

Trachiniae and Its Dramatic Reception:
Identities and Ideologies in Transition, Crisis and
Transformation.

Sofia Alagkiozidou

Royal Holloway, University of London

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy (Ph.D.)

Declaration of Authorship

I Sofia Alagkiozidou hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

Sophocles' *Trachiniae* has suffered from a long tradition of negative criticism. Although recent scholarship has rejected the view that the play is not equal to the other plays written by Sophocles, the impression that the *Trachiniae* is the most problematic play of the Sophoclean corpus is still dominant. Previous interpretative attempts have offered new insights into problems of form and meaning, but not a coherent interpretation, which could encompass the play as a whole. What makes the case of *Trachiniae* even more interesting is that, despite the neglect and the negative criticism the play has been creatively translated and adapted by a number of preeminent poets and playwrights. Their versions open a dialogue with *Trachiniae* as a means of expression of their own ideological output, always in relation to the ideological framework of Sophocles' original. So far there has been no comprehensive study of this complex ideological discourse between the *Trachiniae* and its significant versions.

The purpose of the thesis is the revision of the conception of *Trachiniae* as a 'problematic play' through the exploration of this ideological discourse. Sophocles' *Trachiniae* are compared with two significant versions of it, Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*. The argument is that in *Trachiniae* as well as in these two subsequent versions a process of crisis and transformation, a process of transition, occurs with significant ideological implications. *Trachiniae* and its successors are read as plays about identities and ideologies in transition, which encompass a twofold movement of challenging the traditional ideological background and suggesting new ideological perspectives or at least the necessity for them. In this respect, many of the interpretative difficulties of *Trachiniae* and many preconceptions about the two versions are seen in a new light.

| | | |
|-------------------|---|-----------|
| 0.4.3.2.7 | Spain/Portugal | 50 |
| 0.4.3.2.8 | Czech Republic | 51 |
| 0.4.3.2.9 | Israel | 51 |
| 0.4.3.2.10 | Greece | 51 |
| 0.4.3.2.11 | Cyprus | 53 |
| <u>0.5</u> | <u>Why Pound's <i>Women of Trachis</i> and Wertebaker's <i>Dianeira</i></u> | 53 |
| | <u><i>Dianeira</i></u> | |
| 0.5.1 | Why Pound's <i>Women of Trachis</i> | 53 |
| 0.5.2 | Why Wertebaker's <i>Dianeira</i> | 55 |
| <u>0.6</u> | <u>Critical overview</u> | 56 |
| 0.6.1 | Critical overview of Pound's <i>Women of Trachis</i> | 56 |
| 0.6.2 | Critical overview of Wertebaker's <i>Dianeira</i> | 59 |
| <u>0.7</u> | <u>Methodology</u> | 60 |
| <u>0.8</u> | <u>Theory</u> | 61 |
| 0.8.1 | Proliferation of modern performances of Greek drama and contemporary ideological movements | 61 |
| 0.8.2 | Translation for the stage and interpretation | 63 |
| 0.8.3 | The use of time in reception: past, present and future | 65 |
| 0.8.4 | The production of meaning: historicity and reception theory | 67 |
| 0.8.5 | Subjectivity and ideological discourse in Greek tragedy and its reception | 71 |
| <u>0.9</u> | <u>Chapter Analysis</u> | 76 |
| <u>1</u> | <u>Chapter One: Sophocles' <i>Trachiniae</i>, aristocracy and patriarchy in transition</u> | 79 |
| <u>1.1</u> | <u>Introduction</u> | 79 |

| | | |
|------------|---|-----|
| 1.1.1 | The argument | 79 |
| 1.1.2 | The date | 80 |
| 1.1.3 | The background | 81 |
| <u>1.2</u> | <u>The challenge to Heracles' aristocratic identity and its ideological implications</u> | 83 |
| 1.2.1 | The crisis of Heracles' aristocratic identity in the Exodus of <i>Trachiniae</i> | 83 |
| 1.2.2 | The moment of recognition, Heracles' transformation and its ideological significance | 89 |
| 1.2.2.1 | Introduction | 89 |
| 1.2.2.2 | The recognition and the transformation | 91 |
| 1.2.2.3 | Divine and human law, from the metaphysical to the political | 95 |
| 1.2.2.4 | Towards a new political ethos that is more democratized, collective and spiritual | 97 |
| 1.2.2.5 | Implicit criticism of aristocracy and violence inside and outside the Athenian <i>polis</i> , a plea for peace | 101 |
| 1.2.3 | The purposeful open-endedness and ambiguity of the <i>apotheosis</i> and its ideological implications: the tradition challenged and transformed but not completely overturned | 106 |
| <u>1.3</u> | <u>The challenge to patriarchy in <i>Trachiniae</i></u> | 114 |
| 1.3.1 | The argument and the context | 114 |
| 1.3.2 | The analysis | 116 |
| 1.3.2.1 | Female subjectivity in <i>Trachiniae</i> : in favour of a middle position between subject and object in progress | 116 |
| 1.3.2.2 | The exchange of gifts and female subjectivity | 116 |

| | | |
|------------|--|-----|
| 1.3.2.3 | Maternity, suicide and female subjectivity | 121 |
| 1.3.2.4 | An alternative female subjectivity within the play's economy: the case of Iole | 126 |
| 1.3.2.5 | The historical evidence | 128 |
| 1.3.2.6 | Gender and class, female subjectivity and aristocracy | 130 |
| <u>1.4</u> | <u>Conclusions</u> | 133 |
| | | |
| <u>2</u> | <u>Chapter Two: Ezra Pound's <i>Women of Trachis</i>, from the political to the transcendental</u> | 134 |
| | | |
| <u>2.1</u> | <u>Introduction: the context</u> | 134 |
| 2.1.1 | The argument | 134 |
| 2.1.2 | Why Pound translated <i>Trachiniae</i> | 135 |
| 2.1.3 | Translation and modernism | 144 |
| 2.1.4 | The publication and the performance of Pound's version, and the critical response to it | 148 |
| 2.1.5 | The objectives of the translation | 151 |
| 2.1.6 | The poetic principles | 154 |
| <u>2.2</u> | <u>The <i>Women of Trachis</i>: the text, the performative elements, the connection with the <i>Cantos</i></u> | 159 |
| | | |
| 2.2.1 | The text | 159 |
| 2.2.1.1 | A different ideological discourse | 159 |
| 2.2.1.2 | Job, work, trouble, assignment | 159 |
| 2.2.1.3 | Memo versus <i>delton</i> | 161 |
| 2.2.1.4 | Sexual desire | 163 |
| 2.2.1.5 | Facts | 164 |
| 2.2.1.6 | The element of crisis in modern terms | 165 |

| | | |
|-------------------|---|------------|
| 2.2.1.7 | Herakles in the <i>Women of Trachis</i>: modernity instead of <i>kleos</i> and transcendence against modernity | 166 |
| 2.2.1.8 | Milder criticism of Herakles than in <i>Trachiniae</i> | 169 |
| 2.2.1.9 | Herakles glorified: the prefiguration of the visualized <i>apotheosis</i> | 170 |
| 2.2.1.10 | Agency in the <i>Women of Trachis</i>: more fortune, less individual responsibility | 172 |
| 2.2.1.11 | Omission of verse 613 of <i>Trachiniae</i> and the transposition of Herakles' transformation | 174 |
| 2.2.1.12 | Patriarchy: not a concern in the <i>Women of Trachis</i> | 176 |
| 2.2.2 | The translation as interpretation and criticism | 178 |
| 2.2.2.1 | Initial Comments by Pound | 179 |
| 2.2.2.2 | Association with Minoru again | 180 |
| 2.2.2.3 | The key verse 1174 of <i>Trachiniae</i> | 180 |
| 2.2.2.4 | Scene directions | 181 |
| 2.2.2.5 | Brackets, repetition, capital letters | 183 |
| 2.2.3 | The meaning of crisis and transformation in Pound's <i>Women of Trachis</i> | 184 |
| 2.2.4 | The connection between the <i>Women of Trachis</i> and the <i>Cantos</i> | 188 |
| <u>2.3</u> | <u>Ideologies operating in Pound's <i>Women of Trachis</i> in relation to Pound's economic and political thought</u> | 192 |
| 2.3.1 | The coincidence of the aesthetic with the political, and of the moral with the economic | 193 |
| 2.3.2 | The Social Credit | 194 |
| 2.3.3 | The transition: the <i>Rock-Drill</i> and the <i>Women of Trachis</i> | 198 |

| | | |
|------------|---|-----|
| 2.3.3.1 | The transition as principal ideological movement | 198 |
| 2.3.3.2 | From the individual to natural and moral principles | 199 |
| 2.3.3.3 | Pound's contradictory individualism | 203 |
| 2.3.3.4 | The new political order, the state and the law | 211 |
| 2.3.3.5 | Transition, transformation, renewal | 217 |
| <u>2.4</u> | <u>Conclusions</u> | 221 |
| | | |
| <u>3</u> | <u>Chapter Three: Timberlake Wertenbaker's <i>Dianeira</i>, from the personal to the political, feminist problematics and humanist objectives</u> | 223 |
| | | |
| <u>3.1</u> | <u>Introduction: ideological framework</u> | 223 |
| 3.1.1 | Introducing the play | 223 |
| 3.1.2 | Ideologies in Wertenbaker's work: humanism, feminism, post-feminism; and <i>Dianeira</i> within this ideological framework | 227 |
| 3.1.2.1 | Humanism in Wertenbaker | 228 |
| 3.1.2.2 | Feminism and post-feminism in Wertenbaker | 229 |
| 3.1.2.3 | <i>Dianeira</i> within this ideological framework | 232 |
| 3.1.3 | Wertenbaker's <i>Dianeira</i> and translation | 234 |
| 3.1.4 | <i>Dianeira</i> as a radio play | 238 |
| <u>3.2</u> | <u>The play</u> | 240 |
| 3.2.1 | Wertenbaker's introduction: a story within a story | 240 |
| 3.2.1.1 | 'Introduction' | 240 |
| 3.2.1.2 | 'Kafeneion' | 244 |
| 3.2.2 | Wertenbaker's <i>Dianeira</i> : reclaiming female subjectivity | 248 |

| | | |
|-------------------|--|------------|
| 3.2.2.1 | Dianeira's crisis: patriarchal restrictions and the fear of masculinity | 248 |
| 3.2.2.2 | Dianeira's anger and moral agency in Wertebaker: from the personal to the political, the failure of patriarchy | 257 |
| 3.2.2.3 | Dianeira's suicide in Wertebaker: a feminist protest and the failure to transgress patriarchy | 264 |
| 3.2.3 | Heracles in Wertebaker's <i>Dianeira</i> : The 'father' in crisis without transformation | 271 |
| 3.2.3.1 | Heracles' crisis: The crisis of masculinity and male heroism in patriarchy | 271 |
| 3.2.3.2 | Heracles' agony and death: transformation and <i>apotheosis</i> negated, patriarchy cannot embody change | 281 |
| 3.2.4 | Hyllos, 'a son, a promise, hope': a positive male figure for the future | 293 |
| 3.2.5 | Wertebaker's end: the impasse of feminism and the awareness of the audience | 301 |
| <u>3.3</u> | <u>Conclusions</u> | 306 |
| <u>4</u> | <u>Conclusions of the Thesis</u> | 307 |
| | <u>Bibliography</u> | 311 |
| | <u>List of Authors</u> | 311 |
| | <u>Reviews of the Productions</u> | 335 |
| | <u>Websites</u> | 336 |
| | <u>Ancient Sources</u> | 337 |

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the supervisor of the thesis, Prof. Ahuvia Kahane, for the academic guidance throughout the long and highly demanding process towards the completion of the thesis. I am grateful for the significant academic principles he taught me, the value of the argumentative thought, the clarity, specificity and consistency of the argument and of the academic prose along with the aesthetics of simplicity, the critical and exhaustive study of the primary and secondary sources, and the dedication to the ceaseless improvement of the text. I would like also to thank Dr. Efi Spentzou who was the advisor of the thesis for her insightful comments during the many progress reviews as well as the Directors of Postgraduate Studies, Prof. J. Powell and Prof. R. Alston, for their positive response to my applications. I would like to thank Mrs M. Scrivner, the Department's secretary, for being more than helpful.

I would like to thank my family, Ioannis, Petros, Eleftheria Alagkiozidis, and Panos Patsalas, as well as all my friends, relatives and colleagues for supporting me throughout this very challenging period of my life.

Notes and Abbreviations

I used Easterling's edition of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Fitch's edition of *Hercules Oetaeus* for the study of the texts. All the other ancient sources, which are mentioned in the footnotes and in a separate section in the Bibliography, follow TLG and TLL.

I write the names of the dramatic personae of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* following Easterling's edition. For Pound's *Women of Trachis* and for Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* I write the names as they appear in the first edition of these plays.

In the Bibliography, I include a separate section for reviews of the performances mentioned in the footnotes and another one with the websites referred to.

In the footnotes I use the following abbreviations:

DLB, Vol. 45: Quartermain, P. 1986. *American Poets, 1880-1945: First Series*. Volume 45. Gale Research Group.

DLB, Vol. 62: Fredson, B; Bruccoli, M. J. 1987. *Elizabethan Dramatists; Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Volume Sixty-Two. Detroit: Gale Research Company.

DLL: Grente, G. 1951-1972. *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises, sous La Direction du Cardinal Georges Grente*. Paris: Arthème Fayard.

DLLF: Beaumarchais De, J.-P. 1984. *Dictionnaire des Litteratures de Langue Française, sous la direction de Jean-Pierre de Beaumarchais, Daniel Couty et Alain Rey*. 4 Volumes. Paris: Bordas.

EDS: D'Amico, S. (ed.) 1954–66. *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*. 11 vols. Rome: Le Maschere.

0. Introduction

Sophocles' *Trachiniae* is traditionally regarded by scholars as a difficult play.¹ There are comments from critics that make this conclusion quite explicit. Houghton characteristically says, 'The great Sophocleans apparently agree that this drama is the most curious of the seven extant plays of Sophocles.'² Segal regards it as 'Sophocles' most puzzling extant play.'³ Sorum plainly states that 'Sophocles' *Trachiniae* is a troublesome play.'⁴ Notwithstanding these interpretative difficulties, however, the story of the *Trachiniae* presents a very interesting history of creative translations/adaptations for the stage by preeminent authors.

The questions that naturally emerge are: what makes *Trachiniae* a difficult play? How were these difficulties addressed in the previous scholarship? How they were handled by the translators/adaptors? And what new insights are offered by the current thesis? These issues are examined in the following sections, which include an overview of the negative criticism that has traditionally accompanied *Trachiniae*, an analysis of the nature of the difficulties that many see in the play and a synopsis of the solutions proposed by previous interpretations in relation to the new interpretative attempt of this thesis. Moreover, a brief history of the dramatic reception of the play and a justification for the selection of Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* as case studies is included in this Introduction. This is followed by a critical overview of the previous scholarship on these two versions and an explanation of the theoretical background of the thesis, and the methodology that will be followed. The Introduction concludes a synopsis of the Chapters that comprise the thesis.

¹ Jebb 1892: x; Houghton 1962: 71; Sorum 1978: 59; Hester 1980: 4; Easterling 1982: 11; Friis 1986: 47; Davies 1991: xvii-xviii; Segal 2000: 151; Goward 2004: 31-32.

² Houghton 1962: 71.

³ Segal 2000: 151.

⁴ Sorum 1978: 59.

0.1 A history of the negative criticism of *Trachiniae*

The reputation of *Trachiniae* as a difficult play is accompanied by a history of critical neglect and depreciation. Easterling rightly remarks that the survival of the play is evidence of its popularity in antiquity, whereas it was less admired and studied than the rest of Sophocles' plays during the Middle Ages and later.⁵ Nineteenth century criticism was mostly negative, as Jebb and Segal summarize, mentioning Dissen, Bergk and Bernhardt as examples of the negative criticism of this period.⁶ Schlegel in his *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* reached the peak of negative criticism.⁷ He regarded almost every aspect of the play as problematic: the structure, the plan, the style, the introductory soliloquy of Deianira. He argued that although Sophocles' poetic rules are superficially evident in *Trachiniae*, Sophocles' profound mind is missing. He concluded his denigration of *Trachiniae* with the wish to attribute the authorship of the play to another less capable dramatist like Sophocles' son, Iophon. Sophocles' authorship of *Trachiniae* was doubted also by Patin in the nineteenth century and by Adams in the twentieth, whereas the opposite view was expressed by Boeckh, Jacob and Hermann.⁸ Even the critics who accepted Sophocles' authorship regarded the play as highly problematic and inferior to the rest of his plays.

Segal offers a list of negative characterizations of *Trachiniae* in the scholarship on the play: it is 'inferior, imperfect, very poor and insipid, gloomy, dark, puzzling, odd, nebulous, curious, bitter, difficult.'⁹ As counterexamples Segal cites Schiller, who praised *Trachiniae* in a letter to Goethe, and Lewis Campbell who compared *Trachiniae* 'with

⁵ Easterling 1982: 1.

⁶ Jebb 1892: ix; Easterling 1982: 1; Segal 1977: 101.

⁷ Schlegel 1846: 106. The *Lectures* (*Lect.* VII.) were given at Vienna in 1808. For the rejection of the play by Schlegel see also Hester 1980: 4, n. 8.

⁸ For bibliography see Segal 1977: 101; Davies 1991: xviii.

⁹ Segal 1977: 101.

the greatest of Sophoclean tragedies' as far as the dramatic structure is concerned.¹⁰ Jebb mentions that the more positive criticism that *Trachiniae* received during the second half of the nineteenth century was part of a better critical appreciation of 'all things Hellenic.'¹¹ Other scholars that Segal cites for their positive response to *Trachiniae* are Bowra, Pohlenz, Reinhardt and, from more recent criticism, Easterling, Gellie, Hoey and McCall.¹² Easterling also cites other scholars as examples of 'more sympathetic' criticism of *Trachiniae*.¹³

Easterling offers an explanation for the tradition of negative criticism of *Trachiniae*. She argues that *Trachiniae* as 'a subtle and highly sophisticated play about primitive emotions' has features that although attractive to the modern readers were 'puzzling or offensive' to their 'predecessors.'¹⁴ The features that Easterling mentions are 'the quite unromantic treatment of sexual passion, the presentation of Heracles as a most untypical Sophoclean hero, the neglect of Deianira in the final scenes.'¹⁵ She concludes, however, as Jebb did previously, that this explanation is not enough to address the problems regarding the interpretation of *Trachiniae* and therefore that further research must be conducted. Davies characterizes the 'rehabilitation of the *Trachiniae*'s reputation' as 'one of the more impressive achievements of twentieth-century classical scholarship.'¹⁶ Nonetheless, it becomes very clear in his introduction that the 'rehabilitation' means 'enhanced appreciation of the play as a work of art' rather than a definitive solution to the problems of *Trachiniae*.¹⁷ In summary, *Trachiniae* was not a well-esteemed play among scholars up to the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the more positive

¹⁰ Campbell 1881: 237.

¹¹ Jebb 1892: x.

¹² Bowra 1944; Pohlenz 1954; Reinhardt 1933; Easterling 1968: 58-69; Gellie 1972; Hoey 1970: 1-22; McCall 1972: 142-163.

¹³ Easterling 1982: 1.

¹⁴ Easterling 1982: 1.

¹⁵ Easterling 1982: 1.

¹⁶ Davies 1991: xvii.

¹⁷ Davies 1991: xviii-xix.

evaluation of the play in more recent criticism, *Trachiniae* still is regarded as a difficult play.

0.2 The difficulties of *Trachiniae* and the argument of the thesis

The first difficulty acknowledged by critics lies in the character of the Heracles' myth and cult.¹⁸ Their variety and diversity along with the unknown date of *Trachiniae* do not allow an accurate understanding of Sophocles' handling of the mythological and religious tradition, leading to a revival of the 'audience's discrepant awareness', as Goward puts it.¹⁹ Easterling characterizes this problem as a problem of 'background.'²⁰

The problem of the 'background' is related to another difficulty of *Trachiniae*; the highly debated issue of the *apotheosis*, which is decisive for the interpretation of the play.²¹ As long as the issue of the *apotheosis* remains problematic, the characterization of the protagonists as well as the understanding of the moral and metaphysical order of the play remains also problematic.

The difficulty of the characterization of the protagonists in *Trachiniae* is associated by Goward with another problem; the lack of connection between *Trachiniae* and the rest of Sophocles' plays.²² Another reason that Goward identifies for this lack of connection is the absence of a clear political framework in *Trachiniae*. The necessity for an understanding of the political connotations of *Trachiniae*, if one is to arrive at a profound interpretation, clearly also has implications for the characterization of the protagonists. The understanding of the political framework of *Trachiniae* is important not only for the

¹⁸ Jebb 1892: x; Conacher 1997: 22; Easterling 1982: 1; Goward 2004: 32-33.

¹⁹ Goward 2004: 33.

²⁰ Easterling 1982: 1.

²¹ For the importance of the exodus for the interpretation of the play see also Sorum 1978: 59; Easterling 1982: 11; Davies 1991: xx; Goward 2004: 33.

²² Goward 2004: 31.

clarification of its relationship with the rest of Sophocles' plays, but also, and indeed foremost, for the better appreciation of the play itself. Moreover, the problem of the political framework is complicated by, and related to, the unknown date of *Trachiniae*, which does not allow specific connections with the historical context.²³

The problem of the relationship between *Trachiniae* and the rest of Sophocles' plays has also been pointed out by Levett. His perspective is different than Goward's, however. For Levett, the problem is not inherently about the uniqueness of *Trachiniae*, but about the preconceptions among critics about the characteristics of Sophocles' plays; since these do not match with *Trachiniae* critics have no framework within which to arrive at a proper understanding and evaluation of the play itself.²⁴ Levett's remark is important, because it regards the difficulties of *Trachiniae* not as inherent weaknesses of the play, but as a failure of criticism to understand and evaluate it beyond existing preconceptions about Sophoclean drama.

Another significant difficulty with *Trachiniae* refers to the meaning of the play. Of course any literary work is subject to various interpretations, but for *Trachiniae* there is no scholarly agreement even on 'what is the play about.'²⁵ Friis underlines 'the complexity' of the play that results from its 'contrasted and mutually interlocking motifs' and he remarks that 'this very complexity, however, still makes it difficult to arrive at a sufficiently balanced and comprehensive understanding of the *Trachiniae* as a whole.'²⁶ What these comments make clear is that, although aspects of the meaning of *Trachiniae* have been analyzed by critics, an interpretation that encompasses the totality of the play is still missing. It also becomes evident that an interpretation of *Trachiniae* 'as a whole'

²³ The issue of the unknown date is examined in Chapter 1 as well. For the unknown date of the play as problem for its interpretation see also Davies 1991: xviii.

²⁴ Levett 2004: 30. See also Segal 1977: 101.

²⁵ Easterling 1968: 58.

²⁶ Friis 1986: 47.

must offer a ‘balanced appreciation of the complex interlocking motifs.’²⁷ The insufficient understanding of the complexity of these motifs underpins the perception of what Davies refers to as the ‘alleged discontinuity of both structure and characterization.’²⁸ What must be explored and explained, therefore, are the way these motifs develop in the play and the reasons why.

In this thesis, the notion of ‘discontinuity’, instead of being regarded as imperfection, is seen as a purposeful formal and thematic design, the understanding of which is the key for the understanding of the play as a whole. Indeed, the basic interpretative argument of the thesis lies precisely in the exploration of the discontinuities of *Trachiniae*. I argue that this design reflects a process of transition, of crisis and transformation, which defines the form and the meaning of *Trachiniae*. The crisis is embodied by both protagonists, Deianira and Heracles, whereas the transformation is embodied exclusively by Heracles. The crisis is a crisis of identity and unfolds on both a personal and political level. This process calls into question the established political ideologies and concludes with the implicit suggestion of a new political vision.

The discontinuities, therefore, manifest the confrontation between the old and the new, and provide the passage to the new. This scheme applies to the characterization of the protagonists, whose qualities are not static and rigid throughout the play, because of the critical and transitional stages they undergo. It also applies to the major thematic motifs, which are transformed following the leading formal and thematic orientation of the play. This approach does not evaluate *Trachiniae* for what it should be instead for what it is, it

²⁷ Goward 2004: 32. See also Davies 1991: xviii.

²⁸ Davies 1991: xviii. For discussions of *Trachiniae*’s structure see Kane 1988: 198-211; Esposito 1997-1998: 21-38; Falkner 2005: 181; Papadimitropoulos 2006: 183; Rood 2010: 347. For discussions of *Trachiniae*’s unity or disunity see Jebb 1892: xlii; Campbell 1899: 379; Webster 1936: 67, 76; Kitto 1939; Kirkwood 1941: 203-211; Bowra 1944: 116; Kirkwood 1958: 42, 43, 67; Waldock 1966: 80; Hoey 1970: 1-22; McCall 1972: 142-163; Burton 1980: 79; Easterling 1982: 2; Kane 1988: 198-211; McDonald 2003: 50; Falkner 2005: 184.

does not attribute static qualities to characters in process and it does not ignore the inherent mutability of the basic thematic motifs of the play.

Moreover, this approach not only recognizes, but also explores the political framework of *Trachiniae*. I explore the political connotations of the process of crisis and transformation at the ideological level, but without drawing the strict historical parallelisms that the unknown date does not allow, and the mediating character of Greek tragedy renders implicit. I argue that the process of crisis and transformation reflects a process of democratization. The supremacy of the inherited old oligarchy is replaced by an oligarchy of morality and the democratic rule of law. The patriarchy is reaffirmed at the end of the play, but it acquires a milder form, since the patriarchal authority is limited by the rule of law. This process also manifests the crisis of the old heroic ethos as well as of the imperialistic ethos of classical Athens through the absolute condemnation of violence and an intense plea for peace.

0.3 Previous interpretations and the argument of the thesis

Many thematic motifs have been suggested by critics as being the dominant motifs of *Trachiniae*, but the issue of the interpretation of the play as a whole still remains inconclusive. Levett argues that ‘the notion of human uncertainty in the face of a changing world is a central theme of the play.’²⁹ Easterling points out several thematic motifs that she considers significant for the interpretation of *Trachiniae*. The most important are the theme of mutability, the pattern of finding out, the motif of writing, the emphasis on time, the violence of *eros*, the fragility of order and civilization, the theme of marriage, the theme of sacrifice, the confrontation with mortality combined with the themes of

²⁹ Levett 2004: 37.

ignorance and passion.³⁰ The mutability of life as an important theme in *Trachiniae* is also stressed by Conacher, who attributes it to the misinterpretation of the oracles and to the gap between the domestic and the outside world.³¹ Goldhill adopts Easterling's pattern of 'finding out' as 'a key theme' in *Trachiniae*, which he characterizes as a problem for many Sophoclean characters, 'the destructiveness of partial knowledge and the lateness of full understanding.'³² Davies argues that 'the central theme of the *Trachiniae* may be seen as the working out (largely through the agency of Deianeira) of Zeus' plan for his son Heracles.'³³ Other themes he detects are 'the power of love', 'the late (too late) movement from ignorance to knowledge', 'the ambiguous oracle', 'the contrast and balance between the introverted feminine world of the wife at home and the extrovert hero-husband abroad.'³⁴ Papadimitropoulos associates the theme of sex and the theme of late learning with the process leading towards Heracles' *apotheosis*, which he considers to be the fulfilment of the will of Zeus and the most important element in *Trachiniae*.³⁵ Friis regards the 'question of the interplay and lack of understanding between god and man' as the basic theme of *Trachiniae*.³⁶ Hoey argues that the play is about the failure of the union of the protagonists, Deianira and Heracles.³⁷

The exploration of the thematic motifs is evident in less recent criticism of *Trachiniae* as well. Bowra regards Heracles as the representative of manly qualities *par excellence*, Deianira as the representative of womanly qualities *par excellence* and the conflict between them as the conflict between masculinity and femininity.³⁸ This conflict is, according to Bowra, the main theme and cause of tragedy in *Trachiniae*. Kitto sees

³⁰ Easterling 1982: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

³¹ Conacher 1997: 21-34.

³² Goldhill 2009: 40.

³³ Davies 1991: xix.

³⁴ Davies 1991: xix.

³⁵ Papadimitropoulos 2006: 189.

³⁶ Friis 1986: 60.

³⁷ Hoey 1970: 1-22.

³⁸ Bowra 1944: 117.

Trachiniae as a play of characters and circumstances without a universal tragic meaning.³⁹ Whitman characterizes *Trachiniae* as a play of 'late learning'.⁴⁰ Winnington-Ingram argues that the power of sex is the dominant theme in *Trachiniae* and the cause of Deianira's and Heracles' tragedy.⁴¹ For Waldock *Trachiniae* is a high melodrama.⁴² Kirkwood regards *Trachiniae* as a play about Deianira and Heracles in relation to each other.⁴³

An important interpretative attempt, which does not examine the thematic motifs in isolation, but focuses on the outcome of their interrelation, is the interpretation suggested by Segal. Segal argues that the play presents the conflict between primitive drives and civilization.⁴⁴ He claims that this conflict is embodied in the play by Heracles and Deianira respectively. Heracles represents myth, the old heroic values, whereas Deianira contemporaneity, the fifth century *oikos* as gynaecium and a newer world.⁴⁵ Easterling, however, rejects the identification of Heracles with a remote archaic past in *Trachiniae* proposed by Segal.⁴⁶

Segal's interpretation is significant, because it brings out the element of conflict between the old and the new in *Trachiniae* and the political dimension of this conflict. My argument differs in several aspects, however. Although I, like Segal, argue that there is conflict between the old and the new in *Trachiniae*, I add to the idea of conflict the idea of transition from the old to the new. Moreover, I argue that the old is equally expressed by Heracles and Deianira at the beginning of the play, whereas the transition to the new is expressed only by Heracles in the exodus. Another important difference between

³⁹ Kitto 1939.

⁴⁰ Whitman 1951: 105.

⁴¹ Winnington-Ingram 1980: 75.

⁴² Waldock 1966: 103.

⁴³ Kirkwood 1958: 67.

⁴⁴ Segal 1977: 100.

⁴⁵ Segal 1977: 119.

⁴⁶ Easterling 1982: 5.

Segal's argument and the argument of this thesis is that Segal regards the conflict taking place between savagery and civilization in general, whereas in the present thesis the conflict takes the shape of the confrontation of the old aristocratic ethos with one that is more democratized and more compatible with the values of the *polis*.

The conflict between, and the transition from, the old to the new materializes through a process of challenge to tradition, yet the partial reaffirmation of it at the end of the play accompanied by elements of ideological novelty. This twofold movement is essential for the understanding of *Trachiniae*. Kraus' study of the form of *Trachiniae* clearly shows that this movement transcends the play from the beginning to the end.⁴⁷ Kraus accurately argues that there is a constant process of reinterpretation of the past in *Trachiniae* that concludes with the open-endedness of the play. Nevertheless, Kraus emphasizes more the questioning aspect and less the affirmative one. The elements of reaffirmation at the end of the play are not thoroughly examined. Moreover, although her study is particularly precise regarding the form of the play, it does not cover many of the implications of the twofold movement for the meaning of the play.

Another important interpretation of *Trachiniae* that reveals the dimension of the challenge to the tradition is given by Heiden. Heiden argues that Sophocles challenges the validity of myth by turning it into a matter of the interpretation of ordinary mortals throughout *Trachiniae*.⁴⁸ According to Heiden, this change is informed by democracy. Although, this point of view is valuable for the interpretation of the play, especially in regard to its political connotations, Heiden's reading of *Trachiniae* does not include the affirmative dimension at all. Every single aspect of the play is regarded only as a matter of interpretation. Thus, his reading presents *Trachiniae* as a relativistic, not to say

⁴⁷ Kraus 1991: 76, 81, 98.

⁴⁸ Heiden 1989: 157.

nihilistic, play ignoring the affirmative quality, which although implicit cannot be totally dismissed.

The notion of transition in *Trachiniae*, which is fundamental for the argument of the thesis, is acknowledged by criticism, but only regarding particular themes and not as a dominant structural and thematic element of the play. The aforementioned notion of the mutability and instability of life, an important theme of *Trachiniae*, is associated by critics with the notion of transition. Levett notes that the element of metamorphosis in *Trachiniae* is introduced with the metamorphosis of Achelous, which personifies the ‘instability of being, of knowledge, and of sexuality.’⁴⁹ Esposito remarks the transformation of knowledge in the play from knowledge based on hearing to knowledge based on seeing.⁵⁰ Fletcher discerns a process of transformation regarding the use of the hands in the play.⁵¹ The hands are transformed from instruments for violent and irrational deeds into a medium for salutary and rational deeds.

Segal acknowledges a process of destruction and reestablishment of the civilized institutions of marriage and sacrifice in *Trachiniae*;⁵² themes that are also thoroughly examined by Kane.⁵³ Kane argues that the exodus functions in a sense as the correction of the marriage and sacrifice motifs that are wrongly developed in the first two parts of the play. The process of correction, which is essentially a process of transition to improved versions of the same motifs, is correctly pointed out by Kane. I argue, however, for this correction from a different perspective than the one she supports. She argues that the process of correction is part of the general plan for Heracles’ destruction in *Trachiniae*. On the contrary, I argue that the correction of these motifs is not superficial

⁴⁹ Levett 2004: 26.

⁵⁰ Esposito 1997-1998: 21-38.

⁵¹ Fletcher 2001: 1-2.

⁵² Segal 1981: 60-108.

⁵³ Kane 1988: 198-211.

but essential, and follows the correction of the substance of Heracles' heroism in the exodus along with its political connotations.

The mention of all these elements of transition in the previous scholarship is important, but does not sufficiently address the basic question of what is the meaning and the purpose of the process of transition in *Trachiniae* as a whole. I argue that the notion of transition is formally and thematically crucial for the interpretation of *Trachiniae*. It is the process of transition from the ideological 'old' to the ideological 'new'. I further argue that the comparison of *Trachiniae* with two major versions of it, Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, also reveals the significance of this element of transition. The process of crisis and transformation appears in the two versions and is modified in order to express different ideological preoccupations.

In this respect, the process of transition, and the schema of crisis and transformation, is a dominant feature of the reception of *Trachiniae* apart from its interpretation, whereas the ideological transpositions it embodies in each version clarify retrospectively its ideological investment in the ancient play and *vice-versa*. In this respect, academic scholarship and the art of translation for the stage are combined for a new reading of the ancient play in relation to major instances of its reception.

0.4 The dramatic reception of *Trachiniae*

What follows is a concise history of the dramatic reception of *Trachiniae* from antiquity to the present. This history is necessary in order to have a clear view of the evolution of the play's presence in the art of translation/adaptation for the stage throughout centuries, in parallel to and sometimes in contrast with its scholarly reception. This history is also necessary in order to assess Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* in

perspective. I also dedicate a substantial section to *Hercules Oetaeus*, because of its historical value in the reception of *Trachiniae* as the only dramatic Latin version of the Greek play. I present the dramatic reception of *Trachiniae* from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century in a separate section. I conclude the history of the reception with a section devoted to the more recent performance history of *Trachiniae*, which is divided into sub-sections on the basis of the location of the productions.

0.4.1 *Hercules Oetaeus*

0.4.1.1 Introduction to *Hercules Oetaeus*

Hercules Oetaeus is the Latin dramatic version of *Trachiniae*.⁵⁴ The relationship between *Hercules Oetaeus* and *Trachiniae* has been intensively examined by critics.⁵⁵ The majority of critics acknowledge the immediate relationship between the two plays, since they share many common elements as the main theme, the evolution of the plot and the central characters.⁵⁶ Apart from *Trachiniae*, influences of other literary works on *Hercules Oetaeus* have been traced by criticism.⁵⁷ The Ninth Epistle of Ovid's *Heroides* and the Ninth Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are usually related to *Hercules Oetaeus* by critics.⁵⁸ Moreover, Euripides' tragedies, *Ἡρακλῆς Μαινόμενος*, *Ἰππόλυτος*, *Μήδεια*, and Seneca's tragedies, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, and especially *Hercules Furens*, are other works associated with *Hercules Oetaeus* by scholarship.⁵⁹ An extract from an unknown tragedy

⁵⁴ Cases of non dramatic reception of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* in antiquity are Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.31.1-3; 4.34.1, 4.36.1-5, 4.38.1-5; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.542-9.133, 9.134-272; Ovid, *Heroides* 9.3-6, 9.11-48; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.8.1-3, 2.7.5-7, 2.6.1, 2.7.7; Hyginus *Fabulae* 31, 33-36, 129, 162, 174, 240, 243; Philostratus, *Imagines* 4.16; Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* 13.308ff.; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* 15, 'Zeus, Asclepius, and Heracles.' For discussion see Reid 1993: 535, 540, 544.

⁵⁵ Mohamed 1974; Dolia 1975: 1-9; Marcucci 1997; Holford-Strevens 1999: 245-254; Budelmann 2007: 448, n. 12.

⁵⁶ King 1971: 215-222; Morpurgo 1929: 89, 93.

⁵⁷ Patin 1858: 88.

⁵⁸ Grimm 1876: 4, 11; Melzer 1890: 16; Herrmann 1924: 319; Harsh 1944: 432; Stoessl 1945: 88.

⁵⁹ Leo 1878: 48-74; Edert 1909: 71, 77; Landman 1928: 485-493; Carlsson 1947: 59-77; Marti 1949: 194; Janssens 1960: 464-469; King 1971: 215-222.

in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXVII has been considered to be source for *Hercules Oetaeus* as well, although it is unclear if other lost tragedies about the Heracles' theme influenced *Hercules Oetaeus*.⁶⁰

The text of *Hercules Oetaeus* is part of the two principal groups of manuscripts, in which Seneca's tragedies are preserved.⁶¹ In both of these, *Hercules Oetaeus* is the last tragedy included in the manuscript. Its authenticity, however, has traditionally been questioned and the issue of its authorship has not been definitely settled.⁶² There are critics who support its authenticity,⁶³ others who believe that the play is written by Seneca, at least up to a certain verse and completed by another author,⁶⁴ and those who argue that the entire play is written by an imitator.⁶⁵ Recent criticism favours the argument of the dubious authorship of the play,⁶⁶ 'widely but not universally.'⁶⁷ In any case, the uncertainty about the authorship makes the relationship of the play to Senecan drama and its literary and political context even more uncertain.

Another question associated not only with *Hercules Oetaeus*, but with Senecan drama in general, is the issue of performability. The possibilities for Senecan drama to be performed have been much debated by critics.⁶⁸ Recent criticism, however, acknowledges

⁶⁰ Turner 1962: 27-32; Cataudella 1966: 38-63, 47-50.

⁶¹ The manuscripts are E (Codex Etruscus or Laurentianus), from late eleventh century, housed in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and A, the ancestor of the vulgate tradition. See Riley 2008: 51-52. The MS tradition is studied in detail by Zwierlein 1983: 7-181; Tarrant 1985: 23-87; Fitch 1987: 53-7; Billerbeck 1999: 39-89.

⁶² For a detailed summary of the different critical approaches about the issue of *Hercules Oetaeus*' authorship see Marti 1945: 216-245; Friedrich 1954: 51-84; Axelson 1967; Dolia 1975: 1; Henry and Henry 1985: 188, n. 20.

⁶³ Pease 1918: 3-26; Herrmann 1924: 31-77, 132-133, 195-196; Jorio 1936: 1-59; Stoessl 1945: 88; Marti 1945: 216-245; Paratore 1958: 72-79, repr. in Lefèvre 1972.

⁶⁴ Leo 1878; Leo 1897: 509-518; Melzer 1890: 3-12; Summers 1905: 40-54; Morpurgo 1929: 114; Galinsky 1972: 167; Pratt 1939: 104. Pratt in his book *Seneca's Drama*, (1983: 128), sees *HO* as 'the culmination of Senecan drama', however; Henry and Henry 1985: 188, n. 20.

⁶⁵ Edert 1909: 62; Friedrich 1954: 51-84; Herington 1966: 453, 467-468; Axelson 1967: 92-104.

⁶⁶ Riley 2008: 51.

⁶⁷ Budelmann 2007: 446. See also Boyle 2006: 273, n. 1.

⁶⁸ Budelmann 2007: 447, n. 11. See in particular Fitch 2000 and Boyle 2006: 192-93. Budelmann supports the contention that 'the "Rezitationsdrama" thesis of Zwierle in 1966 is now a minority view' and that 'the debate has shifted to what sort of performance one should envisage.' For the recitation argument, see also Costa 1974: 100. For the unreal distinction between 'performance' and 'recitation' by two or more persons see Watling 1966: 21.

the public exposure and the vast impact of Senecan drama, no matter in what form it was actually performed, recitation, complete performance or plain readership.⁶⁹ *Hercules Oetaeus* as part of Senecan drama, whether as authentic play or as an imitation, deserves a place in the history of the dramatic reception of *Trachiniae*. It has particular historical value as part of the Senecan dramatic corpus, because it constitutes the ‘link between ancient and modern tragedy’, a link with massive influence, especially on renaissance drama.⁷⁰

The relationship between Stoicism and Senecan drama is another controversial issue among critics. There has traditionally been a school of critics accepting that the plays are vehicles for moral teaching and another school seeing the plays as ‘unconcerned or even hostile to it.’ Although the sceptical school has been the predominant one over the last fifty years, the most recent criticism accepts the influence of Stoicism on Senecan drama.⁷¹ The main quality of this drama being ‘image of truth’ is based on the stoic idea of *logikē phantasia*.⁷² Moreover, Seneca reconciled the metaphysical and the literary character of tragedy, a reconciliation reflecting the stoic perception of tragedy as a metaphor for life itself.⁷³

In *Hercules Oetaeus* the scheme of crisis and transformation exists, but it unfolds differently in order to express a different ideological discourse, *i.e.* the main political and metaphysical ideas of Neo-Stoicism and of Roman Imperium. The moment of crisis does not refer to the evaluation of the entire life of the protagonists, as in *Trachiniae*, but to the negation or the achievement of the *apotheosis* (*HO*, vv. 7-8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 1942-1943). The whole play becomes a meditation on the conditions of an honourable, self-

⁶⁹ Hall 2005: 53-75, especially 64; Riley 2008: 52.

⁷⁰ Riley 2008: 52.

⁷¹ Staley 2010: 5, 121.

⁷² Staley 2010: 7.

⁷³ Rosenmeyer 1989: 37; Staley 2010: 121.

willed death as a means of achieving the *apotheosis*.⁷⁴ This idea is firmly rooted in Stoic ethics, especially in the Neo-Stoicism of Panaetius and Posidonius, which were highly influential in Senecan drama.⁷⁵ The persistent preoccupation with the issue of the honourable death was further intensified by the political reality of imperial Rome.⁷⁶ The victory over death must be moral in *Hercules Oetaeus* and not physical as in *Hercules Furens*.⁷⁷ The Neo-Stoic ethics are reflected also by the strong contrast between reason and passion, and especially in the form of anger, that underlies *Hercules Oetaeus*.⁷⁸ Hercules has to fight with the inner ‘monster’ of his soul (*HO*, vv. 55-56). The open-endedness of *Trachiniae* is replaced by the closed end of *Hercules Oetaeus*, where Hercules’ *apotheosis* is included in the play.⁷⁹ This *apotheosis*, however, is not presented in doctrinaire terms, because it is subjected to individual belief.⁸⁰

0.4.1.2 The ideological implications of Hercules in *Hercules Oetaeus*

The new ideological investment dramatically presupposes the advancement of the role of Hercules, who dominates the prologue of the play and receives far more favourable treatment than in *Trachiniae*. Hercules is presented from the beginning of the play as a cosmic power of titanic dimensions (*HO*, vv. 30, 42-49, 79-80, 92, 94, 98).⁸¹ This quality, however, along with his origin from Zeus is not enough to lead to his *apotheosis* without the attainment of self-control over his anger, the cardinal sin for Stoic ethics.⁸² Anger and not lust is the main motive of Hercules’ sacking of Oechalia in *Hercules Oetaeus* (*HO*,

⁷⁴ King 1971: 217; Fitch 2004: 329.

⁷⁵ The influence of Neo-Stoicism on Senecan Drama and on *Hercules Oetaeus* in particular is evident regardless of the issue of the authorship of the play. See Pratt 1948: 1-11; Pratt 1983: 57-72.

⁷⁶ Galinsky 1972: 175; Griffin 1976: 368; Pratt 1983: 68-69.

⁷⁷ Galinsky 1972: 172-174.

⁷⁸ Pratt 1948: 5; King 1971: 217.

⁷⁹ Budelmann 2007: 448.

⁸⁰ Fitch 2004: 332.

⁸¹ Budelmann 2007: 448.

⁸² For anger as cardinal sin for stoic ethics see Seneca’s *Ira* 1.8.2; Pratt 1948: 5.

vv. 173-177, 207-209, 223). The portrait of Hercules the philanderer is intentionally brief in *Hercules Oetaeus*, because Hercules' grandeur must remain only superficially challenged in order to support his *apotheosis* in the last part of the play.⁸³ Hercules has to be transformed from pacifier of the world to pacifier of his soul in order to attain the Stoic imperturbability and learn how to die well (*HO*, vv. 1373).⁸⁴ In *Hercules Oetaeus* the crisis of Hercules' identity is not only a personal one, however. It acquires a universal cosmological character that is, therefore, not only about the existence of Hercules, but also, and foremost, about the existence of the *cosmos* and the very notion of existence itself. Hercules' end will be the end of the *cosmos* (*HO*, vv. 1103-1117, 1118-1127, 1131-1150, 1147-1148, 1160).⁸⁵

Budermann remarks that 'The scene of Hercules' agony is more prolonged in *HO*, than in *Trachiniae*' (*HO*, vv. 1165-1206), (*HO*, vv. 1265-77), (*HO*, vv. 1290-1336), and that 'the attack on his sense of identity seems yet more severe than in Sophocles' (*HO*, v. 1346).⁸⁶ I believe that the crisis of identity is profound in *Trachiniae* as well, but the centrality that the human soul acquires in *Hercules Oetaeus* magnifies its implications in this play. In *Hercules Oetaeus*, the universe is a projection of the human soul; there is no existence without the existence of the human soul. This idea is based on Seneca's extension of the Stoic idea of the corporeal union between men, and between men and god.⁸⁷ In *Hercules Oetaeus*, there is no external moral code and metaphysical principles; they are all internalized. Hercules' new self after the *apotheosis* is the incarnation of a new cosmological and metaphysical order. It is a manifestation of the association between

⁸³ For the short portrait of Heracles as philanderer see King 1971: 219-220.

⁸⁴ For the transformation of Heracles in *Hercules Oetaeus* see King 1971: 220; Galinsky 1972: 178; Fitch 2004: 330.

⁸⁵ Galinsky 1972: 177; Henry and Henry 1985: 139. Henry and Henry argue that in the description of the fall of the universe following the death of Hercules there is the vision of *ecpyrosis*, which also exists in Seneca's *Consolation to Marcia* and the *Letter 102*.

⁸⁶ Budermann 2007: 449.

⁸⁷ Pratt 1983: 69; Seneca's *Epistulae* 95.52.

morality and physical phenomena, which is evident also in Seneca's prose work.⁸⁸ Hercules' *apotheosis* is also the vision of an order 'beyond all that we know of life and death', as expressed in Seneca's *Letter* 102.

Budelmann also points out the problem of the moral consistency that the exhaustive description of Hercules' agony poses versus his *apotheosis*.⁸⁹ He also mentions Holford-Strevens' (1999) theory of moral simplicity, namely that Hercules' performance is one of endurance like 'a Christian atoning for his sins by bravely facing martyrdom.'⁹⁰ The Stoic moral idea that the harder the torment the greater the vindication (a vindication always related mainly, not to say exclusively, to the attitude towards death) could, however, be a sufficient answer to this superficial inconsistency.

The process of crisis and transformation that Hercules undergoes is more radical in *Trachiniae* than in *Hercules Oetaeus*, especially regarding its political implications. The challenge to Hercules' grandeur exists in *Hercules Oetaeus* only as the trigger for his moral transformation, the restraint from anger and the performance of a stoically prescribed death. This challenge is not severe enough, however, because after the process of transformation Hercules' individual will not only maintains but even reinforces its pre-eminence, whereas in *Trachiniae* it is subdued to universal metaphysical principles (*Tr.* vv. 1174-1178). The outcome of the moment of recognition in *Hercules Oetaeus* (*HO*, vv. 1473-1478, 1479-1480) is quite the opposite to that in *Trachiniae*. Hercules' will is not subdued to universal principles as in *Trachiniae*, but it defines these principles and is identified with them; in other words, after the moment of recognition in *Hercules Oetaeus*, Hercules' will actually surpasses the divine will (*HO*, vv. 1504-1507).⁹¹ What

⁸⁸ Henry and Henry 1985: 53; Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, VI. 22; *Epistulae*. IX. 16.

⁸⁹ Budelmann 2007: 450.

⁹⁰ Holford-Strevens 1999.

⁹¹ Galinsky 1972: 178-179. Galinsky mentions that the idea that 'Herakles' kinship with Jupiter was not a godsend but the result of a moral effort, his *virtus* was 'a commonplace in Stoic/Cynic writings.' Cf. Dio Chrysostomus, *Orationes*. 2.78 and 69.1; Epictetus, 2.16.44.

occurs in *Hercules Oetaeus* is the transition from an uncontrolled will to a will controlled by Heracles himself and not the subordination of the individual will to the strict metaphysical and moral laws evident in *Trachiniae*.

Hercules' *apotheosis* occurs within the play in *Hercules Oetaeus*, but it is subjected to personal belief (*HO*, vv. 1943, 1946, 1951-1953, 1965-1968, 1971, 1972, 1975, 1976, 1978-1979, 1981-1982, 1984-1989).⁹² In this respect, the moral and metaphysical vindication is presented as subjective, dependent on the human soul, which emerges as the center of any form of existence in the play. Fire, the primal element for the rebirth of the universe according to Stoic physics, becomes the symbol and means of Hercules' rebirth, his way to *apotheosis*.⁹³ The idea that moral virtue leads to immortality (*HO*, vv. 1565, 1942, 1971) was a current idea in the Empire and is evident in the deification of Emperors after death.⁹⁴ Thus the end of *Hercules Oetaeus* is closed in contrast to the open-endedness of *Trachiniae*, but not authoritative. The possibility of immortality is raised for all mortals as a reward for their moral virtue, Stoically defined.⁹⁵

There are political implications of Hercules' transformation in *Hercules Oetaeus*. Hercules becomes the personification of the ideal emperor. He reflects the vision of a benevolent autocratic power, which is restricted only by the moral conditions of Stoic doctrine and especially the restraint from anger.⁹⁶ In this respect, *Hercules Oetaeus* reflects the ideology of the Principate, which was expressed in Seneca's *De Clementia* as well.⁹⁷ Stoicism, therefore, functions as the ideological foundation of the programmatic theory of the Principate. Hercules' labours in *Hercules Oetaeus* have a clear political

⁹² Pratt 1983: 126, 127; Fitch 2004: 330, 332.

⁹³ For the significance of fire in Stoic physics see Pratt 1983: 51. For the significance of fire in *Hercules Oetaeus* and Seneca see Galinsky 1972: 179; Waith 1962; Seneca, *Beneficiis* 4. 8. I.

⁹⁴ See Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, in Horace's *Odes* 3.2, and *Aeneid* 9.641; Fitch 2004: 332.

⁹⁵ For the possibility of immortality for all mortals see Fitch 2004: 331.

⁹⁶ Cf. Bishop 1985: 395 argues that there is no political meaning in *Hercules Oetaeus*.

⁹⁷ See also Griffin 1976: 365. 'Seneca had shown in his *De Clementia* how Stoicism could be used to justify and provide a monarchical ideology for the existing system.'

dimension. Hercules is presented as the protector of peace and the persecutor of tyranny for all the nations (*HO*, vv. 1-19), and his transformation marks the transition from an autocratic power without moral self-control to an autocratic power attuned to Stoic ethics. His epiphany, therefore, metaphysically legitimizes this morally improved version of autocratic power. This portrayal echoes imperial ideas about the benevolent autocratic ruler. Seneca regards the restraint from anger as the main criterion distinguishing Princes from the tyrant,⁹⁸ recognizing that after the fall of the Republic the moral quality of the ruler remained the only criterion for good government.⁹⁹

At the same time, *Hercules Oetaeus* also shows the tensions and the ambiguities of this ideology.¹⁰⁰ The Principate offered peace and security at the cost of *libertas* and the rule of law, which were lost along with the Republic. In *Hercules Oetaeus*, the incarnation of both ‘immoral’ and ‘moral’ imperial power by Hercules shows the fragility of the vision of the ‘moral’ imperial power, with both the projection and the dispute of the imperial model unfolding in the play. The inherent ambiguity of the vision of the ‘moral’ imperial power results also from the traditional Roman resentment of a King and the fear of the Oriental model. Even Seneca’s stance towards the Principate was ambiguous. In *De Clementia* he praises the Principate as something good, whereas in his other writings he regards it as a necessary evil.¹⁰¹ The same ambivalence can be found in the *Aeneid*, especially in Book 12, and in *Hercules Furens*.¹⁰²

Another political characteristic of *Hercules Oetaeus* is that Hercules’ political power is universal. It applies to all nations as a whole (*HO*, vv. 854-855, 1698-1704). The universality of Heracles’ power shows also the degree of unification of the world, which

⁹⁸ Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae* 4.5.

⁹⁹ Griffin 1976: 202, 204, 206-207.

¹⁰⁰ Griffin 1976: 202, 209, n. 1; Seneca, *Epistulae* 73.9.

¹⁰¹ Griffin 1976: 193.

¹⁰² Riley 2008: 54-55.

was achieved under the Roman Empire.¹⁰³ In fact, the Roman imperium reaches its limits in *Hercules Oetaeus*, since the universe is seen as a political entity.¹⁰⁴ The entire world, the *cosmos*, is identified with the state, echoing Stoic ideas. The vision of a single *oikoumenē* was shaped by Zeno and persisted to the end of Stoicism.¹⁰⁵ The *oikoumenē* was in harmony with a common law, which was immanent in the universe. Posidonius was the Stoic who equated the Roman imperium with the stoic *oikoumenē*. Thus the Roman imperium acquired an absolute metaphysical foundation, since it was identified with the divine law and will.

The character that the law acquires in *Hercules Oetaeus* is also distinctive of imperial power and its ambiguities. During his epiphany Hercules predicts the restoration of justice, which he himself determines and attributes (*HO*, vv. 1972-1973). Hercules' absolute political power and the type of constitution it represents is divinized (*HO*, vv. 1989-1996). The political connotations of Hercules' *apotheosis* in *Hercules Oetaeus* show that although the possibility of immortality is open for all mortals, the political power that the *apotheosis* manifests and legitimizes is available only to Hercules himself. The law that Hercules establishes is subjective by definition, since it is dependent only on the morality of the deified absolute ruler. In contrast to *Trachiniae*, where the metaphysical and moral law surpasses the individual, in *Hercules Oetaeus* the perfected soul of the deified ruler defines and imposes the law. The perception of the law that becomes evident in *Hercules Oetaeus* is compatible with traditional Roman views about the origin and the purpose of the law. *Lex* was necessary only after the moral corruption of the rule of the *rex*, as both Cicero and Tacitus mention.¹⁰⁶ This conception of the law is also compatible with Seneca's view, who argued, following Posidonius, that if *reges*

¹⁰³ Braden 1970: 9-13; Riley 2008: 52.

¹⁰⁴ For the universe as political entity see Pratt 1983: 69. See also Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Helvium* 8. 5-6; *De Vita Beata* 20.5; *Ot. Sap.* 4. 1-2; *Epistulae* 102. 21.

¹⁰⁵ Hadas 1958: 22, 25-26.

¹⁰⁶ Cicero, *De Officiis* 2. 41-42; Tacitus, *Annales* 3. 26.

are *sapientes*, *reges* and *leges* are identical.¹⁰⁷ *Leges* were the response to the moral decline that occurred when people stopped living according to Nature. Hercules' *apotheosis* is a symbolic return to this golden age and recalls the Stoically perceived form of imperial deifications, which were common among educated Romans.¹⁰⁸ The subjectivity of this conception of the law and constitution leads to ambiguities, however, because the distinction between the good and bad ruler is only moral and not legal.¹⁰⁹

0.4.1.3 The ideological implications of Deianira in *Hercules Oetaeus*

Deianira dies in anger in *Hercules Oetaeus*, performing thereby an anti-Stoic suicide, the exact opposite to Hercules' death on the pyre. Deianira's anger is more extensively and more vividly depicted in *Hercules Oetaeus* than in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 900-942). In *Hercules Oetaeus*, the emphasis is transferred from the fatal act of sending the robe to the depiction of the emotion of anger and its physical manifestations.¹¹⁰ Deianira is openly vengeful in *Hercules Oetaeus* threatening to kill Hercules, Iole if pregnant, and herself (*HO*, vv. 305-306, 345-347, 339-343). The cause of human suffering is completely internalized. Deianira assumes full responsibility for her action. Juno is the accompaniment of her hands, but her will is free (*HO*, vv. 313-314). This dualism of body and soul allows the freedom of human will, which is necessary for the freedom of choice of the way of death, a necessary prerequisite for deification.¹¹¹ The dualism of body and soul was introduced by Posidonius as an extension of the distinction between Nature and God, which had been identical in old Stoicism.

¹⁰⁷ Seneca, *Epistulae* 90. 4-6; Griffin 1976: 200.

¹⁰⁸ For this type of deification see Weidauer 1950: 54-55; Griffin 1976: 220; Horace, *Odes* 3. 5, 1-4; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 2. 18; Younger Pliny, *Panegyricus* 35. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Griffin 1976: 365.

¹¹⁰ Galinsky 1972: 175-176; Henry and Henry 1985: 142.

¹¹¹ For the freedom of human will in stoic ethics see Rist 1969: 247-249; Griffin 1976: 383; Pratt 1983: 49, 60.

Moreover, the Nurse has active involvement in the preparation and the execution of the fatal plan in *Hercules Oetaeus*. This involvement perplexes the issue of moral agency even further in the play, since Deianira has no direct relationship of cause and effect with Hercules' agony. What emerges thereby is the destructiveness of passion regardless of the immediate sequence of events, which reflects the Stoic view of multiple causes and effects.¹¹² In *Hercules Oetaeus*, Deianira's guilt is only a means of activating her meditation on death. The fact that the anti-Stoic death she performs is more condemned than the act of sending the robe proves that the way of death is the main preoccupation in the play.

Hyllus in *Hercules Oetaeus* does not urge Deianira into her suicide as in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 815-820). This difference stresses the freedom of choice that Deianira shows in her death. Deianira's suicide is neither enacted nor narrated in *Hercules Oetaeus* because it is an anti-Stoic death due to the lack of tranquillity and self-control.¹¹³ There has been much critical discussion about the portrayal of Deianira in *Hercules Oetaeus* in comparison with *Trachiniae*. Deianira in *Hercules Oetaeus* is more openly vindictive than her counterpart in *Trachiniae* because this extreme portrayal makes the contrast with Hercules' Stoic death and *apotheosis* at the end more visible.¹¹⁴ The same function of anti-model to Heracles applies to Dianeira in *Trachiniae* as well, but it unfolds in more perplexed and balanced way.

The female functions in *Hercules Oetaeus* as another means of criticizing and challenging Heracles' power and uncontrollable will before its transformation into a will tamed by self-control. The criticism is milder than in *Trachiniae* because Hercules' power will

¹¹² On the Stoic idea of multiple causes and effects see Pratt 1983: 48, 58.

¹¹³ For the inappropriateness of suicide out of anger see Seneca's *Letter* 30.12; Griffin 1976: 385. For the characterization of Deianira in *Hercules Oetaeus* see King 1971: 218, 219; Galinsky 1972: 175; Pratt 1983: 123; Henry and Henry 1985: 102.

¹¹⁴ Galinsky 1972: 175; Cf. Pratt 1983: 123; Henry and Henry 1985: 102.

remain autocratic in *Hercules Oetaeus* after the transformation, even if morally improved. Deianira's anger, therefore, disputes Hercules' political power and its morality. Moreover, women are more active in the public sphere in *Hercules Oetaeus* than in *Trachiniae*. Deianira participates in imperial power. Her crime is a public crime and not a private one. Deianira's guilt is a universal issue in *Hercules Oetaeus*, because her action deprives the nations, the whole human race, of their protector (*HO*, 758-760).

Whereas in *Trachiniae* the order about the marriage between Hyllus and Iole establishes the new political order (*Tr.* vv. 1222-1227), in *Hercules Oetaeus* the new political order is expressed by Hercules' epiphany. In *Trachiniae*, the new political order is organized around the necessity of the law (*Tr.* vv. 1247-1248), whereas in *Hercules Oetaeus* it is organized around the deified Hercules. His mother, Alcmene, who has previously instructed Hercules to endure his suffering stoically (*HO*, vv. 1396-1398), initiates his cult, namely the recognition of the new metaphysical and political order. In this respect, Alcmene's role is reinforced in *Hercules Oetaeus* in comparison with *Trachiniae*. Motherhood thus emerges as an important quality for women in *Hercules Oetaeus*. The emphasis given to birth is in accordance with the ideology of the Principate. Succession by birth was considered by philosophers to be superior to adoption.¹¹⁵ Seneca himself supports the superiority of adoption into a family of *sapientes* over birth into a family chosen by fortune, but he considers the adoption into the imperial house 'a mournful expedient when the Emperor's direct descendants die.'¹¹⁶ In this way, birth acquires particular political value and the female political role is enhanced.

¹¹⁵ Griffin 1976: 218.

¹¹⁶ Griffin 1976: 219; Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Marciam* 15. 2-3; *De Brevitate Vitae* 15. 3.

0.4.2 The dramatic reception of *Trachiniae* up to the twentieth century¹¹⁷

In Robert Garnier's (1545-1590) *Marc Antoine*, Antony's death recalls Heracles'. *Marc Antoine* is a French tragedy, which was translated by the Countess of Pembroke in English under the title *The Tragedie of Antonie*. Garnier's tragedy was published by Patisson publishers in 1578 in Paris, whereas the English translation was published in London by Ponsonbie publishers in 1590.¹¹⁸

In Shakespeare there is one comic and one tragic reference to Heracles. In the comedy *Love's Labour's Lost* (5.2.587-94) Heracles is represented in the Pageant of the Nine Worthies. The play was revised for Court performance in the Christmas of 1597 in London and published in London in 1598.¹¹⁹ The tragic reference appears in *Antony and Cleopatra* (passim and 4.12.43-47). Antony compares himself to Heracles. The association is built with the allusion to the shirt of Nessus. The play was published by Jaggard (First Folio) in 1623.¹²⁰ Critics have argued that there is also influence from *Hercules Oetaeus* and from *Aeneid* 8. 193, especially in the passage from Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (4.12.40-47; 4.2.13) where Antony attributes his imminent fall to the unfaithfulness of Cleopatra.¹²¹

Two lost plays of 1595, *I Hercules* and *II Hercules*, are mentioned in the *Annals of English Drama 975-1700*.¹²² The same *Annals* include a fragmentary MS translation of Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus* by Queen Elizabeth I, transcribed by Horace Walpole in 1806.¹²³

¹¹⁷ For a complete list of the reception of the Heracles' myth in literature see Reid 1993, vol. 1: 515-560. For selected presentation see Galinsky 1972.

¹¹⁸ Bono 1984: 116, 119ff.

¹¹⁹ Riverside 1974.

¹²⁰ Riverside, Bono 1984: 153ff.; Galinsky 1972: 151, n. 25.

¹²¹ Waith 1962: 113-121; Riley 2008: 110.

¹²² Harbage, 1989, 3rd edition, pages 64-65, Admiral Men.

¹²³ Share 1998: 69-72; Riley 2008: 106, n. 40.

Heracles appears in an episode of *The Brazen Age*, which was a drama written by Thomas Heywood and derived from his epic, *Troia Britannica* (to a certain extent at least). *The Brazen Age* was published by Okes in 1613 in London.¹²⁴ Thomas Heywood, in fact, dramatized many episodes from the life of Heracles.¹²⁵ In a harmonious combination of the pagan and the Christian traditions, *The Silver Age* (1613) presents cases of Heracles' heroic actions that lead to the victory over the powers of hell. The sequel of *The Silver Age* was *The Brazen Age*, in which Heywood also dramatizes many Herculean labours, as well as the death of Heracles. *The Brazen Age* was staged at the Red Bull (c. 1611-1613). Galinsky characterizes Heywood's dramas as 'the nadir of the Herakles tradition in literature' and notes that they deserve to be mentioned only as part of the history of reception of the Heracles' myth in literature.¹²⁶

In 1613 Jean Prévost wrote the tragedy *Hercule sur le Mont Oeta*, an adaptation of Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*. The tragedy was published by Thoreau in Poitiers in 1613 as part of the book *Les tragédies et autres oeuvres poétiques*.¹²⁷ *Hercule mourant* is a French tragedy written by Jean Rotrou (1609-1650), first performed in 1634 in Paris. It was published in Paris by Sommaville in 1636.¹²⁸ In the French adaptations of the period of Louis XIV, the focus is transferred to the portrayal of Hercules as a lover, since this portrait was more intriguing for the taste of the contemporary audience.¹²⁹ The main adaptations of this period, Rotrou's *Hercule Mourant* (1634) and La Tuillerie's *Hercule* (1681), present Hercules as being preoccupied with his erotic passion, even if this passion is not reciprocated. Jean-François Juvenon La Tuillerie's (1650-1688) *Hercule* was an

¹²⁴ Heywood 1874: vol. 3; DLB 1987, 62: 101, 122ff; Boas 1950: 83ff.; Clark 1931: 62ff.

¹²⁵ See Heywood's *Dramatic Works* 3, London, 1874, page 159 and E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* 3, Oxford, 1923, page 345. For discussion of the plays see Galinsky 1972: 231-232, 249, n. 1, 2; Riley 2008: 109, 110 and 110, n. 50.

¹²⁶ Galinsky 1972: 232; Riley 2008: 107.

¹²⁷ DLF 1951-72, 3: 817; Lancaster 1929-42, pt. 1, 1: 92ff.; 2: 760.

¹²⁸ Girdlestone 1972: 139ff.; DLLF 1984, 3: 2019.

¹²⁹ Galinsky 1972: 233-234.

adaptation of Rotrou's *Hercule mourant* (1634) and it was first performed on the 7th of November 1681 in Comédie-Française in Paris.¹³⁰ The story revolves especially around Hercules' desire for Iole. She, however, prefers a mortal lover to Hercules in both plays; Arcas in Rotrou's and Philoctetes in La Tuillerie's. The semi-divine status of Hercules is not enough to grant him Iole, the object of his desire. Rotrou's play includes Hercules' *apotheosis* as well. This new status prevents the sacrifice of Arcas, since his sacrifice is not a demand of Hercules after his deification. Florent Dancourt (1661-1725) wrote a French tragedy entitled *La mort d' Hercule*, which was first performed and first published in Paris in 1683.¹³¹ Ricciotto Canudo (1879-1923) also wrote a French tragedy with the title *La mort d' Hercule*, which was first performed in 1923.¹³²

Two decades after Thomas Heywood's *The Brazen Age*, the Spaniard Francisco Lopez de Zarate wrote *Hercules furente y Oeta*.¹³³ The story of Heracles and Deianira appears also in the Spanish comedy of Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681), *Los tres mayores prodigios* Act. 3. The play was first performed in Buen Retiro in Madrid at St. John's Night in 1636. It was published in Madrid in 1637 as part of the book *Comedias de Calderón*, part 2.¹³⁴ Another comedy written by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681), *Fieras afemina Amor*, contains the story of Heracles and Iole. It was most probably performed in 1669-1670.¹³⁵ Francisco de Rojas Zorilla (1607-1648) wrote the auto sacramentale *Hércules*, which was first performed in Madrid in 1639.¹³⁶

Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) wrote the *Trachiniae*, a drama that is a Dutch adaptation of Sophocles. It was first performed and first published in 1660.¹³⁷ *Der*

¹³⁰ Girdlestone 1972: 127, 139; EDS 1954-66, 6: 1261; Lancaster 1929-42, pt. 4, 1: 194-200; 2: 932.

¹³¹ Lancaster 1929-42, pt. 4, 1: 194, 200 ff., 578; 2: 953.

¹³² EDS 1954-66, 2: 1703.

¹³³ The play is included in the edition of J. S. Diaz, *Obras varias de Francisco Lopez de Zarate* 2, Madrid, 1947, pages 279-462.

¹³⁴ Valbuena Briones 1960-1967, vol. 1; O' Connor 1988: 136, 144-152; Maraniss 1978: 104ff.

¹³⁵ Valbuena Briones 1960-1967, vol. 1; O' Connor 1988: 153-170.

¹³⁶ McGraw-Hill 1984, 4: 229.

¹³⁷ McGraw-Hill 1984, 5: 119.

verbannte Göttersohn is a dramatic fragment about Heracles as revolutionary figure, written in German by Friedrich Maximilian von Klinger (1752-1831). It was first performed in 1777.¹³⁸ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) wrote the episode *Chiron tells Faust of Hercules, 'the fairest man'* as part of *Faust Part 2*.¹³⁹ Frank Wedekind (1864-1918) wrote *Herakles*, a drama that was first published in 1917 and first performed on the 1st September 1919 in Prinzregenten Theater in Munich. This drama only draws from *Trachiniae* regarding Heracles' death.¹⁴⁰ *Nessusdräkten* is a comedy written by Per Hallström (1866-1960), which was first performed in 1919 and first published the same year in Stockholm by Bonnier.¹⁴¹

Handel's *Hercules* was a musical drama in three acts, which was first performed in 1745 in Covent Garden in London. George Frideric Handel was the composer and Thomas Broughton the librettist. Handel's musical drama was written after Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book 9).¹⁴² Galinsky argues that in Handel's oratorio the hero is preoccupied with his love affairs; he prefers the matters of the heart to his heroic endeavours.¹⁴³ Hall and Macintosh note that Handel's *Hercules* revives 'the choral convention of Greek tragedy' in the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁴ Handel's musical drama *Hercules* was presented in the Royal Academy of Music in London during the Handel Festival in 2004 and in Oxford in 2005.¹⁴⁵

Trachinians was a performance of *Trachiniae* produced in England in 1776 by Samuel Parr's pupils in Stanmore School. The play was performed in its original language.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁸ Daemmrich 1987: 133 ff.; DLL 1968-90, 8: 1336.

¹³⁹ Beutler 1948-71, vol. 5; Suhrkamp 1983-88, vol. 2; Galinsky 1972: 216ff.

¹⁴⁰ Galinsky 1972: 235-240; McGraw-Hill 1984, 5: 130.

¹⁴¹ Gustafson 1961: 343.

¹⁴² <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/asp/ViewBook.asp>; <http://www.grovemusic.com>; *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London, 1992).

¹⁴³ Galinsky 1972: 233-234.

¹⁴⁴ Hall and Macintosh 2005: 197; Keates 1992: 128, 256-258.

¹⁴⁵ Thicknesse 2004: 25; Vickers 2005.

¹⁴⁶ Clarke 1986: 20-21; Hall 1997: 60; Hall 1999: 119; Hall 2005: 568.

Hall and Macintosh argue that Samuel Parr's choice of *Trachinians* was probably influenced by Milton's *Of Education*. In this treatise Milton claimed that *Trachiniae* and *Alcestis* were suitable for the education even of young pupils because they are tragedies about 'household matters.'¹⁴⁷ Dr Samuel Parr was the headmaster of Stanmore school, known for his liberal political opinions. Stanmore had produced a performance of *Oedipus Tyrannus* in 1775 before the performance of *Trachiniae* in 1776. The choral odes were cut and the costumes were lent by David Garrick, who had worked as actor and manager at the Drury Lane theatre.¹⁴⁸

Ion was an adaptation by Thomas Noon Talfourd, which drew elements from *Trachiniae* among many other Greek tragedies. 1821 is a probable year of production, but it is uncertain because the first publication of this adaptation did not appear until the 1830s at Harvard University.¹⁴⁹ The same play was produced numerous times in both England and in the USA, between 1836 and 1867.¹⁵⁰ Talfourd's adaptations of Greek tragedy had a 'radical political purpose', an element that reappeared in the professional British adaptations of Greek drama only at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁵¹

The next significant performance of *Trachiniae* took place at 3 Great Stuart Street in Edinburgh in the spring of 1877.¹⁵² The Professor of Engineering at the University of Edinburgh, Henry Fleeming Jenkin, was the director of the performance. His wife, Anne Jenkin, played the role of Deianira. Stevenson, who played the Messenger, was a pupil of Jenkin. The theatre at 3 Great Stuart Street in Edinburgh was Jenkin's private theatre, where he staged many performances of Greek drama. He had previously directed *Frogs*

¹⁴⁷ Milton 1963: 104; Hall and Macintosh 2005: 253.

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/people/imagesdocs/eh1566-1997htm>.

¹⁴⁹ Odell 1931; Talfourd 1852; Motter 1929: 100; Hall 1997: 283ff.; Hall 1999: 122.

¹⁵⁰ For details of the performances see the production ID 744, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 4520, 6204, 6206, 6207, 7080, 7082, 7083 of APGRD.

¹⁵¹ <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/people/imagesdocs/eh1566-1997htm>.

¹⁵² Campbell 1891: 320; Macintosh 1997: 289; Macintosh 2005: 156ff.; Hall and Macintosh 2005: 448 and note 47, 449 and note 48; 510, 513 and note 106; <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/people/imagesdocs/eh1566-1997htm>.

as well.¹⁵³ The same performance was staged in the autumn of 1877 at Town Hall in St. Andrews, Scotland.

Jenkin was a close friend of the Professor of Classics at the University of St. Andrews, Lewis Campbell. The performance used Campbell's own translation of *Trachiniae* and Campbell attended Jenkin's production. Campbell had been appointed Professor of Greek at the University of St Andrews in 1863. He founded the 'Shakespeare Society' and the 'Students Dramatic Society'. He also organized many readings and performances of Greek tragedy in the 1870s and 1880s that were very influential among Campbell's social circle in Edinburgh and St. Andrews.¹⁵⁴ The 1877 performance of *Trachiniae* was also part of the revival of amateur performances of Greek tragedy in Edinburgh's sophisticated circles initiated by Campbell's translations of ancient plays and his emphasis on the significance of performance. This was part of a broader cultural movement, 'a vigorous Victorian Hellenism developed in the late 1870s'¹⁵⁵ that was also reflected in the foundation of the 'Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies' (1879).

Jenkin's performance, as well as Campbell's translation of *Trachiniae*, is very important for the literary and dramatic rehabilitation of the play after Schlegel's bitter criticism and rejection of its artistic value. Campbell had fervently defended *Trachiniae* against Schlegel's criticism.¹⁵⁶ A reading/recitation of Campbell's translation took place in 1903 in 'Lady Collins' drawing room', which was most probably located in London.¹⁵⁷ Campbell's translation was also the text of a performance that was staged from 6 July 1911 to 8 July 1911 at the Royal Court Theatre in London. The director was G. R. Foss and the role of Deianira was played by Ethel Abrahams.

¹⁵³ Baker-Penoyre 1898, ii: 324.

¹⁵⁴ Eve Blantyre Simpson 1898: 208-209.

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/people/imagesdocs/eh1566-1997htm>.

¹⁵⁶ Letter of 29 March 1905 in Lewis Campbell (1914), page 419.

¹⁵⁷ See notes of ID 6929 in APGRD and the *Memorials in Verse and Prose of Lewis Campbell*, which was printed for private circulation in 1914, page 364.

This 1911 performance of *Trachiniae* was one of the many productions of Greek tragedy staged by the Bedford College and Women's College's Building Fund.¹⁵⁸ Hall and Macintosh characterize Abrahams as 'a tireless campaigner on behalf of women's rights.' Emily Davison, another feminist activist, praised Abrahams' performance. Her review of the performance of *Trachiniae* was published in the paper *Votes for Women* on the 14th of July 1911. Davison's comment is impressive, 'The anti-suffragist argument that women do not fight receives its criticism in this play.' I would like to stress at this point an interesting discrepancy. Davison regards *Trachiniae* as a text that speaks for women's rights, whereas the most recent feminist criticism of *Trachiniae* as well as the criticism of *Trachiniae*'s post-feminist rewriting, Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, regards the ancient play as a characteristic example of the Western patriarchal canon.¹⁵⁹ The same ancient text thus triggers different critical responses between the first, the second and the third waves of feminism.

0.4.3 The history of the more recent productions of *Trachiniae*

During the 20th century many performances of *Trachiniae* were produced in different languages and countries, such as England, the USA, New Zealand, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Germany, the Czech Republic, Israel, Greece and Cyprus. These were either amateur performances produced by Departments of Classics or Theatre in academic institutions or professional performances produced by companies in professional theatre venues. I present first the amateur and then the professional performances, categorizing them on the basis of the location of the performance.

¹⁵⁸ Hall and Macintosh 2005: 513 and n. 106. The next two quotations are also drawn from the same page.

¹⁵⁹ In Chapter 1 and Chapter 3 there is relevant analytical discussion.

0.4.3.1 Academic

An adaptation of *Trachiniae* entitled *Trachiniae; or, Kiss Me Herky* was produced by the Marionette Society of Radley College in Abingdon, Oxfordshire, England, in July 1951. The Department of Classics at the University of Exeter produced a performance with the title *Trachiniae: The Death of Heracles* in 1984. The Rep College presented a performance of *Trachiniae* at the 21 South Street Arts Centre in Reading, England, in 1999. The translation was by E. F. Watling. The Rep College also presented a performance of *Trachiniae* in English translation by E. F. Watling in the New Greenham Arts venue in Newbury, England, in 2004. The University of Nottingham produced a performance of *Trachiniae* in English translation by Lynn Kozak in 2006.

Trachiniae was performed in King's College London in 1964 in the original language.¹⁶⁰ The Department of Classics of King's College London also presented a performance with the title *Heracles* in 1983, which was an adaptation written in ancient Greek and in English. This adaptation combined elements from Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Euripides' *Herakles* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. The performance was presented in King's College London, in McGill University in Canada, and in USA, in Columbia University, in Wheeler School in Providence, Rhode Island, as well as in the Second Storey Theater in Newport, Rhode Island.

The University of Cambridge produced a performance of *Trachiniae* in the original language in the Greek Play Festival of 1983.¹⁶¹ The Oxford University Classical Drama Society produced a performance of *Trachiniae* in ancient Greek for the Oxford Greek Play festival in 1993. The Department of Classics of King's College London presented a

¹⁶⁰ Walton 1987: 353.

¹⁶¹ Easterling 1982: 13; Walton 1987: 353; Easterling 1999: 27-47.

performance of *Trachiniae* in the original language in the Greenwood Theatre in London in 2007.

In the USA, the University of Indiana presented an opera with the title *Herakles* in 1972. The opera was based on Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and on Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*. The text was written by M. Fried, who was also the librettist. John Eaton was the composer.¹⁶² Brandeis University staged a performance of *Trachiniae* in 1979.¹⁶³ The University of Utah produced a performance of *Trachiniae* in 1998. This performance combined *Trachiniae* with a satyr play before, and a satyr play of *apotheosis* after, the Sophoclean tragedy. The performance was staged in the University of Utah and in Santa Clara University in California. The University of California, Irvine, presented *Trachiniae* as part of a tetralogy with the title *Dionysus* in 2001. The other three plays of the performance were *Ajax*, *Antigone* and *Blood Hounds*. Stanford University produced a performance of *Trachiniae* in 2006 entitled *Deianeira* and based on an adaptation by Rush Rehm. The Oscar Hammerstein II Center for Theatre Studies at Columbia University also produced a performance of *Trachiniae*, although the date is unknown.

In Canada, the Department of Theatre of Concordia University produced a performance of *Trachiniae* in English in 1994. The performance was staged in the Cazalet Studio Theatre.

¹⁶² Brown 2004: 303; Wrigley 2004: 383.

¹⁶³ Walton 1987: 376.

0.4.3.2 Professional

0.4.3.2.1 England

A professional performance of *Trachiniaiē* was produced by the theatre company Attic Players in the Toynbee Hall Theatre in London in November 1955. The title of the production was *Women of Trachis*.¹⁶⁴ The theatre company Chloë Productions produced a performance of *Trachiniaiē* in English. Russell Shone was both the translator and the director of the performance. The performance was staged in the Tristan Bates Theatre in London in 1997.

Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* was broadcasted on BBC Radio 3 as the Sunday Play on the 28th November 1999. Bass clarinet, whistle, guitar, cello and percussion were the instruments that were used for the music investment of the play.¹⁶⁵ Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* was also staged in the Royal National Theatre on the 16th January 2001. The performance had the form of a reading/recitation and was introduced by Timberlake Wertenbaker herself. Lucy Bailey was the director of the performance. Wertenbaker's version will be analytically discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis.

Martin Crimp's *Cruel and Tender* was a co-production by the Chichester Festival Theatre in England, Ruhrfestspiele Recklinghausen, Théâtre des Bouffes du Nord in France, Wiener Festwochen in Austria and the Young Vic in England. The performance was staged at the Young Vic Theatre in London from the 4th of May 2004 to the 10th of July 2004 and in the Minerva Studio Theatre in Chichester on the 4th September 2004. It also toured in Europe. Luc Bondy was the director.¹⁶⁶ Riley includes the play in the history of the reception and production of Euripides' *Herakles Mainomenos*. She argues that the

¹⁶⁴ See APGRD production ID 3864.

¹⁶⁵ Sunday Play: *Dianeira* by Timberlake Wertenbaker, *Sunday Times*, 28 November 1999, Culture Section, p. 69; Wertenbaker 2002: 323ff.; Taplin 2004: 153; Wertenbaker 2004: 367; Wrigley 2004: 409.

¹⁶⁶ Crimp 2004; Kingston 2004; Tanitch 2004; Carter 2007: 143-144.

play offers a representation of Heracles, which has much affinity with ‘the Romanized Greek hero; the morally and psychologically problematic Senecan Heracles’, assuming an equal influence from both *Hercules Furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus*.¹⁶⁷ She characterizes the play as ‘a direct response to global terrorism and the latest war in Iraq.’¹⁶⁸

Although *Cruel and Tender* was characterized as ‘*Cruel and Tender* after Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*’ Martin Crimp significantly changes various points of the ancient play. These changes render his version almost an original play with resonances with *Trachiniae*. The names of the protagonists also change to denote the current social and political reality directly. Heracles becomes the General, a distinguished military leader in his forties who supervises a military expedition in Africa. The modern ‘labours’ of Heracles are a constant fight against terrorism. What the play reveals, however, is that terrorism has various physical and emotional manifestations, apart from the overtly political ones. Moreover, it reveals the corruption of political power, which, in Crimp’s version, is separated from the purely military power of the General and is represented by the dramatic persona of Jonathan, a contemporary politician.

Riley rightly included this play in the history of the reception of Euripides’ *Herakles Mainomenos*, although it is written as an original version of Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*. Apart from the significant thematic and structural changes that Crimp makes in comparison with *Trachiniae*, the figure of the General as a traumatized military leader, and the display of his suffering, which is not limited to excessive physical and emotional pain as in

¹⁶⁷ Riley 2008: 348.

¹⁶⁸ Riley 2008: 345, 345 n. 18 and n. 19, 348, n. 28. Reviews of the first production: Michael Billington, *Guardian*, 14 May 2004; Nicholas de Jongh, *Evening Standard*, 14 May 2004; Jeremy Kingston, *The Times*, 14 May 2004; Charles Spencer, *Daily Telegraph*, 15 May 2004; Susannah Clapp, *Observer*, 16 May 2004; Victoria Segal, *Sunday Times*, 16 May 2004; Ian Shuttleworth, *Financial Times*, 17 May 2004; Paul Taylor, *Independent*, 24 May 2004; and Patrick Marmion, *Daily Mail*, 13 Aug. 2004. For comparison between *Cruel and Tender* and *Trachiniae* see Pat Easterling’s *Critical Review*, January 2004, for the Project ‘The Reception of the Texts and Images of Ancient Greece in Late-Twentieth-Century Drama and Poetry in English’ (<http://www2.open.ac.uk/ClassicalStudies/GreekPlays>).

Trachiniae, but includes paranoid reactions and mental confusion, relate him more to *Herakles Mainomenos* than to the Heracles of *Trachiniae*. Furthermore, there is no process of transformation in Crimp's version, only the presentation of a world in continuous crisis, a display of violence almost inherent in human nature, without any way out being projected. It is a closed pessimistic end, very different from the open-endedness of *Trachiniae*.

0.4.3.2.2 New Zealand

The BATS Theatre Company (Bain and Austin Touring Society) produced a performance of *Trachiniae* in English in New Zealand in 1983.

0.4.3.2.3 United States of America

A performance with the title *Herakles* was presented in Chashama, New York, USA, in 2000. This performance combined elements from Euripides' *Herakles* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, Heiner Müller, Pindar and Handel's *The Choices of Hercules*. *Bad Women* is a play produced by the American theatre company Talking Band that was staged in the Here Arts Center in New York in June 2002. The play was about the female characters Clytemnestra, Phaedra, Medea, Agave, Deianira and Cassandra. Sophocles' *Trachiniae* was one among other Greek tragedies that influenced the play.¹⁶⁹ The American theatre company Natural Theatricals presented a performance of *Trachiniae* in English translation in 2004. The performance was staged at the George Washington Masonic National Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia. The American theatre company Target Margin Theater presented a performance of *Trachiniae* based on an adaptation by Kate

¹⁶⁹ Foley 2004: 77-78, 89, 103; Wrigley 2004: 414; Wrigley 2005: 430.

E. Ryan entitled *Women of Trachis*. The performance at the Ohio Theatre in New York was part of the ‘Hellenic Laboratory’ series and was produced in 2007.¹⁷⁰

Ezra Pound’s *Women of Trachis* was first published in the *Hudson Review* 67.4 (Winter 1954) and first broadcast on the 25th November 1954 on BBC. The first book publication was made by Spearman publishers in London in 1956 and the second one by New Directions in New York..¹⁷¹ The play was also translated and performed in German and in Italian. The details of the German and Italian productions are given below. Chapter Two of the thesis is dedicated to the analysis of Pound’s version in comparison with *Trachiniaiæ*.

0.4.3.2.4 Germany

The first performance of *Trachiniaiæ* in Germany took place in 1944 in an unknown venue in Düren, in North Rhine-Westphalia.¹⁷² *Frauen von Trachis* is a German translation of *Trachiniaiæ* by Wolfgang Schadewaldt, which was staged in Kammerspiel in Cologne in 1976.¹⁷³ A German performance of *Trachiniaiæ* with the title *Der Tod des Herakles* was presented in the Theaterzelt Das Schloss in Munich in 2002.

Another German performance in the Schillertheater in Berlin in 1959 was based on Ezra Pound’s version of *Trachiniaiæ*, *The Women of Trachis*.¹⁷⁴ In the same year there was also a performance based on Pound’s version staged at the Landestheater in Darmstadt in Hesse.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Kalb 2007.

¹⁷¹ Kenner 1971: 522-26; Galinsky 1972: 236, 240ff.; DLB 1986, 45: 338.

¹⁷² Flashar 1991: 169, 407.

¹⁷³ Flashar 1991: 407, 240.

¹⁷⁴ Hobson 1961: 128; Ploritis 1966: 68, 69; Easterling 1982: 14.

¹⁷⁵ Ploritis 1966: 68, 69; Flashar 1991: 202, 407.

0.4.3.2.5 Italy

The first performance of *Trachiniae* in Italy was produced in 1933 by the Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico as part of the seventh festival in the Ancient Theatre of Syracuse.¹⁷⁶ The Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico of Italy also presented a production of *Trachiniae* in the same theatre in 1980. The Italian translation was by Umberto Albini and Vico Faggi.¹⁷⁷

Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis* was translated into Italian and was the script of a performance entitled *Le Donne di Trachis* presented in the Teatro dell' Elfo in Milan in 2003. Margherita Giudacci was the translator of Pound's version. Another Italian translation of Pound's *Women of Trachis*, by Giancarlo Nanni this time, was the script of a performance in the Teatro Vascello in Rome in 2004. The title of the production was *Le Trachinie* and Nanni was also the director. Pound's *Women of Trachis* was staged in Italy in 2005 with Martina Treu as the dramaturg.

0.4.3.2.6 France/Belgium

Déjanire is a French adaptation of *Trachiniae* by Michèle Fabien, which was staged in Belgium in 1974 by the theatre company Ensemble Théâtral Mobile.¹⁷⁸

0.4.3.2.7 Spain/Portugal

Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, along with other Greek tragedies influenced the performance entitled *El Héroe Trágico* by the Spanish theatre company Grupo Helios Teatro in

¹⁷⁶ Pintacuda 1978: 38; Walton 1987: 321-322, 326; Alessi 1996; Pallen 1999.

¹⁷⁷ Walton 1987: 327.

¹⁷⁸ Herbert, Leclercq 2000: 26.

Madrid. The performance was staged in Teatro Académico de Gil Vicente in Coimbra, Portugal. Another Spanish theatre company, the Grupo Dionisos del IES Santa Maria de la Cabeza de Andujar, produced *Las Traquinias* in 2003. The performance was staged in various venues in Spain as well as in Portugal.

0.4.3.2.8 Czech Republic

Héraklés is a Czech opera-pantomime, which was composed around 1972. It was broadcast in 1987 on television. It combines elements from Euripides' *Herakles* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. The libretto reveals influences from Bertolt Brecht as well as from Greek drama. Ján Zimmer was the composer and the librettist.¹⁷⁹

0.4.3.2.9 Israel

Martin Crimp's *Cruel and Tender* was translated into Hebrew by Dori Parnes and was staged in the Habimah National Theatre in Tel Aviv, Israel, in November 2005.

0.4.3.2.10 Greece

Trachiniae was performed in Modern Greece in 1960 in Ancient Odeion of Herodes Atticus in Athens. The theatre company was Thymelikos Thiasos. Linos Karzis was the director of the performance and the translator of the ancient play.¹⁸⁰

The National Theatre of Greece presented a production of *Trachiniae* with Alexis Solomos as director and Tasos Roussos as the translator into Modern Greek. This

¹⁷⁹ Brown 2004: 303; Wrigley 2004: 393.

¹⁸⁰ Balaskas, Topouzis 1992: 146-147.

production was staged in the Ancient Theatre of Dodona and in the Ancient Theatre of Epidaurus in 1970 and in the Ancient Odeion of Herodes Atticus in Athens in 1971.¹⁸¹

Another performance of *Trachiniae* in Modern Greek was produced by the State Theatre of Northern Greece and presented in the Ancient Theatre of Philippi in Greece in 1984. The translation was by Stylianos Kapsomenos and the direction by Nikos Charalambous.¹⁸²

Trachiniae was also staged in Modern Greek in 1994. The translation was by K. Ch. Myris, a pseudonym for Kostas Georgousopoulos. Spyros Evangelatos was the director of the performance. The play was performed in the Ancient Theatre of Epidaurus in Greece by the theatre company Amphi-Theatro of Spyros Evangelatos.

Attis Thiasos produced a performance with the title *Heracles Trilogy*, which consisted of three plays. These plays drew elements from Heiner Müller's *Herakles* (*Herakles* 2, 13 and 5), Euripides' *Herakles* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. Greek and Turkish actors participated in the performance. The performance was staged in Barcelona, Spain, in Japan and in Constantinople, Turkey, in 1999. Theodoros Terzopoulos was the director.¹⁸³

Laments of Women: Sophocles' Heroines was a performance produced in Modern Greek by the composer Nikos Xydakis. The performance was staged in the Mikro Theatro Palaias Epidauro in 2006. Sophocles' *Trachiniae* was one among other Greek tragedies that influenced the composition of the performance. It was a musical synthesis that included the laments by Tecmessa, Electra, Jocasta, Deianira and Antigone.

¹⁸¹ Easterling 1982: 13; Walton 1987: 292, 295; Balaskas, Topouzis 1992: 147-148, 149.

¹⁸² Balaskas, Topouzis 1992: 148-149.

¹⁸³ Riley 2004: 114; Wrigley 2004: 408-409.

0.4.3.2.11 Cyprus

The theatre company Theatro Simeio presented a performance of *Trachiniae* in Cyprus.

The date is unknown.

0.5 Why Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Wertebaker's *Dianeira*

The selection of these translations/adaptations as case studies is based on these criteria:

1) they are written by authors whose preoccupation with creative translation is a major part of their literary and ideological input, 2) their translations entail specific ideological discourse, 3) their translations function as a medium to open an implicit or explicit dialogue between antiquity and present and between their version and *Trachiniae*, 4) there is homogeneity regarding modes of performance, since the versions by Pound and Wertebaker were both performed as radio plays.

0.5.1 Why Pound's *Women of Trachis*

Pound's *Women of Trachis* is significant for the interpretation and the reception of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. Its distinctive quality lies in its twofold function as both a translation and criticism of *Trachiniae*. Pound attempted in his version to highlight what he considered to be the main structural and thematic features of *Trachiniae*, which were unacknowledged or misrecognized by the scholarly criticism of his time, as they continue to be to a certain extent even in contemporary criticism. It is suggestive that Easterling, as well as Segal, refer to Pound's version to draw supportive material as they analyze the end of *Trachiniae*.¹⁸⁴ Pound's version also has great value for its position in the history of reception of *Trachiniae*. As Edith Hall says, 'It was perhaps Ezra Pound's idiosyncratic

¹⁸⁴ Easterling 1981: 58; Segal 2000: 159.

1956 version which put the play on the literary map.¹⁸⁵ Pound's version renewed both the artistic and the scholarly interest in *Trachiniae*. The significant position of Pound's version in the history of reception of *Trachiniae* resulted not only from its confrontation, in a sense, with the previous criticism of *Trachiniae*, but also from the particular character of Pound's version as creative translation. This quality disrupted the principle of the strict textual faithfulness to the original and allowed a different sort of engagement with it that was more interpretative and more attuned to the sensibilities of the cultural and political present of modernity.

In regard to the overall argument of the thesis, Pound's version is significant, therefore, because it offers a different approach to the interpretative difficulties of *Trachiniae*. Pound's criticism of the Greek play differs from the scholarly criticism because it is a response to *Trachiniae* through the art of creative translation. It is intriguing to examine what new insights it has to offer and how these insights relate to the scholarly criticism. Pound's version is also important for its artistic and political quality. Both the artistic and the political interest lie in the way Pound invests the ancient play with the poetics of modernism and his own political ideology. There is an inextricable link between the aesthetics and the politics in Pound's oeuvre as well as a deep and steady engagement with various aesthetic and political ideas. In this respect, Pound's *Women of Trachis* is particularly interesting for the new ideology that Pound superimposes on the Greek play.

The use of the term 'ideology' in Pound's case needs defence and clarification. Pound regarded ideology as a detached and artificial construction that was against tradition and particularized knowledge.¹⁸⁶ He preferred to call his ideas methodology rather than ideology. He also regarded fascism, one of his main ideological attractions, as a factual method and not an ideology. As Nicholls correctly notes, however, Pound essentially

¹⁸⁵ Hall 2010: 318.

¹⁸⁶ For Pound's conception of ideology see Nicholls 1984: 80, 90, 91, 94, 95, 111, 182.

replaced politics with natural ethics; he replaced one ideology with another. Nicholls also points out that Pound's endorsement of fascism was another proof that his ideas were ideology and not methodology. Pound in the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones*, the *Cantos* that were written at the same period as the *Women of Trachis*, attempted to raise his ideology to the sublunary sphere. In the chapter devoted to Pound's version I argue that the same movement from the political to the transcendental also unfolds in the *Women of Trachis*. I use the term 'ideology' to refer to Pound's aesthetic and political ideas since, despite his dislike of the term and the concept of ideology, his ideas do constitute a concrete set of beliefs.

0.5.2 Why Wertebaker's *Dianeira*

Wertebaker's *Dianeira* occupies the third chapter of this thesis for various reasons. As with Pound's *Women of Trachis*, it is both a translation and criticism of *Trachiniae*. Wertebaker translates *Trachiniae* freely, while at the same time modifying the text in order to invest it with her own ideological preoccupations. She also adds extensive interpretative comments, especially through Irene, the second narrator she introduces in her version, which serve to reveal her interpretative stance towards Sophocles' *Trachiniae*.

For Wertebaker, as for Pound, translation is an integral part of her dramatic oeuvre, as well as a significant portion of her entire literary work. Translation is linked in Wertebaker's oeuvre with the exploration of cultural, national and gender identities in an interconnected and fluid multicultural and multilingual world. Translation becomes Wertebaker's medium to express her major ideological preoccupations, feminism and its impasse, the millennial angst and the transition to a vision of humanist ideals and objectives. Although she regards the contemporary world as a post-ideological age, since

previous ideologies were not effective enough in addressing the millennial crisis, she persistently displays a set of beliefs that constitutes an ideology that might be summarized as a combination of feminist and humanist ideas with a strong multicultural and transnational orientation.

Moreover, Wertebaker's *Dianeira* was first performed as a radio play, as was Pound's *Women of Trachis*. This mode of performance was compatible with the political character of her version and suitable to bring out her ideological objectives. For all the aforementioned reasons, Wertebaker's *Dianeira* is appropriate to act as a canvass for the exploration of the ideological investment into the structural and thematic scheme of crisis and transformation that I regard as distinctive and definitive of *Trachiniai*.

0.6 Critical overview

0.6.1 Critical overview of Pound's *Women of Trachis*

If the scholarship about Pound's oeuvre as a whole is broad, that on his version of *Trachiniai* is significantly limited.¹⁸⁷ Apart from the extent, the scholarship about Pound's version is limited also in regard to its scope. Most of the studies of Pound's *Women of Trachis* focus on the language of his version or on a very limited textual comparison between Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Sophocles' *Trachiniai*.¹⁸⁸ The relationship between the ideologies that each version articulates has not been explored at length or in depth. Such an exploration is necessary in order to reach a more profound understanding of Pound's version while also extending the understanding of *Trachiniai*.

Mason's criticism of Pound's version is significant. Although he did not offer a detailed analysis of Pound's translation in comparison with Sophocles' *Trachiniai*, his

¹⁸⁷ See also Olcott 1986: 112.

¹⁸⁸ Carter 1957: 661; Kenner 1973.

contribution lies in the acknowledgment of the artistic value of the version.¹⁸⁹ Mason argues that Pound's version is important, because it brings out the unity of the play, which is organized around the death of Herakles.¹⁹⁰ Mason further argues that Pound's insistence on the element of unification harmed the essential structure of the play, because Deianira's and Kypris' roles are deliberately minimized. Pound's concern is not only to bring out the unity of the original, as Mason argues, however, but also to invest the original with his own ideological stance. Both Deianira's and Kypris' roles are minimized precisely because these changes facilitate Herakles' glorification. Herakles' sexual depravity is therefore passed over in silence.

Galinsky's approach to Pound's version is generally positive.¹⁹¹ He characterizes Pound's *Women of Trachis* as a 'landmark' and argues that Pound approached the Greek play with the creative terms of the moderns. Galinsky notes the main differences between *Women of Trachis* and *Trachiniae* regarding the text, remarking that Pound's purpose in his version is to emphasize the role of Herakles and to limit or eliminate any element that could have a negative impact on his portrayal. Apart from Deianira's limited role, other elements are omitted for the same purpose, such as Zeus' disapproval of Herakles' use of *dolos* in the killing of Iphitus, the mourning of Hyllos and the attendants before Herakles' first appearance on stage, and the conflict between Herakles and Hyllos regarding Herakles' orders.¹⁹²

Galinsky's analysis of the key phrase of the play, 'SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES' (*WT*, p. 50), (*Tr.* v. 1174), as representing the moment of Herakles' realization that his life has meaning and coherent shape despite the external fragmentation, is correct, but it does not exhaust all the ideological connotations of the phrase. Similarly, Galinsky's

¹⁸⁹ Mason 1963: 59-81; Mason 1963: 105-121; Mason 1969: 244-272.

¹⁹⁰ Mason 1963: 110.

¹⁹¹ Galinsky 1972: 175, 178, 220, 240-244, 248, 249, 297.

¹⁹² The details about the textual analysis will be given in Ch. 2.2.

argument that Herakles' implied *apotheosis* at the moment of his illumination in the *Women of Trachis* signifies his deification on secular terms does not take into consideration the ideological implications of Herakles' *apotheosis* in Pound's version. Pound's purpose is not to use Herakles as a modern model of everyday heroism, as Galinsky regards it, but as the embodiment of the preservation and transferral of his own political ideology to the realm of the transcendental.

Olcott's evaluation of Pound's version is positive, but her interpretation is focused almost exclusively on the autobiographical link between Pound's end and Heracles' end. Liebrechts' analysis of the *Women of Trachis* is interesting, but not ideologically informed.¹⁹³ Liebrechts displays in detail various reasons for Pound's attraction to *Trachiniae*. He emphasizes the element of sexual lust as personified by Kypris in the play, pointing out that this theme resonates well with modern sensibilities. Heracles' illumination is regarded by Liebrechts as an insight into his own life, which makes both his past and his future meaningful. It therefore secures the unity of the play apart from the unity of Heracles' life. Heracles' illumination is linked to Pound's favourite Neo-Platonic notion of the epiphany. Liebrechts associates Heracles' insight into his own life *sub specie aeternitatis* with Pound's insight into his own life. Liebrechts' comments are valuable, but they do not offer a detailed analysis of the ideological connotations and implications of this insight. The relationship between the *Women of Trachis* and *Trachiniae* is far more rich than would be possible if it were simply autobiographical. Harrop's study, meanwhile, focuses exclusively on the performative aspects of the version, without any further analysis.¹⁹⁴

My purpose in this thesis is to emphasize the ideologies operating in Pound's version and the way in which they emerge from the differences between his version and *Trachiniae*,

¹⁹³ Liebrechts 2008: 300-314.

¹⁹⁴ Harrop 2008.

along with the connections he purposefully builds between this version and the rest of his work, especially the *Cantos*.

0.6.2 Critical overview of Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*

Although there is extensive bibliography for Wertenbaker's work at large, the studies about *Dianeira*, her version of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, are limited both in number and in scope.¹⁹⁵ Such work as there is tends to regard *Dianeira* as a feminist challenge to what is perceived as the patriarchy in the Greek play. Following this interpretative approach, significant aspects of Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, as well as of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, are disregarded. I argue that Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* incorporates not only feminism and a challenge to patriarchy but also a criticism of feminism itself through the transition to an all-embracing humanist vision. Wertenbaker thus develops a twofold relationship with the Greek play. *Trachiniae* is seen as an anti-model of patriarchal oppression and concurrently a model of humanist values thereby functioning both as an anti-model of confrontation and as a model of aspiration for Wertenbaker.

Wertenbaker's version thus overlooks the criticism of patriarchy, which, although milder in its expression if assessed in contemporary terms, does exist in *Trachiniae*. She does not, however, disregard the humanist objectives that the ancient play embodies. The critics of Wertenbaker's version, meanwhile, disregard both the criticism of patriarchy and the humanist objectives that are incorporated in *Trachiniae*. It is highly indicative that the very last part of *Dianeira*, which is an addition made by Wertenbaker and also where the criticism of feminism unfolds, is almost entirely ignored by the scholarly

¹⁹⁵ Pedrick 2008: 41-59; Wilson 2008: 209-211; Gömceli 2010; Shih 2010.

studies. I will attempt to restore with my reading a more balanced appreciation of Wertebaker's *Dianeira* and its relationship to Sophocles' *Trachiniae*.

0.7 Methodology

In Chapter One, the exploration of the scheme of crisis and transformation and of its ideological implications in *Trachiniae*, is based on a close reading of the text itself along with the relevant primary and secondary sources. The significant points of this analysis will be discussed in comparison with Pound's *Women of Trachis* in Chapter Two and with Wertebaker's *Dianeira* in Chapter Three. These creative translations/adaptations comment on the ancient play and/or purposefully reshape it. Both scholarship and translation are used as critical tools to approach *Trachiniae*.

In Chapter Two, I will present all the distinctive elements of Pound's *Women of Trachis*, including the modernist framework as well as Pound's poetics and theory of translation. These elements define his version aesthetically. I will compare Pound's version with Sophocles' *Trachiniae* so as to highlight the differences between them and the purpose that these differences serve. I will show the deliberate connection of Pound's *Women of Trachis* with Pound's *Cantos*. In the light of this association, and of Pound's aesthetic and political ideas at large, I will explore the ideology that Pound superimposes on his version of *Trachiniae*. I will compare the ideology of Pound's version with the ideology of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and I will show the significance of the difference between them. I will also show the significance of the performative elements of the version, which intermingle with the text in the form of stage directions and radically change its content.

In Chapter Three, I will establish my argument in relation to Wertebaker's version of *Trachiniae* through a presentation of the ideological background of her version and a close reading of the text itself. This reading will be based on primary and secondary

sources with two methodological objectives. The first is a comparison with Sophocles' *Trachiniae* in such a way as to reveal both the thematic analogy of the transition and the different ideologies that Wertebaker's *Dianeira* encapsulates in this analogy. The second is to contextualize this play more broadly from the perspective of Wertebaker's ideological output so as to sketch the way that these different ideologies emerge and interrelate. I will also explore the ideological significance of the medium of the first performance, the radio play, bearing in mind that Pound's *Women of Trachis* was also first performed as a radio play.

0.8 Theory

0.8.1 Proliferation of modern performances of Greek drama and contemporary ideological movements

The proliferation of translations for the stage and of productions of Greek drama has been a globally spread cultural phenomenon since the 1970s.¹⁹⁶ Various social, political and cultural reasons have been suggested by scholars for this phenomenon. Foley regards the political character of Greek drama as a decisive element for its revival on the modern stage. She argues that it was ideal 'as a facade for staging political protest or a response to a particular political climate.'¹⁹⁷ The other attractive elements she points out are its global character, its ability to express the West and the East as well as the conflation of or the conflict between them. Foley also stresses the aesthetic features that render the Greek drama so attractive to the modern stage, the interesting plots, the significant female roles, the deep psychological insights, the complex metaphysics that perplex the issue of agency while being at the same time completely dissociated from modern established religious beliefs and practices. In this respect, the Greek drama is an ideal means of

¹⁹⁶ Foley 1999: 1; Hall: 2004.

¹⁹⁷ Foley 1999: 1-12.

articulating aesthetic experimentation and ideological challenge. Foley regards any form of translation of Greek drama for the stage as axiomatically new, because of the very act of the translation to a modern language and the use of modern performative means. Moreover, she strongly believes that the collaboration between scholarship and art is a mutually profitable and reciprocally illuminating relationship.

Edith Hall has also analyzed many reasons for the revival of Greek drama on the modern stage, including the political, aesthetic and metaphysical.¹⁹⁸ She showed the connection between the feminist movement of the 1970s, the hippie movement and the revival of ancient plays, which allowed the expression of sexual liberation. Greek drama was the proper medium to express erotic passion, family bonds and family crises in the context of the problematized femininity and masculinity that emerged after the second wave of feminism. Moreover, Hall argues that Greek drama on the modern stage could reflect conflicting identities and ideologies, such as the ideology of imperial Europe and the newly found identities that were shaped after decolonization. Apart from the political, Hall mentions aesthetic reasons for the revival of Greek drama, such as the similarity between ancient and modern theatre devices, and between Greek drama and the popular genre of social realist drama on television. She also presents the profound association of Greek tragedy with the theatre of Brecht and Beckett, with Sartre's existentialism and with the theatre of the absurd. Hall relates the proliferation of modern performances of Greek drama to the secularization of Western society. She emphasizes the notion of the 'survivor' as a common element of polytheistic and paganistic antiquity and of post-Christian, at least in northern European countries, modernity. The notion of the 'survivor' corresponds to every person who has outlived their suffering and accommodated their pain.

¹⁹⁸ Hall: 2004.

The proliferation of modern performances of ancient drama has also increased scholarly interest in the performative element of the ancient plays, and of their translations and adaptations for stage. The significance of this dimension of the plays has been brought out by Oliver Taplin since the 1970s and Edith Hall in most recent decades, the co-founders of the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman drama in Oxford.¹⁹⁹ The performative element has also been connected to the materiality and historicity of the tragic performance and in this respect it has been inextricably linked to the theory both of tragedy and of reception. Moreover, the proliferation of the performances of Greek drama has clear political features, as already shown. This aspect of the ideology is a key element in my comparative analysis of *Trachiniae* and its versions by Pound and Wertenbaker.

0.8.2 Translation for the stage and interpretation

My methodology is based on the theoretical conception that translation, and especially translation for stage, is a significant interpretative tool. The aesthetic and the interpretative value of the modern translations for the stage of Greek tragedy have been stressed by scholarship. Lorna Hardwick has worked extensively on this field and many of the theoretical principles she endorses form the theoretical background of the thesis in respect to the relationship between the ancient play and its modern translations for stage.

Hardwick insightfully remarks that ‘Performed translations enable audiences to experience interaction between ancient and modern. They can also be indicators of changes in modern perceptions of the ancient play and in how practitioners use the transformative powers of theatre.’²⁰⁰ She also notes that both scholars and art practitioners can benefit from this type of translation, if they engage in an interactive, creative

¹⁹⁹ Taplin 1977; Taplin 1978; Taplin 2002.

²⁰⁰ Hardwick 2007: 358.

relationship and collaboration for the production of the new texts and new performances of Greek tragedy. She points out that the relationship between the ancient text and the contemporary translation for the stage is not a relationship between two texts only; it is a more profound and complicated relationship that includes the performative element as well as the broader cultural and ideological environment of both past and present. This complexity is also a reason for the methodological and theoretical difficulties that the study of this type of translation entails. In this thesis I attempt to address these difficulties by combining the comparison between the ancient text and its different versions with the contextualization of each version within its cultural and political environment.

Hardwick rightly notes that the tendency in modern translations of Greek plays for the stage is to renew them in various ways.²⁰¹ She points out both the advantages and the difficulties that this type of translation generates for academics and artists. On the one hand, the comparative element is reinforced as well as the metatheatrical dimension. On the other, a tension is created ‘between the concepts of revival and new work.’ I regard this tension as a source of new meaning since any form of difference between the ancient text and the modern translation for the stage is valuable in facilitating and deepening the understanding of both the ancient and the modern, as well as of the relationship between them.

Hardwick singles out two elements as being decisive for the correct treatment of translations of ancient plays for stage. The first is an appropriate balance between alterity and familiarity in the reshaping of the ancient material for stage translation and production. This element refers mostly to the art practitioners. The second is the evaluation of the translations for the stage by scholars in a way that takes into account the

²⁰¹ Hardwick 2007: 360-361.

complexity of their creation, apart from their relationship with the original text 'source'.²⁰² She characteristically says:

Theatre translation is a connector between ancient and modern audiences, but its operation is not confined by linear temporalities of transmission nor constrained by a settled relationship between ancient and modern or, indeed, between text and performance. It shifts perception of both ancient and modern, and this makes it important for the understanding of cultural change.²⁰³

I follow this approach and instead of producing a descriptive history of reception on the basis of temporal linearity I attempt to compare in detail selected versions of *Trachiniae* with the ancient play, both textually and mostly ideologically. My purpose is exactly to explore the process of 'cultural change' through the 'shifts' originated by the different versions of *Trachiniae* and, through this process, to revisit the understanding of both the ancient play and its versions.²⁰⁴

0.8.3 The use of time in reception: past, present and future

Translations for the stage and modern performances of Greek drama are each part of its reception. They, therefore, share the key concepts of reception theory. I will present here those aspects of the theory of reception that I endorse and follow as constitutive elements of my methodology.

As discussed above, in this thesis, I regard the relationship between the ancient play and its versions as mutually illuminating; the meaning of the ancient play clarifies the meaning of its versions and *vice versa*. There is an interaction between past and present, which is prospective and retrospective at the same time. As T. S. Eliot said:

²⁰² Walton 2006: 182-183; Hardwick 2007: 361.

²⁰³ Hardwick 2007: 361.

²⁰⁴ For the specific character that translation acquires in the context of Pound's and Wertenbaker's literary output I will devote a relevant sub-chapter in each chapter respectively.

...for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted; and this is conformity between the old and the new. Whoever has approved this idea of order...will not find it preposterous that the past should be altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past.²⁰⁵

Many scholars follow this path in the field of reception. Katie Fleming, for example, adopts Eliot's theoretical point of view,²⁰⁶ and the relationship between past and present is further analyzed by Kennedy. He shows that when something is refashioned it is made from past present. In this respect, the text is retrospectively remade, 'The writer's text is refashioned in its reception in the name of understanding: what are construed *retrospectively* as the "obscurities," the "omissions," or the "suppressions" of the writer's text are "illuminated," "made good," or "revealed" in the reader's interpretation.'²⁰⁷

Tim Whitmarsh also supports the possibility of temporal reversal in reception studies, the idea that the future can be incorporated into the past.²⁰⁸ The original meaning can illuminate reception as much as reception the original meaning. Whitmarsh suggests the use of the term 'recipience' instead of the term reception to denote an ongoing process and not an achieved state. The concept of 'recipience' presents reading and interpretation as a dialogue in the Bakhtinian sense rather than just a plain transmission in chronological order.

Kennedy adds the dimension of the future to reception theory. He argues that apart from the link between the present and the past we operate under the shadow of the future. The future supplies the plenitude that the present is lacking. The self-realization is infinitely

²⁰⁵ Eliot 1951: 15.

²⁰⁶ Fleming 2006: 136.

²⁰⁷ Kennedy 2006: 289.

²⁰⁸ Whitmarsh 2006: 110, 114-115.

deferred. He favours the infinitely deferred future apocalypse.²⁰⁹ I also regard the process of the reception of an ancient play and of its interpretation as an ongoing, never-ending and always renewed process, whose evolution is equally determined by past, present and future. In this respect, I follow also Gadamer, who regarded the process of reception of a literary work and thus of its interpretation as always perpetuated in the future and thus as axiomatically unfinished, ‘the discovery of the true meaning of a text or a work of art is never finished.’²¹⁰

Eliot’s conception is adopted by Fleming not only for the definition of the relationship between past and present in reception studies, but also for the establishment of the argument that both the historical and the aesthetic must be part of reception studies. She, in fact, argues that they are in a sense inseparable. This argument is another theoretical aspect I follow in my thesis. I attempt to include and balance these two elements by exploring the structural and thematic similarities and differences between the ancient play and its versions and by contextualizing these formal elements within the broader historical, cultural and ideological framework of each version. I attempt to combine the ‘historico-descriptive’ element, as Fleming characterizes the main tendency in reception studies, with the analytical.²¹¹

0.8.4 The production of meaning: historicity and reception theory

The relationship between historicity and reception theory has been a matter of profound and extended scholarly discourse. Kenneth Haynes explores the impact of Gadamer’s theoretical views on the link between historicity and reception theory.²¹² Gadamer pointed

²⁰⁹ Kennedy 2006: 290-293.

²¹⁰ Gadamer 1993: 298.

²¹¹ Fleming 2006: 128.

²¹² Haynes 2006: 44-54.

out the significance of the historical contingencies of both author and reader for the production of meaning. In this respect, the historical reception of a text became the centre of the process of its understanding. Gadamer considered the temporal distance to be a ‘positive and productive condition enabling understanding.’²¹³ Haynes remarks that Gadamer regarded our difference as moderns from the ancients not as ‘an obstacle to understanding but as productive of understanding.’²¹⁴ Another influential figure in the field of reception theory is Hans-Robert Jauss whose essay “Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft” has been acknowledged by scholars as a seminal point of reception theory and reception studies.²¹⁵ Jauss shifted the emphasis of the literary study from the author to the reader and from the notion of ‘influence’ to the notion of ‘reception’. Wolfgang Iser and I. A. Richards enhanced this turn to the ‘reader’.²¹⁶ Jauss’s turn to the reader was more historic, whereas Richards’ was more psychological, as Hexter remarks.²¹⁷ It becomes obvious that the ties between historicity and reception studies are in a sense broadly accepted by scholars. What is disputed is the character of this connection and its impact on the production of meaning.

The scholarly discussion has mainly focused on the moment and the method of the production of meaning. Martindale, Batstone and Hardwick each argue that ‘All meaning is constituted or actualized at the point of reception.’²¹⁸ Batstone locates the point of reception ‘within the same postmodern discourses that have directed our attention away from the *mens auctoris* and the “text itself” toward the historicity and biases that constitute our being in the world and our access to understanding.’²¹⁹ Batstone locates the point of reception between the imperfect past and the perfect future of readership. He also

²¹³ Gadamer 1993: 297.

²¹⁴ Haynes 2006: 46; Gadamer 1993: 267, 270-276, 295.

²¹⁵ Jauss 1994: 144-205; Hexter 2006: 23.

²¹⁶ Iser 1971; Richards 1929.

²¹⁷ Hexter 2006: 24.

²¹⁸ Martindale 2006: 3; Batstone 2006: 14; Hardwick 2007: 360.

²¹⁹ Batstone 2006: 14.

distinguishes the materiality of the text, which remains the same, from the reception of the text, which always changes. The open-endedness of the reception of the text implies that every reading ‘cannot not be a mirage’ and ‘cannot not be political.’²²⁰ Martindale regards the mediated, situated character of readings, including the most recent ones, as the distinctive element of reception theory. He states that ‘My own view is that reception, on a Jaussian model, provides one intellectually coherent way of avoiding both crude presentism ...and crude historicism. Antiquity and modernity, present and past, are always implicated in each other, always in dialogue - to understand either one, you need to think in terms of the other.’²²¹ Martindale is therefore against the idea of reception as a method of discovering the ‘truth’ about the ancient text by removing all the superimpositions.

Tim Whitmarsh argues for a stronger bond between historicity and reception theory and studies. He also defines the moment when the meaning is produced differently by qualifying Bakhtin’s theory. He first remarks on the current ambiguity of the relationship between historicism and reception studies, insightfully noting that there is a ‘strange double standard’, which leads to theoretical discrepancy. The solidity and reality of historicism is accepted for the reception of a text, but not for the original meaning of the ancient text.²²² But even if the solidity and reality of historicism was replaced by an infinite plurality of interpretative potentialities for reception, namely by relativism, the problem would remain unsolvable, because in this case the ‘intellectual urgency’ of the reception studies is ‘undermined.’²²³ There is no need for a history of reception, if multiple readings are equally legitimate and they do not influence the way we read the ancient text. Whitmarsh’s argument is that ‘Meaning is, surely, not determined *solely* at

²²⁰ Batstone 2006: 19.

²²¹ Martindale 2006: 5; Armstrong 2003: 29.

²²² Whitmarsh 2006: 105.

²²³ Whitmarsh 2006: 105.

the point of reception; it is the product of a complex dialogue between producer and receiver, and certainly also refracted through intermediaries. It is this sense of *reciprocal* dialogue....Reception cannot do without a serious engagement with history: it must give full weight to the past.’²²⁴

A different theoretical approach is offered by Miriam Leonard who remarks that there is a tension in reception studies between the historical situatedness of each reading and the power of tradition that transcends historical horizons. As a consequence, some studies privilege the past and others the present. These two different tendencies reveal two different uses of time. Time may be filled with the specificity of the historical moment or emptied by the transhistorical character of the literary tradition. Leonard argues that this tension characterizes the historical subconscious of classical studies apart from reception theory. She disagrees with Martindale’s conception of reception as a dialogue between free-floating texts, instead proposing a type of historicism in reception studies that ‘...argues from an ethical-political perspective that, although the historical can never stand entirely outside its present, the “trace” of the past should be celebrated rather than erased in the encounter between modern reader and classical text.’²²⁵ Leonard also stresses the ideological background of each reading. ‘We cannot innocently reread Greek texts and the history of their reception without buying into a certain ideological appropriation.’, as she puts it.²²⁶ She also offers the ultimate purpose of this approach in reception studies, ‘The dialectic between presentism and historicity structurally embedded in the notion of reception has the potential to make classics a dynamic political force with a stake in “what is still happening.”’²²⁷

²²⁴ Whitmarsh 2006: 106.

²²⁵ Leonard 2006: 118.

²²⁶ Leonard 2006: 119.

²²⁷ Leonard 2006: 120.

I follow Leonard's theoretical approach in my thesis, because I regard it as the most balanced theoretical definition of the relationship between past and present, historicity and reception theory. It takes into consideration the different temporal dimensions without privileging one in particular. It also stresses the political and, even more broadly, the ideological character that the various readings of a play axiomatically acquire. Thus both the interpretation of an ancient play and its reception are seen as ideologically invested. Ideology becomes the core of the reading process and, by implication, the decisive element for the interpretation of the ancient play and its versions. Moreover, Leonard's approach, with its emphasis on ideology encompasses the political and the aesthetic element, the historical and the transhistorical, while disrupting the tension between them.

0.8.5 Subjectivity and ideological discourse in Greek tragedy and its reception

In this thesis I regard the crisis and transformation of the identities of the protagonists as indicative of the crisis and transformation that the ideologies underlying the formation of their subjectivity undergo. I follow this approach both for the ancient play and its later versions. I briefly sketch the ideological discourse regarding the definition of subjectivity in Greek tragedy and its reception and I display the theoretical concept I endorse to support my methodology.²²⁸ I follow Victoria Wohl's conception of subjectivity, but I qualify it by adding the element of change.²²⁹ For the critical character of tragedy and the

²²⁸ On the character in Greek tragedy see Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1917; Snell 1953: 90-112; Jones 1962; Lloyd-Jones 1972; Easterling 1973; Easterling 1977; Gould 1978; Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988: 29-38; Vernant 1988; Halliwell 1990: 37-42; Pelling 1990; Wolh 1998, n. 54. For characters as symbols in Greek tragedy see Garton 1957: 248. See also Jones 1962: 33 for the 'self-in-action' (essence revealed throughout the action of the drama) and the 'real-self, underlying, persisting through action and suffering.'

²²⁹ Wohl 1998.

possibility of change it entails I resort to Taxidou's theoretical conception of the tragic genre.²³⁰

An interesting theoretical concept of the subject in Greek tragedy is offered by Victoria Wohl. She combines elements from J.-P. Vernant, Louis Althusser, Judith Butler, Froma Zeitlin, Jacques Lacan and Melanie Klein in order to suggest a new configuration of the subjectivity, male and female, in Greek drama.²³¹ This concept combines and connects two elements as decisive for the formation of subjectivity: the ideological and the psychological. It also manifests an awareness of the dangers that the application of modern theoretical concepts to a pre-modern era entails.

Wohl accepts the ideological investment of the subject as created and debated by Greek tragedy. She follows Vernant's view that the tragic subject reflects and at the same time promotes a new self-definition and a new definition of the relationship with the world in its various aspects. The new definition results from the 'debate and interrogation' of individual's identity, which is also the identity of 'the citizen of democratic Athens.'²³² Vernant's tragic subject is constructed and operates within its social, political and, ideological environment; the place and the time of fifth-century Athens. Thus it is a profoundly political subject. Wohl qualifies Vernant's tragic subject with the addition of the psychological dimension, apart from the historical, and yet with the intermingling of both. She also transfers the horizon of this model of subjectivity beyond the historical horizon of classical Athens. Although historical specificity is a constitutive element of this subject, its conception and application is distinctively trans-historical, allowing Wohl to address any danger of anachronistic use of theoretical concepts.

²³⁰ Taxidou 2004.

²³¹ Wohl 1998: xxix-xxxvii.

²³² Vernant 1988: 242.

In order to support this model theoretically Wohl resorts to Louis Althusser's model of subjectivity.²³³ Althusser's subject combines psychological complexity with historical specificity. Ideology 'hails' or 'interpellates' the individual in order to constitute its subjectivity. The psychological and the material overlap, since the material elements, such as production and power are definitive of the way the self relates to itself and the world. Ideology creates subjectivity. Wohl considers the relationship between ideology and subject, as conceived of by Althusser, to be unilateral. Ideology only defines subjectivity, not *vice versa*. She replaces these dynamics with Butler's conception of the relationship between ideology and subjectivity as interactive.²³⁴ Following Butler, she speaks about a 'dialogue between the subject-in-formation and ideology-under-negotiation.'²³⁵ When ideology and subjectivity interrelate and interact, it is a critical moment for both that opens-up the possibility of reaffirmation or destabilization or both.

Wohl further explores the notion of subject in Greek tragedy and adds elements from psychoanalysis, because she believes that Althusser's concept of subject is not sufficient regarding the aspect of gender. She examines Lacan's theory that the boy actualizes his male subjectivity by relinquishing the mother in order to obey the paternal law. Woman becomes the 'fantasied "other."' ²³⁶ Wohl regards this system as androcentric and based on the authority of the 'Father.' She regards Zeitlin's analysis as another concept of the woman in Greek tragedy as 'other', the cultural 'other' in this case who facilitates the male reconfiguration of a fuller masculine identity.²³⁷ Wohl prefers Melanie Klein's model of subjectivity to Lacan's. Whereas Lacan bases the constitution of male subjectivity on the lack of female subjectivity, Klein suggests a model of plenitude.²³⁸

²³³ Althusser 1971: 1-60, especially 46-47.

²³⁴ Butler 1993: 120-124.

²³⁵ Wohl 1998: xxxii.

²³⁶ Wohl 1998: xxxiii-xxxiv; Lacan 1977: 66-67, 139-140; Lacan 1988: 235-247, 304-305, 259-264, 261-262.

²³⁷ Zeitlin 1990: 69, 85.

²³⁸ Klein 1984.

The relationship between self and other has as its paradigm the relationship between the mother and the child. The constitution of the self is based on the acceptance of the autonomy of the other. Wohl argues that this type of subjectivity is not possible for women in Greek tragedy. She argues that male subjectivity is gained through the circulation of women, whereas female subjectivity is ‘inherently problematic’ occupying an unstable middle position between subject and object.²³⁹ She regards the silent virgin as the only place of resistance against the lack of female subjectivity. The silent virgin is situated outside the ideological interpellation and the symbolic. She is the fantasy of a resistance that never materializes.²⁴⁰

The synthesis that Wohl makes in order to present a different model of subjectivity is useful in many respects. It solidifies the co-existence of and the interaction between the psychological and the ideological without undermining either. The subject is both an individual and a part of a broader social and political matrix. This combination allows the co-existence of the transhistorical with the historical and a balance between them, which is a significant preoccupation of reception studies.²⁴¹ These identities and the ideologies are seen as phenomena in progress, a view valuable for the reading of the ancient play as well as of its reception. Moreover, Wohl’s model pays attention to the aspect of gender. The notion of the subject she proposes is neither genderless nor implicitly androcentric. Wohl inextricably associates her model of the tragic subject with the practice of circulation of women, as presented in the Greek tragedy. She suggests, however, that the model of tragic subject could be helpful for the study of any intersection between identity and ideology in Greek tragedy and in its reception.

²³⁹ Wohl 1998: xxix.

²⁴⁰ Wohl 1998: xxxvi-xxxvii.

²⁴¹ Jones 1962.

There is a discrepancy, however, between Wohl's overall theoretical approach and its implementation in the analysis of female subjectivity in Greek tragedy. The concept of subjectivity she proposes has as starting point Vernant's view of the tragic subject as a site of negotiation of ideologies on their own without foreclosed possibilities. Vernant's vision is progressive, 'a new way for man to understand himself and take up his position in relation to the world, the gods, other people, himself, and his own actions.'²⁴² Wohl's conception of the tragic subject, however, ends up as static, because she denies any possibility of actualized progress in relation to female subjectivity. This position annihilates the possibility of actualized progress, even for the male subjectivity, since male subjectivity is conceived of in relation to the female subjectivity or the lack of it. The element of the 'new' is eradicated. Resistance occupies only the realm of fantasy, whereas its actualization is indefinitely foreclosed. Wohl sees Greek tragedy, therefore, as irreversibly patriarchal to such an extent that any prospect of change is denied for gender relations. It remains a pending question as to how can any other prospect of change materialize given this denial. I argue instead that the element of the 'new' is actualized, even if the progress is too little or too complex to be easily discernible and satisfactory for modern sensibilities. The transition to the new is an element of the ideological discourse of both the ancient play and of the various stages of its reception; identities and ideologies are in progress.

The potential of Greek tragedy to embody both the democratic ideal and the criticism of its ruptures, as well as to project the possibility of change, has been theorized by Taxidou. The theoretical concept of the tragic form she proposes allows this function of tragedy to transcend the shift from antiquity to modernity. In this respect, this theoretical model applies to Greek tragedy as well as to its reception. It is also a model that 'sees the

²⁴² Vernant 1988: 240; Wohl 1998: xxx.

aesthetic inextricably linked with the political’ and the tragic form as ‘a site of struggle’, as ‘a historical critique that places both ourselves and the victims within a historico-political trajectory that can be accounted for and that, more importantly, is changeable.’²⁴³ History and gender are significant aspects of this ‘historico-political trajectory’, wherein the proposed ‘notion of change will not solely rely on the concept of progress but will have a mournful eye fixed on the past.’²⁴⁴ This is precisely the ideological movement I trace in my reading of *Trachiniae* and of its selected versions by Pound and Wertebaker, materialized in each version in relation to its ideological context.

0.9 Chapter analysis

The thesis is structured as follows. The first chapter is dedicated to the analysis of *Trachiniae*, the second to the analysis of Ezra Pound’s *Women of Trachis* in comparison with *Trachiniae* and the third to the analysis of Timberlake Wertebaker’s *Dianeira* in comparison with *Trachiniae*. The last chapter summarizes the findings and their implications as an original contribution to the field.

Chapter One: Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*, aristocracy and patriarchy in transition

Argument: I argue that a process of crisis and transformation unfolds in the play. The crisis is embodied by Deianira and Heracles, whereas the transformation is only by Heracles. The point of Heracles’ transformation is the moment of the recognition of the coincidence of the oracles. Heracles realizes that the meaning of his life is part of a divine plan, which is not accessible to the human mind, and he therefore subdues his personal

²⁴³ Taxidou 2004: 7, 5, 16 respectively for the quotations.

²⁴⁴ Taxidou 2004: 16.

will to the divine will expressed by the orders given for the pyre and Hyllus' marriage to Iole. The *apotheosis* remains purposefully unsettled and the end remains open, exactly because the gap between the human and the divine is considered to be unbridgeable.

Heracles' transformation shows that there is an unchangeable divine and natural order that human beings can neither surpass nor even fully understand. Nonetheless, they have to try hard to understand, at least partially, it by using the power of human intellect. On a political level, the transformation signifies the necessity of the law, which surpasses the will of the individual. The political law appears as an extension of the moral law, which is identified with the natural/divine law. The new family of Hyllus and Iole symbolizes the passage to the new political structure. There is a challenge to the supremacy of the aristocracy by birth and a transition to an aristocracy of morality and the democratic rule of law. There is also a passage to a milder form of patriarchy. Moreover, the play expresses the condemnation of violence and war. It is a call for peace and unity among the Greeks.

Chapter Two: Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis*, from the political to the transcendental

Argument: The scheme of crisis and transformation is embodied by Herakles. Deianira's role is marginalized in this version. The personal is absorbed by the political and the transformation is mainly identified with the transformation of the political into the transcendental. The personal is absorbed by the political, because the personae in the play appear less than as actual characters and more as embodiments of political ideas. Furthermore, the personal is absorbed by the political, because the crisis of the individual is identified with the crisis of the political ideology it represents. The political ideology is Pound's political and economic theory, part of which was his attraction to fascism. The text of the version and the texts that accompany the edition reveal this association.

Herakles incarnates the tragic fall of Pound's political and economic theory. Heracles' *apotheosis*, which is included in the version, indicates that the unity that Pound was searching for in the political and economic sphere can only be found in the transcendental sphere. Pound's political principles, therefore, are transformed into metaphysical principles and they survive their ultimate failure in the realm of historicity. Political reality is seen as inherently fragmented and thus inadequate to allow their materialization.

Chapter Three: Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, from the personal to the political, feminist problematics and humanist objectives

Argument: The crisis is expressed by both Dianeira and Heracles. The transformation of Heracles does not exist in the version. The purpose of this change is to stress that the patriarchal order expressed by Heracles is the source of the personal and the political crisis and despair equally for the female and the male. Thus there is no perspective of radical change on personal and political level as long as the patriarchal order exists. The lack of transformation for both Heracles and Dianeira, and the absence of the *apotheosis*, which is not unsettled as in *Trachiniae* but negated, shows that the established patriarchal order embodied by Heracles cannot embody the potential of change. The female, however, appears as equally responsible for the perpetuation of anger, because Iole does not respond to Hyllos' appeal for peace among them. This is the last part of the adaptation that does not exist in *Trachiniae* and it is added by Wertenbaker. This part reveals a post-feminist stance. Apart from the feminist and post-feminist discourse, another ideological strand of Wertenbaker's version is the clear humanist vision. Wertenbaker emphatically points out the necessity of humanist values for the creation of a more humane world in the future despite the difficulty of the endeavour and the bleakness of the present.

Chapter One

Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, aristocracy and patriarchy in transition

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 The argument

The analysis of all the ideological discourse of *Trachiniae* is beyond the scope of this thesis, which is a comparative study. In this chapter, I focus on the ideological aspects of the ancient play that are related to the two versions that follow in the thesis, Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Wertebaker's *Deianira*. In this respect, I first examine the crisis of aristocracy and the process of democratization as represented by the crisis and transformation of Heracles. This ideological movement is the opposite to the autocratic closure that Heracles personifies in Pound's *Women of Trachis*, as I argue in Chapter Two. The second ideological aspect I examine is the challenge to patriarchy that Deianira's crisis represents. In this sub-chapter I also show the way Heracles' transformation influences the new form of patriarchy that emerges at the end of the play. Moreover, I present the relationship between gender and class in Deianira's case, and between patriarchy and aristocracy, as one of coexistence and not of opposition. The analysis of patriarchy connects Sophocles' *Trachiniae* with Wertebaker's *Dianeira*, where the ancient play is seen as a typical example of patriarchal oppression taken from the Western literary canon. I therefore organize the sections of this chapter around their thematic correspondence with Chapters Two and Three, respectively, and not on the basis of an independent interpretation of the entire text of *Trachiniae* in linear succession.

1.1.2 The date

The date of *Trachiniae* is unknown. This fact renders the connection of the play with the historical reality vague and uncertain. My reading of the ideological discourse of *Trachiniae* is not based on assumptions about the relationship of the play with specific historical events, but on the analysis of the political ideas indicated by the text itself. I follow this approach because I believe that the scholarly debate about the date of *Trachiniae* cannot offer any definite answer.

Critics are divided into different groups according to the date they suggest as most probable for the play. There are those who advocate an early date, those who support a middle date, those who argue in favour of a late date, those who date *Trachiniae* based on the assumption of connections with historical reality, and those who claim that the date is simply unknown and any of the previous attempts cannot be properly substantiated. An early date is supported by Kirkwood, Earp, Reinhardt, Hester, Burton, Kamerbeek.²⁴⁵ They argue that *Trachiniae* along with *Ajax* and *Antigone* form the earliest group of Sophocles' production. A middle date is supported by Easterling who favours any date between 457 B.C. and 430 B.C.; by Ewans who proposes as a possible date the 430s; by Hoey who suggests the 450s and by Levett who follows Easterling's suggestion.²⁴⁶ A late date is supported by Jebb, Kitto and McCall.²⁴⁷ Jebb suggests a date between 420 and 410 B.C.. Kitto proposes 420 as a possible date, whereas McCall regards the period of the Peloponnesian war as the approximate chronology for *Trachiniae*. Ronnet, Campbell, Hommel and Dolia propose dates based on the assumption of connections with specific historical events.²⁴⁸ Ronnet proposes the 460s, Campbell the year 421 B.C., Hommel the

²⁴⁵ Kirkwood 1958: 42, 289-294; Earp 1939: 113, 115; Reinhardt 1979: 34-35; Hester 1980: 5, n. 15; Burton 1980: 83; Kamerbeek 1959: 27-29.

²⁴⁶ Easterling 1982: 19-23; Ewans 1999: lxii-lxiv; Hoey 1979: 210-232; Levett 2004: 35-36.

²⁴⁷ Jebb 1892: xxiii; Kitto 1939: 178, 193; McCall 1972: 142-163.

²⁴⁸ Ronnet 1969: 323-324; Campbell 1907: 156; Hommel 1940: 289; Dolia 1973: 38-49.

period between 446-445, and Dolia the year 449. Hall argues that the date of *Trachiniae* is unknown. The same point of view is adopted by Davies.²⁴⁹ Hall notes that the bulk of the arguments proposing a date for *Trachiniae* are not satisfactory.²⁵⁰ I agree with Hall. Most of the arguments are based on analyses of the form of the play, of its relation to other plays by Sophocles, of its analogies with plays by Aeschylus or Euripides, and of its connection to historical reality. None of these analyses can offer a definitive solution, however and it is therefore better to study *Trachiniae* as a play of unknown date.

1.1.3 The background

Despite the artistic evidence from vase painting and sculpture that the Heracles myth was very popular in Greece during the archaic and classical period, the evidence about the previous literary treatment of the stories dramatized in *Trachiniae* is very limited.²⁵¹ The story of Iole was included in the cyclic epic *Capture of Oechalia* (fr. 1K) of Homer or Creophylus of Samos, and most probably also in the epic *Heracles* of Pisander of Rhodes (7th or 6th century B.C.).²⁵² There are fragments from the fourteen books of *Heraclea*, written in the first half of the fifth century by Panyassis of Halicarnassus, a relative of Herodotus, which may relate to the stories of *Trachiniae*.²⁵³ The fight between Heracles and Achelous, and Nessus' attempt to rape Deianira, were included in the poetry of Archilochus (frs. 276, 286, 287 West and frs. 286, 288 West respectively). The story of Deianira, Lichas and the robe is mentioned in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 25.18-25 Merkelbach and West). The association between the story of Iole and the

²⁴⁹ Hall 2010: 301.

²⁵⁰ Davies 1991: xviii, xix.

²⁵¹ For analysis of the sources of *Trachiniae* see Easterling 1982: 15-19. See also Jebb 1892; Kamerbeek 1956; Davies 1991: xxii-xxxiv. For Heracles' myth see Galinsky 1972; Kirk 1974. For the artistic evidence see Brommer 1953 and Brommer 1973.

²⁵² See also Kinkel 1877: 248-253.

²⁵³ See also Matthews 1974.

sending of the robe can be found in Bacchylides 16. It is uncertain, however, if the poem of Bacchylides predates *Trachiniae*. Herodotus (7.198) refers to the story of the pyre. Easterling regards the story of the pyre and the marriage between Hyllus and Iole, the ancestors of Heracleidae, as long-standing myths. The myth of the *apotheosis* was also well known. The first evidence about the connection between the *apotheosis* and the pyre on Mount Oeta can be found in Euripides' *Heracleidae* (vv. 910-916), which is dated around 430-427 B.C.²⁵⁴ Sophocles includes this story in *Philoctetes* (vv. 727-729).

There is also evidence from later antiquity, which is useful for comparative study regardless of whether it reflects later developments of the myth or echoes from treatments of the myth before *Trachiniae*. Diodorus Siculus' version from the first century B.C. and Apollodorus' version of the myth, actually written in the first or second century A.D., are the main sources from later antiquity. The scene of the encounter between Iole and Deianira does not exist in their versions. Lichas is sent to Deianira only to take a ceremonial robe for Heracles' sacrifice at Cenaeum, Diodorus (4.38.1), Apollodorus (2.7.7). Moreover, in these versions of the story, Deianira takes semen along with the blood of Nessus from his wound. The method of Deianira's suicide differs as well: she hangs herself instead of using the sword as in *Trachiniae*, Diodorus (4.38.3), Apollodorus (2.7.7). Moreover, in the version of Apollodorus (2.7.7) Hyllus, following Heracles' order, swears to marry Iole when the appropriate age comes, whereas in *Trachiniae* the marriage is to take place with no delay.

²⁵⁴ See also Zuntz 1955: 81-88; Conacher 1967: 120-124.

1.2 The challenge to Heracles' aristocratic identity and its ideological implications

1.2.1 The crisis of Heracles' aristocratic identity in the Exodus of *Trachiniae*

In the exodus of *Trachiniae* Heracles' aristocratic portrayal is challenged and transformed. The main elements of his identity: his noble birth, his semi-divine origin and his excessive physical power are put into question through his agony, both physical and emotional. The constitutive elements of Heracles' identity are disturbed so as to create the existential and political preconditions for change at the last part of the exodus.

Heracles' aristocratic portrayal, and the challenge to it, start with the Chorus' description of his condition in the *stasimon* that precedes Heracles' first appearance on stage.²⁵⁵ The Chorus is afraid of the vision of Zeus' noblest son, (vv. 955-959). The characterization, *τὸν Δῖον ἄλκιμον γόνον* (v. 956), is distinctively aristocratic with its obvious emphasis on the notion of aristocratic excellence based on noble, and in Heracles' case, semi-divine, birth. The awe of the Chorus intensifies the impression of Heracles' aristocratic grandeur. At the same time though, the process of challenge to this grandeur is initiated by Heracles' current condition (vv. 959-961, vv. 964-970). Heracles' suffering is not easy to heal (v. 959). He is carried on by strangers in a condition between sleep and death (vv. 964-970). Sleep only can alleviate his extreme pain (vv. 974-975, vv. 978-981).²⁵⁶ The characterization given by the old man, *ἀγρίαν ὀδύνην πατρὸς ὀμόφρονος* (v. 975), is an introductory depiction of the severity of Heracles' *nosos* and of its impact on Heracles' brutality, which will emotionally explode during his agony, although physically restrained by his present impotence. Furthermore, the proximity of *ὀδύνην* to *ὀμόφρονος* allows a retrospective reading, which inextricably links the two elements in a vicious

²⁵⁵ For the connection between the third *stasimon* and the exodus in *Trachiniae* see Burton 1980; Kane 1988: 198; Esposito 1997-1998: 21-38; Segal 2000: 169; Rood 2010: 347.

²⁵⁶ For the motif of Heracles' sleep in *Trachiniae* and in Euripides' *Herakles Mainomenos* see: Segal 1977: 138; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 131-138.

circle of cause and effect. The *nosos* is simultaneously the cause and the effect of Heracles' brutality; generated by his violence and reproducing this violence.²⁵⁷

Heracles' sleep is disrupted by Hyllus' dialogue with the old man and his suffering is reactivated (vv. 983-987). Heracles addresses himself to the sacrificial altar of Cenaeum and protests against Zeus for the way he rewarded his sacrificial offerings, ἜΩ Κηναία κρηπίς βωμῶν,/ ἱερῶν οἴαν οἴων ἐπί μοι/ μελέω χάριν ἠγύσω, ᾧ Ζεῦ· (vv. 993-995).²⁵⁸

Heracles' complaint resembles Deianira's complaint about the reward she received for her *oikouria*, namely Iole (v. 542). The analogy shows that Heracles, as Deianira previously had, starts feeling disillusioned with the role he faithfully assumed and played: the class and gender defined role of the male aristocrat. It becomes obvious that Heracles still considers his sacrifice at Cenaeum to be a pious act, which makes his current suffering, activated during this occasion, completely unjustifiable.

Heracles does not acknowledge any incompatibility between the performance of violence and the performance of sacred ceremonies.²⁵⁹ All the more, he regards the exercise of violence as a means of purification of the earth and more precisely of Greece from any monstrous force. The sequel to his former complaint about the unfairness of his current suffering is addressed to the whole of Greece, Πόθεν ἔστ', ᾧ/ πάντων Ἑλλάνων ἀδικώτατοι ἄνδρες, οὗς δὴ/ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν πόντῳ, κατὰ τε δρῖα πάντα καθαίρων/ ὠλεκόμαν ὁ τάλας, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῶδε νοσοῦντι/ οὐ πῦρ, οὐκ ἔγχος τις ὀνήσιμον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει; (vv. 1010-1014). The fact that Heracles addresses himself to the whole of Greece stresses his

²⁵⁷ For Heracles' *nosos* in *Trachiniae* see: Biggs 1966: 223-235; Segal 1977: 113; Sorum 1978: 60; Hoey 1979: 210-232; Easterling 1981: 59; Easterling 1982: 5; Heiden 1989: 138; Ryzman 1993: 69-79.

²⁵⁸ For the sacrifice at Cenaeum see Segal 1977: 132; Mikalson 1986: 89-98; Heiden 1989: 138; Segal 2000: 169.

²⁵⁹ Segal 1977: 148 regards the sacrifices in *Trachiniae* as a medium for the release of violence, the transposition of violence outside the *polis* and the re-sanctification of its use at the end of this process as a medium for the 'resacralizing of violence'. I rather regard the use of violence in *Trachiniae* as condemnable at large and as part of the old heroic ethos, which is challenged in the play.

character as a Panhellenic hero.²⁶⁰ It also indicates, however, that his violence is projected not only as an antithesis between nature and civilization in general, as Segal argued,²⁶¹ but as concrete military and political practice concerning Greece, the city-states, the relationships between them, and Athens as the preeminent city-state among them. Heracles' exercise of violence is in this way politicized.

What Heracles asks as a compensation for his service to Greece is the facilitation of his death (vv. 1013-1017). Fire or sword would be equally acceptable means of his execution. In this desire, both the aristocratic heroic code and the challenge to it co-exist. Death as an escape from the humiliation of impotence and dependence is a wish with aristocratic resonances. On the other hand, the indifference about the medium, which testifies to Heracles' unbearable pain, is a challenge to the heroic code. In particular, Heracles' desire to be slaughtered like an animal (vv. 1015-1017) in order to escape his current suffering is not distinctive of the aristocratic ethics. On the contrary, it implicitly equates Heracles with the sacrificial animals of his own sacrifice at Ceneum and by implication with their bestiality.²⁶² The element of bestiality is also stressed by the characterization of the *nosos* as *ἀγρία* (v. 1030). The *nosos* shares the main quality with its conveyor. Heracles expresses the same wish to die in the aforementioned disgraceful way to his son Hyllus (vv. 1033-1035). He also begs Hades not for an honourable, but for a fast death (vv. 1040-1043). The Chorus' comment on Heracles' suffering, *Κλύουσ' ἔφριζα τάσδε συμφοράς, φίλαι, / ἀνακτος, οἷαις οἶος ὄν ἐλαύνεται*. (vv. 1044-1045) stresses the incompatibility of Heracles' aristocratic excellence with the lowness of his current condition. Again, the aristocratic heroic model is both projected and challenged.

²⁶⁰ For Heracles as Panhellenic hero in *Trachiniae* and in general see Etman 1974: 205-211; Shapiro 1983: 9; Mikalson 1986: 98; Vickers 1995: 52.

²⁶¹ Segal 1977.

²⁶² For Heracles becoming sacrificial offering instead of sacrificer see Markantonatos 1974: 77; Segal 1977: 142-143; Easterling 1981: 59; Easterling 1982: 6; Lee 2003-2004: 270; Levett 2004: 12. For Heracles and bestiality in *Trachiniae* see Biggs 1966: 223-235; Segal 1977: 132, 140, 158; Segal 1981; Easterling 1982: 11; Ryzman 1993: 79; Levett 2004: 60-61; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 136.

Heracles' extensive speech of agony (vv. 1046-1111) displays his tremendous physical and emotional suffering, his current pitiable status in contrast to his glorious past and the dissolution of the main constitutive elements of his identity, his physical power and his noble and semi-divine origin. These are the core elements of the aristocratic ideology, which advocates the ideal of superiority by birth and the coincidence of external and internal excellence, namely of physical and moral supremacy. Heracles' agony thus functions as the dominant medium for the challenge to these ideological premises.

The function of the philtre within Heracles' body is vividly depicted (vv. 1053-1057, vv. 1078-1084, vv. 1088-1089, vv. 1103-1104).²⁶³ The detailed description of Heracles' physical torment culminates in the display of his ravaged body in front of the spectators of his agony, *ἰδοῦ, θεᾶσθε πάντες ἄθλιον δέμας, / ὀρᾶτε τὸν δύστηνον, ὡς οἰκτρῶς ἔχω.* (vv. 1078-1080).²⁶⁴ Apart from the physical pain, Heracles experiences extreme emotional pain because of the loss of his physical power. He addresses himself to the parts of his body (v. 1047, vv. 1089-1090, v. 1102), mentioning them in detail and associating them with the performance of his labours (vv. 1058-1061, vv. 1091-1100). Heracles' invocation, *᾿Ω χέρεις, χέρεις, / ᾿ὦ νῶτα καὶ στέρν', ᾿ὦ φίλοι βραχίονες,* (vv. 1089-1090), is indicative of the significance of the body for his self-definition within the aristocratic heroic framework. Particular attention is paid to the hands, which Heracles intends to be means of Deianira's punishment (v. 1109), but they are means of his own entrapment for the time being (v. 1057).²⁶⁵

The other source of Heracles' emotional pain is the futility of his noble and semi-divine origin. His complaint in vv. 1103-1106 reveals this futility: *Νῦν δ' ᾿ὦδ' ἀναρθρὸς καὶ*

²⁶³ For Heracles' agony see Webster 1936: 176; Biggs 1966: 223-235; Holt 1987: 205, 217; Budelmann 2007: 443-467.

²⁶⁴ For the revelation of Heracles' ravaged body see Ormand 1993: 224-227; Levett 2004: 64. Falkner 2005: 185 regards Heracles' refusal to be seen in a humble condition as a refusal to become tragic.

²⁶⁵ See also Fletcher 2001: 1-15.

κατερρακωμένος/ τυφλῆς ὑπ' ἄτης ἐκπεπόρθημαι τάλας,/ ὁ τῆς ἀρίστης μητρὸς ὀνομασμένος,/ ὁ τοῦ κατ' ἄστρα Ζηνὸς αὐδηθεὶς γόνος. Neither his noble nor his semi-divine origin prevents or terminates Heracles' agony and thus the ideological foundation of his identity is shattered. The *Nῦν δ'* (v. 1103), which appears also at the beginning of the verse 1075, highlights the contrast between the past and the present condition of Heracles, as well as his inability to find any reasonable explanation for the abrupt change. What underlies Heracles' amazement is the belief that his aristocratic nature should not be subjected to change, and all the more so when the change is subject to degradation.

The account of Heracles' labours serves the same purpose. It is not a celebratory recollection, but a reason for protest against the current condition (vv. 1058-1061, vv. 1091-1100).²⁶⁶ The outcome of the labours is not the ideologically prescribed glorification, but unbearable and, most importantly for Heracles, unexplained suffering. This discrepancy calls into question the validity of the ideological framework of the labours. Moreover, the account of the labours offers hints of the cause of Heracles' suffering, who utters them without acknowledging their significance for his own case. Heracles characterizes the Centaurs, one of the enemies that he defeated, as *διφνῆ τ' ἄμικτον ἰπποβάμονα στρατὸν/ θηρῶν, ὑβριστήν, ἄνομον, ὑπέροχον βίαν*, (vv. 1095-1096). The same qualities of transgression of human and divine law, of isolation and violence, apply equally well to Heracles up to the moment of his forthcoming illumination and transformation, and in this respect justify his agony. The parallelism between the Centaurs and Heracles regarding their qualities will be further strengthened by the analogy between the Centaur Nessus and Heracles, which will become evident through the revelation of his contribution to Heracles' suffering. Nessus attempts to kill Heracles through the

²⁶⁶ For Heracles' labours in *Trachiniae* see also Webster 1936: 167; Kitto 1939; Segal 1977: 122; Burton 1980; Winnington-Ingram 1980; Shapiro 1983: 7; Levett 2004: 61, 110.

mediation of Deianira and with the use of the philtre, the same medium that Heracles previously used along with his arrows for Nessus' destruction.²⁶⁷

Heracles despite his agony remains self-absorbed and ideologically entrapped up to the moment of the recognition of the oracles. This entrapment becomes evident also in his persistent wish to punish Deianira for her fatal action. He regards this punishment as his duty, as a moral obligation and as an act of justice. He proclaims this belief, *προσμόλοι μόνον,/ ἴν' ἐκδιδαχθῆ πᾶσιν ἀγγέλλειν ὅτι/ καὶ ζῶν κακούς γε καὶ θανῶν ἐτεισάμην*. (vv. 1109-1111). This statement clearly indicates that he regards himself as proper attributor of justice, as law unto himself. Heracles considers Deianira's punishment to be the last act of justice he will perform. This implies that all his previous labours, although they included violence, are seen by Heracles as acts of justice.²⁶⁸ Both the inherent violence of his self-perceived jurisdictional role, however, and the arbitrariness of the way this law is decreed and imposed, as evident in Deianira's case and, previously, in the sack of Oechalia, challenge its authority and its ideological foundation.²⁶⁹ Heracles includes Deianira's punishment in the practices of the heroic code for the male aristocrat. The way Heracles asks Hyllus to hand in his mother is suggestive of this ideology. The delivery of Deianira for punishment, namely death, will prove that Hyllus has inherited the noble *physis* of his father, *ᾧ παῖ, γενοῦ μοι παῖς ἐτήτυμος γεγώς*, (v. 1064).

The Chorus responds to Heracles' speech of agony with a fervent exclamation recognizing the irreplaceable loss that Heracles' death will signify for Greece as a whole (vv. 1112-1113). Greece was also commemorated by Heracles himself during the account of his labours (v. 1060). The Chorus' exclamation increases the contrast between the past

²⁶⁷ For the connection between Heracles and Nessus in *Trachiniae* see Bowra 1944; Biggs 1966: 228; Hoey 1973: 308; Segal 1977: 114; Sorum 1978: 61, 62; Easterling 1982: 5; Halleran 1988: 130; Ryzman 1993: 77; Lee 2003-2004: 4; Levett 2004: 61-62, 103.

²⁶⁸ For Heracles' conception of justice see also Heiden 1989: 143, 155; Ryzman 1993: 73.

²⁶⁹ For the self-conception of Heracles as personification of *nomos* see Segal 1977: 131; de Wet 1983: 225, 226.

and the present of Heracles. All the more, it politicizes Heracles' action and its consequences for a second time.

1.2.2 The moment of recognition, Heracles' transformation and its ideological significance

1.2.2.1 Introduction

The moment of recognition of the coincidence of the oracles is the moment of the transformation of Heracles in the exodus. The content of this transformation is the passage from the heroic model of violence, individualism, physical supremacy and aristocratic excellence by birth to the heroic model of moral excellence and subordination of the individual will to a broader, collective, all-encompassing metaphysical, moral and political order. Heracles is the conveyor of the change that will be transmitted to Hyllus, initiating the foundation of a new familial, social and political order.

The process of transformation in *Trachiniae* has been acknowledged by other critics.²⁷⁰ The previous readings, however, can be qualified by looking more specifically at the ideological aspects of the transformation. There is a process of change in the play, which incorporates all the ideological strands of *Trachiniae*. This process contains the criticism and the transformation of the tradition regarding aristocracy and patriarchy.

Segal insightfully remarks that there is a passage from the archaic heroic model to a model of tragic heroism in the exodus. Easterling argues against Segal that Heracles in *Trachiniae* cannot be identified with the archaic past, because all the events of the play

²⁷⁰ Kane 1988: 198-211; Segal 1977: 99-158; Segal 1981; Goward 2004: 31-48. Fletcher 2001: 1-15 recognizes an improvement regarding the symbolisms of the use of hands in the exodus. Rood 2010: 345-364 remarks an improvement regarding the use of silence in the exodus.

take place within the lifetime of the protagonists.²⁷¹ She also negates the confrontation between the old and the new in *Trachiniae*. I agree with Segal regarding the confrontation between the old and the new in *Trachiniae*, adding though a different conception of the process and the meaning of transition in the play. Formally, Segal traces the transformation of Heracles at the time of his ascendance to Mount Oeta. I believe that the critical moment for the transformation is the moment of the recognition of the coincidence of the oracles. I also disagree that the political meaning of the transformation is the justification of violence outside the Athenian *polis* for the preservation of Athens' imperial power among the Greek city-states, as Segal argues. I argue the quite opposite. Violence is condemned in *Trachiniae* in any form.

Moreover, I believe that Easterling's remark regarding the political significance of Heracles in the play can be qualified even further and used to modify Segal's position. I argue that Heracles is a symbol of the old archaic heroism in *Trachiniae*, but not in order to embody the archaic period. He is used as the symbol of the aristocratic values that form the political and social life of the Greeks from the archaic period onwards. Sophocles critiques his political environment by projecting influential ideologies of his era to the past that originated them. The necessity of the change is therefore stressed even further, whereas the explicit association with the historical reality is artfully avoided. I will try to show how the process of recognition and transformation unfolds in the exodus and how all the aforementioned ideological connotations can be traced in the play.

²⁷¹ Easterling 1981: 62.

1.2.2.2 The recognition and the transformation

The process of recognition is triggered by Hyllus' revelation that Nessus was the giver of the fatal philtre and deceived Deianira regarding its function and purpose (vv. 1141-1142). Heracles fully recognizes the significance of the information that Hyllus discloses unaware of its importance. Heracles proclaims that *Οἴμοι, φρονῶ δὴ ζυμφορᾶς ἴν' ἔσταμεν*. (v. 1145). The verb *φρονῶ* signifies the moment of realization. Apart from the oracles and the agony, the human mind is important for the level of awareness that Heracles achieves.²⁷² Heracles asks Hyllus to bring Alcmene and his children close to him so as to reveal what he knows about the oracles (vv. 1147-1150). Heracles' request indicates a process of reestablishment of the familial order, which is grounded in the significance of the oracles, namely in the divine order.²⁷³ This act corresponds to the *deltos* of the prologos (vv. 47, 76-77, 79-81, 155-168), which contained Heracles' orders for the division of his property along with information about the decisive for his ending oracles. Neither Alcmene nor his children, however, except for Hyllus, are in Trachis so as to attend the last act of Heracles' drama. Alcmene is reported to be in Tiryns along with some of Heracles' children, whereas other children of his live in Thebes (vv. 1151-1154). What then is the purpose of mentioning them in the first place? I believe that Alcmene comes to replace Deianira in the position of the mother even through a symbolic recollection.²⁷⁴ Hyllus' characterization of Alcmene as *μήτηρ* (v. 1151) and the fact that she raises the children of Heracles points in this direction. Deianira died entrapped in her

²⁷² The emphasis on the importance of the human mind in *Trachiniae* becomes obvious by the significance of the themes of learning, knowledge and ignorance. See Whitman 1951: 107; Hoey 1977: 269-294; Lawrence 1978: 288-304; Sorum 1978: 66-67; Easterling 1981: 59, 68; Easterling 1982: 9, 10; Holt 1987: 205-217; Heiden 1989: 160; Ryzman 1991: 393; Esposito 1997-1998: 21-38; Segal 2000: 151-171; Goward 2004: 31-48; Levett 2004: 94, 95, 101, 102, 112; Papadimitropoulos 2006: 189; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 136, 138; Rood 2010: 360; Heiden 2012: 141.

²⁷³ See also Musurillo 1961: 380; Sorum 1978: 70, 71, 73; Heiden 1989: 149; Levett 2004: 62.

²⁷⁴ I agree with Kraus 1991: 97 regarding the dramatic effect of the otherwise unnecessary reference to Alcmene. See also Kraus 1991: 97, n. 69. Sorum 1978: 68 argues that this call highlights the continuity of generations.

aristocratic ideology and she cannot participate, even symbolically, in the process of change. Moreover, the reference to the current condition of Heracles' mother and children shows the dislocation and the disorder that his violence has originated and his newly found identity has to restore. Alcmena moved to Tiryns only to have a stable place of residence (v. 1152). Furthermore, the reference to Thebes recalls the myth of Megara and the slaughtered children of Heracles, which in the tradition preceded the performance of his labours and Heracles' marriage to Deianira.²⁷⁵ This reference in a sense contains and concludes all the past of Heracles' violence. The way Heracles names Alcmena *Διὸς/μάτην ἄκοιτιν* (vv. 1148-1149) condenses the absolute collapse of the aristocratic ideal of noble birth and, along with it, of the violence this notion of supremacy generated in the play.

Heracles reveals the coincidence of the oracles to Hyllus. The agency of Nessus fulfils the old prophecy given by Zeus that Heracles will be brought down only by a dead (vv. 1159-1163). This old prophecy by Zeus coincides with the new oracle given by the sacred oak in Dodona and written down by Heracles himself (vv. 1164-1171). This oracle predicted that now is the critical moment for the end of Heracles' labours. Heracles had interpreted the end as release from labours, but in the light of Nessus' agency and of the coincidence with the old prophecy from Zeus he reinterprets it as death (vv. 1172-1175). The emphasis on the oracles and on the criticality of the moment reaches its culmination at this point.²⁷⁶ The present is emphatically mentioned in the oracle from Dodona, *ἦ μοι χρόνῳ τῷ ζῶντι καὶ παρόντι νῦν* (v. 1169). Similarly, the criticality of the moment for Heracles' definite end is stressed by the same oracle with the phrase *λύσιν τελεῖσθαι* (v. 1171). Heracles' life and identity reaches its finality. This finality, however, will activate his rebirth, at least in terms of metaphysical, moral and political self-definition.

²⁷⁵ See also Kraus 1991: 98.

²⁷⁶ See also Sorum 1978: 62.

The most important factor for Heracles' transformation is not the content of the oracles, but the very fact of their coincidence.²⁷⁷ This coincidence is boldly illustrated by Heracles' comment, *Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπειδὴ λαμπρὰ συμβαίνει, τέκνον*, (v. 1174). The coincidence is signified by the word *συμβαίνει* and its significance is indicated by the word *λαμπρὰ*, which connects the newly acquired awareness of Heracles with the element of light.²⁷⁸ Heracles' recognition is a moment of illumination. What the coincidence of the oracles signifies for Heracles is the existence of a metaphysical order to which his individual will, and human will at large, must succumb and all the more willingly. The verb *δεῖ* (v. 1175) introduces the orders that Heracles will address to Hyllus showing the divine necessity that these orders serve. Heracles explicitly points out this necessity, *ἀλλ' αὐτὸν εἰκάθοντα συμπράσσειν, νόμον/ κάλλιστον ἐξευρόντα, πειθαρχεῖν πατρί*. (vv. 1177-1178). This phrase, however, does not express the request for Hyllus' obedience to Heracles' arbitrary will that had dominated the entire play up to the moment of his illumination. Hyllus' obedience is preceded by Heracles' obedience to the divine will of his own father, Zeus. Obedience, therefore, is a constraint of the individual will for both Heracles and Hyllus.²⁷⁹ Heiden identifies this necessity with *physis* but does so while supporting a conception of *physis* that remains unchangeable throughout *Trachiniae*, whereas I argue that the notion of *physis* is redefined in the play. The initial conception of *physis* as a means of justification of the aristocratic ideology is challenged and succeeded by a new conception. After the recognition of the oracles, Heracles projects a

²⁷⁷ For the coincidence of the oracles see Webster 1936: 178; Bowra 1944; Kirkwood 1958: 117; Waldock 1966: 88; Easterling 1968: 67; Gellie 1972; Lawrence 1978: 288-304; Easterling 1981: 60; Friis 1986: 59; Holt 1987: 205-217; Esposito 1997-1998: 21-38; Segal 2000: 159; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 138; Goldhill 2009: 24. Heiden 1989: 146, 148 negates the coincidence of the oracles as fact, he regards it as rhetorical construction and illusion. See also Heiden 2012: 140.

²⁷⁸ For the association of light and knowledge in *Trachiniae* see Hoey 1977: 269-294; Holt 1987: 205-217. For the epistemology of *Trachiniae* see Lawrence 1978: 288-304. For discussion of the verse see Easterling 1981: 58; Segal 2000: 159.

²⁷⁹ Heiden 2012: 135.

vision of a metaphysical order that transcends and incorporates the physical and moral order. The new political order should be seen as an extension of this.

Moreover, obedience, although forcibly demanded of Hyllus, must result from free human will, *εἰκάθοντα*, (v. 1177). The fact that the orders are represented as part of a broader divine plan is confirmed also by Heracles' reassurance to Hyllus that the orders follow and fulfil the will of the gods (v. 1248). The divine necessity is clearly demonstrated by Heracles' exhortation to Hyllus regarding the execution of the orders, *'Οποῖα δραστὲ' ἐστίν* (v. 1204). This necessity, although inexplicable to humans, does exist and is superior to the arbitrariness of the individual human will, which may be uncontrollable and self-absorbed. Many critics support a conception of the universe in *Trachiniae* that reinforces my argument. Easterling argues that the universe in *Trachiniae* is ordered and functions according to laws. Levett follows the same point of view. Kitto associates the unity of the universe in Sophocles with the unity of the universe conceived of by philosophers like Anaximander and Heraclitus, who observe the works of *Dikē* on the world of physical phenomena.²⁸⁰

The form of obedience requested is a free subordination of the individual human will to a metaphysical and moral order that contains and, at the same time, surpasses the individual identity and awareness. The content of this order remains unspecified, but the existence of it is represented as indisputable. The vagueness of the content renders it a matter of human interpretation, not in the sense of relativism, but in the sense of the necessary active participation of the human mind in the understanding of it. This participation signifies a co-existence and interaction of human and divine agency, which presupposes both human responsibility and divine providence.²⁸¹ Levett justifies the compatibility of free human will with determinism in *Trachiniae* as being a result of the

²⁸⁰ Easterling 1968: 68; Levett 2004: 102; Kitto 1958: 48. Cf. Heiden 2012.

²⁸¹ Levett 2004: 108; Webster 1936: 33; Kitto 1958: 62, 63.

quality of the divine to operate through human nature, namely as a form of coincidence. I prefer the explanation offered by Webster, who regards this compatibility as a product of the quality of human and divine agency of being two sides of the same coin. This explanation is closer to articulating the relationship between the human and the divine in *Trachiniae* as being interaction rather than coincidence. Kitto argues that Sophocles believed in an ordering power that, while not fully comprehensible to men, does not deprive them of their freedom of choice and of their responsibility. This participation also secures a balance between them by eradicating the extremes from both sides, namely human relativism and metaphysical fatalism.²⁸²

1.2.2.3 Divine and human law, from the metaphysical to the political

Heracles' illumination transforms his individual will from uncontrollable and self-absorbed to a will subordinated to a larger metaphysical order. This transformation also has moral and political connotations. The divine, instead of being a means to justify Heracles' arbitrariness and violence, becomes a means to restrict these very qualities. Heracles stops being a law unto himself and comes to characterize obedience to the father, Zeus in his case, the best of laws (v. 1178). The fact that Heracles acts as a law unto himself in *Trachiniae* has been acknowledged by critics, but not the significant transformation of his stance after the recognition of the oracles.²⁸³ After the transformation, the metaphysical law becomes the source and the foundation of the moral and the political law.²⁸⁴ The law cannot be personified by any individual, even if that

²⁸² Levett 2004: 110 notices that there is a challenge to the established religious and metaphysical beliefs in *Trachiniae*, but without analysing the consequences of this challenge. He associates the challenge in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* with Xenophanes' challenge (fr. 11) to traditional religion and Herodotus' challenge (2.43-45) to the status of Heracles as a god, hero or man. See also Parker 1996: 203.

²⁸³ Galinsky 1972: ch. 3; Segal 1977: 134-141; de Wet 1983: 225; Minadeo 1993: 170.

²⁸⁴ Ryzman 1993: 69-79 remarks that Heracles' transgression of the natural and social laws in *Trachiniae* is because of his extreme impulses. Her portrayal of Heracles is static, however.

individual is of noble and semi-divine birth. Decoding the content of the law becomes a matter of strenuous human effort, moral and intellectual, as the process of Heracles' suffering and illumination indicates.²⁸⁵ The law is thus absolute in its origin, and in its metaphysical and moral foundation, but not absolute and authoritarian in its content and form of imposition or implementation. The metaphysical and moral order pre-exists and is all-inclusive, but it is the responsibility of the human mind to achieve an awareness of this order, to clarify its content, and to follow it.²⁸⁶ While the metaphysical and epistemological gap between the divine and the human is not totally bridged, this gap does not make futile or unnecessary the human effort to achieve the highest possible level of metaphysical and moral awareness, as well as the human obligation to transliterate this awareness into political law.

This conception of the relationship between the divine and the human law avoids an oversimplified autocratic appropriation of the authority of the law by individuals, as well as a relativistic interpretation of the law to the point of annihilation of the absolutism of its moral and metaphysical foundation. In the exodus of *Trachiniae*, the political law is sanctified and objectified by its metaphysical and moral foundation, disconnected from any identification with exceptional individuals of aristocratic origin, and opened to a never-ending process of interpretation of its content by human intellect. This transformation is a democratization of the previous conception of the law in the play: Heracles does not define the law anymore. He only conveys the message of its significance and necessity. He has the aristocratic privilege of the transference of this law. The old aristocratic ethos of absolute supremacy due to birth is replaced by a more democratized ethos of moral excellence, gained after tremendous suffering, awareness

²⁸⁵ For the political value of the use of mind in *Trachiniae* see Hall 2009: 74, 90, 95, 96 and Hall 2010: 319.

²⁸⁶ For the quality of the metaphysical and epistemological laws in *Trachiniae* as being pre-existent and unchangeable see Easterling 1981: 59.

and obedience. This democratization, however, does not completely eradicate all hints of the aristocratic ideals. Heracles is challenged, but the outcome of this challenge is not his absolute elimination from the course of the dramatic events. On the contrary, he is transformed into the person who acknowledges and conveys the new metaphysical, moral and political order.

1.2.2.4 Towards a new political ethos that is more democratized, collective and spiritual

There are various elements in the exodus showing the political connotations of Heracles' transformation. The insufficiency of aristocratic birth, if not accompanied by moral excellence, becomes obvious in the way Heracles demands that his son Hyllus prove the quality that is presumed due to his lineage. Heracles' words are indicative. He starts his narration to Hyllus about the oracles he received and the necessity that emerges from their coincidence as follows, *Σὺ δ' οὖν ἄκουε τοῦργον ἐξήκεις δ' ἴνα/ φανεῖς ὅποιος ὢν ἀνὴρ ἐμὸς καλῆ*. (vv. 1157-1158). Heracles also responds in a similar way to Hyllus' initial hesitation to perform the orders, *εἰ δὲ μή, πατρὸς/ ἄλλου γενοῦ του μηδ' ἐμὸς κληθῆς ἔτι*. (vv. 1204-1205). In both phrases the paternal origin of Hyllus and the presumption of supremacy that accompanies it are seen as a matter of social reputation, of fame, as the words *καλῆ* and *κληθῆς*, respectively, show. Before the recognition, Heracles used the word *γεγώς* (v. 1064) in a similar threat to Hyllus. Now, the word *γεγώς*, a signifier of the irreversibility of the qualities inherited by birth, is replaced by the words *καλῆ* and *κληθῆς*, signifiers of the volatility and the superficiality of social preconceptions.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ For the aristocratic values and terminology in the fifth century Athens see Connor 1971: 3-34; Finley 1973: 45-61; Donlan 1980: ch. 4; Davies 1981; Croix de Ste. 1981: 81-98; Gernet 1981; Ober 1989: 11-17, 259-270. Cf. Bourdieu 1984; Wohl 1998: 187, n. 33.

In the second case (vv. 1204-1205), Heracles forewarns Hyllus that if he disobeys he will have to become the son of another father and stop being called Heracles' son in the future. This reversal shows that the moral excellence of the person defines his nobility more than the aristocratic birth. It even annuls the fact of the birth itself, if the person does not correspond to the moral quality of his lineage. Instead of the moral excellence being determined by the nobility of birth, the moral excellence determines the nobility of birth. This change may not signify a complete disconnection of birth from morality, but it certainly testifies to a reversal of priorities regarding the evaluation of individual moral and social status. Moreover, the pre-eminence of moral quality over birth allows the attribution of this quality even to people of low birth. It is, therefore, a significant change towards a profound democratization of the aristocratic ethics and politics in the play.

The element of democratization is evident also in the progression from an individualistic heroic model to a more collective one.²⁸⁸ Heracles lived all his previous life, and performed all his previous labours, in isolation. His agony, physical and emotional, however, leads him now to a stage of complete dependence on his surrounding environment.²⁸⁹ This dependence becomes obvious during his agony, when he repeatedly asks Hyllus and the Greeks as a whole to facilitate his death and terminate his suffering. After the moment of recognition, the despair of this agonized plea for help is replaced by the implicitly sacred authority of the orders Heracles addresses to Hyllus. Even these orders can materialize only through the active intervention of others, however: of Hyllus and Heracles' comrades. It is a state of dependency, which may be more composed than the previous one during his agony, but which still signifies the end of Heracles' autarky

²⁸⁸ Segal 1981 marked the passage from epic to tragic heroism in *Trachiniae*, but his interpretation of the political significance of this passage does not include the elements of democratization and of condemnation of violence at large, inside and outside the *polis*. Kane 1988: 198-211 speaks of both epic and tragic heroism without distinction between them or political evaluation of them. Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 131-138 characterizes Heracles a tragic hero, but without paying attention to the political connotations of this quality.

²⁸⁹ Biggs 1966: 223-235.

in isolation. The value of society, of human co-existence, of the *polis* that hardly exists as a notion in *Trachiniae*, is brought out through its absence. The ‘exceptional individual’, Heracles, still holds a protagonistic role at the end of the play as conveyor and founder of the new order, but his dependency is irreversible. Heracles does not integrate with the new social and political order he establishes, he remains outside the *polis* even at the end of the play.²⁹⁰ The position of complete isolation outside the *polis* can be potentially restored, however, only on the metaphysical level for Heracles, due to the open-endedness of his *apotheosis*. His position as a figure incompatible with the *polis* can no longer be sustained on the level of political and moral order.

Another element that complements these ideological transformations is the passage from physicality to spirituality. Heracles’ physical power is irretrievably lost during his agony. What is also lost through this process, however, is the conception of physical power as a means of obtaining social and political superiority.²⁹¹ Heracles’ illumination restores his serenity, but not his physical power. This serenity (v. 1242) is an indication of the capacity of human mind and human soul to control even the most extreme physical pain. It signifies thus the predominance of the human mind and soul over the human body. It is suggestive, in this regard, that Heracles’ cries of agony before the moment of illumination are replaced by his holy and willingly self-imposed silence during his ascendance to Oeta.²⁹² Heracles now addresses himself to his soul instead of the parts of his body, which he fervently recalled during his agony, *ὦ ψυχὴ σκληρά, χάλυβος/ λιθοκόλλητον στόμιον παρέχουσ',/ ἀνάπαυε βοήν, ὡς ἐπίχαρτον/ τελέουσ' ἀεκούσιον ἔργον.* (vv. 1260-1263). The obedience of the body, which was the dominant feature of all Heracles’ previous labours,

²⁹⁰ For the isolation of Heracles in *Trachiniae* see Biggs 1966: 223-235; Sorum 1978: 73; Fletcher 2001: 1-15.

²⁹¹ For the connection between Heracles’ physical power and the other forms of power he possesses before his agony see Biggs 1966: 223-235; Sorum 1978: 66; Fletcher 2001: 12, 15; Lee 2003-2004: 272.

²⁹² For Heracles’ holy silence at the end of the play see Rood 2010: 350.

is now replaced by the willing obedience of his mind and soul.²⁹³ This is a passage from physicality to spirituality with significant political connotations as well. It shows a new conception of social and political authority based on internalized intellectual and moral values, which succeeds the previous conception of externalized superiority based on physical power. The new conception of authority that emerges is by implication disconnected from the exercise of violence, which was the principal element of the old heroic model. It is also a more democratic conception of authority. The old heroic model was based on the connection between physical supremacy, either as force or beauty, or both, and noble birth. It presupposed as well the coincidence between external and internal virtues.²⁹⁴ These connections are disrupted with Heracles' passage from physicality to spirituality and in this respect this passage can fairly be regarded as a progressive and democratizing movement.

Webster argued that the theory of *physis* is essentially aristocratic.²⁹⁵ He also argued that Sophocles stands in between Pindar and Plato regarding the conception of *physis*: differing from Pindar in the belief that *physis* is changeable through education. Sophocles regards *physis* not only as the descent, but also as the highest standard, especially regarding moral excellence, that an individual can achieve. Plato's idea of *physis* refers to the potential and the purpose that each individual has to fulfil as a citizen, which is defined by his birth and is cultivated by education. It becomes obvious that *Trachiniae* participates in a broader discourse regarding the notion of *physis* and offers a more democratized conception of it in comparison with its ideological surroundings.

²⁹³ Segal 1977: 138 characterizes Heracles at this stage as 'the hero of the inward labors.'

²⁹⁴ For the meaning of *kalokagathia* in classical Athens, the coincidence of external and internal beauty and virtue, and for its aristocratic content see Donlan 1980; Gernet 1981; Ober 1989: 259-270.

²⁹⁵ Webster 1936: 47, 48, 49.

1.2.2.5 Implicit criticism of aristocracy and violence inside and outside the Athenian polis, a plea for peace

Heracles' transformation in the exodus of *Trachiniae* signifies a democratization of the pre-existent aristocratic ideology. Sophocles uses the mythical and literary figure of Heracles as an incarnation of the old aristocratic heroic model to present a criticism of his current political ideological formations. The aristocratic ideal of superiority by birth is challenged, as well as the projection of divine origin as a means of the legitimacy of this superiority.

This criticism indicates an underlying renegotiation of the relationship between the elite and the masses, the exceptional individual and the *dēmos*, taking place in *Trachiniae*.²⁹⁶ At the end of this process, the democratization of the pre-existent aristocratic ideology is reflected by the predominance of the law over the individual will, and by the centrality of the polis stressed by the consequences of its absence, by the presentation of moral excellence as a foundation and precondition for any other form of excellence, social and political. Despite the democratization of aristocratic ethics and politics, the respect of the masses for the exceptional individual remains. Heracles is still the embodiment and the conveyor of change and transition to more progressive ideological concepts.

The reminiscent traits of the aristocratic tradition make Sophocles appear not to be radical enough for scholars like Peter Rose. He argues that in *Philoctetes* Sophocles transforms aristocracy by birth into an aristocracy of morality, which combines inherited excellence

²⁹⁶ For the democratization of the aristocratic ideals of archaic literature see Donlan 1980; Gernet 1981; Ober 1989: 259-270. On the tension between the masses and the elite in Athens see Conor 1971; Finley 1973: 35-61; Donlan 1980: ch. 4; Vernant 1980: 11-27; Croix de Ste. 1981: 31-80; Davies 1981; Finley 1981: 62-94; Ober 1989. On ways of mediation and negotiation of this tension see: Thomson 1966: 165-172; Vernant and Vidal Naquet 1988: 22-28, 33-34; Ober 1989: 35-52; Ober and Strauss 1990; Rose 1992: 190; Griffith 1995: 107-124. On the tension and its negotiation in the Athenian social and political ideology and reality see Gouldner 1965: 13-15, 44-55. On the aforementioned matters in relation to gender see Wohl 1998: xxiv-xxix, 187-188.

with education and metaphysical foundation.²⁹⁷ This change is seen by Rose as a reaction against the egalitarian vision of the sophists. How progressive or conservative Sophocles was in the handling of the established ideologies can more effectively be assessed in relation to his era, however. Arnheim has shown in his comprehensive study of the aristocracy in Greece from the archaic period onwards that the superiority of aristocratic birth was an idea firmly embedded in the social and political thought of all Greece up to the period of Alexander the Great.²⁹⁸ Even in classical Athens, whose democracy Arnheim regards as progressive democratization and not an abrupt overthrow of the aristocratic tradition, the idea of the significance of aristocratic birth was still influential. Given these ideological surroundings, Sophocles' challenge to the idea of excellence by birth seems to be radical, even if the challenge results in the redefinition of this idea and not in its complete eradication.

Another way that Sophocles' criticism can be traced in the play is the way the condemnation of violence is articulated. Segal argues that the violence is transferred outside the limits of the *polis* in the exodus of the play.²⁹⁹ He also argues, as we have already mentioned, that, despite this transposition, violence remains necessary in *Trachiniae*, because it reflects the necessity of violence in classical Athens for the preservation of its imperial power over the other city-states of Greece. In my view, however, the play points rather at the opposite direction. There is no rehabilitation of the exercise of violence in the exodus. The physical power of Heracles, the medium for the performance of his violence, is irreversibly lost during his agony and replaced by an endurance that, after the recognition of the oracles, has an exclusively moral character. The agony itself is the result of the exercise of violence, which is reproduced through a vicious circle. This circle is symbolically represented by the circulation of the poison of

²⁹⁷ Rose 1992: 330.

²⁹⁸ Arnheim 1977: 182-186.

²⁹⁹ Segal 1977: 122; Segal 1990: 7.

the *Lernaia Ydra*.³⁰⁰ All the co-agents, Nessus, Deianira, Heracles, are included in this circle but it is initiated and terminated by Heracles with the use of his arrows and with his agony respectively. Violence is therefore condemned in *Trachiniae* both inside and outside the city. There is no positive quality attributed to the use of violence in the play.

The general condemnation of the use of violence has further political connotations. It shows the quite opposite of Segal's argument. It can be seen as an implicit condemnation of the use of violence among the Greek city-states. Heracles as the Panhellenic hero *par excellence* can embody both the ruptures between the Greek city-states and the possibility for unity and peace.³⁰¹ The emphasis on the location of the Malian Golf as the place of the Amphictyonic League is suggestive (vv. 638-639).³⁰² The Amphictyonic League was a symbol of unity and peace among the Greeks and the reference to it in *Trachiniae* clearly invokes this symbolic function.

Heracles was also fervently worshipped in Athens, both as a hero and as a god.³⁰³ He was considered to be the protector of the warriors of the battle of Marathon.³⁰⁴ It is suggestive, therefore, not only that Heracles addresses himself to the Greeks as a whole during his suffering, but that he also invokes Pallas, the main goddess of Athens (v. 1031). At the same time, however, Heracles was the famous ancestor of the Heracleidae, the mythical descendants of the kings of Peloponnese.³⁰⁵ In this context, the order for the marriage between Hyllus and Iole (v. 1221-1229) is an implicit invocation of this mythical dynasty, whose existence was an indisputable historical reality for the audience of the first

³⁰⁰ See also Halleran 1988: 130.

³⁰¹ For Heracles as Panhellenic hero in *Trachiniae* and in general see Etman 1974: 205-211; Shapiro 1983: 9; Mikalson 1986: 98; Vickers 1995: 52.

³⁰² For the importance of the reference of the Amphictyonic League in *Trachiniae* see Finkelberg 1996: 129-143.

³⁰³ For Heracles' cult see Shapiro 1983: 7-18; Stinton 1987; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008.

³⁰⁴ For Heracles' association with the battle of Marathon see Shapiro 1983: 12; Vickers 1995: 46.

³⁰⁵ For the implicit allusion to the Heracleidae in the exodus of *Trachiniae* see Hoey 1977: 269-294; Segal 1977: 152; Krauss 1991: 98, n. 70.

performance of *Trachiniae*.³⁰⁶ Heracles, therefore, is associated with both Athens and Sparta, the great competitors and major adversaries during the Peloponnesian war. The unknown date of *Trachiniae* does not allow direct chronological association with the political and military reality of the year the play was first performed. Moreover, Sophocles' life was long enough to see both the rise and the fall of Classical Athens. Webster vividly describes this journey, 'Sophocles was born some five years before Marathon; as a youth he led the chorus which celebrated the victory of Salamis; he died in the year before the fall of Athens. His lifetime covers the most glorious century of Athenian history. He was growing up during the Persian wars, he saw the Delian league turn into empire and the empire into tyranny, and the tyranny falling to ruin in the Peloponnesian war.'³⁰⁷

Despite the impossibility of direct parallelisms with historical reality, we can still observe that the double association of Heracles with both Athens and Sparta would allow Sophocles to unfold his implicit criticism of both major opponents. Heracles' violence could be identified with the power of Classical Athens as a marine empire as well as with the military power of the oligarchic Sparta or even with both at the same time.³⁰⁸ Vickers argues that there is a purposeful analogy in *Trachiniae* between Heracles and the Spartans and between Nessus and both the Spartans and the Persians. Since the date of the play is unknown, however, the association of the content of the play with specific historical details is only presumptuous. Furthermore, the play itself does not suggest such a monolithic approach and interpretation. This ambiguity and coincidence makes violence destructive and thus condemnable regardless of its origin. In this way, the agonized plea for peace and unity in *Trachiniae* transcends the boundaries of the city-states. Another

³⁰⁶ For the inevitable link in the audience's mind see Easterling 1981: 69.

³⁰⁷ Webster 1936: 1. For the life of Sophocles during the rise and the fall of classical Athens see also Knox 1964. For the historical conditions of the period of the approximate date of *Trachiniae* see Levett 2004: 16-23.

³⁰⁸ Vickers 1995: 41-69.

necessity that emerges, therefore, from the gloom of war in *Trachiniae*, the ruins, the enslavement, the dislocation, the death, is the necessity of the symbolic and literal restoration of the Panhellenic character of Heracles as incarnation of peace and unity among the Greeks.

In this respect, the invocation of the myth of the Heracleidae does not pass the aristocratic authority from Heracles to them through the interference of Hyllus.³⁰⁹ I disagree with Griffin who considers the exodus as Hyllus' succession to monarchy: the process of the recognition and the transformation would be pointless in this case. Furthermore, the open-endedness of the play, due to the ambiguity of the *apotheosis*, does not support the solidification and transmission of an authoritarian regime, since it deprives Heracles of his earthly glorification.³¹⁰ On the contrary, it disrupts the authority and the aristocratic character of this lineage. This disruption challenges the aristocratic politics inside and outside the Athenian *polis*. At the same time, the transference of a more democratized ethos to Hyllus, an ethos certainly more civic than the ethos of Heracles before his illumination, is not unproblematic.³¹¹ Hyllus is persuaded, but forcefully persuaded by his father. He is completely ignorant of the purpose of the orders he will perform. Indeed, his complaint against the indifference of the gods (v. 1266) testifies to this ignorance.³¹²

This ignorance also suggests that the acquisition of knowledge is an individual task. Knowledge is therefore pre-existent, as part of the broader metaphysical order, but it is not authoritatively imposed: it has to be discovered and comprehended by the human mind. This epistemological opening at the very end of the play implies a political opening as well. The political law, extending the metaphysical and moral law in the exodus, must

³⁰⁹ Griffin 1999: 82, 83.

³¹⁰ Griffin also suggests that *Trachiniae* has no political meaning at all. This is a position that does not reflect the complexity and the sophistication of the play.

³¹¹ For Hyllus' civic ethos in the exodus of *Trachiniae* see also Pozzi 1999: 35.

³¹² For Hyllus' protest against the gods as manifestation of ignorance see Kirkwood 1958: 278; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 132.

be found, established and implemented in the same way. There are various possibilities that the transition to the new political order can include, but all are covered by the ambiguity of the open-endedness of the play. Iole's silence, if the addressee of the last lines of the play (vv. 1275-1278), articulates the ambiguity of this open-endedness very effectively.³¹³

The exodus thus restores, redefines and re-establishes the metaphysical, moral and political order, which was disrupted previously in the play. This restoration, partially reaffirming and partially transforming elements of the tradition, is subjected to the open end of the play. In this way, it becomes a never-ending process of reinterpretation, redefinition and renegotiation.³¹⁴ This process, however, does not imply metaphysical and moral relativism. Although the background of the unchangeable metaphysical and moral principles has been sketched by Sophocles, the never-ending process of their interpretation is one that is decisive, especially for the establishment of the political order in the ongoing human effort to reach the immutable principles. This effort is represented in *Trachiniae* as necessary although axiomatically incomplete. This quality, of course, was valuable for the reception of the play, since it opened up endless possibilities of reinterpretation and rewritings with various ideological investments.

1.2.3 The purposeful open-endedness and ambiguity of the *apotheosis* and its ideological implications: the tradition challenged and transformed but not completely overturned

The question of the *apotheosis* is one of the most highly debated issues among scholars regarding the interpretation of *Trachiniae*. It is significant for the interpretation of the

³¹³ For Iole's silence at the end of the play see Rood 2010: 360.

³¹⁴ See also Heiden 1989; Kraus 1991: 75-98.

play as a whole, and is decisive for the moral evaluation of Heracles and, by implication, indicative of the entire ideological construction of the play. In this respect, the interpretative difficulty of the issue of the *apotheosis* is a major reason for the difficulty of interpreting the play as a whole. At the same time, the handling of the *apotheosis* is significant also for the reception of the play. The way the *apotheosis* is modified in each version reveals the dominant ideological movement towards either an ideological opening or a dogmatic closure and, by implication, the movement towards democratization or autocracy. Thus, the understanding of the function of the *apotheosis* in *Trachiniae* is valuable for the understanding of the ancient play, as well as of the versions by Pound and Wertenbaker in comparison with *Trachiniae*.

Easterling's comment is characteristic, 'The Exodos of *Trachiniae* (971-1278) is generally agreed to be the most problematic part of a problematic play.'³¹⁵ The basic questions about the matter of the *apotheosis* in *Trachiniae* are: is the *apotheosis* included or not in the design of the play and what is the significance of that inclusion or exclusion? I will explore these questions and will attempt to show how inextricably linked they are with the process of challenge, transformation and reaffirmation of the ideological strands that transcend the entire play.

Some critics argue in favour of the inclusion³¹⁶ of the *apotheosis* in the design of the play, other critics in favour of exclusion³¹⁷ and still others in favour of a purposeful open-

³¹⁵ Easterling 1981: 56.

³¹⁶ For the inclusion of the *apotheosis* in the design of *Trachiniae* see Webster 1936: 179; Etman 1974: 205-211; Segal 1981; Holt 1987: 205-217; Kane 1988: 198-211; Minadeo 1993: 159, 175; Finkelberg 1996: 129-143; Goward 2004; Papadimitropoulos 2006: 183-189; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 137. Pozzi 1999: 30 sees Heracles' *apotheosis* as a rite of passage to immortality unfolding in the exodus.

³¹⁷ For the exclusion of the *apotheosis* from the design of *Trachiniae* see: Heiden 2012: 130, n. 5 for extensive bibliography on the matter; Jebb 1892: xxxi; Campbell 1899; Whitman 1951; Linforth 1952: 266, 267; Kamerbeek 1970; Galinsky 1972: 51-52; Reinhardt 1979; Shapiro 1983: 17; Silk 1985: 1-22; Mikalson 1986: 97; Stinton 1987; Ryzman 1993: 78; Williams 1996: 50-52; Conacher 1997: 21-34; Ewans 1999; Beer 2004. Easterling 1981: 66-68 argues against Hoey's argument in favour of open-endedness, but she admits that the way of Heracles' death has some significance, although this significance remains unspecified.

endedness.³¹⁸ I argue that the play is purposefully open-ended and I further explore the dramaturgical purpose and the ideological connotations of this open-endedness, in so doing qualifying previous scholarly views. Most of the critical debate around the matter of the *apotheosis* has mostly been concentrated on the textual evidence regarding its inclusion in or exclusion from the design of the play, with analysis and evaluation of the ideological significance of the inclusion or the exclusion being limited mainly to elements related to the characterization of Heracles. Hoey's study in favour of the purposeful open-endedness of the *apotheosis* is exceptional in respect to the details that he uses from the text and the myth to substantiate his argument.³¹⁹ The reason suggested for the open-endedness, however, namely that the play cannot decide on the future of Heracles, is inadequate. The same point of view is held by Liapis without further explanation.³²⁰ Kraus' remark that the handling of the *apotheosis* follows and concludes the movement of the entire play towards an end, which is never completely achieved and always open to reinterpretation, is insightful.³²¹ The same conception of open-endedness is adopted by Rood but without more details being offered.³²² This structural and thematic movement has an ideological significance that must be pointed out, however. It is a movement that exists for a reason. I argue that the purpose of the open-ended *apotheosis* is the radical challenge to the tradition without the absolute reversal or transgression of it. The ambiguity of the *apotheosis* results in a transformed vision of the tradition, but not a complete negation of it. This position has significant epistemological, moral, metaphysical and political connotations.

³¹⁸ For the purposeful open-endedness regarding the *apotheosis* in *Trachiniae* see Heiden 2012: 132, 143, who associates the ambiguity of the *apotheosis* in *Trachiniae* with its quality of being given to Heracles as grace and not as justice; Kirkwood 1958: 67 regards the open-endedness of the *apotheosis* as compatible with the diptych form of the play. See also Bowra 1944; Gellie 1972: 77; Hoey 1977: 269-294; Friis 1986: 47-61; Davies 1991; Kraus 1991: 97; Levett 2004: 108-110; Liapis 2006: 48-59; Rood 2010: 350.

³¹⁹ Hoey 1977: 269-294.

³²⁰ Liapis 2006: 48-59.

³²¹ Kraus 1991: 75-98.

³²² Rood 2010: 345-364.

If the *apotheosis* was included in the play itself as part of its textual and dramatic economy, or even as an indisputable allusion included in the design of the play and materialized beyond its dramatic end, it would signify the complete reaffirmation of the tradition at the end of the play. The old heroic ethos that Heracles embodied up to the moment of his illumination would reappear triumphant at the very end of the play. The celebration of the aristocratic ethics and politics would conclude the *Trachiniae* making the previous challenge to them a short and insignificant parenthesis.³²³ On the other hand, if the *apotheosis* was explicitly and completely removed from the last part of the play, this would mean an absolute reversal of the traditional portrayal of Heracles.³²⁴ The irreversible mortality would have resulted in Heracles' complete humanization and, furthermore in the form of punishment for its previous faults. In this case, the moment of illumination and Heracles' transformation would be completely pointless. The tradition thus would be overturned, but without the alternative and progressive elements of change being offered by the play. Stinton's comment followed by Levett that either we have *apotheosis* and we have one play or we don't have *apotheosis* and we have another shows the significance of the *apotheosis* for the interpretation of the entire play.³²⁵ Levett recognizes the challenge to tradition, but he does not recognize the process of reaffirmation and transformation at the end of the play. Hoey fully acknowledges what the inclusion or exclusion of the *apotheosis* means, but he leaves the ambiguity of the *apotheosis* unjustified. We therefore have to add a third position to Stinton's and Levett's categorization and justify its purpose and significance for the play. In a purposefully open-ended *apotheosis* we are left with a play quite different from the two aforementioned cases.

³²³ Kane's view (1988: 198-211) about the *apotheosis* as Heracles' glorification and Pozzi's (1999: 30) similar view about the restoration of Heracles' glory through the *apotheosis* are indicative of this stance.

³²⁴ See also Galinsky 1972: 51-52.

³²⁵ Levett 2004: 110. See also Stinton 1987.

Sophocles, I suggest, follows a middle position. Heracles' agony shakes his old heroic ethos and the moment of his illumination transforms it into a more internalized, democratized, collective heroic ethos. This new ethos results from the transformation, not from the eradication, of the tradition. The ambiguous *apotheosis* is the last act of this middle position between acceptance and denial of the tradition. As a middle position the ambiguous *apotheosis* preserves and projects the possibility of the new ethos expressed by Heracles' illumination. Heracles' ambiguous *apotheosis* is a partial reaffirmation and a partial transgression of the tradition. It is reaffirmation, because the possibility of the *apotheosis* is not annulled for Heracles. It is transgression, because this possibility acquires a totally new meaning. It is not, as Reinhardt suggests, a reward for Heracles' previous labours, namely of Heracles' previous heroism of violence.³²⁶ It is a reward for the moral excellence that is revealed by the willing acceptance of his end, which is seen as part of a broader metaphysical plan, along with the endurance that this acceptance presupposes.

The text of the play, therefore, creates and reveals the purposeful ambiguity of the *apotheosis*. There is emphasis on the notion of mortality.³²⁷ Heracles leaves the impression that he is awaiting his death even after the recognition of the oracles (vv. 1143, 1144, 1146, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1255, 1256, 1276). Heracles explicitly states his belief that death is coming, *κάδ'όκουν πράξειν καλῶς/ τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν ἐμέ:/ τοῖς γὰρ θανοῦσι μόχθος οὐ προσγίγνεται.* (vv. 1171-1173). This emphasis is necessary in order to transform the *apotheosis* from a certainty to a possibility. The audience of the first performance of *Trachiniae* was aware of the connection known by the myth and the cult

³²⁶ See Reinhardt 1977.

³²⁷ For the emphasis on mortality in the exodus of *Trachiniae* see Webster 1936: 179; Bowra 1944; Easterling 1981: 63; Easterling 1982: 7.

between the *apotheosis* and the pyre on Mount Oeta.³²⁸ Without the emphasis on Heracles' mortality, the challenge to tradition would be impossible.

On the other hand, there are various hints of the *apotheosis* during the course of the play, and especially in the exodus, so that the element of mortality not to be definite. The order about the pyre, and the details about its method of construction, such as the use of the male olive and the sacred oak, can be seen as an indirect allusion to the *apotheosis*.³²⁹ The light of the pyre has been also seen by critics as another hint of the *apotheosis*, since it replaces the disrupted sacrifice at Cenaeum with a willing sacrifice of the self by Heracles, which could justify his forthcoming *apotheosis*.³³⁰ The light has also been seen as a hint of the *apotheosis* because of its association with purification, life, knowledge, truth and transformation.³³¹ The reference to Mount Oeta, where an annual fire-festival in honour of Heracles was taking place, can be regarded as another implicit reference to the *apotheosis*. This festival is mentioned by Hyllus in the play itself (v. 1192), and indeed, is archaeologically evidenced.³³² The constant reference to the paternal role of Zeus and, especially the indirect allusion to his healing power, are also hints of the *apotheosis* (vv. 1000-1003, 1208-1209, 1255-1256).³³³ Two of the final verses of the play, which refer to the unknowability of the future and the inherent omnipotence of Zeus respectively, can be read as hints of the *apotheosis*. The verses are, *Τὰ μὲν οὖν μέλλοντ' οὐδεὶς ἐφορᾷ*, (v. 1270) and *κούδ' ἐν τούτων ὄ τι μὴ Ζεὺς* (v. 1278). Even if these verses are read in the way

³²⁸ For the connection between the pyre and the *apotheosis* in myth and in cult and for the audience's awareness of this connection during the first performance of *Trachiniae* see Hoey 1977: 269-294; Segal 1977: 138; Segal 1981: 99-102; Easterling 1981: 68; Shapiro 1983: 7-18.

³²⁹ See Hoey 1977: 269-294.

³³⁰ For the association between light and sacrifice, both in Cenaeum and on Mt. Oeta, and *apotheosis*, see Segal 1977: 142-143; Easterling 1981: 59; Shapiro 1983: 7-18; Kane 1988: 198-211; Levett 2004: 12; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 131-138. Cf. Ryzman 1993: 77-79 who regards the light as a symbol of Heracles' desire and of his destruction on the pyre.

³³¹ For the symbolisms of the light in *Trachiniae* see Holt 1987: 205-217. For the association of the pyre with metamorphosis see Hoey 1977: 269-294 who connects the pyre of *Trachiniae* to the significance of fire for Heracleitus.

³³² For the cult of Heracles see Shapiro 1983: 7-18 and page 15 for details about the excavation of 1920 on Mt. Oeta; Stinton 1987; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 131-138.

³³³ For the significance of Zeus and his relationship with Heracles in *Trachiniae* see Mikalson 1986: 89-98.

some critics prefer, namely as a reference to the current suffering and as protests against the gods, the possibility of them expressing an implicit allusion to the *apotheosis* cannot be excluded.³³⁴ Verse 1278, the last verse of the play, especially confirms Zeus' omnipotence, his position as the essence of the world and a force immanent in history as Hoey characterizes him, in a way that cannot be seen only retrospectively.

There is a specific point in the exodus, however, where the purposefulness of the ambiguity becomes apparent. When Hyllus asks Heracles how the pyre will be his healing, Heracles leaves the question unanswered and releases Hyllus from the obligation to light the pyre (vv. 1210-1211). The question about the function of the pyre remains essentially unanswered. Moreover, this question functions as an implicit hint of Philoctetes' mythical and literary role to light the pyre. Philoctetes is the hero of Sophocles' tragedy named after him, which ends up with Heracles' presence as *deus ex machina*.³³⁵ The way in which Heracles responds to Hyllus' question, therefore, suppresses a definite answer regarding the *apotheosis* while at the same time implicitly points in this direction.

A question naturally emerges from the co-existence of the contradictory elements of mortality and *apotheosis* in the exodus; *i.e.* what future Heracles is himself aware of and how does this future determine his last orders? Some critics (such as Levett) believe that Heracles is unaware of the prospect of his *apotheosis*, whereas others (such as Papadimitropoulos) argue in contrast that he is fully aware. Sorum, meanwhile, argues that Heracles is aware only of the existence of a metaphysical plan and of the necessity to succumb his will to this broader plan. I believe that Sorum's view is closer to the

³³⁴ Hoey 1977: 269-294. There is also a critical dispute as to whether Hyllus or the Chorus is the speaker of the last verse and whether or not this verse is a condemnation or a reaffirmation of the power of Zeus. On the critical discussion of the last verse see Campbell 1899; Bowra 1944; Kirkwood 1958: 278; Easterling 1968: 68; Burton 1980; Easterling 1981: 64, 56-75. Easterling regards this verse as said by the Chorus and as an indication that the *cosmos* is ordered in *Trachiniae*, stressing at the same time though the personal responsibility of the individual.

³³⁵ For the implicit reference to Philoctetes in the exodus of *Trachiniae* see Bowra 1944; Hoey 1977: 269-294; Segal 1977: 139.

evidence from the text. Heracles follows and gives the orders as being both divinely ordained and obscure at the same time.³³⁶ Similarly, some scholars favour the idea that the orders are personal orders of Heracles, whereas others argue that the orders have a divine origin of an unspecified kind.³³⁷ I believe that Heracles is unaware of the prospect of the *apotheosis*, because his words up to the very end show that he is preparing to confront death. This ignorance makes him tragic for the audience and stresses his moral endurance. At the same time, though, he gives the impression that the orders follow the will of the gods. He explicitly confirms their conformity with the divine to Hyllus (v. 1248). Heracles, therefore, creates the impression that he knows of a divine plan, like the oracles he previously revealed, as far as the content but not as far as the purpose is concerned. In this way, Sophocles makes Heracles provide the audience significant hints of the subsequent *apotheosis*, in a way that allows the open-endedness, the ambiguity and the tragic irony of the end of *Trachiniae*.³³⁸ At the same time, Heracles' partial knowledge and partial ignorance reproduces the ambiguity of the oracles that transcends the entire play, offering *Trachiniae* an end not less enigmatic than its beginning.

The fact that Heracles' *apotheosis* remains open-ended and thus rendered as an implied potential praise for Heracles' newly acquired moral qualities, is also an element of democratization. The *apotheosis* acquires metaphysical and moral character instead of primarily a physical one and in this way it is disconnected from the issue of aristocratic birth and becomes accessible to all mortals. The *apotheosis* is not an exclusive outcome for Heracles, the son of Zeus; it is an outcome open as a possibility for all those who can

³³⁶ Levett 2004: 101; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 137; Sorum 1978: 67.

³³⁷ For the last orders as Heracles' personal orders see Webster 1936: 178; Shapiro 1983: 17; de Wet 1983: 226; Heiden 1989: 150; Levett 2004: 101; Heiden 2012: 140. Holt 1987: 205-217 regards the orders as Heracles' personal wish and contribution to divine plan at the same time. For the last orders as divinely given see Kirkwood 1958: 278; Sorum 1978: 67; Conacher 1997: 21-34; Segal 2000: 171; Goward 2004; Papadimitropoulos 2007-2008: 136. Easterling 1981: 64 characterizes the orders as ambivalent.

³³⁸ For the same point of view regarding the construction of ambiguity in *Trachiniae*, but without analysis of the implications of the open-endedness for the meaning, see Kraus 1991: 97-98.

elevate themselves to the same level of moral excellence. Heiden pointed out as well the ‘democratic opening’ of the end of *Trachiniae*, but he associates it exclusively with the challenge to the authority of the mythical tradition that the ambiguity of the *apotheosis* symbolizes.³³⁹ The tradition becomes a matter of interpretation for the audience and thus it loses its indisputable authority. This is a significant remark in itself, but the emphasis on moral excellence as replacing the aristocratic concept of physical and political supremacy by birth, qualifies Heiden’s position even further.

1.3 The challenge to patriarchy in *Trachiniae*

1.3.1 The argument and the context

In this sub-chapter, I argue that the process of the transition from the ideological ‘old’ to the ideological ‘new’ encompasses patriarchy, apart from aristocracy in *Trachiniae*. I argue that a challenge to patriarchy unfolds and results in a less rigid form of patriarchal authority at the end of the play. Female subjectivity occupies a middle position between the subject and object in the play, which is not static. It is a position in progress towards a more autonomous female subjectivity, whose possibility is mostly embodied by Iole. The middle position becomes the site of the renegotiation of female subjectivity.

I also argue that the challenge to patriarchy is interrelated with the challenge to aristocracy. Gender and class are interconnected and not opposed aspects of the ideological discourse of *Trachiniae*. The outcome of the challenge to aristocracy may be more progressive than the outcome of the challenge to patriarchy. The different extent of progress, however, although indicative of the privileging of the male in the play, does not eradicate the criticism of patriarchy.

³³⁹ Heiden 1989: 157.

The form of patriarchy in *Trachiniae* in relation to aristocratic ideology has been examined mainly by Wohl.³⁴⁰ She studies these ideological aspects and their interconnection in *Trachiniae* through the detailed analysis of the theme of exchange, a theme that extends from gift exchange to women's circulation. Lyons offers another important analysis of the theme of gift exchange in *Trachiniae*.³⁴¹ Consequently, a critical engagement with their approaches and conclusions is necessary in order to position my argument in relation to the previous scholarly work on the matter. My argument stands in between these two previous approaches. I argue in favour of a middle position for female subjectivity in *Trachiniae*, as Lyons does. I add, though, the element of the gradually progressive change of the initial paradigm of female subjectivity, qualifying Lyons' static conception. I argue also in favour of a process of challenge and reaffirmation taking place in *Trachiniae*, as Wohl does. I disagree with her, however, that the reaffirmation is absolute and thus it forecloses any possibility for female subjectivity in *Trachiniae*.³⁴² Moreover, I include elements in my reading from other scholars who have been preoccupied with aspects of gender in *Trachiniae*.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ Wohl 1998: 17-56.

³⁴¹ Lyons 2003: 93-134.

³⁴² For scholarly discussion on tragedy's ability to include elements of ideological resistance and/or ideological repression see Segal 1981; Loraux 1987; Vernant 1988; Zeitlin 1990: 86-87; Rabinowitz 1993: 11-12; Wohl 1998: xviii-xxiv, 185-186, n. 19; Zelenak 1998.

³⁴³ Holt 1981: 63-73; Wet 1983: 213-226; Easterling 1987: 15-26; Ormand 1993: 224-227; Pozzi 1994: 577-585; Faraone 1994: 115-135; Zelenak 1998; Ormand 1999; Bowman 1999: 335-350; Carawan 2000: 189-237; Fletcher 2001: 1-15; Lee 2003-2004: 253-279; Levett 2004; Beer 2004; Falkner 2005: 165-192; Rood 2010: 345-364.

1.3.2 The analysis

1.3.2.1 Female subjectivity in *Trachiniae*: in favour of a middle position between subject and object in progress

In order to establish my argument in favour of a middle position for female subjectivity in *Trachiniae*, a position between subject and object in progress, I will analyze the symbolisms of the gift exchange, the treatment of the themes of maternity and suicide and the significance of Iole's silent presence in the play. I will show how the ruptures of the patriarchal system, exposed by the middle position itself, revisit its dynamics. This process may be implicit, limited and less radical than the challenge to aristocracy, but it does exist in *Trachiniae* and it changes the concept of patriarchy. I will also critically engage where necessary with Wohl's argument about the impossibility of female subjectivity in *Trachiniae*.

1.3.2.2 The exchange of gifts and female subjectivity

The association of the exchange of gifts with the circulation of women and with the female position in society has been studied by numerous scholars, many of whom follow feminist theory.³⁴⁴ I argue that the theme of gift exchange is demonstrative of the middle position of the female between subject and object in *Trachiniae*, not of the absolute objectification of women or of the impossibility of their position as subjects. I further

³⁴⁴ For gift exchange in classical Athens see: Harrison 1968: chapter 1; Benveniste 1969: 239-244; MacDowell 1978: 84-98; Schaps 1979: 25-60, 74-88; Vernant 1980: 55-77; Gould 1980; Foley 1981: 129-132; Gernet 1981; Just 1989: 40-75; Sealey 1990: 25-36; Rabinowitz 1993: 3-9; Seaford 1994: 204-220. See also Lévi-Strauss 1963: 59-60; Lévi-Strauss 1969: xxii-xxiv; Rubin 1975: 174, 177, 179, 182, 196-197; Weiner 1976; Irigaray 1977; Leacock 1981: 214-242; Hirschon 1984; Hartsock 1985: 267-301; Sedgwick 1985; Strathern 1988; Cowie 1990; Wohl 1998: xiii-xix, 183-184.

argue that the ambivalence of the position between subject and object, well represented in the economy of gift exchange, allows the criticism of patriarchy to unfold.

Female participation in the exchange of gifts does not always equate with transgression of the gender code and does not always attempt to construct a subjectivity adopting the male structures of authority. Women were allowed to participate in the exchange within restrictions corresponding to their gender. Women themselves were gifts and gift-givers, as Lyons has shown.³⁴⁵ They held an ambiguous position between subject and object. This position was primarily realized within marriage, because marriage was the site of exercise of any female economic or sexual power. This fact explains the male anxiety about women's sexual and economic fidelity within marriage, which was directly associated with the gender code of gift exchange.

Lyons discerns two 'divergent receptions of women's economic role', the Homeric and the Hesiodic. The Homeric reception was more optimistic in the sense that it accepted the potentially beneficial role of female labour and participation in exchanges under the condition that this labour abided with the restrictions imposed on the female gender. The Hesiodic reception was more pessimistic regarding women's labour and their participation in exchanges as inherently suspicious and threatening for the stability of the *oikos*. I believe that the middle position I support for female subjectivity in *Trachiniae* resonates more with the Homeric than with the Hesiodic tradition.

The participation of Deianira in gift exchange, therefore, does not necessarily constitute an intrusion into the male domain and an attempt to construct a subject by adopting male structures, as Wohl argues.³⁴⁶ The failed exchange mostly testifies to a transgression and a perversion of the gender code of exchange. It is not the act itself but the means and the

³⁴⁵ Lyons 2003: 127.

³⁴⁶ Wohl 1998: xiii-xix, 183-184.

purpose of it that turns it from gift exchange into an act of failed reciprocity. I argue that Deianira's purpose and means are located exactly in the middle position between the female and the male. Deianira's subject thus is problematized not because it is built upon the mimicking of male activity but because it transgresses the restrictions corresponding to its gender. It is not that the female participation in the gift exchange is problematic on its own, but that it is problematic to the extent that it transgresses the limits allocated to the female.

Deianira attempts to secure the affections of her husband and the restoration of her position in the *oikos*, which is dependent on these affections.³⁴⁷ The position she wants to restore is the position of a female aristocratic subject and object, therefore a middle position *par excellence*. The dependence on the affections of Heracles justifies the position of the object, whereas the power in the *oikos*, even if allocated to the degree that corresponds to her gender, is a subject position. Her attempt to control Heracles' affections indicates also a transgression of the limits of her female subject position in the *oikos*. This transgression takes place not in order to overthrow the male subject or to replace it, but in order to secure the stability of her position. So, there is a transgression of the limits of female authority and an 'usurpation of male power', but not with the purpose of assuming the role of the male subject by imitating it.³⁴⁸ Deianira's failure to preserve her established position as the female subject and object ideologically signifies a challenge to this position and a renegotiation of it.

The means of exchange that Deianira employs to achieve her purpose, are both female and male but in both cases perverted. Deianira uses deception. The association of the use of deception with the female, although not exclusive throughout the play, is very strong

³⁴⁷ On sexual desire as representing female power over men see Faraone 1994: 127; Bowman 1999: 345-346.

³⁴⁸ For Deianira's action as the usurpation of male power see also Faraone 1994: 126; Bowman 1999: 346-347.

in the passage through the metaphors of weaving, *technē*, the secrecy and the use of magic (vv. 674-675, v. 686, v. 689).³⁴⁹ Female skills such as weaving, related to productivity and civilization, are turned into means of destruction of the female, the male and the *oikos*.³⁵⁰ The preservation of the magic philtre within the *oikos*, which is a female space, is another feminine characteristic.

Apart from the feminine connotations of the exchange there are also masculine ones, but these are perverted as well regarding their function and their results.³⁵¹ The employment of *mechanē* is a perversion of the masculine civilized skills (v. 586). Hyllus parallels the way the robe clings to Heracles' body with the product of the labour of a creator, *ὥστε τέκτονος*, (v. 768). This characterization shows the perverted use of a masculine skill. Similarly, the use of the metal container reflects a perverted use of a male object. Metal was related to male gifts just as textiles were related to female gifts according to the gender code of the gift exchange. As represented in *Trachiniae*, however, even textiles signify a perverted exchange. The robe is a textile and is specifically defined as present made by Deianira's hands, *δώρημ' ἐκείνω τάνδρι τῆς ἐμῆς χερός*, (v. 603) but its use is perverted because it leads to Heracles' agony. Hyllus characterizes it as *θανάσιμον πέπλον* (v. 758). Apart from being perverted in terms of its use and female in its origin, the robe is transgendered in the terminology applied for its mention in the play. It is referred to as either a *peplos* (v. 602, v. 674), a feminine dress, or a *chitōn*, a masculine dress (v. 612, v. 769). The robe thus signifies a middle position between the female and the male and furthermore, a perverted middle position. Lee has shown how the tragedians manipulated the association of the *peplos* with femininity, luxury and protection, an association

³⁴⁹ For the ideological implications of the use of deception see Hesk 2000; Taousiani 2011: 35-69, 47-51, 55-57, 60-61.

³⁵⁰ For the negative associations of female and male civilized skills see Wohl 1998: 24-25; Fletcher 2001: 5; Lee 2003-2004: 275; Lyons 2003: 122; Rood 2010: 353.

³⁵¹ For a comprehensive analysis of all the perversions of the gender code of exchange see Lyons 2003: 93-134; Lyons 2012.

evident in archaic epic and lyric poetry, and used it as medium for the negotiation of the gender balance.³⁵² *Trachiniae* is an illustrious example of this use.

This position reflects Deianira's middle position as subject and object and the difficulties that this position entails, but at the same time it presents the failure in reciprocity as a common failure of both genders. The nature of the gifts further reinforces the argument about the common failure of both females and males in this exchange. Deianira's act of sending the robe anointed with the philtre, which she received from Nessus, breaks the gender code that women should accept presents only from their spouse or a male kin. Heracles, meanwhile, sends Iole as a present, breaking the gender code of the exclusive relationship between husband and wife.³⁵³

Similarly, Deianira's basic emotion behind the sending of the robe, namely behind her participation in the exchange of gifts, is her suppressed anger. Her statement is very explicit, 'Ἄλλ' οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὀργαίνειν καλὸν/ γυναῖκα νοῦν ἔχουσαν· ἧδ' ἔχω, φίλαι,/ λυτήριον λώφημα, τῆδ' ὑμῖν φράσω. (vv. 552-554). The philtre is a compromise solution between anger and the restraints imposed on her gender regarding the expression of this emotion.³⁵⁴ In this respect, the middle position of Deianira's subjectivity can be traced in both the emotional trigger of her action and the form that the action acquires.

Consequently, the perversion of the gender code of exchange is evident in the means that Deianira employs and indicative of the middle position of her subjectivity. This position appears to be problematic regarding both its established status and the effort to transgress it. It contains thus an implicit criticism of the established patriarchal structures and of their transgression at the same time.

³⁵² Lee 2003-2004: 253, 254, 276. For the ambiguity of the *peplos* as a signifier of gender see also Seaford 1986: 57; Ormand 1993: 226; Pozzi 1994: 583; Ormand 1999: 36; Beer 2004.

³⁵³ See Lyons 2003: 93-134; Lyons 2012.

³⁵⁴ For Deianira's anger see also Holt 1981: 63, 67, 68.

What emerges from this analysis is not a female object or a female object in search of a male subjectivity, but a restricted female subjectivity, located in a middle position between subject and object. The difference is significant, because the position of the subject implies responsibility and accountability, which is incompatible with the position of the object. Moreover, the position of the female subject, even if restricted, signifies a less authoritative form of patriarchy than the one suggested by the position of the female object. Furthermore the female subject, even if restricted, allows the challenge to patriarchy to encompass both genders. This scheme depicts more accurately the gender balance in *Trachiniae*, where both female and male, Deianira and Heracles respectively, are challenged through their failure, and reveals the ruptures of the gender code they follow. The only difference is that Deianira's failure is permanent, whereas Heracles has the privilege of transcendence at the end of the play.³⁵⁵ This difference signifies a privileging of the male, which remains up to the end of the play, even if the male authority has been significantly limited in the meantime. It is suggestive that Heracles' symbolic transformation into a virgin due to his agony ends abruptly after the moment of his illumination (v. 1075). It is a temporary and not a permanent dissolution of masculine identity.

1.3.2.3 Maternity, suicide and female subjectivity

In this section, I argue that the handling of maternity and suicide in *Trachiniae* opens the possibility for the construction of female subjectivity and furthermore suggests the necessity of it by contributing to the process of its renegotiation.

³⁵⁵ For Deianira's immanence and Heracles's transcendence see also Segal 1977: 150.

Wohl remarks that motherhood is associated with *ponos* and *eros* in *Trachiniae*. (vv. 31-33, vv. 41-42, vv. 106-108, vv. 94-95, vv. 116-119, vv. 893-895). She also notices that despite the coincidence of Deianira's 'erotic and maternal loyalties', which reasonably should meet the ancient Greek stereotype of the good feminine sexuality that prioritizes procreation over sexual attractiveness, maternity is another field of failure for Deianira.³⁵⁶

Deianira's relationship with maternity and sexuality can be read differently though. Deianira's fatal action may be not an act of sexual infidelity, but it is an act of social, economic and symbolic familial infidelity. She uses the products of the *oikos*, the robe smeared with a tuft of wool, as a means to control Heracles' affections and thus Heracles' power. Instead of acting as a protector of the *oikos* and its economy, she acts in a way that puts at risk and finally destroys its integrity. The economic fidelity of the women was identified with the sexual in ancient Greek literature, not to say that the latter was seen as medium for the preservation of the former and thus as supplementary to it. Lyons regards the phrase *σφραγιδος ἔρκει* (v. 615) as a symbol of recognition between wife and husband, which recalls the role of woman as housekeeper.³⁵⁷ It is a symbol of the identification of the sexual with economic fidelity in *Trachiniae*. Deianira's action in *Trachiniae* is therefore a betrayal of the *oikos*, similar to sexual infidelity, and in this respect it is also a betrayal of maternity, since *oikos*, marriage and children are inextricably linked in *Trachiniae*. Deianira is unfaithful, therefore, even if not sexually unfaithful.

Nevertheless, Deianira's unfaithfulness does not definitively deprive her of the quality of the mother. On the contrary, maternity is the only quality of Deianira that survives despite her death. Hyllus' repentance after Deianira's suicide is a posthumous vindication of this quality at least (vv. 932-935). Hyllus' embrace of Deianira's corpse is the only scene of

³⁵⁶ Wohl 1998: 31-37.

³⁵⁷ On the coincidence between sexual and economic fidelity see Lyons 2003: 122, 127, 128. See also Bowman 1999: 336.

the play that visualizes a natural contact of almost erotic force (vv. 936-940).³⁵⁸ It reveals an emotional bond that cannot be compared with any other in *Trachiniae*. The fact that Hyllus accepts Iole in the final scene does not annul this bond, because Hyllus explicitly, even if unfairly, characterizes Iole as the cause of suffering for both of his parents, Deianira and Heracles (vv. 1233-1237). His obedience thus is not represented in the play as an act of betrayal of his mother. Alcmene, who is referred to in the exodus as the guardian of the other children of Heracles (v. 1148, vv. 1151-1156), brings out a model of maternity unburdened by any guilt, intentional or unintentional, and thus elevates the status of maternity to a position of honour, restoring the ideological damage previously made by Deianira's error.

Consequently, motherhood remains in *Trachiniae* a field of celebration of femininity, but within the patriarchal restrictions of female sexual and economic fidelity. The fact that Deianira's error does not result from an obvious sexual infidelity problematizes even further the notion and the limits of female fidelity, sexual and economic, disclosing the difficulties that the traditional identification of both entails.³⁵⁹ The fact that Deianira does not entirely revoke the quality of the mother despite her error is an implicit transgression of this norm. The concept of female economic and sexual fidelity is therefore problematized, challenged, partially reaffirmed and partially surpassed in *Trachiniae*. The female subject that emerges at the end of this process is still not completely free and autonomous, but it is more free and autonomous than the female subject at the beginning of the play. Maternity, instead of being another foreclosed possibility for the formation

³⁵⁸ See also Kaimio 2002: 106.

³⁵⁹ For the same point of view regarding Deianira's position in *Trachiniae* and the challenge to the established patriarchal structures see also Levett 2004: 86-88, although Levett limits the challenge only to the family dynamics and the sexual fidelity within marriage excluding the broader ideology and reality of gender balance in classical Athens as a matter of discourse and negotiation in *Trachiniae*. De Wet (1983: 226) associates the renegotiation of the female position in *Trachiniae* with a demand for sexual fidelity in monogamous marriage. Falkner 2005: 168 sees in *Trachiniae* 'a collapse of the larger system of gender.' Lee (2003-2004: 276) regards the renegotiation of the female position to be contained within the design of *Trachiniae*, but without offering more specifics about the content of the renegotiation.

of female subjectivity, can be seen as a valuable quality of the female. This quality may serve the patriarchal purposes of the preservation and delineation of society, but it acquires also a value on its own, biological and emotional, beyond the economy of patriarchy.

Similarly, Deianira's suicide is not only an expression of her inability to escape the constraints of her gender. The constraints emerge from her identity as a female and an aristocrat. Her identity results from a combination of gender and class and thus her inability to escape reveals a criticism of both these ideological aspects. Moreover, Deianira's suicide contains an internal contradiction, if regarded from the scope of her motivation and action throughout the play. Deianira does not attempt to transgress the limits of her position for its own sake but in order to secure this position. What is at stake for Deianira is the preservation of her established position in the *oikos*. Her action signifies an attempt to preserve the old ideological framework and not a willingness to overturn it. It is the 'escape from change', as Heiden characterizes it.³⁶⁰ This fact makes the criticism of the old contained in her suicide all the more intense and the necessity of the transition to a more solid paradigm of female subjectivity, even if not completely autonomous and free, all the more urgent.

Deianira's suicide is rich in symbolisms that are significant for the understanding of the position of her subjectivity. The sexual symbols associated with Deianira's suicide are a mockery of the sexual act, a subverted sexual union between Deianira and Heracles that leads to death instead of fertility and procreation.³⁶¹ Deianira loosens her gown at the point of her golden brooch above her breasts, bares her left side and arm and drives a two-edged sword up through her side to the heart (vv. 923-926, vv. 930-931). It has been a

³⁶⁰ Heiden 1989: 24.

³⁶¹ Lee 2003-2004: 272.

matter of critical dispute whether Deianira's suicide is 'masculine', 'feminine' or both.³⁶² Lyons argues that Deianira's suicide is a violation of the patriarchal codes, because the method of killing herself is unfeminine.³⁶³ Lyons notes that the removal of the golden pin and the use of the sword indicate that Deianira replaces the female violence against the male with a male violence against herself (vv. 924-926). The same approach is followed by Lee who regards Deianira's suicide as 'a terrible parody of traditional marriage rites.'³⁶⁴ She argues that the 'rending of the *peplos* is a perversion of the *anakalypsis* and therefore a rejection of her feminine role in marriage.'³⁶⁵ Wohl regards Deianira's death as a 'transgendered death', a symbol of 'a failed man and a failed woman, constrained until the end by gender.'³⁶⁶ Levett argues that the use of the sword has 'obvious phallic symbolism.'³⁶⁷ Loraux argues that Deianira's suicide has both male and female characteristics.³⁶⁸ The male characteristics are the use of the sword, the blow to the river resembling the death of Homeric heroes, and the uncovered side and arm, the martial parts of the human body. The female characteristics are the place of the suicide, namely the marriage chamber and the marriage bed, the secrecy, the left side of the body which is pierced with the sword, and the blood which is associated with maternity. Loraux concludes that Deianira cannot escape the laws of her sex despite the fact that her suicide resembles that of a soldier. She is a woman in love who assumes martial ways. I believe that Deianira's suicide does indeed combine masculine and feminine characteristics and that this reading can be pursued further. It is noteworthy that Deianira sits in the middle of the nuptial bed (v. 918). This position is suggestive of the character of her suicide

³⁶² Wender 1974: 13; Sorum 1978: 69; Winnington-Ingram 1980: 81, n. 28; De Wet 1983: 223; Loraux 1987: 7-30; Faraone 1994: 127; Williams 1996: 51; Wohl 1998: 36, 49; Fletcher 2001: 10; Levett 2004: 130; Lyons 2003: 123; Lee 2003-2004: 272, 273; Falkner 2005: 182.

³⁶³ Lyons 2003: 123.

³⁶⁴ Lee 2003-2004: 272.

³⁶⁵ Lee 2003-2004: 273.

³⁶⁶ Wohl 1998: 36.

³⁶⁷ Levett 2004: 130.

³⁶⁸ Loraux 1987: 7-30.

regarding the gender norms. Deianira occupies a middle position between subject and object. Her suicide reveals the anxiety of this position and her inability to redefine it. At the same time, however, it brings out the necessity of a more solid female subjectivity in a more balanced gender relationship.

Consequently, Deianira's suicide is not the foreclosure of any possibility for a female subjectivity, but the opening not only of the possibility, but also of the necessity, for a new female subjectivity. This opening is articulated within an ideological system, which although patriarchal in its foundation acknowledges the need for renegotiation and redefinition of the female position.

1.3.2.4 An alternative female subjectivity within the play's economy: the case of Iole

In this section, I argue that the vision of the new female subjectivity projected in *Trachiniae* is embodied by Iole in the exodus. I also argue that the marriage between Hyllus and Iole does not reproduce the type of patriarchy suggested by the union between Deianira and Heracles, but initiates a new one.

Wohl proposes an alternative female subject for *Trachiniae*, but she locates it beyond the verbal and visual significance of tragedy and identifies it with the virgin, a status beyond or before male penetrability, sexual and epistemological. Iole is seen as a characteristic example of this type of subjectivity. Wohl also argues that the possibility for this female subject is raised by Hyllus' momentary resistance to paternal law in the exodus (vv. 1233-1237), but foreclosed with his final obedience to it (vv. 1249-1251), which serves to reaffirm and inherit the pre-existent social order. I disagree with Wohl's argument that this type of subjectivity is located outside the symbolic sphere of the play and that

virginity is the main reason for its construction as well as that Hyllus' marriage to Iole forecloses this possibility.

The status of virginity, which Wohl associates with a realm before or beyond male control that functions as the basis of the female other, may be outside the control of the male husband but it is not outside the authority of the male father. Both forms of male authority are patriarchal (vv. 6-8, vv. 405-407). Virginity cannot therefore be conceived of as a position liberated from patriarchal authority. Moreover, Iole's status is ambiguous for most of the play, but clarified as not virginal in the exodus (vv. 1225-1227). The silence of Iole and the possibilities of resistance and change that this silence implies remain up to the very end of the play, without being downgraded by the loss of her virginity. Iole is mentioned by Heracles in the exodus as the desired match for Hyllus (v. 1278) and this reference is sufficient to raise the possibilities that her persistent silence encapsulates. The newly acquired status of Iole as Hyllus' prospective wife broadens the significance of her silence, since it transliterates the possibilities of this silence to a future gender balance represented by the new marriage between Iole and Hyllus.³⁶⁹

The new marriage does not reproduce the old marriage of Heracles and Deianira and the social order that their marriage represented. Their marriage fell into ruin. The new marriage initiates a new social order, which may include elements of the old one, but still constitutes a transgression of it. The element of change is boldly marked in the exodus and symbolically represented by Heracles' transformation (v. 613, v. 1145, v. 1174). The arbitrary will of Heracles is replaced by the conception of a law, which, although founded on the patriarchal authority of Zeus, establishes a milder form of patriarchy. It replaces Heracles' egocentrism and violence with moral and metaphysical restrictions and thus puts male human authority under scrutiny. In this way, the oblique will of Zeus, replacing

³⁶⁹ For the interpretation of Iole's silence see also Rood 2010: 345-364.

the egocentric will of Heracles, re-sanctions and limits at the same time the patriarchal authority exercised on human level. The new gender balance, exemplified by Hyllus and Iole, will be grounded on this new patriarchal metaphysical and political foundation. Iole's silence, therefore, implies a different female other, not because of her virginity, but because of the multiple connotations that her silence can incorporate and especially in the light of her forthcoming union with Hyllus.

These possibilities, even if implicitly stated, are included within the economy of the play and they are not foreclosed. On the contrary, they extend beyond this economy due to the play's open-endedness. Consequently, Deianira's failed subjectivity is succeeded by a new female subjectivity, embodied by Iole, which emerges within a new framework, still patriarchal but less patriarchal than the old one. The silence of Iole testifies to the remaining oppressiveness of the new framework, and her residual resistance to it, but also to the infinite possibilities that can be projected to the future for this new female subject. In this respect, the resistance to patriarchy does not inhabit the fantasized space in *Trachiniae*. It constitutes a significant part of the play's ideological evolution, which incorporates, even if vaguely, the potential of change and the suggestion of new alternatives, despite the partial reaffirmation of the patriarchal tradition. Iole emerges from this process of challenge, reaffirmation and transformation that unfolds in *Trachiniae* not as a completely autonomous and free female subject, but as a subject more autonomous and free than the female paradigm she replaces.

1.3.2.5 The historical evidence

The unknown date of *Trachiniae* does not allow unproblematic connections with the historical reality regarding the position of women in classical Athens. The understanding of this theme is complicated by the extent to which the degree of female seclusion in

classical Athens is still a matter of ongoing critical inquiry.³⁷⁰ Moreover, the position of women in Greek tragedy, the uses that their presence served and the possibilities that it opened or foreclosed for the self-definition of the male, is another issue of critical dispute.³⁷¹

We have the certainty, however, of two important laws regarding marriage and citizenship in fifth century Athens, which are dated within the broader chronological limits that have been suggested for *Trachiniae*. The first law was the law that Pericles introduced in 451/450 B.C., which made the Athenian citizenship of the mother a precondition for the Athenian citizenship of the children: the citizenship of the father was not enough anymore.

The second law was a decree introduced during the Peloponnesian war that allowed the Athenians to have legitimate children with another woman apart from their legal wife. This woman would be ‘a second wife of fully equal status as in the Spartan and Thracian communities,’ as de Wet mentions.³⁷² This decree is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius 2.26 and Athenaios XIII. 2.556. MacDowell and Lacey accept the information of the ancient authors about the decree.³⁷³

We cannot state with certainty which law was more influential for the ideological formation of *Trachiniae*. What is indisputable, however, is that the play reflects an era of ideological and political activity regarding the position of women in Athens. The renegotiation of female position and subjectivity in *Trachiniae*, therefore, cannot lead to an absolute reaffirmation of the pre-existent ideological and political background, since this background was fluid. Moreover, both laws increase the importance of women in

³⁷⁰ On this dispute see Foley 1981; Block 1987; Rabinowitz 1993: 3-9; Seidensticker 1995: 151-167.

³⁷¹ See Easterling 1987: 15-26 for a discussion of the various possibilities.

³⁷² De Wet 1983: 219, 220, 226.

³⁷³ MacDowell 1978: 90; Lacey 1980: 113.

society to a certain extent, since they associate women with citizenship, namely with the political status of the male children.

1.3.2.6 Gender and class, female subjectivity and aristocracy

In this section, I argue that the relationship between gender and class is one of coexistence and not of opposition in *Trachiniae*, where each ideological aspect fuels the other although both are defective in their established form. I critically engage with Wohl's argument that Deianira's aristocracy is against her female gender, by showing that both Deianira's class and Deianira's gender motivate and determine her action and her end.³⁷⁴ Gender and class are inseparable constitutive parts of Deianira's identity. In this respect, Deianira's tragic life and death constitutes a profound criticism of the ideologies related to these parts of her identity: *i.e.* aristocracy and patriarchy. Deianira personifies the impasse of these ideologies.

Wohl argues for a conflict between gender and class in Deianira's identity, which 'divide her and make her work against herself.'³⁷⁵ She traces this conflict in the scene of confrontation with Lichas. Deianira's social status as an aristocrat is ignored by Lichas, because of the inferiority that her gender implies. The Messenger who addresses Lichas with a language echoing the legal and political debates, a language inaccessible to Deianira because of her gender, reminds Lichas of Deianira's status and restores it (vv. 404-407). What follows is Deianira's attempt to extract the truth from Lichas on the basis of the superiority of her aristocratic status. This status is reflected in the 'aristocratic evaluative terminology', which Deianira uses regarding the distinction between

³⁷⁴ Cf. Wohl 1998: 29-31; 42-44.

³⁷⁵ Wohl 1998: 31. See also Wohl 1998: 29-31, 42-44.

kalos/kakos that repeats itself many times in the passage (vv. 450, 452, 454, 457).³⁷⁶ The conclusion that Wohl draws from this analysis is that Deianira's aristocratic status is praised, whereas her gender weakens this praise. Deianira's precedence over Lichas results from the power of her class along with the simultaneous suppression of gender. The two ideological aspects of class and gender are therefore opposed to each other.

This analysis overlooks the fact that Deianira is motivated by both class and gender at the same time. Deianira is a female aristocrat. She was the daughter of Oeneus (v. 6), the wife of Heracles (v. 27) and died when she could no longer sustain the reputation of such a position (vv. 721-722). Thus, she was born, lived and died as a female aristocrat. The motive for her fatal action to send the robe was the preservation of this status (vv. 545-546).³⁷⁷ The motive for her suicide was the damaged reputation as a result of the irretrievable loss of this status (vv. 721-722).³⁷⁸ The means she applied, the *peplos* in return for Iole (v. 494), testify a perverted aristocratic gift exchange, apart from perverted exchange in regard to the gender code. This exchange is seen by Deianira as an act of aristocratic equality and reciprocity, since both presents, Iole and the robe, have symbolic ceremonial associations with marriage.³⁷⁹ The outcome of the action, however, shows that both ideological aspects gender and class follow the same ideological movement of renegotiation.

Furthermore, Deianira's aristocracy is not praised but scrutinized and challenged. The use of the aristocratic evaluative diction incorporates a significant semantic transposition. The

³⁷⁶ For the aristocratic values and terminology in the fifth century Athens see Connor 1971: 3-34; Finley 1973: 45-61; Donlan 1980: ch.4; Davies 1981; De Ste. Croix 1981: 81-98; Gernet 1981; Ober 1989: 11-17.

³⁷⁷ For the motive of Deianira's action see also Holt 1981: 63; Heiden 1989: 75; Faraone 1994: 120; Seidensticker 1995: 161-162; Carawan 2000: 189-237; Levett 2004: 12, 51, 54; Papadimitropoulos 2006: 185.

³⁷⁸ For the motive of Deianira's suicide see also Webster 1936: 76; Kirkwood 1958: 115; Gellie 1972: 67, 68; Loraux 1987: 2; Heiden 1989: 92, 107; Ryzman 1991: 396; Minadeo 1993: 169; Scott 1995: 25; Levett 2004: 60, 129; Rood 2010: 356.

³⁷⁹ For the aristocratic character of the gift exchange see also Lee 2003-2004: 276.

terms *kalos/kakos* change the semantic content through Deianira's employment of deception and her resort to the magic philtre. Deianira utters them so as to express the identification of aristocratic birth with social and moral superiority (v. 438, v. 722). Her action, and its results, however, lead to a disassociation of morality from birth, which is a fundamental challenge to aristocratic ethics. The use of the aristocratic terminology instead of consolidating her position as an aristocrat contains the seeds of the criticism of the ideology it articulates.

Morality is not disassociated only from aristocratic birth, but also from aristocratic ethics in general. Deianira asks for the Chorus' secrecy and confidentiality, because the secret actions even if immoral do not cause disgrace, *Μόνον παρ' ὕμῶν εἴ̃ στεγοίμεθ'· ὡς σκότω/ κὰν αἰσχρὰ πράσσης, οὔ ποτ' αἰσχύνῃ πεσῆ̃*. (vv. 595-597). This statement is Deianira's last statement before the execution of her plan. It reveals the main ideological cause of her action as being the aristocratic preoccupation with reputation. The contradiction between *αἰσχρὰ* and *αἰσχύνῃ* verbally conveys the discrepancy between the moral quality of the action and the aristocratic preoccupation with appearance. The word *σκότω* magnifies the impression of secrecy, concealment and thus of moral duplicity.³⁸⁰

Wohl, following Bourdieu, argues that every semantic transposition of the meaning of the words *kalos/kakos* is not an indication of the democratization of these terms.³⁸¹ On the contrary, it constitutes an attempt of the elite implicitly to impose aristocratic ideals on the masses and thus reinforces its legitimacy. Thucydides' text (2.40-41), however, suggests the transference of the virtues traditionally attributed to aristocrats from the elite to the *dēmos* as an entity. Ober's interpretation includes the notion of the democratization of the virtues of nobility. I prefer this reading, because the reading of Wohl and Bourdieu

³⁸⁰ For the associations of darkness in *Trachiniae* see Hoey 1972: 133-154; Segal 1977: 110; Lawrence 1978: 288-304; Holt 1987: 205-217; Heiden 1989: 25; Ryzman 1991: 393.

³⁸¹ Wohl 1998: 187, n. 33 follows Bourdieu 1984. Cf. Ober 1989: 259-270; Donlan 1980; Gernet 1981.

does not leave any space for substantial negotiation between the elite and the masses. The negotiation is seen as a pretext for the reaffirmation of the previous aristocratic ideology, which remains untouched. This reading reflects a static historical and ideological perspective that does not do justice to the ideological complexity and mutability of *Trachiniae*.

The same criticism applies to the male aristocracy exemplified by Heracles, but Deianira's permanent ideological entrapment in the aristocratic ethics, symbolized by her suicide, stresses the connection between aristocracy and the female even further. This connection renders the female gender the medium for a challenge to aristocracy in general. It also reveals an implicit favouring of the male, with the figure of Heracles functioning as the principal element of change and transcendence of the ideological impasse.

1.4 Conclusions

This chapter has shown how the process of transition from the ideological 'old' to the ideological 'new' in *Trachiniae* entails a criticism of aristocracy and of patriarchy. This twofold criticism results in the partial reaffirmation and partial transformation of the pre-existent ideologies. The movement of transition is dramatically represented by Heracles' and Deianira's identity crisis. We will show in the next chapters how this movement is modified in Pound's and Wertenbaker's versions and the new ideologies it encompasses.

Chapter Two

Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis*, from the political to the transcendental

2.1 Introduction: the context

2.1.1 The argument

My argument is that Pound captured the basic thematic and structural movement of *Trachiniae*, the process of crisis and transformation, the existence of order despite the apparent fragmentariness. In this respect, his version interpretatively surpasses the criticism of *Trachiniae* of his time, even if it is not articulated in the form of academic prose. On the other hand, the way he captured and, most importantly, the way he modified the basic structural and thematic characteristic of the play resulted in the reversal of the political connotations of the original. Pound captured the element of crisis and transformation, of emergence of order from chaos, but he interpreted it outside the ideological connotations of the ancient play and he superimposed on this scheme his own aesthetic and political ideology. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae* the process of crisis and transformation results in a new political ethos, more democratized, and milder in regard to patriarchy. In Pound's *Women of Trachis*, however, this process results in the affirmation of Pound's ideology, an amalgamation of fascist ideas and Confucian ethics. The handling of the *apotheosis* is decisive for this ideological transposition in that this affirmation is achieved by the transferral of Pound's ideology to the realm of the transcendental. Sophocles leaves the end purposefully open, with Heracles' *apotheosis* being implied but not enacted or explicitly mentioned within the play. Pound adds a scene direction in his version, which essentially identifies the moment of Herakles' illumination with his *apotheosis*. In this way, Sophocles' democratic opening becomes an autocratic closure in Pound. The open-endedness of *Trachiniae*, an element that did not satisfy the aesthetic preferences of the traditional criticism is attractive for Pound's modernist poetic

consciousness. On the other hand, however, Pound transforms the end of the play from open to closed in order to express the ideological closure he superimposes on the Greek play. Consequently, Pound captures the key interpretative element of *Trachiniae*, but outside historicity, and he invests it with the historicity of his own ideological preoccupations to the point that the ideological connotations of *Trachiniae* are overturned.

2.1.2 Why Pound translated *Trachiniae*

One question that needs to be addressed is why Pound translated *Trachiniae*. Greek tragedy was not Pound's primary concern.³⁸² He considered the epics and the lyric poetry to be superior to tragedy. He greatly admired Homer and Sappho. The main reason for his dislike of Greek tragedy was the 'unreadability' of the existing translations of the Greek dramatists (*Guide to Kulchur*, p. 92). Pound's first attempt was to produce a modernist translation of the *Agamemnon* along with T. S. Eliot.³⁸³ His next endeavour was the translation of two of Sophocles' plays, *Elektra* and *Trachiniae*. Both translations were produced with the help of Rudd Fleming of the University of Maryland and published in the *Hudson Review* in the winter issue of 1953-54.³⁸⁴ Given Pound's initially minimal appreciation of Greek tragedy, and the reputation of *Trachiniae* in his own time as the 'least studied and admired of Sophocles' seven extant tragedies', a reputation that changed only during the last quarter of the 20th century, the translation of the play is in a sense a remarkable choice. Why Pound translated *Trachiniae* is therefore an interesting question, and also a significant one for the understanding of the *Women of Trachis*.

³⁸² For Pound's translation of the Greek tragedy see Liebrechts 2008: 300, 301, 303; Harrop 2008: 91.

³⁸³ Ricks and McCue 2015.

³⁸⁴ Pound and Fleming 1990; Pound 1954.

Critics have identified four reasons why Pound translated *Trachiniae*. The first reason is the impact of F. R. Earp's work on Pound.³⁸⁵ Earp's books, *The style of Sophocles* (1944) and *The style of Aeschylus* (1948), renewed Pound's interest in Greek drama. The second reason is Pound's personal identification with Herakles' fate as well as the identification of Mussolini with Herakles' fate, which is implied by Pound.³⁸⁶ The third reason is the similarities between *Trachiniae* and the Japanese Noh plays, a form of art extremely appealing to Pound. The fourth reason is Pound's relationship with Neoplatonism and the existence of relevant elements in the *Women of Trachis*.

Galinsky argues that the personal experience is Pound's basic motive for translating *Trachiniae*.³⁸⁷ The many years of Pound's 'enforced seclusion and isolation' made Herakles' fate appear similar to his. Liebrechts attributes Pound's affinity with Herakles to the necessity to accept 'an unavoidable fate ... after a life of fighting and struggling.'³⁸⁸ Another reason for Pound's affinity with Herakles, acknowledged by both Liebrechts and Irvin Ehrenpreis, is the similarity he perceived between the plot of the play and his own personal life. The issue of marital infidelity and the cohabitation of mistress and wife are important in *Trachiniae* and familiar to Pound, who asked his wife, Dorothy Shakespear, to share the house with his mistress, Olga Rudge. Pound also associated Herakles' fate with Mussolini's fate and especially his death with Mussolini's and Clara Petacci's mutilation.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ For the reasons proposed by critics for Pound's preference for *Trachiniae* see Liebrechts 2008: 301, 302, 303, 310. The first reason is supported also by Richard Ingber. The second reason is supported also by Hugh Kenner and Stallard Flory.

³⁸⁶ For this identification see Pound 1934, in particular, his final *Canto CXVI*: '.../ Tho' my errors and wrecks lie about me./ And I am not a demigod, I cannot make it cohere.' In conjunction with Herakles' final acclamation 'splendour/it all coheres' in *WT*.

³⁸⁷ Galinsky 1972: 243-244.

³⁸⁸ Liebrechts 2008: 301-302.

³⁸⁹ For the purposeful association of Herakles with Mussolini see Nicholls 1984: 163; Flory 1989: 174; Dennis 1999: 281.

The autobiographical link is stressed also by Olcott.³⁹⁰ She follows Hugh Kenner and Eva Hesse in drawing analogies between Pound's personal tragedy in the years of his incarceration in St. Elizabeth's Hospital and Heracles' agony in *Trachiniae*. She argues that Pound's version is essentially autobiographical. The poison in his case is the wrong indictment and incarceration. Olcott parallels World War II with Herakles' labours, Pound's days in St. Elizabeth's hospital with Herakles' agonies and Pound's end with both Herakles' and Daysair's end. She argues that the *Women of Trachis* is a metaphor for Pound's life. I concur with Olcott that Pound built a relationship of 'self-referentiality' with the hero of *Trachiniae* but her attempt to draw very specific parallels cannot be anything more than an assumption and in any case is not sufficient. What needs clarification is the ideological link between Pound's version and Sophocles' play and not only the autobiographical link.

The similarities between *Trachiniae* and Noh plays, both in form and spirit, were another good reason for Pound's decision to translate the play.³⁹¹ Pound considered *Trachiniae* to be the closest formal equivalent of the 'God-Dance', the central feature of Noh theatre (*WT*, p. 3; *Translations*, p. 279). He wanted the *Women of Trachis* to be performed as a ritualistic dance-drama, in a style derived from the Japanese Noh theatre.³⁹² This intention becomes evident in Pound's comment that 'The *Trachiniae* ... is nearest the original form of the God-Dance' and the dedication of his translation to Kitasono Katue (*WT*, p. 3). The exact dedication is, 'A version for Kitasono Katue, hoping he will use it on my dear old friend Miscio Ito, or take it to the Minoru if they can be persuaded to add to their repertoire.' Kitasono Katue was one of the prominent poets of the Japanese avant-garde poetry and a correspondent with Pound since the 1930s (*WT*, p. 23). Miscio Ito was a

³⁹⁰ Olcott 1986: 111-112.

³⁹¹ For Pound's attraction to the Noh theatre and the relationship between the Noh theatre and *Trachiniae* see Xie 1999: 214; Harrop 2008: 92; Liebrechts 2008: 302, 303.

³⁹² For Pound's views on Noh theatre see Pound and Fenollosa 1959.

Japanese dancer, the first who performed the role of the Hawk in Yeats' work *At the Hawk's Well* (1916).³⁹³ Umewake Minoru was a highly esteemed performer of Noh theatre. Minoru was also the teacher of Ernest Fenollosa whose work inspired Pound to study the Japanese tradition.

Pound's first contact with the literature of the Far East was made through the work of Ernest Fenollosa and through Fenollosa's posthumous papers on Chinese and Japanese literature in 1913.³⁹⁴ In the 1950s, Pound was again reading Fenollosa's work on Noh theatre. Fenollosa, like Pound, recognized primary similarities between Noh theatre and Greek tragedy. Both genres developed out of 'a sacred dance' and in both genres 'action was a modification of the dance' (*Classic Noh*, pp. 59-60). Noh theatre was for Pound the 'closest modern equivalent to the now defunct Athenian drama', 'able to encompass the physical, as well as the verbal, ritual of ancient tragedy.'³⁹⁵ For Pound the main structural feature of Noh plays is the 'unity of image', a 'single image of life' that replaces plot ('*Noh*' or *Accomplishment*, p. 27; *Translations*, p. 237). In this 'unity of image' different times are linked together, 'one supplementing not cancelling the other.'³⁹⁶ The main thematic feature of Noh plays is the embodiment of 'some primary human relation or emotion', which is always fixed 'upon idea, not upon personality' (*Translations*, p. 279). Pound believes that Noh plays are 'built up' about the image 'as the Greek plays are built up about a single moral conviction' (*Translations*, p. 247).

Pound's preference for image is also related to his previous engagement with Imagism, before his turn to Vorticism and Modernism.³⁹⁷ Ira Nadel describes very well the

³⁹³ Harrop 2008: 92.

³⁹⁴ For Pound's connection to Fenollosa and Pound's views regarding the Noh theatre see also Ingber 1978: 141; Xie 1999: 204-223.

³⁹⁵ Harrop 2008: 92.

³⁹⁶ Xie 1999: 204-223.

³⁹⁷ For the impact of Imagism on Pound see Kenner 1971: 173-191; Bornstein 1977: 44-59. For Pound and the Symbolist Inheritance see Hamilton 1992: 3-29. For Pound's Vorticism see Kenner 1971: 1-2.

relationship between Imagism and Pound's preference for precision, 'Imagism evolved as a reaction against abstraction in favour of precision, replacing Victorian generalities with the clarity found in Japanese haiku and ancient Greek lyrics. In 'A Few Don'ts by an Imagist' (1913), Pound outlined the new aesthetic: an image was the presentation of 'an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time,... , the direct examination of the object and the invention of a means to render it more concisely.'³⁹⁸

Trachiniae, in particular, is, for Pound, the closest Greek tragedy to the form and the meaning of the Noh plays. This association may well be explained if we take into consideration the form and the meaning of *Trachiniae*. The numerous introspective monologues are a basic structural element of the play. There are neither extensive dialogues nor complicated plot. All the events result in Herakles' agony and illumination through the coincidence of the oracles. Liebrechts characteristically says, '...as Pound did in his Noh-like approach, one can focus on the play as a description of events leading up to the death of Herakles, and of all those involved...'.³⁹⁹ *Trachiniae* and the *Women of Trachis* are of course multidimensional, but the previous comment is important, because it shows the intended connection of Pound's version with Noh theatre. In *Trachiniae* the 'primary human emotion' is the agonized anticipation of a critical moment. Daysair's and Herakles' images unfold on various temporal levels, and the 'idea' of the confrontation with the limits of mortality and human ignorance surpasses Herakles' extravagant personality. Furthermore, the basic structural and thematic movement of the play, the process of crisis and transformation, is all-embracing, incorporating both the identities of the protagonists and the ideologies that shape them. This process culminates in Heracles' illumination and it is suggestive that Holt proposed light as the primary symbol of the

³⁹⁸ Nadel 1999: 1-21; *ABC of Reading* 1934: 20.

³⁹⁹ Liebrechts 2008: 304.

entire play for *Trachiniae*.⁴⁰⁰ Light dominates in the scene of Heracles' enlightenment, which defines the meaning of *Trachiniae* as a whole. In this respect, Pound's association of *Trachiniae* with Noh plays becomes justifiable and revealing.

The fourth reason acknowledged by critics is Pound's attraction to Neoplatonism and the existence of Neoplatonic elements in the *Women of Trachis*.⁴⁰¹ As Flory remarks, 'Pound was particularly interested in the Neoplatonists, as is abundantly clear from his writings, and even the "Confucianism" of his later life was heavily "Neoplatonized."' ⁴⁰² Pound was extremely interested in Neoplatonism throughout his entire life. Neoplatonic elements transcend his work and are evident in the *Cantos* and in the *Women of Trachis*. Pound's attraction to Neoplatonism originated in the *New Age* circle, a magazine edited by A. R. Orage, before, during and after World War I.⁴⁰³ T. E. Hulme, Ford Madox Ford, Allen Upward and G. R. S. Mead were contributors to the magazine. Certain Neoplatonic notions are significant for Pound's existential and political thought. In particular, the primary Neoplatonic notion of the epiphany is very important for the analysis of Heracles' illumination in the *Women of Trachis*.⁴⁰⁴

The argument in favour of Pound's association with Herakles, as well as Mussolini's association with Herakles, being a reason for Pound's attraction to *Trachiniae* is significant but needs further clarification and extension. It must be added that these analogies have more of an ideological character than a personal one. Pound favours *Trachiniae* not because he seeks personal glorification or Mussolini's posthumous glorification. What he mostly seeks is the possibility of the survival of his ideology despite its failure in the historical reality. *Trachiniae* and the figure of Heracles offered

⁴⁰⁰ Holt 1987: 205-217.

⁴⁰¹ For Pound's relationship with Neoplatonism see Flory 1989: 50, 177, 178; Elliott 1992: 43; Liebrechts 2008: 302, 310.

⁴⁰² Flory 1989: 50.

⁴⁰³ Crisp 1997: 161.

⁴⁰⁴ Liebrechts 2004; Corrigan 2005.

him this possibility because of the dominant structural and thematic scheme of crisis and transformation.

An examination of the exact circumstances under which Pound translated *Trachiniae* is useful. It will further clarify the nature of the autobiographical link and, most importantly, it will associate the *Women of Trachis* ideologically with the rest of Pound's production of the same period. Pound had finished the *Women of Trachis* by the winter of 1953. He translated the play while imprisoned in St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D.C., a federal institution for the criminally insane.⁴⁰⁵ The period of his seclusion in this psychiatric asylum lasted from December 1945 until May 1958, when he was released.⁴⁰⁶ The reasons for his discharge were twofold, first he was judged incurably insane and thus could never be brought to trial and, second, he was harmless to himself and society.⁴⁰⁷ The persons who assisted his release were Archibald MacLeish and Robert Frost. Flory gives details about the procedure, 'MacLeish drafted the letter which, sent to Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. over the signatures of Frost, Hemingway, and Eliot early in 1957, initiated the process of review.'⁴⁰⁸

The reason for his imprisonment was his indictment for treason by a US Grand Jury in July 1943 due to his 100 shortwave broadcasts given over Rome Radio between 1941 and 1943.⁴⁰⁹ These broadcasts included criticism of the American government, defence of Mussolini's and Hitler's policies and anti-Semitic comments.⁴¹⁰ The broadcasts were

⁴⁰⁵ For Pound's imprisonment in St. Elizabeth's Hospital and the conditions of translating *Trachiniae* see Flory 1989: 173; Nadel 1999: 1-21; Mark Jarman 2006; Liebrechts 2008: 301; for Pound's incarceration in St. Elizabeth's Hospital see Norman 1948: 31-36; Norman 1960: 436-458; Cornell 1966: 69-120; Meachan 1967: 132-133; Heyman 1992: 212-213, 241. For Pound's biography see Ackroyd 1981: 117-119; Mottram 1992: 93-111. For Pound's poetic production after World War II see Korg 2003: 150-168.

⁴⁰⁶ For the release of Pound see Flory 1989: 185-186; Jarman 2006.

⁴⁰⁷ For Pound's trial see Cornell 1966: 40-45, 154-215; for Pound's indictment see Cornell 1966: 145-148.

⁴⁰⁸ Flory 1989: 186.

⁴⁰⁹ For Pound's broadcasts see Norman 1948: 37-45; Cornell 1966: 1-3, 139-144; Bristow 1992: 18-40.

⁴¹⁰ For the content of Pound's broadcasts see Davis 1968: 161; Flory 1989: 85, 114, 132, 164; Flory 1999: 284; Nadel 1999: 1-21; Redman 1999: 250.

monitored in Washington. They are generally regarded as product of mental confusion and disorganization. In the broadcasts, Pound speaks of Jewish usury and an international conspiracy of usurers and munition makers but he says that ‘small Jews’ are unjustly suffering for the sins of certain ‘big Jews’. Flory stresses that these broadcasts had no actual effect and presents Pound’s point of view about them, ‘his intention was to help people develop a civic sense, that the Italian corporate state was truly democratic, that his broadcasts “were directed towards peace,” and that the BBC deliberately cut off the “interchange of ideas” that could have averted World War II.’⁴¹¹ Denis Goacher also in the edition of the *Women of Trachis* (*WT*, p. xi) defends Pound by suggesting that their content was misunderstood. In any case, the anti-Semitism of the broadcasts has been the main reason for the public disapproval and the outrage against Pound for a period over fifty years. Pound apologized for his ‘stupid, suburban prejudice of anti-Semitism’ in his meeting with Allen Ginsberg in 1967.⁴¹²

Pound was apprehended in Rapallo in May 1945, spending six months in the Army’s Disciplinary Training Center near Pisa before being flown to Washington, where he was declared mentally unfit to stand trial. The conditions of Pound’s indictment and detention in St. Elizabeth’s Hospital are extensively displayed in the edition of the *Women of Trachis* of 1956 (*WT*, pp. 56-66). Most of the supplementary text is devoted to the description of the inhumane conditions of his seclusion and of the unfairness of his indictment. The Foreword written by Denis Goacher (*WT*, pp. vii-xi) and the text with the title ‘Why Pound liked Italy’ written by Riccardo M. Degli Uberti (*WT*, pp. 63-67) are mainly devoted to this purpose.

⁴¹¹ Flory 1989: 160.

⁴¹² Jarman 2006. For Pound and Jews papers see Morrison 1996: 47-59. For Pound and anti-Semitism see Chase 1973: 71-85.

During his seclusion in St. Elizabeth's Hospital Pound's main preoccupation, evident in the *Cantos* of that period, especially the *Rock-Drill*, was to deal with the collapse of the fascist regime, which meant the collapse of his ethical and political ideas.⁴¹³ Pound needed a way to transcend the ideological impasse that the historical reality imposed on him, a transition to another concept of moral and political order, a transformation of his moral and political hierarchy. I argue that *Trachiniae* offered him exactly the possibility of this transition. From this perspective, the potential of *Trachiniae* to express the transition, the transformation, the renewal, both existentially and politically, was a major reason for Pound's attraction to the play. This renovating process is triggered by the existential and political crisis that suffuses the *Women of Trachis* as the *Trachiniae*, but for different ideological preoccupations. In Pound's case the crisis is mainly generated by the fall of the fascist regime and his unaddressed sense of guilt for his support of the fascist ideology.⁴¹⁴

This desperate search for a metaphysical and political order above and beyond the apparent discontinuity and disorder of the material reality was for Pound a lifetime preoccupation, which was further intensified by the collapse of the fascist regime. Flory makes this remark for the *Cantos*.⁴¹⁵ I argue that it applies to the *Women of Trachis* as well. I argue that this is precisely the reason why the phrase 'SPLENDOR, IT ALL COHERES', (*WT*, p. 50), (*Tr.* v. 1174), is for Pound the focal point of the play. It reaffirms the existence of coherence, which was personally and ideologically vital for him. Liebrechts notes the significance of coherence but without exploring the political connotations of this notion for the survival of Pound's ideology.⁴¹⁶ I argue that *Trachiniae* embodied for Pound, in terms of meaning and form, the contrast of discontinuity with

⁴¹³ Nicholls 1984: 182.

⁴¹⁴ Flory 1989: 175 makes the same argument for the *Cantos*.

⁴¹⁵ Flory 1989: 175.

⁴¹⁶ Liebrechts 2008: 310.

order and the final predominance of order. This predominance is established in *Trachiniae* with the transformation of the pre-existent ideologies, whereas in the *Women of Trachis* with the transferral of the pre-existent fascist ideology to a transcendental level. Despite the different outcome, the main objective remains the same, the search for order transcending the apparent chaos. In this respect, even *Trachiniae*'s structure, traditionally considered to be problematic and defective by scholars, was ideal for Pound and extremely compatible with his poetics of fragmentation, open-endedness and fluidity at large.⁴¹⁷ Pound's comment, therefore, that '*The Trachiniae* presents the highest peak of Greek sensibility registered in any of the plays that have come down to us...' finds a proper and full justification, despite Galinsky's comment that this phrase is 'Pound's arbitrary assertion' and Mason's claim that Pound does not express the sensibility he proclaims for *Trachiniae*.⁴¹⁸

2.1.3 Translation and Modernism

The *Women of Trachis* is usually described by critics as 'creative translation',⁴¹⁹ which was part of a general tendency of modernism. Hooley characterizes this tendency as 'poets finding voices in their classical progenitors.'⁴²⁰ The most important writers of modernism, Eliot, Joyce, Yeats, Pound, Auden, each use elements from the classics.⁴²¹ The past becomes a tool for the exploration of the present. Literary translation in particular is either a medium for 'understanding the role of the classical in modern

⁴¹⁷ For these characteristics as distinctive of Pound's poetics see Nadel 1999: 1-21.

⁴¹⁸ Galinsky 1972: 244; Mason 1963: 113.

⁴¹⁹ For Pound's *Women of Trachis* being a creative translation see Mason 1969: 247; Galinsky 1972: 243; Liebrechts 2008: 309. For the creative translation as part of Pound's poetics see Xie 1999: 216; Crisp 1997: 160.

⁴²⁰ Hooley 1984: 15.

⁴²¹ For the relationship between modernism and translation of classics see Hooley 1984: 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22-27. Hooley analyzes this relationship in detail and the purposes that the translation of classics served within the modernist literary framework. All the subsequent quotations correspond to the terminology Hooley used to describe and analyze this relationship.

literature' or 'an element, a component, of a certain kind and order of *poiesis*.' Translation thus becomes a 'creative and assertive rather than derivative activity', which leads to an 'extreme reformulation of the classics.'

There were two main reasons for the importance given to translation by pre-modernist and modernist poets. The first one was the need to provide a substitute for the classical text, since by the 20th century the comprehension of the originals had become the exclusive privilege of specialists. Literary translation was the only medium for transmitting the information and the artistic experience of the original. The second major motive was the search for 'new insight' and 'application.' Pre-modernist and modernist poets wanted to experiment with the classics. Classics were seen as a possibility to discover a new frame of reference. The temporal continuity was inverted, past and present were 'synthesized conceptually' and the past was seen prospectively.

Another important function of translation in the context of modernism is the use of translation as a critical tool. Any type of translation presupposes a kind of interpretation. This function is further intensified by modernist translation, however, because it is more 'interrogative' than 'declarative': it does not intend to offer a definitive interpretation, but to convey the translator's insight into the original at a certain moment. This insight is given along with various perceptions of the text obtained at different instants. This approach stresses the mutability of the text in time.

There are two basic arguments supporting the use of translation as a means of literary inquiry.⁴²² First, the power of translation lies exactly in its quality of being language of art and not analytical prose of criticism. Second, it is addressed to the readers and not to the critics, which means that its character and function is similar to the original. The poet

⁴²² Hooley 1984: 24, following Shaffer and Schliermacher, characterizes translation as a 'methodological alternative to the defunct New Criticism.'

translating the original establishes a relationship of openness and interconnectedness between the two texts. The new text is the product of the dialectic and correspondence between the original and the version. It reveals different aspects of this symbiotic unity each time. Modernist translation stresses the polyphony of this symbiotic relationship between the original and the version. It thus becomes a medium for the exploration of the past and present artistic experience.

Apart from Hooley, Mason also argues that translation is the best form of criticism.⁴²³ He supports the notion of the creative translation, which allows the translator a certain freedom of expression. He acknowledges the necessity of scholarly criticism but analyzes the weaknesses of its approach. The main weakness of scholarly criticism that Mason recognizes is the absolute reliance on logical analysis and the exclusion of the imagination, notwithstanding the latter's crucial part in the artistic process and product. He favours the idea that translation is the best form of interpretation.

Pound is an emblematic figure in the field of modernist translation, and the model for many subsequent poets.⁴²⁴ Harrop remarks that 'Ezra Pound was the primary force behind a radical shift in values which characterized the modernist contribution to the field of poetic translation.'⁴²⁵ Translation was Pound's main interest during the Fifties, and it was strongly associated with his poetic innovations in an interactive relationship.⁴²⁶ Pound's major poem, *The Cantos*, has been characterized as an epic of translation, because of its multilingualism, intertextuality and the various modes of translation coexisting in it. Alexander's comment is illustrative, 'It is often remarked that Pound's poems are

⁴²³ Mason 1963: 62.

⁴²⁴ See Kenner 1953: 9-14; Kenner 1971; Ronnie 1984; Morrison 1996: 20-35. For Pound's modernist poetics see Bell 2000: 1-4, 207-247. See also Pound 1934: 95-121, 125-156. For Pound's translations see Nagy 1961: 133-145.

⁴²⁵ Harrop 2008: 90. For Pound's contribution to the field of modernist translation see also Steiner 1996: 32-33.

⁴²⁶ Nadel 1999: i-xxxii.

translations and his translations are original poems.⁴²⁷ It is difficult in his oeuvre to distinguish between translation, adaptation and original composition. As Xie characteristically says, ‘Pound’s poetics is essentially a poetics of translation and he has largely redefined the nature and ideal of poetic translation for the twentieth century.’⁴²⁸ Crisp regards Pound’s multilingualism and creative translation as ‘part of a wider cultural internationalism that aspired above all to unite East and West.’⁴²⁹

Pound also moved from ‘exegetic’ to ‘interpretative’ versions.⁴³⁰ This movement was a general tendency in modernist translation. This movement was also a reaction to ‘the over-ornamented and reductively literal pieties of Victorian classicists’, expressed by modernists poets who ‘preferred to view translation as an essentially creative act of transformative identification with the intuited aims of the original poet.’⁴³¹ Pound’s method is to bring forward the ‘intrinsic qualities’ of the original and to create a new poem with the equivalent effects of these qualities.⁴³² In this way the reader discovers the essential qualities of the original through translation.⁴³³ Pound insists on the music and the prosodic movement of the poem. He sees translation not as historical, but as contemporary or timeless.⁴³⁴ Pound’s main purpose is ‘fidelity to the original’ in both ‘meaning’ and ‘atmosphere’, the articulation or restitution of the originary *intentio*.⁴³⁵ Pound wants ‘to let the original shine out more fully through and against the medium of translation, so that the original and translation may constitute a harmonious, symbiotic continuity.’⁴³⁶

⁴²⁷ Alexander 1979: 17-18.

⁴²⁸ Xie 1999: 204-223.

⁴²⁹ Crisp 1997: 160.

⁴³⁰ Pound 1910: 106; Eliot 1954: 200.

⁴³¹ Harrop 2008: 90. See also Pound 1934: 95-121, 125-156.

⁴³² Xie 1999: 204-223.

⁴³³ Eliot 1954: 93, 200, 209.

⁴³⁴ Xie 1999: 210.

⁴³⁵ Paige 1971: 273; *Translations* 1953: 17.

⁴³⁶ Xie 1999: 216.

The theoretical framework of Pound's methodology is well described by L. S. Dembo as the 'apocalyptic' conception of translation.⁴³⁷ Pound recognizes the existence of a Platonic essence of a given work, which the translator has to perceive and transform into an equivalent. Translation becomes a 'correspondence between an essential reality and its various manifestations in different languages and cultures.'⁴³⁸ For Pound, no single language is complete.⁴³⁹ The different languages constitute a single system of equivalences and universals. This assumption justifies not only the possibility, but also the necessity of translation: translation thereby becomes a means of access to 'trans-cultural and trans-historical universals.'⁴⁴⁰ The notion of equivalences does not imply stable and definite meanings transferred from one language to another. Instead, the equivalences are accessible only interpretatively and exist only to the extent that they can be transformed into the language of translation and be related to the needs of the present.

2.1.4 The publication and the performance of Pound's version, and the critical response to it

The *Women of Trachis* first appeared in *The Hudson Review* magazine in 1954.⁴⁴¹ The first edition of the play, edited by Denis Goacher and Peter Whigham, was published in 1956. The title of the edition was *SOPHOKLES Women of Trachis A version by Ezra Pound* and the publisher was Neville Spearman in London.⁴⁴² The *Women of Trachis* was first performed on the radio in the B.B.C.'s Third Programme on the 25th April, 1954.

⁴³⁷ Dembo 1963: 2.

⁴³⁸ Xie 1999: 218.

⁴³⁹ *ABC of Reading* 1934: 34; *The Cantos* 1995: *Canto* LXXXVI/583.

⁴⁴⁰ Xie 1999: 220, 218.

⁴⁴¹ The issue of the first publication was *The Hudson Review*, Volume 6, Number 4, 1954. For the first publication of the play see also Galinsky 1972: 240; Harrop 2008: 91; Mark Jarman 2006; Liebrechts 2008: 301.

⁴⁴² For reference to this edition I will use the *WT* in the references and the footnotes.

The last page of the edition of 1956 mentions the cast of the first performance in detail.⁴⁴³

The play was produced by D. G. Bridson and Christopher Sykes. The music was specially written for the play by John Hotchkis. Another performance of the same period was a dramatic reading of the play at the New School. The performance was directed by Howard Sackler and was performed by important actors, Elli Wallach and Anne Jackson. The performance was well received by the audience. Performances of the play were also produced by Yale and Oberlin, but Pound was not happy with them. He regarded these productions as ‘academic exercise’ and ‘amateur performances.’⁴⁴⁴ Pound asked for all the money gathered from these productions, along with his cash recompense as translator, to be used for the circulation of more complementary copies of the issue with his translation or to be given by *The Hudson Review* to Ithaca Earthquake Relief. *The Hudson Review* sent a donation of 120 dollars to this charitable institution in March 1954.

Pound’s translation caused controversy even among the editors of *The Hudson Review*.⁴⁴⁵

The co-editor William Arrowsmith, one of the most prominent translators of classical literature of his time, sent two ‘bitterly worded letters’ about Pound and the quality of his translation. In his first letter, Arrowsmith stated, ‘[T]he translation is unworthy of Sophocles. I can’t really say more than that. I am not riding Pound (for whom, I confess, I have very little liking) but am giving you my honest opinion, both editorially and professionally.’⁶⁹ The second letter, a letter of protest, commented on the line that Pound claimed to be the key phrase, for which the play exists, ‘The line upon which he [EP] rests his inane interpretation is simply mistranslated, just doesn’t mean “Splendor! It all coheres.”...The translation is hopelessly inaccurate...still, work by Pound should be

⁴⁴³ *WT* 1956: 55.

⁴⁴⁴ For details about the first edition of Pound’s translation and the performances of it see Mark Jarman 2006.

⁴⁴⁵ Mark Jarman in his article, published in *The Hudson Review*, Volume 59, Number 3, Autumn 2006, displays all the details of this controversy. All the subsequent quotations about the correspondence regarding this controversy are included in his article.

interesting. I can't see it. ...I am afraid this kind of thing challenges every good wish I have for the classics. It's the simple creation of confusion by a man who is either mad or ignorant.' A better review was given by Robert Fitzgerald, another prominent translator associated with the *Paris Review*, who said, 'It's pure Pound, but Pound deep in the Greek and out the other side.' The general tone of criticism was negative, however. Jankowski, in his supplement to Pound's translation text, which was included in the edition of 1956 with the title 'Ezra Pound's Translation of Sophokles' (*WT*, pp. xiii-xxiii), remarks that 'the translation of the *Women of Trachis* caused a stir among the classical scholars of the English-speaking world.'⁴⁴⁶ He also explains the reason for this detestation. Pound's *Women of Trachis* was a translation of 'a different nature' than those produced by 'the poets and scholars who have translated Greek drama into English in the course of the last hundred years' having almost all 'remained rigidly faithful to a poetic pattern which has undergone little change for a very long time.'⁴⁴⁷

The same atmosphere of critical disapproval of Pound's translation of the *Women of Trachis* is sketched by Mason.⁴⁴⁸ His argument is against the negative criticism that Pound's version received due to the attachment of most scholars to linguistic precision and fidelity. Mason wrote three articles to present and explain his position, in which he attacks those scholars who criticized his support of Pound's *Women of Trachis*.⁴⁴⁹

The truth is that the majority of the reviews that Pound's version received were negative and some of them were extremely negative.⁴⁵⁰ It is worth quoting a few characteristic examples so as to show the tone and the extent of their disapproval of the *Women of*

⁴⁴⁶ *WT* 1956: xiii. Jankowski's supplementary text covers the pages xiii-xxiii in the edition of *WT* of 1956. The pages of the texts before the translation are numbered in Latin in the edition.

⁴⁴⁷ *WT* 1956: xiii.

⁴⁴⁸ Mason 1963: 59.

⁴⁴⁹ Mason 1963: 59-81; Mason 1963: 105-121; Mason 1969: 244-272. See also the critical review in the introduction of this thesis.

⁴⁵⁰ Goacher 1954: 24-37; Bowra 1955: 3-8; Carter 1957: 658+660-661; Levinson 1958: 327-328; Dick 1961: 236-237; Levi 1969: 17-22; Cole 1997: 69-71.

Trachis. Dick's review is more negative than positive, 'In fact, Pound's *Women of Trachis* is not tragedy at all, but, despite the author's pretensions of cosmic symbolism, emerges as a burlesque of Greek tragic poetry-caustic, pedestrian, and often in dubious taste.'⁴⁵¹ Dick also argues that 'Pound is not throwing new light on traditional material; he gives Sophocles due credit for the original and then proceeds to contaminate it.'⁴⁵² Carter's criticism is mostly negative with some more positive comments. Carter points out that Pound fairly kept the meaning of the text, but at the same time gave it a different emphasis.⁴⁵³ Levinson's criticism of Pound's *Women of Trachis* is very negative. Levinson characterizes Pound's translation as 'an act of literary mayhem' for the classicists and as a 'perversion of Sophocles.'⁴⁵⁴ It becomes evident that Pound's *Women of Trachis* had no better luck than Sophocles' *Trachiniae* regarding the critical response.

2.1.5 The objectives of the translation

The objectives of the translation are another crucial element of the *Women of Trachis* that indicates its modernist framework. The objectives of the *Women of Trachis* are similar to the function of translation within the modernist context. Ming Xie remarks that 'The *Women of Trachis* stresses the restorative function of translation: it attempts to restore to the modern world certain vital perceptions and values.'⁴⁵⁵ The values Xie argues that Pound intends to restore, however, such as heroism, do not correspond to the evidence from the translation and to Pound's moral, metaphysical and political thought at large. Xie essentially follows Mason, who regards the creative translation at large as a means of

⁴⁵¹ Dick 1961: 236.

⁴⁵² Dick 1961: 236.

⁴⁵³ Carter 1957: 660.

⁴⁵⁴ Levinson 1958: 327, 328.

⁴⁵⁵ Xie 1999: 216.

recovering the heroic in ourselves and the world.⁴⁵⁶ Pound's translation and its edition of 1956, however, clearly define and project a different ideological framework. I argue that the *Women of Trachis* functions as an aesthetic, existential and political *credo*. The editorial declaration by Goacher and Whigham (*WT*, pp. 56-62) and all the supplementary to the *Women of Trachis* texts of the edition of 1956 clearly define the ideological foundation of the translation. Apart from the editorial declaration, the translation as aforementioned is accompanied by a 'Foreword' by Denis Goacher (*WT*, pp. vii-xi), the essay 'Ezra Pound's translation of Sophokles' by S. V. Jankowski (*WT*, pp. xiii-xxiii), and the text 'Why Pound liked Italy' (*WT*, pp. 63-66) by Riccardo M. Degli Uberti. Each of these texts reveal the main elements of Pound's existential and political thought in the *Women of Trachis* and indicate the function of this translation and of its edition as an aesthetic, existential and political manifesto.

The principal ideas displayed in the editorial declaration and in the supplementary to the edition texts are the following. On the one hand, the failure of science and on the other the loss of faith because of the inadequacy of the Church causes inanition and low vitality, vacuity and meaninglessness. The embodiment of truth is possible only through art and religion. This is well explained by their function. Art is the view of present *sub specie aeternitatis* while religion's main preoccupation is man's final destiny. So, both of them allows us to approach levels of existence as opposed to mere existence. In particular, art is endowed with the didactic power of moral order, a perception that is also both Platonic and Confucian. The embodiment of truth results from the interaction between perceiver and perceived. The contemplative mind achieves a union with its object of contemplation. This is the only possible form of direct knowledge, and it is the privilege of the artist and the mystic. Both the artist and the mystic are considered to be creators, since they create

⁴⁵⁶ Mason 1969: 244-272 (especially 245).

forms, a piece of art and a life of sanctity respectively, which are opposed to mere existence.

Another main reason for the passivity and poverty of experience is the domination of commercial standards, more in America and Russia, and less in Europe. This idea is developed even further by Riccardo M. Degli Uberti. His text with the title 'Why Pound liked Italy' (*WT*, pp. 63-66) is in a sense an apology for Pound's attraction to fascism. Uberti argues that the distinction between fascism and democracy did not interest Pound. His primary concern was the war against 'usurocracy' and the introduction of a new economic and monetary system, necessary for substantial social reform. Italy was the ideal place for this purpose, simply because of his authoritative government that could make Pound's experimentation potentially easier.

In the editorial declaration, the sharp contrast between the aforementioned economic and political reality and Pound's vision of the ideal becomes obvious. Goacher and Whigham present Pound's solution to this existential and political impasse. Harmony can be approached only through the engagement with Confucianism, the Pythagorean tradition and the medieval Christian experience. The obstacle to harmony is the *hybris* of the intellect, of human power over nature. There is a structure to the universe. All forms of virtue, religious, artistic, civic, can arise out of an ethic, reverence for nature. Pound's perception of ultimate harmony and certitude, his vision of the ideal, is based on the pragmatic Confucian ethic and the Christian mystical doctrine.

All these ideas transcend the text of the translation and define the character of Pound's aesthetic and political thought in the *Women of Trachis*.

2.1.6 The poetic principles

Pound's *Women of Trachis* has all the traits of a modernist translation. As Stephe Harrop characteristically says, 'Women of Trachis, Pound's version of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, stands as testament to the poet's commitment to the demolition of the old rules of literary translation, in the dramatic text as well as the purely poetic.'⁴⁵⁷ It is suggestive that the edition of the play by Denis Goacher and Peter Whigham in 1956 includes the text with the title 'Ezra Pound's translation of Sophokles' by S. V. Jankowski (*WT*, pp. xiii-xxiii).⁴⁵⁸ The purpose of this text is precisely to present the theoretical background and the technique of Pound's translation and to locate it within the modernist framework. It is stated in this text that the *Women of Trachis* is a translation of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* according to the main principles of modernist poetry established by Pound in H. Monro's *Poetry Review* of February (1912), '....It will be as much like granite as it can be, its force will lie in its truth....At least for myself, I want it so, austere, direct, free from emotional slither...'⁴⁵⁹

Jankowski's supplement to the translation text displays the main features of Pound's method. Pound is faithful to the original intention of the play, 'the atmosphere and the truth it conveys.'⁴⁶⁰ He follows the structure and the plot of *Trachiniae*. He keeps the division of the episodes and the precise meaning of each section of the dialogue without following the Greek syntax.⁴⁶¹ Even when he shortens the dialogues in favour of vividness, the main meaning is kept. The fidelity of the meaning is acknowledged by

⁴⁵⁷ Harrop 2008: 91.

⁴⁵⁸ For the significance of the supplementary to Pound's translation texts in the edition of 1956 see also Mason 1969: 251.

⁴⁵⁹ *WT* 1956: xiii.

⁴⁶⁰ *WT* 1956: xxii.

⁴⁶¹ *WT* 1956: xiv.

Carter as well.⁴⁶² The negative criticism of Pound's version, which focused on the differences of the meaning between his version and *Trachiniae*, failed to recognize that these differences were purposeful and not due to ignorance of the Greek or inability to translate it more faithfully.⁴⁶³ Galinsky notes the purposefulness of the differences, but he does not define the reason for this.⁴⁶⁴ As I will try to argue, all the changes that Pound made to the Greek text were purposeful and done for two reasons. The first reason is aesthetic, arising from Pound's poetic principles and theory of translation. The second reason is political; Pound made all the changes that were necessary in order to invest the Greek play with his own ideology, the challenges that ideology had faced, and its re-emergence.⁴⁶⁵

Jankowski notes that the choruses of the *Women of Trachis* are Pound's poetry.⁴⁶⁶ Olcott argues that Pound's choral passages are deeply associated with the lyric parts of *Trachiniae* and they are not an invention of his own.⁴⁶⁷ I believe that Olcott is right in highlighting the connection between the choral passages of the *Women of Trachis* and of *Trachiniae*, especially in regard to the broad meaning and the basic emotion that each choral ode conveys. Jankowski's comment is also important, however, because it brings out Pound's poetic mastery in turning the ancient lyric parts into modern poetry. Pound certainly dealt more freely with the translation of the choral odes than he did with the dialogic parts, but always in relation to the Greek choral passages. The outcome is as much poetry of his own as a version of Sophocles' choral odes. Apart from the lexical sense, the potential meaning in the lyric parts is suggested through the sounds of transliterated Greek words.⁴⁶⁸ In the choruses of the *Women of Trachis*, the language, the

⁴⁶² Carter 1957: 660.

⁴⁶³ See Ch. 2.2.

⁴⁶⁴ Galinsky 1972: 242-243.

⁴⁶⁵ The ideological implications of the changes will be analyzed in Ch. 2.3.

⁴⁶⁶ *WT* 1956: xix.

⁴⁶⁷ Olcott 1986: 113.

⁴⁶⁸ Harrop 2008: 96.

rhythm, the versification, the musical scheme, the instructions for the use of contemporary instruments are all Pound's creation, appealing to the sensibility of the modern audience.⁴⁶⁹ Pound's changes and additions regarding the versification and the music are in relation to the Greek choral parts, as are his changes regarding the language. The poetic value of the choruses of the *Women of Trachis* has been acknowledged. Carter characterizes the choral passages of Pound's version as magnificent,⁴⁷⁰ while Olcott explores and presents Pound's mastery in creating a rhythm in the choral passages of his version, which corresponds well to the metres of Sophocles' choral odes.⁴⁷¹ Apart from their artistic value, it is also important that even in the most freely translated parts of his version Pound remains in dialogue with the Greek play.

The language of the translation is characterized by speed, casualness, intensity, seeming triviality, directness and outspokenness. Jankowski characterizes it a version 'as hard and direct as it could be', a version 'nearer the bone', stripped of the affectation of Victorians and post-Victorians.⁴⁷² Xie argues that Pound uses a colloquial style that echoes the real speech of living people. He also notes that Pound's style contains pseudo-colloquial elements apart from colloquial. He claims that the purpose of this artificial language is to reflect the remoteness and alienness of the Greek play.⁴⁷³ I believe that the language of Pound's version reflects the ideological discourse he superimposes on the Greek play. It reflects the social and economic modernity, which the poet displays and criticizes at the same time. Dick in his review characterizes the dialogues of Pound's version as middle-class dialogues.⁴⁷⁴ He regards this trait as a fault of the language of translation but I see it as a purposeful feature that serves to associate the version with modern economic and

⁴⁶⁹ *WT* 1956: xix.

⁴⁷⁰ Carter 1957: 661.

⁴⁷¹ Olcott 1986: 111-118.

⁴⁷² *WT* 1956: xv, xxii.

⁴⁷³ Xie 1999: 215.

⁴⁷⁴ Dick 1961: 236-237.

political reality. I also argue that the language of translation echoes fascist ideology, which emerges in the play as a solution to the problems of social and economic modernity. It depicts the failure of the fascist ideology in the historical realm and its re-emergence in the realm of the transcendental. I will analyze in detail the verbal and ideological associations of Pound's language in the *Women of Trachis* with fascist ideology in the following sub-chapters.⁴⁷⁵

At this stage, I want to stress two points. Carter, in his review, remarks that the language of the *Women of Trachis* is similar to the language of the *Cantos*. He regards this similarity as a flaw of Pound's language in the *Women of Trachis*.⁴⁷⁶ I regard this similarity, however, as a way to superimpose his ideology on the structural and thematic scheme of the original play. Pound creates a purposeful trajectory between the *Cantos* and the *Women of Trachis* with clear ideological associations, which I will explore in Ch. 2.3. The similarity of the language between the *Women of Trachis* and the *Cantos*, Pound's lifetime epic poem, shows that the language of Pound's version is purposefully created to echo the ideological discourse of the *Cantos* of the same period, namely the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones*. In these *Cantos* the fall of the fascist regime and the search for a solution to Pound's ideological impasse is the poet's major preoccupation.⁴⁷⁷

The second point, which I want to make only briefly at this stage but which will be further explored in Ch. 2.3, refers to the relationship between language and politics in Pound's oeuvre. My argument that Pound's language in the *Women of Trachis* is purposefully created to reflect the ideological discourse he wants to superimpose on the Greek play is reinforced by the interconnection of language and politics in his entire work. The relationship between language and political ideas is profound and consistent in Pound's

⁴⁷⁵ See also Ch. 2.3.

⁴⁷⁶ Carter 1957: 661.

⁴⁷⁷ I will further explore this relationship in Ch. 2.3.

thought and poetics.⁴⁷⁸ During the period of his active endorsement of fascist ideology, language was for him the medium to express and determine the values of the state. In a later Confucian context, language becomes Pound's medium for rectification, for the proper definition of names and by implication the proper definition of morality. Language is also the medium for the expression of love and benevolence, which precede civic virtue. It is the medium as well for the construction of Pound's visionary city. At every stage of Pound's political development, language was the primary means of achieving his ultimate purpose: to aestheticize the political.⁴⁷⁹ This relationship was so strong and decisive for the formation of his aesthetic and political ideas that it was regarded as the source of Pound's attraction to authoritarian ideologies, such as fascism. Flory notes the 'visceral' authoritarianism that Alan Durant and Paul Smith attributed to Pound's conception of language and identity because of its essentialism. Durant and Smith argued that Pound's attraction to fascism was the result of this essentialism.⁴⁸⁰ It becomes clear that the interrelation between language and fascist ideology is an inherent element of Pound's poetics to the extent that its presence in the *Women of Trachis* is almost deterministic. In the next sub-chapter I will explore how the changes that Pound made in the text reflect the unfolding ideological discourse.

⁴⁷⁸ For the connection between language and politics in Pound's oeuvre see Nicholls 1984: 92, 93, 96, 99, 100, 102, 110, 111, 162, 173, 174, 175, 178, 190, 191, 193; Nadel 1999: 1-21.

⁴⁷⁹ Nadel 1999: 1-21.

⁴⁸⁰ Flory 1999: 298.

2.2 The Women of Trachis: the text, the performative elements, the connection with the Cantos

2.2.1 The text

2.2.1.1 A different ideological discourse

From the beginning of Pound's translation it becomes evident that the challenge to the aristocratic heroic code and to patriarchy, which is dominant in *Trachiniae*, is replaced by a challenge to a different ideology and different social and political reality. Pound replaces the aristocratic heroic ethos with economic and social modernity: the predominance of a materialistic ethos that corrupts every non-materialistic aspect of life. Patriarchy is not a concern for Pound at all. He follows a conservative path with the gender roles being clearly defined and separated.⁴⁸¹ The male occupies the superior position of the agent of social and political reform. The female functions as an inherent power in nature, agent of preservation of culture and mediation with the beyond. This gender categorization is seen as unproblematic, and remains so throughout Pound's version. I will show how these ideological transpositions are reflected by the changes that Pound makes in the text of his version.

2.2.1.2 Job, work, trouble, assignment

Pound uses the words 'job' and 'work' for all of Herakles' labours. The phrases 'when he got/ through with the job' (*WT*, p. 7), (*Tr.* v. 80), 'for all the rough jobs he went out on' (*WT*, p. 10), (*Tr.* v. 159), 'talked as if he were going to work, not to his funeral' (*WT*, p. 10), (*Tr.* v. 160), 'and a great lot of other work' (*WT*, p. 47), (*Tr.* v. 1101) are characteristic. The word 'work' is used also for Daysair's disastrous act of sending the

⁴⁸¹ The position of the female in Pound's oeuvre at large will be analyzed in Ch. 2.3.

robe. Herakles states regarding her punishment, ‘Alive or dead how I/ pay people for dirty work.’ (WT, p. 47), (Tr. v. 1111). Another word used for Herakles’ labours is the word ‘trouble’ (WT, p. 10), (Tr. v. 168). Even at the moment of his illumination Herakles uses the words ‘trouble’ and ‘work’ for his labours. He exclaims, ‘I am released from trouble. I thought it meant life in comfort./ It doesn’t. It means that I die. For amid the dead there is no work in service.’ (WT, pp. 49-50), (Tr. vv. 1170-1173). The word ‘job’ is used also for Herakles’ order to Hyllos concerning Hyllos’ marriage to Iole. Herakles says, ‘And another little job/ that won’t take long/ after the big one.’ (WT, p. 52), (Tr. vv. 1216-1217). Hyllos’ answer reveals the same spirit, ‘I don’t care what size it is. It’ll get done.’ (WT, p. 52), (Tr. v. 1218). Herakles’ burning on the pyre is also seen as a trouble. Herakles says to Hyllos, ‘Hey, you there, hoist me up/ for the last trouble./ The last rest.’ (WT, p. 54), (Tr. vv. 1255-1256). The ‘job’ or ‘work’ must be paid for. Daysair says to Hyllos, ‘a good job’s worth a bonus’ (WT, p. 8), (Tr. v. 93). Similarly, the messenger expects ‘a tip for the news’ (WT, p. 11), (Tr. v. 191) and Likhas (Sophocles’ Lichas) asks for a tip as well, ‘That it is, Milady,/ and worth hearing,/ and paying for.’ (WT, p. 13), (Tr. vv. 229-231). The translation of the oracle about Herakles’ end is very interesting, ‘That it would be the end of him,/ or that when he got/ through with the job, he would live happy ever after.’ (WT, p. 7), (Tr. vv. 79-81). The termination of the labours is rendered ‘when he got/ through with the job.’ The materialistic ethos of social and economic modernity becomes apparent, along with its quality to trivialize any activity, endeavour and achievement. Every human pursuit is evaluated in monetary material terms. Pound describes Daysair’s anxiety about Herakles and her children as ‘her assignment at night’ (WT, p. 9), (Tr. v. 149). This is the same word that Daysair previously used to describe Herakles’ labours. It is a word that echoes more the social and economic modernity than the ancient ethos. Pound translates Sophocles’ ἐπιπόνων ἀμερᾶν (Tr. v. 654) as ‘his

working day' (*WT*, p. 29). The heroic model is thus replaced by the model of social and economic modernity.

2.2.1.3 Memo versus *delton*

Pound uses the word 'memo' (*WT*, p. 6) for the word *δέλτον* (*Tr.* v. 47), and the word 'forecast' (*WT*, p. 7) for the phrase *μαντεῖα πιστὰ* (*Tr.* v. 77) to translate the oracles mentioned in *Trachiniae*. Daysair, while disclosing to Hyllos the oracle about Herakles' end, characteristically says, 'all fixed by the gods' (*WT*, p. 10), (*Tr.* v. 169). Pound uses the expression 'all fixed by the gods' (*WT*, p. 10) to translate the phrase *πρὸς θεῶν εἰμαρμένα* (*Tr.* v. 169). The metaphysical necessity is expressed with a verb that implies technological advancement and social arrangements. Daysair's suggestion to Hyllos to see 'how much truth was in it' (*WT*, p. 10) in regard to the oracles reveals a criticism of divine knowledge as expressed in the established form of oracular utterances. In the fourth choral ode, Pound uses the phrase 'Things foretold and forecast: Toil and moil' (*WT*, p. 35) to describe the oracles about Herakles' end. Afterwards, Herakles speaks about his 'last report/ of the oracles' and about 'another odd forecast' (*WT*, p. 49), (*Tr.* v. 1165). The word 'forecast' (*WT*, p. 49) is used by Herakles for the *μαντεῖα καινὰ* of *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* v. 1165).

A general feeling of cynicism and disbelief towards religion and especially towards its established institutions is very evident in the *Women of Trachis*. Likhas uses the contemporary oath, 'So help me God. Nothing but...' (*WT*, p. 18), (*Tr.* v. 399) while lying to Daysair about Iole. In Likhas' oath in the *Women of Trachis*, 'So help me God. Nothing but...' (*WT*, p. 18) the criticism of the morality of the established religion and the criticism of the justice of the established legal system coincide. Hyllos repeats the same oath of

obedience that Likhas uttered when asked by Daysair, 'I swear, so help me God.' (WT, p. 51), (Tr. 1188). This modern oath, apart from reflecting the modern legal system, shows the coincidence of the political with the transcendental that Pound wants to establish in his version. The same spirit is revealed by the question that Hyllos addresses to Herakles, 'If you order me to, is that legal?' (WT, p. 53). The word 'legal' is Pound's translation of the word *πανδίκως* (Tr. 1247) of *Trachiniae*. The coincidence of the political law with the transcendental law is necessitated in Pound's version.

The irony is obvious and it becomes even more intense when Likhas describes Zeus' reaction to Herakles' sacking of Oechalia. The same phrase, 'Zeus wouldn't stand it' (WT, p. 14), (Tr. vv. 274-278), is purposefully repeated twice. Zeus as the source of morality is radically challenged. This criticism is even more apparent in the last part of Likhas' speech, which is an addition of Pound, 'He'll be along as soon as he's finished/ the celebration. All very fine-/Sacrifice, captives./ C' est très beau.' (WT, p. 15), (Tr. vv. 287-290). The irony discloses the incompatibility of violence and sacrifice more explicitly than in Sophocles. Herakles' responsibility for this incompatibility is in a sense absorbed into the systemic failure of established religion to provide humans with a self-consistent moral paradigm. In *Trachiniae* the failure was the result of human incapacity to acknowledge the profound essence of divine morality and follow it. The change, that Pound makes, alleviates Herakles' guilt much more than in *Trachiniae*.

Herakles' view about the possibility of divine interference in his case is also extremely ironic, 'A dirty pest, take God a' mighty to cure it and I'd be surprised to see Him/ coming this far...' (WT, p. 42), (Tr. vv. 1000-1003). There is an important difference between the meaning of the verses 1000-1003 of *Trachiniae* and their translation by Pound in the *Women of Trachis*. Whereas in *Trachiniae* Heracles argues that he cannot be healed without divine interference, in the *Women of Trachis* Herakles claims that it is impossible

for divine interference to take place. The criticism of the established religion becomes obvious again.

The Messenger reports that Herakles 'is carrying the spoils to the gods of our country' (*WT*, p. 10). Pound uses the plural to describe the divine. Similarly, Pound replaces the invocation to Zeus with the invocation to the 'gods' in plural (*WT*, p. 32). Pound's preference for polytheism over monotheism also has political implications. He associates monotheism with monopoly in the marketplace.⁴⁸² Pound also replaces Zeus with 'God' in many passages (*WT*, p. 43 for verse 1022 of *Trachiniae*, *WT*, p. 44 for verse 1041 of *Trachiniae*, *WT*, p. 44 for verse 1048 of *Trachiniae*, *WT*, p. 46 for verses 1086, 1087 of *Trachiniae*). The change shows Pound's intention to refer to the contemporary established religion in his translation.

2.2.1.4 Sexual desire

Sexual desire, an important element in the play, is represented with the same amount of cynicism and cruelty. Daysair's comment on Akheloos is revealing, 'Bed with that! I ask you!' (*WT*, p. 5), (*Tr.* v. 17). The messenger says about Herakles' passion for Iole, 'Too het up.' (*WT*, p. 17), (*Tr.* v. 368). Daysair thinks how she will manage the 'cohabitation' with Iole and she is sure that Iole 'has been yoked.' (*WT*, p. 25), (*Tr.* v. 536). The 'cohabitation' is described by Daysair as 'Double yoke/ Under one cloak', her reward for 'keeping house/ all this time.' (*WT*, p. 25), (*Tr.* vv. 541-542). In general, every emotion is purposefully trivialized. Likhas says to Daysair about Iole, 'Tears, tears, tears,/ but it's excusable,/ she's had pretty bad luck.' (*WT*, p. 16), (*Tr.* vv. 325-328). Mason disapproves of Pound's use of the words 'letch' and 'het-up' for the description of Herakles' desire

⁴⁸² Nicholls 1984: 110, 153, 159.

for Iole.⁴⁸³The use of these words, however, is not a failure of Pound to find a more subtle word in order to describe the same emotion more gently. It is the result of his deliberate choice to depict the world of social and economic modernity and its corrosive impact on human emotions.

2.2.1.5 Facts

Another word that is frequently repeated signifying a variety of meanings and revealing not only cynicism, but also Pound's insistence on the value of specificity and concreteness, is the word 'facts.' Hyllos promises to Daysair that 'he'll go get the facts' about Herakles' present situation (*WT*, p. 8), (*Tr.* v. 91). The messenger when disclosing Iole's identity to Daysair says, 'I'm sorry to worry you. But the facts...' (*WT*, p. 17), (*Tr.* vv. 373-374). Nurse narrating Daysair's suicide says to Khoros, 'Plain fact. What you can see for yourself.' (*WT*, p. 39), (*Tr.* v. 892). Hyllos responding to Herakles' explosion of anger against Daysair says, 'If you knew all the facts, you'd quit being angry.' (*WT*, p. 48), (*Tr.* vv. 1134-1135). In this way, the most tragic events occurring in the play become emotionally inactive.

In Pound's translation (*WT*, p. 8) the facts is the equivalent of the *τῶν δ' ἀλήθειαν πέρι* of *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* v. 91). Pound's epistemological method emerges. The Messenger mentions that the people of Trachis wanted 'the details' from Lichas about Herakles' return. 'The details' (*WT*, p. 11) is the translation of *ἐκμαθεῖν* (*Tr.* v. 196). Here, detail and precision is the way to truth. This element is inherited from Pound's Imagist past.

⁴⁸³ Mason 1963: 112.

The ‘facts’ also reveal an anti-intellectualistic tendency against abstraction and rational thought. This tendency was a characteristic element of fascist ideology.⁴⁸⁴

This atmosphere of the rational, scientifically and technologically advanced, but emotionally inhumane society is well evident in other parts of the play as well. The crucial dialogue between Daysair and the Khoros before her decision to send Herakles the robe is indicative, ‘Daysair: No absolute guarantee, of course, but you’ll never tell till you try. Khoros: Nope, no proof without data,/ no proof without experiment.’ (WT, p. 27), (Tr. vv. 592-593). The Khoros’ response, ‘Nope, no proof without data,/ no proof without experiment. (WT, p. 27), is the equivalent of ‘Ἄλλ’ εἰδέναι χρὴ δρῶσαν, ὡς οὐδ’ εἰ δοκεῖς/ ἔχειν ἔχοις ἄν γνῶμα, μὴ πειρωμένη. (Tr. vv. 596-597). The epistemological distinction of the various degrees of knowledge in *Trachiniae* is replaced by an epistemology that echoes technological advancement, empiricism and the predominance of modern science. Similarly, when Herakles realizes that his end approaches he exclaims, ‘Misery. I’ m going out/ and my light’s gone./ The black out!’ (WT, p. 49), (Tr. v. 1144). Furthermore, Herakles’ final address to himself to accept his inevitable end stoically is given in technological and industrial terms. He says, ‘And put some cement in your face,/ reinforced concrete, make a cheerful finish/ even if you don’t want to.’ (WT, p. 54), (Tr. vv. 1260-1263).

2.2.1.6 The element of crisis in modern terms

In the *Women of Trachis* the theme of crisis is introduced with a general feeling of anxiety and anticipation expressed with the use of modern vocabulary. Daysair confesses that she had ‘a worse scare about getting married than any girl in Pleuron’ (WT, p. 50), (Tr. v. 7).

⁴⁸⁴ For details of Pound’s epistemological thought see Ch. 2.3.

She also says while narrating Herakles' battle with Akheloos that only an impartial witness 'could watch without being terrorized' (*WT* p. 5), (*Tr.* v. 23). Daysair's main feeling all these years of being Herakles' wife is 'one terror after another' (*WT*, p. 6), (*Tr.* v. 28). The first thing that the messenger says is that he will calm her 'anxiety' (*WT*, p. 10), (*Tr.* v. 181). The criticality of the moment is expressed by Pound with the phrase 'It's on the turn of the wheel.' (*WT*, p. 7), (*Tr.* v. 82). Pound translates the first verse of the second antistrophe of the fourth stasimon as 'THAT NOW is here.' (*WT*, p. 41). The emphasis on the criticality of the moment is obvious.

2.2.1.7 Herakles in the *Women of Trachis*: modernity instead of *kleos* and transcendence against modernity

The way that Herakles is introduced is suggestive, 'And Herakles Zeuson got me out of it somehow,/ I don't know how he managed with that wet horror,' (*WT*, p. 5) is Pound's translation for *ὁ κλεινὸς ἦλθε Ζηνὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε παῖς, / ὃς εἰς ἀγῶνα τῷ δεσυπεσῶν μάχης / ἐκλύεται με* of *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 19-21). Heracles is now plainly Herakles Zeuson, without an adjective equivalent of *κλεινὸς* suggesting the aristocratic ethos and the nobility of birth. The verb 'managed' is the translation of the *ἀγῶνα*. The triviality and casualness of the verb reflects the social and economic reality that Pound aims to criticize. The origin of Herakles is stated with the word Zeuson. This origin, however, does not function as a foundation of aristocratic supremacy as in *Trachiniae*, but it attributes to Herakles well in advance the quality of a transcendental force in an animistic universe. The full description of Herakles in the list of personae for the *Women of Trachis* as 'Herakles Zeuson, the Solar Vitality', points at this direction from the very beginning. The quality of the transcendental force is only implied at this stage. After

Herakles' illumination, this quality will be more explicit and it will function as the medium for the elevation of Pound's ideology to the realm of the transcendental.

In the *Women of Trachis* money replaces *kleos* as the established ideal and matter of criticism. Daysair exhorts Hyllos to search for his father warning about the implications of a potential negligence. The implications are, 'No credit to you,' (*WT*, p. 7), whereas in *Trachiniae* they were ἀισχύνην φέρει (*Tr.* v. 66). Pound replaces aristocratic ethics with the materialistic ethos as the target of his criticism. Daysair does not want to live 'robbed of the best man ever born' (*WT*, p. 10). The phrase is the equivalent of πάντων ἀρίστου φωτὸς ἐστερημένην of *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* v. 177). The characterization, 'the best man', in the *Women of Trachis* has only moral quality, whereas in *Trachiniae* it expresses the coincidence of the aristocratic excellence by birth with the moral supremacy. Lichas believes his news 'worth hearing, / and paying for.' (*WT*, p. 13). The 'paying for' of the *Women of Trachis* is the equivalent of χρηστὰ κερδαίνειν ἔπη of *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 229-231). Lichas in *Trachiniae* wants *kleos*, whereas in the *Women of Trachis* he wants money. The aristocratic ethos again is replaced by the materialistic one. Pound turns his criticism to the materialistic ethos of social and economic modernity.

When Daysair in the *Women of Trachis* stresses that she is not 'a bad woman' (*WT*, p. 21) in order to extract the truth from Lichas, the characterization has only moral character, as previously with the use of the same word for Herakles. It does not have the heavy aristocratic connotations of *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* v. 438). Mason argues that Pound does not translate Deianira's speech to Lichas properly.⁴⁸⁵ He claims that Pound 'waters-down' the moral, aesthetic and intellectual ideals that the frequent use of the words *kalos* and *kakos* in various forms denotes in Deianira's dialogue with Lichas in *Trachiniae*. What

⁴⁸⁵ Mason 1963: 114.

the use of these words suggests in this dialogue, however, is the aristocratic ethics and politics and Sophocles' criticism of this ideology. Pound's preoccupation is the criticism of social and economic modernity and the preservation of his own ideology in the realm of the transcendental. He has no reason to emphasize these words, since his ideological focus is different.

Daysair's comment, 'what they don't know won't hurt us./ You can get away with a good deal in the dark' (*WT*, p. 27) corresponds to *ὡς σκότῳ/ κὰν αἰσχροῦ πράσσης, οὐποτ' αἰσχύνῃ πεσῆ* (*Tr.* vv. 596-597). What is missing from Pound's translation is Sophocles' emphasis on shame. Sophocles' criticism of the aristocratic ethics is replaced by Pound's criticism of the materialistic ethos. The materialistic ethos becomes evident in this passage by the phrase 'a good deal in the dark.' Daysair also proclaims that 'no decent woman would live after that horror.' (*WT*, p. 31). The phrase is the equivalent of *ζῆν γὰρ κακῶς κλύουσιν οὐκ ἀνασχετόν,/ ἦτις προτιμᾶ μὴ κακῆ πεφυκέναι* (*Tr.* vv. 721-722). The aristocratic fear of disgrace is replaced in Pound's version by a broad sense of decency, which has moral character and it is dissociated from the aristocratic ethics and politics.

In Pound's translation, 'Then along comes Likhas the family herald' (*WT*, p. 33), of the verse 757 of *Trachiniae*, *κῆρυξ ἀπ' οἴκων ἴκετ' οἰκεῖος Λίχας*, a significant difference can be noted. The emphasis on the *oikos* does not exist in Pound's translation. This difference is another hint that the aristocratic ethics and politics are criticized by Sophocles, whereas Pound turns his interest to his own ideological preoccupations. Pound also turns Sophocles' *ἄλλον...ὀνόματος* (*Tr.* v. 817) into 'another label' (*WT*, p. 35) in the phrase where Hyllos bitterly remarks on the distance between the name of the mother

and the quality of the mother in Daysair's case. The aristocratic emphasis on the significance of the name is replaced by the materialistic connotations of the word 'label'.

Pound translates Sophocles' τὸν Δῖον ἄλκιμον γόνον (*Tr.* v. 956) as 'God's Son' (*WT*, p. 41) in the fourth stasimon. Whereas in *Trachiniae* the emphasis is given to the aristocratic origin of Herakles, in the *Women of Trachis* the element of origin has a purely transcendental character. Similarly, Herakles' complaint about the futility of his noble and divine origin has no aristocratic connotations in the *Women of Trachis* (*WT*, p. 47) as in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 1105-1106). What is stressed is the divinity of Zeus as foundation of Herakles' forthcoming symbolic deification.

2.2.1.8 Milder criticism of Herakles than in *Trachiniae*

Deianira's complaints in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 27-30), regarding the continuous fear she experiences as a result of her marriage to Heracles, are omitted from Pound's version. Carter notes that Pound cuts short the prologue of *Trachiniae*.⁴⁸⁶ I believe that this change results from Pound's aim to turn the audience's interest from Daysair to Heracles in his version. Mason and Galinsky have each also pointed out the marginalization of Daysair in the *Women of Trachis*, but without analysing the ideological implications of it.⁴⁸⁷ Pound creates the preconditions for Heracles' deification within the play. He limits the criticism of Heracles so as to be able to use him as embodiment of the preservation of his own ideology. Even the way Daysair associates Heracles' labours with the element of the terror is not judgmental for Heracles. Daysair says, 'Always away on one assignment or another/ one terror after another/ always for someone else (*WT*, p. 6). Heracles is represented more as a victim of the terror and less as an agent of the terror against others.

⁴⁸⁶ Carter 1957: 660.

⁴⁸⁷ Mason 1963: 110-111; Galinsky 1972: 175.

Daysair describes the cohabitation with Iole as ‘Double yoke/ Under one cloak’ (*WT*, p. 25), (*Tr.* vv. 539-540). Verse 541 of *Trachiniae*, however, ὁ πιστὸς ἡμῖν κάγαθός καλούμενος, is omitted by Pound. The grandeur of Herakles is not profoundly challenged in the *Women of Trachis*, as it is in *Trachiniae*, because Herakles is valuable for Pound. He will personify the preservation of his ideology in the realm of the transcendental.

2.2.1.9 Herakles glorified: the prefiguration of the visualized *apotheosis*

An element of splendour surrounds Herakles in the *Women of Trachis*, even before his illumination, so as to prepare his visualized *apotheosis* within the play. The Messenger describes the way Herakles will appear in Trachis as ‘crowned with Victory. He’s looking splendid.’ (*WT*, p. 11). This phrase is the equivalent of the φανέντα σὺν κράτει νικηφόρω of *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* v. 186). The adjective ‘splendid’ is an addition of Pound and it will reappear in the description of the moment of Herakles’ illumination.

In the second choral ode of the *Women of Trachis*, Pound writes for Herakles, ‘HE is God’s Son.’ (*WT*, p. 24). The capitalized ‘HE’ and the characterization ‘God’s Son’ prefigure Herakles’ visualized *apotheosis*, which, in Pound’s version, coincides with his illumination (*WT*, p. 50). The meaning of this *apotheosis* will be Herakles’ transformation into a transcendental force within an animistic universe, which will embody in a realm higher than the realm of worldly affairs the preservation of Pound’s ideology.

In the fourth stasimon, Pound uses the phrase ‘a splendour of ruin’ to describe Herakles’ suffering. The word ‘splendour’ here, however, shows that Herakles’ grandeur remains despite his current condition. Moreover, the analogy with the ‘splendour’ of the moment

of Herakles' illumination shows that Herakles' suffering is seen just as a preparatory stage for his ultimate illumination and implied *apotheosis*.

The dialogue between Hyllus and the Presvēs (*Tr.* vv. 971-993) is omitted by Pound.⁴⁸⁸

The result of this change is that Herakles' first appearance on stage becomes more impressive in the *Women of Trachis*. The elements of weakness and mourning are purposefully limited. Pound also changes the meaning of the verses 1273-1274 of *Trachiniaiē*. Whereas Hyllus in Sophocles says that the suffering is worse for Heracles than for any other of the attendants of this tragedy, Hyllos in Pound states that no man like Herakles will be born again (*WT*, p. 54). This statement means that the suffering due to the loss of Herakles is worse for the world than for Herakles himself.

Moreover, Pound changes the last phrase of the play. He translates as 'And all of this is from Zeus' (*WT*, p. 54), the verse 1278 of *Trachiniaiē* *κοῦδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεὺς*. In *Trachiniaiē* the cohesive force of the entire play, for events, protagonists, individual and collective purpose, is identified with Zeus. In Pound, the course of events is represented as resulting from the will of Zeus. The degree of identification is different, however. This difference can find an explanation in the role of Herakles in Pound's *Women of Trachis*. Since Herakles has already been elevated within the play to the level of the dominant transcendental power due to Pound's scene direction about Herakles' *apotheosis* (*WT*, p. 50), the role of Zeus at the end of the play loses aspects of its authority. No one, therefore, should detract the reader or the spectator from Herakles' overwhelming power in Pound's *Women of Trachis*, not even Zeus.

⁴⁸⁸ Mason 1963: 107; Galinsky 1972: 242-243.

2.2.1.10 Agency in the *Women of Trachis*: more fortune, less individual responsibility

Another element that is different in the *Women of Trachis* is the conception of agency. The element of luck and destiny is strengthened, whereas the element of personal responsibility is weakened in comparison with *Trachiniae*. This change has two implications. First, the emphasis is transferred from the individual will to the powers that surpass it. Second, the issue of Herakles' guilt and, along with it, the issue of Pound's and Mussolini's guilt is addressed with clemency. The issue of agency can be explored in various passages from the text of Pound's version.

There are differences between Likhas' story about Herakles' capture of Oechalia in the *Women of Trachis* and in *Trachiniae*. These differences are significant for the ideologies underlying Pound's version. Sophocles' focus on *dolos* (*Tr.* vv. 274-279) is lost in Pound's version.⁴⁸⁹ There is no clear reference to the element of *dolos* as cause of Herakles' punishment by Zeus in Pound's version. Similarly, Sophocles' insistence on multiple agency with the emphatic use of the words *μεταίτιος* (*Tr.* vv. 260, 1234), *πράκτωρ* (*Tr.* vv. 251, 861), *ἀγχιστῆρα* (*Tr.* v. 256) is also lost in Pound's version.⁴⁹⁰

Likhas' speech in the *Women of Trachis* seems more like an implicit challenge to the established religion than to Herakles' heroic model. This transposition is part of the milder criticism of Herakles in Pound's version, which facilitates his forthcoming symbolic *apotheosis* within the play. Likhas emphatically repeats the phrase 'Zeus wouldn't stand it' (*WT*, p. 54) twice in relation to Herakles' killing of Iphitus. The second time, this phrase is preceded by the phrase 'and so on', which trivializes and thus puts into question both the human exercise of violence and divine morality as expressed by the institutionalized forms of expiation of this violence.

⁴⁸⁹ Mason 1963: 107 and Galinsky 1972: 242 noted this omission as well.

⁴⁹⁰ See also Heiden 1989.

The dialogue between Khoros and Daysair in the *Women of Trachis* is different than in *Trachiniae*. The Khoros' response to Daysair's plan, 'Don't seem a bad idea, if/ you think it will work.' (WT, v. 27), is more positive than in *Trachiniae*. The Chorus' response in *Trachiniae* (Tr. vv. 588-589) is more ambiguous. The difference alleviates Daysair's responsibility, which Pound does not need to stress for two reasons. First, in the *Women of Trachis* the criticism of the underlying ideologies, the materialistic ethos, the social and economic modernity, is more significant than the criticism of individuals. In other words, individual responsibility is less stressed than in *Trachiniae* because Pound's general view is more collectivistic. Second, patriarchy is not a matter of concern for Pound and, therefore, Daysair's guilt, which is an element indicative of the gender balance, whether as a challenge to patriarchy or an affirmation of it, or both, is not part of Pound's ideological discourse.

When Daysair realizes the consequences of her plan in the *Women of Trachis*, she exclaims, 'I'm to murder him, damn it, fate.' (WT, p. 31), (Tr. vv. 712-713). Whereas in *Trachiniae* Deianira wrongly thought that she was the only person responsible for Heracles' expected death, in the *Women of Trachis* there is no profound acknowledgment of human responsibility. Fate, transcendental powers at work, causes human suffering. This type of agency simplifies the transition to Herakles' *apotheosis*. It is also a way superficially to address the issues of guilt that are linked to the endorsement and materialization of the fascist ideology and regime through the identification of Herakles' end with Pound's end and Mussolini's end.

In the fourth choral ode, Pound translates Sophocles' *δολοποιὸς ἀνάγκη* (Tr. v. 832) as 'Fate and the Centaur's curse.' The same word, 'fate', is used in the phrase 'o'erlowering fate' in the fourth stasimon as a translation of Sophocles' *μεγάλαν ἄταν* (Tr. v. 851) Pound's insistence on fate as the decisive power for the course of events becomes

apparent. The element of individual responsibility recedes. ‘What rotten luck!’ is Pound’s translation of the Ἔξ, ἰὼ δαῖμον of *Trachiniae* (Tr. v. 1026). Pound equates agency once again with the power of fortune and individual responsibility is not associated in any way with the result.

2.2.1.11 Omission of verse 613 of *Trachiniae* and the transposition of Herakles’ transformation

A very significant verse within *Trachiniae* is missing from Pound’s version: verse 613 of *Trachiniae*, θυτῆρα καινῶ καινὸν ἐν πεπλώματι (Tr. v. 613) is omitted by Pound. This difference has important ideological connotations. In *Trachiniae*, this verse suggests Heracles’ transformation, which will be initiated by his agony at Cenaeum and completed by his realization of the coincidence of the oracles. Heracles’ transformation in *Trachiniae* results in the redefinition of his identity and of the ideologies he embodied before the moment of his illumination. The old aristocratic ethos and the old form of patriarchy are succeeded by a more democratized ethos and a milder patriarchal authority. In Pound’s *Women of Trachis*, the ideologies that are criticized are the materialistic ethos, and the social and economic modernity, which are to be defeated by Herakles as the embodiment of fascist ideology. Herakles’ suffering suggests the failure of this ideology in the political and historical realm but his illumination, which in Pound coincides with his visualized *apotheosis* (WT, p. 50), suggests the survival of this ideology through the transferral of it to the realm of the transcendental. Whereas in Sophocles there is a new ideology, in Pound there is a renewed ideology. Pound omits verse 613 of *Trachiniae* so as to omit the element of the new. The ‘new’ would signify that part of his ideology, if not his ideology as a whole, was problematic and needed improvement or replacement. This admission would also mean that his pre-existent ideology could not be identified

with universal transcendental principles. Pound wants to keep his ideology untouched in regard to its content and, for this purpose, chooses to change only the realm of its materialization.

Herakles in the *Women of Trachis* characterizes his labours as ‘the dirty work’ (WT, p. 44), (*Tr.* vv. 1046-1047). This characterization shows that Herakles in Pound’s version morally condemns his labours even before the moment of his illumination. This stance disconnects Herakles from the ideologies that Pound puts into question. It also allows Herakles to act almost exclusively as an embodiment of political ideas that Pound regards as steadily positive. Sophocles’ Heracles does not realize the error of the ideological position he represents before the moment of his illumination and he is angry about the futility of his labours. Pound’s Herakles is angry because he had to perform his labours, namely to intervene in his social and political surroundings. This difference prescribes the difference of the meaning of Herakles’ change after the moment of his illumination. Whereas Heracles’ transformation in Sophocles signifies the redefinition of his identity and the start of a new metaphysical and political order, Herakles’ transformation in the *Women of Trachis* signifies the preservation of his identity, and of his ideology, in a realm above and beyond his social and political surroundings.

Pound’s translation of the verses 1276-1277 of *Trachiniae* weakens the notion of the new. Hyllos says, ‘Today we have seen strange deaths,/ wrecks many, such as have not been suffered before.’ The notion of the new in the verses *μεγάλους μὲν ἰδοῦσα νέους θανάτους,/ πολλὰ δὲ πῆματα <καὶ> καινοπαθῆ* is not boldly marked in Pound’s translation. The notion of strange is preferred. This end is more compatible with Pound’s effort throughout his version to secure the preservation of his own ideology rather than to transform or transgress it.

Mason argues that Herakles' deification at the moment of his illumination, which takes place in Pound's version, is irrelevant.⁴⁹¹ He also argues that the perspective of Herakles' *apotheosis* at the end of the play is deleted by Pound and he disapproves of this change. Herakles' deification within the play is necessary, however, for the transferral of Pound's ideology to the realm of the transcendental. Herakles embodies this ideology. His *apotheosis* takes place within the play and not at the end for two reasons. First, it must be certain and not implied, because the preservation of Pound's ideology cannot remain an inconclusive matter in the play. Second, the preservation must be embodied exclusively by Herakles and not projected on the open-ended future of his lineage. Pound's political conception is too autocratic to allow the succession of his 'inspirational genius' by a plethora of descendants, whose quality must be axiomatically inferior to their illustrious progenitor. This purpose is served also by the omission of the family scene at the end of the *Women of Trachis*, which is annoying for Mason.⁴⁹² Similarly, the fact that the conflict between Herakles, the father, and Hyllos, the son, is milder in the *Women of Trachis* than in *Trachiniae*, which Mason also notes with disapproval, is well attuned to Pound's general objective to glorify Herakles. Any element that could put at risk this endeavour is omitted or limited.

2.2.1.12 Patriarchy: not a concern in the *Women of Trachis*

Alcmene as mother of Herakles is not mentioned at all in Pound's translation of the verses 19-21 of *Trachiniae*. The role of the female is represented as secondary or absent from the very beginning of the *Women of Trachis*. Herakles says about Daysair in the *Women of Trachis*, 'but a piddling female did it./ not even a man with balls./ Alone and without

⁴⁹¹ Mason 1963: 119.

⁴⁹² Mason 1963: 120.

a sword.’ (WT, p. 45), (Tr. vv. 1062-1063). Later on Herakles asks Hyllos to hand in his mother by saying, ‘and as for the highly revered title to motherhood,/ you get that producer out of her house/ and hand her over to me.’ (WT, p. 45), (Tr. v. 1065). Herakles describes his pitiable condition as ‘now I find out I’m a sissy.’ (WT, p. 45), (Tr. vv. 1071-1072). This complaint, however, does not signify a reversal of the gender roles, which will result in a change of the gender balance as in *Trachiniae*. The predominance of the male is unshaken throughout Pound’s *Women of Trachis*.

Mason argues that Pound trivializes Daysair because of the vocabulary she uses.⁴⁹³ However, this argument contradicts the text of the translation. The casualness of the vocabulary is the artistic principle of Pound’s version and the primary means of depicting the social and economic modernity he wants to criticize. Pound minimizes Daysair’s role in order to reinforce the role of Herakles, but this change results mainly from the cuts Pound chooses to make and not by attributing to Daysair a vocabulary of a different sort.

In Pound’s *Women of Trachis* Hyllos is the one who says the last words of the play, addressing these words to the Khoros (WT, p. 54). Iole is not mentioned at all at the end. This is a strong indication of the secondary position that the female occupies in Pound’s version up to the very end. The female is excluded from any reference to or interference with the future. *Trachiniae* ends with the open-endedness of Heracles’ *apotheosis* and the certainty of the lineage of Heracleidae, implied by the union between Hyllos and Iole. In Pound’s version Iole is missing from the exodus and thus the continuation of the lineage is not stressed. Pound does not want to replace the grandeur of Herakles along with its political connotations with any other physical or symbolic form of political order.

⁴⁹³ Mason 1969: 259.

Mason agrees with Pound's choice to give the last words of the play to Hyllos.⁴⁹⁴ Mason argues that Pound's choice is justified by the fact that Hyllos functions almost as the 'author's spokesman', namely Sophocles'. I believe, however, that Pound's choice is well explained by his favouring of the male in his version. The male represents the power of reform, renewal, social and political change. The female functions only as mediator with the beyond.⁴⁹⁵ The closure of the play, therefore, reaffirms male power and excludes the female. What is also excluded is the emphasis on a new political order that the new union between Hyllos and Iole would represent. Herakles' deification at the moment of his illumination is the essential ideological closure of the play. After the preservation of Pound's ideology in the realm of the transcendental, the realm of the political affairs, which the new marriage would represent, is a matter of indifference for Pound.

2.2.2 The translation as interpretation and criticism

The objectives of the translation and its poetic principles are not the only modernist features of the *Women of Trachis*. The modernist conception of the translation as interpretation and criticism is evident as well in Pound's *Women of Trachis*. As Ming Xie characteristically says, 'The example of *The Women of Trachis* is highly significant, for it shows that translation is for Pound *sui generis* interpretation and criticism, because translation reveals the fundamental (and often hidden) structure of the original work.'⁴⁹⁶ Carter also says, 'The *Women of Trachis*, then, must also be accepted as an intentional criticism of Sophocles.'⁴⁹⁷ Pound comments on the original while translating it. The faithfulness to the main structural and thematic features of *Trachiniae* allows Pound to

⁴⁹⁴ Mason 1963: 121.

⁴⁹⁵ For the female in Pound's oeuvre see Ch. 2.3.

⁴⁹⁶ Xie 1999: 215.

⁴⁹⁷ Carter 1957: 658.

translate and comment on the original at the same time. Pound uses various ways to stress what he considers to be substantial in the text, such as the specific comments on the play written at the bottom of the page, the interpretative and stage directions, the use of brackets, the repetition of phrases and the use of capital letters. Pound's interpretative comments reflect the ideological connotations of his own version. In this respect, although Pound stresses the structural and thematic elements that are crucial for an understanding of *Trachiniae*, he changes the meaning of these elements in his translation by projecting on them his own ideology.

2.2.2.1 Initial comments by Pound

Pound's first comment on *Trachiniae* is put on the very first page of his translation. He writes, 'The *Trachiniae* presents the highest peak of Greek sensibility registered in any of the plays that have come down to us, and is, at the same time, nearest the original form of the God-Dance.'⁴⁹⁸ What Pound highlights from the very beginning is the distinctive quality of *Trachiniae* that makes the play appealing to him. Pound continues on the same page, 'A version for KITASONO KATUE, hoping he will use it on my dear old friend Miscio Ito, or take it to the Minoru if they can be persuaded to add to their repertoire.' His intention to translate the play in relation to the Noh theatre, whose preeminent artists are the persons mentioned in his dedication, is clearly stated.⁴⁹⁹

The word 'sensibility' has particular significance in the *Cantos*. It denotes the benevolence, a power that transcends nature including human nature and is the source of the civic virtue. With this word Pound connects his translation of *Trachiniae* with the

⁴⁹⁸ WT 1956: 3.

⁴⁹⁹ For Pound and Noh theatre see Nadel 1999: 1-21; Bornstein 1999: 22-42; Xie 1999: 214, 215, 217; Harrop 2008: 92, 94; Liebrechts 2008: 302-304.

Cantos, especially the *Cantos* of the same period, the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones*, and by implication with their ideological discourse. Benevolence is the foundation of Pound's conception of politics as natural ethics. The *Women of Trachis* will enact the transition to the acquisition of this virtue, which culminates in the identification of the political with the transcendental.⁵⁰⁰

2.2.2.2 Association with Minoru again

Pound's next comment (*WT*, p. 39) is about the verses 905-907 of *Trachiniae*. These verses are part of Nurse's narration of Daysair's suicide and they are translated by Pound as follows, 'Then pitifully stroking the things she had used before, went wandering through the best rooms.' Pound's comment located at the bottom of the page is, '2000 years later the Minoru had developed a technique which permitted the direct presentation of such shades by symbolic gesture. In Sophocles' time it had to be left to narration.' Pound's intention for the play to be performed as a ritualistic dance-drama according to the technique of the Noh theatre thus becomes apparent again.

2.2.2.3 The key verse 1174 of *Trachiniae*

Pound's most extensive comment (*WT*, p. 50) is about verse 1174 of *Trachiniae*, which he translates as 'SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES.' His comment is, 'This is the key phrase, for which the play exists, as in the *Elektra*: "Need we add cowardice to all the rest of these ills?" Or the "T'as inventé la justice" in Cocteau's *Antigone*. And, later, "Tutto quello che è accaduto, doveva accadere." At least one sensitive hellenist who has shown great care for Sophocles' words, has failed to grasp the main form of the play,

⁵⁰⁰ All the ideological implications of the word 'sensitivity' will be explored in Ch. 2.3.

either here or in the first chorus, and how snugly each segment of the work fits into its box.⁵⁰¹ Pound highlights what he considers to be the main theme of the play: the agonized search for coherence and order transcending the apparent fragmentariness and discontinuity of worldly life. Galinsky supports the same interpretation, but without any reference to its ideological implications.⁵⁰² At the same time Pound stresses the unity of the play and the inadequacy of critics in acknowledging it with specific reference to Jebb.⁵⁰³ Furthermore, this comment explicitly associates Herakles' end with Mussolini's end and by implication with the end of the fascist regime. I will explore this connection in detail in Ch. 2.2.4 and 2.3, where I present the analogy between the *Cantos* where this phrase reappears and the *Women of Trachis*.

2.2.2.4 Scene directions

Apart from these extensive comments, Pound gives shorter interpretative and stage directions throughout his translation. For example, he adds in brackets a scene direction about Daysair's entrance (*WT*, p. 29). This direction refers to verse 663 of *Trachiniae*, '[DAYSAIR enters now in the tragic mask.]' This is Pound's invention, allowing him to stress Daysair's distress after the realization of her error. Similarly, Pound focuses on the appearance of Kypris in the second antistrophe of the fourth choral ode (*WT*, p. 37). The direction he adds in brackets is: '[The *dea ex machina*, hidden behind a grey gauze in her niche, is lit up strongly so that the gauze is transparent. The apparition is fairly sudden, the fade-out slightly slower: the audience is almost in doubt that she has appeared.]'

⁵⁰¹ The Italian excerpt is Mussolini's phrase taken from the book *In Captivity: Notebook of Thoughts in Ponza and La Maddalena*, Edge, 4 (Mar 1957), pp. 10-26.

⁵⁰² Galinsky 1972: 243.

⁵⁰³ Mark Jarman 2006; Liebrechts 2008: 309.

Pound visualizes Kypris' appearance on stage and in this way he points at the importance of her role in the play.

Kypris is particularly significant for Pound in the *Pisan Cantos*. She symbolizes two different types of love: sexual desire and benevolent love. Pound emphasizes the second type of love in the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones*. Mason's argument that Kypris is undermined in Pound's version is not correct.⁵⁰⁴ Kypris is brought out by Pound, but in a way that does not harm Herakles' grandeur by associating him with sexual depravity. Liebrechts' argument that Kypris' role is more stressed by Pound than by Sophocles, because she appears in the *Women of Trachis* as a *dea ex machina*, is not correct either. The text of the translation and its relationship to the rest of Pound's poetic work of the same period leads to different conclusions. Kypris is significant for Pound in the *Pisan Cantos*. In the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones*, however, Fortuna takes the position of Kypris as the dominant transcendental power. In the *Women of Trachis*, Pound equates Herakles with Fortuna. His aim is to endow Herakles with the power that will allow the preservation of Pound's ideology in the realm of the transcendental, meaning that the predominant transcendental force in the *Women of Trachis* is Herakles after his illumination, and not Kypris.⁵⁰⁵

Mason argues that Pound separates Kypris from the effects she produces.⁵⁰⁶ This separation, however, is a general tendency in his version. The divine and the human agency do not coincide in the *Women of Trachis* as in *Trachiniae*. The reason for this change is Pound's need to eliminate individual responsibility, which is a prerequisite for

⁵⁰⁴ Mason 1963: 110-111.

⁵⁰⁵ For the role of Aphrodite in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 170, 172, 186 especially for the replacement of the role of Aphrodite in the *Pisan Cantos* by Fortuna in the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones*, 207 especially for the transition from egotistic love to love as a source of order in *Canto XCI*; for love as lust and selfishness see the *Cantos LXXVI* (p. 462) and *LXXX* (p. 501). For Liebrechts' argument see Liebrechts 2008: 304, 306. For Pound's *Pisan Cantos* see Chase 1973: 86-105. For Pound's poetic production after Pisa see Alexander 1979: 206-219.

⁵⁰⁶ Mason 1963: 111.

the glorification of Herakles that in turn facilitates the preservation of the fascist ideology and addresses Pound's own guilt.

Pound stresses Herakles' gesture to display his body by giving the scene direction, '(he throws off the sheet covering him)' (WT, p. 46). Pound highlights Herakles' agony by giving the scene direction that Herakles appears 'in the mask of divine agony' (WT, p. 42). Another direction, undoubtedly the most important in the play, comes to round off the previous one. Pound comments within brackets on Herakles' presence on stage at the moment of the realization of the coincidence of the oracles, '[He turns his face from the audience, then sits erect, facing them without the mask of agony; the revealed make-up is that of solar serenity. The hair golden and as electrified as possible.]' (WT, p. 50). This scene direction is suggestive of the particular character of the metaphysical and political significance of Herakles' illumination in Pound's *Women of Trachis*.

2.2.2.5 Brackets, repetition, capital letters

Other ways that Pound uses in order to comment on the play while translating it and to stress what he considers to be important are the use of brackets, the repetition of phrases and the use of capital letters. For example, Likhas introducing the captive women to Daysair says, 'These are the ones he picked for the gods (and himself) when he sacked Eurytus.' (WT, p. 13), (*Tr.* vv. 244-245). The bracket implicitly points at something that is between concealment and disclosure, in this case Herakles' passion for Iole. At the same time it is an implicit challenge to Herakles' piety and the established notion of the divine. Similarly, when Likhas narrates the history of Herakles' bondage in Lydia, he emphatically repeats twice and the second time he puts into brackets the phrase '(that's what he says)' implying that the story is false in regard to Herakles' motive (WT, p. 14), (*Tr.* v. 249, v. 253).

The use of capital letters is very common throughout the translation. Pound puts either the first letter of the word or the whole word in capitals when he wants to underline it as key word or phrase in the text. The first word of each strophe and antistrophe in every choral ode is put in capital letters.⁵⁰⁷ Moreover, capital letters are used for important words in the dramatic text as well. The most important example is the key phrase of the play, according to Pound, ‘SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES’, (*WT*, p. 50), (*Tr.* v. 1174). On the same page he capitalizes the first letters of the word ‘Filial Obedience’, which he characterizes as ‘the great rule’ (*WT*, p. 50).⁵⁰⁸ He also uses capital letters for the word ‘DAMN’ in Hyllos’ oath ‘And God DAMN all perjurers.’ (*WT*, p. 51), (*Tr.* v. 1190). This oath is preceded by Pound’s comment about Hyllos, ‘(adds after almost imperceptible pause)’ (*WT*, p. 51). Pound thus shows Hyllos’ hesitation.

2.2.3 The meaning of crisis and transformation in Pound’s *Women of Trachis*

The scene (*WT*, pp. 42-50), which unfolds between Herakles’ first appearance on stage ‘in the mask of divine agony’ and his realization of the coincidence of the oracles, when the make-up of ‘solar serenity’ comes to replace the ‘mask of agony’, is the culmination of the crisis in the *Women of Trachis* as in *Trachiniae*. There are significant differences with crucial ideological connotations, however. In the *Women of Trachis* the scene starts without Sophocles’ ‘preliminaries of whispering attendants, the moans of Hyllos, or the hero’s gradual, bewildered return to consciousness’, as Galinsky notices.⁵⁰⁹ The verses

⁵⁰⁷ In the first choral ode (*WT*, pp. 8-9), the words in capitals are PHOEBUS, DAYS AIR, NORTH WIND, PARDON. In Khoros’ paian (*WT*, p. 12), the words APOLLO and APOLLO EUPHARETRON are put in capital letters. In the second choral ode (*WT*, p. 23), the words in capitals are KYPRIS, TWO, HE, ROCK, BUT. In the third choral ode (*WT*, pp. 28-29), the words in capitals are SAFE, SOON, TWELVE, TO PORT. In the fourth choral ode (*WT*, p. 35), the words in capitals are OYEZ, LO, WHAT MOURNFUL, LET. In the fifth choral ode (*WT*, p. 41), the words in capitals are TORN, DEATH’S, THAT WIND, THAT NOW.

⁵⁰⁸ The ‘key phrase’ and the filiality will be discussed further in Ch. 2.3.

⁵⁰⁹ Galinsky 1972: 243.

971-993 of *Trachiniae* are omitted by Pound, as we have already mentioned in the textual analysis. Furthermore, Galinsky points out that Pound's scene direction about Herakles' 'make-up of solar serenity, with the hair golden and as electrified as possible' clearly suggests Herakles' *apotheosis*, which is denied by Sophocles.⁵¹⁰ Sophocles, however, does not exclude the possibility of *apotheosis* from *Trachiniae*, as Galinsky argues, but purposefully leaves the play open-ended. Pound keeps the open-endedness of *Trachiniae* in his *Women of Trachis*, but only superficially. The last scene of the *Women of Trachis* does not differ from the last scene of *Trachiniae*, but the scene direction about the moment of Herakles' illumination that Pound adds strongly implies the *apotheosis* of Herakles. In a sense, it visualizes Herakles' *apotheosis* before the very end of the play. Herakles' agony in the *Women of Trachis* is therefore less intensively displayed than in *Trachiniae*, and conversely Herakles' illumination gains more gravity in the *Women of Trachis* than in *Trachiniae*, since it is symbolically identified with Herakles' *apotheosis*. In this way, Herakles' grandeur in the *Women of Trachis* remains essentially untouchable. The preservation of Herakles' grandeur allows Pound to preserve and transfer the main principles of his political ideology to the realm of the transcendental, instead of transforming them into the political sphere.

The capital letters of Pound's translation, 'SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES' (*WT*, p. 50), of verse 1174 of *Trachiniae*, Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπειδὴ λαμπρὰ συμβαίνει, τέκνον, highlight what Pound considers to be the 'key phrase, for which the play exists', as he explicitly states in his comment at the bottom of the same page (*WT*, p. 50). The way Pound translates verse 1174 of *Trachiniae* signifies the particular character that Herakles' agony and illumination assumes in the *Women of Trachis*. In Pound's translation, 'SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES' (*WT*, p. 50), the words 'splendour' and 'coheres'

⁵¹⁰ Galinsky 1972: 242.

are extremely important. The word 'splendour' is related to the philosophy of light of the *Cantos* and to Neoplatonism.⁵¹¹ It is associated with the primary Neoplatonic notion of the epiphany, which appears frequently throughout Pound's work, and exists in the *Women of Trachis* as well. 'Splendour' could be regarded as a sufficient translation of the word *aglaia* that is used by Plotinus in the *Enneads* (*Ennead* VI. 9), the founding text of Neoplatonism, and refers to the splendour of the Nous and of the One. This splendour is the result of a mystic vision, of a 'sudden and full insight into the workings of the divine.'⁵¹² In the *Women of Trachis* the word 'splendour' refers to the moment of Herakles' illumination, of Herakles' realization of the coincidence of the oracles.

Flory rightly points out that Herakles realizes at this moment that his present agony is the fulfilment of the oracles' prediction of his fate.⁵¹³ After this point, Herakles' entire life, past, present and future, becomes meaningful, because his 'sudden and full insight into the workings of the divine' allows him to transcend the limits of human mortality and ignorance. The light also signifies right reason, which is the reason that follows the natural law and is the source of good government. In this way, the key phrase of the play, according to Pound, is read and translated by him in Neoplatonic terms. Furthermore, the notion of the epiphany as the result of a mystic vision is similar to the union of the contemplative mind with its object of contemplation, which is mentioned in the editorial declaration as Pound's epistemological principle at large (*WT*, p. 57).

Apart from the aforementioned connotations already observed by critics, this phrase has a particular significance that has remained unnoticed. This is the precise moment of the transferral of Pound's political ideas to the realm of the transcendental. Pound emphasizes the importance of this phrase so much not simply because it signifies the existence of a

⁵¹¹ Liebrechts 2008: 310-311 makes this connection.

⁵¹² Liebrechts 2008: 310.

⁵¹³ Flory 1989: 174.

metaphysical coherence above and beyond the seeming incoherence of human life, but because that metaphysical coherence allows the survival of his political ideas in a higher realm. The failure of these ideas in the realm of political affairs is not irreversible and final since they have been elevated to the metaphysical realm.

Although Pound favours *Trachiniae* because the structural and thematic development of the play allows this transposition, the relationship between the political and the transcendental in Pound's *Women of Trachis* is not identical to the relationship between the political and the transcendental in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. In *Trachiniae* the metaphysical order incorporates the political order, but it is the responsibility of the human mind to decode this relationship and define the political principles that result from the metaphysical order. This process remains obscure in *Trachiniae* and while the gap between human and divine knowledge may be narrowed by Heracles' illumination, it is never totally bridged. Pound, meanwhile, projects his clearly defined political principles onto the transcendental and uses the metaphysical realm as a means of legitimizing and preserving these principles. The gap between human and divine knowledge in Pound's version is thus totally bridged. In a sense, the human is superimposed on the divine, and the political on the transcendental in Pound's *Women of Trachis*, whereas in *Trachiniae* the movement is the exact opposite.

This difference leads to a different ending as well. While the end of *Trachiniae* remains purposefully open, the end of the *Women of Trachis*, although superficially identical to the end of *Trachiniae*, is essentially a closed one. Pound's scene direction (*WT*, p. 50), which renders Herakles' *apotheosis* implied and visualized at the moment of his illumination signifies this closure, which is also an ideological closure. Despite Pound's declared dislike of ideology in general, his political principles, and the way they are

preserved and legitimized, nonetheless constitute an ideological closure.⁵¹⁴ All the more, this ideological closure is strong enough to eliminate the gap between the human and the divine and, at the same time, to weaken the value of rational thought *per se*. Intuition is the only method of approaching the truth for Pound, whereas in *Trachiniae* intuition is represented as the last stage of an intellectual process towards truth, which includes and presupposes rational thought.⁵¹⁵ The incapacitation of rational thought reinforces the ideological closure of Pound's version, because it excludes any possibility of rational control over his ideology.

2.2.4 The connection between the *Women of Trachis* and the *Cantos*

Xie argues that light is Pound's favourite image and that it functions as a unifying force for the *Women of Trachis*, as Holt argued for *Trachiniae*.⁵¹⁶ The image of the epiphanic light and the notion of coherence are combined in *Canto CXVI* as well. They express metaphorically Pound's agonized effort to find the personal meaning of his entire life, the aesthetic meaning of his entire poetic work and the justification of his political ideas.

Canto CXVI is revealing in this regard:

I have brought the great ball of crystal;
who can lift it?
Can you enter the acorn of light?
But the beauty is not the madness
Tho' my errors and wrecks lie about me.
And I am not a demigod,
I cannot make it cohere. (*Canto CXVI*, pp. 815-816)

⁵¹⁴ For Pound's ideas being an ideology despite his declared hostility to ideology see Nicholls 1984: 91.

⁵¹⁵ For Pound's favour of intuition see Nicholls 1984: 136.

⁵¹⁶ Xie 1999: 215; Holt 1987: 205-217.

Liebregts' analysis of this passage is very accurate, 'This passage from canto 116 may be read as a very painful admission by Pound that he is not a Herakles, and that his lifelong search for enlightenment and release would still end in a 'dark night of the soul.' Still, despite the 'Many errors', the long poem still has 'a little rightness', and thus may be said to be 'A little light, like a rushlight/ To lead back to splendour.' (*Canto CXVI*, p. 817).⁵¹⁷ What Liebregts' analysis of the *Canto CXVI* helps us understand about the *Women of Trachis* is that the translation of *Trachiniae* functioned as an existential, aesthetic and political remedy for the insurmountable imperfection and incoherence that Pound acknowledges in the *Canto CXVI*.

In the extensive comment (*WT*, p. 50) about the key phrase of the play, 'SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES', Pound links this phrase with another key phrase, 'Tutto quello che è accaduto, doveva accadere.' This is Il Duce's reputed comment and the *sententia* with which he had begun his *Notebook of Thoughts in Ponza and La Maddalena*.⁵¹⁸ Gallup observes that 'This unsigned translation from the original by Benito Mussolini was communicated by Ezra Pound and at least revised by him.'⁵¹⁹ How Pound came by the text remains unclear. The relevant passage (p. 10) reads, 'All that has happened, should have. Had it been contrary to what should have been, it would not have happened.' It becomes evident from this footnote that Pound's intention is to link the fate of Herakles with the fate of Mussolini.⁵²⁰ This phrase from Mussolini is quoted by Pound also in the *Rock-Drill*. It appears as 'All, that has been, is as it should have been' in *Canto LXXXVI* (p. 564) and as 'What has been, should have' in *Canto LXXXVII* (p. 572). Nicholls interprets this phrase as 'an oblique celebration of Mussolini's stoicism in captivity' and as 'further testimony to fascism's inevitable destruction by the money-powers' in *Canto*

⁵¹⁷ Liebregts 2008: 309.

⁵¹⁸ Flory 1989: 174; Nicholls 1984: 183, n. 2. The phrase is taken from the book *In Captivity: Notebook of Thoughts in Ponza and La Maddalena*, Edge, 4 (Mar 1957), pp. 10-26.

⁵¹⁹ Gallup 1969: 331.

⁵²⁰ Flory 1989: 174.

LXXXVI (p. 564), and as a suggestion of ‘something more mystical’ in *Canto LXXXVII* (p. 572).⁵²¹ This phrase indicates the acceptance of the fall of the fascist regime and an explanation for this fall as well. The explanation given is a combination of external and internal causes along with ‘an obscure and intermittent sense of fate and destiny, of transcendent forces at work in history.’⁵²² This sense of fate and destiny in the *Rock-Drill* is an addition to the explanation given in the *Pisan Cantos*, where the internal and external causes suffice to explain the fall of fascism. This idea of ‘transcendent forces at work in history’ is expressed also in the *Women of Trachis* by the recollection of the phrase ‘What has been, should have.’

The operation of transcendental forces in the realm of the political affairs in the *Women of Trachis* is also suggested by the frequent use of the word ‘Fortune’, as has already been mentioned in the textual analysis. I have also shown that this word has significant implications regarding the issue of agency for the protagonists. It was noted that a significant difference regarding the issue of agency becomes evident between the *Women of Trachis* and *Trachiniae*. In *Trachiniae* there is co-agency of human and divine forces in a way that human responsibility is clearly distinguishable.⁵²³ In the *Women of Trachis*, meanwhile, the distinction of human responsibility is blurred by the operation of transcendental forces. The difference in regard to the issue of agency is political apart from moral. The type of agency in the *Women of Trachis* legitimizes, in a sense, the failed political ideas by attributing their worldly failure to a transcendental necessity, which can nonetheless equally well preserve them at the level of principles. The failure of the political ideas and of their materialization does not presuppose the erroneous thought and action of their human agents. It also does not presuppose the falsity of these ideas at the

⁵²¹ Nicholls 1984: 183.

⁵²² Nicholls 1984: 183.

⁵²³ For multiple agency in *Trachiniae* see Heiden 1988: 13-23; Fletcher 2001: 8.

level of conception. Agency unfolds in the *Women of Trachis* in a way that facilitates the preservation of the failed political ideas at the level of principles and expiates the human agents for their actual political action. On the contrary, in *Trachiniae*, human responsibility, although not the only form of responsibility, is clearly attributed to human agents, and facilitates the challenge to, and the transgression of, old and failed ideological formations.

In *Canto LXXXVII* (pp. 571-2), Pound addresses the phrase from *Trachiniae* λαμπρά συμβαίνει (*Tr.* v. 1174) to the dead Deianeira and after a line repeats Mussolini's *sententia* 'What has been, should have.' The verses of the *Canto LXXXVII* related to *Trachiniae* are:

The play shaped from φλογιζόμενον
gospoda Δηάνειρα, λαμπρά συμβαίνει
From the dawn blaze to sunset
'What has been, should have' (*Canto LXXXVII*, pp. 571-2)

The verse, 'The play shaped from φλογιζόμενον', shows that, for Pound, Herakles is the central character in *Trachiniae*. Nicholls argues that in this *Canto* Pound relates Mussolini's *sententia* to the 'Sophoclean images of fire, agony and nobility.' Nicholls says characteristically, 'As in his reading of the *Trachiniae* Pound sees the fires of sunset as both destructive and revelatory, yielding a knowledge of divine purpose which enables the hero to transcend his pain.'⁵²⁴ He also notes that this pain is Pound's own suffering as well as fascism's debacle. What Nicholls does not recognize, however, is the different outcome of this process in Pound and in Sophocles. In Pound this both 'destructive and revelatory' process leads to a reaffirmation of the pre-existent ideology through its transferral to the transcendental. In Sophocles, it leads to a partial reaffirmation and partial transformation of the pre-existent ideology, namely to a new ideology. This is also the

⁵²⁴ Nicholls 1984: 185.

reason why the criticism of the old ideologies is more profound and intense in *Trachiniae* than in the *Women of Trachis*.

Consequently, the theme of crisis and transformation exists in the *Women of Trachis*, as in *Trachiniae*, but reflects Pound's own crisis. Pound's crisis existentially refers to the meaning of his life, aesthetically to the value of his poetic work and politically to the collapse of the fascist regime, the guilt in respect to Mussolini as well as his own personal guilt for the endorsement of the regime. The realization of the coherence is more intensively projected by Pound than by Sophocles and the *apotheosis* more strongly implied. The necessity of the affirmation of coherence, of an order justifying Pound's existential, aesthetic and political thought, is his main preoccupation in the *Women of Trachis* and one of the main reasons for his attraction to *Trachiniae*. This preoccupation led Pound not only to stress the key interpretative elements of *Trachiniae* in his translation, but also to cover them with his own ideological investment and even distort them due to this investment.

2.3 Ideologies operating in Pound's *Women of Trachis* in relation to Pound's economic and political thought

In this section I explore the way Pound's aesthetic and political ideas at large shaped the form the theme of crisis and transformation assumes in his version. I try to clarify and analyze even further the ideological connotations of the textual differences between the *Women of Trachis* and *Trachiniae*, already displayed in chapter 2.2. In order to deepen the understanding of these differences I draw analogies between the *Women of Trachis* and the ideological discourse of the *Cantos* of the same period, namely the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones*. *Rock-Drill* is the title of the *Cantos* LXXXV-XCV, which were written

by Pound in 1955.⁵²⁵ The temporal proximity regarding the time of production, the similarity of the language of the *Women of Trachis* to the *Cantos* and the extended reference to the *Women of Trachis* in the *Cantos* justify the connection of their ideological discourse. I attempt to show that the main ideological movement that critics attribute to the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones* appear also in the *Women of Trachis* and is essential for the understanding of the latter. I also draw elements from Pound's aesthetic and political thought across all the stages of his poetic and intellectual development and examine the resonances of these ideas with the *Women of Trachis*. The definition of the content that the scheme of crisis and transformation assumes in the *Women of Trachis* is accompanied with an ideological comparison with *Trachiniae*. I therefore attempt to trace the ideological transpositions that occur between the two plays.

2.3.1 The coincidence of the aesthetic with the political, and of the moral with the economic

In Pound, it is difficult to discern between the aesthetic and the political, the moral and the economic. His aesthetic and political thought intermingles and simultaneously develops throughout his entire life. It is suggestive that in Pound's *Guide to Kulchur*, 'the most complete synthesis of Pound's political and economic thought written in 1937', the two causes mentioned, 'economic and moral', are interconnected with each other and interchangeable. Pound's comment that 'at whichever end we begin we will, if clear headed and thorough, work out to the other' is revealing.⁵²⁶

The development of Pound's aesthetic and political thought can be generally divided into three main stages. These stages are the first period of his bohemian aestheticism, the

⁵²⁵ For the date and the position of the *Rock-Drill* in the *Cantos* see Nadel 1999: 1-21.

⁵²⁶ Redman 1999: 258.

middle period of his absorption by Social Credit theory and his attraction to fascism, and the late period of his turn to Confucianism and to aesthetic paganism. The *Women of Trachis* along with the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones* signifies the transition from the second to the third stage of Pound's aesthetic and political thought. The fall of Pound's dreams after the failure of the fascist regime necessitates a transition. The articulation of this transition aesthetically and politically is the main purpose of the *Women of Trachis*, which materializes the transition from the political to the transcendental.

2.3.2 The Social Credit

A short description of the development of Pound's thought is helpful in order clearly to define the content of his aesthetic and political thought in the *Women of Trachis*. There are elements in the supplementary texts, and in the translation itself, that could not be properly comprehended without this knowledge. In the supplementary texts (*WT*, vii-xi, xiii-xxiii, 56-62, 63-66) there is a clear defence of Pound's attraction to fascism and a protest against his indictment for treason. This defence is based on Pound's monetary theory and his opposition to 'usurocracy.' Pound's aesthetic, moral and fiscal ideas are combined to reinforce this defence. Moreover, I have already shown the emphasis on the materialistic ethos that transcends Pound's version. This ethos is directly associated with his main preoccupation with the financial and political implications of the use of money, its production, circulation and distribution, namely with Pound's monetary obsession.⁵²⁷ It is therefore necessary to display this ideological background so as to better understand the context and the content of the *Women of Trachis*.

⁵²⁷ For Pound's poetics of money see Morrison 1996: 16-19. For the relationship between money and modernity in Pound's oeuvre see Laughlin 1987: 150-166; Marsh 1998: 1-10, 68-110, 139-163.

Pound started as a bohemian aesthete.⁵²⁸ Art was his primary concern. He was ‘an aesthete and an elitist, a believer in art for art’s sake, a poet convinced of the superiority of his vocation and the triviality of any mundane matter.’⁵²⁹ After World War I, Pound deeply grieved at the loss of his friend, the sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, was preoccupied with the causes of war. Flory describes very vividly the process of the politicization of Pound’s art from the period of aestheticism and up to the end of World War I, ‘His primary concerns were his own brand of poetry, Wyndham Lewis’s brand of painting, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska’s brand of sculpture, and any aesthetic theories, such as those of T.E. Hulme. World War I sabotaged the Vorticist enterprise, killed both Gaudier and Hulme, and left Pound deeply grieved at the loss of Gaudier.’⁵³⁰ Another historical event that had a significant impact on Pound’s political thought was the Great Depression. As Ira Nadel says, ‘By the time of the Depression, Pound was convinced that the forces which caused the first World War were accelerating to a second. Simple economic reforms would be the only answer.’⁵³¹ Pound regarded the economic depression as a periodic characteristic of the capitalist system. These periodic depressions were caused by the insufficiency of purchasing power and resulted in wars, and in social and political unrest.⁵³²

Pound found the explanation he needed for World War I, this ‘cataclysmic, international tragedy’, in Douglas’ economic theory of the Social Credit.⁵³³ He discovered this theory in 1918 through his association with A. R. Orage, the editor of the influential English left-wing journal, *The New Age*. Orage serialized Douglas’ first two books, *Economic*

⁵²⁸ Flory 1999: 289. For Pound’s political thought in his early writings see Chase 1973: 3-17.

⁵²⁹ Redman 1999: 251.

⁵³⁰ Flory 1989: 48.

⁵³¹ Nadel 1999: 1-21.

⁵³² For the great depression and Pound see Nadel 1999: 1-21; Redman 1999: 255; for depression as periodic characteristic of capitalistic system see Davis 1968: 73, 78, 97-98, 162-163; Flory 1989: 57; Redman 1999: 251, 253, 254.

⁵³³ For the introduction of Pound to the theory of Social credit see Davis 1968: 106; Flory 1989: 49, 55, 73, 84; Redman 1999: 255. For Douglas’ impact on Pound see Kenner 1971: 301-317; Chase 1973: 18-36.

Democracy and Credit Power and Democracy, in the pages of *The New Age*. Orage also founded the Social Credit magazine '*New English Weekly*' in England in 1932. Orage believed in the integration of the arts and politics and that economic power precedes political power. Following the idea of the integration of arts and politics, Pound saw his role as a reformer of economic and therefore political reality as a continuation of his role as a reformer of poetry. Especially after Orage's death, he tried to be a prophet of economic and political reform in Europe and the States by disseminating the basic principles of Social Credit.

Major C. H. Douglas, the introducer of Social Credit, was an unorthodox underconsumptionist economist.⁵³⁴ He believed that the inadequate supply of money and the overproduction of goods was the cause of the periodic depressions in capitalistic societies since the 19th century. According to orthodox economists, supply creates its own demand or enough money is put into circulation through costs and wages to ensure the sufficient purchasing power of the buyer. Douglas' point of view was the opposite. He thought that the increase in productivity and the need for profit inevitably results in depressions and wars. The problem is not one of production, but of inadequate monetization and of distribution of wealth. Since productivity is increased by modern technology, the only obstacle to universal prosperity is the banking system. Banks make profit out of nothing, meaning out of credit rather than capital resources. The excessive interest they charge for the use of money and credit, which Pound called usury, is one basic reason that prices would always be higher than purchasing power.

The Social Credit answer to this problem consists of three suggestions.⁵³⁵ First the government should take control of credit and issue money, second a just price should be established and third a national dividend should be given to subsidize the buyer. Social

⁵³⁴ For the theory of C. H. Douglas see Crisp 1997: 170; Redman 1999: 249-263.

⁵³⁵ For the proposals of the Social Credit see Davis 1968: 101-104; Flory 1989: 68.

Creditors, as well as Pound, were not opposed to invested capital, but to the monopoly of deposit resources and to the practice of taking the interest out of circulation. Pound supported that credit must be created by government and the profit from the interest charged must be eliminated or shared. Douglas and Pound agreed like Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln that the government should borrow from itself at least the amount of money necessary to pay for the government debt or for social measures. In order to facilitate this procedure, the nation should own its own banks, or banks should be organized as cooperative community enterprises. As far as the just price is concerned, Douglas distinguished between the real value and the market price. He suggested the formula $A+B=\text{Right Price}$, where A is the cost and B the reasonable profit. The National Dividend was Douglas' proposed way to add money to circulation and thus increase purchasing power. This would be a percentage of the real capital assets account to be given to all citizens of the country. Douglas suggested an initial one per cent. It was a matter of discussion between Social Credit economists if the Dividend should be given equally to all citizens or proportionately according to labour, production and individual initiative in the marketplace. The only exemption was citizens whose net income was more than four times the amount of the Dividend. Pound preferred Gessell's alternative proposal of the stamp-scrip as a way to put more money into circulation.

This brief presentation of Pound's economic and political thought shows that the failure of the materialization of these ideas in political reality, which is Pound's main preoccupation in the *Women of Trachis*, referred to all the strands of his political ideology and not only to fascism. The attraction to fascism was the pre-final stage, equally failed, before the transposition of his ideology to the realm of the transcendental.

2.3.3 The transition: the *Rock-Drill* and the *Women of Trachis*

2.3.3.1 The transition as principal ideological movement

The central feature of Pound's existential and political thought in the *Women of Trachis* is the transition. The transition existentially appears as the transformation of the individual, and his identification with universal natural principles, which have political, moral and metaphysical connotations. This transition is primarily embodied by Herakles who is transformed into *Solar Serenity* (*WT*, p. 50). Politically, the translation reflects a development in Pound's thought, evident already in the *Rock-Drill*, to replace the political with the transcendental, and thus to transfer his political ideas from the historical reality to a higher level of mystic and cosmic process. Nicholls describes this process in the *Rock-Drill* as follows, 'a major transition is made from a concept of the state to a more mystical sense of it as part of the design in the total "process" of nature.'⁵³⁶ This transition was necessary in order to sustain the dream of the 'ideal city' after the fall of the fascist regime, 'the *idea statale* of fascism survives the destruction of the Axis because it is rooted in "nature", part of the essential design in things.'⁵³⁷ I argue that the same ideological movement is evident in *Trachiniae*, apart from the *Rock-Drill*. This movement defines the way Pound interprets and translates *Trachiniae*. It is Pound's ideological investment on the structural and thematic material offered by the original. In this way, the existential and the political in Pound's *Women of Trachis* are not only interconnected, but coincide. They both assume the form of natural ethics. Both the individual identity and the political order are defined by natural principles that operate in the realm of the transcendental.

⁵³⁶ Nicholls 1984: 164.

⁵³⁷ Nicholls 1984: 165.

The transition that develops in Pound's *Women of Trachis* is different from the transition in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* in regard to its process and outcome. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, the transition presupposes a more severe criticism of the established ideologies and a transgression of them. In Pound's *Women of Trachis*, however, the transition presupposes a more limited criticism of certain aspects of the established ideologies and the preservation of Pound's main political principles with their transferral to the realm of the transcendental.

2.3.3.2 From the individual to natural and moral principles

The characters in the *Women of Trachis* create the impression that they are specific but immaterial. This impression resembles the way Elliott defines the 'self' in Pound's poetry at large. It is a 'self' heavily influenced by American Neoplatonism's conception of identity, which surpasses the limits of concrete individuality. Elliott⁵³⁸ says:

American Neoplatonism was an essential element in the unfolding of the *Cantos*, from beginning to the end. Pound inherited from his nineteenth-century forebears a concept of the self which determined, in major ways, the form, purpose, and content of his poem. Shifting images-idolons-of the self as transparent, spherical, crevice and macrocosmic enabled Pound to conceive of a poem that would mirror these attributes to become the 'bulging' crystalline sphere in which innumerable visions are possible, blending the historical past and the experiential present of its readers.

The language the characters use in the *Women of Trachis* facilitates Pound's criticism of the political and economic reality, whereas their names and Herakles' *apotheosis* point at a higher level of existence. This level of existence is the level characterized as 'one opposed to mere existence' in the editorial declaration (*WT*, p. 57). It is regarded as valuable for the broadening and deepening of the human experience. The characters in

⁵³⁸ Elliott 1992: 43.

Pound's *Women of Trachis* embody the antithesis and polarization between the triviality of the worldly affairs and the superiority of the realm above them, a favourite topic for Pound in the *Cantos* as well.⁵³⁹ The gap between them is bridged only with the ascent from the lower realm to the higher one, a process represented by Herakles' agony and illumination.

The names of the characters on the first page of the translation are suggestive:

PERSONAE

The Day's Air, DAIANEIRA, daughter of Oineus,
HERAKLES ZEUSON, the Solar Vitality,
AKHELOOS, a river, symbol of the power of damp and darkness, triform as
water, cloud and rain,
Hyllos, son of Herakles and Daysair,
Likhas, A messenger,
A nurse, or housekeeper, old and tottery, physically smaller than Daysair,
IOLE, Tomorrow, daughter of Eurytus, a King,
Captive women,

Girls of Trachis. (*WT*, p. 4)

It becomes obvious that the main characters, Daysair, Herakles, Akheloos, Iole, are equated with natural phenomena with physical, metaphysical and moral significance. The image of an animistic universe with a structure transcending all the material and immaterial aspects of it is thus evident from the very beginning of the translation. The individuals exist but only as organic parts of this holistic vision. This animistic vision of the natural universe exists also in the *Rock-Drill*.⁵⁴⁰

Mason argues that the change of the names of the protagonists is generally useful in the creative translation,⁵⁴¹ but he regards the names that Pound chooses for the personae of the drama as a poor choice. I disagree with his assessment. The names of the protagonists

⁵³⁹ Nicholls 1984: 189-190.

⁵⁴⁰ Nadel 1999: 1-21.

⁵⁴¹ Mason 1963: 121.

reflect the realm of the transcendental, which is crucial for the preservation of Pound's ideology.

The identification of individual identity with the transcendental natural and moral principles, that overwhelm the mutability of worldly affairs, is the essential content of Herakles' transformation in Pound's *Women of Trachis*. This identification has significant political implications that differentiate Pound's version from the Greek play. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, Heracles realizes the necessity of the subordination of his individual will to the metaphysical order that both surpasses and encompasses his individuality. In Pound's *Women of Trachis* meanwhile, Herakles' will and substance is identified with and projected onto the transcendental realm. The difference is significant. Although the transcendental realm is decisive for the character of the transformation in both cases, it is more metaphysically orientated in *Trachiniae* and more physically orientated in the *Women of Trachis*. Furthermore, in *Trachiniae* the transcendental realm restricts human individuality by a willingly self-imposed subordination, whereas in the *Women of Trachis* it reinforces the individual will, not of all the personae of the drama but only of the leading figure of Herakles. The new balance that the moment of Heracles' illumination signifies in both plays acquires, therefore, different political qualities: it is more democratic in *Trachiniae* and more autocratic in the *Women of Trachis*.

Herakles is transformed into the Solar Vitality, 'the eternal force behind the alternation of human fortune.'⁵⁴² This idea of the ascent into a higher level of existence appears also in the *Cantos* and is mediated by Pound's favourite goddess in the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones*, Fortuna.⁵⁴³ Fortuna is the goddess who assumes in the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones* the all-controlling power given to Aphrodite in *The Pisan Cantos*. The identification of Herakles with Fortuna is implied by Pound's scene direction (*WT*, p. 50)

⁵⁴² Liebrechts 2008: 311.

⁵⁴³ Nicholls 1984: 186-190.

which renders the illumination of Herakles *apotheosis*, which in the *Women of Trachis* takes place before the very end of the play. The element of fortune, with the notion of both luck and destiny, appears frequently in the *Women of Trachis*, as we have shown in the textual analysis. Herakles' identification with this power, therefore, is simply a new symbolic representation of the same transcendental power, which serves Pound's dramaturgic purpose to identify this power with his ideology. Herakles thus becomes the pivotal cosmic power in the *Women of Trachis*, which contains and preserves Pound's aesthetic and political ideas.

It is suggestive that, in the *Cantos*, Pound introduces Fortuna in *Canto LXXXVI*, before the Heracleian epiphany in *Canto LXXXVII*. 'Man is under Fortuna', Pound says in the *Canto LXXXVI* (*Cantos*, p. 566), before the 'λαμπρά συμβαίνει' and the 'What has been, should have' of the *Canto LXXXVII* (*Cantos*, pp. 571-2). Nicholls connects these subsequent *Cantos* by drawing an interesting analogy, 'Just as the tragic hero is liberated from his torment by a sudden awareness of the divine plan, so Pound at this late stage in the poem is contemplating the possibility of his own 'ascent' from the contingent realm of Fortune.'⁵⁴⁴

Apart from Pound's personal agony to achieve his own 'ascent', the Heracleian epiphany of *Canto LXXXVII* clearly separates the world of human affairs, which is related to money and the 'contending forces of the market-place', from the 'superior height' of Herakles' vision.⁵⁴⁵ Pound relates Fortuna to the Dantean cosmology in *Canto XCVI* (*Cantos*, p. 656) and in *Canto XCVII* (*Cantos*, pp. 676-677). In this way he makes Fortuna 'the pivotal power' between the 'sublunary' sphere of worldly affairs and the 'higher region of insights and perceptions.' In *Canto XCVII*, Pound says that the ascent from the one sphere to the other presupposes a deliberate shifting between them, 'phase over

⁵⁴⁴ Nicholls 1984: 187.

⁵⁴⁵ Nicholls 1984: 187, 190.

phase.’ This ascent and shifting in the *Women of Trachis* are embodied by Herakles and therefore, Herakles’ role as ‘Solar Vitality’ in the *Women of Trachis* is the equivalent of Fortuna in the *Rock-Drill*. The analogy between Herakles in the *Women of Trachis* and Fortuna in the *Cantos* is not only an analogy of symbolism, but also of purpose in that both offer a solution to Pound’s aesthetic and political impasse.

In the *Cantos* Fortuna is a symbol with multiple connotations. It symbolizes wealth, literally and metaphorically, money and luck.⁵⁴⁶ Nicholls says about the role of Fortuna in the *Rock-Drill*, ‘First, Fortune expresses the uncertain nature of existence, but in her Dantean form as an angelic power she allows this condition to become a source of both pathos and nobility (as in the Heracleian revelation of divine purpose). Fortune is thus a potent symbol of that mixed sense of personal tragedy and hidden destiny which colours much of Pound’s late writing.’⁵⁴⁷ It is precisely this ‘mixed sense of personal tragedy and hidden destiny’ that is expressed by the key phrase ‘SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES’ in the *Women of Trachis* (*WT*, p. 50), (*Tr.* v. 1174).

2.3.3.3 Pound’s contradictory individualism

Apart from the identification of the individual with natural and moral principles, another important dimension of Pound’s existential and political thought that is evident in Pound’s oeuvre in general, and which is significant for the understanding of the *Women of Trachis*, is his contradictory individualism. Pound’s conception of the relationship between individual and society was shaped by various influences: modernity, bohemian

⁵⁴⁶ Nicholls 1984: 187.

⁵⁴⁷ Nicholls 1984: 190.

aestheticism, aesthetic elitism, fascist ideology and Confucianism. Peter Crisp sketches this ideological background very well.⁵⁴⁸

Both fascist ideology and Confucianism engaged the idea that the individual exists for the society, not the society for the individual.⁵⁴⁹ The collective political and economic interest is superior to the private one. Social and political harmony and peace is superior to individual liberty. Although Pound supported the liberty of the individual in the private sphere, he advocated the necessity of collective interests during the 1930s. Pound's attraction to fascism during the interwar years was part of a widely spread phenomenon among intellectuals who were attracted to communism or fascism or both. Peter Berger suggests an interpretation of this phenomenon.⁵⁵⁰ This attraction was a reaction to the demo-liberal bourgeois system and to economic and social modernity. Modernity implied a split between the private and the public sphere. This split was the reason for an anomic situation and great unhappiness for individuals, and especially for the intellectuals who questioned tradition. Church and family was a solution to the anomie of extreme individualism but intellectuals were exposed more than any other category to the unhappiness and the boredom of this anomic situation, since they put into question both church and family.

Communism and fascism offered the possibility of rebellion against the traditional institutions and the demo-liberal system, but they also offered the possibility of total reintegration into society, at least in the sphere of political fantasy. Thus, they were simultaneously modern and anti-modern. Fascism, to which Pound was mainly attracted, especially favoured the idea of rebellion, of continuous revolution, and extensively used

⁵⁴⁸ Crisp 1997: 160-174.

⁵⁴⁹ For the relationship between individual and state in Pound's oeuvre see also Mottram 1992: 93.

⁵⁵⁰ Berger 1979: 86-100.

images of modernity like Mussolini the aviator. At the same time, it offered the possibility of social reintegration through extreme nationalism and the cult of State authority.⁵⁵¹

This tendency is significant for understanding Pound's intellectual surroundings, but it is not sufficient to explain Pound's individualism. Crisp argues that Pound's contradictory individualism is even more complex. Pound's perception of politics as natural ethics implied the compatibility of the individual with the society, and therefore there was no reasonable need for social reintegration. On the other hand, in his first period of bohemian aestheticism Pound advocated the Romantic vision of the irreducible conflict between the individual and the society.⁵⁵² This ideological background, combined with the collectivist ideals of the 1930's, generated Pound's romantic concept of an isolated, creative and inspirational genius, like Mussolini, the artist of the state, who implements an unpredictably unfolding project. The image of the inspirational genius derives from the aestheticism of 1860 onwards, which promoted a depoliticized concept of art. Pound politicized this artistic elitism. As Crisp shows, Pound projected an aesthetically generated personal meaning onto the impersonal public world.⁵⁵³

I argue that the *Women of Trachis*, both in the editorial declaration and in the translation itself, reflects this ideological background. The main ideas of the editorial declaration, the failure of science and the inadequacy of the Church that cause inanition and low vitality, vacuity and meaninglessness, and the domination of commercial standards that causes passivity and poverty of experience, project this contradictory attitude towards scientific, political and economic modernity. The radical challenge to the established religion and the devastating consequences of the split between the private and the public sphere for the individual become apparent. What is suggested as a solution to this

⁵⁵¹ For Pound, fascism and authority see Durant 1983: 96-128. For modernism and fascism see Morrison 1996: 3-15. For modernists poets and fascism see Kayman 1986: 1-32.

⁵⁵² For Pound's post-romantic consciousness see Bornstein 1977.

⁵⁵³ Crisp 1997: 171.

existential and political impasse is the embodiment of truth through art and religion, in the form of mysticism and not in the form of religion's established institutions. The solution suggested is essentially the projection of 'an aesthetically generated personal meaning onto the impersonal public world' mentioned above. Apart from the editorial declaration, the text of the translation itself depicts and criticizes at the same time social and economic modernity. It also reveals an atmosphere of disbelief and hostility to the established form of religion. On the other hand, no constitutionalized forms of religion, such as Confucianism, Christian mysticism, ancient philosophical and religious doctrines, the concept of the animistic universe, are combined in order to offer a transcendental solution to Pound's ideological impasse. This solution is not different in nature than the solution suggested by Crisp.

Pound's attitude towards religious beliefs in general is strongly associated with his attitude towards scientific, economic and political modernity. He relates Protestantism and Hebrewism to logic and Catholicism to faith.⁵⁵⁴ He also believes that Protestantism and Hebrewism support international usurers and money makers in contrast to Catholicism, which protects traditional European values. He connects Protestantism's and Hebrewism's monotheism with monopoly in commerce, and ancient Greek polytheism with guild organizations. Even his attraction to Confucianism was political more than spiritual, because Confucianism offered the metaphysical and moral foundation of the new political order proposed by Pound. This order becomes apparent in the *Women of Trachis* after the moment of Herakles' illumination. Confucianism was the only religious system that imposed on Pound a specific moral code.⁵⁵⁵ Pound at the beginning of his

⁵⁵⁴ Nicholls 1984: 158, 156, 154.

⁵⁵⁵ Flory 1989: 177.

literary creation was opposed to any type of religion that demanded a specific type of conduct.⁵⁵⁶

I argue that in the *Women of Trachis* the process of rebellion and reintegration is embodied by Herakles' agony and illumination. Herakles' agony personifies and visualizes the consequences of 'the anomie of the extreme individualism', whereas his illumination allows his reintegration through the redefinition of the limits of his individuality. The process of reintegration is facilitated by two elements, the concept of gender and the concept of politicized aestheticism. Herakles' role in the *Women of Trachis* corresponds to the overall role of the male in Pound's oeuvre. The male is generally equated with poetic genius and the element of transformation, whereas the female and its reproductive function are related to the conservation of culture. The female functions as the agent of mediation with the beyond.⁵⁵⁷ The male also represents the moral integrity and the establishment of just laws. Herakles' role in the *Women of Trachis* echoes as well the image of the 'isolated, creative and inspirational genius, like Mussolini, the artist of the state, who implements an unpredictably unfolding project.' The idea of the inspirational genius of artistic elitism is successfully politicized and becomes applicable to Herakles and, by implication, to Mussolini.

The illumination as expressed in the key phrase 'SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES' (*WT*, p. 50), (*Tr.* 1174), is a case of 'an aesthetically generated personal meaning projected onto the impersonal public world.' The perception of coherence is achieved intuitively and not logically and is therefore mainly an aesthetic and not an intellectual process, the outcome of which is the realization of coherence. The content of this coherence, although it is a subjective individual conception based on intuition, is objectified and imposed on the public world as a natural, moral, political and metaphysical principle. This argument

⁵⁵⁶ Flory 1989: 177.

⁵⁵⁷ Dennis 1999: 266, 269, 275, 280.

is supported by the supplementary to the translation texts and by fascist ideology. The intuitive way of approaching the truth is characterized in the editorial declaration as the only possible means of embodiment of the truth. The value of intuition in the translation echoes the anti-intellectualistic tendency of fascist ideology, which was opposed to the abstraction of theory and favoured the precision and energy of action, as has been shown in the textual analysis.⁵⁵⁸

In the *Women of Trachis*, as well as in his other poetic works, Pound rejects logic and reason as a source of knowledge. I argue that the epistemological and aesthetic ideas that the critics recognize in the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones* also define Pound's translation of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*.⁵⁵⁹ Pound advocates intuition, specificity and precision. Intuition becomes the primary way of perceiving the truth, and specificity, concreteness, an emphasis on detail and precision are also the prerequisites for the embodiment of the truth. Despite the professed attraction of Pound to Neoplatonism, his epistemological method is an inversion of the Neoplatonic hierarchy of knowledge, since in Pound the observation of the facts is the first stage in order to obtain knowledge and not the other way around (from reason to facts).

Pound's preference for specificity and detail initially originated with his endorsement of Imagism and of the anti-intellectualism of fascism.⁵⁶⁰ The predominance of detail was superseded by the emphasis on intuition after the fall of the fascist regime and the failure of the fascist ideology in historical terms. At the last stage of Pound's poetic production, Pound's preference for detail was satisfied by his turn to the specificity of nature. The *Women of Trachis* belongs to the beginning of this last stage and combines an insistence

⁵⁵⁸ For the anti-intellectualism of fascism see Nicholls 1984: 98-99 and 158 for Pound and anti-intellectualism. For the textual analysis see Ch. 2.2.

⁵⁵⁹ For Pound's epistemological and aesthetic ideas in the *Cantos* in regard to specificity, clarity, precision, detail, intuition, historicity and materiality see Nicholls 1984: 91, 136, 137, 172; Flory 1989: 88.

⁵⁶⁰ For Pound and Neoplatonism see Flory 1989: 177-178; Elliott 1992: 43; Liebrechts 2008: 302, 310.

on detail with the predominance of intuition and a reverence for nature. Especially as far as the perception of historical reality is concerned, Pound's main idea is that history cannot be understood, only felt, which means that historical reality could be approached only intuitively and not logically.

In the *Women of Trachis*, Herakles' illumination constitutes a moment of intuitive embodiment of truth including historical reality. The frequent use of the word 'facts' is a connection to historicity, as well as an indication of Pound's epistemological preference for details. It is also a strong hint of fascist ideology, which Pound regarded as a factual method against the abstraction of other ideologies.⁵⁶¹ The reverence for nature is more than evident in the form of Solar Serenity that Herakles acquires after his illumination. Crisp's argument that Pound politicized the artistic elitism of 1860 onwards therefore also applies to Pound's translation of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, since the way Pound regards reality, including historical reality, in his version is purely aesthetic. The *Women of Trachis* reflects this epistemological and ideological background.

Furthermore, the fact that Herakles' agony is less intensively displayed in the *Women of Trachis* than in *Trachiniae* may find one element of justification within the framework of Pound's contradictory individualism. The passage from agony to illumination is smoother in the *Women of Trachis* exactly because of the idea of the social compatibility between individual and society. There is no need for a radical transformation of the individual in order to be reintegrated into a new social and political order. The transformation is essentially a sort kind of coordination with pre-existing natural and moral principles.⁵⁶² This idea allows the twofold movement in the *Women of Trachis*, rebellion and reintegration, to develop more unproblematically than in *Trachiniae*. It also implies the

⁵⁶¹ For Pound regarding the fascist ideology as a factual method see Nicholls 1984: 80.

⁵⁶² For Pound's conception of the order in the *Cantos* as latent and pre-existent see Nicholls 1984: 88, 91, 94, 106. For the conception of order in Pound see also Chase 1973: 37-48.

sustainability of the fascist ideology for Pound, even if this ideology is transferred to a higher level of existence, above ‘historicality’ and ‘contingent materiality.’⁵⁶³ The preservation of the fascist ideology is another reason that necessitates the alleviation of the criticism of Herakles before his illumination. We have shown that many of the changes that Pound makes in his version serve precisely this purpose.

Moreover, the result of the transition in the *Women of Trachis* is a reaffirmation of Pound’s contradictory individualism. Herakles, the embodiment of the ‘inspirational genius’, is glorified and deified in an animistic universe after his illumination. This glorification implies the glorification of fascist ideology, at least at the level of principles. Fascist ideology presupposes and perpetuates the contradictory individualism: on the one hand the unique deified individuality of the leader and on the other the individuality of the people, now completely absorbed by the collectivist ideals, co-exist as equal founding elements of this ideological formation. Consequently, Pound’s contradictory individualism is evident in the *Women of Trachis*, as in his entire poetic work, and defines the way that the contrast between the old and the new is shaped in the translation.

Comparing the way the idea of natural ethics operates in Pound’s *Women of Trachis* and in Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*, it is possible to draw an interesting and contradictory conclusion. The pre-existence of universal principles (physical, metaphysical, moral and political) is a common ground that both plays share, and probably the main reason for Pound’s declared preference for this play and the attention he pays to the ‘key phrase’ of verse 1174 of *Trachiniae*. The different handling by the two authors of this common idea, however, results in different, not to say opposite, epistemological and political connotations.

⁵⁶³ Nicholls 1984: 172.

Sophocles first disrupts the identification of the natural principles with the aristocratic ideology and then projects the vision of universal principles that transcend every form of existence, including the political realm. These principles, however, cannot be oversimplified and appropriated by any form of political ideology. It is the responsibility of the human mind, both rationally and intuitively, to decode these principles and translate them into political actions. This process is inherently open-ended because of the impossibility of a complete coincidence between human and divine knowledge. The open-endedness in the *Trachiniae* allows the perpetual rediscovery and reinterpretation of the unchangeable in their origin and quality principles. The constant reinterpretation increases the necessity and the value of human intellect, whilst at the same time allowing fluidity and change at the level of historicality.

In contrast, Pound identifies his political ideas with the eternal principles of nature in order to avoid the annihilation of these ideas after their historical failure. He also denies the value of rational thought by promoting exclusively the value of the intuition. In this way, the conception of the eternal principles is subjectified due to the prevalence of intuition, whereas their imposition on political reality is objectified due to the authority of the 'inspirational genius.' What in *Trachiniae* was a 'democratic opening' at the end of the play, becomes in the *Women of Trachis* an autocratic closure.

2.3.3.4 The new political order, the state and the law

Critics argue that in the *Rock-Drill* a new political order is to be established, a new 'city' is to be built. I argue that the same project unfolds in the *Women of Trachis* as well. This new 'city' has a twofold significance for Pound. It signifies 'Mussolini's state and the visionary city which will be reconstructed from the debris and projected into an uncertain future.' This reconstruction and the transition from the political to the transcendental that

it presupposes is based on an intensification of certain aspects of Pound's Confucianism.⁵⁶⁴ Pound's perception of the state, of the law and of social and political organization encompasses the elements that allow and facilitate this transition.⁵⁶⁵ I argue that, apart from the *Rock-Drill*, these elements are also evident in the *Women of Trachis* and are decisive for the understanding of the political connotations of Pound's version.

Pound's perception of the state, based on the Confucian social and political ethic and on the fascist idea of the cult of the State, is the natural, hierarchical, organic state. Pound interweaves the Confucian ethic and the fascist ideas to the point of identification towards the end of 1930s. The product of this mingling is a totalitarian social and political vision.⁵⁶⁶ Pound engages the fascist conception of the state as an entity embracing all values, as well as the Confucian idea of the origin of the state in nature. The formal principles of the state are universal principles given by nature. Authority and obligation are determined by nature. The political law is the natural law. It is pre-constitutional. Social and political obligation derives from nature, from the goodness intrinsic to human nature in particular. The disposition to virtue is a formal principle of both state and nature, which surpasses the individual. This disposition to virtue, expressed as *directio voluntatis* in the soul of individuals, is decisive for the success or the failure of all political movements. In the *Women of Trachis*, the value of nature as a source of moral and political virtue is clearly stated in the editorial declaration (*WT*, p. 58) and suggested by

⁵⁶⁴ For Pound and Confucius see Kenner 1971: 445.

⁵⁶⁵ For the transcendental vision of the new city in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 164, 165. For the perception of the state in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 88, 106, 108, 111, 122, 126, 167, 178-179; Flory 1989: 176; Crisp 1997: 166; Xie 1999: 213; Redman 1999: 256. For the notion of rectification, the poet and the ruler in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 100, 109, 161, 173, 178; Xie 1999: 213. For the origin of the political power in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 87-89. For the absolute benevolent authority in the *Cantos* see Davis 1968: 80, 96; Nicholls 1984: 92, 97, 117, 118; Redman 1999: 256. For the metaphysics of language and the state in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 91, 92, 98, 99, 106. For the historical reality and Pound's perception of the state in the *Cantos* see Davis 1968: 151; Nicholls 1984: 83, 88, 89.

⁵⁶⁶ For Mussolini and the totalitarian in Pound see Chase 1973: 49-70.

Herakles' transformation into Solar Vitality. This transformation functions as a dramatic representation of the coincidence of natural, moral and political principles.

In case of deviation from the natural law, the process of the re-alignment of the political law with the natural law is called rectification. The rectification starts with the proper definition of the names, which means the identification of word with essence. The linguistic precision becomes the foundation of moral and political rightness. Since rectification is foremost the poet's mission, the poet assumes artistic, moral and political authority. Although the failure of the fascist regime proved to Pound the incompatibility of poetic and political insights, the role of the poet as producer of culture remains central in the *Women of Trachis*, as in the *Rock-Drill*. The emphasis on art in the editorial declaration (*WT*, p. 57-58) clearly reveals the significance of this role. The analogy between poet and ruler is replaced by the analogy between poet and sage, who still shapes the values of the state in the *Rock-Drill*. It is a mild transposition, which results in the replacement of political authority with a spiritual authority. The transferral of Pound's ideology to the realm of the transcendental in the *Women of Trachis* in a sense reflects this transposition.

For Pound power is not given by the people, but obtained by an exceptional individual, even without popular consent. The necessary quality that this individual must possess in order to gain power is his ability to understand the latent political order, which is rediscovered rather than made. This quality is a charisma shared in common by the poet and the ruler; a capacity attained through intelligence and culture. The latent political order pre-exists as a part of the natural order and it is conveyed through a complex tradition of laws, customs and political relationships. The key phrase of the play 'SPLENDOUR, IT ALL COHERES' (*WT*, p. 50), (*Tr.* v. 1174) is exactly the moment

when Herakles rediscovers the latent political order, which exists as part of the natural order.

Although the political order is rediscovered rather than made in both plays, Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Pound's *Women of Trachis*, there is a significant difference regarding the relationship of this order to tradition. In *Trachiniae*, the rediscovery of the pre-existent political order presupposes the transgression of the tradition, especially in the form of aristocratic ethics and politics. In a sense, the human intellect liberates the individual from false preconceptions and established presumptions. In the *Women of Trachis*, the political order is to be found in the laws and customs of tradition. *Trachiniae* is future orientated, whereas Pound's *Women of Trachis* is past orientated. This movement in Pound's version corresponds to the general tendency in his oeuvre to idealize societies remote in time, especially pre-constitutional societies. These societies offered Pound another field in which to implement his political ideas apart from the realm of the transcendental, at least at the level of political fantasy.

This analogy reveals another difference between the latent political order in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and in Pound's *Women of Trachis*. The political law in *Trachiniae* must be attuned to broader metaphysical and moral principles, but it is human, intellectual, moral and civic responsibility to define and implement the political law. It is a conception of the law that does not eliminate the conception of the social contract, despite the universality of the metaphysical and moral principles. In contrast, Pound's conception of the law, as of political order at large, is pre-constitutional. This is another element that reinforces the autocratic character of the political ideas ascribed to the *Women of Trachis*.

This type of government is the model of a benign but absolute authority, based on the existence of a benevolent leader. The necessity of the benevolent leader derives from fascist ideology as well as from the Confucian political ethic. The absolute authority of

the benevolent leader is axiomatic in fascism and presupposes the inversion of the Neoplatonic hierarchy. The benevolent leader becomes the source of right reason, the essence of good government, and not *vice versa*. This submission signifies subordination to an external idea, a principle to which Pound was initially opposed. It is a contradiction of his political thought. The only limit to this absolute authority is moral. The leader must decide and act serving the best interest of his people. Pound regards the orders of the absolute benevolent leader not as the product of an arbitrary personal judgement, but of sanctioned precepts, which transcend the individual will. The moral foundation of the benign absolute authority was the main reason for Pound's attraction to Confucianism. Herakles' implied *apotheosis* in the *Women of Trachis* symbolizes this absolute benign authority.

Another difference with Sophocles' *Trachiniae* becomes apparent. In *Trachiniae*, Heracles' agony and illumination establishes the necessity of law. Individual will, traditional social ethics, and self-defined morality are not enough to secure the righteousness of the action of the leader. In the *Women of Trachis*, however, the morality of the leader and the established customs are enough to secure the appropriateness of his political conduct. It is again an autocratic closure.

It becomes obvious that Pound's conception of the state results from his metaphysics of the language and that his politics acquire the form of natural ethics. Although he programmatically rejects ideology as the field of abstraction and he characterizes his views as a new methodology, expressing also fascism's hostility to intellectualism, his views in fact constitute another ideology. This is another element of contradiction in his political thought. Both elements, language, especially as a medium for the art of *poiesis*, and nature, as a unifying source of order, are particularly significant in the *Women of Trachis*, and the supplementary to the edition texts celebrate both of them (*WT*, pp. xiii-

xxiii, 56-62). I have already analyzed the significance of the type of language that Pound chooses to use for his translation of *Trachiniae*.⁵⁶⁷

The handling of the elements of language and nature is another difference between Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Pound's *Women of Trachis*. In *Trachiniae*, both language and nature appear ambiguous with their positive qualities replacing the negative ones only after the moment of Heracles' illumination.⁵⁶⁸ Language can connote deception as well as persuasion. Nature can connote monstrosity as well as order. What makes the difference is the level of coordination between human will and the universal metaphysical principles. In the *Women of Trachis*, language and nature are regarded as exclusively positive elements. What underlies these differences is Pound's belief in the absoluteness of the virtue of the poet as well as of the benevolent leader, which renders the destructive use of language and nature impossible. In a sense, it is a scheme of self-justification, which constitutes another form of autocratic closure.

As far as the historical reality is concerned, Pound's conception of the state is well rooted in the conservative tradition of the American Enlightenment and opposes the liberal contract theory and the dichotomy between state and individual that this theory presupposes. It is also strongly related to the fascist idea of the Corporate State, an idea generated by the Guild Socialist movement. The Corporate State was an alternative for Pound to the defunct and chaotic system of representational democracy and the abstraction of the capitalistic monetary system. The idea of the Corporate State was a primary reason for Pound's attraction to fascism. Pound, influenced by Odon Por, believed that an authoritative government, like Mussolini's Italy, was the ideal environment to implement the economic policies that the Social Credit theory proposed. This idea is part of the defence of Pound's attraction to fascism, which unfolds in the

⁵⁶⁷ See Ch. 2.2.

⁵⁶⁸ See also Chapter One.

supplementary to the translation of the *Women of Trachis* texts, especially in the text with the title ‘Why Pound liked Italy’ (*WT*, pp. 63- 66), written by Riccardo M. Degli Uberti.

2.3.3.5 Transition, transformation, renewal

In this section I argue that the main political ideas emerging from the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones* in regard to the notion of transformation also define the way the process of transition unfolds in the *Women of Trachis*.⁵⁶⁹ The fall of the fascist regime forced Pound to search for a paradigm of the state not in political reality, but in historically remote societies, as I have already mentioned, and foremost in a sense of civic order transcending any form of material embodiment. The celebration of China’s history is a good example of a remote pre-constitutional society that offered Pound an opportunity to project, even retrospectively, his vision of political order. China was also an appropriate historical field for the projection of Pound’s collectivist ideals. In the *Cantos* of St. Elizabeth’s Hospital period, these ideals are slightly modified to the extent that the unimportant individuals and their daily activities are hymned by Pound.⁵⁷⁰ The masses share a part of the glory of the ‘inspirational genius.’

In the *Rock-Drill* Pound defends the fundamental principles of his conception of the state by raising them above historical reality. The principles remain essentially unchangeable, but they no longer constitute a political ideology intended to materialize in historical reality. They function as a purely transcendental conception of a visionary city, whose

⁵⁶⁹ For the transferral of the fascist ideology to the transcendental realm in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 121, 123, 124, 161, 162, 164, 182; for the notion of sensibility and benevolence in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 106; for the family, the filiality and the political order in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 120, 200; Flory 1989: 178; for the notion of the state as product of constant dialectic and transformation in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 97, 101, 108; for the notion of the Confucian renewal in the *Cantos* see Nicholls 1984: 172.

⁵⁷⁰ For Pound’s turn to the daily activities of ordinary individuals in the *Cantos* see Flory 1989: 179. This tendency is evident in many of the *Cantos* he wrote during his incarceration in St. Elizabeth’s Hospital: 87/571-72, 93/629, 94/642, and 98/684.

ideal remains indestructible in the mind.⁵⁷¹ This vision unfolds above and beyond the reality of political affairs and is part of the design in the total process of nature, an idea that reflects Confucian unitive normative ethics. I argue that Pound follows the same movement in the *Women of Trachis* as well.

The transition includes Pound's turn to simpler values like the notion of benevolence and sensibility, meaning the notion of a unifying unselfish love that is the source of cosmic and political order and coherence. It becomes obvious that the reference to the 'sensibility' of *Trachiniae* in Pound's initial comment is not coincidental in regard to the selection of that specific word, but a very first hint of the broader ideological discourse that unfolds in his version. Egotistic love and sexual depravity is rejected and equated with political tyranny. It is regarded as 'disfigurement of social affection' that results from 'passion unchecked by law and self-discipline.'⁵⁷² Pound's interest is transferred from external to internal causes, from corrupted institutions to faults of human nature.⁵⁷³ The transformation that Herakles undergoes in the *Women of Trachis* resonates with this moral ideal. Herakles restrains his uncontrollable sexual desire from the moment of his illumination. The criticism of Herakles' ethos before his transformation may be less intense in the *Women of Trachis* than in *Trachiniae*, but it is not completely eradicated.

Family becomes the basic unit of political organization, since the relationships established within the family determine by implication the social and political relationships. The relationship between father and son is seen as extremely important. It is regarded as a means of the transference of the formulaic wisdom given by tradition. Filiality guarantees political and cultural continuity since, along with self-discipline, it is the moral foundation of the authority of the ethical state. This relationship between father and son is very

⁵⁷¹ For Pound's visionary city see Kenner 1971: 382.

⁵⁷² Nicholls 1984: 131.

⁵⁷³ Flory 1989: 80.

important in the *Women of Trachis*, where ‘the male principle in Heaven and on Earth, in Father and Son’, as Mason puts it, is dominant.⁵⁷⁴ Mason’s comment is right in regard to the gender hierarchy, but wrong in regard to the reference to the established and institutionalized Christian religion. The predominance of the male on every level, including the metaphysical, is evident in the *Women of Trachis*. The challenge to the established religion is evident as well. Galinsky’s remark that the relationship between Zeus and Herakles and between Herakles and Hyllos is more harmonious in the *Women of Trachis* than in *Trachiniae* further supports my argument that the political ideas emerging from the *Rock-Drill* define Pound’s translation of *Trachiniae* as well.⁵⁷⁵ Galinsky notices that Zeus does not disapprove of Herakles’ behaviour in the *Women of Trachis* and that Pound omits the lines in the final scene, which ‘show the conflict between father and son and Hyllos’ abhorrence of Herakles’ inhuman commands.’ The way Herakles asks Hyllos to obey is indicative, ‘This is the great rule: Filial Obedience.’, (*WT*, p. 50). The capital letters stress even further the significance of the word.

Another difference between Pound’s *Women of Trachis* and Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* is evident. In *Trachiniae*, there is criticism of patriarchy, which, while it may not result in the complete reversal of gender inequality, does establish a milder form of patriarchy at the end of the play. In the *Women of Trachis*, however, there is no criticism of patriarchy. The same patriarchal order remains well established from the beginning to the end. The female functions as the mediator of the male’s change, but its secondary position is unquestioned. This gender balance is attuned to Pound’s conception of the function of gender in general. Although, he had cooperated in reality with the most avant-garde women of the modernist movement, his intellectual and aesthetic position regarding the

⁵⁷⁴ Xie 1999: 215.

⁵⁷⁵ Galinsky 1972: 242.

role of the female was conservative.⁵⁷⁶ The female body was transformed by Pound into a spiritual and aesthetic value. Dennis argues that the position of the female body in Pound's poetry was a reaction to the excesses of the Victorians. In contrast to the Victorians who represented the female body either as angelic or hysterical, Pound represents it as normal. This difference also makes clear, if seen retrospectively, that there is a criticism of patriarchy in *Trachiniae* and that it is significant, despite different contemporary feminist readings of the play.

The transition that unfolds in the *Women of Trachis* is part of Pound's general conception of the state as a self-renewing entity. This conception was also based on a fascist idea, promoting the image of the state as the product of continuous dialectic and transformation between the society and the individual. In fascist ideology, the state is always in a process of becoming; an entity in constant change, a project unpredictably unfolding, a dynamo. This is the neoidealist idiom of 'dialectic and transformation', well expressed by Giovanni Gentile. Pound totally engaged this idea of dialectic and transformation and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, with its structural and thematic emphasis on the idea of transformation, was the ideal play to embody Pound's political vision of constant transformation. The vision of constant change was in contrast to another vision of fascism, however; that of the unmistakable 'inspirational genius' and of unchangeable political principles. This is a contradiction of Pound's fascist ideology that becomes apparent in the *Women of Trachis*, where the process of transformation ends up essentially as a process of reaffirmation of the same ideology preserved at a different level of existence. The comparison between *Trachiniae* and the *Women of Trachis* makes this difference clear. Heracles' transformation along with its ideological connotations is more profound

⁵⁷⁶ For the female in Pound's oeuvre see Dennis 1999: 265, 273, 280, 281; Nadel 1999: 1-21; Xie 1999: 215. For gender in Pound's poetics see Durant 1983: 129-166.

in *Trachiniae* than in the *Women of Trachis* in regard to both the process and the result of it. The omission of verse 613 of *Trachiniae*, *θυτῆρα καινῶ καινὸν ἐν πεπλώματι* (*Tr.* v. 613), is the boldest hint of this ideological change in Pound's version.

In the *Rock-Drill* and the *Thrones* another concept of change emerges. I believe that this concept is evident also in the *Women of Trachis*. This concept is founded on the Confucian idea of continuous renewal. This type of renewal is based on the renovating power of memory and is less materialistic but primarily spiritual. Through memory, past and present acquire a different meaning and make the future differently meaningful in perspective. Herakles' moment of illumination in the *Women of Trachis* implies this type of renewal as well. The realization of the coincidence of the oracles results from the function of memory. The recollection of the oracles and the reinterpretation of the past precede Herakles' illumination. The conception of coherence makes Herakles' entire life meaningful including his uncertain end. What is renewed is Herakles' idea about the content and the purpose of his life, which signifies an existential and political redefinition. In this respect, the notion of political renewal suggests by implication that the formal principles of the previously materialized political order, meaning the fascist regime, can find a possible expiation only through their ideological projection onto the future.

2.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have analyzed Pound's *Women of Trachis* in relation to, and in comparison with, Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. I have showed that Pound recognizes the basic structural and thematic element of *Trachiniae*, the process of crisis and transformation that results in the emergence of order from chaos but that he did not simply reproduce this characteristic untouched. On the contrary, he invested his version with his own ideological preoccupations to the extent that the significance of the basic element is

overturned. Sophocles' democratic opening is transformed into Pound's autocratic closure. Moreover, whereas in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, the process of crisis and transformation results in a more democratized ethos and a milder patriarchy, in Pound's *Women of Trachis* the process results in the reaffirmation of Pound's ideology, a combination of fascist and Confucian ideas. The reaffirmation is achieved with the elevation of his ideology from the realm of political affairs to the realm of the transcendental.

Chapter Three

Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, from the personal to the political, feminist problematics and humanist objectives

3.1 Introduction: ideological framework

3.1.1 Introducing the play

The third chapter of this thesis is devoted to *Dianeira*, a play written by Timberlake Wertenbaker. The play was commissioned by Catherine Bailey and broadcast on BBC Radio 3 in 1999.⁵⁷⁷ Wertenbaker speaks about the way the play was written in an interview with Michael Billington⁵⁷⁸:

When Catherine Bailey commissioned me to write a radio play and I floated the idea of a Sophoclean translation, she said, 'Don't do me a boring Greek or no one will listen.' So what I've tried to do is review an ancient myth from a totally modern standpoint. The play's really about the way anger threads its way through the generations on both a personal and political level. I've also tried to draw parallels with the Balkans today, where the cycle of revenge continues and where neighbour is still fighting neighbour.

The text of *Dianeira* was published in 2002 as the last in Volume 2 of Wertenbaker's plays, which includes four other plays, *The Break of Day*, *After Darwin*, *Credible Witness* and *The Ash Girl*. The Introduction to the Volume contains valuable information about its thematic orientation. Wertenbaker writes⁵⁷⁹:

If the plays in Volume One were mostly about discovery of language, of self, of art, the plays in this volume are essentially about identity. In a fluid and rapidly changing world, who are we? Who am I?...Only *Dianeira*, originally a radio play inspired by the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles, does not quite fit and is more about anger than identity, although I think the two are linked. Threatened identity or even troubled identity easily leads to anger. We long for certainty. The feeling of uncertainty is deeply uncomfortable. When not only the outside world but the inside world seem insubstantial, unreliable, that sense of discomfort is acute. All of these plays were written as one century and one millennium moved into the

⁵⁷⁷ Catherine Bailey is a well-known producer. Her production company CBL has made programmes for BBC Television, Channel Four and ITV. It is also one of the main independent suppliers of drama for BBC Radio 3 and 4. It has won five Sony Radio Academy Awards. See www.cbltd.net.

⁵⁷⁸ Milling 2012: 238.

⁵⁷⁹ Wertenbaker 2002: vii-viii.

next. There is a sense of general trepidation, of fear. I felt a sense of discomfort myself, a feeling that the word was trying to redefine itself, no one really knew who they were and even basic assumptions about human beings were coming into question.

Wertenbaker's interview and introduction are revealing. *Dianeira* is a play about anger, about a threatened, troubled identity. This crisis of identity results from a transitional period of great uncertainty, which generates great discomfort and fear. Moreover, this crisis is both personal and political. It involves both the inside and the outside world, the private and the public sphere. The fact that Wertenbaker regards *Dianeira* as more about anger than the other plays of the volume suggests precisely that *Dianeira* is more about the *crisis* of identity than about identity itself. It is a play that structurally and thematically conveys this process of transition, the questioning of basic assumptions, and the need for personal and political redefinition.

A brief overview of the remaining plays in Volume 2 clarifies the position of *Dianeira* in the Volume. *The Break of Day* deals with the issue of motherhood and with the failure of ideologies such as feminism, communism, capitalism and nationalism to offer a solution to a generalized millennial angst. The play shows the discontent and the disillusionment that women who followed the feminist ideas in the seventies experience in the nineties, mostly because they prioritized career over motherhood. The solution that Wertenbaker suggests is the transnational adoption of a child, which symbolizes the type of transnational participatory democracy that Wertenbaker projects as an ideal type of political organization. *After Darwin* is a play where Wertenbaker parallels the moral uncertainty of the end of the nineteenth century, because of the scientific theories of Darwin, to the moral uncertainty of the end of the twentieth century, because of the rapid change of cultural and political identities and ideologies. *Credible Witness* is a play about refugees, the movement across cultural and national borders that leads to a redefinition of cultural and national identities. *The Ash Girl* is an adaptation of the Cinderella fairy

tale, which explores the creation and the redefinition of gender and cultural identities. All these plays have in common the preoccupation with the theme of shifting identities in periods of ideological transition. Moreover, all of them, apart from *Credible Witness*, present the past and the present in juxtaposition, incorporating elements of self-reflexivity and meta-theatricality that facilitate and highlight this juxtaposition.⁵⁸⁰

But what are the identities and the ideologies in transition in *Dianeira*? My argument in this chapter is the following. The ideological framework of the play consists of two fundamental elements, feminism, including post-feminism, and humanism. The theme of crisis and transformation takes shape within this ideological framework. The crisis appears as the result of the asymmetric gender relations, which generate anger for both, the female and the male, represented by Dianeira (Sophocles' Deianira) and Heracles respectively. In this play, female anger is the reaction to the oppression imposed on women by an established patriarchal order. Male anger is the reaction to any female attempt to transform this order. Anger is spread through family relationships and transferred to the political level as an exercise of violence and war. From this perspective, the crisis is equally and reciprocally personal and political. Feminism offers Wertebaker the ideological medium to disclose patriarchy's crisis. Feminism itself, however, is presented in *Dianeira* as another ideology in crisis, because of the rigidity of its most extreme positions. The dialogue between Hyllos and Iole at the end of the play (*D.* pp. 372-374), an addition that Wertebaker purposefully makes, reveals exactly the feminist impasse and a post-feminist stance. Iole's refusal to terminate anger despite Hyllos' reconciliatory gesture dramaturgically depicts this impasse.

⁵⁸⁰ For *The Break of Day*, *After Darwin*, *Credible Witness* and *The Ash Girl* see Carlson 2000: 144; Freeman 2002: 646-662; Wertebaker 2002: vii-ix; Aston 2003: 16, 152-158, 161-166; Roth 2008: 14, 15; Roth 2009: 43; Gömçeli 2010: 65, 68-71, 75-76, 78, 80; Freeman 2012: 254, 256.

The transition in the play is mostly expressed as a persistent demand for change on a personal and political level. On the personal level, the necessity for change includes the reclamation of an identity with autonomy and agency, not only for women but also for men. On the political level, this necessity is projected as a vision of political reform based on an amalgamation of feminist, post-feminist and humanist objectives. It is a vision of a society with fair gender relations and, by implication, of justice and equality without the gender, ethnic, racial or social discrimination that feeds the endless cycle of violence and war. The ending of patriarchy is regarded as the main prerequisite for the accomplishment of change, an idea that is clearly feminist. This is the reason why Heracles does not experience illumination and transformation in Wertebaker's *Dianeira*. Heracles, the representative of patriarchy, cannot embody change. On the other hand, the play also suggests that the accomplishment of change presupposes the establishment of a dialogue between the sexes and inculcates the forms of feminism that do not engage in this dialogue. Human rationality is considered to be the principal means of personal and political change, an idea that indicates the play's humanist legacy. What is stressed, however, is that rational thought is an ability that both sexes can develop and not just a male privilege. In this way, humanism and feminism are combined to offer a vision of change. The materialization of this vision, however, seems to be difficult and slow, as the end of the play suggests. The first step in this process of change, accomplished in the play by the audience of the story, is the human awareness of the contemporary personal and political misconceptions that are inherited from long-lasting national and cultural narratives. These national and cultural narratives are what Wertebaker explores and revises in her *Dianeira*.

3.1.2 Ideologies in Wertebaker's work: humanism, feminism, post-feminism; and *Dianeira* within this ideological framework

The main ideological elements underpinning *Dianeira* are feminism, including post-feminism, and humanism. These elements, and their interrelation, are fundamental issues to Wertebaker's work at large. It is therefore essential to explore the way that these ideologies operate in Wertebaker's work so as to define the way they determine *Dianeira* and its relationship with *Trachiniae*.

Timberlake Wertebaker is not a self-proclaimed feminist writer.⁵⁸¹ On the contrary she has repeatedly rejected this categorization in interviews about her plays.⁵⁸² As some have argued, however, this reaction does not mean that she is hostile or indifferent to feminist theatre and theory;⁵⁸³ it only reveals Wertebaker's perception of feminism as a broad movement in progress that resists any fixed definition. Furthermore, it brings forth her preference to regard feminism as a form of humanism, a connection based on their common anti-authoritarian nature. Both of them question authority and therefore male authority, since 'most authority is male' according to Wertebaker.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸¹ See Carlson 1993: 278; Gømceli 2009: 79; Gømceli 2010: 76, 77.

⁵⁸² Wertebaker, BBC Radio 4, 20 June 1991: Asked if she 'accepted the radical feminist label often attached to her work', she answers, 'No. Because I don't think people know what they [critics] mean when they say 'radical feminist.' I don't know how I got that reputation. People used to ask me if I was a feminist, or a feminist writer. Well, of course I'm a feminist, but what does that mean? What's so good about feminism is that it is so broad.' (cited in Goodman 1993: 33-34; Gømceli 2009: 78; Gømceli 2010: 76); also BBC Radio 4, 5 July 2004: 'Well, I never describe myself, I just sit there and write and hope for the best. And I'm always a little bit surprised when somebody asks me that question. I have to be truthful, I have never found a way of answering it and I think that I'm a playwright. And obviously I'm attracted to women characters because I can sense their complexity and I often see slightly simplified women characters on the stage I think [...]' (cited in Gømceli 2009: 79; Gømceli 2010: 76).

⁵⁸³ See Wilson 1993: 146-160; Carlson 2000: 134-149; Aston 2003: 149-168; Wilson 2008: 209-221; Friedman 2009: 1-9; Roth 2009: 42-57; Freeman 2012: 192-219. Gømceli 2010: 241, whose aim is 'to demonstrate that Timberlake Wertebaker, who has consistently refused to be proclaimed as a "feminist writer", is in fact a dramatist who has explicitly dealt with feminist themes, and thus a dramatist whose work can be discussed within the frame of feminist theatre.' Gømceli's analysis follows mainly the tradition of the Anglo-American (Freidan 1963, Millett 1970), but also some French feminist criticism (e.g. de Beauvoir 1949).

⁵⁸⁴ In an interview with John DiGaetani (1991: 270), Wertebaker, on being asked how she would define feminism, she answers, 'I can't. I see feminism as humanism, and the questioning of authority, any authority, and therefore male authority since most authority is male. But beyond that, I can't define feminism.' See also Gømceli 2010:76.

3.1.2.1 Humanism in Wertebaker

Wertebaker may not be a self-proclaimed feminist, but she certainly is a self-proclaimed humanist, which she closely links to classical Greece. In an interview with Michael Billington she says⁵⁸⁵:

...what I love about the Greeks is that they're trying to define what a human being is about. There's a combination of tremendous despair, which runs through Sophocles, and great hope – a terrifying bleakness and, at the same time, a love for the individual. They're also suspicious of the state and have a sense that life is out of control, something I certainly understand as a writer. But all those things are back in question again after the nineteenth century, which believed it had all the grand solutions.

Wertebaker's outspoken attraction to humanism is considered to be pioneering given the theoretical discourses of the 1980s and 1990s. Sara Freeman's comment is suggestive⁵⁸⁶:

...in the theoretical discourse of the 1980s and 1990s, humanism could be a dirty word, prior to its reclamation after rereadings of Edward Said's oeuvre in the wake of his 2003 preface to a republication of Eric Auerbach's *Mimesis* emphasizing his unwillingness to relinquish the humanist tradition.

Freeman also acknowledges 'a type of Saidian humanism that depends on being able to move between an inside view of culture to an outside view of culture'⁵⁸⁷ as an essential element of Wertebaker's work and she associates this element with the cross-cultural and translatorial aspects of her plays.

Wertebaker's ideological engagement with humanism was unsettling for the analysts of her work, because it raised the issue of the relationship of her work in the 1980s and beyond to postmodernism.⁵⁸⁸ What was seen as problematic by some critics was the co-existence of critical and affirmative elements in her work. As critical elements were recognized Wertebaker's feminist and post-colonial insights, so Wertebaker's

⁵⁸⁵ Milling 2012: 238.

⁵⁸⁶ Freeman 2012: 217. See also Apter 2006: 65-81; Rabillard 2008: 135-153; Freeman 2012: 288, n. 73.

⁵⁸⁷ Freeman 2012: 219 and 218 for the critical dispute that this combination triggered.

⁵⁸⁸ As an example of this type of criticism see DiGaetani's work, *A search for a Postmodern Theatre* (1991).

endorsement of the value of culture and community were recognized as affirmative elements. The question that emerged was how the affirmative elements could in any way be related to post-modernism. Many critics of the British theatre in the 1980's accepted the possibility of this co-existence and of its relation to post-modernism.⁵⁸⁹ Furthermore, the combination of critical and affirmative elements ended up being a great virtue of Wertebaker's work. Freeman praises the interrogative affirmation in *The Grace of Mary Traverse*, *Our Country's Good* and *The Love of the Nightingale*.⁵⁹⁰ Geraldine Cousin reads *The Love of the Nightingale* as an interrogatory play. Ann Wilson explores the questioning drive in Wertebaker's work from her play *Our Country's Good* up to *Dianeira*.⁵⁹¹ I believe that the combination of critique and affirmation is especially significant for Wertebaker's *Dianeira*. It corresponds well to the basic structural and thematic movement of *Trachiniae*; i.e. the process of crisis and transformation. It also allows the ideological investment of this movement with Wertebaker's major ideological preoccupations, feminism and humanism.

3.1.2.2 Feminism and Post-feminism in Wertebaker

Apart from the co-existence and interrelationship of feminism and humanism in Wertebaker's work, another ideological characteristic is the co-existence of ideas that originate from different feminist positions, as well as the evolution of Wertebaker's feminist awareness and problematics in parallel with the development of her career as a

⁵⁸⁹As examples of this stance among critics see Milton Shulman's review (1985) of *Mary Traverse*, Nicholas de Jongh's commentary (1989) on *The Love of the Nightingale*, Michael Billington's appraisal of *Our Country's Good* (*London Theatre Record*, Vol. 8, No. 19, p. 1267), Michael Billington's analysis of *The Love of the Nightingale* (*London Theatre Record*, Vol. 8, No. 23, p. 1602) and Elizabeth Wright's 1989 volume *Postmodern Brecht: A Re-Presentation*.

⁵⁹⁰ Freeman 2012: 217-219.

⁵⁹¹ Cousin 1996: 115-20; Wilson 2008: 209-221.

playwright. These elements are acknowledged by critics.⁵⁹² What is also acknowledged is that Wertebaker's radical feminist position in the late eighties was progressively transformed into a milder one, 'a more encompassing attitude towards both genders', in the last decade of the twentieth century.⁵⁹³ This transformation reached the point of Wertebaker's criticism of feminism and 'her call for a new type of feminism.' Wertebaker mostly questioned the second wave of feminism for ignoring 'women's roles as mothers and wives.' Although this type of criticism seems to echo the backlash theory of the nineties, Wertebaker's position is not against feminism, but in favour of its maintenance in a new form that will respect female individuality and differentiability and the choice 'for a career and/or parenting' as equally legitimate.⁵⁹⁴

The new type of feminism that Wertebaker advocates includes also the idea of 'the transnational feminism', which is a common and prevailing idea among the women playwrights of the 1990s.⁵⁹⁵ The idea of 'the transnational feminism' promotes the recognition of the global and the local, the cross-border connections and the resistance to any form of colonial discrimination based on gender, race or nation. The idea of 'cross-border feminism' emerged as the only way out of the 'social and cultural despair' of the twenty-first century. The theme of late 20th century despair and the exploration of the possibility for change were other major themes for women playwrights of this period,

⁵⁹² The types of feminism(s) displayed in Wertebaker's work, especially in her plays *New Anatomies* (1981), *The Grace of Mary Traverse* (1985), *The Love of the Nightingale* (1988), and *The Break of Day* (1995) are thoroughly explored by Gömceli 2010. Gömceli argues that in *New Anatomies* Wertebaker 'emphasises the socialist feminist argument' (2010: 243), in *The Grace of Mary Traverse* each of the three main female characters expresses a different feminist position, Mary Traverse the liberal, Sophie the radical and Mrs Temptwell the socialist (2010: 244), *The Love of the Nightingale* is 'a typical example of radical feminist drama and radical feminist theatre' (2010: 244) and in *The Break of Day* Wertebaker points out the necessity for a new type of feminism (2010: 246). About *The Love of the Nightingale* as 'radical feminist reinterpretation of a Greek myth' see also Gömceli 2009: 77-100.

⁵⁹³ Gömceli 2010: 245 for this quotation and Gömceli 2010: 246, 245 for the next two quotations respectively.

⁵⁹⁴ Backlash theorists argued that women's unhappiness in the nineties resulted from the feminist movement in the seventies, because it ignored the role of woman as mother and wife. See Komporaly 130-31; Faludi 456; Gömceli 2010: 246.

⁵⁹⁵ For transnational feminism as a solution to social and cultural despair see Aston 2003: 8, 17, 152, 158.

whose main concern was the kind of future that the world will inherit at the turn of the third millennium.

This theme is preeminent for Wertebaker and is explored in her work.⁵⁹⁶ Furthermore, Wertebaker adds another dimension to the new type of feminism she promotes so as to address the issue of millennial angst. She stresses the necessity of the extension of feminism ‘beyond the bourgeois feminist model of privilege’ and towards ‘the transformation of family and nation.’⁵⁹⁷ This transformation lies in ‘a concept of family based not on nation, but on a transnational community.’ In relation to the idea of cross-border feminism, Wertebaker also explores issues of European citizenship, the isolationist and colonialist aspects of Englishness and the impasse of outmoded beliefs such as East European Communism and even Western feminism in its existing form.⁵⁹⁸ Thus, the new type of feminism that Wertebaker projects becomes ‘part of a bigger, epic political struggle’ against a future history ‘determined by gender, class and race.’⁵⁹⁹

Any form of ‘othering’ because of gender, class, race and sexuality was included in the agenda of the ‘big issues’ that preoccupied women playwrights in the 1990s. Other ‘big issues’ of this agenda that appear in Wertebaker’s work are domestic and public violence, especially the violence against the reproductive body, the issue of motherhood, the dispossession of communities of women and the savagery of contemporary wars.⁶⁰⁰ The theme of ‘othering’ is linked with another theme of particular significance in

⁵⁹⁶ This theme is thoroughly explored in Wertebaker’s plays, *Abel’s Sister* (1984) and *The Break of Day* (1995).

⁵⁹⁷ For this idea in *Abel’s Sister* (1984) see Aston 2003: 152 and in *The Break of Day* (1995) see Aston 2003: 154. This quotation and the following are drawn from Aston 2003: 152 and 154 respectively.

⁵⁹⁸ For these themes and the position of Britain in the modern world and its ambiguous orientation between Europe and the Anglo-American paradigm, and about the ‘fall of political ideologies in 1989’ see Wertebaker 2002: viii; Aston 2003: 8, 152, 154.

⁵⁹⁹ For these ‘big issues’ see Aston 2003: 162, 16. See also Michael Billington, *Guardian*, 27 December 1995, p. 6.

⁶⁰⁰ For the savagery of wars see Wertebaker 2002: viii.

Wertenbaker, the theme of identity.⁶⁰¹ Wertenbaker extensively and thoroughly explores and reveals the way that identities are constructed, based on gender, class, race and sexuality preconceptions and misconceptions, so as to allow the possibility of personal and political change.

3.1.2.3 *Dianeira* within this ideological framework

Dianeira is shaped within this ideological framework. I argue that the basic thematic analogy with *Trachiniae*, the process of transition from the old to the new, materializes in *Dianeira* on the basis of this ideological context. The ‘old’ is associated with the theme of ‘social and cultural despair’, caused mainly by patriarchy. The passage to the ‘new’ is the call for a new type of feminism which will lead to ‘the transformation of family and nation’ into a transnational community organized with humanist objectives. The need for an ‘epic political struggle’ is expressed in the play by the theme of anger, which unfolds as a way of reclaiming a new personal identity and a new political structure. The feminist ‘epic political struggle’, however, manifested by the theme of anger, is not enough to establish the ‘new’ without the use of rational thought and human communication. It is a clear humanist perspective, which explains Wertenbaker’s insistence that humanism encompasses feminism.

As far as the classification of *Dianeira* in relation to the major feminist positions is concerned, liberal, radical and socialist, I argue that there are elements in the play that echo all the major feminist positions and the post-feminist as well. I argue that many of the elements that critics attribute to various strands of feminism appear in *Dianeira*. The rewriting of an ancient Greek myth in order to revisit it from a female perspective is a

⁶⁰¹ See Carlson 2000: 134-147. Moreover, as mentioned above, Volume Two of her plays is devoted to the exploration of issues of identity.

practice of the radical feminist theatre,⁶⁰² as is the idea that patriarchy is the source of personal and political crisis.⁶⁰³ Similarly, the theme of male violence, especially of violence related to male sexual desire, reflects radical feminist problematics.⁶⁰⁴ The technique of historicization, which is applied by Wertebaker to *Dianeira* with the introduction of Irene as a second narrator, and with the complex circulation of the story through different temporal levels and different media of narration, is a technique of the socialist feminist theatre.⁶⁰⁵ Similarly, the idea that female labour, in this case Irene's narration, must get paid is a socialist feminist idea.⁶⁰⁶ The emphasis on rational thought, apart from its humanist background, reflects the basic argument of the liberal feminist position that women are equal to men, because they are equally able to develop rational thought.⁶⁰⁷ The issue of motherhood in patriarchy preoccupies radical as well as liberal feminism.⁶⁰⁸ The two most important ideas for the ideological foundation of *Dianeira*, the identification of the personal with the political and the basic claim to autonomous female subjectivity and agency are crucial demands of all the major feminist positions.⁶⁰⁹ Wertebaker's criticism of feminism, which becomes evident at the end of the play, where Iole's responsibility for the continuation of anger is stressed, is a post-feminist element that articulates the call for a new type of feminism.⁶¹⁰

Thus, Wertebaker's criticism in *Dianeira* is twofold. It is a criticism of patriarchy articulated by a feminist vocabulary in parallel with a criticism of feminism for its failure

⁶⁰² Case 1988: 69; Humm 1994: 54; Winston 1995: 518-519; Gömceli 2009: 97; Gömceli 2010: 45. The issue of feminist myth criticism is also explored in Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (1978).

⁶⁰³ Case 1988: 63; Gömceli 2010: 24, 55.

⁶⁰⁴ Banks 1981: 232; Jaggar 1983: 147, 260, 261; Wandor 1986: 133; Case 1988: 66; Bryson 1992: 181; Gömceli 2010: 25.

⁶⁰⁵ Wandor 1981: 40; Gömceli 2010: 42.

⁶⁰⁶ Donovan 1985: 81; Dolan 1991: 10; Bryson 1992: 3, 234; Gömceli 2010: 27, 59.

⁶⁰⁷ Jaggar 1983: 33; Gömceli 2010: 21, 22.

⁶⁰⁸ Jaggar 1983: 260; Gömceli 2010: 50, 25.

⁶⁰⁹ Wandor 1986: 130, 131, 132; Pateman 1987: 117; Keyssar 1996: 1; Gömceli 2010: 18, 26, 29, 47, 59. On the claim for a 'resistant, mobile subjectivity' in another Wertebaker's play, *The Grace of Mary Traverse*, see Dahl 1993: 156.

⁶¹⁰ Gömceli 2010: 80.

to reverse the patriarchal order. In this respect, *Dianeira* can be fairly seen as a play with both feminist and post-feminist problematics and humanist objectives. This composition is structurally and thematically conveyed by Wertebaker's favourite scheme of interrogation and affirmation, which is called forth in *Dianeira* to question the 'old' and project the necessity for the 'new'. I will establish this argument in Ch. 3.2.

3.1.3 Wertebaker's *Dianeira* and Translation

Translation is a very important aspect of Wertebaker's dramatic production, either in the form of the translation of other plays or as an integral part of her own plays.⁶¹¹ Wertebaker has translated from French into English, from Spanish into English and from Greek into English. Wertebaker translated Marivaux's *False Admissions* and *Successful Strategies for Shared Experience* (1983) and *Mephisto* (1986). She participated also in the translation of Ruzante. Wertebaker translated Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Hippolytus* and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos*, *Oedipus of Colonus* and *Antigone* under the title *The Thebans* (1991). In 1999 she translated Sophocles' *Trachiniae* creating her own version, *Dianeira*.

Wertebaker uses translation as an organic part of her own dramaturgy in order to show the plurality and variety of cultural and national narratives and the way they shape language and identity. The scope of Roth and Freeman in their edition of a volume that contains many recent studies about Wertebaker's entire body of work, is suggestive: 'all of Wertebaker's plays can be understood as translations in some fashion, infused by her rigorous engagement with diverse source materials.'⁶¹² Moreover, Roth's characterization of Wertebaker's work epitomizes the aesthetic and ideological significance of

⁶¹¹ Roth 2008: 12-14, 14 n. 5; Gömceli 2010: 68.

⁶¹² Roth 2008: 13.

translation in her plays, ‘they place different cultures, ideas, identities and times together to craft an interactive relationship full of historical dynamism, evoking culture in transition and transformation.’⁶¹³

Wertenbaker uses techniques of self-referentiality in order to highlight the process of translation that is integrated into her own plays.⁶¹⁴ All her plays are connected with translation one way or another. In *The Love of the Nightingale* (1988-1989) Wertenbaker synthesized *Hippolytus* and *The Bacchae* with the myth of Philomela. *The Grace of Mary Traverse* (1985) combines *Faust* and *A Doll’s House* with the Gordon Riots and Hogarth’s paintings. *Our Country’s Good* (1988) combines *The Recruiting Officer* with histories about the colonization of Australia in 1789. Similarly, *The Ash Girl* (2000) draws and modifies elements from the Cinderella fairy tale, *Galileo’s Daughter* (2004) is from Dava Sobell’s novel, and *Jenufa* (2007) from Gabriella Pressiova’s Czech folk play that is the basis of the opera *Jenufa*. Other plays, such as *Three Birds Alighting on a Field* (1992), *The Break of Day* (1995), *After Darwin* (1998), and *Credible Witness* (2001), may not incorporate translation and adaptation of materials from previous literary sources, but they are preoccupied with the theme of the translation of culture, exploring the boundaries, the intersections and the transgression of cultural and national traditions.

Translation, either as distinct work, or incorporated as part of new plays, is associated in Wertenbaker’s dramaturgy with the theme of displacement and multi-ethnic exchange. The ultimate purpose of the translatorial process in Wertenbaker’s work is a renewed vision of past and present and of cultural and national identities and narratives. Wertenbaker’s translatorial approach allows the association with both past and present. Wertenbaker’s translations combine faithfulness to the original, in order to preserve its

⁶¹³ Roth 2008: 23.

⁶¹⁴ Roth 2008: 12-13. The plays *The Love of the Nightingale* (1989), *Inside Out* (1984), *Our Country’s Good* (1988) are examples of these techniques of self-referentiality and awareness of the process of translation. For the character of Wertenbaker’s translations see Roth 2008: 14-15, 18.

core thematic elements, with the transformation of the original in order to make it accessible to a contemporary audience. Helene Foley stresses the ability of Wertebaker's adaptations to relate the cultural present to a past that is otherwise irrecoverable.⁶¹⁵

Wertebaker's *Dianeira* is part of the feminist rewriting of the classical canon, as critics argue, although feminism is not the only ideological strand in her version.⁶¹⁶ The translation and adaptation of classical myths has been a favourite topic for many postcolonial and feminist artists, allowing artists to reconstruct the cultural past and to create new conceptions of cultural and national identities. It becomes obvious that the process of translation and adaptation of a classical play is a process of simultaneous reinterpretation of both past and present. In this respect, the poetic and the political action relate. Art becomes a medium for social and political reform. Wertebaker's relation to political theatre is another proof of this function.⁶¹⁷ It is not coincidental, as Roth remarks, that the two principal sources of Wertebaker's dramatic work, the adaptation of classical myths and the history plays, are also significant in political theatre.

Another value of translations with a feminist and postcolonial orientation is remarked on by Pedrick, who notes that the abundance of scholarly interpretations of the ancient plays renders any new insight into them extremely difficult.⁶¹⁸ She argues that translation addresses this difficulty by breaking the silences of the ancient plays, namely by throwing unacknowledged aspects of them into contemporary light. This process results in an improved cultural and political awareness of the past as well as of the present. Thus feminist and postcolonial translations are seen as significant form of interpretation of and challenge to the ancient plays.

⁶¹⁵ Foley 1999: 1-12.

⁶¹⁶ Wagner 1995; Winston 1995; Cousin 1996; Roth 2008: 11-34, 22.

⁶¹⁷ Dahl 1993; Peacock 1999; Roth 2008: 11-34.

⁶¹⁸ Pedrick 2008: 41.

Translations of this aesthetic and ideological orientation are also valuable because they reveal that intertextuality is an inherent element of any text, as Sukanta Chaudhuri argues.⁶¹⁹ Charles Mee's comments regarding the relationship between the translation and the source are also important. He argues for a dynamic relationship between the translator and the playwright, which is both intellectual and creative.⁶²⁰ Translation is a reception of the source and a new creation at the same time. Mee's comments stress the interconnectedness of the translation and the source. It becomes obvious that a profound understanding of both translation and source is possible only through the exploration of this dynamic relationship with a comparative reading of both in relation to their broader cultural environment.

The interpretative value of the translations of this ideological framework is further reinforced when they are produced for the stage. Their artistic and social value is recognized by recent critics, who refuse to regard them as secondary to the original and they assess them on their own merits.⁶²¹ Roth observes that translation as theatre is a social art in the sense that they are both produced in relation to an audience.⁶²² The production of meaning is seen as an interaction between artist and audience. Both translation and theatre can therefore be seen as forms of interpretation of the original plays. Furthermore they operate in interrelation, meaning that the performative purpose of the translation, as well as the performance itself, strengthens and extends the interpretative insights into the ancient plays.

In Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* there is 'self-awareness of the translation process', as Roth and Wilson observe.⁶²³ This awareness also activates the audience's awareness about the

⁶¹⁹ Chaudhuri 1999: 78.

⁶²⁰ Cummings 2006; Roth 2008: 23, 26.

⁶²¹ Hutcheon 2006; Roth 2008: 19.

⁶²² Roth 2008: 21.

⁶²³ Roth 2008: 17; Wilson 2008: 209-221.

politics of representation. Roth characterizes *Dianeira* as Wertebaker's 'most personal play' and at the same time 'a new work filled with translation.'⁶²⁴ What Wertebaker herself says about *Dianeira* is revealing of her intentions⁶²⁵:

Dianeira is slightly more problematic. I translated and used much of *The Trachiniae* by Sophocles, and then went somewhere else. It is not an adaptation because it does not make *The Trachiniae* more accessible, more fit– but I did use a lot of lines from another play. But then so did Greek playwrights and they never worried about the notion of original.

It becomes clear that Wertebaker regards *Dianeira* as a new play based on Sophocles' *Trachiniae* to a significant extent, but without losing its originality. Her point of view reaffirms Roth's characterization of *Dianeira* as a translation and a new play at the same time. I will further argue that the element of originality lies mostly in the play's quality of combining the translation of the Greek original with the explicit criticism of it. This quality allows a twofold engagement with *Trachiniae*, offering significant interpretative insights into the ancient play as well as hints of its relationship to the cultural and political present.

3.1.4 *Dianeira* as a Radio Play

Wertebaker's *Dianeira* was performed as a radio drama on BBC Radio 3 on November 28 1999.⁶²⁶ The choice of the medium of performance has particular significance for the interpretation of the play and its ideological and socio-political connotations. Shih argues that the medium of performance allows the connection of *Dianeira* and her story with those middle-class married women who usually constitute a significant part of the audience of radio plays.⁶²⁷ The medium of radio thus highlights the theme of marriage

⁶²⁴ Roth 2008: 27.

⁶²⁵ Wertebaker 2008: 39.

⁶²⁶ Aston 2003: 150; Wilson 2008: 210; Gömceli 2010: 65; Shih 2010: 224; Freeman 2012: 219.

⁶²⁷ Shih 2010: 224.

and allows the identification of Dianeira with the female audience of the radio play. Wilson offers further elements for the significance of the radio play as a medium of performance. She stresses its three key aspects, especially in the form it assumed in Britain and Canada. These aspects are: first, the construction of the visual through the auditory, second, the democratic element because of the inexpensive technologies, and third, the less obvious character of the collective experience of the audience, since the usual place of attendance, a home or a car, has a more private character than an actual theatre. Wilson argues that these three elements combined serve the feminist politics that underlie Wertebaker's *Dianeira*.⁶²⁸ The play is addressed to listeners, as Dianeira was a listener throughout her life, since the history is written in masculinist terms. Wertebaker thus politicizes the medium of radio drama. Wilson mentions another function of the radio drama, which I believe is the most significant of all, its 'potential for a radical politics by potentially engaging a wide range of people in the project of imagining a more equitable world.' I believe that the medium of the radio play is aesthetically and politically ideal for *Dianeira*, because it facilitates Wertebaker's dramaturgical purpose to turn the story of Dianeira into a testimony of patriarchal oppression throughout the centuries. The story of Dianeira becomes a form of public oral testimony. The medium of radio is also compatible with Wertebaker's view that theatre should trigger social and political change. Radio, with its easy access and its function as a medium of information and communication, as well as a medium of entertainment, relates the fictional to the real. In this respect, the relevance of Dianeira's story to the social and political reality is brought out and is conveyed to audiences of unlimited number, contributing a lot to the demand for and the process of social and political change.

⁶²⁸ Wilson 2008: 210, 218-219.

3.2 The play

3.2.1 Wertebaker's introduction: a story within a story

Wertebaker reframes the beginning of the play adding two introductory parts before Dianeira's prologos that are not there in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. The first part, with the indication 'INTRODUCTION' (*D.* p. 327), introduces Timberlake, the author, as the first narrator of the story that is about to be told. The second part, with the indication 'KAFENEION' (*D.* pp. 327-328), introduces Irene, the female storyteller, as the second narrator of the same story. In this way, the play takes the form of a 'story within a story', a favourite technique for Wertebaker, which allows a multi-layered composition that brings out the complex circulation of narrative.⁶²⁹ This type of multi-layered composition of a 'story within a story' turns the play into a form of 'oral history' that is based on personal narration.⁶³⁰ This form allows, in its turn, the retelling and thus the rewriting and the revisiting of the traditional narrative about Dianeira, together with the patriarchal ideology that this narrative represents for Wertebaker.

3.2.1.1 'Introduction'

The 'INTRODUCTION' (*D.* p. 327) begins with the author presenting herself as 'Timberlake', the first narrator of the story.⁶³¹ Timberlake determines the time, the place and the way that the 'story' of Dianeira was told to her and her friends. The time is the past, 'some years ago' (*D.* p. 327), but without being precisely specified. The first place mentioned is Athens. From there Timberlake and her friends embark on a journey in order

⁶²⁹ Wilson 2008: 209-212; Shih 2010: 225-234.

⁶³⁰ Wilson 2008: 210; Shih (2010: 227) relates personal, oral narration in *Dianeira* to Hayden White's theory that 'a historian is a good storyteller' (White 1974: ix; White 1985: 83, 84, 86; White 2006: 25, 31).

⁶³¹ For the author as first narrator of the story introducing the second one, Irene, and the details of time and place see also Wilson 2008: 209-210.

to discover ‘storytellers.’ They visit a village ‘up north’ searching for storytellers in the Kafeneions. But when they arrive and go to ‘the market place’, they discover that ‘most of the storytellers were already well into their tales’ (*D.* p. 327). When they were about to leave, because ‘it felt like arriving late for a movie’, a ‘café owner pointed to a woman slumped asleep over a table’ (*D.* p. 327). Her name is Irene. This is the way Timberlake introduces the second narrator of the ‘story’ of Dianeira, Irene.

This introduction directly associates the present with the past. Timberlake’s account of her visit to this village in the recent past is the starting point of a narration that will encompass a story from the remote past through the interference of the second narrator, Irene. Both narrators are female, which means that the story will be retold and then rewritten from a female perspective. Timberlake will rewrite the story that Irene will retell about Dianeira. This way of circulation of Dianeira’s story, which involves oral narration as a form of historical testimony, and then the transformation of this oral narration into a revised and restructured version of Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*, redefines the form and the connotations of the play. Wertenbaker’s *Dianeira* emerges as a new form that lies in the crossroads between tragedy, history and epic.⁶³² Thus, Wertenbaker not only revisits Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* from a female point of view, but also Dianeira’s myth, women’s position in Sophocles’ Athens and women’s history in Western civilization. Wilson’s comment is very accurate, ‘The story recounted in *Dianeira* becomes a metonym for the trajectory of Western history.’⁶³³

This revisitation of the mythical, historical and literary past is signified by the awakening of Irene by Timberlake and her friends. Timberlake notes that ‘no one had dared to wake her up, but we were strangers and could take that liberty’ (*D.* p. 327). The fact that the

⁶³² The challenge to traditional literary forms is a characteristic of Wertenbaker’s work in general. See also Freeman 2012: 197.

⁶³³ See Wilson 2008: 211 for the quotation and 212-213 for further discussion.

awakening of Irene is a privilege of the foreigners, namely of the cultural and national outsiders, implies that cultural and national diversity and intercourse are the only means by which a radical challenge might be made to the established cultural and national narratives. Furthermore, the ‘awakening’ precedes the narration, indicating that the historical narration is an action that takes place in a certain period of time and that, therefore, it is determined by time. The same idea is brought out by Timberlake’s previous comment that ‘most of the storytellers were already well into their tales’ (*D.* p. 327). Moreover, the organic relationship between the ‘storytellers’ and ‘their tales’ reveals not only the historicity, but also the subjectivity of the narration.⁶³⁴ This perception of the historical narrative as determined by the moment of the narration and the subjectivity of the narrator implies that the historical narrative is mutable according to the external conditions of the narration as well as the internal conditions of the narrator. This mutability opens up the possibility for a continuous reinterpretation of Irene’s and Timberlake’s endeavour in *Dianeira*.

The ‘awakening’ of Irene does not presuppose only the retelling of cultural and national narratives, but also intercourse between different historical periods, the present and the past. Timberlake and their friends have to ‘wake her up’ (*D.* p. 327) so that she starts her narration, which means that the present has to ‘wake up’ the past, to actively recall, explore and revisit it. At the same time, Timberlake and their friends receive Irene’s story about the past, which means that the past actively informs the present in the same way as a contemporary medium for narration, the ‘movie’ that they arrived late to watch (*D.* p. 327). Moreover, the coexistence of different temporal levels relates the same story equally to the present and the past. This coexistence not only makes the story equally meaningful

⁶³⁴ For the subjectivity of the narration see also Wilson 2008: 210.

for the different historical periods, but also redefines the present and the past through their interrelation. Each temporal level is illuminated and reconstructed by the other.

Irene, the narrator, personifies the coexistence of the past with the present. Timberlake emphatically says, 'Of course, she was blind, most story tellers are.' (*D.* p. 327). Blindness associates Irene with Homer, the emblematic 'storyteller' of the epic tradition. In this way, Irene is linked with the past and her story is endowed with the authority of the tradition. At the same time, she is a female storyteller who will narrate a story ordered by Timberlake and their friends, in the same way as the commissioned plays of the feminist theatre.⁶³⁵ So, Irene is also linked with the present, unfolding a feminist retelling of the traditional narratives. Her story will be an account of the past from a female perspective, equally legitimate to the masculinist tradition of storytelling. The fact that Irene must get paid, or at least rewarded, with 'some bills', 'a coffee' and 'a glass of brandy' (*D.* p. 327) for her narration, reflects the feminist idea that female labour must be rewarded equally to the male one, and further reveals the feminist awareness of Irene's story. Wilson accepts the feminist politics of this demand, but she also associates Irene's payment with the 'machinations of capital' in the contemporary world.⁶³⁶ This argument is contradictory, since it combines the demand for payment with a broad moral condemnation of payment. Despite the materialistic associations of Irene's demand, I believe that the dominant dimension of it is the insistence on the payment of female labour.

Irene asked Timberlake and her friends what kind of story they wanted (*D.* p. 327). Timberlake wanted a story about love, her friends a story about adventure and they finally settled on anger (*D.* p. 327). So, it will be a story about anger retold by Irene. There is sharp contrast between the theme of the story and the name of the narrator, Irene, the

⁶³⁵ For the commissioned work as a characteristic element of the feminist theatre see Gömceli 2010: 40.

⁶³⁶ Wilson 2008: 221, 210.

Greek word *eirēnē*, ‘peace.’ Wilson comments on the choice of the name as follows, ‘In naming Irene, so that she is not anonymous, but offering no particulars about her life, Wertenbaker offers a complex feminist response to masculinist historiography.’⁶³⁷ I further argue that the name of the female storyteller reveals the objectives of the female retelling of the old story about anger. The main objective is the restoration of peace, *eirēnē*, which means the termination of anger and of its personal and political manifestations, violence and war. The purpose of the female retelling, therefore, is to overturn the theme of the traditional narrative and to replace anger with peace.

3.2.1.2 ‘Kafeneion’

The second introductory part begins with the indication of the place where Irene’s narration is going to unfold: ‘KAFENEION’, café in Modern Greek. As before, the selection of the word is not coincidental. It recalls the idea of ‘Café Europa’, a favourite theme for Wertenbaker with a clear political significance symbolizing and promoting the idea of a multicultural, multinational ‘Europe’ in a post-ideological age where people live without war, nationalism, racism and discrimination based on gender or class.⁶³⁸ It brings out Wertenbaker’s vision of a society organized with humanist objectives in the political form of ‘transborder participatory democracy.’⁶³⁹ What is already a cultural reality for Wertenbaker, the shifting of cultural identities in a world of porous national and cultural borders, has to be transformed into a system of political organization, both European and

⁶³⁷ Wilson 2008: 212.

⁶³⁸ Shih 2010: 226. The same idea appears in Wertenbaker’s work *Credible Witness*.

⁶³⁹ Aston 2003: 154. Aston applies the term of the ‘transborder participatory democracy’ to Wertenbaker’s *The Break of Day*. The term is drawn by M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Mohanty who define it as one type of democracy ‘in which it is not the state but people themselves who emerge as the chief agents in defining the course of the global economic and political processes that structures their lives’ (Alexander and Mohanty 1997: xli).

global.⁶⁴⁰ So, the place of the narration reveals a reformed political vision that the retelling of the story, and by implication the revisiting of the old narratives, intends to establish.

Irene starts her narration by repeating the theme of anger, it is ‘a story of anger’ (*D.* p. 327). Then, she defines the time and the place, but the definition is purposefully vague. The story ‘took place a long time ago, any time, in Trachis, which is over there, on the other side of the mountains’ (*D.* p. 327). The phrase ‘a long time ago, any time’ identifies the past with the present and the future. The phrase also suggests that ‘the story of anger’ continuously repeats itself throughout history. According to several critics, the place of the story, which is defined as ‘over there, on the other side of the mountains’ (*D.* p. 327), identifies Trachis with the modern Balkans.⁶⁴¹ Wertebaker herself explicitly makes this connection in an interview with Michael Billington.⁶⁴² Both places are a scenery of war, ancient and modern. This identification of the past with the present, of ancient Trachis with the modern Balkans, becomes more explicit with the additional comment that ‘Trachis is more a state of mind than a place’ (*D.* p. 327). Any scenery of war results from the same state of mind. The causes of violence are internalized.

The state of mind that triggers anger, violence and war, is analyzed. Irene contrasts Trachis, ‘a plain of disappointment’ (*D.* p. 328) with Athens, ‘the seat of logic’ (*D.* p. 328). In this way, the story of ancient and modern anger and, by implication, the history of ancient and modern wars, is put into sharp contrast to the humanist tradition that Irene recalls with her reference to Athens as ‘the seat of logic.’ Rational thought is presented, even from the outset of the play, as the ultimate liberating force from anger, which is manifested by a long-lasting culture of personal and political violence. The importance

⁶⁴⁰ Carlson 2000: 134.

⁶⁴¹ Pedrick 2008: 48; Wilson 2008: 218; Gömceli 2010: 74; Freeman 2012: 238.

⁶⁴² Milling 2012: 238.

of rational thought is also a dominant idea in *Trachiniae* and is, in fact, the main ideological commonality between the two plays.

Irene proceeds to introduce the ‘three heroes of this story...Dianeira, Heracles and Hyllos’ (*D.* p. 328). The protagonists according to Irene are not two, Dianeira and Heracles, but three with Hyllos’ role being upgraded and equalized with Heracles’. This modification has two implications. First, it minimizes Heracles’ uniqueness, allowing Irene to place more emphasis on Dianeira’s role and thus the female perspective. Second, it projects Hyllos as a positive male figure opposed to the traditional figure of manhood embodied by Heracles. In this way, Dianeira becomes the voice that will articulate the feminist problematics, whereas Hyllos on the one hand reveals the mechanisms of the transmission of patriarchy, and on the other balances the feminist criticism of patriarchy by disclosing the deadlock imposed by feminism in its extreme and uncompromised forms. Irene’s criticism of patriarchy, therefore, will be articulated with a feminist vocabulary, but it will include feminism itself as well.

Irene’s comments about the protagonists reveal her intentions, ‘Now, even though you’re students you probably won’t have heard of Dianeira and that’s part of her story. Heracles you’ll know. Hercules, Heracles, the great man, always labouring, a model of manhood, but an unloved one. Why? I’m not sure. And their oldest son Hyllos. A young man who at the beginning of this story is not marked or mapped yet-that is to come.’ (*D.* p. 328). The distinction between femininity and masculinity as well as the subsequent distinction between the old type of masculinity of the ‘father’ and the new type of masculinity of the ‘son’ becomes evident. Irene points out Dianeira’s absence from history and by implication the silencing of female voices throughout history.⁶⁴³ The female absence and silencing is put in contrast to the celebration of Heracleian manhood by the masculinist

⁶⁴³ For the silencing of female voices in *Dianeira* see Wilson 2008: 218 and in Wertenbaker’s *The Love of the Nightingale* Gömçeli 2009: 85, 90.

tradition of history. Irene's retelling aims exactly at remedying this inequity, which is a gender inequity.

Irene explores the causes of anger, before giving way to Dianeira's monologue. She says, 'Disappointment-and that's where anger puts down roots and finds its nourishment.' (*D.* p. 328) and she continues, 'Where does anger lie? Somewhere in that plain between the hopes of a life and what actually happens to it, a plain clouded over by fear and foreboding. That neutral plain of Trachis, that's where it found its breeding ground for this story. Listen to Dianeira.' (*D.* p. 328). The disappointment generated by the distance between the expectations and the reality of life triggers anger. What precedes anger is fear and foreboding, emotions associated with this condition of expectation and defeat. Fear is the dominant emotion in *Trachiniae*, whereas in Wertebaker's *Dianeira* it is the previous stage before the outburst of anger. Both fear and anger indicate a situation of crisis. The passage from fear to anger in *Dianeira*, however, shows that this crisis is more explicitly and more intensively displayed, because the criticism of gender relations is stronger in *Dianeira* than in *Trachiniae*.

In this respect, anger is presented as a personal reaction to an unfulfilled life, as well as a political reaction to a history of silenced voices, especially female ones.⁶⁴⁴ Irene's retelling of the old story is an effort to point out the personal and the political crisis, and to stress the necessity for personal and political change towards a future with humanist objectives. At the core of this crisis is the asymmetric gender relations that Irene will attempt to reform by reconstructing the cultural narratives that have allowed their perpetuation. This is the way that Timberlake and Irene ideologically contextualize and reframe the new account of *Trachiniae*.

⁶⁴⁴ See also Shih 2010: 234, 251.

3.2.2 Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*: reclaiming female subjectivity

3.2.2.1 *Dianeira*'s crisis: patriarchal restrictions and the fear of masculinity

Dianeira's crisis of identity in Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* is evident throughout the play and especially in her main monologue. She starts her monologue (*D.* p. 328) by reversing the old maxim about the proper way of judging a human life as in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 1-5). She will evaluate her life in a way opposed to the tradition; the patriarchal establishment in this case. An important difference is noticeable, however. *Dianeira* says 'there's this saying that you cannot judge a person's life as happy or wretched until that person is dead' (*D.* p. 328), (*Tr.* vv. 1-3). The issue in *Dianeira* is whether a human life is 'happy' or 'wretched', whereas in *Trachiniae* the issue is whether a human life is morally good or bad. *Dianeira* continues by saying 'I don't need a trip to the underworld where they'd hand me a map of my memories to understand that I was born to be unhappy' (*D.* p. 328), (*Tr.* vv. 4-5). It is obvious that for Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* the meaning of life has no metaphysical implications, it is exhausted within the limits of life on earth, it consists of the 'memories', of the type of experiences that a human life included. What remains after the exclusion of the metaphysical dimension is the dual realm of the personal and the political, coexistent elements in feminist thought, prescribing the character of *Dianeira*'s crisis in Wertenbaker.⁶⁴⁵

The restrictions imposed on *Dianeira* because of her gender and the fear of masculinity appears to be the main reasons for her unhappiness and therefore for her crisis, manifested in her anger.⁶⁴⁶ *Dianeira* is sure that 'she was born to be unhappy', a certainty that

⁶⁴⁵ For the identification of the personal with the political in feminism see: Banks 1981: 240; Wandor 1981: 13; Wandor 1986: 130; Pateman 1987: 117; Canning 1993: 530, 531; Firestone 1993: 50; Gömceli 2010: 15, 16, 18, 26, 29. The integration of the personal with the political is apparent in Wertenbaker's work and it is accompanied by the feminist belief that personal liberation can lead to political change. See Aston 2003: 157; Roth 2009: 49, 54; Freeman 2012: 196, 238.

⁶⁴⁶ For women's position in Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* see Wilson 2008: 209, 211, 213, 220; Shih 2010: 234.

discreetly points at her gender, and she displays the reasons for this unhappiness.⁶⁴⁷ Her unhappiness started from the period before her marriage, when she was ‘a virgin in her father’s house’ (*D.* p. 328), (*Tr.* vv. 6-7). This characterization reveals Dianeira’s self-determination in relation to the male. Her unhappiness was also associated with the way she was led to marriage, which means the acquisition of another identity defined in relation to the male. Thus the lack of free and autonomous self-determination is the primary patriarchal restriction imposed on Dianeira that causes her unhappiness and crisis.

Similarly, the first challenge to male heroism and the first manifestation of the fear of masculinity are occasioned by Akilos, the river god who appeared as a potential suitor for Dianeira. Akilos was horrific. Dianeira comments that ‘he didn’t have the nerve to come to a house as running water’ (*D.* p. 328), so he presented himself in various forms. The fluidity of form reflects the fluidity of identity.⁶⁴⁸ In this way, male identity is presented as unstable and deceptive and the quality that is traditionally attached to it, bravery, a quality linked with violence and war, is called into question. Masculinity is also associated with the male body. Dianeira’s comment that Akilos ‘took on the naked body of a man, that’s bad enough’ (*D.* p. 329) reveals that masculinity as represented by the male body causes her fear and distress. Dianeira prefers to die than share ‘a bed with that’ (*D.* p. 329), (*Tr.* vv. 15-17), a phrase that is exactly the same as in Pound’s translation (*WT* p. 5). She prays to the gods, but she remarks that ‘you never know if the gods hear you’ (*D.* p. 329). This is the second time that the metaphysical is doubted in the play.

The challenge to male heroism and the fear of masculinity are extended to Heracles. He appears and he seems to be ‘a saviour, a maiden’s true hero’ (*D.* p. 329), (*Tr.* vv. 18-19). The fact, however, that his masculinity is also described in relation to the body, ‘a

⁶⁴⁷ It is a kind of biological determinism that Wertebaker attacks in her version. See also Shih 2010: 237.

⁶⁴⁸ See also Wilson 2008: 213.

protrusion of muscles' (*D.* p. 329), implicitly affiliates him with Akilos.⁶⁴⁹ Heracles' male heroism is also associated with his weapons, his bow and arrows (*D.* p. 346). This connection means that masculinity as power based either on body or on weapons is equated with the exercise of violence. Heracles, the embodiment of masculinity *par excellence* and therefore of violence *par excellence*, fought with Akilos, the river god, claiming Dianeira. 'Zeus, the god of battles, made the outcome a good one' (*D.* p. 329), (*Tr.* v. 26) or 'it could have been the goddess of love', Aphrodite, as the Chorus comments (*D.* p. 329), who was the agent for the victory. Both these gods, Zeus and Aphrodite, function as a projection and justification of the patriarchal order in Wertebaker's *Dianeira*. Zeus as the god of battles is identified with male authority and violence, whereas Aphrodite legitimizes male desire and the position of women as sexual objects. The outcome of the battle was Dianeira's marriage to Heracles, a union based on male desire and violence and on female passivity and subordination. Dianeira is given as a reward and, ironically, she happily exchanges one form of monstrous masculinity for another. The use of woman as currency in male transactions is a status highly condemned by Wertebaker. The same idea occurs in other plays such as *The Love of the Nightingale*, a feminist rewriting of the Greek myth of Procne and Philomela and a play that is quite close in spirit to *Dianeira*.⁶⁵⁰

Dianeira became 'the wife of the hero' (*D.* p. 329), (*Tr.* v. 27), a newly acquired identity defined in relation to the male again, and her life was 'one long bleak torment' (*D.* p. 329), (*Tr.* vv. 28-29), a metaphor that further debases Heracles' male heroism. Her constant feeling is fear as in *Trachiniae*. She confesses that 'Wave upon wave of fear

⁶⁴⁹ The link between the male body and masculinity is very important. See Connell 1992: 56: '[t]he body [. . .] is inescapable in the construction of masculinity.' and Connell 1992: 45: 'True masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies—to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body.' The strong male body is also 'a means of survival' and 'a means of asserting superiority over women', (Connell 1992: 55). See also Wilson 2008: 213; Shih 2010: 246-247.

⁶⁵⁰ For feminist readings of the use of woman as currency in *Dianeira* and in *The Love of the Nightingale* see Case 1988: 8; Wilson 1993: 156, 157; Wilson 2008: 219; Gömceli 2009: 87; Shih 2010: 244.

breaks over her, that's all she ever feels, fear' (*D.* p. 329), (*Tr.* vv. 29-30), and especially at night. Heracles' long absence to perform his many labours is the source of loneliness and fear for Dianeira, who is always left alone with their children. The type of male heroism that Heracles displays during his achievements in the public sphere is seen as part of this patriarchal ideology which occasions Dianeira and, by implication, women in general, great anxiety, because it is linked with the exercise of violence and the abandonment of the domestic environment.⁶⁵¹ The feeling of abandonment is openly expressed by Dianeira. She characterizes herself as the 'widow of Heracles' labours' (*D.* p. 336). She says 'I'm already the widow of his labours, I've tasted that loneliness, I don't want to swallow widowhood whole' (*D.* p. 336), (*Tr.* vv. 175-177).

Moreover, Dianeira's intention to fiercely challenge male heroism, which is represented by Heracles, becomes evident by the words 'work' and 'labour' that are used for Heracles' achievements, exactly as in Pound's translation. Despite the use of the same words, Wertebaker's purpose is opposite to Pound's. Pound used these words to criticize the social and economic modernity in which Heracles was entrapped, not to challenge Heracles' value itself. On the contrary, Wertebaker uses these words so as to deconstruct Heracles' labours, which are seen as an expression of patriarchal authority. Her comment, 'And then he goes back to work, always for someone else's benefit.' (*D.* p. 330), (*Tr.* v. 35), not only trivializes Heracles' male heroism, but also immediately connects the past with the present of patriarchal structures and practices, which the words 'work' and 'benefit' imply. Similarly, Dianeira's reaction to the story of Heracles' service to

⁶⁵¹ Male violence in its various forms, physical, sexual, emotional, social, political, military, and the female condemnation of it, and reaction against it, is a very important issue for feminism. See Donovan 1985: 146; Case 1988: 66; Goodman 1993: 206; Winston 1995: 513; Aston 2003: 10, 16; Gömceli 2010: 18, 26, 38, 45, 46, 60. The theme of male violence is extremely interesting for Wertebaker and appears very often in her plays, echoing feminist awareness. A characteristic example with many similarities with *Dianeira* is *The Love of the Nightingale*. See Carlson 2000: 135; Roth 2008: 14; Gömceli 2009: 85, 87, 91, 94, 95, 96; Friedman 2009: 10; Roth 2009: 42, 43, 49, 50. For the theme of male violence in *Dianeira* see also Pedrick 2008: 41, 46, 48, 49. For Heracles' neglect of his family in the pursuit of glory see Wilson 2008: 214.

Omphale, 'Dressed as a woman...humiliating' (*D.* p. 337), a comment that does not exist in *Trachiniae*, indicates the same intention. It reveals and challenges at the same time the patriarchal prejudice that 'the female is equated with humiliation.'⁶⁵²

Dianeira's account of the life of 'the wife of the hero' illustrates that there is a sharp distinction between the public sphere, where Heracles triumphs, and the domestic sphere, where Dianeira is isolated and abandoned. Each sphere corresponds to each gender, male and female, respectively. The gap between them appears problematic in *Dianeira*, since the male absence from the domestic environment, and the female exclusion from the public domain, generates female suffering, a causation that reflects the author's undercurrent feminist approach. The demand to bridge the gap between the public and the domestic with equal and free participation in both spheres is crucial for feminism. The equal and free participation of women in the public sphere, which was considered to be a male-dominated area, has been a primary demand of the feminist movement throughout its evolution.⁶⁵³ Especially for liberal feminism, this was the principal demand and was regarded as the main prerequisite for women's equality. The second wave of feminism made the demand even more radical, it debated the dichotomy itself of the public and the private. Feminist theatre has also expressed this demand and debated the dichotomy, and Wertebaker engages with and challenges this idea. In this respect, the type of identity crisis that Wertebaker's Dianeira experiences, is connected once more with the asymmetric gender relations imposed by the patriarchal tradition.

The theme of female restriction to the domestic environment and of female exclusion from public space and life is stressed even further. The comment from Irene is very

⁶⁵² Wilson 2008: 215.

⁶⁵³ See Du Bois 1978: 135; Banks 1981: 4; Wandor 1981: 11, 13; Jaggar 1983: 39; Donovan 1985: 82; Wandor 1986: 56, 130, 131, 132, 134; Pateman 1987: 117; Lewis 1990: 167; Dolan 1991: 4; Stowell 1992: 148; Canning 1993: 530; Firestone 1993: 50; Gay 1998: 28; Aston 1999: 127; Gömceli 2010: 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 15, 16, 22, 23, 29, 34, 35, 38, 44, 48, 55, 243, 245; Milling 2012: 239, 242.

important, ‘Dianeira does not have the relief of movement and search. She has to stay still and wait all movement in the imagination. Imagination too is a breeding ground for anger, but for the moment she and her woman friends are content to muse about darkness, life and geography and borrow from our poet Sophocles his sketches of the night.’ (*D.* p. 334). Dianeira’s restriction in the domestic environment is associated with female passivity, inaction and waiting for the male. These patriarchally imposed restrictions on women become a source of Dianeira’s anger. Apart from Irene, the messenger emphasizes Dianeira’s isolation at the crucial moment of revealing Iole’s identity by saying to Dianeira that ‘within the walls of your house...you are the last to know what concerns you most’ (*D.* p. 340). The theme of female restriction and exclusion from the public sphere appears in other Wertebaker’s plays as well, echoing feminist awareness.⁶⁵⁴

Dianeira’s account of her life concludes by stressing the criticality of the moment, as in *Trachiniae*. ‘He had it predicted to him that these labours of his would eventually come to an end, but now I am more afraid than ever.’ (*D.* p. 330), (*Tr.* vv. 36-37), Dianeira confesses. The end of the ‘labours’, which signifies the end of the actions that patriarchy imposed on each protagonist according to their gender, is terrifying. It is again, as in *Trachiniae* and the *Women of Trachis*, the moment of crisis, the moment of a definitive evaluation. It is suggestive that the word ‘predictions’ is used in Wertebaker’s *Dianeira* to denote the notion of the word *μαντεῖα* (*D.* p. 330), (*Tr.* v. 77). The word ‘predictions’ was used by Pound as well, but the purpose of his use is different than Wertebaker’s. Pound’s objective was the criticism of established religion and the projection of a metaphysical alternative, based on the conception of the animistic universe. Wertebaker’s objective is completely to eradicate any conception of the metaphysical,

⁶⁵⁴ See Wertebaker’s Interview in *Writers Revealed*, BBC Radio 4, 20 June 1991, cited in Aston 2003: 150. See also Wilson 1993: 148. Isabelle Eberhardt, a dramatization of the nineteenth-century traveller in *New Anatomies*, and Mary, a fictional character in the eighteenth-century London setting of *The Grace of Mary Traverse*, are examples of women who try to transgress the confinement in the domestic environment and follow journeys of self-discovery and redefinition of their identity.

which is seen as a fabricated means of justification of patriarchy. The metaphysical dimension is rationalized in this passage, showing once more, as in the beginning of Dianeira's monologue, that the crisis unfolds only in the domestic and the public sphere, which means only personally and politically.

The lack of the metaphysical dimension is accompanied by another dominant feeling in Wertebaker's *Dianeira*, the feeling of emptiness, which is thematically introduced in the First Choral Ode along with the theme of mutability of life, 'in a human life nothing ever stands still' (*D.* p. 335), (*Tr.* vv. 129-130).⁶⁵⁵ The theme of the mutability of life exists also in *Trachiniae*, whereas the feeling of emptiness is Wertebaker's addition. The Chorus says to Dianeira, 'You tremble, Dianeira, like a bird who's lost its nest and fears finding it even more, in case it is revealed to be empty' (*D.* p. 335), (*Tr.* vv. 109-111). With the metaphysical dimension having been excluded, the necessity for the dual remaining realms of the personal and the political to produce meaning for human life becomes unavoidable. Dianeira's feeling of emptiness testifies to their failure and the reason for this failure, the asymmetric gender relations.

Wertebaker not only displays the character and the causes of Dianeira's crisis, but she also exemplifies and politicizes this crisis, associating the past with the present and highlighting the continuity of patriarchy through Irene's comment. Irene says, 'In that long ago time, people did not have character as we know it today, childhood was no more than the empty plain between birth and marriage and, once married, a woman always had a nurse to advise her. Obvious advice and often disastrous, as obvious advice must be. The nurse— an antique version of the horoscope: "Convince someone influential that your hidden depths could be of benefit. Stop short of flirting with danger, however."' (*D.* p.

⁶⁵⁵ Feelings of emptiness, disillusionment and discontent appear in other Wertebaker's works like *The Break of Day*. See Aston 2003: 155: 'It marks a moment of stasis; of lives stuck, going nowhere; of disillusion and discontent.'

330). Dianeira is regarded as a typical example of women deprived of 'character', namely of subjectivity. Their lives were defined by their marriage, which means by their function as men's supplement. And 'once married' they had 'a nurse to advise' them, which means they didn't have agency, autonomy and free will. All these characteristics apply to the past, 'In that long ago time', which remains purposefully unspecified to imply an unspecified past of indefinite beginning and duration. But they equally apply to the present, as the parallelism between the Nurse and the horoscope indicates. Women, therefore, continue to be deprived of subjectivity, agency, autonomy and free will. What is different is the exterior modernized form of intellectual dependency, the 'horoscope.'

Women's dependency and exploitation in a male-dominated society is condemned by Wertebaker at another point that is extended in this version, Dianeira's comment on the captive women. Dianeira says about them, 'They cast the shadows of the future. How easily it happens. Especially to women. One day, daughters of kings, wives of heroes, and the next sex or kitchen slaves. Ripped open, beaten. Fortune is unstable and the gods manic-depressive. Grim demons lurk around the corners' (*D.* p. 339), (*Tr.* vv. 330-332). The word 'shadow' is used to connote the established patriarchal order and its implications for human lives and especially for women. Women, either positively characterized as 'daughters of kings' and 'wives of heroes' when fortunate or negatively as 'sex or kitchen slaves' when unfortunate, are always regarded as men's supplement. Furthermore, they are objectified and abused by men as the comment 'ripped open, beaten' clearly shows.⁶⁵⁶ The transition from the 'daughters of kings' and the 'wives of heroes' to the 'sex or kitchen slaves' is a transition from Dianeira to contemporary

⁶⁵⁶ In general the protest against the characterization of women as sex objects and the demand for female sexual liberation has been part of the feminist agenda. Feminists are opposed to the objectification of women. See Wandor 1986: 133; Case 1988: 66; Meehan 1990: 195; Gömceli 2010: 18, 25. Wertebaker dramaturgically expresses this idea in her play *New Anatomies*, embodied by her heroine, Isabelle Eberhardt, who claims a feminine sexuality liberated from social and cultural restraints. See Carlson 2000: 140.

women, presenting this time not only a continuity of female subordination and abuse from antiquity to the present, but also implicitly inculcating antiquity for this transition. The ‘daughters of kings’ and ‘wives of heroes’, namely the purification of female dependency through patriarchal myth-making, allowed the oppressive structures of patriarchy to survive. The only difference is that for the contemporary ‘sex or kitchen slaves’ these structures are not prettified and legitimate. Similarly, the comment ‘gods are manic-depressive’ not only indicates the perception of the divine, and the meaning of the metaphysical, as a projection of human nature along with the latter’s inconsistency and instability, but also inculcates the established religious structures and practices, from antiquity to the present, for their contradictory stance towards female subjectivity. This conception of the divine reveals a feminist awareness. Gömceli points out the contradictory portrayal of woman in Christianity, either as an extreme good, like the image of the Virgin Mary, or as an extreme bad, like the image of ‘Eve the temptress’, who causes the fall of Man.⁶⁵⁷ The same dichotomy is regarded by other critics as a general characteristic of the patriarchal tradition. Hooks characterizes this dichotomy as the image of ‘madonnas or whores.’⁶⁵⁸ Woolf sees this dichotomy as the antithesis between ‘beauty and horror’ or ‘heavenly goodness and hellish depravity.’⁶⁵⁹ It becomes obvious that the way Wertenbaker revises Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* takes the criticism of patriarchy to its extremes. Although the criticism of patriarchy exists in the ancient play as well, albeit in a milder form, it has usually remained unacknowledged by feminist readings.

⁶⁵⁷ Gömceli 2010: 1.

⁶⁵⁸ Hooks 2000: 85; see also Shih 2010: 236.

⁶⁵⁹ Woolf 2000: 2197.

3.2.2.2 Dianeira's anger and moral agency in Wertebaker: from the personal to the political, the failure of patriarchy

Dianeira's anger because of and against patriarchal oppression is more intense and explicit in Wertebaker's version than in *Trachiniae*, as exemplified in the outspoken anger of the contemporary 'sex or kitchen slaves.' The issue of Dianeira's moral agency regarding Heracles' agony is handled by Wertebaker as part of the female reaction to the exploitation and restriction imposed by patriarchy. Dianeira's fatal action is considered to be not a personal error, but a testimony of the failure of patriarchy.

Dianeira's intentions become crystal clear from the outset of her action. Her words to Lychas (Sophocles' Lichas) are revealing, 'Women of Trachis, let us go in now, and you, Lychas fear nothing. We'll be sensible and we'll be wise— I won't try to fight single handed against the gods on this matter. But you cannot go back to Heracles without one gift when he sent you here with such an abundance, such a crowd of people. Wait here.' (*D.* p. 343), (*Tr.* vv. 494-496). The phrase 'such an abundance, such a crowd of people' is the equivalent of the Greek ἄ τ' ἀντὶ δώρων δῶρα χρὴ προσαρμόσαι, / καὶ ταῦτ' ἄγῃς. Κενὸν γὰρ οὐ δίκαιά σε / χωρεῖν προσελθόνθ' ὧδε σὺν πολλῶ στόλῳ (*Tr.* vv. 494-496). It is the same answer as in *Trachiniae*, but it is more emphatic and clear than in *Trachiniae*. The element of ambiguity regarding Dianeira's intention is simplified by Wertebaker. The focus is transferred from whether or not Dianeira's action aimed at killing Heracles to the element of anger and revenge that motivates her action regardless of the outcome. It becomes evident that Dianeira's gift will be sent as a reward for the 'crowd of people', the captive women and mainly Iole, who was brought to the palace as a new bride, a piece of information given by the messenger earlier, 'Iole has been brought to your house as Heracles' new wife' (*D.* p. 340), (*Tr.* vv. 366-367). With this change, Wertebaker's Dianeira appears to be more vindictive than Sophocles'.

Dianeira fiercely expresses her anger and openly displays the reason for it, the patriarchal order, saying, ‘And this is my reward for the long years of looking after him, his house, things, children.’ (*D.* p. 344), (*Tr.* vv. 540-542). Dianeira’s marital obedience is rewarded with Heracles’ ingratitude. What is unbearable for Dianeira is not the marital infidelity, but the idea of sharing her marriage. Dianeira patiently endured many Heracles’ extra-marital affairs, but sharing her marriage would mean the loss of her identity as ‘the wife of the hero.’ Dianeira says, ‘It isn’t the first time, but then he was discreet, the odd woman on his travels, but now he expects me to share his marriage, or worse. What am I supposed to do? Watch complacently as her youth blooms triumphant and I wilt to nothingness, unwanted, shrinking into invisibility.’ (*D.* p. 344), (*Tr.* vv. 547-551). Nothingness results from invisibility, which means that Dianeira’s identity, and, by implication, any female identity, is based on male desire; yet a female identity based on male desire lacks autonomy and agency, and this dependency causes anger.⁶⁶⁰ And Dianeira criticizes not only patriarchy as the source of female anger, but also the suppression of female anger by patriarchy. Anger is considered to be inappropriate for women. She says characteristically, ‘And then they say it’s unbecoming of a woman to be angry in such circumstances, it’s so common after all, I should behave with dignity, because I’m getting old and what can I expect, bees will be bees’ (*D.* p. 344), (*Tr.* vv. 552-553). Dianeira in this version is more judgmental about the suppression of female anger than in *Trachiniae*.⁶⁶¹ In contrast to Sophocles’ Deianira, Wertenbaker’s Dianeira does not comply with the conventions imposed by patriarchy. Dianeira’s response in *Trachiniae*, ‘*Ἄλλ’ οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὀργαίνειν καλὸν/ γυναῖκα νοῦν ἔχουσαν*’ (*Tr.* vv. 552-553) clearly suggests this compliance.

⁶⁶⁰ For the lack of female autonomy and agency as a source of anger see also Wilson 2008: 220.

⁶⁶¹ For Dianeira’s anger in Wertenbaker see also Shih 2010: 240-241.

Dianeira openly speaks about male desire, which is an important issue for feminism, ‘Desire. I hated being the cause of it but I fear even more not causing it.’ and she adds, ‘What other labour have I ever had but to keep his desire?’ (*D.* p. 345). These words are Wertebaker’s addition. Dianeira’s attitude towards male desire is contradictory.⁶⁶² She detests male desire, but she is even more afraid of not causing it. This contradiction signifies women’s discomfort with their role as objects of male desire, but at the same time it reveals women’s subordination to this role. This stance is different than Deianira’s attitude towards male desire in Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*. Deianira in *Trachiniae* accepts male desire as a means of preserving her position in the *oikos* and, by implication, her aristocratic identity. She does not protest against this necessity. On the contrary, she uses the philtre as a means of reactivating Heracles’ desire, namely as a substitute for her beauty and past youth (*Tr.* vv. 553-554), whose loss deeply grieves her (*Tr.* vv. 547-549). Wertebaker adds a very strong element to Dianeira’s speech so as to show the intensity of her anger. Dianeira thinks of killing Iole. She says, ‘Kill her now, here, but he will know and he will despise me, everyone will cast me off as vile. He will cast me off anyway. How come he gets to kill anyone who stands in his way?’ (*D.* p. 345). Anger and its physical expression, violence, are not permitted for women in patriarchy, whereas for men they are not only permitted but also praised.⁶⁶³ Dianeira will express her anger by sending the philtre and the robe, the means of the physical and symbolic destruction of

⁶⁶² For Wertebaker’s stance towards male desire see Gömceli 2009: 96: ‘...Wertebaker criticizes patriarchal mentality. According to radical feminists, patriarchal ideology “defines women as beings whose special function is to gratify male sexual desire and to bear and raise children” (Jaggar 1983: 255).’ The same criticism that Gömceli detects in *The Love of the Nightingale* applies to *Dianeira* as well with the addition of the element of contradiction. Wertebaker criticizes the female contradictory stance towards male desire apart from the male one. For Wertebaker’s criticism of male desire in *Dianeira* see Wilson 2008: 215, 216. For Wertebaker’s criticism of male desire in her other works see Wilson 1993: 148, 153; Carlson 2000: 136; Gömceli 2009: 85, 94. For the need to redefine desire and sexuality in order to redefine personal identity, pointed out in her play *New Anatomies*, see Carlson 2000: 140. For the theme of desire in feminist theatre see Goodman 1993: 84; Gömceli 2010: 45.

⁶⁶³ This difference is also noticed by Shih 2010: 241.

Heracles' male heroism (*D.* p. 351), (*Tr.* vv. 600-615).⁶⁶⁴ It is impressive that Wertebaker uses almost the same wording, 'the full splendour of the hero' (*D.* p. 351), as Pound (*WT* p. 50) to describe Heracles' male heroism, but with a different purpose. Whereas Pound uses the word 'splendour' to celebrate Heracles' heroism to the point of deification, Wertebaker uses the same word as a bitter irony that reveals the emptiness of this type of heroism.

Dianeira immediately afterwards questions her decision to send the robe. Dianeira says, 'What have I done? Dreadful doubts cast their shadow?' (*D.* p. 351), (*Tr.* vv. 663-664). The question is answered by Irene, who explores Dianeira's motive and the issue of her agency. Irene starts by analysing Dianeira's anger. Irene says, 'You can be angry and hit out, scream, kill. But you can also be angry in a matter so hidden even your actions seem unwilled. This invisible unfelt anger multiplies fast, undetected, unpreventable.' (*D.* p. 352). The invisible, unfelt, hidden anger, which operates 'below full consciousness', is brought out as the fundamental reason for Dianeira's action.⁶⁶⁵ This anger results from patriarchal oppression. Dianeira's action is not unique, therefore, but representative of female anger against patriarchy in a history of female oppression from antiquity to the present. In this way, Dianeira's personal case is exemplified and politicized, once more assuming symbolic dimensions. Irene continues, 'The anger that can't be admitted is the worse. It goes under and rots all.' (*D.* p. 352). Suppressed anger is projected as a cause of violence between the sexes, which spreads itself from the private to the public sphere with its corrosive force, as Dianeira's robe and philtre. This is a clearly feminist point of view.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁴ For Dianeira in Wertebaker necessitating the end of Heracles' labours and by implication his identity as a male hero see also Wilson 2008: 214.

⁶⁶⁵ For Dianeira's action as an action 'below full consciousness' and not as 'a deliberate choice' see Wohl 1998: 27; Pedrick 2008: 48.

⁶⁶⁶ For female anger as political apart from personal see Rich 1972: 25; Silver 1991: 361; Wilson 2008: 211; Shih 2010: 245.

Irene comments further on Dianeira's guilt. She says, 'I can't tell you if Dianeira knew what she was doing. How can I know? Anger could have paralyzed her mind, but made her hands more active than ever. That's not unusual in these women.' (*D.* p. 352). Dianeira's action is seen by Irene not as a rational decision, but as an impulsive action driven by anger, which escalates to a force that surpasses individual reason. In this way, the issue of Dianeira's moral agency is transferred from the personal level of intentional or unintentional guilt to the political level of female reaction against patriarchy. It is the asymmetric gender relations that generate personal and political violence. Individuals are embedded in this system and their actions appear to be consequences of the inequity of the system. Anger is not presented as an individual emotion, but as a reaction to the patriarchal establishment, and therefore as a political reaction. Shih comments that 'although Dianeira and Iole set up their identities through displaying anger, their anger does not become a political stance to cease another anger in the next generation.'⁶⁶⁷ The fact that Dianeira's anger is not transformed into 'a political stance' so as to subvert patriarchy, however, does not mean that it is not political. On the contrary, it is political, because it is a reaction to patriarchy as a socio-political ideology and establishment, and therefore a political reaction.

In tandem with Irene's words, Dianeira's are equally disclosing, 'I wanted his desire back. The centaur told me to take his blood as it mixed with the thick black liquid from the arrow, he told me it would make Heracles burn with love for me. Burn... But I remember how dark, how thick, how disgusting it was, well, sometimes desire too... I didn't question it then, but now I believe this magic... I wonder... magic given in such anger and hatred, how can it lead to good... If Heracles dies, I will die too. I wanted desire, not the world's contempt, no, I couldn't take that.' (*D.* p. 354), (*Tr.* vv. 719-722). The purpose of the

⁶⁶⁷ Shih 2010: 245.

philtre is to evoke desire, its qualities are similar with desire and it is given in anger. Again, what is brought out as a source of anger and cause of Dianeira's fatal action is women's self-definition as 'objects of male desire'; another form of patriarchal dominance. Securing male desire means securing the privileges of marriage exclusively and therefore securing another form of female identity dependent on the male.

Dianeira, after realizing the consequences of her action wants to die for the same reason as in *Trachiniae*, because of the world's contempt, namely shame. The content of her shame is different, however. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, shame is part of Deianira's aristocratic ethos. In Wertebaker's *Dianeira*, shame is considered to be another type of patriarchal oppression against women. It is the feminist concept of shame as a form of social control, which is based on a morality that is identical with patriarchal ideology.⁶⁶⁸ Consequently, social pressure occasioned by patriarchal ideology impels Dianeira to death. It becomes obvious from the different content and treatment of the theme of shame that Sophocles' major preoccupation is class, whereas Wertebaker's is gender.

This type of causation is evident as well in Dianeira's dialogue with the Chorus (*D.* p. 354):

First Chorus to Dianeira: 'Softly, Dianeira. Don't let your fears run ahead of events. You don't know...'

Second Chorus: You didn't plan to kill him.

Dianeira: No, I didn't. Plan.

Dianeira's answer suggests that there is a 'Plan', a continuity of patriarchal history that repeats itself and perpetuates itself.⁶⁶⁹ Dianeira's moral agency is absorbed by the systemic failure of patriarchy, because her action appears to be a manifestation and not a

⁶⁶⁸ See Winston (1995: 514) for 'the stigma of shame' and the argument that the 'patriarchal moral order...uses shame as a means to oppress [women].' See also Gömceli (2009: 89, 92, 96) who applies Winston's argument to *The Love of the Nightingale*. I argue that the same idea is apparent in Wertebaker's *Dianeira*.

⁶⁶⁹ See also Wilson 2008: 216.

cause of the suffering for herself and Heracles, which means for female and male genders, respectively. The personal is absorbed by the political.

The only personal responsibility that Wertenbaker acknowledges for Dianeira's fatal action is the lack of rational thought. Apart from the absorption of her agency by the systemic failure of patriarchy, her inner will is blurred by the absence of rational scrutiny. Dianeira replies to the Chorus, 'A mistake, yes, if there's no ill intent, but how do you know what intents form in a muddled and desperate heart? And fear, fear confuses intent too. What have I done? What did I mean to do? How can I know that?' (*D.* p. 355). The questions are Wertenbaker's addition. Rational thought is overwhelmed by excessive emotional reactions that allow the impulsive action to occur. This element reflects Wertenbaker's attraction to humanism and is an idea held in common with *Trachiniae*. In *Trachiniae*, however, it is developed at length and depth with clear philosophical resonances (*Tr.* vv. 588-593, vv. 669-670, vv. 725-726). In Sophocles, there is an epistemological awareness and enquiry, interwoven with personal responsibility, which transcends the entire play. In Wertenbaker, the epistemological element is more limited, because the emphasis is mostly given to the political cause of the defective patriarchal system, and less to the personal responsibility for the lack of rationality. This remark applies mainly to Dianeira, because Heracles' lack of rationality is more stressed. This difference shows that the lack of rational thought for women is not considered to be a personal fault, but the political implication of patriarchy that deprives them of the possibility to develop it through the oppression of female subjectivity, autonomy and agency.

3.2.2.3 Dianeira's suicide in Wertenbaker: a feminist protest and the failure to transgress patriarchy

The most indicative difference between Wertenbaker's Dianeira and Sophocles' is that in Wertenbaker's version Dianeira extensively expresses her protest before her suicide (*D.* pp. 359-360), whereas in *Trachiniae* she exits in silence and she utters only a couple of words, which are at the same time her farewells and an implicit protest about her current position (*Tr.* vv. 920-922). Pedrick is right in characterizing this change as 'one of her [Wertenbaker's] boldest alterations to the ancient original.'⁶⁷⁰ Wertenbaker also changes the structure of the scene in order to make Dianeira's presence more vivid. The rest of the scene of Dianeira's suicide in *Trachiniae*, apart from her farewells (*Tr.* vv. 920-922), is only narrated by the Nurse (*Tr.* vv. 899-946). In Wertenbaker, however, it is both narrated by the Nurse, who describes Dianeira's movements inside the house, and dramatized, with Dianeira speaking and openly disclosing her thoughts (*D.* pp. 359-360). Dianeira says, 'The things I cannot say... Yes, I knew.' and she continues 'I felt no surprise. I knew it was poison, would kill him. I knew...' (*D.* p. 359). The statement is an explicit admission of guilt. Dianeira knew that the philtre was poisonous. Dianeira sitting in the middle of her nuptial bed says, 'The things I cannot say: some pleasure in those screams of pain. Because of my own pain, all these years, when he first took me, when he left me, when he came back, when children came and now when he chose to discard.' (*D.* p. 359). 'The things' Dianeira 'cannot say' and the 'pleasure in those screams of pain' show the repressed female anger and equate Heracles' agony with Dianeira's suffering in her marriage.

As Dianeira prepares her suicide, her burst of anger escalates. As she loosens the brooches from the shoulders of her robe, she says, 'The things I cannot say: I don't feel pity, not

⁶⁷⁰ Pedrick 2008: 46.

even sorrow, not now. And yet, there must have been love. Now kneaded, pounded, pulled into the shape of anger. Why was this my life? Passive, always in the dark, waiting for the dawn, a new day, a return, a farewell, waiting. And finally waiting to disappear burned by jealousy, well, let him burn instead.’ (*D.* pp. 359-360). This passage is an addition of Wertebaker. Dianeira’s monologue is a feminist protest against women’s passivity, isolation in the domestic environment and dependency on men. The asymmetric gender relations transform love into anger. The emotional burning of Dianeira is equated with the physical burning of Heracles. The crucial question, ‘Why was this my life?’, shows Dianeira’s personal impasse.

Dianeira anxiously repeats the same question revealing her personal crisis. Dianeira says, ‘The things I cannot say: I don’t mind if I die now, I wouldn’t have minded earlier, what has this life been for? There’s nothing there. Let the night come down with its shimmering blanket of nothingness, let the night cover me.’ (*D.* p. 360). ‘Nothingness’, as the only possible answer to this question, having already been introduced from the First Choral Ode, culminates now in Dianeira’s despair. Dianeira’s final words just before piercing her side with the sword are an expression of exactly this feeling. Dianeira says, ‘The things I cannot say: I look for the pattern now, the diagram giving my life sense, but I see nothing. It was all a waste of breath.’ (*D.* p. 360). Dianeira cannot find her life meaningful in any way. Since the metaphysical dimension has been excluded in Wertebaker’s version from the very beginning, the feeling of meaninglessness is exhausted on the personal and the political level. The ‘pattern’, the ‘diagram giving her life sense’, which she can’t find, can be identified with the structures of the patriarchal ideology and establishment.⁶⁷¹ In a society structured in this way, women’s lives end up deprived of

⁶⁷¹ The idea of the patriarchal ‘pattern’, which deprives women’s lives of meaning, is a radical feminist position. See Canning (1993: 531) who advocates the idea that women’s ‘experiences were not individual and unrelated occurrences, but part of a larger pattern.’ See also Gömceli 2010: 19. For the analogy between Dianeira (*D.* pp. 359-360) and Procne (*The Love of the Nightingale*: Sc.20, 47) regarding the ‘pattern’ see Shih 2010: 242.

any meaning, since they are deprived of any freedom, autonomy and agency. The only female action involving agency is Dianeira's suicide, the most intense manifestation of female impasse because of, and as a protest against the patriarchal ideology. This is the reason why the Chorus comments on Dianeira's suicide, 'With a sword, heroic act and manly.' (*D.* p. 360). It is fairly characterized as 'manly', since it is the only case in which Dianeira enjoys the same freedom of choice as the male.

Shih regards Dianeira's questions at this point as a process of creating her identity like Philomele in *The Love of the Nightingale*.⁶⁷² I believe that it is better to regard these questions as a protest for an identity that cannot fully materialize within patriarchy, because the end of this process is Dianeira's suicide and not her transformation. Pedrick considers these questions to be Wertenbaker's comment on Sophocles. She says that 'Her Dianeira's confession seems deliberately to comment on what Sophocles will not let his heroine say. Her words satisfy the modern audience by revealing something we long to believe: Sophocles' Deianeira *must* be angry.'⁶⁷³ Pedrick is right in pointing out that Wertenbaker stresses even further the criticism of patriarchy, but she completely disregards the criticism of patriarchy that exists in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, even if in less intense and more implicit form.

The Chorus condemns Hyllos for Dianeira's suicide and its criticism refers to patriarchy in general. The Chorus says to Hyllos that Dianeira died 'condemned' by him (*D.* p. 360), 'unheard and undefended' (*D.* p. 361), because of Hyllos' anger against her (*D.* p. 361). The words 'unheard and undefended' are an addition of Wertenbaker and they imply women's silencing in patriarchy, which is a very common theme to Wertenbaker's plays.⁶⁷⁴ Female silence, either as a manifestation of female oppression or as means of

⁶⁷² Shih 2010: 241.

⁶⁷³ Pedrick 2008: 47.

⁶⁷⁴ For Wertenbaker's perception of Sophocles' Deianira as a silenced figure that she forces to speak see Pedrick 2008: 46, 47, 56. For Dianeira in Wertenbaker as an exemplary case of women's silencing in

survival in a hostile patriarchal environment or as language incapacity to articulate a reality beyond the patriarchal tradition, indicates the repressive character of patriarchy and its devastating consequences for women personally and politically. Silence in Wertebaker is associated with the loss or the denial of identity on a personal level and with injustice and violence on a political level.⁶⁷⁵ She explicitly states in a published interview that injustice and the silencing of members of society triggers violence, ‘And the sections of society now, the people who have no voice, are violent, inevitably. If you refuse to listen to a section of society, you are silencing them.’⁶⁷⁶

It is suggestive that silence in Wertebaker’s *Dianeira* signifies mainly the patriarchal oppression throughout the play and only at the very end the audience’s awareness, newly informed by the narration of Dianeira’s story (*D.* p. 374). In *Trachiniae*, silence has a variety of connotations, apart from patriarchal oppression, mostly expressed by the silent figure of Iole, such as the performance of *dolos*, the gap between the human and the divine knowledge and the reverence for the divine.⁶⁷⁷ The difference shows the extent to which Wertebaker focuses on the theme of imbalanced gender relations in her version.

The sympathetic treatment of Dianeira becomes evident also through the Chorus’ words, which are an addition of Wertebaker. The Chorus’ comments are in contrast to Dianeira’s previous statement, ‘I knew it was poison, would kill him’ (*D.* p. 359), (*Tr.* vv. 706-713). The Chorus says, ‘She never intended to kill your father.’ (*D.* p. 361) so as to

history see Wilson 2008: 209, 218. For a detailed analysis of the theme of silence as a major preoccupation in other plays of Wertebaker, such as *The Grace of Mary Traverse* and *The Love of the Nightingale*, see Wilson 1993: 156, 157, 158, 159, 160. See also Freeman 2012: 198, 209 for the theme of silence in Wertebaker’s work as dramaturgical technique; 197, 216 for silence as prerequisite for justice and truth; 200 for silence as association with the figuration of agency; 201 for silence as form of total protest. For the theme of silenced women in the *Love of the Nightingale*, symbolically represented by Philomele’s mutilation, see Carlson 2000: 135; Gömceli 2009: 85, 88, 90; Roth 2009: 43, 50, 54. For the use of silence in feminist theatre at large see Goodman 1993: 184; Friedman 2009: 3; Gömceli 2010: 61.

⁶⁷⁵ For the connection between silence and identity in Wertebaker see Rabey 1994: 1034; McDonough 1996: 412; Gömceli 2010: 75. For the relationship between silence, injustice and violence see Friedman 2009: 10.

⁶⁷⁶ Stephenson and Langridge 1997: 143. See also Gömceli 2009: 90.

⁶⁷⁷ Garrison 1991: 31-37; Rood 2010: 345-364.

intensify Hyllos' guilt for Dianeira's suicide. Similarly, the question addressed to Hyllos, 'where will you throw your anger?' (*D.* p. 361), along with the statement 'That's the essence of death: too late.' (*D.* p. 361), makes Dianeira appear as the victim of Hyllos' anger, namely of male anger. The result of this anger, Dianeira's death, is seen by the Chorus as an irreversible reality, which means that the metaphysical dimension is again obliterated and the emphasis is given to the necessity for personal and political fulfilment on earthly terms. Chorus' incitement to Hyllos, 'Go to your father.' (*D.* p. 361), repeated twice with the addition of 'now' (*D.* p. 362), labours another crucial point against patriarchy. It brings out the divisive power of patriarchy that separates the son from the mother and attaches him to the father appointing him perpetuator of the patriarchal ideology.⁶⁷⁸ Thus the Chorus incriminates patriarchy for annihilating motherhood, which becomes a biological bond without emotional and intellectual investment, and therefore unable to disrupt the patriarchal continuity.⁶⁷⁹

Irene stops the story after Dianeira's suicide for second time and she asks to get paid with brandy and a few more bills in order to continue (*D.* p. 362). This request is a reminder of the value of female labour and of the necessity for financial and social reward on an

⁶⁷⁸ The separation of son and mother is seen by feminist critics as contribution to the establishment of patriarchy. See Donovan 1985: 172. Furthermore, feminist critics disapprove of the Freudian theory (Freud 1977: 191) that this separation signifying the dissolution of the Oedipus complex is extremely important for the formation of a boy's self-identity and maleness. They argue that this theory is inherently misogynistic. See Donovan 1985: 178. Gömceli 2009: 93, based on Donovan, supports the same argument for Ity's case in *The Love of the Nightingale*. This position in this play culminates in the slaughter of Itys by Procne and Philomele. This act is seen by radical feminists as a way to separate the son from the father and thus to terminate patriarchy and women's oppression by male violence. See Banks 1981: 232; Wandor 1986: 133; Gömceli 2009: 89.

⁶⁷⁹ For the way radical feminism regarded motherhood in patriarchy see Jaggar 1983: 260: 'motherhood under patriarchy is forced labour.' See also Gömceli 2010: 25. Liberal feminist theatre on the other hand 'displays the dilemma between motherhood and career', as Gömceli (2010: 50) points out. Motherhood is an important issue for Wertebaker. She considers this issue to be still unresolved and she explores its various implications, cultural, social, political, in her plays, especially *Abel's Sister*, *The Break of Day*, *The Grace of Mary Traverse* and *The Love of the Nightingale*. For the issue of motherhood in *The Break of Day* see Carlson 2000: 146; Gömceli 2010: 246. For the issue of motherhood in *Abel's Sister* see Aston 2003: 152. For the issue of motherhood in *The Grace of Mary Traverse* and in *The Love of the Nightingale* see Wilson 1993: 156. For a general discussion of this issue in Wertebaker's work and criticism of it see Wilson 1993: 159, 160.

equal basis to men.⁶⁸⁰ The request is accompanied by Irene's comments on women's lives and on male heroism that are presented in juxtaposition (*D.* p. 362). Irene comments, 'Dianeira is dead, dead in anger. What kind of a life was that? Of what significance? All shadows and quiet, sometimes it makes you angry just to remember those lives. I can go on. Because now the story takes a right-angle turn. Now we have the great man, once strong and beautiful, the man of great works, ravaged and humiliated by disease and now we have his anger and the scarring of his son' (*D.* p. 362). Irene's comment makes clear that Dianeira's story is told as one case in a long history of women's oppression from patriarchy. 'All shadows', the signifier of patriarchy, and 'quiet', the signifier of female silencing, make women's lives insignificant to the point that only the remembrance of them evokes anger. Male heroism, embodied by 'the great man', Heracles, is a 'right-angle turn' to the story. This 'turn' points at the fundamental inequity between women's and men's lives in patriarchy. In this manner, Irene's comment rounds off Dianeira's story, ascribing exemplary value to her and connecting once more the past to the present of patriarchy.

The inequity of patriarchy is dramaturgically remedied by Wertebaker, who adds an important detail at the closure of Dianeira's story, 'The women of Trachis laid out the body of Dianeira ready for burning' (*D.* p. 362). This detail equates Dianeira with Heracles, since burning is the common end of both of them. In this way, Wertebaker upgrades Dianeira's position. But it is an equalization without materialization, because Dianeira's end testifies that female identity, although anxiously and fiercely reclaimed, can neither materialize within the limits of patriarchal order nor transgress these limits.

⁶⁸⁰ See also Wilson 2008: 210, 221. The insistence on paid female labour echoes socialist feminist ideas. Socialist feminism argues that the root of women's oppression is the capitalist system because of women's economic dependency and dual exploitation, by men in the private sphere and by the ruling class in the public sphere. Therefore, women's participation in paid labour and class struggle is regarded as the main prerequisite for their equality and freedom. See Donovan 1985: 82; Dolan 1991: 10; Bryson 1992: 3; Gömçeli 2010: 27.

Female identity remains ideologically entrapped, struggling with its preconceptions, but unable to subvert them and transform itself into a complete subjectivity with agency, autonomy and freedom.

Consequently, Wertebaker's Dianeira experiences a crisis, which is personal and political, generated by the asymmetric gender relations. The character that this crisis acquires and the way it unfolds testify to feminist problematics. Dianeira is isolated in the domestic environment, without autonomy and agency, silenced, neglected and unappreciated by Heracles, self-defined in relation to the male, as 'daughter' or 'wife' or 'mother', used as a reward for male violence, afraid of masculinity and at the same time anxious to preserve male desire so as to secure her identity as 'the wife of the hero.' She followed the rules of patriarchy, but now this 'diagram' makes her life appear meaningless. For all these reasons she is angry and her anger is more explicitly and intensively expressed than in *Trachiniae*, breaking the patriarchal conventions of female emotional repression. Her anger against patriarchy, however, and the feelings of the nothingness of her life in patriarchy, and of shame, which is one form of patriarchal social control, leads her to suicide. This end suggests that while Wertebaker's Dianeira is able to express her anger against patriarchy fiercely, she is not able to transgress this system, redefine herself and transform her life.⁶⁸¹ Death appears to be the only way out of a suffocating personal and political reality, but without any expectation of metaphysical vindication it is liberation through self-extinction.

⁶⁸¹ See also Shih (2010: 243) who contrasts Dianeira's static status with Procne's and Philomele's transformation and transgression of the secular world in *The Love of the Nightingale*.

3.2.3 Heracles in Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*: The 'father' in crisis without transformation

3.2.3.1 Heracles' crisis: The crisis of masculinity and male heroism in patriarchy

Wertenbaker in *Dianeira* turns Heracles' crisis into a crisis of masculinity and male heroism as perceived in patriarchy. In *Trachiniae*, Heracles' crisis symbolized both the crisis of patriarchy and the crisis of aristocratic ethics and politics. Sophocles, however, focuses more on the challenge to aristocratic ideology and uses gender as a medium to strengthen his criticism of this ideology, whereas Wertenbaker identifies Heracles' crisis exclusively with the crisis of patriarchy: gender is her primary concern. Many conventional male qualities are attributed to him like extreme physical power, massive weapons, uncontrollable sexual desire, uncontrollable anger, the desire for glory and power in the public sphere, the absence from the domestic environment, the performance of violence for his own ends, and the lack of moral restrictions. The criticism of Heracles' identity as the embodiment of the patriarchal ideology is very strong in Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, much stronger than in *Trachiniae*, and is developed throughout the play. Dianeira's, Nessos' and Irene's comments on his actions, and his own words, disclose the horrific consequences of patriarchal masculinity and male heroism for both sexes at the personal and political level.

In Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, Heracles appears to be the absolute embodiment of masculinity, with all the conventional patriarchal characteristics ascribed to him. His masculinity is associated with his body, his weapons and his 'heroic' actions (as defined by patriarchal ideology). These three elements of masculinity are all connected with the exercise of physical power, of violence. Masculinity is therefore identified with violence

in patriarchy.⁶⁸² These connections are evident from the beginning of the play. The Chorus' words are revealing, 'Now comes Heracles, marching from Thebes, carrying his club, his bow and his arrows. You recognise him by muscle and height. Both after this girl, who will bed her. One has to die.' (*D.* p. 344).

As in *Trachiniae*, the play is set at the moment of crisis for Heracles, because of the oracle about the end of his labours, but Wertebaker radically changes the structure of this scene. Dianeira's account of the oracle about Heracles' end in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 46-48, 76-77, 79-81, 155-177) is turned into a dialogue between Dianeira and Heracles in Wertebaker (*D.* pp. 332-336). Dianeira simply recollects this dialogue. With this dramaturgical device, Heracles appears from the beginning and not only in the last part of the play as in *Trachiniae*. This structural and dramaturgical change has important implications for the meaning. It allows Wertebaker to overturn the structural dichotomy of *Trachiniae*, where Dianeira occupied the first two halves and Heracles monopolized the end of the play. The structural dichotomy, along with the gap between the two protagonists who never meet in *Trachiniae*, made the thematic dichotomy and the clear distinction between the ideological 'old' and the ideological 'new' possible. Dianeira embodied the 'old', Heracles the transition to the 'new'. In overturning this structural dichotomy Wertebaker overturns the thematic one as well. She deprives Heracles of his privileged position to embody change and she offers Dianeira the opportunity to incarnate her personal and political crisis by reclaiming a new identity, a new subjectivity, not just equally to Heracles, but even more intensely than him.

⁶⁸² Shih (2010: 162, 246) regards Heracles in *Dianeira* as a characteristic example of Connell's 'hegemonic masculinity.' For the idea of 'hegemonic masculinity' see Connell 1992: 735-751; Connell 1993: 597-623; Connell 1995: 76-81; Connell 2005: 829-859. 'Hegemonic masculinity' is a type of masculinity that advocates male supremacy and oppresses women as well as men who are not powerful enough to sustain this model. Connell argues that this type of masculinity is legitimized by patriarchy, whereas at the same time it functions as the materialization of patriarchal ideology (Connell 1995: 77).

The content of the oracle and the circumstances that it is given are the same. The leaves of the sacred oak of God Zeus whispered to Heracles that after Euboea and within the next fifteen months he will meet either rest at last or his end (*D.* p. 333), (*Tr.* vv. 79-81, 164-168). What is added that does not exist in *Trachiniae* is Heracles' impression that 'rest' (*D.* p. 333) was the word that the leaves insisted on. Besides, his belief is that rest is what he deserves after such hard work. Heracles' preferable interpretation is that the prediction most probably means ease, peace and less likely death. The moment of crisis generates fear not only for Dianeira, but also for Heracles. Heracles, though, regards fear as a challenge given by Zeus. Heracles says, 'my father Zeus wants me to know fear, and to know what it is to triumph over fear-like a man, a godly man' (*D.* p. 336). He even advises Dianeira to 'wait patiently, without fear' (*D.* p. 336). This passage is an addition of Wertenbaker. It is an ironic reference to and implicit criticism of Heracles belief in a masculine supremacy of emotional self-control, which will shortly prove to be deceptive.

The type of masculinity and male heroism that Heracles represents is further challenged by the description of the sack of Oechalia. Heracles' heroism in this context is equated with male violence, whose horrific consequences are displacement, dislocation, enslavement and loss of identity signified by the loss of name. Lychas' description of the captive women is revealing, 'Their houses have turned to ashes, their husbands to bones, and they start a life of misery, drudgery, as slaves without names' (*D.* p. 338), (*Tr.* vv. 297-302). Dianeira's description of their situation is similar, 'They were wealthy, some of them, inhabitants of a strong and safe city, and then one day, war, ravage, rape and servitude. They had names, now nameless, refugees' (*D.* p. 339), (*Tr.* vv. 297-302). But even Dianeira herself is another striking example of dislocation. She lives 'in Trachis, a stranger in the house of a stranger, waiting' (*D.* p. 330), (*Tr.* vv. 39-40), because of

Heracles' exercise of violence. These themes of displacement,⁶⁸³ dispossession, dislocation,⁶⁸⁴ war,⁶⁸⁵ rape,⁶⁸⁶ loss of name as loss of identity are of particular interest to Wertebaker.⁶⁸⁷ They repeatedly occur in her plays and they are always regarded as implications of the exercise of male power, which is permitted and necessitated by the patriarchal establishment.

Another challenge to Heracles' heroism is the information that the messenger conveys. The messenger discloses that Heracles' real motive for the sack of Oechalia was his lust, his sexual attraction to Iole.⁶⁸⁸ Sexual desire as a cause of male violence against the female is a common theme to Wertebaker's plays and a matter of major concern to feminist thought.⁶⁸⁹ From the feminist perspective, as evident in Wertebaker's *Dianeira*, sexual desire and its imposition determine gender relations and political structures. Male

⁶⁸³ Cf. displacement in *The Grace of Mary Traverse* and *The Love of the Nightingale* (Wilson 1993: 146, 157); more generally, Rabey 1990: 518-529; autobiographic elements (Wilson 1993: 146; Gömceli 2010: 70-71). Roth (2008: 16) stresses 'displacement and multiethnic exchange in [Wertebaker's] international translations from French, ancient Greek, German, and Italian.' Freeman (2012: 255) characterizes 'the displacement of people across cultures during the Second World War and the Cold War' as 'a trauma that runs through all of Wertebaker's work.'

⁶⁸⁴ For the geographic dislocation resulting in cultural dislocation in Wertebaker's work, especially in *New Anatomies*, *The Love of the Nightingale* and *Our Country's Good*, see Wilson 1993: 148; Gömceli 2010: 70. For the theme of geographic and cultural dislocation in relation to 'questions of identity and nationality' in Wertebaker see Gömceli 2010: 70-71. For dislocation as theatrical strategy in Wertebaker see Roth 2009: 44. For 'intercultural dislocations' in Wertebaker see Roth 2009: 52.

⁶⁸⁵ For the theme of war in *Dianeira* see Pedrick 2008: 48, 56; Wilson 2008: 217; Gömceli 2010: 74. For the theme of war in *The Love of the Nightingale* see Roth 2008: 14; Roth 2009: 49. For Wertebaker's preoccupation with war in more recent history, namely the Second World War, the Cold war, the post-Cold War Europe and the Serbian wars, as expressed in her plays, especially *The Break of Day* and *Credible Witness*, see Freeman 2012: 254-255.

⁶⁸⁶ Rape is an important theme for Wertebaker. In an interview with DiGaetani (DiGaetani 1991: 272) Wertebaker says about the theme of rape in her work, 'But male critics have attacked me and my plays for pointing out the facts about rape and women', and she stresses the social and political character of this act, 'Something in the society allows rape to happen.' For the theme of rape in *The Love of the Nightingale* as a political act of oppression apart from sexual act of violence see Gömceli 2009: 95; Roth 2009: 48, 49, 50, 56. For the theme of rape in *The Love of the Nightingale* see also Wilson 1993: 156; Carlson 2000: 135; Aston 2003: 150; Gömceli 2010: 79, 244; Freeman 2012: 196. The social and political character of rape is stressed in other Wertebaker's plays as well. For the theme of rape in *The Grace of Mary Traverse* see Wilson 1993: 150, 156; Gömceli 2010: 244; in *Credible Witness* see Gömceli 2010: 78. The association of sexual violence with political violence and the argument that sexual violence is the primary source of women's oppression is distinctive of the radical feminist position. See Banks 1981: 232; Jaggar 1983: 90, 260; Donovan 1985: 146; Case 1988: 66; Gömceli 2009: 95; Gömceli 2010: 25, 26, 29. For rape as an important theme of radical feminist theatre see Goodman 1993: 206; Gömceli 2010: 53, 60.

⁶⁸⁷ For the loss of name as loss of identity in Wertebaker's *Dianeira* see Wilson 2008: 211, 215.

⁶⁸⁸ See also Wilson 2008: 215.

⁶⁸⁹ For the link between male desire and male violence in *Dianeira* see Wilson 2008: 215. For the same theme in *The Love of the Nightingale* see Winston 1995: 513; Carlson 2000: 136; Gömceli 2009: 85, 94.

violence is concurrently a means for the sexual and political oppression of women. Male violence spreads itself from the imposed sexual desire to the enforced marriage, acquiring social and political character.⁶⁹⁰ The female is the passive recipient of these processes without agency and autonomy. Both Dianeira and Iole were objects of male sexual desire, violently claimed, given as a reward or as spoils to the victor and led to an enforced, or at least for Dianeira's case without choice, marriage. In this way, male sexual desire and its violent imposition on the female is another patriarchal characteristic attributed to Heracles and condemned for its own personal and political consequences. The theme of women as spoils or prizes exists also in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 19-21, 27, 244-245) but the criticism of it is milder than in Wertebaker's *Dianeira*.

Lust is not just the only motive for Heracles' actions, it is foremost the true motive in contrast to the superficial one, shame. The messenger reveals that 'It was never shame that drove him to destroy the city of Eurytos, Heracles never has time for shame, it was desire. Lust. Love. The goddess. Aphrodite.' (*D.* p. 342), (*Tr.* vv. 431-433). This comment about shame recalls Dianeira's suicide in sharp juxtaposition. Wertebaker implies that men do not experience shame in patriarchy, because what is socially imposed is considered to be morally correct as well. It is an arbitrary extension of a socio-political ideology based on imbalanced gender relations to the moral field. This is a difference with *Trachiniae*, where shame was a basic element of the aristocratic identity, shared by both genders female and male, Dianeira and Heracles respectively.

Wertebaker challenges even further Heracles' heroism and the patriarchal ideology it represents with the details she adds about Heracles' confrontation with Nessos that do not

⁶⁹⁰ Juliet Mitchell criticized the patriarchal use of women as objects of exchange in marriage. She argued that the objectification of women was socially and culturally reproduced by the unconscious and that it could change only with a cultural revolution. See Mitchell 1977: 413, 414. Gömceli 2009: 87 applies this idea to the interpretation of *The Love of the Nightingale* regarding Tereus' marriage to Procne. For the same idea in *Dianeira* see Wilson 2008: 213, 219.

exist in *Trachiniae*. Heracles chooses to transfer his weapons instead of his wife in the river and he leaves Dianeira in Nessos' care. Heracles justifies himself by saying, 'I have to protect my bow and arrows from the water and these clubs are cumbersome. I can't carry you myself, Dianeira.' (*D.* p. 346). Heracles' choice shows that the weapons as constitutive parts of his heroic identity are considered to be more valuable than his wife.⁶⁹¹ This choice shifts the main responsibility for Nessos' attack on Dianeira from Nessos to Heracles. This responsibility extends by implication to the following actions that lead to Heracles' agony, like Nessos' offering Dianeira the philtre and Dianeira's offering Heracles the robe anointed with the philtre. In this way, Heracles' agony, the physical expression of the crisis he will experience, is initiated by himself in an effort to preserve his masculine identity prescribed by patriarchy. This effort includes the neglect of the female, which becomes the root of Heracles' suffering. Wertenbaker, therefore, incriminates patriarchy, and its mechanisms for the construction and the preservation of gender identities and of imbalanced gender relations, for Heracles' poor choice and suffering. She also demonstrates Heracles' personal responsibility, more than Dianeira's, which lies in the materialization and the continuation of the patriarchal order.

Another significant change that Wertenbaker makes in order to nullify Heracles' model of masculinity and male heroism is his association with *dolos*. Dianeira describes Heracles' fight with Nessos, 'Heracles shot him with a poisoned arrow, from the back...He dragged him up onto the river bank.' (*D.* p. 347). In *Trachiniae* there is no comment that Heracles shot Nessus from the back. Furthermore Heracles was punished by Zeus in *Trachiniae* for the treacherous way he killed Iphitus (*Tr.* vv. 275-278) and Lichas explicitly says that his lies were his own initiative (*Tr.* v. 480). Thus Heracles in *Trachiniae* is disassociated from the practice of *dolos*. 'From the back' means that

⁶⁹¹ See also Wilson 2008: 215, 216.

Heracles applied *dolos* in Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, an attitude incompatible with masculinity and male heroism. Nessos' question stresses exactly this point, 'Why did he kill me like that, Dianeira? From the back too?' (*D.* p. 348). In return, Nessos gives Dianeira the philtre to be kept and applied in secret (*D.* p. 350), which means as another form of *dolos*. The application of *dolos* puts Heracles on a par with Nessos debasing his heroic status. Dianeira's words reveal this similarity, 'But of course Nessos would have wanted to destroy the man who caused him such pain, treacherously too, I have to admit that, Heracles shot him in the back, that wasn't very heroic.' (*D.* p. 354). What Dianeira does not admit at all, however, is her application of *dolos*. Wertenbaker passes over in silence Dianeira's participation in this vicious circle, because she wants to exclude the female from it. In this way, not only does she make Heracles morally equal to Nessos, but she also links the application of *dolos* exclusively with the male. Thus she reverses the established patriarchal preconceptions about gender and morality.

Wertenbaker draws more parallels between Heracles and Nessos. Both act irrationally, driven by anger. Heracles blames Nessos' monstrosity and irrationality, but without realizing the similarities between them: Heracles says about Nessos, 'beast, not to be trusted, uncontrolled appetite, ignoble in your actions' (*D.* p. 347). Nessos' comments about Heracles are equally aggressive and strengthen the criticism of his male heroism. Nessos says to Dianeira about Heracles (*D.* p. 349):

He didn't have to use poison, he could have just wounded me if he couldn't control his anger. Why didn't he carry you over himself? Because he cared more for his weapons... Your husband is a thoughtless man, Dianeira, prone to the moment, let me be blunt, he is a stupid man... And stupid men don't know how to resist temptations... I know these heroes, their attention span is short... Stupid men take what they want, they don't calculate the consequences.

Uncontrollable anger which leads to uncontrollable violence, neglect of his wife, uncontrollable sexual desire, lack of rational thought are the qualities that Nessos attributes to Heracles, confirming what is sketched as Heracles' portrait throughout the

play. Nessos asks Heracles, ‘Why didn’t you control yourself, Heracles? You’re a man. You’re supposed to be rational-’ (*D.* p. 350). The uncontrollable anger results from the lack of rational thought, which is regarded as degradation of human nature. This thought recalls liberal feminist ideas as well as Wertebaker’s attraction to humanism.⁶⁹² The idea that the asymmetric gender system is based on male prejudice against women, which results from the lack of rational thought, and the idea that women are equal to men, because they are equally able to develop rational thought, are distinctive elements of liberal feminism. Wertebaker’s attraction to humanism lies in the belief that a human being has the ability ‘to survive and do something good.’⁶⁹³ Furthermore, Wertebaker, by pointing out Heracles’ irrationality adds another dimension to her perception of humanism. She invalidates Heracles’ rationality and, by implication, the association between masculinity and rationality. Thus rational thought is not considered any more to be a male privilege. In this way, Wertebaker introduces a type of humanism that liberates itself from its masculinist tradition and, for this reason, it is well compatible with and attuned to feminist ideas.⁶⁹⁴ At the same time, she disconnects Heracles’ anger from rationality.⁶⁹⁵ Thus, the masculine claim on the preservation of patriarchy that male anger attests to appears equally irrational.

Wertebaker adds three other important elements that do not exist in *Trachiniae* in order to relate Heracles even more closely to Nessos. First, she presents Nessos as crying out

⁶⁹² For irrational prejudice as the root of women’s oppression and discrimination based on gender see Jaggar 1983: 177; Gömceli 2010: 22. For the need to develop the skill of rational thought and argument so as to reverse this irrational prejudice see Jaggar 1983: 147; Barrett and Phillips 1992: 3; Gömceli 2010: 22. For Wertebaker’s attraction to humanism see DiGaetani 1991: 270; Gömceli 2010: 76; Freeman 2012: 218, 219. Freeman (2012: 217) acknowledges a ‘liberal humanistic viewpoint’ in Wertebaker’s work and Gömceli (2010: 64) points out Wertebaker’s ‘global and humanistic perspective.’ Friedman (2009: 5) observes that liberal feminism as theory and as theatre practice in the 1980s ‘envisioned a humanism that includes women.’

⁶⁹³ Wertebaker openly expresses this idea in an interview with John O’Mahony cited in Gömceli 2010: 65.

⁶⁹⁴ For the tension between the historical and theoretical connection of the feminist movement with the liberal-humanism during the 18th and 19th century and the privileging of the male that results from Enlightenment dualisms see Hekman 1990: 2, 5.

⁶⁹⁵ See also Shih 2010: 248, ‘...she demythologizes men’s anger through revealing the aggressive anger of “the greatest man on earth.”’

and screaming in agony (*D.* p. 350), exactly like Heracles (*Tr.* vv. 1004, 1014). In this way, Nessos' suffering and Heracles' suffering are balanced, a balance that renders Heracles' suffering not only partially justifiable, but also, and principally, less unique and extraordinary than in *Trachiniae*. Second, Heracles sacrifices to the gods after having killed Nessos to purify himself. Heracles says to Nessos, '...and now that I've killed you, as you deserve, I have to apologise for it and go and make a sacrifice to the gods to purify myself.' (*D.* p. 347). And after the sacrifice he says, 'I'm clean now, I've prayed to the gods, I've poured water over my hands, why did you make me so angry?' (*D.* p. 350). This sacrifice recalls Heracles' sacrifice after the sack of Oechalia (*D.* p. 356), (*Tr.* vv. 287-288, 750-755), a correspondence that relates the two events as equal manifestations of uncontrollable male violence with horrific results. Heracles' question to Nessos 'why did you make me so angry?' can have only one reasonable answer, given Heracles' preference for his weapons and indifference to Dianeira. Heracles is angry, because Nessos challenged his authority and his power by insulting his property, his wife. Male competition for power and not marital affection is therefore the main reason for his anger. The third important element is a structural one. Wertebaker makes Irene, the narrator, stop the account of the story for the first time in the play after Nessos' death. The second time that the narration stops is after Dianeira's suicide. In this way, the three deaths, Nessos', Dianeira's and Heracles' are presented as equivalent, shifting the focus from Heracles' agony to three cases of lost lives because of anger. Thus Heracles' grandeur is minimized, whereas anger and the forces that generate it, the ideology and structures of patriarchy, are emphasized.

The sacrifices as means of purification after the exercise of violence are well combined with Heracles' prayer to Zeus, bringing out the way that patriarchy shapes the metaphysical dimension, which Wertebaker challenges once more by enlarging upon details of Heracles' prayer that do not exist in *Trachiniae*. Heracles' prayer is, 'God of

the heavens and of all victories, Zeus, my father, I stand here to thank you for my triumph. The city razed to the ground, bounty, slaves, and for you these oxen. From you, Zeus, my strength, my purpose, and my hope.' (*D.* p. 356). Heracles refers himself to Zeus who is presented as the patriarchal figure of ultimate authority mirroring and confirming Heracles' authority on earth. The divine patriarchal authority of Zeus is related to war, slavery, women's oppression, exploitation and dislocation, in exactly the same way as the human authority of Heracles. In this way, Wertebaker reinforces her criticism of the relationship between religion and patriarchy. She started doubting the existence of the divine, she continued pointing out its function as a projection of patriarchy and now she escalates her criticism into an incrimination of the divine for the legitimacy of patriarchal violence.

Through all these additions and changes that Wertebaker makes in comparison with *Trachiniae*, she explicitly articulates a radical criticism of Heracles as the embodiment of patriarchy, and especially of patriarchal violence. This criticism shapes the ideological background and framework of the personal crisis that Heracles is about to experience at the moment of his agony. Heracles' agony will be the reasonable outcome of the ideology he represents. In this way, Heracles' crisis, as Dianeira's previously, is politicized by Wertebaker. Heracles' crisis shows the impasse of the patriarchal ideology for the male apart from the female. This ideological investment in Heracles' case takes place well far earlier in the plot and in a far more outspoken way than in *Trachiniae*, allowing the modification of the last part of the play by Wertebaker to arise as a justifiable sequel.

3.2.3.2 Heracles' agony and death: transformation and *apotheosis* negated, patriarchy cannot embody change

In Wertebaker's *Dianeira*, as in *Trachiniae*, the culmination of Heracles' crisis is the scene of his agony. Although the subject matter is the same, the way that Wertebaker deals with it completely overturns its meaning. Heracles' personal crisis of identity is regarded as a manifestation of the corrosive power of patriarchy for men, not just women. This remark does not lead to Heracles' expiation. On the contrary, Wertebaker strips Heracles of the privileged position he enjoyed in *Trachiniae* in order to embody transition and change. In Wertebaker, Heracles remains the perpetuator of patriarchy up to his death, which is explicitly recounted within the play. There is neither transformation nor *apotheosis*, either explicit or implicit. Thus Wertebaker radically reverses the end of *Trachiniae* and its implications. Heracles' end in Wertebaker brings out the mechanisms that impose and preserve patriarchy and, especially the incapacity of this ideology to contain any reformed political vision.

Heracles' agony is introduced by Irene immediately after Dianeira's suicide. Irene says, 'I can go on. Because now the story takes a right-angle turn. Now we have the great man, once strong and beautiful, the man of great works, ravaged and humiliated by disease and now we have his anger and the scarring of his son' (*D.* p. 362). The word 'now' recurs three times indicating the passage from Dianeira's story to Heracles' story and, principally, how critical this moment is for Heracles' end. The repetition of the phrase 'the great man', 'the man of great works', put in contrast with the phrase 'ravaged and humiliated by disease', implies the radical challenge to Heracles' masculinity and male heroism that is about to unfold through his personal crisis. Furthermore, Heracles will not only be in agony, but also in anger. This anger signifies the reaction to the threat of losing his identity, as well as the social and political power that this identity is privileged with

in patriarchy.⁶⁹⁶ Anger signifies as well Heracles' effort to preserve this identity and the patriarchal order that constructs this identity despite his suffering. The last part of Heracles' story will be 'the scarring of his son', which demonstrates the forcible entry of the new generation of men into the patriarchal order.

Heracles recounts all his labours with bitterness, because the reward he receives now is his extreme physical and emotional suffering. Heracles says, 'I worked so hard. All my life. Painful even in the telling. I never stopped...And now look at me. Mown down by the blind sweep of misfortune. No, not fate. Her. What neither Greek nor shuttering Barbarian could do, she's done by wrapping this cloak of venom around me, she, without a sword, her hatred only, she's turned me inside out, revealed me to be no more than a girl, a girl. Crying, begging for help, I have no strength, not even courage, I'm a girl, a girl.' (*D.* pp. 363-364), (*Tr.* vv. 1071-1072). Heracles loses his masculine identity with Dianeira's interference. The male encountered with the female turns out to be female. The qualities attributed to each gender are reversed. So, the gender identity emerges as a social construct of patriarchy and not as a natural, stable and unchangeable entity. In this way, Heracles himself deconstructs his conventional masculine heroic identity. Heracles says, 'I always did my duty, followed my calling without complaint. I, son of the noble Alcmene and son also of a god, look at me now, shredded.' (*D.* p. 364), (*Tr.* vv. 1105-1106) and then he screams (*D.* p. 364). His words are disclosing. Heracles did 'his duty', followed 'his calling' without complaint, which means that Heracles assumed the role that patriarchy had assigned to him without any objection or doubt and now he is 'shredded', he is destroyed by the same ideology he embodied.

Despite his suffering, Heracles continues to be a perpetuator of patriarchy.⁶⁹⁷ He asks Hyllos to choose between his father and his mother. He says, 'Quickly, Hyllos, show

⁶⁹⁶ See also Shih 2010: 248.

⁶⁹⁷ See also Wilson 2008: 216.

yourself to be a true son of mine, waste no time. And let me see whether you feel more for your father or for your mother when she lies before you mangled by my hands as she's mangled me. Go.' (*D.* p. 364), (*Tr.* vv. 1064-1069). Heracles' words echo the previously mentioned Chorus' incitement to Hyllos, 'Go to your father.' (*D.* p. 361), and expand it even further. The separation from the mother and the attachment to the father is again prerequisite for the continuation of patriarchy. But Heracles does not request only attachment, but also obedience, which means acceptance of the patriarchal order without question. It is indicative that the word 'Father' is written with capital F as the words 'Filial Obedience' (*D.* p. 365). 'Father' and 'Filial Obedience', as fundamental elements of patriarchy, acquire here their authoritarian nature. Furthermore, Heracles' statement that he will never relinquish his anger (*D.* p. 365), which means that he will never stop claiming the identity ascribed to him by patriarchy, is another way of supporting its continuation. This statement is an addition of Wertenbaker.

What is of extreme importance and a major difference between Wertenbaker's version and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, as well as between Wertenbaker's version and Pound's *Women of Trachis*, is Heracles' reaction after the revelation of Nessos' agency and the realization of the coincidence of the oracles. Instead of illumination and relief from pain (*Tr.* v. 1174), (*WT* p. 50), Heracles in Wertenbaker is absorbed by a feeling of meaninglessness that remains dominant up to his death (*D.* p. 366). Heracles says, 'Olololola. I see the shape of my fate now... Your father is no more, Hyllos. Darkness for me now... Why? What was it all for? Her marriage, bearing me? Nothing, all in vain.' (*D.* p. 366). Nothingness and meaninglessness persistently recur. The word 'olololola' is a sound of pain and at the same time a reminder of the ancient Greek verb with the meaning of disaster and death. With this word Wertenbaker recalls *Trachiniae* and thus the difference between the two plays with regards to Heracles' attitude is brought out.

Heracles recalls the two oracles given by Zeus and by Zeus' sacred oak respectively, which he mentions as 'predictions' (*D.* p. 367). What Heracles realizes is, 'Of course! Only in death do we rest from our labours. Ha ha. That was the prediction! Now it all twists together and glistens in the light. My destiny made manifest. What was all that work for? Nothing. Vanity. Passing.' (*D.* p. 367), (*Tr.* vv. 1172-1175). Instead of the emphasis given in *Trachiniae* to the coincidence of the oracles as the manifestation and confirmation of a metaphysical order that surpasses the individual, in Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* the emphasis is given to the meaninglessness of Heracles' life. It is suggestive that the verb 'twists' (*D.* p. 367) is used by Wertenbaker instead of the verb 'coheres' in Pound's version (*WT* p. 50) for the translation of *λαμπρὰ συμβαίνει* of *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* v. 1174). In Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* there is no metaphysical order and coherence to be reaffirmed and perceived by Heracles as a form of illumination.

This feeling of meaninglessness that persists shows that the realization of the coincidence of the oracles does not transform Heracles: there is no change for Heracles, neither internal nor external, neither radical nor slow. The absence of transformation suggests that Heracles does not transcend the boundaries of the patriarchal ideology. He remains hemmed in the identity given by patriarchy up to his end, which coincides with his death without any hint of *apotheosis*. Shih argues that 'Heracles does not truly understand the oracle and he finally dies with his anger at Dianeira's anger.'⁶⁹⁸ The persistence of Heracles' anger is not based purely on the misunderstanding of the content of the oracles, however, but mostly on his inability to perceive the coincidence of the oracles as being meaningful and thus to use this knowledge to redefine his identity because of this perception. This inability is not coincidental, but associated with and indicative of the absence of the metaphysical dimension throughout the play.

⁶⁹⁸ Shih 2010: 249.

The only form of coherence in Wertenbaker's version is the projection of patriarchy as a source of personal and political crisis. Heracles' 'meaninglessness' recalls Dianeira's 'meaninglessness' indicating that patriarchy is an impasse for both sexes. This similarity makes Heracles an equally static figure as Dianeira, unable to incarnate the change and the transition to the 'new', rounding off all the structural and thematic modifications that Wertenbaker made in order to achieve this balance. This, then, is another difference between Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* and the other two plays, where Heracles incarnates transition and the change in sharp contrast to the static Dianeira.

Another difference in comparison with *Trachiniae* indicates the absence of metaphysical coherence and the preservation of the patriarchal order in Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*. Heracles' orders to Hyllos are not presented as divine orders that Heracles merely conveys as in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 1175-1178, 1204, 1247-1248), but as Heracles' personal wishes (*D.* p. 367). These orders express Heracles' patriarchal ideology, because of their content and the way they are imposed on Hyllos. Heracles says to Hyllos, '...do what I ask with joy and with due respect for the law that orders sons always to obey their fathers.' (*D.* p. 367). 'Filial Obedience' in this case is not only required, but is also characterized by Heracles as 'law', which means that patriarchy lends the character of moral and political obligation to the arbitrary authority of the 'Father'.

The first order about the pyre expresses the type of death that Heracles prefers, a 'mercy-killing' (*D.* p. 368) without any hint of *apotheosis*. It is Heracles' personal wish, a means of release from pain, and not a divine plan, as in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 1204, 1208-1209, 1210-1211). Heracles' statement is explicit, 'I am the one in pain. It's what I want.' (*D.* p. 368). Gods are mentioned only as witnesses of Hyllos' oath of obedience (*D.* p. 369), not as agents for the divine plan related to Heracles' orders, as implied in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 1175-1178, 1204, 1247-1248).

Heracles' second order to Hyllos, which Heracles considers to be a 'small favour' (*D.* p. 369), (*Tr.* vv. 1216-1217, 1228-1229), is Hyllos' marriage to Iole. Irene's comment on Heracles' second order is disclosing, 'Listen to the gasp from Hyllos. This intractable and totally self-absorbed father, asking for what now? And where can Hyllos turn? To Zeus, his father's father, who seems to have mocked Heracles all along?' (*D.* p. 369). Given that Heracles' orders are presented as personal wishes and not as divine orders, the characterization of Heracles as an 'intractable', 'self-absorbed father', is justifiable as well as indicative of the absence of transformation. Heracles still remains the embodiment of patriarchy and the comment about Zeus, 'his father's father', points out once more the use of religion as an ideological foundation of patriarchy.

Heracles explicitly states that Hyllos' marriage to Iole is his personal desire and therefore not a divine plan. He says, 'It's what I want. It's the fulfilment of my fate.' (*D.* p. 370). Hyllos resists his father's order, 'You're asking for the impossible, it's against every feeling.' (*D.* p. 370). Heracles' answer reveals the authoritarian character of patriarchy, 'Obey, ask no questions.' (*D.* p. 370). 'Asking no questions' is the ultimate form of intellectual oppression and the only way that authoritarian ideologies like patriarchy can be preserved. This theme is a favourite one for Wertebaker, repeated many times in her plays. In an interview with DiGaetani, when asked 'what do you feel the job of the playwright is?', she replies, 'Very simply, to ask questions. I think you pose the questions in an interesting, dramatic way, and that's it. You formulate the question.'⁶⁹⁹ Later on in the same interview Wertebaker states, 'If you accept authority and orthodoxy, you cannot be creative. The whole point of being an artist is to look beyond the received ideas and to question them. I guess the more you question, the more you risk getting into

⁶⁹⁹ DiGaetani 1991: 268.

trouble.⁷⁰⁰ Wertenbaker associates ‘questions’ with progress and change.⁷⁰¹ On the contrary, ‘asking no questions’ means for Wertenbaker the silencing of opposed voices and the suppression of autonomous agency. Heracles confirms the repressive nature of the ideology he embodies. He says to Hyllos, ‘Don’t turn over your actions so much when I am the one commanding them.’ (*D.* p. 370). And Hyllos replies, ‘Where are the rules? All my life I loved you and trusted you.’ (*D.* p. 370). Hyllos searches for the rules, but the only rule of patriarchy already mentioned is ‘Filial Obedience.’⁷⁰² The patriarchal order is therefore arbitrary and repressive, generating and perpetuating anger. ‘No questions’ means preservation of this order and of its consequences.

Hyllos’ request, ‘Father, please, let me decide: give me back my life.’ (*D.* p. 371), shows that men as well as women are deprived of free human agency within patriarchy, obliged to fulfil the requirements of an identity that is imposed on them. Thus, patriarchy is presented as a set of preconceptions about gender identity and gender relations that harms both genders in the end. Irene’s comment is very important, ‘It could go on, this argument, but in the end, fathers do eat their sons if they can, there is no other myth that rings so true... You do what your fathers tell you in the end, one way or the other, even now, you’ll die by their order. You can hear that death from here, right now, taking place up north. That’s another story. A story of obedience.’ (*D.* p. 371). Irene points out the continuity of patriarchy from the mythical age to the present as well as its devastating results for the individual and society. The patriarchal ideology and the anger it generates are transferred from the family to the nation and bring about wars.⁷⁰³ There is clear

⁷⁰⁰ DiGaetani 1991: 273.

⁷⁰¹ For the ideological significance of ‘asking questions’ in Wertenbaker’s work see Roth 2008: 17; Gömçeli 2009: 97; Freeman 2012: 216, 218. For this theme in *The Love of The Nightingale* see Cousin 1996: 114-121; Dymkowski 1997: 121-135; Carlson 2000: 136; Roth 2009: 50.

⁷⁰² The same idea about the ‘rules’ that patriarchy arbitrarily transgresses is expressed in *The Love of the Nightingale* (*LN*: Sc.20, 47).

⁷⁰³ For the connection between family and nation see also Wilson (2008: 217) who follows Benedict Anderson. Anderson (1983: 131) argues in *Imagined Communities* that the individual’s commitment to the nation is a reproduction of the affective bonds of family. In this respect, the self-sacrifice for the

reference to the contemporary Balkan wars, as the phrase ‘You can hear that death from here, right now, taking place up north.’ indicates. The Balkan wars are seen as another ‘story of obedience.’ The word ‘obedience’ associates the relationship between Zeus and Heracles, between Heracles and Hyllos, between father and son within the family in general, with the relationship between nation and individual. In both relationships, father-son and nation-individual, the patriarchal order appears to be a source of violence and war by subduing the individual will to an external will predetermined by patriarchy. In this way, Heracles’ story is not only explicitly politicized, but also political violence in general is regarded as the immediate extension of the personal violence that patriarchy occasions.⁷⁰⁴

Irene comments further on the continuation of patriarchy that the father violently imposes on the son. She says, ‘And now the long arm of Heracles bows down the head of his son and turns this young man full of hope and life and possible love into a man overflowing with resentment, anger. And so it continues.’ (*D.* p. 371). This passage shows that patriarchy is socially reproduced and therefore the identity ascribed to each gender by patriarchy is a social construct, not a naturally given quality. This idea of the socially constructed and imposed gender identities is extremely important for feminist thought, because it demolishes the theory of biological determinism.⁷⁰⁵ The rejection of biological determinism allows change on a personal level, which subsequently allows change on a political level, and *vice versa*, since identity is seen as a social construct. A reciprocal relationship is established between the personal and the political, which presents the

nation resembles the obedience to the will of the Father, revealing the mechanism for the extension of violence from family to nation.

⁷⁰⁴ For the perpetuation of violence as a result of the perpetuation of patriarchy see also Shih 2010: 246.

⁷⁰⁵ The rejection of biological determinism and of its argument that ‘women are biologically weaker than men’ is one of the common features of the major feminist positions. See Wandor 1986: 132; Gömçeli 2010: 29. The idea that gender is constructed and not natural is supported by Judith Butler (1990: 192) and Simone de Beauvoir (1986: 267).

necessity for personal and political change as identical.⁷⁰⁶ In this way, the perpetuation of anger because of the perpetuation of patriarchy, inflicted this time on Hyllos, could be regarded as an open and ongoing demand for personal and political change.⁷⁰⁷

The biggest obstacle to personal and political change that arises from Wertebaker's version is 'Filial Obedience', because it is this that secures the continuation of patriarchy. 'Filial Obedience' acquires a totally different meaning in Wertebaker's *Dianeira* in comparison with *Trachiniae*. What Hyllos and Heracles say about 'Filial Obedience' is suggestive. Hyllos says, 'I can't disobey you, I'll do as you say, and if what I do is wrong it's by your command, Father, and not of my own will.' (*D.* p. 371). Heracles says, 'I did as my own father asked...Laboured, laboured, never questioned, never complained. Do I reproach him now for the grim and itching end he's kept for me? Do I accuse him of falsehood when I heard promises from him that made me dream of ease? No. I bow my head to him. I accept, as a man does, as a son must.' (*D.* p. 371). Heracles' attitude is an expression of 'Filial Obedience', but this obedience does not result from the realization of a divine plan and of metaphysical coherence as in *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 1174-1178, 1193, 1204, 1208-1209, 1239-1240, 1247-1248, 1259-1263). 'Filial Obedience' in Wertebaker signifies the resigned subordination to the arbitrary and externally imposed authority of patriarchy. This authority has no substantial metaphysical foundation, because the divine is regarded as an equally arbitrary projection of patriarchy throughout the play. The unwilling subordination generates anger for both sexes and, by implication, personal and political violence.

⁷⁰⁶ The interrelation between the personal and the political was another common feature of the major feminist positions. See Wandor 1986: 130; Pateman 1987: 117; Gömceli 2010: 29. For this idea in Wertebaker's work see Aston 2003: 157; Roth 2009: 49, 54; Freeman 2012: 196, 238.

⁷⁰⁷ For anger as a motive for social and political change see Silver 1991: 361; Shih 2010: 245.

On the contrary, 'Filial Obedience' in *Trachiniae* presupposes the recognition of a law that is metaphysical and moral at the same time. This law contains and surpasses the individual. The political law must be attuned to this metaphysical and moral law, and the establishment of this identification is human responsibility. The coordination of the individual will with the metaphysical and moral law appears to be a decision and action of free choice. This type of coordination of the individual will is seen in *Trachiniae* as a liberation from personal and political self-centredness, and from an ideology based on the arbitrary imposition of the individual will on the society. This is the reason why 'Filial Obedience' in *Trachiniae*, in sharp contrast to Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, not only allows, but necessitates the transition and the change embodied by Heracles. On the other hand, Pound projects the political law onto the metaphysical law in order to legitimize and preserve his own political ideology.

Another significant difference between Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* and *Trachiniae* is the handling of the issue of Heracles' *apotheosis*. In contrast to *Trachiniae* (*Tr.* vv. 1208-1211), there is no hint of Heracles' *apotheosis* in Wertenbaker's version (*D.* p. 372). The exclusion of that *apotheosis* is also in marked contrast to Heracles' visualized *apotheosis* in Pound's *Women of Trachis* (*WT* p. 50). Heracles says, 'Now my hardened soul must clamp itself shut. No cries, no cries. And let this act you perform with such reluctance fill you with joy because it is my release, my child, long awaited. This is the end of the man I am.' (*D.* p. 372). His end is a definite end.⁷⁰⁸ Moreover, Irene's description excludes any other possibility for Heracles apart from death. Irene says, 'The procession made its way slowly up the mountain. There were no more cries from Heracles. Iole and the women of Trachis watched as his wrecked body burnt down to ash. Iole never said a

⁷⁰⁸ See also Wilson 2008: 216: '...painful death for Heracles, whose body smolders in a horrific parody of desire...'. This comment shows that Heracles' death is not only a definite end, but also a definite consequence of his 'desire', of the uncontrollable and violently imposed male sexual desire, which necessitates his death.

word. She never said a word when she married Hyllos. She never said a word to her children. What was there to say? The bitterest anger is silent. And so anger threads its way through generations...’ (*D.* p. 372). Heracles’ body burnt down to ash, without any indication of expected or implied *apotheosis*, exactly as Dianeira’s body after her suicide. The two protagonists are purposefully equated by sharing a common death. Heracles does not surpass the limits of mortality and does not claim any metaphysical vindication. His heroism burns down to ash exactly as his body.

Wertenbaker adds another element, Iole’s ‘silent anger’ and the continuation of anger ‘through generations.’ Thus she emphasizes the perpetuation of anger, which means the perpetuation of patriarchy, violence and war, instead of the issue of *apotheosis*. In this way, *Dianeira* offers a closed end regarding the issue of *apotheosis* and an open end regarding the issue of the perpetuation of patriarchy and anger.⁷⁰⁹ This end is well explained. There is neither an illumination nor transformation for Heracles in Wertenbaker’s version, which means that Heracles does not transcend the patriarchal ideology and its restrictions. On the contrary, Heracles remains up to his very end a perpetuator of the patriarchal order. As a consequence, Heracles must die, because otherwise his *apotheosis* would mean the *apotheosis* of the patriarchal ideology he represents. Heracles is a static figure in Wertenbaker’s version, because he cannot redefine his identity and he cannot embody change. Specifically, he cannot embody change, because the patriarchy he represents cannot include the possibility of change. Wertenbaker’s point of view, apparent in her plays, that the established patriarchal ideology and its language cannot articulate and embody social and political reform

⁷⁰⁹ Wilson (2008: 211) also recognizes the open-endedness of the play as an indication of the perpetuation of anger and patriarchy, but without remarking the female responsibility apart from the male one for this end, namely without recognizing Wertenbaker’s criticism of feminism itself at the very end of *Dianeira* (*D.* pp. 372-374).

becomes evident in *Dianeira* as well.⁷¹⁰ The end of Heracles is also in harmony with Wertenbaker's consistent exclusion of the metaphysical dimension from her version.

Another point of view that also becomes evident in Wertenbaker's echoing of feminist awareness is that, in contrast to Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Pound's *Women of Trachis*, any kind of reform must be exclusively personal and political. The metaphysical dimension cannot function as a foundation or justification of a new political law nor in general as a starting-point for political reform. In contrast to *Trachiniae*, where the necessity to redefine and tune the political law to the moral and metaphysical law is brought out, and in contrast to Pound's *Women of Trachis*, where the metaphysical law legitimizes the political law, in Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* the emergent necessity is to completely overthrow the existing political order, which is identified with patriarchy. Wertenbaker highlights that the metaphysical law must stop functioning as a construction and projection of patriarchy. A radical political change can be obtained only by political means, namely a change in the asymmetric gender relations and, by implication, the redefinition of gender identities.⁷¹¹ Gender identities are changeable, because they are socially constructed, but this change cannot occur within the existing patriarchal system. Heracles' and Dianeira's case, however, clearly shows how difficult it is to overthrow patriarchy and achieve this radical social and political change. Without any reformed personal and political vision and without any metaphysical expectation, Heracles, as Dianeira had previously, dies with the feeling of meaninglessness dominant. Heracles dies in anger, entrapped in a socially imposed identity that he struggles to retain, because he is not able to transcend it.

⁷¹⁰ For this idea in other plays of Wertenbaker see Wilson 1993: 154; Carlson 2000: 143.

⁷¹¹ The idea that change, either personal or political, can materialize only through political means is fundamental to feminist thought. See Pateman 1987: 117; Gömçeli 2010: 29.

3.2.4 Hyllos, ‘a son, a promise, hope’: a positive male figure for the future

Hyllos is a character of greater significance in Wertebaker’s *Dianeira* in comparison with *Trachiniae* and Pound’s *Women of Trachis*. Wertebaker pays particular attention to the portrayal of Hyllos. This attention becomes evident by the additions and the modifications she makes. Irene, the narrator, comments on Hyllos at crucial points, and Hyllos himself displays his thoughts more extensively than in Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* and Pound’s *Women of Trachis*. Wertebaker purposefully upgrades Hyllos’ role. Her purpose is twofold. The first is to use Hyllos as a positive male figure in contrast with the negative one embodied by Heracles. The second one is to reveal the mechanisms of the perpetuation of patriarchy through Hyllos’ initiation to patriarchal order. In this way, Wertebaker’s criticism of patriarchy as a socio-political order that imposes gender roles and enforced identities is expanded to include the male along with the female. Hyllos’ case is brought out as a counterbalancing example of male suffering and victimization within patriarchy.

Irene introduces Hyllos as a ‘young man who at the beginning of this story is not marked or mapped yet– that is to come’ (*D.* p. 328). Irene’s comment clearly shows that in *Dianeira* Hyllos will personify the process of the transmission of patriarchal order from the father to the son. The fact that Hyllos ‘is not marked or mapped yet– that is to come’ suggests that male identity and gender is not biologically predetermined, but socially constructed. ‘That is to come’ means that the process of the social construction of identity will unfold within the play. The adjectives ‘marked’ and ‘mapped’ bring out the consequences of this process. The word ‘marked’ indicates that this process results in a ‘marked’ identity, which means in an identity stripped of uniqueness and individuality, whereas the word ‘mapped’ suggests a socially predetermined life without agency and autonomy.

Irene's description of Hyllos when he appears in the play for the first time shows off all his positive qualities. Irene says, 'In the pure air of that long ago time, in the stillness of the early morning and in the golden light of the sun on the rise, comes Hyllos, himself with that first golden beauty of the young male, untouched by trouble or by doubt. He is a son, a promise, hope. He carries this lightly, insouciant, open' (*D.* pp. 330-331). Irene's description of Hyllos is splendid. 'He is a son, a promise, hope', namely the child that symbolizes the hope for a better future. This symbolism is essential for Wertebaker and frequently occurs in her work.⁷¹² Hyllos assumes this role without awareness of its significance, as the words 'lightly, insouciant, open' indicate. Youth is honoured, because it is accompanied by innocence, as the phrases 'in the pure air', 'in the stillness of the early morning', 'in the golden light of the sun on the rise' reveal. These images associate the natural world with moral beauty and purity and this association becomes even more explicit in the following phrase, 'Hyllos, himself with that first golden beauty of the young male, untouched by trouble or by doubt' (*D.* p. 331). The idea that this description brings out becomes clear: the male is good by nature, as long as he remains 'untouched by trouble or by doubt', which means as long as he remains untouched by patriarchy. It is noteworthy that the quality of 'golden beauty' that is attributed to Hyllos in *Dianeira* (*D.* p. 331) recalls Heracles' description in Pound's *Women of Trachis* (*WT* p. 50). Hyllos in Wertebaker's *Dianeira* is endowed with Heracles' grandeur, whereas Heracles is divested of it. This displacement results from Wertebaker's intention to distinguish the past sharply from the future. Whereas, in the other two versions, Heracles embodied the transition from the 'old' to the 'new', even if in different ways, in *Dianeira* this role is exclusively assigned to Hyllos. Only Hyllos, as 'a son, a promise, hope', can embody the possibility of change. Heracles as the embodiment of an age-long patriarchal order

⁷¹²See Carlson 2000: 134.

belongs exclusively to the past and his agony is dramaturgically useful only to demonstrate to others the necessity and the reasons for change.

Wertenbaker makes an important change in comparison with *Trachiniae* in order to differentiate Hyllos from Heracles even further, and thus to emphasize even more strikingly Hyllos' revulsion after his initiation into patriarchy. She presents Hyllos to challenge Heracles' heroism. The way Hyllos responds to his mother's worries is suggestive, 'My father. Isn't he always away on some heroic mission?... Does it matter? When he's triumphed, he'll come back' (*D.* p. 332), (*Tr.* vv. 86-91). Hyllos' comments disclose a feeling of bitterness, because Heracles' heroism in the public sphere is the cause of neglecting his family in the private sphere. Hyllos' criticism culminates with the following comments on Heracles, 'It's not as if I know him that well, this heroic father of mine. He comes home weary from his labours, dives into my mother's bed, ruffles my hair, says little, says nothing. Now doesn't even ruffle my hair, looks at me with surprise as I grow almost as tall as him... Then he goes away again. My mother cries. Then weeks of sadness and silence. And always his unspoken name hovers over us. Well, someone will tell me where he is because everybody in Greece is always talking about the great man, my father Heracles' (*D.* p. 334). All these comments that are added by Wertenbaker reveal Hyllos' emotional estrangement from his father.⁷¹³ It is a relationship of 'silence', marked by Heracles' absence. The phrases 'this heroic father of mine' and 'the great man, my father Heracles' contrast the two contradictory qualities of Heracles, the fulfilled male heroism with the unfulfilled paternity. They also manifest Hyllos' repressed anger.

Another significant change that Wertenbaker makes is to stress Hyllos' natural bond and emotional attachment to Dianeira more than in *Trachiniae*, so as to highlight the

⁷¹³ See also Wilson 2008: 214.

disruptive force and impact of patriarchy on this bond.⁷¹⁴ Wertenbaker adds words of emotional affection addressed by Hyllos to his mother that do not exist in *Trachiniae*. Hyllos says to Dianeira, ‘I can see shadows move across your eyes. I know those shadows. Let me wave them away. There... You taught me to love the mornings.’ (*D.* p. 331) and ‘I could always find you –in the mornings.’ (*D.* p. 331). This relationship will be abruptly transformed into an unquestioned attachment to the father and denial of the mother as soon as Hyllos is assimilated into the patriarchal order.

Irene locates the moment of Hyllos’ transition from the ‘first golden beauty of the young male’ to patriarchy. It is the moment when Hyllos embarks on a journey to discover his father, which ends up as a journey to discover his own identity.⁷¹⁵ This journey starts with Hyllos’ departure from the ‘house’ and the ‘village’, which means from the domestic environment, and it signifies Hyllos’ entrance into the public domain, the domain of male endeavours. Irene’s comments on Hyllos’ departure are indicative, ‘And now, for the first time, the shadow of destiny falls over him too, the son, as he seeks and comes closer to his father. His father’s shadow begins to cover him, merges with his own shadow.’ (*D.* p. 333). The ‘shadow of destiny’ and ‘his father’s shadow’ that ‘begins to cover him’ are the established patriarchal order. ‘His father’s shadow’ that ‘merges with his own shadow’ signifies the progressive transmission of the patriarchal order from the father to the son. It is noteworthy that this journey is the outcome of Dianeira’s exhortation.⁷¹⁶ Dianeira tries to restore Heracles in the domestic environment through Hyllos and accomplishes quite the opposite. What this outcome suggests is that women cannot overturn patriarchy by means of patriarchy and the female vision of change cannot materialize under the terms of patriarchy.

⁷¹⁴ For the effect of patriarchy on the maternal bond see Wilson 1993: 153, 156. For the impact of patriarchy on children see Gömceli 2009: 93.

⁷¹⁵ For epic journeys of self-discovery in Wertenbaker’s work see also Aston 2003: 150.

⁷¹⁶ See also Wilson 2008: 214.

Hyllos' integration into patriarchy becomes apparent when he reappears before Dianeira's suicide. Irene points out this change, 'And he was innocent, casting almost no shadow, a son who loved his mother and searched for his father, normal. Now his story begins, his own terrible story.' (*D.* p. 355). Irene characterizes Hyllos' previous condition of a loving son as a 'normal' condition. This 'normal' condition is placed in contrast with Hyllos' present condition. 'Now', says Irene, Hyllos' 'terrible story' begins. The word 'Now' put up front brings out that Hyllos' change is inflicted by patriarchy. This change is also the beginning of his 'story'. Irene, therefore, implies that patriarchy is not a 'normal' condition, but a socially constructed and imposed order that is opposed to nature. It is also the source of personal suffering, as Hyllos' 'terrible story' indicates. Moreover, the word 'story' has two other important connotations. First, the fact that patriarchy turns Hyllos' life into a 'story' recalls patriarchy's function to determine, form and write down history. It is precisely the male-dominated history that Wertenbaker attempts to rewrite from a female perspective through Irene in her *Dianeira*. Second, Hyllos' 'story' shows how patriarchal history crosses the 'story' of individual lives, integrating once more in this play the personal with the political.

Wertenbaker stresses Hyllos' change more intensively and more extensively than in *Trachiniae* so as to emphasize the corrosive force of patriarchy. There is a significant contradiction and inconsistency between Hyllos' attitude towards Heracles before and after his entrance into the male-dominated public sphere.⁷¹⁷ The way that Hyllos describes his father sacrificing to Zeus is indicative 'He seemed so happy, so glorious, and as he began his prayers his noble face was suffused with pride and with joy. I was standing in the crowd, but I was proud too, mother, that this splendid man was my father.' (*D.* p. 356), (*Tr.* vv. 763-764, 811-812). Hyllos appears to be extremely proud of his father. He

⁷¹⁷ See also Wilson 2008: 214.

now praises and admires Heracles' heroism, which he previously called into question. This change results from patriarchy's impact on Hyllos. Hyllos now considers this type of heroism to be the essential part of a masculine identity.

Another change that Wertenbaker makes in order to highlight the impact of patriarchy on Hyllos is the modification of the dialogue between Hyllos and his mother before her suicide. Wertenbaker adds elements that do not exist in *Trachiniae*. Hyllos says to Dianeira, '... I had loved Lychas, Mother, it was from Lychas I learned to be proud of my father, you never talked about him, Lychas told me all the stories...' (*D.* p. 357). The admiration that Hyllos expresses now about his father is inconsistent with his previous bitterness and anger. In contrast, his attitude towards his mother is totally reversed and he appears more aggressive towards Dianeira than in *Trachiniae*.⁷¹⁸ He says about Dianeira, 'She usurps the name of mother, pollutes it with her presence. I hear my father, the greatest man on earth, the best of fathers, I'll make you face him, let him do what he will with you. I'll take you before him and if he has the strength, he'll kill you and I won't care.' (*D.* p. 358). Hyllos' intention to hand Dianeira over to Heracles for punishment is an addition by Wertenbaker that displays the ferocity of patriarchal ideology and its penetrating power into human mind and behaviour.

Hyllos' attachment to patriarchy, however, is a temporary condition and not a permanent one like Heracles'. The clash with Heracles who insists on Dianeira's punishment and demands the fulfilment of his last orders of Hyllos shakes the latter's belief in patriarchy. Irene comments on this second change of Hyllos' attitude, 'Our parents are the great heroes of our mythology, our Olympian gods. To watch them fall is unbearable. Hyllos sees his great strong father cry like a girl and he can't help despising Heracles a little. Hyllos then begins to feel the most painful anger of all, anger against oneself.' (*D.* p. 364).

⁷¹⁸ See also Wilson 2008: 216.

Hyllos' feeling of 'despising Heracles a little' and of 'the most painful anger' against himself manifests the crisis of identity that Hyllos experienced after his entrance into the male-dominated public sphere, the sphere of patriarchy. Now, he defends his mother and the domestic environment of the house and the family. Hyllos says to Heracles about Dianeira's motive, 'She wanted to save the house from Iole's long shadow, keep her marriage, protect the family and me too, Father, your oldest son— if you were to install as your wife and my mother a girl not much older than I.' (*D.* p. 366), (*Tr.* vv. 1138-1139). Irene's comment at this stage is revealing, 'All his life Hyllos longed for the intimacy and the confidence of his great and absent father...He can't know that when parents die they behave no differently than when they lived.' (*D.* p. 366). Hyllos' struggle to achieve a self-determined identity transcending the limits of patriarchy is a struggle beyond Heracles' physical presence. The 'Father' has been implanted as a mental construction in Hyllos' mind, controlling and restricting his agency.

Hyllos' challenge to patriarchy is transferred from the human 'Father', Heracles, to the divine 'Father', Zeus and the gods. Hyllos fiercely criticizes their authority and their indifference. He says, 'The will of the god, oh yes, let us contemplate, as we carry my father Heracles to that mountain, the heedless carelessness of these gods. They call themselves our fathers, Zeus called this man his own seed, his mortal son, and yet Zeus looks on his pain unmoved, if he bothers to look at all. Here is my father enduring in anguish this god-given ruin, it brings out our human pity, horror and compassion, but what do the gods feel? Not even shame.' (*D.* p. 372), (*Tr.* vv. 1264-1274). The fact that the gods do not feel 'shame' is another hint of the identification of the divine with patriarchy in *Dianeira*. In this way, Wertebaker's handling of the divine as projection of patriarchy culminates in Hyllos' criticism. Moreover, the fact that gods are seen as 'shameless' signifies the lack of morality and therefore it disconnects the metaphysical dimension from the moral one. This is quite the opposite conception to that in *Trachiniae*.

Although Hyllos challenges the divine in both plays, in *Trachiniae* Heracles' illumination and transformation establishes the metaphysical as the source of moral order. Thus Hyllos' reaction in *Trachiniae* is the result of his inability to perceive this order because he has not yet approached the level of awareness that Heracles gained through his extreme suffering and recognition of the coincidence of the oracles. On the contrary, in Wertebaker's *Dianeira*, Hyllos articulates the conception that transcends the whole play and the absence of Heracles' illumination and transformation establishes Hyllos' conception as the only legitimate one in the play.

Hyllos' challenge to patriarchal order in its various forms concludes with his radical change at the end of the play, an end that Wertebaker adds, extending the ending of *Trachiniae*. It is a dialogue between Hyllos and Iole that occurs years after Heracles' death, which is introduced by Irene. Irene says, 'There is only one more curve to the story. One morning, some years after his marriage, Hyllos went to Iole.' (*D.* p. 372). What Hyllos proposes to Iole is to stop their anger. He says, 'Iole, for years now we've lived in bitter hatred, anger...' (*D.* p. 372), and he continues, 'Iole, my life was ruined by the hatred of my parents for each other. Do you want to ruin our children?' (*D.* p. 373). He proposes to let her go by saying, 'You could go back to your city, rebuild it even. Leave the children here while they are young...You would be free, you could rebuild your life, the city of your father, and when this is done the children could come to you and we could end this anger.' (*D.* p. 373). What Hyllos suggests is not only a new beginning through the abolition of anger on a personal level, but also a new political beginning as the rebuilding of Iole's paternal city indicates. Hyllos' suggestion is essentially the abolition of patriarchy at both personal and political levels. Heracles' agony may not be sufficient to trigger his own transformation, but it is sufficient to trigger Hyllos'.

3.2.5 Wertenbaker's end: the impasse of feminism and the awareness of the audience

Iole remains silent throughout the dialogue as she remained silent throughout the play. This is a similarity with *Trachiniae*. In Wertenbaker, Iole's response is given through Irene's descriptions of her movements and reactions.⁷¹⁹ Irene also conveys Iole's refusal of Hyllos' proposal and comments on it, 'But Iole's smile is the smile of refusal. She has suckled her children with her anger, she is her anger, how can she relinquish the anger that she is? Anger is her life, her identity, and even a not too unpleasant habit. She shakes her head and Hyllos feels his own anger rising again, fury at the stubbornness, and he shakes her, shakes her hard.' (*D.* p. 373). Iole's response brings out the female responsibility for the perpetuation of anger, which means the perpetuation of patriarchy. Wertenbaker points out the stalemate of feminism when it assumes the form of a sterile, uncompromized and unceasing anger. What emerges as a necessity, stressed in other Wertenbaker's works as well, is the re-establishment of communication and understanding between the two sexes as the only way out of this personal and political impasse.⁷²⁰ This impasse, therefore, is a consequence of the patriarchy that generates it as well as of feminism that in its absolute and rigid forms is not effective in overthrowing patriarchy. Hooks notes that a radical and fierce form of female anger renders feminism 'more a declaration of war between the sexes than a political struggle to end sexist oppression.'⁷²¹ On the other hand, Silver remarks the importance of anger regarding social and political reform. Wertenbaker's approach combines in a sense both views. Anger is positively regarded by Wertenbaker as medium for social and political reform, but only if transformed into a political act embracing both sexes.

⁷¹⁹ See also Shih 2010: 243.

⁷²⁰ The need for communication and understanding between the sexes is also stressed in *The Love of the Nightingale*. See Dymkowski 1997: 132; Gömceli 2009: 87.

⁷²¹ Hooks 1984: 33. Cf. Silver 1991: 361-362. See also Shih 2010: 245.

‘Anger is her life, her identity, and even a not too unpleasant habit.’ (*D.* p. 373), Irene said about Iole.⁷²² And Irene had started her story by saying, ‘I will tell you a story of anger.’ (*D.* p. 327). The entire story is about anger and therefore about identity.⁷²³ The fact that anger is stressed more than identity is explained by the form that identity assumes in Wertebaker’s version. It is an identity in crisis and in transition with the transformation remaining incomplete. The new ending that Wertebaker adds makes this process refer equally to Dianeira and Heracles as well as to Iole and Hyllos. Wertebaker thus extends the issue of the unfulfilled identity from Dianeira and Heracles, the emblematic figures of myth, to Hyllos and Iole, the progeny. This is another way of politicize the personal, since the emphasis is transferred from the crisis of the individual to the perpetuation of the crisis through successive generations, offering a political, collective and long-lasting perspective.

Moreover, Wertebaker solidifies the distinction between the past and the future. Heracles, the embodiment of the ‘Father’, remains embedded in a patriarchal past that cannot be expiated. On the contrary, Hyllos, the ‘son’, embodies the good qualities given by nature to the male. Although temporarily ‘troubled’ by society, Hyllos expresses at the end the only proposal in the play to transcend patriarchy. On the other hand, Dianeira, the symbol of women’s oppression throughout the ages, protests in Wertebaker, reclaiming the identity of the autonomous subject that the patriarchal myth and history have stripped her of. Iole, the absolute female silence as expression of the most rigid female anger, embodies the extreme tendencies of feminism that eliminate the possibility of communication and therefore of change. It is a balance well calibrated by Wertebaker to bring out the necessity and the difficulty of change at the same time.

⁷²² See also Wilson 2008: 217; Shih 2010: 244.

⁷²³ Wertebaker 2002: vii.

Irene concludes her story in this way, 'Iole's city was never rebuilt. The ruins are over there, you can't see much now, but you can visit them. The family had descendants but they became scattered and unimportant. And the gods looked on, indifferent, and then they changed too and were forgotten.' (*D.* p. 374). The 'scattered and unimportant' descendants of Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* is quite the opposite version to the myth of Heracleidae. Wertenbaker completely deconstructs the end of the ancient myth, because she wants to disrupt the political continuity of the patriarchal ideology that Heracles represented, along with the justification of this ideology by the patriarchal myth. Similarly, she deconstructs the divine order by historicizing it, the 'indifferent' gods who then 'changed too and were forgotten', because this order has been projected throughout the play as another form of the ideological foundation of patriarchy.

Irene's final words are the passage from the past of the mythical narrative she deconstructed to the present of her audience, Timberlake and her friends. Irene says, 'Eventually, people stopped telling the story, this terrible story of anger, and it too was forgotten. It happened so long ago. At least I believe it was a long time ago, but I am tired now, and need to rest.' (*D.* p. 374). Irene retells a story that 'was forgotten', because 'people stopped telling the story.' What this comment indicates is the value of remembrance of the past. Forgetting the past means repeating the past. Irene has to recollect the old 'story' in order to retell it so as to deconstruct the ideological legacy of the past to the future. So, remembrance of the past is a prerequisite for liberating the future from the preconceptions of the past. Irene's comment, 'At least I believe it was a long time ago,' implicitly points out the connection, not to say the coincidence, of the past with the present and the future. Although Wertenbaker historicized *Dianeira*'s myth through Irene's retelling of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* so as to relativize its ideological output and therefore eligibly reconstruct it, now she follows the reverse movement. She relativizes time so as to create a timeless continuity of repeated personal and political violence.

Timberlake ends *Dianeira* with these words, ‘We left her, nodding over her brandy and put a few more notes in the plate. Outside, in the clear night, we could hear the guns of the country north of the border, where there is always a war. And then we drove silently back to Athens.’ (*D.* p. 374). Timberlake clearly refers to the Serbian wars and she openly points out what Irene previously implied, the timeless continuity of violence, which the phrase ‘always a war’ indicates.⁷²⁴ War as the most ferocious form of violence comes to conclude a story about anger. The political, which in the form of patriarchy was presented as the source of personal suffering throughout the play, is now presented as the result of the personal violence, rounding off the vicious circle of reciprocal political and personal violence in patriarchy. What war explicitly displays is the gendered nature of violence, which is performed by the male.⁷²⁵

Wertenbaker offers a hint of hope in these final words, however, notwithstanding the open ending represented by the repeated violence. She says that they ‘drove silently back to Athens’ (*D.* p. 374). This silence marks a moment of recognition, of awareness nearly achieved, similar to Heracles’ moment of recognition in *Trachiniae*. It is the recognition of violence together with the causes and the results of it, which previously remained unnoticed because of its commonality. This awareness is a form of intellectual change that needs to be transformed into political change.⁷²⁶ It is, what is more, an awareness achieved through the hearing of a ‘story’, a conclusion that recalls Wertenbaker’s belief in the theatre as a transformative force, able to trigger social and political change.⁷²⁷ The fact that in *Dianeira* the awareness relates to an audience and not to an individual, like Heracles in *Trachiniae*, favours a more collective and political approach echoing once

⁷²⁴ See Wilson 2008: 217; Shih 2010: 251.

⁷²⁵ See Shih 2010: 251.

⁷²⁶ See also Shih 2010: 252: ‘In *The Love of the Nightingale*, Itys’ transformation at the end suggests a positive future; in *Dianeira*, Timberlake and her friends’ silence in the car at the end indicates their critical judgment on wars is sprouting.’

⁷²⁷ See Aston 2003: 16, 150.

more the feminist belief in change only by political means, as well as Wertebaker's perception of the theatre as a public forum of political debate.

The other significant conclusion that is drawn from this ending is the reaffirmation of the value of humanism. The 'awareness' is based on rationality, which means that human beings can transform their lives personally and politically only by means of human intellect, an idea preeminent in *Trachiniae* as well. The only difference is that Wertebaker, having disconnected rationality from masculinity, articulates a reformed humanist vision, which she has liberated from its gender preconceptions. In this way, the critics' point of view that in *Dianeira* Wertebaker 'speaks in defiance of its model' is true, but incomplete.⁷²⁸ Wertebaker's *Dianeira* draws from Sophocles' *Trachiniae* both its ideological foundation, the humanist vision of change based on rationality, and its ideological adversary, the intellectual, social and political mechanisms of patriarchy. From Wertebaker's perspective, therefore, the relationship established between the two plays is a twofold relationship of inspiration and confrontation at the same time.

Another difference between the humanism promoted in Wertebaker's *Dianeira* and that of *Trachiniae* is the type of rationality they embrace. Wertebaker's perception of human rational thought is exhausted within the spheres of the personal and the political without any reference to or association with the metaphysical dimension. Its source is the human mind and its area of application human experience. On the contrary, the type of rational thought promoted in *Trachiniae* is the recognition of a pre-existing knowledge that arises from the metaphysical. The type of human knowledge in *Trachiniae* is axiomatically limited, but sufficient to radically transform human beings. This difference influences the end of Wertebaker's *Dianeira*, which is more definite than the end of *Trachiniae*.

⁷²⁸ Pedrick 2008: 49.

3.3 Conclusions

Wertenbaker in *Dianeira* sketches the crisis of patriarchal ideology that is concurrently personal and political. This crisis is expressed through anger and is occasioned by asymmetric gender relations. The consequence of this crisis is uncontrollable personal and political violence that culminates in endless wars. Wertenbaker articulates her criticism of the patriarchal ideology and establishment using feminist vocabulary, which reveals clear feminist awareness and combines elements from the major positions of feminism: liberal, social and radical. Her criticism includes feminism itself, however, especially the most rigid forms of it. In this way, Wertenbaker, on the one hand, shows the legitimacy of the most important feminist claims, especially of the claim for a subject with autonomous agency, while, on the other hand, demonstrating that this demand applies to the male as well, thus questioning those feminist positions that do not engage in dialogue with the male. The type of change Wertenbaker advocates lies in a humanist vision, already existent in *Trachiniae* but with its patriarchal gender preconceptions omitted by Wertenbaker so as to match feminist problematics. However, Wertenbaker shows that the materialization of this vision requires a process of transition that is ‘slow and incremental.’⁷²⁹

⁷²⁹ See also Wilson 2008: 221.

4. Conclusions of the Thesis

Sophocles' *Trachiniae* presents the paradox of the combination of a very poor scholarly reception with a very interesting translatorial and dramaturgical reception by modern and contemporary emblematic figures of poetry and drama, such as Ezra Pound and Timberlake Wertenbaker. In this thesis, I have attempted to explore in detail the intersections of criticism and reception of the play, especially in the form of creative translation for stage. I have tried to show that there is a basic structural and thematic movement in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, and that the understanding of this may serve to address the interpretative problems of the play itself and at the same time clarify the character of its reception in Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*. This movement is a process of transition that unfolds in the play and its two later versions. This process, although not identical in the two versions, ends up in the redefinition of the identities and ideologies that shape them. The different character that this process assumes in each version reveals the different cultural and political framework that each author adopts and applies to his/her version. Through this comparative reading a more profound understanding of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, as well as of Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Wertenbaker's *Dianeira*, is able to emerge. What also emerges is the interpretative value of reception and, in particular, of translation for stage, as a medium for a more complete approach to ancient plays.

In Chapter One, on Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, I tried to show that what is traditionally seen as 'difficult', not to say highly 'problematic' in the play, are not its weaknesses, but its virtues; the distinctive elements of the play and the key elements for its interpretation. I argued that the structural and thematic divisions, the seeming discontinuities and the ambiguities, as well as the open-endedness, are not flaws of *Trachiniae*, but purposeful dramaturgical choices that reflect the process of transition that unfolds in the play. What

superficially seems as inconsistency is the sharp contrast between the ideological 'old' with the ideological 'new' and the process of transition from the 'old' to the 'new.' Both protagonists experience the crisis of their identity, reflecting the crisis of the underlying ideology, but only Heracles embodies the transition to the 'new'. This process of transition ideologically corresponds to the challenge to the aristocratic supremacy by birth, and its replacement by the supremacy of morality and the democratic affirmation of the value of law. It also corresponds to the challenge to patriarchy and the reaffirmation of a less authoritative form of patriarchy at the end of the play. The open-endedness of the play renders its ideological discourse non-dogmatic. There is no ideological closure. The discourse entailed in the play is seen as a never-ending process of understanding by the audience, whose active intellectual involvement is asked by the very form of it.

Pound in his *Women of Trachis*, meanwhile, both translates and comments on Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. Pound invests the same scheme of transition, of crisis and transformation, with his own ideological preoccupations. The crisis is the crisis of social and economic modernity, with his emphasis on the corrosive power of the materialistic ethos being evident throughout the play. The Herakles' figure in Pound reflects an amalgamation of fascist ideas with Confucian ethics and the metaphysical perception of an animistic universe. His agony reflects the failure of this ideological scheme to address the crisis of social and economic modernity at the level of the political. In contrast to *Trachiniae*, Herakles' *apotheosis* is suggested by the scene directions and included in Pound's *Women of Trachis*. It coincides with the moment of his illumination and symbolizes the preservation of Pound's ideology through its transferral to the realm of the transcendental. Patriarchy is not an issue at all for Pound, who is fully concentrated on his main ideological preoccupations, mostly fascism and the guilt for his own attraction to this ideology. This is the reason why Herakles' role is so much more privileged in comparison with Daysair's (Deianira) in Pound's version. My comparative reading, apart from

clarifying the relationship between Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, along with the ideological transpositions that this relationship signifies, restores the significance of the version, which had initially received very harsh criticism.

Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* focuses on the challenge to patriarchy, feminism and the impasse provoked by the most rigid forms of it, along with the projection of humanism as the only route to a viable future without discrimination and violence of any sort. Wertenbaker also comments on Sophocles' *Trachiniae* as well as translating it. She uses the ancient play as both a model of humanist ideals and an anti-model of female oppression by patriarchal structures that transcend the myth, the literature and the history of Western civilization. Dianeira's role is reinforced in this version, whereas Heracles' is limited, in order to dramatically express the new ideological perspective and demand for more balanced gender relations. Hyllos' role is also reinforced so as to function as a positive male example, which can potentially embody the change that Heracles, representative of the patriarchal tradition, cannot. This is the reason why Heracles' illumination and *apotheosis* are not included in the play. Even the possibility of an *apotheosis* is explicitly negated in this version. The moment of illumination is transferred at the very end of the play and refers exclusively to the audience, with the prospect of an actual change remaining open outside the dramatic economy of the play. My reading shows the ideological discourse between Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. It also shows that Wertenbaker's version does not limit itself only to challenging patriarchy, as previous feminist readings have claimed, but offers also a critique of feminism itself, as well as a positive projection of humanist ideals.

This thesis aims to offer a more profound understanding of *Trachiniae*, and of two of its main translations for the stage, following both the scholarly pathway and the insights that reception in the form of creative translation for the stage can offer. These insights are

valuable, even if different from the scholarly readings, because they reveal key rifts in the criticism, and where and when these take place. They stress elements unacknowledged by criticism, whilst at the same time projecting the translator's own aesthetic and ideological preoccupations, and the way these preoccupations recreate, in a sense, the ancient play after having interpreted it. The intersections of scholarly criticism and creative translations allows us to embrace the ancient play and its versions more fully as a piece and form of art always in process, always rediscovering and recreating itself within various social, cultural and political surroundings. In this respect, the method, the approach and the process of reading the play and its versions is equally valuable to the outcome, the new comparative reading that is offered, and it opens-up the way for more studies of this sort, where reception is not seen as a descriptive study of different artistic creations situated in temporal sequence, but as an analytical and comparative study of various expressions of an artistic phenomenon in progress. This study respects the historicity of each version, whereas at the same time it locates all the versions in a reciprocal continuity, which operates both prospectively and retrospectively. This sort of study is also valuable, because it brings out the significance of the text without underestimating the importance of the performance and of the awareness of the social, cultural and political context. This type of reception study can offer us, on the one hand, a clearer vision of our cultural and political present and past, along with a well calibrated balance between historical and linguistic specificity and detail and, on the other hand, an overall perspective of the process of aesthetic and political evolution without generalizations and oversimplifications.

I hope that this thesis facilitates the better positioning of *Trachiniae* in the Sophoclean canon as well as a more profound understanding of Pound's *Women of Trachis* and Wertebaker's *Dianeira* and of their dialogical relationships with *Trachiniae*.

Bibliography

List of Authors

- Acheson, J. (ed.) 1993. *British and Irish Drama since 1960*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Ackroyd, P. 1981. *Ezra Pound and His World*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Alessi, D. 1996. *Istituto Nazionale del Drama Antico: Nello Specchio dei Greci*. Syracuse: Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico.
- Alexander, M. 1979. *The Poetic Achievement of Ezra Pound*. London and Boston: Faber and Faber.
- Alexander, M. J. and Mohanty, C. T. (eds.) 1997. *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Althusser, L. *Essays on Ideology*. Trans. B. Brewster. 1971. London: Verso.
- Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Apter, E. 2006. *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Apter, R. 1984. *Digging for Treasure: Translation After Pound*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Armstrong, I. 2003. "A Fine-Knit Tribute", review of *Literature, Science, Psychoanalysis, 1830-1970: Essays in Honour of Gillian Beer*, H. Small and T. Tate (eds.), *Times Literary Supplement* (November 21): 29.
- Arnheim, M. T. W. 1977. *Aristocracy in Greek Society*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Aston, E. 1999. *Feminist Theatre Practice: A Handbook*. London: Routledge.
- Aston, E. 2003. *Feminist Views on the English Stage: Women Playwrights, 1990-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aston, E. and Reinelt, J. (eds.) 2000. *The Cambridge Companion to Modern British Women Playwrights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Axelsson, B. 1967. *Korruptelenkult: Studien zur Textkritik der unechten Seneca-Tragödie Hercules Oetaeus*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.
- Baker-Penoyre, J. 1898. "School Plays in Latin and Greek: An Historical Study with some observation on the educational value of acting, and on the recent revival of Greek Drama in Schools", *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, 2. C. 8943. Board of Education. London.
- Bakhtin, M. M. "Discourse in the Novel", in *The Dialogic Imagination*. Trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist. M. Holquist (ed.). 1981. Austin, Texas: 259-422.
- Bakhtin, M. M. "The Problem of the Text in Linguistics, Philology, and the Human Sciences: An Experiment in Philosophical Analysis", in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Trans. V. W. McGee. C. Emerson and M. Holquist (eds.). 1986. Austin, Texas: 103-131.
- Balaskas, C. and Topouzis, K. 1992. *Trachiniai*. Athens: Epikairoitita Publications.
- Banks, O. 1981. *Faces of Feminism: a Study of Feminism as a Social Movement*. New York: Blackwell.

- Barrett, M. and Phillips, A. (eds.) 1992. *Destabilizing Theory*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- Barrett, M. and Phillips, A. 1992. "Introduction", in M. Barrett and A. Phillips (eds.), *Destabilizing Theory*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press: 1-9.
- Bassnett, S. 2000. "Theatre and Opera", in P. France (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 96-103.
- Batstone, W. W. 2006. "Provocation, *The Point of Reception Theory*", in Ch. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 14-20.
- Beaumarchais De, J.-P. 1984. *Dictionnaire des Littératures de Langue Française, sous la Direction de Jean-Pierre de Beaumarchais, Daniel Couty et Alain Rey*. 4 Volumes. Paris: Bordas.
- Beer, J. 2004. *Sophocles and the Tragedy of Athenian Democracy*. Westport, Conn.; London: Praeger.
- Bell, I. F. A. 2000. *Critic as Scientist. The Modernist Poetics of Ezra Pound*. London and New York: Methuen.
- Benveniste, E. 1969. *Le Vocabulaire des Institutions Indo-européennes*. Vol. I. Paris: Les Éditions de minuit.
- Berger, P. 1979. *Facing Up to Modernity: Excursions in Society, Politics and Religion*. London: Penguin.
- Biggs, P. 1966. "The disease theme in Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Philoctetes* and *Trachiniai*", *Classical Philology* 61: 223-235.
- Billerbeck, M. 1999. *Seneca: Hercules Furens: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Bishop, J. D. 1985. *Seneca's Daggered Stylus: Political Code in the Tragedies*. Königstein/Ts: A. Hain.
- Blok, J. 1987. "Sexual Asymmetry: A Historiographical Essay", in J. Blok and P. Mason (eds.), *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- Boas, F. S. 1950. *Queen Elizabeth in Drama and Related Studies*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Boireau, N. (ed.) 1997. *Drama on Drama: Dimensions of Theatricality on the Contemporary British Stage*. London: Macmillan.
- Bono, B. J. 1984. *Literary Transvaluation: from Vergilian Epic to Shakespearean Tragicomedy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bornstein, G. 1977. *The Postromantic Consciousness of Ezra Pound*. Canada, University of Victoria: English Literary Studies.
- Bornstein, G. 1999. "Pound and the making of modernism", in I. Nadel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 22-42.
- Bourdieu, P. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. R. Nice. 1984. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Bowman, L. M. 1999. "Prophecy and authority in the «Trachiniai»", *American Journal of Philology* 3: 335-350.

- Bowra, C. M. 1944. *Sophoclean Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bowra, C. M. 1955. "The Women of Trachis: A Symposium", *Pound News Letter* 2: 3-8.
- Boyle, A. J. 2006. *An Introduction to Roman Tragedy*. London: Routledge.
- Braden, G. 1970. "The Rhetoric and Psychology of Power in the Dramas of Seneca", *Arion* 9: 5-41.
- Bristow, L. S. C. 1992. "God, my god, you folks are DUMB!!!: Pound's Rome Radio Broadcasts", in J. Kaye (ed.), *Ezra Pound and America*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan: 18-40.
- Brommer, F. 1953. *Herakles*. Munster: Köln.
- Brommer, F. 1973. *Vasenlisten zur Griechischen Heldensage*. Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag.
- Brown, P. 2004. "Greek Tragedy in the Opera House and Concert Hall of the Late Twentieth Century", in E. Hall and F. Macintosh and A. Wrigley (eds.), *Dionysus Since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 285-311.
- Bryson, V. 1992. *Feminist Political Theory*. London: Macmillan.
- Budelmann, F. 2004. "Greek Tragedies in West African Adaptations", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 50: 1-28.
- Budelmann, F. 2007. "The reception of Sophocles' representation of physical pain", *American Journal of Philology* 4: 443-467.
- Burton, R. W. B. 1980. *The Chorus in Sophocles' Tragedies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Butler, J. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. 2006. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Campbell, L. (ed.) 1881. *Sophocles, 2*. Oxford.
- Campbell, L. 1891. *A Guide to Greek Tragedy for English Readers*. London: Percival.
- Campbell, L. 1907. *Paralipomena Sophoclea*. London: Rivingtons.
- Campbell, L. 1914. *Memorials in Prose and Verse of Lewis Campbell, with a Preface by Frances Pitt Campbell*. London.
- Canning, C. 1993. "Constructing Experience: Theorizing a Feminist Theatre History", *Theatre Journal* 45: 529-540.
- Carawan, E. 2000. "Deianira's guilt", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 130: 189-237.
- Carlson, S. 1993. "Issues of Identity, Nationality, and Performance: the Reception of Two Plays by Timberlake Wertebaker", *New Theatre Quarterly* 35: 267-289.
- Carlson, S. 2000. "Language and identity in Timberlake Wertebaker's plays", in E. Aston and J. Reinelt (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern British Women Playwrights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 134-149.
- Carlsson, G. 1947. "Le personnage de Déjanire", *Eranos* 45: 59-77.
- Carter, D. 2007. *The Politics of Greek Tragedy*. Exeter: Bristol Phoenix Press.

- Carter, T. 1957. "That Hard Sophoclean Light", *The Kenyon Review* 4: 658+660-661.
- Case, S. E. 1988. *Feminism and Theatre*. New York: Methuen.
- Cataudella, Q. 1966. "Il papiro Ossirinchiata", *REG* 79: 47-50.
- Chambers, E. K. 1923. *The Elizabethan Stage* 3. Oxford.
- Chase, W. M. 1973. *The Political Identities of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- Clark, A. M. 1931. *Thomas Heywood, Playwright and Miscellanist*. Oxford : Blackwell.
- Clarke, M. L. 1986. *Greek Studies in England, 1700-1830*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- Cole, T. 1997. "The [Two] Women of Trachis", *Paideuma: A Journal Devoted to Ezra Pound Scholarship* 1: 69-71.
- Conacher, D. J. 1967. *Euripidean Drama*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Conacher, D. J. 1997. "Sophocles' *Trachiniae*: some observations", *American Journal of Philology* 1: 21-34.
- Connell, R. W. and Messerschmidt, J. W. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept.", *Gender and Society* 6: 829-59.
- Connell, R. W. 1992. "A Very Straight Gay: Masculinity, Homosexual Experience, and the Dynamics of Gender.", *American Sociological Review* 6: 735-751.
- Connell, R. W. 1993. "The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History.", *Theory and Society* 5: 597-623.
- Connell, R. W. 1995. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Connor, W. R. 1971. *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cornell, J. 1966. *The Trial of Ezra Pound. A Documented Account of the Treason Case by the Defendant's Lawyer*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Corrigan, K. 2005. *Reading Plotinus: A Practical Introduction to Neoplatonism*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Costa, C. D. N. (ed.) 1974. *Seneca*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul PLC.
- Cousin, G. 1996. *Women in Dramatic Place and Time: Contemporary Female Characters on Stage*. London: Routledge.
- Cowie, E. 1990. "Woman as Sign", in P. Adams and E. Cowie (eds.), *The Woman in Question*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Crimp, M. 2004. *Cruel and Tender, after Sophocles' Trachiniae*. London: Faber.
- Crisp, P. 1997. "Pound and MacDiarmid: Fascism, Communism and Modernity", *CUHK Journal of Humanities* 1: 160-174.
- Cummings, S. T. 2006. *Remaking American Theater*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daemmrich, H. S. and Daemmrich, I. 1987. *Themes and Motifs in Western Literature: a Handbook*. Tübingen: Francke.
- Dahl, M. K. 1993. "Constructing the Subject: Timberlake Wertenbaker's *The Grace of Mary Traverse*", *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 2: 149-159.
- Daly, M. 1978. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Boston: Beacon.

- D'Amico, S. (ed.) 1954–66. *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*. 11 vols. Rome: Le Maschere.
- Davies, J. K. 1981. *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens*. Salem, N.H.: Arno.
- Davis, E. 1968. *Vision Fugitive. Ezra Pound and Economics*. Lawrence; London: The University Press of Kansas.
- De Beauvoir, S. *The Second Sex*. Trans. B. Onaran. 1986. Istanbul: Payel.
- De Beauvoir, S. *The Second Sex*. Trans. H. M. Parshley. 1989. New York: Vintage.
- De Forest, M. (ed.) 1993. *Woman's Power Man's Game: Essays on Classical Antiquity in Honor of Joy K. King*. Wauconda, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci.
- De Ste. Croix, G. E. M. 1981. *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Demastes, W. (ed.) 1996. *British Playwrights 1956-1995-A Research and Production Sourcebook*. London: Greenwood.
- Dembo, L. S. 1963. *The Confucian Odes of Ezra Pound: A Critical Appraisal*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California.
- Dennis, H. M. 1999. "Pound, women and gender", in I. Nadel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 264-283.
- Diaz, J. S. (ed.) 1947. *Obras Varias de Francisco Lopez de Zarate 2*. Madrid: Biblioteca Complutense.
- Dick, B. F. 1961. "Sophokles Com-Pounded", *Classical World* 7: 236-237.
- DiGaetani, J. L. 1991. *A Search for a Postmodern Theater: Interviews with Contemporary Playwrights*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Dolan, J. 1991. *The Feminist Spectator as Critic*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Dolia, K. 1973. *Neohellenikos Logos*: 38-49.
- Dolia, K. 1975. *Τραχίνιες του Σοφοκλή και Hercules Oetaeus του Σενέκα, Σύγκριση των δύο τραγωδιών, Διατριβή επί Διδακτορία*. Ph.D. University of Athens.
- Donlan, W. 1980. *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece*. Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado.
- Donovan, J. 1985. *Feminist Theory*. New York: Frederick Ungar.
- Du Bois, E. C. 1978. *Feminism and Suffrage: the Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Durant, A. 1983. *Ezra Pound, Identity in Crisis. A Fundamental Reassessment of The Poet and His Work*. New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books; Sussex: The Harvester Press.
- Dymkowski, C. 1997. "The Play's the Thing: The Metatheater of Timberlake Wertenbaker", in N. Boireau (ed.), *Drama on Drama: Dimensions of Theatricality on the Contemporary British Stage*. London: Macmillan: 121-135.
- Earp, F. R. 1939. "The Trachiniae", *Classical Review* 45: 113-115.
- Easterling, P. 2004. "Critical Review", in *The Reception of the Texts and Images of Ancient Greece in Late-Twentieth-Century Drama and Poetry in English*, <http://www2.open.ac.uk/ClassicalStudies/GreekPlays> (accessed 22 August 2016).

- Easterling, P. E. 1968. "Sophocles, *Trachiniae*", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 15: 58-69.
- Easterling, P. E. 1973. "Presentation of Character in Aeschylus", *Greece and Rome* 20: 3-19.
- Easterling, P. E. 1977. "Character in Sophocles", *Greece and Rome* 24: 121-129.
- Easterling, P. E. 1981. "The end of the *Trachiniae*", *Illinois Classical Studies* 1: 56-75.
- Easterling, P. E. 1987. "Women in tragic space", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 34: 15-26.
- Easterling, P. E. (ed.) 1997. *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Easterling, P. E. 1999. "The Early Years of the Cambridge Greek Play: 1882-1912", in C. Stray (ed.), *Classics in 19th and 20th Century Cambridge: Curriculum, Culture and Community* (Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary Volume 24): 27-47.
- Edert, O. 1909. *Über Senecas Herakles und den Herakles auf dem Oeta*. Kiel.
- Eliot T. S. 1954. *The Confidential Clerk*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Eliot, T. S. 1951. "Tradition and the Individual Talent", in *Selected Essays*. London: Faber and Faber: 13-22.
- Eliot, T. S. 1951. *Selected Essays*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Elliott, A. 1992. "The Eidolon Self: Emerson, Whitman and Pound", in J. Kaye (ed.), *Ezra Pound and America*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan: 43-54.
- Esposito, S. 1997-1998. "The third stasimon of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Classical World* 1: 21-38.
- Etman, A. M. 1974. *The Problem of Heracles' Apotheosis in the Trachiniae of Sophocles and in Hercules Oetaeus of Seneca. A Comparative Study of the Tragic and Stoic Meaning of the Myth*. Ph.D. University of Athens.
- Falkner, T. M. 2005. "Engendering the tragic ψεατήω: pity, power, and spectacle in Sophocles' «Trachiniae»", in H. R. Sternberg (ed.), *Pity and Power in Ancient Athens*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press: 165-192.
- Faludi, S. 1994. "Backlash: the Undeclared War against American Women", in M. Schneur (ed.), *Feminism in Our Time: the Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*. New York: Vintage: 454-468.
- Faraone, C. A. 1994. "Deianira's mistake and the demise of Heracles: erotic magic in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Helios* 21: 115-135.
- Finkelberg, M. 1996. "The second stasimon of the *Trachiniae* and Heracles' festival on Mount Oeta", *Mnemosyne* 2: 129-143.
- Finley, M. I. 1973. *The Ancient Economy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Finley, M. I. 1981. *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Firestone, S. *The Dialectic of Sex*. Trans. Y. Salman. 1993. Istanbul: Payel.
- Fitch, J. G. 1987. *Seneca's Hercules Furens: A Critical Text with Introduction and Commentary*. New York and London: Ithaca.

- Fitch, J. G. 2000. "Playing Seneca?", in G. W. M. Harrison (ed.), *Seneca in Performance*. Swansea: Classical Pr. of Wales: 1-12.
- Flashar, H. 1991. *Inszenierung der Antike: das Griechische Drama auf der Bühne der Neuzeit*. Munich: Beck.
- Fleming, K. 2006. "The Use and Abuse of Antiquity", in Ch. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 127-137.
- Fletcher, J. 2001. "Πάντ' ἀριστεύων χερσῶν: deeds of the hands in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Mouseion* (Canada) 1: 1-15.
- Flory, W. S. 1989. *The American Ezra Pound*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Flory, W. S. 1999. "Pound and antisemitism", in I. Nadel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 284-300.
- Foley, H. (ed.) 1981. *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*. London: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.
- Foley, H. 1981. "The conception of Women in Athenian Drama", in H. Foley (ed.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*. London: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.
- Foley, H. 2004. "Bad Women: Gender Politics in Late Twentieth-Century Performance and Revision of Greek Tragedy", in E. Hall and F. Macintosh and A. Wrigley (eds.), *Dionysus Since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 77-113.
- Foley, H. P. 1999. "Modern Performance and Adaptation of Greek Tragedy", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129: 1-12.
- Fowler, R. (ed.) 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- France, P. (ed.) 2000. *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fredson, B. 1987. *Elizabethan Dramatists; Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume Sixty-Two*. Detroit: Gale Research Company.
- Freeman, S. 2002. "Adaptation after Darwin: Timberlake Wertenbaker's Evolving Texts", *Modern Drama* 4: 646-662.
- Freeman, S. 2012. "Timberlake Wertenbaker", in J. Milling (ed.), *Modern British Playwriting. The 1980s: Voices, Documents, New Interpretations*. London: Methuen Drama: 192-219.
- Freud, S. 1977. *On Sexuality: Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality and Other Works*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freudenburg, K. (ed.) 2005. *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Friedan, B. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*. London: Penguin.
- Friedman, S. (ed.) 2009. *Feminist Theatrical Revisions of Classic Works: Critical Essays*. Jefferson, N.C.; London: McFarland.
- Friedman, S. 2009. "Introduction", in S. Friedman (ed.), *Feminist Theatrical Revisions of Classic Works: Critical Essays*. Jefferson, N.C.; London: McFarland: 1-17.

- Friedrich, W.-H. 1954. "Sprache und Stil des Hercules Oetaeus", *Hermes* 82: 51-84.
- Friis, J. H. 1986. "Heracles in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Classica and Mediaevalia* 37: 47-61.
- Gadamer, H. G. 1993. *Truth and Method*. New York: Continuum.
- Galinsky, G. K. 1972. *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Gallup, D. 1969. *A Bibliography of Ezra Pound*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.
- Garton, C. 1957. "Characterisation in Greek Tragedy", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 2: 247-254.
- Gay, D. J. 1998. "Naming Names: an Overview of Women in Theatre 1500-1900.", in L. Goodman (ed.), *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance*. New York: Routledge.
- Gellie, G. H. 1972. *Sophocles: A Reading*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Gernet, L. 1981. "Marriages of Tyrants", in *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece*. Trans. J. Hamilton and B. Nagy. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gernet, L. 1981. "The Nobility in Ancient Greece.", in *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece*. Trans. J. Hamilton and B. Nagy. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Girdlestone, C. 1972. *La Tragédie en Musique: 1673-1750, Considérée comme Genre Littéraire*. Genève: Droz.
- Goacher, D. 1954. "The Critics and the Master", in *European* 15: 24-37.
- Goacher, D. 1956. "Foreword", in D. Goacher and P. Whigham (eds.), *Sophokles Women of Trachis. A Version by Ezra Pound*. London: Neville Spearman: 7-11.
- Goacher, D. and Whigham, P. 1956. "Editorial Declaration", in D. Goacher and P. Whigham (eds.), *Sophokles Women of Trachis. A Version by Ezra Pound*. London: Neville Spearman: 56-62.
- Goethe, J. W. von. *Collected Works*. V. Lange, E. A. Blackall and C. Hamlin (eds). 1983-1989. 12 Volumes. New York: Suhrkamp.
- Goethe, J. W. von. *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche*. E. Beutler (ed.). 1948-1971. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag.
- Goff, B. (ed.) 1995. *History, Tragedy, Theory: Dialogues on Athenian Drama*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Goff, B. (ed.) 2005. *Classics and Colonialism*. London: Duckworth.
- Goldhill, S. 2009. "Undoing in Sophoclean drama: λύσις and the analysis of irony", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1: 21-52.
- Goldhill, S. and Hall, E. (eds.) 2009. *Sophocles and the Greek Tragic Tradition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gömceli, N. 2009. "Timberlake Wertenbaker's 'Radical Feminist' Reinterpretation of a Greek Myth: The Love of the Nightingale", *AAA- Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 1: 77-100.
- Gömceli, N. 2010. *Timberlake Wertenbaker and Contemporary British Feminist Drama: Feminism(s) Illustrated in Timberlake Wertenbaker's New Anatomies (1981), The*

- Grace of Mary Traverse (1985), The Love of the Nightingale (1988), and The Break of Day (1995)*. Bethesda: Academica Press.
- Goodman, L. (ed.) 1998. *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance*. New York: Routledge.
- Goodman, L. 1993. *Contemporary Feminist Theatres: to Each her Own*. New York: Routledge.
- Gould, J. 1978. "Dramatic Character and 'Human Intelligibility' in Greek Tragedy", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 204: 43-67.
- Gould, J. 1980. "Law, Custom, and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens", *JHS* 100: 38-59.
- Gouldner, A. W. 1965. *Enter Plato: Classical Greece and the Origins of Social Theory*. New York: Basic Books.
- Goward, B. 2004. "Introduction", in P. E. Easterling (ed.), *R. C. Jebb, Sophocles: plays. Trachiniae*. London: Bristol Classical Press: 31-48.
- Grente, G. 1951-1972. *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises, sous la Direction du Cardinal Georges Grente*. Paris: Arthème Fayard.
- Griffin, J. (ed.) 1999. *Sophocles Revisited: Essays Presented to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Griffin, J. 1999. "Sophocles and the democratic city", in J. Griffin (ed.), *Sophocles Revisited: Essays Presented to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press: 73-94.
- Griffin, M. T. 1976. *A Philosopher in Politics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Griffith, M. 1995. "Brilliant Dynasts: Power and Politics in the *Oresteia*", *CA* 14.1: 62-129.
- Grimm, R. 1876. *Der Hercules Oetaeus des Seneca in seinen Beziehungen zu Sophokles' Trachinierinnen*. St. Petersburg Buchdruck. der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.
- Gustafson, A. 1961. *History of Swedish Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hadas, M. 1958. *The Stoic Philosophy of Seneca: Essays and Letters of Seneca*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.
- Hall, E. 1997. "Greek Plays in Georgian Reading", *Greece and Rome* 44: 59-81.
- Hall, E. 1997. "Talfourd's Ancient Greeks in the Theatre of Reform", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3: 283ff.
- Hall, E. 1999. "Greek Tragedy and the British Stage", *Cahiers du Gita* 12: 113-134.
- Hall, E. 2009. "Deianeira deliberates: precipitate decision-making and *Trachiniae*", in S. Goldhill and E. Hall (eds.), *Sophocles and the Greek Tragic Tradition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press: 69-96.
- Hall, E. 2010. *Greek Tragedy: Suffering under the Sun*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, E. and Macintosh, F. 2005. *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre, 1660-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, E. and Macintosh, F. and Wrigley, A. (eds.) 2004. *Dionysus Since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Halleran, M. R. 1988. "Repetition and irony at Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 574-581", *Classical Philology* 83: 129-131.
- Halliwell, S. 1990. "Traditional Greek Conceptions of Character", in C. Pelling (ed.), *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon: 37-42.
- Hamilton, S. 1992. *Ezra Pound and the Symbolist Inheritance*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Hardie, P. R. (ed.) 2002. *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hardwick, L. 2000. *Translating Words, Translating Cultures*. London: Duckworth.
- Hardwick, L. 2007. "Translating Greek Tragedy to the Modern Stage", *Theatre Journal* 3: 358-361.
- Harrison, A. R. W. 1968. *The Law of Athens*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Harrison, G. W. M. (ed.) 2000. *Seneca in Performance*. Swansea: Classical Pr. of Wales.
- Harrop, S. 2008. "Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis*: Modernist Translation as Performance Text", *Platform* 1: 90-104.
- Harsh, P. W. 1944. *A Handbook of Classical Drama*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- Hartsock, N. 1985. *Money, Sex, and Power: Toward a Feminist Historical Materialism*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Hawkinsdady, M. (ed.) 1994. *International Dictionary of Theatre-2: Playwrights*. London: St. James Press.
- Haynes, K. 2006. "Text, Theory, and Reception", in Ch. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 44-54.
- Heiden, B. 1988. "Lichas' rhetoric of justice in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Hermes* 116: 13-23.
- Heiden, B. 1989. *Tragic Rhetoric. An Interpretation of Sophocles' Trachiniae*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Heiden, B. 2012. "Trachiniae", in A. Markantonatos (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Sophocles*. Leiden; Boston: Brill: 129-148.
- Hekman, S. J. 1990. *Gender and Knowledge, Elements of a Postmodern Feminism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Henry, D. and Henry, E. 1985. *The Mask of Power. Seneca's Tragedies and Imperial Power*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Herbert, I. and Leclercq, N. (eds.) 2000. *The World of Theatre, 2000 Edition: An Account of the Theatre Seasons 1996-97, 1997-98 and 1998-99*. London: Routledge.
- Herington, C. J. 1966. "Senecan Tragedy", *Arion* 5: 453, 467-468.
- Herrmann, L. 1924. *Le Théâtre de Sénèque*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Hesk, J. 2000. *Deception and Democracy in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hester, D. A. 1980. "Deianeira's «deception speech»", *Antichthon* 14: 1-8.

- Hexter, R. 2006. "Literary History as a Provocation to Reception Studies", in Ch. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 23-31.
- Heyman, D. C. 1992. *Ezra Pound: The Last Power. A Political Profile by C. David Heymann*. New York: The Viking Press.
- Heywood, T. 1874. *Dramatic Works* 3. London.
- Hirschon, R. (ed.) 1984. *Woman and Property-Women as Property*. London: St. Martin's.
- Hobson, H. (ed.) 1961. *International Theatre Annual*. No. 5 (1961). London: Calder.
- Hochman, S. 1984. *McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Drama: An International Reference Work in 5 Volumes*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hoey, T. F. 1970. "The Trachiniae and the Unity of Hero", *Arethusa* 3: 1-22.
- Hoey, T. F. 1972. "Sun symbolism in the parodos of the *Trachiniae*", *Arethusa* 5: 133-154.
- Hoey, T. F. 1973. "Causality and the *Trachiniae*", *The Classical Journal* 68: 306-309.
- Hoey, T. F. 1977. "Ambiguity in the exodos of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Arethusa* 10: 269-294.
- Hoey, T. F. 1979. "The date of the *Trachiniae*", *Phoenix* 33: 210-232.
- Holford-Strevens, L. 1999. "Sophocles at Rome.", in J. Griffin (ed.), *Sophocles Revisited: Essays Presented to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press: 219-259.
- Holt, P. 1981. "Disease, desire, and Deianeira. A note on the symbolism of the *Trachiniae*", *Helios* 2: 63-73.
- Holt, P. 1987. "Light in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Classical Antiquity* 2: 205-217.
- Hommel, H. 1940. "Die dteissig Tittyen des Kleisthenes.", *Klio* 33: 181-200.
- Hooks, B. 1984. *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center*. Cambridge: South End.
- Hooks, B. 2000. *Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. Cambridge: South End.
- Hooley, D. M. 1984. *Paraphrase. Ezra Pound and Modern Translators of Latin Poetry*. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses.
- Houghton, H. P. 1962. "Deianeira in the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles", *Pallas* 11: 69-102.
- Humm, M. 1994. *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Feminist Literary Criticism*. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Ingber, R. 1978. "Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis: A Song for the Muses' Garden*.", *Amerikastudien* 23: 131-146.
- Irigaray, L. *This Sex Which Is Not One*. Trans. C. Porter. 1977. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Iser, W. 1971. *Die Apellstruktur der Texte: Unbestimmtheit als Wirkungsbedingung literarischer Prosa*. Konstanz: Universitäts verlag Konstanz.
- Jaggar, A. 1983. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*. New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld.

- Jankowski, S. V. 1956. "Translation of Sophokles", in D. Goacher and P. Whigham (eds.), *Sophokles Women of Trachis. A Version by Ezra Pound*. London: Neville Spearman: 13-23.
- Janssens, E. 1960. "La prise d' Oechalie", *Coll. Latomus* 44: 464-469.
- Jarman, M. 2006. "Your Anonymous Correspondent: Ezra Pound and *The Hudson Review*", *The Hudson Review* 3: 359-375.
- Jauss, H. R. 1994. "Rezeptiongeschichte als Provokation der Literaturgeschichte", in R. Warning (ed.), *Rezeptionsästhetik*. Munich: Fink: 126-162.
- Jauss, H. R. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. Trans. T. Bahti. 1982. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Jebb, R. C. 1892. *Sophocles, The Plays and Fragments. Part V. The Trachiniae: with Critical Notes, Commentary, and Translation in English Prose, by R. C. Jebb*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jebb, R. C. 1892. *Sophocles: Plays. Trachiniae*. P. E. Easterling (ed.). 2004. London: Bristol Classical Press.
- Jones, J. [1962] 1980. *On Aristotle and Greek Tragedy*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- Jorio, V. 1936. "L' autenticità", *RIGI* 20: 1-59.
- Just, R. 1989. *Women in Athenian Law and Life*. New York: Routledge.
- Kaimio, M. 2002. "Erotic experience in the conjugal bed: good wives in Greek tragedy", in M. C. Nussbaum and J. Sihvola (eds.), *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press: 95-119.
- Kamerbeek, J. C. [1956] 1970. *The Plays of Sophocles. Commentaries, II: The Trachiniae*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kane, R. L. 1988. "The structure of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. Diptych or trilogy?", *Phoenix* 42: 198-211.
- Kaye, J. (ed.) 1992. *Ezra Pound and America*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan.
- Kayman, M. A. 1986. *The Modernism of Ezra Pound. The Science of Poetry*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan.
- Keates, J. 1992. *Handel: The Man and His Music*. London: W & N.
- Kennedy, F. D. 2006. "Afterword, *The Uses of 'Reception'*", in Ch. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 288-293.
- Kenner, H. (ed.) 1953. *The Translations of Ezra Pound With an Introduction by Hugh Kenner*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Kenner, H. 1971. *The Pound Era*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Keyssar, H. (ed.) 1996. *Feminist Theatre and Theory*. London: Macmillan.
- Keyssar, H. 1996. "Introduction", in H. Keyssar (ed.), *Feminist Theatre and Theory*. London: Macmillan: 1-18.
- King, Ch. 1971. "Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*", *G&R* 18: 215-222.

- Kinkel, G. 1877. *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Leipzig.
- Kirk, G. S. 1974. *The Nature of Greek Myths*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Kirkwood, G. M. 1941. "The dramatic unity of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 72: 203-211.
- Kirkwood, G. M. 1958. *A Study of Sophoclean Drama*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kitto, H. D. F. 1939. "Sophocles, statistics and the *Trachiniae*", *American Journal of Philology* 45: 178-193.
- Kitto, H. D. F. 1939. *Greek Tragedy: A Literary Study*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Kitto, H. D. F. 1958. *Sophocles, Dramatist and Philosopher: Three Lectures Delivered at King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. London; New York; Toronto; Oxford University Press.
- Klein, M. 1984. *The Writings of Melanie Klein*. Vols. 1-4. New York: Free Press.
- Knox, B. M. W. 1964. *The Heroic Temper: Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University California Press; London: Cambridge University Press.
- Komporaly, J. 2004. "Maternal Longing as Addiction: Feminism Revisited in Timberlake Wertenbaker's *The Break of Day*", *Journal of Gender Studies* 13: 129-138.
- Korg, J. 2003. *Winter Love. Ezra Pound and H.D.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Kraus, C. S. 1991. "« Λόγος μὲν ἔστ' ἀρχαῖος »: stories and storytelling in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 121: 75-98.
- Lacan, J. *Écrits: A Selection*. Trans. A. Sheridan. 1977. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Lacan, J. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan: Book II*. J.-A. Miller (ed.). Trans. S. Tomaselli. 1988. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Lacey, W. K. 1980. *The Family in Classical Greece*. Auckland: University of Auckland.
- Lancaster, H. C. 1929-42. *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires.
- Landman, S. 1928. "Seneca", *Eos* 31: 485-493.
- Laughlin, J. 1987. *Essays and Lectures on Ezra Pound by James Laughlin*. Saint Paul: Graywolf Press.
- Lawrence, S. E. 1978. "The dramatic epistemology of the *Trachiniae*", *Phoenix* 32: 288-304.
- Leacock, E. B. 1981. *Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Lee, M. M. 2003-2004. "« Evil wealth of raiment»: deadly *πέπλοι* in Greek tragedy", *The Classical Journal* 3: 253-279.
- Leo, F. [1878] 1963. *De Senecae Tragoediis Observationes Criticae*. Berlin; repr. as Vol. I of *Senecae Tragoediae*. Berlin.
- Leo, F. 1897. "Die Komposition der Chorlieder Senecas", *RM* 52: 509-518.

- Leonard, M. 2006. "The Uses of Reception, *Derrida and the Historical Imperative*", in Ch. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 116-126.
- Levett, B. M. 2004. *Sophocles: Women of Trachis*. London: Duckworth.
- Levi, P. 1969. "Ezra Pound's Translation of Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*", *Agenda* 1: 17-22.
- Levinson, R. B. 1958. "Review", *Books Abroad* 3: 327-328.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. *Structural Anthropology*. Trans. C. Jacobsen and B. Grundfest Schoepf. 1963. New York: Basic Books.
- Lewis, J. 1990. "Myrdal, Klein, *Women's Two Roles* and Postwar Feminism 1945-1960", in H. Smith (ed.), *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*. London: E. Edgar: 167-188.
- Liapis, V. J. 2006. "Intertextuality as irony: Heracles in epic and in Sophocles", *Greece and Rome* 1: 48-59.
- Liebrechts, P. 2004. *Ezra Pound and Neoplatonism*. Madison-NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Liebrechts, P. 2008. "'No man knows his luck 'til he's dead': Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis*", *Quaderni di Palazzo Serra* 15: 300-314.
- Linforth, I. M. 1952. "The pyre on Mount Oeta in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 14, 7: 255-267.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. 1972. "Tycho Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on the Dramatic Technique of Sophocles", *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 2: 214-228.
- Loraux, N. *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*. Trans. A. Forster. 1987. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press.
- Louden, R. B. and Schollmeier, P. (eds.) 1996. *The Greeks and Us: Essays in Honor of Arthur W. H. Adkins*. Chicago (Ill.): University of Chicago Press.
- Lyons, D. J. 2003. "Dangerous gifts: ideologies of marriage and exchange in ancient Greece", *Classical Antiquity* 1: 93-134.
- Lyons, D. J. 2012. *Dangerous Gifts: Gender and Exchange in Ancient Greece*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- MacDowell, D. M. 1978. *The Law in Classical Athens*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Macintosh, F. 1997. "Tragedy in performance: nineteenth- and twentieth- century productions", in P. E. Easterling (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 284-323.
- Macintosh, F. 2004. "Oedipus in the East End: from Freud to Berkoff", in E. Hall and F. Macintosh and A. Wrigley (eds.), *Dionysus Since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 313-329.
- Macintosh, F. 2004. "Viewing Agamemnon in Nineteenth- Century Britain", in F. Macintosh and P. Michelakis and E. Hall and O. Taplin (eds.), *Agamemnon in Performance: 458 BC to AD 2004*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 139-163.
- Macintosh, F. and Michelakis, P. and Hall, E. and Taplin, O. (eds.) 2004. *Agamemnon in Performance: 458 BC to AD 2004*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maraniss, J. E. 1978. *On Calderon*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press.

- Marcucci, S. 1997. *Analisi e Interpretazione dell' Hercules Oetaeus*. Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.
- Markantonatos, A. (ed.) 2012. *Brill's Companion to Sophocles*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Markantonatos, G. 1974. "Tragic irony in the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles", *Platon* 26: 73-79.
- Marsh, A. 1998. *Money and Modernity. Pound, Williams, and the Spirit of Jefferson*. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press.
- Marti, B. 1945. "A new Interpretation", *TAPhA* 76: 216-245.
- Marti, B. 1949. "Place de l' Hercule", *REL* 27: 194.
- Martindale, Ch. (ed.) 1997. *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martindale, Ch. 2006. "Introduction, *Thinking Through Reception*", in Ch. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 1-13.
- Martindale, Ch. and Thomas, R. F. (eds.) 2006. *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mason, H. A. 1963. "The Women of Trachis (Part II)", *Arion* 2: 105-121.
- Mason, H. A. 1963. "The Women of Trachis", *Arion* 1: 59-81.
- Mason, H. A. 1969. "Creative Translation: Ezra Pound's *Women of Trachis*", *The Cambridge Quarterly* 3: 244-272.
- Matthews, V. J. 1974. *Panyassis of Halikarnassos*. Leiden.
- McCall, M. 1972. "The *Trachiniae*. Structure, focus, and Herakles", *American Journal of Philology* 93: 142-163.
- McDonald, M. 2003. *The Living Art of Greek Tragedy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- McDonough, C. 1996. "Timberlake Wertenbaker", in W. Demastes (ed.), *British Playwrights 1956-1995-A Research and Production Sourcebook*. London: Greenwood: 406-415.
- Meacham, H. M. 1967. *The Caged Panther. Ezra Pound at Saint Elizabeths*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc.
- Meehan, E. 1990. "British Feminism from the 1960's to the 1980's.", in H. Smith (ed.), *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*. London: E. Edgar: 189-204.
- Melzer, P. F. [1890] 2010. *De Hercule Oetaeo Annaeana*. Kessinger Publishing LLC.
- Mikalson, J. D. 1986. "Zeus the father and Heracles the son in tragedy", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 116: 89-98.
- Millett, K. 1970. *Sexual Politics*. New York: Doubleday.
- Milling, J. (ed.) 2012. *Modern British Playwriting. The 1980s: Voices, Documents, New Interpretations*. London: Methuen Drama.
- Milton, J. *Areopagitica, and Of Education*. M. Davies (ed.). 1963. London and New York.
- Minadeo, R. 1993. "A hero's wife", in M. De Forest (ed.), *Woman's Power Man's Game: Essays on Classical Antiquity in Honor of Joy K. King*. Wauconda, III.: Bolchazy-Carducci: 159-177.

- Mitchell, J. 1974. *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*. New York: Vintage.
- Morpurgo, A. 1929. "Le Trachinie", *A&R*, n.s. 10: 89, 93.
- Morrison, P. 1996. *The Poetics of Fascism. Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Paul de Man*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Motter, Th. H. V. 1929. *The School Drama in England*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Mottram, E. 1992. "Ezra Pound in his Time", in J. Kaye (ed.), *Ezra Pound and America*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan: 93-111.
- Murray, G. (ed.) 1936. *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray on His Seventieth Birthday*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Mussolini, B. 1957. "In Captivity: Notebook of Thoughts in Ponza and La Maddalena", *Edge* 4: 10-26.
- Nadel, I. (ed.) 1999. *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nadel, I. 1999. "Introduction: Understanding Pound", in I. Nadel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-21.
- Nagy De, N. C. 1961. *The Poetry of Ezra Pound: The Pre-Imagist Stage*. Bern: Francke Verlag.
- Nicholls, P. 1984. *Ezra Pound: Politics, Economics and Writing. A Study of The Cantos*. London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Norman, C. 1948. *The Case of Ezra Pound by Charles Norman*. New York: The Bodley Press.
- Norman, C. 1960. *Ezra Pound by Charles Norman*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Nussbaum, M. C. and Sihvola, J. (eds.) 2002. *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- O' Connor, T. A. 1988. *Myth and Mythology in the Theater of Pedro Calderon de la Barca*. San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University Press.
- Ober, J. and Strauss, B. 1990. "Drama, Political Rhetoric, and the Discourse of Athenian Democracy", in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ober, J. 1989. *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Odell, G. C. D. 1931. *Annals of the New York Stage*. New York: AMS Press.
- Olcott, M. 1986. "Metre and Translation in Pound's *Women of Trachis*", *San Jose Studies* 3: 111-118.
- Omnibus*. Issue 04 (November 1982), accessed at <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/library/item/6563> (accessed 22 August 2016).
- Ormand, K. 1993. "More wedding imagery: *Trachiniae* 1053 ff.", *Mnemosyne* 2: 224-227.
- Pallen, Th. A. 1999. "Dance and ancient drama: the connection between Siracusa and Hellerau", *Crossing the Stages Conference*, <http://>

[//www.usask.ca/antharch/cnea/abstracts/pallen.html](http://www.usask.ca/antharch/cnea/abstracts/pallen.html) (accessed 03 February 2010).

- Papadimitropoulos, L. 2006. "On the structure of Sophocles' «Trachiniai»", *Acta Classica* 49: 183-189.
- Papadimitropoulos, L. 2007-2008. "Heracles as tragic hero", *Classical World* 2: 131-138.
- Paratore, E. 1958. "Lo Hercules Oetaeus è di Seneca ed è anteriore al Furens", *Acta Class.* 1: 72-79.
- Parker, R. 1998. *Athenian Religion, A History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pateman, C. 1987. "Feminist Critiques of the Public-Private Dichotomy", in A. Phillips (ed.), *Feminism and Equality*. New York: New York University Press: 103-126.
- Patin, M. 1858. *Études sur les Tragiques Grecs, Sophocle*. Paris: Hachette.
- Pease, A. St. 1918. "On the Authenticity", *TAPhA* 49: 3-26.
- Pedrick, V. 2008. "Ismene's Return from a Sentimental Journey, Translation Strategies in Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Dianeira* and *Antigone*", in M. Roth and S. Freeman (eds.), *International Dramaturgy: Translation and Transformations in the Theatre of Timberlake Wertenbaker*. Bruxelles; Oxford: P.I.E. Peter Lang: 41-59.
- Pelling, C. (ed.) 1990. *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Phillips, A. (ed.) 1987. *Feminism and Equality*. New York: New York University Press.
- Pintacuda, M. *Tragedia Antica e Musica D' Oggi*. L. Misuraca (ed.). 1978. Cefalù.
- Ploritis, M. (ed.) 1966. *Thespis: Bulletin of the Greek Center of the ITI*. Vols 4-5 (June 1966). Athens: Printed by I. Makris.
- Pohlenz, Max. 1954. *Die Griechische Tragödie*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Pound, E. 1910. *The Spirit of Romance*. London: J. M. Dent and Sons.
- Pound, E. 1934. *ABC of Reading*. London; Boston: Faber and Faber.
- Pound, E. 1934. *Make it New. Essays by Ezra Pound*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Pound, E. 1934. *Selected Cantos*. New York: New Directions.
- Pound, E. 1954. "Sophokles' *Women of Trachis*", *The Hudson Review* 4: 487-523.
- Pound, E. 1996. *The Cantos of Ezra Pound*. New York: New Directions.
- Pound, E. 1956. *Sophokles Women of Trachis. A Version by Ezra Pound*. D. Goacher and P. Whigham (eds.). London.
- Pound, E. *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound 1907-1941*. D. D. Paige (ed.). 1971. New York.
- Pound, E. and Fenollosa, E. 1959. *The Classic Noh Theatre of Japan*. New York: New Direction.
- Pound, E. and Fleming, R. 1990. *Sophokles Elektra a Version by Ezra Pound and Rudd Fleming; Introduction and Appendices by Carey Perloff*. New York: New Directions.

- Pozzi, D. C. 1994. "Deianeira's robe: diction in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Mnemosyne* 47: 577-585.
- Pozzi, D. C. 1999. "Hyllus' coming of age in Sophocles' «Trachiniae»", in M. W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*. Lewisburg (Pa.): Bucknell University Press: 29-41.
- Pratt, N. T. 1939. *Dramatic Suspense in Seneca and his Greek Predecessors*. Ph.D. University of Princeton.
- Pratt, N. T. 1948. "The Stoic Base of Senecan Drama", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 79: 1-11.
- Pratt, N. T. 1983. *Seneca's Drama*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina.
- Quartermain, P. 1986. *American Poets, 1880-1945: First Series*. Volume 45. Detroit: Gale Research Group.
- Rabey, D. I. 1990. "Defining Difference: Timberlake Wertenbaker's Drama of Language, Dispossession and Discovery", *Modern Drama* 33: 518-29.
- Rabey, D. I. 1994. "Timberlake Wertenbaker", in M. Hawkinsdady (ed.), *International Dictionary of Theatre-2: Playwrights*. London: St. James Press.
- Rabillard, S. 2008. "Translating the Past: Theatrical and Historical Repetition in Wertenbaker's *The Break of Day*", in M. Roth and S. Freeman (eds.), *International Dramaturgy: Translation and Transformations in the Theatre of Timberlake Wertenbaker*. Bruxelles; Oxford: P.I.E. Peter Lang: 135-153.
- Rabinowitz, N. S. 1993. *Anxiety Veiled: Euripides and the Traffic in Women*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Rabinowitz, N. S. and Richlin, A. (eds.) 1993. *Feminist Theory and the Classics*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Redman, T. 1999. "Pound's politics and economics", in I. Nadel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 249-263.
- Reid, J. D. and Rohmann, C. 1993. *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s*, Volume 1. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reinhardt, K. 1933. *Sophokles*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann.
- Reinhardt, K. *Sophocles*. Trans. H. Harvey and D. Harvey. 1979. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rich, A. 1972. "When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision.", *College English* 1: 18-30.
- Richards, I. A. 1929. *Practical Criticism*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Ricks, C. and McCue, J. 2015. *The poems of T.S. Eliot, Introduction, commentaries and editorial material*. London: Faber & Faber Ltd.
- Riley, A. 2004. "Heracles as Dr Strangelove and GI Joe: Male Heroism Deconstructed", in E. Hall and F. Macintosh and A. Wrigley (eds.), *Dionysus Since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 113-143.
- Riley, K. 2008. *The Reception and Performance of Euripides' Herakles, Reasoning Madness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rist, J. M. 1969. *Stoic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ronnet, G. 1969. *Sophocle Poète Tragique*. Paris: de Boccard.

- Rood, N. J. 2010. "Four silences in Sophocles' «Trachiniae»", *Arethusa* 3: 345-364.
- Rose, P. W. 1992. *Sons of the Gods, Children of Earth: Ideology and Literary Form in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press.
- Rosenmeyer, T. E. 1989. *Senecan Drama and Stoic Cosmology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Roth, M. 2008. "Wertenbaker & Translations in Theatre", in M. Roth and S. Freeman (eds.), *International Dramaturgy: Translation and Transformations in the theatre of Timberlake Wertenbaker*. Bruxelles; Oxford: P.I.E. Peter Lang: 11-34.
- Roth, M. 2009. "The Philomela Myth as Postcolonial Feminist Theater, Timberlake Wertenbaker's *The Love of the Nightingale*", in S. Friedman (ed.), *Feminist Theatrical Revisions of Classic Works: Critical Essays*. Jefferson, N.C.; London: McFarland: 42-60.
- Roth, M. and Freeman, S. (eds.) 2008. *International Dramaturgy: Translation and Transformations in the Theatre of Timberlake Wertenbaker*. Bruxelles; Oxford: P.I.E. Peter Lang.
- Rubin, G. 1975. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex", in R. Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. New York: Monthly Review.
- Ryzman, M. 1991. "Deianeira's moral behaviour in the context of the natural laws in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Hermes* 119: 385-398.
- Ryzman, M. 1993. "Heracles' destructive impulses: a transgression of natural laws: (Sophocles' *Trachiniae*)", *Revue Belge de Philologie et d' Histoire* 1: 69-79.
- Sadie, S. (ed.) 1992. *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. London: Macmillan Publishers.
- Sadie, S. (The late) and Tyrrell, J. (eds.) 2001. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan Publishers.
- Schaps, D. M. 1979. *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Schlegel, A. W. *Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*. Trans. J. Black. 1846. London.
- Schneir, M. (ed.) 1994. *Feminism in Our Time: the Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*. New York: Vintage.
- Scott, M. 1995. "The character of Deianeira in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*: her attitude to her marriage", *Acta Classica* 38: 17-27.
- Seaford, R. 1994. *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Sealey, R. 1990. *Women and Law in Classical Greece*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Sedgwick, E. K. 1985. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Segal, C. 1977. "Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. Myth, poetry, and heroic values.", *Yale Classical Studies* 25: 99-158.
- Segal, C. 1981. *Tragedy and Civilization: An Interpretation of Sophocles*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- Segal, C. 1990. "Sacrifice and violence in the myth of Meleager and Heracles: Homer, Bacchylides, Sophocles", *Helios* 17: 7-24.
- Segal, C. 2000. "The oracles of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*: convergence or confusion?", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 100: 151-171.
- Seidensticker, B. 1995. "Women on the tragic stage", in B. Goff (ed.), *History, Tragedy, Theory: Dialogues on Athenian Drama*. Austin: University of Texas Press: 151-173.
- Seneca, *Oedipus, Agamemnon, Thyestes, Hercules on Oeta, Octavia*. Fitch, J. G. (ed.) and Trans. 2004. Loeb.
- Shakespeare, W. *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Volumes 1-2. G. Blakemore Evans (ed.). 1974. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Shapiro, H. A. 1983. "'Hêrôs Theos': The Death and *Apotheosis* of Herakles", *The Classical World* 1: 7-18.
- Share, D. (ed.) 1998. *Seneca in English*. London: Penguin.
- Shear, J. L. 2011. *Polis and Revolution: Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shih, Y. 2010. *History and Gender in Wertenbaker's Plays*. Ph.D. National Chengchi University.
- Silk, M. S. 1985. "Heracles and Greek tragedy", *Greece and Rome* 32: 1-22.
- Silver, B. R. 1991. "The Authority of Anger: 'Three Guineas' as Case Study.", *Signs* 2: 340-70.
- Simpson, E. B. 1898. *Robert Louis Stevenson's Edinburgh Days*. London.
- Smith, H. (ed.) 1990. *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*. London: E. Edgar.
- Snell, B. *The Discovery of the Mind*. Trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer. 1953. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sophocles, *Four Dramas of Maturity: Aias, Antigone, Young Women of Trachis, Oedipus the King*. M. Ewans (ed.). 1999. London.
- Sophocles, *The Thebans*. Trans. T. Wertenbaker. 1997. London: Faber and Faber.
- Sophocles, *Trachiniae*. L. Campbell and E. Abbott (eds.). 1899. Oxford.
- Sophocles, *Trachiniae*. M. Davies (ed.). 1991. Oxford.
- Sophocles, *Trachiniae*. P. E. Easterling (ed.). 1982. Cambridge.
- Sorum, C. E. 1978. "Monsters and the family. The exodus of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies* 19: 59-73.
- Staley, G. A. 2010. *Seneca and the Idea of Tragedy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Steiner, G. (ed.) 1996. *The Penguin Book of Modern Verse Translation*. London: Penguin.
- Stephenson, H. and Langridge, N. 1997. *Rage and Reason: Women Playwrights on Playwriting*. London: Methuen.
- Sternberg, H. R. (ed.) 2005. *Pity and Power in Ancient Athens*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stoessl, F. 1945. *Der Tod des Herakles. Arbeitsweise und Formen der antiken Sagedichtung*. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag.

- Stowell, S. 1992. *A Stage of their Own*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Strathern, M. 1988. *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Summers, C. W. 1905. "The Authorship", *CR* 19: 40-54.
- Talfourd, Th. N. 1852. *The Dramatic Works of Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd, to which are added a few sonnets and verses*. London: Moxon.
- Tausiani, A. 2011. *Sophocles' Lying Tale: A Study of Dolos and Fiction in the Philoctetes*. Ph.D. University College London.
- Taplin, O. 1977. *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taplin, O. 1978. *Greek Tragedy in Action*. London: Methuen.
- Taplin, O. 2002. "Contemporary Poetry and Classics", in T. P. Wiseman (ed.), *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1-19.
- Taplin, O. 2004. "Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, Seamus Heaney's, and Some Other Recent Half-Rhymes", in E. Hall and F. Macintosh and A. Wrigley (eds.), *Dionysus Since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 145-169.
- Tarrant, R. J. 1985. *Seneca's Thyestes*. Atlanta: Scholar's Press.
- Taxidou, O. 2004. *Tragedy, Modernity and Mourning*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Thomson, G. 1966. *Aeschylus and Athens*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Turner, E. G. (ed.) 1962. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXVII, edited with translations and notes by E. G. Turner, John Rea, L. Koenen, José Ma Fernandez Pomar*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Uberti, R. M. D. 1956. "Why Pound Liked Italy", in D. Goacher and P. Whigham (eds.), *Sophokles Women of Trachis. A Version by Ezra Pound*. London: Neville Spearman: 63-66.
- Valbuena Briones, A. (ed.) 1960-1967. *Calderón de la Barca, Pedro. El sitio de Bredá. Obras completas*. 3 Volumes. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Vernant, J.-P. *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*. Trans. J. Lloyd. 1980. New York: Zone.
- Vernant, J.-P. "The Tragic Subject: Historicity and Transhistoricity", in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*. Trans. J. Lloyd. 1988. New York: Zone: 237-248.
- Vernant, J.-P. and Vidal Naquet, P. *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*. Trans. J. Lloyd. 1988. New York: Zone.
- Vickers, M. J. 1995. "Heracles Lacedaemonius: the political dimensions of Sophocles *Trachiniae* and Euripides *Heracles*", *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 2: 41-69.
- Waith, E. M. 1962. *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Waldock, A. J. A. 1966. *Sophocles, The Dramatist*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

- Walton, J. M. 1987. *Living Greek Theatre: A Handbook of Classical Performance and Modern Production*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Walton, J. M. 2006. *Found in Translation: Greek Drama in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wandor, M. 1981. *Understudies: Theatre and Sexual Politics*. London: Methuen.
- Wandor, M. 1986. *Carry On, Understudies: Theatre and Sexual Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Warning, R. (ed.) 1994. *Rezeptionsästhetik*. Munich: Fink.
- Watling, E. F. 1966. *Seneca: Four Tragedies and Octavia*. London: Penguin Classics.
- Webster, T. B. L. 1936. "Sophocles' *Trachiniae*", in G. Murray (ed.), *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray on His Seventieth Birthday*. Oxford: Clarendon: 164-180.
- Webster, T. B. L. 1936. *An Introduction to Sophocles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Weidauer, F. 1950. *Der Prinzipat in Seneca's Schrift de Clementia*. PhD. University of Marburg.
- Weiner, A. B. 1976. *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspectives in Trobriand Exchange*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Wender, D. 1974. "The will of the beast. Sexual imagery in the *Trachiniae*", *Ramus* 3: 1-17.
- Wertenbaker, T. 1984. *Abel's Sister*. Audio Recording hold in the National Sound Archive, British Library, London.
- Wertenbaker, T. 1991. Interview. *Writers Revealed*. BBC Radio 4. 20 June 1991.
- Wertenbaker, T. 1996. "New Anatomies". *Timberlake Wertenbaker: Plays One*. London: Faber and Faber: 1-57.
- Wertenbaker, T. 1996. "The Grace of Mary Traverse". *Timberlake Wertenbaker: Plays One*. London: Faber and Faber: 59-160.
- Wertenbaker, T. 1996. "The Love of the Nightingale". *Timberlake Wertenbaker: Plays One*. London: Faber and Faber: 283-354.
- Wertenbaker, T. 2002. "Credible Witness". *Timberlake Wertenbaker: Plays Two*. London: Faber and Faber: 179-238.
- Wertenbaker, T. 2002. "Introduction". *Timberlake Wertenbaker: Plays Two*. London: Faber and Faber: vii-ix.
- Wertenbaker, T. 2002. "The Break of Day". *Timberlake Wertenbaker: Plays Two*. London: Faber and Faber: 1-98.
- Wertenbaker, T. 2002. *Timberlake Wertenbaker: Plays 2. The Break of Day; After Darwin; Credible Witness; The Ash Girl; Dianeira*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Wertenbaker, T. 2004. "The Voices We Hear", in E. Hall and F. Macintosh and A. Wrigley (eds.), *Dionysus Since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 361-369.
- West, M. L. 1966. *Hesiod, Theogony*. Oxford.
- Wet, B. X. de. 1983. "An evaluation of the *Trachiniae* of Sophokles in the light of moral values in Athens of the 5th century B.C.", *Dioniso (N. S.)* 54: 213-226.

- White, H. 1974. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- White, H. 1985. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- White, H. 2006. "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing.", in K. Korhonen (ed.), *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the History/Literature Debate*. New York: Rodopi: 25-33.
- Whitman, C. H. 1951. *Sophocles: A Study of Heroic Humanism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Whitmarsh, T. 2006. "True Histories, *Lucian, Bakhtin, and the Pragmatics of Reception*", in Ch. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 104-115.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, T. von. 1917. *Die Dramatische Technik des Sophokles. Philologische Untersuchungen 22*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Williams, B. 1996. "The Women of Trachis: fictions, pessimism, ethics", in R. B. Loudon and P. Schollmeier (eds.), *The Greeks and Us: Essays in Honor of Arthur W. H. Adkins*. Chicago (Ill.): University of Chicago Press: 43-65.
- Wilson, A. 1993. "Forgiving History and Making New Worlds: Timberlake Wertebaker's Recent Drama", in J. Acheson (ed.), *British and Irish Drama since 1960*. New York: St. Martin's Press: 146-161.
- Wilson, A. 2008. "Dianeira, Anger, and History", in M. Roth and S. Freeman (eds.), *International Dramaturgy: Translation and Transformations in the Theatre of Timberlake Wertebaker*. Bruxelles; Oxford: P.I.E. Peter Lang: 209-221.
- Winkler, J. J. and Zeitlin, F. (eds.) 1990. *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Winnington-Ingram, R. P. 1980. *Sophocles: An Interpretation*. Cambridge; London: Cambridge University Press.
- Winston, J. 1995. "Re-casting the Phaedra Syndrome: Myth and Morality in Timberlake Wertebaker's *The Love of the Nightingale*.", *Modern Drama* 38: 510-519.
- Wiseman, T. P. (ed.) 2002. *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wohl, V. 1998. *Intimate Commerce. Exchange, Gender and Subjectivity in Greek Tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Woolf, V. 2000. "A Room of One's Own.", in M. H. Abrams (ed.), *The Norton Anthology English Literature*. Vol. 2. New York: Norton: 2153-2140.
- Wright, E. 1989. *Postmodern Brecht: A Re-Presentation*. London: Routledge.
- Wrigley, A. 2004. "Details of Productions Discussed", in E. Hall and F. Macintosh and A. Wrigley (eds.), *Dionysus Since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 369-419.
- Wrigley, A. 2005. "Appendix: Agamemnon on the APGRD Database", in F. Macintosh and P. Michelakis and E. Hall and O. Taplin (eds.), *Agamemnon in Performance: 458 BC to AD 2004*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 359-436.

- Wrigley, A. 2007. "The Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama, University of Oxford", <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/people/imagesdocs/eh1566-1997.htm> (accessed 03 February 2010).
- Xie, M. 1999. "Pound as translator", in I. Nadel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 204-223.
- Zeitlin, F. I. 1990. "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama", in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* Princeton: Princeton University Press: 341-374.
- Zelenak, M. X. 1998. *Gender and Politics in Greek Tragedy*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Zuntz, G. 1955. *The Political Plays of Euripides*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Zwierlen, O. 1983. *Prolegomena zu einer Kritischen Ausgabe der Tragödien Senecas*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Reviews of the productions

Billington, M. *Guardian*, 19 June 2004.

Billington, M. *Guardian*, 14 May 2004.

Billington, M. *Guardian*, 27 December 1995.

Billington, M. *London Theatre Record*, Vol. 8, No. 19, p.1267.

Billington, M. *London Theatre Record*, Vol. 8, No. 23, p.1602.

Clapp, S. *Observer*, 16 May 2004.

De Jongh, N. *Evening Standard*, 14 May 2004.

Kalb, J. *New York Times*, 24 January 2007.

Kingston, J. *The Times*, 15 May 2004.

Kingston, J. *The Times*, 14 May 2004.

Marmion, P. *Daily Mail*, 13 Aug. 2004.

Segal, V. *Sunday Times*, 16 May 2004.

Shuttleworth, I. *Financial Times*, 17 May 2004.

Spencer, Ch. *Daily Telegraph*, 15 May 2004.

Tanitch, R. *Camden New Journal*, 3 June 2004.

Taylor, P. *Independent*, 24 May 2004.

Thicknesse, R. *The Times*, 15 May 2004.

Vickers, H. *Oxford Times*, 17 June 2005.

“Sunday Play: Dianeira by Timberlake Wertenbaker”, *Sunday Times*, 28 November 1999.

Websites

“BATS Theatre”. 2006. http://timeframes1.natlib.govt.nz/0xd2378350_0x0004401e (accessed 03 February 2010).

“Heracles Trilogy”. 1999. http://www.istfest.org/tyatro/eng/ortak_yapimlar.htm (accessed 03 February 2010).

“The Women of Trachis”. 2006. <http://www.naturaltheatricals.com/trachis.html> (accessed 03 February 2010).

<http://www.usask.ca/antharch/cnea/abstracts/pallen.html>.

http://timeframes1.natlib.govt.nz/0xd2378350_0x0004401e.

<http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/library/item/6563>.

<http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/people/imagesdocs/eh1566-1997htm>.

<http://www.grovemusic.com>.

http://www.istfest.org/tyatro/eng/ortak_yapimlar.html.

<http://www2.open.ac.uk/ClassicalStudies/GreekPlays>.

Ancient Sources from TLG and TLL

- Apollodorus, 2.7.7.
Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.8.1-3, 2.7.5-7, 2.6.1, 2.7.7.
Archilochus, frs. 276, 286, 287, 288.
Athenaios, XIII. 2.556.
Bacchylides, 16.
Cicero, *De Officiis* 2.41-42.
Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, in Horace's *Odes* 3.2, and *Aeneid* 9.641.
Dio Chrysostomus, *Orationes*. 2.78 and 69.1.
Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.31.1-3, 4.34.1, 4.36.1-5, 4.38.1-5.
Diogenes Laertius, 2.26.
Epictetus, 2.16.44.
Euripides, *Heracleidae*, vv. 910-916.
Herodotus, 2.43-45, 7.198.
Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 25.18-25.
Homer or Creophylus of Samos, *Capture of Oechalia*, fr. 1K.
Horace, *Odes* 3. 5, 1-4.
Hyginus, *Fabulae* 31, 33-36, 129, 162, 174, 240, 243.
Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* 15, 'Zeus, Asclepius, and Heracles.'
Ovid, *Heroides* 9.3-6, 9.11-48.
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.542-9.133, 9.134-272.
Panyassis of Halicarnassus, *Heraclea*.
Philostratus, *Imagines* 4.16.
Pisander of Rhodes, *Heracles*.
Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 2.18.
Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* 13.308ff.
Seneca, *Beneficiis*. 4.8.1, 6.22.
Seneca, *Consolation to Marcia*.
Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae* 15.3, 4.5.
Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Helvium* 8.5-6.
Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Marciam* 15.2-3.
Seneca, *De Vita Beata* 20.5.
Seneca, *Epistulae* 102.21.
Seneca, *Epistulae* 90.4-6.
Seneca, *Epistulae* 95.52, 9.16, 73.9.

Seneca, *Ira* 1.8.2.

Seneca, *Letter* 102, 30.12.

Seneca, *Ot. Sap.* 4.1-2.

Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, vv. 727-729.

Tacitus, *Annales* 3.26.

Xenophanes, fr.11.

Younger Plinius, *Panegyricus* 35.4.