulted from his initial unfamiliarity with Italian, which prompted him to undertake a thorough study of the language later in his life. Because Alfieri was born in Piedmont under the Savoy Court, whose official language was French and whose unofficial language was the Piedmont dialect, his Italian – or better, his Tuscan, the variety of Italian considered the best and most representative of the country (not without controversy: see Ch. 3) – was indeed rather poor. In 1776, after his 'conversion' to literature (1775), Alfieri moved to Florence to 'get used to speaking, hearing, thinking, and dreaming in Tuscan, and not otherwise ever again', as he writes in his autobiography.[99] It was in this same year that he resumed the study of Latin and began working on the *Agamennone*. Through his immersion in both Latin and Tuscan, Alfieri strove to find the right voice not just for his tragedies, but for Italian tragedy as a genre: a language that would possess the 'nobility and magniloquence of epic, without having its same monotonous song'.[100] This is why Alfieri's language is extremely refined, its details worked and reworked.[101] But it is actually his syntax that bears the hallmark of his style; it is a syntax consisting

[98] Alfieri (1951) 156-7.
[99] Ibid., 160. As has been argued, 'for Alfieri Florence is the Rome and Athens of the humanists, the uprising classicism, the ideal capital of not so much a geographical as a literary entity' (Alfieri 1983, 11).
[100] Alfieri (1978) 230.
[101] Alfieri says it himself: 'I have worked much on the style, too much' (ibid., 234).

of an overall 'uncommon word order', as the tragedian himself explains,[102] which especially affects the obsessively recurrent personal pronouns and particles.

It was in fact Alfieri's belief that tragedy needed a different voice, one that could distinguish itself from the lyric and epic styles to create a 'theatrical' effect, not a 'harmonious' one.[103] The theatrical energy of Alfieri's verse is created by innumerable ellipses, reticence, broken lines, and enjambments; in short, by what he himself called a 'most concise' phrasing.[104] Whilst his language had very little influence on written theatre per se, it impacted greatly on the language of translation of Greek drama in Italy. Of Alfieri's verse, however, there remained in these translations little beyond the emphatic syntax, now embedded within an all-encompassing 'aristocratic' language that drew no distinction between the different parts of the play and was devoid of the theatrical energy that is the hallmark of his style.

[102] Ibid., 231.
[103] Ibid., 230.
[104] Ibid.

Chapter Three

Classicising Aeschylus: from stage to page

> I should believe that a translation of Aeschylus could not appear at a more favourable time than the present. Greeks, glory, love of country, the flame of heroism, similarities to Dante and Shakespeare… As far as I am concerned, he should indeed be a most decadent food for modern appetites.[1]

Thus states the librarian Filagiro, a fictitious character from an anonymous dialogue on the complete translation of Aeschylus' tragedies by Felice Bellotti (1822). As the 'scholar' Timete presents Aeschylus and his tragedies, Filagiro is drawn to recognise the dramatist's timeliness: in a century that privileged the Greeks, an era of patriotism ('love of country'), Romantic heroism ('heroic enthusiasm') and great appreciation of Dante and Shakespeare, Aeschylus seemed a perfect fit.

Indeed, such comparisons were neither new nor confined to Italian critics: 'Shakespeare l'ancien', Victor Hugo called Aeschylus;[2] and the audacity, freedom, variety and 'primitiveness' recognised in Shakespeare were ascribed to Aeschylus too.[3] Equally important was the comparison with Dante, an author much debated and fought over in the upheavals between Romantics and Neo-Classicists[4] at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Italy.[5] Were Aeschylus, Dante and Shakespeare Romantics or Neo-Classicists?

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[1] Anonymous (1822) 203.
[2] Cited in Lechevalier (2007) 217. Lechevalier also mentions Chateaubriand and Stendhal amongst those who drew this comparison.
[3] On links between Shakespeare and the Greeks at this point, see Macintosh (2015). See also Centofanti (1870) 127 and Niccolini (1844) 31.
[4] For the purposes of this chapter, Neo-Classical, Neo-Classics, and Neo-Classicist, which refer to the eighteenth-century literary movement that was in opposition to the Romantics, appear, like the 'Romantics', in upper case.
[5] See, amongst others, Costa (1834). For a detailed analysis of the battle between Romantics and Neo-Classicists, see also Mazzoni (1964) 171–222 and 331–400, (1964a) 507–14; and Danzi (2017).

Meanwhile, August Wilhelm Schlegel's lectures on dramatic art and literature (*Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, Vienna, 1808), translated into Italian and published in 1817, were asserting themselves as vital to the re-appraisal of Aeschylus.[6] The more academic work *Études sur les Tragiques Grecs* by Henri Patin (1841–1843) also circulated widely and was one of the main sources for Giovanni Battista Niccolini's *Discorso sull'Agamennone d'Eschilo e sulla tragedia greca e la nostra* ('Discourse on Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and on Greek tragedy and ours'; 1844), a long essay devoted to presenting Aeschylus' *Oresteia* as a 'sublime' masterpiece.

In another essay, one on the 'sublime', Niccolini also compared Aeschylus to Michelangelo. Both, he argued, favoured and developed a 'fierce style' and 'unveiled a new way to imitation':

> They both shook the heart of their contemporaries, they took delight in terror, chose as topic of their works the threats, not the hopes of religions, and by accustoming hearts to the grand gestures of the heart, they prepared the new generations to appreciate gentler images, and more delicate loves. In the sublime they will always hold primacy.[7]

Again, as in the comparison between Aeschylus, Shakespeare and Dante, neither Aeschylus the 'sublime' nor Aeschylus the 'sculptor'/'artist' was a new concept to nineteenth-century European scholars: the 1793 engravings of Aeschylus' works by John Flaxman had impressed on their viewers an image of Aeschylus as a 'sublime, wild, and primeval artist', as had Schlegel's comparison between Aeschylus and Pheidias.[8] Most importantly, 'sublime' was not just an aesthetic 'quality', but had become an aesthetic 'category': Niccolini's insistence on 'terror' as a fundamental

[6] On the importance of German idealism in the revived appreciation as well as re-conceptualisation of tragedy as a genre, see Judet de la Combe (2010) and 119–80 in paricular. As will be seen further in Chapter Six, twentieth-century philology bears visible traces of idealist theories in the rethinking not just of tragedy alone, but of philology itself as a discipline.
[7] Niccolini (1825) 18–19.
[8] Macintosh (2005) 143.

emotion was in fact derived (through Schlegel) from a new aesthetic understanding of the sublime.[9] The 'sublime', an intrinsically 'Romantic' category, was deemed the experience of beauty, a sentiment stirred up by the human experience of terror. Both Michelangelo and Aeschylus took delight in 'terror', as Niccolini explained; 'terror' was what 'dominate[d]' Aeschylus' tragedies, 'yet never beyond measure, towards cruelty', Timete concurred in the anonymous dialogue.[10]

'Terror' was also understood as a stylistic feature: it suffused a certain 'primitiveness' into Aeschylus' style and translated itself into 'linguistic ruggedness'.[11] The obscurity traditionally attributed to Aeschylus' tragedies was no longer an obstacle to appraisals of Aeschylus, rather a conduit to identifying Aeschylean 'sublimity'. Michelangelo Giacomelli, in his introduction to the *Prometheus Vinctus* (1754), describes Aeschylus' tragedies as being impregnated with 'sublimity' and 'magniloquence'.[12] The clergymen Pietro Pasqualoni affirms that Aeschylus' poetry is 'sublime' and 'difficult' (1794);[13] and Giuseppe Marotti, an ex-Jesuit and professor of Greek language at Collegio Romano, concurs that Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* is a 'sublime' tragedy, permeated by Aeschylus' 'energetic style'.[14] As Lechevalier argues, however poorly understood or watered down by classicists, the new aesthetic category of the 'sublime' revolutionised the perception of the linguistic 'primitiveness' and ruggedness of Aeschylus in his tragedies: it incorporated the experience of 'terror and shock' into the experience of 'beauty' and

[9] Cf. Burke (1757), first translated into Italian in 1804; Kant (1771), translated into Italian in 1826, and (1781), translated into Italian in 1820–1822. These are also the years which see a peak in the popularity of Longinus' treatise *On the sublime*, a work which both Burke and Kant are indebted to (cf. Jones 2015).
[10] Anonymous (1822) 203.
[11] Macintosh (2005) 143.
[12] Giacomelli (1754) 1.
[13] Pasqualoni (1794) 1.
[14] Marotti (1795) 8.

gave them 'a sense of moral destination'.[15] Not only did it free reason (the mind) from the impossible duty of embracing all natural sentiments; it prompted a whole new appreciation of such extreme experiences of terror, pain and violence.[16]

With such a premise, one would expect an explosion of performances and translations of Aeschylus in Italy. Although by the end of the eighteenth century no less than ten new translations of some of Aeschylus' works had been published, the first complete Italian translation of Aeschylus' tragedies appeared in 1821, much later than in France (1770), Britain (1777) and Germany (1804–1805); and the first performance of an Aeschylean play (*Oresteia*) in Italy was not until the beginning of the twentieth century (1906). But there is more: most Italian translations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were very much scholarly enterprises. Whether exploited as playground for the development of a theory of translation (as will be shown below in the linguistic comparison between Cesarotti and Bellotti), or directed towards a deliberately foreignising (Neo-Classical) syntax, or an all-encompassing harmonious (Romantic) language (as will be shown below in the second linguistic comparision between Bellotti and Niccolini), Aeschylus before his Syracusan premiere in 1914 (Ch. 4) was confined to the page. Thus, whilst Alfieri's adaptations of *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe* were inflaming patriotic hearts on the Italian tragic stage, translation of Aeschylus' texts was the possession of a handful of learned scholars, either interested in advancing philological analysis or in creating a (classicised) literary language for Italian translation of the classics.

[15] Lechevalier (2007) 215–16.
[16] Cf. Ibid.

Aeschylus and the realm of philology

After almost two centuries of neglect of Aeschylus' texts, with the last (Latin) translation of his plays having been published in 1556, Cesarotti, an extremely influential scholar of eighteenth-century Padua, printed his *Prometeo* (1754), a work he had completed in his youth. In the same year, Giacomelli's rather academic version of the same play appeared; then, in 1788, Michelangelo Mallio brought out his translations of *Prometheus Vinctus, Septem contra Thebas* and the *Persae*. This run of translations of Aeschylus' plays was followed in 1795 by Marotti, who dedicated two translations to Ellis Cornelia – another *Prometheus* and the *Septem contra Thebas*; this same duo of plays also occupied Pasqualoni during the same period (*Septem contra Thebas* 1794, *Prometheus Vinctus* 1795); and, finally, Marotti produced the first translation of *Agamemnon* in 1796. To the beginning of the nineteenth century belongs Alfieri's translation of the *Persae*, published in 1804, but completed a couple of years earlier.[17] With three notable exceptions – Cesarotti, who took vows but never became priest; Mallio, a learned scholar educated in Pisa and who then became part of the Academy of Arcadia;[18] and Alfieri himself – all other translators of Aeschylus at this time were members of the priesthood, a pattern that would cease with the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Another shared characteristic of some of these translators was their membership of the Arcadia (Cesarotti, Mallio and Giacomelli), which meant – with the exception of Cesarotti, as we will see – that their translations served the purpose of being philologically correct, hence faithful to the Greek. Giacomelli and Pasqualoni

[17] On Alfieri as a translator of the classics see Masoero and Sensi (1985) and Domenici (2013a).
[18] Both Cesarotti and Mallio held the title of abbot, but did not become priests.

published the Greek text along with a commentary, mostly drawn from the scholia as well as from the comments of Stanley and later editors. Even if their philological abilities were scant and they were relying heavily on Stanley (for Giacomelli),[19] and Schütz and Brunck (for Pasqualoni),[20] the aim of these translators was to provide readers with a chance to compare their versions to the original and to allow them to interpret the Greek texts themselves with the aid of a commentary.

Because of his close adherence to the Greek, some of Giacomelli's translational choices were included in the notes to Thomas Morell's edition of *Prometheus Vinctus* (1773)[21] in order to serve as a key to unlock some of the obscure meanings in the text.[22] Pasqualoni's translation also adhered closely to the Greek: although he lamented a complete lack of poetry in Giacomelli's version, hoping that his own would be better, his concern was certainly more with interpreting the Greek text correctly from a philological perspective than with creating a poetic translation.[23]

Proof of Pasqualoni's fidelity to the Greek comes from two anonymous letters he probably authored, which harshly criticised both of Marotti's translations.[24] The author claimed that Marotti had a poor knowledge of Greek and opposed the allegedly much-too-frequent liberties he took when Aeschylus' language was at its most

[19] Cf. Giacomelli (1754) viii, where he explicitly mentions having used Stanley's Greek text (Stanley 1664), if not for a few places, and aided himself with his Latin translation.
[20] Cf. Pasqualoni (1795) xi, where he states that he openly acknowledges his usage of Schütz (1782) and Brunck (1779) in his translation and commentary.
[21] Cf., for examples, Morell (1773) 1–3.
[22] Giacomelli himself makes it clear in the preface to his own translation that his is a 'version' of the Greek play, adhering to the original as much as possible, for the Italian language 'as beautiful and rich as it is', he continues, 'is too inferior to the Greek', which, though characterised by 'simplicity in its expressions' possesses 'sublimity' and 'naturalness' (cf. Giacomelli 1754, vi).
[23] Cf. Pasqualoni (1794) 2–5, where he outlines his criteria for translating Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* and identifies the main sources for the Greek text provided (Pauw 1745, Brunck 1779, and Schütz 1782). Particularly interesting is his statement in this long preface claiming that he will make 'Aeschylus speak in our language, as he would if he were alive in this moment' (Pasqualoni 1794, 25). In practice, Pasqualoni does not allow this aspiration to interfere with philological concerns, and in the end he sticks more to the Greek than many of his contemporaries (cf. Costantini 1949, 161).
[24] Anonymous (1795) and (1797).

obscure. Both letters detail the author's discontent with Marotti's textual infidelity by means of a close comparison between his translation and Pasqualoni's: the former is presented as a misinterpretation of Aeschylus' text and (in the case of *Prometheus Vinctus*) a plagiarising of La Porte du Theil's French translation (1794); the latter is always portrayed as *the* right translation, because it followed the 'lettera' (i.e., *verbum de verbo*), rendering the original closely. In more than eighty pages devoted to each translation, the author of these letters reviewed each and every one of the expressions he deemed misleading and a borrowing of du Theil's translation.[25] Marotti's language, the anonymous author commented, was also too 'trivial' at times, not at all 'toscana' ('Tuscan'), as Marotti claimed it to be in both prefaces, and riddled with Latinisms.[26] It is not hard to imagine that the author lurking behind such anonymity was Pasqualoni himself, which demonstrates just how concerned he was with reproducing exact meanings even if that was at the expense of the Italian. Indeed, matters of faithfulness and language were not the concerns of Pasqualoni's alone; they were issues with which all nineteenth-century translators would also grapple.

Aeschylus at the centre of translation theory and practice

In the collected volume containing the 'best' Italian translations of foreign (Greek, Latin, English, Spanish, Portuguese and Classical Hebrew) poetry published in 1794, Cesarotti's *Prometeo*, originally published in 1754, stands as the representative of

[25] According to the author of these letters, Marotti's *Prometheus Vinctus* is a rip-off of 'Stanley, Pompignac, and de Theil' (cf. Anonymous 1797, 5); his verses are not drawn from Aeschylus (cf. ibid., 10). Similarities with de Theil's translation are identified from the beginning of Marotti's translation, at *PV* 1–2, where Marotti has 'arrivati siam noi', which the author of the letters claims to be a close translation of de Thuil's 'nous voici' (ibid., 6–7); the list goes on and on for many pages.
[26] Ibid., 5.

Aeschylus' corpus.[27] *Parnaso de' Poeti Classici d'ogni Nazione* ('The Parnassus of Classical Poets from all Nations') is the title of this *collectanea*, which in itself should alert its audience to the source and goal of the undertaking. Andrea Rubbi, an ex-Jesuit and influential Venetian 'scholar', part of the Arcadia, author of some tragedies and didascalic poems, makes this source and goal even clearer in his introduction to the eleventh volume, devoted to Aeschylus and Sophocles:

> The simplicity of the Greeks was considered roughness by many. My dear friends, we are right in defining the first productions of the human spirit with this term. But we are wrong in calling rough he who is a simple tragedian. Indeed, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides were the first tragedians. May they be called rough, if one likes to do so. I will call them simple, because they were followers of nature more than art, of verisimilitude more than the imagination. Yes, they were the first, and thus rough and simple, and yet they are still our guides. We have departed from their flaws; but, we have never surpassed their virtues.[28]

Rubbi's praise of the 'simplicity' and 'naturalness' of Greek theatre is strikingly reminiscent of Brumoy's terms (Ch. 2, above); later in the introduction, Rubbi expands on how the reader should become 'Greek' while reading these texts, and imagine being in Athens: 'go with your heart, not your prejudice'. Rubbi's invitation to his reader to 'become' an Athenian and to be open to a new understanding of Greek tragedy, immune from modern preconceptions, again strongly resonates with Brumoy's declared intent to introduce Greek tragedy to a wider audience, and from a different perspective. As for the origin as well as goal of this Italian Parnassus, given that both Rubbi and Cesarotti were members of Arcadia, the (Neo-Classical) group is identified

[27] It is not surprising to see the *Prometheus Vinctus* cast as representative of all Aeschylus' works, since the play came into prominence at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries with the protagonist as the Romantic figure par excellence; on the figure of Prometheus during the Romantic period, see, amongst others, Dougherty (2006) 91–115. In Italy, both Vincenzo Monti (1797), on whose importance in nineteenth-century translations of the classics see below, and Giacomo Leopardi (1835 but see 1976) grappled with the myth of Prometheus.
[28] Rubbi (1794) 5.

as a promoter of the project, intended to educate new audiences to the classical 'taste'.[29]

Cesarotti, starting as a classicist belonging to the Arcadia, slowly pulled away from the group's rather austere and over-reverential treatment of the classics. In particular, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Cesarotti set an example with a new 'translational' paradigm with James Macpherson's notorious forgeries, *Ossianic poems* (1761, 1762, 1763), which he worked on between 1762 and 1763, and culminated in the first edition in 1763 (later editions came out in 1772 and 1800, supplemented with the new poems Macpherson had subsequently published).[30] It is this translation, which transposes prose into verse, specifically into loose hendecasyllables, that would strongly influence the course of Italian translation practice. Alfieri himself claimed that Cesarotti's *Poesie di Ossian* was one of the main models he used to mould his tragic language.[31] Not only was the language revolutionary, with a brand-new vocabulary serving an entirely new epic, different from the canonical one of the Greeks and Romans, the usage of the loose hendecasyllable also proposed a new paradigm for translators and poets in general: Alfieri, Foscolo and Leopardi all employed it after him.

Asked in 1767 by the Venetian Senate to take in hand the teaching of Greek and Classical Hebrew languages and literature at the Studio in Padua, Cesarotti conceived a new way of teaching Greek literature *in translation*. Heavily influenced by Condillac and De Brosses, whom he was introduced to via his mentor Giuseppe Toaldo while at

[29] See ibid.
[30] On the initial reception of Macpherson in Britain and Ireland, see Hall and Macintosh (2005) 193; on the relationship between Macpherson and Cesarotti, the various editions of Cesarotti's translations as well as influence on Leopardi, see Broggi (2006) and Mari (1994a).
[31] See Alfieri (1951) 190.

the seminary in Padua, Cesarotti built upon Condillac's insistence on the specificity of each language, implanted in a particular time and place, and hence on the specificity and individuality of the translator, from which came the concept of 'génie des langues'.[32]

Cesarotti developed the Condillacian idea of each language possessing a particular 'genio' ('genius') even further, distinguishing between 'genio grammaticale' ('grammatical genius') and 'genio rettorico' ('rhetorical genius'): 'genio grammaticale' is inalterable, and accounts for the normative side of a language, which is dependent on its mechanical structure and syntax; whereas, the 'genio rettorico' varies from language to language (and country to country), as it derives from a way of conceiving and perceiving specific to each people and nation.[33]

The consequences of such a theorisation of language are multiple and poignant: if each language has its own specificity, there exists no superior language (neither modern nor ancient); if the specificity of a language resides in its historicity and contextual value, then ancient Greek and Latin, and all other dead languages, are intrinsically impossible to translate because their contextual value has been lost to us; if all languages are equal and their specificity depends upon a certain way of 'perceiving' and 'conceiving' of things, then it is permitted to borrow from other

[32] On Cesarotti and Condillac, see Perolino (2001). See also Condillac (1798) ch. XV and Lechavalier (2007) 92 ff. for the implications of the concept of 'génie des langues' on translation of the classics in France.

[33] Cf. Cesarotti (2001) 90 ff. From this separation of languages into 'rettorico' and 'grammaticale', Cesarotti derives two potential ways into translation: one that accounts for the grammatical 'genio' and the other for the rhetorical one (cf. also Cesarotti 1882, 6–7). Cesarotti himself gave proof of this potentially double way into translation: in 1794, he published a rather literal translation of the *Iliad*, equipped with a commentary; meanwhile, he was working on an adaptation of the *Iliad*, which he published in the same year under the title *La morte di Ettore* ('The death of Hector'). Although he states in the preface that this second work was not a translation, but rather a 'regeneration' of the *Iliad* (cf. Cesarotti 1794, 2), the project provided the scholarly world with a practical application of his theoretical division of language into 'rhetoric' and 'grammar'. For further studies on Cesarotti's theory of translation, see Fanti (1980) 20–30, Mari (1994); Mattioli (2007) 93–5.

(modern or ancient) languages when one finds expressions which can potentially *translate* such (individual, particular) experiences better than their own language; and finally, if language possesses such a dynamic and alterable nature because its development is contingent on the development of a national 'spirit', it will always be possible to forge new 'traslati' ('metaphors') by means of stretching a language's own 'grammatical' possibilities.

Particularly ground-breaking for an eighteenth-century scholarly audience was the notion that ancient Greek, hence Greek literature, was in no way superior to modern languages or literatures, Italian and Italian literature included. In the preface to his *Ragionamento preliminare al corso di letteratura greca* ('Preliminary discourse to the course on Greek Literature'; 1781–1784), Cesarotti refers to 'lodatori fanatici' ('fanatic praisers') as to those sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars who praised Greek authors over modern ones a priori, just because they were ancient: not everything (nor everyone) is interesting in Greek literature, and therefore not everything in Greek literature should even be translated.[34]

Cesarotti's treatise *Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue* ('Essay on the philosophy of languages'; 1800), modelled upon the concept of 'traslati' ('metaphors'), which are themselves to be taken as a metaphor of translation per se, is anything but an Arcadian product. His work is indeed an eighteenth-century pre-Romantic, revolutionary and markedly precursory treatise which had to wait two long centuries to be rediscovered and re-appreciated as constituting a decidedly modern approach to the theorisation of language,[35] but which in fact presented striking similarities to some early twentieth-

[34] Cesarotti (1882a) 54.
[35] Mattioli (2007) 93 underlines how a theory of translation based on the problem of translating metaphors is in itself a most modern concept – cf., for example, Reynolds (2011).

century approaches to translation (see Croce, Gentile and Valgimigli in Ch. 6). Although his translation of Aeschylus was completed rather early in his life, before his theories on linguistic and literary issues were fully developed, it is possible to uncover some traits of the translation that will later be included in his theorisation and that stand out as rather original, especially if compared to Bellotti's translation, which – as will be shown – is much indebted to Cesarotti's work.

Cesarotti and Bellotti in comparison: Aeschylean compounds and metaphors[36]

Cesarotti's *Prometeo legato* was conceived as a gift to his friend Paolo Brazolo, an academic and wealthy patron from Padua as well as an enthusiastic critic and translator of Homer.[37] Prefacing the translation is a little poem to the tragic Muse, an homage to Cesarotti's patron Brazolo, and specifically an animated appraisal of Brazolo's translation of the *Iliad*. During the same decade (1750s), Cesarotti translated seven odes of Pindar and some of Voltaire's tragedies, which he also staged at the seminary in Padua.[38] This was a time when the scholar was constantly thinking about translational issues; whether yet from a theoretical perspective, we do not know, but it is certain that these first works were beginning to shape the practice derived from his theory of translation.

An example of this interdependence between his translation theory and practice is the treatment of compound words. In his treatise, Cesarotti lists the five possible sources from which a language, and Italian in particular, can be enriched with new

[36] Henceforward, I will quote page numbers from Cesarotti (1754) and line numbers from Bellotti (1989) within parentheses in the body of the text.
[37] For Paolo Brazolo, see Mazzucchelli (1763).
[38] Cf. Chiancone (2010) 53.

words. The first source is the national language with its internal possibilities, i.e., the language's morphological ability to coin new words. One of these possibilities intrinsic to a language is its ability to generate compound words.[39] In *Prometeo*, Cesarotti puts his theory to the test: the quantity of compound words in the translation is astonishingly higher indeed than in any subsequent Italian translation of Aeschylus. One such example is 'erto-precipitosa rupe' ('steep-precipitous cliff': Cesarotti 13; ὑψηλοκρήμνοις […] ὀχμάσαι: *PV* 5), which renders both the elements of ὑψηλός ('high', 'lofty') and κρημνός ('overhanging bank'). The night is 'vario-vestita' ('multi-dressed': Cesarotti 14; ποικιλείμων: *PV* 24); the winds, 'venti', invoked in Prometheus' first speech, are 'piume-celeri' ('swift-winged': Cesarotti 18; ταχύπτεροι: *PV* 88); Io speaks of 'animo-perturbanti furori' ('mind-upsetting furors': Cesarotti 51; φρενοπλῆγες / μανίαι: *PV* 878–9), with the adjective compound in special emphatic position, before the noun. None of these compounds makes an appearance in Bellotti's translation, which simplifies the richness of the Greek and often reduces multiple meanings of an adjective to a single meaning: the cliff is only 'erta' ('steep': Bellotti 5 for *PV* 5); the night will veil light with its 'stellato ammanto' ('starred-cloak': Bellotti 29 for *PV* 24), a rather highbrow phrase; the winds, on the other hand, the 'aure', a more sophisticated word for 'wind' than 'vento', retain their original qualification as both 'alate' ('winged') and 'veloci' ('swift': Bellotti 100 for *PV* 88).

Particularly interesting is the case of λευκόπτερος ('white-winged'; λευκοπτέρῳ: *PV* 993), referring to the snowstorm, which Cesarotti retains and translates with 'bianc-alata grandine' ('white-winged hail': Cesarotti 57) whilst

[39] Cesarotti 2001, 73 ff.

Bellotti renders with the more general expression 'nembi di neve' ('snowy clouds': Bellotti 1041). In his notes, Bellotti laments not having been able to retain the

> picturesque epithet λευκόπτερος, white-winged, because the novelty of the word would attract too much attention, preventing the reader from grasping the importance of the central idea right away, no less than any circumlocution, however short.[40]

His worry is that the reader would be put off or distracted by the unfamiliar compound word; yet, Bellotti does not simply dispose of the adjective compound; he transposes it into another poetic image – using 'nembi', Latin *nimbus*, over the more common 'nuvola', Latin *nubes* – which is just as much unheard of in Italian literature, but, as will be argued, fits into Bellotti's idea of a 'classically' poetic language.

At times, Cesarotti exploits compounds to corroborate an image or to colour a description. Within the first stasimon, the Chorus are lamenting Prometheus' sufferings and appeal to every land from Asia to join in their cry for the Titan (*PV* 421–4):

> E quei che al Caucaso
> Vicin, l'altissima
> Cittade albergano,
> Esercito in acute aste fremente,
> Armi-potente.[41]
>
> ὑψίκρημνόν θ' οἳ πόλισμα
> Καυκάσου πέλας νέμονται,
> δάιος στρατὸς ὀξυπρῴ–
> ροισι βρέμων ἐν αἰχμαῖς.

Cesarotti does not retain the actual compound in the Greek (ὀξυπρῴροισι, 'sharp-pointed'), but acknowledges its importance in the description by adding another compound, 'armi-potente' ('powerful in armies'), which contributes to imagining a δάιος στρατός, a 'fearsome army'. Bellotti renders the same passage as:

[40] Cited in Albani (1963) 87.
[41] Cesarotti (1754) 32.

> […] e quei che sublime 435
> stanza dell'arduo Caucaso
> tengon presso alle cime,
> nel brandir delle acute aste fremente
> guerriera gente.

In a much less natural rephrasing of *PV* 421–2, Bellotti translates the compound ὑψηλοκρήμνος with 'sublime', employed in its original Latin meaning of 'high', and not in its more common usage, in the sense of 'elevated', 'excellent', 'exalted', and pairs it with 'stanza' in the even less familiar meaning of 'dwelling' (cf. Latin *statio*).[42] It seems rather odd that such an expression should be used to designate a simple geographical altitude. To be noted are also the overtly emphasised hyperbatons: 'quei che' ('those who') reunites with its verb only after two lines, 'presso alle cime' ('near the summits') is separated from its specification, confined to another line, and 'fremente' ('trepidant') is in enjambment. Yet, most importantly, this is one of the passages that evidence the direct dependence of Bellotti's translation on Cesarotti's work (cf. 'acute aste fremente').

Compounds are also used to indulge and develop metaphors in Cesarotti, such as the following:

> […] Io primo al cocchio
> I destrieri attaccai freno-portanti,
> Fregio e splendor del ricco fasto umano.
>
> Nè alcun altro trovato ha de' nocchieri
> Gli ondi-vaganti piumi-linei cocchi.[43]

> […] ὑφ' ἅρμα τ' ἤγαγον φιληνίους 465
> ἵππους, ἄγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλούτου χλιδῆς·
> θαλασσόπλαγκτα δ' οὔτις ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ
> λινόπτερ' ηὗρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα.

[42] The fourth edition of VAC (1729–1738) reports 'alto, eccelso' as first meanings, with the example of Dante, *Par*. XXVIII, 103, where 'sublime' is to be interpreted as both (geographically) 'high' and 'sublime'.
[43] Cesarotti (1754) 33.

Prometheus is drawing near the end of his first account to the Chorus of his gifts to humans: he has just mentioned how he provided them with horses 'freno-portanti' ('rein-bearers'; φιλήνιος) and showed them the use of chariots, and he is now moving on to explaining how he alone taught them to navigate.

In the original, Prometheus claims to have discovered ὀχήματα (literally: 'anything that bears or supports'), which could be said of chariots as well as of ships, both of which are θαλασσόπλαγκτα ('made to wander over the sea') and λινόπτερα ('sail-winged').[44] In his translation, Cesarotti plays both on the fact that Prometheus has just recalled his help to humans by inventing actual 'cocchi' ('chariots'), and on the other possible meaning of the term ὄχημα, 'chariots'. Thus, the translations 'ondi-vaganti' ('wandering over the sea') and 'piumi-linei' ('linen-winged') describe the chariots, not the ships. As opposed to the Greek ὄχημα, in fact, 'cocchi' can only mean 'chariots' in Italian, hence the translation works as a metaphor here – and is a metaphor only in the translation. Probably influenced by Cesarotti's treatment of the passage, Bellotti too retains 'cocchi' for ὀχήματα (Bellotti 482), accompanied by a non-hyphenated (and in a less de-familiarising position, i.e., after the noun) 'ondivaganti' for θαλασσόπλαγκτα, and by 'velivoli' (Bellotti 484), another highly poetical term derived from Latin (*velivolus*), with the usual convoluted syntax which has the main verb at the very end ('inventai': Bellotti 485).

Not only does Cesarotti endeavour to render Greek adjectival compounds with Italian (more or less literal) equivalents, he often positions them before the noun to which they refer, thus upsetting the usual, natural order of Italian syntax. This is especially true when the compound adjective functions as an epithet. Argus, the

[44] Cf. Griffith (1983) 171: 'ὀχήματα: lit. "containers", hence "carriages" or "ships"'.

strange creature from Arcadia who possessed a large number of eyes – a hundred in some traditions, more in others (τὸν μυριωπὸν […] βούταν: *PV* 568; μυριός: 'ten thousand', but also: 'countless') – is a 'cent-occhiuto orribile pastore' ('a hundred-eyed horrible pastor': Cesarotti 37), with the compound adjective in emphatic position as an epithet.[45] More epithet-like is Cesarotti's rendering of Io in relation to the maddening gadfly: translated as 'estro' (Cesarotti 37, cf. Latin *oestrus*; οἶστρος: *PV* 566), the gadfly returns compounded with the verb 'agito' ('shake'), active when rendering οἰστρηλάτῳ […] δείματι (*PV* 580) as 'con terrore estro-agitante' ('with gadfl*ying*-terror': Cesarotti 38); passive and as a proper epithet when rendering τῆς οἰστροδινήτου κόρης (*PV* 589): the result is 'estro-agitata' ('gadfly-agitated'), which is repeated for οἰστροπλὴξ (*PV* 681). Cesarotti catches the stylistic potentiality of repeating the same epithet, as in Homer, for example, and marks the compound adjective as distinctive of Io's figure.

Bellotti, on the other hand, simplifies the compounds (and expands on his interpretation of them): 'assillo' ('gadfly', but also 'anxiety', 'worry': Bellotti 589) when οἶστρος first appears (*PV* 566),[46] 'di furor, di spavento forsennata' ('raving in furor, fright': Bellotti 602 for *PV* 589), a periphrasis which only translates part of the original; the neologism 'assillita' ('gadfl*ied* / worried': Bellotti 610 for *PV* 580), and nothing for *PV* 681. This last case is particularly interesting if viewed in contrast to Cesarotti's translation:

Cesarotti	**Bellotti**
[…] Ma inaspettato evento	[…] Un improvviso evento
Di vita il tolse, estro-agitata avvolge	lui di vita poi tolse; ma sospinta
Me 'l divino flagel di terra in terra.[47]	da flagello divin di terra in terra

[45] In Bellotti's translation, Argus appears as a 'di mille occhi bifolco' ('a hundred-eyed herdsman': Bellotti 590–1), with the usual syntactical dislocation, which I suspect he read in Giacomelli's translation: 'quel bifolco / da mille occhi fornito' (Giacomelli 1754, 65).
[46] Cf. Giacomelli (1754) 65.
[47] Cesarotti (1754) 43.

io fuggendo vo sempre.

ἀπροσδόκητος δ’ αὐτὸν †αἰφνίδιος† μόρος. 680
τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν, οἰστροπλὴξ δ’ ἐγὼ
μάστιγι θείᾳ γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι.

Cesarotti’s translation reflects more faithfully the word order and meaning of the original: ‘avvolge’ (‘wraps around’), with the change in subject, for ἐλαύνομαι, against Bellotti’s ‘fuggendo vo sempre’ (‘I keep on fleeing’), which does not retain the idea of Io being taken by μάστιγι (‘flagel/lo’) θείᾳ (‘divin/o’), as in both translations, and the addition of ‘sospinta’ (‘gently pushed’) in Bellotti, possibly an attempt to render the compound (οἰστροπλὴξ). The emphatic position of ‘io’ (‘I’) at the end of the passage in hyberbaton shall also be marked as typical of Bellotti’s style. The passage also represents another piece of evidence for Bellotti’s dependence on Cesarotti’s translation (‘evento’, ‘di vita’, ‘tolse’, ‘flagel/lo’, ‘divin/o’, ‘di terra in terra’).

Other interesting compound epithets are ‘retto-consigliante Temi’ (‘rightly-counselling Themis’: Cesarotti 14; ὀρθοβούλου: *PV* 18) and ‘angui-crinite’ Gorgons (‘snaky-haired’: Cesarotti 49; δρακοντόμαλλοι: *PV* 799), ‘agli uomini odiose’ (‘hateful to mortals’; βροτοστυγεῖς). In the latter expression, the second adjective compound (βροτοστυγεῖς) is dismembered, yet placed in emphatic position to stretch the possibilities of the Italian language to its maximum, hence defamiliarising the text even more. Special compounds are ‘odia-nocchier’ (‘hostile to steersmen’: Cesarotti 45; ἐχθρόξενος ναύτησι: *PV* 727), a fusion of what in the Greek is expressed with two words; and ‘tuoni alto-frementi’ (‘high-trembling thunderbolts’: Cesarotti 53; πεδαρσίοις κτύποις: *PV* 916), an adjective compound which does not find an equivalent in the Greek. As seen with ‘ondivaganti’, a non-hyphenated ‘anguicrinite’ (‘snaky-haired’: Bellotti 831), this time in the same emphatic position, is to be found

in Bellotti's translation; there is no mention, however, of Themis being good-counselling.[48]

Also noteworthy in both translations is the transposition of Aeschylus' metaphors. Both Cesarotti and Bellotti seem keen on transferring them as faithfully as possible, but – again – with different approaches in style. Especially revealing are the metaphors involving storms and seafaring that abound in *PV*. The rock to which Hephaestus is charged with fastening Prometheus is a φάραγγι πρὸς δυσχειμέρῳ ('stormy cleft': *PV* 15), which becomes 'baratro inabitabile gelato' in Cesarotti ('inhabitable, freezing abyss': 13) and 'procellosa / scoscesa' in Bellotti ('stormy, steep': 15–16). While Cesarotti simplifies it into a more descriptive image, Bellotti opts for the highly poetic (and more faithful) 'procellosa', a recurrent term in Vincenzo Monti's *Iliad* too (1812), another milestone in the creation of a 'classical' style for translation of the classics in the nineteenth century (see further below in this chapter).[49]

When Io enters the stage, lost and in a frenzy, she refers to Prometheus as χειμαζόμενον ('tempest-tossed'), after a series of frantic questions which are worth looking at in both translations (*PV* 560–5):

Cesarotti
Ione: Che terra? Che gente? chi
Chi tra catene
Petrose,
Montose,
Veggio in tempesta?
Di qual delitto
Soffre le pene? Mostrami
In qual del mondo
Parte, lassa infelice, errando io vada.[50]

Bellotti
Io: Qual contrada?... qual gente?... chi vegg'io
Qui travagliarsi a questa roccia avvinto? 585
Per qual delitto hai tanta pena? Oh dimmi,
dimmi in qual parte della terra io vengo,
misera! Errando.

[48] The non-hyphenated compounds occur other times in Bellotti's translation: it is the case, for example, of 'lungivibranti archi' (Bellotti 734; cf. 'lunge-saettanti', Cesarotti 44) for ἑκηβόλοις τόξοισιν (*PV* 711), or of 'spiagge ondisonanti' (Bellotti 737; cf. 'onda gementi', Cesarotti 44) for ἁλιστόνοις ῥαχίαισιν (*PV* 712–3).
[50] Cesarotti (1754) 37.

ΙΩ τίς γῆ; τί γένος; τίνα φῶ λεύσσειν
τόνδε χαλινοῖς ἐν πετρίνοισιν
χειμαζόμενον;
τίνος ἀμπλακίας ποινὰς ὀλέκῃ;
σήμηνον ὅποι
γῆς ἡ μογερὰ πεπλάνημαι. 565

'Contrada' (city quarter'; cf. Monti's *Iliade*) instead of the less sophisticated 'terra' ('land'), the anastrophe 'a questa roccia / avvinto' ('fastened to the rock'), and the personal pronouns in emphatic position recalling Alfieri's style ('vegg'io' and 'io / vengo') mark the highly refined (and pompous) style of Bellotti's translation. Instead of Cesarotti's more literal 'catene / petrose / montose' ('rocky, mountainous chains'), which translates and expands on the metaphor χαλινοῖς ἐν πετρίνοισιν, or his Prometheus 'in tempesta' ('within the storm'; χειμαζόμενον), Bellotti disentangles the metaphor and elevates the poetry through the use of a disrupted, unfamiliar word order.

A similar analysis fits another storm metaphor when, after the Chorus inquire about Io's story, she confesses to be ashamed of the 'god-sent storm' (θεόσσυτον χειμῶνα: *PV* 643), meaning 'calamity', that she is about to relate. Cesarotti revels in the image: Io will reveal 'la tempesta che in me piombò dal cielo' ('the storm that fell upon me from the sky': Cesarotti 42). Proposing a rather similar but amplified rendering of the metaphor, Bellotti's translation is remarkable with regards to word order: Io will narrate 'qual sovra me dai numi / mosse tempesta, e mi travolse, ahi misera!' ('what storm, sent from the gods, occurred above me and crushed me, wretched!': Bellotti 661–2). 'Qual' in hyperbaton with 'tempesta' contains both 'sovra me' and 'dai numi' between them in emphatic position.

[50] Cesarotti (1754) 37.

In addition to the bewildering word order, Bellotti's translation distinguishes itself for its highbrow language. In another storm metaphor Prometheus discloses to the Chorus and Io that there is still more to Io's sufferings than he has told her, precisely a 'stormy sea of calamitous misery' (δυσχείμερόν γε πέλαγος ἀτηρᾶς δύης: *PV* 746): Cesarotti opts for the more common term 'mar' for πέλαγος (Cesarotti 46), whilst Bellotti uses a calque from Greek (and Latin), 'pelago' – again, another recurrent term in Monti's translation of the *Iliad* for 'sea'; 'funesto affanno' ('woeful grief'), in alliteration, renders ἀτηρᾶς δύης, within a more refined expression than Cesarotti's 'sventura orrenda' ('horrid misadventure': Bellotti 773–4).

And again, when Hermes warns Prometheus against his arrogance, the messenger employs another storm metaphor (*PV* 1014–16):

Cesarotti	**Bellotti**
Or ve' se tu non badi a' miei consigli	Pensa a qual turbo, e quale
Qual tempesta crudele involveratti	Gonfio di mali inevitabile flutto
Qual piena inevitabile di mali.[51]	Sopra te piomba. […]. 1065
σκέψαι δ', ἐὰν μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πεισθῇς λόγοις,	
οἷός σε χειμὼν καὶ κακῶν τρικυμία	1015
ἔπεισ' ἄφυκτος	

Cesarotti builds on the storm metaphor ('crudele tempesta'), weaving it together with a verb ('involvere') which carries the idea of a storm both 'shrouding' (Prometheus) and 'sucking [him] down'; he then concludes with the image of a (river in) flood ('piena'), 'inevitabile' ('inevitable') and 'di mali' ('of evils'). Bellotti, on the other hand, prefers the archaic 'turbo' (cf. Latin *turbo*) over the simple 'tempesta' (again, cf. Monti) – 'a form nowadays left only to poetry', says the Dictionary *Tommaseo-Bellini* (1879).[52] He continues with the usual unfamiliar word order with 'quale'

[51] Cesarotti (1754) 58.
[52] Cf. the word in TO.

('what') united with 'flutto'[53] ('wave') after a full line, with its referring adjective 'gonfio' ('inflated') at the beginning in emphatic position and the verb ('piomba') at the end.

Bellotti can also be very literal in transposing metaphors. This is the case, for example, of *PV* 609–12, when Io asks Prometheus to reveal her fate and Prometheus replies that he will speak clearly (λέξω τορῶς: *PV* 609), not by 'embrodering enigmas' (οὐκ ἐμπλέκων αἰνίγματ': *PV* 610). Whilst Cesarotti simplifies the meaning implied in ἐμπλέκων αἰνίγματα with 'non con oscuro dir' ('not with obscure words': Cesarotti 40), Bellotti retains the image and adjusts it to his antistrophic phrasing, by rendering it with 'd'enimmi involuto' ('embroidered in riddles': Bellotti 628), which closely retraces the Greek.

Italianising the 'classic': Aeschylus, the Neo-Classical and the Romantic

In his essay on the *Agamemnon* and ancient and modern tragedy (1844), Niccolini relays Schiller's argument that modern tragedy was superior to ancient (Greek) tragedy because of the latter's 'teleological concatenation of things, of a sublime order, of a beneficent will', which results in the 'supreme serenity of tragic emotion', the presence of a 'blind subjection to destiny' and the absence of free will that Greek religion and philosophy never permitted.[54] Whilst agreeing in principle with Schiller's statements, Niccolini objected that this was not the case for the *Oresteia*: Aeschylus' tragedy was a unique dramaturgical piece not just because it was the only complete and extant trilogy, but because of the way the trilogy panned out.[55] Niccolini believed that the

[53] For the usage in the singular instead of plural, see Monti (1812).
[54] Schiller (1875) 348–9.
[55] Niccolini (1844) 22.

harmony Schiller attributed to modern tragedy could also be found in Aeschylus' trilogy: 'The knowledge of the whole [i.e. its teleological meaning] is necessary to the clear manifestation of the mind of the artist', he affirmed.[56] Just as with modern tragedy, Niccolini saw in the trilogy that 'teleological concatenation' which 'is directed towards a better ending'.[57]

In the clear dramatic 'links in the chain' that lead the audience from one play to the next, Aeschylus 'elevates himself to the level of the concept', which becomes evident in the *Eumenides*.[58] It is through this last tragedy, Niccolini explained, that Aeschylus' Muse, reconnecting her audience (conceptually and physically) with the divine (the action takes place in the temple) and the human (the establishment of the Areopagus), 'sublimates us into morality and religion'.[59] Thus, from the 'agitated chaos of feelings' with which it began, the trilogy ends with 'order', harmony: with what Aristotle meant by 'catharsis', 'purgation of feelings'.[60] Aeschylus' chorus, Niccolini argued, as opposed to its role in the works of the other two tragedians, is part of this 'cleansing': it in fact represents not so much the 'personification of the moral idea as it is tragedy itself', the creation of an 'inspired poet' and not of a 'contemplative philosopher'.[61]

From such premises derive poignant consequences: the (teleological) perfection and harmony required an equally 'harmonious' phrasing, never unrefined nor banal in its choice of words or syntax, capable of levelling the whole drama to a single

[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid., 30. Harkening back to idealist theories of tragedy (cf. Judet de la Combe 2010, 119–80 and the treatment of Hegel and Schelling in particular), Niccolini saw in Aeschylus' works the possibility of a teleological reconciliation of the 'opposites' contained in it.
[58] Ibid., 33.
[59] Ibid., 36–7.
[60] Ibid., 36.
[61] Ibid., 28.

(domesticated) style, which has been compared to the famous librettist Pietro Metastasio's and Giacomo Leopardi's styles at times.[62] Corrado Gargiolli argued that the 'arcane' and 'agitated' nuance which Niccolini perceived as proper to Aeschylus' style manifested itself in Niccolini's translations as an all-encompassing lyric recreation of Aeschylus' tragedies into an 'effective and universal harmony'.[63]

That Bellotti was of a different school was apparent to Niccolini. In a letter to Cesare Lucchesini (17 September 1846), Niccolini confided to his friend how Bellotti's translation abounded 'with trivial word choices, and lines dropping down to earth'.[64] And in a letter to Bellotti himself (4 September 1813), Niccolini, whilst kindly praising him for his translation of Aeschylus, commented on the 'rhythm of his verse'. Amongst the many 'fatal mistakes' of their siècle, Niccolini argued, there existed the false belief that the verse in tragedy had to be 'disharmonious' – clearly referencing Alfieri as the main proponent of such a belief – and 'without the splendour of elocution'. Niccolini's suggestion to Bellotti was to move towards a 'more harmonious' verse.[65]

As seen, Bellotti's style was the complete opposite of Niccolini's harmonious hendecasyllable: his phrasing was 'brisk, decisive, steadfast', as noted by Timete in the anonymous dialogue quoted at the beginning of this chapter.[66] Aeschylus' language was not perceived by Timete as 'plain, lucid, embellished, elegant, softly harmonious', but rather 'sublimity, strength, vehemence, evidence and fire' sprang

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[62] Cf. Luzzato (1958) 26, 30.
[63] Gargiolli (1871) 14, 19. Niccolini's translations of Aeschylus (*Septem contra Thebas*: 1815; *Agamemnon*: 1844) were gathered together in a collected volume (with the *Choephoroe*, published for the first time) soon after his death in 1871, a volume that was reprinted only once, in 1880 (cf. Gargiolli 1871). His *Septem contra Thebas* was published again with one of his own tragedies (*Polissena*) in 1929 (cf. Niccolini 1929).
[64] Ibid., 27.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Anonymous (1822) 221.

from it.[67] Much indebted to Cesarotti's tendency to foreignisation, yet mostly to Alfieri's halted and broken verse, it has been argued that Bellotti created a most 'classicised' Aeschylus.[68] Bellotti sought for obscure and archaic constructions, to be woven into a rather 'aristocratic' language that always preferred rare Latinisms and forms over more common word choices so as to confer eloquence on the poetry.[69] Of Alfieri's verse (mediated through Monti, and his *Aristodemo* in particular), there remained the strenuous and overly emphatic expressions and syntax, with little of the theatrical (and tragic) energy that accompanied Alfieri's tragedies, especially in the dialogues.[70]

As Piero Treves argues, before Ettore Romagnoli's versions of Greek tragedy of the first decades of the twentieth century (Chapters 4 and 5), most previous translations were

> Unreadable and impossible, not just because of, or primarily because of the translators' very poor knowledge of Greek, […] rather because these translations […] had been laid out in the language of literary routine, a language which is the basis of our poetry and has nothing in common with the verse, language and style of the Greek tragedians, Aeschylus in particular. Today, Aeschylus in more or less Montian hendecasyllables (and the choral odes variously strophic and rhymed) appalls us. We are, in fact, in front of two worlds mutually incomprehensible, with neither the advantage of a readable Italian text nor the possibility of grasping anything of the original, anything beyond the literary jungle of the translator.[71]

Treves's critique is severe but exact. Monti's *Iliade*, Ippolito Pindemonte's *Odissea* (1822) and Bellotti's Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides had entered the canon of the standard Italian translations by the second half of the century, so much so that, in the case of Bellotti's work, reprints were issued almost every other year until the 1930s.[72]

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[67] Ibid., 203.
[68] Albani (1963) 86.
[69] Cf. ibid., 101–2.
[70] Cf. ibid., 76.
[71] Treves (1992) 146–7.
[72] Cf. Silvestro Centofanti's collected volume of *I Poeti greci nelle loro più celebri traduzioni italiane* ('The Greek poets in their most famous Italian translations'; 1840), in which, besides Monti and

Monti's *Iliade* and Pindemonte's *Odissea* were established as school texts, not just as translations of the Greek poems, but as *the* poems themselves. Monti's *Iliade* has remained the standard translation down to my generation as well. Just as Monti felt that a grandiose and magniloquent (hence: classicised) language and syntax were essential to rendering the (ancient) epic genre, so Bellotti (and many later generations of translators of Greek tragedy: see Marchioni in Ch. 5) applied the same criterion to the tragic genre. If a text was old, ancient and classical, its translation had to be refined, highbrow and convoluted. Yet, as Treves argues, this 'language of the literary routine', based on Italian poetry, is most inappropriate for the language of tragedy.[73]

As seen, the problem concerning which language to employ for tragic verse was indeed one that Alfieri had already grappled and discussed with distinguished scholars.[74] Tragedy needed a different voice, Alfieri argued, one that could distinguish itself from the other genres to create a 'theatrical' effect, rather than a 'harmonious' one as Niccolini believed.[75] This emphatic word disposition that Bellotti (and Monti before him) inherited from Alfieri was, however, now redolent of a homogeneous 'aristocratic' language, which did not differentiate between dialogues and choral odes, and did not incorporate any theatrical intention.

Pindemonte, there appears Bellotti with his translation of the three Greek tragedians. Reprints of Aeschylus' translations followed a regular biennial pace until 1936, after which two new editions came out in 1957, and in 1974 (reprints: 1974, 1989) at the hands of Raffaele Cantarella (on whom, cf. Ch. 6) and Sergio Musitelli. The book series *Grandi classici greci e latini* ('The Great Greek and Latin Classics') reprinted this edition in 2007, (cf. Zoboli 2004, 32, 61–2).

[73] See also Mazzoni (1964) 355: 'the art of verse which he [Bellotti] had investigated in Parini […], enriched in its style on examples derived from Monti, does not always correspond to Greek drama's propriety or necessities, often more elegant and simple in the dialogues'.

[74] See especially Ranieri de' Calzabigi's letter to Alfieri and Alfieri's response, in Alfieri (1978) 171–238.

[75] Ibid., 230.

Yet, Bellotti's translations did enjoy widespread appreciation for over a century.[76] The reason for such a success lies in the fact that this highbrow, aristocratic and convoluted 'classicism' represented by the language of his translations chimed well with a certain idea of the classic, which a specific group of nineteenth-century scholars, the Neo-Classicists, promoted and emobodied. Indeed, Bellotti's works are not just important in a reception history of Aeschylus; they also played an important role in the battle between Neo-Classicists and Romantics in nineteenth-century Italy.

This literary fight had in fact reached its peak by the first decades of the century and engaged the cultural elites of Milan and Florence in particular. Intertwined with the problem of which sources to rely on (whether Neo-Classical or Romantic, with all the many different connotations of the term 'Romantic' at that time) was that of language. After the suppression of the *Accademia della Crusca* as an autonomous institution in 1783 due to the polemics sorrounding the fourth edition of its dictionary, the *Crusca* reopened in 1811. In 1813, a series of criteria was published during preparation for the fifth edition of the dictionary, in a pamphlet which infuriated some non-purist (non-Florentine) scholars, amongst whom was Monti, the Neo-Classicist leader.[77] Niccolini, an overt purist, was on the other side and defended the criteria advocated by the *Crusca*.[78]

Amidst such upheavals, translation could not stay out of the battle: in February 1816, a provocative essay on translation by Madame de Staël appeared in Italian

[76] Cf. Costantini (1949) 166: 'one can comfortably say that all non-specialist Italians of average levels of literacy encountered the Greek tragedians through the blue volumes of *Classici Sonzogno*, via Bellotti's hendecasyllables (at least before Ettore Romagnoli's translations)'. See also Mazzoni (1964) 355: 'Bellotti had the merit of making the Greek tragedians available'; and Albani (1963) 74: 'for over a century, Greek tragedy was known through Bellotti's translations, which saw multiple editions'.
[77] Cf. Sarchiani, Lessi, and Fiacchi (1813); and Monti (1817–1826).
[78] Cf. Niccolini (1819).

translation in the first number of *Biblioteca Italiana* ('Sulla maniera e la utilità delle Traduzioni').[79] In her essay, the scholar spurred Italians to provide translations of contemporary English and German poems to modernise their own literature and set the classics aside. Madame de Staël only added fuel to a fire that was already vigorously burning by 1816. If Monti had successfully represented the classics with his ground-breaking translation of the *Iliad*, published for the first time in 1810 and reprinted with Quirino Visconti's corrections in 1812, Alessandro Manzoni was countering him with the publication of his *Inni Sacri* (1815–1822).[80] And whilst Monti adhered to an anti-purism in language matters, Manzoni would set the new standard Italian for future generations with the last ('purified') edition of his historical novel *I Promessi Sposi* (1840 and 1842), which employed a language that was much more inclusive of the word selection made by the Crusca (read: Florentine dialect) than it was of the variety of Italian dialects spoken throughout the peninsula.[81]

However, the importance of Monti's, Pindemonte's and Bellotti's Italian translations of the classics, which not only transposed Greek epic, tragedy and poetry into Italian, but 'Italianised' them, was not just confined to this 'literary' quarrel between Neo-Classicists and Romantics. During the first few decades of the nineteenth century, alongside the patriotic and liberal uprisings that would lead to Italian unification, there existed a political and social urgency to fight an equally important battle: the Italianisation of Italians. One side of this process had to do with the standardisation of *one* language. As Mazzoni argues, 'Romanticism […] in Italy meant

[79] Cf. Staël and Giordani (1816).
[80] Although it is true that Neo-Classicists and Romantics were seen as opposing and contrasting, it should also be noted that both badly wanted the unification of Italy, and with it the victory of the Italian language, which they were prone both to forging from scratch and modelling upon the major Italian writers, Dante *in primis* (cf. Mazzoni 1964a, 507–14).
[81] See especially Mari (1994) for a detailed analysis of Monti's language.

[…] protest, rebellion against the authority who was oppressing us […]. It had a collective civic, social, political tendency towards the liberation of the country'.[82] In this sense, it mattered little whether one was a Neo-Classicist (Bellotti) or a Romantic (Niccolini): 'They all wanted Italy to be and exhibit herself as Italian; thus, everyone cared that writers observed the essential features of Italianness'.[83]

In the patriotic and nationalistic atmosphere both tendencies were merged into, fashioning either a harmonising (Niccolini) or foreignising (Bellotti) classicism, i.e. an aristocratic language for translations from ancient Greek was as much about contributing to the idealisation of the classic as to the creation of strong nationalism and the overall domestication of the 'classic' to the nation. Greek epic, tragedy and poetry were 'Italianised'.

Bellotti and Niccolini in comparison: Aeschylus and domesticating classicism

In the anonymous dialogue between the scholar Timete and the librarian Filagiro with which this chapter began, there also appears a series of comparisons between Bellotti's translations of Aeschylus' plays, believed to surpass everyone else's, and some previous ones, including Niccolini's *Septem contra Thebas*. Whilst Timete's analysis of the various passages is heavily biased and somewhat oversimplified, Niccolini's reply to the dialogue (1823) is detailed and illuminating as to what lurks behind translating the classics in the nineteenth century as well as to the specifics of Bellotti's and Niccolini's approaches.[84]

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[82] Mazzoni (1964) 174–5.
[83] Ibid., 287. This is why Romanticism as expressed in northern Europe never took root in Italy and also accounts for the ultimate 'victory' of some sort of '(neo)lassicism' when the unification of Italy effectively took place.
[84] Cf. Niccolini (1844) 223–34.

The passage submitted to Filagiro's attention is Eteocles' final response to the messenger's detailing of the seventh attacker, Polynices:

Niccolini

Orror de' Numi,
Pieno dell'ira d'un Dio, di pianto,
E d'ogni pianto degna, e mia pur troppo
D'Edipo stirpe! Ecco i paterni voti
Compiersi io veggo! Ah non si gema, e sorga
Lutto maggior. […]
Forse avverria, se tu, figlia di Giove,
O vergine Giustizia, il core, il braccio
A lui guidassi: ma la Dea, nè quando
Le tenebre ei fuggì dal sen materno,
O fu nutrito infante, o del novello
Fiore gli ornava gioventù le gote,
O folto onor gli s'adunò sul mento,
Giammai la Diva l'onorò d'un guardo.
[…] io stargli a fronte,
(Chi meglio il può?) solo azzuffarmi io deggio
Re contro re, contro german germane,
Col nemico io nemico. – Olà, mi reca
Asta, coturni, usbergo, e scudo.[85]

Bellotti

Oh Furente, oh da' numi abbominata
Nostra d'Edipo miseranda schiatta!
Ahi! Compiuti del padre i voti or sono.
Ma nè sclamar, nè lamenter conviene,
Sì che da ciò nel popolo non sorga
Più grave lutto. […]
[…] Avvenir forse
Ciò potria, se la figlia alma di Giove,
La vergine Giustizia a lui reggesse
L'opre e i consigli; ma de' guardi suoi
Giustizia mai non lo degnò, nè quando
Uscia dal bujo nel materno grembo,
Nè infante ancor, nè a pubertà venuto,
Nè poi che il mento ombrò di pelo; […]
[…] In ciò fidato, io stesso
Gli starò contro: e chi a region più il debbe?
Io nemico a nemico, io duce a duce,
Io fratello a fratello. – A me qui tosto,
A me schinieri, asta, lorica, e scudo.

Ετ. ὦ θεομανές τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στύγος,
ὦ πανδάκρυτον ἀμὸν Οἰδίπου γένος·
ὤμοι πατρὸς δὴ νῦν ἀραὶ τελεσφόροι.
ἀλλ' οὔτε κλαίειν οὔτ' ὀδύρεσθαι πρέπει,
μὴ καὶ τεκνωθῇ δυσφορώτερος γόος.
[…]
εἰ δ' ἡ Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη παρῆν
ἔργοις ἐκείνου καὶ φρεσίν, τάχ' ἂν τόδ' ἦν·
ἀλλ' οὔτε νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον
οὔτ' ἐν τροφαῖσιν οὔτ' ἐφηβήσαντά πω
οὔτ' ἐν γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος
Δίκη προσεῖδε καὶ κατηξιώσατο,
[…]
τούτοις πεποιθὼς εἶμι καὶ ξυστήσομαι
αὐτός· τίς ἄλλος μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος;
ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων καὶ κασιγνήτῳ κάσις,
ἐχθρὸς σὺν ἐχθρῷ στήσομαι. φέρ' ὡς τάχος
κνημῖδας, αἰχμῆς καὶ πέτρων προβλήματα.

Timete begins by contesting the (supposedly) 'amphibological' expression used by Niccolini in translating lines 656–7. The criticism is directed towards Niccolini's avoidance of reiterating the negative 'non' before 'sorga lutto maggior' ('may a great grief rise not'), which does, in fact, lead to potential confusion and, most importantly,

[85] Niccolini (1871) 43–4.

harmonises the line by means of expurgating any repetition from it.[86] Bellotti, on the other hand, retraces the Greek construction with the double negative ('né', 'non') and maintains the position of πρέπει at the end of the line ('conviene'), using an emphatic word order. In his letter in response, Niccolini points out that the 'meaning' of his own translation 'comes spontaneously' and criticises Bellotti's rendering of the following line (*Sept.* 657). 'Sì che da ciò nel popolo non sorga' ('so that from this may [it] not rise in the people'), Niccolini argues, belittles the poetry of the original by reaching down to the 'humbleness of prose'.[87]

Timete's second observation concerns lines 663–7. His first reproach to Niccolini is about his choice to repeat the subject, and to repeat it while changing it, when there is no change in the subject of the sentence.[88] In his letter, Niccolini points out that he repeated the subject just as Aeschylus did (Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη: 663; and Δίκη: 667), referring to Justice as 'Dea' first and as 'Diva' later ('Goddess'). However, as there is no difference in meaning between 'Dea' and 'Diva' (the change is on poetic sounds), Niccolini deemed the 'Diva' necessary to improve the flow of the lines.[89] Then, Timete directs his disapproval to the excessively 'graceful' ('leggiadre') and 'affectionate' ('vezzeggiative') expressions employed to render Polynices' various life-stages.[90] Surely, this does not fit with Eteocles' hatred for his brother, Timete observes.

The scholar might in fact be right here: Niccolini's choice of words and phrasing indeed conferred to Eteocles' lines a lyricism that he found in Aeschylus himself. In

[86] Anonymous (1822) 221.
[87] Niccolini (1844) 231.
[88] Anonymous (1822) 221.
[89] Cf. Niccolini (1844) 231.
[90] Anonymous (1822) 222.

defence of his translation, Niccolini explains how νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον is a 'graceful expression' also in the original, as Aeschylus makes his characters speak in a way that is patently different from a 'familiar' and 'vulgar' one.[91] The concise ἐν τροφαῖσιν is expanded with the poetic 'fu nutrito infante' ('he was nurtured when an infant'), whilst ἐφηβήσαντά becomes 'del novello / fiore gli ornava gioventù le gote' ('youth adorned his cheecks with the prime flower') again another highly poetic phrase. The verb ἐφηβάω, Niccolini argues, was translated amongst the Romans with *pubesco*, which is an extension of the 'primeval meaning' of the Greek word (deriving from its root ἥβη, 'youthful prime'); moreover, *ephebus* in Latin came to mean 'a first-bearded youth'.[92] 'Fiore', he continues, is a choice made after the example of Virgil: *tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas* (*Aen*. VIII, 160). There, the *flos*, associated with *prima iuventas*, is metaphor for 'beard' as, Niccolini claims, it is in his translation.[93] As a final remark to seal his argument, Niccolini quotes Monti's words (Bellotti's authority) that when 'our language wants to preserve dignity, it is becoming that it walks in the footsteps of its mother, Latin'.[94] As for his translation of line 666 (ἐν γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος), Niccolini justifies the metaphor 'thick honour' for 'beard' by poetic license, 'for the love of good poetry'.[95]

The last of Timete's criticisms concerns Niccolini's rendering of the expression ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων at line 674, for which Niccolini has 're contro re' ('king against king'). 'By calling Polynices king', Timete explains, 'Eteocles would actually confess

[91] Niccolini (1844) 227; cf. Hutchinson on the expression νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον: 'the conception of the child emerging from the darkness of the womb into the light appears not only in poetry but in prose', which in fact contradicts Niccolini's argument that the phrase is highly poetic (Aeschylus 1987, 151).
[92] Ibid., 227.
[93] Cited in ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 228.

his wrong, which in fact consisted of refusing to acknowledge him as king'.[96] Niccolini's indignant reaction comes with a series of etymological proofs for the meaning of ἄρχων as 'ruler', along with a quote from what was believed to be part of the tragedy's hypothesis.[97] With respect to the whole tragedy, Niccolini argues by way of referencing Schütz's commentary Eteocles' actions and words were not meant to doubt Polynices' claim to the throne, but rather to depict him as a 'hateful man', as one 'who comes to conquer his own city with a foreign army'.[98] The dialogue concludes with the entrance of Psittaco, the ridiculed caricature of one of the Crusca's advocates, who mocks some of Bellotti's word choices as not following the meaning that the dictionary afforded them, only to be proved wrong by Timete's counterexamples taken from renowned Italian writers.[99]

At the very end of his letter, after all of Timete's accusations have been refuted, Niccolini turns to contesting some of Bellotti's choices, especially taking issue with Bellotti's declared intention of 'not introducing any artifice to attenuate or cover [Aeschylus'] flaws: for, otherwise, the translation would acquire a whole new face from that of the original'.[100] Is θεομανές, '*divinitus furens*', the same as 'furente' ('furious', Lat. *furens*), enquires Niccolini; or πανδάκρυτον the same as 'miseranda' ('wretched')? 'Tutto audacia' ('all audacity') for παντόλμῳ (*Sept.* 671; Bellotti 708) is also inaccurate, as 'audacia' is 'not necessarily bound to the idea of blame or

[96] Anonymous (1822) 223.
[97] Ὁ γοῦν Πολυνείκης πρῶτος ὢν ἐκράτησεν ἐν χρόνῳ ἐνὶ τῆς βασιλείας ('therefore, Polynices was the first to hold the kingship for one year') as cited in Niccolini (1844) 229; labelled as Hypothesis III in Smith (1982) 4.
[98] Niccolini (1844) 230.
[99] Cf. Anonymous (1822) 224–8: this final part of the dialogue is meant to justify some of Bellotti's word choices which follow the example of Monti's *Iliade* and which could be regarded as inaccurate; this part picks up on the language battle between purists and non-purists, i.e. the Florentine and Milanese writers, respectively, outlined at the beginning of this section.
[100] Bellotti (1821) 12–13.

condemnation in daring anything' as is implied in the Greek.[101] Is Timete too biased to notice that Bellotti has missed a whole phrase, ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ κάρτα ('well-named'; *Sept.* 658; cf. Bellotti 692)? Even if Bellotti 'deemed it [the phrase] little befitting the dignity of tragedy', his translational criteria should have led him to preserve the flaw because it was part of the author's original work.[102]

Another feature of Bellotti's and Niccolini's translational approaches is the overall classicising intent even in dialogues, and particularly in stichomythias; here, one can see how both lyric and foreignising classicism hardly convey the tragic tone. An example is the Clytemnestra–Chorus stichomythia after the Chorus' long parodos. Clytemnestra has just informed the Chorus of the capture of Troy, to which the Chorus reply (*Ag.* 268–80):

Niccolini	**Bellotti**
Coro E che mi narri?	**Coro** Che narri?
Questa parola, a cui la fede io nego,	Temo non bene aver ciò inteso.
Mi sfugge.	**Clitennestra** Troia
Clitennestra Troia è degli Argivi: il dico apertamente.	È degli Achei. Chiaro abbastanza il dissi?
C. Oh! Gioia in cor mi sorge	**C.** Oh! Tal gioia in me sorge, che su gli occhi
Che chiama al pianto.	Mi chiama il pianto.
Cl. Anche il tuo ciglio accusa	**Cl.** E ben quel pianto accusa
Il benigno volere.	Il benevol tuo core.
C. Hai tu del fatto	**C.** Evvi del fatto
Non dubbia prova?	Credibil prova?
Cl. Irrefragabil, certa,	**Cl.** Irrefragabil prova;
Se non m'inganna un Dio.	Se un iddio non ne frauda.
C. Creder ti degni	**C.** Onori forse
A larve in sogno apparse?	Di tua credenza apparse larve in sogno?
Cl. Io dalla mente,	**Cl.** Io non prendo consiglio al veder falso
Grave di sonno, prenderei consiglio?	Della mente assopita.
C. Pronto rumor t'allegra!	**C.** O ti fa lieta
Cl. In me tu pensi	Un subitaneo grido?
Credulità di semplice fanciulla.	**Cl.** Inver me stimi
C. E la città quando fu presa?	Semplice al par di fanciulletta ignara.
Cl. In questa	**C.** Quando presa fu Troia?
Notte onde il giorno è nato.	**Cl.** In questa notte,
C. E chi dell'opra	Donde pur nato è questo giorno, io dico
Così rapido nunzio esser potea?[103]	**C.** E chi nunzio sì presto ne venìa?

[101] Cf. Niccolini (1844) 232–3.
[102] Ibid., 233.
[103] Niccolini (1871) 113–4.

Χο. πῶς φής; πέφευγε τοὖπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας.
Κλ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιῶν οὖσαν· ἦ τορῶς λέγω;
Χο. χαρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη.
Κλ. εὖ γὰρ φρονοῦντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.
Χο. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδέ σοι τέκμαρ;
Κλ. ἔστιν, τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ.
Χο. πότερα δ' ὀνείρων φάσματ' εὐπιθῆ σέβεις;
Κλ. οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάβοιμι βριζούσης φρενός.
Χο. ἀλλ' ἦ σ' ἐπίανέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις;
Κλ. παιδὸς νέας ὡς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.
Χο. ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις;
Κλ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.
Χο. καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος;

There exists an evident intention in both authors to preserve the same poetic aura pervading all the other parts of their translations in the dialogues: on the one hand, with Bellotti, by means of a puzzling word order and some overtly cultured word choices; on the other, with Niccolini, in his tendency to dwell on Aeschylus' images and create the lyric nuance with which he imbues the whole translation.

Apparent examples of misplaced syntax in Bellotti are of line 282: 'temo *non* bene aver ciò inteso' ('I fear I did not understand well'), with the negative and the object ('ciò') in evidence; line 283 'chiaro abbastanza *il* dissi?' ('did I say it clearly enough?') – another grouping of prosaic words, yet assembled in an unusual order; lines 286a and b: 'credibil prova' ('credible proof') in enjambment with the genitive of specification preceding it and 'evvi', archaic for 'ebbi' ('I had'), introducing the question; lines 287–8, probably two of the craggiest lines in the translation of this passage: 'onori forse' ('do you honour perhaps') has to wait until the end of the next line to find its object ('larve', in the cultured word choice for ὀνείρων φάσματ', the same word as in Niccolini), distanced from the past participle it refers to ('apparse'), which is in turn preceded by the emphatic 'di tua credenza' ('of your own belief'); and line 294, the 'io dico' ('I say') at the end of a two-line thought (retracing the Greek order: λέγω). Another feature of Bellotti's translation, especially in dialogues, is the

one (as we have heard) he inherited from Alfieri: the emphatic position and addition of personal pronouns or particles (like the multifunctional 'ne'). Examples are the ethic dative 'mi' for line 285, the 'ne' (indirect complement) for line 287, the 'me' for line 291, the 'io' for line 294 and the 'ne' (Lat. *inde*) for line 295.

Niccolini, by contrast, strives to cleanse his verse from repetitions and excessively rugged expressions. The first example is with the rendering of line 268: 'questa parola' ('this word') is followed by an expansion of ἐξ ἀπιστίας, 'a cui fede io nego' ('which I deny faith to'), and the preservation of the image consisting of the word 'escaping' the Chorus present in the Greek with: 'mi sfugge' ('it escapes me'). Another example is with the translation of line 270: again, one can find another expansion ('in cor') within a poetically flowing line that holds onto the image of the 'joy calling for tears' ('che chiama al pianto'). Clytemnestra's reply in the following line (*Ag.* 271) is equally interesting in this respect: 'anche il tuo ciglio', with the poetic word choice of 'ciglio' ('eyelash') for ὄμμα, 'accusa il benigno volere' ('reports on your positive will'), with no possessive included as it would dampen the flowing rhythm. In another of Clytemnestra's replies (*Ag.* 275), Niccolini translates βριζούσης φρενός with the graceful 'grave di sonno' ('heavy with slumber'), with 'grave' intended as the Latin *gravis*.

One can barely grasp the growing tension between the Coryphaeus, subtly undermining Clytemnestra and her position of power, and Clytemnestra, returning him a combative jibe: the language in both translations, but for opposite reasons, represents a hindrance rather than a help to grasping this. Both translators are in fact more concerned with bestowing classical dignity upon their verse than with decoding the actual meanings behind the words.

At times, however, their different classicising styles seem more appropriate to certain scenes, where the 'ruggedness' of Bellotti's language or the 'lyricism' of Niccolini's respectively fits well for particularly horrific or delicate passages. An example of the former is Clytemnestra's famous speech after she has killed Agamemnon (*Ag.* 1382–90):

Niccolini
Gli avvolgo,
come una rete onde l'uscita è tolta
ai pesci imprigionati, al capo intorno
della veste le misere ricchezze,
e due volte il ferisco, ed in due gemiti
gli si sciolgon le membra. Io sul caduto
replico il terzo colpo, al sotterraneo
Pluto, cui diessi il custodir gli estinti,
libar gradito: egli cadendo esala
l'anima in gran tempesta, e bolle, e spira
impetuoso nella strage il sangue,
e mi percuote una purpurea stilla
di sanguigna rugiada: ed io ne sono
lieta non meno che la terra aspersa
dalle pioggie di Giove, allor che il seme
a lei commesso partorisce i fiori.[104]

Bellotti:
Inestricabil ragna
Di preziosa tunica funesta
Gli avvolgo intorno: due volte il ferisco:
Due volte ci sciama, e sciamando, le membra
Gli si sciolgono, e cade: il terzo colpo
Allor gli vibro, al sotterraneo Pluto,
Servator degli estinti, ostia gradita
Così lo spirto ei fremendo esalava;
E fuor soffiando impetuoso il sangue,
D'atra rugiada mi spruzzò, che lieta
Femmi non men di seminato campo,
Quando irrorato dalla diva pioggia,
ai fiori la vita.

ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων,
περιστιχίζω, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν·
παίω δέ νιν δίς, κἀν δυοῖν οἰμώγμασιν
μεθῆκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα, καὶ πεπτωκότι
τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς
Διὸς νεκρῶν σωτῆρος εὐκταίαν χάριν.
οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὁρμαίνει πεσὼν
κἀκφυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν αἵματος σφαγὴν
βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου,

Bellotti opens with an exceedingly convoluted phrase: 'inestricabil ragna' ('inextricable net'; ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον), note that the use of the rare 'ragna' instead of 'rete', which is instead used by Niccolini, needs to be read with 'funesta' ('menacing'; κακόν) at the end of the following line, preceded by 'di preziosa tunica' ('of a precious attire'), an obscure rendering of πλοῦτον εἵματος. The simile ὥσπερ ἰχθύων has completely disappeared. Niccolini, on the other hand, develops it:

[104] Niccolini (1871) 169–70.

the fish are ‘imprigionati’ (‘imprisoned’) in a net ‘onde l’uscita è tolta’ (‘which has been deprived of a way out’). The following line appears to be a misunderstanding of πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν: what has been cast upon Agamemnon is not the net itself, as in the Greek, but ‘misere ricchezze’ (‘wretched riches’); it seems Niccolini’s quest for lyricism has led him off-track this time.

Niccolini lyricises also in lines 1388–90: ‘l’anima’ is ‘in gran tempesta’ (‘amidst a huge storm’), an addition; ‘il sangue’ (‘blood’) ‘bolle, e spira impetuoso’ (‘boils, and whirls impetuously’), probably an expansion on the participle ἐκφυσιῶν; and a ‘purpurea stilla’ (‘purple drop’) ‘di sanguigna rugiada’ (‘of sanguine dew’) ‘mi percuote’ (‘hits me’). The gentle touch given by the word choices and flowing syntax reaches a peak in lyricism precisely in accord with Clytemnestra’s peak of cruelty and horridness. It is thought to be the most dreadful and horrific moment in the tragedy and yet becomes extremely gentle and poetic in Niccolini’s translation.

Bellotti’s translation of the passage, on the other hand, is filled with his usual stress on pronouns (‘*gli* avvolgo’; ‘*il* ferisco’; ‘*gli* vibro’; ‘*ei* fremendo’; *‘mi* spruzzò’) along with abnormal dislocations (especially at lines 1424–26), which halt and harden the reader’s understanding of Clytemnestra’s speech. Even if Bellotti’s craggy classicism seems more apt to rendering the passage as opposed to Niccolini’s lyric style, the meaning and violence of Clytemnestra’s words are somewhat hindered by the excessively stumbling nature of the verse, the aristocratic language (‘inestricabil ragna’ or ‘ostia gradita’ for εὐκταίαν χάριν) and the overall intent to embroider some extraneous poetic images into the text (‘le membra […] si sciolgono’ for μεθῆκεν κῶλα, the same as in Niccolini; ‘d’atra rugiada mi spruzzò’ for *Ag.* 1390).

The last passage under inquiry is instead a most delicate scene from Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, the Orestes–Electra recognition scene, much more appropriate to Niccolini's lyricism than to Bellotti's ruggedness (*Cho*. 225–34):

Niccolini:
Oreste Mi credi appena, or ch'io ti son presente!
Eppure del crine, che a segnal di lutto
Io qui recisi, in contemplar la ciocca
Volavi a speme, e ti parea vedermi
Co' tuoi vestigj raffrontando i miei.
Misura il riccio che sì ben consente,
Se tu l'appressi, alla fraterna testa
Onde reciso ei fu: mira la veste,
Opra della tua man, che dell'argivo
Pettine all'urto ordisti, e delle belve
Le tessute figure, e ti raffrena;
Nè a te l'alma per gioia istupidisca.
Io ben so quanto acerbo a noi diventi
Chi più amico ne fu.[105]

Bellotti:
Oreste Or me stesso veggendo, a stento credi;
E questa ciocca di tosato crine
Dianzi mirando, ed osservando l'orme
Del mio piè, di repente a tutta speme
Ti sollevavi, e ti parea vedermi.
Guarda ora il capo del fratel, che al tuo
Simiglia: qui, donde reciso io l'ebbi,
Porta quel crine, e lo raffronta. Guarda
Questo tessuto, di tua man lavoro:
Riconoscine i tratti, e delle fiere
Il trapunto disegno. Or via, t'acqueta:
Tienti in te stessa, e non lasciarti il senno
Dalla gioja occupar. So che nemici
Aspri a noi sono i più congiunti a noi.

Ορ. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ὁρῶσα δυσμαθεῖς ἐμέ,
κουρὰν δ' ἰδοῦσα τήνδε κηδείου τριχὸς
ἰχνοσκοποῦσά τ' ἐν στίβοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἀνεπτερώθης κἀδόκεις ὁρᾶν ἐμέ.
σκέψαι τομῇ προσθεῖσα βόστρυχον τριχὸς
σαυτῆς ἀδελφοῦ σύμμετρον τῷ σῷ κάρᾳ·
ἰδοῦ δ' ὕφασμα τοῦτο, σῆς ἔργον χερός,
σπάθης τε πληγὰς ἠδὲ θήρειον γραφήν.
ἔνδον γενοῦ, χαρᾷ δὲ μὴ 'κπλαγῇς φρένας,
τοὺς φιλτάτους γὰρ οἶδα νῷν ὄντας πικρούς.

Niccolini has the lock of hair 'reciso' ('cut'; κουρὰν), 'a segnal di lutto' ('as a mourning sign'; κηδείου), whereas Bellotti has the overtly emphatic 'di tosato crine / dianzi mirando' ('gazing at the lock of hair before you') with the less poetic 'tosato' and without any allusion to the hair being cut 'in mourning'.

In Niccolini, the verb ἀνεπτερώθης becomes the highly metaphorical 'volavi a speme' ('you were flying by means of hope'), whilst Bellotti has the plainer 'a tutta speme ti sollevavi' ('you were uplifting yourself wholly to hope'; probably retracing Stanley's *in spem erecta es*).[106] With 'co tuoi vestigj' ('with your footsteps') Niccolini

[105] Niccolini (1871) 204.
[106] Stanley (1664) 425.

opts for the more refined singular rather than the more common plural ('vestigja'), and 'raffrontando i miei' ('comparing with mine') translates ἰχνοσκοποῦσά τ' ἐν στίβοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς with a chiastic structure *cum variatio* ('co tuoi … i miei'). In Niccolini, 'il riccio' ('the lock'), instead of the repeated (and more cultured) 'crine' in Bellotti, is – again – 'reciso' ('cut'). Lines 231–2 are much elaborated upon: 'mira la veste' ('look at the dress'; ἰδοῦ δ' ὕφασμα τοῦτο) 'che dell'argivo pettine all'urto ordisti' ('which you warped by the hit of the Argive spool'; σπάθης τε πληγὰς) 'e delle belve tessute figure' ('and the woven drawings of beasts'; εἰς δὲ θηρίων γραφήν).

Bellotti, instead, presents a more concise translation with the usual uncommon word order, visible especially in 'di tua man lavoro' ('the work of your hand'; σῆς ἔργον χερός) and 'delle fiere il trapunto disegno' ('the drawing of beasts woven onto it'). 'Tienti in te stessa' ('hold yourself together') is Bellotti's attempt at rendering ἔνδον γενοῦ with a poetic expression, followed by another most unfamiliar set of words ('non lasciarti il senno / dalla gioia occupar'; χαρᾷ δὲ μὴ 'κπλαγῇς φρένας).

Overall, the comparisons in this chapter between Cesarotti and Bellotti and between Bellotti and Niccolini respectively elucidate the features of a newly emergent language, one entirely restricted to the page and forged on Italian literary routine. All three cases contribute to the creation of what some contemporary translators of Greek tragedy have called 'traduttese' ('translationese'), whether this was in the form of a challenging exercise so as to put translation theory to test and stretch the possibilities of the Italian language (Cesarotti), or as a playground in which to fashion a

'classicising' style (Bellotti and Niccolini) – both cases eventually were designed to domesticate Aeschylus to their 'classical' ideal.

By the first decades of the nineteenth century, the language of translation of the classics was already well under way to becoming a synthetic literary and highly poetic language, faithful to the 'classical' ideal rather than the original.[107] It is against this 'traduttese' as the hallmark of a perfectly idealistic vision of ancient Greece and its classics that the Syracusan project sets itself at the start of the twentieth century, in an attempt to bring tragedy back to where it belonged: inside the theatre (Ch. 4).

[107] See, amongst others, Condello (2012) and (2014).

Chapter Four

Performing Aeschylus under the Lion Gate

> Tragedy was indeed the vibrant representation of the ancient myths, where different arts would unite together in grand glorification. Ancient tragedies have now gone back to being a rite, the rite of human progress. Fortunately, Italy has its own temple to celebrate this rite. […] Syracuse is the keeper of such a temple.[1]

Thus begins a speech in 1934 by the Count Mario Gargallo, a Sicilian aristocrat and the primary financial sponsor of what is today a long-established festival of Greek tragedy (organised by INDA); indeed, the longest running modern festival of ancient drama.[2] The speech opens with the Count's recollection of 16 April 1914, when Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* was performed in the ancient theatre in Syracuse for the first time, an event that signalled, in Gargallo's words, the 'happy reawakening [of Syracuse] from its millennial slumber', effectively a 'resurrection'.[3]

That Aeschylus had been chosen as the 'founder' of the festival should not come as a surprise: 'The name of Aeschylus imposed itself because his tragedies were performed in the same Greek theatre in his presence', explained Gargallo in a speech delivered after the 1914 performance.[4] Indeed, part of the Committee's final decision to stage an Aeschylean play had to do with the Greek playwright's visit to Syracuse at Hieron's invitation around 470 BCE on the occasion of the performance of two of his plays: the *Persae* (originally staged in Athens in 472 BCE) and a newly composed

[1] Gargallo (2014) 119–20.
[2] Unfortunately, not much has been written about the Count Mario Tommaso Gargallo (Syracuse, 1886 – Rome, 1958), a descendant of Tommaso Gargallo (1760–1843), a poet of the Arcadia and translator of the classics; on his life and essential contribution to the establishment of INDA, see Lamesta (2014).
[3] Gargallo (2014) 121.
[4] Ibid., 45.

drama celebrating Hieron's founding of the city of Aetna;[5] Aeschylus' death at Gela too irreversibly connected him to the Sicilian land more generally.

The tragedian's exceptional relationship with Sicily was also remarked upon by the local press, as they prepared the world for the exciting event of 1914. Many newspaper articles recalled Aeschylus' visit to Syracuse and his celebration of Hieron's court: it was felt that Aeschylus was making a 'return' to Syracuse, or better, that he was returning to celebrate Syracuse again; the performance of his tragedy was defined as a '(re)evocation' of the old one.[6] One newspaper reported that Agamemnon was a Greek hero who 'was returning' to the Sicilian stage after a long while so as to 'reawaken a world that had been sleeping for centuries' – the Greek world as well as the Sicilian.[7]

Aeschylus was not only felt to be *the* Sicilian tragedian, but was also now held to be the most *modern* tragedian, and not just in Italy. In line with the elaborate comparisons of Aeschylus with Shakespeare, Dante and Michelangelo, which had already begun in the nineteenth century (see Ch. 3), Aeschylus had gained a place of prominence amongst the Greek classical writers for his modernity.[8] He in fact

[5] Cf. Rehm (1989) and Garvie (2009) liii–lviii for a discussion of Aeschylus' Syracusan production of the *Persae*.

[6] AFI PR 1914, 'La Nazione' 18 March 1914, in which Hieron was called 'Aeschylus' patron'. Another local newspaper reported: 'Aeschylus returns after twenty-four centuries' (AFI PR 1914, 'L'Ora' 7 April). For the obsessively recurrent term 're-evocation' to refer to the upcoming performance, see AFI PR 1914, 'Teatri' 15 February; 'Aretusa' 12 March; 'Il resto del Carlino' 17 March; 'Giornale di Sicilia' 8 April ('Aeschylean re-evocations'); 'Gazzetta del Popolo' 16 April; 'La Stampa' April 16; 'Giornale di Sicilia' 17 March (re-evocations of murders').

[7] AFI PR 1914, 'Tribuna' 15 April; the subtitle of the newspaper article was: 'Waiting for the hero [Agamemnon] to come back' and, at the end of the article, the journalist affirmed that 'here [in Syracuse] everything reminds us of our mother, Hellas'.

[8] See AFI PR 1914, 'Aretusa' 16 April, in which Settimio Cipolla, a professor of Ancient Greek in Syracuse, argued that Aeschylus' art possessed the same traits as that of 'Dante, Shakespeare and Michelangelo'; he stated that Aeschylus feels as though he was a contemporary: 'Twenty-four centuries have passed and yet his poetry is still alive and human in our minds'. See also AFI PR 1914, 'Il Secolo' 8 April, an article by Ettore Bignone, in which he detailed Aeschylus' and Shakespeare's similarities.

represents the 'real conquest of modernity', argued the philologist Ettore Bignone in a newspaper article written to introduce the *Agamemnon* at Syracuse in 1914:

> At first, Aeschylus scared his readers away with his grand obscurity, with his primitive and titanic spirit: as Shakespeare, he even seemed […] barbaric at times. Romanticism has given us back the sense of those grand and simple times […]. Romanticism has taught us that great art is not rational eloquence, but that which is re-lived in the simple and daringly expressive actions: the greatest passions are in fact the most primitive, the most tragic scenes are those in which a great world of ideas is stirred up, from the friction of which there springs poetry. To the Romantic ideal, our most modern age has added that something which is profoundly Aeschylean: the tension in which the most daring spirits clash with one another as in a primitive age.[9]

It was such a 'primitive', 'titanic', and 'simple' Greece (compare the eighteenth-century responses of Brumoy and Rubbi) that Aeschylus was from and which was felt 'contemporaneous'. This Greece, Bignone continued, was patently different from and even opposite to the neo-classical model proposed by scholars of philology in the previous century. Aeschylus' 'barbaric' nature and 'primitiveness' was now the hallmark of a new classical ideal, which discovered in the 'treasures at Mycenae' and, more generally, in 'the ancient Aegean civilisation' its geographical location.[10] Indeed, *Agamemnon* had already been part of a broader European reawakening, one that began with Schliemann's discovery of ancient Mycenae and the tomb of Agamemnon, and then continued with the extensive scholarly literature that such discoveries prompted.[11] *Agamemnon* was not only on display in scholarly archaeological accounts: Schliemann had prepared the way for its exploitation on the European stage: Oxford (1880),

[9] AFI PR 1914, 'Il Secolo' 8 April.
[10] Thus Bignone in ibid.: 'Observing these mysterious and potent figures [in Aeschylus' dramas], one would say that Aeschylus has stepped over the edges of classical Greece and Homeric poetry: he is more than a bard; he is a contemporary to these violent and grand passions that recent archaeological discoveries of the treasures at Mycenae and of the ancient Aegean civilisation have fully unveiled to us'.
[11] Schliemann (1878) was translated into French in 1879; in France, these discoveries spurred quite a remarkable flood of literature by archaeologists (cf. Basch 1995); for Italy, see, amongst others, Spinazzola 1896, who detailed Schliemann's discoveries of the Mycenaean tombs, Bianco (1898) and Mosso (1907).

Sydney (1886) and Paris (1886) had all staged performances of *Agamemnon* by the end of the century, and Cambridge and Harvard (1900) followed suit; needless to say, the settings for these productions were heavily influenced by Schliemann's new Mycenae.[12]

Sicily, moreover, not only laid claims to Aeschylus himself; it also claimed to possess *the* 'temple' of Greek tragedy.[13] It soon became clear that *Agamemnon* would forever be the founding play of the Syracuse festival and would be regularly reprised to celebrate the festival's anniversaries.[14] There was, indeed, something special in this performance that differentiated it slightly from the other European revivals; and this special quality is shown in Gargallo's subtle choice of words in his 1934 speech. The Committee's aim was not only to put on Greek tragedies in an open-air theatre, as was happening in France, Germany, England and other places in Italy;[15] its more important aim was to re-establish theatre as a 'rite', 'where different arts would unite together in

[12] Cf. Hall and Macintosh (2005) 430–87.

[13] There is record of an earlier production of the *Agamemnon* as part of a three-act tragedy that was performed at the Teatro Argentina in 1906, in a new (and lost?) translation by Tito Marrone and Antonio Cippico (cf. Appendix A). Musmeci (2013) 147–8 argues that Marrone and Cippico's *Oresteia* opened the way to the performances later staged at Syracuse and that it strongly influenced Ettore Romagnoli. Romagnoli was indeed present at the premiere and greatly appreciated the acting of Edoardo Boutet's theatrical company. The production apparently enjoyed great success, touring in various cities in the north of Italy (Romagnoli 1911, 128). Although we know next to nothing about it, this production is significant because it represents one of the first attempts at staging Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* in Italy; however, it would seem that it was a production without music, translated following the example of modern tragedy, hence divided into acts, and heavily abridged (the whole trilogy was performed in less than two hours, cf. AFI PR 1914, 'Teatri' 15 February). It is unlikely that this exerted any direct influence on Romagnoli's work.

[14] On the importance of *Agamemnon*'s return to the Syracusan stage in 1930, 1948 and 1960, see further Chs. 5, 6 and 7; the play was then rehashed in 1994 to celebrate INDA's 80 years; in 2001, after a police-led 'cleanse' from mafia infiltrations (called 'Operation Agamemnon'), the tragedy returned to give the festival a new beginning; in 2008, the whole trilogy was chosen to substantiate the theme of that year, 'justice, legality' (see further Ch. 7); finally, the trilogy was performed in 2014 to celebrate INDA's centenary.

[15] Thus Gargallo in 1913: 'Elsewhere, abroad, and especially in France and in Germany, anywhere where there are a few ruins connected together or just a nice location, attempts at resurrecting Greek tragedy have been made, with great success. Where there exists an ancient theatre like at Orange, annual performances have been established. The same goes for Fiesole and its small ancient Roman theatre. But truly, the most important classical theatre in Europe, save Greece, by far is that in Syracuse!' (Gargallo 2014, 33). Just a couple of sentences later, Gargallo mentions that he had been at Fiesole in 1911 to see Ettore Romagnoli's *Edipo Re* performed by Gustavo Salvini (ibid., 34).

grand glorification' (with a nod to Nietzsche and Wagner).[16] The locus of the 'grand glorification' of this rite of Greek tragedy was to be its temple at Syracuse.[17]

In other words, the reawakening of Syracuse coincided with the long-term project of launching a new Italian 'renaissance', a term used by the Sicilian politician Orlando in a speech delivered in 1921 before a performance of Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*.[18] With Greek tragedy, Sicily (and Italy) was not only about to (re)evoke its past, but to continue and renew it in the present. As Gargallo argued in another speech in 1923 urging the establishment of an institute of Greek drama (the future INDA) at Syracuse, the 'rite' had become a mixture of a 'new and most ancient theatrical art', one that would enable 'new generations' to see 'Syracuse grow again, rich and beautiful'.[19] In similar vein were the comments of the philologist Bignone, who reminded his readers that – around twenty-four centuries earlier – the Attic triremes had smashed onto the Sicilian shores and had been annihilated by the Syracusan fleet: 'Everything on this Sicilian land subsumes the ideal signification of a reconciliation between the two races [the Sicilian and the Greek] into a new poetry and into the new Italic race'.[20]

An immediate forefather of this ideological re-appropriation of Greek tragedy, and the promoter of a new Italian renaissance, was the famous poet who would later be known as the 'poet/prophet' of Fascism: Gabriele D'Annunzio. Not only was

[16] The comparison between Wagner and the Syracusan Festival is made explicit by the Belgian Minister for Science and Art Jules Destrée in an interview in occasion of Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* in 1921, when he expressed his wish that 'Syracuse would become for classical art what Bayreuth is for lyric art' AFI PR 1921, 27 April.
[17] Wagner's *Wort-Ton-Drama* was present in the festival's beginnings: Gargallo often remarked how theirs was an actual *Wort-Ton-Drama* as opposed to Wagner's Ton-Drama, in which music had taken over words (cf. Gargallo 2014, 77, 87 and 91).
[18] Orlando (1921) 8.
[19] Gargallo (2014) 78.
[20] AFI PR 1914 'Il Secolo' 8 April.

D'Annunzio (indirectly) involved with this Syracusan 'renaissance', but his theatrical movement, together with its first fruit, the tragedy *Città Morta*, provided the theoretical as well as the practical grounding for the performance of *Agamemnon* in 1914.[21]

D'Annunzio's Città Morta *and the* Renaissance Latine

> My long and vague, even fluctuating, dream of drama has finally crystallised. At Mycenae, I read Sophocles and Aeschylus under the Lion Gate. The form of my drama is now clear and firm. Its title: '*The Dead City*'.[22]

Thus wrote D'Annunzio in a letter to his friend and publisher Emilio Treves on his journey to Greece as part of the *Fantasia* cruise, between 29 July and 20 August 1895,[23] during which he began work on his tragedy: *Città Morta.* The play 'crystallised' D'Annunzio's 'dream of drama', the programmatic 'avant-garde theatre', as it has been called, which he had tried to sketch out theoretically for a long time.[24] Such a programmatic theatre at this time could not avoid the overweening influence of Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* and Wagner's *Wort-Ton-Drama*.[25] Yet, the influence that both these artists exerted on D'Annunzio had more to do with the (rather

[21] Two newspaper articles from 1914 report that the idea of staging a Greek tragedy at the ancient theatre of Syracuse must somehow be credited to D'Annunzio. Apparently, the poet was believed to have called a small (theatrical? Labouring?) association (*Pro Patria*) based in Syracuse with the explicit goal of asking them to perform a Greek tragedy in the theatre (thus AFI PR 1914 'L'Ora' 1 March and 'Aretusa' 2 April). There is no further scholarship that testifies to this exchange between D'Annunzio and the *Pro Patria* association and I could not find anything about the association itself, which, however, if it truly existed, would provide support for the argument that staging Greek tragedy at Syracuse in 1914 was first and foremost a step towards the creation of a national renaissance (cf. *Pro Patria*).

[22] Cited in Valentini (1992) 110. As pointed out in Benfanti (1991) 136–7, D'Annunzio was reading the three Greek tragedians in a French translation by the leader of the Parnassiens, Leconte de Lisle (1872, 1877, and 1884) at the time.

[23] Cf. Cappellini (1996) v.

[24] Valentini (1991) 12–13 refers to D'Annunzio's theatre project as an 'avant-garde movement' based on the classics and yet imbued with modern aesthetic suggestions.

[25] On the relationship between D'Annunzio and Nietzsche, see Ugolini (2014) and Treves (1991) 103–5. As Treves argues, D'Annunzio's knowledge of Nietzsche's book was surely not direct, but probably mediated through his friend Angelo Conti and the numerous ideas circulating around it in France and Italy.

general) ideas emanating from their theories that were permeating Europe at that time than with the theories themselves, something that was also true for the performances in Syracuse. The 'Dionysian', 'ritualistic', musically 'primitive', hence Aeschylean, notions of the theatre held by Nietzsche – the main representative of the opposition to a narrowly construed German philology – along with Wagner's all-encompassing *Gesamtkunstwerk*, became the conceptual basis against which D'Annunzio built his theatre project as was the case later for Ettore Romagnoli, INDA's *metteur en scène*, and Gargallo in their theatre projects.

D'Annunzio's pragmatic nature, though, led him to yearn for a *concrete* realisation of his idea of theatre. His inspiration derived for the most part from the attempts of certain figures on the radical French *gauche*, including, among others, André Gide, Romain Rolland, Léon Blum and Louis Gillet, to stage theatre in outdoor rather than indoor venues and to revolutionise the make-up of its audience, transforming it from the preserve of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie to a People's Theatre.[26] On 2 August 1897, in a newspaper article entitled 'La Rinascenza della Tragedia' ('The Renaissance of Tragedy'), D'Annunzio does not simply recall how, on that day, the city of Orange was inaugurating its ancient Roman theatre, but he also mentions the 'popular' (in other words, frequented by and meant for 'the people') performances organised by Maurice Pottecher at Bussang with the help of the local population.[27]

In strong opposition to the degradation of urban theatre, to the rising bourgeois theatre of Ibsen and to Italian comedy and opera, D'Annunzio spoke about a return to

[26] On D'Annunzio and the French 'gauche', cf. Treves (1991) 105–6. In a letter to his friend and translator Georges Hérelle, D'Annunzio confirmed that *Revue d'Art Dramatique* (a theatrical journal then directed by Rolland) 'répond à mes idées sur le théâtre' (in Valentini 1992, 43).
[27] Cf. D'Annunzio (2003).

the essence of tragedy, a return to theatre as a 'rite', a 'message',[28] terms that take on even more eloquent significance if read together with Gargallo's speech. D'Annunzio wanted to elevate theatre to its 'primitive dignity, infusing it with the ancient religious spirit again'.[29] The kind of theatre he yearned for was a theatre 'of and for the people', just like Rolland's in France – its audience was to be made up of people belonging to the lowest social classes, a people 'rude e ignaro' ('vulgar and uneducated'), and it was to be a theatre 'of poetry', 'worthy of Athenian tragedy'.[30] It should be a theatre able to contain all the arts within itself, as Gargallo claimed performances at Syracuse had been, similar to Wagner's *Wort-Ton-Drama*. And, just as Gargallo claimed for his theatre, D'Annunzio stated that his would be more 'refined' than Wagner's *Wort-Ton-Drama* because he would not let the music subsume the poetry.[31]

The perfect model for D'Annunzio's theatre was provided (via Rolland's *Histoire de l'Opéra en Europe avant Lully et Scarlatti*, 1895) by the Florentine Camerata, who invented opera as a balanced combination of music and poetry.[32] D'Annunzio's 'Teatro d'Albano' (named after Lake Albano, a small lake in the Alban hills of Lazio where he intended to build his new theatre) would have (Greek) tragedy at its centre, just as it was for the Camerata, and it would give birth to a 'new Latin, musical drama […] free from any Wagnerian prejudice'.[33] In short: dance, music and poetry would be joined together perfectly to reproduce the primitive model upon which opera was born.[34]

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[28] Ibid., 263–4.
[29] Ibid., 265.
[30] Cf. ibid., 263 and Valentini (1992) 86.
[31] Valentini (1992) 87.
[32] Cf. ibid., 30–6.
[33] Thus D'Annunzio in a letter to Giulio Ricordi (5 April 1909), in Valentini (1992) 170.
[34] On the role of music in D'Annunzio's project, cf., amongst others, one of the many interviews he gave: Valentini (1992) 84–8.

Indeed, there was also a political side to D'Annunzio's return to the Renaissance, in line with the later Syracusan 'renaissance', one that aimed to provide an alternative to the pervasive classical/classicised culture of Germany, and to rival Wagner's opera house at Bayreuth with a 'Latin-Mediterranean' one. The re-opening of the Roman theatre of Orange was in fact interpreted as the 'sign of a new trend', the 'announcement of an unexpected reawakening' (to compare with Sicily's reawakening) 'of the Latin spirit', argues D'Annunzio in his 1897 newspaper article.[35] His 'Teatro d'Albano' was meant to ground a 'future Latin Renaissance',[36] to host anyone who could express their ideas 'Latinly' ('latinamente').[37] 'It is not true', D'Annunzio further explained, 'that the authors need be of Latin lineage, […] but their artistic education, their ideal of beauty should be Greek-Latin derived, that is: classic'.[38] So, on 1 January 1895, when the viscount and member of the Académie Française Melchior de Vogué titled a newspaper article he authored in the *Revue des deux Mondes* 'La Renaissance Latine' – also the name of a French movement which inserted itself in the context of a broader anti-German cultural controversy[39] – it was immediately clear to what/whom he was referring.[40]

Yet, D'Annunzio's Latin-Mediterranean tragedy-based theatre project was not just a response to a certain kind of German culture; more specifically, it addressed and contrasted with the German pan-philological reading of the classics, which was

[35] D'Annunzio (2003) 264.
[36] D'Annunzio in an interview with Mario Morasso, 18 October 1897 in Valentini (1992) 80.
[37] D'Annunzio in an interview with Angelo Orvieto, 12 December 1897, in ibid., 86.
[38] Ibid.
[39] At the beginning of the article, De Vogué explained that he had borrowed the title from a patriotic newspaper article by Jules Lemaître, which had appeared in the previous number of the *Revue,* where he defended the superiority of the 'Gallic' culture over the German one (cf. De Vogué 1898, 267–8).
[40] Vogué was in particular referring to D'Annunzio's *Trionfo della morte* ('Triumph of Death') as the groundbreaking piece initiating the literary revolution. It should also be noted that D'Annunzio was not alone in this revolution. Alfredo de Bosis was one of his closest collaborators, with whom he promoted the successful literary journal 'Il Convito', but there were others as well (cf. Valentini 1992, 16–17).

tyrannising all of Europe, and Italy especially. In other words, D'Annunzio's idea, which perfectly chimed with Romagnoli's, was to translate itself into a project that was to return a primary role to the Latin-Mediterranean world to the detriment of the German one in the re-appropriation and divulgation of classical culture, because the former was indeed the only true heir to the classical heritage. The challenge then was to reinvent the classical Italian tradition (meaning: the classics translated into Italian), whilst, in the process, extirpating any German influence on the classics. Thus, renewing Italian literature involved first and foremost renewing the Italian readings of the classics. In open contrast to the pan-Germanic positivistic and philological attitude of some Italian scholars towards the classical texts (especially those scholars contributing to *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica* and later to *Atene e Roma*), D'Annunzio and, later, Romagnoli were proposing an artistic interpretation of the classics (and of tragedy in particular) that would lead to an entirely new aesthetic appreciation of the texts.[41]

Along with advocating a thorough revaluation of the Latin-Mediterranean (classical) tradition, D'Annunzio's programme also possessed a certain eclecticism and openness to the inclusion of new and modern trends circulating in Europe at that time. His desire (and, later, Gargallo's) was to insert Italy into the wider European picture. As Valentini argues, D'Annunzio portrayed himself as a 'modern artist', an artist who 'was unfettered by any subordination to foreign art' and yet, at the same

[41] As Chirico (1987) 88 ff. argues, the proposal made by Italian philologists in 1872 in the *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica* ('Journal of Classical Philology and Teaching') to adopt the German model in the study and teaching of the classics heated up a debate that was taken up extensively in various literary journals and eventually resulted in the establishment of a new philological journal, *Atene e Roma* (1898). Yet, even this new journal seemingly failed to include the aesthetic turn in the study of the classics that D'Annunzio and later Gargallo and Romagnoli greatly desired and worked towards through their artistic undertakings. Cf. also Treves (2002) 121 ff.

time, was strongly 'inserted into European culture'.[42] As will be seen later in the early Syracusan productions, a strong nationalism was combined with a cosmopolitan attitude, an attitude that was at the same time inclusive (a theatre for and of the people) and elitist (a theatre of poetry).

D'Annunzio's *Città morta* ('Dead City') was the immediate expression of his avant-garde theatre. It was precisely because of the inclusive and cosmopolitan intent of D'Annunzio's theatre project that his tragedy premiered in Paris at Sarah Bernhardt's *Théâtre de la Renaissance* on 21 January 1898, in the European capital of theatre, and not in Italy, where it was staged only three years later at the Teatro Lirico in Milan. It appeared to the audience that the play had been written in French.[43]

Città morta is a tragedy about Leonardo, an archaeologist, who has gone to Mycenae with his sister Bianca Maria to conduct excavations. Alessandro, Leonardo's best friend, and Alessandro's wife Anna (Sarah Bernhardt in Paris and Eleonora Duse in Milan), a blind and sage woman who clearly recalls Cassandra, have gone with them.[44] 'Agamemnon and Cassandra', D'Annunzio explained to his friend Hérelle, are just 'like Anna and Leonardo, themselves *dramatis personae*', because 'time has been abolished'.[45] D'Annunzio aimed at flattening the distance between the present (Leonardo and his excavations) and the past (Agamemnon's tomb and treasures), yet within a framework that was all but domesticated.[46]

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[42] Ibid., 19.
[43] There was no mention of Georges Hérelle being the translator nor of its Italian title. The public, in keeping with the desire of its author, believed *La Ville morte* to be D'Annunzio's *French* play. Cf. Gullace (1966) 58–9.
[44] On the cast of both productions, see Cappellini (1996) xxvii–xxx.
[45] D'Annunzio in a letter to Georges Hérelle in Valentini (1992) 119.
[46] See Act 2, scene 1, in particular. Cf. Benfanti (1991) 142, where she reports a passage from Diehl (1890), which D'Annunzio had highlighted in his copy of the book: 'dans cette science, qui semble morte, il y a à trouver une vivante image du passé, une communion intime avec les événements et les personnages de l'histoire, qui nous fait mieux pénétrer dans les replis de l'âme de l'antiquité'.

As expected, D'Annunzio's directions for the setting required the 'dead' and 'silent' presence of marble statues, Doric pillars, the ancient Acropolis with its cyclopoid walls separated by the Lion Gate, all 'testimonies to a remote life, footprints of a beauty that has disappeared' (I, i). Mythological characters are often mentioned either to describe places (Clytemnestra, Electra, Agamemnon and Iphigenia are part of the geographical memory evoked by the play's characters, as in I, i, iv and v; or II, i) or so as to be likened to the play's living characters (Bianca Maria as Iphigenia or Antigone, Anna as Cassandra, Leonardo as Agamemnon, as in I, i; II, ii; III, iii).

Bianca Maria's direct readings of some passages from Sophocles' *Antigone* (781–805 in I, i and 823–33 in III, iii) and from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1098–105 in III, iii) embedded the Greek world into the characters' lives, so much so that, by the end of the play, it was as though the living had become the dead and vice versa: Schliemann's newly discovered city was truly resurrected on the stage.[47] D'Annunzio's (and, as will be seen, Romagnoli's and Gargallo's) Greece was a distant, archaeologically reconstructed world and yet very much present and alive; it was a historicised yet timeless Greece that embodied the 'ritual', the 'primitive' of Nietzschean memory and of open-air theatres, and the 'archaic' of Aeschylus' plays and of his *Agamemnon* in particular. As the Italian literary critic and writer Renato Serra attested at the beginning of the century (1908; see Ch. 6):

> Today, the moral value of Greece has deeply changed. Greece has become fashionable again, but this is not a return to nor a continuation of any previous conceptualisation around Greece: it is a new fact. In today's Greece, there exist no humanism or rhetoric attached to it. Greece is appreciated not for its exemplarity or classicism; on the contrary, it is appreciated for what is farthest from that symbol of cold perfection; it is appreciated for its Romantic

[47] See especially Benfanti (1991), D'Annunzio (1996) and Carrano (2014) on D'Annunzio's usage of the two Greek tragedians in his play.

> and barbaric nature, for its most authentic reality, for its taste of lived experience.[48]

Romagnoli's 'aesthetic turn' and the 1914 performance of Aeschylus' Agamemnon

Whilst D'Annunzio's theatre project 'Albano' was never realised, its 'spirit' lived on and grafted the Sicilian project onto the wider perspective of a 'reawakening' of the Italic 'race'. The orchestrating mind behind the project was Romagnoli, whose theatrical undertakings would ensure his fame for the rest of the century.[49] In a provocative paper delivered at the IV 'Convegno dei Classicisti' ('Seminar of Classicists'), promoted by the Society *Atene e Roma* in Florence on 18–20 April 1911, Romagnoli delineated the main characteristics that the study of classics would have to take in order to 'penetrate the Greek classics into the spirit of modern minds'.[50]

Romagnoli's programme of 'divulgation', or better, of a new 'exegesis of the ancient world', was in line with the 'theatre of/for the people' promoted by D'Annunzio: Greek theatre, argued Romagnoli, was not for the elites, but a theatre 'for all peoples'.[51] Furthermore, the study of Greek classics in Italy had to divorce itself from the dominating German approach with its 'positivistic' attitude towards the text and annihilation of any 'aesthetic' potential in it.[52] Romagnoli's 'artistic Hellenism' was to comprise a new appreciation of ancient music and rhythm, the insertion of archaeology into the curriculum and the re-translation of the most

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[48] Serra (1908) 181.
[49] Romagnoli first published separately Euripides' *Cyclops* (1911), *Bacchae* (1912) and *Alcestis* (1913), Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1914), and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (1918); in the 1920s and 30s, he managed to publish all of Aeschylus (1921–1922), Sophocles (1926) and Euripides (1928–1931) in a book series (Zanichelli, Bologna) named after him (*I poeti greci tradotti da Ettore Romagnoli*).
[50] Cf. Romagnoli (1911).
[51] Ibid., 70–1, 130.
[52] Cf. especially Romagnoli (1917) XXIII–XXIV.

important classical texts.[53] All three of these components proved to be essential in the staging of *Agamemnon*.[54]

A consistent, if not the most consistent, part of Romagnoli's new 'exegesis of the ancient world' was re-translating ancient Greek tragedies: by the 1930s Romagnoli had replaced Bellotti's standard 'academic and literary' translations of the entire ancient Greek dramatic corpus.[55] Romagnoli argued that new translations were needed because each era assimilates 'images' differently; and yet, the need for a replacement had also emerged due to the particularly obscure nature of the language of the already existing translations, too academic and 'difficult to access', based in fact on the 'false assumption' that everything 'Greek' was 'venerable' and 'solemn'.[56]

In his *Agamennone*, Romagnoli strove to 'look for natural and simple expressions' and for recurrent 'images' and 'metaphors', which, Romagnoli subtly observed, vary from character to character.[57] Aeschylus, Romagnoli continued, used different images according to each character's social status and temperament. With the *Oresteia*, Aeschylus moved away from the 'marvellous statues' he had created in his previous tragedies and forged characters 'so much alive that even nowadays our imagination evokes them as people actually encountered and met in our lives'.[58]

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[53] Romagnoli (1911) 74. As a programme for the 'people', Romagnoli was especially interested in proposing a revised curriculum for the study of classics in schools, in which notions of ancient rhythm and music (118–25) and archaeology (including all of the recent discoveries) (115–17), together with translations reconceived and re-expressed with contemporary verbal and syntactic forms, keeping in mind contemporary tastes (81–107), would all be essential.

[54] Prior to his staging of *Agamemnon* in 1914, in 1911 Romagnoli had staged Aristophanes' *Clouds* at the Teatro Verdi in Padua and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and Euripides' *Bacchae* at the theatre in Fiesole – that same year, Gustavo Salvini also performed Alfieri's *Oreste* in Fiesole; Romagnoli then toured with *Bacchae, Clouds, Alcestis* and *Cyclops* in Vicenza, Venice, Trieste and Milan between 1911 and 1913 (cf. Cucchetti 1964, 67).

[55] Romagnoli (1911) 94.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Romagnoli (1918) 54.

[58] Ibid., 56.

Of all Aeschylean characters, Romagnoli picked Clytemnestra as emblematic of the tragedian's change in his conception of them, perhaps nudged by Alfieri's most pathetic and psychological portrayal of her, certainly a vivid memory in Romagnoli's as well as everyone else's mind.[59] Following Aeschylus, Romagnoli's queen embodies not only a wide range of emotions, but she also clothes herself with wholly different personalities according to the situation. She can be 'lofty with the humble' (Chorus, Cassandra), yet 'servile' with the 'noble' (Agamemnon), because one of her fundamental qualities is 'deceit'.[60] Romagnoli's translation endeavours to render the different nuances of Clytemnestra's character within a clear (or better: clearer than Bellotti's) syntax and language (*Ag.* 277):

> **Clit.** Tu m'oltraggi! Non son fanciulla sciocca.[61]
>
> **Κλ.** παιδὸς νέας ὣς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.

To the Chorus' 'jugement implicite sur les qualités intellectuelles de Clytemnestre' (*Ag.* 276),[62] as has been argued, responds a bitterly resentful Clytemnestra, even more so than in the original. Romagnoli elaborates on the meaning of μωμάομαι ('find fault, criticise, blame') by rendering it with the expression 'tu m'oltraggi' ('you offend/insult me'), intensified by splitting the sentence into two. The comparison between Clytemnestra's understanding (φρένας) and that of a child (παιδὸς νέας), which the queen accuses the Chorus of drawing, becomes for Romagnoli a comparison between her and a 'stupid young girl'.

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[59] Alfieri's *Oreste* saw a peak in performance precisely in these years, with three different open-air productions between 1900 and 1903 (cf. Appendix A).
[60] Ibid., 57.
[61] Romagnoli (1914) 28. Hereafter, Romagnoli's translation is quoted from the copy in the INDA Archives, which contains Romagnoli's own notes.
[62] Judet De la Combe (2001) 113.

Another example is when Clytemnestra intimates to Cassandra that she should go into the house; Cassandra seems not to understand, and the queen bursts out, 'wasting no more words' (οὐ μὴν πλέω […] ῥίψασ'), that she shall 'not be insulted' (ἀτιμασθήσομαι: *Ag.* 1068). Romagnoli renders the line so that it is about her pride again, marking her social superiority over the humble (the Chorus previously, and now Cassandra). 'Non oltre mi abbasso a favellare' ('No more will I abase my words': Romagnoli 76), Romagnoli translates, implying that Clytemnestra is regarding Cassandra as being of lower rank. The queen exercises her deceitful power over the Chorus first and Cassandra after; Romagnoli exaggerates her supposed resentment of both, accusing Cassandra of not wanting to understand and the Chorus of thinking she is a 'stupid young girl', in order to emphasise that 'deceit' is the hallmark of her personality.

Yet 'deceit' is only one of Clytemnestra's traits, argued Romagnoli: 'lust and fierceness' play an active role in her, especially in her description of Agamemnon's murder, narrated with 'horrible self-satisfaction'.[63] Her depiction of a 'negro scroscio / di vermiglia rugiada' ('black pounding of blood-red dew'; ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου: *Ag.* 1390) that 'me colpisce' ('hits me'; βάλλει μ': *Ag.* 1390) and in which 'io mi rallegro' ('I rejoice': Romagnoli 110; χαίρουσαν: *Ag.* 1391), as a field with budding flowers rejoices after rain is, Romagnoli sensed, an 'evocation of erotic pleasure'[64] – a possible interpretation of the passage that will enjoy much more currency in the 1960s, but is rather surprising to find as early as 1914.[65]

[63] Romagnoli (1918) 59.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Cf. Diggle (1968), who is amongst the first philologists to focus on this specific passage and point out its erotic connotations; cf. also Moles (1979). Cf. Judet de la Combe (2001) 629–30, who resists this reading.

Overall in his translation, Romagnoli sought what may well be implicit in the original and made it explicit, and did so with the clear intention of 'popularising' his translation: not only did he employ a 'lexicon' that 'need[ed] to be (widely) understood', he also shaded the varied nuances of Aeschylus' characters so as to bring to light their various traits, making them readily identifiable by the audience.[66]

Tragedy, according to Romagnoli, 'is much more reminiscent of melodrama in form and structure than modern tragedy'.[67] This is why Romagnoli composed no less than five musical pieces for the *Agamemnon*: a prelude composed for wind instruments and a string quartet that comes immediately before the watchman's speech; a second piece accompanied by woodwinds and harps in anapaestic rhythm sung at the entrance of the Chorus; a prayer to Zeus sung *a cappella* by the Chorus after the messenger's departure; an 'anguished monody' interpreted by the Chorus in response to Cassandra's prophecy; and an equally 'anguished lament' sung by the people of Argos in the closing scene, during which Agamemnon is carried off-stage in a coffin.[68] As noted by the Sicilian composer Giuseppe Mulè, Romagnoli 'had begun composing with elements derived from thorough academic research and later translated them into his own creation', which, nonetheless, respected the 'philological and archaeological exegesis' of the classical tradition.[69] These newly composed pieces were not all sung

[66] Romagnoli (1911) 71.
[67] Romagnoli (1918) 13, cf. also 21–2 and (1911) 111.
[68] The five pieces of music are detailed by Mulè, the composer and conductor who would later be recruited by the Institute to compose and oversee the music at the Syracusan performances from 1921 to 1936: AFI PR 1914, 'L'Ora' 17 April. Directorial notes on the translations held in the INDA Archives contain some important information on how to perform the choral odes. There is a 'cantato' at 40–85 and a 'recitato' at 85–103 (a good production required the Chorus to alternate between 'cantato' and 'recitato', argued Romagnoli 1911, 132). After 354, Romagnoli noted: 'Clytemnestra sings' – what she sings and which aria (there should not be any musical interruption here, according to Mulè) is unclear; after 680 (the messenger's departure), there appears another note: 'cantato' (which probably refers to the a cappella prayer to Zeus mentioned by Mulè).
[69] Ibid.

by the twenty-four 'choreutai' alone (a number perhaps drawn from Greek comedy, which Romagnoli preferred), nor did they always correspond to the choral odes of the text from start to finish.[70] In some places, the music was sung by all the actors on stage along with the Chorus – who mostly remained static in a semicircle around the centre-staged *thyméle* (**fig. 1**);[71] in others, it was sung solely by the Chorus *a cappella*.[72] An orchestra was hidden behind the theatre, in the woods.

The music, the Chorus and the actors were the on-stage expression of what Romagnoli believed was the hallmark of Aeschylus' tragedies, and of his *Oresteia* in particular; namely, 'picturesque' and 'grand' actions and characters, creating 'impressive movements of crowds'.[73] Thus, not only did the Chorus, along with the main characters of the tragedy, walk and move on stage: more than a hundred extras also appeared (**fig. 2**).[74] Some posed as the people of Argos, some as Aegisthus' soldiers, some as Agamemnon's soldiers coming back from Troy and some were Clytemnestra's maidens.

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[70] Romagnoli cut the choral odes throughout (substantiating his choice in 1911, 131); although there is no certainty concerning how much of the text was actually retained, the notes in the INDA copy of Romagnoli's translation report important information in this regard. The cuts are at *Ag*. 104–257 (i.e. part of the *parodos*), 284–319 (Clytemnestra's account of the beacon relay), 337–50 (Clytemnestra's recitation of the omen about the Acheans at Troy) and 355–455 (part of the first stasimon).

[71] All figures are contained in Appendix C.

[72] Romagnoli (1918) 24 ff. regularly employs twenty-four members of the Chorus (when we know there twelve for Aeschylus' tragedies, cf. Sommerstein 2010, 23). His argument overall is that this number, together with the necessity for a static Chorus, was a burden even for Aeschylus and his successors (cf. Romagnoli 1918, 21–2, 131: the Chorus were required to arrange themselves around the *thyméle* and remain in the same place for the entire performance – this was another of Romagnoli's fixations, far more prescriptive than the actual tradition, cf. Sommerstein 2010, 20). Aeschylus, according to Romagnoli, made the most of the Chorus in his *Oresteia* and rendered it profoundly psychological, an organic presence that fitted into the overall narrative without disrupting it (Romagnoli 1918, 70–2). The problematisation of the role of the chorus in tragedy, or better, the definition of the '*chorus as a problem*', derives from German idealism (cf. Billings, Budelmann, and Macintosh 2013, 6; Goldhill 2013 and Güthenke 2013).

[73] Romagnoli (1918) 44. The presence of 'grand' masses of people was also required by the depth of the scenery designed by Cambellotti (cf. Corsi 1939, 65).

[74] Amongst the *dramatis personae* listed at the beginning of his translation, Romagnoli included: 'guards, Agamemnon's and Aegisthus' followers, Trojan prisons, people of Argos' (Romagnoli 1914, 7).

These ‘grand’ actions resulted in Agamemnon entering the stage on a horse-drawn chariot, followed by another one carrying Cassandra; in a long, sumptuous red carpet which was unrolled down the massive stairs of the palace; in Aegisthus’ soldiers positioning themselves to start a fight with the people of Argos, who screamed in rebellion after Clytemnestra’s revelation of the murder; and finally, in the actual funeral procession that closed the play, where all the actors on stage moved at the pace of Romagnoli’s *thrênos* (**fig. 3**).[75]

As expected, the scenery was an archaeological reproduction of the recently discovered Mycenae. Duilio Cambellotti, who had previously worked for D’Annunzio, replicated the setting suggested in D’Annunzio’s *Città Morta* and in most of the early European performances of the *Agamemnon*.[76] A six-metre-high cyclopic wall with a faithful imitation of the Lion Gate surrounded the archaic Atreides’ Palace; and this was flanked by a 16-metre-high tower, on the top of which the watchman sat, dog-like, to catch sight of the beacon announcing the capture of Troy (**fig. 1**).[77]

The costumes designed by Bruno Puozzo were in keeping with Cambellotti’s archaeological setting, and were, as noted by one reviewer, ‘an exact reconstruction of Mycenaean costumes’.[78] The twenty-four old men of Argos wore ample white tunics and supported themselves with sticks (**fig. 3**); Clytemnestra’s maidens were adorned with dark tunics embroidered with the Late Geometric motifs that Paolo Orsi, a famous

[75] The employment of massed ranks of extras in the production is oddly reminiscent of the Roman staging practices deprecated at Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.2 (concerning the performance of Accius’ *Clytemnestra* at the opening of the theatre of Pompey, in which the triumphal entry of Agamemnon reperforms the Eastern triumph of Pompey), and Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.187–207.
[76] Cambellotti created the scenery and costumes for D’Annunzio’s *La Nave* (Rome, Teatro Argentina, January 11 1908).
[77] Cf. AFI PR 1914, ‘Aretusa’ 2 April. On how and by whom it was built, cf. Bonaiuto cited in Norcia (2004) 33.
[78] AFI PR 1914, ‘La cronaca’ 16 April.

Italian archaeologist, was discovering on vases around Syracuse and Megara Hyblea (**fig. 4**).[79] Clytemnestra's costume was a 'scarlet dress embellished with imaginative decorations', whilst Agamemnon wore a 'helmet topped with a magnificent, vermilion crest'; engraved on his armour was a lion in gold and on his round shield an enraged bull (**figs. 5, 6, 7**).[80]

Romagnoli's intent in asking Cambellotti to replicate some of Orsi's archaeological discoveries in the costumes and scenery was twofold: on the one hand, it was to situate the performance at a specific time and place in history, and on the other, it furthered the wider project of a Sicilian (and Italian) renaissance. Orsi's discoveries were, in fact, revealing an entirely new world in which prehistoric and precolonial Sicily had developed culturally and socially in a way that was very similar to Mycenae.[81] The development of precolonial Sicily had been found to be so rich that the politician Orlando in his 1921 speech could state that much of the beauty of later Greek-Sicilian art, architecture and theatre should be ascribed to the very special marriage of the ancient Greek world with the autochthons. In other words, without this pre-existing Sicilian culture, the highly-praised Greek-Sicilian culture would have never achieved the heights it did.[82]

The 1914 re-enactment of Greek tragedy, then, distinguished itself from other European attempts to revive Greek tragedy because, Orlando continued:

> The fecund root that generated a new greatness and civilisation was indeed here. No one ever saw a more touched audience, or a better one, a people,

[79] The resemblance between the costumes and Orsi's discoveries was even more stunning in the *Choephoroe*, staged in 1921 (cf. Bordignon 2012, 36).
[80] AFI PR 1914, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 17 April.
[81] Leighton (1986) 15 argues that Orsi 'was apparently drawn to the island [Sicily] not so much by the splendors of the Greek period as by the desire to discover the archaeological evidence for the pre-Greek Sikels and Sicans'; cf. also Orsi (1889) and (1923), where Orsi provided a synthesis of Sicilian prehistory.
[82] Cf. Orlando (1921) 6.

> than the one that witnessed the 1914 performances: indeed, this people is the true descendent of the Siceliotes, the legitimate heir of that civilisation. May an institute arise here […], may it be a perennial hearth and resource to a most special culture.[83]

These words chime with D'Annunzio's 'Latin-Mediterranean Renaissance' and with the modern poet's desire to reawaken 'the Latin spirit'. The particular language and special combination of Orlando's words are eloquent testimony to both a 'local' territorial valorisation, one that Gargallo and everybody else on the Committee was working towards, but also to another, rather exclusive, valorisation, one that – not surprisingly – would be of much use to Fascism later on. This was the rhetoric that prompted the view that Sicilians alone (and it would be extremely easy to substitute Italians in general for Sicilians) are the true descendants of the ancient Greeks; or better, it was the rhetoric that afforded the view that the particular fusion of Greeks and Sicels produced the most noble forms of culture.

Yet, as seen in D'Annunzio's avant-garde theatre, the nature of the 1914 performance of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* went also beyond its local and nationalist valorisations and attracted huge attention from all around the world. More than fifteen thousand spectators came from all over Italy, England, France, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and even America, testifying to the internationalism of the 1914 performance.[84] The special correspondent to the *New York Sun* reported that 'all was reproduced with "historical exactness". Costumes were perfect reproductions of the dresses worn in Greece copied from vases'. The performance was 'so impressive and absorbed the attention of the spectators to such an extent that one could hardly believe that the tragedy had been written nearly twenty centuries ago'.[85] The *Morning Post*

[83] Ibid., 8.
[84] See, amongst others, AFI PR 1914, 'The Daily Graphic' 21 April; 'Italie' 17 April; 'The Morning Post' 19 April; 'The New York Sun' 10 May; and 'Aberdeen Free Press' 28 April.
[85] AFI PR 1914, 'New York Sun' May 10.

confirmed this view: 'If he [Aeschylus] watched the rehearsals from the Elysian Fields, his spirit must have longed to assist. There was something in yesterday's representation which suggested that his inspiration was yet alive and working amongst the performers', and, the *Morning Post* continued, Ettore Romagnoli 'is a "Gilbert Murray"'.[86] The French press spoke about Romagnoli's music as 'suffisamment classique, pure, touchante […]. Il se fondre sans ennui avec la tragédie antique'.[87]

Not only did the 1914 Agamemnon attest to a striking gathering of people from all around the world, who appreciated it as a true evocation of the past; it also was later held to be a prophetic evocation of the past, as Gargallo recalled in the same speech from 1934 with which we began this chapter:

> Many will remember that distant April of 1914, when whoever asserted that the peoples were about to horribly throw themselves armed against one another, would not have been believed and, as Cassandra, would have been laughed at. […] On that tepid afternoon, for the first time after many centuries, Syracuse saw its theatre thronged with people again.[88]

The *Agamemnon* was thus a truly prophetic tragedy, which told a prophecy that, as all prophecies, was not listened to: a tragedy that talked about the absence of Agamemnon more than his presence. And Leopoldo Metlicovitz's manifesto (**fig. 8**) played precisely on this absence/presence motif in his poster: it depicts the Delphic tripod, used as a seat from which the Pythian priestess was said to deliver her divine oracles; and a laurel wreath hangs down from the tripod, which according to the myth meant that the seat had been left unoccupied by the priestess. Had the priestess deliberately freed up her seat to allow the actors to 'prophesy' as part of their performance in her stead or was her absence prophesying the plot of the play itself? Or was she instead

[86] AFI PR 1914, 'The Morning Post' April 19.
[87] AFI PR 1914, 'Italie' April 17.
[88] Gargallo (2014) 120–1.

prophesying the utter destruction of the European nations and their peoples and the consequent *absence* of that particular kind of 'tragedy' from the stage, until some years after the war, in 1921?

Choephoroe ***and Syracuse's final consecration to art***

In November 1920, a British delegation of twenty journalists accompanied by the Italian artist Fortunino Matania (at the time, illustrator for *The Sphere*) visited the Sicilian Greek Theatre and interviewed Count Gargallo about the return of Aeschylus to the Sicilian stage the following April,[89] when his *Choephoroe* was scheduled to delight Italians and foreigners again, seven years after the *Agamemnon*.[90] On 23 November, *The Times* reported on their trip, stating that the revival 'bids to be by far the finest that has yet been attempted anywhere', an undertaking that is to be 'more than a solemn literary effort'; it is rather to be 'an exact reproduction of what took place there when Aeschylus directed the *Persae*, when Pindar sang to Zeus of Olympia, when Plato ascended the marble-lined steps, when blind Timoleon pleaded with the people'.[91]

Such a prediction was by no means wide of the mark: the scenery of *Choephoroe* turned out to be a 'vision d'une inoubliable pureté hellénique' and the costumes 'd'une barbarie somptueuse et raffinée', according to the Belgian Press.[92] Cambellotti, at the orders of Romagnoli, followed the archaeological reconstruction that had dominated in 1914. When writing about his first decisions under Fascism in 1938, Cambellotti

[89] The exact dates were: 16, 17, 20, 24 and 28 April 1921.
[90] Cf. Giorgio Florida in AFI PR 1921, 'L'Ora, Palermo' 20 January.
[91] AFI PR 1921, 'The Times' 23 November.
[92] AFI PR 1921, 'Nation Belge' 4 May.

noted with dismay how 'archaeology was in fact the essential coefficient that guided the aesthetic of those (re)evocations'. He now saw how Schliemann's discoveries were 'tyrannising the vision of art in those early performances'. For him, this was a 'misunderstanding', because the 'barbaric Greece that emerged from these excavations was unknown to the Greek tragedians of historic Greece'.[93]

Cambellotti's scenery comprised a twofold stage: on the right, there stood the archaic palace in deep and tantalising red, flanked by the same tower that had impressed thousands of spectators in 1914 and looking out onto a sort of agora-like space in the front.[94] On the left was Agamemnon's tomb, constructed as an altar on which a tall funerary stele, topped with the reproduction of a winged sphinx, was raised. Such asymmetric scenery was formally divided by a Mycenaean-style fountain and, on both sides, there were rocks and tall cypresses to complete the background (**figs. 9, 10**).

The splitting of the stage into two was Romagnoli's idea, as was the altar-stele representation of Agamemnon's tomb, claimed to be taken from the vase iconography.[95] Contrary to neo-classical theory, Romagnoli argued, there was no such a thing as the 'famous three unities' except in the 'pedantic minds of scholars who did not read Greek theatre'.[96] *Choephoroe* is a good testimony to this: the first part of the tragedy takes place in a suburb of Argos, whilst the second part moves to the acropolis, before the Atreidai's palace. To the Greeks, continued Romagnoli, a choral ode was

[93] Cambellotti (1982) 54.
[94] Cf. Vicre's comparison between how the scenery was constructed when Aeschylus presented it and Cambellotti's creation, especially cf. Vicre's insistence on the importance of the 'agora' (Vicre 1921, 4–5).
[95] Pace (1921) 10.
[96] AFI PR 1921, 'Mezzogiorno' 9 April.

sufficient to provide the audience with a sense of distance between the two main actions, but to a modern audience, such a transition needed a more 'modern' artifice.[97]

Romagnoli conceived a bucolic (opera-like) *intermezzo*, in which some shepherds entered the stage from behind and directed their flocks in between the rocks and cypresses, whilst servants lit the torches in front of the palace; and the twenty-four chorus members after processing down to draw water from the Mycenaean fountain gathered around the Dionysian *thyméle*.[98] Such a rural idyll was accompanied by the dramatic notes of Geni Sadero, the Italian singer who had famously crystallised a memorial to the fallen of World War I in a song. The 'irredentist' singer, as she was called, chanted the content of the 'transitional' stasimon (*Cho*. 585–652, probably heavily cut),[99] 'modulating' it gently on a 'Sicilian popular motif, deciphered from a Greek stele'.[100]

This was only one amongst the many 'human' scenes that had made the 1921 Sicilian *Choephoroe* a memorable performance. The special combination of the unique historical moment in which the play was staged, after years of extreme and unnecessary suffering, and the particularly religious and dramatic intensity of the play, especially through the Chorus, led the press to accord to this performance an especially profound meaning and reconciliatory powers. This sequel to Agamemnon's story had

[97] Ibid.
[98] Cf. AFI PR 1921, 'Resto del Carlino' 20 April.
[99] The example held at the INDA Archives does not contain any interesting notes with regards to cuts to the play, but Silvio D'Amico in AFI PR 1921, 'Idea Nazionale' 21 April reported how 'cuts had mostly interested the choral odes', save one, especially 'dear to all scholars who had ever lingered over the Aeschylean text', in the recognition scene (**fig. 15**): Romagnoli 'suppressed the detail of Orestes' feet tracks' and jumped directly to Orestes' showing a cloak Electra had weaved for him.
[100] Ibid.

also recently returned to the Italian stage no less than three times (1918, 1919, 1920) in Alfieri's retelling, after a decade of silence.[101]

Cassandra's words in 1914 had proved 'prophetic', one newspaper article stated, since the War came soon after to 'sweep away human beings and their possessions'; now, after its ending, 'our broken Humanity seeks out amongst the still smoking ruins the path to the Truth'. What better a path to tread on than one that could re-establish the 'religious cult of art'? Such a 'cult', which was then being 'resurrected' in Syracuse, called for the 'patrimony of all […] and will, today, after much destruction, cooperate strongly in the spiritual reconstruction of Humanity'.[102] Along similar lines was the Minister of Science and Fine Arts, Jules Destrée, in a speech delivered before the first performance. Destrée accorded to the present theatrical undertaking the power of

> redirecting [humanity] to that sense of measure that was proper to Greek civilisation, with the efficacious tools of art, a sense of measure that our modern age had lost to a desire to supersede the limits in wealth, power and culture, spurring its nations to a gory war.[103]

In other words, art was seen as a powerful means to reconstruct a destroyed civilisation, because it appealed to the (universal, as they would argue) dramatic beauty of humanity.

This dramatic beauty was especially present in the 'most human touches' of the Chorus' accompaniment to Orestes' matricide.[104] It was the 'choral lyric intensity',

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[101] Cf. Appendices A and B, the latter of which lists all productions that staged classical material under Fascism (1924–1939). Two of the Alfieri's above-quoted productions had Annibale Ninchi and Letizia Celli, both actors who appeared later in many Syracusan productions. Laetizia Celli was involved in the 1924 and 1927 productions, whilst Ninchi in the 1922, 1933, 1936, 1939, and 1948 (cf. Ch. 6). Alfieri's widespread presence on the outdoor stage as well as his strikingly touching retelling of Aeschylus' play might have thus contributed to the overall choice of the *Choephoroe* for the Syracusan festival.
[102] AFI PR 1921, 'L'Ora, Palermo' 20 January.
[103] Cited in Gargallo (2014) 99.
[104] AFI PR 1921, 'Resto del Carlino' 20 April. See also Vicre's insistence on the importance of the Chorus' dramatic presence in an article published in the first issue of the *Bollettino* (Vicre 1921, 7–8).

argued Romagnoli, that '[won] the audience over from the first scenes'.[105] As in 1914, the Chorus was divided between 'singers' and 'actors'. This time, though, the 'singing Chorus' was not embodied in the many extras on stage, but in approximately one hundred women (mostly young women picked out from the Liceo and Istituto Tecnico of Syracuse), who were off-stage, standing beside the orchestra (composed of harps, flutes, timpani and double basses) and their musical director Gaetano Emanuel-Calì, who had taught them Giuseppe Mulé's difficult compositions for the production.[106] The 'acting Chorus' too was mainly comprised of young women from the Liceo at Syracuse, with some notable exceptions, such as Bice Lami (teacher of Italian and Latin Literatures and Philosophy as well as a professional reciter) and the already mentioned Geni Sadero.[107]

One major novelty of this Chorus, one that would develop into a proper feature of the choruses at Syracuse thereafter, was stage movement. The press mentioned these repeatedly as a notable innovation.[108] In the initial procession of Electra (Teresa Franchini) and the Chorus to Agamemnon's tomb, each holding a vase that reproduced the same geometric-zoomorphic figures of the sub-geometric period that Orsi had recently brought to light (**fig. 11**), the Chorus, as they were approaching the tomb, made 'most gentle movements' at the pace of a 'mourning dirge accompanied by harp and double bass notes'.[109] Similar movements were detected during the *intermezzo*, accompanied by Geni Sadero's plangent notes. Later, the marquis Filippo Gargallo (Mario Gargallo's brother), a collaborator of the then bi-monthly journal of the future

[105] AFI PR 1921, 'Mezzogiorno' 9 April.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Cf. AFI PR 1921, 'Caffaro' 21 April.
[108] Cf. Ibid., 'Mezzogiorno' 9 April and 'Resto del Carlino' 20 April.
[109] AFI PR 1921, 'Caffaro' 21 April.

INDA (*Bollettino del Comitato per le Rappresentazioni classiche*) and a primary financial sponsor of the performances, traced the birth of a 'dancing Chorus' precisely back to this performance, in which 'movements' appeared as in 'plastic tableaux'.[110]

The idea of 'plastic tableaux' came from Duilio Cambellotti's beautifully drawn stage sketches, where details of movement and space are meticulous. The sketches of Electra and the Chorus' procession to Agamemnon's tomb (**figs. 12, 13**), a modified version of which was used as the image on the poster (**fig. 14**) – sketches of Orestes and Pylades' arrival to Argos with their servants, of Clytemnestra, Cilissa curled up at the false news of Orestes' death – had been put on display at the Teatro Argentina in Rome along with others of the costumes and scenery as a kind of exhibition on the upcoming *Choephoroe*.[111] Yet, these clearly also served as inspirational images to construct some core scenes of the play.

In keeping with Romagnoli's idea of Aeschylus' scenes as being 'grand' and 'picturesque', the theatre company directed by Giuseppe Masi (Aegisthus) (at Romagnoli's suggestion) made extensive use of extras again. Maidens and servants were needed for the *intermezzo* and later for Clytemnestra (Emilia Varini); some extras posing as soldiers came out of the palace with Aegisthus; yet, the largest number of extras (around a hundred) was employed to pose as the people of Argos running up to the palace from different directions to the news of Clytemnestra's death.[112] Clytemnestra's showing of her breast was also noted as a most effective and modern choice as well as Orestes' waving of his father's cloak still soaked with blood (*Cho.* 980 ff.), whilst standing beside the two dead corpses of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus

[110] Di Castel Lentini (1924) 4.
[111] Cf. AFI PR 1921, 'Corriere della Sera' 28 January.
[112] Cf. especially AFI PR 1921, 'Caffaro' 21 April.

and screaming at the horrified people of Argos. 'Io, lo confesso, mia madre uccisi' ('I, I confess it, my mother I killed';[113] an emphatic stand-alone line from *Cho*. 1027), uttered Orestes (Ettore Berti) provoking their shrill cry (**fig. 1**). But 'the fact that it was to obey Apollo's command calmed them down' (cf. *Cho.* 1029–32), reported a newspaper journal, which opened 'a breach to let an already maddened Orestes pass through'.[114]

Yet, these 'grand' and 'most human' actions, these 'epic' and 'religious ceremonies', as one journalist called them,[115] were not only an expression of a post-war collective desire to reconstruct humanity. There was some insistence in the press on underlining how Mulè's 'popular music' was, for example, 'derived from Sicilian popular motifs', which were 'the most faithful continuation of Greek music'.[116] Or, the Hellenic-like monuments were not just a 'memory for Sicilians', but a 'living reality', commented a Neapolitan journalist.[117] Sicilians 'are [indeed] descendants of those Greeks and still believe Hellenic myths and legends', stated *The Times*, and their 'ruins […] seem rather incomplete and only awaiting better days for completion'.[118]

In other words, there existed another side to the 'grand actions' of Aeschylean memory and this had to do with the Italian-Renaissance project with which this chapter began. The common yearning for the establishment of an institute for the performances

[113] Romagnoli (1921) 74.
[114] AFI PR 1921, 'Caffaro' 21 April.
[115] AFI PR 1921, 'Corriere di Catania' 17 April.
[116] Romagnoli in an interview: AFI PR 1921, 'Mezzogiorno' 13 April. See also 'Caffaro' 21 April: 'the music seems to have been composed by Aeschylus himself', or 'Il Giorno' 20 April, which talks about a 'kinship' between the Greek with the Sicilian music.
[117] AFI PR 1921, 'Il Giorno' 20 April.
[118] AFI PR 1920, 'The Times' 23 November. The local and international nature of the Institute was especially supported by its founder, the Count Gargallo, who, as an aristocrat of his time, had travelled quite extensively in his life and was thus particularly open-minded and experienced as well as emotionally attached to his own land (as opposed to most Sicilians, who had been anchored to Sicily their whole life). His insistence on the 'internationality' of *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe*, on the importance of an event that 'transcends the limits not just of our Island, but of the Nation itself' is proof of this (Gargallo 2014, 11).

at Syracuse was now all the more rooted in the desire for Sicily to become *the* unique place to perform Greek theatre. Indeed, from its very beginnings this institute possessed a nationalistic side, well expressed in Orlando's words on 21 April, and a potentially international dimension through its valorisation of the Sicilian territory, as expressed in Destrée's wish that 'Syracuse would become for classical art what Bayreuth is for lyric art'.[119]

Such an institute, namely Syracuse's formal consecration to art, would possess a 'library in which there should be theatre-related works written in different languages and from different periods', Gargallo stated in an interview; seminars would also take place 'in preparation for the performances, on Greek theatre in general and on the specific plays of that year', he continued. The seminars would tackle such problems 'from an archaeological, literary and musical perspective' (the same three fields that Romagnoli had argued should be part of the new classical curriculum in his 1911 paper). A literary journal (published for the first time in 1921 on a monthly basis) should also be established and publish issues inherent to Greek theatre and related subjects only.[120] The Italian State together with its Minister for Education (the idealist philosopher and literary critic Benedetto Croce: see further below) should also make a contribution towards the establishment of such an institute.[121] It was also hoped that the king would finally 'cross the Messina strait, to render the inauguration of this new cycle of performances more solemn' (especially since Sicily had proved its

[119] AFI PR 1921, 'Jour' 27 April.
[120] Cf. AFI PR 1921, 'Corriere della Sera' 26 January. The first issue of the *Bollettino* came out February 1921.
[121] AFI PR 1920, 'Idea Nazionale' 17 November.

'attachment to the crown in the last elections'),[122] something that would happen in 1922 with the performances of *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Bacchae*.[123]

At the same time as the Syracuse committee was fighting for its formal, national and international, recognition with the founding of their institute, modern forces, futurists *in primis* (particularly active in Sicily), seeing the great success that the ancient theatre was enjoying again after centuries of silence, were arguing for a modern purpose for it – 'a competition should be held amongst young Sicilians to perform a modern play', claimed a futurist manifesto in 1921.[124] 'Agamemnon, Orestes, Clytemnestra? [...] Who are they? And who cares about them anymore?', contested an earlier futurist manifesto distributed before the *Choephoroe* première.[125] Whilst such claims never caught on, the soon-to-be Institute could not avoid modern influence altogether and keep its archaeological setting untainted.

The future INDA never lost against the futurist ban on Greek tragedy, but it soon became an urgent need to accommodate itself to contemporary tastes (of which Futurism was one such expression); and a specific (ideologically informed) turn to

[122] AFI PR 1921, 'Corriere della Sera' 28 January. In the political elections of 1919, when in the north and centre of Italy the PSI (Socialist Italian Party) had gained more votes and the PPI (Popular Italian Party) was second in the south and in Sicily especially, the PLD (Liberal-Democratic Party) had obtained the majority.

[123] According to Gargallo (2014) 3, the king's visit in 1922 had multiplied 'open-air performances' throughout Italy.

[124] On 11 June 1921, the manifesto *Contro il teatro greco* ('Against the Greek theatre') came out: it was signed by Carrozza, Jannelli, Nicastro, and Vant'Antò. Cf. Marinetti (2006) 494.

[125] This first manifesto was published on 16 April 1921 and was titled: *Utilizziamo il teatro greco di Siracusa. Manifesto dei futuristi siciliani* ('Let's use the Greek theatre of Syracuse. Manifesto of the Sicilian Futurists'). Carrozza, Etna, Jannelli, Lo Presti, Nicastro, Shrapnel *et al*. were amongst the signatories. The flyer was given out to the incoming spectators on 16 April. Marinetti landed in Syracuse on 18 April with some futurists from Messina and Catania, amongst whom Francesco Carrozza, Giorgio La Pira, Giacomo Etna, Vann'Antò, Luciano Nicastro and Guglielmo Jannelli. He and the group held a meeting at the Teatro Epicarmo the next day and were probably at the ancient theatre to see the *Choephoroe* on 21 April (AFI PR 1921, 'Idea Nazionale' 26 April and 'Caffaro' Caffaro 21 April). See also Vicre's answer to their claims, in an article that emphasises how first there needs to be an education of the spirit (formed on the classics) and only then the educated spirit can fly off and produce something new (Vicre 1922, 10–12).

modernity is already visible in the scenery for Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* in 1924. Ultimately, neither the turn to modernity in the set designs nor the sense of internationalism that dominated the Syracusan stage in the first two productions was able to withstand the rising tide of Fascism in the 1920s. Mussolini saw in the festival the political and cultural potential to promote a strong national identity. By moving the Institute from Syracuse to Rome and centralising the management of its activities in the hands of a few, fascist learned men, Mussolini made the Institute part of Fascism's nationalistic propaganda.

Chapter Five

Aeschylus, modernity and the new 'classical' ideal

> Today more than ever, [our Institute] appears as one of the bodies which the Fascist State has entrusted with the intellectual renewal of the Nation and the cultural expansion of Italy. And with today's triumphant movement to lead our Homeland back to its glorious classical tradition and re-discover the imperial heights of Greece and Rome, our Institution seems truly destined to be in the vanguard of such a movement, which has its roots in the history as well as the future of Italy, and not in mere intellectualism. [Our Institute] gathers Italian people at the classical celebrations and educates them about their past.[1]

Thus pronounced the editorial board of the academic journal of what was now named the National Institute of Ancient Drama (INDA), in a propagandistic inaugural article after the new, all-fascist governing body had been installed at the Institute's headquarters. A Royal Decree on 2 March 1929 had sanctioned some modifications to the statutes of INDA: one provided for INDA's offices to move to Rome (art. 2); a second, for the election of the President by the Prime Minister and for the installation of the general Director of Antiquity and Fine Arts and the director of dramatic arts from the Ministry of Education on INDA's Governing Council (art. 5).[2]

It was only a matter of time before Gargallo, vehemently opposed to the 'mass-ification' of open-air theatres and hostile to the government's interference, was removed from office in July 1929.[3] Biagio Pace replaced him as President of INDA at

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[1] *Dioniso* (1929) 215. The very same words were published again in 1939 by Mario Corsi (1939) 76 in his recollection of the development of theatre under Fascism.

[2] Art. 5 also stated that the Ministry of Education should supervise the annual programme of the Institute's activities. The actual document is in AFI D 1929, 'Royal Decree' 2 March 1929; a summary was published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* on 12 April 1929 (cf. *Dioniso* 1929, 214).

[3] In an undated letter to the Minister of Education, probably written at the beginning of 1929, Gargallo complained about the government's decision to include in the number of venues hosting classical performances theatres like Taormina's, where 'there are only a few ruins and very little trace of the ancient theatre' (AFI D 1929, 'Letter from Gargallo to the Minister of Education'). In his opinion, it was an 'excessive sense of patriotism' that drove this frenzied theatrical activity, which then resulted in some artistic disasters (ibid.).

Benito Mussolini's behest. Pace was a perfect fit for the role: not only was he a professor of archaeology at the universities of Palermo, Pisa, Naples and Rome; he was also – and most importantly – a member of parliament and the president of the legislative Commission for National Education.[4] With Pace as President and the appointment of Franco Liberati – the Director of the National School of Drama in Rome – to assist with artistic direction, INDA's conceptual as well as physical enslavement to Rome was complete.[5]

INDA, as the opening quotation well explains, was not only the organisation that revived classical plays in the best preserved of the ancient theatres; it was also now assigned the task of bringing about the 'intellectual renewal of the Nation' and its 'cultural expansion'. INDA's story is thus deeply woven into the very fabric of Fascism and its overall project of refashioning classical culture in order to underpin its ideology.[6] The Institute was charged with overseeing not only the classical productions in Syracuse; its task, made official on 17 February 1927 by ministerial decree, was also to supervise performances of classical plays all over Italy, which – by the late 1930s – involved as many as eleven locations intended for that purpose.[7]

[4] See *Dioniso* (1929) 216.
[5] See Bordignon (2012) 90–1 on the role of Franco Liberati in the INDA performances.
[6] The appropriation of classical culture by Fascism has recently become the object of numerous studies, the latest of which is Roche (2018). Whilst analyses of Fascism's exploitation of Roman antiquity (see Roche 2018a, 4 for a bibliography) as well as of its more general politics of spectacle (see Scarpellini 1989, Schnapp 1993, Pedullà 1994, Berghaus 1996) have flourished since the last decades of the twentieth century, a direct focus on the whole range of appropriations of Greek and Roman theatre is still missing.
[7] Cf. AFI D 1927, 'Statute approved by Royal decree on 17 February 1927'. For a detailed history of the different statutes of INDA from 1925 to 1930, see Di Martino (2019c).

1924: Fascism's theatre for the masses

The story of INDA's involvement with Fascism began in 1924: this is not just the year which saw Mussolini at the performance of *Septem contra Thebas*; it also represented a rather important moment in the development of fascist theatre aesthetics in general. On 15–16 January in Milan, the national congress of drama and opera took place, laying the foundations for the creation of the fascist Corporation of Theatre.[8] As the fascist intellectual Franco Ciarlantini reported afterwards in *Il Teatro d'Italia*, the soon-to-be-launched Corporation was intended 'to set a most significant and effective example of the activities of the fascist union as well as serving once more as victorious proof of the desire for renewal that is inspiring Italy'.[9] He appealed to everyone interested in 'creating the best artistic programme, without forgetting political necessities and the goals of expanding the National Government'.[10] Soon after in the same year, Mussolini endorsed the educational aspect of theatre and of 'all the other artistic Institutes', advising that they should be thought of as a 'school' destined to form 'taste and sensibility' and 'refine the highest and most powerful gifts of the soul'.[11]

On 31 May of the same year, Silvio D'Amico, a leading figure in Italian theatre before, during and after Fascism, opened a debate about whether the state should subsidise dramatic theatre and how.[12] The Italian theatre had been and was still in a critical situation: elsewhere in Europe the rise of the 'régisseur' had led to a reformation of theatre, but Italy was still anchored to outmoded theatrical

[8] Cf. Scarpellini (1989) 33.
[9] Ciarlantini quoted in ibid., 33.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Mussolini delivered this speech on 20 May in the Campidoglio; Mussolini (1951–1963) 188.
[12] D'Amico (1924).

representations centred on improvisation and stereotyped dramatic scenes, the so-called 'teatro all'antica italiana' ('theatre in the style of ancient Italy').[13] Instead of creating new spaces, the government at first seemed keen on following its previous policy of subsidising companies with small prizes that functioned as incentives for theatre companies to include elements of fascist propaganda.[14]

Besides financially aiding some theatrical companies, however, Fascism soon understood the importance of what INDA had already begun: performances of the classics in open-air theatres. On the one hand, presentations of the classics fit well into the overall project of leading Italy 'back to its glorious classical tradition' – which was to be achieved not through theatre alone – and of '[tying] the values of the past to the aspirations of the present', in Pace's words.[15] On the other hand, open-air theatres proved incredibly useful to Fascism's goal of fashioning a new, mass theatre.[16] By bringing an elite cultural form such as theatre to the people not only did Fascism intend to forge a 'genuine mass and national public', as Jeffrey Schnapp argues;[17] it also conveyed the idea that it was the first time a government took an interest in the masses (including the rural masses): the Italian theatre 'has obeyed the canon of fascist doctrine that it should move towards the people', wrote Nicola De Pirro in 1938.[18]

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[13] Cf. Molinari (1991) 251 on the ascendancy of the 'director' in Europe, and Pedullà (1994) 47–84 and Ferrara (2004) 15–19 on the Italian situation. In 1931, D'Amico published a long pamphlet titled 'La crisi del teatro' ('The crisis of theatre'; cf. D'Amico 1931), which provided detailed observations on the critical situation in Italian theatre.

[14] Cf. Maccari (2006/2007) 34. In the 1930s, the practice of subsidising theatre companies by means of small and large prizes became the norm (cf. Pedullà 1994, 142).

[15] From Pace's speech on the importance of performing the classics, delivered at the inauguration of the new council, which was attended by the Minister of Education (*Dioniso* 1929a, 308).

[16] The appraisals of open-air theatre were many: the combination of a beautiful, natural background and ancient architecture was thought to be the perfect environment not just for Greek tragedy, but also for Italian prose and musical theatre: cf., amongst others, Bonajuto (1929) 99–100, 104–5; Corsi (1939) 27, 33. D'Amico (1929) 157 wrote: 'Dramatic Theatre's survival lies in its return to the origins, that is, outdoors'.

[17] Schnapp (1996) 15.

[18] De Pirro (1938) 15. Cf. also Scarpellini (1989) 114 and Schnapp (1996) 15.

The Institute of Ancient Drama and its 'moral' function

The fascist interest in the Institute of Ancient Drama was at first welcomed and encouraged by the Committee, as the long-overdue acknowledgement they were expecting from the state. Indeed, after *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroe* and the other two plays performed in 1922, *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Bacchae* (the latter two performed in the presence of King Vittorio Emanuele), the Committee strongly suggested that some sort of formal, substantial recognition had to come from the Italian government to ratify the Committee's commendable efforts.

The Institute had indeed made some solid progress since Gargallo's speech in 1923 and since Orlando's announcement of his strong desire that an Institute be established in Syracuse that would look after not just the organisation of annual or biennial performances, but also the people's education in ancient theatre in all its aspects.[19] The *Bollettino del Comitato per le Rappresentazioni classiche* ('Bullettin of the Committee for the classical performances'), a journal that originally focused on the Syracuse productions but later began to run general articles on ancient Greek theatre, archaeology and music generally, first appeared in 1921 and is published (although somewhat inconsistently) under the name *Dioniso*, down to the present day.[20] Significant energies were put into creating a *schola cantorum* that recruited male and female students from the local liceo and was to serve as the main 'singing Chorus'

[19] Cf. Ch. 4 for Gargallo and Orlando's speeches in this regard.

[20] The journal came out for the first time in January 1921 and was published monthly until March 1922; an issue was published in April–May 1922 as the last of that year and it restarted again the year after, publishing an issue in April–May 1923, after which it became bimonthly until April–May 1924. After that, there were no volumes until June 1928, when it restarted as the *Bollettino dell'Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico* and went back to being a monthly journal. From 1930 to 1959, INDA changed its name to *Dioniso* and made it annual. Between 1960 and 1975, *Dioniso* appeared triennially, and from 1975 to 1994, annually. The last series of *Dioniso* restarted in 2002 after a long break and it is still being published annually.

in the performances.[21] After the great success of the dances introduced in the 1922 productions, directed by Lilli, Jeanne and Emilie Braun, there was a growing desire (never actually realised) to create a Syracuse-based dance school devoted to providing the corps de ballet for the Sicilian productions.[22]

In the mind of its creators, the Institute had a specific 'moral' function, which Gargallo and the Syracuse Committee thought the Italian government should recognise by approving it as a 'Moral Institution' ('Ente Morale').[23] Particularly interesting in this respect was a speech by Enrico Giaracà, a Syracusan politician and member of the Committee since its inception, a 'propagandistic speech', as it was called, to promote the performances of 1924. Giaracà's insistence on the uniqueness of the ancient theatre in Syracuse and on the 'resurrecting' potential that these performances held for the city was not at all new; what was new, or, rather, what was *understood* to be new, was the 'moral' power that such performances could exercise to renew not only the art of theatre, but also the human heart as touched by that art.[24] Giaracà referred to this 'ancient and noble tradition [of staging ancient plays]' and declared:

> The present Committee for the classical performances reaffirms magnificently [the principles of previous years] and has made these performances continue into our siècle, but with changed and higher purposes, renewing them now to reach a new form of aesthetic pleasure and artistic

[21] Cf. *Bollettino* (1923) 12.
[22] Cf. AFI PR 1924, 'Corriere della Calabria' 29 April: even though Romagnoli was at first sceptical about integrating dance into the Syracuse performances, dancing became an essential part of the performances, especially owing to the efforts of Gargallo and to the audience's great appreciation (see Gargallo's letter to Romagnoli, AFI D 1924, 11 March, in which he encouraged Romagnoli to include new dances in the *Septem contra Thebas* after the great success of the dances in 1922).
[23] The name surfaced in 1921 (AFI D 1921, 'Gargallo's letter to Orlando') and 1923 (Gargallo 2014, 80). A statute designating the Institute an 'Ente Morale' was approved, signed and published in the June–July 1923 *Bollettino* by the Committee, which then began waiting for a formal recognition by the Italian government so that it could commence working on its physical instantiation.
[24] Cf. Giaracà (1924) 2, 8. On the continual repetition by Committee members that the ancient Greek theatre in Syracuse had no equivalent in the world, see also Gargallo's interview in the 'Idea Nazionale' in 1923 (Gargallo 2014, 9–13), where he let slip some sort of misunderstanding that existed with the then-current Minister of Education Giovanni Gentile, who was supposedly blocking preparations for the 1924 performances for fear that the theatre would be ruined (see also AFI PR 1923, 'Ora' 18 October).

> education in the adoration of antiquity, a new form that is, at the same time, destined to exercise a beneficent *moral* influence on the modern, restless human soul, with a most incredible evocation of the serene Hellenic civilisation.[25]

In other words, the 'evocation of Hellenic civilisation' by the Sicilian people, the only ones properly allowed to evoke that past, served the purpose of not just elevating modern art in general, but the 'human soul' too; according to Giaracà, this new purpose transcended and at the same time upheld the qualities Greek tragedy possessed in antiquity.[26] The Institute would thus embody both a civic (the education of its citizens to art) and a moral (to elevate the human soul) function, dual purposes that would become problematic only when the 'moral' would be elided into the 'civic' under Fascism.[27]

Acting, singing and dancing in 'modern' Tiryns: the **Septem contra Thebas** *in performance*

Although modelled on the masonry tunnels of Mycenaean Tiryns, the scenery for the 1924 productions moved away from the elaborate archaeological reproductions of previous performances. When Cambellotti finally visited the theatre in Syracuse, he began thinking about how the 'architectural space' could be made appropriate for the plays performed there.[28] Undoubtedly swayed by the swing to modernity that was visible in many avant-garde artistic movements all over Italy and in Europe generally (especially Futurism), Cambellotti sought the true 'character' of each drama and each

[25] Giaracà (1924) 2, *my italics*.
[26] Cf. AFI PR 1923, 'Siciliana' 15 November, where it was stated that Sicilians are the 'true and perhaps only heirs of the Greek spirit'.
[27] See also AFI PR 1924, 'Unione' 3 March, in which the journalist Guglielmo Policastro emphasised that 'civic education' must be the main duty of the Institute.
[28] Cf. AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale dell'Isola' 27 April: Cambellotti visited the theatre for the first time on 25 April.

ancient playwright rather than aiming to impress audiences with quotations from the Greek world. 'Little by little', he argued in 1948, the provision of 'Greek atmosphere' did not necessarily require an obsequious 'reproduction of the architectural forms […] that Greece had left us'.[29] The premise that designing scenery for an ancient Greek tragedy unavoidably involved a detailed archaeological reproduction was a misunderstanding essentially derived from the 'foreign [i.e. American, English, French, German, etc.] conceptualisation of [such tragedy] as substantially a piece of the past'.[30] Instead, Cambellotti continued, the ancient authors 'have their own personalities', which stand out as 'independent from both the time and place in which they lived as authors' as well as 'from the time and place in which they set their plays'.[31]

Not surprisingly, the final results Cambellotti eventually attained were massive abstractions that reminded the spectator of the Greek spirit and the 'spirit of the drama',[32] and leaned towards a generalising 'architectonic and symmetrical unit that pleases the eye'.[33] Such a hyper-real space was obtained through an 'abstraction' process designed to carve out a 'solid architectonic line able to sum up the drama being performed'.[34] Responding to critics who complained that his scenery had nothing to do with Greece, Cambellotti argued that although 'the archaeological commentary [had] disappeared from the stage', the 'process' was 'still Greek', consisting mainly of the 'arrangement of triangular prisms, variable on each of their sides', a method that

[29] Cambellotti (1982) 96.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., 95.
[32] Ibid., 29.
[33] Ibid., 69.
[34] Ibid., 30.

was employed in ancient Greece.[35] Cambellotti's procedure was not about the inclusion of copious addition; rather, it was about conceptual and physical abstraction in order to 'make way for emotional and aesthetic preoccupations in tune with the play being performed'.[36]

The 1924 scenery thus aimed at reproducing the 'atmosphere of a city that is about to resist the bronze torrent invading it' (**figs. 1, 2**).[37] Two high sections of wall studded with shields enclosed labyrinth-like a circular forestage that represented the Theban agora. Rising from the wall, there were seven towers and the palace, all accessible from a complex system of tunnels, with multiple lateral passages. At the beginning of the play Eteocles emerged from the main tower to announce the imminent attack on his enemies, whilst the people of Thebes gathered on the agora to the accompaniment of war noises (**fig. 3**).[38]

The scenery, in fact, allowed for the 'movement of masses' – there were 400 extras on the stage for the *Septem contra Thebas* – that Romagnoli believed was required to stage this particular Aeschylean play. The extras played soldiers entering and exiting the numerous tunnels running behind and under the scenery, which was especially impressive when the war actually got underway (when the Chorus sang the second stasimon before the last messenger's entrance, *Sept.* 720–91); they also played 'frightened mothers' and the 'young, fluctuating between fear and uncertainty as to the outcome of war'.[39] Romagnoli argued that much of the *Septem contra Thebas* was

[35] Ibid., 75. See the critical comments about Cambellotti's supposedly 'non-Greek scenery' in the *Bollettino* (1924) 2.
[36] Cambellotti (1982) 72.
[37] Ibid., 69.
[38] Cf. AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 30 April.
[39] AFI PR 1924 'Giornale di Sicilia' 30 April.

'based on the movement of peoples', on the 'impetuous, rousing and swift movements of a perpetual clashing of armies and shouts' (**figs. 4, 5**).[40]

To the right of the set stood an altar with a carved sphinx, whilst on the other side were only seven of the eight statues of the gods who protected the city, mentioned at lines 98–165 (Jupiter, Juno, Poseidon, Pallas, Apollo, Artemis, Mars and Aphrodite). The statues and the altar were of great importance to the Chorus during the performance. The Chorus moved towards one or the other to pray to the gods after Eteocles had left the tower (*Sept.* 87–148), and one member of the Chorus ran up to one of the towers and recited the lines describing the battlefield in detail (*Sept.* 79–86; 90–3; 100–3; 115–16; 120–6; 151–61). They also hid themselves, some behind the altar, others behind the statues, after Eteocles decided to meet his brother in single combat, where they gave voice to the second stasimon (probably heavily cut) (**fig. 6)**.[41]

In Romagnoli's words, it was felt that Aeschylus' play was a 'prologue' to Sophocles' *Antigone*, and it was decided that *Antigone* would be presented on the same night as the *Septem*, with only a short interval between them. Romagnoli initially wanted to stage *Prometheus Vinctus* and *Cyclops*, the latter of which he would re-propose in 1927 with success. But in 1924 he had to make do with the Committee's decision to perform the *Septem contra Thebas* and *Antigone* instead, so as to complete the Labdacid cycle begun two years earlier with *Oedipus Tyrannus*.[42] The idea of combining two plays together in one performance was read as yet another similarity

[40] Romagnoli in an interview in AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale dell'Isola' 27 April.
[41] For the content of this paragraph, cf. AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 30 April. This production sounds remarkably like Wiles's argument about the use of set of an alleged static play (Wiles 1993).
[42] Cf. AFI PR 1923, 'Il Mondo' 20 October.

with the ancient Greek festival, so much so that some called it a 'trilogy like that which used to be put on in olden times'.[43]

Romagnoli described the two tragedies as a 'symphony', with the *Septem* as its first movement, and a journalist characterised it as a 'heroic prelude to the profound and living human drama of Antigone'.[44] 'In keeping with the essentially musical character of Greek tragedy', explained Romagnoli in an interview, 'I aim at offering symphonic realisations'.[45] Aeschylus' play was described as comprising a 'series of Michelangelo's paintings' and as a musical piece consisting of 'trumpet blasts, war cries, women's laments and prayers',[46] a first movement with a strong climax, leading to a 'most ample *a disagio*': Antigone and Ismene mourning over their brothers' dead bodies at the end of the play.[47] The conceptualisation of ancient drama as a sort of reenactment of original Italian melodrama as described by Gargallo and Romagnoli in 1914 was now complete.[48]

Music was indeed the *trait d'union* between the two tragedies: 'Music has the task of levelling out the style of the two tragedies, so different from one another, into an ideal language of unity', Romagnoli affirmed in an interview.[49] The composition of Giuseppe Mulé, the musical director of the performances, received much appreciation amongst the public, so much so that (as had been hoped: Ch. 4, above) Syracuse had become for 'Greek and Latin theatre what Bayreuth was for the modern musical

[43] Cf., amongst others, AFI PR 1924, 'Tribuna, Roma' 1 May and 'Bolettino della Sera' 23 March.
[44] AFI PR 1924 'Tribuna, Roma' 1 May; see also 'Giornale d'Italia' 1 February, where the journalist introduced the *Septem* as a 'symphonic overture'.
[45] AFI PR 1924, 'Ora' 18 October.
[46] Ibid.; cf. also 'Tribuna' 1 May, which refers to 'freschi michelangioleschi'.
[47] The third tempo was the parodos in *Antigone*, and the fourth was the remainder of Sophocles' tragedy (cf. AFI PR 1914, 'Ora' 18 October).
[48] See also Vittorini (1923) 1–2, who argued that melodrama was strongly dependent on ancient Greek tragedy.
[49] AFI PR 1924, 'Il Mondo' 17 April.

theatre'.[50] In an interview, Mulé explained that in order to give a 'martial tone' to the *Septem*, he resorted to fashioning new musical instruments. He designed 'one-ringed trumpets all different from one another, long and capable of many sonorities' as well as 'instruments made of a single, copper string'. These, when rubbed by a wooden bow, created 'the impression of an orchestra of spears and shields clashing together'.[51] The thudding sound of drums along with brass instruments reproduced the noises of war, whilst 'melodic songs', a mixture of Greek and Sicilian tunes, accompanied the choral odes and the final lament of the two sisters.[52]

As was true of the earlier productions, a 'singing Chorus', relegated to an off-stage position near the orchestra, was in charge of the choral odes, whereas on-stage there was a 'reciting' Chorus, not constrained behind the Dionysian altar as previously, but circulating around the circular orchestra space.[53] But the outstanding novelty of the 1924 production was the presence of a 'dancing Chorus', which in 1922 had been allowed on stage only for short periods of time and solely in conjunction with the action of the choral odes. For the *Septem-contra-Thebas–Antigone* production, however, a group of ten dancers from the eurhythmic dance school based in Hellerau-Laxenburg choreographed the entire play, under the direction of Valeria Kratina.[54] The press spoke of the 'plastic tableaux' that the Chorus drew on stage with their rhythmic

[50] AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale d'Italia' 1 February; see also AFI PR 1923, 'Siciliana' 15 November for a comparison to Wagner.
[51] AFI PR 1924, 'Corriere della Calabria' 29 April.
[52] See AFI PR 1924, 'Tribuna' 1 May: the musical pieces had their origin in the 'most ancient rites and yet were still alive in the contemporary, popular Greek *melopoeia*; they were completed by Mulé's melodic inventions'; they were 'of modern sentiment, but with some technical elements borrowed from the ancients (AFI PR 1924, 'Corriere della Sera' 1 May).
[53] Cf. Pedersoli (2004) 60. Although there was excitement about the possibility of a *schola cantorum*, in the end, this project never came to fruition. Thus, the singing Chorus was recruited from the professional choir of the Theatre Massimo in Palermo and from the local liceo. The Chorus comprised thirty-two women, including twenty sopranos, ten altos, and two soloists; as well as twenty men – twelve tenors and eight basses (Bordignon 2012, 76).
[54] The number of dancers reported in the press was either nine or ten (cf., amongst others, AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale dell'Isola' 27 April for ten and 'Gazzetta di Messina' 1 May for nine).

movement patterns and pre-Hellenic white costumes, which sharply contrasted with the greenish palace and the dark grey towers (**figs. 7, 8**).[55]

The dances had a significant impact on the audience and press.[56] They did not enact 'the useless posturing of meaningless modern dances', but were in fact 'the expression of thought and tragic emotions' on stage. Before the Dionysian altar, the dances acquired a 'liturgical meaning': 'tenuous movements of the hands and heads bowing or in adoration' created what was felt to be a 'magnificent vision'. It was deemed that the ten talented dancers, who some described as 'Phidias-like sculptures', commented on the play by producing a thorough reproduction of the ancient *schemata* and by giving voice to a concept that Aby Warburg had been developing in the first decades of the twentieth century to refer to the afterlife of antiquity: *Pathosformel*.[57] These 'pathos formulae', which consisted of primitive gestures crystallising scenes from the play, stood out against the dark background of the stage, according to one commentator, like drawings on ancient Greek vases.[58]

Their 'function of commenting on the various emotions that alternate and intensify during the tragedy' was particularly powerful in the scene bridging the two tragedies: Antigone and Ismene lamenting the death of their brothers.[59] To the rhythm of what was called a 'hieratic lamentation',[60] a 'slow funeral dance' accompanied the

[55] See, amongst others, AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 20 April; 'Corriere della Sicilia' 1 May; 'Corriere della Calabria' 29 April.
[56] The costumes were created by the Gentili firm and the designers Lerche and Scalero based in Rome. As Pedersoli argues, they were indeed in keeping with the pre-Hellenic refigurations of the earlier performances, but were 'freely elaborated' (Pedersoli 2004, 60). See also Cambellotti's sketches for costumes (**fig. 9**) for the messenger and herald: the latter wore a light-coloured tunic, a chiton, a chlamys and a caduceus-like staff; similarly, the former wore a short tunic, a chlamys and sandals (cf. Pedersoli 2004, 66).
[57] AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 30 April. Cf. also cf. Bordignon (2012) 78.
[58] AFI PR 1924, 'Tribuna, Roma' 1 May.
[59] AFI PR 1924, 'Gazzetta di Messina' 1 May.
[60] *Bollettino* (1924) 1.

two moaning sisters whilst the Chorus recited lines 820–1004, probably heavily abridged (**figs. 10, 11**). Then, the two dead corpses were transported off-stage, followed by the sisters and the entire Chorus.[61] The Syracuse festival was, in fact, slowly adapting to the shift in the theatrical ideal in dance that had already happened in other parts of Europe: from the 'fixity of the individual statuesque performer' to 'kinetic movement', from 'sculpture' as the archaeological model to 'vase-painting'.[62]

The cuts from the language of the plays were 'neither a few, nor small', reported D'Amico in his review, since the whole 'trilogy', as they called it, did not last more than an hour and a half.[63] From the way one journalist described the enactment of the messenger's speech in *Septem,* it seems as though the scene was severely cut, with the messenger only listing the warriors' names and Eteocles responding quickly with the names of the chosen defenders (**fig. 12**).[64] The tragedy ended with the herald announcing the decision, in Romagnoli's translation, of the 'senato / della città di Cadmo' ('the senate of the house of Cadmus'; *Sept.* 1006): 'onorato sepolcro Eteocle s'abbia' ('May Eteocles have an honorable burial'; *Sept.* 1007–8) '[…] ma il fratello di lui, ma il corpo spento / di Polinice, sia gettato fuori' ('but his brother, the dead corpse of Polynices, may that be thrown out'; *Sept.* 1013–14).

[61] Cf. AFI PR 1924, 'Gazzetta di Messina' 1 May: 'A moving lamentation was followed by the exit of the corpses'.
[62] Macintosh (2013) 519; see also Macintosh (2010) 190. As she notes (2013) 531, in 1927 and 1930, at the Delphi festival in Greece, we find dances that are indebted to this new (Duncan-inspired) archaeological model of vase-paintings 'in movement', performing in the circular orchestra of a Greek theatre. Along with the influence of Nijinsky's example (cf. ibid.), I believe that Eva Palmer–Sikelianou's choreography was heavily informed by the Syracuse dances of 1924 too (Bonajuto 1929, 72 seems to imply a direct influence of the INDA performances on the *Prometheus Vinctus* of 1927).
[63] AFI PR 1924, 'Gazzetta di Messina' 1 May.
[64] Cf. AFI PR 1924, 'Gazzetta del Popolo' 1 May.

If '(re)evocation' was the hallmark of the early Sicilian performances, 'interpretation',[65] or 'wondrous adaptation'[66] now defined the new Committee's undertaking. Cambellotti had not allowed himself to be dominated by 'excessive archaeological preoccupations', explained Mulé's brother in a newspaper article,[67] but elaborated a scenery which, though it displayed 'the archaic character of the ancient Trojan constructions, had been conceived with a free imagination'.[68] The performances were not an archaeological, 'cold and servile reconstruction'; rather, they were 'an interpretation of the two tragedies', stated another journalist.[69] 'What we are doing', Romagnoli stated, 'is staging with modern sentiment'.[70]

The modernity of the performance was so evident that it was highlighted even by some Sicilian Futurists themselves, who, no less than three years earlier, had strongly complained about the performances of ancient Greek plays in the theatre (Ch. 4, above). Romagnoli, they reported, 'has indeed aimed at conferring on Italian classicism a character that is all new and ours, not even remotely coinciding with the dusty, German, and oppressive and negative Hellenism of a Wilamowitz, for example'. Romagnoli's production was perceived as constituting a 'new form of art' that could open a real 'artistic spring for the spirit and for modernity'. Finally, the futurists concluded that the idea of 'presenting the dramas *as they were* had been hounded out'.[71]

[65] AFI PR 1924, 'Il Mondo' 17 April.
[66] AFI PR 1924, 'Gazzetta di Messina' 1 May.
[67] AFI PR 1924, 'Ora' 18 October.
[68] AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 20 April.
[69] AFI PR 1924, 'Il Mondo' 17 April.
[70] AFI PR 1924, 'Corriere della Calabria' 29 April.
[71] AFI PR 1924, 'Corriere di Sicilia' 1 May.

It was this 'new form of art' that Benito Mussolini, elected prime minister on 31 October 1922, witnessed on 13 May 1924 after visiting a number of places in Sicily. This visit needs to be put on record as *the* event in the history of performances at Syracuse, one that would change its course forever. The press had been building up suspense for his visit since January 1924, when Mussolini's trip had only just been confirmed. A newspaper article reported that Mussolini was 'perfectly aware of the great civic importance of the ultimate scope of the performances that the Sicilian Committee had in mind'.[72] Another journalist related that not only did he deem these spectacles of 'national character', he also saw something 'imperial' in them.[73] Rather interestingly, another journalist, Guglielmo Policastro, who had published a biography of Mussolini in Catania a year earlier, also highlighted the 'immortal civic grandeur' of the ancient Greek festival which was now being revived.[74] 'Little by little', another newspaper reported, the Syracuse performances would 'fully express all the gigantic and immortal grandeur of our past'.[75] It was this 'immortal past', the springs of which Mussolini found in the Syracusan performances, that the dictator was eager to exploit. On the battleship *Dante* heading back to Rome, Mussolini sent a moving message to the Sicilians, the inhabitants of an island he called the 'old mother of many a hero':

> I have brought back with me your collective wishes to enable you to return to being one the most fertile regions of Italy and to ask of the government and the nation to assist you, as I know will happen, systematically.[76]

The assistance of the government and the nation was not long in coming: on 7 August 1925, the 'Comitato per le Rappresentazioni Classiche' finally received its formal

[72] AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale d'Italia' 22 January.
[73] AFI PR 1924, 'Bollettino della Sera' 23 March.
[74] Policastro (1923).
[75] AFI PR 1924, 'Giornale dell'Isola' 27 April.
[76] AFI PR 1924, 'Gazzetta del Popolo' 16 May.

recognition as 'Ente Morale' and became the *Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico*, a designation of 'national' status that would change the aims of the performances at Syracuse for the next two decades.[77]

'Now are the dark days' – thus Gargallo concluded the 1934 speech that formed the opening of the previous chapter.[78] With the expression 'dark days', Gargallo was commenting on the dramatic change that staging Greek tragedy had undergone due to a transformation in its intention: 'The love of Art and of this City, this Island, this Nation per se are no more'.[79] For there was a choice to be made: either the 'city'/the 'island' (and thereby valorise the 'local' and promote 'cosmopolitanism', which was a goal of D'Annunzio's project too, as we saw in Ch. 4) or the 'nation' (and thereby valorise 'nationalism', which had been present since the festival's inception). As Mussolini had promised after his visit to Syracuse, the government and the nation assisted the festival 'systematically', though at the cost of the 'city'.

The Royal Recree of 7 August 1925 had made the Institute 'national' provided that the executive Committee formed in 1914 be dissolved and replaced by a fourteen-member council (with powers of election), amongst whom as many as five members were to be named directly by the government.[80] The memorandum of an assembly held on 23 August 1926 reveals that a certain anxiety about the government's interference had already emerged: it was planning to compel the Institute 'to present its programme and names of artists involved in the performances at the Roman theatre in Ostia to a commission selected by the government'.[81] An interesting exchange of letters between

[77] Cf. 'Royal Decree on 7 August 1925' in 'Fondo Romagnoli' (FR) at *Biblioteca Civica 'Tartarotti'*, Rovereto.
[78] Gargallo (2014) 122.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Cf. 'Documento Regio, 7 August 1925' in FR.
[81] AFI D 1926, 'Memo from 23 August 1926'.

Gargallo and Romagnoli around December 1926 reveals that a missive was sent by the Minister of Education Pietro Fedele to Romagnoli giving INDA responsibility for all productions taking place in ancient theatres in Italy, an amendment that, as we have heard, was made official on 17 February 1927.[82]

For Romagnoli, who had been urging national recognition since the beginning, such a change fulfilled a long-held desire. But this was not the case for Gargallo, who had always been keen to preserve the 'local' nature of the festival; nor was this the case for the rest of the council, who believed that other performances in other ancient theatres would detract from Syracuse's uniqueness.[83] This new imposition by the Ministry, obtained with Romagnoli's help together with his contribution to the organisation of productions in ancient theatres beyond Syracuse, led to a serious rupture between him and the council. This division was made worse by the fact that Romagnoli was a northerner.[84]

The council's resentment towards Romagnoli reached a boiling point when they discovered that he had been arranging performances in Agrigento and Taormina for the spring of 1928 without consulting them beforehand.[85] In their view, this was further

[82] AFI, D 1926, 'Romagnoli's letter to Gargallo' 18 December.
[83] Romagnoli had suggested this amendment, or had at least strongly supported it, as evidenced by his undated letter (probably sent in December 1926) to Gargallo (cf. AFI D 1926, 'Romagnoli's letter to Gargallo'). Gargallo made it clear in one of his replies that he did not like the Institute's focus being taken off Syracuse, which he felt should remain *the* place for the performance of ancient plays (cf. AFI D 1927, 'Gargallo's letter to Romagnoli').
[84] In 1927, Romagnoli brought to Ostia *Antigone* and *Septem contra Thebas*, which had been performed in 1924, along with *Nubes*, performed in Syracuse in 1927. His *Carro di Dioniso* ('Dionysus' chariot') was performed in the same year at Palazzolo Acreide (cf. Bonajuto 1929, 68); he also made preparations for an *Alcestis* in Pompei for the same summer without asking the council's permission (cf. *Dioniso* 1928, 3). The general discontent with Romagnoli's behaviour was confirmed by Giovanni Boccadifuoco, one of the members of the council, who affirmed, as reported in another memo, that 'in some interviews', Romagnoli seemed 'not to have acknowledged the Council's and President's contributions to the performances properly' (AFI D 1927, 'Memo from 22 July 1927').
[85] AFI D 1927, 'Memo from 12 November'; cf. also a newspaper article from 1929, where the journalist Fortunio reproached Romagnoli for not promoting the performances in Syracuse as a Sicilian initiative and for taking all the credit (cf. AFI PR 1929, 'Tevere' 19 September).

proof of his undiplomatic and disrespectful behaviour towards the council, and the government was more than happy to second their resentment because it would allow them to reshape INDA as they liked. Romagnoli was thus removed from office by a ministerial decree of 22 November 1928.[86] 'The decision is timely and long-desired', reported the journal *Dioniso*, as 'his activity was not allowing him to devote the necessary time to carrying out the activities of artistic director at INDA'.[87] With the departure of both Romagnoli and then Gargallo a year later, and their fascist replacements, it was now much more possible for INDA to conform to the political needs of Fascism.

In 1933, Mussolini spoke as follows at the fiftieth anniversary of the SIAE ('Italian Society of Authors and Publishers'):

> We have to prepare a theatre of the masses, a theatre that can contain fifteen or twenty thousand people. […] The current lack of seats creates the necessity for high-priced tickets, which deter people from going. Instead, theatre, to which I accord more educational effectiveness than cinema, should be destined for the people; plays should reach out to them as they want. A play should stir up the greatest collective passions [of humankind] and be inspired by a sense of conscious and profound humanity […] Only by finding a dramatic expression for such collective passions will you see the crowds at the theatres grow.[88]

Il Duce was addressing a crisis that some theatre critics had been complaining about, with the intention of spurring Italian authors on to write new plays for 'the masses'.[89] The promotion of a 'theatre of the masses', a theatre for fifteen or twenty thousand, was not new: as we have seen, the process of popularisation of the theatre had begun in 1924, but it was now undergoing a second phase.

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[86] In the same inaugural article published in *Dioniso* and quoted at the beginning of this chapter, it was reported how the 'Government […] is protecting the delicate field of classical open-air performances from the whims of improvised organisations and speculations', evidently alluding to Romagnoli in the last few years before his removal (*Dioniso* 1929, 214–15).
[87] *Dioniso* (1928a) 41.
[88] Mussolini (1933).
[89] Cf. Schnapp (2004) 57 ff.

In addition to the new functions Mussolini bestowed on INDA in 1929, the government was making other important decisions in what seemed to be another milestone year in the history of INDA and theatre more generally.[90] 1930 not only witnessed the first productions organised by the openly fascist governing body of INDA – Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Iphigenia Aulidensis* – it was also the year in which the government approved the founding of a 'corporation' of theatre only previously talked about: the first of the fascist 'corporations', effectively the first 'radical fascistizzazione'.[91] Schnapp maintains that this event represented only one of many steps taken for the purpose of absorbing 'the fragmented and regionally based world of theatre into the regime's fully centralised corporative structures'.[92]

Another important step was the programmatic and systematic intensification or the *ex novo* creation of festivals similar to INDA.[93] After a failed attempt at launching a wholly new kind of theatre with and for the masses, a decision was taken to privilege and enlarge already existing forms of 'popular' theatre.[94] Thus, the 'theatre of and for the people' à la D'Annunzio, itself an echo of Rolland's *The People's Theatre* – the

[90] In 1929, the OND ('Organizzazione Nazionale Dopolavoro') began organising people's transportation to the theatre (cf. Corsi 1939, 101).
[91] Ferrari (2012) 44.
[92] Schnapp (1993) 15. Some of the more remarkable steps taken in this direction were the government's creation of a Rome-based centralised office of theatre censorship ('Ufficio di Censura Teatrale') in 1931, which was later upgraded to a ministry and given the name 'Ministry of Popular Culture' ('Ministero della Cultura Popolare'). The leadership of this office, then ministry, was assigned to Leopoldo Zurlo, who, between 1931 and 1943, read more than eighteenth thousand scripts. In 1935, the government created the Inspectorate of the Theatre ('Ispettorato del Teatro'), dependent upon the undersecretary of the Press and the Propaganda Ministry ('Stampa e Propaganda'), itself established in 1934 on the model of Nazi Germany.
[93] Cf. De Pirro (1938) 17 for a full list.
[94] Cf. Schnapp (1993) 91–92; the launch of this new theatre resulted in the famous spectacle titled *18BL,* named after the truck that featured as its protagonist. This event, presented in the 1934 'Littoriali della Cultura e dell'Arte' ('Cultural and Artistic Manifestations'), an Olympics of art and culture organised by Fascism for the youth, was of titanic scale and ambition. The energy and money that had been poured into it as well as its failure eventually convinced the regime to stick to already existing forms of theatre (cf. Scarpellini 1989, 104).

'popular' theatre born at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries[95] – was now being transformed into a 'theatre of and for the masses'.

Even though fascist propaganda used the terms 'masses' and 'people' interchangeably, it was really to the former that it always referred to and addressed. As a matter of fact, the term 'masses' connoted a societal grouping equipped with, and operating in accordance with, systems of production and mass consumption that were completely unknown to fin de siècle 'people'.[96] These new 'people', or better, these new masses coincided with new audiences: 'people, in fact, had become one with the audience', as Vincenzo Bonajuto affirmed in 1929.[97]

Fascist aesthetics and Greek tragedy

Mass spectacle was much less concerned with a play's content – as long as it addressed and contained those 'collective passions' mentioned in Mussolini's speech – than it was with the means of its delivery; its task was presenting 'modern' (because a new 'modern' society was being born), yet 'recognisably tradition-bound, national models of high culture on an ever-vaster scale'.[98]

This apparent dichotomy between 'tradition' and 'modernity' emerged especially in the propaganda that was generated surrounding the classical performances: by 1939, no less than three books had been issued on the open-air

[95] It was this 'theatre of and for the people' that had begotten successful performances like Max Reinhardt's adaptations of *Oedipus Tyrannus* (1910), *Oresteia* (1911) (cf. Fisher-Lichte 2017, 91–141), and the 1914 *Agamemnon* in Syracuse.
[96] Cf. Pedullà (1994) 200–2.
[97] Bonajuto (1929) 101–2. Cf. also Cambellotti in his diary: 'When I say "audience", I always mean 'people', because the majority of the spectators in Syracuse, Ostia, or Fiesole, have always been [part of] the people, whether civic or rural' (1982, 86).
[98] Schnapp (1993) 126.

theatre experience.[99] In these books, the classical performances were conceptually grounded on the 'new aesthetic criteria of modernity' that INDA was said to have invented,[100] and on the complete absence of any archaeological reconstructions or academic merit.[101] Indeed, it was only with Fascism that this modernity was eventually attained: anything before 1929 was labelled an 'attempt', inevitably flagged as being 'imperfect' because completed with 'modest means' and animated by a 'classical preoccupation'.[102] Only with the advent of fascist control over the Institute was it possible to let go of the ideal of 'faithful, scientific reconstruction'.[103]

This 'modernity', however, was only one side of the coin of the success of the classical performances. As Corsi reported, there was something deemed 'universal' in these plays,[104] and especially in Greek tragedy, 'a perennial and universal religious principle', argued Bonajuto, that made them appealing.[105] The religious character of Greek tragedy, explained Corsi, was not to be found in the gods, but in the 'eternal truth that stems from the *human* passions', which was embodied in the tragic hero, and with which the audience identified so as 'to overcome and become true to themselves'.[106]

The attainment of this spiritual and ethical value was precisely what Mussolini had encouraged through the new mass cultural forms: 'I should wish that […] [theatre] address the people and speak to them, exalting their spirit and aspirations', he declared in 1927.[107] This was a 'spiritual education' that Greek tragedy had offered in antiquity

[99] Cf. Bonajuto (1929); De Pirro (1938); Corsi (1939).
[100] Bonajuto (1929) 70; cf. also Corsi (1939) 88.
[101] Cf. Bonajuto (1929) 70, 80; De Pirro (1938) 8, 12; Corsi (1939) 65.
[102] Corsi (1939) 28, 62, 68.
[103] Ibid., 88.
[104] Ibid., 101.
[105] Bonajuto (1929) 104.
[106] Corsi (1939) 101.
[107] Cited in Scarpellini (1989) 112; see also Schnapp (2004), 66–7.

and that it was now reverting to in the INDA performances.[108] By removing the masses from indoor theatres, Corsi argued,

> [We] are not just crafting an extremely cultural artwork; we are fulfilling a *political* idea too, for, by arousing the heroic and religious sense of life in the crowds' hearts, we are uplifting the spiritual values, which, as in ancient Greece, should be looked after in all earnestness, as these form – and always have – the indomitable forces of a Nation that wants to progress.[109]

Greek tragedy (and the classics in general) was thus entrusted with the essential undertaking of educating the 'spirits' of the masses, by means of performing 'human' and 'collective' passions on stage. The government's job was to promote and multiply aesthetic and ethical experiences as such for the intellectual renewal of the country and the shaping of a (spiritual) sense of nationhood.[110]

Many of the regime's cultural efforts in the 1930s were devoted to restoring Italy's ancient theatrical ruins into hospitable and hygienic theatrical venues. Each city in Italy, argued De Pirro, offered 'venues for such scenic evocations', 'ideally and fantastically apt for reminiscent evocations of poetic spirits'; 'the ancient', in fact, was not just 'a memory, but a living truth, which today's reality has spiritually attained to'.[111] Whilst the ancient Roman theatres of Fiesole, Gubbio and Ostia had already been functioning for some time, others were either built, like the Graeco-Roman-inspired Licinium in Erba, inaugurated in 1923, or restored to life, as was the case for the ancient Greek theatres of Taormina and Paestum, inaugurated respectively in 1928 and 1932. Similarly, the Roman theatre in the then-Italian Pula inaugurated its drama season with Alfieri's *Oreste* in 1932. Even in the Roman city of Sabratha, in recently colonised Libya, INDA organised a staging of *Oedipus Tyrannus* in 1937 (**fig. 13**) and

[108] Corsi (1939) 101.
[109] Ibid., 102, *my italics*.
[110] Cf. Schnapp (1993) 23.
[111] De Pirro (1938) 8.

Iphigenia Taurica the following year.[112] Yet, the repertoire included not only Greek tragedy, but also Greek lyric poetry and choral productions in a sort of emulative re-proposition of the festival choruses in antiquity[113] (cf. Appendices A and B).[114]

These are the venues that hosted a Greek or Roman classic at least once; but, the number of outdoor places assigned to festivals in the 1930s was astonishingly high. Travelling theatres divided by genre, eloquently named 'Carri di Tespi' ('Thespian Cars'), were charged with reaching out to small Italian provinces, and featured a mostly Italian repertoire, with Alfieri leading the way.[115] A series of music festivals was also organised in the late 1930s.[116] Mario Corsi identified no less than 347 in 42 outdoor venues in 1938 for an overall turnout of 1,749,272 people.[117] Mussolini's theatre for 'twenty thousand' had been achieved and topped, a theatre loosely echoing Max Reinhardt's 'Theatre of the Five Thousand' from the beginning of the century, now refashioned for the purposes of political propaganda and much more ambitious in scale.[118]

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[112] Cf. Corsi (1939) 181.
[113] On the importance and features of Greek festival choruses in antiquity, see Budelmann (2013).
[114] By the late 1930s, INDA was supervising classical festivals in Syracuse (triennially, 20 April–10 May); Taormina (biennially, 15–30 April); Agrigento (biennially, April–May); Paestum (annually, 15–31 May); Sabratha (biennially, May); the Roman theatres of Ostia, Gubbio and Fiesole (annually, June); the Licinium in Erba (August); Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza (August); and Pula (July); cf. De Pirro (1938) 17.
[115] Cf. Corsi (1939) 265 ff.; Orano (1937); in 1936, the government established the 'Sabato Teatrale' ('Theatrical Saturday'), which consisted of low-cost theatre performances in the afternoon (cf. Pedullà 1994, 204 and 250 for a list of the performances).
[116] On the music festivals, cf. Corsi (1939) 265 ff.
[117] Ibid., 309.
[118] Cf. Fisher-Lichte (2017) 108; 127. Some years earlier, the Reale Accademia of Italy organised a convention in Rome to discuss what the theatre of the masses should look like (8–14 October 1934) – two theatrical architecture projects were presented, the *Totaltheatre* by Walter Gropius (an elliptical theatre with the audience at its centre), and another by Gaetano Ciocca, who essentially re-proposed a Greek-inspired form of theatre to respond to Mussolini's call for a 'theatre for twenty thousand' (cf. Pedullà 1994, 195; Schnapp 2004, 60–67). Ciocca commented that 'the theatre of the masses is the Greek theatre that rises up again. It rises for a newer humanity' (Ciocca 1935, 190).

Agamemnon and *Iphigenia Aulidensis* were the first classical performances to have been prepared by this new, all-fascist government body. Although this pair had been chosen by Gargallo's Committee,[119] Pace too endorsed their choice in the press, maintaining that, albeit by different tragedians, he felt that there was a certain 'connection' between the two tragedies in their 'dramatic pace', 'inspiring sentiment' and 'lyric impetus': after all, they could be considered the first and second acts of one tragedy, with the 'same protagonist and the same heroes'.[120] Performed between 26 April and 11 May 1930, these two performances set the tone for what followed, not least with their scenery.[121]

The entire scenery for these productions was raised three metres from the orchestra level and encompassed by two high, lateral, grey/light blue blocks of rock, whilst a granite-like 'cyclopic wall' in the back formed its majestic framework (**figs. 14, 15**).[122] On the left, it culminated in a magnificent, 20-metre-high tower, equipped with two asymmetric and futurist-like small windows. The tower was crowned with a v-shaped top, out of which the watchman, Emilio Petacci, stuck his face whilst waiting for the beacon.[123] An additional piece of scenery for the *Agamemnon* added to this background set, which functioned also as the set for *Iphigenia Aulidensis*.[124]

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[119] Cf. AFI D, 'Memo from 1 March 1929'.
[120] AFI PR, 'Mattino' 12 February 1930; cf. also AFI PR, 'Carlino della Sera' 25 April and Pace (1930) 174. The finale of *Iphigenia Aulidensis* had thus been cut out, so that there was no discrepancy in the plot between the two tragedies.
[121] *Iphigenia* started off on 26 April and was performed on 30 April, and 2, 6, 10 May; *Agamemnon* began on 27 April and continued on 1, 4, 8, and 11 May (cf. AFI PR, 'Carlino della Sera' 25 April). The king attended the performances on 7–8 May (cf. AFI PR, 'Gazzetta Messina' 29 April).
[122] 'Cyclopic' was a recurring term in the press: cf. *Dioniso* (1929a) 310; AFI PR, 23 February 'Il Popolo di Roma'; 'Corriere di Napoli' 25 April; 18 May, 'Italia'; 'Resto del Carlino' 28 April; 23 February 'Il Popolo di Roma'. For a thorough description of the 1930 scenery and of Cambellotti's sketches, see Fontana (2004) 84–6, 97–9.
[123] Cf., amongst others, AFI PR, 'La Tribuna' 28 April, in which a journalist reports on the beginning of the tragedy.
[124] Cambellotti himself explained his procedure when designing the scenery for two plays: first comes 'the choice of lines, of blunt volumes, and of chromatic tones to form the environment common to both

In front of the cyclopic wall was a dark, gloomy, wooden wall, which faded out behind the masonry block on the right and continued up to the Atreidai palace and beyond it on the left. As reported by the press, the Atreidai palace was the real innovation: roughly-cut,[125] trunk-like pillars were positioned next to one another on the upper level in the front, whilst two large pillars intersected on the top to create a sophisticated hut. Rounded, copper-like studs decorated the two side columns, on which were presented 'primitive' and stylised drawings (**fig. 16**).[126] Two grand, gold doors, adorned with a pair of stylised lions on the top – loosely echoing the 1914 lion gate – occupied the lower part of the facade. '[The door] should seem to be covered with golden slabs', instructed Cambellotti in a letter to the engineer Giuseppe Bonajuto, who was in charge of building the scenery. And the metallic parts 'visible on the front should appear to be made out of copper or shiny bronze', he continued.[127] Following the same principle that had guided him in 1924, which involved the creation of an 'atmosphere' grasping the 'spirit' of the tragedy rather than inflexibly sticking to the ancient sources, Cambellotti gave his audience a truly 'tragic' palace: with its dark colours and massive structure, it resembled a 'huge monster which would return only corpses to sunlight'.[128] Cambellotti himself compared it to 'a Gorgon-like face'.[129] In front of the palace was a majestic thirteen-step staircase.[130]

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dramas'; then, inside that 'environment', 'other expressive volumes come to life one by one, which aim at transforming such environment to accommodate one or the other play' (Cambellotti 1982, 13).

[125] 'Rough' was another recurring term in the press used to describe the palace, with its 'rough features' (18 May, 'Italia'; 'Secolo XX – Milano' 6 May), resembling a 'coarse fantasy' ('L'Ora, Palermo' 28 April).

[126] 'Primitive' was another recurring term in the press: cf. AFI PR, 'L'Ora, Palermo' 28 April; 'Secolo XX' 6 May; 'Italia' 18 May.

[127] AFI D 1930, 'Cambellotti's letter to Giuseppe Bonajuto' (cf. Fontana 2004, 98).

[128] Corsi (1939) 77.

[129] Ibid.; cf. also AFI PR, 'Telegrafo Livorno' 30 April, in which the palace is again compared to a monster.

[130] The size of the staircase (each step was 20cm high and 50cm wide) was conceived of as a space for the dancing Chorus (cf. AFI D 1930, 'Bonajuto's letter to Jia Ruskaia [the choreographer]' 7 February.

In some ways, the scenery recalled the 1914 historical staging of Aeschylus' play whilst simultaneously diverging from it: the high tower, the rock-strewn background and the pair of lions all served to make the scene familiar to the audience yet at the same time struck a very different note. 'If one compares the 1914 sketch for the scenery of the *Agamemnon* with the one produced in 1930', Corsi affirmed in his recollection of the 1930 performances of the *Agamemnon*, 'one would notice a substantial difference in the very conception of tragedy between the first attempt and this new re-elaboration of the scenography elements'.[131] These elements were in fact transformed, or better: 'deformed' and 'abstracted' and projected onto a new, hyper-real space. Cambellotti's 'expressionist synthetism',[132] as Bonajuto called it, had created an environment much closer to the play's 'artistic reality'. According to the journalist Ottavio Profeta, it corresponded more to the idea of a monster hovering about and ready to attack than any 'historical' representation of it.[133]

However, the scenery also intentionally evoked some distant history as a faded memory of a long time ago. The press's most recurrent adjective in describing the scenery was 'primitive': the scenery was a 'real and architectonic representation of what a palace should have looked like in primitive times'.[134] Cambellotti had marked it with the 'coarse and savage features of the Bronze Age',[135] yet freely reinvented them in a work of true modernity.[136] The palace was finally rid of 'any marble, or pompous architecture, or even history, cut out by a barbarian with an axe'.[137] The

[131] Corsi (1939) 77.
[132] Bonajuto (1928) 7.
[133] AFI PR 1930, 'Telegrafo Livorno' 30 April.
[134] Mario Corsi in AFI PR 1930, 'Secolo XX – Milano' 6 May.
[135] AFI PR 1930, 'Secolo XX – Milano' 18 May.
[136] Corsi (1939) 78.
[137] AFI PR 1930, 'Telegrafo Livorno' 30 April.

entire scenery was modern *and* ancient, ahistorical and yet soaked with 'primitive' traits, recalling an indefinite time in the Bronze Age.[138]

In an article in *Nuova Antologia*, Pace justified the unhistorical traits of the 1930 backdrop as being the result of a process inherited from the ancients themselves, who 'did not attempt any realism', but adopted and endorsed 'a perfect idealism'.[139] Cambellotti's 'original stylisation' re-elaborated on the historical elements so as to create a 'perfect and organic unity' that would respond to his understanding of the 'fantastic background of the tragedy'.[140] Pace argued that if, on the one hand, 'the firm knowledge of these texts or of the most pedantic problems of philology or archaeology around them constitutes the humble yet vital root' of the classical performances, 'this ought to remain sensibly hidden'; the scenery, dance, and music of the spectacle should gush out from a 'remote, dissimulated, yet powerful substrate of genuine knowledge'.[141] This knowledge should inspire the artists but in no way deter their creativity: everything in the performance should work together to shape a 'vision' of the 'classical world' so as to realise a rather precise 'phantom of the ancient dream',[142] a 'blast of classicism'.

Such a programmatic intent did not need a director: it was an illusion, Pace argued, to think that so complex a work of art could be brought to life by the efforts of 'one re-elaborator of the classics, who would write music and choreograph [or coordinate] dances and scenes'. In other words, everything that Romagnoli had always

[138] For the use of the term 'archaic', cf. AFI PR 1930, 'Corriere di Napoli' 25 April and Pace (1929) 310.
[139] Pace (1933) 86.
[140] Ibid., 89.
[141] Ibid., 91.
[142] Ibid. Cambellotti himself, when discussing the reasons for veering into a more modern(ist) style, explained that he was treating the plays as 'powerful phantoms still hovering over us', not as 'archaeological findings' (1982, 60).

done previously was now redundant.[143] It was rather the result of a 'balance' achieved through a 'pre-ordered study', which would 'assign to each art its special place, under a common, unified aim'. In other words, Pace cunningly advocated a unity of intent, a communal and non-hierarchical team effort, following the spirit of Fascism's seemingly democratic essence.[144] Indeed, under this apparent 'anonymity' or 'communality', Pace was able to steer the ship in any direction he wished, 'dissimulating' the very presence of not just any (philological and historical) 'knowledge' of the texts in performance, but also effectively concealing his (and Liberati's) hand in every decision. The removal of any evidence of the ancients' historical situatedness was complete: after all, the ancients were ever *present*.

For the music of *Agamemnon,* Pace reached out to the widely-known composer Ildebrando Pizzetti, with a request to provide 'a musical epilogue, an intermezzo and two dances, in addition to those choral odes we will decide to put to music'.[145] Pizzetti's 'avant-garde modernism', hinting at 'multi-vocal mixtures and musical drawings from Strauss to Honegger' and at 'the polychromatic music of Stravinski' or 'Schönberg', had a significant impact on the audience.[146] The forty-person orchestra was comprised mainly of woodwind and percussion so as to balance the 'bleak' atmosphere of the 'monstrous' scenery.[147]

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[143] Pace (1933) 90. A couple of lines later, Pace directly referenced Romagnoli's work by stating that because a 'unity of intention' was absent, there had been some repetitions on stage of the same lines by the singing and the speaking Chorus, and other similar unpleasant occurrences (ibid.).
[144] Ibid.
[145] AFI, D 1929, 'Pace's letter to Pizzetti' 3 September; unfortunately, I could not find Pizzetti's score for this in the archives, but from a subsequent letter authored by Pizzetti it can be inferred that in the end he was asked to provide music for all of the choral odes, just as had been done for the previous performances (AFI D 1929, 'Pizzetti's letter to Pace' 28 October: 'I will compose a prelude, symphonic interludes and the choral odes').
[146] AFI PR 1930, 'Il Popolo d'Italia' 16 May.
[147] See, amongst others, AFI PR 1930, 'Corriere di Sicilia' 13 April, which describes the music accompanying Agamemnon's entrance as an ensemble of 'tenuous silver strands embroidered in a gloomy-coloured cloth'.

There were eleven pieces of music in total – some prepared for the 'singing' Chorus, a forty-person ensemble of both amateurs and professionals,[148] and others for the dances choreographed by the Dalcroze-trained and modern(ist) figure, Jia Ruskaia, and her violet-clad,[149] eleven-member corps de ballet.[150] The more substantial musical pieces included a prelude, whose task was to 'strike the modern ear';[151] an instrumental background melody tuned to the notes of the preceding choral ode, which served as accompaniment to the dancing Chorus unrolling the red carpets on the grand staircase (at *Ag.* 908);[152] choral odes and the Chorus' lines prior to Agamemnon's cry (*Ag.* 40–257; 355–488; 681–783; 975–1034; 1331–42); and finally, a funeral dirge that harmonised the procession escorting Agamemnon's and Cassandra's corpses off stage.

Shorter pieces included an introduction to the messenger's announcement (at *Ag.* 503; **fig. 17**); a march announcing the king's entrance (at *Ag.* 783); some notes just before Cassandra's prophecies (at *Ag.* 1080; **figs. 18, 19**); and an intermezzo after Cassandra's entrance into the palace (*Ag.* 1330). These were enriched by the 'rhythmic movements', as they were called, of the dancing Chorus.[153] The press flagged the

[148] The Chorus was made up of twenty-three professionals from Catania and Palermo (see AFI D 1930, 'Pace's letter to Ottavio Vinci' 3 March, and 'Pace's letter to the Commander of the Presidium in Syracuse' 2 May) and seventeen amateurs from Syracuse and elsewhere (see AFI D 1929, 'Pizzetti's letter to Pace' 22 October').
[149] AFI PR 1930, 'Gazzetta Messina' 29 April.
[150] It has been argued that Ruskaia (1909, Kerch, Russia – 1970, Rome) was a 'most controversial personality in the history of Italian dance between 1930 and 1970' (Ottolenghi 2004, 441). Called to join the Italian theatrical life by Antonio Giulio Bragaglia (cf. 'Corriere Catania' 23 April), Ruskaia debuted in 1923 with a series of pantomimes; her subsequent successful performances led the fascist government to choose her to direct the Royal School of Dance, a sub-section of the National Academy of Dramatic Art in Rome, which became autonomous in 1948 (ibid.).
[151] AFI PR 1930, 'Corriere di Ferrara' 12 March.
[152] Ruskaia and Pizzetti quarrelled over these accompaniments, the former expecting three or four instrumental pieces for dance only, but the latter eventually writing only one, the music from the carpet scene. Pizzetti in a letter to Bonajuto of 13 February 1930 (cf. AFI D 1930) explained that even though 'the only melody written to be danced to is the one accompanying the unrolling of the red carpets', Ruskaia and the other dancers could and should also enrich the following moments with rhythmic dances: 'the Chorus as they follow Cassandra's entrance into the palace, which I wrote without words, but which should be vocalised'; 'Agamemnon's entrance with the chariot'; and 'the final lament'.
[153] Thus Pace in an interview: cf. AFI PR 1930, 'Il Mattino' 12 February.

dancing leading up to Agamemnon's death as particularly striking, remarking on the ironic beauty of the dance that greeted the king: the Chorus twirled out of the palace down to the princely staircase holding laurel rings (**figs. 20, 21**).[154]

Another important moment was after Cassandra's entrance into the palace: to Pizzetti's dark music, Ruskaia and her dancers began a frightened, rhythmic dance up to the base of the staircase. There they waited, their bodies on the floor and the palms of their hands stretched out towards the palace, whilst the Chorus sang lines 1331–42.[155] When that was over, a 'murky' and 'magnificent' instrumental piece irrupted as the doors opened on Agamemnon's and Cassandra's corpses lying on the floor whilst Clytemnestra was holding a blood-stained axe (**fig. 22**).[156] This 'cold, implacable, tremendous' queen made her appearance on the threshold 'as the very personification of avenging Fate'.[157] A menacing red light flashed out from behind her, looming over the audience.[158]

But the closing piece was the most striking: to the nostalgic notes of Pizzetti's music, Ruskaia and her corps de ballet performed 'noble' evolutions of 'pure eurythmy':[159] they exited the palace once again, crawling on the floor;[160] Ruskaia was the last to exit: she halted at the threshold, 'all immersed in the flashing red light, as

[154] Cf. AFI PR 1930, 'Giornale dell'Isola di Catania' 29 April and 'Telefrago Livorno' 30 April (the latter reports: 'the palace's doors open and the dancers come out with laurel rings in their arms').
[155] It is not clear whether lines 1343–71 were excised or kept, since the press described these two scenes (the choral passage put to music and Clytemnestra's opening the doors) as continuous, but there is no sign of it being cut from the script; also, it is unclear whether lines 1343–71 were sung (as suggested by an interview with Pace: cf. AFI PR 1930, 'Il Mattino' 12 February) or spoken in a vocalised melody (as suggested by Pizzetti's letter referenced above: cf. AFI D, 13 February).
[156] Cf. AFI PR 1930, 'La Tribuna' 18 April and Corsi (1939) 80.
[157] AFI PR 1930, 'Giornale dell'arte, Milano' 18 May.
[158] 'A red light holds the interiors of the palace in a bloody nightmare; it is as though all the characters who make their way to the threshold stain themselves with the murder' AFI PR 1930, 'Giornale dell'Isola di Catania' 29 April.
[159] AFI PR 1930, 'Resto del Carlino' 28 April.
[160] 'The dancers fall down to the floor, slowly and dramatically, and make anything else that is wounded and dying fall with them in the empty space in front of the palace' (AFI PR 1930, 'Giornale dell'Isola Catania' 29 April).

the statue of Murder'.[161] Then, suddenly, they all vanished with their arms up in the air, thus closing the tragedy.[162] Overall, the dances were an attempt to 'externalise' the characters' 'inner feeling', in an 'aesthetic manifestation' that drew from both the 'past and present'.[163] The recurrent term describing Ruskaia's choreography was 'eurythmy', hinting at Dalcroze, but exaggerating sudden and abrupt turns and moves, which led Bragaglia to define her dance style as 'anti-musical'.[164] This was the first and last time Ruskaia was asked to choreograph in the Syracuse performances: her experimental and free style did not really conform to the 'phantom of the ancient dream' as Pace had ideologised.

Slightly jarring also in this most modern setting and atmosphere was Armando Marchioni Alibrandi's 'romantic' translation.[165] Marchioni, a 'young and erudite philologist from Rome', as Pace introduced him,[166] had already engaged with one of Aeschylus' plays in 1923 when he published his *Choephoroe*.[167] Even then, Marchioni explained, he had intended to transfer 'Aeschylus' expressions' into a homogenous work of 'musical lyricism' and 'dramatic power'.[168] In response to Pace's invitation to use his *Agamemnon* published in 1925, Marchioni, whilst gladly consenting, asked to revise the translation so as to 'expunge some archaism and hardness' and 'include

[161] AFI PR 1930, 'Giornale dell'Isola Catania' 29 April.
[162] 'Thus they all ran away with their arms up, as though they were carrying invisible figures to the underworld' (ibid.).
[163] AFI PR 1930, 'Corriere di Sicilia, Catania' 23 April.
[164] Bragaglia (1928) 149; cf. also Corsi (1939) 90, in which Dalcroze is openly acknowledged as the source for the development of the dancing Chorus in the Syracuse performances.
[165] Thus a journal article described Marchioni's translation: AFI PR 1930, 'La Tribuna' 28 April.
[166] AFI PR 1930, 'Mattino' 12 February.
[167] Marchioni (1923).
[168] Marchioni (1930) i.

stage directions'.[169] This pruning is attested to by a copy of the 1925 translation held at the INDA Archives, marked with Marchioni's modifications.[170]

Overall, the press either glossed over the translation, or briefly praised its 'lyricism',[171] 'primitive force',[172] and 'poetry'.[173] Some critics, however, were decidedly critical of Marchioni's poetic 'lyricism' marking it as 'obscure',[174] 'unintelligible',[175] effectively a 'failure'.[176] 'Hypnotised by the Greek syntax', as Vitaliano Brancati argued in his journal article, Marchioni limited himself to 'translating words' whilst maintaining the syntactical structure of Aeschylus' lines: the result was a language that was 'neither Greek nor Italian', similar to the language of the page created *ad hoc* for translation of the classics in the nineteenth century (Ch. 3).[177]

As an example of Marchioni's Greek-Italian, Brancati quoted a couple of lines from Clytemnestra's speech (*Ag*. 286–7):

ὑπερτελὴς δὲ πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι ἰσχὺς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονὴν	D'un balzo l'ardente foga d'ignivoma face migrante, verso il piacere volava, d'un balzo, sul dorso dell'onda[178]

Marchioni's language is soaked in the pompous and 'classicised' nineteenth-century style, still bearing the traces of Bellotti's emphatic syntax. The long subject –

[169] AFI D 1929, 'Marchioni's letter to Pace' 4 September.
[170] A journal article reported that it was in fact Pace with the help of Liberati who 'trimmed' the text of 'bad D'Annunzio-like language' and in some parts translated 'into Italian what Marchioni had translated from the Greek' (AFI PR 1930, 'La Stampa' 29 April). The copy held at the archives, however, shows only Marchioni's handwriting and the 1930 edition of his translation edited by INDA contains his corrections only. Whether there had been additional changes to the text, I cannot say, but it is certainly not evident from the letters nor from the translation copy.
[171] AFI PR 1930, 'Progresso Italo-Americano' 9 February.
[172] AFI PR 1930, 'L'Ora, Palermo' 28 April.
[173] AFI PR 1930, 'Progresso Italo-Americano' 9 February.
[174] AFI PR 1930, 'L'Impero d'Italia' 8 July.
[175] AFI PR 1930, 'Gazzetta, Messina' 29 April.
[176] AFI PR 1930, 'Giornale dell'Isola di Catania' 29 April.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Marchioni (1930) 20–1: here and below the 1930 translation shows no change from the 1925 one.

'l'ardente foga' ('burning enthusiasm'; ἰσχὺς) of 'ignivoma' (a refined adjective literally meaning 'which begets fire') and 'migrante' ('travelling'; πορευτοῦ) 'face' (archaic for 'light', which translates λαμπάδος) – finally meets its verb after the verbatim translation of πρὸς ἡδονὴν, 'verso il piacere' ('towards pleasure'). It is against this ridiculously word-for-word translation that Brancati thunders, calling it a 'martyrdom of faithfulness to the words as such'.[179]

Marchioni's translation is also highly indebted to Romagnoli's; in fact, at times it looks like a complicated and erudite version of it. Lines 188–202 contain an example of this:

[…] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πικροῦ
χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ
βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν 200
μάντις ἔκλαγξεν, προφέρων
Ἄρτεμιν, […]

Marchioni
Disse l'ira di Artèmide,
il farmaco del male disse ai principi l'àugure,
d'aquilone o rovaio assai più fiero![180]

Romagnoli
Quando, a placar d'Artèmide
L'ira, il profeta un farmaco
Disse ai principi, grave
più che le amare raffiche […][181]

One can clearly see Romagnoli's translation as the subtext for Marchioni's ('l'ira di Artèmide', which elaborates on προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν; 'farmaco' for ἄλλο μῆχαρ; 'principi' for πρόμοισιν), yet the latter dislocates the expressions of the former to turn them into the nineteenth-century lyrical and classicised 'Aeschylus' (Ch. 3). So refined and emphatic is the language of his translation that sometimes meaning becomes problematic. In the passage above, for example, it is neither clear what 'Artemis' anger' ('l'ira d'Artèmide') 'said' ('disse'), nor whether it is the 'prophet' ('profeta'), the 'remedy' ('farmaco') or the 'north wind' (the two very archaic words 'aquilone'

[179] AFI PR 1930, 'Giornale dell'Isola di Catania' 29 April.
[180] Marchioni (1930) 14.
[181] Romagnoli (1914) 22.

and ‘rovaio’) that is ‘much more fierce’ (‘assai più fiero’; βριθύτερον), as these expressions are left hanging apart from one another, making any understanding difficult if not impossible.[182]

A peculiarity of Marchioni’s version is also the employment of different metres, not just in the choral odes – a tactic already at work in Romagnoli’s text – but in the episodes as well. As he explained in the preface, ‘spurning any mechanic criterion of equivalence’ between the Greek and the Italian, the metres varied according to ‘the rhythm of the text’ and to the ‘psychological phases the tragic characters underwent’. Where there were ‘Homeric allusions’ or the ‘content would seem to require it’, he opted for the ‘heroic metre’, the hexameter: thus, for example, in Agamemnon’s speech (810–54) and parts of Clytemnestra’s beacon speech (283–316 and 320–44).[183] In the *kommós* (1072–7), because he wanted to enhance the ‘musicality’ of the episode, he drew up ‘symmetric rhythmic structures’ and a ‘harmony of metres’ between ‘the Chorus’ gasping questioning and Cassandra’s dreamy responses’.[184]

An example is at lines 1142–9, where Marchioni opts for a symmetric alternation between hendecasyllables and ‘settenari’ (‘heptasyllabic’). As opposed to the two passages discussed above, he purged this passage of ‘archaisms’; both versions (1930 on the left, 1925 on the right) are reproduced below:

[182] Brancati quoted this passage also and accused it of being absolutely ‘incomprehensible’ (ibid).
[183] Marchioni (1930) iv–v. Clytemnestra’s beacon speech is in hexameter for 283–316 and 320–44, ‘settenari’ for 345–7, hendecasyllables for 348–49 and then another ‘settenario’ for 350 (cf. ibid., 20–2).
[184] Ibid., V.

Ch. Senza ritmo tu canti, furente sei, invasata sei da un dio? Come usignolo dalla voce d'oro Ricanta per la vita il suo tormento. Iti, Iti invoca con gemiti tristi, così tu piangi nell'angoscia e affanna il dissonante canto **Ca.** Ha dolce sorte il musico cantore. Di molli piume circonfuso e d'ala, senza lacrime gli dettero gli dei, giorni soavi al corso di sua vita. E me la scure attende Affilata, a due tagli![185]	**Ch.** Tu canti senza metro, sei furente? Sei invasa da un dio? Come usignolo dalla voce d'oro Per la vita ricanta il suo tormento Ed Iti invoca con gemiti e lai, così tu plori nell'ambascia e geme la dissonante mélode. **Ca.** Ha dolce sorte il musico cantore! Di molli piume circonfuso e d'ala Gli dettero gli dei, lungi dal pianto, giorni soavi al corso di sua vita. E a me sovrasta il ferro, affilato, a due tagli […][186]

Χο. φρενομανής τις εἶ θεοφόρητος, ἀμ–	1140
φὶ δ' αὐτᾶς θροεῖς	
νόμον ἄνομον οἷά τις ξουθὰ	
ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, ταλαίναις φρεσὶν	
Ἴτυν Ἴτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς	
ἀηδὼν μόρον.	1145
Κα. ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας βίος ἀηδόνος·	
περέβαλον γάρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας	
θεοὶ γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·	
ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.	

The passage moves away from accuracy to forge that 'harmony' of metres and lyrical pace Marchioni argued for in the preface. The changes in the 1930 version from the 1925 one are notable; though the result is still imbued with archaisms, old-fashioned terms such as 'lai' ('laments') 'plori' ('cry'), 'ambascia' ('anxiety'), 'mélode' ('song'), 'ferro' ('sword') are replaced with more modern equivalents ('piangi', 'angoscia', 'canto', 'scure'); emphatic enjambments with less convoluted structures ('ricanta' or 'dettero' are thus closer to their subjects, 'usignolo' and 'dei'); and elaborate expressions with simpler ones ('senza lacrime' in place of 'lungi dal pianto'). To the Chorus' harmonious combination of hendecasyllables and 'settenari', Cassandra responds in the same metres (*cum variatio*).

Indeed, Marchioni's idea of Aeschylus was that he was at once 'all fragrant with Apollinean ambrosia' and yet frenzied with 'Dionysian furor', a terminology that

[185] Marchioni (1930) 70–1.
[186] Marchioni (1925) 76–7.

obviously echoed Nietzsche; it was the 'Dionysian furor', though, that translated into the 'musical images' to which the tragedian afforded different rhythms.[187] Marchioni's Aeschylus was thus modelled upon this idealised 'lyric' genius heavily indebted to the Romantics; it should suffice to say that when writing about how he imagined his *Agamemnon* on stage, his suggestions for the music were Beethoven's Symphony no. 5 and Bach's prelude.[188]

Yet, INDA was veering in a completely different direction: away from archaisms or, in fact, anything that would 'situate' these texts in a context, because INDA was after a different concept of the 'classical'. Italy, the press recalled, was the new (ahistorical and eternal) Athens: 'The Italian nation is now in the same situation Athens was after the Persian Wars'. Thus, the Italian people were 'aspiring to create a new literature' that would begin 'from a deep awareness of the Nation'. One journal article concluded:

> Our Fatherland, as in the times of Rome and the Renaissance, will be spiritually dominant and the revealer of beauty, which is the supreme sign of civilisation'.[189]

To recreate (eternal) imperial Athens, one clearly needed new forms, ideals, means: the lyric romanticising of tragedy, Nietzsche's Dionysian-barbaric Greece, Schliemann's historical Troy and Romagnoli's un-classical 'impressive movements of crowds' had to go.[190] There was more: a year after the performance of *Agamemnon*, the philologist Lavagnini wrote in *Dioniso* that:

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[187] Marchioni (1930) vi.
[188] Cf. Marchioni (1929) 286–7. In an article in *Dioniso*, Marchioni also explained that Aeschylus was essentially democratic and close to people's concerns (especially in his portrayal of the Chorus in *Agamemnon*; cf. also Marchioni 1930, xi), to which – not much later – Arturo Calza responded that Aeschylus was '*the* aristocrat par excellence', and, if in some sections he appeared democratic, it was because he was deliberately being 'vulgar' (Calza 1930, 50–1).
[189] AFI PR 1930, 'La Tribuna' 28 April.
[190] For the 1930 performance, INDA employed around thirty extras, a number which – compared to the exorbitant one in 1914 – seemed small indeed (cf. Bordignon 2012, 121–2). A letter from INDA's

> I would certainly banish Aeschylus from the modern stage […], an author who is much too rich with dense poetry, too abundant of lyrical passages, which cannot be suppressed nor performed and, like Pindar, he is much too archaic, all too distant from the modern spectator.[191]

Aeschylus was perceived as being démodé: too 'archaic' to fit into the fascist's 'phantom of the classics'; not sufficiently instructive à la Sophocles or modern à la Euripides. Fascism preferred the futurist Greece of Cambellotti's majestic and sharp-cornered geometric forms and of Pizzetti's 'avant-garde modernism'; but, most importantly, it preferred the Greece of the ideal 'exemplars', of the (solely Sophoclean and Euripidean) heroes and heroines who could embody universal values and (positive) morals: Iphigenia and Heracles (Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica* and Sophocles, *Trachiniae*; 1933); Hippolytus and Oedipus (Euripides, *Hippolytus* and Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*; 1936), Ajax and Hecuba (Sophocles, *Ajax* and Euripides, *Hecuba*; 1939).

Most importantly, Aeschylus' heroes were too impressed in everyone's memory as the protagonists of that 'primitive' and 'archaeological' Greece of Schliemann's memory from which the new, aerodynamic and futurist INDA was striving to move away. This would not only be the last time Marchioni's 'archaic' and outmoded translation would be employed for a production; it would also be the last time Aeschylus appeared on the stage at Syracuse until after the war, in 1948. Instead, a wholly Italian retelling of Aeschylus stands in its place: Alfieri's *Oreste*. From 1929

secretary to Cambellotti highlights the main reason for this and for future further reductions in the usage of extras: 'Should the scenery allow a triumphal procession between Agamemnon, the Chorus of the old Argives, and Clytemnestra's maidens? Or, instead of making these look squeezed and awkward in such a small space, should we better eliminate them altogether, conforming to a more *classical* form of tragedy?' (AFI D 1930, 'Bonajuto's letter to Cambellotti' 7 January; *my italics*).

[191] Lavagnini (1931) 42.

onwards, Alfieri and his most modern and (supposedly) nationalist play functioned as *the* Italian surrogate for Aeschylus on the Italian stage.[192]

[192] *Oreste* toured throughout the summer of 1929 all over Italy, and was later performed in Asti in an open-air theatre; again in 1935, it was staged for three successful nights at the ancient Licinium theatre in Erba. When asked whether Alfieri's plays would be appropriate for the promotion of fascist propaganda, Mussolini replied: 'Alfieri is not censorable!' (cited in Maccari 2006/2007, 99).

Chapter Six

Aeschylus 'our contemporary': Greek tragedy, historicity and philology

> The story of the *Oresteia* is the story of our time. […] If loosened from the allusive entanglements of the myth, the plot is ruthlessly contemporary: it is a retelling of the current post-war period – as much as of any other –, treated with no hesitation and with a tenderness that oozes the *human* truth embodied by the deep psychology of [Aeschylus'] characters.[1]

From 15 to 23 May 1948, Aeschylus and his most 'human(e)' *Oresteia – Agamemnon* alone and a double bill of *Choephoroe* and *Eumenides* on alternate nights – made a glorious return to the stage at Syracuse to mark a new beginning for INDA.[2] This was in fact the first ever performance of the trilogy in the history of INDA, and it signalled the profound renewal of INDA after Fascism: in the first issue of *Dioniso* in 1947, the new council appealed to everyone to reform this much valued Institute, welcoming '*contrasting* opinions' and especially valuing any '*international* scientific relations'.[3]

The distinguished academic Raffaele Cantarella, a professor of Greek literature at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan since 1938, was made president (1948–52); and the more senior and eminent philologist Manara Valgimigli was invited to take part in the new council and to provide the translation for the 1948 production. Along with Mario Untersteiner, first a professor of Greek literature in

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[1] Giovanni Calendoli in AFI PR 1948, 'La Repubblica d'Italia' 27 May (*my italics*). It continues: 'the audience, taken up by this enchantment […], translated the Aeschylean lesson into their own terms, thinking back to the events of our post-war period'.

[2] Aeschylus' *Oresteia* was indeed the first tragedy to be performed on the Syracuse stage after the war; however, INDA had already resumed its activities with a rehash of Aristophanes' *Aves* in Ostia (initially the *Equites*: cf. AFI D 1947, 'Bonaiuto's letter to Valgimigli' 15 March) in the summer of 1947 (cf. AFI PR 1947, 'Corriere di Sicilia, Catania' 16 November; AFI PR 1948, 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno' 26 January; *Dioniso* 1947). This play was put together quickly (Cambellotti designed the scenery and Romagnoli prepared the translation) to silence some 'complaints' around INDA taking too long to begin functioning again (*Dioniso* 1947, 235).

[3] *Dioniso* (1947a) 3–4, *my italics*.

Genoa (1947) and then of ancient philosophy at the University of Milan (1959), these scholars were amongst the most prolific and prominent experts on Greek literature and theatre, and especially on Aeschylus.[4] Needless to say, one of their common denominators was strenuous anti-Fascism. Valgimigli had signed Croce's *Manifesto of the Anti-Fascist Intellectuals* (1925), which earned him an invitation to leave the University of Pisa in 1926; he was later indicted on conspiracy charges and incarcerated for a month in 1944.[5] Untersteiner had been the only teacher at the Liceo Giovanni Berchet in Milan, who did not collude with Fascism – which resulted in his being made principal of the school after the war; and he formed, along with Cantarella, a lively group of anti-fascist intellectuals in Milan.[6]

Aeschylus appeared once again as a pivotal figure in the history not just of Italian theatre, but of a more general rethinking and re-definition of philology and of the very nature of the classics after the war. In a sort of *Ringkomposition* with INDA's beginning, the 1914 *Agamemnon* and after that the 1921 *Choephoroe* in particular, the tragedian was once again being appreciated for his 'primitive' traits, yet was within a completely different framework and from a substantially altered perspective. INDA

[4] Cantarella, together with his numerous translations of Greek theatre (cf. 1977), published an influential volume in 1941 entitled *Eschilo. Parte I. Tradizione e originalità* ('Aeschylus, I: Tradition and originality'), which asserted that the Greek tragedian was the first to voice a new 'historical self-awareness' (84) destined to leave its mark and ultimately issue in 'European civilisation' (78). Untersteiner published extensively on Aeschylus before moving on to ancient philosophy: his revised book, *Le origini della tragedia* ('The origins of tragedy'; 1955, first published in 1942), devoted its entire second part to Aeschylus' poetics (297–581); he was responsible for numerous other works (1946, 1946a, 1947, 1949, 1949a, 1952, 1960), along with a critical edition and translation of Aeschylus' tragedies (1946b) which established him as an international expert on Aeschylus (1949, 132). Valgimigli endeavored to communicate his own interpretation of Aeschylus' plays in his translations (*Prometheus Vinctus* in 1904, about which he also published some influential scholarly work, cf. 1904; *Choephoroe* in 1926 and *Oresteia* in 1948).

[5] Cf. Pisani (2015–2016) 325.

[6] Cf. Treves (1988).

was 'returning', and so was Agamemnon, after a (perhaps *the*) most dramatic and dark period in Italian history.[7]

The 'tenderness that oozes the *human* truth' that Giovanni Calendoli speaks of in 1948 was the hope for a new 'humanity' to rise up again from the ashes of the war. Not surprisingly, then, the trilogy's interpretation emphasised the 'human' traits of Aeschylus' characters: according to Calendoli, Agamemnon was a king, yet 'first and foremost', 'a man'; Clytemnestra was 'not a conventional adulteress, but a woman whose impulse to wild sadism was stronger than any moral law', a psychologically unstable (and Alfierian) character; Cassandra was a 'hyper-sensitive and crazed creature', who brought 'within herself the tragedy of a suffered divinatory gift'; Orestes was not the usual 'raging hero', but a 'man', who 'end[ed] up being overthrown by fate'.[8]

The return of the Atreides saga on the stage was thus coincident with the post-war humanitarian resolution to put the broken pieces of humanity back together. This new humanity was to be found in *the* embodiment of humanity par excellence, European civilisation, which began with the Greeks and, more specifically, with Aeschylus and his literary creation, tragedy. The self-awareness of what Cantarella identified as 'European civilisation' had sprung from the Greeks' victory over the Persians. 'If the world still lives on a European culture', he argued, 'and on the *spiritual* patrimony that it represents', this ought to be credited to the 'Athenian spirit'.[9] In other words, the humanity sought in order to reconstruct the world after the brutality of war was made to coincide with the rebirth of European culture, whose

[7] The press seemed to identify INDA's return to life with Italy's cultural upswing after the war: cf. AFI PR 1948, 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno' 26 January and 'Giornale di Sicilia' 19 February.
[8] AFI PR 1948, 'La Repubblica d'Italia' 27 May.
[9] Cantarella (1941) 78, *my italics*.

roots had grown out of the Greek (Athenian) classical period. In stark contrast to the earlier (fascist) anti-historicist interpretation of classical culture as contemporary because effectively *out of history*, Cantarella grounded his own interpretation on a *historicisation* of the pivotal role ancient Greek culture played in the shaping of their '*humanitas*' and their own 'consciousness as human beings'.[10]

Tragedy was the literary means that allowed this new self-awareness to emerge as distinctively other from that of epic: the novelty was in the tragic hero's '*historical* consciousness' of being the creator of this new world, this new civilisation.[11] Aeschylus had been the first to re-signify and universalise such a change in historical consciousness in literary form.[12] This re-signification indeed entailed a conceptualisation of Greece's victory over Persia as a 'conflict between freedom and theocratic absolutism', which was at the very root of European consciousness *and* democracy.[13] In other words, Aeschylean tragedy had represented the distinctively unique possibility for Athenian citizens to become self-aware, or better, to make sense of their *history* and thus their present.[14] Aeschylus was in fact the 'voice' of this entire understanding, which came to be universal – or universally accepted as 'universal'; an understanding of 'life that pervaded victorious Athens',[15] of which tragedy was the most meaningful product. Aeschylus' poetry illuminated 'the true glory of Athens, a land native to the spirit and irreplaceable legacy of civilisation'.[16]

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[10] Cantarella (1958) 7.
[11] Cantarella (1941) 84–5, *my italics*.
[12] Cf. Cantarella (1958) 9; Untersteiner (1952) 329–30.
[13] Cf. Cantarella (1958) 8–9.
[14] On the uniqueness of Aeschylus as a tragedian, cf. Judet de la Combe (2010) 245–62, where the philologist gives an overview on how tragedy as a genre changes in the course of the century and moves from philosophical creation (as in Aeschylus: 254, 260) to its problematisation (as in Sophocles and Euripides: 256 ff.), once philosophy becomes a linguistically formed discipline (260).
[15] Ibid., 8.
[16] Ibid., 16.

Untersteiner concurred: Aeschylus had freed 'the tragic reality' – that is, pre-existing tragedy as a literary genre – 'from being merely effective', and 'upheld it as being a universal body'.[17] It was only through such a proper contextualisation of Aeschylus' poetry – a historical awareness of a new beginning in Athenian civilisation – that it was possible to grasp its universality as a form of art and knowledge.[18] Thus, against the ahistorical and eternal characters of a modernist Greece composed of *Idealtypen* (see Ch. 5, above), Aeschylus was now held up as the historical stronghold of an opposing anti-nationalistic, (pan-)European (yet equally imperialistic) view. Unsurprisingly, this is the moment that witnessed the greatest number of translations and performances of Aeschylus' plays in the whole Italian Novecento.[19]

Philology beyond positivism and aestheticism: the idealistic approach

On 18 January 1924, in an introductory lecture on a course in Greek literature and language at the University of Pisa – which, interestingly, was then collected with other speeches and translations and published as part of the idealist philosopher Giovanni Gentile's book series *La Civiltà Europea* ('The European Civilisation')[20] – Valgimigli established the foundation for Cantarella's post-war sentiments whilst openly acknowledging the basis for a general change that was affecting contemporary philology and literary criticism tout court:

> Studying and teaching Latin and Greek is recognising the value not of *a* portion of history, but of history itself, not of groups of human beings, but of

[17] Untersteiner (1952) 330: 'Tragedy is Aeschylus' invention' and is a 'form of universal art' (323); the tragic poet 'unveils and sings the contradictions of reality' and 'transforms them into knowledge for everyone else' (319), and for this reason, Aeschylus can be called the 'philosopher of tragedy' (330); cf. also Untersteiner (1946) 14.
[18] Cantarella (1958) 7.
[19] Cf. Appendix A and Zoboli (2004) 130.
[20] Cf. Valgimigli (1964) 532, *my italics*.

> all of humankind. Idealistic thought has made this possible by means of merging ourselves back into the ocean of 'being' in which past and present oscillate in a mutual exchange and with unceasing rhythm. Scholars of classical philology are […] teachers of that particular history in which humankind discovers itself and re-affirms its greatest testimonies.[21]

Thus, Valgimigli considered the history of the Greek and Roman worlds as the *only* history worthy of study, and philology was the means by which to make this possible. 'Philology is history', he stated some paragraphs earlier, entailing 'the reading and interpretation of poets and writers'; it is in its essence the 'knowledge of ancient humanity in itself'.[22] Philology, he continued, is 'the history of humankind endlessly rethinking and reconquering itself through the ancient'.[23] This constant and embryonic 'rethinking' of humankind is the task of the philologist, which is never finished, for human beings 'always *make* themselves again […] according to [their] new spiritual interests'.[24] The beginning and the end of philological analysis is thus both the present – because any interpretation is guided by the 'spiritual interest' of the 'now'[25] – as well as the past, which created the present, in the 'oscillation' that allows a prolific 'mutual exchange', which is the birth of new critical thinking.

Valgimigli's 1924 lecture makes explicit reference to Hegelian idealism, which Croce and Gentile had especially elaborated in the first decades of the twentieth century.[26] Valgimigli and others had begun to rethink philology as a discipline under the influence of Croce's *Estetica* ('Aesthetics'; 1902).[27] Some years later, in 1943, the

[21] Ibid., 546.
[22] Ibid., 541.
[23] Ibid., 542.
[24] Ibid., 545.
[25] Following Croce's conception of history (cf., amongst others, 1920a, 213 ff.), Valgimigli advocated the 'perennial contemporaneity and topicality of history' (1964, 542).
[26] For a general introduction to Italian idealism, cf. Moller (2001).
[27] Cf. Rostagni (1950) 406–7. See Croce (1990) 639–709 on the stages of publication of Croce's *Estetica*. On Croce's and idealism's influence on Valgimigli, see Valgmigli (1964g); Gigante (1989) 186–7; Zoboli (2004) 109–20; Benedetto (2012). On the influence of Croce and Gentile on the study of aesthetics up to the 1950s, see, amongst others, Attisani (1950).

philologist Gennaro Perrotta observed the transformation that philology had undergone at the start of the century under the influence of modern aesthetics, 'vivified by the new streams of modern culture':

> [Philologists] have begun studying the art and thought of the great classics […]. Classical philology […] has become less dry and pedantic, and more attractive and sharp, so as to entice the interest of any educated person. […] There abound books devoted to understanding a poet, a philosopher or a writer. Once, it was the journal article only, the short journal article, the small contribution to be appreciated and accepted.[28]

Perrotta noted how classical philology had begun investigating ancient texts as art forms: all of the contextual (and necessary) knowledge that surrounded them was subordinated to understanding and unveiling the beauty of their poetry.[29] His principal target was that form of 'philologism'[30] that valued 'the short journal article, the small contribution', the useless 'game' promoted by positivistic philology, as Valgimigli put it.[31] Although Gerolamo Vitelli cannot simply be reduced to the anti-historicist, positivistic counterpart of Croce's new aesthetics, he was indeed one of the most, if not *the* most, significant figure associated with this approach.[32]

Yet, Valgimigli and others were equally disapproving of the 'literary-aesthetic reaction to philology'. Such a reaction, which had Romagnoli at its centre, 'did not move from an internal revision of the values and methods of philology itself', but rather from 'external and intellectualistic criteria'.[33] Whilst providing excellent

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[28] Perrotta (1943) 40–1.
[29] Cf. Gigante (1989) 186–7.
[30] 'Philologism' denoted a 'materialistic conception of philology' that had become 'mechanism' and 'expertise', argued Rostagni (1939) 65.
[31] Valgimigli (1964) 535.
[32] On the contradictory features of Vitelli as a philologist, see Pasquali cited in Gigante (1989) 152 and 141–62. Indeed, lurking behind Perrotta's words was a clear reference to Vitelli and his school; a short while before the above-quoted passage, he wrote: 'Yet, much time had passed since positivism died out, but classical philologists continued to consider their discipline as a natural science. Most of them did not care about art or thought: they would catalogue and appreciate "facts" only, as they would have it, and spurn all the rest' (Perrotta 1943, 40; cf. also Benedetto 2012, 39–40).
[33] Valgimigli (1964) 537. Against aestheticism, see also Serra (1924) and below.

translations of Aristophanes and contributing to the dissemination of Greek theatre, Romagnoli had kept himself away from 'the so-called problems of the critics'.[34] The argument that one should tackle a text 'without any mediator', which Romagnoli spelled out in the preface to his *Teatro Greco*,[35] particularly upset Valgimigli because it was an indicator of a general anti-historicist approach that negated the very nature of philology as being essentially about criticism and its history.[36]

The idealistic approach, or better, the critical approach to the classics as informed by idealism and historicism was thus a reaction to both positivism and aestheticism. It also effectively laid down the path for a precursory theoretical thinking around the nature of the classics as well as the possibility of their survival in time, i.e. their 'reception'. On the one hand, as Valgimigli explained in another lecture at the University of Padua on 15 January 1927, the new approach was a reaction to aestheticism's tendency to strip contextual knowledge from the text and consider it from the point of view of a 'sort of contemplative state' in isolation from this knowledge – of which the fascist interpretation of the classics was the ultimate product. On the other, however, it also spurned any positivistic attempt to separate the 'poetry from its interior reality'; that is, to treat the text as simply a container of information to be extracted and analysed.[37]

For Valgimigli, the author's environment *was* indeed important because it provided the unique and unrepeatable circumstances that produced her or his work of

[34] Valgmigli – probably influenced by Croce (cf. Zoboli 2004, 87) – thought of Romagnoli as divided between his work as a philologist and as a poet, leading to a disunity that inevitably hampered his activities with respect to both (1964, 538–9). Rostagni went even further, stating that Romagnoli's approach, which launched the new trend of creating so-called 'poetic versions', and fostered, along with Fraccaroli, 'amateur aestheticism', had been detrimental to philology because it lacked any real critical sense (1950, 406).
[35] Romagnoli (1918) ix–x.
[36] Valgimigli (1964) 538–9.
[37] Valgimigli (1964a) 555.

art, and close textual analysis *was* equally significant and necessary. Yet, these were all *means*, not ends, and hence subordinated to the real object of philological analysis: the poetry of the text.[38] This 'poetry' did not reside in the myth, nor in any other contextual piece of information, but in the 'αὐτὸν δὲ εὑρίσκειν ['invention'] of the poet, in the χρῆσθαι καλῶς ['skillful employment'; Arist. *Poet.* 1453b.25] of the mythical content'; that is, in the particular and personal 'mode and emphasis in which the poet shape[d] such matter'. In short, poetry, 'we would say today, is form'.[39] And later, on 27 July 1952, in an inaugural lecture on translation, Valgimigli quoted Aristotle on this point again, stating that poetry did not reside in whether one used verse or not, but in the 'mimesis'.[40]

The terms of discussion were thus brought back to Aristotle, but resonated in fact with idealism's re-elaboration of the literary critic Francesco De Sanctis's identification of form with content (and with contemporary discussion in literary criticism).[41] 'Content' – intended as that 'emotionality not yet elaborated aesthetically' or as 'impressions' – and 'form' – intended as 're-elaboration', as the 'spiritual activity of expression'[42] – are 'indivisible', according to Croce in his *Estetica*;[43] or, going even further conceptually, 'indistinguishable', as Gentile replied to Croce.[44] Thus, every 'intuition-expression', according to the 'indivisible' pairing of content and form that Croce saw in every aesthetic production, is unique and not reproducible because it

[38] Ibid., 554–5.
[39] Ibid., 553.
[40] Valgimigli (1964b) 588; cf., amongst other *loci*, Arist. *Poet.* 1447a.15–16.
[41] Cf. Gigante (1989) 201. Valigmigli's terms also resonated with contemporary discussion in literary theory (cf., for example, the 'New Criticism' movement in America).
[42] Croce (1990) 21.
[43] Ibid., 26.
[44] Gentile (1992), 110. In his influential 1920 essay on 'Il torto e il diritto delle traduzioni' ('The right and wrong of translations': see below), Gentile (implicitly) picked up on Croce's use of the term 'inseparability' with reference to content and form, accusing it of continuing to make a distinction between the two de facto.

results from the unique 'fusion' of the impressions of a subject *in history* – by definition 'unrepeatable' – into an 'organic whole'.[45] This was 'aesthetic activity' according to Croce's definition; effectively, 'poetry'.

Aeschylus with baggage: translation and Fortleben

> I do not have the blunt, immediate, direct appreciation of ancient Greek: that which even the most humble artisan and spectator at the theatre of Dionysus possessed. […] We cannot grasp the poetry of the Greeks anymore. The written words are a symbol. We cannot read as they did, we cannot stress with our voice nor put the emphasis with our spirit where they did.[46]

Thus wrote Serra at the beginning of the century in an essay that only saw the light of day in 1924, when his friend Valgimigli published it after Serra's premature death in the war (1915). It is clearly not a coincidence that Valgimigli revised and published this unfinished work, eloquently titled 'Intorno al modo di leggere i greci' ('Around the way to read the Greeks'), which represents an overt critique of any positivism- or aestheticism-driven attempt at 'reconstructing' the ancient world.[47]

If, in fact, there was no 'thought without a form', as Gentile argued,[48] – that is, if form and content were the same thing – and if this form was produced by the unique encounter between a subject and its historical circumstances, then the philologists' 'illusion', as Valgimigli put it, of being able to attain to a fully objective knowledge

[45] Croce (1990) 26.
[46] Serra (1924) 170–80.
[47] The occasion for the essay was the publication of Giuseppe Fraccaroli's translations of Greek lyric poetry (1913) and Romagnoli's translations of Aristophanes' comedies (1909) – with respect to Fraccaroli, Serra criticised the underlying aestheticising intention of 'offering a sincere, faithful, and authentic picture of these fragments' to the detriment of form (1924, 238). Serra's overall argument was that, masked under the disguise of aestheticism's public awareness project, there lurked the inevitably deceitful and dangerous idea that 'transporting the Greeks into contemporary literature' – as if no time had elapsed between then and now – was indeed possible (cf. 240ff).
[48] Gentile (1992) 109.

of the ancient world had faded out irreversibly.[49] Indeed, any potential understanding of a text was subjected not just to the limited amount of information that one could have access to; it was also contingent upon the intrinsic and ultimate impossibility of gaining the full picture, since any text had been *historically* shaped and that history would never repeat itself under the same conditions.[50] In other words, if the aesthetic product under examination was thought of as historically layered and thus unable to return to being the 'original' that it once was, the illusion of aestheticism as much as of positivism for which an 'external', thus objective, 'restoration' of the ancient was possible had crumbled to pieces.[51]

Valgimigli, however, did not stop at Serra's conclusion of the impossibility of attaining to the truth of an ancient text, but integrated idealism and historicism into a rethinking of textual knowledge itself.[52] If an external (objective) knowledge was impossible, the alternative was that which always began with awareness of the historical 'situatedness' of the subject; that is, an 'internal' knowledge that embodied *the* only possible path. When interpreting, reading and translating Aeschylus, stated Valgimigli in his 1952 lecture on translation,

> It is not we who, by going back, need to go to Aeschylus; rather, it is Aeschylus who comes to us. Our Aeschylus is not the poor, mortal and corporeal Aeschylus who wrote poetry in Athens, died and was buried in Gela in 456. Our Aeschylus is him who has thrown and immersed himself into the stream of centuries that bring and reconnect him back to us.[53]

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[49] Cf. Valgimigli (1964b) 590–4, where the philologist deemed some attempts at reconstructing Greek metre as being especially naïve, for they claimed to grasp the exact truth of the circumstances around their creation.
[50] Cf. Croce (1990) 87.
[51] Cf. Valgimigli (1964b) 594.
[52] Especially interesting in this regard are his 1924 and 1952 lectures, the first on philology, as was noted above, and the second on translation (see below).
[53] Ibid., 595. This quotation strongly resonates with a passage from Gentile (1992) 113: 'In truth, the Dante *I* read is the immortal Dante; he is that same man, that same spirit I am; yet, repetition is impossible because this spirit is always the same and yet constantly changing. His [Dante's] is a historical reality that grows from itself and is thus always the same, inasmuch as it is always different. The triple *love* that resounds on Francesca's lips lives on eternally because it lives off an unending and

The immortality of Aeschylus did not result from his works 'remaining' in an 'immobile, steady, and stiffened' state for ever, even though scholars tended to think of them in that way, Valgimigli argued.[54] If that were the case, then 'translating poetry' or 'composing music' would entail 'drawing as near as possible to that poem or piece of music' and 'the translator's or performer's merit' would be judged against the yardstick of 'proximity' to the original only. That poem or piece of music, however, are not 'external to us' as some sort of 'unshakable truth': one can 'admire and cherish' that truth only insofar as one 'reconquer[s] it every time and make[s] it hers or his'. 'The poet's truth', Valgimigli continued, 'is in fact my truth too inasmuch as I am reading and interpreting that poet and her or his poetry '.[55]

Valgimigli had inferred this idea of a work of art's immortality as well as its truth being shaped and reshaped by the person reading and interpreting it from Gentile, and particularly from his influential essay of 1920 'Il torto e il diritto delle traduzioni' ('The right and wrong of translations'),[56] which – whilst initially a response to a portion of Croce's *Estetica* – had begun a rather inflamed debate between the two over translation theory.[57] If, for Croce, interpretation indeed encompassed emphasising some aspects of a text according to the 'spirit' of the person who was interpreting it, but the text itself (or the author) was always 'eternally known and knowable';[58] Gentile had instead inserted the interpreter's historicity into the equation and thus incorporated

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eternally renovating life: it does not live on as *immortal death*, […], as something that, ceasing to exist, will always remain the same, without ever dying again; but, in fact, it lives on as immortal life' (*my italics*).

[54] Ibid., 585.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Valgimigli himself openly acknowledges the influence that the philosopher had exercised on his thinking around translation especially: (1964b) 585 and (1964g) 626.

[57] Cf., amongst others, Zoboli (2004) 73–80.

[58] Such was Croce's reply to Gentile's provocative 1920 essay, contained in a 'Postilla' ('Marginal Note') published the same year in *La Critica* (1920, 255).

the receiver, that is, any textual reception, into the history of the object itself.[59] Immortal Aeschylus was the product of the different subjectivities embroidered together which had created today's Aeschylus.

There is more: the historically layered, immortal Aeschylus, Gentile argued, who comes to the reader is also a better, truer version of mortal Aeschylus because his 'historical reality grows from itself',[60] a view later echoed by Valgimigli:

> What did he [Aeschylus] know then of what the Athenian victory at Marathon and Salamis […] meant and brought to our civilised world? Only today does Aeschylus know, because we know with him.[61]

Within the perspective of a progressive history, historical awareness would always 'improve' Aeschylus over time. The aforementioned 'internal' path to interpreting Aeschylus was thus the only one possible; it was also the one that – operating through the layers of this progressive history – afforded Aeschylus' works more truth every time they were considered.[62] This *Fortleben*, as Valgimigli argued a year after Walter Benjamin published the influential preface to his translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux parisiens* (1923), this 'continuity and contemporaneity of life and history is at the very root and reason of our being present'.[63] Indeed, this idea of a work of art accruing value by its layers of reception resonated greatly with Benjamin's contemporaneous essay.[64] Any reading, interpretation and understanding of a text represented, to employ

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[59] Cf. especially Gentile's reply to Croce's 'Postilla' in 1921 in *Giornale Storico della Filosofia Italiana* ('Historical Journal of Italian Philosophy') (Gentile 1992a).
[60] Gentile (1992) 113.
[61] Valgimigli (1964b) 595.
[62] Cf. Valgimigli (1964b) 585: '[The ancients] are alive and true insofar as there is another, a second, a third and so on, who reads and translates them'.
[63] Valgimigli (1946) 545.
[64] Cf. Venuti (2012) 71–2. Valgimigli's essay was published in 1924 and Gentile's theorising around the (historical) immortality of the original as well as around translation was printed in 1920; thus, the latter was before Benjamin's influential essay. Whilst the two philosophers indeed shared the same source (Hegel), it is interesting to note such a commonality of thought in such a short span of time.

Benjamin's terms, the original's *Fortleben* ('continuing life')[65] – the original 'lives more and better, beyond the means of its author', as Derrida explained in his 'Des Tours de Babel' (1985).[66] The very notion of this 'continuing life', however (and Gentile–Valgimigli concurred), 'can be understood only if life is attributed to everything that has a history [*Geschichte*]', that is, if it is immersed in that modifying and modified history that the original, now changed, participates in.[67]

If translation is thought of as the transportation of 'poetry [intended as the product of aesthetic activity] from the language into which it was born to another', this is impossible and 'absurd', since any content *is* form, hence a different form would entail different content.[68] If, however, it is thought of as part of the historically layered growth of a text, as essentially a 're-creation',[69] then translation is not only possible; indeed, it corresponds to our everyday activity of 'reading' and 'interpreting'.[70]

Harkening back to Humboldt's idea that language should be intended as an act (*enérgeia*) rather than a fact, Gentile concluded that 'we never translate' because language understood as an act of speaking is indeed form; and yet, because by existing as an act it participates in the spirit, in the history, in the *Geschichte* of Benjamin's essay: 'We always translate, because the true language, the one resounding in the human spirit, is never the same, not even in two contiguous seconds', and it 'exists upon the condition of transforming itself restlessly, of being always alive'.[71]

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[65] Benjamin (2012) 78.
[66] Derrida (1992) 14.
[67] Benjamin (2012) 76–7.
[68] Gentile (1992) 108; on the impossibility of translation as 'transposition', see also Croce (1936) 100, (1990) 87–8.
[69] Croce (1936) 102–3.
[70] For this (rather influential: cf., amongst others, Steiner 1975, 251) idea of 'reading' as 'translating', cf. Gentile (1992) 112: 'For, in truth, translating is the condition of any thinking and learning activity; and we do not only translate, as they say, empirically speaking and presupposing two different languages, […] in fact, we translate from our language too, always […]'.
[71] Ibid., 111.

Translation, Benjamin would argue three years later, is there to mark the (historical) 'post-maturation' (*Nachreife*) of languages, their 'growth'.[72] Translation and translating are then implicit in any thinking and learning activity: as a matter of fact, Gentile stated, reading is translating inasmuch as we 'recreate' anew (translation as 're-creation') what has already been written, 'not in the way it was thought when the author wrote it, rather in the way it is thought in the act of reading it'.[73] And Valgimigli echoed Gentile: 'Reading is always translating as it always entails transporting and transferring, that is, interpreting and performing'.[74]

The question to ask, according to Valgimigli, is: 'How [and what] does one actually and effectively translate?'. The 'written word' is all that is left of ancient classical poetry. It represents the only 'reality' one can 'come to know and recognise' with 'relative certainty'. Thus, translation is centred on the 'word', intended not as the 'dead word of the dictionary', but as the 'living one of the poetic text'.[75] The translator's task, then, is to 'pronounce and feel' this word again and again 'within [herself or himself]'.[76] And in an interview about the upcoming *Oresteia*, Valgimigli affirmed that by word, he meant '[its] mode, disposition, sound, colour, syntax, animation and internal vibration'. In short, he concluded, by 'word', '[I mean] the poetic expression', that historically layered aesthetic product of the original, which, in the translation, inevitably results in a new 'form'.[77]

The poetry thus resides in the 'written word', in this 'invention' or 'mimesis', in Aristotle's terms, and not in the 'mechanics' of its externalisation. In other words, if

[72] Benjamin (2012) 78.
[73] Gentile (1992) 112.
[74] Valgimigli (1964b) 588.
[75] Valgimigli (1964b) 587.
[76] Ibid., 588.
[77] AFI PR 1947, 'Corriere della Sera, Milano' 11 December.

translation is about re-creating and re-living that poetry internally, its 'external' mode of communication – that is, prose or verse – does not matter insofar as it is coming 'from within', from the translator's 'nature and not artifice', from 'following her or his own way of singing'.[78] Such a theoretical premise grounded Valgimigli's pioneering (and bold) decision to translate Aeschylus into prose – starting with *Choephoroe* in 1924 and completing the trilogy in 1948 – and to present it to the audience of Syracuse. His was a 'most innovative translation in its genre, of which there had yet been no example in Italian literature';[79] and it is still reprinted and performed to this day.[80]

The press generally praised Valgimigli's experiment: the 'translator's prose was blunt, essential, highly poetic';[81] most 'faithful' because 'loosened from the ties of metre', commented another journalist;[82] the 'poetry had been entirely entrusted to the power of the word',[83] said another. It was this powerful 'word' that recurred most often in the journalists' descriptions:[84] 'the tragedian's word' that 'reached the spectator with its weight of living humanity, with its surprisingly contemporary message'.[85] Surveying all of the Italian translations of Aeschylus' plays some years later, Bruno Costantini identified Valgimigli's version as the only one in which Aeschylus'

[78] Ibid.
[79] Ghezzo (1977) 74.
[80] Valgimigli's translations of *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe* were recently used in 2001 in Syracuse, as well as that of his *Eumenides* in 2003, but his translations of other plays were also employed extensively throughout the twentieth century and into the new millennium. His *Oresteia* has also been recently reprinted in the *Classici* ('Classics') series of the Newton Compton Editori, a low-cost and popular publishing house, as part of *Eschilo: Tutte le tragedie* ('Aeschylus: Complete Tragedies') (Aeschylus 2015).
[81] AFI PR 1948, 'Italia Nuova, Roma' 8 May.
[82] AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 22 February; the 'faithfulness' resulting from the use of prose instead of verse was a recurrent observation in the press: see, amongst others, AFI PR 1948, 'La Nuova Stampa' 28 May; 'La Repubblica d'Italia' 27 May.
[83] AFI PR 1948, 'La Nuova Stampa' 28 May.
[84] Cf., amongst others, AFI PR 1948, 'La Repubblica d'Italia, Ripresa' 23 May.
[85] AFI PR 1948, 'La Sicilia, Catania' 18 May; 'Giornale del Lunedì' 24 May; 'La Repubblica d'Italia' 27 May; 'La Nuova Stampa' 28 May.

'sublime' had not become 'refined and annoying solemnity', but was transposed into 'a more secret and truthful musicality'.[86] The philologist was praised for not mistaking '"ancient" for "old-fashioned"'; and, on occasions, 'Valgimigli is even more poetic than Aeschylus himself'.

Costantini quoted a particularly eloquent passage from the parodos (*Cho.* 28–31) in Valgimigli's translation:

> λινοφθόροι δ' ὑφασμάτων
> λακίδες ἔφλαδον ὑπ' ἄλγεσιν,
> πρόστερνοι στολμοὶ πέπλων ἀγελάστοις 30
> ξυμφοραῖς πεπληγμένων.
>
> E strappi laceratori di intessuti lini stridono ai colpi dolorosi; intorno alle persone fluttuano pepli battuti da sventure che non sanno riso di cielo.

'Strappi laceratori di intessuti lini' ('rending tears of linen-woven robes') literally transposes the image of the original (λινοφθόροι δ' ὑφασμάτων / λακίδες) with the past participle 'intessuti' in emphatic position, whilst 'stridono ai colpi dolorosi' ('creak under the painful blows') amplifies the meaning of the verb (ἔφλαδον, 'was rent with a noise') and creates a slightly different image, which the translation of ὑπ' ἄλγεσιν elaborates upon. But it is the next lines (30–1) which Valgmigli poeticises the most. Because 'the word στολμοὶ can also mean "sails" [cf. *Suppl*. 715]', Valgimigli argued in his commentary to the play, he felt entitled to think of this scene of grief as linked to an 'agitated storm', as in *Sept.* 854–6, with ἀγελάστοις 'perfectly tuned to the ship imagery'.[87] Thus, the brachylogical apposition (πρόστερνοι στολμοὶ) with its genitive of definition (πέπλων πεπληγμένων) and dative of agent (ἀγελάστοις ξυμφοραῖς) is unravelled and expanded in all its poetic potential. 'Intorno alle persone' ('around people') is a vague translation of πρόστερνοι ('on the [people's] breasts');

[86] Costantini (1948) 223.
[87] Valgimigli (1947) 8–9.

'fluttuano' ('fluctuate') 'pepli battuti' (a literal rendering of the genitive) 'da sventure che non sanno riso di cielo' is an expansion of the meaning of ἀγελάστοις. The word literally means 'not laughing', but Valgimigli renders it: 'In which [misfortunes] cannot know the laughing of the sky', meaning 'heavens'. Such misfortunes, in Valgimigli's poetic translation, have no knowledge of the happiness above.

The entire translation is scattered with this kind of 'poetic' expansion, well woven to afford a musicality that has nothing to do with metre. After all, Cantarella commented in an interview, 'for some time now' prose is the preferred communicative medium of translation from the classics, reflecting a new 'European trend': if indeed 'every translation is interpretation', as such 'it inevitably interprets the taste of the time it re-lives in'; once upon a time, he continues, it would have been 'verse', yet that 'does not suit our sensibility anymore'.[88] Aeschylus and his works were not just tangential to this paradigmatic change in taste; they were once again at its very centre. It was, in fact, 'the language of the tragedian', Bonajuto argued, that required the essential sobriety of Valgimigli's prose. Aeschylus' poetry does not 'allow for stylistic embellishments', Bonajuto continued; rather, it called for interpretations that enhanced its 'archaic and essential' character.[89]

Aeschylus thus embodied the post-war desire to return to the 'essential', to the 'word', to humanity in its rational sobriety; but even more, it was argued, Aeschylus could generate such desire, because he himself had been the most eloquent expression of this new 'logical and rational world' in the first place.[90] Valgimigli's essential and poetic word, Cantarella purported, was to be connected with its Greek origin, λόγος.

[88] AFI PR 1948, 'Camene' (n. 9) May.
[89] AFI PR 1948, 'Italia Nuova, Roma' 27 Rome.
[90] Cantarella (1941) 95.

And Aeschylus, he continued, represented the prevalence of this 'word' over the Dionysiac – in a reversal of the Nietzschean ideal, presumably in part an inference from the *Eumenides*, where Apollo prevails over the (Dionysiac) Furies.[91] 'Tragedy', in fact, was 'the triumph of *logos*', intending this word in all its 'untranslatable density of meaning'; and it is only this 'word', Cantarella said, echoing Valgimigli, that has survived the centuries and overcome the music 'intact', in its 'poetic – purely poetic – excellence'.[92] Aeschylus, he concluded, 'embodies this crucial shift in the dominance of the word over the music'.[93]

'Nothing to do with Dionysus': the choral and the musical in the 1948 Oresteia

It should not come as a surprise, then, to discover that the production of the *Oresteia* in 1948 had little, if anything, to do with Dionysus. For, not only is there an absence of certainty around metre,[94] any notion of the music too is, unfortunately, 'lost to us'.[95] 'What we know', concluded Valgimigli, 'is that it [music] did not prevail over the word as in modern melodrama'.[96] For the first time since 1914, the chorus was thus

[91] Cf. Ibid., 91: 'In front of Apollo, embodying the *principium individuationis*, Dionysus signifies instead the individual's annihilation into the universe through the spirit of music, […]; it is precisely because of this that the Dionysian spirit could not have inspired Greek tragedy'; against Cantarella's anti-Dionysian origin of tragedy, see Untersteiner (1947) 193–6.
[92] Cantarella (1941) 95.
[93] Ibid., 96.
[94] Valgimigli in AFI PR 1947, 'Corriere della Sera, Milano' 11 December.
[95] Cantarella (1958) 12.
[96] Valgimigli in AFI PR 1947, 'Corriere della Sera, Milano' 11 December. Cf. Cantarella (1941) 94: 'As soon as the word is put against some piece of music that attempts and needs to express itself by itself, with its own means, there inevitably emerges the 'libretto' phenomenon, and the word is dead. […] It is absolutely impossible for music […] to express a refined and determinate feeling. Music does not mean, cannot mean, anything, as there is no meaning (which has a conceptual value) in something that is born into and expresses itself beyond the logic and rational world'.

stripped of its 'melodramatic' function and was completely separated from the music, which in turn was reduced to a minimum and relegated to the background.[97]

The director of INDA Vincenzo Bonajuto had to convince both Cantarella and Valgimigli – effectively co-directors of the trilogy along with the 'capocomico' ('theatre company leader') Annibale Ninchi and the stage manager Gianfranco De Bosio[98] – to accept around 'twenty minutes' of music in total. 'It will not upset the essential value of the tragedy', Bonajuto wrote to Valgimigli; it will 'confer on the spectacle just as much variety as the heterogeneous, vast audience of Syracuse is accustomed to'.[99] Giuseppe Malipiero's 'sober music', as the press defined it, though always 'apt to the dramatic intensity', consisted of 'episodic comments' throughout the tragedy, much like a soundtrack.[100]

The recitation of all the Chorus' lines (including the choral odes) was assigned to Coryphaei – two for *Agamemnon*: Ubaldo Stefani and Achille Majeroni (**fig. 1**);[101]

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[97] Malipiero's music for the 1939 *Hecuba* was already pointing in this direction, with the Chorus reciting to the rhythm of ongoing music; yet, in contrast to *Hecuba*, his music for the 1948 *Oresteia* almost never overlapped with the Chorus' words, consisting of only a very few short introductory interjections into the main action (cf. Bordignon 2012, 211–12).

[98] Cantarella initially wanted a director (cf. AFI D 1947, 'Bonajuto's letter to Valgimigli' 20 December), but was then convinced to rely on the usual team of people (translator, music director, dance choreographer, president of INDA, and director of INDA) with the addition of a stage manager, Gianfranco De Bosio, who would later become a successful director (AFI D 1947, 'Bonajuto's letter to De Bosio' 27 November).

[99] AFI D 1947, 'Bonajuto's letter to Valgimigli' 29 November.

[100] AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale del Lunedì' 24 May. An (undated) list of 'notes for music and dance contents' (AFI D 1948), probably typed up by Bonajuto himself, reports the (very few) musical pieces introduced in the trilogy. In *Agamemnon*: 1. a slow march for the entrance of the Chorus (1'); 2. music for the 'rhythmic movements' of Clytemnestra's maidens whilst offering sacrifices (1'30"); 3. triumphal music for Agamemnon's arrival, to which a 'darker motif' was added as a prefiguration of what would happen (1'30"); 4. the same 'darker motif' repeated at the end of the third episode after Agamemnon's entrance into the palace (1'30"); 5. a 'musical comment' underlining the last part of Cassandra's frenzy (*Ag.* 1291–330); and 6. a dirge for the Chorus' exodus. In *Choephoroe*: 1. for the Chorus' entrance; 2. at lines 152–58 to accompany the Chorus' laments; 3. for the danced 'intermezzo' in place of the first stasimon; and 4. for the Chorus' exodus. In *Eumenides*: 1. for the parodos; 2. for the Furies' dance after line 334 (3') (see below); 3. for Athena's appearance at line 397; and 4. in the form of a solemn march for the final procession (2–3'). Another (undated) list reports the professional elements hired for the orchestra: a dozen people, mostly performing with wind instruments (cf. AFI D 1948, 'Orchestra elements tbc for Syracuse').

[101] AFI D 1948, 'Bonajuto's letter to Valgimigli' 9 April.

two for *Choephoroe*: Anna Proclemer and Lea Müller (**fig. 2**); and four for *Eumenides*: Anna Proclemer, Lea Müller, the famous expressionist dancer Rosalia Chladek and Renata Sainati.[102] The rest of the Chorus was composed of twenty-two static extras for *Agamemnon*, who also acted as members of the Areopagus in *Eumenides*; and nine for *Choephoroe*, who also acted as Athena's priestesses and opened the final procession in *Eumenides*. These, along with ten soldiers, ten Trojan prisoners and thirty-five men and twenty-five women posing as the people of Argos, represented the extras employed for the entire trilogy.[103] Whilst the Chorus also included thirteen dancers for *Choephoroe* (**fig. 3**), and only dancers for *Eumenides* (in addition to the four Coryphaei), the Chorus in *Agamemnon* was mainly 'decorative', divided into two groups of twelve extras and positioned in two semicircles around the orchestra (**fig. 4**).[104]

To enhance the dramatic impact of this innovative Chorus, in some parts of the tragedy the Coryphaei spoke in unison.[105] The theatrical intention behind this was especially clear in the rhythmic pace, the refined repetition of some words to render the unison (and musicality) more effective, and to simplify the wordiness of the original (**fig. 5**):

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[102] AFI PR 1948, 'Il Domani' 17 May. In one of Bonajuto's letters to Valgimigli (AFI D, 24 March), it is suggested that the prophetess in *Eumenides* also joined the Furies, a piece of information that is backed up by a document in the archives listing all of the actors for the three plays (AFI D 1948, 'List of actors with their parts'). The other actors on stage were Giovanna Scotto in the role of Clytemnestra; Mario Besesti as Agamemnon; Salvo Randone as Orestes; Daniela Palmer as Electra; Sarah Ferrari as Cassandra and Annibale Ninchi as the herald.

[103] Cf. AFI D 1948, 'Bonajuto's telegram to the headquarters in Syracuse' 26 March.

[104] The extras for *Agamemnon* were so consistently 'decorative' that a journalist joked about their presence on the stage: 'The bearded Argives from the Chorus had asked whether they were needed for the performance; they were answered yes, provided that they be good, silent, and motionless' (AFI PR 1948, 'Gli Spettacoli – L'Italia' 16 June).

[105] Cf. AFI D 1948, 'Letter to Bonajuto' 14 April, with an undated typed document containing all the passages chosen for the unison: *Ag.* 975–83, 1537–40; *Cho*. 152–8, 459–60, 464–5, 827–30; in a telegram to the INDA headquarters in Syracuse, Bonajuto explained that there would 'be no need for extras reciting in unison, as we will have four Coryphaei for this Chorus' (AFI D 1948, 17 April).

ἰὼ γᾶ γᾶ, εἴθε μ’ ἐδέξω
πρὶν τόνδ’ ἐπιδεῖν ἀργυροτοίχου
δροίτας κατέχοντα χάμευναν. (*Ag.* 1537–40)

Oh terra, oh terra, mi avessi tu accolto nel tuo grembo prima che dovessi vedere il mio re così turpemente ucciso![106]

Xo. ἴετε δάκρυ καναχὲς ὀλόμενον
ὀλομένῳ δεσπόται
πρὸς ῥεῦμα τόδε κεδνῶν κακῶν τ’
ἀπότροπον, ἄγος ἀπεύχετον 155
κεχυμένων χοᾶν.
κλύε δέ μοι σέβας, κλύ’, ὦ δέσποτ’, ἐξ
ἀμαυρᾶς φρενός.
ὀτοτοτοτοτοῖ· (*Cho.* 152–8)

Lacrime, lacrime date, suono di pianto che cade per il caduto signore! E il pianto s’intoni a questo presidio dei buoni, a questa difesa dai tristi che storni e tramuti sacrilego scempio di versati libami. Ascoltami, o re venerato, ascolta, o signore, dal buio dell’Ade levando il tuo cuore. Ahimè, ahimè, ahimè![107]

In the first example, along with the repetition, which follows that of the original, there is an apparent rhythmic musicality conveyed especially by the use of mainly paroxytone words. Moreover, instead of the convoluted ‘giacere nel fondo di una vasca da bagno’ (‘lie on the bottom of a bathtub’), which appeared in the 1948 printed version and rendered the original more closely,[108] Valgimigli opted for a simplification as more apt for announcing with one voice in a theatre: ‘così turpemente ucciso’ (‘thus shamelessly killed’). Another example of Valgimigli’s ‘rhythmic prose’, as the press called it,[109] is in the second passage, where repetitions (‘lacrime’; ‘pianto’; ‘ascoltami’ *cum variatio*), alliterations (‘*c*ade’, ‘*c*aduto’ [polyptoton], ‘*c*he’; ‘pia*nto*’, ‘*into*ni’, ‘ques*t*o’, ‘*tri*sti’, ‘s*tor*ni’, ‘*tr*amuti’, ‘ve*r*sa*t*i’, ‘ascol*t*a[mi]’, ‘vene*rat*o’), and emphatic word orders (‘lacrime lacrime date’; ‘per il caduto signore’; ‘versati libami’; ‘dal buio dell’Ade levando il tuo cuore’) all contributed to the translation’s musicality. All of

[106] As in AFI D 1948, ‘Letter to Bonajuto’ 14 April.
[107] Valgimigli (1964c) 92.
[108] Ibid., 79.
[109] AFI PR 1948, ‘La Nuova Stampa’ 28 May.

this was embedded within a prose that did not employ archaisms, the 'classicising, academic, professorial righteousness of other modern translations', as Valgimigli argued; his translation, in fact, aimed at enhancing its theatrical function.[110]

Exciting and poetically relevant as they were, the Chorus' parts in the *Oresteia* were too lengthy to be recited in full, especially as they were no longer accompanied by music or singing. The heaviest cuts were to the choral odes, which either almost completely disappeared[111] or were severely abridged.[112] Some other cuts involved the Chorus in their interaction with other characters,[113] whilst others were for the purpose of pruning the lengthy speeches of other characters.[114] Bonajuto himself had made sure that his suggestions for the cuts were accepted and that Valgimigli's and Cantarella's 'love for the great poet' would not stand in the way of his 'drastic' decisions.[115] The two scholars, however, did not just second Bonajuto's choices, but proposed even more and lengthier cuts, so many that Bonajuto was said to be 'pleased' with Valgimigli's 'open-mindedness' and lack of excessive concern for 'being faithful to the text's integrity'.[116] Valgimigli (and Cantarella) once again gave proof of their

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[110] Valgimigli (1964e) 598. Talking about his translation of *Oedipus Tyrannus* for the stage, Valgimigli described how he had 'burned' all the redundant and repetitive expressions that would never occur in contemporary theatre, 'accelerating the speed' of the dialogues (see, as an example, 1964c, 45–6, which translates the stichomythia between Clytemnestra and the Chorus in *Ag.* 264–80). See also, Valgimigli (1964a) 560–1, where the philologist criticises the academism of some modern translations (along these lines, cf. Untersteiner's view of Bignone's 'academic' versions: Untersteiner 1959, 19).

[111] *Cho*. 585–638; 783–830; *Eum.* 490–565 (cf. AFI D 1948, in which there is an undated, typed document reporting all the cuts).

[112] *Ag.* 68–82, 104–175; 355–98, 456–74; 717–81 and 787–809; 1001–1018; *Cho*. 54–65; 946–72, 935–41; *Eum.* 321–8, 335–88.

[113] *Ag.* 540–77, 1352–71; *Cho*. 340–99, 409–28, 461–78, 483–8, 496–9, 505–13, 719–29; *Eum.* 640–73, 717–30, 808–915, 949–67, 1003–1020.

[114] *Ag.* 617–680: the herald's speech about how the storm came upon the naval host was cut in its entirety, which gave rise to a complaint from Annibale Ninchi, the herald, who was also responsible for the dramatic direction of the plays (cf. the correspondence between Bonajuto and Ninchi [AFI D 1948, 12 March] and Bonajuto and Valgimigli [AFI D 1948, 11 March]); *Cho*. 517–22, 1030–42; *Eum.* 1–33, 1030–42.

[115] Cf. AFI D 1948, 'Bonajuto's letter to Valgimigli' 27 January.

[116] Cf. AFI D 1948, 'Valgimigli's letter to Bonajuto' 31 January: 'If your cuts are not identical with regards to the "where", they are with regards to their quantity'.

attachment to the substance of the 'poetic word', to the 'poetry' itself, and not to the 'philological' word per se.

'Faithfully' un-spectacular: a prophetic Oresteia

In order to achieve further fidelity to the 'poetic word', to the poetry of the text, the other (previously enhanced) Dionysiac trait of the INDA performances, the dances, was drastically slimmed. Again, it was Valgimigli, strongly supported by Cantarella's logocentric vision of Aeschylus' tragedy, who warned against the 'danger' of excessive dependence on spectacle. Cunningly hinting at previous (fascist) exaggerations, the philologist argued for a careful employment of dances, which should never become 'pretexts for exhibitions or showcases that could destroy the poetry of tragedy and of that pronounced word, which is or should be the most intelligible and apt expression of poetry'.[117] As before, Aeschylus was in no way tangential to this change in taste. As a matter of fact, Bonajuto explained in a newspaper article, probably prompted by Valgimigli himself,

> If, in the previous performances, Sophocles' and Euripides' masterpieces […] allowed for a most grand employment of dances, Aeschylus' dramatic power, on the contrary, […] and the craggy expression of his tragic world do not allow for excessively spectacular adaptations, which – when employed with moderation – can serve the purpose of emphasising the places where dramatic action requires them; but when excessively employed, not only do they misinterpret the archaic and hence no-frills character of Aeschylean theatre, they also damage the harmony of its parts'.[118]

Aeschylus' theatre required sobriety and austerity: anything 'accessorial' or 'additional' should thus be removed. Rosalia Chladek, the director of the (Dalcroze-

[117] AFI PR 1947, 'Corriere della Sera, Milano' 8 December.
[118] AFI PR 1948, 'Italia Nuova, Roma' 8 May.

founded) Hellerau-Laxenburg dance school from 1930 to 1938 and a collaborator of INDA's since 1927, was put in charge of the (few) dances included in the trilogy.[119]

Some 'rhythmic movements', contained and much shorter than the pre-war choreographies, were included at the beginning of *Agamemnon* (83–104), in which the ensemble posed as Clytemnestra's maidens sent down to kindle the torches on the gods' altars and bring offerings.[120] The second 'movement' occurred upon Agamemnon's arrival (*Ag.* 782–6). The twelve dancers, divided in groups of four and guided by Chladek, exited the palace, each bringing a carpet which they laid out on the ground from the king's chariot, echoing the 1930 performance of *Agamemnon* (**fig. 6**). *Choephoroe* included an introductory dance at the Chorus' arrival on the stage (*Ag*. 8 ff.; **fig. 7**) and some musically accompanied 'rhythmic evolutions' at line 152 together with the Chorus reciting in unison, which ended with the music soon after line 164 (**figs. 8, 9**). According to Bonajuto, this had to be a sort of 'brief ritual dance', propaedeutic to the evocation of Agamemnon's spirit from the dead. An actual dancing intermezzo then took place instead of the first stasimon and was charged with expressing 'the Chorus' tragic fear for the events about to happen' (**figs. 10, 11**).

Yet the most important and relevant dance occurred in *Eumenides.* The corps de ballet performed a long (three minutes) frantic dance after line 334, which, Bonajuto explained to Valgimigli, was 'required by the text'.[121] This dance was meant to convey the Furies' 'demonic character', as the press defined it,[122] and – at the same time – their sacredness as 'most ancient and venerable deities, who even in their horrid

[119] On Chladek, see, amongst others, Amort (2009) 135–8.
[120] Hereafter, all information regarding the dances is derived from a press release written by Bonajuto held at the archives: AFI D 1948, 'Press release'.
[121] AFI D 1947, 'Bonajuto's letter to Valgimigli' 29 November.
[122] AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 18 May.

appearance should maintain their divine dignity'.[123] This was indeed the dance that struck audience members the most; it was staged with the Furies swooning with their 'green, thick hair' and 'swearing against Apollo'. The choreography was 'harmonious' and 'minimalistic';[124] for some, even too much so: a certain 'modern schematism', which only vaguely recalled anything 'classical', seemed to alienate part of the audience.[125]

Inspired in accordance with the same essential sobriety that guided the translation, music and dance, Cambellotti designed a 'stylised', trapezoidal scenery.[126] By adopting the bare 'schematism of lines',[127] which he had employed during Fascism, Cambellotti abandoned any 'realism' and conformed to a 'harmony of volumes and planes' with an extreme 'simplicity of expression'.[128] As Cambellotti himself described, the scenery was divided into two parts: one that encompassed 'the dark atmosphere' of the first two plays on the lower part of the stage (**fig. 12**); the other, 'clear and luminous', that embraced 'the end of [Orestes'] expiation until the final forgiveness' on the upper part of the stage (**fig. 13**).[129] In the lower zone, was the gloomy Atreides palace, lengthwise, with the golden-gated entrance at its centre. On its reverse-V-shaped top, there appeared as a reminder the two lions of Mycenae's gate. On the right, there was a stylised stele with a coppered helmet on top, as this was 'the classical representation of the heroes' tombs', explained Bonajuto.[130] The extreme

[123] AFI D 1948, 'Press release'.
[124] AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 18 May.
[125] AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale del Lunedì' 24 May.
[126] For the trapezoidal form, Cambellotti was probably inspired by a recent discovery that the scholar Carlo Anti had made at the theatre of Syracuse which Valgimigli too had included in his 1947 reprint of *Choephoroe* for schools (cf. Anti 1947, 1947a, 1948).
[127] AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 22 February.
[128] AFI PR 1948, 'Italia Nuova, Roma' 8 May.
[129] Cambellotti (1982) 83.
[130] AFI D 1948, 'Vincenzo Bonajuto's letter to Giuseppe Bonajuto' 6 April.

simplicity in style and size of this stele contrasted with the majestic tomb Cambellotti had designed for *Choephoroe* in 1921.

In *Eumenides*, the gloomy Atreides palace was replaced by Apollo's 'ample, welcoming and flashing-gated' sanctuary and its dark columns with luminous propylaea.[131] Starting with the last play of the trilogy, the focus moved to the upper part of the scenery, where, on the very top of the palace, extended a long, white plane, on which was a chalk-made stylised branch of an olive tree symbolising Athena's temple, accompanied by an equally stylised altar to Athena (**figs. 13, 14**). At the end of the trilogy, from the dark and gloomy 'lower part of scenery', the 'brightly dressed' people of Athens paraded up 'through the two flights of stairs' so as to 'celebrate the act of justice' and thus reached the 'luminous' upper part, 'where everything is shimmering: the marble altar, Athena wrapped up in her flashing aegis, Apollo in his white clothes', and 'the sacred olive branch'.[132]

Overall, the 'experimental' performances of 1948,[133] as the press described them, were appreciated for their 'solemnity' and 'heterogeneity'.[134] Some criticism, however, arose from those who were expecting a complete break from the most immediate (fascist) past along with the return to the beginnings of INDA. For these people, Cambellotti's 'aerodynamic scenery',[135] Chladek's 'modern schematism', Malipiero's soundtrack-like music, the (modern) monodic approach to the Chorus, and Valgimigli's 'prose' translation, all embodied the complete opposite of a 'return' to the archaeological beginnings. All the elements that could be clearly traced back to the

[131] Cambellotti (1982) 84.
[132] Ibid.
[133] One newspaper article stated that they were an 'experiment' (AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 22 February), and another characterised them as an 'experimental edition'(AFI PR 1948, 'Camene' June).
[134] Cf. AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 22 February.
[135] AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale del Lunedì' 24 May.

co-directors' interventions were especially criticised for ruining the illusion that they were witnessing the *Oresteia* as it had been staged in 458 BCE. 'Cuts, mutilations and abridgments' were the main target. 'It is well known that directors […] are entitled to cut scripts according to their own dramaturgical criterion', argued one journalist, and yet 'we feel that this cannot be equally done to Aeschylus, Sophocles or Euripides', whose performances also 'possess didactic aims'.[136] In other words, the ancients – and the ancients at Syracuse in particular – were thought of as untouchable; especially then, after their most modern and ideological reworkings under Fascism. The musical reductions, the un-chanting Chorus – which gave to a neophyte the wrong idea of what Greek tragedy *really* was[137] – the prose translation of a work that had been written as poetry,[138] the cuts – 'Valgimigli steals Clytemnestra's ghost away from Aeschylus'[139] – had, according to one critic, transformed Aeschylus' *Oresteia* into Valgimigli's *Oresteia*.[140] By the end of the trilogy, 'Aeschylus has been defeated. Manara Valgimigli stands out as the absolute winner on the field', complained the same disapproving reviewer.[141]

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[136] AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale del Lunedì' 24 May.
[137] Even though the monodic approach had some theatrical effect, anyone 'who does not know about the complexity of the Greek Chorus from their own studies would never understand their function from this [performance]' (AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale del Lunedì' 24 May).
[138] 'The acting in prose of a work which had been written as poetry diminished the solemnity of the play' (ibid.); another journalist reported that 'some preferred the late Ettore Romagnoli's metric translations to Valgimigli's' (AFI PR 1948, 'Il Domani d'Italia' 27 May); and yet another commented: 'Greek tragedy is chant, and chant possesses its own harmonious laws, which cannot be constrained by the cold ties of prose' (AFI PR 1948, 'Camene' n. 10, June).
[139] AFI PR 1948, 'Gli Spettacoli – L'Italia' 16 June. It is not clear from the press accounts whether Clytemnestra's ghost was cut out in full or not – the scene was not listed amongst the cuts in the document mentioning them all but was numbered amongst the scenes in the performance in some newspaper articles (cf., amongst others, AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 18 May; 'La Sicilia, Catania' 18 May) whilst mentioned as a cut in others (cf. AFI PR 1948, 'Giornale del Lunedì' 24 May; 'Gli Spettacoli – L'Italia' 16 June).
[140] A journalist reported a comment he overheard from a lady in the audience saying that she felt she had just seen a 'bourgeois comedy, acted out by masked actors' (AFI PR 1948, 'Gli Spettacoli – L'Italia' 16 June).
[141] Ibid.

Yet, the modernity of Valgimigli's and Cantarella's version, as well as their approaches to adaptation, were rather different from the results and approaches employed by Fascism. What Fascism had passed off as 'un-mediated Aeschylus', Valgimigli and Cantarella meticulously assessed against the weight of history and openly acknowledged as being utterly and inescapably distant and different from what they had produced.[142] Their very 'situatedness' as historical beings was not only inevitable, but necessary; for them, it was the only possible lens through which they could read the ancients and the ancients could be enriched. The 1948 *Oresteia*, however, was too ahead of its time in its 'experimentalism': most of its innovations would in fact be dropped thereafter as too 'other', only to be taken up again when the time was ripe.[143] These prophetic performances and all of the critical thinking that Valgimigli and Cantarella had fostered around them *in primis* had in fact validated 'interpretation' as *the* only possible key to the ancients on the stage of Syracuse and thus had spread the seeds for the groundbreaking Gassmann–Lucignani–Pasolini version of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in 1960.

[142] Cf., amongst others, Valgimigli (1964d) 582, where the philologist draws a parallel between modern and ancient poetry, whilst at the same time postulating their radical difference: 'The difference [between us and the ancients] is in how we feel and approach poetry'.
[143] In 1950, the chorus would go back to its melodramatic function by singing the choral odes (cf. Bordignon 2012, 221).

Chapter Seven

Aeschylus, 'Africa' and the 'post-classic'

On 8 May 2008, Aeschylus' *Oresteia* was presented at the theatre in Syracuse in a wholly Sicilian edition, starting with the poster promoting it. 'I have chosen this face for the expression of the eyes full of pain', explained the Sicilian photographer Ferdinando Scianna in an interview. The man in the photo of the poster, Michele Toia, was already impressed into the memory of Sicilians – his face had in fact been photographed and chosen forty years earlier to embody a day labourer victim of the mafia in a powerful anti-mafia campaign, articulating Sicily's 'social, civic, economic and moral distress'.[1] Toia now reappeared as a 'Sicilian Orestes',[2] symbolising the communal pain felt because of Sicily's continuing lack of 'civil growth', but also as a sign of 'chance at redemption'.[3]

The underlying theme chosen for the 2008 production was 'justice' and 'the rule of law'.[4] The fact that this theme was chosen appeared to be less of a coincidence and more of a rallying cry when, on 18 September of that same year, the Sicilian mafiosi responsible for the tragedy known as the 'Capaci bombing' – orchestrated by Salvatore Riina in 1992 as an act of revenge against Judge Giovanni Falcone, who presided over the 'Maxi Trial' against the Sicilian mafia – were finally convicted for the bombing by the first criminal division of the Court of Cassation. This tragic event, recalled in the theatre on its sixteenth anniversary (23 May) with a minute of silence,[5] with the

[1] AFI PR 2008, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 7 April 2008.
[2] Ibid.
[3] AFI PR 2008, 'La Repubblica' 14 February.
[4] AFI PR 2008, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 26 April.
[5] AFI PR 2008, 'Il Messaggero' 28 April.

hope that the mafia would be held responsible for their actions by the court, had indeed found a more than suitable parallel in Aeschylus' representation of acts of primordial vengeance taken in defiance of a (democratically based) justice. 'Aeschylus does not pay his protection money ['pizzo']',[6] 'The *Oresteia* and its discourse on law',[7] '*Oresteia,* symbol of legality',[8] and 'Aeschylus renders justice'[9] were amongst the provocative newspaper headlines chosen to advertise the performance.

Furthermore, the 2008 *Oresteia* made explicit reference to George Thomson's Marxist interpretation of the trilogy, a much earlier (and, in truth, then outdated) reading of the plays.[10] On 8 May, after the last lines pronounced by the Chorus in *Eumenides*, the anti-mafia prosecutor Piero Grassi (and many other public figures after him on subsequient nights)[11] stood up in the centre of the 'metaphysical' scenery designed by the Palermitan Pietro Carriglio[12] and recited the following words:

> The reign of law has begun. As we followed the fortunes of Orestes, we were in effect watching the growth of law through successive stages of social evolution. Regarded originally as a tort to be redressed by the kinsmen of the victim, and subsequently as a pollution to be expiated by the prescriptions of the aristocratic priesthood, the offence of homicide is now a crime to be submitted to the judgment of a legally appointed committee of the people.

[6] AFI PR 2008, 'La Stampa' 3 May.
[7] AFI PR 2008, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 23 March.
[8] AFI PR 2008, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 26 April.
[9] AFI PR 2008, 'Il Messaggero' 28 April.
[10] Thomson is quoted in practically every newspaper article about the performance (cf., amongst others, AFI PR 2008, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 26 April; 'l'Unità' 6 May; 'Corriere della Sera' 22 June; 'Città nuova' 25 June). The connection between George Thomson and Aeschylus' trilogy had been made by Vittorio Gassman, Luciano Lucignani and Pier Paolo Pasolini some forty years earlier when preparing the *Oresteia* for the 1960 production; see further, below.
[11] Cf. AFI PR 2008, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 23 March: Piero Grasso, the politician Giuliano Amato, the academic and banker Giovanni Antonino Puglisi, the president of Confindustria Sicilia and of Banco di Sicilia Ivanhoe Lo Bello, the Sicilian lawyer Corrado Piccioni, the ex-president of the Criminal Chamber of Syracuse Ettore Randazzo, and the Egyptian law professor Cherif Bassiouni, who also participated in a seminar with other eminent figures titled 'Orestes on the stand: from tribal law to judicial civilisation' (24 May).
[12] Pietro Carriglio had designed a 'whimsical' scenery, a sort of 'architectural space you could find on the outskirts of a metropolitan area or in cleansed Gibellina [a small city in Trapani]' (cf. AFI PR 2008, 'La Stampa' 3 May).

> The conflict between tribal custom and aristocratic privilege has been resolved in democracy.[13]

Later that same year, a 'legally appointed committee' would eventually sentence to death those responsible for the 'Capaci bombing', which, it was hoped, would be the first step in eradicating Sicily's deeply rooted 'Erinyes', the mafia. The performance as a whole, together with its use of Thomson's ideas, in fact drew an explicit link to an earlier performance of the trilogy at Syracuse by which it was inspired: the 1960 *Oresteia*.[14] The 2008 trilogy was returning in its entirety on the stage of Syracuse after forty-eight years in the same pioneering translation that had signalled a patent change in the history of INDA, of the classics in performance in Italy, and of the definition of the 'classic' more generally. The translation had been executed by the poet, journalist, activist, critic, film and theatre director and writer Pier Paolo Pasolini.[15]

The 'third solution': a historical interpretation of the Oresteia

> In front of a [Greek] classic, i.e. a work that is separated from us by a number of centuries, the first thing that comes to mind is trying to *repeat* a spectacle, rather than make the drama live again. In short, it is an act of archaeology, with very few elements of certainty and many more doubts. If one discards this idea, as we did, […] one may fall into the other seductive shortcut: that of freeing poetry from the constraints of historical documentation and giving way to imagination. After much discussion, we have opted for a third solution, which is by no means a compromise, but the only possible path: by avoiding archaeology and guarding ourselves against aestheticism, [we have decided to] take the path towards a 'historical' interpretation.[16]

Thus explained the leftist co-director of the 1960 *Oresteia* Luciano Lucignani, referencing the long-standing debate between aestheticism and archaeology (Ch. 6, above). Lucignani had decided to embrace the 'historical' approach of the Crocian

[13] Thomson (1941) 289; the passage was read in its Italian translation (cf. Thomson 1949).
[14] Cf. especially AFI PR 2008, 'Giornale di Sicilia' 29 April.
[15] In 2008, INDA organised two seminars, one on 'Vengeance and Justice in the *Oresteia*' and a second on 'Pier Paolo Pasolini, a civic poet', both to honour the memory of Pasolini and to draw a connection between their performance and that of Gassman–Lucignani–Pasolini in 1960 (cf. Nuzzo 2008).
[16] AFI PR 1960, 'L'Unità – Roma' 19 April, *my italics*.

school, now stripped of any idealism, as the Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci had envisioned.[17] The famous co-director and leading actor (Agamemnon and Orestes) of the 1960 production of *Oresteia*, Vittorio Gassman, concurred with Lucignani. He had found Aeschylus via Alfieri, whose *Oreste* he performed and directed repeatedly between 1949 and 1957.[18] Gassman's and Lucignani's 'historical' approach had also been 'supported' by and discussed with the British classical philologist George Thomson of the University of Birmingham, whose 1939 translation Gassman and Lucignani had 'suggested' Pasolini should employ for his own.[19]

Apparently rather struck[20] by their reading of Thomson's influential (mostly outside of Britain)[21] *Aeschylus and Athens* (1941), which had been translated and published in Italian in 1949, Gassman and Lucignani both decided to 'consult' the British philologist in a correspondence that was printed alongside Thomson's chapter on Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and Pasolini's 1960 translation.[22] Lucignani asked Thomson for advice as to how he and Gassman should performatively render Thomson's pivotal

[17] Gramsci (1948) 199 argued that a 'reduction similar to that which the first theorists of the philosophy of praxis had performed on Hegel's philosophy' should be adopted for 'Croce's philosophy' too. For more on Gramsci's historicism, see Mustè (2012).
[18] Gassman played Orestes in 1949 for the first time under Luchino Visconti's direction; his almost obsessive admiration for Alfieri led him to stage the *Oreste* with his own company in several places in Italy, beginning in 1951 in Rome and ending with an incredibly successful production in Paris in 1957, on the occasion of the IV International Festival of Dramatic Art at the *Théâtre des Nations*. Of this production, Paul Gordeaux wrote that Alfieri had wanted to re-establish classical tragedy in Italy, but was in fact 'le premier romantique!', for 'on peut donc, à propos de cet auteur, parler de *modernité*'; French critics even read some existential themes in his tragedy (Montano 1998, 146).
[19] Lucignani mentioned in an interview (AFI PR 1960, 'La Giustizia – Roma' 25 May) that, together with Mazon's (1949) and Untersteiner's (1946) translation of the text, Pasolini had employed the Headlam–Thomson edition (1938) at their suggestion (cf. also Pasolini 1985, 175). It is unclear whether their suggestion extended to *Aeschylus and Athens*, but this would explain Pasolini's loosely constructed reception of it. Fusillo (1996) 183–4 suggests (cf. also Bierl 1998, 34) that along with Thomson, Bachofen (1861) was also a source text for Pasolini; its influence was especially evident in the 'patriarchal' and 'matriarchal' societal change Pasolini alludes to in his 'Translator's letter', published with his translation in 1960 (cf. Pasolini 1985, 177).
[20] Cf. Lucignani (1977).
[21] Cf. Hall (2004) 175: 'This classic of Marxist cultural theory […] made a bigger impact in German translation in 1957' (for which see also Fisher-Lichte 2004, 355).
[22] Cf. Pasolini (1960) 125–73.

idea surrounding the *Oresteia*, in which he argued that the trilogy in fact signified a 'passage from a matriarchal to a patriarchal society', from a 'distant and barbaric era' to the birth of 'the kingdom of law'. His concern was with how to deal with the chorus and the translation so as to convey this stimulating and provocative (especially in Italy in 1960) ideological viewpoint.[23] For his part, in addition to making suggestions about the chorus and the music, Thomson offered an idea for a scene that would eventually make its way into Gassman and Lucignani's production, giving rise to criticism[24] as well as appreciation.[25] The orderly procession at the end of *Eumenides* was to be substituted with a kind of 'country fair' so as to 'give the impression of a great public ceremony of the people of Athens' (**fig. 1**).[26]

Along with the 'people's celebration', Gassman and Lucignani orchestrated some of the pivotal moments in the trilogy so as to enhance this 'passage' from a 'barbaric',[27] a frequently recurring term in press reports, and 'primitive'[28] state to the establishment of the new democratic world. The very moment of Clytemnestra's death was accompanied by the incursion of a 'gang' fight between Aegisthus' loyalists and the people who [saw] the imminent death of their tyrant'.[29] Clytemnestra was held back by a 'band of partisans' (reported the press with a nod towards the Italian 'Resistance'),[30] involved in Argos' 'popular revolt' to subvert 'tyranny' (**figs. 2, 3,**

[23] Thomson and Lucignani (1960) 180–1.
[24] See especially Paratore (1960) 88ff; 'biased': AFI PR 1960 'L'Europeo – Milano' 5 June; 'concerning': 'Il Giornale d'Italia – Roma' 20 May.
[25] 'Evocative': AFI PR 1960, 'Il Tempo – Roma' 20 May; 'peaceful and chaotic at the same time': 'Letture – Milano' July; showing appreciation for the 'barbaric atmosphere': 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May.
[26] Thomson and Lucignani (1960) 181–2; see also Thomson (1941) 295.
[27] Cf., amongst others, AFI PR 1960, 'Corriere della Sera – Milano' 20 May; 'Il giornale di Sicilia – Palermo' 20 May; 'Il Tempo – Roma' 20 May; 'La Giustizia – Roma' 25 May; 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May; 'La Giustizia – Roma', 21 May; 'Vita' 2 June.
[28] Another oft-used term: cf. AFI PR 1960, 'L'Ora' 18 May'; 'Il Giorno – Milano' 20 May; 'Letture – Milano' July.
[29] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Messaggero' 20 May.
[30] AFI PR 1960, 'L'Europeo – Milano' 5 June.

4).[31] Indeed, these moments of the production cunningly alluded to Italy's post-war social and economic situation of 'archaic darkness', as Bierl put it,[32] especially in the underdeveloped south,[33] and were directed towards construing civic discourse and awareness.[34]

Pasolini had made this connection between the (Thomsonian) *Oresteia* and Italy even more explicit in responding to a reader in *Vie Nuove* ('New ways') in September 1960, where he argued:

> I think it would be premature to think of an intervention of Athena in this sense [in Italy]: Italian society is some distance away from being reformed: it still lies in the midst of archaic darkness, in the tenebrous abyss of processions, censorship, rotogravure, and video. [It still is] a kingdom of pious phantoms.[35]

In this sense, as a tacit enticement to Italy's own self-awareness of its social situation, Pasolini's translation too contained some nods towards Thomson's reading of the play, achieved by infusing it with politically eloquent language. The Chorus warn about an 'oppressed people' ('popolo offeso': Pasolini 24),[36] i.e., the subaltern class, which translates συν κότῳ (*Ag.* 456), in the first stasimon; and it is the same 'oppressed people' whose 'condemnation' ('la condanna del popolo': Pasolini 63; a free translation of *Ag.* 1409–10: **fig. 5**) Clytemnestra thinks she can avoid but who will in fact be her undoing. In *Choephoroe*, amongst Orestes' chief motives for his and Electra's plan, there also appears:

> […] il desiderio che finisca
> per i miei cittadini uno stato di schiavitù:

[31] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Tempo – Roma' 20 May.
[32] Bierl (1998) 41.
[33] Cf. Flashar (2009) 214.
[34] As Judet de la Combe (2010) 160 argues, it was German idealism in particular that insisted on tragedy's power to construe civic discourse, a strand of thought which, as can be seen here, heavily informed modern philological readings of tragedy.
[35] Pasolini (2001a) 1218–19.
[36] Henceforward, I will quote page numbers from Pasolini (1985) within parentheses in the body of the text.

essi, i vincitori di Troia, servi di due donne![37]

καὶ πρὸς πιέζει χρημάτων ἀχηνία,
τὸ μὴ πολίτας εὐκλεεστάτους βροτῶν,
Τροίας ἀναστατῆρας εὐδόξωι φρενί,
δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ὦδ' ὑπηκόους πέλειν·
θήλεια γὰρ φρήν· εἰ δὲ μή, τάχ' εἴσεται.[38] 305

Orestes makes it explicit that he and his sister are seeking to overthrow tyranny, to liberate the 'citizens from a state of slavery'. Thus, in addition to the insulting and personal words Orestes pronounces in the original ('servi di due donne!'; δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ὦδ' ὑπηκόους), Pasolini coloured the translation with an unequivocal political tone, depicting monarchy as the reign of despotism from which Orestes (and the consequent establishment of a new political order, i.e. democracy) can liberate the citizens ('che finisca / per i miei cittadini uno stato di schiavitù'). Along these lines, the Chorus entice Orestes and Electra into a 'lotta' ('conflict': Pasolini 95; the same term employed for Marx's 'class conflict') with Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, a translation based on *Cho.* 415–17 (**figs. 6, 7, 8**). And in *Eumenides*, it is made clear that Orestes' eventual liberation can only be obtained through 'reason', a prerogative of Zeus and his daughter, Athena, but also of democracy, against the darkness and anguish that characterise tyranny.[39]

Overall, however, Thomson's schematically Marxist interpretation was 'incorporated', to employ Steiner's terminology,[40] into a more general ideological

[37] Pasolini (1985) 92.
[38] The Greek text for *Oresteia* employed in this chapter is taken from Mazon (1952), which was Pasolini's text for his translation.
[39] Zeus equipped humankind with 'ragione' ('reason': Pasolini 1985, 13), which translates τὸν φρονεῖν (*Ag*. 176); 'reason' is absent from the Erinyes' 'obsessed song'('ecco l'ossesso canto / vertigine che perde / la ragione': Pasolini 1985, 142; φρενοδαλὴς, *Eum*. 330) but is the 'gift' Apollo gave Athena, to which the goddess appeals in order to appease the Furies' wrath ('dono della ragione': Pasolini 1985, 163; κάρτα ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα, *Eum.* 849); cf. also Pasolini (2001a) 1218: 'the acme of the trilogy is the moment when the goddess Athena (Reason: born from her father's mind: that is, without the uterine experience, the irrational)'; cf. also *La scoperta di Marx* (Pasolini 2003, 501): 'nello stupendo dono / ch'è ormai solo ragione'.
[40] Steiner (1975) 296–7.

viewpoint that highlighted, both in the direction and translation of the plays, the substantial anthropological change of humankind from a status of barbaric 'primitiveness', of 'archaic darkness', to self-awareness.[41] In truth, whilst the press frequently referred to (a rather simplified version of) Thomson's thought, the two renowned philologists Untersteiner and Ettore Paratore, invited to speak at the seminar organised by INDA on the occasion of the performance, strongly contested Thomson's Marxist reading as outdated and inexact. Not only did Thomson's theory impose an 'aprioristic general idea' that resulted in 'many discrepancies' from a philological perspective, as Untersteiner argued,[42] but his interpretation was also amongst the 'least accredited around Aeschylean theatre', concluded Paratore.[43] Thus, though generally agreeing that the sociopolitical situation of the outside world should be reflected in Aeschylus' works, it was hoped that a less 'schematic' and 'hyper-sociological' Marxism would re-interpret the trilogy.[44]

The historical method Gassman and Lucignani opted for was also the only possible way to make the performance contemporary. The 'modernity', explained one journalist,[45] of the 1960 *Oresteia* lay in the directors' and translator's process of 'theatrical actualisation' of Greek dramaturgy 'to the spirit informing our culture'. Yet, continued the journalist, echoing Valgimigli, such an approach was not simply the only possible one, it was also the 'most faithful'; the performance in fact brought to light

[41] This is more along the lines of Thomson's recall in the preface of the 'peasant-fishermen of the Blasket Island in West Kerry, who taught me [what] could not have been learnt from books, what it is like to live in a pre-capitalist society' (1941, vii) that we should understand Thomson's contribution to Pasolini's para-Marxist interpretation of the *Oresteia.*
[42] Untersteiner (1960) 36.
[43] Paratore (1960) 81.
[44] Thus Margherita Isnardi some years before 1960, after Thomson's *Aeschylus and Athens* (cf. Isnardi 1943, 3–4).
[45] Cf., amongst others, AFI PR 1960, 'L'unità – Roma' 19 April; 'Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno' 16 May; L'Ora' 18 May; 'Corriere della Sera – Milano' 20 May; 'Il Giorno – Milano' 20 May; 'Il Giornale di Sicilia – Palermo' 20 May; 'Momento Sera – Roma' 20 May.

new (modern) levels of understanding of the *Oresteia*. In this sense, the representation was faithful to the (historically layered) original.[46]

The real 'revolution',[47] even though Gassman did not like the term,[48] resided in the means of this 'theatrical actualisation', of its 'purely theatrical modernisation'.[49] Gassman and Lucignani were not breaking with the tradition of Greek drama per se nor denaturalising its meaning; they maintained in an interview that the tradition they were breaking with was that which had begun in 1914 with Romagnoli and which risked being cemented into a formula.[50] It is in this sense that we should understand the somewhat promotional slogan of 'anti-academism',[51] interestingly juxtaposed with the term 'classicism' or 'classic' tout court.[52]

The performance's 'nonconformist'[53] nature translated into an 'unscrupulous usage of the most diverse technical means', as Gassman had anticipated.[54] The time of the spectacle had been changed from late afternoon to 19.30 because, Lucignani explained, 'we would not want [the performance] confused with a party'; rather, it should be understood as '"theatre", and thus we shall employ theatrical means'.[55] With spotlights on the orchestra, the actors' use of microphones (which would alternate with

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[46] On this point, see AFI PR 1960, 'Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno' 16 May; cf. also 'Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno – Bari' 20 May. See also Ch. 6, above.
[47] A recurring term in the press reports: AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giorno – Milano' 20 May; 'L'unità – Roma' 19 April; 'Il Giorno – Milano' 20 May; 'L'Ora' 18 May.
[48] In an interview to Gassman (AFI PR 1960, 'L'unità – Roma' 19 April), he corrected the interviewer, affirming that he did not think of his and Lucignani's performance as 'revolutionary', much as he did not think it would be correct to use the term 'tradition' for the way in which open-air tragedies had been performed in Italy up to that point: 'our novelty resides in the fact that we have addressed the issue of providing an authentic and modern interpretation of Greek drama'.
[49] AFI PR 1960, 'L'Ora' 18 May.
[50] AFI PR 1960, 'L'unità – Roma' 19 April.
[51] AFI PR 1960, 'L'unità – Roma' 20 May; 'Il Giornale di Sicilia – Palermo' 20 May.
[52] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giorno – Milano' 20 May.
[53] AFI PR 1960, 'La Giustizia – Roma' 25 May; 'Messaggero – Catania' 6 February; 'La Fiera letteraria – Roma' 29 May.
[54] Gassman (1960) 177.
[55] AFI PR 1960, 'Corriere della Sicilia – Catania' 17 April.

the actor's natural voices)[56] and speakers to reproduce recordings of Angelo Musco's 'impressionistic music',[57] the trilogy was recited in its entirety on the first and last day, making a huge theatrical statement, especially in a theatre like Syracuse where nothing of the sort had ever happened before.

Indeed, the anti-academic intent also resulted in the 'revolutionary' choice of the translator,[58] who by that time had already published the controversial and much-discussed novels *Ragazzi di vita* ('The hustlers'; 1955) and *Una vita violenta* ('A violent life'; 1959) and the collection of poems *Le ceneri di Gramsci* ('Gramsci's ashes'; 1957). Pasolini had also made a certain mediatic impact for more personal reasons related to his homosexuality and his consequent expulsion from the Italian Communist Party (PCI).[59] Yet, most importantly, Pasolini was not an academic and was only vaguely acquainted with the Greek language.[60] Though the Sicilian poet Salvatore Quasimodo had already broken the (academic) ice by publishing a much appreciated (especially by Valgimigli)[61] collection of translations from the Greek lyric

[56] This change from microphone to natural voice was criticised as being abrupt and unsmooth (AFI PR 1960, 'L'Ora –Palermo' 20 May).
[57] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Popolo – Roma' 20 May. The instruments chosen by Musco were 'unusual': the 'cimbalom, the Chinese gong, the cymbal, and the piano, but employed as a percussion instrument' (AFI PR 1960, 'Corriere di Sicilia – Catania' 20 May). As in 1948, the musical pieces were reduced to a minimum and used only to comment briefly on the main events (AFI PR 1960, 'La Sicilia – Catania' 20 May).
[58] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May. From the INDA Archives, it seems as though INDA, in the person of its new head, the philologist Antonino Sammartano tried to oppose Gassman's choice of Pasolini, but because Gassman had made it clear that he would not accept the job without him, they had to accept Pasolini (cf. AFI D 1960, 'Sammartano's letter to the general Director of the Minister of Spectacle' March).
[59] Cf. AFI PR 1960 'Orizzonti, Roma' 29 May. On this particular event, see Naldini (2001) lxxii.
[60] The philologist Enzo Degani's 1961 harsh review of his translation underlines that Pasolini was not only *not* translating from the ancient Greek, but that he was also not well acquainted with French, the language of one of the main translations on which he relied (cf. Pasolini 1985, 175).
[61] Cf. Valgimigli (1965), originally published in 1946.

poets (1940), it was the very first time that a non-classicist poet with little knowledge of the source language was commissioned for a translation for the Syracusan stage.[62]

Much in line with the overall 'theatrical' revolution and approach, Lucignani explained that he had chosen Pasolini because he could produce a version 'that would maintain the poetic anxiety of the original, but would not confuse this intensity with obscurity'. 'Clarity' and 'immediateness' ought to be the first 'qualities' of the translation. Gassman concurred: Pasolini's 'poetry avoids […] the abandonment to an external […] lyrism', which 'produces to some extent a "beauty of the incomprehensible"'.[63] Gassman and Lucignani had just finished building their 'popular' theatre – which debuted some months previously ('Teatro Popolare Italiano': TPI), a 'people's theatre' à la Rolland, a non-fascist, circus-like 'Carro di Tespi' accessible to everyone, and to the working class especially – based on their opposition to this obscure 'poeticalness'.[64] Though Aeschylus' *Oresteia* was technically INDA's 'property', Gassman and Lucignani treated it as a 'typical spectacle of the TPI', especially in terms of 'theatrical representation'.[65]

For his part, Pasolini closely followed the programmatic revolution by providing a translation that was 'immune from archaisms',[66] bursting with 'rhythmic simplicity' within 'a desired prosaic and elementary lexicon';[67] it had a 'confidential eloquence'

[62] Pasolini's experiment in 1960 indeed opened the way for other translations by poets on the stage of Syracuse (Salvatore Quasimodo, Edoardo Sanguineti, and Giovanni Raboni), collaborations between a philologist and a director (1982–1984) and theatrical translations produced by theatre companies under the direction of a philologist (the 'Scuola di Teatro INDA' with Giusto Monaco in 1984–1994 and Guido Reverdito in 1998).
[63] AFI PR 1960, 'Corriere della Sicilia – Catania' 17 April.
[64] Gassman had unveiled his and Lucignani's theatre in January and described it as an innovative theatre that would bring 'classical theatre and the Italian repertoire' to the 'people' (AFI PR 1960, 'L'Italia – Milano' 19 January; cf. also AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giorno – Milano' 24 February).
[65] Gassman (1960a).
[66] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Tempo – Roma' 20 May'; 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May.
[67] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giorno – Milano' 20 May.

and was extremely 'theatrical'.[68] Pasolini himself declared in his 'Translator's Letter' that:

> The general linguistic tendency [of my translation] has been towards an incessant modification of sublime tones into civil tones: a frantic correction of every classicist temptation; hence, the drawing near prose, a lowbrow and reasoning enunciation. Aeschylus' Greek seems neither superior nor expressive to me: it is extremely instrumental. At times, [it seems so] even to the extent of an elementary and rigid boniness, a syntax immune from the echoes we are accustomed to perceiving due to Romantic classicism, as [if] the classical text [were] an unceasing allusion to a paradigmatic and historically abstract classicism.[69]

Though Pasolini's lexicon was far from 'elementary', it did serve the purpose of making the ancient text accessible, understandable, and – most importantly – actable. The expedient of cutting, done mostly with respect to redundant or obscure passages,[70] and the general tendency of the translation to simplify and Christianise the many references to Greek mythology[71] and to transform reported speech into direct speech,[72] worked to facilitate its theatrical function. This function was also corroborated by its generally 'un-classical' tone. The prologue of *Agamemnon* is eloquent in this respect:

> **Guardiano:**
> Dio, fa' che finisca presto questa pena!
> Da anni e anni sto qui, senza pace,

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[68] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May. Pasolini's translation was generally appreciated in its 'modernising' features ('Il Popolo' 26 May): its 'simple language had been freed from archaisms and the magniloquence that previous translators got us used to' ('Orizzonti, Roma' 29 May, cf. also 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May); it was less 'aestheticising' and more in tune with 'our modern sensitivity' ('Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno' 16 May), 'penetrating', 'anti-exhortative', but no less 'worthy' from a literary perspective ('Il Giornale d'Italia – Roma' 20 May). See also Mazzarino (1960), Paratore (1960) and De Giorgi (1960) in *Dioniso* for an overall positive opinion of the translation. Some criticised the 'simplifications' but praised the overall clarity and immediateness ('La Fiera letteraria – Roma' 29 May; 'Il Messaggero – Roma' 20 May; 'L'unità – Roma' 20 May). A very few objected to the entire translation as being either too 'interpretative' ('Letture – Milano' July), too 'ideological' ('La rivolta nazionale – Roma' 5 June) or inappropriately Marxist ('La Civiltà Cattolica' 5 July).

[69] Pasolini (1985) 176.

[70] For these cuts, cf. Degani (2004) 182–3; for the 'theatrical' function of some of the cuts, cf. Fagioli (1980) 13–14.

[71] The (inconsistent) Christianisation of the Greek gods and of the sacral sphere more generally ('church' or 'tabernacle' instead of 'temple' and clearly Christian word-concepts like 'Hosanna' and 'sin') was amongst the least appreciated choices made in Pasolini's translation (cf. AFI PR 1960, 'Il Tempo – Roma' 20 May; Il Messaggero – Roma' 20 May; 'Il Giornale di Sicilia – Palermo' 20 May). Cf. Fagioli (1980) 15–18 for an analysis of some of these Christian references.

[72] Cf. Fagioli (1980) 14–15.

come un cane, in questo lettuccio
della casa degli Atridi, ad aspettare.
[…] E sono
Sempre qui: ad aspettare il segno
della lampada, la fiammata che porti
notizie da Troia, la parola vittoria!
La stessa angoscia che prova una donna
quando cerca l'amore. […][73]

ΦΥΛΑΞ θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων,
φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος, ἣν κοιμώμενος
στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην,
[…]
Καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,
αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσαν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν
ἁλώσιμόν τε βάξιν· ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ
γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ.

The overall tone is 'lowbrow and reasoning [and realistic]', 'drawing near prose', as Pasolini had announced in the 'Translator's Letter': one can find the direct apostrophe to the Christian God – a recurrent choice throughout the translation; the conversant 'da anni e anni' ('for years and years'), which renders the emphatic ἐτείας μῆκος; the affectionate 'lettuccio' ('little bed') of the watchman, repeated in the speech no less than three times (and translating στέγαις); and the practical 'e sono sempre qui' ('I am still here'; καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω), which picks up on the first (added) 'e sto qui' ('I am here').

Within this 'unheroic'[74] and familiar language, there also exists a curious addition that attracted the attention of the philologist Enzo Degani in his 1961 review of the translation.[75] Instead of the eloquent lines 10–11 ('thus does the male-counselling expectant heart of a woman exercise power'), Pasolini compares the watchman's 'angoscia' ('anguish') and distress waiting to hear 'la parola vittoria!' ('the word victory!'; ἁλώσιμον βάξιν) with that of a woman 'quando cerca l'amore'

[73] Pasolini (1985) 7.
[74] Cf. AFI PR 1960, 'Corriere d'informazione – Milano' 20 May for the expression.
[75] Cf. Degani (2004) 179.

('when she is in search of love'). A (sexually) 'unsatisfied' woman-like watchman, whilst giving rise to Degani's perplexity,[76] lends itself to introducing us to one of Pasolini's leitmotivs in the translation, one that was already present in his own poetics, as Fusillo has noted.[77] This addition contains one of the many word-concepts Pasolini would scatter throughout his translation so as to capture the 'primitive' world of Aeschylus' text: 'angoscia'.[78] Together with 'pena' ('suffering', which translates τῶν πόνων),[79] 'anguish' indeed characterises the archaic world of the Furies, Clytemnestra and Agamemnon, in short: the world of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe*.

The recurrent imagery associated with the 'primitive' world intersects with the 'semantic and linguistic paradigms'[80] of Pasolini's own poetics illustrating the pre-

[76] Ibid., 180.
[77] Cf. Fusillo (1996) 198ff, where he analyses some of the occurrences of these word-concepts ('angoscia', 'ossesso/ossessione', 'serenità', 'coscienza/incoscienza': see below) in Pasolini's translation and in his own poetry.
[78] This inner and psychological state of mind characterises the Chorus' 'angoscia' ('anguish': Pasolini 1985, 11; *Ag.* 103: λύπης), which they hope to be liberated from by Clytemnestra and which they bear in expectation of future events in the first stasimon (Pasolini 1985, 24; *Ag.* 460: μέριμνα); Menelaus' 'angoscia' (Pasolini 1985, 23; *Ag.* 417: ἔχθεται) at the sight of Helen's statues; the messenger is 'con l'angoscia in fronte' ('with anguish on his forehead': Pasolini 1985, 32; *Ag.* 639: στυωνῷ προσώπῳ); Clytemnestra's seemingly 'angoscia' in life without Agamemnon (Pasolini 1985, 39; *Ag.* 859: δύσφορον […] βίον) caused by the many 'angosciose voci' about Agamemnon's many deaths ('anguished reports': ibid.; *Ag.* 874: παλιγκότων); the Chorus is in 'angoscia' (Pasolini 1985, 52; *Ag.* 1164: πέπληγμαι) by Cassandra's 'pena' ('pain, suffering': ibid.; *Ag.* 1167: θραύματ' ἐμοὶ); and Cassandra being filled with 'angoscia divina' ('divine anguish': Pasolini 1985, 54; *Ag.* 1215: δεινὸς […] πόνος), an anguish the Chorus want to know the reason for ('che angoscia senti in cuore?': Pasolini 1985, 59; *Ag.* 1308: στύγος) and is eventually suffocated by in their final dialogue with Clytemnestra ('Non chiamare la morte, / se questa angoscia ti soffoca': Pasolini 1985, 66 for *Ag.* 1463: τοῖσδε βαρυνθείς; 'ogni pensiero si confonde nell'angoscia': Pasolini 1985, 69 for *Ag.* 1531: μέριμναν). The libation-bearers are equally taken by this 'anguish' ('l'angoscia repressa mi gela': Pasolini 1985, 82; *Cho.* 83: κρυφαίοις πένθεσιν παχνουμένα) that characterises the entire house's emotional situation ('questa ora d'angoscia': Pasolini 1985, 93; *Cho.* 340: ἐκ τῶνδε), including Clytemnestra's, as shown by her dreams ('sogni, d'angoscia': Pasolini 1985, 100; *Cho.* 523–4: ἔκ τ' ὀνειράτων / καὶ νυκτιπλάγτων δειμάτων). 'Angoscia' should not be a ground for matricide, the Furies hold (Pasolini 1985, 146; *Eum.* 427: κέντρον) with Athena: if they were to disappear, they would be missed by humankind 'nell'ora dell'angoscia' ('in their anguished hour': Pasolini 1985, 149; *Eum.* 509: ξυμφορᾷ disaster).
[79] With the same meaning of 'suffering', 'pena' translates the Greek συμφορᾶς, *Ag.* 24 (Pasolini 1985, 8), to describe the toil the watchman is finally liberated from; it occurs as an addition characterising the 'wings' of the vultures as compared with the Atreidai in the parodos ('pazzi di pena': Pasolini 1985, 9; *Ag*. 52); and in Apollo's words to Orestes suggesting that he never be tired of 'patire la pena che devi patire' ('suffering the suffering that he must suffer': Pasolini 1985, 131; cf. *Eum.* 78–9), a highly alliterative line.
[80] Fusillo (1996) 198.

rational and archaic world of central and southern Italy, the Christian-peasant world of Friuli, the peripheries of Rome and Naples.[81] Another neurotically recurrent word-concept mostly associated with the Furies is 'ossesso/ossessione' ('obsession').[82] This term too was already part of Pasolini's own poetics.[83] The 'obsession', the 'unconscious'[84] (another word-concept present in Pasolini's translation and poetry), the 'pre-human'[85] and the pre-rational and what they represent are cunningly contrasted with opposing word-concepts embodying the 'peacefulness' of the

[81] Cf., for example, a few lines from *Appennino* (1951): 'E non più Jacopo (più recente è il sonno) / di Ilaria) sotto le palpebre fonde / in civile forma il *popolare mondo* / *italiano*, e contro gli sfondi / del suo paesaggio, non più scarnisce / in luce di intelletto – che non nasconde / la buia materia – una mano che unisce / a Dio il povero rione. *Quaggiù* / *tutto è preumano*, e umanamente gioisce, / contro il riso volgare fu / ed è inutile ogni parola / di redenzione' (Pasolini 2003, 781–2; *my italics*).

[82] This word in its various forms occurs no less than fourteen times in the trilogy: the Greek army is 'ossesso' ('obsessed') by the idle delay waiting for a favourable wind ('il cuore ossesso, avidi di guerra': Pasolini 1985, 9; *Ag.* 196–7); 'miserable persuasion' becomes 'Ossesso della Corruzione' ('obsessed corruption': Pasolini 1985, 22; *Ag.* 385: τάλαινα πειθώ); 'ossessione' ('obsession') rules over the Chorus' souls in *Agamemnon* (Pasolini 1985, 23; *Ag.* 431: πολλὰ γοῦν); the Chorus' 'ossesso destino' ('obsessed fate') in *Choephoroe* (Pasolini 1985, 80; *Cho.* 30–1: ἀγελάστοις / ξυμφοραῖς;); Clytemnestra's dream is 'ossessionato dall'odio' ('obsessed by hatred': ibid.; *Cho.* 33: κότον πνέων); Apollo is said to have talked about 'l'ossessione delle Erinni' ('the obsession of the Furies': Pasolini 1985, 91; *Cho.* 283–5: προσβολάς); in response to Orestes, the Chorus utter that the one responsible for the death of a father or begetter is 'ossessionato […] / dallo spietato gemito / dei pietosi innocenti' ('obsessed by the ruthless lamentation of pious innocents': Pasolini 1985, 93; *Cho.* 329–31: πατέρων τε καὶ τεκόντων / γόος ἔνδικος ματεύει / τὸ πᾶν ἀμφιλαφὴς ταραχθείς); and the Chorus entices Orestes to run to Apollo's temple so as to 'liberarti dalla tua ossessione' ('free yourself from obsession': Pasolini 1985, 123; *Cho.* 1059–60: τῶνδε πημάτων). In the *Eumenides*, the term characterises the Erinyes almost exclusively, including their 'ossesso canto' ('obsessed song': Pasolini 1985, 141, 142; *Eum.* 306: ὕμνον […] τόνδε δέσμιον; 329–31, 341–3: παρακοπά / παραφορά, φρενοδαλὴς / ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων) and their 'ossessioni di sangue' ('obsession for blood': Pasolini 1985, 163; *Eum.* 859: αἱματηρὰς θηγάνας); the term is employed in reference to Orestes once ('accogli con amore l'ossesso': Pasolini 1985, 138; *Eum.* 236: ἀλάστορα).

[83] Cf. again *Appennino,* where 'ossesso' is in apposition to 'poggio, rione', i.e. to typical neighbourhoods of the South of Italy (Pasolini 2003, 782); cf. also Fusillo (1996) 205–8 for an analysis of the term in Pasolini's translation and poetry.

[84] In addition to its occurrences in the hymn to Zeus (see below) and in the *Eumenides*, 'inconscio' occurs almost without fail in correspondence to the 'primitive' world: an unconscious dancing prefigures the dark events of the future in the third stasimon ('il cuore che inconscio danza': Pasolini 1985, 44; *Ag.* 996: τελεσφόροις δίναις); the Chorus hopes for 'una morte improvvisa, incosciente' after their discovery of Agamemnon's death ('an unconscious death': Pasolini 1985, 65; *Ag.* 1448, 1451: τίς […] μοῖρ'); 'coscienza' ('conscience') is eloquently associated with the world of 'giustizia' ('justice'): 'coscienza del giusto e del vero' ('conscience/awareness of right and truth': Pasolini 1985, 44; *Ag.* 996) and the counsel that citizens should vote on Orestes' case ('in conscience': Pasolini 1985, 157; *Eum.* 679–80: ἐν δὲ καρδίᾳ […] ὅρκον αἰδεῖσθε).

[85] Cf. *L'appennino*: Pasolini (2003) 781–3; cf. also Fusillo (1996) 206–7.

'rational', a quality unsurprisingly most recurrent in *Eumenides* and associated with Athena.[86]

Pasolini's 'rhythmic prose' and 'free verse' with occasional hendecasyllables and rhymes, alliterations and metaphors,[87] not only broke with *a* classical tradition, i.e. the classicism embossed with refined and highbrow words that Valgimigli had attempted to eradicate in 1948. Pasolini also represented the perfect fit for actualising in full the revolution that had begun with Valgimigli. In an article published not many years before the *Oresteia* (1956), Pasolini described his idea of translation as being unequivocally aligned with Croce's poetic 're-creation':[88]

> The most current idea that one has of translation is that it is an absolutely erratic act: that it is in fact a reduction […]. Generally, it is an informing intent that triggers the translation. […] Yet, there exists another way of translating in which the intention of creating, or better, re-creating poetry is added to that of divulging. At the upper limit, such intention realises itself tout court when the translated text is subsumed into the language of the translator, inasmuch as he himself is a poet: a sort of re-generation (typical examples: Monti's Homer, Carducci's Romantics, Quasimodo's Greeks).[89]

Pasolini's shameless 'incorporation' of Aeschylus' text into his own poetics was thus theorised as a re-creation of the poetry of the original 'at the upper limit'. It was to be read in the wake of Monti's, Carducci's and Quasimodo's works, and hence as a cultural appropriation of a classic. Moreover, (and unlike Monti's and Carducci's works), Pasolini's unscrupulous 'incorporation' was validated (and somewhat protected) by his un-classical language, background, and profession on the one hand,

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[86] 'Serenità' ('peacefulness') in its different forms appear almost exclusively in *Eumenides*; it appears once in *Agamemnon* and once in *Choephoroe,* both times in relation to the gods (Pasolini 1985, 28 for *Ag.* 554: ἀπήμων and Pasolini 1985, 120 for *Cho.* 957–8, in addition). In *Eumenides*, it occurs only in Athena's speeches (Pasolini 1985, 145 for 414: πρόσω δικαίων ἠδ' ἀποστατεῖ θέμις; Pasolini 1985, 147 for 442: εὐμαθές; Pasolini 1985, 149 for 488: ἐτητύμως; Pasolini 1985, 158 for 701: ἔρυμά […] σωτήριον; Pasolini 1985, 164 in place of 886: μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον).

[87] Cf. Fusillo (1996) 195–214 for examples of these.

[88] For Croce's legacy on Pasolini, see Francese (1999). See also Ch. 6, above.

[89] Pasolini (1999) 659–61; on Pasolini's techniques of (re)creation in translation, see also, amongst others, Russo (1995) 122–3; Fusillo (1996) 192–7; Welle (1999) 112–13; Fusillo (2005) 223.

and by the ground-breaking and eminently theatrical 'incorporation' and revolution that the internationally known Lucignani and Gassman had effected around it.

Mathilda Beauvoir, Vodun–Haiti: incorporating 'Africa'[90]

The 'un-classical' tone of the translation perfectly chimed with the overall 'anti-magniloquent'[91] tone that permeated the performance too. The unheroic, no-frills and familiar tone (following the 1948 *Oresteia*)[92] was especially visible in the *Agamemnon*, where both the messenger and the king's attitudes were seen as unheroic.[93] At the same time as Agamemnon's dialogue was taking place, for example, a soldier bent over a wounded companion centre-stage, forming a most compassionate tableau that strongly contrasted with the luxurious red carpets laid out by Clytemnestra's maidens on the double staircase (**figs. 9, 10**).

As part of the 'anti-academic' and 'un-classical' nature of the performance, Gassman and Lucignani explored the realms of that 'archaic darkness' to which they had attained via (their anthropological reading of) Thomson's interpretation of Aeschylus' text. *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe* were dominated by 'totemic' symbols of 'divine and demonic' origin, as the Swiss scenographer Theo Otto himself explained: eight tall wooded columns, four on each side of the stage, draped with hunting trophies and human skeletons loomed over the audience.[94] A much appreciated and eloquent choice, especially in light of the translation and the overall

[90] I am indebted to Justine McConnell for invaluable advice on this section.
[91] For the term, cf. AFI PR 1960 'Il Messaggero – Roma' 20 May; 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May; 'Orizzonti, Roma' 29 May.
[92] Cf. Fagioli (1980) 11.
[93] Cf. AFI PR 1960, 'Il Messaggero – Roma' 20 May.
[94] Otto (1960) 178.

interpretation of the play, was to top four of these columns with a rounded Medusa-faced bronze mask for the duration of the first two plays (**fig. 11**).[95] Medusa was indeed part of the symbology permeating the performance: because of her association to the underworld and death, she was identified with a chthonic goddess pre-dating the civilised Greek world and embodying both 'dark', the 'unconscious', *and* 'redemptive', the 'conscious', archetypal energies.[96]

Whilst these columns stood on the double stairway, delimiting (physically and ideally) the actors' space, the animal-decorated, three-gated Atreidai palace occupied the second half of the stage. Its 'heavily rationalistic architectural form',[97] along with the Areopagus behind it, geometrically squared, symbolically contrasted with the 'primitive' on stage (**fig. 12**). 'The scenery skirts abstractionism',[98] reported one journalist. The costumes were no less 'abstract' and 'stylised':[99] those of the Chorus in *Agamemnon* (**fig. 13**) and *Choephoroe* (**fig. 14**) and of Clytemnestra's maidens (**fig. 15**), plus the inside of the queen's cloak (**fig. 16**) were dappled, in line with the totemic and 'barbaric' representation of a 'mythical Greece'.[100] The libation-bearers also wore half masks that were extended in the back, perhaps to resemble an animal-like figure (**figs. 6, 8**).

Yet, the most powerfully 'barbaric' element of the performance had been obtained via Gassman's (perhaps with Pasolini's nudge)[101] insertion of another

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[95] Cf. AFI PR 1960, 'Letture – Milano' July; 'Il giornale di Sicilia – Palermo' 20 May; 'Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno – Bari' 20 May; 'Corriere della Sera – Milano' 20 May. The masks then changed into angry Erinyes (**fig. 17**) at the beginning of *Eumenides* and returned Medusa after Orestes' trial (**fig. 1**).
[96] Cf. Dexter (1990) 177–80.
[97] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giornale d'Italia – Roma' 20 May
[98] AFI PR 1960, 'Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno' 16 May.
[99] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May; it was 'a rational architecture', reported 'L'Europeo – Milano' 5 June.
[100] AFI PR 1960, 'Sipario' June; 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May.
[101] Given the poetic and existential prominence with which Pasolini had invested the concept of 'Africa' by the end of the 1950s (something he would continue doing in his work), I find it hard to believe that

Chorus, mirroring the elders of Argos in *Agamemnon* and the Furies in *Eumenides*: a group of Haitian dancers under the leadership of the popular Paris-based mambo Mathilda Beauvoir.[102] In line with the 'raw' and 'rugged' linguistic nature of the Aeschylean text, one journalist reported echoing Bonajuto's defence of a less Dionysian *Oresteia* in 1948 (Ch. 6, above), the number of dances had been reduced and performed in only a few, rather evocative passages, especially in the *Eumenides*.[103] The press generally welcomed Gassman's (controversial) directorial choice;[104] some even justified it by drawing a comparison between the 'primitive songs' of African origin with those of ancient Greece: in truth, these two worlds had 'analogous roots', one journalist reported.[105] The dances indeed served to enhance the 'barbaric' atmosphere of the performance.

A Vodun dance at the beginning of *Agamemnon*, which was meant to set the 'primitive' tone of the first two plays of the trilogy, gave rise to some criticism (**fig. 18**).[106] The presence of Haitian dancers was instead most appreciated when accompanying Cassandra's swooning: the prophetess is in fact both 'rational' – she is telling the truth – and 'irrational' – she is in an 'unconscious' state of mind. Tied all

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he had nothing to do with the choice of introducing an African element into the performance, especially if we consider the specific function and symbolism that, as will be seen, these dances embodied and which were closely aligned with Pasolini's own conceptualisation of 'Africa'. It was also during the period that saw Pasolini, Gassman and Lucignani involved in organising the performance that Pasolini wrote *Frammento alla morte* (April 1960), which ends with 'Africa! Unica mia / alternativa…' (Pasolini 2003, 1050).

[102] A newspaper article reported that Gassman decided to include Beauvoir's dances in the TPI project after seeing them perform, probably in France (cf. AFI PR 1960, 'Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno' 16 May).

[103] AFI PR 1960, 'Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno' 16 May.

[104] AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May; 'L'Europeo – Milano' 5 June; 'Il Giorno – Milano' 20 May.

[105] AFI PR 1960, 'L'unità – Roma' 20 May; cf. also AFI PR 1960, 'L'Ora' 18 May. Paratore, instead, heavily criticised the 'shocking contrast' between the 'greatest form of civilisation' and 'these Africans' (Paratore 1960, 81).

[106] Cf. AFI PR 1960, 'Il Giornale d'Italia – Roma' 20 May; 'L'Europeo – Milano' 5 June.

together to the prophetess with a rope (**figs. 19, 20, 21**), their 'hysterical evolutions'[107] complemented Cassandra's obscure and frantic outbursts (*Ag.* 1117–18):

> Vieni
> A urlare, coro che urli
> Agli assassinii, vieni
> A danzare urlando![108]
>
> […] στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει
> κατολολυξάτω
> θύματος λευσίμου.

This passage only loosely recalls the words of the Greek: Pasolini in fact identified the Erinyes (στάσις)[109] with a Chorus different from the one Cassandra is speaking with, one who 'shouts' ('coro che urli') and 'dances' ('vieni / a danzare'), clearly hinting at the actual mirroring Chorus of Haitian dancers embodying the Erinyes.

The press mainly referred to these dances as 'African', or more pointedly as 'genuinely barbaric', as Gassman said;[110] very few critics picked up on the hybrid nature of these Vodun dances or on their Haitian origin.[111] What was duly noted, Lucignani argued, was the patent difference between this rather peculiar corps des ballets compared to the usual 'ballerinas wrapped up in peplum-like clothes, who fluctuated gently and ruffled their long veils about' in previous INDA performances.[112]

Much as the totems, dappled costumes and Medusa masks, Beauvoir's dancers too were a symbol, and quite a powerful one in 1960, a 'symbolic' historical watershed between colonial and postcolonial Africa, when no less than sixteen countries celebrated their independence. Yet, what is rather compelling is that this 'Africa-based

[107] AFI PR 1960, 'Letture – Milano' July.
[108] Pasolini (1985) 49.
[109] As interpreted by Mazon and followed by Pasolini: 'que la troupe attaché à la race,' and explained in the footnote: 'Les Érinyes' (Mazon 1952, 50).
[110] Gassman (1960) 177.
[111] Cf. AFI PR 1960, 'Il Tempo – Roma' 20 May; 'L'unità – Roma' 20 May.
[112] Lucignani (1984) 11.

folk religion' of Haiti, Vodun, whose ritual dances were performed on stage, is in fact the counter-cultural religious and spiritual product of sub-Saharan Africans who were traded to the Spanish and French colonies of Hispaniola. Henry Frank argues that their 'psychological survival in their new milieu' depended heavily on this 'emotional' reconstruction of an 'African background'.[113] As the product of what Gilroy has called the geographical and conceptual 'Black Atlantic',[114] or as an 'in-between' space, to employ another postcolonial conceptualisation,[115] Vodun is an 'amalgam', a syncretic cultural expression fusing various religious practices from different African cultures with other cultural and religious elements (Creole deities and Catholicism, amongst others).[116] Thus, in Vodun cosmology, 'Africa' is not so much the geographical continent currently known by that name as it is a spiritual and religious concept that gave birth to certain specific practices.[117]

Just as for Vodun, in the 1960 *Oresteia* as well as later in Pasolini's *Appunti per un'Orestiade Africana* ('Notes for an African Oresteia'; 1968–1969), a film about a film on Aeschylus' trilogy to be shot in Africa,[118] 'Africa' is not to be identified with the continent, but with a concept. In many ways, the film is a thorough exploration of the 'Africa' posited in 1960, which is why I believe Pasolini's translation should be read strictly within the performative context in which it was born – a surprisingly untrodden path – and as a prefiguration of the 'Africa' of the *Appunti*.[119]

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[113] Frank (2004) 345.
[114] Gilroy (1993) 4.
[115] Bhabha (2004) 3.
[116] Cf. Frank (2004) 345.
[117] Cf. McGee (2008) 40.
[118] On the film, see, amongst others, Fusillo (1996) 234–42; Angelini (2000) 59–64; Medda (2004); Usher (2014), Hawkins (2017).
[119] Whilst the 1960 performance is usually mentioned in scholarship as the cradle which gave birth to Pasolini's translation, and some elements of this performance are also mentioned, the reciprocal influence between the two (including the influence that the performance clearly had on Pasolini's later usage of 'Africa' in his adaptation of the classics) is underexplored: the translation ends up being the

In his preface to an anthology of poems collected around the eloquent title 'Resistenza negra' ('Black Resistance'; 1961), hearkening back to Marshall Davis's appeal to the 'Disciples of Progress' for help (in *Snapshots of the Cotton South*, included in the collection), Pasolini uttered:

> The concept Africa is a concept surrounding an extremely complex sub-proletariat condition, still unemployed as a real revolutionary force. And perhaps, one can pinpoint this concept better, if one identifies Africa with the entire Bandung world, with Afro-Asia, which, let us be clear, starts off at the periphery of Rome, and encompasses our South, part of Spain, Greece, the Mediterranean states and the Middle East.[120]

The very expression 'concept Africa' was borrowed from Abioseh Nicol's poem *The Meaning of Africa*, included in the collection, and applied to describe a geographical and social 'condition' that extended to the 'archaic darkness' of Italy's south. 'Africa' represented the 'pre-industrial world exploited by the industrial civilisation', Pasolini continued. The poets of this anthology expressed an '"agonising" anguish', using the same word he applied to the 'primitive' world in the *Oresteia*, though 'mixed with the inebriating vertigos of liveliness'.[121] Present since the end of the 1950s in his poetics,[122] Pasolini's 'Africa' chimed in fact with the 'dark' and 'redemptive' world of the marginalised and the 'subaltern', a term coined by Gramsci and interestingly employed about a decade later to denote the 'colonised' of the Indian subcontinent.[123]

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object of a linguistics and literary semiotics analysis (cf., amongst others, Albini 1979, 1987; Fagioli 1980; Fusillo 1996, 2005; Condello 2005, 2012a).

[120] Pasolini (1999a) 2353.

[121] Ibid., 2354.

[122] Cf. *Alla Francia* (1958): 'Ho la lieta sorpresa di vedere che assomigio / a Sekou Touré, il presidente della Guinea: / il naso schiacciato e gli occhi vivi' – interestingly, the epigrammatic poem is included within a collection titled 'Umiliato e offeso', a title that tracked Dostoevskij's *Humiliated and Insulted*, and that recalls the 'umiliato' that the Chorus employed to describe the people of Argos. Cf. also the already quoted *Frammento alla morte*: 'sono stato razionale e sono stato / irrazionale: fino in fondo.' – which contains the ever-returning oxymoronic opposition between 'rational' and 'irrational' – 'E ora… ah, il deserto assordato / dal vento, lo stupendo e immondo / sole dell'Africa che illumina il mondo' – which unsurprisingly identifies 'Africa' with an oxymoron: 'stupendo' ('incredible') and 'immondo' ('foul') – 'Africa! Unica mia / alternativa…' (Pasolini 2003, 1050).

[123] See, amongst others, Arnold (2000); see also Trento (2010) 68–9 for the importance of Gramsci in cultural studies.

> However, some elements of the ancient world, as soon as this is overcome, shall not be repressed, ignored: instead, they shall be acquired, assimilated, and naturally modified. In other words: the irrational, present in the Erinyes, shall not be removed (which would not be possible anyway), but simply circumscribed and dominated by reason; thus, the irrational becomes an active energy, a productive and fertile passion. The Curses become Blessings. The existential uncertainty of the primitive society remains as a category of existential anguish or fantasy in the evolved society.[124]

The culminating moment of the whole trilogy, Pasolini held, was this assimilation of the old into the new, which he, Gassman and Lucignani had played with throughout the performance. The obsessive contraposition between the 'unconscious' and the 'conscious', 'obsession' and 'serenity', 'rational' and 'irrational', was to find a utopian solution. In other words, Pasolini had found in the Thomsonian 'fusion of the opposites [of Aeschylus' trilogy] in the mean'[125] a potential solution for his own 'poetics of the opposites'[126] and a hope for Italian society as well. In July of 1960, Pasolini, in response to a reader, argued that the Italian Marxists had not yet thought about how such a reconciliation, or better, assimilation of the old into the new should take place, a blending that was still missing from the Russian revolution, for example.[127]

Eumenides was thus charged with an emotional, existential and political meaning it had never been accorded before: 'it is the highest moment of the trilogy',[128] the part which 'gave me more emotions', uttered Pasolini.[129] '*Eumenides* is the real

[124] Pasolini (1985) 177–8.
[125] Thomson (1941) 292.
[126] Fortini (1987) 132–3 talks about 'antithesis', 'syneciosis' in Pasolini's poetics: 'antithesis is present at all levels in his writing' and it represents an 'undercategory of the oxymoron, which the old rhetoric called syneciosis, and by which one purports two opposites of the same object'. Cf. also, amongst others, *L'umile Italia*, III: Pasolini (2003) 805–6; but especially *Le ceneri di Gramsci,* IV (Pasolini 2003, 820): 'Lo scandalo del contraddirmi, dell'essere / con te e contro te; con te nel cuore, / in luce, contro te nelle buie viscere'.
[127] Pasolini (2001a) 1218.
[128] Pasolini (1985) 177.
[129] Pasolini (2001a) 1219.

masterpiece', confirmed Lucignani when asked about Pasolini's translation.[130] The Italian audience had in fact 'many times seen and read the stories of the Atreides and Orestes in the versions by Alfieri, Giraudoux, T.S. Eliot or O'Neill', wrote one journalist, but 'this will be the year that we discover the *Eumenides*'. The last play of the trilogy was not just an 'appendix', he continued; rather, it symbolised the 'central theme' of the whole work, the fusion between 'anguish' and 'peacefulness'.[131]

Pasolini had made it clear throughout the translation that the Furies' 'anguish' stemmed from an absence of 'consciousness/awareness', that is an absence of the 'rational', of 'reason', of which Athena was the symbol,[132] as emerged from a passage loosely based on *Eum.* 533–7:

> Non mi stanco di urlare:
> l'angoscia nasce
> dall'incoscienza,
> nasce dalla coscienza
> quella felicità,
> ch'è la meta mortale.[133]

> ξύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω·
> δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος
> ὡς ἐτύμως, ἐκ δ' ὑγιεί–
> ας φρενῶν ὁ πάμφιλος
> καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος.

Where Aeschylus' Chorus utter ὕβρις, 'insolence, outrage', Pasolini's has 'angoscia', an inner and psychological state of mind: this 'anguish' comes from 'incoscienza' ('unawareness'; δυσσεβίας); 'coscienza' instead ('consciousness/awareness'; ὑγείας), i.e. the realm of 'reason', is what produces 'felicità' ('happiness'; ὄλβος). Yet, in

[130] AFI PR 1960, 'La Giustizia – Roma' 25 May.
[131] AFI PR 1960, 'Vita' 2 June.
[132] See also Pasolini 1985, 132 for *Eum.* 81–8: 'E là buttati a terra, abbraccia la pia immagine, / chè là, attraverso la forza della ragione, / che sa giudicare e salvare, potrai / liberarti per sempre della tua ossessione: / col mio aiuto, chè ti ho spinto a uccidere'. It is only through 'reason' that Orestes will be able to strip the 'obsession' (πόνων) off himself.
[133] Pasolini (1985) 150.

Pasolini's poetics, this 'unawareness' is an ambivalent existential concept, which has a foot in both the dominions of 'purity' and 'impurity'.[134]

In the translation too, this 'reason', this 'awareness' ought to incorporate the 'irrational', the 'unconscious' in order to be fully productive. Thus, Athena to the people of Athens (*Eum.* 931–6):

> Chi non capisce ch'è giusto accettare
> tra noi queste primordiali divinità,
> non capisce i contrasti della vita:
> è la barbarie dei padri che si sconta
> davanti ad esse: e un'inconscia empietà,
> malgrado i gridi della sua coscienza,
> può portarlo a un'oscura rovina.[135]
>
> […] ὁ δὲ μὴ κύρσας
> βαρεῶν τούτων οὐκ οἶδεν ὅθεν
> πληγαὶ βιότου· τὰ γὰρ ἐκ προτέρων
> ἀπλακήματά νιν πρὸς τάσδ' ἀπάγει,
> σιγῶν <δ'> ὅλεθρος καὶ μέγα φωνοῦντ' 935
> ἐχθραῖς ὀργαῖς ἀμαθύνει.

The negative μὴ, which is of difficult interpretation, has been resolved following Mazon ('qui n'a point su se reconcilier'),[136] by changing the meaning of the participle κύρσας (literally with genitive: 'hit the mark', but also 'meet with').[137] One 'who does not understand that it is right to *accept*', incorporate, 'these primordial divinities' (in place of the Greek βαρεῶν), cannot understand the 'contrasts of life' either (instead of πληγαὶ βιότου), those contrasts which should be identified with the paradigmatic lexical oppositions littering the translation. These primordial creatures are present to remind 'us of the fathers' barbarities' (προτέρων ἀπλακήματά). And where such a

[134] Cf., amongst others, 'E proprio in quel sopore / è la luce… in quella incoscienza / d'infante, d'animale o ingenuo libertino / è la purezza…' (*Il pianto della scavatrice*: Pasolini 2003, 846); 'nella tua incoscienza è la coscienza / che in te la storia vuole, questa storia / il cui Uomo non ha più che la violenza / delle memorie, non la libera memoria' (*Il canto popolare*: Pasolini 2003, 786).
[135] See also Pasolini's translation of the hymn to Zeus (Pasolini 1985, 13–14; *Ag.* 176 ff.), where the Chorus employs the oxymoron 'inconscio-coscienza' once again, the latter originating from the former: 'E' stato lui a darci la ragione, / se è per lui che vale la legge: / Solo chi soffre, sa. / Quando, in fondo al sonno, / il rimorso s'infiamma, / è in esso, inconscio, la coscienza: / così si attua la violenza d'amore / degli dei al tribunale dei cieli'.
[136] Mazon (1952) 167.
[137] Cf. Sommerstein (2008) 469.

'reconciliation' has not yet realised itself, one's 'unconscious impiety' (in place of σιγῶν <δ'> ὄλεθρος), associated with the realm of the primordial divinities, can lead one into 'obscure wrath' (ἐχθραῖς ὀργαῖς), notwithstanding the 'cries of their conscience' (instead of μέγα φωνοῦντ').

In the performance, this reconciliatory and utopian 'synthesis'[138] was symbolised once again by the Haitian dances. To the surprise of some reviewers,[139] the final procession, or better, the people's celebration of freedom and democracy, was the occasion for the reappearance of 'Africa' as a clear allusion to the conceptual and actual incorporative 'transformation' that had just occurred. Paratore harshly criticised this unclear 'regurgitation of barbarism' in the final scene, which should instead, according to him, symbolise the utmost expression of civilisation.[140] For Pasolini and the directors, on the contrary, this visible 'incorporation' of the primordial into the new order was the highest moment of the trilogy. The Chorus had prefigured this dance in the *Agamemnon* in their choral ode just before Cassandra's frenzy (*Ag.* 995–7):

> Il cuore che inconscio danza
> alla coscienza del giusto e del vero,
> prefigura sempre i fatti reali.
>
> σπλάγχνα δ' οὔτοι ματά-
> ζει, πρὸς ἐνδίκοις φρεσίν, 995
> τελεσφόροις δίναις
> κυκλούμενον κέαρ·

The syntax and overall meaning reflect Mazon's phrasing,[141] to which, however, Pasolini adds the now familiar word oppositions 'unconscious-conscious' / 'unawareness-awareness' from his own poetics: an 'unconscious heart' (σπλάγχνα) 'dances' to the 'awareness of justice and truth'. Not only is it impossible to 'prefigure'

[138] Cf. Pasolini (2001b) 1193 for the term.
[139] Cf. AFI PR 1960, L'Ora – Palermo' 20 May; 'Il Giornale del Mezzogiorno – Roma' 26 May.
[140] Paratore (1960) 88.
[141] 'Le Coeur qui danse une ronde folle sur des entrailles qui croient à la justice toujours annonce une réalité': Mazon (1952) 45.

future events if not via this oxymoronic juxtaposition of 'unconscious-conscious', but the very activity of those hybrid dances embodies and reflects the 'unconscious' / 'unawareness' itself in the translation as it did in the performance.

Some years later, when filming his *Appunti*, Pasolini would symbolise the same reconciliation with a typical 'dance' performed by the Gogo, a Bantu ethnic group from central Tanzania, where Pasolini shot part of his film.[142] It had become hopeless to think that this 'synthesis' could happen in Italy, now an unrecognisable industrialised world that had suppressed and eliminated its 'irrational' and 'archaic' world; yet, Pasolini deemed that a reconciliation was still possible for Africa.[143] Grafted onto Léopold Sédar Senghor's concept of 'Négritude', Pasolini hoped for a fusion between old and new Africa, in which the old one would be re-appropriated and afforded a new function in postcolonial Africa.[144]

By the time Pasolini filmed the *Appunti*, his fascination with the 'irrational' had become a real obsession: the irremediable effects that the spreading, imperialist neo-capitalism of Western society had brought about and imposed on the 'old' world were topmost in Pasolini's mind. Thus, whilst engaging in dialogue with some students from various African countries in Rome, he even suggested that perhaps the only way to

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[142] Cf. Pasolini (2001b) 1194. For the African places included in the film, see Medda (2004) 111.

[143] Published as an open letter to Italo Calvino on 8 July 1974, Pasolini argued: 'the peasant universe (which the urban sub-proletariat and, indeed until some years ago, those labouring minorities belong to […]) is a *transnational* universe which does not know national boundaries. It results from the remnants of an earlier civilisation (or an accumulation of earlier civilisations, all rather similar to one another), and the (nationalist) ruling class bent such remnants to its own interests and political ends […]. It is this limitless, pre-national and pre-industrial peasant world, which had survived until only a few years ago, that I miss (not without reason do I reside in the countries of the Third World as long as possible, where this world still survives, even though it is itself entering into the orbit of so-called Development)'; Pasolini (1999b) 321; cf. also Fusillo (1966) 234 ff.

[144] Cf. *La Guinea* (1964), where Pasolini juxtaposes Guinea with some Italian places ('La Guinea… polvere pugliese o poltiglia / padana, riconoscibile a una fantasia / così attaccata alla terra, alla famiglia': Pasolini 2003, 1086) on the basis of their poverty and archaicity; 'Negritudine' (ibid., 1092) seems to be the umbrella word capable of seizing and dislocating said places into an abstract, translational universe. Cf. also Pasolini (2001b) 1194, where Pasolini explicitly mentions Senghor's 'Africa' as *the* 'Africa' he wants to depict in his *Appunti*.

avoid succumbing to 'cultural alienation' in the new 'consumer society' resided in their 'being African' and in their 'opposing their original soul to Western knowledge', which would ensure that what they would learn in Western society 'should not become the notions of the consumer, but personal and real knowledge'.[145]

Aeschylus' *Oresteia* had thus become fertile ground for exploring the possibilities of existence in the transformed and transforming society of the 1960s, a productive space to critique society from within and to re-define the 'classic' more generally. On one level, the 'transformation' of the Erinyes into Eumenides represented the hopeful incorporation of archaic Italy (symbolised by 'Africa') into a modern society and, later, of archaic Africa into modern Africa. Yet, on a metaphorical level, this incorporation also described the adaptive method chosen by Gassman–Lucignani–Pasolini in the 1960 performance and later by Pasolini in his *Appunti*. In other words, Pasolini 'incorporated' Aeschylus' text into his own poetics as much as Gassman–Lucignani 'incorporated' Pasolini's translation into the theatrical means of the performance.

Furthermore, just as an (im)possible reconciliation occurred between the primordial, the 'primitive', and the modern (via Aeschylus' text) on the stage of Syracuse, another (im)possible reconciliation was occurring on a metatheatrical level between the 'ancient' tout court, the 'classic', and the 'modern'. And as in the *Oresteia* the Erinyes are to be absorbed into the new world and invested with a new function, the definition of the 'classic' too now ought to undergo an everlasting mutation. In his *Appunti*, Pasolini chose some repertoire shorts from the Nigerian war (1967–1970) as a filmic description of a flashback of the Trojan war. He thus explained his choice:

[145] Pasolini (2001b) 1193.

> Nothing is further away from these images than the idea commonly held around Greek classicism. And yet, pain, death, mourning are eternal and absolute elements that can indeed link these searing images with the fictional images of ancient Greek tragedy.[146]

The (African) 'classic' had become a 'raw', 'violent', 'crude' intermediate, in-between, metaphorical space, a de-territorialised and fluid concept apt for portraying the contemporary as much as the ancient (the Trojan war *as* the Nigerian war, the Sicilian mafia or archaic Italy *as* the Erinyes and vice versa). The 'classic' had become 'claimable' ground for re-conceptualising and rethinking society as well as seizing 'eternal and absolute' emotions. Indeed, the *Oresteia* had functioned as a milestone in the process of exploration and eventual deconstruction of the very definition of the 'classic'. By finally ridding it of any aestheticism and archaeologism, and, most importantly, by unhooking it from the 'academic', both physically (by bringing it outside of the university) and conceptually (by deconstructing it), the 1960 *Oresteia* had thus prepared the ground for the 'post-classic'.

[146] Ibid., 1185.

Afterword

This study may end in 1960, the very year from which Aeschylus' corpus 'lives more' and 'lives better', as Derrida would argue, paraphrasing Benjamin.[1] Indeed, by the end of the 1960s, within a pervading politicisation of culture which led to a new interest in Greek drama worldwide,[2] Aeschylus/the 'classic' had become fertile ground for politically and socially relevant 'riscritture' ('re-writings') by screen- as well as play-writers, now eager to appropriate the classic just as Renaissance writers had done. Almost every Italian adaptation of Aeschylus from the 1970s to the present has drawn on the *Oresteia*: *I Sogni di Clitennestra* (1979) by Dacia Maraini; *L'Oreste di Gibellina* (1983) by Emilio Isgrò; *Orestea (una commedia organica?)* (1995) by Roberto Castellucci; and *Luna Rossa* (2001) by Antonio Capuano are only a few examples.

Aeschylus has remained prominent in the Greek theatre of Syracuse, too, and plays other than the *Oresteia* have successfully entered the INDA repertoire. Productions of Aeschylus' tragedies in the past fifty years have been by and large overseen by distinguished theatre directors.[3] Translators have varied, ranging from

[1] Derrida (1992) 13.
[2] Cf. Hall (2005) 7. Greek tragedy was perceived as providing the means to uncover and unsettle the ideological outposts of the post-war period, and was thus unleashed in its full power to subvert political, social, theatrical, and sexual norms.
[3] Tatiana Alescio (*Supplices*, 2008); Antonio Calenda, probably the most prolific theatre director at Syracuse (*Agamemnon* and *Prometheus Vinctus*, 1994; *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe*, 2001; *Persae* and *Eumenides*, 2003); Pietro Carriglio (*Oresteia*, 2008); Luca De Fusco (*Agamemnon*, 2014); Giuseppe Di Martino (*Septem contra Thebas*, 1966; *Choephoroe*, 1978; *Supplices*, 1981); Claudio Longhi (*Prometheus Vinctus*, 2012); Mario Martone (*Persae*, 1990); Giorgio Pressburger (*Choephoroe*, 1996); Luca Ronconi (*Prometheus Vinctus*, 2003); Moni Ovadia (*Supplices*, 2015); Daniele Salvo (*Choephoroe* and *Eumenides*, 2014); and Jean-Pierre Vincent (*Septem contra Thebas*, 2005).

poets (Edoardo Sanguineti, 1978; Pier Paolo Pasolini, 2008[4]); classical scholars in collaboration with theatre directors, a choice that substantiates a common trend in theatre translation practice[5] (Giuseppe Di Martino and Scevola Mariotti, 1981); students of the INDA Theatre School under the direction of a scholar to provide 'theatrical' or 'performable' translations[6] (Giusto Monaco and the Scuola di Teatro, 1990; Umberto Albini and the Scuola di Teatro, 1994); and classical scholars with a particular eye to performance (Manara Valgimigli, 2001, 2003; Dario Del Corno, 2002; Giusto Monaco, 2003; Monica Centanni, 2005, 2014; Louis Godart, 2008; and Guido Paduano, 2012, 2015).

However, it is with a particularly striking theatrical experiment that I would like to conclude. This experiment with Greek tragedy was rather successful, and hopefully bodes well for future re-workings of ancient plays. The experiment was directed by the famous Jewish-Bulgarian-Milanese director Moni (Salomon) Ovadia, whose *Supplices* was staged from 15 May to 28 June 2015 in the midst of the refugee crisis, which was especially affecting Sicily as the crossroads of this humanitarian emergency.[7] Not only did this production speak powerfully to contemporary issues; it also cleverly recovered the Aeschylean reception tradition in an attempt both to link itself with that past and at the same time revolutionise it.

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[4] Pasolini's 1960 translation was used again for the 2008 production of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (cf. Ch. 7, above).

[5] See, amongst others, Hale and Upton (2000) 1–13.

[6] A prolific and well-trodden path in theatre translation practice is the collaboration, if not the sole presence, of theatre practitioners in the translation process, for the purpose of making the language of the text 'playable', 'performable', or 'speakable' (see Marinetti 2013 for an overview). The actual meaning of these adjectives has long been the subject of debate in theatre translation theory (see, amongst others, Aaltonen 2000, 42; Bigliazzi, Kofler and Ambrosi 2013, 7-9). These terms have resisted any stable, agreed-upon definition (Bassnett 1991, 102; Windle 2011a,156).

[7] On 20 June 2015, INDA celebrated World Refugee Day with an event at the Greek theatre, which saw Moni Ovadia, Mario Incudine and other artists involved in *Supplices* as protagonists (cf. Treu 2015).

There were many points of contact with the Aeschylean performance tradition in Italy, from the emphasis on all the 'arts', i.e. dance, music and poetry (the Wagnerian *Wort-Ton-Drama* which Gargallo and Romagnoli thought they had successfully realised); to the focus on the Chorus, strikingly reminiscent of the 1960 'African' Chorus in their costumes and dances (**figs. 1, 2**);[8] to the prominence given to the peculiar relationship between Sicily and Aeschylus.

But Ovadia's *Supplici* was much criticised: the 'purist' academic world was put off by the ever-present music (the production was almost entirely sung)[9] and dancing, the heavy cuts as well as the numerous additions, and, most importantly, by the prevailing use of Sicilian dialect[10] and of some modern Greek and Arabic throughout the performance, with only one very small passage recited in Italian.[11]

Aeschylus is a Sicilian 'storyteller' interpreted by Mario Incudine, a singer and actor from Enna (Sicily) (**fig. 3**), who adapted Guido Paduano's Italian translation of the play into Sicilian dialect along with the musician Pippo Kaballà (**fig. 4**). Ovadia's idea was to transform Greek tragedy into a 'grande cunto' (Sicilian dialect for 'grand

[8] The music indeed possesses African-like echoes, the main instruments being 'darbuka, bouzouki, mandocello and drums', reports Kaballà (in Attardi 2015; **fig. 4**), and the tribal costumes are intentionally reminiscent of 'Africa' (cf. Giovannelli 2015).

[9] Mario Incudine thus defends Ovadia's musical experiment against the 'purists': 'Picasso too was not understood when he made his first painting. Moni Ovadia had the courage to dig deep into the entrails of tragedy. Who says that tragedy was not all sung? Aeschylus, who moved to Sicily, most probably saw *Supplices* as a continuous song […]. We are appropriating the strophic power of Sicilian dialect and applying it to the popular and musical form of theatre that is of Moni Ovadia' (Interview in Attardi, 2015).

[10] According to the 'purists', the most infuriating aspect of the choice of the Sicilian dialect was that INDA had in fact commissioned the translation to the academic Guido Paduano and his was the translation printed out in the libretto sold at the entrance; yet, Ovadia completely 'butchered' it: Paduano's text served as subtext for the Sicilian version, which, however, freely adapted and added to it as Ovadia and Incudine pleased (cf. Giovannelli 2015).

[11] Thus Ovadia in an interview: 'We need to reconsider our own relationship with languages. We need to overcome the Western-centred conception of culture and ask ourselves which language the Greeks spoke. And from this, we should try and understand that the ancient languages bring two thousand years of adventures and history with them. […] Italian is a marvellous language, but we need to find linguistic-voiced material that can respond to the energy of tragedy' (in Attardi 2015).

song', but also 'story').[12] His aim was to insert it into the 'oral' tradition of the Sicilian 'cunto', a genre apparently normalised in the first decades of the nineteenth century but rooted in a much earlier tradition, one that draws inspiration from the Greek 'cunto', the Homeric epos.[13]

This 'grande cunto', 'a classical melody', Kaballà explains, 'with many Sicilian, folk, and other genres' contaminations', is strikingly reminiscent of the early Syracusan productions in its straining after a 'total' performance, as the press called it, one that involves all the arts.[14] And, as mentioned, the specific kind of poetry that Ovadia wished to reproduce was the Sicilian dialect; this was a part of the director's overall aim to investigate the 'local', i.e. Sicily, with its peculiar and unique relationship with Aeschylus and the classic.

The only time we hear Italian in the performance is when Pelasgus responds to the supplicating Danaids (*Supp.* 354 ff.); this works as a powerful theatrical device to enhance the political message of the production. Holding a book, from which the king pretends to be reading, Pelasgus explains that, though the ruler of the Argive state, he is not the one to whom they need to perorate their cause:

> Se tutta la città è contaminata, il popolo deve aver cura di trovare assieme un rimedio. E io non posso farvi una promessa prima di essermi consultato con tutti i cittadini.
>
> τὸ κοινὸν δ' εἰ μιαίνεται πόλις,
> ξυνῇ μελέσθω λαὸς ἐκπονεῖν ἄκη.
> ἐγὼ δ' ἂν οὐ κραίνοιμ' ὑπόσχεσιν πάρος,
> ἀστοῖς δὲ πᾶσι τῶνδε κοινώσας πέρι.

[12] For the expression 'grande cunto', see, amongst others, Attardi (2015), Fornaro (2015), Giovannelli (2015) and Treu (2015).
[13] On the Sicilian 'cunto' as a genre, see Venturini (2003) and Di Vita (2016).
[14] Giovannelli (2015).

In a continuous speech, which condenses parts of Pelasgus' lines between 354 and 485 and cuts the Chorus' responses,[15] it is as though, by means of using the language of the 'book', i.e. the encoded language commonly employed on the peninsula, Pelasgus/Ovadia was in fact appealing to all Italian citizens (and through them to all the citizens of the world) so as to bring the problems of the refugees to their attention.

Parallels between the suppliant women and the refugees' condition of recent years are numerous throughout the production. Danaus' instructions to his daughters on the attitude to assume as suppliants before Pelasgus also resonate as highly contemporary, especially so if pronounced in the 'subaltern' language of Sicilian dialect, which connotes for its speakers the features of economic and social inferiority (*Supp*. 196–202):

> Lo vostru parlare nun sia acidu e vacuo ma sia lentu, chiu duci, accortu e pacatu, gli occhi sereni, rilassutu lu visu, picca paroli e chinatu lu capu. Chista è la sorti di ogni emigratu.[16]
>
> θρασυστομεῖν γὰρ οὐ πρέπει τοὺς ἥσσονας
> φθογγῇ δ' ἐπέσθω πρῶτα μὲν τὸ μὴ θρασύ,
> τὸ μὴ μάταιον δ' ἐκ †μετώπω σωφρονῶν†
> ἴτω προσώπων ὄμματος παρ' ἡσύχου·
> καὶ μὴ πρόλεσχος μηδ' ἐφολκὸς ἐν λόγῳ 200
> γένῃ· τὸ τῇδε κάρτ' ἐπίφθονον γένος.
> μέμνησο δ' εἴκειν· χρεῖος εἶ ξένη φυγάς·
> θρασυστομεῖν γὰρ οὐ πρέπει τοὺς ἥσσονας.

Overall, the passage is an abridged version of *Supp.* 191–202, and is accompanied by the accordion, to the sound of which the Chorus slowly oscillate their bodies. 'Let your saying be neither harsh nor vain', which renders lines 197–8, but 'sweet, wary and calm, relaxed in your face', a fairly accurate translation of line 199. What follows is a

[15] Pelasgus recites lines 354–8; 365–9; 377–80; 397–401; 407–9; 438–42 from Guido Paduano's Italian translation (printed in the libretto held at the INDA Archives, from which I am quoting); he then switches to Sicilian dialect and concludes with 468–71 and 480–5.

[16] I have myself transcribed and presented here all of the excerpts from Ovadia's and Incudine's Sicilian script thanks to an online reproduction of one the performances published on YouTube in 2018 (cf. Ovadia-Incudine-Kaballà 2015).

condensed and powerful rendering of lines 200–3: 'Pick words and bend your head' (which expands on the meaning of εἴκειν, here: 'to yield'[17]); and instead of the series of terms describing the Danaids' condition (χρεῖος […] ξένη φυγάς), Danaus concludes with a powerful *fulmen in clausula*: 'this is the fate of each refugee'.

The refugee crisis, however, is not the only contemporary issue put on stage in this 2015 production. The Egyptians' entrance nods in the direction of another important concern of today's society: violence against women. In typical Bedouin attire, with a golden medal pending just above his leathered belt, an Arabic attendant stands on the top of a natural rock at the right-hand side of the orchestra and marks the arrival of his comrades by singing in the Arabic language to the tune of a distinctively Oriental melody.[18] The herald eloquently responds to the music's rhythm with wheezes that are evocative of men's sexual moans (**fig. 5**) whilst the other Egyptian soldiers force the women into a fishing net (**fig. 6**).

As in the original tragedy, it is Pelasgus who puts a stop to this abduction (**fig. 7**) and this time he employs modern Greek whilst in dialogue with the Egyptian herald, who instead answers in Sicilian dialect. It is only after line 951, at the herald's declaration of war, that Pelasgus returns to Sicilian, only after he has settled the rights of the women using the (living version of the) language in which democracy was 'invented'. He then invites the suppliant women to choose their own accommodation (*Supp.* 954–63) and emphatically ends with:

> Libbere, Libbere siti in sta citati ormai, io e lu mu populu suvranu semu li vustri garanti. E tu, tu, u capisti? Ca, si parra la lingua de la libertati. E ora vattinni, vattinni e sparisci luntanu.

[17] On the meaning of εἴκειν in this context, see Johansen and Whittle (1980) 158–9.
[18] The attendant begins his song after *Supp.* 816 and picks it up again at 827, and then again at 831, whilst the background music becomes more and more prominent.

> […] προστάτης δ’ ἐγὼ
> ἀστοί τε πάντες, ὥνπερ ἥδε κραίνεται
> ψῆφος. τί τῶνδε κυριωτέρους μένεις; 965

Pelasgus marks the ‘freedom’ (‘libbere siti in sta citati ormai’) that the women have now gained, with the Argives and himself as their ‘patrons’ (‘garanti’). He then addresses the herald and evidences the main trait of his people’s culture: ‘And you, did you understand? Here, we speak the language of freedom’. Ovadia’s choice to shift to the ‘subaltern’ language for this last part makes it apparent that it is not a banal, Western-centred reading of Greek tragedy that he is proposing. Instead of continuing with a most markedly ‘democratic’ language (modern Greek), Ovadia switches to the language of the underprivileged, of the ‘people’, to put *them* at the centre of this new ‘freedom’.

But it is the end that is particularly revealing of the multiple meanings Ovadia afforded to his production – Aeschylus/the storyteller/Incudine sings his way out to typically Oriental-sounding Sicilian tunes and concludes thus:

> Domannu scusa a ogni cittadino, non sugnu di paisi assai luntanu; si è scritta male vaddomannu perdonu, che è scritta tutta in grecu e in siciliano. Mo perdonate sto me senziu stranu, ca non mi dà pace né sera né matinu; non sugnu dottu né poeta fino: io sugnu Eschilo, omo Siciliano.

Incudine/Aeschylus apologises to the audience that his tragedy is written entirely in Greek and Sicilian. ‘You will forgive this strange feeling of mine’, he continues, ‘which gives me rest neither day nor night: I am neither learned nor a refined poet: I am Aeschylus, a Sicilian man’. Incudine/Aeschylus’ ‘feeling’/poetry is ‘strange’ because he is indeed a ‘stranger’ on multiple levels, which Ovadia intentionally lays out for the audience. On the one hand, Incudine/Aeschylus and his language should be understood as a metaphor for the refugees’ condition: the tragedian and his poetry are ‘strangers’ to the Italian audience just as the refugees and any other subaltern culture

and/or people are. On the other hand, however, Incudine/Aeschylus and his language are also 'strangers' to the Italian audience with respect to what they symbolise: the 'classic'.

Ovadia in fact deliberately questions the dual nature of the classic in Italian culture: by making Aeschylus Sicilian, he *local*ises the tragedy and estranges it for the Italian audience; yet, by 'popularising/vulgarising' it (making it 'of and for the people') and, most importantly, by de-classicising and de-classifying it (using the language of the 'subaltern'), he challenges and reverses the usual power dynamics of Aeschylus/the classic. The linguistic means used, so specific and yet so powerful in symbolising the 'people' as opposed to the elite, combined with the universality of the aesthetic means employed (the music and dance permeating the production), highlighted the global reach of the production.

Ovadia successfully captured the somewhat unusual ties that Italy has always had with Aeschylus/the classic, ties whose history has been presented and analysed in this work: Italy, always at the crossroads of Graeco-Roman antiquity because of its geographical position, has never stepped out of a sort of historical continuum. Just as it is hoped that the 'stranger', the 'other', will be welcomed into our society with the consensus of the citizens, as the beginning of a new blend/fusion, it is equally hoped that Aeschylus/the classic will afford the possibility of a new blend/fusion, one that steps out of the continuum and reflects on its ties with the past. Ovadia's 2015 production, with its cross-fertilisation of language(s) and culture(s) and its creation of both a 'contemporary and archaic Mediterranean *koiné*',[19] is exemplary of this new potential path, along which Aeschylus is at the crossroads of East, West, North and

[19] Fornaro (2015).

South, and provides fertile ground in which to appeal to the ‘global’ by means of viscerally ‘local’ routes.

Appendix A

Aeschylus in Translation, Performance and Adaptation (1556-1960)

	DATE	MODERN TRANSLATION/LIBRETTO	DETAILS OF PERFORMANCE (IF ANY)	ANCIENT WORK	SOURCE
1.	1556	Martirano, C. (1556), *Prometheus Vinctus*, Naples.		*PV*	Lachmann and Cranz (1960) 6
2.	1557–1611	Anonymous (manuscript form at the National Library of Florence).		*Eum.*	Argellati (1767) 27
3.	1578	Cinuzzi, M. (2006), *Il Prometeo del Duca. La prima traduzione italiana del* Prometeo *di Eschilo (VAT.URB.LAT. 789)*, ed. A. Blasina, Amsterdam.		*PV*	Argellati (1767) 28
4.	1630	*Prometeo trafugatore del fuoco celeste**	**Medium of Production:** Ballet; **Place performed:** Agliè, at the court of Savoia	*PV*	Ménestrier (1682) 270–2
5.	1643	Faustini, G. (1677), *Egisto. Favola Dramatica,* Florence.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Francesco Cavalli (Composer); **Place performed**: Teatro San Cassiano in Venice, Veneto	*Ag.*	Allacci (1755) 279
6.	1648	Scammacca, O. (1648), *Oreste*. *Tragedia Morale*, Palermo.		*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	Allacci (1755) 578
7.	1654	Minato, N. (1654), *Serse. Drama*, Venice.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Francesco Cavalli (Composer), Nicolò Minato (Librettist); **Place performed**: Teatro di SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, Veneto	*Pers.*	Allacci (1755) 714
8.	1666–1672	D'Arezzo, F.A (1666), Prometeo (unpublished).		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 10
9.	1675	Fattorini, T. (1675), *Eteocle e Polinice. Drama per musica*, Venice.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People Involved:** Giovanni Legrenzi (Composer), Tebaldo Fattorini (Librettist); **Place performed**: Teatro Vendramino di San Salvatore in Venice, Veneto	*Sept.*	Allacci (1755) 311

10.	1683	Bergamori, G.A. (1683), *Prometeo liberato*, *Introduzione alla Festa popolare fatta in Bologna sul Teatro dela Fiera, eretto nella pubblica Piazza il di 24 Agosto 1683*, Bologna.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 11
11.	1685	Bergamori, G.A. (1685), *Oreste in Argo. Drama per musica*, Modena.		*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	Allacci (1755) 578
12.	1691	di Salamoni, A. (1691), *Cassandra in Babilonia. Drama per musica*, Palermo.		*Ag.*	Allacci (1755) 168
13.	1703	Fernandez y Guevara, F. (1703), *La Clitennestra: dramma tragico per musica rappresentato nelle vacanze del carnevale dell'anno 1703 per loro privato divertimento da' sig. convittori del Collegio de' nobili di Napoli sotto l'educazione de' PP. Della Compagnia di Gesù e dedicato a i medesimi illustrissimi signori da D. Francesco Fernandez y Guevara convittore nello stesso collegio*, Naples.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved:** Francesco di Stefano (Composer), Francesco Fernandez y Guevara (Librettist), Cast: Compagnia Collegio de' Nobili: D. Giustino Garofano de' marchesi della Rocca (Clytemnestra), D. Bernardino Cappa de' signori di Tussi e di Coppleto (Orestes), D. Domenico Luigi Barone de' signori di Livari (Pylades); D. Francesco di Stefano (Music); Sartori (Dances); **Place performed:** Unknown venue in Naples, Campania	*Ag.*	APGRD
14.	1707	Frigimelica Roberti, G. (1707), *Il Mitridate Eupatore*, Venice.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved:** Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti (Librettist), Alessandro Scarlatti (Composer); **Place performed**: Teatro di San Giovanni Grisostomo, in Venice, Veneto	*Cho.*	APGRD
15.	20 Sept. 1711	Guivo, N. (1711), *La Cassandra indovina*. *Drama per musica*, Piedimonte.	**Medium of Production** : Opera; **People involved**: Nicolò Giuvo (Librettist), Nicolò Fago (Composer); **Place performed**: Teatro di Piedimonte in Piedimonte, Campania	*Ag.*	APGRD
16.	1719	Zaniboni, A. (1719), *Agamennone tragedia tradotta dal francese in prosa*, Bologna.		*Ag.*	Allacci (1755) 14
17.	1728	Becelli, G. C. (1728), *Oreste vendicatore*, Verona.		*Cho.*	Allacci (1755) 578
18.	Spring 1731	Buini, G. M. (1731), *Attanaganamenone. Opera Buffa*, Venice.	**Medium of Production:** Opera**; People involved:** Giuseppe Maria Buini (Librettist), Bartolomeo Cordani (Composer); **Place performed:** Teatro S. Moisè in Venice, Veneto	*Ag.*	APGRD
19.	1740	*La Cassandra**	**Medium of Production:** Vocal music (non–theatrical)**; Place performed:** Unknown venue in Rome, Latium	*Ag.*	APGRD
20.	1754	Cesarotti, M. (1754)*, Prometeo legato*, Padua.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 17
21.	1754	Giacomelli, M.-A. (1754), *Prometeo legato*, Rome.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 18

22.	1774	*Agamennone Vendicato**	**Medium of Production** : Choreographic work; **People involved**: Jean-Georges Noverre (Choreographer); **Place performed**: La Scala in Milan, Lombardy	*Ag.*	APGRD
23.	1777	*La morte d'Agamennone**	**Medium of Production:** Choreographic work; **People involved:** Carlo Cannobio (Composer) Onorato Viganò (Choreographer); **Place performed:** Teatro S. Moisè in Venice, Veneto	*Ag.*	APGRD
24.	1780	*Agamennone vendicato**	**Medium of Production:** Choreographic work; **People involved**: Francesco Piombanti (Instrumentalist); Francesco Ricci (Choreographer); **Place performed**: Teatro di via della Pergola in Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	APGRD
25.	1781	Alfieri, V. (1783), *Oreste*	**Medium of Production:** Stage-play; **Place performed:** Foligno, Umbria	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
26.	1782	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Private reading; **Place performed**: Casa di Alfieri in Rome, Latium	*Cho.*	APGRD
27.	1783	Alfieri, V. (1783), *Agamennone*		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 25
28.	1784	Cf. 25 and 27	**Medium of Production** : Stage-play; **People involved**: Alfieri's friends and acquaintances, amateur actors, Liborio Pineschi (Director); **Place performed**: Teatrino privato "Il Saloncino", in Siena, Tuscany	*Cho. Ag.*	Milanesi (1861) 14
29.	1785	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: amateur nobles; **Place performed**: Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
30.	1786	Borsa, M. (1786), *Agamennone e Clitennestra*, Venice.		*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 26
31.	1787	Pagano, F.M. (1787), *L'Agamennone. Monodramma lirico*, Naples.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved**: Francesco Maria Pagano (Librettist); **Place performed**: unknown venue in Naples, Campania	*Ag.*	APGRD
32.	Carnival 1787	*Oreste o sia la morte di Clitennestra**	**Medium of Production** : Choreographic work; **People involved**: Onorato Viganò (Choreographer), Luigi Marescalchi (Composer); **Place performed**: Teatro di Torre Argentina in Rome, Latium	*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 27
33.	1788	*Il ritorno di Agamennone**	**Medium of Production**: Choreographic work; **People involved:** Francesco Clerico (Choreographer); **Place performed:** Teatro S. Benetto, in Venice, Veneto	*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 27
34.	1788	Mallio, M. (1788), *Tragedie varie di Eschilo, Sofocle ed Euripide,* 2 voll., Nicoli, Rome. Reprint in 1794.		*Ag., Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 27

35.	1789	Anonymous (1789), *Eschilo. Il Prometeo incatenato*, in *I Capi d'Opera del teatro antico e modern italiano e straniero*, Venice.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 27
36.	May 1790	Cf. 25	**Place performed:** Teatro S. Maria in Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
37.	1791	Cf. 25		*Cho.*	Doglio (1970–71) 85
38.	1791	*La morte d'Agamennone**	**Medium of Production**: Choreographic work (interval entertainment); **People involved**: Francesco Clerico (Choreographer); **Place performed**: Teatro di via della Pergola in Florence, Tuscany	*Ag.*	APGRD
39.	12 Jan. 1792	*Agamennone vendicato**	**Medium of Production**: Choreographic work; **People involved:** Michele Fabiani (Choreographer), Gaetano Gallo (Composer); **Place performed**: Teatro S. Carlo in Naples, Campania	*Cho.*	APGRD
40.	Dec. 1792	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production:** Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Pietro Andolfati; **Place performed**: Teatro di via del Cocomero in Florence, Tuscany	*Ag.*	Ronchi (1903) 14 Manzi (1936) 443–4
41.	Dec. 1792	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production:** Stage-play; **Place performed**: Teatro "Il Saloncino", Siena, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Milanesi (1861) 15
42.	Easter 1793	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production:** Stage-play; **People involved:** Cast: Compagnia Ferri, Brunacci and Marchionni; **Place performed:** Livorno, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Jarro (1896) 22–4 Doglio (1970–71) 36
43.	1794	*Oreste o sia La morte d' Egisto e Clitennestra**	**Medium of Production**: Choreographic work; **People involved**: Francesco Clerico (Choreographer); **Place performed**: Teatro di via della Pergola in Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	APGRD
44.	1794	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production:** Stage-play; **People involved:** Antonio Morocchesi; **Place performed**: Teatro S. Maria and Teatro Alfieri in Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Jarro (1896) 33–6 Doglio (1970–71) 104
45.	1794	Pasqualoni, P. (1794), *Eschilo. I Sette in Tebe. Tragedia recata per la prima volta in versi volgari, e con annotazioni illustrate,* Venice. Reprint in 1795.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 29.
46.	1794	*La morte d'Egisto ossia Le Furie d'Oreste**	**Medium of Production**: Choreographic work; **People involved** Onorato Viganò (Choreographer), Luigi Marescalchi (Composer); **Place performed:** PalaFenice in Venice, Veneto	*Cho.*	APGRD
47.	1795	Marotti, G. (1795), *Il Prometeo legato, tragedia di Eschilo recata in Toscana poesia*, Rome.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 30

48.	1795	Pasqualoni, P. (1795), *Prometeo*, Venice.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 31
49.	1795	Marotti, G. (1795), *I Sette all'assalto di Tebe*. *Tragedia di Eschilo, recata dal Greco originale in Toscana poesia e con note illustrate*, Salvioni, Rome.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 30
50.	1796	Marotti, G. (1796), *L'Agamennone*, *tragedia di Eschilo, recata in Toscana poesia*, Rome.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 31
51.	Carnival 1797	*Oreste**	**Medium of Production**: Choreographic work; **People involved:** Gaspare Ronzi (Choreographer); **Place performed**: Teatro di Torre Argentina in Rome, Latium	*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	Forno (2019)
52.	Autumn 1798	Gonella, F. (1798), *Oreste. Dramma per musica*, Florence.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved:** Francesco Gonella (Librettist), Giuseppe Moneta (Composer); **Place performed**: Regio Teatro di Via della Pergola in Florence, Tuscany	*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	APGRD
53.	Spring 1798	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **Place performed**: Regio Teatro della Academia dei Costanti in Pisa, Tuscany	*Ag.*	APGRD
54.	26 Dec.1800	Salfi**,** F. (1800), *Clitennestra*, Milan.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved:** F. Salfi (Librettist), Niccolò Zingarelli (Composer); **Place performed**: Teatro alla Scala in Milan, Lombardy	*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	APGRD
55.	1801	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production**: Coreographic work; **People involved:** Francesco Clerico (Choreographer); **Place performed**: Teatro alla Scala in Milan, Lombardy	*Ag.*	APGRD
56.	30 Apr. 1802	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **Place performed**: Teatro Patriottico in Milan, Lombardy	*Ag.*	Forno (2019)
57.	1803	Cf. 25 and 27	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Antonio Morocchesi and Assunta Perotti; **Place performed**: Florence, Tuscany	*Cho. Ag.*	Forno (2019)
58.	Lent 1803	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Anna Fiorilli–Pellandi; **Place performed**: Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Manzi (1936) 338
59.	1803	Cf. 25 and Alfieri, V. (1783), *Polinice*, Siena.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved**: Paolo Belli Blanes; **Place performed**: Teatro alla Scala in Milan, Lombardy	*Cho., Sept.*	Forno (2019)
60.	28 Dec. 1803	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: A. Fiorilli Pellandi**; Place performed**: Teatro S. Samuele in Venice, Veneto	*Cho.*	Schiavo Lena (1996) 57
61.	1803	Cf. 25 and 59	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Bianchi; **Place performed**: Milan, Lombardy	*Cho., Sept.*	Forno (2019)

62.	1804	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Paolo Belli Blanes; **Place performed**: Teatro Nuovo in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
63.	5 Sept. 1804	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Collonesi; **Place performed**: Teatro S. Giovanni Crisostomo in Venice, Veneto	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
64.	14 Oct. 1804	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Fabbrichesi; **Place performed**: Teatro S. Samuele in Venice, Veneto	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
65.	3 Nov. 1804	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Venier; **Place performed**: Teatro S. Benedetto in Venice, Veneto	*Ag.*	Forno (2019)
66.	1806	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Fabbrichesi; **Place performed**: Teatro S. Samuele in Venice, Veneto	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
67.	1809	Cf. 59	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia S.M.I.R.; **Place performed**: Teatro alla Scala in Milan, Lombardy	*Sept.*	Doglio (1970-71) 26 Schiavo Lena (1996) 94–5
68.	1810	Alfieri, V. (1810), *Teatro tragico tradotto di Vittorio Alfieri: Alceste Persiani Filottete*, Piacenza.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 37
69.	11 May 1810	Cf. 59	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia L. Rossi; **Place performed**: Teatro dei Fiorentini in Naples, Campania	*Sept.*	Forno (2019)
70.	1811	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia E. Marchioni; **Place performed:** Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Doglio (1970–71) 6
71.	1812	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Pellandi–Blanes; **Place performed:** Teatro Orbizzi in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Doglio (1970–71) 7
72.	1815	Alfieri, V. (1815), *Versioni dal Greco: Persiani, Filottete, Alceste, Rane,* Pisa.			Forno (2019)
73.	17 Mar. 1815	Cf. 59	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **Place performed**: Accademia dei Filodrammatici in Milan, Lombardy	*Sept.*	Forno (2019)
74.	1816	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Pellandi–Blanes; **Place performed**: Teatro Grande in Brescia, Lombardy	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
75.	1816	Niccolini, G. B. (1816), *I sette a tebe, tragedia di Eschilo, recata in versi italiani,* Florence.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 44

76.	1819	Cf. 25, 27 and 59	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Regia in Naples with Francesco Lombardi; **Place performed**: Naples, Campania	*Cho. Sept. Ag.*	Forno (2019)
77.	1821	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production**: Coreographic work; **People involved**: Giovanni Galzerani (Choreographer); Cesare Pugni (Composer); **Place performed**: Teatro di via della Pergola in Florence, Tuscany	*Ag.*	APGRD
78.	1821	Bellotti, F. (1821), *Tragedie di Eschilo, tradotte da Felice Bellotti,* 2 vols*.,* Milan. Reprints in 1871, 1881, 1882, 1884, 1913, 1930, 1936, 1963.		*Ag.*, *Cho.*, *Eum.*, *Pers.*, *PV*, *Sept.*, *Supp.*	Wartelle (1978) 47
79.	1824	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Fabbrichesi, Gustavo Modena (Lead Actor); **Place performed**: Venice, Veneto	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
80.	1824	Cf. 59	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Compagnia Reale Sarda with Giovanni Boccomini	*Sept.*	Forno (2019)
81.	1824	Mustoxidis A. and Bellotti F. (1824), *Tragedie di Eschilo, recate in versi italiani,* 2 vols., Florence.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp., Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 52.
82.	1825	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Tofano; **Place performed:** Naples, Campania	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
83.	28 Oct. 1826	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **Place performed**: Teatro dei Filodrammatici in Milan, Lombardy	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
84.	1828	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production**: Coreographic work; **People involved**: Giovanni Galzerani (Choreographer), Cesare Pugni (Composer); **Place performed:** Teatro alla Scala in Milan, Lombardy	*Ag.*	APGRD
85.	1828–1830	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Aalberto Tessari; **Place performed:** Teatro dei Fiorentini in Naples, Campania	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
86.	24–31 Aug. 1828	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Grande Compagnia Ducale, Parma; **Place performed:** Teatro Grande, Trieste	*Ag.*	Forno (2019)
87.	1829	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Giacomo and Gustavo Modena (Actors); **Place performed**: Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
88.	1830	Cf. 25	Unknown	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)

89.	1830	Damaso Pareto, L.A. (1830), *Prométeo portatore del fuoco*, Genoa.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 61
90.	1832	Monti, V. (1832), *Il Prometeo,* p. 17–93 in: *Opere inedite e rare di Vincenzo Monti*, Milan.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 64
91.	9 June 1835	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Compagnia Reale Sarda with G.B. Gottardi; **Place performed**: Turin	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
92.	Autumn 1838	*Oreste**	**Medium of Production**: Coreographic work (inspired by Alfieri); **Place performed**: Gran Teatro Comunale in Bologna, Emilia–Romagna	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
93.	1840	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Compagnia Domeniconi with Gustavo Modena, Elisabetta Gambari and Carolina Internari (Actors); **Place performed**: Teatro del Giglio in Lucca, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
94.	4 Apr. 1840	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: amateur group of actors; **Place performed**: Teatro Nuovo in Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
95.	20 May 1840	Cf. 59	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Vergnano with Carolina Tessari; **Place performed**: Teatro Grande, Trieste	*Sept.*	Forno (2019)
96.	23 Aug. 1840	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Pisenti–Solmi; **Place performed**: Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
97.	25 Oct. 1840	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Compagnia Reale Sarda with Angelo Canova; **Place performed**: Pistoia, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
98.	20 Feb. 1841	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Compagnia Pezzana; **Place performed**: Teatro Nuovo in Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
99.	15 Nov. 1841	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Antonio Tessari; **Place performed**: Ferrara, Emilia–Romagna	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
100.	1841	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Gustavo Modena; **Place performed**: Parma, Emilia–Romagna	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
101.	1842	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **Place performed**: Teatro Re in Milan, Lombardy	*Ag.*	APGRD

102.	22 July 1842	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Compagnia Pezzana; **Place performed**: Teatro della Pergola in Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
103.	1844	Niccolini, G.B. (1844), '*Agamennone*', in *Opere*, II, Florence.		*Ag.*	Forno (2019)
104.	1845	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: L. Bon (Clytemnestra); **Place performed**: Teatro Carcano in Milan, Lombardy	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
105.	1846	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Calloud–Fusarini–Marchi with Ernesto rossi; **Place performed**: Lucca, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
106.	Spring 1846	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Terzuali and Straccia; **Place performed**: Teatro Duse in Padua; Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 15
107.	May 1846	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Vallin and Benvenuti; **Place performed**: Teatro Duse (Padua; Veneto)	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 15
108.	1846	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Battaglia (former Compagnia Dei Giovani) with Fanny Sadowski and Francesco Augusto Bon; **Place performed**: Teatro dei Concordi in Padua; Veneto	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
109.	10 Nov. 1847	Cf. 27	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved**: Perrane (Librettist), Giovanni Treves (Composer); **Place performed**: Teatro alla Scala in Milan, Lombardy	*Ag.*	APGRD
110.	1847	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Domeniconi with Adelaide Ristori, Tommaso Salvini, Luigi Domeniconi; **Place performed**: Teatro Valle in Rome, Latium	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
111.	1847	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Gustavo Modena with Ernesto rossi (Pilade); **Place performed**: Teatro Carcano in Milan, Lombardy	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
112.	1848	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Actor Tommaso Salvini; **Place performed**: Teatro Valle, Rome, Latium	*Cho.*	APGRD
113.	1848	Cf. 25	Unknown	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)

114.	1850	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Feliziani–Feroci–Toggio	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
115.	19 and 26 May 1856	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia C. Dondini; **Place performed**: Teatro Concordiin Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16
116.	13 Dec. 1856	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Monti; **Place performed**: Teatro Duse in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16
117.	26 May 1857	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia C. Rossi; **Place performed**: Teatro Concordi in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16
118.	12 and 19 Nov. 1858	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Monti–Preda; **Place performed**: Teatro Duse in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16
119.	1859	Somma, A. (1859), *Cassandra. Tragedia in cinque atti*, Venice.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 110.
120.	16 Aug. and 4 Oct. 1861	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Massa; **Place performed**: Teatro Galter in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16
121.	1862	Bolognese, D. (1862), *Tragedie di Domenico Bolognese*, Naples.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 115
122.	23 May 1864	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia C. Bellotti; **Place performed**: Teatro Sociale in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16
123.	20 Aug. 1865	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia C. Dondini; **Place performed**: Teatro Sociale in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16
124.	1866	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnie Achille Majeroni and Adamo Alberti; **Place performed**: Teatro San Carlo in Naples, Campania	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
125.	14 Apr. 1866	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Ernesto Rossi; **Place performed**: Teatro Concordi in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16

126.	9 Mar. 1870	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Adelaide Ristori, Luigi Bon, Achille Majeroni, Tommaso Salvini; **Place performed**: Regio Teatro Niccolini in Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Rasi (1897) 476
127.	1871	Niccolini, G.B. (1877), '*Coefore*', in *Opere edite e inedite di G.B. Niccolini*, ed. C. Gargiolli, vol. 3, Milan. Reprint in 1889.		*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
128.	1876				Forno (2019)
		Fraccaroli, G. (1876), *Eschilo. I Persiani,* Turin.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 149
129.	1878–1888	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Giacinta Pezzana (Actress); **Place performed**: Naples, Campania	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
130.	1882	Bellotti, F. (1882), *Eschilo, Tragedie,* Florence.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp., Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 174.
131.	1884	Bellotti, F (1884), *Persae*, in *Teocrito, I Dioscori*, trad. Giuseppe Maria Pagnini. Meyer, Turin. Reprints in 1921, 1913, 1930.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 181.
132.	1894	Aurenghi, O. (1894), *Eschilo. Le Eumenidi*, Turin.		*Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 216.
133.	1897	Cassara, A. (1897), *Eschilo. Prometeo incatenato. Prologo e Parodos*, Catania.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 229.
134.	1897	Proto, E. (1897), *Eschilo. Prometeo legato*, Naples.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 230.
135.	1900	Inama, V. (1900), *Eschilo. I Persiani*, Turin. Reprints in 1920, 1927, 1947, 1948		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 240.
136.	26 Feb. 1900	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia C. De Sanctis; **Place performed**: Teatro Garibaldi in Padua, Veneto	*Cho.*	Ronchi (1903) 16
137.	1901	Pino, C. (1901), Eschilo*, Le Eumenidi*, Turin.		*Eum.*	Forno (2019)
138.	1902	Pedde, N. (1902), *Eschilo, Prometeo legato*, Sassari.		*PV*	Forno (2019)
139.	1902	Fuochi, M. (1902), *Eschilo, Il «Prometeo incatenato», frammenti del «Prometeo liberato»*, Milan–Palermo–Naples		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 246

140.	1902	Inama, V. (1902), *Eschilo. I Sette a Tebe*, Turin.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 247
141.	1902	Teza, E. (1902), *I Sette a Tebe. Tragedia di Eschilo. I primi 368 versi: versione in prosa*, Padua.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 248
142.	1903	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Tommaso Salvini; **Place performed** Florence, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
143.	11 Oct. 1903	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Compagnia Drammatica Alfredo De Sanctis, Borzani (Scenery); **Place performed**: Teatro Alfieri, Asti	*Cho.*	Montano (1998) 148
144.	1904	Strazzulla, V. (1904), *I Persiani di Eschilo ed il nomo di Timoteo*, *volgarizzati in prosa, con introduzione storica*, Messina.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 255
145.	1904	Valgimigli, M. (1904), *Eschilo: la trilogia di Prometeo (Πρ. Πυρφορος, Πρ. Δεσμωτης, Πρ. Λυομενος). Saggio di una esposizione critica del mito e di una ricostruzione scientifica della trilogia*, Bologna.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 255
146.	1905	D'Annunzio, G. (1905), *La Fiaccola sotto il moggio*, Milan.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Mario Fumagalli (Director); **Place performed**: Teatro Manzoni in Rome, Latium	*Cho.*	APGRD
147.	5 Dec. 1905	Illica, L. (1905), *Cassandra*, Bologna.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved**: Luigi Illica (Librettist), Vittorio Gnecchi (Composer), Conductor Arturo Toscanini; **Place performed**: Teatro Comunale in Bologna, Emilia–Romagna	*Ag.*	APGRD
148.	1905	Pino, C. (1905), *Eschilo. L'Agamennone*, Turin.	.	*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 260
149.	1906	Marrone T. and Cippico A. (1906), *Eschilo. L'Orestea,* unpublished.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia F. Garavaglia, Kanzler (Director); **Place performed**: Teatro Argentina, Rome, Latium	*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 260
150.	1906	Mancini, A. (1906), *Eschilo. Prometeo,* Florence.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 260
151.	1906	Pino, C. (1906), *Le Coefore,* Turin.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 260
152.	1906	Visentini, I. (1906), *Eschilo. L'Agamennone*, Zanichelli, Bologna		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 261
153.	1909	Cf. 147	Cf. 147; **Place performed**: Unknown venue in Ferrara, Emilia Romagna	*Ag.*	APGRD

154.	1909	Salvatori, G. (1909), *Le Eumenidi*, Treviso.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **People involved**: Giovanni Salvatori (Librettist), Filippo Guglielmi (Composer)**; Place performed**: Teatro Sociale in Treviso, Friuli Venezia Giulia	*Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 261
155.	1909	Scrocca, A. (1909), *I Persiani di Eschilo, recati in versi italiani*, Naples.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 271
156.	1909	Ubaldi, P. (1909), *Eschilo. Agamennone*, Turin and Florence.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 271
157.	1909	Visentini, I. (1909), *Le Coefore di Eschilo*, Mantua.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 271
158.	1911	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Gustavo Salvini; **Place performed**: Fiesole, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Corsi (1939) 108
159.	1911	Arfelli, D. (1911), *Agamennone*, Modena.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 276
160.	1911	B. Romano, B. (1911), *Le Coefore di Eschilo*, Cuneo.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 279
161.	1913	Ramorino, F. (1913), *Sei tragedie di Eschilo, Sofocle ed Euripide, trad. da F. Bellotti,* Florence.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 286
162.	1913	Bellotti, F. (1913), *Le supplici,* Milan.		*Supp.*	Wartelle (1978) 284
163.	1913	Bellotti, F. and Gomperz, Th. (1913), *Eschilo. Tragedie*, Milan.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp., Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 284
164.	1913	Ubaldi, P. (1913), *Eschilo. I Sette contro Tebe*, Turin. Reprint in 1940.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 287
165.	1914	Romagnoli, E. (1914), *Agamennone*, Catania.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Ettore Romagnoli (Director and Composer), Duilio Cambellotti (Scenery) Bruno Puozzo (Costumes); **Cast**: Luigi Savini (watchman), Teresa Mariani (Clytemnestra), Giosuè Borsi (herald), Gualtiero Tumiati (Agamemnon), Elisa Berti Masi (Cassandra), Giulio Tempesti (Aegisthus); **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre of Syracuse in Syracuse, Sicily	*Ag.*	APGRD
166.	1914	Romagnoli, E. (1914), *Le Coefore*, Bologna.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 289
167.	1914	Bellotti, F. (1914), *Eschilo. Agamennone*, Rome.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 288
168.	1915	Barone, M. (1915), *Eschilo. Il prometeo legato*, Città di Castello.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 290
169.	1915	Piovano, G.A. (1915), *Eschilo. Le Coefore*, Casa tipogr. Ed. S. Lapi, Città di Castello		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 292

170.	1915	Ruggi, L. (1915), *Prometeo*, Milan.	**Medium of Production**: Opera; **Place performed**: Teatro Olimpia in Milan, Lombardy.	*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 293
171.	1918	Cf. 165	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Alessandro Romanelli (Producer), Gualtiero Tumiati (Lead Actor); **Place performed**: Teatro Romano in Fiesole, Tuscany	*Ag.*	APGRD
172.	1918	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Annibale Ninchi; **Place performed**: Forte dei Marmi, Tuscany	*Cho.*	
173.	1918	Marchi, R. (1918), *Eschilo. Prometeo legato*, Livorno.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 298
174.	1918 and Summer 1920	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Enrico Pea and Raffaele Uccello (Scenery); Cast: Compagnia Annibale Ninchi, Maria Letizia Celli, Ermete Zacconi, Italia Vitaliani, Cesare Dondini, Alda Borelli; **Place performed**: Apuan woods between Pietrasanta and Forte dei Marmi	*Cho.*	Corsi (1939) 31
175.	19 May 1918	Cf. 165	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Alessandro Romanelli (Main organizer); Beryl Tumiati (Scenery); Cast: Compagnia Gualtiero Tumiati (Elisa Berti–Masi, Aldo Silvani, Antonio Gemmò, Giuseppe Masi)	*Ag.*	Corsi (1939) 112
176.	1919	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: university students led by Gustavo Salvini; **Place performed**: Anfiteatro Romano in Cagliari, Sardinia	*Cho.*	Corsi (1939) 32
177.	4 May 1919	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Gustavo Salvini, Ildebrando Pizzetti (Composer); **Place performed**: Anfiteatro Romano in Cagliari, Sardinia	*Cho.*	Montano (1998) 148
178.	4 Mar. 1920	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Compagnia Annibale Ninchi; **Place performed**: Rimini, Emilia–Romagna	*Cho.*	Montano (1998) 148
179.	1920	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Annibale Ninchi and Evelina Paoli; **Place performed**: outdoor woods, Viareggio, Tuscany	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
180.	1920	Inama, V. (1920), *I Persiani*, Loescher, Turin.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 303
181.	1920	Ubaldi, P. (1920), *Eumenidi*, Turin.		*Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 305
182.	1921	Ricci, D. (1921), *Prometeo legato*, Orvieto; then in 1924, Milan.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 308

183.	1921	Terzaghi, N. (1921), *Le Supplici*, Milan and Palermo.		*Supp.*	Wartelle (1978) 309
184.	1921	Todesco, A. (1921), *I Sette a Tebe*. Turin.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 309
185.	1921	Romagnoli, E. (1921), *Coefore*, Syracuse.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Ettore Romagnoli (Director); Giuseppe Mulè (Composer); Duilio Cambellotti (Scenery and Costumes); Cast: Ettore Berti (Orestes), Guido Arezzo (Pylades), Teresa Franchini (Electra), Emilia Varini (Clytemnestra), Renata Sainati (Cilissa), Giuseppe Masi (Aegisthus), Bice Lami (Choryphaeus); **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre of Syracuse, in Syracuse, Sicily	*Cho.*	APGRD
186.	1921–1922	Romagnoli, E. (1921–1922), *Eschilo, Le tragedie*, *con incisioni di A. De Carolis*, Bologna. Reprints in 1945, 1951, 1954. Then: *Le tragedie di Eschilo e di Sofocle*, Bologna, 1959. Reprints in 1963, 1966, 1971.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp., Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 308.
187.	23 May 1923	Casella, A. (1923), *Prometeo. Poema drammatico in tre atti*, Turin.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **Place performed**: Teatro Goldoni in Venice, Veneto	*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 313
188.	1923	Decia, G. and Bianchi, R. (1923), *I Persiani*, Florence.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 313
189.	1923	Girardini, E. (1923), *Tre tragedie greche. Prometeo incatenato di Eschilo, Antigone di Sofocle, Alcesti di Euripide*, Rome.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 313
190.	1923	Tosatto, C. (1923), *Eschilo. Agamennone, Le Coefore, Le Eumenidi, I Persiani, I Sette a Tebe, Le Supplici*, Padua.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp. Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 315
191.	1924	Arfelli, D. (1924), *Prometeo incatenato*, Florence.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 186
192.	1924	Bellotti, F., Pagano, A., Maggi A. (1924), *Prometeo legato*, Rondinella e Loffredo, Naples.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 315
193.	1924	Cosattini, A. (1924), *Eschilo. Agamennone*, Turin.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 316
194.	1924	Romagnoli, E. (1924), *I Sette a Tebe*, Bologna. Reprint in 1927.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Ettore Romagnoli (Director), Giuseppe Mulè (Composer), Duilio Cambellotti (Scenery and Costumes), Valeria Kratina (Choreographer); Cast: Fulvio Bernini (Eteocles), Nicolangelo Bruno (herald), Ilario Della Noce (messenger), Maria Laetitia Celli (Antigone), Ester Zeni (Ismene), Maria Conieri Pasquali (Choryphaeus); **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre of Syracuse, in Syracuse, Sicily	*Sept.*	APGRD

195.	1925	Anonimo (1925), *Le Coefore*, Rome.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 319
196.	1925	Romagnoli, E. (1925), *Eschilo, Sofocle, Euripide,* Florence.			Wartelle (1978) 321
197.	1925	Ubaldi, P. (1925), *Eschilo Agamennone*, Turin.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 322
198.	1926	Bersi, A. (1926), *Le Eumenidi*, Rome.		*Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 322
199.	1926	Capovilla, G. (1926), *L'Oreseta di Eschilo*, Milan.		*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 322
200.	1926	Errante,V. (1926), *Prometeo incatenato*, Milan; Reprints in 1928, 1940.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 323
201.	1926	Ricci, D. (1926), *I Sette contro Tebe*, Livorno.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 324
202.	1926	Romagnoli, E. (1926), *La tragedia greca. Eschilo, Sofocle, Euripide*, Milan.			Wartelle (1978) 324
203.	1926	Valgimigli, M. (1926), *Le Coefore*, Bari. Reprint in 1948.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 325
204.	1927	Cammelli, L. (1927)*, Agamennone. Testo ridotto per le scuole, con riassunti delle parti omesse, introduzione e commento*, Milan.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 326
205.	1927	Cf. 194	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Ettore Romagnoli (Director); **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre in Ostia Antica, Latium	*Sept.*	APGDR
206.	1 Sept. 1929	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play**; People involved:** Cast: Umberto Mozzato (Orestes); Enrichetta Conforti (Clytemnestra); Olga Solbelli (Electra); Gero Zambuto (Aegisthus); Fernando Solieri (Pylades); **Place performed**: Publics Gardens of Asti	*Cho.*	Maccari (2006/7) 122
207.	10, 19, 26 May 1929	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Cast: Gualtiero Tumiati (Director); Cast: Gualtiero Tumiati (Orestes); Giovanna Scotto (Electra); Olga Vittoria Gentili (Clytemnestra); Aldo Silvani (Pylades); Loris Gizzi (Aegisthus); **Place performed**: Baths of Caracalla in Roma, Latium	*Cho.*	Montano (1998) 148
208.	4 July 1929	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play**; People involved**: Cast: Giotto Tempestini (Orestes); Emilia Varini (Clytemnestra); Giovanna Scotto (Electra); Aldo Silvani (Aegisthus); Carlo Tamberlani (Pylades); **Place performed**: Piazzale del Pincio (Rome) and in tournée in the centre and south of Italy on the Thespian Cars	*Cho.*	Maccari (2006/7) 122

209.	1930	Cammelli, L. (1930), *Eschilo, Prometeo legato*, Florence. Reprint in 1931.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 338
210.	1930	Marchioni, A. (1930), *Agamennone,* Syracuse.	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Biagio Pace (Director), Ildebrando Pizzetti (Composer), Duilio Cambellotti (Scenery and Costumes), Jia Ruskaja (Choreographer); Cast: Emilio Petacci (watchman), Evelina Paoli (Clytemnestra), Giulio Oppi (herald), Corrado Racca (Agamemnon), Giovanna Scotto (Cassandra), Giovanni Giacchetti (Aegisthus) **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre of Syracuse, in Syracuse, Sicily	*Ag.*	APGRD
211.	1930	Bellotti, F. (1930), *Tragedie di Eschilo*, seg. *Idilli di Teocrito*, Milan.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp. Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 337
212.	1930	Guzzetta V. (1930), *Prometeo incatenato*, Messina.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 339
213.	1930	De Bosis, L. (1930), *Prometeo incatenato*, Messina.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 186
214.	1930–1931	Ricci, D. (1930), *Le tragedie di Eschilo*, Carabba (Lanciano), 4 vols., Milan. Reprints in 1950 and 1952.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp. Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 344
215.	1931	La Magna, G. (1931), *Agamennone*, Naples.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 343
216.	1931	Todesco, A. (1931), *I Sette contro Tebe,* Turin.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 345
217.	1931	Ubaldi, P. (1931), *Le Eumenidi*, Turin.		*Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 345
218.	1932	Sonnino, G. (1932), *Eschilo, Il «Prometeo Legato»,* Rome.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 350
219.	1932	De Lorenzis, R. (1932), *I Persiani di Eschilo*, Naples.		*Pers.*	Zoboli (2004) 185

220.	1932	Cf. 165	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **Place performed:** unknown venue in Paestum, Campania	*Ag.*	APGRD
221.	1933	Bottoni, G. (1933), *Eschilo, I Prometeo incatenato*, Signorelli, Milan. Reprints in 1940 and 1948.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 186
222.	1933	Untersteiner, M. (1933), *Le Supplici*, Naples.		*Supp.*	Wartelle (1978) 355
223.	1934	Cammelli, L. (1934), *I Persiani*, Naples.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 355
224.	1934	Venturini Pàpari, T. (1934), *Prometeo legato*, Rome.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 360
225.	1934	Bassi, D. (1934), *Le Supplici*, Milan.		*Supp.*	Wartelle (1978) 355
226.	1934	Cataudella, Q. (1934), *I Persiani*, Naples.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 356
227.	1933	Marzullo, A. (1935), *Le Coefore*, Milan. Reprints in 1939 and 1946.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 353
228.	1935	Decia, G. (1935), *I Persiani*, Florence.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 360
229.	13–15 July 1935	Cf. 25	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Cast: Compagnia C. Ninchi with Oscar Andriani (Oreste), Carlo Ninchi, Amedeo Nazzari, Lina Paoli, Landa Galli, Otha (Scenery); **Place performed:** Licinium, Erba	*Cho.*	Maccari (2006/7) 123
230.	Summer 1936	Cf. 25	**Place performed:** Licinium, Erba	*Cho.*	Corsi (1939) 253
231.	1936	Bellotti, F. (1936), *Eschilo Tragedie*, Florence.			Wartelle (1978) 364
232.	1936	Rapisarda, E. (1936), *Il prometeo legato*, Turin.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 367
233.	1936	Rapisarda, E. (1936), *Prometeo*, Modena.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 367
234.	1936	Fumi, E. (1936), *Il Prometeo*, Florence.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 366
235.	1937	Bassi, D. (1937), *I Sette a Tebe*, Milan.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 369
236.	1937	Riccomagno, L. (1937), *Il Prometeo incatenato*, Lanciano.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 372

237.	Summer 1938	Cf. 25	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Alberto Airoldi (Director) **Place performed:** Licinium, Erba	*Cho.*	Corsi (1939) 253
238.	1938	Masera, G. (1938), *Prometeo incatenato*, Turin.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 376
239.	1939	Bignone, E. (1939), *Le tragedie di Eschilo, tradotte in versi italiani*, Florence.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp. Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 379
240.	1938	Collina, M. (1938), *Agamennone*, Modena.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 374
241.	1939	Rapisarda, E. (1939), *Le Eumenidi*, Turin.		*Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 382
242.	1939	Patriarca, G. (1939), *Eschilo. Agamennone*, Milan.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 381
243.	1939	Bignone, E. (1939), *Le tragedie di Eschilo*, Florence.		*Sept., PV, Pers., Ag., Cho., Eum., Supp.*	Wartelle (1978) 379
244.	1939	Sciavicco, G. (1939), *Prometeo legato,* Messina.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 382
245.	1940	Farina, G. (1940), *I sette contro Tebe*, Modena.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 384
246.	1940	Miori, L. (1940), *I Persiani*, Florence.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 385
247.	1941	Venturini Pàpari, T. (1941), *Le Coefore*, Rome.		*Cho.*	Zoboli (2004) 184
248.	1941	Patriarca, G. (1941), *I sette a Tebe*, Milan. Reprint in 1967.		*Sept.*	Zoboli (2004) 187
249.	1941	Secchi, C.C. (1941), *I Persiani*, Milan. Reprint in 1950, 1956.		*Pers.*	Zoboli (2004) 185
250.	1944	Anonimo (1944), *Prometeo*, Catania.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 186

251.	1944	Verlato, C. (1944), *Eschilo. Prometeo incatenato*, Milan.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 186
252.	1946	Cf. 25	Unknown	*Cho.*	
253.	1946	Ottieri, O. (1946), *Agamennone Tragedia*, Rome.		*Ag.*	Wartelle (1978) 403
254.	1946	Stumpo, B. (1946), *Le Coefore*, Rome.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 404
255.	1946	Enòizi, G. (1946), *I sette contro Tebe di Eschilo*, Turin		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 402
256.	1946	Untersteiner, M. (1946), *Le Coefore*, Como–Milan.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 404
257.	1947	Valgimigli, M., Ghezzo Anti, C. (1947), *Le Coefore* Messina.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 409
258.	1947	Ammendola, G. (1947), *I Persiani*, Rome.		*Pers.*	Zoboli (2004) 185
259.	1947	Untersteiner, M. (1946–1947), *Eschilo, Le tragedie*, Milan.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp. Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 409
260.	1948	Ammendola, G. (1948) *Le Coefore*, Florence.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 410
261.	1948	Catone, N. (1948) *Le Coefore*, Bari–Naples.		*Cho.*	Zoboli (2004) 184
262.	1948	Milio, V. (1948), *Eschilo, Agamennone (dalle lezioni di letteratura greca tenute negli anni accademici 1946–47 e 1947–48),* Messina.		*Ag.*	Zoboli (2004) 183
263.	1948	Valgimigli, M. (1948), *Eschilo, La Orestea, Agamennone, Coefore, Eumenidi*, Florence. Then in (1964), 'Traduzioni', *Poeti e filosofi di Grecia*, ed. M.V. Ghezzo, vol. 1, Florence, 35–155.	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Manara Valgimigli (Director)**,** Gian Francesco Malipiero (Composer), Duilio Cambellotti (Scenery and Costumes), Rosalia Chladek (Choreographer); Cast: *Agamemnon*: Valerio Degli Abbati (watchman/Pylades), Giovanna Scotto (Clytemnestra), Annibale Ninchi (herald), Mario Besesti (Agamemnon), Sarah Ferrati (Cassandra), Franco Mauri (Aegisthus), Achille Maieroni, Ubaldo Stefani	*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	APGRD

			(choripaehi); *Choephoroi*: Salvo Randone (Orestes), Valerio Degli Abbati (Pylades), Daniela Palmer (Electra), Vasco Brambilla (servant), Giovanna Scotto (Clytemnestra), Renata Sainati (Cilissa), Franco Mauri (Aegisthus), Anna Proclemer (choripaehus); *Eumenides*: Renata Sainati (Pythia), Valerio Degli Abbati (Apollo), Salvo Randone (Orestes), Mimosa Favi (Athena), Anna Proclemer (choripaehus); **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre of Syracuse, in Syracuse, Sicily		
264.	1949	Quasimodo, S. (1949), *Eschilo, Le Coefore*, Milan; then in (1963), *Tragici Greci tradotti da Salvatore Quasimodo. Le Coefore di Eschilo, Elettra di Sofocle, Edipo re di Sofocle*, Milan, 11–153.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 416
265.	1949	Sbarbaro, C. (1949), *Prometeo incatenato*, Milan.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 416
266.	1949	Traverso, L. (1949), *Orestiade,* Turin.		*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 417
267.	1949, 9 Apr.	Cf. 25	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Luchino Visconti (Director), Cast: Vittorio Gassman, Marcello Mastroianni, Rina Morelli, Ruggero Ruggieri; Scenary and customs: Mario Chiari; **Place performed**: Teatro Quirino in Rome, Latium	*Cho.*	Gassman (1982) 75–6 Montano (1998) 117–24
268.	3 May 1949	Cf. 25	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Cast: Compagnia Piccolo Teatro in Rome, Orazio Costa (Director), Valeria Costa (Scenery and Costumes), Musiche R. Vlad; **Place performed**: Asti	*Cho.*	Montano (1998) 124–9
269.	1950	Bignone, E. (1950), *I Persiani,* Florence.		*Pers.*	Zoboli (2004) 185
270.	1950	Cf. 269	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Guido Salvini (Director), Giorgio Federico Ghedini (Composer), Scenary and customs Giulio Coltellacci, Rosalia Chladek (Choreographer); Cast: Antonio Crast (Xerxes), Sarah Ferretti (Atossa), Vittorio Gassman (messenger), Renzo Ricci (Darius), Roldano Lupi (Choryphaeus); **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre of Syracuse, in Syracuse, Sicily	*Pers.*	APGRD

271.	1950	Scarlata, M. (1950), *Eschilo, Prometeo incatenato*, Catania.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 186
272.	1951	Untersteiner, M. (1951), *Eschilo, L'Orestea. Agamennone, Coefore, Eumenidi*, Milan.		*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	Wartelle (1978) 426
273.	1951	Pontani, F.M. (1951), *Eschilo. I Persiani*, Rome.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 425
274.	22 Sept. 1951	Cortese, L. (1951), *Prometeo*, Milan.	**Medium of production**: Opera (in three acts); **Place performed**: Bergamo, Lombardy	*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 423
275.	1951	Montagna, G. (1951), *Prometeo. Dramma in tre atti*, Milan–Rome.	**Medium of production**: Stage-play	*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 424
276.	1951	Cf. 25	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Compagnia Teatro Italiano D. Torrieri – V. Gassman – E. Zareschi, Vittorio Gassman (Director); **Place performed**: Teatro Valle (Roma)	*Cho.*	APGRD
277.	1952	Cf. 165	**Medium of Production**: Stage-play; **People involved**: Orazio Costa (Director)**; Place performed**: Piccolo Teatro, in Rome, Latium	*Ag.*	APGRD
278.	May 1952	Cf. 27	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Orazio Costa (Director); **Place performed**: Teatro Alfieri, Asti.	*Ag.*	Forno (2019)
279.	1952		**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Cast: Compagnia Universitat Mainz, Wilhelm Leyhausen (Director); **Place performed**: Teatro antico Verona, Veneto	*Ag.*	APGRD
280.	1952	Ricci, D. (1952), *Eschilo, Le Supplici, I Persiani, I Sette contro Tebe, Prometeo legato*, Milan.		*Sept., Supp., PV*	Wartelle (1978) 430
281.	1952	Sacerdoti, N. (1952), *Le Supplici*, Milan.		*Supp.*	Zoboli (2004) 186
282.	1953	Perrotta, G. (1953), *Prometeo incatenato*, in *Tutto il teatro di tutti i tempi*, ed. C. Pavolini, I, Rome, 1–20; then (1954), Bologna. Reprint in 1957.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 186

283.	1953	Cf. 259	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Cast: Compagnia Teatro Ruzante (Unipd); **Place performed**: Teatro Romano Verona, Veneto	*Ag.*	Forno (2019)
284.	1954	Perrotta, G. (1954), *Prometeo incatenato*, Rome.	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Guido Salvini and Luigi Squarzina (Directors), Goffredo Petrassi (Composer), Scenary and costumes Mario Chiari, Mady Obolensky (Choreographer); Cast: Andrea Bosic (Hephaestus), Vittorio Gassman (Prometheus), Giorgio Piazza (Cratus), Anna Proclemer (Io), Mario Scaccia (Hermes), Filippo Scelzo (Oceanus); **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre of Syracuse, in Syracuse, Sicily	*PV*	APGRD
285.	1954	Cf. 284	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Enrico d'Alessandro (Director); **Place performed**: Angelicum Milan, Lombardy	*PV*	APGRD
286.	1954	Traverso, L. (1954), *I Persiani*, Bologna.		*Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 444
287.	1954	Cantarella, R. (1954), *Prometeo incatenato*, Milan.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 439
288.	1954	Cutino, S. (1954), *Prometeo legato*, Milan.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 439
289.	20 Apr. 1956	Cf. 25	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Compagnia Piccolo Teatro della Città di Genova, Enrico Maria Salerno (Director), Eugenio Guglielminetti (Scenery and Costumes); **Place performed**: Teatro Alfieri, Asti	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
290.	1956	Carena, C. (1956), *Eschilo, Le tragedie*, Turin. Reprints in 1966 and 1971.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp. Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 454
291.	1956	Cataudella (1956), *Eschilo Sette contro Tebe*, Florence.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 454
292.	1957	Romagnoli, E (1957), *Il teatro Greco,* Bologna.		*Ag., Cho., Eum., Sept., PV, Supp. Pers.*	Wartelle (1978) 465
293.	28 Apr. 1957	Cf. 25	**Medium of production**: Stage-play; **People involved:** Compagnia Gassman, Vittorio Gassman (Director), Gianni Polidori (Scenery and Costumes); **Place performed**: Teatro Municipale, Reggio Emilia	*Cho.*	Montano (1998) 150
294.	1957	Cf. 25	Cf. 289; **Place performed**: Asti	*Cho.*	Nason (1998) 196

295.	7 May 1957	Cf. 25	Cf. 289; **Place performed**: Teatro Sarah Bernardt, Parigi	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
296.	27 May–2 June 1957	Cf. 25	Cf. 289; **Place performed**: Teatro Carignano, Turin	*Cho.*	Nason (1998) 196–201
297.	29–31 Mar. 1958	Cf. 25	Cf. 293	*Cho.*	Forno (2019)
298.	1958	Scatena, U. (1958), *Prometeo*, Milan.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 471
299.	1958	Pieraccioni, D. (1958), *Le Coefore*, Florence.		*Cho.*	Wartelle (1978) 470
300.	1959	Longo O. (1959), *Prometeo legato e I frammenti della trilogia*, Rome.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 475
301.	1959	Pavese, C. (1959), *I sette contro Tebe*, Turin.		*Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 477
302.	25 Sept. 1959	Cf. 25	**Medium of Production:** Stage-play; **People involved:** Giovanni Cutrufelli (Director), Compagnia del Teatro Mediterraneo, G. Sivieri (Scenery and Costumes); **Place performed**: Teatro Antico, Taormina	*Cho.*	Montano (1998) 150
303.	1960	Cantarella, R. and Musitelli, S. (1960), *Il Prometeo di Eschilo,* Milan.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 479
304.	1960	Carena, C. (1960), *Eschilo, Le supplici, I Persiani, Prometeo incatenato, I sette contro Tebe*, Milan.		*Supp., Pers., PV, Sept.*	Wartelle (1978) 479
305.	1960	Breccia, P. (1960), *«Prometeo legato», saggio critico introduttivo*, Rome.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 187
306.	1960	Monti, S. (1960), *Prometeo incatenato,* Pescara; then (1960), Catania.		*PV*	Zoboli (2004) 187
307.	1960	Talarico, E. (1960), *Prometheus. Commedia in tre atti*, in *Il Dramma* (36 July) 11–34.		*PV*	Wartelle (1978) 484

308.	1960	Pasolini, P.P. (1960), *Orestiade*, Turin.	**Medium of Production:** Stage-play; **People involved:** Vittorio Gassman and Luciano Lucignani (Director), Angelo Musco (Composer), Theo Otto (Scenery and Costumes), Mathilda Beauvoir (Choreographer); Cast: Andrea Bosic (Aegysthus), Valentina Fortunato (Cassandra/Electra/Athena), Vittorio Gassman (Agamemnon/Orestes), Olga Villi (Clytemnestra), Arnaldo Ninchi (Pylades/Apollo), Edda Valente (Pythia) **Place performed**: Ancient Theatre of Syracuse in Syracuse, Sicily	*Ag., Cho., Eum.*	APGRD

***** These are the titles given to choreographic works, not to any published libretto or booklet.

Appendix B

Classical Performances under Fascism (1924-1939)

YEAR	DATE	PLACES	PEOPLE INVOLVED	SCRIPT/TRANSLATION USED	ANCIENT AUTHOR AND WORK	SOURCE
1924	30 April–1, 3, 4, 7, 8,10, 11 May	Ancient Theatre of Syracuse	**Director**: Ettore Romagnoli; **Music**: Giuseppe Mulè; **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Valerie Kratina; **Cast** Fulvio Bernini (Eteocles); Nicolangelo Bruno (Messenger); Ilario Della Noce (Messenger); Maria Laetitia Celli (Antigone); Ester Zeni (Ismene); Maria Conieri Pasquali (Choryphaeus)	Romagnoli, E. (1924), *I Sette a Tebe*, Bologna.	Aesch. *Sept.*	APGRD
			Director: Ettore Romagnoli; **Music**: Giuseppe Mulè; **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Valerie Kratina; **Cast**: Maria Laetitia Celli (Antigone); Ester Zeni (Ismene); Gualtiero Tumiati (Creon); Adelmo Cocco (sentry); Massimo Piamforini (Haemon); Fulvio Bernini (Tiresias); Guido Di Monticelli (messenger); Mignon Cocco (Eurydice); Piero Spegazzini (Choryphaeus)	Romagnoli, E. (1924), *Antigone*, Syracuse.	Soph. *Ant.*	APGRD
1924/1925	Unknown	Foro Diocleziano (Rome)	**Cast**: Teresa Franchini (Phaedra); Gabriellino D'Annunzio (Hippolytus); Gulatiero Tumiati (Theseus)	D'Annunzio, G. (1909), *Fedra. Tragedia*, Milan.	Sen. *Phae.*	Corsi (1939) 34
1927	24 May–8 June	Ostia	See Appendix A: 1924, 1927 (INDA, Syracuse)	See Appendix A: 1924, 1927 (INDA, Syracuse)	Aesch. *Sept.*; Soph. *Ant.*; Ar. *Nub.*	Corsi (1939) 122
		Lycinium (Erba)	Unknown	Morselli, E.L. (1918), *Glauco*, Rome.	Inspired by *Od.*, VI	Corsi (1939) 246
	20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 30 April–1, 4, 5, 7, 8 May	Ancient Theatre of Syracuse	**Director**: Ettore Romagnoli; **Music**: Giuseppe Mulè; **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Valeria Kratina; **Cast:** Desdemona Gardini (Nurse); Giovanni Giacchetti (Tutor); Maria Laetitia Celli (Medea); Fernando Solieri (Jason); Fulvio Bernini (Creon); Massimo Piamforini	Romagnoli, E. (1927), *Medea*, Syracuse; *Il Ciclope*, Syracuse; *Le Nuvole*, Siracusa; *I Satiri alla caccia*, Syracuse.	Eur. *Med*; Eur. *Cyc.*; Ar. *Nub.*; Soph. *Ichn.*	APGRD

			(Aegeus); Oscar Andreani (Messenger); Donatella Gemmò (Choryphea)			
1928	May	Agrigento	**Cast**: Teresa Franchini (Alcestis); Oscar Andriani (Admetus); Karola Zoppegni, Enzo Gainotti, Ennio Cerlesi, Massimo Pianforini, Mario Canossa; Ninì Fabri, Lena Bellocchio, Iolanda Dal Fabbro (members of the Chorus); **Scenery**: Marcello Nizzoli and Luciano Baldassari; **Costumes**: Emma Calderini; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaia	Romagnoli, E. (1913), *Alcesti*, Milan.	Eur. *Alc*.	Corsi (1939) 33-4
			Cast: Teresa Franchini; Oscar Andriani; Karola Zoppegni, Enzo Gainotti, Ennio Cerlesi, Massimo Pianforini, Mario Canossa; Ninì Fabri, Lena Bellocchio, Iolanda Dal Fabbro; **Scenery**: V. Zimelli scenery; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaia	Romagnoli, E. (1928), *Il Mistero di Persefone*, Milan.	Inspired by ancient accounts of religious ceremonies	
	April-May	Taormina	**Director**: Ettore Romagnoli; **Cast**: Gualtiero Tumiati (Julius Caesar); Pietro Carnabuci (Brutus); Enzo Gainotti (Ciciero); Bernini (Cato); **Choreography**: Ileana Leonidof; **Music**: Giuseppe Mulè; **Scenery**: Duilio Cambellotti	Corradini, E. (1902), *Giulio Cesare. Dramma in cinque atti*, Rome.	Inspired by the historical figure of Julius Caesar	Corsi (1939) 132-4
			Director: Ettore Romagnoli; **Cast**: Gualtiero Tumiati; Pietro Carnabuci; Enzo Gainotti; Bernini; **Choreography**: Ileana Leonidof; **Music**: Giuseppe Mulè; **Scenery**: Duilio Cambellotti	Romagnoli, E. (1928), *Il Capitano Spaccone*, Messina.	Plaut. *Mil*.	
1929	10, 19, 26 May	Baths of Caracalla	**Director**: Gualtiero Tumiati; **Cast**: Gualtiero Tumiati; Giovanna Scotto (Electra); Olga Vittoria Gentili (Clytemnestra); Aldo Silvani (Pylades); Loris Gizzi (Aegisthus)	Alfieri, V. (1783), *Oreste*, Siena.	Aesch. *Cho*.	Maccari (2006/7) 122
	4 July	Piazzale del Pincio (Rome) and in tournée in the centre and south of Italy on the Thespian Cars	**Cast**: Giotto Tempestini (Orestes); Emilia Varini (Clytemnestra); Giovanna Scotto (Electra); Aldo Silvani (Aegisthus); Carlo Tamberlani (Pylades)			Ibid.
	1 September	Public gardens in Asti	**Cast**: Umberto Mozzato (Orestes); Enrichetta Conforti (Clytemnestra); Olga Solbelli (Electra); Gero Zambuto (Aegisthus); Fernando Solieri (Pylades)			
	September	Lycinium (Erba)	**Cast**: Teresa Franchini (Alcestis); Oscar Andriani (Admetus); Karola Zoppegni, Enzo Gainotti, Ennio Cerlesi, Massimo Pianforini, Mario Canossa; Ninì Fabri, Lena Bellocchio, Iolanda Dal Fabbro (members of the Chorus); **Scenery**: Marcello Nizzoli and Luciano Baldassari; **Costumes**: Emma Calderini; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaia	Romagnoli (1913)	Eur. *Alc*.	Corsi (1939) 246-8
			Cast: Teresa Franchini; Oscar Andriani; Karola Zoppegni, Enzo Gainotti, Ennio Cerlesi, Massimo Pianforini, Mario Canossa; Ninì Fabri, Lena	Romagnoli (1928)	Inspired by ancient notices on religious ceremonies	Ibid.

			Bellocchio, Iolanda Dal Fabbro; **Scenery**: V. Zimelli; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaia			
	May	Paestum	**Music**: Ildebrando Pizzetti, Giuseppe Mulè, Arthur Honegger	Bignone, E. (1924), *Gli Idilli di Teocrito*, Palermo.	Theoc. *Id.* 2, 27	Corsi (1939) 188
				Pace, B. (1932), *Mimo e attor mimico: con saggio di interpretazione di Eronda*, Syracuse.	Herondas, *Mime* 7	
	Summer	Pola (Arena)	**Cast**: Emma Gramatica's theatre company (first actor: Memo Benassi)	D'Annunzio, G. (1898), *La Città Morta*), Milan.	Aesch. *Ag.*	Corsi (1939) 169
1930	20 April–10 May	Ancient Theatre of Syracuse	**Music**: Ildebrando Pizzetti; **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaja; **Cast**: Emilio Petacci (Watchman); Evelina Paoli (Clytemnestra); Giulio Oppi (Messenger); Corrado Racca (Agamemnon); Giovanna Scotto (Cassandra); Giovanni Giacchetti (Aegisthus)	Marchioni, A. (1930), *Agamennone,* Syracuse.	Aesch. *Ag.*	APGRD
	26 April–11 May	Ancient Theatre of Syracuse	**Music**: Giuseppe Mulè **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaja; **Cast**: Evelina Paoli (Clytemnestra); Alfredo Robert (Messenger); Corrado Racca (Agamemnon); Emilio Petacci (Attendant); Giovanni Giacchetti (Menelaus); Giovanna Scotto (Iphigenia); Giulio Oppi (Achilles)	Garavani, G. (1930), *Ifigenia in Aulide*, Syracuse.	Eur. *IA*	APGRD
1933	April	Taormina	Same as May 1929	Bignone (1924)	Theoc. *Idyll* 27; Pind. (unknown work);	Corsi (1939) 134
			Main organizer: INDA; **Choreography**: classical dances from the INDA productions of the two ancient plays (1921, 1927; INDA, Syracuse)	Uknown	Eur. *IT*; Aesch. *Cho.*	
	26 April–11 May	Ancient Theatre of Syracuse	**Music**: Giuseppe Mulè **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaja; **Cast:** Maria Melato (Iphigenia); Mario Bernari (Orestes); Giorgio Piemonti (Pylades); Gianni Pietrasanta (herdsman); Guido Verdiani (Thoas); Annibale Ninchi (Messenger); Franca Taylor (Athena); Elisa Magni Magri (Choryphaeus)	Cesareo, G. A. (1933), *Ifigenia in Tauride*, Syracuse.	Eur. *IT*	APGRD
			Music: Giuseppe Mulè **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaja; **Cast:** Maria Melato (Deianeira); Celeste Almieri (Nurse); Mario Bernardi (Hyllus); Gianni Pietrasanta (Lichas); Annibale Ninchi (Heracles); Guido Verdiani (Old Man); Elisa Magni Magri (Choryphaeus)	Bignone, E. (1933), *Trachinie*, Syracuse.	Soph. *Trach.*	APGRD
1935	27 April–4 May	Taormina	**Main organizer:** INDA; **Director**: Franco Liberati; **Cast**: Giovanna Scotto, Valerio Degli Abbati; **Choreography**: Jia Ruskaia's students; **Music**: Beethoven, Grieg, Debussy, Giuseppe Mulè, Turina, Ildebrando Pizzetti, Musella			Corsi (1939) 134

	Summer	Lycinium (Erba)	**Director**: Nando Tamberlani; **Music**: maestro Pedrollo	Romagnoli, E. (1929), *Ifigenia in Aulide*, Bologna.	Eur. *IA*	Corsi (1939) 252
			Choreography: from the INDA production of the play by Jia Ruskaia (Appendix A: 1930, INDA Syracuse); **Music**: Giuseppe Mulè	*Il sacrificio di Ifigenia* (Dance)	Eur. *IA*	
			Choreography: Jia Ruskaia; **Music**: Turina	*Nausicaa e l'onda* (Dance)	Hom. *Od.*	
	13, 14, 15 July	Lycinium (Erba)	**Cast**: Oscar Andriani (Orestes); Lina Paoli (Clytemnestra); Landa Galli (Elettra); Amedeo Nazzari (Aegisthus); Carlo Ninchi (Pylades)	Alfieri (1783)		Maccari (2006/7) 123
	August	Castle Querce in Asolo	**Director**: Guido Salvini; **Cast**: Emma Gramatica, Memo Benassi, Ida Gasperini, Giulio Stival, Ada Giardini	D'Annunzio (1898)		Corsi (1939) 258-9
1936	June	Paestum	Unknown	Bignone (1924)	Theoc. *Id.* 1, 2, 18, 27	Corsi (1939) 189-90
			Choreography: Jia Ruskaia	*Le Panatenaiche* (Dance)	Inspired by notices around the *Panathenaic Games*	
	Summer	Lycinium (Erba)	Unknown	Alfieri (1783)	Aesch. *Cho.*	Corsi (1939) 253
	22 April–7 May	Ancient Theatre of Syracuse	**Music**: Giuseppe Mulè; **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Rosalia Chladek; **Cast**: Annibale Ninchi (Hippolytus); Ciro Galvani (Attendant); Giovanna Scotto (Phaedra); Amina Pirani Maggi (Nurse); Gualtiero Tumiati (Theseus); Oscar Andreani (Messenger); Emma Baroni (Artemis); Vanda Bernini, Ada Giacchetti (Chorypahei)	Cesareo, G. A. (1936), *Ippolito*, Syracuse.	Eur. *Hipp.*	APGRD
			Music: Ildebrando Pizzetti; **Scenery and Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Rosalia Chladek; **Cast**: Annibale Ninchi (Oedipus); Vanda Bernini (Antigone); Ciro Galvani (man from Colonus); Emma Baroni (Ismene) Amedeo Nazzari (Theseus); Achille Maieroni (Creon); Giovanni Giacchetti (Polynices); Oscar Andreani (Messenger); Ciro Galvani, Alfredo Robert (Chorypahei)	Bignone, E. (1936), *Edipo a Colono*, Syracuse.	Soph. *OC*	APGRD
1937	April	Taormina Tempio della Concordia (Agrigento)	**Cast**: Annibale Ninchi (Polyphemus); Mario Gallina (Sylenus); Giulio Tempesti, Giovanni Giachetti, Federico Ninchi; **Scenery**: Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Tusnelda Risso	Della Valle, E. (1933), *Il Ciclope d'Euripide*, Bari.	Eur. *Cyc.*	Corsi (1939) 135-7
	19 March	Sabratha (Lybia)	**Music**: by Andrea Gabriele from the 1585 production of *OT*, copied and directed by Ferdinando Liuzzi; **Director**: Renato Simoni and Guido Salvini; **Cast**: Annibale Ninchi (Oedipus); Gualtiero Tumiati (Tiresias); Corrado Racca (Priest); Carlo Ninchi (Creon); Enzo Biliotti (Laius' servant); Carlo Lombardi (messenger from Corinth); Edoardo Toniolo (messenger of the palace)	Romagnoli, E. (1918), *Edipo Re di Sofocle*, Bologna.	Soph. *OT*	Corsi (1939) 180-2

	August	Baths of Caracalla	**Director**: Ferando de Crucciati (organized by the OND)	Romagnoli (1928)	Plaut. *Mil.*	Corsi (1939) 43
1938	3–12 June	Ostia	**Music**: Ezio Carabella and Gian Lucia Tocchi; Dancse: Tusnelda Risso; **Scenery**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Cast**: Luigi Almirante (Menaechmus); Mario Gallina, Gemma Bolognesi, Edda Soligo, Pierino Rosa, Amina Pirani-Maggi, Carlo Cecchi, Enrico Vagliani, Massimo Masserano	Chiarelli, L. (1938) *L'Aulularia*, Naples; (1938), *I Menecmi*, Naples.	Plaut. *Aul.* and *Men.*	Corsi (1939) 123-5
	April-May	Paestum	**Choreography**: Rosalia Chladeck	Bignone (1924)	Theoc. *Idyll,* 7, 27	
				Mistero dionisiaco (passages from the *Bacchae*)	Eur. *Bacch.*	Corsi (1939) 191-2
	May	Sabratha (Lybia)	**Director**: Guido Salvini; **Cast**: Laura Adani (main actress); **Music**: maestro Ghedini	Faggella, M. (1938), *Ifigenia in Tauride di Euripide*, Tripoli.	Eur. *IT*	Corsi (1939) 182-3, 253
	July	Licinium (Erba)	**Director**: Guido Salvini; **Cast**: Laura Adani (main actress); **Music**: maestro Ghedini	Faggella (1938)	Eur. *IT*	Corsi (1939) 255-6
	Summer 1938	Licinium (Erba)	**Director**: Alberto Airoldi	Alfieri (1783)	Aesch. *Cho.*	Corsi (1939) 253
1939	26 April–14 May	Ancient Theatre of Syracuse	**Music**: Riccardo Zandonai; **Scenery**: Pietro Aschieri; **Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Rosalia Chladek; **Cast**: Giovanna Scotto (Athena); Carlo Ninchi (Odysseus); Annibale Ninchi (Ajax); Giovanna Scotto (Tecmessa); Aroldo Tieri (Messenger); Gino Cervi(Teucer); Paolo Stoppa (Menelaus); Ernesto Sabatini (Agamemnon); Mario Pisu (Choryphaeus)	Bignone, E. (1939), *Aiace*, Syracuse.	Soph. *Ajax*	APGRD
			Music: Gianfrancesco Malipiero; **Scenery**: Pietro Aschieri; **Costumes**: Duilio Cambellotti; **Choreography**: Rosalia Chladek; **Cast**: Aroldo Tieri (Ghost of Polydorus); Giovanna Scotto (Hecuba); Rina Morelli (Polyxena); Paolo Stoppa (Odysseus); Carlo Ninchi (Talthybius); Ernesto Sabatini (Agamemnon); Annibale Ninchi (Polymestor); Rosa Pavesi Ninchi (Choryphaeus)	Faggella, M. (1939), *Ecuba,* Syracuse.	Eur. *Hec.*	APGRD

Appendix C

Photos from Productions

Introduction

Fig. 1 – Clytemnestra on the bed, Orestes and Pylades at Agamemnon's tomb and the butchered goat hanging from the ceiling at the beginning of *Choephoroe*[1]



[1] Henceforward: Digitalised by the Project ARCH: Archival Research and Cultural Heritage: The Theatre Archive of Socìetas Raffaello Sanzio.

Fig. 2 – The king Agamemnon



.

Fig. 3 – Apollo



Fig. 4 – The Coryphaeus/Rabbit and the rabbits/Chorus



Chapter 4

Fig. 1 – The static Chorus around the *thyméle*, Clytemnestra/Teresa Mariani and Aegisthus/Giulio Tempesti on the staircase[977]



[977] Henceforward, all photos are from AFI Archivio Fondazione INDA Siracusa. www.indafondazione.org.

Fig. 8 – The extras posing as the people of Argos



Fig. 2 – The funeral procession at the end of the tragedy



Fig. 3 – The Chorus of the Elders



Fig. 4 – Clytemnestra/Teresa Mariani's maidens



Fig. 5, 6, 7 – The costumes as drawn by Duilio Cambellotti (5) and on stage (6, 7)







Fig. 8 – Leopoldo Metlicovitz's manifesto for the 1914 performance



Fig. 9 – Orestes centre-stage, the Chorus and the people of Argos on the sides at the end of the performance



Fig. 10 – Duilio Cambellotti's plastic model for *Choephoroi*



Fig. 14 – The Chorus' initial procession to the altars



Fig. 12 – Duilio Cambellotti's sketch of Electra and the Chorus' initial procession



Fig. 13 (a) – A Krater depicting a horse, a Geometric style ceramic from the Fusco Necropolis near Syracuse (Museo Archeologico Regionale 'Paolo Orsi' (Archaeological Museum) – from https://media.gettyimages.com/photos/krater-depicting-a-horse-geometric-style-ceramics-from-the-fusco-picture-id143051836; (b) A pearshaped aryballoi from Fusco Necropolis near Syracuse – from https://media.gettyimages.com/photos/pearshaped-aryballoi-from-fusco-necropolis-syracuse-sicily-italy-picture-id475592477?s=612x612



Fig. 14 – Duilio Cambellotti's poster



Fig. 15 – The recognition scene

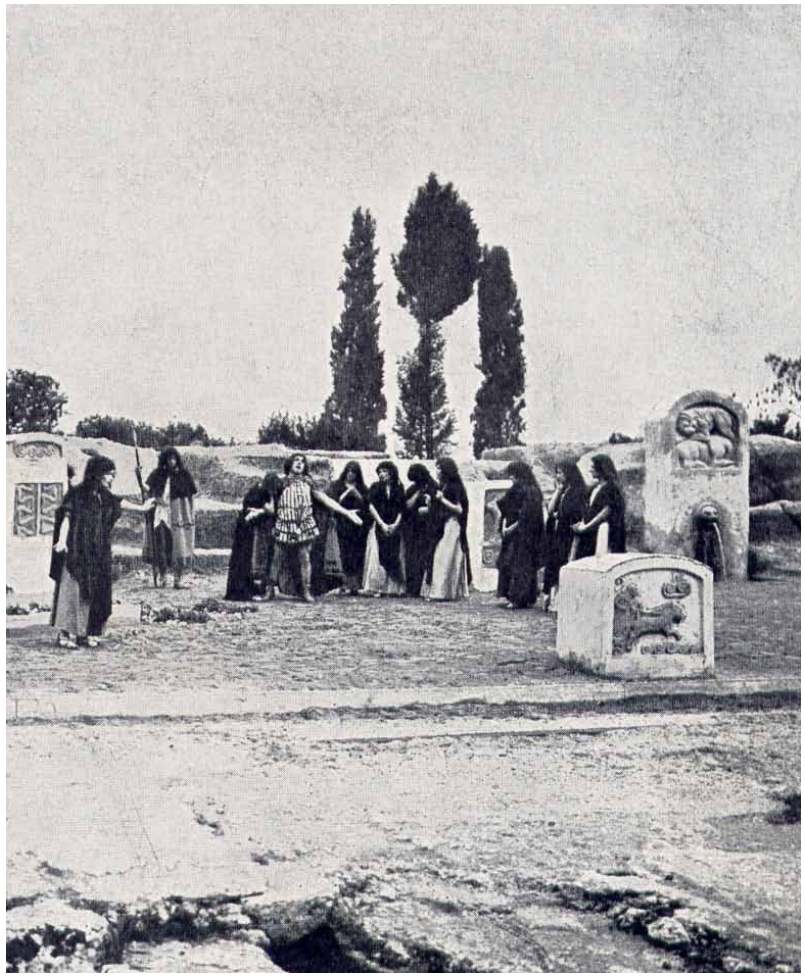


Fig. 1 – Duilio Cambellotti's scale model for the 1924 scenery



Fig. 2 – A photo of the scenery published in a newspaper article

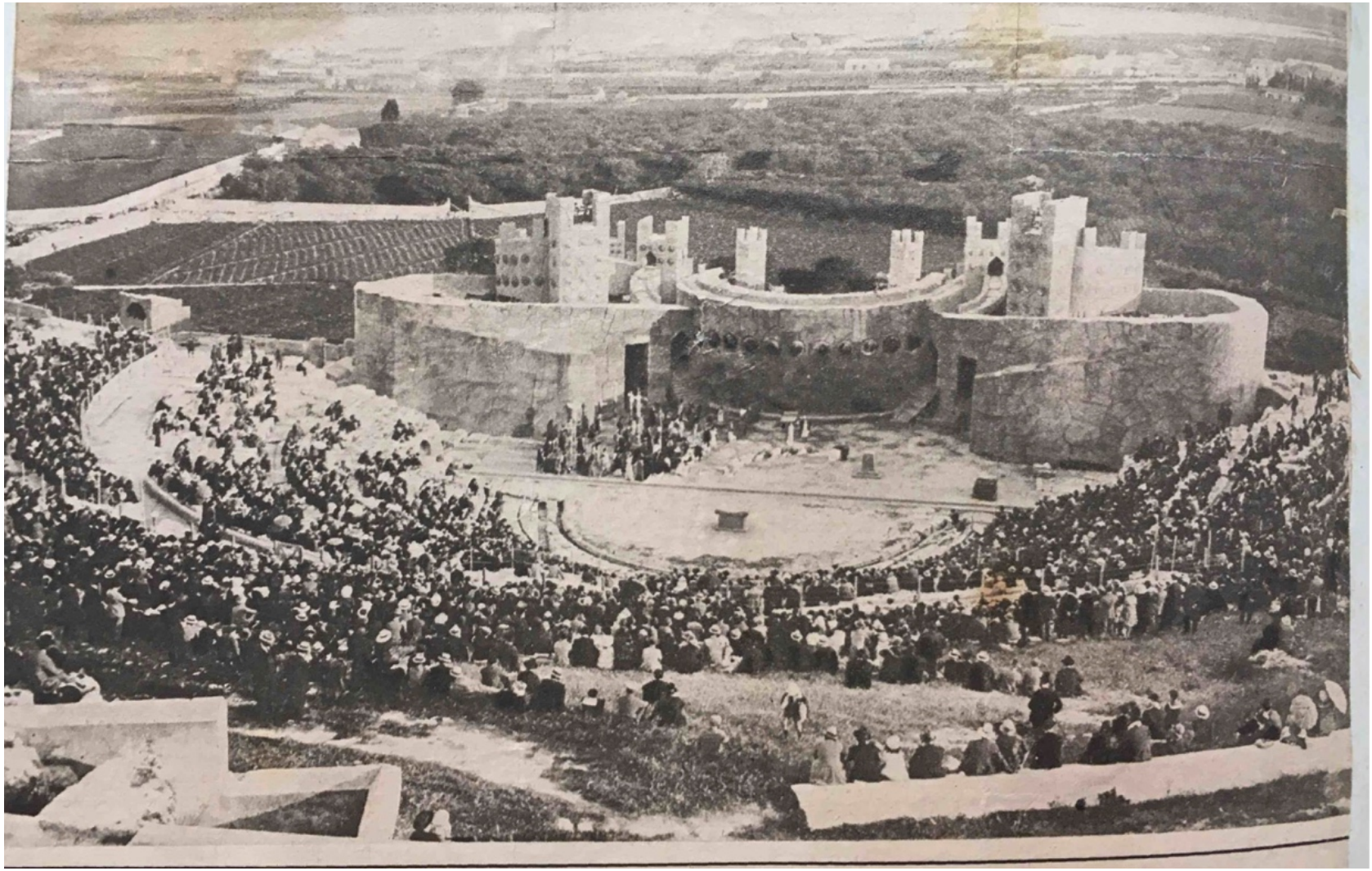


Fig. 3 – Eteocles/Fulvio Bernini gathers his subjects at the beginning of the tragedy

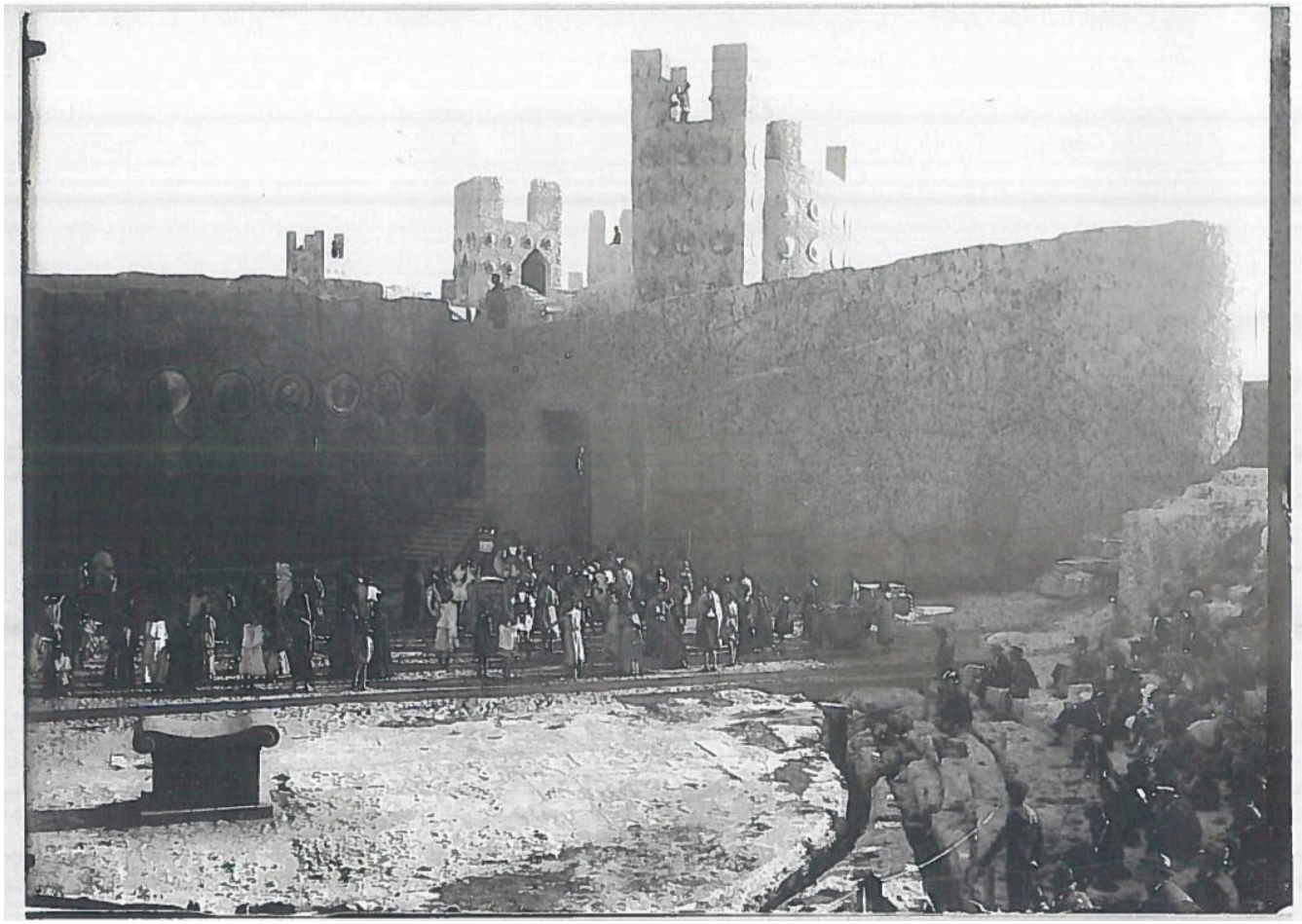


Fig. 4 – The 400 extras possibly at the messenger/Ilario Della Noce's arrival

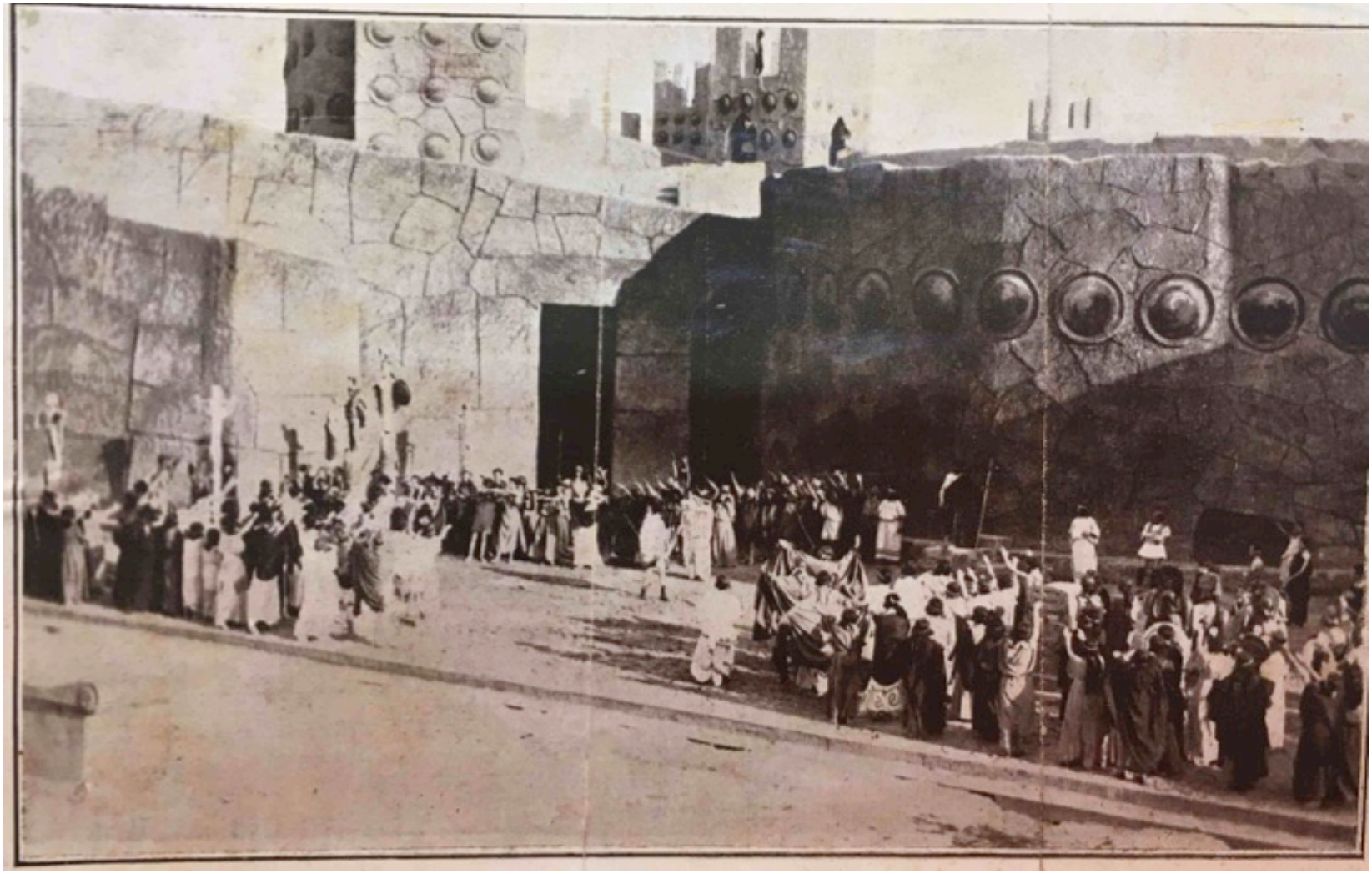


Fig. 5 – The movement of soldiers and citizens of Argos



Fig. 6 – The Chorus' dances and prayers at the altar and besides the statues

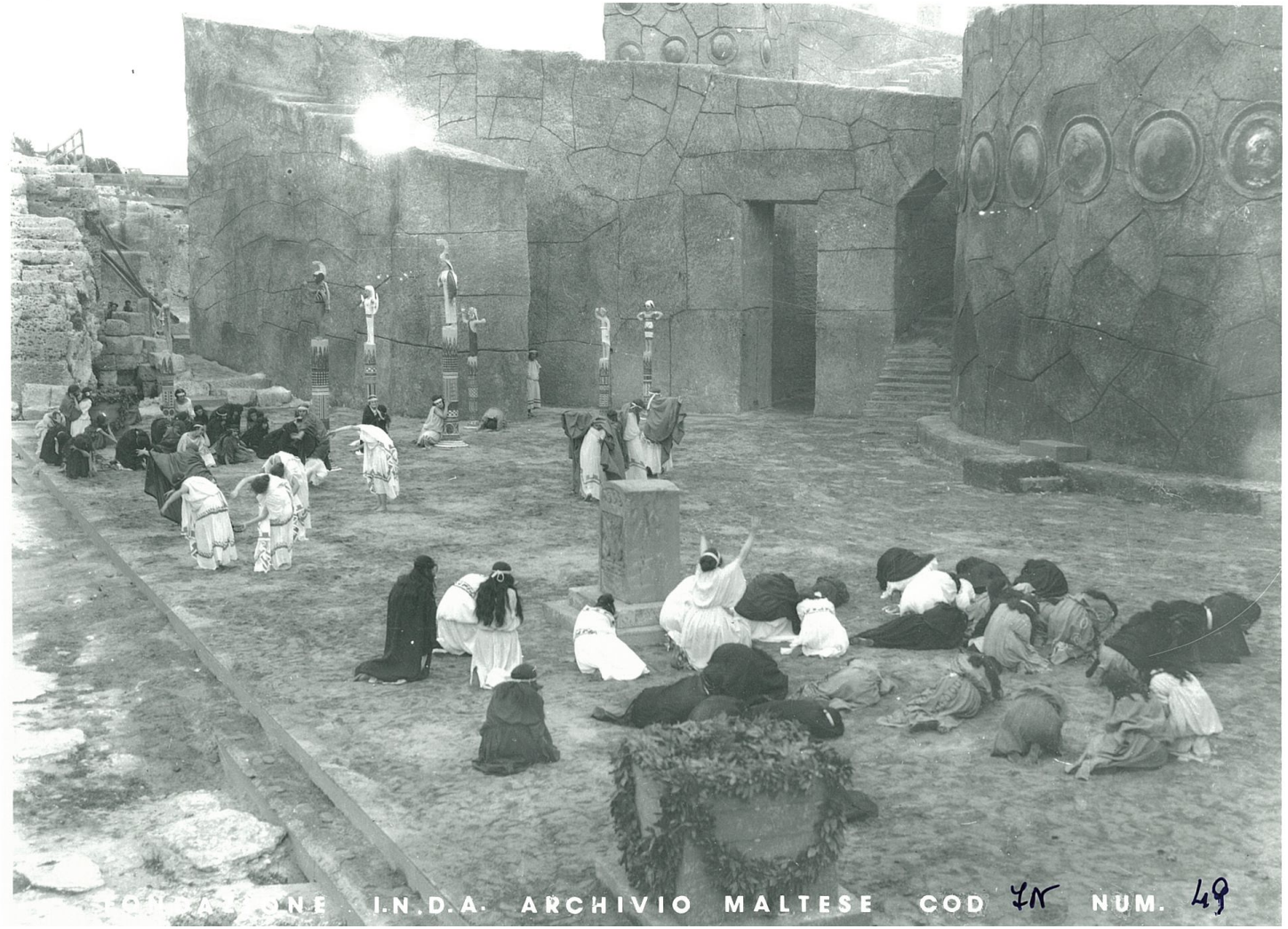


Fig. 7 – The Chorus' dancing exodus at the end of the performance



Fig. 8 – Antigone/Letizia Celli and the funeral dance after her brothers' death



Fig. 9 – Duilio Cambellotti's sketches for the costumes for the messenger and the herald

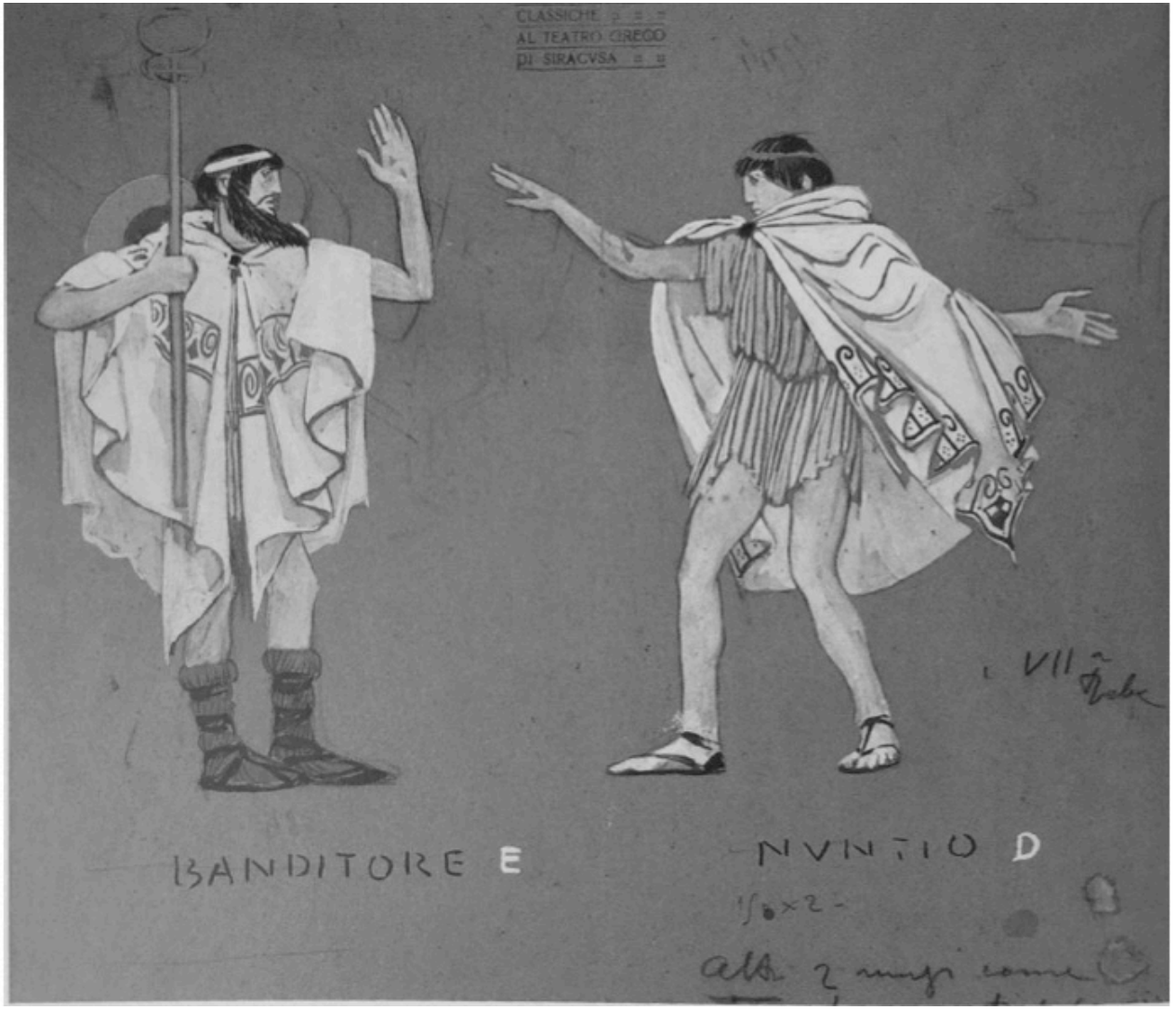


Fig. 10 – The soldiers bring Polynices/unknown and Eteocles/Fulvio Bernini's dead corpses on stage



Fig. 11 – The Chorus' funeral dance



Fig. 12 – The so-called ‘shield scene’



Fig. 13 – Benito Mussolini at the Roman theatre of Sabratha (Lybia) for a performance of *Oedipus Rex* by INDA (1937)



Fig. 14, 15 – Duilio Cambellotti's scale model for the 1930 scenery





Fig. 16 – Cambellotti before the 1930 scenery

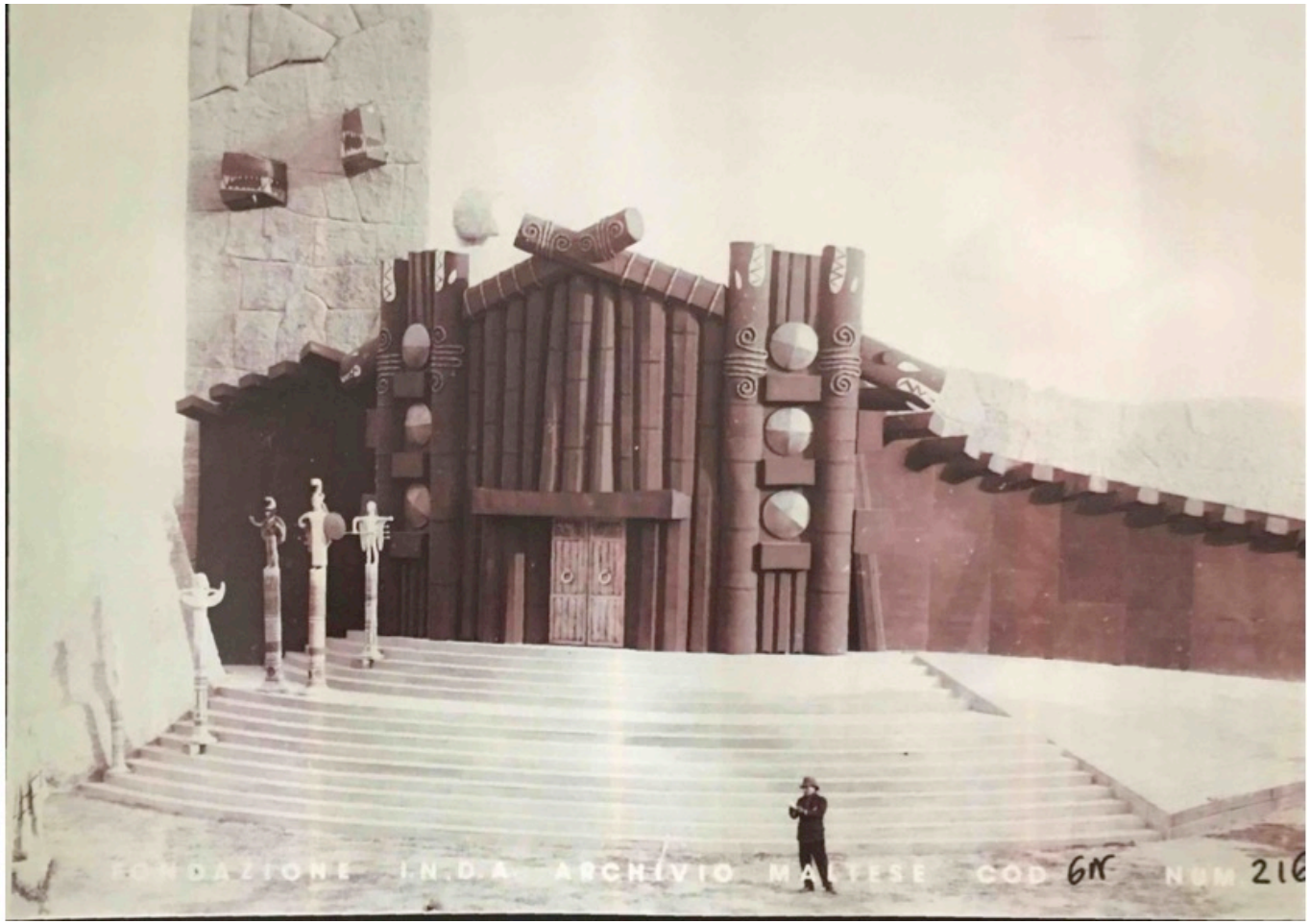


Fig. 17 – The messenger/Giulio Oppi's speech



Fig. 18 – Cassandra/Giovanna Scotto's prophecies

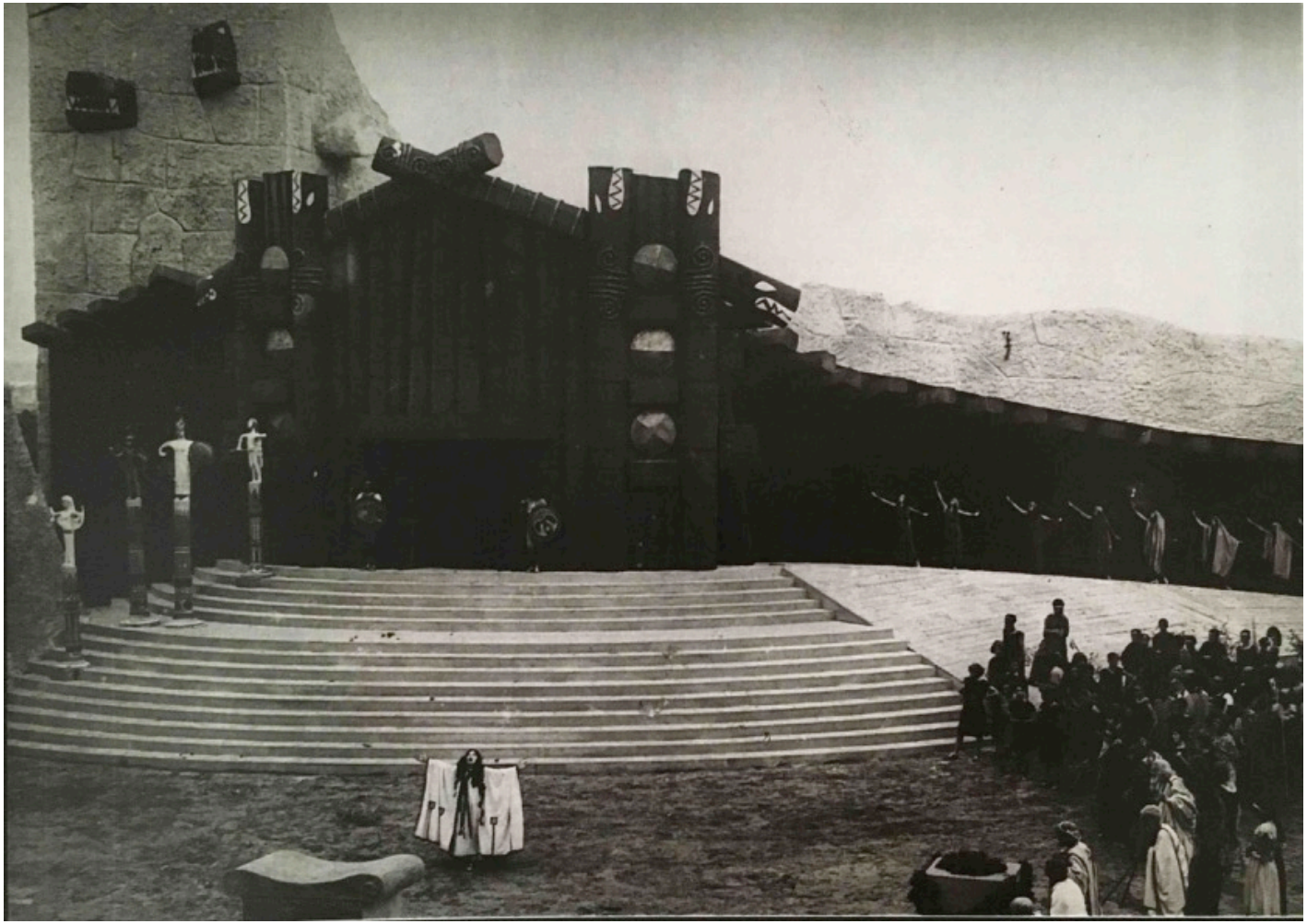


Fig. 19 – Cassandra/Giovanna Scotto's prophecies and the Chorus on the left

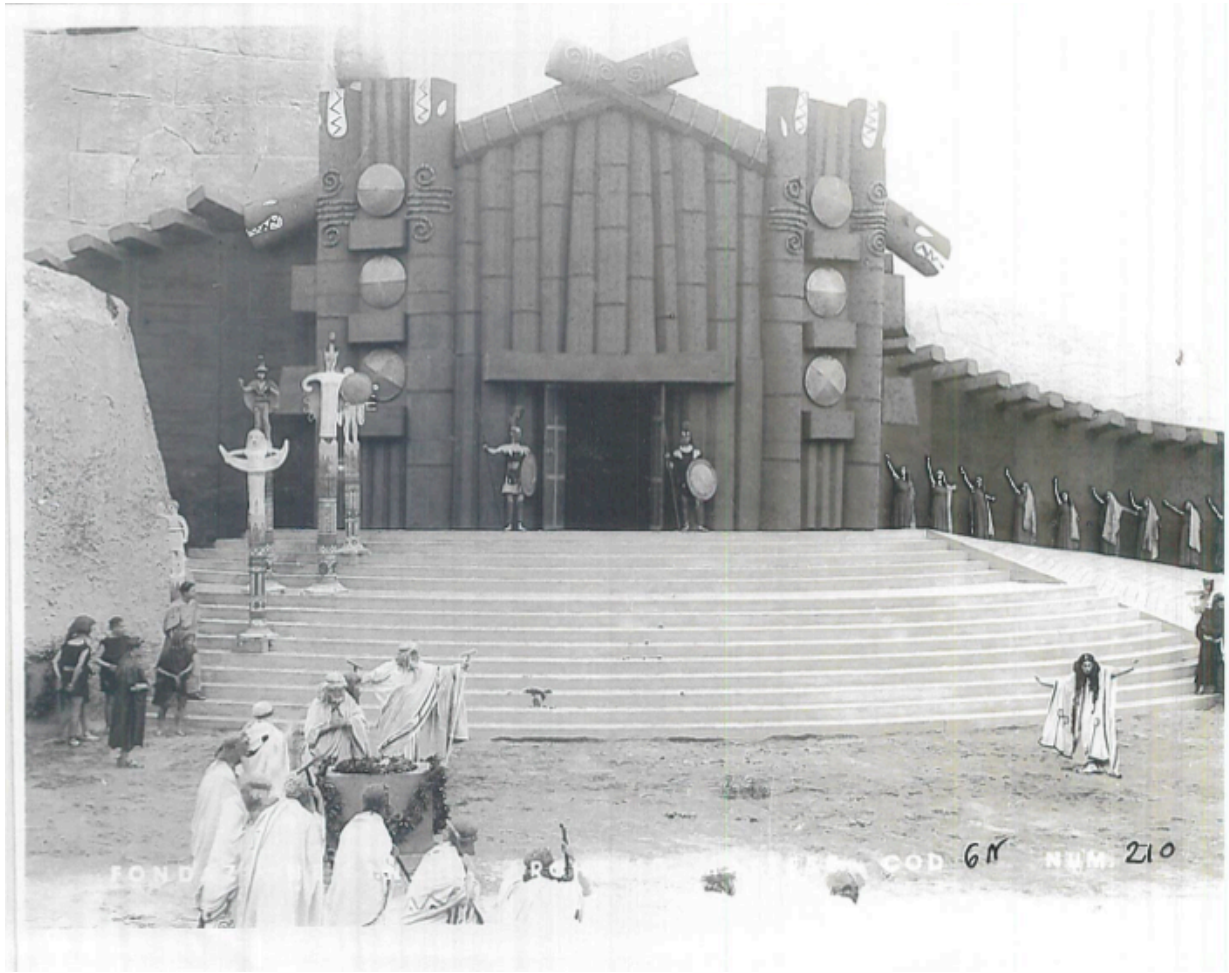


Fig. 21 – The Chorus' dance with laurel rings



Fig. 20 – The Chorus unroll the red carpets

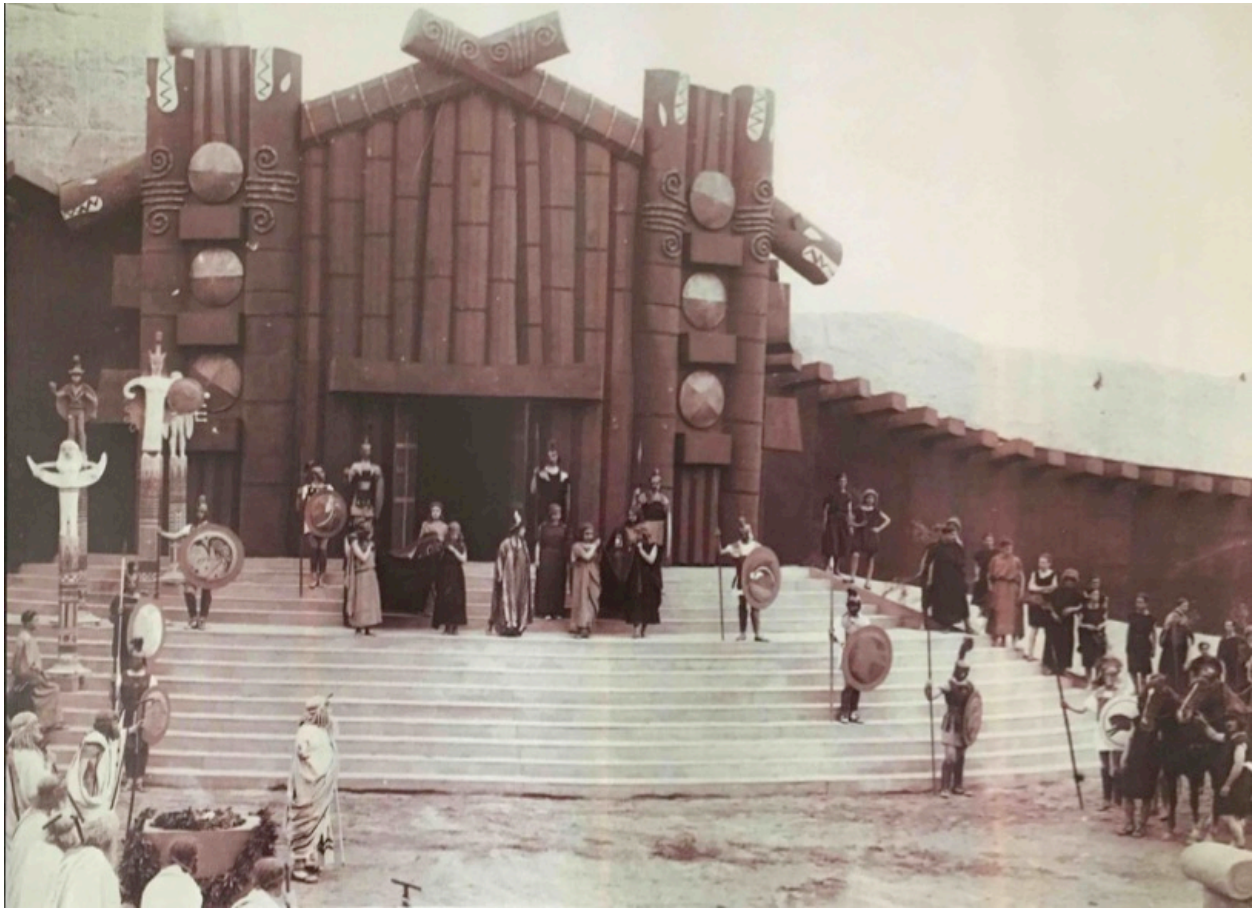


Fig. 22 – Clytemnestra/(Evelina Paoli holds an axe, Agamemnon/Corrado Racca's and Cassandra/Giovanna Scotto's corpses lie beside her



Chapter 6

Fig. 1 – The two coryphaei (Achille Majeroni in the foreground, Ubaldo Stefani in the background)

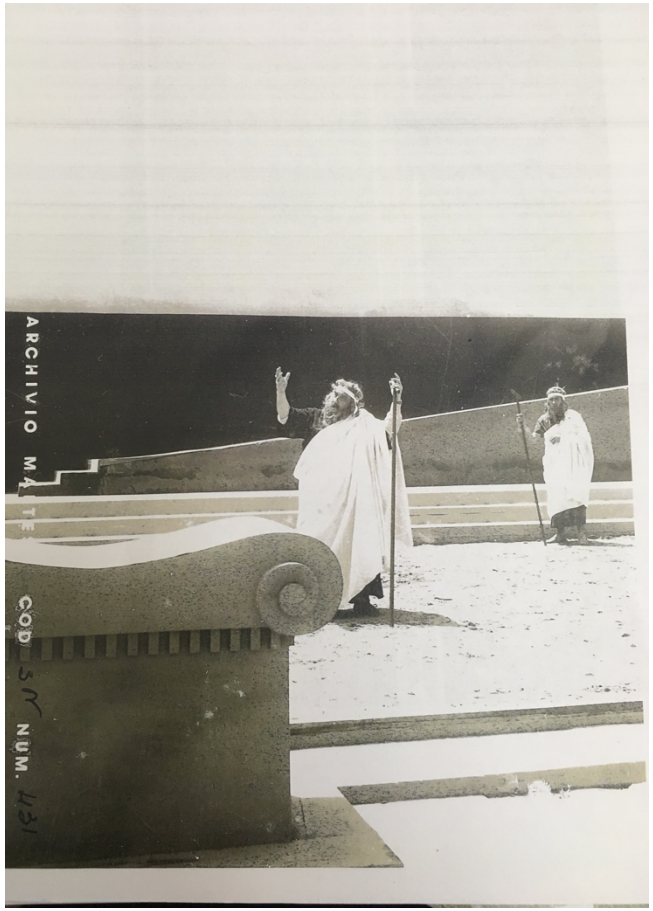


Fig. 2 – The parodos and the Choryphaea/Anna Proclemer in the foreground



Fig. 3 – The thirteen ballerinas in *Choephoroi*



Fig. 4 – The decorative Chorus in the background at Agamemnon/Mario Besesti's arrival



Fig. 5 – The Coryphaeus, Clytemnestra/Giovanna Scotto and Aegisthus/Franco Mauri at the end of the tragedy



Fig. 6 – Clytemnestra's maidens unroll the red carpets and Agamemnon/Mario Besesti enters the palace

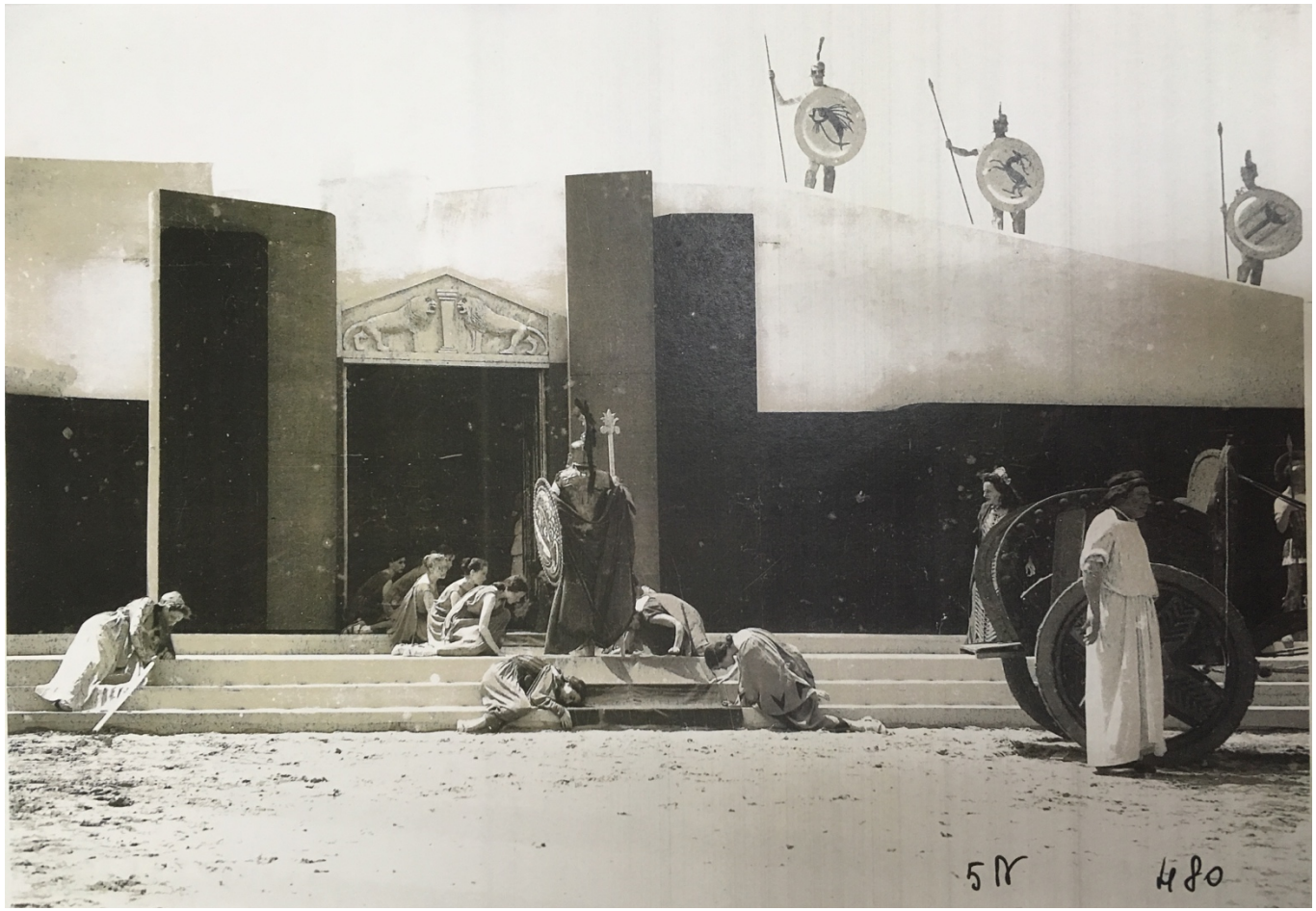


Fig. 7 – The Chorus' arrival on stage



Fig. 8 – The Chorus' rhythmic evolutions at 152ff.



Fig. 9



Fig. 10 – The dancing intermezzo instead of the first stasimon



Fig. 11



Fig. 12 – The lower part of the stage in Duilio Cambellotti's scale model

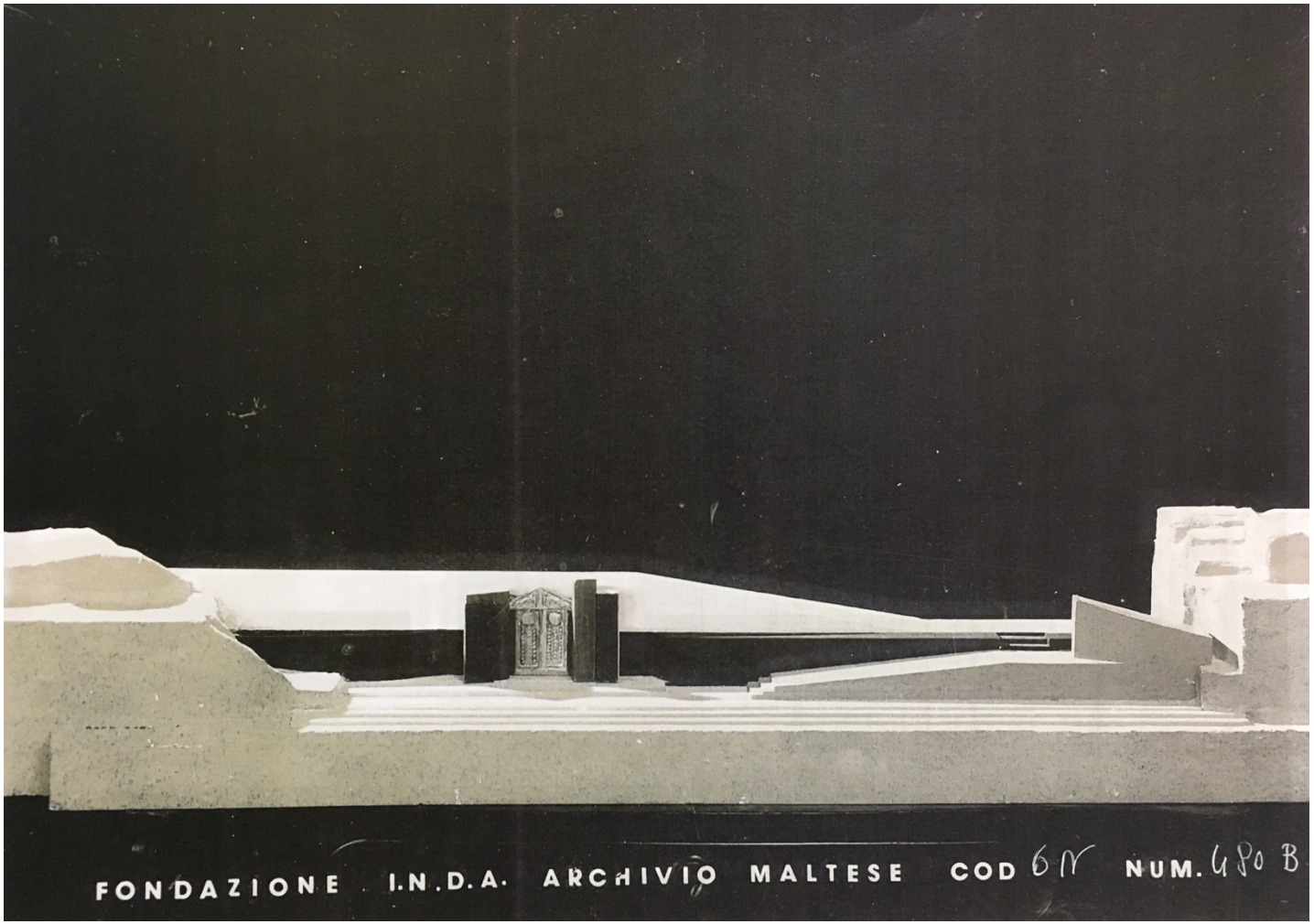


Fig. 13 – The upper part of the stage in Duilio Cambellotti's scale model

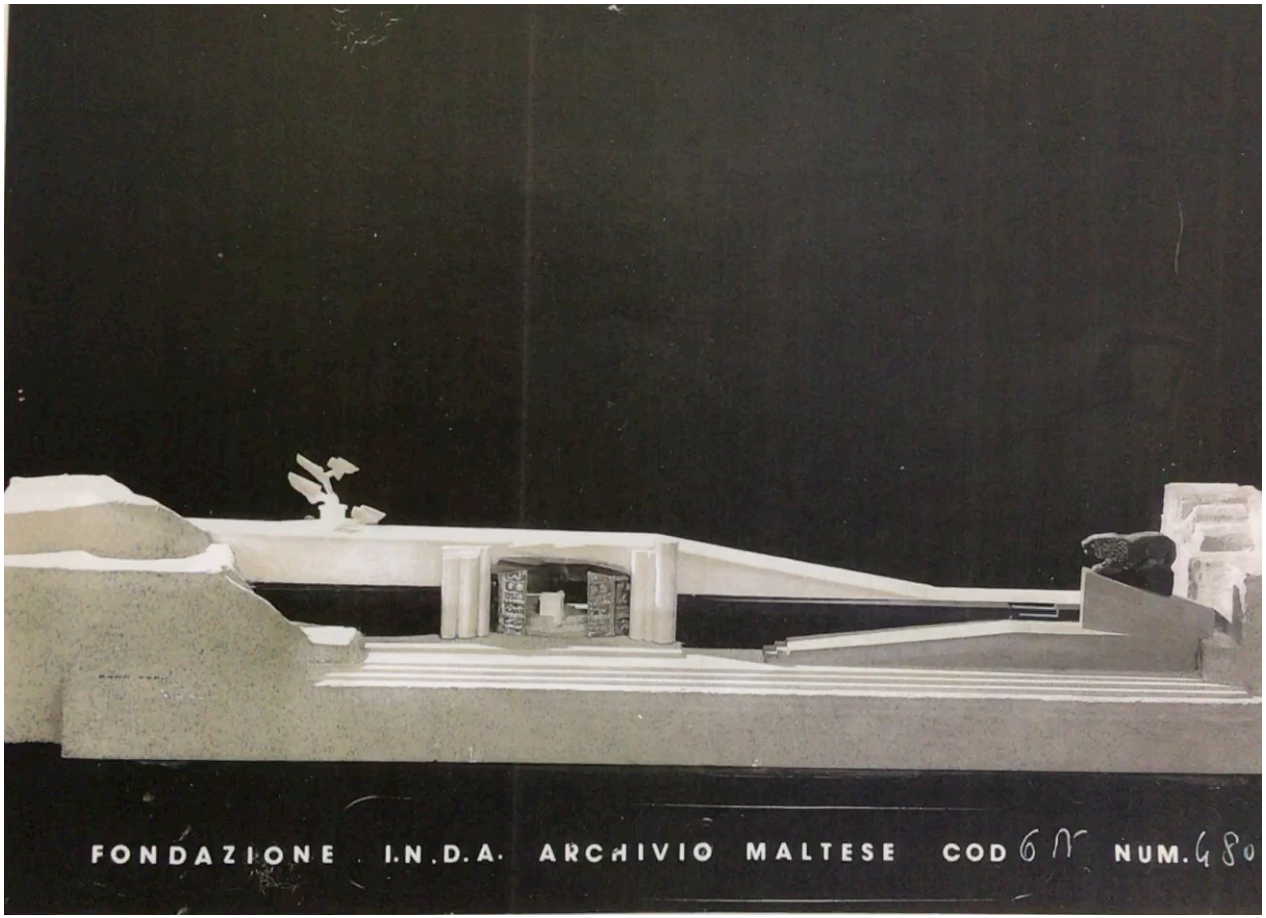


Fig. 14 – The Furies centre-stage and Apollo/Valerio Degli Abbati beside Athena's temple



Fig. 15 – The extras posing as citizens on the right



Chapter 7

Fig. 1 – The great public celebration after Orestes/Vittorio Gassman's trial



Fig. 2 – Clytemnestra/Olga Villi after Aegisthus/Andrea Bosic's death, Orestes and Pylades/Arnaldo Ninchi behind her and the people of Argos dressed as bandits on the right



Fig. 3 – Orestes/Vittorio Gassman approaches Clytemnestra/Olga Villi to kill her, the people of Argos on the right, the Chorus in the front

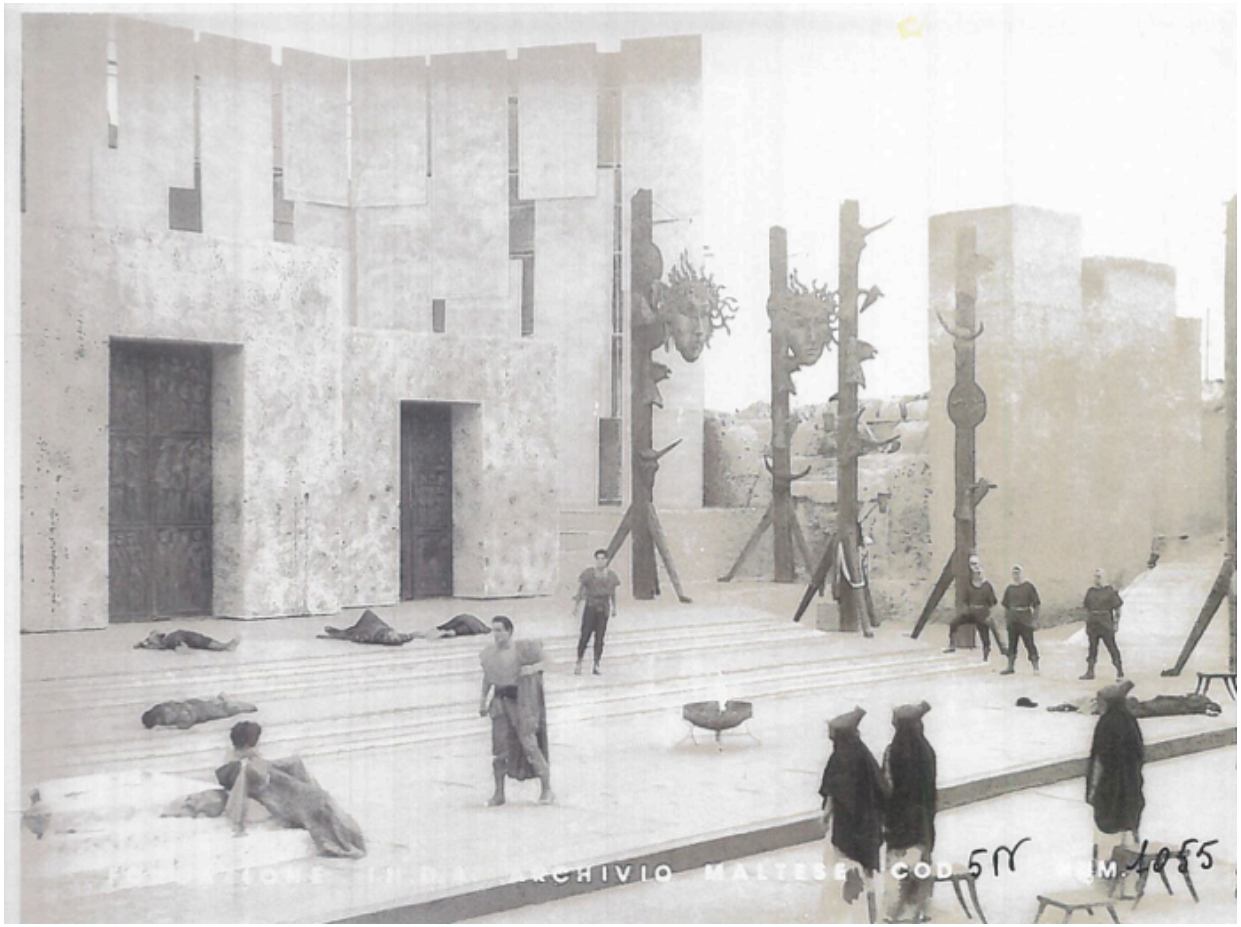


Fig. 4 – Orestes/Vittorio Gassman's resolution and the Chorus', the people's covering their eyes



Fig. 5 – The Coryphaeus shouts at Clytemnestra/Olga Villi after she reveals she has killed the king



Fig. 6 – Orestes/Vittorio Gassman and Electra/Valentina Fortunato with the Chorus after the recognition scene



Fig. 7 – Orestes/Vittorio Gassman's and Electra/Valentina Fortuanto's prayers



Fig. 8 – Orestes/Vittorio Gassman with the Chorus, holding Electra/Valentina Fortunato's hand



Fig. 9 – Agamemnon/Vittorio Gassman centre-stage, a soldier bent over a wounded companion



Fig. 10 – The luxurious red carpets laid out on the double staircase

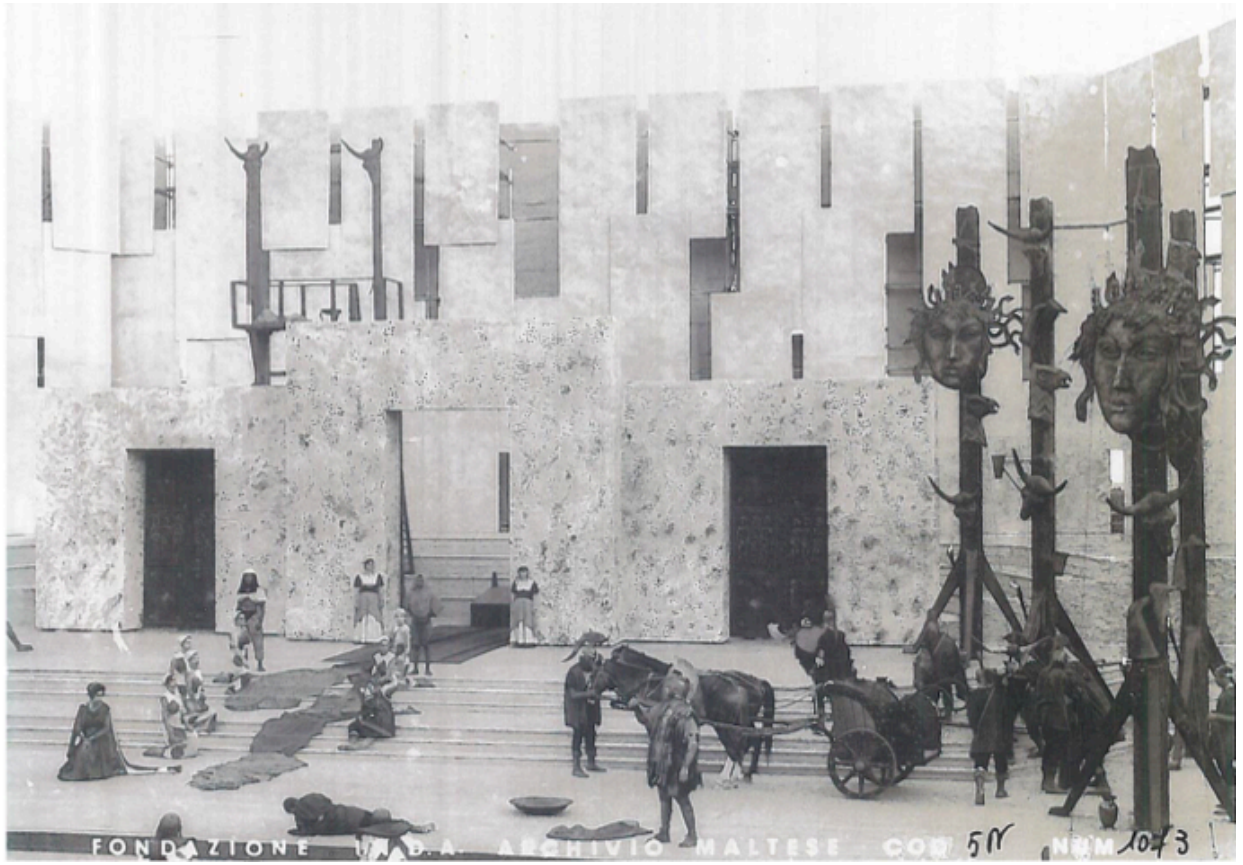


Fig. 11 – The rounded Medusa-faced bronze masks on the left, the palace centre-stage

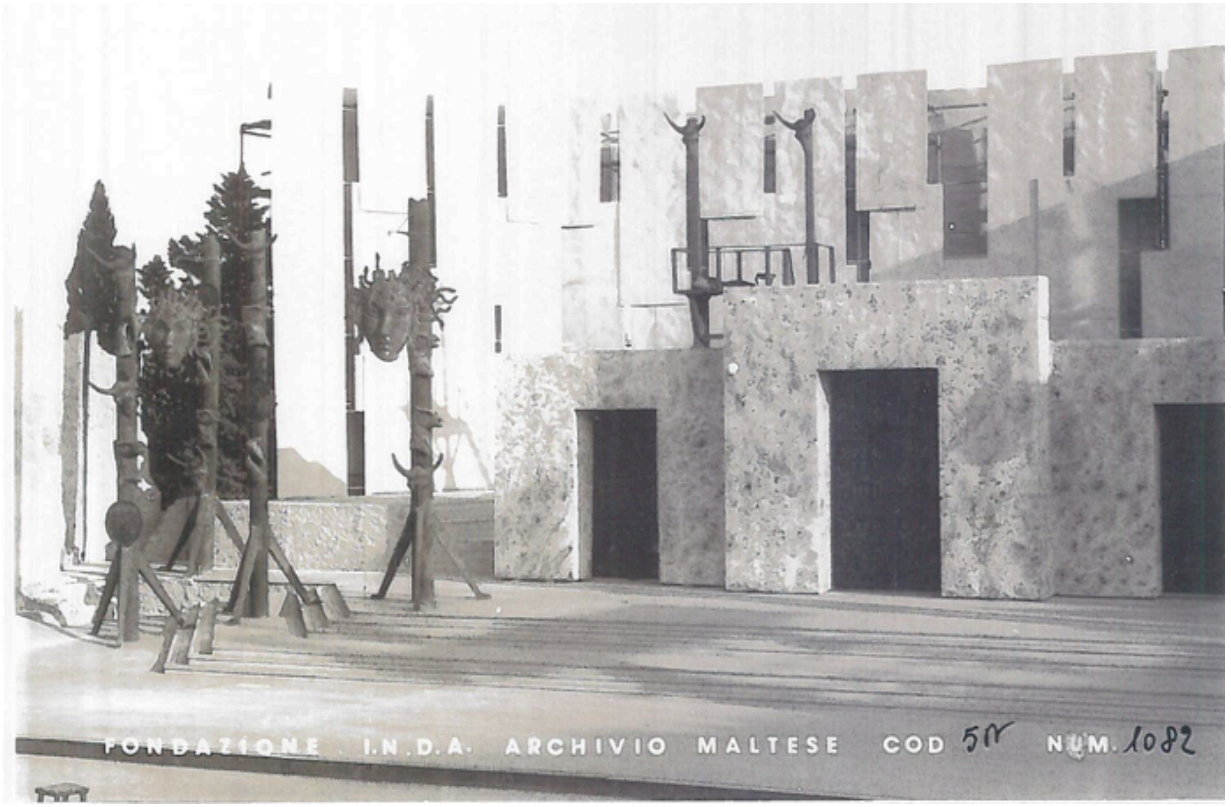


Fig. 12 – The three-gated palace and the Areopagus behind it

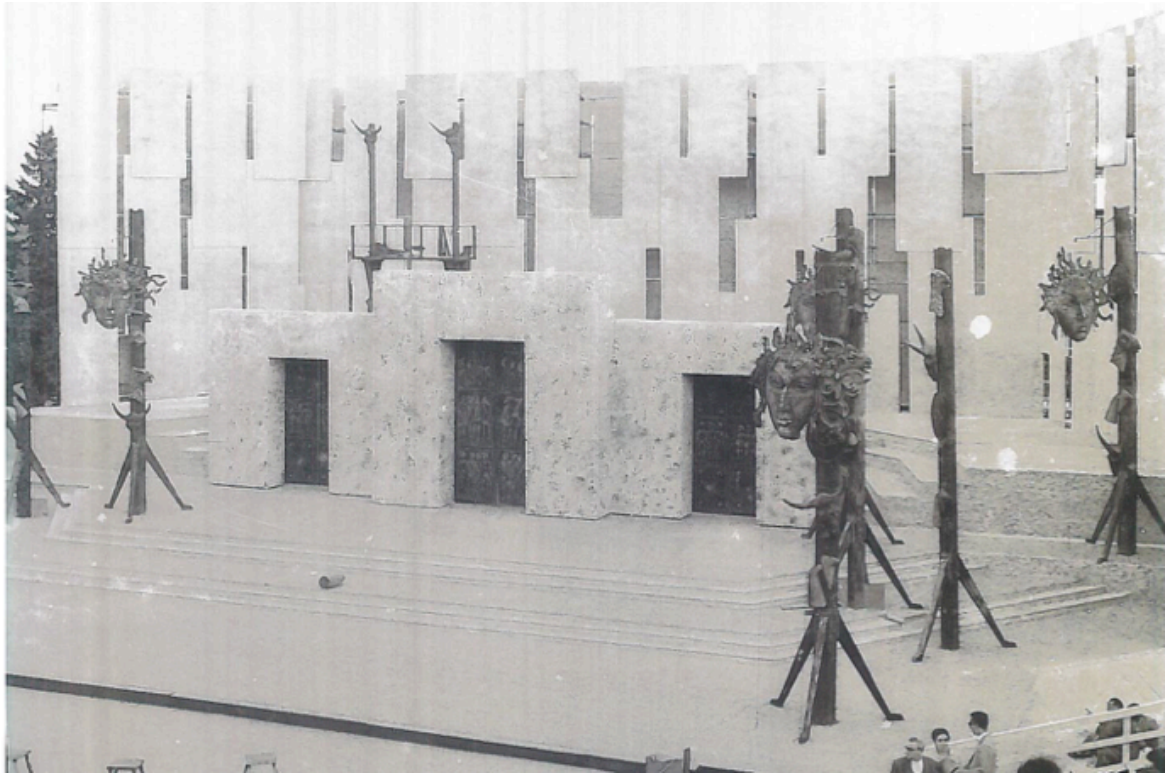


Fig. 13 – The Chorus in *Agamemnon* at the king's arrival

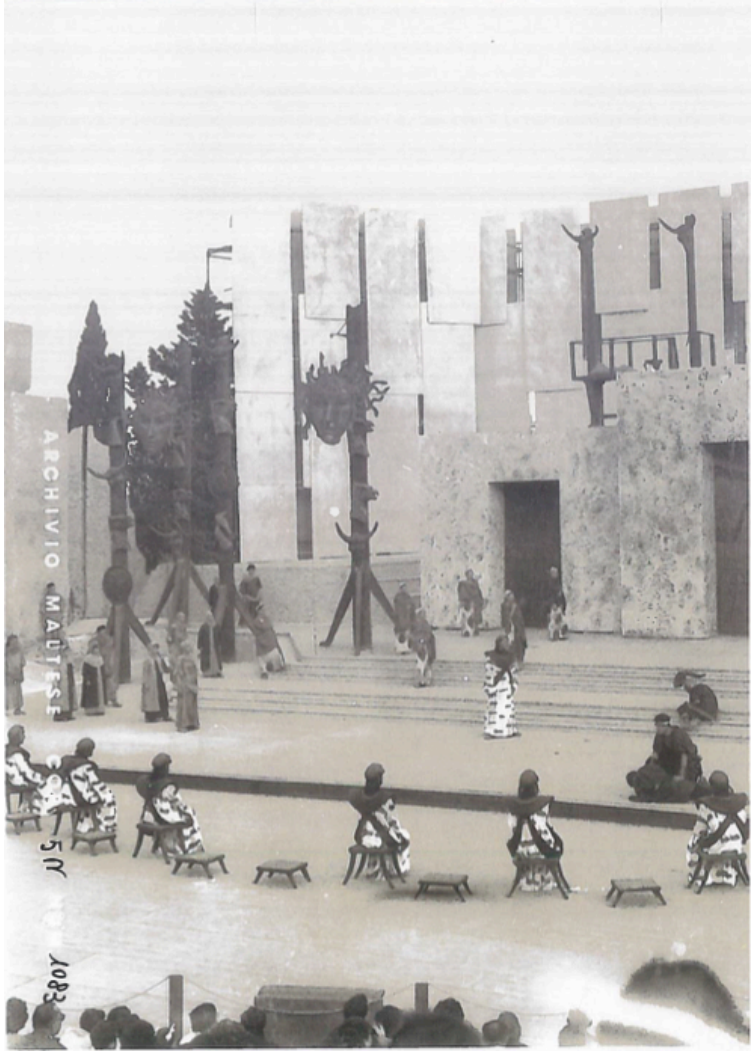


Fig. 14 – Clytemnestra/Olga Villi's maidens whilst the queen asks Agamemnon/Vittorio Gassman to walk on the red carpet; Cassandra/Valentina Fortunato on the right, surrounded by the Vodun dancers

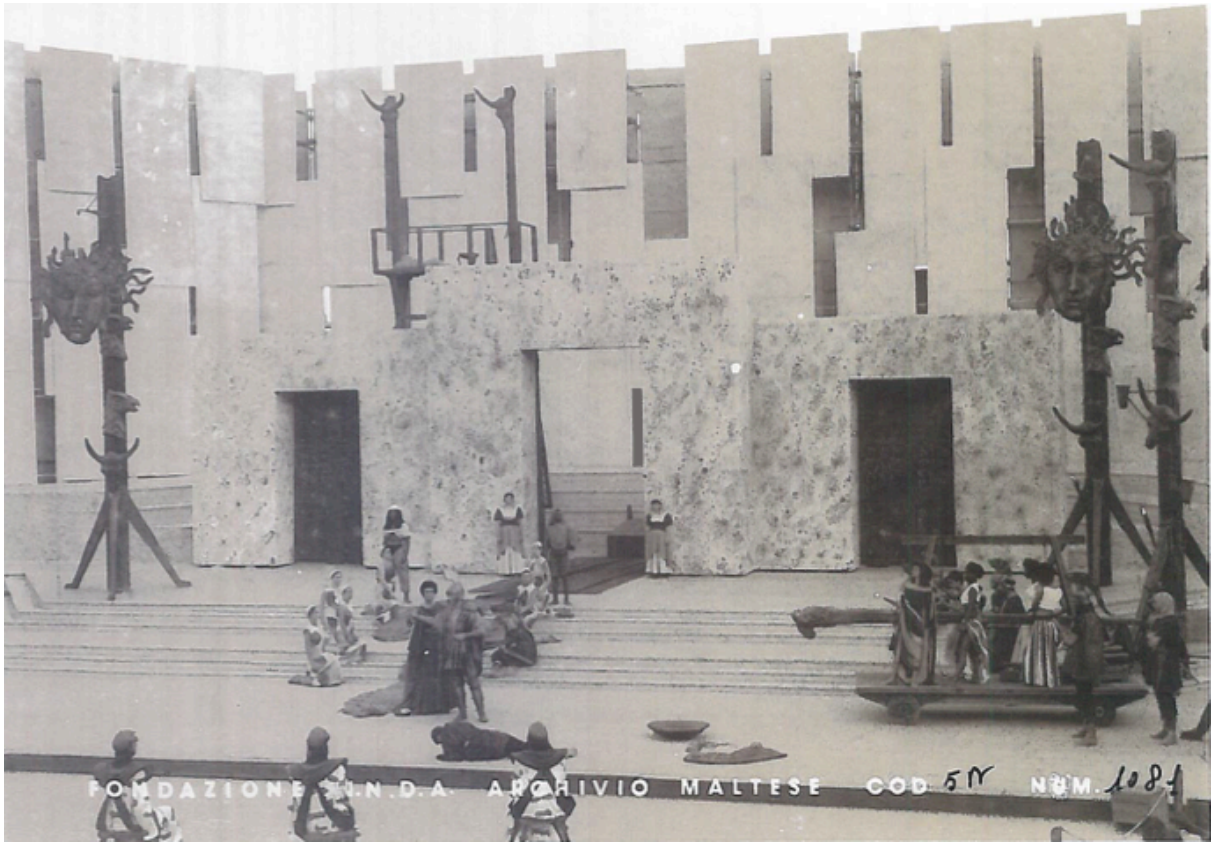


Fig. 16 – Clytemnestra/Olga Villi's cloak whilst announcing the Achaeans' victory

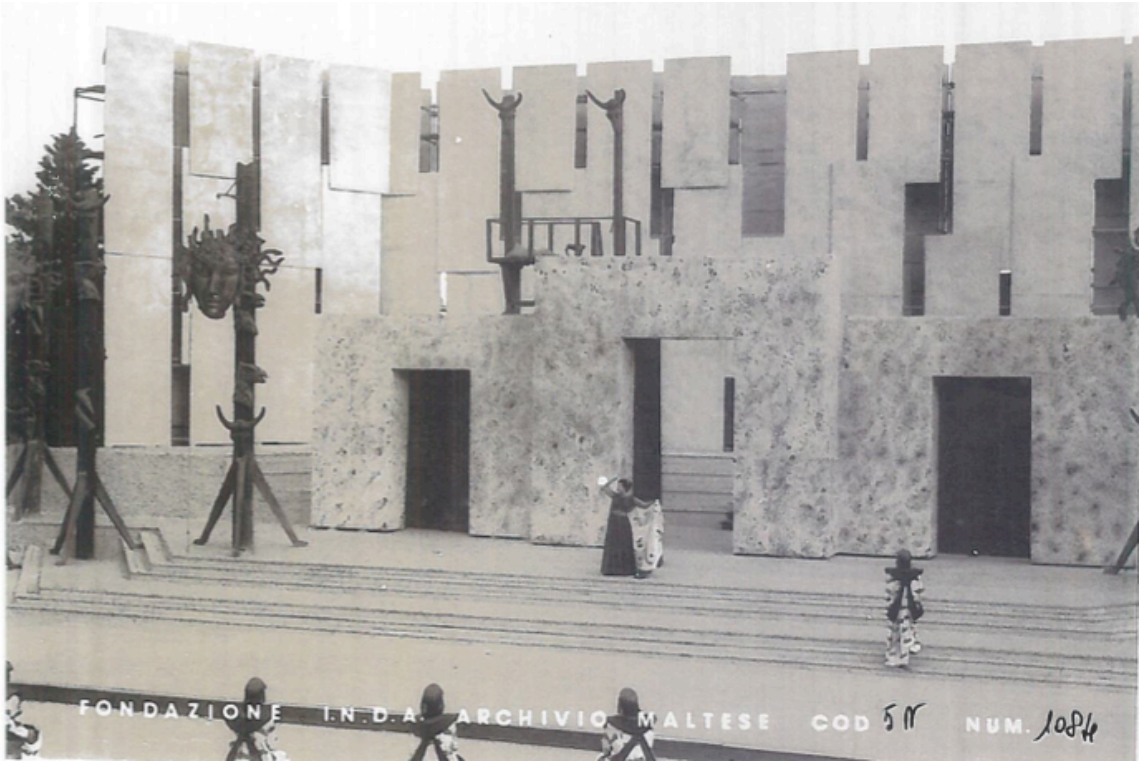


Fig. 17 – The masks changed into angry Erinyes at Orestes/Vittorio Gassman's trial, Apollo/Arnaldo Ninchi on the left



Fig. 18 – The Vodun dance at the beginning of *Agamemnon*

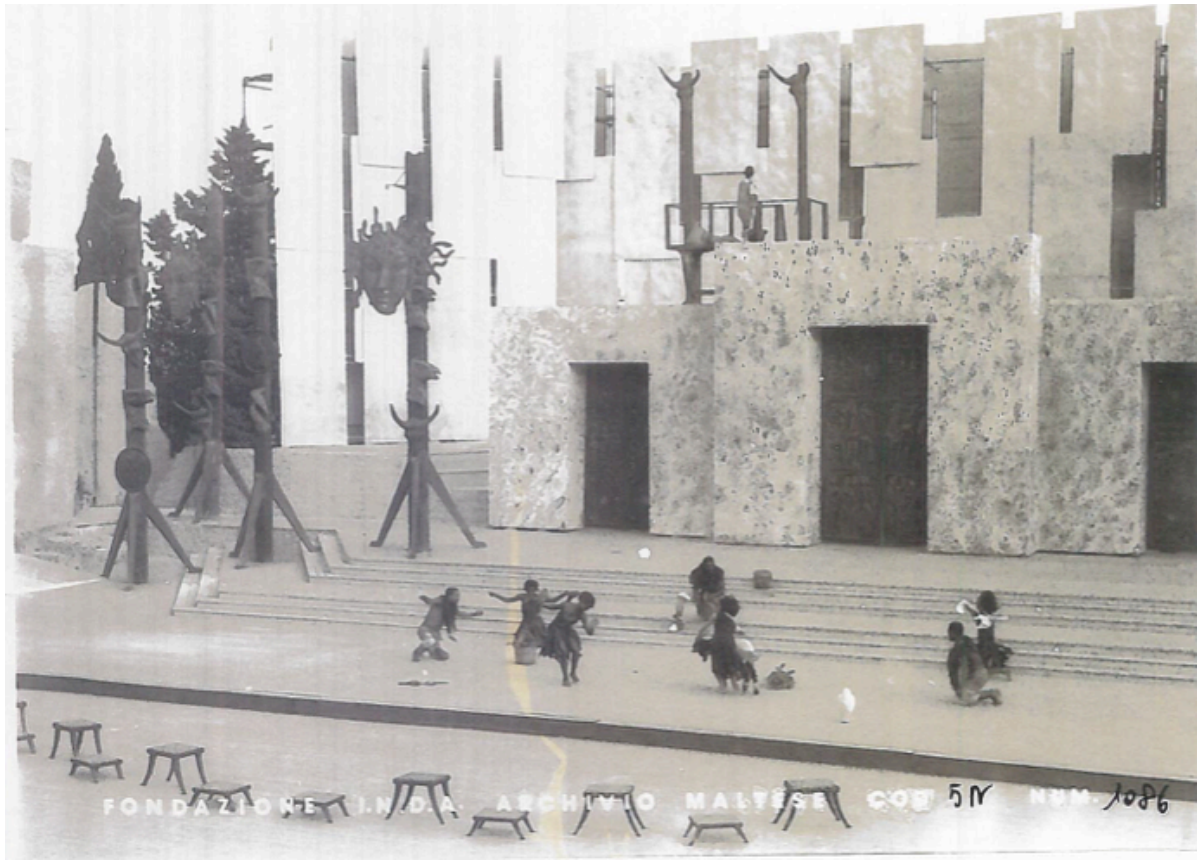


Fig. 19 – Clytemnestra/Olga Villi approaches Cassandra/Valentina Fortunato to bid her to go inside the palace

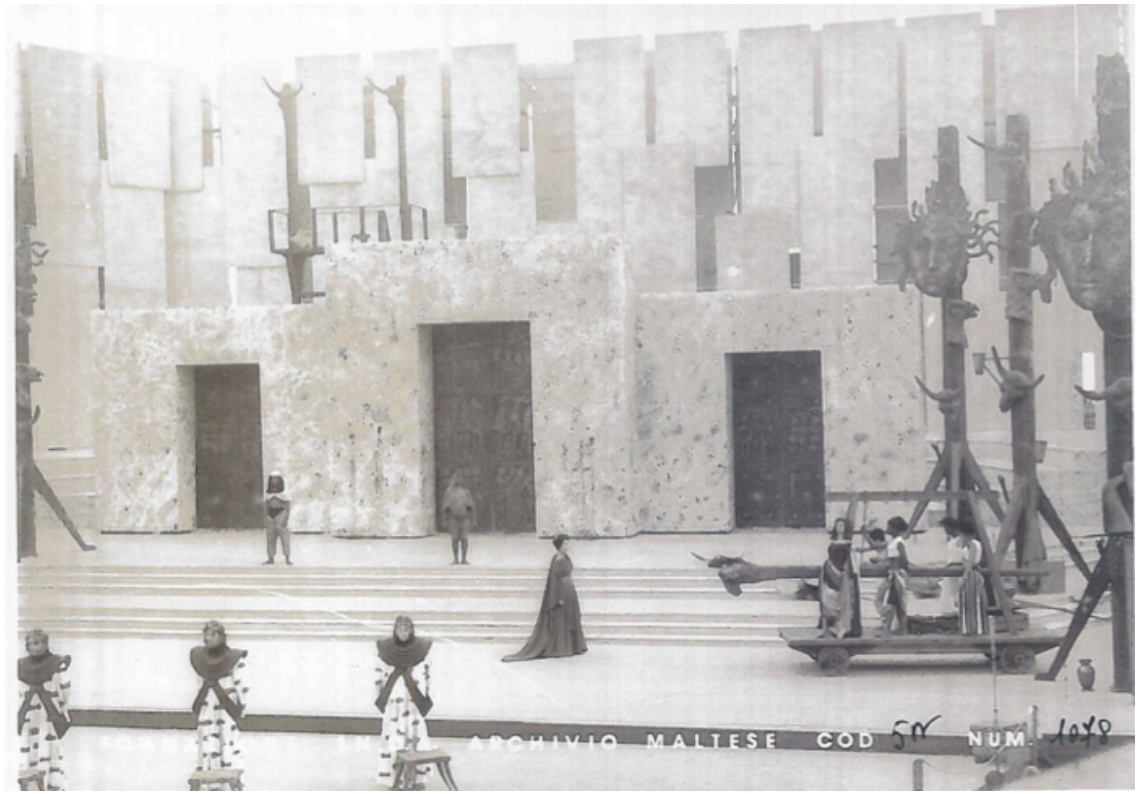


Fig. 20 – Cassandra/Valentina Fortunato's prophecies whilst tied to the Vodun dancers with a rope

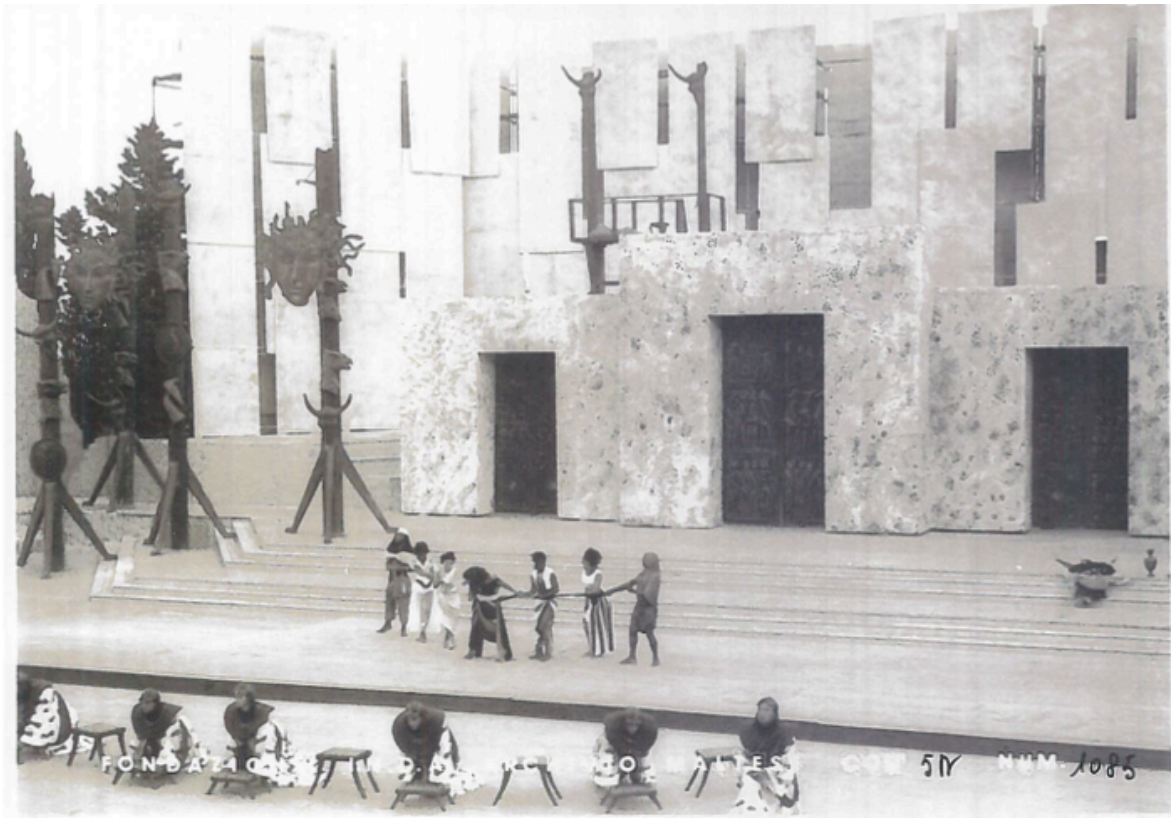
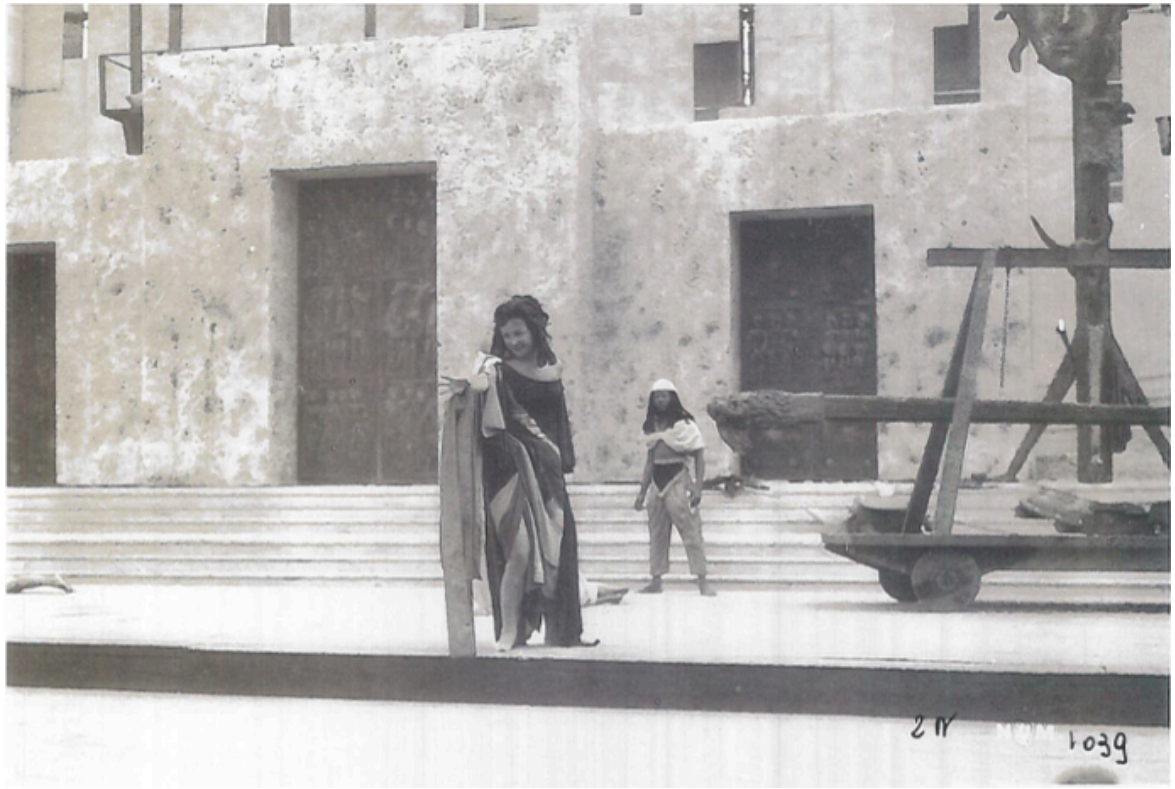


Fig. 21 – The end of Cassandra/Valentina Fortunato's prophecies



Afterword

Fig. 1 – The Chorus before, the Choryphaea/Donatella Fionacchiaro in the foreground



Fig. 2 – The Chorus when they arrive in Argo



Fig. 3 – The storyteller/Aeschylus/Mario Incudine



Fig. 4 – The musicians

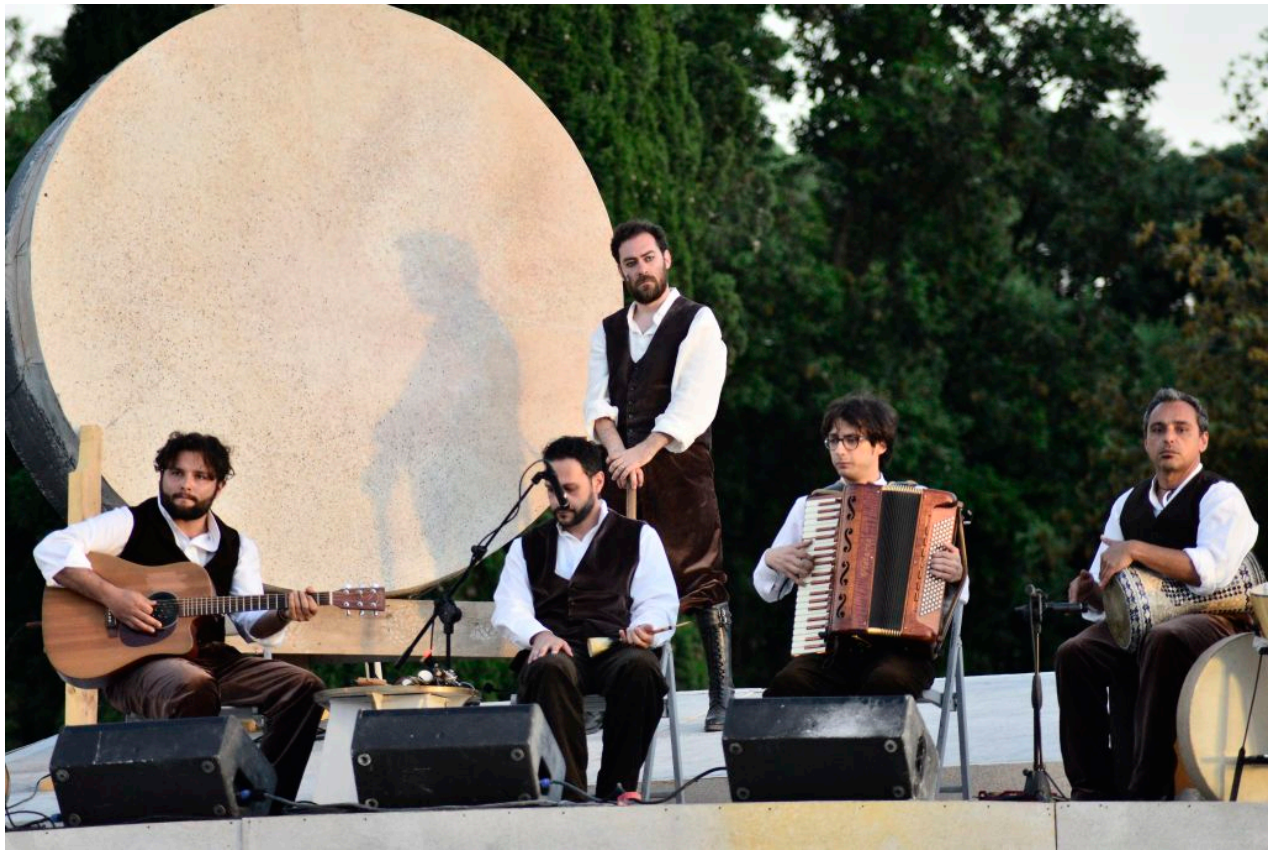


Fig. 5 – The Egyptian herald/Marco Guerzoni



Fig. 6 – The Dainaids trapped in a fishing net



Fig. 7 – Pelasgus/Moni Ovadia stops the Egyptians



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