

Translations and Adaptations of Euripides' *Trojan Women*

BY

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Thank you all,

Grace

Reunion in Sarajevo

They meet regularly, the dark-robed women.
The time and place
Of the next meeting is never known,
Only that there will be one.
The ancient disgrace
Will be re-enacted, the old moan
By the fresh earth, the white face
That says everything and nothing: and always a boy
Broken on the stones of Troy.

It was the Athenians who first troubled the graves
Of the dark-robed dead.
Triremes cut the unprotected waves
To Melos: the decree leaves
Nothing male living: the boys bleed
With the men, the women rostered as slaves.
And Hecuba stirs in her dark bed,
Andromache's ashes gather, Cassandra's lust
For prophecy is born again in the dust.

They have lost count now, the dark-robed mourners,
Of the many times they have met.
Fresh blood draws them, injustice gathers
These shadowy ladies, so that whatever suffers
Shares the remembrance of suffering, the wet
Cheeks, the torn hair, the terrors
Repeated again and again. They meet
Always in the hope that this will be the last
Reunion, that they may return in peace to the past:

[...]

They stand silently, the dark-robed women,
Heads leaning together in mourning.
No words can express their centuries of pain,
Only brushing of hands and cheeks, the fallen
Beauty of having seen too much, sensing
Too keenly that it will happen again.
They depart to their temporary graves, knowing
The next reunion is penciled: only who will destroy
Is still uncertain, and what particular Troy.

Don Taylor, June 1994
Written in response to The Women of Troy

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Introduction

On the south hill of the Athenian Acropolis, twenty-five hundred years ago, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and countless others staged the original productions of Greek tragedy. Hundreds of plays were produced; somehow, a fraction of these works have survived and resonated throughout the intervening centuries. Unfortunately, the plays can no longer be understood in their native language – the audience and culture that created them has perished. Virginia Woolf, a beautiful English writer and a student of the Greeks, described, with regret, the power of the tragedians' Attic Greek:

A fragment of their speech broken off would, we feel, colour oceans and oceans of the respectable drama. Here we meet them before their emotions have been worn into uniformity. Here we listen to the nightingale whose song echoes through English literature singing in her own Greek tongue.¹

Unfortunately, this beauty and power of Attic Greek would be lost on a modern audience. Instead, in order to survive, Greek tragedy must be transformed, either by translation or adaptation.

This thesis proposes that there are four different 'types' of translations – literal, performable, versions, and adaptations. These differ from each other because of the ways they try to reproduce the splendor of the original play. It is impossible to perfectly translate Greek; too much of the culture is lost with every word choice. It is necessary to “sometimes sacrifice the Greek to the English and sometimes the English to the Greek.”² Depending on how and how often this is done, a text becomes a certain 'type' of

¹ Woolf 1925: 45.

² Cookson 1923: 147.

translation. There are indefinite lines separating these ‘types’; there is nothing clearly marking the difference between a literal and a performable translation, a performable translation and a version. These groupings I have created are fluid. In many ways they are arbitrary and created purely for the purpose of discussion. I wish to explore how each of these categories is formed, examining the line between translation and adaptation. I also want to investigate how a translation or adaptation of Greek tragedy is affected by current social and political situations.

I will be focusing on Euripides’ play *The Trojan Women*. Gilbert Murray, the earliest translator I will be using, says that while the play is: “one of the most exquisitely written of Euripides’ plays, it is perhaps also the most unspeakably tragic, not because of any startling catastrophes in the story, but owing to the profoundly tragic conception which it embodies of life as a whole.”³ The themes in *The Trojan Women* are some of the most universal in all Greek tragedy. War and the resulting devastation are always relevant topics.

I shall begin my discussion in Chapter One with a history of the scholarly debate about translating and adapting Greek tragedy. I will then continue in Chapter Two to explain the history of Greek tragedy and its surrounding climate of fifth-century Athens. This discussion will lead to a more pointed conversation about the history of Euripides and *The Trojan Women*. Next, in Chapter Three, I will outline some of the problems facing translators and highlight why it is so difficult to produce a literal or performable translation. In Chapter Four, I will examine twelve texts of *The Trojan Women* and explain why I have classified each of them as a literal translation, performable translation, version, or adaptation. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of how each

³ Murray 1946: 127.

translation or adaptation reflects its current political or social situation. I want to show the universality of Greek tragedy and how it is just as pertinent to today's world as it was when it was originally created. Whether in translation or adaptation, after 2,500 years the plays still have the power to connect people across cultures.

Chapter One:

Scholarship Review of Translation and Adaptation Practices

At the end of a 1920s performance of *Trojan Women*, the audience clamored for the author. Their shouts for ‘author’ were actually cries for Gilbert Murray, the play’s translator. Murray rose to the stage and poignantly expressed the problem facing Greek tragedy. “The Author is not here,” he said, “he has been dead for many centuries.”⁴ This is the predicament set down for translators of Greek tragedy – the original author and culture are long dead. Even with modern languages, nothing can be translated ‘perfectly’ from one language to another; translators find themselves having to sacrifice one aspect of the original work for another. At times, a translator’s priority is to preserve the literal text of the Greek; while, at other times, translators focus on preserving the overall concept of the play. When examining English translations of Greek tragedy, one can see a development over time from a strict adherence to translation rules and a determination to ‘perfectly’ translate the Greek, to a broader realization that there can be many varying types of translations in which different elements are stressed.

One of the earliest examples of translation practices comes from 1791 in Alexander Fraser Tytler’s “laws of translation.” Tytler held:

1. That the translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work.
2. That the style and manner of the writing should be of the same character with that of the original.
3. That the translation should have all the ease of original composition.⁵

⁴ MacIntosh 1997: 304.

⁵ Walton 2006: 14.

It is nearly impossible to adhere to all of Tytler's rules; however, these rules were, and still are, the goals of translators. For every Greek play there are numerous English editions and styles of translations. Tytler's rules expect too much from a single translator. Frustration with the unrealistic expectations of translation began to be expressed in the early twentieth-century. Translator G. M. Cookson described his problem with translation, saying, "The translator, then, whatever his method may be, is a revivalist; and, strictly speaking, nothing can be made to live its life over again."⁶ At the same time, in 1925, Virginia Woolf takes Cookson's idea a step further, elegantly describing the problem by saying, "Greek is the impersonal literature; it is also the literature of masterpieces. There are no schools; no forerunners; no heirs."⁷ In this quotation, Virginia Woolf is expressing the special difficulty facing translators of ancient Greek. Translators of ancient Greek are confronted with an additional challenge because the modern world has lost the social context and nuances of the language. "Greek is the impersonal literature," Woolf said, meaning that no one alive can utterly connect with it. While ancient Greek poses additional complexities, no language can be translated flawlessly into another. Problems of translation are faced by translators of every language. Playwright Samuel Beckett, famous throughout the twentieth-century, often noted that even he found it impossible to translate his own plays 'perfectly' from English to French.⁸

When scholars in the early twentieth-century started to discuss the flaws inherent in translating, some began to look elsewhere for a means of preserving the sentiments of the Greek text in a modern world. "It is useless, then," said Virginia Woolf, "to read

⁶ Cookson 1923: 147.

⁷ Woolf 1925: 57.

⁸ Walton 2006: 18.

Greek in translation. Translators can but offer us a vague equivalent; their language is necessarily full of echoes and associates.”⁹ Virginia Woolf was not explicitly advocating adaptation; however, she gave voice to the reasons why playwrights later felt the need to adapt Greek plays. By definition, a translator must always be focused on finding a way to represent the Greek text in English. As most words cannot be perfectly translated, this leads to a translator searching for an adequate English equivalent, which may either sound too outdated or modern for the context. Adaptations, on the other hand, can be written purely in the second language, in this case English, without the playwright worrying about direct associations with the ancient Greek. Although less literal, adaptations can capture the tone and context of the original play. In 1924, translator Hilaire Belloc also described an early notion of adaptation, saying,

Good translation must [...] consciously attempt the spirit of the original at the expense of the letter. Now this is much the same as saying that the translator must be of original talent; he must himself create; he must have power of his own.¹⁰

Belloc elaborates here on the relationship between the translator and the text often found in adaptations; however, despite Virginia Woolf’s and Hilaire Belloc’s comments, in the early twentieth-century there were still only translations of Greek plays. There was no talk of adaptation; however, there were movements for modernized, performable, translations. In 1923, Cookson stated his disdain for these ‘modernized’ translation, saying, “Theoretically the true aim of translation is to transport us back to the poet, not to bring him closer to our-selves.”¹¹

⁹ Woolf 1925: 56.

¹⁰ Belloc 1924 as quoted by Kelly 1979: 211.

¹¹ Cookson 1923: 146.

Actual adaptation began to gain popularity in the middle of the twentieth-century. In 1965, Jean-Paul Sartre created his own adaptation of *The Trojan Women*. When asked about his adaptation, he said,

There is an implicit relation between Euripides' tragedy and fifth-century Athenian society which we today can only see from the outside. If I wish to express the sense of this relation, I cannot simply translate the play; I must adapt it.¹²

While many professionals in the theatrical and classical world alike are in favor of adaptation, if necessary, there are equally others who are fervently opposed. Some believe that adaptation disgraces Greek plays. As Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides have been produced on the stage for centuries, why then do modern playwrights believe they need to change the original? Adaptations have been viewed as arrogant affronts to improve upon the classics. Bernard Pingaud is an example of someone who is strongly offended by the notion that Greek plays need to be adapted. Before interviewing Sartre in 1965, he said, "Greek tragedy is a splendid ruin, to be visited respectfully with an erudite guide, but it would never occur to anyone to live in it."¹³

The arguments over translation versus adaptation continued throughout the following decades. In 1977, playwright Peter Barnes likened adaptation of Greek plays to the restoration of art, saying,

Adapting an old play is much like restoring an old painting. Time renders certain areas opaque and words, like protective varnish, go dead. These obsolete words have to be replaced by others of equal precision and force but whose meaning is clear.¹⁴

¹² Sartre 1965: 311.

¹³ Sartre 1965: 309.

¹⁴ Walton 2006: 192.

This is an illustrative description of the theory behind adapting a play and it is an illuminating concept to compare adaptation to restoration. The goal of many translations is to bring or ‘restore’ the grandeur of a Greek play into a modern language for a modern audience. Many adaptations strive to do the same, changing the text but preserving the themes of the original. Yet, opponents of adaptation continue to declare that adapting Greek tragedy is an insult to both the ancient play and the modern audience. In 1978, Oliver Taplin argued that adaptations are offensive because they presume the audience would not be able to understand the original.¹⁵ Taplin conceded that with adaptation “at least the new play’s relation to the original is brought out into the open: it does not pretend to *be* Aeschylus or Marlowe.”¹⁶ In this quotation, Taplin’s annoyance was directed at a tendency in translation to stray too far from the text in an effort to modernize the translation. Sometimes these translations are called versions; however, other times they are still marketed as translations.¹⁷

More recently, in the 1990s, translators and classicists have begun to think critically about the problems caused by translation and how these could best be approached. Examining multiple translations of the same text provides sources for comparison on translation. In his 1997 article, translator Peter Burian pointed out that the range of translations available vary from works in plain prose, helpful only for understanding the original text, to beautiful pieces of poetry that have become their own ‘work of art.’¹⁸ “Most translations,” said Burian, “fall somewhere between these extremes, attempting to offer reasonably reliable guidance to the primary meaning of the

¹⁵ Taplin 1978: 176.

¹⁶ Taplin 1978: 173.

¹⁷ The idea of ‘versions,’ what is a version, and how it differs from translations and adaptations will be discussed in length later in the thesis.

¹⁸ Burian 1997: 271.

source text as well as some approximation of the literary values the translator finds in it.”¹⁹ In this same article, Burian mentioned his views on adaptation. Burian holds that in adaptations there is possibly a ‘deeper inner connection’ to the original Greek than in plays that are not direct translations.²⁰ Part of the reason he believes this is true lies in the fact, expressed decades ago by Virginia Woolf, that the playwright is not concerned, as a translator is, with being loyal both to the Greek language as well as a modern audience. In 1991, Jeremy Sams stated this dilemma simply, saying, “You can’t perform something in English and the original at the same time.”²¹

Classicist Helene Foley is one of the most well-known scholars on adaptations of Greek tragedy. Her 1999 essay, “Modern Performance and Adaptation of Greek tragedy,” enumerates many of the benefits and criticisms of adaptation. In the essay, Foley agrees with Sams, Woolf, and others who discuss the unrealistic expectations of translation, saying, “Every contemporary performance of a Greek tragedy must be an adaptation of sorts.”²² Foley also reasons that contemporary adaptations follow classical traditions. For example, Euripides did not create the story of the Trojan captive women; rather his play, *Trojan Women*, is his adaptation of the known myth.²³ Foley also argues another benefit of adaptation is that a performer’s perspective can be explored through working with the text. By collaborating with actors and directors, a classicist may find he or she views a scene in a new light.²⁴ Adaptations benefit the Classical community; for example, adaptations of classical texts have created a broader interest in these texts. Simon

¹⁹ Burian 1997: 271.

²⁰ Burian 1997: 229.

²¹ Walton 2006: 179.

²² Foley 1999: 4.

²³ Foley 1999: 6.

²⁴ Foley 1999: 6.

Goldhill, in his article, “Modern Critical Approaches to Greek tragedy,” agreed with Foley’s statements about a changing community for the study of Greek tragedy. Goldhill said, “it can no longer be assumed that Classics has the privileged position of the nineteenth century, [...] the boundaries of the field have become less clearly determined.”²⁵ Until recently, the study of Classics has been restricted to a privileged group in the Western world. Now though, adaptations and translations of Greek tragedy into non-Western languages have helped create a global Classics community.²⁶

Foley’s essay outlines some of the criticisms of modern adaptations. She enumerates some of the previously mentioned problems facing adaptation; for example, that some classicists believe it is an attack on the tradition of Attic Tragedy. In addition, Foley states that many scholars are critics of adaptation because they object to the ‘cheap multiculturalism’ and lack of authenticity that the adaptations present.²⁷ While for many adaptations the goal is to preserve and convey the feel and tone of the original Greek play, bringing the play into the modern world may lose much of the original culture attached to it. The charge of ‘cheap multiculturalism’ is similar to the distaste Cookson had in 1923 for modernized productions of Greek plays. The fear that adaptations may devalue the original plays is realized when an adaptation tries too hard to appeal to a contemporary audience and modern values and desires are added into the play.²⁸

Regardless of where one stands on the question of adaptation, it is generally agreed that Greek tragedy is in its own class. “You must understand,” said playwright

²⁵ Goldhill 1997: 346.

²⁶ Foley 1999: 10.

²⁷ Foley 1999: 9.

²⁸ Although not based on plays, one need only to watch modern recreations of Greek stories, such as the movie *Troy*, to see some of these fears exemplified. Another example is that it is jarring to hear modern products like “Rice Krispies” mentioned in a Greek Tragedy.

Charles Mee, “that getting into a Greek plot is like stepping into a Rolls Royce.”²⁹ The current trend seems to lean towards including adaptations in discussions of translations of Greek tragedy. In Michael Walton’s 2006 book *Found in Translation*, he classifies seven different ‘types’ of translations, starting with ones that are completely literal and finishing with very distinctive adaptations. His seven ‘types’ are: literals, mostly literal but not viable for performance, faithful butactable, created for production, adaptations without knowledge of Greek, original plays inspired by classical tragedies, and translocations to another culture.³⁰ Walton’s ‘types’ show a development to a more inclusive thinking from Alexander Tytler’s ‘laws’ of 1791. Many translators today no longer seem troubled about accurately representing all aspects in a translation. They seem to have acknowledged that perfection is an unrealistic goal and instead choose which elements they would like to stress, such as style or subtext, when making their own translation.

My thesis seeks to explore the line between these modern translations and adaptations. Like Walton, I believe there are several ‘types’ of translation:

1. Literal Translations
2. Performable Translations
3. Versions
4. Adaptations

By focusing on Euripides play *Trojan Women*, I want to explore how Greek tragedy is best reproduced in today’s world. From examining Greek theater in an historical context, I will then discuss the issues raised by translations and investigate the uses of adaptation. The goal of my thesis is not to decide whether a translation or adaptation best reproduces

²⁹ Foley 1999: 5.

³⁰ Walton 2006: 182-183.

a Greek tragedy in the modern world; instead, I seek to examine the differences and outline the numerous choices available for bringing the ancient text to audiences today.

Chapter Two: Historical Perspective

The term “Greek tragedy” naturally makes one think of the great plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; however, “Greek tragedy,” is more aptly named “fifth-century Attic Tragedy,” and the aforementioned authors are only a few examples of the dozens of playwrights who wrote during that time. Attic Drama was born on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis at the Theater of Dionysus. Almost nothing survives of the structure of the original theater, which utilized the natural beauty of the south slope and drew upon the plains of Attica as the backdrop for grand performances. Likewise, only a small fraction of the hundreds of plays produced have survived – there are 32 extant tragic plays; seven by Aeschylus, seven by Sophocles, and eighteen by Euripides. Modern scholars assume these plays are representative of what was performed at the festival, but it must be understood that they comprised less than three percent of the productions. Euripides, for example, from whom we have the largest number of plays, actually wrote approximately ninety five plays. In total, during the fifth-century Athens produced over 1,250 tragedies and 650 comedies.³¹

Tragic plays were created as part of a competition at an annual festival in honor of the god Dionysus.³² Aptly named the City (or Great) Dionysia, the religious festival

³¹ Henderson 2007: 180.

³² There were actually several tragic festivals that took place throughout the year in honor of Dionysus. I will focus my discussion specifically to the City Dionysia as it was one of the largest and most well-known. In addition, the basic structure described of the City Dionysia would be similar to the other festivals. The oldest festival in Athens was the Anthesteria (Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 1). There were also several Rural Dionysias outside of Athens, which featured dramatic productions (Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 42-51). A final famous festival was the Lenaia. The Lenaia arose after the popularity of the City Dionysia around 440 BCE, and possibly had more of a direct connection with Dionysus as the god of wine. The Lenaia

included theatrical, musical, and civic displays. The theatrical portion of the festival originally lasted three days, during which each playwright was given one day to present three tragedies and a satyr play. In 486 BCE, one more day was added to the festival to showcase comedies. Five comedies were then presented during the added day, one comedy per playwright. As with the tragedies, we have very few surviving comedies. Aristophanes is the sole surviving comedian from the fifth-century and we have only eleven of his plays.³³ For the competition, each playwright, tragic or comic, was granted a chorus and actors by the Archon Eponymous, one of the political leaders of Athens.³⁴ It was then the job of the playwright to ‘teach’ the play. The ten judges, chosen by lot, who watched over the competition ranked the tragedians for their ‘teaching,’ not necessarily for the plays themselves.³⁵ Interestingly, many of the surviving plays did not win the festival’s competition. While, for example, Aeschylus’ famous *Oresteia* trilogy took first prize in 458 BCE, Euripides’ *Trojan Women* from 415 BCE lost to Xenocles, a playwright about whom we know nothing aside from him beating Euripides at this competition.

The public nature of theater in fifth-century Athens is noteworthy. Theater was entertainment, but also was intertwined with religion and politics. All city business was suspended during the festival and the top political and military figures in Athens were deeply involved in the City Dionysia.³⁶ Before the actual festival days, wealthy Athenians were involved in funding the productions. It was an honor for these men, called *choregoi*,

started primarily with comedies and then ventured into performances of the tragedies (Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 40-41 and 29).

³³ Henderson 2007: 180.

³⁴ The chorus seemed to have originally been of 50 people, then Aeschylus is credited with moving the number to 12 and Sophocles changes it further to 15.

³⁵ Gregory 1991: 2.

³⁶ Gregory 1991: 5.

to hold such a prestigious position; Pericles, for example, was the *choregos* for Aeschylus' *Persians* in 473/2.³⁷ Additionally, when the festival commenced, the *strategoï*, the military leaders and the ten most powerful positions in the Athenian government, were actively involved in pouring the libations of the opening religious ceremonies.³⁸

Other aspects of the opening ceremonies also illustrate that the dramatic festivals were connected with civic Athenian life. In 454 BCE, during the height of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles moved the treasury of the Delian League from Delos to Athens. The Delian League had ostensibly been a collaboration of city-states joined in the early fifth-century to fight against Persia, but in reality it was just another name for the Athenian Empire. After 454, the tribute, which was collected by the Athenian empire from the cities in the Delian League, was brought into the theater and displayed before the audiences at the start of the festival.³⁹ In the same fashion, names of Athenian benefactors were read aloud and acknowledged in front of the theater audience. Additionally, young men whose fathers had died in war were brought onstage and given special seats in the theater to watch the festivals.⁴⁰ Although primarily a religious and theatrical ceremony, the annual tragic festival in ancient Athens was opened with these civic displays of Athenian power and reminders of an individual's duty to their city or *polis*. Simon Goldhill, in his 1990 article, also stresses this idea, saying, "The libations of the ten generals, the display of tribute, the announcement of the city's benefactors, the

³⁷ Henderson 2007: 182.

³⁸ Goldhill 1990: 101.

³⁹ Goldhill 1990:101.

⁴⁰ Goldhill 1990: 104-105.

parade of state-educated boys, now men, in full military uniform, all stressed the power of the *polis*, the duties of an individual to the *polis*.⁴¹

A final notable aspect of the City Dionysia was the composition of the audiences. The Theater of Dionysus could hold approximately seventeen thousand people. Aside from this large audience, thousands of other people participated in the activities surrounding the festival; for example, each year there were at least 28 poets, 28 choregoi, 24 actors, and 1,165 dancers and musicians involved in the productions.⁴² The whole *demos*, all the people in the city, was allowed to attend the festival and watch the plays, including people normally excluded from public events, such as children, slaves, *metics*, and perhaps even women.⁴³ Attendance was also not restricted by a fee that would have kept out poorer citizens. At one point during the fourth-century, a fee seems to have been added but state subsidies were later created to compensate. Fittingly, these people, the poor, slaves, *metics*, and women, were often the typical characters in the dramas performed.⁴⁴ Additionally, the audience was also composed of many war veterans who would be particularly affected by the military tragedies.⁴⁵

Drama provided an outlet for all areas of the community as it was a place where everyone's voice could be heard.⁴⁶ In the Athenian democracy, private lives and the family worlds were hidden; drama capitalized on this, focusing on households and

⁴¹ Goldhill 1990: 114.

⁴² Henderson 2007: 180.

⁴³ *Metics* were resident aliens living in Athens who had very limited rights and could never hope to become an Athenian 'citizen.' For more information on the debate of women at the City Dionysia see Jeffery Henderson's article "Women and the Athenian Dramatic Festivals" (1991).

⁴⁴ Henderson 2007: 183-5.

⁴⁵ In many ways, ancient Athenians were viewing their plays as we do today, as mythic examples. Perhaps, as Jonathan Shay suggests in his book, *Achilles in Vietnam*, "Scholars and critics of the *Iliad* would be better able to interpret the great epic if they listened to combat soldiers" (Shay 1994: xiii).

⁴⁶ Henderson 2007: 187.

individuals.⁴⁷ Tragedy questioned civic discourse and one's obligations to his or her household or the state. Comedy, as well as and if not more so than tragedy, questioned the social norms of the state and was particularly vocal during the Peloponnesian War.⁴⁸

In his 2007 article, "Drama and Democracy," Jeffery Henderson says:

Drama became the principal communal outlet for portraying the polis in all its diversity and social hierarchies; for reconsidering traditions and norms, airing concerns, examining problems, and testing solutions that affected the democratic culture as a whole but had no other public outlet.⁴⁹

It is a fascinating paradox that in a festival that opened with a celebration of the *polis*, the plays presented often depicted the conflict within the *polis*. "For tragedy and comedy do not simply reverse the norms of society but inculcate a questioning of the very basis of those norms, the key structures of opposition on which 'norm' and 'transgression' rest."⁵⁰

Attic tragedy was almost exclusively restricted to mythic scenes. One notable example to the contrary was the play *The Capture of Miletus* by Phrynichus performed in 492/3. Phrynichus was fined 1,000 drachmas for the contemporary setting of his play, which told the story of a Persian victory over the Greeks. Because of its painful and recent topic, the play was banned from being performed again at the City Dionysia.⁵¹ *The Capture of Miletus* was one of the few tragedies describing a current event and the only known instance of political censorship at the festival. We know that the play *The Persians*, for example, by Aeschylus, also described the recent Persian Wars; however, Aeschylus' play was praised as it dealt with the defeat of the Persians, instead of the

⁴⁷ Henderson 2007: 192.

⁴⁸ Goldhill 1990: 126 and Henderson 2007: 180.

⁴⁹ Henderson 2007: 186.

⁵⁰ Goldhill 1990: 127.

⁵¹ Carter 2007: 22.

Greeks.⁵² These plays, however, are far from the only political examples of Attic tragedy. Although many of the plays presented were set in the mythical past, they were steeped in current political discussions. Athenian audiences already knew the stories and would therefore clearly see the playwright's social and political positions by what story was chosen and which elements were stressed. Tragedy broadly explored the myths, focusing on larger ideas rather than on any explicit connection with contemporary issues. This is in part why Attic tragedy is timeless – it was written to speak to a diverse audience and raise political concerns without focusing on any particulars.⁵³

In addition to being placed in the mythical past, tragedies were rarely set within the city of Athens. Froma Zeitlin, in her 1990 article, suggests that the city of Thebes represented the “other,” an opposite city to Athens. Thebes was a city with a monarch instead of a democracy, a city that birthed the wild Dionysus instead of having the wise patron Athena.

As the site of displacement, therefore, Thebes consistently supplies the radical tragic terrain where there can be no escape from the tragic in the resolution of conflict or in the institutional provision of a civic future beyond the world of the play. There the most serious questions can be raised concerning the fundamental relations of man to his universe, particularly with respect to the nature of rule over others and of rule over self, as well as those pertaining to the conduct of the body politic.⁵⁴

Zeitlin's argument is that because many dramas are set in Thebes, questions crucial to the *polis* could be acted out in horribly tragic settings without interfering with Athenian life.

Fundamental questions about a person's relationship to the state could therefore be

⁵² The Athenian leader Pericles was even the *choregos*, sponsor, for *The Persians*.

⁵³ Henderson 2007: 187.

⁵⁴ Zeitlin 1990: 131.

discussed without a direct criticism of the Athenian government.⁵⁵ Argos, another common setting of Greek drama, could also be seen as a place of refuge between the mythic, tragic Thebes and the realistic life of Athens. When Athens does appear in tragedy, it is most notably a place where people can go to be saved.⁵⁶ Following this idea, *The Trojan Women* is set in Troy. While the women are about to be shipped off to more realistic lands, Troy is still a place of otherness. The war in Troy is distant from actual events in the Athenian Empire.

What we know as Greek tragedy developed during the imperial climate of fifth-century Athens. Fifth-century Athens began with the birth of democracy by Cleisthenes' political reforms in 507 BCE.⁵⁷ The fifth-century also opened with the end of the Persian Wars, where all of Greece united for the first time to fight off the vast Persian Empire. After Persia was defeated, the Greeks experienced a mix of self-confidence over their victory and fear that the Persian Empire would return. This climate of uncertainty was heightened in 477 when the Spartans left the Pan-Hellenic Coalition. Under the authority of Athens, the remaining Greek city-states formed the Delian League with the purpose of warding off future Persian attacks. Athens gained prominence in the League throughout the first half of the century, controlling almost all of the League's treasury and naval power.⁵⁸ The Greek historian Thucydides remarked that this growth of Athenian power was what first frightened the Spartans and provoked them to war (Thucydides 1.23). The larger struggles of the Peloponnesian War took place over almost sixty years and were

⁵⁵ Zeitlin 1990: 144 and 131.

⁵⁶ For example, Athens is where Orestes travels for redemption in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (Zeitlin 1990: 145).

⁵⁷ Kallet 2000: 180.

⁵⁸ Kallet 2000: 176-177.

between Athens and Sparta. The so-called First Peloponnesian War lasted between 462-446 BCE; however, the real start of the Peloponnesian War was in 431 BCE.⁵⁹

In the middle of these initial hostilities between Athens and Sparta, in 454 BCE, the Delian League moved its treasury to Athens; this move was a clear sign of Athenian dominance and revealed the fact that the Delian League was no longer a confederation but the Athenian Empire.⁶⁰ Later, when the war was raging in the 420s, Athens was hit with a crippling plague. Many of the Delian League cities, such as Lesbos, revolted because they thought the plague might weaken Athens, but were soon suppressed. In 421 BCE, peace, called the “Peace of Nicias” after one of the Athenian leaders, was temporarily reached.⁶¹ During this time, Athens continued to squash rebellion attempts of smaller cities. One notable example occurred in 416 BCE when the island of Melos wished to remain neutral in the war. In return for their resistance, the Athenians destroyed the city, killing all the men and enslaving all the women and children. The following year, Athens launched a major invasion of Sicily. Under the pretence of helping the city of Egesta against Selinus, Athens attempted to conquer Syracuse, the main city of Sicily. This expedition failed miserably and Athens was defeated in 413. The defeat ushered in the final phase of the war, where Sparta dominated, and eventually conquered Athens in 404 BCE.⁶²

In 484 BCE, Euripides was born into the tumultuous environment of Athenian glory, right after the Greek victory over Persia. Euripides was the youngest of the three famous Greek playwrights, but was outlived by Sophocles and died in voluntary exile in

⁵⁹ Samons 2007: 16.

⁶⁰ Kallet 2000: 183 and 178.

⁶¹ Kallet 2000: 190-191.

⁶² Kallet 2000: 192.

Macedon in 406.⁶³ His first play was produced in 455 BCE, at the height of Athenian supremacy, just prior to the Delian League moving its treasury to Athens. Sadly, while Euripides enjoys prominence today, he won only five victories at the City Dionysia, one of which was posthumous for *The Bacchae*. Scholars used to feel that Euripides marked the decline of Classical tragedy. Gilbert Murray in 1965 said,

Euripides could not, or would not, obey the rules: he was careless, or incompetent, in making his plots; his poetry had none of Aeschylus's splendor or of Sophocles's dignity; and in what are after all more serious matters, namely religion and morality, he was a dangerous skeptic.⁶⁴

It was this assumed disregard for 'classical' propriety that earned him both the characterization as a rebel and disdain from the scholarly community. It is now generally accepted that there is not a chronologically significant order to the playwrights.

Currently, Euripides is viewed in a more sympathetic light, as the image of an artist alienated from society. "Aristocrats and commoners alike could benefit from a scheme of values retaining the glamour and authority of the heroic past, yet accessible and appropriate to the present."⁶⁵ Such a 'wholesome' aim has helped to rid Euripides of some of the negativity towards him.

The dominant motifs appearing in Euripides' work include life and death, the nature of moderation, the claims of justice, the definition of nobility, and the uses of language and intellect.⁶⁶ Euripides portrays tough women and asks the audience to sympathize with them. Unlike Clytemnestra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Euripides' Medea, Phaedra, or Electra are complex characters, with both weaknesses and strengths.

⁶³ Barlow 1997: 17.

⁶⁴ Murray 1965: vii.

⁶⁵ Gregory 1991: 8-9.

⁶⁶ Gregory 1991: 11.

Playwright Timberlake Wertenbaker is especially fond of Euripides and other Greek playwrights for just this reason. She says, “The great flaw of modern plays is that they always try to make women nice. These women are terrible, and they have the courage of their horror.”⁶⁷ Director David Leveaux agrees, saying, “It’s hard to find a play that pits a number of ferociously powerful women against each other.”⁶⁸ Euripides is also known for introducing the ordinary into tragedy, often giving slaves and messengers vital roles.⁶⁹

Finally, Euripides used his mythic subjects differently than other playwrights, sometimes altering the story or showing unflattering representations of the gods.⁷⁰ Sartre describes Euripides’ work beautifully, saying,

Horror becomes majestic, cruelty ceremonious. This is certainly so in Aeschylus, who was writing for an audience which still believed in the heroic legends and the mysterious power of the gods. But it is even more so in Euripides, who comes at the end of the tragic cycle and represents the transition to a different type of play, the ‘everyday’ comedy of Menander.⁷¹

In his own time Euripides was consistently mocked by the comic poets, namely Aristophanes, for his use of female characters and slaves.⁷² Despite these jabs, Euripides’ plays were loved by the people. During the failure of the Sicilian Expedition, several captured Athenian soldiers were saved because the Sicilians asked them to recite and teach Euripides’ plays to them. Other Athenians who escaped this battle said that his plays gave them strength while they fought.⁷³ Aristotle called Euripides “the most emotionally moving of the poets.” Shirley Barlow in 1986 best comments on this

⁶⁷ Foley 1999: 4.

⁶⁸ Foley 1999: 4.

⁶⁹ Barlow 1997: 18-20.

⁷⁰ Murray 1965: vii.

⁷¹ Sartre 1965: 310.

⁷² Murray 1965: 13.

⁷³ Gregory 1991: 179.

Aristotelian quotation, saying it is “a paradox one might think for one who was also the most intellectual of dramatists, but a paradox that for him somehow makes sense.”⁷⁴

Euripides’ *Trojan Women*, also called *Troades*, was written during the final period of Athenian power in 415 BCE.⁷⁵ From Aelian (*Varia Historia* ii, 8) we know that in 415 BCE Euripides was awarded the second prize at the Great Dionysia for the *Alexander*, *Palamedes*, *Troades*, and the satyr-play *Sisyphus*. Aelian continues to say that he considers the victory of Xenocles, of whom he knew nothing, absurd; “Is it not ridiculous that Xenocles should win and Euripides be defeated with plays such as these?”⁷⁶

The Trojan Women is one of Euripides’ most beautiful and utterly tragic plays. It follows the story of Hecuba, the former Queen of Troy, as she waits to be taken as a slave to the Greek ships. Characters pass in and out of the drama, namely Cassandra, Andromache, and Helen, and all discuss with Hecuba the horrors of war and life as a refugee without a homeland. The cast is predominately women, with the exceptions of Poseidon, the messenger Talthybius, Menelaus, and the speechless Astyanax. As Gilbert Murray brilliantly describes,

The only movement of the drama is the gradual extinguishing of all the familiar lights of human life, with perhaps a suggestion at the end that in the utterness of night when all fears of a possible worse things are passed, there is in some sense peace and even glory.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Barlow 1997: 22.

⁷⁵ One author not discussed in this thesis, Shelley Dean Milman, from 1906 calls the play *The Trojan Dames*.

⁷⁶ Aelian: ii.8 as cited in Burian 2009: 1. We also have information about Euripides’ loss from a scholium to Aristophanes; however, scholars who mention this scholium note that it is unhelpful and perhaps inaccurate (for example Scodel 1980: 11).

⁷⁷ Murray 1946: 127

Trojan Women was presented in a tetralogy as the third tragedy after *Alexander* and *Palamedes*, and before the satyr-play *Sisyphus*. From surviving fragments and commentary, we know that *Alexander* was about the baby Paris who was abandoned when it was prophesized he would destroy Troy, only to be saved in the countryside and return to Troy when he was grown. The play ends with Paris' identity revealed and his welcome back into the royal family, while Cassandra prophesizes about the disasters he will bring. *Palamedes* seems to have been about the wise Greek Palamedes. While gathering the Greek troops for Troy, Palamedes realized that Odysseus was feigning madness in order to avoid going to war. He uncovered Odysseus' deception and therefore forced Odysseus to go to Troy. Odysseus retaliates for this by framing Palamedes as a traitor and having him executed.⁷⁸ Finally, we do not have much information about the satyr-play *Sisyphus*, as we only have two remaining fragments. Most scholars assume it is about Sisyphus stealing man-eating horses from Diomedes and being punished and that the play is not related to Troy at all.⁷⁹

There is an obvious connection between the main three tragic plays, namely, they all center on stories revolving around Troy. Despite this, one scholar, G. L. Koniaris, argued in 1973 that Euripides' three plays were unrelated, not part of a unified trilogy. Ruth Scodel discusses Koniaris' objections at length in her book, stating that Koniaris believed that trilogies were uncommon at the City Dionysia, Aeschylus' *Oresteia* being a notable example to the contrary, and that the Athenian public would therefore not have recognized such a group as being connected. Koniaris argued that trilogies could not have been popular because whatever word Aeschylus used to classify his *Oresteia* was not

⁷⁸ Maxwell-Stuart 1973: 398 and Murray 1946: 128.

⁷⁹ Scodel 1980: 122.

notable enough to survive; he could not have used the word trilogy as it had not been invented.⁸⁰ In my opinion, which follows Scodel's, Koniaris' belief that the public would not recognize a trilogy seems flawed. Euripides did not write about Troy so often that he would have produced three plays on the same topic by accident. Besides all three plays revolving around Troy, all three also had notable *agones*, debate scenes, which had to do with the Judgment of Paris.⁸¹ These plays had to have been in some sort of group. It is hard to believe that if an audience saw all three plays on the same day, they would not make a connection.⁸²

In 416 BCE, the year immediately preceding the production of this trilogy, Athens completely destroyed the island of Melos, killing all the men and enslaving all the women and children. Athens acted with the mythic brutality seen in the epics of Homer, completely ignoring contemporary military practices (Thucydides 5.116). These events had a strong impact on Euripides. As Gilbert Murray said, "In the year 416 B.C. Euripides, in his relation to Athens, was shaken for the first time out of any thought of either romance or irony."⁸³ There are strong parallels between the Melian episode and *Trojan Women*. Some of the lines in Thucydides' Melian Dialogue even echo lines from Euripides; for example, the Melians' say,

We will not in a moment deprive of freedom a city that has been inhabited these seven hundred years; but we put our trust in the fortune by which the gods have preserved it until now, and in the help of men, that is, of the Spartans; and so we will try and save ourselves.

(Thucydides, 5.112).

⁸⁰ Scodel 1980: 15-16 where she discusses Koniaris 1973.

⁸¹ Scodel 1980: 80 and 100 where Scodel dismisses Koniaris' beliefs and argues persuasively that the three plays were part of a trilogy.

⁸² Scodel 1980: 19.

⁸³ Murray 1965: 63.

Like the Trojans, the Melians' preferred to fight rather than submit; "To submit is to give ourselves over to despair, while action still preserves for us a hope that we may stand erect" (Thucydides, 5.102). In lines 386-387 of *The Trojan Women* Cassandra says, "The Trojans. First they have the greatest glory – they died for their country." Although this statement is close to the Melians' hopes for defending their city, there are other considerations in deciding whether the play is based on the episode in Melos. One must consider when the city fell, as compared to how long it took Euripides to create his tragedy.⁸⁴ We have no way of knowing if Euripides had written *The Trojan Women* before the Melian enterprise; however, it seems too coincidental that Euripides would write, or submit for production, a play about the total destruction of a city only months after Greece was shocked by Athens' actions in Melos. Whether intentional or not, "this piece of barbarity must have sharpened the cutting edge of the play, we misunderstand Euripides' intention if we forget [...] the political events uppermost in the minds of his audience."⁸⁵

Regardless of these plays' connection to the Melian episode, when Euripides was creating this trilogy the impending invasion of Sicily was certainly being discussed (Thucydides 6.1.1). The decision to venture to Sicily was hotly contested. It was clear that the mission to Sicily was a war of conquest; Athens was no longer hiding its goal of imperialism.⁸⁶ Additionally, there is a passing mention of Sicily by the chorus of *Trojan Women*: "The land of Etna and of Hephaestus, opposite Carthage, mother of the Sicilian mountains, is extolled far and wide for its garlands of valour..." (Euripides, *Trojan*

⁸⁴ Maxwell-Stuart 1973: 398.

⁸⁵ Maxwell-Stuart 1973: 397.

⁸⁶ Scodel 1980: 139.

Women 219-223). This brief mention does not suggest Euripides' allegiance either way to a political agenda, but it does plant the idea of Sicily into the audience's consciousness.

It is also important to understand that the message of *The Trojan Women* would have been shaped by the other plays that came before it; for example, the audience had just watched *Alexander*, where the Trojans, Hecuba in particular, were depicted unfavorably.⁸⁷ Like *Trojan Women*, other plays may also have had political implications. The young Paris in *Alexander*, fated to be the ruin of the city, may have seemed reminiscent of Alcibiades.⁸⁸ In the following play, *Palamedes*, the superstitious old general may have seemed like the Athenian general Nicias.⁸⁹ Many blamed the eventual loss in Sicily on the fact that the Athenians were ill-equipped, as exemplified by their sending Alcibiades and Nicias to lead the expedition. It is possible that Euripides was highlighting the inherent problems with the venture by having characters in his first two plays who resemble these inadequate generals.⁹⁰ Together, the plays depict war in an unavoidably ill-favored light. Because of the arrogance of the Trojans in the first play and the repulsive Greek trickery in the second, neither side profits. Finally, the culminating play, *Trojan Women*, shows the degradation caused by war. Maxwell-Stuart in 1973 describes how *The Trojan Women* must be viewed in light of the other plays in its trilogy.

It fulfills the prophecy of the first: the seeds of destruction
are sown and allowed to grow; inevitably, only one harvest
can be reaped; and in between we are taught a moral lesson,
that cowardice and treachery can use the credulity of

⁸⁷ Barlow 1997: 28.

⁸⁸ Alcibiades was a radical and war-hungry Athenian leader. He was one of the leaders of the Sicilian Expedition, but was recalled to Athens and exiled because he was suspected of drunkenly mutilating the Herms, a sacrilege, on the night before the mission departed.

⁸⁹ Nicias was the older, more conservative, general who also led the Sicilian Expedition. Like Palamedes, Nicias was also known for being superstitious.

⁹⁰ Scodel 1980: 139-140.

ordinary men to destroy true wisdom in time of war and men's judgment can be perverted to injustice.⁹¹

Considering that these plays were produced while Athens was deciding whether to venture out for the Sicilian Expedition, it is reasonable to see this trilogy as an anti-war statement.

I believe Euripides reveals his views on political policy through *The Trojan Women*. When Euripides produced *The Trojan Women*, it would have been clear to the audience he was not simply retelling myths.⁹² The play gives the message that military expeditions, whether they be to Melos or Sicily, end in disaster. As Sartre says when writing his own adaptation of *Trojan Women*, "The plays had a specifically political meaning even in Euripides' own time. It was a denunciation of war in general and colonial expeditions in particular."⁹³ Euripides lived at the height of Athenian supremacy. He watched Athens' priorities shift from protection to empire-building. One can see how Sartre is able to liken Euripides' distaste for the Melian and Sicilian expeditions to a condemnation of colonial expeditions in general.

We do not, and cannot, know how an Athenian audience would have reacted to any given tragedy. Simon Goldhill points out that "It is an intolerably naïve idea to suppose that an audience for a drama has only a uniform, homogeneous collective identity or response."⁹⁴ This is true with theater in general; however, as Sartre points out,

The Athenian audience "got" *The Trojan Women* just as the bourgeois audience nowadays "gets" *Godot* or *The Bald Soprano* – delighted to listen to platitudes, but realizing that it is watching them being broken down.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Maxwell-Stuart 1973: 389.

⁹² Sartre 1965: 310.

⁹³ Sartre 1965: 313.

⁹⁴ Goldhill 1990: 115.

⁹⁵ Sartre 1965: 311.

It would not be unjustified to say that some in the Athenian audience would draw parallels to their lives from *The Trojan Women*. One must only look at how *The Trojan Women* has been received throughout the twentieth century to see that it is one of the greatest anti-war plays ever written.

Karelisa Hartigan, writing about productions of Greek tragedy in America, found that “*Trojan Women* was frequently staged during times of military conflict, but seldom during times of peace.”⁹⁶ More explicitly, Hartigan concluded that, “*Trojan Women* is staged each time the United States goes to war.”⁹⁷ The first major modern performance of *Trojan Women* took place in 1914 at the Chicago Little Theater. In the atmosphere of World War I, Maurice Brown directed an acclaimed production, based off the translation by Gilbert Murray. Billed as an anti-war play, the production was sponsored by the Women’s Peace Party and toured the United States from 1914-1915.⁹⁸ Interestingly, Murray did not want it to be inferred from Chicago Little Theater’s tour with the Women’s Peace Party that he advocated peace with Germany; however, he later said he hoped Britain would “scrutinize earnestly, though I hope generously, the proposed terms of peace.”⁹⁹ Another prominent production of *Trojan Women* during World War I was arranged by Granville Barker at the City College of New York.¹⁰⁰ The play was also performed at Oxford at end of the war, in 1919, in order to coincide with the Oxford Conference of the League of Nations and underline the goals of peace for the conference. The play was again presented at the Alhambra Theatre in 1920 to mark the official

⁹⁶ Hartigan 1995: ix.

⁹⁷ Hartigan 1995: 2. She compared *Trojan Women* here with Euripides’ *The Bacchae*, which also fades in and out of fashion, notably being popular in the 1960s.

⁹⁸ Hartigan 1995: 17-19.

⁹⁹ As quoted by MacIntosh 1997: 303.

¹⁰⁰ Hartigan 1995: 15.

foundation of the League of Nations Union.¹⁰¹ *The Trojan Women* was also performed numerous times throughout the 1930s and 1940s as protests against World War II.

Hartigan comments that the one period of this past century when *Trojan Women* was not performed was the ‘happy’ 1950s.¹⁰²

Later in the twentieth-century, *The Trojan Women* was revived following different outbreaks of the conflict. When Sartre created his famous adaptation in 1965, it was a response to the French war in Algeria.¹⁰³ In his interview about why he chose to adapt the piece, Sartre says,

Nowadays we are all too well aware of what war means; neither victors nor vanquished would survive an atomic war. That is precisely what the whole play is about: the Greeks destroyed Troy, but their victory will bring them no benefit whatever, because the vengeance of the gods will destroy them too. [...] I preferred to leave Poseidon the last word: “all of you will perish.”¹⁰⁴

Sartre is not alone in associating *Trojan Women* with atomic war. Tadashi Suzuki is also famous for his 1974 Japanese adaptation of *The Trojan Women*, which was created to evoke memories of Hiroshima.¹⁰⁵ Around the same time in 1971, director Michael Cacoyannis created a famous film adaptation of *Trojan Women* as a protest to the Vietnam War.¹⁰⁶ Another notable anti-war production was done by Andrei Serban in 1974 at La Mama Annex in New York.¹⁰⁷ In addition to its associations with atomic, ‘total’ warfare, *The Trojan Women* exhaustively expresses the plight of the refugee. Ellen

¹⁰¹ MacIntosh 1997: 304.

¹⁰² Hartigan 1995: 44.

¹⁰³ Unfortunately, while Sartre beautifully explains why he adapted the play for a modern audience and is therefore useful for my discussions, his adaptation has never been translated into English. Ironically, it has only been ‘adapted’ into English and so I will not be using it in my discussions.

¹⁰⁴ Sartre 1965: 313.

¹⁰⁵ McDonald 2003:174-175.

¹⁰⁶ The film starred Katharine Hepburn as Hecuba, Vanessa Redgrave as Andromache, Genevieve Bujold as Cassandra, and Irene Papas as Helen.

¹⁰⁷ Hartigan 1995:45-46.

McLaughlin created an adaptation in 1996 to address the problems experienced by female refugees of the Balkan Wars. The play has also been recently used as a vehicle to express dissatisfaction with the war in Iraq; one example of this is Christine Evans' adaptation *Trojan Barbie*.¹⁰⁸

The productions today build upon an historical tradition of utilizing Euripides' tragedy for its anti-war message. *The Trojan Women*, whether it was written in direct response to the Melian episode or not, was born out of the turmoil of the Athenian Empire clashing with the rest of the Greek world. In the Theater of Dionysus, Euripides was able to use the ancient stories from Troy to warn of the horrors of war. His play is reproduced today with the same purpose in mind. Euripides' message does not need to be modernized. However, the theatrical experience has changed over the intervening 2,500 years and thus brings translators and playwrights to think of how to reinvent Euripides so that his play can reach a large modern audience whom he never imagined. Theatre in fifth-century Athens was a place for discussions; a place where the concerns of all people could be raised in a theatrical setting. As I begin to examine different translations and adaptations, bear in mind the background of Greek theater – its birth on the Acropolis and its link to the political and divine. In order to capture all the elements of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, a contemporary author must retain as many as possible of the themes and motivations of the original, while contemporizing aspects to draw in a modern audience.

¹⁰⁸ Specific details of all of these and others adaptations and productions will be discussed later.

Chapter Three: Difficulties in Translation

Euripides' *Trojan Women* is a beautiful and moving play. We are fortunate that it has been preserved for millennia so that we can read it and watch it in translation. Today, we also have a range of translated texts that convey Euripides' story. I have classified the different types of translation into four groups: literal translations, performable translations, versions, and adaptations. To exemplify why I believe there are different categories of translations, I have examined twelve editions of *The Trojan Women* from the last hundred years (see Appendix A). These chosen translations of *Trojan Women* contain a range of linguistic, stylistic, and audience related choices made by translators. Appendix A showcases an example from Andromache's speech in all the different texts.¹⁰⁹ While I have highlighted this selection of Andromache's speech, in discussing the difficulties in translation, I will use examples from the entirety of these texts. I have also included in Appendix C my own literal translation with commentary of Andromache's speech, to help a reader who does not know Attic Greek compare the translations with the original. By examining several translations of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, I hope to illustrate the difficulties in the process of translation and examine how different translators handle each challenge. Having looked at how translators struggle with these issues, in Chapter Four I will go on to discuss my criteria for categorizations of these texts.

¹⁰⁹ This example is fourteen lines in the original Greek, 660-674; however, as evident from a glance, the passage varies greatly in length from one translation to another.

Euripides' *Trojan Women* is a useful tragedy to explore the variance of translations because Euripides' message is already modern. The Trojan War epitomizes any war, the captive women, any people. Greek tragedy also offers an audience a chance to deal with bare emotions. The characters' circumstances may be unusual, but their feelings and reactions are timeless.¹¹⁰ The Greek playwright wanted to evoke an emotional response from his audience. Virginia Woolf describes the emotive aspect of Greek tragedy saying, "Truth is various; truth comes to us in different disguises; it is not with the intellect alone that we perceive it."¹¹¹ It is the job of the translator to make sure that as many aspects as possible of the original are conveyed in order to allow the Greek play to reach a modern audience.

When working with a text, a translator's first challenges are linguistic problems such as meter, word choice, and syntax. A translator must also focus on translating not only words but also the culture as well. Translators are aware of their audience, writing differently for a text meant to be read versus writing a play intended for performance. Translators who wish to create literal, or even performable, translations are faced with a formidable task. A translator must be aware that at some point the literal translation of words gives way to the style and meaning behind the text. It is impossible to flawlessly translate ancient Greek into English. "We can never hope to get the whole fling of a sentence in Greek as we do in English. [...] We cannot pick up infallibly one by one all those minute signals by which a phrase is made to hint, to turn, to live."¹¹²

For Greek tragedy, the form in which a play is constructed is as important as word choice. In Greek, a playwright was called '*poietes*;' however, this term is misleading

¹¹⁰ Woolf 1925: 44-45.

¹¹¹ Woolf 1925: 51.

¹¹² Woolf 1925: 55.

because although Greek tragedy is in verse, it does not resemble the modern idea of poetry.¹¹³ The ancient Greek word ποιητής, ‘*poietes*,’ literally means someone who makes, creates, or produces something. The playwrights were ‘poets’ because they created plays, not because they wrote in verse. Nevertheless, Greek tragedy is written in poetic meters. Typically, Greek tragedy is in iambic trimeters, but it is speckled with different types of verse, such as more formal lyric meters.¹¹⁴ Euripides especially, tended to mark off different types of speeches in this plays, such as *agon* (debate) or *stichomythia* (fast, one-line dialogue).¹¹⁵

Barlow says, “It is hard to communicate in a few words just what the lyric metres achieve in Greek Drama.”¹¹⁶ Greek playwrights utilized a range of rhythms to evoke religious and emotional responses; for example, Hecuba’s anxiety during Talthibius’ first entrance is emphasized by the fact that she speaks in lyric lines while he uses iambic trimeters.¹¹⁷ Cassandra’s speech also exemplifies this dynamic use of verse. She begins her mad dash with a lyric melody and then transitions into iambic meter for her more serious prophetic monologues. Euripides concludes Cassandra’s speech with trochaic tetrameters, which adds drama and stress to her closing lines.¹¹⁸

...let me marry my bridegroom in the house of Death. A dishonourable man, you shall be buried dishonourably, not by day but by night, you leader of the Greeks who think you have accomplished something great. Myself they will cast out as a naked corpse, and the ravines flowing with

¹¹³ Walton 2006: 106.

¹¹⁴ Walton 2006: 106.

¹¹⁵ Barlow 1986: 13.

¹¹⁶ Barlow 1986: 11.

¹¹⁷ Barlow 1986: 170.

¹¹⁸ Barlow 1986: 176.

storm water shall give me to wild beasts to feed on near the
grave of my bride-groom, me, the servant of Apollo.
(Barlow 1986: 91).

This is a straight prose translation. While Barlow states that she tried to use condensed poetic artifices for the lyric sections,¹¹⁹ the poetry does not clearly show through. Unfortunately, English prose is not able to employ the diverse poetry of the Greek. Because of this, before the nineteenth-century, prose translations of verse, such as Barlow's, were unacceptable. Alexander Tytler said in 1790,

To attempt therefore a translation of a lyric poem into prose, is the most absurd of undertakings: for all those very characters of the original which are essential to it, and which constitute its highest beauties, if transferred to a prose translation, become unpardonable blemishes.¹²⁰

Despite the faults of prose translations, when one tries to translate poetry, the poetic techniques of one language must give way to the metrical laws of the other.¹²¹

“Translators adopt two approaches to the style of the original: they either imitate it through extended formal equivalence, or they use a target language style deemed functionally equivalent.”¹²² Examining Cassandra's scene further, one can see how different translators work with this problem. Murray's 1915 translation is a clear example of verse, although he does not attempt to mimic the original Greek:

On; hasten; guide me to the house of Death,
To lie beside my bridegroom! ...
Thou Greek King,
Who deem'st thy fortune now so high a thing,
Thou dust of the earth, a lowlier bed I see,
In darkness, not in light, awaiting thee:

¹¹⁹ Barlow 1986: 39.

¹²⁰ Kelly 1979: 191.

¹²¹ Cookson 1923: 146.

¹²² Kelly 1979: 179.

And with thee, with thee... there, where yawneth plain
A rift of the hills, raging with winter rain,
Dead... and out-cast... and naked... it is I
Beside my bridegroom: and the wild beasts cry,
And ravin on God's chosen!

(Murray 1915: 34).

While this translation tries to preserve the poetry of the Greek, it seems to lighten the drama of Cassandra's speech by the use of rhyme, which is never used in Greek.¹²³ In Cassandra's earlier monologues, when she sings about her wedding, Murray's verse works well.

Later in the twentieth-century, translators began using free-verse forms to translate poetry.¹²⁴ Shapiro's recent translation of *Trojan Women* is written "based on the conviction that only translators who write poetry themselves can properly re-create the celebrated and timeless tragedies."¹²⁵ Shapiro writes that he wanted to preserve the "original luster" by casting "the spoken passages in blank verse, and the choral and monadic odes in a variety of two- to four – beat accentual lines."¹²⁶ Here is Shapiro's example of Cassandra's speech:

To marry my bridegroom in the house of death.
Dishonorable man, they'll bury you
Dishonorably by night, in darkness, you,
Illustrious commander of the Greeks
Who brag of having brought Troy to its knees.
And me they'll slash and dump in some ravine
Where runoff from the rain will wash my corpse
Out by the grave of my beloved bridegroom,
And there I'll lie, naked, for wild beasts to feed on,
Me, the faithful servant of Apollo.

(Shapiro 2009: 512-523).

¹²³ Barlow 1986: 11.

¹²⁴ Kelly 1979: 192.

¹²⁵ Shapiro 2009: back-cover.

¹²⁶ Shapiro 2009: 29. Shapiro also wrote his translation based off of Barlow's prose translation.

While not quite capturing the emotional levels of Euripides, Shapiro purposefully used blank verse because, as he says, it “can heighten into lyricism of intense emotion or accommodate and dramatize the rhetorical flourishes of argumentation. It can feel thoughtfully, and think feelingly.”¹²⁷ I believe Shapiro succeeds at capturing the audience’s attention and providing changing emotional tempos throughout the play.

Creating the same sort of poetry in English as Euripides did in Attic Greek is nearly unattainable. Part of this problem is because the Greek of Attic tragedy was derived from early poetic forms of language; the first literature of Ancient Greece was poetry. English, on the other hand, does not have this foundation.¹²⁸ In Greek, “there is an ambiguity which is the mark of the highest poetry; we cannot know exactly what it means. [...] The meaning is just on the far side of language.”¹²⁹ It is the job of the translator to not only translate the words of the Greek, but also to capture the essence of the poetry. After a translator decides how to best transpose the Greek meter, he or she must face other linguistic issues, such as syntax and word choice.

An obvious dilemma facing a translator is the issue of word choice. “There is probably not one Greek word that you can match, hue for hue and weight for weight, in English.”¹³⁰ Gilbert Murray points out, fittingly, that “the most characteristic word in the Greek language is ‘*logos*’. The Liddell and Scott Greek lexicon, severely compressed as it is, takes about 5,500 words to explain its chief meaning. Its history would need a whole book.”¹³¹ Murray highlights the fact that the one Greek word *logos*, or *λόγος*, while most

¹²⁷ Shapiro 2009: 29.

¹²⁸ Barlow 1986: 39.

¹²⁹ Woolf 1925: 49.

¹³⁰ Cookson 1923: 147.

¹³¹ Murray 1946: 5.

simply translated as ‘word’ or ‘story,’ means hundreds of things depending on context. “It is worth noting again that what Euripides accomplishes in twenty words takes the most literal translator more than forty.”¹³² Virginia Woolf notes that Greek utilizes compactness of expression; “Spare and bare as it is, no language can move more quickly, dancing, shaking, all alive, but controlled.”¹³³ Woolf also comments that translation “is an exhausting process; to contract painfully upon the exact meaning of words; to judge what each admission involves.”¹³⁴ A translator must be aware not only of the meaning of every word, but also of its tense and syntax in the sentence.¹³⁵ Despite the difficulty, a translator’s word choice can go a long way to re-creating a text in a new language.

Woolf gracefully describes the importance and inadequacy of word choice when translating from Attic Greek, saying, “Does not the whole of Greece heap itself behind every line of its literature? [...] the grove only has to be called *abaton*, ‘untrodden,’ and we imagine the twisted branches and the purple violets.”¹³⁶ Each Greek word contains its own history. In 1950, philosopher Bertrand Russell said, “No one can understand the word ‘cheese’ unless he has a nonlinguistic acquaintance with cheese.”¹³⁷ Russell’s dilemma is pertinent to translation because there are many words in Greek where the literal correspondence in English would not make sense for a modern reader. An example of this might be the word κρήδεμνον in line 508 of *Trojan Women*. Literally, κρήδεμνον translates to mean the veil that covers a woman’s face that shields her from men;

¹³² Walton 2006: 69.

¹³³ Woolf 1925: 56.

¹³⁴ Woolf 1925: 51.

¹³⁵ Gender also comes into play when translating from ancient Greek to a language that also has masculine and feminine nouns, as a noun feminine in the Greek may be masculine in the secondary language and therefore have different gender associations (Jakobson 1992: 150).

¹³⁶ Woolf 1925: 55.

¹³⁷ Russell 1950 as quoted by Jakobson 1992: 144.

however, in line 508 the word describes a pile of rocks Hecuba rests her head on.¹³⁸ Here κρήδεμνον is used as a metaphorical crown. Morwood, for example, translates κρήδεμνον as a “pillow” (2000: 52), while Barlow writes it as a “head-rest” (1986: 95). A reader of either of these translations would have no idea of the important gender symbolism behind the word κρήδεμνον and, consequently, the metaphor is lost.

As with κρήδεμνον, many words in Attic Greek cannot be translated directly into English because they are metaphors. “A table is usually a table, but here there are more exceptions: a statistical table, a plateau, a sounding-board.”¹³⁹ Even when words seem straight-forward, translators must ask themselves ‘what kind of chair’ or ‘what kind of hill.’¹⁴⁰ In the line 665, examined in the appendices, there is the idea that one night in another man’s bed will change a woman.¹⁴¹ The word ‘night’ is εὐφρόνη, which literally means ‘the kindly time.’ The word εὐφρόνη is a traditional euphemism for night; it is not the word ‘night,’ which is νύξ. Only two of the translators whose work I examined try to convey to their audience a sense that the word means more than just ‘night.’ Lattimore says, “one night of love” (1958: 665), and Hartman writes, “a night of pleasure” (1997: 46). Both of these translations, while possibly stretching the idea, hint to a modern audience that εὐφρόνη is more than just an ordinary night. Another example of a metaphor is Talthylbius’ deception of Polyxena’s death. Examining the Greek, when Hecuba asks Talthylbius about Polyxena’s whereabouts, she literally asks,

ἄρα μοι ἀέλιον λεύσσει; “Does she see the light” (Euripides 270; Barlow 1986: 75).¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Wright 1914: 49.

¹³⁹ Newmark 1991: 90.

¹⁴⁰ Newmark 1991: 90.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix A and C.

¹⁴² Barlow writes about this translation in her commentary on *Trojan Women* on page 172.

Most translators write this as “is she still alive?”¹⁴³ Morwood and Lattimore, two translators whom I believe are the most literal, translate this line as “Does she look upon the light of day” (2000: 46) and “Does she live in the sunlight still?” (1958: 137).

Translators must also be careful when choosing their words, as some have unintended connotations for an English-speaking audience. Heaven and Hell, for example, cannot be used without a Christian context behind them. While possibly unintentional, a translator cannot translate ‘the sky’ as ‘the heavens’ without summoning the Christian implications.¹⁴⁴ In general, religious words sound tired and dated in English. Translators have difficulty in conveying the sense of fate or the supernatural that is a part of Greek religion. When Hecuba is first speaking of Cassandra, Hecuba’s description uses the word ἐκβακχεύουσιν. Most translations translate this as ‘delirious’ or ‘mad;’¹⁴⁵ however, the Greek word ἐκβακχεύουσιν is linked to the Bacchic rites. Cassandra is not just mad, she has been driven into a divine hysteria. Murray’s and Morwood’s translations best communicate this to their audience saying, “God hath maddened” (Murray 1915: 20) and “frenzied” (Morwood 2000: 170). Barlow also points out that phrases like ‘ill-fated’ or ‘ill-stared’ sound more pathetic than religious; they are too similar to secular words like ‘wretched.’¹⁴⁶ When writing his own adaptation of *Trojan Women*, Jean-Paul Sartre also noticed this problem, commenting that phrases relating to gods, such as ‘white-winged dawn,’ sound archaic and remove the reader from the play.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Rudall 1999: 21. Other examples include, Taylor – “She is alive? Is She?” (2007: 16); Barlow – “Does she still live?” (1986: 75).

¹⁴⁴ Newmark 1991: 87.

¹⁴⁵ Barlow 1986: 67, Rudall 1999: 17, Lattimore 1958: 133, Hamilton 1937: 20, or Shapiro 2009: 36.

¹⁴⁶ Barlow 1986: 38.

¹⁴⁷ Sartre 1965: 311.

Another linguistic issue that arises when translating *Trojan Women* into English is that the English language has a limited number of words that adequately express grief. We have ‘bewail,’ ‘mourn,’ ‘lament,’ ‘bemoan,’ ‘wail,’ ‘cry,’ and ‘groan’ to convey more than a dozen different Greek words.¹⁴⁸ For example, θρηνέω, αιάζω, ὀλοφύρομαι, and στενάζω all have definitions of ‘bewail.’¹⁴⁹ The subtle nuances of each of these words cannot be preserved. Additionally, there are many raw emotions uttered in Greek that have no satisfactory modern equivalent.¹⁵⁰ Our expressions for such emotions are outdated: Alas? Alack? Woe is me? These words do not convey the same depth and range of grief as expressed in Greek. The dialogue between Andromache and Hecuba illustrates this problem:

Hecuba: Oimoi.
Andromache: Your lament is the same as mine...
H: Ai-ai...
A: ...for these troubles...
H: O Zeus!

(Barlow 1986: 99).

The responsibility for conveying the grief of “oimoi” and “ai-ai” is left up to the actors and directors of a particular production. An English speaking audience will not automatically respond to the power of these words. In the original Greek, the writer often plays with language, using alliteration and onomatopoeia. In the case of the Trojan lamentations, Euripides used numerous words with long vowels and diphthongs, especially ‘ai’ sounds, to heighten feeling of grief.¹⁵¹ We do not have this type of

¹⁴⁸ Barlow 1986: 37.

¹⁴⁹ These four words are examples Barlow gives on page 37. According to the Perseus website, there are 58 words in the Liddell and Scott dictionaries that use ‘bewail’ as a translation (*Perseus*).

¹⁵⁰ Barlow 1986: 37.

¹⁵¹ Barlow 1986: 201.

alliteration in English; for us, a scream such as “ahhh!” may evoke more of a response than the Greek “ai-ai.” Rudall’s translation demonstrates this:

Hecuba: Ahh, ahh... weep for me!
Andromache: Why do you weep? Weep for me.
H: Ahh, ahh, ahh...
A: The grief is mine!
H: Oh God! Oh Zeus!

(Rudall 1999:32).

Finally, some translators feel these wordless expressions are still not adequate in English and so turn them into phrases. For example, Hamilton writes:

Hecuba: Oh, our sorrow – our sorrow.
Andromache: Why should you weep? This sorrow is mine.
H: O God –
A: What has come to me is mine!
H: My children –

(Hamilton 1937: 37).

Completely erasing the anguished utterances loses some of the sense that these characters are speechless with grief; however, there is no way, with language alone, for a modern audience to differentiate between an ‘oimoi’ and ‘ototoi’ and understand their different meanings. “We have to realize the existence of a sensitiveness of ear and stylistic sense which is apparently far beyond our modern capacities.”¹⁵² For example, Barlow notes that during Cassandra’s frenzy she screams “Euchan Euchoi,” which was the traditional cry used in Bacchic revels.¹⁵³ Taylor’s translation best tries to convey this meaning to the audience by having Cassandra say, “In ecstasy, ah, ecstasy” (Taylor 2007: 18). The word ‘ecstasy’ carries part of the weight of the sexually charged Bacchic induced frenzy, and therefore is more illustrative to a modern audience than the cry “Euchan Euchoi.”

¹⁵² Murray 1946: 189.

¹⁵³ Barlow 1986: 175.

After decisions related to the actual text, a translator must concentrate on translating the subtext of a play. Subtext is meaning found ‘between the lines.’ It is perhaps harder for a modern translator to translate what is not there than actually translating the Greek. In tragedy, there are two notable aspects of subtext – implicit understanding and irony.¹⁵⁴ Implicit understanding arises when words or ideas in the Greek are used purposefully to suggest a connection for the audience. When translating these into English, a modern audience can grasp what is said, but will have trouble gathering any further meaning. As Virginia Woolf says, “By the bold and running use of metaphor he will amplify and give us, not the thing itself, but the reverberation and reflection which, taken into his mind, the thing has made.”¹⁵⁵ Metaphors in the Greek can often only be understood with a knowledge of the subtext behind them. Walton writes that “One of the prime achievements of Euripides was to create evasive dialogue.”¹⁵⁶ What Walton means is that the strength of Euripides’ writing lies not only within the text, but also behind it.

In the passage examined in the appendices, in lines 669-670 Andromache makes the analogy that re-marriage to a new husband is similar to a horse that has been re-yoked to a new horse.¹⁵⁷ In Greek, the lines are: ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ πῶλος ἤτις ἂν διαζυγῆ / τῆς συντραφείσης, ῥαδίως ἔλξει ζυγόν. Barlow translates this as “Not even a horse when separated from its mate will easily bear the yoke” (1986: 107). The word that Barlow defines as “separated from” is διαζυγῆ, which literally translates as “un-yoked” and is also the Greek word for divorce. In Greek, one was ‘yoked’ in marriage. Another

¹⁵⁴ Walton 2006: 113.

¹⁵⁵ Woolf 1925: 50.

¹⁵⁶ Walton 2006: 114.

¹⁵⁷ For this discussion, Appendix C may be helpful.

interesting word in the sentence on 669-670 is συντραφείσης, which Barlow translates as “mate.” συντραφείσης literally means “one who you eat together with,” meaning, “to be brought up together,” “bred up together,” or “to grow customary.” Barlow’s translation of “mate” parallels the horse metaphor more closely with Andromache.¹⁵⁸ Lattimore translates this word as “running mate,” and Shapiro calls it a “stable-mate.” While an English-speaking audience would understand that Andromache is comparing herself to a horse that has also lost its partner, without the knowledge of the relationship in Greek between marriage and yoking and the idea that the relationship was a lifetime partnership, part of the significance of this sentence is lost. Notably, Ellen McLaughlin’s and Christine Evans’ plays, which I have classified as adaptations, leave the horse metaphor out entirely.¹⁵⁹ The other adaptation examined, by Brendan Kennelly, includes the horse analogy; however, Kennelly, who does not read Greek, misinterprets the metaphor. His translation says, “Will not a lively mare run on, run on / to another stallion, when her mate is gone?” (1993: 39). Kennelly’s adaptation completely changes the meaning of the sentence and therefore alters Andromache’s speech.

Cassandra’s character and monologues are another example of speech layered with subtext. To learn what is lost in translating her speeches the audience must first understand that the name ‘Cassandra’ itself held much meaning for a Greek audience. Cassandra was a mad priestess of Apollo. When she was young, she rejected his advances and so he cursed her to always speak the truth, but never to be believed. Therefore, Cassandra’s ravings in *Trojan Women* are heavy with irony, as all she says will come true. The events she describes were part of Classical Greek culture and would have been

¹⁵⁸ Murray and Hamilton also use “mate.”

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix A; however, it should be noted that while not mentioned by Andromache, horses do play a large part in Evans’ *Trojan Barbie*

known to an ancient audience. A translator cannot take for granted that modern audiences will see the irony and understand. One way to address this problem is to add notes to the text to guide a modern reader. Edith Hamilton, for example, adds stage direction into Cassandra's speech to help the reader follow her frenzy; for example, one direction for Cassandra is, "seeming to see TALTHYBIUS for the first time and looking him over haughtily" (1937: 31). Later she says Cassandra "turns away and speaks to herself" (1937: 31).

Different versions and adaptations of *Trojan Women* all play with Cassandra's madness. Because Cassandra is a prophetess and can see the future, playwrights feel they can bring her character into the modern world and easily update her speeches. Even Karen Hartman, who writes her version, *Troy Women*, very close to a performable translation, adds vibrato to Cassandra's monologues and brings her into the modern world. Cassandra enters saying:

Fire song!
Fuck song!
Take torches everyone because this is going to be good.
I'm getting married. Me! Cassandra! Married!
Can you believe it?
They grow up so fast.
It seems like just a minute ago that the ships were arriving
And she was starting to bleed.
I always get so sentimental at these events.
Thank Hymen for a torch to dry my tears.

(2005: 34).

Hartman makes her audience see Cassandra's madness, even though the audience lacks the knowledge of the myths. Christine Evans also highlights Cassandra's insanity in her adaptation, *Trojan Barbie*. Cassandra enters singing "I'm getting married in the morning / Ding dong the bells are going to chime" (Evans 2009: 30). Without explanation, a

modern audience immediately knows Cassandra is mad. When Cassandra is foretelling what will happen to Odysseus, Evans writes:

Don't you worry about
The Boss, Mama:
He's got a bad trip home.
There's a huge monster with one eye
And a taste for sailors and lamb fat.
Singing ladies on the rocks
And half-men, half horses
With enormous muscles / and HUGE COCKS
(Evans 2009: 38).

While Evans' adaptation preserves the story of Odysseus' return, it is accessible to an audience who may not have read Homer's *Odyssey*. Compare Evans' previous passage with its translation by Lattimore.

...Odysseus I will curse no more,
poor wretch, who little dreams of what he must go through
when he will think Troy's pain and mine were golden grace
beside his own luck. Ten years he spent here, and ten
more years will follow before he at last comes home, forlorn
after the terror of the rock and the thin strait,
Charybdis; and the mountain striding Cyclops, who eats
men's flesh; the Ligyan witch who changes men to swine,
Circe; the wreck of his ships on the salt sea,
the lotus passion, the sacred oxen of the Sun
slaughtered, and dead flesh moaning into speech, to make
Odysseus listening shiver. Cut the story short:
he will go down to the water of death, and return alive
to reach home and the thousand sorrows waiting there.
(1958: 142-143).

Instead of saying Cyclops, for example, Evans writes, "There's a huge monster with one eye." A modern audience will understand that Odysseus has "a bad trip home," as compared with a translation that expects an audience to know not only Cassandra's background, but other Greek myths.

This problem with translating subtext arises from cultural differences between ancient Greeks and English speakers. While not all English speakers share a cultural identity, they all have a culture different from that of ancient Greece. As Virginia Woolf points out, “When we read Chaucer, we are floated up to him insensibly on the current of our ancestors’ lives [...] but the Greeks remain in a fastness of their own.”¹⁶⁰ She continues to say,

We do not know how the words sounded, or where precisely we ought to laugh, or how the actors acted, and between this foreign people and ourselves there is not only difference of race and tongue but a tremendous breach of tradition.¹⁶¹

Although not physically part of the text, a modern translator must be aware that Greek culture permeates tragedy and needs to be recreated for a contemporary audience. For example, problems in Greek drama often arise because of a character overstepping the sacred bounds of *xenia*, a custom which is not prevalent today. *Xenia* is the Greek word for the relationship between a guest and his/her host. This is a serious bond and there are strict rules for how each person should act; for example, the host always offers gifts to the guest and in return the guest spreads news of the host’s generosity.¹⁶² *Xenia*, although prevalent in many Greek tragedies and myths, is not found in *The Trojan Women*. An example from *Trojan Women* of culture dictating subtext may be found at the end of the play. The play concludes with Hecuba being led off-stage. A modern audience will presume she will be taken to Greece on Odysseus’ ship; the ancient audience, on the other hand, knew that she never left Troy. The myths about Hecuba say that she will turn

¹⁶⁰ Woolf 1925: 39.

¹⁶¹ Woolf 1925: 39.

¹⁶² Walton 2006: 195.

into a dog out of her grief and remain on the shores of Troy. Cassandra in lines 427-430 hints at this, addressing Talthybius saying,

You tell me that my mother will come to Odysseus's palace. What about the words of Apollo which were communicated to me, that she should die here? I will not reproach her by mentioning the rest.

(Barlow 1986: 89).

Unless one already knows the story, Cassandra's one line gets lost amongst her ravings.

Hartman's version highlights this line and explains the story for the audience; saying,

You said my mother will be slave to Odysseus.
Apollo told me she dies in Troy.
What about that?
Hecuba will drop to all fours and howl
Till you flee.
I see what you leave of Troy.
Nothing could live on those scraps but a dog
So that's what my mother becomes.

(2005: 37).

In Sartre's adaptation, he added a final monologue for Poseidon in order to make clear that Cassandra's prediction came true. In an interview, Sartre explained that he added the monologue to give his audience a cultural background.

The Greeks all knew that she would climb up the mast of the ship that took her away from Troy, be turned into a dog, and fall into the water. But when we see Hecuba going off with her women companions at the end of the play, we may well suppose that she will follow them to Greece. The real denouement is far more powerful.¹⁶³

Another example of a cultural disconnect between the modern audience and the ancient play is the Greeks' relationship to the gods. In *Trojan Women*, the gods, whom the Trojans have honored, have deserted Troy. To a modern audience, this is a part of the

¹⁶³ Sartre 1965: 312.

‘story;’ there is no personal connection to, or belief in, the gods mentioned.¹⁶⁴ To address this problem, some of the translators of *Trojan Women* try to highlight the Greeks’ connection with their gods:

Zeus, you have betrayed us!
Zeus, you have deserted Troy!
Zeus, you have made us the slaves of Greeks!
(Rudall 1999: 51).

Here Rudall uses the name Zeus to keep his audience aware that they are viewing a play about a foreign culture.¹⁶⁵ However, saying ‘Zeus’ instead of a more generic ‘god,’ keeps the play foreign and may not allow the audience to relate as easily to the characters’ situation. Hamilton, for example, uses the Judeo-Christian ‘God,’ in an attempt to connect to her audience.

O God – do I call to you? You did not help.
But there is something that cries out for God
when trouble comes.
(1937: 33).

Taking this idea a step further, other translations try to update the religious terminology to stimulate a personal response from the audience. For example, when describing the priestess Cassandra, Taylor says:

... She is a consecrated virgin, Apollo’s nun.
Lifelong virginity she was promised, by Zeus’ golden-haired son!
(Taylor 2007: 15).

Taylor’s translation refers to Cassandra as “Apollo’s nun” for “Apollo’s priestess.” By using the word ‘nun,’ the idea of a virgin priestess is communicated to audiences

¹⁶⁴ Barlow 1997: 38.

¹⁶⁵ According to Foley, “A recent Chinese translation of Sophocles’ *Oedipus Rex* referred to all the Greek gods generically as Apollo, since he could count on his audience’s ability to recognize the name from the United States space program” (Foley 1999: 1-2).

unfamiliar with Greek religious practices. The benefit of using the word ‘nun’ is that the audience is appropriately horrified with the idea of Cassandra being given as a concubine to King Agamemnon. However, ‘nun’ also carries connotations of quiet obedience, a concept which does not describe Cassandra. Not only is Cassandra a priestess, but she is also a prophet for Apollo who became mad after refusing to have sex with him. She is from a world where a beautiful, crazed, prophetess is the priestess for a physically present god; not at all the world of a convent.

While it is instructive to observe how different translators attempt to translate the culture of ancient Athens, some of the responsibility for conveying these sub-textual clues lies in the production of the play. The actors’ inflections and movements can reveal some of these hidden subtexts. Translation theorist Franz H. Link remarked that:

Complete understanding of a play is possible only if information supplied by the text and knowledge of the audience supplement each other. Understanding and communication no longer work if the audience does not have the information the author could expect from the audience of his time and society.¹⁶⁶

Link continues to suggest that such information could be supplied in program notes.¹⁶⁷

Providing a cultural context allows the audience to better understand the play; however, it is impossible to convey all the necessary information in the short space provided in program notes.

As examined in Chapter Two, to fully understand a Greek tragedy one must first know about the nature of Greek tragedy and life in fifth-century Athens. It is impossible to capture in a background history all of the Greek culture experience needed to

¹⁶⁶ Link 1980: 31.

¹⁶⁷ Link 1980: 33.

understand a play; yet, knowing a brief history of the play and Greek theater will at minimum allow one to glimpse some of the similarities and differences in cultures. It is helpful, for example, to know that *Trojan Women* was originally produced during a time of war, right after Athens had committed unparalleled atrocities against Melos. This knowledge connects the original play with current events; the play is no longer an isolated myth, but it is a story written because of an actual war.

A modern reader or viewer can also benefit from knowing about the relationship of the political to the divine at the City Dionysia. Within a week's worth of events, religious and political ceremonies were intertwined with a competition for the best playwright. While theater today can be viewed as a privileged experience where audiences get dressed up and ticket prices can cost hundreds of dollars, anyone could attend the City Dionysia and the tickets were free. The audience was often comprised of people who had a personal stake in the issues being raised by the performances. It is difficult to provide this emotional connection for an audience simply through a translation; however, there are ways to reach out to an audience. Peter Burian writes that "through film and television, Greek tragedy is becoming part of a new global culture, and its adaptations to the new media show that a tradition begun so locally in the Theatre of Dionysus has a broad appeal and need no longer be the exclusive property of a Western elite."¹⁶⁸ Exemplifying Burian's statement about the growth of classical Greek tragedies, in 2008 writer and director Bryan Doerries started his own company called Theater of War. His group, with support from the Defense Department, tours military bases in the

¹⁶⁸ Burian 1997: 281.

United States performing part of Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*.¹⁶⁹ Like Jonathan Shay's book *Achilles in Vietnam*, Doerries hopes that showing soldiers that they are not alone will help with the physiological impact of war.¹⁷⁰

Productions such as those the Theater of War stage for the military attempt to bridge the cultural divide between Euripides' viewers and today's; however these productions still lack the diverse audience of ancient Athens. Additionally, most translators do not have the ability to choose either their audience or the manner in which their play will be produced. Nicholas Rudall, for example, can state that his text is intended for performance, but he cannot control who the audience is that sees it. He must use his word choice and style alone to convey his desired impression. A playwright who adapts, or writes a new version of Euripides, may be granted more control over their audience. If he or she wants the viewers to leave overwhelmed by the vastness of war, the adaptation will highlight different themes than if he or she wanted to focus on the idea of refugees. Versions and adaptations can either go farther than translations in conveying the Greek cultural experience or they can abandon Greek culture completely and create their own audience. In the next chapter, I will examine different translations, versions, and adaptations of Euripides' *Trojan Women* and explore how faithful or liberal authors are with Euripides' play. As understanding a cultural history helps one to see the difficulty in translation, knowing about the difficulties of translation provides a background for one to understand the choices of a particular translator or playwright.

¹⁶⁹ This group has unbelievable support from the United States Department of Defense. The Pentagon provided \$3.7 Million for them to visit 50 military sites in 2009-2010 (Healy 2009: C1).

¹⁷⁰ Healy 2009: C1.

Chapter Four:
The Classification of Texts

Every translator or playwright must make a choice of audience. Is the play intended for scholars to dissect and study, or to move a modern audience? Is it a play based solely in the past, or does it echo current social and political situations? Aside from linguistic translation difficulties, what distinguishes the different texts of Euripides' *Trojan Women* is the choice of audience. In my examination of twelve translations and adaptations of *Trojan Women*, one can see how greatly an audience can influence a translation.¹⁷¹ Much of my reasoning for why I classified a text as a literal translation, a performable translation, a version, or an adaptation, comes from a combination of how and why the play was made and who was the intended audience.

I believe Richard Lattimore, Shirley Barlow, and James Morwood all created literal translations of *The Trojan Women*. They adhered strictly to the Greek and added little of their own flare. If you compare their translations with my own literal translation, in Appendix C, you can see how closely they follow the Greek.

As evident from the previous discussions of problems facing translators, Lattimore strives to provide a straight and comprehensive translation of *The Trojan Women*. His work was written as part of a series called *The Complete Greek Tragedies* compiled by himself and David Grene in 1958 as an educational anthology for the University of Chicago Press.¹⁷² In his introduction, Lattimore expresses his dislike for *The Trojan Women*, saying, "In candor, one can hardly call *The Trojan Women* a good

¹⁷¹ Again, these translations and adaptations can be found in Appendix A.

¹⁷² For the dates of all the translations and adaptations see Appendix B. Some are straight-forward but others are more complicated.

piece of work, but it seems nevertheless to be a great tragedy.”¹⁷³ Perhaps because of this disdain, Lattimore’s translation emphasizes the so-called “general shapelessness”¹⁷⁴ of the play and its lack of action. Lattimore’s translation reads as merely a translation from Greek into English, and is devoid of any additional luster.

Shirley Barlow’s 1986 text is not only a translation but also a commentary for a scholarly audience. She begins with a lengthy introduction, whereby she outlines Greek theatrical practices as well as provides notes on her own translation. Barlow’s text is educational, ideal for students of the Classics. Not only does she write notes on particular words and phrases in the Greek, but she also includes many bibliographies and ideas for further reading. Additionally, Barlow has two indices to guide her readers: a stylistic index and an index of general subjects. Barlow’s translation is in concise prose and is written alongside the Greek.

James Morwood’s 2000 translation is also a fine example of a prose translation written for students of the Classics. As with Barlow’s, Morwood’s translation is not intended to be performed; instead, Morwood’s text is prose accompanied by explanatory notes. Unlike Barlow’s commentary, where many of the notes are on the syntax of the Greek words, Morwood’s notes provide background information for a student who may not be familiar with the story or its background. In the example in Appendix A, there is an asterisk after the first sentence where Morwood explains Andromache’s relationship to her new master, Achilles’ son. Like Barlow, Morwood’s work also includes an extensive introduction, written by Edith Hamilton, which provides historical information on Euripides and Greek tragedy.

¹⁷³ Lattimore 1958: 124.

¹⁷⁴ Lattimore 1958: 124.

The next section that I examined is performable translations. Greek tragedy is inherently dramatic. Translation theorist Ortrun Zuber says, “The translator of a play should not merely translate words and their meanings but produce speakable and performable translations. In the process of translating a play, it is necessary for him to mentally direct, act and see the play at the same time.”¹⁷⁵ As none of the bloodshed is seen onstage, speech is everything. The messenger’s speeches and the *agones*, or debate passages, use persuasion to capture the hearts and minds of the audience.¹⁷⁶ Virginia Woolf points out that Greek tragedy does not have the luxury afforded to literature, which can be read carefully over and over; instead, “every sentence had to explode on striking the ear. [...] Dramatic they had to be at whatever cost.”¹⁷⁷ Consideration for the performance of the play is only a relatively recent phenomenon. While some scholars still value the literary aspects of Greek tragedy over performance, others believe that “the medium of drama is sound and sight, not the printed page.”¹⁷⁸

It is impossible to separate the theatrical from Euripides’ plays, and yet, until the nineteenth-century, Greek tragedy was a purely scholarly, literary medium.¹⁷⁹ These eighteenth- and nineteenth-century translations would not be viable for modern performance. There was the notion that more literal translation better represents Euripides. Writing in 2006 about these early translations, Michael Walton said, “There is no reason why Aeschylus, still less Euripides or Menander, should seem more viable in the sort of language used by translators from the eighteenth century, still less in the

¹⁷⁵ Zuber 1980: 93.

¹⁷⁶ Barlow 1986: 15-16.

¹⁷⁷ Woolf 1925: 50.

¹⁷⁸ Taplin 1978: 174.

¹⁷⁹ Walton 2006: 14.

never-spoken language of a Gilbert Murray.”¹⁸⁰ While I agree with part of Walton’s statement and believe that older translations, which strictly adhere to literally translating the text, do not automatically constitute a better interpretation of Euripides, I disagree with his statement about Murray. I think Murray wrote a performable translation. In addition to Murray, I also believe Edith Hamilton, Nicholas Rudall, and Alan Shapiro all created performable translations.

Until the 1920s, Murray’s 1905 translation was the most widely performed reproduction of *The Trojan Women*.¹⁸¹ After the 1920s, his translation remained prominent and in 1963 H.D.F. Kitto, a producer, reiterated that Murray’s translation was the most stage-worthy.¹⁸² Murray’s translation is not written in standard English; rather, it is created in an ornate, lyrical style filled with rhyme. While close to a literal translation, Murray’s intention was to convey the poetic power of the Greek and therefore sometimes sacrifices technical elements for style. For example, Murray writes,

Oh, I should stand
A traitor to the dead! And if my hand
And flesh shrink from him... lo, wrath and despite
O’er all the house, and I a slave!

(Murray 1915: 44).

Compare this with Barlow’s literal translation: “But if I show hostility to my present husband, I shall be hated by him who is my master” (Barlow 1986: 107). It is clear to see where all the parts of Murray’s translation come from; however, he has added imagery for poetic purposes. In his introductory note to *Trojan Women*, Murray describes

¹⁸⁰ Walton 2006: 21-22.

¹⁸¹ Murray created his *Trojan Women* translation originally in 1905; however, he edited it again and republished it again in 1915 and the 1915 edition is the one examined here. See Appendix B for other issues with dates.

¹⁸² Murray 1965: viii.

Euripides' play saying, "It is only the crying of one of the great wrongs of the world wrought into music, as it were, and made beautiful by 'the most tragic of the poets.'"¹⁸³ Murray strove to preserve the musical nature of the play. Consequently, many now feel that Murray's translation is a bit too romantic. While I would not choose to use Gilbert Murray's translation for a performance, I believe he created it with a theatrical audience in mind. He wanted the play to reverberate in his audience.

Edith Hamilton's translation of *The Trojan Women* was written in 1937. After the terror of World War I, the world was facing the outbreak of another war. In her introduction she observes that "the most Aryan Nazi today" would zealously "not think about the rights and wrongs of the war."¹⁸⁴ Hamilton wanted to translate a play that gave people a reason to think about the morality of war. Describing her motivation for translating *Trojan Women* she says,

The Greatest piece of anti-war literature there is in the world was written 2,350 years ago. This is a statement worth a thought or two. Nothing since, no description or denunciation of war's terrors and futilities, ranks with *The Trojan Women* [...]. In that faraway age a man saw with perfect clarity what war was, and wrote what he saw in a play of surpassing power, and then – nothing happened.¹⁸⁵

The goal of Hamilton's translation was to connect with a modern audience. Although she never directly states her intention, it seems that she wished her audience to feel compelled to action, or thought, after seeing *The Trojan Women*. Therefore, although Hamilton wrote a fairly literal translation, her goal was to create a performable work, preserving as much of the power of Euripides as possible. Occasionally, she changed

¹⁸³ Murray 1915: 7.

¹⁸⁴ Hamilton 1937: 6.

¹⁸⁵ Hamilton 1937: 1.

words or ideas to be more in keeping with a modern audience. For example, she removed all utterances, such as ‘ai’ or ‘oi,’ and replaces them with words like ‘Our sorrow.’

Hamilton also exchanged some religious cries to ‘Zeus’ to a Judeo-Christian ‘God.’ For example, Hecuba cries,

O God – Do I call to you? You do not help.
But there is something that cries out for God
When trouble comes.

(Hamilton 1937: 33).

While I do not agree with Hamilton making a Greek god into God, with a capital G, I understand that she was trying to connect with her audience. This particular plea of Hecuba’s is a universal feeling of abandonment during wartime. Overall, Hamilton’s translation comes closest to bridging the lines between a literal and performable translation. Nevertheless, I believe that at times she sacrifices accuracy for clarity because Hamilton wants a modern audience to understand the significance of this ancient play.

Much of the viability of a translation to become a theatrical piece lies with the translator’s intention. Michael Walton believes “There is [... a] strong argument that the Greeks are better served by a playwright than by a poet.”¹⁸⁶ While not a playwright, Nicholas Rudall demonstrates with his 1999 translation of *The Trojan Women* that performable translations are those written with a theatrical audience in mind. Rudall’s translation was written as part of a series called *Plays for Performance*.

Plays for Performance is a series of new translations and adaptations of international drama, designed for contemporary production and study. Unlike a great many

¹⁸⁶ Walton 2006: 60.

available editions of theatre works, these are presented with production values uppermost in mind.¹⁸⁷

In the introduction, Rudall states, “As always in this Plays for Performance series, this translation was composed with performance in mind.”¹⁸⁸ Rudall “attempted to translate what was, of course, contemporary Greek for its ancient audience into contemporary English for a modern audience.”¹⁸⁹ In addition to using more colloquial language, Rudall tried to individualize characters, giving them specific speech patterns rather than having them all sound like the translator; for example, the Greek messenger Talthybius has simple and direct diction, Hecuba is dignified, and Menelaus is a “not very intelligent military man.”¹⁹⁰ Compare Rudall’s Talthybius with his Hecuba:

It’s true, though – the big people, the men that everyone
thinks so brilliant,
They’re no better than the nobodies. Take Agamemnon, all
powerful king of Greece.
He’s gone crazy over this mad woman.
(Rudall 1999: 26).

Ahhh... I am to be slave to a treacherous, loathsome man
who knows no sense of justice,
Who fears no law of man.
His double-tongue knows only how to lie and shift from
this to that,
From that to this. He turns friendship into hatred.
(Rudall 1999: 21).

Rudall’s Hecuba and Talthybius have clear characterizations. Talthybius uses simple words and conjunctions while Hecuba speaks intelligently with smooth transitions and a hint of poetry. Through this personalization, Rudall creates a translation more viable for performance.

¹⁸⁷ Rudall 1999: back cover.

¹⁸⁸ Rudall 1999: 5.

¹⁸⁹ Rudall 1999: 5.

¹⁹⁰ Rudall 1999: 5.

Rudall's use of stage directions also hints at the importance of performance for his translation. He uses stage directions only for entrances, exits, and key movements, such as a direction for Hecuba to rise from the ground.¹⁹¹ Because his intended audience is watching the play, Rudall leaves other actions up to the purview of the director. Lattimore, on the other hand, writes for a literary audience and is not concerned with performance. For his stage directions, Lattimore is particularly detailed:

A wagon comes on the stage. It is heaped with a number of spoils of war, in the midst of which sits Andromache holding Astyanax. While the chorus continues speaking, Hecuba rises once more.

(Lattimore 1958: 147).

Lattimore details every movement and prop to give his educational audience a clear visual picture. While Rudall creates a more viable text for performance, Lattimore succeeds in creating a piece for an academic environment. Although Rudall's translation is still quite literal, it differs because it was written for a theatrical audience.

A final example of a performable translation is Alan Shapiro's recent 2009 translation of *Trojan Women*. Unlike Rudall, Shapiro was not explicitly writing for a theatrical audience.¹⁹² Shapiro is a poet and his goal was to preserve the poetry of the Euripides. The series he writes for, *Greek tragedy in New Translation*, is:

Based on the conviction that only translators who write poetry themselves can properly re-create the celebrated and timeless tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the Greek tragedy in New Translation series offers new translations that go beyond the literal meaning of the Greek in order to evoke the poetry of the originals.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Rudall 1999: 15.

¹⁹² For example, while he does not have in depth stage directions, he does provide notes on how he envisions a set for a production.

¹⁹³ Shapiro 2009: back cover.

Shapiro's investment in the poetry of his translation is illustrated by the fact that he uses his own line numbers in his translation. All of the other translations examined here note Euripides' line numbers next to their translation; however, these numbers do not fit with the number of lines in the translation and are therefore inadequate. Shapiro is the only one to write his own line numbers next to his translation and then preserves Euripides' line numbers at the top of each page. His use of his own line numbers illustrates that his text is a poetic play in its own right. In his introduction, Shapiro reiterates this goal, saying, "What I offer here is an intimate, creative reading of one poetry by another, a reading that I hope reveals and honors the emotional and verbal richness of the primary text."¹⁹⁴ His poetry shines through his translation. Shapiro claims that he relied heavily on Shirley Barlow's prose translation when creating his own translation. Compare the beginning of Hecuba's speech in Shapiro's translation, with her speech in Barlow's:

No, women, leave me lying where I've fallen.
An unwanted kindness is no kindness at all.
Is it any wonder I should faint
From all I suffer and have suffered, and
For all the suffering still to come?
(Shapiro 2009: 544-548).

No, let me lie where I have fallen – kind acts one does not
want are not kind acts at all, my women. It is not surprising
I should faint at what I suffer and have suffered and shall
go on suffering.
(Barlow 1986: 91).

Shapiro's translation is not as direct as Barlow's, as his aim was to not simply to translate the words but also to convey the poetry of Euripides. He states in his translator's note the reason he at times had to sacrifice accuracy for poetry:

¹⁹⁴ Shapiro 2009: 28.

I took to heart the Cervantes' complaint that reading a translation is "like looking at the Flanders Tapestries from behind: you can see the basic shapes, but they are so filled with threads that you cannot fathom their original luster." In this translation, I try to fathom, if not to preserve, the original luster of *The Trojan Women*.¹⁹⁵

Shapiro's translation is poetry. Whether or not he succeeds in conveying the power of Euripides to his audience, Shapiro certainly accomplishes the creation of a translation that showcases the poetry of Greek tragedy.¹⁹⁶

The next category I have defined after performable translations is versions. I believe a version is more than a translation but is not a different play. The playwright incorporates some of his or her own style into the text, but does not stray too far from the original author's ideas. The author does not worry about being faithful to the original Greek. Often, a difference between a performable translation and a version is that the author of a version does not know Attic Greek. The text, therefore, can stray very far from a literal translation. However, while the words may be different, a version does not greatly alter the plays themes or basic plot structure. The two playwrights I feel have created versions of Euripides' text are Karen Hartman and Don Taylor.

Although Karen Hartman herself considers her 2005 work, *Troy Women*, an adaptation, I believe it is an example of a version of Euripides' *Trojan Women*.¹⁹⁷ Because Hartman does not read Attic Greek, in order to write her version,

I read ten translations, then wrote a first draft by rereading twenty lines at a time in the ten versions, closing the books,

¹⁹⁵ Shapiro 2009: 27-28.

¹⁹⁶ I believe Shapiro's translation is beautiful and highly poetic; however, I feel that I do not know enough about Euripides' poetry, for example how it would have sounded in the Greek and the impression it would have had, in order to comment on whether Shapiro creates an English version of Euripides' poetry.

¹⁹⁷ Hartman's version was originally written in 1997. For more information on dates see Appendix B.

writing that passage, and checking to see if I missed anything.¹⁹⁸

For much of the play Hartman follows the Greek closely.¹⁹⁹ She omits parts and adds modern phrasing, but tends to retain much of the meaning of the original passage.

Hartman's Cassandra and final choral passages diverge greatly from Euripides. In her introduction, Hartman says, "Cassandra and the ending are probably the most distinctive aspects of my adaptation, because they relate to the process of history. She is a prophet, so her language is modern."²⁰⁰ Hartman's Cassandra includes all major aspects of Cassandra's speeches found in the Greek, but Hartman then expands on many tangential comments. For example, in Lattimore's literal translation, Cassandra says,

That servant is a vile thing. Oh, how can heralds keep
their name of honor? Lackeys for despots be they, or
lackeys to the people, all men must despise them still.
(Lattimore 1958: 142).

Compare that to Hartman's translation:

I'm looking at you in that suit and thinking about your dick.
I imagine you've got a lot of layers going on.
There's your outside garment
Tailored I'm sure to maximize comfort
Without pinching power.
Then some kind of hard cupping device,
Maybe a strap to bind that on, maybe special pants,
A support,
And right against the big guy himself something soft.
Am I right?

(Hartman 2005: 37).

In the example above, Hartman expands upon a concept that does not appear in the original Greek. Hartman is able to do this because she is retaining Cassandra's contempt

¹⁹⁸ Hartman 2005: 21.

¹⁹⁹ For an example, see Appendix A.

²⁰⁰ Hartman 2005: 22.

for Talthybius. Euripides' Cassandra berates Talthybius for being a slave and messenger, and therefore not a true man. As we are in a world that no longer has slaves, Hartman alters Cassandra's disparaging remarks. To retain the idea that Cassandra is remarking on Talthybius' manhood, Hartman has Cassandra comment on the size of his penis. Hartman makes Cassandra crasser than she is in the Greek. Hartman's Cassandra enters the stage yelling, "Fire song! Fuck song!" (Hartman 2005: 33).

Many contemporary versions and adaptations also play with the role of Cassandra for she is easily modernized and can be used to shock the audience with her vulgarity. Translation theorist Franz H. Link believes that if a play was written in contemporary language than it should be translated into such.²⁰¹ Link says, "As the author uses the language of his own time, so does the translator of the play into another language. [...]. The translator will use the language of his time, and his translation will be an interpretation of the play to the extent that language is determined by its particular society and time."²⁰² Greek tragedy in general was written in an artificially poetic language for the theater. Translating Cassandra's speeches in a more sexually explicit and informal dialect than standard English may mimic Euripides' intention to have her ravings stand out.

Hartman also notes that she modernizes the end of her play. As the Trojan women with Hecuba are marching off to the Greek ships in the final scene, the chorus begins to gain a historical perspective.

CHORUS[not 2]: Women now ruin of Troy.
2: We had a holy day.

²⁰¹ Link 1980: 28.

²⁰² Link 1980: 30.

3: Evidence points to contemporaneity with the Greek. Harmonicity.
 Civilus. Ethic and art.
 4. Troy: A Multi-Millennial Perspective. We ask our pointed question –
 what would be the West with a second cradle?
 5: new scholarship emphasizes perfect gender in ancient
 3: strength and warmth
 4: an idyllic
 CHORUS: Where mountains met the sea.
 (Hartman 2005: 67).²⁰³

Hartman’s play concludes shortly after this with the chorus exiting and Hecuba possibly turning into a dog. These passages of Cassandra and the final chorus seem quite different from the original Greek; however, they exemplify Hartman’s attempts to reach out to her audience. She wants her play to bridge the relationship between Euripides and a modern audience. In her introduction note, Hartman says, “*The Trojan Women* is all denouncement, all aftermath, the pause between vanquished and gone.”²⁰⁴ This theme clearly carries over from Euripides and is preserved in Hartman’s version. After reading Hartman’s *Troy Women*, the reader is left having heard the same story as told by Euripides, with some extreme modern adjustments.²⁰⁵

Don Taylor’s *The Women of Troy* is perhaps a clearer example of a version of *Trojan Women*. Taylor’s *The Women of Troy* was originally written in 1990, but edited further in 2007 for a production at the National Theatre of London.²⁰⁶ While staying close to a performable translation, Taylor’s word choice modernizes certain aspects of the play, sometimes slightly changing the original meaning. As previously set out in Chapter Three, when describing Cassandra Taylor calls her, “Apollo’s nun” (Taylor 2007: 15).

²⁰³ This entire passage is spoken by the chorus. Hartman at times breaks her chorus into individual speakers, 1, 2, 3... and sometimes wants them to speak altogether, as noted when it says “CHORUS.”

²⁰⁴ Hartman 2005: 22.

²⁰⁵ Her version was performed at Yale Repertory Theatre in 1997. I cannot speak to if a viewer of Hartman’s production would have felt the same way and have seen the close connection to Euripides.

²⁰⁶ See Appendix B.

Taylor attempts to provide a modern audience with a familiar religious context; however, using the word ‘nun,’ gives Cassandra a persona, and religion, she does not have. ‘Nun’ is far from the idea of a prophetic, and mad, priestess of Apollo. Like ‘nun,’ other word choices are misleading in Taylor’s translation. For example, when talking about Cassandra, Hecuba says, “Don’t let the Greek soldiers deport her” (Taylor 2007: 11). ‘Deport’ gives the connotation of being exiled from a country that is not one’s homeland. The wording is not harsh enough to express the fact that Greek soldiers are abducting these women to become slaves. Although these word choices, ‘nun’ and ‘deport,’ are at odds with the text, they do not drastically alter the trajectory of the original play. Part of Andromache’s speech, however, does show something more than just a modernization of terms.

... [I] used my intelligence
To improve my own mind, and was content with that.
I lived quietly with my husband, my happiness was obvious
Whenever our eyes met.

(Taylor 2007: 32).

Exemplified by this passage, Andromache’s speech holds more modern notions of an ideal wife. While Andromache is still respectful to her husband, Taylor makes her almost his equal. Compare this with the literal Lattimore translation:

... [I] kept my honest inward thought, and made
my mind my only and sufficient teacher. I gave
my lord’s presence the tribute of hushed lips, and eyes
quietly downcast.

(Lattimore 1958: 151).

Lattimore’s “Eyes quietly downcast” is very different from Taylor’s “my happiness was obvious whenever our eyes met.” Taylor also makes Andromache an equal of Hector

when he translates her silence as “lived quietly with.” The modifications Taylor makes to his translation changes the English so that it can no longer be considered a translation and is therefore a version.

In the final category, adaptation, I will be examining the works of Brendan Kennelly, Ellen McLaughlin, and Christine Evans. The first adaptation I am analyzing is Brendan Kennelly’s 1993 *The Trojan Women*. Like Hartman, Kennelly created his adaptation by working with translations; he says, “I worked from late nineteenth-century translations, six or seven of them, then put them away and wrote it out of my head.”²⁰⁷ Kennelly actually describes his text as a version; however, because of the themes present in his text, which are not in Euripides’, I believe he writes an adaptation. Kennelly’s adaptation focuses on the power of women. In his introduction he states:

I wasn’t writing a hymn to heroic women although I believe a man might spend his lifetime praising certain women and count that life well spent. I tried to write an active drama exploring the complex reality of a few memorable women. It was their different kinds of intensity that I found most magnetic.²⁰⁸

This motivation clearly shows through into his text. Kennelly’s play opens with Poseidon talking about women, something that is not in the original text at all. Kennelly’s Poseidon says,

Love will come to rule the world,
that is, women will rule the world.
Although what you’re about to see
might seem to say that women
are the rags and tatters of humanity
or, at best, the perks of war,
women will rule the world.

²⁰⁷ Lloyd 1994.

²⁰⁸ Kennelly 1993: 5.

I know that. I know it in all my broken dreams.
Women will rule the world.
When that day comes, I won't be as old and tired as I am now.
Only good dreams can rejuvenate
a weary god.

(Kennelly 1993: 7).

Kennelly's play continues to show strong women who are deciding what they will do next. Instead of being passive subjects and slaves about to be taken to new homes, Kennelly has all women act like Cassandra and resolve to go to the Greeks willingly rather than be brought. Hecuba ends the play describing herself as a wave:

A wave of the sea!
Natural and fearless!
This is what I want –
I want to live without fear
and I will, I will,
no matter where I happen to be,
Hecuba, a woman, Hecuba,
a natural, fearless wave of the sea.
[...]
The waves roar and moan in pain.
The waves laugh happily.
The waves are slaves.
The waves are free.
The war is over. The war begins – for me!

(Kennelly 1993: 79).

This is a very different response than a literal translation of the play's conclusion. In

Lattimore's translation, Hecuba says,

Shaking, tremulous limbs,
this is the way. Forward:
into the slave's life.

(Lattimore 1958: 175).

In Euripides' final scene, the chorus has one more line of mourning after this and then the stage directions note that Hecuba is led away slowly. Kennelly's adaptation gives Hecuba

the power. This end is reminiscent of Cassandra's closing lines that she is bringing death to the House of Atreus. Another example of Kennelly shifting the meaning of a speech is in Andromache's speech quoted in Appendix A. His interpretation of her horse analogy, mentioned earlier, changes Andromache into a woman who is planning on forsaking her previous husband for a new love. This is a much less submissive view of Andromache. It differs greatly from Euripides' character of Andromache as the ideal, ever loyal, wife. Kennelly's text is therefore an adaptation because it alters characterization and creates a new theme by focusing too intently on the power of women.

Ellen McLaughlin's adaptation of *The Trojan Women* was created in 1996 as part of a project to work with recent immigrants and refugees from the wars in the Balkans. McLaughlin's text qualifies as an adaptation because it focuses on the theme of the refugee and goes so far as to remove characters in order to achieve this goal. In the several productions orchestrated by McLaughlin, recent refugees were cast as the actors in the play. The play therefore showcases the human element of war. These characters are real. The chorus's opening lines could have come from any of her actors:

I dream of a city.
My home.
I am a mother there.
I am a sister.
I am a wife.
I am a daughter.
I am a fine craftswoman.
I heal the sick.
I carry milk from my goats to the hills.
I know everyone.

(McLaughlin 2005: 92).

McLaughlin's original performances were done in three languages: English, Serbo-Croatian, and Albanian. McLaughlin says, "The basic premise [...] was that the text

would be performed in part in whatever languages the participants identified as their own, and that the translation of each role would always be done by the person performing it.”²⁰⁹ Sometimes the three languages would overlap, with three actors saying the same line in a round in all three languages; other times, two languages would be said at the exact same time.²¹⁰ The text was fluid, changing with each performance. The edition I have examined was put together for Fordham University in 2003 to work with American actors. The original director, Rachel Dickstein, preserved much of the feeling of McLaughlin’s original production by having the actors repeat lines in a canon. However, McLaughlin did not publish all of these repetitions as she wanted future directors to “make their own determinations of what works for their particular production.”²¹¹ It should be noted that much of the musicality of Euripides is preserved in McLaughlin’s adaptation. Words repeat and there is a steady pulse to the text. For example, at one point the chorus says,

Where is my brother? ... Oh, of course.
I remember now.
I remember now.
I remember now.
The war.
The war.
Our ruined city.
Our scattered families.

(McLaughlin 2005: 95).

The text reverberates. There is the sense that these ideas, this sadness of war, have been repeated for centuries.

²⁰⁹ McLaughlin 2005: 81.

²¹⁰ McLaughlin 2005: 83.

²¹¹ McLaughlin 2005: 87.

Besides the poetry of Euripides, McLaughlin also preserves much of a basic structure of the play in that Hecuba is the central character; however, as is characteristic in an adaptation, McLaughlin has removed and changed characters as she deemed necessary. McLaughlin shortened the play, “in an effort to make the text as economical as possible,”²¹² presumably so it could be feasible for her amateur actors to perform. Additionally, because she originally wrote the piece to be performed by women who had recently been victims of a terrible crisis, she removed all the characters she believed were ‘blatantly villainous.’ McLaughlin says she did not want “members of the ensemble [to] feel relegated to representing the aggressor or the feckless *casus belli*.”²¹³ McLaughlin removes Athena and Menelaus, and preserves Talthybius and Poseidon as the only male characters. In her 1993 production, McLaughlin also removed Helen; however she added her back into her 2003 text and made her another refugee. Instead of the conniving Helen of Euripides, McLaughlin’s Helen is another victim:

I alone belonged to both sides of the battle. Have you never thought of that? [...] Every death was a loss, one side or the other, my heart was in ruins. There was no winning for me. I was unique in that. I could imagine no victory.

(McLaughlin 2005: 104).

Euripides’ Helen cries that she was taken to Troy against her will by gods, she even goes so far as to blame Hecuba for bearing Paris in the first place. The Helen of Euripides is speaking to Menelaus and appealing to him as a victim, while McLaughlin’s Helen is appealing to Hecuba and the other Trojan women. All of the women in McLaughlin’s play are trying to survive after war. They must decide how they will approach the future

²¹² McLaughlin 2005: 82-83.

²¹³ McLaughlin 2005: 85.

– with resistance or acceptance. Andromache’s speech, the beginning of which is examined in Appendix A, shows that while McLaughlin’s Andromache is still resistant to her new life, she has hope for the future. At the end, Andromache concludes:

I was blessed before I ever saw him. I was blessed to be given life. It is a gift. I cannot throw it back with disgust because he was taken away from me. I must learn to love it. Even in this horror. Even in this nightmare. Even without him. Far from home. I will find a way.

(McLaughlin 2005: 109-110).

Although tragic, this is a hopeful statement. Andromache, as with the Balkan women acting in the play, learns to treasure her life after disaster. McLaughlin’s adaptation of *Trojan Women* contains much of the framework of Euripides, but expands upon it to increase the plays connection with present events.

The final adaptation I am examining is Christine Evans’ 2009 *Trojan Barbie*. By far, *Trojan Barbie* is the loosest adaptation for it includes not only the addition and subtraction of characters and a reinterpretation of themes, but also a translocation in space and time. Charles Mee, speaking of his own adaptation of *Orestes*, says something reminiscent of *Trojan Barbie*; he states that he used, “Euripides’ plot as a scaffolding that hovers in the background as a reference point while it is simultaneously shattered, interrupted, and remade.”²¹⁴ Evans creates a Troy devoid of gods. In their place, she adds the characters of Polly X, Hecuba’s youngest daughter who is sacrificed to Achilles’ tomb, and Lotte, an English tourist.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Foley 1999: 7.

²¹⁵ The character of Polly X is based on the character Polyxena, Hecuba’s daughter sacrificed for Achilles’ ghost, from Euripides’ earlier play *Hecuba*. Evans also said that inspiration for her storyline came from a newspaper clipping about US soldiers in Baghdad that broke into a zoo and taunted tigers until the animals attacked (Evans 2010). The character of Lotte, on the other hand, was inspired by Botho Strauss’ play, *Big and Little (Scenes)*, and speaks to the disconnect people feel with foreign societies (Evans 2010).

Evans also adds modern soldiers to her play who are unfazed by war's atrocities.

One of these soldiers, Mica, enters the play spouting military propaganda:

To think of "Troy" as a failed state, mired in civil war and ancient hatreds, is to take an unnecessarily negative view. We must look to the future. We must imagine Troy building itself over the bones and rubble of the past!
(Evans 2009: 30-31).

Rather than focusing on the suffering of women in war, Evans says she wanted to

"dramatize the illusion of our contemporary Western distance from such suffering."²¹⁶

Evans' play shows the Western world rejecting suffering as something of the past. During an e-mail interview I conducted with Evans, she said that she "was writing *Trojan Barbie* during the Bush war years and was horrified by what was going on and the apparent lack of resistance from the US population to the invasion in Iraq on a very flimsy pretext."²¹⁷

The British character Lotte best illustrates this ignorance of the West. Throughout the play she is on her 'vacation' to Troy. Slowly, she learns more about the devastation around her. At the end, once she has returned safely to England, she realizes the West's naïveté, and says,

The only part that really disturbs me is, with all the media hoo-hah, they ever asked about the women. About where they were taking them in the trucks. And I don't know how to find out. Nobody asked anything about the women. It was all focused on me, goodness knows why, I mean I didn't really do anything except manage to get rescued!
(Evans 2009: 46).

The theme of the media's attention to war is also brought up at other points in the play;

for example, Hecuba says,

²¹⁶ Evans as cited by *Encore the Performing Arts Magazine* 2009.

²¹⁷ Evans 2010.

I used to complain that no-one ever reported the news from Troy. The world ignored us. But my Serbian friends used to say, if you're not in the news, rejoice. Because every time we're in the world news, it's very bad news indeed.

(Evans 2009: 32).

Evans' Troy is modern and ancient in the same moment. When Hecuba says that "the world ignored us," she can both be describing the modern sense that the Western World overlooks atrocities elsewhere as well as the idea that we have forgotten our past. History as a tide,²¹⁸ ever flowing, changing, and repeating, is a constant topic throughout Evans' *Trojan Barbie*. Evans' play takes the plot and history of Euripides' *Trojan Women* and builds upon it. Some aspects of *Trojan Barbie* are clearly modernized versions of speeches from Euripides. Evans' Cassandra enters singing "I'm getting married in the morning / Ding Dong the bells are going to chime" from *Get Me to the Church on Time* from *My Fair Lady*. Other features of the play are purely inventions by Christine Evans, such as the character of Lotte. This fusion of Euripides and Evans creates an example of an adaptation verging on being a whole new play.

Many writers consider that it is necessary not just to translate a play but to adapt it for modern viewers. Sartre, for example, pointed out that, "Four or five centuries from now, players trying to perform Beckett or Ionesco will have to tackle a similar problem: how to delimit the distance between audience and play."²¹⁹ How much the play must change to be performed for the new audience determines if it is a literal translation, performable translation, version, adaptation, or new play entirely. Adaptations are a new piece of work based on an original play. The contemporary playwright must determine

²¹⁸ As described by Cassandra (Evans 2009: 31).

²¹⁹ Sartre 1965: 311.

how far from a literal translation a piece can stray in order to still be considered a work of the original author. Shakespeare, for example, often adapted classical texts, sometimes quite closely, but we would never think of him as a translator or adaptor; he is his own playwright.²²⁰ There is no defined line between a translation, version, and an adaptation; nevertheless, at some point, a play transitions from being true to the original author and gains a new identity. Scholars and playwrights argue over where this transition occurs, and the significance of calling a play an adaptation.²²¹ As discussed in Chapter One, some involved in both classics and theater are strongly opposed to or in favor of adaptation. I agree most with Ian Reid's definition of adaptation; Reid states, "When the 'translation' goes beyond [...] simple adjustments to make substantial excisions or additions it has become in fact an adaptation – which is capable of distorting the essential conception..."²²² An adaptation either adds or removes vital characters or plot lines, or alters the meaning of the text to fit a more modern message.

One Classicist who works in theater has noted, "Americans are getting over the need to write 'original' dramas and are now on the lookout for plots with a known track record."²²³ Authors are beginning to translate established plays into a new kind of theatrical experience.²²⁴ They are attempting to make Greek tragedy accessible for a wider audience. At times, adaptors also want to showcase an ancient tragedy's connection with modern events. These contemporary playwrights are not Euripides; they live in the

²²⁰ Walton 2006: 183.

²²¹ Part of the beauty of theater is that no play is ever produced the same. It should be noted that Greek tragedies were even reproduced within the playwright's own time and immediately after their death; these would have not been adaptations or translations, yet they still would have been different from the original performance (Walton 2006: 16). For the purpose of this part of the discussion, I will be looking solely at the texts and not considering directorial choices.

²²² Reid 1980: 82.

²²³ Foley 1999: 5.

²²⁴ For example, Shakespearean musicals are being produced.

modern world and understand the concerns of today's audience. Additionally, any new playwright attempting to translate or adapt a text will inevitably bring his or her own beliefs into the text. Reba Gostand says, "The dramatic style that an author chooses imposes an interpretation on his material. [...] Similarly, the genre the author chooses imposes a translation on the material of the play: s/he may see life as a tragedy, comedy, satire, farce, romance, allegory or morality, fantasy..."²²⁵ Besides technical and cultural difficulties, Gostand highlights another reason why no modern translator can fully capture Euripides. Every author is different, and their works ultimately are products of themselves.

Adaptations differ from translations because they celebrate the differences between the ancient and the modern authors. In discussing her adaptation, Christine Evans said, "I didn't want to do a 'modernization' per se, as I think Euripides' play doesn't need it. In my view, an adaptation must set up a dialogue with the original rather than just copy it in modern clothes."²²⁶ Rather than try to mimic Euripides' style, the adaptors often weave themselves and their beliefs into his or her work. Adaptations are gaining in popularity; however, this is not a necessarily an affront to Euripides. Shirley Barlow notes that "it is a tribute to the original that such adaptations have been very successful."²²⁷ All translations, versions, and adaptations of a play pay homage to the original. A literal translation follows closely the wording of the Greek, while a performable translation sometimes sacrifices phrasing to capture the poetry and subtext. A version retains the structure and themes of the original play but is not concerned with being literally faithful to the text. Finally, an adaptation builds upon the framework of the

²²⁵ Gostand 1980: 4.

²²⁶ Evans 2010.

²²⁷ Barlow 1986: 34.

text to create a play that emphasizes new characters, plotlines, or ideas. Leaving the discussion of the four categories, I want to examine the broader historical context that created these translations and adaptations of *Trojan Women*.

A modern text shows both the mind and language of the original poet, the mind and language of the translator, as well as the twenty intervening centuries of revolution and change.²²⁸ There is so much power behind a text of Euripides because of the message it carries and because it deals with themes repeated for centuries. Translations “reflect both the time in which they were first performed, and the time for which they are now being revived.”²²⁹ Whether one is looking at a translation or an adaptation, one learns about the original play, but also about the current society that has felt the need to reproduce it. Karelisa Hartigan described the power of ancient texts saying,

Over the years the interpretation of these ancient texts has varied. Directors and producers have seen different messages in the plays, and critical reception of the performances has changed. Thus we find that although the basic texts of Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides remain fairly constant, the meanings drawn from them do not.²³⁰

A production of *Trojan Women* today, even if it is a literal translation, will have a different impact than one produced in 1940. Hartigan continues, “Alteration lies in the interpretation. The varied reception accorded to the ancient Greek tragedies reflects contemporary American society and gives us a record both of a play’s performance history and an artistic view of our nation.”²³¹ As stated in Chapter Two, *Trojan Women*

²²⁸ Cookson 1923: 147.

²²⁹ Walton 2006: 2.

²³⁰ Hartigan 1995: 1.

²³¹ Hartigan 1995: 3.

often gains popularity during war time.²³² Throughout the past hundred years, written texts and productions of *The Trojan Women* have been associated with anti-war movements.

By examining different translations and adaptations of *The Trojan Women* over time, an outline of recent world history emerges. The earliest translation examined in this thesis is Gilbert Murray's from 1915. Murray himself does not discuss his reasons for translating *The Trojan Women* as having a connection with World War I; however, considering the proximity to World War I and the decline of the British Empire in the early twentieth-century, it seems logical that Murray was inspired by current events. Nevertheless, his production was used for political purposes throughout World War I. The later translation by Edith Hamilton has already been discussed earlier in this section but also was written because of political tensions. Hamilton wrote her translation as the Second World War was looming, intending it to be an attempt to make people think about the horrors of war.

Although not examined in this thesis, Jean-Paul Sartre's and Tadashi Suzuki's adaptations are important in the sense that they were born out of political issues. Sartre's French adaptation from 1965 was in response to the French-Algerian Wars. Suzuki created his Japanese adaptation in 1974 to reflect on the devastation of World War II. In describing why he chose to adapt *The Trojan Women*, Suzuki said, "War's still a fresh memory for us, and a reality that we're threatened with today. In this play I wanted to

²³² In comparing Euripides to Sophocles and Aeschylus, Virginia Woolf said, "Euripides therefore suffers less than Sophocles and less than Aeschylus from being read privately in a room, and not seen on a hillside in the sunshine. He can be acted in the mind; he can comment upon the questions of the moment; more than the others he will vary in popularity from age to age" (Woolf 1925: 48). Euripides also seems to vary in popularity because his themes have the clearest message for current events.

show how women pay, terribly, for wars that men create.”²³³ Suzuki also said that he “intended to express the disastrous fate of women cause by war, which was initiated by men, and the complete powerlessness of religion to aid the women or the war itself.”²³⁴ To highlight these motifs, Suzuki staged his adaptation just after World War II in the ruins of a cemetery.²³⁵ He primarily used a Japanese translation of Euripides and supplemented it with pieces of Japanese poetry and music.²³⁶ Suzuki’s adaptation showcases the development of a global Classical community. He blended together elements of Greek theater with more traditional Japanese Noh and Kabuki drama styles.²³⁷ Marianne McDonald in her 1992 book *Ancient Sun, Modern Light*, points out that Suzuki’s adaptation represents Japan with the “mixture of the vulgar and the popular, the modern with the ancient, mass culture with the elite [...] Japan has truly been violated by the ‘other.’”²³⁸ Suzuki’s adaptation blended all these elements and united this Western anti-war play with the war-ravished Eastern world.

Returning to the texts examined in this thesis, there were a series of adaptations of *The Trojan Women* that appeared in the 1990s that are revealing of their historical context. Don Taylor’s adaptation was first published in 1990. Although he does not specify that he wrote *Women of Troy* for any political reason, four years later he wrote a poem in response to his play titled “Reunion in Sarajevo.”²³⁹ This tragic poem describes Taylor’s sorrow that the themes of *The Trojan Women* are ever present. The title,

²³³ McDonald 1992: 29.

²³⁴ Allain 2002: 154.

²³⁵ McDonald 1992: 36.

²³⁶ Allain 2002: 153-154. As with Sartre’s adaptation, I cannot speak to the loyalty Suzuki’s adaptation has to Euripides’ Greek text. Suzuki’s adaptation was never translated into English, not even for the touring performance in the United States.

²³⁷ McDonald 1992: 30.

²³⁸ McDonald 1992: 39.

²³⁹ See Page 2 of thesis.

“Reunion in Sarajevo,” is a clear indication that he felt the connection between his play and the War in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the turmoil in the Balkans. Similarly, Ellen McLaughlin specifically wrote her 1996 adaptation of *The Trojan Women* as a project to work with recent refugees from the Balkans. When putting together her piece, she wanted to bring together a group that would represent all sides of the conflict: Serbs, Croatians, Muslims, and Albanians.²⁴⁰ In the introduction to her text, McLaughlin discusses how this process unified people from opposite sides of the conflict. On one opening night, she found two actresses playing Andromache, one a Bosnian Muslim and the other a Serb, hugging each other and crying. McLaughlin notes that these tough women who fought all during the rehearsal process were brought together by their stage fright.²⁴¹ McLaughlin also described the powerful connection that existed between this ancient text and the modern refugees. During the rehearsal process she would ask the actors to close their eyes, envision themselves in a place they remember from their home, and then describe that to the group. After this exercise McLaughlin says, “I was struck anew by the deep link between this ancient text and the group’s experience, but also by the hugeness of what we were asking these people to do.”²⁴² McLaughlin’s project was beautiful and clearly illustrates *The Trojan Women*’s enduring themes.

Although not stressing the connection, Brendan Kennelly’s 1993 adaptation and Karen Hartman’s 1997 adaptation were likely also inspired by the devastation in the Balkans. The final adaptation examined, by Christine Evans, is from 2009. While Evans does not state that her play is related to current events, the themes of war and America’s disconnection from war are prevalent in her text. As discussed earlier, throughout Evans’

²⁴⁰ McLaughlin 2005: 79.

²⁴¹ McLaughlin 2005: 82.

²⁴² McLaughlin 2005: 86.

play there are references to the Western world forgetting Troy. She says that she wanted to set up a “dialogue” with Euripides’ text that showed “our own situation as tourists or voyeurs of others’ tragedy; how the modern world understands suffering when it is not our own.”²⁴³ The audience is reminded that the United States is currently fighting a war, even if news of it is rarely reported.

A modern audience viewing a performance or reading a new translation of *Trojan Women* will inevitably draw a connection between the production or publication and current events. Murray’s 1915 translation resonated in World War I just as Christine Evans’ adaptation reaches audiences today. This is why Greek tragedy has been performed for centuries. *The Trojan Women* is as current today as when Euripides’ wrote it 2,500 years ago. The circumstances may have changed, but the themes endure. There is something disgustingly similar about the Athenians’ killing all the men and enslaving all the women on the island of Melos and America dropping two Atomic bombs on the island of Japan. Unfortunately, exploring the horrors of war is a theme that never grows old.

²⁴³ Evan 2010.

Conclusion

Any translation of Euripides is an alteration on his original play. I believe there are four categories for these translations: literal translations, performable translations, versions, and adaptations. The discussions of these in this thesis thus far have been based solely on their text.²⁴⁴ “The translator may have an important relationship with a dead playwright. How far that relationship is reflected in what a living audience eventually sees or hears is a very different matter.”²⁴⁵ Between the text and the audience are the director and the production. In many ways, the director is like a second translator for the play; he or she can alter the play so that it is further from the original than the translator or playwright intended.²⁴⁶ “The great productions add something special to the original, sometimes in their entirety, often in their tiniest detail. They can ‘improve’ a play, because of, and despite, the translation.”²⁴⁷ In this scenario, the translator, and in turn the translation, becomes the dramaturg for the director.²⁴⁸

Until now, I have examined the affects different translations and adaptations can have on an audience; however, an equally significant consideration may be the influence the play has on the director. As a creative component to this thesis, I directed Cassandra’s scene from Nicholas Rudall’s performable translation of *The Trojan Women* as well as scenes from Christine Evans’ *Trojan Barbie*. I hoped to showcase the similarities and differences between this translation and the adaptation. This project also gave me insight into the directorial process. The translator or playwright can only suggest what themes

²⁴⁴ The performance I directed took place on May 3, 2010.

²⁴⁵ Walton 2006: 61.

²⁴⁶ Taplin 1978: 178.

²⁴⁷ Walton 2006: 61.

²⁴⁸ Walton 2006: 16.

they feel should be stressed; the director has the final say. Ellen McLaughlin's adaptation, for example, may cause a director to want to showcase the refugee element of the play, but it may not.

Director Michael Cacoyannis worked with Edith Hamilton's translation when directing *The Trojan Women* in New York in 1964 and his film version of the play in 1971. While he adored Hamilton's translation, calling it 'masterly,' he altered it for the film, because, he said, "There was no guilt involved in cutting or transposing words. It has always seemed to me more important to respect the spirit rather than the letter of the author's intentions."²⁴⁹ Here Cacoyannis is acting like a second translator and deciding how best to produce the play for a modern film audience. In some ways, directors have more of an obligation to their audience than to the original play. Greek tragedy, in particular, can be a blank slate for a director; he or she can play with it as they wish. As Helene Foley writes, "Greek tragedy permits a political response to irresolvable, extreme situations without being crudely topical. Set in an imaginary past that offers few specifics in the way of setting or physical description, it is also amenable to both changes of venue and to multi-racial casting."²⁵⁰ Greek tragedy can be played in a number of ways. For example, I have seen a production of *The Bacchae* where the chorus was all African actors singing a mix of gospel and pop music and I have seen one where an American chorus sings opera arias. These choices were incredibly different and drastically affected the productions.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Cacoyannis 1971.

²⁵⁰ Foley 1999: 3.

²⁵¹ The first was produced in New York by the National Theatre of Scotland, starring Alan Cummings, and the second was produced in New York by the Public Theater as part of the Shakespeare in the Park series.

For my directing project I chose to compare a performable translation of *Trojan Women* with the adaptation *Trojan Barbie*.²⁵² The texts themselves are already radically different, so my goal was to showcase the similarity of the plays. I worked with a wonderful cast and told them that my intention was to make obvious the parallels between the two scenes. In order to highlight the relationship between *Trojan Women* and *Trojan Barbie*, I blocked the scenes symmetrically in some places and identically in others. For example, in one translation Cassandra enters from the right, and in the other, she enters from the left. When she delivers what I consider the most prophetic aspect of her monologues, she is physically in the same place for both scenes.

There is no directly parallel scene in *Trojan Barbie* for the scene with Cassandra in *Trojan Women*. Still, I wanted to focus on this section of the play because out of all Evans' characters, Cassandra best represents an adaptation of the Greek character for modern audiences. In order to direct parallel scenes, I chose snippets from *Trojan Barbie* and pieced them together to form a cohesive picture of Cassandra. Her scene in *Trojan Women* is uninterrupted by characters or actions. For my production, I had to trim parts of Cassandra's monologues so that my actress could learn the part. While I did not initially intend to, here I was 'adapting' part of *Trojan Women*. I wanted to leave in anything that Evans parallels. I ended up cutting a line here, another there, in an attempt to shorten the passage but retain the crucial elements. I mostly removed lines that were unnecessarily repetitive or had no affect on the rest of the scene. I retained any mention of Greek customs that a modern audience would not fully understand; for example, I did not want to cut Cassandra's Bacchic screams "Euchan Euchoi." For these Greek cultural

²⁵² This section has been written the week before my performance on May 3rd. I will be able to speak to what I wanted to accomplish, and what my ideas were; however, I will not be able to talk about if the production was successful.

references, I talked extensively with the actress to try to get her to convey the context behind the lines.

I focused on the character of Cassandra because she is a challenge for a modern production. An ancient audience, simply upon hearing her name, would know that she was the mad priestess of Apollo. The fifth-century audience would have known she was cursed to always speak the truth, but never be believed. I wanted to convey this to a modern audience who might not know the story of Cassandra and might not realize what she is prophesying will indeed come true. I explained this dilemma to all my actors. I told them that the reactions of Hecuba, Talthybius, and the chorus, would influence how the audience viewed Cassandra. While at some points I wanted the actors to dismiss her as insane, I indicated other points, particularly when she is speaking about the devastation Troy has already suffered, where they could be engaged and believe her. I also worked with the actress playing Cassandra, instructing her to move closer to the audience and speak clearly when describing Troy's past and the horrors of war to both sides of a conflict. I wanted the audience to be drawn in by the lucid, serious, sections of her speech, so as to believe the rest of her ravings as well.

Rudall's translation, although chosen because it was the most straight-forward, uses poetic language for Cassandra's monologues. The language sounds more formal and so I therefore also concentrated on making sure the audience would not lose Cassandra's madness in the stylized dialect. I kept urging my actress to be 'crazier,' 'more wild,' and 'mad.' As Cassandra switches rapidly from topic to topic, I wanted her mood to swing from serious to delirious. The Cassandra in Evans' *Trojan Barbie* does not need any incentive to be mad. Evans makes it obvious to a modern audience unfamiliar with the

story that Cassandra is on the verge of insanity. Yet, some of her lines are deeply insightful; such as:

When does a place become a ruin?
Does someone actually have to ruin it?

(Evans 2009: 31).

Over time, she's shockingly crude and inappropriate; such as declaring out of the blue, "I fucked a horse" (Evans 2009: 32). Throughout, Cassandra is also child-like, constantly breaking into choruses of "I'm getting married in the morning." I hope I was able to show the process by which Christine Evans came to create her Cassandra and what relation it has to Euripides'. Particularly, I wanted my audience to be able to see which parts were Evans' inventions and which were adaptations of Euripides.

Greek tragedy has survived for 2,500 years. Euripides could never have envisioned that his *Trojan Women* would still be performed millennia after he died. Yet, its themes are as relevant today as they were in 1915 CE and 415 BCE. Most directors and playwrights acknowledge this history when producing modern productions or adaptations; however, placing too much importance on the play's age can be dangerous. As director Michael Cacoyannis points out, "Any approach that puts the emphases on age rather than on agelessness can only diminish their impact by creating a false sense of distance between them and us."²⁵³ I believe a good literal or performable translation, version, adaptation, or production, celebrates the history, retains the spirit of the original, and transports the play to the modern audience. In 1925, Virginia Woolf described Greek as "the language that has us most in bondage; the desire for that which perpetually lures

²⁵³ Cacoyannis 1971.

us back.”²⁵⁴ Productions of Greek tragedy have been popular for the last three hundred years. There is no need to worry that versions and adaptations will replace the originals. Last year, Christine Evans produced her wild adaptation *Trojan Barbie*, while Alan Shapiro published his poetic performable translation.

I do not favor adaptations over literal translations, or any type of translation. I believe each category has its place and serves its own purpose. It is so important that Greek tragedy, in whatever form, continues to be produced. Not only should, as Woolf says, the Greek language perpetually draw us back, Greek history and the lessons learned from it can bond all cultures. Every race and culture can understand the power and sorrow of *The Trojan Women*. Unfortunately, Euripides’ message echoes loudly through the millennia. His play has the power to unite people across societies and through time.

In Chapter One, I quoted playwright Peter Barnes’ description of an adaptation as similar to the restoration of fine art. Translations and adaptations are most certainly a type of artistic restoration. I am reminded of the scaffolding currently hovering around the Acropolis in Athens. The centuries have not diminished its importance, but have worn down the buildings so we have to imagine their grandeur. The current architects, in meticulous detail, are reconstructing the Parthenon for present eyes. They are using modern tools to achieve ancient effects. Literal translations are like the remains of the Parthenon. They attempt to show in English the work of Euripides, but can only hint at the magnitude of his plays. Translators must work, like the Parthenon architects, to reconstruct the original out of a new material, a new language. Performable translations, versions, and adaptations all to some extent are reconstructions of the originals. They

²⁵⁴ Woolf 1925: 55.

breathe life back into the work, and provide modern audiences with a restored Greek tragedy.

Appendix A

To more clearly understand the varieties of translation I have compared examples here of all ‘types’ of translations used in my discussion of *Trojan Women*. Following are twelve texts, varying from literal translations to adaptations. I have also included the original Greek of the fourteen lines shown. The translations are organized by: Greek, Translations: Literal, Translations: Performable, Versions, and Adaptations. Within these categories they are organized chronologically.

I. Attic Greek

- a. Euripides, *Trojan Women* 415 BCE: 660-674; Shirley Barlow, ed, 1986.

...δουλεύσω δ' ἐν αὐθεντῶν δόμοις. 660

κεῖ μὲν παρῶσασ' Ἑκτορος φίλον κάρα
πρὸς τὸν παρόντα πόσιν ἀναπτύξω φρένα,
κακὴ φανούμαι τῷ θανόντι: τόνδε δ' αὖ
στυγοῦσ' ἐμαυτῆς δεσπόταις μισήσομαι.

καίτοι λέγουσιν ὡς μί' εὐφρόνη χαλᾶ 665

τὸ δυσμενὲς γυναικὸς εἰς ἀνδρὸς λέχος:
ἀπέπτυσ' αὐτήν, ἥτις ἄνδρα τὸν πάρος
καινοῖσι λέκτροις ἀποβαλοῦσ' ἄλλον φιλεῖ.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πῶλος ἥτις ἂν διαζυγῆ
τῆς συντραφείσης ῥαδίως ἔλξει ζυγόν. 670

καίτοι τὸ θηριῶδες ἄφθογγόν τ' ἔφυ
ξυνέσει τ' ἄχρηστον τῇ φύσει τε λείπεται.
σὲ δ', ὦ φίλ' Ἑκτορ, εἶχον ἄνδρ' ἀρκοῦντά μοι
ξυνέσει γένει πλούτῳ τε κἀνδρεία μέγαν:

II. Translations: Literals

- a. Richard Lattimore, *The Trojan Women* 1958: 151-152.

... a lordly house, yet I shall be a slave.
If I dash back the beloved memory of Hector
and open wide my heart to my new lord, I shall be
a traitor to the dead love, and know it; if I cling

faithful to the past, I win my master's hatred. Yet they say one night of love suffices to dissolve a woman's aversion to share the bed of any man. I hate and loathe that woman who casts away the once beloved, and takes another in her arms of love. Even the young mare torn from her running mate and teamed with another will not easily wear the yoke. And yet this is a brute and speechless beast of burden, not like us intelligent, lower far in nature's scale. Dear Hector, when I had you I had a husband, great in understanding, rank, wealth, courage: all my wish.

- b. Shirley Barlow, *Trojan Women* 1986: 107.

I shall be a slave in the house of murderers. If I push aside the memory of my dearest Hector and open my heart to my new husband, I shall appear a traitor to the dead. But if I show hostility to my present husband, I shall be hated by him who is my master. And yet they say that one night is enough to dispel the antipathy of a woman to a man's bed. I loathe the woman who casts out her previous husband and loves another in a new relationship. Not even a horse when separated from its mate will easily bear the yoke. Yet an animal is dumb, unreasoning and lower in nature than man. In you, my dearest Hector, I had everything I wanted in a husband, for you were strong in understanding, rank, wealth and courage.

- c. James Morwood, *Trojan Women* 2000: 57.

...For when I was captured, the son of Achilles wanted to take me as his wife. I shall be a slave in the house of a murderer.* And if I lay aside my love for Hector and open up my heart to my present husband, I shall appear to be a traitor to the one who is dead. Then again, if I show my new husband loathing, I shall be hated by my woman's distaste for a man's bed. And yet they say that a single night breaks down a woman's distaste for a man's bed. I detest the wife who throws off her loyalty to her former husband when she makes a new marriage, and loves another. Not even a filly will happily bear the yoke when separated from her fellow. Yet animals are dumb and have no powers of reasoning. In their nature they are inferior to humans.

O my dead Hector, in you I had a husband good enough for me, a man great in understanding, birth, wealth and courage.

* Andromache may be thinking of Neoptolemus' impious and brutal killing of her father-in-law Priam. Of more terrifyingly direct relevance to her, however, is the fact that Neoptolemus' father Achilles killed her husband Hector.

III. Translations: Performable

- a. Gilbert Murray, *The Trojan Women* 1915:44.

... I shall do service in the hall
Of them that slew... How? Shall I thrust aside
Hector's beloved face, and open wide
My heart to this new lord? Oh, I should stand
A traitor to the dead! And if my hand
And flesh shrink from him... lo, wrath and despite
O'er all the house, and I a slave!

One night,
One night... aye, men have said it... maketh tame
A woman in a man's arms. ... O shame, shame!
What woman's lips can so forswear her dead,
And give strange kisses in another's bed?
Why, not a dumb beast, not a colt will run
In the yoke untroubled, when her mate is gone –
A thing not in God's image, dull, unmoved
Of reason. O my Hector! Best beloved,
That, being mine, wast all in all to me,
My prince, my wise one, O my majesty
Of valiance!

- b. Edith Hamilton, *The Trojan Women* 1937: 42.

I shall be a slave to those who murdered –
O Hector, my beloved – shall I thrust him aside,
open my heart to the man that comes to me,
and be a traitor to the dead?
And yet to shrink in loathing from him
and make my masters hate me –
One night, men say, one night in a man's bed
will make a woman tame –
Oh, shame! A woman throw her husband off
and in a new bed love another –
Why, a young colt will not run in the yoke
with any but her mate – not a dumb beast
that has no reason, of a lower nature.
O Hector, my beloved, you were all to me,
wise, noble, mighty, in wealth, in manhood, both.

- c. Nicholas Rudall, *The Trojan Women* 1999: 36.

I will be a slave in the house of the man who
murdered my husband.
If I forget Hector, the man I loved, if I open my

heart to the new master,
 I will be seen as a traitor to the dead.
 But if I remain faithful to my husband's love, I
 will be hated by the man whose slave I am.
 They say that a single night in a new man's bed
 softens the loathing, but not for me.
 I despise the woman who gets remarried, who, in
 the passionate arms of another,
 Forgets the love of her first man.
 Even when two horses are separated, the old part-
 ner will pull reluctantly.
 And they are brutes without reason, without
 speech. We are human beings!
 Oh sweet Hector, you were all the husband I ever
 wanted!
 You were wish, noble, rich, brave, a great man!

- d. Alan Shapiro *Trojan Women* 2009: 759-777.

...Now
 I'll be a slave in the house of killers of my kin.
 So tell me, what do I do? If I erase
 The memory of my beloved Hector
 And give my heart to my new husband, I'll
 Betray the dead. But if I don't submit,
 He'll hate me; I'll be hated by my master.
 I know it's said one night in a man's bed
 Is enough to turn a woman's hate to love.
 But I despise the woman who casts away
 Old love and loves again so easily.
 Even a young mare taken from her stable-
 Mate will buck and whinny when you yoke her,
 And yet a horse is just an animal,
 A dumb, unreasoning beast, so far below
 Us on the scale of nature.
 But you, my Hector,
 My beloved Hector, you were everything
 I ever wanted in a husband – strong
 In intellect, unsurpassed in wealth, rank, courage.

IV. Versions

- a. Karen Hartman, *Troy Women* 2005: 46.

Mother.
 They say something else.

A night of pleasure with one man
erases another.
There is a way to touch a woman so she forgets everything that went
before
so she bucks against a face a hand a body
like a horse.
A mare if you switch her partner will refuse to bear the weight
and she is only a beast.
I hate women for this.
And I think about touch.

Hector, you were my everything.
Wise and beautiful, brave and rich.

- b. Don Taylor, *The Women of Troy* 2007: 33.

To be a slave in the very house
Of the man who murdered my husband...
If I drive the memory of my beloved Hector
Out of my mind, and open the doors
Of my heart to the man who owns me now,
I shall betray the love of the dead man,
And mine to him. And if I refuse
To allow this Prince to touch me, I'll provoke
The hatred of the man whose power is total
Over me and mine. They say one night
In bed with a man will convince any woman
And pleasure away her hatred. I spit in the face
Of any woman who forgets her dead husband
To jump into the bed with the next one. Dear God,
Not even a mare, uncoupled from her old yokefellow
And stablemate will pull in harness willingly!
And animals are supposed to be inferior to men,
With no power to reason or speak their thoughts!
But you, Hector, my love, you had everything
I dreamed of in a husband, in intelligence, good family,
Wealth and courage the greatest of men!

V. Adaptations

- a. Brendan Kennelly, *The Trojan Women* 1993: 38-39.

Now I must serve the killer of my husband.
I must lie in the bed of my husband's murderer.
But how shall I serve such a man?
Shall I forget
my Hector's handsome face

and open up my heart
to this new master?

Shall I betray the dead
whom I was glad to serve?
And how shall I feel
when I am fucked by his murderer
in that murderer's bed?
And if in bed I shrink
from the embrace of this fresh lover
will he beat me, cripple me,
or strike me dead in rage?

After all, I'm only a slave.
If I'm a slave, shall I think like a slave?
And what does that mean – thinking like a slave?

Men who have studied their own lust
will tell you
that a single night in a man's arms
will tame the wildest woman.
Shame! My thoughts begin to shame me.
Can a woman's lips so soon forget
her dead
and quickly love the lust in a stranger's bed?
Who can blame the woman that –
her husband in his grave –
explores the unknown possibilities of love?
Will not a lively mare run on, run on
to another stallion, when her mate is gone?
O my dead Hector, most loved of men
who, all alive, was mine and only mine,
my love, my prince, my man, my perfect majesty...

- b. Ellen McLaughlin, *The Trojan Women* 2005: 468-480 and 492-495.

I see the rest of my life, lived with this stranger,
Contracted in sorrow and woe.
How can this be?
I am young! I have loved deeply! Shall I never be allowed
to feel anything other than hatred? Isn't that some sort
of crime? To waste a life in hatred? And yet, if I feel any-
thing else, even an echo of the love and happiness I have
known, I will be betraying my family, my honor, my city,
my country.
Perhaps one can only hate a man so much. No matter who

he is. Perhaps there will be some light left for me in this life, not just the watery dim light of duty and memory. Perhaps I will forget.

...

The dead ask too much of us. I cannot do it. I will find a way to love life. Even in slavery. Even in bondage and degradation. It is only my body that can be owned. My mind, my spirit belongs to me.

- c. Christine Evans, *Trojan Barbie* 2009: scene V and XI.

There is no life in another country. You'll always be a foreigner, stuck on the wrong side of the looking glass. – I just don't understand. I did everything right...

...Hecuba, she's better off.

She's in a place beyond pain now.

Think about it – for us it's worse. What's left for us – to pleasure our husband's murderers? I wish I was dead too.

Appendix B

It is incredibly confusing to date each of these plays. Some have been written in one year, rewritten in another, and published in yet another. Additionally, as these are plays, some of them were written for a production, but not published until later. For the bibliography and citations, I have used the most current date of publication. However, in order to explain why a translation was written, I may reference another date. For example, a playwright writing in 1994 had different reasons than one writing in 2009. Following are again the twelve texts, in the same format as found in Appendix A. Next to each of them I have described their history.

- I. Attic Greek
 - a. Euripides, *Trojan Women*
415 BCE.

- II. Translations: Literals
 - a. Richard Lattimore, *The Trojan Women*
1958. University of Chicago.
1947. Dial Press.

 - b. Shirley Barlow, *Trojan Women*
1986. Aris & Phillips.
1981. Oxford University Press.

 - c. James Morwood, *Trojan Women*
2000. Oxford University Press.

- III. Translations: Performable
 - a. Gilbert Murray, *The Trojan Women*
1915. Oxford University Press.
1905. Allen & Unwin.

 - b. Edith Hamilton, *The Trojan Women*
1937. W.W. Norton & Company

 - c. Nicholas Rudall, *The Trojan Women*

1999. Ivan R. Dee.

- d. Alan Shapiro *Trojan Women*
2009. Oxford University Press.

IV. Versions

- a. Karen Hartman, *Troy Women*
2005. Back Stage Books.
1997. Production by Yale School of Drama/Yale Repertory Theatre.
- b. Don Taylor, *The Women of Troy*
2007. Methuen Drama. Production by the National Theatre of London.
1990. Methuen Drama.

V. Adaptations

- a. Brendan Kennelly, *The Trojan Women*
1993. Bloodaxe Books. Production by the Abbey Theatre, Dublin.
- b. Ellen McLaughlin, *The Trojan Women*
2005. Theatre Communications Group.
2003. Production adapted for Fordham University.
1996. Production by Balkan Theater Project.
- c. Christine Evans, *Trojan Barbie*
2009. TheatreForum.

Appendix C

I have also created my own examples of a translation and a version of *Trojan Women*. Here, I have included an unpolished literal translation with commentary notes. This is primarily to help non-Greek readers see the similarities between the Greek text and the chosen translations. Following it, I have included my example of a version. I wrote this passage by first reading over the literal and performable translations. My intention was to reproduce the passage without looking at the Greek; although I did already know it. Although almost every sentence from the Greek is represented, I have added many lines into my version that I feel are implied, but not explicitly said. I also updated some of the terminology and erased the idea that Andromache is going to be a slave to a master, as I feel this relationship is not fully understood in the modern world.

- I. Literal Translation
 - a. Grace Geller 2010

(660) And I will be a slave in the house of murdersⁱ. (661)
And if pushing awayⁱⁱ the headⁱⁱⁱ of my dear Hector (662) I
will open^{iv} my soul to the now present husband, (663) I will
appear morally bankrupt to the one who has died: but, on
the other hand, (664) hating this master, I will be despised
by the masters of me. (665) And yet they say that one
kindly time^v (666) softens the hostility of a woman towards
a man's bed: (667) I spit her out^{vi}, who having thrown
away^{vii} the former husband (668) in a new bed loves

another. (669) But not even a young horse^{viii} who may be unyoked^{ix} from (670) the one it grew familiar with^x will easily drag the yoke. (671) And yet an animal is naturally speechless^{xi} (672) And is deficient in intelligence and is inferior by nature. (673) But you, my dear Hector, I used to have as a husband satisfying for me (674) great in intelligence, rank, wealth, and manliness.

ⁱ Murderers – the word here for murderers can also mean masters, as in gentlemen owning slaves. In this context, however, it is unlikely that Andromache is saying that she “will be a slave in a house of noble gentlemen.”

ⁱⁱ Pushing away – the verb has a sense of force behind it. It is not simply ‘rejecting’ but making an effort to push away.

ⁱⁱⁱ Head – can be taken to mean life.

^{iv} Open – comes from a verb meaning ‘to unroll’ as in, for example, papyrus. To open up.

^v Kindly time– ‘night.’

^{vi} I spit her out – can be taken to mean “I loathe her.”

^{vii} Having thrown away – a very physical verb meaning to violently reject.

^{viii} Young horse – literally, a filly, a young, female foal.

^{ix} Unyoked – the Greek uses this same word to mean divorce.

^x The one it grew familiar with – technically, this phrase is feminine, meaning that it is a female horse growing familiar with another female horse.

^{xi} Speechless – literally, tongue-less.

II. Version

a. Grace Geller 2010.

I am being taken by the son of the man who killed my husband! How am I to live with him? There is no way for me ever to be happy. I will feel like a traitor if I am unfaithful to my beloved dead husband. Yet when I resist this new man, he will hate me and will have the power to make my life unbearable.

I hate women who can flit easily from husband to husband, man to man. After one fuck they’ll abandon all former loves. These women are poor representatives of our gender. Even female horses have more loyalty! Horses mourn after the loss of a partner, while we, the supposedly intelligent creatures, move on.

Hector! Why have you left me? You were all I ever wanted.

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